

THE LANGUAGE OF THE
PENTATEUCH IN ITS
RELATION TO EGYPTIAN

By
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With a
HIEROGLYPHIC APPENDIX

VOLUME I

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PREFACE

FOR more than half a century modern Higher Criticism as expounded by the *Graf-Wellhausen* School has everywhere dominated the field of Biblical research, considering the whole of the Pentateuch as a late product and representing the Joseph and Exodus narratives, which deal with the sojourn of Israel in Egypt, as the work of authors who had very little knowledge of Egypt and matters Egyptian. The Assyro-Babylonian school has undoubtedly been very successful in shedding new light on many parts of the Bible and also on some chapters of Genesis. But far from solving the problems of composition and antiquity of the Pentateuch, it rather complicated them. Egyptology, too, failed to furnish a solution only because after the rise of the *Graf-Wellhausen* School some of the leading Egyptologists accepted its theories without having sufficient knowledge of Hebrew and the Bible to enable them to take any initiative in these questions. As they could not find more than occasional connexions between Hebrew and Egyptian, they simply took it for granted that Egyptology had very little to yield for the study of the Bible, and as to the Bible itself, Professor Adolf Erman went so far as to affirm that all 'that the Old Testament had to say about Egypt could not be regarded with enough suspicion'.¹ Such a statement and others of like purport, coming as they did from Egyptologists of established authority, brought it about that students who might have perhaps undertaken to penetrate more deeply into a study of Hebrew-Egyptian relationships, were intimidated and deterred from approaching the matter; and on the other hand, Biblical critics could always refer to such statements as highly authoritative in support of their views on the late origin of the Pentateuch and the unreliable character of those parts which deal with Egypt. The endeavours of those few scholars who dared to go beyond the limits prescribed by the 'official' view of representative Egyptologists were either ignored altogether or only condescendingly considered, the results of their research being contemptuously rejected as unscientific and even fantastic.

¹ *Ägypten und ägyptisches Leben im Altertum*, 1885, p. 6, and reaffirmed in the revised edition, by H. Ranke, 1923, p. 5. Similarly Dr. Alan H. Gardiner said about the Exodus that 'all the story of the Exodus ought to be regarded as no less mythological than the details of creation as recorded in Genesis', and that 'at all events our first task must be to attempt to interpret these details on the supposition that they are a legend'. *Études Champollion*, 1922, p. 205.

Now the whole problem of the Pentateuch is approached from the linguistic side. After having studied all the languages with which Hebrew had any relation, I came to the conclusion that Egyptian exerted considerable influence on the formation and development of Hebrew as a literary language.

The present book is only the first volume of a comprehensive work in which the results of my investigations are to be set forth. A great portion of the material was already available as early as 1913 when I was still in Berlin, but the continuation of the work had to suffer delay, chiefly owing to my call to Madrid in that year and to my appointment to a Chair of *Medieval Hebrew Literature in Spain* at that University. I thus had to devote myself for many years to quite a different field of research, and it was only when I retired from my Chair that I was able to devote myself exclusively to these studies and proceed with the publication of my materials.

My first attempt to make known the preliminary results of my work was in a lecture given in March 1921 to the British Academy, London, under the title 'New Light on the Language and Thought of the Pentateuch', and subsequently in a series of three lectures at King's College, London, and at Christ Church, Oxford, in April and May of the same year.

In 1929 I was able to offer to the public the first volume of my work in German under the title *Die Sprache des Pentateuch in ihren Beziehungen zum Ägyptischen*, which contained, however, only a very small part of my material extending over the whole of the Pentateuch. Whilst I was engaged on the second volume, a number of scholars and Bible students in England and America repeatedly expressed a desire to have the German book translated into English. I therefore decided to postpone the publication of the second German volume and to put the first volume into English. But instead of giving a mere translation, I preferred to rewrite the whole book in order to adjust it in spirit and language to the taste and requirements of English readers. Some few errors have been eliminated, minor alterations suggested by reviewers and readers made, and the interpretation of a few additional passages from the Joseph and Exodus narratives included.

The volume contains two sections: the first deals with the Joseph and Exodus narratives, the second with the Genesis stories and a portion of the Patriarchal narratives. The examination of other parts of the Pentateuch, including the poetical portions, will follow in the second volume. From among the numerous subjects to be treated there, the following may be particularly mentioned: The Egyptian loan-words, metaphorical expressions, modes of speech and phrases of Egyptian colouring in the

remaining parts of the Pentateuch; the ritual and judicial phraseology of the Pentateuch; the sacerdotal and sacrificial institutions and the terminology created for them; the names and attributes of God; the architectural work of the tabernacle and the craftsmanship of the holy vessels, with special regard to the technical terms used; finally also the grammatical, syntactical, and stylistic relations to Egyptian.

I refrain from furnishing an exhaustive introduction, as this would have to be extended over questions and subjects not contained in this volume, and many results would have to be anticipated. I therefore confine myself by way of introduction to a short outline of the main points regarding the origin and development of Hebrew as a literary language and to an exposition of the principles by which I have been guided in my investigations. But as each section is provided with prefatory and concluding remarks, and in most cases every chapter is furnished with a short introduction, adequate provision is made for the orientation of the reader.

In general I do not attach so much importance to the formulation of problems as to the actual treatment of the materials themselves. Readers will do well to keep this in mind, and they will realize that in most cases the results attained dispose *eo ipso* of many a problem, rendering a discussion altogether superfluous.

I intentionally avoid entering into questions of Biblical criticism, as the chief object of my work is the solution of the linguistic problem of the Pentateuch and the establishment of the Hebrew-Egyptian relationship. Undoubtedly some hypotheses of Higher Criticism and textual emendations will of themselves have to disappear in face of the linguistic facts here propounded. For the rest, it must be left to Biblical critics to reconsider their position and to determine whether other hypotheses and views can still be upheld, and if so, how far. My own views regarding the composition of the Pentateuch and the problems of antiquity and unity I shall fully define after the whole material that I have in hand has been presented.

As the main object of this book is to deal with Hebrew-Egyptian relations from the linguistic aspect, many passages and allusions in the Joseph and Exodus narratives of a distinctly Egyptian colouring have been here excluded and reserved for later consideration. Any one who is more or less acquainted with all that has been published either as original research by Egyptologists or by way of compilation by Biblical scholars will realize that as a whole my book contains new material, and that words or phrases of Egyptian origin or colouring which have been previously dealt with by others, are not repeated here, unless they have to be shown to be derived from a different Egyptian origin or explained from another point of view. It

will also be seen that I did not follow the method generally adopted by Egyptologists, to construe Hebrew-Egyptian comparisons without having sufficient knowledge of Hebrew. As a matter of fact they succeeded in hitting the mark only in palpable and unmistakable cases, but in others, they conjectured relationships between words of similar sound which in reality have nothing in common, either in meaning or in origin. At the same time, words which are actually akin in both languages were overlooked, because their common etymological origin was not recognized. To this category, belong a great part of all Hebrew-Egyptian comparisons, and also those of a more recent date, contributed by A. Ember,¹ though many of his suggestions are based on a sounder knowledge of Hebrew and evolved with a finer linguistic feeling than is revealed by the others.

The present volume being new to most English readers, I think it opportune to say a word about the reception accorded to the German edition, and the kind of criticism which it encountered.

The appearance of the German book caused a stir in scientific circles and also among Bible readers in general. Of the numerous articles and reviews which appeared in scientific periodicals and leading daily papers in many countries, mainly in Germany, by far the greater number were appreciative; others critical, but keeping within legitimate bounds of impartial criticism. Many scholars, among whom are prominent representatives of Old Testament science, Assyriology and Egyptology, commented, though with some reservations, very favourably on the scope, method, and results of the book. Some of them went even farther, and enthusiastically hailed it as a new orientation, opening new vistas of far-reaching consequence.

In acknowledging my indebtedness to them for many instructive suggestions and observations, it is somewhat painful to me to have to mention that a few reviewers, misled by narrow dogmatism, directed their attacks against the book in an abusive spirit, employing tactics not very commendable in scientific discussions. I do not propose to deal with these critics, nor with those who, while ignoring the main problems, indulged in long disquisitions on points of minor importance, and who in suggesting new interpretations and etymologies instead of those proposed by me, only revealed a positive, though perhaps unconscious ignorance of the origin and semasiological development of the words under discussion. Still less am I inclined to pay any attention to certain attacks which were not calculated

¹ *Egypto-Semitic Studies*, posthumous work, edited by Frida Behnk and prefaced by Kurt Sethe, Leipzig, 1930.

to serve a scientific purpose, but designed either to support accepted, but now untenable, theories, or to uphold statements merely based on self-assumed infallibility, but which in view of the evidence brought forward in my book prove to be utterly without substance.

There are however, a few cases of criticism which make it incumbent upon me to expose them here. Some of my critics, for lack of better arguments, endeavoured to minimize the scientific standard of my work by representing it as being 'apologetic'. This is indeed a misrepresentation of the true character and aim of the book, and simply amounts to a negation of scientific objectivity altogether. Unbiased readers and students will very soon find out for themselves that my book has nothing in it of what is called 'apologetics'.

Another method of criticism which cannot be passed over in silence is the following: As every reader will realize at a glance, this volume deals only with a portion, hardly exceeding a sixth part, of the Pentateuch. I always emphasized, therefore, that the first volume only contains a small part of my materials which embrace the whole of the Pentateuch, and that consequently it can by no means be regarded as exhaustive. I further affirmed on several occasions that the ultimate exposition of my views on questions affecting the composition and antiquity of the whole of the Pentateuch should not be expected before the complete publication of my whole work. In spite of all this, a number of reviewers, disregarding these declarations, anticipated many conclusions and refuted them as if they were mine!

Special mention must be made also of the attitude taken up by some Egyptologists towards the German book. I particularly desire to point out that I owe a great part of my knowledge of Egyptian matters to the works of those Egyptologists who have most persistently adopted a sceptical standpoint with regard to a Hebrew-Egyptian relationship. Whilst I unreservedly acknowledge my indebtedness to them, I cannot refrain from expressing some disappointment at the quite incongruous fact, that strong opposition was forthcoming precisely from these Egyptologists, as they ought to have been the first to hail the important results derived from their works. That such an attitude should have been taken up by these scholars, can, I regret to say, only be explained by the fact that the abundant evidence brought forward in my book thoroughly and definitely disproved views which they had maintained with an almost 'Pharaonic' stubbornness during the past forty years, affirming again and again that there was very little to be obtained from Egypt and Egyptian for the elucidation of the Old Testament. Nevertheless, none of them went

so far in his criticism as did W. Spiegelberg in his article, *Ägyptologische Bemerkungen*, in the *Zeitschrift für Semitistik*, vol. vii, pp. 113-23. In my rejoinder [*Erwiderung*] to his comments on my book, I have shown the true nature of his challenge, and I recommend the perusal of his article together with my reply to every student who may be interested to know what that spokesman of Egyptology had to say in the field which he considered as his own scientific reserve. But all that I said there about Spiegelberg applies also to some criticism directed by a few other Egyptologists who were either admittedly inspired by his article, or by a miraculous coincidence, not uncommon among critics of minor originality, only 'accidentally' repeated his arguments and almost the identical examples selected by him from my work.

I would have preferred not to make any allusion to his article, but feel compelled to do so, because his judgement on the merits of the Egyptian part of my book is still quoted by some Old Testament scholars and Egyptologists as valid and authoritative in spite of the most devastating refutations of his arguments and 'proofs' in my rejoinder. One might have thought indeed that anyone who has a sufficient training in philological methods and a fair understanding for cultural and linguistic relations would easily realize the striking similarity between Hebrew and Egyptian in the parallels adduced from both languages.

Now a few remarks about some details of a more technical nature. For the transcription of the Egyptian texts, the customary transliteration has been adopted (see p. xxvi), only substituting *y* for *j* as is usual among English Egyptologists. The reproduction of Egyptian words and texts in hieroglyphics, originally contemplated, had to be abandoned owing to the considerable expense involved. But in order to spare Egyptologists the arduous examination of the texts some of which are not everywhere available, and to facilitate checking the comparisons suggested and the interpretation propounded, a hieroglyphic appendix is attached, containing a selection of the most important Egyptian references (pp. 1*-14*), followed by a list of the Hebrew words borrowed from Egyptian (p. 14* f.) and of proper names discussed and explained by a play on words of similar sound (pp. 15* f.). This appears all the more desirable inasmuch as in many cases the significance of an Egyptian word cannot be rightly inferred from the transcription, but only from the hieroglyphic sign itself.

As some of my critics endeavoured to lay too much stress on minute questions of Egyptian spelling and transcription, attributing to them an

importance which they could never have, it is necessary to point out against these spelling-hunters, that such questions are purely a concern of Egyptian grammar, and have no bearing whatever on Hebrew-Egyptian relationship. Besides, it is very well known among Egyptologists themselves that the usual manner of transcription is only conventional, and as I have shown in my *Erwiderung*, Egyptologists themselves do not agree, in more than one case, as to the mode of transcribing certain words. Readers should therefore not be misled into believing that the methods or the results of my investigations are in any way affected by objections of this kind which are only bound to divert attention from much more important questions.

In order to facilitate the use of the book, I deemed it useful to supply this volume itself with indexes of all the Bible passages, of the Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic, and Akkadian words, phrases, and proper names, and not to wait until the completion of the whole work. In addition, a table of phonetic equivalents in Egyptian and Hebrew, a short survey of the periods of the Egyptian language and Egyptian history, and also a list of most of the books used, are given.

Only with regard to the Egyptian and Coptic words it seemed to me more convenient to reserve the indexes to be appended to the complete work. I contemplate giving then a more elaborate index of the Egyptian words and phrases by which the Hebrew is explained and also of expressions which themselves gain in clarity through their comparison with the Hebrew. This will be followed by a list of those Coptic words which show more or less the same pronunciation as preserved in the Hebrew words borrowed from Egyptian (see pp. 50 n. 1, 98 n. 1, 185, 260 n. 2). The study of Coptic words from this point of view is not only of very great importance for Hebrew, but also for estimating the value of the Coptic vocalization as indication for the pronunciation of Egyptian, especially from the New Kingdom onwards.

Although the meaning of almost every Egyptian word or phrase is substantiated by one or more examples from Egyptian texts, reference is made to Erman-Grapow's *Ägyptisches Handwörterbuch*, 1921, in some instances also to the larger *Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache*, 1926-32, in so far as it was already available during the publication of this book. As for the Coptic words, Spiegelberg's *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, 1921, has been used because it is the only one handy and comprehensive, though not always reliable. In many cases mention is made also of the different forms of Coptic words in various dialects (see p. xxv), especially in cases where the one or the other form more or less agrees with the vocalization of the Hebrew words borrowed from the Egyptian.

The hieroglyphic appendix is the same as that used in the German book after it had been slightly altered and adjusted to the English edition.

One word more as to the elaboration and substantiation of statements or suggestions made in connexion with Hebrew or Egyptian matters. The many-sided nature and diversity of my research work made it necessary to enter at some length into considerations which might appear superfluous to experts in the various fields. Thus to an Egyptologist the explanation and substantiation of the Egyptian may in some cases appear unnecessarily elaborate; and similarly to the Biblical scholars in the case of the Hebrew. Nevertheless, I had to pay regard to various classes of students and readers, and thus many examples that would be redundant for Egyptologists will be welcomed by non-Egyptologists, and *vice versa*, the somewhat elaborate treatment of Biblical passages and subjects will be found useful by all those who are less familiar with Old Testament research.

Here I should like to acknowledge my indebtedness to Frau H. von Halle, collaborator in the Berlin *Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache*, for having assisted me in revising and checking the Egyptian references; to Mr. Maurice Myers, London, whose advice and suggestions have been very helpful to me whilst preparing and revising the English version, and to Professor John E. MacFadyen, Glasgow, for his kindness in reading the proofs.

In presenting this book to the English-Speaking world, I hope that my readers will be guided in their judgement by that spirit of truth-seeking which I have endeavoured to follow in my Biblical investigations since I began, in my earliest youth, to study the Bible in the Land of the Bible.

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ABBREVIATIONS

THE following index does not contain a general Bibliography of the works mentioned in the book, but only abbreviations of the most frequently quoted book titles, Periodicals, or text editions. As the quotations from Egyptian or Akkadian are mostly rendered by the Author independently of existing translations, the references to such translations are merely intended to enable also those who are neither Egyptologists nor Assyriologists to consult the texts quoted.

- Admon. = A. H. Gardiner, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage, from a Hieratic Papyrus in Leiden*, Leipzig 1909.
- A. E. cf. Müller, A. E.
- Äg. W. B. = *Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache im Auftrage der deutschen Akademien* herausgegeben von Adolf Erman und Hermann Grapow, Leipzig 1926 ff.
- AJSL. = *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Chicago.
- Akk. Fremdw. = H. Zimmern, *Akkadische Fremdwörter als Beweis für babylonischen Kultureinfluß*, 2nd ed. Leipzig 1917.
- Amenemope = *Das Weisheitsbuch des Amenemope aus dem Papyrus 10474 des British Museum* hrsg. und erklärt von H. O. Lange, Kopenhagen 1925.
- Amonhymnus Cairo = A. Mariette, *Pap. de Boulaq*, II, pl. 11-13.
- Amonhymnus Leiden = *Leiden J. 350*, edited by A. H. Gardiner, *Äg. Zeitschr.* 42 (1905) 12-42.
- Anast. I = A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Hieratic Texts. Series I: Literary Texts of the New Kingdom. Part I: The Pap. Anastasi I and the Pap. Koller*, Leipzig 1911.
- Anast. I-IX = *Select papyri in the Hieratic Character from the Collections of the British Museum*, London 1842, 1844.
- Ani, or Papyrus Ani = *Facsimile of the Papyrus of Ani in the British Museum* (ed. P. Le Page Renouf), London 1890.
- Annales = *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*.
- AOT. = *Greßmann-Ungnad-Ranke. Altorientalische Texte und Bilder zum Alten Testamente*, Tübingen 1909.—AOT² = 2nd edition 1926-8.
- Apophisbuch, or *Apophis*, or *Nesi Amsu* = E. A. W. Budge, *Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, London, 1910, pp. XII ff., 9 ff, and pl. VIII ff.
- ÄZ. = *Zeitschrift für ägypt. Sprache und Altertumskunde*, 1863 ff.
- Bauer = F. Vogelsang, *Kommentar z. d. Klagen des Bauern*, in: *Unters. z. Gesch. u. Altertumskunde Ägypt.*, edited by K. Sethe, Vol. VI, Leipzig 1913.
- BD² = *The Book of the Dead, Facsimiles of the Papyri of Hunefer, Anhai, Kerāsher, and Netchemet, with supplementary text from the pap. of Nu.* 1899, English translation by E. A. W. Budge, 2nd edition.)

- Bergmann Ewigk. = v. Bergmann, Das Buch vom Durchwandeln der Ewigkeit, in: Sitzungsberichte d. kais. Acad. d. W., phil.-hist. Klasse, Vol. LXXXI, Part III, June 1877, Vienna 1877.
- Bildl. Cf. Grapow.
- Brugsch, Ägyptol. = Brugsch, H., Die Ägyptologie. Abriß der Entzifferungen und Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der ägyptischen Schrift, Sprache und Altertumskunde, Leipzig 1891.
- Brugsch, Oase = Reise nach der großen Oase El Khargeh in der Libyschen Wüste, Leipzig 1878.
- Brugsch, Thes. = Thesaurus inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum, I-VI, Leipzig 1883-91.
- Brugsch, WB. = Hieroglyphisch-Demotisches Wörterbuch, 7 Vols., Leipzig 1867-82.
- Budge, The Gods = E. A. W. Budge, The Gods of the Egyptians, or Studies in Egyptian mythology, London 1904, 2 vols.
- Budge, The Nile = E. A. W. Budge, The Nile. Notes for travellers in Egypt, London.
- Burch. Altkan. = Max Burchardt, Die altkanaanäischen Fremdworte und Eigennamen im Ägyptischen, Parts 1-2, Leipzig 1909-10.
- Capart, Thèbes = J. Capart, Thèbes, la gloire d'un grand passé, Brussels 1925.
- Chabas, Maximes d'Ani = L'Égyptologie 1874-76.
- Davies Amarna = N. de Garis Davies, The Rock Tombs of El Amarna, I-VI, London 1903-8.
- Del. Paradies = Friedrich Delitzsch, Wo lag das Paradies?, Leipzig 1881.
- Delitzsch, WB. or HWB. = Friedr. Delitzsch. Assyrisches Handwörterbuch. Leipzig 1896.
- Ebers Ägypten = G. Ebers, Ägypten und die Bücher Moses, Vol. I, Leipzig 1868.
- Edfu = J. Dümichen, Altägyptische Tempelinschriften, vol. 1, Leipzig 1867.
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- Erman-Ranke = A. Erman, Ägypten und ägypt. Leben in Altertum, neu bearbeitet von H. Ranke, Tübingen 1923.
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- Erman, Reden, Rufe, etc. = A. Erman, Reden, Rufe, und Lieder auf Gräberbildern des Alten Reiches, Berlin 1919 (Abh. d. Berl. Akad. d. Wiss.).
- Erman, Relig. = A. Erman, Die ägyptische Religion, 2nd edition (Handbücher d. Kgl. Mus. zu Berlin) Berlin 1909.
- Erman, Wortforschung = A. Erman, Zur ägypt. Wortforschung, I-III, Sitzungsber. Berl. Akad. 1907, 400-15; 1912, 904-63.
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- Festschr. Ebers = Aegyptiaca, Festschrift für Georg Ebers zum 1. März 1897, Leipzig 1897.
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- Ges.-Buhl = Wilhelm Gesenius, Hebr. u. aram. Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament, bearbeitet von Frants Buhl, 16th. ed., Leipzig, 1915, or in the English adaptation by F. Browne, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, Oxford, 1907.
- GGA = Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen.
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- Lit. Cf. Erman.

- Mar. Ab. = Auguste Mariette, Abydos, I-II, Paris 1869, 1880.
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 MK. = Middle Kingdom, 11-13 Dyn. from about 2000-1800 B.C.
 Müller, A. E. = W. M. Müller, Asien und Europa nach altägypt. Denkmälern, Leipzig, 1893.
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 Naville Totb. Éd. N., Das ägyptische Tottenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie, Berlin 1886. Cf. also Gefl. Sonne.
 Nesi Amsu, see Apophis.
 NK. = New Kingdom, 18-21 Dyn. 1555-945 B.C.
 O.K. = Old Kingdom, 3-6 Dyn. from circa 2900-2400 B.C.
 OLZ. = Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.
 Pap. Abbott in: Select Papyri, Part II, pl. 1-8, London, 1860.
 Pap. Ani, cf. Ani.
 Pap. d'Orb. = Papyrus d'Orbiney (British Mus.), E. A. W. Budge, an Egyptian Reading Book, 1896, pp. 1-40, also in G. Möller, Hierat. Lesest. II, S. 1-20.
 Pap. Ebers = G. Ebers, 2 vols. Leipzig, 1875.
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 Pap. Harris = Facsimile of an Egyptian Hieratic Papyrus of the Reign of Ramses III, now in the Brit. Mus., London, 1876.
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 Pap. Koller, see Anast. 1.
 Pap. Lansing = Papyrus Lansing, eine ägyptische Schulhandschrift der 20. Dynastie, hrsg. und erkl. von Ad. Erman und H. O. Lange, Kopenhagen, 1925.
 Pap. Prisse = G. Jéquier, Le papyrus Prisse et ses variantes, Paris, 1911, and Eug. Dévaud, Les maximes de Ptahhotep d'après le papyrus Prisse etc., Fribourg, 1916.

- Pap. Turin P. et R. = Papyrus de Turin, facsimilés par F. Rossi et publiés par W. Pleyte, Leiden, 1869-76.
 Peyron, suppl. = Auctaria (to A. Peyron's Lexicon linguae Copticae, Turin 1835) ex Ephemeride Aegyptiaca Berolinensi excerpta, Berlin 1896.
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 Ranke, Materialien = H. Ranke, Keilschriftliches Material zur altägypt. Vokalisation, Abh. Berl. Akad. 1910.
 Rec. = Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes, Paris, I, 1870; II ff. 1880 ff.
 Records = J. H. Breasted, Ancient Records of Egypt. Historical documents, Vol. 1-5, Chicago, 1906-1907.
 Rev. égypt. = Revue égyptologique, Paris.
 Roeder, Urkunden = Günther R., Urkunden zur Religion des alten Ägypten, Jena, 1915.
 Sall. I-III in: Select Pap. I, London, 1841.
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 Schiffb. = Geschichte des Schiffbrüchigen, W. Golénischeff, Les Papyrus hiératiques N^{os} 1115, 1116 A et 1116 B de l'Ermitage Impérial à St. Petersburg, 1913. See also Erman.
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 Sethe-Partsch = K. Sethe and J. Partsch, Demotische Urkunden zum ägypt. Bürgschaftsrechte. Leipzig, 1920.
 Sinuhe = A. H. Gardiner, Die Erzählung des Sinuhe und die Hirtengeschichte (in: Literar. Texte des mittleren Reiches, ed. by Ad. Erman, vol 2), Leipzig, 1909, and his Notes on the story of Sinuhe, Paris, 1916.
 Siut = F. Ll. Griffith, The inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rifeh, London, 1889.
 Spiegelb. WB. see K. W. B.
 Spr. d. Pent. = A. S. Yahuda, Die Sprache des Pentateuch in ihren Beziehungen zum Ägyptischen, vol. I, Berlin, 1929.
 Tel el Amarna = J. A. Knudtzon, Die El-Amarna Tafeln, in: Vorderasiatische Bibliothek, Leipzig, 1907-12.
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 TSBA = Transactions of the Society of Bibl. Archaeology.
 Urk. = Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums herausgegeben von Georg Steindorff, Leipzig 1903 ff.
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 Urk. II. = Kurt Sethe, Hieroglyphische Urkunden der griechisch-römischen Zeit, 3 parts.
 Urk. III = Heinrich Schäfer, Urkunden der älteren Äthiopienkönige, 2 parts.
 Urk. IV = Kurt Sethe, Urkunden der 18. Dynastie, 4 volumes (= 16 parts).
 Urk. V = Hermann Grapow, Religiöse Urkunden. Ausgewählte Texte des Totenbuchs. 3 parts.

Urk. Roed. : see Roeder.

VAB = Vorderasiatische Bibliothek.

Wen-Amon = Rec., vol. XXI, pp. 74 ff.

Westcar = Ad. Erman, Die Märchen des Papyrus Westcar, 2 vols, Berlin, 1890.

(Mitteilungen aus d. orient. Samml. der Kgl. Mus. zu Berlin, parts 5 and 6).

Veziar = K. Sethe, Einsetzung des Veziars, Leipzig 1909 (Untersuch. z. Gesch. u. Altertumskunde Ägypt. V. 2).

Vogels. = Friedr. Vogelsang, Kommentar zu den Klagen des Bauern, in: Untersuch. zur Gesch. u. Altertumskunde Ägyptens, hrsg. v. Sethe, vol. VI, Leipzig 1913. See also: Bauer.

Zaub. f. M. u. K. = Ad. Erman, Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind, Abhandl. der Kgl. Preuß. Akad. d. Wiss. 1901.

ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

Zimmern, KAT² = E. Schrader, Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament, 2nd edition revised by Winckler and Zimmern.

The Coptic dialects are indicated after Coptic words by :

A = Akhmimic.

B = Bohairic.

F = Fayyūmic.

S = Sahidic. (š'idī)

PERIODS OF THE EGYPTIAN LANGUAGE

1. Old Egyptian : (a) The language of the Pyramid texts.
(b) The language of historical, legal, and other documents of the Old Kingdom.
2. Middle Egyptian : The 'classical' written language of the Middle Kingdom and of the XVIIIth Dynasty (until the time of Amenophis IV), used right on into the latest period in religious texts and official monuments.
3. New Egyptian : The written vernacular language of the New Kingdom, more especially after the XIXth Dynasty.
4. Demotic (= Dem.) : The written language of the Saïtic, Persian, and, particularly, of the Graeco-Roman periods.
5. Coptic (= Copt.) : The language of the Christian period, developed from the Egyptian of an earlier period, written in the Greek alphabet with some additional letters of its own.

The four principal dialects of Coptic are :

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------|
| (a) Sahidic (Ša'idī) (= S.) | } Upper Egyptian. |
| (b) Akhmimic (= A.) | |
| (c) Fayyūmic (= F.) | Middle Egyptian. |
| (d) Bohairic (= B.) | Lower Egyptian. |

DESIGNATIONS OF THE DIFFERENT EGYPTIAN SCRIPTS

1. Hieroglyphic, picture-writing in temples and necropolises, carved on stone or painted in colour.
2. Hieratic, the cursive writing in ink on papyrus, and sometimes on potsherds (ostraca); it was actually in use as early as the Middle Kingdom.
3. Demotic, the *abbreviated* cursive writing which developed from Hieratic; it appears already during the XXVth Dynasty, but comes into general use during the Graeco-Roman period.
























PERIODS OF EGYPTIAN HISTORY

1. Old Kingdom, III-VI Dynasty, from 2900-2400 B.C.
2. Middle Kingdom, XI-XIII Dynasty, from 2200-1800 B.C.; after the XIII Dynasty, about 1790 B.C., begins the rule of the Hyksos, who were driven out of Egypt by Ahmose, king of Thebes, in 1580 B.C.
3. New Kingdom, XVIII-XXI Dynasty, from 1555-945 B.C.; the XVIII Dynasty begins with Amenophis I in 1555 and ends shortly after Amenophis IV, after 1380 B.C.; the XIX Dynasty attained the height of its power with Sethos I in 1350, the XX Dynasty with Rameses III in 1200 B.C.
4. The Saïtic period, opening with the XXV Dynasty, dates from just before the end of the eighth century B.C.
5. Later periods. In 525 B.C. Egypt was conquered by the Persians, in 332 B.C. by the Greeks, and in 30 B.C. by the Romans.

The period of the New Kingdom, particularly the time of the XVIII and XIX Dynasties, is the most important for us, because New Egyptian is chiefly concerned in our investigations into the linguistic relations of the Pentateuch to Egyptian.

THE EGYPTIAN ALPHABET AND THE PHONETIC EQUIVALENTS IN HEBREW.

Only such cases as can be adduced with certainty are given here. Rare or unique cases are indicated by (). The order of the Hebrew equivalent letters is according to the frequency of their correspondence with Egyptian. The correspondence of some sounds, though etymologically different, such as Hebr. *ו* and Eg. *d*; Hebr. *שׁ* and Eg. *h*; or *שׂ* and Eg. *s*, &c., may be explained by the fact that the Egyptian sounds have become merged, e.g. *d* and *ḏ*; *h* and *ḥ*, *s* and *š*, &c.

<p><i>י</i>  = א, ה, (ג), י</p> <p><i>ז</i>  = י, א, ה, (ע), (ו), (ב)</p> <p><i>ו</i>  = ו, (ב)</p> <p><i>ב</i>  = ב</p> <p><i>פ</i>  = פ</p> <p><i>ף</i>  = פ</p> <p><i>מ</i>  = מ, נ</p> <p><i>נ</i>  = נ, ל, ג, (ב)</p> <p><i>ר</i>  = ר, ל</p> <p><i>ה</i>  = ה</p> <p><i>ח</i>  = ח, (ע)</p>	<p><i>ח</i>  = ח, (ע), (שׂ)</p> <p><i>ח</i>  = ח, שׂ</p> <p><i>ס</i>  = ס, (ו)</p> <p><i>שׂ</i>  = שׂ, ס</p> <p><i>שׁ</i>  = שׁ, שׂ</p> <p><i>כ</i>  = כ, (ג)</p> <p><i>כ</i>  = כ, (ג)</p> <p><i>ג</i>  = ג, ק</p> <p><i>ט</i>  = ט, (ע)</p> <p><i>ז</i>  = ז, ט, (ג), (ב)</p> <p><i>ד</i>  = ד, ט, ת, (ו)</p> <p><i>ḏ</i>  = ḏ, ט, ג, (ו), (ג)</p>
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Since Egyptian, like most Semitic languages, survives only in consonantal writing, and the pronunciation is unknown to us, it is customary, when reading Egyptian texts, to insert an *e*-vowel after each consonant; thus, for example, we read *medet* for *md.t* 'word'; *ikhēt* for *ih.t* 'thing, matter'; *meriyet* for *mry.t* 'tear', &c.; *w*, when final, is pronounced like *u*, *i* like *a*; e.g. *shebu* for *šbw*, *wawa* for *wrw*.

INTRODUCTION¹

DURING the many years in which I have been engaged in modern Biblical research, I have become more and more convinced that the literary, religious-historical, and especially linguistic problems of the Bible cannot be conclusively solved by archaeological and literary-historical methods only. These methods, it is true, have contributed very much to the elucidation of important questions; nevertheless, it is only on a basis of comparative linguistics—so far as this is feasible—that a final solution of such problems can be attained, since this provides the only sure ground on which extravagant hypotheses and far-fetched theories can be kept within reasonable bounds.

In all my Biblical studies I have had the following two facts continually in my mind:—

1. During the two thousand five hundred years of their history with which we are fairly familiar, the people of Israel voluntarily or involuntarily led a wandering life; and indeed not as an uncivilized nomadic tribe, but as a people, seeking, creating, and transmitting spiritual and material culture did they wander from nation to nation, from land to land.

2. Through all the different periods of Jewish civilization, it was in the first place the language of the peoples among whom they dwelt that exerted the most intensive influence upon them. Although the Hebrews with their staunch conservatism preserved the Hebrew language throughout the centuries, in its original form and syntax, this language, even at times when only in literary and scholarly use, did not by any means cease to live in their midst but was continually enriched by the adoption of new elements through close contact with many other peoples and the most varied cultural surroundings. In the development of the Hebrew language, one can even follow the very route of Israel's wanderings during the last twenty-five centuries. In its expansion and enrichment, we can see reflected the fresh cultural values acquired in all periods. All the newly created conceptions, all the borrowed or imitated expressions, phrases and modes of speech, as well as the adopted, partly hebraized foreign words, are to be found embodied in the language and worked into its texture. Thus there are Aramaic, Assyro-Babylonian, Persian, Greek, Latin, and Arabic elements, finally even elements from modern languages in their most recent

¹ For biblical references attention may be drawn to the note on p. 302.

developments. And from ancient Oriental times and classical antiquity down to our day, it has always been the language of the most civilized peoples of the world that has exerted the most powerful and penetrating influence on the Hebrew tongue.

The most striking, nay, astonishing feature in all this is the creative energy of the Hebrew linguistic genius. For in all these transformations under the influence of languages of diverse origins, Hebrew, despite the many heterogeneous elements that impinged upon it, always proceeded creatively, in that it recoinced the foreign elements in its own spirit and fitted them to its own linguistic usage; so much so that the newly acquired treasures were so easily assimilated to the older store that their foreign origin can hardly be detected.

From these facts I was led to argue as follows: If the Biblical data concerning the wanderings of the Hebrews from the beginnings of their history, when the patriarchs went forth from Southern Babylonia through Aram to Canaan, until the reconquest of Canaan after the Exodus from Egypt, are correct; further, if it is correct that the Pentateuch originated in the Exodus period just before the return of the Hebrews to Canaan: then it should be possible to discover in Hebrew strong traces of the languages of the lands in which the Hebrews sojourned in those times, more especially of Akkadian and Egyptian, then the richest and most highly developed languages on both sides of Canaan.¹

Now Assyriologists have long ago discovered the Assyro-Babylonian elements in the Bible, and hence rightly concluded that those portions of the Pentateuch in which Assyro-Babylonian traces are clearest, such as parts of Genesis, must have originated in a period when the Hebrews were in immediate contact with Babylonia. As is well known, according to the Bible there were two periods in which the Hebrews were closely connected with Babylonia: first in the time of the patriarchs, about the eighteenth century B.C., and secondly in the Babylonian exile in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. As, however, Biblical critics of pronounced Assyriological orientation are of opinion that the first Babylonian period must be rejected as unhistorical, if not altogether legendary, they are left with the second

¹ When Assyriologists speak of 'Akkadian' they mean both languages, the Assyrian and Babylonian together, whereas 'Babylonian' includes also Sumerian, which was alive before it was reduced to oblivion by Assyrian at the beginning of the second millennium B.C. Thus 'Akkadian' is to be taken as a philological, 'Babylonian' more as an ethnogeographical collective term. This is always to be borne in mind, especially when we discuss *Akkadian* elements taken from the Assyrian or Babylonian *languages*, and the *Babylonian* origin and sources from which certain portions or features of the Genesis stories and narratives are derived.

Babylonian period as the only possible time of origin for these portions of the Pentateuch, and in fact they are definitely regarded by them as products of the Babylonian exile.

My studies in this direction, however, have more and more convinced me that this later period cannot be taken into consideration for the origin of the Pentateuch, on the following grounds: such books of the Bible as Ezekiel, Daniel, and partly also Ezra and Nehemiah, which were admittedly composed during and immediately after the Exile, reveal in language and style such an unmistakable Babylonian influence that these newly entered foreign elements leap to the eye.¹ And not only the language, but the conditions depicted, as well as many of the religious conceptions, make this so palpable that no doubt as to the intrinsic connexion with Babylonia can exist, any more than it can be doubted that these works can have originated in Babylonian surroundings and, as stated in the books themselves, during and immediately after the Babylonian Exile. On the other hand, however, in the first part of the Genesis narratives, where traces of an original connexion with Babylonian myths are unmistakable, Babylonian influence in the language is so minute as to make us wonder how it is possible for such stories, pointing so distinctly to Babylonia, and containing, *inter alia*, so ancient an Akkadian expression as תהום (Gen. 1, 2. 7, 11. 8, 2), to show so little linguistic relationship with the cognate Babylonian myths. Even in the Flood-story, in which Babylonian elements are so apparent, nay, even in the phrases which reveal an almost literal agreement with the Akkadian texts, the linguistic relationship is extremely meagre. Moreover, these parts of Genesis include so many elements totally alien to the Babylonian, not only in content but more especially in language, that the question of their origin forces itself upon us, and in particular as to whether the non-Babylonian elements were not later additions, so that the Akkadian elements could be regarded as mere reminiscences from an earlier period. All of which raises a host of new difficulties.

For all these reasons and others set forth in the Second Part (p. 106-118), I became more than ever convinced: first, that both the peculiar character of the Akkadian elements in the Pentateuch as well as the origin of the Akkadian sources point to a much earlier period than that of the Exile; secondly, that not even those portions of the Pentateuch which most strongly evince Akkadian influence, like the Flood-story, can be explained by a Babyl. environment alone, much less other portions of Genesis which reveal far slighter relationship with Babylonian; and thirdly, that the meagreness and paucity

¹ Of course, the two latter books, like the Book of Esther, contain also many Persian elements. But this question does not enter into the sphere of our present considerations.

of the Akkadian elements and their isolated appearance in Genesis can only be explained as a receding to make room for new foreign elements that penetrated later, so that they must be regarded as a survival from the first Babylonian epoch, i.e. from the age of the patriarchs.

If this line of investigation brings us to closer grips with our thesis, we have still to solve the question whether among those new foreign elements superimposed upon the Babylonian, Egyptian elements may be discerned.

Before approaching this question, however, we must raise a number of other important points, namely: when and under what circumstances did the Canaanite dialect adopted by the Hebrews become a literary language? When and where are the first stages of this development perceptible and the literary beginnings to be placed? Under what possible cultural and literary conditions could this language achieve its individual character and that perfection revealed in the Pentateuch? And further, if the Pentateuch really represents the first product of this new literary language, and really originated at the time of the Exodus, before the conquest of Canaan, must not the Hebrew language already *at that time* have attained this high degree of perfection? And if this be so, under what influence and in what environment could this have taken place?¹

If we consider how a cultured language develops and if we follow its growth, as far as possible, from its beginnings as a mere primitive spoken dialect to its full development as a literary language, we find that this generally proceeds in one of two ways:

1. The development may be autochthonous and genuine; it proceeds under specific local conditions, and attains perfection under the direct or indirect influence of more highly civilized neighbouring countries and languages simultaneously with the material and intellectual progress of the people concerned. In this case the process is slow and the language takes a long time to pass through all the phases of development to reach the point where it acquires its final literary form.

2. The development is determined more by individual than by local conditions, whether it occurs at home or in a foreign land, whether under the influence of one or more foreign peoples; it occurs when a highly gifted people, whose civilization and language are, however, on a low level, suddenly finds itself transferred to a higher cultural centre, when it rapidly raises itself from its own primitive state to a higher degree of culture and

¹ That Canaanite was the original dialect adopted by the Hebrews, is proved not merely by the fact that in the Bible the whole country is always called the 'Land of Canaan', but also by Is. 19, 18 where Hebrew, which at that time was called יהודית 'Judean' (2 Kings 18, 26), is archaically designated as שפת כנען 'Language of Canaan'.

civilization. Far from allowing its individuality to be absorbed by the foreign people, it continues to live its own life in the new environment. It endeavours to adopt everything that was new or hitherto inaccessible to it. Hand in hand therewith it seeks to extend its own vernacular under the influence of the more highly developed foreign tongue in the new surroundings, enriching this vernacular by adopting new elements, rendered homogeneous by a process of close adaptation and thus perfecting it as a cultured, literary language. In this case the language rapidly passes through all the stages and intermediate steps of development, climbs one rung after another until it attains perfection and stabilization, becoming classical for all succeeding ages.

This process is still more rapidly accomplished if in the language under development a great epoch-making work is produced, which effects a violent revolution in intellectual, moral and political life, as may for instance be observed in the case of the Arabic language. Here the primitive dialect of the Koreish tribe in Mecca, which was extremely poor in intellectual and cultural values, rapidly rose to an infinitely higher level through the intimacy of the founder of the Islamic religion with the more highly cultured Jewish and Christian circles in Medina; and in the extraordinarily short period of half a century, through association and co-operation with the conquered peoples under the domination of Islam, it became one of the richest, most comprehensive, and elastic languages in the world.

To return to Hebrew: while modern Biblical scholars unconditionally accept the identity of the Hebrew language with Canaanite, they are not quite explicit as to how they conceive the mode of development of Hebrew and the conditions under which it completed its growth into a literary language; they seem, however, tacitly to assume that this development was initiated and completed among the Hebrews themselves in their own land, and thus followed the first of the two processes outlined above. That anything like a literary language or literary activity existed before the complete conquest of Canaan by the Hebrews is regarded by the modern Bible critics as out of the question, chiefly because this would not accord with their views of the religious evolution in Israel. Thus everything leads them to a conclusion diametrically opposed to every Biblical statement about the composition of any part of the Pentateuch, and to rank it on linguistic and literary-historical grounds, as quite a late product.

We do not propose to enter here upon a discussion of the worth and practicability of this method, for it would mean merely repeating all the arguments and counter-arguments which for decades have been raised by supporters and opponents of the hypothesis advanced by Bible critics.

We prefer to confine ourselves to purely linguistic considerations and to follow the course already indicated. There is, on the one hand, not the slightest ground for assuming that the Hebrew language only began its development after the conquest of Canaan, when Israel was already settled in the country; on the other hand, a discussion as to whether previously, say among the Canaanites themselves, a language of a literary status was already in existence, is rendered superfluous by the fact that the princes ruling in Canaan in the fourteenth century B.C. used, in their correspondence with the king of Egypt, not the Canaanite, but the Akkadian language. We have, therefore, every reason for inclining to the view that the language of the Hebrews followed the second line of development, and this from the very moment when Canaanite was adopted by the forbears of Israel, so that it straightway began its evolution as a language peculiar to the Hebrew race alone, continuing completely divorced from the co-operation of any other indigenous people.

Assuming this to be the case, we have to revert to the following argument: if by comparison with the Egyptian it could be proved that Egyptian influence on Hebrew was so extensive that the development and perfection of this language can only be accounted for and explained by that influence, then it would be clear that it can only have happened in a common Hebrew-Egypt. environment; and as a close intimacy between Hebrews and Egyptians prevailed in no other period than that of Israel's sojourn in Egypt, it is only in the Egyptian epoch of Israel that Hebrew would gradually have begun to develop into a literary language, until it reached the perfection which we encounter in the Pentateuch. Let us then turn towards Egypt.

As we are told in the Joseph and Exodus stories, the Hebrews spent a long time in Egypt (Ex. 12, 40) as a tribe apart (Ex. 1, 8 f. etc.), with their own manners and specific customs (Gen. 43, 32. Ex. 8, 22), with their own worship (Ex. 5, 17. 8, 21 f.), living in a separate area assigned to them in the Delta near the Asiatic border (Gen. 47, 6 and 11. Ex. 8, 18. 10, 23 etc.), with their own organization (Ex. 4, 29) as a self-contained entity in the midst of an Egyptian environment.¹ From all these and similar passages it is clear that the Hebrews were regarded by the Egyptians as an alien people and were so treated, not merely in the first period of their immigration, when they were singularly favoured under Joseph, but at a far later date, when they formed an important and influential element (Ex. 1, 9), more especially during the period of their oppression and servitude. In

¹ The Hebrews were not the only foreign tribe to settle in the Delta. We know of other Asiatic tribes who lived in Egypt in the frontier districts, and who were tolerated as foreign colonies by the Egyptians, cf. e.g. Records III, § 638.

this long period the Hebrews cannot possibly have escaped the influence of Egyptian culture and Egyptian life, but must, on the contrary, (Gen. 50, 2 f. and 11, Ex. 1, 16) in spite of their segregation, have adapted themselves from the very start to Egyptian conditions, conceptions, and customs. The dialect which they brought with them from their Canaanite home likewise in the course of this period could not but have absorbed Egyptian elements, and in adaptation to the Egyptian have continued to develop, to extend, and even to modify its original grammatical form and syntactical structure.

Any attempt to decide these questions, however, depends upon the following points: if it can be proved that all the features which in a general sense mark off a literary language from a primitive dialect, namely those constituents of the language which reflect a higher cultural level, and that the meanings of words which indicate a higher stage in linguistic development reveal the spirit and style of Egyptian, then it may be taken as conclusive that it was under the influence of Egyptian that Hebrew soared from a primitive Canaanite dialect into a literary language. Further, if this influence is found to be extensive and distinctly traceable in all matters dealt with in the Pentateuch, so that there can neither be a question of mere accident, nor—as still alleged by many Egyptologists—of a faint influence, reminiscent of a dim past long preceding the composition of the Pentateuch, it will be evident that the language of the Pent. can only have been formed in this Egyptian environment, and *eo ipso* that this can only have taken place during the period when Israel was in Egypt.

Now in a more special sense the dependence of one language upon another is chiefly revealed in the following phenomena: first in the adoption of loanwords; then in the coinage of new words and expressions, technical terms, idioms, turns of speech, metaphors, and phrases quite in the spirit of and even in literal accordance with the other language, in which case the characteristic of such new formations is that they are alien to the spirit of the adopting language, and to the conceptions and institutions of the people speaking it, but reflecting throughout the spirit of the other language and the conditions of the alien environment; finally, in the adoption of grammatical elements and adaptation to some syntactical rules of the alien language, so that even in structure and style there is a close assimilation in many respects.

The purpose of the present work is to show that all this is actually the case in the relation of Hebrew to Egyptian in the widest measure. Our method of procedure will be on the following lines: in the first place Egyptian influence will be demonstrated in a particularly characteristic portion of the Pentateuch. As in our case, however, the application of our

environment theory can only be valid if the Egyptian influence is vividly revealed in that portion of the Pentateuch which tells of the life of the Hebrews among the Egyptians, we begin with the Joseph and Exodus narratives. We designate this portion 'The *Egyptian* Epoch in the Pentateuch' as this best denotes the relation of its content to the Egyptian period and environment. In the course of our demonstration it will be proved by numerous examples from language and subject-matter that the Egyptian environment is most strikingly reflected in the Joseph and Exodus narratives not merely in single words, expressions, and idioms, but in the use of whole sentences, formulae, standing phrases, stylistic forms, and so forth.¹

From the Joseph and Exodus narratives we shall proceed to deal with other portions of the Pentateuch in separate sections. The choice of these portions is determined by the period to which they are assigned according to the indications of the Pentateuch, in order to illustrate, in consonance with our environment theory, how much each is a faithful reflection of that period and the respective linguistic environment.

We first turn to that portion of the Pentateuch which tells of primeval time and of the events stated to have occurred before Israel's sojourn in Egypt. This portion comprises the Genesis stories and patriarchal narratives dealt with in a section which we designate as the 'Pre-Egyptian Epoch in the Pentateuch'. Pursuing our method, we here, too, first investigate the elements originating from the Babyl. environment, discuss the linguistic relations to Akkadian, and then attempt to examine the origin and nature of the other elements alien to Babylonian. It will be shown that in the most important of these stories there are, beside Akkadian, also abundant Egyptian elements; that here, too, Egyptian loanwords occur, as well as idioms and phrases considered by Biblical scholars as typical of this portion of the Pentateuch, but which can only

¹ It may be mentioned that Ed. Naville has discerned a much more marked influence of the Egyptian language in the Pentateuch, mainly in this part, than have previous Egyptologists. As, however, he was unable to imagine that at the time of the Exodus there could have been a literary Hebrew language, he took refuge in the strange hypothesis that the Pentateuch, like the Tell-el-Amarna Tablets of the fourteenth century B.C., was first composed in the Akkadian language and in cuneiform writing by Moses, and then after many centuries was translated by Ezra into Hebrew. Cf. *Archaeology of the Old Testament: Was the Old Testament written in Hebrew?* London, 1913 and *The Text of the Old Testament* (Schweich Lectures, viii, 1915). He is followed in the same direction by M. G. Kyle in his book *Moses and the Monuments*, 1920. Although he does not go much further than Naville, he emphasizes the strong Egyptian influence, adding a number of philological and archaeological parallels. On another occasion we shall deal more fully with the contributions made by earlier and more recent Egyptologists towards the elucidation of Hebrew-Egyptian relationship.

be explained from Egyptian; finally that there are other highly significant Egyptian influences on the composition, style, and mode of narration, and on many conceptions concerning the Creation, Paradise, the Flood, and even the Tower of Babel.

In this volume we chiefly confine ourselves to a proof of the relations to Egyptian of the two portions above mentioned, and reserve for the second volume a discussion of the remaining portions of the Pentateuch and a complete delineation of the process by which Hebrew was perfected as a literary language within the chronological and geographical limits stated in the Pentateuch itself. We nevertheless wish to make it clear at once that also in the remaining portions of the Pentateuch Egyptian elements are traceable to the same extent and with the same frequency, but that to these elements others reflecting a quite different environment are added. By a careful sifting and sorting of the linguistic peculiarities in many portions of Numbers, and especially of Deuteronomy—which, according to indications there given, were compiled during the wanderings in the Sinai peninsula, in the desert, and finally in the 'Arābā, close to the Jordan—we meet with many words and expressions which must have been taken from the peoples and tribes with whom the Israelites came into contact in those areas. This is evident since, on the one hand, these elements are peculiar to these portions, not occurring anywhere else in the Pentateuch, nor in later Biblical writings, and since, on the other hand, they are proper to the Bedouin dialects spoken in those neighbourhoods. That such linguistic elements, still alive among the Bedouin tribes, could go so far back as the time of the wanderings of Israel in the desert, is to be explained by the stability of customs and conditions of life among the desert inhabitants which have remained unchanged for thousands of years. The very fact that these elements comprise words and expressions which, on the one hand, occur in the Pentateuch and, on the other, are peculiar to the language of the Bedouin tribes of the Sinai Peninsula and Trans-Jordania, is in itself a strong indication both of their great antiquity and of their direct relationship.

This observation may suffice for the present. Let us now pass on and sum up in a general way the results of our investigations, so far as the evidence already presented in this book allows:

(1) The patriarchs took with them from Babylonia to Canaan an Aramaic dialect strongly sprinkled with Akkadian elements. This influenced the Canaanite dialect which they then adopted, inasmuch as reminiscences of Babylonian myths and Akkadian expressions, reflecting Babylonian conditions, passed into the Canaanite. This was the time

when the Canaanite dialect, through its assimilation by the Patriarchs to their Aramaic language, which, under the influence of the cultured tongues of Mesopotamia, had itself reached a higher stage of development, began to rise above the level of primitive expression. This was the very moment when Hebrews and Canaanites went their own ways, and when out of the Canaanite a separate dialect began to develop among the Hebrews.¹

(2) This language, already modified and developed beyond primitive Canaanite, was retained by the Hebrews in Egypt, and, under the influence of the Egyptian language, was expanded, enriched, and embellished in sufficient degree to create the necessary conditions under which the literary language, which we call the language of the Pentateuch, was matured and brought to perfection.²

We will draw no further conclusions before the abundant material reserved for a subsequent volume is published. Here it may be merely observed that we attach special importance to the presence of ancient Akkadian elements in the first portion of Genesis, as well as to the emergence of specific non-Egyptian elements in the later portions of the Pentateuch, especially in Deuteronomy, of which mention has already been made. For this permits us to fix the earliest and the latest points between which the language of the Pentateuch was evolved, viz. (1) when the primitive Canaanite dialect adopted by the Patriarchs entered upon the process of its development, retaining some Aramaeo-Akkadian elements, and (2) when, as a fully developed literary language under Egyptian influence, it acquired final perfection through new elements from the desert and 'Arābā tribes in the concluding portions of the Pentateuch.

From what has already been said, it will be seen that in the main we regard our task as essentially linguistic, and that our attention is principally directed to the relations with Egyptian. We will therefore attempt to deduce from the linguistic material of the Pentateuch those criteria which may help us to the discovery and differentiation of the foreign elements. We shall examine in the first place the expressions and phrases

¹ In Deut. 26, 5 there is a distinct allusion to the Aramaic speech of the first forefathers before they settled in Canaan; Gen. 31, 47 marks the period when Canaanite had already been adopted by the first families of the patriarchs, whereas their relatives who remained in Haran still clung to Aramaic. Cf. also Yahuda, *Die biblische Exegese in ihren Beziehungen zur semit. Philologie*, 1905, p. 15 f.; id., *Über ער וענה ועצור ועוזב im Alten Testament*, in *Z. f. Assyriol.*, 1902, p. 259 f.

² We use *Pentateuch* as a whole, without regard to passages or occasional glosses which palpably are additions not belonging to the original composition. We also provisionally speak of the *author* or *narrator* of the Pentateuch, as it is only after the whole of our material is published that we shall explain with more precision our own position with regard to these questions.

which are to be encountered in no other Semitic language, but occur alike in the Pentateuch and in Egyptian, chiefly those words and phrases which are only to be found in the Pentateuch, very rarely also elsewhere in the Bible, and which are of Egyptian origin; then we shall discuss other Hebrew coinages which are to be explained from Egyptian phraseology. In all these cases the proof of Egyptian origin will also help us to fix the period of the earliest use of a particular word or phrase and thus establish to a certain degree the chronological sequence in the Biblical scriptures.

From the course of our investigations it will further be seen that we do not, as still happens in the study of Hebrew-Egyptian relations, simply take isolated words or sporadically appearing single expressions for haphazard comparison, but that we systematically build up a complete structure, employing an overwhelmingly rich material of elements which support and complement one another, as well as elucidate and confirm our conception of the relations between Hebrew and Egyptian. In addition to this, it will be our object to prove that almost all the parallels adduced by us imply not merely casual coincidences or vague similarities, but that by their multitude they establish a real inner relationship and in many cases even reveal the sources from which the materials embodied in the Pentateuch are derived.

We abstain from all speculation. We attempt to group the facts which emerge from our comprehensive investigations, and thus exhibit the Hebrew of the Pentateuch as a living organism of language and thought. We also hope to be able to show that in this new organism the foreign material adopted from the highly developed Egyptian language was moulded and transformed in its own Hebrew spirit with a wealth and power of expression, elasticity, strength, and dignity, which bear an entirely individual stamp. Everything that Hebrew adopted or imitated from the Egyptian in the way of words or phrases, as well as what it owes to Egyptian in grammar, syntax, and style, invest this language with a quite unique character differentiating it in many respects from all other Semitic literary languages. With it begins the whole of Hebrew literature.

Although the limits of our researches are thus fixed, it will nevertheless be necessary in many instances to venture beyond purely philological considerations and include also discussions of non-linguistic materials in our investigation, especially in cases where this is necessary for the proper elucidation of linguistic problems. Such digressions may enable us in many cases to discover the meaning and origin of certain ideas and conceptions, or to reveal the technique of various crafts and even establish the derivation of their terminology. It is clear that a literary language,

unlike a mere spoken dialect, must reflect the entire culture and intellectual equipment of those who write it, and of those for whom it is written. We propose, therefore, to go still a step further, and through the investigation of the language, enter into the discussion of questions connected with the spiritual and material life described in the Pentateuch in conjunction with the Egyptian work of thought, such as religious conceptions and institutions, ritual prescriptions, laws and injunctions, manners and customs, crafts and professions, and similar questions of importance. Incidentally we shall also consider whether the issue of certain injunctions and laws was not actuated by the spirit of deliberate opposition to Egyptian ideas and customs; and on the other hand whether certain Egyptian practices and usages, perhaps even some religious and ritual conceptions, too deeply rooted to be removed, were not taken over and invested with a new meaning in order to bring them into harmony with the ideas and forms of the new religion.

With this work the foundation is laid of a new conception of the Pentateuch, of Biblical antiquity, and, in large measure also, of the origin and development of the religion of Israel with all its consequences. This conception may not be readily accepted. But the path here indicated will eventually be followed, even if it takes a longer time than could be anticipated. The reader cannot fail to realize that by the investigation of Hebrew in the light of Egyptian, entirely new vistas are opened up; that much which hitherto has remained obscure, now becomes fully clear, and that much that hitherto has been thought to be plain and simple, appears now in an entirely new light. The time may therefore not be far distant when Biblical scholars will abandon the scepticism due to certain Egyptologists with regard to Hebrew-Egyptian relations, and resolutely turn towards Egypt, so that side by side with the already explored Assyro-Babylonian ground, the hitherto neglected field of Egyptology may be fully utilized for Biblical research.

For many years unbiased Egyptologists and Hebraists expressed the desire that scholars equipped with adequate knowledge of Egyptian and Hebrew should undertake a penetrating investigation of both languages and cultures in order to find out to what extent such relationship could be established. Here a start is made; the way is laid open to be followed.

FIRST PART

THE EGYPTIAN EPOCH IN THE PENTATEUCH: THE JOSEPH AND EXODUS NARRATIVES

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

HOW THE EGYPTIAN ENVIRONMENT IS REFLECTED. THE INFLUENCE OF EGYPTIAN IN THE JOSEPH AND EXODUS NARRATIVES

It is obvious that those parts of the Pentateuch in which Israel is shown to have been in direct contact with Egypt—like the Joseph and Exodus narratives—should yield the richest material for the elucidation of the relations between Hebrew and Egyptian. They must reflect most clearly the spirit of the Egyptian environment and of Egyptian civilization, and consequently display most visible traces of Egyptian influence on the language. This is indeed the case, as in these narratives the sojourn of the Hebrews and their experiences in Egypt are described, and incidentally a great deal of Egyptian life is illustrated with a wealth of detail which could only have been derived from thorough knowledge and exact observation at close quarters. As a matter of fact none of the Biblical narratives which deal with the relations of the Hebrews to foreign peoples have absorbed so much of the language and life of the foreign environment as the Joseph and Exodus narratives have with regard to the language and life of Egypt. From the very beginning, when Joseph appears in Egypt (Gen. 39), down to the end of the Exodus story leading up to the song of Moses at the Red Sea (Ex. 15),¹ we get—as we shall have ample occasion to show—a vivid picture of the manners, customs and usages of the Egyptians in all domains of life and thought, set out in a language which has likewise thoroughly absorbed the spirit of Egyptian both in speech and style. Hence it comes about that this part of the Pentateuch provides the model for both the manner and copiousness in which the influence of the Egyptian language and mind was exercised, and furnishes us further with a standard for the investigation of that influence in other parts of the Pentateuch.

No sooner does he start telling the story of Joseph, than the narrator plunges deeply into Egyptian life. He approaches his audience or readers not as one conveying something foreign, something strange, almost unknown, coming from a remote country, but he straightway assumes as a matter of

¹ The Blessing of Jacob (Gen. 49) and the Song at the Red Sea are not included here, solely for the reason that they are to be later subjected to a full examination, together with other poetical passages of the Pentateuch.

course a complete acquaintance with land and people. Manners and customs are mentioned by him which indicate, nay pre-suppose, a thorough familiarity with the structure and manifestations of Egyptian life. Many individual features of social, family, and court life are just touched upon by him that are passed over by the reader as devoid of special significance but which, on closer study of actual ancient Egyptian conditions, are found to be intentional allusions to common, very popular occurrences in connexion with certain ceremonies or important social and state institutions. From the brevity and casual nature of these allusions it may be clearly inferred that they could be understood in their full significance only by those who either knew them from first-hand observation or had themselves at some time participated in them.¹

This surprising acquaintance, this most intimate familiarity, with Egyptian life is also apparent to the fullest extent both in the language and modes of expression employed. A mere superficial examination of the narratives dealing with Egypt reveals a whole series of non-Semitic words such as אָחִי Gen. 41, 2, 18: יָאוֹר 41, 1-3 *et al.*: גִּמְלָה Ex. 2, 3: סִיף Ex. 2, 3, 5 *et al.*: פִּרְעֹה or personal names such as פּוֹטִיפָר Gen. 39, 1: אֶמְנַת and פּוֹטִיפָרֶע 41, 45: פִּיתוּם and רַעֲמֶסֶס Ex. 1, 11, which have long since been recognized as Egyptian (cf. *Ges.-Buhl*, ad loc.). But there are other words which occur, like שָׁבֶר Gen. 42, 1-26 *et al.*: הַתְּמָרִים Gen. 43, 10; Ex. 12, 39 *et al.*: תּוֹעֵבָה Gen. 43, 32; Ex. 8, 22 *et al.*; חֲרָטְמִים Gen. 41, 8; Ex. 7, 11, *et al.*, and which, as we shall show, were also taken from the Egyptian, although they look like Semitic words and indeed are regarded as such by most commentators. Nevertheless, these borrowings do not cover everything: they are merely external marks, sign-posts, and hints which indicate the direction in which the influence of the Egyptian language made itself felt upon the Hebrew. In order fully to appreciate the inner relationship between the linguistic usages of Hebrew and Egyptian, it is not sufficient to make a mere comparison of words or to prove the common origin of certain words in both languages. We have to penetrate very deeply into the psychology of the Egyptian language, and into the very fibres of its structure, if we wish to discern the true degree to which Hebrew was influenced.

It is only then that it will be possible to detect, in close connexion with

¹ An excellent example hereof is provided by the laconic references to the honours bestowed on Joseph on his installation in office and the ceremonies performed on this occasion, as will be shown later on. Here attention may be drawn only to the ceremony of the conferring of the 'Gold of Praise' (*nb n hsw.t*), a description of which in Erman-Ranke occupies more than half a page (p. 134), whereas in Gen. 41, 42 it is dismissed merely with the words: 'and he (Pharaoh) put a gold chain about his neck' (cf. below, p. 22 f.).

Egyptian, the real meaning of many words, expressions and phrases which occur in these narratives and are regarded as typical also for other parts of the Pentateuch; and likewise rightly to appreciate, in an Egyptian light, the style and mode of narration. It will then also be possible to obtain a complete insight into the intimate and comprehensive knowledge which the author of the books of the Pentateuch possessed of the literary language of Egypt, of its elasticity and individuality, of all its niceties and nuances.

As our investigations, though mainly linguistic, touch on many other points, and embrace numerous questions of the most diverse kind, it appeared advisable to discuss them according to special points of view under which the relations of Hebrew and Egyptian will be demonstrated. We now begin with the examination of those elements of the Joseph and Exodus narrative which most vividly reproduce the linguistic colour of the Egyptian-Hebrew milieu and which also clearly show the great familiarity of the author with all the details of the world of Egyptian thought and civilization.¹

¹ It is obvious that in this volume we cannot deal with *all* the words in the Pentateuch and in other parts of the Bible, which have long since been recognized as Egyptian loan-words. These will be discussed later. It will then be shown that some of them, though of Egyptian origin, are to be explained from prototypes different from those hitherto suggested.

CHAPTER I

POLISHED PHRASES, COURT FORMULAE, AND EXPRESSIONS USED IN EGYPTIAN CEREMONIAL AND OFFICIAL SPEECH

In the Joseph and Exodus narratives there are expressions and turns of speech, which are so unusual and appear so foreign that either their meaning is presumed merely from the context, as is usual in such cases, or they are taken by more modern interpreters as corruptions or mutilations. But as a matter of fact we have here to do with genuine Hebrew mintages in adaptation to Egyptian linguistic usage, formed upon the model of set formulae and expressions used in Egyptian court and official parlance as customary, or even prescribed, in Egyptian hierarchic circles, especially in intercourse with exalted personages.

In the description of the conversation between Pharaoh and Joseph we are given a correct picture of the polished manner in which official and high-class Egyptians carried on their intercourse. Both in form and in speech the narrator invests Joseph with the character of a ready courtier who unerringly commands all the niceties of palace phraseology. All the idioms and expressions used are permeated by the spirit of the Egyptian language, and the whole conversation of king and liegeman bears a thoroughly Egyptian stamp.

Even where Joseph speaks to his brethren, who as shepherds and 'Asiatics' were regarded by the Egyptians as 'barbarians', his words and expressions are cast in the superior tone of an Egyptian of high breeding, and the narrator very cleverly depicts how skilfully Joseph played the role of a genuine Egyptian before he revealed himself to his brethren. The same applies to his brothers and his father Jacob; they are, it is true, introduced to us as foreigners, but at the same time they are represented as notables who are thoroughly familiar with all the etiquette of the Egyptian upper classes.

Even ordinary phrases of deference such as are or might be in vogue at any court are here highly typical of Egyptian etiquette and only become clear in their right meaning in the light of Egyptian court-ceremonial and the Egyptian conception of good breeding.

It is of course the Hebrew narrator who displays here an extraordinarily fine instinct for the polished and elaborate court phraseology especially in

passages where he employs metaphorical expressions or introduces Pharaoh and his Vizier Joseph in conversation. In highly finished but wonderfully simple Hebrew he reproduces all the expressions and phrases which one was accustomed to hear from the king of the 'two lands',¹ from a vizier or a courtier, in his own Egyptian language. In short the whole intercourse between Joseph and Pharaoh so completely mirrors all we know of court institutions with all their elaborate details and nuances that the whole story could only have been told with such exact knowledge by one who was thoroughly familiar with all these things from first-hand observation.

We now enter into a fuller discussion of a series of such instances which are specially characteristic for our narratives.²

1. נשק 'to kiss' for 'to feed'

Gen. 41, 40, Pharaoh says to Joseph: וְעַל פִּיךָ יִשָּׁק כָּל-עַמִּי. This has always presented great difficulties to the commentators, as a verb נשק is only known in the meaning of 'to kiss'. By those who do not dismiss the whole passage as corrupt it is merely from the context that it is concluded to mean that the people should be 'led', 'ruled', or 'administered' by Joseph according to his decisions. On comparison with the Egyptian, however, נשק proves to be a correct and a thoroughly exact reproduction of what the narrator really meant to convey. Here an expression is rendered in Hebrew from a metaphorical one used in polished speech among the Egyptians. Instead of the ordinary colloquial expression *wnm* for 'eating', they spoke of 'kissing' (*śn*) the food.³ Thus *śn* is used in Pyr. 1027 for eating a kind of pastry (*p:k*) and Pyr. 1323 for 'feeding on' or 'tasting' a joint of beef:

¹ As to this expression as translation of מַצְרַיִם cf. below, p. 25 f.

² For the explanation of Hebrew words and expressions from Egyptian we shall quote several examples even of such words and expressions in Egyptian, which are more or less common, so that their meaning and usage should be clear also to readers who are not familiar with Egyptian. In the choice of these examples, preference will be given as far as possible to such passages from Egyptian texts as incidentally also convey an insight into the life and thought of the Egyptians.

³ Although the original meaning of *śn* is 'to smell' it is simply used for 'kissing'. Thus e.g. *śn hm.t*, 'to kiss a woman' (Schiffb. 133; *śn t* is the customary expression for 'kissing the earth before his majesty' (*m b:h hm-f*). For the Egyptian the conception of kissing is connected with that of smelling, from which it may be derived in the last resort, as is actually the case with some animals and primitive men. Hence it is explained why *śn* could be used both for 'smelling' and 'kissing' (Er.-Gr. 163; cf. also *śśn*, caus. 171), and also for 'tasting' and 'feeding'. It may be noted that in figurative language *śn* was also used of the water of the Nile when overflowing the fields, thus e.g. 'may the feet of the dead (*iśn.ty rdwy-f im mw w'bw*) be kissed by the holy water', Pyr. 2065 and Grapow, *Bildl. Ausdr.*, p. 121. For further details about the use of *śn* see *Erwiderung*, p. 13 f.

'he does not kiss the oxen-loin' (*n šn f hps*).¹ Our passage is thus to be taken literally, but in the sense of the Egyptian metaphor: 'According to thy mouth shall my people kiss'; i.e. by thy orders shall my people feed, whereby Pharaoh simply meant that the feeding of the whole country should be solely regulated by the measures and ordinances of Joseph. We thus realize that the text is quite correct and that קש is used in the sense of the Egyptian *šn* meaning 'to feed'.²

2. 'A thing borne' מִשְׂאוֹת for 'gift'; 'bread' for 'meal'

Gen. 43, 34, speaking of the meal given by Joseph to his brethren reads מִשְׂאוֹת מִמֶּנּוּ מִיָּמֵינוּ אֲלֵיהֶם: and 'gifts' were borne to them from before him. These gifts can only imply portions of food which he sent from his table to his brethren during the meal as is still generally customary in the Orient, where it is considered as a special honour for the guest. The word מִשְׂאוֹת is formed from נשא 'to bear, to carry' and thus means 'something borne, carried'. Here we have a formation analogous to the Egyptian expression *fjy* 'to bear, carry, uplift, offer' (Er.-Gr. 57) specifically used of the offering of sacrifices, gifts or food, as for instance *Urk.* iv. 269, 5 referring to the king 'who determines the amount of food *fjw* in this land', i.e. the food offerings for the gods.³ This expression originated from the custom of lifting up the offerings brought to the gods, as can be noted in many sacrificial scenes.⁴ This custom of elevating the meats or gifts was also

¹ There was also a somewhat plebeian expression for 'eating' namely *m* 'to swallow' or *nsb* 'to bite' especially of snake-bites, which corresponds to the Coptic λανσι (B) 'to bite' (as translation of הַנְּשׁוֹךְ Num. 21, 8). Also in Coptic it is vulgarly used for 'swallowing' (Spieg. *WB.*, p. 52); cf. Arabic لسب for snake-bite, obviously a derivative from the Coptic.

² The particular choice of קש which in Hebrew is exclusively used for 'kissing' without any connexion with 'smelling' suggests that the Hebrew understood *šn* in connexion with food only in the meaning of 'kissing'. Whether the same figurative sense is also implied in קש Gen. 15, 2 is somewhat doubtful, as in this case it would at least read קש.

³ Cf. Er.-Gr. 58: *fj.t* 'the elevation of the gifts'; *fj.t* 'elevation' means simply to bring offerings, cf. *fj.t t; hk.t* (Pyr. 61 c) 'to bring offerings of bread and beer'; cf. also *fjy dny*, Rec. 33, 3 l. 7. 'the bearer of the basket' (καθηφόρος) with the offerings for the Temple. Amenemope, 21, 5 (= Erman, *OLZ.*, 1924, 249) gives *fj.t* as used simply in the meaning of 'gift', exactly as מִשְׂאוֹת, e.g. in 2 Sam. 11, 8; 2 Chr. 24, 6 and 9 מִשְׂאוֹת מִשְׁהוֹת is nothing else but an old specific expression for the offerings of the Temple as so often in Egyptian *fj.t* and *fj.w* from *fjy* = נשא 'to lift up', e.g. Harris, 28, 3; *r fjy b; k.w-šn* 'to elevate their offerings' for the Temple. Obviously the chronicler took this expression from a very ancient source in which it was alternatively used with תְּרוּמָה 'heave offering' ordained by Moses for the building of the Tabernacle, Ex. 25, 2 ff.

⁴ Cf. Erman-Ranke illustr., 138, 149, &c. The same custom of 'elevating', 'lifting up' the offerings and portions of sacrifices occurs also in the Pentateuch, e.g. Ex. 29, 24 &c., as will be

observed when presents were brought to the king, and such a gesture may also have been customary in the case of other high personages. Accordingly the vizier has meats 'carried' to his guests from 'before him' as a special mark of gracious princely favour. As a matter of fact this corresponded entirely to the custom observed in higher Egyptian circles whereby an exalted personage in the course of a meal handed his guests especially good portions (*Lit.*, p. 58, n. 1). The narrator used the expression מִשְׂאוֹת, the Egyptian prototype of which, *fj.w*, was deemed a choice and stately word.

Further, the word מִשְׂאוֹת 'bread' used for the meal provided by the Viceroy is also characteristic of Egyptian. Whereas the Semitic phrase in such a case would be 'bread and water' or 'bread and salt', not 'bread' alone, the Egyptians used 'bread' simply and concisely for 'meals' generally (*Erman-Ranke*, 223, n. 2), not because bread was and is the chief food in Egypt, as elsewhere in the Orient, but because the Egyptians, more than any other people, had cultivated the art of bread-baking so extensively that in the sacrificial lists of the Harris Papyrus more than thirty sorts of bread and pastry are mentioned, these including the choicest delicacies.

The remark that his brethren drank with Joseph at the meal and became drunk with him, which gives the repast the character of a common drinking-bout and seems to detract from the dignity of the whole occasion depicted so sedately,¹ presents itself in the light of Egyptian customs as nothing undignified but on the contrary as a high distinction for the guests deemed worthy of carousing with the 'great lord'. For the Egyptian was fond of drinking and imbibed a great deal. The ordinary beer (*hk.t*) was a favourite drink among the populace; in better circles, however, there was a great variety of sweet and intoxicating beverages, and they liked to see wine flow 'like water'. The Egyptian spoke of drunkenness with great complacency and frequently referred figuratively to inebriety as the manifestation of the highest enjoyment.²

Moreover, even among the offerings to the gods and the dead, intoxicating drinks were included, and the latter desired to receive so many libations 'as to make them drunk'. Thus, among others, in his very solemn prayer to Osiris the dead Rameses IV demanded (cf. Abydos-Stele, l. 16 = *Records* iv, § 470): 'and mayest thou give me food to repletion, and mayest thou give me drink to drunkenness' (*swr-y*) *r th*.

more closely discussed elsewhere; likewise other analogies in the use of מִשְׂאוֹת and *fjy* will be given.

¹ That the expression מִשְׂאוֹת was so felt is apparent from the A.V. euphemistic rendering, 'and were merry with him'.

² Compare several such metaphors in Grapow, *Bildl. Ausdr.*, p. 145.

Our narrator obviously meant, by emphasizing this detail, to stress the munificence and graciousness of the high Egyptian dignitary towards his 'Asiatic' guests.

3. נתן 'to give' and 'to שם put' for appointment to office.

The Infinitive used for command

The expression על נתן 'to give upon, over' Gen. 41, 41, and also ל נתן 'to give to', in the sense of appointing to office corresponds to the Egyptian *rdy r* 'to give to' or *wdy r* 'to put to' with object in the same sense, e.g. *rdy r nsw.t* 'to give to king', i.e. 'to appoint as king'. Parallel with ל נתן is the use of ל שם 'to put, place, set' for 'placing in office', as *וּשְׂמַנִי לְאֵב* 'and He (God) set me as "father" [to Pharaoh]'. For this, too, we have the Egyptian analogue *wdy* 'put, place, set' with the preposition *m* in the same sense of 'appointing to an office', e.g. Pyr. 1220 'thou settest him to thee as *sr* i.e. prince'; Pap. Berlin 3029, *ÄZ.* 72 (1874), p. 100, Pl. I, 6: *rdy-f wy r ssw t3 pn* 'he gave me to shepherd of this land'; *LD.* ii. 51, 1 right: 'he was given to *hks*, i.e. appointed as ruler;¹ and directly of the elevation to Vizier we find in Ka-Gemni, Pap. Prisse i, l. 9 (= *Lit.* 67): 'Ka-Gemni was appointed (*rdy r* = given to) governor of the capital and vizier (*tsty*)'. As *wdy* is often used for and also confused with *rdy*, both are alternative in the same way and sense as נתן and שם (Erman, *Wortforschung*, p. 914, examples are given; also 944).

The same is the case in Gen. 41, 43. Only here the infinitive form נתון strikes one as strange especially as it follows an imperfect and should as a rule read ויתן. In 43, 16, the infinitive form follows an imperative and occurs frequently thus, especially for commands. Now from the Egyptian we learn that the use of infinitives in an imperative sense was a widespread peculiarity of the hierarchic official diction, especially at the beginning of solemn pronouncements, public proclamations, or reports concerning royal feats of arms. Thus the well-known Israel-Stele of Merneptah begins with the words: 'To recount his victorious marches, to make known to all lands, to behold the glory of the triumphant deeds of the king', etc. in the sense of a command: Let be recounted, let be made known, let be seen, etc. *ÄZ.* 34, 14. Similarly the report of the incursion in Nubia (Maspero, *ÄZ.* 1888, p. 63) begins with infinitive phrases, likewise the many hymns and speeches of kings and gods, and indeed with such frequency that the infinitival phrase may be regarded as absolutely typical at the beginning of poetic and solemn speech.²

¹ The use of *sr* = שר and *hks* = מְחֻקֵּק will be discussed elsewhere.

² For the use of the infinitive form in official language, cf. *inter alia* Vezier, p. 4, n. 1,

The Hebrew narrator reproduces here exactly the manner in which high Egyptian personages were wont to express themselves, and we have here a true transmission which can only date back to this time when feeling for Egyptian phraseology and intimate acquaintance with peculiarities of style and niceties of speech were still alive. The irregularity and harshness in our passage, of which all commentators are sensible, are thus cleared up, and it transpires that the sentence introduced with the infinitive 'and to set him over the whole land of Egypt' is to be taken in a jussive sense, namely as the very words to be shouted by the heralds at the proclamation of Joseph. The correct translation would thus read: 'And they called out אֲבִרָךְ before him and that he was to be set (by command of the king) over the whole land of Egypt'. Here we have another example of the extraordinary exactitude with which our text has been handed down. The use of such an infinitive appears still more distinctly in this imperative sense in 43, 16 where וְהָבֵן וְהַבֵּחַ וְהַבֵּחַ 'to slaughter and to prepare' stands as a command. Here also it means that the house steward is to issue orders for the slaughtering and preparation of meats—thus: 'Take the men to the palace and let meat be slaughtered and prepared.' It should be explicitly noted that this idiom is also typical of the Egyptian ritual mode of diction. Almost all the headings in the sacred Books of the Dead, where certain prescriptions are set forth, occur in the infinitive form. Moreover it is the customary mode of command in decrees and ordinances.

The importance of this fact is specially to be emphasized because it supplies the right appreciation and correct understanding of the use of infinitive forms in the Pentateuch generally, notably in the fourth commandment זָכוֹר Ex. 20, 8 and שָׁמֹר Deut. 5, 12, or Num. 15, 35, and many other passages. Here and elsewhere we have, as will be shown later, to do with a solemn turn of speech, which, of all the Semitic languages, occurs only in Hebrew, and, just as in Egyptian, is a characteristic form of diction used, as mentioned above, in legal official documents and in solemn address; and, just as in Egyptian, is set at the beginning of momentous pronouncements couched in high poetic strain.

4. 'Make to stand' for 'let live'

Another meaning attaches to הַעֲמִיד Ex. 9. 16; there it says literally: 'In very deed for this cause have I *made thee to stand* (הַעֲמִידְתִּיךָ) for to show thee my power'. That this is to be interpreted as 'let live' is obvious;

and Spiegelberg, *ÄZ.* 34 (1896), p. 14 and n. 1. A quite usual expression for 'issuing of orders' is *rdy m hr n* 'to give in someone's presence'; it eventually became common in the official language simply for 'order'.

but the origin of העמידה only becomes clear by reference to 'h' 'stand, stand up', which is expanded to 'h.w' 'the standing' for 'lifetime, term of life, period of time'. 'h.w is a rather poetical word, used also in benedictions and specially favoured for use in poetic and religious texts, e.g. Pyr. 412 a: 'The lifetime ('h.w = "standing") of the deceased N. is eternity, his duration is without end' &c.; Bergm. *Ewigk.*, p. 391, 76: 'thy lifetime ('h.w-k = "thy standing") is eternal, thy kingdom for everlasting:' Harris, 42, 6 f. in the prayer of Rameses III for his son (the heir to the throne) to Amon-Re: 'make his lifetime ('h.w-f = "his standing") on earth as enduring as the polar star (imy 'h.w-f hr tp ts my msht [jw]);' ibid. 44, 6: '(Ptah) who keeps all men alive (s'nh hr nb) with the power of his soul (k.w-f); long lifetime ('h.w = standing), destiny and growth are under his control (n ht-f);' ibid. 79, 11 f.: 'he (Amon) doubled his lifetime ('h.w-f = his standing) more than that of any other king.' From the Rameses period dates the benediction (*Annales du Service*, xiii (1913), p. 46) 'Mayest thou attain the lifetime of Re (iry-k p' 'h.w n p' r')', i.e. as long as Re. The Demotic texts contain more frequent examples; thus in salutation of the king, e.g. Pap. Rylands, 9, 5, 20 (Persian period) and Kahun, 4, 24 and 5, 33: 'my (or our) great lord, may he have the lifetime of the sun-god Re (p-y (or p-y.n) nb 'ir-f p' 'h' n p' r')'. A similar frequent benedictory formula in Demotic letters is also: 'Re grant him long life (dy p' r' k-y p-y-f 'h')'. But this formula, like most invocations of this kind, emanates from a much earlier period (Spiegelberg, *AZ.* 53, p. 112 f.). Likewise for 'great age' we find 'h.w nfr = 'a beautiful (good) standing', e.g. *Westc.* vii. 22 f.¹ These examples of the use of 'h.w which could be indefinitely multiplied, suffice to demonstrate that העמידה is in close accordance with the Egyptian mode of thought and diction. It should be noted that this is the only passage in the Pentateuch where העמידה occurs in this signification.

5. ספר 'to count, recount' = 'to praise, to glorify'.

An instructive example of identical use in Hebrew and Egyptian is provided by the word ספר which immediately follows in the verse cited. It is derived from ספר 'to count', frequently used in the sense of 'recount', but here with שם = 'name' as object, obviously used in its poetical sense of 'to praise, glorify', as occurs often in the Psalms (Ps. 22, 23. 102, 22. 96, 3. 19, 2. 26, 7, &c.); לְמַעַן סַפֵּר שְׁמִי בְּכָל-הָאָרֶץ therefore means 'in order to

¹ For 'h' and 'h.w (also 'h.w) = 'duration, lifetime', cf. Amenemope, ix. 3 f. referring to bushels of corn: Short is their life ('h') in the barn'; likewise for the permanence of heaven or of the two skies, e.g. *Mar. Abyd.*, i, pl. 7, 62: 'h.w p.ty-fy, the duration of both his skies.

glorify my name in all the earth'. The same meaning attaches to the Egyptian word *šyp* in Pap. Sall. iii. 3, 1 (= *Lit.*, p. 264 to Amon): 'Mischief strike him who rejects thy thoughts but good be to him who praises, glorifies thee, O Amon', hr *šyp.t-k imn.*¹ In this case we see the identical use of *šyp* and ספר most clearly, so that their analogous application and the same mode of extension are mutually illuminating in both languages. Originally the word signified counting, recounting wondrous deeds to the point of glorification; it was then extended simply to denote 'to praise and glorify'.

6. Court expressions of deference

(Addressing the king in the third person: 'Pharaoh was wroth with his servants' (Gen. 41. 10), 'Let Pharaoh look out a man . . . let Pharaoh do this' (41, 33) and many other passages, corresponds thoroughly to the court etiquette of old Egypt and is entirely official. Cf. e.g. *Records*, i, § 238: 'And the head Physician spoke before his Majesty: May thy person (k-k), beloved of Re, command that there be given me,' &c.; or Sin. 219: 'Let your Majesty command (wd grt hm-k) that they, &c.'²

Very often out of respect to the king he was referred to simply as 'one' (tw); e.g. *Urk.* iv. 27, 10: 'why does "one" recall these things?', meaning the king: d'Orb, 12, 2 f. (= *Lit.*, 157): his Majesty loved her very very much; one (iw.tw)³ appointed her as šps.t (i.e. a 'freewoman, honourable great lady'); the same occurs again in other passages in the same narrative (compare also *Lit.*, p. 50, n. 1). This usage dates back to very ancient times and was always characteristic of official speech, as e.g. in the letter addressed in the name of King Phiops II (6th dynasty, about 2625-2475 B.C.) to General Herkhuf (hr-hwf) ' . . . your letter to the king in the palace so that one (= the king) should know', &c. (*Records*, i, § 351).

A characteristic formula is also the phrase recurring in several passages, לפני פרהה 'in the face of Pharaoh', or כלפני פרהה 'from the face of Pharaoh' (e.g. Gen. 47, 2, 7. 41, 46), meaning 'before Pharaoh'. This corresponds completely to hierarchic court custom especially in the New Kingdom whereby one might not speak to his Majesty (r hm-f) but 'only in the face of his

¹ Erman tentatively translates: 'who understands thee(?)'; Er.-Gr., p. 153 has for *šyp* 'revise, check, assign', which gives no sense here. But as it is causative of *ip* which means 'to count' (Er.-Gr. 10) it has here the meaning of 'to glorify'. Note that the same verb *ip* 'to count' is also extended to mean 'to respect'.

² In Semitic or Hebrew courts it was the custom, so far as we can ascertain, to address the king or prince in the second person: 'thou my lord, the king'. This differentiation emerges quite clearly in the Egyptian narratives of Sinuhe and Wen-Amon in which the Egyptian dignitaries address the Asiatic princes in the second person, as above, whereas Pharaoh is addressed by Sinuhe in the third person sing.

³ Here more distinctly referring to the king by the hieroglyph for king as determinative.

Majesty' (*m hr hm-f* or *hft hr hm-f*). Here we have the high state dignitary who in his official intercourse with court circles adheres strictly to the rules of etiquette. Cf. also *ibid.* 44, 18.

Also with regard to Joseph the narrator makes use of the same respectful expression: *לפני יוסף* 'before Joseph's face' = 'before him' or *מאחורי פניו* 'from his face' = 'from him', Gen 43, 15 and 34. This is likewise in accordance with the Egyptian custom of applying to the vizier and the highest dignitaries the same marks of respect as to the king. Similarly one might not speak 'to the Lord Justice' but 'before his face'; not write 'to him' but lay the writing 'before his face' (Erman-Ranke, 82 and 95). All these forms of etiquette are admirably reproduced in Judah's pleading to Joseph, Gen. 44, 18 ff.: he is addressed by him as if he were Pharaoh, 'for thou art even as Pharaoh'.

A very peculiar form of expression which has often been noted but remained unexplained is the use of *אדון* in the plural with reference to Pharaoh or Joseph. There is, of course, nothing strange in a king or other person of high rank being addressed or referred to as 'lord' or 'our lord'. But what is most striking in the Joseph narrative is the use of the plural form 'lords', e.g. Gen. 40, 1 'the butler of the king of "the two lands" and his baker offended *לְאֲדֹנָיָם לְמַלְכָּהּ מִצְרַיִם* 'their lords, the king of the "two lands"' instead of 'lord' in the singular. The same ceremonious turn of speech occurs also in 42, 30 and 33 with reference to Joseph: *הָאִישׁ אֲדֹנָי הָאָרֶץ* 'the man, the lords of the land said harsh things unto us' instead of 'the lord'. It should be noted how exactly the narrator makes Joseph's brethren in their altercation with Joseph's house-steward distinguish between him, the employee, and his master, the viceroy, in that they address him as *אֲדֹנָי* 'my lord' in the singular (44, 7 and 9), whereas they use *אֲדֹנָיֶיךָ* 'thy lords' (44, 8), when speaking of the viceroy.

Now we find that already in quite ancient times Pharaoh besides being referred to as *nb* 'lord' in the singular, also is spoken of as *nb.wy* in the dual, in the same way as he is also referred to as *pr.wy* 'the two lords'¹ in the dual. Consequently *אֲדֹנָיֶיךָ* may quite as well be a dual as a plural since in the *status constructus* both are inflected exactly in the same way.² Thus

¹ For the literal meaning of *pr-wy* and its use for king, cf. below p. 44 f.

² For addressing the king or speaking of him in the term of 'my lord', cf. e.g. Reinisch, *Chrest. T.* 10, l. 19: *ity nb-n* 'O King, our Lord!' or *pr-wy; py nb* 'Pharaoh, my Lord' (Abbt., pl. 5, 18 = *Records* iv, x, paragraph 526); similarly for other high officials, e.g. Bauer, i. 53, (also B. 90) 'chief mayor, my Lord (*nb-y*)'. The use of *nb* in the dual for the king as double Horus occurs already in the Old Kingdom. Also in his capacity as protector of the 'two lands' in whom both Nehbet and Buto, the tutelary goddesses of upper and lower Egypt with the emblems of the vulture and the ureus-snake (*nr.t* and *i'rt*) were

the narrator might quite well have had the dual *nb.wy* in mind, not only with reference to Pharaoh as lord of the 'two lands', but also to Joseph as vizier of the 'two lands' (see below on the name *מִצְרַיִם*), the more so as the same etiquette was observed towards king and vizier alike, as we have previously seen.¹

7. 'By the life of Pharaoh'

Swearing by the life of the king, which appears to be quite usual and natural, and which, as a matter of fact, has always been current throughout the East from ancient to modern times, was by no means in such ordinary and commonplace use in Egypt, but was invested with an extraordinarily solemn character. Pharaoh was himself a god, of divine substance as son of Re and as the incorporation of every god in any form and in any quality. His life was eternal, his existence being from primordial days till time everlasting. Swearing by his life was therefore a very responsible oath of far-reaching significance and could have the most dangerous consequences for the swearer, thus representing the most extreme means of asseveration that could be employed. This is the reason why in Egyptian popular literature the oath by the life of the king, so common in oriental literature, is encountered comparatively seldom, and even less frequently than that by the life of the gods. Only on extraordinary occasions do we meet with the oath by the life of Pharaoh, when it was meant to produce a specially deep impression. Bearing this in mind one can understand why throughout the altercation between Joseph and his brethren, which might frequently have given occasion for all kinds of protestations and asseverations, in only one instance is use made of the oath *חַי פַּרְעֹה* 'by the life of Pharaoh', 42, 15 and 16; and even there only by Joseph, and this at a very critical moment when he warns his brethren of the most serious danger, accusing them of being spies and intimating *by the life of Pharaoh* his irrevocable resolve to put them to a test that meant life or death for them. The narrator makes Joseph seize the most extreme means so as to produce the impression that after such an oath there could be no going back for him. Only immediate acceptance of the condition imposed on them could clear them of grave suspicion and release the vizier of Pharaoh from his momentous oath.²

incorporated, he was called *nb.ty* 'the two mistresses'. Moreover I suspect that the person of the king was also spoken of as 'the Lords' in plural, presumably *nb.w*, but so far I have not been able to find an example thereof (see below on the name of Pharaoh, p. 45, n. 4).

¹ As this also applied to other high dignitaries whose official activities were extended to the 'two lands', it is clear why the plural was also used in referring to Potiphar, Gen. 39, 2, &c.

² In *חַי* lurks a singular of *חַיִּים* in the *stat. constr.*; this coincides completely with the use of '*nh* 'life' in a similar apostrophic formula of oath, e.g. *nh s-n-wsr.t* 'by the life

8. Frequent use of אלהים

The frequent mention of אלהים in the Joseph narrative, especially in the conversations of Joseph with Pharaoh and also with his brethren, so unusual in its constant iteration, appears very striking. Nevertheless this peculiarity, so typical of this narrative, is eminently characteristic of Egyptian diction. 'God' (*ntr*) or in the plural 'the Gods' (*ntr.w*) was very often on the lips of Egyptians notably in court circles where Pharaoh himself was venerated as a deity. It was regarded as a special mark of courtly deference and obsequiousness to speak in the presence of Pharaoh as often as possible of *the gods*, to repeat to him on every opportunity that *the gods* were constantly concerned about him, that *the gods* protected him, that *the gods* advised him, thought for him, watched over his welfare, and always had him in mind. Such ostentatious reverence for *the gods* was to some extent considered as a protestation of loyalty and fealty to the king, who himself ranked among the gods. This note of demonstrative piety is mirrored in masterly fashion in Joseph's conversations. Highly characteristic in this connexion is the exclusive use of אלהים in the plural in consonance with the Egyptian plural *ntr.w*. The narrator is thoroughly aware that Joseph, the Hebrew, speaks to the Egyptians in their language and their own manner, so that the plural use of אלהים is an exact reproduction of the Egyptian *ntr.w* without in any way jarring on the Hebrew reader. Thus in Gen. 40, 8 it is to אלהים that the interpretation of all dreams belongs; 41, 16 it is אלהים who is to give Pharaoh an answer of peace; 41, 25 and 28 it is אלהים who shows Pharaoh what He is about to do; in 41, 32 it is intimated that the dream was *doubled* because the thing was determined by אלהים and that אלהים would shortly bring it to pass; 41, 38 Pharaoh finds that 'the spirit of אלהים is in Joseph', a typically Egyptian expression for emphasizing god-like qualities in a man;¹ compare further 42, 18: 'this do and live, for I fear אלהים', and also 43, 23-44, 16. 45, 5-9. 48, 9, 11, 15, 20, 21. 50, 17, 19, 20, 24, 25.

of Sesostris!', Garstang, *El-Arabah*, Stela of *Sebek-Khu*, pl. v, l. 4, who lived under Sesostris III (1887-1849 B.C.).

¹ It is true that these words are framed by the Hebrew narrator in a monotheistic sense although it is Pharaoh who utters them; whereas an Egyptian in such cases would say that *God* or *every god* was in him', so e.g. in d'Orb, i. 4 (= *Lit.* 151): 'his younger brother was however a good ploughman, &c., and *God* was in him' (*is wnn ntr im-f*); similarly it is said of his wife, *ibid.*, ix, 8 (= *Lit.* 203), that she was more lovely of limb 'than any woman in the whole land and *every god* was in her' (*iw ntr nb im-s*). Another expression, rather harsh to our ears but very favoured among the Egyptians, is d'Orb., xi. 5 (= *Lit.* 156), 'the *seed* of every God was in her' (*iw mw n ntr nb im-s*). Erman appears to suppose in the passage quoted from *Lit.* 151 a word like *kj.w* or *bj.w* is missing; this however need not necessarily be the case.

A very noteworthy contrast is to be found in the conversations of Moses with Pharaoh, although the former was the *man of God*, in the absence of a similar iteration of אלהים. This is by no means accidental: it is true that the narrator in the Joseph story and also in the conversations of Pharaoh with others, even in those of the Hebrews amongst themselves, retained that popular show of religiosity; on the other hand it went against the grain to cause Moses to speak in the same ostentatious servility and adulation of *the gods*: in the mouth of Moses the mention of God, in the newly revealed name יהוה, was to produce a much more severe and austere effect than אלהים which recalled the Egyptian *ntr.w* and was habitual with the Egyptians.¹

9. Jacob before Pharaoh

Gen. 47. 9 Jacob replies to the question of Pharaoh as to his age: יָמַי שְׁנַי מֵאָה וְשָׁלֹשׁ יָמִים 'the days of the years of my sojournings are a hundred and thirty years; few and evil have been the days of the years of my life and they have not attained unto the days of the years of the life of my fathers in the days of their sojournings.' In the first place it must appear strange that Jacob describes his hundred and thirty years as *few*. When however, we consider that Pharaoh was regarded as an eternally living god endowed by the gods with millions and myriads (*hh n rnp.wt*) of years, being as such praised and worshipped, it becomes clear why the venerable old man Jacob had to assure Pharaoh who was certainly much younger, that his hundred and thirty years were but few in comparison with the endless years of the eternally living son of Re.² Furthermore the remark that his age was not so high as that of his fathers appears strange as in point of fact the life of his fathers was not so very much greater than his own as to justify it (Abraham lived 175 years, Gen. 25, 7 and Isaac 180 years, 35, 28). But again in the light of Egyptian court etiquette, so rich in the niceties of speech, such a remark must have appeared as very tactful and thoughtful especially on the lips of a foreigner; for it belonged to the good manners of obsequious court visitors to assure the king that they had been given a long life and that many happy years had been theirs because they had the good fortune to enjoy his royal protection and favour. Thus the wise Ptahhotep (*Prisse Dév.* p. 52, 640 f. = *Lit.* 65), the vizier of King Issi (about 2675 B.C.

¹ In the chapter on the names and attributes of God, we shall discuss in greater detail the origin and meaning of אלהים and יהוה as well as the difference between יהי and יהי in oaths.

² Cf. e.g. *Records*, ii, paragraph 662, Stela of Thutmosis III (= *Lit.*, p. 258), when Amon-Re addresses the king: 'I let thee linger on the throne of Horus for millions of years;' *Anast.* iii. 7, 9, Song to Rameses II (= *Lit.*, p. 273): 'thou wilt be as long as eternity, and eternity will be as long as thou art.'

or earlier) at the end of his book of wisdom:—'It is not little that I have done upon earth: I have lived a hundred and ten years which the king granted me with rewards exceeding those of my fathers because I did what was right for him *up to the place of honour*' (i.e. up to my greatest age). Another high dignitary, a favourite of Thutmosis III says in his epitaph, *Urk.* iv. 34, 11 f.: 'I have reached a nice age,¹ an age as with a king,' that is a great age such as could only be attained in the company of a king and favoured by his magnanimity. 'Strength of life is the king (*ks pw nsw.t*), abundance (of food) is his mouth', is said in the teaching of Sehetep-ib-Re, Lange-Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, Kairo, 20538, 15. (= *Lit.* 84). This, because the king as 'a god' was able to bestow upon his favourites long life and many years of 'good fortune and rewards'. This was the meaning of 'give us life from thee' (Bentresch, 8 = Records iii § 436 exclaimed also by a foreign envoy prostrating himself, as usual, 'on the belly' (*hr h.t*) kissing the earth before him and imploring his grace. Over and over again it is emphasized in pompous language and extravagant frequency that the king is he who 'gives life', he who 'gives breath to the nostrils', e.g. *Urk.* iv. 15, 3, that he it is who 'breathes in (the nostrils) the breath of life', etc. In all these cases the king is addressed in the manner and terms in which the great gods were praised and worshipped.²

Taking all this into consideration, it suited the Hebrew narrator very well to make the patriarch, who in his grief for his lost son had passed through very sorrowful years, say to the king that his years had been evil and few, as one who had not had the privilege of being 'with the king'.

But also the expression (מנוור) 'sojourning' for 'duration of life', a term which is usually applied to the stay of a foreigner, cannot properly be understood unless one bears in mind the belief of the Egyptians that earthly life denoted merely a temporary sojourning on the 'face of the earth' (*hr tp t*) in contrast to the 'house of eternity' (*pr nhh*) where one 'settles' for millions of years. The notion that life on earth was merely ephemeral in contrast to the eternal life in the world of the dead 'in the west' was very clearly fixed in the consciousness of the Egyptian, so much so that the dead are often represented in the *books of the dead* or inscriptions on the tombs, as speaking of the years which they had spent 'on the face of the earth' before they had passed into eternal life, as for example

¹ Lit. a beautiful, a good age, i.e. a great age, a term of speech of which the Hebrew שִׁיבָה מוֹבֵה is a literal translation.

² 'To beg breath from the king' was equivalent to 'submitting to him', e.g. Annals of Thutmosis III, *Urk.* iv, 662, 10 of the princes of Syria who came to the king 'crawling on their bellies' to 'beg breath for their nostrils (*r dbh tꜣw r fnd.w-sn*)'.

Rameses III in his grave, of the days which he had spent 'on the face of the earth' (Harris, 22, 11. 44, 8). From this and many similar examples it will be seen how clearly the Egyptians distinguished between life 'on earth' and life in the world of eternity. Thus in characterizing the duration of life as מנוור a mere 'sojourning', a temporary 'residence', the Egyptian influence is very palpable.

On the whole the narrator was concerned to show that the patriarch, who was treated by Pharaoh as a distinguished foreigner, and who could not be expected to be familiar with Egyptian court etiquette, nevertheless behaved in such a way that his bearing was bound to impress Pharaoh as modest and highly dignified according to Egyptian notions of courtly demeanour.

CHAPTER II

EGYPTIAN TITLES AND OFFICIAL DIGNITIES

IN the Joseph and Exodus narratives is to be found a whole series of titles and designations of higher or lower court and administrative state officials, which on a closer examination are revealed to be literal translations or imitations of genuine Egyptian titles. In some cases it is only by such an identification that one can obtain a correct idea of the functions and position of the officials in question. In other cases it is also possible to draw important conclusions as to the period concerned, and light is cast on the political influence, especially of the neighbouring Asiatic peoples, to which Egypt and some of its institutions had become subject. It is of the highest interest to note that some of the titles are of Semitic origin and were retained in their Semitic form by the Egyptians partly in the Middle Empire and beyond it down to the New Kingdom.

1. Joseph's Offices and Dignities

The kernel of the Joseph narrative is his appointment as viceroy or Grand Vizier to Pharaoh.¹ For this office Gen. 41, 43 gives מִשְׁנֵה. This expression is formed from שנה 'to do twice, to repeat, to double' in the sense that he represented in relation to the king a sort of 'double' acting as his deputy, invested with all rights and prerogatives of the king. Exactly in the same way the Egyptian word *śn.nw* 'deputy' was formed from *śn* 'two. Thus e.g. Champ., *Notices* i. 481; *hm ntr śn.nw n imn* 'the second priest of the God Amon'; Kahun pl. XII, 4; *whmw śn.nw n rsy* 'the second reporter of the South' i.e. for the deputy of a high administrative officer of the king in Upper Egypt: *Urk.* iv. 49, 4 speaks of the Court Chamberlain of the Queen Mother (of Amenophis I, 1557-1536) as the 'Second (*śn.nw*) of the king at the Greeting by Name';² and a still more striking parallel is given in

¹ Although we use here and there the designation 'Viceroy' following the current usage, *vizier* would probably be more appropriate. In Egypt it was only in Nubia (Kush) of the New Kingdom that there was a 'viceroy' who was called the 'son of the king of Kush' (*ś nsw.t n kš*), also simply the 'king's son' (cf. *Urk.* iv. 78, 12. 80, 7). The latter was the usual title of the Egyptian heir to the throne.

² This means that his was the only name to be publicly announced at official receptions by the king together with that of the king, whereas the remaining suite were referred to *en masse* as the 'great, noble ones'.

Urk. iv. 1072 *śn.nw n nsw.t* where the vizier Rekh-My-Re, exactly like Joseph as מִשְׁנֵה, is described as 'the second of the king'.

The functions and privileges conferred on Joseph as vizier are explicitly summarized in the words of Pharaoh on his appointment (41, 40, 41 and 44) and this coincides completely with what we learn from Egyptian documents and monuments about the vizier. In this connexion we are particularly enlightened by detailed regulations for the office of vizier preserved in the tomb inscriptions of the above-mentioned Rekh-My-Re.¹ He was the vizier of Thotmosis III (1500-1447 B.C.), and the whole description of his installation into his high office is so vividly reminiscent of the Joseph narrative that it can be regarded as an authentic confirmation of it and, even more, as an illustrative commentary on the details furnished by our narrator concerning the installation of Joseph into office.²

After the king, the vizier is the highest dignitary in the State with all the rights and powers accruing to a king. He replaces the king. In his absence he is the actual ruler, and in his presence no matter and no person can reach the king without his mediation; just as Pharaoh said to Joseph (Gen. 41, 44): 'I am Pharaoh, and without thee shall no man lift up his hand or foot in the whole country of the two lands'. It is the vizier who issues all orders, and he it is who carries out all the royal commands. Every officer from the highest to the lowest must come to him to report. Even in legal proceedings or in complaints by officers against one another, as well as in uncommon criminal cases, the decision rests with the vizier alone as the supreme judge. The king gives him his signet ring, the possession of which signified not only the confidence of the Crown, but a high privilege, the bestowal of which was reserved, particularly in the New Kingdom (1580-1200 B.C.), solely for the king, as emerges from the fact that most of the signet rings of that epoch bear only the names of reigning princes.³

¹ Edited and commented on by P. E. Newberry, *The Life of Rekhmara*, London, 1900; A. H. Gardiner, 'The Installation of a Vizier', *Records*, xxvi, pp. 1 ff., and K. Sethe, *Einsetzung des Veziers*, 1909 (Untersuchungen zur Gesch. und Altertumskunde Ägyptens, v. 2). Cf. also *Records*, ii, §§ 663 ff.

² Breasted, also attracted by this similarity, remarks that the narrator of the Joseph story must have had the office of Rekh-My-Re in mind (*Records*, ii, § 672). He confines himself to this observation without drawing any further conclusions. The Hebrew narrator, however, probably drew upon the Egyptian institutions familiar to him rather than upon any literary source describing them.

³ Whether the Egyptian word for *signet ring* in the titles of the Overseer of the Treasury (Er.-Gr. 223) is to be read *htm* or *htm.t* (= חותמת Gen. 38, 25), or *db.t* (= טבעת Gen. 41, 42) cannot be decided (cf. Er.-Gr. 134 and 220, also *dis.t* äg. Gram., p. 309, n. 45 f.). But *db.t* seems more likely to have been used for the finger ring as an ornament than as a signet ring.

The Vizier furthermore is the supreme administrator of the crown lands, the country as a whole being also under his supervision, so that all questions and disputes in regard to landed property are reserved for his final decision corresponding to Gen. 41, 40 f.: 'Thou shalt be over my house and according to thy word shall all my people be fed' and, 'See, I have set thee over the whole country of the "two lands"' (cf. also 45, 8. 47, 14 ff., 21, 26). In the hands of the vizier lay the real direction of all court and state affairs so that his only differentiation from the king was that he was subordinated to him just as it is said (Gen. 41, 40): 'only on the throne shall I be greater than thou'.¹ The difficulty of אֲנִי־לֵךְ with the omission of לֵךְ before הַכִּסֵּא is explained by its following the Egyptian construction.

Moreover particulars given of Joseph's honours which accompanied his installation such as conferment of the royal signet, his habiliment in garments of fine linen, his investiture with the gold chain (41, 42), with solemn ceremonies, perfectly coincide with Egyptian usages.² They could not be better illustrated—we repeat—than by the Egyptian inscriptions and graphic representations themselves. That the wearing of byssus was a distinctive garb of kings and high personages is known from various sources and descriptions. In addition, the honour bestowed upon Joseph by 'the golden neck-chain' is graphically depicted in the wonderful scene in the tomb of Eye representing the ceremony of the king conferring on him the 'gold of praise', in which the hanging of heavy gold chains round his neck is the principal feature.³ Precisely the brevity with which the details

¹ In addition to the works cited, cf. on the position and rights of the Egyptian vizier also Erman-Ranke, 173 f. and Spiegelberg, *Rechtswesen*, p. 5f. As first Judge of the land he bore the title *sb sbh.ty*, 'Chief Judge', literally: the Judge at the two Gates. Cf. *Er.-Gr.* 142 and 157 and Brugsch, *Ägyptol.*, 207 and 211.

² In Gen. 41, 43 לֵךְ אֲנִי does not, as many suppose, refer to Pharaoh but to the vizier, i.e. it is the gala carriage assigned to the vizier *ex officio*, see Gen. 46, 29. I am unable to adduce any example for an expression like 'chariot of the vizier' (perhaps: *wrry.t n t.t*), but can cite one for the 'boat of the vizier' *p1 wy; n t.t*, cf. Spiegelberg, *Rechtswesen*, 101 A, 23.

³ Further details are given in Erman-Ranke, 132 ff. and pl. 41. Our narrator undoubtedly had in mind such neck chains, as he does not say 'a gold neck chain', but רַבִּיר הַזָּהָב 'the neck chain of gold'. He thereby indicates that it does not relate to an honour particularly devised for Joseph but to the well-known conferment of the gold which belonged to the investiture ceremonial of high dignitaries as took place for example in the proclamation of Mery-Re as 'Great Seer of Aton' by Ekhnaton (*LD.* iii. 97 b; Davies, *Amarna I*, pl. 25 and 30 = *Records*, ii, § 985). This ceremony was of a very popular description and everyone knew what it meant for a 'favourite' when the king appeared at the great 'window of the palace' (*ššd*) in order to bestow the 'Gold of Praise' on the man 'praised by or beloved of the king before all people, in the sight of the whole land'. The 'Receiving of the Gold' was reckoned one of the highest distinctions and many boasted of having received 'the Gold' from this or that king; cf. especially Erman-Ranke, 132, n. 5 and *Mém. de la Miss.*

are given by the Hebrew narrator, though nevertheless formulated with the most extreme exactitude, reveals the fact that such ceremonies were assumed by him to be familiar to his readers; he therefore did not feel it necessary to embark upon an extensive description, giving only a summary, just as to-day very complicated and lengthy court ceremonies are generally alluded to in a few words. Thus the words 'and he put a gold chain about his neck' sounded to them as would to us to-day 'His Majesty invested him with the insignia of the Garter'.

Though this material coincidence is of the highest importance for the narratives, the real significance for our investigation lies in the linguistic setting and the mode of expression by which the Egyptian background is most clearly revealed.

