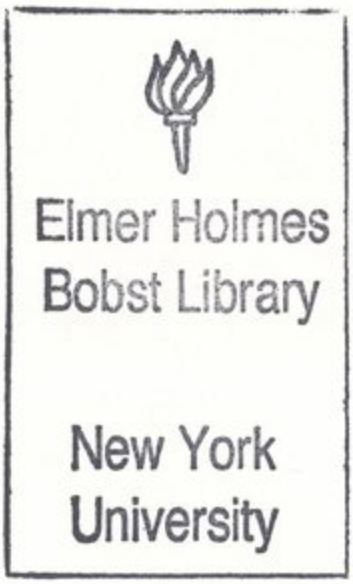
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ALL THOSE NATIONS ...
Cultural Encounters within and with the Near East

Studies presented to Han Drijvers at the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday by colleagues and students, collected and edited by H.L.J. Vanstiphout with the assistance of W.J. van Bekkum, G.J. van Gelder and G.J. Reinink.

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Table of Contents.

Preface
Abbreviations
Wout Jac. van Bekkum
Reconstruction of Yiddish Colloquial in Winschoten. 1–12
Monique Bernards
The Delusion of Identification: The term *Madhhab* in Arabic Grammatical Tradition. 13–19
Jan N. Bremmer
Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus in Christian East Syria. 21–29
Jan Willem Drijvers
The Syriac Julian Romance. 31–42
Adriana Drint
An Arabic Version of John Chrysostom's *Commentary on Genesis*. 43–50
Geert Jan van Gelder
DIYĀF: For Camels, Swords and Nabataeans. A Nabataean Centre in Arabic Sources. 51–60
Jan van Ginkel
Persuasion and Persecution: Establishing Church Unity in the Sixth Century 61–69
Karel Jongeling
A Substratum as a Cultured Weapon. 71–93
A.F.J. Klijn
6 Ezra 15, 28–33 and the Historical Events in the Middle of the Third Century. 95–100
Corrie Molenberg
As if from Another World. Narsai's Memra 'Bad is the time'. 101–108
Ed Noort
Numbers 27,21: The Priestly Oracle Urim and Tummim and the History of Reception. 109–116
Gerrit J. Reinink
An Early Syriac Reference to Qur'ān 112? 117–121
Gerrit J. Reinink
A New Textual Witness of the Dialogue Poem 'The Cherub and the Repentant Thief' in the University Library, Groningen. 123–130
Barbara Roggema
Jewish-Christian Debate in a Muslim Context: Ibn Al-Maḥrūmas Notes to Ibn Kammūna's *Examination of the Inquiries into the Three Faiths*. 131–139
Herman L.J. Vanstiphout
The Twin Tongues. Theory, Technique, and Practice of Bilingualism in Ancient Mesopotamia. 141–159
Niek Veldhuis
Reading the Signs. 161–174

Preface

Prof. Dr. H.J.W. Drijvers, or Han, has reached the age which Dutch regulations regard as the statutory end of his university work. All who know him also know that this is mere semantics: nobody believes that this date will mean the end of his impressive scientific work. He is probably genetically unfit to do that. Still, the official part now being over, it is no more than fitting that his colleagues, among whom a number of students he trained, present him with this collection of studies.

Han Drijver's career was swift, linear and many-sided – attributes which conform to his personality. For many years he taught a number of subjects in Semitics, particularly his beloved Aramaic and Syriac texts of all descriptions. But at the same time he taught in the field of the religions of Late Antiquity and Early Christianity in the Faculty of Divinity, and he was active in field archaeology in Syria. He has kept up a lively and active interest in modern Dutch literature and art, and for a time became an appreciated TV personality. Besides all that, he has served on a wide variety of governing or advisory bodies on the faculty and university levels, but also nationally and internationally. Without him, the Department of Languages and Cultures of the Middle East at Groningen University, of which Department he was the head for long stretches of time, would have been utterly different in many ways.

The contributors were specifically asked to address the concept of encounters, controversies, symbioses etc. with and within the Near East. This topic was thought to fit the cultural geography of that region as well as the structure of the Department and perhaps also the jubilary's character. Thus we travel from ancient Mesopotamia over ancient Israel, Christian Syria to Wales and Winschoten, dealing with cultural encounters of every hue and shape, in the hope that these studies will appeal to Han's manifold interests.

I wish to express my gratitude to the contributors for their prompt response and their patience, to my fellow-editors for their critical scrutiny of the manuscripts in their fields and general support, and to the publisher for his understanding and constant helpfulness. A special word of thanks must go to Mrs. J.Y. Horlings-Brandse for her secretarial assistance, to Mrs. J. Renner-van Niekerk for her aid and advice, and to Dr. F. Leemhuis for his expertise at transfiguration.

Groningen, 11 July 1999

Herman L.J. Vanstiphout
Wout J. van Bekkum, Geerd Jan van Gelder, Gerrit Reinink

Selective List of Abbreviations

AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung
AG	Anno Genesi
AH	Anno Hegirae
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AoF	Altorientalische Forschungen
AS	Assyriological Studies
AuOr	Aula Orientalis
BCE	Before Common Era
BiM	Bibliotheca Mesopotamica
BCSMS	Bulletin of the Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
Byz	Byzantion
CAD	Chicago Assyrian Dictionary
CAH	Cambridge Ancient History
CE	Common Era
CM	Cuneiform Monographs
COT	Commentaar op het Oude Testament
CRRAI	Comptes-rendus...Rencontre assyriologique internationale
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
CTN	Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud
DS-NELL	Dutch Studies in Near Eastern Language and Literature
FGrHist	Fragmente griechischer Historiker
FZPhTh	Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies
JJS	Journal of Jewish Studies
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
JThS	Journal of Theological Studies
KNAW	Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie voor Wetenschappen
Mus	Le Muséon
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OCA	Orientalia Christiana Analecta
OCP	Orientalia Christiana Periodica
ODB	A.P. Kashdan (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, Oxford 1991.
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta

OLP	Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica
OrChr	Oriens Christianus
OrNS	Orientalia Nova Series
OrSyr	L'Orient Syrien
PO	Patrologia Orientalis
PEQ	Palestine Exploration Quarterly
RA	Revue d'Assyriologie
RE	Revue ecclésiastique
RHE	Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique
RHR	Revue de l'histoire des religions
RlA	Reallexikon der Assyriologie
RSLR	Rivista di storia e letterature religiosa
SAA	State Archives of Assyria
SCH	Studies in Church History
ThB	Theologische Bibliothek
ThWAT	Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament
TRE	Theologische Realenzyklopädie
VC	Vigiliae Christianae
VS	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler
VT	Vetus Testamentum
VT.S	Vetus Testamentum. Supplements
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
YOS/BT	Yale Oriental Studies. Babylonian Texts
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

Reconstruction of Yiddish Colloquial in Winschoten

Wout Jac. van Bekkum

1. *General Introduction.*

1.1. In the study of the linguistic and cultural history of Yiddish we are faced with a language that contains Semitic and Germanic components, and at the same time was complemented by two distinct Semitic languages, Hebrew and Aramaic. Much has been written about the rise and function of Yiddish in medieval Ashkenazic life, but the history of the Jews in earlier periods reveals a large number of contact situations between different languages.

A first remark to be made in this respect is that the Jews of Lorraine and the Rhineland, who adopted French or German vernaculars, did set a first step in accepting a non-Semitic language as their primary means of communication. This is a striking fact, but not unprecedented when we look at the use of Aramaic among Jews in the Achaemenid period with the addition of Greek in the Graeco-Roman and Byzantine periods. As soon as the contours of the earliest Yiddish vernaculars emerged and turned into a more clearly defined Jewish language, different from that of the Gentile neighbours, its domains of use can be investigated against the background of the Hebrew and Aramaic literary tradition. Unavoidably we have to refer here to the great Jewish exegete and commentator Rabbi Shelomoh bar Jizchak, known by his acronym as Rashi (1040–1105) who was a native of Troyes, France, and resided for a considerable time in Worms. He extensively quoted isolated French words which are called *leʿazim*, "glosses", "words taken from the vernacular". In both his Bible and Talmud commentaries Rashi offers *leʿazim* as an integral part of his interpretation technique, where Hebrew failed to convey the intended meaning of a word or phrase.

For instance, in Num.11, the verses 4–5 refer to the complaints of the people of Israel: "O that we had meat to eat! We remember the fish we ate in Egypt for nothing, the *qishshuʿim*, the *ʾavatichim*, the *chazir*" , etc. Rashi explains the names of these vegetables by means of *leʿazim*: Hebrew *qishshuʾim*: these are *coucombres* in the vernacular (*concombres* in modern French, *cucumbers* in English), Hebrew *ʾavatichim*, these are *bourraches* (also in modern French *bourrache*; *borage* in English), Hebrew *chazir*, that is leeks [Rashi says in Hebrew], *porrilles* in the vernacular (*poireaux* in modern French). The second example, the Hebrew word *ʾavatiach* also occurs in the Babylonian Talmud, tractate *ʿAvodah Zarah* ("On Idolatry"), fol. 30b, where Rashi explains this same word with the vernacular word *melon*, melon. This is also the modern meaning of the word in Israeli Hebrew.[1]

Similar explanations can be found throughout Rashi's commentaries giving evidence of two important factors: firstly, Hebrew and Aramaic are not exclusively the languages

[1] Breuer 1989; Grossman 1988: 400–11; *id.* 1995: 201–4.

of ancient Jewish sacred writings; they are still current for the sake of composing exegetical and other scholarly works; secondly, vernacular calques are inserted for additional clarification. Such loanwords were considered acceptable within the Franco-German milieu of traditional Jewish studies within certain bounds. Their function in Jewish commentaries is clearly determined: loanwords are helpful as synonyms in naming objects, persons, places and concepts found in Bible and Talmud. Only in this restricted sense are *le'azim* in Hebrew transcription a fully integrated component of the Hebrew text of Rashi's commentaries.

1.2. The situation which we observe here is connected with the higher stratum of the Jewish communities, the world of the Jewish sages and rabbis in the Franco-German or West Ashkenazic region. They must have understood that the rise of French and German vernaculars, and ultimately the rise of Yiddish alongside the use and study of Hebrew and Aramaic reflected a linguistic reality comparable to ancient times. An explicit comparison can be found in the ethical work of the thirteenth-century Spanish Jewish scholar Jonah Girondi: "They [the Jews in olden days] spoke *Targum* as their vernacular just as our vernacular in this land is *lo'ez* [the word for the Jewish correlates of Romance languages]". A sixteenth-century Yiddish translation of his work replaces the term *lo'ez* with *taytsh*. So from the days of the Persians until the end of the Talmudic Period (5th century CE) Hebrew remained the language of study and writing when Aramaic was already the spoken language of the Jews. The phenomenon repeated itself after the Arab conquests, when both Hebrew and Aramaic were the languages of writing, and Arabic was the spoken language, at the same time entering the domain of Jewish religion and scholarship. The use of Aramaic and Arabic for specific literary functions implied a certain standardisation in relation to the primacy of Hebrew by adapting and changing these languages into specific types of Judeo-languages. Features of this process of language contacts and fusions are similar to what happened during the birth and evolution of Yiddish, but the outcome is different due to the variety and multiplicity of linguistic environments in which Yiddish developed in the course of time.[2]

1.3. The significance of Judeo-Arabic was limited to the Iberian peninsula and never played any part in the West Ashkenazic region due to an external, historical factor: the *Reconquista* of Spain during and after the 11th century; and to an internal factor: the activities of illustrious Spanish-Jewish translators. They have contributed to the accessibility of important scientific, linguistic and philosophic works, for instance Maimonides' book *The Guide of the Perplexed*, so that the Jews in North-Western and Central European countries were able to take part in the cultural heritage of Sepharad, Andalusian Jewry. Aramaic was a different case. It was the language of the Targum, the Talmud, the mystical works of the group of the "Pietists of Ashkenaz" (*Chasidey Ashkenaz*), the Kabbalah, also partly of poetry and legalistic or halakhic treatises. Clearly enough, Aramaic in its rabbinic garb as *leshon Chazal*, the language of the Sages, was the *lingua franca* of Jewish schools and academies (*yeshivot*) in Western Europe, but also in many places of the East. Thus it much resembled the position of Latin as the scholastic medium in Christian religious and academic life. Rabbis and sages in France

[2] Weinreich 1980: 247–57; Katz 1985.

and Germany passed on their teachings in *loshn koydesh*, in Biblical Hebrew, the holy tongue, and if necessary they were also able to communicate in Hebrew during their manifold wanderings and meetings with sages of other places and countries. The literary products of the Ashkenazic sages are without any exception written in Hebrew and Aramaic, often conventional and traditional. These languages affected the characteristics of Yiddish from its very beginnings, and simultaneously defined the distinct status and function of Yiddish within Ashkenazic Jewish life.[3]

1.4. As much as Yiddish was spiced with lexical and grammatical components from *loshn koydesh* or Targumic and Talmudic Aramaic, *loshn gemore*, in the course of time the reverse became true as well. Yiddish encroached more frequently on the established practice of recording in Hebrew and Aramaic, first by intrusion of vernacular calques and glosses and later by acceptance of the literary possibilities of Yiddish within Jewish cultural and religious tradition. Prayers and supplications were recited and at a later moment recorded in Yiddish. Even halakhic laws and customs were prescribed in Yiddish, but this application of the language met with resistance.

One leading personality within Ashkenazic rabbinic tradition demonstrated an ambivalent attitude to the position of Yiddish which is illustrative for Ashkenazic Jewish society. Rabbi Jacob ben Moshe Moellin known by his acronym as Maharil was an important halakhic authority and communal head in the Rhineland at the beginning of the 15th century. In his halakhic compositions as well as in his *Responsa* one detects a tendency to promote the use of Yiddish in cases where the regulation had to be generally understood. Most famous is his Yiddish translation of the Aramaic text which is recited at the ceremony of elimination of *chomez* (leaven) from the house on the eve preceding Passover, so-called "*chomez*-burning". A clearly religious text was replaced by a formula of equal standing in Yiddish. However, when a contemporary scholar, Rabbi Chayyim Zarfati from Augsburg, composed a treatise on menstruation laws in Yiddish, apparently with the intention to reach a female audience who predominantly read Yiddish, the Maharil severely protested against what he called the popularisation and vulgarisation of Jewish law. Professional scholars have to keep lawmaking to themselves, and to deliver halakhic expositions to their students who will pass on practical regulation to the women. Yiddish in this respect seemed to the Maharil too instrumental in the danger of democratising halakhic literature. The resistance of the Maharil is of great importance for our understanding of the rabbinic *Zeitgeist*. Scholars were all too ready to give up their separate position by publishing summaries of halakhic law and law collections on a popular level in the current "language of Ashkenaz". The Maharil feared the vulgarisation of rabbinic studies and the loss of direct involvement of the rabbis in actual legislative practice leading to the neglect of performing the precepts of Torah and Talmud.[4]

1.5. The case of the Maharil proves that Yiddish was not the object of prejudice or derogation proper, but rather a serious threat to the social position of the learned. However, an element of sheer opposition to Yiddish cannot be denied when the Maharil

[3] Weinreich 1968; Fishman 1981.
[4] Yuval, 1988: 312–8.

expresses his resentment to translations of prayers in rhymed form in the manner of the Hebrew liturgy. In any case, Yiddish was very much alive and started to affect traditional Ashkenazic culture in branches where Hebrew and Aramaic were the principal languages of written communication. Here lies the border where the intrusion of Yiddish had to stop and the honour of Hebrew and Aramaic had to be guarded. Eventually Yiddish did not enter the domain of rabbinic literature, like Aramaic, but as the common vernacular it became the language of instruction and the regular idiom in schools and academies throughout Ashkenaz. This in itself proves that Yiddish had sufficient prestige to enter the world of learning and teaching, a clear parallel to the function of Jewish Aramaic and Judeo-Arabic in earlier days.

2. *The History of Yiddish in the Netherlands*

2.1. When German and East-European Jewish immigrants reached the Netherlands and settled mostly in Amsterdam during the 16th and 17th centuries, they brought with them the language of Ashkenaz, Yiddish in its Western and Central European form (the West Yiddish branch), and in its Eastern European form (the East Yiddish branch). Yiddish speech and writing persisted within the Dutch Ashkenazic community as the language of the rabbis and chief rabbis who studied and explained the Bible and Talmud almost exclusively in this language. In Amsterdam the meetings of the *parnasim*, the leaders and administrators of the community, were recorded in Yiddish. Soon Amsterdam Yiddish came into existence, and in the course of time it became pervaded with numerous Dutch and French words which were pronounced according to West Yiddish phonological rules. The Yiddish spoken by Eastern European Jews quickly resolved into this Amsterdam Yiddish dialect.[5]

2.2. The 18th-century German-Jewish Enlightenment movement, the *Haskalah*, aspired towards a rebirth of the Jewish people by the dissemination of the vernacular and the suppression of Yiddish. This was aimed at a more harmonious adjustment to the Gentile society. Yiddish was considered to be an obstacle on the road towards integration; the Jewish masses had to be released from their isolation by adopting German as the language of communication and instruction. In the Dutch Republic, however, the walls separating Jew and Gentile never had been as high and impenetrable as elsewhere. Even though the Ashkenazic Jews were not as well-adjusted to Dutch society as their Sephardic brethren, they did not feel themselves to be complete outcasts. Only during the French annexation of the Netherlands difficulties arose about the use of Yiddish. The High Consistory, a Jewish institution established by King Louis Napoleon in 1808, demanded the abolition of the so-called "Jewish Language", that is Yiddish, supported by both the Dutch authorities and a ruling élite of Jewish modernists who regarded Yiddish as the principal enemy of emancipation.

On May 11, 1813, the High Consistory decided to eliminate all linguistic distinctions for the following reasons:

[5] Beem 1954.

> One of the principal obstacles that cannot be removed too soon is that thus far for publications, public documents, receipts, etc. the Portuguese language, as well as Hebrew, and High- and Low-German [Yiddish] were used; especially this last so-called language has contributed in no small amount to subjecting our former High-German co-religionists to ridicule and scorn in the eyes of their fellow-citizens.[6]

The vast majority of Dutch Ashkenazic Jewry resisted the abolition of Yiddish, but the French inspired activities towards the Jews and their particular language did not stop with the end of French rule after the arrival of Prince William in Amsterdam on December 2, 1813. Louis Napoleon's policies continued to be instrumental in the decision making process under William once he was installed in Brussels as King William I of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands in 1815. Education reform was enforced by law upon the Jewish communities in 1817. New schools were set up and new teachers were appointed with huge financial support from the government in order to make secular and religious education accessible for all Jewish children, both rich and poor, boys as well as girls. School commissioners were sent to all parts of the country and checked the quality of education personnel and the use of proper teaching books. The language of instruction was Dutch, and traditional Jewish education was reduced to the study of the Hebrew language, the Bible and the standard liturgical texts. The education reform caused much dissent among the rabbis, who had lost grip on most aspects of Jewish cultural life. The result was a dichotomy between the emancipatory leaders of the communities and the rabbis who were pushed back into a kind of clerical caste.[7]

2.3. Otherwise the integration of the Dutch Jews led to an immediate decline in the status of Yiddish and evolved into the use of an uneasy blend of Dutch and Yiddish vocabulary by which an internal sociocultural and status stressing division found expression. Already in the first half of the 19th century Yiddish largely disappeared as the language of communication, but a new conception of its vocabulary was afforded in the culture of the popular strata. Yiddish phrases and expressions were assigned new sociolinguistic functions in the Dutch vernacular and predominantly in its dialects, particularly in the town dialect of Amsterdam as well as in some dialects of the Dutch provinces. Within the framework of several Jewish occupational groups in the domain of marketing and merchandising, Yiddish vocabulary turned into a cast-off popular colloquial of a very local stature, strongly intended for intragroup purposes. Before the Second World War such a layer of Yiddish also existed in the colloquial of the Jews of Winschoten.

3. *The history of the Jews of Winschoten.*

3.1. The first Jews arrived in the northeastern part of the Netherlands from East Frisia shortly after 1750, and settled in the town of Winschoten. In 1778 the Winschoten Jews asked for approval of the statutes for their synagogue, which shows that an organised community was already existing by that time. The congregation first met at the Buiten

[6] Michman 1995.
[7] Fuks-Mansfeld 1995: 213–5.

Venne until in 1797 a synagogue was built in the Langestraat with seats for seventy persons. During the first half of the 19th century rabbi Moses Frankforter stood at the head of a rapidly growing community. The number of Jews was considerable in relation to the entire population: 548 Jews were settled in Winschoten in 1859, 11.02 % of a total population of 4,972. Outside Amsterdam no community in the Netherlands ever reached such a high percentage. The synagogue was far too small, and in 1854 a new large building was opened in de Bosstraat. The population growth testified to the increased economic importance of Winschoten's Jewish community in the mid-nineteenth century. The majority of its members were engaged in many branches of commerce (cattle dealers, butchers, bakers, etc.). For generations trade and shopkeeping remained the key means of livelihood for the Jews of Winschoten. There were also Jewish teachers who started a school in 1859 for the instruction of approximately 90 pupils in the traditional Jewish faith.[8]

However, many Jews were poor and had to be supported by several *chewres* (charity institutions), such as *Gemilut Chasadim Qabranim* (the burial society whose original purpose was to bury the dead, but included a wide range of philanthropic activities) and *'Ateret Nashim* (women's society). Others were successful in the tobacco industry and trade. Beginning with the early 20th century, Jews played a seminal role in making Winschoten a regional center of social and cultural activities. Winschoten Jewry itself was highly organised: it offered a drama society, a dancing club, a youth club and a society for religious studies called *Talmud Torah*.

3.2. Hitler's rise to power in Germany in 1933 caused an influx of German refugees who remained in Winschoten until the outbreak of the Second World War in 1940. Only very few emigrated.

When the Germans occupied the Netherlands and the racist and anti-Semitic tide also engulfed Winschoten, the Jews found themselves facing increasing difficulties. In 1941 all Jews were deprived of their jobs, and their children were brought together in separate Jewish schools. The German and pro-German Dutch police, which was particularly strongly represented in Winschoten, arrested 500 Jews in August 1942 and sent them to concentration camp Westerbork. In February 1943 the last Jews had to leave their home town.[9]

3.3. After the war Jewish life could not be restored. Only nine persons survived by hiding, and four by escaping to Switzerland. The synagogue was looted, but the scrolls of the Torah were brought to Amsterdam at an early stage of the occupation, and were thus saved. The synagogue and Jewish school in the Bosstraat turned into an Orthodox Protestant church; only recently the Protestants left, and an art gallery was opened in the synagogue building. All that remains is the large Jewish cemetery at the St. Vitusholt and a monument.

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[8] Van Miert 1994: 105–12.

[9] J. Michman, Beem & D. Michman 1992: 562–3.

Appendix

List of Words reconstructed from Yiddish Colloquial in Winschoten[10]

(Word presentation according to Dutch and International Phonetic Spelling. Hebr. = Hebrew: Aram. = Aramaic; Yidd.= Yiddish; Slav. = Slavonic; Eng. = English; Germ. = German; D. = Dutch; Gr. = Groningen dialect)

acheln [ˈɑxəln] <Hebr. *ʾakhal*> to eat
achiele touve [ɑˈxi.lə tɔuvə] <Hebr. *ʾakhilah tova*> good meal!
addenooie [ɑdəˈno.ɪə] <Hebr. *ʾAdonay*> God; Oh my God! Good Heavens!
attelemiese [ɑdələˈmi.sə] <Hebr. *ʿad la-mitah*> to beat to death
asjeweine [ɑʃəˈʋɛɪnə] also **kasjeweine** [kɑʃəˈʋɛɪnə] <Hebr. *hashiveynu*> clear off!; lost, gone
awoude [ɑˈʋɔudə] <Hebr. *ʿavodah-zarah-*> Catholic church
baais [ba.ɪs] <Hebr. *bayit*> house, home
baal [ba.l] <Hebr. *baʿal*> man of, owner of
bedibbern [bəˈdɪbərn] also **dibbern** [ˈdɪbərn] <Hebr. *medabber*> to say, to speak
bechiete [bəˈxi.tə] <Hebr. *be-chittah*> afraid
bechinnem [bəˈxɪnəm] <Hebr. *be-chinnam*> for free, gratuitous
begeisjerd [bəˈxɛɪʃərt] <Hebr. *be-khaʿas*> angry
begoosje [bəˈxo.ʃə] <Hebr. *ba-chazi*> half
begrodelk [bəˈxro.dəlk] Gr.; also verb **begrooten** [bəˈxro.tn̩] <Hebr. *ba-charatah*> regretful; to feel sorry
behoie [bəˈho.ɪə] <Aram. *behtah*> (vulg.) vagina
beimer [ˈbɛɪmər] <Hebr. behemah> heifer
beis [bɛɪs] <Hebr. *bayit*> house, home; <also Germ. *böse*> bad, angry
bekaan nemen [bəˈka.n ne.m̩] <Hebr. *be-khan*> to arrest
bekattern [bəˈkatərn] <Hebr. *meqatreg*> to impose a fine
bemazzeld [bəˈmazəlt] <Hebr. *bar mazzal*> lucky person
benibbeld [bəˈnɪbəlt] <Hebr. *menabbel*> earned money
benozzeln [bəˈnɔzəln] <Hebr. *nazal*> to pay
bentern [ˈbɛntərn] <Hebr. *natar*> to walk around
besol [bəˈsɔl] also **besolletje** <D. dimin.> [bəˈsɔləcə] <Hebr. *be-zol*> cheap; bargain
berrieje [bəˈri.jə] <Hebr. *biryah*> creature; well-stacked woman
besjollemen [[bəˈʃɔləm̩] also **mesjollemen** [məˈʃɔləm̩] <Hebr. *meshallem*> to pay
besmatten [bəˈsmɑtn̩] also **massematten** [mɛsəmɑtn̩] <Hebr. *massa u-mattan*> to trade
betoeft [bəˈtu.ft] <Hebr. *batuach*> secure; rich
bewounes [bəˈʋunəs] <Hebr. *ba-ʿawonot*> terrible, horrible
bollebof [bɔləˈbɔf] also **bolleboffin** <D. fem. ending> [bɔləˈbɔfɪn] <Hebr. *baʿal(at) ha-bayit*> pater familias; clever (wo)man
boogerd [bo.ˈxərt] <Hebr. *bachur*> boy, man
boosder [bo.ṣˈdər] also **bozerd** [bo.ˈzərt] <Hebr. *basar*> meat

[10] Beem 1959 & 1967; Steenhuis 1978: 57–59; Meijer 1984, 16–62 & 1985; Postmus 1992.

brauges ['bra.ugəs] <Hebr. *be-rogez*> angry
chammer ['xɑmər], verb **chammern** ['xɑmərn] <Hebr. *chamor*> donkey; to work like a donkey
chesjiewes [xe'ʃi.ʋəs] <Hebr. *chashivut*> lovely child
daalven ['da.lm̩] <Hebr. *dalfon*> beggar; also D. verb: to beg
dallesdekker ['dɑləsdɛkər] <Hebr. *dallut* + D. nom.> pretender
droosjes ['dro.ʃəs] <Hebr. *derashot*> jokes
eikel ['ɛɪkəl] <Hebr. *'egel*> heifer, calf; **zai zat met eikel** she was pregnant
emmes ['ɛməs] <Hebr. *'emet*> true; wonderful
floite ['flɔɪtə] <Hebr. *pelitah*> (vulg.) vagina
fotse ['fɔtsə] also verb **fotsen** ['fɔtsn̩] <Hebr. *patsah*> fart; (vulg.) to defecate; **fotsdinkie** ['fɔtsdɪŋki.] <possibly Germ. *Furz* + D. nom.> worthless thing
gaaie ['xa.ɪə] also **gai** [xɑɪ] <Hebr. *goy*> Gentile; boss
gabberoeze [xɑbə'ru.zə] also **chawroeze** [xɑ'ʋru.zə] <Aram. *chavruta*> family, company
gadder ['xɑdər] also **gazzer** ['xɑzər] <Hebr. *chazir*> pig, pork
gadsjemone [xɑtʃə'mo.nə] <Hebr. *'emunah chadashah*> Protestant
gallef ['xɑləf] <Hebr. *challaf*> butcher's knife
gallemieze [xɑlə'mi.zə] <D. nom. *gal* + Hebr. *mi'us*> broken
gannefschore [xɑnəf'sxo.rə] <Hebr. *ganav* + *sechorah*> stolen goods
ganneke ['xɑnəkə] <Hebr. *chanukkah*> Hanukkah; fire
gazzer bozerd ['xɑzər 'bo.zərt] <Hebr. *besar chazir*> pork
gedages [xə'dɑ.xəs] <Hebr. *qadachat*> warning
gedallesd [xə'dɑləst] <Hebr. *dallut* as D. part. pass.> impoverished
gemieme [xə'mi.mə] <Aram. *chamina*> heat
gesjochten [xə'ʃɔxt] <Hebr. *shachat*> bad luck
getsjen ['xɛtʃn̩] <Hebr. *chazi*> to bargain
gezeries [xə'ze.ri.s] <Hebr. *gezerot*> trash
goluf [xɔ.løf] <Hebr. *chalav*> milk
goosderd ['xo.s̩dərt] <Hebr. *chatan*> smart guy
goref moaken ['xo.rəf mɔ.kŋ] <Hebr. *charev* + D. verb> to let it go wrong
goumel ['xa.uməl] <Hebr. *gomel*> safety
heitjevinder ['hɛɪcəʋɪndər] <Hebr. *heh* + D. nom.> pilferer
heivel ['hɛɪʋəl] <Hebr. *hevel*> untrustworthy
iesje ['i.ʃə] also **niejsj** ['ni.ʃə], **niese** ['ni.sə] <Hebr. *'ishah*> (pejorat.) woman, shrew
jakker ['jɑkər] also **jakkes** ['jɑkəs] <Hebr. *yaqar*> expensive
jatschore [jɑt'sxo.rə] <Hebr. *yad* + *sechorah*> stolen goods
jatslag ['jɑtslɑx] <Hebr. *yad* + D. nom.> theft
jelolem [jə'lo.ləm] D. Yidd. **jelodem** [jə'lo.dəm] <Hebr. *yeled*> youth
jidde ['jɪdə] Yidd. **jid** + Gr. **jeude** <Hebr. *yehudi*> Jew, Jewish
jirrebaais ['jɪrəba.js] <Gr. nom. + Hebr. *bayit*> (vulg.) toilet
jomtef ['jomtəf] <Hebr. *yom tov*> holiday
joppe ['jɔpə] also **jonne** [jɔnə] <Hebr. *yofi*> beautiful (woman)
jouke ['jɔukə] also **jouker** ['jɔukər] <Hebr. *yaqar*> expensive
joune ['jɔunə] <Hebr. *Yonah*> hunch(back)
kajim ['ka.jɪm] <Hebr. *Hayyim*> Jew

katerouges [kɑtəˈrɔuxəs] <Hebr. *qever avot*> tombstone, cemetery
katser [ˈkɑtsər] <Hebr. *qazzar*> butcher
kauge [ˈkɑ.uxə] <Hebr. *koach*> strong
kavveriele [kɑʊəˈri.lə] <Hebr. *kfar*> peasants
keifroof [kɛɪfˈro.f] <Hebr. *qever* + Germ. *Hof* or Hebr. *'avot*; or shortened D. Yidd. *ovous*> cemetery
keilef [ˈkɛɪləf] <Hebr. *kelev*> dog
keinen [ˈkɛɪn̩] Yidd. <Hebr. *qoneh*; *qinyan*> to buy; **verkeinen** [ʊərkɛɪnn̩] to sell
kemel [ˈke.məl] <Hebr. *qamal*> louse; pest
kin [kɪn] <Hebr. *ken*> okay, all right
kinnef [ˈkɪnəf] <Hebr. *kinnim*> louse
kleizn [ˈklɛɪzn̩] <Germ. *Kloß*> (meat, dough) balls; <Hebr. *kley zayin*?> (vulg.) testicles
klounemous [ˈklɔunəmɔus] <Hebr.-Greek *Qalonimos*> unlucky person
kof [kɔf] <Hebr. *qof*, *quf*> beautiful body
koken [ˈko.kŋ] also **koten** [ˈko.tn̩] <Hebr. *qatan*> little boy
kousjer [ˈkɔuʃər] also **kouster** [ˈkɔustər] <Hebr. *kasher*> kosher
koverd [ko.ˈʊərt] <Hebr. *kavod*> honour; euphem. **koverd geven** <D. verb> litt. to give honour = to pay back, revenge
lauw [la.u] <Aram. *law*; Hebr. *lo*> no, not
lauwdieper [ˈla.udi.pər] <Gr. nom.> lazy person; good-for-nothing
lauw sjoege [la.w ˈʃu.xə] <Hebr. *teshuvah*> stupid
lauw kans [la.w kɑns] <D. nom.> no chance
lauw makke [la.w ˈmɑkə] <Hebr. *makkah*> I don't care
leizen [ˈlɛɪzn̩] <Hebr. *lezah*> to fool someone
lekeive [ləˈkɛɪʊə] <Hebr. *neqevah*> girl, woman
lemone [ləˈmo.nə] <Hebr. *almanah*> widow; girl
leviege [ləˈʊi.xə] <Hebr. *nefichah*> exaggeration; nothing
maaiemen [ˈma.ɪəm̩] <Hebr. *mayim*> (vulg.) to urinate
makkement [mɑkəˈmɛnt] <Hebr. *makke* + D. nom. *mankement*> problem, concern
mamzer [ˈmɑmzər] <Hebr. *mamzer*> bastard; strong guy; **vermamzen** [ʊərˈmɑmzn̩] to betray
mecholle [məˈxɔlə] <Hebr. *mekhulleh*> broke
mees [me.s] <Hebr. *maʿot*> money, also **mesietem** [məˈsi.təm] money
megome [məˈxomə] <Hebr. *milchamah*> war
meimes [ˈmɛɪməs] <Hebr. *memit*> dead
mekaaiem [məˈkɑɪəm] also **mechaaiem** [məˈxɑɪəm] <Hebr. *makkah* or *meqayyem*> to beat someone up
melogem [məˈlo.xəm] also **meloffem** [məˈlɔfəm] <Hebr. *melakhah*> labour, work; verb **melogemen** [məˈlo.xəm̩] (vulg.) to have intercourse; **melogemkit** [məˈlo.xəmkɪt] <+ D. nom.> brothel
merode [məˈro.də] <Hebr. *mumrad*> poverty
meseive [məˈsɛɪʊə] <Hebr. *mazzevah*> tombstone
mesokken [məˈsɔkN̩] <Hebr. *meshugga'*> crazy, mad
mesjame [məˈʃa.mə] <Hebr. *neshamah*> spirit, soul
mesomme [məˈsomə] <Hebr. *mezumman*> cash money

miesgaster ['mi.sxɑstər] <Hebr. *mi'us* + Gr. nom.> villain
miezemenobel ['mi.zəməno.bəl] <Hebr. *menuwwal*> ugly person
mispoge [mɪs'po.xə] <Hebr. *mishpachah*> family
mitte ['mɪtə] <Hebr. *mittah*> bed
moetern ['mu.tərn] <Hebr. *matar*> (vulg.) to urinate
mom [mom] <Hebr. *mum*> shortcoming
nepschore ['nɛpsxo.rə] <D. nom. + Hebr. *sechorah*> bad company
neweire [nə'vɛɪrə] <Hebr. *'averah*> a pity, a waste
nieges ['ni.xəs] <Hebr. *nichet* or *nichush*> inferior, faulty
oetsen ['u.tsǫ] <Hebr. *'azah*, *la-'uz*> to urge; to rattle
ofpeigerd ['ɔfpɛɪxərt] <D. part. pass. + Hebr. *peger*> exhausted
olem sjolem ['o.ləm 'ʃo.ləm] <Hebr. *'alaw ha-shalom*> dead, deceased
otergaaie ['o.tərxa.ɪə] <like Eng. *other* + Hebr. *goy*> foreigner
paaiges ['pa.ɪxəs] <Hebr. *pachad/pachat*> fear
paane ['pa.nə] <Hebr. *panim*> ugly face
paige ['pɑɪxə] also **pigge** ['pɪxə] <Hebr. *peh*> mouth; **hai flamt oet de paige** he has a bad smell; **jomtefpigge** ['jomtəfpɪxə] 'Sunday' cigar
pargekop ['pɑrxəkɔp] also **parregkop** ['pɑrəxkɔp] <Hebr. *poreach* or Slav. *parch* + D. nom.> pain in the neck
patsef ['pɑtsɛf] <Hebr. *parzuf*> face; head
patter ['pɑtər] also **pattern** ['pɑtərn] <Hebr. *patar*> lost; bankrupt
patterschore ['pɑtərsxo.rə] <Hebr. *patar* + *sechorah*> junk sale
peizeltje ['pɛɪzəlcə] <Hebr. *pesel*> beauty; femme fatale
pestponem ['pɛstpo.nəm] <D. nom. + Hebr. *panim*> malicious person
poerem ['pu.rəm] <Hebr. *Purim*> noise, business
poosje ['po.ʃə] also **poser** ['po.sər] <Hebr. *pashut*> penny; **gain poosje in de melef** no penny in the pockets
porre ['pɔrə] <Hebr. *parah*> cow
ramschores ['rɑmsxo.rəs] <D. nom. + Hebr. *sechorah*> junk, waste
rauzen ['ra.uzn̩] <Hebr. *ra'ash*> to be noisy; to be busy
rewegum ['re.vəxøm] also **reivel** ['rɛɪvəl] <Hebr. *rewach*(*im*)> profit, gain
roeges ['ru.xəs] <Hebr. *ruchot*> squabble, quarrel
ros [rɔs] <Hebr. *rosh*> head; **mole in 't rosje** insane; **damper in de ros** smoking a cigar
scheftgaaie ['sxɛftxa.jə] <Hebr. *goy*> bad company
seibelbaais ['sɛɪbəlba.ɪs] <Hebr. *zevel* + Hebr. *bayit*> (vulg.) toilet
seige ['sɛɪxə] <Hebr. *sekhel*> brains
seraag [sə'ra.x] <Hebr. *serach*> cigar
siene ['si.nə] <Hebr. *shin*> police
sjabbessikse ['ʃɑbəsɪksə] <Hebr. *shabbat* + Hebr. *shiqzah*> 'a maid for Saturdays'
sjakkel ['ʃɑkəl] also **sjakkeln** ['ʃɑkəln] <Hebr. *she-ha-kol*> strong drinks; to have strong drink; **sjakkelbaais** ['ʃɑkəlba.js] <Hebr. *bayit*> pub, bar; **zich versjakkeln** ['vərʃɑkəln] to drown oneself
sjauve ['ʃɑ.uvə] <Hebr. *shaweh*> worthy; value
sjeiger ['ʃɛɪxər] <Hebr. *sheqez* or *sheqer*> nasty person
sjekoere [ʃə'ku.rə] <Hebr. *shikhrut*> drunken, drunkenness

sjereis [ʃə'rɛɪs] <Hebr. *sherets*> slap, stroke
sjereive [ʃə'rɛɪvə] <Hebr. *serefah*> fire
sjerochem [ʃə'rɔxəm] <Hebr. *sirchon*> smell
sjonef ['ʃo.nəf] also **zonef** ['zo.nəf] <Hebr. *zanav*> (vulg.) penis
sjos [ʃɔs] <Hebr. *sus*> horse; **sjozzenboozerd** ['ʃɔzn̩bo.zərt] <Hebr. *besar ha-sus*> horse meat
skaug [ska.ux] <Hebr. *yiyshar kochakha*> Well done!
skorremen ['skɔrəm̩] <Hebr. *sheqarim*> to deny, to lie
smouslegum [smɔushle.xøm] <D. Yidd. nom. + Hebr. *lechem*> Passover bread
snaaien ['sna.ɪn̩] <Hebr. *shinnayim*> mouth, teeth
Soddem ['sɔdəm] <Hebr. *Sedom* (?)> nickname for the town of Winschoten; **Soddemer** ['sɔdəmər], **Soddemse** ['sɔdəmsə] inhabitant of Winschoten
sounekerel ['sɔunəke.rəl] <Hebr. *sone* + D. nom.> skunk; son-of-a-bitch?
tofel ['to.fəl] <Hebr. *tafel*> unimportant, old
tofelemone [to.fələ'mo.nə] <Hebr. *'emunah tefelah*> Catholic
togesponem ['to.xəspo.nəm] <Hebr. *tachat* + Hebr. *panim*> baby face
tomme ['tomə] <Hebr. *tame*> infirm, lame
treifel ['trɛɪfəl] <Hebr. *taref*> bad; **treifelgaaie** ['trɛɪfəlxa.jə] <+Hebr. *goy*> villain
verjibbe [vər'jɪbə] <Hebr. *'ibbur* and Germ. *vorüber*> way; away; **verjibbern** [vər'jɪbərn] to go away

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THE DELUSION OF IDENTIFICATION:
The Term Madhhab in Arabic grammatical tradition.

Monique Bernards[1]

0. Two major features characterise the Arabic grammatical tradition of the Middle Ages.[1] First, central to all Arabic linguistic studies is one unique book, dating from the end of the second century AH / eighth century CE, which is simply known by its author's name, *Kitāb Sībawayh*.[3] At the same time, however, Arabic tradition emphasises the existence of two competing schools of grammar, the school of Basra and its counterpart Kufa. These two features constitute something of a paradox: on the one hand there is the undeniable pivotal role of the grammatical work of a single individual, while on the other hand there are two competing schools.

A 'school' implies more than just an aggregate of individuals: it is a group of scholars who share common viewpoints and/or methods. Scholars who belong to a school identify with each other and with the group as a whole. The members of a school tend to see themselves as constituting a whole which can be differentiated from others in society. In other words, when reference to others is made this done in an us/them intellectual framework by the members of a school. As such, a school is a social identifier *par excellence*. The pressure or need of identifying with a school may, however, lead to incorrect generalisations. If the attribution of belonging to a particular school outweighs the individual's own viewpoints and/or methods the identification with a school may be illusory when one looks at contents and matters of substance.

That there were two schools in the Arabic grammatical tradition is explicitly stated as a matter of fact by the philologist Ibn al-Anbārī (d. 577/1181), who wrote a work with a very telling title: *al-Inṣāf fī masā'il al-khilāf bayna al-naḥwiyyīna al baṣriyyīna wa-al-kūfiyyīn* 'The Equity: On the Controversial Questions between the Basrans and the Kufans'.[4] To denote the concept 'school', contemporary scholars use the terms *madrasa*

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[1] Law 1997 provides a very lively account of the western tradition in approximately the same time span covered in this article.

[3] Abū Bishr ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān Sībawayh, *Kitāb Sībawayh*, ed. by Hartwig Derenbourg, 2 vols., Paris 1881 (repr.: Hildesheim/New York 1970). Sībawayh's *Kitāb* is the first full-fledged grammar of Arabic. Baalbaki 1995 notes the interesting fact that Sibawayh's work is simply known as "the book", which is probably due to its author's early death.

[4] Abū al-Barakāt ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Abī Saʿīd al-Anbārī, *Al-Inṣāf fī masā'il al-khilāf bayna al-naḥwiyyīna al-Baṣriyyīna wa-al-Kūfiyyīn*, ed. by Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, 2 vols., n.p. 1982. It should be pointed out that accounts have survived, reporting that earlier grammarians like, for instance, Ibn Kaysān (d. ca. 299/911) and Abū Jaʿfar al-Naḥḥās (d. 338/950), wrote about differences between Basran and Kufan grammar. These works are, however, not extant (see Sezgin 1984: 23–24). Abū al-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Isḥāq al-Zajjājī (d. 337/949), *Al-Īḍāḥ fī ʿilal al-naḥw* (ed. by Māzin al-Mubārak, Beirut 1986) is sometimes looked upon as an *ikhtilāf* work (Sezgin 1984: 23), especially since it refers to divergent Kufan terminology (*Īḍāḥ* 79–80), but the work in its entirety is not devoted to differences in approach of two

or *madhhab*.[5] The word *madrasa* is, however, not found in the classical Arabic linguistic sources, though the term *madhhab* does occur very frequently. Particularly in the field of Islamic jurisprudence, the term *madhhab* developed in a comparable fashion in the Arabic grammatical tradition.[6] The aim of this contribution is to shed some light on the bakground of the apparent paradox referred to at the outset, by a reexamination of the earliest grammatical and biographical sources which had been written prior to Ibn al-Anbārī.

1. *Overview of the grammatical and biographical sources until Ibn al-Anbārī.*

An overview of grammatical and biographical sources is found in Figure 1. The most important feature in Figure 1 is the fact that the grammatical sources are older than the biographical ones. This key feature must continuously be kept in mind as we discuss the sources and afterwards analyse their references to Basra and Kufa.

1.1. *Grammatical sources.*

Only a few grammatical texts are extant that date back to the first generation of grammarians after Sībawayh. Apart from the latter's *Kitāb*, we have the grammatiical commentaries of the Koran by the Basran grammarian al-Akhfash and the Kufan al-Farrāʾ, both contemporaries of Sībawayh, and who both died at the beginning of the third/ninth century.[7]

From the next generation we only have the lexicographical works of al-Akhfashʾ pupil al-Māzinī, a work preserved in the commentary by Ibn Jinnī, and by Quṭrub, allegedly Sībawayhʾs only pupil.[8] It is with the third generation of grammarians, that of Thaʿlab (d. 291/904) and al-Mubarrad (d. 285/898), that the flow of grammatical works really starts.[9] Thaʿlab and al-Mubarrad are traditionally considered to be *the* representatives of respectively the Kufan and the Basran schools of grammar, although both scholars lived and worked most of their lives in the new academic centre of Baghdad around the middle of the third/ninth century. Their pupils and their pupils' pupils were primarily the ones who have provided us with most of the excellent linguistic studies through which we now know the Arabic grammatical tradition.

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alleged schools. See also Bernards 1997: 15.

[5] Makhzūmī introduced the term *madrasa* to denote 'grammatical school'; *madhhab* is used by, amongst others, Baalbaki and Talmon (Mahdī Makhzūmī, *Madrasat al-Kūfa wa-minhājuhā fī al-lugha wa-al-naḥw*, 3rd edition, Beirut 1955; Baalbaki 1981; Talmon 1986).

[6] As Makdisi states, in juridical studies *madhhab* is translated as 'school' albeit for lack of a better term (Makdisi 1981: 1). On the development of *madhhab* in Islamic law see now Melchert 1997. A comparison of the development of Arabic grammar with that of Islamic jurisprudence is made by Carter and Talmon (Carter 1973; Talmon 1985).

[7] Abū Ḥasan Saʿīd b. Masʿada al-Akhfash al-Awsaṭ, *Maʿānī al-Qurʾān*, ed. by ʿAbd al-Amīr Muḥammad Amīn al-Ward, 2 vols., Beirut 1985; Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā b. Ziyād al- Farrāʾ, *Maʿānī al-Qurʾān*, ed. by Aḥmad Yūsuf Najatī and Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Najjār, 3 vols., Cairo 1980.

[8] Abū al-Fatḥ ʿUthmān b. Jinnī, Al-Munṣif, *Sharḥ kitāb al-taṣrīf li-Abī ʿUthmān al-Māzinī*, ed. by Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā and ʿAbdallāh Amīn, 3 vols., Cairo 1954–1960; Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. al-Mustanīr Quṭrub, *Kitāb al-farq*, ed. by Khalīl Ibrāhīm al-ʿAṭiyya, Cairo 1987.

[9] Abū al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Mubarrad, *Kitāb al-muqtaḍab*, ed. by Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Khāliq ʿUḍayma, 4 vols., Cairo 1949–1978; Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā Thaʿlab, *Majālis Thaʿlab*, ed. by ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, 2 vols., Cairo 1969.

Figure 1: Overview of Gammatical and Biopraphical Sources Mentioned in this Article

A: GRAMMATICAL SOURCES

Al-Khalīl (d. *ca.* 170/786)	*Kitāb al-ʿAyn*
Sībawayh (d. *ca.* 180/796)	*Al-Kitāb*
Al-Farrāʾ (d. 207/822)	*Maʿānī al-Qurʾān*
Quṭrub (d. 210/825)	*Kitāb al-Farq*
Al-Akhfash (d. ca. 215/830)	*Maʿānī al-Qurʾān*
Al-Māzinī (d. 248/862)	*Kitāb al-Taṣrīf*
Al-Mubarrad (d. 285/898)	*Al-Muqtaḍab*
Thaʿlab (d. 291/904)	*Majālis Thaʿlab*
Ibn Kaysʿn (d. *ca.* 299/911)	*Al-Muwaffaqī fī al-Naḥw*
Al-Zajjāj (d. 311/923)	*Mā Yanṣarif wa-mā lā Yanṣarif*
Al-Zajjājī (d. *ca.* 337/949)	*Majālis al-ʿUlamā-/Al-Jumal/Al-Īḍāḥ*
Al-Sīrāfī (d. 368/958)	*Sharḥ Kitāb Sībawayh Al-Idghām*
Al-Fārisī (d. 377/987)	*Aqsām al-Akhbār*
Ibn Jinnī (d. 392/1002)	*Al-Munṣif: Sharḥ Kitāb al-Taṣrīf*
Ibn al-Anbārī (d. 577/1181)	*Al-Inṣāf fī Masāʾil al-Khilāf*

B. BIOGRAPHICAL SOURCES

Al-Tirmidhī (d. *ca.* 250/864)	[*Makhṭūṭ ʿan Marātib al-Naḥwiyyīn*]
Al-Muqriʾ (d. 349/960)	*Akhbār al-Naḥwiyyīn*
Abū al-Ṭayyib (d. 351/962)	*Marātib al-Naḥwiyyīn*
Al-Sīrāfī (d. 368/958)	*Akhbār al-Naḥwiyyīna wa-al-Lughawiyyīn*
Al-Zubaydī (d. 379/989)	*Ṭabaqāt al-Naḥwiyyīna wa-al-Lughawiyyīn*
Al-Marzubānī (d. 384/993)	*Nūr al-Qabas al-Mukhtaṣar min al-Muqtabas*
Al-Tanūkhī (d. 442/1050)	*Tārīkh al-ʿUlamāʾ al-Naḥwiyyīn*
Ibn al-Anbārī (d. 577/1181)	*Nuzhat al-Alibbāʾ fī Ṭabaqāt al-Udabāʾ*

Apart from the linguistic exposés and the grammatical commentaries, we have the so-called *majālis* 'reports', and the *masā'il ikhtilāfiyya* 'controversial questions', which attest to heated debates amongst the grammarians in Baghdad. The *majālis* of Tha'lab date from the end of the third/ninth century, and those of Zajjājī from the middle of the fourth/tenth century.[10] The most famous work of this genre, however, is the above-mentioned *Inṣāf fī masā'il al-khilāf* which was written by the sixth/twelfth-century grammarian Ibn al-Anbārī. This work discusses grammarians' points of debate in the context of differences between Basrans and Kufans.

1.2. *Biographical sources*

Besides these early grammatical sources, there are also a few early biographical works on the grammarians. In all likelihood, al-Tirmidhī's *Risāla* is the oldes extant biographical dictionary on grammarians. It is primarily devoted to a chronological listing of grammarians who were active until approximately the middle of the third/ninth century. It is nevertheless interesting in that it seems to be a proclamation of Kufan supremacy over Basran grammarians.[11] With the *Akhbār* of al-Muqri' and Abū al-Ṭayyib's *marātib*, both dating from the middle of the fourth/tenth century, biographical information on grammarians slowly but surely commences to grow.[12] All of these early works have information on the most important grammarians known at the time irrespective of their geographical or academic background.

