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*John Pairman Brown*

# ISRAEL AND HELLAS

II: SACRED INSTITUTIONS WITH ROMAN  
COUNTERPARTS

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John Pairman Brown  
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Sacred Institutions with Roman Counterparts



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## AUTHOR'S PREFACE

It appears now that *Israel and Hellas* will extend to three volumes, and this is the place to outline their contents. If (as I trust) BZAW 231 some day requires reprinting, it will appear as "Israel and Hellas I: The Vocabulary of Social Enterprises." The present volume is already labelled "Israel and Hellas II: Sacred Institutions with Roman Counterparts." The work is to be completed by "Israel and Hellas III: The Legacy of Iranian Imperialism and the Individual"; my expectation is for it also to appear in the series BZAW.

Those subtitles represent less an advance program than descriptions after the fact: my work is not deductive, but inductive. All of the 24 projected chapters except four programmatic ones take up a theme where I saw some connection between the societies of Israel and Hellas, and work it out as thoroughly as I could. Texts which emerge in one chapter are often utilized from a different viewpoint in another; generalizations made in one context may be modified in another. Repetitions are partly inadvertent, more often intentional. My stubborn insistence on quoting and explaining parallel texts regularly leads to further documentation; and that process, in principle endless, weaves a net of connections among the chapters.

Volume I represents the work of a first decade, from the late 1960's through the 1970's, when my ear was best attuned to the common vocabulary of Hebrew and Greek, with other languages too. After the programmatic Chapter 1, analyzing the novelty of the Israelite and Hellenic city-state, eight more chapters on clusters of shared words all turn out to cover international enterprises, with some parade examples in Chapter 2: trade in spices and jewels, the combat-myth, the architecture of Babylon, the griffin as art-object. Then follow studies of the tuna-fishery (Chap. 3), viticulture (Chap. 4), military matériel (Chap. 5), the sacrificial cult (Chap. 6), the foreign woman (Chap. 7), the treaty (Chap. 8, with minimal common vocabulary), and a gold-economy as carrier of proverbs (Chap. 9).

In the 1980's, as my hearing dimmed, my eye turned towards sacred institutions beyond the sacrificial cult with fewer new agreements in

vocabulary, where (as it turned out) the best parallels to Israel appear less in Hellas than further West in the Etruscan-Roman world. Seven chapters here, all revising published articles, appear as the first seven on the list of I.9, and stand roughly in the order of conception. Thus (Chap. 10) the heart of the new emergent in Israel and Hellas is the recognition of a God of justice; but a people's spokesman with sacral immunity is clearest in the Roman tribunate. That High God (Chap. 11) was originally seen as responsible for the "elements," things falling from the sky, where archaic beliefs are best preserved in Roman augural practice. As "great king of the gods" (Chap. 12), the divinity has a reflection in divine kingship; its functions are progressively reduced in Athens, Rome and Carthage, until a new western imperialism restores a divine monarchy in the Roman emperor. Excursus F on Carthaginian proper names is my modest contribution to Punic studies. Chap. 13 on archery continues Chap. 5 of Vol. I on military vocabulary; but now the arrow becomes the preferred symbol for the lightning and snow of the High God. Chap. 14 studies an equivalent to Siberian shamanism in the Mediterranean seer; and especially in Circe, the "witch" of En-Dor, and the Sibyl with her final home at Italian Cumae. In other sacred institutions, Near Eastern influence nearly bypasses Hellas in favor of Italy: sacred space and time (Chap. 15) in the *templum* and *saeculum*; and (Chap. 16) the house or box from which the military numen of the state goes out to engage the enemy, and returns in "triumph."

As in Vol. I, the published articles have undergone heavy revision, and can no longer be relied on for my conclusions. A final linguistic analysis (Chap. 17) cross-classifies the vocabulary studied up to that point by source-language rather than as originally by social enterprise; here the Roman theme gives way to a summary of the linguistic results in both Volumes I and II. An Appendix contains late supplements to the materials of Vol. I as in *its* Appendix, easily accessible through the full Indexes.

In the last decade of the outgoing century, the 1990's, I moved ahead in time to chronicle the emergence of a new individualism when autonomous cities were overrun by a succession of imperial states deploying Iranian symbolism. As I project the studies of Vol. III, Chap. 18, "The Double Laws of Human Nature," traces the development from Hesiod to Jesus (with Israelite parallels throughout) under Simone Weil's rubrics of Gravity and Grace. Chap. 19, "Blessedness in Better Lands," records the dawning need under individualism for an antidote to death. The force which destroyed civic solidarity and fostered individualism appears in Chapter 20, "Iranian Imperialism and the Rebel

Victim," with a new infusion of common Persian vocabulary; Iranian legacy to the following empires is discussed, leading on to the archetypal figures Prometheus, the Suffering Servant, Jesus. The most enduring Iranian motif is studied up to our own days in Chap. 21, "Paradise and the Forest of Lebanon," with environmental considerations.

After all those pages of comparison, a study of contrasts was needed, in the programmatic Chap. 22, "Complementarity of Israel and Hellas"; their difference appears in that Israel stands *just inside* the Ancient Near Eastern empires, Hellas *just outside*. Something had then to be said about their confluence in the New Testament. The long Chap. 23, "The Vocabulary of Jesus' Aramaic," boldly reconstructs his original words in view of the vast Rabbinic and Syriac loan-vocabulary; and finds deposits among them of four successive imperial languages—Akkadian, Iranian, Greek and Latin. A final summary Chap. 24, perhaps to be called "From Particularity to Universalism," summarizes the whole historical development as I would have put it at the beginning, if I had known it then.

All along I have wanted to accompany these linguistic parallels with corresponding art-works. That need is partly filled by the paper "Images and their Names" (see the Bibliography), for whose commissioning and publication (along with a wonderful week in Delphi) I thank the kindness of Tel Aviv University and the generosity of Howard Gilman. The twenty comparative illustrations there (with reference by title to many more) already mark a step beyond the present volumes which is not duplicated in them.

Once again I owe my best thanks to Prof. Otto Kaiser at Marburg, approaching the three-quarter century mark that I have just passed, for nominating Vol. II to appear in the series "BZAW," and offering hopes for a Vol. III; as equally to the staff of Walter de Gruyter, in particular Hasko von Bassi and Klaus Otterburg. Annelies Aurich and Peter Franzkowiak have coordinated work at the Press. I am sure readers will enjoy the improved Greek font and the fore-and-aft quotation marks "...".

The precious holdings of the University of California at Berkeley have been kept accessible through a large seismic retrofit. My dependence on the Flora Lamson Hewlett Library at the Graduate Theological Union since its founding has been crowned by my being named Chair of its Friends. Dean Margaret Miles at the Union provided support just when it was most needed. Emily has constantly urged me to let the story-line run smooth. Saul Levin at Binghamton has seen most of these materials at one stage or another; when he recently had a health setback, I undertook not to forward him further proofs. I send out this



Preface with a wish for his speedy restoration to full health, so as to bring his enormous linguistic labor to a fit conclusion.

Readers should note the Errata to Vol. I listed below; I regret especially the errors, detected and (I am sure) undetected, in the Indexes. Up until the last moment I continued to make changes in the proofs of Vol. II and find errata; I am confident that these complex pages continue to hold lurking residual errors, for which I proudly make the duffer's claim to originality.

I here express my warm appreciation to reviewers of Vol. I, in Biblical, Classical and Oriental journals on four continents; in particular, those to whom (as I understand) no review copy was sent. I am especially indebted to the careful critique by E. Lipiński in OLP 27 (1996) 240-243, which I have here partly accepted, partly answered. M. L. West kindly revised his *East Face of Helicon* in view of my work, and in the same year reviewed it in CR 47 (1997) 111-112. He reproved my rashness in claiming to have produced "the very first work to compare at length classical Hebrew and Greek texts" by unearthing the book of the Oxford scholar Zachary Bogan (1658)—no copy of which however (I can say in extenuation) seems to have crossed the Atlantic.

Reviewers made requests which I can fulfil only in part. One asks "which Israel is being compared with which Greece?" I enter dates for historical events, and for art-objects when they permit it. So far as Greek and Latin authors after Homer are under no suspicion of interpolation, their times stand in the manuals. But I find myself unable to break down the Hebrew Bible into documents other than those transmitted to us, or to date most of its segments (actual or surmised) within centuries either way. My comparisons are equally valid in whichever direction the influences flow, and rest on no one theory of Biblical composition.

Other reviewers asked for a fuller bibliography. But I felt that the reader had no need for a long list of works cited once or twice for particular points across the whole realm of ancient scholarship. More useful should prove Index 4 (of both volumes), which lets the user find where a given author is quoted. I further confess that I have not read a number of works which propose general connections across the Mediterranean. More are cited in West's big book. What I know is what you see. I hope that my limitations will encourage others to mine the history of scholarship more thoroughly.

Finally, several reviewers asked for fuller treatment of the proposed common vocabulary. My response is Chap. 17, where general principles are less set down in advance than put together step by step from

parallels which intrinsically commend themselves. My modest aim throughout is simply to display parallels between the Semitic and Greco-Roman worlds, whether in language or content. Where I find a plausible route of transmission I note it, with the proviso that the parallel remains, regardless of interpretation. Other parallels I merely record, in the expectation that somebody more learned, clever or venturesome than myself will discover the connecting link.

In Chapter 17 I also discuss new works of three authors that have appeared since Volume I: Moshe Weinfeld, Martin L. West ("EFH"), and Saul Levin ("SIE"). I refer to other new works as relevant: Margalith's *Sea Peoples*; Drews' *Bronze Age*; Lipiński's *Dieux et Déesses*; Bryce's *Kingdom of the Hittites*. Several new works of reference have rendered blocks of material more easily available: Palmyrene texts for the first time have been gathered by Hillers & Cussini (PAT); the second edition of the Ugaritic texts (KTU) is more legible and convenient than the first, while kept under the same siglum; the revised Supplement to the Greek lexicon (LSJSup) by Glare is most welcome; the third edition of the Oxford Classical Dictionary (OCD<sup>3</sup>) is a great step forward; the old lexicon of alphabetic Semitic (DISO) has been replaced by DNWSI, even though its unparagraphed entries are hard to read. I add two reference works on novel principles: the *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (DDD); and the beautiful and near-exhaustive *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (LIMC), now complete.

In revising the present volume I am acutely aware of all the studies of Roman antiquities that I have not read. My discussions would be even more off the mark apart from two works: Ogilvie's commentary on Livy 1-5, and Cornell's *Beginnings of Rome*. Anyway, my comparisons are not between what I or others conclude to have been the historic institutions of Israel or Rome, but between what is said about them in our texts. On p. 100 I now realize that I am perpetuating the stereotype "Athenian democracy vs. Roman oligarchy" undermined by several recent works; but there was no easy way to correct my expression on the proofs.

Like many others, I am fully convinced that no discipline is more necessary in facing the multiform perplexing problems of the contemporary world than a sympathetic reading of books written long ago in Hebrew and Greek (with Latin the foster child of Greek) as records of a newly emergent free humanity. And then the obvious first task is to find out how those literatures relate to each other. I am surprised that hardly anybody has seen that task before, and bemused at the providential course of events by which it was laid on me. I urge English-

speaking classical scholars to regard the excellence of the King James Version as pointing to an even greater original; and Biblical scholars who did not start their Greek with Homer to go back to him. I am conscious of swimming against the tide in my reservations about the permanent value of Akkadian and Egyptian texts, including *Gilgamesh*; here is one more unfinished task. As faiths come closer together, it has been a great pleasure to indicate also a few areas where Western books run parallel to the Vedas, the Avesta, the Dhammapada, and the Quran; I have taken only the smallest steps in directions where long marches are imperative.

I regret, and do not regret, the fact that the Hebrew and Greek (with Arabic!) fonts in these volumes limit their readership. I believe that some of the connections which I have been lucky enough to discover are of basic importance for our understanding of our world and of ourselves. But they rest in large part on the actual pronunciation of those old languages; and a novel phonetic scheme would have alienated classical and Biblical readers without adding new ones. I dream about an *haute vulgarisation* (illustrated?!) by which these results could be made available to any reader of English; but I remain persuaded that they could have been first reached only by some such method as the present one. I hereby turn them over free and clear to anybody that can make better use of them.

*Postscript.* The preparation of the General Index revealed to me that the primary theme of this volume is the attributes of the High God. A look at that entry will outline the topics treated. I repeat, once again I have found no way fully to verify the accuracy of all the Indexes...

October 4, 1999

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## ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY (Cumulative)

Here are listed all works, both of general reference and specific studies, referred to in shortened form. This list as cumulative includes all titles appearing in the comparable section of Vol. I (BZAW 231, XVII-XXII), whether or not they are referred to in Vol. II, and updates their bibliographical data. I have taken the liberty of adding in American style both place of publication and publisher (as relevant) for all entries, including those repeated from Vol. I. Modern studies marked with an asterisk (\*) are those I have found most useful.

- ABD: D. N. Freedman (ed.), *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*; 6 vols.; New York: Doubleday, 1992.
- ADPV: *Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*.
- AJA: *American Journal of Archaeology*.
- AJP: *American Journal of Philology*.
- Amarna: J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*; 2 vols.; repr. Aalen: Zeller, 1964. English translation and updates in W. L. Moran, *The Amarna Letters*; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1992.
- ANEP<sup>2</sup>: James B. Pritchard (ed.), *The Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Testament*; 2nd ed.; Princeton: University, 1969.
- ANET<sup>3</sup>: James B. Pritchard (ed.), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*; 3rd ed.; Princeton: University, 1969.
- ANRW: H. Temporini & W. Haase (eds.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972-.
- Astour: Michael C. Astour, *Hellenosemitica: An Ethnic and Cultural Study in West Semitic Impact on Mycenaean Greece*; Leiden: Brill, 1965.
- Bab. Talm.: *Babylonian Talmud*.
- BAGD: Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich-Danker, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*; 2nd ed.; Chicago: University, 1979.
- BAH: *Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique*.
- BASOR: *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*.
- BCH: *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*.
- BDB: Brown, Driver & Briggs: *Hebrew and English Lexicon*.



- Benz: Frank L. Benz, *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions: A Catalog, Grammatical Study and Glossary of Elements*; *Studia Pohl* 8; Rome: Biblical Institute, 1972.
- Bernal: Martin Bernal, *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization*. Vol. 1: *The Fabrication of Ancient Greece 1785-1985*; London: Free Association, 1987; Vol. 2: *The Archaeological and Documentary Evidence*; New Brunswick: Rutgers Univ. 1991.
- BGU: Berliner Griechische Urkunden.
- Bib. Arch.: Biblical Archaeologist.
- BibZ: Biblische Zeitschrift.
- Bogan: Zachary Bogan, *Homerus ἑβραϊζων sive comparatio Homerici cum scriptoribus sacris quoad normam loquendi*; Oxford, 1658.
- Bomhard: Allan R. Bomhard & John C. Kerns, *The Nostratic Macrofamily: A Study in Distant Linguistic Relationships*; *Trends in Linguistics; Studies and Monographs* 74; Berlin/New York; Mouton de Gruyter, 1994.
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- \* Bonnet, Melqart: Corinne Bonnet, Melqart: *Cultes et mythes de l'Héraclès tyrien en Méditerranée*; *Studia Phoenicia* 8; *Bib. de la fac. de phil. et lettres de Namur* 69; Leuven: Peeters, 1988.
- Borger: R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons Königs von Assyrien*; *Archiv für Orientforschung Beiheft* 9; 1956/1967.
- \* Briquel-Chatonnet: F. Briquel-Chatonnet, *Les relations entre les cités de la côte phénicienne et les royaumes d'Israël et de Juda*; *Orientalia Lovaniensia* 46; *Studia Phoenicia* 12; Leuven: Peeters, 1992.
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- Bryce: Trevor Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites*; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998.
- \* Burkert, *Homo Necans*: Walter Burkert, *Homo Necans: The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth*; tr. P. Bing from the German ed. of 1972, and revised by the author; Berkeley: Univ. of California, 1983.
- \* Burkert, *Or. Rev.*: Walter Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution: Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Age*; Cambridge: Harvard, 1992: English tr. (with extensive revisions by the author) of *Die orientalisierende Epoche in der griechischen Religion und Literatur (Sitzungsb. der Heid. Akad. der Wiss., Phil.-hist. Klasse, 1984)*.
- BZAW: *Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*.
- CAD: *The Assyrian Dictionary of the University of Chicago*.
- CAH: *Cambridge Ancient History*.
- \* *Cambridge Iliad*: G. S. Kirk (general ed.), *The Iliad: A Commentary*; 6 vols.; Cambridge: University, 1985-1993.
- \* Casabona: Jean Casabona, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire des sacrifices en grec des origines à la fin de l'époque classique*; *Pub. des Annales de la Faculté des Lettres Aix-en-Provence n.s. 56*; Ophrys, 1966.
- \* Casson, *Periplus*: Lionel Casson, *The Periplus Maris Erythraei*; Princeton: University, 1989.
- CFHB: *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*.
- Chantraine: P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque; histoire des mots*; 4 vols.; Paris: Klincksieck, 1968-1980.
- Charlesworth: J. Charlesworth (ed.), *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*; 2 vols.; Garden City: Doubleday, 1983-1985.
- CIJ: *Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum*, ed. J. B. Frey; New York: Ktav, 1975.
- CIL: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.
- CIS: *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*.
- Claridge: Amanda Claridge, *Rome: An Oxford Archaeological Guide*; Oxford: University, 1998.
- Cook, *Zeus*: A. B. Cook, *Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion*; 3 vols. in 5; Cambridge: University, 1914-1940.
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- \* Cornell: T.J. Cornell, *The Beginnings of Rome: Italy and Rome from the Bronze Age to the Punic Wars (c. 1000—264 BC)*; London: Routledge, 1995.
- Corp. Christ.: *Corpus Christianorum, series latina*.

- Cowley: A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.*; Oxford: Clarendon, 1923 [partly replaced by B. Porten & A. Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic documents from ancient Egypt*; Jerusalem: Hebrew University; in progress, 1986-; not referred to here].
- CPG: E. Leutsch & F. G. Schneidewin, *Corpus Papyrographorum Graecorum*; 2 vols.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1839-1851.
- CPJ: V. A. Tcherikover & A. Fuchs, *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*; 3 vols.; Cambridge: Harvard for Magnes Press, 1957-1964.
- CR: *Classical Review*.
- CRAI: *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*.
- CSCO: *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*.
- CSEL: *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*.
- CSHB: *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*.
- Cuny: Albert Cuny, *Invitation à l'étude comparative des langues indo-européennes et des langues chamito-sémitiques*; Bordeaux: Bière, 1946.
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- \* DCP: Édouard Lipiński (ed.), *Dictionnaire de la civilisation phénicienne et punique*; Brepols, 1992.
- DDD: K. van den Toorn et alii, *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*; Leiden: Brill, 1995.
- DISO: C.-F. Jean & J. Hoftijzer, *Dictionnaire des Inscriptions Sémitiques de l'Ouest*; Leiden: Brill, 1965 [now replaced by DNWSI]
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- HUCA: Hebrew Union College Annual.
- IDB: *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, 4 vols.; New York: Abingdon, 1962; with *Supplementary Volume*, 1976.
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- IESL: Saul Levin, *The Indo-European and Semitic Languages: An exploration of structural similarities related to accent, chiefly in Greek, Sanskrit and Hebrew*; Albany: State Univ. of New York, 1971.
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- IGLS: *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie*, in the series BAH.
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- Inscr. Cret.: M. Guarducci, *Inscriptiones Creticae*.
- Inventaire: *Inventaire des inscriptions de Palmyre*; see *Concordance in PAT* 446-7.
- JAAR: *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*.
- JAOS: *Journal of the American Oriental Society*.

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- JBL: *Journal of Biblical Literature*.
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- Jer. Talm.: Jerusalem Talmud.
- JHS: *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.
- JNES: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*.
- JQR: *Jewish Quarterly Review*.
- JRS: *Journal of Roman Studies*.
- JSNT: *Journal for the Study of the New Testament*.
- JSOT: *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*.
- JSS: *Journal of Semitic Studies*.
- JTS: *Journal of Theological Studies*.
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- LCL: Loeb Classical Library.
- Levin, Saul: See IESL, SIE.
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- MUSJ: *Mélanges de l'Université saint-Joseph (Beirut)*.
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- NEAE: *New Encyclopaedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*; 4 vols.; New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993.
- NovT: *Novum Testamentum*.
- NYT: *New York Times*.
- OBO 129: B. Janowski et alii (eds.), *Religionsgeschichtliche Beziehungen zwischen Kleinasien, Nordsyrien und dem Alten Testament [Symposion Hamburg 1990]*; *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 129; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993.
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- ODEP<sup>3</sup>: F. P. Wilson, *Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs*, 3rd ed.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1970.
- ODQ<sup>2</sup>: *Oxford Dictionary of Quotations*; 2nd ed.; Oxford: University, 1955.
- OED: *Oxford English Dictionary*.
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- P.Oxy.*: *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*.
- PRU iv: Jean Nougayrol, *Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit IV: Textes accadiens des archives sud (Archives internationales)*; *Mission de Ras Shamra IX*; Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1956.
- PW: *Paulys Real-encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. G. Wissowa, 1894-.
- RB: *Revue Biblique*.
- REA: *Revue des Études Anciennes*.
- RES: *Répertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique*.
- RGRW: *Religions in the Graeco-Roman World*.
- RHR: *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*.
- Richardson: L. Richardson, Jr., *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1992.
- RLA: *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1932-.
- \* Rosén: H. B. Rosén, *l'Hébreu et ses rapports avec le monde classique: Essai d'évaluation culturelle; Etudes chamito-sémitiques Sup. 7*; Paris: Geuthner, 1979.
- RSV: *Revised Standard Version of the English Bible*.
- SANT: *Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament*.
- SBL: *Society of Biblical Literature*.
- SBLDS: *SBL Dissertation Series*.
- Script. Hist. Aug.*: *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*.
- SEG: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*.

- \* SIE: Saul Levin, *Semitic and Indo-European: The Principal Etymologies; with observations on Afro-Asiatic*; Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science; Series IV; vol. 129; Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1995.
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- TAPA: *Transactions of the American Philological Association*.
- TDOT: *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*.
- TLE: Massimo Pallottino, *Testimonia Linguae Etruscae*; *Biblioteca di Studi Superiori* XXIV; 2nd ed.; Firenze: La Nuova Italia, 1968.
- TLL: *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*.
- TLZ: *Theologische Literaturzeitung*.
- TrGF: *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; in progress, 1971-.
- TWAT: *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament*.
- TWNT: *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*.
- UNP: S. B. Parker (ed.), *Ugaritic Narrative Poetry*; *Writings from the Ancient World* 9; Society of Biblical Literature; Scholars, 1997.
- UT: C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*; 3 vols; *Analecta Orientalia* 38; Roma: Pont. Inst. Bib., 1965 [Texts replaced by KTU, cross-references to UT provided in Vol. I only].
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Vet. Test.: Vetus Testamentum.

- \* Weinfeld, *Cov. Term.*: Moshe Weinfeld, "Covenant Terminology in the Ancient Near East and its Influence on the West," *JAOS* 93 (1973) 190-199.
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West, M. L.: see EFH.

- \* West, *Theogony*: M. L. West, *Hesiod: Theogony*; Oxford: Clarendon, 1966.
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WVDOG: Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft.

ZAW: Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.

ZDMG: Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

ZNW: Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft.

## ERRATA in “Vol. I” (BZAW 231)

\*: Line counted from bottom.

Page and line	In place of:	Read:
2.8	who take approach	who approach
19.8*	פּוֹל	פּוֹל
35 note 135.3*	<i>db3.t</i>	<i>db3.t</i>
51 note 197 line 1	Gary Wills	Garry Wills
59 note 224.2	118,”	118,
60.19	תְּלִיָּה	תְּלִיָּה
84.4	πλινθεύσομεν	πλινθεύσωμεν
84.8	<i>lbnt</i>	<i>llbnt</i>
87 note 100.1	note 94 above	note 93 above
88.9	<i>thrm</i>	<i>thrm</i>
94.18	siince	since
97 note 23.2	Strato	Strabo 12.3.18
101 note 15.2	KTU 1.16.6	KTU 1.16.I.6
104.19	whether that	whether
115.8	circle	circle”
135.7*	Οἰνῆος	Οἰνῆος
193 note 39.1	Niebelungenlied	Nibelungenlied
195 note 48	p. 000	p. 276
196.6*	ljamā‘a	ljamā‘a
204.6*	<i>kuttōnowī</i>	<i>kuttōnoī</i>
205 note 94.3	cemetery	cemetery
220.12*	<i>b’l ’rs</i>	<i>b’l arš</i>
222 note 4	<i>Euth.</i>	<i>Euthyphr.</i>
247.15	8.4.14	8.4.15
259.14	וְהָיָה	וְהָיָה
262 note 25.1	ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ	ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΙ
264.18	εὐνοήσειν	εὐνοήσῃ
272.2*	today.”	today’.”
277.12	accomplished,	accomplished,”
284.12	1932,58	1923,58

287.21	Biblique	Bibliques
313.10*	119.103	119,103
318.4*	tacher	teacher
329.8*	684 C	685 C
331.1	δία	διὰ
331.11	(P. Ex. 9/72)	(P. 72)
336.9	(P. 158)	(P. 146)
339 note 79	1 (1930) no. 9	3 (1930)9 = PAT 0286
342.14*	Strabo	Strabo 17.2.4
345 col. 2.13*	פּוּל	פּוּל
346 col. 2.18*	פּוּל	פּוּל
352 col. 1.14	"shirt" 332	"shirt" 322
354 col. 1.13*	db3.t	db3.t
367 col. 2.9	p. 133	66b p. 133
368 col. 2.20	1.1009-15	2.1009-15
369 col. 1.8*	6.26.3 p. 340	<i>dele</i>
376 col. 2.20*	188,324	188
377 col. 2.19*	15.149 p. 4	15.149 p. 41
378 col. 2.10*	2.20 p. 188,334	<i>dele</i>
381 col. 2.11*	1.111-1	1.111-112
383 col. 2.7	4.6626	4.626
385 col. 2.3	Nibelungenlied	Nibelungenlied
385 col. 2.15	Uguvine	Iguvine
390 col. 2.11*	1875	185
392 col. 2.12	Wills, Gary	Wills, Garry
397 col. 1.4	153,296	153,206
397 col. 1.14*	284-309	284, 309
397 col. 2.23	Fox, George 117	Fox, George 177
405 col. 1.21*	steretotypes	stereotypes

## Chapter 10: Men of the Land and the God of Justice<sup>1</sup>

Nowhere do Hebrew and Greek texts have more realism and charm than in their vignettes of men at work: in the city, in the fields around it, tending upland flocks, cutting timber in the mountains. (In contrast, the crown of Akkadian literature, the Epic of Gilgamesh, hardly pictures men at all, let alone men at work.) And nowhere are the texts more moving and relevant than in their commitment to justice. (In contrast, the proclamations of Ancient Near Eastern kings say much about a restoration of justice; but we never hear about the matter from the side of the people.) In this introductory chapter of Vol. II, we propose that in Israel and Hellas recognition of a god maintaining justice arose out of the experience of men on the land, though later implanted in urban society; and was transmitted back and forth between peoples, no doubt at several removes, through long-distance land transport growing out of local land transport. Of all the themes we study in this work, the idea of justice is the one most central to the novel emergence represented by the two societies.

The participants in Hebrew history mostly double as workers on the land; the similes of the *Iliad* provide a running counterpoint of a peaceful economy to the wastefulness of war. In neither society can a firm distinction be drawn between sedentary agriculturalists and pastoral nomads: they are interdependent, their tasks blur into each other, an Amos or Hesiod acts in both capacities. The products of the shepherd or goatherd are closely integrated into the agricultural economy; he is the farmer's first line of defence against predators like the boar in the vineyard (I.135); his poetry of justice affirms the land-tenure of his sedentary colleague. The man of the land, so far as farmer, relies on the rain from the High God, seen as masculine; so far as upland herder, he is taught his song by divine figures seen as feminine—Muses and the spirit or spirits of the High God. In either capacity he relies on

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1 Extensive revision of an article "Men of the Land and the God of Justice in Greece and Israel," ZAW 95 (1983) 376-402; much is new.

his civic base with its citadel, wall, and militia carrying iron weapons. In part the parallels between Israel and Hellas here rest simply on independent utilization of crops long cultivated and of domesticated herds, in similar geographical settings; but in part they are historically connected through overland trade. In Chapter 4 above we saw how cargo ships carried the amphoras of the wine-trade, each with its common name. The personnel and techniques of overland trade are simple extensions of the farmer bringing his produce to the city market, and again a carrier and a container provide the key common vocabulary: the names of the *ass* and its twin pannier *sacks*.

In this chapter we first (10.1) survey the familiar terrain of city, fields and hills from some new points of view. We then look at the principal cultivated crops (10.2) and domesticated animals (10.3); several possible items of common vocabulary will come up. The central fact will be (10.4) a crisis of land-tenure, somewhat later in Hellas than in Israel. That will lead up to the role of men on the land as being taught (10.5) a poetry of justice in response to the crisis. In both societies it is expressed in a multiform (10.6) personification of justice. At the end we outline (10.7) the techniques of local and overland trade by which news of all these social developments could have been transmitted back and forth via Anatolia.

### 10.1 City, fields, hills

The wool, milk, and hides produced by the shepherds (and marginally the meat) are necessities for farmer and town-dweller. In Palestine and Greece the pastoralism is “transhumant,” moving in and out of grazing lands with the seasons.<sup>2</sup> In Palestine it is “horizontal,” moving inland with the rains in the fall. In Greece it is “vertical,” moving up to the mountains in the summer:

In some places the autumn descent of the shepherds and flocks from their summer grazing in the mountains is like an invasion. Doors are locked against the invaders and there is much relief when they have passed on.<sup>3</sup>

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- 2 For transhumance see F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*; tr. S. Reynolds; 2 vols.; London: Fontana/Collins, 1972, 85-102; M. M. Austin & P. Vidal-Naquet, *Economic and Social History of Ancient Greece: An Introduction*; Berkeley: Univ. of California, 1977; 286-287; S. Georgoudi, “Quelques problèmes de la transhumance dans la Grèce ancienne,” *Revue des Etudes Grecques* 87 (1974) 155-185. In Italy: Cornell 32.
- 3 Nancy Sandars, *The Sea Peoples: Warriors of the Ancient Mediterranean 1250-1150 B.C.*; London: Thames & Hudson, 1978, 22-23.

Thus in Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex* the Corinthian messenger reminds the shepherd that year by year they both took their flocks up on Mount Kithairon "the six months from spring to the rising of Arcturus" (1137):

ἔξ ἤρος εἰς Ἀρκτοῦρον ἐκμήνους χρόνους  
and then in winter went back to their folds.

The shepherd up there comes in direct contact with predators. David recalls (I Sam 17,34-37) how, when he was keeping sheep for his father and a lion or bear took one of the flock, he would kill it. *Iliad* 5.136-142 describes the havoc when a shepherd in the field encounters a lion coming "at the woolly-fleeced sheep" (ἐπ' εἰροπόκοις ὄφεσσι) and only wounds it, thereby redoubling its strength. So it is not a wholly peaceful image when Homer calls Agamemnon "shepherd of the people" (ποιμένα λαῶν), or Cyrus is made Yahweh's shepherd (Isa 44,28), or Yahweh "the shepherd of Israel," לַיהוָה רֹעֵה (Ps 80,2), or Esarhaddon<sup>4</sup> calls himself the "true shepherd" (cf Nahum 3,18); the shepherd has the same role as the king—keeping the lion-enemy off his dependents (II.94).

At I.339-340 we discussed names of the lion with parallel passages. Samson (I.229) and Heracles, alike in various ways, both killed lions. Heracles son of Zeus killed the Nemean lion (Hesiod *Theog.* 327-332) and exhibited it outside the gates of Mycenae (Apollodorus 2.5.1); perhaps it is represented in the extant Lion Gate. Benaiah (בְּנֵי־יָהִי) killed a lion in a pit on a snowy day (II Sam 23,20).<sup>5</sup> Heracles trapped the Erymanthian boar in deep snow and brought it also to Mycenae (Apollodorus 2.5.4).

Further the fighter is compared with what he has killed. The Homeric heroes are often likened to a lion or boar. Heracles is represented in art within the jaws of the lion he has killed. So Judah is compared to a lion with three names of the beast (Gen 49,9), and after him the Davidic Messiah (Rev 5,5). Likewise gods. In the *Homeric Hymn* to Dionysus (4.44-7) the god is kidnapped on a ship: he makes the mast sprout as a vine,<sup>6</sup> materializes a bear amidships and turns himself into a lion. Zeus in love can become a bull. When Hebrews are most pressed by Yahweh, they complain that "he hunts me like a lion" (Job 10,16), or further like a leopard or bear (Hos 13,8), "like a bear lying

4 ANET<sup>3</sup> 289a; *rê-'û ke-e-nu* Borger 11.

5 It is tempting to make Benaiah originally "son of Yahu" rather than "Yahu has built," but (Levin) the present vocalization is inconsistent with this.

6 So on the famous Athenian black-figured cup (ab. 525 BC) signed by Exekias as potter, from Vulci, now in Munich (LIMC iii. 2.392 no. 788; I.137).



in wait, like a lion hiding” (Thr 3,10); his day is “as if a man fled from a lion and a bear met him” (Amos 5,19). He sends out lions on people who “do not know the law of the god of the land” (II Reg 17,26), and especially on false prophets (I Reg 13,24; 20,36); and sends bears on mocking children (II Reg 2,24). Below (II.183) I suggest that his prophets Elijah, Elisha and John Baptist take on attributes of the bear.

The farmer and shepherd presuppose an arrangement of society which (I.22-25) is a novelty over against the ancient Near East: the city-state, with its citadel on a natural acropolis, surrounded by a rain-watered countryside which looks to it as a center. Some site is called “the navel of the land” (Ezek 38,12, cf. Jud 9,37) **מְבוֹר הָאָרֶץ**, LXX τὸν ὀμφαλὸν τῆς γῆς, Vg *umbilici terrae*. If non-Hebrew, **מְבוֹר** could be a variant of Mount Tabor of Galilee and Atabyris of Rhodes (I.330). Aeschylus (*Eum.* 166) calls Delphi the γᾶς ὀμφαλὸν “navel of the earth.” Calypso’s island was the “navel of the sea,” ὀμφαλὸς ... θαλάσσης *Odyssey* 1.50; Pliny 3.109 calls the lake of Cutilia with its floating island *Italiae umbilicum*. Cicero (*Verr.* 2.4.106) locates the myth of Ceres and Proserpina at Enna of Sicily, and states that “this place, as being in the middle of the island, is called the ‘navel of Sicily’,” *qui locus, quod in media est insula situs, umbilicus Siciliae nominatur*.<sup>7</sup> Perhaps once this symbolism was attached to a central mountain or temple, seen as the terminus of an umbilical cord joining earth to heaven.<sup>8</sup>

Several factors combined to foster the independence of the farmer and even more of the shepherd. Over against foreign enemies, the walled citadel and a mountain fastness are alternative refuges. The rain from the High God (I.22-24 and Chap. 11 below) made the whole terrain usable, and freed men of the land from being chained to a river controlled by central bureaucracies, as in the near-rainless valleys of Egypt and Mesopotamia. The mutual reliance of shepherds and civic artisans on each other’s products put them on a level. And the forging of iron, which made abundant weapons available (I.25-26, 107, 171-2; II.224), brought greater strength in warfare by putting the whole adult male population under arms. The honorific and inefficient pattern of individual heroes, an Achilles or Goliath, fighting with expensive bronze arms and armor, was replaced by the clash of two infantry

7 Cicero is followed by Milton, *P.L.* 4.268-9 “Not that faire field / Of *Enna*, where *Proserpin* gathring flours ...

8 So Samuel Terrien, “The Omphalos Myth and Hebrew Religion,” *Vet. Test.* 20 (1970) 315-338; see further West, EFH 149-150. Josephus *Bell. Jud.* 3.52 makes Jerusalem the navel of the land; and Bab. Talm. *Sanh.* 37a of the whole earth.

phalanxes<sup>9</sup> of “hoplites” (ὀπλίτης, a word unknown to Homer), I.163-4; Xenophon *Anab.* 6.5.27. The confrontation of two phalanxes with their heraldic shields is illustrated in the Corinthian “Chigi Vase” of ab. 650 BC found at Etruscan Veii.<sup>10</sup>

It is often assumed<sup>11</sup> that the hoplite class played a key role in overthrowing the aristocratic regimes of the Greek dark ages. In any case, both in Israel and Hellas, the fact of an entire armed citizenry, in principle each also a landowner, was an irresistible democratizing force. In Athens the citizens had a vote; the elders of Israel make David king (II Sam 5,3). Aristotle considers the heart of a state to be those men who go out to war as hoplites (*Pol.* 7.4.4 = 1326a23), normally at their own expense, as opposed to the artisans, βάνουσοι; even in an oligarchy, if the Demos does not elect the magistrates, at least the hoplites must (*Pol.* 5.5.5 = 1305b33). The census of Num 1,3ff is based on men aged twenty or over (with no upper age-limit defined) “going forth to the host,” אֲנָפִי אֲנָפִי־לָפָנַי (I.235-6). Garland<sup>12</sup> insists for the Greek world that every soldier is a citizen and *vice versa*; their rights and duties are not separable but form *un agrégat idéologique*. (Non-citizen mercenaries are a later development.) The demonstration holds equally well for Rome (II.97) and Israel.

Robert Drews has studied both the introduction and the overthrow of chariot warfare. In an earlier book (*The Coming of the Greeks*) he discusses the original advantages of chariot warfare, and (p. 225) regards the “coming of the Greeks” as the takeover, no later than 1600 BC, “of a relatively large alien population by a relatively small group of [Proto-Indo-European] speakers, whose advantage lay in their chariotry.” Thus in Bronze Age warfare, with only certain heroes fully armed, and that very heavily, success or failure rested on ability to field the horses for the chariots to carry them to single combat. In a later book, Drews proposes:<sup>13</sup>

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9 Accus. pl. φάλαγγας “phalanxes” is a near-perfect phonetic match for פִּלְגָלִים in the Song of Deborah, Jud 5,15, of uncertain meaning; elsewhere “streams, channels, divisions.” It can also mean “logs” as of ebony (Herodotus 3.97, p. I.197 above); and “spider” (semantics unclear). The Hebrew fits with the root פִּלַּג “split,” and the Greek with Old English *bolca* “gangway” etc., but there may be mutual contamination.

10 D. A. Amyx, *Corinthian Vase-Painting of the Archaic Period*; Berkeley: Univ. of California, 1988; p. 32 no. 3.

11 See J. Salmon, “Political Hoplites?,” *JHS* 97 (1977) 84-101.

12 Yves Garland, *La guerre dans l’antiquité*; Paris: F. Nathan, 1972, 63.

13 Drews, *Bronze Age* 104.

The thesis of the present study is that the Catastrophe [of ca. 1200 BC] came about when men in “barbarian” lands awoke to a truth that had been with them for some time: the chariot-based forces on which the Great Kingdoms relied could be overwhelmed by swarming infantries, the infantrymen being equipped with javelins, long swords, and a few essential pieces of defensive armor.

With iron or steel weapons and massed infantry, chariots became a thing of the past, until the invention of cavalry forces (II.97) brought the horse back. But the prestige of old times was so great that aristocracies in both lands prided themselves on their ability to raise horses.<sup>14</sup> The Homeric aristocrats favored proper names and honorific epithets designating them as owners of horses; both sides in the *Iliad* have a hero Μελάνιππος “Blackhorse” and the Trojans (*Iliad* 20.401) a Ἴπποδάμας “Horse-tamer.” And so in Median, *Aspacanah* of the Old Persian inscriptions<sup>15</sup> is “Delighting in horses,” Ἀσπαθίνης of Herodotus 3.70 (same man, Darius’ bow-bearer). This can pass over to a class designation, as where the “wealthy” (παχέες) of Chalcis were called “horse-raisers,” ἵπποβόται Herodotus 5.77.2. The kings of Syracuse often won the four-horse races because they controlled the rich plains of Sicily. It was tactless of the author of the *Prometheus*, if it was really put on at Syracuse, to speak of horses as “the darling of super-rich pride” (Aeschylus *PV* 466):

ἵππους, ἄγαλμα τῆς ὑπερπλοῦτου χλιδῆς  
Miltiades was of a “quadriga-rearing house,” οἰκίης τεθριπποτρόφου  
Herodotus 6.35.

Latin *equus* is an exact cognate of Sanskrit *áçvah* and other parallel forms, but neither the initial *h* nor the vowel *-i-* of ἵππος is easily explained, so that it may have come as a loanword rather than by direct inheritance.<sup>16</sup> The “q” in Linear B *i-qi* marks some intermediate stage. In Ugaritic *śśu* and Egyptian *śśm.t*, the initial sibilant corresponds well enough (Levin) to the Greek *h-*, while the rest corresponds to the Sanskrit. The *w* of Ugaritic is continued in the *y* of Old Aramaic 𐤙𐤓𐤕 (KAI 222A22). Then Hebrew 𐤙𐤓 shows a further simplification. In any case, as the animal and its functions are international, so must the name be.

14 Then the names continued without indicating actual possession. “The name Φίλιππος survived among Christians because of the Hellenistic Jewish disciples who had picked up this Macedonian royal name—probably at first as an expression of loyalty to one of the successors of Alexander” (Levin).

15 Kent 140, where *aspa* is Median for Old Persian *asa* “horse.”

16 The horse-names Πήγασσος (Hesiod *Theog.* 281) and Πήδασσος (*Iliad* 16.152) may rest on Hieroglyphic Luvian *ašūwa-* “horse”: Szemerényi, *Glotta* 49 (1977) 9.

To Mago of Carthage, a 16th century veterinary text<sup>17</sup> assigns a treatment for dysuria of horses, apparently from some lost source:

asserit autem, cum urinae difficultate torqueatur equus, si priorum pedum ex infimis unguibus delimitata scobis in hemina unini per nares infundatur, cieri urinam.

He claims, when a horse suffers with difficulty in passing urine, if a powder scraped from the ends of the hooves of its front feet in a half-sextarius of wine is poured through its nostrils, urine will flow.

Although the remedy has become more homeopathic, the form is identical with the Ugaritic hippiatric text KTU 1.85.9-11

w.k.l.yḥru.w.l.yttn.śśw.mss.št.qlql.w.št. 'rgz.ydk.aḥdh.w.yšq.b.aph

Or if a horse does not defecate or urinate, the sap of a *št*-measure of the *qulqullianu*-tree/plant and a *št*-measure of the 'rgz- tree/plant should be pulverized together, and it (the remedy) should (then) be poured into his nose.<sup>18</sup>

It seems plain that Ugaritic veterinary medicine was continued in Phoenicia and Carthage, recorded by Mago, and somehow resurfaced in the Renaissance!

In Israel an exceptional warhorse is allowed a human word "Aha" אָחָא (Job 39,25); Xanthos in *Iliad* 19.407 is more articulate. It seems very Iranian that the kings of Judah should dedicate horses to the Sun, II Reg 23,11 לַשֶּׁשֶׁת־שָׁמַיִם... וְהִסִּימֵם, as the Scythians sacrificed them, Herodotus 1.216 ἥλιον ... τῶν θύουσιν ἵππους.<sup>19</sup> Annually in Rome the *October equus* was sacrificed to Mars in the Campus Martius.<sup>20</sup>

Likewise the gods are horsemen. Yahweh "rides on a swift cloud" Isa 19,1, קָלַעַל-עַבְרָה as Zeus in Homer regularly is the "Cloud-

17 *Veterinariae medicinae libri duo*, ed. Ruellius, 1530, p. 37 [not seen by me]; my sources are A. M. Honeyman, "Varia Punica," *AJP* 68 (1947) 77-82; Loren R. Mack-Fisher, "From Ugarit to Gades: Mediterranean Veterinary Medicine," *Maarav* 5-6 (Spring 1990) 207-220.

18 Translation by Chaim Cohen & Daniel Sivan, *The Ugaritic Hippiatric Texts: A Critical Edition*; American Oriental Series 9; New Haven, 1983.

19 Since (II.60) we propose that the words for "sun" are related, "horses to the Sun" forms an international phrase; but the words are so old and changed that it hardly travelled as such.

20 Festus p. 190L.: *October equus appellatur, qui in campo Martio mense Octobri immolatur quotannis Marti* with much further detail. He goes on to attest that the Lacedaemonians on mount Taygetus "sacrifice a horse to the winds" (*equum uentis immolant*), and the Rhodians "annually throw the quadrigas dedicated to the Sun into the sea" (*quotannis quadrigas Soli consecratas in mare iaciunt*).

gatherer,” νεφεληγερέτα; Baal is “rider of the clouds,” Ug. *rkb ʾrpt*.<sup>21</sup> Zeus’ double Poseidon drives his horses over the sea, as described in detail *Iliad* 13.23-31; more briefly Euripides *Androm.* 1011-1012 “And you of the Sea who drive a chariot of grey mares over the salt sea,”

Καὶ Πόντιε κυανέαις

ἵπποις διφρεύων ἄλιον πέλαγος

So in a uniquely mythological passage, Habakkuk 3,15 (cf. 3,8) “Thou didst drive thy horses over the sea,” בַּיָּם סוּסַיָּךְ דָּרַכְתָּ בָּיָם סוּסַיָּךְ. Roman mosaics of Neptune driving his chariot of four hippocamps across the sea may then go back to a Near Eastern prototype. Etruscans knew *Neptunus* in the form *Nethyns*;<sup>22</sup> and Bernal<sup>23</sup> suggests that Neptunus/Nethyns has his name with a change of sex from the Egyptian goddess *nb.t-ḥ.t* “Mistress of the House,”<sup>24</sup> known to Plutarch<sup>25</sup> as Νέφθυς Nephthys, deity of the waters.

In the next chapter (11.3) I discuss the role of the High God, Yahweh or Zeus or Jupiter, in providing rain and snow—above all on the mountains, from whose valleys or caves water flows down even in the dry summer. The servants of Ben-Hadad king of Aram (Syria) explained their defeat by the Israelites, “their gods are gods of the mountains” (I Reg 20,23, cf. 20,28 and II.242):

אֱלֹהֵי הָרִים אֱלֹהֵיהֶם

where the versions with dramatic correctness have plurals: Vg *dii montium sunt dii eorum*; Luther *Ihre Götter sind Berggötter*. That is where the snow and rain come from and where the free men live, even though poor, who were originally responsible for the conquest of the lowlands. *Montani semper liberi*.<sup>26</sup> Mountains are named for their snow, as Mont Blanc, or the White Mountains of New Hampshire; so Lebanon (I.210), cf. Heb. לָבָן “white” and Arabic لَبَنٌ *laban(un)* “soured milk, yogurt.” With Latin *albus* see probably *Alpes* (Caesar BG 3.1); *Albion* Pliny 4.102 (from the white chalk cliffs of Dover). Hermon is the “Mount of Snow,” שׂוֹר חַלְנָא;<sup>27</sup> other snow-names are *Sierra Nevada*; “Himalaya” Ἡμωδοῖς ὄρεσιν Strabo 15.1.29; Νιφάτης Strabo 11.12.4; Νιβάρος 11.14.2. Then Ὀλυμπος, being a generic

21 KTU 1.4.III.11.

22 Etruscan mirror, now in the Vatican; LIMC vii.1.481, Nethuns 9.

23 Bernal ii.97-98.

24 Erman-Grapow ii.233.

25 Plutarch, *de Iside et Osiride* 38 (= *Mor.* 366C).

26 The motto of West Virginia; no earlier attestation easily found.

27 Targum Onq. Deut 3,9.

mountain-name, may mean “white” in some non-Greek IE language, and its adjective “snowy” would be redundant.

Not merely do the mountains shelter gods, they may *be* gods. The treaty of Mursilis II and Duppi-Teshub (1330 BC; see I.284 treaty 09) in its god-list has “Mount Lablana, Mount Sariyana” (Lebanon; Sirion = Hermon).<sup>28</sup> Carmel (כַּרְמֶל), seemingly a mere geographical term in the Hebrew Bible, doubles as a god: Tacitus *Hist.* 2.78 “Carmelus lies between Judaea and Syria, so they name a mountain and a god. The god has neither image nor temple—so older authorities state—but only an altar and piety”:

est Iudaeam inter Syriamque Carmelus: ita uocant montem deumque. nec simulacrum deo aut templum—sic tradidere maiores—: ara tantum et reuerentia.

Perhaps the Baal of Elijah’s contest (I Reg 18,21) is this god rather than Melqarth. An inscription from Carmel of the late 2nd century CE on a foot twice life size (either votive or belonging to a large statue) reads

ΔΙΙ ΗΛΙΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΗ ΚΑΡΜΗΛΩ Γ. ΙΟΥΛ. ΕΥΤΥΧΑΣ ΚΟΛ[ΩΝΕΥΣ] ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΥΣ  
 “To Zeus Heliopolites Carmelus, Gaius Julius Eutychas, colonist of Caesarea.”<sup>29</sup> Here the old God of Heliopolis (Baalbek, probably so named when under Ptolemaic control after Egyptian Heliopolis = old “On,” II.48) is conflated with the god of Carmel.

## 10.2 Cultivated plants

### 10.2.1 Wheat and barley

The unity of Mediterranean agriculture appears in lists of grains and fruits. For millennia before writing, barley and wheat, both native to the Fertile Crescent, had been cultivated. Ruth goes on gleaning (Ruth 2,23) “until the end of the harvest of barley and the harvest of wheat”:

עַד-כְּלוֹת קִצְרֵי-הַשְּׂעֵרִים וְקִצְרֵי הַחֲטָיִם  
 LXX τὸν θερισμὸν τῶν κριθῶν καὶ τῶν πυρῶν, Vg *hordea et triticum*.  
 Job’s protestation presumes the same crops (Job 31,40 with singulars), “let thorns grow instead of wheat, and stinkweed [a unique noun] for barley”:

תַּחַת חֲטָה יֵצֵא חֹמֶה      וְתַחַת-שְׂעֵרָה בָּאֵשָׁה

28 ANET<sup>3</sup> 204.

29 M. Avi-Yonah, “Mount Carmel and the God of Baalbek,” IEJ 2 (1952) 118-124, with further documentation. Discussion in Stern ii.13-14.

LXX ἀντὶ πυροῦ ... ἀντὶ δὲ κριθῆς ... . Homer describes the infantry battle at the ditch (*Iliad* 11.67-69) “As reapers facing each other drive their swath down a blessed man’s field of wheat or barley, and the handfuls fall thick”:

... ὡς τ’ ἀμητῆρες ἐναντίοι ἀλλήλοισιν  
 ὄγμον ἐλαύνωσιν ἀνδρὸς μάκαρος κατ’ ἄρουραν  
 πυρῶν ἢ κριθῶν· τὰ δὲ δράγματα ταρφέα πίπτει.

That the owner is “blessed,” μάκαρ, means not just that he is rich but favored by the gods, otherwise his crops would not grow.<sup>30</sup> Disguised Odysseus flatters Penelope (II.90), comparing her to a king(!) who through giving just judgements (*Odyssey* 19.111-112), εὐδικίας ἀνέχησι, ensures it that “the black earth bears wheat and barley”: φέρησι δὲ γαῖα μέλαινα /πυρούς καὶ κριθάς; that trees are laden with fruit and flocks with young; and that the sea teems with fish. This archaic-magical view of the king’s function is echoed at Ps 72,16, “May there be abundance(?) of grain in the land”:

יְהִי פִסְת־בָּר בָּרָאָךְ

Job 31,40 shows the same mentality: the constancy of Job’s crops generating their own kind depends on his maintaining constancy of justice.

With Heb. בָּר “grain” the lexica compare Arabic بُرّ *burr(un)* “wheat, grain of wheat,” which in the accus. *burran* runs parallel to πῦρόν. Mostly בָּר is poetical or covers grain of any variety; it is the word for what Joseph stored up during the fat years in Egypt, Gen 41,35 etc. Latinists do not compare *far* “spelt” (genit. *farris*) with πυρός but rather with OE *bere* “barley”; however the comparison with בָּר and the Arabic is also attractive.<sup>31</sup> All these words could be European and Mediterranean variants for “some kind of grain.”

The simile of the reapers at *Iliad* 11.67-69 taken in one direction pathetically contrasts death in war with the seemingly life-giving farm scene; but in the other direction tinges the reaping with the finality of death. Eliphaz (Job 5,26) puts the best color on the image: “You shall come to your grave in ripe old age (?), as a shock of grain comes up [to the threshing floor] in its season”:

תְּבוֹא בְּכֶלַח אֱלִי-קַבֵּר      כְּעֹלֹחַ גֶּדִישׁ בְּעֵתוֹ

30 Elsewhere I hope to discuss the possible Egyptian etymologies of μάκαρ.

31 So Möller 34, Bomhard 219. Levin points out that *far* like *lac* “milk,” *mel* “honey,” and *fel* “gall” “belongs to the very basic mother-and-child vocabulary, devoid of any classificatory morpheme, and treated by default as neuter in its adjective agreement and pronoun reference.”

*Vg ingredieris in abundantia sepulchrum sicut infertur aceruus in tempore suo.* The mysteries of Eleusis, in which Demeter gave Triptolemus the grain (πυρόν Apollodorus 1.5.2) to sow over the earth, as in the well-known relief (ab. 440 BC), may or may not have involved the death and new life of the seed. But the New Testament does: Joh 12,24 “Unless a grain of wheat (ὁ κόκκος τοῦ σίτου, *Vg granum frumenti*) falls into the earth and dies, it remains alone, but if it dies, it bears much fruit”; so I Kor 15,36 “That which you sow is not quickened unless it dies.” Gide in the cantata *Perséphone* (set by Stravinsky) applies the New Testament theme to Eleusis:

Il faut, pour qu'un printemps renaisse  
 Que le grain consent à mourir  
 Sous terre, afin qu'il reparaisse  
 En moisson d'or pour l'avenir.

### 10.2.2 Fruit trees

*Odyssey* 9.105-110 sees the overweening Cyclopes as pre-agriculturalists, for whom, relying on the gods, everything grows unsown and unplowed, “wheat and barley and vines yielding wine from excellent grapes; and the rain of Zeus nourishes them”:

πυροὶ καὶ κριθαὶ ἠδ' ἄμπελοι, αἶ τε φέρουσιν  
 οἶνον ἐριστάφυλον, καὶ σφιν Διὸς ὄμβρος ἀέξει.

The poet realizes that wheat and barley must have grown native somewhere, and by conjecture places it in the west. Deut 8,8 describes Canaan as “a land of wheat and barley, of the vine and fig and pomegranate, a land of the olive yielding oil and of honey...”:

אֲרְיֵ הַחֵטֶב וּשְׂעֵרָה וְנֶפֶן וְתֵאֵנָה וְרִמֹן אֲרֵי-יָיִת וְשִׁמֹן וְדֹבֵשׁ

LXX γῆ πυροῦ καὶ κριθῆς, ἄμπελοι, συκαῖ, ρόαι, γῆ ἐλαίας ἐλαίου καὶ μέλιτος; *Vg terram frumenti hordei uinearum, in qua ficus et mala granata et oliueta nascuntur, terram olei ac mellis.* Wheat and barley grew wild nearby, but the author refers to cultivation. Jotham’s fable (Jud 9,7-15) thinks of three “royal” trees as fit to rule over the others: olive, fig and vine.<sup>32</sup> The neat Phaeacian orchard beside its vineyard has (*Odyssey* 7.115-116) “pear-trees and pomegranate-trees and apple-trees with shining fruit and sweet fig-trees and flourishing olive-trees”:

ὄγχνοι καὶ ροιαὶ καὶ μηλέαι ἀγλαόκαρποι  
 συκέαι τε γλυκεραὶ καὶ ἐλαῖαι τηλεθώωσαι

32 Hag 2,19 like Deut adds the pomegranate. Joel 1,10-12, listing crops destroyed by the locust, to the two grains and four fruit trees adds apple and palm.



Apart from the apple (added to such a list in Joel) and pear this is the list of Deuteronomy.