We have already referred in the preceding chapter to the meaning, character, and origin of certain idioms and expressions; it remains for us now to discuss some expressions with which Joseph describes his office and dignities, because these also are derived from the Egyptian, and thus complement what has been said in reference to Gen. 41, 40-46. Joseph in summarizing them (Gen. 45, 8) refers to his three functions: (1) as אָב לְפָרְעוֹה 'father to Pharaoh', (2) as אֲדוֹן לְכָל-בֵּיתוֹ 'lord of his whole house', and (3) as מוֹשֵׁל בְּכָל-אֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם 'ruler over the whole country of the two lands'. By this the three-fold nature of the position of a vizier at the court of Pharaoh is exactly described, namely (1) as priestly dignitary, (2) as court chamberlain, placed over the entire court, and (3) as supreme administrator of the entire land, as we have seen above. Such a precise summary can only have emanated from someone intimately familiar with the hierarchic state institutions of Egypt, and who knew that these were the three most important offices which were embodied in the person of a vizier.

2. 'Father to Pharaoh' and 'Lord of his House'

The expression אָב 'father' is a reproduction of the Egyptian title *itf* = 'father', a very common priestly title which was borne by humble as well as very high officers including viziers.¹ Thus we find e.g., that Ptah-hotep

Fr. v. 489-540, pl. i-vi where Neferhotep appears with the golden neck-chain conferred on him by Haremheb.

¹ This title is written *itf*, *tf*, and also *it*; the latter is an abbreviated form of *itf*. The full title is *it(itf)-ntr* = 'Father of God'. The Hebrew writer however confined himself to indicate this priestly designation merely with אָב because an expression like אָב לְאֱלֹהִים or אָב הָאֱלֹהִים would have been tantamount to a monstrous blasphemy for a monotheist. It should be noted that here also the narrator refers to this appointment as to a very well-known one, without giving any further details. In addition to 'Father of God' there was

the vizier of King Issy (about 2675 B.C.) referred to himself as *itf ntr mryy-ntr*: 'father of god, the beloved of god' (Pap. Prisse, ed. Dévaud, p. 17, 43 = *Lit.*, p. 56 n. 1). Also the above mentioned Eye who occupied a high office at the court of Ekhnaton had the title 'father of God' (Davies, Armarna VI, pl. 29 and 30) as so many others who were close to the throne. In the statement that it was Pharaoh who installed Joseph as *father* we have implicitly an indication of the Egyptian character of this title. In a hierarchic state where Pharaoh was a god (*ntr*), his vizier had naturally to occupy a priestly rank, and it was precisely this which was conferred on Joseph by the title *father*. This qualification was enhanced by Pharaoh giving him the daughter of the priest of On (Heliopolis) to wife (Gen. 41, 45). The narrator was quite clear as to the hierarchic significance of such a union, and of the high position occupied by the priests of On. For to the Egyptians On was the holy city *par excellence*.¹ It was regarded as the seat of the most powerful of the cosmic gods, namely of Atum, and it was occupied by a numerous and important body of priests (Erman, *Relig.* 12). Its central sanctuary was established as early as the middle of the fourth millennium B.C. when the first god Re was already ruling there. The marriage of Joseph to the daughter of the priest of On therefore signified the reception of the foreigner into the highest priestly caste, and by his elevation to the rank of 'father of God' he was assigned one of the most eminent sacerdotal dignities of ancient Egypt.²

As to the title (45, 8) 'lord of his whole house' ארון לכל-ביתו, this corresponds to *mr-pr* 'lord, chief of the house' (*Urk.* iv. 1071, 6; Bauer, B 1, 16 etc.) i.e. of the palace, meaning the court chamberlain.³

also a 'Mother of God' (*mw.t-ntr*) as title of the high priestess of Edfu and likewise we meet with 'Fathers' and 'Mothers of God'.

Here we have an indication of the fact that the Joseph episode took place at a time when On was the centre of the priestly power.

² The view advanced by Brugsch (*Ägyptol.*, 225 A. 1), and Lieblein (*PSBA.*, 1898, 209, cf. also Kyle, *Moses*, 28) that אֵב is the Egyptian word *ib* denoting a high office, can only be justified on dubious grounds and even then would not give a correct idea of what was really meant by such a title. The fact that in other cases the Hebrew narrator offers Hebrew translations of Egyptian titles leaves no doubt that also in אֵב we have a Hebrew rendering of an Egyptian title and not an Egyptian word, especially as the title of an *itf* = *Father*, for a son-in-law of the High Priest of On and a vizier was particularly suitable.

³ There was also a *mr pr wr n nsw.t* 'Chief Court Chamberlain of the King'. Among the titles of high court officials there were also: 'i-pr n 'the great one of the house of . . .', e.g. Bergm. *Ewigk.* 362; 'i-pr n hnsw 'major domo of the god Khon'; cf. also Erman-Ranke, 133, n. 4.

3. 'Ruler over the whole land of מִצְרַיִם' and the significance of מִצְרַיִם as the name of Egypt

The third title of Joseph is of special interest, not so much on account of the official jurisdiction therein implied, as on account of the formula: ruler over the whole country of the 'two lands'. Thereby it is emphasized that both Upper and Lower Egypt were placed under his control as deputy for Pharaoh whose permanent official title was *nb t.wy* = 'lord of the two lands'. It is noteworthy that in the Joseph narrative, especially when Joseph's official activities are referred to, the formal expression מִצְרַיִם מְצַרְיָא is frequent, whereas elsewhere it reads merely מִצְרַיִם בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם. The question then arises whether this seemingly casual use of the two phrases was not as a matter of fact intentional. In order to appreciate the far-reaching importance of this question in its right light, it is necessary first of all to make some observations on the origin and meaning of מִצְרַיִם as a name for Egypt, especially as this in itself is of no little interest.

The striking feature of this name is its dual form. It has been variously assumed that the dual form is to be explained by the division of the country into Upper and Lower Egypt.¹ This is doubtless quite right; nevertheless there is no unanimity as to the meaning of the word מִצְרַיִם from which the dual is formed. Thus whilst some explain it by the Aramaic מִצְרָא = Akkadian *mišru* 'boundary', others connect it with the Hebrew מִצּוּר interpreted as equivalent to 'fortress'.² But on closer examination it becomes obvious

¹ To-day it appears rather remarkable that Samuel Bochartius in his work (very noteworthy for that time) *Geographia sacra*, London, 1646, i, p. 292 f. already expressed the view: 'Vox dualis מִצְרַיִם docet duplicem esse Aegyptum quarum una superior appellatur, Tob. 8, 3, altera inferior'. Nevertheless Barth in his *Nominalbildung*, par. 194 c, no. 1, professes to see in מִצְרַיִם no dual but a local termination, as he assumes this to be the case also in other place names in dual form. This view, however, has no sound foundation. In my mind it is beyond doubt that all such place names were actually conceived as duals, though it is difficult to detect the origin. Incidentally it may be observed that the name *Mestrem* quoted by Wiedemann, *Gesch. Ägyptens*, p. 23, n. 1, from *Suidas*, s.v. *Αἴγυπτος* for Egypt looks like a reproduction of the Hebrew מִצְרַיִם in the Samaritan pronunciation (*mešrem*). It often happened that Christian scholars from early centuries down to the end of the Middle Ages derived their knowledge of Hebrew words or Jewish matters from Samaritan sources, because they did not maintain such close relations with Jewish scholars as with Samaritans; hence many erroneous statements and unusual, even false reproductions of Hebrew words. I emphasize this fact because, as far as I can see, no one has drawn attention to it.

² A detailed discussion of the many and various opinions about it is superfluous. For those interested in them, reference may be made to *Ges.-Buhl.* under מִצְרַיִם and מִצּוּר. It is hardly necessary to enter into the controversy as to whether מִצְרַיִם denotes Egypt exclusively or includes also north-western Arabia (!), a suggestion which found no support and may be regarded as long since refuted.

that מצרים is nothing else than a literal and grammatical adaptation of the Egyptian word *tj.wy*, dual of *tj* = 'land', i.e. the two lands or the 'twin land', this being as a matter of fact the designation given by the Egyptians to their country from time immemorial, with reference to Upper and Lower Egypt.¹ Even assuming that the word מצר originally meant 'boundary' its selection should by no means appear strange, for 'boundary' was also in common use for 'territory, land' (cf. e.g. גבול 'boundary' and 'territory, land'). The origin of the word and its formation are, therefore, purely Semitic, but the background is Egyptian.

The question now arises whether this designation was coined in Canaan, in Aram, or in other neighbouring land from a Canaanitic or Aramaic dialect before the entry of the Israelites into Egypt. The fact, however, that in the Amarna tablets of the Fourteenth Century B.C. Egypt is called *Miṣri Miṣṣari* in the singular, and that furthermore we possess no evidence from any other equally early Semitic documents or languages that Egypt was ever called by a name of dual formation suggesting the idea of 'two lands', leads us to conclude that מצרים 'the two lands' was an original creation of the Hebrews from the Egyptian *tj.wy* as the standing name for Egypt as a whole.²

As to the origin of the division of Egypt into a kingdom of the South (*šm.w*) = Upper Egypt under the 'white Crown' (*hḏ.t*) and a kingdom of the north (*mḥw*) = Lower Egypt under the 'red Crown' (*dšr.t* also *mḥw-š*), we know nothing apart from the fact that the memory of the union of the two kingdoms had early become very deeply rooted among the Egyptian people, and that despite the extraordinary vicissitudes and changeable destinies of the centuries, it remained alive down to quite late periods of their history. It may however be supposed that this union was first effected under Menes, the first king of the 1st dynasty (about 4186 according to Borchardt, 3400 according to Erman, cf. *Erman-Ranke*, 658, or perhaps already at the institution of the Sothis calendar in the year 4236 or 4241 B.C. (*Erman-Ranke*, 398). Although the two kingdoms were not always united, the name *tj.wy* 'twin land' always existed, and if the Egyptians in ordinary intercourse

¹ In the various attempts to interpret מצרים allusion has been made to the two divisions of Egypt, but no one, as far as I can see, has thought of the purely linguistic analogy of *tj.wy*, not even Spiegelberg, *Rec.* 21, 46 f., though this lies very near.

² Among the Phoenician inscriptions recently discovered by Montet in Byblos (*Syria*, Part 2, 1924, pp. 135-57), מצרים occurs in the *Abibā'al* inscription as name for Egypt which must certainly be a dual = 'the two lands' and identical with the much later Phoenician form מצרים. Although this is the oldest Phoenician inscription in which מצרים occurs, it is doubtful whether it is older than the tenth century B.C. (cf. H. Bauer, *OLZ.*, 1925, col. 137).

called their country *km.t* 'the black' (ibid. 15), *tj.wy* still remained the official name for Egypt. One has however the feeling that in the use of *tj.wy* the Egyptians had both lands in mind as separate units though they applied it to the whole country in general. Such a connotation was already current in the Old Kingdom (3000-2000 B.C.) as well as throughout the whole of the Middle Kingdom (2000-1580 B.C.) and must have remained still later in use. One has the same feeling with regard to the author of the Joseph narrative in his frequent use of the expression כל ארץ מצרים 'the whole country of the two lands' בכל ארץ מצרים 'in the whole country of the two lands' side by side with the more simple ארץ מצרים 'the country of the two lands' or בארץ מצרים 'in the country of the two lands'. It becomes apparent that thereby he intends to emphasize the fact that in Joseph's time both lands were united under the rulership of Pharaoh and under the administration of Joseph, as a special sign of consolidated power and unified government. Thus the narrator shows, in this connexion also, his complete familiarity with the changeable conditions in the Nile valley. Hence his concern to stress the fact of a united Egypt, as when he speaks of Joseph's installation over the whole country of the 'two lands' (41, 41. 43), his extraordinary plenary powers over the whole country of the 'two lands' (41, 44); when he mentions that immediately after Joseph's appointment as vizier he journeyed through the whole country of the 'two lands' (41, 46) or that later he transferred the peasantry to the towns 'from one end of the country of the "two lands" to the other end' (47, 21). In this last instance it is particularly clear that allusion is made to all the territories from the north to the south in both Upper and Lower Egypt. That such an intention is not a mere conjecture can be concluded from the fact that כָּכָל does not precede the name מצרים, not even in cases where Egypt as a whole is meant, unless it is intended to emphasize the political and administrative unity of the country.

This remarkable emphasis assumes special historical significance when it is recalled that before the New Kingdom there was only one vizier for both territories and that it was only in the New Kingdom that two viziers came on the scene—one for Upper Egypt with the title *tj.t n n.t ršy* 'Vizier of the South', and the other for Lower Egypt: *tj.t n mḥw* 'Vizier of the North' (cf. Gardiner, *Mes*, p. 33, Nos. 4 and 5). The author of the Joseph narrative must have known of these changed conditions, and therefore wanted to bring out the fact that in contrast to his own time, when there were two vizierates, Joseph was the sole vizier over the whole country of the 'two lands'. And this he emphasized not only because it had been the administrative system of that earlier time, but also because of Joseph's personal qualities as well

as the high favour which he had gained with Pharaoh, in face of the necessity to prepare for the threatening catastrophe which rendered essential a unified and strong administration of the entire country in the hands of a wise and far-seeing counsellor. For if there had not been such a change in the conditions of the vizierate, and had the narrator no knowledge thereof, he would have contented himself with the simple statement that Joseph was installed vizier of Egypt, without emphasizing on every occasion that the whole country of the 'two lands' was under his rule. The narrator must therefore have been fully conscious of the great change that had taken place between the time of Joseph's government and his own time. It is consequently not possible to admit that Joseph's appointment was for him a mere legend. On the contrary he records it as a positive historical fact, illustrated by such features as could only be rightly understood and appreciated in the light of changes introduced in State institutions subsequently to the Joseph period. We have, thereby, gained an important clue which together with other indications discussed below will be of no little significance for the approximate delimitation of the epoch to which the Joseph period can be assigned.

4. The use of שׂוֹמֵר 'The Man'

Of especial interest is the above-mentioned word *t.t* the official title of the vizier. As pointed out by Sethe the feminine form *t.t* is only customary in texts of the new Kingdom. In the old Kingdom it was written in the masculine *t* or *t.t* which as Sethe (*Vezier*, p. 6, No. 13) suggests is identical with *t.t* 'man'; if this be so then the vizier as the highest and most powerful man next to the king was called 'the man'.¹

This designation as 'the man' provides us with an explanation why Joseph is always described as שׂוֹמֵר 'the man', e.g. 42, 30: 'the man'.... spake harshly² to us; 42, 33: 'the man' did solemnly protest unto us; 43, 5 and other passages. Although שׂוֹמֵר in its ordinary sense is elsewhere used generally for 'man', sometimes also for a higher personage, one cannot overlook the fact that in the Joseph narrative, apart from the house steward 43, 17, 19, 24 and the brethren 44, 17, who are treated here not as ordinary people, the word is used only of Joseph, notably in passages where his quality as ruler of the land is emphasized (42, 30). Similarly *t.t* from earliest times was also generally used for 'man' in contrast to *hm.t* 'woman' exactly like שׂוֹמֵר וְשׂוֹמֵרָה,

¹ It should be pointed out that the form *t.t* corresponds to a later mode of writing. For our purpose there is no difference whether it is transcribed *t.t* or *t.ty*.

² Literally 'harsh things' which grammatically could also be taken as adverbial, the same as in Is. 30, 10. This construction is similar to the Egyptian use of a noun in plur. fem. to express special emphasis.

then of an ordinary man like שׂוֹמֵר and finally also of an exalted personage as in our case of the vizier. It is, therefore, very probable that in the application of שׂוֹמֵר 'the man' to Joseph as vizier there is a deliberate allusion to his Egyptian title *t.t* 'the man'.¹

In the reproduction of *t.t* by שׂוֹמֵר we may have a further valuable and important piece of evidence as to the period in which this was possible: for since the New Kingdom the feminine form *t.t* had already completely asserted itself in an abstract meaning (applied to the vizier's office) having lost its original concrete meaning of 'man'. It would therefore have hardly been possible for a Hebrew of that period to think of that obsolete meaning and render it by שׂוֹמֵר whereas this could perfectly well have been the case previously, when the masculine form was still in use and the concrete meaning 'man' was familiar to everyone. Hence we are justified in submitting that it was from that period prior to the New Kingdom that the Hebrew designation of the vizier as שׂוֹמֵר must have emanated and that this designation was preserved in Hebrew circles until the Joseph narrative was later cast into literary form. This would then take us to the time anterior to the foundation of the New Kingdom (16th cent. B.C.) a time which coincides with the Biblical tradition as to the Joseph period, and most nearly supports the hypothesis that Joseph's elevation took place under the auspices of a Hyksos king (about the 17th cent. B.C.).²

5. The Interpreter

The word מְלִיץ 'interpreter', Gen. 42, 23 corresponds in Egyptian to the office of *whmw* 'repeater' for the interpreter, reporting-officer, and herald who also held other posts. *whmw* signifies narrator, repeater, i.e. one who repeats what has been said to him, a sort of 'reporter', e.g. *Urk.* iv. 972, 19 *whmw* 'the great, the chief reporter'; *Pap. Kahun*, pl. xii, 5 reads *whmw sn.nw n rsy* the second reporter of the South, i.e. the deputy (of the king or vizier?) reporter for Upper Egypt; *Urk.* iv. 1120, 1 (Rekh-My-Re), *whmw*

¹ P. Dhorme, *Revue Biblique* 1929, p. 444, draws attention to the fact that in the *Tell-al-Amarna* tablets the princes of the towns under Pharaoh's rule were called *amēlu* 'the man'. It is very significant that though it is an Akkadian word it was never used as a title in Mesopotamia but only in Canaan at the Amarna-period, when the language used by the princes in their correspondence with the King of Egypt was in many respects influenced by Egyptian (cf. below, p. 44, note 1). Hence Dhorme's suggestion that *amēlu* 'the man' was applied to the vassal princes of Canaan in juxtaposition to the Pharaoh who was called 'the god' is very plausible. But this would only confirm the interpretation of שׂוֹמֵר 'the man' as an adaptation to the Egyptian *t.t* and not, as D. thinks, prove that the use of שׂוֹמֵר is to be explained from Akkadian! The very fact that *amēlu* was confined to those vassal princes would suggest an Egyptian influence.

² Cf. below, p. 36 f. on שׂוֹמֵר Ex. 2, 14 used in the same meaning.

nw šp. *wt* reporter of the province; *whmw nšw.t* is the repeater of the speech of the king, the herald, *whmw tpy* the chief repeater, i.e. the chief herald of the king. Under Thutmosis III, e.g. Intef was the *whmw nšw.t* also *whmw tpy nnsw*, and as he was his permanent companion on his foreign campaigns, so in his capacity of *whmw* 'the repeater', he would also have been his interpreter (*Urk.* iv. 964, 9, and *Records*, ii, §§ 763 and 771). Also Ahmose (*i'h-ms*) boasted *Urk.* iv, 38, 7 of having accompanied four kings, gods (*ntr.w*) with whom he lived, to all foreign lands, and that he satisfied the great crowds in that he 'repeated the "mouth" of the king of Lower Egypt to his nobles (*whm-f r; n byty n š'h.w-f*)'. In *Urk.* iv. 3, 14 *whmw n nšw.t* is the 'reporter of the king' who acquainted him with all important occurrences, just as in *Sin.* 41 f. where he conveyed to him (the king) the wishes of higher officials or told of their doings.¹ Finally there was also a *whmw h;š.t nb.t* a repeater of all foreign lands, i.e. interpreter of foreign languages.² From all these instances it is conclusive that *whmw* is derived from *whm* 'to repeat, narrate'³ (*Er.-Gr.* 38) for the functions of the reporter, herald, and interpreter of foreign languages at court, as well as for other authorities, an office for which also the מליץ was designated. The identification of מליץ with *whmw* is supported by the fact that מל or מל in some passages notably *Job* 33, 23 also 16, 20 has the meaning of 'to repeat'. In reproducing the title *whmw* by מליץ the use of לוי for 'repeat' must have been clearly present in the mind of the Hebrew narrator.⁴

6. The House Steward

In *Gen.* 43, 16. 44, 1, 4, Joseph's house steward is called אֲשֶׁר עַל הַבַּיִת 'he over the house'. Here we have a specific official designation quite current

¹ The text reads: 'my name was not heard in the mouth of the repeater' (*n šdm.tw rn-y m r; whmw*) which means to say that his name was no longer mentioned with praise before the king and was forgotten in the palace, although no accusation could be brought up against him. To be mentioned before the king was the natural aspiration of every courtier and the 'repeater' was the most suitable person for this function. *Erman, Lit.*, 18, n. 1, takes it in the opposite sense that the *whmw* had nothing detrimental to relate concerning him.

² For this the Egyptian has also the expression (ϣ) which presumably is derived from ϣ (ϣ) (New-Egyptian ϣ (ϣ), *Er.-Gr.* 23 and 1), 'to speak foreign languages'. ϣ or ϣ I regard as a mocking expression to imitate the languages of Egypt's Semitic neighbours because they are full of gutturals.

³ Phrases like *whm nh* 'to live for a second time', i.e. to return to life again, *Urk.* iv. 52, 7 or *mt m whm* 'to die a second time', or *n mt-f m whm* 'he shall not die a second time' occur frequently in texts for the dead. Also of the repeating of utterances of others, e.g. *Urk.* i. 122, 17 = *Records*, i, § 357; *ink ddy nfr whmy mrr.tw* 'I spoke that which is good and repeated what is loved', i.e. words and exhortations agreeable to God and men.

⁴ The same sense may underlie מלץ 'mock' because he 'repeats' the words and gestures of other people with mocking intent.

in Egyptian administration, namely, *hry-pr* 'he over the house',¹ which as one sees is literally identical with the Hebrew and is the title for a higher administrative officer of the king, or of a high dignitary.

7. Joseph's name פַּעְנֵחַ פַּעְנֵחַ

After having commented on the titles of Joseph it is opportune to discuss the question of the origin and meaning of פַּעְנֵחַ פַּעְנֵחַ, the name given by Pharaoh to Joseph (*Gen.* 41, 45). That the name is composed of Egyptian and not Hebrew words, as had been assumed, is now generally admitted. It is only concerning the form and meaning of the component elements of the name that Egyptologists differ.² That Pharaoh should confer on Joseph an Egyptian name on his elevation as his viceroy was quite natural not only for the purpose of giving him, the foreigner, externally the character of an Egyptian dignitary, but also because on such occasions, even with Egyptians, it was customary for the king to bestow upon a favourite an honorific name denoting a special distinction and marking at the same time the beginning of a new and important stage in his career. This was based on the same idea as actuated the Egyptian kings from earliest times in taking, on their accession to the throne, one or more honorific and symbolic names, in which the special favour and love of the gods was implied, as e.g. *Š'nh-ptḥ-mry-R'*, i.e. 'Ptah maintain (or maintains) the life of the beloved of Re' as cognomen of Phiops I (6th dynasty); *Šnfr-iḥb-R'* 'he who makes good (i.e. rejoices) the heart of Re' (12th dynasty) or *Mry-R'* 'the beloved of Re' and *Štp-n-R'* 'the chosen of Re', name of Rameses II (19th dynasty) &c. In many cases it happened that high dignitaries when assuming a particularly important office added the name of their gracious sovereign to their own, as a sign of their fealty, loyalty, and gratitude (*Erman-Ranke*, p. 187 f.). Attention may here be drawn to a particular instance, in which, exactly as happened with Joseph, a Canaanite with the name *bn iwḏm* (בן יוסן?) from *dḏrḏsḏm* (צרת בשן?),³ having been elevated by King Merneptah, son of Rameses II,

¹ *hry* is from *hr* = over, on = לע, he who is placed on or over something, one who is above, who is the higher or the chief (*Er.-Gr.* 113); *hry* often occurs in conjunction with offices, e.g. *hry mnš*: he who is over a boat = captain (*Rec.* 21, 77); *hry šš.w*: he who is over the writings or scribes = chief scribe; *hry k.t*: he who is over the work = chief overseer; *hry šš.t*: he who is over the secrets.

² On the various interpretations of this name, cf. *Ges.-Buhl.*, s.v.; Lieblein, *PSBA.*, 1898, p. 204 f.; Kyle, *Moses*, p. 34 ff., also Naville, *Arch.*, p. 58. That פַּעְנֵחַ is the Egyptian *nh* 'life' was already recognized by Lepsius, *Einleitung in die Chron. d. Ägypter*, i, p. 382, Berlin, 1849, and has since been generally accepted.

³ Cf. *Mar. Abyd.*, ii, pl. 50; Burch. *Altkan.*, Nos. 341 and 1232, who expounds it differently. In this case צרת would imply something equivalent to 'fortress'.

to a very high office at court, assumed or perhaps was given the name 'Rameses in the Temple of Re' and in addition also the cognomen 'the beloved of Heliopolis'. In the case of Joseph it is expressly stated that it was the king himself who bestowed on his favourite such an honorific name as sign of his admiration and esteem.

As for the origin and the meaning of צפנת פענח , many attempts have been made to discover what were the Egyptian words of similar sound composing the name and to interpret it accordingly. Some support has been accorded to the interpretation proposed by Steindorf (*AZ.* 27 (1889), 41 and 30 (1892), 50). According to him it should be dissected into $\text{dd } p' \text{ ntr } iw-f' nh$ perhaps צד פא נטר יופ ענה which in syncopated script would look like $\text{d } p \text{ nt } f' nh = \text{צפנת פענח}$ and would give the meaning: 'the God speaks; may he live.'¹ Such a solution would be quite admissible from the phonetic standpoint, and could be supported by the fact that such theophoric names were actually frequent among the Egyptians. Several of them contain almost all the elements of צפנת פענח so interpreted, and others even present a direct parallel thereto. But this interpretation enjoys special favour among Biblical critics because no examples of such names before the ninth century B.C. have been found.² This circumstance is even taken as proof of the contention that the Joseph narrative could not possibly have been composed before the ninth century (Steindorff, *AZ.*, &c.). But this *argumentum ex silentio* is invalid as the mere fact that such names are not found before that period in Egyptian would by no means constitute a decisive proof that they were unknown earlier. On the other hand one might just as well expect from the supporters of such views that they should date the

¹ Steindorff has merely followed the suggestion previously given by Krall who changed צפנת into צפנת and read: $\text{d } Mnt' iw-f' nh$, i.e. the god 'Month speaks: May he live', a name that actually occurs among the Egyptians as we shall soon see.

² Theophoric names of this kind both for men and women occur in extraordinary profusion especially in the eighth and seventh centuries in conjunction with various gods and goddesses. The oldest examples are probably $\text{dd } s.t' iw-f' nh$ for a man, 'Isis speaks: May he live', and for a woman, 'Isis speaks ($iw-s' nh$): May she live', both from the late period of the New Empire, i.e. as early as about 1200 B.C. Many other names in conjunction with the deities Bastet, Maat, Mwt, Ptah, Month, Hapi (the Nile god), Horus, Hons, Thoth, Jah (the Moon god), and Amon, occur, always in the same formation as the above-cited, namely $iw-f' nh$ for men, and $iw-s' nh$ for women. In view of the fact that some Egyptologists still cling to the Steindorff-Spiegelberg interpretation, it must be most emphatically stated that there is not even one case from among all the dozens of names of this formation, in which the name of the deity (such as Mis, Maat, Amon, Ptah, &c.) is omitted. Even in abbreviations of such names, in which the last words $iw-f' nh$ 'May he live' or $iw-s' nh$ 'May she live' drop out, the name of the deity is never missing. Some of the above examples are from the Berlin *Dictionary of Names* still in preparation where many more are to be found.

narrative back to the twelfth century because Poti-pherah, the name of Joseph's father-in-law, as Spiegelberg, the staunchest supporter of Steindorff's conjecture shows (*Aufenth. Israels*, p. 53), is forthcoming as far back as the 20th dynasty (about 1200-1090 B.C.). Apart from all this, the identification of צפנת פענח with $\text{dd } p' \text{ ntr } iw-f' nh$ presents many difficulties of an intrinsic nature which give rise to some misgivings. As can be seen from the names quoted, and from many others of similar composition not here cited, but readily to be found in any number in Egyptian records, such names without exception begin with the name of a particular god, thus 'Amon, Isis, Maat, &c. speaks: may he live long', but nowhere is a name, such as 'God speaks: may he live long' without giving the name of the god, to be found. This has a good reason, because, when such a theophoric name was given to a child, the name of the god under whose protection the child was placed had to be explicitly mentioned. A more serious difficulty lies in the fact that names of this category had a specific augural character. They were numbered by the hundred, and were intended to protect the child from an evil fate by giving expression to the hope that it might be preserved in life by the protection and fiat of the deity selected as patron. Now if the bestowal of such a name by superstitious parents, rendered anxious perhaps by the loss of several children, on a new-born, long-coveted child, to protect it against the recurrence of such a danger is quite comprehensible, in Joseph's case it would appear most astonishing and even ridiculous that the highest dignitary on his elevation to the most powerful position in the empire should be given a name of this kind.

It is obvious that Steindorff's conjecture cannot be regarded as satisfactory; but besides there is another consideration of great importance. One would expect to find in the honorific cognomen conferred on the vizier on so important an occasion, some allusion to his new dignity, some expression which in some way would point to the nature of his office, to his capacity and suitability for this office. Though this point has been taken into consideration, the interpretations given to צפנת פענח are either phonetically unacceptable or only possible by the alteration or transposition of the letters. I should, therefore, like to propose a much simpler explanation, one which is far more suitable to the occasion, and without any phonetic or grammatical difficulties. צפנת פענח is to be dissected in the following fashion: $\text{df} (= \text{df}') \text{ n } t' \text{ pw } 'nh = \text{צפנת פענח}$, i.e. 'food, sustenance of the land is the living' or 'is this living one'.¹ In support of this interpretation the following

¹ Already Harkavy (*Journal Asiatique*, 1870, p. 179), and later also Lieblein (*PSBA.*, 1898, p. 204 f.) thought of df = food as the first element in צפנת . Harkavy reads $\text{df}' \text{ nd } p' 'nh$ = 'Nourriture, sauveur de la vie', but this is phonetically wrong as nd cannot possibly

points are particularly to be observed. First of all personal names with *df*, *df*, as Lieblein has already noted, are very old, occurring already in the Middle Kingdom, e.g. in theophoric names *df.y h'py*; *h'py df.y*; *h'py df.y* 'my food is the Nile God' (Hoffmann, *Theoph. Namen*, p. 69). Also the female name *df.t-sn* = 'their food' which is obviously abbreviated, occurs very early (Petrie, *Medum*, 17; *Sakkara Grab*, 15, LD. ii. 48; *Kairo, Scheintüre des A.R.*) But even in the names of some kings of the 14th dynasty as early as the eighteenth century B.C., *df*, *df* occurs; thus the name of the second king is *df mry R* 'food, sustenance, is the beloved of Re' and *nb df R* 'lord of food, of sustenance is Re', is the name of the fourth king (Gauthier, *Le Livre des Rois*, ii, 58; *Burch. Pieper, Handb. d. äg. Kön.*, nos. 182, 184; 187 reads similarly).¹ The idea that the ruler of Egypt was also the feeder of Egypt was current both in royal names and in eulogies and encomiums of the kings. Thus it is said of Ekhnaton, Amenophis IV (Davies, *Amarna I*, 38 East, 2.) that he was 'the life-force and the food of Egypt (*k; dfsw n km.t*)'. Consequently in *df n km.t* 'food of Egypt' we have a direct parallel to *df n t; = n n t; n* 'food of the land'.² Further evidence is forthcoming in the fact that a king of the 13th dynasty (eighteenth century B.C.) bore the name *s'nh t;wy* 'he who keeps alive, i.e. feeder of the "two lands"' (Hierogl. Texts, Brit. Mus. iv, pl. 22). Finally in *pw 'nh* the 'living' is to be taken in an optative sense: he who desires to live; or in an exalted sense which is quite usual: he who is *the* living one.³ By our inter-

correspond to *n n*. According to Lieblein it should read *df nty p; 'nh* = 'Celui qui possède, ou donne, la nourriture de la vie'; but the Egyptian could only mean 'the food which is life', and never refer to a *person* who gives life. For *df* or *df* 'food', cf. Er.-Gr. 220 a very common word for food, nourishment, and *sdf* or *sdf* = 'to provide with food, to feed', p. 177. The defective spelling *df* is quite usual in Egyptian itself. The traditional vocalization *df n km.t* may perhaps originally have been: *df-n-t; pa-^ane^b*, or *df-n-t; = df-n-t;* (cf. *t;* = Coptic τσ (S) θσ (B)), a pronunciation which would approach the reading handed down in the LXX, *ψονδομφανηχ* which possibly is corrupted from *σφονδομφανηχ*. Of course, this attempt to obtain the most probable pronunciation of the elements contained in *df n km.t* transmitted in the Hebrew and Coptic texts is a mere speculation, the more so as the true pronunciation of Egyptian words is completely unknown to us.

¹ This is how I regard these names and read them accordingly—the first name might be translated also 'My food (*df-y*) is the beloved of Re'.

² Cf. also 'the life force of the whole land' (ibid. iii, 19) or 'all men' (ibid. iii, 16 = Grapow, *Bildl. Ausdr.*, 142). We find also *k; n km.t* 'nourishment of Egypt' as a title of the kings of the 19th and 20th Dynasties, e.g. of Rameses II, *Ag. WB.*, v, p. 92, also *k; nrw nb* 'nourishment of every day' ibid. p. 91. Later *df; t;wy* 'Feeding (or Feeder) of Egypt' as a title of the priest of Dendera, *Ag. WB.*, iv, p. 383.

³ For *p; 'nh* one might also accept (*iw-*)*f 'nh* 'Food of the land, may he live'. The first reading, however, seems to be more plausible. Here *p;* or *p;y* 'nh need not be a personal name although the names *p; 'nh* and *p;y 'nh* occurring later (20-1 dyn. 1200-945 B.C., e.g.

pretation all difficulties are removed and all the surrounding circumstances taken into consideration. Primarily it is the special character of the office and position of Joseph as nourisher of the whole land (המשביר Gen. 42, 6) which is referred to. Further, phonetically the Egyptian *d* exactly corresponds to a Hebrew ז, and the reproduction of all parts of the Egyptian elements in Hebrew is thoroughly regular, including the omission of the Egyptian *w* in an open syllable. Finally, that the bestowal of such a name really signifies an honour and expresses Pharaoh's high opinion of Joseph's qualifications needs no further comment. We would merely observe that the occurrence of names with *df* as a component element in a period long anterior to the New Kingdom, and more particularly the fact that *df* is contained in princely names of the 13th and 14th dynasty, i.e. shortly before the Hyksos régime, must be of significance for determining the period in which the conferment of such an honorific name on Joseph was possible. And this more especially from the standpoint of those who take the age of certain Egyptian names as conclusive for the fixation of the time of authorship of the Joseph narrative.¹

8. Use of שר as title of high Egyptian Dignitaries

The title שר occurs several times in the Joseph and Exodus narrative in reference to high state or court officials, such as שר הפתחים (Gen. 37, 36. 39, 1); שר בית הפהר (39, 21 ff.); שר הפושקים and שר האפים (40, 2 ff.); שרי מסים (Ex. 1, 11).

This word is of special interest because its use in the Joseph and Exodus narratives and, elsewhere, in a specific meaning only becomes clear from Egyptian. As is well known in Akkadian *šarru* = שר is an ordinary word usual for 'king, prince', whereas in Egyptian *sr* (Late-Egyptian written: *sir*) is a designation of high dignitaries. Now the Hebrew שר is generally explained from the Akkadian *šarru* though in that case the Hebrew should be שר and not שר, nevertheless it could be admitted as an exception. It is most striking, however, that whereas *šarru* in Akkadian, like *maliku* (מלך), is used exclusively for king, prince, it appears in the Pentateuch, as the above examples show, only as a title of higher officials like *sr* in Egyptian. There is, furthermore, a circumstance which has not been sufficiently considered but which deserves special attention: Ex. 2, 14. reads 'Who put thee as איש, as a שר, and as a judge over us? Intendest thou to kill me as thou

on the mummy of Rameses III, *Momies Royales*, 564, Sethe, Karnak 21, 79-80; Spiegelberg, 'Briefe der 21 Dyn.', *ÄZ.* 53, p. 6, 7, *Rec.* 14, p. 32 and 21, p. 13 ff.) may really have existed earlier.

¹ For further details about this name cf. my *Erwiderung*, p. 20 ff.

killedst the Egyptian?' That here שר in the sense of *prince* does not really fit, especially after לְאִישׁ, has been felt by most commentators and translators, for which reason it has been generally more or less paraphrased. This suspicion is perfectly right and the fact that שר and שופט appear together is not merely accidental. Now *sr* occurs in Egyptian already in Pyr. 1220 ('thou didst appoint him as *sr*'), and more frequently in later texts for high personages in various state and court offices. In many cases such officials are generally called *sr.w* (plural of *sr*) as well as *wr.w* (plural of *wr* 'the great').¹ But it is in the New Kingdom that *sr* appears with such frequency, notably in reference to judges in high positions, that one gets the impression that *sr* was actually a specific designation of a judicial office. We proceed to give a series of examples which show unmistakably the specific use of *sr* for judges or members of a high Court of Justice. Thus in Pap. Turin 128, 6 *sr.w n n.t* are 'judges of the town'; in Pap. Anast. vi. 2, 8.: the people were heard *m bsh n sr.w* 'before the judges'. Also in phrases like *h' m bsh sr.w* 'standing before the *sr.w*' or 'the *sr.w* spoke' which often occur in judicial documents, obviously only judges can be meant. In many passages it is the members of the High Court *knb.t* who bear the title *sr* thus e.g. Pap. Abbott 7, 8: *n sr.w 'y.yw n t knb.t 't n n.t* 'the great judges of the great *knb.t* (Court of Justice) of the town'. It is true that in earlier times as already observed *sr* occurs for high dignitaries generally, but already in the Old Kingdom and also in the Middle Kingdom the *sr* exercised judicial functions (Borchardt *AZ.* 1890, 89 ff.) *L.D.* ii. 149 c. a high dignitary is called, *inter alia*, also 'vizier and overseer of all the *sr.w* of judicial decisions (*wd' md.w* or *mdt*)'; in Pap d'Orb 19, 4. *sr.w 'y.yw n hm-f* are 'the great judges of His Majesty', probably the members of the *knb.t*—High Court of Justice. Finally it may be added that not only in the above-mentioned Turin Papyrus in reference to the trial relating to the harem insurrection, but also in other judicial documents, judges are designated as *sr.w* (cf. also Spiegelb., *Rechtsw.*, p. 15, 48, 104, 117). Thus the character of the *sr* as a judge of high rank is so palpably demonstrated that no further examples are necessary.

It is now clear that also in Ex. 2, 13. שר can very well have been used in the meaning of 'high judge'. It further becomes clear why שר is immediately followed by שופט. By this interpretation of שר and the contiguity of שר and שופט the presence of אִישׁ also is explained as being the equivalent

¹ Significant for the Egyptian title *sr* is the fact that in the meaning 'prince' it was used only of Egyptian, but not of foreign princes (Er.-Gr. 165). Whether it is genuine Egyptian, or was originally derived from Akkadian, as W. M. Müller, *AE.* 44, A 3 suggests, is a matter which cannot yet be decided.

of the Egyptian designation for vizier, namely in his quality of highest judge of the land (see above p. 28 f.) The repudiation of Moses would thus read: 'Who appointed thee as "a man" (אִישׁ) (i.e. vizier, as highest judge), as member of a high court (שר), or even as an ordinary magistrate (שופט)?'

Our conclusion is considerably strengthened by the fact that in the periods before the New Kingdom the Vizier was called *srb tity* (e.g. *Urk.* I, 60, 14 and *Ag. WB.* 3, 421) i.e. Judge and Vizier, which coincides literally with אִישׁ וְשׁוֹפֵט.

There are a few other official titles in the Joseph and Exodus narratives which, though linguistically are not exactly copied from Egyptian, nevertheless point to officials and dignitaries with the same functions as are known to us from Egyptian state administration and also from the control of forced labour, some of which are very vividly depicted in Egyptian reliefs.

Thus we have e.g. in שׁוֹטְרִים 'scribes' an equivalent of the Egyptian *ss.w* 'scribes' who in a relief representing the planing of bricks are shown crouching before a writing tablet on which they enter the number of the piled up bricks, a task which in Ex. 5, 8, 14, 18 is assigned to the שׁוֹטְרִים.¹ The נוֹשְׂטִים 'taskmasters' Ex. 3, 7. 5, 10, 13. will be identical with the *rwd.w* (older *rwd.w*) = inspectors, who with stick in hand supervised the workmen at their forced labour, and flogged the dilatory.² Possibly the *mskbw* were the שְׂרֵי מַסִּים i.e. the chief levy bailiffs Ex 1, 11. who in Pap. Harris, Pl. 28, 5. and 48, 2. are also called tax collectors, and whose duty it was to collect the tribute from the peasants and deliver it to the Treasury.³

The שְׂרֵי מִקְנֵה Gen. 47, 6 correspond to the *mr.w iw.w* (or *kn.w*) *n pr-*' 'overseers of the herds of Pharaoh' (cf. *Records* 6, 44 *Edikt. des Haremheb*, l. 27), and the זְקֵנִים 'elders' of the house of Pharaoh, or of the 'whole land' (Gen. 50, 7.) are the *smśw.w* 'the elders' a derivative of *smś.y* 'to be old' (Sethe, *Verb* i. §§ 338, 266, 410 etc). By the 'elders of his house' Gen. 50, 7. are obviously meant the *smśw.w hry.t* 'the elders of the hall' i.e. of the palace (Er.-Gr. 162).

We would further observe that בַּת פְּרִיעָה (Ex. 2, 5. etc.) is not—as it is regarded—a general designation for the daughter of Pharaoh, but is a literal reproduction of *st nsw* 'daughter of the king', which was the official

¹ We shall discuss the meaning and usage of שׁוֹטְרִים more fully elsewhere.

² Cf. *Erman-Ranke*, illustr. 201, p. 507 from the 18th dyn., illustr. 32 and 33, p. 160 and 111, scribes and inspectors with sticks. In 1 Kings 5, 30. 9, 23 the inspectors are called רוֹדֵיִם which probably is derived from the Egyptian *rwd.w*.

³ Is *mskbw* a Canaanite word (Burch. Altkan, no. 513)? So far I can find no Semitic root which could warrant this.

title of a royal princess, just as *sn nsw.t* 'son of the king' was the official title of a royal prince.¹

9. The Chief Overseer of the Convicts and the בית הסהר for Penal Establishment

In *Gen 39, 21* we have the title of the chief overseer of the convicts interned in the penal establishment called בית הסהר, where also Joseph was imprisoned. That בית הסהר really meant a penal institution is unmistakably implied by its fuller description in the preceding verse as 'a place where the prisoners of the king were confined'. Now neither the origin nor meaning of the word סהר is clear, and as it occurs only in the Joseph story, and is exclusively applied to an Egyptian prison, it is highly probable that also the word itself is Egyptian.²

Let us now see whether the Egyptian does not in fact give a clue leading to the discovery of the true meaning of the word and nature of the establishment. In many Egyptian inscriptions we find a word *ṭr* which is also transcribed *ṭrw* with a final vowel. From a phonetic point of view *ṭr* fully corresponds to סהר as Egyptian *ṭ* is quite regularly equivalent to Hebrew ס, and Egyptian *r* is frequently represented in Hebrew by ה so that the transcription of *ṭr* by סהר would be perfectly correct.³ As to *ṭr* itself it occurs more in inscriptions of the New Kingdom than of any other time as the name of a fortress close to the Palestine frontier to which corrupt officials and notorious criminals were consigned. It appears for the first time in an inscription of Thutmosis III about 1478 B.C., reporting a campaign undertaken by him from this spot in the twenty-second year of his reign 'to enlarge the borders of Egypt' (*LD. iii. 31, 16 f. = Records, ii. § 415 and Erman-Ranke 629 f.*). In *Pap. Anast. iii, 1, 10*. *ṭr* is indicated as the boundary between Egypt and the land of Khar (or Kharu *ḥrw*),⁴ the extent

¹ *1 Kings 3, 1*. shows quite clearly that the 'daughter of Pharaoh' is not to be taken literally, but as a *title*; otherwise it would have read simply 'his daughter', cf. also *11, 1*.

² In view of the pretension of some critics (e.g. P. Dhormes, *Revue Biblique*, 1929, p. 444, and Begrich *Zeitschrift f. Semit.*, 1929, p. 11) that סהר can be derived from a Semitic stem, it cannot be enough emphasized that words of such nature can only be explained from the environment in which they happen to appear, and not by associating them with all kinds of words of *similar sound*. Not the hunt for *etymologies* through the search of *words in dictionaries*, can lead to a satisfactory solution, but the endeavour to understand things out of the conditions and languages with which they are closely connected.

³ The hieroglyph of the crouched lion can equally well stand for *r* as for *rw*; as far as I see, in passages where *ṭr* is written in syllables, there is no *w* at the end, but clearly *r* or alternatively *rw* (cf. below). I should like to go still further in suggesting that in the case of *ṭr* and *ḥrw* the Egyptian spelling indicates that the pronunciation is *ṭ^hrw* and *ḥ^hrw* respectively. I shall deal more fully with this question elsewhere.

⁴ Under *ḥrw* or *ḥrw*, the Egyptians understood a certain part of Palestine and it is doubtless

of which is said to be 'beginning from *ṭr* till Jupa' (*š^h m ṭr r ṭwp*), which is supposed to be identical with the land Ubi in the neighbourhood of Damascus mentioned in the Amarna tablets. In the edict of Haremheb (1350-1315 B.C.) *ṭr* is mentioned several times as a prison for grievous offenders (*Records, iii, 50 ff.*), such as thieves, and tax collectors misusing their office to exploit the people, who were to be punished with having their noses cut off and being sent to *ṭr* (pars. 51, 54, 55 and 56). In an inscription of Seti I (1313-1292 B.C.) *ṭr* is mentioned again as starting-point of his campaign against Canaan in the words (*LD. iii. 126 a = Records, iii. § 88*): 'the slaughter (or destruction? = *fḥ*) which the mighty sword of Pharaoh wrought among the hostile Shasu (*ššw*)¹ beginning at the fortress of *ṭr* down to Canaan' (*m š^h m p^h ḥtm n ṭr r p^h k^hn'm*).² In another passage (*Records iii. § 100*) it is called a 'fortress' (*ḥtm ṭr*) and in the adjacent scene Seti I is shown driving the enemy prisoners into the fortress. Further, *ibid.*, § 307 it is said of Rameses II (1292-1225 B.C.) that in the fifth year of his reign he passed through the fortress of *ṭr* on his campaign against Asia; it is likewise mentioned (*ibid.*, § 542) that when still Crown Prince he was commandant of the fortress *ṭr*. The Karnak reliefs depicting the big campaigns of Rameses II in Palestine and Syria (*LD. iii. 128 a-b*), show the fortress of *ṭr* where on his triumphant return to Egypt, he was greeted by the great priests and the princes of Upper and Lower Egypt (cf. thereon also *Erman-Ranke*, p. 639 f.). Finally in an inscription of Merneptah, the son of Rameses II (1225-1215 B.C.), it is said that in the third year of his reign several Chiefs of the Archers were at the 'Well of

identical with the *ḥrw* mentioned in the Pentateuch among the peoples of Palestine (cf. W. M. Müller, *AE. 148 ff.*). It should be noted that at the beginning of the fifteenth century B.C. the part of Palestine adjacent to *ṭr* is called *ḥrw* = *ḥrw*, whereas in the twelfth century, under Merneptah, it is called *p^h k^hn m^h* = *כנען* (see below).

¹ The *ššw* are here, as elsewhere, doubtless identical with the *ššw* mentioned in Judges 2, 14, and perhaps also in other passages, not in the accepted meaning of 'plunderers' but as a designation of certain Semitic tribes. Whether this word should be derived from the form *ššw* 'robbing, plundering' is very doubtful. It should be noted that the word *ššw* is, as is generally admitted, contained also in *ḥk^h.w šš.w* = kings of the Shasu, rendered by the Greeks as Hyksos for the Semitic kings who ruled over Egypt. Now it appears that according to the Coptic *ḥw* (S) = shepherd, *Sp. WB*, 207, the Egyptians associated this meaning with *šš.w*; but it is questionable whether the meaning 'shepherd' is not derived from the nom. gentil. *šš.w*. Generally speaking Egyptians understood under *šš.w*, Asiatic nomads (e.g. Harris, 76, 9, and elsewhere). As a whole I am inclined to believe that the *ššw* Judg. 2, 14 are the Shasu who settled in the neighbourhood of Canaan after they were driven out of Egypt.

² Here as elsewhere *Canaan* is written with the article *p^h* 'the Canaan', and thus denotes the name of a country.

Merneptah' in the mountains at the fortress *tj* in order to report (*r smtr m p_r htm nty m tj*) *ÄZ.* 1879, 29, 4f. = *Records*, iii. § 631).

All this shows that everywhere *tj* is spoken of as a very well-known fortress of great strategic and military importance. This and the use of the fortress as a penal establishment make it highly probable that it is identical with סהר so that the narrator of the Joseph story actually meant this fortress. From the edict of Haremheb we see furthermore that *tj* is simply mentioned as a place of internment for criminals, exactly in the same laconic way as in the Joseph story. Examining the text of Gen. 39, 20. 22. 40, 3. in the light of the foregoing remarks, one gets the clear impression that סהר does not refer to an ordinary jail, but to a very special prison for dangerous criminals and political offenders. Otherwise the narrator would not have expressly mentioned that it was a place in which the 'king's prisoners were incarcerated', an explanation which indicates the concern of the narrator to emphasize that it was in a prison for dangerous criminals and traitors that Pharaoh's butler and baker were interned. The character of this penal establishment is best illustrated by its description in Gen. 40, 3. as a specific place of confinement under the supervision of שר הטבחים the 'chief executioner'. As a matter of fact it must have been an institution for forced labour (39, 22) for which a strongly-guarded frontier fortress like *tj* seemed particularly suitable.

Having established with all reasonable probability the identity of בית הסהר with *tj* and that it was a very well-known fortress in the New Kingdom, the question now arises whether it dates only from the foundation of the New Kingdom under Ahmose (1580–1557 B.C.), or whether it was not in existence long before. The solution of this question is naturally of great importance for the determination of the time in which Joseph lived. Now we find that *tj* is mentioned in conjunction with the 'paths of Horus' (Dümichen, *Geogr. Inschriften*, ii. 29) which denoted the roads leading to the Palestine frontier. These 'paths of Horus' are already described in the story of Sinuhe under Amenemhet I and his son Sesostris I (2000–1935 B.C.) as situated near the Palestine frontier (line 242—*Lit.*, p. 26) where a commandant had a troop under his orders. This suggests that already at that time a fortress existed for this force on the 'paths of Horus'.¹ On this assumption, we might be able to see in this fortress the one known later as *tj*, and in that case be able to regard the eighteenth century B.C., from which all three manuscripts of the Sinuhe narrative date, as a *terminus a quo* for the events

¹ The 'paths of Horus' are likewise mentioned *inter alia*, also in the *Wisdom of Mery-Ka-Re* (*Lit.*, p. 80), preserved in a copy of the fifteenth century B.C., though the text itself, as Erman supposes, is about a thousand years earlier, *Lit.*, p. 75.

narrated in the Joseph story. Be that as it may, it is at any rate certain that at the time when the Joseph story was written the fortress *tj* was generally known as a place of confinement for criminals and political prisoners.¹

It now remains to consider the purely phonetical question as to the pronunciation of *tj*. Until quite recently it was generally customary to reproduce the Egyptian name of the fortress by the spelling *taru* or *zaru*. But since C. Küthmann (*Die Ostgrenze Ägyptens*, Diss., 1911, p. 38 ff.) took up the identification of *tj* with *Sile* or *Selle*, already previously presumed by Dümichen (*Geogr. aes alten Äg.*, p. 258 ff.), strengthening it with some plausible grounds, it became customary to take it as a matter of fact that *tj* is *Selle* or *Sile* (cf. e.g. *Erman-Ranke*, p. 645) and to locate it in the neighbourhood of *Al Kantara* instead of *Ismailia* at the end of the *Wādī-Tumilāt* as previously suggested. Now even if this be so it would not imply that the form *Sile-Selle* (Greek Σελή), first transmitted in Graeco-Roman texts, actually reproduces the ancient pronunciation of the name in *Egyptian*. For although the transmutation of Egyptian *r* into *l* is phonetically common, and in the Ptolemaic period *l* is also reproduced by *ⲗ*, this is not conclusive proof that the Egyptian pronunciation was *tjl* not *tjr*.² Indeed the spelling *ⲗ* supports the pronunciation *r* in our case—even though it sometimes stands for *l*, which most surely emerges from the above-quoted passage Anast. iii. 1, 10 where *ⲗ* *ⲗ* *ⲗ* *ⲗ* *hrr* (*hrrw*) and *ⲗ* *ⲗ* *ⲗ* *tjr* (*tjrw*) appear together, the sound value *r* in *hrr* being written by the same hieroglyphic *ⲗ* as in *tjr*. It cannot be assumed that the same scribe could have used one and the same sign in *tjr* in one and the same sentence for a sound other than in the immediately preceding *hrr* where the pronunciation *r* cannot be contested by any one.³ It is further to be considered that even in

¹ The explanation of סהר from the Hebrew שער given in Ebers *Bücher Mosis* 317 and 319, is very far-fetched and has nothing to do with the cited Egyptian word *tj*, derived from שער (Brugsch. *Lex.* vii. 1223). On phonetic grounds, Naville's identification of *tj* with צער Gen. 13, 10 (*PSBA.* 1913) is just as little tenable.

² The transmutation of *tj* into *Sile* or *Selle* or *Zel* might, if the identification is at all correct, have taken place through the medium of one of the vernacular dialects in which the *r* was later replaced by *l* as is more usually the case in Fayumic Coptic, where in many cases *l* replaces *r* of other Coptic dialects, as e.g. *ceil* 'dough' for *cepe* (A) = Hebrew שאור. For the correspondence of *l* in Fayumic to *r* in Egyptian or in other Coptic dialects cf. Dévaud, *Etymologies Coptes*, p. 51. For the explanation of this transmutation it is necessary to mention that the Egyptian script has no special sign for *l*, probably because the Egyptians could not pronounce it. Hence all Semitic and Greek words with *r* were transliterated by *l*. Cf. below note 2 to p. 92.

³ Even Sethe who accepts without question the identification of *Sile-Selle* with *tj* and also follows Küthmann in the localization of *Sile*, nevertheless clings to the previous transcription *taru*, cf. *GGA*, 1922, p. 235; also Erman, *Ein Fall abgekürzter Justiz*, p. 17, where *tjry* is possibly derived from the fortress *tj*, i.e. 'he from *tj*'. Cf. also Burch., *Altkan*, No. 1158, on *tj*.

the Ptolemaic period, besides the usual writing 𓆎 , the writing $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑}$ also occurs (*Sarcophagus of Nektanebos*, Sethe, *Hierogl. Urk.* ii. *der griech.-röm. Zeit.* p. 24 = Küthmann p. 43)¹ where 𓆏 quite clearly points to the pronunciation *r*. It must therefore be repeated that even those who support the identification of Sile with 𓆎 cannot contest that the older pronunciation was actually 𓆎 with *r* and not 𓆎 . So the reproduction of 𓆎 by 𓆎 can give rise to no misgiving.²

10. 'Mouth' as title and its relation to אלהים

Ex. 4, 16 f. reads: 'he (Aaron) shall be unto thee for a mouth 𓆎 and thou shalt be to him a God' 𓆎 . Here 'mouth' 𓆎 is not used by the narrator metaphorically for interpreter, representative, or the like—as is generally presumed—but is a literal rendering of the Egyptian 𓆎 'mouth', a very well-known title of a high office at the court of Pharaoh. The office of a 'Mouth' was so important indeed that it was held by the highest state dignitaries. Thus especially in the New Kingdom the titles 'Mouth' and 'Chief Mouth' frequently occur in reference to persons of high rank who, as chief superintendents and overseers of public works, acted as intermediaries between the king and government officials. In some cases the highest dignitaries are called 'Mouth' or 'Chief Mouth' of the king. E.g. Ahmose, *Urk.* iv. 33, 8 says: '(I was) the 𓆎 Mouth (of the king) who brought tranquillity to the whole land [and who filled the heart of the king (i.e. with love and satisfaction) every day]'; *Urk.*, 58, 6: 'the Chief Mouth' of all building-works ($\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒}$); *Urk.* iv. 405, 3: (the king) made me 'Chief Mouth' of his house ($\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑}$); *ibid.* 456, 17 f.: 'Speaking Mouth ($\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$) of the mistress of the two lands in order to give satisfaction to the whole country'; similarly *ibid.* 482, 2; likewise Harris 75, 3: $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒}$ 'No "Chief Mouth" had they for many years'. In many cases we find also the title 'Ears of the king' e.g. 'Ears of the king of Lower Egypt' ($\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑}$), *Champ. Not.* I, 481, i.e. the representative of the king who receives on his behalf the petitions of his subjects.

As a rule it was the heir to the throne who occupied the position of a 'Chief Mouth' to the king, thus e.g. Haremheb was, as Crown Prince, the 'Chief Mouth' to the king (*TSBA.* iii. p. 486 f.); Rameses II when ten years old received the title 'Chief Mouth' of the army as Commander-in-Chief

¹ Nektanebos is there described as $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒}$, i.e. 'first prince in 𓆎 '; he is also called 'prince (𓆎) of the foreign lands'.

² As I shall explain elsewhere I have reason to believe that the manner in which 𓆎 (𓆎) is written indicates pronunciation of the first syllable as 𓆎 . Similarly 𓆎 (𓆎) may indicate a pronunciation 𓆎 of the first syllable.

(*Kubban-Stele* l. 16 f.); Rameses III when still Crown Prince was called 'Great Chief Mouth for the land of Egypt' ($\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒}$)¹ (Harris 75, 10; *Erman-Ranke* p. 120 and n. 4, on the whole matter; Grapow, *Bildl. Ausdr.*, p. 118).

The 'Mouth' (𓆎) or 'Chief Mouth' ($\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑}$) was in many cases the most confidential and exalted position at court, ranking immediately after the king.

In the light of this explanation it now becomes clear what אלהים really means in our passage. If 𓆎 is identical with the Egyptian title 𓆎 'Mouth' for representative and deputy of the king, אלהים must obviously mean the authority immediately above the Mouth. As in our case the assumption that Moses should be 'God' is unthinkable, only Pharaoh could be meant. This is actually the case; אלהים is used here not in the Hebrew sense of 'God' but as a faithful rendering of the Egyptian title 𓆎 'god' which was one of the highest attributes of Pharaoh, and thus אלהים here simply refers to Pharaoh,² not without a certain ironical glance at the pretensions of Pharaoh, stating that not he, but Moses, is to be the 𓆎 = אלהים, and that Aaron should be his 𓆎 = 𓆎 i.e. his representative and speaker. But it is not only in relation to Aaron that Moses is to appear as 𓆎 = אלהים, but even before Pharaoh who claims to be himself a god, Moses alone is to be the 𓆎 for the purpose of making known to Pharaoh the superior power of יהוה. This is the real meaning of Ex. 7, 1, where the same expression אלהים is again used in the Egyptian sense of 𓆎 : 'Behold, I have made thee as אלהים to Pharaoh'. But in order to avoid the assumption that in this case Pharaoh could be his 𓆎 it is expressly emphasized that Aaron would be his נביא, the spokesman who

¹ Literally 𓆎 means 'the black' which is the usual designation of Egypt (cf. above, p. 27). Here 𓆎 is given in the plural ('lands') instead of the usual dual 𓆎 ('the two lands') including the foreign countries under Egyptian rule.

² 𓆎 was used of the living as well as of the dead Pharaoh, thus e.g. in *Sin.* 44 f. it is said of the dead father of the living king 'What then will befall that land (i.e. Egypt) without him, that glorious God ($\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑}$), whose fear pervaded the foreign lands?'; immediately afterwards it is then said (47 f.) of the reigning king himself 'He is the God ($\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$) who is without equal', &c.; and 253 f. likewise of the living king 'This God ($\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$), addressed me'. Very numerous are the passages where the king is succinctly described as 'God' (𓆎) or 'The good God' ($\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$) and where the qualities of various gods are ascribed to him, as e.g. Mar. Abyd. i, pl. 7, 55 = Records 3, § 270 in an address of the courtiers: 'Thou art Re, thy body is his body' ($\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑}$); 'Thou hast made the image according to his nature', i.e. thou art the likeness of the God ($\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑}$). As a rule, if not always, 'the good God' ($\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$) was said of the living king, e.g. *LD.* iii, 128 a: 'The good God shouts triumphantly at the beginning of the battle'; 'the great God' ($\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$) or 'the revered God' ($\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$) of the dead king, e.g. *LD.* ii, 149 d, 7 and *Sin.* 44. It should be observed that also in Ptolemaic times, the king was simply referred to as 𓆎 'the God' followed by the name.

would receive inspiration from him. The whole is conceived throughout in an Egyptian spirit, and was intended for people thoroughly familiar with the conditions and also the language of Egypt, so that they would immediately recognize in the Hebrew פה 'mouth' and אלהים 'God', used contiguously, the Egyptian *n* and *ntr* and understand that Moses was to be the *ntr* = אלהים and Aaron his *n* = פה 'mouth'; likewise that in connexion with Pharaoh too not he but Moses was to be considered the *ntr* = אלהים.¹

In conclusion we would mention that also the title 'the Ears of Pharaoh' may perhaps be contained in אָזְנֵי פִרְעוֹה Gen. 50, 4. It cannot mean here 'publicly' as e.g. Gen. 23, 10 ff. because, quite to the contrary, must it have been Joseph's desire that his request should be *confidentially* conveyed to the King. This mission would admirably fit within the functions of 'the Ears of Pharaoh' whose duty it was, as we have seen, to transmit to the King the petitions of his subjects. We mention this interpretation as a mere suggestion, as this phrase can quite easily be a respectful circumlocution for the person of Pharaoh as פָּנִים in פִּרְעוֹה (cf. above, p. 13 f).

11. The use of 'Pharaoh' as title for the King of Egypt

In conclusion we deem it necessary to discuss the title פִּרְעוֹה, though much has already been written thereon.² Within the bounds of our investigation it is important to place the meaning and usage of this title in our narratives in its proper light. It has always been a puzzling feature that there the king of Egypt is never mentioned by name, but throughout merely as 'Pharaoh'. As Chabas already observed in 1865 פִּרְעוֹה is a reproduction of the Egyptian *Pr-ꜥ* 'the great house'.³ Originally it designated the royal palace; it was

¹ Whether the Egyptians also used the plural *ntr.w* 'the gods' in reference to Pharaoh, I am unable to ascertain. It is, nevertheless, of significance that in the *Amarna Tablets*, the Pharaoh is entitled *ilāni*, pl. of *ilu*, i.e. 'the gods' in the plural, cf. Knudtzon, i, no. 235. 2 f.: *ana šarri bēlia (ilu) šamšia ilānia* 'to the king, my lord, my son (= Re) my gods'. This shows that the epithet *ntr* for the king of Egypt was used in Canaan in plural form. The fact that the plural *ilāni* was never applied in Akkadian to a god, that further in the *Amarna Tablets* it is only used with reference to Pharaoh, proves that *ilāni* is a literal translation of the Egyptian *ntr.w*. This can only be explained by the suggestion that the scribe followed the Egyptian usage of applying the plural 'the Gods' to the Pharaoh, which would perfectly coincide with אלהים.

² Cf. *inter alia* Steindorff, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, i, 343 f.; W. M. Müller, *Encykl. Bibl.* and F. L. Griffith, *Hastings Bibl. Dict.* Under Pharaoh; Spiegelberg, *ZDMG.*, p. 53, 638, *ÄZ.* 43, 130 and *Kopt. Etymol.*, p. 33.

³ It must however be stated that P. E. Jablonski (*Opuscula*, Leyden, 1804-10, i, 374) had already long before him recognized an Egyptian word in פִּרְעוֹה on the ground of the Coptic (π)ppo = king.

then transferred to the government and later to the king as his permanent title (*Erman-Ranke*, p. 63).¹ It was probably out of respect for the divine person of the king that people avoided using his proper name on every occasion.² It is also possible that this custom arose as a matter of convenience, as royal names were composed of several symbolic expressions, and in addition hierarchic etiquette demanded that before and after the mention of the name a whole series of conventional laudatory terms should be pronounced. It is true that as a rule the official 'great name' of the king with his full titles and the conventional expressions of homage attached to it was written only at the head of an official document, inscription, or sometimes at the beginning of a new section (cf. some examples in *Erman-Ranke* p. 58); but even the actual proper name of the king consisted of two or three words, so that in time it was felt cumbersome to pronounce even the proper name of the king³ and people contented themselves with referring to him simply as *pr-ꜥ* 'the great house',⁴ sometimes adding the benedictory formula *nḥ wḏꜥ šnb* 'may he live, be hale and healthy'; but here and there also without the formula when *pr-ꜥ* was only used in connexion with things belonging to the king, e.g. 'the land of Pharaoh'.⁵

The custom of referring to the royal palace by *pr-ꜥ* dates already from the 5th dynasty (about the beginning of the third millennium B.C.) e.g.

¹ From the very early occurrence of *pr-ꜥ n nsw.t* 'the great house of the King' it is clear that 'house' generally referred to the household and the family of the King (cf. *Ag. WB.* i, 516, ii). Later the phrase was simply abbreviated into *pr-ꜥ*. It may be mentioned that the 'Sublime Porte' in Turkish frequently compared therewith is quite a different thing: (1) the origin of the use of the expression باب عالی, which by the way is Arabic and not Turkish, is not quite clear and (2) it was never used of the person of the Sultan but only of his palace, *Bâghcheh-Serai*.

² In *The Myth of Re and Isis*, Pleyte, Pap. Turin cxxxii, 5 = *Urk. Röd.*, 139, the heavenly seat of Re where all the gods gathered round him is also called *pr-ꜥ*. In *Urk. iv*, 249, 11 the residence of the Sun God in Heliopolis, or of that of Amon in Thebes, is called *ḥ.t-ꜥ.t* 'the great palace'. The use of such expressions for gods and kings alike shows, as do many other examples, how closely the Egyptians identified their kings with their gods.

³ Only a few kings are known to us who were given abbreviated popular nick-names, as e.g. *Ameny* for Amenemhet (12th dyn.); Sheshy for Nefer-seshem-Ptah, the later Phiops I; others are Pepy, Tety, &c., cf. *Erman-Ranke*, 186 f.

⁴ In many passages it appears in the dual form *pr-wy-ꜥ.wy* or *pr-ꜥ-wy* = 'the two great houses', both with reference to the palace and also as title of the king, as is indicated by determining it by two king-hieroglyphics in order to characterize him as ruler of Upper and Lower Egypt, e.g. Harris, 10, 1; 10, 12 &c. See *Records*, i, § 148, note c, other examples of dual forms, such as *rw.ty* 'the two gates' for the royal palace, to characterize it as seat of the kingdom of the two lands.

⁵ Courtiers and especially devoted officials, as well as ordinary subjects, were accustomed, even in general conversation, to refer to the person of the king as God (*ntr*) or 'good God' (*ntr nfr*).

Urk. i. 33 A. and B. = *Records* i. § 186, in the time of the high dignitary *ḏḏj-m-nḥ* under the kings Weserkaf and Sahure who called himself 'the Treasurer of the Holy Writings of the Great House (*pr-ʿ*)'.¹ In the New Kingdom (1580–1100 B.C.), i.e. the period of Israel's sojourn in Egypt, *pr-ʿ* was quite ordinarily used of the person of the king (*Erman-Ranke*, p. 63). Even in edicts such as e.g. that of Haremheb (1350–1315 B.C.) and in writings by order of the king as e.g. in the Pap. Harris written by command of Rameses III (1198–1167 B.C.) in which he himself occasionally appears as the person speaking, the king is simply referred to as *pr-ʿ* = Pharaoh, without any mention of his proper name. It was only after the fall of the 20th dynasty (about 1100 B.C.), i.e. long after the Exodus, that the custom of referring to the king succinctly as 'Pharaoh' passed out of usage; and it is most striking that in many hieratic documents of the 22nd dynasty (945–745), i.e. as late as the Solomonic period, 'Pharaoh' or 'King of Upper and Lower Egypt' is followed by the proper name of the king, just as in the historical texts of the Bible as will be shown below.

Now though the omission by the narrator of the Joseph and Exodus stories to mention Pharaoh by name is regrettable from the point of view of historical accuracy, he was thereby merely following the custom of Egyptian writers of the New Kingdom, as can be clearly seen from the popular literature of that period, and precisely this very fact is specially significant for the determination of the time when those stories were composed. A mere perusal of the tales and narratives of that period clearly conveys the impression that in referring to the king simply as *pr-ʿ* the name of the Pharaoh was well-known to the writer, and that he assumed a similar knowledge on the part of his readers. In the story of the two brothers Pap. d'Orb. x–xviii = *Lit.* 156–161, *pr-ʿ* is almost always used for the king followed only here and there with 'His Majesty' (*hm-f*)² e.g. 'The scribes and learned men of Pharaoh were sent for and they said unto Pharaoh etc.'; 'thou wilt be laden with silver and gold because thou leadest me to Pharaoh'; 'and Pharaoh loves him much' etc.; 'Pharaoh had great pity for him' etc.; 'the princess rode on horseback behind Pharaoh' etc.; 'Pharaoh approached' etc.; and similarly in many other passages. Likewise in ordinary letters of the New Kingdom the proper name of the reigning king was omitted and he was referred to simply as Pharaoh, e.g. Pap. Anast. v.

¹ Breasted apparently read: *is.t pr-ʿ ntr* 'palace of Pharaoh the god', an interpretation which can hardly be substantiated. It must read: *mdj.t ntr pr-ʿ*, 'holy writings of the great house'. Moreover, one would hardly have referred to the king as *pr-ʿ* at so early a time.

² The papyrus is from a disciple of the time of Merneptah (about 1220 B.C.), the story, however, is much older (cf. *Lit.*, 150, n. 2).

12, 6 = *Lit.* 202: 'May Pharaoh have regard for thee' etc.; *ibid.* 13, 1: 'it is well with me, and with the land of Pharaoh it is well'. Also in the trial of the harem conspiracy (*Records*, iv. § 423–456) against Rameses III (1198–1167 B.C.), as well as the trial of the tomb robbers under Rameses IX (1142–1123 B.C. Pap. Abbott = *Records*, iv. § 511 ff.) *pr-ʿ* is almost the only mode of reference to the reigning king, so e.g. the scribe of the Chief Superintendent of Pharaoh's Treasure House (*sš n pṣ mr pr ḥd n pr-ʿ*), *illustr.* 1, 3 = § 511; the Herald (*whmw*) of Pharaoh, *illustr.* 2, 6 = § 513. In this instance, too, *pr-ʿ* applies only to the reigning king, whereas the dead kings mentioned appear with their proper names, further *illustr.* 4, 7 = *Records* iv § 522 and 4, 12 = *Records*, iv § 523: The Scribe of Pharaoh, d: The late fathers and mothers of Pharaoh, *illustr.* 5, 9 f. = § 525; I write concerning them to Pharaoh, my lord, that a man of Pharaoh may be sent, *illustr.* 5, 18 = § 526; I heard these words which the overseer of the town spoke to the inhabitants of the great and glorious metropolis—for millions of years—of Pharaoh, *illustr.* 6, 15 f. = § 536. The same occurs in Pap. Amherst no. vi. = *Records*, iv. §§ 536–541. Only occasionally occurs *hm-f* = 'His Majesty', and the proper name is only given in solemn pronouncements.

In the New Kingdom it was quite usual that anything belonging to the king or in any way associated with him should be simply put in *status constructus* with *pr-ʿ*, thus e.g. in the edict of Haremheb, l. 32 *Rec.* iv, 44 f. = *Records* iii. § 58: the vegetables of the kitchen (*wḥ.t*) of Pharaoh; the taxes of Pharaoh, l. 33 = § 59; the houses of Pharaoh (*pry.t*) l. 34 = § 59; the chief overseer of the herds of Pharaoh, l. 27 = § 57, and so on; cf. also Pap. d'Orb. 10, 8 = *Lit.* 156; the washermen of Pharaoh (*rḥt.yw n pr-ʿ*), or 11, 4 = *Lit.* 157 the scribes and learned men of Pharaoh (*nṣ sš.w rḥy.w ḫt n pr-ʿ*); furthermore, Anast. v.13, 1: the land of Pharaoh (*pṣ tṣ n pr-ʿ*). In all these instances, to which many more could be added, we have exactly the same use as in the Joseph story: 'the officers of Pharaoh', Gen. 40, 2 and 7; 'the cup of Pharaoh', 40, 11; 'meats of Pharaoh', 40, 17. Likewise בית פרעה 'house of Pharaoh' for the royal residence, corresponds exactly to the Egyptian *pr pr-ʿ*, 'house of Pharaoh', a designation which was quite current in the New Kingdom. This shows how correct the narrator of the Joseph story was in following the Egyptian literary custom of that time in referring to Pharaoh without mentioning his name, and how ill-founded it is to deduce from this omission that the Joseph story cannot claim historical validity. On the other hand we realize from this last instance that the Egyptian in using *pr-ʿ* for the king so little recalled the etymology 'great house' that he was no longer conscious of the tautology in the expression *pr pr-ʿ*, literally

'house of the great house',¹ which, however, would have been the case earlier when the concrete meaning of *pr-ꜥ* was still distinctly felt.

It should be expressly observed here that the interchange of פֶּרַעָה with 'king of the two lands' מֶלֶךְ מִצְרַיִם Gen. 40, 1. 41, 46; Ex. 1, 15 etc., likewise completely corresponds to the usage in the Egyptian narratives of the New Kingdom, as can be seen from the Egyptian texts cited above, where *pr-ꜥ* is occasionally varied by *hm-f* 'His Majesty' and *nsw.t* 'the King'. In conclusion it is worth while pointing out that also among the Assyrians in the Rameses period and later, *pir-'u* = *pr-ꜥ* was simply used as a royal name in the same way as in Egyptian and in the Joseph and Exodus narratives.

As we have seen, the use of *Pharaoh* as an anonymous designation for the king fully corresponds to the Egyptian literary usage of the New Kingdom in particular. This fact is the best refutation of those who, like Spiegelberg, *Aufenthalt Israels*, p. 15; W. M. Müller, *Cheyne-Black Encycl. Bibl.* s.v. Pharaoh, col. 3686 ff. and others, declare that the omission of the name of the king is a proof of the unhistorical, nay legendary, character of the whole story. They support their view by the fact that in Biblical texts of real historical purport, the Egyptian kings are mentioned by name and not simply designated as 'Pharaoh'. They suggest that the author of the Joseph and Exodus narratives would certainly have given the names of the Pharaohs of those periods had they only been known to him; but the fact that he omitted them is conclusive proof—they allege—that he must have lived many centuries later, and merely reproduced old recollections and faded reminiscences of remote events, which perhaps might have had some dim and misty historical background shifted by the narrator on to the Hebrew stage.² In reality—we repeat—the very reverse is the case and it is just the omission of the name of the king and his simple description as מֶלֶךְ מִצְרַיִם or פֶּרַעָה which ought to be looked upon as a proof of the historicity of the narrative, seeing that the writer follows the Egyptian usage of his time.³ On the other hand it must appear quite natural that precisely

¹ Cf. *Leyd. Statue des Neuen Reiches* (Phot., no. 20): *pꜣ pr n pr-ꜥ*. It occurs particularly frequently in Demotic literature (Spiegelberg, *Demot. Studien*, v, p. 26, no. 5). In Coptic περμεροσ (S) is used simply for palace, as may be seen from the Coptic translation of Esther 4, 6, 7, 8 (Spiegelberg, *WB.*, p. 94 and *Kopt. Etym.*, p. 19).

² Spiegelberg, *Zeitschr. f. Semit.*, 1929, p. 122 went so far as to declare that the whole Joseph story is based on a confusion with the history of the Hyksos rule in Egypt. But this misleading theory which he shares with some other Egyptologists, is merely a reproduction of the far-fetched suggestion by Josephus that the Hyksos kings were of Hebrew origin. It is only astonishing that Josephus, spurned by Spiegelberg, as by so many others, as a very unreliable authority, should just in this case be credited with having hit the mark!

³ This cannot be emphasized strongly enough because in spite of all the crushing evidence

in historical texts an Egyptian king should be mentioned by name. It is still more natural that in a land outside Egypt and writing in an environment outside the sphere of Egyptian influence, a Hebrew historian should mention the kings of Egypt in the same way as he did those of other neighbouring lands, like Moab, Aram, Tyre, and other countries like Assyria, and Babylonia, this for the simple reason that he could not assume that the names of these kings would be known to every one. Although this reason is in itself sufficient, another very remarkable fact is to be adduced viz. the custom, during and after Solomon's time, of mentioning the name of the king before מֶלֶךְ מִצְרַיִם or after פֶּרַעָה which is also in complete conformity with a usage that first at that period became current in Egypt itself. For just as 1 Kings 11, 40 and 14, 25 refer to מֶלֶךְ מִצְרַיִם or שִׁשַׁק מֶלֶךְ מִצְרַיִם or 2 Kings 23, 29 and Jer. 46, 2 פֶּרַעָה מֶלֶךְ מִצְרַיִם or נָבַח מֶלֶךְ מִצְרַיִם or פֶּרַעָה חֲפָרַע מֶלֶךְ מִצְרַיִם Jer. 44, 30, so at the beginning of the Dachel-Stela (*Rec.* 21, 13 = *Records* iv. § 726), there is reference to Sheshonk I, the contemporary of Solomon (945–924 B.C.) thus: in the year five etc. of the king, the Pharaoh, Sheshonk (*n nsw.t pr-ꜥ*; *ḥ.w.š. ššnk*) Others dating down to as far as the 26th dynasty (663–525 B.C.) and later read similarly, wherein the traditional custom of prefacing the name of the king with the complete list of his high-sounding titles is departed from. Of these, mention may be made here of the kings of Egypt named in the Bible. Thus Gauthier, *Livre des Rois*, iv. p. 31 f.: 'in the third year of Pharaoh, Taharka' (*n pr-ꜥ tšhrwḳ* = תְּהַרְקָה 2 Kings 19, 9); *ibid.*: 'in the fifth year etc. of the king of Upper Egypt (*n nsw*) Taharka'; *ibid.*: 'in the seventh year etc. of the king of Lower Egypt (*byty*) Taharka'; *ibid.* p. 86 ff. 'in the first year etc. of His Majesty (*hr hm n*) the king of Upper and Lower Egypt (*whm-ib-r*), Wehemibra-Necho (*nksw*)' = נָבַח 2 Kings 23, 29 ff.; *ibid.* p. 105; 'in the third year etc. of King Apreis (*wḥ-ib-r* = ḥ^c-ib-r)' = חֲפָרַע Jer. 44, 30. After the 22nd dynasty *pr-ꜥ* appears generally very infrequently; as a rule the title *nb t.wy* = 'lord of the two lands' or *nsw.t byty* = 'king of Upper and Lower Egypt'; sometimes also, *ḳḳ idb. wy* = 'ruler of both shores' was added to the name.¹

adduced in the German edition, there are still critics who go on repeating Spiegelberg's argument as to the lack of historicity of the Joseph story because of the omission of the name of Pharaoh! This is only possible because these critics, relying too much on Spiegelberg's authority, did not apparently deem it necessary themselves to examine the contrary evidence.

¹ In the Ptolemaic period we again find *pr-ꜥ* followed by the name simply for 'king', e.g. *pr-ꜥ pṯlwmys* 'king Ptolemaus'. The use of *pr-ꜥ.t* for the queen was new, cf. e.g. W. M. Müller, *Egyptol. Researches*, vol. iii; *Bilingual decrees of Philae*, p. 31, col. 2; *Demotic text*: *pr-ꜥ pṯlwmys nm pr-ꜥ.t. ḥsyn* = 'King Ptolemaus and Queen Arsinoe'. The fact that here in the semi-sacred hieroglyphic text the king is called *sꜣ-r* = 'son of Re' instead of *pr-ꜥ*

It should finally be remarked that in the Hebrew form of the word פרעה the last portion reveals the same pronunciation as in the Coptic $\pi\epsilon\rho\sigma$, $\pi\bar{\rho}\rho\sigma$ (S. A.). Like the Copts, the Hebrews transmitted the pronunciation which they heard from the Egyptians. That the Egyptian $\text{'} = \text{great}$, was sounded like $\text{'}\bar{o}$ is clear from other Coptic words,¹ and as Coptic as a rule preserved the popular pronunciation of Egyptian, we have in the Hebrew pronunciation of פרעה a tradition which is more than a thousand years older than the Coptic.²

'Pharaoh' in the more profane Demotic text, proves that 'Pharaoh' was more in use in popular language than in hierarchic circles. It should be observed that the hieroglyphic text likewise avoids referring to the queen as $pr\text{'}.t$ and uses instead the archaic expression $h\bar{h}.t$.

¹ Cf. e.g. $\pi\pi\sigma\tau\epsilon\text{-}\sigma$ (= Egyptian $p, ntr\text{'}$) 'the great god'; $\pi\pi\sigma$ (= Egyptian $h\text{'}$) 'great festival' and several others (Spiegelberg, *WB.*, 87 f.). A similar pronunciation is indicated by the form to be found in Assyrian documents *Pir'ū Pir'u* (eighth cent. B.C., Ranke, *Materialien*, p. 32), where as usual \bar{u} stands for \bar{o} ; similarly also in cases where the Hebrew or Coptic is \bar{o} , as e.g. *mikkū, mikū* for מִכּוּ (Egyptian *nksw*, *ibid.*, p. 31).

² It is noteworthy that the word *Pharaoh* still survives to-day among the Arabs of the Bīšārīn tribes of the northern Ebt-bay (between the Nile and the Red Sea to the south of Assouan) in the form *O-fre(h)*. Cf. Hess, *ZAT.*, 1905, 129. This belongs to the oldest traces of the Egyptian language surviving in various forms in the Arabic vernacular of the Egyptian population.

CHAPTER III

ORDINARY EXPRESSIONS AND PHRASES MODELLED ON EGYPTIAN

To the above selection of polished speech and court phraseology in Egyptian we would add a number of expressions and phrases from the Joseph and Exodus narratives which are of a more general character and belong to ordinary life.

In many cases we encounter peculiar expressions and turns of speech, which are Hebrew in origin and form, but the sense of which cannot be explained from their customary use either in Hebrew or cognate languages. In other cases the current and generally accepted interpretation seems so unquestionable that no one thinks of making it the subject of special study to consider whether it is at all tenable. Yet on closer examination in the light of Egyptian, we find that they are true Egyptianisms, and that some of them have a quite specific meaning which likewise only becomes clear by comparison with Egyptian.¹

1. 'Hear' for 'Understand'

At the beginning of his conversation with Joseph, Pharaoh says: 'I have dreamed a dream and there is none that can interpret it; but I have heard say of thee that thou understandest a dream to interpret it'. For 'understand' the Hebrew has שמע to hear: 'thou hearest a dream'. This corresponds entirely to the Egyptian use of $\text{'}\bar{o}$ 'to hear' = 'to understand', a meaning which is most clearly shown by its use in the phrase, Sin. 31 f.: $\text{'}\bar{o}.k r; n km.t$: 'thou hearest the mouth of Egypt' i.e. thou understandest the language of Egypt, or in Wen-Amon, 77: $\text{'}\bar{o}.f \text{'}\bar{o} md.t km.t$. 'he hears the speech of Egypt', i.e. he understands the language. Likewise in Gen. 42, 23 שמע stands for understanding the language, exactly as in Egyptian.²

¹ To avoid misleading suggestions, it should at once be pointed out that many expressions in modern languages (especially German and English), which coincide with the Hebrew expressions dealt with here and elsewhere are not genuine, but based on Bible translations, whence they passed into those languages, and are therefore to be regarded simply as Hebraisms, some of which go back to Egyptian.

² It is worthy of note that in the *Pentateuch* שמע in the sense of understanding a language occurs only in the two passages cited and in Gen. 11, 7 where it is likewise an Egyptianism as will be shown later on.

2. כְּנִים for 'True, Honest Men'

The use of כְּנִים for 'true, honest (people)' in the plural solely in the Joseph narrative (Gen. 42, 11, 19, 31, 34), is, as is generally admitted, not to be separated from כֵּן to be right, correct. Now the Egyptian formed the word *m's.ty* 'correct, upright, virtuous' from *m's'* 'right, true', which he used, exactly as in the case of כֵּן, both as an assenting and confirming particle and also as adverb e.g. Gen. 29, 28; Ex. 6, 9 *et al.* The identification of *m's.ty* 'right, the right' with כְּנִים is strikingly confirmed by its occurrence in a passage relating to an episode analogous to that of Joseph, namely, in the report of Wen-Amon on his encounter with the king of Byblos who suspected him to be a spy (*Lit.* 200 ff.). When he makes his complaint to the king of having been robbed, the latter in true oriental fashion attempts to prolong the conversation by various questions, not merely in order to obtain time for consideration, but also in order to intimidate the very self-confident and arrogant Egyptian ambassador by subtle insinuations. Thus he puts to him *inter alia* the question in almost the very words used by Joseph to his brethren: *m.k mnt.k m's.ty* 'behold art thou also true, honest'? (Wen-Amon, l. x + 16, *Rec.* xxi, 83). As he asks him to produce a letter of credence to prove himself a trustworthy person, the question put to him by the king can have no other meaning than that he charges him with being a spy, exactly as Joseph did with his brethren.

3. מְחִיָּה for 'Food' and הִחִיָּה 'to nourish'

The expression מְחִיָּה Gen. 45, 5 (and elsewhere in historical texts) is modelled on the Egyptian *'nh* from the word *'nh* 'life' which means 'nourishment, food'. מְחִיָּה is really formed from חִיָּה 'life' and not from another root as some suggest. Moreover the Hiphil-form הִחִיָּה 45, 7. 47, 25. 50, 20 is used not in a general sense as e.g. Gen. 6, 20 or 19, 19 merely = 'to keep alive' but in the specific sense = 'to feed, give food', exactly like the causative form *s'nh* in the Egyptian 'to make live' for 'to feed', a task which was of course, the real mission of Joseph. Thus the Nomarch Intef of Thebes, shortly before the 11th dynasty (2,200 B.C.) says that he was 'the feeder of the two lands' (*s'nh t.wy-fy*; literally: he who makes live his—i.e. the king's—two lands; Intef-Stela Cairo Mar. Mon. Div. 50 b = *Records*, i. § 420). The causative *s'nh* 'to make live', like הִחִיָּה in the meaning to feed is very frequent e.g. Admon, 15, 14: thou hast fed the people (*s'nh.n-k rmt*); *Sun Hymn of Ekhmaton* l. 21, Dawis, *Am.* vi, pl. xxvii, 9.: 'thou (Aton) bringest (the Nile) at thy will *r s'nh rhy.t* to make live (= feed) men'; cf. *s'nh* also in connexion with the feeding of herds Pap. Anast. vi, 5, 1 f.: 'to

make live (= feed) their herds (*s'nh nry.w isw.t*) on the pasturage of Pharaoh'. In later Egyptian (Demot.) *s'nh* occurs quite frequently for 'feed'; and *s'nh* is used for 'alimentation' Sethe-Partsch, p. 68 (note) 369, 387. Cf. also *Mar. Dend.* i. 18 and ii 42 b. As far as מְחִיָּה is concerned, we find also in Egyptian the feminine form *'nh.t*, 'living' for 'corn' in the sense of 'food'; cf. Admon 6, 9: *'nh.t n km.t* 'Nourishment, Food of Egypt', a striking example of this usage in the New Kingdom, which is of prime importance for the period of the Pentateuch under study.¹

The Egyptian also throws full light on the unusual construction עָשָׂה לְהַחִיּוֹת in the passage לְמַעַן עֲשֶׂה בַיּוֹם הַזֶּה לְהַחִיּוֹת עַמ־רַב Gen. 50, 20 which has given rise to various interpretations and emendations. For it corresponds literally with the Egyptian *iry* 'to make', *'nh* 'to live', i.e. 'to make live' in the sense of 'feed' e.g. Bauer, i. p. 81: *ir swt 'nh.t hm.t-f hn' hrd.w-f*, literally 'make thou the living of his wife and his children', i.e. 'feed them'.² A still more striking example is to be found in Harris 78, 13 = *Records*, iv. § 410 where *s'nh* like הִחִיָּה appears in the causative form and is linked with *iry* to make = עָשָׂה so that the whole construction *iry-s'nh* coincides literally with עָשָׂה לְהַחִיּוֹת even from a grammatical point of view. There Rameses III says of himself: *iry-y s'nh t dr-f* 'I caused to live the whole land', that is, maintain and feed the whole land. Similarly it is said of the king, in the Stela of Nastesen, *Urk.* iii. 141 (Ethiop.) *iry s'nh.t ir.t nb.t my imn* 'He makes live (i.e. feeds) all beings like Amon'.

That also הוֹחֵה הוּוּה is a typically Egyptian idiom = *m hrw pn* will be shown elsewhere.

4. The meaning of חִיּוֹת.

Ex. 1, 19 the Hebrew midwives said to Pharaoh that the Hebrew women were not as the Egyptian women, 'for they are חִיּוֹת and before the midwives come in unto them they have borne'. This word חִיּוֹת is generally considered to be obscure and even doubtful. We shall find that in this case also the Egyptian can help us out of the difficulty.

In the first place it should be remembered that אֲבִיבִים 1, 16, as Spiegelberg, *Randglossen*, p. 19 ff. has proved, is a specific Egyptian birth-seat or stool,

¹ Though the usual rendering of *'nh.t* is 'corn', it obviously means 'nourishment, food'. Other substantiations of this meaning from that period are not known to me, though there are some from later periods like the passages quoted from *Mar. Dend.* Apparently also Bauer, B, i, 81 and R 125, *ir-swt 'nh*, had originally the feminine *'nh.t* (cf. Vogelsang, ad loc., p. 82).

² The expression *iry 'nh* followed by a suffix (or genitive) everywhere means 'to provide the maintenance of someone', i.e. to feed (cf. Vogelsang loc. cit., as well as the examples there quoted, *Pyram.* 131 e, *Urk.* ii. 110, *Mar. Abyd.* ii. 63).

which already in a papyrus of the sixteenth century B.C. (*Zaubersprüche f. Mutter u. Kind*, 6, 5, *Abh. d. Berl. Ak.*, 1901, p. 25) is called 'the two bricks' (*db.ty*, dual of *db.t*; neo-Eg. *db.t*).¹ It was a seat of two large, fairly high bricks, on which the woman to be confined squatted whilst the midwife sat in front to receive the child in her lap. As the midwives were the first to recognize the sex of the newly-born at the bearing-seat of the 'two bricks', Pharaoh's plan clearly consisted in causing them secretly to stifle the boys in the very moment of birth, before anyone could notice it. That is what is meant by the words (1, 16): 'When ye deliver the Hebrew women, ye shall look on the *בנינין*, i.e. the "two bricks"'. This was only possible for the midwives to do, and they simply did not carry out Pharaoh's behest. When Pharaoh reproached them for their remissness, they sought to justify themselves by the fact that the Hebrew women were *קייט* and were delivered before the arrival of a midwife. The rapidity and ease of delivery is given as the obstacle preventing the midwives from being on the spot just in time to carry out Pharaoh's command. Accordingly it must be precisely the facile birth which is the most characteristic feature in *קייט*. Proceeding from this point of view we do, in fact, obtain through Egyptian a clue to the meaning of this word: for the Egyptians had in addition to the collective designation for small cattle '*w.t*' (neo-Egyptian *iw.t*, Er.-Gr. 23 and 5) also '*nh.t*' the living one, in fem. form (Er.-Gr. 27) for goats, sheep, an expression which presumably had some contemptuous tinge (also in masc. from '*nh*', probably for he-goat, ram). We thus have in '*nh.t*' a word which in form and meaning provides us with the model on which *קייט* was formed and this is what is meant by *קייט*, since goats, and in still greater degree sheep, are most easily and quickly delivered.² What the midwives wanted to convey was that the Hebrew women were like goats and sheep: before a midwife could possibly arrive, they were already delivered. In using this comparison the midwives sought not only to explain the reason for the frustration of Pharaoh's plan, but also to simulate contempt for the Hebrew women before Pharaoh, and even their anger against them for coming to

¹ From the form *בנינין* it follows that the singular is *בנין* not *בני*. Whether it was intentionally formed to distinguish it from *בנין* or whether they are from different roots is a question awaiting solution. It may be mentioned that *bnw.t* in Egyptian denotes a sort of stone, e.g. Urk. iv. 831, 6: 'a gate was made for it of stone of *bnw.t* (*m inr n bnw.t*)'. It must have been a hard stone as it was used for millstones, which were therefore called simply *bnw.t*.

² This observation of mine has been confirmed by experienced veterinary authorities. Though it is likewise the case with the sow, this naturally does not come under consideration because the pig was, to Egyptians and Hebrews alike, an 'abomination'.

birth so quickly, and thus dispel in Pharaoh's mind any suspicion of favouring their own people.¹

As to *אבנין*, the dual form is of particular importance because in Egyptian also the dual form *db.ty* 'the two bricks' was in use before the twelfth century B.C. (the time of the Exodus), whereas later the bearing-stool was simply called 'the brick'², in the singular, or more fully 'the brick of bearing' (*dbè n mise*).³ in the later Demotic period (Pap. Rhind. i, 2, 2). As a matter of fact, as will be seen from the grouping of the various determinative hieroglyphs for the bearing-stool in Spiegelberg, loc. cit. p. 22), the older and more primitive bearing-stool actually consisted of two single bricks. It only later developed into one piece put together from several bricks and having the form of a semi-circular seat with an opening in front, hence the use of the singular is explained by its referring to the seat as a whole and not to the two bricks of which it had previously consisted.

The circumstance that 'the two bricks' were a typically Egyptian apparatus, that *אבנין* is used in the dual form and finally that it only occurs in our passage, there being in the whole of the rest of the Bible no trace of

¹ It is true that some commentators have thought of animals, viz. the sense that the Hebrew women were delivered without any assistance like animals, an interpretation which hardly makes the answer of the midwives plausible, because they did not want to say that the women were delivered without the assistance of a midwife, but birth took place before she could arrive. Moreover, in that case the correct form should be *קייט*. In the vocalization *קייט* doubtless an old tradition is preserved to mark the distinction from *קייט* 'animals' and to indicate that 'animals' are not meant. In view of this, the Targum interpretation of *קייט* as 'midwife' taking it in the Aramaic use of *קייט* is untenable. But apart from this it is very questionable whether *קייט* is not a mere artificial expression coined solely on the basis of the interpretation of *קייט* as 'midwife'. As a matter of fact there is no evidence whatever that *קייט* is a genuine Aramaic word for midwife. On closer investigation many such Targumic neologisms may be found, as is the case in neo-Hebrew, for which H. Torczyner (*דברי* i, vol. 2) gives a series of very instructive examples.

² For the singular use cf. Hymn of Nefer-Abu (Erman, *Sitz.-Ber. Berl. Akad.*, 1911, p. 1098 = *Rec.* 2, 109): 'I sinned, etc. and she punished me, &c. I sat on the brick (*hmš-k* (*wy*) *hr db.t*) like a pregnant woman'. Also in Pap. Westcar it is several times mentioned of a new-born child (x, 19 ff. = *Lit.* 44 f.) that it was laid on 'the brick' (*db.t*), on an *ifd* which does not mean a 'sheet' (*Laken*) as Erman puts it, but a 'band' of cloth or linen for swaddling the child. This is the very word which we have in *פדף* Ex. 28, 8 = band.

³ In the Coptic translation of the Pentateuch (ed. Lagarde) *אבנין* is rendered by *τρεαυις* which might correspond to the Egyptian *tj š.t mš.t* 'the place of birth', Spiegelb., loc. cit., p. 20, though we have no example thereof in Egyptian texts. It is curious that this translator should not have known the specific Egyptian expression *db.ty* 'the two bricks', though the word *db.t* was still in use in the Coptic *τωωε, τωε* (Sp. *WB.* 141), and even the 'bearing-seat of bricks' was known as late as the Middle Ages, as appears from the Elias Apocalypse 28, 7 'she who gives birth . . . speaks: wherefore do I sit on the brick to bring children into the world?'. The expression used here *ερε ατωε* coincides literally with the above-cited older Egyptian phrase *hmšy hr db.t* (Spiegelb., loc. cit., p. 21).

such a delivery-seat in Israel, can only be explained by the fact that our narrator had personal acquaintance with, and exact knowledge of, these things.

It should further be observed that also יָלַד 'to cause to bear, help delivery' (only Ex. 1, 16) completely coincides with the Egyptian *śmsy* (Er.-Gr. 162), causative form of *msy* 'bear', i.e. 'to make bear'. Likewise מִיָּלְדָה midwife (only Ex. in Chap. 1 and Gen. 35, 17, 38, 28) corresponds to *śmsy.t* 'she who causes to bear' (*Urk.* iv. 225). Although these two are expressions quite naturally formed and might occur in any other language, it is, nevertheless, remarkable that they are to be found only in the Exodus story and coincide completely with Egyptian.

5. בָּתִּים—The 'Houses' of the Hebrew Midwives.

The astuteness with which the Hebrew midwives evaded Pharaoh's accusation must have impelled Pharaoh to resort to another more promising measure. The appointment of Egyptian midwives would not suit his purpose as they would certainly not have been accepted by the Hebrews; just as little could the organization of a detective service have been practicable as it would always have been successfully eluded. No other means was left to Pharaoh but to continue employing the Hebrew midwives for his design, and so he was prompted to use a new method whereby the midwives, as well as the prospective mothers, could be prevented from concealing the birth of boys. In a country like Egypt, where magic and clairvoyance were far more widely spread than in any other land, only a magic means was calculated to work terror and intimidation. The narrator indicates how such a means was found by which the end in view could best be achieved. Though he is not explicit, a clue is given us in the word בָּתִּים = 'houses' (Ex. 1, 21), which shows what he had in mind. According to 2 Kings 23, 7 בָּתִּים means 'housings for idols'¹ and the use of this word coincides exactly with the use in Egyptian of *pr.w* 'houses' (pl. of *pr* house) for 'housings' or 'arks' for the idols in the Temples and elsewhere, cf. e.g. *Urk.* v, 164, 1: 'the gods of Buto who are in front of their houses', i.e. housings, arks (*ntr.w ppy.w hnty pr.w-śn*).

If this meaning is accepted also for בָּתִּים in our case, the situation at once becomes quite clear: Pharaoh commanded the placing in all the Hebrew houses of images of terrifying deities (e.g. Sekhmet or Bes), as awesome watchmen to inspire constant fear in the Hebrew women, not only for the

¹ In Ex. 26, 29 it is also used for 'housings' of bolts, and in 25, 27 for sockets of carrying-rods.

new-born boys, but also for the girls, whose lives had to be spared by Pharaoh's command, and even for their own lives. In this way the women were to be forced not to conceal male births, so as to avoid the wrath of such frightful observers. The narrator tells us of the counter-measures taken by the Hebrews to frustrate Pharaoh's plan: being familiar with Egyptian conceptions regarding their gods and their ways of treating them, they resorted to that means, wherewith all heathen peoples and even to-day superstitious persons seek to nullify the effects of the inconvenient presence of an idol or an image; what they did was to make בָּתִּים 'housings' for these idols, and hide them therein, so as to deprive them of all control. In connection herewith it is to be noted that in this passage אֱלֹהִים is used for idols.

That the narrator of Exodus sometimes applied אֱלֹהִים not to יהוה but in the Egyptian sense of *ntr* = god, is proved by Ex. 4, 16, where as we have shown above (p. 43), it occurs in this sense and therefore no difficulty arises in treating אֱלֹהִים here also as *ntr.w* referring to the Egyptian gods or idols, which Pharaoh commanded to be set up. Now we are in a position to understand the whole passage. 'And it came to pass that because the midwives feared the "gods" they (the Hebrews) made for them בָּתִּים "houses", i.e. "housings".'¹ It will now be understood why Pharaoh found it necessary to command the whole people to cast every newborn Hebrew boy into the river: he had to resort to this measure because the 'gods' had proved completely ineffective.

6. 'People of the land'.

In Ex. 5, 4 f. Pharaoh says to Moses and Aaron: 'Wherefore do ye disturb the people (הָעָם) in their work. Get you unto your burdens!' and Pharaoh says further: 'Behold the "people of the land" (עַם הָאָרֶץ) now are many, &c.'. Here Pharaoh seems to refer to a particular class and not to speak generally of the people, so that עַם הָאָרֶץ 'the people of the land' is not the same as 'the people' (הָעָם). Now in Egyptian literature, particularly of the New Kingdom, we meet with the expression *rmt.t n p: t*: 'people

¹ Though the text has וַיַּעַשׂ in the singular it is an abbreviation of וַיַּעֲשׂוּ as is apparent from the Septuagint and other versions. Other examples of such abbreviations in the Bible, are not uncommon. The usual interpretation of this phrase in the same way as 2 Sam. 7, 11 and 1 Kings 2, 24, i.e. that God gave them houses, meaning descendants, has against it, first that in this case it should read לָהֶן and not לָהֶם; and secondly that in the two passages quoted, the idiom requires בֵּית in sing. and not as here in plur. It is quite in the spirit of Hebrew to say לֹ בֵית in the sense of 'family' but not in the plural. That this is actually the case is deduced from the fact that elsewhere also the sing. בֵּית is applied to 'family' but never occurs in this sense in the plural.

of the land'; denoting folk belonging neither to the lower nor the upper class; cf. Abbott, 4, 1 = *Records*, p. 257; *rm.t n p: t:* 'folk, people of the land'; Harris, 11, 1, *rm.t n p: t:* 'people of the land' are mentioned besides 'high officials' (*sr.w*), 'standard bearers' (*t: w-sry.t*), and 'inspectors' (*rw.d.w*).¹ Thus standing between the upper and lower strata (cf. also Erman, *Ag.* 188) they were a middle-class composed of what one might call ordinary citizens. This is the people that Pharaoh had in mind: they were people who were not subjected to forced labour, and were allowed to pursue their own affairs and move about freely like Moses, Aaron, the Elders, and many others not fitted for work.²

In the light of this fact it becomes intelligible why two different expressions, viz. הפריע and השבית, are used. The first can only imply disturbance of a particular continuous work like the forced labour in our case: the second is a causative of שבת 'to abstain from work, to be idle' and relates to the suspension of voluntary activity or some undefined business. Now Pharaoh told Moses and Aaron that they should not 'disturb' the labourers in their prescribed work which they had to perform continuously day by day, and he adds angrily and scornfully: there are enough 'people of the land', i.e. leisured folk who do not work and produce nothing; let *these* people 'go idle', make *them* leave their affairs and occupy themselves with such things as sacrificing to your God.

7. 'To Make the Savour Stink'

Ex. 5, 21. the Hebrews say to Moses and Aaron: 'You have made our savour stink (הַבְּאִשָּׁם אֶת־רִיחֵנוּ) in the eyes of Pharaoh and in the eyes of his servants' (cf. also Gen. 34, 30). This is an idiom which coincides with Egyptian *hns* 'to stink' in conjunction with *rn* 'name'; to 'make the name of anyone to stink' means 'to libel, to accuse, to insinuate', as is shown by the following examples: Pap. Anast., i. 28, 7. Gardiner, *Egypt. Hieratic Texts*, p. 30 = *Lit.* 234) 'that thou shouldst not say thou hast made my name to stink (*hns-k rn-y*) before all other people'; Ani, *L'Égyptologie* Nov. 1874, p. 87, max. 9: 'go not in and out at the Court of Justice that thy name should not stink (*tm rn-k hns*)';³ Ani, *ibid.* July, p. 150, max. 22: 'ally

¹ For more details about *rm.t* against Spiegelberg's allegations, see *Erwiderung*, p. 8f.

² The same differentiation occurs also in Gen. 42, 6: first of all it is the common people, i.e. the ordinary citizens (עַם הָאָרֶץ) who are supplied by Joseph with corn; it is only later that the landed proprietors and peasantry are also dealt with (47, 16 ff.). It is now clear that in Gen. 23, 12 f. עַם הָאָרֶץ means the citizens, and thereby the difficulty felt by many commentators is removed. It has the same meaning also in 2 Kings 23, 30; it was the middle class, not the peasantry, who proclaimed Jehohaz as king.

³ Here a warning is given to avoid having too much to do with Law Courts, in order not

thyself not with the slave of another whose name stinks (*iw rn-f hns*).¹ A similar figurative use of the 'evil savour' of one's name for bad reputation occurs in the Song of the Life-weary in many passages,² e.g. 'Behold, cursed be my name, behold, even more than that of a woman (*hmt*) of whom lies are spoken to her husband' i.e. than the reputation of a woman slandered to her husband; or: 'Behold, my name is accursed; behold, more than the smell of a carcass (?) (*sty sw*) on summer days'; or: 'more than the smell of the (dead) birds (*sty psw (sic)*) or: 'more than the smell of the fishermen' (*sty hm.w*) or: 'of the crocodile'³ *msh.w* (ll. 87; 92; 94; 98 = *Lit.* 89).

In Ex. 5, 21 we have the reproduction of an expression quite current among the Egyptians. The Hebrew version is, of course, more drastic, because the narrator wanted to use a coarser, more plebeian expression (רִיחַ 'savour' instead of 'name') in order to bring out vividly the rage, fear, and the despair of the exhausted people.

8. 'Voices' or 'Voices of God' for 'Thunder'

Ex. 9, 23, 29, 33, 34 קולות 'voices' and 9, 28 קולות אלהים 'voices of God' are quite common designations among the Egyptians for thunder. For them it was *hrw n ntr* 'a voice of God' or *hrw by:* 'a voice of Heaven'.⁴ Wen-Amon, ii. 19, *Rec.*, xxi. 87 has: *mk ir imn hrw m t: p.t* 'take care, Amon will "make a voice" in Heaven', i.e. thunder; here it is called the *voice of Amon* exactly as Ex. 9, 28 the *voice of God*.⁵ Besides *iry hrw* 'to make

to come under suspicion of abetting bribery. Even to-day in the East such shady agents haunt the Law Courts, and even idle spectators, if they too often frequent the Law Courts, are suspected as such. It is, therefore, not considered respectable to be seen in a Law Court unless one has business there.

¹ The allusion is to a man who is under suspicion of misusing his slave for unchaste purposes, an evil which was already very common in ancient Egypt as one can see *inter alia* from the various 'Confessions before the Court of the Dead' (Totenb., chap. 125 = *Urk. Roeder*, p. 276, 15-20).

² Eccles. 7, 1 and 10, 1 are based on the antithetic conception of the bad and good *savour* of the *name*.

³ Also in Ex. 7, 18, 21 שֶׁבַח is used of stinking of fish, which for the Egyptians was particularly intolerable and therefore, proverbial. It is used also of frogs, Ex. 8, 10, and of the rotten and maggoty manna, 16, 20, 24.

⁴ *hrw by:* is the prototype of the Coptic ⲅⲣⲟⲩⲃⲏⲁⲓ (S) ⲉⲗⲁⲣⲁⲃⲁⲓ (B) 'thunder' (Spiegelb. *WB.* 14 and 243). The Coptic also has ⲅⲣⲟⲩⲁⲛⲉ and ⲅⲣⲟⲩⲁⲛⲉ for thunder (ibid. 245), which also points to an Egyptian *hrw n p.t* 'voice of Heaven', though no example in Egyptian texts has yet been found thereof. Pyr. 1120 gives *mdw p.t* 'speaking of Heaven' in the sense of thunder (when the Heaven speaks, the earth trembles, &c.).

⁵ In Schiffb., pl. III, 57, *hrw* stands in conjunction with *krj*: 'h'n sgm. y hrw krj 'then I heard the voice of a thunder'; possibly *krj* means 'storm' or perhaps it is synonymous

a voice 'rdy hrw 'to give a voice' was also used just as in our passage נתן קולות ; cf. e.g. Math., Handb. 87 B, 62: rdy.tw hrw.f n hm n ntr pu 'there was given his voice (namely) of the majesty of this god.'¹

It is noteworthy that the Hebrew narrator applies the expression קולות for hrw just in a passage where Moses addresses Pharaoh and likewise puts into the mouth of Pharaoh himself (9, 28) קולות אלהים for hrw. In this and similar cases the expressions used render transparent the fact that the narrator had in mind the Egyptian language in which the conversation was conducted.

9. 'Great Mixture' for 'Mob'

In Ex. 12, 38 the expression ערב רב 'great mixture' is derived from ערב 'to mix' for a formless jumble of people, mob. That this is actually meant is seen from the analogous expression אַמְסַף 'mixture' in the parallel passage Num. 11, 4 of the same mob, as 'riff-raff', 'rag, tag, and bobtail'. ערב is coined in exactly the same way as the Egyptian smj.t 'band, guild' from smj 'mix, mingle'.² Moreover Mery-Ka-Re, 94 (= Lit. 80) has smj.t in reference to a 'gang', an evil band, a mixture of Bedouins, of 'wretched Asiatics', in the same contemptuous sense as ערב. It should be emphasized that, particularly in New Egyptian, i.e. contemporary with the Exodus period, smjw was actually used for 'mixture' and 'combination' (Er.-Gr. 145).³

with hrw in the meaning of voice, as hry seems to be related to, or identical with Semitic קרא.