It is with al-Sīrāfī's *Akhbār* that the first categorical selection is made: he includes only Basran grammarians.[13] The other sources from the fourth/tenth century, al-Zubaydī and al-Marzubānī, both classify their grammarians according to geographic origin.[14] Furthermore, al-Zubaydī does not limit himself to grammarians from Basra, Kufa, or Baghdad; he includes Egyptian, North-African and Andalusian scholars as well, though he opts for a strict categorisation of these grammarians.

Al-Tanūkhī also makes a distinction between grammarians of Kufa and Basra. He wrote his *Tārīkh al-'Ulamā' al-Naḥwiyyīn* in Baghdad where he studies and taught grammar for some time. This author commences his work by mentioning his Baghdadi contemporaries and goes back in time, primarily through teacher-pupil lines all the way to the alleged founder of grammar Abū al-Aswad al-Du'alī.[15]

Here, too, our survey of the earliest sources ends with Ibn al-Anbārī, whose *Nuzhat al-Alibbā' fī Ṭabaqāt al-Udabā'* clearly presents the grammarians as representatives of two divergent and clashing groups.[16] Just one glance at the *Nuzhat* suffices to notice that,

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[10] Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Isḥāq al-Zajjājī, *Majālis al-'ulamā'*, ed. by 'Abd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, Cairo 1983.

[11] Abū Ḥāmid Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Shaybān al-Tirmidhī, [*Makhṭūṭ farīd nafīs 'an marātib al-naḥwiyyīn*], ed. by Hāshim al-Ṭa'ī'ān, *Al-Mawrid* 3/2 (1974), 137–144.

[12] Abū Ṭāhir 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. 'Umar al-Muqri', *Akhbār al-naḥwiyyīn*, ed. by Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Bannā', Cairo 1981; Abū al-Ṭayyib 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. 'Alī, *Marātib al-naḥwiyyīn*, ed. by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1955.

[13] Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥasan b. 'Abdallāh al-Sīrāfī, *Akhbār al-naḥwiyyīna al-Baṣriyyīn*, ed. by Fritz Krenkow, Paris and Beirut 1936.

[14] Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt al-naḥwiyyīna wa-al-lughawiyyīn*, ed. by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1973; Abū 'Ubaydallāh Muḥammad b. 'Imrān al-Marzubānī, *Nūr al-qabas al-mukhtaṣar min al-muqtabas*, ed. by Rudolf Sellheim, Wiesbaden 1964.

[15] Abū al-Maḥāsin al-Mufaḍḍal b. Muḥammad al-Tanūkhī al-Ma'arrī, *Tārīkh al-'ulamā' al-naḥwiyyīna min al-Baṣriyyīna wa-al-Kūfiyyīna wa-ghayrihim*, ed. by 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥulw, Riyad 1981.

[16] Abū al-Barakāt 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Abū Sa'īd al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-alibbā' fī ṭabaqāt*

as far as Arab tradition is concerned, a dichotomy between the grammatical schools of Basra and Kufa was, according to this source, an undeniable fact, a tradition which continues till this very day. And this is exactly the reason why later works, though invaluable for other purposes, have been excluded from my investigation into the references to the so-called Basran/Kufan dichotomy.

2. *Examination of the sources .*

Central to the reexamination that follows are two focal points which have been used in an attempt to discover how grammarians and their biographers referred to the Basran/Kufan dichotomy in the pre-Ibn al-Anbārī period: (1) direct and straightforward references to Basran of Kufan grammarians as a group, and (2) the occurrence of the term *madhhab* in relation to individual grammarians or to grammarians as a group. The results with regard to these two points will first be presented for the grammatical sources, before we do the same for the biographical ones.

2.1. *Grammatical sources*

It can be stated that in general Kufans and Basrans are referred to as a group in the grammatical sources as *ahl al-Kūfa / al-Kūfiyyūn* and *ahl al-Baṣra / al-Baṣriyyūn* respectively. The compilers of these sources use the term madhhab for a group as well as for a personal approach.

No trace of a dichotomy between a Basran and a Kufan school is found in the oldest grammatical sources. Neither Sībawayh nor al-Farraʿ makes reference to grammarian-colleagues as a group of scholars organised according to geographical origin or common doctrine. Al-Akhfash al-Awsaṭ, as far as I was able to ascertain, does not mention Basrans of Kufans as a group either.

The first scholars to allude to grammarians as two different groups were al-Mubarrad and Thaʿlab. References to Basrans are scarce in al-Mubarrad's works, and only once does he refer to the Kufans.[17] Al-Mubarrad makes use of the term *madhhab* sparingly and in reference to both individual grammarians and a group of grammarians.[18] Thaʿlab's *majālis* deal specifically with grammatical discussions. Noneheless one encounters not only differences between individual grammarians, but Thaʿlab also refers to the Basrans and the Kufans as groups: *ahl al-Baṣra* and *ahl al-Kūfa*.[19] This grammarian uses the term *madhhab* just once, in *qāla ahl al-Baṣra ... wa-hādhā madhhabuhum*.[20]

As time goes by, an increase of the tendency to refer to the two groups of grammarians in relation to disagreements in theories and opinions is observed. To be sure, not all occurrences of *ahl al-Baṣra / al Baṣriyyūn* and *ahl al-Kūfa / al-Kūfiyyūn* point to differences between the two groups. On the contrary, in some instances the stress is

al-udabāʾ, ed. by ʿAṭiyya ʿĀmir, Stockholm 1963.

[17] Al-Mubarrad, *Muqtaḍab* I, 240, 245, 248; II, 82; III, 56 (*al-Baṣriyyūn*); II, 153 (*al-Kūfiyyūn*). Owens remarks that nearly all the references are early in the volumes, as if having identified himself as a Basran, al-Mubarrad does not have to continue using the term (Owens 1988: 268).

[18] Al-Mubarrad, *Muqtaḍab* I, 278; III, 117.

[19] Thaʿlab, *Majālis* : *Ahl al-Baṣra* sixteen times; *al-Baṣriyyūn* three times; *aṣḥābunā* ('our colleagues') six times; *ahl al-Kūfa* twice.

[20] Thaʿlab, *Majālis* 422.

on agreements between Kufans and Basrans – or some of them[21] – and sometimes grammarians are referred to as one single large group, the *naḥwiyyūn*.[22]

Madhhab as a term appears to be predominantly used to denote a group approach, even though it remains in use to referto a personal approach in grammatical texts which came into being after the works of al-Mubarrad and Thaʿlab.[23] Moreover, the term was not limited in linguistic studies to grammarians' views as, for instance, the expression "*wa-madhhab al-ʿArab*" illustrates.[24]

It is evident from this review of references to the Basran/Kufan dichotomy in the grammatical sources that when grammarians wanted to identify with one particular group that opposed the other, they used the denotation which originated in geography – *ahl al-Baṣra / al-Baṣriyyūna* and *ahl al-Kūfa / al-Kūfiyyūna*. They did not have a technical term for 'schools'. *Madhhab* sometimes comes very close to denoting a school – when it is used to reflect a group approach – but it remains in use for a personal approach as well. Very interesting in this regard is the fact that the use of *madhhab* for an individual approach seems to be mostly restricted to the early grammarians. Al-Khalīl, Sībawayh, al-Akhfash, al-Kisāʾī, al-Farrāʾ, and sometimes Quṭrub and al-Mubarrad, are said to have had their own *madhhab*.

2.2. *Biographical sources*

Abū Ḥāmid al-Tirmidhī – our earliest extant biographical source for grammarians – does not discuss grammatical issues. This compiler mentions the grammarians about whom he is writing by way of geographical reference only, to wit *ahl al-Baṣra* and *ahl al-Kūfa*.[25] It is interesting to note that the term *madhhab* is part of Abū Ḥāmid al-Tirmidhī's vocabulary, but he only uses it to refer to a personal approach.[26] No references to Basran grammarians as a group are encountered in the *Akhbār* of al-Muqriʾ, and the Kufans are mentioned once as *ahl al-Kūfa*.[27] I did not come across the word *madhhab* in this source. It seems that Abū al-Ṭayyib had more of a need than his contemporary al-Muqriʾ to classify the grammarians: in the *Marātib*, a work of approximately one hundred pages, we find ten references to Kufans and twelve to Basrans as a group (*ahl al-Baṣra / al-Baṣriyyūn* and *ahl al-Kūfa / al-Kūfiyyūn*). According to Abū al-Ṭayyib, both groups have *ʿilm* and *ʿulamāʾ*, and he uses *madhhab* only to reflect a personal approach.[28]

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[21] Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. al-Sarī al-Zajjāj, *Mā yanṣarif wa-mā lā yanṣarif*, ed. by Hudā Maḥmūd Qarāʿa, Cairo 1971, 7, 101; Abū al-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Isḥāq al-Zajjājī, *Kitāb al-jumal fī al-naḥw*, ed. by ʿAlī Tawfīq al-Ḥamad, Beirut 1986, 84, 98; Abū Saʿīd al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbdallāh al-Sīrāfī, *Sharḥ Kitāb Sībawayh*, ed. by Ramaḍān ʿAbd al-Tawwāb, 2 vols.-, Cairo 1986, 1990-, I, 184; II, 104, 137–138.

[22] Al-Zajjāj, *Mā yanṣarif* 17, 29, 101; al-Sīrāfī, *Sharḥ* II, 145; also Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Fārisī, *Aqsām al-akhbār*, ed. by ʿAlī Jābir al-Manṣūrī, *Al-Mawrid* 7/3 (1978), 201–220, 207.

[23] Al-Zajjāj, *Mā yanṣarif* 52, 63, 76, 93, 122; *al-Zajjājī, Īḍāḥ* 56, 60, 72, 93, 107, 130–134; al-Zajjājī, *Jumal* 112, 165, 281, 341; Abū Saʿīd al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbdallāh al-Sīrāfī, *Mā dhakarahu al-Kūfiyyūna min al-idghām*, ed. by Ṣabīḥ Ḥamūd al-Shūtī, *Al-Mawrid* 12/2 (1983) 132, 136, 144 (this short work by al-Sīrāfī is a refutation of alleged Kufan criticism of Sībawayh); al-Sīrāfī, *Sharḥ* I, 222.

[24] Al-Sīrāfī, *Idghām* 127–150, 136; al-Sīrāfī, *Sharḥ* II, 76; also al-Zajjāj, *Mā yanṣarif* 76: *fa-hādhā madhhab Ahl al-Ḥijāz*.

[25] Al-Tirmidhī, *Makhṭūṭ* : *ahl al-Baṣra* 139b, 140a, 142a; *ahl al-Kūfa* 140a, 143b.

[26] For instance, *madhhab Abū ʿAmr* and *madhhab al-Aṣmaʾī* : al-Tirmidhī, *Makhṭūṭ* 140a, 140b, 143a.

[27] Al-Muqriʾ, *Akhbār* 22.

[28] Abū al-Ṭayyib, *Marātib* : *ahl al-Kūfa / al-Kūfiyyūn* 88, 94, 95; *ahl al-Baṣra / al-Baṣriyyūn* 84, 85, 92, 93; both Kufans and Basrans 26, 47, 68, 71, 86; *madhhab* as a personal approach of al-Farrāʾ, al-Kisāʾī and

As one scrutinises the entirety of the early biographical sources, one discovers that they usually refer to Basrans and Kufans as *ahl al-Baṣra* / *ahl al-Kūfa* or as *al-Baṣriyyūn* / *al-Kūfiyyūn*. The use of these terms does not fundamentally change in the course of time. The terms denote Basran and Kufan grammarians as a group, and they are especially used when there is a need to contrast the two groups as to geographic origin or academic bakground. As far as the grammatical content is concerned, the biographical sources in general only discuss disagreements between *individual* grammarians.

The use of the term *madhhab*, however, did change in the course of time. Abū al-Ṭayyib regards it exclusively as an individual approach. Al-Sīrāfī tells us that there are two approaches (*madhhabān*) and that some grammarians mix the two (*khalaṭa al-madhhabayn*).[29] Al-Sīrāfī uses this expression for the first time when he discusses the generation of his own teachers at the beginning of the fourth/tenth century. From that time onwards, *madhhab* is used in the biographical dictionaries to denote both an individual as well as a group approach side by side.[30]

3. *Conclusion*

Our inquiry into the grammatical and biographical sources prior to Ibn al-Anbārī provides us with the following conclusions. These two sets of sources are consistent with each other. Regarding the manner in which reference was made to the so-called dichotomy between Basra and Kufa, it can be said that both grammarians and biographers commenced to refer to Basrans and Kufans in the second half of the third/ninth century.[31] Gradually, references to Basrans and Kufans in the grammatical sources expanded. Moreover, these references to Basrans and Kufans became increasingly associated with grammatical differences. The term *madhhab* was introduced in both grammatical and biographical sources, but in the course of time this term changed. It evolved from meaning only a personal approach into one that designated a group approach. The term *madhhab*, however, did not develop into the full-fledged technical concept of 'school' as we understand it. Consequently we see that the need of biographers to identify with a particular group was greater than their need to reflect the reality of grammatical differences. As has been argued above, this tendency probably underlies the erroneous generalisation of two grammatical 'schools' of Basra and Kufa which gave rise to a dichotomy that in reality did not exist.

Sībawayh 88.

[29] Al-Sīrāfī, *Akhbār* 56, 44, 108, 109.

[30] Al-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt* 104, 141, 153, 215; al-Marzūbānī, *Nūr al-Qabas* 97, 110, 153, 224, 245, 319, 344; al-Tanūkhī, *Tārīkh* 27, 31, 51, 76, 178; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat* 21, 22, 26, 30, 56, 71, 79, 124, 132, 136, 139, 143, 144, 149, 150, 151, 152, 158, 173, 184, 185, 195; al-Marzubānī, *Nūr al-Qabas* 41–42, 226–227, is the first to highlight a general rivalry between the two cities of Basra and Kufa. The story is about a governor from Kufa who expressed his pride of the Kufan scholars who, in his view, were superior to the Basrans in their general knowledge and cultural development. The same story is also told by Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, 14 vols., Beirut n.d., XI, 409–10.

[31] It is noteworthy that references to the centrality of *Kitāb Sībawayh* appear around the same time; they, too, begin to occur in the second half of the third/ninth century. See Bernards 1997: 17–18.

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Note: For technical reasons the references to the Arabic source materials used in this contribution are put in the footnotes.

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Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus in Christian East Syria

Jan N. Bremmer

0. The reader who peruses the impressive œuvre of Han Drijvers will be struck by his fascination with early Christian East Syria. From his youthful dissertation on the Edessene philosopher Bardaisan (Greek Bardesanes: CE 154–222) to his work on the *Acts of Thomas* and more recently Late Antique Syria, he has persistently illuminated the multi-cultural world of pagans and Christians 'east of Antioch'.[1] It is therefore appropriate to offer him a small contribution to the culture of a region which will always be associated with his scholarly work.

1. In 1907 Franz Boll (1867–1924) published an article on the Greek novel in which he argued for the dependence of Lucian on Antonius Diogenes and of Achilles Tatius on Bardaisan.[2] The first, still valuable part of his article has been neglected in more recent discussions of the date of Antonius Diogenes, but the second part naturally drew the attention of Drijvers, who accepted Boll's argument in his dissertation, although he also allowed for the possibility of Porphyry as an intermediary source.[3] Bardaisan is not an author much in vogue among students of the Greek novel, and the problem raised by Boll has been overlooked in recent scholarship on Achilles Tatius, mine own included. In this contribution I will therefore look (a) at the impact of Achilles Tatius on Christian East Syria, and (b) at the possible presence of another pagan novelist, Heliodorus, in the same area.

2. For reasons which will become clear in a moment I will start with Achilles Tatius' novel *Cleitophon and Leucippe*. At the end of this novel both heroines, seductress Melite and chaste Leucippe, have to pass a chastity test. The wronged husband Thersandros challenges his wife: "Melite, if she has not had to do with this foreigner during the time that I was abroad, is to enter the sacred water of the Styx, take the oath and be cleared, if she can, of the charges brought against her". Leucippe, on the other hand, "if she persists in declaring that she is a virgin, is to be shut into the grotto of the pan-pipes" (8.11.2, tr. S. Gaselee, Loeb).

Both ordeals deserve a short excursus. Achilles Tatius presents a long exposition about the origin of the ordeal of the Styx, which for a moment delays the actual test.

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[1] Drijvers 1966; 1984; 1992; 1994. Drijvers & Healy 1999.

[2] Boll 1907: 1–15. On Boll see A. Rehm, *Biographisches Jahrbuch für Altertumskunde*. 47 (1927): 13–43, 111.

[3] Drijvers 1966: 174. For Bardaisan see now also Teixidor 1992. I discuss the problem of the dating of the authors below.

There was a maiden Rhodope, a passionate huntress with "her hair cut short like a man's". When Artemis came to like her and summoned Rhodope to join her in the hunt, the maiden swore an oath that she would never submit to "Aphrodite's violence". This offended the goddess of love and she made an Ephesian youth, Euthynicus, an equally passionate hunter, fall in love with her when they met during their hunting. They consummated their love in the very cave where Melite had to prove her chastity. The indignant Artemis changed the maiden into a spring "on the very spot where she had changed her virginity for womanhood". The actual ordeal took place in this spring. The accused had to enter the spring with her oath of innocence on a tablet around her neck. If she was indeed innocent, the water stayed at a low level, but if not, it would rise to her neck and cover the tablet (8.13).

2.1. The source of Achilles Tatius' aetiological myth has always been obscure. Of course, some elements are well known, such as the typically initiatory hunt of Artemis and her girl friends, or the antagonism of Artemis and Aphrodite as in Euripides' *Hippolytos*,[4] but the myth as such has no known literary antecedents.

Fortunately, however, the publication some decades ago of a calyx-crater by the Darius Painter has changed this situation.[5] On a vase from the mature period of the painter (*c.* 340–330 BCE), Rhodopis is actually identified by name (Rhodope), as are King Skythes, Antiope, her small son Hippolytos, and Herakles. Above them is the dominating figure of Artemis, flanked by Apollo and Aphrodite. Clearly, as the Swiss archeologist Margot Schmidt convincingly argues,[6] we have here a variant of our myth, in which Rhodopis has to prove her sexual innocence before the king: we see the same goddesses as in Achilles Tatius, and the name of Hippolytos indicates their divine antagonism.

In the original myth, Apollo had probably been the seducer, and their son Kikon the ancestor of the Thracian Kikones.[7] King Skythes also points to Northern Greece, where we actually find a mountain Rhodope and where a coin from Thracian Philippopolis from the reign of Antoninus Pius displays Rhodope seated on a rock.[8] The Darius Painter probably derived his material from a contemporary tragedy, and Achilles will directly or indirectly have taken his myth from the same source. However, the fact that the heroine's name is Rhodope, not Rhodopis, and her lover an Ephesian, not Apollo, strongly suggests that Achilles or his source had already adapted the myth to Asia Minor, the area where our novelist probably once lived and worked.[9]

2.2. In the case of Leucippe the reader had been informed earlier about the ritual of her ordeal; in this artful way Achilles avoided explaining to the reader two ordeals at once. If a girl was accused of doubtful virginity, according to Achilles, she was locked up in a certain cave "dressed in the traditional way", with "a long tunic of linen, a girdle about her waist, a scarlet fillet on her head, and bare feet". If she was really a virgin, a

[4] For the initiatory character of Artemis' hunt see Bremmer 1999.
[5] Triantaphyllos 1994: 637, no. 1. For the Darius Painter see Aellen 1986.
[6] Schmidt 1969: 95–108.
[7] *Etymologicum Magnum* 513, 37.
[8] Triantaphyllos 1994: 637, no. 2.
[9] For Achilles' origin see Bremmer 1998: 167f.

clear and divine note would be heard from pan-pipes in the cave. If not, "a groan comes forth from the cave" and on the third day a virgin priestess would find the pan-pipes on the ground but no virgin. The aetiological myth told how at this spot a beautiful girl, the nymph Syrinx, fleeing the embraces of the god Pan, had been transformed into reeds which Pan had made into pan-pipes.[10] Needless to say, Leucippe brilliantly passed the test, since virtually immediately on her entering the cave, music sounded and "never had sweeter notes than those been heard" (8.6, 13–4).

The myth is not attested before the Roman period and is probably Hellenistic. It is also one more example of the growing interest in the god Pan in the post-Classical period,[11] especially in Asia Minor.[12] Philippe Borgeaud, to whom we owe the fullest analysis of the myth, has noted that the ritual behind the ordeal points to a chastity test as a pre-nuptial *rite de passage*, in which Pan plays an analogous role to the goddess Artemis, who was traditionally connected with such rituals.[13] The god's sexual interest in Nymphs is well attested, as is his occasional role in pre-nuptial maiden rituals.[14] Borgeaud's interpretation gains support from the fact that the cave was supervised by a virgin priestess. Such adolescent priestesses, who go back to ancient rites of initiation, are well attested in the cult of Artemis.[15] Achilles Tatius locates the ritual in Ephesus, but this need not imply that such a ritual actually existed there, as is often thought.[16] Given the poor attestation of Pan in Ephesus and the absence of virgin priestesses from mainland Ionia, the novelist probably combined a Thracian myth and a ritual from elsewhere for his literary purpose.[17]

2.3. As Boll has noted, we find the same combination of both ordeals in Bardaisan's work on India, of which Stobaeus preserves various fragments quoted from Porphyry's *On the Styx*.[18] First, Bardaisan mentions a lake which those accused of intentional crimes must enter to prove their innocence: the water stays knee-high if they are innocent, but rises to head level if guilty. Secondly, he mentions a cave for those who have committed intentional and unintentional offences. Those who are innocent can pass through a door at the back of the cave, where there is a spring. Although Bardaisan describes the last test in a cosmological mode (which need not interest us here),[19] the combination of the two ordeals is too unusual not to be related to that in Achilles Tatius.[20] But how?

2.4. The date of Achilles Tatius has long been a source of contention. Boll himself still thought that Achilles dated from the fourth century, but this idea became untenable when

[10] For fuller accounts of the myth of the Nymph Syrinx see Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 1.689–712; Longus 2.34; Servius on Verg. *Ecl.* 2.31; Forbes Irving 1990: 277f. For the connection between Pan and the pan-pipes see Haas 1985: 51f.
[11] Brommer 1956.
[12] Tuchelt 1970.
[13] For the ritual and the myth see Weinreich 1968: 236–41, overlooked by Borgeaud 1979: 125–7.
[14] Nymphs: Gruppe 1906: 828 n. 3. Initiation: Calame 1997: 139–40; Borgeaud 1979: 239–52.
[15] See my detailed discussion in Bremmer 1999, where this example has to be added.
[16] For example, Fehrle 1910: 93, 133; Borgeaud 1979: 125.
[17] So already Weinreich 1968: 241.
[18] Bardaisan *FGrH* 719 F 1; Porphyry, fr. 376 Smith.
[19] But see Reitzenstein and Schaeder 1926: 91ff.
[20] Boll has been accepted by Kerényi; Weinreich 1968: 239; Drijvers 1966: 173–5.

in 1938 a second-century papyrus of Achilles was discovered.[21] However, the publication just before the war prevented the discovery becoming general knowledge. As we can now see, Achilles himself was the first to combine the originally Thracian myth of Rhodope, the Hellenistic myth of Syrinx and a pre-nuptial ritual into a composition with two ordeals. He was creatively read by Bardaisan, who in turn was quoted by Porphyry.

2.5. In addition to this new male reader of Achilles Tatius,[22] we may also have evidence for another reader of Achilles in Edessa, and thus additional support for the interpretation of Bardaisan. In his authoritative study of the *Acts of Thomas* Han Drijvers has argued that this Christian work was written in eastern Syria, but in the introduction to their recent French translation of the *Acts* Poirier and Tissot have opted for Edessa itself.[23] Unfortunately, their case is only seemingly supported by the tradition that Thomas was buried in Edessa, since this tradition only starts to appear in fourth-century Ephraem Syrus (*Carmina Nisibena* 42) and the pilgrim Egeria, who visited Edessa in CE 384 (*Itinerarium* 17.1, 19.3). For earlier evidence pointing to Edessa, we should turn to the influence of Bardaisan on the *Acts of Thomas*.[24] In this connection the name of one of the protagonists of the *Acts*, Mygdonia, is also relevant. In real life it was an extremely rare name: it is non-existent in papyri and occurs only sporadically in inscriptions.[25] Since Strabo relates that Mygdonia was the name given by the Macedonians to the land surrounding Nisibis, also called Mygdonian Antioch (11.14.2, 16.1.23), its presence here does point to the area of Osroëne.

A recently published Syriac document of the year CE 240–1 shows that the father of the ruling Edessene king Abgar had been "Maʿnu the crown-prince" (*pasgriba*).[26] The same title occurs in an inscription from the Edessene citadel, dating to the first half of the third century, naming "Salmath, the queen, daughter of Maʿnu the crown-prince".[27] The title also occurs outside Edessa, for example in Hatra, but it is important to note that the Syriac version of the *Hymn of the Pearl* calls the protagonist *pasgriba* (48a).[28] The *Hymn* probably antedates the *Acts of Thomas* and was written, at the latest, at the beginning of the third century in an aristocratic milieu with close Parthian contacts, in eastern Syria, as is indicated by its many Iranian loan words and titles.[29] Finally, the title has now also turned up in Sogdian in a Manichaean fragment – one more pointer to eastern Syria.[30] Clearly, none of these arguments *proves* that Edessa was the place of composition, but they certainly converge in pointing towards Edessa and its surrounding area.

Now in the *Acts of Thomas* Charisius dreams that "I saw myself reclining near king Misdaeus, and a full-laid table was set beside us. And I saw an eagle coming down from heaven and carrying off from before me and the king two partridges, which he bore off

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21 Vogliano 1938.
22 This case should be added to those in Bremmer 1998: 173f.
23 Drijvers 1992: 323; Poirier & Tissot 1997: 1324.
24 Drijvers 1992: 327, 336, compares *cc.* 27, 32, 50, 82, 91 and 148.
25 I can only mention Feissel 1983: no. 60.4 (V/VI CE).
26 Teixidor 1990; Drijvers & Healey: no. P2.
27 Drijvers & Healey: no. As 1; translation in Millar 1993: 477.
28 See the detailed discussion by Poirier 1981: 212–23.
29 The strong Parthian influence in the area is well documented by Widengren 1960.
30 Sunderman 1988.

to his <nest>". When the eagle returned, the king shot an arrow at him, but the eagle "rose up quite unscathed to his nest" (91, tr. Drijvers). My Groningen colleague Freek Klijn has compared this dream with a scene from Achilles Tatius, in which during a preliminary sacrifice for a wedding "an eagle swooped down from above and carried off the offering. It was of no avail that those present tried to scare him away; he flew off carrying away his prey" (2.12, tr. S. Gaselee, Loeb).[31] Klijn just notes the parallel, but it seems that we have here one more male reader of the Greek novel in Christian Syrian (Edessene?) circles. Bardaisan and the unknown author of the *Acts of Thomas* are thus the first witnesses to the long popularity of Achilles in Christian circles.[32]

3. The case of Bardaisan suggests that philosophers appreciated the novel, and this is less surprising than it may seem at first sight. As Richard Hunter has shown, Longus, the author of *Daphnis and Chloe*, was steeped in Platonic philosophy.[33] We may therefore end our contribution with another case where Bardaisan and the novel converge. As Drijvers has shown, Bardaisan was also extensively quoted by the author of the first Christian novel, the elusive *Grundschrift* of the Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitions and Homilies*.[34] Although both versions of the *Grundschrift* must have been available in Syriac, since an Edessene manuscript of CE 411 contains selected translations from both,[35] its place of origin is still debated. Carl Schmidt has argued for the Transjordan area, whereas Strecker opted for Hollow Syria.[36] The latter is also a favourite among other patristic scholars, although few seem properly to realise the geographical borders of this Roman province, which was created by Septimius Severus and limited to Northern Syria, the Southern part being called Syria Phoenice.[37]

3.1. Can we make some progress regarding the place of origin of the *Grundschrift*? Whoever reads the excellent *Forschungsbericht* of the Pseudo-Clementine literature by Stanley Jones will be struck by the diversity of opinion on this problem.[38] However, in his survey Jones singles out as "important" the discussion by Carl Schmidt, who has pointed to the close affinity between the *Grundschrift* and the *Didaskaleia*.[39] Unfortunately, the place of origin of the *Didaskaleia* is equally debated.[40] Schmidt himself still thought of Hollow Syria,[41] but in his analysis of the role of the deaconesses in the *Didaskaleia* the French patristic scholar A.G. Martimort has made the following observations: the author

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[31] Klijn 1962: 269.
[32] For this popularity note also the use of Achilles by the Egyptian (?) poet Musaeus (*c.* 470–510), cf. Kost 1971: index s.v. Achilles Tatios; for the occurrence of the names of Achilles' protagonists as parents of the legendary St. Galaktion see Perry 1967: 101.
[33] Hunter 1997.
[34] Drijvers 1966: 62, 72–74; Jones 1982: 20–24, repr. in Ferguson 1993: 1950–262: 214–8.
[35] British Museum Add. 12150, edited in Frankenberg 1937; Jones 1992.
[36] Schmidt 1929: 290–93; Strecker 1958: 259-60.
[37] Millar 1993: 121f.
[38] Jones 1982: 9–14; add now Wehnert 1992.
[39] Jones 1982: 13; Schmidt 1929: 240–313; add also the affinities noted by Strecker 1958: 113, 215 n. 2, 259f.
[40] For the *Didaskaleia* see most recently Steimer 1998. Add Camplani 1996.
[41] Schmidt 1929: 290.

of the *Didaskaleia* is probably of semitic origin and has Judaeo-Christian sympathies;[42] the *Didaskaleia*'s baptismal ritual of women closely resembles that of the *Acts of Thomas*, which was written in Edessa or its environment (above); the *Didaskaleia* remained authoritative among the fourth-century sect of the Syrian Audiani; its Syrian version uses archaic terms and notions typical of Syria and Mesopotamia and was very quickly used by the Persian Aphraates (*ca.* 265–345); last but not least, the deaconesses continued to play a role in the ancient baptismal rites of the Nestorians. As Martimort convincingly concludes, together these arguments point to Mesopotamia, possibly even Edessa.[43] Now there is a consensus among leading scholars that the *Didaskaleia* was written in the first (decades of the first?) half of the third century before the persecutions of Decius,[44] but when was the *Grundschrift* written? Schmidt dated it to the period between 220 and 230, whereas Strecker preferred the somewhat later date of 260.[45]

3.2. We may perhaps make a small contribution to this problem by using a piece of evidence, which has not yet been taken into account. As Karl Kerényi already observed, the *Grundschrift* had made use of Chariton, Xenophon of Ephesus and, most likely also of Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*;[46] the latter suggestion has now been strongly supported in a detailed argument by D.U. Hansen.[47] Apparently, as was the case with Achilles Tatius, Heliodorus too enjoyed considerable popularity among Christians.[48]

However, even today the date of Heliodorus remains fiercely contested. There is evidence for the third century where Erwin Rohde put it in his seminal work on the Greek novel;[49] but there is also evidence for the fourth century, since the Emperor Julian's description of the Nisibis siege of CE 350 closely resembles Heliodorus' description of the siege of Syene in his Book 9. This resemblance raises the question of whether Julian has modelled his account on Heliodorus or whether Heliodorus' description reflects the historical siege and thus postdates Julian. The changing points of view in the discussions about the relationship between Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus, between the *Acts of Paul* and the *Acts of Peter*, or between Antonius Diogenes and Lucian,[50] all too clearly demonstrate that purely literary arguments are often insufficient on their own to decide such relationships.The ancient historian Glen Bowersock, in particular, has recently strongly argued that our knowledge of the actual Nisibis siege demonstrates that Heliodorus must have written after CE 350.[51] Various arguments have been adduced

[42] As is also observed, amongst others, by Schmidt 1929: 289.

[43] Martimort 1982: 40–41 (with references to the well-known studies of the *Didaskaleia* by F. Nau, F.X. Funk, R.H. Connelly and A. Vööbus). As can be seen from Martimort's notes, the idea of a Mesopotamian origin had also occurred to F. Nau and R.H. Connelly, but with less detailed arguments.

[44] Martimort 1982: 32 n. 2 (comparing A. Harnack, F. Nau, A. Baumstark, R. Connolly and the latest, fullest study by Galtier 1947.

[45] Schmidt 1929: 305, 313; Strecker 1958: 267. Bowersock 1994: 139 just notes: "early third century at the latest".

[46] Kerényi 1927: 78; add Perry 1967: 294–324 for the influence of *Apollonius of Tyre* (although Perry still thinks that the *Grundschrift* predated *Apollonius*). For his use of the pagan novel in general see now also Edwards 1992.

[47] Hansen 1997.

[48] Weinreich 1962: 37–40.

[49] Rohde 1914^3: 496.

[50] After Boll 1907, see most recently Morgan 1985: 475–90 (who unpersuasively wants to put Lucian before Antonius); Bowersock 1994: 35, 100–1, which appeared too late for Stephens & Winkler 1995: 118–9.

[51] Bowersock 1994: 149–60.

against Bowersock,[52] but the dependence of the *Grundschrift* on Heliodorus has not yet been mentioned. Given that one of its later versions using Heliodorus, the *Homilies*, is generally accepted to predate the Council of Nicaea of 325,[53] this clinches the argument. Heliodorus' novel must have been written in the third century, perhaps in the period 230–240.[54] Consequently, the *Grundschrift* will have been composed somewhat later. In fact, if Origen has indeed quoted *Recognitiones* X.10.7–13, 1 in his *Commentary on Genesis* 1.14 and the passage is not a later interpolation, both Heliodorus and the *Grundschrift* must antedate 232 CE.[55]

4. What can we conclude from our discussion? The close relationship between the *Didaskaleia* and the Clementine *Grundschrift*, combined with the former's probable location in Osroëne and the latter's dependence on Bardaisan, seems to point to Edessa as the place of origin for the *Grundschrift*. Its author had read Heliodorus, and did not feel ashamed to use this pagan author. Evidently, Greek cultural influence in early third-century Edessa was not limited to mythology or Platonic philosophy,[56] but also extended into the sphere of the *belles lettres* – even in Christian circles.[57]

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[52] See the bibliography in Bremmer 1998: 165 n. 43.
[53] See the survey of opinions by Jones 1982: 74.
[54] See the arguments by Altheim, 1948–50: I.113, II.272–4.
[55] Rius-Camps 1976: 154.
[56] See footnote 54.
[57] I am most grateful to Ken Dowden for his illuminating criticism and correction of my text.

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THE SYRIAC JULIAN ROMANCE.
Aspects of the Jewish-Christian Controversy in Late Antiquity

Jan Willem Drijvers

0. The so-called *Julian Romance*, a fictional work about the pagan emperor Julian the Apostate (361–363 CE), has not yet received the attention it deserves. This long Syriac text, which is preserved in a sixth-century manuscript in the British Library in London (BL Add. MS 14641), was published more than a century ago by J.G.E. Hoffmann. Several years earlier, Th. Nöldeke had published an extensive summary and analysis of the text based on his examination of the manuscript. It would take until 1928 before the *Romance* was translated and made available for a public not versed in Syriac.[1] Since the latter date the text has fallen into oblivion and is not even referred to in the more recent monographs on Julian.[2] In 1994, however, Han J.W. Drijvers published an important article on the *Romance*, entitled "The Syriac Romance of Julian. Its Function, Place of Origin and Original Language".[3] In this article Drijvers comes to some valuable conclusions. The *Julian Romance* was a work of religious propaganda, to be compared with, for example, the *Doctrina Addai*. The text was originally composed in Syriac, and was written at Edessa, probably in the School of the Persians. In this school a "typological view of history and the rôle of the Christian emperor"[4] was developed by Ephraem Syrus and others. This view can be found in an elaborate form in the *Julian Romance*. The aim of the *Romance* was to provide its readers and hearers with a justification for the loss of Nisibis to the Persians in 363, after Julian's fatal campaign. For the date of composition of the work Drijvers proposed the period shortly after the death of the Persian king Shapur II (379), when the persecution of Christians in the Sassanian Empire came to an end.[5] No information can be had about the genesis of the *Romance* or about its author – except that the latter was a Christian.[6]

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[1] Hoffmann 1880. He added an appendix from the Syriac manuscript Richmond 7192, which gives a description of Julian's apostacy, sorcery and his veneration for idols and demons. This second text is generally referred to as the *Second Julian Romance*. Since its style is completely different from the first romance it is assumed that it was written by another author. See also Nöldeke 1874a and 1874b, with a German translation of MS Richmond 7192. Gollancz 1928 is a translation considered by experts to be inaccurate and to containing many mistakes. Since the present author unfortunately cannot read Syriac, references are made to this translation *faute de mieux*. An Arabic version of the *Romance* is preserved in the MS 561 in the monastery on Mount Sinai; see Ben-Horin 1961 and also Atiya 1955: 19.

[2] Athanassiadi-Fowden 1981 (2nd rev. ed.: London 1992); Bowersock 1978; Browning 1975.

[3] H.J.W. Drijvers 1994. To be quite fair, in the late 1980s M. van Esbroeck (1987) had already rekindled interest in the *Romance*. But his basic ideas, *viz.* that the *Julian Romance* is a hagiographical text composed originally in Greek shortly after Julian's death in 363, – have been convincingly refuted by Han Drijvers.

[4] H.J.W. Drijvers 1994: 213.

[5] In this Drijvers deviates from Nöldeke 1874a: 282–3, who on the basis of internal evidence suggested a date of composition between 502 and 532 C.E. This latter date has been generally accepted; e.g. Baumstark 1922: 183; Ortiz de Urbina 1965: 205.

[6] The rabid anti-Judaism of the *Romance* induced Nöldeke 1874a: 291 to suggest that the author was a converted Jew: "Gegen die Juden zeigt der Verfasser eine solche Feindschaft, dass der Gedanke nahe liegt, in ihm einen getauften Juden zu sehen, der seine früheren Glaubensgenossen mit dem Hasse des Abtrünnigen verfolgte." The *Romance* had an impact on treatises of much later date, as is demonstrated in Reinink 1992.

There seems no reason to criticise Drijvers' views, since his arguments are on the whole sound and convincing. In what follows, therefore, I should like to concentrate on one aspect of the text, which has so far not been studied in detail: the passages on the Jews. On the one hand, these passages are of some importance for the deteriorating views on Jews and Jewry in the world of Late Antiquity, especially after the reign of Julian the Apostate. But also they may aid us in reconstructing the development of the *Romance* and perhaps they even allow us to come to a more precise date of composition of this text. But before embarking upon these matters, a short summary of the *Julian Romance* will probably be found helpful.

2. The *Julian Romance* can be divided into three main parts.

The first part is an introduction, which speaks of the reign of the Christian-loving emperors Constantine and his son, the persecution of the Christians initiated by Julian and the perseverance and eventual victory of Eusebius, bishop of Rome, against the pagan emperor.[7]

The second part relates at great length the many vain attempts of Julian to bring Eusebius over to the pagan side. In this the emperor is supported by the Jews. The bishop receives support not only from his own congregation and from Christian officials, but also from the Roman senate. To win over Eusebius to the old cults, pagans and Jews harmoniously work together by building a great altar in front of the main church in Rome. However, Christians from outside Rome come to the help of Eusebius and demolish the altar; most of the pagans and Jews are killed. Julian, of course, is very angry, and has Eusebius and many nobles arrested, and has the altar rebuilt in a renewed attempt to win Eusebius over to his side. After a discussion between Julian and Eusebius, in which the latter perseveres in his belief, the emperor condemns the bishop to be burnt on the altar. However, the fire gives way before Eusebius and consumes the pagan priests. In an ultimate attempt to have Eusebius removed from out of his way, Julian condemns him to die by the sword. But when the executioner lifts the sword to strike Eusebius, the instrument of execution miraculously melts away. Ashamed, disillusioned and angry, Julian leaves Rome to campaign against the Persians. His death in this campaign has already been prophesied by Eusebius as an act of God's justice.

The third part of the *Romance* is the longest one. It tells the story of Julian's journey from Rome via Constantinople and Antioch to Persia, in order to wage war on Shapur as a punishment for having ended his persecution of the Christians. Julian's anti-Christian measures are elaborately described. The other central figure of this narrative is Julian's general Jovian, who secretly favours the Christian cause, together with Shapur's general, Arimhar. When in the fatal campaign Julian is killed by an arrow sent by God, Jovian is made emperor. It is interesting that both the pagan Julian, who on his deathbed designated Jovian as his successor, as also the non-Christian Shapur, who had written a letter to recommend Jovian, are instrumental in making Jovian emperor. Shapur and Jovian conclude a peace treaty, which includes the voluntary cession of Nisibis and the eastern provinces to Shapur, together with the cessation of the persecution of Christians

[7] Part of this introduction is missing in Add. MS 14641, but it is at least partly preserved in the palimpsest of the MS Syr. 378 in Paris. Eusebius, who is mentioned in several Syriac texts, refers to the historical Eusebius of Nicomedia who in 340 became bishop of Constantinople, the New Rome.

in the Sassanian empire for a period of hundred years. Jovian is presented in the narrative as a New Constantine, who turns the nightmare of Julian's reign into the reality of the Christian dream, in which Christianity is favoured by the emperor, an end is put to the pagan cults, and the Jews are punished for their association with Julian. Edessa plays a central role in this third part of the *Romance*. The city is presented as "the mother of believers",[8] which alone among the towns of the East stays firm in its faith, irrespective of Julian's threats to devastate the city and kill its inhabitants. As a reward for its firmness Edessa is visited by Jovian on his return to Constantinople. The new emperor is received by the Edessenes with great joy, and he amazes everybody, including himself, by performing a healing miracle.[9]

3. Apart from the references to the Jewish support of Julian in the latter's efforts to win over Eusebius to his cause, and some other casual remarks here and there in the text,[10] the third part of the *Romance* contains two longer passages on the Jews.

3.1. The first passage relates Julian's encounter, in Tarsus in Cilicia, with the Jewish high priests from Tiberias.[11] The priests intend to show the subservience of the Jews to the pagan emperor by presenting him with a golden crown.[12] Julian does not want to receive them until he is certain whether they are in agreement with his pagan worship. In the discussions it becomes clear that the priests are more than willing to conform to the paganism of Julian, since their forefathers likewise sacrificed to various gods. Jacob, head of the tribes of Israel, sacrificed under the terebinth to strange gods,[13] and Solomon sacrificed and put incense on the altar of the gods of his wives.[14] They are willing to conform, on account of their zeal to rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem. Julian, wishing to try the Jews, invites them to a feast where food forbidden to Jews is served. When the priests have indulged in this food, the emperor requests them to sacrifice to the idols. The following day an altar and a throne for Julian are erected in the centre of Tarsus. The emperor commands the Jews to come forward. He speaks harshly to them, and condemns their false doctrine. The priests, being very afraid, say that they are not Nazarenes (i.e. Christians), opposing the will of His (Julian's) Divinity, and moreover that distress has been removed from their hearts and that their souls have leapt for joy at the prospect of Julian's reign. Julian, who is happy with their words, accepts the golden crown and invites the Jews to sacrifice to the pagan gods.[15] After this the Jews present

[8] Gollancz 1928: 138.

[9] In reality Jovian never visited Edessa.

[10] Gollancz 1928: 26, 28ff., 86, 128, 131, 163f., 169ff., 238, 253.

[11] Gollancz 1928: 117–126.

[12] This is the *aurum coronarium*, originally offered to rulers and conquerors in the Ancient Near East and the Hellenistic world. In the Roman empire it became an irregular form of taxation, indicating the submission of communities; see Millar 1977: 140ff. In this respect it is interesting to note that Julian abolished the *aurum coronarium*; see Ensslin 1923: 104–109.

[13] Cf. Gen 35: 2–4.

[14] I Kings 11.

[15] A similar story can be found in the *Nestorian History*, *PO* 5, 238–9, where is told that 400 rabbis from Tiberias went to Constantinople at Julian's accession to offer the new emperor a golden crown, which was decorated with seven idols. Julian demanded that they should worship the idols and partake of a meal of pork, to which the Jews happily consented.

Julian with a letter in which they pledge unconditional allegiance to the emperor, and in which Julian is called the king of Jacob and the leader of Israel. Now that they have performed the emperor's will and have sacrificed to the idols, the priests furthermore petition Julian that he direct his benign eyes upon Jerusalem, where the Temple lies in ruins. Julian, who cannot refuse this request, promises to protect the Jews and gives them permission to lay bare the foundations of the Temple. Having gained this promise, the priests return to their country in shame and with their faces covered in disgrace.

3.2. The second passage describes a meeting not far from Edessa between Julian and the Edessene Jews.[16] The Jews, some 700 in number, who have been given a hard time by the Christians at Edessa, have secretly left their city to meet the emperor. At first Julian wants nothing to do with the Jews, thinking that because they come from Christian Edessa, a city fiercely opposed to his reign, they must also be against him. The Chief of the Synagogue, Humnas,[17] explains that they have incurred the hatred of their city because they have accepted Julian's reign. In Edessa they have been insulted and physically maltreated; their synagogues have been seized, their homes plundered and their possessions taken. Humnas also explains that, if they only had the opportunity, the Jews of Edessa would be willing to serve the gods of Julian, since their ancestors likewise had served a multitude of gods. Again Julian is requested to remember Jerusalem and the Temple. Julian replies that if he returns victoriously from Persia, he will rebuild Jerusalem and restore its Temple to an even greater glory than it possessed in the days of Solomon. Humnas expresses his gratitude for Julian's promise, and offers the emperor the help of the Jews whenever Julian should decide to turn his army against Edessa. But Julian dismisses the Jews saying that now is not the time for vengeance.[18]

4. Several aspects of these passages are interesting enough to merit a closer examination.

4.1. First of all, the opportunistic behaviour of the Jews towards the paganism of Julian is remarkable: to achieve their goal – the restoration of the Temple – they are willing to venerate Julian's gods. As excuse for their singular conduct they argue that their ancestors – those belonging to the family of Jacob and Solomon – likewise venerated more than one god. They therefore may be in dereliction of their monotheism to revert to the tradition of their forefathers, and to sacrifice to the pagan gods. As far as I know, this is a new and seldom used argument in the Christian-Jewish controversy of Late Antiquity. Besides offering to the gods, the Jews have no problem with violating their own dietary laws. It is hardly likely that the Jews really would have surrendered unconditionally

[16] Gollancz 1928: 143–6.

[17] His name is not mentioned in this passage but has already been referred to several pages before; Gollancz 1928: 131.

[18] Their sortie and meeting with the emperor ended in tragedy. The governors of Edessa did not dare to harm these Jews out of fear that Julian might take revenge on their city. However, some 1800 Roman soldiers who had served under Julian and who were disgusted with paganism, were willing to come out for their Christian faith by killing the Jews who had approached Julian. And so it happened; those who returned to Edessa were all murdered, while those who had not gone out to meet the emperor were expelled from Edessa (as were all pagans), so that there was not a single soul left in Edessa who was not a Christian; Gollancz 1928: 147–9.

to Julian, or abandoned their monotheism and the strict rules of their faith. We may therefore consider these arguments, however ingenious, as so many fabrications of the author of the text, originating in his desire to debase Jewry and to show that, unlike the Christians, Jews are not steady in their faith. Furthermore, by making the Jews into venerators of the pagan gods the author reduces them to the level of pagans, thereby depriving them of their exclusivity and of their special position in the Graeco-Roman world. Especially at a time when the Jewish religion showed great vitality and had an attraction for many Christians,[19] the presentation of the Jews as no better than pagans may be seen as shrewd Christian propaganda.

4.2. It is obvious that the Jews see in Julian an ally against the Christians. But he is more than a mere ally. The Jews call him their Divinity, whose "graciousness has manifested itself mightily over our people in public, for after more than nine hundred years the Kingdom of David has shone forth in you, and at your hands the headship of the Israelites has been confirmed. You are the king of Jacob, and the leader of Israel."[20] Julian is seen by the Jews as their Redeemer.[21] This presentation of Julian as the Saviour of the Jews and Jewry forms an interesting contrast with the Christian view in the *Romance*, according to which Julian was a wicked, accursed and wretched tyrant. That the Jews looked upon Julian as the Saviour of their religion and nation is of course historical fiction and a literary construct designed to show the foolishness and degeneracy of the Jews and their religion, as well as to create an antithesis between the Redeemer of the Jews, i.e. Julian, and the Redeemer of the Christians, Jesus Christ.

4.3. It is to be noted that in both passages Julian at first refuses to see the Jews. In the first passage Julian's reluctance stems from his idea that the Jews only believed in one god, and in the second passage he initially does not want to see Humnas and his followers, because he thinks that like the Christians from Edessa, also the Jews living in this city will be opposed to him. Only when the emperor learns that the Jews are willing to venerate more than one god, that the Edessene Jews are living in conflict with the Christians, and that they are happy with his reign, is he prepared to receive them. As it happens, Julian's reluctant attitude towards the Jews has some basis in the emperor's own writings. In his *Contra Galilaeos* Julian regards the Jewish faith and the Jewish god as inferior to the Hellenic cults and gods. He does not have a high opinion of the Jewish god. He considers the latter to be a jealous god, whose influence is regionally limited. Contrary to the Jews, he does not view their god as a universal god, but as a national god and as one of a multitude of gods. He considers the Jewish law to be severe and rigid, even barbaric, and he regards the Jews as a stubborn people.[22] He finds it very regrettable that the Jews venerate only their own god, whom he, despite the god's limitations, considers a powerful deity.[23] It appears from his writings that Julian was not

[19] For the attraction which Judaism exerted on Christians, see e.g. Wilken 1983; Millar 1992: 112ff.

[20] Gollancz 1928: 124.

[21] Cf. Rufinus, *Hist. Eccl.* 10.38 where it is reported that to some of the Jews it seemed that with the reign of Julian the days of the prophets had returned, and that the days of their kingdom had arrived.

[22] For Julian's passages on the Jews, see *Contra Galilaeos* 75A-86A, 93E, 99Eff., 100C, 134Dff., 141C, 148C, 155Cff., 176ff., 201E, 221E.

[23] Jul. *Epist.* 47, 454A (Weis) = *Epist.* 20 (Wright); *Epist.* 48, 295D (Weis) = Fragment of a Letter to a Priest (Wright). See also Lewy 1983: 79–83. In spite of his criticism, and sometimes even his disdain, Julian's

that well disposed towards the Jews and their god. These writings were known in the time of composition of the *Julian Romance*, and they may help to explain the emperor's initial reluctance to speak with the Jews, as expressed in the *Romance*. Whereas the Jews wholeheartedly accept Julian as their Saviour, Julian himself is portrayed in the *Romance* as no friend of the Jews. This becomes most obvious from the measures which the emperor takes against the Jews of Nisibis for slandering his second-in-command, Jovian. Six of the Jewish leaders are crucified, all other Jews are expelled from Nisibis, their goods are given as booty and their synagogues burnt.[24]

4.4. There was one aspect of the Jewish faith, *viz.* the ritual offering of animal sacrifices, which strongly appealed to Julian. The emperor, as a Neoplatonist of the school of Iamblichus, believed that sacrifices were essential to religion, which explains his sympathy for the ritual aspect of Judaism. According to Mosaic law Jews were only allowed to sacrifice in the Temple in Jerusalem. However, since the destruction of the Temple in 70 CE no Jewish sacrifices could be performed. One of the key themes in both passages in the *Romance* is the restoration of the Temple. The Jewish priests from Tiberias, as well as the Edessene Jews, implored the emperor to restore Jerusalem to the Jews and to rebuild the Temple. Julian willingly promised the Jews that he would rebuild the Temple after he had successfully completed his Persian campaign; in the meantime, the Jews were allowed to open the foundations of the overthrown Temple.