For the symbolism of the *olive* see I.60-61 above; for the *vine* I.134-158. In both lands the *pomegranate* has clear sexual meaning. The virgin bride of Cant 4,12-13, “a garden locked,” holds a “paradise of pomegranates,” פְּרָדִיסֵי רִמּוֹנִים, LXX παράδεισος ῥοῶν, Vg *paradisus malorum punicorum*. In the *Homeric Hymn* to Demeter (2.412-413) Hades gave Persephone a pomegranate seed, ῥοιῆς κόκκον, and “compelled me by force to taste against my will.”<sup>33</sup>

The *fig* is a sign of a woman’s sexual maturity. Cant 2,13 “The fig tree puts forth its figs,” הַתְּאֵנָה הַנְּטִיחָה פְּרִיָּהּ, LXX συκὴ ἐξήνεγκεν ὀλύνθους αὐτῆς, Vg *figus protulit grossos suos*. So Aristophanes in the final marriage song of *Pax* 1349-50 “His is big and thick, her fig is sweet,” τοῦ μὲν μέγα καὶ παχύ· / τῆς δ’ ἡδὺ τὸ σῦκον. Rabbinic הַנֶּזֶף “unripe fig” may pass for a Mediterranean word beside *figus* and σῦκον (Boeotian τῦκον [LSJ]). The fig-leaves of Gen 3,7, הַתְּאֵנָה הַנְּטִיחָה, LXX φύλλα συκῆς, are appropriate in that what they cover can be compared to a fig. Besides marking sexual maturity, in its leaves the fig marks the spring. Hesiod *Opera* 679-681: there is a brief sailing-time in spring “when first leaves appear to a man on the topmost branch [of a fig tree], as big as a crow settling down makes its footprint”:

ἦμος δὴ τὸ πρῶτον, ὅσον τ’ ἐπιβᾶσα κορώνη  
ἴχνος ἐποίησεν τόσσον πέταλ’ ἀνδρὶ φανείη  
ἐν κράδῃ ἀκροτάτῃ

In a contemporary Lebanese proverb it is time for planting:<sup>34</sup> “When fig leaves are as large as the palm of a raven, plant your chick-peas”:

متى ما صار ورق التين كَفَّ غَرَابٍ إِزْرَعِ جَمَّصَكَ فِي التَّرَابِ

The fig takes years to mature, and a grown tree testifies to decades of peace. Besides its olive Athens had a sacred fig, given by Demeter (Pausanias 1.37.2); “When they take the sacred things from Eleusis to the city, they rest (ἀναπαύουσιν) at it.”<sup>35</sup> Only when swords have been

33 At Sach 12,11 the LXX tr. הַתְּאֵנָה הַנְּטִיחָה פְּרִיָּהּ “the mourning for [the god?] Hadad-rimmon” as κοπετὸς ῥοῶνος, the only attestation for the noun ῥοῶν “orchard of pomegranates.” If Greek ῥοή originally had a digamma, and remembering the shift m/w, we could compare \*ῥοφιή with *rimmiown*; but this is merely speculative.

34 Anis Frayha, *Modern Lebanese Proverbs Collected at Ras al-Matn, Lebanon*; Publications of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Oriental Series no. 5; Beirut: American University 1953, no. 3633, p. 647. Note the parallel *ḡrāb* to Hebrew עֲרָב “raven” and Latin *cornus* (l.313).

35 Philostratus *Vit. Soph.* 2.20.

beaten into plowshares can every man sit under his vine and figtree, Mic 4,4:

וְיָשְׁבוּ אִישׁ תַּחַת גִּפְנוֹ וְתַחַת תְּאֵנָתוֹ

The same stability is attested under Solomon (I Reg 5:20, cf II Reg 18,31; Sach 3,10). Jesus saw Nathanael under his fig tree, ὑπὸ τῆς συκῆς (Joh 1,48). Gautama received his enlightenment while sitting under the royal fig or pipal tree, *Ficus religiosa*, and became the Buddha.<sup>36</sup>

At a later date Buddhism was not wholly unknown to the West. King Aśoka in his Prakrit inscriptions states that he sent ambassadors to five Hellenistic kings:<sup>37</sup> Antiochus II of Syria (261-246 BC) [*Amtiyoge* etc.], Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285-247), Magas of Cyrene (d. 258), Antigonus (Gonatas, 276-239), and some Alexander. In a bilingual Greek-Aramaic inscription from Afghanistan from the tenth year of Aśoka his name Priyadarsi appears as פְּרִי־דַרְשִׁי = Πριοδασσης (KAI 279).<sup>38</sup> King Chandragupta (ab. 300 BC) was known as Σανδρόκοττος (Strabo 2.1.9 etc.). Clement of Alexandria<sup>39</sup> says that some Indians “have honored Boutta (Βοῦττα) as a god because of his surpassing awesomeness,” δι’ ὑπερβολὴν σεμνότητος ὡς θεὸν τιμηθήκασι. Jerome<sup>40</sup> quotes a tradition of the “gymnosophists” *quod Buddam principem dogmatis eorum e latere suo uirgo generarit*, “that a virgin bore Buddha, the leader of their sect, from her side.”<sup>41</sup>

### 10.2.3 Legumes

Agriculture, though dependent on a state bureaucracy, was simpler in the Nile and Euphrates valleys, because the annual flood brought fresh nutrients to the soil. The rain-watered fields of the Mediterranean had three requirements: periodic fallow periods; rotation with legumes to restore nitrogen; and vegetable mulch or animal manure. All those could only have been learned by hit or miss over centuries. The He-

36 I cannot easily find an early Sanskrit or Pali text stating this in a concise manner.

37 Jules Bloch, *Les inscriptions d’Asoka*; Paris: Belles Lettres, 1950; see Rock Edict 13 p. 130. In the Rock Edicts Ταπροβάνη “Ceylon” (Strabo 15.1.14) appears as *Tambapanni* etc.

38 In the same inscription the king קְשִׁיטָא מְהַקְשֵׁט “does truthfulness” in a double use of the root; the editor interprets קְשִׁיטָא as “the body of Buddhist truth,” *dharmā*.

39 Clemens Alex. *Strom.* 1.[15].71.6.

40 Jerome, *Adv. Iovinianum* 1.42 [309], PL 23.273A.

41 See A. Dihle, “Buddha und Hieronymus,” pp. 98-101 of his *Gesammelte Aufsätze* (ed. V. Pöschl et al.); Heidelberg: Winter, 1984.

brew Bible attests only the first, in the provision (Ex 23,10-11; Lev 25,1-7) to let the ground lie fallow every seventh year (II.25). Homer and Hesiod attest the use of fallow land, *νειός*.

The planting of legumes to restore nitrogen is clear in Theophrastus *Hist. Plant.* 8.9.1: “Wheat exhausts the land most of any crop (καρπίζεται τήν γῆν μάλιστα πυρός) ... beans actually seem to manure the ground (κύαμος ... ἔτι κοπρίζειν δοκεῖ τήν γῆν) through their loose growth and ease of rotting, so that the people of Macedonia and Thessaly turn the ground over when it is in flower.” So Cato *de agric.* 37.2 *Quae segetem stercorent fruges: lupinum, faba, uicia*, “Crops which manure the ground: lupine, beans, vetch.” Both texts assimilate the use of legumes to manure.

In Greece, because of silt washed down from the hills, the plains are very much richer than even the better portion of the hillfoot and hillside, where the soil, such as it is, can only be kept in position by terrace-walling; and this was the basis of a sharp class-division between poor and primitive uplanders and well-to-do plainmen.<sup>42</sup>

Sandars will modify this:

In Greece the best land for supporting life lies in the foothills between 200 and 400 m. This is where one finds a truly mixed cultivation. The plains have too many problems, chief among them the perennial floods which create stretches of stagnant water and fine breeding grounds for disease.<sup>43</sup>

Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 13.4, cf. Plutarch *Solon* 13.1) says that the “party of the plain-dwellers ([στάσις] πεδιακῶν)” in Athens was oligarchic, while that of the “highlanders” (διακρίων) was democratic. There is a similar distinction in Palestine between the mobile hill-dwelling Hebrews and the sedentary Canaanites of the plain; it was in the uplands there that a literate society and an understanding of justice was born. The culture of the vine, requiring the best soils and sophisticated techniques, had an international vocabulary (Chap. 4). The growing of grains, the olive and other fruits has on the whole indigenous vocabulary. However, there is a nice parallel in the names of the *bean*, which, although the food of poverty, may through its necessary use in crop-rotation have spread internationally.

The earliest way of preparing grain was cracked, boiled and made into porridge; it required less fuel than baking, and so many proteins were retained that it could be the staple of diet. Thus Pliny 18.83 *pulte*,

42 A. R. Burn, *The Lyric Age of Greece*; London: Arnold, 1960; 18.

43 Sandars (note 3 above) p. 27.

*non pane, vixisse longo tempore Romanos manifestum*, “it is evident that for a long period Romans lived on porridge, not bread.” Excavators should take pains not to elevate porridge bowls to the status of libation bowls. In time of need legumes were mixed with grains or substituted for them. Thus emergency rations in David’s campaign (II Sam 17,28) and in Ezekiel’s dramatized siege (Ez 4,9) both include “beans and lentils,” ופול וערשִׁים, LXX κύαμον φακόν, Vg *fabam lentem*. We saw (I.342) that φακός in the sense “lentil-shaped flask” may have gone into Hebrew קַף for “flask” of oil.

By themselves, the legumes were identically cooked. Thus (Gen 25,34) Jacob gave Esau a “pottage of lentils,” וְיִזְבֵּן עֵשָׂו לְיַעֲקֹב, LXX ἔψεμα φακοῦ, Vg *lentis edulio*; so Theocritus 10.54 καλλίον(α) ... τὸν φακὸν ἔψειν “boil up better lentils.” The Lebanese consider their *mujaddarah*<sup>44</sup> none other than Esau’s dish of lentils; it did not make a big hit with American children being brought up there. But now Heb. *powl* “beans,” one ingredient of such a porridge, reminds us of Latin *puls* and πολτός “porridge.” As with Jacob, the porridge could be made of legumes; a fragment of Alcman promises “pease porridge” (πυάνιον τε πολτόν);<sup>45</sup> again Pliny records (18.118) *quin et prisco ritu puls*<sup>46</sup> *fabata suae religionis diis in sacro est* “in the archaic rite bean-porridge was sacred to the gods with a religious character all its own.”

### 10.3 Domesticated animals

#### 10.3.1 Sheep and goats

Greek mentions sheep and goats separately although flocks were mixed: the Cyclops (*Odyssey* 9.244) “sat down and milked his sheep and bleating goats”

ἐζόμενος δ’ ἤμελγεν οἷς καὶ μηκάδας αἶγας  
 where the imitative μηκάδας shows how *eta* was pronounced. Diomedes (*Iliad* 10.485-6) attacks the Thracians “as a lion coming on un-shepherded animals, goats or sheep, rises against them with evil intent”:

ὥς δὲ λέων μήλοισιν ἀσημάντοισιν ἐπελθὼν,  
 αἶγαισιν ἢ οἴεσσι, κακὰ φρονέων ἐνορούση

44 2 cups lentils, 1/3 cup rice, 1 cup chopped onion, 3/4 cup olive oil, 1 tsp salt: Marie Karam Khayat & Margaret Clark Keatinge, *Food from the Arab World*; Beirut: Khayat’s, 1959; 58.

45 Alcman frag. 96 PMG = Athenaeus 14.648B.

46 MSS *pulsa*.

where  $\mu\eta\lambda\omicron\nu$  means any small herded animal. Hebrew on the other hand, where the flocks were also mixed, often does not specify the species, and uses צֹאן collective of a flock of sheep and/or goats whose singular is שֶׂה. So בָּקָר “herd” is collective of שׁוֹר “ox.” Thus Exod 21,37 on restitution (cf. I.202) “he shall pay five oxen for the ox, and four sheep (or goats) for the sheep (or goat)”:

חֲמִשָּׁה בָּקָר יִשְׁלַם תַּחַת הַשׁוֹר וְאַרְבַּע־צֹאן תַּחַת הַשֶּׂה

But when there is a contrast, צֹאן can mean “sheep” plural; Nabal (I Sam 25,2) had “three thousand sheep and a thousand goats”:

צֹאן שְׁלֹשֹׁת־אַלְפִים וְאַלְף עֲזִים

Vg accurately *oues tria milia et mille capreae*. The species are fully distinguished only where they are designated by sex. Jacob brings as present to Esau (Gen 32,15) “200 she-goats and 20 he-goats, 200 ewes and 20 rams”:

עֲזִים מֵאֲתָיִם וְתִשְׁעִים עֲשָׂרִים רְחִלִים מֵאֲתָיִם וְאַיִלִים עֲשָׂרִים

Commoner than תֵּשׁ for “he-goat” is שְׁעִיר עֲזִים Gen 37,31 etc. “buck from among the she-goats.” Hebrew had no international word for either barley or he-goat, since it calls both “hairy,” שְׁעֵרָה and שְׁעִיר. Here the later versions are models of accuracy: Vg *capras ducentas, hircos uiginti, oues ducentas, arietes uiginti*; Luther *zweihundert Ziegen, zwanzig Böcke, zweihundert Schafe, zwanzig Widder*. In this pastoral vocabulary, *-iym* (as an old collective) serves as plural equally for males and females, as with men (אֲנָשִׁים) and women (נָשִׁים). The males were kept only for breeding.

Levin<sup>47</sup> proposes parallels between the names of young animals in Semitic and Indo-European. Thus (a) Heb. עֹגֵל “calf” beside  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$  and Latin *agnus* “lamb”; the Greek and Latin together imply a labio-velar \*ag<sup>w</sup>nos which actually appears in Ethiopic. (b) Heb. כִּשְׂבֵּה “ewe-lamb” (this form only at Lev 5,6) with likely plural כִּשְׂבֵּה\* beside Old High German *kilbur* “lambs”; for in other words (I.97) Hebrew שֵׁן *sin* has a “lateral” or l-component. He compares a whole class of OHG neuter plurals of baby animals ending in *-ir*. (c) Heb. גִּדִּי “kid” with Arabic cognates and Latin *haedus* “kid,” German *Geiss* etc.

Of all baby animals, the most vulnerable was the lamb, so that it became particular prey to the wolf. Nothing so remarkable as that (Isa 11,6, cf. 65,25) “the wolf shall dwell with the lamb”

וְנָר וְזֵאֵב עִם־כֶּבֶשׂ

along with kid and leopard, calf and lion; LXX  $\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\kappa\omicron\varsigma \mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha} \acute{\alpha}\rho\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ , Vg *lupus cum agno*. Achilles tells Hector (*Iliad* 22.262-3) “there is no

47 Levin, SIE 105-119.

reliable treaty between lions and men, nor do wolves and lambs have a common mind”:

ὥς οὐκ ἔστι λέουσι καὶ ἀνδράσιν ὄρκια πιστά,  
οὐδὲ λύκοι τε καὶ ἄρνες ὁμόφρονα θυμὸν ἔχουσι

So in a proverbial phrase of abandonment (Herodotus 4.149.1) “to leave him as a sheep among wolves,” αὐτὸν καταλείπειν οἶν ἐν λύκοισι. Jesus is given Homer’s choice of nouns by Luk 10,3 “I send you out as lambs (but Matt 10,16 πρόβατα) in the midst of wolves,” ἀποστέλλω ὑμᾶς ὡς ἄρνας ἐν μέσῳ λύκων. So elsewhere in the Gospels, “ravens wolves” (λύκοι ἄρπαγες) “in sheep’s clothing,” ἐν ἐνδύμασιν προβάτων Matt 7,15; the hireling shepherd who sees the wolf coming and abandons the sheep (πρόβατα, Joh 10,12). Sirach 13,17 “What has the wolf in common with the lamb?,” τί κοινωγήσει λύκος ἀμνῶ;<sup>48</sup> —The names of the “wolf”: λύκος, *lupus*, Gothic *wulfs*, Sanskrit *vṛkha* etc. cannot quite be brought together into correct descent; similar names appear for different animals, Latin *uolpes* “fox,” English *whelp*, and even the “lynx”;<sup>49</sup> we can compare then (Job 30,1) אֲנִי צֹבֵי־לְבָבָי “my sheep-dogs,” Arabic كَلْبٌ *kalb(un)*.<sup>50</sup>

The lamb plays an ambivalent role, made part of the family but in the end only to be slaughtered. The ewe lamb (אֵזֶת) in Nathan’s parable (II Sam 12,3) grew up with father and children: “It used to eat from his morsel, and drink from his cup, and lie in his bosom, and it was like a daughter to him.” One year in Beirut when Ramadan came round to spring and nearly coincided with Easter, our Moslem landlord illegally brought up and then slaughtered a lamb in the back yard; the children who had been playing with it were shooed indoors until the deed was done. The theme in art is equally ambiguous. In a Greek archaic bronze statuette from Boston with numerous equivalents, Hermes carries a small ram on his shoulders, surely for sacrifice.<sup>51</sup> The much-restored “Good Shepherd” from the Vatican (not demonstrably Christian) represents an idealized youth with shepherd’s bag carrying

48 See West EFH 395 with further examples.

49 Frisk II.144 citing Swedish *lo*, old Germanic \**luha*.

50 Also the bear is brought into the confusion: the cult center of Greek *Arcadia* “Bear Country” is Mount *Lykaion* “Wolf Mountain”; the constellation *Ursa Minor* is *Kynosoura* “Dogtail” in Greek; Old English *Beowulf* “bee-wolf?” is some kind of a bear; in Syriac, Hebrew אֲדָמָה “wolf” and דִּבָּה “bear” fall together into almost identical forms, אֲדָמָה *di’bo*’ “wolf” (Joh 10,12 Peshitto) and דִּבָּה *debbo*’ “bear” (Rev 13,2).

51 LIMC v.2.22, Hermes 260; Boston, Fine Arts Museum 99489.

a curly-fleeced sheep on his shoulders, apparently for protection.<sup>52</sup> But in the end some of the protected sheep would not be kept for wool or milk, but be slaughtered young for meat, or mature for hides.

### 10.3.2 Cattle

In hilly Canaan and Greece sheep and goats can more easily find pasturage than the cow, less agile and more demanding; since the primitive Indo-Europeans surely had an economy based on cattle, they must have lived on flatter plain country. Sanskrit and Avestan texts suggest the myth of an original cattle-raid;<sup>53</sup> in the Mediterranean it is seen in more legal terms as *cattle-theft*. In a single Hebrew text (II.16), Exod 21,37 “If a man steals a bull...he shall repay five cattle in place of the bull”:

כִּי יִגְנוֹב־אִישׁ שׁוֹר ... חֲמִשָּׁה בָקָר יִשְׁלֵם תַּחַת הַשׁוֹר

Levin<sup>54</sup> compares “stative” words for “stolen thing”: Exod 22,3 גְּנוּבָה and κλέπος attributed to the laws of Solon;<sup>55</sup> in general the two roots גננ and κλεπ- run parallel. There is a rare cognate in Latin, *clepe* imperative (Plautus *Pseud.* 138).

But now (I.194) with collective בָּקָר “herd” we compared Latin neuter collective *pecus* (plural *pecora*) “flock” of sheep or “herd” of cattle. It is an extension of neuter *pecu* “flock, herd” (plural *pecua*) with equivalents in Sanskrit neuter *paçú*, Old English *feoh*, German *Vieh* etc.<sup>56</sup> If it is related to a verb “shear,” “sheep” would be the primary denotation. Thus Hector (*Iliad* 12.451) lifts a stone as easily “as when a shepherd easily carries the *fleece* (πόκος) of a male sheep”:

ὥς δ' ὅτε ποιμὴν ῥεῖα φέρει πόκον ἄρσενος οἴος

It has a rare alternate πέκος (LSJ) and verb πέκω “comb, shear”: Hesiod (*Opera* 775) says that the eleventh and twelfth of the month are favorable “both to shear [metrical variant] sheep and reap the kindly fruits”:

ἤμὲν οἷς πείκειν ἡδ' εὐφρονα καρπὸν ἀμᾶσθαι

52 Metropolitan Museum, The Vatican Collections: The Papacy and Art; New York: Abrams, 1982; no. 134 p. 218.

53 Bruce Lincoln, *Priests, Warriors, and Cattle: A Study in the Ecology of Religions*; Berkeley: Univ. of California, 1981, 103-121.

54 IESL 242-3; SIE 214-220; II.322.

55 Pollux 8.34; perhaps a quotation from the law in Scholiast on Aeschylus *PV* 400 “He goes off with the stolen thing in his possession,” οἷχεται τὸ κλέπος αὐτοῦ ἔχων; but West (IEG Adespot. Iamb. 56) considers it epodic.

56 A third form, fem. *pecus* “single animal” (plural *pecudes*) is an inner-Latin formation; in Accius (below) it appears as object of *clepere*.

The original sense may have been more abstract.<sup>57</sup>

A “cattle-thief” is βοόκληψ;<sup>58</sup> Hermes “stole the oxen” of Apollo (*Hom. Hymn* 4.18) βοῦς κλέψεν. It has been proposed<sup>59</sup> that the Cyclops (Κύκλωψ *Odyssey* 9.296) has his name not from Κύκλιωψ “Circle-Eye” but from \*Πκύκλωψ “Cattle-Thief”! We have the closest approach to Old Latin \**pecora clepere* in a fragment of the *Atreus* of Accius (cited by Cicero *de nat. deorum* 3.68):

agnum inter *pecudes* aureum clarum coma

quem clam Thyestem *clepere* ausum esse e regia

(Atreus speaking) “[The father of the gods sent me] a ram of golden fleece, conspicuous among my sheep, which Thyestes was reported to have secretly stolen from my palace.” Also Germanic has cognates to both Latin *clepere* and *pecu*. Hence one more international phrase of verb with noun object “to steal cattle,” almost as well attested as “test gold,” “slaughter a bull” and “mix wine” (I.18). Levin notes that the Gothic New Testament has *faihu* translating words for “property” (Mark 10,22-3; 14,11; Luk 18,24) and *hlifand* for κλέπτουσιν (Matt 6,19). Thus in the time of Wulfila a Goth might have said \**faihu hlifand* “they steal a beast” with identical meaning and forms to early Latin \**pecu clepunt*.

### 10.3.3 Tame animals in the Golden Age

We saw (II.13) that peace is when (Mic 4,4) “they shall sit every one under his vine and fig tree, *and none shall make them afraid* (וְאִין מְחַרְרִין).” The italicized phrase recurs in two passages which promise rain on the land, and security from wild animals and foreign enemies, under a renewed covenant: Lev 26,3-13 and Ez 34,25-31. That wild beasts are neutralized reappears at Isa 35,9, where there will be no lion on the new Holy Way; and above all (II.16) at Isa 11,6, where the wolf will live with the lamb, and likewise for other oppo-

57 Levin cites from a review of his: “Emile Benveniste refutes the accepted view that \**peku* (unchanged in Latin *pecu*; Sanskrit *paśú*, OHG *fibu*) in origin meant ‘cattle’ (in the broad sense) or more specifically ‘sheep’—cf. the verb-root \**pek* ‘shear, fleece.’ From the Indo-Iranian texts, from the Latin *pecūnia* and *pecūlium*, the Gothic *faihu*, etc., he proves that this application to beasts is secondary to the general meaning ‘movable property.’ I would prefer ‘*disposable* property’ and posit—contrary to Benveniste—that the primary form of it among the proto-Indo-Europeans was a fleece.”

58 Sophocles frag. 318 TrGF iv.308.

59 Paul Thieme, cited by Rüdiger Schmitt, *Dichtung und Dichtersprache in indogermanischer Zeit*; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1967; 168.



sites. So in Hellas Empedocles, describing something like the Golden Age,<sup>60</sup> says that “all animals were tame and friendly to men, beasts and birds, for the flame of concord burned in them”:

ἦσαν δὲ κτίλα πάντα καὶ ἀνθρώποισι προσηγῆ,  
θῆρές τ' οἰωνοὶ τε, φιλοφροσύνη τε δεδήει

Vergil in *Eclogue* 4.22, explicitly designated (vs 9) as the time of a “golden race,” *gens aurea*, has “nor shall herds fear the great lions,” *nec magnos metuent armenta leones*. Jerome on Isa 11,6-9<sup>61</sup> says of literal interpreters:

Nisi forte iuxta fabulas poetarum, aureum nobis Saturni saeculum  
restituent, in quo lupi et agnis pascentur simul...

“Unless they plan to restore the golden age of Saturn for us, after the fables of the poets, in which wolves will feed together even with lambs<sup>62</sup>...” The American Quaker primitive Edward Hicks (1780-1849) has a deep understanding of the Biblical materials: in his repeated versions of the Peaceable Kingdom, set against the Hudson or the Delaware Water Gap, he always puts William Penn’s treaty with the Indians (1683), representing simultaneously the healing of breaches in the historical and natural orders.

Who is the “little child” (Isa 11,6 יְעֹזֵבֵן, Luther *ein kleiner Knabe*) that will lead the animals? Hicks represents him as a toddler. But at I Sam 16,11 Samuel asks Jesse if all his sons (“youths,” יְהֻנָּדָב) are there; and Jesse says all but the “youngest” (יְעֹזֵבֵן), for he is keeping the sheep. Then the whole passage Isa 11,1-9 is about David the “root of Jesse”: the manifold spirit of Yahweh shall rest on him; he will judge the poor justly; and he will lead the tame animals. How will he do that?

David is a lyre-player (I Sam 18,10; 19,9): the effect of his playing is (temporarily) to send away Saul’s evil spirit (I Sam 16,23); and so the Greek bard, the “servant of the Muses” (Μουσάων θεράπων, Hesiod, *Theog.* 98-103), dispels sorrow and grief. A vase of the 11th cent. BC from Megiddo<sup>63</sup> called Philistine shows a lyre-player surrounded with animals; the identification with an Orpheus figure is irresistible.

60 Empedocles frag. 130, Diels-Kranz FVS<sup>8</sup> i.364.

61 Corp. Christ. 73.151.

62 But I do not find any pagan version of the Golden Age which specifically reconciles wolf and lamb.

63 Metropolitan Museum of Art, Treasures of the Holy Land: Ancient Art from the Israel Museum; New York: Metro Museum, 1986; p. 156 no. 75; Israel Museum IDAM 36.1321. Discussion by Trude Dothan, *The Philistines and their Material Culture* (New Haven & Jerusalem; 1962; 149-153); the alternative explanation that a king is singing *about* beasts and birds is less convincing.

Euripides (*Bacchae* 562-4) tells how “Orpheus playing on his kithara moved the trees with his songs (‘Muses’!), moved the wild beasts,” Ὀρφεὺς κιθαρίζων/σύναγεν δένδρεα μούσαις, σύναγεν θήρας ἀγρώτας. The theme appears in Roman mosaics; in the 6th century CE a synagogue mosaic from Gaza<sup>64</sup> shows David (labelled דָּוִד) playing the lyre among animals. So perhaps David in Isaiah 11 is seen as an Orpheus figure. Orpheus was son of Zeus and the Muse Kalliope (Apollodorus 1.3.2), as David is son of the God of Israel (Ps 2,7).

### 10.4 *The crisis of land-tenure*

#### 10.4.1 Tenure and alienation

Hebrews and Greeks of the historic period agreed in a theoretical schema about land-tenure: (1) at an ill-defined original time all land was held in common; (2) it was then divided among heads of household by lot; (3) the descendants of those original land-holders continued in possession down to the present; (4) those descendants were the only full members of the society; (5) any other persons resident on its territory were under some sort of restrictions. Until recently Marxist historians held that at the earliest period, both in Greece and Italy, land was actually held in a “primitive commune.”<sup>65</sup> With the collapse of the Socialist regimes in Eastern Europe less is heard of this doctrine today; in 1977 a well-known manual called the sources on which it was based “scanty and unreliable.”<sup>66</sup>

In Israelite theory all land belonged to Yahweh. Just as in his capacity of Great King he was considered to have granted a vassal-treaty to the Hebrew king and people, i.e., the covenant (I.254); likewise he was considered to have granted the land after the Mesopotamian pattern to the Israelite people as a fief, i.e., “in return for the obligation to render personal services.”<sup>67</sup> de Vaux finds little evidence for the supposed communal property; under the early monarchy (he says) there were only two types of property, the king’s estate and

64 Asher Ovadiah, *Mosaic Art in Ancient Synagogues in Israel from the 4th to the 7th centuries*; Tel Aviv: University, 1993; p. 21.

65 Bibliography, from a point of view sympathetic to the theory of the primitive commune, in Robert A. Padgug, “Select Bibliography on Marxism and the Study of Antiquity,” *Arethusa* 8 (1) (1975) 199-225, esp. 213.

66 Austin & Vidal-Naquet, note 2 above; p. 74 n. 19. Some more documentation (dated) in my original article, *ZAW* 95 (1983) 384-5.

67 R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Social Institutions*; 2 vols.; New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971; i.164.

family property, each passed on by inheritance.<sup>68</sup> Jos 13-19 is a theoretical account of how the land was originally assigned to the tribes by lot; but in fact by the historical period the householder is simply in possession of his land.

Greek legendary memory hardly goes back so far. But the prime evidence that both Greeks and Hebrews held to the theoretical scheme is that both describe land-holding through a word which has all three meanings “pebble,” “lot,” and “piece of land.” Hebrew לְוֶרְלָה corresponds to Arabic collective جَرَال *jaral(un)* “stones.” Prov 16,33 לְוֶרְלָה-הַגּוֹרָל בְּחֵיק יוֹטֵל “a lot is cast into the garment’s fold,” Vg *sortes mittuntur in sinu*; Num 26,55 אֶתְּוֶרְלָה יִחַלֵּק אֶתְּהָאָרֶץ “by lot shall the land be divided,” LXX διὰ κλήρων μερισθήσεται ἡ γῆ.<sup>69</sup> Jos 15,1 ... הַגּוֹרָל לְבְנֵי יְהוּדָה “the lot for the tribe of the sons of Judah was...”, Vg *sors filiorum Iudae*.

Frisk takes κλήρος from κλάω “break” as “pebble, potsherd,” comparing Old Irish *clar* “Brett, Tafel.” When Paris and Menelaus are to engage in a duel, Hector and Odysseus (*Iliad* 3.316) “took lots and shook them in a bronze helmet” to see who should cast first:<sup>70</sup>

κλήρους ἐν κυνέῃ χαλκήρεϊ πάλλον ἐλόντες

Hector urges the Trojans to risk their lives, for if the Achaeans give up, wives and children will be safe, and “your house and lot will be undamaged” (*Iliad* 15.498):

καὶ οἶκος καὶ κλήρος ἀκήρατος...

Nausithoos at Scheria “allotted the fields,” ἐδάσσατ’ ἀρούρας (*Odyssey* 6.10). Sesostriis in Egypt (Herodotus 2.109.1) κλήρον ἴσον ἐκάστω τετράγωνον διδόντα “gave each man an equal square lot.” Plato’s ideal city (*Leg.* 745C) is to have 5,040 κλήρους.<sup>71</sup> Still today in the English-speaking world a piece of land is a “lot.” The two words for “pebble, lot,” לְוֶרְלָה and κλήρος, are like enough to arouse curiosity, not so like as to prove any connection.

No doubt the actual process by which families acquired land was less systematic. And in spite of regulations to keep real estate in the family, including temporary ownership by a widow (I.238-9, II.278), the roster of families could not remain completely unchanged. In spite of all legal efforts a family might die out. If there were two sons the

68 *Ibid.*, i.124-126, 166-167.

69 In both Hebrew sentences the true subject is marked accusative as if the verb were active impersonal.

70 This comparison was independently made in unpublished work by Anne Marie Kitz.

71 For such a theoretical division of the land see Weinfeld, *Promise* 23.

land might be divided. Hesiod *Opera* 37 reminds his brother Perseus “we had already divided our lot”:

ἤδη μὲν γὰρ κληῖρον ἔδασσάμεθ(α)

but Perseus seized the greater part by doing a favor to the “gift-eating kings” (βασιλῆας / δωροφάγους 38-9). And some property at least was available for sale: Hesiod again advises piety to the gods “so that you may buy the lot of others, and not another yours” (*Opera* 341):

ὄφρ’ ἄλλων ὠνῆ κληῖρον, μὴ τὸν τεὸν ἄλλος

The alienability of land in the Greek world was also much discussed under Socialist auspices.<sup>72</sup>

The alienability of land in Israel is concretely demonstrated by the formation of large estates. Isa 5,8 “Woe to those who join house to house, who add field to field”:

הוּי מְגִיעֵי בַיִת בְּבַיִת וְשָׂדֵה בְּשָׂדֵה יִקְרְיבוּ

Micah 2,2 “They covet fields, and seize them; and houses, and take them away”:

וְקָמוּ שְׂדוֹת וְגִזְרוּ וְכָתְוּ וְנִשְׂאוּ

Aristotle in the *Ath. Pol.* 12 gives a series of verse quotations from Solon (archon 594 BC) with comments. Solon frustrated some parties who hoped for a redistribution of land (διανείμασθαι τὴν γῆν 12.3) to their own benefit. Aristotle continues (12.4):

Again, [Solon goes on] concerning the cancellation of debts, and concerning those formerly enslaved but freed through the *seisachtheia* [lifting of burdens]: “And I—of all the aims for whose sake I gathered the people, which did I abandon before achieving it? Let my best witness<sup>73</sup> in the tribunal of time be the greatest of the Olympian deities, black Mother Earth, from whom I lifted off the markers everywhere fixed—Earth, formerly enslaved, now free”.<sup>74</sup>

πάλιν δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀποκοπῆς τῶν χρεῶν καὶ τῶν δουλευόντων μὲν πρότερον ἐλευθερωθέντων δὲ διὰ τὴν σεισάχθειαν·

ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν μὲν οὐνεκα ξυνήγαγον

δῆμον, τί τούτων πρὶν τυχεῖν ἐπαυσάμην;

συμμαρτυροίη ταῦτ’ ἂν ἐν δίκῃ χρόνου

μήτηρ μεγίστη δαιμόνων Ὀλυμπίων

ἄριστα, Γῆ μέλαινα, τῆς ἐγὼ ποτε

ὄρους ἀνεῖλον πολλαχῆ πεπηγότας,

πρόσθεν δὲ δουλεύουσα, νῦν ἐλευθέρα.

72 See again my notes in ZAW 95 (1983) 385; Austin & Vidal-Naquet (note 2 above) 98f.

73 Here Earth is a witness to the fulfilling of an obligation as in the gods witnessing a treaty (I.269).

74 Solon frag. 36.1-7, West IEG ii.141.

In Hellas, the original boundaries were too well known to need markers, so the *horoï* defined the extent of usurpation, whether by mortgage or outright annexing. Israel still had markers for the original extent of the fields, which the usurpers *removed*. Prov 23,10 “Do not remove the ancient landmark (Vg *terminos*),<sup>75</sup> or enter the fields of the fatherless”:

אֶל-תִּטֶּס נְבוּל עוֹלָם וּבְשָׂרֵי יְהוּמִים אֶל-תִּבֵּא  
LXX μη μεταθῆς ὄρια αἰώνια ... When mortgages are cancelled in the hypothetical fiftieth jubilee year, the command is (Lev 25,10) “You shall proclaim liberty (LXX ἄφεσις, Vg *remissionem*, Luther *Freilassung*) in the land to all its inhabitants” (the text cited on the U.S. Liberty Bell):<sup>76</sup>

וּקְרָאתֶם דְּרוֹר בְּאַרְצְךָ לְכָל-יִשְׂרָאֵל  
So at Rome, Numa Pompilius “decreed that whoever destroyed or removed the markers (ὄρους) should be accursed (ἱερόν)... for the Romans consider the *termini* (τέρμονας etc.) to be gods and sacrifice to them yearly” (Dionysius Halic. 2.74.3-4). Thus a Roman lexicographer:<sup>77</sup>

Termino sacra faciebant, quod in eius tutela fines agrorum esse putabant. Denique Numa Pompilius statuit, eum qui terminum exarasset, et ipsum et boues sacros esse.

“They offered sacrifices to [the god] Terminus, because they believed that the boundaries of fields were under his care. And finally Numa Pompilius decreed, that whoever plowed over a boundary-stone should be condemned [to death] along with his oxen.” Again, a preserved law:<sup>78</sup>

Quique termini hac lege statuti erunt, ne quis eorum quem eicito neue loco moueto sciens dolo malo.

“Whatever boundaries shall be fixed by this law, let no one knowingly, with malice aforethought, remove any of them or move it from its place.”

#### 10.4.2 Cancellation of debts, redistribution of land

Aristotle affirms that Solon carried out a cancellation of debts but doubts that he did a redistribution of land; however, Athenians on Solon’s showing were reduced to slavery or serf-status both through

75 Same phrase at Deut 19,14; 27,17; Job 24,2; Prov 22,28; Hos 5,10.

76 Cast (in England) in 1752 for some anniversary or Jubilee of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania; the text was “Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof.”

77 Festus (excerpted) p. 505 L.

78 C. G. Bruns, *Fontes Iuris Romani Antiqui*, 7th ed., Tübingen: Mohr, 1909; i.96.

debt and losing property. Plato (*Rep.* 8.566A) gives the classical conservative critique of both actions: an extreme democracy leads to oligarchic reaction; over against *this* the people demand a “protector” (δήμου προεστώς) who ends up a human wolf, that is, a tyrant; among other techniques “he hints at cancellation of debts and redistribution of land,” ὑποσημαίνη χρεῶν τε ἀποκοπὰς καὶ γῆς ἀναδασμόν.<sup>79</sup> But the cry for cancellation of debts (I.249-251), however much misused, arises from an awareness of real abuses. In the founding of a colony a distribution of land often happened—at the expense of any local farmers. Delphi urged colonists to go to Cyrene on that ground (Herodotus 4.159.3): “Whoever goes to lovely Libya *after* the distribution of land, I say that he will soon regret it”:<sup>80</sup>

ὃς δέ κεν ἐς Λιβύην πολυήρατον ὕστερον ἔλθῃ  
γᾶς ἀναδαιομένας, μετὰ οἷ ποκά φαμι μελήσειν.

The final goal of the Sabbatical and Jubilee legislation in Israel was comparable to Solon’s: to redeem Israelites from slavery or serfdom. The Sabbatical year at first involved letting the land lie fallow, ostensibly “that the poor of your people may eat” (Exod 23,11 RSV), but perhaps in reality to restore fertility, whether or not that was fully understood; for in Lev 25,1-7 the poor do not appear. In Deuteronomy it has become a cancellation of debts or “release,” Deut 15,1 שְׁמִטָּה (LXX ἄφεσις, Vg *remissionem*, Luther *Erlassjahr*). In the earliest attested sabbatical year (163/2 BC?—I Makk 6,49-53), as in others, only the lack of provisions is mentioned; but the cancellation of debts was taken with enough seriousness that Hillel devised a formula to cancel it, the *Prozbul* (פרוזבול I.250). The Jubilee year appears only in Leviticus (& Num 36,4), where leases and sales are cancelled, and (Lev 25,10) “each of you shall return to his property (LXX κτήσις, Vg *possessionem*, Luther *Habe*)”:

וְשִׁבְתֶם אִישׁ אֶל-אָחִיו

Lev 25,23-4 states the general principle: “The land shall not be sold in perpetuity, for the land is mine; for you are *strangers and sojourners* with me. And in all the country you possess, you shall grant a redemption (גְּאֻלָּה, LXX λύτρα, Vg *sub redemptionis condicione*)”:

וְהָאָרֶץ לֹא תִמָּכַר לְצִמְתָּתָּ כִּי-לִי הָאָרֶץ כִּי-נָרִים וְתוֹשָׁבִים אַתֶּם  
עַמְדֵי וּבְכָל אֶרֶץ אֲחֻזְתְּכֶם גְּאֻלָּה תִתְּנוּ לְאָרֶץ

79 The same conservative critique of both actions, cancellation and redistribution, is echoed at Isocrates 12.259; Ps.-Demosthenes 17.15; Oath at Demosthenes 24.149; Dionysius Hal. 7.8.1.

80 For the pattern of colonization see the discussion of Weinfeld, *The Promise of the Land*, in Chapter 15 below.

In contrast to the Sabbatical year, there is no record that the Jubilee restoration was ever carried out. Weinfeld<sup>81</sup> considers that “the laws of שמיטה and יובל remained Utopian.” Both seem quite untainted by Plato’s suspicions of coming tyranny.<sup>82</sup>

#### 10.4.3 “Strangers and sojourners”

The formula “strangers and sojourners” of Lev 25,23 has a beautiful parallel at Rome. It appears in the LXX as προσήλυτοι καὶ πάροικοι, Vg *aduenae et coloni*. The doubled phrase appears elsewhere:<sup>83</sup> at Gen 23,4 Abraham says, “I am a stranger and sojourner among you,”

גַּר וְחוֹשֵׁב אֲנֹכִי עִמָּכֶם

LXX πάροικος καὶ παρεπίδημος, Vg *aduena sum et peregrinus*, Luther *Fremdling und Beisasse*. The LXX of Gen 23,4 is picked up at I Pet 2,11 (see Eph 2,19; Heb 11,13). The doubled phrase suggests a legal term like “curse and oath” (I.256) in treaty-context; or “justice and righteousness” (II.33), which spread both through prophetic poetry and royal proclamations. Aliens, instructed in one legal system so to refer to themselves, would naturally carry the terminology elsewhere. Alcinous says to the Phaeacians (*Odyssey* 8.546) “A stranger and suppliant is considered like a brother,”

ἀντὶ κασιγνήτου ξεῖνός θ' ἰκέτης τε τέτυκται

Odysseus tells the Cyclops (9.270-271) “Zeus Xenios, who assists all revered strangers, is the avenger of suppliants and strangers”:

81 Moshe Weinfeld, *Social Justice* 11; see *Promise* 193.

82 Ben Zion Wachholder (“The Calendar of Sabbatical Cycles during the Second Temple and the early Rabbinic period,” *HUCA* 44 [1973] 153-196) on the basis of various texts tried to show that the Sabbatical year was consistently celebrated at regular 7-year intervals throughout antiquity. Thus he takes the first Sabbatical year in the Common Era to be from 1 Tishri CE (=AD) 6 to 30 Elul CE 7 (consistently with 163/2 BCE); all Sabbatical years thereafter would then end in a CE year evenly divisible by 7. Current usage in Israel, based on a medieval calculation, made the year CE 1972/3 Sabbatical (*Encyclopaedia Judaica* xiv; New York: Macmillan; 1971; 585), whereas on Wachholder’s reconstruction the Sabbatical year would have been 1973/4. In a later article (“Chronomessianism: The timing of Messianic movements and the calendar of Sabbatical cycles,” *HUCA* 46 [1975] 201-218) he suggests that various Messianic movements were consciously begun on a Sabbatical year. But he misses the possibility that Jesus’ inaugural sermon at Nazareth was on a Sabbatical year (which on his reconstruction could only have been CE 27/28); for there (Luk 4,18) he quotes Isa 61,1 “to proclaim liberty to the captives,” which as we will see (II.28) picks up Lev 25,10 (Jubilee) “to proclaim liberty in the land.”

83 Gen 23,4; Lev 25,47; Num 35,15; Ps 39,13; I Chron 29,15.

Ζεὺς δ' ἐπιτιμήτωρ ἰκετάων τε ξείνων τε  
 ξείνιος, ὃς ξείνοισιν ἅμ' αἰδοίοισιν ὀπηδεῖ

Hippocrates raises an army (Thucydides 4.90.1) from the whole citizenry of Athens, “themselves and the resident aliens [‘metics’] and all the foreigners available,” αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς μετοίκους καὶ ξένων ὅσοι παρήσαν. But in none of these Greek formulas are the two nouns full synonyms. It is in legalistic Rome that the Semitic formula most clearly implanted itself. At Plautus *Poen.* 1031 Hanno the Carthaginian refers to himself as *hominem peregrinum et aduenam*; Plautus, who elsewhere puts Punic into Hanno’s mouth, may have a Punic source for this too. Thus Cicero *de orat.* 1.249 *ne in nostra patria peregrini atque aduenae uideamur* “lest in our own fatherland we seem foreigners and strangers”; *de leg. agr.* 2.94 *non hospites sed peregrini atque aduenae nominabamur* “we were not named honored guests, but foreigners and strangers.” The phrase was fixed in Latin, so that when Jerome came to its Hebrew equivalent at Gen 23,4 he used the old language (in reverse order). Here is a formula brought from overseas to Rome, very likely by Phoenicians.

#### 10.4.4 Unfree persons

Control of land led to enslavement of the old owners. Micah 2,2 (II.23) goes on “they oppress a man and his house, a man and his inheritance”:

וְעִשְׂקוּ זָכָר וּבְיָחֹוּ וְאִישׁ וְנַחְלָתוֹ

Amos condemns those (Amos 2,6, cf. 8,6) “who sell the righteous for silver, and the needy for a pair of shoes”:

עַל-מְכָרָם בַּכֶּסֶף צְדִיק וְאֶבְיֹון בַּעֲבוּר נַעֲלָיִם

The usurpers are in collusion with the judiciary: “the prince and judge ask for a bribe (שְׁלוֹם [text in some disorder])” (Mic 7,3) instead of “establishing justice in the gate” (Amos 5,15):

וְהִצִּיגוּ בַשַּׁעַר מִשְׁפָּט

Nowhere are the two Greek epic traditions closer than here. Hesiod *Opera* 263-264 “Gift-eating kings (cf. vs 39 cited II.23), straighten your words<sup>84</sup> and wholly forget crooked judgements”:

... βασιλῆς ἰθύνετε μύθους

δωροφάγοι, σκολιέων δὲ δικέων ἐπὶ πάγχυ λάθεσθε

On an autumn day Zeus may send a downpour in anger at men (*Iliad* 16.387-8) “who in a violent assembly decide crooked decrees, and

84 For μύθους some MSS have the seemingly unmetrical δίκας.



drive out justice, not minding the gaze of the gods (= Hesiod *Opera* 251)”:

οἱ βίη εἰν ἀγορῇ σκολιὰς κρίνωσι θέμιστας  
ἐκ δὲ δίκην ἐλάσωσι, θεῶν ὅπιν οὐκ ἀλέγοντες

Cf Isa 10,1-2 “Woe to those who decree iniquitous decrees...to turn aside the needy from judgement”:

הוֹי הַחֲקִיקִים הַקְּדִימִים ... לְהַטִּיף מִדִּין תְּלִים

The result is exile and slavery. Solon continues his report of success, claiming to have done what in the prophets is seen as the work of God:<sup>85</sup>

And I brought back to Athens, to their fatherland founded by the gods, many who, lawfully or unlawfully, had been sold, and those who fled by dire necessity, no longer speaking the Attic tongue, so far had they wandered; and I also set free those who here at home were subjected to shameful slavery, and trembled before the moods of their masters.

πολλοὺς δ' Ἀθήνας, πατρίδ' εἰς θεόκτιτον,  
ἀνήγαγον πραθέντας, ἄλλον ἐκδίκως,  
ἄλλον δικαίως, τοὺς δ' ἀναγκαίης ὑπὸ  
χραιοῦς φυγόντας, γλώσσαν οὐκέτ' Ἀττικὴν  
ιέντας, ὡς ἂν πολλαχῆ πλανωμένους·  
τοὺς δ' ἐνθαδ' αὐτοῦ δουλίην ἀεικέα  
ἔχοντας, ἦθη δεσποτῶν τρομευμένους  
ἐλευθέρους ἔθηκα

So Jer 31,8 “Behold I am bringing them from the land of the North (Saphon, see I.100-101), I will gather them from the borders of the earth”:

הֲנִי מְבִיא אוֹתָם מֵאַרְץ צָפוֹן וְקִבְּצֵתִים מִיַּרְדֵּן-אֶרֶץ

Elsewhere it is the task of the Servant of Yahweh “to bring out the prisoner from the dungeon” (Isa 42,7) אֶפְרָיִם מִמְּסוּגָר אֶפְרָיִם and “to proclaim liberty to the captives” (61,1) לְקַרְא לְשִׁבְיִים הָרֹדִים, LXX κηρύξαι αἰχμαλώτοις ἄφεισι (cited exactly in the LXX by Luk 4,18, Jesus at the Nazareth synagogue). “To proclaim liberty” echoes the Jubilee proclamation Lev 25,10 (II.24).

The newly disenfranchised did have one big advantage over the slave, serf or sojourner: they attracted the attention of the poet or prophet. The demands made by the poet in fact are moderate and non-revolutionary. Neither in Amos, Micah or I Isaiah, neither in Hesiod or Solon, do we find any concern about the lot of serfs, privately held or state

85 Solon frag. 36.8-15 West IEG 141 = Aristotle *Ath. Pol.* 12.4.

slaves, beyond the former landowners. Defects in distributive justice command little attention. The principal notion of justice is commutative: outrage is felt when somebody who once owned something has it taken away from him. Compare the famous definition of justice by Ulpian of Tyre<sup>86</sup>: *iustitia est constans et perpetua uoluntas ius suum cuique tribuendi*, “Justice is a constant and perpetual will to render each one his due.” The poetic concern for justice in both societies is limited to the inequity that legitimate hereditary landowners have been dispossessed and reduced to slavery, while their land has gone to somebody else. What someone had never possessed was not considered his due.

If we want to read about concerns for the slave or resident alien, in Hebrew we must leave the prophets and go to the Law; in Greece we must leave history altogether and go to Utopian thought. The only prophetic passage dealing with manumission is Jer 34,13-14; and the function of the word of the Lord here is to recall the provisions in the Law of the sabbatical year. The abhorrent thing is that Zedekiah and the people “broke the terms of the covenant” (Jer 34,18) by renegeing on the manumission they had begun. That is what it is to “profane the name” of Yahweh, אֶחָד־שְׁמִי וְחָלַלְתִּי (34,16).<sup>87</sup> Here it is the Law that is the more progressive institution.

86 *Digest* 1.1.10. He summarizes a discussion of Cicero *de fin.* 5.25 on *iustitia* as the *animi affectio suum cuique tribuens* “state of mind which grants each one his own.”

87 I cannot forbear adding one theological note. The passages which speak of “profaning (חלל) the name” are a little directory of what must not be done in this world: they include reversing the manumission of slaves (Jer 34,16); sacrificing children to false gods (Lev 18,21; 20,3); lying under oath (Lev 19,21); “trampling the head of the poor ... turning aside the way of the afflicted” and prostitution (Amos 2,7). Rare passages define its opposite as “sanctifying (קדש) the name”: Ezek 36,23 (cf. Lev 22,32; Isa 29,23): “And I will sanctify my great name, which has been profaned among the nations”:

וְקִדַּשְׁתִּי אֶחָד־שְׁמִי הַגָּדוֹל הַמְחֻלָּל בְּגוֹיִם

Luther emphasizes it that the two verbs חלל and קדש are exact opposites: *Dem ich will meinen grossen Namen, der vor dem Heiden entheiligt ist ... wieder heilig machen*. A prominent Aramaic part of the Synagogue liturgy, the Qaddish (D. Hedegård, Seder R. Amram Gaon I; Lund: Lindstedt, 1951; 41 & 1), extends Ez 36,23: “Magnified and sanctified be his great name in the world which he created according to his will; may he establish his kingdom during your life ...”:

וְיִתְגַדַּל וְיִתְקַדַּשׁ שְׁמֵהּ רַבָּא בְּעַלְמָא דִּי־בְרָא כְרַעוּתָהּ וְיִמְלִיךָ מַלְכוּתָהּ בְּחַיֵּינוּן

The first three clauses of the Lord’s Prayer (Matt 6,9-10) all rest on this: ἁγιοῦσθητω τὸ ὄνομα σου· ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου· γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημα σου ... The Syriac Peshitto restores the Qaddish vocabulary except for “will”:

נְחַדְשׁ שְׁמֵךָ: הֵאחָא מַלְכוּתְךָ: נְהוּא צְבִינְךָ

And so the meaning of “hallowed be thy name” includes: freeing slaves, reverencing children, telling truth, lifting the poor.

The former landholders, one way or another, joined the spectrum of unfree persons. While slaves could be gotten in various ways, many were taken as prisoners of war and so designated (as in Isa 61,1 LXX = Luk 4,18 cited above) by *δοριάλωτος* “captured by the spear,” *αἰχμάλωτος* “by the point.” The latter can serve for a woman (Cassandra of herself, Aeschylus *Agam.* 1440) but has a collateral feminine *αἰχμαλωτίς* (Sophocles *Aias* 1228 etc.). There is a unique Hebrew parallel at Gen 31,26 where Laban complains that Joseph has carried off his daughters “like captives of the sword,” *כְּשָׂבִיחַ חֶרֶב* (Vg *captiuas gladio*); the LXX found ready-made the translation *αἰχμαλωτίδας μαχαίρα*.

Some non-Attic states had permanent unfree peoples bound to the land: Aristotle (*Pol.* 2.6.2-3 = 1269a34-b7) discusses the class (*πενεστεία*) of Penestai (i.e. *πενέσται*) at Thessaly, the Helots (*εἰλωτες*) at Sparta, and the Perioikoi (*περίοικοι*) of Crete.<sup>88</sup> He says that the Penestai and Helots repeatedly rebelled, but not the Perioikoi. Plutarch (*Solon* 22.2) says that “a multitude of Helots, which it seemed better not to leave idle, but to keep down, continually oppressed and laboring, was spread out in Lacedaemon”:

*εἰλωτικοῦ πλήθους, ὃ βέλτιον ἦν μὴ σχολάζειν, ἀλλὰ τριβόμενον ἄει καὶ πονοῦν ταπεινοῦσθαι, περιεχυμένου τῇ Λακεδαιμόνι*

Israel, besides the temporary draft of labor-gangs on specific royal projects like the *corvée* (*סִבָּ* I Reg 5,27) in Lebanon, had a permanent parallel to these unfree populations in the Gibeonites. Jos 11,19 says that only “the Hivites, the inhabitants of Gibeon” (*הַחִוִּי יִשָּׁבֵי גִבְעוֹן*) made peace with Israel.<sup>89</sup> We identified (I.32) the uncircumcised Hivites with the Achaeans; and suggested (I.201) that the great *bamah* of Gibeon (I Reg 3,4) was a link to the Greek altar or *βωμός*. Margalith<sup>90</sup> now has a long discussion of Hivites and Gibeonites, in particular of Saul’s Gibeonite ancestry according to I Chron 9,35-39,<sup>91</sup> and identifies the Gibeonites with the later Nethinim of the Temple. The

88 There was also a class of Perioikoi at Sparta (Herodotus 6.58.2), midway in status between the true Spartiates and the Helots; both subject groups (H. says) must engage in ritual mourning at a king’s funeral.

89 Also in Jos 9, the “inhabitants of Gibeon” in vs 3 become “the Hivites” in vs 9.

90 Othniel Margalith, *The Sea Peoples in the Bible*; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994, 62-91.

91 According to Chronicles then, Saul’s massacre of the Gibeonites (II Sam 21,1-14) was an effort to wipe out the non-Israelite stock from which he himself came. Levin asks whether the genealogy of I Chron 9,35-38 “reveals intermarriage between an Israelite and a Gibeonite family? Or merely an Israelite family settling in Gibeon, and perhaps claiming *patronage* over the Gibeonite? Was

Gibeonites by a famous stratagem (II.51) persuaded the Israelites to make a covenant with them on the grounds that “thy servants have come from a very distant country” (Jos 9,9), מֵאַרְץ רְחֹקָה מְאֹד; if they had in mind a legendary home in the Aegean it was very distant indeed! When Joshua discovered their ruse he made them (Jos 9,21, cf. Deut 29,10) “hewers of wood and drawers of water”

הַטְּבִיעִים וְשֹׂאֲבֵי־מַיִם

LXX ξυλοκόποι καὶ ὑδροφόροι, Luther *Holzhauer und Wasserschöpfer*, slaves (vs 22) for the as yet non-existent house of God. The ὑλοτόμοι of *Iliad* 23.123 seem skilled artisans, not slaves; but the female ὑδροφόρων of Herodotus 3.14.4 are led in humiliation. Perhaps the Linear B occupations from mainland texts *du-ru-to-mo* “treecutters”<sup>92</sup> (cf. δρυτόμος *Iliad* 11.86) and *re-wo-to-ro-ko-wo* “bath-pourers?”<sup>93</sup> (cf. λοετροχόω *Odyssey* 20.297) are palace servitors.<sup>94</sup>

Pejorative designations of peasants on the land are derived from the soil they worked. Egyptian peasants were called μελάμποδες “blackfeet” (Apollodorus 2.1.4) just as French city-dwellers called the French colonial farmers of Algeria *pieds-noirs*. The serfs at Epidaurus were κονίποδες “dustyfeet.”<sup>95</sup> What gets you out of the servant class is to have your feet washed when you have been on the road. Most Hebrew texts assume that men will do it for themselves.<sup>96</sup> The dust on the feet of itinerant preachers is a testimony against all who would not receive them (and let them get their feet washed), Mark 6,11 etc. Odysseus’ first recognition is when his old nurse washes his feet while he is still in disguise (*Odyssey* 19.386). Conversely, to wash another’s feet is to enter the servant class. The enslaved Milesian women wash the feet of their new masters (Herodotus 6.19). When Abigail agrees to become David’s wife, she says, “Behold, your handmaid is a servant to wash the feet of the servants of my lord” (I Sam 25,41). It is especial condescension when the woman of the city washes Jesus’ feet with her tears (Luk 7,38); even more so when he washes the feet of the Twelve (Joh 13,1-16).

