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ON SOME NEWLY-DISCOVERED TEMANITE
AND NABATAEAN INSCRIPTIONS.

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X.

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[AD. NEUBAUER.]

UNEXPECTED discoveries have been made during the past year relating to Aramaic epigraphy and philology. Three travellers of various nationalities have lately visited that part of Arabia which borders on the Hedjâz, viz. Mr. Charles Doughty, an Englishman; Dr. Euting, of Strasbourg; and M. Huber, an Alsatian, sent out by the French Academy. Alas! a violent death has overtaken him, though fortunately his materials have been recovered¹. Dr. Euting happily escaped the fate of his fellow-traveller, and has secured a large number of inscriptions², Nabataean, Himyaritic, and four Aramaic from the land of Tema. Tema is mentioned in the Bible as an Ishmaelitic land and tribe in the neighbourhood of the land and tribe of Dedan³, through which a caravan-road passed in the time of Job⁴, just as it passes now. The Tema of the Bible is undoubtedly identical with the Arabic Taïma⁵, and the Θέρμη of Ptolemy⁶. Teman⁷, in the land of Edom, is identified by Gesenius with Tema; it is indeed mentioned, like Tema, in connexion with Dedan⁸. According to Eusebius, however, Taïman⁹ was a Roman city

¹ See *Nouvelles Inscriptions nabatéennes de Médain Salih*, par Philippe Berger (*Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscr. et Belles Lettres*, Paris, 1884, p. 377 seqq.). See below, p. 231.

² See David Heinrich Müller in the *Anzeiger der philos.-histor. Classe*, 17 Dec., Wien, 1884, No. xxviii.

³ Isaiah xxi. 14, 15; Jeremiah xxv. 23.

⁴ Job vi. 19.

⁵ تَيْمَاء, Jacut's *Geographisches Wörterbuch*, ed. Wüstenfeld, a. v.

⁶ Ptolemy, V. xix. 6.

⁷ Jer. xlix. 7, 20; Amos i. 12; Obadiah 9; Hab. iii. 3.

⁸ Ezekiel xxv. 13.

⁹ Onom. Θαμάν.

five miles (Jerome says fifteen) from Petra or the Hebrew סלע. The inhabitants of Teman, together with the Edomites, had a reputation in antiquity for wisdom. Jeremiah¹ writes, 'Thus saith the Lord of hosts: Is wisdom no more in Teman?' And Obadiah², 'Shall I not in that day, saith the Lord, even destroy the wise men out of Edom, and understanding out of the mount of Esau? And thy mighty men, O Teman, shall be dismayed.' Here Edom and Teman are mentioned together. The most eloquent speaker in the book of Job is Eliphaz the Temanite³. We read in the apocryphal book of Baruch: 'It hath not been heard of in Canaan, neither hath it been seen in Theman. The Agarenes that seek wisdom upon earth, the merchants of Meran⁴ and of Theman, the authors of fables, and searchers out of understanding⁵.' Of the inscriptions brought, as I said, by Dr. Euting from Tema, four have been published and explained, first by Prof. Nöldeke⁶, and afterwards by M. Joseph Halévy⁷. Prof. D. H. Müller, of Vienna⁸, and M. Clermont-Ganneau⁹ have contributed valuable notes elucidating particular passages. I shall give first the text and the translation of the three short ones:—

(1) מ[יתבא זי קר
 ב מענן בר עמ
 רן לצלם אלה
 א לחיי נפשה

'A seat which Ma'anān, son of Amran, offered to the god Zelem¹⁰ for the life of his soul (*or*, for his own life).'

¹ xlix. 7.

² Verses 8 and 9.

³ Job ii. 11; iv. 1.

⁴ Medan (?), Gen. xxv. 2.

⁵ Baruch iii. 22, 23.

⁶ *Sitzungsberichte der . . . Akademie zu Berlin* (July 10, 1884), xxxiv, xxxv, p. 813 seqq.

⁷ *Revue des Études juives*, t. ix. p. 2 sqq.

⁸ *Oesterreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient*, 1884, p. 208 seqq.

⁹ *Revue critique d'Histoire et de Littérature*, 1884, pp. 265 and 442 seqq. See below, p. 230.

¹⁰ According to M. Clermont-Ganneau, *l.c.*, p. 442. See below, p. 231. Others translate 'to the statue of "Allah."'

We observe that the name אלהא is in use among heathen as early as 3-4 century B.C., for upon palæographical grounds the inscriptions of Tema cannot be later than the time of Alexander the Great¹, and they may even be earlier.

(2) נפש עלן² ברת שבען

'Monument of 'Alân, daughter of Shabân.'

Ān being merely a determinative syllable, it is plain that ברת שבען³ is analogous to the well-known name of Bath Sheba, wife of Uriah the Hittite, of course a Semitic Hittite.

(3) מיתב זי רמננתן בר . . .

'Seat of Rimmonnathan, son of . . .'

Here we have a name compounded with that of the Syrian god Rimmon⁴ or the Assyrian Raman (compare the names Tabrimmon⁵ and Hadad-rimmon⁶) and the verb *nathan*, 'to give,' exactly resembling Jehonathan and Nethan-el.

(4) An inscription of twenty-four lines, of which the first ten lines and the last two are so badly injured as to be undecypherable. In addition to the inscription, there is also a representation of Zelem-Shezab⁷ the priest. In point of style, the workmanship shows the influence of Assyro-Babylonian art. The inscription runs as follows⁸:—

No. 4.

הגם להן אלהי	10
תימא יש[ר]ן (?) לצלמשזב בר פטסרי	11
ולזרעה בבית צלם זי הגם ו[גב]ר	12

¹ See p. 213.

² M. Clermont-Ganneau, *l.c.*, p. 444.

³ *Revue*, p. 7. Prof. Nöldeke translates 'seventy years old.'

⁴ *Revue*, p. 7. Prof. Nöldeke translates 'seventy years old.'

⁵ 1 Kings xv. 18. Compare טבאל (Tab-el), Isaiah vii. 6, and טוביה (Tobiah).

⁶ Zechariah xii. 11.