¹ Cf. also Ex. 19, 16 'voices and lightnings' (קולות וברקים) whereas in 20, 18 we have 'voices and flames' (אור הקולות ואור הלפידים). Also in 1 Sam. 7, 10 the reference is to thunder. Perhaps also יהוה קול is used in many passages in the Psalms, as e.g. 29, 3 ff. for thunder. But undoubtedly this is the meaning of קול עליון 2 Sam. 22, 14 = Ps. 18, 14 and in קול שדי Ezek. 1, 24 and 10, 5. The same meaning is in קול נתנו שהקים Ps. 77, 18 and קול רעם Ps. 77, 19. 104, 7. Also in Job 28, 26 and 38, 25 קולות means thunder. The word רעם which does not occur in the Pentateuch is the same as the Akkadian rimu 'thunder'. Cf. Muss-Arnolt, s.v.

² In discussing ערב and אַמְסַף the identical use of the Egyptian smj will be illustrated also in other cases.

³ According to Geiger, *Urschrift*, 71, the original reading should have been ערברב a reduplicated form of ערב, as in the Samaritan Pentateuch it is written as one word. In the Codices available to me as well as in the Edition of Galls, this is, however, not the case. Moreover the simple form ערב for mixed people occurs also elsewhere as e.g. in Neh. 13, 3, where the reference also is to alien elements. In Jer. 25, 20 and Ezek. 30, 5 ערב appears almost certainly to relate to the 'mixed population' among the Egyptians and their allies, likewise Jer. 50, 37 to the mob in Babylon. All these passages relate not to a particular nation, but to the low class of a mixed multitude.

CHAPTER IV

PARTS OF THE BODY USED IN PHRASES

AMONG the expressions in which particular parts of the body occur as e.g. head, arm, hand, lip, heart, there are some of idiomatic character, and others which are used as mere formulae coinciding literally with the Egyptian in both cases. The coincidence is so close that in many instances the correct meaning of the Hebrew expression only becomes clear by comparison with the Egyptian. In some other cases especially where parts of the body are used metaphorically, there is such an exact, almost literal coincidence between the Hebrew and the Egyptian that they elucidate each other. This branch of linguistic study is so extraordinarily prolific and comprehensive, that here we merely confine ourselves to a few characteristic examples from the Joseph and Exodus narratives under review, leaving to another occasion a fuller discussion of the subject as a whole.¹

1. Lift up the Head

Gen. 40, 13 reads: 'Yet within three days אֲחִירֵאשֶׁךְ פָּרַעְהָ יִשָּׂא shall Pharaoh lift up thy head and restore thee unto thy place'. In נשא ראש we have a literal reproduction of the Egyptian expression tsy (also wts) tp (or dtd) ² 'to lift up, to elevate the head' which in ritual speech was quite usual for awakening the dead to new life. Thus e.g. *Urk.* v. 149, 11 of the dead king: 'I lift up his face, I raise his head (tsy-y tp-f wts-y ht.f) that he may convey a command'. Pyr. 1262: (to the dead king) 'thy head is uplifted by the two godly Enneads... thou livest! thou livest!' 1500 b and 1503: 'his head is uplifted by Re', etc. Always it is a deity that 'lifts up' his head. So here it is represented to the incarcerated butler that Pharaoh will 'lift up' his head in order to restore him to his former place. In this sense נשא ראש occurs only here, and the narrator expressly translates a select phrase so full of fateful significance to an Egyptian, in order that he may exactly

¹ P. Dhorme, *L'Emploi métaphorique des noms de parties du corps en hébreu* contains many parallels to a similar use in Hebrew; but as will be shown on another occasion, it is only by a comparison between Hebrew and Akkadian on the one side, and Hebrew and Egyptian on the other side, that it can be decided whether the use of a Hebrew phrase is more akin to Akkadian or Egyptian.

² As everywhere the hieroglyphic for 'head' can be read both tp and dtd, we will transcribe it always by tp except in passages where dtd is written syllabically.

reproduce the Egyptian idiom in the conversation of the Hebrew with the high Egyptian officials, thereby emphasizing Joseph's familiarity with the select speech and the religious conceptions of the Egyptians in his intercourse with exalted personages, even before his summons to Court. Thus in this passage also there is an intentional approximation to Egyptian.¹

2) Heavy Eyes.

In Gen. 48, 10 it is said of Jacob, that his eyes became very weak because of his great age. The text *וְעֵינָיו יִשְׂרָאֵל כְּבָדוֹ מֵקֶדֶם* reads literally: 'and Israel's eyes became *heavy* for age'. This remarkable expression which only occurs in the Joseph narrative, and has no parallel in other Semitic languages, is an exact reproduction of the Egyptian *dns* 'to be heavy', used in connexion with the eyes in the sense of being weak and dim, in consequence of great age. Just as in our case, *Sinuhe*, complaining of his senile debilities, says: 'Weakness has overtaken me, my eyes are heavy (*ir.ty-y dns*), my arms weak, and my legs do not follow' (*Sin. B.* 169-70 = *Lit.* 22). It is obvious that *כָּבֵד* having the same concrete meaning as *dns* 'to be heavy', and being used also metaphorically in the same sense and for the same occasion, cannot but be an adaptation to the Egyptian mode of speech.²

3) 'Eye of the Land'

Ex. 10, 5 we are told that the locusts were so numerous that they covered *עֵין הָאָרֶץ* 'the eye of the land'. It is taken to relate to the face of the earth, yet the difficulty is generally felt as to the use of the *eye* as a metaphor for the face of the earth since no other example for such a metaphor is to be found. From the Egyptian we learn that 'eye of the land' means nothing else but the sun, which was conceived by the Egyptians as the 'eye of Re'.³ The Hebrew may have deemed it on religious grounds to be better, and probably also considered it on poetic grounds to be finer, to transfer the

¹ On the word *כָּבֵד* for 'post' as Egyptian borrowing cf. below, p. 92. That *נִשָּׂא* is used also in other Hebrew phrases and expressions analogously to the Egyptian *tsy, wts* will be shown elsewhere.

² As we shall presently see (p. 69) *כָּבֵד* is used in a similar way to *dns* in another metaphor in connexion with 'heart'.

³ The sun as the wandering eye (*ir.t* or *wd,t*) of Re was a very widespread conception among the Egyptians, and was transferred from Re also to Osiris and Horus. The eye of Re as well as the Horus-eye play a great role in Egyptian mythology. It is the right eye in particular which is taken as the sun whereas the left eye represents the moon. Thus: Hymn to the Evening Sun, Totenb., chap. 15 B, ii, 10 (= *Lit.* 139), sun and moon are described as the two eyes (*ir.ty*) of Re. In the Naples Stela, l. 4, Brugsch, *Thes.* iv, p. 632, the same is said of another god: *wd,t-f pw itn wd,t-f pw i'h* ' (this) his eye is the sun (and this) his eye is the moon.' Cf. also Ebers, *Körperteile*, p. 53 ff.

mythological conception of the eye from Re to the earth¹ and designate the sun as *עֵין הָאָרֶץ* 'the eye of the land' which means the 'eye of the world', since *ארץ* signified for the Hebrews, as *ts* = land did for the Egyptians, both 'land' and 'world'. That *עֵין הָאָרֶץ* actually refers to the sun is best shown by Ex. 10, 15 where it is said that the locusts 'covered *את עֵין כל הארץ* "the eye of the whole land" so that the land was *darkened*'; this conveys that the locusts flew up in such dense swarms that they obscured the sunshine as with a thick cloud. This phenomenon has actually been observed and related on several occasions by numerous reliable eye-witnesses.² By the *covering the eye of the land* reference was made to the extraordinarily terrifying, immeasurably large size of the locust swarms which darkened the light of the sun. In course of time this phrase remained in use simply to characterize enormous quantities, without being taken literally, as is the case with other similar metaphors. So we find that Num. 22, 5 in describing the panic of the Moabites at the appearance of the Hebrews applies the same metaphor to their great numbers that 'cover the eye of the land'.

4. 'Lip' for 'Shore', 'Bank'.

That the metaphorical use of 'lip' *שֵׁפָה* for 'shore', as e.g. *שֵׁפַת הַיָּאֹר* Gen. 41, 3; Ex. 2, 3, 7, 15 'bank of the River Nile' or 'shore of the sea' as in Ex. 14, 30, &c. was current also in Egyptian at all times has long been established as e.g. by Ebers, *Die Bücher Moses*, p. 339. The Egyptians spoke of 'the lip of the water' for the bank of the River Nile, thus e.g. *Lebensmüde*, xv, l. 66 f., p. 42, of the fish 'on the lip of the water' *šp.t n mw*, i.e. on the bank of the Nile;³ *Wen-Amon* (*Rec.* xxi, 86, 13-14 =

¹ From similar motives the Biblical collector of proverbs in adopting the sayings of the Egyptian sage Amenemope in the 'words of the wise' (Prov. 22, 17 ff.) uses the eagle (*נֶשֶׁר* 23, 5) instead of *r,w* 'geese' (Amenemope, 10, 4). Cf. Erman, *Eine äg. Quelle der 'Sprüche Salomos'*: *Sitzb. d. Pr. Ak. d. W.*, Berlin, 1924, vol. xv, p. 87. This occurred not as Erman remarks, merely because he regarded the eagle as more poetical but also because geese were for the Egyptians the usual sacrifice to the dead and therefore, were, as I assume, an abomination to the Hebrews. That the goose is included among the prohibited *unclean* animals is shown by the mention of *רָאָה*, Deut. 14, 13. This is the true reading and not *רָאָה*, Levit. 11, 14.

² I would refer here *inter alia* to the description of the great plague of locusts in 1916 in Palestine. There the darkening of the light of the sun by swarms of locusts was the most prominent feature as was emphasized in several newspapers and scientific periodicals in almost identical language. The same phenomenon recently occurred (July 23, 1931) in Angola, when swarms of locusts were so dense that, according to newspaper reports, they "completely obscured the sun for some hours".

³ Here as elsewhere the Nile is simply called *mw* 'water', exactly like *הַמַּיִם* 'the water' in the Exodus narrative, e.g. 2, 10, 7, 15, 8, 16. Unlike other passages where the word is used in the general sense of water it here specifically refers to the Nile.

Lit. 179) *šp.t p; ym* for the shore of the sea;¹ and in the Diadochen-Stela (Ptolem. Soter) Brugsch, *Ä.Z.*, 1871, 2, we find *šp.t wšd-wr* 'lip of the great green', meaning the shore of the Mediterranean Sea. The dual *šp.ty* was used for both banks of the river.

It is noteworthy that *šp.t* is the same word as שפה and that it was also used in Egyptian for the lip itself as e.g. Ptahhotep, Dévaud, p. 46, 529, (= *Lit.* 63); 'right are his lips (*ḥ; šp.ty-fy*) when he speaks'.² *šp.t* belongs to the Semitic loan words introduced into Egyptian very early, already long before the Hyksos period but more especially in the New Kingdom and then remained in use side by side with genuine Egyptian words. Thus they used *šp.t* = שפה for 'shore' side by side with the Egyptian word *wšd*; similarly *ib* = Sem. לב together with *ḥsty* 'heart'; *yn* = Sem. עין together with *ir.t* 'eye'; *idn* = Sem. און with 'nh 'ear'; *ns* = Sem. [ן]לש with *ššw* and *ššr* (new-Egyptian) 'tongue'; *kšb* = Sem. קרב with *h.t* 'belly', and many others.

Also the use of hand in Ex. 2, 5 'on the hand of the river' על יד היאור corresponds to the Egyptian use of ' = forearm, hand, for 'side'. Actually יד here does not refer to the bank as a whole but to the edge of the bank nearest to the river, viz. the spot where Pharaoh's daughter bathed. The distinction between שפה and יד is thus intentional and testifies to the stylistic finesse of the Hebrew narrator.

It may further be observed that the Egyptians had for 'shore, beach' another word, viz. *ḥfš.t* or *ḥfy*, e.g. Bergm., *Buch der Ewigk.* p. 379, 30: 'thou landest at the shore (*fyḥw*) of Busiris'. Cf. also Wreszinski, *Äg. Inschr. Mus. Wien*, p. 161 *ḥfy* shore, beach (Vienna Sarcophagus, l. 30 has *šf.t* for shore) and Er.-Gr. 126 *ḥfš.t*, late Egyptian *ḥfy* = beach, meadows. This word is probably identical with Sem. חוף; the *š* in *šf.t* is to be explained by the conversion of *ḥ* into *š* and *šft* seems therefore to originate from *ḥfš.t*. Nevertheless the coincidence of the Hebrew חוף and Egyptian *ḥfš.t*, *ḥfy* on the one hand and on the other of שפה and the Egyptian *šp.t*, *šf.t* is of great interest.

5. 'Mouth' for 'command'.

'Mouth', which in Gen. 41, 40. 45, 21 is used in the sense of 'command, injunction, precept', displays exactly the same usage as the Egyptian

¹ The Egyptian narrator obviously endeavours to reproduce in Egyptian as far as possible the words of the Prince of Byblos spoken in the Canaanite or Phoenician language as they were by using the Semitic loan words (current also in Egyptian) *šp.t* = שפה and *im* = ים 'sea' for 'shore of the sea'.

² We find in Coptic also the same word ⲥⲡⲟⲩⲮ (S) ⲥⲢⲟⲩⲮ (B) for shore, strand in the singular and plural, both of the river and of the sea. Sp. *WB.* 122.

r; = 'mouth' in connexion with a god, a king or some other person in the sense of 'command, injunction', e.g. *Gol. Rec.* 13, p. 76, pl. 1, 13 (= *Records*, iii, p. 83): 'for the sake of my beautiful house in Abydos *irr ḥr r; n ntr* made at the mouth of God', i.e. 'at the command of God' (not 'oracle' as Breasted gives). We have specially selected this example, to which many others may be added, because it is literally identical with the phrase frequently occurring, especially in the Pentateuch על פי יהוה, where על פי is also in its grammatical construction perfectly analogous to the Egyptian *ḥr r; = 'at the mouth'*, i.e. on the command.¹

6. 'Hand of God'.

In Ex. 9, 3 it is said that the cattle plague is to be conjured up by יד יהוה. In the 'hand of God' (*dr.t ntr* alternatively ' *ntr*'), the Egyptian saw the saving power which always protected him from misfortune. and when he spoke of 'the hand of God that is with Egypt' he thereby referred to the security and impregnability of his country as well as the invulnerability of his people against enemy attacks. Cf. e.g. Stela of Nefer-Abu, Erman, *Sitz.-Ber. Berl. Akad.* 1911, 1099: 'She (the goddess) was gracious to me after she had let me see her hand (*dr.t-št*)', i.e. vouchsafed me her protection and brought me healing. But 'the hand of God' is also directed as punitive power against the sinner and is the instrument for all blows of fate. Cf. e.g. Sinuhe 262 where he describes his anxiety in the presence of the king, saying 'it is like the *hand of God* (' *n ntr*'), it is a fright that is in my body'; Amenemope, xxiv, 11: 'mock not a man that is in the *hand of God*' (*m dr.t (dr.t)p; ntr*); xxiv, 20: 'how doth he rejoice who reaches the West (= the nether world) when he is safe in "the *hand of the God*"' (*m dr.t p; ntr*), i.e. without incurring the punishment of the Court of the Dead; likewise xxvi, 20 'in the hand of the God' speaking of the dangers of a storm at sea (?).

It is now possible to gauge the biting irony that lay in Moses' announcement of one of the worst plagues by which the Egyptians were to be so sorely tried in the use of the phrase יד יהוה as the punitive instrument. Thereby Pharaoh was to be told that *dr.t ntr* 'the hand of God', to which he and his people looked up in hope and fear, which they at one moment regarded as the symbol of the highest and surest protection, and at another tremblingly beheld as fate immutable, would now prove to be helpless against the 'hand of יהוה', which would be raised against him as a menacing

¹ Cf. also Gen. 45, 21, Ex. 38, 21 and many other passages. On 'mouth' as title cf. above p. 42. Elsewhere further examples of the use of פה = *r;* will be given.

power, destroying the whole wealth of Egypt, the cattle and all domestic animals, by sickness and death. In the ears of an Egyptian the use of *dr.t ntr* = 'the hand of God' must have sounded from the mouth of a Hebrew uttering threats as a terrible blasphemy and felt as an intentional insult.

7. Hand and Arm as symbols of Strength

'The strong hand' *הַיָּד הַחֲזָקָה*, 'the outstretched arm' *יָרִיעַ נְטוּיָה*, frequently mentioned in the Exodus narrative and repeatedly occurring elsewhere, Ex. 3, 19, 6, 1, 6; Num. 20, 20; Deut. 4, 34 etc., are quite ordinary expressions in Egyptian, especially in reference to battles and conquests. Thus e.g. *dr.y* 'to stretch forth, to turn towards' (Er.-Gr. 218) in conjunction with 'arm' = to stretch out the arm in hostile intent against someone, to oppose him, to resist him, e.g. *dr.y* 'Admon. 12, 2 and the passage quoted from Pyr. 498 a, *ibid.*, p. 82 with *dr.y* ' ; also *Rec.* 16, 125. Further in the same meaning *dwn-dr.t* 'stretch out the hand' e.g. *Einsetzung des Mondes*, 1. 72 (= *AOT.* 2, 184): 'I will make thee stretch out thy hand (*dwn-k dr.t-k*) against the face of the primeval gods' (*prwty.w*).

Particularly frequent is the expression *nht*- 'strong arm' (or *hand* as 'means both) from *nht* 'to be bold, strong, courageous', also in the causative as e.g. *Annal. of Thutmosis* iii. 1. 85 or *Urk.* iv. 657, 9 'and his father Amon strengthened both his arms' *hr snht* 'wy-fy). *nht* 'was also used succinctly for victory and strength (Er.-Gr. 86) without any longer thinking of the action of the hand; this seems also to be the case in many passages in Hebrew. Similarly frequent is *hps kny* 'strong, mighty arm'; e.g. Sall. iii. 8, 2 (= *Lit.* 267): 'thou destroyest the land of the Khaty with thy strong arm' (*hps-k kny*), cf. also Sall. iii. 8, 10, 9, 1 (= *Lit.* 268): 'hundreds of thousands (had he) overthrown with his strong arm'.¹

8. The Finger of God.

When Moses inflicted the third plague on the Egyptians (Ex. 8, 13-15) the magicians of Pharaoh were not able to reproduce it as they had done with the previous plagues (Ex. 7, 12, 22, 8, 3). In order to justify their ineptitude they declared that it was 'the finger of God', *אֶצְבַּע אֱלֹהִים* (Ex. 8, 15). The fact that this expression is said to have come from the mouth of the magicians, and further that such an explanation was considered

¹ *hps* is used both of the thigh and of the forearm, just as also Coptic *ⲡⲱⲛⲓⲛⲓ* (Sp. *WB.* 203). Originally the king would have been conceived as a lion who strikes down his prey with his forepaws.

to be fully sufficient to excuse the failure of their magical efforts, suggests an Egyptian origin for the expression itself, as well as for the whole conception connected with it.

The finger in connexion with the name of a god, e.g. 'the finger of Seth' or 'the finger of Thoth', was indeed current in magical texts. The 'finger of Seth' (*db' sth*) must have its origin in the myth of the fight of Seth against Horus for world domination, and be related to the episode when Seth damaged his eye (cf. further below, p. 244). The 'finger of Seth' was from old a source of threat and terror, especially for the dead who were exposed to all the vicissitudes suffered by Osiris and Horus at the hands of Seth, so that special spell-formulae had to be applied in order to avert a similar danger from Seth and other gods or demons.¹ The idea of 'the finger of God' as very dangerous appears also in connexion with Thoth, 'the finger of Thoth' (*db' dhwtj*) being mentioned as a constant threat to Apophis, the monstrous dragon of the night, and most terrible foe of the Sun-god Re.²

It is now clear the Plague of Lice appeared to the Egyptian magicians—because of their inability to imitate Moses this time—as a blow coming from an unknown source over which no magician had any power, either to produce or to avert, and thus could only be caused by 'the finger of a god', like that of Seth or of another hostile deity. It is, however, quite possible that in this connexion the magicians did not refer to one of their gods, but to the God of Moses, recognizing that the mysterious power of his God was beyond their grasp. At any rate, the expression 'finger of God', as well as the whole idea of an atrocious visitation being caused by the 'finger of God', was undoubtedly Egyptian. It is to be noted that even the word *אֶצְבַּע* is the same as in Egyptian *db'* so that the whole phrase *אֶצְבַּע אֱלֹהִים* is a literal rendering of *db' ntr* 'finger of God'.³

¹ Cf. Mariette Tab. 22, *Abydos Ritual Texts*, Chap. 4, the formula spoken by the King when removing the bolt from the shrine of the god: 'The finger of Seth is removed from the eye of Horus, so that it heals'. For spell-formulae for the dead, cf. Pyr. 48 (Sethe's additional pages to Vol. I, 27-8): 'Take to thyself (*m n-k*) the finger of Seth (*db' sth*) which causes the white eye of Horus to see'. Pyr. 1302 are the fingers of Atum (*db'.w tm*) mentioned as a threat to a god or demi-god.

² Cf. *Apophis*, 30, 2-3: 'Re dismembers thee . . . the finger of Thoth is in thy eyes, his spell seizes thee, annihilated is thy figure', etc. I think that the whole object of the counting of the fingers (Sethe, *AZ.* 1918, 16 ff. and Gunn, *ibid.* 1922, 71 f.) is connected with the spell against the eyes being damaged by the finger of Seth or other gods on the way through the nether world.

³ Although *db'* may be a very old Semitic loan-word in Egyptian, the phrase itself is typically Egyptian.

friendly', (Er.-Gr. 32) is obviously based on 'being careful, attentive'. The identical usage of *w:h* and שׁ or שׂ moreover clearly emerges from many other analogous expressions in Hebrew and Egyptian still to be discussed.

11. Bone, Limb = 'Self'

The expression הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה = 'on this very day' occurs in Ex. 12, 17, 41, 51 and elsewhere, most frequently in the Pentateuch.¹ Here we have a metaphorical use of 'bone' or 'limb' for 'self' without retaining the memory of the original meaning of עצם. Exactly the same metaphorical use of *h'* 'limb' for 'self' (sometimes in the plural *h'.w*) also occurs in Egyptian. Of many examples we only quote: Sin. 66 (R.) 'the inhabitants of his town loved him more than *h'.w-sn* their limbs', i.e. themselves; Amenemope viii. 17 f. 'Plough the fields, so wilt thou find thy need; thou receivest the sacrificial loaves from thy very own threshing floor' (*n htyw h'.w-k* literally 'threshing floor of thy limbs').²

Further, the fact that *ds'* is the classical expression for 'self' and by far the most wide-spread (Er.-Gr. § 154), whereas on the other hand *h'* is usual both in Demotic and Coptic, gives grounds for the suggestion that *h'* was a less choice expression and belonged rather to vernacular speech. This is so far of interest as it presents an example for the modelling of the Hebrew on a vernacular mode of expression.

In this connexion it must be pointed out that the Egyptian used 'bone' and 'limb' alternatively though for *bone* he had the separate word *ks*. Exactly the same occurs in Hebrew where עצם means both 'bone' and

¹ In the Pentateuch alone twelve times, elsewhere only Josh. twice and Ezek. four times. Cf. also Ex. 24, 10 כַּעֲצֵם הַשָּׁמַיִם 'like the heaven itself'.

² In Coptic ⲕⲱⲱ = *h'* with suffix means only 'self'. In Demotic legal documents *h'* (with suffix) is regularly used for 'self', e.g. *h'-f* 'he himself' (Sethe-Partsch, p. 306, § 27).

³ The peculiar expression for suicide *mt.w m dr.tw r h'.w-sn* repeatedly occurring in the Pap. jud. de Turin (e.g. cols. 29, , &c.) might just as well mean: 'they died by their hands on their limbs', as also 'by their very hand', as in parallel passages like cols. 5, 4 and 6, the other word used only for 'self' *ds'* appears in place of *h'.w* (*mt n.w ds'.w*).

⁴ The identification of bone and limb is doubtless a remnant of the primitive mode of thought which deemed hands, fingers, legs, &c. to be the most essential members of the body. The use of a bodily member in the sense of 'self' is customary also in other Semitic languages: only each language has a different organ, thus e.g. the Arabic (besides the fem. dem. pron. ذات) 'the eye' عين or نفس 'soul' with and without preposition, e.g. رجل بعينه 'the man in his eye', البيت بعينه 'the house in its eye', الشجرة بنفسها 'the tree in its soul' everywhere in the sense of 'self'; Aram.-Syr. גרמא = bone or body = 'self' perhaps followed the Hebrew. In neo-Hebrew also גוף = body = 'self'. Similar examples from other languages could be cited for the use of some bodily member to denote 'self',

'limb', as appears from many Bible passages. Only later was עצמות fem. plural used as collective for all limbs.¹

The establishment of the fact that עצם was used for limb leads to the correct meaning of an injunction in Ex. 12, 46 which has been completely misunderstood. It says there of the Paschal lamb: 'in one house shall it be eaten, thou shalt not carry forth aught of the flesh abroad out of the house, לא תשברו בו ועצם neither shall ye break a bone thereof'. Here עצם does not refer to the breaking of a bone as such during the meal. עצם here is not 'bone' but 'limb', and the meaning is, that in roasting the lamb it is to be kept whole without severing a limb, as expressly stated previously in 12, 9 that it should be roasted 'head with legs and body' i.e. as a whole. This is based on the injunction that each house (v.3) was to have a whole lamb for itself. Now, in order to prevent the lamb from being distributed among various houses it was not to be cut up in the roasting. This is more clearly brought out in 12, 4 where it is provided that in the case where a whole lamb be too much for one house, the nearest neighbour was to come in to participate, so that the sacrifice should be consumed in one house and no parts taken out. We now realize that 12, 46 'In one house shall it be eaten; thou shalt not carry forth ought of the flesh abroad out of the house; neither shall ye break a bone thereof', far from constituting a contradiction to 12, 9 as suggested by critics is in reality in thorough accordance with it.²

¹ The Egyptians also used the plural *h'.w* 'limbs' collectively for the bodily frame, for the lineament and appearance of the body. Thus it was quite usual to say of beautiful women that they were beautiful in all their limbs, e.g. Westcar, ii. 5, 10 f. (= Lit. 68): women *m nfr.t nt h'.w-sn* with beautiful limbs, i.e. of beautiful appearance, of comely build.

² In ZAT., 1915, 130 Hess draws attention to a custom which he observed among the Bedouin of the 'Otöbe who avoid breaking a bone of the sacrificial sheep which they slaughter on the seventh day after the death of a relative. Nevertheless this cannot serve as a parallel, as the motive here is quite different, being for the purpose of keeping the bones intact and putting them together after the consumption of the meat on the grave of the deceased in order that he may ride on the skeleton of the animal. From other Bedouin I have learned that instead of a sheep they slaughter a camel as a sacrifice for the dead and then heap up the bones near the grave to serve the deceased as a steed at the resurrection.

CHAPTER V

FORMAL PHRASES; PROVERBIAL MODES OF SPEECH
AND STOCK EXPRESSIONS FROM THE EGYPTIAN

IN addition to the words and expressions which have been shown to be modelled on Egyptian prototypes, there are also many formal *phrases*, proverbial modes of speech and stock expressions which are characteristic of the Joseph and Exodus narratives, and at the same time typically Egyptian. We proceed to give a selection of specially noteworthy examples.

1. Introductory Formal Phrases in Narratives

The account of the serfdom of the Hebrews begins with the words: Ex. 2, 23: וַיְהִי בַיָּמִים הָרַבִּים הָהֵם 'and it was in those many days', a strange phrase which has always given rise to speculative interpretations. Now it is most typical of the Egyptian narrative style to begin certain sections of one and the same story, with 'after the many days' to introduce fresh notable events. The phrase runs *hr m ht* (more frequently: *hr ir m ht*) *hrw kn.w hr sz nn*, which reads literally: 'and after many days after this', and could be best rendered: 'And many days after this had happened.'¹ This is what the Hebrew narrator had in mind in using the above phrase. So begins for instance the report of the campaign of Ramesses II against Kadesh (*Rev. Egypt.* iii. 157): *hr m ht hrw knw hr sz nn*² 'and after many days after this His Majesty was in the town of Rameses etc.'. As Maspero, *Contes Pop.*, 4 ed., p. 4, n. 4, Erman. *Lit.* 261, n. 2, have already observed, the phrase is a quite usual, almost colourless formula of naïve, popular story-telling, having long since lost its literal meaning. This is so much the case that this phrase is repeated several times at the beginning of different sections in one and the same narrative, just to mark the advance in the sequence of the chief events, without implying any lapse of a long period between the

¹ A literal translation of the successive prepositions *hr ir m ht* is hardly possible and *m ht* = 'after' is certainly to be differentiated from *hr sz* = 'behind, after' by a certain nuance. Perhaps the Hebrew 'and it was in those many days' is nearer to the meaning of the Egyptian phrase than its usual rendering 'and after many days'. In any case the Hebrew construction is much clearer. It should be emphasized that the use of the prepositions in the Egyptian phrase corresponds more to the usage of new-Egyptian of the New Kingdom.

² The text has, probably in error, *hr sz hr nn*, as usually it reads *hr sz nn*.

various phases of the narrative. This is shown by many popular stories mainly of the literature of the New Kingdom; but the most striking example is furnished by the well-known story of the two brothers (Pap. D'Orbiney = *Lit.* 147 ff. of the thirteenth century B.C.) in which almost every new paragraph begins with the same phrase: *hr ir m ht hrw kn.w hr sz nn* 'and after many days after this', although the events related follow quite shortly on one another (Pap. d'Orb., i. 4; ii. 7 f.; viii. 8 f.; ix. 1; x. 4 etc.) Thus soon after the opening (= *Lit.* 151) we read: 'and after many days after this his younger brother was tending his cattle'; then p. 199 'and after many days after this they were on the field raising corn'; p. 203 'and after many days after this his younger brother was in the Vale of Cedars'; a few lines later 'and after many days after this he built himself a castle in the Vale of Cedars'. The same phrase is continually repeated at short intervals, where the *many days* comprise very short periods especially towards the end where in one case the 'many days' hardly cover the time of pregnancy of the princess (p. 209).

In Pap. Westcar (= *Lit.* 36 ff.) which belongs to the much earlier Hyksos period (see *ibid.* note 2), the same phrase occurs but somewhat more fully. Thus at the beginning of the first narrative (= *Lit.* 37) it reads: *hr m ht hrw swz hr nn*, literally 'and after, when days had gone by over this'. Also in the tale of the birth of the three kings, the same phrase recurs (Westcar, xii. 8 = *Lit.* 46) as well as in narratives of later periods e.g. in the tale of the adventure of Seteny with the mummies (Demot. Maspero, *Contes Pop.*, p. 131), and in other stories. Now although this phrase, as we have seen, is found in various epochs of Egyptian literature, nevertheless for no period of Egyptian popular literature is it so characteristic as for the first period of the New Kingdom, that is about the time of Israel's sojourn in Egypt.

We would further observe that Ex. 2, 11 must originally have read the same as verse 23 וַיְהִי בַיָּמִים הָרַבִּים הָהֵם, as is actually shown by the text of the Septuagint. Thus we have a repetition of the very same phrase in the same chapter in perfect accordance with the literary usage of the Egyptians.¹

Another formal phrase of the same nature used at the beginning of

¹ The omission of the word וַיְהִי is indicated here, as in many cases where a word is missing by the Paseq | after וַיְהִי. Although its use as a critical sign is later than is assumed (cf. Gesenius-Bergsträsser, *Hebrew Gram.*, i, § 12 n), it may have come into use instead of another sign employed in older Bible manuscripts for the same purpose. In any case also the simpler formula וַיְהִי בַיָּמִים הָהֵם would have been used as is to be seen from Judges 19, 1 and 1 Sam. 28, 1. Nevertheless their use in the Pentateuch and disappearance soon after the early historical books remains significant for the estimation of the age of such phrases.

a story or a new section thereof is *w' m nn hrw hpr* 'one of those days it happened that', e.g. Pap. Westcar ix. 21 (= *Lit.* 44): 'One of those days it happened that Red-Dedet felt pains', etc. In the inscriptions of Rameses II, this phrase is repeated more frequently, e.g. *Mar. Abyd.*, i pl. 6, 26 (= *Records*, iii. § 261): 'One of those days it happened that, in the first year, in the third month of the first season the king journeyed forth' etc.; further *Kuban-Stela* i. 8 (= *Records*, iii. § 286): 'One of those days it happened that His Majesty was sitting on a lofty throne', etc.

To the category of these merely formal phrases belongs also Gen. 38, 12 וַיְהִי כִּי אָרְבוּ יְמֵי הַיָּמִים 'and the days were many when etc.' and also Gen. 26, 8 וַיְהִי כִּי אָרְבוּ יְמֵי הַיָּמִים 'and it was when the days had become long for him there' i.e. after a long time. In both these cases only a short period is really meant.

Similarly we read in the annals of Thutmosis, iii. 1, 9, *Urk.* iv. 648, 2 (= *AOT.*, p. 236): *ist h'w nw [g] m rnp.wt* 'and when this time became (great) in years, i.e. when many years had passed, it happened that, etc. As the word [g] 'great' is not quite certain it might just as well have read *swj* = 'long' which is equally said of time (Er.-Gr. 1) so that the passage would read: 'now when this time became long in years', and thus we would have in this case an exact coincidence with the Hebrew.

Another formal expression with reference to time which thrice recurs in the Joseph narrative at short intervals (Gen. 39, 7. 40, 1. 48, 1) is וַיְהִי אַחֲרַיִם הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה, wherewith new phases of the story are introduced. Characteristic therein is the use of דְּבָרִים = 'words' from דָּבַר = 'to say, speak' simply for 'things, affairs, events', just as in numerous analogous cases the Egyptian *mdw* or *md.t* plural *md.wt* = 'words' from *mdw* 'to say, speak' (Er.-Gr. 74), is employed for things and affairs'.

I have purposely quoted numerous examples from the Egyptian narratives, tales, and historical texts in order to give a clear idea of the actual use of these formal expressions of time, and to show how strongly the Egyptian narrative mode, especially in the literature of the New Empire, is reflected in the mode and style of the Joseph and Exodus stories. Thereby all the conjectures, both of a historical and textual-critical character, so widely made in regard to Ex. 2, 23 as well as 2, 11 fall to the ground.¹ In the light of the above examples, especially those from the Tale of the Two Brothers, it is quite certain that Ex. 2, 23, far from marking the beginning of an entirely new narration distinct and remote from events related in the preceding story and by a different author, on the contrary denotes a direct continuation, and that consequently we have to deal here with one and the

¹ Cf. commentaries ad loc.; also H. Fuchs, *Das Pasiq ein Glossezeichen* (Diss.), p. 68 f.

same author. For, as the use of such phrases in Egyptian shows, their purpose is precisely to introduce successive phases of one and the same narrative.

On other occasions we shall show by many examples how instructive the study of Egyptian tales and narratives is for the understanding of the style and whole structure particularly of those portions of the Pentateuch which deal with Egypt. The very fact that 'and it happened after these things' recurs in the Joseph narrative alone three times and that 'and it happened in those many days' or 'it happened in those days' (perhaps 'on one of those days') occur exclusively in the Exodus narrative, at short intervals as in the Egyptian, unmistakably shows how close is the relationship between Hebrew and Egyptian in this genre of literature.

2. תועבה for 'Abomination'

The conception of something being an 'abomination' *bw.t* which is expressed in Hebrew by תועבה especially in connexion with Egypt, e.g. Gen. 43, 32, 'for it was an abomination to the Egyptians' (to eat with Hebrews); or 46, 34 said of the shepherds as תועבת מצרים 'an abomination to Egypt', or Ex. 8, 26, of the cattle sacrifices, is typically Egyptian. It occurs profusely in both sacred and profane literature of all epochs and exactly like תועבה is an expression of loathing and strong abhorrence against everything disgusting, repugnant or execrable,¹ e.g. Harem conspiracy Pap. jud. de Turin, pl. v, 4-5 (= *Records*, iv. § 454, of the sorcery in the conspiracy) 'these were great deadly sins and *bw.t* 'g.w n p; t; 'great abominations to the land' (i.e. of Egypt); further Israel-Stela, 9 (= *Lit.* 276); Maroaju (the prince of Libya) is *bw.t(y) n inbwhd* 'an abomination, abhorrence to Memphis'. The Egyptian origin of the phrase is, however, not to be deduced only from the circumstance that it is used in the Joseph and Exodus narratives in connexion with Egypt and in the mouth of Egyptians, but also from the fact that the Egyptians generally said of anything sinful and criminal that it was an abomination to the god *bw.t n ntr*, just as תועבת יהוה thus e.g. Deut. 7, 25 f. 12, 31. 27, 15 of idolatry; 17, 1. 23, 19 of animals invalid for sacrifice; of unchastity 24, 4 (also Lev. 18, 22. 20, 13); of sorcery, 18, 12; of false weights and measures, 25, 16.²

¹ Kyle, *Moses and the Monuments*, p. 26 identifies תועבה with an Egyptian word *aat* which is said to mean 'abomination' or 'pest' and which the Egyptians are said to have applied to the Hyksos. Unfortunately, he does not give his source by which one might perhaps have recognized the true Egyptian form of the word. Had he perhaps in mind *hny.t* a sort of illness (Er.-Gr. 121)? Or was he thinking of 'y' or 'y' = barbarian (Er.-Gr. 1 and 23)? In this case the feminine form of *aat* would be inexplicable; moreover the Egyptians applied 'to all foreigners, not only the Hyksos.

² That also the word תועבה itself is of Egyptian origin is shown below, p. 95.

With the same frequency we find the expression in Egyptian cf. Redesiyye-Inscription, *Rec.* 13, p. 76, pl. II, 16 (= *Records*, iii. § 192) *bwt n ntr* 'an abomination to God is an offence against His people'; *Vezier*, p. 18: 'an abomination to God (*bwt ntr*) is to be partial'; Pap. Lee, 7 (= *Records*, iv. § 455): 'he committed all of them (sins) together with the other great crimes, the abomination to every god and every goddess'; Amenemope XIII, 15 f., Chap. 10 (= Erman, *OLZ*, 1924, col. 246): 'Speak not falsely with a man, [this is] an abomination to the god (*ts bwt n ps ntr*)'; cf. also xv. 20 f., further Chap. 13 of the compilation of false taxation lists (?) that is 'an abomination to the god (*ts bwt n ps ntr*)'. Sometimes the name of the god is given, e.g. Totb. *Urk.* v. 58, 1, *Spruch*, 17, § 23, of Re to whom 'sin is an abomination (*bwt-f isf.t*)'; Amenemope XVII, 23 f.: double measures are an abomination (*bwt*) to Re.¹

Sometimes *bwt* is combined with *ka* (*ks*) the life-spirit, the soul-force in gods or men or more simply 'soul'. Thus e.g. Ptahhotep, Dévaud, p. 22, v. 119 f. (= *Lit.* 89), where a warning is given against casting greedy glances during the meal at the host and the meats that lie before him 'for an abomination (*bwt*) to the *ka* is one who so behaves'; cf. also *ibid.*, p. 26, v. 189 (= *Lit.* 58), where the same expression 'abomination (*bwt*) for the *ka*' is used in another connexion. Elsewhere *bwt* is said of the dead, e.g. Lacau, *Textes Relig.* xxviii B. 51, *Rec.* 30, 69, 11 = Roeder, *Urk.* 208 'I, (the dead) am lord of the sacrifices, my abomination is sin *bwt-y pw isf.t*' and similarly Chabas, *L'Egyptol.*, 1874, Oct., p. 91, *Maximes d'Ani*, pl. 11 (= *Lit.* 296): 'the houses of the gods—their abomination (*bwt*) is clamour.'

3. 'As the Sand of the Sea'

Gen. 41, 49: 'And Joseph gathered corn' פָּחַל הַיָּם הַרְבֵּה מְאֹד עַד כִּי־חָרַל לְסַפֵּר כִּי־אֵין מְסָפֵר 'as the sand of the sea, very much, until he ceased counting for it was without number' (cf. also Gen. 22, 17. 32, 13). This simile

¹ The xvii, 21 text gives: *m ir iryn-k ip.t n ts y 2*, literally: 'do not make thyself a bushel that holds two'. Erman, *ibid.*, col. 248 is in doubt as to the meaning of the last two words. They can, however, be translated quite simply: 'that comprises double' as *ts y* 'to take, seize' (Er.-Gr. 207) can also be interpreted in the sense of 'to take up, embrace, comprise' like the Coptic ⲁⲓ. What is meant is a corn measure with a double sliding base which actually 'comprises double', i.e. a two-fold measure. In corn markets in Cairo and Bīr-el-Sab', the old שָׂבַע בָּאֵר, I have myself observed the confiscation of such a measure by the authorities. Should however, *sn.nw.t* be correct, then it would read: 'a bushel of holding a second' i.e. bushels of different sizes, a big one for measuring corn when buying, and a small one made to fit into the other so as to diminish its capacity when selling. In connexion with the passage cited, note the word *ip.t* = אִיפָה and cf. Deut. 25, 14 ואִיפָה ואִיפָה and v. 16 תוֹעֵבָה, also Prov. 20, 10.

together with that of the dust of the earth (Gen. 13, 16. 28, 14 etc.) or the 'stars of the heavens' (Gen. 22, 17. Ex. 32, 13, and frequently in the historical and poetical books of the Bible) is very common in Egyptian for infinite numbers. Thus e.g. in the Annals of Thutmosis, iii. 1. 6 f. *Urk.* iv. 687, 9-16 (= *AOT.*, p. 241) speaking of the booty of grain in Arwad in the land of Zahi (*ds hy* = Palestine), it says that the grain in the barns was 'more plentiful than the sand on the shores' *š'y n wdb.w*, in the plural). The fuller Egyptian form reads: as plentiful *my š'y n wdb.w* (or *idb.w*) as the sand (probably grains of sand) of the shores' (*wdb.w* in the plural or *wdb.wy* in the dual for both banks of the Nile).¹

It occurs especially frequently in the texts of the New Empire, e.g. in Pap. Harris in several passages such as pl. 49, 12: 'the products of the land of Egypt are like the sand of the shore'; Pl. 86 'oil more than the sand of the shore'; *Med. Habu*, *Düm. Hist. Inschr.*, i. 31 (= *Records*, iv, § 29): 'The word of King Rameses III unto his father, Amon-Re, King of the Gods, take gold and silver like the sand of the shore.'²

Often this phrase is abbreviated into sand alone e.g. Harris pl. 8, 4: 'flowers from every land etc. like sand'; pl. 46, 3: 'I made them [the gifts for Ptah] more numerous than sand'; Anast., iv. 9, 1-3 f. (= *Lit.*, p. 212): 'five acres as vegetable land with cucumbers . . . as many as the sand'; and Anast., i. 21, 2 in reference to the sea at Tyre: *wšr-šw m rm.w r š'y* 'it is stronger (i.e. more prolific) in fish than sand.'

In the description of the Battle of Kadesh under Rameses II, Sall. 3, 1, 1 f. (= *Lit.* 262) the simile of the sand is followed also by the words 'without number', as in Hebrew אֵין מְסָפֵר: '(the enemy) has very many men and horses' *kn.w m š'y* 'as numerous as the sand' etc. 'armed with all manner of weapons' *nn r'-šn* 'without number, without their being counted' (the usual form is *r3-* Er.-Gr. 92). Elsewhere also both phrases often occur side by side e.g. Harris, pl. IV. 4 'their lands, their herds, their multitude were as' *š'y nw wdb.w* 'the sand of shores', and further 1. 7: 'Vessels of silver and copper *n r3-'šn* without being numbered'; pl. 76, 8-10 of the prisoners who were more numerous than sand 'on shores' (*wdb-w*), and then of their men, their cattle etc., that they were 'innumerable' (*nn r3-'šn*). This last

¹ The Egyptian would probably as a rule rather have thought of the sandy banks of the Nile than of the shores of the sea, as appears from the frequent dual sign in *wdb* (or *idb*). It should be remembered that the real cultural life of the Egyptians was developed in Upper Egypt in the interior of the country on the 'two banks of the river', not on the sea, in Lower Egypt, where mostly the foreign settlements were concentrated.

² This passage being of the period of King Solomon is very instructive with reference to 1 Kings 10, 21, according to which only gold vessels were used in Solomon's palace, silver being 'worthless' or as in v. 27 'like pebbles'.

formula is most frequent in enumerations of sacrificial gifts; e.g. Harris, 4, 7: 'table vessels of fine gold and others of silver and copper *n rj-šn* without number'; pl. 7, 4 'bread, beer, oxen etc., fruits without number' pl. 46, 2: 'merchants without number' etc. This habit of piling up phrases to express an infinity of number and measure is most characteristic of the Egyptian, so that even the largest numbers appeared insufficient. Cf. e.g. Harris, pl. 76, 5, 6: 'soldiers etc. *kn.w my hfn.w* in hundreds of thousands *Scherdans* and *Kaleikans*¹ etc. *nn rj-šn* "without number" and camp followers *m db'.w* in tens of thousands'.²

Likewise in the word *ḥr*, as denoting large numbers and multitude, there is an analogous transference from the conception *rb* 'great' to 'many, numerous' as in the Egyptian *wr* (fem. *wr.t*). The original meaning 'great' for *wr* beyond doubt is to be seen from the verb *wrr* 'to be great' and 'to be numerous', just like *rb* 'to be great' and 'to be numerous', which, especially in Genesis and Exodus, is frequent as a synonym of *pr* 'to be fruitful'. Also as an adverb *wr.t* means 'very' in the same way as *ḥr* e.g. *Gol. Rec.*, xiii. 76, pl. I, 6-7 (= *Records*, iii. § 171); 'and the water overflowed it (the well) *r 'j.t wr.t* very much, very much indeed'; *Ptah-hotep* 7 (= *Lit.* 59): 'that will do his heart good *wr.t* very much'. This corresponds very well to *rb* as an interjection 'it is much, enough!', especially Gen. 45, 28: 'and Israel said: it is much, it is enough! that my son is still alive!' (cf. also Num. 16, 3; Deut. 1, 6, 3, 26).

4. 'In the whole Land' or 'in the Boundary of Egypt'

With unusual frequency the formal phrase *ḥr* 'in the land of Egypt' or *ḥr* 'in the whole land of Egypt' recurs again and again, e.g. Pharaoh speaking of the lean kine, Gen. 41, 19: 'such as I never saw *ḥr* in the whole land of Egypt for ugliness'. This emphatic phraseology is a particularly common feature in Egyptian narrative style, e.g. d'Orb. i. 4 (= *Lit.* 151): 'his brother was a good ploughman', *n wn ḥd-f m tj dr-f* 'his like was not in the whole of the land'; *ibid.* ix. 8 (= *Lit.* 156): 'And Hnum made for him a companion (*iry-hmsw* i.e. a wife) and she was beautiful of limb more than any woman in the whole land (*m p: tj dr(-f)*'); *Urk.* iv. 219, 2 of Queen Hatshepsowet: 'more beautiful is she

¹ Names of non-Egyptian tribes who were at all times employed by the Egyptians as mercenaries.

² Besides 'sand on the shore' other things are used to illustrate great quantities. Thus the wish is expressed for Amenophis IV that he may be vouchsafed jubilees and other desirable things 'as many as the grains of sand on the shore, as the fish in the river have scales, and the oxen have hairs' (Davies, Amarna, iii, 29, 8 = *Lit.* 292).

than all the women in the whole of this land (*m tj pn r dr-f*), Ka-Gemni Tab. II. 6 f. (= *Lit.* 67): 'they read it as it was written and it was more agreeable to their hearts than anything that is in the whole of this land'. In Gen. 41, 26 we have the same use of *ḥr* for 'good' and 'beautiful', as the Egyptian *nfr* for 'good' and 'beautiful'; the same as *rc* v. 27 for 'bad' and 'ugly' as the Egyptian *bin* for 'bad' and 'ugly'.

Sometimes we have *ḥr* = 'border' instead of *ḥr* = 'land' combined with Egypt, e.g. *ḥr* *ḥr* Ex. 10, 14, 19 'in the whole border of Egypt' = in the whole land; also *ḥr* alone in the same meaning, e.g. Ex. 7, 27, 10, 4, 13, 7; also the phrase occurring in Gen 47, 21 *ḥr* 'from one end of the border of Egypt to its other end'. This corresponds exactly to the Egyptian *tjš km.t* 'border of Egypt' for 'the land of Egypt', e.g. Harris, pl. 77, 4 'I brought it about that they (the enemy) abstained' *r ḥnd tjš km.t* 'from placing foot on the border of Egypt' wherein *tjš* = 'border' is used for land, not for frontier,¹ as *tjš* is elsewhere used succinctly for territory, e.g. Mery-Ka-Re, Petersb. Pap. 1116a, 106 (= *Lit.* 81): *šh: tjš-k* 'If thy border (i.e. thy land) is in revolt towards the south, then . . . etc.', that is exactly like *ḥr* in the passages mentioned, equally with reference to the land of Pharaoh.

5. 'The Good' or 'the Best of the Land of Egypt'

Gen. 45, 18 Pharaoh says: 'And I will give you *ḥr* the good of the land of Egypt', and further v. 20 'for the good of the land of Egypt is yours'; v. 23 Joseph sends his father ten asses laden *ḥr* with the 'good of Egypt'; 47, 6 Pharaoh says 'the land of Egypt is before thee *ḥr* in the best of the land make thy father and brethren dwell'; (*idem*, 47, 11 and elsewhere). This turn of speech recurs insistently in Egyptian literature and usually it reads *bw nb nfr* 'all good', *ih.t nb.t nfr.t* 'all good things' or also *stp.w*, the selected, the chosen, exactly like *ḥr* the chosen, Ex. 15, 4 and elsewhere. Here again our narrator exactly reproduces the true Egyptian as would naturally come to the lips of Pharaoh. In Egyptian records and narratives we find this same phrase occurring again and again in the same manner as in passages of analogous subject matter in the Pentateuch, as will be seen from the following selection of examples which could be greatly extended: Anast. iii. 2, 2 (= *Lit.* 206): 'His field is full *bw nb nfr* of all good'; Anast. iv. 3, 10 f. (= *Lit.* 212): 'thy

¹ 'Setting foot on the frontier' as such would be rendered by *ḥnd ḥr tjš* and crossing the frontier by *thy*, e.g. Harris, pl. 76, 6, 'I overthrew *n: thy st* those who crossed it (the frontier)'.

galley comes from Syria laden with *ih.t nb.t nfr.t* 'all good things' (cf. also Gen. 24, 10 and Deut. 6, 11); *Sinuhe* B 80 f. (= *Lit.* 19): 'he let me choose something from his land from the choicest (*m štp.w*) of what he possessed' (cf. also 86 f.); *Med. Habu = Records*, iv. § 16: 'flagpoles of genuine cedar from the best of the (mountain) steps¹ from the choicest of the lord of the "two lands".' Also with reference to people, the Egyptians employed similar expressions, thus e.g. Schiffb., *ÄZ.* 43, 6 c. 28 (= *Lit.* 30): '120 seamen were therein *m štp.w n km.t* of the choicest of Egypt'; *Mery-Ka-Re*, Pap. Petersb. 1116 A, recto 89 (= *Lit.* 81): '(towns) filled with men *m štp.w nt t: r dr-f* of the choicest of the entire land'; Harris pl. 27, 2: 'I filled it with beautiful slaves *n štp n it*, with the choicest of corn'.² Finally the Egyptian was never tired of speaking again and again on every occasion of *ih.t nb.t nfr.t* 'all good things', especially in records enumerating gifts or war booty. In the case of offerings to temples, gods, or the dead he never forgot to add that they comprised 'all good and pure' or 'holy' things (*ih.t nb.t nfr.t* or *w^b.t*).

6. 'All the Gods of Egypt'

Ex 12, 12 says of the plague of the first-born *špšm špšm* 'and against all the gods of Egypt I will do judgements'. 'All the gods' (*ntr.w nb.w*) or 'every god and every goddess' (*ntr nb ntr.t nb.t*)³ are phrases which were very familiar to the Egyptians; e.g. Harris, pl. 25, 2 of the prayers and favours which the *great god* (Rameses III) offered to his father Amon, etc., and 'all the gods of On (= Heliopolis) (*ntr. w nb. w iwnw*)'; *Totb. Urk.* v, 138, 17, *Spr.* 19, *Intr.*, l. 4: 'Every god and every goddess (*ntr nb ntr.t nb.t*) in heaven and on earth justify Horus'; *Rec.*, 13, 76, pl. II, 18 (= *Records*, III, § 193): 'May all the gods and goddesses of my temple (*n: ntr.w ntr.wt nb.w h.t-y*) wage war against him'. That in conjunction with this plague of the firstborn particularly, *all the gods of Egypt* are mentioned adds a note of scorn to the threat in view of the fact that every sanctuary and necropolis was full of priests, servants and slaves dedicated to the gods, and so the plague was to be extended also against the first-born of these classes in mockery and in spite of all the 'gods of Egypt' watching over them.

¹ This was the name given to Lebanon by the Egyptians on account of the terraced character of the mountain slopes.

² It should be remarked that in almost all passages *štp.w* is in the abstract, and thus exactly as in Hebrew.

³ As from a grammatical point of view *ntr nb* can also be taken as an abbreviated plural, it is quite possible that here and elsewhere it means 'all the gods' and not 'every god'.

Even the expression *עשה שפטים* 'do judgements' for the carrying out of punishments, here as elsewhere, is of genuine Egyptian character viz. *iry* = to do + *wp.w* = judgements, i.e. 'execute judgements', e.g. *Redesiyyeh Inscr. Rec.*, xiii. 76, pl. 2, 19 (= *Records*, iii, § 194): *irr-šn wp.w-šn hn^c-f*, 'and may they (the gods) do their judgements on him' i.e. carry out their punishments.¹ Thereby the use of *שפטים* here, as in Ex. 6, 6. 7, 4, and elsewhere e.g. Num. 33, 4, and especially frequently in Ezek. for 'punishments', is shown to be an adaptation of *wp.w*, which particularly in legal terminology implies *judgements, laws*, which are to be executed.

7. 'The Marvellous Deeds'

Ex. 3, 20 reads 'and I will smite Egypt with all my marvels *בכל נפלאותי* which I will do in the midst thereof'; Ex. 34, 10: 'before all thy people I will do marvels *אעשה נפלאות* such as have not been done in the whole land (i.e. world) nor among any peoples'. 'To do marvels' (*iry by:y.t*) is a very typical and frequent phrase in Egyptian; e.g. *Mar. Karnak*, pl. XI, 2 f. (= *Erm. Lit.* 254) Amon-Re says to Thutmosis III in recognition of an image being dedicated to him 'I set thee fast in my dwelling place² and do marvels for thee (*[irn-y] by:y.w-y n-k*)'. Similarly Merneptah expresses himself about his victories, *Mar. Karn.*, pl. 54, 47 (= *Records*, iii, § 587): 'All the towns and places rejoice at these *marvellous deeds* (*hr nhm nn by:y.t*)'.³ As so often in the Pentateuch when the mighty deeds of God against Egypt are referred to, Ex. 6, 6. 7, 4. Deut. 4, 34. 7, 19. 10, 21. 29, 2, so the Pharaohs loved to speak again and again of their 'great deeds' both as hostile acts against their foes as well as in reference to benevolent actions on behalf of the Temples, the gods, or the country. Cf. e.g. *Harris*, pl. 25, 1 f.: 'the prayers, praises, and benedictions, great deeds of might (*tnr*) as well as benevolences which the king . . . did for his father Atum . . .'

¹ The Text has *wp.w* as masc. plur., exactly as in Hebrew, and not *wp.t* fem. sing., as *Ag. WB.*, i, 302. This seems to be the vernacular mode of speech, and here also, as in other instances, it is followed by the Hebrew. See p. 59 f.. For the analogous use of *חנ^c* 'with' cf. 2 Chron. 24, 24.

² I so understand the words: *šmn-y tw m iwnn-y*, as *šmn* may mean both establish and immortalize (*Er.-Gr.* 161). Erman translates: 'ich stelle dich in meinem Wohnort auf', 'I place thee in my habitation', and interprets it that the god will place the image of the king also in the sanctuary as a reward.

³ The word *by:y.t* (fem.) 'something astonishing, wonderful' (*Er.-Gr.* 47) coincides grammatically also with *נפלאה* 'marvel'. In Ex. 15, 11 *עשה פלא* and parallel passages in the Psalms 77, 15. 78, 12, &c., also *פלא* corresponds to the Egyptian *by:* 'a wonderful thing'.

It is noteworthy that not only in the Pentateuch, as the passages cited show, but almost in all passages of the Bible (and there are very many of them) the 'great and marvellous deeds' of God relate exclusively to the exodus from Egypt or the theophany on Sinai. This striking circumstance is only to be explained by the fact that the going out of Egypt was represented and hailed in all times as 'marvellous deeds' נפלאות. Thus in using the same phraseology it is apparent that the prophets and psalmists clung to ancient sources, such as the Book of Exodus.

8. 'In all the Seats, Habitations'

A very frequent phrase in our section of Exodus and elsewhere, chiefly in the Pentateuch, is בְּכֹל מוֹשְׁבוֹתֵיכֶם 'in all your seats' i.e. habitations, dwelling places, or מוֹשְׁבוֹתָם 'in their seats'. E.g. Ex. 10, 23 'all the children of Israel had light in their seats'; 12, 20 'in all your seats shall ye eat unleavened bread'; 35, 3 'ye shall kindle no fire in all your seats; Levit. 7, 26 'Ye shall eat no manner of blood . . . in any of your seats'; 23, 3 'it is the Sabbath of the LORD in all your seats'; 23, 14, 21, 31 'Throughout your generations in all your seats'. With just the same frequency we find this phrase literally in Egyptian *m s.t nb.t* 'in all seats i.e. habitations dwellings', wherein *s.t.* means 'seat' exactly like the Hebrew word מושבה, and is likewise a feminine formation. With particular predilection this phrase is used by the author of *Admon.* thus e.g. 1, 9 (= *Lit.* 94): 'the foreigners have become men ¹ *m s.t nb.t* in all seats' (i.e. 'everywhere'); 2, 2 (= *Lit.* 95) 'the evildoer is in all seats *m s.t nb.t*'; 2, 6 *snf m s.t nb.t* 'blood is in all seats'; 2, 13 f. (= *Lit.* 96) 'men are few; he who throws his brother to the ground is in all seats'². Also in a negative sense e.g. 3, 2 'men are not *m s.t nb.t* in all seats' i.e. nowhere. Cf. further 4, 7.

¹ 'Men' (*rm.t*) means 'Egyptians', compared with whom all foreigners are mere 'barbarians'. In both passages the poet complains that nowhere are Egyptians to be seen but only foreigners. Cf. Gardiner, *Admon.*, ad loc., and Erman, *Lit.*, 94, n. 1.

² In the text: *rdy sn-f m t*, literally 'who gives his brother to the earth' according to Gardiner and Erman, *Lit.* (Germ.), 134, n. 2, it refers to the interment of the dead. I believe that this interpretation shows lack of understanding of the spirit of the Egyptian language in associating the conception of 'to the earth' in Egyptian with the English and German meaning of this phrase. It really means 'to throw to the ground' like *rdy r t*, e.g. Bauer, i, 182 f. *rdy.t[w]s; grg r t*: 'the back of the lie is given to the earth', i.e. 'the obstinate lie is thrown to the ground, shattered, destroyed'. Similarly also B. i, 197. Thus here also, as frequently in *Admon.*, the reference is to violation and murder. Perhaps also something similar is to be detected in *imy-sw r t*: 'give him to the ground', Ptahhotep Dév. p. 20, v. 80, Erman (*Lit.* (Germ.), 89), however, interprets it differently.

9. 'The Maidservant behind the Millstones'

Ex. 11, 5 reads: 'and all the first-born in the land of Egypt shall die, from the first-born of Pharaoh that sitteth upon his throne עַד בְּכוֹר הַשֹּׁפְתָה even unto the first-born of the maidservant that is behind the millstones'. This phrase is to be found literally in the Wisdom of Ptahhotep, Pap. Prisse, Brit. Mus. 10509 ed. Dévaud, p. 18, v. 58 (= *Lit.* 56) 'hidden is a fair speech, more than the green jewel (*wd*)' *iw gm.tw-s m' hm.wt hr bnw.t* 'yet is it to be found among the maidservants at the millstones' meaning that a word of wisdom, though precious as jade, is sometimes to be found even with the most lowly people. As a matter of fact to be at the millstone was accounted actually as the lowest and most degrading employment, because it was included among the hardest prison labour. So we read in *Admon.* 4, 8 (= *Lit.* 98 f.) where complaint is made of the utter degeneration of the better classes that 'the citizens are put to the millstones'; and some lines further (4, 12 f.) that free-born women (*šps.wt*) had become as maidservants (*bk.wt*); that the song of the girl musicians had become as a wail; and continues: 'those who spoke (i.e. who had "the say") . . . sit at the millstones (*hr bnw.t*)'.¹ Similarly we find sitting at the millstones is characterized as the most lowly occupation in Pap. Leyden, 343, recto 2, 8 (= verso 4, 3) where the evil spirit of an illness is exorcized with the following words: 'So mayest thou mill (corn) on the millstones (*hr bnw.t*); so mayest thou serve at the millstone (*hr t; bnw.t*)'.

It is most probable that in referring to the 'maidservant at the millstones' allusion is made to prison hard labour as in the parallel passage Ex. 12, 29 which reads: עַד בְּכוֹר הַשֹּׁבֵי אֲשֶׁר בְּבֵית הַבּוֹר 'down to the first-born in captivity in the house of the pit', denoting the gaols and mine-pits where native and foreign prisoners were set to hard labour. Actually from Gen. 40, 15 we know that הַבּוֹר the 'pit' was a prison for forced labour (cf. Gen. 39, 22).

10. Formal phrases referring to the primeval time of Egypt

(a) 'Since Egypt was founded'

Ex. 9, 18 Moses says unto Pharaoh: 'Behold to-morrow about this time I will cause it to rain a very grievous hail such as hath not been in Egypt

¹ The same idea of degradation and humiliation is expressed in Job 31, 10: grinding work and rape are placed on a level. The interpretation of תַּחֲתָן as a euphemism is unnecessary. Apart from the toil involved this work is considered the greatest degradation for a better-class woman, precisely because of the indelicate posture which the work demands with her legs round the millstone.

from the day it was founded until now'. In the last words we have the literal reproduction of an Egyptian phrase to characterize a thing or an event as unusual, monstrous, unheard of, from the earliest times within human memory; thus *Urk.* iv, 162, 5 Thutmosis III says: 'He (Amon) rejoices over me more than over all the kings *hprw m t3 dr wh' tw-f* who have been in the land since it was founded'¹. Quite similar is *ibid.* 141, 7 of Thutmosis II; 'because his father Amon loved him so much, more than any king *hprw dr prw.t t3* who has been since the primordial time of the land' and *ibid.* 170, 5 also of Thutmosis III: 'because he (Amon) loved his own son (i.e. the king) so very much more than any king who has been since the primordial time of the land'; further *ibid.* 312, 13 of the new construction of a fortress *n sp ir.tw myt.t dr pr w.t t3* 'never had its like been made since the primordial time of the land'. These examples which could be greatly multiplied show how closely our formula coincides in wording and spirit with the Egyptian.² It is true that the Egyptian by 'land' always thought of Egypt and therewith associated the conception 'world'; also he conceived the 'foundation' of Egypt in the sense of creation as he similarly speaks of 'foundation' for creation of the world, e.g. Hymn of Aton, Davis, *Am.*, vi, pl. 27, 13, to the Sun that whenever it rises it brings forth crops for the king '*dr snt-k t3* since thou didst found the land', i.e. the world.

(b) 'Since Egypt became a People'

A similar expression is that of Ex. 9, 24 where it speaks of the hail: 'such as there was none like it in all the land of Egypt מִיָּמֵי הַיְהוּדָה לְגֹי since it became a people'. The real meaning of this allusion in its full significance only becomes clear to us when we learn that the Egyptians from the earliest times regarded the foundation of the Kingdom of Upper and Lower Egypt as the greatest and most significant event in all their history, and although the exact date was not known, nevertheless the memory thereof reached back to the remotest period, still remaining vivid as late as the New Kingdom. It was always conceived as the moment when Egypt

¹ *wh'* here exactly corresponds to מָצָא 'to found, base'. The more usual word is *grg*, e.g. Ka-Gemni, 49, of the creation of the earth (*Er.-Gr.* 199), or *sntj* likewise of the creation of the earth, cf. Harris, 44, 5 f. (*Er.-Gr.* 165).

² From the Egyptian is to be explained also the grammatical difficulty in the unusual, much-contested construction of לָמָּן הַיּוֹם with the following infinitive הוֹסִדָה, where it should, of course, read הוֹסִדָה לָמָּן. Actually this is an Egyptian construction and would read *dr pr hprw wh' tw-f* = since the day (with definite article) when it was founded.

began to exist as a united people, when the rule over Egypt was transferred from the gods of primeval days to the kings who thenceforth became their heirs representing the last of the god-kings, Horus, son of Osiris. For the Egyptians indeed the beginning of that epoch marked the boundary-line between the world of the gods and that of the men descended from them, thus forming the oldest epoch of their history within memory. This is the event to which our passage alludes and this in the same manner as the Egyptians themselves spoke of it, e.g. Harris, pl. 78, 7 f. (= *Records*, iv, § 409), where Rameses III is said to have been brought wonderful genuine malachite in numerous sacks 'the like of which *bw ptr.w 'n dr nsw.yt* had not been seen since the time of the kingdom'.¹ Cf. also *Kubban-Stela*, l. 29 and Virey, *Rec.*, xiv, 97, 29 (= *Records*, § 291) of a well which by command of Rameses II was dug on the road to the land Akita: 'the like of which had not been made *dr nswy w imy.w h3.t* since the kings and the former ones'² How closely the foundation of the kingdom and the period of the rule of the god-kings were bound up together in the mind of the Egyptian is shown by the fact that he harked back also to the time of the gods whenever he spoke of something very ancient, or exceptionally unusual, that had never been seen before. The familiar formula was *dr rk ntr* 'since the time of the god' meaning either Re as the first, or Horus as the last, of the god-kings on earth whose throne was then occupied by the first man-king as the heir to Horus, e.g. Harris, pl. 26, 11: of a 'glorious weighing-scale of burnished copper, the like of which had not been made *dr rk ntr* since the time of the god' (Thoth).³ *Mar. Abyd.* i, pl. 7, 59 (= *Records*, iii, § 270) the court addressing Rameses II: 'since the time of the god (*dr rk ntr*), since a king shone forth, there has been none like unto thee, neither beheld by face nor heard in words'

¹ The word 'kingdom' is determined with the dual sign, a distinct indication that thereby the combined kingdom of Upper and Lower Egypt is meant. The Hebrew obviously avoids speaking of the 'kingdom', as it could only be understood in the hierarchic-dogmatic sense of the Egyptians and might have been taken to be an implicit recognition of the divine character of the kingdom.

² The text *h3ty-* 'prince' corrected by Breasted to *h3.t* is uncertain. If it stood in the plural, *imy.w* might be struck out as erroneous and the passage interpreted 'since the kings and princes'. 'The former ones, the forefathers' must hence be correct. 'The Former Ones' or 'the Forefathers' refer both to the first kings and to the primeval god kings. Thus e.g. *Liebesp.* Pap. Harris, 500, pl. 13, 3-4, about the period of Sety I (1313-1292): 'my body passes away, others endure', *dr rk imy.w h3.t* 'since the time of the Former Ones'; somewhat different is, *Liebespoesie*, p. 31 f., pl. 1, 2-3 (tombstone of the 18th dynasty): 'the bodies pass away *dr rk ntr* 'since the time of the god'. Cf. also *Lit.*, 132 f.

³ The same idea is found in Job. 29, 2 בְּיָמֵי אֱלֹהִים 'as the days of God' which will be discussed elsewhere in another connexion.

(*nšw.wt hr h'y.t nn iw kyy hpr my kd-k nn mss m hr nn sdm.tw [m dd]*).¹ Kubban-Stela, l. 20, Reinisch, *Chrest.*, pl. x (= *Records*, iii, § 289) says that a drought prevailed in the land Akita *dr rk ntr* 'since the time of the god'. Sometimes the name of the god is given e.g. *ibid.* l. 22 f. 'because all thy fathers, all the gods, loved thee more than any king that hath been since Re' (also l. 23 = *ibid.* 290); Mery-Ka-Re Pap. Petersb. 1116 A, recto 93 (= *Lit.* 81) 'since the time of Horus (*rk hr*) he (the Asiatic) has been fighting and conquers not'; *Admon.* 1, 7: 'it was predestined for thee already in the time of Horus (*m rk hr*), in the age of the Ennead (*m hsw psd.t*)' i.e. of the nine great primeval gods. Sometimes 'the god' appears in the plural (*ntr.w*), e.g. Israel-Stela 12 (= *Lit.* 343): 'It is said of Egypt since the gods (*dr ntr.w*): she is the only daughter of Re'.

Another formal phrase likewise for the characterization of an astonishing event as something unique and unheard of, is that in Ex 10, 14 לִפְנֵינוּ לֹא הָיָה כֵּן קִמּוֹהוּ 'before it had never been its like', or 11, 6: אֲשֶׁר כִּמּוֹהוּ לֹא נִהְיְתָה 'such as there was none like it'. This mode of exaggeration was extremely customary among the Egyptians and occurs again and again in narratives, historical records, and also in poetic texts alluding to primeval times in the same sense as in the above-cited formulae. With particular fervour the Egyptian gives the assurance on every occasion, as already noted, that the like had never been seen, never been made or never been heard '*dr rk ntr* since the time of the god' or *ntr.w* 'the gods', or *dr psw.t t3* 'since the primordial time of the land', or *dr rk imy.w h3.t* 'since the former ones' or *dr.tyw* 'the forefathers' and the like. Especially favoured are such phrases in the boastful, pompous reports of the kings or other great personages vaunting their valiant deeds, the grandeur of their buildings and splendour of their gifts to temples and gods, e.g. *Urk.* IV, 174, 1 of the votive table which Thutmose III dedicated to 'his father Amon'—'never was the like made in this land since the days of the former ones' (*n sp gr.t ir.tw mywt (sic) m t3 pn dr rk imy.w h3.t*); or *ibid.* 86 of the fame of Thutmose I 'the like has not been in the annals of the 'forefathers' (*drty.w*) since the servants of Horus', i.e. the kings that followed Horus; *Rec.*, 20, p. 40: 'never has the like occurred since the primordial time of the two lands' (*nn sp hpr mjt.t dr psw.t t3.wy*).

All these expressions, especially those relating to primeval times and first beginnings, are in another respect very instructive inasmuch as on

¹ Similarly in the teaching of Amenemhet, 9 f., *ÄZ.* 34, 41 (= *Lit.*, 73): 'an attempt was made against me, a blow without its being heard (*n sdm.tw-f*) and a great fighting without its being seen (*n m3m.tw-f*), i.e. the like of which had never been seen or heard. This is the correct meaning of the passage and not as Erman suggested.

the one hand they furnish the Egyptian background for Deut. 4, 32, and on the other hand show us clearly how Egyptian mythological formulae of a dogmatic-hierarchic nature were transplanted on to monotheistic soil in the Pentateuch, and thereby received a religious and moral force which they never possessed in Egyptian. Here, just as in Egyptian, great events are described as something which since the earliest days (יָמִים רִאשׁוֹנִים) have neither been seen nor heard. But by the further description of these 'earliest days' as 'the day when God created man upon earth', the idea of the primeval age is freed from every polytheistic and mythological element, and is defined as the true beginning of the real world in which, through the creation of man, conscious perception first became possible.¹ Precisely such a passage clearly indicates how familiar the author was with Egyptian phraseology, and that the alteration was deliberately made for the purpose of adopting Egyptian wording to the monotheistic thought.

In this connexion it is interesting to observe how in the early days of Israel's history (Judges 19, 30), the going out of Egypt became a formula to mark the beginning of an era the same as the foundation of the kingdom in Egyptian. Furthermore taking into consideration the extraordinarily wide-spread use of all such hyperbolic expressions in Egyptian and that unmistakably they were absorbed very early in Hebrew literature, such passages as 2 Kings 23, 22 and 25, 2 Chron 35, 18, or Neh. 8, 17 will not be taken so literally as they are, nor will far-reaching conclusions be drawn from them as is usually done.²

(c) *The Forefathers of the Kings*

Another phrase which the reader passes over without noting in it anything out of the ordinary but which is extraordinarily instructive, and reveals the deep understanding of Egyptian hierarchic conceptions by the narrator, is Ex. 10, 6: speaking of the locusts, it says: 'and they shall fill thy houses and the houses of thy servants and the houses of the whole of Egypt' אֲשֶׁר לֹא-רָאוּ אֲבֹתֶיךָ וְאֲבֹת אֲבֹתֶיךָ מִיּוֹם הַיּוֹתָם עַל-הָאָרֶץ עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה 'such as neither thy fathers, nor thy fathers' fathers have seen since the day when they were upon earth until this day'. This way of talking was very popular among the Egyptians, who were exceedingly fond

¹ In another connexion the expression יָמִים רִאשׁוֹנִים Levit. 26, 45; Deut. 19, 14, יְמֵת עוֹלָם Deut. 32, 7, as well as the Akkadian phrase 'from the time of the flood' (*KAT.* 537) will be treated at greater length.

² Just because it was a conscious rhetorical exaggeration, the Biblical chroniclers did not take it seriously as a *terminus a quo*, and thus in 2 Kings 23, 22 it is replaced by 'the time of the Judges', and 2 Chron. 35, 18 by 'the time of Samuel'.

of speaking of the days of the ancestors, the fathers, the forefathers, 'the kings, the followers of Horus', or the gods primordial and the 'former ones', thinking of both the gods and the remote forefathers, because they were regarded as almost identical.¹ In order properly to appreciate the full significance of the threat uttered against Pharaoh and what it meant for him, it must be remembered that the Pharaoh always claimed to be the corporeal son of Re, or, as the official formula read, as 'son of Re from his body' (*sr r' n h.t-f*), and that, on every occasion it was said that the great gods Amon, Re or Re-Harakhty (*hr-h.ty*) and indeed all the primeval gods were his very own fathers and forefathers. It was, therefore, plain for every Egyptian that whenever reference was made to the fathers and forefathers of the king, it was meant to convey the idea of his divine parentage alluding to the 'gods that were before him', just as he himself, while living, was referred to as the 'god' (*ntr*), or the 'good god' (*ntr nfr*), and when dead as the 'great god' (*ntr 's*).² When, therefore, Moses mentioned before Pharaoh his fathers and his fathers' fathers in the menacing tone he adopted; it denoted not merely an onslaught against the king, but also a blow against the deeply-rooted reverence for his ancestors the 'gods that were before him'. Nothing indeed could have given Pharaoh a greater shock than such arrogant speech from the mouth of a Hebrew who did not believe in his divinity, and still less in the divinity of his dead ancestors.

It is a very remarkable feature in the description of all the conversations between Moses and Pharaoh that the words of Moses become progressively more daring and aggressive, whereas on the other hand the boastful, insolent and assertive speech of Pharaoh gradually declines in violence and pretension.

11. 'Not One'

In the Exodus narrative the phrase לֹא נִשְׁאַר אֶחָד 'not one remained', occurs not less than three times at short intervals, thus of the עֲרֹיב (flies?) 8, 26, and of Pharaoh and his host 14, 28: לֹא נִשְׁאַר בָּהֶם עַד אֶחָד 'there remained not so much as one of them'; of the locusts 10, 19 'there remained not one locust; and similarly 9, 6 and 7.³ This is for our

¹ Of the many references which could be quoted, the following is most characteristic and appropriate: *m hw itf.w-k msw.w smš.w hr* 'at the time of thy fathers, the Kings, the followers of Horus', Fl. Petrie, *Koplos* 12, 3, K. Sethe, *Untersuchungen* iii, p. 6.

² Cf. e.g. the oft-quoted *Liebesp.*, pl. 12 f., p. 29 f., referring to the dead kings: 'the gods that were before rest in their pyramids'; further references to the divinity of the kings will be found in Erman-Ranke, p. 62 f. and above p. 43, n. 2.

³ Elsewhere it occurs only in Judges 4, 16 in the same meaning as Ex. 14, 28 and similarly (לֹא נִוְתַר) 2 Sam. 13, 30. 17, 12 and Ps. 106, 11 with reference to the same happening on the Red Sea as in Ex. 14, 28.

section just as typical as for Egyptian narratives, thus e.g. *LD*. iii. 155: 'the servants of Pharaoh killed them; they did not escape, not one of them (*w' im-sn*)' *Urk.* iv, 84, of the stricken foe: 'not one remained of them (*n sp w' im*).' *Schiffbr. ÄZ.* 43, 6 c. 37-9 (= *Lit.* 31): 'the ship went down (*mwt* literally: died down): of those that were in it not one remained (*nty.w im:s nn sp w' im*)', the narrator forgetting in this case that he was one that did survive. As will be seen, we have here a formal phrase which has almost shed its literal meaning and which belongs to those hyperbolic formulae which are so frequent in Egyptian, and which also appear in our section.

Special attention should be paid to the agreement between Hebrew and Egyptian, even in grammatic construction, in the passage relating to Pharaoh Ex. 14, 28 בָּהֶם עַד אֶחָד and in *LD*. iii. 155 *w' im-sn* 'one among them'. The construction in Hebrew contested and emended by so many now appears as perfectly correct in consonance with the Egyptian idiom. The establishment of such a complete coincidence is very important because, coupled with the fact already mentioned that it is only in the Exodus story that this formal phrase recurs so closely, it is bound to dispel all doubt as to the literary unity of this section.

many other passages in which *šb.w* or *šb* yields the meaning of 'food, bread, sustenance' which most nearly fits שֶׁבֶר. The denominative verb שָׁבַר mostly implies 'fetching, buying', but also 'supplying food' as in Gen. 41, 56. It is most striking that Joseph is described as המַשְׁבִּיר, Gen. 42, 6, inspector or supplier of food, a function which perfectly coincides with one of the most important offices of a Vizier as we see in the case of Rekh-My-Re mentioned above.

CHAPTER VI

EGYPTIAN LOANWORDS IN THE JOSEPH AND EXODUS NARRATIVES

As we have already remarked above (p. 4) the Joseph and Exodus narratives contain Egyptian loan-words now generally recognized as such. As the latter have already been dealt with by others we do not deem it necessary to go over them again, but propose to add a series of other words (1) the Egyptian origin of which has not hitherto been discovered and are still derived from Hebrew or other Semitic stems,¹ and (2) some others which we identify with altogether different Egyptian words from those hitherto considered as their origin.

1. שֶׁבֶר for Food

One of the most familiar words in our section of the Pentateuch is שֶׁבֶר as verb, and שֶׁבֶר as noun obviously meaning sustenance, food. The fact that this word is so characteristic of the Joseph narrative, is in itself a warrant for its Egyptian origin.² As a matter of fact *šb.w* also *šb* (שֶׁבֶר = שֶׁבֶר) for 'foods or sacrificial meats' was particularly current in the New Kingdom though it occurs already in the Old Kingdom (Er.-Gr. 180, cf. also Erman, *Wortforschungen, Sitz.-Ber. Berl. Ak.* 1907, 414 f.). In *Urk.* iv. 1155, 17, the vizier Rekh-My-Re is depicted as *m33-šb.w* 'inspecting the foods' for the daily sacrifices; *Urk.* v. Totb., Spr. 17, *šb.w* stands for 'foods of the dead'; Pyr. 290 d: 'the looters of his meat (*šb-f*) are with him'; sometimes *rdy šb.w* stands for the offering of meats to the dead, e.g. Pyr. 64 a.³ There are

¹ For detailed references cf. *Ges.-Buhl.* on the above-quoted words, p. 4. In other chapters we shall revert to the Egyptian loanwords in the other portions of the Pentateuch.

² Occurs elsewhere in Deut. 2, 6 and 28, as well as in five other passages of the Bible, Is. 55, 1, Amos 8, 5 and 6, Neh. 10, 32, and Prov. 11, 26, the last most probably influenced by the description of Joseph as מַשְׁבִּיר. All derivations from the Akkadian or Arabic (cf. *Ges.-Buhl.*, s.v.) are far-fetched, differ in root, and yield only indirectly a meaning which is merely imported. The same applies also to other words in the Bible that are explained from Semitic languages, but are, as we shall show, Egyptian loan-words.

³ It appears to be related to *wšb* 'to feed oneself' (Er.-Gr. 41), but it is hardly identical with it. In addition there was a *šbw* for 'meal' which was also used for a table with meats, customarily offered as a gift of honour. According to Erman, loc. cit. this has nothing to do with our *šb.w*, though in the New Empire the two words are not graphically differentiated. There are numerous examples of dropping the *r* at the end of a word in Egyptian, as in *nf* for *nfr*, &c.

2. סֵלִי הָרִי the Khorī Baskets

Gen. 40, 16 speaks of סֵלִי הָרִי, a kind of basket for pastry. From among the numerous explanations of this enigmatic word the most plausible is that which connects it with the neo-Hebrew סֵלִי, a sort of pastry (*Ges.-Buhl.*, s.v.). This derivation might be linked with the Egyptian *hr.t* (חר.ת) 'food',¹ and the reference would be to baskets employed in the carrying of food and pastry. Nevertheless it appears to me that סֵלִי הָרִי does not refer to the contents of the basket but to the nature of the basket itself. As a matter of fact it is simpler and more appropriate to explain it by *hr* (חר) or *hrw*, which the Egyptians applied to a land or people in the neighbourhood of Palestine identical with the Biblical חֹרִיִּים Khorites in Edom.² Likewise they characterized vessels, articles, or materials which came from the land of Kharu, or which were fashioned in Khorite style, as a product of Kharu, the designation Kharu thus being a sort of trade-mark. Such Kharu products and manufactures were particularly well-known in Egypt in the New Kingdom, as it seems that at that period the Khorites had not yet lost their independence or existence. In the report on the Battle of Megiddo (about 1475-70 B.C.), Annals of Thutmosis, iii. l. 100 (= *Urk.* iv, 665, 16), we find among the precious vessels captured also an *ikn* 'm b3k n hrw' 'a great ewer in work of the Kharu',

¹ Er.-Gr. 138 interprets it as a narrowing of meaning from *hr.t* = need, part of something, as e.g. *hr.t-hrw* = need of the day, i.e. 'daily need'. Also in Coptic Ⲅⲣⲉ (S.A) means 'food, nourishment'; cf. Joel 1, 16 where אֹמֶל is reproduced by Ⲅⲣⲉⲗ (pl. A). Perhaps *hr.t* = Ⲅⲣⲉ was a sort of bread or pastry. Distinct therefrom is Ⲅⲣⲉⲗ 'bread' as translation of לחם Levit. 22, 7, which is derived from the Egyptian *šr.t* (š = the Egyptian *h*, not = Egyptian *h*), Sp. *WB.* 204. Whether סֵלִי 'pastry' in Rabbinical Hebrew was also in use in old Hebrew, or whether it was only later taken over through the medium of Coptic or another Semitic dialect from the Egyptian, is an open question. In any case, Dalman's assumption (*Aram.-neuhebr. Handwb.*, 1922, p. 160) that it is connected with סֵלִי 'cinder-bread' (p. 162), is highly improbable, if only on account of the form.

² Cf. Burch. *Altkan.*, No. 732 ff.; as foreign people they appear *inter alia* *Urk.* IV, 649, 10. In general Kharu is interpreted as name for Syria or Palestine, Er.-Gr. 122; cf. also *Ges.-Buhl.*, s.v. סֵלִי II and recent commentaries on Gen. 14, 6. 36, 20 and above, p. 38, n. 4.

i.e. in Khorite style or of Khorite provenance.¹ It is very important for us that in the fifteenth century B.C. and probably also earlier, Asiatic prisoners were employed in all kinds of industries, especially in weaving work, and that the Khorites took a prominent part therein.² Thus in our passage סלי חרי the *Khorite baskets* refer to baskets in Khorite style or of Khorite importation. They were probably distinguished from many other varieties by their special mode of manufacture and by a peculiar shape. They were perhaps like those round and flat baskets which down to this very day are carried, piled on one another, on their heads by peasant women in Egypt and also in Palestine.³

3. יָנַי Stand for a Vessel and Post

Gen. 40, 13. 41, 13 יָנַי is a metaphorical expression for 'position, post' and is used specifically for the 'base' of the bronze laver in the outer court of the Tabernacle Ex. 30, 18, 28 etc., as well as in the Temple of Solomon, 1 Kings 7, 29 f. This word has in reality nothing to do with the Hebrew כַּן or כָּן (*Ges.-Buhl.*), but is borrowed from the Egyptian *gn.w*, a specifically technical expression for the stands of bowls and other objects placed in Temples and sanctuaries, thus e.g. *LD.* iii. 65 A, 14; *ÄZ.* 37 (1899), 95 *gn.w* of copper; the same perhaps also in Harris, 49, 8. Cf. *Er.-Gr.* 198.

¹ That Egyptian *ikn* (כִּנ) as well as יָנַי (Song of Songs 7, 3 or יָנַי Ex. 24, 6) are identical with Akkadian *aganmu*, pl. *aganāte*, has already been suggested, and may be regarded as certain (*KAT.* 649; Brugsch, *WB.* vi, 587, vii, 1405). Cf. also *Ges.-Buhl.*, s.v. and Sp. *WB.* 14 אֶסֶן 'bowl'. The syllabic writing in Egyptian *ikm* reproduces the form יָנַי.

² In *Rev.* 12, p. 25, R. XXII *hryj* and xi, p. 167, l. 29 = Spiegelberg, *Petub.*, col. L, l. 29 (p. 57) *hry* obviously denote a sort of cloth or garment, and might also be connected with Khorites. The Coptic ϩⲁⲗ (S) ϩⲉⲗ (F), Demotic *hl* 'servant' is derived from *hry* = Khorite, also ϩⲗⲓ (B), ϩⲗⲉⲓ (A) and ϩⲗⲉ 'vessel' from *hry* = Khorite (Sp. *WB.* p. 230). If this be so it would have a parallel in the identification of *Zel-Sile-Selle* with e.g. *tyr*. See above p. 41. But at any rate no conclusions can be made from the Coptic transcription of *hry* or *tyr* as to how the *Egyptians* pronounced these names.

³ Our explanation receives very noteworthy support from Is. 19, 9, where יָנַי is doubtless a specific kind of cloth, clearly denoting a material known in Egypt, as this passage only speaks of Egyptian conditions and stuffs. Indeed the Prophet appears to have reproduced the word for this cloth exactly in the Egyptian form as he may have heard it with the pronunciation יָנַי, which in Hebrew is unusual, in Egyptian quite conceivable. It is very probable that at that time in Palestine, the origin of this word was no longer known because the Khorites had long since disappeared. On the other hand, the author of the Joseph narrative was fully aware of its Semitic origin and therefore, did not simply take it over in the Egyptian form but reproduced it in a Hebrew form.

4. חֲרָטִים for Magicians

This word is applied in the Pentateuch exclusively to magicians at the court of Pharaoh Gen. 41, 8, 24; Ex. 7, 11, 22. 8, 3, 14, 15. 9, 11 though the usual designation for sorcerers and magicians is כַּשְׁפִּים. Now though practically all commentators agree that by חֲרָטִים a particular category of sorcerers is meant, there is a difference of opinion with regard to its origin and the Semitic stem or language from which it is to be derived and as to how the strange form חֲרָטִים is to be explained. Even Egyptologists are inclined to regard it as a Semitic word not being able to explain it with certainty by an Egyptian word. It is true that in *Er.-Gr.* 139 the suggestion is advanced that the first element may be identical with the first component of *hry-hb* 'a kind of priest, learned and skilled in magic', but even then the second element טֹט still remains obscure. And yet it must surely be an Egyptian expression for the simple reason that in all the passages cited it is solely used to designate Egyptian magicians.¹

It appears to me that it consists of the two Egyptian words *hry* (חרי not *hry*) 'he that is upon, over something, chief' (*Er.-Gr.* 113) and *dm* (*d:m*) (טם) 'book, papyrus roll' (*Er.-Gr.* 218), hence, 'He who is over the books, writings', i.e. 'learned in the writings', whereby the writings of the magic art are meant in contradistinction to *sš.w-ntr* the 'divine writings' for the books of the Law or *md:t ntr* likewise for the holy writings.² Although such a compound expression for magicians has not yet been found in Egyptian, the first component, *hry* occurs frequently in titles (*Er.-Gr.* 114) like *hry-mš* 'he over the army' = General, Field Marshal; *hry-nš.t* 'he on the throne' = heir to the throne; *hry-ıab* 'he over the shore', title of agricultural administrator (because the fertile land is on the shores); *hry-mnš* 'he over the ship' = captain, *Rec.* xxi. and many others. There were *inter alia* also a *hry-sš-n-h.t-ntr* 'chief scribe of the house of God' for the chief hierogrammatist, *Rec.* xvi. 56, 1 and a *hry-ššt:w* 'he over the secrets' i.e. 'initiated into the secrets' as a title of a high official, learned in the mysteries and all

It only occurs elsewhere in Dan. 1, 20 and 2, 2 in conjunction with other designations for thaumaturgists. Whether the reference there is to Egyptian magicians employed at the Babylonian court, or whether the original Egyptian expression had in course of time become so acclimatized in Hebrew and Aramaic dialects that it was used in general for sorcerer, is difficult to decide.

² The word *dm* is New-Egyptian, i.e. from the period with which we are specially concerned. *d:m* is probably the syllabic writing, the root being *dm* like טם in Hebrew. Possibly it is identical with or akin to *md:t* 'book, document' *Er.-Gr.* 74. One might also conceive the Egyptian *dm* (דַּם) 'to name, speak' as the equivalent of טם in the meaning of 'incantation'. But the above interpretation seems to be phonetically better founded.

magic secrets. But also the second word *md̄s.t* synonymous with *dm* occurs as component in similar titles e.g. in *ss̄ md̄s.t ntr* 'Scribe of the Book of God' Pap. Berlin, 3029, ii. 14 (= *Lit.* 82) as the title of a *Kherheb* Priest under Sesostri I (1965–1934 B.C.). It is this latter category of 'scribes' which would be most closely akin to our חרטמים for scholars, magicians sorcerers.¹

5. התמהמה to Linger

This reduplicated verb which occurs in Gen. 43, 10; Ex. 12, 39, also Gen. 19, 16 is derived from the Egyptian *mhy* (מהה or מהא) 'neglect' (Er.-Gr. 68 'forget' with *hr*). This meaning is quite clearly indicated in the passage Louvre C. 55, 13–16 (cf. *Veziar*, p. 35 f.), where it reads: 'I directed my attention to that which he (the king) said; nought have I neglected (*n mhy-y*) that he enjoined upon me'. Cf. also *Ptahhotep*, p. 24, vers. 154, 'be on thy guard against neglect (*mhy* or *mht ib*)'.

It should be remarked that *ihm* (איהם),² seems to be the same stem as *mhy* meaning 'to be slow, to come late, to remain behind, to hesitate' and sometimes also, 'to hold up something', which in Bauer R 123 parallel to Bauer B I, 78 *šwdf* caus. of *wdf* (*wdf*) 'to hesitate, procrastinate, hold one's self back' reads: 'His Majesty said, if thou wouldst see me healthy, hold him (the peasant) back' ([*š(?)*]*ihm-k.šw*). Cf. further B I, 54f.: 'when thou goest down to the sea of truth etc, thy ship will not delay' or: 'be slow' (*nm ihm dp.t-k*); B II, 104 'be not slow without thereby being fast' (*m ihm n hsh-k*). Cf. *Vogelsang's* observations on these Passages p. 81, 67, 222. Obviously *ihm* is metathesized from *mhy* and appears to have been in use side by side with the latter. At any rate both coincide absolutely in meaning, likewise התמהמה in all passages shows exactly the same usage. Especially noteworthy is Ps. 119, 60, first because the word there is used in contrast to 'hurry, hasten' as in the cited passage, Bauer, ii. 104, and

¹ It is tempting to interpret our word in the later neo-Hebrew meaning of חרטום 'beak', as in Amenemope's *Book of Wisdom*, xvii, 7 the finger of the scribe is represented as the 'beak' of *Thot*, the God of Writing: *tr šr.t n hby db̄ n ss̄* 'the beak of Ibis—symbol of *Thot*—is the finger of the scribe'; but as will be seen it is not the scribe that is denoted as the 'beak of *Thot*' which would be less appropriate, but the finger of the scribe, however strange this simile may appear to be. It should be mentioned that in modern Hebrew literature, hieroglyphic writing is called כתב החרטמים 'script of the beaks' owing to the presence of many bird-figures.

² Cf. *Ember*, *ÄZ.* 51, 110, No. 91. The Arabic root ح-م-م which he cites also belongs here. I assume that ح-م-م 'to hold back' from an action, e.g. from departure, and the reflex. form ح-م-م 'to hesitate, to hold oneself back', probably belongs to *mhy* (or *ihm*), which presumably passed from the Egyptian to Arabic through the Coptic. The explanation of Arab lexicographers that it is an onomatopoeic derivation from the cry *mah! mah!* for stopping beasts of burden can hardly be right.

6. תועבה Abomination

This word for 'abomination, abhorrence', occurs with reference to Egypt and in connexion with sacrificial and ritual matters or food (cf. above p. 75), and is a denominative formation from the Egyptian *w'b* (ועב) the usual word for 'pure, holy, or purification', as verb for 'purify oneself' (Er.-Gr. 34.), or in caus. *šw'b* 'to purify' (Er.-Gr. 155). It is very common in hieratic religious language with reference to sacrifices, priests, libations, and food for the dead and all sorts of other things appertaining to the cult of the dead and sacrificial ritual.¹

That in Hebrew this word should present a meaning contrary to that of its Egyptian original should cause no surprise since that which was for the Egyptians pure and holy, was for the Hebrews impure and abhorrent, as *vice versa* the sacrifices of the Hebrews appeared to the Egyptians as an abomination (Ex. 8, 22)

Thus the derivation of תועבה from ועב (*Ges.-Buhl.* s.v.) is proved to be perfectly correct, and consequently, the verb תעב Deut. 7, 26. 23, 8 etc. is not the root of תועבה, but is a denominative derivation from the latter, a secondary formation which is substantiated by many parallels.²

7. מצות Unleavened Bread

This is a word which cannot be explained from any Semitic root and is undoubtedly an Egyptian loan-word *ms.t* or *msw.t*, (מ.ס.ת. fem.) for a sort of bread or cake, and in extended meaning also for food, just as לחם = both bread and food, e.g. Pyr. 88 b: 'two *msw.t*-loaves'; Pyr. 291 a: 'they are the robbers of his foods (*ms̄w.t-f*).'³ The description given in Ex. 12, 39 of the

¹ This word was in such general use from the oldest periods of Egyptian literature down to the very latest that illustrative examples are hardly necessary. In the texts of the 18th dynasty, the abbreviated or metathesized form 'b or 'bw (Er.-Gr. 24) also occurs. For Coptic cf. Sp. *WB.* 166 ⲙⲟⲩⲁⲛ (S) ⲙⲟⲩⲁⲛ (B) ⲙⲟⲩⲁⲛ (F).

² Especially in neo-Hebrew is this the case, e.g. תרומה from תרומה (רום); התליע from התליע (ילע). Whether מתלע Nahum 2, 4 is connected therewith is doubtful. I presume that in Lament. 2, 1 יעב is in the preterite, like the succeeding verbs and that it is derived from the very root ועב 'to abhor' as is תועבה. In Phoenician תועבה first occurs in the fourth (?) century B.C., cf. *Tebneth*, Lidzbarski, *Nordsem. Epigr.*, 417, 6: כ תועבת עשתרת: הדבר הא

³ It is followed by the customary determinatives for bread, cake, alternatively corn and food in general and seems to be here identical with *msw.t*. Whether in *ms̄w.t* or *ms̄j.t* 'evening meal' (with the determinative for night, darkness, Er.-Gr. 71) time, evening, or

manufacture of the מצות as flat cakes (עניות) in all haste, vividly recalls a special sort of flat cake manufactured down to the present day in Egypt: they are thin, round pancakes of unleavened dough, baked in the sun, as the Israelites would have done in their hurried Exodus with the 'dough which they brought forth out of Egypt' (Ex. 12, 39 *אשר הוציאו ממצרים*), as they could hardly have taken ovens with them. Such pancakes are not very palatable; they are as a rule only eaten by poor people, being thus a real 'bread of poverty'. This is actually how the מצות are described (Deut. 16, 3) as *לֶחֶם עָנִי* 'bread of poverty'.¹ That the unleavened dough was the most characteristic feature of the מצות is shown by the addition in Ex. 12, 39 'for it (the dough) was not leavened' (*כי לא חמץ*), whereby the necessity of making מצות and no other kind of bread with the dough carried, is explained.²

8. חַמְשִׁים

This expression occurs in the Pentateuch only Ex. 13, 18³ and otherwise in Jos. 1, 14. 4, 12 and Judges 7, 11, and is often taken to denote readiness for war and also war equipment (cf. *Ges.-Buhl.* s.v.). The fact that it is spoken of the Israelites who went out of Egypt, further that it no longer occurs in later Biblical writings, and finally that all attempts to explain it from Semitic stems have utterly failed, largely supports the suggestion that it is of foreign origin. As a matter of fact we have here an Egyptian loan word *hms* denoting a weapon, a sort of lance or harpoon. In the Horus-Myth, Horus is depicted fighting against the hippopotamus with a *hms* which looks like a lance or long spear.⁴ This is, in my opinion, just the

food, bread is the prime element, is difficult to decide. In Pyr. 716 b *msw.t* is determined as *food* and must mean the 'evening meal', as it is antithetic to *i'w-[r]* 'morning meal'.

¹ This kind is not the only one which has been preserved from the oldest times in modern Egypt. In the markets of old Cairo as well as in the country, one can see to-day many other kinds and forms of bread, pancakes, and cakes like those which are depicted on the old Egyptian reliefs and which can be seen also *in materia* in Museums.

² The fact that מצות were otherwise also baked on the fire, as e.g. in the sacrificial service, as well as the circumstance that they were sometimes basted or kneaded with oil (Levit. 2, 4. 7, 12, &c.), or that Abraham regaled his guests therewith (Gen. 19, 3) did not detract from their description as 'bread of poverty'. Moreover these were of white flour (סלת) and there were two kinds, namely, חלות מצות and רקיקי מצות, the nature of which we shall more fully describe when dealing with meal offerings.

³ It is true that in Num. 32, 17 also the same word seems to lurk in חשים (cf. *Ges.-Buhl.* s.v.), especially having regard to Jos. 1, 14. 4, 12. Cf. LXX and the Vulgate.

⁴ Naville, *Textes relatifs au mythe d'Horus*, iii: 'A harpoon sticks in its neck, a *hms* (lance) eats its flesh' (*hms m-s iw-f*). Cf. therewith Deut. 32, 42. As in the fight with such an animal, its attacks on the boat were the most dangerous, the *hms*-lances must have been fairly long.

weapon that is meant here. As in Ex. 14, 8 it is emphasized here also that the Hebrews in leaving Egypt went out proudly and triumphantly having troops armed with lances, a well disciplined host. That in Egypt there were troops armed with lances is shown on various Egyptian bas-reliefs (e.g. Erman-Ranke, Abb. 272, p. 652), and such troops would have formed the advance section at the head of the army. It is now clear why Joshua 1, 14. 4, 12; Judges 7, 11, speaking of shock troops should designate them חמשים. It should be remembered that in ancient warfare thrust weapons played the most prominent role and it is for this reason that they symbolize in the Bible the valour and fighting spirit of the warriors.¹

9. מִשְׁאֲרָה

Ex. 7, 28 מִשְׁאֲרָה is designated as a vessel used in Egypt, and in 12, 34 as a container for dough which the Hebrews carried on their shoulders when going out of Egypt. Finally in the last passage of the Pentateuch in which it occurs, Deut. 28, 17, it is mentioned together with *tna* 'basket'. All this shows that מִשְׁאֲרָה is a specifically Egyptian vessel used for dough, for bread or food, and hence makes it very probable that the word מִשְׁאֲרָה also is of Egyptian origin. As a matter of fact in Egyptian *hnr* denoted a kind of box or sack for corn, flour, or bread.² Now it is well-known that the Egyptian *h* was in older script also written *š*, so that the Egyptians at a certain period pronounced our word *šnr*; when the Hebrews formed מִשְׁאֲרָה from *hnr* they took it over in the pronunciation *šnr* as they heard it in their own days from the Egyptians.³ It should be noted that מִשְׁאֲרָה only occurs in the Pentateuch, the first time only in relation with Egypt (Ex. 7, 28 and 12, 34) and the departure of the Israelites from Egypt, and then in Deut. 28, 17 in connexion with *tna* which is also the Egyptian word *dny* for 'basket', with

¹ Whether חָקֵשׁ 2 Sam. 2, 23. 3, 27. 4, 6. 20, 10 can be connected therewith is merely conjectural. The interpretation that חָמֵשׁ denoted the portion of the body or the side where the weapon was borne, like חֲלָצִים from חֵלֶץ 'hip', for 'men armed at the hip' is not very probable for the reason that in 2 Sam. 20, 10 חָמֵשׁ rather indicates the abdomen. Cf. *Ges.-Buhl.*, s.v.

² Cf. e.g. Pap. Westcar, xii, 4 (= *Lit.* 76) 'then they laid their heads on the cornbins (*pn hr*)'. Likewise Pap. Koller 1, 3. Judging by the determinative hieroglyphic for 'hide' it must have been of leather. It served also as corn measure, e.g. *Stela of Psametikh I*, l. 24, *ÄZ.* 35, p. 18, 24: 'two sacks (*hnr*) of spelt'. It may have been used earlier for other things, cf. Griffith, *Inscr. of Siūt*, fourth contract of Hepzifi (under Sesostri I).

³ To the examples cited by Erman, *Gramm.*, § 112: *šms* = *hms* 'ear (of corn)' *šmm* = *hmm* 'to be hot', we may add also *hnp.t* and *šp.t* 'storm'; *hkr* and *škr* 'adorn'; *h'k* and *š'k* 'shave', from which the Arabic حلق 'to shave' (also حلاق 'barber' = *h'k*) is to be derived. The suggestion of Er.-Gr. 135 that Hebrew קרח is identical with *h'k* is merely conjectural.



the difference that whereas מִנָּה served for the storing and carrying of fruit (cf. above p. 8, n. 3) מִשְׂאֵרֶת was employed as a box or sack for bread, corn, etc.

10. אֵיתָן

Ex. 14, 27 reads 'and towards the morning the sea returned לְאֵיתָנוּ', usually conceived as 'to its strength', though the context would lead one to expect in אֵיתָן the meaning of 'sea-bed', as many have indeed suggested without, however, being able to substantiate it. Now we find in Egyptian the word *iwtn*, *itn* (אתן) meaning 'soil, ground', extended to 'earth, dust, dirt', exactly corresponding to its usage in the Coptic εἰτῆ (S.) εἰτεπ (F.) (Er.-Gr. 9, Spieg. WB. p. 30). It was very familiar especially in the texts of the New Kingdom, thus e.g. *Israel-Stela*, l. 6: 'Their water bottles were dashed (literally *hwyy*: 'beaten') to the ground (*r iwtn*)'; further *Urk.* iv. 840, 1 probably of pillars which were placed on the ground (*hr iwtn*), and Pap. d'Orb. viii. 7 f. (= *Lit.* 203): 'His hand lay on his head and it (head) was smeared (*wrh*) with *iwtn*' i.e. dust or dirt in sign of mourning. Especially frequent is *itn*, *itny* (from *iwtn*) for soil, also earth, dirt, slime, in Demotic texts (cf. Spiegelberg, *Petubastis*, Gloss. No. 44). A very noteworthy passage where *itn* is used for earth or mud taken from soil inundated by the Nile is Pap. Heidelberg 723, Sethe-Partsch, *Urk.* 9, l. 18 f., p. 156 and Trans., p. 190: 'and we will place around the girdle-wall of *itn*' i.e. Nile earth, mud. As even to-day fencing of gardens and fields in Egypt is made of clay and Nile mud, and as, moreover, *itn* is here used in the same sense as *iwtn* in the New Kingdom, Nile soil must actually have been meant in this passage, and as a matter of fact it relates to the mud which remains on the soil after the retreat of the Nile floods. Although the passage quoted is from a late document, it is on the one hand very characteristic for the stability of Egyptian conditions through the ages, and on the other hand substantiates the continuous use of *iwtn*, *itn* in one and the same meaning.¹

All these facts make it clear that לְאֵיתָנוּ means the slimy soil left by the retreat of the Sea of Reeds which, after the passage of the Israelites, was again covered by the water. The suggestion that אֵיתָן might mean 'flood' is pure conjecture and less appropriate here.² What the story means to

¹ For *iwtn* we find also *iwdn* (Sethe, *Verb. Glossar* s.v.). Nevertheless *iwtn* is undoubtedly more genuine. The Coptic form εἰτῆ (S) is nearer to the Hebrew אֵיתָן than the hieroglyphic. Thus we have here another illustration of the fact that Hebrew transmitted an Egyptian loan-word in a pronunciation similar to the Coptic form. Here also, as in the case of יֵאוּר = Coptic εἰσορ, the Hebrew seems to reproduce the old common pronunciation of this word in Egyptian still preserved in the 1500-years-younger Coptic.

² The citation of the word *wdn* (וֹדָן) 'inundation, flood', e.g. Düm. *Tempelinschr.* 81, 12

convey is not that the sea became high and stormy again, as the storm had been continuing the whole time, but that on the contrary, it now once more returned to its normal position, i.e. לְאֵיתָנוּ to its bed.¹

FINAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE JOSEPH AND EXODUS NARRATIVES

All our findings so far have sufficiently shown how closely both language and style of the Joseph and Exodus stories follow the Egyptian. Nevertheless the material used for comparative purposes in this portion of the Pentateuch is still far from being exhausted. In addition to what has already been discussed, further materials are available but have been omitted here, chiefly because we think it more appropriate to deal with them elsewhere synoptically classified in special groups. Thus our section, with the exclusion of Jacob's blessing (Gen. 49, 1-27) which has not yet been treated by us (cf. above, p. 3 n.), comprises:

1. Egyptian loanwords like the following: אָסוֹן Gen. 42, 4 etc.; שָׂטָם 50, 15; מָטָה Ex. 4, 2 etc.; צַפְרֵדַע 7, 27 ff.; שְׁחִין 9, 9 ff.; בְּשִׁתָּה 9, 31; פָּסַח 12, 11 ff.; חֲמִץ 12, 15 etc.; שְׂאוֹר 12, 15 etc.; טַמְפַּח 13, 16.
2. Expressions only to be explained out of life and land conditions in Egypt and consequently to be regarded as Egyptianisms as: תְּבוּאוֹת Gen. 47, 24; תָּנַם and רֹפְאִים Gen. 50, 2; עָלָה מִן־הָאָרֶץ Ex. 1, 10; מִסְבְּנוֹת 1, 11; גֵּרַת בֵּית 3, 22; and other expressions modelled on Egyptian like אֲנִשֵּׁי תֵּיל Gen. 47, 6 and תֵּיל Ex. 14, 4 ff. or עֲפוּרָה Ex. 13, 21 ff.
3. Phrases like הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה Gen. 47, 26 etc. etc., also הַיּוֹם Gen. 40, 7. 41, 9 etc. or בְּהַיּוֹם הַזֶּה 39, 11; וַתֵּרָא אֹתוֹ בִּירְטוֹב Ex. 2, 2 or idioms like לֵאמֹר, רָאָה, הֵלֵא, etc., as well as many formal courtesy phrases in which our section is particularly rich.
4. Metaphorical expressions in which portions of the body are used as e.g.; וַתִּפְעַם רֹחוֹ Gen. 41, 8; וַיִּפַּג לְבוֹ 45, 26; אֲשֶׁר בְּרִגְלֶיךָ 11, 8.
5. Words contained in our section which were also current as Semitic loanwords in Egyptian, particularly in the New Kingdom, the time of Israel's

(in Griffith's appendix to Pap. Kahun, ii, 12), 'the flood is strong (*wdnw wsr*) for the land of Horus' is untenable on phonetical grounds.

¹ After this part of my book was printed, my attention was drawn to H. J. Heyes, *Bibel und Ägypten*, 1904. I should also like to mention Sir F. Petrie, *Egypt and Israel*, 1921; A. Mallon, *Les Hébreux en Égypte*, 1921 and G. A. Frank-Knight, *Nile and Jordan*, 1921. In all of them many features of the Joseph and Exodus narratives are explained in the light of Egyptian conceptions and customs, though from a more general than linguistic point of view.

sojourn in Egypt, such as: טַבַּעַת Gen. 41, 42; מִרְבֵּבַת 41, 43; שֵׁק 42, 25; עֲנֵלָה 45, 19 ff.; עֲרֵלָה Ex. 4, 25.

6. Personal names in the lists of Jacob's descendants some of which have been recognized as Egyptian, such as: פִּינְחָס and פִּוּטִיאֵל or supposed to be of Egyptian origin, like מִשֶּׁה, and finally other names which are to be derived from the Egyptian like אֶהֱרֵן, לִי, or קָהָת.

7. A series of stylistic, syntactic, and grammatical peculiarities modelled on Egyptian, as well as a number of prepositions and particles borrowed from or modelled on Egyptian, like: מִן, בֵּן, בֵּה, נָא etc.