4.5. Whereas the coming of the Jews to Tarsus, the neglect of dietary laws, the bringing of sacrifices to pagan gods, the recognition of Julian as the Jewish redeemer, and the coming of the Edessene Jews to Julian are stories which are not founded on historical reality and which are evidently invented for the sake of religious propaganda, things are different with regard to the restoration of the Temple. During Julian's reign there was a genuine attempt to rebuild the Temple. Although it is not clear from whom the initiative for this project came, it seems more likely that it was the idea of Julian rather than that of the Jews.[25] Julian's motive may have been, as alleged by Christian sources, to refute the prophecy of Daniel and the prediction of Jesus that of the buildings of the Temple not one stone should be left standing upon the other.[26] Contrary to what is said in the *Romance*, the restoration actually began before the Persian expedition.[27] This restoration,

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attitude towards the Jews is also characterised by admiration. He expresses this admiration notably in his letters, which reveal Julian's great respect for the strict religious attitude of the Jews; Jul. *Epist.* 47, 453D (Weis) = *Epist.* 20 (Wright).

[24] Gollancz 1928: 169.

[25] Stemberger 1987: 164–5; Avi-Yonah 1976: 191–2.

[26] Daniel 9:26–27; Matthew 24:1–2; cf. Luke 19:44, 21:6, Mark 31:2. This motive has found echoes in modern literature; e.g. Geffcken 1914: 110; Bidez 1930: 305; Browning 1975: 176; Avi-Yonah 1976: 192–3; Bowersock 1978: 88–9; Wilken 1983: 143; Lewy 1983:72f. A second motive for the restoration of the Temple mentioned in scholarly works is Julian's wish to make Jerusalem a Jewish city once again after Constantine the Great had made it a Christian city; see Linder 1976: 1034; Wilken 1983: 143. A third alleged motive was to gain the support of the Jewish communities in Mesopotamia for the Persian campaign; Avi-Yonah 1976: 188–9; Head 1976: 146.

[27] This is evident from certain letters of Julian himself; *Epist.* 89b 295C; *Epist.* 134. Cf. however, Adler 1978: 71–2. The attempt to rebuild the Temple probably occurred in the first months of 363; see Bowersock 1978: Appendix 1, also for other suggested dates. An unauthentic letter in Syriac of Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, dated to *ca.* 400 CE mentions that the project started on Sunday 18 May and ended on account of earthquakes as early as Monday 19 May; see Brock 1976 and 1977.

which ended in failure, had a tremendous impact on the Christians, who considered the attempt to rebuild the Temple as an extremely threatening act which undermined the very foundations of Christianity. Immediately after Julian's death invectives against him appeared from Ephraem Syrus and Gregory of Nazianzus.[28] These two writers set the pace for later fourth- and fifth-century Christian stories about the rebuilding of the Temple. Influential Christian authors, such as John Chrysostom and Ambrose, refer thereto. The event is also elaborately dealt with in the *Ecclesiastical Histories* of the age. The fact that the project failed as a result of storms, earthquakes and fire, as also that a celestial cross appeared above Jerusalem, were subjects which received especial attention, since the interference of God was detected therein.[29] These Christian stories, which come closer to legend than to a historical report of what had actually happened, are also to be considered as religious propaganda. They also reflect the great enthusiasm among the Jews for Julian's plan. It is warranted to ascribe this to anti-Jewish propaganda, since there is hardly any contemporary evidence that the Jews were involved with, let alone enthusiastic, about Julian's project.[30] The *Julian Romance* displays the same anti-Jewish allegations and even goes a step further by laying the initiative completely on the side of the Jews; it is they who suggest to Julian that he should restore their Temple, and for that they are willing, literally and figuratively speaking, to genuflect before the pagan emperor.

5. In Late Antiquity, and especially after the reign of Julian, there grew an increasingly anti-Jewish climate. This is shown by many treatises of Church Fathers but also by imperial laws. Gradually the status of Judaism as *religio licita* was impugned, until in the reign of Justinian (527–565) persecution and forced baptism of Jews were officially authorised.[31] The passages on the Jews in the *Julian Romance* are but two of the many examples of this anti-Jewish resentment. We may ask whether these passages are helpful in determining a more precise date of composition of the *Romance*. Although the works of Ephraem Syrus contain various anti-Jewish passages, it seems that the first half of the fifth century saw a particularly significant increase of anti-Jewish texts in Syriac Christian literature.[32] We may deduce this, for instance, from the translation from Greek

[28] Ephraem wrote four hymns against Julian, of which the fourth refers to the restoration of the Temple; for a translation see, Lieu 1989[2]. Among Gregory's invectives against Julian (*Orationes* 4 and 5), the fifth *Oratio* has passages on the attempt the rebuild the Temple.

[29] Joh. Chrys., *Jud.* 5.11, *Jud. et gent.* 16, *Pan. Bab.* 2.22, *De Laud. Pauli* 4, *Exp. in Ps.* 110.4, *Hom. in Mt.* 4, *Hom. in Acta Apost.* 41.3 (see for Chrysostom on the rebuilding of the Temple, Wilken 1983: 128ff.); Ambr. *Epist.* 40.12; Rufin. *Hist. Eccl.* 10.38–40; Philost. *Hist. Eccl.* 7.9; Socr. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.20; Soz. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.22; Thdt. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.20. The only pagan source to report the rebuilding is Ammianus Marcellinus 23.1.2–3; see J.W. Drijvers 1992. For the sources which have the story of the restoration of the temple, see Levenson 1990.

[30] The earliest Jewish texts to refer to Julian's attempt to restore the Temple date from the sixteenth century and are all based on Christian sources; see e.g. Adler 1978: 81ff.; Stemberger 1987: 167–8; cf. Bacher 1898, and Avi-Yonah 1976: 197–8, who mentions a small number of rabbis who supported Julian's plan.

[31] E.g. Linder 1987; J.W. Drijvers 1991. Millar 1992: 116–9; Noethlichs 1996: 100ff.

[32] Many of the *Adversus Judaeos* texts, including those of Ephraem, were not written for Jews but for Christian communities. Judaism appealed to Christians, and Christians visited synagogues, consulted Jewish doctors, participated in Jewish feasts etc. We know that this was the case in Antioch (Wilken 1983), but the situation in the Syriac-speaking regions and especially in Edessa was similar; see H.J.W. Drijvers 1985 and 1992.

into Syriac of the so-called Kyriakos legend (one of the three versions of the discovery of the True Cross), from the insertion of another version of the finding of the Cross, the Protonike legend, into the *Doctrina Addai*, and also from the circulation of a fictive letter in Syriac by Cyril of Jerusalem on the rebuilding of the Temple.[33] It may also be that the *Doctrina Addai* – the official but fictional story about the foundation of the church of Edessa – acquired many of its anti-Jewish characteristics in this period.

The increasingly anti-Jewish characteristics of Christian literature in the Syriac-speaking regions coincides, of course, with the general anti-Judaism of the age, but interestingly enough it also corresponds with a growing climate of anti-Judaism in Edessa, the city where the *Julian Romance* and the above-mentioned texts were composed or translated. It seems that during the episcopate of Rabbula (412–436) the Edessene Jews especially suffered from the religious fanaticism of this bishop of Edessa and his adherents. The *Vita Rabbulae* informs us that the bishop managed to convert thousands of Edessene Jews (as well as other heretics), in the process of which he did not shrink from using violence and from devastating places of worship.[34] A nice example of the latter is provided by the *Chronicum Edessenum*, where it is told that Rabbula converted the synagogue of Edessa into a church dedicated to the protomartyr St. Stephen.[35] If we should add to that Rabbula's veneration of the True Cross as a Christian symbol of victory,[36] the discovery of which was considered proof that the Jews had indeed murdered Christ, then it is not difficult to imagine that the Edessene Jews went through hard times during the years that Rabbula was bishop. It might well be, therefore, that the passage in the *Julian Romance* which describes the meeting between Julian and the Edessene Jews, and in which is spoken of insults, maltreatment, the seizing of synagogues and the plundering of Jewish houses, reflects the actual situation of the Jews of Edessa during the episcopate of Rabbula. If this is so, we do indeed have an indication for reconstructing the development of the *Romance*, and perhaps also for a more precise date of composition. I would suggest that at least the second passage on the Jews indiactes that it was included the *Julian Romance* during the years that Rabbula held the see of Edessa, and also that the *Romance* itself may date from the same period.

6. The *Julian Romance* reflects the anti-Jewish climate in the Syriac-speaking region of the first half of the fifth century in general, and that of Edessa during the episcopate of Rabbula in particular. The text is one of the many Syriac texts which still awaits adequate treatment. From texts like these one may learn a lot about the religious-political and cultural atmosphere of the eastern (Syriac-speaking) parts of the Roman empire in Late

[33] For the legends concerning the Cross, see J.W. Drijvers 1992a; Borgehammar 1991; Heid 1991. On the Kyriakos in particular, J.W. and H.J.W. Drijvers 1997. On the Protonike legend, see J.W. Drijvers 1996, 1997; idem. For the letter of Cyril, see n.27.

[34] Overbeck 1865: 193, l.14 – 194, l.18; Bickell 1874: 196–8. Rabbula's aggressiveness towards other believers showed itself even before his becoming bishop of Edessa. The *Vita Rabbulae* mentions that Rabbula once went to Heliopolis (Baalbek) with the intention of destroying a pagan temple. See further for Rabbula, Peeters 1928 = 1951; Blum 1969; H.J.W. Drijvers 1996 and 1999.

[35] *Chronicum Edessenum*, ed. Guidi, 1903: 6, sub LI. The discovery in 415 of the relics of St. Stephen, who had been stoned to death by Jews (Acts 7:58–59), was considered by Christians sufficient evidence that the Jews were responsible for Stephen's death. The discovery of these saint's relics led to an intensification of anti-Judaism among Christians; see e.g. Hunt 1982.

[36] Rabbula himself composed a Hymn on the Cross; see Bickell 1874: 271.

Antiquity. The *Julian Romance* gives us a good impression of this atmosphere. It tells us, as Han Drijvers has shown, how contemporaries came to terms with the loss of large parts of the empire after Julian's fatal campaign, how they looked upon the reign of Julian, and how they reacted to his religious policy by taking harsh action, both verbally and physically, against non-Christian groups. Of the latter the Jews were considered by Christians as their most formidable competitors, on account of the attraction which Judaism exerted upon many Christians. It is for this reason that the *Julian Romance* shows Christian anti-Judaism in an extreme form, by denying the Jews their monotheism and by making them into mere pagans, who saw their Saviour in the most wicked of men, the emperor Julian. The Syriac *Julian Romance* may thus also be seen as a propagandistic text meant for Christians, in which it is demonstrated that Judaism stands for everything that Christianity is not.[37]

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[37] I am most grateful to Alasdair MacDonald for the revision of my English.

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AN ARABIC VERSION OF JOHN CHRYSOSTOM'S COMMENTARY ON GENESIS.

Adriana Drint

0. In 1996 the University Library of Groningen acquired an Arabic manuscript containing the second part of John Chrysostom's *Commentary on Genesis*. It fits well into the Library's collection which is based upon the collection of the theologian Jakob Christmann (1550–1613).[1] Although the manuscript itself is dated to the nineteenth century, the Arabic version of this commentary was made as early as the eleventh century. Unlike the Greek text,[2] the Arabic translation is still unpublished.

The aim of this contribution is to give a detailed description of the manuscript.

1. Description of the exterior aspects of the manuscript Groningen, University Library, Ms Add. 325, John Chrysostom's *Commentary on Genesis*, Part Two, Arabic, 1870.

1.1. *Book-block.*

The material of the book-block consists of occidental paper which has been slightly polished. Traces of polishing can be seen on f. 249r. The distance between the chain-lines is 31 mm. The paper contains the following watermark: crescent with face in coat of arms, countermark A.G. and/or Andrea Galvani Pordenone. Clear traces of this watermark can be found among others in f. 1, 4, 8, 279 and 280. A picture of a resembling watermark is found in Heawood, no. 860, plate 135.[3] This watermark is also found in other oriental manuscripts from the second half of the nineteenth century.[4] Pordenone is a place in Northern Italy, near Venice.

The number of folios is [1]+280. The fly-leaf has not been polished and seems to have a different watermark, something like M M G, in the middle of the leaf. The book-block consists of twenty-eight quires of five bifolia each. The quire signatures are written at the front page of each quire. They are written at the left at the top of the page and consist of the Arabic letter *kāf* in the form of the unconnected position with the number of the quire beneath. This letter stands for the word *kurrāsa*, 'quire'. Each folio contains a catchword at the verso side left under the text. Sometimes this catchword is written in red ink if a heading in red ink precedes.[5]

The measurements of the pages are 332×234 mm. The measurements of the written

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[1] Van Gelder 1996.

[2] Geerard 1974: 517v., no. 4409; Hill 1986; idem 1990.

[3] Heawood 1950.

[4] Leiden, University Library, Mss. Or. 14.121, Or. 14,204, Or. 14.209, Or. 14.210 (with initials A.G.); Mss. Or. 14.139, Or. 14.155, Or. 14.159, Or. 14.180, Or. 14.310, Or. 14.418 (with the names in full); Ms Or. 14.427 (with initials and the names in full). See Witkam 1982–1989.

[5] See f. 70v, 93v, 145v, 223v.

space are 247×147 mm. Very rarely a word has been written partially in the margin.[6] The number of lines per page is nineteen, except on f. 231v, which shows eighteen lines. The distance between the lines is 13,1 mm. The lines were rules with a ruling-board (*maṣṭara* in Arabic).[7] A clear impression of the ruling-board is seen at f. 280.

The foliation is Arabic, written with the so-called 'Indian' figures with a dash above the number. This foliation is found at the recto side of each leaf, at the left at the top of the page. The text begins at f. 1v and ends at f. 279r.

1.2. *Script.*

The manuscript was written by one hand. The script may be characterised as *Naskh*. In the prepositions *ʿalā* and *ʿilā* the *alif maqṣūra bi-ṣūrat al-yā'* is always versed with the dots of the *yā'*. In the text itself the dots of the *tā' marbūṭa* are sometimes lacking, but in the indications *maqāla* and *ʾiẓa* they are nearly always absent. *Hamza* is seldom written and if its bearer is a *yā'*, this *yā* is sometimes dotted. *Tanwīn-an* and *madda* occur frequently.

The copyist made corrections by putting a stroke in red ink through the letters or words and writing the correct form above the line[8] or vertically in the margin. A large correction of eleven lines is found on f. 166r and 166v.

Additions are written vertically in the margin.[9] The place of insertion is marked by a small x, mostly written in red ink, and in a few cases marked by a vertical dash.

The text was subdivided by headings in red ink which indicate number and subject of each homily (*maqāla*) and lesson (*ʿiẓa*). Where there is sufficient space the end of a homily is marked by one cluster, sometimes more, of three inverted commas in red ink.[10] Incidentally a line in the text itself is filled up with slanting dashes in black ink.[11] Very frequently sentences and clauses are divided by a dot in red ink above the line. At the top of each page one can find the indication *al-maqāla* or *al-ʿiẓa* with beneath the number of the *maqāla* or *ʿiẓa* which is under discussion at that page.

1.3. *Decoration.*

The manuscript does not contain decorations apart from the above-mentioned clusters of inverted commas.

1.4. *Binding.*

The binding is a leather oriental envelope-binding.[12] The flap consists of two parts: a fore-edge flap in three parts of which the middle part is stiffened and a stiffened envelope flap.

The measurements of the upper cover are 329×231 mm, of the lower cover 329×233 mm, of the flap 329×140 mm (measured from the lower cover to the angle), of the spine

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[6] See f. 21r, 29r, 184r, 191r, 236r.

[7] See Beit-Arié 1981: 78–83.

[8] Once in red ink, see f. 23r.

[9] See f. 5v, 12v, 19r, 39r, 57r, 60r, 66r, 84r, 95r, 100r, 107v, 108v, 115r, 117r, 125r, 132v, 136r, 138v, 143r, 154v, 155v, 159r, 163r, 170r, 172r, 189r, 192r, 198r, 213r, 236r, 260v, 265v.

[10] F. 230v shows a cluster of inverted commas in black ink, f. 238v shows a cluster of three dots in black ink.

[11] See for example f. 273v.

[12] Bosch, Carswell & Petherbridge 1981: 38.

329×63 mm. The material of the covers and stiffened parts of the flap consists of some kind of paste-board. It is visible at the inside of the covers where the doublures are damaged by worm-holes.

The outer side is clothed with red-dyed leather. The doublures consist of paper paste-downs with a pattern of black jigsaw pieces with white margins on a blue background. The joints are consolidated with a slip of unpolished white paper. The endbands consist of a plaiting of red and white yarns.

At the upper and lower cover and the stiffened parts of the flap the leather is decorated with a tooled relief. The relief on the stiffened part of the fore-edge flap consists of lines, the relief on the envelope flap consists of lines and a small medaillon and the relief on the covers consists of a large medaillon, decorations in the four corners of the middle framework and lines.

1.5. *History.*

The colophon stands at the end of f. 278r and begins at the fourth line from the bottom. The lengthened form of the *lām* of وكمل marks the separation with the text of the book itself. The date stands above the word *sana*, "year".

The text of the colophon reads as follows:

تم وكمل / الجزو الثاني من تفسير التوراة بسلام الرب / امين وكان الفراغ منه يوم الثلاث المبارك / اليوم الرابع من شهر صفر [المشربه ١١ لـ] الذي هو من شهور سنة ١٢٨٧ [...]/

Translation:

The second part of the commentary on the Torah is finished and completed with the peace of the Lord, Amen. And its completion was on the blessed Tuesday, the fourth of the month *Ṣafar* [.....] which is one of the months of the year 1287 [.....]

This date is according to the Islamic era and corresponds with the sixth of May 1870. The day of the week, however, does not fit in with the date: the fourth of *Ṣafar* 1287 fell on a Friday.[13] Unfortunately the colophon contains two illegible parts: one after the name of the month consisting of a correction by a stroke through the word after *Ṣafar* and the following unconnected article, and one after the year. The last one is probably the name of the copyist.

Traces of old signatures are found on the spine (a sticker with the figure 9), on the fly-leaf (written with lead-pencil: KWC 852 and in a circlet the figure 9), and on f. 280v (written with lead-pencil: at the top of the page in a circlet the figure 9; at the bottom of the page the figure 96047145, and in the right hand corner the number of folia – 279, 1 blank ff – and the figure 689 with the letters DB).

In 1996 the manuscript was purchased by the Library of the University of Groningen. According to the seller's catalogue the manuscript comes from the Sbath collection.[14] Paul Sbath[15] was a Syrian priest from Aleppo who started collecting oriental, mainly Christian, manuscripts in 1912. After the first World War he settled down in Cairo.

[13] Spuler & Mayr 1961: 27.

[14] Fogg 1996: 76–7.

[15] Arabic: بولس سباط

His collection ended up partly in the library of the Vatican and partly in the hands of merchants. This manuscript is not mentioned in the catalogue of the Sbath collection published in 1928–1934.[16] It may have been acquired by Sbath after 1934.

2. Contents.

The manuscript contains the second part of John Chrysostom's *Commentary on Genesis* in the form of homilies. The homilies are called *maqālāt*, the plural of *maqāla*, "article, tractate". In this manuscript the numbers of the homilies run from 32 to 66, but in fact it contains the numbers 33-67. Compare the manuscripts Cairo 400 and 421 which contain the numbers 1–31 and 32–66 respectively.[17]

The incipit contains the following title:

الجزؤ الثاني من تفسير السفر الاول من التوراة ومواعظ للقديس يوحنا فم الذهب بطريرك القسطنطنيه

Translation:
The second part of the commentary on the first book of the Torah and religious exhortations of Saint Yūḥannā Fam al-Dhahab, patriarch of Constantinople.

Incipit on f. 1v, first part in red ink:

بسم الاب ولابن وروح القدس اله واحد له المجد / نبتدا بعون الله بنسخ الجزؤ الثاني من تفسير السفر الاول من التوراة ومواعظ / للقديس يوحنا فم الذهب بطريرك القسطنطنيه بركاته حفنا امين / المقالة الثانية ولثلاثون ليوحنا فم الذهب / في قوله وكان ابراهيم موسراً جداً ذا عسجد و لجين وماشيه /

Translation:
In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, one God, glory to Him. / We begin with the help of God with the copying of the second part of the commentary on the first book of the Torah and religious exhortations / of Saint Yūḥannā Fam al-Dhahab, patriarch of Constantinople. May He surround us with His benedictions. Amen. / The thirty-second homily of Yūḥannā Fam al-Dhahab / on His word: And Abraham was very rich, possessing gold and silver and cattle (= Genesis 13 v. 2)

Incipit continued in black ink (*stands for the dot in red ink which is used to divide sentences and clauses):

انني اذا ما رأيت حرصكم اليوم علي الاجتماع * وشدة شوقكم / الي السماع او ثران افيكم ما لمحبتكم علىّ من الدين * وقد / علمت انه يجوز ان تكونوا قد انسيتم لاجل كثرة ما

[16] Sbath 1928–1934; idem 1912–1921; idem 1923–1928. See Graf 1930: 128–30.
[17] Graf 1947: 53.

سلف من / الايام واننا عدلنا بالمفاوضة الي معان اخرى * لان حضون / العيد المقدس منعنا من ايراد الكلام علي نظام * فانه ليس من / اللايق ان نكون معيدين عيد صليب المسيح السيد ونحن / نعلم تعاليم في اسباب غير اسبابه * اذ كان قد وجب علينا ان / نقدم في كل اوان المآيده * لهضا السبب لما وفد يوم / التسليم قطعنا اتساق التعليم واطلقنا اللسان علي المسلم * / ولما احضرنا لكم ايضا الي الوسط امر الصليب * ثم ادرك / يوم النشور * دعت الضرورة ان نفيدكم ما تقتضيه القيامة / وان نقيم لكم فيما ياتي من الايام البرهان علينا بالايات / الحارية بعد ذلك

Excipit on f. 279r:

فان هذا الصديق بما يجري هذا المجري من الادوات العالية / والخلال الساميه حسن مكانه عند الله تعالى * وجملت نيته فيه * / فان كنا ايها الخلان نوئر الظفر بالموازرة العلوية * فالخليق بنا اذاً / التوفر علي الفضيلة * لنستمد بفضل الروح * ونجوز هذا العمر الحاضر بلا / حزن ولا مشقة * وننال تلك الخيرات الراهنه العتيدة * التي ليكن لنا كلنا / ان نتمتع بها بنعمة ربنا يسوع المسيح ومودته للانام * الذي معه لابيه / مع الروح القدس المجد والاكرام الي اباد الدهور امين "'"/

followed by the colophon.

The name of the translator of John Chrysostom's homilies on Genesis is not mentioned in this manuscript. However, it is likely that it was Abu-l-Fatḥ ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl ibn ʿAbdallāh al-muṭrān al-Anṭakī.[18] He lived in the eleventh century and was a deacon from Antioch. As a widower his grandfather was called to the position of bishop (*muṭrān*). Abu-l-Fatḥ ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl translated several works from Greek into Arabic, among them the major works of John Chrysostom.[19]

The assumption that Abu-l-Fatḥ ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl was also the translater of John Chrysostom's homilies on Genesis in this manuscript is based on the following considerations:

– Abu-l-Fatḥ ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl prefaces the translation of each homily with an explanatory lesson (*ʿiẓa*) on the same subject.[20]

[18] Graf 1944.
[19] Graf 1947: 52–3.
[20] Bacha 1908: 175–6.

– His translation is divided in two parts and often edited in two volumes.[21]

The division in two parts lies probably between homilies 32 and 33, because John Chrysostom himself interrupted the series for a short time after number 32 which appears from the beginning of number 33 (in this manuscripts numbered 32).

The incipit of the first *ʿiẓā* in this manuscript on f. 8r and 8v is:

العظه الثانية والثلاثون في الاتضاع / وان الاتضاع الحقيقي الرضآ باليسير والطاعة للدون/ وانا لنري ان ننتهي بالتعليم الي هاهنا خيفة من الاسهاب وندخر / ما تبقى لغد ونسلكم هذا الامر وهو ان تمائلوا اب الابآء ولا / تهووا الاجود وتوئوا لغيركم الانقص * بل ارضحوا للطوبان // بولس القايل ليجل بعضكم بعضا ولنحرص ان نكون دون الجاعه / وهذا هو الشرق [الشرف ؟] كقول المسيح من وضع نفسه سيرتفع *

The Arabic version of John Chrysostom's homilies on Genesis has remained unpublished. According to the seller's catalogue it is possible that there is another manuscript of the same recension, which belongs to the Church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus, Old Cairo, and is dated 1797.[22]

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DIYĀF: FOR CAMELS, SWORDS AND NABATAEANS
A Nabataean Centre in Arabic Sources

Geert Jan van Gelder

1. One of the several invective poems by the great Umayyad poet Jarīr (d. c. 729) on the tribe Salīṭ Ibn Yarbūʿ is short enough to be quoted in full:

Inna Salīṭan ka-smihā salīṭū.
Lawlā Banū ʿAmrin – wa-ʿAmrun ʿīṭū –
Qultu: Diyāfiyyūna aw Nabīṭū.

Salīṭ are, like their name, foul-tongued (*salīṭ*)
But for the Banū ʿAmr – for ʿAmr are long-necked –
I would say, "They are Diyāfites, or Nabataeans.[1]

The epigram presents several difficulties. The reference to the Banū ʿAmr, for instance, is far from clear, nor do we know why their being long-necked, or tall (*ʿīṭ*) would make the statement in the third line untrue (although it is stated all the same). What interests us here is the last line. The 'Nabataeans', *Nabīṭ, Nabaṭ*, or *Anbāṭ*, are regularly mentioned in a derogatory sense in early Arabic prose and poetry.[2] In the first centuries of Islam, the Bedouin Arabs, or those with a Bedouin ancestry, used the term for the rural native population of southern Iraq or any Arabs who had become agriculturalists. Poets like Jarīr used the term in taunts and defamations also of 'true' Arabs; in this particular epigram Jarīr was obviously led by the rhyming of Salīṭ and Nabīṭ.

2. Besides the 'Nabataeans' of Iraq, the Arabs knew about the ancient Nabataeans, also called *Nabaṭ*, of Syria; confusion between the two kinds is common. The 'Diyāfites' however, are far from well-known. Jarīr's famous contemporary and rival, al-Farazdaq (d. c. 728), used the singular twice in consecutive lines from a poem against a certain ʿAmr Ibn ʿAfrāʾ of the tribe Ḍabba. If he were truly from Ḍabba, he says, I would forgive him,

Wa-lākin Diyāfiyyun abūhu wa-ummuhū
bi-Ḥawrāna yaʿṣirna l-salīṭa aqāribuh.
Wa-lammā raʾā l-Dahnā ramatʾhu jibāluhā
Wa-qālat: Diyāfiyyun maʿa l-Shaʾmi jānibuh.

[1] Jarīr, *Dīwān*: 902; Jarīr, *Naqāʾiḍ*: 29; also quoted in al-Baghdādī: v, 235 and Yāqūt : ii, 638. Instead of *qultu* other editions have *qulta* 'You (or: one) would say'.
[2] See Graf and Fahd 1993, with further references.

But [he is] a Diyāfite from his father's and mother's side,
in Hauran, where his relatives press olive oil (*salīṭ*).[3]
When he saw the Dahnāʾ desert, its mountains cast him about
and said, "A Diyāfite who belongs to Syria".[4]

Al-Farazdaq is rubbing it in: the repetition of 'Diyāfite' shows that he thought it would greatly scandalise his victim, who had to suffer for having a metronymic instead of a patronymic,[5] and whose respectable ancestry could therefore easily be questioned. On account of a syntactic peculiarity the first line is quoted in the famous early grammar by Sībawayh (d. 793)[6] and is consequently found in numerous commentaries and related works,[7] that pay scant attention, however, to the word *diyāfī*. "Diyāf is a village in Syria, where people like the Nabataeans live", explains al-Sīrāfī (d. 979).[8]

A more obscure poet from Umayyad times, Ḥurayth Ibn ʿAnnāb, vilified the Banū Thuʿal in a three-line epigram, deriding them for their language ("What is this speech of yours?") and ending as follows:

Diyāfiyyatun ghulfun ka-anna khaṭībahum
sarāta l-ḍuḥā fī salḥihī yatamaṭṭaqū.

Uncircumcised Diyāfites, whose preacher seems to be
tasting his own excrement with smacking lips in broad daylight.[9]

Another Umayyad poet, Thābit (d. 728), called "Quṭna" after the 'Cotton Wad' he bore having lost an eye, lampooned his colleague Ḥājib al-Fīl (Ḥājib 'the Elephant'):

... wa-lam yakun
abūka mina l-ghurri l-jaḥājiḥati l-zuhrī
abūka Diyāfiyyun wa-ummuka ḥurratun
wa-lākinnahā lā shakka wāfiyatu l-bazrī

... but your father
was not one of the noble and illustrious lordly people:
Your father is a Diyāfite; your mother free-born,
but no doubt she has an ample clitoris.[10]

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[3] That in the space of two short fragments the rare word *salīṭ* should be found in three different meanings is remarkable but surely coincidental.

[4] al-Farazdaq: i, 46; al-Jumaḥī : 278; al-Iṣfahānī: xxi, 302, Yāqūt: ii, 637.

[5] ʿAfrāʾ is a woman's name.

[6] *Kitāb Sībawayh*, Būlāq AH 1318: i, 236, illustrating the irregular use of the plural verb (*yaʿṣirna*) before its subject (*aqāribuh*).

[7] e.g. al-Sīrāfī, *abyāt*: i, 491; al-Sīrāfī, *Kitāb*: 10; Ibn Yaʿīsh: iii, 89; vii, 7; al-Baghdādī : v, 234–5, 237, 239.

[8] al-Sīrāfī, *Abyāt*: i, 491.

[9] al-Marzūqī : 1478.

[10] al-Iṣfahānī: xiv, 268. Although it is sometimes maintained that female circumcision or cliterodectomy was originally an African and not an Arab custom, there are many similar references in early Arabic invective poetry that seem to refute this.

3. Obviously it is a bad thing for an Arab to be compared to, or said to be descended from, the inhabitants of Diyāf: they are the wrong kind of people, probably no Arabs or at least not proper Arabs, probably not even Muslims; they speak a language that is unintelligible and foul-sounding, and are sedentary olive-pressers; possibly (see Jarīr's epigram) they are short.

3.1. However, not all references to Diyāf are negative. Few beings are more truly Arab than trusty camels; but such a camel may be linked to Diyāf, as in a line by the famous early pre-Islamic poet Imraʾ al-Qays, who describes himself as riding

... ʿalā lāḥibin lā yuhtadā bi-manārihī
idhā sāfahu l-ʿawdu l-diyāfiyyu jarjarā.

... on a clear road without a light to be guided by;
when an old Diyāfī camel smells it, it grunts.[11]

From the old commentaries it appears that *diyāfī* is no derogatory epithet here. A version of this line has *nabāṭiyyu* instead of *diyāfiyyu*: Obviously the two epithets were thought to be closely related. *Diyāfiyyu* may well be the older version, since it is not very likely that a well-known word was replaced by a relatively obscure one.

3.2. Diyāf is also associated with swords, as in a line by the pre- or early Islamic poet al-Burayq Ibn ʿIyāḍ al-Khunāʿī, on a tribal conflict:

A-lam taʿlamū anna l-shaʿīra tabaddalat
Diyāfiyyatan taʿlā l-jamājima min ʿalū.

Do they not know that barley has been exchanged
for Diyāfite (swords) that hit the skulls from above?[12]

3.3. Finally, there are a few lines of poetry that seem to mention Diyāf as a place of merchants and industry. The Umayyad poet al-Akhṭal (d. c. 710) said:

Ka-anna banāti l-māʾi fī ḥajarātihī
abārīqu ahdāhā Diyāfun li-Ṣarkhadā.

The water-fowl, on all sides, are like
jugs given by Diyāf to Ṣarkhad.[13]

[11] al-Murtaḍā: i, 228; al-Baghdādī: 193; Ibn Qutayba, *al-Shiʿr*: 119 (with a different first hemistich); and the edition of the *dīwān* of Imraʾ al-Qays by Ahlwardt (1870): 130 (first hemistich as in Ibn Qutayba). The *Dīwān* ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1969: 66 has *al-Nabāṭiyyu* 'Nabataean' instead of *al-Diyāfiyyu*.
[12] al-Sukkarī: 747; Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb*: 1075.
[13] al-Akhṭal : 76; al-Jumaḥī: 399; Ibn Maymūn: ii, 356; al-Baghdādī: v, 236; Yāqūt : ii, 638.

Ṣarkhad is a variant of Ṣalkhad, which has long been one of the more important towns of the Ḥawrān region. It is by no means clear why jugs should be handed over from one place to another; we can only conclude that Diyāf was apparently noted for its beaked jugs – perhaps used for wine. In an anecdote about the famous pre-and early Islamic hero Qays Ibn ʿĀṣim, he encounters, still before the coming of Islam, a Diyāfite wine merchant. He asks for a drink, gets it, and asks for another. The man refuses, arguing that a merchant, after all, has to make a profit. Disgusted with such un-Arabian stinginess and somewhat heated by the wine, Qays ties the merchant to a tree for the rest of the night, thus in his turn breaking another Bedouin cardinal virtue, that of hospitality. In a lampoon he calls his guest "an impudent merchant, with a beard like the tails of camels". Repenting once he is sober, he becomes the first Arab to renounce alcohol.[14]

Commercial activity is also indicated in a piece by Suḥaym ʿAbd Banī l-Ḥasḥās (d. c. 660), describing a rain cloud in the desert. Nabataeans and Diyāfites are mentioned in close proximity (one intervening line has been omitted here):

Fa-alqā marāsiyahū wa-stahalla
ka-maddi l-Nabīṭi l-ʿurūsha l-ṭirāfā;
...
Ka-anna l-wuḥūsha bihī ʿAsqalā-
nu ṣādafa fī qarni ḥajjin Diyāfā.

It cast its anchors and began to rain
like Nabataeans spreading out precious beds;
...
The wild beasts there looked like Ascalon [traders]
at a time of pilgrimage coming upon Diyāf.[15]

The commentator explains that Ascalon was a market visited each year by the Christians as a pilgrimage; the rain-storm sweeps plants away and drives beasts together in crowds like a busy market. The translation 'precious beds' is uncertain; they may be tents or pavilions. Yāqūt, who quotes the last line, comments: "He means that people from Ascalon meet people from Diyāf, whereupon they spread out all kinds of cloth".[16] The model for this rain-scene is the Muʿallaqa by Imraʾ al-Qays, the most famous poem in the history of Arabic literature, where the flood is compared to Yemeni merchants unpacking their bags.

A variant of the last line provides wholly different associations. It occurs in versions of an anecdote involving descriptions of rainclouds studied recently in great detail by Kathrin Müller:[17]

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[14] al-Iṣfahānī: xiv, 85. For a different account of this story, see al-ʿAskarī: 31.

[15] Suḥaym : 48. Cf. Ibn Sīda, *Muḥkam* (s.v. *ʿSQL*); al-Jawālīqī: 234; Yāqūt: ii, 638; Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿarab*: s.vv. *ʿSQL* and *DWF*; al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-ʿarūs*, s.vv. *ʿSQL* and *DYF*. The line is sometimes attributed to (ʿAmr) Ibn al-Iṭnāba.

[16] Yāqūt: ii, 638 (ascribing it to Ibn al-Iṭnāba or Suḥaym).

[17] Müller 1994: 144–5, 149–50, 152, 157, 196–9.

Ka-anna suyūfa Banī ʿAsqalāna
anāfat bi-ḍarbin wa-ṭaʿnin Diyāfa.

It is as if the swords of the people of Ascalon
are towering, with a striking and a stabbing, over Diyāf.[18]

Here a thunder-cloud with lightning flashes is compared with the turmoil of battle and gleaming swords. Again Diyāf is associated with Ascalon, this time in a martial rather than a commercial connection.

4. After Umayyad times Diyāf seems to disappear from poetry, and indeed from virtually all texts except commentaries on the old lines of verse. Yāqūt (d. 1229), the author of the great geographical dictionary, quotes a much earlier authority, Ibn Ḥabīb (d. 860), who says that Diyāf was a village or small town in Syria, or, according to others, in al-Jazīra (N.W. Mesopotamia), inhabited by "Syrian Nabataeans", and known for its camels and swords. Also, he adds, "when one wants to insinuate that someone is a Nabataean, they call him a Diyāfī". From the fact that Diyāf is associated with Ḥawrān (in al-Farazdaq's verse) and Ṣarkhad (in al-Akhṭal's verse) he concludes, rightly it seems, that Diyāf must be sought in Syria rather than al-Jazīra.[19] Other commentators and compilers of dictionaries have nothing to add to this, apart from the fact that the placename is said to be pronounced "Dayāf" by some,[20] and that it is "a place in the sea [sic] and also a town in Syria" according to the great dictionary *Lisān al-ʿArab* by Ibn Manẓūr (d. 1311).[21]

One suspects that these commentators and lexicographers derive most if not all their information from the scant evidence of the poetry. Only the enigmatic reference to the sea cannot be accounted for in this respect.

5. By now one may well be wondering whether the town is mentioned at all outside poetry and its glosses. The yield, so far, is extremely meagre. In the year 13 of the Hijra (CE 634–635) the Arab warrior al-Muthannā, a hero of the early conquests, carried out a raid:

Thumma adrakū ʿīran min ahli Diyāfa wa-Ḥawrāna fa-qatalū l-ʿulūja wa-aṣābū thalāthata nafarin min Banī Taghliba khufarāʾa wa-akhadhū l-ʿīr.

[18] Thus according to the form found in Ibn Sīda, *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*: ix, 103; see Müller 1994: 149 and 197, who translates (150 and 197) "Es ist, als ob die Schwerter der Banū ʿAsqalān im Schlagen und Stechen die Diyāf übertreffen". A corrupt, untranslatable variant is found in Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, *Kitāb al-maṭar*, unpubl. MS Köprülü 388, used by Müller (144–45, 197).
[19] Yāqūt : ii, 637; cf. al-Baghdādī: v, 235.
[20] al-Baghdādī : x, 193.
[21] Root *DYF*; cf. also *DWF*.

> Then they intercepted a caravan of the people of Diyāf and Ḥawrān. They killed the infidels, wounded three individuals of the Banū Taghlib acting as guards and captured the caravan.[22]

To my knowledge this is the only mention of Diyāf in a historical text. That the incident took place in or near al-Jazīra may explain the hesitation, found in commentaries and dictionaries, between Syria and al-Jazīra as the location of Diyāf. The reference to Arab tribesmen protecting a caravan from Diyāf shows how Diyāf might have become known to Arab poets in Iraq and Northern Arabia.[23] The passage seems to suggest that Diyāf and Ḥawrān were two different things, but it does not exclude the possibility that Diyāf is part of the latter, as is suggested in other passages such as the lines by al-Farazdaq quoted above.

6. One could imagine that such a town, which sends out caravans and which is known among distant semi-nomad poets, should be well-attested in other sources, either Nabataean inscriptions or works by classical authors in Greek or Latin.

6.1. One even wonders if the place still exists in some form, inhabited or not. However, so far any definite identification is lacking. René Dussaud has attempted to find a modern remnant in a small village in Ḥawrān:

> YAQOUT signale un village de la Syrie, près de Salkhad, du nom de Diyâf, qui pourrait être l'actuel ed-Defyané, au sud-ouest de Tell Ghariyé, plutôt que ed-Diyathe, village et fortin sur le revers oriental de la montagne druze, à l'est de Bousan.[24]

The basis for this identification is obviously the resemblance of the name, although the possibility cannot be excluded that Diyāf lives on under a different name. Why Dussaud prefers "ed-Defyané" to "ed-Diyathe" (or Diyathé on the map, without the article but with the feminine ending *tāʾ marbūṭa*) remains unclear. Perhaps he was led by the closer proximity to Ṣalkhad; but, *pace* Dussaud, Yāqūt does not say or suggest that the two locations are close to each other: he merely quotes al-Akhṭal's line, translated above. In view of the fact that Diyāf sent caravans to relatively remote regions, it would be rash to conclude that it was "near Ṣalkhad". If, however, Dussaud's choice was inspired by phonetic considerations, then I believe it was the wrong choice, since both the pattern and the root of Diyāf and those of "ed-Defyané" are different; it is unlikely that the former could have been changed into the latter. "(Ed-)Diyathe", probably to be transliterated as Diyātha or Diyāth, is much closer to Diyāf. The change of /f/ into /ṯ/ is well attested. After mentioning the even more common change from /ṯ/ into /f/ (e.g. *felǧ* in Palmyra for standard-Arabic *ṯalǧ*), Jean Cantineau remarks:

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[22] al-Ṭabarī: i, 2206; cf. Blankinship 1993: 219.

[23] For 'Nabataean' traders in Mecca and Medina, see e.g. Crone 1987: 139 with further references.

[24] Dussaud 1927: 352; see map II, reference B3 (Tell Gharié), B2 (Diyathé). Ed-Defyané does not figure on the map. Dussaud refers to *Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904–1905 and 1909, III* = Enno Littmann *et al., Greek and Latin Inscriptions*, A, p. 90.

> le phénomène inverse peut se produire: dans beaucoup de parlers orientaux, la "bouche" (cl. *fum*) se dit *ṯumm*, pl. *ṯmâm*.[25]

Numerous doublets with /ṯ/ and /f/ were already collected by the early Arabic philologians. Among the examples given by al-Qālī (d. 967) in his *Dictations* (*al-Amālī*) there are several clear instances where /ṯ/ represents the dialectal form against /f/ in the standard language.[26]

6.2. In any case the identification of Diyāf with either "ed-Defyané" or "ed-Diyathe/Diyathé" remains highly conjectural. There is, in fact, another possibility that deserves to be considered, and which seems altogether more plausible to me. A Latin text going back to around CE 400, known as *Notitia dignitatum in partibus orientis*, is an enumeration of the garrison towns of the Eastern Roman Empire. For the province of Arabia the towns are all to be located in Hauran and Moab; they include Bostra (Buṣrā) and, to the north of it, a place called Diafenes.[27] This place has been identified as old Phaena, some 40 km South of Damascus, at the site of a village now called Mismiyya, at the northern edge of the lava field known as al-Ledja/al-Lajā', where some buildings (a praetorium and a basilica) may still be seen.[28] Phaena was an important military post, "with indigenous mounted archers" (*equites sagitarii indigenae*), on the road from Damascus to Bostra, later becoming a bishop's see. J.L. Burckhardt, who visited it in the early nineteenth century and collected some Greek inscriptions, found "Missemi, or Missema",

> a ruined town of three miles in circuit. (...) The principal ruin in the town is a temple, in tolerable preservation; it is one of the most elegant buildings which I have seen in the Haouran (...) Missema has no inhabitants; we met only a few workmen, digging the saline earth.[29]

It is difficult, on the face of it, to imagine that the names of Phaena and Diyāf are connected in any way; yet the resemblance of Diyāf and Diafenes/Diafenis is striking. The element /fen/ in the latter is surely related to Phaena.[30] It remains to be explained, therefore, how Phaena could be "corrupted" into Diafenes in the *Notitia dignitatum*; perhaps the latter is a conflation of Diyāf and Phaena.

If Diyāf is to be identified with Diafenes/Phaena, all the sedentary, mercantile and military associations found in pre- and early Islamic Arabic texts would fit. The inhabitants of Diafenes may have been Arabs;[31] some echoes of heroic acts and opulence

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[25] Cantineau 1960: 45. See also Fleisch 1965.

[26] al-Qālī: ii, 34–35; cf. al-Suyūṭī: i, 465. Of course, the dialectal, 'deviant' form is not necessarily invariably younger than the standard form.

[27] *Notitia dignitatum accedunt notitia urbis constantinopolitanae et latercula provinciarum*, ed. Seeck 1962 (orig. ed. 1876): 80–81 (spelled as "Diafenes" and "Dia-Fenis"); Kammerer 1929: 290, 1930: Pl. 112. The form "Diafenis" is given by *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie*, v (1905) s.v. "Diafenis", 38. Halbband (1938) s.v. "Phaina".

[28] Thomsen 1907: 55, Kammerer 1929: 290, Dussaud 1927: 269, 348, 371, 373, 376–77 and map II, A1 (Mismiyé). Phaena appears as "Aena" on the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, see Miller 1916 : col. 817 and map col. 807–8.

[29] Burckhardt 1822: 115, 118.

[30] cf. the Greek form *Phenoûtos* given in Gelzer 1890: 54 and 205 (no. 1070).

[31] See Shahid 1984: 63 and id. 1989: 469.

still lingered in Umayyad times. However, since Diyāf was linked with the Nabataeans, who were no "true Arabs", its reputation sank inevitably and it became a term used for defamation and slander.

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PERSUASION AND PERSECUTION:
Establishing Church Unity in the Sixth Century

Jan van Ginkel

0. That the right form of worship is essential if heaven is to be propitious is an axiom of ancient society. The axiom lies at the root of the pagan persecutions of the Christians, as also of the deep unpopularity of the Jews in the Greco-Roman world. The Christians introduced an even greater passion into the matter by their belief that right worship also presupposed right doctrine, and that therefore heresy or schism would, if long tolerated, or regarded as a matter of indifference, provoke the wrath of the Lord. The ferocity of sectarian conflicts in the fourth and later centuries cannot be understood without the centrality of this axiom. In the fifth and sixth century the Chalcedonians are sure that the defeats of the imperial armies are the consequence of the prevalence of so many Monophysites; and vice versa.[1]

Thus H. Chadwick describes the ideological context of the ecclesiastical history of Late Antiquity. The internal Christian conflicts are not just a disagreement between intellectuals, but in these conflicts the prosperity of the empire and humanity as a whole is at stake. Both ecclesiastical and secular institutions have a holy duty to create unity within the Christian community and therefore also within the Roman Empire. Dissenters have to be eliminated as quickly as possible.

Pagan imperial authority and power had been used to interfere in religious beliefs.[2] After Constantine the Great had made Christianity a privileged religion, the leaders of the Church had become wielders of worldly power, able to coerce religious opponents into obedience.[3] Whichever section of Christianity was supported by the emperor now had the opportunity to put pressure on its opponents, Christian and non-Christian, and make them reconsider their position. By the sixth century the use of imperial power to eliminate religious rivals had become quite common.[4] In practice, however, the account of the Late Antique religious history is less straightforward than expected. Although the objective – eliminating a rival and thus a threat to the welfare of the state – is clear, strangely enough many dissenting opinions linger on for centuries.[5]

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[1] Chadwick 1979: 10.

[2] E.g. the persecution of the Christians by pagan emperors like Decius and Diocletian (Mandouze 1979; Maraval 1992; Grégoire 1964[2]). For the Roman senate against "eastern Mystery cults", see Rousselle 1984.

[3] E.g. the immediate involvement of the state in the Donatist controversy; see Maier 1987–89; Frend 1952; Markus 1972.

[4] See Krüger 1915: e.g. I, 5 (against heretics, manichaeans and Samaritans), I, 9 (against Jews and groups with related beliefs), I, 10 (against heretics, pagans and Jews), I, 11 (against pagans), also Schöll & Kroll 1912: e.g 45 (against heretics), 109 (against heretics), 129 (against Samaritans), 144 (against Samaritans), 146 (against Jews).

[5] For Donatism see Maier 1987–89; for Montanism see Frend1984; Trevett 1996; for Arianism see Wiles 1997; for Manichaeism see Lieu 1992 and 1994.

1. In this contribution I will take a closer look at the process of an attempted elimination in a specific case: the Monophysite community in the sixth century, that is during the reign of Justin I, Justinian, Justin II, Tiberius and Maurice.[6] I will concentrate on the way the repression against this rival of the Chalcedonian orthodoxy was carried out and on the role of the secular power in this repression.[7] In other words, what form did religious coercion take in the sixth century, and to what extent were secular power and institutions involved? Who were the main victims, and what results were achieved?

In contrast with some other dissenters within the history of late antique Christianity, the story of the Monophysites[8] in the sixth century is relatively well documented, not only by Chalcedonians, but by Monophysite authors as well.[9] The theological debate gets a fair share of the attention in Chalcedonian sources,[10] but the active policy of coercion is hardly ever referred to.[11] In various Chalcedonian hagiographical texts there are references to Monophysites as heretics, but hardly ever to the extent of their persecution. There are, however, several contemporary Monophysite Church Histories, which provide a more *evenemential* account, even though most of these works have only been preserved in fragments and excerpts. In addition many hagiographical accounts and a large selection of epistographical and homiletic material has survived.[12]

2. When the bishops at the Fourth Ecumenical Council held at Chalcedon (451) had ratified a doctrinal formula intended to end the philosophical and theological controversy about Christology,[13] large segments of Christianity in the Eastern Mediterranean rejected their decision. Stressing the opinion that there is but one – Divine – nature in Christ, the

[6] During the reign of Phocas and Heraclius political and military events create a different environment with some very specific problems. For an example of Monophysite loyalty after a generation of non-Byzantine government see Winkelmann 1979 and Moorhead 1981.

[7] For a later phase in Byzantine religious history see Alexander 1977.

[8] For a full bibliography see Frend 1972: 369–377; van Ginkel 1995: 242–248. Unless indicated differently, Frend's account of the history of the Monophysite movement has been followed throughout this contribution.

[9] Although most of the Chalcedonian sources have been preserved in Greek, whereas Monophysite literature has been preserved predominantly in Syriac, Armenian and Coptic, the original language of the relevant sixth-century texts was predominantly Greek.

[10] See e.g. Allen 1981: 19–20; the intense debate is discussed with regard to the Council of Chalcedon. There are only a few references in the account on the sixth century, notably Bidez & Parmentier (eds.) 1898: *HE* IV 4 (154–155) (Severus ordered to be arrested for opposing Chalcedon) and *HE* V 4 (197–201) (edict of Justin II in 571 (?)). For the debate in the sixth century also see Gray 1979

[11] E.g. Malalas (Dindorf 1831 has two references to the conflict. He refers to Paul replacing Severus in Antioch (411.17–412.2: quoting a statement of Paul's Monophysite opponents: "those who followed the Council supported the doctrine of Nestorius") and mentions that Paul's successor "carried out a great persecution of those known as 'Orthodox', and put many to death" (415.22–416.2). Procopius (Haury 1968: 68; 72–75; 85; 166–171; 174) often refers in his *Anecdota* X, 15 (doctrinal differences between emperor and empress); XI, 14–33 (heretics, Samaritans, pagans); XIII, 4–8 (promoting one belief regarding Christ); XXVII, 3–33 (on Patriarch Paul of Alexandria and the doctrinal differences between emperor and empress); XXVIII, 16–18 (Jews) to the violent behaviour of the imperial couple in the context of religious policies, but his statements must be seen in the context of a very negative and hostile portrayal of both Justinian and Theodora without a clear discussion of Monophysite persecution. Note that Procopius does not include the Monophysites among the heretics (in *Anecdota* XXVII, 5, (Haury 1968:167) Haury has added to the text), but as those who need to become "associated" with the council of Chalcedon.