⁷ Zelem saves. Compare אלישע and אליעזר. See below, p. 230. For טוב, see Daniel vi. 28.

⁸ The words and letters in brackets are according to M. Halévy's suggestions, *Revue*, pp. 2 and 3. See below, p. 232.

expression 'From the face of Tema' reminds us of similar biblical expressions¹. Gods of Tema in the original is *Eldhê Tema*, a plural like *Elohim*. Of the four divinities Maḥar, Shangâla, Ashi[m]â (?), and Hagam very little is known. The ם in Ashimâ is doubtful; though if the reading be correct, we should have here the Hamathite god mentioned in the Old Testament².

These inscriptions, and more especially the long one, are written in archaic Aramaic characters; some letters are, however, of a more modern type. When I first saw them, it struck me that the ה in אלהי was archaic, whilst in other words it is of a later type. I therefore put the question in the *Academy* whether this mode of writing might not be a kind of *scriptio sacra* for the name of אלהים? But the ח and the ס, as I now see, have the same variations in writing, so that the inscription must, I think, be assigned to the period of Alexander or the Ptolemies, after which a more cursive style of character was introduced in Aramaic writing³. Dr. Euting assigns them at the latest to the sixth century B.C. I wish I could agree with him, for in that case we should have evident proofs of an advanced civilization in Tema at least as early as the eighth century B.C. For, if I am not mistaken, it may be assumed that a people does not begin its history with inscriptions of twenty-four lines; and when we find such a long document as either this or (to take another example) the inscription of Mesha, the nation which produced them must have been accustomed to literary work for at least two centuries previously. Of course the influence of Assyria may be reasonably inferred when we know from the annals of Tiglath-pileser II that this king received tribute from Arabian towns called Tema, Saba, Hayapa,

¹ 1 Kings ix. 7 'Then will I cut off Israel from the face of (A. V. out of) the land which I have given them.' Cf. Deut. xxviii. 63 (with חס).

² 2 Kings xvii. 30.

³ Halévy, *Revue*, p. 5. Clermont-Ganneau, *l.c.*, p. 266.

Hatea, Badana, and the tribe of Idibili¹. Tema is the country where our inscription was found; Saba is the biblical Seba; Hayapâ, as we shall see later on, is identified with the biblical Epha²; the Hatea is at present unknown (not the Hittites); Badana is perhaps a name like Bedan³; and the Idibili are perhaps the descendants of Adbeel⁴, a son of Ishmael.

The language of these inscriptions, although on the whole old Aramaic, is not Assyrian. Aramaic inscriptions were known up to the present time only in Babylonia, Egypt, and Cilicia. It is worth observing that the termination *ân* in the names of the second inscription 'Alân, daughter of Shabân,' has a similarity to the Horite names⁵, 'And these are the children of Dishon: Hemdân and Eshbân, and Ithrân, and Cherân⁶.' The Horites, as all know, inhabited this district before the Edomites. Proper names are very useful for philology, for they undergo the least alterations possible. How interesting it would therefore be if indeed we could find out a Horite vocabulary! That, however, must be a work for the future.

Let us now leave the Horites and pass to the Nabataeans, who are the authors of the inscriptions found by Mr. Doughty and M. Huber⁷ at Medaïn Salih. I shall give a few passages quoted (*verbatim*) from this courageous traveller's note-book, printed in English at the head of the volume of Inscriptions, published by the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres in Paris, under M. Renan's editorship⁸ :—

'In the spring of the year 1875, I came upward with Beduins from Sinai to *Maan* upon the Hāj road in Edom, and

¹ Halévy, *Revue*, p. 6.

² עִיפָה, Gen. xxv. 4; Isaiah lx. 6.

³ בִּדְן (for בִּדְן?), 1 Chron. vii. 17.

⁴ אֲדַבְעֵל, Gen. xxv. 13. Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das alte Testament*, 2nd ed., 1883, p. 148.

⁵ Gen. xxxvi. 26.

⁶ Halévy, *Revue*, p. 7.

⁷ See above, p. 209, note 1, and below, p. 232.

⁸ *Documents épigraphiques recueillis dans le nord de l'Arabie* par M. Charles Doughty, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1884.

went on to visit the chambered rocks of Petra, where the villagers of *Elgy*, in Wady Mousa, seeing one arrive, as it were an *hajjy* from the southward, asked me if I had not already visited *Medain Salih* upon the derb el-Haj, and where, they said, lie seven cities hewn in as many mountains, and the monuments there like these before our eyes, as they might be the work of one craftsman. Such also said the secretary of the small road garrison at Maan, who, a well-lettered man, spoke to me further of inscriptions sculptured in some strange characters, which, he said, to be commonly upon those *Medain Salih* frontispieces, and the *effigies* of a bird with his wings displayed. In former years he had very often passed the place, riding with the guard in every pilgrimage to the *Harameyn*. Such birds are not seen sculptured upon the Petra frontispieces or most rarely; nor in all the Wady Mousa monuments had I found more than one inscription, and that is very large and several lines, of some well-sculptured Semitic characters upon a simple frontispiece in the western valley side with three pilasters, which, with their paries, are broken through below¹.

I shall pass over Mr. Doughty's narrative describing the caravans and the perils of his life, and give the passage relating to *Medain Salih*:—

'The twentieth morrow of our marches we descended by the passage *Mábrak e' Náka*, a place of cursing (so called by the devout pilgrims after their doctors' mythology as where the miraculous she-camel fell down wounded to death, but by the country Beduins, ignorant of these forged vanities, *el-Mezham*), to the valley plain of *Medain Salih*, a name which is of the same Mohammedan mythology, but the site is only named by the country Beduins *El-Hejr* (*El-Hijr* of the Koran, "Erya in Ptol., *Hejra* of Plin.)²'

Medain Salih, it will be seen, is no ancient place: it is merely a collection of caves belonging to some rich families

¹ *Ibidem*, beginning of the preface.