All these will be treated later in conjunction with other cognate linguistic materials from other portions of the Pentateuch, according to philological and thematic points of view, in special groups and categories.

We now proceed to turn to other portions of the Pentateuch. Though the preceding analysis of the Joseph and Exodus narratives has established a strong relationship with the Egyptian environment and Egyptian local colour, Egyptian influence is by no means restricted to the portions relating to the sojourn of Israel in Egypt, although it is here obviously most intensive and most clearly detected for reasons already stated. Even a cursory perusal of the foregoing will show that much the same could be said of similar materials contained in other portions of the Pentateuch. For apart from expressions and phrases restricted to the Joseph and Exodus narratives or used in a quite specific meaning only ascertainable by comparison with Egyptian, some of the expressions and phrases already dealt with, and many others not yet considered, are equally current in the rest of the Pentateuch. It will therefore, now be our task to show that the sphere of Egyptian influence extends far beyond the Exodus and Joseph narratives.

Before, however, we undertake to treat the portions following the Joseph and Exodus narratives, it is important to consider first the portion of the Pentateuch relating to the time prior to the sojourn of Israel in Egypt. This is not because we wish henceforth to follow the order of sequence in the Pentateuch, but because this course is determined by historical considerations of linguistic development and we therefore deem it necessary to investigate the question how that part of Genesis stands in regard to Egyptian, and to what extent Egyptian influence can be detected therein.

SECOND PART

THE PRE-EGYPTIAN EPOCH IN THE PENTATEUCH: STORIES OF PRIMEVAL TIMES IN GENESIS

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

THE RELATION OF THE LANGUAGE IN THE GENESIS STORIES TO AKKADIAN¹

IN this part we deal with two sections of Genesis marked by differences of milieu and furthermore distinguished by some features of linguistic character.

1. The stories of primeval times beginning with the Creation and ending with the Tower of Babel which are introduced to pave the way for the genealogical history of the patriarchs in Ur.

2. Narratives of the patriarchs starting with Abraham's emigration from Ur, continuing with events occurring for the most part in a Canaanite environment and closing with the settlement in Egypt.

Of these two sections we proceed first to deal with the stories of primeval times, subjecting their language to special investigation. They are of great interest because their origin is derived from a milieu very far away from Egypt revealing unmistakable relations with the Babylonian home of the patriarchs. The numerous parallels to these stories contained in several cuneiform versions, partly composed in Sumerian, but mainly and more extensively in Akkadian, which according to their varying literary form have been assigned to various periods between the twenty-second and eighth centuries B.C., leave hardly any doubt as to the Sumero-Akkadian origin of the Genesis stories.² It will, therefore, be our task to establish whether also in this portion of the Pentateuch the language contains Egyptian elements, to what extent they appear, and what proportion quantitatively

¹ We would draw attention to the fact that, as already observed in the Introduction, 'Babylonian' is to be taken as a geographical, 'Akkadian' as a philological designation. Therefore 'Babylonian' would comprise all the myths whether in Assyro-Babylonian or in the Sumerian language, whereas 'Akkadian' would cover only those in the Assyro-Babylonian language. It is very essential for the understanding of the following discussion to keep this distinction in mind.

² This is not the place to consider the hypothesis propounded by A. T. Clay, according to which the Sumero-Akkadian creation and flood myths themselves may have taken their origin from early Semitic or Aramaic sources. (Cf. *The Origins of Biblical Traditions*, New Haven, 1923). This much only may be said, that in our view the stories occurring in Genesis undoubtedly contain *Akkadian* words, which point to a *Babylonian* mediation. This would not be affected even in the event of Clay's contentions being perhaps later substantiated by new archaeological discoveries.

they bear to the Akkadian linguistic elements which are naturally to be expected in these stories.

Before this is done, however, a clear and correct picture of the actual relations between the Genesis stories and the Babylonian myths ought to be given, and for the purpose of getting a still better idea of those relations it might have been convenient even to reproduce here the full texts of the Akkadian and possibly also Sumerian versions in so far as they relate to the same matters as are treated in Genesis. Nevertheless, we believe that we can dispense with all this, as all the Akkadian and Sumerian texts are readily accessible to everyone in various publications and many translations. Just as little does it appear necessary to enter into a detailed analysis of each of these myths, as this has been repeatedly done both by supporters as well as by opponents of the Biblical Assyriological hypothesis. We can, therefore, immediately enter upon our real task in undertaking a linguistic comparison of the Biblical and Akkadian texts in detail, paying special attention to those passages in which on both sides a more or less close coincidence in content and similarity in form may be discerned.¹ Thus by comparing the Hebrew and Akkadian texts on purely linguistic lines it will be easy to establish how they are related to one another linguistically, and to decide whether such findings would at all justify the allegation of a thorough-going literary dependence of Hebrew upon Akkadian. Furthermore it will be possible to determine whether in the parallel passages other influences, quite foreign to Assyro-Babylonian, may not have been brought

¹ Out of the multitude of examples we select only one or two of the most appropriate passages. In order to render the Akkadian passages cited accessible to every reader, we refer also to R. W. Rogers (= Rog.) *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament*, New York, 1912, as there all the Akkadian texts are transcribed, translated, and set out together. We refer in parentheses also to the *transcribed* Akkadian texts themselves, to be found in other accessible publications, which we denote in the following manner:—For the creation myths: A. = *Als droben (Enuma Eliš) Keilinschr. Bibl. (= KB.) vi, 1, p. 2 ff.* and Winckler, *Keilinschr. Textbuch z. AT. 2, p. 102 ff.*; B. = *Als Anu den Himmel geschaffen, KB. vi, 2, p. 48 ff.*; C. = 'When Anu, Enlil and Ea', King, *The Seven Tablets of Creation, i, p. 124 ff.*; D. = *Ein Heiliges Haus, KB. 1, p. 39 ff.* and Winckler *loc. cit.*, p. 98 f.; E. = *Nachdem die Götter, KB. vi, 1, p. 42 ff.*; F. = *Nachdem Anu, Meissner, Mitt. d. Vorderas. Ges., 1904, 3, p. 40 ff.*; G. = 1. and 2. *Cosmogony of Ashur, Cuneiform Texts, Brit. Mus., xiii, p. 24 f.*, King *loc. cit.* i, p. 197 ff. and Craig, *Assyr. and Babyl. Rel. Texts, i, p. 838*, and 'The Song on the River', King, *loc. cit.* i, p. 129; H. = *Zur Zeit als Himmel und Erde (Sumer & Akkad) Ebeling, ZDMG. 1916, p. 532 ff.* and Landersdorfer, *Alttest. Abhh. vii, 5, p. 62 ff.*; J. = Meissner and Rost, *Die Bauinschriften Sanheribs*, plate 16 and p. 98 ff. For the flood myths: K. = *Gilgameš-Epos, Winckler, loc. cit. p. 84 ff.*; L. = Winckler, *loc. cit. p. 94*; M. = *KB. vi, 1, p. 288*; N. = Hilprecht, *The Earliest Version of the Babyl. Deluge Story*, etc. vol. v, 1. Also his: *Babylonian Exped. of the Univ. of Pennsylvania*. German translations and other literature include *inter alia* A. Ungnad in: *Altor. Texte. u. Bilder zum AT.*; Jirku, *Altor. Komm. zum AT.* and A. Jeremias, *das AT. im Lichte des Alten Orients*, 3rd ed.

to bear upon the linguistic and literary composition of the Genesis stories.

As our chief concern is a linguistic one and as all the Akkadian texts containing parallels to Genesis show the same linguistic peculiarities, it does not appear necessary in the following analysis to deal with each text individually; they are therefore treated as a whole for the purpose of our comparison. We propose first to mention those words and expressions which are identical in the texts of both languages, and then to subject the elements differing in language and also in substance where deemed necessary to closer examination.

CHAPTER I

LINGUISTIC ANALOGIES AND DIFFERENCES IN THE
AKKADIAN TEXTS AND THE GENESIS STORIES

1. The Creation Story

IN the Creation story, Gen. 1, 2, and in the story of the Flood, Gen. 7, 11. 8, 2 תָּמֹת is undoubtedly Akkadian, being the same word and having the same meaning as *tāmtum* in the corresponding myths, as will be shown later (p. 127 f.) As this is the only word which is peculiar to Akkadian and Hebrew to the exclusion of all other Semitic languages, it must, therefore, have been borrowed from Akkadian by the Hebrew. The following words however, are admittedly common to Semitic languages generally but are of special interest inasmuch as they are used in our texts in Hebrew and Akkadian in the same sense. Thus in Akkadian *šamē u iršitu* is analogous to the Hebrew שָׁמַיִם וָאָרֶץ 'heaven and earth', fairly frequently, e.g. Rog. p. 57, 2, l. 9 (from below): *šar šamē u iršitim* 'King of heaven and earth'; Rog. p. 52, l. 14 from below (= F 2 f.): *šamū ibnū [iršitum]*, *iršitum ibnū nārāte* 'the heavens created the earth, the earth created the rivers'; I. Recto l. 12: 'when they *uṣurāt šamē u iršitim* fixed the pillars, the foundations [or design (?)] of the heaven and the earth'; *ibid.* Recto l. 24 *irkis šamē u iršitu* 'bound heaven and earth together'. In the whole of the longest and most complete creation myth *Enuma eliš* (= A), besides the word *kakkabi* = 'stars, constellations' = Hebrew כּוֹכָבִים and *itāti* 'signs' = Hebrew אִתּוֹת there is only the word *dīšu* or *dīššu* 'plants, lush growth' (Del. *HWB.* p. 229) which is identical with דִּישׁוּ 'grass, herbage' and as verb דִּישׁוּ 'to grow, to spring forth', which is characteristic of the first chapter of Genesis (1, 11 f.) Strangely enough *dīšu* does not occur in this concrete but only in a metaphorical meaning in the creation myth, Rog. p. 17, l. 2 f. b. and p. 21, l. 14 (= A Tablet III, 28 and 86); 'she (*tiāmat*) *melamme ušdaššā* clothed them (the dragons) with wantonness' (?) etc. Mention may be made also of *urkit* = Hebrew יָרֵק 'green', e.g. Rog., p. 38, l. 15 f. b. (= A. vii, 2) *mušēši urkiti* 'who caused the green to spring forth' and Rog., p. 49, l. 7 f. b. (= D. l. 26): *urkit šēri* 'green of the field'. Also *mušēši* occurs as causative of *ašū* = in the same sense as יָרַקְתָּ Gen. 1, 12 in an analogous connexion at the creation of the plants. Also the word

נָהָר 'stream' is equivalent to *nāru* common in Akkadian, e.g. Rog., p. 60, l. 13 f. b. (= H. l. 1) and l. 5 f. b. (= l. 10): *nāru rabitu* 'great stream', *nāru širti* 'mighty stream'; further Rog., p. 52, l. 13 f. b. (= F l. 3) plural *nārāti* 'streams'. It should further be observed that *kūm mini*, Rog., p. 109, l. 24 possibly represents the expression frequently recurring in the Genesis story לְמִינֵהוּ 'after its kind'; this is, however, not quite certain.

For all other things related in the Genesis Creation story and in the Seven Tablets of *Enuma eliš* as well as in the other Akkadian Creation myths, the Akkadian uses quite different words and expressions from the Hebrew. The fact that some of these Akkadian words and expressions are used in Hebrew but precisely do not occur in the Genesis story, is really not a very convincing proof of the alleged strong literary, or of a linguistic, dependence of the Genesis stories on the Akkadian. Because if such a close dependence actually existed, one would expect just this class of words and expressions, so frequent in all Akkadian creation and flood stories, to be preferentially and in a much higher degree represented in the Genesis stories. Still more ought this to have been the case with words and expressions which are common to both Akkadian and Hebrew and actually occur in other books of the Bible and even in Genesis itself, to the exclusion of the creation and flood stories. It is the more surprising that in their place such words and expressions are used here which are not employed in Akkadian at all and are even completely alien to the spirit of that language. Furthermore it is possible to establish the fact that in some cases one and the same word used in Genesis and in Akkadian reveals in Hebrew a different nuance of usage, representing either a more advanced phase in the development of its meaning, or a different kind of metaphorical usage altogether.

We would draw attention here to another remarkable phenomenon of great significance for investigations into the relations between Akkadian and Hebrew as a whole. When we read the Akkadian myths in the original, from the oldest versions of the sixteenth century B.C. down to the latest versions of Assurbanipal's time in the eighth century B.C., and more especially when we read the text of the flood myths, which is closest of all to the corresponding Biblical story, we acquire the impression, that from a purely philological standpoint, their language is by far more akin to the Aramaic dialect of the late Biblical books and to the language of post-Biblical and Talmudic literature, than to Biblical Hebrew, including Ezekiel which betrays many Akkadian influences.

As we shall see later the linguistic differences referred to are to be noted also in the legal portions of the Pentateuch which, according to general

assumption, are closest to the Codex Hamurabi, not only in substance but also in language.

A particularly striking feature in comparing differing elements in the Akkadian and Hebrew texts is that similarly sounding common Semitic words like *iršitu* and ארץ which actually occur in the corresponding stories in both languages, nevertheless are of rarer occurrence in the Akkadian texts than other synonymous Akkadian words which are not to be found either in Genesis or in any other Hebrew text of the Bible. Thus the use of *iršitu* = ארץ occurs far more seldom than the following three Akkadian expressions for earth, soil: 1) *ašru* = Aramaic or neo-Hebrew אחרא and אחר e.g. Rog., p. 50, l. 14 (= D. l. 35); 2) *kaḫkaru* = Hebrew קרקע e.g. Rog., p. 56, l. 5 f. b. (= G. 1 verso l. 36) *eli kaḫkaru ša ibnā kātā(ka)* 'on the soil which thy hands have created', also Rog., p. 104, l. 11 f. b. (= L. l. 14); 3) *māti* 'land' = neo-Hebrew and Aramaic מתא in the sense of earth, e.g. Rog., p. 33, l. 7 f. b. (= A. tablet V, 15) of the moon which at the beginning of the month shines forth *ina māti* 'on the land, on the earth' and Rog., p. 47, l. 9 f. b. (= D. l. 10) *mātātu* plural 'lands'. Of these three expressions קרקע = *kaḫkaru*, it is true, occurs in the Pentateuch (Num. 5, 17) and elsewhere in the Bible, but this very fact makes it the more surprising that it should not be used precisely in the Genesis stories.¹

For day and night the Akkadian usually has *ūra u mūša* e.g. I verso l. 21 f.: *ša lā utakkaru kakkabū šamē dāriš uru u mūša* 'in order that the stars of heaven change not eternally by day and by night', also Rog., p. 5, l. 17 f. b. = l. 5 f. b. (= A. tablet I, l. 38-50): *ura lā šupšuhāk mūši lā šallāku* 'by day I have no rest, by night I lay me not down'. Now *uru* would correspond to the Hebrew אור 'brightness, light' and *mūšu* to the Hebrew אמש 'evening, darkness', words which are commonly used in the Bible and even in the Pentateuch for 'light' and 'evening', but not for 'day' and 'night', for which exclusively יום and לילה are employed. Here and there in Akkadian we find also *immu* = Hebrew יום but even then never together with *lilātu* = לילה but only with *mūšu* = אמש e.g. Rog., p. 8, l. 13 f. b. (= A. i, 110): *lā sakiḫpu mūša u imma* 'resting neither by night nor day'; Rog. p. 54, l. 12 f. b. (= G. i, recto l. 28): *māšrat muši u immi* 'the watch of the night and the day'.

Also some designations of animals used in Akkadian texts are either not Biblical like *nūnu* 'fish', or are such as occur in the Pentateuch but precisely not in the Genesis stories, like *iššūr* (from *išfur*) = Arabic عصفور = Hebrew צפור 'bird', for which in Gen. 1, 26 בְּדָבָר and עוֹף occur, two words foreign to

¹ Of the two other expressions, neither is Biblical, and even in neo-Hebrew they have rather the more restricted meaning of 'spot, place, locality'.

Akkadian. Even the same expression 'fowl of heaven' does not read אֲשֹׁר הַשָּׁמַיִם as in the Akkadian texts *iššūr šamē* (e.g. Rog., p. 109, l. 23 (= L. l. 11)) also plural *iššūrāt šamāmē* (cf. Del. *HWB.* p. 122), but always עוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם.¹

The expression for animals in the first chapter of Genesis is חַיֵּי הָאָרֶץ 'the living ones of the earth'; in the second chapter etc. חַיֵּי הַשָּׂדֶה 'the living ones of the field'; but the Akkadian equivalents are the expressions *šiknāt napištu ina šēri* 'images [holders] of a life-breath of the field' (cf. Del. *HWB.* p. 659 b and 476 a) *būlu šēri* 'beast of the field' (ibid. 168 a) or *umāmu šēri* (ibid. 86 a) 'animals, game of the field' Rog., p. 51, l. 26 f. (= E. l. 3 f.) and Rog., p. 104, l. 24 (= P. l. 9). Occasionally to *umām šēri* is added also *šadū* = Hebrew שדה e.g. *umām šēri šadē kališunu* 'wild beasts of the desert and of the mountain of all kinds' (Del. ibid. 86 a). As will be seen these expressions are altogether different from those in Hebrew. Even *napištu* = נפש does not mean succinctly 'the living' like חיה and is usually combined with *šiknat*; *šēri* really means 'steppe, desert' (Del. ibid. 557 b, cf. thereon Arabic صحراء), and likewise *šadū* means 'mountain', not 'field' as שדה in Hebrew.² For creeping animals the Hebrew has רמש which is probably related to *nammaššu* 'swarm of men and animals' Rog., p. 48, l. 140 and p. 50, l. 17 (= D. l. 5 and 38), also Rog., p. 51, l. 2 ff. (= E. ll. 4, 6, 7, and 10). But, as will be seen, the Hebrew רמש is not equivalent to the Akkadian form *nammaššu*, a form which first appears in neo-Hebrew in נמושות for 'insignificant, old, decrepit persons'. On the other hand *nammaššu*, as far as I can see, is never used in Akkadian exclusively for creeping animals, but applies to everything that lives and moves, whether in the water or on the earth, whether man or beast (Del. *HWB.* 469).³

For 'nose' we have אף, but never the equivalent Akkadian *naḫīru* (Rog., p. 54, l. 3 f. b. = G. i, recto l. 38) which only crops up as late as in Job

¹ It is this phrase which has become stereotyped everywhere in the Bible, with the single exception of Ps. 8, 9, where צפור שמים is used instead.

² In many later poetic passages the archaic meaning of 'mountains' may still lurk in שָׂדֵי. 'Field' is a more restricted sense and shows an advanced stage in the development of meaning. On חיה and נפש cf. below, p. 138.

³ *nammaššu* is erroneously derived from נוש (Levy, *Neuhebr. WB.*, and other dictionaries), with which it has nothing in common. An explanation given by Rabbi Jochanan, *Baba Mez.* 21b, that it refers to old men who move on crutches is, therefore, quite correct, and indicates exactly what class of people was understood thereby. In Talmud Jerus. *Pea* 20d there is no inconsistency as Levy thinks: just because they move with difficulty, they are the last. Possibly in Akkadian also *nammašše ali*, Rog. p. 51, l. 9 f. b. (= E. l. 6) 'the moving creatures of the town' refer to the same class of people in contradistinction to *nammašše šēri* for 'the moving creatures of the field', i.e. 'swarms' which applies to all animals.

41, 12 in נְחִיָּוִי. For 'serpent' Gen. 3, 1 ff. has נָח, but not one of the many Akkadian designations of this reptile, still less any mythical name of a serpent.¹

Although the antithesis of העלה and השפיל 'to lift up' and 'to bring down' is usual in the Bible and these roots are common for 'high' and 'low' nevertheless here and elsewhere for 'above' and 'below' we have קַמְעַל and מְתַחַת, not מְעַל and מְשַׁפֵּל, as would be the case in adaptation of *elū u šaplu* 'above and below' in the Akkadian texts, thus e.g. Rog., p. 3, l. 12 f. f. b. (= A. I, 1 f.) at the beginning of *Enuma eliš*: 'When above (*eliš*) the heaven had not yet been named and below (*šapliš*) the earth had yet no name'; further Rog., p. 56, ll. 3 and 5 (= G. 1 verso ll. 24 and 26): *elinu apsi* 'that which is over the ocean'; *šapliš ašrāta udannin* 'below I established the places'. In the Akkadian texts *kaḫkadu* (doubtless of Sumerian origin) = Hebrew קָדַק is by far more common for 'head, crown' than the common Semitic *rēšu* = ראש, and is also invariably used in these myths, e.g. Rog., p. 54, l. 6 f. b. (= G. 1 recto l. 35) *iškun kaḫkadu* 'firmly fixed the head'. It is true that קָדַק occurs in the Pentateuch, Gen. 49, 26; Deut. 28, 35. 33, 16, 20 and elsewhere but precisely not here.

For the general idea of 'create' the Akkadian creation texts have: 1) *epēšu* or *ebēšu* 'to do', e.g. of the creation of man Rog.: p. 107, l. 13 f. b. (= M. Col. viii, 3) *ša ina niši ebšuma* 'who created man'; of gods Rog., p. 48, l. 4 f. b. (= D. l. 15): *ilāni (ilu) anunnaki mithariš ipuš* 'the Anunnaki (gods) he likewise created'. Cf. also J. recto l. 16 ff.: *minā i nīpuš* parallel to l. 20: *minā i nibni* 'what shall we create?'; 2) *banū* = Hebrew בָּנָה (?) 'to build' is the more usual word for 'create, produce, form', thus Rog., p. 49, ll. 2 ff. (= D. ll. 18-39. The following lines are according to the text, not according to Rog.): of the earth l. 18; of man ll. 20, 21; of animals l. 22; of plants l. 25; of herbs l. 26; even of rivers l. 23, just as it is used of the building of cities v, 39, and of the making of bricks l. 36. Cf. also Rog., p. 36, l. 4 f. b. (= A. vi, l. 7) of man: *lubni-ma amēla* 'I will create a man'; Rog., p. 39, l. 4 (= A. vii, 29): *ibnū amēlūtu* 'who created mankind', and several others. Similarly *bāni* is also used of a god as Creator, e.g. Rog., p. 38, l. 8 f. b. (= A. vii, 9): *(ilu) tutu bān tēdištišunu* 'God Tutu the Creator of their renewal'.² Now בָּנָה is only once used and this of the creation of woman Gen. 2, 22; otherwise עָשָׂה 'to do, to make' is

¹ Cf. KAT. 503 f. and later in reference to the serpent in Paradise.

² For the creation of heaven *patāku* is also used, e.g. Rog., p. 57, l. 7 f. b.: *pātik šamē (ilu) Anim u kigalli*: 'Creator of the heaven of (the god) Anu, and of the netherworld'. This word also implied 'to build', e.g. temples, and was used for the creation of man (Del. HWB.).

generally used, בָּרָא of the creatures, and יָצַר specifically of man. Thus we see that the Hebrew did not take over the Akkadian term *banū*, nor is a trace of *epēšu* or *ebēšu* 'to do' to be found, although in neo-Hebrew it is quite common in the form אָפַשׁ to designate something which can or cannot be done, i.e. 'possible' or 'impossible', e.g. אָפַשׁ 'it is my do', i.e. it is feasible for me, or אֵי-אָפַשׁ 'it is not my do', i.e. it is not feasible for me. Not even in a passage like Gen. 1, 26 where almost the same words are used as in the Akkadian creation story Rog. 36, l. 5 f. b. (= A. vi, 7) in which Marduk is represented as saying: 'I will place man, I will make man' did the Hebrew use בָּנָה the equivalent of the Akkadian *banū*. Just as little does the Hebrew make use of the other Akkadian expression *ḫarāšu*, characteristic for the formation of man from clay. This is derived from the meaning 'pinching off' of loam or clay, e.g. Rog., p. 45, l. 13 f. b. (= B. l. 25): 'the god Ea in the primeval waters (*ina apsi*) pinched off a piece of clay (*ikruša ṭiṭam*), in order to create the gods of the building and metal arts'. For this Gen. has יָצַר, derived from the meaning of shaping clay vessels on the potter's wheel.¹ It is only later in Job 33, 6 that the expression קָרַץ = *ḫarāšu* occurs for the creation of man.² Although טִיט = *ṭiṭtu* 'loam' is indigenous in Hebrew, it is lacking in Genesis and the man is here created from the עָפָר 'dust' of the earth (אֲדָמָה). On the other hand the same Akkadian word *epiri* is not used in connexion with the creation of man in the myths though it is employed in reference to the heaping up of soil and slime to create the earth, Rog., p. 49, l. 15 f. b. (= D. l. 18). This discrepancy can be carried further by pointing to the fact that other Akkadian words for 'create' are not used in the Genesis stories, as e.g. *kunnu* = Hebrew כּוּן which is used of the creation of the heaven e.g. Rog. 39, l. 1 f. b. (= A. vii, 16). *ša ukinnu an ilāni šamē ellūti* 'who hath created for the gods the shining heaven', an expression which however occurs later in the Bible, e.g. Is. 45, 18: יָצַר הָאָרֶץ וְעָשָׂהּ הוּא כּוּנְנָה, Prov. 3, 19: בּוֹנֵן שָׁמַיִם בְּתַבְנִינָה, or Ps. 119, 90 of the earth: Ps. 8, 4 of the stars.

Another striking illustration of these discrepancies is the fact that in the Genesis narratives and the Akkadian myths words are to be found which elsewhere are used identically, only not here; thus e.g. מִשָּׁל is used in Hebrew, like the Akkadian *maššalu*, in the sense of equal. Now in Gen. 1, 16 f. it is not used in this sense but in that of 'rule' whereas Rog. 38, l. 3 f. b. (= A. vii, 14) it is used in the meaning of 'equal': 'None among the gods

¹ Cf. below p. 153 on the origin of this idea.

² As we shall see later, the fact that יָצַר, shaping of clay vessels, is applied in Gen. to the creation of man from clay, and not קָרַץ = *ḫarāšu*, as in Job, is of very great significance for the determination of the environment from which the use of יָצַר is to be explained.

shall be equal to him (*umaššalu*), exactly as *למשל* is used elsewhere in the Bible. The same is the case in Rog. 32, l. 10 (= A. iv, 144): 'As a mighty building after his likeness (plan) he erected Ešarra', *eškalla tamšilašu ukīn ešarra*; and Rog. ibid. l. 5 f. b. (= A. v, 2): 'stars after their (the gods') likeness (*tamšilšunu*) he set as signs of the Zodiac', in both cases like the Hebrew *למשל*. Another very instructive example is afforded by Gen. 1, 14 as parallel to the Akk. I. verso l. 21 f., namely: 'and stars of the heaven (*kakkabu šamē*) that remain eternally unalterable day and night (*ura u mūša*) in order to establish (*šuklulim*) the feasts of the gods (*isinni ilāni*)'. Although here the same is almost literally said as in Gen 1, 14 yet in Hebrew all the words for the corresponding expressions are different. For stars of the heaven we do not find *כוכבים* but *מאורות*, nor *יום ואיכה* for day and night but *יום ולילה*: and for feasts we have *מועדים*, which is derived from a quite different conception than *isinni*. It should be added that *ušaklil* 'to establish, to set up' used especially of buildings, occurs in the Bible but only in Aramic as *שכילל* (Ezra 4, 12. 5, 3 ff.).

Although in Akkadian *šalam* is as common as *שָׁלַם* in Hebrew we find no conception of 'likeness', as in Hebrew, formed from this root. Though it has been assumed by some Assyriologists and widely accepted in Old Testament circles that 'likeness' is expressed by *zikru*, *mihru*, or *mahrū* (*KAT.*, p. 506), nevertheless this is merely a very doubtful supposition as these words have been otherwise interpreted by other Assyriologists (ibid. nn. 2 and 4). It should further be emphasized that even on the assumption that *zikru* means 'likeness', it is used neither of man nor of a god, as in Hebrew, and only of certain creatures (the Eabani and the Engidu) and the many manikins and elves who were conceived in human shape.¹ The absence of *šalam* in the above-mentioned passage is all the more remarkable as in the Akkadian stories of the creation it recurs repeatedly in the sense of 'figure, image', e.g. Rog., p. 57, l. 3 f. b. (= G. 2, l. 7): *ēpiš šalam (ilu) aššur*. 'He made the figure of (the god) Ashur'; the same also Rog., p. 58, l. 7 f. b. and 59, l. 6 f. b. (= J. recto, l. 6 and verso l. 10).² Neither is '*tamšila*' the common word for 'likeness' employed as we have just seen, nor is it said that men or gods were formed in the *tamšila*, the likeness of the Divine Creator. It may, therefore, be very much doubted whether the idea of the creation of man in the likeness of God was at all known to Babylonian mythology.

¹ Cf. also Del. *WB.* 403b. The meaning 'likeness' or 'in the image of' can hardly be upheld in a single one of the passages cited.

² *צִלָּם* 'idol' as in the Akk. *šalmu* occurs only in the later Biblical writings. The same also applies to *צִלְמוֹת* = Akk. *šalmūtu* 'darkness, gloom'.

2. The Flood-story

The Babylonian parallels to the Biblical story of the flood are more extensive and comprehensive than in the case of the story of the creation. Apart from the eleven Tablets of the Gilgameš Epic, where the story is most completely preserved, there are several fragments in various versions, even from a still earlier period, a circumstance which points to the fact that a flood story had been widely known in Babylonia from earliest times, and that like many others it was altered, extended, condensed or abbreviated by authors and scribes at will. The relations between the Biblical and Babylonian flood stories are much more tangible and numerous than in the creation story. The similarity in the order of the events, in the formulation of many details, as well as in the style of narration, is so palpable that there can be no doubt as to an original connexion between the two. But in spite of the greater intrinsic similarity, a comparison here of the linguistic elements, also shows that with the exception of a few expressions which are of Akkadian origin, the words and phrases in the Akkadian and the Hebrew are completely distinct, and even words of the same root in both languages are employed in diverse meanings in the parallel passages in the Hebrew and Akkadian versions.

The most conspicuous word of Akkadian origin in the flood-story, is the same as in the story of the creation, viz. *תָּמְטוּ* Akkadian *tāmtu* (*tāmdu*), only it is used in the flood story in the concrete meaning of sea, just as is *tāmtu* everywhere in all versions of the Akkadian flood-stories (cf. above p. 106). Of undoubted Akkadian origin also *כִּפְרָר* (Gen. 6, 14) = *kupru*, also *kūpru* 'bitumen' with which also Utnapištim pitched his ship 'within and without', *Gilg.* XI, ii, 9 f., Rog., p. 93 (= K. p. 87).¹ Likewise Akkadian is *גִּפְרָר* (Gen. 6, 14) = *giparu*, *giparru* a kind of tree, or reed. Even should it mean perhaps 'grove' or 'thicket of reeds', the primary meaning must be 'reed', or some kind of tree because *giparu* is accompanied by *iš* = *עֵץ* and thus literally coincides with *עֵץ גִּפְרָר*.²

Of words represented in Akkadian, and also common to Hebrew and

¹ For *כִּפְרָר* 'bitumen' cf. Del. *WB.* 348 a, *KAT.* 557 f. and *Akk. Fremdw.* p. 60. That in the cited passage *Gilg.* XI, ii, 9 f. bitumen was intended for the pitching of the ship, both within and without, cannot, in spite of *KAT.* 548, n. 2, be doubted.

² The passage *Enuma* i, 6, Rog., p. 3, *gipara la kiššura* is interpreted by Winckler (*A.* p. 102) as 'bamboo'; by Del. *WB.* 203 a and Rog. *loc. cit.* as 'field, fields'; on the other hand by Zimmern *Akk. Fremdw.*, p. 53 as a species of tree, assuming that it is the equivalent of *גִּפְרָר*. But Meissner, *Seltene Ideogr.* 1487 ff., shows it is the Sumerian *gi-par*, and means a species of cane or some part of it. Cf. also Streck, *Vorderas. Bibl.* vii, 289, n. 13, 'kind of tree or shrub (?)' and the passages cited therein.

other Semitic languages may be mentioned מֵטָר Gen. 7, 4 (also 2, 5) = *metru*, *miṭra* e.g. Rog., 105, l. 13 f. b. (= M. Col. i, 4) which alternates with מִשָּׁן, Gen. 7, 12, 8, 2 for rain; likewise מִזְנוֹן, Gen. 6, 21 for food = Akkad. *akulu*, *akalu* 'bread, food' which, though also generally Semitic, is more frequent and characteristic in Akkadian for 'food'.

These few expressions are the main linguistic remnants pointing to the Babylonian origin of the story. In all other cases differences between the Hebrew and Akkadian are as clear as in the Creation narrative. Even at the first glance, it is astonishing that in a narrative originating from Babylonia, the most important object in the whole story, the Ark, is not designated by any of the Akkadian words for ship, not even by *elippu* whereby the ship of the Babylonian Noah, Ut-napištim, is invariably designated¹ and which also appears in later Hebrew as אֶלְפָּא, but by תִּבְיָה, which is an Egyptian loanword (cf. below).² Moreover, as we shall see later, מְבִיֵל though etymologically akin to Akkadian *wbl* 'to sweep away with a flood', is based on a conception quite different from that of the regular expression for the Babylonian flood, *abūbu*, as this means 'rain, cloudburst', whereas מְבִיֵל means 'inundation'. Even in passages where in the Hebrew and Akkadian the same events are described in almost the same words, the mode of expression is quite different. Thus, to cite only a few examples, Gen. 8, 7 reads: 'and he sent forth a raven which went, יָצָא וָשָׁב going out and coming back', i.e. *to and fro* (an expression of direction); in the parallel passage, Gilg. XI, iii, 35 a, Rog., p. 97 (K. p. 91) it is said of the dove *illik summatu itūramma* 'it went *now and again*' (an expression of time); the same also Gilg. XI, iii, 37 a of the swallow: *illik sinuntu itūramma*. For Gen. 8, 9: 'and the dove found no rest for the sole of her foot', we find in Akkadian of the dove, Gilg. XI, iii, 36, and of the swallow, iii, 38:

¹ Cf. e.g. Gilg. XI, i, l. 23, Rog., p. 91 (= K. p. 85) to Ut-Napištim: *uḫur bīta bini elippa* 'tear down the house, build a ship!'; l. 25: *ana libbi elippi* 'in the interior of the ship'; also in other Akkadian texts *elippu* is the usual word for the ship, thus e.g. Rog., p. 104, l. 2, 9 and 11 b. l. (= L. l. 6, 13 and 15): *bāb elippi* 'door of the ship'; *matimā elippu ul epūš* 'never have I built a ship', etc. Also Rog., p. 109, 16 (= N. l. 7): *elippu rabetu binima* 'build a big ship!' Only occasionally do we find another word for it, e.g. Gilg. xi, ii, 36 *ekallu* 'great house, palace' = תִּבְיָה hyperbolically for ship, or Rog. 109, l. 18 (= N. l. 8) *gurguru* a special kind of ship, a word which is still alive in the Arabic vernacular of Iraq as قَرَقور.

² The derivation of תִּבְיָה from *tebitu* 'ship of the diving', i.e. 'diving boat', Jensen ZA. iv, 272 f., KAT., p. 390, n. 1, and Zimmern, *Akk. Fremdw.*, p. 45, must be rejected on phonetic grounds alone as *tebitu* is from טָבַע 'to sink' and under no circumstances can it be associated with תִּבְיָה but, in addition, in making such a derivation they overlook the fact that in *tebitu* the stress is on 'diving' and not on 'ship'. For *tibū* (= טָבַע), for 'sinking' or 'foundering' of a ship, cf. Del. WB., p. 298 b.

'As a place for *sitting* (*manzazu*) was not there (*ipaššima*) it returned (*issahra*)', literally: 'it turned around', the same word as the Aramaic סָחַר, which occurs in later Hebrew, but not in the Bible.¹ For the 'interior' of the ship, the Akkadian has *libbu elippi* = 'heart of the ship', e.g. Gilg. XI, iv, 28, Rog., p. 100 (= K. p. 93), whereas the Hebrew reads simply אֵל הַחִיבָה, though elsewhere in the Pentateuch לֵב 'heart' is used metaphorically of the interior exactly as in Akkadian, e.g. Ex. 15, 8. For מַעֲיִנוֹת Gen. 7, 11, 8, 2 'water fountains' Rog., p. 54 the last line (= G. 1) recto l. 40 has *nambau*, which corresponds to the Hebrew מְבִיֵעַ from נָבַע 'to spring forth', which occurs later, e.g. Is. 35, 7; Eccl. 12, 6, but precisely not here. For 'earth, dust' we do not find *ipru* = Hebrew עֶפֶר, but *tittu* = טִיט, e.g. Gilg. XI, iii, 9, Rog., p. 96 (= K. p. 89) 'the past has become mud' (*titti*), i.e. nought. In Gen. 9, 12 לְדֹרֹת עוֹלָם the word דֹר is the Akkadian *dāru*, but here it means 'generation' (cf. Gen. 6, 9) and only later is it used in the abstract meaning 'eternally, for ever' as in the Akkadian, e.g. Gilg. XI, iv, 3, Rog., p. 98 (= K. p. 92): 'Of these days will I think, nor will I forget them *ana dāriš* for ever', or Rog., p. 56 l. 3 f. b. (= G. 1 l. 38): *ani idi dārišam* 'I know it for ever', and many others. As will be noted our text renders 'for ever' by עוֹלָם, the same as in vers. 16 and elsewhere.

3. The remaining Genesis stories and Akkadian

With regard to the remaining Genesis stories the Babylonian myths do not present, as alleged, direct parallels but merely isolated features and elements from myths of a heterogeneous character, which both in content and conception have very little in common with the Hebrew stories. The same is the case with the Sumerian paradise myth of Dilmun (Nippur 4561)² and that of Adapa,³ who as the son of a god only received wisdom (*nēmeku*) but not, like Adam, eternal life from his divine father when he was placed upon earth, in order to supply the sanctuary of the great god Ea in Eridu

¹ In Gilg. xi, xiii, 40, Rog., p. 91 (= K. p. 91) it is said of the raven that it saw *ḫarūra ša mē* which is translated by Winckler, Rogers and others by 'diminution of the water'. It is true it might mean drying up (from *ḫarāru* 'to dry up'), but here something concrete is decidedly expected; because it can hardly be said of a raven that it saw 'a diminution' or 'drying up' of water. I therefore think that in *ḫarūra* a word allied to the Arabic قَعْر 'ground, soil' which would give excellent sense: the raven saw the 'bottom of the water'. It should be expressly pointed out that قَعْر الماء is still used in Iraq for bottom of water, similarly likewise قَعْر البحر 'bed of the sea'.

² Cf. Langdon, *Sumerian Epic of Paradise, The Flood and the Fall of Man*, Philadelphia, 1915 and with a German translation, S. Landersdorfer, *Die sumer. Parallelen zur Bibl. Urgesch.*, Münster, i. W. 1917, p. 26 ff.

³ Rog. *loc. cit.*, p. 67 ff., KB. vi, 1, p. xvii f., p. 92 ff., etc., also KAT., p. 520 ff.

with everything necessary in 'bread and water', all features of which there is no trace in the creation of Adam. The only feature reminiscent of the Paradise story is the 'food of life', through the enjoyment of which a man may obtain eternal life on earth. The fundamental ideas, however, are in stark contrast to those of the Paradise story, as the following will suffice to prove: Whilst Adam is conceived as completely naïve and ignorant of God's designs, Adapa, as has already been objected by Landersdorfer (loc. cit.) and others, is represented as perfectly wise (*abkallu*), nay even as super-clever (*atra hasis*), initiated into all the secrets of the gods.¹ While further, Adam is barred access to the 'fruit of the tree of life' only after his fall, to deprive him of eternal life, in order to prevent sin from being perpetuated, in the Adapa myth the highest god of heaven, Anu, confers eternal life upon Adapa just for the purpose of enabling him to wreak evil perpetually against his father.² But quite apart from this striking dissimilarity, also from the purely linguistic point of view, there is no sort of agreement discernible between these two stories. Thus—to mention only the chief points nearest to the Genesis narrative—eternal life is rendered by *napištu dāritu* (Tablet I, l. 4, Rog., p. 69), which are related to the words נפש and דור common in Hebrew, though they are used in a different sense, namely, *napištu* for 'life' and *dāritu* for 'eternal', not as in the Hebrew נפש for 'soul' and דור for 'generation'. The Akkadian expression 'food of life' is rendered by *akāl balāti* (Tablet II, l. 60 f., Rog., p. 75 f.) in antithesis to *akāl ša muti* 'food of death' (Tablet II, l. 29, Rog., p. 74), whereas in Genesis the expression is עץ החיים 'tree of life', not אֵץ החיים if it had followed the Akkadian. Likewise the other expression *šammu balāti* 'herb of life' which is repeatedly mentioned as a magic herb (cf. *KAT.*, p. 524), is neither intrinsically nor linguistically comparable with פרי עץ החיים 'fruit of the tree of life'. The word *šammu* is identical with the Hebrew סם 'spice' and was used in Akkadian for 'herb' and also 'medicine', e.g. *šammu ša alādi* 'herb of birth' (*KAT.*, p. 564), similar to the Hebrew סמים for spice and sweet-smelling herbs, e.g. Ex. 30, 34 and elsewhere, but was never used for

¹ As will be shown elsewhere the 'first man', Job 15, 7 and the 'perfected man', Ezek. 28, 12 and 15, which have been used by Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, p. 148, and others to establish a relationship between *Adapa* and *Adam*, do not refer to Adam at all! Both in Job and Ezekiel the same mythological conceptions are combated as in the much older Paradise story in Genesis, and particularly by Ezekiel is their alien character felt and satirized. Below p. 145 f. the real meaning of the name Adam will be explained, whereby the whole hypothesis of an identification of Adam with Adapa falls to the ground.

² This is in my view the true relation of Anu to Adapa, and the conversion of the original punishment of Adapa into a reward which, however, is conceived as a punishment of Ea because he created a man with god-like virtues. A different view is taken by Zimmern *KAT.*, p. 521, because the demeanour of Anu was not quite clear to him.

tree.¹ Still less has the tree of life to do with the other wonder herb which 'converts the aged into a youth (*šibu iššahir amēlu*)' stolen from Ut-napištim during his sleep by the serpent (Gilg. XI, 298 ff.; *KB.* vi, p. 252 and *KAT.*, p. 578).

Besides the words mentioned, which are common to the Akkadian and Hebrew, there are others of possible though uncertain Akkadian origin which have been retained in the Genesis stories. Thus, e.g. ברלח Gen. 2, 12 may be identical with Akkadian *budulhu* = bedellium, βδέλλιον, a translucent sweet-smelling resin of a tree indigenous to Arabia and Babylonia (*Ges.-Buhl.* s.v.), but the question arises whether it is genuinely Akkadian, or whether both Hebrew and Akkadian derived it from another language. From the description of the course of the River Pīšōn one is inclined to see in the word a term for resin, indigenous to the southern borderlands of Egypt. That it actually must have meant a sort of gum is obvious from Num. 11, 7, where the appearance of the *manna* is compared with ברלח referring to the compact and translucent mass of resin. It seems clear that the narrator was citing, for the purposes of comparison, a product typical of the manna region and, as we have seen, Arabia is actually among the countries where this resin is indigenous. Nevertheless we cannot ignore the fact that the oldest mention of ברלח on record is in Akkadian, and hence the possibility cannot summarily be rejected that it may have reached the Hebrews in the pre-Egyptian epoch, and that it thus represents a survival of the Babylonian period from which many a word and expression was retained by the patriarchs.

The same might also be the case with שֹׁהָם Gen. 2, 12 and elsewhere, which is assumed to be identical with the Akkadian *šāmtu*, the name of a green precious stone ('malachite' Jensen *ZA.* x, p. 368, *KB.* vi, 1, p. 405). It is possible in this case also that for this stone which had a different name in Egyptian, the Hebrews retained its Akkadian name from the period of the patriarchs. It is furthermore by no means certain whether malachite or another green stone, like emerald, was meant. We are on somewhat

¹ Cf. *KAT.*, p. 523, n. 1, where *šammu* is identified as the prototype of سَم for 'medicament' and 'poison' in Arabic (from the Syriac) just as שֹׁמֵם stands for 'roots' and 'herbs' in Hebrew. Whether the Egyptian *šm* 'herb' was originally akin to *šammu* is not certain, but possible. In any case it seems to me certain that שֹׁמֵם harks back to *šammu*, whereas the Egyptian *šm.w* was borrowed by Hebrew in the form of שֹׁמֵם, which is used exactly as in Egyptian for 'green-stuff', especially for 'leeks'. In both these words, viz. Akkadian *šammu* and Egyptian *šm* we have a further example of two words which sound alike in Akkadian and Egyptian, and possibly also originally akin, being borrowed by the Hebrew in two different forms, whereby in each case the nuance of meaning constitutes a distinct indication of the language from which it was borrowed.

surer ground in the case of $\text{פָּרְזִילָה} = \text{parzillu}$ 'iron' Gen. 4, 22; Deut. 8, 9 etc., which was indigenous to Babylonia (cf. *Akk. Fremd.* and *KAT.*, 648), and thence together with its name may have spread to other lands and languages, so that no reasonable objection can be taken to the assumption that in Hebrew the Akkadian name was retained from patriarchal times.¹ On the other hand it is of interest that in this same passage cited, Gen. 4, 22, the worker in metal is called שֹׁרֵט and not מְצַנֵּן which is identical with the Akkadian *ummānu* 'artisan', though it occurs later in Song of Songs 7, 2.²

Attention may further be drawn to מְאֵד which occurs very frequently, especially in the Pentateuch and more particularly in the Genesis stories: it is undoubtedly from the Akkadian *mādu* 'much, many, amount, quantity', which, as in Hebrew, is used adverbially for 'very', e.g. Enuma i, 19, Rog., p. 4 (= A. p. 113): *guššur mādiš* 'very strong'; Enuma vii d (following Lücke 46-47) l. 7, Rog., p. 41 (= A. p. 127): *ša ina ilāni mādiš širu* 'who is very exalted among the gods'. The same is also the case with סֵפֶר 'book' Gen. 5, 1, etc. which appears to have had its origin in the Akkadian *šipru*, *šāpiru*,³ and must belong to those words which at a very early date passed from the Akkadian into other Semitic languages.

4. What is the origin of the elements foreign to Akkadian in the Genesis stories?

We refrain from continuing the foregoing analysis as we believe the essential points have been sufficiently elucidated by the examples we have cited.

The examination we have made of the Genesis stories and their comparison with the Akkadian texts has, on the one hand, provided proof of the actual presence of linguistic reminiscences from Akkadian, but on the other hand has revealed the striking fact that apart from these reminiscences the language of the Genesis stories betrays an extremely limited relationship with the language of the Akkadian texts. For apart from a word

¹ As Zimmern, *KAT.*, p. 648, n. 5, correctly observes, it does not follow that these and similar words have their *ultimate* origin in Babylonian; nevertheless I think that on cultural-historical grounds it may be assumed that the Hebrew obtained them from the Babylonian, and retained them in the Canaanite dialect which they subsequently adopted.

² Cf. Del. *WB.*, p. 86 b. It should be observed that whereas מְצַנֵּן has a Hebrew form, the neo-Hebrew מְצַנֵּן reveals the Akkadian form *ummānu*, which points to a later adoption disregarding the earlier existence of this word in the Bible.

³ Properly 'communication, letter', later 'writing, book', cf. *Ges-Buhl.* s.v. and Del. *WB.*, p. 683. Also in Egyptian we find *hjb* 'sending' used for 'letter'. The initial formula of a letter usually runs: *hjb pw r rd.t rh* 'a letter is this to make known that, etc.'. Cf. e.g. Möller, *Hierat. Lesestücke III*, 7, 14.

like תְּהוֹם which is certainly not of Semitic origin, and as we have said, most probably entered the Genesis stories from the Akkadian, apart also from words and expressions which, like $\text{כּוּכַבִּים} = \text{kakkabi}$, $\text{אֶרֶץ} = \text{iršitu}$ are commonly Semitic and, therefore, naturally used in Hebrew quite independently of the Akkadian, there are in the Genesis stories very few phrases of the style and mode of speech of the Babylonian myths. Hence, the repeated attempts to establish a thorough-going *linguistic* dependence of these stories on Akkadian, and even on the older Sumerian, must be regarded, in view of the above conclusions, as in general completely beside the mark, and in particular cases (where a similarity exists) as highly exaggerated. Were the Hebrew author really so dependent upon the Akkadian models as the Assyriological thesis pretends, he would certainly have been inclined to adopt those elements, which, as we have just shown, are typical of the Akkadian texts; moreover he would not have deviated from his alleged models, particularly in those parallel passages where the usage and the spirit of the Hebrew language would not have debarred him from following the Akkadian phraseology, so akin to the Hebrew.

Our conclusion gains in value and significance from the very circumstance that the protagonists of the Assyriological thesis go so far as to speak of a literal translation from the Akkadian or Sumerian, merely on the ground that they have been able to detect in some passages a certain coincidence which can, however, be much more naturally explained by the similarity of the subject-matter of the narratives. Such allegations are controverted by the simple fact that a *linguistic* agreement is absent not only from passages of general similarity but even from those few where originally an intrinsic relation must really have existed between the Genesis stories and the Akkadian myths. If we furthermore add the fact, admitted by the Assyriologists themselves, that as a whole, the differences between the Genesis stories and the Akkadian myths are very numerous and profound, we are confronted with the remarkable phenomenon that Biblical narratives though going back to a Babylonian origin, nevertheless betray extraordinary divergences from the Babylonian myths both in their linguistic usage and subject matter. Nay more: the divergent elements are by far the most numerous, predominant, and striking. And these elements betray conceptions and features altogether alien to the Babylonian myths and are linguistically inconsonant with the usage and spirit of the Akkadian texts. We are not referring here to those features which owing to a monotheistic purge have been modified and set in place of polytheistic conceptions, but to those which do not strictly conform to the monotheistic view, and which are so strongly anthropomorphic in their mode of

expression that they must rather be taken to be reminiscences of the original Babylonian version, a fact which makes the nature of these divergences the more striking.

In substantiation of this statement we mention some of the most conspicuous and typical features of the Genesis stories which are missing in the Babylonian myths. Thus they lack the conception of the emergence of light out of the chaotic primeval waters; the 'hovering of the spirit of God' over the waters (Gen. 1, 2); the creation of man in the image of God according to the first version (Gen. 1, 27), his creation from *red earth* (Gen. 2, 7) according to the second version (cf. below, p. 145); the breathing of the breath of life through the nostrils (ibid.); the creation of woman from a portion of the body of man (Gen. 2, 22); and almost all the characteristic features of the Paradise story. In the flood story, though it betrays particularly striking points of contact with the Babylonian myth, nevertheless, the name of Noah's Ark, part of the material, and the building technique are not Babylonian, despite the fact that ship-building was very active on the Euphrates and Tigris, and possessed a rich terminology of its own. From a purely linguistic point of view, also, we find that many of the most characteristic expressions in the Genesis stories are missing in Akkadian e.g. נשמת חיים 'breath of life'; or רוח חיים 'wind of life' for soul; Gen. 2, 7. 6, 17 etc., נפש חיה 'living soul' 1, 20 etc.; צלם אלהים 'likeness of God' 1, 27 etc.; אדם as designation of man; or expressions like תולדות 'generations' 2, 4. 5, 1 etc.; יצר 'device, disposition' 6, 5. 8, 21; קשת 'rainbow' 9, 13 ff. As we shall see, these expressions and others are coined from conceptions absolutely alien to the Babylonian mind.

Now the question arises: how are these and other remarkable intrinsic and linguistic differences to be explained? How is it that Biblical stories which are so closely related to Babylonian, yet betray features and elements so alien thereto?

The solution of these questions would prove easy if it were possible to derive those features in the Genesis stories which differ from the Babylonian in both respects, in subject-matter and language, from one and the same milieu, from one and the same sphere of influence, and thus establish a common background for the ideas and the terms used to express them. In other words, to put it bluntly, if it were possible to determine an Egyptian origin of these differing elements both as to conception and mode of expression we could decisively conclude that we have before us elements newly introduced in the Genesis stories in place of the original Babylonian elements, and that this process can only have operated in Egyptian surroundings. Further if that be so, we must conclude that this can have

occurred only in a period, when, still under an active living and most intimate Egyptian influence, the tendency naturally developed to adapt old narratives to the conceptions of the new environment and to invest them with a new linguistic garb, whereof the framework would remain the same, but the content would be composed of fresh materials in a new form.

That this was actually the case we undertake to show in the following exposition. It will be seen how profoundly the Genesis stories were permeated by Egyptian conceptions in the newly modified form in which they have come down to us, and how thoroughly they are dominated also by the spirit of the Egyptian language. That in this connexion, the linguistic interest is predominant, will be understood from the whole arrangement of our work, nevertheless thematic features also will be discussed in so far as they contribute to the elucidation of the nature, origin, and significance of the Egyptian elements. We wish only to observe in this connexion that though in accordance with the whole plan of our work first importance is to be attached to linguistic considerations, it will nevertheless be necessary to discuss many other relations of the Genesis stories to the Egyptian mind and thought in so far as these will contribute to the elucidation of the nature, origin, and significance of the Egyptian elements.

CHAPTER II

THE EGYPTIAN ELEMENTS IN THE CREATION STORY

1. בְּרֵאשִׁית denoting primeval time

The word בְּרֵאשִׁית, with which the creation story begins, is found on closer examination to be a close adaptation to the Egyptian expression *tpy.t* for earliest time, 'primeval time'. Just as ראשית is formed from ראש = 'head', so also is *tpy.t* formed from *tp* = 'head'. The most important result of this literal coincidence lies in the fact that through *tpy.t* the real meaning of בְּרֵאשִׁית becomes at once clear to us; it is not to be taken in the sense of 'in the beginning' meaning that heaven and earth were the first things created, an interpretation which obviously clashes with the subsequent enumeration of created things, but it is a general term expressing a relation to time and means: in the earliest beginning, in the days of yore, in primeval time.

In this connexion it is of great importance to emphasize that not only generally in Egyptian literature, but particularly in all those passages which speak of the creation or the coming into being of the first things, reference is made with extraordinary frequency to the former days, the primeval time, to the beginning of all time. In all these cases the word on which this conception is based is *tp* 'head', exactly like Hebr. ראש in בְּרֵאשִׁית, and this not only in *tpy.t*, but also in the far more frequent and usual expression for primeval time, the beginning of all time *sp tpy* (or *tp*), literally: the point of time lying at the head. Thus we read in *Leid. Amon-Hymnus* II. *AZ.* 42, p. 20, v, l. 1: 'the water and the earth therein (were already) in the primeval time (*pꜣ mw tꜣ im-š m sp tpy*)'; *ibid.* (p. 30, xii, l. 7 f.) to Amon: 'Thou wert at first when nothing yet was, and the earth was not without thee in the primeval time (*m sp tpy*)'; *ibid.* p. 32, xiv, l. 1, of his 'first coming into being in the primeval time (*sp tpy*), Amon who arose in the beginning and none knows his (secret) countenance (*bs*)'; *Urk.* iv. 146, l. 9: The gods of the first primeval time (*ntr.w nw pꜣw.t tpy.t*), the designers of heaven, of earth, and the glorious land (*tꜣ-ḏsr* i.e. the nether world); *ibid.* 95, Osiris is designated as 'the great god of primeval time (*sp tpy*)' and Ptah, in Harris 44, 4 as: 'the great god of the primeval

time (*ntr wr n sp tpy*)'. We find that besides the Gods, this expression is also used of other primeval things to designate their primordial nature, thus e.g. Ledrain *Mon. Eg. T.* 38, l. 7 (= *AOT.* p. 231) Luxor is spoken of as the 'holy city of Amon-Re, the seat of his heart (i.e. his favourite seat) since primeval time (*š.t ib-f n.t sp tpy*)'.¹

In the first verse of Genesis, therefore, heaven and earth are not spoken of as *the first things created*, but the reference is to the *primeval time* in which they were created. Moreover, the verse does not deal with heaven and earth as individual creations, but merely indicates generally that their creation took place in primeval time. The text accordingly would properly read: 'In primeval time God created heaven and earth', and is intended as a heading for the whole story of creation, which is then described in its individual phases. The creation-story proper begins with the second verse.

By eliminating the conception 'in the beginning' from בְּרֵאשִׁית we at once get rid of the contradiction, to which objection has always been raised, viz. that the second verse speaks of the chaos when nothing yet existed, despite the statement made in the preceding verse that heaven and earth had already been created. By taking the first verse as a heading, it now appears perfectly natural for the story to commence with the chaos and go on to give a description of the process of creation. Moreover as we shall presently see, heaven and earth, in the first stage of their creation, were not conceived as separate formations, but in consonance with the description of the chaos in the second verse, as combined together, the separation only following on the second and third day.

2. The Dual form שָׁמַיִם for Heaven

The word שָׁמַיִם for heaven occurs only in the dual form. This is all the more remarkable as the stem שָׁמַי or שָׁמַי is the basic root from which the conception 'heaven' is formed in all Semitic languages, yet it is only in Hebrew that 'heaven' is used in the dual form.² The fact that in the Amarna Tablets 211, 17 and 264, 16, the plural forms *šamūma* and *šamēma*

¹ The somewhat ambiguous *sp tpy* is usually translated by the 'first time'. By this vague expression the Egyptians sought to convey the uncertainty about the exact time of an event: 'once, at the very beginning, at an early time', which is best reproduced in Hebrew by בְּרֵאשִׁית.

² The opinion maintained by some grammarians that שָׁמַיִם is a specific and not a dual form is due only to their embarrassment to explain it as a dual. The same is also the case with similar unexplained dual formations like שָׁמַיִם and especially local names which will be dealt with elsewhere.

are cited as Canaanite glosses is sufficient indication that the dual form was unknown even in Canaanite out of which Hebrew was developed. The peculiar dual form שמים can, therefore, be rightly regarded as a genuine creation of the Hebrew language. Though no dual or plural conception is any longer felt in its use for 'heaven' yet it is *ab origine*; שמים could not have received a dual form unless a duality of heavens had been the underlying conception.¹

Now such a conception was quite familiar to the Egyptians, and accordingly they spoke of *p.ty* 'two heavens' the ordinary dual form from *p.t* 'heaven'. This is based on their belief in the existence of two worlds: the earth for the living and the nether world for the dead. As the nether world in their view was equipped in exactly the same fashion as the earth, hence a heaven was stretched over it also; so there were two heavens, one over the earth and the other over the world of the dead. The Egyptians were so much imbued with this idea that the sun even was thought to traverse both heavens, and it was thus that they explained the alternation of day and night: in the day the sun proceeded from east to west across the heaven to illumine the earth, and in the evening it sank on the western horizon where the netherworld began, in order to give light to the dead throughout the night. They imagined the sun as a bark in which the Sun-god Re, drawn from one horizon to another, crossed the heaven, so they spoke of *two* sun barks, of the 'morning bark' (*nd.t* or *m'nd.t*) and the 'evening bark' (*skt.t* or *mskt.t*). In the morning bark Re was steered from the east as far as the western mountain-wall, where he quitted the morning bark and went on board the other in order to begin his journey through the nether world 'there where he gave light for the great god Osiris, the eternal ruler'; there where the dead greeted him 'in their caves' where their 'eyes open again' at the sight of him and their 'heart leaps' as soon as they behold him because he again 'gives breath in their nostrils' (Nav. Totb. 15 B ii. 16 ff.). Thus he journeyed through the nether world the whole night through till the next morning when he left it and appeared again on the eastern mountain-wall, once more to mount the morning bark for the day journey (cf. Erman, *Relig.* p. 11 f.).²

¹ In the creation-story of *Genesis*, there is nowhere the slightest trace of the existence of *two heavens*, one above and one below the water; it is merely said that the primal water, before the creation of the 'expansion' (רִקיעַ) as heaven, consisted of an upper and lower stratum of water, a conception which is the very opposite to what is maintained by some commentators. As we shall presently show, the creation of the 'expansion' actually seeks to eliminate the conception of two heavens.

² A function in both heavens was assigned also to the moon (*i'h = ירח*), as representative of the Sun-god Re, who said to it on its appointment as luminary: 'I cause thee to pervade

Such conceptions appear again and again in religious texts and books of the dead in which the dead are represented as following the course of the sun by day and night and journeying along with it across the upper eastern heaven stretched over the earth, as well as the lower western heaven which extends over the nether world conceived as in the west. Thus e.g. in the Hymn of the Sun-god *ÄZ* 38, 27 (= *Lit.* 303 and *Roed. Urk.*, p. 49), it is said that he is 'the beautiful sun (*itn*) with brilliant light which banishes the twilight, the great hawk—the falcon which pervades the two heavens (*p.ty* in the dual), that journeys over the nether heaven, long and broad though it be, and never sleeps on the journey (i.e. during the night)'; *Mar. Abyd.* I pl. 7, 62 f. (= *Records*, iii. § 270): '[I give] thee the lifetime of his two heavens (*'h'w n p.ty-fy*)'; further *Pyr.* 406 (= *Roed. Urk.*, p. 192) of the dead king: 'He has wandered entirely through the two heavens (*p.ty*); he has journeyed through the two shore-lands'.¹

The formation of שמים as dual can therefore only be explained as an adaptation to the Egyptian dual: in this word is still reflected the original conception of the two heavens which the Hebrews, in coining the dual form, took over from their neighbours during their sojourn in Egypt.

This verification helps us to understand the motive governing the idea of creating an 'expansion' (רִקיעַ) and further explains why in *Gen.* 1, 8 it is expressly said ויקרא אלהים לרקיע שמים viz. that the 'expansion' which was conceived as a unit, was given the name שמים. It is clear that a dual form like שמים must have been somewhat inconvenient for the author of a monotheistic narrative of creation, because a conception of two heavens necessarily premised the existence of a nether world for the dead, besides the world for the living. Nevertheless he was concerned to exorcize all the original polytheistic elements and features connected with the word שמים which was already so deeply rooted in popular speech that it could not be abandoned, and to oust the old conception of a system of two worlds and two heavens by the new teaching. This he achieved by explaining the creation of heaven as רִקיעַ a single 'expansion' so that it should be understood that there was only one heaven which served as the division between the lower and upper masses of the primeval waters, before the earth was yet in

(*inh-k*) the two heavens (*p.ty*) with thy glory and thy light', *Himmelskuh*, Sethos I, pl. D, l. 73 (= *Urk.* *Roed.* 148).

¹ By *idb.wj*, literally 'the two-shore-lands', are meant the earth and the nether world, as the river which flows through Egypt was conceived as a continuation of the river in the nether world, on the assumption that it was a 'two-shore-land' like Egypt. Particularly in cosmological passages and in the literature of the dead, Egypt is represented as if it were 'the whole world'; many ideas and expressions are applied now to Egypt, now to the nether world, just as in our case *idb.wj* is applied both to Egypt and the nether world.

existence. The emphasis laid on the fact that this 'expansion' was called by God שמים was intended to deprive this word of its original literal meaning 'two heavens', and to make it clear that שמים was to be taken as a merely conventional designation for the one and only heaven.¹ As it was only after the creation of this single heaven that the earth was separated out of the waters, the idea of the existence of two heavens is eliminated altogether from the outset.

On the same ground it may be explained why the creation of light as well as the demarcation of day and night as two time-units are represented as having preceded the creation of heaven and earth, because in the converse case ground might have been given for the belief that the division of time into day and night was a consequence of the existence of two worlds, in order that alternately it might be light in the day for the living in one world, and at night for the dead in the other. It is also possible that the author deliberately placed the words 'in primeval time God created heaven and earth' as a caption at the head of his creation-story to emphasize that the universe consisted only of heaven and earth, thus controverting from the outset the conception of the Egyptians, who, in all their myths referring to the origin of all things, expressly mention the nether world (*dw.t*) as an integral part of the universe, side by side with the heaven (*p.t*) and the earth (*t*).² And not only in such myths, but also in others are nether world, heaven, and earth represented as being the three integral parts of the universe. Nay more, the nether world was for the Egyptians by far the most important of the three, because it was the world of the gods and designated for the dead as an eternal dwelling place for 'millions of years' and 'thousands of jubilees and generations'. This invisible, mysterious world was indeed for him a quite real and vivid one; it was filled 'with all good and glorious things of heaven and earth'; a second heaven was expanded over it, and the sun shone upon it during the night with even greater brilliance than by day, until it again appeared next morning to the living on earth to give them 'another day'. In the monotheistic creation such a world of the dead could not exist, and, therefore, it was intentionally emphasized in the heading of the entire creation-narrative that God created only one heaven and one earth.

As a further consequence of this conception may be regarded the fact

¹ In similar manner, the original plural meaning of אלהים faded away through its constant use for the one God, so that it eventually became a simple singular. This will be dealt with more fully elsewhere, in discussing the names and attributes of God.

² In the Babylonian myths also the nether world is mentioned together with heaven and earth; but not with such insistence, because the nether world did not assume anything like the same importance among the Assyrians and Babylonians as among the Egyptians.

that, in the creation of the 'luminaries', it is expressly explained (Gen. 1, 16) that the sun was intended to rule by day and the moon and stars to rule by night. Hence the function of the sun is restricted to the day only and exclusively to the earth, thus completely eliminating all conception of the sun shining at any other time or in any other part of creation. It is only in opposition to the Egyptian idea of the sun shining in the nether world that such emphasis appears conceivable and even necessary. Perhaps it is for the same reason that verses 15 and 17 stress the point that the luminaries were intended להאיר על הארץ 'to shine upon the earth', a statement calculated to underline still more sharply the opposition to the Egyptian conception. It is only from such points of view that these and other expressions, apparently tautological and, indeed, considered by many critics as superfluous and interpolated glosses of later date, emerge in their real meaning: they are original and indispensable elements inserted in the creation story with a clear and determined purpose of opposing Egyptian conceptions.

3. The primeval deep תהום¹

As already observed above, תהום has long since been recognized as an Akkadian loanword. Nevertheless it appears to us necessary to investigate whether the more or less unanimous interpretation given by Assyriologists is at all tenable, and if not, what is the real meaning of תהום, and what place it consequently occupies in the Genesis story of creation.

Assyriologists and almost all of the modern Biblical critics still take it for granted that תהום is identical with *tiāmat*, the name of the dragon of darkness which Marduk slew in bitter conflict, before the creation of the world.² The positiveness with which this assumption is put forward, and the stubbornness with which it is maintained, are based on no intrinsic or philologically well-founded facts; since besides the similarity of sound of תהום and *tiāmat*, no other proofs for such an identification can be put forward.³ This whole view is rather due to mythologizing tendencies which, employing all possible and impossible kinds of combinations, seek

¹ On technical grounds the discussion of this term ought to be included in the discussion of the Akkadian elements. But we preferred to insert it here, because it belongs intrinsically to the cosmological elements in the Genesis story.

² Cf. Rog., p. 4, l. 11 ff. and p. 29, l. 1 ff. b.l. (= A. i, 22 ff. and iv, 85 ff.).

³ The argument that תהום must be identical with *tiāmat* because like the latter it is feminine, is untenable, for the simple reason that in our particular passage the gender of תהום is not apparent, and further because, there are examples of its being used in the masculine as a poetical expression for sea. The question whether *tiāmat* and *tāmtu* are related at all, is not a matter to be discussed here.

to work into the Genesis stories and even into the narratives of the patriarchs features and elements drawn from the Babylonian myths, that are absolutely remote from and completely alien to the Hebrew spirit.

A closer examination relying solely on the text of Genesis 1, 2, and quite unbiased by Babylonian mythology, will reveal that in this passage there is no trace of any contest with a living monster in the sense of the Babylonian myth of the fight of the gods, and that thus there is no intrinsic ground whatever for the identification of תהום with *tiāmat*. Here תהום means nothing else but the primeval water, that ocean which filled the chaos. This is clearly shown, of course, by the words על פני המים 'on the face of the waters', which unmistakably indicate the real nature of תהום as water. On further examination of the philological aspect of the word it will be seen that though תהום is doubtless an Akkadian loanword, it is not identical with *tiāmat*, but with *tāmtu* or *tāmdu* which often occurs, not only in creation myths but also in many other myths, most distinctly in the sense of primal ocean, exactly like תהום and not as the personification of any divinity like *tiāmat*. Thus we find e.g. that in Rog., p. 48, l. 9, f. b. (= D. l. 10), the chaotic state before the creation of the earth is described just as in Genesis and there it is said: 'The lands altogether were a sea (*tāmtu*)' and p. 49, l. 2 f. b. (D l. 31): 'The lord Marduk filled up a landing-place on the edge of the sea (*pāt tāmtim*)'. Also in a magical text (*KB*, vi, 1, p. 39 ff.), the world is conceived in its primordial condition as a *tāmtu* i.e. the primeval water as a sea, an ocean, before the earth was created by the heaping up of mud on the shore of this *tāmtu*. For the use of *tāmtu* as sea, cf. Rog., 42, l. 1 under the line (= A. vii (d) l. 15): *kir-biš tāmtim* 'in the midst of the sea'; Rog., p. 45, l. 8 f. b. (= C. l. 30): *ibni šādī u tāmāti* 'He (God Ea) created mountains and seas'.¹ As Zimmern *KAT*, p. 498 justly remarks, here *tāmtu* or *tāmdu* is used simply as appellative for sea, and not in the sense of a personification of *tiāmat*, as there is not the slightest reference to the fight of Marduk against the dragon *tiāmat*. Indeed this text, which conceives the creation of heaven as a 'canopy over the earth' and the earth

¹ This meaning for *tāmtu* results directly from the fact that it alternates with the other quite common word *apsū* (also *apšū*) for sea or ocean, which was likewise applied to the primal water, primeval ocean, cf. Rog., p. 55, l. 13 f.b. (= G. 1, l. 9): *apšū rašubbu* 'mighty ocean'; p. 56, under the line (= G. 1, l. 24): *eli-nu apsi* 'what there is on the ocean'; p. 45, l. 1 under the line (= B. l. 25): *ibnū apsū šubatsu* 'he who created the ocean for his seat'; also in the following line *apsū* stands for primeval ocean; p. 60, l. 10 f.b. (= H. l. 4): *(ilu) Ea šar apši* '(God) Ea, the King of the Ocean'; p. 57, l. 9 f.b. (= G. 2, l. 2): *ša ina apsi išmuḥu gattūš* 'he whose growth flourished in the ocean'; Rog. translates: whose hand developed in the ocean; cf., however, Del. *HWB.*, p. 207 b. The stem *šamāḥu* 'to grow, flourish', which is probably akin to Aramaic *šewah* (Zimmern, *Akkad. Fremdw.*, p. 70), is perhaps related also to Arabic شمع 'to be high'.

as a 'heaping up' of mud, and also describes the creation of man, animals, rivers, plants, woods, cities, and temples, proves that *tāmtu* is used simply for the primeval water filling the chaos before creation, exactly like תהום.

The passages quoted show that *tāmtu* apart from its purely philological aspect also intrinsically expresses the same idea as תהום, as the conception of a primal ocean in Genesis and the Babylonian myths is one and the same. It must also be emphatically pointed out that whereas *tāmtu* is used in the sense of sea for primeval water in the various creation myths, *tiāmat* in the very same texts never stands like *tāmtu* for primeval water or sea, but exclusively for the dragon as the personification of darkness.¹

We see that all indications implicitly point to the identification of תהום with *tāmtu* in the common meaning of 'ocean, sea' in primeval time, i.e. 'primal deep'. Hence תהום is not the *mythological tiāmat* but the *cosmological tāmtu*, and it is not the myth of the fight of Marduk against *tiāmat* which is the real parallel to Gen. 1, 2, but rather those passages in which the original chaotic condition of the world is represented as the primal deep *tāmtu*. This conception, however, being not specifically Babylonian, but as we have seen, belonging *inter alia* also to Egypt, it results that the only indication of a real relationship between Gen. 1, 2 and Babylonian, consists merely in the use of the word תהום identical with *tāmtu*. The two terms תהום and *tāmtu* are so closely connected that if any confirmation were required of the fact that by תהום nothing else is to be understood than 'primal deep' (an interpretation which indeed had always been maintained long before the Babylonian *tiāmat* myth was discovered), no better and more striking proof could be found than the use of *tāmtu* in the Babylonian creation-myths.

Whilst in the creation-story of Genesis תהום is to be understood as the primal ocean, the chaotic primal waters in immemorial time, the same word תהום in the flood-story, Gen. 7, 11. and 8, 2 is to be taken concretely in the

¹ This differentiation is, even in non-mythological Akkadian texts, a thorough one, thus *inter alia* it is also in the building inscription Rog., p. 58 ff. (= J.), where reference is made to the fight against *tiāmat*, e.g. p. 58, l. 6 f.b., and p. 59, l. 5 f.b. (= J. recto 6 and verso 10): 'The picture of (the God) Ashur when he goes *ana libbi tiāmat* into the *tiāmat* in order to fight with it'. Cf. also at the close of the same text. The supposition (p. 59, n. 1) that *tiāmat* means the primeval ocean is disposed of by p. 60, l. 4 under the line, where the 'taming of the *tiāmat*' is referred to: *adi lā (ilu) aššur tiāmat ikkammu* 'before (God) had tamed the *tiāmat*' and where *tiāmat* can only be understood as the monster and not the primal water. That *tiāmat* is indeed conceived as a fish-dragon is to be discerned from the description in Rog., p. 31, last line (= A. iv, l. 137 ff.), as well as from p. 54, l. 3 f.b. (= G. 1, recto l. 38) where it is conquered by the tearing off of 'its nose' (*nahriša*), wherein palpably the idea of angling played a part. Here too reference is made only to the water which flowed from the incised body of the *tiāmat*, and not to the personification of the sea as *tiāmat*.

meaning of 'sea', or 'ocean'. Here תהום shows the same usage as *tāmtu* or *tāmdu*, which, in the Akkadian *flood-stories* does not refer as in the creation myth to the primeval water but simply means 'sea, ocean', e.g. Rog., p. 96, l. 8 (text) (= K. iii, 14): *kī māri nūni umallā tāmtama* 'as fish-spawn fills the sea' and a few lines further (K. iii, 22): *inuḥ tāmtu* 'the sea became calm' and iii, 29: while I gazed at the sea (*tāmtu*)' etc. In all these cases it is used like *apsū* sea, ocean, e.g. Rog., p. 91, l. 9 f. b. (= K. i, 29) and p. 92, l. 3 (text) (= I. 38).

It is interesting to note that the development in the use of תהום follows the conception that out of the primeval ocean the world ocean was created. After the chaotic primeval deep had been shattered by the penetration of light and divided by the 'expansion' ריקע into upper and lower masses of water, all the lower masses flowed together to form an ocean round the earth which had emerged from them, and for this ocean the same name תהום was retained as had been applied to the primal deep from which it was separated. In this connexion it is noteworthy that in this process of development from primal ocean to world ocean, the Hebrew followed the Akkadian *tāmtu* only *linguistically*; for intrinsically the Babylonian conception of the origin of the world ocean and the earth is radically different from that of the Hebrew.

In view of the mythologizing tendencies referred to above it is necessary to point out that the *meaning* of the word תהום is quite unaffected by the question whether the origin of the *flood-narrative* is mythological, or whether we have to do with an actual event which assumed a legendary character. For us the sole consideration is what *the narrator* meant by תהום, and as to this there can be no doubt that it signified for him nothing but a real sea, just as real for him as was the flood which inundated the world. Just as little does the expression תהום רבה Gen. 7, 11 point to anything mythological: by the explicit description of תהום as רבה the author meant to convey that תהום meant here the 'big sea', i.e. the world-ocean conceived as around and under the earth. This must have appeared necessary to him, because תהום for an internal sea, even for a lake, must already have been in use and present to his mind, a meaning which actually occurs in the Pentateuch, viz. Deut. 8, 7, where תהומות mentioned after brooks and springs, can only refer to the lakes of the Land viz.: the Dead Sea, the Lake of Kinnereth and the Lake of Merom. Similarly in Ex. 15, 5 תהומות refers to the Sea of Reeds, but here it is used hyperbolically in the plural, in the same way as ימים is used for 'sea' in poetical passages.¹

¹ It may be observed that, as we shall show on another occasion, the word רהב has nothing whatever to do with תהום or *tiāmat* as is maintained by Assyriologists. In the

Finally it is more than astonishing that whilst the identity of תהום with *tāmtu*, meaning 'sea, ocean' is fully admitted even by the staunchest supporters and advocates of the תהום = *tiāmat* hypothesis it is only in Gen. 1, 2 that תהום should be precisely the *tiāmat*-dragon, whereas everywhere else, even in the flood-story Gen. 7, 11. 8, 2, it is freely connected by them with *tāmtu* and simply interpreted as sea, ocean!

4. The 'hovering' of the spirit of God and the creation of light

It is generally accepted that רוח אלהים Gen. 1, 2 is to be regarded as a metaphorical expression in the sense of 'spirit of God'. For רוח in its ordinary meaning 'wind' would have no sense whatever, especially as the passage deals with the chaotic condition before the creation. So far this interpretation is quite in order and the abstraction of the meaning 'spirit' from that of 'wind' presents no difficulty.

The case is, however, totally different in the use of רוח with reference to the 'spirit of God', an expression which, as is clearly shown by Deut. 32, 11 and other passages, is used of the hovering and fluttering of the bird with outspread wings (not of brooding!). Even if it be conceived as a metaphorical turn of speech in which the concrete meaning of hovering and fluttering has receded, the conception of hovering and fluttering could not have been *originally* applied to רוח אלהים unless this was somehow connected with a *winged* being. What then is the background from which such an association could have emerged? As the 'hovering' relates to רוח and this palpably designates something which is essentially connected with אלהים, God, we must first of all endeavour to elucidate the original conception underlying the transition from רוח 'wind' to the meaning of 'spirit'.

In many passages of the Pentateuch and elsewhere רוח 'wind' stands in relation also with חיים 'life', meaning 'breath of life', as in Gen. 6, 17. 7, 15 and 22, where also נשמת is used. Now in Egyptian *nf* and *ṯw*, both = 'wind, air', are used in conjunction with 'nh = life, specifically for 'breath of life'. Here, therefore, the transition from 'wind, air' to 'breathing, breath' is the same as in רוח חיים, and accordingly this is a complete equivalent of the Egyptian expression *nf n 'nh* or *ṯw n 'nh* for 'breath of life' which in both languages has become a standing expression for soul, cf. e.g. (for the Egyptian) Harris 44, 7: 'The breath of life (*nf* or *ṯw n 'nh*) for all men' is under Ptah; 78, 13: 'I saved every man from his distress and gave him breath (*dy-y n-f nf* or *ṯw*).'¹ See also Er.-Gr., p. 80 *nf* 'wind,

discussion of the poetical portions of the Pentateuch we shall deal at greater length with the use of תהום in the most important biblical passages.

¹ Here *nf* is probably preferable owing to the pun on *n-f*.

breath' = Coptic ⲛⲁⲓ and p. 208 ⲧⲓⲱ 'wind, breath, air, breathing' and our comment on Gen. 2, 7 (p. 146 f.).¹

I would remark that so far as I can see *nf* or *ṭw* is only used for the breath breathed by the gods into man, so that it represents breath in the form in which it is given to man to animate the body. The Egyptians, however, had another more specific expression for soul, namely *b*, which, conceived as an individual entity separate from the body, had its existence now in, now out of the body. This *b* was used both of men and of gods: the man had his *b* and also the gods had their *b*, some even several *b* (*b.w*). In contrast to the Egyptian, however, the expressions רוח and נשמה are to be differentiated in the following manner: רוח is first of all a primal divine element, a constantly living and eternally working force which belongs to God and God alone; secondly it is the 'breath' in that phase in which, still purely divine, it is given to man to animate him; נשמה, on the other hand, designates the further phase of that element when, by its entry into the body, it begins to function as soul for the individual to whom it is given.² If this differentiation of רוח and נשמה shows in itself a higher level of conception than in Egyptian, the abstraction of רוח אלהים as 'spirit of God', reveals a still higher level. In our passage Gen. 1, 2 however, רוח אלהים still clings to the earlier conception of a 'soul of God', an expression which, though no longer entirely in the primitive sense of *b ntr* 'soul of God' among the Egyptians, is, nevertheless, reminiscent of it inasmuch as it is not yet conceived in the sense of the later purer idea of רוח אלהים as 'spirit of God', which is already to be discerned in the Pentateuch in many other passages.³

Having established this much, the application to רוח אלהים of רחף 'to hover, flutter' can now be explained. According to the Egyptian conception the soul (*b*) of the gods like that of men, had the form of a bird, and is actually depicted in the Books of the Dead and elsewhere graphically as a bird (cf. i.a. Erman, *Relig.*, p. 103 and pl. 76). Likewise the movement of the soul was conceived as that of a bird, hovering and fluttering with out-spread wings in the air.⁴ In רחף still lurks the conception of the

¹ In a special chapter on the conceptions of the soul, this will be more fully discussed.

² Here we have the explanation of the fact that whereas נשמה is only used in reference to the living soul in the body, רוח is applied only to God and to the 'breath' inhabiting the soul (נשמה).

³ Although רוח in reference to God is used exclusively in an abstract sense, especially in the prophetic books, a passage like Job. 33, 4 where רוח אלהים and נשמת שר occur as a parallelism, shows that earlier both expressions were also applied to 'soul', although in this passage נשמה, as well as רוח elsewhere, is applied only figuratively to God in the highest and purest meaning of monotheistic conception.

⁴ The Egyptians applied 'py' 'to fly' also to the 'soul' (*b*) of the Gods, cf. *EGWB*, p. 179.

fluttering and hovering of the soul, and thus in רוח and רחף we have metaphorical expressions derived from the original concrete conception of the soul as a flying being—expressions which, however, only became more abstract in so far as the tendency grew more marked to weaken the quite primitive Egyptian conception of the 'soul of God', the prototype of רוח אלהים, and gradually to eliminate it from the monotheistic range of thought.

Now that Egyptian has furnished us with the elements which explain the 'hovering of the soul of God', the Egyptian conception of the emergence of light from chaos provides us with the background which renders it possible to understand the description given in our passage of the creation of light. It confirms our view of רוח אלהים and makes clear some other features of this creation episode. From time immemorial the Egyptians believed that the chaotic primal deep was the God Nun (*nwn*) and Re who went forth from him as the sun was his soul (*b*).¹ For our study of רוח אלהים the fact is of extraordinary significance that already in the earliest religious literature of the Egyptians, the conception was widespread that when the Sun-God Re emerged from the primal deep Nun he took the form of a bird, namely a goose, and that as a goose he flew over the primal deep spreading light by fluttering his wings. This is clearly brought out in the religious Songs of Thebes in which the creation is referred to, and where Amon-Re is praised as the first god coming forth from Nun, 'who was the first when nothing yet was'. There Amon-Re is called 'the great cackler' because by his 'cackling' on his flight as a goose over the primal deep, Nun, he broke the silence of the primeval world.²

Generally the conception that in primordial time light emerged from the chaotic waters precisely before the creation of heaven and all other things,

¹ In the same way also other gods were represented as 'souls' (*b.w*) of primeval gods, being conceived as their emanations; thus e.g. Khnum as the soul of the Air-god Shu (*šw*); the god Am (*im*) as the soul of the god Heh (*hh* = eternity?), and the night as the soul of Kek (*kkw* = darkness), cf. *Himmelskuh*, Roed. *Urk.*, p. 149.

² Cf. Erman, the Leiden *Amon-Hymnus*, Sitzb. d. Berl. Akad., 1923, xi, p. 71, O. 90, sect. 4 and note thereon, as to the origin of this conception. In the same hymn p. 66, E. 600 sect. 2 and also elsewhere (cf. n. 4), light (*šw*) is designated as 'the soul' of Re or Amon-Re in his quality as Sun-god. Cf. also *Lit.*, p. 301. Although this papyrus emanates from the period of Ramses II, the hymn dates from an earlier period, in any case from that period when the 'religious revolution' under Amenophis IV had not yet fallen into oblivion (*Lit.* 295). It should further be mentioned that the role of Re was transferred also to Horus who like Re was conceived as the first Sun-god, but in the figure of a falcon (not of a goose) going up from the Nun (*byk wbn m nwn*), *Totb.*, Nav. 71, 1. Also of Osiris on another occasion it is said that he was 'the great god who went forth from the Nun (*ntr wr pr m nwn*)', Leiden *Amon-Hym.* K. 11.

is typically Egyptian, and is exactly how the process of the creation of light *before heaven and earth* is set forth in Genesis. It appears from the oldest to the latest periods of Egyptian literature in various versions. Thus e.g. in the Apophis Book (= Nesi-Amsu Ed. Budge) 26, 21 ff. (= Roed. *Urk.* p. 108) the Sun-God is represented having emerged from the primal deep, Nun, as Khepre (*hpry*, also *hprw*) i.e. in the form of the morning sun as it first appeared in primordial time, 'when the heaven had not been and the earth had not been'.¹

It is in this and similar ideas that some of those sources lie from which the description given in Gen. 1, 2-3 of the chaos and light was drawn. We now understand why the hovering of the רוח אלהים appears as a phenomenon immediately precedent to the creation of light: here instead of the primal god Re, or Khepre, flying and fluttering with his wings over the chaotic Nun in order to spread light, appears the 'spirit of God' רוח אלהים hovering over the primal deep תהום in order to utter the fiat: יהי אור 'let there be light'.

5. תהו ובהו

Having obtained a clear picture of the conception the author had formed of the chaotic primeval state of the world, we will attempt an explanation of the somewhat enigmatic expressions תהו ובהו. In Gen. 1, 2 we learn that the chaos in the primeval period there described was antecedent to the creation of heaven (v. 6) and earth (v. 10). There was only a primeval deep (תהום) which filled all space (for הארץ here cannot mean anything else). As appears from v. 6, in this תהום were contained the upper and lower water masses i.e. the heavenly and earthly waters. If now we are to understand by תהום the primeval deep in its entirety, we may suppose the two successive expressions תהו and בהו to represent the two parts of this primeval deep namely, *the earthly and heavenly water masses*. Starting from this assumption first of all in regard to בהו, we find that the Egyptians denoted the heavenly waters with the word *by* which in sound can well correspond to a Semitic ביה or בהו as the transcription of the Egyptian *i* or *y* by *h* is quite regular. The identity of sound in both words would thus lead us to regard בהו as the equivalent of the Egyptian word *by* in the meaning of heavenly or upper waters.² If this be correct, one would expect to find in

¹ Cf. Erman, *Relig.*, p. 32 f. and p. 10 f. Although this magic book is of the 14th century B.C., it contains numerous allusions to ideas which were spread throughout Egypt in much earlier times. Hence it represents a later treatment of older materials taken from the ancient creation-texts and concocted by the author into a book of magic. Cf. Roed. *Urk.* p. 99.

² Actually *by* frequently occurs in the literature of the dead for the ocean of heaven, e.g.

תהו an expression, corresponding to the earthly or lower waters. As a matter of fact this leads us to compare תהו with the Egyptian *tj* 'earth' which in sound likewise completely corresponds to a Semitic תהו or תהו exactly denoting the earthly i.e. lower waters.¹ In תהו ובהו we would actually have both parts of the primal deep תהום, an interpretation which from all points of view intrinsically, linguistically, and also phonetically, is unobjectionable.²

The expression תהו ובהו for this chaotic state was later employed for the characterization of a confused, forlorn jumble, as e.g. Jer. 4, 23, or for something negligible, non-existent, as 1 Sam. 12, 21; Is. 59, 4 etc. etc.

That תהו in this sense occurs more frequently than בהו is palpably to be explained from its position as the first of the two expressions. Whether the original meaning was ever felt remains an open question, even in such passages as Deut. 32, 10 and Job. 26, 7.³ This is, however, beside the point;

Nav. *Totb.* 85, 9 f. (= Roed. *Urk.*, p. 266), of the dead man: 'I go on my feet, &c.; when I traverse the *ocean of heaven* (*by*)'. Cf. also Röd. *Urk.*, p. 222, l. 18. Here the original meaning of *by*, 'ore' is lost; *by* means simply 'the heavenly waters'.

¹ In the ending *h* of both words may still lurk the *w* of the masculine plural ending of *tj.w* (תהו) and *by.w* (בהו) 'the earthly and heavenly waters', as in such cases the plural is the rule in Egyptian, e.g. *irp.w* 'wine', *my.w* 'water', which latter was indeed understood as a collective for 'waters' (Erman, *Gram.* § 201). Many examples, even from Semitic languages can be adduced which show that some borrowed words have been taken over with the plural ending. As an interesting example in Egyptian itself the Semitic loanword *ssm* 'horse' may be cited: originally it was taken over in the Semitic plural form *ssm*, but treated in Egyptian as a singular and then provided with Egyptian gender and plural endings, thus *ssm.t* (also *ssm.t*) 'mare' and *ssm.w* (or *ssm.w*) 'horses', where the Egyptian plural ending *w* is added to the Semitic plural ending *m*.

² A surprising coincidence is displayed by the vocalization of the first syllable of תהו and the Coptic τθ (S.) or θθ (B.) for the Egyptian *tj* 'earth', Spiegelb. *WB.*, p. 140; in old Coptic in πτο τθπγ = *pj tj dr.f* 'the whole earth', likewise in *κατατο* (S.A.), *καταθθ* (B.) 'earthquake'. Although no far-reaching conclusions can be drawn from such instances (cf. above p. 50, n. 1), it is at any rate of importance, because it increases the number of Egyptian words which show identical vocalization both in Hebrew and in Coptic. From *by*, the Coptic has however retained only the form *βαι* (Spiegelb. *WB.*, p. 14), in the compound word *βαιβαι* (S.) *βαιβαι* (B.) 'voice of heaven', i.e. thunder = Egyptian *hprw-by* (cf. above p. 59, note 4). It remains therefore undecided whether there was not also another form, possibly *βου*.

³ The last quoted passage suffices to demonstrate that the conception of תהו as 'desert' = Arabic *تيمه* is untenable. In Job 6, 18 and Is. 24, 10 the reference is also not to 'desert' or 'devastated city' (*Ges.-Buhl.* s.v.), but to 'void' and 'chaos' respectively. Purely as a matter of suggestion I would remark that in Is. 34, 11 the original meaning of תהו ובהו seems still to be reflected: תהו קו is the extreme limit of the world once more fallen into chaos, and אבני בהו are the destructive missiles from heaven likewise collapsed into chaos. The prophet depicts hyperbolically the devastation of the chaotic city as destruction surpassing all possible human imagination.

the only important thing for us is to have ascertained the Egyptian origin of תהו ובהו and established its meaning as the two parts of the primeval deep תהום.

6. Fish and birds

A very striking feature of Gen. 1, 20, noted already by the earliest commentators, is that the birds, like the fishes, were produced from the water, and not as all the other animals, 1, 24, from the earth.¹ The whole mode of expression in Gen. 1, 20 and 21 leaves no doubt on the point, although here the birds are reckoned as earth-animals though not so clearly as in Gen. 2, 19. Now this conception is typically Egyptian. For the birds, which intensely engaged the interest of an Egyptian, nested in the swamps and bushes of the banks of the Nile and in the neighbourhood of other waters, as these are the only places in the over-heated, sun-bathed Nile valley which provide shade and protection. From the swamps and reed clumps, he first saw the birds fly up; it was between the papyrus rushes and the tall, tangled, and twisted plants that he discovered the first nests, and it was there that he observed the baby birds creeping out of their eggs. It was this circumstance which made him conceive the idea that there lay the cradle whence the birds came into being. The marsh birds were for him the first winged creatures, the *primeval* birds, so to speak, and this led him to generalize and see the origin of *all* birds in the swamps and slime of marshlands, streams, and waters.² Indeed it even seems that *ꜥpd*, the usual expression for bird from the oldest times (very frequent in Pyr.), originally denoted the wild duck or goose, so typical of the Nile swamps; thus we find that the name of this bird which was considered to be the prototype of all birds became a generic designation, and indeed, was in all periods employed as collective for 'fowl', just as עוף is in Hebrew.³

Now the idea of a common origin of birds as water creatures and fishes becomes quite comprehensible. This line of thought finds expression in the fact that in Egyptian literature, birds and fishes are always mentioned together, especially in hymns to the gods and other poetical texts in which reference is made to the origin of the existence and to the rulership of the

¹ On the differing version Gen. 2, 19 (cf. below p. 142). On the discrepancy between this version and Gen. 1, 20-6 we propose to dilate more fully elsewhere.

² In the oldest religious literature of the Egyptians, the goose appears already quite distinctly as the first living being. The idea is that the first god Re crept as a goose from the egg which lay on the mud-hill in the primal water *Nun*. Cf. Erman, *Leid. Amon-Hymnus*, p. 70 and 78, also above, p. 127.

³ Cf. Vogelsang, p. 72 on *Bauer B.* 61. This is also the case in Coptic with the same word ⲙⲁⲩⲧ 'duck, goose' = *ꜥpd* which is used of fowl. Cf. Spiegelb. *WB.*, p. 178. *AG. WB.*, i, p. 9 s.v. *ꜥpd*.

gods as *creators*. Thus e.g. Merikare, Pap. Petersb., 1116 A, recto 132 f. (= *Lit.* 83) it is said of Re: 'He formed the plants for them (men) and the animals, fowl, and fishes for their sustenance'; *Anast.*, iv, 10, 7 (= *Lit.* 307) to Amon: 'Thy high Nile leaps upon the mountains,' a lord of fish and rich in fowl', likewise Amon-Hymn, Pap. 17 Bulak 6, 3: 'Amon who makes herbage for the earth and the fruit tree for men, and gives life to the fishes in the stream and the birds under the heaven'.²

It is from this conception that Gen. 1, 20 is to be understood: 'the first winged beings go forth together with the water-creatures and spread over the earth' on the face of the heaven.³ Hence also the application of עוף to water-creatures and fowl alike is to be explained.⁴

Moreover, the designation of winged creatures as עוף השמים 'fowl of heaven', 1, 28 and 30 is quite common in Egyptian, e.g. *Denksteine, Sitzb. d. Berl. Ak.*, 1911, p. 1090: 'Tell it to the fishes that are in the water, and to the birds in the heaven (*n ꜥpd.w m tꜥ p.t*)'; and *ibid.* p. 1103: 'I speak of thy power to the fishes in the stream and to the birds in the heaven (*n ꜥpd.w m tꜥ p.t*)'.⁵

An important question that now arises is whether עוף 'fowl' is Semitic at all, as a *root* עוף from which this word ought to be derived is not to be found in any other Semitic language with a meaning akin to flying; moreover the common Semitic word for bird is צפור in its various forms, as e.g. Aramaic or Syriac צפרא and צפר, Arabic عصفور, Akkadian *iššuru*, etc. On

¹ This is to be understood in the sense that viewed from a higher point the river appears to leap down from hill to hill.

² Fish and birds were so closely connected in the mind of the Egyptian that he employed the same expression *hb* (Er.-Gr. 107) for fishing and bird catching, and *whꜥ* (Er.-Gr. 39) for fishermen and bird trappers. Fishing and bird catching were likewise always carried on together as occupation and as sport. According to the eloquent peasant (B. i, 61), the very acme of happiness and joy is reached when: 'fish will come to thee in heaps and thou wilt catch fat birds (*tw n.k rm.w šnꜥy.w ꜥh-k m ꜥpd.w ḏḏꜥ*)'. It is obvious that *šnꜥy.w* is derived from *šnꜥ* 'granary' (written exactly like R. i, 225) in the sense of 'heaped up'. Vogelsang misunderstood this word and his forced translation 'the shy fish' is far-fetched and cannot be correct. That the granary or the barn was used metaphorically for heaps is illustrated *inter alia* by *Ani* 6, 2 (= *Lit.* 238), where the innumerable excuses are compared with a full barn. The variant R i, 104: *m šnꜥy.w* now no longer offers any difficulty. Similarly in *Pap. Lansing*, 12, 5 the abundance of fish and birds is characterized as the highest blessing.

³ With פני השמים cf. the like Egyptian expression *hr p.t* 'face of heaven' for 'surface of heaven', e.g. Pyr. 1443.

⁴ In the discussion of the animal names in the Pentateuch we shall revert hereto and also supply an explanation of העוף Lev. 11, 23 and Deut. 14, 19.

⁵ I particularly cite these passages because apart from their literary agreement with דנת הים and עוף השמים, they remind us of a similar passage in Job 12, 7 in which the power and wisdom of God in the creation are praised.

the other hand in Egyptian, even in the earliest literature, the usual word for fly is *ḫy*, *ḫwy* (also *ḫy*, Er.-Gr. 51).¹ Still nearer to the Hebrew is the Egyptian 'ff' fly' (Er.-Gr. 25) which coincides with עוף Gen. 1, 20, 'to fly'.² The question must, therefore, remain open whether the Hebrew עוף as noun and verb was not taken over from the Egyptian. In any case, it is remarkable that in the extremely frequent phrase 'fowl of heaven' the word always used is עוף, and as already observed above (p. 104, n. 1) in only one case Ps. 8, 9 do we find צפור. It should be further noted that עוף השמים occurs already in the Genesis stories as a stereotyped expression (Gen. 1, 30; 2, 19; 6, 7; 7, 23; 9, 2).

7. חַיָּה 'The Living' and נַפְשׁ חַיָּה 'Living Soul'

For living beings, especially for animals, the Hebrew expression is חַיָּה fem. subst. of חַי, i.e. 'the living one' Gen. 1, 24, 25, 30. 2, 19, 20. 3, 1, 14, etc. This exactly corresponds to the Egyptian word 'nh.t 'the living one', likewise fem. subst. of 'nh, for animals.³ As in no other Semitic language is 'the living one' used as a specific designation for animal,⁴ and furthermore this usage is only known from the Egyptian, one is not likely to go far wrong in the assumption that here also we have an adaptation to the Egyptian. This is supported by another fact, viz. that the use of חַי 'the living one' as applied to man, Gen. 3, 20, and in the plur. חַיִּים to 'all men', as e.g. Num. 17, 13, etc., etc., also corresponds to the Egyptian usage of 'nh 'the living one' in the sing. and 'nh.w 'the living ones' in the plural for 'men'. What makes this analogy especially interesting is the circumstance that in Egyptian the sing. 'nh, but more often the plur. 'nh.w, is predominantly used of men like חַיִּים,⁵ whereas the fem. sing. 'nh.t is, as a rule, exactly as in Hebrew חַיָּה, applied to animals.

This disposes of the difficulty raised by some commentators that 'all living' would seem to include the animals, which could not be said of Eve. For the phrase כָּל-חַיִּי is not to be taken in a general sense as 'all living',

¹ See also Sethe, *Verbum*, Glossar s.v.; also *ḫp*, causative of *ḫy*, 'let fly', both very frequent in Pyr. Cf. Speleers *Pyr.*, Glossar, no. 761 f.

² Cf. also 'ḫḫ for 'serpent' (Er.-Gr. 23), probably referring to the 'flying serpent'. Cf. also *ḫp.y* = *ḫy*, *AG. WB.*, p. 69 and 179, also 'ff, p. 182 and 'ḫḫ, p. 167.

³ Although it is used for small cattle, the fact that the 'living one' is applied to an animal is quite sufficient to establish a link between the Hebrew and Egyptian in this connexion.

⁴ Whether the Arabic حَيَّة = 'serpent' means 'the living one' and harks back to 'nh.ty which was an attribute of the serpent goddess, or whether it is allied to the Aramaic חַיָּה which has certainly nothing to do with 'life', remains an open question.

⁵ Cf. also 'nh and plural 'nh.w n.t 'the living ones of the town' for 'citizens', e.g. *Inscr. Mes.*, p. 42, 4; 51, 2 f.b.

but exclusively as a designation for men, as indeed it has always been generally understood.

As far as the expression נַפְשׁ חַיָּה, so peculiar to the creation-narrative, is concerned, its real meaning can only be exactly determined in connexion with a thorough investigation of all the ideas and terms relating to the soul, which will be undertaken elsewhere.¹ Here only this can be said, that נַפְשׁ חַיָּה is a close adaptation of *bj* 'nhy (or abbreviated 'nh) 'living soul', which in Egyptian has a quite specific meaning, and plays an important role in the destinies and metamorphoses of the dead in the other world Cf. e.g. Pyr. 1098° of the dead king: who is described as a 'living soul' (*bj* 'nh);² *Totb. Nav.*, chap. 17, 1-2: 'of the dead going out of the nether world during the day as 'living souls' (*bj* 'nh); Hymn to Osiris, Pap. Ani 2, 10 f. (= vol. i, p. 13): May he (Osiris) grant that I journey northwards to Busiris as a living soul (*bj* 'nh); *Urk.* iv, 414, 14 and 415, 5 of the dead man that he 'may go out as a living soul (*bj* 'nhy)'.³

Still more remarkable is it that the whole phrase וַיְהִי לְנַפְשׁ חַיָּה 'and he became a living soul' Gen. 2, 7 literally corresponds to the Egyptian *ḫpr m bj* 'nh 'to become a living soul' which in the texts for the dead is actually a standing expression for the metamorphosis of the dead from a lifeless body to a living being, cf. e.g. *Totb.* the heading of chap. 85, vol. II, p. 191 'Chapter of becoming a living soul (*irt ḫpr.w m bj* 'nh)': *Urk.* iv. 113 of the dead: 'Thou wilt be interred in the earth in the rock-tomb of the west in order that thou mayest become a living soul (*ḫpr m bj* 'nhy)', whereby the resurrection of the dead body by the return of the soul (*bj*) is meant, so that the dead man may take food and drink to continue his existence as a living being. Similarly also in *Urk.* iv. 147/6, where the same wishes for the dead are expressed, viz. 'to be buried in the rock-tomb of the west in order to become a living soul (*ḫpr m bj* 'nhy)'.³

It is obvious that נַפְשׁ חַיָּה is employed in a general sense, and that it could

¹ Cf. above p. 132, n. 1.

² In Apoph. 25, 23 (= *Urk.* Roed. 106) Hnum, the 'ram of Mendes' is designated as the living soul of Re: 'all enemies of the ram, the lord of Mendes, the great god, the living soul (*bj* 'nh) of Re', wherein *bj* is used in its double meaning of ram and soul. Besides *bj* 'nh we have also *ḫh* 'nh, e.g. Pyr. 318c: '(the dead king) W. goes to-day in the true character of a living soul (*m irw m; n ḫh* 'nh)'; *Totb.* 65, 8 (= vol. ii, p. 2, the dead): 'Behold, I am born, I go forth as a living soul *ḫh* 'nh'. The difference between *ḫh* and *bj* has not yet been clearly established (cf. *AG. WB.*, p. 15 f.).

³ As to the real character of *bj* 'nh and its specific meaning with the termination *y* in 'nhy, uncertainty still prevails. Only a thorough investigation of the entire material concerning *bj* 'nh in connexion with נַפְשׁ חַיָּה may provide further conclusions as to the inner relation between these expressions to one another and render possible a mutual elucidation of the Hebrew and Egyptian. Cf. above p. 132, n. 1.

not be used in the sense purely in reference to an other-worldly, but only to the earthly life. It is applied to the living being from the moment when it is endowed with a נשמה, by the entry of the breath of life (רוח חיים), down to the moment when the soul leaves it. נפש חיה is in short 'a living individual'.¹

8. וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים כִּי-טוֹב.

The phrase succeeding almost every new creation: 'and God saw that it was good', Gen. 1, 4, 10, 12, 18, 21, 25, 31, which only occurs in this creation narrative, was a typical expression in the intercourse among Egyptian artisans and art workers. Thus we find a man working with an axe at the stern of a ship saying: 'I will cut round its stern (*phwy-f*); I will see that it is good (*iw r m33 nfr*)'; another says: 'I am making a splendid work (*iry-y k3.t ikr*); you will see that it is good (*iw-tn r m33 nfr*)'; another, working at the foundry, says similarly: 'you will see that it is good' (Erman, *Reden Rufe*, etc., p. 42). In another passage *ibid.* p. 40, where a workman, enjoined to do his job right as far as he can, exclaims: 'I will do it so that thou wilt praise it and see that it is good'.² It is very instructive to compare expressions, interjections, and phrases that were current among artisans and common people, with similar expressions in the Hebrew, especially in texts of like content. Interjections like: 'to be well made!, make it well!, very good!, it is good!, let it be good!, very good!' were in these circles as common as טוב 'good, well' and טוב מאד 'very good, well' in the Hebrew, in order to announce the good execution of a job or to hold it in prospect. Thus, 'it will be good (*wnn nfr*)', *ibid.* p. 44, is the answer of a workman; whilst carving a stone vessel, the craftsman says: 'this jug is very good (*iw hnm pn nfr wr.t*)'; another, working at a necklace, says: 'it is very good (*iw-f nfr wr.yt*)', *ibid.*, p. 45; or: 'this barley is very good, mate! (*iw it pn nfr wr.t nt hn'-y*)', *ibid.*, p. 22, 'this is very good (*iw nw nfr wr.t*)'. Likewise often in conjunction with 'doing' *iry* = עשה as in Gen. 1, 31, e.g. *loc. cit.* p. 7: 'I am doing it well, mate! (*iry-y nfr nt hn'-y*)'; p. 43: 'it is good when you do . . . (*nfr ir-tn . . .*)', etc.³

¹ In both cases, in נפש and ב, we have retained the usual translation 'soul', although it sometimes is quite certainly wrong for נשמה, as will be shown elsewhere, cf. above p. 132. n 1.

² This is how the mutilated text is to be completed.

³ It should be here expressly pointed out that the Hebrew טוב shows exactly a usage like the Egyptian *nfr* for 'good' and 'beautiful'. In general I incline to render *nfr* by 'good' rather than by 'beautiful', except in cases where the reference is to the appearance and the sense demands 'beautiful'.

By the juxtaposition of these examples, which could be multiplied, we see clearly the relation of וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים כִּי טוֹב to the Egyptian. This phrase, so characteristic of the first chapter of Genesis in which it is exclusively used is a further important factor for appraising the linguistic nature of the creation-story, as well as for the determination of the period in which it was composed.

CHAPTER III

THE CREATION OF MAN, THE BEASTS OF THE FIELD,
AND THE BIRDS¹

1. The Creation of Man in the Image of God

According to Gen. 1, 26 f. the man and his consort were created in the image (בְּצֶלְמֵם) and likeness (בְּדְמוּתָם) of God. This idea is entirely in keeping with Egyptian conceptions. First they entertained it with regard to the creation of *gods*, and then that of *kings* who were conceived as emanations, nay, as the corporeal offspring of the gods, and then applied, by certain schools generally to the creation of *man*. It was a dominating factor in Egyptian thought throughout and can be traced back to the earliest times. This idea is illustrated in various concrete and metaphorical expressions, not merely in the myths of the Gods, in hymns to gods and kings, but also in popular tales, books of wisdom, and other writings. At the creation of the first gods, followed by that of the first men, it is expressly stated that they were all made in the image of the god creating them, the name and nature of whom varied according to different theological schools and tendencies.² So deeply-rooted was this idea that the primordial nature of Amon as the first god-creator could not be better characterized by the Egyptians, than by making him create his own shape, his *own image*, so that it could not be said of him, as of other gods, that he was created *in the image of a god*.³ Thus we read Erman, *Leid. Amonhymnus*, L. 100: 'Amon

¹ The characteristic differences between the first and second Chapter of Genesis, notably with regard to the creation of man, will be more fully discussed elsewhere. Here we deal with the Egyptian relations to both versions simultaneously, because Egyptian influences are equally apparent in both. Incidentally, however, we draw attention here to the Egyptian background out of which some differences revealed in both versions of the creation of man in the first and the second chapter can be derived.

² The most instructive and oldest example is furnished in Erman, *Ein Denkmal memphit. Theologie, Stzgsb. d. Berl. Ak.* 1911, p. 916 ff. Cf. also Erman, *Relig.* on this remarkable document.

³ For 'image or primal image' of a god there were many expressions, the individual meaning of which is difficult to determine, thus e.g. *bs ky*, *ššm*, *ty.t*, Erman, *Leidener Amonhymnus*, p. 70 ff., L. Sec. 100; M. Sec. 40; O. Sec. 90. For 'primal form' or 'primal image' *hprw* also *bsj tpy* (= first form) was used O. Sec. 90 1 and 4; Q. Sec. 200 1 and 3. Besides these there are other expressions contained in the passages we shall presently quote in connexion with 'image, likeness' of a god, such as: *sm* 'image', *sn.ty* 'likeness' from *sn* 'to resemble'; *tw* 'effigy (also statue)'; *mštyw* from *mš* originally 'to bear', then 'to create, to shape' (also of metals); *tw mšw.t* seems to be still more closely

who arose in the beginning and no man knows his form (*bs*); no god arose before him and no other god was with him to tell him his form (*ky*); there was no mother before him to give him his name; there was no father before him to engender him so as to say to him "that is I!" viz. 'he is as I am, he is in my image'.