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Saul’s cruelty to them due to a grudge which arose from their flouting the rights or privileges of his family, and which he dignified as ‘his zeal for the sons of Israel and Judah?’”

92 DMG<sup>2</sup> no. 252.

93 DMG<sup>2</sup> nos. 9,10.

94 Saul Levin, “Greek Occupational Terms with Semitic Counterparts,” *The First LACUS Forum* 1974, 246-263, esp. 252-6, discusses the vocalism in the participial segment of these “compounds describing men’s work.”

95 Plutarch *Quaest. Gr.* 1 = *Mor.* 291E.

96 Gen 18,4; 19,2; 24,32; Jud 19,21; II Sam 11,8.

### 10.5 *The poetry of justice*

The shepherd (often with a complement of goats also) up there in the hills is in a receptive situation. He is mostly alone, as when David or the shepherd of *Iliad* 5 (II.3) must deal with a lion coming onto the fold. Whatever shelter he has is rudimentary; he is more aware even than the farmer (with a house to go to at night) of rain, thunderstorm, sunshine. He is the living representative of the state of affairs, historical or legendary, when all the land belonged to all men, for there is no need of fences or boundary stones up there, the soil is too hilly and rocky for cultivation. He has gotten from his father the understanding that the rain is the gift of the High God (11.3 below); and that the thunder is his voice, giving a word of law (11.1). In his struggle with lion or wolf or bear the Israelite shepherd takes on the role of the High God, the shepherd of his people; the Greek shepherd of Agamemnon or Heracles. Each welcomes rain from the High God as watering the lot that he or his cousin cultivates down below; and since that God is the god of his people, he recognizes the God as legitimating the correct division of the land down there into its individual portions.

#### 10.5.1 The justice of the High God<sup>97</sup>

As long as each family is secure on its land, the purpose of the original division is automatically ensured. But only in theory can that go on forever. A family's sons may die; poverty may force it to relinquish its land. Justice consists in equitably dealing with the inequalities that time brings. Jeremiah (22,15-16), apparently of a just king, "Did not your father...do justice and righteousness (הַמִּשְׁפָּט וְהַדָּרֶקָה)? ... He judged the cause of the poor and needy (עָנִי וְאַבְיֹן) ... Is not this to know me, says Yahweh?"<sup>98</sup>

הָלוֹא-הִיא הַדֵּעָה אֵתִי

97 The esteemed editor of this series, Otto Kaiser, has treated the relation between the Hebrew and Greek ideas of justice from other points of view: "Dike und Sedaqa: Zur Frage nach der sittlichen Weltordnung. Ein theologisches Prä-ludium," *Neue Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie und Religionsphilosophie* 7 (1965) 251-273; "Gerechtigkeit und Heil bei den israelitischen Propheten und griechischen Denkern des 8.-6. Jahrhunderts," *ibid.* 11 (1969) 312-328. Both reprinted in his *Der Mensch unter dem Schicksal*, BZAW 161; 1985; 1-40.

98 José Porfirio Miranda, *Marx and the Bible: A Critique of the Philosophy of Oppression* (tr. John Eagleson; Maryknoll; Orbis, 1974) 44, takes this as "the explicit definition of what it is to know Yahweh."

The near-synonymy between the twin nouns “justice and righteousness” is underlined by the versions which give them an etymological relationship, Vg *iudicium et iustitiam*, Luther *Recht und Gerechtigkeit*. In numerous other passages they stand in the same relationship. Hesiod (*Opera* 225-7) echoes the thought: “But those who give straight judgements to strangers and residents, and go aside in no way from what is just, —their city flourishes.”

οἱ δὲ δίκας ξείνοισι καὶ ἐνδῆμοισι διδοῦσιν  
 ἰθείας καὶ μὴ τι παρεκβαίνουσι δικαίου  
 τοῖσι τέθηλε πόλις  
 Weinfeld begins his now classic book<sup>99</sup>:

The concept of social justice was expressed in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East by means of a *hendiadys* [i.e. a single concept in two words]. The most common word-pair to serve this function in the Bible is דִּקְוָה וְצִדְקָה, “justice and righteousness”...<sup>100</sup>

The comparable Greek pair is δίκη and θέμις “justice and law”: so Pindar (*Isthm.* 9 frag.) of those in a well-ruled city, “not infringing on the law or justice due to strangers,” οὐ θέμιν οὐδὲ δίκαν/ξείνων ὑπερβαίνοντες. Or in the plural: the definition of the unsocialized Cyclops is that (*Odyssey* 9.215) “he does not know acts of justice or laws”:

... οὐτε δίκας εὔειδότα οὔτε θέμιστας

The Hebrew can equally well be in the plural, Ps 103,6 “Yahweh does acts of justice and judgement to all who are oppressed”:

עֲשֵׂה צְדָקוֹת יְהוָה וּמִשְׁפָּטִים לְכָל-עֲשׂוּקִים

Luther here brings all three concepts into linguistic relationship, *Der Herr schafft Gerechtigkeit und Recht allen, die Unrecht leiden*.

99 Weinfeld, *Social Justice*, 25; his attempt to find the same construction in Hesiod *Opera* 226 is flawed.

100 Weinfeld considers also the pair צְדָקָה and מִישׁוֹר “uprightness,” which in Hebrew do not quite occur in “hendiadys” but rather in parallelism: so Isa 11,4 “But with righteousness (צְדָקָה) shall he judge the poor, and decide with equity (מִישׁוֹר) for the meek of the earth” and thus frequently. (But see Prov 1,3 צְדָקָה וּמִישׁוֹר וּמִשְׁפָּט where all three appear as synonyms.) It is this pair that occurs in Canaanite: thus at Byblos (KAI 4) of king Yehimilk “a king of justice and a king of uprightness” (less likely that they are adjectives here):

כמלך צדק ומלך ישר

And so in Ugaritic *Keret*, KTU 1.14.I.12-13 *ʾt šdqh lypq mtrht yšrh* “his lawful wife did he find, his legitimate spouse.” They likewise appear as typically doubled divinities: KTU 1.123.14 (apparently in a god-list) *šdq mšr*; Philo Byblius (FGH 790 F 2.10.13 in a genealogy of divinities) Μισώρ και Συδύκ “Misor and Sydyk.”

The justice of the High God can be harsh. At first it may have seemed his care for the continuity of the family that he “visited the iniquity of the fathers upon the children to the third and fourth generation of those who hate him” (Ex 20,5), or when Delphi insisted that Croesus must be punished for the sin of his fifth ancestor (Herodotus 1.91). Later it seemed more appropriate that the children’s teeth should not be set on edge for the sins of their fathers (Ez 18,2; Jer 31,27). But the new individualism had dangerous consequences which are also ascribed to the High God: in hard times the children rise up against their parents (Mic 7,6; Matt 10,35); and so in the Iron Age “the father will not agree with his children nor the children with their father” (Hesiod *Opera* 182-3).

Harsh or otherwise, in both societies the High God is the guarantor of justice. In Greek the theme is concentrated in a hundred verses of Hesiod (*Opera* 239-333) but affects many other texts. As contrasted with the animals, it is “to *men* that the son of Kronos gave justice” (*Opera* 279) ἀνθρώποισι δ’ ἔδωκε δίκην. This parallels the central Biblical theme (Ps 98,2) “He has revealed his justice in the eyes of the nations”:

לְעֵינֵי הַגּוֹיִם גְּלָה צְדָקָתוֹ

LXX ἐναντίον τῶν ἔθνῶν ἀπεκάλυψεν τὴν δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ. And by Paul’s echo it has become the central theme of the New Testament also, Rom 1,17 “the justice of God is revealed in [the good news],” δικαιοσύνη γὰρ θεοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ ἀποκαλύπτεται.

The High God keeps his eyes or eye fixed on earth. His beneficence comes out in the rain: Deut 11,10-12, after its contrast between Egyptian irrigation and Canaanite rain from Yahweh (discussed I.22), goes on “—a land that Yahweh your God cares for, always the eyes of Yahweh your God are on it”:

אֲרָץ אֲשֶׁר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ דָּרַשׁ אֶתְּהָ תִמְיֵד עֵינָי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ בָּהּ

His impartiality comes out at Ps 11,4-5 “His eyes behold, his eyelids test, the sons of man; Yahweh tests the righteous and wicked...”<sup>101</sup>

עֵינָיו יִחְזוּ עַפְעָפָיו יִבְחֲנוּ בְנֵי אָדָם

יְהוָה צֹדִיק יִבְחֵן וְרָשָׁע

Once his eye in the singular is spoken of, Ps 33,18, “Behold, the eye of Yahweh is on those who fear him” (I.272):

הִנֵּה עֵין יְהוָה אֶל-יִרְאַיוֹ

The eye of the High God is the organ which detects the justice that marks his own character. Hesiod *Opera* 267-9 “The eye of Zeus, seeing all and knowing all, looks on these things [events in a city] if he wishes,<sup>102</sup>

101 But vs 5 may be wrongly divided, and if so the impartiality vanishes.

102 Hesiod seemingly limits Zeus’ omniscience—perhaps because some unjustly governed cities may flourish for a long time.

nor does it escape him what degree of justice is this that a city keeps within it”:

πάντα ἰδὼν Διὸς ὀφθαλμὸς καὶ πάντα νοήσας  
καὶ νυ τὰδ', αἶ κ' ἐθέλησ', ἐπιδέκκεται, οὐδέ ἐ λήθει  
οἴην δὴ καὶ τήνδε δίκην πόλις ἐντὸς ἔεργει

That “the eye of Zeus does not sleep” we saw in a Greek tragic fragment (I.122). In a treaty oath (*Iliad* 3.277, cited I.269) among the divine elemental witnesses is “Helios [the Sun], you who see all things and hear all things”; “eye” in the singular may look back to a time when the sun was seen as the god’s eye. In Menander the eye of Justice sees all things:<sup>103</sup>

ἔστιν Δίκης ὀφθαλμὸς ὃς τὰ πάνθ' ὄρᾳ.

The High God’s justice is also compared to his rain or snow and the streams they feed, Amos 5,24 with regular parallelism “Let justice roll down like waters, and righteousness as an ever-flowing stream:”

וַיָּגַל בְּמַיִם מְשֻׁפָּטִים וַיִּצְרַק קֶרֶקֶר כְּנַחַל אֵיתָן

For it is the rain-filled streams that make his justice attainable. Isa 55,10-11: As the rain and snow from heaven water the earth, so God’s word does not return to him empty. We see below (II.66) that the High God’s thunder is heard as a word of law; two beautifully parallel poems will make the connection between his thunder and the justice which reverses inequitable social arrangements.

A passage from the proem of Hesiod’s *Opera* (5-8) shows parallelism between the two halves of each hexameter, with no run-on lines:

For easily he makes strong, and easily he afflicts the strong man; easily he diminishes the proud man and increases the obscure man; easily he straightens the cripple and blasts the proud man—Zeus, who thunders on high, who inhabits most high dwellings.

ῥέα μὲν γὰρ βριάει, ῥέα δὲ βριάοντα χαλέπτει,  
ῥεῖα δ' ἀρίζηλον μινύθει καὶ ἀδηλον ἀέξει,  
ῥεῖα δέ τ' ἰθύνει σκολιὸν καὶ ἀγήνορα κάρφει,  
Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης, ὃς ὑπέρτατα δώματα ναίει.

Likewise the song of Hannah (I Sam 2,1-10) has a series of reversals, obviously not arbitrary but based on justice: “Yahweh kills and brings to life; he brings down to Sheol and raises up. Yahweh makes poor and makes rich; he brings low, he also exalts.” And it ends “Yahweh—his adversaries are shattered, against them he thunders in heaven”:

יהוה גַּחְתּוּ מְרִיבֹו עָלוּ בְּשֹׁמֵיִם יָרְעִים

103 Menander *Sent.* 225 ed. S. Jaekel (Teubner 1964) 45.



## 10.5.2 The shepherd and the teachers of song

The Hebrews felt it appropriate that the ostensible authors of law and psalm should at one time have been shepherds. It was when Moses was “tending the flock of Jethro” (Ex 3,1), אֶת-צֹאן יִתְרוֹ, that he heard Yahweh from the burning bush. We saw that young David kept sheep for his father (I Sam 16,11; 17,34). Even more so the authors of prophecy. Amos was among the shepherds (נֹקְדִים Amos 1,1) of Tekoa when he “saw” his words; “Yahweh took me from following the flock” (Amos 7,15),

וַיִּקְחֵנִי יְהוָה מֵאַחֲרֵי הַצֹּאן

But his shepherding was part-time, in transhumance, for he was both “a herdsman and a dresser of sycamore trees” (7,14)

כִּי בֹקֵר אֲנִי וּבֹלֵס שִׁקְמִים

The Psalmist says (Ps 40,4) “And [Yahweh] put a new song in my mouth,”

וַיִּתֵּן בְּפִי שִׁיר חֲדָשׁ

The new song is the vindication of God’s justice. Ps 96 (similarly 98) begins “O sing to Yahweh a new song, sing to Yahweh all the earth”:

שִׁירוּ לַיהוָה שִׁיר חֲדָשׁ שִׁירוּ לַיהוָה כָּל-הָאָרֶץ

and ends “He will judge the world with righteousness, and the peoples with his truth”:

יִשְׁפֹּט-תִּבְלַב בְּצֶדֶק וְעַמִּים בְּאִמְנֹנָתוֹ

More concretely, David himself is made to say “The Spirit of Yahweh speaks by me, his word is upon my tongue” (II Sam 23,2):

רוּחַ יְהוָה הִבְרָבֵנִי וּמְלָתוֹ עַל-לְשׁוֹנִי

And so Yahweh says of his Servant (Isa 42,1) “I have put my Spirit on him, he will bring forth justice to the nations”:

נָתַתִּי רוּחִי עָלָיו מִשְׁפָּט לְגוֹיִם יוֹצֵיאַ

Further, that spirit bears multiple gifts or is itself multiple: of the coming Davidic king it is said (Isa 11,2) “And the spirit of Yahweh shall rest on him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of Yahweh”:

וְנָחָה עָלָיו רוּחַ יְהוָה רוּחַ חֵכְמָה וּבִינָה רוּחַ עֲזָה וְגִבּוֹרָה רוּחַ דָּעַת וַיִּרְאַת יְהוָה

If we count correctly we arrive at (Rev 1,4 etc.) the “seven spirits before the throne” of God.

The Greek poet must call upon the Muse to tell him the story. At Scheria Odysseus can tell from the accuracy of Demodocus’ account that “either the Muse, the child of Zeus, has taught you, or else Apollo” (*Odyssey* 8.488):

ἢ σέ γε Μοῦσ' ἔδιδαξε, Διὸς πάϊς, ἢ σέ γ' Ἀπόλλων

Hesiod's poems show that he knew most about farming; but like Amos he doubled as a transhumant shepherd, going up on the mountain in summer. And there he met the Muses (Μοῦσαι) "who once taught Hesiod sweet song, as he was pasturing his sheep under divine Helicon" (*Theog.* 22-23):

αἶ νύ ποθ' Ἑσίοδον καλήν ἐδίδαξαν ἀοιδήν,  
ἄρνας ποιμαίνονθ' Ἑλικῶνος ὑπο ζαθέοιο

Further (31-2) "they breathed into me a divine voice, so that I could celebrate things to come and things that have been":

... ἐνέπνευσαν δέ μοι αὐδήν  
θέσπιν, ἵνα κλείοιμι τά τ' ἐσόμενα πρό τ' ἐόντα

The center of what he celebrates is (*Opera* 256) "virgin Justice born of Zeus":

ἡ δέ τε παρθένος ἐστὶ Δίκη, Διὸς ἐκγεγαυῖα.

Up there on the mountain, somehow the shepherd is taught to sing of Justice; words are put in his mouth by a divine feminine memory-figure, at once single and multiple. Only the divine source of justice can teach the song in which justice is expressed.<sup>104</sup>

Western society looks back on Greek texts as "classical" in form and on Hebrew texts as "revealed" in content (I.14). Hesiod, though not in the highest rank for Greek poetry, gives the fullest account of how it came to be; Amos is almost equally informative. The poets took over many phrases from tradition: Hebrew poets took pairs of nouns; Greek epic poets took pairs of proper name and adjective which conveniently ended a verse.<sup>105</sup> What new did they get from the Muse or Spirit? —A form of words uniquely suitable for recitation expressing universal experience. Thus on death. David says of his child by Bathsheba (II Sam 12,23) "I am going to him, but he will not come back to me":

אָנִי הִלְכִי אֶלְיוֹ וְהָיָא לֹא-שׁוֹב אֵלַי

Helen (*Iliad* 3.243) speaks of her brothers Castor and Polydeuces as if alive, but the poet adds "So she spoke, but already the teeming earth held them..."

ὥς φάτο, τοὺς δ' ἤδη κάτεχεν φυσίζοος αἶα

104 West (EFH 170-173) compares the typical beginning of an Homeric hymn αἰείδω with Akkadian usage and also Hebrew: Moses' song (Ex 15,1); Deborah's (Jud 5,3); and some Psalms, e.g. Ps 89,2. He sees Vergil's *arma uirumque cano* and Whitman's "I sing the body electric" as continuations, through Greek usage, of the Ancient Near Eastern practice.

105 So J. B. Hainsworth in the Oxford *Odyssey* i.350 (on *Od.* 8.63, cited II.161 below): The gift of the Muses "to the poet was not sublime inspiration, an idea not earlier than the fifth century, ...but knowledge of the great storehouse of legend and saga."

(φυσίζοος probably once meant “growing barley,” but already in Homer it is reinterpreted as “life-bearing”—in a fixed phrase, but one still carefully chosen for this context.)

The Hebrew poet says that Yahweh or his Spirit puts a new song in his mouth or on his tongue, he sings it aloud. Pindar (*Olymp.* 3.4) says “The Muse stood by me when I found a new-shining mode,” Μοῖσα δ’ οὕτω ποι παρέστα μοι νεοσίγαλον εὐρόντι τρόπον. Although Apollo is the leader of the Muses (Μοισαγέτας<sup>106</sup>) they are “Pierian maidens, daughters of Zeus” (*Olymp.* 10.96) κόραι Πιερίδες Διός. Language is what distinguishes human beings from animals; the poet or prophet is the user of language *par excellence*. The divinely-taught bard stands at the center of the new emergence represented by Israel and Hellas. Only in a free society, under the conditions we have seen, was the word of the bard possible. He celebrates the merits of his society in many ways. Looking as if from outside onto himself, he praises the agency of the High God for giving him that word; looking outward he defines the free society by its possessing the justice of the High God. Pindar gives two pieces of advice to rulers as poets also (*Pyth.* 1.86): “Guide the army [i.e. the men and the city] with a just rudder; forge [as a bronzesmith] your tongue on a true-ringing anvil”

νώμα δικάϊω πηδαλίω στρατόν  
ἀψευδεῖ δὲ πρὸς ἄκμονι χάλκευε γλῶσσαν.

An international Mediterranean physiology holds that the difference between a living person and a dead one is that the living has the breath of life, expressed in Greek and Hebrew by several nouns each. Then the “divine voice” which the Muses breathed into Hesiod was something over and above. So Elisha asks and receives from Elijah “a double measure of your spirit” (II Reg 2,9),  $\text{דְּבַרְךָ רֹחַ}$ , Vg *duplex spiritus tuus*. A seer in the underworld, a Tiresias or Samuel, still has his wits about him and can foretell the future, because some of that extra sticks to him (II.189).

The Muses are counted to nine by Hesiod (*Theog.* 76, giving their names) and by *Odyssey* 24.60-61; but other numbers are attested. It is tempting to compare them with the attributes of Ahura Mazda in the teaching of Zarathustra. Later tradition makes those six in all in addition to Spenta Mainyu “Holy Spirit,” more or less identified with Ahura Mazda.<sup>107</sup> In *Yasna* 47.1<sup>108</sup> all seven appear, but not clearly as a college of divine figures:

106 Pindar frag. 241 Bowra.

107 Mary Boyce, *Textual Sources for the Study of Zoroastrianism*; Totowa: Barnes & Noble, 1984; 13. I do not attempt an exact transcription of the Avestan.

108 Ed. S. Insler, *The Gāthās of Zarathustra*, *Acta Iranica III série* 8, *Textes et Mémoires* I; Leiden etc.: Brill, 1975; 88; tr. from Boyce 44.

Through the Holy Spirit (*Spenta Mainyu*) and Best Purpose (*Vohu Mana*), by act and word in accord with Truth (*Asha*), They [i.e. the whole college?] shall grant him [the worshipper?] Wholeness (*Haurvatat*) and Immortality (*Ameretat*)<sup>109</sup>—Lord Mazda, together with Power (*Khshathra*) and Devotion (*Armaiti*).

Plutarch<sup>110</sup> already has Horomazes create six gods, of which the first, Εὔνοια, is clearly Vohu Mana, and the second, Ἀλήθεια, is Asha. Can Hesiod's and Zarathustra's lists go back to a common source? Μούσα may be related to μένος "strength," identical with Avestan *manah*.<sup>111</sup> Κλείω "Clio" is the feminine of κλέ(φ)ος, identical (I.11) with Sanskrit *çravas* "fame" and Avestan *sravah* "word," appearing frequently in the Gathas.<sup>112</sup> Does Isa 11,2 show awareness, however distant, of a divine group of six figures?<sup>113</sup>

Knowledge of Magian religion came early to the West in Herodotus and the "magi" of Elephantine (I.342). Later it is specifically Zoroastrian. Plutarch in the passage just quoted knows of Ζωροάστρης and the two rival divinities Ὀρομάζης and Ἀρειμάνιος.<sup>114</sup> The adversary appears in Zarathustra's words at *Yasna* 45.2, *Angra Mainyu* "Evil Spirit." The Greek name of Ahuramazda was formed when zeta was still pronounced *zd*; when it shifted to *dz* the name became Ὀρομάσδης (Diogenes Laertius 1.8) to preserve the sound. It has been speculated<sup>115</sup> that the Cilician king Ὀρομέδων (Herodotus 7.98) bears his name.

109 These two appear at Quran 2.96/103 as Hārūt and Mārūt (Jeffery 282).

110 Plutarch, *De Iside et Osir.* 47 = *Mor.* 370A.

111 Memory is the mother of the Muses, *Hom. Hymn Hermes* (4.429-30) Μνημοσύνην ... μητέρα Μουσάων and likewise they are her daughters (Pindar, *Isthm.* 6.74). If "Muse" is related to either root μέμονα "I am eager" (Latin *memini* "I remember") or μανθάνω "I learn," it will designate a force working for memory.

112 Levin IESL 248 citing Pindar *Nem.* 3.83 εὐθρόνου Κλεοῦς "fair-throned Fame."

113 Hellas and Mesopotamia agree in another group of seven: the wise men. Before "sophist" got bad connotations, Greeks felt that there had been a group of ἑπτὰ σοφιστῶν (Isocrates 15.235) and that Solon was one of them. But since the list varied, the concept must have preceded. Akkadian knows a group of seven *muntalki* "wise men": *Gilgamesh* xi.305 *uš-šīšu la iddū VII [mun]-tal-ki* "Have not the seven wise men laid its [the wall's] foundation?" (CAD 10.2.207). J. C. Greenfield ("Apkallu," DDD 134-8) calls them *apkallu* and cites descriptions of them from the Erra epic and inscriptions of the Assyrian kings. In the Aramaic of Hatra (1/2 cent CE) they appear as אפכל (KAI 254). Likewise in Palmyrene (PAT 0320 = CIS 2.3974) אפכלא רי עזיוו אלהא טבא "apkallu of the good god 'Azizu." Greenfield (col. 137) implausibly translates Prov 9,1 (cf. I.117 above) "Wisdom built her house, the Seven set its pillars."

114 [Ps.-?] Plato *Alc. I* 122A has Ὀρομάζου genit. as father(!) of Zoroaster, but the authenticity and date of this text are uncertain.

115 J. M. Cook, *The Persian Empire* (New York: Schocken, 1983) 149.

Avestan *Aburo Mazda* is always two words, Old Persian nearly always one *Auramazda*; the *h* was pronounced in view of the Aramaic from Elephantine אהורמזד.<sup>116</sup> Men at Palmyra carry the god's name, הרמזו and הרמזוד.<sup>117</sup> At an uncertain date, Bab. Talm. *Sanh.* 39a “A Magus once said to [R.] Ameimar, ‘Your upper half belongs to Hormiz, your lower half to Ahriman’,” where the latter name has been assimilated to that of the good god:

אמר ליה אמגושא לאמימר מפלגך לעילאי דהורמז מפלגך  
לתחתאי דאהורמז

### 10.5.3 Sacral immunity of the speaker of justice

The original farmer-poet or shepherd-prophet—an Amos or Hesiod—then both has an idea of what ideal justice in land-tenure should be; and, going back down to the city, can see where it is broken. Later his task is taken up by men of an urban elite: Isaiah, Solon, Agis and Cleomenes kings of Sparta, the Gracchi. In Egypt or Mesopotamia we have no clear indication even that such a vocation existed. But how is it that when the poet or prophet speaks words about the restoration of justice, they can be heard and remembered? We have discussed the comparative democracy of the Mediterranean city-state, and the simple alphabetic script in which his words can be preserved. But, when large land holders have come into existence with superior status in the society, how can the prophet go on being heard? The answer must be that he has a special *sacral immunity*, which is clearer in Israel and in Rome than in Hellas; but Rome has no tradition of his words as revealed poetry to be remembered, while in Hellas the nature of his immunity is uncertain; it is in Israel that the two features are unmistakably combined.

Amaziah the priest of Bethel tells Jeroboam king of Israel that Amos has conspired against the king, “the land cannot bear all his words” (Amos 7,10):

לֹא-חֹכֵל הָאָרֶץ לְהִכִּיל אֶת-כָּל-דְּבָרָיו

But all Amaziah can do is to tell Amos to go away to the kingdom of Judah. For the prophet was once a holy ecstatic: Samuel says of Saul (I Sam 10,6) “And the spirit of Yahweh will come mightily upon you, and you will ‘prophesy’ with [the others], and you will be turned into another man”:

וְצִלְחָה עֲלֶיךָ רוּחַ יְהוָה וְהִתְנַבֵּיתָ עִמָּם וְנִהְפַכְתָּ לְאִישׁ אַחֵר

116 Cowley 252.

117 PAT 0420 = CIS 2.3.4074; PAT 1575.

Perhaps the ‘prophecy’ is unintelligible speaking with tongues. Again, perhaps in an alternative version of the same episode (I Sam 19,20-24), the spirit of God overcomes Saul’s messengers, and eventually Saul himself, lying naked a day and a night before Samuel. The woman of Shunem recognizes Elisha as a “holy man of God” (II Reg 4,9) אִישׁ אֲלֹהִים קָדוֹשׁ הוּא. When the priests and prophets tell the princes and people that, for Jeremiah’s words, “a judgement of death is against this one” (Jer 26,11), Jeremiah speaks to them in the Name of Yahweh, and the princes and people reverse the judgement. One of the elders (Jer 26,19), citing the precedent of Micah, is afraid that if they execute him his words will come true. At a later time the king’s counselors beat Jeremiah, imprison him, and put him into a muddy cistern (Jer 37,16; 38,6); but they cannot bring themselves to kill him, and king Zedekiah is still so fearful of him that he allows the Cushite Ebedmelech to pull him out (38,7-13).

In Rome a similar status is occupied by the tribunes of the people. The *plebs* was thought of as a city within the city (II.107); and its representatives, the tribunes, *tribuni plebei* (Livy 2.33.1) were inviolable (*inviolatos* Livy 3.55.7). If anyone harmed them (or other magistrates), such a one “should forfeit his head to Jupiter,” *eius caput Ioui sacrum esset*—the same penalty as for moving a boundary stone (II.24). Interpreters of the law (Livy goes on, 3.55.10) hold that “the tribunes, by the ancient oath of the *plebs*, when first it created this office, were sacrosanct,” *tribunos uetere iure iurando plebis, cum primum eam potestatem creauit, sacrosanctos esse*.<sup>118</sup> Plutarch<sup>119</sup> calls their status “sacred and holy and inviolable,” ἱερὸν καὶ ἅγιον καὶ ἄσυλον; Dionysius Hal. 6.89.4 calls their persons or ‘bodies’ “sacred and holy,” σώματα ἱερά ... καὶ παναγῆ. Perhaps the tribunes had inherited from an even remoter antiquity a sacral status more like that of the Hebrew prophet; but whatever the historical status of the tribune’s inviolability, it was real.

118 R. M. Ogilvie (A Commentary on Livy Books 1-5; Oxford: Clarendon, 1965, 500-503) explains the Roman thinking: “when a man committed an offence against a god...by breaking an oath made in a god’s name, he became forfeit to that god—*sacer*.... [But] when the old notion of *sacer* became obsolete with the increasing secularization and ordering of the legal system, it underwent a subtle change. Instead of the person who violated a tribune being held *sacer*, the tribune himself was held to be inviolate or ‘sacred’ in our modern sense. He could not be subjected to legal or physical restraint.” And Ogilvie goes on to explain why the issue was important to Livy. “Augustus had assumed the sacrosanctity of a tribune in 36 [BC] (Dio 49.15.5) and certain other tribunician powers in 29 (Dio 52.42.3). Such innovations required justification... The question had a current topicality.”

119 Plutarch *Quaest. Rom.* 81 = *Mor.* 283B.

The formation of the *plebs* as part of the society is attributed by the tradition to a “secession” in 494 BC (Livy 2.33.4 *per secessionem plebis*) to a Sacred Mount (2.32.2). Their organization came to be known as the *concilium plebis* (Livy 2.57.1-2); according to the traditional account, they elected leaders, the *tribuni plebis*. One tradition makes those originally two in number (Livy 2.33.2 etc.), according to Cicero (*de rep.* 2.58) to counterbalance the consuls, *contra consulare imperium tribuni plebis...constituti*. Cornell 259 gives as rational an explanation as possible of their status:

The tribunes’ authority was based on what the Romans called a *lex sacrata*. This was a collective resolution reinforced by a solemn oath. Having elected their tribunes, the plebeians swore to obey them and to defend them to the death; anyone who should harm them became *sacer*....In this way the tribunes of the plebs became ‘sacrosanct’....In a Roman context the *lex sacrata* has affinities with the military oath.

But this may historicize an older status more deeply bound up with religion and the remoter origins of the Roman people.

How was Solon able to put his reforms through? Plutarch (*Solon* 16.3) says that the people made him “corrector and lawgiver of the polity,” τῆς πολιτείας διορθωτὴν καὶ νομοθέτην. Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 5.2) says that “the many” and “the few” agreed to make him “mediator and archon” (διαλλακτὴν καὶ ἄρχοντα)—apparently on grounds of his verse<sup>120</sup> in which he expresses his sorrow at seeing “the oldest land of Ionia” (πρεσβυτάτην ... γαίην Ἰαονίης) endangered. The natural conclusion is that, beyond his political connections, by his ability to create verse he fell heir to the special status of the poet in Hellas.

## 10.6 The personification of justice

### 10.6.1 Genealogy of justice and injustice

To some degree in both lands Justice was personified, and the themes are comparable. For Hesiod (*Opera* 256) as we saw (II.37) “on earth there is virgin Justice born of Zeus”; Aeschylus (*Septem* 662) calls her “virgin Justice, the child of Zeus”:

ἡ Διὸς παῖς παρθένος Δίκη

Once only the Hebrew Bible speaks in so many words of “the justice of Yahweh,” Deut 33,21 יהוה יִצְדִּיק; but “thy justice” (Ps 36,7), “my justice” (Isa 46,13), “his justice” (Ps 22,32) are regular. In the plural in the song of Deborah (Jud 5,11) יהוה יִקְרָא. At Jer 23,6 (= 33,16)

120 Solon frag. 4a West IEG ii.123.

the new name יהוה צדקני given Israel means that Yahweh is justice. The first of the attributes of the spirit at Isa 11,2 is Wisdom (חִכְמָה), of whom it is said (Prov 8,22, II.54) “Yahweh created me the beginning of his way”:

יהוה קנני ראשית דרכי

in effect she is his child, as Athena and Justice of Zeus.

We saw (II.33) that at Ugarit *Ṣdq* (Philo Byb. Συδύκ) is a divinity.<sup>121</sup> Also it seems in Canaanite Jerusalem. Thus Melchizedek מלכי־צדק “king of Salem” (Gen 14,18) is naturally interpreted as “My king is *Ṣdeq*”;<sup>122</sup> and so Adonizedek king of Jerusalem (Jos 10,1) is אדני־צדק “My lord is *Ṣdeq*.” The old usage then seems reflected at Jer 31,23 where Jerusalem is called יְהוה־צדק “the abode of *Ṣdeq*.” Martin Bernal<sup>123</sup> has compared יְהוה with νόσ “temple”—tempting, in view of dialectal νᾱ(φ)ός with digamma (LSJ). With II Sam 15,25 יְהוה “his (Yahweh’s) abode” cf. *Iliad* 1.39 where Chryses has roofed Apollo a temple (νηόν).

In turn the daughter of Justice is Peace, “Quiet the daughter of Justice,” Pindar *Pyth.* 8.1-2 Ἥσυχία Δίκας ... θύγατερ. With less personification Isa 32,17 “and the work of Justice will be Peace,”<sup>124</sup>

וְהָיָה מַעֲשֵׂה הַצְדָקָה שְׁלוֹם

LXX ... τὰ ἔργα τῆς δικαιοσύνης εἰρήνη. Again Pindar (*Olymp.* 13.6-8) finds three sisters, Harmony, Justice and Peace (Εὐνομία ... Δίκα ... Εἰρήνηα); they are the “golden daughters of right-judging Law,” χρύσειαι παῖδες εὐβούλου Θέμιτος. Prov 8,19-20 (I.73, 308) says of Wisdom “My fruit is better than gold (יָגִן, the Phoenician name), even fine gold, and my yield than choice silver; I walk in the way of Righteousness, among the paths of Justice.” The personification is undeniable at Ps 85,11 where “Justice and Peace have kissed”:

צָדֵק וְשָׁלוֹם נִשְׁקוּ

Here both nouns are masculine, but they become feminine again in the LXX, δικαιοσύνη καὶ εἰρήνη κατεφίλησαν.

The phases of *injustice* have a full genealogy in Greek, built either on animal generation or fruiting of plants; Hebrew keeps only the agricultural theme. Hesiod set the fashion by having Strife (Ἔρις) bear Toil, Oblivion (Λήθη), Famine and a whole family of evils ending with

121 All possible texts for “Zedeq” as a divinity are gathered by B. F. Batto in DDD 1750-1758.

122 The old construct ending *-iy-* would make this “king of righteousness,” but that lacks the sentence structure “divine name plus predicate” normal for a man’s name.

123 Letter, January 1996; see II.223.

124 Akkadian comparisons at West, EFH 305.



Ruin (Ἄτη), *Theog.* 226-230. Hence Solon<sup>125</sup> “When much Happiness (Olbos) falls to men of unsound mind, Satiety (Koros) begets Arrogance (Hybris)”:

τίκτει γὰρ Κόρος ὕβριν, ὅταν πολὺς Ὀλβος ἔπηται  
ἀνθρώποις ὀπόσοις μὴ νόος ἄρτιος ἦ

Or in reverse Hybris may be the mother of Koros, Pindar *Olymp.* 13.10 continuing ὕβριν Κόρου ματέρα; and so the oracle in Herodotus 8.77 “Divine Justice will quench powerful Koros, the son of Hybris”

διὰ Δίκη σβέσσει κρατερόν Κόρον ὕβριος υἱόν

Hybris is a genealogy to herself: Aeschylus *Agam.* 763-6 “It is the nature of old Hybris to beget renewed Hybris,” φιλεῖ δὲ τίκτειν ὕβρις μὲν παλαιὰ νεάζουσιν ὕβριν. The end of the process (*Ag.* 770) is Ἄτα, Ruin or Infatuation; Aeschylus completes Solon’s genealogy (*Persae* 822-823) “Hybris in full flower bears the fruit of Ate, from which it reaps a baneful harvest”:

ὕβρις γὰρ ἐξανθοῦσ’ ἐκάρπωσεν στάχυν  
Ἄτης, ὅθεν πάγκλαυτον ἐξαμᾶ θέρος.

Hebrew with less personification speaks about the sequence of events: Prov 16,18 (I.294) “Pride (וְיָבִיב, ὕβρις) goeth before a fall, and a haughty spirit before destruction.” And very clearly in the realm of agriculture: at I.317-318 we saw Prov 22,8 “He who sows injustice shall reap calamity,” with its nice translation by Luther *Wer Unrecht sät, der wird Unglück ernten*, and parallels in Greek, Latin and the New Testament. Again, prophecy casts God in the role of thresher at the harvest. Mic 4,12 “He has gathered [the nations] as sheaves to the threshing floor,”

כִּי קִבְצָם כְּעִמְרֵי זַרְנָה

LXX συνήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ὡς δράγματα ἄλωνος; see John Baptist (Luk 3,17 cf Matt 3,12) “whose fan is in his hand to purge his threshing floor (ἄλωνα).” Progressive Greeks improve the technology: “The mills of the gods grind slow (really ‘late’), but they grind exceeding small”:<sup>126</sup>

ὄψὲ θεῶν ἀλέουσι μύλοι, ἀλέουσι δὲ λεπτά.

Another set of images for retribution comes from the life of the wanderer, getting his meals from the arts of the hunter or fowler. Ps 141,10 “Let the wicked fall into [Yahweh’s] snares,”

יִפְּלוּ בַמְּכַרְוֵי רַשָׁעִים

Jer. iux. Heb. *incident in rete eius impii simul*. Job 18,8-10 “For [the wicked] is cast into a net by his own feet ...” with six parallel clauses:

כִּי שָׁלַח בְּרֶגְלֵהוּ בְּרִגְלוֹ

125 Solon frag. 6.3-4 West IEG ii.125 = Aristotle *Ath. Pol.* 12.1.

126 Sextus Empiricus *adv. math.* 1.287 from an unknown source, echoed elsewhere.

So in a fragment of Aelian<sup>127</sup> “caught in the snares which he laid for others,” ἐσχεθεῖς ταῖς πάγαις ἃς ἄλλοις ὑφῆκε. And so conversely, liberation is escape from the bird-net (West, EFH 522): Ps 124,7 “Our soul is escaped like a bird from the net of the fowlers”:

נִפְשָׁנוּ בְּצַפּוֹר גַּמְלָטָה מִפֶּה יוֹקְשִׁים

Theognis 1097-1100, the speaker is “lifted up on wings like a bird,” escaping the adversary and “breaking the net,” βρόκχον ἀπορρήξας.

### 10.6.2 The throne of Justice

Hesiod, after defining Dike as the virgin child of Zeus (*Opera* 256, II.37), goes on to say that she is “sitting beside her father Zeus the son of Kronos” (vs 259):

... πᾶρ Διὶ πατρὶ καθεζομένη Κρονίωνι

In a fragment of Aeschylus<sup>128</sup> she says “I sit on the throne of Zeus,” ἴζω Διὸς θρόνοισιν. An “Orphic” passage quoted by Ps.-Demosthenes 25.11 says that Justice, “sitting by the throne of Zeus, sees all the works of men,” παρὰ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς θρόνον ... καθημένην [τὴν Δίκην] πάντα τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐφορᾶν. In a fragment of Solon<sup>129</sup> the foundations belong to Justice herself, σεμνὰ Δίκης θέμεθλα. Likewise the Psalmist says of Yahweh (Ps 9,5) “You sit on the throne judging (with) justice,”

יִשְׁבֵּת לְכִסֵּא שׁוֹפֵט צְדָקָה

LXX classically ἐκάθισας ἐπὶ θρόνον ὁ κρίνων δικαιοσύνην. Luther ...*ein rechter Richter*. At Ps 97,2 (nearly = 89,15) “Righteousness and justice are the foundation of his throne,”

צְדָקָה וּמִשְׁפָּט מְכוֹן כִּסְאֵךָ

In the fragment of Aeschylus just quoted, at vs 15 it is possible that Dike is in heaven; in any case (vs 21) she “[writes] offences on the tablet of Zeus,” τὰμπλακῆματ’ ἐν δέλτῳ Διὸς; see I.53 for this use of δέλτος. Compare then Ps 85,12 “Truth will spring up from the earth, and Righteousness [here masculine] has looked down from heaven”:

אָמַת מֵאֶרֶץ הַצִּדְקָה מִשָּׁמַיִם נִשְׁקָה

Just weights are a concrete means by which the concept of justice could pass from one land to another, through traders on land or sea. Prov 16,11-12 speaks both of Yahweh and a human king: “A just balance and scales are of Yahweh; all the weights [‘stones’] in the bag are his work. It is an abomination for kings to do evil; a throne is established by righteousness.”

127 Aelian, frag. 22 of the *Varia Historia* ed. R. Hercher (1864) ii.196.

128 Aeschylus frag. 281a TrGF iii.380.

129 Solon frag. 4.14 West IEG ii.121 = Demosthenes 19.254.

פֶּלֶס וּמֵאֲזֵנֵי מִשְׁפָּט לַיהוָה  
 מַעֲשֵׂהוּ כֹּל-אֲבְנֵי-כִּיס  
 תּוֹעֵבֹת מִלְּכִים עֲשׂוֹת רָשָׁע  
 כִּי בַצֶּדֶקָה יִבּוֹן כֶּסֶף

The *Homeric Hymn* to Hermes (4.324) has the “scales of justice were set,” δίκης κατέκειτο τάλαντα before Zeus on Olympus with a seemingly Semitic idiom for “just scales.” Lev 19,36 (cf. Ez 45,19) demands “scales of justice, weights of justice,” מֵאֲזֵנֵי צֶדֶק אֲבְנֵי-צֶדֶק. Job (31,6) asks to be weighed in such, “let him weigh me in scales of justice,”

יִשְׁקָלֵנִי בְּמֵאֲזֵנֵי-צֶדֶק

The decision lies in which direction “the balance of Justice tilts,” Bacchylides 17.25 Δίκας ῥέπει τάλαντον. Justice can then be thought of as carrying scales. In Shakespeare *II Henry IV* V.ii.103 (Folio) the king says to the Lord Chief Justice:

Therefore still beare the Ballance, and the Sword.

### 10.6.3 The straight way of justice and the crooked way

Hebrew knows a “way of justice,” Prov 16,31 בְּדַרְךָ צֶדֶקָה (LXX ἐν δὲ ὁδοῖς δικαιοσύνης) or בְּאַרְח־צֶדֶקָה Prov 8,20 etc.; it is plural at Ps 23,3. For Hesiod *Opera* 216-217 “the better way leads to things that are just,” ὁδός ... κρείσσων ἐς τὰ δίκαια. John Baptist came “in the way of justice,” ἐν ὁδῷ δικαιοσύνης Matt 21,32. At *Opera* 288-291 Hesiod knows two ways, of which the way to virtue (surely the same as the way to justice) is long and steep, μακρὸς δὲ καὶ ὄρθιος οἶμος. There is an old Indo-European theme here: the Pali Buddhist text *Dhammapada* means “the path of law (Sanskrit *dharma*)”; so in Avestan, *Yasna* 33.5 ašāṭ ā arəzūš paθō “the straight paths of truth (*aša*).”

Ways may be literally straight, Thucydides 2.100.2 (cf. Act 13,10) ὁδοὺς εὐθείας ἔτεμε; or figuratively crooked, ὁδοῖς σκολιαῖς Pindar *Pyth.* 2.85. In Hebrew, ways can be straight, Isa 26,7 “the way of the just is straightness” (LXX ὁδὸς εὐσεβῶν εὐθεΐα):

אַרְח לְצַדִּיק מִישָׁרִים

or crooked, Prov 2,15 אֲרַח־תִּיהֶם עֲקָשִׁים (LXX τρίβοι σκολιαί). In Greek, judgements may be straight, ἰθειῆσι δίκησι (Hesiod *Theog.* 86, cf. *Opera* 225, II.33) or crooked, σκολιῆσι δίκησι (*Opera* 219, 250, 264); and see σκολιάς θέμιστας *Iliad* 16.387 (II.28). Judgements may be straight, Neh 9,13 מִשְׁפָּטִים יִשְׁרִים; or crooked, Hab 1,4 מִשְׁפָּט מְעַקֵּל. There are those who “make crooked all that is straight,” Mic 3,9:

וְאַחַת כֹּל-הַיִּשְׁרָה יַעֲקֹשׁוּ

It seems very Hebraic then that Zeus (II.35) “easily straightens out the crooked one” (Hesiod *Opera* 7) ῥεῖα δέ τ' ἰθύνει σκολιόν. Isa 40,4c is usually translated “the uneven ground shall become level”:

וְהָיָה הָעֵקֶב לְמִישׁוֹר

But the meaning of עָרָץ is uncertain, at Quran 90.11 *الْعُقْبَةُ* *al-'aqabatu* may be “the Ascent.” Anyway, the LXX, perhaps with Hesiod in their head, translate *καὶ ἔσται πάντα τὰ σκολιὰ εἰς εὐθεῖαν* “and all crooked things shall be straight.”

### 10.7 *Land transport: the ass and its sacks*

Perhaps the reader will agree that there was some communication between Palestine and Greece on the justice of the High God and its implementation. What was the intermediary? Weinfeld in his *Social Justice* elaborates one more set of the beautiful parallels in international juristic language (II.279) that he has made his specialty. Here he draws up a long series of parallels in the contents of *royal proclamations*.<sup>130</sup> While his fullest parallels are between Akkadian and Hebrew, he covers also Hittite, Egyptian, Persian, Greek and Roman imperial. Even to outline his materials would have taken up many pages here. But while the juristic language of the proclamations reappears especially in Hebrew, and also occasionally in Greek, they are not the same as the affirmation of justice and demand for justice in poets and prophets. For what the king has granted he can take away; and what the treasury can afford at the beginning of a reign is not likely to be continued steadily. The only sure guarantee of justice in human affairs is an effective control exercised by institutions of a people at large. To whatever extent Solon or the Gracchi were aspiring politicians, they still like Amos, Jeremiah, and Hesiod voiced the needs of larger groups.

In his Introduction (p. 10) Weinfeld seems to recognize this by saying that the motivation for the proclamation of “liberty” by the kings of Egypt and Mesopotamia was “the wish of the monarchs to win over the hearts of the people...to appear in the eyes of the people as just and upright kings, and not a genuine concern for improving the lot of the poor among their people.” But at p. 78 he modifies this critique:

Royal inscriptions...[in Mesopotamia] with their obvious interest in praising the king, are likely to exaggerate in their descriptions of the king's benevolence. Even so, this evidence must not be discounted outright; the events that lie at the heart of these documents can be considered historical.

We may grant that the formulas by which the prophets of Israel expressed the notion of justice, and laid on the king the privilege and duty

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130 Ammišaduga of Babylon (1646-1626 BC) repeatedly says “The king has established *mišarum* (justice, equity) in the land”: Weinfeld *Social Justice* 89-91; ANET<sup>3</sup> 526-528.

of realizing it (little as the king might do so), were in part derived from the proclamations of Ancient Near Eastern monarchy. But we must insist that Israel was in a fundamentally different situation from the Ancient Near East *precisely by the existence of prophecy in its society*. Thus the role of prophets was to take the formulas of Egyptian or Akkadian royal propaganda and make it real by acting genuinely as spokesmen for the poor among their own people. The formulae of justice might as well have made their way to Greece as to Israel from the Near Eastern courts. But the new *reality* of the demand for justice still requires explanation; how did it pass on from one people to another?

The crisis of land-tenure described in Amos and Micah has a Greek parallel two centuries later in the time of Solon; and Solon from time to time agrees in his form of expression with that of his contemporary Jeremiah. Above (II.28) we saw that Solon told how “I brought back to Athens, to their fatherland,” the exiles; and so Jeremiah (31,8) “Behold, I will bring them from the north country.” Solon again (II.45), “They do not regard the holy foundations of justice”:<sup>131</sup>

οὐδὲ φυλάσσουνται σεμνὰ Δίκης θέμεθλα

Jer 5,28 “They do not judge the cause of the poor”:

וּמִשְׁפָּט אֲבִיּוֹנִים לֹא שִׁפְטוּ

Both emphasize exile to lands of a foreign tongue. Solon (II.28) says that the exiles were so far dispersed that they no longer spoke the Attic tongue; Jeremiah (5,15) says that Yahweh is bringing on Israel a nation [Assyria] from afar, “a nation whose tongue you do not know, and you cannot understand what it says” (Deuteronomic, cf Deut 28,49b):

גוי לֹא-תֵדַע לְשׁוֹנוֹ וְלֹא תִשְׁמַע מִהִי-יִבְרָר

These parallels become more piquant when we can bring Solon and Jeremiah to nearly the same place at the same time—close to a meeting! Solon travelled at least once to Egypt—our sources disagree whether before or after his time as archon and lawgiver. One of his fragments has him living “by the mouths of the Nile near the Canopic shore.”<sup>132</sup> Plato (*Tim.* 21C—22A) represents him as visiting upstream Sais before his lawgiving. But Plutarch (*Solon* 26.1) has him visiting after his lawgiving of 594 BC and studying with the priests Psenophis of Heliopolis<sup>133</sup> and Sonchis of Sais—presumably through an interpreter. Then he might have come back via the city which Greeks called

131 Solon frag. 4.14 West IEG ii.121 = Demosthenes 19.254.

132 Solon frag. 28 West IEG ii.137 = Plutarch *Solon* 26.1.

133 Its proper name was On, אֵן Gen 41,50: אֵן Ezek 30,17, but LXX Ἡλίου πόλεως; already Jer 43,13 calls it “house of the sun,” שֶׁמֶשׁ בַּיִת, where LXX [50,13] Ἡλίου πόλεως τοῦς ἐν Ων.

Daphnae and Hebrews *Tahpanhes* (I.333). It was the principal base of Greek mercenaries (and Carians too) in the east of Egypt. Daphnae in the east and Naucratis in the west

continued to flourish until the anti-Greek outburst that put Amasis on the throne (566 B.C.).... It was from [the Greek camp of Daphnae] that the Greeks marched out under Necho on the expedition which overthrew Josiah [Jer 2.16], and it was here that Jeremiah and many of his fellow-countrymen sought refuge from Nebuchadrezzar [[Jer 43.5—46.14 (582 BC)] and found it till that monarch fell upon Egypt.<sup>134</sup>

Herodotus (2.30) found Daphnae occupied by Persians. Here by an accident of history we can document a near-contact between Hebrew and Greek reformers.

At I.22-28 we considered four sets of conditions necessary (though not sufficient) to generate independent societies capable of producing alphabetic texts and preserving them when independence was lost: geographical, technological, social, scribal. We have focused on the two primary societies where those conditions held, Israel and Hellas, and considered various common enterprises that they show. Two explanations might account for those common enterprises. (1) The fourfold conditions might by themselves be adequate to generate common enterprises as their natural result, without the need of any specific contact between the societies in the practitioners of that enterprise. That explanation is likely to hold where commonalities in the enterprise are vague and general; where there is no demonstrable mode of contact; and where the parallel enterprises in the two societies show no common vocabulary. (2) But common enterprises may also be the result of actual contact at one or more removes—a contact facilitated by the shared fourfold conditions. That is the possibility we should consider wherever commonalities in the enterprise are specific; where a demonstrable mode of contact exists; and where common vocabulary appears. It is attractive to explain contacts of various sorts by sea-trade, where there was the common name of the carrier, the Phoenician freighter or *γαῦλος*, and the wine-container or *cadus*. I have tried to show that the poetic demand for justice is sufficiently concrete to require contact. A demonstrable mode of contact exists in overland trade by the very same class of men, upland farmer-shepherds, who originally raised the demand for justice; and there is common vocabulary in the carriers and containers of those traders, namely, the pack-ass and its pannier sacks.

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134 P. N. Ure in CAH (1st ed.) 4.107.

Levin<sup>135</sup> has compared words for the two principal international occupations of men. With reconstructed Ionic \*πρῆχος (Attic πρᾶξις) “business” he compares תְּאֵלֶיךָ; with πόλεμος “war” מִלְחָמָה (I Sam 13,22). Both are attractive but not compelling. Other modes of contact to explain these agreements are less plausible. In Chapter 9 above we discussed the movement of the goldsmith-bankers (along with the *arrabon* or pledge, I.74-78); but whatever ideas of justice they transmitted was done unconsciously. We have only scraps of Canaanite sailing vocabulary beyond the γαῦλος. Too many hypotheses are needed to derive תֵּינִיף “ship” from Greek ναῦς.<sup>136</sup> Heb. for “rafts” (II Chr 2,15) is תֵּינִיף; surely foreign, and related to unique Talmudic רַפְסוּדוֹת “stools.” Strabo 7.4.1 calls rafts ῥαπτὰ πλοῖα “stitched boats”; the Heb. phonetically is as close as possible to ῥαψωδός (Herodotus 5.67.1) “ode-stitcher, poet”: I cannot explain these relations.

But since the prophetic word of justice is recorded as originating among farmer-shepherds up there in the hills, we should look for contact between societies among such men engaged in trade overland rather than by sea. And here we make the elegant discovery that, under pressure of famine or invasion, locals take to the trade-routes with equipment identical to that of full-time professional traders. At all periods the description held good:

On the roads of Eastern and Central Anatolia, where today speedy motortrucks and railroads carry freight to remote towns and villages, there travelled, in the Old Assyrian period, long lines of donkeys heavily laden with merchandise from far-off Assyria. In local traffic, too, asses were the most common freight carriers...<sup>137</sup>

Rostovtzeff<sup>138</sup> illustrates a bronze figurine of the Roman period from Syria of an ass with twin pannier sacks.

There is no doubt about the connection among Akkadian *saqqu*, Ugaritic *sq*, Hebrew שֶׁט, Greek σάκκος, Latin *saccus*. Mostly in Hebrew

135 Saul Levin, “Greek Occupational Terms ...” (fn 94 above); words for “war,” see SIE 231.

136 R. D. Barnett, “Ancient Oriental Influences on Archaic Greece,” pp. 212-238 of Saul S. Weinberg (ed.), *The Aegean and the Near East: Studies Presented to Hetty Goldman*; Locust Valley: Augustin, 1956; 214.

137 Hildegard Lewy, “The assload, the sack, and other measures of capacity,” *Rivista degli studi orientali* 39 (1964) 181-197, p. 181. This is a study of Akkadian commercial documents, in which none of the words for “ass” or “sack” are cognate to the ones we study here.

138 M. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*; 3 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1941; p. 521; from the British Museum.

it is used for the garment of humiliation, “sackcloth”; “in sackcloth and ashes” Dan 9,3  $\text{קִשְׁיֹתַי וְאַשְׁרָיִךְ}$  (LXX  $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\kappa\kappa\omega\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \sigma\pi\omicron\delta\omega\tilde{\nu}$ ) And so Menander attributes it to Syrians,  $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\beta\omicron\nu\ \sigma\alpha\kappa\iota\omicron\nu$ , along with sitting in dung by the roadside in supplication to their goddess.<sup>139</sup> The similarity in the donkey-words on the Hebrew side is that for the jennies; the males were kept at home for the mule-breeding ranches while the females carried burdens to distant lands. Levin<sup>140</sup> finds the closest relation between Heb.  $\text{נוֹנֵה־אֵס}$  “female asses” and Latin *asinus*; Greek  $\delta\upsilon\omicron\varsigma$  “ass”<sup>141</sup> may also be more distantly related; underlying all perhaps is Sumerian ANŠU.