[12] On the problems of using later compilations and excerpts of sixth century Monophysite sources see Ginkel 1998; Schepens 1997 (The other articles in this volume provide additional insights.)

[13] For the debate and its aftermath e.g. see Grillmeier & Bacht 1951–1954; Grillmeier 1987; Stockmeier 1982.

opponents of Chalcedon are often referred to as Monophysites.[14]

During the fifth and early sixth centuries there was a continuous rivalry within the imperial Church between Chalcedonians and Monophysites. Neither doctrine managed to become the sole doctrine of the imperial Church and both parties had their own champions within the imperial ecclesiastical hierarchy – bishops, who functioned within the same Church.[15]

After the death of emperor Anastasius (491–518), however, the Chalcedonians gradually gained control of key positions within the imperial Church. The new emperor Justin I (518–527) supported Chalcedon for various political and, possibly, personal reasons. First of all he had been elected against the wishes of Anastasius' followers and may have wanted to emphasise the break with his predecessor.[16] In his bid for the throne he accepted the support of Vitalian, a rebellious general and well-known champion of Chalcedon, who had considerable political and military influence on the Balkans.[17] An additional motivation seems to have been the improvement of the relations with the West, especially with the Pope. Justin's personal religious convictions, however, may also account for the shift in imperial policy.[18]

In the next century, the palace continuously tried to bring the opponents of Chalcedon back into unity with the imperial Church, but it would no longer be willing to give up Chalcedon in the process. The attempts to unify Christianity were twofold. On the one hand there were continuous contacts between the intellectual leaders of both parties in which a compromise acceptable to both sides was sought after. On the other hand the imperial resources were used to force dissidents into submission and obedience.

Periods of violence and debate then alternate. Violent persecution took place in the first years of Justin I in Syria and Mesopotamia and in Asia Minor.[19] The Patriarchates of Antioch and Constantinople had only recently come into Chalcedonian hands. The Patriarchate of Alexandria and Egypt remained in Monophysite hands throughout Justin's reign and there are no indications of organised violence against Monophysites.

In the early years of the fourth decade emperor Justinian (527–566) rescinded some of the banning orders and sponsored some theological debates. This more or less peaceful period came to an abrupt end when the talks collapsed in 536. In the following years force was again being used to unite the Church. This time the violence not only occurred in Syria and Mesopotamia, but also in Egypt. In 537 a Chalcedonian Patriarch was installed in Alexandria, while the Monophysite Patriarch was banished to Constantinople.

Although the policy of persecution was not annulled, its intensity seems to have weakened during the fifth decade. Leading up to the Fifth Ecumenical Council of Constantinople (553), there were renewed efforts to reunite the Church through theological

[14] Terms like Copts, West Syrians or Jacobites can not be used for the members of the opposition to Chalcedon in the fifth and sixth century as these terms reflect a later historical reality. During this period the internal divisions were caused by doctrinal, not linguistic, geographical or ethnic differences.

[15] See for example the list of Patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria, where Monophysites and Chalcedonians alternately hold the see (Frend 1972: xviii–xix).

[16] Justin immediately executed several high ranking Monophysite officials with connections to the old regime. Note that the Monophysite account (Brooks 1921: book VIII, 1 (61–62; 42) stresses the religious aspect, whereas Malalas (Dindorf 1831: 410.8–411.5) presents it as a political case.

[17] A few months later the Chalcedonian general Vitalian (see *PLRE* II, 1171–1176) was executed as well (Malalas: Dindorf 1831: 412). The executions were intended to remove potential rivals.

[18] On Justin I see Vasiliev 1950. Also see Gray 1979: 44–48.

[19] For the persecution in Asia Minor see Honigmann 1951: 45–48; 78–97; 108–138.

debate at the end of the fifth decade. There was no direct result to the talks, but the decisions ratified at the Council can be seen as an attempt to pacify Monophysite criticism.[20] In practical terms, it seems that the status quo was upheld in the last part of Justinian's reign. There are some references to violence against Monophysites, but there are no accounts of all out campaigns to coerce them.

During the first years of the reign of Justin II (566–578), renewed efforts to find an acceptable compromise resulted in an agreement between theologians at Callinicum (568), which was subsequently overturned by the Monophysite monastic masses. A second agreement in Constantinople (571) was annulled by the Monophysite delegation, either because the Chalcedonians did not live up to their promises or because they received warnings from their own party that they had ventured too far.[21] After the Monophysite retraction force was again used to try and create Church unity. This persecution seems to have been concentrated on the capital and Western Asia Minor. In the other regions the status quo was apparently maintained.

With the beginning of the reign of Tiberius, first as Caesar and regent in 574, later in 578 as emperor, the intensity of the violence decreased, although there were some short-lived flare-ups. During the reign of Maurice there is one account of a full-fledged persecution in Northern Mesopotamia in the early nineties carried out by Maurice's nephew Domitian, bishop of Melitene.[22]

The events in the seventh century are not taken into account here, because of the additional problems of the influence of the Persian occupation of the East for more than a decade.

3. One way of achieving the universal acceptance of a religious doctrine was theological debate intended to arrive at a compromise acceptable to all or most parties involved. Although these debates were unsuccessful in the end, their significance should not be dismissed. At the time both sides were more than willing to invest time and energy in these attempts. The fact that it was possible to reach a settlement in Callinicum (568) indicates that these talks were more than just shouting matches. There was a general belief that a theological formula could be found which would lead to a form of orthodoxy acceptable to all. Nevertheless, since the debates on unification failed time and again, the imperial Church repeatedly resorted to more drastic methods of persuasion in order to achieve its goal.

From contemporary sources[23] it appears that the main 'target' of this coercion were the Monophysite authorities. All bishops were requested to acknowledge the Council

[20] On the Council see Straub 1971. On the relation between the Council and Justinian's policy towards the Monophysites see Gray 1979: 61–73

[21] The Monophysite argument that the Chalcedonians had promised to revoke Chalcedon and subsequently had backed down from their promise (Brooks 1935–36: book I, chapter 24 (31–34; 21–24)) seems at least a simplification. Based on the previous events in the sixth century it is highly unlikely that the palace and the imperial Church ever had been willing to give up Chalcedon as such – and the Monophysite delegation must have known this.

[22] Our sources (Chabot 1899–1924: book X chapter 23 (vol. IV 386–7; vol. II 372–3) and Chabot & Abouna 1916, 1920, 1937, 1974: ch 82 (217–8; 171) are very late. They may have used the same unknown source – possibly Cyrus of Batna (late sixth, early seventh century).

[23] Later sources tend to be more radical in their description of the events, but this may be explained as hindsight. See Van Ginkel 1998.

of Chalcedon as orthodox, or leave their sees. Next, the newly ordained Chalcedonian bishops removed Monophysite clergy from their parishes. The aim was to strip the urban communities from their religious leaders so that eventually they would have to resort to other regional leaders, who might be more flexible in their doctrinal position. After the institutional authorities had been removed outspoken charismatic Monophysite authorities, like ascetics and monastics, were expelled from the urban centres as well. Lay people are usually presented by both sides as bystanders rather than being actively involved.[24]

The attack on Monophysite authorities was instigated by members of the imperial Church, hardly ever by worldly officials acting on their own. Imperial forces were used to enforce the decision of Patriarchs, local bishops or clergy, but in cooperation with ecclesiastical officials.[25] In the contemporary accounts it is not even the Church as such, but always individuals with influential positions within the Church who are held responsible for the acts of persecution. Although this may be a rhetorical topos – dramatising the account by making it personal –, it is interesting to note the difference in intensity of the persecution in the various Patriarchates and bishoprics.

The main method of persecution is removal from the urban centres or from the home region[26] and temporary imprisonment.[27] There are a few contemporary references to Monophysite "martyrs to the death". Some Monophysites are described as dying for their creed, but they are usually "taken away by God" before serious bodily harm or even imprisonment has been inflicted upon them. Persecution did not involve the physical annihilation of the victims, only the elimination of their influence on their communities.

The result of this religious policy is a gradual separation of Monophysite clergy from their urban communities. Monophysite bishops relocate their sees to monasteries outside the cities. The Monophysites, however, managed to maintain their ecclesiastical organisation throughout the empire by ordaining clergy and bishops without the approval of the imperial Church, creating in effect an alternative Church.[28]

4. One of the main reasons for the failure to eradicate Monophysism from the empire, or any form of heresy for that matter, seems to lie in the hierarchical structure of the empire. The implementation of imperial and ecclesiastical legislation depended on the zeal of the local and regional representatives of Church and State.[29] The emperor could only provide the preconditions by which violent coercion was stimulated or restricted.

[24] Some Monophysite aristocrats have been harassed, but ultimately they have not even lost their social position permanently. See for example the three *consulares* who have been arrested around 572 (*JE* III, II, 11 (72–3; 51–2)) only to be imperial ambassadors to Persia in 577 (Brooks 1935–36: *JE* III, IV, 35 (215–6; 161–2) and *JE* III, VI, 12 (305–6; 232)) while still being Monophysite.

[25] For an Egyptian example see MacCoull 1995.

[26] The Syriac term used is a transliteration of ἐξόριον. For exile as a punishment see "Exoria" in *ODB* II: 770.

[27] Philoxenus of Mabbugh and John of Tella die in prison because of maltreatment, according to their hagiographers. For some general remarks on the – much harsher – treatment of heretics in the Western Middle Ages see Lambert 1992², esp. 91ff

[28] This is not a unique event. See the treatment of Novatians, Arians, Donatists, Nicaeans (when Arianism was orthodoxy!), Julianists. Only after the new ordinations a debate emerges on whether or not to re-ordain defectors from the other side. Previously all (!) bishops had been part of the imperial Church at one time in their lives. For the internal Monophysite debate see Chabot 1899–1924: MS IX 31 (IV 319–321; II 263–265), for a reference to a debate among the Chalcedonians see Brooks 1935–36: JE III, I, 12 (12–13; 7–8).

[29] Note for example that after Paul of Antioch, the notorious Chalcedonian persecutor, had become Patriarch

Communication lines were very long, not only physically, but also within the social and governmental hierarchy. Before an imperial decree reached a province or city it had passed through the hands of several administrators, all of whom were able influence its progress. If a regional prelate or governor did not act according to the emperor's wishes, it would take some time before information on the matter reached the palace – if at all. Since the communication from the region to the emperor faced the same difficulties as the communication to the region, the emperor had to base his decisions on information which was usually old, biased and incomplete.

Furthermore, administrators as a rule were recruited locally.[30] Wherever an administrator came from, in order to be able to govern a province he needed a regional social network to insure loyal implementation of decisions and decrees. As a result there had at least to be some local support for a given policy in order to enable the administrator to impose it.

5. A different kind of explanation for the 'results' of the imperial religious policy in the sixth century might be that the imperial policy had in a way achieved its goal. In Graeco-Roman society the dichotomy between 'public' and 'private' was regarded as being very important. The 'private domain' consisted of the household, where all daily needs were provided for, whereas the 'public domain' superseded all households, and united them under a political rule. In the public domain society was guided and formed. Access to this public domain was always restricted. In Late Antiquity the public domain had been claimed by the imperial bureaucracy and, gradually, by the imperial Church. In the sixth century the ecclesiastical hierarchy had become an essential element of the government of society. However, when "the 'public sphere' had contracted into the machinery of a highly centralised and autocratic government, [it had left] a vast ambiguous social territory stretching between the household and the state".[31]

A century of repeated banishments had essentially removed the Monophysite doctrine from much of the public domain. In order to be represented before the state, communities and individual subjects were forced to look for other – non-Monophysite – 'public' authorities, or have no public voice at all. Monophysism had entered into the non-public sphere of private churches and rural monasteries.

Heretical communities within the Christian empire were ideologically unacceptable, but the empire and the imperial Church were first and foremost public institutions, dependent on public ritual and loyalty. Rather than personal creeds, it is the participation in public ritual – accepting the eucharist – which is the crucial requirement during these various waves of persecution. Whatever happened outside the public sphere was less relevant.

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of Antioch (519–520) it was still possible that a Monophysite, Nonnus, was ordained the imperial bishop of Amida: Brooks 1921: *PZ* VIII, 5 (78–79; 53–54).

[30] For example Abraham bar Kaili, Chalcedonian bishop of Amida, known as a harsh persecutor, came from Tell Amyd, his father from Constantina. Abraham had been ordained as a priest by a local Monophysite bishop (Brooks 1921: *PZ* VII 6 (38; 26)).

[31] Burrus 1995: 9. For a brief discussion of the boundaries of public and private see Burrus 1995: 6–12.

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A Substratum as a Cultured Weapon

Karel Jongeling

1. For some time now a discussion has been going on as to whether the Insular Celtic languages were influenced by a substratum or not. Those advocating the substratum theory mostly relate this supposed substratum to the Afro-Asiatic languages. The modern discussion on this point begins with John Rhŷs, sometime holding the chair of Celtic in Jesus College, Oxford.[1] Apart from some remarks[2] which did not attract much attention his influence is felt in an article by Morris-Jones[3] dating from 1900,[4] which is seen by many as the beginning of the modern discussion on a substratum related to Afro-Asiatic. At first this discussion has been fierce and even unpleasant for those advocating the substratum theory, to such an extent that Morris-Jones never returned to the subject. A few others, however, followed, the most important being Pokorny[5] and Wagner.[6] Very recent is the important contribution by Gensler.[7] Although still not accepted by every Celtic scholar the notion of insular Celtic being influenced by a substratum seems to be more acceptable now than a hundred years ago.[8]

Some of the main characteristics shared by insular Celtic and Afro-Asiatic are the following:

1 basic word order VSO,
2 order modified - modifier,
3 use and function of nominal clause
4 use of personal suffixes
5 the construction of relative clauses

These fundamental shared characteristics are so apparent that since the emergence of modern Welsh scholarship, around the year 1600,[9] they have been noted and discussed, mainly by Welsh scholars. In the preceding period there seems to have been insufficient knowledge of Hebrew among those studying Welsh for this to lead to the comparisons as we know them from the 17th century and onwards. A decisive factor in the promotion of

[1] On John Rhŷs (1840–1915), cf. e.g. Stephens 1986: 520–521.
[2] Rhŷs 1877: 189f.; id. 1884: 261–63 (cf. ibid. notes); id. 1890a.
[3] On Morris-Jones (1864–1929), cf. e.g. Stephens 1986: 414–5.
[4] Morris Jones 1900.
[5] On Julius Pokorny (1887–1970), cf. Wagner 1972.
[6] On Heinrich Wagner (1923–1988), cf. Evans 1989.
[7] Gensler 1993; cf. also Jongeling 1995.
[8] Greene 1966: 132: "It will be clear, I think, that there is at the moment no consensus of opinion amongst those who seek to explain the peculiarities of insular Celtic by linguistic interaction, on the one side, or between them and those who prefer to work within the framework of Indo-European development; what must not be overlooked is that the studies begun by Morris Jones, even though they failed to reach the conclusion envisaged by him, have had a profound effect on our understanding of insular Celtic, and that any scholar who neglects them does so at his peril."
[9] Cf. Gensler ibid.

Hebrew was the translation of the bible into Welsh and its subsequent revision.[10] It is, of course, well known that a more direct relationship with Hebrew has been supposed for several other European languages in the same period. It has not been our aim, however, to discuss this general issue.

In the following pages we will discuss the more important scholars studying the similarities between Welsh and the one Afro-Asiatic language they knew, or knew best, *viz.* Hebrew. Although their explanation of the similarities may differ, it is interesting to see how most of the Welsh scholars choose their conclusions concerning the relation of Welsh and Hebrew to convey the idea of the great antiquity of the Welsh language, therewith enhancing its respectability in comparison to English.

2. Several scholars studying Welsh during the 17th to 19th centuries advocate the view, that, while Hebrew was the language of paradise, Welsh found its origin at the confusion of tongues during the building of the tower of Babel, as described in the eleventh chapter of Genesis. Some explicitly remark that the new tongues were only dialects of Hebrew and not new languages.[11] This situation, of course, easily explains the remarkable similarities of Welsh and Hebrew. The feeling of some that Welsh and Hebrew are almost the same language follows from the same type of reasoning.

Others, however, stress the fact that Welsh in its present form does not directly originate from the confusion of tongues. They insist upon a history, based upon information from Genesis x 2, where Gomer is mentioned as the eldest son of Japheth, the eldest son of Noah. These historical facts are combined sometimes with information from classical sources, probably giving the story a highly scientific flavour to the eighteenth century reader.[12] The differences with those advocating Welsh as one of the mother tongues is in many instances rather small. The most important authors advocating these theories are presented in the following subsections.

Another explanation of the similarities shared by Welsh and Hebrew is projected much later in history than the confusion of tongues and the Gomerian theory. Many scholars were convinced of the close relationship between the language Caesar encountered in Gaul and the Welsh language and they tried to relate the characteristics combining Welsh with oriental languages to a period of contact between Gaulish and

[10] The first complete Welsh Bible translation appeared in 1588; a revised edition was published in 1620 by Richard Parry; it is fairly certain that the revision was supervised by John Davies.

[11] Cf. e.g. Thomas 1746, p. 7.

[12] A good example of this type of reasoning is John Lewis (1675–1747, cf. *DNB* s.v.), a historian who highly valued the factor language in historical studies, because the relationship of languages enables us to know the relationship of peoples, although he does not directly use linguistic material. He remarks (Lewis 1729: 17): "When *Noe* and his Children had left the Ark, and were grown so numerous, that they were forc'd to separate for new Habitations, the Issue of *Gomer* the Son of *Japhet*, the Son of *Noe*, seated themselves first in *Italy*, and from thence they came into *Gaul*, and of *Gomer* were called *Gomeritae*, and by the Greeks *Galatae*, as appears by *Josephus de Antiquitat*. l. i. c. 7. and by *Zonaras*, calling themselves and Country *Cymbri*, and their Language *Gomeraeg* or *Cymbraeg*, which is the Language of *Gomer* or of the *Cymbri*, which they continue to this Day; *Genebrard* saith, they also inhabited the Countries which the Danes, Norwegians and Goths, now possess." Although he is convinced of the antiquity of the Welsh language (ibid.: 27.): "Now as to our *Cimbraeg* or *British Tongue*, I think there is no Nation whose Language is less mingled or corrupted", he does not speak of a special relationship between Hebrew and Welsh. As he was clearly well versed in the literature of his time (he quotes e.g. Dr. Davies as an authority on the perfect quality and antiquity of the Welsh language), this may be a deliberate choice.

Phoenician in the Western Mediterranean.[13]

It is interesting to note that this notion found its way into popular literature even in the beginning of this century.[14]

3.1. *John Davies: 1621, 1632.*[15]

The first strong advocate of the connection of Welsh and Hebrew has been John Davies, the revisor of the Welsh Bible translation, and the author of a grammar and a dictionary of the Welsh language in the first half of the 17th century. Defending the study of Welsh and explaining its antiquity and special character he remarks in the introduction of his Welsh grammar[16]

> Further, the more a language can be judged noble, perfect, old and apt to express the feelings of the soul, and so practical, the more comparability it has with Hebrew, the only language of the human race for about 1700 years, and afterwards the mother, fountain and archetype of all languages. In this respect no language is, I believe, superior to British, no language is equal to it. If you look at the letters, they are highly comparable to the Hebrew ones in sound. If you look at variability of nouns and pronouns, without case, only distinct in number, at the root of the verb being the third person singular, at affixed pronouns, pronounced as one together with other words, at the variations of the indeclinable parts of speech, at the absolute and construct forms of nouns, you would almost say that it is Hebrew. If you look at the laws of the accents, that only occur in the ultimate or penultimate syllable, just as in Hebrew. If you consider the phrases, ways of speaking, syntax of the utterance, than certainly nor Greek or Latin, even less some vulgar one, do express themselves literally so with Hebraisms, as British does, which will become clear in this booklet ....

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[13] Cf. also Vallancey 1772: 42–51, who explains the Punic passages in the Poenulus of Plautus as an Irish text (an explanation taken up again in almost the same form by Ali & Ali 1994); he also claims Maltese to be rather Punic than Arabic and to be closely related to Irish, giving a list of comparisons ibid.: 9–18; apart from the linguistic evidence he points to similarities in the religions of the speakers of Punic and Irish, ibid.: 19–26.

[14] In *The Strand Magazine*, 40, no 240, of December 1910, pp. 638ff. the following words of doctor Watson were noted down by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle in the story entitled "The adventure of the Devil's foot": "The glamour and mystery of the place, with its sinister atmosphere of forgotten nations, appealed to the imagination of my friend, and he spent much of his time in long walks and solitary meditations upon the moor. The ancient Cornish language had also arrested his attention, and he had, I remember, conceived the idea that it was akin to the Chaldean, and had been largely derived from the Phoenician traders in tin ....". After the completion of the story the great detective himself remarks: "And now, my dear Watson, I think we may dismiss the matter from our mind and go back with a clear conscience to the study of those Chaldean roots which are surely to be traced in the Cornish branch of the great Celtic speech".

[15] On John Davies (c. 1567–1644), cf.e.g. Stephens 1986, p. 132.

[16] Davies 1621, p. [ix]f.: "Deinde, si eo nobilior, perfectior, antiquior, et ad animi sensa exprimenda, aptior, commodiorque lingua judicanda sit, quo majorem cum Hebraea, unica generis humani per 1700 plus minus annos lingua, omniumque deinceps linguarum matre, fonte, et archetypo, habet congruentiam; Britannicam hac ex parte nulla, credo, superat, nulla aequat. Si enim literas spectes, sono cum Hebraeis quam optime conveniunt. Si nominum, pronominumque ἀπτώτον sine casibus variationem, solis numeris distinctam; verborum radicem, tertiam personam singularem; pronominum affixa, cum vocibus aliis in unam dictionem coalescentia; partium orationis etiam indeclinabilium variationes; formas denique vocum absolutas et constructas; pene Hebraeam esse dixeris. Si accentuum leges, nunquam nisi in ultima penultimave syllaba occurrunt, ut nec in Hebraea. Si phrases, locutionum modos, orationis syntaxin, consideres; certe nec Graeca nec Latina, minus vulgarium ulla, ita ad vivum Hebraismos exprimit, ac Britannica: quod in isto libelle manifeste liquebit ...."

And in the few introductory lines to the syntax Davies remarks:[17]

> The syntax of Welsh differs much from that of Greek and Latin, but it is very nearly like Hebrew, as will be clear from the following.

Even in the form of their poetry Hebrew and Welsh are comparable.[18]

In the syntactical description of Welsh several points of comparison between Welsh and Hebrew are to be found. In many instances the same points are still stressed by those concering themselves with the substratum on the British Isles. Apart from these syntactical points and questions of use of morphological categories, Davies also supposes a direct relationship between some Welsh and Hebrew morphemes. In his Welsh and Latin dictionary,[19] he remarks in the introduction:

> However, because our language has so many obsolete words, and this is thus since antiquity, and for so many centuries, it lies almost unused. To British and Hebrew almost the same has happended, that it has now begun at the end of centuries to be cultivated; Munster says, that we owe everything which is now known about Hebrew to Elias Levita, who wrote in 1518. Add further how through the ragings of wars, the jealousness of enemies, damage through time, negligence of our own people, almost all old British books, which might have shown the ancient use of words, and thus might have been passed down until our own time, have been lost. If someone would like to doubt its antiquity, one argument of its antiquity should be sufficient, because its origin and through which pedigree it originated, is completely ignored. Some imagine it originates from Gaulish,[20] because that is near, others from Latin,

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[17] Ibid.: 156: Syntaxis autem Britannica a Graeca et Latina multum dissentit, et ad Hebraicam quam proxime accedit, ut ex sequentibus patebit.

[18] As explained in the last chapter of the grammar.

[19] Davies 1632, introduction: Quod autem tot obsoleta vocabula nostra habeat lingua, & ab antiquitate sit, & quod per tot secula, inculta penè jacuit. Linguae enim Brit. idem ferè contigit quod Hebraeae, ut nunc in fine seculorum coli tandem coeperit; nam & *omnem quam in Hebraeâ lucem habent secula nostra, Eliae Levitae*, qui scripsit anno Aerae Christianae 1518, nos *debere* ait *Munsterus*. Adde quod bellorum rabie, hostium invidiâ, temporum injuriâ, hominumque nostrorum incuriâ, cuncti ferè antiqui perierunt libri Brit. qui antiquum vocabulorum usum monstrare potuissent, & ad nostra usque tempora traduxisse. Sicui de ejus antiquitate dubitare placuerit, huic vel hoc unicum sufficiat antiquitatis argumentum, quòd origo ejus, & quâ sit matrice genita penitùs ignoretur. Somnient alij à Gallicâ, ut vicinâ; alij à Romanâ, ut victrice; alij ab alijs linguis ortam, Mihi, si sensu meo abundare permittor, ab omnibus Europaeis & Occidentalibus linguis, saltem quales nunc sunt & multis retrò seculis fuerunt, alienior esse videtur, quàm ut ab illis derivari posse vel somnietur: eorumque arridet sententia, qui *Babele natam existimant*. Orientalium matricum unam esse opinor, aut certè ab Orientalibus immediatè prognatam. Pro quâ licet opinione ut pro aris & focis dimicare nolim, ausim tamen affirmare Linguam Brit. tum vocibus, tum phrasibus & orationis contextu, tum literarum pronunciatione, manifestam cum Orientalibus habere congruentiam et affinitatem; cum Occidentalibus Europaeis ferè nullam, nisi quam à Romanis hîc aliquando importantibus, & Anglorum commercio dudum contraxit. Et qua Graeca, & Latina ejus discipula, et Europaearum aliae, voces ab Orientalibus deductus se habere contendunt, cur non & nos easdem ab Orientalibus non ab illis accepisse putemur, cum illae frigidiùs crudiùs, rudiusque, quam nos, eas ab Orientalibus deducant ? Qui à Gallicâ h.e. Celticâ ortam volunt, utcunque sese conjecturis, ut ad eorum delenda argumenta in promptu cuiq.; possit esse spongia.

[20] The relation supposed between British (Welsh) and Gaulish was of long standing of course, based upon the information of the classical writers, cf. e.g. Holinshed 1577, fol. 4b: "What language came first wyth Samothes & afterwarde with Albion, & the Gyants of his companie, it is hearde for me to determine, sith nothing of sound credit remayneth in writing which maye resolue us in the truth hereof, yet of so much are we certaine, that the speach of the auncient Britons, and of the Celtes had great affinitie one with another, so that they were either all one, or at the leastwyse such as eyther nation wyth smal helpe of interpreters might understand other, and readily discerne what the speaker did meane." Holinshed related the Welsh language rather to Greek than to any other linguistic entity, cf. ibid. fol. 5a: "It is a speache in mine opinion much savouring of that, which was sometime used in Grecia, and learned by the reliques of the Troyanes, whylest

> as the victorious language, and others again derive it from other languages. But to me, if it is permitted to speak my mind, this language seems to be so different from all the European and Western languages, at least such as they are at present and have been for many centuries past, that it is imposible to suppose that it may be derived from them. And I am best pleased with the sentiment of those, who suppose it to have originated from Babel. According to my opinion it is one of the oriental mother-tongues, or at least immediately sprung from the Oriental languages. Although I do not want to fight for hearth and home, I would venture to stress that the British language in words, phrases, clause construction, and in the pronunciation of the letters has a clear comparability and relationship with the Oriental ones, and almost no relation with the western European ones, apart from what was brought here by the Romans or what the trade with the English lately occasioned. As Greek and its disciple Latin, and others of the Europeans, have filled themselves with loans from Oriental languages, why do we not suppose that we also have got the same as loans from the Oriental languages and not from them, when they, more cold, crude and rude than we are, want to derive them from the Oriental languages ? Those who want it to have originated from Gaulish, i.e. Celtic, in whichever way one should imagine this, that to delete their arguments at once, it may be wiped out.[21]

Note how Davies insists upon the comparability of Welsh and Oriental languages on different points, *viz.* phonology, syntax and vocabulary, among which syntax has a prominent place, both in his grammar and his dictionary. All these points strengthen his belief in the special place of Welsh among the world's languages. This special place is described as highly superior to any other language, apart from Hebrew.

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they were captive there, but how soever the matter standeth, after it came ouer into this Islande, sure it is, that it could neuer be extinguished for all the attempts that the Romains, Saxons, Normans, and English men coulde make against that nation, in any manner of wyse."

[21] As perhaps is to be expected in a dictionary, Davies mainly stresses the comparison of words. One of the reasons why Welsh words are not always directly recognisable as derived from one of the oriental languages is the reversed order of sounds because these languages are written backwards. We quote from his introduction: "From the oriental languages, which are read from right to left, words easily go over to languages which are read from left to right, because these ones read in their way, what they in their way have written, as may be seen from the erroneous reading πιπι for יהוה [the Tetragrammaton] (on which see above); thus from דרך, dharac, we say *cerdded*, from the root *cerdd*, walk; and from טרף, Terep, we say *praidd*, what was earlier written as *prait & praid* [flock]; and from נשק, Nesek, *kusan* [kiss], etc. (Orientalibus linguis quae à dextrâ ad sinistram leguntur, voces facilè in linguas quae à sinistrâ ad dextram leguntur, transire, his suo more legentibus quae illi suo scripserunt, ut videre est in erroneâ lectione πιπι pro יהוה de qua ante; sic à דרך Dharac, nos dicimus *cerdded*, à radice *Cerdd*,. Inceda, ambula; & à טרף, Terep, dicimus *Praidd*; quod veteris scribebant *Prait*, & *Praid*; & à נשק [Davies 1632 incorrectly prints נשף], Nesek, *Kusan, & c.*)". In many instances the comparability is even less obvious than in the above examples. Sometimes only one or two letters with a comparable sound are the basis of the comparison; cf. e.g. the following examples:

Aberth, *sacrifice, from Hebrew* זבח zebach [sacrifice].
Ach, *pedigree, family, kinship, geneology, Heb* יחש, *iachas, family, pedigree.*
Achles, *shelter, refuge, asylum, protection, place where something is saved, defence.*
Heb. חלק, *Chalak, is to soften, to caress, to greet lovingly.*
[Aberth, Sacrificium, Ab Heb. ibz, Zebach.
Ach, Stemma, prosapia, parentela, genealogia, *Heb* יחש, iachas, prosapia, genealogia.
Achles, confugium, refugium, asylum, protectio, locus ubi quod sovetur, defensio. Heb.
חלק, Chalak, est lenire, blandiri, adulari.]

The least attractive part of his comparisons is to be found, without a doubt, in his dictionary. This is, of course, because his method is lacking in consistency and all comparisons are, from a modern point of view, useless and incorrect. But also on this point Davies is a child of his time. As far as we can see, however, there is no reason to suppose that his Hebrew comparisons in any way influenced his description of the meaning of Welsh words.

3.2. *Samuel Bochart, 1646.*[22]

The very interesting study by Samuel Bochart, a native of northern France, of the history and culture of the Phoenicians contains a chapter on the relationship of Phoenician, a language closely related to Hebrew, and Gallic.[23] At the conclusion of the preceding chapter Bochart remarks:[24]

> Learned people discuss a lot on the question of what is the old Gallic language and from where it originated. Among most it is agreed that the British language, which is used this day among the Welsh in Britain, and in the Breton region of Gaul, forms the remainder of that language, which the ancient Britons and Gauls spoke. This is the opinion of Beatus Rhenanus, Gesnerus, Hottomannus, and recently also of Camdenus, who confirms the point, which until now was dubious, with so many reasons, that the dispute seems to be settled. But Camden and others fail to notice what I am about to say; this tongue agrees in so many points with Phoenician, that it cannot be accidental. The next chapter will show that I have not asserted this boldly, but even if this is unpleasant for some, still I hope that from the scholarly community will not be absent those whom this gem of antiquity may not displease.

The relationship between the two languages is elucidated by several examples of comparable words. However, in the conclusion of the chapter in which he discusses many of the words also to be found with John Davies, he remarks:[25]

> It is firmly established that the Gauls and Carthaginians, because of their trade, or wars, or rather, as we think, that, because of some old Phoenician colony brought to Gaul, the ones borrowed many words from the others, though they had different languages. This is made abundantly clear by the personal names in use among the Gauls. Most of these surely do not suit the character of the Holy Language, while almost all nouns of the Carthaginians are purely Hebrew. It is not necessary that we prove by means of examples that the case is quite clear by itself.

Boxhorn,[26] one of the few people during the seventeenth century outside Wales and Britanny studying the Welsh language, is like Bochart studying the origin of the Gaulish tribes. He discusses Davies's dictionary, and he makes it abundantly clear that he is not one of his adherents:[27]

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[22] Samuel Bochart (1599–1667), cf. *BUM* xxviii: 178–180.

[23] Bochart 1646: 734–758, chapter i / xlii: Gallicum sermonem priscum Phoenicio in multis fuisse similem (= Bochart 1692, column 660–682): Gallicâ linguâ veteri quae fuerit & unde orta docti multa disputant. Et inter plerosque convenit sermonem Britannicum, qui hodieque in usu est apud Cambros in Britanniâ, & in Armoricano tractu Galliae, illius linguae esse reliquias quâ tam Britanni quam Galli veteres locuti sunt. In eâ sententiâ fuere Beatus Rhenanus, Gesnerus, Hottomannus, & nouissimè Camdenus, qui rem hactenus dubiam tot confirmaret rationibus, ut videatur litem decidisse. Sed Camdenum & alios fugit quod dicturus sum; nempe hunc sermonem cum Phoenicio convenire in tam multis, ut res non possit esse fortuita. Id me temere non affirmasse docebit caput sequens, quod si nonnullis taediosum est, tamen ex doctorum numero spero non defuturos quibus hoc antiquitates κειμηλιον non displiceat....

[24] Bochart 1646: 733 = Bochart 1692 column 695.

[25] Ibid.: 758 (= column 682): Constat igitur Gallos & Poenos, etsi propter commercia, vel communia bella, vel, quod suspicamur potius, propter vetustam aliquam Phoenicum coloniam in Gallias deductam alij ab aliis multa vocabula mutuati sint, fuisse tamen ἑτερογλωσσους. Quod abunde docent virorum nomina, quae apud Gallos in usu erant. Horum enim pleraque à Sacrae linguae genio prorsus abhorret, cum Poenorum nomina ferè omnia merè sint Hebraice. Nihil opus est ut exemplis probemus rem per se manifestam esse....

[26] On Boxhorn (1612–1653), cf. Morgan 1973: 220ff.

[27] Boxhorn 1654: 94: Hactenus ille: cujus haec omnia nunc exhibenda videantur, ut constaret, quae &

> Thus far he (i.e. Davies); all his ideas must be explained now, so that may be decided which and of which quality are the reasons of those, who suppose that the origin of all languages is to be sought from Hebrew. To me they seem to be far from the truth, worthless and silly.

and further:[28]

> According to the same Davies, sometimes words remain in other languages, but with a changed meaning, as Sus, which means horse in Hebrew, but pig in Latin, Salus meaning three in Hebrew and health in Latin.[29] How can one read this without laughing? And yet there are those, who embrace this type of lunacy as if they were oracles.

Note how Boxhorn, with reason, shows his scorn for Davies's Hebrew comparisons in his dictionary,[30] but seems to have missed the interesting comparisons in the syntactical field made by the same author in his Welsh grammar.[31]

3.3. *Aylett Sammes, 1676.*[32]

Sammes, an English author, relates part of the Welsh vocabulary to Phoenician rather than to any other language. In spite of this Phoenician influence, he supposes that the original inhabitants of Britain were rather of German origin than related to the inhabitants of Gaul.[33] Sammes dismisses the theory that the Britains, the Cymry, are descendants of Gomer,[34] and he also proves that the Cimbri were a German people.[35] After the Phoenicians had found their way to Britain, their language had much influence on the language spoken there. Sammes supposes that Phoenician had an even stronger influence on Welsh than on Gaulish. To make his point he compares several Welsh words with Phoenician ones:[36]

Brit.	Phoenician	English
Crag, or *Careg,*	*Carac, Crac,*	A *Hill.*
Corn, plur. *Kern,*	*Coran,* plur. *Kern,*	A *Horn.*
Caer, from whence came *Caerlyle,*	*Caer,* from whence *Carthage,*	A *City.*
Get,	*Gwith,*	A *Breach.*
Caturfa,	*Kat-erva*	A *Troop.*

And he remarks directly afterwards:[37]

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cujusmodi sint illorum rationes, qui Linguarum omnium origines ex Ebraea petandas esse arbitrantur. Mihi certe à veritate alienae, frivolae & ineptae esse videntur....

[28] id. ibid.: 99: *Aliquando*, ita idem Daviesius, *manent in aliis linguis voces Ebraeae, mutata significatione, ut Sus Ebraice equus est, Latine porcus, Salus Ebraice tria, Latine sanitatem significat.* Quod quis sine risu legat ? Et tamen sunt, qui ejusmodi deliria tanquam oracula amplectantur....

[29] Were Davies and Boxhorn aware of Augustine's remarks on *salus* / šaluš in Hebrew and Latin?

[30] A dictionary which he accepted for the rest, since he reprinted it in Boxhorn 1654.

[31] Davies 1621.

[32] Aylett Sammes (1636?–1679?), cf. *DNB* s.v.

[33] Ibid.: 10.

[34] And at the same time he dismisses the etymology of the name Gomer as "utmost border", which had been used to prove the relation between Gomer and the Islands at the utmost border of the known world.

[35] Ibid.: 11–3.

[36] Sammes 1676: 60.

[37] Sammes 1676: 61.

> I will proceed now to shew, how that most of those words of the Ancient *Britains* and *Gauls*, which Mr. *Camden*[38] brings to prove them one and the same Nation; proceeded from the *Phoenicians*, and that there is as much, or rather more similitude between the *Phoenician* and *British*, than between the *British* and *Gaulish*.

This remark is followed by a lengthy study of more Phoenician words that may be found in Welsh.[39]

3.4. *Charles Edwards, 1677.*[40]

Charles Edwards reserves the last chapter of his well-known *Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant*[41] for some remarks on the relation of Welsh and Hebrew. G.J. Williams[42] supposes influence of John Davies on Edwards, which, of course, is possible, but it is clear from a comparison of the material presented by the two scholars, that, though the idea may have been influenced by Davies, its demonstration is the work of Edwards himself. In this chapter he compares a number of words and phrases which sound alike. In the introduction he remarks that he believes Hebrew and Welsh to be originally the same language:[43]

> And that venerable language, which is the one the first men spoke before the original sin, and in which so much of the scriptures has been written, is the mother of Welsh, and that Chaldean (i.e. Aramaic) is its sister, can be understood from what follows. Truly, during my studies in them I have been surprised and I have rejoiced seeing words of my country in strange languages which were so aged and honourable. Greek, Latin and English words were pushed into Welsh before the sword, or released inside together with trade and teaching, while the composition of these languages is different from it. But Hebrew is completely uniform with and equal to it. Its letters are more natural for our language than those which we use at this time.

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[38] Camden 1586, p. 13: "Nunc ad linguam ventum est in qua maximum est huius disputationis firmamentum, & certissimum originis gentium argumentum. Qui enim linguae societate coniuncti sunt, originis etiam communione fuisse coniunctos homo opinor nemo inficiabitur. Quod si omnes omnium historie intercidissent, & nemo literis prodidisset nos Anglos è Germanos, genuinos Scotos ex Hibernis, Britones Armoricanos à nostris Britannis prognatos fuisse, ipsarum linguarum communitas hoc facilè euinceret, imò faciliùs, quàm vel grauissimorum historicorum authoritas. Si igitur priscos Gallos & nostros Britannos eâdem vsos fuisse linguae docuero, eiusdem etiam originis fuisse, vt fateamur, ipsa vis veritatis extorquebit." [Now we proceed to language, in which the greatest proof of this discussion, and the surest argument with regard to the origin of peoples is to be found. That those who are connected through a communal language, are also connected through the same origin, nobody, I suppose, will deny.] Then follows a long list of Gaulish words from classical sources compared to Welsh.

[39] Ibid.: 61–70.

[40] On Charles Edwards (1628– after 1691), cf. e.g. Stephens 1986: 164.

[41] Published for the first time in 1667, and reprinted several times during the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries, while scholarly editions of the same work were published in this century; the numbers indicating the different impressions do not seem to be related to each other in all instances; I quote the photomechanical reproduction of the 3d edition (1677), which appeared in 1936.

[42] Williams 1936: xiii-xxxiv.

[43] Edwards 1677, p. 394: Ac mai'r iaith barchedig hon a lefarodd y dynion cyntaf cyn pechu, ac ym mha vn yr yscrifenwyd cymmaint o'r yscrythyrau yw mam y Gymraeg, ac mai'r Chaldaeg yw ei chwaer gelli ddeall wrth y ganlyn. yn ddiau wrth ystudio arnynt mi a ryfeddais ac a lawenychais weled geiriau fy'ngwlâd mewn ieithoedd dieithr ydoedd mor oedranus ac anrhydeddus. Geiriau Groeg, Ladin, a Saesneg a hurddwyd ir Gymraeg ar flaen cleddyf, neu a ollyngwyd i mewn gyd a chwt masnach a dysceidiaeth, tra yw cyfansodiad yr ieithoedd hynny yn anhebygol iddi. Ond y mae'r Hebraeg yn ollawl vn brŷd a gwêdd â hi. y mae ei llythrennau hi yn naturiolach i'n iaith ni na'r rhai yr ydym ni yn eu harfer y pryd hyn.

Then follow, in the order of the Hebrew alphabet, words from Hebrew (Aramaic) compared to Welsh ones.[44] In this comparison Edwards allows himself a lot of freedom to arrive at similarly sounding words. Cf. e.g.:

Hebrew words and one Chaldaic one, which are used in our language

	Hebrew		Welsh
אובידה	ʾōvīda	I shall destroy	I destroy, I shall vex (mutated form of *gofidiaf*)
אבן	ʾeven	stone	stone (mutated form of *maen*)
אדני	ʾadnē	bases (plur. cstr.)	soles (mutated form of *gwadnau*, pl. of *gwadn*)
אהל	ʾohel	tent	tent. lair, couch (mutated form of *gwâl*.[45]

The same view, with a repetition of partly the same material, he published in a short volume,[46] consisting of only eight pages, perhaps to confront another audience with this material, as the first column of his examples in this edition is given in Latin. Concluding this small volume, Edwards remarks:

> Characteristic for the Jews and Welshmen is the way of singing. I have heard Jews singing hymns in the synagogue with rhythms very common with us Welshmen.[47]

Charles Edwards is the only scholar we came across in this study who shows to be aware of this contemporary use of Hebrew. His feelings about the superiority of the Welsh language are aptly expressed in the introduction of this volume:[48]

> When encumbered with some Hebrew studies, I seemed to hear the first patriarchs and the holy prophets speaking Welsh, and divulging the great deeds of God through our idiom.

3.5. *Pierre Yves Pezron, 1703.*[49]

Pezron, a Breton by birth, takes Celtic to be one of the mother languages originating from the confusion of tongues at the building of the tower of Babel, without, however, stressing the special character of the language, or supposing the Welsh form of the

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[44] Edwards 1677: 395–405; the words are given in two columns, the number of examples is 490; the Hebrew words are given in transcription, apart from the first word in every column which is printed in Hebrew script and in transcription.

[45] *Geiriau Hebraeg, ac ymhell un Chaldaeg a arferir yn ein iaith ni.*

Heb.	Cymr.
אבדה Obhidah	dinistraf, Ofidiaf.
Aebhen.	faen.
Aedenei.	wadnei.
Ahal.	pabell. wâl.

[46] Edwards 1676; the copy studied in the National Library of Wales directly starts with the introduction, signed: Lond. Decemb. 24. 1675. Carolus Edwards, indicating that the booklet appeared probably in 1676.

[47] Peculiaris etiam est Hebraeis & Cambro-Britannis in cantu symphonia. Audivi Judaeos in synagogâ hymnos canentes modulationibus apud nostros Cambrenses consuetissimis.

[48] Edwards 1676: 1: "Cùm Hebraicis studiis aliquantis per incumberem, Patriarchas priscos, & Prophetas sanctos Cambro-Britannicè loquentes, & nostro idiomate Magnalia Dei patefacientes, mihi visus sum audire."

[49] On Paul Pezron (1639–1706), cf. e.g. Jöcher iii, kol. 1483–1484.

language being something special. Pezron gives Gaulish, which for him is Celtic, the honour of having originated from the confusion of tongues. As others, he supposes Gomer to be the ancestor of the Celts:[50]

> Et quel peuple a-t-il fondé, sinon les *Gomariens*, des quels, selon Josephe, les *Celtes* ou les *Gaulois* ont pris leur origine? Si *Gomer* est la veritable tige des *Gaulois*, comme je l'ay montré cy-dessus, par tant de preuves & d'authoritez, il faut qu'il ait eu une Langue toute differente de celle des autres peuples; & ç'a été la *Celtique*. La Langue des *Celtes*, établis dans les Gaules, a donc été dés les premiers siecles, la Langue des *Gomariens*, postez originairement dans la haute Asie, vers l'Hyrcanie & la Bactriane. Et la Langue des *Gomariens* a sans doute été celle de *Gomer*, qu'ils ont eu pour Chef & pour Fondateur. Si ç'a été celle de *Gomer*, il faut qu'elle soit une de celles qui sont nées dans la confusion, arrivée du païs de Babylone. Toutes ces inductions me paroissent si bien suivies, si naturelles & si veritables, que je ne vois pas comment on les puisse contester.

Relating Gomer and the Celts was a historic fact of quite a reputation, because already with Flavius Josephus one finds the remark that the Galatians, i.e. a Celtic tribe, descend from Gomer.[51] From this point it is easy to come to the conclusion that the antiquity of Celtic may be proven by its near relation to Hebrew:[52]

> Si vous joignez à toutes ces raisons une nouvelle preuve, qui est, que la langue des Celtes encore aujourd'huy est remplie de mots, qui viennent tout visiblement de celle des Hébreux, & qui en viennent de toute antiquité; il demeurera pour constant, que cette Langue a été celle de Gomer, & de ces descendans.

As Pezron is not as biased as most Welsh writers, he insists upon the influence of several other languages on Celtic, prominent among which are Greek, Latin and German, which he proves on the basis of the vocabulary.

3.6. *J. L., 1716.*

In his apologetic treatise on the ancient Britons, this unrecognised author also treats of the Welsh language, showing that he is well aware of the current theories, and stressing especially the more illustrious descent of Welsh than that of English:[53]

> The British Language must be own'd more excellent than many others, because it has many Hebrew Words in it, and has a greater Affinity with the Hebrew in the *Affixes* of Verbs, than any *Western* Language. Tho' the Fate of Conquest oblig'd the unfortunate *Britons* to retire to their Hills, yet the utmost Effort of their Enemies could never drive them from thence, so that they still retain their Original Tongue. Permit me to do a Piece of Justice to that antiquated Language, in contracting what the learned *Fuller* is pleas'd to say more at large concerning it. Speaking of the old *Britons* he saith, (1) Their Language is native: It was one of those which departed from *Babel*, and herein it relates to God, as the more immediate Author of it, whereas most Tongues in *Europe*, are generated from the corruption of Originals. (2) It's unmix'd, needs no Foreign Words to express it self; the *Romans* were so far from making the

[50] Pezron 1703: 184f.
[51] Cf. e.g. Flavius Josephus, ed. Niese 1887: I 123.
[52] Ibid. 188.
[53] L. 1716: 9.

> *Britons* do, that they would not speak as they would have them: Their very Language never had perfect Conquest in this Island. It's the least mix'd of any in *Europe*, with Foreign Words. (3) Unaltered. Other Tongues are daily disguis'd with Forreign Words, so that in a Century of Years, they grow Strangers to themselves, as now an Englishman needs an Interpreter to understand *Chaucer's English*, but the *British* continues so constant to it self, that the Works of *Merlin* and *Taliessin*, who wrote about a Thousand Years since, are at this Day intelligible in that Tongue. (4) It's durable, which had its Beginning at the Confusion of Tongues, and is likely not to have its Ending till the Dissolution of the World.

It is plain that L. follows the tradition which starts with John Davies. Note how, like Davies before him J. L. speaks of the enemies of the Welsh language, who did not succed in contaminating this second eternal language which is not "likely to have its Ending till the Dissolution of the World". It is a poignant example of the uneasiness felt concerning the strength of Welsh against the pressure of English, even at that time.

3.7. *Henry Rowlands, 1723.*[54]

In his historical account of the isle of Anglesey Rowlands discusses the question whether the language originally spoken on the island was the same as modern Welsh. Beginning from the confusion of tongues, he argues that languages were formed, based upon the primeval language, Hebrew. Then he finds two reasons for the assumption that Welsh was the original language still spoken on Anglesey, of which we quote the first:[55]

> First, There are very many antient *British* words which have no resemblance at all, no coherence in Sound and Signification with the words of any other Language in the World except the Hebrew, so as to be in any possibility of being derived from them, as far as could be yet perceiv'd; which evinces that the *British* Language is, in its radical Parts at least, plainly *Aboriginal*; No Footsteps of it anywhere appearing, but in those Places where 'tis allow'd the antient *Celtae* for some while inhabited, or their *Gaulish* and *British* Offspring had sent their Colonies.

Because of this comparability to Hebrew, Rowlands supposes Welsh, i.e. Celtic, to be very old indeed:[56]

> All this, with the Guttural Pronunciation of some of our Syllables, the resemblance of many of our modern Words, and the near Affinity of our Phrase and Syntax with the most antient *Hebrew* Tongue, is and will be a convincing Argument, that our present Language in the more radical Strokes of it, is one of the primary Issues of that Sacred Fountain, that is, is the chief Remains of the antient Celtish or *British* Tongue, with which our Nation hath kept its ground, what few or no other Tongues or Nations in the World have done, for about the space of three Thousand and five Hundred Years.

He concludes his remarks with the following words:[57]

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[54] On Henry Rowlands (1655–1723), cf. e.g. Stephens 1986: 536.
[55] Rowlands 1723: 36.
[56] Ibid.: 39.
[57] Ibid.: 317.

> The Result of my Proposition fairly determines this Issue, viz. that the British Tongue, having more of that Original Language in it, than all the rest together, may merit the Esteem of being reckon'd the antientest and least corrupted Language in this Western part of the World, which is what deserves our Notice, and what I think sufficient to say in this Proposition.

Perhaps less outspoken than some of his colleagues an expression like the "ancient British Tongue, with which our nation has kept its ground" is significant indeed.