More often was it said of the living and dead king; e.g. *Urk.* iv. 14, 15 of King Amosis that he was 'like Re, his heir exulting in joy; the image (*mštyw*) of Re¹ which he (Re) created'; *Urk.* iv. 244, 5 the gods say to Amon of the Queen Hatshepsut, 'she is thy daughter in thine image, thy mighty seed' and 275, 4 ff. she is described as 'the daughter of Re, beloved of the gods, superb image (*ty.t*) of Amon'; the 'image (*ty.t*) of Amon on earth'; the 'image (*tj.t*) of Amon-Re to eternity', 'his living monument (*hntj*) on earth'. *Mar. Karn.* pl. 11, 13, song of victory to Thutmose III (= *Lit.* 256) Re says to the king: 'I showed them (to the enemies) thy majesty as the lord of the rays (i.e. as the sun), thou didst shine as my image (*sm.y*) before their countenance'; likewise *Urk.* iv. 362, 4 of the Queen: 'she is the seed of Re, to create for himself a brilliant seed on earth as his living image' for the weal of men; *Kuban Stela* (= *Erman-Ranke.* p. 83) to King Rameses II: 'for thou art Re in thy body, and Khepre in his true likeness; thou art the living image on earth of thy father Atum of Heliopolis'; *Anast.* II, 4, song in praise of the town of Rameses, it is said to Rameses II: 'Thou, O king, that art formed by the gods, etc., thou, the likeness of the bull of Heliopolis (*tw n ks*)', where 'bull' is applied to the god as a symbol of strength and courage; *Pyr.* 407 of the dead king who appears as god-king in heaven, that he was the 'divine image', the 'image of images', i.e. the truest of all divine images.²

Of still more importance for us, however, and most nearly related to the creation-story in the *first* chapter of Genesis, is the teaching of Merikare, according to which *all men are created in the image of the gods* who issued from Re, as it is said *Pap. Petersb.* 1116 A, Recto 132 (= *Lit.* 83) of men: 'They are his (Re's) images (*sm.w*) that issued from his limbs (*h.w*)'.³

connected with the conception of 'likeness'; it was applied to kings of whom it was vaunted that they were created in the likeness of Thoth (cf. Erman, *ibid.* p. 70, n. 3). The same also applies to *my.ty*, *my.tw* (*AG. WB.* ii, 39 f.) 'likeness' from *my* = like.

¹ As Sethe remarks ad loc. (translation p. 8, n. 12), the original meaning of *mštyw* is 'son' (from *mšy* 'to bear'). On account of other ideas to be discussed later, it is important to bear in mind that in the creation of gods and men the same expression *mšy* was employed for 'bearing' and for 'shaping and creating', cf. e.g. *Memph. Theol.*, p. 942: *mš.n-f ntr.w* 'he created (or shaped) the gods'.

² This idea is also expressed in royal names, e.g. in Tutankhamon = *tw-ḥm-ḥm* 'a living image is Amon' or, as I think, 'the living image of Amon'.

³ This is to be understood in the light of the Egyptian theogony, according to which the first men were children of the first gods. Cf. below, p. 152.

This whole idea of 'image and likeness' nowhere assumed so much significance or was so widespread as in Egypt. Side by side with the visible world, there existed for the Egyptians an invisible world, in which the souls of gods and men wandered about, not only in their own bodies but also in *doubles* in their image or likeness. The images of the gods could at any time be entered and thus animated by their soul (*bꜣ*); and as every god had several souls (*bꜣ.w*) he had at his disposal also several images into which at choice or whim now one, now another, of his 'souls' entered, so that all these images as special representations of the god could simultaneously be present in different places.¹

Similarly every man had a corporeal double in his own image which existed as a shadow by his side, and which only after death assumed its true significance. For just as the soul (*bꜣ*) could return to the body of the deceased, which for this reason it was sought to preserve as a mummy, it could also enter his double as often as it pleased in order that the deceased might wander at will in this world of the living as well as in the nether world, or might journey in the sun-bark of Re across the heavens from one horizon to another.²

We do not propose now to enter fully upon an analysis and discussion of the differences in the first and second chapters of Genesis, reserving it for another occasion. But so much may be said now: The whole conception of the creation of the first man and his wife in the image of God as set forth in the first Chapter of Genesis could hardly have originated in any other than an Egyptian milieu.³ It has certainly a quite different meaning in the monotheistic presentation. For despite its anthropomorphic background,

¹ This is the way in which the conception of the omnipresence of God found its primitive expression! Nothing can better illustrate the thoroughly polytheistic mind of the Egyptian and the sensualistic anthropomorphic conception he had of his gods, than the idea that every god not only had several souls, but also several bodies in his likeness so as to render possible his simultaneous presence in different places.

² The idea of being 'the image or in the likeness of' was so widespread that phrases such as 'likeness of the father' or 'image of his father' were used in the meaning of 'his corporeal son'. Thus e.g. *Pap. Bulak*, 4, pl. 16, i: 'Get thee a wife while thou (the text has: he) art young that she may provide thee with a son as "thy likeness"', i.e. whilst thou art still strong so that she may remain faithful to thee and her child may be the child of thine own body.

³ That such a conception could hardly occur in a Babylonian creation-myth has already been observed above (p. 112 f.). But even assuming that the interpretation of the word *zikru* is right, which is however more than questionable, it would represent a quite isolated conception which has not been generally accepted. On the other hand the Egyptian influence of the idea of likeness on our passage can hardly be doubted, not only because this idea was remarkably wide-spread in Egypt, but also because the closest Egyptian connexions with the creation-story of Genesis are so abundant and so palpable.

it has been shorn of the sensualistic and polytheistic features of Egyptian theogony and, in deliberate contrast to the Egyptian conception (according to which there were many creator-gods and thus several *different* 'images'), in our passage only the first human pair is created in the image of God as there is only one God. But later, even this more elevated and advanced conception did not seem to fit into the teaching of a pure monotheism, as the danger still subsisted that man would be exalted also in his corporeal substance as divine. Hence it appeared necessary to correct or to amplify this conception of the creation of man by another one set forth in the second chapter, in order to prevent the possible assumption of a corporeal connexion between man and God in the sense of the Egyptian theogony, as we shall see later.

2. The designation of the First Man as אֲדָמָה and the 'Red Land'

The name of the first man אֲדָמָה is brought into connexion with אֲדָמָה in Gen. 2, 7. That אֲדָמָה means 'the red' i.e. the 'red land' cannot be doubted. Now, this expression as an appellation for land is to be found in no other Semitic language. This leads to the supposition that אֲדָמָה is an exclusively Hebrew mintage, and the question arises on what conception it was based. It is true that nowadays in Palestine the soil is classified by the Arabs according to various colours, thus: 'arḏ ḥamra or samḫa 'red earth', 'arḏ samra or kaḥla 'black or grey earth'; 'arḏ bēda 'white earth'; 'arḏ ṣafra 'yellow earth' etc. But all these designations are simply applied to different kinds of soil according to its colour, each being used for the sowing of a particular seed or fruit (cf. inter alia Canaan, *ZDMG.* 1916, p. 165). Nowhere, however, is any of these expressions used appellatively for 'land, earth' like אֲדָמָה, not even ḥamra 'the red', although red soil is most noticeable in Palestine. Even assuming, in view of the stability of all conditions in the Orient, that in ancient Canaan likewise, the various species of soil were similarly differentiated according to colour, it is not known that any land as a whole, or a complex of lands, or the whole earth was ever called by a word denoting a colour like Hebr. אֲדָמָה.

Now, if we refer to Egyptian, we find that *dšr.t* 'the red' (fem. of *dšr*) is used to designate a foreign, or sterile land, in contrast to *km.t* 'the black' (fem. of *km*) used as a name for Egypt because there, the only fertile and cultivable land is the black, muddy soil inundated by the Nile. Indeed *dšr.t* became the name for deserts, for remote countries or parts only inhabited by nomads. This use of *dšr.t* and *km.t* was very widespread, and a few examples may suffice to illustrate their antithetic character.

Thus, Griffith, Pap. Kahun, pl. III, 3 it is said in a Song to Sesostris III: 'He came to us, took "the Black" (*km.t*) under his rule and *the Red* (*dšr.t*) did he take for himself *rdyn.f dšr.t m 'b-f*', i.e. he conquered Egypt and the foreign lands; *Hammamāt, L.D.* ii 150 a, l. 9, the incense land Punt conceived as the most distant country from Egypt is likewise called 'the Red': 'His Majesty sent me to equip Byblos-ships for Punt to fetch the fresh incense from the princes of *the Red* (*dšr.t*)' (cf. *Erman-Ranke*, p. 601). The expression *dšr.t* is certainly as genuinely Egyptian, as is *km.t*, only the former was used in a deprecatory sense, for in the eyes of an Egyptian only Egypt was the good, (*nfr.t*), holy (*w'b.t*), and glorious (*šps.t*) land but all other lands, were impure, desolate, abhorrent, and he looked upon them with scorn and contempt.¹

We thus have in ארמה a close adaptation to the Egyptian *dšr.t*, and now the connexion of ארם with ארמה 'red land' becomes perfectly clear. That the author of this creation-narrative actually conceived ארמה as desert-land is obvious from Gen. 3, 23, where the statement that Adam was expelled 'from the Garden to till the ארמה' implicitly suggests that the 'red land' was desolate country in contrast to the Garden of Eden. Our interpretation of ארם also explains why in the second chapter of Genesis the creation of man is effected from red earth. It was intentional to let the first man be produced from ordinary unhallowed soil in order to obviate any possibility of the first man being deified in polytheistic fashion. The whole idea of the first man being created from red land, and placed on the same level as the animals, made likewise from 'red land' (2, 19), was moreover, to lead up to the fall, and to indicate that the earthly origin of man made him from the beginning in comparison with God, a mean and frail creature. Hence, the fact of his formation from 'red land' is particularly stressed after his falling into sin (3, 19).

3. The Breath of Life breathed into the Nostrils

The process of animating the body of Adam is described Gen. 2, 7 by the words וַיִּפֹּחַ בְּאָזְנוֹ נְשָׁמַת חַיִּים. The expression נְשָׁמָה for 'breath' is derived from נשם 'to blow, puff', and therefore meant originally something 'blown

¹ The application of *dšr.t* 'the red', to desert may perhaps be so explained that the Egyptians primarily applied it to the neighbouring Asiatic lands, especially Palestine and Syria, because they were struck by the red colour of their soil, which was in marked contrast to that of Egypt; and it was only later that this term was extended to all foreign lands. For the same reason the Egyptians may have called the sandy desert *hd.t* 'the white' on account of its white colour. Of course it is also possible that *dšr.t* may have taken its origin from the reddish colour of the desert between the Nile and the Red Sea in Egypt itself.

in, puffed in', which meaning was then extended to 'breath'. As we have already shown, the expression נשם Gen. 1, 2, reveals the same extension of meaning from 'wind' to 'soul' as the Egyptian *nf* and *tw* from 'wind' to 'breath' (Er.-Gr. 80 and 208). The same also applies to נשמה 'breath' since in *nf* and *tw* the idea of 'blowing in' and 'breathing in' is present, as appears from the use of *nf* for the 'blowing of the wind'.¹

But the Egyptian mode of thought is not merely confined to the word נשמה, but pervades the whole passage both linguistically and intrinsically. For just as in Hebrew it is said that the breath of life is 'blown into the nostrils' (אַפַּיִם), so also according to the Egyptian conception, the breath of life was introduced through the *nostrils* into the body. The usual expression for giving life is *rdy* or *dy tw n 'nh* 'to give the breath of life', this being an abbreviation of the original and extended version: *dy tw r fnd.wy* 'to give breath into the nostrils'; here *fnd.wy* is a dual the same as the Hebrew אַפַּיִם though it also occurs in the sing. *fnd* 'nose' as in Hebrew אף (cf. Isaiah 2, 22). This expression is extraordinarily frequent in Egyptian literature, especially in the hymns to the gods and odes to the kings, where it is said that it is they who 'give breath and life in the nostrils' (or the nose),² e.g. Harris, 44, 6: '(It is Ptach) who gives the breath of life to every nose *tw r fnd nb*'; Ode to Sesostris III, Griffith, Pap. Kah., pl. iii, 14 (= *Lit.* 137): 'He is our shepherd who knows how to blow in breath' (*snf*, caus. of *nf*.); Victory Ode to Merneptah l. 4 (*ÄZ.* 34, p. 2 = *Lit.* 274): 'Breath enters the nostrils (*h tw r fnd.w*) at the sight of him'; *Urk.* iv, 15, 3 (of the king): 'who gives breath in the nostrils of women' *dd tw r fnd.w hm.[w]t*; Merikare Pap. Petersb. 1116, A, recto 132 (= *Lit.* 83): '(God) made the air that their nostrils may live' (*nh sfn.w-šn*);³ *Lit.* 304, of Osiris: 'Thou pourest forth (lit. spittest) the air that is in thy throat into the nostrils of men'; *Lit.* 301 of Amon: 'He bloweth breath into every nose';

¹ Sethe's assumption that *nf*, *nfy* is identical with Semitic פנף to blow' (Sethe, *Verb. Gloss.* p. 102), is very far-fetched, for the simple reason that in Egyptian the sound פ is represented by no less than three signs (*h, b, h*). A borrowing of פנף in the form of *nfy* without פ would therefore be inconceivable, unless it were further presumed that *nfy* was borrowed from a Semitic language in which not all gutturals were pronounced, as was the case e.g. in Akkadian—an assumption which would be still more far-fetched.

² The idea that the king gives the breath of life is not merely metaphorical inasmuch as life and death are in his hand, but had a thoroughly dogmatic meaning since the king, as the corporeal son of God, possessed divine rank and, therefore, like every god, was endowed with the power of conferring and sustaining life.

³ Here *sfn* is used for *nose*, whereas the parallel passages employ *fnd* or *šr.t* for it. In passages where *nose* is written ideographically one might also read *hnt*. As *hnt* likewise means *face* (Er.-Gr. 130), it is possible that the Hebrew may quite well have had this Egyptian word in mind, especially as he also used אפַּיִם (in the dual!) for *nose* and *face*.

Harris, 57, 4: 'Under their (the gods') supervision is the breath of life (*ṭw n 'nh*) and term of life'. In the same way, on innumerable occasions, the gods and also the kings are implored 'to give air, breath in the nostrils' especially by prisoners who beg for life, and also by people who invoke long life from the king, thus e.g. Harris, 3, 6: 'Give breath for my nose (*imy ṭw n fnd-y*) and water for my soul'; Annals of Thutm. iii, l. 94: 'The great of this land came on their bellies to kiss the ground because of the might of his majesty, and to beg breath for their noses *r dbh ṭw r fnd.w-sn*'; *Lit.* 280 of Merneptah: 'The beloved of Amon, the lord of grace who creates breath'; *Urk.* iv, 86, 5 of Thutmosis I: 'Who gives his breath to him that follows him'; *Theb. Tombs* (of the king): 'He gives breath to him whom he loves (*ṭw n mrr-f*)'; Liebespoesie 23: 'It is the breath of thy nose alone that gives life to my heart'; *Bauer*, B. i, 146 'Breath for the nose is doing right (*ṭw pw n fnd irt m'.t*)',¹ i.e. right doing is as essential as life itself.

Occasionally we find simply *ṭw* 'breath' or *nf* 'air' elliptically for *ṭw n fnd* 'breath of the nose', or *nf n fnd* 'air of the nose' or *nf n 'nh* 'air of life', exactly as in Hebrew נְשָׁמָה 'breath' or רֵיחַ 'air' are used elliptically for נְשָׁמַת-אֵת 'breath of the nose', or רֵיחַ-חַיִּים 'air of life', e.g. *Bauer*, B. i, 232 f. 'breath of the poor is his possession (*ṭw pw n mrr ih.tf*)' i.e.: the possessions of the poor are as precious to him as life itself; Merneptah *AZ.* 34, 7, l. 3: '(the king) gives air (*dy-f nf* or *ṭw*) to the people that had been captured.'²

As will be seen, the idea of breath of life being put into the nostrils by the gods was extraordinarily widespread in Egyptian of all periods. We find it also pictorially represented in tombs where one, or another god holds the sign of life ♀ (*'nh*) before the nose of the dead to breathe life into him again³ and occasionally before the nose of a new-born child to give it life.

4. The Creation of the Beasts of the Field and the Birds of Heaven from Red Land and their animation by Adam

Gen. 2, 19 tells us that the animals were formed from red land by God and brought to Adam to give them names. It should be first of all observed that here only the beasts of the field and birds of heaven are referred to, there being no mention whatever of water creatures; secondly that the

¹ Cf. Lament. 4, 20 where the king the 'anointed of God' is described as רֵיחַ אֲפִינוּ 'breath for our noses'.

² For the breathing-in of the soul through the nose, the Egyptian also used the onomatopoeic expression *hh*, cf. Erman, *Leid. Amon-Hymnus*, E. Sec. 600, 2, n. 6.

³ Cf. *inter alia* Wiedemann, *Das alte Ägypten*, pl. 8, p. 72 and Budge, *The gods of the Egyptians*, i, 25 and ii, 24.

singular לו is used in a distributive, not collective sense, and thus applies to every one of the animals and birds; further that לִרְאוֹת מִה יִקְרָא לוֹ and the following לִרְאוֹת מִה יִקְרָא לוֹ אֲשֶׁר יִקְרָא לוֹ הָאָדָם נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה apply to two different though mutually dependent factors: the first sentence indicates the *giving of names* to the animals and birds by Adam in the words: 'to see what he would call them'; and in the second sentence we are told that the animals and birds were brought before Adam to see which of them would be *designated by him as* נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה 'living soul'. Despite all the objections of modern commentators נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה undoubtedly belongs to the original text, nay, it is indeed the kernel of the whole. What is meant is this: All the beasts of the field and the birds of heaven were shaped from red land and brought as lifeless figures to Adam to see which one he would designate as נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה 'a living soul' i.e. 'a living being' implying that only by such designation would they receive the power and capability of life. Thus it was left to Adam's choice and determination which were to be endowed with life; and the animation of these was to result automatically from their designation by him as 'living soul'.

The statement in the second chapter that it was God Himself Who shaped 'all the beasts of the field and all the birds of heaven' from red land shows the author dissented from the naturalistic conception set forth in the first chapter, according to which the animals were simply created by *God's fiat*, emerging as living beings from the earth or water. In the case of water-creatures however—and this explains why no mention is made of them here—he could still let the view prevail that they were produced out of the water as this was in accordance with the prevalent naïve observation, but not in the case of the other animals, the reproduction and increase of which was mostly effectuated, as in the case of man, by actual birth. For this reason he believed that these animals had to originate in the same way, and to be created from the same material, as man.

Having disposed of this difficulty, it did not appear to him to be appropriate that animals which, compared with man, were creatures of a much lower grade, should receive the same 'breath of life', and still less that it should be breathed into them by God himself as in the case of man. Our author, therefore, conceived the act of their animation as having been carried out not by God Himself but through Adam at His behest and this by Adam's pronouncement of the words נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה through which they were to be destined for life. In this way, Adam was given the power only to *assign life* to the animal figures at his choice, but not, however, to *breathe life into them*; this power was vested in the formula נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה 'living soul', which had to be *pronounced* by him so that an animal figure could become a living creature.

The passage *וְכָל אֲשֶׁר יִקְרָא לוֹ הָאָדָם נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה הוּא שְׁמוֹ* thus means: 'and whatsoever animal Adam will call a 'living soul' that shall be its name', i.e. it shall receive the name 'living soul' and thereby become a living creature. The words *הוּא שְׁמוֹ* 'that shall be its name' do not relate to the selection of individual names for animals, like lion, horse, eagle, sparrow etc., but imply that by an animal being called a 'living soul' its animation should directly follow upon the receipt of this *name*. Any animal form to which Adam would say: 'Be thou called living soul' became *ipso facto* alive.

The difference of procedure in the animation of man and of animals is conveyed quite clearly by the different manner of expression: Whereas in the case of the animals, it is stated Gen. 2, 19 that it was only through Adam that they received the qualification of 'living soul' the words used with reference to Adam, 2, 7 are: 'and God breathed into his nostrils the breath of life and Adam became a living soul', i.e. through God Himself.

As to the giving of individual names ('lion, horse etc.') to the animals, it only followed after the conferment of life upon them, as it is said 2, 20 *וַיִּקְרָא אָדָם שְׂמוֹת לְכָל-הַבְּהֵמָה וְלַעֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם וְלַכָּל-חַיַּת הַשָּׂדֶה* 'and Adam gave names to all cattle and to the birds of heaven and to all beasts of the field'. This was essential, for name and being belonged together, and the mere act of creation did not suffice to give a creature the character of an individual being; only that being which *had a name* could be felt as having a real individual existence. This conception was by no means an isolated one but was common to many other peoples so that 'to give names' and 'to come into being' were practically identical in meaning. So for instance in Akkadian it was said of things not yet created, that they had no names yet, e.g. at the beginning of the creation-myth *enuma eliš* Rog., p. 3, l. 1 f. b. 1: 'When, above, the heaven had not yet been named (*la nabū šamamu*), and, below, the earth had not yet been called by name (*šuma la zakrat*)',¹ and further ll. 7-8: 'When of the gods none had yet been created and no name had yet been called (*šuma la zukkuru*)', i.e. and there was not yet any living thing.

If the Hebrew agrees in this particular conception both with Akkadian and Egyptian, the use of *קרא* 'to call out' in conjunction with *שם* name in the meaning of *giving* a name seems rather to coincide with the Akkadian

¹ This has already been pointed out by others, even utilizing this mode of expression to explain the phrase *וְכָל אֲשֶׁר יִקְרָא לוֹ . . . הוּא שְׁמוֹ*. This is, however, not correct, as this passage, as shown above, does not relate to the *conferment of names* but to the *animation* of the animals. The Akkadian mode of expression can, therefore, only serve in comparison with the following verse 20, and also as parallel to the idea emerging from our passage.

usage of *nabū* 'to call' which together with *šumu* 'name' means 'to give a name'. (For the original meaning of *nabu* 'to call out' see Del. *WB.* 441 and *Muss.-Arn.* 630). The same applies to *zakāru šumu* Del. *WB.* 224 f. *Muss.-Arn.* 279 f. On the other hand the Egyptian in this case used *dd n* or *r* 'spoken to, said to' followed by a name in the meaning of 'giving a name to', e.g. Leiden K 8: 'Weser-Haat (*wšr h.t*) to whom was said *ddw n-f*', i.e. who was called, 'Haat-Yay (*h.t-iry*)'; Brugsch, *Oase*, p. 80: 'Shep-n-Desdes (*šp-n-dšdš*) was said (*dd r*) to the wine of the oasis' i.e. the wine was so called; King Amasis and the sailor (Spiegelb. *Demot. Stud.*, part 7), l. 14: 'a sailor-boy to whom was said (*mtw-w dd n-f*) Her-sa (*hr-s*)' and l. 15: 'His wife was called Shep-Mer (*šp-mr*) and they said to her (*mtw.w dd n-š*, i.e. she was named) Anket (*nh.t*). This is very important because this phraseology exactly corresponds to the Hebrew *וַיִּקְרָא* e.g. Gen. 22, 14, 32, 29 etc., in which *וַיִּקְרָא* appears in the passive exactly as in the earlier Egyptian examples cited, *ddw n-f*.

But we find that also in the Egyptian creation-myths the conceptions of devising, announcing, making or creating a name, and of calling into being are identical, e.g. *Memph. Theol.* p. 938 it is said of Ptah-Atum 'who devised or proclaimed the names of all things, (*mt rn ih.t nb.t*)', i.e. who created all things; further *Urk.* v. 10, 2 of Re the primal creator who had created himself and the eight other gods forming together the 'corporation of the Nine' (*psd.t*): 'who created his names (*km rn.w-f*) as lord of the Ennead'. On this a later glossator of the New Kingdom comments: 'What does this mean?' And his answer is: 'That is Re, who created the names of his limbs; this means that the gods arose who are in his company.' In 'creating the names of his limbs' reference is made to the creation from his body of the eight gods. It is now clear that the expressions 'created his name' or 'created the names of his limbs' simply means that he created himself and his co-divinities.¹

In addition to the foregoing observations, attention should be drawn to a very fine distinction made in Gen. 2, 19, 20, whereas 2, 19 only speaks of the two groups *חַיַּת הַשָּׂדֶה וְעוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם* 'the beasts of the field and birds of heaven', in 2, 20 at the allotment of names to the animals by Adam, the 'domestic animals' *בְּהֵמָה* are added as an individual species. The differentiation between *בְּהֵמָה* and *חַיַּת הַשָּׂדֶה*, could only occur after the animation of the clay figures through Adam when the separation of the domestic animals from the whole animal contingent became possible and their naming could be proceeded with.

¹ A similar meaning is also contained in the name of a god *tr rn-f ds-f* (*Rec.* 4, 28, 2) 'He who made his own name', i.e. he who created himself.

5. The Creation of Woman from Adam's Rib

In all known creation-stories whether of the Babylonians or of any other neighbours of Israel, one seeks in vain for the background of the idea that a human being was created from a *part* of the body of another. This is, however, furnished in one of the older Egyptian myths,¹ the elements of which go back to the middle of the third millennium B.C., even before the city of Memphis had been raised to the dignity of the capital of the Empire under the 6th dynasty (*Memph. Theol.* p. 924), and even to a still earlier date. In this myth, which, as will be shown on another occasion, generally contains many very important points of likeness to the Genesis creation story, Ptah-Atum as primal god and creator of the gods is described as having created from his members 'the eight great gods', who together with him formed the so-called 'Ennead (*psd.t*)'. According to this myth, Thoth, the God of Wisdom and Writing, was created from his heart, the Royal God Horus from his tongue (loc. cit. p. 937 and 940); and the remaining gods from his teeth, hands, nose, and other members (p. 938). The idea that the first gods, who were conceived by the Egyptians as the ancestors of mankind, originated from *parts of the body* of the primal creator, asserted itself throughout the entire Egyptian theogony in the various theological schools as a veritable dogma. The only difference was that according to the dominance of one or another priestly caste, now one, now another of the 'great' gods (Re, Amon Ptah, Atum) was designated as the primal creator of the gods. Only in a milieu where such conceptions were rife could the author of the Genesis creation-story have hit upon the idea of bringing the mother of mankind into existence from a part of Adam's body. The Egyptian myth provides us also with the key to the solution of the question why that part had to be a rib. This was not because, as is often assumed, the extraction of a rib would not vitally affect the structure of a human body, but for another very profound reason viz. that the woman might not originate from any member from which the Egyptian gods had been created, nor from any other member performing an important function, as there is little doubt that the selection of the above-mentioned members for the creation of the eight gods was determined by their particular functions.²

¹ Erman, *Ein Denkmal memphitischer Theologie, Stzgsb. d. Berl. Ak. philos.-histor. Kl.*, 1911, p. 916-50. Also Roeder, *Urk.*, p. 164 ff.

² As to the interpretation of the name 𓂏𓂏𓂏 , and 𓂏𓂏 , Gen. 2, 22, 3, 20, see below in the chapter on symbolical and anecdotal name-interpretations.

6. The use of יָצַר for 'to create'

It is very noteworthy that in the creation of man and animals from red earth in the second chapter, יָצַר is employed as a technical term in verses 7, 8 and 19, whereas in the first chapter עָשָׂה verses 25 and 26, or בָּרָא verse 27, is used. When we consider that יָצַר means potter, e.g. 2 Sam. 17, 28; Is. 29, 16. 41, 25; Jer. 18, 2 ff. 19, 11; Ps. 2, 9;¹ and that likewise the Egyptian applied the expression *kd*, to pottery work, and also to the creation of man, we arrive at a complete coincidence of יָצַר and *kd*.² But the coincidence is not confined to the use of these words; the whole idea is reflected in the Egyptian conception, according to which the god Khnum shaped the child in the womb, as a vessel on the potter's wheel, and he or Heket (*hk.t*), the goddess of the midwives, breathed into it the breath of life. For this reason Khnum was actually called the potter (*kd.w*), thus e.g. *Urk.* iv. 223, where Khnum is represented as shaping the body of the Queen Hatshepsut and her double (*ks*) on the potter's wheel, and he is made to say in the speech he addresses to the Queen: '[These are] the words of Khnum, the potter (*kd.w*); I created thee, etc.' (cf. also 225, 2 and in Sethe's translation, p. 103, n. 3); further *Admon.* 2, 4: 'There are no more women and no (children) are conceived any more; no longer does Khnum shape (*n kd.n*)', i.e. he *creates* no more men owing to the bad conditions in the country (cf. also 5, 7).³ Occasionally the shaping and creation of a human being outside the womb is attributed to Khnum, e.g. Pap. d'Orb. ix, 6-8 (= *Lit.* 156), in the story of the two brothers, where we are told that the gods felt sympathy with the lonely Bata (*bs-tj*), whereupon the text goes on: 'Then Re-Harakhte said to Khnum: shape (or create) for Bata a wife (*ih kd-k w'n s.t hm.t n bs-tj*) that he may not dwell alone (*tm-f* [not *tm-k*] *hms' w'*). So Khnum made for him

¹ In my opinion יָצַר Is. 54, 17 is applied to pottery work, and בָּלִי does not mean an iron weapon (as generally interpreted) but a potter's vessel, the whole simile being used figuratively for the frustration of evil designs.

² For the original meaning of *kd* 'pot' and 'pottery', cf. Er.-Gr. 192, from the passages cited by Grapow, *Bildl.*, p. 191, n. a to 161; from Pyr. 1597, 1185, 524, as well as *Urk.* iv, 223 and the examples given below, where the potter's wheel with his hand turning it is given as determinative. The meaning 'to build' and 'to shape' are later developments, as is also 'to shape, to create' for יָצַר . In the Pentateuch יָצַר for 'creating' occurs only in Gen. 2, 7, 8, 19. On the analogous usage of יָצַר and *kd* see below p. 274.

³ Cf. the graphic representation of Hnum at the formation of the child together with his *ks* on the potter's wheel in *Mém. de l'Inst.*, xvi, pl. XIII; Budge, *The Gods*, ii, 50 f.; also in A. Jeremias, *Das AT. im Lichte des Alten Orients*, pl. 10, p. 25. The passages quoted by Jerem. *ibid.*, p. 41 merely state that Ea was *the god of the potters*. But there is no trace whatever that he assumes the role of a potter, like Khnum, as a *creator*. This conception is completely unknown to Babylonian mythology; it is exclusively Egyptian.

a help meet (*iry ḥmś*)'.¹ This role was transferred to Khnum from Ptah who previously had been worshipped as the god of art and sculptor of men,² and to him too the expression *ḥd* was applied. Thus it is said of Ptah, Harris, 44, 4, that he was 'the great god of the beginning (*ntr wr n sp tpy*) and shaper of men (*ḥd rm.t*)'. This conception of the shaping of the embryo undoubtedly goes back to an earlier conception of the formation of man as a lifeless figure of clay by Khnum or other gods to whom the same role was assigned before him.³

For the full understanding of the two different versions of the creation of man in the first and second chapters of Genesis it is essential to be acquainted with the different Egyptian creation-theories. But here this much may be said: in the Ptah-Atum theory of the creation of the first great gods from the body of their creator on the one hand, and in the Ptah-Khnum theory of the creation of men on the potter's wheel, on the other hand, we have the real background for the two different conceptions of the creation of man set forth in the first and second chapters of Genesis. In the first chapter the influence of the Ptah-Atum conception is still recognizable: the author, it is true, rejects on monotheistic grounds the idea of letting the first human pair originate from God Himself in accordance with the Egyptian fashion, but still retains the theory that both man and woman were created *in the image of God*. They are both in the image of their Creator and have His likeness (verses 26 and 27). He continues to conform to the Egyptian conception of all eight gods having been created simul-

¹ The expression 'that he may not dwell alone' is very striking as a parallel to Gen. 2, 18. Though it may be explained by the similar subject-matter in both cases which deal with the creation of a wife for the solitary man, the same mode of expression is nevertheless very remarkable. On the other hand, the difference should be noted in the expression for 'help meet' עֹזֵר כְּנֶגְדוֹ, Gen. 2, 18, 20 literally, 'a help in front of him', and in Egyptian *iry ḥmś*, literally 'a companion of dwelling'.

² See e.g. Budge, *The Gods*, ii, 501, plate showing Ptah forming the egg on the potter's wheel.

³ Parallel with the Hebrew expression עָשָׂה in the first chapter of Genesis, the Egyptian *iry* 'to do, make' in the sense of 'create' is used, thus of *man*, e.g. *Himmelskuh*, pl. A, l. 6 f., Sethos I: (the god Nun) *ir rmt.t* 'who made men and is king of mankind (*nsw rhy.t*)'; of *heaven*, *ibid.* l. 85: *ink ir p.t* 'I am he who made the heaven'. In Harris 44, 4 *ḥd* = 𓂏 for the creation of men is differentiated from *irj* = 𓂏 for the creation of the gods: '(Ptah) who *formed* men (*ḥd rmt*) and *made* the gods (*ir ntr.w*)'. Also *ḥm* (*ḥm*) for 'to form' was used, originally meaning 'to beat flat', and *mś* 'to form' originally 'to bear', thus e.g. *Äg. Inschr. Berl. Mus.*, ii, 65 (= Roeder, *Urk.*, p. 54): *ḥm ntr.w ir rmt.t* 'who created the gods and made men'; Harris 3, 2 ff.: *ir nt.t ḥm wnn.t* 'who made what is, and created that which exists'; *Sonnenhymnus, Rec.*, i. 70-2, plate, (after p. 88) l. 8 f.: 'Hail to thee, sun of the day (*itn n hrw*) who created all men (*ḥm tmw*)' and l. 10: *ḥm sḥw* 'who created the soil'. Cf. רָקַע הָאָרֶץ 'to stretch the earth' originally 'to beat flat', Is. 42, 5. 44, 24; Ps. 136, 6.

taneously, in that both man and wife are created together.¹ In the second chapter (verse 7), the Ptah-Khnum conception is represented; here the first man is formed from red earth as a lifeless figure and then made נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה 'a living soul' by the breathing of the breath of life into his nostrils (cf. above 140 f.). Only in the creation of woman (verses 22-23) is once more a feature from the Ptah-Atum theogony adopted. She is created not from the earth but from a part of Adam's body. But also here the author deviates from the Egyptian polytheistic conception in giving an ethical interpretation to the creation of woman: she was to be bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh in order to be one with him.

By a comparison of these two parallel conceptions in Egyptian and the first two chapters of Genesis, the links between the two differing versions of the creation of man are established, and the motives indicated above (p. 137 f.), which actuated the modification of the first theory by the second, are now more clearly brought out. As a further result, it follows of necessity that the composition of the first chapter is of an earlier date than the second. The conception given in the second chapter, if perhaps not a complete abrogation, at least represents a correction of the first conception in a more thorough-going and purer monotheistic spirit. In the first place the creation of Adam from earth was to avoid any possibility of deducing from the first version as to man being made in the image of God a corporeal identity with God; on the other hand the divine origin of the breath of life is strongly emphasized, a feature which is completely lacking in the first chapter. Finally in the creation of woman from the man's body, a compromise between the two Egyptian conceptions. Nevertheless it is, as we have shown, interpreted in a higher sense as the moral basis of a union between man and woman.

¹ Gen. 1, 27 וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֱדָם וְאִשָּׁה means therefore, that they were created *separate*. This dismisses the whole conception of the first human pair's having been of an androgynous character, which is also represented in *Midrash Berēshīt Rabba* 8, and which is doubtless derived through Greek influence.

CHAPTER IV

THE EGYPTIAN ELEMENTS IN THE PARADISE STORY
AND THE FALL OF MAN

From Gen. 3, 23 according to which Adam was exiled from the Garden of Eden in order to till the 'red earth' הארמה, from which he was taken, the contrast between the Garden of Eden, as a land of fertility, and the 'red earth' as arid untilled land emerges with the greatest distinctness. Now, as in no other land was the contrast between the fertile black earth (*km.t*), irrigated by a river, like the Garden of Eden, and the untilled bare 'red earth' (*dšr.t*), so continuously and consistently emphasized as in Egypt, the question arises whether the author, in writing the Paradise story, did not have in mind conditions which are characteristic of Egypt. We therefore attempt to derive from the description of Eden, and the garden planted therein, indications which justify such an assumption, and then to disclose the elements which actually reveal the Egyptian background for the conditions and events described in the Paradise story.

1. The Egyptian origin of אר

The first important clue is the statement that Eden was not watered by rain, Gen. 2, 5, but by a river, 2, 10, and as we shall show later by *one* river. These are conditions which apply in much greater measure to Egypt than to Mesopotamia, where the origin of the Paradise story is sought, especially as Mesopotamia has a quite abundant rainfall so that its irrigation is not exclusively dependent upon its rivers. It is noteworthy that in Egyptian poetry, it is emphasized that Egypt alone is privileged to enjoy all divine blessings, that unlike all foreign countries it is not dependent on rain, but is watered by the very 'river that comes from the nether world' continually bestowing upon it all the blessings of heaven and all the blessings of earth (cf. *Sun-Hymn of Ekhmaton*, l. 22). This contrast between Egypt and other lands dependent on rain for their fertilization, was in the mind of our author in contrasting Eden, exuberantly fertilized by river-water, and the dry and barren 'red earth' longing for rain. He is thoroughly dominated by the conception that during the sojourn of Adam in Eden there was no need for rain at all.

Our view is best illustrated by the employment of the word אר in verse 6, where the irrigation of the rainless earth is described. It is true this word is interpreted by many modern commentators as identical with the Akkadian, *edū* 'flood',¹ and the occurrence of this word is even advanced by them as a conclusive *proof* that the author could only have thought of the flooding in the Mesopotamian plain by the Tigris² and Euphrates. But if such a phenomenon really was in the author's mind, it is much more plausible to assume that he had Egypt in mind because of the very argument advanced that the אר was to replace the absent rain, and Egypt is the only country that is irrigated by inundation, and not by rain. Quite apart from this purely logical argument אר cannot possibly refer to a flood, because a flood does not, as the text has it, 'go forth מן הארץ from the earth', but from a water or a river, and moreover it would only have 'watered' the adjacent portions, and not, as it is said, את כל פני הארמה 'the whole face of the earth'. Thus the interpretation of אר as 'flood' must on these grounds alone be dismissed. If we now revert to the old interpretation of אר as mist, cloud, dew, we find that it is completely confirmed by Egyptian, as אר turns out to be nothing else than the Egyptian *isd.t* = ארדת or ארדת 'dew' (Er.-Gr. 6, Coptic ερω.τε (S.) ερω.τ (B.)), thus e.g. *Urk.* iv, 217, 10, where *isd.t* is the dew which the gods let fall from heaven. See also *Urk.* iv, 615, 15; *Ebers Körperp.* 77, 21; *Nav. Totb.* 15, A iv, 7; *Urk.* iv, 385 for water.³

Our passage is now perfectly clear: אר yields exactly the conception of mist which 'goes forth out of the earth', is dissolved in dew and 'waters the whole face of the earth'. It is very characteristic of tropical countries that in the non-rainy season the dew in the morning often falls so heavily

¹ Cf. Theiss, *Sumer. im AT.*, p. 11 f.; Zimmern, *Akkad. Fremdw.*, p. 44, also Landersdorfer, *Sumer. Sprachgut im AT.*, p. 34, 110.

² This has still been maintained quite recently by Gressmann, *Paradiessage*, Harnack-Festgabe, 1921, p. 42.

³ In *Pyr.* 751 *id* may mean 'arise' so that *isd.t* might possibly mean 'that which arises' which would be very suitable for dew just as יעלה in our passage. Figuratively *isd.t ntr* is used as parallel to *fd.t ntr* 'sweat of God' in the sense of pleasant odour. It is also used figuratively of the strength emanating from a god or a king, thus e.g. *Urk.* iv. 221, 3f. the queen says to the king who appears to her in their connubial relation as a god: 'Thou hast filled my majesty with thy splendour (*šw*), thy dew (*isd.t*) is in all my limbs'; i.e. 'fragrance, sweet odour'; *Amonhymn. Leiden*, *ÄZ.* 42, 15, l. 1 f.: 'The incense-trees drop myrrh, the scent of thy dew penetrates thy nostrils'; also *Edfu*, pl. 101, 56: 'his (the god's) nostrils are refreshed with his (the king's) dew (*šw* *hnt-f*, or *šr.t-f*, *m id.t-f*)' and *Edfu*, pl. 101, 181 of the king for whom incense is burnt: 'The dew of thy limbs is offered to thee as burning incense (*kṣp n-k id.t h'w-k*)'. Cf. also Pap. Bulak, 17, p. 2, l. 4, where Amon-Re is called the 'great in fragrance'. It may be observed that owing to the very early confounding of *isd.t* with *id.t* 'fragrance, sweet odour' (*Pyr.* 365, 456, etc.). It cannot always be determined which of these two words is employed in passages where it means 'sweat' or 'strength'.

that it is spread like a thick fog, profusely saturating the ground. It is just this phenomenon so frequently witnessed in Egypt, especially in fertile regions (cf. *inter alia* Schäfer, *AZ.* 31, 51 ff.), which the author had in mind when he described the watering of the ground before there was rain. It now becomes clear, why he prefaced the description of the Garden of Eden by the remark about the dew. This was done intentionally because, in the absence of rain and inundation, the dew appeared to him to be the sole means of watering the ground.¹

2. The meaning of עֵדֵן

A further indication of the Egyptian background of the Paradise story is furnished by the term עֵדֵן, Gen. 2, 8, for the region in which the garden was planted. In contrast to the quite isolated אֵד, the word עֵדֵן is derived from a quite common stem the meaning of which can be ascertained from many Biblical passages. In Gen. 18, 12 עֵדֵן is used as a figurative expression for 'fresh bodily vigour, youthfulness', antithetically to בָּלוּת 'to fade, to decay'.² The same figurative usage is found in עֵדֵן, Is. 47, 8: referring to 'the blooming, exuberant woman' in her most joyous and best youthful years, still far remote from any possibility of mournful widowhood, or despairing loneliness by the loss of all her children. In Gen. 49, 20 and Jer. 51, 34 מַעֲדָנִים is used for rich foods, reeking with oil and fat, which particularly stimulate the appetite of the Oriental and attract him as most enjoyable and exquisite delicacies. Similarly in Neh. 9, 25 הַתְּעֵדֵן is used parallel with הַשְּׂמִינִין 'to become fat and luxurious' by the enjoyment of rich foods. In Is. 51, 3 the antithetic use of עֵדֵן and מִדְבָּר on the one hand as well as עֵרְבָה and גֵּן on the other hand is rather noteworthy. Even though here the allusion to the Garden of Eden is obvious, nevertheless that in taking עֵדֵן and גֵּן as *separate* conceptions it is quite clear that the Prophet thinks of מִדְבָּר 'desert, devoid of all vegetation' in contrast to a place designated by him as עֵדֵן, and that he similarly understands the contrast of גֵּן עֵרְבָה, in the sense that גֵּן is a garden with all kinds of fruit-bearing plants, whereas עֵרְבָה is an uncultivated wilderness even if strewn here and there by bushes and shrubs. We see that עֵדֵן is pregnantly used for a

¹ Besides our passage אֵד only occurs in Job. 36, 27 where the reference is also to mist that changes into rain. That *id.t* is fem. in Egyptian, but in Hebrew אֵד is masc. offers no difficulty. Such a change of gender is not unknown in loan-words.

² So interpreted by early and later commentators (cf. *Ges.-Buhl.* and commentaries ad loc.), who could certainly not have had our interpretation in mind.

flourishing place with exuberant vegetation, extended from the meaning of 'to be fat and luxurious'.¹

All this leads us to discern in עֵדֵן the word for *oasis* in contrast to אֵדָמָה (p. 139). As a matter of fact the expression 'and God planted a garden in Eden' (Gen. 2, 8) clearly premises that 'Eden' designates a particular kind of spot with special characteristics in which the garden was planted. Accordingly, גֵּן בְּעֵדֵן means merely that the garden was planted *in an oasis*, an ideal spot for a flourishing garden of unusual luxuriance, and a conception admirably adapted to Egyptian conditions.² Indeed no more suitable meaning could be established for עֵדֵן and no more appropriate expression could have been selected for oasis. The proper rendering of גֵּן בְּעֵדֵן is an oasis-garden. The whole description of עֵדֵן thereupon sounds quite natural, giving a graphic, plastic picture of the luxuriant splendour and attractiveness of such a spot. In the midst of an oasis laved by a great river stood the 'Garden of God' filled with all kinds of delightful plants and wonderful trees rich with fruit 'pleasant to the sight and good for food'.³

This interpretation of עֵדֵן is supported by the fact that in the times of

¹ Fat soil is fruitful and fertile, cf. *inter alia* Gen. 27, 39; Num. 13, 20; fat pastures Ez. 34, 14; 1 Chr. 4, 40; fat foods in addition to Gen. 49, 20 also Neh. 8, 10.

² The Egyptian expression for oasis is *wh.t* (Er.-Gr. 39) which through the Coptic ⲟⲩⲁⲅⲉ, ⲟⲩⲁⲅⲉ also passed into Arabic in واح plur. واحات and by transmutation of *h* in *s* into Greek *saosis* (cf. Spieg. *WB.*, 175). It is a very ancient word in Egyptian, though its etymological origin is uncertain. As a mere guess we presume it may be derived from a root *wh*, related to *wh* 'to bloom, flourish, blossom', e.g. Pyr. 411 b, 1554 a. But it is more likely that in *wh*, the meaning of 'to be fat' may lurk as in עֵדֵן. The latter supposition may find support in the mode of writing *wh.t* with ⲟ, which is used as determinative in words for 'fat' as noun or adj., thus in *hpn*, *hny*, *dd*, 'd.t' (cf. Er.-Gr. 125, 120, 223). It is obvious that a determinative can also serve as an etymological clue, even though it is employed in words of several meanings. Sethe suggests that *wh.t* 'oasis' originally meant a valley, being associated with 'cauldron', as the same determinative is also used for this word (*AZ.* 56, 46 f.). This interpretation is however very questionable and is due more to Sethe's association with the German 'Talkessel', which was hardly an Egyptian conception of an oasis, since not every oasis is a valley, and not every valley is so closely surrounded by mountains as a 'Talkessel'. By the way it may be observed that واح (later form واحد) was originally used only in Egyptian-Arabic whence it penetrated to other Arabic dialects. That it is also current in Central Arabia and Neḡd is due to the campaigns of Ibrahim Pasha against the Wahhabites (1813-18). The genuine Arabic expressions current for an oasis or a fruitful, irrigated neighbourhood are روضة and غوطة or قمة.

³ It is now clear why it is said גֵּן בְּעֵדֵן without any particular determination. It simply means 'in an oasis' that did not need to be specifically located. The interpretation of עֵדֵן גֵּן as 'Garden of joy, of pleasure' (LXX. παράδεισος τῆς τρυφῆς) arose only on the ground of later eschatological conceptions. In Biblical times, the Garden of Eden had not yet acquired the position and importance given to it in latter-day Judaism. Even Ezekiel as we shall presently see had still the clear feeling that the Garden of Eden was also familiar to the Egyptians.

the Prophets it was still clearly felt that עֵדֶן meant an oasis. This is not only apparent from the passage already cited, Is. 51, 3 but more particularly from passages like Ez. 36, 35 and Joel 2, 3, where עֵדֶן גֵּן the Garden of Eden is contrasted with devastated places and wildernesses. Ezekiel has in mind the picture of a wonderful oasis emerging out of a desert. He vividly depicts the great contrast between the infinite enjoyment of an oasis with all its delights, and the unutterable desolation produced by the dreary sight of a lonely, endless, sun-baked waste. It is evident that in those days, as we have said, the word עֵדֶן must have still retained its plastic meaning of 'oasis', and the conception still lingered that the 'Garden of God' lay in an oasis.¹

Apart from the etymological and intrinsic reasons adduced our view is also supported grammatically by Ez. 28, 13. Here the construction of עֵדֶן גֵּן אֱלֹהִים has always presented difficulties, because עֵדֶן taken as in *status constructus* did not yield any meaning. So much so that many interpreters were driven to regard גֵּן אֱלֹהִים as in apposition to עֵדֶן, viz. 'Eden, the Garden of God'. Now it becomes perfectly evident that the construction is quite in order, עֵדֶן properly being in *status constructus* with גֵּן אֱלֹהִים, the phrase meaning simply: the oasis of the Garden of God. In the same way all difficulties are removed from Ez. 31, 9—here the prophet, speaking of 'all the trees of Eden' means simply all the trees of the oasis 'which were in the Garden of God' בְּגֵן הָאֱלֹהִים אֲשֶׁר בְּנֵי עֵדֶן. This can only be understood when עֵדֶן is conceived as an oasis, alluding to the rich and precious 'oasis trees which were in the Garden of God'.

But Ezekiel furnishes us with still more important evidence inasmuch as we learn from him that he actually thought that the 'Garden of God' was situated in an Egyptian oasis. In his declamation against Pharaoh, 31, 2 ff., he contrasts 'all the trees of Eden that were in the Garden of God' with the mighty cedars of Lebanon. The whole description shows that in Eden and its flourishing trees in the 'Garden of God' he sees a picture of the luxury and riches of an Egyptian king, whereas the mighty cedar of incomparable beauty on the heights of Lebanon, is for him the incorporation of the might and greatness of the Assyrian king. He assigns to *Eden* and its garden even a minor position compared with Lebanon and its cedars, in the same way as he dismisses the Egyptian king as insignificant over against the Assyrian world-conqueror. Moreover in verse 8 he expressly emphasizes that in the 'Garden of God' there were no cedars which could top

¹ Also in Ps. 36, 9 oases are to be understood by עֵדֶן. Here still lurks the old conception of a river which flows through the divine oasis in the nether world. Cf. below p. 168 f.

the cedars of Lebanon, that its cypresses did not even equal the boughs of the cedar, nor the plane trees its branches! This can only be said of Egypt where no cedars grow, but where the cypresses and plane trees are the glory and joy of the fertile areas. The prophet means to say that Eden with its garden, in Egypt, is in no way comparable with the cedar forest in Lebanon. If it is in God's power to fell the giant cedars, under the shade of which all the 'trees of the field' grew, under whose boughs all the beasts of the field brought forth their young, under whose shadow great nations dwelt, how then could Pharaoh, whose stoutest trees were merely cypresses and planes, dare to array himself against the Almighty as most puissant and invincible?

It is true that the connexion with the Paradise story is palpable, but equally palpable is the connexion of the Garden of Eden with Egypt and Pharaoh, as is also the fact that the prophet conceived this garden in an עֵדֶן, in an oasis.

It should further be considered that in 31, 16 and 18, Ezekiel sees 'in the trees of Eden' the Egyptian rulers wallowing in the netherworld תַּחְתִּית whom he causes to hurtle with Pharaoh into the *pit* שְׂאוֹל.¹ All this is only conceivable if it is assumed that Egypt, the classical land of oases, was for the prophet the home of the עֵדֶן 'the oasis' in which 'the Garden of God' stood. Now also we can understand why for him עֵדֶן 'the oasis', גֵּן אֱלֹהִים 'the Garden of God', תַּחְתִּית the Egyptian nether world and Pharaoh were so naturally and so closely connected.²

The same idea must have been present to the author of Gen. 13. For him the connexion of the 'Garden of God' with Egypt (v. 10) was so evident that he mentioned גֵּן אֱלֹהִים and אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם together as one and the same representing them as the ideal, almost proverbial picture of richest florescence and greatest fertility. By placing אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם 'like the land of

¹ תַּחְתִּית 'the lower one' is a literal reproduction of the Egyptian expression *hr.t* which cannot have any other meaning than 'the lower one', for the world of the dead, originally *hr.t-ntr* 'the lower one of god'. Also the expression מִבְּחַר וְטוֹב לְבַנְיָן is very current in Egyptian particularly with regard to the cedarwood of Lebanon, and notably in building inscriptions in which the founders of temples and builders of palaces and ships emphasized with special pride that they had employed 'the best cedars of the terrace', as Lebanon was called, see e.g. Ahmose I, *Annales*, iv, 29, l. 30 f.: 'A ship . . . of new cedarwood from the best of the terrace.' Similarly Thutmose I, *Mar. Abyd.*, ii, 31, 9; Thutmose III, *LD. Text* iii, 7: 'Doors (?) of new cedarwood from the best of the terrace'. These and similar Egyptianisms in Ezekiel had doubtlessly long before him obtained currency in Hebrew literature, being used without even their origin being known. See also above p. 80, n. 1.

² The connexion between the Paradise story and the elegy on the King of Tyre in *Eden*, Ez. 28, 11 ff., as well as other reminiscences of the Paradise story in the Bible will be fully discussed elsewhere. It should, however, be here observed that Ez. 28, 11 ff. has very marked Egyptian colouring.

Egypt' in apposition to בִּגְן אֱלֹהִים 'like the Garden of God', their connexion is still more emphatically denoted.¹

Of great significance for the present investigation is the fact that the Egyptians actually had in the world of the gods a place which they called *kꜣn(w) ntr* 'Garden of God' (Pyr. 1112), where it is said (of Re): 'Behold, he (the king) has come in order to live and to enjoy. He has purified himself (*hsmn*) with figs (*dsb*) and wine that are in the *Garden of God* (*kꜣn ntr*)'.² The expression *kꜣn ntr* is perfectly identical with גִּן אֱלֹהִים and *kꜣn* curiously enough even sounds like גִּן.

All indications distinctly point to an orientation of the Paradise story towards Egypt. We now propose to pursue this clue in order to determine the situation of the Paradise more closely.

3. The Location of Paradise

In all attempts to find a solution to the question: 'Where lay Paradise?', the greatest difficulty has always been the assumption that the rivers Pišōn of Hawilā and Giḥōn of Kūš, as well as the Mesopotamian

¹ The right place of the words בְּנֶאֱכָה צֶעַר 'until Zoar' is after יהוה אֱתֵרֵם לְפָנַי שָׁחַת יְהוָה אֶת־סֹדֹם וְגֹמֹרָה and the whole follows כְּצִרִים as an explanatory note which can quite well have emanated from the narrator himself, as he in any case lived *after* the destruction of these towns. The passage thus reads: 'And Lot lifted up his eyes and beheld all the plain of Jordan, that it was a well-watered land like the Garden of God, like the land of Egypt—before that God had destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah as far as Zoar'. That Zoar was actually the boundary of the destroyed territory is expressly stated in Gen. 19, 20 ff., and it is quite natural that the narrator should also have referred to this same fact. Herewith disappear all the difficulties raised against the text, and the reading or perhaps emendation נָצַח for צֶעַר offered by the Pešitta is shown to be erroneous and completely meaningless. As to 'the land of Egypt' in our passage the narrator most probably thought of the delta because this was the widest fertile stretch on the Nile, most accessible to the foreigners settled in Egypt, and best known by the Asiatic neighbours.

² The word *kꜣn* (כָּנ) and in later writing *kꜣm* (כָּמ) (Er.-Gr. 194) is generally identified with Semitic כָּרֵם 'vineyard' (cf. Erman, *Gramm.*, § 103; Sethe, *Verb.*, i, § 227). As, however, the old form during the Old and Middle Kingdoms is *kꜣn*, it might be compared with the Sumeru-Akkadian *ganu*, *ginū*, *gannatum* 'field, garden' with which the Hebrew גִּן is identical (cf. Landersdorfer, *sum. Sprachgut im AT.*, p. 41), *kꜣm* could be explained as a later form of *kꜣn*, especially as *kꜣm* seems to point more to 'garden' than to 'vineyard', as can be seen from the use of *kꜣny* or later: *kꜣmy*, for 'gardener'. Whether it is genuinely Egyptian or whether it was borrowed very early from Akkadian or another Semitic language, is an open question. On the other hand it would not be impossible to consider *kꜣn* and *kꜣm* as different stems, so that the old *kꜣn* might be related with גִּן and the later *kꜣm* borrowed from כָּרֵם. This could be supported by the fact that *kꜣm* only appears for vineyard after the New Kingdom, at a time when Semitic words in particularly large numbers found their way into Egypt. But whatever may be the origin of *kꜣn* or *kꜣm*, for us the fact is at any rate of importance that the Egyptians had a garden in the nether world and that they called this garden *kꜣn ntr* 'Garden of God'.

rivers Tigris and Euphrates, flowed *through Paradise itself*, and in any case belonged to Paradise. This made it impossible to obtain a clear idea of the geographical situation of Paradise, whatever view was taken of the names of the two first rivers and wherever they were localized, because in no case could the confluence of all these four streams in one place be explained. On the one hand assent could not be given to Mesopotamia being the home of Paradise as the other two rivers flow through lands which are far removed from Mesopotamia, namely Kūš, which in the Bible means exclusively Nubia or Ethiopia, and Hawilā, which according to Gen. 10, 6, 7 lay near Kūš, but according to 10, 29 somewhere in Arabia; nor, on the other hand, is it possible to take Egypt, Ethiopia or Arabia as the home of Paradise, because then the two streams of Mesopotamia would not fit in.

We do not propose to enter here into a discussion on the various attempts made to arrive at a solution, which differ very widely in their results, nor into the many complicated and confusing questions arising from them.¹ We prefer to go straight to the point and examine first whether on the basis of the text itself it is correct to regard all the four rivers as flowing through Paradise; then to endeavour to determine the probable position of Paradise in the light of the conceptions the Egyptians had of how the earth was shaped and how it was connected with the heaven and nether world; and finally to give an explanation of the names Pišōn and Giḥōn, and establish their identification.

At the outset, it must be pointed out that in Gen. 2, 10 ff. there is not the slightest support for the assumption that the four rivers flowed *through Paradise*; nay, it is expressly stated that 'one river went out from Eden to water the Garden'. It was therefore exclusively this one river, having its source in Eden, i.e. in the oasis, that flowed through Paradise, and the four rivers mentioned immediately afterwards have actually nothing to do with Paradise itself. The whole passage 2, 10–14 though belonging to the story itself has so far the character of a gloss in that it does not refer to Paradise itself, but to the relation of the four rivers to this one river of Paradise. Indeed, many critics have already a clear inkling that by this passage the flow of the narrative is interrupted and that accordingly it must have been inserted here from another version of the Paradise story; but in spite of all this it is connected by them with Paradise itself and they assume that the four rivers do actually belong to Paradise. In reality the verses 10–14 give no description whatever of Paradise as such,

¹ See more fully about it *inter alia* Delitzsch 'Wo lag das Paradies?'; *Ges.-Buhl.* s.v. גִּן; Albright, *AJSL*, 39 (1922), 15 ff. and Commentaries on Genesis.

nor is the area of the four rivers conceived as within Paradise itself. As we shall presently see, all that this passage sought to convey was that the one Paradise river gave origin to the four greatest world rivers, and that Paradise was the source of fertility and prosperity for the whole earth.


Let us repeat that this passage does not speak of the four rivers as Paradise rivers, but as wholly independent of Paradise and separated from it; let us further maintain that this passage need not necessarily emanate from another version inserted by another and later hand, but might quite well have originated from the author of our Paradise story. He diverges only for a moment from the description proper of Paradise, which he resumes in verse 15, merely in order to link the reference to the one river 'which went out of the oasis', with information as to the origin of the four rivers. In the words: 'and God took Adam and put him into the garden' (verse 15), one may indeed discern an indication of the fact that 10-14 emanates from the same author, as the manner in which he repeats the second part of verse 8 'and he put there the man whom he had formed', points to the fact that he was conscious of the interruption and by this repetition sought to resume the dropped threads. But this latter point is not of such significance that we need linger further thereon. Of far greater importance is it that by regarding verses 10-14, as subsidiary information about the four rivers and not about Paradise itself, the way is made free to investigate the position of Paradise in the light of Egyptian conceptions. The whole question now acquires a completely new aspect; the identification of Pīšōn and Gīhōn is thereby considerably facilitated; and consequently also the closer delimitation of Ḥawilā and Kūš is rendered possible.

We begin with the attempt to determine the position of Paradise and take as the starting point of our discussion the expression מִקְדָּם (Gen. 2, 8), whereby the position and direction of the 'garden' in the oasis are indicated. It is well known that מִקְדָּם literally means 'in front', and that its use for 'East' is derived from the orientation of the spectator towards the sunrise, so that everything which lies to the East is 'in front' of him, whilst אַחֲרָי 'the back' designates the opposite direction as everything which lies in the west is at his 'back'. The words בְּעֵרְן מִקְדָּם (verse 8) 'in the oasis, at the front', can only mean 'at the eastern end of the oasis.'¹

¹ Similarly the Egyptians also used 'in front' (*hnty*) and 'behind' (*phwy*) for 'southwards' or 'northwards' respectively, because they took their orientation towards the course of the Nile, upstream being southwards and downstream being northwards. That, however, *hnty* 'the previous one, the earlier one' (so also *hntw* 'earlier', Er.-Gr. 129) was originally connected with the idea of 'east' will be shown elsewhere.

This being established, let us see what was the conception held by the Egyptians of the eastern and western ends of the earth and where did they imagine the position of the nether world where lay *their* Garden of the Gods. To begin with, we find that the Egyptians speak of a fabulous eastern mountain (*b:hw*), and of another equally fabulous mountain in the west (*m:nw* Er.-Gr. 45, 60; *Urk.* iv, 268, 5). They saw the sun rising from a direction below the eastern mountain on to the horizon-line, and saw it when setting descend from the horizon-line in a direction below the western mountain. Hence, sunrise meant for them an ascent from the depths up to a mountain, the highest point of which lay on the eastern horizon-line, and sunset a descent from a height on the western-horizon line into the unknown depths. As the sun in its daily course moves in an arc, the highest point of which lies at the zenith in the centre of the sky, the conception arose that the sky was a kind of vault stretched over the earth; as the whole earth extended between the heights of the eastern and the western mountains it was thought that the earth had the shape of a longish trough, the two extremities of which were linked with the eastern and western ends of the heaven stretched over the heights of the eastern and western mountains.¹

It is not our task to give a full description of the fabulous Egyptian cosmography, or a picture of the ideas the Egyptians had concerning the nether world and its place in the universe. It suffices to indicate that in their belief the nether world, where their Paradise lay, was in the west. The idea that men at the end of their life go down like the sun at the end of its course, provided the starting point for the belief that there, at the end of the earth, where the sun sets and the glowing heat of the day gives way to an agreeable coolness and refreshing breezes, begins the realm of the dead, the world of the blessed, 'the western one' (*imnt.t* Coptic ⲁⲙⲛⲧⲉ where those 'wearied' (*b:gy.w*) by the cares and vicissitudes of the earthly

¹ We have already observed above, p. 124 that, like the earth, the nether world also was arched over with a heaven. It was, therefore, only logical to fix the beginning of the nether world at the point where the two heavens met. Herein we may find the very origin of the idea that 'heaven' and 'nether world' with 'paradise' were identical. The western horizon was simply regarded as the point from the earth to heaven, and to the nether world with the paradise. The question whether the Egyptians did not conceive the earth as hemispheric so that heaven and earth were connected with one another as two hemispheres forming together one sphere, does not belong here and it is also very improbable. In any case they conceived the surface of the earth as hollow and not as vaulted. This is shown by the hieroglyphic sign  *h.t* 'the horizon', the sun being represented in its course between the two extreme high-points at both ends of the earth. Accordingly they must have conceived the centre of the earth, which is the deepest point of the *trough*, and the *zenith*, which is the highest point in the *vault* of heaven, as the two opposing points.

life may go to rest, to awaken 'for the second time' to a new life, full of delights and enjoyments.¹ For this reason 'the western one' (*imnt.t*) was for the Egyptians the object of their longing and most ardent life-long yearning. There they thought to find complete happiness, to be there 'as gods', and to live like gods from eternity to eternity, feeding on the same meats, and, like the gods, to be drunken with wine and love, to luxuriate in blisses. Such was the Paradise of the Egyptians, and this Paradise lay in the west.²

Now for the monotheistic author of the Paradise story there was no realm of the dead, and there could not be a nether world. He consequently had to reject the idea of Paradise being beyond the horizon *outside the earth*. But he nevertheless retained the Western direction of the Egyptian nether world with its paradise, and placed the oasis with *his paradise* at the western end of the earth. The oasis thus lay right at the top of the western mountain where heaven and earth met, having behind it the boundary line of the western horizon, and in front of it the whole red earth (*ארמה*) stretched as a great long desert towards 'the front', i.e. to the east. Now we clearly understand what is meant by the delimitation, Gen. 2, 8, of the garden having been planted in the oasis 'at the front' *מקדם*, namely that it was planted on the *eastern* side of the oasis.

In resuming the whole picture becomes clear; the oasis of the Paradise lay at the western end of the earth, right at the top, close to the horizon. There took place the creation of the first man and all other living creatures (Gen. 2, 19), and there flourished the garden as a dwelling place for the first human pair. The oasis was the first and only fertile area on the earth before rain came and before there was a man to till the earth (Gen. 2, 5). Everything else was *ארמה*, unfertile 'red land', a great wilderness. And this 'red land' extended towards *קדם* 'the front', i.e. to the east, right down towards the end of the world.

It now appears quite evident that after the expulsion of Adam from the 'Garden', the oasis remained behind him on the west, as he was driven from the Garden eastwards towards the red earth (*ארמה*). It is consequently

¹ In this sense it was said of the dying that he proceeded to the horizon or that he entered the horizon. The underlying idea was naturally the identification of the dead king with the Sun-god Re. Generally in all connexions with the nether world only the king was meant, but later they were extended to all others, and in place of Re in most cases, appeared Osiris, the God of the dead, in whom every dead person was transformed, becoming an Osiris himself

² *imnt.t* (old: *imn.t*) is derived from *imn* 'right' (= *ימין*?), i.e. 'the one to the right'. It corresponded to the orientation of the Egyptians towards the south that *imn.ty* 'the right' should be used for 'west' and *ib.ty* 'the left' for 'east'.

quite correct when it says in Gen. 3, 24 that the cherubim and the 'glittering sword' were placed *לְפָנֵי עֵדֶן* 'to the front of the Garden of Eden', i.e. on the east side of it, in order to guard the way to the 'tree of life', as it is obvious that the entrance to the Garden lay on the eastern end of the oasis, on the boundary between the 'red earth' and the Garden.

4. The River of Paradise and the Four Rivers

Let us now return to the four rivers. As already stated, the text of the Paradise narrative does not say a single word which suggests that *the four rivers* were in Paradise, but expressly speaks of *one stream only* flowing through Paradise, 'to water the garden'. The four rivers thus cannot belong to the area of Paradise itself, and the words, Gen 2, 10: *וַיִּפְרָד וַיֵּצֵא אֶת הַנָּהָר לְאַרְבַּע רֵאשִׁים* again cannot mean that the division of this one river into four was effected *within* the area of Paradise itself, but something quite different.

In order to make this clear, we have to examine the actual meaning of the expressions *יִפְרָד* and *רֵאשִׁים*. In the first place *נִפְרָד* never means to divide, but to separate, cf. Gen. 13, 9, 11, 14. 25, 23; also even when it is used of a crowd, e.g. Deut. 32, 8 *בְּהַפְרִידוֹ בְּנֵי אָדָם* does not mean 'divided' but 'when He separated men from one another'; the same is the case Gen. 10, 5 and 32, where it can only mean that the peoples became separated off in individual units (*נ. נפצו* v. 18 and *נפלגה* v. 25), as here it is intended to emphasize their character as single integral units separated from the others. The difference between 'separate' and 'divide' is that separation comprises division, but division does not postulate separation; further that division involves splitting into fractions, while separation is applicable to individual units. In separation there is the additional factor of actually completed *spatial* disjunction. Finally, passages like 2 Sam. 1, 23¹ and Ruth 1, 17 leave no doubt as to the meaning 'separate' for *נִפְרָד*.

As far as *רֵאשִׁים* 'heads' is concerned, it has been frequently pointed out that it can hardly denote 'head streams' because, on the assumption that they went forth from one river, they ought to be described rather as subsidiary or secondary rivers. Moreover, *רֵאשִׁים* could not mean 'beginnings' in the sense of the bifurcation or divagation of the rivers, as in this case also they could not possibly be called 'heads'.

In reality *ראש* is used here for 'origin' or 'source' of the rivers. As a

¹ Special attention may be drawn to this passage where the usual translation 'divided' is only a loose rendering, whereas 'separated' would convey more precisely the meaning of *נִפְרָד*. It may be added that the Hebrew for 'divide' is *חלק* and not *פָּרַד*.

matter of fact this meaning has already been suggested, as in Akkadian *reš 'eni*, literally 'head of the spring', denotes the source and origin of the spring.¹ But taking נפרד erroneously to mean 'divide', it is not possible to form a clear idea of how one stream could be divided into four prime sources. For should such a division of a river into others be meant, the latter could only be described as branches, and not original sources. This difficulty, however, disappears on accepting the real meaning of נפרד as 'separate'. The meaning of נפרד וימשם is simply that the one stream on leaving the garden was severed from it, i.e. that it there ceased to continue flowing, so that no visible connexion remained between the garden and the rest of the earth. The narrator who conceived the whole earth, ארמה, with the exception of the oasis, ערן, as a wilderness, so visualized the disappearance of the stream, that, on reaching the sandy soil beyond the oasis, it gradually vanished, being swallowed up by the earth, but that it continued its course underground. Thereby the conception of the common origin in this one stream of the four rivers, widely separated from one another, was rendered possible: under the earth, far away from the spot where the Paradise river disappeared, its waters flowed in various directions until it reached the sites where the sources lay from which the four rivers emerged and took their course on the surface of the earth. The narrator, in referring to ארבעה ראשים, had in mind four prime sources located in different parts of the world far removed from one another.

That is the meaning of our passage, and it could not be more clearly expressed when correctly rendered, viz.: 'A river went forth from the oasis to water the garden וארבעה ראשים ויהיה נפרד ויהיה וימשם and thence it was severed and became four head springs', i.e. that there was only one stream springing from the oasis and flowing through the garden, and that this one river, on leaving the oasis, ceased to flow on the surface, but continued its course subterraneously, its waters supplying the sources of the four rivers.

This interpretation, based on purely philological grounds, is illustrated in most startling fashion by the conceptions which the Egyptians had of the origin of the Nile in the nether world, and its sources on the earth's surface. According to these, it had its origin in a river (*itrw*) in heaven or

¹ Cf. e.g. B. Salmaneser, col. 103: 'At the spring-head of the Tigris *ina rēš (nār) ēni šā diklat* (i.e. at the spot where it springs) I made a statue of my majesty', Del. *WB.* 478 b and 606 b. In exactly the same way also the Arabic رأس العين 'head of the spring'; رأس النهر 'head of the river'; رأس الوادي 'head of the torrent' means the 'origin'. Similarly in the passage quoted by Del. *Paradies*, p. 98, *rēš nāri* 'head of the river', denotes the beginning, not the point of exit of the river from another. Thus it was not a 'branch' that was in mind but the spot where the river rises.

the nether world, where it took its source in the twelfth gate of the beyond (*Totb.* chap. 146). Thence, in a mysterious way, it reached the earth, and through two spring-holes called *kr.ty* and *tp̄h.t*, below the first cataract between Elephantine and the Island of Philae, it came out of the earth to flow through Egypt (cf. below, p. 172).¹ This idea is iconographically represented in a relief in Bige, an island near Philae: under a lofty mass of rocks the God of the Nile, Hapi (*h'py*), is seen protected by a serpent; he is kneeling, and pours water out of two vases in his hands, symbolizing the two sources of the Nile.² Thus, the earthly Nile was merely the prolongation of the heavenly river, and the sources at the cataract from which it emerged on the surface only marked the places where it was transferred from heaven to earth. It is with such a background that the Hebrew narrator was able to conceive the four world rivers as originating from the one Paradise stream, and as bursting forth from their respective sources in different places. In all this, he obviously set out with the idea that the Paradise river was the first stream of the world and that the greatest rivers of the earth took their birth from it. But here, also, the monotheistic spirit by which the Genesis stories are dominated comes clearly to view, in that the author remains true to his principle of keeping mythological conceptions, as far as possible, out of his narrative. Therefore, in contrast to the Egyptians, in his view the Paradise river, as the first of all world streams, did not rise in heaven, but in Eden, the oasis at the western end of the earth; similarly he conceived in a quite natural way its disappearance on leaving the oasis, and the subterranean continuance of its course, on the one hand, to the spot at Elephantine where it re-emerged as the River of Egypt, and, on the other hand, further to those points where the other world streams

¹ According to ancient Babylonian, and perhaps even Sumerian conception, the Euphrates and the Tigris similarly, took their rise in the habitations of the gods, whence, through subterranean springs, they reached the surface of the earth (cf. *inter alia* Albright *AJSL.*, 39, 23 ff.). Here also, as generally in the Paradise story, it is Egyptian and not Babylonian which furnishes us with the exact parallels for the explanation of individual features.

² Cf. Lanzone, *Dizionario*, pl. 189, 3 (*inter alia* reproduced also by Budge, *The Nile*, p. 89). Moreover in the mythological texts these fountain holes of the Nile are very often referred to, and as early as in the Pyr. texts. With particular frequency it is emphasized that the dead refresh themselves at the cold, clear water (*ḫḫ.w*) of the two fountain holes or that they are purified with this holy water. According to *Totb.*, chap. 146 it was considered a privilege of the dead that Isis, at the thirteenth gate of the nether world, spread out her arms to let them behold the Nile in its concealment, i.e. as it flowed from her breasts. As may be seen there from the attached vignette, this concealed spot near Elephantine, i.e. the two fountain holes, was in mind. Cf. *inter alia* Erman, *Religion*, p. 9; Leid., *Amon Hymnus*, E 600, l. 2; Wiedemann, *Herodot.*, p. 115, and *das Alte Ägypten*, p. 21. The two springs of Elephantine (*krty ibw*) were literally proverbial for overflowing waters, cf. e.g. *LD.* iii b, 6 f. (= *Records*, iii, § 171).

came to the surface.¹ He went even further in his wider vision: whereas moreover the Egyptians and Babylonians, from a thoroughly particularistic point of view, regarded only *their* river as 'heavenly', without giving any thought to the origin of the rivers of other lands, the Hebrew narrator, in conformity with his monotheistic ideas, displays a universalistic conception of the world panorama: in conscious opposition to all exclusively local polytheistic tendencies, for him all the great rivers of the world, without giving preference to any particular land, originated from the one stream of Paradise.² In addition he may have been governed by the intention of demolishing the divine character given by the Babylonians to their rivers, and with which, to a much higher degree, the Egyptians invested their Nile.

5. Pīšōn and Gīhōn

(a) Which Rivers were meant?

In view of the foregoing suggestion that the four rivers were not within the area of Paradise, the identification of Pīšōn and Gīhōn, and indeed the whole question of the situation of the four rivers, became irrelevant for the location of Paradise itself. For our conception of Paradise it is a matter of indifference what rivers are meant by Pīšōn and Gīhōn and in what countries they should be sought, just as it is quite immaterial where the Tigris and Euphrates took their rise and in what lands they flowed. Nevertheless we propose to take up this question because it is actually in

¹ A like phenomenon was actually observed in antiquity, and is especially frequent in calcareous areas in various parts of the world where large rivers are sucked into subterranean cleavages of the chalky soil and suddenly disappear from the surface, only to reappear a considerable distance away. These continuations were always regarded as distinct rivers and nowadays, even in European countries, are so considered by the local population. Similar phenomena are furnished by the rich waters of the oases which, on quitting the fertile area, gradually disappear into the sand. Likewise most of the winter brooks (*sēl*) in the Arabian desert, which sometimes swell to such considerable proportions that they resemble large rivers, run for considerable distances till they gradually dry up. It should be observed that even Greek authors had similar conceptions of a subterranean course of the Nile, notably in its upper portions where they sought its sources. They believed *inter alia* that the Indus was an upper reach of the Nile and connected with it subterraneously. The same was later believed by the Arabic geographers of the Niger. Even in the late Middle Ages the general opinion, following Africanus, was that the Nile, on tumbling down from the Mountain of the Moon (below the Equator), penetrated beneath the earth only to reappear on the surface after a considerable distance as a river! Cf. in greater detail Th. Langenmaier, *Alte Kenntnis und Kartographie der Zentralafrik. Seeregion* (1916), p. 43 ff., 39 f., 28 f., etc.

² This is obvious from the fact that he did not also include the Jordan, the chief stream of the land sanctified by the God of Israel as did e.g. Ben Sira, 24, 26, who, besides the Paradise rivers, also mentioned the Jordan.

consequence of the view that we have put forward that we are in a position to approach a solution of the problem, basing ourselves purely on Biblical data.

First of all the question should be raised: what was the underlying idea of the narrator in mentioning the four rivers? Now the fact that of all the then known rivers outside Egypt only the largest and best known, the Tigris and the Euphrates, are mentioned, justifies the assumption that in his choice he had in mind the greatest world rivers then known.¹ If, then, the reason for referring to the Tigris and the Euphrates was only because they were the largest streams of Assur and Babel, the mention of Pīšōn and Gīhōn would have similarly been for the reason that they were the most important in the lands of Ḥawilā and Kūš. Hence it must be assumed that he intentionally selected four rivers of different parts of the earth, situated at opposite ends of the world, so that in their compass the whole of the then known world would be comprised. The whole question of the four rivers is thus transferred on to new ground: they do not represent an irrigation system of Paradise, but are conceived as *the fluvial system of the whole world*,

Now what rivers were meant by Pīšōn and Gīhōn? Starting from the foregoing standpoint and considering that the Euphrates and Tigris lay in the *extreme east* of the then known world, one cannot go far wrong in assuming that it was the author's aim to set against the Mesopotamian pair of rivers another pair at the opposite end of the world, viz. in the *extreme west*.² This assumption is confirmed first of all by the statement that the

¹ Even the ancients were governed by the idea that the four rivers were world streams, and sought to identify them with the rivers known in their day as the most important. Thus e.g. in Josephus's time (*Antiquities*, i, § 38 f.) the Pīšōn was identified with the Ganges or Indus, and the Gīhōn with the Nile. In later times this idea that the Paradise rivers were world-streams, though in itself correct, was rejected because in the absence of a right understanding of Gen. 2, 10 it only made the Paradise problem more complicated. To evade this difficulty the Pīšōn and Gīhōn were sought in Mesopotamian rivers, and so long ago as 1706 Reland, *De situ Paradisi*, identified the Pīšōn with the Phasis and the Gīhōn with the Araxes in Armenia (cf. Midrash Gen. rab., § 16, 16 where the Gīhōn is placed in Media). Although Reland, and after him Delitzsch and others, contrived on purely phonetic grounds to interpret Kūš as the land of the Kossaeans, all attempts failed to identify Ḥawilā as a Mesopotamian land. A very convenient way out of all difficulties is taken by supporters of the Astral-mythological hypothesis of Genesis (like Jensen, Gunkel, Jeremias, etc.), who assume a Cosmic Paradise, and even derive the whole Paradise story from a sort of uranography, seeing in the main Paradise river the Milky Way, and detecting in the remaining rivers some other fantastic astronomical things!

² This would also agree with the orientation of the author of the Paradise story from the extreme west to the east (מקרא) and would also explain why he first mentioned the Pīšōn and Gīhōn in the west and then the Tigris and Euphrates in the east.

Gihōn flowed through Kūš, which in the Bible invariably denotes Nubia or Ethiopia, and which, according to the geographical conception of those days, actually lay at the extreme western end of the world.¹ If one further considers that the two Mesopotamian rivers flow near to one another, framing, so to speak, the eastern part of the world, one may assume that similarly in the choice of the opposite pair of rivers, Pišōn and Gihōn, the idea was dominant that they, too, flowed near to one another and delimited the extreme western part of the earth. Pišōn would thus first have to be sought in the same area as Gihōn, and secondly both would have to be looked for in Egypt and its neighbourhood, so that in analogy to the Euphrates and Tigris, they would represent the two most important and best known rivers of that region.

Another very important question here arises: assuming our premises to be correct, viz., that the narrator had in mind the most important world rivers, and assuming the correctness of our view that Pišōn and Gihōn are to be sought in the area of Egypt and its neighbourhood, then it is obvious that among the four rivers one would expect to find in the very first place the greatest, and at all times most celebrated of all rivers, the Nile, and this especially with an author whose orientation was so thoroughly Egyptian. Where then is the Nile?

If we recall that according to Egyptian ideas the Fields of the Blessed, the Egyptian Paradise, were encircled by a 'stream' (*itrw*), that went forth from heaven, and in a mysterious way emerged on the earth through the two fountain holes at Elephantine (cf. above, p. 169); further, that at the beginning of the Paradise story Gen. 2, 10 reference is made to a 'stream' (נָהָר) 'that went forth from the oasis to water the garden', we must be struck by the analogy. Indeed, the more closely one examines the picture of Paradise, composed of this and other similar features, the more will one be confirmed in the view that נָהָר and *itrw* are identical. There is only a difference in the conception of the stream's provenance: viz. the נָהָר does not, as observed, take its source from heaven or from the nether

¹ From Greek times Ethiopia was understood to be the southern portion of Egypt on the Nile up-stream between the Nubian desert and the Arabian Gulf, that is, the whole of present-day Nubia and Abyssinia, including Kordofan and Darfur. Even Homer, *Od.* i, 23-4, conceived the Ethiopians as 'the farthest of men who lived divided, some towards the setting, others towards the rising of the sun'. Also Is. 18, 1 speaks of the land 'beyond the rivers of Kūš' as the most distant land of the world. Among these rivers he had in mind the Nile beyond Kūš and the Atbara, perhaps also the Blue Nile. Again in the Book of Esther 1, 1 Kūš is interpreted as Ethiopia, because in ancient times it was regarded as the extreme southern boundary of the world. Many other examples could be quoted from antiquity.

world, which for the Egyptians was the same,¹ but from the Paradise oasis, to feed by its subterranean course the greatest rivers of the earth.² Assuming then that the Eden stream נָהָר replaces the *itrw* of the Fields of the Blessed, the identification implicitly involves the idea that the rivers which went forth from the נָהָר perforce included the Nile; and the question only remains whether it is to be sought in Pišōn or Gihōn. Before proceeding to answer this special question however, we propose first to discuss the general question, what rivers could have been meant by Pišōn and Gihōn if it is correct that they represented the most important rivers at the western end of the earth, in other words Egypt and its adjacent territories; and secondly, whether the Egyptians regarded the whole Nile as *only one river*.

The possibility of the Blue or the White Nile having been meant by Pišōn and Gihōn respectively, must be summarily dismissed first of all, because they both, as we shall presently see, lie far from Kūš, and secondly because neither of them flows through a gold land. Nor can the River Atbara come into the picture because it lies far from the border of Kūš proper, and, just as little as the others goes through a gold territory, as there were no gold mines in the watershed of the Atbara and those known far below the Atbara lay in a northerly direction. If these three rivers are to be eliminated from our discussion, only the Nile proper remains to be considered and we are brought back to the narrower question as to whether the Nile is to be sought in Pišōn or Gihōn. To answer this, we must first determine how far southwards the ancient Egyptians followed the Nile, and whether the whole of the river they knew or only one portion thereof was designated by them as the river of Egypt.

From all that we can conclude from Egyptian monuments and writings, the Egyptians in the oldest period of their history did not follow the course of the Nile further than to the first cataract between Elephantine and Philae, near Assuan. At this point their dominion ceased for them, and there they saw the beginning of the world which for them was identical with their land. Of all the regions beyond they had no clear idea, and it was for this reason that they very early formed the view that the Nile took its rise at the first cataract. Thus only that portion of the Nile which started at Assuan and flowed into the Mediterranean Sea was considered by them as the river

¹ Cf. above, p. 165, n. 1. In the Aton-Hymn, l. 22 the Nile (*h'py*) flows from heaven to earth, and in l. 21, it comes from the nether world to Egypt.

It should be noted that in the Hebrew the Paradise river is not designated by name, but is called simply נָהָר 'stream' just as the 'stream' of the 'fields of the blessed' was called *itrw* 'stream'.

of Egypt. They clung firmly to this view, even after they had gone beyond the first cataract under the 5th dynasty and had become acquainted with a considerable portion of the Nile lying to the south. So little did they recognize that that newly explored portion was the upper reach of their river, that they regarded it actually as a quite different and separate river. In this view they were confirmed by the phenomenon that the Nile at the border of the cataract south of Elephantine for a fairly long distance seems to flow in a reverse direction up-stream. This, as many think, is due to the peculiar character of the river-bed and especially the extraordinarily strong currents and rapids surging in various directions, so that it is impossible to detect the real course of the river flow. (Cf. *inter alia* Ed. Meyer-Dümichen, *Gesch. d. Alt. Äg.*, p. 3). That conception of the river of Egypt remained deeply-rooted among the Egyptians even in much later times, when, under the rule of Queen Hatshepsut at the end of the sixteenth century B.C., they had penetrated as far as the sixth cataract and probably beyond. Indeed, even as late as the fifth century B.C., when the regions of the Blue and White Nile above the sixth cataract had begun to be explored, and had already been recognized as the upper reaches of the Nile, and it became clear that the river of Egypt did not begin at Assuan, Egyptian theology still did not give up the old theory of the Nile beginning at Assuan and of the portion flowing south of Elephantine being a quite different river.¹

Most important for us is the fact that precisely during the period of the New Kingdom, which is primarily germane to our investigation, the separation of these two portions of the Nile into two different rivers was still completely maintained. This was particularly the case as Nubia or Kūš was regarded as a land much inferior to Egypt, since the Egyptian was so convinced of the holiness of his land and the divine origin of the heaven-produced Nile, that he would not tolerate placing the 'wretched Kūš (*ksš ḥs.t*)' or the other 'wretched lands of the Blacks (*nhšy.w*)' on a level with his own country.²

¹ Cf. Herod., ii, 21 and 23—the details given him by the 'scribe to the holy treasury of Athene': viz. 'There were two mountains with sharply pointed summits lying between the town of Syene in Thebais and Elephantine, and these mountains were called Kropi and Mophi. The sources of the Nile were deep abysses and flowed from out the middle of these mountains, and half of the water flowed towards the north, to Egypt, and the other half to the south, to Ethiopia'. The supposition that in Kropi lurks *kr ḥ'py* 'source of the *ḥ'py*', i.e. Nile, and in Mophi *mw ḥ'py* 'water of the *ḥ'py*' was put forward by Lauth and adopted by Brugsch, Maspero and others. This seems to be the right interpretation, although Wiedemann in his commentary, ad loc. (p. 116), expresses doubt. Here *kr* is to be taken as feminine *kr.t* with lapse of the feminine ending *t* or its softening to an *a(h)*, which was very common.

² It seems that with *nhšy* 'blacks' the blacks of other districts also have been denoted,

This differentiation between Egypt and Nubia was maintained even after a millennium of Egyptian domination, when Nubia had been completely permeated by Egyptian religion, Egyptian culture, and Egyptian customs.

It is clear that from the very beginning the Egyptian held fast to the idea of the holiness of his land and his river, and that the conviction was rooted in him that the boundaries of Egypt and the source of that portion of the Nile which he regarded as the real river of Egypt lay at the first cataract. All that lay beyond was foreign, barbarian, unholy, and the stream that flowed there was also quite different from the sacred river of Egypt.

Proceeding from these facts we now enter into the discussion concerning Pišōn and Giḥōn, restricting ourselves first to the description of their course given in the Genesis text. In the case of the Giḥōn this task is greatly simplified by the mention of Kūš, 2, 13, whereby we are left in no doubt as to its course. It is necessary, however, to fix as accurately as possible the geographical determination of Kūš and its boundaries, so as to be able to define the position and reach of the Giḥōn with all possible precision. In the case of the Pišōn, however, the matter is not so easy, as we are in the dark concerning the land Ḥawilā, but as an important clue is given in its description as a gold land, we have to consider, in attempting an identification of Ḥawilā, which of the gold lands known in the middle of the second millennium B.C. could have been in mind.

(b) The Land of Kūš.

As far as the geographical delimitation of Kūš is concerned it cannot be determined according to the Biblical conception of it held in the days of the kings of Israel, about the ninth or eighth century B.C. (cf. below, p. 177 note 2), but only by the way it was understood in *Egypt* of the New Kingdom before the period of the Exodus, about the fourteenth or thirteenth century B.C. Only then shall we be able to fix as nearly as possible the point which the Egyptians, the rulers of Kūš, regarded at that time as its extreme

thus e.g. of Punt, *Erman-Ranke*, 602, n. 8. By the way, it is noteworthy that both the Egyptian words *ḥsy* and *nhšy* are still preserved in the Arabic of present-day Egypt as scurrilous words of abuse: *iḥs* (إحس) or *ḥsy* (حسي) is an exclamation of deepest contempt and repulsion, generally punctuated with expectoration; *naḥs* (نحس) means 'Wretch!, Good-for-nothing!', and in many districts, e.g. Yemen, it is used in the sense of 'Unlucky dog' for everything unfortunate. Moreover *naḥs* is also used as an adjective in the meaning of 'false' or 'inferior', e.g. *ḍahab naḥs* 'false or inferior gold'. Like others, these Egyptian borrowings passed into the Arabic vernacular of Egypt from the Coptic, and thence spread to other Arabic dialects.

southern boundary.¹ As a matter of fact the Egyptian monuments give us on this point adequate information, and furnish us with a graphic picture of Kūš, which was closely connected with Egypt during a history extending over two thousand years. Already under the twelfth dynasty we hear of Egyptian inroads into the territory of Wawat in Northern Nubia (*Erman-Ranke*, p. 595), and it is said of Sesostris I that he forced a way further south, 'to the very end of the earth', in order to obtain access to the gold lands of southern Nubia, the land of the 'wretched Kūš'. Nevertheless, he was only able to assert himself in the Wawat region, between the first and second cataracts. It was his great-grandson Sesostris III who succeeded in extending the boundary of Egyptian domination in Kūš 'much further than his fathers', viz. up to Semneh near the second cataract. Later, at the beginning of the New Kingdom, after Thutmosis I had succeeded in pushing forward to the fourth cataract, carrying out the complete subjection of Kūš, and destroying the last remnants of its independence obtained during the Hyksos rule, Kūš appears as an *Egyptian* province, remaining from then onwards for more than five centuries completely under Egyptian rule (*Erman-Ranke*, p. 45); nevertheless it was not incorporated with Egypt itself, but was always represented as a separate land with its own administration, under its own governor, who bore the title 'Prince of Kūš (*sꜣ nšw.t n kꜣš*)', also 'Overseer of the Southern Lands' or of 'The Gold Lands'; in many cases he was of royal blood, sometimes the Crown Prince himself.²

While the Egyptians maintained relations with the peoples and countries beyond the fourth cataract in order to ensure the road of the gold mines at the sixth cataract,³ their rule in no case extended beyond the fourth cataract. The region of Napata, the home of the later Ethiopic dynasties, about 437 miles south of Assuan, near the present Gebel Barkal, remained, even after the New Kingdom, the southernmost border of the Egyptian Domination. When, moreover, it is considered that Thutmosis I took no less than two months to go from Thebes to Napata, one obtains some idea of the conception held concerning the distances between Egypt and the 'southern lands'. Indeed, on the occasion of the solemn installation of Haya as Viceroy under Tut-Ankh-Amon, it is expressly stated that his rule

¹ That the Egyptians in later times pronounced *kš* as *kūš* is certain. Whether the pronunciation believed to have been current in the New Kingdom, *koš* or *kos* (cf. *Erman-Ranke*, p. 595, n. 2) reproduces the old Egyptian pronunciation is an open question.

² Cf. especially G. A. Reisner in *Jour. Egypt. Arch.*, vi. (1920), p. 28 ff., 73 ff. and H. Gauthier, *Rec.*, 39 (1921) 179 ff.

³ Under Hatshepsut and her immediate successors, the Egyptian armies may actually have penetrated to the Blue Nile, but hardly much beyond. Cf. above, p. 174.

extended from the town of Nekhen (the present El-Kab near Edfu) to the land of Ker, i.e. Napata (*Erman-Ranke*, p. 598). By all this the fact is established that during the New Kingdom Kūš proper never went beyond the fourth cataract. Even if we assume a larger Kūš in the fullest sense, i.e. including the so-called 'negro lands', it could hardly have gone, before the end of the New Kingdom, as far as the later seat of the Ethiopic kingdom in the Meroe Island, between Atbara and the sixth cataract, the present Khartoum. It is not even certain that the Egyptians followed the course of the Atbara beyond its junction with the Nile, any more than that they can have known the region of the Blue and White Nile much beyond the point of their confluence, where they fall into the Nile proper. It was only in Greek times that their connexion as upper reaches of the Nile was recognized.¹

From all this it results incontestably—and on this indeed there is little disagreement among investigators—that when, in the Egypt of the New Kingdom, reference was made to Kūš in a general way, the Nile region *between the first and the fourth cataract* alone was meant. Whatever lay beyond did not belong to Kūš proper but was referred to in a more general way as 'Southern lands', 'Lands of the Blacks (*nḥšy.w*)', or 'negro lands', over which the 'Prince of Kūš', exercises a certain control, but can hardly have ruled very effectively.²

It follows that the Gīḥōn, described in Gen. 2, 13 as 'going round the whole land of Kūš', can be no other than the *Nubian Nile*, i.e. that portion of the Nile which compasses the region that, as we have shown, is identical with Kūš proper. The emphasis on the 'whole land of Kūš' indicates the author's desire to determine exactly the length of the river covering the entire extent of the Kūš of his time, namely southern and northern Nubia, beginning at the first cataract. Even if one were disposed to apply 'the whole' to Southern Nubia beyond the fourth cataract which then marked the southern boundary of Kūš, such an assumption must be discarded because the author was certainly more concerned to include in 'the whole land of Kūš' the region of Wawat, between the first and second cataract, than the 'southern lands' beyond the fourth cataract, as, for his purpose, the

¹ It is not until Roman times that we hear of the so-called Mountain of the Moon beyond the Equator as source of the Nile. In Abraham b. Ezra's Commentary on Gen. 2, 11 the text has erroneously הַלְבָנָה instead of הַלְבָנָה.

² Judging from Is. 18, 1 and other Biblical passages and data from later times, it was only in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. that Kūš was conceived to extend further than in the New Kingdom. By כּוּשׁ נַהֲרַי the many rivers of the Atbara region, and perhaps also of that of the Blue Nile, were understood. Under the Ethiopic dynasties the whole territory from the fourth to the sixth cataract was actually under Egyptian rule.

whole region between the fourth and first was much more important than that beyond the fourth cataract, as we shall presently see.¹

(c) The Gold-land Ḥawilā.

Now that the Gīḥōn question can be considered as solved, let us turn to the Pīšōn, and on the strength of the description of the region watered by it as a *land of gold, bdellium, and šōham* (malachite or emerald), attempt to identify the land of Ḥawilā. Of great importance for our investigation is the description of the gold, Gen. 2, 12 as זָהָב טוֹב 'good gold'. This is not to be taken as a general characterization of the quality of the gold, but as a literal reproduction of the technical expression in Egyptian, *nb nfr* 'good gold' for 'fine' gold as distinct from all other kinds of gold.² It should be noted that the designation זָהָב טוֹב only occurs in this passage, as elsewhere in the Pentateuch fine gold is always called זָהָב טָהוֹר 'pure gold', a clear proof of its Egyptian provenance.³

Such precision in the qualification of the gold can only be explained by the author's familiarity with the products of the land of Ḥawilā and his knowledge of its river. Further, from the Egyptian origin of the expression 'good gold' we can deduce with certainty that the author in referring to Ḥawilā had in mind a land which either lay in Egypt itself, or was exploited by the Egyptians as a gold-producing country. For the term 'good gold' was only current in Egypt for fine gold, and thus the author can only have meant gold mined by Egyptians.⁴

¹ For this reason I prefer to call Gīḥōn the Nubian and not the Ethiopian Nile, because already in Greek times Ethiopia was taken to comprise the territories lying beyond the Kūš proper of the New Kingdom.

² In Pap. Harris where there is frequent mention of gold work and gold objects, the following kinds of gold are differentiated: (1) 'mountain gold' (*nb n ḥš.t* or *ḏw*) in contradistinction to 'river gold' (*nb n mw*); (2) 'white gold' (*nb ḥḏ*) for alloyed gold; (3) and (4) 'two-part' and 'three-part gold' (*nb n sp 2* or *3*) for a gold alloy composed of two or three parts gold and one part of another metal; (5) 'good gold' (*nb nfr*) for the finest pure gold; (6) 'good *ktm.t* gold' (Hebr. כֶּתֶם). Cf. pl. 12 a, 7; 33 a, 5, especially 13 a, 5 ff. 78, 5. There was also 'green gold' (*nb wḏ*) for a certain sort of gold composition, e.g. *Urk.* iv. 329, 5 as product of *mw* in Punt. We shall have more to say in a future volume concerning these varieties of gold when dealing with the metal work in the Tabernacle.

³ Elsewhere it occurs only in 2 Chr. 3, 5, 8, where it undoubtedly means the same kind of gold.

⁴ Egypt was generally from the earliest times the gold land *par excellence*. In the Old Kingdom, and even in the Middle Kingdom, gold, owing to over-production, was even less valuable than silver, which was imported from abroad. In ancient inscriptions, therefore, gold is mentioned in the second place after silver, but in the New Kingdom, when gold export increased considerably, and in exchange much larger quantities of silver were received from Syria and other countries, the value of silver fell and from then onwards took the second

Now which land could the author have had in mind? To answer this question let us turn to the gold-producing lands exploited by the Egyptians. In this connexion, of the best known gold-mining districts the following three come under consideration:

1. The very rich gold mines of Nubia (*nb n kš*) in the region now occupied by the Bisharin Bedouin tribes, i.e. in the desert east of Dēr-en-Nīl and Wādi Ḥalfa, in a southern direction towards the Red Sea, roughly as far as Port Sudan. A description of this region is contained in a well inscription of Ramses II (Kubban-Stela) from which we learn, *inter alia*, that that district formed part of Kūš, as the 'Prince of the wretched Kūš' appears therein as intelligencer and reporter (Records III par. 289).

This mining district cannot have been meant, as it belonged to Kūš, the area of the Gīḥōn. Moreover, as far as I can ascertain, neither malachite nor emerald was found there.

2. The gold mines of Punt (*pwn.t*), a land far distant from Egypt. As to its situation only vague particulars are available. It is fairly generally assumed,¹ that it lay on the tropical shores of the Red Sea, extending from Erythrea down to Somaliland, but in all probability it is to be sought on the south-west coast of Arabia.² Besides gold and copper, various sorts of other minerals and valuables, fragrant spices, and especially incense, were imported from Punt. Already in the Old Kingdom, under Cheops, Punt is mentioned as a land of incense, and is referred to again under Sahure and his descendants of the 5th and 6th dynasties (Erman-Ranke p. 602).³ In

place after gold in the enumeration of precious metals (cf. *Erman-Ranke*, p. 554, n. 3 ff.). Only seldom is silver mentioned in later writings, e.g. Pap. D'Orb. (from the end of the thirteenth century, B.C.) xiv, 8 and xv, 5, before gold (*ḥḏ nb*), but this, in my opinion, is an indication of the much earlier origin of the story.

¹ *Erman-Ranke*, 600 and the passage cited in n. 3 from Sethe, *Urk.* i; in Albright, *AJSL.*, 39, 20 f., *Erman-Ranke*, 610 below, East Arabia not South Arabia is meant; in both cases, however, there is a conflict with p. 600.

² The identification with the Somali coasts is rendered impossible by the description of Punt as a land of 'steps' or 'terraces' i.e. mountainous country, which does not fit Somali, but can very well apply to Yemen and the adjoining territories towards the Indian Ocean. As I gather from Prof. J. J. Hess (Zurich), he has very weighty reasons in favour of this assumption. Of great value is the fact he has established that in Southern Arabia the best kind of incense is called *ḥneh*. Thence he rightly concludes that the Egyptian *ḥntyw*, which has been interpreted as a kind of resin or myrrh (*Ag. WB.* i, 206), is identical with this *ḥneh* from the time when the feminine termination *t* was still pronounced with *tanwīn* or the South Arabian *tanwīm* scil. *ḥnet^{um}* or *ḥnet^{un}*. Like many others, the word *ḥneh* has since very ancient times been indigenous in Southern Arabia, and must have been taken over by the Egyptians with the product.

³ As the port from which the journey was made to Punt, *sw*, on the Red Sea, is mentioned (*Erman-Ranke*, p. 600), it probably lay in the district of the present Qoṣṣēr. There the ships were built and equipped for the expeditions to Punt and the Land of God (*tj-ntr*), thus

the inscriptions of the Temple of Dēr-el Bahari there is an extensive account of the expedition sent under Queen Hatshepsut to the 'God-land Punt', (loc. cit., p. 607 f.), wherein villages, plants, and animals, as well as scenes from the life and customs of the inhabitants of that land are depicted in vivid colours. Although Punt was very well known in Egypt, especially during the New Kingdom, when it was no longer, as previously, held to be more or less a fairy land, it cannot have been Hāwīlā—no matter which region may have been meant under Punt—the Somali coasts, South Arabia, West Arabia, North Arabia, or even East Arabia,¹ because none of these lands has a river of any importance, let alone one which could compare with the Tigris or Euphrates as world river.

In this connexion we must abstain from an attempt to locate another gold land frequently mentioned as 'Land of God' (*tj-ntr*) because in our view this name certainly does not refer to a particular country, but as already suggested, is a collective denomination for a whole complex of lands, or, as we think, is applied to different countries having some specific feature in common. Otherwise it would be difficult to explain why it is at one time mentioned in connexion with Punt as a distant country reached by sea,² and at another, in connexion with the mountain desert between the Nile and the Red Sea, the district of the Wādī-Ḥamamāt quarries. Probably the Sinai Peninsula, too, and perhaps also a portion of North Arabia are likewise comprised under this designation. In all probability the 'Land of God' was first used to denote the eastern side of the Nile, as it was from that direction that the Sun God appeared, and later it was extended to other lands in the east. All this absolves us altogether from including the gold mines of the 'Land of God' within the scope of this investigation.

e.g. at the behest of Sanh-Ka-Re Mentuhotep. As in one passage express mention is made of *Byblos ships* (ibid. 601), they would have been made from Lebanon wood by Phoenician ship-builders.

¹ In the description of the expedition under Rameses III to the 'land of the gods', Punt, (Pap. Harris, 77, 9 ff.), the sea is denoted as *im* (= D') 'n *mw ḫd* 'the great sea of the inverted water'. Therein Erman, *Ägypten*, p. 679, n. 1 (and still retained *Erman-Ranke*, 600, n. 4, cf. above p. 179, n. 1) sees the Persian Gulf, which was conceived as a continuation of the Euphrates which the Egyptians called the 'inverted water' (*mw-ḫdw*), because it flows from north to south, i.e. in the opposite direction to the Nile (cf. e.g. *LD*. iii. 5 a where it is said of the Euphrates (*mw ḫdw*) 'on which one journeys northwards when one goes upstream'). Nevertheless it is obvious that 'the great sea of the inverted water' refers to the Red Sea which also runs from north to south to enter the ocean. The Egyptians certainly became conscious of the inverted course of the Red Sea much sooner than of the distant Persian Gulf which was hardly known to them.

² Extensive details concerning the 'land of the gods' are first given under Mentuhotep (11th dynasty). Here, too, the road to the Red Sea is indicated via Wādī Hamamāt and the ancient port near Qoṣēr. *Erman-Ranke*, p. 600 and 607.

3. The gold mines of the so-called 'Arabian desert' on the Egyptian side, south-east of upper Egypt, between Assuan, Koptos (the present Kufi), and the Red Sea. According to Egyptian monuments this district was one of the richest sources of gold; and from the Redesiyye inscription of Seti I (= Records III § 170 ff.) we learn that these gold mines were extraordinarily productive. This district was moreover very famous on account of the extensive Wādī Ḥamamāt quarries, especially because it was there that the black basalt stone for the colossal statues of many kings and gods was hewn. The boundaries of these mines can be exactly determined: in the north is the ancient caravan route of Kene on the Nile to Qoṣēr on the Red Sea, and in the south is the line that runs in a south-easterly direction from the district of Ḡebel el-'Allāqi down to the Red Sea. In Pap. Turin from the tomb of Seti I we still possess a fragment of a map drawn shortly after the reign of Ramses II, on which these mining works, the approaches to the pits, and the roads leading to the Red Sea are still quite clearly recognizable.¹

It was in this district that the Egyptians, especially in the New Kingdom, had the most important gold mines after Nubia. Of particular significance is the fact that of the principal Egyptian gold fields no less than three, namely Koptos, Edfu, and Ombos, are to be found in this district, and that their names appear as descriptive import-marks for gold, viz. (1) 'Gold of Koptos' (*nb n gb.tyw*), (2) 'Gold of Edfu' (*nb n dbt*), and (3) 'Gold of Ombos' (*nb n nbt*). Now all these three places lie on the upper Egyptian Nile, between Kene and the first cataract, and as they were the capitals of the gold mines in their district, they served as river ports for the transport of the 'gold from the mountains'.² As a matter of fact, in an inscription of the Treasurer and Architect of Thutmosis III (*Mém. de la miss. fran.* v, p. 208) reference is made to a 'Governor of the Gold of the hill lands of Koptos' (*mr ḫs.wt nb n gbt*), clearly indicating that Koptos was an important gold-mining centre. There is an additional feature in connexion with these gold districts which, as we shall presently see, specially deserves stressing, viz. that in many passages where reference is made to the gold mines of these districts,

¹ Cf. Gardiner, *Cairo Scientific Journal*, viii, 1914, p. 42 f. where further literature is mentioned. As he convincingly shows, this fragment embraces the gold mines and a portion of the stone quarries near Wādī Hamamāt. A reproduction is to be found in *Erman-Ranke*, p. 557. On the quarries cf. ibid., p. 562 ff. On the gold mines of this district cf. also Reisner, *JEA*. vi, 79 ff. See also, *Records* iii, § 282, and see reference in Note b.

² Cf. e.g. *Med. Habu, Ramses III*, Düm., *Hist. Inschr.*, i, 32; Pap. Harris, 12 a, 7; 33 a, 5 and 68 b, 6 'good gold of the mountains' (*nb nfr ḫs.t*); W. M. Müller, *Egypt. Res.*, ii (1910), 88 f.

precisely the gold of the Arabian desert between the Nile and the Red Sea is described as the 'good gold of the hill lands' (*nb nfr n ḥṣwt*).¹

For our purpose this gold land is of still deeper interest as it was very rich both in malachite and in emeralds;² so much so that apart from the Sinai Peninsula, which for many centuries supplied Egypt with large quantities of malachite, it was the most productive source of this semi-precious stone.³ We have thus established the fact that of the three products which in Gen. 2, 11 f. are described as proper to Hawilā, the most valuable, gold and malachite (or emerald), certainly came from the district of the Arabian desert.

As to bdellium (בדלח), it is not quite certain what gum is meant, and thus the discussion of the question whether it is identical with a gum indigenous to Upper Egypt must, for the time being, be suspended until a solution of this question may perhaps be rendered possible by new discoveries.⁴ But it should be emphasized that resinous plants are to be

¹ The fact that by 'gold from the foreign land' or 'the desert' (*nb n ḥṣwt*) which refers also to the hill lands (*ḥw*), the gold from the mines located east of the Nile was meant, was pointed out among others by Müller, *Egypt. Res.*, ii, 84, who remarks that even to-day the Egyptian Arabs use *el-gibāl* 'the hills' in the same meaning as the Egyptians in former times.

² As already pointed out above, p. 117 f. *šḥam* is supposed to be the Akkadian *šāmtu* 'malachite'. As, however, emeralds were a principal product of this district near Gebel Zabara and Sikait, and the 'emerald of Qoṣēr' at all times was a very common precious stone, the interpretation of *šḥam* as emerald would be just as plausible. On the emeralds of Gebel Sikait cf. also J. Ball, *The Geography and Geology of South-Eastern Egypt*, Cairo, 1912, p. 345 and 174. It should also not be disregarded that the ancients described also other green stones, e.g. malachite, plasma, etc. as emeralds. It seems to me to be very probable that the Egyptians employed one and the same name *mḥkt* for emerald and malachite, with the distinction that they called the emerald 'genuine malachite' (*mḥkt mḥt*). More will be said on this matter in discussing the precious stones of the Tabernacle.

³ Even after the Sinai mines had been exhausted, towards the end of the New Kingdom, they remained the most productive source of malachite, and even to-day it is to be found in large quantities, especially in the copper mines further to the north-east (cf. Albright, *AJSL.*, 39, p. 20).

⁴ Relying only on the descriptions of bdellium by Dioscor., *De Materia Medica*, i, 80 and Plinius *Historia Naturalis*, 12, 9, 19, many have assumed the *balsamodendron* to be the parent plant of bdellium. This resin, which was very widespread in antiquity, and which occurred *inter alia* in Babylon and Arabia and was also known in Palestine, as Josephus (*Antiquities*, iii, 1, 6) interpreted בדלח as bdellium, has long since passed out of use and only here and there appears in commerce. Of the many species there is also the *bdellium africanum*, the parent plant of which is *Commiphora (Balsamea) Africana Engler*. Cf. especially A. Tschirch, *Die Harze*, i, 410. Moreover בדלח seems in many Jewish circles of the east, even in the sixth and seventh centuries, to have been in use as a drug (Ber. rabba sec. 16: פטמים של כבדלח 'like the bedōlah of the druggists'). G. Dragendorff, *Die Heilpflanzen der verschiedenen Völker und Zeiten*, p. 95 mentions the *Bdellium*

found in large quantities on the whole stretch from Esne on the Nile to Assuan and far beyond into the Sudan.¹ This being so there is no reason to doubt that in ancient times also it was the home of these and similar resins, of which bdellium may well have been one. In any case the description of Hawilā as a land of 'good gold' and malachite or emeralds fits no other 'gold-land' so admirably as this area between the Nile and the Red Sea.

From this assumption it logically follows that Pišōn can only mean that portion of the Nile which circumscribes the gold-land of Upper Egypt, and which, in contradistinction to the Nubian Nile, we would call the Egyptian Nile, which the Egyptians, as we have seen, conceived to rise at the same spot, at the first cataract, as the Nubian Nile. If it is further remembered (1) that the river (נהר) going out of Eden is identical with 'the river' (*itrw*) flowing round the Egyptian Paradise (see above, p. 172); (2) that the Pišōn emerges from the subterranean continuation of the נהר, just as according to Egyptian opinion, the Egyptian Nile was a continuation of the mysterious *itrw* coming to the surface at the first cataract, it will be seen that by two different and independent ways, namely, by the identification of נהר with *itrw*, and also by the localization of the gold-land Hawilā we have succeeded in identifying Pišōn with the Egyptian Nile.