Asses are regularly used as beasts of burden in local trade. Thus in Demosthenes 42.7 asses and their drivers ( $\delta\eta\nu\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\varsigma$ ) carry timber off from farms. Dio Chrysostom (10.19) compares the tasks of “shepherding and ass-driving,”  $\pi\rho\omicron\beta\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \delta\eta\nu\lambda\alpha\sigma\iota\alpha\varsigma$ , as not for the inexperienced. And beautifully comparable texts show ordinary peasants, driven out of their customary fields by famine or invasion, going off as refugees with only sacks of food, often carried by asses. In Aristophanes *Acharnians*, the starving Megarian brings in his two daughters in a sack ( $\epsilon\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\nu\nu\ \sigma\acute{\alpha}\kappa\kappa\omicron\nu$  745) disguised as piggies and in a vulgar scene sells them for garlic and salt. Likewise when Joseph’s brothers go to Egypt for grain: “And one of them opened his sack<sup>142</sup> to give fodder to his ass” (Gen 42,27):

$\text{וַיִּפְתַּח הַחֶמֶד אֶת־שָׁקוֹ לְתֹתוֹ מִפִּיֹּא לְחֶמְרוֹ}$

Under pressure not of hunger but invasion the Gibeonites (II.31) must make it appear that they are refugees from a distant country. All the materials are by their hands: they took “wornout sacks on their asses” (Jos 9,4):  $\text{לְחֶמְרוֹיהֶם בָּלִים שְׂקִים}$ , LXX  $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\kappa\kappa\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \pi\alpha\lambda\alpha\iota\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \epsilon\pi\iota\ \tau\omega\nu\ \delta\upsilon\nu\omega\nu\ \alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omega\nu$ , Vg *saccos ueteres asinis*, Luther *alte Säcke auf ihre Esel*. If they had taken female asses they would have had  $\text{לְאֵסוֹתָם שְׂקִים}$ \*, a phrase wholly parallel to the Vulgate. The *nouveau riche* of Petronius 31.9 reminds us of his origins when there comes onto the table carrying olives a silver *asellus* ... *Corinthius cum bisaccio* “an ass of Corinthian silver with twin pannier sacks.”

Everywhere the ass is urged on with a stick: “And he struck the (she-) ass with his stick” (Num 22,27)  $\text{וַיִּדְרֹךְ אֶת־הָאֵתוֹן בְּפִגְמָל}$ ; “a lazy ass, on whom many sticks have been broken” (*Iliad* 11.559):

$\delta\upsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \dots\ \nu\omega\theta\acute{\eta}\varsigma,\ \omega\tilde{\nu}\ \delta\eta\ \pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\ \pi\epsilon\rho\iota\ \rho\acute{o}\pi\alpha\lambda\prime\ \acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\gamma\eta$

139 Menander frag. 754.4 ed. A. Koerte (Teubner 1959) ii.237.

140 Levin, SIE 119-124.

141 The lexica consider but reject a connection to Latin *onus* “load.”

142 At Gen 42,25 the LXX correctly translates  $\text{שָׁקוֹ}$  “his sack” by  $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\kappa\kappa\omicron\nu\ \alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\upsilon$ .



Cicero (*Piso* 30) *Quid te nunc, asine, litteras doceam? Non opus est uerbis, sed fustibus* “Why should I now teach you letters, you ass? You don’t need words but sticks.” The final humiliation of men is to treat them like asses. The enslaved Messenians in Tyrtaeus<sup>143</sup> were “laden down like asses with great burdens”:

ὥσπερ ὄνοι μεγάλοις ἄχθεσι τειρόμενοι

And so Epictetus (Arrian *Epict.* 4.1.79): “You should treat your whole body as if it were a laden donkey (ὄναριον σεσαγμένον) ... then if there is conscription (ἀγγαρεία) and a soldier lays hold on it, let it go.”

In Greek, ἀγγαρεία “requisition (of animals or ships), conscription (of men),” seems plainly derived from ἄγγαρος “(Persian) courier” (I.342); but its new meaning, and its appearance in Rabbinic, suggests that it is a second borrowing from some eastern imperial usage, Akkadian or Old Persian.<sup>144</sup> In Menander<sup>145</sup> ἀγγαρεύεται is apparently used of a ship as in the Talmud<sup>146</sup> and Roman law.<sup>147</sup> Often in the texts the object of *angareia*, whether animals or men, is uncertain.<sup>148</sup> Josephus (*AJ* 13.52 expanding I Makk 10,30) records a decree of Demetrius forbidding the requisitioning of animals of the Jews, μηδὲ ἀγγαρεύεσθαι τὰ Ἰουδαίων ὑποζύγια; and so at Mishna *Baba Mes.* VI.3 where an ass (החמור) “becomes *angareia*,” שנעשית אנגריא. But sometimes *angareia* plainly refers to men, as ambiguously in Epictetus. Thus in Tosefta *Baba Mes.* 7.8 a worker is subject to אנגריא;<sup>149</sup> Jer. Talm. *Berakhoth* 2d69 R. Zeira is subject to אנגריא to carry myrtles into the king’s palace (but it turns out for the best, since others paid a big fee to see the inside of the palace).

The usages are illustrated above all in the Gospels. In the Sermon on the Mount (Matt 5,41) “And whoever conscripts you one mile, go with him two,” καὶ ὅστις σε ἀγγαρεύσει μίλιον ἓν, ὑπάγε μετ’ αὐτοῦ δύο, *Vg et quicumque te angariauerit mille passus, uade cum illo alia duo*; the

143 Tyrtaeus frag. 6 West IEG ii.153 = Pausanias 4.14.4-5.

144 The Greek texts are elaborately treated by C. Spicq i.31-33.

145 Menander frag. 373 ed. A. Koerte (Teubner 1959) ii.134.

146 *Pesiqta Rabbathi* 42, 177a, as cited by Daniel Sperber, *Nautica Talmudica*; Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan & Leiden: Brill, 1986; p. 114 “It is like a king’s favorite whose ship was constantly requisitioned as אנגריא for many years.”

147 Ulpian (*Digest* 49.18.4) says that the ships of veterans may be requisitioned, *angariari posse*; so *angaria* in Paulus, *Digest* 50.5.10.2.

148 Thus in an inscription from Egypt of AD 47/48, OGIS 665.21; an inscription from Thrace (SIG<sup>3</sup> 880.53) of AD 202.

149 Ed. Zuckermann, p. 386.23; the texts are studied by Daniel Sperber, “Angaria in Rabbinic Literature,” *Antiquité Classique* 38 (1969) 164-168.

Palestinian Syriac restores the noun, “whoever exercises conscription...”

ומן דצאד לך אנגריא מיל חדא אזיל עמה חרין

Latin *mille passuum* went into Greek as a neuter μίλιον since Polybius 34.11.8 along with μεμιλιόσθαι, and in Rabbinic since Mishna *Yoma* VI.4 מיל. Latinisms in Greek tend to become concrete; thus a bilingual milestone of AD 198 from Cyprus has *milia erexit* = τὰ μείλι(α) ἀνέσθησεν “he set up milestones” (CIL 3.218.10). Once likewise Rabbinic מיל is concretely milestone, “a road on which there were no milestones,”<sup>150</sup>

מסלה שלא היה בה מילין

We might so read Matt 5,41, since only by the stones could distance along the highway be measured.

“To conscript for a mile” and “to requisition an ass” thus continue the older international phrases of Vol. I as part of a *lingua franca* (Latin, Greek and Aramaic) of the Roman Near East. A Greco-Latin bilingual inscription of the 3rd century CE from Phrygia documents conscription (but without the technical term *angareia*) from one milestone to another.<sup>151</sup> If the Sermon on the Mount in Matthew’s form was truly a Galilean discourse, it could hardly use examples from the Roman occupation of Judaea; then Herod Antipas’ soldiery must already have exercised conscription or picked it up from Rome.

However there may be some anticipation in the Sermon, for it uses examples which later became part of Jesus’ own humiliation: thus with “whoever strikes (ῥαπίζει) you” Matt 5,39 cf “they struck (ἔραπισαν) him” 26,67; with “take your garment (ἱμάτιον)” 5,40 cf “they divided his garments (ἱμάτια)” 27,35. And so Matt 27,32 (cf Mark 15,21) “They conscripted (ἠγγάρευσαν) [Simon of Cyrene] to bear his cross,” where Vg *angariauerunt* and the Pal. Syriac again צאדו אנגריא. Also in Jesus’ “triumphal entry” (II.254) the ass shows up. The Messianic formula of Sach 9,9 “riding...on a colt the foal of a she-ass” (עֵרֶךְ בֶּן־אֶתְנָנֹת) Vg *filium asinae*) envisages a return to the golden age of Israel when kings or their retainers rode humbly on asses (II Sam 16,2) or at most on a mule (I Reg 1,33). Peisistratus drives into the Athenian Agora in a mule-drawn cart, Herodotus 1.59.4. And Jesus’ retainer Simon of Cyrene likewise as in Epictetus is subject to conscription as if he in turn were an ass.

150 Krauss 335 citing *Yalqut Deut.* 907.

151 SEG 16 (1959) 754 = W. H. C. Frend, “A Third-Century Inscription relating to *Angareia* in Phrygia,” *JRS* 46 (1956) 46-56.

## Chapter 11: The High God and the Elements<sup>1</sup>

The High Gods of Israel and Hellas appear non-comparable in that Zeus is head of a family of gods. But several factors bridge the seeming gap.

(a) Israel also has a “council of Yahweh” (Jer 23,18) בְּסוֹד יְהוָה, Vg *in consilio Domini*; it is composed of “sons of Elim” (Ps 29,1 etc.) בְּנֵי אֱלִים, LXX υἱοὶ θεοῦ, Vg *filius Dei* (for whom see II.66,99,105). At Job 15,8 it is “the council of Eloah,” סוֹד אֱלֹהִים, Vg *consilium dei*. Micaiah in his vision (II Reg 22,19) describes it, except that here the other gods are demoted to the “host of heaven” and its spirits. It may be located at the “mountain of assembly” (Isa 14,13) in the North, likely Mt Kasios (I.98). Yahweh is chief among the Elim, and like Zeus (Pindar, *Olymp.* 7.34, II.88) he is “a great king above all gods” (Ps 95,3). Also at II.66 we shall see Seneca’s description of the *consilium* of Jupiter.

(b) In Rome the Olympian pantheon get Latin names. The cult of Jupiter was deeply rooted there, and those of Juno, Minerva, Mars and Diana were well established; but Greek mythology did not come over as a living tradition. We may say that Rome is halfway between Hellas and Israel.

(c) Yahweh has a female companion “Wisdom” (חֵכֶמָה) who says (Prov 8,22) יְהוָה קָנָנִי רֵאשִׁית דְּרָכָיו, LXX κύριος ἔκτισέν με ἀρχὴν ὁδῶν αὐτοῦ, Vg *Dominus possedit me initium viarum suarum*, Luther *Der Herr hat mich schon gehabt in Anfang seiner Wege*; “Yahweh got me the beginning of his way.” She is comparable to Athena the πολύμητις “of many plans,” “whom Zeus the Counsellor himself begat from his sacred head,” (*Homeric Hymn* 28.4-5):<sup>2</sup>

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1 Revision of an article “Yahweh, Zeus, Jupiter: The High God and the Elements,” ZAW 106 (1994) 175-197.

2 The Greek and Hebrew roots for “beget” have a seemingly very old agreement, especially in the participle, where both consonants and vocalism agree: Euripides *Sup.* 629 παιδογόνε of Zeus “creating children”; Gen 14,19 יָרָא of Yahweh “creating heaven and earth.” See II.319.

... τὴν αὐτὸς ἐγείνατο μητίετα Ζεὺς  
σεμνῆς ἐκ κεφαλῆς

Further there is agreement between Apollo and Resheph who goes behind Yahweh; each is an archer and is responsible for plague (II.144).

(d) Hebrew “God” is a grammatical plural אֱלֹהִים, sometimes a real plural “gods” referring to non-Israelite deities (II.8); beside “men” its number can be indeterminate, with parallels to Greek. When Jacob the trickster is renamed Israel, it is “because you have striven with gods [God?] and men, and have held your own” (Gen 32,29):

בִּי-שָׂרָף תְּיַעַם-אֱלֹהִים וְעַם-אֲנָשִׁים וַתַּחַל

So the mother Maia of Hermes the trickster (μηχανιώτα *Hom. Hymn* to Hermes 4.436) tells him “your father [Zeus] begat you as a great worry to mortal men and immortal gods” (160-161)<sup>3</sup>

...μεγάλην σε πατήρ ἐφύτευσε μέριμναν  
θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποισι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι

At Jud 9,9.13 the olive and vine in Jotham’s parable are surely ignorant of Israelite monotheism, “Shall I leave my fatness by which people honor gods and men (אֲנָשִׁים וְאֱלֹהִים וַיִּכְבְּדוּ)...shall I leave my wine which cheers gods and men (אֲנָשִׁים וְאֱלֹהִים הֲמִשְׂפָּחַת?)” The Vulgate correctly at vs 9 has *qua et dii utuntur et homines*, and so Luther at both places *Götter und Menschen* (I. 139-140). The narcissus that trapped Persephone is a “glory (σέβας) for all to see, immortal gods and mortal men” (*Hom. Hymn* Demeter 2.10-11):

ἀθανάτοισ τε θεοῖς ἠδὲ θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποις.

Agamemnon in the underworld tells Achilles (*Odyssey* 24.64) “we mourned for you, immortal gods and mortal men”:

κλαίμεν ἀθάνατοί τε θεοὶ θνητοὶ τ’ ἄνθρωποι.

Greek and Latin have the identical name of the High God, “Sky-Father,” from Indo-European antiquity. Strunk,<sup>4</sup> following Schmitt,<sup>5</sup> shows that three Greek poetic formulas have Sanskrit counterparts, exact including the accent. Two are Homeric: the vocative Ζεῦ πάτερ “Zeus Father” (*Iliad* 1.503 etc.) beside the vocative *dyaùs pítah* at *Rigveda* 6.51.5; and the nominative with object Ζεὺς με πατήρ (*Iliad* 11.201) beside *dyaúr me pitá Rigveda* 1.164.33. The nominative Ζεὺς

3 But the singular is intended at Prov 3,4 (cf I Sam 2,26; Luk 2,52) “and find favor and good repute in the eyes of God and man”; contrast *Homeric Hymn* to Aphrodite 5.141-2 “marriage that is honorable among men and immortal gods.”

4 Klaus Strunk, “‘Vater Himmel’—Tradition und Wandel einer sakralsprachlichen Formel,” pp. 427-438 of *Serta Indogermanica* (Festschrift G. Neumann), ed. J. Tischler; Innsbruck, 1982.

5 Rüdiger Schmitt, *Dichtung und Dichtersprache in indogermanischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1967.

πατήρ was unavailable for hexameter but is very frequent thereafter, e.g. Pindar *Olymp.* 2.27, beside *dyaús pitá Rigveda* 4.1.10 etc.

The same vocative appears in an Italic language (Iguvine Tables IIB.24<sup>6</sup>) *Iupater*. The Latin vocative in *Iuppiter magne* (Terence *Eu.* 709) corresponds to the new Latin nominative. In Greek the god is “father of men and gods” (*Iliad* 1.544), πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε. The illogical sequence putting later-made men before gods is metrically motivated. Vergil imitates it at *Aen.* 1.229, *hominumque deumque*. Latin prose has the logical order, Livy 8.6.5 *patrem deum hominumque*. Ennius (*Ann.* 203 Skutsch) calls Jupiter “father of gods and king of men,” *diuom pater atque hominum rex*, a phrase taken up by Vergil (*Aen.* 1.65). The “sky” appears without “father,” as in Greek, in the Latin dative *Ioui* and ablative *Ioue*, forms in sacral use (below), IOVI FVLGVRI “to Jupiter the lightning” and *Ioue fulgente* “when Jupiter is lightening.”

*Dyaús-pitá* “Sky Father” in the Indic pantheon is subordinate to Indra; his appearance as the chief god in Greece and Italy shows a common tradition. His name defines him as the god of the bright sky. But A. B. Cook in his monumental *Zeus* saw that in Greece the god had a double role as god of the bright sky and dark sky.<sup>7</sup> In the tripartition of the cosmos (*Iliad* 15.192) “Zeus drew by lot the broad heaven in brightness and in clouds,”<sup>8</sup>

Ζεὺς δ' ἔλαχ' οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἐν αἰθέρι καὶ νεφέλῃσι  
Theocritus 4.43, broad Doric, “Sometimes Zeus is bright, sometimes he rains”:

χῶ Ζεὺς ἄλλοκα μὲν πέλει αἴθριος, ἄλλοκα δ' ὕει  
So Jesus, even using the old name of the sky-father (Matt 5,45): “So that you may be sons of your Father in heaven, for he *raises his sun* on the evil and good, and *rains* (βρέχει) on the just and unjust.”<sup>9</sup> In Rome Jupiter hardly appears in the bright sky; he is identified (like

6 James Wilson Poultney, *The Bronze Tables of Iguvium*; *Philological Monographs of the American Philological Association XVIII*; Baltimore, 1959; p. 198.

7 A. B. Cook, *Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion*; 3 vols. in 5 parts; Cambridge: University, 1914-1940. See especially the beginning of vol. 2 for the passages on “Zeus rains” etc. here cited.

8 Poseidon gets the sea and Hades the “misty darkness” of lower air or underworld or both, while earth and Olympus are shared. Two other tripartitions of the universe show Greek-Hebrew agreements (I.267, EFH 109).

9 The development in *Pesiqta Rabbathi* 48.4 is very close to Jesus’ words; can it possibly have been influenced by them?: “Have you ever seen rain come down upon the field of one who is righteous, but not upon the next field of one who is wicked (cf Amos 4,7)? Of course the sun shines upon those in Israel who are righteous, but it also shines upon those who are wicked, just as the

Zeus in his dark aspect) with things that fall from the cloudy sky, the “elements”—lightning and thunder, snow and hail, rain and dew. The Indo-European god of the “bright sky,” coming to the Mediterranean, in Greece adds attributes of the dark sky, and in Italy largely becomes a god of the dark sky.

Adam of Bremen in the *Acts* of the bishops of Hamburg (IV.26, written AD 1074-1076) describes the temple on the site of the present cathedral of Uppsala. In it sit three gods, Thor with Wodan and Fricco by his side. Wodan is armed like Mars; Fricco the god of peace and pleasure has a phallus.<sup>10</sup> “Thor, they say, presides over the air, and rules thunder and lightning, winds and rains, fair weather and crops... Thor with his sceptre resembles Jupiter”:

Thor, inquit, presidet in aere, qui tonitrus et fulmina, uentos ymbresque, serena et fruges gubernat... Thor autem cum sceptro Iouem simulare uidetur.<sup>11</sup>

Here, seen through the eyes of one educated in Latin paganism, is a development closer to the Greek.

The High God in Israel is primarily a god of the *dark* sky. While most of the year the sky is bright, the Hebrews noticed the things that fall from a cloudy sky. Hebrew mostly avoids calling the High God “father,” but see Isa 63,16 אָתָּה יְהוָה אֲבִינוּ “Thou Yahweh art our Father” (II.87-91). But Hebrew runs parallel to Greek and Latin in the role of the High God in sending down the “elements,” as well as in the consequences for the God’s people. And this far from exhausts his parallel aspects in Israel and Hellas (I.54-55).

The impartiality in providing benefits which Jesus ascribes to him is seen earlier as impartiality in bestowing both good and evil (I.55-56, II.325). Isa 45,7, while in context connecting with the gifts of rain and justice, itself is absolute, “Fashioning light and creating darkness, making peace<sup>12</sup> and creating evil”:

יוֹצֵר אוֹר וּבוֹרֵא חֹשֶׁךְ עֹשֶׂה שְׁלוֹם וּבוֹרֵא רָע

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Lord causes the sun to shine (מִזְרִיחַ הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ) upon Israel and also causes it to shine upon the nations.”

10 Levin comments: “But Tiu, the Germanic cognate of Διός, is missing! It is remarkable that Wodan there in Sweden was not likened to Mercury. In Germania further south (including England) the days of the week, including *Wednesday* for *Mercuri die(s)*, must have been well established a good deal earlier. On the other hand, the identification of Thor with Jupiter is quite in accord with *Iouis die(s)*—which is transparent in the Italian *giovedì* and Spanish *jueves*.”

11 Ed. Carolus Clemen, *Fontes Historiae Religionis Germanicae; Fontes Historiae Religionum* 3; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1928; p. 71.

12 Qumran Isaiah MS “A” has “making good.”

The Vulgate of the first clause, *formans lucem et creans tenebras*, shows an old Indo-European contrasted pair; see the Avestan (*Yasna* 44.15)<sup>13</sup>

kā hvāpā raocāscā dāt tēmāscā

“What craftsman created the luminous bodies and the dark spaces?” Deut 32,39 in its sequence is more hopeful, “I kill and make alive, I wound and I heal”:

אָנִי אֱמִית וְאַחֲרַיָּהוּ מְחַצְּפֵי וְאָנִי אֶרְפָּא

Achilles tells old Priam (*Iliad* 24.527-531, quoted I.56): “For two urns stand on the doorsill of Zeus, such that from one he gives evil gifts, while the other is of good gifts. When Zeus who delights in the thunder (τερπικέραυνος) mixes them and gives them to somebody, at one time that one receives evil, at another good. But to whomever he gives from the urn of sorrows, he makes that one a target for outrage.” The thunder-God is seen as a Minoan *wanax*, dispensing to his retainers from great stone urns such as we have found in Crete.

*Yasna* 44 begins with a series of such questions, which have been thought an old Indo-European catechism addressed by the poet to his hearers. So the Muses instruct poets (Vergil *Geor.* 2.481-2 = *Aen.* 1.745-6)

quid tantum Oceano properent se tinguere soles / hiberni

“Why the sun in winter hurries so to dip itself in Ocean.” Pythagoras (Ovid *Met.* 15.69) taught

quid deus, unde niues, quae fulminis esset origo

“what God is, where snow comes from, what is the source of lightning.” Morton Smith<sup>14</sup>, besides other parallels, observes that II Isaiah agrees with the Avesta both in the question-format and the answers: besides the answer at Isa 45,7 (above) see Isa 40,12 “Who measured the waters in the hollow of his hand?”

מִי מָדַד בְּשַׁעֲלוֹ מַיִם

The Massachusetts Puritan poet Edward Taylor (1645-1729) restored the catechetical theme with local imagery:<sup>15</sup>

Who in this Bowling Alley bowld the Sun?

...Who hung the twinkling Lanthorns in the Sky?

13 S. Insler, *The Gāthās of Zarathustra*; Acta Iranica 8, 3rd series (Textes et Mémoires) vol. 1; Leiden etc.: Brill: 1975, 66.

14 Morton Smith, “II Isaiah and the Persians,” JAOS 83 (1963) 415-421.

15 Ed. T. H. Johnson; Princeton: University, 1943; p. 31.

11.1 *The elements in general*

The elements are neatly summed up at *Iliad* 10.5-7:

ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἄν ἀστράπτῃ πόσις Ἥρης ἠϋκόμοιο  
τεύχων ἢ πολὺν ὄμβρον ἀθέσφατον ἢ ἐχάλαζαν  
ἢ νιφετόν ...

“As when the husband [Zeus] of fair-tressed Hera flashes *lightning*, creating either a great monstrous *rain* or *hail* or *snowfall*...” In Palestine rain is mostly seen as beneficial; for the other elements compare Ps 18,14-15 (nearly = II Sam 22,14-15):

וַיִּרְעַם בְּשָׁמַיִם יְהוָה וַיִּשְׁלַח חֲצֵיו וַיִּפְיֹצֵם  
וַעֲלִיּוֹן יָתַן קֵלָיו וַיִּבְרָקִים רַב וַיִּהַמֵּם  
בְּרָד וַיִּגְחַל־יֵאֵשׁ

“And Yahweh thundered (LXX ἐβρόντησεν) in the heavens, and the Most High gave his voice, hailstones and coals of fire; he sent out his arrows (Jerome iux. Heb. *sagittas*) and scattered [the enemy], he shot<sup>16</sup> lightnings (ἀστράπτης, *fulgora*) and routed them.”<sup>17</sup> In Ugaritic<sup>18</sup> *mṯr* “rain” and *brqm* “lightning” appear together. See Horace *Carm.* 1.2.1-4:

Iam satis terris niuis atque dirae  
grandinis misit pater et rubente  
dextera sacras iaculatus arces  
terruit urbem.

“Now the Father has sent enough snow and woeful hail on the countryside, enough has he terrified the city by pelting the sacred citadel with his red-hot right hand.” In the Beirut winter thunderstorms with hail are normal, and when they clear Jabal Sannin is covered with a fresh snowfall.

Other effects are occasional.

(a) *Stopping the sun*. In the prose text of Jos 10,12-14, Yahweh on request stops the sun until the battle is over; but the verse has Joshua command sun and moon directly. Agamemnon prays to Zeus (*Iliad* 2.412-413) that the sun should not set until he has taken Troy; but West (EFH 357) points out that this is less a request to slow the sun than to expedite victory. It is closer to a miracle that Hera hurries sunset to stop the fighting (*Iliad* 18.239-242). Hezekiah actually has the shadow on the dial run backwards (II Reg 20,8-11 = Is 38,7-8).<sup>19</sup>

16 Taking רב (lacking at II Sam 22,15) from a rare root “shoot”; or could it be from the common root רבב “he multiplied”?

17 Similarly as a mere catalogue Ps 148,8 “Fire and hail, snow and frost, storm wind doing his word.” For the god’s arrows see II.145.

18 KTU 1.4.V.6-9.

19 This and other parallels between Homeric and Near Eastern themes are dis-



(b) *Earthquake*. This may accompany the thunderstorm. So Aeschylus (PV 992-994)

πρὸς ταῦτα ῥιπτέσθω μὲν αἰθαλοῦσσα φλόξ,  
λευκοπτέρω δὲ νιφάδι καὶ βροντήμασι  
χθονίοις κυκάτω πάντα ...

“So let the bright lightning be thrown [by Zeus, vs 990]; with the white-feathered snow and underground thunderings [earthquake] let him disrupt everything.” At Ps 29 the “voice of Yahweh,” normally the thunder, causes earthquake.

(c) *Raining frogs*. With the plague of frogs at Exod 7,28; 8,10 cf the Hellenistic account from Heraclides Lembus (second century BC) in Athenaeus 8.333B:

In Paeonia and Dardania the god rained frogs (βατράχους ὕσεν ὁ θεός).... Their cooking dishes were filled and the frogs were found boiled or baked along with the food. Furthermore the water could not be used nor could one’s feet be put on the ground for their being piled up in heaps; and the inhabitants were so oppressed by the smell of those that had died that they fled the land.

The event was surely real, but the motifs of the pots, the heaps and the smell in agreement with Exodus suggest a coloration of the narrative from the LXX. Here the names of the “frog,” βάτραχος and פְּרָחַץ, apparently old Mediterranean (I.336) appear in parallel contexts.<sup>20</sup>

Here by way of parenthesis we may note that the principal feature of the *bright* sky, the sun, has comparable names in Semitic and Indo-European. From Cretan ἀβέλιος (Hesychius) Frisk 631 reconstructs \*σᾶφέλιος, differing from Sanskrit *sūrya* only in Ablaut (Sanskrit mostly lost the l-sound). Behind lies an athematic \**sāmel*, cf. Sanskrit *sūvar* neuter, Avestan *hvarə*; the stem is “heteroclite” in l/n, compare Latin *sol* with English *sun* etc. Levin adds Gothic *sauil* (Mark 1,32). The Semitic names of the sun diverge remarkably between languages: with Hebrew pausal שָׁמֶשׁ (Jud 20,43 etc.) contrast Arabic شَمْسٌ *šams(un)* where the two sibilants differ, and Ugaritic špš. If the sibilants were assimilated in Hebrew, the final one might once have been *sin* (שׁ), which as we saw (I.97) had a “lateral” or l-component. Thus behind the pausal Hebrew might lie \**šōmel*; in view of the frequent variation m/w (and the variability of the middle consonant between Hebrew and

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cussed by Jasper Griffin, *Homer on Life and Death*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1980; esp. p. 41.

20 See the proverb “a very frog to drink water,” ὕδωρ πίνειν βάτραχος; Aristopho frag. 10.3, Kock ii.280.

Ugaritic) this is closely comparable to reconstructed pre-Sanskrit \**sāuel*.

Sidonian inscriptions of the 6th and 5th century BC (KAI 13.7 and 14.12 [Eshmunazar]) have the phrase בַּחַיִּים תַּחַת שֶׁמֶשׁ “among those who live under the sun”; it is taken up late in Hebrew in the constant usage of Koheleth. See esp. Koh 4,15 “all the living who go about under the sun”:

כָּל־הַחַיִּים הַמְּהֻלָּכִים תַּחַת הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ

Zeus says (*Iliad* 4.44) that Ilios is dearest to him among all cities “under the sun and the starry heavens,”

... ὕπ’ ἠελίῳ τε καὶ οὐρανῷ ἀστερόεντι

There seems to be an East Mediterranean theme here.<sup>21</sup>

Both in classical and modern Greek the verbs of snowing, raining etc. have the idea of the High God so built in that the subject can be “Zeus,” “the god,” or “impersonal” with no necessary difference of feeling. Thus with *snow*: Babrius 45.1 ἐνεῖφεν ὁ Ζεὺς “Zeus was snowing”; Xenophon *Cyn.* 8.1 ὅταν νεῖφῃ ὁ θεός “when the god snows”; Aristophanes *Ach.* 1141 νεῖφει as a whole sentence. With *rain*: *Iliad* 12.25 ὕε δ’ ἄρα Ζεὺς “Zeus was raining”; Pausanias 2.29.7 οὐτε τῆν ... χώραν ... ὕεν ὁ θεός “the god did not rain on the land”; Herodotus 4.28.2 οὐκ ὕει “it is not raining.” With *earthquake*: Xenophon (*Hell.* 4.7.4) in one passage may have all three alternatives: ἔσεισεν ὁ θεός “the god made an earthquake”; immediately the Spartans invoke Poseidon, and Xenophon then uses σεῖσειε (perhaps impersonal, perhaps with the god as subject understood).<sup>22</sup>

In Hebrew the causatives הִמְטִיר “he rained” and הִרְעִים “he thundered” always have God as subject at least implicitly except at Isa 5,6

וְעַל הָעַבִּים אֶצְנֶה מִהַמְטִיר עָלָיו מִטָּר

“And I will command the clouds not to rain rain (LXX βρέξει ... ὑετόν) ... on it.” So Quran 26.173 (174) “And we rained on them a rain,”

وَأَمْطَرْنَا عَلَيْهِمْ مَطَرًا

In Ugaritic<sup>23</sup> *rpt tmṭr bqz ṭl yṭll lḡnbm* “The cloud rains on the harvest, dew falls on the grapes.” A nice parallel at Aristophanes *Clouds* 1118 where the Clouds urge the jurors to give their play the prize, and promise ὕσομεν πρώτοισιν ὑμῖν “we will rain on you first of all.”

21 Further examples West EFH 235.

22 But Thucydides 4.52.1 ἔσεισεν “there was an earthquake” is clearly demythologizing.

23 KTU 1.19.I.40-42.

In Latin Jupiter seldom appears as the subject of a finite form of the weather verbs, but rather in participial phrases like *Ioue fulgente* (cited below).<sup>24</sup> A grammarian:<sup>25</sup>

*Pluit et tonat et fulminat et multa similia, quae ad homines non pertinent, proprie quidem ad tertiam dicuntur personam...et sunt quasi propria uerborum, quae ad solum Iouem pertinent.*

“*Pluit* ‘it rains,’ *tonat* ‘it thunders,’ *fulminat* ‘it lightens’ and many similar verbs, which do not apply to men, are properly used in the third person...and are as it were ‘proper verbs’ [analogous to proper names] as applying to Jupiter alone.”<sup>26</sup> A Greek grammatical notice<sup>27</sup> asks why the questions βρέχει; “Is it raining?” and βροντᾶ; “Is it thundering?” require no subject, and answers διότι εἷς ἐστὶν ὁ ταῦτα ποιῶν, τουτέστιν ὁ θεός, “For there is only one who does these things, namely God.”

In the sections that follow we compare texts which name the principal “elements” falling from the sky by the agency of the high God. Four names for those elements (for lightning, snow, and two for rain) reflect very old agreements between Semitic and Indo-European, which (one would think) much antedate contacts across the eastern Mediterranean.

### 11.2 Thunder and lightning

Yahweh causes the lightning: “his lightnings (LXX ἀστραπαί, Vg *fulgora*) lit up the whole world” (Ps 97,4, cf 77,19) הַאֲיִרוּ בְּרָקָיו תְּהַלֵּל; “he made lightnings to bring on the rain” (Jer 10,13; 51,16; Ps 135,7) הַאֲיִרוּ לְמַטֵּר עִשָּׂה בְּרָקִים. So στεροπή πατρὸς Διὸς (*Iliad* 10.154 etc) “the lightning of father Zeus”; “And Zeus son of Kronos lightens [on the right], showing them favorable signs” (9.236-7)

Ζεὺς δὲ σφι Κρονίδης ἐνδέξια σήματα φαίνων/ἀστράπτει  
cf 2.353 ἀστράπτων ἐπιδέξι(α) “lightening on the right.” But as we saw (II.60) in Aeschylus (*PV* 992) another name of lightning is φλόξ.

24 One exception is Statius *Theb.* 7.406 *tonat pater* “the Father thunders.”

25 Priscian, *Institutes* 8.104 = *Grammatici Latini* ii.450 ed. Keil.

26 These “proper verbs” are discussed by Robert Schilling in “‘Juppiter Fulgur’: A propos de deux lois archaïques,” pp. 358-365 (esp. 364) of his *Rites, Cultes, Dieux de Rome; Etudes et Commentaires* XCII; Paris: Klincksieck, 1979.

27 *Etymologium magnum* 212.7 (col. 607 Gaisford). It is unclear to me whether the writer is pagan or Christian.

The mechanism of lightning is described at *PV* 1016-8 (Hermes to Prometheus):

... πρῶτα μὲν γὰρ ὀκρίδα  
φάραγμα βροντῆ καὶ κεραυνία φλογί  
πατὴρ σπαράξει τήνδε ...

“First the Father [Zeus] will smash this rough cliff with thunder and the flash of the bolt.” The causative agent is the κεραυνός “thunderbolt,” a missile whose path heats the air to incandescence (φλόξ) and causes thunder (βροντή). A. B. Cook suggested<sup>28</sup> that this was because Greeks had found Neolithic flint arrowheads, and identified them as remains of old lightning-bolts. (But then the thunderbolts of ancient art-works, spindle-shaped stones, were a faulty interpretation of the tradition.) So with the verb, Aeschylus *Septem* 512-3 Ζεὺς πατήρ ... διὰ χερὸς βέλος φλέγων “Father Zeus, flaming his missile out of his hand.” See Euripides *Bacchae* 598-9 φλόγα Δίου βροντᾶς “the flash of the thunder of Zeus.”<sup>29</sup>

In Latin the bolt is *fulmen*: Cicero (*de nat. deorum* 3.84) *nec Olympius Iuppiter fulmine percussit* “Olympian Jupiter did not strike him with the bolt”; Horace (*Carm.* 3.3.6) *nec fulminantis magna manus Iouis* “nor the great hand of Jupiter casting the bolt.” Latin *fulgo* and *fulgeo* “lighten,” *fulgur* “lightning,” *fulmen* (from \**fulgmen*) “bolt” represent archaic augural language: Cicero *in Vatinius* 20 *augures omnes usque ab Romulo decreuerunt Ioue fulgente cum populo agi nefas esse* “all augurs from Romulus on down have decreed that when Jupiter is lightening it is improper for business to be conducted with the people.” Hence Aeschylus’ cognate φλόξ rather than Homer’s στεροπή must represent Greek sacral usage.

Gods and heroes are named for the lightning. Deborah summoned Baraq (בָּרַק Jud 4,10) as her general, like a man of Palmyra בַּרְק;<sup>30</sup> and she herself was לַפְּיֹדוֹת לְאִשָּׁה (4,4) “wife of Lappidoth [‘Torches’],” II.174. At Jos 19,45 the place קְנִי-בָרַק must be Aramaic “Sons of Lightning.”<sup>31</sup> At the mythical site Phlegra (Φλέγρα) in the battle of gods and giants “Zeus destroyed the remainder, pelting them with thunderbolts (κεραυνοῖς ... βαλῶν)” (Apollodorus 1.6.2, see Pindar

28 Cook, *Zeus* ii.528.

29 Here Δίου is an adjective from “Zeus” modifying “thunder.”

30 PAT 0345 = CIS 2.3999. But this usage is not attested at Carthage, so Hamilcar “Barcas” (Nepos *Hann.* 1.1) is just “Blessed” (root בָּרַךְ); see II.123.

31 Compare the nickname of James and John (Mark 3,17) Βοανηργές “sons of thunder”; the Greek is perhaps corrupt, and the underlying Aramaic undeterminable.

*Nem.* 1.67).<sup>32</sup> Jupiter is flatly identified with the lightning. So in the Arval calendar for Oct. 7 IOVI FVLGVRI “To Jupiter Lightning.”<sup>33</sup> A dedication from Narbonensis (CIL 12.1807) has further IOVI FVLGVRI FVLMINI; in Vitruvius 1.2.5 a building is dedicated to *Ioui Fulguri*, and so for a tree struck by lightning.<sup>34</sup>

Ps 144,6 (cf 77,18-19) uniquely has the verb בָּרוֹק “flash lightning” with a cognate object, “Flash forth the lightning (LXX ἀστραφον ἀστραπήν, Jer. iux. Heb. *mica fulmine*) and scatter them; send out your arrows (*sagittam*) and rout them”

בָּרוֹק בָּרַק וְתַפְיִצָּם שְׁלַח הַצֵּיף וְתַהַרְמֵם

With the construction compare Luk 17,24 ἀστραπή ἀστράπτουσα, Vg *fulgur...fulget*. Levin<sup>35</sup> regards the underlying verbs as old cognates between Indo-European and Semitic. In probable reconstructions he compares Sanskrit *bhrāt* (root *bhrāj-*) and Aramaic בָּרַק *bəraq*, both “he (it) lightened”; in attested forms we may compare the plurals φλόγεις and בְּרָקִים *bəraqiym* “lightnings.”

Thunder is the voice of the High God. The word of God in the creation-story is interpreted as the thunder at Ps 104,7 “At the voice of thy thunder [the waters] took to flight”<sup>36</sup>:

מִן-קוֹל רַעַמְךָ יִתְפַּזֵּן

Since the waters are elsewhere the primeval sea-dragon Rahab, this runs parallel to the battle of Zeus the thunderer with the giants. So less explicitly at Ps 29,3

קוֹל יְהוָה עַל-הַמַּיִם אֶל-הַכְּבוֹד הַרְעִים

“The voice of Yahweh is on the *waters*; the God of glory has thundered”; here the unpredictable damage of the thunder to trees and animals is emphasized. At Sinai (Exod 19,16) “there were ‘voices’ and lightnings and thick cloud on the mountain,”

וַיְהִי קֶלֶת וּבְרָקִים וַעֲנָן כָּבֵד עַל-הָהָר

The setting is like *Iliad* 16.297-8:

ὤς δ' ὄτ' ἀφ' ὑψηλῆς κορυφῆς ὄρεος μέγαλω  
κινήσῃ πυκινήν νεφέλην στεροπτηγέρετα Ζεὺς

32 The warlike Phlegyai of Thrace (*Iliad* 13.302 Φλεγύας accus.) bear a similar name; Pausanias (9.36.2-3) “the god [surely Zeus] utterly destroyed the race of the Phlegyai with frequent thunderbolts and strong earthquakes.”

33 CIL 6.1.2295=G. Henzen, *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*; Berlin: Reimer, 1874; p. cxxxviii.

34 Servius on *Aeneid* 10.423.

35 SIE 203-208.

36 Greek βροντή is an active verbal noun from βρέμω “murmur, roar” (cf Latin *fremo*), which in a general way is similar to Hebrew רעם, and in compounds like ὑφιβρεμέτης (Hesiod *Opera* 8, ll.35) means precisely “thunder.”

“As when from the high head of a great mountain Zeus who gathers the lightning stirs up a thick cloud.”<sup>37</sup> Odysseus asks Zeus for a sign and like Moses gets an answer in thunder, “straightway [Zeus] thundered from shining [i.e. snowy] Olympus, on high from clouds” (*Odyssey* 20.103-4):

αὐτικά δ' ἐβρόντησεν ἄπ' αἰγλήεντος Ὀλύμπου,  
ὕψοθεν ἐκ νεφέων ...

The Ten Commandments then were spoken in thunder, the “loud voice” (קוֹל גְּדוֹל) of Deut 5,22.<sup>38</sup> Eliot in *The Waste Land* picks up the three Sanskrit imperative verbs in DA-<sup>39</sup> heard in the thunder.<sup>40</sup>

Hebrew and Greek seem to share a word for “mountain.” The “Mount Hor” in Lebanon (הַר הָהָר Num 34,7 with another in Edom, Num 20,22) shows a Phoenician pronunciation of Hebrew הָר. The mountain is the property of the High God: Num 10,33 of Sinai, הַר הָהָר; Pausanias 9.2.4 ὁ δὲ Κιθαιρών τὸ ὄρος Διὸς ἱερὸν Κιθαιρωνίου ἐστίν “Mount Kithairon is sacred to Zeus Kithaironios.” The words act as “determinatives” in mountain-names, so that the Akkadian classifier 𒌦 < KUR may be both a graphic and a linguistic feature: Jud 3,3 הַר הַלְבָּנוֹן; Strabo 16.2.15 ὁ Λίβανος τὸ ὄρος. They are contrasted with a word for “valley” (I.58): Isa 40,4 הַר-כָּל-אֶרֶץ ... אֶרֶץ-כָּל-בָּרָא “every valley...every mountain”; Pindar *Pyth.* 1.30 τοῦτ' ... ὄρος, εὐκάρπιον γαίης μέτωπον “this mountain, brow of a fruitful land.”

The Arval Brotherhood set September 1 for “Jupiter Tonans on the Capitoline,” IOVI TONANTI IN CAPITOLIO.<sup>41</sup> Dedications may combine formulas: IOVI TONANTI FVLMINANTI,<sup>42</sup> IOVI FVLMINI FVLGVRI TONANTI.<sup>43</sup> *Tonans* alone was a title of Jupiter, Lucan 3.320 *caelo solum regnare Tonantem* “for Tonans alone to reign in

37 στεροπηγερέτα is a unique variant of usual νεφέληγερέτα, normally required for this verse position but made impossible by the preceding νεφέλην.

38 At Joh 12,29 the crowd rationalistically interprets the “voice from heaven” as thunder.

39 *Damyata* “be subdued,” *datta* “give,” *dayadhvam* “be merciful”; see the *Bṛhadaranyaka-Upanisad* V.2.

40 Further classical texts: the “thunder of Father Zeus” at *Iliad* 13.796 (cf 21.199 and Euripides *Hippol.* 1201); the “thunderbolt of Zeus” at *Iliad* 21.401. Seneca, *Medea* 531 *nunc summe toto Iuppiter caelo tona* “Now, highest Jupiter, thunder throughout the heaven”; Lucan 7.197 *tonitrus...Iouis*.

41 CIL 6.1.2295=Henzen ccxxxvi. Augustus reports (*Res Gestae* IV.19) “I (re)built the temples of Jupiter Feretrius and Jupiter Tonans on the Capitoline,” AEDS IN CAPITOLIO IOVIS FERETRI ET IOVIS TONANTIS...FECCI, where the Greek gives an equivalent of the latter, Διὸς Βροντησίου.

42 CIL 11.1.3773, Galera.

43 CIL 11.2.1.4172, from Interamna.

heaven.” A logic is suggested by Cicero *Philip. 5.7 Ioue enim tonante cum populo agi non esse fas*, “For when Jupiter is thundering it is not proper for business with the people to be conducted.”<sup>44</sup> His thunder conveys a message requiring immediate interpretation, which supersedes human business. The XII Tabulae, though not ascribed to Jupiter or his voice, were once only ten (Livy 3.34.6), like the Commandments of Yahweh given to Moses.

In Greek also a sign from the High God cancels business. A parallel to the thundering of Jupiter which cancels the *comitia* is the more generalized Διοσημία. At Aristophanes *Ach. 171* a drop of rain cancels the *ekklesia*. At Plutarch *de def. orac. 18* (= *Mor. 419E*) at an island near Britain (Βρεττανίαν), Διοσημίας are wind and lightning, and signify the death of an eminent person. At Julian *Or. 7.212B* a thunderstorm is such a sign from Zeus.

The High God exercises his role as thunderer in a *conciliar* fashion, as the chief of a council. At Ps 29,1 the “sons of Elim” (בְּנֵי אֱלִים) are to “ascribe to Yahweh honor and strength” in recognition (II.54, 99,105) of his thundering (vs 3). The others are not comparable with him: Ps 89,7-8 “For who in the skies can be compared to Yahweh, or among the sons of Elim is like Yahweh? — a God feared in the council of the holy ones (בְּסוּד־קִדְשִׁים, *Vg in consilio sanctorum*)”; Exod 15,11 “Who is like thee, Yahweh, among the Elim?”:

מִי־כַמְכָה בְּאֱלִים יְהוָה

Jupiter’s conciliar status may be derived from his Etruscan counterpart, Tin or Tinia. Pliny 2.138 *Tuscorum litterae nouem deos emittere fulmina existimant, eaque esse undecim generum, Iouem trina iaculari* “The books of the Etruscans hold that nine gods send thunderbolts, and that these are of eleven kinds, since Jupiter hurls three kinds.”

The three are specified by Seneca *Nat. Quest. 2.41.1-2*:

Fulmina a Ioue dicunt [Etrusci] mitti et tres illi manubias dant. Prima, ut aiunt, monet et placata est et ipsius Iouis consilio mittitur. Secundum quidem mittit Iupiter, sed ex consili sententia, duodecim deos enim aduocat; hoc fulmen boni aliquid aliquando facit, sed tunc quoque non aliter quam ut noceat; ne prodest quidem impune. Tertiam manubiam idem Iupiter mittit, sed adhibitis in consilium diis quod superiores et inuolutos uocant, quia uastat in quae incidit et utique mutat statum priuatum et publicum quem inuenit; ignis enim nihil esse quod fuit patitur.

44 Cicero has a double formula at *de div. 2.42 Ioue tonante fulgurante comitia populi habere nefas* “When Jupiter is thundering and lightening it is improper to hold an assembly of the people.”

[The Etruscans] say that thunderbolts are sent by Jupiter, and they attribute three missiles [?—*manubias*] to him. The first, as they say, only warns, is gentle, and is sent by the counsel of Jupiter alone. The second is also sent by Jupiter, but on the advice of his council, for he gathers the twelve gods. Sometimes this thunderbolt does some good, but even then only on the condition that it also harms; it cannot bring sheer benefit. The third type of missile is also sent by Jupiter, but after having called into council the gods whom they [the Etruscans] call Superior and Veiled; because it destroys whatever it strikes and wholly changes the private or public state of affairs that it finds; for fire allows nothing to remain what it was.

The thunder marks the role of the High God as assuring victory to the armies of his people. I Sam 7,10 “And Yahweh thundered with a great voice that day against the Philistines, and scattered them”:

וַיִּהְיֶה יוֹם בְּקוֹל-צֶדֶד וְלַבְּיּוֹם הַהוּא עַל-פְּלִשְׁתִּים וַיִּהְיוּ

Throughout the *Iliad* the thunder of Zeus, especially on the right, means victory for one party, e.g. 20.56-57 “And the father of men and gods thundered terribly from on high,”

δεινὸν δὲ βρόντησε πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε / ὑψόθεν

Below (Chap. 16) I show how the Ark of the Covenant and the Temple of Janus were homes from which the war-god went out to defend the city; at Rev 11,19 when the Ark appears there are “lightnings and ‘voices’ and thunders and an earthquake and heavy hail.” In AD 410 in the invasion of Alaric, Tuscans (τισιὺν ἐκ Τουσκίας) report how their city Narnia<sup>45</sup> was saved: “By their prayer to the divinity and their worship in the ancestral fashion extraordinary thunderclaps and storms came about and drove off the attacking barbarians” (Zosimus 5.41.1):

τῇ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐχῇ καὶ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια θεραπεία βροντῶν ἑξαισιῶν καὶ πρηστήρων ἐπιγινομένων τοὺς ἐπικειμένους βαρβάρους ἀποδιῶξαι.

Below (II.171-174) I discuss the words for “torch” in Hebrew (לפיד) and Greek (λαμπάς)—apparently an Aegean loan to Hebrew. In both languages it is a synonym for lightning. Thus in Euripides *Bacchae* 594-595 Dionysos calls to the thunderbolt in agitated dactyls:

ἄπτε κεράνιον αἶθοπα λαμπάδα

σύμφλεγε σύμφλεγε δώματα Πενθέος

“Kindle the gleaming thunder-torch; burn, burn down the house of Pentheus”; so at vs 244 ὃς ἐκπυροῦται λαμπάσιν κεραυνίαις “who is burned up in the thundering torches.” See then Exod 20,18

וְכָל-הָעָם רָאוּ אֶת-הַקּוֹל וְאֶת-הַלַּפִּידִם

45 Narnia of Umbria (Livy 10.9.8 etc) somehow gave its name to the land of C. S. Lewis’ children’s allegories.



“And all the people, seeing[!] the ‘voices’ [thunder-claps] and ‘torches’ [lightning-bolts]...,” LXX τὴν φωνὴν καὶ τὰς λαμπάδας, Vg *uoces et lampadas*.<sup>46</sup>

### 11.3 Snow and hail

Canaanites looking up to Lebanon, as Greeks to Olympos, saw snow as a product of the high God: Ps 147,16 “He [Yahweh] gives snow like wool,” שֶׁלֶג כְּצֹמֶר *Iliad* 19.357 νιφάδες Διός; Homeric Epigram 13.6 “when the son of Kronos snows,” ὅπότε ἄν νείφησι Κρονίων. A Greek poet<sup>47</sup> addresses imperatives to Zeus “Snow, throw down hail ...” νείφε, χαλαζοβόλει. With Jer 18,14 “snow from Lebanon” see Tacitus *Hist.* 5.6 *praecipuum montium Libanum erigit, mirum dictu, tantos inter ardores opacum fidumque niuibus*, “[Judaea] raises up Libanus chief of mountains, wonderful to relate, among such heated lands dark [with trees] and constant in snow.”

Levin<sup>48</sup> compares the Indo-European and Semitic words for “snow,” e.g. Russian снег and the anomalous verb Ps 68,15 תִּשְׁלֶגַּי *tašleḡ*; we have often seen the variation l/n. Snow appears along with the Semitic-Germanic isogloss (Levin, SIE 58-65) for “earth” (German *Erde*, Arabic اَرْضُ *arḍa* accus.) at Job 37,6 “For he says to the snow, Fall(?)<sup>49</sup> to the earth”:

כִּי לִשְׁלֹגַי יֹאמַר הָיָא אֲרֶץ

So Luther *Er spricht zum Schnee, Falle zur Erde*. Then compare *Iliad* 12.156 “[the missiles] fell like<sup>50</sup> snowflakes to earth”:

... νιφάδες δ' ὡς πίπτον ἔραζε

Levin (SIE 390) finds a primordial phrase common to Akkadian *ina erce-tim* “in the earth” and Old High German *in erdo* (*erdu*, *erda*) “in(to) the earth”; it continues in English down to the KJV, “in earth as it is in heaven.”

The snow is seen as the *weapon* of the High-God, as if to bring back the Ice Age.<sup>51</sup> Job 38,22-23, “Have you entered the treasuries of the snow (שֶׁלֶגַּי) or seen the treasuries of the hail, which I have reserved for the time of trouble, for the day of battle and war?” *Iliad* 12.278-280,

46 “Torches” appears in parallelism with “lightning” further at Ezek 1,13; Nahum 2,5; Daniel 10,6.

47 *Greek Anthology* 5.64; Asclepiades (3rd cent. BC).

48 Levin, SIE 208-213, 457. Note the unique form νιφα Hesiod *Opera* 535.

49 Apparently the Arabic root هَوَى “fall.”

50 I read ὡς for ὅς of the Oxford edition which makes no sense to me.

51 Plato had an inkling of a time when the sea-level was lower, *Critias* 111C.

286-7 “And as the flakes of snow fall thick on a winter day, when Zeus Counsellor determines to snow, showing men his weapons ...when the rain of Zeus is heavy; so the stones of those on both sides fell thick.”

... ὡς τε νιφάδες χιόνος πίπτωσι θαμειαί  
 ἤματι χειμερίῳ ὅτε τ' ὤρετο μητίετα Ζεὺς  
 νιφέμεν, ἀνθρώποισι πιφασκόμενος τὰ ἄ κῆλα  
 ... ὅτ' ἐπιβρίση Διὸς ὄμβρος·

ὡς τῶν ἀφοτέρωσε λίθοι πωτῶντο θαμειαί

Missiles are seen as snow: Pindar *Isthm.* 4.17 “the harsh snowfall of war,” τραχεῖα νιφᾶς πολέμοιο; Aeschylus *Septem* 212 “when a baneful snow [of stones] was falling,” νιφάδος ... ὄλοᾶς νειφομένης ...

At Iguvium<sup>52</sup> two passages have a formula of ten singular imperatives in alliterative pairs, once (VI.B.60) addressed to three deities, once (VII.A.48-49) to the single goddess Tursa Iouia; the divinities may be so indistinctly conceived that the verbs are impersonal. The formula is only partially understood:

tursitu tremitu, hondu holtu, ninctu nepitu, sunitu sauitu, preplotatu preuilatu.

Terrify them (Latin *terrīto*<sup>53</sup>) and cause them to tremble (cf. *tremefacito*), cast them down (?) and destroy them (?), overwhelm them with snow (*ninguito*) and overwhelm them with water, deafen them [with thunder?] and wound them, trample them under foot (?) and bind them (*\*praeuinculato*).

Also the High-God causes hail—this time without common vocabulary. Exod 9,23 “And Yahweh rained hail,” יהוה בָּרַךְ יַיִם מִמַּיַם בּוֹרְאֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם borrowing the root בָּרַךְ; Jos 10,11 “And Yahweh sent down on them great stones from heaven ... stones of hail (אֲבָבִי הַבָּרָד).” Euripides *Troades* 78-9 “And Zeus will send rain and much hail,” καὶ Ζεὺς μὲν ὄμβρον καὶ χάλαζαν ἄσπετον / πέμψει; Lucian *Bis Accus.* 2 Zeus complains of his simultaneous duties around the world, including “hailing on the Getae,” ἐν Γέταις χάλαζαν. In Aristophanes *Clouds* 1127 the Clouds take over his duties, “We will crush with round hailstones,” χάλάζαις στρογγύλαις. We saw (II.59) that in Horace the Father [Jupiter] is responsible for both snow and hail.<sup>54</sup>

52 *Iguvine Tablets* ed. Poultney.

53 These three Latin imperatives are correctly formed but seem not to be attested.

54 Seneca (*Nat. Quest.* 4B.4.1) expresses these notions with impersonal verbs (where any sense of Jupiter as subject is weakened), *qua re hieme ningat, non grandinet* “why it snows in winter but does not hail.”

Below (Chap. 13) we discuss the names of “arrows” (יָצִי, δῖστοί, *sagittae*) for the elemental weapons of the High God. At Ps 18,14-15 (II.59) hail and the lightning are his arrows. Thus at Sach 9,14 (cf. Hab 3,11) “Then Yahweh will appear over them, and his arrow will go out like lightning (Vg *ut fulgur*)”:

וַיֵּצֵא כִכְרֵק קִצְיוֹ ...