² *Ibidem*, p. 11.

from a neighbouring town¹. Its name Salih is derived from a passage of the Qorân², in which Mohammed says, 'And unto the tribe of Tamud we sent their brother Saleh. He said, O my people! worship Allah; ye have no Allah besides him. Now hath a manifest proof come unto you from your lord. This she-camel of God is a sign unto you; therefore dismiss her freely, that she may feed in God's earth; and do her no hurt, lest a painful punishment seize you. And call to mind how he hath appointed you successors unto the tribe of 'Ad, and has given you a habitation on earth; ye build yourself castles on the plains thereof, and cut out the mountains into houses.' In another chapter we read³, 'And the inhabitants of al Hejr . . . hewed houses out of the mountains to secure themselves.' Finally, Mohammed says⁴, 'The tribe of Tamud also charged the messenger of God with falsehood. When their brother Saleh said unto them, Will ye not fear God? Verily I am a faithful messenger unto you: wherefore fear God, and obey me. I demand no reward of you for my preaching unto you; I expect my reward from no other than the Lord of all creatures. Shall ye be left for ever secure in the possession of the things which are here; among gardens, and fountains, and corn, and palm-trees, whose branches sheathe their flowers? And will you continue to cut habitations for yourselves out of the mountains, showing art and ingenuity in your work?' Elsewhere the ancient dwellings of the Tamud are considered by Mohammed as the houses of giants, punished by God for their crimes⁵. The Tamud had ceased to exist in the time of Mohammed; a part of them had been transported by Sargon with other tribes to Samaria, as the following Assyrian inscriptions

¹ Possibly the ancient caves of the Horites, who, as the word חור indicated, were dwellers in caves or Troglodytes.

² Qorân, Surah vii. 71 seqq. (according to Sale's translation).

³ Surah xv. 81.

⁴ Surah xxvi. 114 seqq.

⁵ See M. Renan's preface to the Inscriptions, p. 4.

show¹: 'The Tamudi, the Ibadidi, the Marsimani, the Hayapâ, of remote countries in Arabia, inhabitants of the desert who know no master and no . . . (?), who never paid any tribute to my father, I have crushed them by the arms of the god Assur, the remainder of them I have transported and established in the town of Samaria.' And in another place Sargon is called² 'the conqueror of the Tamudi, of the Marsimani, of the Hayapâ, the survivors of whom were transported and established by him in the land of Beth-Humria (Beth Omri, land of Israel).' Now the Tamudi and the Marsimani are mentioned by the classical geographers. The Hayapâ have been identified by Prof. Friedrich Delitzsch³ with the Midjanitic tribe Ephah; the Ibadidi, M. Halévy proposes to explain as 'the servants of Dad'⁴. To this part of the world belong probably the Arabian tribes Bazu and Hazu, conquered by Esarhaddon, names which correspond to the biblical Buz⁵ and Hazo⁶, both sons of Nahor. The Nabataeans occupied subsequently the Arabian districts which have been mentioned, as may be seen from the first book of the Maccabees⁷, where Judah and Jonathan find them on the other side of the Jordan, after having travelled for three days in the desert; and in another place of the same book they are alluded to as neighbours of the land of Gilead⁸. According to Josephus⁹ and Ammianus¹⁰, their dominion extended from the Euphrates to the Red Sea. They were rich, and having their home upon a road frequented by caravans, they were naturally merchants, as Apuleius¹¹ calls them 'Nabathaei mercatores.' They were governed by kings, one of whom, Aretas,

¹ Schrader, *op. cit.* (see p. 214, note 5), p. 277; Halévy, *Revue*, p. 11.

² Halévy, *ibidem*, p. 12.

³ Halévy, *ibidem*.

⁴ Halévy, *ibidem*.

⁵ Gen. xxii. 21; Jeremiah xxv. 23 (in connexion with Tema); Job xxxii. 2, 6 'Barachel the Buzite.'

⁶ Gen. xxii. 22.

⁷ I Macc. v. 24; ix. 39.

⁸ *Ibidem*, 26 seqq.

⁹ *Antiquities*, I. xii. 4.

¹⁰ Ammianus Marc., xiv. 18.

¹¹ Apul. flor. i. 6. See *Bibl. Realwörterbuch*, etc., von G. B. Winer (1848), ii. p. 129 (art. Nabatäer).

is mentioned in the New Testament¹. Most of the Doughty inscriptions date from the reign of this king; and we learn from the third and the fourteenth inscriptions that his reign lasted forty-eight years (till 40 A.D.) He was followed, according to the first inscription, by king Malkû, who reigned eleven years, and was succeeded by Dabel, to whose fourth year No. 19 belongs.

The inscriptions are sepulchral, and contain imprecations against those who should bury in the tombs other than members of the family to whom they were appropriated, except by a written permission. Here are the text and translation of the two which are best preserved²:—

No. 2.

דנה כפרא די עברו כמכם בר חואלת בר תחרם 1
 וכליבת ברתה לנפשהם ואחרהם בירה שבת שנת 2
 תשע לחרתת מלך נבטו רחם עמה וילען דושרא 3
 ומרחבה ואלת מן עמנד ומנותו וקשה מן יזבן 4
 כפרא דנה או מן יזבן או ירהן או ינתן יתה או ינפק 5
 מנה גת או שלף או מן יקבר בה עיר כמכם וברתה 6
 ואחרהם ומן די לא יעבד די עלא כתיב ואיתי עמה 7
 לדושרא והבלו ולמנותו שמרין יעלא וכל אקנס 8
 בסלעין אלף חדתי בלעד מן די ינפק בידה כתב מן יד 9
 כמכם או כליבת ברתה בכפרא הנאך ימרתא הו 10
 והבאלהי בר עבדעברת עבד

1 'This is the cave which Camcam, son of Haw-allath, son of Taharam, made,

2 and Coleibat, his daughter, for themselves and their posterity, in the month of Tebeth, the year

¹ 2 Corinthians xi. 32.

² See the Supplementary Notes, pp. 231 and 232.