3.6. *Theophilus Evans, 1740.*[58]

An important work in this survey is *Drych y prif Oesoedd* (View of the primitive ages)[59] by Theophilus Evans, because it has been highly influential in Welsh historiography.[60] We are sure that many others defended the same ideas, but Evans's recapitulation of the reasoning of authors like John Davies[61] and Pezron in his first chapter was probably one of the factors to make it accepted knowledge for many Welsh people. Evans took from Davies the idea that Welsh as such found its origin at the confusion of tongues, and combined this with the historical reasoning as e.g. found with Pezron, thus making Gomer speaking Welsh[62]

> Before, there was only one language spoken in the whole world, and that surely was Hebrew. But the world, although it was of one language and one speech before, now hears its inhabitants speak seventytwo languages; because many people have ancient histories telling how the mixing of the mother-language Hebrew came about. And in that great tumult, people were very happy in meeting someone they were able to understand; and they went here and there, until getting another; and thus everyone, they all came together, and stayed with each other in many heaps separately, the ones that were of one dialect. And who was speaking Welsh, you can imagine, but Gomer, the oldest son of Japheth the son of Noa the son of Lamech the son of Methusela the son of Enoch the son of Jared the son of Malaleel the son of Cainan the son of Enos the son of Seth the son of Adam, the son of God.There you have the race and the lineage of the old Welsh, how high anyone of earthly decent possibly might reach, we their offspring would be better than those. And I am quite sure and without doubt, that this

[58] On Theophilus Evans (1693–1767), cf. e.g. Stephens 1986: 194.

[59] Under this title the book was translated into English.

[60] cf. also the introductions in Thomas 1960 & Hughes 1961.

[61] For the sources of Evans 1740, cf. also Thomas 1955: xiiiff.; Evans 1761 (1961): 117 mentions explicitly the grammar and dictionary of John Davies.

[62] Evans 1740 (1865): 4, (1955):. 3–4; cf. Evans 1716 (1961): 19: "Nid oedd ond un dafod-leferydd o'r blaen drwy yr byd mawr, sef yr Hebraeg, yn ddilys ddigon. Eithr y ddaear, ag oedd cyn hyny o un iaith ac o un ymadrodd, a glywai ei thrigolion ynawr yn siarad deuddeg iaith a thri-ugain; canys i gynnifer a hyny y mae hên hanesion yn mynegi ddarfod cymyscu y fam-iaith yr Hebraeg. Ac yn y terfysc mawr hwnw, llawen iawn a fyddai gan un gyfarfod a'r sawl a fai'n deall eu gilydd, a hwy a dramwyent yma ac accw, nes cael un arall; ac felly bob un ac un, i ddyfod ynghyd oll, ac aros gyda'i gilydd yn gynnifer pentwrr ar wahan, y sawl ag oeddent o'r un dafodiaith. A phwy oedd yn siarad Cymraeg a dybiwch chwi y pryd hwnw, ond Gomer mab hynaf Japheth, ap Noah, ap Lamech, ap Methusela, ap Enoch, ap Iared, ap Malaleel, ap Cainan, ap Enos, ap Seth, ap Adda, ap Duw. Dyma i chwi waedolaeth ac ach yr hên Gymry, cuwch ar a all un bonedd daearol fyth bosibl i gyrrhaedd ato, pe bai ni eu heppil yn well o hyny. Ac y mae'n ddilys ddiammeu gennyf nad yw hyn ond y gwir pur loyw; canys 1. y mae hanesion yr hen oesoedd yn mynegi hynny; a pha awdurdod chwaneg am unrhyw beth a ddigwyddodd yn y dyddiau gynt na bod cof-lyfrau, neu Groniclau'r oesoedd yn tystio hynny. 2. Y mae holl ddyscedigion Crêd, (gan mwyaf ynawr) megis o un genau yn maenntumio hynny. 3. Y mae'r enw y gelwir ni yn gyffredin arno, sef yw hynny, Cymro, megis lifrai yn dangos i bwy y perthyn gwas, yn yspysu yn eglur o ba le y daethom allan; canys nid oes ond y dim lleiaf rhwng Cymro a Gomero, fel y gall un dyn, ie a hanner llygad ganfod ar yr olwg gyntaf.

> is nothing but the pure bright truth, because 1: the histories of the ancient times tell it; and which authority is better in testifying about something which happened in earlier days than the records or chronicles of those times. 2. All teachings of the faith (mostly, now) are as of one mouth to maintain this. 3. The name, with which we are normally called, Cymro is as a livery showing to whom a servant belongs, showing clearly whence we came; because there is only the smallest difference between Cymro and Gomero, as one man may, even with a half eye, perceive on the first view.

Evans also quotes Pezron on this point, without mentioning the difference between their respective descriptions of the origin of Welsh and Celtic. Afterwards Evans remarks again on the Welsh language, in the fifth chapter of the first part of his study, *Moesau yr hen Frutaniaid* (The manners of the old Britons), commenting upon the relations between Welsh and resp. Latin, Greek and Irish:[63]

> On the old Welsh language, there is not much to say for me, but that it continued until lately almost uncorrupted without hardly any mixing, what hardly can be said of any other, apart from the language of the Jews, and the language of Arabia. Hardly anyone will be able to understand the Welsh language, or he understands also at least some Hebrew, Latin, Greek and Irish; because there is a considerable contact between these four and Welsh. (1) As far as Hebrew is concerned: there are several words passed completely to us, because of the mixture at the Tower of Babel; as e.g. in the following words: acheu, anudon, bwth, câd, caer, ceg, cefn, coppa, cyllell, golwyth, magwyr, neuadd, odyn, potten, tal, tommen, together with quite a lot other ones, and these are only a few of the exchanges between Hebrew and Welsh.

So, according to Evans, the Welsh language is very old and gives its speakers every reason to feel better than their neighbours.[64]

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[63] Evans 1740 (1865): 128; (1955): 125: "Am yr hen iaith Gymraeg, nid oes genyf fi ond ychydig i ddywedyd, ond iddi barhau hyd yn ddiweddar agos yn ddilwyr heb nemmawr o gymysg, yr hyn ni's gellir dywedyd ond prin am un arall, oddieithr iaith yr Iuddewon, ac iaith Arabia. Prin y gall neb deall y iaith Gymraeg yn llawn-fedrus, ond a ddeallo hefyd o leiaf ryw gymmaint o Hebraeg, Lladin, Groeg a Gwyddelaeg; canys y mae cryn gyfathrach rhwng y pedair hyn a'r Gymraeg. (1) Am yr Hebraeg: y mae amryw eiriau wedi tramwy yn gyfan atom ni, er maint oedd o gymysc yn Nhwr Babel; megys yn y geiriau hyn a ganlyn, acheu, anudon, bwth, câd, caer, ceg, cefn, coppa, cyllell, golwyth, magwyr, neuadd, odyn, potten, tal, tommen, gydag amryw ac amryw eraill, nad oes ond ychydig neu ddim cyfnewid rhwng yr Hebraeg a'r Gymraeg."

[64] cf. also the privately printed *History of the Cymbri*, which appeared without naming its author in 1746, ascribed by some to Simon Thomas (cf. R.T. Jenkins in *Biography* 1959: 965), silk mercer in Hereford, although 1743 has been supposed to be the year of his death. However this may be, although the author does not speak explicitly about the relation of Hebrew and Welsh, he is an enthousiastical adherent of the Gomerian theory (p. 7): "Here it may be enquired, What sort of Languages those were which had their Rise and Birth upon this Occasion ? [i.e. the confusion of tongues] that is Whether they were all intirely different from the Hebrew, and from one another; or only different Dialects ? There is reason to believe, That all those new Languages, were but Hebrew, slit into so many Dialects: every Tongue carrying with it some Lineaments of the old Stock from whence it was hewn: and though each one might claim a near Kin to the Hebrew: Yet every one was so different from it, and also from each other, as to suffice for answering Gods Design, which was, to render them uncapable of mutual Converse, and unfitt for Co-habitation." At the same time he also stresses the pre-eminence of the Welsh (pp. 23–24): "Thus we have traced the Genealogy of the *Cymry*; who, should they claim a Pre-eminence above all Nations under the Sun; *they should not be ashamed*; they having a just Right to it; as being descended from *Gomer*, the First-born Son of *Japheth*, who was the First born Son of *Noah*."

3.8. *Thomas Richards, 1753.*[65]

In the introduction to his extensive Welsh-English dictionary Richards quotes several authors mainly to impress the reader on the point of the antiquity of the Welsh language. Although Pezron is adduced to show that Welsh and Gaulish are one and the same language,[66] he does not mention the descent of Welsh through Gomer (cf. below). In his remarks on the similarity of Welsh and Hebrew Richards depends upon the authority of John Davies.[67] The almost romantic view of the value of the Welsh language is aptly expressed in the following lines:

> And as this Language has continued for such a long Series of Ages past, so we have no Reason to doubt but that it is the Divine Will that it be preserved to the End of Time, as we have the Word of God most elegantly and faithfully translated into it.

Note that Richards has the same feeling about the longevity Welsh as expressed by J.L.

3.9. *John Walters, 1771.*[68]

John Walters, admitting that Welsh and Gaulish are the same,[69] is again a strong, though not original, advocate of John Davies, also quoting other authorities to substantiate the venerability of the Welsh language:[70]

> ... *M. Bullet*, who, in his *Memoires sur la langue Celtique*, "appears to have made some progress, as a professed Critic expresses it, in all the languages of the earth". This Gentleman has run in the same course with his countryman, the learned *Pezron*, but has out-stript him in the race, and advanced so far beyond him as to make the *Celtic* to be a dialect of the original language communicated by the Creator to the first Parents of mankind. And admitting the primitive language to have been the *Hebrew*, which, I fancy, very few will dispute, he is not singular in his opinion; for a very learned person of our own Nation, in his *Enquiries concerning the first inhabitants, Language, & c. of Europe*, published about the same time, supposes the *Celtic* a sister-dialect of the *Hebrew*.

Walters then quotes Davies from the introduction to his dictionary (v. supra), and a few pages later he remarks, referring to Rowlands 1723:[71]

> Though it may be thought, by this time, to be unnecessary for the elucidation of the subject; yet I can by no means prevail with myself not to mention the ingeneous *Rowlands* on the occasion, who, in his *Comparative table of languages*, hath paralleled 300 *Hebrew* words with an equal number taken from the ancient languages of *Europe*, corresponding therewith both in sound and signification, so as to evince an affinity and near resemblance between them. And having remarked that, of these 300 *Hebrew* words more than half that number

[65] On Thomas Richards (1710–1790), cf. e.g. G.J. Williams in: Biography 1959: 854.
[66] Richards 1753: v-vii; we quote the second edition Trefriw 1815.
[67] Ibid.: vii-viii.
[68] On John Walters (1721–1797), Stephens 1986: 623.
[69] Walters 1771: 17; this book is probably correctly dismissed by Tourneur 1905: 134 as "un éloge académique du gallois qui n'offre rien de bien particulier"; Walters's dictionary (Walters 1794) was a more important contribution to the study of the Welsh language, but does not go into the possible relation Hebrew and Welsh.
[70] Ibid. pp. 21–22.
[71] Id.: 25.

> answer our present *British* or *Welsh* sounds, as near as can be expected at so remote a distance both of time and place, he very naturally concludes, "That the *British* tongue, having more of that *original* language in it than all the rest together, may merit the esteem of being reckoned the *most ancient* and *least corrupted*, language in the Western part of the world".

Walters, like others, stresses especially the uncorrupted tradition which has kept the Welsh language almost unchanged for a very long time.[72]

3.10. *Eliezer Williams, 1840.*[73]

The English works of the Welshman Eliezer Williams contain an interesting paper entitled "Historical anecdotes relative to the energy, beauty, and melody, of the Welsh language, and its affinity to the Oriental languages, and those of the south of Europe". In this short treatise Williams not only compares the Welsh vocabulary to that of Italian, French, Spanish and Greek, but he also remarks:[74]

> ... but the roots of most of the ancient British, or real Welsh words, may be regularly traced in the Hebrew.... Scarcely a Hebrew root can be discovered that has not its corresponding derivative in the ancient British language.

Although Williams does not express himself quite clearly on the reasons for these similarities, his authorities and comparisons make him, at least in this discussion, an adherent of the theories of John Davies and his followers. Elsewhere,[75] however, he adopts the theory that all words in all languages may be brought back to a limited series of original sounds, consisting of a vowel or a consonant followed by a vowel, with a definite original meaning. These primitive elements may be combined to form words with extended meanings. He proves his theory by giving a long list of words[76] containing the element *bal* (i.e. *ba* + *l*, having lost its vowel in the combination). In this list he collects words from the following languages: Welsh, Irish, Armoric, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, German, Swedish, Italian, English, Spanish, French, Russian. Williams maintains that, of course, Welsh has preserved more of these original elements than any other language. In his remarks on this theory, more or less related to those of Rowland Jones, Williams does not refer to his combination of Welsh and Hebrew elsewhere in his writings. Remark also that, although Williams calls Welsh the "ancient British language", the apologetic tone is less pronounced than with earlier authors.

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[72] Cf. also John Hughes (1776–1843; cf. *DNB* s.v.; R.T. Jenkins in: Biography 1959: 381.); his prize essay for the Cambrian Society (1823) contains a short remark on the relation of Welsh to Hebrew (p. 3): "The structure of the Cymreig, evinces its affinity with languages which confessedly are regarded the most ancient, and particularly, the Hebrew; as to which a learned Antiquary has affirmed, 'that the British tongue, having more of that original language in it, than all the rest together, may merit the esteem of being reckoned the *most ancient and least corrupted language in this western part of the world*'.'Hughes uses the same quotation of Henry Rowlands as John Walters before him. This view does not obscure, however, Hughes's conviction that Welsh is directly related to the other languages of Europe (p. 4): "The Ancient Gauls and Britons spoke a language nearly similar.The Welsh or the Cymraeg, is one principal branch of the great Celtic stock,to which along with the Teutonic,we may trace all the languages of Europe".

[73] On Eliezer Williams (1754–1820), cf. the memoir by his son in Williams 1840.

[74] Williams 1840: 134f.

[75] Williams 1840: 185–96, in a chapter entitled "The nature of the primitive Language of Europe, and Language in general", being the second chapter of the first epoch, "Origin of the Britons – their history until the invasion of Britain by the Romans", of his "A Sketch of the History of the Britons under five Epochs".

[76] Ibid.: 190–6.

3.11. Several others have the same view of the comparability or even near equivalence of Hebrew and Welsh. We give only one example. Peter Roberts, in the beginning of the last century, without any linguistic or historical comment proposes to explain some old lines of poetry[77] as Hebrew:[78]

pro:	O Brithi Brith oi	lege:	Hoi Berithi Berith hai	הוי בריתי בריתי חי	[*hōy barītī barīt ḥay*]
	Nu oes nu edi		Nuach iesh Nuach edi	נח יש נח עדי	[*noaḥ yēš noaḥ ʿēdī*]
	Brithi brith anhai		Berithi Berith ein hai	בריתי בריתי עין חי	[*barītī barīt ʿēn ḥay*]
	Sych edi edi eu roi		Such edi, edi ha roe	סך עדי עדי הראה	[*sok ʿēdī ʿēdī hā-roʾe*]

i.e. Ho ! my covenant is the covenant of life,
Noah, Noah is my witness,
My covenant is the covenant of the fountain of life.
The shrine ! is my witness; the prophet (*viz.*, Noah) is my witness.

4. Relationship of Welsh and Hebrew is impossible to prove in spite of comparable syntactical features. We have encountered only one Welsh author, namely Thomas Llewelyn,[79] 1769, who explicitly dared to doubt the great antiquity of Welsh and its direct relation to either Hebrew or Phoenician. His remarks have a highly modern flavour. Thomas Llewelyn wrote on the Welsh of the Welsh Bible translation.[80] He is less impressed by the then current comparisons than several other authors and supposes Phoenician or Carthaginian influence, if something like that ever occurred, to be difficult to trace in later Welsh. His insight in the results of normal language change in time is remarkable when we compare his work with that of his contemporaries, cf, e.g. the following remarks[81]

> If the ancient inhabitants of this island had ever any considerable intercourse with Phoenicians, Carthaginians, or other foreigners of a speech quite different from their own, they would then in all probability adopt some foreign words or expressions, and incorporate them with their own stock. But of this also we have no full and certain account. And supposing such an event to have happened; words thus adopted, at a period so distant, could not now be distinguished from the native and original terms of the language.
> Those times are too obscure; too remote for our reach. In hundreds of instances, they leave us uncertain and dissatisfied in our inquiries; we must therefore descend lower down, and to much later times ere we arrive at the due distance, or fix ourselves in the proper station, where we may be able to distinguish; whether there be any thing exotick and adventitious in the composition of this tongue; and which of it's words are natives, or which are foreign.

At the same time, however, he does not disapprove of a comparison of Welsh and Hebrew, but he is a typologist *avant la lettre* rather than anything else. Compare e.g. the following remarks of his,[82] in which he correctly differentiates between the comparable vocabulary as opposed to syntax:

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[77] These lines are to be found in the *Myvyrian Archaiology*: 63, Evans 1910: 74 ll. 20–21.
[78] Roberts 1815: 33–4.
[79] On Thomas Llewelyn (1720?–1783), B.G. Owens in *Biography* 1959: 568–569.
[80] Llewelyn 1768, 1769.
[81] Llewelyn 1769: 12f.
[82] Llewelyn 1769: 140f., resp. 141f.

> Excepting terms of this cast [i.e. direct modern loan words in the Bible translation], and perhaps some few others, such as *Aber, Caer, Sâch*, & c. we have, as far as I can find, hardly any words in the British tongue of a clear Hebrew complection and affinity. Supposing the Hebrew to have been the original language of mankind, and the common parent of all other tongues, as is generally supposed; in that case numbers of common words, evidently of Hebrew parentage, might be expected to appear in this, and in every other version of the Old Testament. But if we entertain such an expectation we shall be disappointed. And whoever compares a chapter or a page of the Hebrew Bible with the corresponding page or chapter in the Greek, in the Latin, in the English, in the Welsh, or perhaps in any other European version; whoever, I say, will be at the pains to make such a comparison, will be able to discover the plain and certain origin of but very few words.
>
> It is commonly said, that the British and the Hebrew are similar languages; but by this must be understood, not that they seem to be derived the one from the other, or that there are a great many radical words the same in each; but only that there is a similarity of sound in certain letters of both alphabets; that they are alike in some peculiarities of construction, especially in the change incident to several letters in the beginning of words. If any thing farther is intended hereby, it will be more, I believe, than can be warranted and supported by a fair comparison of the two languages.

The only time Llewelyn really compares a point in Welsh grammar to Hebrew is to be found in his remarks on the system of mutations in Welsh, and in accordance with his view just mentioned he does not speak of relationship but of an illustration and this only following another one from Greek:[83]

> To illustrate this subject yet further, recourse might be had to the oriental languages. In the Hebrew alphabet are six mutable consonants, called *Litterae Begadkephat*, having each of them a double sound, one soft and the other hard. For instance hrut signifying *fruit* is sounded in different positions, *Pri* and *Phri*, with just the same variation as *Pen* and *Phen*, in the preceding tables: In the same manner תורה the Hebrew word for *Law* is pronounced *Torah* or *Thorah*, like the British *Tad* and *Thad*. And so is בּ (sic) a *son* like *Bara* and *Fara*, sounded sometimes *Ben* and at other times *Fen* or raher *Ven*. But these mutations are much more limited in this language than they are in the Welsh: changeable letters in Hebrew are only six; whereas in the British they are nine: in the Hebrew also, the change of these letters is only double; whereas here they assume three or four different forms.

Note how Llewelyn not only uses Hebrew to illustrate Welsh, but at the same time also points out the differences as if he wanted to stress the fact that Hebrew and Welsh are not related to each other.

5. *Conclusion.*

It follows clearly from the preceding remarks that the subject of the relation between Welsh and Hebrew has been discussed vividly during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a fact stressed by the inclusion of the subject among the topics to be discussed by the Society of Cymmrodorion in 1755.[84]

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[83] Ibid.: 64.

[84] *Constitutions* 1755, where among "General Heads, of Subjects to be occasionally considered and treated of (among others) in the Correspondences of the Society of *Cymmrodorion*" is mentioned (p. 33): "Of the Similitude between the *British* Tongue and the Eastern Languages. Cf. e.g. also a chance remark by an author

More or less basic is the recurring notion that Hebrew is the mother of all languages, these languages being confusions of Hebrew. For several scholars this leads to the idea that Welsh, being itself very old, is related to Hebrew, for others this means that all languages are in some way related to Hebrew, Welsh not being in a special position, as maintained by e.g. Bullet, a French author, not biased as the Welsh scholars who wanted to prove the antiquity and venerability of Welsh compared to English.

Another possibility is to find the reason for the special character of Welsh in an early influence of Phoenician upon the Celtic languages, which seems to originate from Bochart, and was maintained by Sammes. This view has also been upheld with regard to other Celtic languages, cf. also Betham, who calls the Celts (i.e. Gaul, the ancient Britons and ancient Irish) a Phoenician colony, but maintains that the Welsh, Cornish and Bretons are no Celts.[85] It is not by chance that this theory is not advocated by born Welshmen.

We find that the comparisons between Welsh and Hebrew have two different objects. For most authors the difference is in itself unimportant (thus already with John Davies). Only in the nineteenth century the difference between the syntactical and lexical comparisons becomes more clear.[86] Also with regard to the comparison of vocabulary some differences are to be observed. The main object is the comparison of words, as Davies and his followers did. Only Charles Edwards, the one surest of the near identity of Hebrew and Welsh, also finds many word groups and phrases sounding almost alike in both languages.

In a lecture on the history of Welsh scholarship G.J. Williams greatly laments the connection of Welsh and Hebrew, as made by John Davies:[87]

> Unfortunately Dr. John Davies was a great Hebrew scholar, and those who have consulted his dictionary will know of the comparisons between Welsh and Hebrew words which are to be found on every page. This had a most deleterious effect on Welsh studies. With one .... exception, all the scholars were obsessed with this idea, which made a serious study of the history of the language impossible.

Williams's negative reaction[88] only mentions the comparisons of Hebrew and Welsh vocabulary, which diminishes its worth considerably.[89] Furthermore, he seems to have missed the important ideological side of the discussion, *viz.* that the Welshmen discussing

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probably not specially interested in the problem, John Torbuck, who wrote about his travels in Wales in 1738: Whether the *Welsh* tongue be a *splinter* of that universal one that was shatter'd at *Babel*, we have some reason to doubt, in regard 'ts unlike the dialects that were *crumbled* there; however, whether it be kin or no to other country speeches, it matters not ... (quoted according to *Anthology* 1941: 86–7).

[85] Betham 1834, passim; in Betham 1842 he upholds the same position, with the extra contention that Etruscan and Celtic is the same.

[86] Hugh Hughes (on Hugh Hughes (Tegai, 1805–1864), cf. D.T. Evans in *Biography* 1959: 377.), 1844: In the chapter on the syntax in the Welsh Bible translation Hugh Hughes prints a lengthy quotation from "Criticus" on the peculiarities of Welsh. In this highly interesting excursus Criticus notes that Welsh and Hebrew both employ inflected prepositions and that both languages use juxtaposition to indicate the genetive relationship. He also points to the usage in both Welsh and Hebrew to connect a singular noun with numerals, and to the derivation of verbs.

[87] G.J. Williams 1973–1974: 195–219.

[88] Cf. also Carr 1983: 77ff.

[89] Williams is followed by others, cf. e.g. Carr 1983: 77, who also singles out Lhuyd as the one scientific author among many romantic theoretical ones: Davies, Pezron who was followed by Theophilus Evans, Rowland Jones.

this issue used it to confirm the superiority of Welsh above other languages, including of course English.

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6 EZRA 15, 28–33 AND THE HISTORICAL EVENTS IN THE MIDDLE OF THE THIRD CENTURY[1]

A.F.J. Klijn

0. The chapters 15 and 16 of Fourth Ezra, the last two of the *Apocalypse of Ezra*, which is present in the Appendix of the Latin Vulgate of the Bible,[2] are together with chapters 1 and 2 of the same writing supposed to be Christian additions to an originally Jewish apocalyptic work, now known as Fourth Ezra chapters 3 to 14. The chapters 1 and 2 are commonly named 5 Ezra and the chapters 15 end 16 are called 6 Ezra.

The contents of 6 Ezra obviously deal with contemporary political events and are of an apocalyptic character. It appears that the people of God are not only victims of disastrous wars and the invasion of foreign nations into various parts of the Roman empire, but also of hatred and persecution.

1. 6 Ezra is usually dated in the middle of the third century.[3] This is the time during wich the Roman Empire was severely harassed at its northern end eastern borders[4] and also of the persecution of Christians during the reign of the emperors Decius and Valerianus.[5] The capture of Emperor Valerianus in 260 by the Sassanid king Shapur I was therefore not only the culmination of a series of traumatic political experiences but was also considered to be an apocalyptic event by Christians.[6]

References to the political and military situation of the third century are limited to a few passages in 6 Ezra[7] of which the most important seems to be 15, 28–33. It appears worthwhile to go into this passage because the period of the Sassanid invasions into the

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[1] Han Drijvers to whom this article is gratefully dedicated, was during thirty years always prepared to fill out my scientific deficiencies. It is a great pleasure to state that his son, Dr. J.W. Drijvers, was willing to follow in his father's footsteps in order to prevent me from serious errors in the field of Roman history.

[2] *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem ... recensuit* R. Weber, *tomus* II, Stuttgart 1975, 1931–1974.

[3] See von Gutschmidt 1860: 1–24; Myers 1974: 349ff; Knibb 1979: 288–9; Metzger 1983: 555–9. However, Weinel 1904: 312 and Duensing & de Santos Otero 1989: 582 prefer a date between 120 and the middle of the third century. This can be compared with Bergren 1998, who comes to the conclusion after a careful analysis of the various proposals with regard to the date, 132: "In conclusion, 6 Ezra is almost certainly to be dated between 95 C.E., the approximate date of the Book of Revelation, which it knows, and 313 C.E., the end of persecution of Christians in the Roman Empire." Speaking about the present passage he also writes, 126: "... the events described in 15:28–33 are in fact intended to describe a concrete historical situation, it seems most reasonable to allow the broader period of 262 to 313 as the probable time of composition of the book".

[4] Of the many publications about this time we only mention here Alföldi 1937; Olmstead 1942; Ensslin 1947; Walser & Pekáry 1962; Alföldi 1967: 249–270; Kettenhofen 1982. See also Dodgeon & Lieu 1991.

[5] See Frend 1965: 389ff.

[6] See Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* VII 10; Lactantius, *De morte persecutorum* V; *Oracula Sibyllinica* XIII and the Apocalypse of Elia.

[7] One of these may be 15, 16 which might refer to the capture of Valerianus: *Erit enim inconstabilitio hominibus. Alii alios supervalescentes non curabunt regem suum et principem megastanorum suorum in potentia sua.* One might compare Lactantius, *De morte persecutorum* V 5, about Valerianus: *Etiam hoc ei accessit ad poenam, quod cum filium haberat imperatorem, captivitatis suae tamen ac servitutis extremae non invenit ultorem nec omnino repetitus est.*

eastern part of the Roman Empire has been subjected to intensive study caused by some recent discoveries shedding new light upon Shapur's expeditions.

2.1. The text of VI Ezra 15, 28–33 reads as follows:[8]

28. *Ecce visio horribilis et facies illius ab oriente.*
29. *Et exient nationes draconum Arabum in curris multis et sibilatus eorum a die itineris fertur super terram ut etiam timeant et trepidentur omnes qui illos audient.*
30. *Carmonii insanientes in ira exient de silva*[9] *et advenient in virtute magna et constabunt in pugnam cum illis et vastabunt portionem terram Assiriorum in dentibus suis.*
31. *Et post haec supervalescet draco memoriae nativitatis suae*[10] *et si converterint se conspirantes in virtute magna ad persequendos eos.*
32. *Et isti turbabuntur et silebunt in virtute illorum et convertent pedes suos in fugam.*
33. *Et a territorio*[11] *Assiriorum subsessor subsedebit*[12] *eos et consumet unum ex illis et erit timor et tremor in exercitu illorum et inconstabilitio regno illorum.*

2.2. In vs. 28 the passage opens with the announcement of a horrible vision out of the east.[13]

In vs. 29 mention is made of the *nationes draconum Arabum*. The word *nationes* is usually taken in the sense of "nations" but Knibb reads "hord."[14] The Spanish manuscripts C V L give *et ibi planctus ipsorum* in stead of *et sibilatus eorum*, which seems to avoid the unusual word *sibilatus*.

In vs. 30 the *Carmonii* are mentioned, who must be the Sassanids although it is difficult to explain why they are called after a particular part of the Sassanid Empire.[15] The Carmonians joined battle with the Arabs mentioned in the previous verse. This must have happened in the land of the Assyrians of which part has been devastated. This region is mentioned again in vs. 33. Neither the word Syria nor Assyria indicates a well defined region at this time.[16]

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[8] The text of Fourth Ezra – and this includes the chapters 15 and 16 – can be divided into a so-called French and Spanish text, see Klijn 1983: 13-17, of which in 15 and 16 the Spanish text represented by the manuscripts A and S seems to be preferred, see Bergren 1998: 90. Here the text of A has been given with some variant readings in S. The text of the Spanish manuscripts will be mentioned, if necessary, in the course of the following discussion.

[9] Manuscript S has: *et exient ut apri de silva*, which is also found in de Spanish manuscripts M N E. This seems a later addition to the text.

[10] S reads *nativitatis memores sui.*

[11] Because the text of A appears to be corrupt, manuscript S has been followed.

[12] The original text of S seems to have been *obsessor obsedebit* but the text of both A and S show a number of corrections. I am grateful to Dr. G.A.A. Kortekaas, Groningen, who generously copied all the manuscripts of the entire text of both 5 and 6 Ezra and suggested to me that it is impossible to reconstruct an original text. This also means that Bergren's "Eclectic Latin Text" (Bergren 1998: 221–225) demands a critical approach.

[13] The Spanish manuscripts C V L read *ad orientem*. This seems to be secondary but it does not necessarily give a different meaning. According to 6 Ezra the disasters are supposed to come from the East, see 15, 34 and 37–39.

[14] Knibb 1979: 288.

[15] See Schippmann 1990: 14 who states that about the year 211 the Sassanid Ardashir first of all marched against the king of Kirman, but also see Bergren 1998:128.

[16] See Nöldeke 1871 and Potter 1990: 197–199.

From vs. 31 it appears that the Arabs gain the upper hand, but the particulars are difficult to grasp since the text is not easy to understand.[17] In addition to that, the manuscipt C reads *conspirantur* in place of *conspirantes*. Whatever the original words may have been, it seems that the dragon is going the pursue the Carmonians.

From vs. 32 it appears that the Carmonians are retreating and finally they are put to flight.In the Spanish manuscripts C M N E V L it is said at the end of this verse *et faciem suam ad aquilonem*. This can only mean that the Carmonians were originally going to the south and then turned towards the north.

Finally, according to vs. 33 one of the Carmonians, *unum ex illis*, falls into an ambush located in the Assyrian country.

3. Let us now try to reconstruct the contents of this passage. It begins with the Arabs who will sally forth and are frightening everybody with their hissing. It seems that the Arabs happen to meet the Carmonians who also sally forth in the region of the "Assyrians". They join battle, upon which the Arabs gain the upper hand. During the flight of the Carmonians one of them falls into an ambush. This must have been a very important person because this event was the cause of commotion in the kingdom of the Carmonians.

The passage thus appears to deal with a war between Arabs and Carmonians. Ancient sources speak about the intervention of the Palmyrene Odaenathus in the affairs of the east after the capture of Valerianus in 260.[18] Both these sources and 6 Ezra agree in saying that the Arab was victorious and so was able to chase the Sassanids.[19] For this reason we can understand that some commentators of 6 Ezra refer to this dramatic event. However, the contents of the passage in 6 Ezra cannot be explained with help of the sources speaking about the exploits of Odaenathus in 260 and thereafter. In the sources about this period nothing is said about an ambush.[20] And apart from this, the way in which 6 Ezra refers to the general situation is different from what we know about what happened after the capture of Valerianus. The present passage starts by mentioning the Arabs, contrary to the situation after the capture of Valerianus, according to which they merely reacted upon the Sassanid initiative to devastate a vast region reaching from Asia to Syria.

Therefore, we may well ask whether 6 Ezra might refer to an earlier event in Odaenathus' political and military career, *viz.* a period in his life which recently has drawn the attention of some scholars.[21]

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[17] The passage 15, 31–32 is rendered by Myers 1974: 332: "Afterward the dragons, remembering their origin, will triumph; should they turn around, conspiring by virtue of their great strength, to hunt them down, they too will be confounded and silenced by their strength, and turn their feet in flight". See alo Bergren 1998: 227: "And after these things the serpent, remembering its origin, will become still stronger, and if they turn back [or: flee], agreeing in great strength to pursue them, those [or: the former] also will be thrown into turmoil and will be silent because of their strength, and they will turn their feet in flight."

[18] See Février 1931: 75–90; Starcky 1952: 53–57, and esp. H.J.W. Drijvers 1977.

[19] See *SHA Gall.* 12; Dodgeon & Lieu 1991: 74; *SHA trig. tyr. 15, 1–5, idem* 74; Orosius, *adv. paganos* VII 2, 12, *idem*, 75 and Zosimus I 39, 1–2, *idem*, 75, cf. Ensslin 1947: 77–8.

[20] Bergren 1998: 130, speaking about 15, 33 writes: "The context here suggests that the 'them' upon fear and trembling will come are the 'Carmonians'. Nothing is known, however, from historical sources of such an event (*scil.* an ambush) having taken place with reference to either army".

[21] See esp. de Blois 1974, who also refers to a number of Jewish sources.

3.1. In the year 1936 an inscription was discovered in which Shapur I gives a list of place names which indicates the route of his three campaigns against the Romans culminating in the capture of Valerianus.[22] According to this inscription one group of Persian invaders turned to the south along the river Orontes after the capture of Antioch during the second campaign which took place in the year 253. It is obvious that the Persians were on their way to the important city of Emesa, but before this town had been reached the list of place names suddenly breaks off. It is supposed by modern scholars that the reason for this interruption must have been some unexpected military setback north of Emesa.[23]

All this has been brought in connection with a passage in Malalas, previously neglected, that speaks about a meeting between Shapur and Sampsigeramus[24] of Emesa.[25] During their discussions one of the rustic slingers who accompanied Sampsigeramus let fly a stone which hit Shapur who died at the spot.

Malalas exaggerates in saying that Shapur was killed. It seems, however, that a disastrous event had taken place in the neighbourhood of Emesa. This disaster may account for the break in the summary of place names on the inscription of Shapur. Up to this point, sources speak about the Sassanids and the inhabitants of Emesa, but the same Malalas continues: ὑπήντετε δὲ αὐτοῖς διὰ τοῦ λιμίτου ἀντι ποιούμενος Ῥωμαίων Ὄυαθος βασιλεὺς Σαρακηνῶν βαρβάρων, ὁ κρατῶν τὴν Ἀραβίαν χώραν. This means that Odaenathus who is called king of the Saracenes[26] was involved and had dealt the Sassanids a decisive blow.[27]

4. We may try to reconstruct the situation as it is pictured by 6 Ezra and the rest of the information mentioned above. In Syria both the Arabs and the Sassanids were active. The Sassanids were involved in their second campaign which had brought them in the neighbourhood of Emesa. The Arabs were on the alert because their territory had not yet been in great danger, but they were aware that some time they would have to choose between the Sassanids and the Romans.[28] However, the Sassanids got into serious trouble in front of Emesa. It happened at the time that Odaenathus was still

[22] See for earlier publications Olmstead 1942: 245ff., and also Rostovtzeff 1943/44, Sprengling 1953, and recently Kettenhofen 1982.

[23] See Olmstead 1942: 407, and Kettenhofen 1982: 70–73: "Abwehr des Vorstosses der Sasaniden vor Emesa".

[24] Sampsigeramus is supposed to be Uranius Antoninus, see Baldus 1971: *passim*, but see also H. Castritius 1974 and Kienast 1996: 211.

[25] Malalas XII 392, ed. Dindorf 297.

[26] The name "Saracenes" is mentioned by Eusebius, *hist. eccles.* VI42 4, in a quotation taken from Dionysius of Alexandria about the flight of Christians into the "Arabian Mountains" where they were persecuted by the Saracenes. The name is here obviously given to a particular tribe but later it is applied to "Arabs" in general, see Barthel and Stock 1994: 524, cf. Altheim and Stiehl 1965: 251–73.

[27] The events during the second campaign are also found in the *Sibylline Oracles* XIII 150–155: "... a priest will come, the last of all, sent from the sun, appearing from Syria, and he will do everything by craft; the city of the sun will arise and around her the Persians will endure the terrible threats of the Phoenicians". See Potter 1990: 176–177 and 323–328 (cf. 323: "... there has been fairly general agreement that this (*scil.* the 'priest' mentioned in l. 151) is in fact Lucius Julius Aurelius Sulpicius Uranius Severus Antonius."), and Baldus 1971: 244ff. We wonder whether the word δόλῳ, "by craft", can be connected with the "ambush" mentioned in IV Ezra.

[28] See Petrus Patricius, *fragm.* 10, FHG IV, 187, cf. Dodgeon & Lieu 1991: 68–69, who write that Odaenathus initially tried to make a treaty with Shapur, cf. de Blois 1974: 18.

called ἀντιποιούμενος Ῥωμαίων according to Malalas. However, his decision to pursue the Sassanids was at the same time the moment that he had to take the side of the Romans.[29]

In 6 Ezra we find the various ingredients of this story. It speaks of Persians and Arabs only, because the Romans do not play any part in these events. The ambush to which the Sassanids became victim is situated in Syria, but we do not know who is responsible. However, it obviously became the immediate cause of the Sassanid defeat.

We may therefore conclude that 6 Ezra 15, 28–33 can be explained with help of some recent discoveries with regard to the events in the middle of the third century.[30]

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[29] See already Rostovtzeff 1944: 55–56, and also Schippmann 1990: 22. Before the year 258 Odaenathus became *vir consularis*, see de Blois, 1974: 17, and Isaac 1992: 221.

[30] Myers 1974: 250 and Knibb 1979: 289, assume that the ambush mentioned in vs. 33 refers to Odaenathus' death which seems not very likely. It is interesting to refer to Gutschmid, who said more than a century ago (1860: 13): "Wir müssen ... in der ganzen Stelle eine Anspielung auf eine uns nicht näher bekannte Episode des Kriegs zwischen Sapores und Odenathus erkennen". In a footnote he even refers to Malalas XII!.

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AS IF FROM ANOTHER WORLD.
Narsai's Memra "Bad is the time"

Corrie Molenberg

0. Narsai wrote a number of *mēmrē* in which he dealt with the condition of the contemporary church into which he "poured his concern, aches and pain".[1] Among them Vööbus mentioned *The reproof of Eve's daughters*[2] and *Bad is the time*.[3] It is likely that both works were written during the same period of his life.

According to Macomber,[4] *Bad is the time* has been preserved in only a small number of manuscripts.[5] In every extant manuscript it is preceded by the *mēmrā* on Eve's daughters mentioned above. Tradition has it that these two *mēmrē* were written in connection with the problems which Narsai had with Barṣauma, bishop of Nisibis, concerning the marriage of the higher clergy. The quarrel between them resulted in Narsai's departure from Nisibis. He moved in with the monks of Kephar Mari, where he had lived in his youth.

1. Does the content of the present *mēmrā* tell us anything about its author and the time when was composed?

In the first line of *Bad is the time*, Narsai refers to his *twtbwt'*, his exile.[6] From this position of exile, he sets out to treat of the miserable time he faces; but it is almost as if he is extraneous to the world, as if he himself does not take part in that world. He observes his era, and the people living therein as if he himself is from another world – a world with a different set of values. But even this "other world" is negatively influenced by the spirit of the age.

When reading this *mēmrā*, one is struck by the wholly different atmosphere it shows when compared to his admonishing of women. In that *mēmrā* Narsai appears as an active, spirited and energetic man, who tries to convince women of the possibilities of making their own choices in life. Here he manifests himself as tired and disappointed. It is hardly credible that Narsai should have written the two works at about the same time.

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[1] Vööbus 1965: 83

[2] See Molenberg 1993.

[3] Mingana (ed.) II: 210–223. This edition is at the basis of this article. In my commentary I shall refer to the pages and the lines of Mingana's edition.

[4] See Macomber 1973: 297, 25

[5] MS British Library Oriental 5463 (AD 1893).

[6] History does not tell us whether this exile was voluntary or enforced. The end of the *mēmrā* suggests that it was voluntary, but Barḥadbešabba's report may indicate the reverse.

2. *The contents*

Bad is the time which presents itself to me[7] throughout my exile and holding on to spiritual life falls short in it.

Bad is the way of life I found among the terrestrials and it is very hard for someone who wants to live well.

Having thus introduced his *mēmrā*, Narsai tries to delineate the various aspects of the miserable time he has to face. The regular order of the week has been disturbed, the light of discernment has darkened and no one is able to strengthen those who have lost interest in the Word of truth. Faith has become weak and nobody knows any longer how to construct the purity of the soul.

The world Narsai describes is very like our modern secularised society: the building of faith is weak, as is hope. Life – spiritual life – and the Scriptures are poorly thought of; people only strive for mundane things. The given order of creation – marriage – is in disarray. Mendacity, murder and adultery have become frequent, and concerning oneself with spiritual things is considered futile. What is even worse: enchantings, idle divinations and oracles multiply, and truth is being persecuted so that it can no longer rule over mankind. As a result, the party of the servants of righteousness is reduced, and the number of those who care about things of the spirit is very small. Everyone is constantly busy with worldly things. "The prison of mortality pleases everyone", Narsai says. Moreover, people are dishonest: they speak of ineffable blessings, but do not regard them as true. The facts of the future world are considered to be mere stories, and there is only an outward show of love for the truth: impurity actually reveals the powers of the soul.

Narsai compares the era which has come over mankind to the winter season. Men are now deprived of blessings, as a tree in winter is devoid of leaves. The chill of sin has taken hold of the once righteous earth. A blizzard of impiety has descended upon all human faculties. Like a storm the odious have blown across the sea of the mind, and removed the helmsman, the skilful inclination. Creation has been pounded by the strong wind of desire, and thoughts have arisen which no longer construct a building of love.

Narsai alludes to the words of Micah[8] when he concludes that the rational vineyard of men has become desolate and dry. "Woe to us, the Lord of the vineyard may judge us and he may blame our injustice like that of the Jews", he writes thus combining Micah's words to Matthew's parable of the labourers in the vineyard.[9] Silent nature herself will bear witness against human wickedness, due to which there is no grape on the vine to comfort the *remza*, the Sign[10] who once planted it.

With the prophet Narsai invites his readers to say: *The holy man has perished (from the earth) and there is no one upright among men.*[11] The behaviour of masters, judges, magistrates, teachers and pupils shows that there is no honest man left. The taste of the truth has become insipid for the weak, and notwithstanding the fact that the prophet cries out that it is more precious than everything, the evil ones are loath from drinking it in. The mortal ones have fallen to the hard pains of lust, and the weak of soul dare not point

[7] Or: to which I set myself in opposition?
[8] Mic 7:1f.
[9] Mt 20.
[10] I.e. Christ.
[11] Mic 7:2.

it out to them. Men do not see that there is no recovery after death, and wander about in the hope of mercy; but they forget that where there is mercy, there must be righteousness as well. When the Righteous One judges, there is no lenity. He is charitable to those who repent, and righteous when he avenges the ones who do not. It is our *yṣr'*, our human inclination, which dominates both repenting and not repenting. Only if it pleases him, will the Righteous and Good One convert punishment into pity. Our inclination upholds the gate of the kingdom if we so want it, but He is the one who allows entrance and exit according to his Will. Narsai reminds us that even John the Baptist, the voice who prepared the way, cried out that the kingship is amidst of men and dwells among them.[12]

Why, then, does man leave the path of the surety of life and go astray? Only because he sets his inclination against truth, and consciously wrongs both himself and his Creator. The mortals rejected the Life which was among them. They rejected the law the Creator imposed; they neglected the order which exalted them above everything, and delighted in the love of the accuser. They accused the law, and transgressed the commands, the high wall in front of sin. Consequently, those wild animals, the bad habits, could enter and spoil the fruit.

As bad habits, the vices of men, Narsai mentions fornication, boldness, oppression, avarice, ambition, treachery, pride, gluttony, complaining and anger. "As if with fire", he says, "the virtues have been burned and no sweet fruits remain in the vineyard of men". Again he uses the winter metaphor to illustrate the miserable state of men: the cold winter of desires, the darkness of error, good things reduced like daytime in the winter. The mind, paralysed by the chill of sin, is confined to the body as people are confined to their houses. And whereas in summer as in winter nobody grows weary of vicious actions, not even half a day is spent to speak the right words. In other words, men are not interested in spiritual matters at all.

Narsai then confronts his readers with the great wealth hidden in the Highest, but which is rejected by men. Those made of dust prefer to stay in the dust instead of striving towards the Living Goal of their life who is in heaven. He has interpreted the future happenings through spiritual power; He has shown them through His heralds as if with a pointing finger. He has depicted His blessings and punishments on rolls so that corporeal eyes could see what was hidden, and fixed His commandments in the Scriptures so that men were enabled see the truth of His Name. He has shown the power of His majesty, not His being, in signs; and His workings, not His mystery, on scrolls. He has made the spiritual law into a treasury wherein the judgments over the vicious are gathered, and He has built a house for the kingdom on earth, full of all creatures, and allowed men to dwell in it with holy awe. In His treasury He has stored the infinite spirit, so that it would suffice for both the earthly and heavenly beings; and He has made his beloved sons into treasurers so that they would treat Him with reverence.

But the custodians were thieves who replaced the riches of glorious deeds by vicious ones. The courtiers removed the mysteries, and raised their hand against the Creator. The servants fled and established secret relations with the tyrant, the devil. The heirs of the kingdom left the intimacy of the royal palace and began to slander the husbandry. The guests of the bridegroom hated the spiritual banquet and left in order to seek for gain elsewhere. The sons of God who were worthy of the name of immortals came down

[12] Lk 3:4, cf. Jn 1:14.

from that divine position, and stood forth on earth. The mortals, who had been called immortals, died and destroyed the hope of returning to the name they had lost. They falsely accused the hidden *rēmzā*[13] in every respect; they neglected His law and denied His indissoluble word. How much they hate Him will become evident when they are tried by His law as if it were an oven. Because of their vicious deeds they will not be purified.

Like Jeremiah, Narsai then tells his people that there is no useful chastisement for their evil. The iniquity of the people of his time is worse than that of the Judeans in Jeremiah's time, for more than the people of Juda they rebel against the divine command. The Jews did not hate the words of the spirit as much as people do now, and they were not as divided with respect to the future as Narsai's contemporaries are. The name of the Creator was not blasphemed among the Hebrews as much as it is among the gentiles because of the railings of the Christians. The Jews were childish in the way of perfection and in the light of their time; they were not responsible for the things they undertook. But now the nations who have received the perfect reward of the kingdom of heaven – the Christians – have returned to licence, and again they suckle the light milk of observance.

Just how much Narsai rebukes his contemporaries becomes clear from the section in which he makes the gentiles and some other, generally despised, religious groups into an example. The gentiles honour their gods as good beings, but the honour of the God of the universe is disregarded by those who claim to worship Him. The Jews converse with what is unfaithful, yet they are diligent as members of the household. The Manicheans observe the order of their chiefs and do not abandon their way of life, even though it is deceit. The Marcionites recompense the love of their teachers and, although they are lying, they assume the appearance of the truth. The Arians are zealous with respect to the Scriptures, and the magicians glorify magianism. In other words, only the Christians forget the One whom they worship[14] and change their worship of the Lord whom they minister.

Narsai wishes that Jeremiah might come back and judge the Christians as he did the people of Juda. Two evil things[15] did the (Christian) nations do in conformity with the Jews: they stopped considering spiritual things, and they loved the earth. The present situation is even worse. Therefore the punishment by God's own hand will surpass the chastening by the Babylonians and the Assyrians. Narsai alludes to Paul who wrote that a great fear will fall from His hands.[16] "Alive is the Word and it is even sharper than a sword", thus Narsai paraphrases Heb 4:12. We ought to have judged ourselves beforehand. Because we have failed, we deserve that he should give us a double punishment, for

> Who possesses a heart of stone like us, because we moderated neither through promises nor through menaces?

[13] I.e. Christ.
[14] Jer 2:11.
[15] Jer 2:13.
[16] Cf. Heb 10:31.

The heralds in the Scriptures wearied themselves, but nobody listened. Hence their power to cry out diminished. The images and various ways of speaking in the Bible have come to an end, but although there were plenty of visions and revelations, the situation became as (bad) as it is now. The messages of the heavenly beings stopped, but we have not desisted from despicable deeds. Even the silent ones rebuke us: solar and lunar eclipses are due to our vices. Flashes of lightning and thundering bear witness to the disapproval of our blasphemy, and long hot summers and long periods of frost are a repercussion from our fury and our murmuring.

Through us, the vast order of principality has been disturbed; through our contention controversy has entered, and priests and kings are fighting one another. Everyone overtly and covertly fights against his fellow, and all ranks are involved in an unequal struggle. Moreover, people are dishonest. They are full of suspicion; they feign to be kind, but in their heart they are frightened and angry. There is great fear to proceed to the appointed place, the haven of life. And Narsai sighs "Who is able to proceed to the kingdom of heaven, for behold, thoughts lie in waiting hidden like robbers?". He ends his *mēmrā* saying:

> Rightly, then, I called bad the time which presented itself to me, because it is bad and poor and full of fear for the one who lives in it.
>
> Rightly I made lamentations upon myself at the beginning of my words, because the food for life disappeared and came to an end during the years of my life.
>
> In my days what is written: "the pious one is lost and there is no one in the creation in whose mind there is regret",[17] was fulfilled.
>
> I say: I myself did not take care as well and I am barren of virtues more than my fellows.
>
> Full of a thicket of debts are my thoughts, like (those of) my fellows, and there is in my mind no fruit which pleases the Lord of the vineyard.
>
> Words I wrote, like one who is guilty (does) before the judge, in order that mercy might descend in the judgement towards my guilt.
>
> [It was] on account of [these] words that I entered to receive a wage at the end of the day;[18] perhaps I shall be worthy of small crumbs of the payment of the wage.
>
> A voice I heard, that voice which is with the hired servants, and it encouraged me: my tongue will receive a wage by the service of words.
>
> The Sign[19] who ordered to give a wage, each one a denarius,[20] it told me: Rise, accomplish the humble hired labour!
>
> Mercy hired our despised race for the work for the truth. Let it make also me worthy of the payment of the wage: the denarius of Life.

[17] A paraphrase of Mic 7:2 ?
[18] Cf. Mt 20:8.
[19] *rēmzā*.
[20] Cf. Mt 20:8–10.

3. *Some remarks.*
Narsai's words quoted above concerning his carelessness with regard to his people, and his apology for writing words on account of which he enters to receive a wage, may be a literary device. But the reference to the voice he heard, calling him to rise and accomplish his humble labour could just as well be an indication that, after a period of silence, he felt obliged to step into the fray, and take part in the defence of his faith. But what, or rather whom, did he have in mind when he mentioned the neighbour who speaks to his neighbour, but is afraid of being misunderstood? Who is this neighbour whose language is simple, while his heart is perverse and his voice angry? With whom is the cheerful encounter which conceals the mourning and sad inclination within?