The verses of Pindar and Aeschylus on the rough “snow” of warfare are echoed in the old Latin poet Pacuvius<sup>55</sup> *niuit sagittis, plumbo et saxis grandinat* “It snows with arrows, it hails with lead and stones.” The late Greek poet Nonnus (*Dionys.* 18.232) says “from the gloom were sent arrows of hail,”

ἠερόθεν πέμποντο χαλαζήεντες δῖστοί

## 11.4 Rain and dew

### 11.4.1 The “water” words

There are *two* Greek-Hebrew parallels in words meaning “rain”. One is in Hebrew both a noun מָטָר, I Reg 18,1 “And I will give rain (מָטָר) on the face of the earth”; and a causative verb, Gen 2,5 “For Yahweh the God had not rained (מָטַר, LXX ἔβρεξε) on the earth.” The verb can take the noun as cognate object (Isa 5,6, II.61). So Zeus is responsible for rain, *Odyssey* 14.457-8<sup>56</sup> ὕε δ’ ἄρα Ζεὺς / πάννουχος “Zeus rained all night long.” Aristophanes treats ὕδωρ as if a cognate accusative to ὕειν (*Clouds* 1279-1281)<sup>57</sup>

πότερα νομίζεις καινὸν αἰεὶ τὸν Δία

ὕειν ὕδωρ ἐκάστοτ’, ἢ τὸν ἥλιον

ἔλκειν κάτωθεν ταύτ’ οὐθ’ ὕδωρ πάλιν;

“Do you think that Zeus always rains new water every time, or that the sun draws up this same water again from below?”—a blend of traditional and modern explanations.<sup>58</sup> Latin *pluit* never takes a subject, as explained by Priscian (above), though “Jupiter Pluvius” is occasional (I.23).

55 Pacuvius *Paulus* frag. 3 (i.325 Ribbeck). The MS has *sagittis niuit*. The verb *niuit* appears here only, elsewhere “it snows” is *ningit* or *ninguit*.

56 Zeus as raining also at *Iliad* 12.25-26, Hesiod *Opera* 488 and frequently.

57 And so Herodotus 1.87.2 ὕσαι ὕδατι where Apollo is responsible though not grammatically present.

58 Two more characteristic Greek phrases. Theognis 25-26 οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς / οὐθ’ ὕων πάντεσσ’ ἀνδάνει οὐτ’ ἀνέχων “Zeus cannot please everybody either by raining or holding back”; Theophrastus *Char.* 3.4 (cf Herodas 7.46) εἰ ποιήσειεν ὁ Ζεὺς ὕδωρ πλείον “if Zeus should make more rain.”

There is a nice Palestinian parallel in a church writer of the fourth century:<sup>59</sup>

Ὡς δὲ ἐπέμενε μὴ βρέχων ὁ θεός ... πάντες ἐθλίβοντο. Συναχθέντες δὲ ... εἰς τὸ Μαρνεῖον, πολλὰς θυσίας καὶ εὐχὰς ἐποίουν τούτου ἕνεκεν. ἔλεγον γὰρ τὸν Μαρναῦν κύριον εἶναι τῶν ὄμβρων, τὸν δὲ Μαρναῦν λέγουσιν εἶναι τὸν Δία.

“When God kept withholding the rain, ...all were distressed. And [the people of Gaza] gathered together in the temple of Marnas and made many sacrifices and prayers on account of this. For they said that Marnas was god of the rains, and they affirm that Marnas is Zeus.”<sup>60</sup> The destruction of the temple in AD 402 is confirmed by Jerome in his commentary on Isa 17,2, *Serapium Alexandriae et Marnae templum Gazae in ecclesias Domini surrexerunt*, “The Serapium at Alexandria and the temple of Marnas at Gaza have risen up again as churches of the Lord.”<sup>61</sup>

Greek ὕδωρ, cognate to English *water*, is often simply “rain.” The original r/n stem (cf Swedish *vatten*) is clear in Hittite *uatar* neuter, genitive *uitenaš*; I cannot tell if in any text cited by Friedrich<sup>62</sup> it means “rain.” In view of the regular alternation m/w it is attractive to compare מִטְרוֹ “rain.”<sup>63</sup> (Akk. *mitru*, appearing at Ras Shamra only, is West-Semitic.)

Since rain falls from what is normally a clear sky, there must be (Gen 1,7) “waters above the firmament”—the metal sky-dome. Perhaps it is perforated for the stars to shine through (I.108, II.170). In the Flood the “windows of heaven” (אֲרָבֹת הַשָּׁמַיִם) were opened (Gen 7,11); so Mal 3,10 “I will open the windows of heaven for you and pour down for you an overflowing ‘blessing’ (בְּרָכָה).” In drought Yahweh “shuts up the heavens so that there is no rain (מִטְרוֹ)” (Deut

59 Marcus Diaconus, *Life of Porphyry Bishop of Gaza* 19; ed. H. Grégoire & M.-A. Kugener, *Marc le Diacre: Vie de Porphyre Evêque de Gaza* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1930); events of AD 396. Problems with the text have been satisfactorily answered by Frank R. Trombley, *Hellenic Religion and Christianization C. 370-529*; 2 vols.; *Religions in the Graeco-Roman World* 115; Leiden: Brill, 1993; Appendix 1: “The Historicity of the Greek Version of Mark the Deacon’s Life of Porphyrius of Gaza,” pp. 246ff.

60 Actually *Marnas* is probably an Aramaic title, “our Lord”; see II.117. It may then simply continue the god Dagon (דָּגוֹן Jud 16,23) of Gaza: Dor and Jaffa are “lands of Dagon,” דָּגוֹן וַיִּפִּי אֶרֶץ דָּגוֹן (KAI 14.19).

61 Corp. Christ. ser. lat. 73.268.17.

62 Johannes Friedrich, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*; Heidelberg: Winter, 1952, p. 249.

63 I owe this comparison to Levin, who treats the words briefly at SIE 211, 287.

11,17, cf I Reg 8,35); pictorially, “Who can lay flat the waterskins (Luther *Wasserschläuche*) of heaven (מִי יִשְׁמַטֵּם)?” (Job 38,37). At II Sam 22,12 the Vulgate introduces the image *cribrans aquas de nubibus caelorum* “sifting down water from the clouds of heaven.” At Herodotus 4.158.3 Libyans, taking Greeks to a well rained-on site, say ἐνθαῦτα γὰρ ὁ οὐρανὸς τέτρηται “here the sky is perforated.” At Aristophanes *Clouds* 373 Socrates answers the question τίς ὕει “who rains?” by “the Clouds,” but Strepsiades confesses

καίτοι πρότερον τὸν Δί' ἀληθῶς ᾤμην διὰ κοσκίνου οὐρεῖν  
 “I used to think that it was really Zeus pissing through a sieve.”<sup>64</sup> In fact (Frisk ii.446-7) both οὐρανός and οὐρέω are connected with Sanskrit *varṣati* “it rains.”

The geographical difference of Mediterranean societies from the empires of the Near East was the *rain* which made possible autonomous city-states not dependent on centralized irrigation; see the full discussion at I.22-24. In the Mediterranean, fields “drink” rain from the High God, either directly or via the mountains. Sach 10,1 “Ask for rain from Yahweh (מִיְהוָה מְטַר) at the time of the spring showers.” See Plato *Laws* 761A “[The wardens shall watch over] the waters from Zeus (τῶν ἐκ Διὸς ὑδάτων) ... as they flow down from the heights into the hollow valleys in the mountains (τὰς ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι νάπας) [and shall channel them] ... so that the valleys, receiving and drinking the waters from Zeus (παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς ὕδατα ... πίνουσαι), shall provide fountains and springs for the fields and all places lower down.” Compare Deut 11,11 of Canaan (cited I.22 above) “it drinks water from the rain of heaven,” LXX ἐκ τοῦ ὑετοῦ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πίνεται ὕδωρ.<sup>65</sup> Cf. Xenophon *Anab.* 4.2.2 (& Thucydides 2.77.6) καὶ ὕδωρ πολὺ ἦν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ “and there was much water from heaven.” Theophrastus *Hist. Plant.* 2.6.5, the date palm of Syria does not need “water from Zeus,” τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς [ὕδωρ]. Herodotus 3.117.4 “In winter the god rains on [Persian nations] (ὑεὶ σφι ὁ θεός) as on other men.... [In summer they bribe the

64 The punishment of the Danaids, carrying water in a sieve (Plato *Rep.* 2.363D) or perforated jar (Xenophon *Oec.* 7.40), is a ceremony in Egypt (Diodorus 1.97.2)—perhaps as a symbol of rain-making. For the “bucket” (*dolium*) of the Danaids see I.145 and cf Horace *Carm.* 3.11.27 *inane lymphae / dolium* “their bucket empty of water.”

65 With the “valleys” (νάπας) of Plato see the Hebrew word used only in connection with Dor (itself likely named for the Dorians), I Reg 4,11 etc כָּל-נַפְתַּח דּוֹר “all the valley of Dor”; a Greek geographical term borrowed in Hebrew? See I.342.

Great King to irrigate their lands;] when their earth becomes saturated drinking the water (πίνουσα τὸ ὕδωρ) [he channels it elsewhere].” Finally see Marcus Aurelius 5.7 “Prayer of the Athenians: ‘Rain, rain, dear Zeus (ἕσον ἕσον ὦ φίλε Ζεῦ), on the field of the Athenians and on their plains’.”

When the God is angry, a seer can predict or cause drought for up to seven years. Amos 4,7 “And I would rain (וַיִּטְרַף יְהוָה, βρέξω, *plui*) on one city, and on another city I would not rain; one field would be rained on (וַיִּטְרַף) and the field on which it would not rain (וַתִּטְרַף)<sup>66</sup> withered.” Elijah tells Ahab (I Reg 17,1) “These years there shall not be dew or rain (וְלֹא יִטְרַף, δρόσος καὶ ὑετός) except by my word.” Herodotus 4.151.1 “For seven years it did not rain on Thera (οὐκ ἔβρηθον Θήρη)” because Delphi wished it to found a colony. Cf Gen 41,30 “seven years of famine.”<sup>67</sup> Elijah produces rain by one style of sympathetic magic (I Reg 18,41-44), and priests of Zeus Lykaios in Arcadia by another (Pausanias 8.38.4, II.171).

Also the High God when angry can give unseasonable rain and destroy the crops. Samuel, reproving the people for wanting a king, calls on Yahweh during the wheat harvest, “and he will send ‘voices’ [thunder] and rain” (I Sam 12,17). So at *Iliad* 16.385-6 (II.27) men in a violent assembly judge crooked decrees and drive out Justice: “...on an autumn day, when Zeus pours out much rain, when in his indignation he is angry at men”:

ἤματ' ὀπωρινῶν ὅτε λαβρότατον χέει ὕδωρ / Ζεὺς ...

#### 11.4.2 The “blessing” words

The other shared word for rain has in Hebrew, and to some degree in Greek, the connotation of “blessing.” We saw at Mal 3,10 (II.71) “I will open the windows of heaven for you and pour down for you an overflowing ‘blessing’ (בְּרָכָה).” In form the noun “blessing” exactly corresponds to βροχή “rain” Matt 7,25. Levin<sup>68</sup> saw that בְּרָכָה I Reg 22,38 “pool” was a feminine stative verbal noun corresponding to unattested but probable neuter \*βρέχος. Also the Hebrew active noun can mean simply “rain” with the connotation of blessing as at Malachi. Thus Ezek 34,26 “And I will send down the shower in its season; they shall be showers of blessing (וַיִּשְׁטֵי בְּרָכָה).” It can be the object of a verb

66 Apparently a 3rd person feminine singular imperfect used as an impersonal like וַיִּשְׁלַף Ps 68,15.

67 Saul is of the family וַיִּטְרַף (I Sam 10,21); are these professional rainmakers?

68 IESL 286; SIE 198-201; see above I.24 and II.322.

“pour” and parallel to “water” (Isa 44,3). At Deut 28,12 where Yahweh opens “his good treasury the heavens,” “to bless (לְבַרְכָּהּ) all the work of your hand” is parallel to “give the rain (וַיִּטְּר) of your land in its season.” The opposite of a blessing is a curse, Deut 11,26 וַיִּקְלַח וַיִּבְרַח; the root ללך once means “dry up” of waters after the Flood, Gen 8,8 וַיִּקַּח.

So at Xenophon *Oec.* 17.2 πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀποβλέπουσιν, ὁπότε βρέξας τὴν γῆν ἀφήσει αὐτοὺς σπεῖρειν where all men “look to the god, to see when he will rain on the earth and let them sow,” βρέχει has the connotation of the god’s beneficence. Polybius 16.12.3 records, and rejects, a popular belief that a certain statue “is never snowed on nor rained on,” ἄγαλμα ... οὔτε νείφεται ... οὔτε βρέχεται. In *Oxyrhynchus Papyrus* 12.1482.6 (letter of the 2nd century CE) βρέχει means excessive rain, ὁ Ζεὺς γὰρ ἔβρεχε καὶ ἀμάχητος ἦν ὁ ἄνεμος “For Zeus was raining and you couldn’t stand against the wind.”<sup>69</sup> At Matt 7,25 βροχή is a destructive flood, but beneficial “irrigation” at Theophrastus *Hist. Plant.* 9.6.3. At *Olymp.* 7.34 Pindar<sup>70</sup> in his highest style speaks of Rhodes ἔνθα ποτὲ βρέχε θεῶν βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας χρυσεαῖς νιφάδεσσι πόλιν “where once the great king of the gods<sup>71</sup> drenched the city with a golden snowfall”; referring to its wealth rather than to some more specific myth?

### 11.4.3 The “dew” of the High God

The *dew* results from the procreation of the High God. Job 38,28 “Has the rain a father? Or who has begotten the drops of dew?” Gen 27,28 “And may God give you of the dew of heaven (מִטְּל הַשָּׁמַיִם)”; Sach 8,12 (cf Hag 1,10) “And the heavens shall give their dews.”<sup>72</sup> *Iliad* 14.351, from the intercourse of Zeus and Hera “there fell down sparkling dewdrops,” στιλπναὶ δ’ ἀπέπιπτον ἕρσαι. Alkman<sup>73</sup> speaks of “such things as Dew the daughter of Zeus and of the Moon generate,”

69 The editors state that it *does* rain at Oxyrhynchus in January.

70 Compare later in the same ode, *Olymp.* 7.50 “he rained gold,” and *Isthm.* 7.5 “snowing with gold.”

71 See II.88 for the beautiful agreement with Ps 95,3 “and a great king above all gods,” LXX καὶ βασιλεὺς μέγας ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς θεούς.

72 The women’s names וַיִּבְרַח (II Sam 3,4) and וַיִּטְּר (II Reg 23,31) if Hebrew must be “My father is the dew,” “My father-in-law is the dew”; but they could also be more prosaic Aramaic, “My father is a shade” etc., from Aramaic מלל (in Hebrew at Neh 3,15) = Hebrew צלל.

73 Frag. 57 ed. Page PMG = Plutarch *Quaest. Conviv.* 3.10.3 (*Mor.* 659B).

οἶα Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἔρσα τρέφει καὶ Σελάνας  
 Ovid (*Met.* 13.621-622): “Aurora was intent on her sorrows [over the death of Memnon], and still she weeps pious tears and makes dew in the whole world”:

luctibus est Aurora suis intenta piasque  
 nunc quoque dat lacrimas et toto rorat in orbe.

A. B. Cook<sup>74</sup> interprets as of divine intercourse the golden rain in which Zeus came down to Danaë<sup>75</sup> and Pindar’s “golden snow” cited above.<sup>76</sup>

Thus the High God through the rain is the husband of the earth. When the Babylonian Talmud (*Taanith* 6b) says “the rain is the husband of the earth,” מִיטְרָא בַעֲלָהּ דְאַרְעָא we can hear the language of pagan Canaanite Baal-worship. Further in the Talmud<sup>77</sup> irrigated fields are “the house of a ditch”; rain-watered fields are בֵּית הַבַּעַל “house of Baal” or שֶׁדֵּה הַבַּעַל. Hosea at 2,18 changes the old word to one which even more strongly defines Yahweh as the husband of his people, “And in that day...you will call me ‘my man’ (אִישִׁי) and no longer will you call me ‘my master’ (בַּעְלִי).” Although Israel did not know it, it was Yahweh “who gave her the grain, the wine and the oil” (Hos 2,10); at a coming day the heavens and earth will mutually “answer” each other in view of the new divine name Jezreel (יְזְרַעֵל) “God sows” (2,24). And Hosea parallels exactly the Greek image of the dew, “I will be as the dew to Israel” (14,6).

#### 11.4.4 Symbolism of the rain

In a fragment from the *Danaids* of Aeschylus<sup>78</sup> Aphrodite speaks:

ἔρᾳ μὲν ἀγνὸς οὐρανὸς τρῶσαι χθόνα,  
 ἔρως δὲ γαῖαν λαμβάνει γαμοῦ τυχεῖν·  
 ὄμβρος δ’ ἀπ’ εὐνάεντος οὐρανοῦ πεσὼν  
 ἔκυσε γαῖαν· ἡ δὲ τίκτεται βροτοῖς  
 μήλων τε βοσκὰς καὶ βίον Δημήτριον  
 δένδρων τ’ ὀπώραν· ἐκ νοτίζοντος γάμου  
 τελεῖθ’ ὅσ’ ἔστι· τῶν δ’ ἐγὼ παραίτιος.

74 Cook, *Zeus* iii.455-478.

75 Sophocles *Antigone* 944-950; Pherecydes, Jacoby FGH 3 F 10.

76 The classical passages with “dew” here cited, along with many more, are taken up in the beautiful study of Deborah Boedeker, *Descent from Heaven: Images of Dew in Greek Poetry and Religion*; American Philological Association: Scholars Press, 1984.

77 Mishna *Baba Bathra* III.1; Bab. Talmud *Moed Qatan* 2a.

78 Aeschylus frag. 44, TrGF iii.159 (from Athenaeus 13.600A).



“The holy heaven desires to wound the earth; Eros seizes the earth to be united in marriage; rain from the covering Sky falls and impregnates the earth, and she brings forth for mortals pasture for flocks and the life of Demeter [the grain] and the harvest of trees; all that exists is perfected from the dewy marriage; of these I am the cause.” This intercourse of heaven and earth is much echoed. Euripides in a fragment of an unknown play,<sup>79</sup> again referring to Aphrodite, says “the earth desires the rain (ἔρᾳ μὲν ὄμβρου γαῖαν)...the holy heaven full of rain at the impulse of Aphrodite desires to fall on the earth”:

ἔρᾳ δ' ὁ σεμνὸς οὐρανὸς πληρούμενος  
ὄμβρου πεσεῖν εἰς γαῖαν Ἀφροδίτης ὕπο.  
Lucretius 1.250-1

...pereunt imbres, ubi eos pater aether  
in gremium matris terrae praecipitavit

“the rains disappear when father Aether has flung them into the lap of mother Earth.” Vergil, *Georgics* 2.325-7

tum pater omnipotens fecundis imbribus aether  
coniugis in gremium laetae descendit et omnis  
magnus alit magno commixtus corpore fetus

“Then the almighty father Aether with fertile rains descends into the lap of his joyful spouse and in his greatness, mixed with her great body, nourishes all new births.” And most beautifully in the late classical *Peruigilium Veneris* 59-62 (text a little uncertain):

cras erit quom primus Aether copulabit nuptias.  
ut pater totum crearet uernis annum nubibus  
in sinum maritus imber fluxit almae coniugis,  
unde fetus mixtus omnis aleret magno corpore.

“Tomorrow will be when the primal Aether will consummate nuptials. So that the Father might create the whole year from the spring clouds, the rain, the husband, flowed into the lap of its receptive spouse, so that, joined with her great body, it might nourish all births.” Again, Pausanias (1.24.3) on the Acropolis of Athens found “a statue of Earth imploring Zeus to rain on her,” Γῆς ἄγαλμα ἱκετευούσης ὕσαι οἱ τὸν Δία. Proclus<sup>80</sup> reports that “at the rites of Eleusis they looked up at the Sky and shouted ὕε *hye* ‘Rain!’; then down to the Earth and said κύε *kye* ‘Conceive!’.”<sup>81</sup>

79 Euripides fragment 898 Nauck.

80 Proclus, in *Platonis Timaeum Commentaria* iii.176 ed. E. Diehl; Leipzig: Teubner, 1906.

81 Hippolytus *Refutatio* 5.7.34 (GCS 26) cites without elaboration the formula as ὕε κύε, which also appears in an inscription from Athens (BCH 20 [1896])

Euripides takes up this theme with new features in a fragment of the *Chrysippus*.<sup>82</sup> It is an address to “Greatest Earth and Aither of Zeus,” Γαῖα μεγίστη καὶ Διὸς Αἰθήρ; he is the begetter (γενέτωρ) of men and gods; she “by receiving the moistening dew-drops gives birth to mortals,” ἡ δ’ ὑγροβόλους σταγόνας νοτίας / παραδεξαμένη τίκτει θνητούς and hence is “Mother of all,” μήτηρ πάντων. The text continues:

χωρεῖ δ’ ὀπίσω  
 τὰ μὲν ἐκ γαίας φύντ’ εἰς γαῖαν,  
 τὰ δ’ ἀπ’ αἰθερίου βλαστόντα γονῆς  
 εἰς οὐράνιον πάλιν ἦλθε πόλον·  
 θνήσκει δ’ οὐδὲν τῶν γιγνομένων,  
 διακρινόμενον δ’ ἄλλο πρὸς ἄλλου  
 μορφὴν ἐτέραν ἀπέδειξεν.

“All things born from the earth return to the earth, but all that increase by an ethereal begetting go back to the heavenly pole; nothing that comes into being dies, but one thing changed into another manifests a different form.”

#### 11.4.5 “Earth to earth”

Euripides in the *Chrysippus* picks up an international proverb (cf I.311) that went through three phases.

(1) *Earth to earth*. Here the theme is merely realistic. Gen 3,19 “...Until you return to the ground, for from it you were taken; for you are dust, and to dust you will return (LXX ὅτι γῆ εἶ καὶ εἰς γῆν ἀπελεύσῃ)”:

כִּי־עָפָר אָרְצָה וְאֶל־עָפָר תָּשׁוּב

Xenophanes<sup>83</sup> “For all things are from earth, and in earth all things end”:

ἐκ γαίης γὰρ πάντα καὶ εἰς γῆν πάντα τελευτᾷ

Koh 3,20 seems almost a translation of Xenophanes, “Everything was from dust, and everything returns to dust”:

הַכֹּל הָיָה מִן־הָעָפָר וְהַכֹּל שָׁב אֶל־הָעָפָר

Vg *de terra facta sunt et in terram pariter reuertantur*. Also in Egypt, although that does not settle the matter of priority, “What comes from

79). See the discussion in George E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*; Princeton: University, 1969; p. 270.

82 Euripides frag. 839 Nauck, put together out of several quotations on the basis of the summary in Vitruvius 8 praef. 1. Anapaests for the entrance of the chorus? Quoted e.g. by Marcus 7.50 and frequently.

83 Xenophanes frag. 27, FVS<sup>8</sup>.

earth returns to it again.”<sup>84</sup> Likewise a fragment of Euripides:<sup>85</sup>

ἅπαντα τίκτει χθῶν πάλιν τε λαμβάνει

“Earth begets all things and receives them back again.” Levin<sup>86</sup> notes that Latin and Hebrew for “man” correspond to cognate feminine words for “earth”: *homo* with *humus*, אֲדָמָה with אֶרֶץ; and further links the Indo-European and Semitic stems. Gen. 2,7 shows awareness of the connection, “And Yahweh the God made man of dust from the earth”:

וַיִּצְרָךְ יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים אֶת-הָאָדָם עָפָר מִן-הָאֲדָמָה

Quintilian 1.6.34 while rejecting the etymology shows a feeling for it, *etiamne hominem appellari [sinemus] quia sit humo natus?*, “Shall we allow man to be so called because he is born of the ground?”

(2) *Earth to earth, spirit to spirit.* Koh 12,7 (cf 3,21) gives a fuller version, “and the dust return to the earth as it was, and the spirit returns to God who gave it” (cf Ps 104,29; Job 34,14-15). This works out the double composition of man from Genesis: dust from the earth, breath from heaven. (Horace *Carm.* 4.7.16 *pulvis et umbra sumus.*) So a fragment of Epicharmus<sup>87</sup>:

γᾶ μὲν εἰς γᾶν, πνεῦμα δ' ἄνω

“Earth to earth, spirit on high.” Behind I Kor 15,42-49 lies a contrast of the man of dust and the man of spirit, though it is not quite explicit.

(3) “*Nothing that is born dies.*” Euripides’ verse transforms the original somber proverb by means of the pre-Socratic insight into the perpetual recycling of being. See Anaxagoras: “The Hellenes do not correctly understand coming into being and going out of being (τὸ δὲ γίνεσθαι καὶ ἀπόλλυσθαι). For nothing comes into being or goes out of it, but is combined out of existing things and is dissolved out of them (συνμίσχεται τε καὶ διακρίνεται).”<sup>88</sup> Lucretius 2.991ff versifies the whole of Euripides frag. 839,

84 Miriam Lichtheim, *Late Egyptian Wisdom Literature in the International Context: A Study of Demotic Instructions*; *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 52; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983, pp. 168, 228 (Papyrus Insinger 30.6).

85 Euripides frag. 195 Nauck, who compares it with several fragments of Menander.

86 SIE 66-71 with references.

87 Epicharmus frag. 9, FVS<sup>8</sup> 23B = Plutarch *Mor.* 110A. Compare Sirach 40,11 “All things that are from the earth return to the earth, and those that are from the waters go back to the sea”; but the Hebrew (ed. Beentjes) for the second clause has וְאִשֶׁר מִמְרוֹם אֵל מְרוֹם “And whatever is from on high returns to what is high.” The theme is classical in Greek: Euripides *Sup.* 533-4 πνεῦμα μὲν πρὸς αἰθέρα, / τὸ σῶμα δ' ἔς γῆν. Similarly in the *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca* (ed. P. A. Hansen; Berlin: de Gruyter; 2 vols.; 1983) i.106; ii.535, 558.

88 Anaxagoras frag 17, FVS<sup>8</sup> vol. ii p. 40; in the testimonia for Anaxagoras our passage of Euripides is cited (FVS<sup>8</sup> ii.31.1).

omnibus ille idem pater est, unde alma liquentis  
umoris guttas mater cum terra recepit

“All have that same father; and when from him fostering mother Earth has received the liquid drops of wetness...” (Neither poet is clear about the difference between what comes from earth and heaven, since now both are transformed).

Lucretius goes on

cedit enim retro, de terra quod fuit ante, / in terras

“For what before was from earth returns to earth” and paradoxically, for an Epicurean, almost denies the reality of death in the old sense. Sir Thomas Browne (*Hydriotaphia* iv) saw the connection, “Or who would expect from *Lucretius* a sentence of Ecclesiastes?” Ovid, in the long speech which he gives to Pythagoras in the final book 15 of the *Metamorphoses*, summarizes the changes he has chronicled in the old language: *omnia mutantur, nihil interit* (*Met.* 15.165) “all things change, nothing dies”; *nec perit in toto quicquam* (15.254) “nothing in the whole universe dies.” And he applies the same principle to us as *pars mundi* (15.456-7) who are not only *corpora* but also *uolucres animae*. Thus the Greek world (and after it the Roman), even before the Hebrew formulation of the resurrection of the body, achieved some sense of the permanence of life.

### 11.5 Summary

Both the thunder and the rain of the High God serve a couple of functions in each of three areas.

(1) *Creation of the natural order.* (a) Thunder is the agent of the High God in his original making of the land: Ps 104,7 “At the voice of thy thunder [the waters] took to flight”; Apollodorus 1.6.2, “Zeus destroyed the remainder [of the giants], pelting them with thunderbolts.” (b) The rain or dew is the fertilizing semen of the High God. Talmudic “the rain is the husband of the earth” and Hos 14,6 “I shall be as the dew to Israel” run parallel to Aeschylus and Euripides and the Eleusinian cult they suggest.

(2) *Creation of a free society.* (a) The thunder is the voice of the High God dictating law: so plainly at Sinai (Exod 19,16); also the testimony of Cicero implies that thunder supersedes human law-making. (b) In contrast with Egypt, the rain of the High God makes reliance on irrigation (with its priestly control) unnecessary (Deut 11,10-12, Herodotus 2.13.3; I.22).

(3) *Justice and victory.* Above (II.35) we saw that (a) the God of thunder inverts the (unjust) relations of rich and poor. Thus in the

Song of Hannah (I Sam 2,6-10), the model for the Magnificat (Luk 1,51-53), “The bows of the mighty are broken, but the feeble gird on strength...The adversaries of Yahweh shall be broken in pieces; against them will he thunder in heaven”; Hesiod *Opera* 6-8 “Easily he diminishes the proud man and increases the obscure man...Zeus who thunders on high, who inhabits most high dwellings.” The High God does this by maintaining the original equitable allotment of arable land which his rain made possible. Compare the statement of Seneca (*Nat. Quaest.* 2.41) that Jupiter’s third weapon “alters the private and public status that it finds,” *mutat statum priuatum et publicum quem inuenit.* (b) By rain and thunder the High God defeats the enemies of his people. At Jud 5,21 “the torrent Kishon swept them away,” where the agent is “the stars from their courses”; Servius on *Aeneid* 1.294 (II.238) says that when Romulus was fighting against the Sabines, hot water (*calidam aquam*) broke out from the future site of the Temple of Janus and routed them. Under Samuel (I Sam 7,10) Yahweh “thundered with a great voice” against the Philistines; and we have seen how Italians and Tuscans benefitted from the High God of thunder.

Among all the common features of the High God in the ancient Mediterranean societies, his control of the elements is remarkably durable. At one point things seem to be slipping out of his grasp. For Prometheus in Aeschylus’ play, Zeus in his control of the elements is the *enemy*; for Elijah, Yahweh was not in the wind, earthquake or fire but in the “still small voice” (I Reg 19,12), although the exact meaning of this is ambiguous. But later he resumes command. For Cleanthes (3rd century BC) in his *Hymn* the *keranos* (i.e. the Fire of Heraclitus?) is the instrument by which Zeus “controls the universal Logos” (κατευθύνει κοινὸν λόγον vs 12). Jesus somberly affirms the lightning as introducing a time of troubles, like the flood in the days of Noah and the rain of fire in the days of Lot (Luk 17,24-30). But earlier, as we saw in the beginning, he affirmed the mercifulness (Luk 6,36) of the Father in heaven in making his sun rise on the evil and good, and raining on the just and unjust (Matt 5,45). And in Greece the theme of the marriage of heaven and earth, along with the perpetual recycling of matter, provided a ready-made preparation for the novel hope of the resurrection of the body.

## Chapter 12: Divine Kingship, Civic Institutions, Imperial Rule<sup>1</sup>

The Mediterranean city-state was a transient political structure. Its institutions emerged under a quasi-divine king: partly as progressive limitation and dispersal of his power; partly from its own necessities, in particular his dependence on a civic militia. Its Canaanite sites, on the rain-watered periphery of the irrigated societies, Egypt and Mesopotamia, during precious centuries held out against imperial advances while they perfected their own institutions. Greek resistance kept Persian power to the eastern shore of the Aegean. But the greatest energy of the city-states went into defending themselves against others of the same kind.

Throughout Greece the independent city-state, whether fully constitutional or under a limited residual kingship, was ended by the rise of new imperial powers with a different structure—Persians and Macedonians. These were Indo-European peoples with no fixed civic base, organized as an hereditary kingship commanding a people's army under an elite officer corps. But while taking away real independence from the old city-states, they left the formal constitutions of magistrates, senate and assembly intact. The literary texts and cultural forms developed under freedom were preserved under a relatively benign imperial overlordship.

In Italy a single city, Rome, passing from a legendary kingship to a Greek-style constitution, while progressively modifying but not discarding its political structures, gradually extended citizenship to the whole peninsula. Beginning in its struggle with Carthage, a wealthy naval power also able to recruit land armies, Rome further extended its power to overseas "provinces," at first seen as conquered territory under military control, later as new areas of citizenship. As it turned to the East, the successor kingdoms of Alexander—Antigonid, Attalid,

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1 Extensive revision of an article in ZAW 105 (1993) 62-86 with the title "From Divine Kingship to Dispersal of Power in the Mediterranean City-State."

Seleucid, Ptolemaic—were no match for it; but Iran, under successive dynasties, constituted a permanent barrier.

The military success of Rome ended its true civic structure. Ambitious proconsuls, commanding armies with a provincial base, caught the vision of a personal monarchy, going beyond the annual consulate and the collegial authority of the Senate. The Hellenistic monarchs offered an enticing model. Carthaginian generals like Hannibal likely aspired to the same goal, but their political situation at home remains obscure. The name of king, *rex*, remained unacceptable at Rome, and Julius Caesar was killed partly because he did not dissociate himself from it firmly enough.

Augustus, after full power fell into his hands, consolidated it in a style consistent with Roman tradition. At first he held the quasi-monarchical office, the consulate, in successive years. But later he perceived that all power necessary was available through offices of the Senate and Assembly: to them he added sacral functions old and new. Thus a new single rule with political powers and divine sanctions more powerful than those of any previous kingship was created out of the forms of the Republic.

Among many mysteries of the Roman constitution is the fact (Cornell 142) that the king must be an outsider; the patricians were seemingly not eligible. Cornell 148 sees the latter kings of Rome in the guise of Greek tyrants, populist and anti-aristocratic figures. Vergil in his survey of Roman history calls Ancus Marcius (*Aen.* 6.816) *nimum gaudens popularibus auris*, “taking too much pleasure in popular favor.” In the first act of L. Iunius Brutus (Livy 2.1.9) “he forced [the people] to take an oath that they would allow no one to reign as king in Rome,” *iure iurando adegit neminem Romae passuros regnare*. Cornell 150: “What was truly repugnant to the nobles was the thought of one of their number elevating himself above his peers by attending to the needs of the lower classes and winning their political support.” It was the patricians to whom the name of *rex* was unacceptable. This suggests that in the kings of Israel and Judah deemed bad by the Deuteronomic editor of *Kings* we may see populist leaders, practicing the cults that found favor among the people who built “*bamoth* and pillars and *asherim*,” *בְּמוֹת וּמַצְבּוֹת וְאֲשֵׁרִים* (I Reg 14,23), as over against the official cult of the priestly aristocracy.

In Rome as in Athens, to a late date the old office of the king was kept with largely sacral functions (but in Athens the *basileus* presided at trials for homicide); the old dual kingship hung on in Sparta even when its power was mostly gone. In Israel a new regal dynasty arose with the Maccabees, continued partly as client kings under Rome,

partly as a high priesthood. The sentiment of a Davidic kingship remained in strata of the people with no allegiance to Rome, to the high priesthood or to the client kings. The story of Jesus has suggestions—no more—of a failed political Messianic uprising. The opposition between Christ and Caesar arose from the fact that they fell heir to opposite aspects of the old divine kingship.

Moses Finley's valuable but oblique study of ancient politics is helpfully summarized in the Cambridge paperback edition:

Finley...argues that politics come into play only in societies in which binding public decisions are made by discussion followed by a vote. The participants and the voters need not be the whole adult (or male) population but they must extend well beyond the small circle of a ruler (or junta), his family and his intimates. These qualifications narrow the practitioners of politics in the ancient world to the city-states of Greece and to Republican Rome.<sup>2</sup>

Those criteria exclude ancient Israel. But if we look beyond the process to the results, Israel has as good a claim as Greece and Rome to the merits arising from their politics: dispersal of power; a demand for justice by spokesmen for the poor, worked out to some degree in real history; preservation of that history in widely accessible texts. Although the two states of Israel retained kings until their conquest by eastern empires, their law embodies restrictions on his possessions; Deut 17,16-17 specifies horses, wives and money, perhaps from a bad experience under Solomon. That law at least in theory goes beyond Greece and Rome in providing for periodic manumission of slaves and cancellation of debts; for needs of orphans and widows; for exemption from military service (Deut 20,5-8); for limitations on a scorched-earth policy (Deut 20,19-20).

Unlike Greece and Rome, Israel did not bequeath an adaptable form of political government to the modern world, other than the Puritan theocracies of Geneva and Massachusetts. But it bequeathed a model of a humanistic people, whose virtues, still carried by its physical descendants, are complementary to those of Greece and Rome. During its independence, it retained a kingship with attributes patterned on the High God, whereas Greece and Rome underwent a political evolution with only fading memories of an original divine kingship before written record. But the institutions by which Israel dispersed power under the umbrella of kingship in many ways run parallel to those which Greece and Rome developed to fill the gap left by the lack of kingship.

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2 M. I. Finley, *Politics in the Ancient World*, Cambridge: University, repr. 1984; inside front cover.



Among “Mediterranean city-states” I include legendary ones, Homeric Troy and the Homeric Achaeans (an *ad hoc* city); and historical ones, Jerusalem, the Phoenician cities, Athens and Sparta (with other Greek *poleis*), Rome and Carthage. All from time to time used their city-base to build an extended territory. Troy, Jerusalem and Phoenicia had full kingships; Roman tradition claimed *reges*; the Achaeans had heroic leaders (βασιλῆες) and some true kings at home (ἄνακτες); Athens (like later Rome) had a vestigial βασιλεύς; Sparta had *two* hereditary kings with limited powers; Carthage had two annually elected *sufetes* whom the Greeks called βασιλεῖς. In Jerusalem, Rome and the Greek states (with their legendary Achaean ancestors) the dispersal of power is clear. Legendary Troy has a well-developed council of elders. Carthage, whatever its internal freedom, is a special case of a Semitic state that developed a Senate, Assembly and magistracies—like Palmyra long afterwards. The historians of the city have in general not recognized any special status of those which developed an alphabetic literature of self-analysis; Hammond<sup>3</sup> says “Nor did [the Hebrews’] cities, particularly Jerusalem, represent any advance in the idea of the city.”

A peculiar agreement among the city-states is the *ceremonial military force of 300 men*. Gideon (Jud 7,6) reduced the army of Israel to 300 so that the victory would be to Yahweh alone. Sparta and Argos had a battle of 300 picked men each (Herodotus 1.82). The 300 of Sparta may have been the king’s personal bodyguard, which Leonidas led to Thermopylae; Herodotus 7.205.2 calls them “the regular three hundred,” τοὺς κατεστεῶτας τριακοσίους. Livy 1.15.8 says that Romulus “had 300 armed men whom he called the Swift to protect his person, not only in war but also in peace,” *trecentosque armatos ad custodiam corporis, quos Celeres appellavit, non in bello solum sed etiam in pace habuit*. Brutus raised the Senate to the same number of 300 (Livy 2.1.10). There was a supposed conspiracy of 300 against Porsinna (Livy 2.12.15). The private army of the Fabii numbered 306, “a notable Senate at any period,” *egregius quibuslibet temporibus senatus* (Livy 2.49.4). When Rome demanded 300 hostages from Carthage in 149 BC (Polybius 36.4.6), they were to be “sons of the members of the *synkletos* and of the *gerousia*,” τοὺς υἰοὺς τῶν ἐκ <τῆς> συγκλήτου καὶ τῆς γερουσίας.<sup>4</sup> Reflex of sexagesimal (I.307, II.335)?

3 Mason Hammond (with L. J. Bartson), *The City in the Ancient World*; Cambridge: Harvard, 1972; p. 89. Nor is Jerusalem given any special status in Frank Kolb, *Die Stadt im Altertum*; München: Beck, 1984.

4 These are evidently separate bodies. The σύγκλητος was larger, for at Carthago Nova (Polybius 10.18.1) captives included two of the γερουσία and fifteen of

It is natural to speak of Mediterranean cities in the same breath. Tertullian's contrast *Quid ergo Athenis et Hierosolymis?*<sup>5</sup> recognizes that they are two of a kind. Aristotle's comparison of the Carthaginian *politeia* to Crete and Sparta (II.100) brings together Semitic and Greek models. Deger-Jalkotzy<sup>6</sup> observed (cf. II.91, 152 below) that Homer's Troy was for Greeks the type of an Oriental city. Priam was a true king, for Troy was πόλις Πριάμοιο ἀνακτος (*Iliad* 2.373). And its features rest on an historical foundation; for Greeks had lingering memories of the Hittite empire. In the Hittite texts "Millawanda" is probably Miletus and the "Ahhiyawa" Achaeans (Ἀχαιοί, Latin *Achiuī*), although the territory meant is unclear, whether the Greek mainland or Rhodes.<sup>7</sup> Further it is plausible to equate Achaeans / Ahhiyawa with the Hebrew "Hivites" (יִיִּטִּי).<sup>8</sup>

Most persistent among echoes of the Hittite world in Greek is king Muwatallis II (1295-1272 BC<sup>9</sup>) whose treaty with Alaksandus of Wilusa has reminded many of Alexander/Paris of Ilion/Troy.<sup>10</sup> Stephanus 554 records a "Samylia: city of Caria, a foundation of *Motylos* who received Helen and Paris," Σαμυλία, πόλις Καρίας, Μοτύλου κτίσμα τοῦ τὴν Ἑλένην καὶ Πάριον ὑποδεξαμένου.<sup>11</sup> This presumes the travels of Helen and Paris on their way from Sparta to Troy (*Iliad* 6.290). The founder of Mytilene (Μυτιλήνη) on Lesbos is said by some to have been

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the σύγκλητος. Hence συγκλητικός (Diodorus 20.36.5) "senator": in Palmyrene (PAT 0290) 𐤒𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓 = συσκλητικόν and Rabbinic, where שׁוֹשְׁבְּרִי (Exod. *Rabbah* 46.4) is incorrectly "senator," elsewhere perhaps "Senate."

5 Tertullian, *de praescriptione haereticorum* 7.9; see I.161.

6 Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy, "Homer und der Orient: Das Königtum des Priamos," *Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft*, n. F. 5 (1979) 25-31. See further her thesis, Sigrid Deger, *Herrschaftsformen bei Homer*, Dissertationen der Universität Wien 43; Wien: Notring, 1970.

7 So Frank H. Stubbings in CAH<sup>2</sup> III.2.186. There is a summary of the Ahhiyawa problem as of 1981 in "The Hittites and the Aegean World," *American Journal of Archaeology* 87 (1983) 133-143, with contributions by Hans G. Güterbock, Machteld J. Mellink, and Emily T. Vermeule; see now Bryce 59-63.

8 For the identification see I.31-2; and now Othniel Margalith, *The Sea Peoples in the Bible*; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994.

9 Bryce 13.

10 Translation of the treaty in John Garstang and O. R. Gurney, *The Geography of the Hittite Empire*; London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 1959; p. 102; now also by Gary Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*; Atlanta: Scholars, 1996; 82-88. Discussion Bryce 394.

11 Samylia is an old Anatolian toponym, for it has the same name as Zinjirli, שַׁמַּיָּלָ (KAI 216.2), whose king פַּנַּמֻּוּוּ "Panamuwa" also has a Carian counterpart in Παναμύης (Meiggs-Lewis no. 32.30) and elsewhere in Anatolia.

one Μυτίλης (variants Μιτύλης, Μυτήλης).<sup>12</sup> Lesbos is surely Hittite Lazpas, controlled by king Mursilis II (1321-1295), the father of Muwatallis.<sup>13</sup> Again, we must recognize Mursilis in Myrtilos (Μυρτίλος), charioteer of Oinomaos and of Pelops the Lydian.<sup>14</sup> The Hittites themselves, Hebrew מִרְיָן, may appear (I.31) as the Κήτειοι (*Odyssey* 11.521, with variants Κήδειοι and Χήτειοι), companions of the Mysian Telephos (Τήλεφος), who reminds us of the Hittite king Telipinus (1525-1500). On the Hebrew side Gen 14,1 has one Ἰϣῆρ king of “Goyim” (Symmachus Παμφυλία) who bears the name of the four Hittite kings Tudhaliyas (possibly also in Greek Τάνταλος). Suppiluliuma I (1344-1322) is known at Ugarit as *tpillm mlk* (KTU 3.1.16) along with its own king Niqmad, *nqmd mlk ugrt* (3.1.24). Priam (Πρίαμος) can be seen<sup>15</sup> as Indo-European “First,” beside Latin *primus*; a similar name is borne by Pir’am (𐎱𐎠𐎫𐎠) Canaanite king of Yarmuth (Jos 10,3).<sup>16</sup>

This chapter falls into four parts. First (12.1) we outline features of an old divine kingship in the Mediterranean city-state. But (12.2) from the beginning it was limited by the necessary structures of the state, in particular the power of the citizen militia; and (whatever the eventual status of the king) it was progressively hemmed in by the threefold structure of magistrates, council of elders, and people’s assembly. At the end of the process as the city-state lost independence, the old royal ideology reasserted itself in two ways: in Caesar and Augustus (12.3),

12 Stephanus 465. But Diodorus 5.81.7 says the city was named after a woman of the same name, daughter of Makareus of Achaia.

13 Hittite texts cited by Garstang & Gurney 95 (note 10 above).

14 For Myrtilos see Apollodorus *Epit.* 2.6-9 with Frazer’s notes in the Loeb. Candaules king of Sardes also had the name Μυρσίλος (Herodotus 1.7.2), and Alcaeus had a contemporary Μύρτιλος at Lesbos.

15 Hans von Kamptz, *Homerische Personennamen: Sprachwissenschaftliche und historische Klassifikation*; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982; p. 343.

16 Several items here are drawn from the large body of speculations in Richard D. Barnett, “Ancient Oriental Influences on Archaic Greece,” *The Aegean and the Near East: Studies Presented to Hetty Goldman* (Saul S. Weinberg, ed.; Locust Valley, NY, 1956) 212-238. Hans G. Güterbock (“Troy in Hittite Texts? Wilusa, Ahhiyawa, and Hittite History,” pp. 33-44 of M. Mellink, ed., *Troy and the Trojan War ...*; Bryn Mawr, 1986, repr. as pp. 223-228 of *Perspectives on Hittite Civilization: Selected Writings of Hans Gustav Güterbock*, ed. H. A. Hoffner, *Assyriological Studies* 26; Oriental Institute: Chicago, 1997) regards the equation of Muwatallis and Motylos (like the others of his title) as plausible but unproven. — Μηριόνης, the *therapon* of Idomeneus and perhaps his charioteer (*Iliad* 23.113), bears the name of an Akkadian “charioteer,” *mariannu* (see West, EFH 612); CAD x. 1.281.

by reappropriating the old prerogatives of Council and Assembly and the sacral powers of kingship; in Christ (12.4), by reaffirming the old sanctity of the Davidic king, now divorced from political and military power.

### 12.1 *Divine kingship*<sup>17</sup>

In early texts, the king, real or legendary, is notoriously of divine character, “godlike.” For Homer, kings generally are “nurtured by Zeus,” διοτρεφέες βασιλῆες (*Iliad* 2.445), and so in particular Menelaus (7.109). Odysseus is διογενής (*Odyssey* 2.352). Paris, a king’s son, is “godlike,” Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδής (*Iliad* 3.16); and likewise his father Priam—but only in the book (24) of his humiliation, an ironic touch which shows the poet much in control of inherited formulas. Priam was in the seventh generation from Zeus (*Iliad* 20.213ff) and Achilles the fourth. Rhea Silvia named Mars father of Romulus and Remus (Livy 1.4.2), *Martia proles* (Ovid, *Fasti* 3.59). Yahweh says of David’s son (II.57, 91), “I will be his father, and he shall be my son” (II Sam 7,14), a formula of royal “adoption” (Ps 2,7; 89,26-27).

Drews maintains that during the age of Geometric pottery (900-720 BC) “the Greek *poleis* were not ruled by kings”—with the possible exception of Athens,<sup>18</sup> but the *ethnē* of the Peloponnesus retained weak monarchies from an earlier age. He proposes that for Homer *basileus* meant “a highborn leader who is regularly flanked by other highborn leaders” (p. 129). But (p. 101) *anax* in Homer does mean “king”; Nestor is “*anax* of sandy Pylos” (*Iliad* 2.77),

Νέστωρ, ὃς ῥα Πύλοιο ἄναξ ἦν ἡμαθόεντος  
and when Agamemnon is described as “*basileus* of golden Mycenae” (7.180 etc.) βασιλῆα πολυχρύσοιο Μυκῆνης this clearly means “king” also. The weakest part of Drews’ argument is his failure to explain how Homer formed an idea of kingship when there was no such institution available in his time. Here it is not critically important for us to determine whether the supposed powers of early kingship are historical memories or idealized constructions.

17 The human kingship of Hellas and the Near East is analyzed along somewhat different lines by West (EFH 14-19); its divine coloration is treated EFH 132-137. I have basically retained my original treatment here.

18 Robert Drews, *Basileus: The Evidence for Kingship in Geometric Greece*; Yale Classical Monographs 4; New Haven: Yale, 1983. His title is however misleading since (as he holds) *basileus* in Homer and subsequent poets did not mean “king.”

The early city-states recognized a High God in the sky, and on earth a king of semi-divine character with limitations on his power, while the monarchs of Egypt and Mesopotamia have in principle unlimited powers. Thucydides 1.13.1 contrasts the age of tyrants with an earlier pattern of “hereditary monarchies with *fixed* prerogatives,” ἐπι ῥητοῖς γέρασι πατρικαὶ βασιλείαι. The High God is in charge of rain with all else in the sky; as such he makes the city-state possible. He is also king over a pantheon of other gods. After the battle of the gods with the Titans (Hesiod *Theog.* 883) the other gods urged Zeus to “reign and rule” over them, βασιλευμένῃ ἡδὲ ἀνάσσειν. Thenceforth he was “king of the gods,” θεῶν βασιλεύς (*Theog.* 886); Pindar enlarges his title to “*great* king of the gods,” θεῶν βασιλεύς ὁ μέγας (*Olympian* 7.34, II.54). In a beautiful parallel Yahweh is “a great god, and a great king above all gods” (Ps 95,3):

כִּי אֵל גָּדוֹל יְהוָה וּמֶלֶךְ גָּדוֹל עַל-כָּל-אֱלֹהִים.

LXX ὅτι θεὸς μέγας κύριος, καὶ βασιλεὺς μέγας ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς θεούς.<sup>19</sup> Surely this parallel reflects the Old Persian regal formula: Darius at Behistun<sup>20</sup> calls himself *xšayaθiya vazraka* “great king,” and Herodotus 1.188.1 refers to the Persian monarch in general as βασιλεύς ὁ μέγας.

In the West Semitic world the High God is “Master of the heavens”: in Phoenician בעל שׁמם (KAI 4.3, Byblos), in Aramaic בעלשמם (KAI 202 passim and often); Philo Byblius<sup>21</sup> Βεελσάμην ... ὁ ἔστι παρὰ Φοίνιξι κύριος οὐρανοῦ, Ζεὺς δὲ παρ’ Ἑλλησιν “Beelsamēn, which is ‘lord of heaven’ among the Phoenicians, Zeus among the Hellenes.” So in the Aramaic of Daniel 4,34 שׁמַיָּא מְלִךְ (in the mouth of Nebuchadrezzar). Likewise Hesiod *Theog.* 71 ὁ δ’ οὐρανῷ ἐμβασιλεύει “And [Zeus] is reigning in heaven”; Euripides *Iph. Taur.* 749 ἀνακτὰ γ’ οὐρανοῦ, σεμνὸν Δία “the lord of heaven, holy Zeus” (West, EFH 108).

The kingship of the High God might seem only a projection from the status of the human king. But the opposite may be the case: fading memories of a legendary absolute human kingship were reinforced by the ongoing cult of the God. Here then I outline powers of the Mediterranean king so far as they run parallel to the attributes of the High God. Ideally each item will show that an attribute is possessed by a Semitic and classical High God, and by a Semitic and classical king or his successor. Many of the materials are treated elsewhere in these volumes; here we review them in a new context.

19 See my article “Kingdom of God,” *The Encyclopedia of Religion* (New York: Macmillan, 1987), viii.304-312 (with addenda xvi.482), esp. viii.304-5. Jerome iux. Hebr. peculiarly translates the first clause *quoniam fortis et magnus dominus*.

20 Kent 116.

21 FGH 790 frag. 2.7.

In two features, by the nature of the case, absolute attributes of the early king are not shared by the High God. (a) He has special inviolability: "It is a fearful thing to kill one of royal descent" (*Odyssey* 16.401-2), δεινὸν δὲ γένος βασιλῆϊόν ἐστι/κτείνειν; so II Sam 1,14 "How is it that you were not afraid to put forth your hand to destroy the anointed of Yahweh?"<sup>22</sup> (b) A king in his youth kills a giant:<sup>23</sup> David kills Goliath; Nestor remembers killing Ereuthalion (*Iliad* 7.133-160). At *Iliad* 7.135 Nestor says that the combat was "at the streams of Iardanos," Ἰαρδάνου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα. This river-name,<sup>24</sup> which also lies behind the Palestinian Jordan, marks the theme as from epic repertory.

### 12.1.1 The king, like the High God, owes his power to the fall of a previous dynasty<sup>25</sup>

At Ugarit, Baal after his death and resurrection may take over the functions of the older god El, although the texts do not affirm this unambiguously. Before Yahweh could proceed with creation or history, he had to slay the sea dragon, variously named; only after he crushed the heads of Leviathan, it seems, did he establish "light and the sun" (Ps 74,14-16). Kronos castrates his father Ouranos (Hesiod, *Theog.* 180-181, see I.78-79), and Zeus in turn overcomes *his* father Kronos in a struggle strangely censored (cf *Theog.* 73). The dynastic transition from Saul to David is Yahweh's doing: Samuel says to Saul, "Yahweh has torn the kingdom of Israel from you this day, and has given it to a neighbor of yours, who is better than you" (I Sam 16,26-28, cf 28,17); and likewise from David to Jeroboam (I Reg 14,8; II Reg 17,21). In legend the Spartan kings owed their power to the takeover of the Peloponnesus by the Dorians with the Heraclidae after the fall of Troy (Thucydides 1.12.3). After Cyrus conquered Astyages the Mede, the Persians held that "Zeus gives the Persians hegemony," Ζεὺς Πέρσησι ἡγεμονίην διδοῖ (Herodotus 9.122.1).

### 12.1.2 The king, like the High God, controls fertility

We saw (II.64-66) that thunder is the voice of the High Gods Yahweh, Zeus, and Jupiter. Shamanistic figures imitate thunder and lightning

22 So Cyrus H. Gordon, *Before the Bible: The Common Background of Greek and Hebrew Civilisations*; London: Collins, 1962; 255.

23 Hugo Mühlestein, "Jung Nestor jung David," *Antike und Abendland* 17 (1971) 173-190.

24 See I.34 and II.207.

25 The "succession myth" is now treated in detail by West, EFH Chapter 6.

(II.171): Salmoneus (Apollodorus 1.9.7) claimed to be Zeus, and produced thunder and lightning in his chariot; the trumpets and torches of Gideon's men seem mimetic of thunder and lightning (Jud 7). Related words (λαμπάς, ἑστραπτῆρ) mean both "torch" and "lightning" (II.67, 171). Samuel through Yahweh calls up thunder and rain out of season (I Sam 12,17). In a beautiful parody, Aristophanes (*Acharnians* 530-531) says that "Thence in wrath Olympian Pericles made lightning, made thunder, created confusion all over Hellas":

ἐντεῦθεν ὄργῃ Περικλέης οὐλύμπιος  
ἑστραπτῆρ ἔβρόντα ξυνεκύκα τὴν Ἑλλάδα

Milton picks up the exact phrase (*Paradise Regained* 4.270) of Greek orators generally "and fulmin'd over Greece."