- 3 ninth of Ḥartat (Aretas), king of Nabataea, lover of his people. May Dusara
 4 and Marḥaba and Allat of (?) and Menutu and Kaïsa curse him who sells
 5 this cave, or him who buys it, or who pledges it, or who gives it as a present, or who removes
 6 from it a corpse, or exchanges it (?) or who buries in it others than Camcam, and his daughter
 7 and their posterity. And whoso shall not do according to what is here written, shall be answerable
 8 to Dusara and Hobalu and Menutu, the guardians of shall pay a fine
 9 of 1000 new *Selain*, except he produce a written permission from the hand
 10 of Camcam, or his daughter Coleibat [saying], "So and so may be admitted to this cave."

(Then follows the name of the sculptor): 'Wahbelahi, son of Abdobodat, has made this.'

No. 10.

- 1 דנה כפרא די להינת ברת עבדעבדת לנפשה
 2 וילדה ואחרה ולמן די ינפק בידה מן יד הינת
 3 דא כתבא התקברא יתקבר בכפרא הונא
 4 כפרא דנה הוה לעבדעבדת אבד הוה למכתב
 5 ל~~ל~~מת~~ת~~נת בר קנה להינתו או עבדעבדת בר
 6 מליכת אם שמ~~ב~~בנה אם עבדעבדת אם הינתו אם
 7 כלהם די עבד[ום?] כפרא דנה אנדתיבאן איכתבא
 8 דא יתקבר בכפרא בכפרא דה אצדקת עבדעבדת
 9 ולא יהוא אנוש רשו די יזבן כפרא דנה או [ירחן]
 10 יתה או יתאלף בכפרא דנה לכתב כלה ומן יעבד
 11 כעיר די עלא די איתי ינדהה חטיאה

לדושרא ומנותו נסף סלעין אלף חר חרתו 12
 ולמראנא דבאל מלך נבטו בירה איר שנת 13
 תרתין לדבאל מלך נבטו 14

- 1 'This is the cave of Hoīnat, daughter of 'Abdobodat, for herself
 2 and her son and her posterity, and for whoever produces from the hand of Hoīnat
 3 this written form [saying], "Such and such a one may be buried in this cave."
 4 This cave belongs to 'Abdobodat
 5 to Hoīnat or 'Abdobodat, son
 6 of Malikat, or (?) or 'Abdobodat, or Hoīnat, or
 7 all those who made (?) this cave this document:
 8 "Let him be buried in this cave by the side (?) of 'Abdobodat."
 9 And no man shall have authority to sell this cave, or [to pledge]
 10 it, or (?) on this cave anything And whoso shall do
 11 otherwise than it is above [prescribed] shall be liable for a fine
 12 to Dusara and Menutu of a thousand new *Selwin* in silver?
 13 As also to our lord Dabâl, king of Nabataea. In the month of Iyyâr, year
 14 the second of Dabâl, king of Nabataea.'

Only No. 1 contains an inscription of a different kind. This reads:—

No. 1.

דנה מסגרא די עבד 1
 שרוחו בר תוכא לאערא 2
 די בבצרא אלה רבא לירח 3
 ניסן שנת חודה למלכו מלכא 4

'This is the *Mesgeda* (a kind of shrine¹) which

¹ See De Vogué, *La Syrie Centrale* (Paris, 1868), pp. 106, 119, 120, where it is used to denote a sacred stone or column.

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 Gesellschaft

- 2 Seruhu, son of Tuca, has made for Aera (*or*, Aeda)
 3 of Bosra, the great god. In the month
 4 of Nisan, the first year of the reign of king Malku.⁷

Altogether these inscriptions date from between 3 B. C. to 79 A. D. Two (Nos. 3 and 14) naming the 48th year of Aretas.

To judge from the length of their inscriptions, the Nabataeans, like the Temanites, must have enjoyed an ancient civilization. In fact, they are mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions of Assurbanipal¹, by the side of the Kidrai, just as in the Bible, Nebaioth and Kedar, sons of Ishmael, are associated together². It is indeed generally allowed that Nebaioth represents the father of the Nabataeans³, although the spelling is slightly different⁴. Isaiah⁵ says, 'All the flocks of Kedar shall be gathered together unto thee, the rams of Nebaioth shall minister unto thee.' Possibly Jeroboam, son of Nebat, was of Nabataean descent; *ben*, 'son,' having the sense of the Arabic *ibn*⁶. Jeroboam was in the service of Solomon, just as Uriah the Hittite served David. Naboth also, put to death by Ahab⁷, may have been of Nabataean origin. In the later books of the Old Testament, such as Ezekiel and Chronicles, the Nabataeans are in all probability comprehended under the common designation of *Arabians*. Gashmu⁸ the Arabian, to judge by the Nabataean and Sinaitic inscriptions, in which the termination ׀ (û) is so frequent⁹, must have been a Nabataean. Perhaps at a certain period the word נבטו acquired an ethnic sense like *Arabian*, since

¹ Schrader, *op. cit.* (see p. 214, note 5), p. 147.

² Gen. xxv. 13.

³ See Dillmann on Gen. xxv. 13 (1882).

⁴ נבט and נביות. In Talmudic writings we find the following forms for Nabataeans: נבשי; נבושי; נבותי; נבוותא; and נבשי. See Levy's *Hebr. und Chald. Wörterbuch*, etc., *a. v.* נבט.

⁵ Isaiah lx. 7.

⁶ *Athenaeum*, No. 2985 (Jan. 10, 1885), p. 46.

⁷ 1 Kings xxi. 1 seqq.

⁸ Neh. vi. 6. Compare נבט, Neh. ii. 19; iv. 1, 2.

⁹ In addition to *Malkû* and the other names mentioned already, we have *Matû*, *Vaalu*, *Golhomu*, *Anamu*, etc., and *Nabtu* itself (Nabataea); the same termination also occurs constantly in the Palmyrene and Nabataean inscriptions, edited by De Vogué (*La Syrie Centrale*).

in the cuneiform inscriptions the Nabataeans in Arabia are distinguished from others in Babylonia.