3.1. Nowhere in this *mēmrā* does Narsai explicitly refer to any particular event or person. Implicitly he makes many references to the contemporary situation, which must have been evident to his readers. Only a few of them can be related to known historical facts. Narsai's remarks on the life of holiness that is now held in contempt, the disordering of marriage, which is the given order of creation, and the foolish adultery to which "everybody" hastens,[21] may point to Barṣauma's position on marriage for the higher dergy.

Barḥadbešabba[22] reports that these two *mēmrē* were read in the presence of the congregation, and that Barṣauma was so touched that he repented. Vööbus suggested that Narsai's return to Nisibis was probably not due to Barṣauma's repentance, but to the fact that Narsai was indispensable for the school and to the Monophysites' delight over the rift between Narsai and Barṣauma.[23] Vööbus may well be right. Narsai's words can hardly relate to Barṣauma. In spite of their different views, Barṣauma was not an opponent in matters of faith. And the "disturbance of the vast order of principality" and the high standing of the name of the priesthood due to their contention[24] could hardly allude to their disagreement. Were not the contentions between various groups of Christians more threatening than Barṣauma's decisions concerning the marriage of clergy?

3.2. When Narsai mentions the war between two related nations, and the king who was vanquished and condemned by the guilt of his fellow-Christians,[25] his words may in fact pertain to the increasing controversies between the Christians of Byzantium and those of Persia, the majority of whom favoured Dyophysitism. Narsai probably had in mind Theodosius II, the Christian king who was beaten by Jazdgard II in 442.[26] Narsai probably was well aware of their topics of dissension. But in this *mēmrā* he seems to consciously refuse the opportunity of making a specific comment on divine nature: God depicted the power and the operations of his majesty, but neither his being nor his mystery. There is no reference to any christological issue at all. Could this mean that the *mēmrā* was written before Narsai began to oppose the writings of Jacob of

[21] Mingana, I, 210,13–15.
[22] Edited in Nau 1913: 610f.; cf. Vööbus 1965: 115.
[23] Vööbus 1965: 126.
[24] Mingana I : 222,1–3.
[25] Mingana I : 221, 22f.
[26] Schippmann 1990: 42f.

Sarug?[27] In my view, an early date of the work is also plausible in relation to Barṣauma's marriage, which caused the rift between the two men. It is unlikely that Barṣauma, who was probably already a bishop in 435,[28] was very old when he married.

3.3. Nowhere does Narsai explicitly mention any particular theological position. Yet his argument makes evident elements which influenced his theology. Like Ephrem, Narsai refers to Jews, heretics and even magicians. But unlike his predecessor he says something in favour of them, probably in order to shock his readers, who were used to hearing Jews,[29] Marcionites, Manicheans and Arians being accused of heresy. Narsai uses these groups, whom authors of later ages still hold in contempt, as paradigms of faithful behaviour which the Christians of his times cannot match. On the other hand, his condemnation of the many vices, which he duly lists, reflects his ascetic environment. This catalogue of vices reminds us of the *Achtlasterkataloge* as found in the writings of Evagrius of Pontus and of later East Syrian authors. Though Narsai's enumeration suggests the existence of a list of vices, it does not permit us to conclude that he was familiar with such an *Achtlasterkatalog*.

3.4. In Narsai's remark on the childishness of the Jews, the influence of Theodore of Mopsuestia's theology of the two *katastaseis* can be perceived. Before Christ's coming, mankind was unable to understand what God had in mind when he created man.[30] But whereas man is now able to see his own vice, he himself is responsible for the consequences. God's judgment of the Christians who fail to judge themselves will consequently be much harder than his judgment of the Jews.

Also Narsai's anthropology was influenced by Theodore. With him, Narsai thinks that it is human inclination which constantly lures men and women to seek earthly matters and withholds them from the divine. This disinterest in spiritual matters is what Narsai sees from his distant abode: the danger of a total disruption of the Christian community to which he was so dedicated. This "is very hard for someone who wants to lead a good life", he says in words which reveal his anxiety. What happened outside Kephar Mari obviously did not leave untouched the daily life of the convent. Not only the diminishing congregation, but also Narsai himself suffered from it, and so he became deeply despondent.

3.5. How could Narsai cope with this miserable situation? He wished a prophet like Jeremiah might come and proclaim the truth. He was well aware that the prophecy had ended long ago – another element known from Theodore – and that the only thing he could do was to enter the battle with words. These words were not only read in the convent, but also elsewhere, as we have seen. He reverted to what he was perhaps most capable of: writing. Does this imply that he did not write for a long time? Is it possible that he wrote his *mēmrā* reproving women at the beginning of his exile, when his anger about the subject was still vivid, and the one before us at the end of his retreat? Is this why tradition handed these *mēmrē* down together?

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[27] Cf. Vööbus 1965: 65ff.
[28] Baumstark 1922.
[29] See e.g. Drijvers 1992.
[30] See Wickert 1962: 89ff.

With respect to both the exact time of origin of the two *mēmrē* as well as to their relation to Narsai's otherwise so prolific writing, a *non liquet* seems indicated. Whatever the exact situation may have been, Narsai's words suggest that he wants to make a new start, to contribute to a better situation for his fellow-believers and, while writing, to make for himself a safe haven and to earn the denarius of life, even if he has to do so "as if from another world".

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NUMBERS 27,21: THE PRIESTLY ORACLE URIM AND TUMMIM AND THE HISTORY OF RECEPTION

Ed Noort

0. The well-known scholar Han Drijvers is not only encountered in the field of Semitic studies and the history of art, but at regular intervals he can be heard preaching from the pulpit of one of the wonderful medieval Groningen churches, translating old texts and their meaning for a present-day community. Therefore this contribution presents a small piece from the field of Biblical studies in deference to a colleague who unites in himself such a broad spectrum of the humaniora. Related to the subtitle of the Festschrift *Cultural Encounters within and with the Middle East*, this article demonstrates the exegetical problems of some texts of the Hebrew Bible, the history of reception in different cultural contexts and the possibility of looking again at the texts with an eye sharpened by those cultural encounters.

1. How did the ancients know the will of their gods? The final text of the Hebrew Bible, due to the influence of the prophetic and deuteronomistic movements, created a "word of God" theology:[1] YHWH was speaking directly to his servants, the prophets. The so-called confessions of Jeremiah demonstrate this in a definitive way. In this tradition the prophet is overwhelmed by the power of the word of God. Even when he does not want to speak in the name of this God, he is overwhelmed by the divine word (Jer 20,7a[2]). In this way of thinking, the deity himself is the initiator. He reveals his will without any human initiative.

However, in some parts of the Hebrew Bible, older and more technical means seem to specifically ask for the will of the deity. Here there is the possibility that man starts the inquiry after the divine will. Ephod (*'pwd*, 1 Sam 23,9; 30,7), maybe the ark of God (*'rwn h'lhym*, 1 Sam 14,18 lectio difficilior[3]), in connection with the *š'l* and *drš* inquiries,[4] lot-casting (*gwrl*,[5] 1 Sam 28,6), and explicitly the mysterious Urim and Tummim (U+T: Ex 28,30; Lev 8,8; Ezra 2,63; Neh 7,76; 1 Sam 14,41 LXX; T+U: Deut 33,8; U: Numb 27,21; 1 Sam 28,6) can be mentioned. In the later redactions the different forms of the former technical means are unified. In the procedure of asking Urim and Tummim or Ephod, no great differences can be discerned any longer.

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[1] Noort forthc.

[2] The verbs *pth* (Ex 22,15) and *zq* (Deut 22,25; cf. 2 Sam 13) are normally used in the context of the rape of an unmarried woman.

[3] LXX^{B}, but LXX^{A}, A S Q and the versiones agree with MT.

[4] Westermann 1974.

[5] Dommershausen 1973.

2. One of the most important texts for an inquiry into the function of Urim and Tummim is Numb 27,21. This late priestly text describes the installation of Joshua. Moses will take Joshua, the *ʾyš ʾšr rwḥ bw* (27,18), lay his hands upon him (27,18), have him stand before Eleazar the priest and the *ʾdh*, commission him and give him a part of his *hwd* (27,20). After this installation it is Eleazar who will ask for (*šʾl b*) the decision (*mšpṭ*) of the Urim *lpny YHWH*. At his word (*ʿl py*) they "shall go out and they shall come in". Verse 21b contains some difficulties. The subject of *yṣʾ* and *bwʾ* is overcrowded: *hwʾ*, *kl-bny-yśrʾl* and *wkl-hʿdh*. The subject of *šʾl b* is Eleazar; *lw* refers to Joshua. That *ʿl pyw* could mean a divine command referring back to *lpny YHWH* is unlikely.[6] The expression *lpny YHWH* rather demonstrates that asking the Urim is the appropriate way of consulting YHWH. The command of "going out and coming in" is given by Eleazar and realised by Joshua. *hwʾ* refers to Joshua.

In the final text of the chapter the installation of Joshua as successor to Moses is caused by the divine announcement of Moses' forthcoming death (27,12–14) and the reaction of Moses himself. He asks for a successor, who "shall lead them out and bring them in, so that the congregation of YHWH may not be as sheep which have no shepherd" (27,17aβb). The function of this successor in V. 17aβ is undeniably a military one as the use of "to go out and to come in" in connection with the *ṣʾn ʾšr ʾyn-lhm rʿh* (cf. 1 Kings 22,17) demonstrates. The expression of V. 17aα *yṣʾ* and *bwʾ* + *lpny* appears outside Numb only in 1 Sam 18,13.16 and 2 Chron 1,10. In the first case it has a military meaning; in the second this interpretation can not be excluded. 2 Chron 1,10 reworks 1 Ki 3,7b. Here the royal function of the commander-in-chief may be meant. *yṣʾ* + *lpny* alone appears in 1 Sam 8,20, again in a military context. Though there might be a broader meaning, it goes much too far to distill two different functions from V. 17, *viz.* a general one exemplified by the king (17aα) and a second military one (17aβ), as is advocated by Schäfer-Lichtenberger.[7] The focus is on the function of the military commander.

3. According to M. Noth, only Numb 27,12–14 belonged to the original Priestly Narrative (Pg), verses 15–23 being a later addition.[8] H. Seebaß, however, advocated that Pg included Numb 27,12–14a.18a.19–23.[9] The reason is the differentiation between the functions of Joshua and Eleazar. Numb 27,17 concentrates on the military function; in 27,21 this is, according to Seebaß, not the case: "Bisher scheint es niemanden aufgefallen zu sein, daß V. 18–23 Josua zwei Funktionen zuweisen, die sich an der unterschiedlichen Stellung Eleasars erkennen lassen". V.18a.19 intends an installation only in the presence of Eleazar. Here Joshua, by getting a part of the *hwd*, is the direct successor to the non-military ministry of Moses: the communication of the divine commandments. V. 21 describes the active role of Eleazar (and Joshua) in a different context. Numb 27,21 refers to the regulations of the holiness of the camp. Against this priestly image of Eleazar and Joshua stands the deuteronomistic view of military functions of Joshua (27,17; Josh 1–12 etc.): "daher wurde Eleasar die einzige Rolle zugeschrieben, die

[6] Gispen 1964: 192.
[7] Schäfer-Lichtenberger 1995: 154.
[8] Noth 1966: 185–87.
[9] Seebaß 1985: 53–65.

neben der Kriegsführung blieb, nämlich die Mitwirkung an der Landverteilung". It is this thesis that will be supported in this article with the help of the history of reception.

3.1. The first question to be answered concerns the meaning of Numb 27,21 in relation to the military function of Joshua. The direct parallel to Numb 27,21, where only Urim are mentioned is 1 Sam 28,6. Here Saul inquires of YHWH, but "YHWH did not answer him, not by dreams, or by Urim or by prophets". The only alternative, *viz.* to ask a deity from Sheol (V. 13 *'lhym*),[10] created the famous story of the "Witch of En-Dor".

In the direct communication of Saul to Samuel, who had risen from Sheol, Urim do not appear. 1 Sam 28,15 speaks only of prophets and dreams. Other motifs are used, but the context is undoubtedly a military one. 1 Sam 28,5 describes the situation of Saul before the battle with the Philistines; 28,15 asks for instructions relating to the approaching battle. The reply of Samuel describes in 28,19 the negative outcome of the battle for Saul, his sons and the army of Israel. Here Urim function as a means for knowing the outcome of a military confrontation and as a help for strategic decisions. It could be asked whether Urim are connected with a *favourable* answer and Tummim represent the *negative* answer of the deity.[11] This would explain the use of only Urim in 1 Sam 28,6. YHWH not answering through Urim would mean that Saul is deprived of divine help in his combat with the Philistines. Dreams and prophetic oracles could express both a favourable and an unfavourable message. If Urim mean a favourable outcome, their absence in 28,15 makes sense. In this way the first direct parallel with 1 Sam 28,6 favours a military meaning for Numb 27,21. The same is the case with Numb 27,17. As stated above, the verse asks for a military commander.

Therefore it is necessary to take a more precise look at the verbs used in Numb 27,21 *yṣ'* and *bw'*. For verbs with such a general meaning as "to go out" and "to come (in)", it is impossible to presuppose that they should belong exclusively to a specific literary stratum or tradition. Only within a specific context can such tendencies be noticed,[12] but even there contradictions cannot be excluded. Numb 27,17 showed military use; Ex 28,35, however, demonstrates a cultic context. Here it is the priest Aaron who "goes into the holy place before YHWH, and ... comes out". The verse belongs to the description of the dress of the high priest. Here the *ḥšn* with Urim and Tummim plays an important role.

From these parallels both meanings, cultic and military, are possible. It follows that the immediate context will have to decide about the primary aspect of 27,21. V. 18a.19.20, the P-continuation of 12–14, describe actions of Moses: (1) Moses will

[10] Dietrich 1992: 20–27.

[11] Kitz 1997 : 407, referring to the Hittite KIN-oracles and the Akkadian psephomantic text *LKA* 137, states: "If, as illustrated by the KIN-oracles, Urim and Tummim represent two sets of complementary lots, then the plural forms of *'urîm* or *tummîm* could refer to the combined results". Her reconstruction of three steps of lot-casting, which produce either Urim or Tummim "because this was the final combination that came up more than once" (ibid.), fits into an earlier description of Urim and Tummim: "Urim und Tummim kann man beschreiben als N (N>2) Gegebenheiten A, die mit dem Kennzeichen X versehen sind und die Antwort "Ja" oder die Möglichkeit S repräsentieren, und N (N>2) Gegebenheiten B, die das Kennzeichen Y haben und die Antwort "Nein" oder die Möglichkeit T repräsentieren... Die Durchführung einer Gottesbefragung geschieht mit Hilfe dieser Formel durch das Ziehen einer geraden Zahl Gegebenheiten aus den N(A) + N(B) Gegebenheiten" (Noort 1977: 93f.). Variation is possible between the number of lots and the times the procedure was repeated.

[12] Plöger 1967: 174–84.

commission Joshua (*wṣwyth*) in the presence of Eleazar and the *'dh* (V. 19); (2) Moses will give Joshua a part of his authority (*hwd*). Neither actions focuses on the military task of Joshua. Instead of Moses, in future Joshua will give YHWH's instructions for the whole range of YHWH's will. But he will not be a second Moses; he receives only a part of his *hwd*. In the pair Moses-Aaron, Aaron has his specific priestly functions but is subordinate to Moses. In the pair Joshua-Eleazar, V. 21 seems to suggest that Joshua be subordinate to Eleazar, because he lacks the rest of Moses' *hwd*. It is the priestly function and its institutionalisation which is upgraded here. It is the task of Eleazar to guarantee the holiness of the camp.[13] So van der Lingen may be right when he suggests that the strictly military meaning of the verbs in V. 21 is weakened here.[14] There is more than the military function alone in V. 21.[15] This does not mean that the military aspect has been totally abandoned. "Going out" and "coming in" in relation to the camp has a wider meaning, but in connection to the leadership of Joshua it refers to military expeditions too.

3.2. With the double subordination, Joshua under Moses and under Eleazar, the Urim (and the Tummim), the means by which Eleazar consults YHWH, become the centre of attention.

In the Priestly Codex they appear in Ex 28,30: "You shall place into (? = *'l*) the breastplate of judgement (*ḥšn hmšpṭ*) Urim and Tummim" and in Lev 8,8, where the realisation of YHWH's command is presented with the same preposition (*'l*). R. Hayward draws attention to the fact that both priestly texts suggest that Urim and Tummim already existed. There is no instruction for Moses to make them,[16] and the relationship between Urim and Tummim and the breastplate remains unclear by the use of *'l*.[17]

3.3. In his dissertation, van Dam, taking up a suggestion of Dosker,[18] combats the view of the Urim and Tummim as an oracle by drawing lots.[19] He argues that they are a sign of verification in connection with the gems of the high-priestly dress. If the priest received divine inspiration a miraculous light shone which verified that the answer really came from YHWH. For Houtman, Urim and Tummim are the priestly oracular means, but – and here he agrees with van Dam – not lots. Urim and Tummim are the instruments

[13] Seebaß 1985: 60.

[14] van der Lingen 1992: 62.

[15] A clear military meaning of V. 21 is denied by Gray 1903: 401; Preuß 1981: 800: "hier deutlich schillernd zwischen militärisch und kultisch"; Seebaß 1985: 60f.; Schäfer-Lichtenberger 1995: 159f. supports a military meaning for the redactional V. 21Ab en 21Bb. For V.21Aab* she presupposes "Josua wird in allen Dingen, die er unternimmt, Eleasar unterstellt, und mit ihm die ganze Gemeinde. Die Überarbeitung ... korrigiert dieses und deutet die Unterstellung Josuas in die allgemein übliche Praxis der Orakelbefragung vor Kriegsbeginn um".

[16] This was a problem for the Samaritan version, which adds to Ex 28,30: "And you shall make the Urim and the Tummim".

[17] Hayward 1995: 43–54. To remove the ambiguity, Targum Onqelos and Pseudo-Jonathan read *b*, Vulgate "in" (ibid.: 44).

[18] Dosker 1892: 718.

[19] Van Dam 1986: 89ff., 109ff. His basic argument that Urim and Tummim as used in several texts give a more detailed divine answer than a lot oracle could manage is countered by Kitz 1997: 407f., with her description of the KIN-Oracles: "cleromancy does not necessarily involve one simple query that anticipates a yes or no answer. As the Hittite texts show, a series of up to four or five questions can be asked before the lots are cast. Since the questions are complementary, details involving specific aspects of campaign routes and battle strategies are purposely incorporated".

of divine reaction. Though they are not identical with the gems of the high-priestly dress, Houtman considers the possibility of Urim and Tummim – the plurals to be understood as *plurales intensivi*, and the combination as a hendiadys – as "a big precious stone".[20]

4. The problem with these solutions is taking Ex 28,30 as the starting point for a description of Urim and Tummim. It must be admitted that in the history of reception this line receives most attention because of the possibility of speculations about the form and appearance of Urim and Tummim.[21] We noted already that the connection between Urim and Tummim and the breastplate with preposition *'l* is not as clear as many exegetes and the *versiones* believed.

4.1. But in the history of interpretation the connection of Urim and Tummim with the precious stones of the breastplate was often stressed. Though minor differences exist, this is the case in Sir 45,10ff.[22] and the *pesher* of 4Q164, which refers, as Ben Sira does, to Isa 54,12a: "I will make your pinnacles of rubies". The *pesher* reads: "Its interpretation concerns the twelve [chiefs of the priests who] illuminate with the judgement of the Urim and the Thummim".[23] Here the "pinnacles of rubies" and their relation to Urim and Tummim are clear.

4.2. There is also the following passage in Flavius Josephus:

> ... the garment of the high priest, for he (Moses) left no room for the evil practices of prophets; but if some of that sort should attempt to abuse the divine authority, he left it to God to be present at the sacred ceremonies when he pleased and when he pleased to be absent...or as to those stones ... the high priest wore on his shoulders, which were sardonyxes ... Every time when God was present at the sacred ceremonies one of them shined out. It was the stone on his right shoulder. Bright rays flashed then ...Yet I will mention what is stillmore wonderful than this: For God declared beforehand, by those twelve stones which the high priest bare on his breast, and which were inserted into his breastplate, when they should be victorious in battle; for so great a splendour shone forth from them before the army began to march, that all the people were sensible of God's being present for their assistance".[24]

Here the high-priestly oracle – as Josephus understood it – is described indeed, but Urim and Tummim are not mentioned. "Josephus seems to go as far as he can in dissociating the breastplate from Urim and Thummim altogether".[25]

4.3. What Josephus did on the sly can be seen *in extenso* in the work of Pseudo-Philo.[26] Hayward has observed that Pseudo-Philo did not mention Urim and Tummim (*demonstratio et veritas*) at all in relation to the divine command to make the priestly

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[20] Houtman 1990: 230
[21] Noort 1977: 94, n. 1; 95.
[22] Beentjes 1997: Ms B XIV.
[23] *DSSST* I, Leiden 1997: 326f. (4Q164 4f.).
[24] Josephus: *Antiquitates* III 8f.
[25] Hayward 1995: 52.
[26] Harrington 1976 (= *LAB*)

vestments[27] "nor does he link Urim and Thummim with ephod, breastplate, or precious stones in his other remarks about *demonstratio et veritas*" (XXII 8; XXV 5; XLVI 1; LVII 2).[28] The first appearance of Urim and Tummim is *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* XXII 8 (*LAB*) in the days of Joshua. The text refers to the conflict about the Transjordanian altar (Josh 22) and the bringing of the Tent of Meeting to Shiloh. For the meaning of Urim and Tummim as proposed by Pseudo-Philo this context is important. The story of the Transjordanian altar differs from the Biblical text. After *LAB* XXII 1 the Transjordanian tribes did not only build an altar, but institutionalised a priesthood there and made sacrifices: "*edificassent ibi altare et immolarent sacrificia in eo et fecissent sacerdotes in sacrario*". The meeting between Joshua, the people and the Transjordanian tribes takes place in Shiloh, not in Gilead as Josh 22,13 states. Josh 22,30f. accepts the defense of the Transjordanian tribes; *LAB* does not. The altar(s) must be pulled down: "*et ideo nunc euntes effodite sacraria que edificastis vobis.... et euntes destruxerunt sacrarium*" (*LAB* XXII 6.7). The sharpening of the conflict serves a theological purpose. The building of an illegitimate altar is, after *LAB* XXII 2, a reason for the stay of the foreign nations in Canaan: "*et nunc quare inimici nostri superabundaverunt nisi quia vos corrumpitis vias vestras et fecistis omnem conturbationem?*" The final purpose is a contradiction between the study of Torah as stated in Josh 1,8 and the cult exercised in the wrong way, exemplified by the building of an illegitimate altar.[29] After the command of Joshua to destroy the altar(s), the right way of living, *coram deo*, is preached: "*docete legem filios vestros et erunt meditantes eam die ac nocte, ut fiat eis per omnes dies vite eorum Dominus in testimonium et iudicem*" (*LAB* XXII 6).

The conflict now being resolved, and the right way of living in the Promised Land being demonstrated, Pseudo-Philo continues:

> And after this, Joshua went to Gilgal and took up the tabernacle of the Lord and the ark of the covenant and all its vessels, and took it up into Shiloh and there he placed Urim and Tummim. At that time Eleazar the priest was ministering at the altar. He was instructing them, all those gathering together, who gathered together from out of the people and inquired of the Lord, by means of the Urim, because through this it was shown forth to them.... and it was not forbidden for the people to sacrifice there, because Tummim and Urim showed everything in Shiloh.[30]

Though Numb 27,21 is referred to, the range of the inquiry is widened. The military aspect is not mentioned: the meaning is cultic in the first place, but everybody can come for making inquiries and God will reveal himself through Urim and Tummim.[31] It is Eleazar who handles Urim and Tummim, but it is Joshua who brings them to Shiloh. Most remarkable is the distinction between Urim and Tummim on one hand and the precious stones of the high-priestly vestments on the other. Pseudo-Philo tells a separate

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[27] Ex 28,30; see *LAB* XI 15; XIII 1.

[28] Hayward 1995: 45.

[29] See, however, *LAB* XXII 8f.; Murphy 1993: ? writes "This belies any attempt on Pseudo-Philo's part to play down the cult".

[30] *LAB* XXII 8.

[31] Pseudo-Philo records two consultations of the Urim and Tummim: *LAB* XXV 5 (search of the guilty after secret transgressions) and XLVI 1 (Jud 19f.) where God uses Urim and Tummim as instruments of punishment comparable to Ezek 20,25.

story about precious stones found on top of Amorite statues on the mountain of Shechem (*LAB* XXV 10) being replaced by twelve new stones (XXVI 4.8f.) and put into the ark of the covenant, until the temple will be built and they will give light in the Holy of Holies.[32] For Pseudo-Philo the precious stones do not have anything to do with the oracle. His reception of Urim and Tummim, however, agrees with Ex 28,30 on one point: Urim and Tummim already exist. In Ex 28 Moses has to put them into the *ḥšn*, not to make them. In *LAB* it is Joshua who brings Urim and Tummim from Gilgal to Shiloh. Here they already exist too. *LAB* does not mention anything about a subordination of Joshua under Eleazar: both Joshua and Eleazar have their own task. For the evaluation it is important that Pseudo-Philo reverses the Biblical sequence: first he rewrites the conflict about the Transjordanian altar (Josh 22), then he retells the story of setting up the tent of meeting at Shiloh (Josh 18). The importance of Shiloh as the point where the conquest of the land is realised and where the life *coram deo* in the Promised Land can start is stressed also by 4Q522 with the explanation of why Joshua did not conquer Jerusalem.

5. From this development of the tradition of the installation of Joshua and his relationship to Eleazar and his Urim and Tummim in Qumran, Flavius Josephus and Pseudo-Philo, some remarkable points should be kept in mind:

(a) In an important part of the history of reception the role of Shiloh is stressed. The conquest has been finished; the division of the land can start.

(b) The function of Urim and Tummim as oracle instruments is separated from the role of the precious stones of the priestly dress. Looking back to Numb 27 and Ex 28 this could mean that the Priestly Codex takes up both traditions, but has kept a true memory of the functioning of Urim and Tummim as told in Numb 27.

(c) In the history of reception there is no subordination of Joshua under Eleazar. This could demonstrate that this subordination, as documented in the Priestly Codex, is either a specific item of P and his successors in the Pentateuch or this position of Eleazar could only be maintained where the priest could not endanger the deuteronomistic view of Joshua.

(d) In the discussion about the themes of the Priestly Codex the history of reception demonstrates that the concrete land continues to be an important item. The land becoming spiritualised by the post-exilic prophets is not the only line of reception. If this can be shown from Numb 13f., 20, 27,. the question arises again of whether the Priestly Codex is represented in Joshua, that is to say whether the Priestly Codex ends with setting up the tent of meeting in Shiloh.

(e) In the history of reception Joshua is not only the man who conquers and divides the country, but he is a prophet and a teacher of Torah too. In these functions he is the true successor to Moses. If Numb 27,18*,19–23 is not restricted to the military role of Joshua but means the whole office of Moses, the history of reception could support a thematic and literary connection between Numb 27 and Josh 18.

[32] Hayward 1995: 47–9; 52–4.

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A NEW TEXTUAL WITNESS OF THE DIALOGUE POEM *THE CHERUB AND THE REPENTANT THIEF* IN THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, GRONINGEN.

Gerrit J. Reinink

0. In 1996 the University Library of Groningen acquired an East Syrian manuscript containing the *ṭaksā d-kāhnē* "Order of the Priests", a liturgical manual for the practice of different rituals.[1] The book was written in 1671, in a fine East Syrian hand by a copyist whose modesty seems to have kept him from mentioning his name in the colophons.[2] In one colophon, however, we are informed about the provenance of the manuscript: it was written for the church in the village Dayr Abun by order of a Christian woman named Mary.[3]

It contains the three Liturgies of the East Syrian Eucharistic tradition, *viz.* the Liturgy of the Apostles Addai and Mari, the Liturgy of Theodore of Mopsuestia, and the Liturgy of Nestorius.[4] In addition there are twenty-one other liturgical treatises or collections, among which different rites, collections of prayers and *ḥuttāmē*,[5] including some *ḥuttāmē* composed by Abdisho, the Metropolitan of Ṣoba (Nisibis) and Armenia,[6] by Abdisho, Bishop of Gazarta,[7] and by the Priest Israel of Alqosh.[8]

1. One of the most interesting pieces in this codex is a *sogītā*, a metrical dialogue poem ascribed to Narsai (d. 502/3).[9] This *sogītā*, which contains the dialogue between

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[1] See Baumstark 1922: 199–200.

[2] The manuscript (MS Gron. UB Add 326) originally contained 16 quires of 10 folios. At present 14 folios are lost. The numbering of the 146 remaining folios is my own, there being no original Syriac numbering. The text breaks off in quire 15 after the seventh leaf. However, two colophons are preserved: f. 114^{r} and f. 141^{v}. The latter mentions that the manuscript was completed on Thursday 11 Iyor, AG 1982 = 1671.

[3] f. 114^{r}. Modern Dayr Abun is located in the extreme north of Iraq, about five kilometres east of the village Peshabur. See Fiey 1965: 699. See ibid.: 748–55 for a discussion of the confusing problem of the relationship between modern and ancient Dayr Abun.

[4] For the manuscripts, editions and studies of the three Liturgies, see Yousif 1990 and in addition Spinks 1989: 441–45 and Webb 1990: 3–22.

[5] For the late Nestorian liturgical-poetical genre of the *ḥuttāmē* (dimissory hymns or prayers), see Baumstark 1922: 303.

[6] For Abdisho bar Brika (d. 1318), see Baumstark 1922: 323–25.

[7] For Abdisho of Gazarta (d. 1570), see Baumstark 1922: 333 and Hoffmann 1880: XIX. Hoffmann published Abdisho's *carmen heptasyllabum de aequilitteris*, a metrical lexicographical work (see ibid.: 49–84). Abdisho was ordained in 1562 in Rome as uniate Patriarch of Mosul.

[8] For Israel of Alqosh (b. 1541), who is also known as the author of neo-Aramaic poems, see Baumstark 1922: 334–35; Fiey 1965: 390 and 394. According to Fiey, Israel converted in 1611 to Roman Catholicism.

[9] ff. 92^{v}–96^{r}. For the attribution of this *sogītā* to Narsai, see Baumstark 1922: 112 with note 12 and Feldmann 1896: VIII. However, Narsai's authorship is highly dubious. Since this *sogītā* is transmitted in both the Eastern and Western Syrian traditions, it may rather be assumed that it was composed before the schisms of the fifth century: cf. Brock 1984: 35–36. For the genre of the dialogue and dispute *sogyātā*, see particularly Brock 1984 and 1991.

the Cherub who stands guard at the entrance of paradise, and is armed with a lance (cf. Gen 3:24), and the Repentant Thief who wants to enter paradise (cf. Luke 23: 42–3), is one of the most famous specimens of the genre in the Syrian tradition. The reason for its inclusion in the Groningen liturgical collection must be sought in the prominent role of the piece in the East Syrian, i.e. Nestorian and Chaldean, Liturgy. During the vigil of Easter, between Holy Saturday and Easter Sunday, or on Easter Monday, the *sogītā* would be sung by the choir with two deacons miming the 'actions' of the story. One deacon takes the role of the Cherub, guarding the entrance to the Sanctuary with a fiery lance; the other deacon is the thief who tries to gain access to the Sanctuary.[10]

It is very interesting to note that the Groningen manuscript preserves three dramatic instructions in the margin of the text.The first one refers to stanza 41; it prescribes that the deacon acting the Thief should here show the Cross of the Lord. The second one, on stanza 44, stipulates that the Cherub should hastily drop his lance at this point. Finally, a marginal note between stanzas 44 and 45 instructs the Thief to enter the Sanctuary now.

2. In 1896 E. Sachau published the *sogītā* on the Cherub and the Repentant Thief, with a German translation, from the late East Syrian manuscript *Berlin Sachau 174–175–176* (end 19th century),[11] together with a Neo-Aramaic translation of this piece which he attributed to David of Nuhadra (d. 1889).[12] In 1967 a French translation was published by F. Graffin.[13] Graffin took the text as published by Sachau as his basic text, but in his notes he added – in translation – variant readings of the text as preserved in the East Syrian manuscript *Vat.syr.188* and the two far earlier West Syrian manuscripts of the British Library, *Add. 14,506* (9th/10th century), and *Add.14,503* (1166). Another French translation, by F.Y. Alichoran, appeared in 1982; according to Pennacchietti, this translation is probably based on the East Syrian manuscript *N.D.Sem.143* (1882).[14] In the same year S. Brock published an eclectic edition based on the two West Syrian manuscripts of the British Library,[15] while his English translation appeared in 1987.[16] Recently F.A. Pennacchietti re-edited Sachau's text together with its transcription and an Italian translation.[17] In the notes added to the transcribed text Pennacchietti adduces in transcription the variant readings of the Vatican manuscript, the two London manuscripts, and those of the text as it appears in Giwargis d-Bet Benyamin's edition of the *turgāmē* attributed to Abdisho, the Metropolitan of Ṣoba and Armenia.[18] In addition to the

[10] See Mateos 1972: 239 with note 1; Brock 1984: 47; Pennacchietti 1993: 5–7. However, according to the introduction of the *sogītā* in the East Syrian manuscript *N.D. Sem.143* (1882), the two deacons acting as the angel and the thief also chant the text of the *sogītā*: the thief sings the introductory stanzas 1–7, whereupon cherub and thief alternate in singing stanzas 8–51. See Leroy 1975/76: 418–19.

[11] Sachau 1896: 196–208. The editions printed in the Near East, mentioned by Mateos 1972: 239 with note 1, are not accessible to me. For more bibliographical information, see Yousif 1990: 33.

[12] Sachau 1896: 208–15. Pennacchietti 1993: 13–14 and 115, has doubts about David's authorship.

[13] Graffin 1967.

[14] See Pennacchietti 1993: 9 with note 1. Alichoran's translation (Alichoran 1982: 194–200) is not available to me.

[15] Brock 1982: 61–65 (no. 13).

[16] Brock 1987: 28–35.

[17] Pennacchietti 1993: 20–41 (Syriac text in transcription and translation); Appendice: 1*–10* (Syriac text).

[18] Pennacchietti 1993: 20, note 1.

classical Syriac text Pennacchietti edited, transcribed and translated into Italian three Neo-Aramaic versions of the *sogītā*.[19]

3. Comparison of the text of the *sogītā* in the Groningen manuscript with the data of the textual witnesses provided by the publications mentioned above yields some preliminary observations with regard to the importance of this new witness for the textual history of the *sogītā*.

3.1. First of all we can establish that the Groningen manuscript differs in no less than 53 instances from the East Syrian witness published by Sachau (*Berlin Sachau 174–175–176*). In only 11 of these instances the readings of the Groningen manuscript have no parallel in any of the other witnesses; however, these 11 readings are without exception secondary and of no or only minor importance. We can establish further that in no less than 36 instances out of the remaining 42 variant readings, the Groningen manuscript corresponds to the the text in the East Syrian manuscript *Vat.syr. 188*. It is therefore abundantly clear that there exists a very close relationship between the text of the *sogītā* in the Groningen manuscript and that in *Vat.syr. 188*, though it is not likely that both manuscripts are directly interdependent. Also related to the textual form represented by the Groningen manuscipt and *Vat.syr. 188* is the text printed in Giwargis d-Bet Benyamin's edition.[20]

3.2. Secondly we are able to determine that the transmission of the *sogītā* in both West and East Syrian tradition resulted in two recensions, each of them having its specific textual characteristics. The West Syrian recension is represented by the London manuscripts *Add. 14,506* and *Add. 14,503*; the East Syrian recension by the manuscripts *Sachau 174–175–176*, the Groningen manuscript and also *Vat.syr. 188*. Within the East Syrian recension, moreover, *Sachau 174–175–176* on the one hand, and the Groningen manuscript with *Vat.syr. 188* on the other represent two different textual traditions.

3.3. It is important to note that each tradition shows its own correspondences with the West Syrian textual witnesses. To illustrate this, we give a few examples.

(a) In stanza 17 the Thief speaks the following words to the Cherub in Sachau 174–175–176 : *w-men yattīrū tnān qāymat* "and needlessly you are standing here". The West Syrian manuscripts have the same text. In the Groningen manuscript, however, we read a very different text: *w-ʾappes l-gensan d-neʿʿōl lēh* "and he (the Lord) allowed our race to enter it (i.e. the gate of Paradise)". Vat.syr. 188 has almost the same text: *w-ʾappes l-gensan d-neʿʿōl lkā* "and he (the Lord) allowed our race to enter hither".

(b) In stanza 45 in *Sachau 174–175–176* the Thief speaks the following words after having received the Cherub's permission to enter paradise (stanza 44):

[19] Pennacchietti 1993: 42–91 (Neo-Aramaic versions in transcription and translation); Appendice: 11*–40* (Neo-Aramaic versions). The first Neo-Aramaic version is the text published by Sachau (see above, note 12).

[20] From the data in Pennacchietti's notes we can infer that Giwargis' edition (indicated by the siglum T) has 26 parallels with the text in the Groningen manuscript, where the latter differs from *Sachau 174–175–176*; 22 of these parallels also occur in *Vat.syr. 188*.

qyāmtā l-gensā d-(ʾ)nāšā hwāt,
da-ṭrīdīn (h)waw men ʾatrhōn.
krōbē w-ʿīrē ʿamman ḥdaw,
d-ʾetmannaʿnan la-mdī(n)tkōn.

Resurrection has been granted to the human race,
which was expelled from its homeland.
Cherubs and angels, rejoice with us,
who have come to your city.

In the Groningen manuscript and in *Vat.syr. 188* we read *da-sḥīpīn (h)waw* "which was thrust down", instead of *da-ṭrīdīn (h)waw* "which was expelled" in Sachau's text. Here the West Syrian London manuscripts concur with the text in the Groningen and in the Vatican manuscript. However, in the reading *d-ʾetmannaʿnan* "who have come (to your city)", the Groningen manuscript and *Vat.syr. 188* concur with *Sachau 174–175–176*, whereas the West Syrian tradition here has the verb *d-ʾetpnīnan* "who have returned (to your city)".

4. We may safely assume that in those places where representatives of the East Syrian tradition correspond with representatives of the West Syrian tradition the original text of the *sogītā* appears and has been preserved here in both the East and West Syrian recension. However, it is likely that we also encounter readings which specifically belong to the East Syrian recension or to the West Syrian recension (irrespective of the question which recension represents here the original text of the *sogītā*) in those places where the textual tradition represented by *Sachau 174–175–176* concurs with the textual tradition represented by the Groningen manuscript and *Vat.syr. 188* over against the text of the West Syrian tradition.

However that may be, we may conclude that the critical edition of the text form represented by the Groningen and Vatican manuscripts is of very considerable value, since the East Syrian text published by Sachau does not represent *the* East Syrian recension, but only a particular form of that recension. Moreover, we may expect that such an edition will advance further study of the still unsettled general problems concerning the textual history of this influential dialogue poem.

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AN EARLY SYRIAC REFERENCE TO QUR'ĀN 112?

Gerrit J. Reinink

1. In the commentary on Matth 1:18-25 (Commemoration of Mary) included in the *Gannat Bussame*,[1] some enigmatic sentences occur at the end of the exegesis of verse 25:[2]

> *ḥzyt km' šqlw ḥ'p' w'ṣlḥw zbn'* (plur.) *psyqy ḥdt'yt l'lm dylk 'mrn' wl' ḥkmh. 'sq 'l blk wbyšwt gdwt' rbt' dhlyn. lḥw gyr mn gwr' lyld'. lḥk mry' lsrwb' mn gwd' dḥy'* (plur.). *l' gyr mqblyn btrhwn bsym' lyld'.*
>
> You have seen how much the times hastened and flourished, which are recently cut off from the "for ever" *he knew her not* (Matth 1:25), I mean your age. Consider also their great misfortune! For they erased (the word) "birth" from the column (of the book) – the Lord will "lick" the gainsayer away from the company of the living! –, for ever since they do not accept (the word) "birth" in their creed.

What do these words mean? Upon whose heads is the author pouring out his wrath here? At first sight it would appear that he is polemicising against some kind of docetism which denies the reality of the birth of Jesus, the subject of this section of the Gospel of Matthew. However, before entering into these questions, we must inquire into the identity of the author who wrote these sentences, since the author of the *Gannat Bussame* (tenth century) generally only reproduces exegetical traditions which are derived from older sources.

2. The highly sophisticated and rhetorical style suggests that we have to do here with a tradition derived from the (lost) exegetical homilies (*mēmrē*) of Mar Aba of Kashkar (641–751).[3] Although Aba in the commentary on the lection Matth 1: 18–25 is mentioned by name only three times (in the commentary on verses 18 [twice] and 19), his work is also widely, if anonymously, used,[4] and we may assume that the whole of the exegesis of verse 25 was taken from Aba's *mēmrā*.[5]

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[1] For the textual tradition of the *Gannat Bussame*, a comprehensive East Syrian commentary on the lectionary of the whole ecclesiastical year see Reinink 1977. For the edition and German translation of the Sunday of the Annunciation, see Reinink 1988. The edition of the Sundays of the Nativity (including the Commemoration of Mary) is in preparation. In the present contribution I quote the text according to the pages of U (= (olim) Urmia 180 = Princeton Theological Seminary, Speer Library, cabinet C, Nest. MS 28).

[2] U p. 158, line 26 - p. 159, line 2.

[3] For the life and works of Aba (= Catholicos Mar Aba II), see Reinink 1979: 70–76.

[4] Aba's exegetical *mēmrē* were one of the principal sources for the *Gannat Bussame*, in particular for its commentary on the Gospel lections. For the criteria which may be used to discover the exegetical traditions which were derived from this source, see Reinink 1979: 76–113.

[5] It shows the typical rhetorical style of Aba's exegetical *mēmrē*.

3. In the commentary preceding the quotation at the beginning of this article, Aba argues that Matthew's words "And knew her not till she had brought forth her firstborn son" (1: 25) do not imply that Joseph would have had sexual relations with Mary after Jesus' birth. To the contrary, Joseph "knew her not *for ever*", so that Mary remained a virgin for ever.[6] In addition to this exposition, Aba's commentary suddenly shows a topical tendency which obviously was induced by the expression "for ever". In metaphorical language Aba focuses the attention of his "audience" on a great evil in their own days – days which are typified as a "section" of time "for ever".

He applies several rhetorical tricks in his polemic. He uses *metonymia* by making the "times" the subject of the verbs "erased" and "do not accept", thus making the "times" take the place of the reprehensible people of the time.[7] Moreover, he twice employs the figure of *annominatio* by creating a pun on the words *lḥaw* "erased" and *lāḥek* "will lick", and on the words *gawrā* "column" and *gūdā* "company".[8] But which people, who refused to accept the word "birth" (*yaldā*) in their "creed" (*syāmā*) does Aba have in mind? We can hardly believe that Aba is addressing some small minority of docetic Christians or gnostics, who would have held Jesus' birth in contempt. The fierce tone of Aba's words suggests rather that he is alluding to quite recent events which were of no small importance to his audience.

4. Perhaps we may be allowed to suggest that the "gainsayer" (*sārōbā*) in Aba's text means the Muslims of his time, and that the "creed" (*syāmā*) points at the famous Qurʾānic proclamation of God's oneness and uniqueness in Qurʾān 112. In this statement (Qurʾān 112:3) that God "has not begotten and is not begotten" (*lam yalid wa-lam yūlad*) the Arabic root *wld* is used; the same root (Syriac *yld*) underlies the word "birth" (*yaldā*) in Aba's polemics. Is it possible that Aba in stating that the "gainsayer" of his days did not accept the word *yaldā* in his creed is in fact alluding to the Qurʾān 112:3? In my view we should take this possibility very seriously since already at a very early stage in Islamic tradition this Qurʾānic verse was understood to be directed against the Christian Trinitarian concept of God.[9]

5. In the following lines I shall adduce some literary and historical arguments for the thesis that Aba, in using the word *yaldā* here, refers both to the Incarnation of the Word (the Son of God), and to the Muslims' denial of the Trinity (implying the rejection of the Divinity of Christ) in connection with Qurʾān 112:3.

5.1. It is important to note first of all that Aba's use of the word *yaldā* is induced by Matth 1:18 "Now the birth (*yaldā*) of Jesus Christ was on this wise". In the exegesis of this verse, which in the *Gannat Bussame* is also derived from Aba's *mēmrā* (quotation),

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[6] U p. 157, line 4 – p. 158, line 26.

[7] Cf. Lausberg 1973[2] §§ 565–71.

[8] Cf. Lausberg 1973[2] §§ 637–39. For another example of the connected use of *metonymia* and *annomination* by Aba, see his commentary on Jes. 52: 13 (Reinink 1987: 312).

[9] It is generally assumed that *sūra* 112, belonging to the first Meccan period, was directed against polytheism and, in the later Meccan and the Medinan period, also against the Christian doctrine of the Trinity.

Aba applies the word *yaldā* to the Incarnation (the "union", *viz.* of God, the Word and the Man Jesus) in a catalogue of erroneous views concerning the Incarnation of several *Christian* heresies, including the followers of Cyril of Alexandria, the Council of Chalcedon, Eunomius, Apollinarius, Severus of Antioch, Julian of Halicarnassus, Eutyches, and the Jacobites.[10] As Aba says, all of these have a wrong understanding of the way in which the *yaldā*, *viz.* the Word being made flesh (John 1:14), became a fact.

It is likely that Aba likewise implies the notion of "God becoming man" when he uses the term *yaldā* again in the final section of this *mēmrā* (Matth 1:25). However, further meanings of the Syriac term *yaldā* may be involved here, *viz. yaldā* as the act of begetting, and *yaldā* being the "product" of the act of bringing forth. Thus the refusal of the "gainsayer" to accept the word "birth" in the creed may refer both to the latter's belief that God had not begotten, and to his rejection of the Divine Sonship (the Son's being begotten of the Father), which implies the denial of the Divinity of Christ. These views reflect precisely the Qur'ānic criticisms of the Christian tenets concerning the Trinity and the Divinity of Christ.

5.2. Secondly, we know for certain that Aba was aware of Qur'ānic criticism of the Christian confession of Christ being God and the Son of God. In his exegesis of John 20:17 (quotation in the *Gannat Bussame*) Aba blames the "Arabs of our time" for advancing the last part of this verse to demonstrate that Christ is only man and not God. However, Aba objects, Christ actually said: "I ascend unto my Father and your Father; and to my God and your God". From these last words "my God and your God", Aba goes on to say, one may conclude if one wishes that the Saviour was human. However, the preceding words "my Father and your Father" show that Christ is also God, so that John 20:17 clearly demonstrates that Christ is both God and man.[11] As I have suggested earlier, Aba appears to polemicise here against those anti-Christian passages in the Qur'ān, where Jesus speaks about God as "my Lord and your Lord", words which should attest that Jesus is only a human being, and that God has no son.[12]

6. As mentioned above, Aba's polemics in his commentary on Matth 1:25 suggest that he is responding to a new and major event of his days. If we may assume that Qur'ān 112 is the 'creed' Aba is aiming at, it is quite natural to suppose that at that time this *sūra* must have started playing an important role in the propagation of Muslim tenets against Christianity. It is indeed striking that Syriac sources show no trace of any serious *religious* tensions between the Arab authorities and their Christian subjects before the reign of the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik (685–705).[13] However, circumstances drastically changed during ʿAbd al-Malik's reign, particularly since the 690s. As I have argued elsewhere, ʿAbd al-Malik's policies, which were focused on the restoration of the unity of the empire after the second Arab civil war (683–692), provoked violent

[10] U p. 152, lines 5–22.

[11] For the integral (German) translation of Aba's commentary on John 20:17, see Reinink 1979: 64–65.

[12] Reinink 1979: 68. Cf. Qur'ān 3: 44/51; 5: 76/72; 5: 117; 19: 37/36, 43:64.

[13] Cf. Reinink 1993a. Both the Catholicos Isho'yahb III (d. 659) and the East Syrian monk John Bar Penkaye (end of the 680s) praise the religious tolerance of the Muslim authorities; cf. Duval 1904–1905: 251, lines 13–23 (ed.); 182: lines 1–9 (transl.).; Mingana 1908: 146*, lines 11–17 (ed.); 175* (transl.). See also the English translation in Brock 1987: 61.

reactions in the Christian communities of the Near East.[14] A number of radical social measures, such as drastic tax reforms, administrative and political centralisation, the Arabisation of the administration and the development of standard Arab coinage, were accompanied by a vigorous politico-religious propaganda stressing the Islamic identity in a predominantly Christian environment. Anti-Christian polemical tendencies played a distinctive role in the caliph's propaganda, as readily appears both from the Qurʾānic inscriptions in the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, which was built in 691/2 (it is a matter of much discussion today whether the caliph started or completed the building in that year),[15] and from the Qurʾānic texts on the new coins which were struck in 696/7 and later.[16]

7. Qurʾān 112 indeed has a prominent place in the empire's 'public texts' proclaiming Islam since the 690s. Inside the Dome of the Rock the inscription running along the south outer face of the octagonal arcade contains Qurʾān 112 ("Say: he is God, One, God, the Everlasting, who has not begotten and has not been begotten. He is without equal"), preceded by the first and second parts of the profession of faith ("There is no god but God alone, without partner"), and followed by the third and fourth parts ("Muḥammad is Gods' messenger, may God bless him").[17]

It is interesting to note that the Qurʾānic text against which Aba polemicises in his commentary on John 20:17 also occurs in the inscriptions inside the Dome of the Rock. The inscription on the inner face of the octagonal arcade presents the Qurʾānic view of Jesus son of Mary, rejecting the Trinity and denying God's having a son. In this context the words of Qurʾān 19:37/36 are quoted ("God is my Lord and your Lord").[18]

8. Therefore it cannot be excluded that Aba in using the word *yaldā* also refers to those passages in the Qurʾān where God's having a son or begetting a son is denied. The Syriac word *yaldā* also corresponds with the Arabic word used there to denote "son" or "child" (*walad*).[19] It is possible that Aba's first pronouncement that the "gainsayer" erases the word *yaldā* from the column of the book concerns these Qurʾānic statements. However, the following statement, *viz.* that the "gainsayer" ever since does not accept

[14] Reinink 1993a: 182–87; id. 1992a: 180–87, id. 1992b: 78–80, 85; id. 1993b: XV-XXV, XL (transl.).

[15] Modern scholars generally assume that the date of the building mentioned in the inscription inside the Dome (AH 72) refers to the completion of the building. Cf. Hawting 1986: 59. Rotter and Blair, on the other hand, have argued for AH 72 as the beginning of the construction: see Rotter 1982: 230 and Blair 1992. For the anti-Christian Qurʾānic inscriptions inside the Dome of the Rock, see Kessler 1970: 11–12; Grabar 1959: 52–56; Goitein 1950: 106; id. 1966: 139, 147; Busse 1977.

[16] The beginning of ʿAbd al-Malik's epigraphical coins is connected in the Syriac Chronicles to the year 819 and to the year 846 with the year AG 1008 = CE 696/7. See Barsaum & Chabot 1920 & 1937: 13, lines 17–18 (ed.); 9, lines 10–11 (transl.); Brooks 1904: 232, lines 12–13 (ed.); 176, lines 8–9 (transl.). For a discussion of the three successive phases of ʿAbd al-Malik's minting, see Blair 1992: 64-7, who basically follows the conclusions of Bates 1986.