The High God whose voice is thunder also more gently brings the rain on which the crops depend (II.8-9). The non-agricultural Cyclopes still rely on wheat and barley (along with the vines), "and the rain of Zeus increases [all these] for them," καὶ σφιν Διὸς ὄμβρος ἀέξει (*Odyssey* 9.111). Yahweh says "And I will give the rain of your land in its season, the former rain and the latter, that you may gather in your grain and wine and oil" (Deut 11,14). Odysseus compares Penelope to a blameless king by whose justice "the black land bears wheat and barley" (*Odyssey* 19.114). Job as a near-king presumes that if he has improperly used land, he can confidently say, "let thorns grow instead of wheat, and stinkweed instead of barley" (Job 31,40). And in the days of the just Israelite king there will be "abundance of grain in the land" (Ps 72,16). This quasi-magical view of the king's powers rests on his kinship with the High God who controls rain and fertility of the land.<sup>26</sup>

The king's power over fertility extends from the natural to the human world, so that the king, like the High God, is *the father of heroes*. It seems natural to us that the king is permitted sexual license and so becomes the father of many; but for the ancients this is no less a sacral function than his power over the fields. His return from battle as victor also celebrates his sexual prowess (II.259). If the king can no longer beget heroes he is no longer king. So (I.67), if we take I Reg 1,1-5 in sequence, the pretext for Adonijah's claim to the throne is that David cannot have relations with lovely Abishag. There are hidden indications that the God of Israel fathers heroes. Perhaps the original conception of Samson was when a "man of God came to me [Manoah's

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26 Vergil calls Augustus "author of crops and powerful over the seasons," *auctorem frugum tempestatumque potentem* (*Geor.* 1.27), perhaps following a Hellenistic model (Mynors *ad loc.*).

wife]” (Jud 13,6, cf. II.166). The “sons of Elim” (II.54) or the “sons of Elohim” (Gen 6,2) may have been seen more literally as procreated by the High God. The Hebrew writers and editors downplayed indications of divine paternity. Thus the son of Rehoboam king of Judah is called יהוה אבִי “Yahweh is my father” at II Chron 13,20-21 (or יהוה אבִי); but is totally disguised as אבִי אֱלֹהִים in Kings (I Reg 14,31; 15,1-8).<sup>27</sup>

Notoriously Zeus is the father of many heroes by mortal women: of Heracles by Alcmena (Hesiod *Shield* 56); of Sarpedon by Laodamia (*Iliad* 6.198); and a multitude of others. Hesiod lays out his paternity of the gods; for Homer (*Iliad* 1.544) Zeus is the “father of men and gods,”<sup>28</sup> combining the attributes of Yahweh with respect to men and to the “sons of Elim.”

Just as notoriously Israelite judges and kings from their harem beget a company of sons. Gideon had 70 sons (Jud 8,30); David had six by as many wives (II Sam 3,2-5), with eleven more at II Sam 5,13-16; Solomon had 700 wives and 300 concubines (I Reg 11,3), although no catalogue is given of his sons. Deger-Jalkotzy<sup>29</sup> sees Priam’s kingdom as an Aegean outpost of the Oriental realm with its harem. Priam tells Achilles (*Iliad* 24.495-6) that he had 50 sons, 19 by Hecuba alone. Hector boasted (5.474) that he could support the realm just with his brothers-in-law and brothers, σὺν γαμβροῖσι κασιγνήτοισί τε, where the latter presumably includes half-brothers. The concubine is known by a common name; and the act by which a son claims his father’s throne is to “go in” to the concubine (I.65-70).

12.1.3 The king like the High God is associated with animals  
The king, like the High God, is *enthroned on griffins*.<sup>30</sup> We saw (I.85-87) that γρύψ and “cherub” (כְּרֻבִים) must be the same word; structurally they are identical, each can represent a lion with head and wings of an eagle. Yahweh “rode on a cherub and flew” (Ps 18,11) and sits on cherubim (I Sam 4,4); the cherubim of the sanctuary are described at I Reg 6,23. Aeschylus (*PV* 803-4) calls griffins the “dogs of Zeus,” Ζηνός ... κύνας γρῦπας. King Ahiram of Byblos or a predecessor sat on

27 Besides the adoption-formula of the Israelite king (II Sam 7,14; Ps 2,7), for God as father see Deut 32,6; Jer 3,19; 31,9; Exod 4,22; Isa 63,16; Mal 2,10. But Weinfeld (Promise of the Land 241) considers David’s sonship a “forensic metaphor.”

28 A Sumero-Akkadian bilingual hymn to Sin the moon-god addresses him “O father begetter of gods and men” (ANET<sup>3</sup> 385).

29 II.85 above, note 6; also II.152 below. But note Said’s caution against assuming a uniform “Orientalism,” II.286.

30 This theme could be profusely illustrated with works of art.



a griffin or “cherub” throne, shown on his sarcophagus; in the theater of Athens the priest of Dionysos sat on a throne with a relief of griffins fighting men. The throne-room of Knossos has two griffins (improved by Sir Arthur Evans) flanking the throne.<sup>31</sup>

Likewise both king and High God are *identified with a bull*. At I.194-5 we discussed the status of the High God as a bull. Of Joseph it is said, “his horns are the horns of a wild ox” (Deut 33,17, cf. I.198); at *Iliad* 2.481 Agamemnon (I.192) is like a bull. The old names both of the bull and its horn are the most undeniable and ancient contacts between Indo-European and Semitic.

Also the king, like the High God, is *seen as a lion*. At Amos 3,8 the voice of Yahweh is like a lion’s roaring. Hosea 13,7-8 (II.3) has Yahweh act as a leopard, a bear, and a lion, “I will devour them like a lion.” Heracles, who bridges the characters of gods and men, after killing the lion of Kithairon “dressed himself in its skin and used its gaping mouth for a helmet” (Apollodorus 2.4.10)—as he and Alexander are represented in art. In the song of Jacob “Judah is a lion’s whelp” (Gen 49,9), and so Gad and Dan in the song of Moses (Deut 33,20-22). The Apocalypse adopts this as a title of the Christ, “the Lion of the tribe of Judah” (Rev 5,5), in our own century the proudest boast of the kings of Ethiopia. Homer compares the Achaean kings to a lion: Menelaus (*Iliad* 3.23), Diomedes (5.161). The Mediterranean names of the “lion” are related, though of varying form (I.340).

#### 12.1.4 The king like the High God has his seat on the citadel

Not merely may Zeus have his temple on a citadel (I.159-160): his golden throne is on Olympus (*Iliad* 8.442-3), it is “the seat of the gods,” θεῶν ἔδος (*Odyssey* 6.42); the “golden house of Zeus” (Euripides, *Hipp.* 68) Ζηνὸς πολύχρυσον οἶκον must be Olympus. Not merely is the “house of Yahweh,” בַּיִת יְהוָה (I Reg 6,1) on the citadel: his home is on a mountain, where he “sits on the throne of his holiness” (Ps 47,9); “... on the mountain of thy inheritance, the place, Yahweh, which thou hast made for thy seat” (Exod 15,17, cf. Ps 68,17):

בַּהָר נִחַלְתָּךְ מְכוֹן לְשִׁבְתְּךָ פָּעִלְתָּ יְהוָה

Levin (SIE 145), bridging the difference in the root-consonants, compares the two words for “seat,” ἔδος (stem ἔδεις-) and שִׁבְתָּ; with Exod 15,17 we may then compare the Homeric formula “the seat of the

31 Anna Maria Bisi, *Il Grifone: Storia di un motivo iconografico nell’ antico oriente mediterraneo*; Univ. di Roma—Centro di Studi Semitici, *Studi Semitici* 13 (Roma 1965) Tav. VII. (She doubts however that the Biblical cherubim are griffins, pp. 70-71.)

gods, steep Olympus” (*Iliad* 5.367) θεῶν ἔδος, αἰπὺν Ὀλυμπον. Alternatively Hebrew may speak of the “house of God,” בַּיַת אֱלֹהִים, where sometimes אֱלֹהִים may have been a true plural; at one time it was in Shiloh (Jud 18,31); Micah had one such (Jud 17,5); Bethel (Gen 28,17) “is none other than the house of God (LXX οἶκος θεοῦ), and this is the gate of heaven”:

אֵין יְהוָה כִּי אִם-בַּיַת אֱלֹהִים וְיְהוָה שַׁעַר הַשָּׁמַיִם

Plato (*Phaedrus* 247A) says that, when the other Olympians go out, Hestia the homebody alone remains “in the house of the gods,” ἐν θεῶν οἴκῳ, where θεῶν is of course a true plural.<sup>32</sup>

So of the pretender Heylel or Lucifer, “I will set my throne on high, I will sit on the mount of assembly...” (Isa 14,12-13). Of human kings, the “house of Priam in Troy” (*Iliad* 22.478) ἐν Τροίῃ Πριάμου κατὰ δῶμα is on the citadel (7.345-346). The house of a Roman king may have been on the Palatine, where later the Imperial “palaces” stood. Solomon’s palace (I Reg 7,2) stood on the citadel south of the Temple. The house of both gods and kings is surrounded by a precinct with a common name: *templum*, τέμενος, תְּמִנָּה (II.222).

#### 12.1.5 The king gets the best cuts of meat in the sacrifice

Here the king (who may conduct the sacrifice, I.200) comes out *better* than the god, who is mostly fobbed off with inedible parts (I.183-5). When Adonijah sacrifices, the guests of honor are David’s sons, Joab the chief of staff, and Abiathar the priest (I Reg 1,25); surely the pretender was served first. At a Homeric banquet Agamemnon “honored Ajax with the long steaks from the back” (*Iliad* 7.321). Herodotus (6.56) among the privileges of the two kings of Sparta includes their receiving “the hides [for leather, I.213] and the backs [for meat] of all sacrificed animals.”

#### 12.1.6 The king, like the High God, goes to war for his people

Thus the king is armed with a defensive panoply (I.163-170). Yahweh is a “man of war,” אִישׁ מְלָחֶמָה (Exod 15,3), Vg *quasi uir pugnator*, Luther *der rechte Kriegermann*. As such “he put on righteousness as a breastplate, and a helmet of salvation on his head” (Isa 59,17); the “panoply of God” (Sap Sol 5,17-20; Eph 6,11-17, see I Thess 5,18) retains the sense of armor once worn by God. Zeus likewise is the “steward of war,” ταμίης πολέμοιο (*Iliad* 4.84). Athena for war (*Iliad*

32 Levin again (SIE 51-58) links בַּיַת and (F)οἶκος through the Sanskrit and Avestan forms of the latter.

5.736 etc.) “put on the tunic of Zeus,” χιτῶν ἐνδύσασα Διός (apparently a special military item) along with thorax, “aegis” (shield?) and helmet. Goliath, in the same phrase used for Yahweh, is a “man of war,” הַיָּשׁ מִלְחָמָה (I Sam 17,33), LXX πολεμιστής, Vg *uir bellator*; so is David (I Sam 16,18; II Sam 17,8). Hebrew has a static description of the panoply (I Sam 7,5), with Goliath in the four defensive items helmet, thorax, greaves and shield. Homer actively describes the hero putting on armor, in the order greaves, thorax, sword and shield, helmet.

Likewise the king, as the Hebrew High God, is shepherd of his people. (This theme is imperfect in that Greek gods are hardly so designated.)<sup>33</sup> Yahweh is the “shepherd of Israel” (Ps 80,2). Israelite leaders or prophets are so described: “[the people] are afflicted for want of a shepherd” (Sach 10,2); “I will give you shepherds after my own heart” (Jer 3,15); Ezekiel 34 on the “shepherds of Israel”; also foreigners, “Your shepherds are asleep, O king of Assyria” (Nahum 3,8). Hence of Christ (Heb 13,20; 1 Pet 2,25); of a “pastor” (Eph 4,11). So Agamemnon and other kings are ποιμένα λαῶν (*Iliad* 2.243 etc.). The image is less of a people being passively led than actively protected from enemies. For one job of the shepherd up on the mountain is to kill or fend off wild animals that threaten the flock (II.3).

Finally the king, like the High God, rides out to battle in his chariot (II.7-8). The High God to our surprise drives his chariot over the *sea*. “Thou didst trample the sea with thy horses” (Hab 3,15); otherwise, Yahweh rides on a cloud (Isa 19,1) or on the cherubim (Ps 18,11). “For behold, Yahweh will come in cloud, and his chariots like the storm-wind” (Isa 66,15); his chariot (hardly distinguishable from himself) is described at Ezek 1. At *Iliad* 13.21-27 Poseidon drives in his chariot across the waves; so Euripides *Andromache* 1011-1012, also of Poseidon, “And you of the Sea who drive a chariot of grey mares over the sea.” Likewise the kings of Israel and Judah go out to war, each in his chariot (II Reg 9,21); as the Achaean and Trojan heroes constantly.

#### 12.1.7 The king, like the High God, determines justice for his subjects

Above (II.32-35) we discussed the Israelite and Greek High Gods as guarantors of justice. The theme hardly appears with the historical

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33 But note Anacreon 3.8 (PMG 177) of Artemis ποιμαίνεις (West EFH 553, 227). West further (EFH 154) cites *Beowulf* 610, 1832 *folces hyrde* “folk-herd, shepherd of the people.”

kings of Israel or Judah: they mostly did not warrant it; and it is mostly reserved for the ideal future descendant of David. Thus (Isa 11,4) it is said of the “shoot of Jesse” that “with justice he shall judge the poor.” So “he shall reign as king and deal wisely, and shall execute justice and righteousness in the land” (Jer 23,5 = 33,15); “May he judge thy people with righteousness, and thy poor with justice” (Ps 72,2).

Similarly it is almost unique when the poet says of Sarpedon that “he defended Lycia by his just pronouncements” (*Iliad* 16.542). More typical is the theoretical definition of monarchy, *Iliad* 2.204-206 “Let there be one ruler, one king, to whom [Zeus]...has given a sceptre and judgements (*themistas*) by which he expresses his counsel”:

... εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω,

εἷς βασιλεύς, ᾧ δῶκε Κρόνου πάϊς ἀγκυλομήτεω

σκῆπτρόν τ' ἠδὲ θέμιστας, ἵνα σφίσι βουλευῆσι

Hesiod has a critique of current βασιλῆς (*Opera* 263-264, II.27): “Gift-eating kings, make straight your words, put crooked judgements altogether from your thoughts.”<sup>34</sup>

#### 12.1.8 The king's power in theory may be limited only by the High God

We may summarize the godlike character of the king out of Grotius (I.4-5), who in his *De Iure Belli et Pacis* (1625) more than any other author before or since takes the Hebrew Bible and classical authors with equal seriousness as indications of actual political structures. For kings “not subject to the will of the people even taken in its entirety” (*reges qui populi etiam universim sumti arbitrio non subsint*, 1.3.7.8) he cites I Sam 15,1 where Yahweh through Samuel anoints Saul as king over Israel; Horace *Carm.* 3.1.5-6

Regum timendorum in proprios greges,

reges in ipsos imperium est Iouis

“The power of kings who are to be feared is over their own flocks; the power of Jupiter is over kings themselves”; and a saying of Marcus Aurelius, “for only God can judge about absolute rule,” *περὶ γὰρ τοῦ τῆς αὐταρχίας ὁ θεὸς μόνον κρίνειν δύνатаι*.<sup>35</sup> For such rule Grotius (1.3.20.1) adopts the coinage of Aristotle (*Pol.* 3.10.2, 1285b36)

34 At *Iliad* 16.387-388 the making of “crooked judgements” is on the contrary ascribed to a plurality in the Agora.

35 Dio 71.3.3, printed as Saying no. 10 in the Loeb edition of Marcus by C. R. Haines (1930) p. 364.

παμβασιλεία “absolute monarchy” and of Sophocles *Antig.* 1163 παντελή μοναρχίαν.<sup>36</sup>

### 12.1.9 Names of the “king”

The comparison of the Israelite and Hellenic “king” suggests a phonetic comparison of *φάναξ* (cf. genit. plural *των φαναξων*<sup>37</sup>) and מֶלֶךְ.<sup>38</sup> For the first consonant: *w* and *m* interchange in Akkadian, see *Yamani* for Hebrew יָן “Ionian”; within Hebrew, מֶלֶךְ and מֶלֶךְ (Aramaizing) “purple”; Indo-European *w* corresponds to Semitic *m* in the enticing parallel of English *water* (with Hittite *uatar*) and Hebrew מַטָּר. Indo-European *n* corresponds to Semitic *l* in the words for “snow,” e.g. Russian *снeг* and שֶׁלֶג.<sup>39</sup> For the vowels (and an old genitive dual ending) see ANAKOIN<sup>40</sup> with presumed Arabic مَلِكَيْن *malikayn* “of two kings”; in the Quran the similar word for “messenger” with two *a* vowels loses the inner glottal stop of Heb. מַלְאֲכֵי, and is actually attested in the genitive dual Quran 7.20 مَلَكَيْن *malakayn*[i] “of two angels.”<sup>41</sup> *φάναξ* is linguistically isolated, for Phrygian *ΦΑΝΑΚΤΕΙ* (I.175) appears only to reflect the Greek. Since in Hebrew no word but *wa* “and” begins with *w-*, if *wanak-* came in from the west, the first consonant would have to become another labial (Levin). Bold as this proposal seems, the phonetics are so neat that it deserves consideration as we look at the connections among the names of “Mediterranean” institutions.

36 Barbeyrac *ad loc.* (in the edition of Grotius by William Whewell, Cambridge: University, 1853, i.146) elegantly notes *Faciunt enim...Tragici regnum Thebanum simile regnis Phoenicum, unde orti erant* “The tragedians give the Theban monarchy the same [absolute] character as the Phoenician monarchies from which [in the legend of Cadmus] the Thebans sprang.”

37 IG 4.564 (Argos).

38 See our discussion in Brown-Levin “The Ethnic Paradigm ...” 75.

39 For the interchange of *n* and *l* see further: (a) Latin *nōmen* “name” with Hittite *laman*; (b) λίτρον/νίτρον “nitre” with Hebrew נִיָּטָר and Egyptian *ntr* (I.241); (c) Hebrew לֶשֶׁת/לֶשֶׁת with λέσχη “wine-hall” (I.141); (d) Latin *templum* (> *tem-lum*) with τέμενος and תְּמִנָּה “precinct” (II.222); (e) ψαλτήριον with פְּסַלְתָּרִין Dan 3,5 “musical instrument”; (f) Λαβύνητος Herodotus 1.74 with Akkadian *Nabu-Naid*; (g) λάρναξ/νάρναξ “chest,” cf. the Cypriote place-name נַרְנָה (KAI 43.9), modern Larnax; (h) Latin *pampinus* with ἀμπελος “vine” (I.136); (i) κλέπτω with נָגַב “steal” (II.18).

40 IG 3.1.195: Attica, Roman period, hexameter verse on an altar of Castor and Pollux, ΣΩΤΗΡΟΙΝ ΑΝΑΚΟΙΝ ΤΕ ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΟΙΝ ΟΔΕ ΒΩΜΟΣ

41 Satan tells Adam and his wife that their Lord warned them from the tree lest they become “two angels.”

### 12.2 Structure of the city and dispersal of the king's power

Before the Mediterranean city-state could do anything else, it had first of all to survive. Since it was not part of a larger imperial power, its citadel and wall could only be defended by a citizen militia; with the availability of iron, every able-bodied man must have a weapon in his hand. As in Switzerland today, the soldier's weapons and armor were his personal property, we hear little of an armory from which they were carefully issued by the State. David has no bronze armor, and when he is loaned Saul's he cannot deal with it (I Sam 17,39). Men were rated by the level of the equipment they could afford to provide (I.25). In Rome, Cicero notes (*Rep.* 2.40), "Servius named the lowest class 'proletarians,' on the grounds that from them, it seemed, [only] offspring could be expected," [*Seruius*] *proletarios nominavit, ut ex eis quasi progenies...expectari uideretur*; Gellius 16.10.13 does add that in times of crisis "arms were given them at public expense," *armaque eis sumptu publico praebebantur*. Servius Tullius was credited with reorganizing Roman citizens in "centuries" (Livy 1.43, Cornell p. 199): apparently both to strengthen the army and to give the rich a near-monopoly of the vote. Cornell p. 189 refers to "the context of an ancient city, in which military service was not the specialized preserve of a professional group, but on the contrary was an integral function of citizenship"; see our discussion I.26, 236; II.5.

In Athens a knight or ἵππεύς was drawn from the class of those "who could raise horses," τοὺς ἵπποτροφεῖν δυναμένους (Aristotle *Ath. Pol.* 7.4) by having enough high-quality farm land. Perhaps in the distant past the same was true of the Roman *eques*. But at the earliest period we can reach, many but not all such were assigned *equi publici* (Livy 5.7.5), and it was a punishment to serve *equi priuatis* (Livy 27.11.14). In Israel perhaps Solomon begrudged subordinates land to raise horses, and cavalry mounts were provided by the state (I Reg 10,26-29). But throughout the Mediterranean in the historic period until Alexander, while horse-ownership remained prestigious (II.6), infantry arms decided battles. However strongly men adhered to the civic god or gods and their agent the king, effective power in the state lay with the militia; its members were identical with the citizen body, and its fighting power meant that it could not be simply ignored.

The one exception to the identity of soldier and citizen was the body of men too old to fight or even to command, the "elders." But they had previously fought, and had since then reflected on the conditions for the state's survival. They were the repositories of the society's wisdom. The army was only itself when it was mustered in force; and so a gathering

of the citizen body, which was nothing more or less than a mustering without arms, must also be in force. That was not the case with the elders; a deliberative body drawn from among them could afford to be representative. Among them, the prestige of wealth or aristocratic descent meant more than in battle, where all were at equal risk of their lives, whatever their officer or line status. Thus the social divisions of wealth and influence, minimized in the army or citizen assembly (except as skewed in Rome), were maximized in the council of elders.

Therefore the mere fact that a city existed, and had managed to survive over the years, implied of itself that it was structured by a citizen assembly and a council of elders. In the *Iliad* the besiegers acquire nearly as much civic structure as the besieged. When the Achaeans arrive, “[the Trojans] were holding an assembly at the gates of Priam, all gathered together, both young men and elders” (2.788-9)

οἱ δ' ἀγορὰς ἀγόρευον ἐπὶ Πριάμοιο θύρῃσι,

πάντες ὀμηγέρες, ἡμὲν νέοι ἠδὲ γέροντες

Here the elders join the citizen body. But when the army goes out to fight, the elders remain (3.146-150): “those around Priam (οἱ δ' ἄμφι Πριάμον) ...the elders of the people were sitting at the Scaean gates, withdrawn from war by old age, but excellent counsellors, like cicadas...”

ἦατο δημογέροντες ἐπὶ Σκαίῃσι πύλῃσι,

γῆραϊ δὴ πολέμοιο πεπταυμένοι, ἀλλ' ἀγορηταί

ἔσθλοί, τεττίγεσσιν ἑοικότες ...

δημογέροντες suggests again that the elders are an agency of the people rather than fully independent; Philo<sup>42</sup> uses the same word of Jewish elders.

Earlier Agamemnon had commanded the heralds “to call to an assembly (κηρύσσειν ἀγορήνδε) the flowing-haired Achaeans” (*Iliad* 2.51). But prudently “*first* he held a council of the great-hearted elders” (2.53):

βουλὴν δὲ πρῶτον μεγαθύμων ἴζε γερόντων

The Achaean “elders” were mostly younger than the Trojan, for they serve as commanders, though perhaps we should think of some as purely deliberative. It is hard to believe that in both cases the poet did not have in mind a city of his own age with a Boulē of elders and an Agora of the people at large.

Although an assembly of the gods can be either limited or inclusive, the same language is used in any case. Just as Hector “made an assembly” (ἀγορὴν ποιήσατο) of the Trojans (8.489); so Zeus “made an assembly of the gods,” θεῶν ἀγορὴν ποιήσατο (8.2), where only

42 Philo *de uita Mos.* 86 (LCL ed. vi.320).

Olympians appear (II.54,66,105). A more representative assembly including rivers and nymphs is spoken of also after the human pattern as ἀγορήνδε (20.4, 16) “to the *agorē*”. The Olympians do not act as an inner Senate or executive committee for the larger body.

We are not to think of either body at the early period in the modern sense as ordered by a constitution with fixed times of meeting and regular officers; they gather on call, from the structure of the state, as need arises. So in the crisis of the Israelite state at the death of Solomon (I Reg 12,3) Jeroboam “and all the assembly of Israel” come to Rehoboam, וְכָל-קְהֵל יִשְׂרָאֵל, LXX (MS “A”) πᾶσα ἡ ἐκκλησία, Vg *omnis multitudo*, Luther *die ganze Gemeinde*, asking for concessions. Then “king Rehoboam took counsel with the elders” who had stood before Solomon his father (I Reg 12,6)

וַיִּוָּדַע הַמֶּלֶךְ רַחֲבָעָם אֶת-הַזְּקֵנִים

LXX πρεσβυτέροις, Vg *senibus*, Luther *hielt ein Rat mit den Ältesten*, who advise conciliation. But instead he follows the advice of the hot-headed “young men” (הַיְלָדִים 12,8) who had grown up with him, and splits the state. These seem a temporary party, for elsewhere just people and elders appear. Ruth 4,11 “Then spoke all the people who were at the gate and the elders, ‘We are witnesses’” (where we would expect the elders rather to be at the gate):

וַיֹּאמְרוּ כָל-הָעָם אֲשֶׁר בְּשַׁעַר הַזְּקֵנִים עִדִּים

Ps 107,32 gives the contrast we would expect: “Let them extol [God] in the assembly of the people, and in the session of the elders praise him,”

וַיִּרְמְמוּהוּ בְּקֹהֶל-עַם וּבְמוֹשָׁב זְקֵנִים יְהַלְלוּהוּ

LXX ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ λαοῦ ... ἐν καθέδρᾳ πρεσβυτέρων. Joel 2,16 has parallel phrases including “gather the people; sanctify the congregation; assemble the elders”:

אֲסֹפוּ-עַם קְדְּשׁוּ קְהֵל קַבְּצוּ זְקֵנִים

but it is not clear which are equivalent. More common is “elders of the people,” זְקֵנֵי-הָעָם (Lev 4,15 etc.), Vg *seniores populi*, as if they were agents of the people as a whole like the Trojan δημογέροντες —an exact equivalent!

In the historical period, it is taken for granted in the West that decisions are made by the council of elders and the assembly of the people. In Latin and Greek the name of the “old man” gives a name to the council: *senex* makes *senatus*, γέρων makes γερουσία. From the 5th century BC on, Athenian documents begin “It was decided by the Council and People,” ΕΔΟΧΣΕΝ ΤΕΙ ΒΟΛΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙ ΔΕΜΟΙ (in later spelling ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ).<sup>43</sup> Many sources (e.g. Aeschines 3.125) show that

43 E.g. Meiggs-Lewis no. 71 (424/3 BC).



any measure to be approved by vote (ψηφισμα) of the Ekklesia of the people first must have preliminary approval (προβούλευμα) of the Boulē; the traditional formula however hides the reality that the People was more influential. In Rome Cicero attests the parallel formula *Senatus populusque Romanus* (e.g. *pro Plancio* 90), which here hides the opposite reality that true power lay in the Senate.

While Greek and Roman writers attest (below) that Carthage likewise had a senate and assembly, no formula yet discovered in its very numerous Punic inscriptions so reads; nor is even a plausible word for “Senate” or “senator” attested. But in a bilingual from Lepcis (KAI 126, cf. 119) of AD 92, “before the nobility of Lepcis and the people of Lepcis,”

[לפני אדרא אלפקי ועם אלפקי]

corresponds to *ordo et populus*.<sup>44</sup> Palmyra picked up the institutions of a Greek city: thus a lost equestrian statue has a bilingual dedication of AD 171 (PAT 2769) “by decree of the Boule and Demos,” סמט בולא בדנמ where the Greek differs slightly δνόμα[τι β]ου[λῆς καὶ] δήμου but elsewhere the exact formula appears<sup>45</sup> κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου. Probably both bodies did vote, since the Tariff (PAT 0259) begins differently, בולא די דנמא = δόγμα βουλῆς with no mention of the *demos*. A Midrash has the same loanwords: at *Gen. Rabbah* 6.4 a king has two governors (אפוטרופין = ἐπίτροποι); “when-ever the city governor goes out, the council and people (בולי ודימוס) go out with him.”

Aristotle (*Pol.* 2.8.1 = 1272b27) compares the constitutions of the Carthaginians and Laconians (and Cretans), although the points of comparison are not fully clear. Elsewhere (*Pol.* 2.3.10 = 1265b36-40) he quotes others as holding that the Lacedaemonian (Spartan) constitution has elements of monarchy in the kingship, oligarchy in the elders, and democracy in the ephors; and this must be his analysis of Carthage also. For (2.8.2 = 1272b37) he says that the “kings” and *gerousia* at Carthage correspond to the kings and elders at Sparta; and (2.8.3 = 1273a8) that either kings or elders at Carthage can refer matters to the *demos*. Anyway this is the understanding of Polybius 6.51.2, who lists the features of Carthage as the kings, the aristocratic γερόντιον, and the people, τὸ πλῆθος. Aristotle never suspects that the

44 W. Huss, “Der Senat von Carthago,” *Klio* 60 (1978) 327-9. He cites Livy 34.61.15 *seniores ita senatum uocabant*. But סן is unattested in the Punic inscriptions. Further discussion at Sznycer (II.108 below note 68) p. 66.

45 E.g. IGRR 3.75, Claudiopolis, 2nd century CE.

Carthaginian “kings” are really the annual suffetes, and more comparable to the Spartan ephors.<sup>46</sup>

Polybius (6.11.12) sees the Roman constitution as composed of the same three elements: monarchic in the power of the consuls (τῶν ὑπάτων), aristocratic in the power of the Senate (τῆς συγκλήτου), democratic in the power of the people (τῶν πολλῶν). So Cicero (*de rep.* 2.41) considers Rome, like Carthage and Sparta, balanced among three powers, *regali et optumati et populari*. The Roman chancery assumed that any city or people it dealt with had a proper government of magistrates, Senate and people, just as the United Nations today assumes that we are all organized as sovereign nations; and very likely then as now governments accommodated themselves to what they had been told was the correct pattern. Thus in 47 BC Caesar writes to the “magistrates, council, people of the Sidonians” (Josephus *AJ* 14.190) Σιδωνίων ἄρχουσι βουλῆ δῆμῳ; and Claudius in AD 45 to the “magistrates, council, people of the men of Jerusalem” (*AJ* 20.11), ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ἄρχουσι βουλῆ δῆμῳ. Here then in sequence we consider the parallel features in these three structures: magistrates (12.2.1), the council of elders (12.2.2), the assembly of the people (12.2.3).

### 12.2.1 The highest state office comes to be collegially shared by two men

When the functions of the king are taken over by one or more officers in Greece, Rome and Carthage, this in itself suggests no relationship. Livy 1.8.3 says that among the Etruscans a “king” was created by vote of the twelve peoples (*ex duodecim populis communiter creato rege*), but the political realities are at present impenetrable. What does suggest a relationship is when the officers are precisely two in number and share their office collegially rather than with distinct functions. At Rome the tradition briefly has two collegial kings, Romulus and Titus Tatius the Sabine (Livy 1.13.8), replaced by two annually elected consuls.<sup>47</sup> Sparta had two hereditary kings who held office for life (Herodotus 6.51-9), supposedly descended from twins, with the family of the first-born twin Eurysthenes having the preeminence. Aristotle

46 For the Carthaginian constitution see Stéphane Gsell, *Histoire Ancienne de l’Afrique du Nord*, t. II (Paris: Hachette, 1918) 183-233; Werner Huss, *Geschichte der Karthager*; München: Beck, 1985, 458-466.

47 Livy 2.1.7 says that liberty arose “more from the fact that the consular power was made annual than that anything had been subtracted from royal authority,” *magis quia annum imperium consulare factum sit quam quod deminutum quicquam sit ex regia potestate*.

(*Pol.* 2.8.2) compares the kings at Sparta and Carthage: but mentions neither the point of similarity, that each were two; nor of difference, that the Punic “kings” were elected for a year only, but the Spartan as hereditary served for life.

For at Carthage the persons called “kings” by the Greeks (since Herodotus 7.165-6, who has a βασιλέα “king of the Carthaginians,” i.e. Ἀμίλακας, surely עבדמלקרה or *Hamilcar* [Excursus F below]), were chosen annually.<sup>48</sup> It is doubtful that there was ever a lifelong hereditary kingship there as at Tyre.<sup>49</sup> The two were called by the Carthaginians “judges” (שפטים) and by the Romans *sufetes* (Livy 28.37). Some Punic inscriptions are dated “in the year of the suffetes M and N.” Thus KAI 77 “in the year of the suffetes Adnibaal and Adnibaal son of Bomilcar,”

בשח שפטים אדנבעל ואדנבעל בן בדמלקרה

(It has been much discussed<sup>50</sup> why the first judge is given no patronymic.<sup>51</sup>) And so a partly illiterate Latin inscription from North Africa under Hadrian (CIL 8.12286) is dated *anno sufetum (H)onorat[i] Fortunati [f(ili)] ... et Fl(aui) Victoris Similis [f(ili)]*. At CIS 1.5510 (discussed in Excursus F) they are not called suffetes:

בחדש [פ]עלת שת אשמנעמס בן אדנבעל הרב וחנא בן בדעשתר[ת]  
בן חנא הרב

“In the month [P]‘lt of the year of Eshmunamas son of Adnibaal the *rab* and Hanno son of Bostar son of Hanno the *rab*.” It seems less likely that the two suffetes are designated *rab* than that the genealogy

48 So Zonaras 8.8.2 “annual rule,” ἐτησίου ἀρχῆς and Nepos *Hannibal* 7.4, cited II.103.

49 Our only account of early Carthage is in the late epitomator Justin, who cannot be relied on for constitutional details; for Justin, the great founder of a Carthaginian dynasty was Mago, whom he calls *imperator* (18.7.18-19); his predecessor Carthalo was “accused of seeking the kingship,” *adfectati regni accusatus*. Even if the legend that Carthage was founded by a queen Dido (Δειδῶ Timaeus FGH 566 F82, cf. I.336) was historical, the monarchy cannot be shown to have survived her death. Carthage always maintained close ties to Tyre; in 162 BC a Carthaginian ship took first-fruits to Tyre (Polybius 31.12.11-12) shortly before the final fall of Carthage. And the closer the ties of Carthage to Tyre, the less likely it would have been to set up an alternative kingship. W. Ameling (*Karthago...*; *Vestigia* 45; München: Beck, 1995; 67-97) thinks there were actual kings at Carthage; but the absence of מלך from the inscriptions is decisive.

50 Werner Huss, “Zu punischen Datierungsformeln,” *Welt des Orients* 9 (1977/8) 249-252.

51 Forms of this annual dating are further attested at KAI 80, 81 (twice), 96; CIS 1.4824, 6053.

of each is carried back until a *rab* is reached; I presume (II.125) that the *rab* designates a general. Krahmalkov<sup>52</sup> feels that CIS 1.5632, which he considers very old, chronicles the actual introduction of the office of suffete:

בעסרם שת ל' [שפמם בקרתחדש]ת

“In the twentieth year of the [rule?] of the suffetes in Carthage.” This is one of the rare texts containing the actual name of the city of Carthage (for others see II.108).<sup>53</sup>

Drews<sup>54</sup> held that the Spartan dual kingship was an adaptation for lifetime tenure of the Semitic pattern at Carthage and perhaps at Tyre also. Roman historians saw the more obvious parallelism between the two annually elected magistrates at Rome and Carthage: so Nepos, *Hannibal* 7.4 *ut enim Romae consules, sic Karthagine quotannis annui bini reges creabantur* “as the consuls at Rome, so at Carthage every year two annual ‘kings’ were created.” By Livy 3.55.1 and Varro *de lingua latina* 6.88 the consuls are called *iudices*, “judges.” Hence R. Yaron concluded<sup>55</sup> that the Roman consulate was modelled on the Carthaginian pattern.<sup>56</sup> But the opposite may have been the case. The Phoenician colonies, which eventually turned into cities, were in a situation unique for West Semitic civilization. Practically they were independent powers, engaging in trade and war, facing internal strains and dissension; but sentimentally they were still attached to the Phoenician homeland with its kings. Thus there is no clear evidence that they developed an autonomous kingship; and in the vacuum thus created, it seems equally possible that they developed magistrates after the pattern in Greece and Rome, where kingship (in contrast to Phoenicia) early faded out.

However in some sense the Carthaginian suffetes must be inheritors of the old Canaanite pattern represent by the Hebrew book of Judges

52 C. Krahmalkov, “Notes on the Role of the *Sōftim* in Carthage,” *Rivista di studi fenici* 4 (1976) 153-7.

53 But the *iudicum ordo Carthagine* (Livy 33.46.1) appears to be a body of regular court-judges.

54 Robert Drews, “Phoenicians, Carthage and the Spartan *Eunomia*,” *AJP* 100 (1979) 45-58).

55 R. Yaron, “Semitic Elements in Early Rome,” pp. 343-357 in A. Watson (ed.), *Daube Noster: Essays in Legal History for David Daube*, Edinburgh: Scottish Academic, 1974.

56 Previously we noted proposals that the name *Rōma* itself might be the Phoenician form of Heb. רִמָּה “high” (I.24); and that the temple of Heracles in the Forum Boarium at Rome might have been a Phoenician foundation (I.219-221).

(מִיִּזְרָאֵל), although there is no indication that any of those served at the same time or collegially. In an interim period in the history of Tyre, Josephus (*c. Ap.* 155-158)<sup>57</sup> records a series of “judges” (δικασταί), including a period of six years when two judges served. After Alexander judges continued in the Phoenician homeland. About 200 BC the Sidonian Diotimus won the chariot race at the Nemean games, and the city honored him with a statue and inscription:<sup>58</sup> Σιδωνίων ἡ πόλις Διότιμον Διονυσίου δικαστήν, followed by twelve lines of elegiacs in Doric. He is a δικαστής, “judge,” perhaps in some sense a מִיִּזְרָאֵל. It has been suggested<sup>59</sup> that II Chron 19,11 is a parallel to the dyarchy of suffetes; but there it is a matter of a priest and a governor with separate functions. The closest Hebrew parallel to the Roman dual consulate, the Punic *sufetes*, and the Spartan dual kingship, is the dual kingship in Jerusalem and Shechem after the death of Solomon; for it seems that both kings of “Judah” and “Israel” claimed to be the true king of one people, or were thought of as joint kings over it.

No text explains the origins of the dual magistracy in Carthage. In Rome, Gantz<sup>60</sup> points out that both the first “consuls” (as later remembered) were Tarquins: L. Tarquinius Collatinus (Livy 1.60.4) and L. Iunius Brutus, son of Tarquinia a king’s sister (Livy 1.56.7) and of M. Iunius (Dionysius Hal. 4.67.4). Gantz observes (p. 548):

Livy seems not to notice the paradox inherent in the fact that the first two consuls of the Roman Republic after the expulsion of the Tarquins were themselves Tarquins. Nor does he remark that these courageous founders of the new government, Brutus and Collatinus, were precisely the Tarquins next in line for the throne after Superbus and his sons had been driven out. ... Together the two of them engineered a revolution whose goal was not, I think, the abolishment of the monarchy, but rather the seizure of it.

But anyway Roman annalists remembered them as the first of a new order rather than the last of the old. When Collatinus was forced to resign, P. Valerius Volesi filius (Publicola) was elected to take his place (Livy 1.58.6, 2.2.11); his name may stand in an archaic inscription from Satricum, POPLIOSIO VALESIOSIO.<sup>61</sup>

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57 = Menander Ephesius frag. 7 Jacoby FGH 783.

58 L. Moretti, *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche*, Studi pubblicati dall’Istituto Italiano per la Storia antica 12; Roma: Signorelli, 1953 no. 41 p. 108.

59 By Lipiński in DCP 429 and elsewhere.

60 T. N. Gantz, “The Tarquin Dynasty,” *Historia* 24 (1975) 539-554.

61 *L’Année épigraphique* 1979.136. 61 It is a dedication by Valerius’ *suodales*, “comrades”; Cornell 143 sees him as in a class of *condottieri*, leaders of

### 12.2.2 The council of elders may be “sitting at the gate,” and may be thirty in number or contain such a subgroup

While in time the council of elders absorbs many of the functions of the godlike king, originally it is a perquisite of the king shared with the High God. Micaiah sees Yahweh on his throne, and the host of heaven standing on his right and left (I Reg 22,19-23); “God has taken his place in the council of El; in the midst of the gods he holds judgement” (Ps 82,1)—a Psalm where (as occasionally elsewhere) אֱלֹהִים substitutes for expected יהוה;

אֱלֹהִים נֹצַב בְּעַרְת־אֵל      בְּקֶרֶב אֱלֹהִים יִשְׁפֹּט

LXX ὁ θεὸς ἔσθη ἐν συναγωγῇ θεῶν, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ θεοῦ διακρίνει. Further, “[Who] is like Yahweh among the sons of Elim? a God feared in the council of the holy ones?” (Ps 89,7-8):

יְדֹמָה לַיהוָה בְּבְנֵי אֱלִים      אֵל נִעְרָץ בְּסוּד־קִדְשִׁים

It is also “the council of Yahweh” (Jer 23,18), “the council of Eloah” (Job 15:8). Although his superiority is emphasized, “Who is like thee, Yahweh, among the Elim?” (Exod 15,11), nevertheless his colleagues were on hand when he raised up the wave of the Exodus; and when he thunders, those “sons of Elim” (Ps 29,1) give him praise. At Deut 32,43 the Hebrew has lost at least two lines preserved in the LXX, “You heavens, rejoice with him; and let all the sons of God bow down before him,” εὐφράνθητε, οὐρανοί, ἅμα αὐτῷ, καὶ προσκυνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες υἱοὶ θεοῦ. So in Ugaritic<sup>62</sup>, *dt ilm* “assembly of the gods,” cf. Ps 82,1 בְּעַרְת־אֵל; KTU 1.65.3 *mphrt bn il* “assembly of the sons of El”; KAI 4.4 “the assembly of the holy gods of Byblos,” מִפְּחַרְת אֵל נְבֵל קִדְשִׁים.

We saw above (II.99) how (*Iliad* 8.2) Zeus “called an assembly of the gods,” θεῶν ἀγορήν. Earlier (*Iliad* 1.534) the others are in their seats at his “house,” Olympus, awaiting his arrival. We also saw (II.66) in Seneca (*Nat. Quest.* 2.41) from Etruscan traditions that Jupiter has two levels of council, *consilium*, which he must consult before launching a second- or third-degree missile (it is unclear whether either includes the other).

In Israel a deliberative group of elders sits in the gates of any given city. Of the wise woman it is said “Her husband is known in the gates, when he sits among the elders of the land” (Prov 31,23):

נֹדַע בְּשַׁעְרִים בְּעֵלָה      בְּשַׁבְּתוֹ עַם-זִקְנֵי-אֶרֶץ

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private armies, among whom he counts Appius Claudius, Cn. Marcus Coriolanus, Lars Porsenna.

62 KTU 1.15.II.7 = UNP 24. Further discussion of these texts at West, EFH 177, 355.

Job boasts, “When I went out to the gate of the city...the elders rose and stood” (Job 29,7-8). The rebellious son (Deut 21,19, cf. 22,15; 25,7) is to be brought “to the elders of his city, even to the gate of his place”:

אֶל-זִקְנֵי עִירוֹ וְאֶל-שַׁעַר מִקְמוֹ

Amos (5,15, cf. 5,10.12) cries out “establish justice in the gate”:

וְהִצִּיגוּ בְשַׁעַר מִשְׁפָּט

These elders are obviously an inherited body, supplementing the king’s authority, whether the city is Jerusalem or another.

In Troy—for Homer a model Oriental town—the council as we saw (II.98 above) sits at a gate: at the gates of Priam, ἐπι Πριάμοιο θύρησι (*Iliad* 2.788); at the Scaean gates (3.148-9), ἐπι Σκαίησι πύλῃησι when the δημογέροντες meet by themselves. Livy in Book 1 assumes a class of *patres* under the kings, and calls them *senatus* when the last king is expelled. Thereupon the Senate becomes the dominant power in the state, providing from among its number the annually elected consuls (originally *praetores*, Livy 3.55.12) who take the king’s place.

In the *rhētra* supposedly given to Lycurgus by Delphi at Sparta (Plutarch *Lyc.* 6.1) he is told to set up “a *gerousia* of thirty including the *archagetai*,” τριάκοντα γερουσίαν σὺν ἀρχαγέταις where Plutarch interprets the *archagetai* as kings. The Roman people once had three tribes divided into ten *curiae* each.<sup>63</sup> We saw above (II.84) that at Carthage within the larger senate or σύγκλητος there was a smaller body or γερουσία. Drews<sup>64</sup> marshals evidence that the smaller body had thirty members. Livy 30.16.3 says that in 203 BC the Carthaginians sent for negotiation *triginta seniorum principes; id erat sanctius apud illos consilium maximaque ad ipsum senatum regendum uis* “thirty leading members from the elders; this group was a more influential council among them, a strong force in directing the Senate itself.” It would be natural to identify it with the γερουσία. Elsewhere also committees of thirty are mentioned (Livy 30.36.9; *Periocha* 49). At Polybius 1.87.3 the Carthaginians choose “thirty men of the *gerousia*,” τριάκοντα ... τῆς γερουσίας; either this is the whole body, or inaccurately he uses γερουσία here for the σύγκλητος. Anyway a fragment (CIS 1.3917) of the sacrificial tariff (KAI 74)<sup>65</sup> fills out its initial line to create a complete text:

בעת המשאתח אש מנא שלשם האש אש על המשאתח

63 Livy 1.13.6; Cicero *rep.* 2.14; Festus 113L; Cornell 114.

64 Fn 54 above, II.103.

65 Latin “tariffs” from North Africa list seven to nine sacrificial animals offered to several divinities, always by a *sacerdos Saturni*; CIL 8.8246-7, 27763; E. Lipiński (ed.), *Carthago*; *Studia Phoenicia* 6; *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*

“Table of the tariffs set up by the thirty men in charge of the tariffs.” Committees of thirty then were standard at Carthage, and perhaps the Senate had a central committee of thirty. Drews assumed that it was the pattern for the *gerousia* of thirty at Sparta; but again, since it was the Phoenician colonists who had to be the innovators, perhaps they were dependent on Greeks.

When the messenger from Claudius came bringing his letter to the “magistrates, *boulē* and people of the men of Jerusalem” (Josephus *AJ* 20.11, p. II.101), if he had three copies, to whom did he deliver the copy for the *boulē*? Perhaps it was intended for the Sanhedrin, in effect the Hellenistic Senate of Jerusalem. Under the Maccabees (II Makk 14,5) there was a συνέδριον in Jerusalem (cf. Josephus *AJ* 14.167); at 20.20 Josephus calls it συνέδριον κριτῶν. It probably continues what earlier is called the γερουσία (Josephus *AJ* 12.138). Mishna *Sanh.* I.6 calls the body in Jerusalem the “Great Sanhedrin,” סנהדרין גדולה; being of 71 members it was identical with the בית דין (M. *Sanh.* I.5).<sup>66</sup> Hebrew סנהדרין is then a loan of long standing; note its accurate record of the unwritten internal Greek *h*. At *BJ* 2.331 (cf. 336) by τοὺς τε ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ τὴν βουλὴν Josephus must mean “the high priests and the Sanhedrin.” At *BJ* 5.532 one Aristeus from Emmaus is “scribe of the Senate,” ὁ γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς; a session of the Sanhedrin (Mishna *Sanh.* IV.3) had two “scribes of the judges,” סופרי הדיינים. Act 5,21 is a unique witness to *two* bodies of elders at Jerusalem, τὸ συνέδριον καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γερουσίαν “the Sanhedrin and the whole [evidently larger] *gerousia*.” Joseph of Arimathea (Mark 15,43) was an εὐσχήμων βουλευτής “a respectable member of the *Boulē*.” The same word went into Palmyrene in a bilingual of AD 161 (PAT 1373) referring to a “senator” of Antioch, ܒܠܘܬܝܢ = βουλευτήν.

### 12.2.3 The assembly of the people has a spokesman with sacral immunity

Above (II.40-42) we saw the extent to which Hebrew prophet, Hellenic reforming poet, and Roman tribune of the people have parallel immunity. In Rome the *plebs* was felt to be a state within the state; Livy 3.19 has a consul claim that the tribunes have made the plebs “like a part broken off from the rest of the people, your own fatherland, a separate

26; Leuven: Peeters, 1988; p. 217 no. 53. See DCP 440; D. W. Baker, “Leviticus 1-7 and the Punic Tariffs: A Form Critical Comparison,” *ZAW* 99 (1987) 188-197.

66 Classically συνέδριον appears in various connections: Diodorus 16.41.1 so names the Phoenician council at Tripolis before Alexander; Polybius 1.11.1 so names the Roman Senate, and 1.31.8 the Carthaginian.



republic,” *partem uelut abruptam a cetero populo uestram patriam peculiaremque rem publicam*. From time to time the plebs was thought to “secede” to its own territory, *plebs...secessit in Ianiculum* (Livy *Per.* 11), although it is hard for lack of contemporary records to divine the underlying political realities.<sup>67</sup> What is plain is that the *plebs* was something less than the full body of citizens: its secession did not leave Rome without population. Cornell (339 etc.) insists that many or most Roman citizens originally were neither patrician nor plebeian; those names marked fixed points on a broad spectrum of social statuses.

In Athens the δῆμος became the dominant power in the state, with the archon and other magistrates chosen by lot. In Israel any formal role of the people or עַם is hard to document. Here again Carthage, partly anticipated by the Phoenician cities, is assimilated to the Greco-Roman pattern. Sznycer<sup>68</sup> finds three categories of Phoenician/Punic texts in which עַם “people” has so formal a sense as to suggest the meaning “assembly.”

(a) “People” as validating an era in dates. Thus in an inscription of Umm el-ʿAmed (KAI 18) “In the year 180 [of the Seleucid era = 132 BC] of the lord of kings [Antiochus VII], year 143 of the people of Tyre”:

בשנת 180 לארדן מלכים 143 שנה לעם צר

“People” must refer to a body that came into being at a definite date.<sup>69</sup>

(b) “People of Carthage.” An enigmatic series of inscriptions from Carthage<sup>70</sup> are dedications by persons designated as אש צרן which may end in קרתחדשת עם למיעמס. They may refer to manumissions; the noun מיעמס is also obscure, but the general sense should be “by decree of the people of Carthage.” This is the only series of texts other than CIS 1.5632 (II.103) where the name of Carthage appears in Punic texts. Whatever the translation, the phrase קרתחדשת עם suggests an organization of the people.

(c) People of another land, state, island. These come from Carthage proper, North Africa, and Sardinia; they are dedications by a man who is always from a different place than the site of the stone. Thus CIS

67 Sallust (*Cat.* 33.3) has a dissident write: *Saepe ipsa plebes, aut dominandi studio permota aut superbia magistratuum, armata a patribus secessit*; “Often the plebs itself, either moved by the desire to rule or by the insolence of magistrates, has seceded under arms from the patricians.”

68 Maurice Sznycer, “L’ ‘assemblée du peuple’ dans les cités puniques d’après les témoignages épigraphiques,” *Semitica* 25 (1975) 47-68.

69 Similarly of the “people of Tyre” KAI 19; of the “people of Sidon,” לעם צרן in a bilingual from the Piraeus (KAI 60); of the “people of Lapethos,” לעם לפש (KAI 43); see Λάπαθος Strabo 14.6.3.

70 CIS 1.269-291, 4908-9; most fragmentary in part.

1.3707 (from Carthage) “Adnibaal son of Shaphat who<sup>71</sup> belongs to the people of Rosh Melqart”:

אדנבעל בן שפט אש בעם ר[ש מ]לקרת  
 רש מלקרת appears on Punic coins from Sicily (Cephaloedium or Heraclea Minoa<sup>72</sup>). An African seamount *Mercuri promunturium* (Livy 29.27.8, Pliny 5.24) seems to have the same name;<sup>73</sup> and this raises the question whether *Mercurius* is elsewhere a Latinization of Melqart.<sup>74</sup>

As the Roman *plebs* constituted a state within the state, so in a sense did women, youth and slaves (I.246-9). Slaves were a kind of collectivity with rights exercised on the annual Saturnalia: so Ausonius 7.23.15 defines the *Saturnalia* as the *festaque seruorum cum famulantur eri* “the festival of the slaves when their masters wait on them at table.” In the same place we discussed the legendary formation of Jerusalem, Rome and some Greek cities of the West by a community of slaves.

#### 12.2.4 The sacral functions of the king (by whomever exercised) survive his political power

The Maccabees called themselves “high priest” until John Hyrcanus (134 BC), and the Romans saw it in their interest to maintain the Jewish high priesthood. Athenian tradition records a long list of kings; at an uncertain date, it held, their political prerogatives were taken over by a polemarch (πολέμαρχος) and then an ἄρχων, later enlarged by six more to a total of nine (Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 3). So throughout the history of Athens there was a *basileus*, “we always have kings,” βασιλῆς μὲν γὰρ αἰεὶ ἡμῖν εἰσὶν (Plato, *Menexenus* 238D). By the fourth century BC he dealt principally with homicide and a range of religious matters, and was annually chosen by lot (*Ath. Pol.* 55.1); he often appears in the orators (e.g. Antiphon 6.38).<sup>75</sup> Livy (2.2.1) says that in the first year of the Roman republic the sacred functions previously

71 I am unclear whether אש is “man” or the relative, Heb. אָשׁוּךְ.

72 B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum*; 2nd ed., Oxford 1910, 136. For Rosh Melqarth see DCP 378.

73 So perhaps the “mound or tomb of Mercury,” *tumulus Mercuri* (Livy 26.44.6) at Carthago Nova of Spain. See Excursus G below.

74 Another such is CIS 1.5606 with אש בעם אינצם where אינצם appears at KAI 64 and is the island *Enosin* of Pliny 3.84 and the “island of hawks” ἱεράκων νῆσος of Ptolemy 3.3; cf Heb. נָי “hawk” (Job 39,26); cf further DCP 153. For these texts see also J. Teixidor, “L’assemblée législative en Phénicie d’après les inscriptions,” *Syria* 57 (1980) 453-464.

75 Drews, *Basileus*, is uncertain whether that historical magistrate the Athenian *basileus* really (as Aristotle believed) is the inheritor of older sacral functions. But Aristotle *Ath. Pol.* 3.5 attests the “union” (σύμμιξις) and marriage of the king’s wife to Dionysus. She was the βασιλιννα (Ps.-Demosth. 59.74).

filled by the kings were turned over to a *regem sacrificolum* “king of the sacrifices,” made subordinate to the pontifex so as not to hamper liberty. The *rex sacrorum* was forbidden political office (Livy 40.42.8). Down to the times of Cicero (*de domo* 38) there continued to be such a *regem sacrorum*. Another such is the *rex Nemorensis* at Nemi made famous by Frazer (Suetonius *Gaius* 35.3), who must be a fugitive slave that has killed his predecessor.<sup>76</sup>

12.2.5 Taboos are laid on the king and on the priest of the High God With the law of Moses, we compared (I.205) regulations on the *flamen Dialis* or priest of Jupiter (Aulus Gellius, 10.15.19-25). (a) *Yeast*. “No cereal offering (תִּנְחָה) which you bring to Yahweh shall be made with leaven” (Lev 2,11); “It is not permitted for the flamen to touch flour mixed with yeast (*farinam fermento imbutam*).” (b) *Corpse*. “[The high priest] shall not go in to any dead body” (Lev 21,11); “[The flamen] never enters a place where there is a tomb; he never touches a corpse (*mortuum numquam attingit*).” (c) *Nakedness*. Aaron and his sons have linen tunics (Exod 39,27) “to cover the flesh of their nakedness...lest they bring guilt on themselves and die” (Exod 28,42-43); “The flamen never takes off his inner tunic except under cover, lest he be naked under the sky as if under the eyes of Jupiter” (*tunica intima, nisi in locis tectis, non exiit se, ne sub caelo tamquam sub oculis Iouis nudus sit*).<sup>77</sup>

Other restrictions on the High Priest appear at Mishna *Sanhedrin* II, followed by privileges and restrictions attached to the king, based on Deut. 17,16-20.<sup>78</sup> “The king can neither judge nor be judged, he

76 For the “king” of Nemi see further Strabo 5.3.12, Servius on *Aen.* 6.136.

77 The words for “tunic” in these passages (תִּנְחָה, *tunica*) are probably related.

78 Whatever old materials this chapter contains, in its present form it is remarkably Latinate. (a) Thus (*Sanhedrin* II.1) at a banquet the high priest, unlike the people, sits on a stool (הַסֵּפֶסֶל): this is Latin *subsellium* “bench,” especially as reserved for the Senate (Cicero *Phil.* 5.18), through the Greek intermediary συμμέλιον (παργυρί & inscriptions, also in Hermas *Shepherd* Vis. 3.1.4), evidently in the form συμμέλια (LSJ). (b) The king lives in his פֶּלְחָרִין (*Sanh.* II.3), from *praetorium* with dissimilation and perhaps an echo of *palatium*; the Peshitto of Act 23,35 for πραιτωρίῳ more correctly has בַּפְּרִטְרִין. (c) The king may “heap up silver and gold” (Deut. 17,17) only to cover his soldiers’ pay, אַפְסוֹנִיא (*Sanh.* II.4 MS Kaufmann), from ὀψώνιον, “pay” (but *obsonia* Pliny Jun. *Epist.* 10.118.2 is “pension”). So the Peshitto of Luk 3,14 for ὄψωνίους ὑμῶν has אַפְסוֹנִיחִכּוֹן; the soldiers that John Baptist met were of Herod Antipas, who however ran his little militia in Roman style. —Thus the Mishna’s idea of the king is colored with more recent memories of the Roman procurator of Judaea. For all these words see Samuel Krauss, *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum*; vol. II; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1964.

cannot act as witness and others cannot bear witness against him.... None may marry his widow....None may ride on his horse and none may sit on his throne and none may make use of his sceptre.<sup>79</sup> None may see him when his hair is being cut or when he is naked or when he is in the bath-house." Thus "the cuttings of the hair and nails of the Dialis must be buried in the earth under a fruitful tree." Shortly before his death Alexander the Great executed a deranged man who had sat on his throne (Plutarch *Alexander* 73-74).