That the Edomites and the Nabataeans were, if not of the same race, at all events closely related, cannot be doubted. Esau married Mahalath, a sister of Nebaioth¹, and the form עשר itself has the Nabataean termination *-u*. Among the sons of Esau we find the name Reu-el², and a grandson bears the name of Zepho³. An Edomite town is called Paoo⁴. We shall claim the Midianite Jethro⁵ or Reu-el as a kinsman of the Nabataeans⁶. Allusion has been made above to the tradition of the Wisdom of Teman and Edom⁷; the Nabataeans have the same reputation amongst the Arabs. The historians and geographers of this nation regularly represent the Nabataeans as a nation learned in astronomy, agriculture, medicine, and, above all, in magic; sometimes even they are described as the inventors of all sciences, and the civilizers of the human race. There exists a book by one Kuthami, translated into Arabic in 904 A.D. by Ibn Wahshiyah, and entitled the 'Nabataean Agriculture.' This remarkable work contains history of various kinds, chapters on agriculture, on medicine, botany, physics, and astrology; together with special treatises on mysteries, and on symbolic painting, likewise one on the history of the deity Tammuz, and on many other subjects, attributed to different patriarchs of the Old Testament, Adam, Noah, etc. Libraries are mentioned in it; and, in a word, it implies a very considerable development of all branches of religious and profane literature.

¹ Gen. xxviii. 9.

² Gen. xxxvi. 4.

³ Gen. xxxvi. 11, 15.

⁴ Gen. xxxvi. 39.

⁵ Compare the other forms of this name יתרו; יתרא (like עבדא; Renan, *Des noms Théophores*, etc. in the *Revue des Études juives*, v. p. 166); יתרי (like עברי, שמעי, Renan, *ibidem*); יתרו (a Horite name); and יתרום (where עם represents an Ammonite divinity; see p. 224. He is the son of Eglah, certainly a Moabite or an Ammonite woman).

⁶ We mention for curiosity's sake the names of ברואל, בומואל, המואל, to which many others could be added.

⁷ See p. 210.

It is not our object here to discuss the age to which the composition of this great Nabataean encyclopedia may be assigned. E. M. Quatremère refers it to the time of Nebuchadnezzar, and Prof. Chwolson places it at an earlier period still. More moderate critics, such as M. Renan and Prof. Gutschmid, assign it to the beginning of the Christian era¹. To be sure, this work is believed by some critics to have originated among the Nabataeans in Irâk or Babylonia, since in Greek writings Chaldean wisdom is always described as coming from that country². But the Sabaeans, who are also Arabian, were famed for their wisdom; and the apocryphal tradition may equally well allude to those Nabataeans who were the neighbours, and ultimately the successors, of Edom and Tema, both of whom in the Bible already appear with the same character. In point of fact, the inscriptions discovered by Mr. Doughty confirm this tradition. That the Nabataeans had intercourse with the Hebrews we have already seen³. The language of the inscriptions is Aramaic mixed with Arabic words, but with forms such as we find them in the Aramaic sections of Daniel and Ezra. Thus for the pronoun, in lieu of יהן they use דהם⁴. Instead of *Ethpaal*, we find in them the form *Hithpaal*⁵. Words and expressions used in the Mishnah⁶ and the Talmud⁷ are also met with. Possibly even Hebrew forms occur, such as אנוש (No. 2) and תמונה (Nos. 3, 4) for שמונה (*eight*). The word *Maráná* (No. 10) throws light upon St. Paul's *Maranata*⁸.

As to the mythology of these inscriptions, we find in the

¹ Renan, *Histoire générale des Langues sémitiques* (1863), p. 246.

² Renan, *ibidem*, p. 243.

³ See p. 221.

⁴ להם; בניהם (No. 7); אהרהם and נפשהם (No. 9). Halévy, *Revue*, p. 9. See also קים (No. 29, l. 3) and Dan. vi. 9.

⁵ החקברא. See above, p. 219, line 3.

⁶ הרהן (No. 2, p. 221, line 5), 'to pledge.' קנס (*κῆνος*). The coin סלע (p. 218, line 9).

⁷ כפל דמי (No. 6), 'double value.' לא יהוא אנש רשו (No. 10, above, p. 219, line 9) is the Talmudic אין אדם רשאי. ינפק בידה (No. 2, line 9, and No. 29, line 2, pp. 218 and 231) is the usual juridic expression in the Talmud.

⁸ See above, p. 73.

first instance, the gods Manutu, Kishah, Ḥablu, and Marḥabah, which (with slight variations) are mentioned as having been worshipped by the pre-Islamite Arabs. The name Dusara has been found before¹ in Nabataean texts, and is mentioned in classical authors as that of a divinity (*Δουσαρῆς*) worshipped throughout Arabia, especially at Petra, Adran, and Bosra. It has been thought to mean *lord of Shera*²,—Shera being a mountain of Arabia (cf. בעל לבנון, etc.). Other names of deities are compounded with the root הו = הורה, 'to announce.' Thus הואלת, 'announcement of Allath,' and הושוה, 'announcement of Shuah,' probably the god of Shuah, son of Abraham and Keturah, father of the tribe of the same name³, the country from which Bildad the Shuhite came⁴. The Shuhites are mentioned, as Prof. Sayce kindly informs me, in the cuneiform inscriptions. In them the god Nergal is also called Sergal, a name which may be identical with the Sangala mentioned in the inscription of Tema⁵.

The root הו occurs also in the Phœnician חומלך, 'Malik announces⁶.' We have seen in the Tema inscriptions Rimmonnathan. Here we find the name קסנתן (No. 7), which M. Renan transliterates Xanten (scarcely probable), but which is read by M. Halévy⁷ Kosnathan, a compound of Kos, the Idumean god Kos, or, as Josephus calls him, Koze⁸, and *nathan*, 'to give,' analogous to יונתן and נתנאל. This happy suggestion is confirmed by the name *Κοσνάτανος*, found in a Greek inscription of Memphis, and by Kosmalchos,

¹ De Vogué, *La Syrie Centrale*, p. 120.

² ذو الشرى, as it is written by Arabic authors.

³ Gen. xxv. 2.

⁴ Job ii. 11 and elsewhere.

⁵ It is, however, possible that Sangala (or Sengala) means the deity of the moon, from *Sen*, the moon, and *Gala*. Perhaps *ner* in Nergal may be connected with *ner* in Abner and in Neriah. The word *gal* may be contained in the names Goliath and Abigail.