[17] Translations by Blair 1992: 86.

[18] See Blair 1992: 87.

[19] Cf. Qurʾān 2:110/116; 4: 169/171; 10: 69/68; 19: 36/35; 19: 93/91–92; 25:2; 39: 6/4; 43: 81. Only in 9: 30 is the term Ibn Allāh used. Cf. Robinson 1991: 32–3. For a discussion of the possible explanations of Muḥammad's polemics against the thesis that God has taken a "child" (or "children"), see Paret 1993[5]: 26–7 (on Qurʾān 2: 116f).

the word *yaldā* in the creed rather seems to point to some standard formula, which was widely used and known. The Syriac term *syāmā*, which Aba uses here, is very much a *terminus technicus* for an official and authorised "confession of faith" or "creed". Qurʾān 112 indeed has such a role on ʿAbd al-Malik's epigraphic coinage after his monetary reform.[20] Moreover, the anti-Christian use of Qurʾān 112 is attested by a report concerning ʿAbd al-Malik's brother ʿAbd al-ʿAziz b. Marwān, who was governor of Egypt from 685 to 704.[21] He is reported to have given orders for proclamations to be fixed at the doors of the churches in Egypt, reading: "Muḥammad is the great Apostle of God, and Jesus also is the Apostle of God. But verily God is not begotten and does not beget".[22] This report is an interesting example of the Muslim's use of Qurʾān 112:3 closely connected with their rejection of Christ's Divinity.

9. If our suggestion is correct that Aba in his commentary on Matth 1:25 polemicises against the Muslims, some important conclusions may be drawn from this hypothesis.

9.1. Firstly, it confirms our view that Christian polemics against Islam in Syriac circles started as a response to a changing and increasingly polemicised attitude of the Muslim authorities towards the Christian religion. The politico-religious propaganda which declared Islam to be the only true religion (Dome of the Rock),[23] which is victorious over all other religions (ʿAbd al-Malik's coinage),[24] may have served at first for the confirmation and consolidation of the caliph's power and authority in the period following the second civil war. But these claims on the part of Islam were certainly perceived by the Christians as a direct threat to their communities. Fear of an increasing conversion to Islam, fostered by Islamic religious propaganda and going hand in hand with other radical changes in society urged the Christian clergy to counter the claims of Islam by confuting the publicly declared Qurʾānic criticisms of the most fundamental tenets of Christianity.[25]

9.2. Secondly, a plausible *terminus a quo* for the composition of Aba's exegetical *mēmrē* can now be determined. We do not know exactly when Aba of Kashkar composed these *mēmrē*. When he became Catholicos in 741 he was already far gone in years – perhaps about a century. Before his election he had occupied for a number of years the important episcopal see of Kashkar in southern Iraq.[26] If Aba in his commentary on Matth 1:25 is indeed referring to the text of Qurʾān 112, which was widely known since 697/8 by its representation on the new Arab *dirham*s in southern Iraq, we may well assume that he composed his *mēmrē* after about 700. Taking into account the fierce tone of his polemic we may perhaps even suggest that Aba is responding to very recent events, and that he therefore may have composed his *mēmrā* on Matth 1:18–25 not long

[20] Cf. Blair 1992: 67; also van Ess 1992: 87–8; Crone & Hinds 1986: 25, note 8.
[21] Cf. Hawting 1986: 59. Also Kennedy 1986: 99.
[22] See King 1985: 270. The source is Severus b. al-Muqaffaʿ's (late tenth century) *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria*; see also Crone & Hinds 1986: 26.
[23] Referring to Qurʾān 3:17/19; cf. Blair 1992: 87.
[24] Referring to Qurʾān 9:33 (cf. Qurʾān 61:9). Cf. Walker 1956: LVII; Morony 1984: 48.
[25] See above, note 14.
[26] See Reinink 1979: 70, and Fiey 1968: 170.

after the turn of the seventh to the eighth century. In any event Aba's polemics may represent one of the earliest Christian references to this Qur'ānic *sūra*, preceding even John of Damascus' refutation of the "heresy of the Ishmaelites", where Qur'ān 112 is placed at the head of the description of Muḥammad's doctrines.[27]

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[27] Glei & Khoury 1995: 74–75, 189; Sahas 1972: 75.

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JEWISH-CHRISTIAN DEBATE IN A MUSLIM CONTEXT: Ibn al-Maḥrūma's Notes to Ibn Kammūna's *Examination of the Inquiries into the Three Faiths.*

Barbara Roggema

1. In the year 1280 Ibn Kammūna (d. 1284), a physician and philosopher from the Jewish community of Baghdad, wrote his *Examination of the inquiries into the three faiths*.[1] This work consists of four chapters, the first one of which is an introduction to prophetology, based on the works of al-Ghazālī, Maimonides, Ibn Sīnā and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī. The following three chapters are on Judaism, Christianity and Islam.

Ibn Kammūna defines the common ground of the three religions, reviews their apologetics and tries to find new arguments in defence of a religion that is not his.[2] He declares in the introduction: "I have not been swayed by mere personal inclination, nor have I ventured to show preference for one faith over the other, but I have pursued the investigation of each faith to its fullest extent".[3] Nevertheless, it is clear that Ibn Kammūna, under the pretext of making a 'fair' comparison between the faiths, formulates a defence of Judaism.[4]

1.1. In the chapter on Judaism, Ibn Kammūna reproduces and refutes the arguments of Samaw'al al-Maghribī (d. 1175), who described his conversion from Judaism to Islam and vehemently polemicised against Judaism in his tract *Ifḥām al-Yahūd* "Silencing the Jews".[5] The objections to Judaism of this convert are largely a repetition of the well-known Muslim arguments against Judaism: the abrogation of the Mosaic Law, the deficient transmission of the Torah, the anthropomorphisms and the "irrelevant" and "immoral" stories in the Torah. Samaw'al al-Maghribī presents these as the outcome of his reflections on religion and prophethood, which made him discover that the founders of the three monotheistic faiths have equally valid claims to recognition:

> A sensible man cannot repudiate one prophet, whose teaching has wide acceptance and whose cause is well established, and believe in another. Thus if we ask a Jew about Moses – may he rest in peace – that is, whether he, the Jew, has seen Moses and witnessed his miracles, the

[1] *Tanqīḥ al-abḥāth li-l-milal al-thalâth*. Edition: Perlmann 1967. Translation: Perlmann 1971. (Indicated henceforth as Ibn Kammūna, *Examination* (ed.) or (transl.). For an introduction and edition and translation of the chapter on Judaism see Hirschfeld 1893. For a discussion of the structure of the work see Baneth 1925.

[2] At the end of the chapter on Christianity, for example, Ibn Kammūna writes: "I did not find most of these retorts in discussions by Christians; I supplied these retorts on behalf of the Christians, and in supplementation of the investigation into their belief"; Ibn Kammūna, *Examination* (ed.): 66; (transl.): 99.

[3] Ibn Kammūna, *Examination* (transl.): 11; *Examination* (ed.): 1. All Passages from the *Examination* are quoted from Perlmann's translation (Perlmann 1971).

[4] The pseudo-objectivity of Ibn Kammūna's work misled Steinschneider and Brockelmann who, on the basis of the eulogies to the prophet Muḥammad in the *Examination*, believed that Ibn Kammūna was in fact a convert to Islam.

[5] Samaw'al al-Maghribī, *Ifḥām al-Yahūd*. Edition: Perlmann 1964.

> Jew will necessarily admit that he has seen nothing of the kind himself. When we say to him: "How do you know of the prophethood of Moses and of his veracity?" If the Jew says that the traditional transmission [*tawātur*] confirms this, and that the testimony of the nations as to its truth furnish strong rational proof, just as the transmission of reports and accounts make us logically certain of the existence of lands and rivers we have not seen, we say: "There is such a transmission of tradition concerning Muhammad and Jesus, just as there is for Moses, and so you must believe also in the former two".[6]

1.2. To appreciate Ibn Kammūna's *Examination*, it has to be read as a confrontation with Samaw'al al-Maghribī on this issue. Ibn Kammūna does not only attempt to refute Samaw'al's objections one after the other, but he also makes his final judgment of the three religions dependent upon the question of the transmission of their traditions. He wants to show that he too is able to take critical distance, or, in other words, to give a balanced account of the three religions. He agrees that the veracity of the religions depends on the credentials of their founders, but these are known through traditions which have to be verifiable. It turns out that after close scrutiny only Judaism has a firm basis, a fact to which the other faiths, which are themselves based on unverifiable assertions, bear witness, at least to some extent. After having discussed all of Samaw'al's objections Ibn Kammūna concludes:

> It is important to know that these objections, in their entirety, will be marshalled only by one outside the Christian and Islamic faiths, for the creeds of both these faiths would oppose citing all the objections, though each may cite some. Thus the Christians recognize the prophethood of Moses and the prophets of his faith, all their miracles, and the veracity of the Torah and the prophetic books.[7] (...) The Muslims also recognize the prophethood of Moses and his miracles, as well as the prophethood of the prophets before and after him and their miracles.[8] (..) The Islamic religion cannot exist unless it teaches the abrogation of the religion of Moses. That is the reason the Muslims had to impugn the transmission of the Jews and adopt the tenet of the distortion of the Torah, lest the Torah, including its indications of perpetual validity and nonabrogation, should be binding upon them.[9]

As for the proofs of Muḥammad's prophethood as formulated by the Muslim theologians, these are, according to Ibn Kammūna, "an intuitive approach that may not be open to verification by those who reject it because they themselves do not feel that kind of intuition".[10]

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[6] Samaw'al al-Maghribī, *Ifḥām*: 12–13 (text), 36–37 (transl.).

[7] Ibn Kammūna, *Examination* (ed.): 47–8; *Examination* (transl.): 73–4.

[8] Ibn Kammūna, *Examination* (ed.): 4; *Examination* (transl.): 75.

[9] Ibn Kammūna, *Examination* (ed.): 49; *Examination* (transl.): 76. I want to emphasise that the *Examination* has to be seen in the light of the interreligious debate Ibn Kammūna discusses. His quasi-objectivity is part of his strategy to portray Judaism as the only religion with a firm basis. Niewöhner adduces this passage as an illustration of Ibn Kammūna's objectivity. He claims Ibn Kammūna takes genuine distance from all three religions and he regards him as a precursor of modern historicism: "Selbst den Koran beschreibt er nicht, *wie* er ist, sondern wie er zu dem *geworden* ist: er schreibt eine kurze Geschichte des Korantextes". In my view however, we should recognise that Ibn Kammūna uses a well-known argument against the miraculous nature of the Koran when he describes "the collection of the Koran", instead of showing interest in its historical development *per se*. (Niewöhner 1992: 366).

[10] Ibn Kammūna, *Examination* (ed.): 107; *Examination* (transl.): 156–7.

Similarly, he writes about Christianity:

> In fact, *we* do *not* concede that the reports of the miracles by the companions of Jesus constitute authoritative transmission that induces certainty, like the authoritative transmission about the *existence* of Jesus and the apostles, and his crucifixion; they are rather of the type of rumors that spread, come into vogue, and become quasi-transmitted without being truly transmitted.[11]

2. The Muslim population of Baghdad was not pleased with Ibn Kammūna's treatise. In the year 1284 Ibn Kammūna had to escape from the city when an angry mob tried to lynch him.[12]

His work also produced a fierce reaction from a Christian author. This reaction consists of the critical annotation to the chapters on Judaism and Christianity, by Ibn al-Maḥrūma from Mardin.[13] One of the five manuscripts of the *Examination* that have come down to us, *viz.* MS Angelicum 15 from Rome, contains these notes. Little is known about Ibn al-Maḥrūma. He is known to have translated Bar Hebraeus' *Book of the Dove* from Syriac into Arabic in the year 1290 and to have written an introduction to it.[14] It is assumed that he was a Jacobite and that he wrote his notes to Ibn Kammūna's work about half a century after its composition.[15] The length of these notes varies from short exclamations to several pages.

Ibn al-Maḥrūma's objections to Ibn Kammūna's treatment of Christianity concern his careless quotations of the Gospel and his detailed discussion of the Christian sects, which emphasises the divisiveness of the Christian community. According to Ibn al-Maḥrūma, this was contrary to Ibn Kammūna's promise not to go into detail about the different sects of the religions.[16] These notes are short and defensive.

3. The notes to the chapter on Judaism are much longer and sharper. Ibn Kammūna had accused those who attack Judaism of using the text of the Torah to undermine its transmission: "The opponents say that this Torah is not the original Torah but one distorted and changed, yet they prove its distortion by quoting from that same distorted text. This is nonsense and claim without proof".[17] It is clear that Ibn al-Maḥrūma was not impressed by this argument, since he goes to great lengths to refute Ibn Kammūna's position with the help of quotations from the Torah.

Often Ibn al-Maḥrūma rejects Ibn Kammūna's way of reasoning, pointing out the flaws in his arguments. He frequently takes up the role of arbiter between Ibn Kammūna and Samaw'al al-Maghribī. There are many instances where he accuses Ibn Kammūna of being biased and of defending the Torah against all odds. Thus he adduces a number of passages from Deuteronomy for example to show that it does not encourage the cul-

[11] Ibn Kammūna, *Examination* (ed.): 65; *Examination* (transl.): 98.
[12] Reported by Ibn al-Fuwaṭī; see Perlmann's introduction to the text edition (Perlmann 1967: ix).
[13] Ibn al-Maḥrūma, *Ḥawāshī Ibn al-Maḥrūma ʿalā kitāb tanqīḥ al-abḥāth li ʾl-milal al-thalāth li Ibn Kammūna*. Edition: Bāshā 1984 (Henceforth cited as Ibn al-Maḥrūma, *Ḥawāshī*). Some of the most interesting of the notes were presented and discussed in Perlmann 1965.
[14] Ibn al-Maḥrūma, *Ḥawāshī*: xxxvi.
[15] Ibn al-Maḥrūma, *Ḥawāshī*: xxxviii-xliii.
[16] Ibn al-Maḥrūma, *Ḥawāshī*: 202–203 (note 101).
[17] Ibn Kammūna, *Examination* (ed.): 30; *Examination* (transl.): 50.

tivation of nobility of character as Ibn Kammūna claims.[18] He expresses his indignation about the fact that Ibn Kammūna is willing to excuse the idol-worship of the kings of the Jews, of which of Ibn Kammūna said that it was a major sin against the faith but not unbelief, and that it should be seen in the light of its time.[19]

3.1. According to Ibn al-Maḥrūma, Ibn Kammūna's claim that the Jews have a more reliable transmission than others has no ground. Ibn Kammūna emphasised that most of Moses' miracles were witnessed by many people. Ibn al-Maḥrūma does not deny this as such, but criticises Ibn Kammūna for his way of formulating it:

> The author, unknowingly, has criticised the miracles of Mozes here and that appears from his words "and most of them could not possibly have taken place through trickery or collusion", because from this it is understood that some of them may have taken place through trickery and collusion (may Moses be excluded from that). The author uses here the expression "most of them", in accordance with his habit in this book, I mean, he leaves the straight path and prefers worthless beliefs.[20]

3.2. Ibn Kammūna denied that the Biblical account of Moses' death cannot have been revealed to Moses, as Samaw'al and earlier polemists had said. Ibn al-Maḥrūma wonders who reported the events of his death:

> The claimant may say: who is the sayer, so that we know whether he is truthful or not. It is clear that if he is truthful in what he says, the author would have mentioned his name and attributed (*asnada*) the saying to him. If we concede that the sayer is truthful, we say: this undoubtedly becomes a decisive argument to the one who believes that the Torah is not taken from Moses alone. Rather, things have been added to it by someone else after his death. And if this is regarded as true by consensus, then what prevents the [possibility of] occurrence of similar cases for reasons that we cannot become acquainted with?[21]

3.3. The issue of the absence of a clear statement in the Torah about reward and punishment in the hereafter receives much comment from Ibn al-Maḥrūma. He says Christians do not deny that the Jews acknowledge the resurrection and the hereafter, but they know that the Jews stole this doctrine "from another religion":

> This belief is an addition to what is found in the Torah, because it neither alludes to it, nor mentions it explicitly. And a religious community that believes what is not in its Book, deviates from the Law of its Lawgiver and impairs His legislation. The Torah has stated that the reward for obedience consists of worldly gains and the punishment for disobedience consists also of worldly harms and tribulations.[22]

[18] Ibn al-Maḥrūma, *Ḥawāshī*: 95–96 (note 11).
[19] Ibn al-Maḥrūma, *Ḥawāshī*: 130 (note 26).
[20] Ibn al-Maḥrūma, *Ḥawāshī*: 89 (note 7).
[21] Ibn al-Maḥrūma, *Ḥawāshī*: 153 (note 50).
[22] Ibn al-Maḥrūma, *Ḥawāshī*: 97 (note 13). He gives Deut 7:12 and Lev 26:3–9 as examples.

It is in the context of this question of the afterlife that Ibn Kammūna, alluding to the views of al-Ghazālī, presents the concept of prophets as healers of the diseases of their communities. The disease in Moses' time was idolatry and not the lack of belief in an afterlife. "If their disease had been the denial of the immortality of the soul beyond death, denial of reward and punishment in the hereafter, He would have repeatedly mentioned it in the Torah for emphasis and affirmation".[23] Ibn al-Maḥrūma replies to this with sarcasm:

> So from the words of the author here it necessarily follows that the ignorance of the number of children of Noah and their names is one of the diseases of the soul; otherwise their mention would not be repeated in the Torah. We do not agree that it is a disease, because the ignorance of it does not harm the souls and the knowledge of it is not beneficial.[24]

3.4. Remarkably there are also several notes in which Ibn al-Maḥrūma goes beyond criticising Ibn Kammūna for his bias, and questions the integrity of the Hebrew Bible as such directly. Still on the issue of the hereafter, he writes:

> It is not hidden from the heart that when the Rabbis learnt that the Mosaic Law was in want of this important matter which is undoubtedly mentioned in every true law, I mean, the mention of the hereafter and reward and punishment in the hereafter, they became fanatical about their religion and neglected the prohibition of addition and omission. And if this was the Torah which was revealed, how could Moses (peace be upon him) deem permissible the abandonment of the mention of this important matter which is one of the most important things of true Laws, whereas he did mention things which have no profit in their mention (...) If only he had mentioned the requital in the afterlife once! And if this Torah is not that one, then the misfortune of the Jews is even greater.[25]

While reproaching the Rabbis and accusing them of adding to the tenets and precepts of the Torah, he casts doubt on the integrity of the Torah. It is as if a Muslim polemist is addressing Ibn Kammūna here. In Muslim circles there was a widely-held view that the Hebrew Bible had been corrupted and that in its present form it is the work of Ezra. This anti-Torah polemic developed out of what was initially a positive notion: the miraculous restoration of the Torah after it got lost during the Babylonian exile. This legend, deriving from the pseudepigraphical *IV Ezra*, appeared in Muslim writings as an explanation of why the Jews worshipped Ezra, as told in the Koran (Q 9:30). Later it was used as support for the claim that the Jewish scriptures in their present form do not consist of revelation.[26] Ibn Kammūna had summarised Samaw'al's views on this issue:

> Even if we admit the original veracity of their transmission, we still do not admit the transmission of the Torah because memorising it was not a duty nor a custom among them, except that each of the Aaronids would memorize one chapter. When Ezra saw that the

[23] Ibn Kammūna, *Examination* (ed): 40–2; *Examination* (trans.): 64–6.
[24] Ibn al-Maḥrūma, *Ḥawāshī*: 158 (note 53).
[25] Ibn al-Maḥrūma, *Ḥawāshī*: 99 (note 13).
[26] Lazarus-Yafeh 1992 ch. III (pp. 50–74) "The metamorphosis of Ezra-Uzayr" is a discussion of the Muslim views on Ezra. Echoes of *IV Ezra* in early *tafsīr* and *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* are discussed in Drint 1994: 51–64. For a survey of Muslim authors on the subject of the falsification of the Hebrew Bible and the legends about Ezra up to the time of Ibn Ḥazm, see Adang 1996: 223–48.

> people's Temple was burnt, their statehood ended, their mass dispersed, and their scripture destroyed, he collected from what he remembered and from the chapters remembered by the priests, the stuff from which he concocted this Torah that is preserved by the Jews. He may have added to or substracted from it, in accordance with his purpose, so that in truth it is a book by Ezra, not a divine book.[27]

Ibn al-Maḥrūma again sides with Samaw'al on this point, and writes:

> This is a very powerful objection, the force of which cannot escape the Jews. And what points at the truth of the claim of this opponent is the fact that Moses cannot be suspected of the compounded ignorance which is the absence of faith in the truth, together with faith in its opposite, nor of intending to lead astray a people to which God sent him for its guidance. And there is no doubt that the Torah which is in the hands of the Jews contains things which point at the ignorance of the sayer and at the fact that he himself is straying, and thereby a cause of straying of others, as for example the description of God as repenting and resting and talking to Moses face to face like a man talking to his companion.[28]

This is followed by a "note" of more than ten pages in which Ibn al-Maḥrūma adduces many contradictory verses of the Torah as substantiation for his claim. His conclusion is: "And in the Torah there are many contradictions which one cannot expect to find in the speech of God, nor in the speech of a sent prophet".[29] They have to be explained as "the inattentiveness of Ezra" (*sahw ᶜAzrā*).[30]

4. To find this extreme view in a 14th-century Christian author is remarkable. Perlmann commented: "Coming from a Christian author of this time, this is a bewildering statement".[31] In an attempt to find an explanation for it, he wrote:

> Of course a millennium earlier such attitudes had not been unknown among Christians, especially in Marcionite circles that had been echoing Hellenistic biblical criticism. But there is no reason to believe that in I.M. we have a reversal to Marcionism. It stands to reason that I.M. was acquainted with Muslim theological literature of the *milal wa niḥal* genre which prepared him for S.M.'s attack on the Mosaic law as well as on post-Mosaic Judaism.[32]

Basha, the editor of Ibn al-Maḥrūma's notes, presumed that Ibn al-Maḥrūma simply adopted this view directly from Samaw'al al-Maghribī's work: "Ce qui surprend, c'est que l'écrivain chrétien adopte ici pleinement l'opinion de ce juif apostat".[33]

4.1. Another peculiar aspect of the notes has to be mentioned. We see that Ibn al-Maḥrūma not only supports Muslim polemic but is also willing to use the Koran for his 'arbitration'. Ibn Kammūna writes that Muslims cannot deny that Moses received

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[27] Ibn Kammūna, *Examination* (ed.): 29; *Examination* (transl.): 49.
[28] Ibn al-Maḥrūma, *Ḥawāshī*: 112 (note 17).
[29] Ibn al-Maḥrūma, *Ḥawāshī*: 101 (note 14).
[30] Ibn al-Maḥrūma, *Ḥawāshī*: 114 (note 17).
[31] Perlmann 1965: 644.
[32] Perlmann 1965: 655.
[33] Ibn al-Maḥrūma, *Ḥawāshī*: lxxii.

revelations about the hereafter, since they can find it in the Koran, in Q 87:17–19. Ibn al-Maḥrūma again expresses his support for the Muslim view:

> The author has mentioned this to make it an argument in his favour, whereas it is a decisive argument against him, because there is an indication in it that the Torah which is in the hands of the Jews is not from the leaves of Moses because of its being devoid of the mention of the afterlife and its eternal pleasure and painful punishment. And if it is not from the leaves of Moses it must be from the leaves of someone else and therefore the opponent must be right when he says, in the above, that it is the book of Ezra, he being the one who composed it after it got lost.[34]

Occasionally Ibn al-Maḥrūma even uses Koranic phraseology to address his opponent. He reproaches and challenges the Jews with several remarks in the style of *in kuntum ṣādiqīn* and in connection with the hereafter Ibn al-Maḥrūma mentions *al-naʿīm al-muqīm wa ʾl-ʿadhāb al-alīm*.[35]

5. Ibn al-Maḥrūma knew other works of Ibn Kammūna. Those were based on reason while this one is based on emotions, he comments.[36] Is it his concern for impartiality and his irritation about Ibn Kammūna's bias which leads him to express such an extreme view on the Torah, which one would expect to be a fundamental of his own faith? In all likelihood, Ibn al-Maḥrûma was prompted to write a reply in this Muslim format by the fact that Ibn Kammūna's criticism of Christianity consists almost entirely of Muslim arguments against Christianity. Not only did Ibn Kammūna borrow those arguments; his entire method of discussing religion and of refuting Christianity and Islam was dictated by what was a *Muslim* issue: the validity of transmission. Paying back Ibn Kammūna in his own coin may have been one of the aims of Ibn al-Maḥrūma's efforts. Using a Koranic tone, perhaps ironically, emphasises this. At the same time, Ibn al-Maḥrūma does remind the reader of the Christian position regarding the Torah: "Christians do not believe in *taḥrīf* of the Torah but they believe in its abrogation".[37] Does he thereby "abrogate" his own notes in which he voiced the *taḥrīf*-like polemic? It may be another way to emphasise that he is concerned with methods of refutation, not actual debate. Interestingly however, he connects the Ezra story with the question of abrogation:

> what the opponent claims here is the renewal of the Torah after it got lost, not its corruption and alteration when it was present. As for Ezra's goodness and religiosity, if the opponent concedes to that, then it is not an argument in his favour but an argument against him. Because it is up to him to say: Ezra's religiosity and goodness are among the major stimuli to compose a book which replaces the Book that got lost, out of concern for the religious community, that its affairs would not get disturbed, its interests wasted and their hearts inclined to the

[34] Ibn al-Maḥrūma, *Ḥawāshī*: 184 (note 87).

[35] See note 65: *law-lā annahum qālū bi-alsinatihim mā laysa fī qulūbihim*: cf. Q 48:11; note 58: *law kānū yaʿqilūna*, cf. Q 3:118 and 26:28; note 79, *in kuntum ṣādiqīn* (similarly note 62: *law kuntum ṣādiqīn*): numerous occurrences in the Koran; note 87: *al-ʿadhāb al-alīm*: numerous occurrences in the Koran; *al-naʿīm al-muqīm*: cf. Q 9:21. The term "*ṣuḥuf Mūsā*" (note 87) is also Koranic (Q 53:36, 87:19) but this is already given by Ibn Kammūna's quotation of Q 87:19. Neither Basha nor Perlmann mention this aspect of the notes, perhaps because they presume an Arabic-speaking Christian living in the Arab world uses it unconsciously. I certainly find it too striking to be accidental.

[36] Ibn al-Maḥrūma, *Ḥawāshī*: 130–1 (note 27).

[37] Ibn al-Maḥrūma, *Ḥawāshī*: 123 (note 18).

> following of certain communities. In these affairs the danger is much greater than that in the composing of a book in which affairs are settled until God sends another prophet to renew the Law which makes redundant for them the composed book.[38]

He uses a similar trick in the following:

> It is possible that Moses (peace be upon him) has indicated the abrogation of his Law by his silence on the requital in the hereafter because of his knowledge that to those with a sound mind it is not hidden that affairs of the hereafter are nobler and more important than those of the earthly life. So if someone would come to them trying to gain their favour for a Law which includes the mention of the requital in the afterlife they would respond to him without hesitation because of their knowledge that it is nobler than the abrogated one, just as the hereafter is nobler than this world.[39]

Instead of considering these verses simply as Ibn al-Maḥrūma's proof of the Christian claim of abrogation of the Mosaic Law I think the main point is still Ibn Kammūna's methodology. It is an even more salient example of Ibn al-Maḥrūma's strategy to fight Ibn Kammūna with his own weapons. He shows that he not only hurls Muslim polemic back at Ibn Kammūna, but that he is also able to express and defend his beliefs through that polemic, just like Ibn Kammūna had done with his. As regards Ezra, the Muslim theologians elaborated this theme, but the renewal of the Torah by Ezra as such is known in all three religions. This is perhaps intended as a reminder to Ibn Kammūna that he was looking for reports that were acknowledged across the boundaries of the religions (this being for Ibn Kammūna: the prophethood of Moses).

6. In connection with my assumption that Ibn al-Maḥrūma is mainly concerned with pointing out the weaknesses of Ibn Kammūna's methods, we have to look at the following note:

> And the thing we have related and the examples of it point at the truth of the saying of the opponent that the Torah is the book of Ezra, and not the book of God. I have quoted from it extensively representing the opponent to show to the reader the author's bias, as he neglects these contradictions that are in the Torah while saying in the course of his discussion of the Christian religion: "and in the Gospels there are many contradictions and their scholars have arbitrarily tried to harmonise them".[40]

He states that it is a matter of "the lame reproaching the cripple". Perlmann says[41] that Ibn al-Maḥrūma does not realise that he belittles his own faith when he writes that.[42] I propose that Ibn al-Maḥrūma was fully aware of the implications of his statement, but that he used it as the ultimate rejection of Ibn Kammūna's way of "examining" the religions. He shows that in the end this scripturalist attitude does not lead anywhere, and this then is also an indirect refusal to accept Muslim criticism of the Gospels.

[38] Ibn al-Maḥrūma, *Ḥawāshī*: 128 (note 23).
[39] Ibn al-Maḥrūma, *Ḥawāshī*: 109 (note 15).
[40] Ibn al-Maḥrūma, *Ḥawāshī*: 122 (note 17).
[41] Perlmann 1965: 646.
[42] Ibn al-Maḥrūma, *Ḥawāshī*: 122 (note 17).

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THE TWIN TONGUES.
Theory, technique, and practice of bilingualism in Ancient Mesopotamia.

Herman Vanstiphout

0. In the Sumerian narrative poem known as *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta*[1] there occurs a longish episode which has given rise to a considerable amount of commentary. The passage is commonly referred to as 'the Spell of Nudimmud',[2] as, indeed, it is called in the text. The context is as follows: Enmerkar, ruler of the Sumerian city of Uruk, sends a messenger to the Lord of Aratta, a legendary city far beyond the mountain range that constitutes the eastern border of Sumer, and which is fabulously rich in precious metals and stones. The messenger is to persuade the Lord of Aratta to hand over these riches to Enmerkar as a tribute. The spell is intended to enforce this demand. It runs as follows:

135 Recite to him this spell – it is one of Nudimmud:
'On that (remote) day, – when there is no snake nor scorpion,
'nor dog nor wolf
'and when there is thus no fear nor trembling,
140 'since man will have no enemy,–
'on that day, when the territories Shubur and Hamazi
'as well as *bilingual* Sumer (great mountain of the principles of overlordship)–
'-with-Akkad (mountain and symbol!)
'and also the territory Martu, now resting in safe pastures, –
145 'Yea, within the confines of heaven and earth, all well-administered peoples
'Will altogether address Enlil[3] in one tongue.
'For on that day, for the conferences[4] of lords, princes and kings,
'(shall) Enki , for the conferences of lords, princes and kings,
'for the conferences of lords, princes and kings,
150 '(shall) Enki, who is the Lord of bounty and prosperous counsel,
'(who is) the all-wise and all-knowing Lord of the Land,[5]
'(who is) the expert of the gods,

[1] Regrettably there is no really adequate edition of this major text. Provisionally the reader is referred to the editio princeps by S.N. Kramer (1952), Cohen 1973, and the splendid translation in Jacobsen 1987: 275–319. For the broader perspective see Kramer 1970; Vanstiphout 1983 and 1995; Alster 1995. See now also Vanstiphout 1999: 84–112, esp. 90-91.

[2] Nudimmud is an epithet or by-name of Enki, the god of wisdom, cleverness and technology. He is generally known for helping along humanity in grave difficulties. For a complete edition of the passage, a number of important details, an analysis and an interpretation see Vanstiphout 1994. This study also refers to most of the earlier literature on the subject, to which should be added Uehlinger 1990 and Hallo 1996. The latter is also of more general interest to our topic.

[3] Enlil is the effective supreme deity in this period.

[4] Literally 'verbal contests' or 'debates'.

[5] I.e. Sumer and Akkad.

'(who is) the choice one for wisdom, the Lord of Eridug,[6]
'shall change the tongues in their mouths, as many as he had placed there,
'(and so) the tongue of mankind shall be truly one.'

1. Whatever the correct interpretation of the passage,[7] the term which interests us here occurs in l. 142. Sumer and Akkad are called 'eme-ḫa-mun', a concept which is also well known in its Akkadian form as *lišān mitḫurti*. Jacobsen notes a suggestion by Landsberger that the term ḫa-mun was originally to be taken literally: it "basically meant 'salted fish' and referred to a fish split in *two equal halves* and salted to be dried" (my italics).[8] If true, the term clearly means 'mutually corresponding', which is borne out by numerous uses of its Akkadian counterpart *mitḫurtu*.[9] It is also at the same time a statement of the *fact* and a marvellous description of the *nature* of bilingualism in Mesopotamia. For it is my contention that the 'truly one language' of line 155 is in fact Sumerian/Akkadian, however paradoxical this may seem to us.

1.1. Some of the early pioneers of Assyriology[10] already proposed that Babylonian (or, as they would say, 'Assyrian') cuneiform could hardly have been invented of constructed for the purpose of writing the Semitic Assyrian (or Babylonian, or Akkadian) language: the register of signs seemed to lack unequivocally distinctive signs for emphatic consonants,[11] so typical for the Semitic languages; in a number of cases all kinds of finite verbal forms could be written with one and the same sign,[12] with at most a small additional phonetic indicator added, which makes no sense in Semitic morphology; it seemed possible for words to begin with a vowel, which in good Semitic is utterly impossible; the rich array of guttural sounds seemed to be reduced to just two items, of which one was only weakly represented, which is highly a-typical in any known Semitic language.

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[6] Enki's home town; it is the southernmost city of Sumer, in this period located at or near the Persian Gulf coast. It is relevant to note that according to Sumerian tradition, civilisation and culture were brought to mankind by semi-divine culture heroes 'who came out of the sea' – a notion taken more and more serious by recent theories about Sumerian origins, or even more precisely, about the cultural explosion known as the Ubaid-Uruk civilisation. See Reade 1997.

[7] It is only fair to note that my interpretation of the episode as completely *opposite* to Gen 11, 1–9 is so far shared in print only by Alster 1973 and Uehlinger 1990. Two further remarks seem in order. (1) The notion that the whole world which is within Sumer's control (i.e. the whole 'civilised' world) should speak Sumerian in this utopian future is nicely balanced further on in the story, where Enmerkar invents cuneiform writing because the messenger cannot remember or reproduce the message (see Vanstiphout 1989). (2) By that token (i.e. by the medium of cuneiform), the Mesopotamians will not have seen any contradiction between the ideal notion of a world using only Sumerian and a reality wherein the twin languages Sumerian and Akkadian are used.

[8] Jacobsen 1992: 409–410.

[9] See *CAD* vol. M passim s.v. *mitḫurtu*. Note that *CAD* on p. 138 by a *petitio principii* doubts the well-attested meaning 'to correspond' for *mitḫurtu* "since eme-ḫa-mun (*lišān mitḫurti*) describes contrasting tongues and not harmony ..."!

[10] Hincks 1850 seems to have been the first to state in print that cuneiform must have had a non-Semitic origin.

[11] In fact they are represented with signs having the corresponding voiced consonant as opposed to the unvoiced one. The sign DUB can stand for the Akkadian syllables /dub/ as well as /ṭup/.

[12] Thus the sign KUR can stand for *ikšud, akaššad, kāšidum, šuškudum* etc.; all possible forms from the 'root' √KŠD "to reach, to conquer". This root, as in all Semitic languages, is an abstraction which is only realised in its extant forms.

Of course, not all these features can be ascribed to the writing system as such; but at least the first three ones can. Thus it was reasonable to assume that the writing system was in fact meant for another, non-Semitic language, and simply taken over by the Semitic speakers. This assumption gained credibility when soon some textual material was identified which could not be read as Semitic, and which quite naturally was taken to represent the underlying 'original' language. After some initial confusion about the correct appellation of this language[13] the matter was clinched by about 1870:[14] it was Sumerian. Almost all scholars were convinced, although there remained a hard core of sceptics, the most important of which was Halévy who maintained his theory of "allography" till his death in 1917; but by then the first 'Sumerian question' had been long resolved.[15] And the excavations were now bringing to light great masses of unilingual documents in the Sumerian language dating from at least twelve centuries before the Assyrian royal libraries.[16]

1.2. In the first decades of the present century, the advances in our understanding of both Akkadian and Sumerian, the steady flow of new material, and the growing assurance with which knowledge of Mesopotamian history and culture could be said to have been finally brought back into Western intellectual conscience, led to the proposition that Mesopotamian culture was, indeed, a bilingual culture. This came somewhat as a shock, since nineteenth-century views about the indissoluble unity of 'nation' and 'language' were still rampant, and were even yet to reach their apogee during the worst crimes of recorded human history. Still, the fact could no longer be denied.

This bilingualism could be detected from a number of cultural and written artefacts, and from indirect evidence. Thus the libraries of the Assyrian state contained a large number of bilingual lists of all descriptions and for all kinds of purposes. There are purely lexical lists, taken to function as a kind of dictionary, but also lists of grammatical forms, lists were cuneiform signs with their different 'readings' and 'meanings' in Sumerian and Akkadian, etc. And soon this evidence from the first millennium was confirmed by older material, in some cases going back to the third millennium.[17] Also, these libraries,

[13] On the basis of texts which mentioned "the tablets and documents of Assur, Akkad and Sumer" it was surmised that Assur was Assyrian, Akkad the underlying original and non-Semitic language, and Sumer an unklnown entity. Now we know that Assur stands for Assyrian, Akkad for Babylonian, and Sumer for Sumerian.

[14] Oppert 1869 appears to have been the first to claim that Sumer indicates the earlier, non-Semitic level, and Akkad the Semitic level.

[15] On Halévy see Cooper 1991 and 1993a. 'Allography' was Halévy's term for a kind of cryptography used by the priests to protect the holy texts (and their own exclusive position) from the profane; to him, this was what the scholarly world called 'Sumerian'. On this first Sumerian question, see Weissbach 1898 and Jones 1969. The second Sumerian question was largely archaeological and historical, and coincided partly with the first one: the question was where the Sumerians came from. The third one, which seems not completely resolved at this time, deals with the relations between the Sumerians and the Akkadians, and the concept of a Sumerian 'Renaissance' in the Ur III period (2112–2004 BCE). On these latter questions, see Jones 1969 and Becker 1985. For an early overview of many aspects of the first and second questions, see Fossey 1904: 269–381.

[16] Especially the American excavations in Nippur, the French work in what was to become recognised as Lagash, and in the present century the British finds in Ur. See respectively Kuklick 1996, Parrot 1948, and Woolley 1952.

[17] For the lexical lists see Oppenheim 1964: 244–48, and the succinct but highly autoritative statements by Civil (1975 and 1995); Cavigneaux 1976 is an excellent detailed analysis of sign lists; Veldhuis 1997 is a masterful analysis of the Old Babylonian lexical lists, exemplified by a chapter from the main lexical list

and older material, contained truly bilingual texts: the latest format simply writes out a Sumerian text, with an interlinear translation in Akkadian on slightly indented lines; but the older material shows other formats as well.[18] These bilinguals, at least in the late period, were mainly cultic and literary. Thus, to name only a few famous examples, there is the great handbook for exorcising evil spirits;[19] but there are also two great hymnic-epic narratives about the warrior god Ninurta, and at least one of the classical Sumerian epics was still being read and copied,[20] in bilingual form, in the first millennium. There were also bilingual collections of proverbs,[21] and many other textual types have one or two bilingual exemplars. Furthermore, there are a great many Sumerian loanwords in Akkadian, such as *ekallum* "palace" (Sum. e_2-gal, lit. "big house"); *ṭuppum* (Sum. dub), "tablet"; *ikkarum* (Sum. engar) "ploughman, farmer" etc. Also, the logograms used in Akkadian normally consist simply of the corresponding Sumerian word: the word for "king" in Akkadian is *šarrum*; but it is written almost exclusively with the Sumerian combined[22] sign LUGAL (etymologically "big man"). In fact, this use of what are in effect Sumerograms was so engrained that in one case it has led Assyriologists to misread a very common word for over 150 years.[23] Lastly, there are some instances where first millennium kings boast that they can read (Old) Akkadian as well as Sumerian.

1.3. Almost from the first appearance and subsequent acceptance of the notion of Mesopotamian bilingualism, it was regarded as a phenomenon with mainly historical relevance. Even the position of Sumerian as the language of the inventors of cuneiform came under fire in the first decades of the present century: some features of the cuneiform writing system seemed to be awkward for Sumerian as well. The historical aspect of the matter was then this: the cultural-linguistic evolution of Mesopotamian was a matter of three waves of invaders – a concept apparently very dear to historians in the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century. The first were the original inhabitants of Mesopotamia, sometimes even divided into Proto-Euphratians and Proto-Tigridians, who invented the cuneiform system and much else. This theory was based on a number of Sumerian words which could not be etymologised in Sumerian. The second wave consisted of the Sumerians, who came out of the mountains to the North or East.[24] They took over cuneiform writing, and absorbed the autochthonous population in one way or another, while keeping a number of geographic and culture terms. Then in a third wave the Semitic invaders ousted the Sumerians, according to some theorists in two phases.

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ur_5-ra *ḫubullu* which is also fully edited. For the grammatical lists see Black 1984.

[18] On the different types of bilingual texts see Cooper 1993b.

[19] See provisionally Campbell Thompson 1903/04.

[20] See Cooper 1978, van Dijk 1983 and Wilcke 1969.

[21] Lambert 1960: 225–75.

[22] In fact, the sign is a combination of the signs LU_2 and GAL, but in the sequence GAL.LU_2, dating from a very remote period in which the writing direction was right to left, or perhaps not yet stabilised.

[23] The word for grain is always written as ŠE in Akkadian texts; only very rarely are phonetic indicators of the case ending added. This has led Assyriologists to construct the ghost form *še'ûm* as the Akkadian word for grain. It was only in 1989 that Cavigneaux demonstrated, on the basis of a lexical reference, that ŠE was in fact a Sumerogram, and the word in Akkadian should be read as *'ûm*. See Cavigneaux in *N.A.B.U.* 1989, no. 52.

[24] Among other things, because the term KUR, 'mountain' has such a special function in their ideological system; and that the original image for the sun was a sun appearing between two mountains.

At first they conquered only the northern parts of the region; but aided by the Amorite[25] infiltrations along the Euphrates, they finally overcame the Sumerians in the South as well.[26] The only special thing is that for one reason or another these Semites decided to keep Sumerian for a few specialised purposes, such as cult, magic and learning. Thus the bilingualism is a consciously fostered homage to the vanquished predecessors in the land – perhaps envisaged somewhat in the way that Germanic invaders like Franks and Visigoths in fact became the linguistic successors of *Latinitas*, and the Germans proper of the Roman Empire.

2. One cannot deny that there is some merit to the neatness of this picture. However, there are many reasons why it can no longer be upheld. I shall quote only the most important ones.

2.1. First, there is not a shred of evidence for these waves of invasions. The 'autochthonous' part of the population now seems to have a good chance to be in majority the very Sumerian people we have known for at least a century. They may well have been just a major group of the inhabitants of the shores of the Persian Gulf, and what happened in the fourth millennium is a cultural and technical explosion, not an invasion.[27] The Sumerian traditional belief, *viz.* that their culture was brought to them by the *apkallu* who came out of the sea does not need such a concept: along the river lines they expanded their technology and culture landwards.[28]

The argument from the non-Sumerian layer in the vocabulary has become very much weaker in recent years. Of course, as in every language, there are bound to be a number of words of foreign origin, but, barring one exception that is probably of as yet unknown origin as a class (agricultural terms ending in /-in/), these do not form a discernible group. Even so, the number of 'non-Sumerian' words is steadily dwindling: many of them seem to be good Sumerian after all,[29] or they are very early loans from

[25] The language of the Amorites is known only from a number of personal and geographical names; see Gordon 1997, esp. 102–4; note that 'Amorite' as a distinct language or even dialect has disappeared from the recent listings of Semitic languages (Faber 1997: 6; Huehnergard 1995: 2118). Still, the Amorite infiltration which is already seen during the Agade period (2334–2193 BCE) and reached its apogee after the Ur III period (for which Edzard 1957 is still our most dependable guide), i.e. well into the second millennium, has given us some insight into bilingualism of another hue: that between undoubtedly West-Semitic 'Amorite' and Akkadian. Amorite did have some influence on Mariote Babylonian. There was a king of Mari who named his two sons Išme-Dagan and Yasmaḫ-Adad; since Dagan is the Canaanite name for Adad, and Yasmaḫ is the West-Semitic verbal form corresponding to Išme, is what we have here chiastic bilingualism!

[26] The argument is, of course, specious. Cooper (1973) has remarked that on this line of reasoning an influx of Brasilians in Canada, or Icelanders in Belgium, would tend to make these countries unilingually French- or Dutch-speaking. He adds that a recent and well-documented wave of invasion carrying one German dialect eastwards has all but annihilated another, *viz.* Yiddish. Fortunately or unfortunately, there is no such thing as linguistic solidarity.

[27] See in general Nissen 1988 and now Pollock 1999.

[28] See Reade 1997.

[29] The classic example is the word for gold. We had been reading it as guškin for a long time till M. Civil proved that it was to be read simply as kug-sig$_{17}$, i.e. "yellow precious metal" as opposed to kug-babbar "silver" or "white precious metal". Also IDIGNA "Tigris" and BURANUN "Euphrates" can now be taken to be good Sumerian after all: id$_2$-(u)guna "the sparkling one" and bur-a-nun "vessel of princely water" respectively.

Akkadian[30] – a point which will become important in another context as well. Lastly, we are slowly but surely becoming aware of the fact that we read Sumerian not so much through Akkadian glasses, as darkly reflected in an Akkadian mirror. Therefore a number of words that we cannot as yet declare to be etymologically 'true' Sumerian may still turn out to be just that, once we are more advanced in our understanding of Sumerian phonology.[31] In any case the full array of sub- and adstrata seems now to have less importance than the undeniably – and germane – presence of an Akkadophone superstratum.

2.2. Secondly there is the so-called Semitic or Akkadian invasion, enhanced by the Amorite infiltrations. Apart from the Amorite infiltrations, which are an undeniable fact of history, but which had next to none linguistic relevance, there is no evidence for a Semitic invasion either. Nor is there any trace of a conflict between Sumerians and Akkadians, whether language-based or otherwise.[32] In fact, from an early period on it is often not obvious that a distinction between 'Akkadians' and 'Sumerians' is at all meaningful, or at the very least easy to make.[33] This is relevant, since it seems to weaken the possible argument that the early period, which is nearly exclusively Sumerian is followed by a bilingual period in which the bilingualism is in fact carried by the Akkadian speakers.

2.3. Thirdly, and this seems to be a clinching point, we have now a good number of very ancient[34] literary texts from Farā and Abū Ṣalābīkh. Especially the latter show that many of the scribes of these first unilingual Sumerian literary texts had Akkadian names.[35] So the real problem seems to lie in the unexpected fact that in a period and a region where Akkadian to say the least was sufficiently well known to play an important role in onomastics, there are no bilingual texts. And this strange situation continues well into the next millennium.

2.4. Lastly, the evidence from the earliest texts from Mari,[36] and particularly the more recent finds in Ebla[37] and Tell Beydar,[38] now has put a the problem in a completely

[30] Many examples: dam-gar "merchant" from Akk. *tamkarum*, and silim "whole, hale, healthy, well" from the Akkadian (and general Semitic) root √ŠLM are well known – although as far as I know the *pirs* form of this verb is not attested in Akkadian. Their number also grows every day. But perhaps ulutin "(place of) birth, origin" from the genitive case of √WLD stem II (*wulludim*) might also be considered.

[31] This may not seem very relevant in the present context. But it is important for the matter of the aptness of cuneiform for Sumerian. And that is one of the arguments for a Sumerian 'invasion'. Also, I hope no one will deny that any natural language contains a host of words of foreign origin; but that is not the point here. The matter is whether there is a Non-Sumerian linguistic system consistently underlying Sumerian as we now know it. I think there is not.

[32] See Cooper 1983: 9–11, which contains references to positions that do presume just such a conflict, and id. 1973 for the relationship between the use of the two languages.

[33] See Kraus 1970. Note, for instance, the royal names of the so-called Sumerian renaissance: Ur-Namma (Sumerian); Šulgi (Sumerian); Amar-Sîn/Suen (Sumerian + at best pseudo-Sumerian); Šu-Sîn (Akkadian); Ibbi-Sîn (Akkadian).

[34] Dating from about 2500 BCE onwards, i.e. just a few centuries before Akkadian first became the 'national' or at least official language of the country as a whole.

[35] See Cooper 1993b: 72–3.

[36] See Charpin 1998.

[37] Particularly for our purpose see Cagni 1984.

[38] See Talon & Van Lerberghe 1998.

new perspective. At the period of the "second urbanisation"[39] the regions along the middle and upper Euphrates, even as far west as the region of Aleppo in Syria, which is less than 150 km. from the Mediterranean, were the first Semitic speakers to adapt Sumerian cuneiform to their own East Semitic dialect, which is closely akin to, but not identical with Akkadian.[40] What is more, it is in Ebla that we find the first true bilingual texts at about 2500 BCE. The parallel with the first literary material from Mesopotamia proper (Farā and Abū Ṣalābīkh[41]) is not merely chronological: a number of texts are found in nearly identical format in Ebla and in Abū Ṣalābīkh.[42] And among these there are our first bilingual texts which, moreover, are virtual duplicates from material from Babylonia.[43]

Thus the question now seems to have to be put in somewhat different terms: Why is it that (a) an unmistakably Semitic adaptation of Sumerian cuneiform is attested in the outlying regions long before it appears in the Mesopotamian heartland, (b) bilingual texts also first appear in these Semitic speaking regions at about the same time,[44] and (c) this happened shortly after 'true' writing (i.e. including a system for noting phonetic or at least phonemic features), bound texts such as literary compositions, and standardised lexical works[45] in list form had appeared in the heartland itself?

3. At this point it seems advisable to take a closer look[46] at the written documentation of bilingualism that we possess.

First, at about 2400 BCE, come the bilingual lists from Ebla; as such, these lists were imported from Mesopotamia proper where they existed only in unilingual (Sumerian) format. Around 2300 king Sargon of Agade probably destroyed Ebla; but from this period, the first time that Akkadian was used as the official language of government and administration in Mesopotamia proper, also come the first attestations of professional translators (in Sumerian eme-bal "language-turner" or inim-bal "word-turner"; in Akkadian *targumannu* "interpreter"[47]).

In the heartland, more specifically in Babylonia, it would take half a millennium before a start was made with putting bilingualism in writing. The first translation culumns (in Akkadian) were added to the hitherto unilingual Sumerian lexical lists; also scribes started to add Akkadian interlinear glosses[48] in smaller script to words or expressions in a Sumerian text that they found difficult, although the difficulty sometimes escapes us,

[39] For the term and its meaning see Milano 1995.

[40] For the status of Eblaite as East Akkadian, see now Huehnergard 1995: 2119–20, Faber 1997: 7 and Krebernik 1996. For some earlier statements on the problem see Garbini, Kienast, lambert, Caplice and von Soden, all 1981.

[41] See Biggs 1974.

[42] See Biggs 1981.