### 12.3 Restoration of divine monarchy under Rome

#### 12.3.1 Titles of the Emperor

At first there was an effort, in spite of antipathy to the title *rex*, to assimilate the new power of the Caesars to the old Roman kings. We all know how Antony says (*Julius Caesar* III):

You all did see, that on the *Lupercall*,  
I thrice presented him a Kingly Crowne,  
Which he did thrice refuse....

It was actually a *diadema* (Suetonius *Julius* 79.2-3). Was it the influence of Caesar's eager adherents, or disinformation spread by the conspirators themselves, that the Sibylline books affirmed "the Parthians could only be conquered by a king," *Parthos nisi a rege non posse uinci*?<sup>80</sup> Cicero (*Phil.* 2.85-87) describes the offer, and adds that M. Antonius made an entry in the *Fasti*:

C. Caesari dictatori perpetuo M. Antonium consulem populi iussu regnum detulisse; Caesarem uti noluisse.

"Marcus Antonius the consul by command of the people offered Gaius Caesar, perpetual dictator, the kingship; Caesar refused it."

Initially Octavian wished to be called "Romulus," but then saw that this created the suspicion he was aspiring to kingship, τῆς βασιλείας, and settled on "Augustus" (Dio Cassius 53.16.7). Still, in the Greek East, used to kingship, the Emperor is occasionally called βασιλεύς. Josephus (*BJ* 5.563, cf. 3.351) "the kings of the Romans (οἱ ... Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖς) always honored and adorned the temple." Appian *Bell. Civ.* 2.86 calls Hadrian Ῥωμαίων βασιλεύς; and so at IGRR 4.341 (Pergamum) Hadrian (probably) is δεσπότης βασιλεύς. Then see I Pet 2,17 (cf 2,13) "fear God, honor the king," τὸν θεὸν φοβεῖσθε, τὸν βασιλέα

79 For throne and sceptre as attributes of royalty see I.276, II.334.

80 Cicero (*de div.* 2.110-112), writing after the Ides of March, begs the Quindecimviri *ut quiduis potius ex illis libris quam regem proferant* "to bring anything at all out of the [Sibylline] books other than a king."

τιμᾶτε. And further Joh 19,15 (I.263) where the chief priests say “We have no king but Caesar”; Act 17,7 “They are acting against the decrees of Caesar (τῶν δογμάτων Καίσαρος), saying there is another king (βασιλέα ἕτερον), Jesus.” The fixation of Midrash on a “king of flesh and blood,” מֶלֶךְ בֶּשֶׂר וְדָם, can hardly refer to anybody but the Emperor (mostly in Byzantium).

Julius Caesar stayed in power through continued holding the office of *dictator*, eventually as *dictator perpetuus*, as well as the consulate; but Octavian consistently refused the office of dictator (Dio Cassius 54.1.3, if the office then indeed existed). After the battle of Actium (31 BC) Octavian was consul annually until 23 BC, when he resigned the office. He claims that in 27 BC (*Res Gestae* 34) *rem publicam ex mea potestate in senat[us populique Romani a]rbitrium transtuli*, “I transferred the state from my own control to the will of the Senate and the Roman people”; this was the first of two settlements, at which time he received the title Augustus. Dio (53.17.4) at his later date regards the normal title of the Emperor as just that, *imperator* (in his Greek αὐτοκράτωρ); Augustus only refers to the 21 occasions when he was saluted as *imperator* (R.G. 4). He has in fact no standard way of referring to his status; when he is least self-aware he records the Temple of Janus as having been closed thrice *me princ[ipe]* (R.G. 13) “while I was *princeps*.” This was something both less and more than the title *princeps senatus* which he held for 40 years since 28 BC (R.G. 7).

### 12.3.2 The proconsular authority

The heart of Augustus’ power, that which he received through membership in the Senate, is not attested in a fully satisfactory manner in contemporary sources. Dio 53.32.5 says that in 23 BC the Senate gave him once for all τὴν ... ἀρχὴν τὴν ἀνθύπατον, which must be in Latin *imperium proconsulare*; perhaps he had held something of the sort in the years after 27 BC. For in 27 BC (Dio 53.12, cf. Strabo 17.3.25) he had divided the provinces into imperial and senatorial, retaining for himself the principal provinces in which there were standing armies; his new power was the grant of authority over those. At Tacitus *Ann.* 1.3 Tiberius becomes *filius, collega imperii, consors tribuniciae potestatis* “(adopted) son, a colleague in his *imperium*, sharing in his tribunician power”; here *imperii* should refer to Augustus’ full power.<sup>81</sup> Dio 53.32.5 also appears to say (although the

81 Later in the *Annals* Augustus seeks the *proconsulare imperium* for Germanicus (1.12), and Claudius for Nero (12.41), but these may be ordinary provincial commands.

language is vague) that Augustus held in addition a superior authority over the governors of the Senatorial provinces, which moderns call an *imperium maius*, a phrase apparently unattested in Latin. Under the Republic former consuls in the status *pro consule* were the normal governors of the provinces. Thus, while the honorific annual consulships were restored to the Senate, practical control over the far-flung provinces and the armies quartered there fell to him through the proconsular authority.

### 12.3.3 The tribunician power

The office of tribune (II.41) had come down to the late Republic invested with a sacral immunity for its holder. At some point in his career (it appears) Octavian had been offered the bundle of privileges associated with the tribunate, but at first made no use of it.<sup>82</sup> In 23 BC the *tribunicia potestas* was made both perpetual and annual (R.G. 10, Dio 53.32.6). As a result his person was *sacrosanctus*; and by assuming the powers of the office he fell heir to the legislative privileges which the tribune proper had exercised on behalf of the *plebs*. (Technically he was not actually a *tribunus*, an office reserved for plebeians.) From 23 BC on the annual *Fasti* are marked by the years of Augustus' tribunician power—and also by that of his designated successor. It is a special irony of history that the office intended to empower the *plebs* over against Senate and magistrates became the primary personal bulwark of a new monarch.

### 12.3.4 Sacral offices of the Emperor

Augustus was made *pontifex maximus* in 13 BC upon the death of the triumvir Lepidus (R.G. 10). (The Vulgate of Joh 18,13-24 [but none of the other Gospels] translates ἀρχιερεύς of a specific Jewish high priest as *pontifex*.) In 2 BC Augustus records (R.G. 35) that “the Senate and the equestrian order and the whole Roman people” called him *pater patriae*, “father of the fatherland.” Below (II.231-233) we discuss the great founding event of his new age, the Ludi Saeculares in 17 BC. Augustus' adoptive father Julius Caesar (like Augustus after him) was ascribed a formal cult as *diuus* “deified,” and Halley's comet conveniently appeared at his funeral games (Suetonius *Div. Jul.* 88). Thus the sacral offices, which both at Rome and Athens continued under the name of the old monarch, were added to the new monarch.

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82 I cannot easily document such an occasion.

12.4 *Christ and Caesar*

Jesus is often called “son of David,” in particular at what is called (II.254) his “triumphal entry” into Jerusalem (Matt 21,19, but not in the other Gospels). Pilatus is put up by the Jerusalem authorities into asking Jesus “Are you the king of the Jews?” (so all four Gospels); and so marks his *titulus* (in three languages, Joh 19,20). John, among other good pieces of tradition which he may not fully understand, records that after the feeding of the five thousand Jesus is aware that a movement is afoot “to make him king” (Joh 6,15). We saw (I.262-3) how both the God of the Decalogue and the Roman Emperor (“Caesar”), in the line of the old loyalty-oath, demanded exclusive allegiance; and how the chief priests remind Pilatus of this, “We have no king but Caesar” (Joh 19,15). Then in the first century titles develop which more and more mutually assimilate the statuses of Christ and Caesar.

## 12.4.1 Evangelium, “good news”

The letter of Paulus Fabius Maximus the proconsul of Asia, about 9 BC (together with decrees of the *koinon* of Asia), is the principal testimony for εὐαγγέλιον, “good news,” in the Imperial cult.<sup>83</sup> The first decree has (ii.40) “The birthday of the god [Augustus!] was the beginning for the world of the good news that exists on his account,” ἤρξεν δὲ τῷ κόσμῳ τῶν δι’ αὐτὸν εὐαγγελίων ἢ γενέθλιος ἡμέρα τοῦ θεοῦ. The supplement seems certain in view of the final ἡμέρα since γενέθλιος ἡμέρα appears throughout the text (e.g. at ii.51). We have fragments of a Latin version, but not of this phrase, and it is hard to guess Latin for εὐαγγέλιον.<sup>84</sup>

The word recurs with κόσμος at Mark 14,9 “wherever the good news is proclaimed in all the world,” ὅπου ἂν κηρυχθῇ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον εἰς ὅλον τὸν κόσμον. In the Vulgate it is transcribed simply *euangelium*; and so occasionally in the Peshitto, Mark 1,1 along with “beginning,” ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, Vg *inītiūm euāgelīi*, Pesh ܘܪܟܝܠܐ ܕܥܘܢܗܘܪܝܢܐ. Thence into *Quran* 3.65 *وَأَلَّا نَجِيلَ وَآلَّا نَجِيلَ* *attawrātu wal’ inīlu* “the Torah and the Gospel.” In a text omitted from some editions of Bab. Talmud *Shabb.* 116a<sup>85</sup> the

83 Robert K. Sherk, *Roman Documents from the Greek East: Senatus Consulta and Epistulae to the Age of Augustus*; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1969; no. 65, p. 328; OGIS 458.

84 A papyrus of AD 238 records the writer’s pleasure at the εὐαγγελίῳ “good news” that the son of Maximinus Thrax has been proclaimed Caesar: A. Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten ...*; 4th ed.; Tübingen: Mohr, 1923, 314.

85 Cf. Jastrow i.27 and SVMB ii.379.

Greek is tendentiously distorted as  $\alpha\iota\delta\omicron\lambda\iota\sigma\kappa\alpha\iota$  “idol-scroll” and  $\sigma\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\sigma\kappa\alpha\iota$  “sin-scroll.” Scholars differ how far the NT usage has an Imperial flavor. Nock<sup>86</sup> austerey thinks *euangelion* simply “the obvious Greek word both for [an Emperor’s accession] and for the news of the birth of Jesus.” But Sherk<sup>87</sup> writes:

Augustus was σωτήρ, the savior of a war-torn and shattered world, the hope for the future, the bearer of εὐαγγέλια. A title and an expression, these are keys to an understanding of the religious movements which were then taking shape.

#### 12.4.2 “Savior of the world”

In an inscription from Myra of Lycia<sup>88</sup> Augustus has the titles “Divine Augustus, son of a god, Caesar, ‘emperor’ of land and sea, the benefactor and savior of the whole world,”

θεὸν Σεβαστὸν θεοῦ υἱὸν Καίσαρα αὐτοκράτορα γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης τὸν εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτῆρα τοῦ σύνπαντος κόσμου

This text is exceptional, perhaps unique, in making Augustus *diuus* apparently during his lifetime. Already in 196 BC, Chalcis set up a cult to T. Quinctius Flaminius for his proclaiming Greek liberty; it was still going on in the time of Plutarch, who quotes from the hymn in honor of “great Zeus, Rome, Titus, and the faith of the Romans” (Plutarch *Flam.* 16.4), Ζῆνα μέγαν Ῥώμαν τε Τίτον θ’ ἅμα Ῥωμαίων τε πίστιν, ending ὦ Τίτε σῶτερ “O savior Titus!” Luk 22,25 has Jesus correctly note that the great ones of the nations are called Benefactors, εὐεργέται, Vg *benefici*. In the Greek of the Rosetta Stone<sup>89</sup> earlier rulers, Ptolemy III and his sister Arsinoe, had the titles “Savior gods, Sibling gods and Benefactor gods,” θεῶν σωτήρων καὶ θεῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ θεῶν εὐεργετῶν. Philo (*Leg. ad Gaium* 148, LCL x. 174) calls Augustus εὐεργέτην, but not as a full title.

Ὁ σωτήρ τοῦ κόσμου in various forms is standard for the emperors after Augustus; see the summary by Koester.<sup>90</sup> A resolution from Narbo of Italy<sup>91</sup> on Augustus’ birthday (in agreement with Paullus’ letter) has a related formula: VIII K(alendas) OCTOBR(is) QVA DIE

86 A. D. Nock, *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, ed. Z. Stewart; 2 vols.; Cambridge: Harvard, 1972; i.81.

87 *Op. cit.* (note 83 above) p. 337.

88 Ehrenberg-Jones 72.

89 OGIS 90.4, 196 BC.

90 Craig R. Koester, “‘The Savior of the World’ (John 4:42),” *JBL* 109 (1990) 665-680.

91 ILS 112A, AD 12/13; Ehrenberg-Jones 100.



EVM SAECVLI FELICITAS ORBI TERRARVM RECTOREM EDIDIT  
 “September 23, on which day the good fortune of the age brought [Augustus] into being as the ruler of the world.” Propertius 4.6.37, describing the battle of Actium, calls Augustus *mundi servator*, but this is not a phrase of the imperial cult. At Joh 4,42 (cf I Joh 4,14) the Samaritans know that Jesus is truly “the savior of the world,” ὁ σωτὴρ τοῦ κόσμου, Vg *saluator mundi*.

#### 12.4.3 “Son of God”

The Imperial title *diui filius* “son of the deified one” is regularly transcribed in Greek υἱὸς θεοῦ. The NT agrees in the Greek with a different connotation. At Joh 19,7 where the Ἰουδαῖοι (Jews? Judaeans?) say “because he made himself the son of God,” υἱὸν θεοῦ, Vg *filium dei*, Pesh ברך דאלהא, Pilatus is afraid because the Greek sounds like an Imperial claim. Again most MSS of Mark 1,1 have “Son of God,” υἱοῦ θεοῦ. In the neo-Punic of Lepcis (KAI 120, 8 BC) Augustus is בן אלם. At Palmyra in the adulatory East, Hadrian even during his lifetime is (PAT 0305) θεοῦ Ἀδρ[ι]ανοῦ = אלהא א[נ]רררר.

#### 12.4.4 “Lord”

Festus so refers politely to Nero, “I have nothing certain to write to the Lord (τῷ κυρίῳ),” Act 25,26, Vg *domino*. So it is mere politeness when Pliny the Younger writes to Trajan *ago gratias, domine* (*Ep.* 10.6). The Hellenistic monarchs were so addressed, in particular Herod the Great in Batanaea (OGIS 415). Cassius at Rhodes after Julius’ assassination was addressed as βασιλέα καὶ κύριον and replied “Neither king nor lord, but slayer and chastiser of a king and lord” (Plutarch *Brut.* 30.2). Augustus prudently refused the title *dominus* (Suet. *Aug.* 73), though in papyri<sup>92</sup> he occasionally is addressed as κύριος. The identity κύριος = *dominus* is formal in a bilingual inscription under Trajan (IGRR i.1207) where AVG[VSTI] DOMINI N[OSTRI] = Σεβαστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου.

Polycarp of Smyrna, bishop and martyr, refuses to say κύριος Καῖσαρ “Caesar is lord” (*Martyrdom of Polycarp* 8.2). Domitian asked to be called *dominus et deus noster* (Suetonius *Dom.* 13): Martial in a frivolous context (5.8.1) refers to an *edictum domini deique nostri*, but under Trajan rejects the title (10.72.8). And so at Joh 20,28 Thomas apparently makes a deliberate reference to the title, ὁ κύριός μου καὶ ὁ θεός μου where Vg *dominus meus et deus meus*, Pesh. מרי ואלהי. In Old

92 E.g. BGU 1200.11.

Aramaic a king (KAI 216) calls himself “slave of Tiglath-Pileser, Lord of the four quarters of the earth”:

עבד תנלחפליסר מרא רבעי ארקא

In Palmyrene (PAT 0291) Septimius Odainath is “illustrious consul (ὑπατικός), our lord”:

נהירא הפטיקא מרן

Aretas of Nabataea (Ἀρέτας II Kor 11,32) has the titles (CIS 2.201) “our lord Haretath, king of the Nabataeans, lover of his people”:

למראנא חרחת מלך נבטו רחם עמה

In the NT κύριος of God or of Christ comes out in Latin *dominus* and in Syriac מרא; in all three languages the usage echoes the Imperial mode of address.<sup>93</sup>

Furthermore the words for “lord” moved back and forth among the languages. *Domine* vocative becomes Rabbinic דומיני קרטי becomes Rabbinic קירי and קירי “Sir”<sup>94</sup> and in Church usage enters Latin. Thus in the *Itin. Egeriae* 24.5<sup>95</sup> at the commemoration of the departed in the liturgy of Jerusalem:

Et diacono dicente singulorum nomina semper pisinni plurimi stant respondententes semper “kyrie eleyson,” quod dicimus nos miserere Domine.

“And as the deacon speaks each individual name, many children (*pisinnus*, a very rare nursery word) stand responding each time *kyrie eleyson*, or as we say ‘Lord have mercy’.”

Above all the Aramaic came to be known. Paul writes to Corinth, without word-dividers, μαρναναθα (I Kor 16,22), and so Vg *maranatha*; the phrase also appears at *Didache* 10.6, perhaps independently. Evidently the Aramaic and its meaning were familiar to Paul’s correspondents. The word-division is not quite certain, and the Syriac interprets אהא מרן *māran ʿeīā* “our Lord has come.” It seems better to interpret with Rev 22,20 ἔρχου κύριε Ἰησοῦ “come, Lord Jesus” (also at the end of a book) and divide הא מרן *mārana īā*. Still today a Beirut mother calls to her boy in Lebanese colloquial Arabic *ta*’ “come” (but to a girl *tay*).

We saw (II.71) that the god of Gaza was known as Marnas. Since the pagans under Porphyrius (bishop of Gaza AD 395-420) believed (Marcus Diaconus *op. cit.*) that “Marnas was god of the rains,” τὸν Μαρναν κύριον εἶναι τῶν ὀμβρῶν, it is natural to take his name as a title “our Lord.” Philo *Flaccus* 36-39 (LCL ix.322) tells the story of the

93 See the lengthy article by Foerster in TWNT/TDNT iii with subtle distinctions.

94 Texts in Krauss (note 78 above) 287, 539.

95 Ed. P. Marval, *Sources chrétiennes* 296; Paris: Cerf, 1982, p. 240.

mock coronation (AD 37 or later) of the lunatic Carabas by the Alexandrians: they hail him as Μάριν which Philo states to mean τὸν κύριον “among the Syrians,” παρὰ Σύροις. It was the mob’s way of mocking the state visit of Herod Agrippa (I) “the Syrian.” Carabas is given substitutes for diadem, cloak and sceptre: διαδήματος, χλαμύδος, σκήπτρου. Compare Matt 27,28-29 with the same three items: the scarlet robe, χλαμύδα κοκκίνην; the crown of thorns; and the reed in his right hand.

Thus both Caesar and Christ look back to ancient kingships. Octavian at first wanted to be called Romulus; and built his military powers on the (pro)consulate, the successor office to the regal. Jesus is called the “son of David.” The dominion of each is extended from a city to the world; each is its savior, σωτήρ τοῦ κόσμου; the birth of each begins good news, εὐαγγέλιον to the world. Each is *dominus et deus*, each (in Greek) is θεοῦ υἱός “son of a god.” Each has exclusive claims made for him; the two are set against each other as objects of commitment. Here the comparison ends. Augustus achieved more power than any civic king dreamt of; Jesus’ claim is through the renunciation of power. Between them the parabola from monarchy to constitution to monarchy is worked out in fully contrasted ways.

## Excursus F: Hamilcar Barca and Hannibal in Punic

The recent “prosopography” of Carthaginians by Klaus Geus lists 160 historic persons—solely as attested by Greek and Latin sources—with relatives, biography, sources and bibliography.<sup>1</sup> Volume I of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* has now exceeded 6,000 inscriptions, the vast majority Punic inscriptions from Carthage with one or more personal names each; the names of men and women in them (and elsewhere) have been completely listed by Frank L. Benz, with grammatical analysis.<sup>2</sup> The names of North-African men and women from Latin literary sources and inscriptions have been gathered by Jongeling,

- 1 Klaus Geus, *Prosopographie der literarisch bezeugten Karthager*; *Studia Phoenicia* 13; *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 59; Leuven: Peeters, 1994. This work, done by a student of Werner Huss, replaces all previous lists of historic Carthaginians, in particular those scattered through PW, and the entries (not claiming completeness) in DCP. It ends with the destruction of Carthage in 146 BC. It is initially confusing that entries rejected appear e.g. as “\*Hannibal (8)” prefixed to the bona fide entry “Hannibal (8)” without asterisk. Further limitations: no list of abbreviations of modern works and journals; omission of Carthaginians known only from Greek or Latin inscriptions (e.g. a second Synalos noted p. 203 note 1217 from IG II/III<sup>2</sup> 418 [=SIG<sup>3</sup> 321] but not entered); omission of Punic inscriptions, and no review of Punic equivalents. Geus prudently resists efforts to combine data for persons of the same name except where clear evidence shows identity. Hence his numbered entries may in the future be supplemented by new data or combined by new arguments, but are unlikely to be broken up; his numbering will undoubtedly become standard and is here so treated.
- 2 Frank L. Benz, *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions: A Catalog, Grammatical Study and Glossary of Elements*; *Studia Pohl* 8; Rome: Biblical Institute, 1972. The informal typescript format does not detract from the high accuracy and usefulness of this work, which includes attestations from the entire body of Phoenician; Punic and neo-Punic from elsewhere than Carthage; and inscriptions from Carthage presumably later than 146 BC. Above all Chapter IV, “Glossary of Name Elements,” includes a very full listing of Latin and Greek equivalents, both from literary texts (there making a link to the work of Geus) and Latin and Greek inscriptions (nearly all after 146 BC). Some of Benz’ equivalents (mostly followed by Geus) are here questioned—very largely on the basis of data which he himself provides.

with a proposed Punic original wherever appropriate.<sup>3</sup> It is natural to look through the Punic inscriptions to see if any persons known from Greco-Roman history likely appear in them. But the material presents formidable obstacles. (1) Not all the equivalences between Punic and Greco-Latin names proposed by these sources will stand up under scrutiny. (2) Geus' 160 historic figures among them include only 25 different Punic names (p. 3, besides some Greek and Libyan); the commonest names in the CIS according to Benz' lists appear nearly a thousand times. Thus a heavy burden of proof is placed on identifications. (3) The study of the Punic inscriptions as historical texts is still in its infancy.

Thus three tasks are incumbent on us, to which a beginning is here made.

(1) The true Punic equivalents of Carthaginian names attested in Greek and Latin texts must be determined. Here I propose to change the now conventionally received Punic equivalents for Hamilcar the great (no. 9 of Geus) along with his surname *Barcas*, and for his son Hannibal the great (no. 9)—along with all others given the same names in Greek and Roman history.

(2) Criteria for identification of historic figures in the Punic texts need to be set up. Since men's names are so few and so often repeated in Carthage, the bare minimum requirement for equivalence of a Punic inscription and a Greco-Latin stemma is agreement of grandfather, father and son, "A son of B son of C." Even that falls short of demonstrative without other corroboration. Furthermore, an eldest son is regularly named after his grandfather by "papyponymy," "A son of B son of A," as both the inscriptions and the Greco-Latin history attest (I.120). I Chron 5,35-36 among the descendants of Sadok the priest attests an Azariah (עֲזַרְיָה) father of Johanan (יֹחָנָן) father of Azariah; Eshmunazar (אַשְׁמוּנָאָזָר) king of Sidon (KAI 14.14) was son of Tabnith (תַּבְּנִית) [and of his sister (!) Imm'aštart (אַמְעַשְׁתַּרְתַּ)] and grandson (בֶּן בֶּן) of Eshmunazar. At Mark 1,19 John (Ἰωάννης) of Capernaum is son of Ζεβεδαίου; an inscription from the Capernaum synagogue (CIJ 2.982) honors "Alphaeus son of Zebidah son of Yohanan," חֶלְפִי בֶן זְבִידָה בֶן יוֹחָנָן. Here we seem to have a later record of the actual Gospel family, with Alphaeus as a younger son. —In such cases we would like to have four generations with agreement in the great-grandfather as well.

(3) Potentially historical texts need to be located. The requirements of (2) will be relaxed if we can find Punic inscriptions which are truly

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3 K. Jongeling, *North-African Names from Latin sources*; Leiden: Research School CNWS, 1994.

historical: e.g. which bring together two men (ideally with their fathers) known from the historical record; or otherwise refer to a known historical event; or ideally both. One Punic inscription (CIS 1.5510) was shown by Charles Krahmalkov (below) to meet both criteria; unaccountably his analysis has been mostly ignored on the Continent, and is here reinforced. Much of this text still remains doubtful; and in general the vocabulary and grammar of Carthaginian Punic are more opaque to us than classical Phoenician. But that very fact suggests that more historical data are lurking there in the vast Punic corpus if we only knew how to identify them.

All sources agree on the father of Hannibal the great, e.g. Nepos *Hann.* 1 *Hannibal Hamilcaris filius*; only Nepos in his life of Hamilcar (chap. 1) gives Hannibal's grandfather, *Hamilcar Hannibalis filius cognomine Barca* "Hamilcar named Barca the son of Hannibal." Nepos however seems reliable in providing this information, since Hannibal the great is plainly the eldest son, although I do not find this specifically stated by any ancient source. Geus (p. 77 note 447) believes that he had at least three elder sisters; but his oath at the age of 9 (Polybius 3.11.5) strongly suggests him as the eldest son. At 3.33.6 his brother Hasdrubal (Geus no. 6) is his subordinate; at 3.71.6 his brother Mago (Geus no. 6) is still young (νέον). Thus by papyponymy he ought to have been named after his grandfather; but since Nepos cannot be shown to know of this practice, his testimony is reinforced.

What is the Punic original of *Hamilcar*? It is always so spelled in Latin literary texts; Hamilcar Barca is Ἀμίλκαος Polybius 1.76.3 etc. but Ἀμίλχαρ in Appian (*Punica* 8.68). It is not quite certain that Ἀμίλκαος of Herodotus 7.167 (son of a Hanno 7.165) is the same name (Hamilcar no. 1 Geus). Geus 36 assumes that the name in all appearances is from חמלך which appears ab. 250 times in the Punic inscriptions (Benz 110-112).<sup>4</sup> But then how can we explain the *r* of the Latin and Appian?

It may seem a problem that if we do not identify *Hamilcar* = חמלך, the relatively common חמלך has no Greco-Roman equivalent in independent Carthage. It cannot be *Himilco*, Ἰμίλκων, for abundant evidence (below) points to this as the transcription of חמלכת "brother of the Queen," where the long *ō* of the Latin and Greek reproduces a Phoenician feminine singular with the final *t* quiescent. The two

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4 Geus 36 implausibly assumes that the name is reduced from חמלך "the king [i.e. a divinity?] was gracious" which appears only twice in the Punic inscriptions (CIS 3800, 4334, Benz 125). Benz 263 much more plausibly holds that it is for חמלך\* "My brother is King" or "Brother of the King"; in such names it is unclear whether "King" is a man or a god.

Punic forms with “King” and “Queen” are clearly distinct, CIS I.346 חמלכת בן חמלך “Hmlk son of Hmlkt”; the semi-literate inscription IG 14.279 from Lilybaeum of Sicily has  $\mu\sigma\lambda\chi\ \mu\iota\mu\lambda\chi\omega\nu\omicron\varsigma$  “(H)imylk son of (H)imilcho,” which seems to give the vowels of חמלך. But many other common names in Benz do not appear in Greco-Roman form before 146 BC, either by chance or as later developed: thus ארש (Benz 64-68)<sup>5</sup>; several names beginning with אשמן- (ibid. 70-73); בעלחנא (90-93); בעליהן (94-96); גרעשחרח (106-7); עבדאשמן (150-153); עומלך (165-7); שפט (182-4).<sup>6</sup>

The *r* in *Hamilcar* and Ἀμίλκαρ then can only point to a name ending in מלקרת “Melqarth.” Harris<sup>7</sup> followed by Benz 314 and Jongeling 56 strangely identified this famous and common name of Carthaginian history (18 attestations in Geus) with חנמלקרת, which appears twice only in the thousands of extant Punic inscriptions, CIS 2069 and 4376 (Benz 125). Of the names ending in מ-מלקרת only three are at all common. בדמלקרת “In the hand of Melqarth?” (Benz 75-81) must be *Bomilcar* (Geus 16 with doubts);<sup>8</sup> גרמלקרת (Benz 104) is out of the question; then the only remaining possibility for *Hamilcar* is the extremely common עבדמלקרת “Slave of Melqarth” (Benz 155-161). This is the identification of Lenschau;<sup>9</sup> of DCP 204; and of Gisela Strassburger<sup>10</sup> for Ἀμίλκας of Herodotus 7.165-7 (*Hamilcar* no. 1 of Geus). The name continued down to our era in forms which show the assimilation of one or more consonants to the *M* of Melqarth: AMMICAR MILCHATONIS F(ILIVS) CYNASYN(ENSIS) (CIL 8.68 = ILS 6095); AMMICARIS genit. (CIL 8.10525 bis, 5.4920); and especially ADMICARIS (CIL 8.25436, genitive) where the *d* shows the remains of ‘*abd*’.

I would accept the remote possibility that the “Amilkas” of Herodotus (and other minor “Hamilcars” unattested in Latin with the *r*) is in fact חמלך; but the identity of the Greek form Ἀμίλκας from Herodotus to Roman times and the extreme commonness of עבדמלקרת speak against even this. Furthermore, חמלך is restricted to Punic; while

5 Its one appearance as *Aris* before 146 BC is rejected by Geus p. 12; but ARIS is frequent in later Latin inscriptions from Africa, e.g. CIL 8.23833 (as one of two *sufetes*).

6 Unless in most of the cases really a title, “suffete.”

7 Zellig S. Harris, *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language*; American Oriental Series 6; New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1936; p. 103.

8 Here the Latin *o* vowel shows that the initial *bd*- cannot be the abbreviation of ‘*bd*’ which must have an *a*- vowel.

9 Lenschau in PW 7.2297.

10 Geus p. 36 note 182.

עברמלקרה appears at Abydos of a Phoenician (KAI 49.31), and at Athens (KAI 55):

ΝΟΥΜΗΝΙΟΣ ΚΙΤΙΕΥΣ

לבנחדש בן עברמלקרה בן עברשמש בן חגנץ אש כתי

“‘New-Month’ son of ‘bdmlqrt son of ‘bdšmš son of *Tgnš* of Kition.”<sup>11</sup>

Nepos we saw calls Hannibal’s father Hamilcar Barca (Polybius 1.82.12 Βάρκαος). The OLD treats *Barca* as if a family name; but more correctly it is a cognomen of Hamilcar, discussed along with others such by Geus 217-226. What is its status? Geus 220 takes it for granted that it is from Semitic ברק and means “Lightning” as a nickname (he calls Hamilcar *der Blitz* p. 50). In support of this we can quote Deborah’s general בְּרַקְּ Jud 4,10; also in Palmyrene (PAT 0345) where it seems to be in fact a cognomen, בר חירא ברק “son of Hira ‘Lightning’”? Further, Romans called one or both Scipios a *fulmen*. Thus Lucretius 3.1034

Scipiadas, belli fulmen, Carthaginis horror

“Scipio [the elder], a thunderbolt of war, the terror of Carthage.” Cicero *pro Balbo* 34 *duo fulmina nostri imperi...Cn. et P. Scipiones*. Vergil *Aen.* 6.842-3 *geminos, dua fulmina bello, / Scipiadas, cladem Libyae*. Silius 15.664 applies the theme back to Hannibal:

et fulmen subitum Carthaginis Hannibal adsit

“and Hannibal, the sudden thunderbolt of Carthage, be present.” But this seems a wholly Roman theme. Perhaps enough Punic was known at Rome for ברק to be given a folk-etymology as ברקן.

Punic ברקן appears once as a man’s name (CIS I.4840, Benz 101) and ברקני 3 times as a woman’s (see Benz 292). Against this explanation is the name ברך (22 times in Punic of Carthage, Benz 101), see also KAI 146 (Mactar) & KAI 159. It appears also in the Latin of Africa: in CIL 8.18068 (col. B.17) C. IVLIVS BARIC is the only Punic name in a long catalogue; cf. 8.21484 OCTAVIO BARICI PATRI where in

11 There is another Νουμήνιος at I Makk 12,16. A person called “New Moon” must have been born on the new moon. Likewise שְׁבִתִי Ezra 10,15 was surely born on the Sabbath. Many Egyptian men and women in the Hellenistic period born in Egypt bear the name Σαββαθίων or one of its numerous variants (CPJ iii.483-487), and a majority are by all indications pagan. This can only mean that native Egyptians or Greek colonists learned from Jews when the Sabbath came, considered it auspicious, and named after it children born on it. Compare the Scottish rhyme on children born on each of the seven days, ending (of course for Sunday rather than the old Sabbath):

And the child that is born on the Sabbath day  
Is bonny and blithe and good and gay.



both places it is a cognomen “Blessed.” Thus while “Lightning” remains a bare possibility, much more likely is that Hamilcar has the cognomen “Blessed” as in the late Latin inscriptions.

Unexpected light is thrown on the Punic original of *Hannibal* by the inscription CIS I.5510. Krahmalkov<sup>12</sup> first recognized the Punic for Agrigentum in it and identified the generals it mentions with those chronicled by Diodorus. His interpretation was improved by van den Branden.<sup>13</sup> Thereafter it was ignored or rejected by Continental scholarship: Werner Huss<sup>14</sup> turns it down without argument, it is ignored in the relevant prosopographical articles of DCP, simply noted in disagreement by Geus under Hannibal (2) (pp. 66-68) and omitted under Himilco (3) (pp. 159-166). The interpretation of the Punic as “Agrigentum” has been vindicated (to my mind conclusively) by Krahmalkov’s student Philip C. Schmitz,<sup>15</sup> who records studies of the text. The agreement of the generals’ names with Diodorus, by far the most obvious token of the text’s historical character, has been conspicuously absent from the Continental literature.

I print the text of CIS I 5510 from the end of line 7 through the beginning of line 11. It is the dedication of some lost object or building. What comes before and after is broken and opaque to me. The dedication ends uniquely (so far as we know) with a historical note of the year of dedication. I translate four of the names (Hanno, Bostar, Gisgo, Himilco) with well-attested Latin equivalents; I arbitrarily vocalize two more (Eshmun’amas, Adniba’al) for ease in pronunciation.

CIL I 5510.7b-11a

...ומנת אמחנת	7
8 ז בחדש [פ]עלת שת אשמנעמס בן אדנבעל הרב וחנא	
9 בן בדעשתר[ת] בן חנא הרב וילך רבם אדנבעל בן גרסכן הר	
10 ב וחמלכת בן חנא הרב עלש ותמך המת אית אנרגנת וש	
11 [.]ח שלם	

7 And this gift was erected 8 on the new moon of [the month] P’lt in the year of Eshmun’amas son of Adniba’al the *rab* and of Hanno 9 son of Bostar son of Hanno the *rab*. And the *rabbim* Adniba’al son of Gisgo the *rab* 10

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- 12 C. Krahmalkov, “A Carthaginian Report of the Battle of Agrigentum 406 B.C. (CIS I, 5510. 9-11),” *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 2 (1974) 171-177.
- 13 A. van den Branden, “Quelques notes concernant l’inscription CIS 5510,” *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 5 (1977) 139-2145.
- 14 Werner Huss, *Geschichte der Karthager*, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft Abt. 3/8; Munich: Beck, 1985; p. 117 n. 63.
- 15 Philip C. Schmitz, “The name ‘Agrigentum’ in a Punic inscription (CIS I 5510.10),” *JNES* 53 (1994) 1-13. Through the kindness of the author I have in hand also his unpublished dissertation, *Epigraphic Contributions to a History of Carthage in the Fifth Century B.C.E.* (University of Michigan, 1990).

and Himilco son of Hanno the *rab* went to 'lš, and they took Agrigentum; and they made 11 [...] peace (?)...

Here I make three assumptions frequently held, but none uncontested.

(a) I take it for granted that Eshmun'amas and Hanno son of Bostar are the annual *sufetes*, and that such are referred to in Greek texts as “kings,” βασιλῆς. (b) I also take it for granted that רב means “general,” στρατηγός, and that a general is chosen as such, in a pattern shared with Rome, either in his year of office as suffete or later. (c) I assume finally that when הרב comes at the end of a genealogy it designates the last name as general and not the first; for in lines 9-10 *rbm* is enough to designate Adniba'al son of Gisgo and Himilco as generals. Thus the genealogy of each annual suffete is continued back until the prestigious rank of *rab* is reached; also each current general is son of a general.

7 מנה is Qal passive participle abs. fem. of מנה. The א of אמחנה is for the definite article. 9 The verb וילך must be either qal or causative of the root הלך. But if it were causative, *rbm* would have to designate some other unnamed parties, and in בן גרסכן הרב *rb* contrary to usage would have to refer to Adniba'al; and likewise for his colleague. Thus it must be simple “they went.” 10 What does עלש mean? Since it ends a clause, it is most natural to take it as the place to which the *rabbim* go. Now in the Punic inscriptions a man's name עלשי occurs 12 times and a woman's עלשת 40 times (Benz 172); that strongly suggests a foreign ethnic, since women were much more likely to marry in to Carthaginian society than men. If עלש was the place where the *rabbim* took אנרנה it can only be “coastlands” generally or Sicily. Since West Semitic does not normally use 'ayin to transliterate foreign sounds, it cannot be the Punic for a Greek or Siceliot place name. — אנרנה agrees with Latin *Agrigentum* against Greek Ἀκράγας.

Remarkably the dating clause agrees with a Greek account of Punic events. Diodorus 13.80, dated at 406 BC, describes how the Carthaginians designated two generals to take command in Sicily, and how they eventually captured Akragas (Agrigentum). The elder general (στρατηγός) is Ἀννίβαν (accus.); his younger colleague is ἰμίκωνα τοῦ Ἀννωνος (13.80.1-2). (Diodorus [13.85.5] later inaccurately, it seems, refers to the younger man as ἰμίκλας) This Annibas is earlier described at 13.43.5 (410 BC): “They appointed as general Annibas, at that time acting as king according to the laws,” στρατηγὸν κατέστησαν τὸν Ἀννίβαν, κατὰ νόμους τότε βασιλεύοντα. That must mean that in that year this Annibas was the annual suffete, and (in accordance with a

general practice) was given command in the field.<sup>16</sup> Later in the same passage Diodorus says that Annibas was grandson of the Amilkas (Ἀμίλκου genit.) who fought at Gelon (Hamilcar no. 1 of Geus) and son of Gisgo (Γέσκωνος) the exile. Thus restoring nominatives we find that the two generals in 406 BC were Ἀννίβας (Hannibal no. 2 of Geus) son of Γέσκων (Gisgo no. 1), and Ἡμίλκων (Himilco no. 3) son of Ἄννων (Hanno no. 6).

But now even at first sight three out of the four names correspond perfectly with the two generals of CIS I 5510, אדנבעל בן גרסכן and אהמלכה בן חנה, which further agrees with Diodorus in mentioning the son of Gisgo first, as senior general. Thus three equivalences which have never been doubted are confirmed: *Gisgo* = Γέσκων = גרסכן; *Himilco* = Ἡμίλκων = אהמלכה; *Hanno* = Ἄννων = אנה. In all probability both generals appeared in Athens as legates in a fragmentary Attic inscription:<sup>17</sup> besides a mention of Σικελ[ίαν] “Sicily” there appears [Ἀννίβα]γ Γέσκου[ος]

In his dissertation Schmitz assumes (p. 71) that the current general Adniba'al son of Gisgo is the same as the father of Eshmun'amas the suffete; and likewise that Hanno the father of the current general Himilco (and himself a general) is the same as Hanno the general and grandfather of the suffete Hanno. There are two arguments against this, one specific and one general. First: Diodorus 13.80.1-2 states that the second general this year was chosen well into the year, upon request of the senior, as being a younger man; that means that they were as a rule chosen *after* the suffetes. On Schmitz' identifications, that would mean that the generals were chosen as elder family members of the suffetes: the general Adniba'al son of Gisgo as father of the suffete Eshmun'amas, and Himilco as uncle of the suffete Hanno son of Bostar. (It seems even more improbable that the suffetes were chosen as younger relatives of the men later to be designated general.)

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16 The principle is very clear in 383 BC “appointing Mago the king as general,” καταστήσαντες δὲ στρατηγὸν Μάγωνα τὸν βασιλέα (Diodorus 15.15.2). Likewise in general Isocrates 3.24 says of both Spartans and Carthaginians that “in war they are ruled by kings,” παρὰ δὲ τὸν πόλεμον βασιλευμένους. Then when in 396 BC the Carthaginians put in charge of the campaign against Dionysius one Himilco, Ἡμίλκωνα βασιλέα κατὰ νόμον καταστήσαντες (Diodorus 14.54.5), we should understand “appointing Himilco, then the lawful king, in charge of the campaign.” Here again Carthage runs closely parallel to Rome, where a consul both during his term of office and subsequently is the normal choice for general, but requires additional authorization from the Senate so to act.

17 Meiggs-Lewis no. 92.

Further, Himilco is in the prime of life, which would make his nephew Hanno a young man—too young for suffete?

And more generally. There are so few different proper names in the Punic texts that we should not be surprised at the coincidence when two pairs of generals of the same name appear in this brief text. Diodorus 13.80.2 further states that the two current generals were from a single family, ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ... συγγενείας.<sup>18</sup> That does not mean that either or both of the suffetes were members of that family. Perhaps one pair of homonymous generals were the same man and the other pair were not. I do not endeavor further to elucidate the family relations.

Most enticing is the first equivalence Ἀννίβας = אַדנבעל. Nobody doubts that Ἀννίβας always represents the same name as *Hannibal*: Greek could not accommodate a noun ending in *-l*. A later inscription (ILS 56) says that Q. Fabius Maximus (“Cunctator”) *Hannibalem...coercuit* “hemmed in Hannibal.” An Etruscan inscription has *hanipaluscle* “men of Hannibal”?<sup>19</sup> All previous authors have unanimously identified *Hannibal* = Ἀννίβας with Punic אַדנבעל, quite common (Benz 122-124). But CIS I.5510 makes it certain that at least Hannibal no. 2 in Punic was אַדנבעל “Baal is my lord,” an extremely common proper name in Punic with 4 pages in Benz (pp. 46-49). Could some or all of the other Hannibals, in particular Hannibal the great, still be Punic אַדנבעל? But this rear-guard position is also ruled out by later texts which show that אַדנבעל had *different vowels*.

Key here is the Latin and neo-Punic bilingual KAI 120 (a dedication to Augustus from Lepcis, 8 BC) where both Punic names appear and are transliterated. The first of the flamens of Augustus (FLAMINIB[us] = זבחה) was ארש בן אַדנבעל = IDDIB(A)LE ARINIS F(ilio). The dedicator was אַדנבעל בן חמלכת = ANNOBAL IMILCHONIS HIMILCHO F(ilius) where the repeated HIMILCHO nom. seems an error of the Punic stonecutter.<sup>20</sup> The Latin vowels are the clue. Here אַדנבעל comes out *Iddibal* instead of *Hannibal*, but both forms retain the *i* of “Ba'al is my lord.” אַדנבעל is revealed to have an *o* vowel and therefore to contain a verb with the regular Phoenician *o*-vowel,

18 Geus 106 note 612 discusses possible explanations of the relationship.

19 TLE Sup 890; A. J. Pfiffig, “Eine Nennung Hannibals in einer Inschrift des 2. Jahrhunderts v. Ch. aus Tarquinia,” *Studi Etruschi* 35 (1967) 659-663. It is the grave of one Felsnas Larth, who lived 106 years(!), dwelt at Capua, and (perhaps) fought beside the men of Hannibal.

20 Same equivalence earlier in the inscription in a genealogy incomplete in the Latin.

“Ba‘al was gracious.” The two Punic names frequently occur in the same family with no sign of confusion: e.g. CIS I.856 חנבעל בן אדנבעל, 1199 אדנבעל בן חנבעל.

North of Italian Brescia lies the subalpine Val Trompia, still bearing the name of the first of the 46 *gentes Alpinae* conquered by Augustus, the *Trump(i)lini* (Pliny 3.136).<sup>21</sup> In its village Zenano were found four bronze patronage tablets,<sup>22</sup> now lost, of the years AD 27-28 between various African cities and one C. Silius Aviola, evidently from the ruins of his villa, and recording relationships formed while his Legio III was in Africa. In CIL 5.4920 the first two African legates with their cities are

Azrubal sufes Annobalis f(ilius) Agdibil(ensis); Boncarth Iddibalis f(ilius) Risuil(ensis)

Here the fathers of the first two legates again have the vowels clearly distinguished. Elsewhere in Latin inscriptions forms with an *o* vowel all surely represent חנבעל: ANNOBAL HARMATIS (CIL 8.27541); NAMPHAMONI ANNOBALIS L(IBERTO) (CIL 8.9429); RVFVS ANNOBALIS (CIL 8.23638). Forms with an *i* vowel, with various consonants, all must represent אדנבעל. Thus the bilingual KAI 172 from Sardinia (date uncertain) has HIMILCONI IDNIBALIS = ח[ה]מלכח בן אדנבעל where IDNI- shows the Punic consonants. Other transcriptions show a gradation back to the classical one: IDDIBAL CIL 5.4919; ANNIBAL CIL 8.508; ANIBAS 8.20855 (illiterate). The Romans heard the vowels more distinctly than the consonants. Thus חנבעל always had the *o* vowel of the Phoenician qal perfect (and was not carried by any figure known to Greco-Roman history before 146 BC); אדנבעל always had the *i* vowel of “my lord” and is the *only* Phoenician name that could have been represented by *Hannibal*, Ἀννίβασις.

It seems appropriate that this famous Carthaginian name should also be one of the first West-Semitic men’s names to be recorded. Among the inscribed bronze arrow (or lance) heads from Mount Lebanon of the 10th century BC or earlier (II.138) there appears<sup>23</sup> חץ עזרבעל בן אדנבעל “Arrow of Hasdrubal son of Hannibal”! It has never been doubted that *Hasdrubal* = Ἀσδρούβασις (Polybius 1.40.1 etc.)

21 Pliny preserves the text of the fragmentary inscription of the Tropaea Augusti, CIL 5.7817 = Ehrenberg-Jones 40.

22 CIL 5.4919 (= ILS 6100), CIL 5.4920, CIL 5.4921 (= ILS 6099a), CIL 5.4922 (= ILS 6099 = Ehrenberg-Jones 354).

23 J. T. Milik, “Flèches à inscriptions phéniciennes au Musée national libanais,” Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth 16 (1961) 103-108, no. 4.

represents עזרבעל “Ba‘al has helped”; it may appear at *Odyssey* 15.426 as Ἀρύβατος (genit.). It appears in various spellings in the Aviola patronage texts: besides AZRUBAL in CIL 5.4920 it appears as AZDRVBAL<sup>24</sup> but also classically as HASDRVBAL twice elsewhere.<sup>25</sup> Thus both Hannibal the great and his almost equally distinguished brother Hasdrubal bear names going back to the earliest records of Phoenician.

Then Punic for “Hannibal son of Hamilcar son of Hannibal” should be

אדנבעל בן עבדמלקרח בן אדנבעל

Precisely that sequence is preserved in two standard dedications, CIS I.1884 and 3077! A third (CIS I.4975) adds a fourth generation:

אדנבעל בן עבדמלקרח בן אדנבעל בן עבדאשמון

“Adniba‘al son of ‘Abdmeḷqarth son of Adniba‘al son of ‘Abdeshmun.” In one or more of these do we have a dedication of the actual Hannibal the great? Geus (p. 74 n. 432) observes that the absence of historical data shows that Hannibal (no. 7) the father of Hamilcar Barca cannot have been distinguished. The name עבדאשמון is very common in Punic (Benz 150-153) but wholly lacking from the literary tradition; in Latin only at CIL 8.1562 MACER IMILCONIS ABDISMVNIS F. Furthermore one 3-generation text (CIS I.4321) suitable for Hannibal the Great’s brother Mago can be found:

[מ]גן בן עבדמ[לקרח] בן אדנבעל

24 CIL 5.4919 = ILS 6100.

25 CIL 5.4921 = ILS 6099a.

## Excursus G: The cairn and the pillar

At the great moment of Xenophon's march up country when his men catch sight of the Black Sea (*Anab.* 4.7.25) "at somebody's suggestion, the soldiers brought up stones and made a great heap," ὅτου δὴ παρεγγυήσαντος οἱ στρατιῶται φέρουσι λίθους καὶ ποιοῦσι κολωνὸν μέγαν. On top of the heap they put the captured equipment and shields. They wanted to prove, one would suppose, not least to themselves, that they had been there. Darius had done the same (Herodotus 4.92), ordering each soldier to take just one stone; perhaps he intended that the resulting "great heaps of stones" (κολωνοὺς μεγάλους τῶν λίθων) would prove to posterity the size of his army.

Above Odysseus' city in Ithaca (*Odyssey* 16.471) was a "Ἑρμαιοῖος λόφος" "mound of Hermes." The Scholiast here quotes Anticlides of Athens (3rd century BC?) "So men up until now in honor of Hermes, because this god is the guide and guardian of travelers, make heaps of stones by the roads, and as they pass by throw on more stones, and these are called *lophoi* of Hermes":<sup>1</sup>

ὄθεν καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἄχρι τοῦ νῦν εἰς τιμὴν Ἑρμοῦ κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς διὰ τὸ τὸν θεὸν εἶναι τοῦτον καθηγεμόνα καὶ [ἐπί]τροπον τῶν ἐκδημούντων σωροὺς ποιεῖν λίθων καὶ διάγοντας προσβάλλειν λίθους καὶ τούτους καλεῖν Ἑρμαίους λόφους.

The Oxford *Odyssey ad loc.* gives some indications that such heaps would have a vertical stone in the center of the heap. Such a heap (or a single large way-marker by the road, Strabo 17.1.50) could be called ἔρμα, ἔρμαιον or ἔρμαξ (LSJ), although none of the attestations are fully satisfactory. If at Sophocles *Ant.* 847 we read ἔρμα for ἔργμα "work" the meaning is consistent:

πρὸς ἔρμα τυμβόχωστον ἔρχομαι τάφου / ποταινίου  
"I go to the cairn of a novel grave, heaped up in a tomb." The summit of Mt Washington in New Hampshire has been heightened by such a

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1 Anticlides, FGH 140 frag. 19. Similarly Cornutus *Compendium* 30 (ed. C. Lang; Leipzig: Teubner, 1881) 24.11.

cairn, to which hikers make additions; the trails leading to it are likewise marked.

Burkert in several places<sup>2</sup> derives the name of the god Hermes (Ἑρμῆς) from such a cairn, although Frisk (i.564) is doubtful, this sense of ἔρμα being late and seemingly secondary. It is unquestionable that Ἑρμῆς also represents a second stone object: a square pillar, surmounted by a bust of bearded Hermes, with an erect phallus protruding below. Herodotus 2.51.1 says that the Athenians took from the Pelasgians the custom of “making images of Hermes with their genitals erect,” τοῦ δὲ Ἑρμοῦ τὰ ἀγάλματα ὀρθὰ ἔχειν τὰ αἰδοῖα ποιεῦντες. [Plato] *Hipparchus* 228D says that such (undescribed) were first set up by Hipparchus son of Pisistratus. Very few have come down to us intact: but there is a beautiful archaic head on a square herm from Siphnos of ab. 490 BC (the phallus is in relief and therefore not subject to damage or vandalism).<sup>3</sup> In contrast, many detached heads of Hermes have come down in several styles.<sup>4</sup> The herm, always with erect phallus, is a favorite subject of vase painters:<sup>5</sup> we have a representation of the sculptor making it (#170), of a satyr installing it on an existing base (#172), of another satyr taking an axe to the head of a recumbent herm (#179).

Herms of both sorts are boundary markers; in front of the house, in the agora, at crossroads and the frontier. Thus at Pausanias 8.34.6 “...the Hermaion, at which are the frontiers for the men of Messene and Megalopolis; there they made a Hermes on a pillar”:

... τὸ Ἑρμαῖον, ἐς ὃ Μεσσηνίοις καὶ Μεγαλοπολίταις εἰσὶν ὄροι πεποιήνται δὲ αὐτόθι καὶ Ἑρμῆν ἐπὶ στήλῃ

Burkert boldly explains:

ethology observed that there are species of monkeys, living in groups, of whom the males act as guards: they sit up at the outposts, facing outside and presenting their erect genital organ.<sup>6</sup>

In 415 BC occurred the famous “mutilation of the herms” throughout Athens on the eve of the ill-starred expedition against Syracuse, of which Alcibiades and many others were accused. Any teen-ager will tell you that the mutilation consisted above all in knocking off the

2 Walter Burkert, *Greek Religion*, tr. John Raffan; Cambridge: Harvard, 1985; 156; *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual*; Berkeley: Univ. of California, 1979; 39-41.

3 LIMC V.2. p. 199 Hermes no. 12.

4 LIMC V.2.200-205.

5 LIMC V.2.206-216, nos. 92-179.

6 Burkert, *Structure and History* 40.



phalluses, and Aristophanes (*Lysistrata* 1093-4) confirms it. Both the Athenian and Laconian men are suffering from the women's strike, and the Chorus warns them to cover up:

ὅπως / τῶν Ἑρμοκοπιδῶν μή τις ὑμᾶς ὄψεται  
 “lest one of the Hermes-choppers should see you.” Thucydides 6.27.1, who describes only the “square make” (ἡ τετράγωνος ἐργασία) of the herms, states prudishly that “in one night most of them had their ‘faces’ cut off,” μιᾷ νυκτὶ οἱ πλεῖστοι περιεκόπησαν τὰ πρόσωπα. The great commentary on Thucydides<sup>7</sup> cautiously observes:

The natural explanation is that the mutilators damaged the face of every herm and the phallos where there was one to damage...; there is some reason to think...that by the end of the fifth century herms without erect phalloi were coming into fashion, and it may be that the mutilation of the god's face was felt to be a more serious sacrilege than knocking off a feature of old-fashioned crudity.

It might seem that the two stone objects representing Hermes had little to do with each other. The heap of stones is primordial, and might have served as marker of a place or route before its makers ever lived in proper cities. But the square pillar with its two features could have served as substitute. Then the stone heap must always have been thought of as quasi-divine, and as somehow including the warning feature concretely realized in the phallus. The prosecution of the mutilators of the Athenian herms shows how seriously these were viewed as guarantors of the city.