⁶ See, however, M. Renan, *Revue*, v. p. 175, who takes הו from the root חיה (חיוה), 'to live.' The inscription, which is an interesting one, will be found at length in the *Corp. Inscr. Sem.* (Paris, 1881), No. 1.

⁷ *Revue*, p. 16.

⁸ Κοζέ, *Antiquities*, XV. vii. 9.

'Kos has reigned' (in cuneiform, Kaushmalak); Kosgeros, 'Kos is friend'; Kosanedos, 'Kos binds'; and in cuneiform, Ka-ush-gab-ri, 'Kos has vanquished.'

Χουζᾶς¹, the name of Herod's² steward, who may fairly be inferred to have been of Edomite extraction, may be another derivative; this seems at least more probable than to suppose it is connected with the Rabbinical כוזה, 'a little pitcher,' which is Dr. Edersheim's opinion³. It may appear a rash suggestion to make that the name *Kos* is derived from the Arabic قوس, *a bow*, in Syriac קשתה, in Hebrew קשת⁴. The fact is, however, that Ishmael and Esau were both great hunters with the bow. We know how the ideas of mythology pass from one tribe to another. In these inscriptions we find the Syrian god Rimmon⁵, four Arabic gods⁶, a god from the tribe of Shuah, an Edomite deity, and the doubtful *Zelem*⁷. The same fact may be substantiated from biblical names. Ammi, to judge from the name Amminadab in a cuneiform inscription, seems to represent an Ammonite local deity⁸; this fact at once explains the words⁹ *Ben Ammi* in Genesis (A. V.), 'Son of my kindred¹⁰.' The name of this deity occurs in the compounds Ammiel, Ammihud (analogous to Kemoshnadab), Ammi-shaddai. In my opinion the names of Rehoboam and Jeroboam are compounded with Amm, the Ammonite god. As to the first, we know that Rehoboam's mother was an Ammonitess¹¹; as

¹ Luke viii. 3.

² I may be allowed to add that the name of Herod seems to me to be possibly identical with Irad in Genesis, the *ר* being pronounced as a guttural resembling ה. The use of the word עיר in proper names is not rare in the Bible. We find names of persons, Ira, Iru, and Iri, all with *ר*. Iram is an Edomite name, which may even be compared with the Phœnician חירם. See however, Renan, *Revue des Études juives*, v. p. 169.

³ *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, vol. i. p. 572.

⁴ See Halévy, *Revue*, p. 16.

⁵ See above, p. 224.

⁶ See above, p. 211.

⁷ Pages 211, 212, and 230.

⁸ An Assyrian tablet states that among the Shuhites the name of Nergal was עמי.

⁹ Gen. xix. 38.

¹⁰ J. Derenbourg, *Revue des Études juives*, t. ii. p. 123.

¹¹ We see from the examples of Tamar, Hannah and others, that mothers had the privilege of naming their children.

to the second, it can only be analogous with Jerubbaal. We find Rehabyah as well as Rehab-am, Yeqamyah and Yeqam-am. Perhaps לֹא אֵם opposed to לֹא אֵל in the song of Moses may have some reference to the god Amm. In the Authorised Version, 'They have moved me to jealousy with that which is not God . . . And I will move them to jealousy with those which are not a people.' Compare יִתְרַעַם, p. 222. Balaam (Bil'am) also, I venture to think, is a compound of Bel (Baal) and Am¹, analogous to the names Elijah, El-jahu; and Joel, Jeho-el.

Analogous are two names compounded with that of the Syrian god Dad² (דָּד and אָדָד), viz. that of Bildad the Shuhite, which means Bel-dad, and Eldad which is = El-dad. If the latter is rightly rendered in the dictionaries by 'God loves (him),' the former cannot be anything else but a compound of Bel and Dad. It is possible that Dad was pronounced in the Canaanitish dialects Dod, in which form we may be allowed to recognise it in the name of the town Ashdod (analogous to the personal names Ashbel and Ashbaal), and in the personal names Dodo, Dodi, Dodaï, possibly even in David. Conjectural as this explanation of some of the names compounded with divine titles may appear to be, it is certain that the principle will prove ultimately of great importance to ethnology and mythology, and probably also to philology as well.

Mention has been made of the termination *ân* in Horite names³, and *o* in Nabateo-Midianic names; we may compare Yeriho and perhaps Slomoh (Solomon). The termination *ôn* seems to be more general amongst the Canaanitish tribes. Ephron, Hebron among the Hittites; Ekron, Dagon amongst the Philistines; Mahlon, Chilyon in Moab; and often in Hebrew names. Specially Aramaic, perhaps, are the names formed with a yod at the beginning, such as Yaflet, Yamlek,

¹ Mr. W. Wright regards it as a Hittite name. Of course no derivation is given, since the Hittite vocabulary, so far as appears, consists at present of *two* words!

² Schrader, *op. cit.* (on p. 214, note 5), p. 454.

³ See p. 214.

Yihar, Yishaq, Jacob, Yiskah, Yishbak, etc. The ending *aï* as in Sarai, Yishai, Radaï or Dadai, Shaddai, as well as *î* as in Abi, Ahi, may also be Aramaic. Lastly, I may mention the termination *ath*, not in feminine words, but in names like Goliath, Genubath, Ahuzzath, special, perhaps, to the Philistine dialect¹.