[43] See Pettinato 1981 and previous footnote.

[44] Cooper 1993b and Hallo 1996 both give a handy overview of the development and growth of bilinguality in cuneiform.

[45] See Biggs 1981 and, for an overview of the earliest lexicographic lists from the heartland, Nissen 1981. To be quite fair, it should be stressed that the older material from Uruk already contains a high number of lexicographic texts; see Nissen 1998: 24–25, and Nissen, Damerow & Englund for the broader picture of the earliest writings.

[46] Guided by Cooper 1993b and Hallo 1996.

[47] See Hallo 1996: 158.

[48] For the glosses see Krecher 1971 and Cooper 1993b: 93 note 11.

while we may find other parts, unglossed, far more difficult.

Gradually, and undoubtedly related to the creation of a literature in Akkadian in its own right, which started – if we take 'literature' in a broad meaning, including magic formula and official statements – in the Agade period, and seems to have taken a new and powerful lease of life at the end of the Old Babylonian period (ca. 1750), these 'methods', consisting of lists which were translated only haphazardly and had little if any practical value for the translation of actual texts, or of whimsically adding a sprinkling of glosses, were felt to be insufficient. Therefore the notion arose that one might just as well fully translate a Sumerian text. At first these translations took the format known from the list works: an Akkadian column was added to the right of the Sumerian column. The very first such real Sumero-Akkadian bilingual comes from the deep South-East and can be dated to ca. 1900 BCE[49] – thus actually antedating the first glosses we meet. But, perhaps influenced by the interlinear glosses, another format developed: that of a full interlinear translation. In the latter half of the second millennium the interlinear format won out, and the column format all but disappeared.[50] Cooper[51] plausibly suggests a practical reason for this: the line of the text in Sumerian as well as in Akkadian would become squeezed by having to fit into two necessarily narrow columns; while the interlinear format preserves the spread of the lines to their 'natural' length, i.e. the breadth of a single column tablet, or the acceptable breadth of the traditional multi-column tablets. Still, even the basically interlinear format allows for a number of formal variants, fully illustrated and discussed by Cooper.[52]

In any case, bilingual texts, and those mostly in the interlinear format, entered into the canon as this was being constructed near the end of the second millennium and survived till the end of cuneiform civilisation. But even this certainty is not without its mystery. Apart from the lexicographic and related works, which had become bilingual by nature, there seems to be no rhyme or reason to the selection of texts that were preserved in bilingual form. We have a few remnants of the great Sumerian literature and a few collections of proverbs;[53] there are some bilingual royal 'inscriptions' from later times as well, but Cooper correctly notes that these are surprisingly few.[54] But the

[49] See Cooper 1993b: figure 6 ; the text, which comes from Girsu, is found in Cros 1910: 212. The format is clearly that of two columns; but this remains relatively rare in Babylonia proper, while it seems to have been common, or at least accepted practice in Hattusha, the Hittite capital (see Cooper 1971/2) and in Assur (see Hallo 1977: 585).

[50] Although, as Hallo (1996: 160) points out, other formats were sometimes used, perhaps experimentally or playfully. In one case the Akkadian is put as a central column between the two halves of a split Sumerian column; in another case the reverse of the tablet translates the obverse; and in some cases the Akkadian translation of a Sumerian text was 'published' independently, i.e. on a separate tablet.

[51] Cooper 1993b: 80–81.

[52] Cooper 1993b. His dissertation (Cooper 1969) is an excellent analysis of the four main groups of bilinguals, to wit the Old Babylonian, Kassite, Neo-Assyrian Library, and first millennium materials. In view of the massive growth of material, the expansion of our understanding, and the new aspects of the matter relating to the documentation from the far West, this work - the only book length treatment of the matter - should perhaps be taken up again.

[53] Incidentally, the proverbs are mostly put in Sumerian and Akkadian columns, and not translated interlinearily. I suppose that this is because of their relative brevity.

[54] Cooper 1993: 84. The kings of the Agade period (ca. 2300–2190 BCE) apparently inaugurated the use of both languages for their official inscriptions. But we know these bilinguals from later copies on tablets. Old Babylonian kings continued to do so, and also from later times there are a few originals and many more late copies on tablets. It is not always clear whether the inscriptions on tablets are true copies of existent inscriptions. See Gelb & Kienast 1990 and Frayne 1990 for the Agade and Old Babylonian period

bulk of bilingual material is devoted to magical and ritual texts and prayers, and the Sumerian part of these texts, which is very often in the eme-sal dialect anyway, normally has no counterpart at all in the older, classical Sumerian literature.[55] It is hard to perceive any practical need or even purpose to the bilingualism of these texts; but one cannot fail to see that the use of Sumerian and its translation into Akkadian was relegated to one (or at best a few) restricted applications.

Yet at the same time the use of *Sumerograms*, that is the use of signs in (one of) their possible meanings in Sumerian to write all kinds of possible forms of the corresponding Akkadian root, grows apace. Michalowski gives a splendid example, actually taken from the last dated cuneiform tablet: part of an astronomical almanac. The text has:

> 14 gud maš-maš kur 14 na 27 kur
> 14 Mercury Gemini Reach 14 Moonset-after-Sunrise 27 Last-Lunar-Visibility-Before-Sunrise, or in other words:
> On the 14th day Mercury will rise in Gemini;
> on the 14th day the moon will set after sunrise;
> on the 27th day the last visibility of the moon will be before sunrise.
> Explanation:
> GUD = the planet Mercury; MAŠ-MAŠ = the constellation Gemini;
> KUR = either *napāḫu* 'to shine' or 'to rise (of luminaries)', or *kašādu* 'to reach (towards), indicating the period between the risingof the moon and the rising of the sun; NA = ?,[56] but we know that it indicates the first visibility of the moon after sunrise.[57]

Is this bilingual? Not by any means. It is not even normal writing; and it is a far cry from the relatively clear and simple system of cuneiform as adapted for Akkadian that we know, wherein about 80% of the signs are sound signs. There is not a single phoneticised sign here. The 'sumerograms' are used here technically as formulae, and have to be interpreted by the reader instead of being 'read'. Nor is this an exception; technical texts abound in Sumerograms strung together in formulae that only the initiated can interpret.[58] In a way this takes us back to the very origin of cuneiform writing. Still, the fact that they use Sumerograms that are in most instances easily traceable to their now specialised technical meaning, and not purely arbitrary signs, also has significance. The reason for this technical use of what are practically exclusively Sumerograms is obvious: it is much shorter and faster than writing out the report in full and in longhand, and one can readily come to an agreement defining any 'Sumerian' word sign as having *this* and *only this* meaning, and using another one in another meaning. But they keep to the 'original' Sumerian meaning as closely as is practicable. And I will try to show that this, too, has something to do with our subject.

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inscriptions, and Buccelati 1993 for a fascinating reconstruction of a monument on the basis of the tablet copies of the inscription.

[55] For an overview of this material up till 1975 or thereabouts, see Krecher 1980.

[56] We do not know which Akkadian reading was meant.

[57] Michalowski 1998: 48. For the tablet, dated to 74/5 CE, see Sachs 1976: 393 .

[58] In fact, the astrological reports to the Assyrian Kings use this kind of annotation for more than half of their textual make-up (see Hunger 1992). But it is only in the latest texts of highly technical nature that the situation is so extreme as in this example.

4. But let us retrace our steps a little. Thus far we have treated the matter as if only bilingualism need concern us. This is very far from true. From many indications we know now that, although the North of Mesopotamia was largely Semitic/Akkadian-speaking and the South was predominantly Sumerian-speaking, and granted the fact that it was the Sumerians who invented cuneiform, the two languages have lived alongside each other in a perfect symbiosis.[59] This close contact over a period of centuries has caused mutual interference.[60] But it has also had another, and somehow unexpected effect.

4.1. The system of writing invented by the Sumerians was supposed to be applicable to Akkadian as well. In fact, writing was not invented for the purpose of writing language. Of course, writing is *closely related* to language, since the inventors were language-users after all, and since the whole point of writing was the notation of a message or order or aide-mémoire which at some point also will have had a linguistic expression. But this is not what writing intends to do: in its origin it simply intends to lay down the gist of the message rather than the message-as-such.[61] Sequence, structuring and form of the signs upon the bearer are not the only ways in which to achieve this goal: the format of the tablet itself, and even the place where it is kept, can fill out the 'reading' of the tablet. Moreover, the signs themselves in their bureaucratically pre-ordained order contain only the essential and formalised 'hard facts' of the message. The earliest documents are bureaucratic forms. But still there is an important exception: among the earliest documents there are also a relatively important number of 'lexical lists', such as lists of types of pottery with different forms and meant for different contents.[62] Now one can easily see that this type of list might come in very handy in an administrative office. But here, as well as with regard to the language content of the earliest writngs, something unforeseen happened. A renewed scrutiny of the earliest 'lexical texts' will certainly make things clearer, but is is already apparent that the list format seems to have evolved of its own volition – or rather by the conscious intention of the scribes – into an independent format or 'genre'. They began to draw up lists for their own sake. A parallel development must have taken place on the language front. From very early on, the arsenal of signs was at points made more manageable by the use of rebus-writing, which can only work when it is based upon sound, that is: on the phonetic level of language. This was probably only intended to make the steadily growing system and number of different signs, and which is worse, of sign-differentations, easier to handle. We do not know when, but at some point between 3200 and 2600 BCE the writing system had evolved so far that it was now used for expressing language as such.[63] This

[59] See Bottéro 1987: 89–92 for a very succinct but exquisitely balanced statement of the matter of 'ethnic' structure of the early Mesopotamians.

[60] The mutual borrowings attest this. See e.g. Cooper 1973; Falkenstein 1960; Kraus 1970; M. Lambert 1963; Oberhuber 1981. Some relatively recent studies of this interference in the theoretical framework of the 'languages-in-contact' problem are Haayer 1986 and Pedersén 1989.

[61] In Jakobsonian terms this means that originally writing was not so much directed to the message, but to the receiver; or, in his functional translation, the communication was 'conative' rather than 'poetic'. For this first stage of writing, see extensively Nissen, Damerow & Englund 1993.

[62] There is a fine picture of such a list in Nissen 1998: 25.

[63] In evolutionary biology there is a very apt term for this phenomenon, which by the way is one of the driving forces of evolution: this is *exaptation*, which means that a certain feature that evolved as an adaptation to certain circumstances can have untold other possibilities, which can become much more important further along the evolutionary road. Birds and other flying animals emphatically did not develop wings in order to

is not to say that it was even now meant to express a given segment of language in its entirety;[64] but the exclusive use for bureaucracy no longer existed. Indeed, from 2600 on writing is used for literature, for perpetuating itself (the lexical works which are in essence also exercises in 'writing' in the new sense) as well as for bureaucracy.

4.2. And it is at about this point in time that we find our very first bilinguals: in the West the Sumerian system is being adapted to the local Semitic dialect, while the Sumerian stock remains the base. Why not in Mesopotamia proper? A plausible answer may be that it was not necessary in Mesopotamia. Due to the inherent bilingualism, or let us say the close, all-pervading and steady contact between the twin languages, translation into Akkadian was not felt to be needed for most purposes. Notwithstanding the fact that the population became more and more linguistically Akkadian, they, or at least those that were using and used to writing, had sufficient knowledge of Sumerian to do their own translation for themselves, if necessary. In fact, even at a much later time, in the Old Babylonian schools, the lexical lists did not have an Akkadian column added, while it is virtually certain that in class the Sumerian was translated into Akkadian.[65] Thus the bilingualism is, as it were, hidden by its sheer dominance.

It is also clear that, whatever the earlier linguistic composition of the population may have been, bilingualism in the sense that two languages are being used concurrently, from rather early on had become a school thing.[66] There is even an indication that in school the spoken use of Akkadian was forbidden; but since this comes from one of the satirical sketches of school life we do not know how serious it must be taken.

Even so, there seem to have been local variations, and different levels, in the competence in Sumerian:

> There is a story in Akkadian about a doctor from Isin who has healed someone who was bitten by a dog. The patient tells the doctor that he (the doctor) will have to go to Nippur, and gives him semiprecise[67] directions for finding the house where he will get his fee. But when the doctor arrives in Nippur, and asks for directions he is answered in Sumerian, which he does not understand. He becomes angry, and shouts : "Why do you curse me?". His interlocutor is surprised and replies: "I am not cursing you! I merely said 'Yes sir!' " This sequence is repeated a few times, and finally the students are told to come and chase this stupid doctor out of town by pelting him with their tablets.[68]

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be able to fly.

[64] This came much later: only in the second millennium, when Sumerian had probably already been dead as a spoken language for some time. See Cooper 1973 and Michalowski 1998: 43.

[65] See e.g. Veldhuis 1997: 46–7; 54–5; 102–11. Especially in the latter passage Veldhuis argues correctly that the very format of passages from the list proves the existence, albeit not in written form, of the 'Akkadian column'.

[66] Bearing in mind that already by 2500 BCE many of the scribes of the unilingual Sumerian lists and literary texts bore Akkadian names.

[67] Of the kind of : "First right, then third left, then second right, then ask someone".

[68] See Foster 1993: 835–36, with the most important recent literature. The piece is Old Babylonian. Note that this is not the only funny story wherein we find Nippur and Isin mentioned. The story about the "Poor Man of Nippur" – which by the way is known in many different later cultures, from Medieval Cairo to present-day Sicily – relates how the main personage Gimil-Ninurta disguises himself as "a doctor from Isin". Maybe the two notions are not unrelated: is the underlying point perhaps that the medical school of Isin enjoyed a very high but, according to the people from Nippur, totally undeserved reputation. Furthermore, it would be wonderful if we would be able to pin down the composition of these two stories to the period 2000–2750

This story has several layers; but for our purpose it may suffice to point out that (a) it was apparently possible, if unfortunate,[69] for a doctor to be completely ignorant of spoken Sumerian, and (b) it is pretended here at least that in Nippur one could still hear Sumerian spoken in the street: the person answering our doctor in Sumerian is a female vegetable vendor sitting in the street. Also, the comic force of this piece is partly based on the fact that instruction is in effect instruction in Sumerian; and we may safely assume that 'other subjects', if they were taught systematically at all, were taught in Sumerian.[70] The link between school, even in its most material aspect, and bilingualism is reinforced in our story at the end: the students have to pelt him with their tablets. This is a very nice touch. In the very early stages of education the students did their exercises on rather small tablets in the form of lentils[71] – ideal projectiles for pelting someone. It also implies that even the first graders of Nippur were more advanced than this doctor from Isin.

4.3. But bilingualism, by the very virtue that it is bound up with schooling in writing/Sumerian, is also linked with the cuneiform sign.

As was stated above, writing was not invented in the first place to note language as such. This slight but real gap between writing and language was exploited later in an unexpected way. Even later, when the cuneiform signs had become more and more phoneticised, the possibility of using them either in a broader, not-yet-phoneticised way, or for different phonetic groups remained always present. This principle by the way also explains partly the somewhat strange polyvalency of so many signs: for a major part of the writing system, even after phonetisation, there was almost never a one-to-one correspondence between sign and phonetic/phonemic group. This certainly applied to the Sumerian-Akkadian question. In the earliest period it was irrelevant to a certain degree, and for a certain type of document, whether it was 'read' in Sumerian or in Akkadian. And this possibility persisted for a long time. Not so long ago Michalowski gave us a splendid selection of very early letters.[72] There are several interesting aspects to this collection. From very early times there are a good number of letters in Akkadian, even in the South or South-East; also the same archives sometimes contain letters in Akkadian as well as in Sumerian;[73] and finally, a number of these 'letters' are so formulaic that they might be read in Akkadian as well as in Sumerian. In a later contribution[74] he quotes and discusses a law report which, containing 9 lines, is Sumerian in ll. 1–7, while 8–9 are unmistakably Akkadian (albeit by virtue of a single sign: the preposition *in*; the rest of these two lines are a place name, for which Sumerian/Akkadian is irrelevant). Yet ll. 1–7 are highly formulaic. Is the letter to be read in Akkadian on the force of this single sign? Or, as Michalowski suggests, do we have here real bilingualism: l. 8 opens the testimony of a person; this might mean that the report of the case is drawn up in

BCE, when Isin was a kind of national capital. But provisionally we cannot. For the story and references, see Foster 1993: 829–34.

[69] We may at least suppose that as a doctor he would have been exposed to a modicum of writing; and writing implies Sumerian.

[70] See Sjöberg 1975 and Volk 1996.

[71] See Veldhuis 1997: 38–9 and Falkowitz 1984.

[72] Michalowski 1993.

[73] The so-called Mesag archive; see Michalowski 1993: 42–4.

[74] Michalowski 1998: 45–6.

(legalese) Sumerian, but witnesses' declarations in Akkadian. From a somewhat later period we have a large number of contracts of every kind.[75] These are practically always in Akkadian; but in some cases they are interspersed with Sumerian legal formulae, and the dating is always in the form of Sumerian Royal year names, truncated or not. It is possible that these legal formulae, and the year names, when read, would be read in Akkadian. On the other hand, this does not seem necessary: here also one might well have true bilingualism, as in Michalowski's example.

In any case, we can find, now and then, bilingual puns in unexpected places, showing that the scribal environment on evey level was well aware of the cross-linguistic polyvalence of the system. A famous example occurs in one of the Enmerkar stories. In *Enmerkar and EnSUḪkešdana*[76] there is a sorcery contest. Both contestants conjure up different kinds of animals by throwing fish sppawn in the river. The Sumerian for 'fish spawn' seems to be agargara;[77] but the sign with which this is written is NUN, which in Sumerian can mean 'prince' or the like. But the Akkadian word for fish is *nūnum*!

It is in this vein that in the late periods a lot of mostly mystical speculation is performed on the basis of the sign lists and lexical lists which had long since acquired their Akkadian column and canonical standard,[78] so that they could now be used as a mine of 'hidden' information and knowledge that copuld be brought to light by judicious combinations. The most famous instance of this philological alchemy is the last tablet of *enūma eliš*,[79] where they parse the names and titles of Marduk into their constituent signs, then substitute these signs with corresponding signs, then recombine them etc. always switching back and forth between Akkadian and Sumerian, and always arriving at a new 'meaning' that is supposed to have been hidden in the holy name anyway. The technique can be found in many other types of commentary to texts or even rituals.[80]

In fact, in Saussurean terms the Mesopotamians regarded the cuneiform sign much as semiotics regards any sign, with this important difference: for every *signifiant* there are at least two, and possibly more, *signifié's*. This doubling of *signifié's* is not merely a consequence of bilingualism in that the Sumerian system was applied to Akkadian; it also made possible this application without wrenching the system apart. It always remained present, and as we have seen even returns in force at the very end of cuneiform civilisations when texts to be read or understood in Akkadian can be written totally in Sumerograms. It is ironic to note that from this point of view – and possibly from the Mesopotamian point of view as well – Halévy's opinions were not so crazy after all. Barring the unwarranted conclusion that he arrived at, to wit that there was no such thing as Sumerian, his idea of allography would not have shocked a scribe in Mesopotamia. They truly regarded the twin languages as indissolubly annealed by means of the cuneiform sign. And they were right.

In fact, the basis and carrier of bilingualism throughout Mesopotamian cultural history, which consists in the persistence of Sumerian, is therefore the cuneiform sign. By that token it is fitting to round off this discussion by referring back to the passage

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[75] A large selection of them is to be found in Huehnergard 1996.
[76] Berlin 1979; see now Vanstiphout 1999: 79–80.
[77] Perhaps literally 'spent/scattered/spread out semen'.
[78] See Veldhuis 1997: 71–5.
[79] See Bottéro 1977.
[80] See Livingstone 1986, *passim*.

from Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta quoted at the beginning, and to remind ourselves that not so much further on in that story Enmerkar, Lord of Uruk, invents cuneiform.[81]

5. In conclusion, the following seem to be the most salient facts concerning Mesopotamian bilingualism.

(a) Bilingualism in Mesopotamia was originally of the type known from multilingual communities in the modern world, to wit, a matter of two or more linguistic communities living closely together though not necessarily among each other. This implies that though there is a vast amount of interaction between the two languages, in different degrees, the linguistic communities remain separate units.

(b) The invention of cuneiform, and its early application to the notation of language as such, first happened within one linguistic community: the Sumerian speakers. However, the close connection between these languages, and the early demise of Sumerian as a spoken language on street level, made for a *virtual* bilingualism of the writing system itself. In other words, early 'Sumerian' cuneiform could always be 'read' in Akkadian as well.

(c) Therefore much Sumerian material in the older periods is *virtually* bilingual. True bilingual texts, in the sense of translations from the Sumerian, are first met with in the West, where the spoken language was not proper Akkadian.

(d) With the expansion of Akkadian as the prime language in most spheres of daily life, Sumerian proper becomes more and more a matter of schooling and education. Paradoxically it is the demise of Sumerian as an everyday language that has preserved it for us in such great wealth. Bilingualism has become the mark of the intellectual (or scribe), since it is a bilingualism based on the written cuneiform sign.

(e) This implies that in a way all writing can be understood in the two languages. The signs are bilingual; consequently the users of signs – the scribes – are bilingual.

(f) This bilingualism, inherent in the writing system itself, leads to sumerographic shorthands on the one hand (mainly in technical texts), and on the other to a bottomless well of different 'meanings' and 'uses'of a system of signs which can now be said truly to contain all the secrets of the universe – if only one could read the signs as competently as can the gods.

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[81] See Vanstiphout 1989.

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READING THE SIGNS[1]

Niek Veldhuis

1. Everyone who is engaged in Assyriology or some other arcane business knows that 'the future's not ours to see'. As Head of the Department of Semitic Languages and Cultures at Groningen University, Han Drijvers has always been very much aware that all he could promise his students was his own engagement.

The *Assyrian Dream Book* might be of some help here. It says: "if a man in his dream eats an apple, he will acquire his heart's desire".[2] The dream book is just one of the countless omen collections known from Ancient Mesopotamia. Omen texts, or omen compendia, are systematic collections of individual omina. Each omen consists of a protasis and an apodosis. The protasis is an 'if' sentence describing an observation. This observation may relate to the behaviour of animals, to the movements of the stars, to physical properties of humans, and to many other things. The apodosis in most cases is a sentence using the future tense, and describing something that will happen in the private sphere, or in the career of the king, or generally in the country as a whole. Omen compendia are organised by their protases. Astrological omina are never found on the same tablet as animal behaviour omina. Thus the first millennium series *Enūma Anu Enlil* is completely devoted to celestial omina, and includes separate chapters for observations of the moon, the sun, meteorological phenomena, earthquakes, Jupiter, Saturn, Venus, Mercury, Mars, and the fixed stars.[3] One of the chapters on the sun contains the following entries:[4]

> If the sun is surrounded by a halo and a cloud bank lies to the right, there will be catastrophe everywhere in the country.
> If the sun is surrounded by a halo and a cloud bank lies to the left: Amurru (i.e. an enemy country) will be dispersed.
> If the sun is surrounded by a halo and a red cloud bank lies to the right: the storm god Adad will beat down the crops of the country.
> If the sun is surrounded by a halo and a red cloud bank lies to the left: Adad will beat down the crops of the enemy's country.

This passage is followed by similar omina concerning yellow cloud banks and flickering cloud banks. In all, the series comprises several dozens of tablets, and several thousands of individual omina.

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[1] This contribution is based on two lectures delivered in the spring of 1997 at the Oriental Institute at Oxford and the Dept. of Near Eastern Studies at Harvard University. I should like to thank both audiences and institutions, but in particular David Brown and Jeremy Black (Oxford), Peter Machinist, Tzvi Abusch and Piotr Steinkeller (Boston) for their stimulating remarks. The bibliographical abbreviations used here are those current in Assyriology as listed in the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*.

[2] Oppenheim 1956: 136: tablet A col. iv line x+8 (see p. 272). The text is duplicated by BM 45527 (Oppenheim 1969: text 5), rev. col. ii 4′.

[3] The series is described in detail in Koch-Westenholz 1995.

[4] Van Soldt 1995: 128f. lines iii 64–67.

1.1. Yet this is but one of the well-attested first millennium omen series, and not even the longest. Another well-attested series describes symptoms of a sufferer from illness. In the apodosis the illness is ascribed to a god, or the outcome of the disease is given: he will die, or he will recover. Of this series there is a catalogue text giving the total number of lines as 3000+.[5] In the same catalogue the diagnostic omina are paired with the so-called physiognomic omina. Physiognomic omina are concerned with the characteristics of the healthy body, but they also include such things as manners of speaking, and involuntary movements, such as tics. Both the diagnostic and the physiognomic series proceed from top to toe.[6]

Perhaps the longest series, which probably had more than 120 tablets, is *Šumma ālu*.[7] It contains omina drawn from a wide variety of phenomena. The omina refer to cities, the ways in which cities are built and where they are built; houses; wells – in particular things happening during the digging of a well – ; behaviour of animals, such as cats, ants, snakes, various kinds of birds, etc.; the growth of plants, such as palm trees; human behaviour, in particular washing and sexual behaviour. *Šumma ālu* might well be called the compendium of 'terrestrial' omina, since it treats only phenomena on earth, as against those in the skies. Moreover, most omina may be regarded as chance encounters, though this does not apply to the sections on human behaviour.

The collection of dream omina comprises 11 tablets, and there are at least 24 tablets of omina concerning monstrous births, both human and animal.[8] Last but not least there are omina drawn from sacrificial animals. After the animal was killed, it was cut open by an expert diviner who would 'read' the entrails. The most important organ was the liver. Every irregularity in the appearance of the liver was of significance. The omen series concerning the liver and other organs of the sacrificial animals form a huge corpus: in the Neo-Assyrian period it consisted of more than 88 tablets, divided into ten chapters.[9]

1.2. The corpus of omen compendia described here in brief outline[10] has engendered numerous other texts and textual types. Mesopotamian astronomy developed as a by-product of celestial divination. It follows that the corpus of astronomical diaries, of star tables and procedure texts, of lists of eclipses etc. is somehow related to the omen compendia.[11] In the widely used handbook *MUL.APIN* we find a combination of both tables and omina.[12] There is a huge corpus of letters and reports written by scholars in royal service to inform the king about ominous events.[13] In most cases the events reported relate to the celestial omen series: eclipses, risings of stars, meteorological phenomena etc. Also there are numerous rituals to be performed in the case of an

[5] Finkel 1988: 148 line A 50 // B 17′. The Nimrud catalogue discussed in Finkel's article has now been republished as *CTN* IV, no. 71.
[6] For the arrangement, see Finkel 1988: 148f, line B 25′ and p. 151 A 77 // B 45′. On physiognomic omina see Reiner 1982 with references to earlier literature by Kraus and others.
[7] The contents of the series have been described by Moren 1978; see now Freedman 1998: 1–23.
[8] Edited in Leichty 1969.
[9] See Jeyes 1989: 10–11.
[10] Cryer 1994 is a discussion of the corpus.
[11] See Koch-Westenholz 1995 for the various text types.
[12] Hunger & Pingree 1989.
[13] Hunger 1992 and Parpola 1993a.

unfavourable omen.[14] Some of the omen compendia were provided with commentary texts, explaining difficult or unusual words.

In sum, the importance of the omen collections in Mesopotamian culture is not only indicated by the extant number of such collections, but also by their potency to create new texts of various types.

2. In most cases Mesopotamian omen collections are not really difficult to read or translate. Their interpretation, however, raises a number of important and complicated questions. On the one hand, omina have been dismissed as mere superstition. Neugebauer, one of the towering figures in the study of Babylonian astronomy, could not bring himself to accept that astronomy and astrology were basically two sides of the same coin.[15] On the other hand, omen texts have also been described as a kind of empirical science.[16] The detailed observation of the heavens, of animal behaviour or of the human body that is found in the omen protases, were regarded as forerunners of the kind of empiricism that defines modern science. Advocates of the latter view maintain that divination actually started with and from observation. The observation of some irregularity on the liver of a sacrificial animal happened to coincide with an important event. And since the Mesopotamians had no concept of coincidence, the two were seen as having an instrinsic, perhaps even causal relation. In the empiricist view omen collections started as collections of this kind of accidental observations. It will soon become evident why I cannot agree.

2.1. A basic problem with the interpretation of omen texts lies in the issue of contradiction. Physiognomic omina interpret every single mark on the human body. An examination of the whole body could perhaps yield twenty, thirty or even a hundred predictions, with inevitably contradictory results. On a wider scale, the corpus of omen texts is so huge, and the possibilities to interpret whatever phenomenon so varied, that every minute must yield a large number of relevant signs, each with a prediction of the future.

What is more, the omen collections contain quite a significant number of protases with 'observations' that are highly unlikely or completely impossible. There are many examples to be found among the birth omina. This collection, called *Šumma izbu* after its opening line, devotes tablet 11 to the abnormalities of the ears of a new-born child.[17] Its opening entry reads: "if an *izbu* (a new-born child with abnormalities) has no right ear: the reign of the king will come to an end". Predictably, if it has no left ear we have a favourable apodosis: "the god has heard the prayer of the king". Both anomalies are conceivable. Somewhat further on we find a set of omina for the case that the ear of the *izbu* is found in the wrong place, for instance near its cheek, or on its forehead. One need not be an expert in teratology to see that this is already pretty far-fetched. However, we have at this point not even reached the half-way mark of the tablet. There follow omina for when the ears happen to grow out of the child's buttocks; or when it has two normal

[14] These rituals have been edited in Maul 1994.
[15] Rochberg 1993: 38; Parpola 1993.
[16] Bottéro 1974; summarised in Bottéro 1992, chapter 8.
[17] See Leichty 1969: 130-43

ears and an additional one on its back; or when it has two additional ears behind its left ear. Totally in style the tablet ends with the entry: "if an *izbu* is covered with ears, there will be a(nother) king as powerful as the (present) king".

Now it is perhaps possible to conceive the most horrible malformations in a series devoted to monstrous births; but impossible protases are equally attested in the astronomical omen collections. These expert observers of the nightly skies undoubtedly knew very well that eclipses never take place on the twenty-first day of a lunar month. Similarly, it cannot have escaped them that Venus and the sun are never in opposition. But that did not prevent them from composing omina for just such events.[18]

2.2. Another bothersome problem arises with the omina taken from human voluntary behaviour. In *Šumma ālu* there is a tablet on washing; it contains entries like: "if someone washes his hands in the doorway ...", or "if someone washes his hands at noon ...", etc.[19] Other tablets of the same series deal with sexual behaviour.[20] Birth omina, or celestial portents, can be regarded as signs from the gods, in that they can conceivably be presumed to manifest themselves because the gods want to communicate something. But how must we understand the omina derived from types of behaviour that is within control of the human will?

3. Interesting and important though they are, I shall not attempt to answer these questions at length. I will merely suggest a specific approach, which is historical and intertextual, to provide a framework which may be conducive to a better understanding of the textual format of the omen collections, and of the uses of this format. This approach is very restricted; it does not address the political or religious aspects of the divination procedure. But I hope to demonstrate that it is a *useful* approach in that, at the very least, it may prevent us from asking the wrong questions.

3.1. From a few scattered references we know that divination existed in Mesopotamia as early as the third millennium; and it may well be much older.[21] Early references point to its use for the selection of candidates for important positions, in particular priests. In this early period divination was performed without the assistance of written texts. In the Old Babylonian period, on which period I will concentrate here, divination gradually moves from the official to the private domain.[22] And it is only at that point in time that its technique is at least partially put in writing. We are best informed about extispicy, the examination (for divinatory purposes) of the entrails of an animal. The animal to be examined was always an animal slaughtered in a sacrificial ceremony. Therefrom we may conclude that Old Babylonian divination clearly has a religious setting. In the ritual accompanying the divination procedure the gods are explicitly asked to write a reliable message on the entrails.

[18] These examples are taken from David Brown's insightful unpublished dissertation on the development of Babylonian and Assyrian astronomy and astrology. I should like to thank David Brown for allowing me access to the results of his investigations prior to publication.
[19] Farber 1989.
[20] See Guinan 1990.
[21] Falkenstein 1966.
[22] See Meyer 1987: 266–71.

Other types of divination from this period confirm the religious context. There are omina about the appearance and behaviour of the animal to be sacrificed. Other omen collections interpret the form of smoke, or the patterns made by oil on water. Both smoke and oil probably had a function in sacrifice. Even the physiognomic omina, for which there is at present at least one Old Babylonian witness, may have had a background in the physical condition necessary to qualify as a priest.[23] And it is probable that celestial divination must also be seen in a religious context.[24]

There are also administrative texts recording the delivery of animals to a diviner. The animals used in extispicy are primarily sheep, but birds also occur.[25] After the animal had been killed the diviner systematically examined the liver, lungs, heart and colon, in this sequence. The most important organ was the liver. This was divided into about ten zones, with suggestive names such as 'Welfare', 'Palace Gate', 'Strength' and 'Path'. All these zones have been defined anatomically.[26] It seems that the examination of the liver proceeded anti-clockwise, and in a truly systematic manner. On each zone all kinds of marks, such as lines, holes, (dis)coloured spots etc. could be found, and all of these were deemed significant. We possess about one hundred Old Babylonian extispicy compendia;[27] in these compendia, one tablet usually treats one zone. It is striking that these compendia are always in Babylonian. Sumerian, the learned language of the scribes, is never used for omen texts.[28]

3.1. The example which follows is taken from a compendium treating the lungs. In the entries translated here there appears a special mark, called *kakku*, a Babylonian word meaning 'weapon' or 'mace'. It is a protruding piece of tissue which may appear on the liver as well as on the lung.[29] On liver models the presence of a *kakku* is indicated by an arrow-like drawing (resembling → or ←), which may be pointing in various directions.[30] In the diction of omen literature this weapon mark is then said to 'look' in a given direction.

1. If there is a weapon mark in front of the middle finger of the lung, and it looks towards its head: [ ].
2. if there is a weapon mark at the base of the middle finger of the lung, and it looks towards its head: this is the weapon mark of rebellion.
4. If there is a weapon mark behind the middle finger of the lung, and it looks towards

[23] Exceptions are the Old Babylonian examples of *Šumma izbu* (Leichty 1969: 201ff.) and *Šumma ālu* (Weisberg 1970; Joannès 1994), which do not seem to have a cultic connection.

[24] Few Old Babylonian celestial omina have been published so far. See Rochberg-Halton 1988: 19 and Dietrich 1996. A comprehensive treatment of published and unpublished examples is being prepared by F. Rochberg-Halton. The religious aspect of celestial divination was stressed by Reiner 1995.

[25] The evidence for extispicy on birds is collected in Tsukimoto 1982: 108f; see further ARM 26/1:38 and Durand 1997.

[26] See most recently Leiderer 1990.

[27] See Jeyes 1989, with a list of previously published texts on pp. 7f.

[28] There are a few apparent exceptions; but these are all post Old-Babylonian, and probably translations from Babylonian originals. The earliest example known to me is an unpublished two-line exercise tablet from Nippur in the Kassite period. UM 29–13–542 reads: tukum-bi dagal-[gub$_3$ šu-si ...] / lu$_2$-bi si nu-sa$_2$ [ ] "if the space [to the left of the 'finger' (of the liver) ...], the client will not be well [ ]". For the reconstruction of line 1, see Nougayrol 1967: 225 note 49 and Kraus 1985: 181f.

[29] See Richter 1994: 212.

[30] See Meyer 1987: 218–20.

its head: someone without sense will seize the throne.

3. If the lung has two middle fingers, and the regular one is normal, and the second one sits upside down on top of the first, and looks towards the throat: a man of the king will seize the throne.
5. If the lung has two middle fingers, and the regular one is normal, and the second one stretches towards the right: the army will profit; its vanguard will be strong.
6. If the lung has two middle fingers, and the regular one is normal, and the second one stretches towards the left: [the prince] will go into exile.[31]

This example illustrates many characteristics of the omen compendium. The collections are systematic: we find three omina concerning the weapon mark: in front, at the base, or behind the 'middle finger'. Then there are three omina about a double 'middle finger', differentiated as to the direction where the additional 'finger' is pointing. The translation inverts the third and fourth omen, since it is certain that the cuneiform text is in error and the items should be placed in the order as presented here. Furthermore, the apodoses, or interpretations, relate to the protases, or descriptions of features, by some simple rules. In general, left is negative, right is positive. Therefore the 'second finger' pointing left has a negative interpretation: the prince will go into exile. The same 'finger' pointing right predicts good fortune for the army. Lastly, the weapon mark by itself is often connected with war and destruction by a somewhat transparent symbolism.

3.2. Another text type related to Old Babylonian extispicy is the model. A model is a clay object that illustrates an anomaly on the liver, lung or colon. These models were probably used for the education of diviners.[32] An interesting example, now kept in the British Museum, is a lentil-shaped tablet which on one side shows a line drawing of a scorpion. The other side is unfortunately badly broken, but it quotes the omen for the case where the colon of the (sacrificial) sheep looks like a scorpion.[33] What this model illustrates in a particularly expressive way is the *theoretical* nature of much of the omen literature. To find a sheep with a colon in this shape is highly unlikely, if not downright impossible.

4. This brings us to the next question. How were these well-organised compendia used? What was their precise function in the divination process? The answer can be short and clear: none. These handbooks were not meant for the practice of the diviner. A diviner who examined the entrails of a sheep did not carry with him a box of clay tablets. He did not go home to consult his library, even if he should happen to have one.

4.1. The actual practice of Old Babylonian divination is best known to us through a corpus of texts known as extispicy reports.[34] These have the appearance of administrative

[31] Text published in Goetze 1947 as no. 39.

[32] On models and their use see now the extensive study by Meyer 1987.

[33] BM 97877, published in photograph in Nougayrol 1972: 141. Unfortunately the protasis is broken. That the line figure represents a colon follows from the similarity in style (line drawing using a double line) with other colon models. Moreover, omina concerning the colon in the form of a scorpion are known from the omen compendia, as quoted by Nougayrol in the article cited.

[34] Literature on Old Babylonian extispicy reports is collected in Jeyes 1989: 190 note 51 (unpublished examples on p. 187 note 6). See further Tsukimoto 1982, Kraus 1985, and Mayer 1987.

tablets. The first few lines identify the god to whom the animal was offered, and record the question which was asked. A broad variety of gods is involved. Marduk is mentioned often, but lesser gods are also attested, and in an unpublished exemplar in the British Museum a lamb is slaughtered for Šu-^{d}Sîn, a king of Ur who by the time to which the text is dated had been dead for almost half a millennium.[35]

The question may be general or specific. The general question seeks information about the well-being of the client. In one piece it even specifies "for the well-being for one year".[36] The specific type has a more precise, sometimes even a fairly complex, question. Thus we have now three extispicy reports related to a merchant named Kurû who lived in Babylon in the late Old Babylonian period.[37] All these reports concern business matters. In one of them the question reads as follows:

> One bird (concerning the matter of) giving within this month the money to Kurû and Tamḫur-Martu, and of undertaking a journey to return the money as soon as they have confirmed themselves by divination.[38]

As I understand this question, the client has some money which belongs to Kurû and Tamḫur-Martu. His first question is: 'Should I repay the money within this month?'. Apparently debtor and creditor do not live in the same town, and in order to return the money a journey is necessary. Thus the second question is: 'If yes, should I undertake this journey?'. Most peculiar is the fact that the timing of the journey depends on the result of the extispicy by the other partner in the transaction! Travelling with sums of money may have been a dangerous undertaking, and here it is surrounded with supernatural security measures.

After the statement of the question, the extispicy reports continue to list the results of the examination of the exta, in terms such as : "the Welfare is there; the Palace Gate is loose" etc. In many cases a second omen report follows before the final verdict is given in the simple terms 'favourable' or 'unfavourable'. The relevant features of the exta are briefly described in technical language. The terminology corresponds to that of the omen compendia. The zones of the liver and lung are described one by one, in a rigidly fixed order. The report proper always ends with the number of convolutions of the colon. As a rule the interpretations which make the omen compendia so colourful are not included.[39] The diviner took each feature as either favourable or unfavourable. The system was thus basically binary. The outcome was then decided on the basis of a one-feature-one-vote principle. The principles by which a diviner could decide whether

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[35] BM 97433, dated Ammiṣaduqa, year 13. It is a pleasure to acknowledge here the help I received from Dr. Rosel Pientka (Marburg) in reading this tablet.

[36] VAT 13158, published by Klengel 1984: 100f.

[37] In texts from Babylon from the period of Samsuditana two persons by the name of Kurû are found. The references in administrative texts are collected in Pientka 1998: 285. See Wilcke 1990: 302–04 for two extispicy reports concerning Kurû. Note that the report VAT 13158 (see previous note) comes from the same 'archive' as one of the two Kurû extispicy reports (VAT 13451 = *VS* 22: 81). See Pedersén 1998: 335 and 336–7 on the role of Kurû in this particular archive.

[38] This is the only extispicy report known to me which concerns a bird. It has been published by Tsukimoto (1982). Read *ku-ru-u* in line 2; *na-da*$^{!}$*-nim-ma* in line 4, and *a-la-ki* in line 7. As I understand the introduction to this report, both questions are introduced by a temporal clause (*ina libbi arḫi annî* and *ina ūmi*), and a verb in the infinitive in the genitive case (*nadānimma* and *alāki*). The text badly needs collating.

[39] The one exception is *VS* 24: no. 116, edited by Mayer (1987).

a feature was favourable or unfavourable were simple and few. Right is favourable, left is unfavourable; light is favourable, dark is unfavourable; normal is favourable, abnormal is unfavourable. An unfavourable dark spot on the unfavourable left side of a liver zone adds up to a favourable result, etc. No one ever took the trouble to write down these principles, but they can be reconstructed from the reports, the extispicy prayers, the models, and the compendia.[40]

4.2. While the diviner was on duty, the omen collections were sitting idly on their shelves. What was their function? They employ a number of associative principles to connect a feature to an interpretation. The weapon mark, as has been noted above, is usually associated with armed violence, or warfare. There are also etymological, or pseudo-etymological relations between protasis and apodosis. Relative length of some part on the exta predicts a long life for the king, etc. Or the association may be rather on the level of semantics, such as the double occurrence of some mark meaning that a man will have a rival in his love affairs.[41] These associations, however, do not *in themselves* establish the meaning of the omen. The meaning of the observed features is laid down in the few binary rules explained above. The positive or negative value of a feature is a given. What the apodosis does, is providing a theoretical justification for this value by giving an interpretation based on association.

Old Babylonian omen compendia are not the reference books in which a diviner would look up the meaning of a feature encountered on the exta of his sacrificial animal. The compendia form a body of theoretical and speculative literature in which the simple binary oppositions of divinatory practice are used, expanded, and justified. It has long been recognised that omen compendia are very close in their format to lexical lists. The lexical list is one of the most persistent textual types in cuneiform. It is attested almost from the birth of writing in the late fourth millennium until well into the Hellenistic period. There are several types of lexical lists, the most important being word lists and sign lists.[42] A *word list* is typically a list of Sumerian words. It may or may not be accompanied by glosses indicating the reading of the Sumerian signs and a translation into Babylonian. *Sign lists* explain the uses of signs or sign complexes. Most signs in cuneiform may be read in a variety of ways; the signs are polyvalent. A sign list enumerates the values a sign may take in Sumerian writing. In many cases different values of one sign correspond to different Sumerian words. In some examples this is illustrated by providing Babylonian translations. The point of departure of the Old Babylonian lexical corpus is Sumerian, the language of the scribes, and hence the language of tradition.

In the list format one sign or one Sumerian word is connected to a reading or to a Babylonian translation. Similarly in the omen texts a sign found on the liver or another part of the exta is connected to an interpretation. Both text types follow a number of fairly simple sequential rules. And perhaps most importantly, both utilise a certain degree of speculation. Lexical lists contain words which are rarely or never used outside the lexical corpus. Sign lists include values which are artificial, or belong to a much

[40] For the reconstruction of these principles, see Starr 1983, chapter 2 (working from the extispicy prayers), and Meyer 1987 (working from the liver models; see particularly the summary on pp. 249–64).
[41] See Starr 1983: 9–12.
[42] For a general introduction see Civil 1995.

earlier phase of the writing system. Both lexical lists and omen compendia demonstrate an interest in systematisation and speculation which goes well beyond, and is perhaps not even related to, any practical application.

5. Extispicy belonged to the domain of religion. Old Babylonian religious practitioners made no systematic use of writing for laying down their rituals, songs and prayers. There is perhaps a gradual increase in the recording of such texts towards the end of the Old Babylonian period.[43] In earlier times the few rituals and incantations we have seem to be mere accidental recordings. Likewise the practice of extispicy depended upon the memory of the diviner. He knew the rules for evaluating the features as positive or negative. For some reason, however, the impetus was felt to write down this theoretical and speculative part of divination. And this was done in a way that is clearly reminiscent of the venerable lexical tradition. To me this seems to be an appropriation of the intellectual prestige of the lexical lists on the part of the diviners.

5.1. Old Babylonian extispicy texts do not predict the future. They contain speculative knowledge of a binary kind. And they are an extension of the textual type established by the lexical tradition. The textual type that was thus developed proved to be productive. It could be used, and was in fact used, to record speculative knowledge of a broad nature. This may be seen to its full extent in the canon of texts established in the first millennium libraries. Thus it is used to describe the 'good' and the 'bad' signs in the skies. These were collected in the astronomical series which triggered so much literary activity in Sargonid Assyria. This knowledge may also be used to classify people by 'good' or 'bad' marks on their bodies. There is no sign that physiognomic omina were ever used in divinatory practice.[44] One of these texts[45] explains that when a man has a narrow face, he will increase his possessions. If he has a broad face, he will always speak indecently. If he has hair on his hands, he will get a wife, a male and a female slave. If he has short fingers, he will have a good heir. While one can look at the skies and observe a 'good' or a 'bad' sign, one can report this to the king; but there is little one can do with one's knowledge of facial or other bodily features. What we can learn from such 'omina' is that hairy hands were regarded as being manly, as something desirable, and that a broad face was associated with coarse behaviour. It has been demonstrated that *Šumma ālu* contains moral judgments, and judgments about the relations between the sexes.[46] The sexual omina paint a picture of how the male was supposed to behave sexually. All positions in which the female (of any species) takes the initiative have a negative apodosis. Omina describing homosexual relations also demonstrate that the one who is in control and takes the initiative is valued positively. The very first lines of *Šumma ālu* say:

> If a city is situated on a hill, the inhabitants of that city will be depressed.
> If a city is situated in a valley, that city will be elevated.

[43] This was argued by Michalowski 1995. See however the three Old Babylonian rituals published in Cavigneaux 1996: no's 122–124.

[44] But these texts, or rather the knowledge they contain, may have been used for the selection of candidates for important religious positions.

[45] Kraus 1935: 62f lines 17–18 and rev. 2–3.

[46] Guinan 1989 and 1990.

This can easily be dismissed as nonsense, since most cities in the Ancient Near East *were* situated on a hill. But the lines may well be understood as a moral maxim concerning pride and modesty.[47] There is a famous literary text, known as *Advice to a Prince*[48] which uses the omen format to list a number of instances of princely behaviour to be approved or censured. If the king does not heed justice, his people will become confused, and the country will be destroyed. If he does not heed his magnates, his own days will be shortened. If he does not heed his counsellors, the country will revolt against him, etc. The text differs from the omen collections proper by a few formal features. The most important of these is that the sentences do not begin with *šumma* 'if', even though these 'ifs' must be supplied to make the text intelligible. *Advice to a Prince* is a literary composition, and does not belong to the inner core of the omen compendia. Yet given its contents the omen format is understandable.

Also, the physiognomic omen series contain explicit sections which are not concerned with the body, but with characterial features:[49]

> If he thinks "I am a hero," he will be embarrased.
> If he thinks "I can do it," he will be insignificant.
> If he thinks "I am feeble," he will be in power.
> If he thinks "I am miserable," he will be rich.

Here speculative thinking has turned into the production of paradoxes.

5.2. The Old Babylonian extispicy compendia elaborated in a speculative way the knowledge of the diviners. This was a knowledge that hardly depended on written texts. This speculative character of the omen compendia is also present in the first millennium texts. However, the first millennium uses of literacy are quite different from those in the Old Babylonian period. It is clear that in the Sargonid period some omen series, and particularly the astrological ones, were actually consulted, since there are references to this effect in letters and reports. This reflects a change in the way the written word was used and regarded. Colophons and editorial remarks on first millennium tablets show that now it was deemed important that a text be transmitted as faithfully as possible. Colophons not only mention the name of the copyist, but often also the provenance of the original from which the copy was made, such as "an old tablet from Babylon". We may further be informed that the tablet is "finished and collated". In the body of the text a sentence may suddenly break off, the break being followed by the remark *ḫepi* 'broken'. This indicates that the original was damaged at this point, and could therefore not be copied. Such paratextual features are corollaries of the gradual standardisation which affected almost every area of the Mesopotamian written tradition. The importance of a correct and reliable transmission is put in explicit terms in the omen catalogue edited by Finkel (1988). Backed by an extensive legitimation, including ancestry and function, the scribe Esagil-kīn-apli declares having produced an authoritative version of the diagnostic omen series SA.GIG. The state the series was in before his own work, he describes as "twisted threads for which no duplicates were

[47] See Guinan 1989.
[48] Most recent edition in Cole 1996: 268–74.
[49] Kraus 1936: 98f. lines 8–11.

available".[50] Exaggerating for clarity's sake one might say that Old Babylonian texts are the products of authoritative *scholars*, while first millennium *texts* are *themselves* the authoritative sources and bearers of knowledge. In cases of ominous phenomena of difficult interpretation, the omen compendia could be consulted in libraries. Yet the meaning of the presence of these compendia in the first millennium tablet collections is hardly exhausted by these consultations. Like their Old Babylonian predecessors, the omen compendia are primarily collections of speculative knowledge. The speculative character of this knowledge is even enhanced by the dynamics of system-building. Once one has started to describe anomalies with ears in odd places, it is hard to stop.

6. Omen collections may not be dismissed as mere superstition, nor may they be regarded as early precursors of empirical science. They do represent a kind of scholarship perhaps comparable to scholastic theology, or at least the somewhat caricatural 'scholasticism' discussing the number of angels that can sit on the point of a needle. Much like present-day Assyriology, this kind of scholarship has little relevance for the necessities of daily life. And apparently our scholars knew this very well. Line 70 of *Šumma Ālu* tablet 1 reads:

> If a city is full of fools, that city will be happy.
> If a city is full of intellectuals, abandonment of the city.[51]

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[50] Finkel 1988: 148f.
[51] Freedman 1998: 32; 87 and 90.

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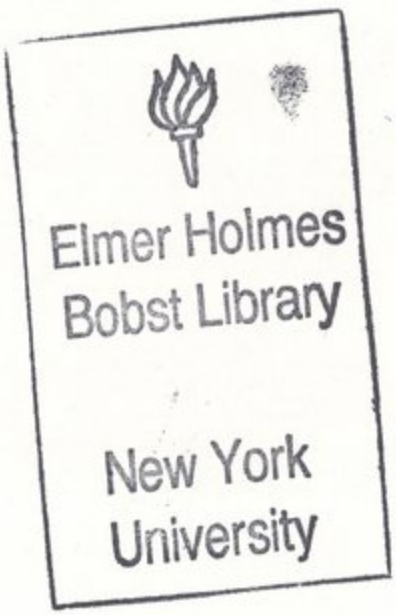
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