In the Pišōn and Giḥōn we have thus the two portions of the Nile which in those days were regarded as two separate rivers; they were then the most important and best known in the western part of the world, just as the two other world rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates, were in the east. The description given of the course of each exactly tallies: Pišōn, the Egyptian Nile is that which 'compasseth the whole land of Hawilā where there is gold'; and Giḥōn, the Nubian Nile, is that which 'compasseth the whole land of Kūš.'² A further point of coincidence with Egyptian data is the remark, Gen. 2, 12, qualifying the gold of Hawilā as being 'good' which is confirmed by the Egyptian statement that large quantities extracted from the mines of that district were of 'good gold'.³ Finally, the choice of these

Aegyptiacum, said to have been obtained from the Dumpalm (*Hyphaene thebaica Mart.*). If this is correct, בדלח would also be assured as a product of the district we have assumed for Hawilā, as the Dumpalm is specially characteristic of Upper Egypt.

¹ Cf. Muschler, *Manual Flora of Egypt*, i, 460 in Albright l. c. p. 21, and *Third Report of the Wellcome Research Laboratories*, Khartoum, 1908, p. 416 ff.

² Cf. below, p. 188 f. on the reason why a portion of *Upper Egypt* is mentioned to denote the course of the Pišōn.

³ Cf. above, p. 182 f. In the so-called *Famine-Stela* (Brugsch, *Die biblischen sieben Jahre der Hungersnot*, 1891, and Roeder, *Urk.*, 177 ff.) we read a description of the districts lying to the east and west of Elephantine, which is remarkably reminiscent of our passage on Hawilā: 'Masses (?) of mountains are in its neighbourhood on the east side with all jewels

four rivers as the greatest in the world exactly corresponds to the geographical conception entertained in the New Kingdom in Egypt, i.e. about the time of the Hebrew-Egyptian epoch. It was just the time of the great campaigns on the one side to Lybia, beyond the oases, and to the southern lands of the 'blacks' as far as the Blue Nile, and on the other side to Palestine and Syria as far as Mesopotamia. These campaigns were already initiated under Thutmosis I, but were carried on most effectively and successfully under his successors, especially Seti I and his son Rameses II.¹ In those days the Egyptians believed indeed that they had penetrated on all sides to the extreme ends of the world; as for them in the south-west it ended behind the land of Kūš watered by the Nubian Nile, and in the north-east it ended in the land of the 'two rivers' (*nhryna*), the Euphrates and Tigris.²

The author of the Paradise story, who was doubtless familiar with some reminiscences of the original Mesopotamian home of the patriarchs and had a perfectly accurate knowledge of the course of the Tigris,³ was, as we have seen, thoroughly impregnated with the geographical conceptions of his day in placing one end of the earth in the region of the Pišōn and Giḥōn, and the other in the area of the Euphrates and Tigris.

(d) The Meaning of the Names Pišōn and Giḥōn.

The identification of Pišōn with the Egyptian, and Giḥōn with the Nubian Nile so inevitably results from the whole course of our investigation and precious stones, etc.' (Stela I. 11 f. = Roed. *Urk.*, p. 180). In the list given of precious stones and metals from a district above Elephantine (cf. beginning of l. 15 and 16 = *Urk.*, p. 181) gold and malachite are mentioned and also, l. 30 f. (= *Urk.*, p. 184), 'Gold, silver, copper, and genuine precious stones' from the 'upper territory on the east bank'. It would be interesting if it could be determined whether the reference here is not to the same mines which the Genesis passage envisages. In any case it is highly interesting as a parallel.

¹ Cf. *inter alia* Erman-Ranke, 606 f. and 613; Breasted-Ranke, *Geschichte*, 236 f., 257 ff., 326, 339 f.

² The very fact that they often speak of *nhryna* = נהרין proves that both streams were known to them, although in their inscriptions the Euphrates only is mentioned, because it was on its banks that their battles were fought. Characteristic of the strange impression that they derived from the Euphrates is its designation as 'the great reversed, inverted (water) of Nahrein(a)' *phr-wr nhryna* because it flows from north to south, in the reverse direction to the Nile. Cf. e.g. *Urk.*, iv. 613, 9 (= *Records*, ii. § 656 and n. d) 697, 3; Er.-Gr. 55; also above, p. 180, n. 1.

³ The correctness of the delimitation of the course of the Tigris by קדמת אשור Gen. 2, 14 is only objected to by those who would see in אשור the name of the town Aššūr. In reality אשור is never applied in the Bible to the town but only to the land Aššūr. Thus Delitzsch and others have quite correctly interpreted קדמת אשור as 'east of the land Aššūr'. Cf. commentaries ad loc. This indication is very strong evidence of the accurate orientation of the author, and the interpretation of אשור as referring to the town, ignoring its real meaning in the Bible, only proves the inaccurate orientation of its supporters.

tion that it can hardly give rise to doubt. Nevertheless certain questions still remain to be answered. If Pišōn is really the Egyptian Nile, why is it not called יַאֲרֵי, the usual name for the river of Egypt? Further, how is the name Pišōn to be explained? And why did the author not direct its course through the generally known מִצְרַיִם, but through a land Ḥawilā, which only formed one portion of Egypt? Finally how is the name Giḥōn for the Nubian Nile to be explained?

In the first place it should be pointed out that יַאֲרֵי, which has long since been recognized as the Egyptian *irw* (the common form since the 18th dynasty from the older *itrw* = Coptic εἰσορ, Er.-Gr. 20) was not a proper name, but just as in Egyptian simply meant 'river'. Judging by the Coptic, it would also appear that popularly in Egypt *irw* was not applied to the main stream exclusively, but also to its branches. For εἰσορ denotes a branch of the Nile, whereas the main stream was called εἰσο (B.) or ερεσο (S.) 'the great stream', derived from the Egyptian *irw*-y (which in Hebrew would give יַאֲרֵי cf. above p. 50, note 1). This explains the similar use of יַאֲרֵי in the Bible, for the main stream (הַיַּאֲרֵי) as for the branch, and of יַאֲרֵי for the Nile canals or branches (e.g. Ez. 30, 12. Is. 7, 18. 19, 5 f. 37, 25. Ps. 78, 44, etc.). Accordingly, יַאֲרֵי was only the general designation of the Nile itself, as for all its branches, and this is why it could not serve in the Paradise story as a proper name for the Egyptian Nile, any more than it could have been so used in Egyptian itself. As a matter of fact the Egyptians did not use *irw* (or *itrw*) but *h'py*, whenever they had the whole river in mind.

If we consider the grammatical form of פִּישׁוֹן and גִּיחוֹן, there can be no doubt that they are Hebrew and not foreign words like חֲרִיקַל and פֶּרַת, and the question arises whether they were not intentionally coined by the Hebrew author to replace the foreign names. But again the question arises: why did he not call the Egyptian river by its native name, as he did in the case of the two Mesopotamian rivers? What prevented him from retaining the Egyptian name *h'py*, which to Hebrew ears would not sound more uncommon than e.g. the Babylonian name חֲרִיקַל for the Tigris?

But the situation in this case was indeed, essentially, quite different: *h'py* was not the ordinary every-day profane name of the Nile, but its sacred name, and at the same time applied to the Nile God, regarded as one of the great gods of the earth, placed on an equal level with Re the highest god in Heaven, and, sometimes even placed above him, as the sun could not fructify the earth without the aid of the Nile. Like the other great god of the earth, Nun (*nwnw*), *h'py* is also the 'father of the gods' (*it ntr . w*) and like other 'great gods' he also is called the 'creator of all

things'; he is also the 'creator of the *good* things', i.e. food, and he is the god 'that feeds all' (*s'nh* 'lets live'), like Osiris. He is also the 'Lord of the Nether world'; he is omnipresent 'in the nether world, in heaven, and on earth'; his origin is not known, for he is 'of hidden substance, darkness in the day' (i.e. unseen even in brightest light). Thus *h'py* the river and *h'py* the god were so closely associated that it is a matter of difficulty to determine in every case whether *h'py* means the river or the god. But even where it refers quite distinctly to the Nile, it still has a flavour of divinity. Hence *h'py* embodied most sacred conceptions and evoked in his worshippers the deepest religious feelings; the mere mention of him aroused in them adoration and awe; for him they offered and slaughtered 'oxen and bullocks', and for him they consigned 'birds to the flames', just as to all other gods of Egypt (cf. *inter alia Lit.* 146 ff.; Ode to the Nile; The Gods II, p. 42 ff.)

In such circumstances it was unthinkable for the monotheistic author of the Paradise story to adopt such a sacrosanct name for a river of Paradise, and determined to replace it by a genuinely Hebrew one, derived from a Hebrew root and expressing the same meaning as the Egyptian name; as a matter of fact *h'py* means; 'the streaming over, the flowing over, the up-swelling' from *h'py* 'to inundate, to flood'¹; this is exactly the meaning of *פישן* formed from *פיש* 'to increase, to grow'.² *Pišōn*, therefore, represents an excellent and most adequate equivalent of the Egyptian *h'py* as a name for the Nile, indicates its characteristic of an up-swelling, overflowing river.³

¹ Cf. *h'py* 'inundation' (Er. Gr., p. 105); the high state of the Nile was referred to as *h'pj* 'wr.t' 'the very great inundation', e.g. *Urk.* iv, 217¹¹; also *h'py wr eg. Rec.* 20 (1898), 40, Inscription of Amenophis II, l. 6: 'His sea is full from the great inundation' i.e. the high Nile (*h'py wr*). The old orthography (Pyr. O.E.) has *hp* e.g. *hp wr Pyr.* 292 d. Cf. Gardiner, *ÄZ.* 45 (1909), *The Egyptian name of the Nile*. In the Semitic transcription of Egyptian names it appears as *חפי*, cf. Spiegelberg, *Nöldeke-Festschrift*, p. 99.

² For this form cf. e.g. *חפי* from *פישן*, *חפון* from *פישן*, *חפון* from *פישן*, *חפון* from *פישן*. Cf. *inter alia Ewald Gram.*, § 108. They are intensifying forms so that *פישן* means the 'strong, swelling, up-growing'.

³ The designation of the Nile in the vernacular Arabic of Egypt by *baħr* (بحر) furnishes a remarkable parallel to *h'py*. It is a substantive from *baħara* 'to spring forth, flow, flow over', and it is still in use, precisely among the Bedouin of the Sinai Peninsula and the Moab region in this ancient meaning. (Cf. e.g. *Brunnenlied bei Musil*, Petra, vol. iii, p. 69). It should be emphasized that in other Arabic countries, as well as in the literary language *baħr* is only applied to the sea, e.g. *baħr-el-'abyaḍ* 'the White Sea' i.e. the Mediterranean; *baħr-el-'aħmar* 'the Red Sea', etc. Only in Egypt is it used of the Nile, and probably thence applied to other large Egyptian rivers, thus e.g. *baħr-el-'abyaḍ* 'the White Nile', *baħr-el-'azraq* 'the Blue Nile', *baħr el-'aswad* 'the Black River' i.e. the Atbara, etc. It is noteworthy that in Egypt the sea is not called *baħr*, but *el-māleħ* 'the salty', a designation which is very old. It must have already been used by Phoenicians or Canaanites, and perhaps also by Hebrews, as the word *מלח* lit. 'the salty' for 'seaman, sailor' (Jonah, 1, 5),

It should be noted that 'to spring forth, to swell up, to increase' were the very expressions with which the Egyptians described the rising of the Nile. They had no idea of the origin of its rise, that it was caused by rains in the far distant mountains, and by the influx of waters from all the numerous large and small tributaries, especially from the Blue and White Nile. They believed as we have seen that the river sprang out of the deep abyss through the fountain holes at Elephantine increasing and swelling by a mysterious process (cf. above, p. 169).¹ This can be substantiated by many passages and numerous poetic references to the rising of the Nile.²

Reverting to *Gīhōn*, גיחון, it is, as we have said, a genuine Hebrew formation like *Pišōn*, פישן. Nevertheless in the case of *Gīhōn* the author seems to have had no Egyptian prototype like *h'py*, as the Egyptians, so far as we know, had no special designation for this portion of the Nile, though regarded by them as a separate river. He therefore, seized upon a feature that characteristically differentiates the Nubian from the Egyptian Nile. Whereas, for reasons already stated, the Egyptian Nile was the inundator, the swelling-up (*h'py*),³ the Nubian Nile presented another particularly striking phenomenon, namely the mighty cataracts with their tumbling waters, leaping billows, and rushing rapids. It was just this feature which the Hebrew author wished to bring out in coining the name *Gīhōn* for the Nubian Nile, and he therefore selected the root גח, גח and formed therefrom גיחון which means 'the great leaper' for the Nubian Nile.⁴

can only be explained by the use of a word for sea formed from *מלח* 'salt'. It should further be observed that also the Bišari Bedouin (south-east of Assuan) use *bhār* (pl. *bhāre*) for river and that they call the Nile *u nafir bhār* 'the sweet river'. J. Hess, *Zeitschr. f. Kolonialsprachen* 9 (1918-9), p. 211. In *nafir* we undoubtedly have the Egyptian *nfr* 'good', and it is one of the many Egyptian words that have survived in that district. Cf. above, p. 50, n. 1.

¹ This view was also shared by the Greeks, and as late as 1665 De la Chambre believed that the over-flowing of the Nile was to be explained by a strong fermentation of the soil caused by the great deposits of *nitrium*! Cf. Wiedemann, *Herodots zweites Buch*, p. 115.

² Cf. e.g. *LD.* iii. 217 b and the *Kūbbān-Stela* l. 21 f. where it is said the water of the *h'py* rises up in the mountains to supply the springs and wells.

³ This appears plausible, as the beginning of the Nile was conceived to be at the two fountain holes of Elephantine. Thus in the *Famine-Stela* of the Temple of Khnum at Elephantine l. 20 f. the rise of the Nile and the flood are represented as the work of Khnum in the two sources of the Nile. Cf. Brugsch, *Die bibl. sieben Jahre der Hungersnot*, or Roeder, *Urk.*, p. 182. At Silsile, between Assuan and Edfu, the beginning of the Nile flood was celebrated from the very earliest times.

⁴ Cf. גיח, Judges 20, 33, 'to break out of ambush'; in Job 38, 8 it is used of the sea when it sprang forth from the bosom of the earth; in 40, 23 it is used for the 'leaping' of the Jordan. As this is generally misunderstood, an exposition of the whole passage is necessary. Here the mighty power of the Nile monster is described, his imperturbability and the confidence with which he ensconces himself under the shadow of the luxuriant plants on the banks

We have now to answer the question why Ḥawilā was set in place of מצרים. In explanation a religious factor can be adduced while a psychological motive and another of a literary-aesthetic character may have been at work. In describing the Garden of God, the wonderful faery abode of sinless men, the monotheistic author must have felt it repugnant to mention the name מצרים. The remembrance of Egypt filled him with abhorrence and terror. It was for him an impure land, full of idolatrous and moral abominations (תעבות מצרים). Moreover מצרים, as the name of Israel's place of servitude would by no means have been suitable to be used as an element of a story so remote from real and everyday life, and appealing so alluringly and charmingly to the naïve imagination. The intrusion of a name with such evil associations would seriously have impaired the magic spell of the story and deprived it of its whole charm. For all these reasons the author resisted using מצרים for the region watered by the Pišōn. He preferred to take the name of a district sufficient to identify the river indicated by the name Pišōn but having none of the associations mentioned. So he selected Ḥawilā from the whole stretch of the Nile of Upper Egypt and added the reference to its valuable products in order to leave no doubt that it was the gold-land of Upper Egypt that he had in mind.

Indeed it almost appears to me—and this I cannot refrain from mentioning—that he only had the Upper Egyptian portion of the Nile in mind, not alone on account of the motives mentioned, but also because it is only in Upper Egypt that the Nile flows as a single main stream, whereas in Lower Egypt, not far from the Upper Egyptian boundary at Fayyūm, the Biblical Pītōm, it already begins to divide and soon branches off into many bifurcations, each one of these having been regarded by the Egyptians as a separate river, and collectively designated by the Hebrews as יַאֲרֵי. If I am right, this would furnish us with a further explanation of the evasion of מצרים: the author doubtless, like all the Hebrews of that epoch, must have been

of the river. Carelessly he stretches himself and in comfortable quietude enjoys the air and sun in full measure. No sooner does he again crave water than he plunges with open jaws down to the river to swallow it at a gulp. And if the stream does not satisfy him, he need only cast side glances on the Jordan and this would instantly leap from its distant corner straight into his gullet. The passage thus now reads: 'Behold, he robbeth a river and hasteth not; he trusteth that the Jordan will leap into his mouth; he snappeth it with his eyes!'

¹ Even therein he would have remained fully in accord with the conception of the Egyptians, for not even the Egyptian Nile was regarded by them as an integral river, but divided into an 'upper Egyptian' (*h'py-rsj* or *šm'y*) and 'lower Egyptian' river (*h'py-mhy*), and correspondingly they paid homage to two Nile gods. Moreover they saw separate rivers in the various branches and even canals of the Lower Egyptian Nile. Cf. Wiedemann, *Das alte Äg.*, p. 21.

thoroughly conscious of the fact that the dual form of מצרים was modelled on the Egyptian *t:wy* 'the two lands' for Upper and Lower Egypt (cf. above, p. 26). It was, therefore, obvious that he had to avoid using the dual designation מצרים in order to make it clear that he wanted to exclude Lower Egypt from the region of Pišōn. Bearing this in mind we should, strictly speaking, see in the Pišōn only the Upper Egyptian Nile.¹

(e) The Expression סבב 'to go round', of the course of a River.

By the identification of Pišōn and Giḥōn as Egyptian rivers, the expression סבב 'go round' Gen. 2, 11 and 13 appears in a new light: it exactly corresponds to the conception the Egyptians had of the course of the Nile, and even agrees literally with the Egyptian expression for the flowing of a river. The great curves and windings in which the Nile proceeds, and the enormous bends which it describes in its course, especially in Nubia between the fourth and second cataracts at Wādi Ḥalfa, where it forms a complete S, and further below to the north between the first cataract at Assuan and Assiut gave rise among the Egyptians to the idea that the Nile 'moved round'. This is the real reason why they employed the word *phr* 'go round' for the course of their river.² This conception of 'going round' was impressed so deeply on the Egyptian that he extended its use to other waters employing *phr* for the flowing of a river or sea, even outside Egypt (cf. above, p. 184, note 2). The fact that סבב is exclusively used of the Pišōn and Giḥōn but otherwise

¹ Pišōn and Giḥōn are not found elsewhere in the Bible as the names of Egyptian rivers, but occur in later writings, independently of the Paradise story, as e.g. Ben Sira 24, 25 and 27, who, it appears, following the then general view of his time, found also in the LXX Jer. 2, 18 and Josephus Ant. 1, 1, 3, took the Giḥōn to be the Nile, whereas later Saadia (died 941) and others interpreted Pišōn as the Nile. In any case neither name passed from literature into current speech. Their identity must have been forgotten very early in Israel, so that the interpretation of Giḥōn as the Nile can hardly have been due to ancient tradition (cf. above, p. 171, n. 1). Abraham ibn Ezra in his Commentary on Gen. 2, 12 actually challenges Saadia for taking the Nile without any traditional basis as one of the Paradise rivers. Of course, it is merely owing to the etymological consideration that פרי 'increase' was applied to the Nile, see Nachmanides and Rashi ad loc. where also the other rivers are interpreted on etymological considerations, likewise Ber. rabb., § 15, where a different etymology for Pišōn is adopted. Saadia's suggestion that Ḥawilā is Zawīla is untenable as that district does not lie at all in the Nile region. Cf. on Zawīla, Jacut's *Geographical Dict.*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 912 and *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne par Edrisi*, ed. Dozy et de Goeje, *Arab. Text*, pp. 37 and 130.

² *phr* shows the same usage as סבב 'to go around, to go round, encircle, turn round' as well as 'move about, traverse' (Er.-Gr. 55), and is not only used of rivers but also of seas, e.g. Pyr. 629 a-c of the sea which 'surrounds' (*phr*) the Aegaeon Islands (*h.w-nbw.t*). It is very remarkable that in this passage the sea itself is called 'the great round' (*šn wr*) 'the circle' (*dbn*) and again 'the great round' (*šn ʿ*).

is nowhere employed, not even of the Tigris and Euphrates in this same Paradise passage, leaves no doubt that *phr* was actually the model for this expression. This provides a further important factor in illustrating the effect of the Egyptian milieu on the language and elements of the Paradise story just as it has come down to us. There is, however, another feature sufficiently remarkable to deserve attention being drawn drawn to it. The expression used of the course of the Tigris, הֵלֵךְ 'to go', coincides with the word used in Akkadian of the course of a river *alāku* 'to go'. We thus see here quite distinctly how by the employment of הֵלֵךְ = *alāku* for the Mesopotamian river, a reminiscence has been preserved of the pre-Egyptian period when the first generations of Hebrews from the original Babylonian home still used expressions current among them in Babylonia in their Aramaic, and later in the Canaanite dialect adopted by them. The expression הֵלֵךְ, which in popular tradition was still used of the course of the Tigris is therefore retained in the narrative; but in his description of the two Egyptian rivers, the author, influenced by the conception conveyed by Egyptian expression *phr*, employed the analogous סָבַב.

(f) The two Hawilās.

In concluding our discussion of Pīšōn and Gīhōn, we would touch on one question more which is of some importance and should, therefore, not be disregarded here, though we are unable to carry its solution much further than others. The mention of Hawilā Gen. 10, 7 and 29. 25, 18 and 1 Sam. 15, 7 has always presented Biblical scholars with great difficulties in that the Hawilā of these passages had at all costs to be identified with the Hawilā of the Paradise story, yet every attempt in this direction has failed.¹ Our own very exhaustive investigation and close scrutiny of all the suggested possibilities, as well as others considered by ourselves in order to find a common basis for the reconciliation of the diverse data concerning Hawilā, especially in Gen. 10, 7 and 29, has in every case yielded unsatisfactory results. The assumption of a mixed population of Hamites and Semites on the African and Asiatic sides of the Red Sea respectively cannot remove the obstacle of the discrepancy between Gen. 10, 7 and 10, 29, nor can the conception of Hawilā as a geographic collective denomination for a complex of lands on both sides of the Red Sea be summarily accepted. This, for the simple reason that Hawilā would embrace an enormous territory, which, in the south, would extend from Nubia (Kūš) into the interior of

¹ See the newer commentaries on these passages. Further literature also in *Ges.-Buhl.* s.v. Hawilā.

Arabia, approximately below Tēmā and Dedān in the neighbourhood of the present Taima and el-'Olā,¹ and in the north would extend from the Syrian desert in a straight line across the isthmus between Palestine and Egypt to the point where the Egyptian 'wall' *inb* = שֹׁר, Gen. 25, 18 and 1 Sam. 15, 7, stood to protect Egyptian territory against Bedouin inroads.² Such an extension would be out of all proportion and could not possibly be reconciled with 1 Sam. 15, 7.³ Finally the only possibility remaining is assumption of the existence of two lands Hawilā, one in Egypt referred to Gen. 10, 7 and the other in Arabia mentioned Gen. 10, 29, although such a hypothesis would not lead us to a definite solution with regard to the Paradise passage. We must therefore suspend any attempt to establish a connexion between Hawilā Gen. 2, 11 and the other passages mentioned, so long as we are merely dependent upon the Biblical material. In any case it should be emphasized that there is no absolute necessity to establish such a connexion. Indeed the definite article in חַוִּילָה Gen. 2, 11 serves as an indication that it is to be understood neither as an ethnical nor geographical name, but rather as a substantive, to characterize a specific soil formation or appearance of a land.⁴ For the present investigation, at any rate, it is sufficient to have established the identity of this Hawilā with the eastern portion of Upper Egypt.⁵

¹ See Gen. 10, 7 and 28 f., likewise Is. 21, 14; Jer. 25, 23. By the South-Arabian inscriptions of el-'Olā 𐩣𐩣𐩪 has now been established as the name of a town near Taima. Cf. Euting, *Tagebuch einer Reise in Innerarabien*, ii, 146 and 224.

² On this wall cf. *inter alia* Brugsch, *Gesch.*, pp. 119 and 195; *Die bibl. 7 Jahre*, etc., p. 89; *Lit.* 17, n. 2; Müller, *AE.* 102. The identity of *inb* and שֹׁר is not to be doubted. The desert מִדְבַר שֹׁר, Ex. 15, 22 ff. in South-west Palestine certainly derived its name from this wall.

³ The author was certainly well informed concerning the district of Hawilā and Šūr. It is a gratuitous way out of the difficulty to represent the whole passage as a meaningless reproduction of Gen. 25, 18. Our knowledge of the geographical conditions in the borderlands of Palestine at that time is insufficient to venture a definite solution.

⁴ The derivation of חַוִּילָה from חוּל 'sand', in the sense of 'desert' (cf. *Ges.-Buhl.*) is not impossible. The form might be explained as a sort of intensive of חוּל used in later literature (Tal. Bab. Sabb., 31 a) in the sense of an extensive or dense sand desert. In my view חַוִּילָה might refer to dune-land or sandhills, which would very well suit the district between the Nile and the Red Sea on one side, and the opposite portion in Arabia on the other side. This would perhaps also apply to 1 Sam. 15, 7.

⁵ I reached the above results quite independently of Weinheim's (*ZATW.* 32, p. 33 f.) and Albright's (*AJS.* 39, p. 15 ff.) articles, which became known to me only after my investigations on Paradise had already been concluded. Though I set out from a quite different standpoint and from quite different premisses, Weinheim's supposition concerning Pīšōn and Gīhōn, is in the main confirmed. I cannot, however, agree with Albright's identification of these two rivers with the White and Blue Nile, as I cannot follow him along the ways he pursued to reach that result, although I am indebted to him for some useful suggestions.

6. The two Trees of Paradise.

Other points of comparison with the Paradise story are furnished by the Pyramid texts, as well as numerous passages in the books of the dead and sarcophagus texts containing many references to the habitations of the gods and dead in the land of the 'blessed' and 'glorified' in the nether world. This was conceived as a sort of Paradise, with fruitful groves, gardens, and oases, studded with lofty trees, and encompassed on all sides by large rivers and waters.¹ The texts describing the 'fields of the blessed' contain very remarkable details which strikingly agree with those of the Garden of Eden, and in addition illustrate and amplify them by many features.²

(a) The Tree of Life.

Just as in the Garden of Eden there was 'every tree that is pleasant to the sight and good for food' (Gen. 2, 9), so also in the Egyptian 'fields' (*sh.wt*) and in the 'Garden of God' (*km ntr*) there were all kinds of trees with sweet fruits, such as sycamores (*nh.t*), figs (*db* also *db* perhaps also *db*), dates (*bnr.t*), and vines (*irr.t*), as well as other 'lovely trees' (*ht ndm*) and 'beautiful trees' (*ht nfr*).³

¹ The best known and by far the most frequent are the *sh.t irr.w* 'Fields of the rushes' and *sh.t htp* 'Fields of the blessed'. Of the 'Garden of God' (*km ntr*) mention has already been made above (p. 160). An oasis (*wh.t*) is mentioned in the second section of the 'Fields of the blessed' in Pap. Nebensy (Budge, *BD*, pl. p. 319, cf. also p. 333); in Pyr. 792 a *sh.t-r* is mentioned; *ibid.* 1187 the reference is to the fields in which the gods were created and where 'the gods flourish on all the days of the beginnings of the years'; and *ibid.* 1191 to 'the field, the good place, of the great god, where he fulfils his task among the blessed'. In Pyr. and the Books of the Dead other 'fields' are mentioned bearing the names of various gods, e.g. *sh.t hr* 'field of Horus'; also *sh.t ntr.w* 'fields of the gods'; *sh.t nh* 'field of life'; *sh.t nhh* 'field of eternity'. A pretty picture of the 'fields of the rushes' is *inter alia* preserved in the tomb of Senedem (Capart, *Thèbes*, pl. 250, p. 339). The rendering of *sh.t htp* by 'Fields of the Blessed' is only conventional. Literally it means 'the field of foods' (*Speisenfeld*, *Äg. WB.* iii. 184) or 'of offerings'.

² In many cases the surprising fact is established that many earlier Jewish traditions concerning Paradise which were dismissed as fiction or as apocryphal have their origin in the Egyptian literature of the dead and undoubtedly go back to very early traditions, as will be shown on other occasions.

³ Fig trees are mentioned already in the 3rd dynasty together with vines among the 'good' or 'beautiful trees' (*ht nfr*) of a high personage named Meten (*Erman-Ranke*, p. 209). Also in a garden sculpture of the 18th dynasty, fig trees appear together with sycamores, vines, pomegranates, dates, and other fruit trees. *Brit. Mus.*, No. 37, 983 shows a coloured picture of Amenemheb's garden of the fifteenth century B.C. in Thebes with flourishing trees, green palms, hanging date clusters, and other fruit-laden trees, planted in two rows round a pond fenced in with flowers and blossoms and alive with leaping fish. A similar picture is also preserved on the tomb of Rekhmire (Capart, *Thèbes*, pl. 246, p. 333). These

Of most importance for us, however, is the fact that among the trees of the Egyptian Paradise was also the 'Tree of Life'. The idea that the food of the gods was also the food for eternal life is quite natural and was not confined to Egypt but was also, and is, common to the mythology of the Babylonians. But whereas the Akkadian expression, *akāl balāti*, 'Food of Life' (see above p. 116) is quite different from the Hebrew, the Egyptian *ht n nh* 'Tree of Life' corresponds literally with *עץ החיים* 'Tree of Life'. Just as the *עץ החיים* stood in the Hebrew Paradise so the *ht n nh* also stood in the Egyptian Paradise, the 'Fields of the Blessed' (*sh.t htp*). It is mentioned already in *Pyr.* 1216: here the wish is expressed that the king proceeding to the great island in the 'Fields of Offerings' may be fed from the 'Tree of Life', so as to live from that wherefrom the gods live.¹ Likewise *Urk.* IV, 130 the wish is voiced that the deceased may be given the food of the gods from the 'Tree of Life', in order that he may live from the same food.²

The expression 'Tree of Life' which originally was only applied to the tree from which the gods fed, was later extended to all 'fruit trees' for men.³ But it is used rather as a poetical term in religious texts, e.g. in the *Hymn to Amon*, Cairo l. 7 in which he is praised as the creator: 'who made men and created the beasts; the lord of all that is; who creates (for men) the tree of life; (*km: ht n nh*) who makes herbage and gives sustenance to cattle (*ir sm s'nh mnmn.t*)'. Further *ibid.* 6, 4: 'Who created herbage for the herds and the tree of life for mankind (*ht n nh.w n hmn.t*)'. It should be noted that in both passages *ht n nh* is determined as a plural. As it

are the same trees that at all times constituted the glory and beauty of Egyptian gardens and oases, and which still to-day delight the eye with the glowing colour of their blossoms and fruit.

¹ 'He is gone to the great island at the Fields of Offerings on which the gods let the swallows fly. The swallows are the everlasting (stars). May they (the gods) give to (king) N. N. this tree of life (*ht pw n nh*) from which they live (*nh.w-sn im-f*)'.

² 'May the gods who are in their chapels give him their offerings from the tree of life (*m ht n nh*) their food from the necropolis'. Only in the Egyptian literature of the dead is the conception so frequently and so expressly propounded that the dead live from the same food as the gods. 'He receives his meal of that which is in the barn of the great god, he is clad by the eternal [star]', and 'he is given bread and beer that last for ever' (*Pyr.* 1182 and 1175); or 'When Re eats, he gives to him; when Re chews, he gives to him' (*Pyr.* 123 f. and 133); 'He (the dead) eats from that which ye (the gods) eat; he drinks from that wherefrom ye drink' (*Pyr.* 1218). Later: 'thou eatest the bread beside the god (Osiris) on the great stairway of the lord of the nine (in Abydos)', Paheri, *Erman, Relig.* 122.

³ This extension may be simply explained by the fact that even for the gods the tree of life was not regarded in a magical sense, but as a real fruit tree from which they fed. The Egyptian was fond of using *nh* 'to live' for 'feed' and the caus. *s'nh* for 'give food', cf. p. 52 f.

stands, it may refer to *ht* 'tree', but as the whole is a collective expression, the plural signs could refer also to '*nh* 'life'. In this case '*nh.w*, as subst. plur., would coincide also grammatically with the invariable use of the plural חיים 'life' in the Hebrew, and עץ החיים would agree also in this particular with the Egyptian.¹

(b) The Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil.

Before we attempt to establish the nature and character of this tree, it may be remarked that the expression דעת טוב ורע 'knowledge of good and evil', which only occurs here, exactly coincides with the Egyptian phrase *rh nfr byn* 'knowledge of good and evil' thus e.g. in the panegyric hymn of Nefer-Abu to the 'Mistress of Heaven' Mer-seger (*Turin Stela 102*, Erman, *Sitzungsb. Berl. Ak. d. W.* 1911, p. 1098); '(I am) an ignorant man that has no heart, without knowing good and evil (*bw rh nfr byn*)'.²

As far as the tree itself is concerned, we find that in the same region, in the eastern heaven where the tree of life stood, there was also a 'lofty sycamore' (*nh.t k.t*) to which was assigned extraordinary importance as seat of the gods.³

In numerous passages the sycamore is described as the seat of the gods, above all of the supreme god Re, e.g. *BD.*, p. 318: 'Truly I know the two sycamores of malachite (*mfk.t*) between which Re shows himself when he strides over the pillars of Shu (God of air) forth to the gate of the gods in the east (sunrise) out of which Re emerges'. Hathor in particular is designated as the native goddess of the sycamore, and indeed in graphic

¹ Although we shall deal elsewhere with the plural formation for *collectiva* or *abstracta* in Hebrew and Egyptian, we would here observe that the plural חיים 'life' actually occurs in Egyptian '*nh.w* (plur. of '*nh*)' (*Ag. WB.*, I, p. 198). Similarly דמים 'blood' finds an Egyptian equivalent in *dšr.w* 'blood' in the plural (from *dšr* 'the red'), *Er.-Gr.*, p. 216. In this way may best be explained such plural formations which are more especially peculiar to the older Bible texts.

² *n iw.ty h.ty-f* 'he that has no heart, the heartless' denotes the foolish, just as in the Hebrew לב אין לב Jer. 5, 21. and לב חסר לב Prov. 7, 7. 9, 4. 17, 18. *rh* here is in the infinitive, i.e. 'to know good and evil', and thus also grammatically coincides with the Hebrew form דעת. It would be more correct to render דעת טוב ורע by: 'Tree of the knowing of good and evil', whereby the article in דעת would be explained. In any case the originality of the sentence is confirmed by the Egyptian parallel, so that the whole discussion as to the necessity of eliminating דעת טוב ורע (cf. newer commentaries) is quite out of place.

³ In Pyr. 914 c f. 'N. N. goes to heaven for all of life and enjoyment, to see his father, to see Re. N. N. calls to the exalted places and the places of Set; the exalted places conduct him to the places of Set, to that high sycamore in the east of heaven on which the gods sit'; Pyr. 1433: 'O N. N. ! Thou fallest not to earth. N. N. takes for himself the two sycamores that are in the midst of this portion of heaven and which conduct him to this eastern side of heaven'.

representations in the Books of the Dead appears beneath the sycamore or among its branches, e.g. in the vignette of the Papyrus Nu (*Brit. Mus.* 10, 477, sheet 7 and *BD.*, p. 208). There the deceased is seen at the edge of a pool of water, kneeling beneath a sycamore. In his right hand he holds a bowl into which Hathor pours water from a vessel. In the Papyrus of Ani (*Brit. Mus.* 10, 470, sheet 16, and *BD.*, p. 204) it is however, Nut, the goddess of heaven, who appears as goddess of the sycamore. Here the deceased is seen kneeling beside a pool out of which a sycamore grows. The goddess Nut emerges from the branches, and with her left hand pours water from a ewer into his bowl, and hands him cake with the right. In the tomb of Weser-Khat (Capart, *Thèbes*, Pl. 247, p. 335) the deceased is seen beside his mother and wife sitting beneath a sycamore, and human-headed soul-birds stand before an altar-table set with all kinds of foods and drinks. A goddess, Hathor or Nut, hands the deceased water and foods, and the soul-birds also refresh themselves with the sacrificial gifts. One of the finest and most vivid representations of a Paradise with wonderful groves of sycamores, date-palms, and other fruit trees is to be seen on the tomb of Sobek-hotep (Capart, *Thèbes*, Pl. 248, p. 337). Here too the deceased and his wife are sitting beneath sycamores and are being fed by a goddess from a smaller sycamore opposite.¹

The veneration of the sycamore as a sacred tree is very ancient, even though it can be traced back only to the 5th dynasty; its fruit was always preferred as sacrificial offering for the dead because it was reckoned as the most luscious food of the beyond. It was piled up in heaps on the tombs, sometimes in clay models, to be offered to the dead with the wish that they might get (in the beyond) sycamore figs to eat and wine to drink.² The idea of eating this sweet fruit beneath the sycamore itself, and dwelling in the midst of divine beings who descended upon it to enjoy its fruit was the highest bliss of the 'glorified' in the heavenly Paradise.³

¹ Cf. also Budge, *The Gods*, ii, 103 and 106 f. picture of the sycamore of Nut or Hathor. There was another tree of specially sacred character, the *isd* to which the Egyptians attached the greatest significance because the name of the dead king was written on its leaves by the goddess Sefkhet-Abw to make him live eternally (cf. inter alia Erman, *Relig.*, p. 26 and pl. 27). It is believed that it was the sycamore (cf. *Rec.* 15, 107; *PSBA.* 13, 499; Wiedemann, *Das alte Ägypten*, p. 16), but Wiedemann (loc cit., p. 276) sees in it the *mimusops Schimperii* corresponding to the Persea of the Greeks. Cf. also *The Gods*, i, pl. p. 274.

² Cf. Wiedemann, *Das alte Ägypten*, p. 276. Wreszinski, *Atlas*, pl. 52, showing women bringing offerings with sycamore branches as head adornment.

³ *BD*² p. 639, Papyrus of Nu, sheet 19, the deceased says, inter alia: 'The gods and the Akhu (the soul spirits of the dead) will say to me: Which sort of food wouldst thou like to be given thee?—(I answer): let me take my food under the sycamore of the goddess Hathor and may I pass my hours beneath the divine beings that rest upon it.'

Alternatively to the sycamore in Pyr. and elsewhere the fig (*dꜥb*) together with wine (*irp*) are mentioned as food and drink of the gods and god-descended kings. Thus e.g. Pyr. 816, it is said of the dead kings, the 'beloved of the gods', that they 'lean on their sceptres, clothe themselves in red linen (see also Pyr. 1511), live on figs ('*nh.w m dꜥb*), drink wine, and anoint themselves with fine oil,' in order to speak to the great god and to go up to him.¹

The most important feature for our investigation is that this striking preference of the sycamore fruit is due to the fact that the sycamore is besung in Egyptian love-poetry as the love-tree, and its fruit as love-fruit. The aspiration to enjoy sycamore fruit and wine 'in the fields of the blessed' is thus closely connected with the yearning for the enjoyment of love, which is expressly cited as one of the chief blisses in the beyond.² But just as in Paradise the fig (*dꜥb*) appears together with the sycamore fruit as the food of the gods and delectation of the glorified blessed, it has the same role among lovers. The lover is compared with the fig tree, whereas the little sycamore 'which she (the beloved) planted with her hands' speaks her language in its mouth; with its whispering, that is as sweet as pure honey, it lures the lover to its cool shadow for the love potion, so that he hastens to it being already 'drunken without having drunk' (*Liebespoesie*, I, 11 f. and 15 ff. = *Lit.* 250 f. and *Erman-Ranke* 210).³

¹ As a rule *dꜥb* (also *dbꜥ*) is used for a special kind of fig, perhaps as the ordinary fig (*figus carica*), and, as we have seen above, is also mentioned as a special tree besides the sycamore. But *dꜥb* also occurs as the fruit of the sycamore (*figus sycomorus*), e.g. *Urk.* iv, 73: *nh.t nt dꜥb*. That *dꜥb* or *dbꜥ* (דבא) and the Hebrew דָּבָל*, plur. דְּבָלִים (1 Sam. 25, 18, etc.) are one and the same (*ÄZ.* 32, 33, and 49, 88) can be taken for granted. But in Egypt the ordinary fig and the sycamore fig seem to have been denoted indifferently by *dꜥb*, whereas probably in Canaan or Israel the dried figs were called דְּבָלִים in contradistinction to תַּאֲנִים for fresh figs, whereas דְּבָלָה was used for a lump of pressed figs. Whether *dꜥb* was originally Egyptian or Semitic need not here be discussed. In any case the Semitic origin of *dꜥb* is just as probable as the non-Semitic origin of *nh.t* 'sycamore'.

² Cf. e.g. Naville, *Totb.* 110: 'He is there powerful and is there glorified. He ploughs there and reaps there, and drinks wine and plies love there, and does all that he did on earth'. Cf. also *ÄZ.* 40, 119 and Erman, *Relig.*, p. 121. For the same reason wine was much esteemed as a divine beverage, and to be drunken was regarded as the greatest bliss in the world of the glorified. Cf. e.g. Pyr. 130: 'His (the deceased's) offering (i.e. his food) is among you, the gods, and his water is wine like that of Re'. In Pyr. 820 and 1524 the dead is designated like Osiris as 'lord of the wine'. In Pyr. 1552 immediately on his appearance in heaven he is brought water and wine. Cf. also 1723. Seldom is wine lacking among offerings to the gods and dead. Cf. e.g. Pyr. 36, 92 ff. and many other passages.

³ As to the alleged close connexion between the Paradise story and Babylonian mythology it may be pointed out that whereas the fig assumes an eminent place in Egypt, in Babylonia it was probably not even known, because no certain word for fig exists in the

Sycamore and fig are thus poetical and mythological symbols of love, vehicles of enjoyment, filling the heart with joy and bliss. That in Egypt the sycamore excels the fig and is given a more prominent position is to be explained by the fact that in the Nile valley the sycamore grows more lavishly, and it must certainly have been indigenous in Egypt much earlier than the fig, in spite of the fact that the presence of the fig can be attested already in the 3rd dynasty (*Erman-Ranke*, p. 209), whereas the sycamore can only be traced back to the 5th dynasty.¹

If the sycamore, therefore, was more characteristic of the Egyptian than the fig, the reverse was the case for the Hebrew because the fig (תאנה) was a much more typical local plant in Canaan than the sycamore (שקמה). It is for this reason that the fig was like the vine, symbolical and proverbial of the fertility and beauty of the land (Num. 20, 5. Deut. 8, 8. 1 Kings 5, 5. Zech. 3, 10. Prov. 27, 18, etc.). This different position of the sycamore and fig in Egypt and Canaan found expression also in the fact that in Biblical poetry the fig appears instead of the sycamore as the love-tree (Song of Songs 2, 13).

In the light of these observations the mention of the fig leaves in the Paradise story assumes special importance. If the author avoids mentioning the 'tree of knowledge' in this connexion it is because by going into such detailed particularization the beautiful simplicity of the narrative would be impaired, and the solemnity of the description of the episode which is intentionally kept in general terms would be marred. On the other hand he is not deterred from specifying the nature of the tree at the moment when the veil of mystery is raised and exaltation is dispelled.

To sum up, the following factors support the view that the 'tree of knowledge' was the love-tree, and actually was the fig: (1) that the 'tree of knowledge' stood next to the tree of life, just as in the Egyptian Paradise the sycamore (*nh.t*) was to be found 'in the spot where the tree of life (*ht n 'nh*) was'; (2) that the fig tree in Biblical poetry is the tree of love, as is the sycamore in the poetry and religious literature of the Egyptians;

language. Only hypothetically *tintu* or *tinanū* are connected with the Hebrew תַּאֲנִה (*Muss-Arnolt* 1179 b and 1177 b and Del. *WB.*, 698 b and 482 on *nurmū*).

¹ Cf. Wiedemann loc cit., p. 276. Very instructive on this point are the numbers given in the above-mentioned garden picture of the 18th dynasty (*Erman-Ranke*, 209); 170 date palms, 120 dūm palms, 31 persea trees, 12 vines, and only 5 fig trees, whereas there are 73 sycamores. This proportion indicates the greater popularity and the earlier indigenity of the sycamore in Egypt. The fact that the fig is now predominant in the Nile Valley is in consequence of the growing prosperity in the country, the wild fig having been gradually replaced by the cultivated variety. Likewise on the coasts of Palestine the sycamore (Gummēze), probably for the same reason, has become less frequent than fifty years ago, when it was still to be found by many springs and wells.

only that in the Biblical narrative the fig tree takes the place of the sycamore; and (3) the express mention of *fig* leaves in connexion with the Fall.

Thus we have in the 'tree of knowledge' the typical love-tree of the Bible, and in the mention of fig leaves the veiled hint that they were from the very tree the fruit of which had aroused in the first human couple the consciousness of love.

7. 'To be like God'.

The idea that man in the nether world would 'be like a god' or 'become a god' was very widespread in Egypt, and is constantly repeated, especially in texts of the dead. By the identification of the dead, not merely with Osiris, the god of the dead *par excellence*, but also with other gods, this idea had very early penetrated so deeply among all Egyptian classes that every one aspired 'to be equal to god' (*wn my ntr*),¹ to obtain all the advantages accruing to a god, to enjoy all the delights of a god, and above all to live like a god for 'thousands and millions of years and jubilees' in all eternity.

Both the oldest Pyr. texts as well as the latest ones of the Greek and Roman times, which speak of the dead, or are addressed to the dead, are full of the idea that the dead 'is like a god (*wnn-f my ntr*)'. He has all the privileges of a god; he lives eternally like the gods; rules the whole heaven like the gods, and can ride from one horizon to another like the Sun-god Re. The whole literature of the dead is thoroughly permeated with this idea and is full of exorcisms intended to remove all obstacles 'in the way of the dead', so that in all respects he shall be equal to a god. And because for the Egyptian this was the highest and sole aim, he did everything he could to preserve his body for ever, and provided himself with all possible magic formulae in order to be in the nether world 'like God' and to live eternally 'like God'.

From a very great multitude of such references the following few examples may be quoted:² Pyr. 393 f: 'They (the demons) saw him (the dead) when he appeared and his soul was like a god, etc. He is the lord of

¹ The expression *hpr r ntr* 'to become a god' rather expresses the transformation of the dead into a god (Osiris), in the nether world.

² We give here merely examples for the 'being like a god' or 'becoming like a god' in the nether world, because in Egyptian as in our Genesis passage the idea of 'being, becoming like a god' is essential. That the king during his lifetime was also spoken of as a god, does not belong here but is connected with the conception of his being a god *in essentia*, cf. above p. 43, n. 2. For this reason 'to become like a god' was not deemed an adequate 'promotion' for a king after death, and so many Pyramid texts represent him as becoming even stronger, greater, mightier than the gods, and even let him appear as 'lord of the gods', or 'prince of the gods', e.g. Pyr. 204 f., 776, 813, 1624, 1645.

wisdom' etc.; Pyr. 412; 'His (the deceased's) lifetime is eternity and his existence is for everlasting, in this dignity of a god who does what he likes, and refrains from what he abhors; Pyr. 762 to the dead: 'All life, enjoyment, and eternity is given to thee, says Re, etc. Thou takest the form of a god, thou art great there before the gods, etc.' Nav. *Totb.* ii, p. 350 chap. 136A concerning the dead: 'He will be among the living, he will live without perishing, etc. He shall go up daily from the nether world, he shall be as a god (*wnn-f m ntr*)'; *Totb. Leps.* lvi V, 15 (= Roed. *Urk.* 285): 'When this saying is recited in the bark of Re, then shall he (the deceased) together with these gods be led up; he shall be like one of them (*wnn-f my w' im-sn*)'; also *Totb. Leps.* lxix, 148, 5: 'These gods surround him (the dead); they know him; he shall be like one of them (*wn hr-f my w' im-sn*)'. In a song, in archaic speech, Gardiner, *PBA.* 1913, p. 165 (= *Lit.* 253) 'it is said of the dead that he enters the city of the dead into eternal life: 'Now is he a god who lives eternally and is made great in the west', i.e. in the nether world; Merikare *Petersb. Pap.* 1116A recto 56 (*Lit.* 78): 'He who comes to them (the judges of the dead) without having sinned, he shall be there like a god (*wnn-f im my ntr*) like the lords of eternity', i.e. like the blessed dead that live eternally like the gods. Equally numerous are the sayings provided for the deceased in order that, on his way through the nether world, he may assume the form of all sorts of gods, and also frighten the guardians, the evil demons, and fabulous beasts that stand in his way, e.g. *Urk.* v, 170, 13: 'My face is that of Nun (God of the primal deep); I behold as Shu (God of Light) beholds: I hear as Shu hears', etc.; in *Urk.* v, 30 the deceased says to Hw (*hw*) the god of 'Taste' and to Sye (*sy*), the God of 'Knowledge': 'You in front there: Give me your hands; I am he that has become as you', i.e. one of you. Together with the conception of 'being like God' (*wn my ntr*) the idea of 'living eternally' (*nh r nh* or *nh d.t*) was deeply rooted in the mind of the Egyptians, and the aspiration 'to live for ever' dominated all his actions. Therein lay the true significance of 'being like God', and eternal life was a consequence thereof, and thus 'being like God' and 'living for ever' became identical conceptions.¹

It is now clear that the idea and even the form of the expression *היה כאלהים* 'to be like God' (Gen. 3, 5) which is of prime interest for us agrees completely with the Egyptian *wn my ntr* 'to be like God', and also the phrase *היה כאחד ממנו* 'he has become like one of us', Gen. 3, 22, coincides literally with *wn my w' im-sn* 'to be as one of them' (i.e. of the gods). That

¹ The idea of 'being like the gods' frequently found expression in theophoric personal names, e.g. in the feminine name *snt-imm* 'resembling Amon'; *snt-sbk* 'resembling (the god) Sobek'; *snt-mj.t* 'resembling Maat' (the goddess of truth) and the like; the same is

these two parallel expressions are used in Hebrew and in Egyptian side by side with reference to the life of man in Paradise and in the nether world of the gods respectively is another striking testimony to the influence of the Egyptian milieu.¹

8. The Serpent of Paradise.

(a) Nature and Character of the Serpent.

The Egyptian conception of the world of the gods and the 'blessed' also provides the background for our understanding the nature and character of the serpent, as well as for its role in Paradise. Just as everywhere in Egypt snakes creep about undisturbed in fields, gardens, and oases, and climb freely on walls and trees, so in all pictorial representations of the Egyptian nether world they appear in its gardens and groves, gates and entrances, as well as among its high and stately trees. In almost all cases, however, it is not a fantastic monster, but the usual uraeus, and in rare cases a viper. Even the serpents represented here and there as fabulous beings are not grotesque dragons as in Babylonian mythology, but have as a rule the appearance of gigantic uraeus serpents as, e.g. the Apophis serpent, the seventy-ells-long serpent, the serpent with human legs, winged serpents and the like.² In the same way the Hebrew narrator of the Paradise story, had in mind not a grotesque, terrifying monster as in the Babylonian myths (e.g. *KAT.* 503 f.) but the uraeus indigenous to Egypt and the neighbouring lands.³ But whereas the serpent of the Egyptian myth usually appears in

probably also the case in the masculine names *sn-šbk* 'resembling Sobek' (confused with *s-n-šbk* 'man of Sobek'); *sn-wštr* 'resembling Osiris', etc. Cf. Hoffm. *Theoph. Personal Names*, p. 60 and 57. I believe, however, that in all these names not the god himself but his idol was in mind in the same sense as 'Madonna-like'. Similarly names like *rh-my-r* 'knowing like Re', etc. belong to the same category.

¹ In this case also the preponderance of Egyptian influence as compared with Babylonian is very marked: in Babylonian it is the living, and not the dead, as invariably in Egyptian, who is compared with a god and then only poetically, as it is said incidentally, e.g. of the king that he was *muššulu ša ilu* 'the likeness of a god', (cf. above p. 112). As a matter of fact the idea of the deification of the dead is foreign to the Babylonians and stories like that of Utnapištim and Adapa invoked as parallels to our passage, serve but to show that the raising of a man to the rank of the gods was very far from being a common notion.

² Besides the already cited illustrations in *BD.*² cf. also p. 287 and 228, likewise Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, i, 183, 191 ff.; 231, 253, 515; ii, 65, etc.

³ The representation of a serpent under a tree in front of a human couple on a small Babylonian cylinder (Del. *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 90 and Jerem. *Das AT.*, p. 89), which is advanced as a proof of a Babylonian background for the serpent motive in the story of the fall, is only hesitatingly discussed by Zimmern (*KAT.*, p. 529), because its meaning and significance are not clear, even to Assyriologists. In any case this solitary, very doubtful, parallel is distinctly meagre in comparison with the numerous and quite palpable Egyptian

the nether world as rebel in eternal conflict with gods and men, the Paradise serpent is represented rather as a companionable, sociable being, apparently benevolently disposed to man. It is not the aggressive serpent of the myth, but the magic snake of fable. It talks to the woman in a familiar way, like all the animals in Egyptian and Biblical fables.¹ It has something daemonic but nothing monstrous about it. Moreover, the selection of the arch-Semitic word שָׁרָפָן, identical with the Arabic حَنَش points to its interpretation as a common serpent and not a fabulous beast. As a matter of fact, *hanaš* is still the usual name for the uraeus in Arabia, and more especially in the lands bordering on Egypt, though also حَيَّة is commonly used for a snake.² In the express mention of the fact that the serpent was more cunning than all the beasts of the field (Gen. 3, 1 and 14), its character as an ordinary snake is brought out. Even in the event that the narrator, as many believe, conceived the serpent before the curse as a creature walking on legs, he would still have thought of it in the form of a uraeus on legs, just as it appears in numerous representations of the Egyptian nether world.

It is tempting to compare the Paradise serpent with the serpent depicted on a sarcophagus in the Louvre, with human arms and legs, standing in an upright attitude before the god Seb, and putting a cake in his mouth. It is described as *nb dfr.w* 'Lord of foods'.³

(b) The Fight between Man and Serpent.

The use of one and the same expression שָׁרָפָן for the manner in which man was to kill the serpent, and the serpent attack man has always presented

parallels. It is rather remarkable that whereas some of the supporters of the Babylonian mythological conception in Genesis represent the Paradise serpent as a fantastic, grotesque, and gigantic dragon-like monster, others cling to the tiny thin reptile on the cylinder, which after all is nothing but an ordinary snake.

¹ Cf. e.g. the tale of the ship-wrecked (of the N.E.) which speaks of a beneficent serpent 30 ells long on a fabulous paradisaical island with wondrous trees that emerged from the 'flood' (doubtless the primal ocean Nun) and then again disappeared in the deep. *Erman-Ranke* 603, also *Lit.*, p. 31 f.

² Though حَنَش is interpreted in the dictionaries, e.g. *Lisān al-ʿArab*, vol. viii, p. 177 and others as viper, it is also described at the same time as the black poisonous uraeus. As a rule among the Bedouins it is the name for snake generally, also for the blindworm. This is very significant; when we bear in mind this role of the snake to supply the gods with food in the nether world it becomes clear why, from among all the 'beasts of the field' it was the snake which approached the woman to talk to her about the fruits of the garden, without arousing suspicion or alarm in her.

³ Cf. Lanzone, *Dizionario*, i, p. 337 and pl. 172 also p. 431 f. Similar serpent figures, cf. pl. 173 a and c. According to a Jewish tradition, before the curse the serpent was a creature in human form with 'upright stature' בְּקוֹמָה זְקוּפָה. Cf. especially Genesis rabb. sec. 22, and Deut. rabb. sec. 5.

difficulty to Biblical scholars, because man and snake could not carry out their attack in one and the same manner. To solve this difficulty it had to be assumed either that $\eta\psi$ represents two separate roots with different meanings, or one root with a basic meaning from which two others could have developed to denote the different mode of attack by man and snake respectively. That the latter is indeed the case will be shown by reference to Egyptian.

In Egyptian we find a whole series of words, as e.g. \underline{ddb} and \underline{psh} both for the *sting* of insects or scorpions, and for the *bite* of snakes. Moreover, \underline{ddb} is also used for stabbing with a weapon such as a knife or spear. The basic meaning is to prick, to pierce, and this was extended, on the one hand, to the bite of the snake because the latter in fact was experienced as a violent prick and, on the other hand, to stabbing with a weapon.¹ The same is also the case with \underline{dm} : as a rule it means 'Whet, sharpen', but is also applied to the stinging of insects and biting of reptiles.² Now in $\eta\psi$ have we an analogous double usage: in the first instance speaking of the man it means an attack by stabbing and in the second case referring to the serpent it means 'to bite'.

For the illustration of this mode of combat between man and serpent the graphic representation of the serpent in conflict with Re in various texts of the dead is of special interest. Thus e.g. in the Book of the Dead of Any and that of Khu-Nefer (*BD.*, p. 103) there are scenes showing the eternal fight which the serpent, as the personification of night and darkness, wages every morning against the Sun-god Re at the moment when he, as a cat, obviously as an animal hostile to the snake, emerges from the interior of the *išd*-tree (cf. above, p. 195, n. 1) in order to lift the sun above the horizon. One can see the black snake, mad with rage, hurling itself against

¹ Cf. Er.-Gr. 223. *Metternich-Stele*, verso 55 and 73. *Anast.*, i, 21, 3. *Rec.* 35, 58 where it is said of the reptiles that bite with the mouth: 'Thou removest far from me . . . every mouth ($r; nb$) that bites (\underline{psh}) and stings (\underline{ddb}) in its lair ($\underline{dph.t}$)'. Also \underline{psh} means both the 'bite and sting' of reptiles or scorpions, e.g. Pyr. 230-32; ' \underline{sbg} is bitten by a serpent; W. has bitten the earth, has bitten Geb (the Earth god), the father of that (snake) that bit him'; 233: 'the serpent mannikin is bitten by the serpent elf (and vice versa)'. Cf. also Coptic $\pi\omega\tau\epsilon$ and $\pi\omega\tau\epsilon$ (Spiegelb., *WB.* 95 and 98: 'bite' wherewith $\eta\psi$) Micah 3, 5 is translated). Besides \underline{ddb} there is \underline{ddm} 'bite', *Metternich-Stele*, 189 and *Ag. WB.* V, 634. The 'stinger' \underline{ddby} , i.e. 'biter' is the name of the serpent that guards the entrance to the 'Gate of the fourth hour' in the nether world (cf. illustrations Budge, *The Gods*, i, p. 185).

² Cf. Er.-Gr. 214 and Coptic $\tau\omega\alpha\alpha$. Often it is used metaphorically of the king's crown ($\underline{hd.t}$), which is so lofty that it pierces ($\underline{dm hr.t}$) the heaven with its top, e.g. Grapow, *Bildl.*, p. 171. By the above-cited passage the meaning 'pierce' is assured, and this also is the case in the metaphor referred to (cf., however, *l.c.*).

the tree, and with convulsive coiling body it attempts to bite the cat on the paw. The cat, however, strikes it with one paw on the head, and with the knife in the other it cuts off its head, the blood spouting forth in great jets. Numerous other scenes show the dead man piercing the head of the snake with a long spear or pointed stick (*BD*² pp. 54, 58, 103, 158, 167, 170 etc.). In all the scenes we have a vivid illustration of the description given in Gen. 3, 15: 'and he (the man) will pierce (or stab) thee, $\eta\psi$, in the head, and thou wilt bite him $\eta\psi$ in the sole (or heel)'. This description shows quite clearly that the narrator could only have had in mind the common snake and not a monstrous creature, for only such would bite the man on the foot.¹

Very instructive light is thrown on our passage by some of the usual inscriptions accompanying some graphic representations of working scenes (cf. above, p. 140). These reproduce cries and shouts of workmen to each other as in the stress of work they chaffingly egg one another on. Thus for instance in the carrying out of a difficult piece of metal work demanding vigilance, one workman calls out to another: 'Hit it properly on the sole ($\underline{dm tbt-f wr.t}$), mate, as well as you can!', i.e. 'give it a proper kick, comrade!';² The same is expressed by another in the following words: $\underline{wdr tbt-f}$ 'Stick it in the sole!'³ (*Erman, Reden, Rufe* etc., p. 40). As will be seen 'piercing the sole' and 'hitting the sole' (or 'heel') was a common expression in Egyptian, and when it is remembered that in the east the people of the lower classes, as well as peasants at work in the fields, go about barefoot, the idea of a snake-bite in the foot was very present, just as was hitting and kicking on the sole or heel in fights and broils. Particularly noteworthy

¹ Besides this passage $\eta\psi$ only occurs in Ps. 139, 11 and Job. 9, 17. In both passages the meaning pierce, strike, in the sense of slay fits very well. It is true that in Ps. 139, 11 there may remain a dim reminiscence of the fight of darkness, personified in the Apophis serpent, against the light, whereby the use of $\eta\psi$ in this passage can be explained by its double meaning of biting and slaying. Attention may be drawn in this connexion to the antithesis of $\eta\psi$ 'wings of the morning star' for the sunrise and $\eta\psi$ 'end of the west' (verse 9) of the sunset in the extreme west where the nether world lies (cf. above, p. 165 f.). It is there that the Night Apophis serpent arms itself for the fight against the sun.

² By my interpretation I believe I have removed the difficulties encountered by Erman. There is no real connexion between the work to be done and the 'hitting of the sole'. That is also the meaning with regard to the manufacture of a new jug: the potter is to be hit vigorously on his sole to remind him that he must take care; it is a new jug!

³ 'Heel' and 'sole', more especially the under part of the heel belong together, and thus \underline{tbt} can quite well be applied to both heel and sole. Likewise in Coptic $\tau\epsilon$ (S.) (Spiegelb., *WB.*, p. 142) means 'sole' and 'heel', and in Hebrew $\eta\psi$ is used both for 'heel' and for 'sole', so that also Gen. 3, 15 could mean 'heel' and 'sole'. Whether the Demotic \underline{gpe} = Coptic $\tau\epsilon$ (Spiegelb. *WB.*, p. 291) 'sole' is borrowed from the Semitic $\eta\psi$ remains an open question.

is the expression *dm* for 'stabbing the sole' because it is applied, as we have seen, both to reptile bites and insect stings, thus presenting an exact parallel to שן in our passage.

(c) The Serpent as 'Going on the Belly' and Eating Dust.

Another expression common to Egyptian and Hebrew is Gen. 3, 14 *על גחנך תלך* 'upon thy belly shalt thou go'. It is the same expression used for reptiles in Levit. 11, 42 where it is a distinctive denomination for a special category of animals. This corresponds exactly to the elliptic expression in Egyptian *hry h.t-f* 'that (which goes) on its belly' for snakes and reptiles generally. Cf. e.g. Pyr. 662 c: 'Thou art the serpent (*hpyw*) that (goes) on its belly *hry h.t-f*'. The Egyptian conceived the growing of creeping plants, like the motion of reptiles, as a movement on the belly, and said of them that they 'grew on the belly'. Cf. Pap. Ebers 51, 15 f. of a plant named *snw.t*: 'It grows on its belly (*rd-s hr h.t-s*) like the plant *kd.t* and has blossoms like the lotus lily.'¹

A very remarkable parallel to the condemnation of the serpent to the eating of dust is provided in *Himmelskuh*, pl. xvii, 59 (= *Urk. Roed.* 147), where the serpents of Re are entrusted to the care of the Earth-god Geb and he is commanded to impress upon them to guard against 'harming anything whatever'. It proceeds literally: 'Behold their sustenance (i.e. food) shall be he (i.e. Geb meaning earth, dust) (*m.k grt ir hr.t-sn ntf pw*).'² Thus here it is expressly stated that the food of the snakes is to be dust. Moreover, the 'snake' is succinctly described as 'son of the earth (*st-tj*)', because it lives in the earth, and in the Hymn to Osiris (Erman, *AZ.* 38, 30) it is called 'son of the earth, great in years (*st-tj 's m rnp.wt*)'.³

¹ Elliptic expressions of this kind are frequent in Egyptian, especially in connexion with *hry* (also *imy*). We have seen an example above p. 30 f. in *hry-pr* 'he over the house', i.e. house steward, with the corresponding expression *על הבית אשר*. Others are *hry-nst* 'he (sitting) on the throne' for 'heir to the throne'; *hry-sj* 'he on the back' as a euphemism for the 'steer mounting on the back of the cow'; *hry-s'* 'he (sitting) on the sand' for 'sand-dweller, Bedouin' (Er.-Gr. 113 f.).

² It almost appears as if in this myth the eating of dust is conceived as a punishment for the serpent because it had effected some damage or other. I have the impression that the whole passage is taken from a myth in which a participation of the serpent in the fight against Re was described.

³ This occurs already in Pyr. 689, 691 and elsewhere in numerous passages, e.g. *Totb.*, ch. 87 on the transformation of the dead into a serpent (*st-tj*): 'I am son of the earth (*st-tj*) advanced in years'; Pap. Bremner, 26, 22 (= Apophisbuch, *Urk. Roed.*, p. 108): 'When in this place sons of the earth (*st.w-tj*) and worms were not yet created'; Griffith, *Tell el-Yahudiyya*, pl. xxv, 15 (= *Urk. Roed.*, p. 154): 'Then went forth the son of the earth (*st-tj*)'. A similar designation for serpent is *imy-tj* 'that (which is) in the earth'. Cf. *Ag. WB.*, p. 75, where other elliptic expressions formed with *imy* are given.

CHAPTER V

THE EGYPTIAN ELEMENTS IN THE FLOOD STORY.

1. The Egyptian Word תבה for Ark.

No more striking evidence in support of the thesis advanced in our introductory observations (cf. p. 119 f.) as to Babylonian stories having been transformed by grafting of Egyptian elements, on the original Babylonian stem is to be found than in the story of the flood.

To begin with, the most characteristic fact is that for the chief feature of the whole story, the ship, neither an Akkadian word is used (cf. above, p. 114), nor the Canaanite אנית, current elsewhere in the Bible, to be found even in the Pentateuch e.g. Gen. 49, 13 etc.,¹ but תבה in which long since the Egyptian word *db.t* 'box, coffer chest' has been recognized.²

The choice of an Egyptian word cannot be accidental but must be intentional and can only be explained by the fact that the author saw the whole story in an Egyptian light and consequently conceived the ship as a rectangular bark, as a box-ship, in the shape of a chest or a box, known in Hebrew circles under the Egyptian word תבה.³

As, however, תבה also occurs in the story of the finding of the infant Moses, Ex. 2, 3, a comparison of both passages at once suggests itself. Such a comparison is all the more instructive for our whole thesis, as, on the one hand, it clearly reveals the combined Babylonian-Egyptian character

¹ The Canaanite origin of אנית is proved by the fact that in the Amarna Tablets 245, 28 it is given as a Canaanite gloss to the Akkadian word *elippu* 'ship'. The question arises whether it is connected with the Akkadian *anā, unūtu* vessel, utensil. It should be remembered that the ship is also called 'vessel' (cf. *Ges.-Buhl.*, s.v.) and this seems to be the case in Is. 18, 2, only that here by כלי a special kind of canoe is to be understood (cf. below p. 206, n. 1).

² *Ag. WB.*, v, p. 561. The more vernacular form is *ib.t* or *db.t* as it appears in the Greek period (ibid. p. 261) and is reproduced in Copt. by ταιβε, τηβε (S), ταιβη, φηβη (B), τεεβ (A), *KWB.* 140. It seems that this was also in the Hebrew-Egyptian period the common word for *db.t*. As we shall see later in the Moses story תבה was used like *db.t* in its older meaning 'coffin, divine shrine'. It is significant that the vocalization in Coptic agrees with that in תבה (see above p. 50, n. 1 and p. 135, n. 2).

³ The fact that *dp.t* means ship makes it very plausible to take this word as the real prototype of תבה, as I suggested in *Spr. d. Pent.*, p. 198 f., on the assumption that both *dp.t* and *db.t* were originally derived from the older form with the basic meaning 'box, chest', cf. also *Erwiderung*, p. 28. But this question is of minor importance. For us it is essential that תבה is an Egyptian word, and in this all Egyptologists agree.

of the flood narrative, and, on the other hand, shows how much more powerfully Egyptian influences prevailed in the Exodus narrative (cf. above, p. 3). For whereas here for nature of timber and kind of pitch, the Akkadian words גִּפְר = *gīparu* and כִּפְר = *kupru* survived as remnants of the original Babylonian narrative (cf. above, p. 113), the Egyptian word גִּמְר = *km* 'Nile rushes' is used to denominate the material of the Ark of Moses.¹ Moreover this Ark, unlike Noah's Ark, is not pitched with כִּפְר = Akkadian *kupru* but with חֲמָר 'asphalt' and יָפֶת 'pitch', which were² used in Egypt for rendering tight boxes, coffins, ships, and all kinds of watercraft.

2 קָנִים and צֹהַר in Egyptian Architecture.

Besides תָּבָה the expressions קָנִים and צֹהַר Gen. 6, 14, 16, employed in the building of the Ark also furnish indications of Egyptian influence as they are only to be explained from the technique of ship-building and architecture respectively among the Egyptians.

It should be pointed out that קָנִים in this passage, cannot, as is generally thought, be the plural of קָן 'nest', in the sense of 'cell, compartment, room', because here the text does not refer to the division of the Ark, which is the case only in verse 16, but merely to construction and material. As a matter of fact קָנִים refers to a specifically Egyptian carpentry technique. Therein we have the Hebrew plural of an Egyptian loan-word *kn* = קָן denoting papyrus fibre employed for stopping the joints between the planks, especially of light river-boats, skiffs and ships, as also for the manufacture of all kinds of cane work, like mats, armchairs, litters and the like, which were therefore, called *kn*.³ קָנִים thus denotes the mode of making the Ark water-tight, whereby קָנִים, exactly as in the Egyptian *kn*, is applied in the plural to objects on which this particular technique was

¹ The plant *km* is said to be the Papyrus nilotica, Coptic ⲕⲁⲛⲁ *Ag. WB. V, 37*. On account of its adhesive qualities this wood was very well adapted for the building of skiffs, canoes, etc. Such water-craft are meant in Is. 18, 2 by קָנִים and Job 9, 26 by אֲנִיּוֹת אֲנִיָּה, and just as at that time and much earlier in Nubia, so even to-day throughout the Sudan, light boats are constructed of Nile rushes. Cf. *Erman-Ranke*, p. 571 f. and P. Montet, *Scènes de la vie privée*, etc., p. 78 f.

² Asphalt and pitch were very common in Egypt and obtainable in Palestine and Syria. Mention has already been made in Gen. 14, 10 of חֲמָר from the region of the Dead Sea which is particularly rich in asphalt. In Egyptian asphalt is rendered by *mrh*, Coptic ⲙⲣⲏⲟⲩ (B), ⲙⲣⲏⲟⲩ (S) *KWB. 57*, probably 'smear' from *mrh*, or *wrh*, rub in, paint (a wound, etc.) and is hardly derived from חֲמָר.

³ Cf. e.g. Pap. Westc., xi. 7 f. (= *Lit. 45*): 'Give this barley to your chair-bearer (*hr-kny*)'. It is possible that the use of chair-bearer was extended to 'porter' generally. On this technique, which moreover is still current in Egypt, see P. Montet, *Scènes de la vie privée*, p. 76 f., and Wiedemann, *Das Alte Ägypten*, p. 215, according to which even Herodotus observed the employment of reeds for the stopping of joints.

employed. The whole procedure is now clear: first of all, the timber גִּפְר is mentioned; then comes the closing with papyrus fibre קָנִים and lastly, the pitching with bitumen כִּפְר, which, as we have seen, was common in Egypt for water-craft, as well as for wooden vessels, coffins, boxes, etc. The phrase קָנִים תְּעִשֶׂה אֹתָהּ means simply 'fibre-tight shalt thou make it', where תְּעִשֶׂה אֹתָהּ is a form of expression to be found elsewhere in technical specifications, e.g. Ex. 25, 18. 27, 4, 8. 28, 11 etc.

As far as צֹהַר is concerned, it has, of course, the form of a genuine Hebrew word, and could, therefore, be very well interpreted in the meaning of 'light' as the singular of צֹהָרִים (used for 'noon'). Nevertheless it cannot mean an ordinary window (Targum, *Pešitta* etc.) because for this the usual word חֲלוֹן occurs in 8, 6, and must obviously be different from צֹהַר as otherwise the text would have צֹהַר נָתַתְּ אֶת הַצֹּהַר. In reality צֹהַר denotes a kind of skylight or rather dormer so characteristic of Egyptian houses and temples. It consisted of a longish square or semi-circular opening divided by two or three stones or pillars, barely more than an ell in height, situated high over the door or a window, fairly near to the roof, in order to admit that light penetrating from above when windows and doors had to be closed against overbearing heat or driving rain. That the צֹהַר was in fact to be made close to the roof is expressly indicated in Gen. 6, 16 in the words וְאֵל-אֲמָה תְּכַלְנָה מִלְּמַעְלָה, which means nothing less than that the opening should not be more than an ell in height and that it should be fixed high up, close beneath the roof, in order that the Ark might be lit from a spot high above the inhabited compartments, a spot where no water could penetrate as it was protected by the eaves against the pouring in of the rain.¹ This provision was necessary to obtain sufficient light when the window had to remain closed against storm and water.

As to the three compartments, they are to be conceived not as three self-contained floors covering the whole space of the Ark, but as three tiers opening on to a common well, from which each one was accessible. It was on the outer wall of this well, high above the window or door, close to

¹ צֹהַר can quite well have been used as a feminine, so that תְּכַלְנָה would not need to be corrected to תְּכַלְנֵנוּ. תְּכַלְנָה מִלְּמַעְלָה belongs to לְתֹבָה, i.e. 'on the Ark above'. Winckler suggests that אֵל אֲמָה means 'by the ell', following the Akkadian phrase *ina išten amat* (Jerem. *Das AT.*, p. 138, n. 1); but: (1) for this Winckler must transpose the words אֵל אֲמָה and place them after קִוְּמָה; (2) even in this case it would have to read אֲמָה בְּאֵלָהּ to conform to the Akkadian: (3) תְּכַלְנָה cannot be used in the sense 'of measure', because it means 'complete' and not 'measure', and (4) the expression used for measure data in the Pentateuch and elsewhere is exclusively בְּאֵלָהּ and not אֵלָהּ, e.g. Ex. 26, 2, 8, 15, etc.

the roof that the dormer, צַהַר, was placed, so that the light from thence might reach everywhere.¹

The injunction to fix the door at the side of the Ark, 6, 16, is also peculiarly characteristic of Egyptian architecture; as may be seen from many pictures of Egyptian houses of the New Kingdom; the door is not in the centre but at the end of the frontage near the corner (cf. e.g. *Erman-Ranke*, pl. 55, p. 205, 56, p. 207 and Wiedemann, 'Das Alte Ägypten' pl. 30, p. 168). In the Ark the door would have been fixed high up, in order to guard against the penetration of water through the dipping of the Ark during the storm.

3. The Expression מַבּוּל for Flood.

The Deluge as Inundation and Rainstorm.

A further telling example for the influence of the Egyptian environment and the introduction of Egyptian elements into the original Babylonian framework of the deluge-story is provided by the specific expression מַבּוּל for the Flood. As we shall presently see, the choice of this word will help us over the great difficulty involved in the Flood being described both as an inundation and as torrential rainfall (7, 11).

As far as the word מַבּוּל itself is concerned, Assyriologists assign it to the Akkad. *bubbulu*, *biblu*, or *bibbulu* 'inundation' from *wbl* 'wash away' (cf. Zimmern, *Akkad, Fremdw.*, p. 44, Meissner, *Mitt d. Vorderas. Ges.* x, 238, and Delitzsch, *HWB.*, p. 167). In regard to the etymological aspect of both the Hebrew and Akkadian words, one might well concur, in the view of their common origin; they are to be derived from a root common to Akkadian and Hebrew, *יבל* or *ובל*, but not in regard to their usage. For whereas in Hebrew מַבּוּל is the exclusive expression for deluge, in Akkadian it is not the analogous expression *bubbulu*, *biblu*, or *bibbulu*, but it is a quite different word, never adopted by Hebrew, viz. *abūbu* which we find as the standing term for deluge in all the Akkadian texts (cf. e.g. *Gilgameš* XI, i, 14. iii, 4, 19, 22. iv, 20 ff., etc). Moreover the מַבּוּל coincides with none of the three mentioned Akkadian forms but is on the contrary a perfectly regular, though rare, derivative from a root *יבל* or *ובל* which is represented in Hebrew, and similarly to the Akkadian *wbl* means 'wash away, flood, stream' as the use of *יִבַּל* and *יִבַּל* for 'flow, stream' proves most conclusively.

¹ Cf. Gen. 8, 6. It is obvious that the sending forth of the dove and of the raven was effected through the window, as it was wider and more convenient than a trellised dormer. Moreover the storm had already subsided and the window could then have remained open 'till the water was dried up', 8, 7.

So far the rendering of מַבּוּל as 'inundation' is quite correct, as it is clearly stated in Gen. 7, 11 that the fountains of the great deep, i.e. the world-ocean, (cf. above p. 130), were opened. Now in this verse and also in 4, 12 the deluge is equally described as a 'strong rain' (גֶּשֶׁם) which poured forth from the openings (אֲרָבוֹת) of heaven.¹ Thus our deluge-story so far agrees with the Babylonian, as in all the Sumerian and Akkadian versions known to us the deluge is succinctly characterized as a 'strong rain';² on the other hand it is far from certain whether in the Babylonian the conception of an inundation is also present, as the exact meaning of *abūbu* has not been determined, and according to Delitzsch, *HWB.*, p. 4, and others, has the more general meaning of 'desolation'. While in the Babylonian we can find no sure parallel for מַבּוּל deluge, as 'inundation' neither linguistically in the word *abūbu* nor in the content of all the Babylonian flood stories, we are nevertheless furnished by Egyptian with a solid background for the מַבּוּל as inundation and in addition with other points of contact which in many respects are of great importance for the Hebrew narrative, as we shall soon see.

In a text preserved in two papyri from the period of the 19th dynasty, in which, however, much older legendary material is incorporated, reference is made to the 'quarrelling and discord' among the 'children of Nut (the goddess of heaven)', with Osiris, and there is allusion to a great flood in

¹ The usual rendering of אֲרָבוֹת by 'shaft' or 'window' is only a guess and is not suitable. In order to form a correct idea of אֲרָבוֹת one has to think of the domed roofs of interior rooms in huge buildings to which several round openings, covered with thick glass or crystal, are fitted to let in the light. Similarly the dome of heaven was conceived as a cupola stretched over the earth, with openings through which the stars shine. These openings were called אֲרָבוֹת, and it was through them that the rainstorms of the flood burst. Moreover the use of אֲרָבוֹת for 'chimney' (Hosea 13, 3) arises from the fact that in early times, as indeed is the case to-day, in peasant houses in Palestine and elsewhere, the roof was provided with round openings for drawing out the smoke. Similarly in the *Mišnā* אֲרָבוֹת is to be understood as 'roof openings', e.g. *Bēzā* 5, 1. *Oholōth* 10, 1, or 'spy-hole', *Oholōth* 10, 4.

² Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, ii, p. 108 and 112 arbitrarily represents as a Babylonian conception the idea that when the 'windows of heaven' open, the heavenly ocean is poured forth as rain upon the earth. Unfortunately I am nevertheless unable to find any support for this either in the language or conceptions of the Babylonians. Meissner seems indeed to have used the Hebrew text of Gen. 7, 11 as proof for his purely hypothetical Babylonian conception. It is true that in one instance it is said that in the month of Tišri 'the door of the *apsu* opens (*bāb apsi ipatte*)', F. Weidner, *Handbuch der bab. Astron.*, p. 86, col. ii, l. 35; as, however, Weidner, p. 97 f. remarks, *apsu* here means neither the heavenly nor the earthly ocean, but a sacred *apartment* in the Temple, and the opening of the door of the *apsu* refers to a particular ceremony which took place every year in this month. But even if *apsu* should mean the heavenly ocean, Meissner, loc. cit., i, p. 86 assumes, the 'door of the *apsu*' would in no way correspond to the אֲרָבוֹת הַשָּׁמַיִם which he himself renders 'windows of heaven'.

primeval time, by which the world was completely inundated and put back to its original state when the primal water, Nun (*nwnw*), filled the whole of the universe.¹ The following words are placed in the mouth of the primal god Atum: 'Forsooth will I destroy all that I have made. This land will perish in the Nun through a flood, as it was in its primal beginning I (alone) will remain together with Osiris'.²

For inundation in both texts we have the word *hwhw*, which is to be taken as substantive of a re-duplicated root *hwy*, the basic meaning of which is 'to flow, to stream' (Er.-Gr., p. 106), but which frequently occurs in the meaning of 'flood, inundation'; so also of the overflow of the Nile (cf. Naville, ad. loc.); in Pyr. 1146 we find *hwy* used of the flood of the primal water³ and Pyr. 707 of the flood of the 'great Sea';⁴ the word *hwy* was also used of the flooding of the sea, as e.g. *Pap. d'Orb.* x, 6 (= *Lit.* 156); 'Then the sea saw the maiden and flooded up (*hwy*) behind her.'⁵ The meaning 'inundation' is thus certain for *hwhw*, and as reduplicated roots usually serve to intensify and heighten the meaning, *hwhw* obviously denotes a very powerful, unusually severe inundation. We, therefore, have in *hwhw* a word completely equivalent to מכול both in the basic meaning of 'streaming, flowing' as also in the extension of meaning 'flow' to 'flood and inundate'. Even assuming that מכול was not first coined by the Hebrews

¹ Cf. the beginning of the 175th chapter of the *Book of the Dead*, ed. Naville, pl. 198, 16 f. (= Text A) and in the *Book of Any*, ed. Budge, *Facsimile of the papyrus of Any* in the British Museum, 1890, pl. 29 (= Text B). See Naville, *PSBA.* 26 (1904); *A mention of a Flood in the Book of the Dead*, p. 251-7 and 287-94; this was lately also reproduced by Ranke in *AOT*, p. 6 f., though both the Texts A and B reveal some differences, but not in the passage under consideration, except as to a few words lacking in A.

² The passage reads (Text A, l. 16 (deficient) and Text B, l. 17 f. (complete)) as follows: *iw-y grt r hq ir-tn-y nb.t iw t; pn r iy m nwn m hwhw my tp-f' ink sp hn' wšir.* The words *iw t; pn r iy m nwn m hwhw* do not mean, as Naville, p. 189 assumes, 'this earth will become water (or an ocean) through an inundation', nor as Ranke loc. cit. renders 'and this land will become as Nun, inundated(?), as it formerly was', but: 'and the land will come into the Nun because of a flood', i.e. that the world, which the Egyptian identified with his country, would perish in the Nun through a mighty flood. The construction of the sentence presents no grammatical difficulty. On the use of the preposition *m* for 'in, into' and 'by, by means of', cf. Erman, *Gramm.*, § 445; for *iy m* 'to go into something' cf. *Ag. WB.*, i, 37.

³ Of the dead one, that he was 'a flowing of a great flood (*rdw hwy*)', 'gone forth when the water went forth', i.e. that he was like the Nun when it arose as water and flooded the universe.

⁴ Literally *hwy n wgd wr* means 'the flood of the great green', as the Mediterranean Sea was generally called, but here is employed mythologically and metaphorically for the multitude of blessings reserved for the dead.

⁵ *hw.t* (or *hy.t*) was also simply used of rain, Er.-Gr. 106, so also Coptic ⲄⲟⲤϣ 'to rain' and 'rain' *KWB.* 256.

in Egypt or by the author of the deluge story himself in adaption to *hwhw*, but was already in use in pre-Egyptian times among the Canaanites or Hebrews, nevertheless the choice of just this word for deluge, and not another expression more in accordance with the Akkadian *abūbu* 'rainfall, rainstorm', points to an influence of the Egyptian milieu. This is just the the new element which was introduced into the older Hebrew tradition of the story emanating from Babylon. In the particular description of מכול as an inundation of the earth caused by the bursting forth of the 'fountains of the great deep' and as a strong down-pouring rain coming from the 'openings of heaven' two elements are combined from which one belongs to the Babylonian and the other to the Egyptian flood-story. The Babylonian conception of *abūbu* as 'strong rainfall' is retained, and the Egyptian conception of the 'great inundation' *hwhw* is added. Thus the confines of the waters of heaven and earth broke simultaneously, and as terrific cloud-bursts and raging torrents their mighty floods rush together over the earth in order 'to destroy the whole generation that God had made'.

4. The Expression מטה 'to blot out' and the Egyptian *hd*.

In the Egyptian passage about the flood just cited there is another expression that arouses attention in that it coincides in highly remarkable fashion with a Hebrew word in the flood-story: for 'annihilate, destroy' the Egyptian text has *hd* with the basic meaning 'make white', 'scratch out' 'blot out' for which the Hebrew text Gen. 6, 7. 7, 4 and 23 has טה which has the same concrete and also extended meaning as the Egyptian. The sentence uttered by Atum (in the text cited l. 13): *iw-y grt r hq irtn-y nb.t* meaning *literally*: 'I will, however, blot out everything that I have made', reads almost like Gen. 6, 7: אֶמְחֶה אֶת-הָאָדָם אֲשֶׁר-בָּרָאתִי 'I will blot out man that I have created', and 7, 4: וּמְחִיתִי אֶת-כָּל-הַיְּקִיָּים אֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתִי 'I will blot out every living substance that I have made'. In this last passage the phrase אֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתִי coincides even more closely to the Egyptian *ir-tn-y* 'that I have made'.

So striking an agreement between Hebrew and Egyptian in the flood-stories cannot be accidental. It is rather an indication of the fact that the Hebrew narrative in the form in which it has come down to us was composed in a milieu in which myths, like that to which the Egyptian flood-text alludes, were widespread. Hence it is that our narrative contains phrases and expressions which betray a thoroughly Egyptian colouring, and which could very well have emanated from a store of such Egyptian flood-

stories as the one cited. The whole manner in which the various mythological elements in this Egyptian text are strung together conveys the impression that they are merely fragments taken over from different myths and religious texts, and that consequently also the passage concerning the flood is derived from a common and much more comprehensive source. Seeing that this one sentence alone reveals so many points of contact with the Hebrew version, it may at least be assumed that the complete text, if it had been fully preserved, would have furnished many other points of comparison not only of a linguistic and stylistic nature with the Hebrew. But the author of the Egyptian texts had no interest in completely reproducing the whole flood-story any more than other myths known or unknown to us of which merely single features were educed to serve his immediate purpose. For as a matter of fact these and similar texts of the dead had only the one purpose; that was to bring out the equality, nay the identity, of the deceased with Osiris, so that he should attain the same position over others as was accorded to Osiris in primeval times when he was 'raised above all the gods' (Text A, l. 19). In the two texts cited the author goes so far in his exaggeration as to cause the whole world to be destroyed by a flood in order that it might be cleansed of all demonic powers and deities hostile to the deceased, just as the primeval god Atum had done for Osiris in the overthrow of Seth and his accomplices. That is the real meaning of the allusion to the flood-myth in these texts.¹ The connexion of the flood-myth with Osiris is of importance also in another respect: it proves that among the Osiris myths, there was also one of the destruction of man, just as there was among the myths of Re. And similarly this myth was exploited for the composition of the magical 'Book of the Cow of Heaven', which intrinsically has nothing to do with the myth itself. The only difference is that whereas in the Re myth the revolt of mankind against the old and decrepit Re is mentioned as the reason for their destruction, in the Osiris myth the insurrection of Seth and the other 'children of Nut' against Osiris is given as the cause of the destruction of the world.²

¹ Naville's suggestion that the purpose of the flood was to facilitate the journey of the dead to the eternal abode of Osiris cannot be correct, for the reason that the dead in any case had all possible rivers and waters at their disposal. It was not the lack of waterways that stood in their way, but the many demons, spirits, gods, and demi-gods, in the same manner as Seth and the rest of the 'children of Nut' opposed Osiris. It was against such opponents that the flood was to bring relief.

² There must have been many such myths as to the destruction of mankind, in which now one, now another god was placed in the foreground, according to the predominant theological school (cf. above p. 152). Also in this case as in many others, Osiris replaced some earlier god, who originally must have stood in closer relation to the Sun-god than Osiris.

5. The Egyptian origin of גֶּשֶׁם 'Rain'.

Besides הַמָּטֵר denom. of מָטָר 'rain' Gen. 7, 4, which is common to all Semitic languages, including Akkadian, and which actually occurs in the text of the Babylonian story of the deluge,¹ we find that Gen. 7, 12 and 8, 2 use the word גֶּשֶׁם which does not exist in any other Semitic language in *this* meaning. This leads to the assumption that it is not a genuine Hebrew word. Furthermore, in the Bible as a rule it means rain; nevertheless, in passages like Zech. 10, 1 where מָטָר stands in *status constructus* to גֶּשֶׁם, or Job. 37, 6 where the reverse occurs, גֶּשֶׁם governing מָטָר, גֶּשֶׁם must denote a wider conception, not confined merely to rain, but extending also to its concomitant phenomena. As a matter of fact in Egyptian the word *gsm* means storm or sea-storm e.g. Pap. Insinger 4, 1: 'Despair not on account of wind (*tyw*), of shipwreck and of storm (*gsm*)'. The same word is preserved in Coptic ⲁⲟⲥⲉⲁⲁ (B.), ⲉⲟⲥⲁⲁ (S.) Spiegelb. *KWB.* 278. meaning 'storm with heavy cloud, rainstorm'.² All this indicates that גֶּשֶׁם is an Egyptian loan-word with the same comprehensive meaning, and it appears that the Hebrew narrator intentionally selected this expression to describe the deluge as a mighty rainstorm. From the two passages cited Zech. 10, 1 and Job 37, 6 as well as others like 1 Kings 18, 45; Ez. 13, 11. 38, 22; Prov. 25, 23 it is clear that in the use of גֶּשֶׁם, a reminiscence of the original meaning 'storm, strong rainfall' was still present. On close examination of all remaining passages with גֶּשֶׁם one can further detect the nuance of difference between מָטָר and גֶּשֶׁם: whereas מָטָר is an ordinary rain, גֶּשֶׁם is like a cloudburst, a tearing, pelting rain, such as actually occurs at the beginning and close of the rainy season in Palestine (Joel 2, 23).³

¹ Cf. e.g. *Rog.*, p. 105, col. i, l. 19 *urbietum limtirannima* 'the clouds shall rain', etc.

² Cf. also *Peyron*, suppl. p. 19. In many Biblical passages ⲁⲟⲥⲉⲁⲁ is used for dark clouds, darkness, etc. The original meaning is doubtless 'cloud-masses'. That *gsm* is only to be found in Demotic is no criterion whatever for the age of the word. There are other words in Demotic and Coptic which at first were unknown from Egyptian but were found later, on the basis of newly discovered documents, to have been quite ancient. Moreover the Bohair. ⲁ and Sah. ⲉ actually point to an originally Egyptian *g*, i.e. *gsm*, exactly as in the Hebrew גֶּשֶׁם. It is strange that this word in the above meaning is missing in *Ag. WB.* v, 206 though it occurs in Pap. Insinger.

³ The idea conveyed by the rendering of לְצַדִּיקָה as 'moderately' is in drastic conflict with the characteristic of the first rainfall in the Holy Land. On the contrary the prophet means that the people should rejoice because of the *abundance* of the rain in which the very צַדִּיקָה i.e. *beneficence* bestowed on the land consists. As to מוֹרָה instead of the usual יוֹרָה, it is not at all impossible that both words were used in Palestine for the first rainfall; otherwise we must assume that the writing of מ for י is a copyist's error due to the similarity of these two letters in the ancient Hebrew alphabet, or to the vicinity of the מ in מְלִקוּשׁ, a lapse not uncommon to all languages and writings. The linking of מוֹרָה and מְלִקוּשׁ makes

By the establishment of the dual character of the flood מכול many passages which are considered inconsistent become straightway clear; and from the purely linguistic point of view, many expressions are revealed as thoroughly appropriate in accordance with the alternative use of מכול now as rainstorm and now as inundation. Thus to cite only some specially characteristic examples, it is quite correct to say of the מכול when it is used for inundation, Gen. 6, 17: *הנני מביא את המבול מים על הארץ* 'Behold, I bring the flood as water *over the earth*'; likewise that the waters had *increased*, 7, 17 *וירבו המים* and v. 18 that 'they became mighty', *ויגברו המים* and v. 19 *ומהם גברו מאד מאד* 'and the waters became exceedingly mighty'. Also in the description of the cessation of the flood the narrator selected the appropriate expression for each of the two phenomena implied in מכול: thus speaking of the cessation of the rain it says 8, 2: and 'the rain from heaven was restrained' *ויכלא הגשם מן השמים*, whereas of the end of the inundation it says 8, 3: 'and the waters returned from off the earth continually' *וישוב המים הלוך ושוב*, then: 'and the waters diminished' *ויחסרו המים*. On the other hand 8, 1 has *וישבו המים* 'and the waters came to a standstill' with reference to both the rainstorm and the inundation because it can be said of both.

In the flood-story we have another illustration of the wider conception of the Biblical narrator: the representation of the flood in its combined character as rainstorm and inundation follows logically from his intention to describe it as universal, affecting all lands watered by rain and also rainless Egypt, watered by inundation. As against this the Babylonian flood-story on the one hand, and the Egyptian flood-story on the other are merely determined by local conditions inasmuch as in the former case the deluge is characterized as a rainstorm, and in the latter as an inundation. For though each seems to have had the whole world in mind, nevertheless the local character was retained for the nature of the deluge, because both Babylonians and Egyptians saw in their own country the 'whole earth', so that even when they spoke of the whole earth they thought only of their own land.¹

it obvious beyond all doubt that nothing else can be meant here than the first and last rainfall.

¹ Although this is not the place to go into the question how the fusion of the various elements in the Biblical story as it has come down to us took place, we may straightway establish the fact that the passages in which the Flood appears as *rain* reveal points of contact with the Babylonian deluge-stories, whereas the *dates* marking the subsequent phases of the Flood are contained in those passages in which the Flood is represented as *inundation*. Thus the Egyptian elements can be distinctly differentiated from the older Babylonian tradition and easily recognized as a new overlay. As we shall presently see, the chronology of the flood has an Egyptian orientation.

6. The Rainbow.

For rainbow Gen 9, 13 ff. has קשת a common Semitic word, which is also represented in the Akkadian *kaštu*, which, however, is used exclusively for a shooting weapon. Only in Egyptian do we find the word *pd.t* 'bow' both for a shooting weapon and an arc in the sky.¹ Thus e.g. Pyr. 393 ff. speaking of the appearance of the dead king in the Beyond: 'The heaven storms, the stars fade, the bows (*pd.wt*) stagger when they see him'. Similarly in Pyr. 1443 and Pyr. 1972 *pd.t* is connected with heaven: 'Washed (i.e. cleaned) is the surface of heaven, bright is the bow (*pd.t*)' and 'Opened are the doors of heaven (*wn 'j.wy p.t*), opened are the doors of the bows (*isn 'j.wy pd.wt*)', obviously denoting the interior structure of the sky.

This conception also underlies קשת: it was conceived, as by the Egyptians, as an essential part of the heavenly building viz. as a *permanent* portion of the solid vault of heaven, and not that it was caused by a rain-storm, still less that it was the momentary effect of a play of colour in the rays of the sun, knowledge of which was completely foreign to the ancient world.² The symbolical significance of the phenomenon does not consist in the melodramatic appearance of the rainbow, but in the fact that when catastrophic rainstorms fill the world with terror, and the danger of a cataclysm by a deluge is thought imminent, the impenetrable cloud is pierced, and the hidden vault of heaven, otherwise invisible, is suddenly revealed in all its multi-hued glory as renewed confirmation of the Divine covenant with man, to indicate that so long as heaven is supported

¹ The true rendering is 'bow, or arc of sky'; 'rainbow' is only a later interpretation of the phenomenon as a sign of the cessation of the rain-storm.

² The very fact that in Akkadian the rainbow is not designated by *kaštu* as in Hebrew makes it clear that it was not the Babylonian conception which was associated with קשת. In Akkadian the word for 'rainbow' is *tir-an-na*, i.e. 'abode of the god of Heaven' (M. Jastrow, *Relig. d. Assy. u. Babl.*, ii, 696, n. 5). This meaning was established, contrary to other views, by R. C. Thompson, *The Reports of the Magicians*, 252, on the basis of many passages (Jastrow, loc cit., ii, 576, n. 2). In any case the expression in Akkadian for 'rainbow' has nothing whatever to do with 'shooting bow', although the word *kaštu* in Akkadian for 'shooting bow' is just as frequent as in Hebrew, cf. also Jeremias, *Handbuch d. Altor. Geisteskultur*, 39f. For an extensive discussion of rainbow phenomena and observations in Babylonia, cf. Virolleaud, *Étude sur la Divination Chaldéenne*, Paris, 1903-12, *Adad.*, no. xix; *Supplément*, no. lviii and lxi, also Meissner, *Assyrien und Babylonien*, ii, 259 and *Verhandlungen der Sächs. Ges. d. W., phil.-hist. Kl.*, 67, 2. Moreover in Babylonia the rainbow was regarded as a good omen for astrological predictions. Finally it is very important to note that in the Babylonian deluge-stories the *motif* of the rainbow is completely lacking.

by this arc the earth shall not perish. In the use of קשת as shooting bow and arc we have an exact adaptation to the usage of the Egyptian *pd.t*.¹

It should be expressly emphasized that elsewhere קשת in the meaning of rainbow only occurs in Ezek. 1, 28. In Habakkuk 3, 9 קשת is used poetically for a shooting weapon, not for a rainbow, for the reason that here the reference is to a devastating storm and קשת is conceived as a means of annihilation, which could obviously not be said of the rainbow, as its appearance is on the contrary a symbol of the preservation of the world. The same applies also to Ps. 7, 13 where it is impossible for קשת to have been conceived as rainbow. Here too it is used poetically as a Divine weapon, parallel to the 'Sword of God'.

7. The Two Seasons.

In Gen. 8, 22 זרע 'seed' and קציר 'harvest', קר 'cold' and חם 'heat', קיץ 'summer' and חורף 'winter' are used to designate the seasons. That here there is a division into two and not four seasons² is obvious from the fact that חורף is used in the Bible always for winter, never for autumn, and that on the assumption of the division into four seasons, חם would here have to correspond to the spring, which is, however, unthinkable. As a matter of fact, all three word-pairs have always been used generally as antithetic designations for two half-years. The question merely arises why, in addition to זרע 'sowing period' and קציר 'harvest time', two further pairs of opposing expressions קר and חם, קיץ and חורף are mentioned for summer and winter. The view that the first refers to climatic and the latter to agricultural conditions, that is the harvest (cf. *inter alia* Gunkel's Commentary ad. loc.), is incorrect for the simple reason that חורף never refers to the fruit crop but always to the rainy season. Moreover only the fruit harvest in autumn could have been meant, as there is none in winter. On the other hand in this case קיץ would also have included the corn harvest, which is, however, never the case. Thus both these pairs can only refer to climatic conditions, and the double designation can only be explained by the fact that the author had in mind lands of different climatic conditions in which the marks of distinction between summer and winter were not the same. As a matter of fact, this is in reality the case: קיץ really means 'aridity, dryness', and חורף 'wet, moisture'. They can therefore apply only to those lands in which winter is characterized by rain, and summer by drought. קר implying 'cold' and חם 'warmth, heat' are applicable only

¹ For the conception of *pd.t* as heavenly bow or arc, cf. also Pyr. 2140, also 801 and 1490.

² On another occasion we shall revert to this question in a chapter on Times and Festivals.

to a country like Egypt where, in contrast to all its neighbouring territories, there is no rain in winter and no drought in summer as just at this time the whole land is inundated by the water of the Nile. It is therefore obvious that here *cold and warmth* are the only phenomena by which the two seasons of the year are differentiated.

When it is considered that our passage has in mind the whole earth, it would appear strange, especially in the case of an author so thoroughly familiar with Egyptian conditions, if in enunciating a Divine promise which was to hold good for 'all the days of the earth', he disregarded the climatic and meteorological conditions of a land which was the centre of the ancient world, and which was notoriously rainless. Egypt had perforce to be included and קר cold and חם heat could only have applied to the two Egyptian seasons, winter and summer, whereas קיץ and חורף were applicable to all other lands.

If this argument in itself is a noteworthy indication that 'cold and heat' applied to Egypt, another purely linguistic factor may be mentioned which powerfully supports our view, and this is, that the Egyptians called summer *šmw* 'warmth, heat' from *šm, šmm*, which by the well-known transmutation of *š* and *h* is identical with *hm, hmm*, 'warm, hot' and thus coincides phonetically and etymologically with the Hebrew word חם.¹ It can decidedly not be ascribed to mere chance that for summer only here and nowhere else in the Bible was a word completely identical with *hmw-šmw* selected. Moreover, the characterization of the two seasons by cold and heat thoroughly corresponds to the view of the Egyptians for whom these phenomena, and not, as in the neighbouring countries, drought and moisture, were the distinctive features of summer and winter. As a matter of fact we find this idea brought out in Ekhenaton's *Sun Hymn*, l. 22-3, where winter and summer are mentioned as the only seasons (*tr.w*) of the year, and are actually described as 'cold and scorching periods'. Thus it is said of the sun: 'Thou makest the seasons to cause all thy works to come into being (i.e. every fruit in the season), the winter to cool and refresh them, the summer to consume them.'² Similarly it is said of summer and winter in an ancient

¹ On the transition of *šmm* to *hmm*, cf. Er.-Gr. 182. Judging by Coptic the *šmw* have been pronounced like *šōmu* or *hōmu*. It is noteworthy also that all the three Coptic dialects S., B., and A. reveal the same vocalization *ō* as the Hebrew חם. It should further be observed that in *šmw* the original element is neither the idea of summer season nor summer fruit, but that both were derived from the original meaning of 'warmth, heat'. Similarly in קיץ in the Hebrew, the primary element is the idea of 'aridity' which would then be applied to the summer season and the fruit (or fig) harvest.

² The whole passage, *Davies Amarna*, iv. pl. xxvii, 10-11, reads: *iry-k tr.w r šhpr iry.wh ill pr.t r škb-šn hh dp št tw*, i.e. the winter when they are refreshed with Nile water, and

of the Sun-god Aton: 'He makes the seasons (*tr.w*) by months: the scorching season (*hh*) according to his will, and the cold season (*kbb*) according to his will' (cf. Breasted, *De Hymnis in Solem*, p. 68). It was indeed so repugnant to the Egyptian to regard winter as a rainy period, that in the same Song of Ekhenaton, it is emphasized as a special grace of the gods that Egypt was not dependent upon rain from heaven like the lands of the barbarians, but it received all blessings straight from the Nile that came from the nether world.¹

There is another very important point to be considered, viz. that זרע 'sowing period' occurs only here, whereas elsewhere חריש 'ploughing period' is used antithetically to קציר 'harvest period', and this gives rise to the assumption that the author in using זרע 'sowing period' had actually the Egyptian word *pr.t* 'seed' for winter in mind. In Egypt it is not so much ploughing as sowing that is characteristic, and this is the reason why the Egyptian did not designate the winter as a 'ploughing period' like חריש in Palestine, but as the sowing period *pr.t* 'seed' = זרע. Perhaps our author gave preference to the term זרע for the additional reason that it was at the same time applicable to Egypt and to all other lands. This would also explain why זרע is used only in this passage whereas elsewhere, when Egypt does not come especially into consideration, the word חריש is used.² Finally we would add that also קר and חם are only here used for the seasons. All this evidence clearly points to the fact that the author in his choice of the various designations for the seasons had Egypt vividly in mind.

summer when they are destroyed by the glow of the sun; the creator has all his works in his power, has determined a time for their animation and another time for their destruction; everything rises and perishes at its appointed time. That is, in my view, the meaning of our passage. The reading *st* is quite correct and relates collectively to the creatures (*iry.w*), whereas *tw* seems to be an emendation based on misunderstanding. In Leps. *Totb.* 163, 4 *dp* occurs actually in conjunction with *hh* in the sense of 'consume, destroy', and this may have been in the mind of the author of the hymn, thus supporting our view. It is said there of a god-demon that 'from his mouth comes forth a burning to consume the souls (of the dead) (*pr hh n ry.w n dp b.w*)'. The difficulty felt by Erman (*Lit.*, 360, Engl. 291) is thus removed. It should be considered that 'tasting' of the glow of the sun in summer can hardly be meant, but that on the other hand it is in winter that the sun can be 'tasted'.

¹ Line 22: 'The Nile in heaven (meaning the rain) thou givest over to the mountain lands (i.e. foreign peoples, etc.), but the (true) Nile comes forth from the nether world for Egypt'. Cf. *Lit.* 291. It is noteworthy the same is said with reference to Canaan, Deut. 11, 10, but in another sense as will be shown elsewhere.

² The only occasion on which חריש 'ploughing time' is used antithetically to קציר 'reaping time' in reference to Egypt is in the conversation of Joseph with his brethren, Gen. 45, 6; this is because the narrator is referring to Canaan the home of his brethren, after he had revealed himself to them, and therefore makes him say 'ploughing time' which is more in conformity with soil conditions there, instead of 'sowing time'. Cf. above p. 6.

8. Duration and Chronology of the Flood.

For the phases of the flood the following data are given: It begins on the seventeenth of the second month (Gen. 7, 11), the water rises 150 days (7, 24) and reaches a height of fifteen ells above the highest mountain peaks; on the first of the tenth month the highest summits of the mountains become visible (8, 5); on the first of the first month of the following year the waters recede (8, 13) and on the twenty-seventh of the second month the earth is dry (8, 14).

The only clear points of importance in these data are: (i) that the duration of the flood extends over a complete year, a view which we find also in the *Book of Enoch* 106, 15.¹ (ii) that this year does not end on the same day as it began, viz. the seventeenth of the second but on the twenty-seventh; and (iii) that the rise of the waters lasts 150 days.

The assumption that the 150 days are reckoned to be five months on the basis of thirty days each, as is actually done in the *Book of Jubilees* 5, 27, forms the starting point for the question, whether the whole flood-year is to be regarded as a lunar or solar year, a question which, however, has hitherto not been decided.² For on the basis of a thirty days' month neither the one nor the other year can be adjusted: the former not, because five lunar months would only give 146-7 days, and the latter not, because $12 \times 30 = 360$, and does not yield the 365 days of a solar year. This question indeed cannot be solved, because either a lunar or a solar year alone could have been thought of. Even those who see in the ten to eleven days (from the seventeenth to the twenty-seventh of the second month) an adjustment of the difference between a lunar and a solar year leave unanswered the question according to which system the months themselves within this year are reckoned. Moreover on the ground of such an assumption in this connexion the difficulty is overlooked that the intercalation of the ten to eleven days is effected at the end of the year, a procedure which certainly requires some explanation.

¹ The duration of the Babylonian deluge, according to *Gilg.*, xi, iii, 18 f. was six, and according to the Sumerian version, seven days, lasting altogether until the earth was dry thirty-nine or forty days, if one assumes a period of seven days each for the sending out of the swallow and the raven. The season is not given, but obviously the rainy period is presumed, as the six or seven days' duration of the rainstorms corresponds to the duration of the first rains at the beginning of winter in Mesopotamia.

² On this question as well as on the divergent figures in the chronology of the Flood in the Pentateuch, in the LXX and other Greek texts, as well as in the *Book of Jubilees*, cf. especially Dahse, *ZAW.*, 28 (1908), 7 ff. and Gunkel, *Komm. zu Gen.* 8, 13. These questions, however, had already occupied the ancient (cf. *Rōš Haššanā*, 11 f.) as well as the later rabbinical exegetes Rashi, Ibn Ezra and others).

Another question which has also been much discussed is the sequence of the months in the flood year, i.e. whether by the 'first month' Gen. 8, 13 *Nisān* or *Tiṣri* is to be understood. The fact that the flood begins in the second month and that the rise of the waters lasted five months, leads to the view that the climatic conditions of a land like Babylonia or Palestine were in mind, for there the rainy period begins in the second winter month terminating after about five months. Thus in this case the 'first month' would be *Tiṣri*. Against this, however, is the insurmountable difficulty that in the Pentateuch and elsewhere the 'first month' always means the first Spring month, i.e. *Nisān*, consequently the second month can only be the second Spring and not the second Winter month, and accordingly the flood must have begun in summer, and not in winter. Actually the view of the *Book of Jubilees*, is that the flood began in the second Spring month. This results from the fact that *Jub.* 6, 17 Noah's exit from the Ark is assigned to the first of the third month and the remark is added that this is the month in which the Feast of Weeks (שבועות) is celebrated.¹ As this festival is celebrated on the sixth *Sivān* obviously this month must be meant, and consequently the first month can only be *Nisān*. According to this reckoning, the climatic conditions neither of Babylonia nor of Palestine can have been in mind in connexion with the flood, and it remains incomprehensible, at any rate very remarkable, that the flood should have begun in the Spring and extended over the Summer.

But the most important question, of fundamental significance for the interpretation of the flood-story itself, as well as for the calendar question, is whether there is a system by which the duration and the dates of the flood are reckoned, and if so what that system is? Is it possible to find an acceptable, coherent basis for them or are they merely haphazard figures?