From these facts it is evident what a mixture of tribes must have peopled the country known generally in the Old Testament under the name of 'Arab' (ערב), and in the cuneiform inscription as Arabu or Arabia. The name ערב itself may even be derived from the root ערב, 'to mix.' If we are right in supposing that the tribes of Tema and the countries around spoke Aramaic dialects at the time of the Assyrian conquest, we shall have to place Uz, Hul, Gether, and Mash, sons of Aram, in the Arabian desert, in the neighbourhood of Edom and the Hedjâz, and not in Mesopotamia, as has commonly been done. In fact M. Halévy² expressed this opinion some years ago, and no reason has yet appeared for abandoning it. It may be observed that towns of these countries are mentioned on Egyptian monuments, dating from a period before the immigration of the Israelites to Canaan, with the Nabataean termination *-u*³. So again there is the locality Ono⁴ in Benjamin, which is probably derived from the Egyptian On, *sun*, the native name of the city called in Greek Heliopolis. This latter place is meant by the *Aven* of Ezekiel⁵, which should rather be read *On* (*Aven* being meant by the punctuators to have the sense of *idolatry*). In Jeremiah⁶ it is represented by its Hebrew equivalent Beth Shemesh. Possibly the name *Ben Oni*⁷, for Benjamin, contains an allusion to the sun or the south; for it corresponds to Jamin or Yemen. The use of Beth-Aven for Beth-El⁸ may

¹ Compare Prof. Driver's *Hebrew Tenses*, ed. 2 (1881), p. 261.

² *Revue*, p. 15.

³ See O. Blau in Merx's *Archiv*, 1869, p. 352 f.

⁴ Ezra ii. 33.

⁵ Ezekiel xxx. 17.

⁶ Jer. xliii. 13.

⁷ Gen. xxxv. 18.

⁸ Hosea iv. 16.

have been facilitated by the recollection that Beth-el was once called Beth-On. Perhaps the name of Onan¹, the son of Judah, is derived also from On, with the addition of the syllable *-an*². We may therefore, with M. Halévy³, group the Semitic languages as follows:—Towards the east the Assyrio-Babylonians; to the south the Yoqtanido-Cushites; to the west the Phœnicians; and to the north the Hittites. In the central parts, Syria and the Arabian desert, the Aramaic-speaking races. The Israelites, Moabites, and perhaps also the Ammonites (all of whom inhabited Canaanitish countries) spoke the language of the Canaanites with some slight Aramaisms, as may be seen from the inscription of Mesha (the 'Moabite stone'), and from various passages in the Old Testament. The question arises now, what language did the Israelites, or the descendants of Abraham, originally speak, Hebrew or Aramaic? There can be no doubt as to the answer. Abraham came from Ḥaran, which certainly was an Aramaic-speaking district. Abram, if we may understand אב, like the Arabic *Abu*, in the sense of 'ancestor,' may be explained as a compound of Ab and Aram (אב ארם), i.e. the father of Aram or Aramean. Sarai is an Aramaic form. In Canaan his name was changed to Abraham, which may perhaps signify 'the beloved father' (אב רחם), as the Arabs call him *Khalil Allah*, 'the beloved of God.' Sarai is changed to a Canaanitish form *Sarah*⁴. When Isaac is of an age to be married, Abraham sends to his own family in Aram Naharaim, Aram of the two rivers, to the town of Nahor. Jacob also, when fleeing from Esau, takes refuge in the same country, and seeks a wife in the house of his relative Laban

¹ Gen. xxxviii. 4.

² Perhaps the word אָנָן (*Aven*) in Isaiah lxvi. 3 ought to be read On. In fact this verse refers to some heathen ceremonies, perhaps in Cyprus, where worship of dogs is mentioned in inscriptions. I translate consequently: killing the ox, beating a man, sacrificing a lamb, breaking the neck of a dog, offering an oblation, lifting (בָּרַם) for (בָּרַם) a swine, celebrating the moon (לְבַנָּה) for (לְבַנָּה), blessing On or the Sun.

³ *Revue*, p. 15.

⁴ Compare, for instance, בִּלְגַי and בִּלְגָה (Neh. x. 9 and xii. 5).

the Aramean. Jacob is called *Arami* in Deuteronomy¹, 'A wandering Aramean was my father;' (A.V. 'A Syrian ready to perish was my father.') The Canaanitish language may even have been adopted by Abraham, since Jacob gives a Canaanitish name, *Galeed*, to what Laban calls *Yegar Sahu-dutha*² in Aramaic; possibly, however, it was only adopted by the tribes after they had taken possession of the land of Canaan, since it is related that the Israelites in the desert said with regard to the manna, *man hu*³, 'what is it?' *man* for *mah*, 'what?' In fact, the language spoken in Palestine is called by Isaiah the language of Canaan⁴: 'In that day will five cities in the land of Egypt speak the language of Canaan.' The expressions *Yehudith*⁵ and *Ibri* are only used in conversation with foreigners. The 'God of the Ibrim' is used when Moses speaks to Pharaoh⁶; Jonah⁷ says to heathen sailors, 'I am an Ibri;' and Rabshakeh is asked to speak *Yehudith*⁸. The Aramaic origin of the Israelites will perhaps explain the Aramaic form of Jehovah or Jahveh, which in Hebrew ought to be Jehoyah or Yihyeh, at least in accordance with the derivation given in Exodus⁹, 'I am (*ehyeh*), hath sent me unto you.'

I cannot leave out an ingenious conjecture made by M. Halévy¹⁰. He sees in the word for 'bastard,' *Mamzer*¹¹, 'And a bastard shall dwell in Ashdod,' an allusion to the Nabataeans. Not only do the Rabbinical legends speak of the excessive promiscuity of the Idumaeans and the people of Seir, but Stephanus of Byzantium also says: *Ναβαταῖοι, ἔθνος τῶν εὐδαιμόνων Ἀράβων. Ναβάτης δὲ ἐστὶν ἀραβιστὶ ὁ ἐκ μοιχείας γενόμενος . . . Nabates Arabice significat eum, qui ex adulterio natus est.*

That the Nabataeans must have been early in Philistia is

¹ Deut. xxvii. 5.

² Gen. xxxi. 47.

³ Exodus xvi. 15.

⁴ Isaiah xix. 18.

⁵ See above, p. 42.

⁶ Exodus v. 3.

⁷ Jonah i. 9.

⁸ Isaiah xxxvi. 11.

⁹ Exodus iii. 14. See the First Essay in this volume, and Halévy, *Revue*, t. ix. p. 14 and seqq.

¹⁰ *Revue*, p. 10.

¹¹ Zach. ix. 6.

probable from the statement of Herodotus¹ that in his time the Arabs, i.e. the Nabataeans, were masters of the whole coast of Palestine. We know, moreover, that the Assyrians transplanted Aramaic-speaking races to Samaria and to Philistia. If, indeed, the Nabataeans were settled at Ashdod, the *Ashdodith*, the language of Ashdod, which the young generation of the returned exiles spoke, according to Nehemiah, must have been the Nabataean language². With all this, it is easy to understand what a mixture of dialects must have prevailed in Palestine in the time of Ezra: Hebrew, Nabataean, Aramaic from Kutha and Avva or Samaritan; to say nothing of the Babylonian dialect, which many who returned from exile must have brought with them. How far Ezra and Nehemiah succeeded in re-establishing Hebrew amongst the Jews, has been explained in a previous paper³.

¹ *Herod.* iii. 5.² See above, p. 42.³ See above, pp. 40-74.

Supplementary Notes.

THE following are further particulars of the readings adopted by MM. Berger and Clermont-Ganneau, whose articles arrived too late to be alluded to (pp. 209, 210) in the preceding essay except in the notes.

P. 210, Inscription 1, l. 3, and p. 211, Inscr. 4, ll. 11, 12, 16, 21, I have accepted M. Clermont-Ganneau's ingenious interpretation of צַלַּם as the name of a Deity (see the *Athenaeum*, Feb. 28, 1885 (No. 2992), p. 280, where I have suggested that the word צַלְמֵי (Numbers xiv. 18), 'their defence or shade,' ought perhaps to be read צַלְמֵי , and translate 'Tselem is departed from them, and Jehovah is with us'). *Zalamu* in Assyrian is the god of eclipse or darkness (see Prof. Sayce's *Assyrian Grammar*, p. 24). The word צַלַּם , however, usually means in the Bible 'image,' and in this sense we find it also in a Sabaeen or Himyaritic inscription (see David

Heimrich Müller in the *Anzeiger der philosophisch-historischen Classe*, Wien, 17 December, 1884, No. xxviii).

P. 211, Inscription 2. M. Clermont-Ganneau's reading נפש, 'a sepulchral monument' (see Levy, *Neuhebr. Wörterbuch*, s. v.), has been adopted.

P. 212, Inscription, l. 13. I have translated כותא, 'monument,' from the root כתת, 'aptare lapides.' Compare שתת, שתת (שתות), Isaiah xix. 10; Ps. xi. 3; and perhaps שת, Numbers xxiv. 17), and אבן שתיה, the foundation-stone in the Temple (*Mishnah*, Yomâ, v. 2). כותא, 'vêtement,' as translated by M. Halévy, does not give a good sense.—Ibidem, l. 15. I read וואנא for M. Halévy's זא.—Ibidem. I have supplied יהב for M. Halévy's בית.—Ibidem, l. 17. I have supplied [כדין] for M. Halévy's [כמרא].

P. 218, Inscription 2, l. 1. For כפרא we find in M. Huber's facsimiles of similar inscriptions קברא.—ll. 1 and 4. I have accepted M. Halévy's readings חואלת and ומרחבה for M. Renan's חואלת and ומרתבה.—l. 7. יעבדה יעלא for די לא יעבד די עלא.—l. 8. Perhaps שמרין די עלא; probably on p. 219, Inscr. 10, l. 11, כעיר די עלא. There are still several passages doubtful in the Nabataean inscriptions of Mr. Doughty, which will no doubt be elucidated by the comparison of the facsimiles taken by the late M. Huber and Dr. Euting. So, for instance, I read 'חדתי' (p. 218, Inscr. 2, l. 9, and p. 219, Inscr. 10, l. 12), 'new coins' (compare above, p. 84, note 4), for M. Renan's strange word חרתתי; the reading חדתי is certain in M. Huber's facsimiles (see M. Philippe Berger's article, p. 379, note 11).

*Specimen of the Nabataean Inscriptions copied by M. Huber*¹.

- 1 דנה כפרא די עבד עידו בר כהילו בר
 2 סלכסי² לנפשה וילדה ואחרה ולמן די ינפק בידה
 3 כתב תקף³ מן יד עידו קים⁴ לה ולמן די ינתן דיקבר⁵ בה
 4 עידו בחיזיה בידה ניסן שנת תשע להרתת מלך

¹ No. 40 of M. Huber's *Catalogue*, No. 29 in the article of M. Ph. Berger.

² M. Berger thinks that the name may be Seleucus (?).

³ Not from the Arabic كَفَف, as M. Berger suggests, but the Aramaic חקף = חוק; cf. in the *Mishnah* חוקה, 'right of possession.'

⁴ Daniel vi. 8 [7 Engl.], a kind of firman, as M. Berger rightly explains.

⁵ In the facsimile rather ויהקבר (M. Berger).

- 5 נבטו רחם עמה ולענו דושרא ומנחתו וקישה
 6 כל מן די [יעיר?] כפרא דנה או יזבן או [ירהן?] או ינתן או
 7 יפגר¹ או יתאלף עלוהי כתב כלה או יקבר בה או
 8 [?] למא די עלא כתיב וכפרא וכתבה די לה חרם²
 9 דחליקת חרם נבטו ושלמו לעלם עלמין
- 1 'This is the cave which made Aïdu, son of Coheilu, son
 2 of . . . (?), for himself, his children and his posterity, and for
 3 a written permission from the hand of Aïdu, valid for him ; and
 4 for any to whom Aïdu shall grant the right of burial there
 5 during his lifetime. In the month of Nisan, the ninth year of
 6 Aretas king
 7 of Nabataea, lover of his people. And may Dusara, Manutu,
 8 and Kaïsa curse
 9 every one who may make alterations (?) in this cave, or who
 10 may sell it, or [pledge it], or give it as a present, or
 11 destroy, or . . . (?) on it any writing, or bury in it, or
 12 alter (?) anything which is written above. And the cave and
 13 the writing (inscription?) that is upon it is sacred
 14 . . . (?), sacred for the Nabataeans and the Shallemites, for
 15 ever and ever.'

¹ פגר in the Targum, 'to destroy,' which will remove M. Berger's difficulty.

² The biblical word חרם.



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