If in this case also we turn our eyes to Egypt, whence, as we have seen, the conception of the flood as inundation has been taken over and interwoven in the Biblical narrative, and consider the various phases of the inundatory conditions of the Nile in its rise and fall, we arrive at the surprising fact that the chief and most important data of the Flood agree in a most remarkable manner with those of the overflowing of the Nile.

As is well known the onset of the Nile flood depends primarily on the

¹ The fact that the *Book of Jubilees* adds to the Flood dates a date also for the exit of Noah from the Ark which it assigned to the first of the third month was obviously with the intention of supplying a historical foundation for the Feast of Weeks (שבועות) as well as for the Pesah (Ex. 12, 17) and Sukkōt (Lev. 23, 43) Festivals in the Pentateuch. In a chapter on Times and Festivals, we shall show, however, that particularly in the case of the Feasts of Weeks such a foundation was not necessary.

early or late beginning of the rainfall in the Abyssinian mountains. Nevertheless fairly exact dates can be assigned for the rise of the Nile, particularly in that region which is of more concern to us, viz. in the lower, northerly points.¹ Since the Egyptians, as we have seen above p. 169, conceived the *Egyptian Nile* as beginning at the first cataract near Assuan, their interest was naturally concentrated on the time when the Nile began to overflow at this point;² consequently so far as we are concerned we need only consider the Egyptian Nile, i.e. the stretch from Assuan down stream to the Mediterranean. On the other hand only the extreme time limits, for the onset and recess of the Nile Flood are to be considered by us, and not the mean dates which until modern times were utterly unknown. It is obvious that for the average man only the earliest date for the beginning and the latest date for the end of the Nile flood would be impressed upon his mind, and therefore only these would be retained in his memory. Now as ascertained by statistical observations and measurements extending over many years, the two extreme time limits lie between the beginning of May (about the fifth) for the start of the Nile rise at Assuan, and at the beginning of October (about the first or second) for the highest flood level.³ In Lower Egypt, say at Memphis or Heliopolis, in the vicinity of Cairo, these limits are deferred by about eight to ten days, so that the rise of the Nile is only noticeable about eight days later. The flood level remains fairly constant till the beginning of November, and then gradually recedes till the end of December, and when, in January, 'the earth is once more out' as the Egyptian phrase has it, (*Pap d'Orb.* ii, 3) the river is once more in its ordinary bed. It then goes on falling slowly, and between the beginning of May and the beginning of June reaches its lowest level, until the flood begins anew. But even after the river has returned to its ordinary bed in January, the soil long remains slimy beneath the somewhat hardened surface until the seed has taken root; it is only then that it gradually dries up completely.

Now on the assumption that the author of the Biblical flood-narrative

¹ H. G. Lyons, *Physiography of the River Nile*, Cairo, 1905, is of all the older and newer works the best informed on the rise of the Nile and its variations on the strength of more than thirty years' measurements and observations at various points (cf. especially p. 350 ff.). Also his essay in the *Geographical Journal*, 26 (1905), p. 249 ff. also *Erman-Ranke*, 16.

² This has been the case at all times, as is shown by the fact that most of the Nilometers are to be found in Upper and Lower Egypt. Cf. below p. 226, n. 1. Moreover the difference at various points of the Nile does not consist in the duration, but in the dates of the beginning and ending, of the rise of the Nile.

³ The 100 days given by Greek writers for the duration of the Nile flood correspond only to the middle figure which fluctuates between the limits of a period of 150 days.

took the Nile flood as the basis of his calculation, everything becomes straightway clear:

1. The duration of the flood extends over a full year, like the Nile flood.

2. The 150 days correspond to the period within the two limits between the onset of the rise of the Nile at the beginning of May, and the highest water level at the beginning of October, i.e. five months.

3. The recession of the flood begins after the expiry of 150 days and is carried out in three stages: first the water falls by 15 ells so that the highest mountain peaks become visible on the first of the tenth month (Gen. 8, 5); then the water recedes further, till on the first of the first month of the second year it dries up from the surface of the earth (8, 13) though the ground still remains moist; finally also this moisture vanishes, and on the twenty-seventh of the second month (8, 14) complete dryness ensues.

4. It becomes evident that here also the sequence of months remains consonant with the customary usage of the Pentateuch, so that the first month is *Nisān* and thus the flood actually begins in the second spring month just at the point when the rise of the Nile begins.

It is only by calculating the chronology of the flood on the basis of the Nile that it can be explained why the deluge took place in summer and not in winter, and only the beginning of the rise of the Nile in May provides us with the key to the solution of the question why the flood began in the second spring month. Even the more exact dating of the seventeenth of the second month could tentatively be explained, on the assumption that the Flood was assigned by our author to a year, which, according to his reckoning, began six to seven weeks before the onset of the rise of the Nile in Upper or Lower Egypt.¹

Of course, the two first dates (May–October) are the most important and, therefore, coincide more exactly with those of the rise of the Nile. But even for the period of the recession of the waters he follows the successive stages of the fall of the Nile, namely: (1) The soil becoming visible when the river returns to its bed, for which it takes something over two months. (2) The time when the soil is still sodden, lasting about three months till the seed takes root. (3) The time of about six to eight weeks till the soil is completely dried out by the sun.² It is, however, of importance to point out

¹ This date is one of the most important factors in the whole structure of the chronology of Genesis, as well as in the question of the combined lunar and solar calendar in the Pentateuch, and will be dealt with elsewhere in connexion with these questions.

² Note the difference in the expressions חרב and שׁיב Gen. 8, 13 f.: the first denotes the

the following difference: Since the Nile does not, like the Flood, completely disappear, and on the other hand, in the case of the Flood, the sowing and growing period does not come into consideration as in the case of the Nile, the author substituted the highest mountain summits for the top edge of the river bank where the overflow actually begins, and filled up the following two periods of about three months' duration with the recession of the Flood from the level of the mountain tops to the lowest places of the earth, and it is only then that the last period of the complete drying-up of the earth ensues.

We are now brought nearer to a solution of the question, whether the duration of the Flood is reckoned on the basis of a lunar or solar year. As to the months themselves, the establishment of the fact that the usual sequence found in the Pentateuch, with *Nisān* as the first is followed, implicitly indicates that they cannot be other than lunar months. As far as the year is concerned, twelve lunar months contain 353–5 days, so that from the seventeenth of the second month to the seventeenth of the second in the next year 353, 354, or 355 days could be counted. As, however, the Flood year terminates on the twenty-seventh of the second, and between the seventeenth and on the twenty-seventh there are only ten or eleven days, according to whether the seventeenth is included in the calculation of the twelve months or not, there remain 355 or 354 days respectively to be distributed over the twelve months, and the ten or eleven days respectively can only be added for the completion of the solar year. It thus results that the year can only be a solar year.¹ We thus have to do with a so-called tropical year which is based on twelve lunar months plus ten or eleven days.

The question still remains, how are the first 150 days of the flood to be explained. Are they to be taken as five months or not? From Gen. 7, 24 and 8, 3 it cannot be deduced with certainty whether the seventeenth of the seventh month is counted in the 150 days or not. This is, however, very important, for only in the latter case could all the five months be of an equal length of thirty days *each*; whereas in the first case, that is when the seventeenth of the seventh is included, one month must have twenty-nine days, and the calculation would be as follows:

disappearance of the water from the surface, the earth still remaining muddy; the last denotes the complete drying up of the earth.

¹ It must be expressly emphasized that in view of the exact familiarity of our author with Egyptian life and Egyptian institutions, the doubts expressed by many as to his acquaintance with a solar calendar are invalid. On the other hand the assumption of twelve equal thirty-day months in the flood-year is unthinkable, if only on account of the ten to eleven additional days, from the seventeenth to the twenty-seventh of the second month.

17th to 29th of 2nd month	13 days
3rd to 6th month of 30 days each	120 days
1st to 17th of 7th month	17 days
	<u>150 days</u>

As will be seen it cannot at all be taken for granted that all the five months were equal units of thirty days each. On the other hand it must not be overlooked that the question whether a lunar or solar year is implied cannot be decided for the Deluge year alone, since it cannot be isolated and regarded as independent of all connexion with the chronology of the creation of the patriarchs, and even of calendar calculations throughout the Pentateuch. This is all the less the case seeing that the Flood year begins in the second month of the year and thus presumes a quite established calendar reckoning. Furthermore, as we have shown that the Flood year rests on a combined lunar and solar reckoning it is quite impossible to assume that between the second and seventh months five successive full months of thirty days each could be placed. The very fact that the 150 days do not start at the beginning of a year, not even at the beginning of a month, renders it in the highest degree improbable that the *rounding off* of 150 days was dependent on any calendar consideration. The author can have had in mind neither a lunar nor a solar month, but only a certain period taken over as a whole from another environment, and this was the period of the rise of the Nile, which, as we have just seen, begins in the middle of a month and lasts five months. It was indeed this distinct period of time which had been familiar to him in Egypt and which was reckoned *by the Egyptians* (not by the author of the Flood story!), at five months of thirty days each, making a total of 150 days. For it was particularly the Egyptians who, in fixing the month, did not adhere strictly to the observation or circulation of the *new moon*, but arbitrarily rounded off the months into twelve units of thirty days each, and at the end of 360 days added five epagomenal days in order to attain the 365 days of a complete solar year. The first period of the Flood thus corresponds both in months and days to the Egyptian reckoning of five months, the duration of the rise of the Nile. The number of 150 days is an adopted round figure which has no connexion with the calculation of the Flood year *per se*, and cannot enter into this question. The only decisive factors are those above-mentioned, namely: the sequence of the months for the calculation of *the month* by the moon, and the addition of the ten to eleven days for the calculation of *the year* by the sun. Thus the chief obstacle on which all attempts at a solution have been shattered is

removed, and there is no longer anything against the assumption that the Flood-year was actually based on a combined lunar and solar reckoning.¹

By the establishment of an Egyptian orientation for the chronology of the Flood, the difficulty mentioned above, p. 220, as to the mode of procedure in adding the epagomenal days is solved. The fact that the ten to eleven days are added at the *end* of the year necessarily leads to the assumption that our author must have been familiar with such a system. This knowledge can only have been derived from Egypt where, as we have seen, this system was employed. He simply followed the Egyptian model, with the difference that whereas the Egyptians added only five days owing to the fact that they had a solar year of 365 days but no lunar months, he had to add ten to eleven days so as to have a complete year of 365 days for the Flood.²

Finally attention may be drawn to another round figure in connexion with the Flood to which hitherto no importance has been attached, but which nevertheless has its good reason, and can only be explained by comparison of the Flood with the Nile overflow. According to Gen. 7, 20 the water of the flood rose 15 ells above the highest peaks of the mountains. This height corresponds in a very remarkable fashion with the rise of the Nile flood from the lowest to the highest level, which from very early times has been established at 15 ells and a fraction. Thus all the Nile gauges from various times dating from the Second Millennium B.C. down to the latest one constructed in the eighth century A.D. at Rōḏa in Cairo, have a scale of 16 ells. The level of between 15 and 16 ells has at all times been regarded as the norm for a full overflow of the Nile. Even

¹ If the Flood year—as strangely enough is generally done—is taken as an isolated year with its own reckoning beginning at the seventeenth of the second month, then within the framework of the lunar and solar calendar the 150 days could be fitted into five months by including the seventeenth of the seventh month, for in a lunar year of 355 days, the first three months have thirty days each, the fourth twenty-nine, and the fifth thirty, totalling 149, so that with the seventeenth of the seventh month we get a round figure of 150 days; at any rate the dates given in the *Hebrew* text are shown above to be correct. The fixing of the beginning of the flood on the twenty-seventh of the second month in the Greek versions is an emendation based on misunderstanding.

² This palpable knowledge of an intercalary system is of great importance, because it admits of the conclusion that such a system was introduced also in relation to the Festival calendar of the Pentateuch. This we shall discuss at greater length in the chapter on Times and Festivals and at the same time consider the views propounded by Dillman, *Monatsber. d. Berl. Akad.*, 1881, p. 914 ff., B. Jacob, *der Pentateuch*, p. 366 ff. Ed. König, *ZDMG.* 60 (1906), p. 605 ff., and Ed. Mahler, *Monats. f. Gesch. u. Wiss. d. Jud.* 1929, p. 224. He would technically be right in saying that the Flood year is to be taken as a *tropical year* if it could be proved beyond doubt that the months were *throughout* reckoned as equal units of 30 days each, which, however, is not the case, as indicated above.

to-day 15½ ells is regarded as the requisite measure of a favourable inundation for the adequate irrigation of all the fields of the Nile area, a fact which clearly shows the stability of conditions in the Nile lands through thousands of years.¹

9. The Story of the Tower of Babel.

That in so short a story as that of the Tower of Babel clearer traces of its Babylonian origin have been preserved than in other much longer Genesis stories is primarily to be explained by the fact that the ancient scene of this story lay in Babylon itself. It is only natural that the original impress should have been preserved by the Hebrews in spite of later wanderings and vicissitudes. This is already shown by the phraseology at the beginning of the narrative 11, 3: וְשָׂרְפָה לְשָׂרְפָה. This sentence corresponds in all respects to the Akkadian mode of expression, and also shows familiarity with building technicalities in Babylon. לְבָנָה is used here exactly in the same sense as the Akkadian *labānu* 'brick making'; לְבָנָה is the same word as *libittu*, *libbintu* for sun-dried bricks, and וְשָׂרְפָה refers to the fire-baked bricks. The suggestion that these words refer to לְבָנָה is incorrect because וְשָׂרְפָה conveys the idea of making a kind of brick called לְבָנָה which as we have seen is a sun-dried brick; therefore,

¹ The oldest Nilometer still completely preserved is to be found in a temple in Thebes from the period of the 18th dynasty (Bädeker, 1906, p. 311). The Nilometer in Elephantine already described by Strabo, and till recently in use (*ibid.*, p. 337), has the scale of 16 ells. But though this is from the period of the Roman Emperors, it obviously replaced a much more ancient one. The remains of other early Nilometers are also preserved at Philae (*ibid.* p. 344) and at Kalabshe (Thalmis), about 30 kilometres south of Assuan (*ibid.* p. 363), dating perhaps from the period of Amenophis II. On the arrangement of such a Nilometer see *ibid.* p. 337. The description given by Strabo of the Nilometer at Elephantine also applies to other Nilometers, including the Arabic Nilometer (*miqyās*) built by the Kalif Suleiman, 715 on the Isle of *Rōḍa* near Cairo. The oldest traces of water gauge marks still preserved are probably those of the period of Sesostri II (1750–1730 B.C.) on the sand-stone rock at Semne, not far from the second cataract (*Erman-Ranke*, p. 595 and *Bädeker*, pp. 95, 386). A graphic representation of the scale of 16 ells is shown on a statue of the Nile god preserved in the Vatican, with sixteen figures of boys standing above one another in climbing attitude indicating the 16 ells (*Erman-Ranke*, p. 16). According to the Arab historian and geographer *Al-Maqrizī* (born 1364), the Copts at the time of the conquest of Egypt by 'Omar ibn el-'Āṣī, 632 regarded the ancient measure of over 15 ells as essential and sacrificed to the Nile a virgin as 'bride' when this height was not reached. To-day the highest state of the Nile is called *wafā en-Nīl*, i.e. 'the completion of the Nile', or 'the fulfilled promise of the Nile', and until recently was publicly proclaimed as soon as a height of 26½ feet (= 8.46 metres or 26½ feet) was reached. Cf. Meyers, *Führer durch Ägypten*, 1914, p. 295, E. W. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, chapter 26, and *Encyclop. of Islam*, s.v. Cairo, 4.

וְשָׂרְפָה לְשָׂרְפָה can only mean fire-baked bricks. Thus we have in וְשָׂרְפָה a word coined from שָׂרַף 'burn' for 'burnt bricks' on the model of *p'ēlā* like לְבָנָה. That the ל in וְשָׂרְפָה has no meaning has already been repeatedly noted, and it is very probably to be regarded as a *lapsus calami*, caused by the ל in the immediately preceding words וְשָׂרְפָה לְבָנָה. In any case וְשָׂרְפָה here is the object of שָׂרַף and can only denote a species of brick different from לְבָנָה. The whole sentence would thus read: 'Come, let us make air-dried bricks and burn baked bricks!'. The mention of both kinds of bricks is completely in accordance with building technique in Babylonia where *lebettu*, *libittu* = לְבָנָה 'sun-dried bricks' and *agurru* = וְשָׂרְפָה 'baked bricks' occur together.¹ There the sun-dried bricks were used for the interior and the burnt bricks for the exterior of the buildings for protection against rain and flood. This was especially the case with large buildings where the former were employed for the skeleton structure and filling up of the thick walls, and the latter for facing work. This was well-known to the narrator, and clearly indicated in the words cited. As a matter of fact it is very instructive to find in a Babylonian inscription relating to the destruction of a *tower* that these two kinds of bricks were employed together thus, in *Neb. Bors.* II, 3 we read: 'Rain and storm had torn away its brick structure (*libittuša*); the burnt-brickwork (*agurri*) of its frame burst, and the sun-dried bricks of its kernel (i.e. skeleton) were poured out (*iššapik*) in heaps'.²

In a building inscription of Nabopolassar concerning the restoration work he carried out in the decayed ancient Step-Tower E-temen-an-ki of E-sag-ila, the chief temple of Babylon, we find a sentence almost literally coinciding with Gen. 11, 3. It reads: *albin lušalbin libintim ušaptik agurra* 'I caused *air bricks* to be made, and *burnt bricks* to be formed' (*VAB* iv, p. 60, col. ii, ll. 5–6).

Moreover the expression used in reference to the height of the Tower in the words 'that its top may reach to heaven' recalls a similar phrase

¹ Akkadian *lebettu* in stat. constr. *libnat*, pl. *libnati* is 'sun-dried brick', and *agurru* 'fire-baked kiln-stone' burnt in an oven (*kēri* = Hebrew כִּירָה) or *utunu* (= אֲתוּן); *labānu* is 'making, flattening the bricks' and *lābin libnāti* is 'brick maker'. Cf. Bezold, *Bab. Assy.* *Glossar*, 16 a and 157 b.

² Cf. Del. *WB.*, p. 19 b, for other examples of the contiguity of sun-dried and kiln-baked bricks. Moreover it appears to me that *agurru* like וְשָׂרְפָה is to be derived from a root *agar*, which must have meant 'to burn' or otherwise *agurru* could not have acquired the specific meaning of 'burnt brick'. Though *agar* in this meaning has not yet been found in Akkadian, it has been preserved in Chaldean in *šagar* 'to stoke' which is obviously a *šaf'al* form of *agar*; cf. e.g. שָׂגַר תְּנֹרָה 'to stoke a furnace', Targum on Ezek. 39, 9. Cf. also other examples in Levy, *Neuhebr. WB.*, s.v. It is to be differentiated from שָׂגַר 'to throw' as in this case 'furnace' as object would be incomprehensible.

which repeatedly occurs in Babylonian building inscriptions. Thus in the inscription already mentioned ad loc., p. 60, col. i, 32-39: 'as far as concerns the Step-Tower of Babel E-temen-an-ki which before my time was tottering and decayed, Marduk bade me to lay its foundations on the breast of the nether world and to make its top level with heaven' (*riešiša šāmami* which would read in Hebrew ראשו השמימה). This phrase is indeed very ancient in Babylonia, and is to be found already in the Sumerian inscription of King Gudea (about 2200 B.C.) in which it is said of the Temple E-ninnu that it was built 'up to heaven' (*VAB*, i, p. 99, Cyl. a 9, l. 11), and further that 'its terrifying glory would reach to heaven'. A similar statement is made in the inscription of Nebukadrezar II on the restoration work of E-temen-an-ki viz., that he 'built' its top (*riešiša*) 'so high that it 'could measure itself with the heaven (*šāmami ana šidanunim*)'.¹ (*VAB*. iv, p. 146, col. ii, ll. 7-11, cf. inter alia also Jeremias, *Das A.T.*, p. 160 ff., also Jirku *Altor. Komm.* p. 53).

Likewise, the expression 'to make oneself a name' Gen. 11, 4 וַעֲשֶׂה לָנוּ שֵׁם, is the same as in Akkadian *epiš* (make) *šuma* (name), e.g. the Adapa Myth in Rog., p. 75, 59, *šuma itepuššu* 'he made himself a name'. But also the entire phrase is to be found in the above-mentioned inscription of Nebukadnezar II on the E-sag-ila Temple (*VAB*. iv, p. 80, no. 4, col. ii, ll. 9-11): 'The fortress of E-sag-ila and Babel I have strengthened and have established (*aštakkan*) an eternal name (*šummām dārām*) for my kingdom'. All these expressions could be further substantiated by older Akkadian inscriptions: we have merely chosen the passages cited because being building inscriptions they are in subject matter and language akin to the Hebrew text, and thus best reveal the identity in mode of speech. From these parallels it is apparent that we have to do here with ancient expressions current in Babylonia in all periods, and we can, therefore, very well regard those in our story as reminiscences of the time when it was taken over by the patriarchs in its original Babylonian dress.

Though, however, the Babylonian origin of this narrative is quite clearly recognizable, it also reveals some features foreign to Babylonian which must have been introduced later. As a matter of fact we find that also in this case these elements are to be attributed to the influence of an Egyptian milieu. It is first of all noteworthy that though the building 'of a town

¹ The height of the Tower is also compared with the height of a mountain, as e.g. in an inscription of Nabopolassar (*VAB*. iv, p. 62, col. iii, l. 19-24): 'The Temple I built after the pattern of E-bana, with joy and jubilation, like a mountain I made high its summit' (*kima satnim riešišu lu ulluim*). Cf. also the inscription of Nebukadrezar II on E-sag-ila. *VAB*. iv, p. 80, no. 4, col. ii, l. 1 f.: 'Its summit (*riešišu*) I raised to mountain heights (*šadaniš uzakkir*)'.

with a tower' is typically Babylonian, the author did not conceive the Tower itself in the characteristic Babylonian form as the original legend would have had it, namely as a step tower (*zikkuratu*), but as a four-cornered fortress tower, as was common in the Asiatic border-lands of Egypt as well as in Egypt itself. He described it as מגדל, a word which was widely used in Egypt, especially during the New Empire, in the form of *mktr*.¹ It can of course, easily have been current among the Hebrews already in Canaan, but as it belongs to the loan-words common to Egyptian and to the language of the Pentateuch as we shall later show in other instances (cf., below, p. 290 ff.), it is significant that it should have been substituted for the original Babylonian name for the Tower. The influence of the Egyptian milieu is however distinctly palpable in the explanatory remark Gen. 11, 3, that in the building of the Tower bricks replaced stones, and bitumen was used instead of loam. Such an explanation can only have been intended for circles among whom the use of bricks for monumental buildings was unheard of, and this particularly applies to Egypt. For here, while bricks were used for houses, grain stores and administrative buildings, they were not employed for such gigantic monuments as the Tower of Babel, for which the Egyptians would have used huge blocks of stone and well-hewn masonry of granite or basalt. It was only on this account that it appeared to the author to be necessary to point out that in Babylonia even for the most monumental and gigantic buildings bricks were used instead of stone. For the same reason he further added וְהִחְמֵר הָיָה לָהֶם לְחֵמֶר, i.e. that instead of loam חֵמֶר which was common in Egypt (cf. above, p. 206), in Babylonia חֵמֶר bitumen was used as binding material for brick buildings, whereas this was only employed in Egypt for the occlusion of wood articles, the caulking of ships, or the sealing of coffins and the like. This exactly agrees with the building technique of the Babylonians, and is expressly mentioned in reference to the restoration of the Tower of E-temen-an-ki in the inscription of Nabopolassar already mentioned, where it is stated that he caused to be brought across the Arakhtu-Canal bitumen (*kupru*) and pitch (*iddu*) in quantities as great as 'a downpour from heaven (*tika šamē*), without measure, and as a destroying flood of water (*milim kaššim*)', *VAB*. iv, p. 60, col. ii, ll. 8-13. Likewise, in the other inscription of Nebukadrezar II concerning Esagila, *VAB*. iv, p. 80, no. 3, col. i, ll. 22-5, it says that 'he built a mighty wall, immovable like a mountain, with bitumen (*ina kupri*) and with burnt bricks (*agurri*)'.

¹ In Egyptian *r* corresponds to a Semitic *l*. In Coptic *mktr* is rendered by ⲙⲕⲧⲣⲟⲗ, ⲙⲓⲛⲧⲟⲗ = *migdōl* as in Hebrew. Cf. Burchardt, *Altan.*, no. 527 f. and above n. 2.

Finally attention should be drawn to the expression *שמע* 'understand' Gen. 11. 7 which elsewhere in the Pentateuch occurs only in the Joseph story, and is used in both places exactly like the Egyptian *śdm* 'hear' in the sense of 'understand a language'. What specially characterizes this word in both languages is its employment for the understanding of a foreign language, and its occurrence in this story of purely Babylonian origin is a further indication of Egyptian influence in a narrative from the pre-Egyptian epoch.

As far as the Tower itself and its origin are concerned, there is some difference of opinion.¹ Most scholars refer it to the step-Tower E-temen-an-ki of the E-sag-ila Temple. This Tower was very well known just at the time of the first patriarchs, as well as the Temple, the first mention of which dates back to Zabuma, the great-grandfather of Hammurabi and is mentioned also in the time of Hammurabi, the real founder of Babylon as a great power (about 2100 B.C.). Strangely enough it completely disappears for many centuries, its name only recurring in the seventh century B.C. when it was destroyed by Sennacherib, and then later in the reports concerning the restoration work undertaken by Nabopolassar and his son Nebukadrezar II. This assumption is more plausible than the view based on local traditions according to which it was the seven-storied Tower E-urimin-an-ki in Birs Nimrūd where formally the E-zi-da Temple of Borsippa stood. For the town of Borsippa was not identical with Babel but only a neighbour and E-temen-an-ki was much bigger and higher than E-zi-da. It is clear that the legend would not have grown up round the less important E-zi-da Tower. Further, it is not unlikely that the original legend was intentionally centred round E-sag-ila, because its Tower bore the boastful name E-temen-an-ki 'House of the foundation of heaven and earth'. However that may be, the important fact for us is that in a narrative, the Babylonian origin of which was certainly known to the author, the traces of Egyptian influence are undeniable.

That the explanation of the name Babel by *בלל*, as 'confusion of tongues', Gen. 11, 9, arose later in a milieu foreign to Babylonia, is generally admitted, both because the name Babel = *bāb-ilu* means 'gate of God', and has nothing whatever to do with the Hebrew *בלל*. As we shall presently show from other examples, this method of etymologizing names is a particularly typical feature of the mythical and legendary literature of the Egyptians which was taken over by the Hebrews.

¹ See fuller details in Gunkel's, *Kommentar zu Genesis*, p. 97 f.

CHAPTER VI

INTERPRETATION OF NAMES BY ASSONANT WORDS IN THE GENESIS STORIES AND THE NARRATIVES OF THE PATRIARCHS.

In connexion with our investigation of the pre-Egyptian epochs we deem it necessary to subject to a full examination the method of the Pentateuch explaining certain personal names by a play on words, or more generally speaking by a pun with a similar-sounding word. Such name-interpretations occur for the first time in the Genesis stories, then more frequently in the patriarchal narratives, and also in later portions of the Pentateuch. Though from a purely external point of view they can be generally characterized as assonant name-interpretations, intrinsically they can be grouped into the following categories:

1. Symbolical interpretation, as e.g. *חַוָּה* the second name of the woman from *חַוָּה* because she was 'mother of all living beings', Gen. 3, 20; *שֵׁת* from *שָׁת* 'to place, to set, to put', because his mother said at his birth: 'for God has set for me another seed instead of Abel', Gen. 4, 25; *נֹחַ* from *נָחַל* 'to be divided, split', 'for in his days was the earth divided', Gen. 10, 25; *רָחֵל* from *רָחַץ* probably 'luck', for his mother said 'fortune has come', Gen. 30, 11; *מִשְׁפָּחָה* from *נָשָׁח* 'forget', because the father said: 'God hath made me forget all my misery', or *מִשְׁפָּחָה* from *הִפְרָה* 'to make fruitful', because he said: 'God hath caused me to be fruitful in the land of my deprivation', Gen. 41, 51 f.

2. Augural or auspicious interpretations, e.g. *נֹחַ* from *נָחַם* 'bring comfort' because the father said: 'This one shall comfort us', Gen. 5, 29. Then most of the names of the Fathers of the tribes, as e.g. *רְאֵיבֶן* from *רָאָה* 'to see' in conjunction with the preposition *בְּ* because the mother said: 'God has seen my affliction'; *שִׁמְעוֹן* from *שָׁמַע* 'hear', for she said: 'God has heard that I am despised', Gen. 29, 32 f.; *יִזְבֵּן* from *יָצַק* 'increase, augment' for she said: 'May God add to me another son', Gen. 30, 24.

3. Anecdotal interpretations in which the name is motivated (i) by the origin of the person concerned, as e.g. *אָדָם*, because he was created from *אֲדָמָה* 'red earth', Gen. 2, 7, see above, p. 145 f.; *אִשָּׁה*, the first name of the woman, because she was taken from *אִישׁ* 'man', Gen. 2, 23; (ii) by reference to a particular occurrence in connexion with the birth of the boy or to an experience of the mother before or at his birth, as e.g. *יִצְחָק* from *צָחַק* 'laugh',

because the mother laughed incredulously at the annunciation of his birth by the angel, Gen. 18, 12 ff. (also 21, 6); *ישמעאל* from שמע 'hear' + אל God, because God heard the mother in her distress, 16, 11; *יעקב* from עקב 'heel', because at his birth he held fast to the heel of his brother Esau who was born before him, 25, 26 (also 27, 36); *אדם* from אדום 'red', because Esau in his greediness assailed Jacob to give him to eat of his red lentils, 25, 30; *פרץ* from פרוץ 'to break forth, to push oneself forward', because he pushed himself forward at his birth in order to precede his brother, 38, 29; *מִשָּׁה* from מָשָׁה 'draw', because he was drawn out of the water, Ex. 2, 10.

Similar interpretations are also found of place-names, e.g. *בבל* from בלל 'mix, confuse', because there God confused the tongues of men, Gen. 11, 9; *צוער* from מצער 'small', because this town was described as small, Gen. 19, 22 and 20; *גלעד* from גל 'heap of stones' + עד 'witness', because there a stone heap was thrown up as a witness to the covenant concluded between Esau and Jacob, 31, 47; *מחנה* from מחנה 'camp' i.e. 'two camps' in remembrance of the meeting of Jacob's camp with a camp of angels, 32, 3; *מר* from מר 'bitter', because the water was bitter there, Ex. 15, 23; *מִסָּה* from נסה 'try' and מריבה from ריב 'quarrel' because the Israelites tried God and quarrelled there, 17, 7.

Also the names of several Festivals are substantiated anecdotally: thus *פסח* from פסח 'leap over', because at the plague of the first-born the houses of the Israelites were overleapt, Ex. 12, 27, or *סוכות* from סכה 'booth', because God caused Israel to dwell in booths at his going forth from Egypt, Lev. 23, 42 f.

The most remarkable feature of all these interpretations is that only rarely is there any plausible etymological or other intrinsic connexion between the name and the real meaning of the explanatory word, as is for instance the case between *צחק* and צחק and *אדם* and אדם etc. In most cases the connexion is purely artificial, and generally there is not the slightest relationship between the root and the derived name, as e.g. in the case of *חיה* and חיה, *קנה* and קנה, Gen. 4, 1, or that of *נח* which only contains the first two letters of the root of נחם, and even in the case of *אברהם* which has nothing in common with *אברהם*, Gen. 17, 5. In many cases there is not even a connexion between the two words in the same language, as a Hebrew word is invoked to substantiate a non-Hebrew name, as e.g. in the case of *בלל* 'to confuse' in explanation of the Babylonian town name *בבל* = *bābilu* 'Gate of God' or *מִשָּׁה* 'to draw' for the name *מִשָּׁה*, which is Egyptian (see below, p. 228).

The discussion of this class of name interpretations in this section of the book is essential because they are very characteristic of the Genesis

stories and the Joseph and Exodus narratives. This is the more appropriate at this point as they are especially typical for the patriarchal narratives which thereby come within the ambit of our investigations into the Egyptian elements in Genesis. They are thus to be regarded as a special peculiarity of the portions belonging to the Egyptian and pre-Egyptian epochs in the Pentateuch. For while in these portions we encounter such name interpretations with great frequency as a quite distinctive feature, they later only occur here and there, chiefly to substantiate certain local or festival names, and then gradually disappear.¹ The Genesis stories and, most conspicuously, the patriarchal narratives down to the Egyptian epoch are indeed most prolific of this kind of name-interpretation.²

Let us now see whether this phenomenon may not be explained as the direct consequence of an intensive influence of the Egyptian milieu during the Egyptian epoch in Israel, and whether consequently this fact may not supply the reason for the more frequent appearance of the various kinds of name-interpretation in the Genesis stories, the patriarchal narratives, and the histories of Joseph and the Exodus. The significance attributed to names, and the magic power ascribed even to the sound of names, have been observed among many other peoples especially of the East, nevertheless among no other people of antiquity was the symbolism of names so widespread and so deep-rooted as among the Egyptians; and in no other known ancient literature of the East did assonant name-interpretations flourish so widely and acquire such profound influence as in the Egyptian literature of all ages, from the earliest to the latest times. Of far greater significance in our case is the fact that in Egyptian, as we shall soon see, all the above species of name interpretations are represented exactly as in the Pentateuch, and that more especially the tendency to explain names and also divine attributes by puns to bring them in accord with certain

¹ This results from a cursory examination of the number of names interpreted in this way in Genesis and other Biblical books. In the Genesis stories and patriarchal narratives there are about twenty-nine, in the Joseph and Exodus narratives four, in the account of the wanderings through the wilderness five, and in the rest of the Bible altogether only three or four. In the case of other symbolic or horoscopic names, the puns are completely lacking.

² It is by no means accidental, but represents a definite tendency in the structure of the early history of Israel that in the Pentateuch name-interpretations were confined to a select number and restricted only to those men who occupied a particularly eminent place in the series of the forefathers, from Adam, the father of mankind, down to Moses, the creator of the Israelite people. Nevertheless in other early records the names of other forefathers of the pre and post-Egyptian periods must have been interpreted in similar fashion, as may be discerned from the interpretations of *יעבץ* 1 Chron. 4, 9 and *בריעה* 7, 23, which were certainly derived from such early records. In a chapter on personal names we will revert to this question.

ideas and events was a regular phenomenon, particularly in the myths of primeval times, including the creation-stories. Here, too, the mention of the name of a god, or a mythical being, or the narration of certain events is followed by an explanatory gloss similar in form and phraseology to that appearing in the Genesis stories and patriarchal narratives. It should further be noted that in Egyptian this occurs especially in reference to the names of the early gods, just as in Genesis it does with the names of the first men and the patriarchs. It may be added that not only is this mode of name interpretation and manner of selecting certain names and events common to Hebrew and Egyptian, but that they are likewise characteristic of the same class of legendary stories and narrative literature in Egyptian and the Pentateuch. All these factors support the view that we have here to do with a specific literary mode to be ascribed to a distinct sphere of Egyptian influence, which indeed, as we shall see, explains why this mode first appears in the Genesis stories and is found in such abundance in the narratives of the patriarchs.

1. Egyptian parallels to assonant Name-interpretations in Hebrew.

We proceed to give a series of examples mainly from the religious literature of the Egyptians, the selection being made with regard to the various species of name-interpretations mentioned above, whereby names are explained either by associating them with similarly sounding words, or by connecting them with a particular event.

In the 'Book of the Cow of Heaven' (Roed. *Urk.* 143, Ranke *AOT*² p. 4) Sekhmet (*šhm.t*—שחמטה)¹ 'the mighty one' the name of the Goddess Hathor is explained in the following manner: When Hathor was sent forth by Re to destroy the rebels among men, she overpowered the inhabitants of Ehnas and killed them. When she returned to Re, the Majesty of the God Re said: 'Welcome in peace O Hathor! Thou hast done that for which I sent thee forth (?)'. Then the Goddess said: 'As truly as thou livest! I have overcome the men, and this is pleasant to my heart.' The Majesty of Re said: 'Thou hast *over-powered* them (*šhm*—חם 'to be powerful against

¹ We would emphasize that in Egyptian quite early, as in Hebrew, Arabic, etc. the feminine ending *t* (ת) was weakened to *h* (ה). Thus e.g. *nw.t* was probably pronounced *nuweh*; *šhm.t*, *šehmeh*; *tfn.t*, *tefneh* or *tfēneh*. It is important to note this fact, as thereby assonant puns can be more clearly understood. We would expressly point out however, that our transliteration of Egyptian words in Hebrew characters is only meant to give an approximate idea of the appearance of the Egyptian words as the exact pronunciation is unknown (cf. above, p. 33, end of n. 1).

anyone') by destruction in Ehnas;¹ thus arose the name² Sekhmet (*šhm.t*—שחמטה)='the Powerful One'. In the same myth (=Roed. *Urk.* 147 f., Ranke *AOT*² p. 5) the names *hb*—הב 'Ibis-bird' and *i'h*—יעח=ירח 'moon' which the God Thot received when he was appointed by the Sun-god Re to represent him at night on earth during his journey through the nether world, are explained as follows: Then the Majesty of this God (Re) said to Thot: "thou shalt be my representative in my stead, thou shalt be called Thot, representative of Re.³ I shall, however, cause thee to send forth others (*hb*—האב) still greater than thou art"; thus arose (the name) *hb* (Ibis) for Thot'. Then said Re further to Thot: 'I will cause thee to surround (*inh*—אנה or ינה) the two heavens with thy glory and thy brightness; thus arose the *i'h*—יעח (=ירח) "moon" for Thot'. In *Naville*, Totb. chap. 112, 13 the attribute of Horus 'He who is on his papyrus' is explained by the fact that Horus said to Re: 'Appoint me two brothers, they shall be about me so long as the earth is green (*wgd*—ואד=ואט 'green'); thus arose his name "Horus" who stands on his papyrus (*wgd*—ואד=ואט)'.⁴

Other names of Thot are explained similarly, thus, e.g. *thn* (a bird) from a play upon the word *hn*; 'n'n (baboon) from 'n'n 'reject, repulse', because Re said to him he should 'reject the isles of the (Aegean) Sea (*hsw-nbw.t*)'. The name Shu (*šw*—שו) of the Air and Wind God is explained in Pyr. 1871 by the word *išš* ששש or שיש 'spit', because he was conceived by the primeval cosmic god Atum in his mouth and then spat forth. Similarly the name of his sister Tefenet (תפנה) is brought into connexion with *tf*, (ת) spit, because she was spat out together with Shu.⁴ The name of the great god *imn* (Amon) is derived in the *Amon-Hymn*, Cairo, l. 5 (=Roed. *Urk.*, p. 6) from *imn* אמן 'hide': 'He is the supreme lord of men who hides (*imn*) his name from his children in this

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his name Amon (*imn*).¹ In the same hymn, l. 10 f. (= Roed. *Urk.*, p. 8), Khepre (חפר), the name of the first Creative god, is allotted to him and explained from *šhpr*—שחפר (caus. of *hpr* to be) in the following manner: It is he 'who created men and caused all beings to exist (*šhpr*) in this his name Atum-Khepre (*hpry*)'.²

In a hymn on the two Egyptian crowns, the 'red crown' (*dšr.t*) of Lower Egypt, and the 'white crown' (*hd.t*) of Upper Egypt (Erman, *Hymnen an das Diadem der Pharaonen* 1911) the various names and virtues of these crowns are explained by appropriate puns,³ likewise the virtues of the king are derived from the names of the crowns. Thus e.g., p. 26, b. 2, 20 'the red eye (*dšr.t* וְשֵׁרָה from *dšr*—דִּשָּׁר red) of the king rages among his enemies and inflicts upon them wounds with the name (of the crown) "the red" (*dšr.t*)'. The two crowns, as twin crown of Upper and Lower Egypt, are called *šhm.ty* (in the dual) 'the two mighty ones, from *šhm*—שׁוּחַם "to be mighty", because it "is of mighty heart (*šhm.t-ib*) among the gods"' (ibid., p. 41, d. 2, 2); they also bear the name of the Goddess *mr.t*—מֵרָה of Upper and Lower Egypt, because they are bound together (*mr*—מָר 'bind'), i.e., are worn together as one crown (ibid., p. 43, e, 6).

In similar fashion some of the many names of the uraeus-snake worn in front of the crown are interpreted: p. 35, 14 ff. it is called *n.tyw*—עֵנִיִּי, because it shines beautifully (*n*—עֵן) on the head of the king; it is called *wpt* (וּפָה) *tnnt*, because it has its place on the king's forehead, at the parting (*wpt*.*t*—וּפָה) of his hair; it is called *i'rt* (עֵרָה), because it rises (*r*—עָר = עלה 'rise') upon the king, up to the end of his limbs, i.e., to the crown of his head (*r*—עָר(ה) = עלה 'rise'); it is called *kḥy.t*—קַחְחָה, because it brings him cooling *kḥ* 'cool off'; it is called *srk.t*—שֵׁרְקָה because it refreshes his heart (*srk*—שֵׁרֵק) 'cool'; p. 48, g, ff. the uraeus snake on the crown of Upper

¹ In this case the formula reads *m rn-k pw*, i.e. 'in this thy name', or *m rn-f pw* 'in this his name' but often it means also 'with this thy name'. In general the usual rendering by 'as truly as thou art called so-and-so' is clearest. Sometimes the formula states that this or that happens because the name was so and so. Thus sometimes the name is explained by the magical effect, and sometimes vice versa, the effect by the name. It is not possible to determine clearly from the context whether we have to do with a later interpretation of an existing ancient name, or with a name invented *ad hoc*. In any case it may be concluded with some certainty from passages like Pap. Bremner, pl. 25, 2 (= Roed. *Urk.*, p. 105) and *Himmelskuh* (= Roed. *Urk.*, p. 143) on Sekhmet, and Pap. Bremner, pl. 27, 1 (= Roed. *Urk.*, p. 108) on Shu that other similar puns date back to the Pyr. and other myths, in which the origin of the name was attributed to specific events, unknown to us.

² With the original meaning of this name we shall deal in a chapter on the names and attributes of God.

³ Red was the colour of the crown of Lower Egypt and white that of Upper Egypt; after the union of both lands under one king, both forms and colours were combined in one crown.

Egypt is called 'mistress of the *stf*-crown' (—אֲתֵף), because it spat at the (*tf*-(ה) חֲפָה) hostile gods; it is called 'mistress of strength' (*šfšf.t*), because its strength (*šfšf.t*—שֵׁפֶשֶׁפֶה) is greater than that of its foes; it is called 'mistress of fear' (*šnd*—שֵׁנֵר), because it produced fear (*šnd*) in those who blasphemed it; p. 53, i, it is called 'the running one' (*wḥwn.t*—וְחֹנֶה), because it ran (*wḥy*—וָחָה) on the body of the king to settle on his forehead. In another text, Ranke, *Das Altäg. Schlangenspiel*, p. 21, *mḥn*—מָחֵן (also *mḥn.t*) 'uraeus-serpent' which originally took its name from *mḥn* 'to curl up', is explained by a pun on *mḥ*—מָח 'to fill', 'because it fills heaven and earth with its beauty'.¹

All these and similar puns in name interpretations or in the derivation of a magical effect from a name are very ancient, and occur very frequently in the Pyramid texts, but must go back to much earlier sources containing the myths and stories to which the Pyramid texts allude. At any rate they are to be found in very large number presenting a wealth of examples for all kinds of assonant name-interpretation. These names are mostly early or later names and attributes of gods, demi-gods, demons, snakes, or dead kings, who, in their deified character, assume the form of one or the other God—e.g. of Atum, Re, Osiris, etc.—whereby they experience in their own person all the episodes ascribed to each of these gods in primeval times, and consequently transfer to themselves both their names and attributes connected with those episodes.

From the multitude of these examples, we select only such as are closest to the above-mentioned species of assonant name interpretations in Hebrew, and which most clearly reveal the analogy in the two languages.

The name of the Goddess of Heaven is Nut; *nn*y means 'hasten, run', thus, Pyr. 1596 reads: 'Hasten hither O Nut! Geb has commanded that thou shouldest hasten (*nn*y = נָנָה) hither with this thy name *nnw.t*' (= נָנָה). The name of the Earth god is Geb (*gbb*—גֵּב); *gbbg*—אֲגֵבֵגֵב means 'to be sorrowful', thus, Pyr. 1615 reads: 'Geb, thou son of Shu, this (dead king) is Osiris; thy mother's heart is sorrowful (*gbbg ib*) on thine account as truly as thy name is Geb'. In Pyr. 1695 c, the name of the primeval god Atum (*tm*—תַּם) is associated with *tnm*—תַּנַּם 'to evade, retreat', as a pun; thus it reads: 'Thou dost retreat (*tnm*) before their (i.e. Horus and Geb's) countenance like Re, as truly as thy name is Atum (*tm*)'. The name of the Sun-god Re (*r*'—רַע) is brought into a pun with *i'*—עָע (*i'*'y) 'to rise, grow'. Thus, Pyr. 1449 reads: 'Thou risest (*i'*-k) up to him (the dead king) with this thy name Re (*r*')'; Similarly also Pyr. 452. The God of the dead Anubis

¹ Cf. on *mḥ* and *mḥn* *Äg. WB.* ii, 116 f., 123 and 128. For the ringed snake *mḥn* as crown ornament, cf. *Amon Hymn*, Cairo, S. iii (= *Lit.* 284).

(*inpw*—אנפּו) counts (*ip*—אִפּ) the hearts of the dead, wherefore he is called *ip-ib.w* 'Counter of hearts'. Thus Pyr. 1287 reads: 'Count (*ip*) the hearts with this thy name *inpw ip-ib.w* "Anubis, counter of hearts"'. In another passage, Pyr. 1537, *inpw* is also brought into a play upon *ip*, but with the other meaning of 'recognizing'. In Pyr. 580 c it is said of the dead king, transformed into Osiris, that Nut, as the mother of Osiris, will cover him with her body as she did to the dead body of her son: 'The mother Nut spreads (*psš*—פּשֶׁשׁ) herself over thee with her name *st-p.t* Pe(h) (*st-p.t*—שְׂת־פֶּת)'.² Similarly, Pyr. 1608 reads: 'She (Nut) protects thee against all evil with her name Khenemet-weret (*hnm.t*—חֲנֵמ־וֶרֶת)'; cf. also Pyr. 638 and 1607. In Pyr. 1257 c the dead king, transformed this time into Anubis, the 'Jackal of the South', is assured of protection against putrefaction: 'They (Isis and Nephthys) prevent thee from putrefaction (*rw*—רָו) with this thy name Anubis (*inpw*—אנפּו), prevent that thy putrefaction should run (*sb*—סַב = סָבַב) into the ground with this thy name Jackal (*sb*—סַב = סָבַב) of the South'. As in the case of the king also, Horus is incorporated, and Horus as the first of all kings on earth bears the name Khaty (*hst*—חַאֲתִי), and the word *hst*—חַאֲתִי (later *hst*—חַאֲתִי, cf. above note 3 to p. 97) means 'corpse', it is said of the dead king: 'They prevent the odour of thy corpse (*hst-k*) becoming evil with this thy name Horus and Khaty (*hst*)'. In Pyr. 138 the dead king is told: 'Thou risest (to heaven) on the pillars (*nwh*—נֹוּחַ) of brass, on the shoulder of Horus in his name "he who is in the bark" (*hsw*—חֲוֵנו)'. In Pyr. 139 we find *spd* and *sb* in a pun. It is said of the king as the corporeal son of Re by whom he was set on the throne: 'He is conceived for Re, the seed for him; this (king), O Re, is thy sharp (*spd*—שֶׁפֶר) seed,³ as truly as thou art called "Horus the first of the (divine) spirits, the star (*sb*—סַבַּא) that shines through the great primeval sea"'.⁵ In Pyr. 1806 *wpt*—וּפֶת 'to open' is

¹ The whole sentence reads: *ip ibw-sn m rn-k pw n inpw ip ibw*. As will be seen, all the puns: *inpw* 'Anubis' on *ip* 'count'; *ib.w* 'heart' on *pw* 'this'; thus *ip-ibw* 'counter of hearts' on *inpw* 'Anubis'. Such a complete alliteration in a single sentence is in accordance with the literary taste of the Egyptians, and was reckoned among the finest poetic accomplishments, cf. other examples in *Erman-Ranke*, p. 473 f.

² According to Roed. *Urk.*, p. 37 it means 'outspread heaven', but on p. 221 it is interpreted as 'goddess of heaven'. Moreover in the latter passage Tefenet is mentioned instead of Nut. From this pun it appears that as early as the pyramid-time the fem. *t* was already pronounced like *h*.

³ The king is the corporeal son of Re, conceived from his seed in the womb, and he is the son of Re. By *spd* 'strength, ability' is meant.

⁴ The text has *rn-t* whereby the king is now indicated, as Horus can only refer to the king, not to Re.

⁵ Here *spd* is a play on *sb*. It is possible that the writer thought of *spd.t* the Sothec

with the name 'opener (*wpt*.t—וּפֶת) of the ways of God' conferred on the 'eye of Horus' in its form as a uraeus (cf. Pap. Bremner 27, 3 f. = Roed. *Urk.* p. 108). There we read: 'Horus has opened (*wpt*) thine eye so that thou mayest see as truly as its name is "Opener (*wpt*) of the ways of God"' (eye is fem. in Egyptian). In Pyr. 1830 c *sn* (*snšn*—שֶׁן) means 'to associate with someone, to join him' and *snw.t* means 'chapel', which serves also as a designation for a god; thus the text reads: 'They (the gods) join (*sn*) themselves to thee with their name "chapels (*snw.t*)"'. As *twr*—תּוֹר means 'repel, reject', and the assonant word *itr.t*—אֲתֵרֶה means 'palace', which likewise served as a designation for god¹ the text continues: 'They do not repel (*twr*) thee as truly as their name is "palaces" (*itr.ty*).'

The above examples² show how great is the analogy in the use of assonant puns in Egyptian and in Hebrew, notably:

1. In simple cases where the root of the explanatory word coincides merely in sound with that of the name, as e.g. in שֶׁת and שֶׁת, or in Egyptian *hb*—הַב 'Ibis-bird' and *hwb*—הַאֲב 'send out'; *sb*—סַבַּב or זַאֲב = זַוַּב 'flow, exude' and *sb*—סַבַּב = זַאֲב 'jackal'; *hst*—חַאֲתִי and *hst*—חַאֲתִי (= שַׂאֲתִי) 'corpse'; *imn*—אֲמוֹן 'Amon' and *imn*—אֲמוֹן 'conceal'.

2. In cases where there exists also an etymological connexion between both roots, as e.g. שֶׁמַע and שֶׁמַע 'hear'; יִצְחָק and יִצְחָק 'laugh', or in Egyptian *šhm*—שֹׁחַם 'to be mighty' and *šhm.t*—שֹׁחַמֶה 'the mighty one'; *kḥ.ty*—קַחַחִי 'that which cools' and *kḥ*—קַחַח 'to cool'.

3. In more complicated and rarer cases, where the assonance in both roots is confined only to a part of the word and without there being a coincidence of meaning between the two, as e.g. in חַיָּה and חַי 'the living one'; קָנָה and קָנָה 'acquire'; נַחַם and נַחַם 'comfort'; בָּבֶל and בָּלַל 'confuse'; In these cases there is only a coincidence of two radical letters, which sometimes stand together, sometimes apart, just as we have seen in the Egyptian examples of *nwh*—נֹוּחַ and *hsw*—חֲוֵנו; *twr*—תּוֹר and *itr.t*—אֲתֵרֶה; *tnm*—תַּנֵּם and *tm*—תַּם: *šw*—שֹׁו and *šš*—שֶׁשׁ. A more exact analogy of נַחַם and נַחַם, where the two first radical letters coincide, is furnished in Egyptian by the puns *tf*—תֶּף and *tfn.t*—תֶּפְנֵה; *mḥ*—מַחַ and *mḥn*—מַחֵן. This is very important because thereby the suggestion that נַחַם stands erroneously for נַחַה or נַחַ falls to the ground. Both in Hebrew and in Egyptian the interpretation of the name, as we have seen, does not depend on an etymology when he wrote *sb* (star). In Pyr. 1505 the same is said, only Osiris, not Re is meant, and the pun with *sb* is lacking.

¹ This and similar honorific appellations (cf. Pyr. 648) are intended to replace the names of the deities dwelling in the temples, so that for particular reasons, or on particular occasions, the names themselves should not be pronounced.

² Further examples are provided by the puns upon place names, see below, pp. 246 ff., 250 ff.

logical and grammatically correct derivation of the name, but merely on the assonance, even if only partly, between the name and the root of the explanatory word. The same applies to the case of the first interpretation of the name זבלין by זבר , Gen. 30, 19, in the same manner as in the Egyptian sb — סבא and spd — שפד , where only the first two radical letters sound alike, the last, however, being different in both roots. On the other hand in the first interpretation of the name יוסף from אסף , Gen. 30, 23 the last two radical letters, but not the first correspond, just as in gb — גב and agb — אגב ; tf — תף and atf — אתף in Egyptian.¹

2. Parallels to the Motivation of Names from Egyptian God-Myths and Folk-Stories.

(a) To אֲדָמָה from אֲדָמָה 'Red Earth'.

To the parallels cited, which are chiefly of formal character, others may be added from homogeneous Egyptian myths and stories which present in their subject matter striking similarity in the mode of name interpretation, and thus bring out more sharply the background for the common Egyptian and Hebrew milieu. As we have seen above, pp. 145 f., אדם is brought into relation with אֲדָמָה 'red earth' not only at his creation, Gen. 2, 7, but also in his condemnation to mortality, Gen. 3, 19. Now the expression for man in Egyptian is rmt = רמה or רמת , and as according to a myth in the Apophis Book Pap. Bremner, 27, 2 (= Roed. *Urk.* p. 108) men originated from the tears of Re, which he shed for joy as his lost eye was brought back to him, and the Egyptian word for tears is rmy.t = רמיה , the word rmt 'man' is thus explained from the word rmy.t 'tear' in the following way: 'Shu and Tefnet . . . brought me back my eye behind them, and after I had brought together my [scattered] limbs I let my tears fall on them, and men (rmt = רמה) arose from the tears (rmy.t = רמיה) that came out of my eyes.'²

¹ To this category belong also metatheses like pšš — פּשֶׁשׁ and št-p.t — שֶׁת־פֹּה in comparison with שמואל and שאל , 1 Sam. 1, 20, or עבץ and יעבץ , 1 Chron. 4, 9. There should also be noted assonances of n and r as in inpw and rpw ; of $ʿ$ (ע) and r as in i'h — יעה (= ירח) and inh — ינח ; of i — א and r — ר as in i' — אע and r' — רע or of h — חא and hk — חכא Pyr. 1795. From such and similar examples, as we shall show elsewhere, many conclusions may be drawn as to the pronunciation of Egyptian. In the case of עכר , 1 Chron. 2, 7, there may be either an intentional alteration from עכנ , Josh. 7, 18, to derive it better from עכר , or the misunderstanding of a scribe. For according to the above examples, an association of עכר with עכנ merely on the basis of the first two radicals would be quite in order, and this appears to be the case also in Josh. 7, 26.

² According to the Coptic vocalization pwaε (S.A.) 'man' and pwaεi (S.) εpwaε (B.) 'tears', *KWB.*, p. 101, the Egyptian rmt would probably have been pronounced rōme and

(b) To הַיָּהוָה From הַיָּהוָה as 'Mother of all Living'.

A striking parallel is furnished by Egyptian for the interpretation of Eve's name. Just as הַיָּהוָה is interpreted as 'mother of all living (הַיָּהוָה)', Gen. 3, 20, so the name 'nh.t = ענתה given to Isis is derived from the word 'nh = ענה 'life' in the Hymn to Isis (Brugsch, *Mythol.* p. 42) as follows: 'Thou createst everything that is, and causest to live ('nh) all men with this thy name 'nh.t '. In 'nh , caus. of 'nh 'to maintain alive' in the sense of 'nourish' (cf. above, p. 52) and 'nh.t the name of Isis, we have exactly the same play upon words as in הַיָּהוָה and הַיָּהוָה .¹ This parallel may be extended by pointing out that similarly to Eve, Isis as well as her sister Nephthys, was called 'mother of the gods (mw.t ntr.w)', or both together 'the mothers (mw.wt)'. It is true that already Tefnet, the first female created by the Cosmic god (Nun, Atum, or Re) was called 'mother of the gods' (cf. above p. 235). Nevertheless the case of Isis (or Nephthys) furnishes a closer parallel to the case of Eve, as Isis is also more or less a 'mother of the first men' for whereas the offspring of Tefnet, namely the Earth-god, Geb, and the Goddess of heaven, Nut, as well as their four children, Osiris, and Set, Isis and Nephthys, were reckoned as full-blown gods, the children of Isis and Nephthys came into the world only as demi-gods, united themselves with men, and with them produced the first generation of men-kings, who, as deputies of Horus, ruled over the world (cf. Erman, *Relig.* p. 33).

Also Mut, the name of the Goddess of heaven, was likewise interpreted as mw.t 'mother', namely as 'mother of the sun', just as also the later Goddess of heaven, Neith of Sais was called 'mother (mw.t)', because 'she bare the sun before anything was born', Erman, *Relig.* 16 f.²

(c) To פֶּרֶץ and נִרְחָה and Other Names.

An exact parallel to the naming of פֶּרֶץ as generally to the whole story of the birth of the twins פֶּרֶץ and נִרְחָה Gen. 38, 27 ff. is to be found in Pap.

rmy.t probably rēmyeh . On the myth, cf. *inter alia* Erman, *Relig.*, p. 23 f., also the *Amon Hymn*, Cairo, vi (= Roed. *Urk.*, p. 7); 'From his eyes came men, and gods originated from his mouth', an allusion to the creation of Shu and Tefenet, cf. above, p. 235, n. 4 and *Lit.* 286, n. 2. Cf. also *Himmelskuh*, Roed. *Urk.* 142 f.

¹ 'All living' are simply 'men' as in Egyptian 'nh.y.w 'the living ones', cf. above p. 138. Characteristic of the monotheistic tendency is the fact that Eve is described as 'mother of all living' only after the Fall, when men had been condemned to die. Thereby the first woman is deprived of any divine attribute, and the difference is sharply emphasized between her and the Egyptian goddesses who too were called 'mistresses of life (nb.t 'nh)', because they had the divine power to bestow life and eternity.

² This attribute, as those of other gods, is applied to Amon-Re, of whom in the *Amon*

Westcar from the Hyksos period (nineteenth to the seventeenth century B.C.) in the tale containing the narration of the wondrous birth of the three first kings of the 5th dynasty Weser-Kaf, Sah-Re, and Nefer-Ka-Re with nickname Kakai (*Lit.* 44 f.). According to this narrative, Re sent the two goddesses Isis and Nephthys, the Birth goddess Mesekhenet, the Midwife Kheket, and Khnum, the shaper of the human body in the womb (cf. above p. 153), to Red-Dedet, the wife of Re-Weser to help her in her confinement. It reads: 'Isis stood before her, Nephthys behind her, and Kheket hastened the birth. Isis said (to the first child): "Be not vigorous (*wśr* = ושר) in her womb by this thy name (*m rn-k pwy*) Weser-Ref (*wśr-rf* = ושר-רפ)'.¹ Thereupon details of the birth of the other two children are described. To the second child Isis says: 'Set not thyself firmly (*śḥ* = שח) in her womb by this thy name Sahu-Re (*śḥ-r* = שח-ר)', and to the third child she says: 'Be not gloomy (*kkw* = ככו) in her womb by this thy name Keku (*kkw* = ככו)'.²

In the first name the first component, *wśr*, means 'to be strong', and thus the name Weser-Ref is explained by the fact that even in his mother's womb he was strong and turbulent; *śḥ* in the second name, Sah-Re, is associated with *śḥ* 'to settle, to cling to one place',² and Kakai is derived from *kkw* 'gloomy, dark', although it is hardly connected with this root.

In all three cases each of the children is enjoined by the goddess not to render too difficult the delivery of the mother, and in accordance with the words uttered, receives his name: the first is told not to be too violent in his bursting forth; the second not to cling to his place and let himself be waited for too long; and the third not to become, by his worrying delay, a source of gloom in his mother's body. As we see, the names of the three kings are explained in allusion to the words of Isis, acting as

Hymn it is said that he is the god 'who created man, and is the living mother of gods and men (*mw.t nḥ.ty ntr.w rmt*)'.

¹ Is *rf* wrongly written from *kf*, as *k* and *r* look very much alike in Egyptian? The copyist of the story before us probably did not know the real name of this king. On *wśr* and ושר we shall have something to say elsewhere.

² Erman and also Blackman interpret *śḥ* in the sense of 'approach, come near', and translate *Lit.* 45: 'Draw not near in her womb, as truly as thou art called Sah-Re'. Ranke *AOT* 67, n. e leaves it untranslated. As, however, is clearly shown by many passages, e.g. *Admon.* 9, 5, and the examples given there by Gardiner, p. 68, *śḥw* means 'settler, squatter' somewhat in the meaning of citizen, and *śḥ* accordingly means 'to settle, become domiciled, to remain in one place'. In this sense it is in my opinion used here as the basis of the pun in order to derive the name. Another question is what was really meant by Sahu-Re (*śḥ-r*) and this is difficult to say. It is suggested that it means 'Re is landed' as *śḥ t* means 'to land (from a ship)'; which would convey that: Re landed from his sun-bark and appeared in the person of the child. Against this, however, is the form *śḥw*; it may, therefore, possibly have meant 'a settler, a citizen of Re'.

midwife, which she pronounced at the birth of each, in the same way as the name פֶּרֶשׁ is interpreted from the words of the midwife at his birth, when, by a violent movement, he pressed in front of his twin brother to emerge first.¹

In many cases, notably in connexion with the names of the patriarchs, Gen. 29, 32-30, 24, it is the words of the mother that provide the motive for the name. Similarly also in Egypt, especially in the literature of the New Empire, utterances of the parents are quoted as prompting the name given to the child. Thus, e.g. we meet with the name 'I-desired-him' or 'Be-welcome' (for boys), 'The-sun-has-come' (for girls), because a long desired child was greeted by the father with these words. Another name is 'Wealth-has-come', which may be regarded as a literal parallel to the motivation of the name נָגַל, Gen. 30, 11, according to the usual interpretation of נָגַל as 'fortune'. Other names like 'The-father-lives' or 'The-brothers-live' are intended to preserve the memory of a dead father or deceased relatives: 'A-brother-cometh-forth' may perhaps recall the memory of the father's brother. In the name 'Replace-her' the father seeks comfort in his sorrow at the loss of the mother in confinement, and expresses his hope that the child may long be preserved to him in her place. Cf. *Erman-Ranke* 189 and Sethe in Borchardt, *Sahure* II, 118.²

3. Anecdotal Interpretations.

(a) The Explanation of Customs and Usages. The Abomination of the בְּנֵי הַנְּשֻׁאִים.

In the same manner as for personal names, the Genesis stories and patriarchal narratives also contain explanations of certain customs by an

¹ It is striking that the name פֶּרֶשׁ is motivated by the same idea of strength and energy as Weser-Kaf, and that Zerah is assonant with *śḥ*. Such legends and stories from the ancient history of Egypt were undoubtedly very popular, and possibly known also in Hebrew circles in Egypt. This might explain the features common to the Tamar story and the legend of the three kings. Whether the narrator confined himself to the interpretation of the name Perez because he came out first, or whether a similar motivation of the name Zerah was originally included, but later omitted on Davidic dynastic grounds, because it was Perez that was David's progenitor, are questions which will be discussed in another connexion. Cf. above, p. 233, n. 2.

² On the names נְשֻׁאִים and בְּנֵי הַנְּשֻׁאִים, cf. below, pp. 258 and 271. It should be noted how different in form and style, symbolic name-interpretations appear in the Prophetic writings, e.g. Is. 7, 14 or 8, 3, 9, 5. This brief indication may suffice here, but we shall elsewhere deduce from this difference the factors which necessarily refute the assumption that the origin of such name-interpretations in the Pentateuch is of late date. Likewise we shall have something to say concerning similar popular conferments of names among other oriental peoples.

episode in primeval times, or an event in the history of the patriarchs. In Gen. 2, 24 it is said: "Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother and shall cleave unto his wife and they shall be one flesh", because Adam said to his wife: "She is bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh". To this also the Egyptian myths of the primeval gods present very striking parallels. Thus in the above-mentioned myth of the Cow of Heaven (*T.S.B.A.* 4, plate B line 40 ff. = Roed. *Urk.*, 145) we find, in addition to the motivation of the names of certain semi-gods, an explanation for giving a nurse to a child. In relating Re's journey to heaven on the back of the Goddess of heaven, Nut, it is said that during their rise she had begun to tremble owing to the terrific height. "Then spake the majesty of the God Re: "O that I had millions (*hhw* = חרו) to support her (Nut)!" ; thus arose the *hh.w* = חרו.¹ The majesty of the God Re said further to the Air god Shu (*šw*): "My son Shu, place thyself under my daughter Nut, and there guard for me the *hhw* [gods] because they live in darkness (?) (*hhw*). Place her (Nut) on thy head and be to her a nurse (*mn^c-k šy*)" so it arose that a nurse is provided for a son and a daughter,² and hence it arose also that a son is placed (i.e. carried) by his father on his head'.

A remarkable parallel to the prohibition of the sciatic nerve in the thigh נִיד הַנֶּשֶׁה, explained by the struggle of an angel with Jacob, Gen. 32, 33, is to be found in the explanation of the abomination of pork among the Egyptians by the struggle of Seth with Horus, in which he transformed himself into a black pig, and wounded Horus in the eye. In the myth it is said that Horus fainted, whereupon Re said (to the gods): "Lay him on his bed until he is well; it came to pass that Seth assumed against him the form of a pig, and dealt a blow in his eye." And Re said further: "Abominate the pig for the sake of Horus". The gods agreed, and the text continues: "and thus arose the abomination of swine flesh for the sake of Horus by the gods that were behind (him) and their (wives)", i.e. with the agreement of all the gods and goddesses of his suite.³

¹ It is obvious that here the name of the gods *hhw*, who were conceived as eternal bearers of heaven, is explained from *hh.w* 'millions'. Cf. Budge, *The Gods*, i, pp. 157 and 285. Attention may be drawn to the pun between *hh.w* and *hh.w* 'darkness', and as these gods originated in darkness and were nocturnal demons, Shu, in whose name lurks the meaning 'light' (*šw*), is commissioned to support the heaven in order to counteract their influence. Cf. the graphic representation of Shu as bearer of heaven in Erman, *Rel.*, p. 35.

² This is the simplest meaning, as the *n* before *šy.t* must be erroneous. If, however, the text, *hpr rdy.t mn^c.t pw šy n šy.t* is correct, it must read: "So it arose that the son was given to the daughter as nurse". In this case the text would provide an explanation for the injunction whereby the father bound his son to assume the care of his sister after his father's death. The analogy would lie in the fact that Re entrusted Shu with the care of Nut.

³ *Totb.* chap. 112, text of the M.K., l. 32 ff. according to Sethe *AZ.* 58 (1923), p. 2. See also

A further clear connexion with Egyptian is to be found in the employment of the word נֶשֶׁה, which can only be properly explained from the Egyptian. It is the equivalent of *ins.t* = אִנְשָׁה supposed to be the 'lower portion of the leg', *Ag. WB.* I, p. 99, but probably implying the whole leg, including the 'thigh', both of men and quadrupeds and birds. Thus נֶשֶׁה is not the *name* of the nerve, but a designation of the portion of the body through which it runs; this is supported by the construction נִיד הַנֶּשֶׁה in which, grammatically, the second element הַנֶּשֶׁה could not refer to the nerve itself, a difficulty which has always been felt, and now removed, by rendering it 'the nerve of the thigh', the most sensitive seat of the sciatic nerve. The phrase נֶשֶׁה עַל בֶּרֶךְ הַיָּרֵךְ 'on the hollow of the thigh' is meant to indicate the position of the נֶשֶׁה, not of the נִיד, namely the fleshy portion of the thigh.¹

(b) The Motivation of Festivals and Ritual Institutions.

In Egyptian we find likewise many parallels to the motivation of the institution and naming of festivals. Thus in the myth of the *Winged Sun* 16, 2 f. (= Roed. *Urk.* p. 129) the origin and name of a festival are motivated,² just as the name פֶּסַח for the Paschal Festival, Ex. 12, 27, is explained by the fact that 'God passed over (פָּסַח) the houses of the Children of Israel when He slew the first-born of the Egyptians'; and the name סֻכּוֹת for the Feast of Booths Levit. 23, 42 f. is interpreted by the fact that 'God caused the Children of Israel to dwell in booths (סֻכּוֹת) when they went forth from Egypt'. In that myth the pursuit and overthrow of enemies by Horus and his companions at the waters of Per-Rerhehu (*pr rrrhhw*) are related, and the motivation for the celebration of the *Feast of Sailing* is given. It says:

p. 3, text from the N.K.: "Then said Re to the gods: "abominate the swine for the sake of Horus". And so it came to pass that the swine was abominated for the sake of Horus by the gods that were behind him', i.e. in his suite. This seems to point to the fact that swine flesh was permitted before this incident with Seth was taken as a reason for the prohibition. That the Egyptians abstained from eating pork was still known at the time of Herodotus (ii, 47).

¹ In Arabic عَرَقُ النَّسَاءِ is hardly genuine, and like many other words of a ritual and religious nature, probably were introduced into Arabic by Jewish converts. Our view is supported by the discussion by Mahomedan scholars whether this construction is in accord with the rules of the Arabic language. Cf. *Lisān al-'Arab*, vol. 20, p. 193 ff. We do not believe there is any connexion between נֶשֶׁה and the Akkadian *Nušū* (Holma, *Körperteile im Assyrischen*, p. 7).

² As we shall presently see, this myth is of great importance for us. It was first published and elaborated by H. Brugsch in *Abhh. d. Ges. d. Wiss. Göttingen*, 14 (1869), p. 173 only in transcription, but then also in hieroglyphic script by Ed. Naville, *Textes relatifs au Mythe d'Horus* (1870), pp. 12-19, and a revised translation is given by Roeder, *Urk.*, p. 129 ff. The numbers of plates and lines refer to Naville.

'This god *sails* (*hny*—חנה) on this his water unto this day—there, where his enemies combined against him. And these events happened on the seventh day of the first winter month.' And it proceeds: 'The seventh day of the first winter month shall be called *Feast of Sailing* (*hny*—חנה) unto this day.'¹

Similarly the origin of certain ritual and worship arrangements on Festivals is explained in Egyptian. In the *Himmelskuh* plate A, line 24 ff. (= Roed. *Urk.* p. 144) it is related that the Majesty of Re said to the Goddess Hathor: 'Welcome in peace, thou Goddess *Yamit* (*imy.t*—יאמייה)! Thus arose the *virgins of Yamu*' (*ymw*—יאמו, name of a town). And the Majesty of Re said to this Goddess further: 'Let there be prepared for thee sleeping-draughts for the "Festival of the Seasons", and let them be given also to the women slaves. So it arose that on the Feast of Hathor sleeping-draughts are given by all people to the women slaves since the first day', i.e. since ancient times. Further it reads, the Majesty of Re said to the Goddess Sekhmet (*shm.t*); 'Is there a suffering (*mr*—מר) of the burning sickness? Thereupon arose "the two seasons by suffering" (*mr*—מר)'.²

In a collection of sayings 'For the knowledge of the soul at the holy gate in the Beyond' (Sethe, *AZ.* 57 1922, p. 1 ff.), among other things the reason why the High Priest of Heliopolis wore on his shaven head a wig 'like a woman'—wherefore he was called 'The bewigged'—is derived from the fact that Re cheated a heavenly being called *imy-ins'* (Pyr. 285 d; cf. for *ins'* also 268, 1464) at the moment when he 'had transformed himself into a bewigged woman'. Thus arose 'The bewigged of Heliopolis' as title of the High Priest. *AZ.* 57, pp. 12, 13, 26 f. and p. 21 f.³

(c) Motivation of Place Names.

For the derivation of place names from various events, as in Gen. 50, 11, Ex. 15, 23, etc. (cf. above, p. 232) Egyptian parallels from the myths of the gods are also to be found. Thus e.g. in the *Himmelskuh* plate B, line 38 ff. (= Roed. *Urk.* p. 145), much is told about the journeys of Re in his flight to heaven from the rebellious men, on the back of Nut, the Goddess of heaven, transformed into a cow (above, p. 244), and certain names of stations are interpreted from episodes and sayings of Re during the journey.

¹ On the use and meaning of this phrase, cf. below, p. 250 ff.

² This seems to be the name of a mourning festival in remembrance of the illness of Re, or of a plague imposed by him.

³ This title also occurs in connexion with priests of other places (Sethe, loc. cit.), but probably originated first in Heliopolis, and then, like many other priestly titles, passed from there to other Temple centres.

Although the text is corrupt, the names of the two best known places in the Beyond (above, p. 192) are preserved. It reads: 'This God (Re) said to Mut (= Nut, cf. above, p. 241); "I have placed myself on (thy) back to obtain a lofty standpoint"', and further: 'The Majesty of this God then bade: "Remove me from them (the men) and let me mount into the heights", etc. The Majesty of this God gazed upon her, etc., whereupon she (Mut) said: "O that thou wouldst provide me with a *multitude* (*šy*)"',¹ and thus arose the name of . . . (name illegible). His Majesty said then: "Peaceful (*htp*—חפה) is here the field", and thus arose (the name) "Fields (*sh.t*) of offerings (*htp*—חפה)". Further Re said: "I cause the herbage to grow (?) (*ir*—אר) thereon"² and thus arose (the name) "Fields (*sh.t*) of the bulrushes (*ir.w*—ארו)"'.³

This feature appears still more clearly and frequently in the myth of the *Winged Sun* (cf. above, p. 245, note 2). There it says 12, 2 f. (= Roed. *Urk.* p. 121) that Nubia derived its name *Wawah* (*wsw.t*—ואואה) from the fact that the opponents of Re rebelled (*wsw*—ואוא) against him; *ibid.* 13, 5 (= *Urk.* p. 122), it says that Deba (*db*—טבא Edfu) derived this name from the fact that Re said to Thot on the occasion of a furious battle: 'This is a stabbing (*db*—טבא) of mine enemies'; *ibid.* 13, 7 (= *Urk.* p. 123) the water *Khenu* (*hnw*—חנו) derived its name from the fact that Re said to the gods in the campaign against Seth: 'Let us sail (*hny*—חנה) in our ship on the water'; *ibid.* 14, 3 (= *Urk.* p. 124) the name of the town *Dedme* (*ddm.t*—טרמה) is explained by a pun on *dtb* = טתב 'to destroy (?)', because Re told Thot to destroy his foes; and *ibid.* 17, 5 f. (= *Urk.* p. 132) the name of a sacred water in the region of Ne'āreh (*n'r.t*) was called *Mu-Heh* (*mw-hh*—חח) meaning 'Water of seeking', because there Re said to Horus: 'Didst thou not seek out (*hh*—חח) this water on account of the enemy?'

¹ It is probably an allusion to the origin of the stars from the body of the goddess Nut spread out as heaven (cf. Erman, *Relig.*, p. 35 and above, p. 244, n. 1). The meaning is that Re casts a glance into the entrails of the goddess when she reaches the loftiest heights, whereupon she begs him to equip her with a multitude (i.e. of stars, not people, as assumed by Roeder loc. cit.).

² The meaning of *ir* is not given in *Ag. WB.* I, p. 32. Probably it here means 'to grow'.

³ In the following sentence: 'And Re said further: "I will equip her with all things (*ih.t*—(יה)')"' and so arose the *ihih.w*—יחיהו, namely the stars'; there is obviously a pun between *ih.t* 'thing' and *ihih* 'star' (a late mode of writing *Ag. WB.* I, p. 19), and the whole sentence relates to Mut and the origin of the stars. The lack of the expected *hpr* in front is probably due to an accidental omission, and *sb.w* 'stars' after *pw* is intended to explain the rare word *ihih*. The word *ihih* which already occurs in Pyr. and *Totenbuch* (in the form *ihih*) may perhaps originally have been connected with *ih* 'to shine' (*Ag. WB.* i, p. 33), or was later so conceived.

4. Motivation of Honorific Names.

To this category also belongs a special kind of honorific names, conferred in recognition of some glorious feat, or by which a solemn promise on some special occasion is perpetuated. The warrant for such names we find e.g. in Gen. 17, 4: 'Behold, my covenant is with thee, and thou shalt be a *father of many nations*. Neither shall thy name any more be called אֲבִיךָ, but thy name shall be אֲבִירָהּ, for a father of many nations אֲבִירָהּ הָיִיתָ, have I made thee'. Further Gen. 32, 29 the angel said to Jacob: 'thy name shall be called no more יַעֲקֹב, but יִשְׂרָאֵל, for thou hast fought (לָרִיבָה) with gods and with men and hast prevailed.' Similar conferment of names is to be found also in the Egyptian myth of the Winged Sun already quoted, e.g. 18, 2 (= *Urk.* 135), where Re says to Thot that Horus has been 'on the battlefield like a lion', whereupon Thot says: 'This god shall be called "Horus of Edfu, Lord of the Battlefield" unto this day'; or 19, 1 (= *Urk.* 136), Thot says that *the gaily-plumed Horus* had beaten the enemy in this disguise, wherefore 'he shall be called *the gaily plumed* that arises from the horizon unto this day'. Like Horus, priests of important sanctuaries are distinguished by titles conferred on them in honour of Horus. Thus Re confers on the Priest of Horus in Per-Rerhehu the title 'Great in Attack', because Horus 'carried out a great attack against the enemy' *ibid.* 15, 8 (= *Urk.* 128); or 17, 3 (= *Urk.* 132) the Priest of Horus receives from Thot the name 'Lord of Battle', because Re said to Thot: 'Horus shall be a lord of battle and forever slay his foreign foes'.

5. Egyptian Parallels to Narrative Style and Form.

The above examples, derived from ancient myths, and woven into later magical and necrological texts, show how early this mode of substantiating names, usages, customs, festivals, and places found entry into Egyptian literature, and how closely it was always associated with the stories of the gods. Of these stories, however, the myth of the *Winged Sun* is most instructive for us, not only on account of the many parallels that it presents, as we have seen, to name interpretations in the Pentateuch and elsewhere in the Bible, but also on account of the subject-matter and narrative style.¹

¹ The text of this story is carved in hieroglyphic writing in the Horus Temple of Edfu, together with graphic representations of the fight between Horus and Seth. While the inscription is from the Ptolemaic period, the version used is, however, from the New Kingdom, and this, too, was composed of much more ancient elements. Cf. above, p. 245, n. 2, Brugsch, *loc. cit.*, p. 211 and Roed. *Urk.*, p. 120.

It tells of the conquest of Egypt by Horus, the first king on earth (cf. below, p. 280f.) and the destruction of Seth together with all his supporters who had rebelled against Re to seize the rulership of the world. It belongs to the many Horus stories, the chief purpose of which was to set forth the conquest and seizure of all Egypt by Horus as the legitimate ground for the exclusive right of the Egyptian kings to own the whole land, nay, the whole earth for all time as his successors.¹

The campaign, in which Horus was accompanied and supported by Re and Thot, began in Nubia, on the southern border of Egypt, and extended through the whole of Egypt to the extreme north-east, on the Red Sea, where all his enemies were finally beaten and cast into the sea. In the course of the narrative places and rivers are mentioned at which decisive battles took place, and which consequently received from the victorious gods memorable names, motivated in each case by a certain incident or pronouncement during the combat. The conferment of such names, and the specific manner of their motivation are of the greatest interest for us, inasmuch as they are equally typical for the account of the *conquest of Egypt* by Horus and his followers in primeval times as for the Biblical narratives of the *conquest of Canaan*, first by the patriarchs, in the Pentateuch, and then by the Children of Israel, in the early historical books of the Bible. The content of the story of the *Winged Sun* throws a sidelight on the account of the conquest of Canaan, and it gives us an insight into the *composition* of the narratives describing the battles, wanderings, and Odysseys of the forefathers of Israel. Once this form and style had been adopted in the Pentateuch, they became the model for subsequent Hebrew writers in recording the early period of Israel's settlement in the Promised Land down to the times of the kings.

Of equally great interest is the story of the *Winged Sun* from the purely literary point of view. For the way in which the narrative is developed, and more particularly the manner in which the conferment of names and their motivation are woven in, betrays an extremely striking similarity to these parts of the Pentateuch and the historical books in which the conquest of Canaan is recounted. What, however, is most remarkable is the persistent repetition in both of the phrase 'unto this day', the Hebrew עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה coinciding literally with the Egyptian *r mn hrw pn*. Not alone in its construction, but also in the choice of the occasions on which this phrase is used, the coincidence between the Egyptian and the Hebrew is

¹ For the same reason the Temple of Edfu was adorned with the Horus story in honour of the Ptolemaic 'Pharaoh'. Nevertheless here local colouring emerges very strongly through the designation of Horus as *bhd.ty* 'he of Edfu'.

so striking that one cannot avoid the impression that both the composition and style of the Hebrew narratives of the conquest of Canaan were influenced by similar Egyptian stories of the conquest of Egypt by the god.¹

6. Use of the Phrase 'Unto this Day' in Hebrew and Egyptian.

We proceed to select from the many passages with the phrase 'unto this day' and also without it in such as best illustrate the relationship in subject-matter and similarity in phraseology in the Hebrew and Egyptian texts.

Gen. 32, 2: 'And Jacob went on his way, and the angels of God met him. And Jacob said when he saw them: this is a *host* (מַחֲנֵה) of God; and Jacob called the name of that place מַחֲנֵיִם (the two hosts).'²

Gen. 32, 31: 'And Jacob called the name of the place פְּנֵי־אֵל (Face of God), for he said I have seen God *face* (פָּנִים) to face and my life is preserved.'

Gen. 33, 17: 'And Jacob journeyed on to *Sukkōth* and built him an house and made *booths* (סִבּוֹת) for his cattle; therefore he called the name of the place סִבּוֹת (*Booths*).'

Num. 13, 23 f.: 'And they came unto the brook of *Eškōl*, and cut down from thence a branch with one *cluster* of grapes (אֶשְׁכּוֹל), and they bare it between two upon a staff; . . . That place was called³ נַחַל אֶשְׁכּוֹל 'Brook of the *cluster*' on account of the cluster of grapes (אֶשְׁכּוֹל) which the Children of Israel cut down from thence.'

Num. 21, 3: 'And the Lord hearkened unto the voice of Israel and delivered up the Canaanites; and they annihilated (וַיִּחָרֶם) them together with their towns, and called the name of the place חֲרָמָה (*annihilation*).'
Cf. also Judges 1, 17.

Further, with the phrase 'unto this day':—

Gen. 26, 32 f.: 'And it came to pass the same day that Isaac's servants came and told him concerning the well which they had digged, and said unto him, we have found water. And he called it שֶׁבַע 'Seven';⁴ therefore the name of the city is בְּאֵר שֶׁבַע "Well of Seven" unto this day.'

¹ Here we confine ourselves to these general indications. On another occasion we shall illustrate this influence more extensively.

² We give here approximate translations of these names to demonstrate the play upon words, this being the essential point, and not their original meaning.

³ That in this and the following passages the subject in קָרָא or קָרָאוּ refers to the preceding persons is shown below, p. 257.

⁴ On the meaning of this name, cf. below, p. 265.

In Jos. 5, 9 it is said with reference to the circumcision of the Children of Israel: 'And the Lord said unto Joshua, this day have I *rolled* away (גָּלִיתִי) the insult of Egypt from off you. Wherefore the name of the place is called גִּלְגָּל (The *Rolling*) unto this day.'¹

In Jos. 7, 25 f. Joshua says to 'Akhān who had sinned in connexion with the booty at Jericho: 'Lo! thou hast *troubled* us (עֲכָרְתָּנוּ); may God trouble thee this day. And all Israel stoned him . . . And they raised over him a great heap of stones *unto this day*. Wherefore the name of that place was called עֵמֶק עֶבֶר "Valley of *Trouble*" unto this day.'²

Judges 18, 12 says of the Tribe of Dan: 'And they went up and *encamped* (וַיִּחַנּוּ) in *Kirjath Je'ārim* in Judah; wherefore they called that place מַחֲנֵה־דָן "Camp of Dan" unto this day.'

In 2 Sam. 6, 8 ff. it is narrated that 'Uzza fell dead to the ground because he had touched the holy Ark of the Covenant; it proceeds: 'And David was displeased because the Lord had made a *breach* פָּרַץ upon 'Uzza, and he called that place פְּרִץ עֲזָה "Breach of 'Uzza" unto this day.'³

With these passages may now be compared the following from the myth of the *Winged Sun*:

Pl. 12, 2 (= Roed. *Urk.* 121) the beginning of the narrative of the campaign of *Horus of Edfu*: 'His Majesty (Re) was in Nubia and his army was with him without number. Then they (the inhabitants of the land) began to *rebel* (wawah—ואוא) against their lord; the land is therefore called Wawah (wawah.t—ואואה *Rebellion*)⁴ unto this day.'

¹ What is meant is, that by this act the ground was cut from under the Egyptians, who treated the Children of Israel with contempt as inferior and impure because they were uncircumcised. Elsewhere our view will be more fully substantiated.

² On the variation עֶבֶר 1 Chron. 2, 7, cf. above, p. 240, n. 1.

³ The reference to the place name בְּרִיץ, Ez. 20, 29, is undoubtedly derived from an old source in which an account was given of the first period of Israel's settlement in Canaan in the same style and form as in ancient historical narration. Instead of בְּרִיץ merely בְּרִיץ should be read. The pun is clearly indicated by the element בֶּם, common to both words. Cf. above, p. 239 f. Also 2 Chron. 20, 26 on the name בְּרִיץ עֵמֶק is undoubtedly derived from an ancient source.

⁴ This phrase reads *dd-tw* or *dd-tw n-f* (fem. *n-s*), literally 'It is said' or 'It is said to him (fem. her)', i.e. 'It, he, or she is called'; whereupon the name follows and then *hr-s*, i.e. 'on this account, therefore'. So in our passage: *dd-tw t, wawah.t hr-s* 'It is said land wawah on this account', i.e. 'is therefore called Wawah'; or Brugsch, *Gest. Sonne* 13, 1 (= *Urk.* 121) *dd-tw n-f ntr, nb p.t hr-s* 'It is said to him (i.e. he is called) "Great God, Lord of heaven" on this account'. Sometimes it has the form of a command *ddnf* 'Let it be said to him', i.e. he shall be called so-and-so. As already observed above, pp. 151 and 235 n. 3, *dd n-f* coincides exactly with the Hebrew וַיִּאמַר-לוֹ, just as *hr* 'on, above' is used like the Hebrew עַל, so that similarly בְּנֵי עַל corresponds in such connexion with the Egyptian *hr-s*.

Pl. 13, 5 (= Roed. *Urk.* 122): he says to Horus after seeing his fallen foes: 'This is a place of agreeable life (*ndm 'nh*—נחם ענה). Therefore, the palace of Horus of Edfu is called *ndm 'nh*—נחם ענה (*Agreeable Life*) unto this day.'

Pl. 13, 6 f. (= *Urk.* 122 f.): 'Re said to the gods in his suite: Let us voyage (*hny*—חנה) in our ship on the water, for our heart is joyous on account of our enemies that lie on the ground. Therefore, it is called *hny* = חנו (*The Voyaged*) unto this day.'

Pl. 14, 3 (= *Urk.* 124): 'Horus of Edfu instituted a great slaughter (*hyt*—חיה) among them (the foe). Re said: Remain standing, Horus of Edfu, that I may see thee. Therefore, is this place called *Ha'at* of Re (*h.t*—חח) unto this day.'¹

Pl. 15, 7 f. (= *Urk.* 128): Re says to Horus when he had brought him the foe with a spear through the throat: 'How great was the attack (*dndn*) which thou didst carry out; thou hast cleansed (*'b* caus. of '*b* = *w'b*—עב "clean") this place.' Re then said to Thot: 'The palace of Horus of Edfu shall therefore be called "Lord of the clean (*'b*—עב = *עב*) places" unto this day; and the priest (of this sanctuary) shall, therefore, be called *wr dndn* "The Great in wrath" unto this day.'

Pl. 15, 10 f. (= *Urk.* 128): Horus, the son of Isis, cut off the head of his enemy (Seth) and those of his companions in front of his father Re and in front of the entire great company of gods.² He dragged him by the heels round his domain and stuck his spear in his head and in his back. Re said to Thot: 'Behold, the son of Osiris has dragged (*ith*—אחח) the wretched one round his domain. Thot spake: Therefore, shall the territory be given the name of *Dragging* (*ith*—אחח) unto this day.'

These examples may suffice to show how closely the usage and the mode of applying the phrase ער היום היתה conform to the Egyptian *r mn hrw pn*, and how similar in style and form are the Biblical and Egyptian narratives of the conquest and occupation of their Lands of Inheritance. In both

¹ This pun is particularly instructive as the Egyptians knew perfectly well that *h.t* meant 'house' but none the less associated it, for the sake of the play on words, with *hyt* 'slaughter'. This shows clearly how little stress was laid on the real meaning of the associated words; and consequently it is quite possible also that the Hebrew writers in cases like בבל and בבל and משה and משה were fully aware of the real meaning of בבל and משה but nevertheless coined the pun.

² Cf. also pl. 15, 7 (= *Urk.* 128): 'He brought him before his father Re' (*m b_{ih} itf-r*); pl. 16, 8 (= *Urk.* 130): 'He killed her before Re' or pl. 15, 4 (= *Urk.* 127): 'After he had killed her before the ship of Re'. For the use of similar phraseology in like circumstances, cf. 1 Sam. 15, 33: 'And Samuel hewed Agag in pieces before the Lord in Gilgal'; 2 Sam. 21, 9: 'They hanged them in the mountain before the Lord.'

cases old names and pre-existing places are brought into connexion with new events, and newly conferred names of conquered localities are interpreted according to memorable incidents.

A common feature in the naming of places is the mention of the new name as existing, even before it was conferred. Thus in the instance of Gen. 33, 17 we are told that Jacob came to Sukkōth as if it was already known by that name, and only subsequently we learn that it received this name because Jacob built booths (*skōth*) there; similarly in Num. 13, 23 we are told that the spies reached the Valley of the Cluster (*Eškōl*), and only then is it said that this place was so called, because there they cut a cluster of grapes (*skōl*), cf. also 2 Chron. 20, 26. Similarly in the myth of the *Winged Sun*, pl. 17, 6 (= *Urk.* 132) Re said to Horus that the number of his ships on the *Demit*-water was very great, and only then are we told that by the god's command 'the name of this water shall be called *Demit* (*dmy.t*)'.

Another common feature in the course of the narrative in Hebrew and Egyptian is the exact localization of a place immediately after the motivation of its name, thus e.g. in Gen. 16, 14: it is said, after the motivation of the name of Hagar's well, 'behold it is between Kādeš and Bāred'. Further, Judges 18, 12 it is said of the camping of the Danites near Kīrjath Je'ārīm: 'Therefore they called that place "Camp of Dan" unto this day. Behold it lies behind Kīrjath Je'arim.'¹ Exactly similar indications are given in the myth of the *Winged Sun*, 17, 5 (= *Urk.* 132): 'Re said (to Horus): "How wonderfully beautiful (*nfrwy*)—נפרוי is the abode (*'st*) in which thou hast settled". . . . Thot said, "The palace in this place shall, therefore, be called 'Beautiful Abode (*'st nfr*—שנה-נפר)' unto this day"; it lies south-west of Ne'āreh (*n'r.t*) at a distance of four leagues.'²

In all these cases we have to do not merely with invented place-names, or with ritual institutions and festivals created by the fancy of priestly hermeneutics or arbitrary juggling with words, but with real existing places

¹ Similarly, though in more general terms, Gen. 50, 11; 'Wherefore the name of it (the place) was called 'The Mourning of Egypt';—which is beyond Jordan'; Judges 15, 19: 'Wherefore he called its name "Well of the Caller"—it lies in Lehi—unto this day'; 2 Sam. 2, 16: 'And the name of the place was called 'Plot of the Rocks' which is in Gibeon.' Originally there must have been a pun between חלקה 'plot' and חלק 'be divided'.

² The passage reads: *wmn-s hr rs imn.t n n'r.t m htp ir.t 4*. The words *m htp* have here no meaning. Brugsch and Roeder take them to be a mistake for *m tj*, without, however, furnishing any satisfactory explanation. It appears that both here and in the preceding line dealing with the place-name *n r-f m htp*, the latter two words furnish a more precise designation.

geographically identifiable, as well as with festivals and ritual institutions known from other sources and which actually existed.¹ It is important to emphasize this fact because it is only by ignoring the real meaning and origin of these puns that so many far-fetched and incongruous suggestions have been formed.

7. The Meaning of 'Unto this Day'

In all the above passages and many others which could be cited, our phrase reads, as stated, *r mn hrw pn* 'unto this day',² generally interpreted as meaning 'unto the present day, till to-day' from the standpoint of the writer or narrator. Equally general is the view that in all these cases of conferring names, these motivations are later interpolations in the original narrative by priests or scribes for certain motives, and are, therefore, to be regarded as parenthetical glosses which do not belong to the original text.

The view that *r mn hrw pn* means 'till the present day' is not tenable, because in many passages of the myth of *The Winged Sun* and many others, it cannot possibly have been so meant. Thus e.g. *Winged Sun*, pl. 14, 13 (= *Urk.* 126): 'Thot said to Re: Therefore he *shall be called* "Horus, Winged Sun, Great God, Slayer of Foes, First of Hebnu" unto this day' (*r mn hrw pn*); pl. 18, 5 (= *Urk.* 135): 'Re said to Thot: Let us hasten through the whole land and hasten through the whole sea. Then spake Thot: The sea *shall be called* "Sea of Hastening" unto this day' (*r mn hrw pn*). As will be seen, the words of Thot have a jussive character and can only be understood as an injunction of future validity. The same applies to the passages cited above from pl. 13, 5 and 15, 11. Brugsch, Roeder, and others have attempted to evade the difficulty by translating the phrase *r mn hrw pn* in such passages not as in all the other numerous instances by 'unto this day' but by 'from this day onwards', which, however, is in obvious conflict with the meaning of *r mn* 'unto' and the whole construction of the phrase. For the use of *r mn* as preposition 'until', derived from the literal meaning 'to remain', is always employed in the sense of 'down to, until', and cannot suddenly be arbitrarily inter-

¹ Cf. Brugsch loc. cit., pp. 182, 183, 186, 187, 190, where the names of towns, rivers, sanctuaries, and districts interpreted by similarity of sound are localized, and the feasts mentioned are also identified.

² This is the ordinary form; the fuller, but rarer, reads: *r mn m hrw pn*, *Westc.* 7, 3 f., elsewhere also *r myn* 'till to-day' *Ag. WB.*, ii, 43. But *r mn myn* is not as late as the Greek period, as there stated (p. 64), because it already occurs in Pap. Brit. Mus. 1164, 10 f. *Sitzungsab. d. Berl. Ak.*, 1914, p. 1010 (a reference which I owe to Dr. J. Polotsky). Cf. also Erman. *Gram.* § 456 and Gardiner, *Gram.* § 180.

preted as 'from . . . onwards',¹ particularly not in passages where the narrator, in using *r mn hrw pn*, can only be thinking of the future.

Just as little as this contradictory interpretation of *r mn* can the other view with regard to the parenthetical character of name motivations be sustained. The exclusion of such indications from the original narrative as later interpolations betrays complete failure to understand the particular role assigned to Thot in this and similar myths, a role which we must clearly define because of its manifold importance. In reality, Thot, the god of writing, the author of the divine scriptures, attends Re in the campaign of Horus, in his office as 'writer of the words of god' (*sš md.w ntr*), to which belonged also the 'Annals of the gods' (*gnw.t n.t ntr.w*) in which the battles of the gods Re, Geb, and others down to Horus, for the conquest of Egypt are described.² He is the historiographer of Re, the one who notes all happenings, records all sayings of Re, and registers all his commands. Therefore, all the sayings of Re associated with a battle, with a defeat of the enemy, with a journey over land or water, as well as any episode during the great campaign of conquest, are all integral elements of the original narrative, and infallibly are organically bound up with it. This applies more especially to sayings referring to the festival of names on certain places, because by the assignment of a new name, the conquest of that place is documented, so that it may actually serve as a title to its possession for all time. Therein lies the whole significance of the giving of names, and, therefore, it must have emanated from the conquering god himself, as we are actually told that it took place either at the direct command of Re, or at the instance of Thot, as scribe of the battles of Re and Horus.

How the phrase 'unto this day' acquired this meaning cannot be established with certainty. It may be that in the hierarchic writings of the gods, of which in these myths we have only desultory fragments, 'This day' had a quite specific meaning with which the conception of remote futurity was associated, as for instance with the Day of Judgement, and

¹ Cf. Erman, *Gram.* (1928) § 456 and Gardiner, *Gram.* § 180. Also in other connexions *r mn* means 'until', e.g. *r mn r* 'till the end of' or 'till (*r mn*) the year . . .' or 'till (*r mn*) my Majesty'. i.e. 'till I ascended the throne', *Ag. WB.*, ii, 64. As the examples referred to in the *Ag. WB.* are not yet published, it cannot be determined in which cases *r mn* means 'before' or where *r mn m . . . r* means 'from . . . till after'. *Ag. WB.* loc. cit. All these and similar passages should be re-examined for their right meaning in the light of the facts set forth in this chapter.

² In the Book of the Dead he is also called 'Scribe of the truth of the Ennead Corporation of the Gods' (*sš mꜣ.t psꜣ.t ntr.w*) whereby his character as author of the oldest records of the gods is denoted. With this position is connected, I believe, his role as Moon-god, namely, as companion of the Sun god Re. This question will be treated more fully elsewhere.

related to a day in the most distant future in the divine calendar of millions of years. It is possible also that originally it was taken literally in the sense of 'that it remains this day', meaning that it may last and be rendered eternal on this day for all time.¹ This meaning seems to emerge from a passage in an old text of the 11th dynasty (Brit. Mus. 1164, 10f.), where our formula actually reads 'To-day' (*myn*) instead of 'this day' (*hrw pn*). The text refers to a 'contract' which a testator concluded with the priestly 'Reader' for the dead in order that 'all ceremonies in his tomb' might be carried out on particular festival days, and in order, as the 'contract' goes on to say, that 'my name may be beautiful and my memory endure *r mn myn* unto to-day'. Here the phrase can only be conceived as an injunction for the remote future, i.e. that my name may be rendered enduring to-day for always.²

Whatever the original meaning of the phrase may have been, for us the fact is of importance first that 'unto this day' indicates no limitation of time from the standpoint of the speaker, and secondly that all passages dealing with the conferment of names belong inseparably to the original narrative, because they form an essential, if not the most essential, element of the narrative.

All that we have said with regard to *r mn hrw pn* applies in every respect also to עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה. Both in the Pentateuch and elsewhere there are passages where the phrase cannot possibly be interpreted otherwise than as a stipulation for the far future. Thus e.g. Deut. 10, 8: 'At that time the Lord separated the Tribe of Levi, to bear the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord, to stand before the Lord to minister to him, and to bless in His name *unto this day*.' Similarly Deut. 11, 4 where, referring to Pharaoh and his host, it is said how the Lord 'hath destroyed them *unto this day*'. Here it can only mean 'for ever and ever'.³ This applies in much stronger measure to Josh. 9, 27, where it says of the Gibeonites 'And Joshua *made*

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² H. O. Lange, *Sitzungsb. der Berl. Ak.*, 1914, p. 1010 also takes it to be a prognosis for the future and thinks that in the use of 'till to-day' the writer placed himself in the position of the reader for all times. But here it seems really to mean literally 'to remain to-day', i.e. 'that it may become lasting to-day'.

³ It should be noted that the annihilation exclusively relates to the Egyptian army, not, however, to the whole of Egypt as empire and land and, therefore, has only in mind the events at the Red Sea. It is only in connexion with the wonders (v. 3) that 'Pharaoh and all his land' are referred to. This deserves emphasis especially with reference to Spieg. *OLZ.* 1923, 481, who seriously suggested the phrase is to be taken as a date for the composition of Deuteronomy after the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses about the year 525 B.C. Cf. *Erwiderung*, p. 33 f.

them that day hewers of wood and drawers of water for the congregation and for the altar of the Lord *unto this day* in the place which He *should* choose'.

In this passage the case is clear: 'unto this day' undoubtedly is an integral part of the text, and the decree of Joshua looks from his own time to a future day, when the choice of the holy place should have been effected. Equally clear is this meaning in passages which speak of an act or event completed in the past, as, *inter alia*, Josh. 7, 26 'And they raised over him (the stoned 'Ākhān) a great heap of stones *unto this day*'; or Josh. 8, 28 'And Joshua burnt the town of 'Ayy and made it an *eternal* heap of desolation *unto this day*. And the king of 'Ayy he hanged on a tree . . . and they raised upon him a great heap of stones *unto this day*'. The same applies also to many other passages, as e.g. Gen. 26, 33; Deut. 2, 22, 3, 14 (= Judges 10, 4), 34, 6; Judges 1, 21, etc. But also in the sense of permanent validity it occurs, exactly as in Egyptian, in passages like Gen. 47, 26 'And Joseph made it a law *unto this day*', i.e. for ever. In the prohibition of the sinew of the hollow of the thigh, Gen. 32, 33, it has even the significance of a command, and must therefore, read: 'Therefore the Children of Israel *shall not* eat of the sinew . . . *unto this day*', i.e. for all time. Similarly 1 Sam. 5, 5 reads: 'Therefore neither the Priest of Dagon nor any visitors to Dagon's sanctuary *shall* cross the threshold of Dagon in Ašdod *unto this day*.'¹

The use of עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה agrees further with the Egyptian inasmuch as it is an integral constituent of the original narrative, and must, therefore, have belonged *ab origine* to the text. For just as in Egyptian, so also in the Biblical narratives, the motivations of the names conferred are not mere plays upon words by later scribes, but were, from the first, conceived as perpetual memorials of notable episodes. And just as in Egyptian where it is the conquering gods or the heroes of the combat who comment upon and interpret the events to motivate the names of places, the institution of festivals and the like, so also in the Bible the same role is to be assigned to the persons chiefly concerned in the events and episodes. This especially in the narratives concerning the periods before and during the conquest and settlement of Canaan, as well as in the subsequent tribal chronicles, in order that the names of places and certain institutions might derive their sanction from the importance of the event and the authority of these who proclaimed them. Accordingly a phrase like עַל כֵּן קָרָא is not to be taken

¹ A parallel is provided by the execration of the Tanis Canal at its junction with the sea by the Egyptian priests, because at this point Seth had thrown Osiris in a box into the sea, Plutarch, *De Iside*, chap. 13. Moreover the threshold was not avoided as holy, as is maintained, but as a spot foul and horrible.

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impersonally, but applied directly to the person or persons expressly mentioned by name or conceived in action.

Finally we may deduce from the similarity of the narrative material in Egyptian and Hebrew that the use of *עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה* belongs to the most ancient historical writing, just as *r mn hrw pn* is native to the myths of primeval times. It is only thus that we can understand why, in the prophetic and later writings, 'unto this day' is no longer used as in the Pentateuch and historical texts, as a self-contained phrase without relation to other times, but mostly as a *terminus ad quem* following a *terminus a quo*. Thus e.g. 'since the going forth from Egypt until this day', Jer. 7, 25; 'since the days of Josiah until this day', 36, 2; 'since the days of the fathers until this day', Ezra 9, 7; 'since the days of Joshua', or 'since the days of the kings of Assur until this day',¹ Neh. 8, 17 and 9, 32.

8. The Name מֹשֶׁה

(a) Meaning of the Name.

That מֹשֶׁה is not a Hebrew name, but is of Egyptian origin, is now generally agreed. It has been identified with *ms*, and derived from the root *msy* 'conceive, give birth' (*Ag. WB.*, ii, 137 f.), in the sense of 'child, son of so-and-so'.² This explanation was originally furnished by Lauth, *ZDMG.* 25 (1865) 139, and was adopted by later Egyptologists like Lepsius, *Chronologie*, 326, Ebers, *Durch Gosen*, 525, Brugsch and especially Spiegelberg, *ZDMG.* 53, 633 f. who sponsored this interpretation, supporting it by several examples from the time of the New Kingdom to which the period of the Exodus is nearest. As a proper name this *ms* is generally regarded as an abbreviation of a theophoric name consisting of two elements, the first of which is the name of a god, like Ah-mose (*i'h-ms*), 'Son of the Moon', Thut-mose (*dhwtj-ms*), 'Son of Thoth', or Rameses (*r-ms*), 'Son of Re'. In the case of מֹשֶׁה it is assumed that the heathen god-name was eliminated for monotheistic reasons, retaining only the second

¹ The fact that in passages like Ex. 10, 6; Gen. 48, 15; Num. 22, 30; Judges 19, 30 'unto this day' is similarly limited in point of time merely strengthens the view as to the indefiniteness of this phrase everywhere where it is used alone without reference to the past.

² Josephus Ant. ii, 9 § 6 and Contra Ap. i. § 31 attempts to explain מֹשֶׁה from *μω* (= Egypt. *mw*) 'water' and *ἠσῆς* (= Egypt. ?) 'saved' but this cannot be supported from the Egyptian, and is, indeed, untenable on the ground that such a name-formation, as already observed by Lauth *ZDMG.* 25, p. 141, is unthinkable in Egyptian. For the same reason we must also reject the Coptic etymology *ⲁⲱ-ⲟϣⲁ* advanced by Jablonski, *Opuscula.* i, 152 ff. Moreover it is not the Hebrew but the Greek form *Μωσῆς* adopted by the LXX on which Josephus's etymology is based.

element *ms*.¹ According to others (Navelle, *Pithom*, p. 7, and Gardiner, *J.E.A.* 5, 221) מֹשֶׁה is not an abbreviated theophoric name due to monotheistic tendencies, but signifies merely 'boy, child', whereby the anonymity of the foundling was to be emphasized. But even on the first assumption it is not necessary to take for granted a tendentious abbreviation of the original theophoric name, as among the Egyptians themselves the abbreviated 'pet' form *msy*, derived from similar theophoric names, was common.²

The identification of מֹשֶׁה with *ms* though very far-fetched has, nevertheless, the appearance of being in order. But apart from objections advanced by some scholars and several difficulties that we do not deem necessary to specify³ the whole explanation of מֹשֶׁה from *msy* 'conceive, bear', or from *ms* 'boy, child' falls to the ground in view of the fact that the very name Rameses, in which *ms* is held to be of the same root as *ms* in מֹשֶׁה, is transliterated twice in the Exodus narrative 1, 11, and 12, 37, not as we should expect by *רַעַמְסֵס*, but by *רַעַמְסֵס*. Now it is unthinkable that the same Egyptian word *ms* could be reproduced at one time as מֹשֶׁה and at another as *רַעַמְסֵס*, not only in two different vocalizations but also in two sibilants *š* and *s* which etymologically and phonetically are quite different.⁴

All these difficulties and complications are removed by identifying the name מֹשֶׁה with two Egyptian elements lying *ready to hand*, which exactly correspond in sound and yield a meaning in accordance with the whole

¹ It should be pointed out that this interpretation is incorrect. In names like Rameses, etc. *ms* does not mean 'Child, Son of So-and-so', because in this case the name would be *ms-r*, as emerges from the writing *r^c ms-šw*: it means 'Ra engendered him' (*Ag. WB.*, ii, p. 138), wherein the corporeal fatherhood of the god is expressed (cf. above, p. 43). As far as concerns the Greek transliteration of *ms* sometimes by *mos* as in *Ἀμῶσις* (*i'h-ms*), *Τέδμοσις* (*dhwtj-ms*), and sometimes by *mes*, as in *Ραμέσσης* (*r^c-ms*), it may perhaps be explained by the fact that two different forms lurk in *ms*, although in Egyptian all these and similar names are, as far as I can see, written in the same manner. Cf. *inter alia* Hoffmann, *Theoph. Namen*, p. 38 f., Lieblein, *Dict.*, no. 955, 608, also Pap. Anast., v, 206, and *Rev.* iii, 47. That the two *s* in Rameses are divided by a vowel was deduced by Ranke, *AZ.* 46 (1909), p. 111, from the cuneiform spelling *riamašiša* in texts of the thirteenth century B.C., and this is supported by the Hebrew form *רַעַמְסֵס*.

² Cf. *Anast.*, i, 18, 2, p. 20 and n. 3 with reference to Sall. 2, 18, where *msy* appears as pet-name of Rameses. Elsewhere also *ms* occurs as proper name and belongs to the category of the many abbreviated names. Cf. also T. G. Allen, *AJSL.* 35, 110 ff.

³ See *Erwiderung*, p. 25 f., where the new efforts made by Spiegelberg to maintain this identification are rebutted, particularly from a phonetic point of view.

⁴ Cf. also Gen. 47, 11, Num. 33, 3 and 5. Even if admitted that most possibly the reference to the building of the city of Rameses, Ex. 1, 11, did not emanate from the *author* of the Exodus story—a question into which we do not enter here—it would be difficult to explain the differences in the spelling.

spirit of the Moses story. The first element *mw* (מ) means 'water', but stands here metaphorically for 'seed' in the sense of 'child, son';¹ and the second element *še* (שֶׁה) means 'pond, lake, expanse of water' and is applied here to the Nile which was called by the Egyptians also *še*.² Thus מִשֶּׁה means simply 'Child of the Nile'.

Reading the story, we get, indeed, the distinct impression that it was the intention of the narrator to convey that the choice of *mw-še* as the name of the boy was to preserve the memory of his being found in the River Nile. It is this feature which is emphasized in the name, and nothing appears more plausible and adequate than the interpretation of מִשֶּׁה as 'Child of the Nile'. To the Hebrew narrator the Egyptian signification of מִשֶּׁה was quite familiar. He knew that *še* meant the River Nile, and this he faithfully reproduced in מִן הַמַּיִם 'out of the water', for, as a matter of fact, the Egyptians called their river also 'the water', an expression, as we have seen above, p. 63, n. 3, repeatedly reproduced in the Exodus narrative by מַיִם. In the rendering of *še* by הַמַּיִם 'The Water' in the sense of 'River Nile' the narrator sought to retain in Hebrew the Egyptian idiom as he conceived it in the mouth of the Egyptian-speaking daughter of Pharaoh when explaining the name. In the Hebrew motivation of the name by the words מִשֶּׁה מִן הַמַּיִם there are two factors present: In the association of the Egyptian name *mw-še* with הַמַּיִם 'The Water', i.e. River Nile, is the primary meaning of the boy's name as explained by the Egyptian Princess; and in the linking of מִשֶּׁה with the Hebrew word מִשֶּׁה 'draw out' or

¹ E.g. *mw ntry* 'divine water' of So-and-so = 'divine son'. Cf. *Ag. WB.*, ii, 52. Precisely the metaphorical use of this word in connexion with divine beings makes it plausible that the daughter of Pharaoh should apply it to the foundling as being a gift of the Nile god.

² By *še* the Egyptians denoted both lakes (as e.g. the Bitter Lakes) and also brooks, ponds, canals, as well as all waters generally; likewise too especially broad expanses of the Nile, as e.g. at Fayyum (*še-wr* 'the great lake'). The Hebrew pronunciation מִשֶּׁה for *še* is supported by the Coptic שְׁחַר (B) שְׁחַר (S), *Er.-Gr.* 177 and *KWB.* 188. This form *še* is also preserved in the name *šenhör* (شِنْحُور) by which the Bitter Lakes are still called. This is, moreover, the same name as שִׁיחֹר as in Josh. 13, 3, Is. 23, 3, and Jer. 2, 18, i.e. 'Lake of Horus' (*še-n-hr*). The vocalization מִשֶּׁה is, however, not to be explained by the fact that the Hebrew punctuators saw in שִׁיחֹר a Hebrew word akin to שְׁחַר 'black' and accordingly rendered it in Hebrew form, but rather regarded it as a faithful rendering of the name *še-hr*, as the Hebrews in the time of the Prophets heard it from the lips of Egyptians in a vernacular variation. As a matter of fact a later Egyptian spelling *šy* points to a pronunciation שִׁי (cf. Gardiner, *Sinuhe*, p. 223, n. 2). It is noteworthy that *še* is today still living among the Bishari Bedouins in Egypt, south of Assuan, in the form of *šyäh* (pl. *šiha*), denoting the large expanse and accumulation of waters at the edge of the Wadis (cf. Hess, *Zeitschr. f. Kolonialspr.*, ix, p. 216, also above, p. 50, n. 2 and p. 186, n. 3). As will be seen, this form reveals the palpable terminal ה as in מִשֶּׁה, which, moreover, also still lurks in the Coptic form.

'rescue' lies the secondary interpretation added by the Hebrew narrator himself. He knew quite well that originally between מִשֶּׁה and מִשֶּׁה there was no association of meaning any more than there was e.g. between the Babylonian name בְּבֵל (cf. above, p. 232) and the Hebrew word בָּלַל (Gen. 11, 9). Nevertheless it suited him to be able to find a word like מִשֶּׁה which in meaning and sound was admirably appropriate for interpreting the alien name מִשֶּׁה in the spirit and savour of the Hebrew language without obliterating the original Egyptian signification of the name.¹ That in assonant motivation of names little regard is paid to etymological exactitude we have sufficiently seen from all the examples of such name-derivation cited above.

In further illustration and support of our identification of מִשֶּׁה with the Egyptian *še* we would add that *še* figures as a component in a whole series of Egyptian theophoric names. Thus, e.g., *imn-m-še* 'Amon-in-the-Lake' or 'on-the-Lake'; *šbk-m-še* 'Sobek (the crocodile god) in the Lake' or 'on the Lake'; *hr-še* 'Horus of the Lake' or 'in, on the Lake'; also in female names: *nb hr še-s* 'Nub (?) on her Lake'; and generally, 'God in, or on the Lake' *ntr m še*; also in abbreviated form with the omission of the name of the deity, e.g. *yn-m-še* 'The Precious One on the Lake'; *pn-n-še* 'He on the Lake', and many others.² All these examples furnish us with undeniable support for the identification of מִשֶּׁה with *mw-še*; and the frequency

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spirit of the Moses story. The first element *mw* (מ) means 'water', but stands here metaphorically for 'seed' in the sense of 'child, son';¹ and the second element *še* (שֶׁה) means 'pond, lake, expanse of water' and is applied here to the Nile which was called by the Egyptians also *še*.² Thus מִשָּׁה means simply 'Child of the Nile'.

Reading the story, we get, indeed, the distinct impression that it was the intention of the narrator to convey that the choice of *mw-še* as the name of the boy was to preserve the memory of his being found in the River Nile. It is this feature which is emphasized in the name, and nothing appears more plausible and adequate than the interpretation of מִשָּׁה as 'Child of the Nile'. To the Hebrew narrator the Egyptian signification of מִשָּׁה was quite familiar. He knew that *še* meant the River Nile, and this he faithfully reproduced in מִן הַמַּיִם 'out of the water', for, as a matter of fact, the Egyptians called their river also 'the water', an expression, as we have seen above, p. 63, n. 3, repeatedly reproduced in the Exodus narrative by מַיִם. In the rendering of *še* by הַמַּיִם 'The Water' in the sense of 'River Nile' the narrator sought to retain in Hebrew the Egyptian idiom as he conceived it in the mouth of the Egyptian-speaking daughter of Pharaoh when explaining the name. In the Hebrew motivation of the name by the words מִן הַמַּיִם מִשָּׁה there are two factors present: In the association of the Egyptian name *mw-še* with הַמַּיִם 'The Water', i.e. River Nile, is the primary meaning of the boy's name as explained by the Egyptian Princess; and in the linking of מִשָּׁה with the Hebrew word מִשָּׁה 'draw out' or

¹ E.g. *mw ntry* 'divine water' of So-and-so = 'divine son'. Cf. *Ag. WB.*, ii, 52. Precisely the metaphorical use of this word in connexion with divine beings makes it plausible that the daughter of Pharaoh should apply it to the foundling as being a gift of the Nile god.

² By *še* the Egyptians denoted both lakes (as e.g. the Bitter Lakes) and also brooks, ponds, canals, as well as all waters generally; likewise too especially broad expanses of the Nile, as e.g. at Fayyum (*še-wr* 'the great lake'). The Hebrew pronunciation מִשָּׁה for *še* is supported by the Coptic שְׁחַ (B) שְׁחַ (S), *Er.-Gr.* 177 and *KWB.* 188. This form *še* is also preserved in the name *šenhōr* (شِنْحور) by which the Bitter Lakes are still called. This is, moreover, the same name as שִׁיחור as in Josh. 13, 3, Is. 23, 3, and Jer. 2, 18, i.e. 'Lake of Horus' (*še-n-hr*). The vocalization שִׁי is, however, not to be explained by the fact that the Hebrew punctuators saw in שִׁיחור a Hebrew word akin to שָׁחַר 'black' and accordingly rendered it in Hebrew form, but rather regarded it as a faithful rendering of the name *še-hr*, as the Hebrews in the time of the Prophets heard it from the lips of Egyptians in a vernacular variation. As a matter of fact a later Egyptian spelling *šy* points to a pronunciation שִׁי (cf. Gardiner, *Sinuhe*, p. 223, n. 2). It is noteworthy that *še* is today still living among the Bishari Bedouins in Egypt, south of Assuan, in the form of *šyāh* (pl. *šīha*), denoting the large expanse and accumulation of waters at the edge of the Wadis (cf. Hess, *Zeitschr. f. Kolonialspr.*, ix, p. 216, also above, p. 50, n. 2 and p. 186, n. 3). As will be seen, this form reveals the palpable terminal ה as in מִשָּׁה, which, moreover, also still lurks in the Coptic form.

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with which š^e appears as a name-component leaves no doubt that a name like mš^e could only have originated and been understood in an Egyptian environment.¹

(b) Form and Meaning of the 'Ark' in the Bulrushes.

In conjunction with the interpretation of Moses' name we will attempt also to explain the story of the ark in the bulrushes by defining the nature of the ark and analysing the motives of Moses' mother in selecting an ark of this kind.

We must ask: What sort of 'ark' was denoted by t^k , and how did the mother imagine the rescue of her child by using just this particular ark?

It has long been established that t^k is the Egyptian $\text{db}_1.t$ or $\text{tb}_1.t = \tau\alpha\beta\epsilon$, and the word has been already fully discussed above, p. 205f. But whereas it is applied to 'ship', in the flood-story, Gen. 6, 14 ff., $\text{db}_1.t$ is used here in its real meaning of coffer, chest, holy shrine, coffin. Such a chest generally had the form of a divine shrine (*Naos*), and served as housing for images of gods which were dedicated to the temples. Of the numerous shrines which have been preserved several are in stone of different qualities, while others are in plain wood, according to the prominence of the deity represented and the pecuniary means of the donors.² The simpler ones chiefly comprise the shrines given by humble people, in the form of a longish chest with a small door in the upper portion of the front for statues of gods about the size of a child. Such chests or arks were to be found in all the Egyptian temples from the earliest to the latest times, and they were duly noted by

¹ We should not omit to mention that one might be tempted to interpret the first component m in mš^e as the Egyptian preposition m , i.e. 'in, from, out, of', so that $\text{mš}^e = m\text{-š}^e$ would mean 'out of the water', and more closely correspond to the expression $\text{m}^n \text{š}^e$. But in this case the phonetic explanation of m^n would be possible only by assuming a pronunciation m^o for the preposition m . This, however, lacks proof, and isolated cases like m^o in m^om^o , m^om^o in Coptic and Demotic (cf. Steindorff, *Kopt. Gram.*, § 350, Spiegelberg, *Demot. Gram.*, § 296) do not suffice. Moreover, we have the fact that since the Amarna period, towards the end of the 18th dynasty, the preposition m in front of names must have been used terminally, as it interchanged with n , which is only possible in a closed syllable (cf. Frida Behnk, *Gram. d. Texte aus El-Amarna, Berl. Diss.*, 1924, 9). In adhering therefore to our interpretation of $\text{mš}^e = mw\text{-š}^e$, because it is in every respect unobjectionable and completely intelligible, we nevertheless do not exclude the possibility of a pronunciation m^o for the Egyptian preposition m , for the reason that the Coptic forms must have some ground, and possibly originate from vernacular Egyptian.

² Cf. G. Roeder's full description of divine shrines in *Cat. Gén. d. Ant. Egypt.*, 1914. In many passages the form can be recognized from the determinative $\text{db}_1.t$, where it looks like a *Naos*, a square box, or like the above described chest, the same determinative being used as for chest, chapel of the gods (k_1r_1y , k_1r).

the Greek writers (cf. Wiedemann, *Herodots Zweites Buch*, p. 55).¹ On certain festivals as well as on the occasion of great victory fêtes they were borne in solemn procession, or were carried on the Nile, from one temple-town to another, on a bier which was usually given the form of a bark, such as was conceived as vehicle for the sun god Re, Osiris, and other gods.²

Just such a chest is to be understood by t^k in the Moses narrative. The mother had devised a means of saving her child which was peculiarly conformable to Egyptian conditions. She placed the infant in a chest which was exactly in the form used for enshrining images of gods, and laid it among the bulrushes at the spot where Pharaoh's daughter was accustomed to bathe at a certain hour. Her hope was that the princess would, at the first glance, suppose it to be a chest containing the image of a god, that had fallen into the river and drifted ashore, and that she would have it rescued forthwith. It was true the mother might have thought that the discovery of the strange find would arouse in the princess disappointment or even indignation; in that case the child would meet with the inevitable fate of all Hebrew boys. But on the other hand the effect might be different, and the maternal heart trusted in the divine protection, in the beauty of her child, and, not least, in the royal pity and compassion.³ The boy's sister was to stand sentry 'to know what would be done to him' (Ex. 2, 4). The princess appears with her maidens. On descending to the river she espies the ark in the rushes, has it brought to

¹ Cf. Erman, *Religion*, pp. 9, 11, 63. Erman-Ranke, p. 323. Wiedemann, *Das Alte Äg.*, p. 208 and 220. For form and size the best example for us is Mus. Cairo, Room M, case, 12, no. 13, a wooden chest in chapel form, about 70 x 40 cm., which would admirably serve as receptacle for a small child. Case 18, no. 14 shows a wooden chest in the form of a small temple, and case G, no. 450, a small ship with a chest in the centre.

² For representations of processions, cf. *AZ.* 39, p. 124 f. the procession of the god Amon at the triumph of Thutmosis III; for others from Luxor, cf. Daressy, *Mém. Miss. Fr. Cairo*, viii, p. 380 ff., Campbell, *The Miraculous Birth of Amenhotep III*, p. 96 ff., and *Annales du Musée Guimet*, vol. 30, pl. 14; further A. M. Blackman, *Temples Immérgés*, 9, pl. 31, 43, a procession instituted by Rameses II. How deeply-rooted such processions have remained in Egypt is shown by the fact that even to-day in Luxor on the festival of the saint *Abul Haggāg*, a decorated bark, which looks exactly like the barks of the gods of ancient Egypt, is carried or sailed about, cf. Legrain, *Louqsor sans les Pharaons*, p. 84 ff. with illustration.

³ The word t^k , Ex. 2, 2 is in the sense of the Egyptian *nfr*, 'good', or also 'beautiful', preferably employed in reference to the 'beauty' of gods and kings (cf. also Gen. 6, 2). This feature is imported into the narrative in order to bring out the striking beauty of the boy at his very birth as something divine. This conception persisted also in later Jewish tradition, Acts 7, 20; Hebr. 11, 23, Philo, *Vita Mosis*, ii; Talmud Bab. Sota 12 a and Midrash Rabba on Ex., Sec. i, 28. It is not to be regarded as a later Haggadic interpretation of t^k but assuredly is derived from an old tradition, as are many similar features. Elsewhere we shall deal at greater length with the analogous use of t^k and *nfr*.

her, and discovers a weeping child therein. She divines at once the ruse of an unhappy mother; her heart is touched and thrilled by the thought that the Hebrew woman had trusted in her tenderness, and she takes up the child.¹ His sister, now convinced of the benevolent intention of Pharaoh's daughter, and confident that the boy will not be thrown into the river, runs up to the princess with the enquiry whether she may not summon a Hebrew nurse such as was easy to procure among the Hebrews as there were so many mothers whose children had been thrown in the river. The scheme succeeds in all details—the boy is saved, the royal protection is assured. The boy is given back to his own mother and later, after being weaned, he is taken to the palace where, as the adopted son of Pharaoh's daughter, he is reared with the other royal children.

As will be seen, the narrative reflects ideas and conditions only conceivable in an Egyptian milieu, while the use of the Egyptian word תָּבָה provides the key to the understanding of the whole episode.²

As it has become customary to invoke the legend of the birth and exposure of Sargon I., King of Akkad (2600 B.C., cf. *KB.*, iii, i, p. 100, *AOT.*, p. 234; Rogers, p. 135), with our story, it is necessary to emphasize that in essence and character, as well as in content and form, it is completely different from the Moses narrative. In the case of Sargon, his mother, in contrast to the mother of Moses, exposed the child to drown it! Moreover there is a notable difference in language and local colour. In the case of Sargon everything is Babylonian: the 'ark' is the basket-shaped boat *Kuppu*;³ the material is derived from the Babylonian reed *suri*, and was pitched with the asphalt *iddi* commonly used in Babylonia. In the case of Moses there is no trace of these things. Here everything is Egyptian: תָּבָה is in meaning and form Egyptian, and the material is of the Egyptian papyrus reed *gms* = *kms* (Papyrus Nilotica). Thus it is not, as is frequently

¹ Characteristic for the retention of the Egyptian mode of speech is the added demonstrative pronoun זה in the words of Pharaoh's daughter: מִי־לִדִּי הָעִבְרִיִּים זֶה lit. 'One of the Hebrews' children is *this*', Ex. 2, 6, in the sense of the Egyptian *pw*, for the special emphasis of the subject, cf. Erman, *Gram.* 477, and Gardiner, *Gram.* 128. Generally the Hebrew in such cases uses הוּא but here the narrator was concerned to reproduce this sentence as uttered by an Egyptian, in the Egyptian construction. Cf. above, p. 6. As we shall show elsewhere this use of זה is not exceptional.

² It should be incidentally observed that in Post-Biblical Hebrew תָּבָה was originally used for the holy Ark of the Torah scrolls, and later extended to mean a praying-desk, e.g. *Berā-khōth*, 34 a, *Rōš Haššānā*, 32 b, etc., Levy, *Neuhebr. WB.* s.v. In *Berēšit Rabbā*, sec. 12 תָּבָה תְּרִיצָה means a boat (not a box, Levy *ibid.*) open on both sides, i.e. flat, as is proved by the variant רִיקְרָת 'rocking ship', *Bammidbar Rabba*, sec. 4.

³ This kind of boat is still retained for local ferry traffic on the Tigris in the original form and even the Akkadian designation *kuffa* (כּוּפָא) is still in use.

asserted, the *similarity* of the two stories which is striking, but actually the *dissimilarity* between them.¹

In further illustration of the Egyptian influence on the Moses story we would point out that in the one verse (Ex. 2, 3) no less than four Egyptian loan-words follow one another: תָּבָה = *db.t*; סוּף = *twfy*; מִצָּה = *kms*; and יָרָו = *irw* (*itrw*). These must have become so thoroughly current among the Hebrews in Egypt that they were no longer felt to be foreign words. This fact alone should suffice as conclusive proof of our contention that such a penetrating Egyptian influence could only have been possible in a time when the Hebrews lived in an Egyptian environment and in closest contact with the Egyptians.²

9. The Name of the Town בְּאֵר שֶׁבַע.

In the case of this name also the Egyptian provides us with an explanation of its motivation. There are two versions: according to one, in connexion with Abraham, Gen. 21, 28 ff. the name בְּאֵר שֶׁבַע lit. 'the well seven' is derived from the number of the *seven* sheep which Abraham presented to Abimelekh; according to the second, in connexion with Isaac, Gen. 26, 32 f., it is no longer brought into relation with the number of sheep, but interpreted as follows: 'And it came to pass on that day that Isaac's servants came and told him concerning the well which they had digged, and said unto him: We have found water. And he called it seven', whereupon the remark follows 'Therefore the name of the city is בְּאֵר שֶׁבַע unto this day'. Here, clearly, the connexion between 'seven' and the discovery of water is suggested, whereby 'seven' is conceived as the name of the well, which, however, is not interpreted symbolically as in Gen. 21, 28 f., but anecdotally, as in the case of the other wells (Gen. 26, 20-2). The choice of the number seven as the name for the well must accordingly

¹ On מִצָּה and the use of papyrus reeds for light skiffs, cf. above, p. 206, n. 1. According to Plutarch, *De Iside*, chap. 18, the Egyptian boatmen were fond of using this reed because they believed that it afforded protection against crocodiles, since Isis had journeyed in a papyrus boat in the search for the remains of Osiris in the Nile. This popular conception might also have influenced the choice of מִצָּה for the ark, a feature which would admirably suit the Egyptian background.

² This example is the best illustration of the insight displayed by those Egyptologists who maintain that the Moses story, as indeed the whole of the Joseph and Exodus narratives, were composed in Palestine many centuries after the Exodus, suggesting that the Egyptian influence is due to mere literary intercourse, and could even be ascribed to commercial relations with Egypt. Some of them even suggest that the Hebrew narrator had picked up all these Egyptian elements from his acquaintance with some Egyptian mercenaries who served in a Hebrew army, or from a Hebrew who returned home from a long sojourn in Egypt! Cf. Spiegelberg, *Z. für Sem.*, vol. vii, p. 109 f.

have been determined by some feature of the well itself in relation to seven. That this is actually the case we learn from the Egyptian. For the Egyptian regarded water of 'seven ells' (*mḥ šfh(w)*, *Anast.*, i, 3, 7 f.) as particularly beneficent, and 'seven ells' water would indeed appear, as Gardiner remarks in *Egyptian Hieratic Texts*, p. 8, note 6, with reference to *Anast.* iv, 1 b, 8, to have been a proverbial expression to denote abundance of water and irrigation. The matter is now clear: the servants reported to Isaac the discovery of the well; the patriarch calls it 'seven', meaning a seven ells well, whereby its particularly abundant supply of water and strong flow are implied. The narrator simply proceeds to tell us that שבע 'seven well' the name which was originally given to the well became the name of the town.¹

In illustration of the whole story, it should be mentioned that even to-day *Bir-es-Sab'*, on the site of the ancient שבע באר, is famous for the large number of its wells. The fact that especially in this district some filled wells of ancient date are found, casts a noteworthy sidelight on the procedure of the Philistines, who, out of envy and hostility to Isaac (Gen. 26), 'filled up with earth' the wells dug by his servants.²

10. The Names שם, חם, and מואב.

In view of the numerous examples of Egyptian orientation in names and interpretations, the question arises whether some of the names from the pre-Egyptian epoch in the Pentateuch may not reflect the meaning of similarly sounding Egyptian words with which they were associated, in order to interpret the names retrospectively, following tendencies that arose later in the Egyptian epoch. We have primarily in mind names like שם and חם. In the saying of Noah, Gen. 9, 25 f., the cursing of Canaan, the son of Ham, and the blessing of Šēm, the ancestor of Israel, wishes and hopes are anticipated that can only have been formed through the later hostility between Israel and Canaan. Seeing that Canaan is condemned to be a curse to his brethren and that the dwelling of the divine presence is to be in

¹ Whereas in the Abraham narrative, Gen. 21, 28 ff., the old interpretation of the name of the town has been preserved, here the new explanation under Egyptian influence came down.

² On a visit to this town, some of these wells were shown to me. The present interpretation of the name as 'Well of the Lion' is derived merely from the Arabic sound of the name بئر السبع, which is only a corruption of the old שבע באר, like many other names of ancient towns which have received an Arabic form, thus e.g. *Nisbe* (نسبة) from נִסְבָּה 'Ager (عاجر) from עֲקָרָה; *Bēsān* (بيسان) from בֵּיסָן; *Mihmās* (محماس) from מִחְמָס mention merely the best known.

tents of Šēm, the question arises whether the emphasis of just these two features may not be reflected in an association of the names Hām and Šēm with like-sounding Egyptian words, even though originally no connexion existed between the two names and Egyptian words, and this association was only inherited for the purpose of interpretation.¹ It is indeed a very surprising fact that *hm*—חם means in Egyptian 'serf, servant, slave' (Er. Gr. p. 109), and *śm*—שם is the designation for a priest of high rank.² In the first case, it is therefore very likely that the author of the narrative associated the name חם with the Egyptian *hm*—חם serf, in order to indicate the pre-destination of Canaan as the serf of Israel in the very name of his father Hām; and in the second case Egyptian *śm*—שם priest served him as basis for the name שם, in order to anticipate in the name the inspiration that 'God might dwell in his tents', which, of course, only relates to Israel, in whose midst a permanent abode for God was to be erected. Both names were thus interpreted in the sense of the Egyptian words *hm* and *śm* as indicative of the situation of their descendants: Canaan the son of the despised Hām was to be the most wretched of serfs; Israel, the most distinguished among the descendants of the extolled Šēm, was to be the chosen of the eternal God as the custodian of his sanctuary, or, as later more comprehensively expressed, 'a kingdom of priests and holy people' (Ex. 19, 6).³

That Hām, Gen. 9, 22, is described as 'father of Canaan' is in accordance with an ancient Semitic custom which still survives throughout the whole of the East, whereby a man of some distinction or notoriety is called by the name of his eldest son 'father of so-and-so',⁴ but sometimes, however, by that of a younger favourite child or rascally son, to signify honour or abuse.⁵ When, in our case, Hām is not called father of Kūš, after the

¹ This is not the place for raising the question of the origin of certain pre-patriarchal names: whether they came down to the Hebrews in their present form, or were invented by them at the beginning of their literary activity on the ground of events with which these individuals were associated.

² On the functions of the *śm* as priest, cf. *inter alia* Erman, *Relig.*, pp. 151 and 156. The so-called Herheb (*hry-hb*), who occupied a high rank as precentor-priest and 'Scholar in the writings of God', as well as other high priests, were likewise designated as *śm*. Cf. *Er.-Gr.* 160 and 139.

³ That Canaan is mentioned by name, though not Israel, is quite natural, because Canaan in the conception of the author of the narrative already existed when the episode occurred, whereas Israel came on the scene much later, and, therefore, could only be alluded to in the blessing of Šēm.

⁴ As a rule it is the first-born son of the legitimate wife. Accordingly the patriarch Abraham was called not the 'father of Ishmael' but the 'father of Isaac' (cf. Gen. 21, 12). For this custom among the Arabs, cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Studien* i, 267.

⁵ I remember an incident in which a sanguinary quarrel arose among Bedouins of a South

have been determined by some feature of the well itself in relation to seven. That this is actually the case we learn from the Egyptian. For the Egyptian regarded water of 'seven ells' (*mḥ šfḥ(w)*, *Anast.*, i, 3, 7 f.) as particularly beneficent, and 'seven ells' water would indeed appear, as Gardiner remarks in *Egyptian Hieratic Texts*, p. 8, note 6, with reference to *Anast.* iv, 1 b, 8, to have been a proverbial expression to denote abundance of water and irrigation. The matter is now clear: the servants reported to Isaac the discovery of the well; the patriarch calls it 'seven', meaning a *seven ells* well, whereby its particularly abundant supply of water and strong flow are implied. The narrator simply proceeds to tell us that the name 'seven well' the name which was originally given to the well became the name of the town.¹

In illustration of the whole story, it should be mentioned that even to-day *Bir-es-Sab*, on the site of the ancient שבע באר, is famous for the large number of its wells. The fact that especially in this district some *filled up* wells of ancient date are found, casts a noteworthy sidelight on the procedure of the Philistines, who, out of envy and hostility to Isaac (Gen. 26) 'filled up with earth' the wells dug by his servants.²

10. The Names שם, חם, and מואב.

In view of the numerous examples of Egyptian orientation in names and interpretations, the question arises whether some of the names from the pre-Egyptian epoch in the Pentateuch may not reflect the meaning of similarly sounding Egyptian words with which they were associated, in order to interpret the names retrospectively, following tendencies that arose later in the Egyptian epoch. We have primarily in mind names like שם and חם. In the saying of Noah, Gen. 9, 25 f., the cursing of Canaan, the son of Ham, and the blessing of Šēm, the ancestor of Israel, wishes and hopes are anticipated that can only have been formed through the later hostility between Israel and Canaan. Seeing that Canaan is condemned to be a curse to his brethren and that the dwelling of the divine presence is to be in

¹ Whereas in the Abraham narrative, Gen. 21, 28 ff., the *old* interpretation of the name of the town has been preserved, here the new explanation under Egyptian influence has come down.

² On a visit to this town, some of these wells were shown to me. The present interpretation of the name as 'Well of the Lion' is derived merely from the Arabic sound of the name بئر السبع, which is only a corruption of the old שבע באר, like many other names of ancient towns which have received an Arabic form, thus e.g. *Nisbe* (نسبة) from نيسب, 'Aqer (عافر) from عافر; *Bēsān* (بيسان) from בֵּית שָׁאן; *Mihmās* (محماس) from מִחְמָס. I mention merely the best known.

tents of Šēm, the question arises whether the emphasis of just these two features may not be reflected in an association of the names Hām and Šēm with like-sounding Egyptian words, even though originally no connexion existed between the two names and Egyptian words, and this association was only inherited for the purpose of interpretation.¹ It is indeed a very surprising fact that *hm*—חם means in Egyptian 'serf, servant, slave' (*Er. Gr.* p. 109), and *śm*—שם is the designation for a *priest* of high rank.² In the first case, it is therefore very likely that the author of the narrative associated the name חם with the Egyptian *hm*—חם serf, in order to indicate the pre-destination of Canaan as the serf of Israel in the very name of his father Hām; and in the second case Egyptian *śm*—שם priest served him as basis for the name שם, in order to anticipate in the name the inspiration that 'God might dwell in his tents', which, of course, only relates to Israel, in whose midst a permanent abode for God was to be erected. Both names were thus interpreted in the sense of the Egyptian words *hm* and *śm* as indicative of the situation of their descendants: Canaan the son of the despised Hām was to be the most wretched of serfs; Israel, the most distinguished among the descendants of the extolled Šēm, was to be the chosen of the eternal God as the custodian of his sanctuary, or, as later more comprehensively expressed, 'a kingdom of priests and holy people' (*Ex.* 19, 6).³

That Hām, Gen. 9, 22, is described as 'father of Canaan' is in accordance with an ancient Semitic custom which still survives throughout the whole of the East, whereby a man of some distinction or notoriety is called by the name of his eldest son 'father of so-and-so',⁴ but sometimes, however, by that of a younger favourite child or rascally son, to signify honour or abuse.⁵ When, in our case, Hām is not called father of Kūš, after the

¹ This is not the place for raising the question of the origin of certain pre-patriarchal names: whether they came down to the Hebrews in their present form, or were invented by them at the beginning of their literary activity on the ground of events with which these individuals were associated.

² On the functions of the *śm* as priest, cf. *inter alia* Erman, *Relig.*, pp. 151 and 156. The so-called Herheb (*hry-hb*), who occupied a high rank as precentor-priest and 'Scholar in the writings of God', as well as other high priests, were likewise designated as *śm*. Cf. *Er.-Gr.* 160 and 139.

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⁵ I remember an incident in which a sanguinary quarrel arose among Bedouins of a South

name of his eldest son, but father of Canaan, Gen. 10, 6, after the name of his youngest, this is done intentionally to denounce Canaan, in connexion with the event related, as the unworthy son of a dishonoured and depraved father, and this explains why Canaan of all the sons of Hām was made the target for Noah's curse.

The establishment of the fact that Hām is intentionally described as the 'father of Canaan' enables us also to understand the much contested word בְּנוֹ הַקָּטָן 'his youngest son' (9, 24), which cannot possibly refer to Hām, the youngest son of Noah, as he was not his youngest, but his second son. These words in reality have been displaced and properly belong after בְּנֵי נֹחַ 'cursed be Canaan' (verse 25). Accordingly the original text would read: 'And Noah knew what his son had done to him and he said: Cursed be Canaan his youngest son.'¹ That בְּנוֹ הַקָּטָן really stood at this place is most clearly indicated by לְאָחִיו, which, like לְאָחִיו verse 27, cannot apply to Kūš and the other brothers of Canaan, Gen. 10, 6, but only to Šēm and Jāpheth, the brothers of Hām, and primarily to Šēm, as the whole story is only told for the purpose of justifying the condemnation of Canaan to serfdom long before Israel existed. But the reference of the pronominal suffix in לְאָחִיו to Hām is only tenable if בְּנוֹ הַקָּטָן precedes. Only by the reinstatement of בְּנוֹ הַקָּטָן in its right place does the text become intelligible and the whole pronouncement becomes perfectly clear, in the light of ancient Oriental customs and thought.²

On similar grounds one may perceive an association of the name Hām with Egyptian. There can be no doubt that the second component חַם means 'father', and that the whole name is to be understood as 'son of father'. But as in this event the first component, חַם, would have to be taken for 'son', and this word in such a meaning does not exist in any Semitic language, the possibility remains that in חַם we have a play on the Egyptian word *mw* 'seed' = 'child, son' (cf. above, p. 260, note 1), where חַם obtains its simple explanation as 'child of the father'. Herewith the obviously intentional disparagement of the Moabites as the foes of Israel is very clearly brought out in the name of their progenitor.³

Palestinian tribe because one of them mockingly apostrophized another, who was called 'father of Hāmdān', as 'father of Ṭalāl'. Ṭalāl happened to be the name of a young man who, on account of frequent thefts, had fallen into disrepute, and also had a bad name as a coward.

¹ The misplacement was probably caused by the homoeoteleuton בְּנוֹ הַקָּטָן.

² How the pun of יָפֶת with יָפֶת (Gen. 9, 27) is to be understood, I am unable to say, but the derivation of the latter from פָּתַח 'to make wide' is plausible, but not certain.

³ The name Ammōn, the second son of Lot, can be interpreted as reflecting a similar meaning, but as it would entail a discussion of matters which do not belong here, we must revert to it on another occasion.

CHAPTER VII.

A. EGYPTIAN LOANWORDS AND EXPRESSIONS.

As in the section on the Joseph and Exodus narratives, so in this section too, not all Egyptian elements have been exhausted. Apart from the word חֲמַת 'water-skin' Gen. 21, 14 f. 19. already recognized by others as the Egyptian word *hn.t* 'hide, skin', Ember, *AZ.* 49 (1911), 91, Er.-Gr. 136,¹ there are still words, expressions, and phrases always regarded as typical of the Genesis stories and patriarchal narratives, which, on closer examination, are found to be Egyptian borrowings, or reveal peculiarities of construction or style modelled on Egyptian.² From these we propose to select here a few particularly instructive instances and phrases of which many are contained in the patriarchal narratives, and which, besides the already discussed interpretation of names, provide a further illustration of Egyptian influence even in the narratives of the forefathers of Israel, emanating from the pre-Egyptian epoch.

1. נִיחָח.

נִיחָח Gen. 8, 21 and many other passages for want of a better etymology is generally derived from נָח 'rest', despite the impossible form נִיחָח, and we are still left without a clear conception of what the word really means. In reality it is the Egyptian *nhh* (= נִיחָח), a quite common word for 'eternity' used in profane and especially in sacred writings in connexion with sacrifices, libations, offerings, holy foundations, and in benedictory formulas for the eternal salvation of a god, a king, or a dead person.³ The customary

¹ Cf. e.g. Merneptah 6 (*AZ.* 34, 2), where it is said of the fleeing warriors that they emptied their water-skins (*hn.wt*) in order to get away more quickly. It should be noted that the word חֲמַת only occurs in the narrative of the Egyptian woman Hagar.

² The suggested identity of הָרָה 'to be pregnant' with the Egyptian *twr*, Er.-Gr. 9, put forward by Sethe, *Verb. Glossar* 101 and others, is doubtful; it is rather a borrowing from the Akkadian *ēru*, Del. *WB.* 130, even if it is not a common Semitic word. רִוּחַ 'water trough', Gen. 30, 38, 41, Ex. 2, 16 can just as well be the Akkadian *rātu* 'water gutter', Del. *WB.* 603, as also the Egyptian *rh.t* 'water trough', Ember, *AZ.* 49, 93; cf. Coptic ϣⲱⲓⲣⲉ, *KWB.*, p. 107. It cannot be said with certainty whether it belongs to the Semitic borrowings in Egyptian, nevertheless it is noteworthy that it occurs in this meaning only in Genesis and Exodus. In the last resort it might belong to Canaanite words which were current in Hebrew and Egyptian in identical meaning. Cf. above, p. 100 and below, p. 290 ff.

³ Cf. e.g. Pap. d'Orb., vii, 1: 'I will not again be with thee till eternity (*r nhh*)'; Pyr.

sacrificial formulae נִיחָח thus means 'savour for eternity' or 'eternal savour'. It was particularly because of the use in Egyptian of *nhh* in ritual matters that נִיחָח was thought suitable to be used in kindred sacrificial texts, and this is the explanation of its appearance as a specific expression in the terminology of the sacrificial cult in the Pentateuch. It should be emphasized that נִיחָח is typical for the Pentateuch, where it occurs no less than forty times, and is not to be found in any other Biblical book, with the exception of Ezekiel (four times) 6, 13, 16, 19, 20, 28, and 20, 41, the Prophet being prone to employ archaic expressions and phrases from old ritual texts. This word remained, like other Egyptian borrowings in the Pentateuch, peculiar to ancient use, and did not pass into the ordinary literary language.¹

2. מָאָה שְׁעָרִים.

In Gen. 26, 12 שְׁעָרִים is linked up with שְׂעַר 'value, market price' and arbitrarily extended to the idea of quantity, מָאָה שְׁעָרִים being interpreted 'hundred-fold', a signification which שְׂעַר nowhere reveals, and which also presents grammatical difficulties, as in this case it should have been expressed adverbially, quite apart from the fact that in Hebrew the phrase should be מָאָה פִּי (Deut. 21, 17). Just as little is the meaning 'measure for שְׂעַר' probable, and even if it were connected with the Post-Biblical word שְׂעִיר, it would furnish the idea of a vague measure, whereas מָאָה שְׁעָרִים palpably meant to convey a quite clear conception of the quantity grown from the seed.² As a matter of fact this word can only yield a satisfactory meaning by taking it as a loan word from the Egyptian *š* (שֶׁאֵ = 'granary' or 'barn', and the text simply states that the harvest of the

412 a: 'The life of the (dead king) N.N. is eternity (*nhh*)'; 412 c: 'He who is within the horizon for ever till eternity (*r nhh*)'; 414 c: 'The favourite seat of W. is among the living on this earth for evermore in eternity (*r nhh*)'; 1177 b of the offerings and libations for the dead king: 'Give him of this thy bread (*t-k pw*) of everlastingness (*n d.t*), of this thy beer (*hk.t-k*) of eternity (*n.t nhh*)'; similarly Vogelsang, *Bauer B.* 2, 126, p. 229: 'Verily will eat thy bread (*t-k*), drink of thy beer (*hk.t-k*) till eternity (*r nhh*)'; cf. further *The Pap. Anj.*, chap. 17, l. 29 (= Budge, *Dead*, i, 86): 'Eternity (*nhh*) is the day, everlastingness (*d.t*) is the night'; in the Hymn to Re (= Budge, *Dead*, i, p. 11, 1), Re is called 'Lord of Eternity (*nb nhh*), and Lord of Everlastingness (*hk, d.t*)'; *Litany to Osiris*, l. 5 = *ibid.*, chap. 15, Osiris is 'Eternity (*nhh*) and Everlastingness (*d.t*)'; *ibid.* i, p. 172, chap. A. 7, the dead says: 'I have been given boundless eternity (*n.hh*); I inherit eternity (*n*) everlastingness (*d.t*) is my portion'.

¹ When treating the sacrificial and ritual terms in the Pentateuch we shall revert to this class of words, and explain also the relation between Ezekiel and Leviticus. מָאָה שְׁעָרִים occurs only Gen. 8, 21 and with suffix only Levit. 26, 31; Num. 28, 2; Ez. 20, 25.

² That שְׂעוּרִים 'barley' of the LXX has here no meaning and is based on a pure misreading of the Hebrew is unquestionable.

patriarch in the very first year filled one hundred granaries or barns.¹ It should be pointed out that שְׁעָרִים is only used here in connexion with seed and harvest, and also belongs to those Egyptian borrowings which disappeared early from literary usage.²

3. תָּרִיד.

In Gen. 27, 40 the word תָּרִיד is an old *crux interpretum*, as it cannot be satisfactorily explained from kindred Hebrew roots. If, however, it is associated with the Egyptian *rwḏ*, *rwḏ* = רוּד, we obtain the meaning 'to be firm, strong, powerful'.³ Our passage would, therefore, read: 'And by thy sword shalt thou live, and shalt serve thy brother; but when thou becomest strong thou shalt break his yoke from off thy neck'.⁴

4. בְּנֵי-אֹנִי, אֹן, and גְּאֵשִׁית אֹנִים.

In Gen. 35, 18 it is related of the dying Rachel that she called her newborn child בְּנֵי-אֹנִי, and that the father called it Benjamin בְּנֵי-אֹנִי. It is the general view that בְּנֵי-אֹנִי means 'Son of my sorrow'. This is an assumption built upon another assumption, as, for lack of a plausible etymology, אֹן Deut. 26, 14 is called into service, being taken to mean 'mourning'. But quite apart from the fact that the interpretation of this passage is very questionable, it appears strange that the dying mother and not, as one would expect, the unhappy father should give the child a name in which grief at the tragic fate of its mother is expressed. This is all the more strange

¹ Cf. *Amenemope*, viii, 6 (of the violent one): 'His granaries (*š* pl. from *š*) shall be destroyed, his possessions taken from the hand of his children'; further xi, 1: 'Better is a bushel (*tp.t*) that the god gives them, than five thousand by violence; these remain not a single day in barn (*mhr*) and granary (*š*)'. That Hebrew אֹן is a loan word from *tp.t* is generally recognized. Cf. above, p. 76, note 1.

² The expression for harvesting used here is מִצֵּא 'find'. Significantly enough the same expression in the same sense as מִצֵּא here also occurs in the passage cited from *Amenemope*, in conjunction with seed and grain, namely viii, 17 f.: 'Plough up the fields, then shalt thou find thy need and receive the bread of thine own threshing floor'. Like many another saying therein, this too probably goes back to a much older source. The resemblance between many sayings in *Amenemope* and in older Egyptian Wisdom Books seems to justify the assumption of common older sources.

³ Cf. *rwḏ* also *rwḏ*, *Ag. WB.* ii, 410 f., Coptic σγροτ (S.), ερογοτ (B.), e.g. in Gardiner, *Admon.* on 9, 9: 'He banishes thirst from thee so that thou becomest strong (*rwḏ*) and art not weak (*fn*)'. Another word that might come under consideration is *rd* 'to grow, bloom, flourish', *Ag. WB.*, ii, 462, so that in our רוּד both words might lurk with equally suitable meaning, but *rwḏ* seems to us to be preferable.

⁴ The same meaning is to be found in Jerem. 2, 31: 'We are strong with God'; likewise also Hosea 12, 1: 'Strong with God and faithful to his holy ones'. As to אָרִיד, Ps. 55, 3 it is from another stem with different meaning.

as the name given to the child by the father—far from having any reference to the mother's death—suggests the idea of vigour and energy. We must, therefore, look for another meaning in בן-אֹנִי.

Now the same word אֹנִי occurs in the Pentateuch also in Gen. 49, 3 and Deut. 21, 17. As in these passages the meaning of 'mourning' is out of the question, it is interpreted according to the context as 'strength, manliness', especially as it is applied to the first-born. This expression is also to be found in Ps. 78, 51 and Ps. 105, 36, where, as should be observed, it has reference to Egypt. This point is of significance because it shows that אֹנִי must somehow be connected with Egyptian conceptions. Taking up this clue we find that in Egyptian *wn* (*wmn*) means 'to be, to exist';¹ *nty wn* 'he that exists' used for 'man'; *wmn.t* as abstract 'the existing' is used as an expression for 'all being', often also *wmn.t nb.t* for 'everything that is, all that are'. Of special importance for us is the use of the substantive plural *wmny.w* for 'beings', which from the earliest times is applied to gods and divine beings, and from the 18th dynasty onwards also to men *Ag. WB. i, p. 308 ff.*²

From all this it appears that in *wn* we have the idea of being, of existing, and this is the meaning also of אֹנִי in which the word *wn* is reproduced. It expresses 'being' and in this sense בן אֹנִי Gen. 35, 18 is to be understood, and to be rendered 'son of my being, of my existence', whereby the dying mother conveys the idea that in the child she is leaving is incorporated her whole personality, her own 'ego', as would be said to-day, and that it will be to the father as substitute in her place. Now in this light the name given to the child by the father appears as a pendant to that given by the mother: he selects the name בנימין 'son of the right', to symbolize the position occupied by his favourite wife as his right hand, his main support.³ The same is implied also in Gen. 49, 3 and Deut. 21, 17, where the first-born is described as אֹנִי ראשית אֹנִי, i.e. the choicest of the father's

¹ The verb is written *wn* and also more fully *wmn*, so that the primary form may as well be *med. infirm.* as *med. gem.* In the first case *wn* may have been pronounced *w^on* for which the Hebrew would have put אֹנִי. A fuller discussion of this word will be found in *Erwiderung*, p. 31 f.

² Of gods it is already employed in Pyr. and is found elsewhere in Books of the Dead; of men, as a rule, it is regarded as a choice expression, cf. e.g. Berg., *Buch d. Ewigk.*, p. 374, 8: 'Thy name remains in the mouth of the beings (*wmny-w*)' for men.

³ Of course, Benjamin must be regarded as the original name, as he is never called 'Ben-Oni'; בן אֹנִי was only added with reference to the episode of Rachel's death. Nevertheless the narrator intentionally puts the name of Benjamin in the second place in order to convey the impression that this name should form a pendant to אֹנִי בן. That בנימין can only mean 'son of the right hand' is hardly to be doubted.

being, the most appropriate expression for the first manifestation of his strength.¹

Similarly in Deut. 26, 14 בְּאֹנִי is to be interpreted as 'in my being', 'during my existence' meaning 'in my lifetime', as the Egyptian *wn* is also used in such a case.² Here the countryman solemnly proclaims that he has given the portion of his harvest due to the Levite and the poor, during the whole period of his existence, throughout his whole life, that he has never enjoyed it himself, but always surrendered it according to precept.³

As to Ps. 78, 51 and 105, 36, אֹנִי is of great interest in that it is used succinctly like the Egyptian *wmny.w* (subst. plur.), when it is employed just as אֹנִי here (also subst. plur.) in relation to a place or land, namely in the sense of 'inhabitants' (*Ag. WB. i, 310*). Thus 78, 51 reads: 'And he smote all the first-born in Egypt, the choicest of the inhabitants in the tents of Hām'; and Ps. 105, 36 reads: 'And he smote all the first-born in

¹ As we shall see later, the Egyptians have *tpy*, fem. *tpy.t* from *tp* 'head' exactly like ראש or ראשית formed from ראש, and used in the meaning 'the best, finest, choicest', thus e.g. *tpy.t nfr.wt* 'the choicest of the virgins', *Liebespoesie*, 5, 8; or *tpy.w* = ראשי, Pyr. 1079: 'clad in the best garments' (*tpy.w hbs.w*) exactly like ראשי בשמים 'the choicest of spices', Song of Songs 4, 14. In view of these examples, ראשית אֹנִי might have been taken over bodily from the Egyptian, as the Hebrew and Egyptian are literally identical, and identical also in construction. It should be mentioned further that *tpy* = ראשון means succinctly 'first-born', cf. Pyr. 793 of Osiris: *st gb tpy-f* 'The son of Geb, his first-born'; 1012: 'Rise up, Osiris, son of Geb, his first[-born] (*tpy-f*)'.

² Cf. e.g. Ptahhotep, 11 Pap. Prisse, ed. Dévaud, p. 26: 'Follow thy heart the time of thy being' (*tr n wmn-k*), just as the Hebrew would say בְּאֹנִיךָ, i.e. 'as long as thou livest'; *Urk.*, iv, p. 133, 10: 'The gods of your places shall praise and love you as long as ye be (*wmn-tn*) on earth.' The characteristic of *wn* is that, as a rule, it is applied specifically to existence on this earth, and is often used for earthly life in direct contrast to eternal life in the world of the dead, cf. e.g. Piehl, *Inscriptions*, iii, 73 (to the dead): 'Thy heart is with thee as with thy being (*wn-k*) on earth' (i.e. during thy lifetime on earth); *Totb. Any*, Budge, *Dead*, i, p. 15, of the dead who committed no sins 'during his being (*wmn-f*) on earth', thus exactly as in our passage, Deut. 26, 14, בְּאֹנִי 'during my being', and also in the Egyptian it occurs in a confession as here. Similarly also Hosea 12, 4, בְּאֹנִי has the same sense: 'In the womb he took his brother by the heel, and during his being he fought against God', i.e. even before birth he was cantankerous, and during his whole life he was in revolt against God.

³ In the much discussed passage בְּטָמֵא וְלֹא בְעֵרָתִי מִמֶּנּוּ בְטָמֵא the word בְטָמֵא cannot possibly refer to the person of the one making the confession, as in this case it ought to read בְטָמֵאתָּ or בְטָמֵאתִי to correspond with בְּאֹנִי. It can only be understood in the sense that he had not removed the remains of his harvest in an *impure vessel* with the intention of making it unclean, so that it would be ineligible for distribution among Levites and the poor, as they would become unclean in touching it. By this ruse the remains would be available for himself, to be consumed at times of ritual impurity. It is such suspicion that the confession is intended to dissipate. The addition of the words that he also did not sacrifice thereof to the dead is probably connected with a custom of employing the remains of the harvest, or food that had become impure, as offering to the dead.

their land, the choicest of all the inhabitants'.¹ In both passages it is emphasized that even the most distinguished among the Egyptians were smitten by the plague, as it is said, Ex. 11, 5: 'from the first-born of Pharaoh to the first-born of the maid servant behind the millstones', cf. above, p. 83.

This phrase was undoubtedly taken over by the Psalmists from old poetical descriptions of the Exodus. The old poets, like the author of Gen. 49, 3, who used אֲנִיִּים knew perfectly well that the Egyptians applied the word *wnty.w* to people of high dignity and distinction.² This old meaning still lurks in אֲנִיִּים of the Psalms, where it is employed ironically in reference to the most distinguished inhabitants of Egypt who could not escape the divine judgement.³

5. תולדות for "Generations".

The peculiarity of תולדות, literally 'births', plural of תולדה, a feminine noun built from יָלַד 'to give birth', is: (1) that it is typical of the lists of the first generations and the patriarchal families;⁴ (2) that in Gen. 2, 4 it is applied to the creation of heaven and earth, and (3) that it is employed as a heading to genealogical tables in Genesis, apparently being a specific expression for chronology.

Now in Egyptian there is an analogous feminine formation *mšw.t* 'birth' from *mšy* 'to bear', and: (1) it is used as a collective word for 'children, descendants', both in reference to men, and also to kings and gods (*Ag. WB.* ii, p. 140), e.g. *mšw.t-hr* 'children, descendants of Horus'; (2) it belongs to archaic speech, is peculiar to the ancient stories of the gods and Books of the Dead, and is later replaced by *mš.w* masc. plural of *mš* 'child' (*ibid.* 139 f.), so that e.g. for 'children of Horus' the fem. plur. *mšw.t hr* was no longer used, but the masc. plur. *ms.w hr*.

¹ This is according to the reading אֲנִיִּים of the LXX which appears to be correct, as the whole verse is literally identical with Ps. 78, 51. The vocalization אֲנִיִּים in the Massoretic text is due to the defective writing of אֲנִיִּים, which is not uncommon.

² This is because it was first said of gods and then applied to men. Cf. above, p. 272, n. 2. Also *nty wn* 'the existing one', i.e. the living one, the man, is sometimes used in the sense of 'nobleman'. Cf. Gardiner on *Admon.* 3, 14, p. 35.

³ There is also the expression *tpy n wnw.t* which literally reflects with even greater exactitude רִאשִׁית אֲנִיִּים, and relates to a particular category of priests or royal dignitaries (e.g. *Urk.* iv, 97, 5), but this will be dealt with elsewhere.

⁴ It occurs most frequently in Genesis, namely, in reference to Adam, Noah and his sons, Terah, the father of Abraham, Ishmael, Isaac, Jacob, Esau; then in Exodus and Numbers it is said of Moses, Aaron, and the twelve tribal chiefs; in 1 Chronicles only of the first tribes and their descendants; and finally, once in Ruth in the genealogy of David.

We thus have in תולדות both in form and usage an exact parallel to *mšw.t*, likewise used collectively for 'children', in the sense of 'generations'. We now understand why it appeared suitable to be set as a caption at the head of genealogical tables. But תולדות also follows the Egyptian in that it is confined to writing, and was later replaced by בְּנֵי 'children of', exactly as in Egyptian *mš.w* was substituted for the archaic *mšw.t*.

Here too, we have an example of the predilection shown by the author of the Genesis stories and patriarchal narratives for adopting expressions peculiar to the early history of the Egyptians and the myths of their gods, a tendency to which reference has already been made elsewhere. The very fact that תולדות is restricted to those parts of the Pentateuch is a further proof that they belong to the oldest chronological records in Israel. This is supported by the fact that, especially in reference to the patriarchal and tribal families, in chronicles likewise תולדות was only used in reference to the older tribal families, and this because the chronicler clung to the expression which he found in the ancient records.

From the Egyptian *mšw.t* it may perhaps also be possible to explain the use of תולדות in Gen. 2, 4, as *mšw.t* is used in the sense of 'creations' notably of divine creatures. Thus here תולדות would simply mean creations, and the text would read: 'These are the creations of heaven and earth when they were created'. That this sentence forms the conclusion of the first account of the creation, as is maintained by some Biblical critics, is by no means proven. Quite the contrary, this sentence stands, like the first verse of Genesis, as heading for the subsequent account, which begins here with בְּיוֹם עֲשׂוֹת. It is only by taking this as a self-contained heading, and regarding בְּיוֹם עֲשׂוֹת as the beginning of the new narration that the text becomes intelligible. It reads: 'These are the creations of heaven and earth when they were created. On the day when the Lord God had made earth and heaven no plant of the field was yet in the earth, and no grass of the field had yet grown, for the Lord God had not caused it to rain upon the earth and there was no man to till the ground.'¹

6. יָצַר for "Thought, Plan".

We have already observed above, p. 153 f. that יָצַר like Egyptian *kd* is the technical expression both for potter's work and also for 'forming and

¹ As indicated by the *paseq* after כָּל, some correction had to be made by the copyist, and this is actually the case, as the original text must have had כָּל. That the end of verse 4 reverses the usual order of 'heaven and earth' with 'earth and heaven' is quite natural here, because in this account only the earth is dealt with, in contrast to the first account which deals first with the creations of heaven, and then with those of the earth.

creating' men and other beings. There is a further analogy also in the fact that יִצְרָה formed from יָצַר is used in the same metaphorical sense of 'imagination', Gen. 6, 5 (also 1 Chron. 28, 9, 29, 18), 'imagination of the heart, plans', Gen. 8, 21. Deut. 31, 21, just as *kd* is used as subst. for 'character, nature, quality, virtue' (Er.-Gr. p. 192), thus e.g. Urk. iv, 35 *kd.w ntr* = 'qualities and virtues of God, the character of God'; *ibid.* 67 'He who knows the *imaginings* of the body (*kdwy.w h.t*) before they reach the lips', i.e. 'thoughts, plans'. It should be noted that *h.t* 'body' alternates with *ib* 'heart', exactly like בָּמֶן with לֵב, so that *kdwy.w h.t* and לֵב יִצְרָה are identical in meaning and construction.

Besides *kd*, also *km* (*km*) may have served as model for יָצַר, because like *kd*, it is a technical expression for 'create', notably for the 'forming' works of art (in wood, metal, etc.), and like *kd*, is used metaphorically in reference to the inner being of man, as well as to his thoughts and plans. Thus e.g. Urk. iv, 255, 4 (of Thutmosis I): 'The Majesty of her father Amon beheld her (the Queen Hatshepsut) and saw how very divine was her being (*km-s*) and how lofty her heart', cf. also 1082 and 1083. In Hatshepsut's temple, 44, 4: 'who made the heaven according to the plans of his heart (*m km n ib-f*)', literally 'the imaginings of his heart', we have in *km.w ib* a closer parallel to לֵב יִצְרָה in that both coincide in every respect even in the use of לֵב = *ib*.¹

7. מִצְרֵי־כַף for "Slaughtering Knife".

The noun מִצְרֵי־כַף for slaughtering-knife formed from אָכַל 'eat', Gen. 22, 6, 10, corresponds exactly to the Egyptian usage of *wmm* 'eat, devour' from the 'knife' of the slaughterer, which devours the beast with its 'mouth'. Cf. *Ag. WB.* i, p. 321. For just as in Hebrew, so also in Egyptian, the knife has a 'mouth' wherewith it devours beast and man. We would expect that similarly the metaphorical use of the 'devouring sword' Deut. 32, 26 (2 Sam. 2, 26) and 'devouring fire' Num. 16, 35, 26, 10. Lev. 6, 3 is also common in Egyptian. Thus the knife 'devours' (*wmm*) in the hands of the strong slaughterer (Erman, *Zaubersprüche*, 3, 2); the lance 'swallows' (*m*) the flesh of the hippopotamus (Navelle, *Mythe d'Horus*, iii; Grapow, *Bildl.* p. 143 and 144), and the flame 'devours' the Apophis dragon, and consumes its carcass (*Apophis*, 26, 18, 31, 19).

¹ Likewise in the meaning of 'creature' יִצְרָה (Is. 29, 16; Ps. 103, 14), *kd* and *km* are identical.

B. ANALOGOUS PHRASES IN HEBREW AND EGYPTIAN.

We proceed now to discuss a few further phrases or expressions which have a pronounced Egyptian colouring.

1. 'Bone of my Bones'.

Gen. 2, 23 מֵעַצְמִי מֵעָצָם 'bone of my bones', i.e. limb of my limbs (cf. above, p. 70) has its analogous usage in the Egyptian *m h' w' hn'* 'as one limb with 'so-and-so', i.e. 'from his very body', e.g. Urk. iv, 385: 'I am verily as one limb with him (*m h' w' hn'-f*)', i.e. with my father Amon, or *ibid.* 585: 'Son of Amon whom Mut bare to him, as one limb with his creator (*m h' w' hn' km-f*)', i.e. with Amon who engendered him. A still closer parallel is *Merikare*, Recto 132 (*Lit.*, p. 83) where it says of men that they are images of Re, 'gone forth from his limbs (*pr m h'.w-f*)', i.e. as children of his own body.¹ The emphasis 'this time' הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה is this bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh' is to stress the contrast with the animals which were created from earth and animated by Adam (cf. above, p. 149 f.). It should further be noted that in Egyptian also 'flesh and bones' (*iwf ks*) are conjointly used for 'body'.

2. The Earth 'Opens her Mouth'.

Gen. 4, 11 says that the earth 'opened her mouth' אֶרֶץ פָּתְחָהּ אֶמְתָּהּ to swallow up Abel's blood. This may be compared with *Amenemope*, x, 20 with reference to the riches of the ungodly: 'They are not there, the ground has opened its mouth (*wn p: iwdn r-f*), received, and swallowed them; they are drowned in the nether world'.² A closer parallel is contained in Lacau, *Textes Relig. Rec.* 30, p. 68 (also in the Book of the Dead) of the nether world: 'The earth hath opened her mouth (*wn t: r-f*); Geb (the Earth god) hath flung open his jaws'.

¹ Cf. above, p. 143 f. and 144, n. 2 on the conception that a corporeal son is the image of his father. It is in this sense that Gen. 5, 3 is to be understood.

² I regard 'k' as wrongly written for 'h' 'to go in, to enter', used here as causative in the sense of 'introduce' (*Ag. WB.*, i, 231). At the beginning of x, 1, *mw dy-f*, not *mdyw-f* should be read, taking *mw* as complementary of 'm' (cf. such mode of writing, *Ag. WB.*, i, 183), *dy-f* belongs together with *hrp* and refers to *iwdn*. Thus the whole reads: 'He brought them in, swallowed them, and caused them to sink in the nether world'. It is a picture of the voracious one that opens his mouth, introduces the food greedily and hastily into his mouth in order to swallow it as quickly as possible. That in *Amenemope* very old material is employed has already been noted above, p. 271, n. 2.

The same expression also occurs in Num. 16, 30, though in 16, 32 *מַתַּחַת* is used. In this passage the agreement with *Amenemope* is still more literal and is the more significant inasmuch as also here through the 'mouth of the earth' *Ḳōrah* and his followers were drawn into the abyss. It is very remarkable that all the other passages, not merely those in the Pentateuch Num. 26, 10. Deut. 11, 6, but also Ps. 106, 17 refer exclusively to the *Ḳōrah* story.¹

3. Euphemistic use of *ידע*.

The euphemism *ידע אשה*, 'to know a woman' (sexually) Gen. 4, 1. 17, 25, 24, 16. 38, 26 and (of men) Gen. 19, 5² was also current in Egyptian, the verb used being *rh* = *ידע* 'know, recognize', e.g. *Maximes d'Ani*, 2, 11. Guard thyself against a harlot 'to know her in body (*rh-sw m h'w*)'. Lacau, *Textes Relig. Rec.* 26, 68 B: 'His wife whom he loves and whom he knows (*rh.tn-f*)'; similarly it is said of men, Pap. d'Orb. 3, 6: 'Seth desired to know him (*rh-f*) as one knows a young man (*m rh 'dd*)'. All of men among themselves, Pap. Kahun, *Horus and Seth*, 2, 4, where Horus says that Seth desired 'to know' him (*rh m'-y*).³ The same euphemism is contained in the name applied to the town (*pr rh n s.t*) 'House of the knowing of Isis (by Osiris)' *Dendera Mar. Dend.* iii, 79. i, 16 b.

Although the Egyptian and Hebrew completely coincide in the use of this euphemism in all cases, it might equally well be adopted from the Akkadian, for also the Akkadian *idū* = *ידע* was customarily used for sexual knowledge, thus *Ḥammurabi* § 130, of the woman 'who knows no man' (*ša zikāram la iduūma*), which completely coincides with *ידעה זכר*. But it should, however, be noted that in Akkadian for this euphemism the use of *lamādu* = *למד* seems to have been more frequent and general than *idū* = *ידע* in Hebrew, cf. *Ḥammurabi*, § 154 which speaks of a man who 'knew his daughter' (*mārat-zu iltamad*) and §§ 155, 156 of the 'knowing (*lamādu*) of the woman'.⁴

¹ In Is. 5, 14 the reference is to the 'mouth' of the nether world (Ps. 141, 7), not the earth in Is. 45, 8, the earth opens its furrows, not its mouth, which is merely the way to annihilation.

² In addition to the passages cited, it occurs in Num. 31, 17 f.; Judges 11, 39. 19, 21, 11 f.; 1 Sam. 1, 19, and 1 Kings 1, 4.

³ Probably with the intention of defaming him by the outrage, as occurs in the fight of the Babylonian gods in the violation of *Mummu* by *Ea*. Cf. Meissner, *Babyl. u. Assyriol.* p. 105, and the differing view of Ebeling, *AOT.*², p. 110, 65.

⁴ Cf. Bezold, *Glossar*, pp. 17 and 159; Muss-Arnolt, *WB.*, p. 486 a. For *lamādu*, cf. Ungnad, *Babyl. Briefe, Vorderasiat. Gesell.*, vol. 6, letter no. 90, 9 ff. from *Ḥammurabi* time; further Delitzsch, *Sum. Glossar.*, p. 226. The last references I owe to Prof. A. Götz who, however, could find no later examples for the use of either, not even in Bezold's collections for the great Assyro-Babylonian Dictionary in preparation.

Now it is very remarkable (1) that *idū*, so far as I can see, only occurs in the passage mentioned and only in conjunction with *zikāru* = *זכר*; and (2) that the use of *idū zikāram* is only to be exemplified from the time of *Ḥammurabi*. The conclusion would, therefore, seem to be justified that *idū* was later replaced by *lamādu* and fell out of use. As there are examples of the use of this euphemistic phrase also in Sumerian, it must belong to the more archaic linguistic stock, and therefore, either to the old Akkadian, or to the phrases and expressions, which, in *Ḥammurabi* and in old Babylonian, go back to the Sumerian. In any case the fact is of importance that the employment of *idū* belongs to an older period of the Akkadian, and likewise that similarly in Hebrew it is restricted to the Pentateuch and the older Biblical writings (Judges, 1 Sam., and 1 Kings). All these factors support the view that in Hebrew also *ידע אשה* and *ידע זכר* belong to the oldest period, irrespective of whether the phrase ultimately goes back to Akkadian or to Egyptian.¹

C. EXPRESSIONS ORIGINATING IN EGYPTIAN MYTHS.

In the Genesis stories there are a few passages in which expressions are remarkably reminiscent of Egyptian expressions from myths of analogous content. On closer examination they convey the impression that they are remnants of stories originally composed in Hebrew and inspired by Egyptian mythology; stories of which the main elements have been either deliberately eliminated or accidentally lost. The most characteristic of these remains are the following examples:

1. The 'Children of the Gods' *בְּנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים* and the *נְפִלִים* the Mighty men of primeval Times.

Gen. 6, 1-14 reference is made to the union of the 'children of the gods' *בְּנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים* with the daughters of man, and in conjunction therewith the *נְפִלִים*, the mighty men of primeval times *אֲשֶׁר מֵעוֹלָם*, are mentioned. Here the text is obviously not in order; it seems to be a fragmentary story, mutilated, or purposely abbreviated. In any case it is difficult to follow the course of the narrative and still harder to establish a connexion between the 'children of the gods' and the 'mighty men of primeval times'. There are, however, some expressions here so typically Egyptian

¹ Elsewhere we shall have more to say on similar expressions and phrases which occur both in Egyptian and in Akkadian.

kings to succession to the throne of Horus, upon whom sovereignty over the whole earth was bestowed by the Earth-god Geb, and all the other gods (Erman, *Relig.* 41). For our purpose, however, it is of essential importance that it is stated (Gen. 6, 4) of 'the children of the gods' that they 'engendered numerous children in this land (i.e. earth)', even after men had already been created.¹ Like man, 'the children of the gods' also formed families (*h.w*) or generations (*msw.t* = תולדות cf. above, p. 274), and it was these generations of the gods which, in the long primeval period, exercised rule over the whole earth and mankind. The characteristic feature of 'the children of the gods' is, therefore, that side by side with men, and simultaneously, they lived, engendered, and fought for their hegemony on earth. To this class of demi-gods belonged also the בְּנֵי־הָאֱלֹהִים, who intermingled with the daughters of men.

As to הגבורים אשר מעולם 'the mighty men of primeval times' it is bearing in mind the fierce struggles at the very beginning of the dominion of 'the children of the gods' on earth and their mighty feats, notably those of Horus against Seth, as told in several, though fragmentary, myths in various versions, that one can understand the connexion in our story also between בְּנֵי־הָאֱלֹהִים 'the children of the gods' and הגבורים אשר מעולם 'the mighty men of primeval times'. In this allusion we have only remains of the original story in which such struggles were recounted in far greater detail. These mighty men also belonged to the circle of 'the children of the gods' with the difference that they are called נַפְלִים, it being expressly stated that they were on earth at the time when the intercourse of the בְּנֵי־הָאֱלֹהִים with the daughters of men was going on and also beyond that time. The text, as we have it, leaves no doubt on this point, for it states literally: 'The נַפְלִים were on earth in those days and also after that the בְּנֵי־הָאֱלֹהִים 'the children of the gods, came unto the daughters of men and they bare children unto them'; and it proceeds: 'these (namely the נַפְלִים) are the mighty men that were of primeval time, the men of renown'.

¹ In the Apophis Book, 27, 5 (= *Urk.*, Roed. 108 f.) it is said after the birth of the four children of Geb and Nut: 'Their children are numerous in this land' (*ms.w-sn 't-sn m pn*). In the same book, 29, 5 f. (= *Urk.* 111), probably emanating from another source, is said, in somewhat altered form: 'Their children created numerous creatures (*hpr.w*) in this land (*m t; pn*), creatures of children (*m hpr.w n.w ms.w*) and creatures of these children (*ms.w-sn*), i.e. children and grandchildren, cf. also *Apoph.* 26, 24. In all these myths the propagation of the 'children of the gods' is represented as proceeding on the same natural lines as among human beings. In *Apoph.* 27, 3 f. (= Roed. 108) it is even expressly stated of the children of Nut, that they were born after man had been in existence.

² The passage as it stands is quite correct, and it is precisely by erasing וְגַם אַחֲרָיוֹן that the later gloss, as some critics do, that the text is brought out of its correct grammatical construction.

The author is concerned to emphasize the fact that the נַפְלִים were already on earth at the time of these episodes, and that even after the propagation of the בְּנֵי־הָאֱלֹהִים they still remained on earth בְּאֶרֶץ, and this is stated in wording similar to that we have quoted from the Egyptian myth.¹ The נַפְלִים are thus neither identical with the בְּנֵי־הָאֱלֹהִים, nor can they, as has been suggested, have proceeded from the union with the daughters of men.

2. The Meaning of נַפְלִים.

The whole nature of the narrative and the characterization of the נַפְלִים as the 'mighty men of primeval times' convey the impression that the נַפְלִים were conceived as a distinct class of daring warriors and mighty fighters who, by fabulous feats of arms, became the embodiment and model of heroism. The close relationship of our passage with the Egyptian in language and matter leads to the assumption that in נַפְלִים we may have an imitation of an Egyptian word, derived from a root with meaning 'to fall' similar to that of נָפַל. As a matter of fact *hrw* or *hrwy* (Er.-Gr. 131) is a regular expression for conquered foes and rebels, especially of high rank. This is formed from *hr* 'to fall', and *hrw* which means 'the fallen one' is applied to the enemy fallen in battle, and extended generally to foe and rebel. It thus becomes evident that נַפְלִים, derived from נָפַל 'to fall', means the 'fallen one', and is a literal reproduction of *hrw* 'the fallen one'. The *hrw* are the enemies of the gods who, like Seth and his companions, filled the whole primeval world with fear and terror; they are the rebels who waged mighty battles against the great gods until they were repelled and annihilated. While, however, the Egyptians attached a feeling of hatred and abhorrence to the 'fallen', and *hrw* became a term for the odious adversary, for the Hebrews, נַפְלִים lost its original meaning: it did not refer any longer to the hated rebels, accursed foes of the gods, but rather to the mythical figures of terror and heroism, to the mighty fighters that in primeval times battled for world dominion, and gained for themselves everlasting renown, becoming אנשי השם 'men of name', everlasting. They were conceived as giants of monstrous strength and enormous size, of whom fabulous stories of terrifying deeds were told. Thus נַפְלִים became an expression for heroes and giants, and was subsequently applied to men of unusual stature and awesome

¹ Note the expression בְּאֶרֶץ 'in the land' here, and in the above cited myth *t; pn* 'this land'. It is indicative of the close relationship of Hebrew and Egyptian in linguistic usage that *t; pn* 'land' is employed just like אֶרֶץ for the whole earth. Whereas, however, the Egyptian said *t; pn* 'this land' because he regarded his land as the whole earth, the Hebrew spoke in general terms בְּאֶרֶץ or אֶרֶץ. Cf. above, p. 84.

And not only from the point of view of such general considerations, but even from the purely linguistic standpoint the question arises: in what other surroundings, and in what other time could Egyptian elements have penetrated into the Genesis stories and patriarchal narratives in such abundance? From what other environment and what other time is it possible to explain such an intimate and close familiarity of the author, not merely with the Egyptian language, but also with the literary background of the Egyptian myths and tales which, as we have seen, exercised such a decisive influence on the composition of the Genesis stories, and to a certain extent also of the patriarchal narratives? Finally when and where else could the author have obtained such a thorough insight also into the tendencies of the various Egyptian theological schools, that it was of determining, if not of fundamental importance, in his treatment of the mythical material akin to the Genesis stories? Can all this have been an epoch when the Hebrews were not so thoroughly familiar with the Egyptian language and so completely saturated by the Egyptian mode of thought? Only here, indeed, could the long process of remoulding the Genesis stories and patriarchal narratives have taken place before they received the definite stamp of an Egyptian orientation; only here were all the conditions present for a progressive development of the Canaanite dialect retained by the Hebrews in Egypt, into separate independent Hebrew idiom, whereby the way was paved for the literary fixation of the Genesis stories and patriarchal narratives so that, once having attained their full maturity, they emerged as a new and splendid creation of the Hebrew genius in the Hebrew language.

Moreover, from the character of the name-interpretations fully discussed above, it became perfectly clear that this literary fashion in Hebrew can only have arisen in the Egyptian epoch of Israel, because it was only for that epoch that appreciation of and understanding of this *typically Egyptian* mode of playing on words can be presumed. The circumstance further that such interpretations are already applied to the names of the earliest ancestors of mankind beginning with Adam and Eve, and then pervade the whole patriarchal history, reveals the further relationship with the Egyptian, in so far as similar name-interpretations and puns are applied to the first gods, and are just as typical for the stories of the gods in primeval times as in the narratives of the ancestors of Israel. It cannot be sufficiently emphasized that this fashion of punning name-interpretation belongs to the earliest period of Egyptian sacred literature, and is of more frequent occurrence in the Pyramid texts than in those of any later period. In later texts, even so late as of the Ptolemaic period, almost all such puns are not new creations, but hark back directly to the earliest mythological writings.

Even in fanciful tales and folk-lore, as e.g. in the story of the birth of the three kings (cf. above, p. 242), such name-interpretations relate to figures from the earliest period of Egyptian history, just as in the history of Israel they chiefly occur in the narratives of the earliest period. This parallel phenomenon may provide a further important element for determining the date of composition of the Genesis stories and patriarchal narratives.

2. Significance of Sumero-Akkadian Reminiscences.¹

If, through the penetration of Egyptian influence, we are able to assign an approximate date to the literary fixation of the Genesis stories and patriarchal narratives at one end, other indications of a linguistic nature may be derived from the Babylonian reminiscences which render possible the delimitation of a date at the other end. For there are words and forms of names which carry us back to that early time when a portion of the Genesis stories in their original Babylonian framework became known to the ancestors of the Hebrews before they had left their Mesopotamian home, and which, despite all later developments in language and modification in the contents of these stories, yet survived from that early period and were preserved in their original signification and form.

By a close study of Sumerian and of old Akkadian, which under Hammurabi superseded the use of the Sumerian language,² it becomes clear that in the Genesis stories, and notably those of Abraham, some place and personal names are not only of genuine Akkadian, but even of earlier Sumerian origin. Thus e.g. in Gen. 11, 21 ff. שָׂרֵי is the Akkadian name *sarugi*, and נָחוֹר is the Akkadian *nahiri* or *nahirau* and תְּרַח occurs as the first component in some Akkadian personal names such as *tarhu-nazi* and *tarhu-undaraba*, name of a king of the Hittite land *Arzawa*. Even the name of the first patriarch, in its original form אַבְרָם, is considered to be identical with the Akkadian name *Abarama*. On the other hand לָמְךָ Gen. 4, 18 ff. 5, 25 ff. is the Sumerian name *limga*, cognomen of Ea the god of heaven, as patron of song and music. This is very significant as this agrees with the fact that לָמְךָ was father of יִבְלָה described as 'the father of all such as handle the harp and organ' (cf. Langdon, *Sum. Epic of Paradise*, etc., p. 52). Of special importance is the Sumerian origin of אֵיךְ, Gen. 11,

¹ See introduction, p. xxiv, n. 1, on the conventional use of *Akkadian* as a linguistic term.

² Although Akkadian of a thoroughly Semitic character had already asserted itself in Assyria under the rule of Sargon I, about the twenty-sixth century B.C., Sumerian still remained in use in Babylonia until it was abandoned under Hammurabi about the twentieth century B.C. From then onward Sumerian was forced by Akkadian more and more into the background, until it became entirely forgotten.

28, 31. 15, 7 = *uru* 'city', which became the name of the capital of Southern Babylonia,¹ and of the name חָרָן , Gen. 11, 32, etc. = Akkad. *harranu* from the Sumerian *garan* 'path, street'.² All these and other similar names can by no manner of means be explained as having arisen or been invented later in Canaan, but must have originated in the Babylonian home of the patriarchs, just as this must have been the case with many words of Akkadian origin as e.g. חָדָד , Gen. 1, 2; סָפֵר , 5, 1; נָפֵר and נָפֵר , 6, 1; לִבְנָה , 11, 3; בְּרִוֹל , 4, 22 or סָאֵר (cf. above, pp. 113 f., 118, and 226), some of which must ultimately be derived from the Sumerian.³ It is from the Akkadian that these words must have been incorporated by the first patriarchs in the Chaldaeo-Aramaic dialect spoken by them in Mesopotamia, and it is only thence that they can have passed to the new dialect adopted in Canaan. We thus have in all these cases elements which go back to the time when the patriarchs were still in their original home in living contact with the peoples of Babylonia.

3. The Forms of the Names חָדָד and בְּשָׂרִים .

Of very decisive significance and importance for our conclusions are חָדָד Gen. 2, 14, and בְּשָׂרִים , Gen. 11, 28, 31, because in Akkadian itself they were only in use *in these forms* down to a definite period, and afterwards assumed a different form in consequence of sound mutations.

As far as חָדָד is concerned, the first syllable ח can only be explained from the ancient, or at any rate early, Akkadian form *idīklat*.⁴ It is only much later that we meet with the shortened form *dīklat* (in Assyrian) or *diglat* (in Babylonian), a form which in Aramaic and post-Biblical Hebrew is represented by *diglat* (דִּגְלַת) and in Arabic by *digla* (دجلة).⁵

¹ Cf. Delitzsch, *Sum. Gloss.*, p. 50, *uru* (also *ur* abbreviated like אֲרִי) 'locality, town' = Akkadian *alu*; cf. also *uru-gal* 'the great town' as designation for the nether world.

² It is certainly not without significance that Haran is mentioned as the place of migration of the first patriarchs from Ur, for after the destruction of Ur it became the general centre of the moon cult, and probably on that account was selected by *Tērah* as his new abode. The Moon god, Sin, there bore the title 'Lord of Harān' (*bēl-harrān*); in the much later inscription of Sendjirli, it recurs in the Aramaic form בעל חרן . Cf. Jirku loc. cit. and Meissner, *Babyl. and Assy.*, ii, p. 19.

³ Cf. Jirku, *Alt. Kom. z. AT.*, p. 53, and S. Landersdorfer, *Sumer. Sprachgut im AT.* especially pp. 19, 27, 25, 30, 24. Both quote also other names and words of Akkadian or Sumerian origin, into which, however, we cannot here enter.

⁴ This form is clearly transmitted by the syllabic writing in the Sumero-Akkadian *Vocabulary*. Cf. also Landersdorfer, *Sum. Sprachgut*, p. 30f. and *Sum. Parallelen z. Bib. Urgesch.*, p. 64, Vat. 9397, recto 14, where, in the Akkadian interlinear translation, *i-di-it* is written phonetically, just as also in the somewhat mutilated l. 6. Although the copy of this piece is not dated, it must be very old, possibly emanating from the pre-Amarna period.

⁵ Likewise the Assyrian form *dīklat* still survives in the Syriac ܕܝܟܠܬ , which doubtless

From this it will be perceived that חָדָד coincides not with the later, but the earlier Akkadian form, and it is, therefore, obvious that it can only go back to a time when the old form was still current in Akkadian itself. True, it is difficult to determine the exact point of time when the form *idīklat* was abandoned and replaced by the shorter form *dīklat*, because it is almost always written ideographically, not phonetically, and the only passages in which it appears phonetically occur in syllabaries which it is difficult to date. But one thing is certain and that is that *idīklat* is the oldest form, and that it goes back to the Sumerian *id. idigna*, the first element of which, *id*, means 'river, stream'.¹ This alone proves that *id* in *idīklat* was original and essential, because this syllable means 'stream', and it could only have been dropped later, at a time when in Akkadian the feeling for the meaning 'stream' in *id* had become lost. Seeing that Sumerian, as we have observed, had already fallen out of use by the time of Hammurabi in the twentieth century B.C., and probably shortly after ceased altogether to exist as a living language, the abbreviation of *idīklat* to *dīklat* must have already been carried out by the nineteenth or eighteenth century B.C., in any case more than 1000 years before the Babylonian exile (585 B.C.). In such circumstances the form חָדָד cannot possibly have been adopted by the Hebrews as late as at the time of the exile, because in Babylonia itself it had passed into desuetude many centuries before. As for such an adoption no other period in Israel's history than that of the first patriarchs can come under consideration, it may be taken for granted that חָדָד can only be a reminiscence from the time of the patriarchs,

The case is still clear in the form בְּשָׂרִים for the Chaldeans, Gen. 11, 31, where כֶּשֶׂר occurs for the later כְּלָר which arose in consequence of the transmutation of *sd* into *ld*. As the transmutation of *s* into *l* before

goes back to the time when the Aramaeans pronounced it with *k*. For the history of word borrowings it is of interest to observe that whereas the form *dīklat* or *diglat* reached the Aramaeans, Syrians, Jews, and Arabs through living intercourse with the peoples of Mesopotamia, it came to the Greeks through the Persians in the corrupt form *tigra*, and was Hellenized as *Tigris*. Small as they appear, such clues serve as real searchlights for the discovery of cultural migrations *ab origine*.

¹ There can be little doubt that the Sumerians were conscious that in the first element *id*, the meaning 'river' was present. They used it as component in the same way as in e.g. *id-gal* 'great river' and other similar words, cf. Delitzsch, *Sum. Gloss.*, p. 21. Whether this is also the original meaning of *idigna*, or whether we have in *igina* the element of a pre-Sumerian name is a question which cannot be discussed. For us it is only of importance that the Sumerians regarded *id* as river. Perhaps *igina* or *igna* was the real name of the river, before which *id* was placed, so as more clearly to denote it as a river, thus 'River Igna' like 'River Perat' for the Euphrates. The interpretation proposed by Delitzsch, loc. cit. *idi-gin* 'flowing river' is highly improbable.

dentals in Assyro-Babylonian took place between the twentieth century B.C. when Sumerian yielded to Akkadian, and the fifteenth century B.C., during the reign of Aššur-Uballiṭ, it may be regarded as certain that the form had passed out of use by the fifteenth century B.C.¹ We have thus in the time of Aššur-Uballiṭ the *terminus ad quem*, after which the adoption of the form כְּשָׁרִים in the narrative of the patriarchs is hardly thinkable, and this leads us back directly to the time of the migration of Abraham from כְּשָׁרִים 'City of the Chasdeans' as the Chaldeans were called when כְּשָׁר was still in current usage.²

The two forms חֲדָקִל and כְּשָׁרִים bear a clear indication of the time when they were introduced into Hebrew. They furnish us with positive evidence that the patriarchal narratives follow an ancient tradition emanating from the pre-Egyptian epoch in Israel, and can be regarded as distinctive marks that this was the time when the patriarchal narratives began to take shape until they were written down in the form in which they have come down to us.³

4. Canaanite Reminiscences as Indications of a pre-Egyptian Tradition.

Besides the evidence adduced from the Akkadian, we may draw attention to another class of words which equally come under consideration as time-determining signposts for a pre-Egyptian tradition of the patriarchal

¹ Cf. J. Lewy, *Das Verbum in den alt-assyrischen Gesetzen*, Berlin, Diss. 1921, p. 17. According to him this transmutation had already been carried out under Aššur-Uballiṭ and by the Amarna period, fifteenth century B.C., the *s* before dentals had already disappeared, both in Babylonian and in Assyrian, as well as in the Mitanni language. Besides the examples quoted by Lewy for the transmutation of *s* into *l*, cf. inter alia *lišu* from *išdu*, *altammu* from *aštammu*, *eltānu* from *eštānu*, *maltu* from *maštu*, and *maltitu* from *maštītu*. Bezold, *Glossar.*, pp. 73, 77, 79, and 288.

² *uru* or *ur* = אִּוּר must have been the name of the capital very early under Sumerian rule. אִּוּר כְּשָׁרִים 'town of the Chaldeans' is either to be explained from a period of temporary rule by the Chaldeans in Ur, or it was assigned to the quarter of the Chaldeans within the Sumerian capital, which was simply called Ur. In any case this designation must be based on reasons which were still known at the time of the patriarchs, and on which, perhaps future excavations may throw some light, as on many other long obscure Biblical data.

³ The very fact that the Books of Ezekiel and Daniel were composed in Babylon at a time when the two forms חֲדָקִל and כְּשָׁרִים had long since been forgotten in Babylon itself, makes their appearance in these books incomprehensible; it can only be explained that they remained in use in Hebrew in their archaic forms transmitted from ancient times. They remained so deeply rooted in Hebrew that even in later ages down to the present time, the same form חֲדָקִל is used for the Tigris, despite the fact that the later form חֲדָקִל was already current in Palestine in Josephus' time (*Ant.*, i, 1, 3 Διγλάθ) and elsewhere (*Plin. Hist. Nat.* 6, 27, Diglito), and appears also in Talmudical literature. Cf. Levy, *Neuh. WB.*, and Kohut, *Aruch Compl.*, s.v.

narratives. As in the Joseph and Exodus stories (cf. above, p. 99), so also in the patriarchal narratives words are to be found which appear in the Egyptian documents of the New Kingdom and earlier as foreign Canaanite words. On that account they are of great significance because they were taken over by the Egyptians at a time when they stood in immediate contact with the inhabitants of Canaan, and consequently have in Egyptian the form and meaning which they had before and about the time of the Exodus. The striking feature in these words is that one of them occurs only here, and that two others which are to be found elsewhere only sporadically in the oldest historical texts of the Bible, are used in the meaning which they had in the Egyptian, but not in that which they bear in other later Biblical writings. The fact that here they are used with the very same meaning as in Egyptian can only be explained on the assumption that they have retained the old Canaanite meaning which they had when they reached the Egyptians before and at the time of the great conquerors of the New Kingdom, i.e. the time before the Exodus. These words are (a) חֲנִיכִים, (b) נְעָרִים, and (c) בְּרִכָּה.

(a) חֲנִיכִים occurs only in Gen. 14, 14 for the men that accompanied Abraham on his campaign against the kings. There it has distinctly a specific meaning referring to a class of persons who were particularly suitable to participate in the campaign. Now in some Egyptian texts of the New Kingdom relating to campaigns in Palestine and Syria, the word *hnk*—חֲנִיכִים, plur. *hnk.w* appears as a Canaanite loanword in the sense of 'confederate, supporter, ally', and remarkably enough it refers only to princes and chieftains. It is very frequently employed in a maledictory formula launched against the Canaanite and Syrian enemies of the Egyptians, in which invariably it follows the name of the leading princes. From the many examples cited by Sethe in *Ächtung feindlicher Fürsten, Abhh. d. Berl. Akad. Nr.*, 5, 1926, we select the following: p. 45 ff. the curse is pronounced against the 'ruler *'m* (? עָרַם) of *iy'nk* (? יַעֲנֹק) and all the allies (*hnk.w*—חֲנִיכִים) that are with him'; p. 46 against '*km* (? עֲכָאָם), 'ruler of *iy'nk* and all the allies (*hnk.w*) that are with him' and against '*iy'bm* (? יַעֲבָם) or (? יַרְבָּעָם) and *kwšr* (? כּוּשָׁר) the rulers of *šwtw* (? שְׁוֹתוּ) and all the allies (*hnk.w*) that are with them'; p. 47, against *tbmšw* (? סְבָלֶן, or סְבָלֶן, or סְבָלֶן?), 'ruler of *šwtw* and all the allies (*hnk.w*) that are with him', etc.

It is this meaning of allies, followers, supporters, which is to be assigned to חֲנִיכִים: It refers to Abraham's allies 'Aner, Eškol, and Mamrē, who, in v. 13 are expressly mentioned as being covenanted with him and in v. 24 as having gone with him on his campaign.¹

¹ That יְלִידֵי בֵיתוֹ, v. 14 'those born of his house' is not identical with חֲנִיכִים has often

assuming different authors and various periods of composition, but only by the thematic character of the Pentateuchal sections concerned, and the Egyptian background to which they are akin. Thus in narratives of popular content, like the Joseph and Exodus stories, current speech and common conversational terms are reflected, so much so, that some Egyptian borrowings are not reproduced in the old classical form, but in the neo-Egyptian or vernacular form;¹ in the Genesis stories, however, in which views and thoughts concerning higher problems like the creation, the destiny of mankind, the moral basis of a world-order are set forth, we behold more the speculative and scholarly character in style, speech, and composition, to such an extent that from certain expressions cast in an Egyptian mould (cf. above, p. 153 f.) even the attitude taken by the author to divergent Egyptian theological schools is visible.

If such conclusions in themselves are of significance for an appreciation of the language and the literary form of the two Pentateuchal sections dealt with in this volume, they will prove to be of still greater importance and significance for the solution of problems affecting the composition of the Pentateuch, as will be shown in the course of later investigations on much broader lines in the light of new illustrative material.

¹ This will be illustrated elsewhere by many examples from other portions of the Pentateuch. Attention may here be drawn merely to אִרְוֹ which does not reveal the classical form *irw*, but the neo-Egyptian form *irw*, as survives in the doubtless pronunciation in Coptic εἰρω (cf. above, p. 185 and p. 50, n. 1). Moreover אִרְוֹ is neo-Egyptian *itn*, *iwtn*, and is closest to the Coptic form εἰτην (above, p. 98)

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45 8 278x	36 35 160	77 15 81x	36 27 158x
45 18 111	38 22 213	77 18 60x	37 6 213
47 8 158	39 9 (Targum) 227x	77 19 60x	38 8 187x
51 3 158 160		78 12 81x	38 25 60x
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NOTE.—Readers who would consult the English Bible are reminded that in some parts the division of chapters and verses differs from the Hebrew. In some English Bibles the divergences are indicated on the margin. Special attention should be paid to references from Exod. 7 and 8 as in the English Bible chap. 8 begins with 7. 26 of the Hebrew.

2. INDEX OF HEBREW WORDS.

B. refers to the index of titles and functions; C. to phrases; D. to proper names; E. to proper names with play of words; * indicates the Egyptian origin of the word; *^A the Akkadian origin. For these loanwords, cf. the special indexes of Akkadian words, p. 309 f. and of Egyptian words in the hieroglyphic Appendix, p. 14*.

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יָפֶת 268x	מִשָּׁה* 8x 100 132 243x	פָּרָץ-עֵוָה 251
יִצְחָק 231f. 239	252x 258ff, 258x	צוּעַר 41x 232
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מוֹאָב 266 268	נַחֲל־אֶשְׁכּוֹל 250	שָׁם (?) 266ff.
מַחְנֵימ 232	עֶמְק־פְּרָכָה 251x	שָׁמוּאֵל 240x
מַחְנֵה-דָן 251	עֶמְק־עֵבוֹר 251	שָׁמְעוֹן 231
מְנַשֶּׁה 231	פְּלָג 231	שָׁח 231
מִסָּה 232		

3. INDEX OF ARAMAIC WORDS.

אֲלָפָא* ^A 114	חִיְתָא 55x
אֲחֹנ 227	מְצָרָא 25f.
אֲדָלַח, דְּגַלַח* ^A 288	מְתָא 108
אֲתָרָא 108	נְהַרְיָן 184x
גְּרָמָא 70	צַפְרָא 137
חִיּוּיָא 138x	שְׁנַיְר הַפּוּרָא* ^A 227x

4. INDEX OF ARABIC WORDS AND PROPER NAMES.

باب عالی 45x	روضة 159x	قرقور* ^A 114x
بحر 186x	سم 117x	قعر 115x
تیه 135x	شمخ 128x	قفه* ^A 264x
حلاق 97x	صحراء 109	نفس 70x
حنش 201x	عمفور 108 137	واح* 159x
حیة 138x	عرق النساء 245x	
ذات 70x	الرجل بعينه, عين 70x	Proper names
راس العين 168x	البيت بعينه 70x	بیر السبع 266x
راس النهر 168x	غوطة 159x	بيسان 266x
راس الوادی 168x	لسب 8x	دجلة* ^A 288
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نسبة 266x	„ samra	bhār 186x	el-mālīh 186x
	„ kahle	u nafīr* bhār	nahs 175x
Vernacular Arabic.	„ bēda	186x	miqyās 226x
'ihs, hsy 175x	„ šafra	al-gibāl 182x	wafā en-Nīl 226x

5. INDEX OF AKKADIAN WORDS AND PROPER NAMES.

Only such Akkadian words are registered here, as are akin to Hebrew and Arabic or are loanwords in either of them.

agannu אָגָנוּ 92x	kakkabī כּוֹכַב 106
ūru אֹר 108	kunnu < כּוֹן 111
itāti אִתּוֹח 106	kupru כּוּפְר 206 229
akālu אֶכַל 114	kīru כִּירָה 227x
ilu אֵל 44	labānu libittu, pl. libnāti
elippu אֶלְפָא 114	לְבוֹן לְבָנִים 227
ummānu אֲמָן, אֲמָן 118	līlātu לִילָה 108
mūšu אֲמוֹש 108	lamādu לָמוֹד, cf. idū 278
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epēšu, ebēšu אֶפֶשׁ 111 228	nambā'u מַבְוֵעַ 115
iršitu אֶרְצִי 106 108	matī מְתָא 108
atūnu אֲתוֹן 227x	meṭru, miṭru מְטָר 114
ašru אֲשָרָא 108	maliku מַלְכָּה 35
budulhu בְּדֻלְח 117	maššalu, tamšīlu < מוֹשַׁל 112
parzillu פְּרִזֵּל 118	nāru נְהָר 107
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dāru דוֹר 115	nammaššū נְמוֹשָׁה (?), רְמוֹשׁ 109x 109
dišū דִּישָׁא 106	napištu נַפִּישׁ 109x
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immu יוֹם 108	kaḫkadu קְדָקַד 110
ašū יָצָא 106	karūru קַעַר (?) 115x
urkītu יָרַק 106	kuppu קַפַּה 264x

a.

7,23: Ppr. 1323b^p — 8,18: Urk. IV. 269

8,30: Ppr. 2065aⁿ 4 ↓ ⊂

10,13: Ppr. 1220a^p — 10,17

Ka-Gemmi 2, 8-9

12, 5: Ppr. 412a^w — J: Harris 79, 11f.

13, 2: Pap. Sall. iii. 3, 1

13, 20: d'Orb. 12, 2f.

16, 36: d'Orb. 9, 8

18, 6: Urk. IV. 34

18, 30: Annal. Theban. iii, l. 94 = Urk. IV. 662

...

20,20: Champ. Not. i. 481 — 21,1: Uk. IV. 1072

22,31: Spiegelberg, Rechtswesen 101 A. 23

30,7: Uk. IV. 38 — 30,11: ib. 3

32,10: *

33,36: *

34,9-10: Gauthier, le livre des rois II. 58 and

— 34,15: Davies Amarna i. 38

36,15: Pap. Anast. II. 2,8

36,19: Pap. Abbott 7,8

36,26: d'Orb. 19,4

38,26: Pap. Anast. III. 1,10

— 39,10: L.D. III. 126a

40,1: α^7 1879, 29

42,22: Uk. IV. 58,6 — 42,23: ib. 4053

— 43,2: Harris 75, 10

43,32: Sin. B, 47 — 43,39:

L.D. III. 128a

47,1: Anast. V. 12,6-13,1

— 47,25: Eilat of Karemhet, l. 27

47,27: d'Orb. 11,4

47,26: ib. 10,8

51,23: Sin. B, 31f. — 51,25: Wen-Amun

2,77 — 52,18: ib. 1, x+16


52,35: Admon. 15,14 — 52,36: Atonhymnus 21 =


Davies, Amarna VI pl. 27,9 (scil.) —

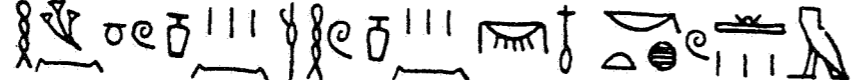
— 53,13: Bauer Bi, 81

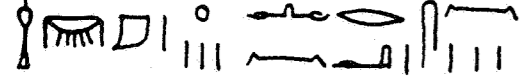
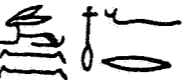
53,21: Uk. III. 141

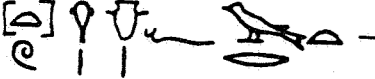
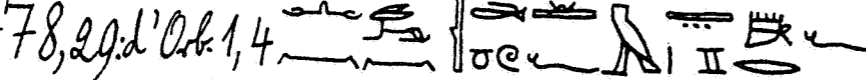
55,32: Rec. 2, 109

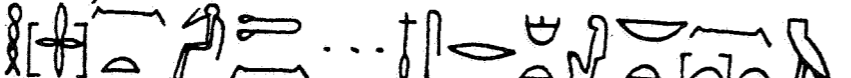
77,15: Dümm. Hist. Inschr. i. 31 


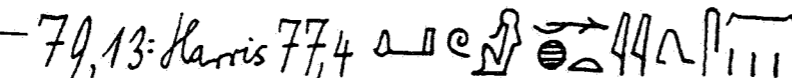



78,2: Harris 4,7 

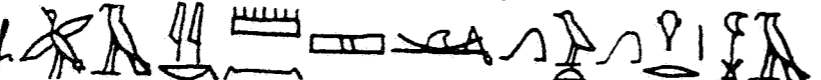
 — 78,19: Ptahhotep 7 [132] 

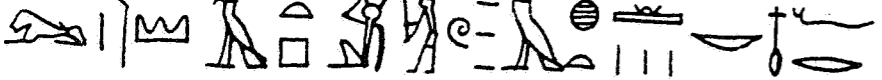

 — 78,20: d'Orb. 1,4 


78,33: Urk. IV. 219 

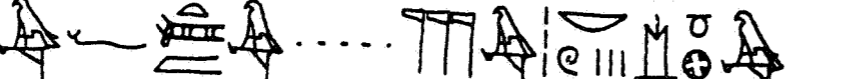
 — 79,13: Harris 77,4 




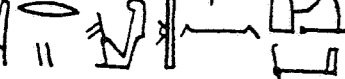
79,35: Anast. IV. 3, 10 

 — 80,2: Sin B, 79 f. 



80,21: Harris 25, 2 


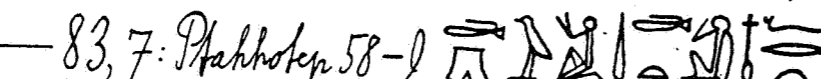
80,26: Rec. 13 pl. 2, 18 

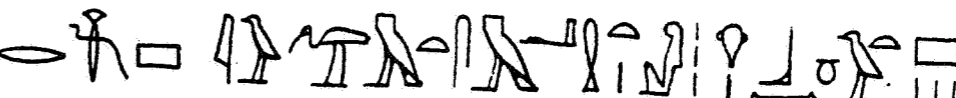



81,4: *ibid.*, 1  — 81,17: Mar. 

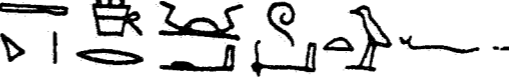

Karn. pl. 11, 2 f. 

82,22: Admon. 2, 2  — 82,23: *ibid.* 2, 6 

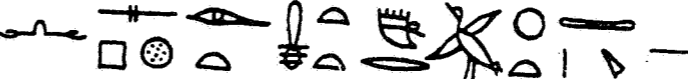
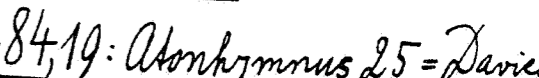
 — 83,7: Ptahhotep 58-1 





84,4: Urk. IV. 162 

 — 84,7: Urk. IV. 141 


 — 84,12: Urk. IV. 312 

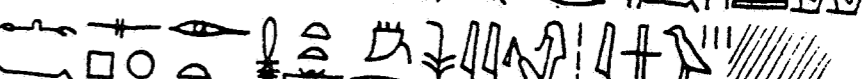
 — 84,19: Atonhymnus 25 = Davies 


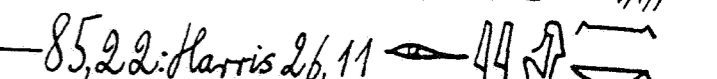
Amarna VI pl. 27, 13  




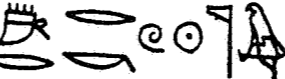
85,8: Harris 78, 7 f. 




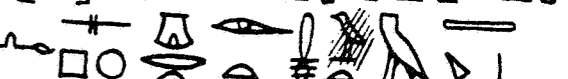
85,11: Kubbän-Stele, 2 

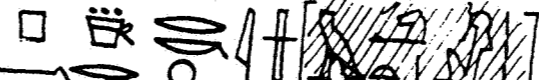
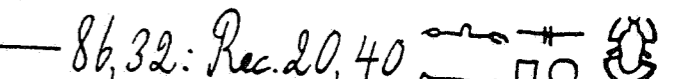
 — 85,22: Harris 26, 11 





86,8: Admon. 1, 7 

 — 86,27: Urk. IV. 174 

 — 86,32: Rec. 20, 40 

𓆎𓆏𓆐𓆑𓆒𓆓

89,4: Schiffbr. c. 37,9

𓆔𓆕𓆖𓆗𓆘𓆙

90,19: Urk. IV. 1155 𓆚𓆛𓆜𓆝𓆞𓆟𓆠𓆡

91,24: Ann. Thutm. III, 100 = Urk. IV. 665 𓆢𓆣𓆤𓆥𓆦𓆧

𓆨𓆩

94,10: Louvre C. 55 𓆪𓆫𓆬𓆭𓆮𓆯𓆰

95,25: Ppr. 291a 𓆱𓆲𓆳𓆴𓆵𓆶𓆷𓆸

98,12: Israel-Stele, 6. 𓆹𓆺𓆻𓆼𓆽𓆾𓆿

96,39: Mythe d' Horus pl. 3 𓇀𓇁𓇂𓇃

97,32: Westcar 12,4 𓇄𓇅𓇆𓇇𓇈𓇉𓇊

122,24: Leid. Amonhymnus II, 10 𓇋𓇌𓇍𓇎𓇏𓇐𓇑

122,31: Urk. IV. 146,9 𓇒𓇓𓇔𓇕𓇖𓇗

125,11: Mar. Ab. I pl. 7, 62 𓇘𓇙𓇚𓇛

131,34: Harris 44, 7 𓇜𓇝𓇞𓇟

137,3: Anast. IV. 10, 7 𓇠𓇡𓇢𓇣𓇤𓇥

𓇦𓇧𓇨𓇩𓇪𓇫𓇬𓇭 — 137,13: Sitzungsber. Berl.

Akad. 1911 p. 1103 𓇮𓇯𓇰𓇱𓇲𓇳

𓇴𓇵𓇶𓇷𓇸𓇹

139,10: Ppr. 1098 b-c P. 7774 𓇺𓇻𓇼𓇽𓇾𓇿

m. 𓈀𓈁𓈂𓈃 — 139,13: Totb. Amid, 10-12 𓈄𓈅𓈆𓈇

𓈈𓈉𓈊𓈋 — 139,20: Totb. Kap. 85 Überschr. 𓈌𓈍𓈎𓈏

𓈐𓈑𓈒𓈓𓈔 — 139,21: Urk. IV. 113 𓈕𓈖𓈗𓈘

140,14: Eрман, Reden Rufe &c., p. 42 𓈙𓈚𓈛𓈜

𓈝 — ibid. p. 42 𓈞𓈟𓈠𓈡 — 140,27: ibid. p. 45:

𓈢𓈣𓈤𓈥

143,6: Urk. IV. 14 𓈦𓈧𓈨𓈩𓈪𓈫

𓈬𓈭𓈮𓈯 — 143,11: ibid. 275 𓈰𓈱𓈲𓈳𓈴

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𓈾𓈿𓉀 — 143,12: Mar. Karn. 11, 13 𓉁𓉂𓉃𓉄

𓉅𓉆𓉇𓉈𓉉𓉊𓉋 — 143,16: Urk. IV.

362,4 𓉌𓉍𓉎𓉏𓉐𓉑𓉒

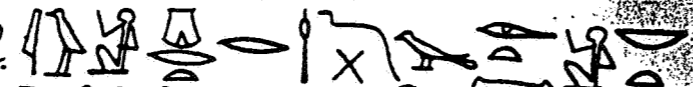
𓉓𓉔𓉕 — 143,20: Anast. II. 4, 5 𓉖𓉗𓉘𓉙

143,29: Peterst. P. 1116 A recto, 132 𓉚𓉛𓉜𓉝


𓉞𓉟𓉠

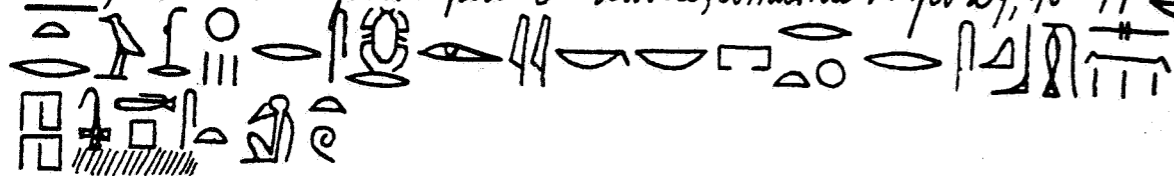
147,19: Harris 44, 6 𓉡𓉢𓉣𓉤 — 147,29: Israel

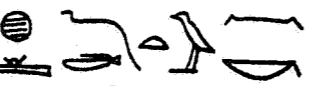
206,38: Westcar 11,7 

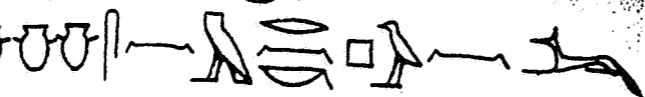
210,28: Pap. Ani pl. 29, 17 f. 

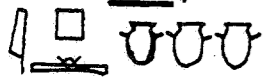


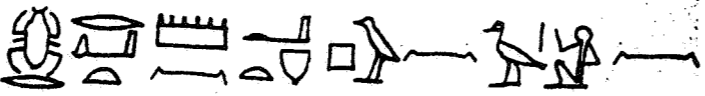
217,27: Atonhymnus, 22-3 = Davies, Amarna VI pl. 27, 10-11 



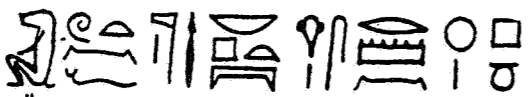
235,33: Himmelskuch, 71. 

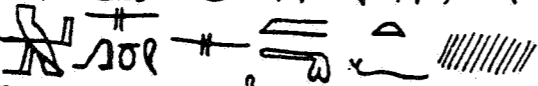
238,2: Ppr. 1287a 



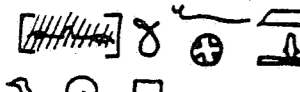
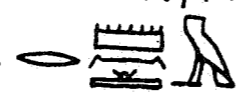
244,38: Himmelskuch, 43 


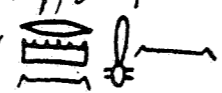


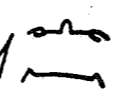
251,37: Geff. Sonne 13,1 

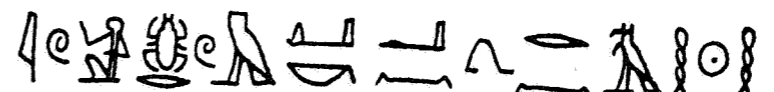
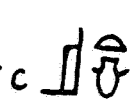
252,37: ibid. 15,7 

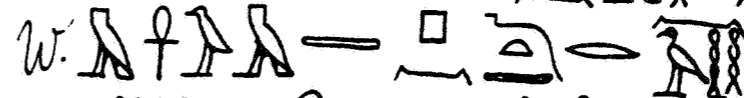
253,37: ib. 17,5  — 253,40: ib.


17,4  — 254,35: B. Westcar 7,3-4 


 — 254,37: Brit. Mus. 1164, 11 

269,24: Merneptah, 6 cf. 98,12 — 269,36: Pap. d'Orb. 7,1 

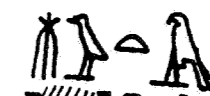
 — 270,27: Ppr. 414c 

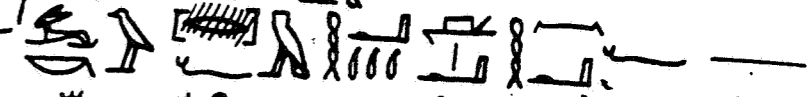
W: 

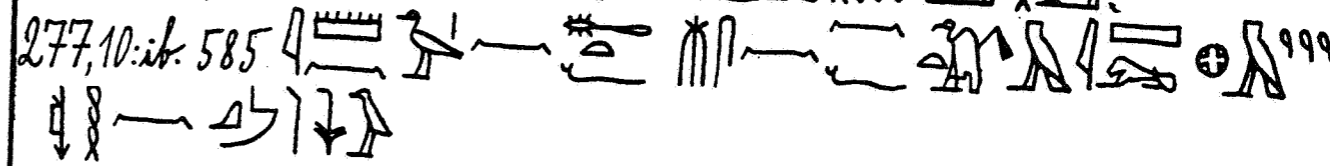
273,17: Ppr. 1079 


273,22: Ppr. 1012a^p  — 273,26: Uk. IV. 133

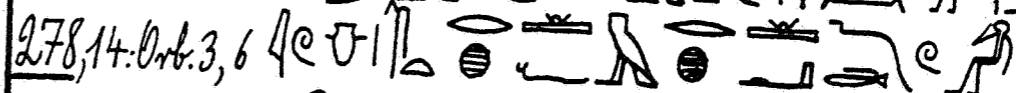
 — 273,29: Pichl Inscr. iii. 73 

274,23: Aeg. WP. II p. 140 

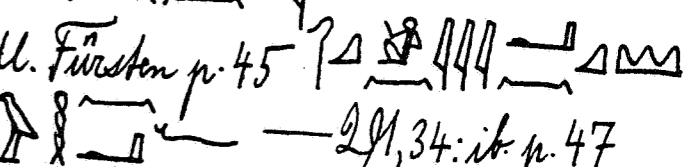
277,8: Uk. IV. 385 

277,10: ib. 585 

277,20: Amenemope IX. 20 - x. 1 

278,14: Orb. 3, 6 

280,13: Ppr. 1765c 

291,28: Sethe, Achtung feindl. Fürsten p. 45 

 — 291,34: ib. p. 47 

292,4: Anast. I. 17,3 