In the Hebrew Bible stone heaps and individual standing stones are better correlated than in Greece. At Gen 31,44-54 Jacob sets up a stone as a pillar (הַבֵּית, LXX στήλην, Vg *titulum*) and his kinsmen (or Laban's?) gather stones into a heap (הַבֵּית, LXX βουνόν, Vg *tumulum*). The “heap of witness” is named both in Aramaic אַרְבַּעַת הַבֵּית וְיָגֵר and Hebrew הַבֵּית (Vg *aceruum testimonii*), and the pillar apparently הַבֵּית. Laban sees heap and pillar both as witness that Jacob will treat his daughters properly, and as boundary marker between the two of them. Elsewhere a “heap of stones” (Jos 8,29) is put as a negative memorial over the body of an enemy, the king of Ai, הַבֵּית לְאֵלֵי הַבֵּית, LXX σωρόν λίθων, Vg *aceruo lapidum*; and appropriately over an apostate who has been stoned to death, Achan (Jos 7,26). A stone pillar may be set up as a positive memorial of a theophany, as by Jacob at Bethel

7 A. W. Gomme et alii, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*; vol. 4; Oxford: Clarendon, 1970; 288-9.

(Gen 28,18); as witness of Joshua's lawgiving (Jos 24,26); to commemorate a military victory (Ebenezer, I Sam 7,12).

The heap and pillar come together in a different way in the case of Absalom (II Sam 18,17-18). As with other opponents, a "very great heap of stones" (גַּל־אֲבָבִים גְּדוֹל מְאֹד) is raised over his body. The same text goes on to say that during his lifetime he had set up for himself a pillar (מַצֵּבָה) to keep his name remembered for lack of sons (inconsistent with 14,27); "and it is called 'Absalom's hand' (יַד אֲבִשָׁלֹם) until this day." Elsewhere יַד "hand" denotes a monument. At I Sam 15,12 "Saul has set himself up a hand," מַצֵּיב לוֹ יַד, with the same verb as if for a מַצֵּבָה. At Ez 21,24 the prophet is ironically told "Carve out a hand (יַד בְּרֵא) at the head of the way to [each] city [Rabbah and Jerusalem]," the point being that both Ammon and Israel by their folly have already pointed out the way for Babylon to take them. In all three cases the "hand" is a monument to presumption. Only at Isa 56,5 is it positive: even to the childless eunuchs (סְרִיסִים, εὐνούχοις) God in his house will give a "hand and a name" (יַד וְשֵׁם) better than sons and daughters.<sup>8</sup> Both with Absalom and the eunuchs the "hand" is a substitute for sons.

Why is the monument called a "hand"? Both after and before the Hebrew Bible the *penis* is called a יַד.<sup>9</sup> This is absolutely plain in the Qumran Manual of Discipline (1QS VII.13-14) "And whoever brings out his 'hand' from under his garment and excites it so that his nakedness is seen is punished thirty days":

ואשר יוציא ידו מתחת בגדו והוא פוח ונראתה ערותו ונענש שלושים יום

In the Ugaritic poem "The Birth of the Gracious Gods,"<sup>10</sup> just before El's procreation of Dawn and Dusk (*šhr wšlm*, vs 52) we read:

tirkm yd il kym      wyd il kmdb

which T. J. Lewis (in UNP) translates "El's 'hand' grows long as the sea, El's 'hand' as the ocean"; he has no doubt that we find here a euphemism. Before either text was known BDB translated Isa 57,8 יַד הַזֵּיָה "a phallus thou [fem.] beholdest." I would add Job 29,20 (cf. II.151 below) "and my bow ever new in my hand," וְקִשְׁתִּי בְיָדִי תַחֲלִיף.

It is attractive to interpret the four passages with יַד "monument" as meaning "penis" also. For Absalom and the eunuchs it would be an

8 The Holocaust Memorial in Jerusalem is Yad VaShem to rescue the memory of Jews likewise deprived of posterity.

9 And regularly רֵגֶל "foot" is a euphemism for "private parts." Also perhaps at I Reg 12,10 "My little finger (?—קַמְנִי) is thicker than my father's loins" there may be another euphemism for "penis."

10 KTU 1.23.33-34, translated UNP 210.

appropriate child-surrogate. For Saul and Ezekiel's cities it would be an appropriate symbol of overreaching pride. Ezekiel has it made with a form of the verb "create," "carve out" or the like. Then the two Hebrew stone monuments of the heap and the pillar correspond exactly to the two Greek senses of the herm. Furthermore the Greek institution—with a Roman name—made its way to Palestine as a foreign idolatry, its historic parallel with native Hebrew practice unrecognized.

Mishna *Sanhedrin* VII.6 has "[He is to be stoned] who throws a stone at a *Merqulis*; this is the way it is worshipped":

הזורק אבן למרקוליס זו היא עבודתו

"Merqulis" must be *Mercurius*, the Latin equivalent of Hermes; here it is a roadside route- or boundary-marker that every passer-by augments. We have a solitary example of Mercury on a square herm with a phallus (late 2nd century CE).<sup>11</sup> Latin *Mercurius* at CIL 8.17837 (Numidia) names a statue of the god, *Mercurium ex sua liberalitate posuit* "he set up a Mercury out of generosity." (The congruity between throwing the stone and being stoned is partly accidental, because the same punishment applies to other idolatries.) *Avoda Zarah* IV.1 appears to regard a "Merqulis" as a dolmen with a third stone over two others. Other texts (Bab. Talm. *Avoda Zarah* 49b-50b; *Sanhedrin* 64a) waver between the two conceptions; the version of Mishna *Sanh.* seems most original as earliest and in accordance with the description of Anticlides (above). The fact that the stone-heap is called by the Latin name of the divinity suggests that it was not until the Roman occupation that the usage of the heap as road-marker came to Palestine, whatever local equivalent they found already in use. To my knowledge we have no examples from Palestine of the typical Greek herm with square pillar. But that Herodotus (2.51.1, cited above) calls it Pelasgian suggests that it might have come to Palestine through the Philistines, if their connection with Pelasgians is firm. In any case what is described represents a foreign importation of the same usage as in the stoneheap of Absalom, which overseas included his "hand" as well.

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11 LIMC vi.2.275 Mercurius no. 25 from Frascati.

## Chapter 13: Archery and its Symbolism<sup>1</sup>

“The name of the bow,” says Heraclitus in a famous pun, “is life, but its work is death”: τῷ οὖν τόξῳ ὄνομα βίος, ἔργον δὲ θάνατος.<sup>2</sup> For βίος with the accent on the final syllable means “bow” (*Iliad* 4.125 etc.).<sup>3</sup> Within literal contexts in the ancient languages death naturally dominates, and ten lines of the *Iliad* end with πικρὸς δῖστος in the nominative or accusative, “bitter arrow.” Compare Ps 64,4 “They aim as their arrow a bitter word (LXX πρᾶγμα πικρόν)”:<sup>4</sup>

דָּרְכוּ הַצֵּם דְּבַר מָר

In this chapter the phonetic connection of the names of the arrow in Hebrew, Greek and Latin leads to semantic connections of archery in general. The invention of the bow was the original means of storing energy, and as such the bow, in line with the normal ambivalence of symbolic thought, stands also for life-giving energy, in particular sexual energy.<sup>5</sup> Thus the bow can alternate with the other stringed instrument of opposite function, the lyre.<sup>6</sup>

### 13.1 Technology of the bow and arrow

Hebrew יָרֵךְ often can be proved to mean nothing but “arrow”: thus in the story of Elisha and Joash (II Reg 13,15) “take a bow and arrows,”

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- 1 Revision of an article “Archery in the Ancient World: ‘Its Name is Life, its Work is Death,’” *BibZ* 37 (1993/4) 26-42.
  - 2 Heraclitus frag. 48 FVS<sup>8</sup> = *Etymologium Genuinum* s.v. βίος.
  - 3 It is cognate with Sanskrit *jyā* (scanned as two syllables) fem. nom. sing. “bowstring,” *Rigveda* 5.16.3.
  - 4 West (EFH 230-1) suggests Greek parallels to this verse.
  - 5 See James B. Harrod, “The Bow: A Techno-Mythic Hermeneutic—Ancient Greece and the Mesolithic,” *JAAR* 49 (1981) 425-446.
  - 6 Comparative religion finds extensive material in the symbolism of the arrow, and the present study has little overlap with that of Mircea Eliade, “Notes on the Symbolism of the Arrow,” *Studies in the History of Religions (Supplements to Numen XIV)* [=Religions in Antiquity, E. R. Goodenough Memorial]; Leiden: Brill, 1968, pp. 463-475.

קח קשת וְחַצִּים, Vg *adfer arcum et sagittas*. Wherever it is plural it is likely to mean “arrows” simply. Where its flashing is emphasized it may mean simply “metallic arrowhead,” bronze or later iron: Hab 3,11

לְאוֹר חֲצִיֵּי יְהִלְכוּ לְנֹגַהּ בְּרֶקַח חֲנִיתָךְ

“at the light of your arrows as they speed, at the brightness of the lightning of your spear(-point?).” But now we have dozens of bronze weapon-heads inscribed with חץ and the name of an owner in the earliest Canaanite script, thought to be of the 11th century BC: thus many of the ‘*ayins* have a dot in the middle of the “eye,” a feature early lost but preserved in the earliest Greek inscriptions.<sup>7</sup> It is rare that an ancient object has a name defining what it is; it cannot be escaped then that each of the 32-odd inscribed bronze weapon-heads is a חץ. What kind of weapon were they attached to? This question raises complex considerations with no clear answer.

Robert Drews<sup>8</sup> feels that they are not arrowheads but the points of short javelins or darts. They are too small to be regular spear-points, and further they are tanged and not socketed as spear points should be. But they are long (often over 10 cm) and heavy for arrowheads, and further they are not barbed but elliptical. Drews feels it unlikely that archers “developed a preference for enormous arrows”:

It is less likely that an archer would inscribe all thirty or forty of his arrowheads than that a javelineer might inscribe his few javelin heads.... A military arrowhead was normally barbed, so that the victim could not easily retract it without tearing his flesh; but these heads are elliptical, designed for easy retraction. The possibility that an archer could or would wish to

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7 Pierre Bordreuil, “Flèches phéniciennes inscrites: 1981-1991 I,” RB 99 (1992) 205-213, lists 22 inscriptions. Frank M. Cross in two places (“Newly Discovered Inscribed Arrowheads of the 11th century B.C.E.,” pp. 533-542 of *Biblical Archaeology Today*, 1990; *Proceedings of the Second International Congress...1990*; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1993; —, “An Inscribed Arrowhead of the Eleventh Century BCE in the Bible Lands Museum in Jerusalem,” *Eretz Israel* 23 [1992], 21\*-26\*) lists 24; each author has some missed by the other. R. Deutsch & M. Heltzer, *Forty New Ancient West Semitic Inscriptions*; Tel Aviv-Jaffa, Archaeological Center: 1994, add another 5 in England from Lebanese dealers. There also appear to be a number unpublished. There are also Babylonian “arrowheads” (whatever their true nature) with cuneiform inscriptions surveyed by B. Sass, “Inscribed Babylonian Arrowheads of the Turn of the Second Millennium and Their Phoenician Counterparts,” *Ugarit-Forschungen* 21 (1989) 349-356.

8 Robert Drews, *The End of the Bronze Age: Changes in Warfare and the Catastrophe ca. 1200 B.C.*, Princeton: University, 1993, 189.

retrieve a spent arrow is unlikely, but a warrior with only two or three javelins would perhaps have retrieved each of them several times during a skirmish.

Drews feels further (II.6) that such javelins or darts were, along with the cut-and-thrust sword, the weapons that enabled infantry raiders to disable the horses in the chariot formations characteristic of the Bronze Age palace societies and to sack so many cities in the decades after 1200 BC.

If Drews is correct, Canaanite חץ should mean also “small javelin and/or its bronze head.” Hebrew for “javelin” appears to be כִּידוֹן: Goliath’s bronze כִּידוֹן (I Sam 17,6) is smaller than his spear (תַּנְיָחוּ); Joshua’s כִּידוֹן (Jos 8,18, LXX γαῖσος) which he stretches out towards Ai is easily handled; the lightly armed northerners of Jer 6,23 = 50,42 “hold bow and javelin (LXX ζιβύτση),” קֶשֶׁת וְכִידוֹן יַחְזִיקוּ. But classical Hebrew hardly remembers the old function of this weapon, and Hebrew nowhere clearly understands חץ as of a javelin or its head. Thus the appearance which the inscribed bronze weapon-heads give of illustrating the Hebrew Bible may be illusory. At Job 20,24 קֶשֶׁת נְחוּשָׁה must by exception be used to mean “arrow,” “an arrow(-head) of bronze.”<sup>9</sup>

However, Milik,<sup>10</sup> comparing the names on the weapon-heads with Ugaritic military lists, suggests that

there was in Syria-Palestine of the Late Bronze-Early Iron Period a mercenary body of soldiers, and especially of bowmen, surviving the migrations and the changing of ruling classes, the profession being hereditary among certain families.

One such comparison tends to verify the owners of the weapon-heads as archers. A hoard of five weapon-heads of the same owner was found at El Khadr near Bethlehem; on one (“No. V”)<sup>11</sup> חץ is omitted and his name is spelled out עֲנַת בֶּן עֲבִד־לְבָאָה “Abdilab’at son of ‘Anat.” Lb’t is perhaps “Lion-goddess”; his name is comparable to that of “Shamgar ben ‘Anat” (Jud 3,31; 5,6) שָׁמְגָר בֶּן-עֲנַת. Shamgar has a non-Semitic name, perhaps Hurrian. He killed 600 Philistines with an הַבָּקָר הַבְּלִמָּה

9 The “bow of bronze,” Ps 18,35 = II Sam 22,35 which David can bend must be metaphorical, for no such bow is either attested or practicable.

10 J. T. Milik, “An Unpublished Arrow-Head with Phoenician Inscription of the 11th-10th century B.C.,” BASOR 143 (1956) 3-6.

11 Frank M. Cross, “Newly Found Inscriptions in Old Canaanite and Early Phoenician Scripts,” BASOR 238 (1980) 1-20, p.7.

“ox-goad”; perhaps he carried something like a bronze-tipped javelin. That two fighters are called “son of ענח” suggests that they are devotees of the Canaanite goddess for whom a famous composite bow is built in Ugaritic (II.139). But now an Ugaritic military text (KTU 4.63.III.38) among many such entries lists *ʿbdlbit qšt* which certainly indicates an archer; another (KTU 4.307.6) has a *bn ʿnt*. And again the Greek Pandaros (Πάνδαρος), who carries a bow which Apollo himself had given (*Iliad* 2.827), seems a true professional; and what appears his identical name *bn pndr* appears at Ugarit (KTU 4.617.32); see I.33. We have (II.128) interpreted one of the latest inscribed items עררבעל בן ארנבעל as “Weapon of Hasdrubal son of Hannibal,” two famous Punic names; it seems no accident that the most recent weapon-heads carry the most familiar nomenclature.

Why are only these bronze weapon-heads inscribed, among all such objects that have come down to us from antiquity? Iwry<sup>12</sup> interpreted the bronzes as ceremonial arrows used for drawing lots; this would explain why it was important to designate them “Arrowhead of N.” See Ezek 21,26 where the king of Babylon among other modes of divination “shakes the arrows,” קלקל בַּחֲצִים, Luther *er wirft den Pfeilen das Los*. Jerome on this passage<sup>13</sup> imagines arrows, inscribed each with the name of a city, put in a quiver (*ut mittat sagittas in pharetram...inscriptas siue signatas nominibus*) to determine which the king will attack first; he calls it in Greek “divination by weapons,” βελομαντία. Divination by an arrow is closely related to the magical and legal act of shooting an arrow (or casting a spear) to initiate a war. Magic predominates when Elisha has Joash shoot an arrow eastward towards Aram (II Reg 13,14-19). At Isa 37,33 (= II Reg 19,32) it is more a formal declaration of war that the king of Assyria should shoot an arrow at the city. Below (II.241) I study the formal and magical effect of pointing or casting a spear at the enemy.

If the bronze weapon-heads were truly arrowheads, one purpose of putting one’s name on them could be so that the enemy would know who had hit him. Cross thinks they were used in archery contests to identify the competitors. The DCP<sup>14</sup> thinks the name identified the beast killed by one in a group of hunters. If they were truly dart-heads, a supremely practical purpose would be for *retrieval* from the field

12 Samuel Iwry, “New Evidence for Belomancy in ancient Palestine and Phoenicia,” *JAOS* 81 (1961) 27-34.

13 *Comm. in Ezech.* vii.35, Corp. Christ. ser. lat. vol. 75 (1964) p. 289.

14 DCP s.v. *flèches* p. 171.

after a battle, to obviate disputes over ownership. The five inscribed heads we have from ‘Abdilab’ it would be about the maximum practical number of darts to carry in one’s left hand into the fray. I see no easy way of reconciling all these data of different sorts, and leave the exact nature of the weapon-heads undefined.

The Hebrew Bible takes pains to describe apparently familiar techniques. Thus Ps 11,2 in a seemingly illogical order: “They bend the bow, they have [previously] fitted their arrow to the sinew”:

יִדְרְכֵנוּן קֶשֶׁת כּוֹנְנֵנוּ חֲצָם עַל-יָהָר

Jerome iuxta Heb. correctly revises older translations, *tetenderunt arcum, posuerunt sagittam suam super neruum*. But Ps 7,13 (II.141) has the same sequence; did the Canaanite archer, unlike the Greek, bend the bow *before* putting the arrow in place? Havelock<sup>15</sup> calls Homer a “tribal encyclopaedia”; in easily remembered form it provides young men with the things they need to know—for example, the art of archery. A more natural order in the elaborate description of Pandarus’ archery, *Iliad* 4.118, 124:

αἴψα δ’ ἐπὶ νευρῆ κατεκόσμη πικρὸν οἶστόν ...

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ κυκλοτερὲς μέγα τόξον ἔτεινε ...

“Quickly he fitted the bitter arrow to the sinew; ...he bent the great bow into a [semi-]circle.”

Throughout the ancient world, advanced bows were “composite”: the core was of wood, with horn on the inside or archer’s side to push back under compression, and sinew on the outside or enemy side to pull back under tension.<sup>16</sup> The Ugaritic text KTU 1.17.VI.21-23<sup>17</sup> has the youth Aqhat provide some wood from Lebanon (*blbnn*), sinews from wild oxen (*gdm brumm*), horns from mountain goats (*qrnt by’lm*), and tendons from the hocks of a bull (*b’qbt tr*) to construct a bow for the goddess ‘Anat. Of the sinews and tendons, perhaps one is for the tension outer side of the bow and the other for the bowstring. Lorimer<sup>18</sup>

15 Eric A. Havelock, *The Literate Revolution in Greece and Its Cultural Consequences*; Princeton: University, 1982, p. 122 etc.

16 Edward McEwen, Robert L. Miller & Christopher A. Bergman, “Early Bow Design and Construction,” *Scientific American*, June 1991, 76-82.

17 Translated in ANET<sup>3</sup> 151 col. 2. See the discussion with bibliography by Yigael Sukenik, “The Composite Bow of the Canaanite Goddess Anath,” *BASOR* 107 (1947) 11-15. Although several words in the passage are of doubtful meaning, the overall sense is unmistakable. Volkert Haas, “Kompositbogen und Bogenschiessen als Wettkampf im Alten Orient,” *Nikephoros* 2 (1989) 27-41, discusses Hittite and Akkadian texts involving archery.

18 H. L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments*, London: Macmillan, 1950, pp. 290, 298. Kirk in the *Cambridge Iliad* accepts her explanation.



regards the Homeric descriptions of the bows of Pandarus and of Odysseus as confused accounts of a composite bow: she sees *Iliad* 4.110 as a summary account of glueing strips of horn into a grooved wooden core; at *Odyssey* 21.395 Odysseus checks his old bow to make sure that worms have not eaten the horn.

### 13.2 The word for “arrows” in ancient languages

The arrow was the piece of military equipment that regularly changed sides during battle, and its names in the nominative or construct plural are remarkably close in Hebrew, Greek and Latin. Texts containing those forms will further introduce us to its role as bearer of poison or plague. Job (6,4) in his calamity and sickness complains, “For the arrows of Shadday are with me, whose venom my spirit drinks up”:

כִּי חֲצֵי שְׂדֵי עֲפָדֵי אֲשֶׁר הִטָּתֵם שָׁהָה רוּחִי

As Apollo comes down from Olympos to inaugurate the plague, “the arrows jangled on his shoulders as he went in his anger” (*Iliad* 1.46):

ἔκλαγγξαν δ' ἄρ' ὄϊστοι ἐπ' ὤμων χωομένοιο

Jerome correctly renders the first half of Job’s complaint, *quia sagittae Domini in me sunt*. Pliny 16.51, discussing the poisonous character of the yew (*Taxus*), writes: *sunt qui taxica hinc appellata dicant uenena quae nunc toxica dicimus, quibus sagittae tinguantur*, “From this source some give the name *taxica* to the poisons which we now call *toxica* [Greek τοξικά, see II.142], namely those with which arrows are dipped.”

Hebrew חֲצֵי “arrow” has no clear verbal root, and the etymological dictionaries suggest no promising parallel to ὄϊστος or *sagitta* in Indo-European or any other languages. Hence we are entitled to look for a common Mediterranean source. All the words are onomatopoeic, as if English *hisser* or *whizzer* were the common name of the arrow, but that does not settle the question of their relationship one way or the other.<sup>19</sup> The parallelism of Heb. חֲצֵי *hissey* with ὄϊστοι and *sagittae* suggests an actual connection. The similar plural endings with final accent, nominative in Greek and Latin and construct in Hebrew, have been treated by Levin and myself elsewhere with parallels like ἄγροί = חֲצֵי “fields.”<sup>20</sup> Hebrew doubled or strengthened consonants (here

19 The LXX found another onomatopoeic translation σχιζα at I Sam 20,20-23.36-38; in the latter passage the Hebrew also varies with the anomalous חֲצֵי found elsewhere only at II Reg 9,24.

20 Brown-Levin, *Ethnic Paradigm* 86, 90; analysis much developed by Levin at SIE 86-93; see II.311 below.

also in the Latin) very often appear as a consonant-pair in Greek (II.172). In Ugaritic (KTU 1.14.III.12-13) the second consonant had a different sound transcribed z: *h̄zk al tš<sup>l</sup> qrth* “do not shoot your arrow [arrows?] into the city.” That the Hebrew initial guttural *h̄* should correspond to a syllable *o*, *sag* is paralleled in a general way if we identify the Biblical “Hivites” *הִיִּוִּי* (Gen 10,17 etc) with the Achaeans, *Achiūi* (Vergil *Aeneid* 2.45) and *Ἀχαιοί* (*Iliad* 1.17 etc); see I.32.

In contrast, Mediterranean words for “bow” and “quiver” are unrelated, along with the true Indo-European name of the “arrow” in Greek, *ῥός* (*Iliad* 1.48), i.e. \**iσF-ός*, cf. Sanskrit *iṣu*. *τόξον* is probably Iranian in view of modern Persian *taχš* “arrow”; Scythians are named “Archer,” king *Τόξακις* (Herodotus 4.120) and later *Τόξαρις* (Lucian *Scyth.* 2); so *τόξον* may in fact be named after its principal component *taxus* “yew” as Pliny proposed. Latin *arcus* “bow” is related to Old English *earhlarwe* “arrow.” Heb. *שֵׁקֶל* is pan-Semitic and unrelated to a verbal root; it would be speculative to derive it from the Iranian by metathesis.

### 13.3 The arrow as bearing poison and pestilence

At Job 6,4 (cited II.140) *חֲמַת הַחַי* plainly means “venom” as at Ps 58,5 *חֲמַת נֶחֱשׁ* “venom of a snake.” That God (Shadday) has shot envenomed arrows at Job must mean that Job is sick. When God says (Ezek 5,16):

*בְּשֵׁלֶחֶי אֶת־חֲצֵי הַרְעֵב הַרְעִים בָּהֶם*

“When I send the malignant arrows of famine against them,” these are paralleled by “pestilence and blood,” *וְדָבַר וְדָם* (vs 17), Vg *pestilentia et sanguis*. When the Psalmist complains to Yahweh “for thy arrows have sunk into me” (Ps 38,3), he follows with a catalogue of physical symptoms. At Ps 7,13-14 Yahweh’s enemies get the same treatment: “He has trodden [i.e. bent] his bow and fitted it [with an arrow]...he makes his arrows burning darts”:

*קָשְׁתוֹ דָּבַדְדָּ וַיְכַוְנֶנָּה ... חֲצָיו לְדִלְקִים יַפְעֵל*

Conceivably the military use of burning arrows is referred to, cf. Thucydides 2.75.5 *πυρφόροις οἰστοῖς*; but these have entered only a little ways into the symbolism of the bitter arrow beside what were for the ancients the twin mysteries of poison (with witchcraft) and disease.

Both in legend and theory the Greeks were well acquainted with poisoned arrows. Athena in a story she tells Telemachos says that Odysseus had once come to her house “looking for man-killing *pharmakon*, to have it to smear his bronze-tipped arrows” (*Odyssey* 1.261-2):

φάρμακον ἀνδροφόνον διζήμενος, ὄφρα οἱ εἴη  
 ἰοὺς χρίεσθαι χαλκήρεας ...

Gilbert Murray<sup>21</sup> points to hints in Homer that once all arrows were poisoned; thus the first thing a physician does in treating an arrow-wound is to suck out the blood (*Iliad* 4.218). The *Shield* ascribed to Hesiod (vs 132) describes the arrows (ὄϊστοί) of Heracles: “at their tip they had death and trickled with ‘tears’”:

πρόσθεν μὲν θάνατόν τ’ εἶχον καὶ δάκρυσι μῦρον

The myth tells how they got so: when Heracles killed the hydra he “dipped his arrows in its gall,” τῇ χολῇ τοὺς ὄϊστους ἔβαψεν (Apollodorus 2.5.2). Philoctetes, who inherited them, calls them “inescapable arrows,” ἰοὺς ἀφύκτους (Sophocles *Phil.* 105). Pausanias 2.37.4 describes the hydra’s poison as ἰόν ... ἀνίατον “uncurable”; that Greek acquired identical names ἰός for “arrow” and “poison” (the latter corresponding to Sanskrit *vīṣám-* and Latin *uirus* except for their being neuter) was helped by their semantic connection. Job 34,6 יִצְיָן שִׁנְיָן may mean “my arrow (-wound) is incurable.” One author<sup>22</sup> reports that “the Scythian poison in which they dip their arrows is compounded from a serpent,” τὸ Σκυθικὸν φάρμακον ᾧ ἀποβάπτουσι τοὺς ὄϊστους συντίθεσθαι ἐξ ἐχίδνης. And again,<sup>23</sup> he describes “what is called ‘arrow’ poison among the Kelts,” φάρμακον ... καλούμενον ... τοξικόν. Such uses are plainly the source by which later τὸ τοξικόν occasionally means “poison” simply, and *toxicum* neuter (whether or not *uenenum* “poison” was understood) became standard in Latin. Ovid (*Tristia* 5.7.15-16) alleges of the Getae “among them there is none who does not carry quiver, bow and missiles yellow with vipers’ gall”:

in quibus est nemo, qui non coryton et arcum  
 telaque uipereo lurida felle gerat.

In his fiercest mood as war-God, ascribing to his weapons his own rage, Yahweh says (Deut 32,42) “I will make my arrows drunk with blood, and my sword shall devour flesh”:

אֶשְׂפִּיר חֲצֵי מַדְמָם וְיַהֲרִיבֵי תֵאֵכֵל בְּדַמָּךְ

which the Versions render literally, Vulgate *inebriabo sagittas meas*

21 Gilbert Murray, *The Rise of the Greek Epic*, 3rd ed.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1924; 129-130. For arrow-poison see S. West on *Odyssey* 1.257 in the Oxford *Odyssey* (i.107-8).

22 Pseudo-Aristotle *On Wonders* 141 (=845a1); there is a catena from technical and tactical writers on poisoning of arrows in F. Lammert, art. “Pfeil,” Pauly-Wissowa 19.2.1425-1430.

23 *On Wonders* 86 = 837a12.

*sanguine et gladius meus deuorabit carnes*. Again it is said (Isa 34,6) “Yahweh has a sword, it is full of blood”<sup>24</sup>

קַרְבַּ לַיהוָה מִלֵּאָה דָם

Griffin<sup>25</sup> mordantly compares the formula αἵματος ἄσαι Ἄρηα (*Iliad* 5.289 etc.) “to sate Ares with blood”; also (21.70) “the spear stuck in the ground, though desiring to sate itself with human flesh”: ἐγχείη ... ἐνὶ γαίῃ/ἔστη, ἰεμένη χροὸς ἄμεναι ἀνδρομέοιο. Even closer to the Hebrew in its personification is what Lucan (7.317) says of Pompeius, *quanto satiauit sanguine ferrum*, “with how much blood has he sated his sword!”<sup>26</sup> Jerome and his predecessors, with that violent rhetoric already in their own literature, had no trouble understanding the Hebrew. Perhaps by Lucan’s time the themes of the Hebrew Bible had begun to enter Latin consciousness through the LXX and the Jewish community of Rome.

### 13.4 The High God's surrogate as sender of plague

Although Zeus like Yahweh as we shall see (II.145) holds the “arrows” of lightning and snow, he never wields the arrows of plague; these are initially the prerogatives of Apollo. At *Iliad* 1.43-49 Apollo’s archery is described with both sets of vocabulary, first with τόξον and δῆστοί, then with βιός and ἰός. His epithets like “Silverbow” (ἄργυρότοξ[ε] *Iliad* 1.37 etc.) refer to the same role. But as time went on, Apollo came to be so much honored that it was not always appropriate to hold *him* responsible for the plague either. In Sophocles’ *Oedipus Tyrannus* the responsible divine power is defined with studied ambiguity: “the fire-bearing god, hateful Pestilence, has borne down on the city and attacks it” (OR 27-28):

... ἐν δ’ ὁ πυρφόρος θεὸς  
σκήψας ἐλαύνει, λοιμὸς ἔχθιστος, πόλιν.

Later at vss 203ff the Chorus asks for Apollo to come with his shafts to *help* the city, along with the “fire-bearing flashes of Artemis,” τὰς τε πυρφόρους Ἀρτέμιδος αἴγλας – an uneasy and exact echo of the previous usage. But at Thucydides 2.54.4 when Apollo promises the

24 The versions translate “full” with words that Levin (SIE 179-187) sees as primeval cognates of מִלֵּאָה: LXX ἐνεπλήσθη, Vulgate *repletus est*; II.320.

25 Jasper Griffin, *Homer on Life and Death*; Oxford: Clarendon, 1980, p. 34.

26 So Cicero (*Phil.* 2.71) says of Antonius *gustaras ciuilem sanguinem, uel potius exsorbueras*, “you had tasted blood of citizens, or rather gulped it down”; see also *Rep.* 1.65 *populus...optimatum sanguinem gustauit* “a people has tasted the blood of the aristocracy.”

Spartans to help them, they take the appearance of the plague as fulfilment of his promise.

So at II Sam 24,15-16 at first it is Yahweh who sends the pestilence, דֶּבֶר; but then it turns out that an angel is responsible for the actual execution. As in *Iliad* 1, propitiation averts the plague. At II Chron 21,16 David sees the angel, and the plague ends when it puts its sword back in its “sheath” (I Chron 21,27 נִדְנָה, supposedly Persian). Psalm 91,5-6 reaches the sophisticated notion that the arrow of pestilence is independent of Yahweh, who still has power to ward it off: “You will not fear the terror of night, nor the arrow that flies by day, nor the pestilence that walks in darkness, nor the plague that wastes at noon-day”:<sup>27</sup>

לֹא־תִירָא מִפֶּחַד לַיְלָה      מִחַץ יְעוֹף יוֹמָם  
מִדֶּבֶר בְּאֶפְלַיִת הַלַּיִת      מִקָּטָב יְשׁוּד צְהָרִים

In Habakkuk 3, the most mythological part of the Hebrew Bible with Yahweh driving his steeds (vss 8, 15), hypostasized Pestilence walks as at Ps 91,5, but now as agent of Yahweh with a mysterious companion: “Before him goes Pestilence and after his feet goes out Resheph (Vg *diabolus!*)” (vs 5):

לְפָנָיו יֵלֶךְ הַדֶּבֶר      וַיֵּצֵא רֶשֶׁף לְרַגְלָיו

Luther: *Pest ging vor ihm, und Seuche folgte, wo er hintrat*. In Ugarit and in Phoenician inscriptions from Cyprus, Resheph seems plainly a divinity with the attribute of the arrow.<sup>28</sup> He is previously known at Ebla, in Akkadian and in Egyptian.<sup>29</sup> In an Ugaritic fragment<sup>30</sup> we must interpret *b<sup>1</sup>.l.h.z.ršp* as “Resheph master of the arrow”; for see Gen 49,23 בְּעֵלֵי הַצִּיִּים “masters of arrows.” In the Phoenician inscription KAI 32 (Kition, 341 BC) the dedicator is חֵן רֶשֶׁף “priest of Resheph of the arrow.” Then at Ps 76,4 “there he broke the *rišpey* of the bow”:

שָׁמָּה שָׁבַר רֶשֶׁפֵי־קֶשֶׁת

these must be arrows. Then the Hebrew usages apply a suppressed divine name to the god’s arrows which can either cause or halt pesti-

27 The same parallelism of pestilence (דֶּבֶר) and plague (קָטָב) appears also at Hos 13,14, variously understood and emended; see I Kor 15,55. At Deut 32,23-24, though not all is clear, “arrows” appear along with Resheph (רֶשֶׁף) and קָטָב in parallel.

28 See the discussion by Manfred K. Schretter, *Alter Orient und Hellas: Fragen der Beeinflussung griechischen Gedankengutes aus altorientalischen Quellen*, dargestellt an den Göttern Nergal, Rescheph, Apollon; Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft, Sonderheft 33 (Innsbruck: Kowatsch, 1974).

29 P. Xella, “Resheph” DDD 1324-1330; Lipiński, *Dieux et Déesses* 179-188.

30 KTU 1.82.3; see Schretter p. 123.

lence. Cant 8,6 says of love (and jealousy too) רֶשֶׁפִּיָּהּ רֶשֶׁפִּי אֵשׁ perhaps “its arrows are arrows of fire.”

In three bilingual inscriptions from Cyprus in Phoenician and in Greek syllabic script<sup>31</sup>, in the Phoenician רֶשֶׁף is followed by epithets or place names different in each case; the Greek syllabic corresponding to him has Apollo. In the third of these, Phoenician לרֶשֶׁף אלהיהס corresponds to *to-i-a-[po-lo]-ni-to-i / a-la-si-o-ta-i* “to Apollo Alasiotes.” Thus here in Greek is preserved the old name of Cyprus, Akkadian Alashiya,<sup>32</sup> אֲלַיִשָׁה of Gen 10,4.<sup>33</sup> The roles of Resheph as archer and agent of plague fit very nicely with those of Apollo in *Iliad* 1. And since Resheph seems older, here we have an ideal case where the Greek god has taken over attributes of the Semitic god with whom he is identified.

### 13.5 *Lightning and snow as the arrow of the High God*<sup>34</sup>

Yahweh is nowhere more comparable to Zeus and Jupiter than in his control of “meteorological” phenomena, things that fall from the sky (Chapter 11 above). In Ps 18,15 (nearly = II Sam 22,15, II.59) God’s lightning-bolts are identified as arrows: “He sent out his arrows and scattered [the enemy]; he shot lightnings and confounded them”:

וַיִּשְׁלַח חֲצֵיו וַיִּפְיֵצֵם      וּבָרָקִים רַב וַיְהַטֵּם

This verse is echoed at Ps 144,6 (II.64) with a nice cognate accusative: “Flash forth the lightning and scatter them; send out your arrows and rout them”:

בָּרוֹק בָּרַק וַתִּפְיֵצֵם      שְׁלַח חֲצֵיךָ וַתְּהַטֵּם

It can be said of Yahweh, “the flash of your arrows” is parallel to “the lightning of your spear” (Hab 3,11, II.136).

In Homer, lightning is the prerogative of Zeus. In Hesiod (II.174) it appears as a weapon, *Theogony* 707-8 “thunder and lightning and the shining bolt, the missiles of great Zeus”:

31 KAI 39 and 41; O. Masson, *Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques, recueil critique et commenté*; Ecole française à Athènes; *Études chypriotes* 1; Paris 1961 no. 216, p. 226; reprinted by Schreter p. 152.

32 See Amarna 33.2 *A-la-ši-ia*; Ugaritic ethnic *alṭy* KTU 1.40.29; Linear B *a-ra-si-jo* (DMG<sup>2</sup> p. 533). Lipiński (DCPP 150) interprets Hebrew “Elisha” as Ulysses! But this leaves Cyprus without a Hebrew name. For Alashiya = Cyprus see C.A. Walz in *Greeks and Barbarians* 1-21; the king of Alashiya sends much copper to Egypt (Amarna 35)

33 The identification of Apollo and Resheph is further supported by the equivalence between the place name Ἀπολλωνία (Josephus *AJ* 13.395) and modern Ἀρσούφ on the Israeli coast. For Resheph see further DCPP 374.

34 West (EFH 348-9) briefly summarizes the theme of the God’s arrows.

βροντήν τε στεροπὴν τε καὶ αἰθαλόεντα κεραυνόν,  
κῆλα Διὸς μέγαλοιο ...

Likewise Aeschylus describes the destruction of Typhon by Zeus through a flying missile (PV 358-9), “But the sleepless missile of Zeus came on him, the descending thunderbolt breathing out flame”:

ἀλλ’ ἦλθεν αὐτῷ Ζηνὸς ἄγρυπνον βέλος  
καταιβάτης κεραυνὸς ἐκπνέων φλόγα

Zeus “brandishes in his hands the fire-breathing missile” (PV 917):

... τινάσσων τ’ ἐν χεροῖν πύρπνουν βέλος

Jupiter and Zeus Pater (II.55) both came into the Mediterranean bearing the name of the Indo-European god of the bright sky; but in these texts they are assimilated to an indigenous High God responsible for things that fall from the dark sky—the thunderbolt, hail and snow as well as beneficent rain. In Hebrew absolutely, and in Greek and Latin more obliquely, those falling things are identified as the God’s *arrows*. We saw (II.70) how Nonnus (*Dionysiaca* 18.232) defines the hail as arrows,

ἠερόθεν πέμποντο χαλαζήεντες οἶστοι

“From the gloom were sent arrows of hail”; and how the early Latin poet Pacuvius describes a battle under the imagery of a storm, *niuit sagittis, plumbo et saxis grandinat*, “It snows with arrows, it hails with lead [from slingshots] and stones.”<sup>35</sup>

### 13.6 The bow of the High God in the cloud

After the Flood, God says “I have set my bow in the cloud” (Gen 9,13),  $\text{בַּעֲנַן יָשֵׁתֵנִי אֱלֹהִים}$ ; the word for “bow” is simply the weapon of war (LXX τόξον, Vulgate *arcum*). The forty days and nights of rain can only have been God’s arrows; that God is hanging up his bow is a promise of fair weather to come, and therefore the sign of the covenant.<sup>36</sup> Elsewhere the “rainbow” appears in the Hebrew Bible only at Ezek 1,28, where the vision of God is compared to a meteorological phenomenon, “like the appearance of the bow which is in the cloud on the day of rain”:

$\text{כְּמַרְאֵה הַקֶּשֶׁת אֲשֶׁר יִהְיֶה בְּעָנָן בְּיוֹם הַגֶּשֶׁם}$

35 Pacuvius, frag. 3; i.325 ed. Ribbeck.

36 See Udo Rütterswörden, “Der Bogen in Genesis 9: Militärhistorische und traditionsgeschichtliche Erwägungen zu einem biblischen Symbol,” *Ugarit-Forschungen* 20 (1988) 247-263. A late text? That Yahweh like Pandaros retires his bow suggests that all the passages which make him a warrior or Resheph-figure are superseded.

Classical Hebrew records no way to say “of many colors,” but presumably that is intended.<sup>37</sup> In the Apocalypse of John Ezekiel’s rainbow is applied to both God (Rev 4,3) and an angel (10,1); John uses normal Greek ἶρις.

When Athena comes to the Achaeans, it is “as when Zeus stretches out the ‘purple’ *iris* from the sky to mortals, to be a sign either of war or cold winter” (*Iliad* 17.547-9):

ἥ ὕτε πορφυρέην ἶριν θνητοῖσι τανύσση  
 Ζεὺς ἐξ οὐρανόθεν, τέρας ἔμμεναι ἢ πολέμοιο  
 ἢ καὶ χειμῶνος δυσθαλπείος ...

Elsewhere the meaning of the sign is unspecified: the dragons on Agamemnon’s shield are “like rainbows (ἶρισσι) which the son of Kronos put *in the cloud*, to be a sign to mortal men” (*Iliad* 11.27-28); there is a nice agreement here with “in the cloud” of Genesis. Elsewhere *Iris* is further personified as the messenger of the gods. τανύω is the regular verb for “stringing” a bow, ἐτάνυσσε βιόν (*Odyssey* 24.177). Once in Greek the heavenly phenomenon is formally described as a military bow: namely, in the choliambic poet Aeschrio<sup>38</sup>:

ἶρις δ’ ἔλαμψε, καλὸν οὐρανοῦ τόξον

“The *iris* shone out, the fair bow of the sky.” Thus in spite of the formal parallel with Genesis, the sense at *Iliad* 17 is opposite. The “*iris*” is indeed seen as a bow; but not hung up out of the way, rather ready for use, to bring either the literal arrows of war or the figurative arrows of “cold winter.” For Homer the appearance of the “bow” in the cloud is indeed a sign, but a threat of future use, not a promise that past use has ceased.

Some have proposed deriving Greek *iris* “rainbow” from hieroglyphic *ir.t* “eye.”<sup>39</sup> Plutarch (*De Iside et Osir.* 10 = *Mor.* 355A) gives the pronunciation of the Egyptian as ἶρι. There is a phonetic problem in that Homeric scansion demands an initial w-sound for at least the goddess *Iris*, \**f*ἶρις. Hemmerdinger<sup>40</sup> interprets only the divinity with *f* as *f*ἶρις and derives it from the Egyptian goddess *wšr.t*;<sup>41</sup> he explains

37 At Sirach 50,7 Simon the high priest is compared with the rainbow and many other things which elsewhere are applied to God.

38 Ed. E. Diehl, *Anthologia lyrica graeca*, ed. 3 fasc. 3; Leipzig: Teubner, 1954, p. 121.

39 Erman-Grapow i.106.

40 Bertrand Hemmerdinger, “Noms communs grecs d’origine égyptienne,” *Glotta* 46 (1968) 238-247.

41 Erman-Grapow i.363.



the common noun as Egyptian “eye.” Pierce<sup>42</sup> rejects both etymologies and Fournet omits them entirely. Frisk<sup>43</sup> assumes that the goddess and the rainbow have the same name *ῥίσις*, and tentatively derives it from a root “to bend” as meaning “bow.” Greek *ἶρις* is applied to the flower “iris” and a precious stone; and in particular by medical writers to the “iris” of the eye. An epitome among the works of Galen<sup>44</sup> calls it “a circle with varied colors” (κύκλος ποικίλος τοῖς χρώμασι) and named from “its similarity to the *iris* in the heavens,” ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς τὴν ὑπαίθριον ἶριν ἐμφερείας. Erman-Grapow<sup>45</sup> lists *ir.t-R* “the eye of Re” as a designation of the sun; I am sorry I cannot cite specific hieroglyphic texts.<sup>46</sup> The rainbow can be seen as the iris of a gigantic divine eye; F. E. Church in his large painting *Rainy Season in the Tropics* (American, 1866; San Francisco Fine Arts Museums) shows it as double and nearly a whole circle. Can Egyptian usage be shown to extend to the rainbow?

In Latin with its increased realism and color-consciousness (I.106) the rainbow appears much more frequently; its only name is identical with that of the military bow, *arcus*. Lucretius 6.526 describes the phenomenon, “then the color of the bow appears in dark clouds,”

Tum color in nigris existit nubibus arci.

Vergil (*Aeneid* 5.88-9) shows some sense of the physics “as when the bow in the clouds throws a thousand different colors from the opposing sun”:

...ceum nubibus arcus  
mille iacit uarios aduerso sole colores.

Jerome<sup>47</sup> perceptively quotes Vergil (by memory) in his commentary on Ez 1,28. Ovid borrows Iris from Homer and has her “slipping down to earth on the painted bow” (*Met.* 14.838), *in terram pictos delapsa per arcus*. Horace (*Ars Poetica* 18) calls it the “rain-bow,” *pluuuus describitur arcus*. In general, a common Mediterranean heritage exists in the agreement of Hebrew, Greek and Latin in seeing the celestial

42 Richard Holton Pierce, “Egyptian Loan-Words in ancient Greek?,” *Symbolae Osloenses* 46 (1971) 96-107.

43 Frisk i.735.

44 [Galen] *Eisagoge*, 14.702 (ed. C. G. Kühn, Leipzig 1821-1833 [Medicorum Graecorum xiv]).

45 I.107.

46 Greek writers have some indications of this; see Th. Hopfner, *Fontes Historiae Religionis Aegyptiacae*; 5 vols.; Bonn: Weber, 1922-1925, see Index p. 881 s.v. *oculum*.

47 Jerome on Ezek 1,28, Corp. Christ. 75.24.635.

spectrum as a military bow, and of Hebrew and Greek in interpreting it as a sign, even though along opposite lines.

### 13.7 *The broken bow*

As the most fragile piece of military equipment, the bow can be retired not only by being hung up, but also by being broken.<sup>48</sup> When it is your own bow, its breaking is of course a threat of death; but when it is your enemy's bow, a promise of life. As the Trojan women pray (vainly) for Athena to break the spear of Diomedes (*Iliad* 6.306), so Zeus who is protecting Hector "breaks the new-strung tendon" in Teucer's bow (15.469, cf. 1.277), νευρήν δ' ἐξέρρηξε νεόστροφον.<sup>49</sup> Pandaros swears a great oath (*Iliad* 5.214-216) that if ever he gets back home he will break with his hands the bow that has caused nothing but trouble and burn it in the fire; if we have correctly identified him as a professional archer, he is ready to give up the trade.

It seems a punishment when Yahweh promises to "break the bow of Israel" (Hos 1,5). But it is a punishment on the enemies of Israel, and a promise to Israel, when he proposes to break the bow of Elam (Jer 49,35) and states that the bows of Babylon are broken in pieces (Jer 51,56). At Ps 46,9-10 the use of "desolations" (תִּשְׁמֵשׁ) is most easily explained by irony; the action celebrated by the poet is described as if seen by the enemies of Israel: "Come, behold the works of Yahweh, how he has wrought desolations in the earth. He makes wars cease to the end of the earth; he breaks the bow, and shatters the spear, he burns the chariots with fire."

However a background of self-pronounced retribution lurks behind these apparently straightforward usages. In the Aramaic treaty of Sfire<sup>50</sup> the parties agree that "Just as [this] bow and these arrows are broken, so may In[ur?]ta and Hadad break [the bow of Mati-ilu] and the bow of his nobles".<sup>51</sup>

48 See Nahum M. Waldman, "The Breaking of the Bow," JQR 69 (1978/9) 82-88.

49 For this and other parallels between Greek epic and Hebrew see again Griffin (p. 143 above note 25) p. 41 etc.

50 KAI 222 A.38-39.

51 In an Akkadian treaty of the same Mati-ilu with Ashur-nirari VI, the Assyrian says (in broken context), "[As for your(?)] men, may the Mistress of Women [Ishtar] take away their bow"; see E. F. Weidner, "Der Staatsvertrag Assurniraris VI. von Assyrien mit Mati'ilu von Bit-Agusi," Archiv für Orientforschung 8 (1932/3) 17-34; rev. V.12-13, translated ANET<sup>3</sup> 533. Here we are in the symbolism of the next section, where the bow stands for virility.

ואיך זי תשבר קשתא וחציא אלן כן ישבר אנ[...]. ת והדרד [קשת מתעאל]  
וקשת רבוה

When the treaty was formally made, a bow and arrows were broken to the accompaniment of oaths. A widespread sympathetic magic is at work here; you call down a punishment on yourself, if you should break your word, which corresponds precisely to the action you perform (I.272-3). Esarhaddon in his treaty with king Baal of Tyre laid the same threat on him, “May Ishtar in a fierce battle break your bow,”<sup>52</sup> *gis qasat-ku-nu liš-bir*.<sup>53</sup> Nearly the same phrase in the Vassal Treaties of Esarhaddon sect. 453.<sup>53</sup>

When in the Hebrew Bible the breaking of the bow occurs as bringing *promise* in a “covenant” or treaty context, three themes can be discerned in the background. (1) Since the bow is primarily that of the enemy, who is likely to be a princeling on whom such a one as Esarhaddon imposed a vassal treaty, its breaking to the benefit of Israel can be interpreted as a punishment for the ruler’s having infringed the justice of Yahweh and his own oath. (2) But since Yahweh punishes his own people through the hands of their enemies, the bow can also be interpreted as that of Yahweh which after Israel’s repentance is now being hung up as after the flood in the covenant with Noah. Thus at Hosea 2,10: “And I will make for you a covenant on that day with the beasts of the field...and I will break the bow, the sword, and war from the land; and I will make you lie down in safety.” (3) The sense of the Messianic prophecy of the king “riding on an ass” (Sach 9,10) appears to be that Yahweh cuts off war materiel from Israel because it will no longer be needed: “I will cut off the chariot from Ephraim and the horse from Jerusalem; and the bow of battle shall be cut off, and [the king] shall command peace to the nations.”

Previously (I, Chap. 5) I have shown how the usages of ancient military vocabulary are inverted to celebrate the coming of peace: the defensive panoply is allegorized as of the moral virtues; lance and spear are hammered back into the plowshares and pruning-hooks out of which they were originally made; the military field tent or σακητή is transformed into the indwelling presence or שכניה of God. In the same

52 Riekle Borger, Die Inschriften Asarhaddons Königs von Assyrien; Archiv für Orientforschung Beiheft 9; Osnabrück; Biblio, 1956 (repr. 1967) no. 69 p. 109, para IV.18; translated in ANET<sup>3</sup> 538.

53 J. D. Wiseman, The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon; London: The British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 1958 (reprinted from Iraq 20 [1958] Part I) p. 63; translated ANET<sup>3</sup> 538.

way the breaking of the bow, originally imposed by a great king as a self-curse on his vassals, by the justice of God is utilized to secure the peace and safety of his people.

### 13.8 *The bow and the quiver*

As the “breaking of the bow” is extended in usage, the bow comes to be used of vigor generally. Thus in the song of Hannah (I Sam 2,4) “the bow of the mighty is broken,”<sup>54</sup> קִשְׁתֵּי הַגִּבּוֹרִים הִתְקַיְמוּ. There is a further extension at Job 29,20, “my bow will be ever new in my hand”:

וְקִשְׁתִּי בְיָדִי תִהְיֶה

where it stands for sexual vigor.<sup>55</sup> The symbolism is explicitly spelled out at Apuleius *Met.* 2.16 “when first I received the arrow of fierce Cupid (*sagittam saevi Cupidinis*) fallen in my heart, I vigorously stretched my bow (*arcum meum et ipse uigorate tetendi*)<sup>56</sup> and immediately I was afraid lest its bowstring be broken from extreme tension (*ne neruus rigoris nimietate rumpatur*).”

We saw (II.145) that Cant 8,6, referring to love, can be read “its arrows are arrows of fire.” Likewise Euripides *Hippolytus* 530-4 “For neither the missile of fire [a burning arrow] nor of the stars [lightning?] is greater than the missile of Aphrodite that Eros, the child of Zeus, sends from his hands”: οὔτε γὰρ πυρὸς οὔτ’ / ἄστρον ὑπέρτερον βέλος, / οἶον τὸ τᾶς Ἀφροδίτας / ἴησιν ἐκ χερῶν / Ἔρωσ, ὁ Διὸς παῖς. Hence in a late poet (*Anth. Pal.* 9.443, Paulus Silentiarius, 6th cent. CE) “If anyone receives the tip of [Love’s] burning arrow,” ἦν τις οἰστοῦ/ἄκρον ἔλη φλογεροῦ. And so constantly in Latin: Horace, *Carm.* 2.8.14f “and fierce Cupid, always sharpening his burning arrows,” *ferus et Cupido / semper ardentis acuens sagittas*.

Especially when the tip of the arrow “drips” with potent fluid (as in the Hesiodic *Shield*, II.142) its sexual symbolism is evident. Since Hebrew קִשְׁתֵּי is grammatically feminine, the arrow can be “the son of the bow” (Job 41,20) בֶּן־קִשְׁתֵּי. Since for the ancients, to whom the ovum was unknown, the female was a mere passive recipient in reproduction, the male “arrows” can be equivalently thought of in the receptacle of the womb or in the (grammatically feminine) “quiver” in

54 In a grammatical anomaly, the adjective “broken” agrees with the noun nearest it rather than with “bow.”

55 Note (II.133) that Hebrew קִשְׁתֵּי is occasionally “penis.”

56 Conjecture for *vigor attetendit* of the MSS.

which the male carries them around. Heb. אֶשְׁפָּה “quiver” (from Akkadian *išpatu*) has feminine symbolism at Jer 5,16 referring to Babylon, “His quiver is as an open tomb,” אֶשְׁפָּחוּ כְּקִבְר פְּתוּחַ. See especially Thr 3,12-13 “He has bent his bow and set me as a mark for the arrow; he drove into my kidneys the sons of his quiver”:

דָּרַךְ קִשְׁתּוֹ וַיִּצְיֵבֵנִי      כַּמִּטְרָא לַחֲץ  
הֵבִיא בְּכִלְיוֹתַי      בְּנֵי אֶשְׁפָּחוֹ

where the Vulgate has “daughters of his quiver,” *filiis pharetrae suae*, since Latin *sagitta* is feminine. At Sirach 26,12 an immodest daughter “opens her quiver to the arrow,” ἔναντι βέλους ἀνοίξει φαρέτραν. Horace in a well-known stanza of complex feeling-tone makes the quiver *pregnant* with death: “He who is whole of life and pure from crime needs no Moorish javelins, nor a bow, nor, Fuscus, a quiver pregnant with poisoned arrows” (*Carm.* 1.22.1-4)

Integer uitae scelerisque purus  
non eget Mauris iaculis neque arcu  
nec uenenatis grauida sagittis,  
Fusce, pharetra.

The idea of divine procreation of the messianic king (Ps 2,7; 89,26-27; II Sam 7,14; II.87) is patent in the Servant poem of Isa 49,2, “He made me a polished arrow, in his quiver he hid me”:

וַיְשִׁימֵנִי לַחֲץ בְּרוּר      בְּאֶשְׁפָּחוֹ הַסְתִּירֵנִי

In Ps 127,3-5 the arrows of the quiver retain the symbolism of sexuality, but this time standing for sons who will engage the enemy at the city-gate: “Lo, sons are an inheritance from Yahweh, the fruit of the womb is a reward; like arrows in the hand of a warrior, so are the sons of one’s youth. Happy is the man who has his quiver full of them; such will not be ashamed when they speak with their enemies in the gate”

הִנֵּה נַחֲלַת יְהוָה בְּנִים      שֹׁכֵר פְּרֵי הַבְּטֵן  
כְּחֻצִים בְּיַד-גִּבּוֹר      כִּן בְּנֵי הַנְּעוּרִים  
אֲשֶׁרֵי הַגִּבּוֹר אֲשֶׁר מְלֵא      אַח-אֶשְׁפָּחוֹ מֵהֶם  
לֹא-יִבְשׁוּ כִּי יִדְבְּרוּ      אַח-אֲוִיבִים בְּשִׁעַר

Readers of Trollope will remember the vicar of Puddingdale, Quiverful, whose children increase from twelve to fourteen even during the tale; he is “the wretched clerical Priam, who was endeavoring to feed his poor Hecuba and a dozen of Hectors on the small proceeds of his ecclesiastical kingdom” (*The Warden*, chap. 20). Trollope’s beautiful Hebrew-Greek comparison works on many levels. Priam had 50 sons, 19 by Hecuba alone (*Iliad* 24.495-7), and Hector boasted that he could defend the city just with his brothers and brothers-in-law (5.474, cf. II.91). Deger-Jalkotzy takes Priam’s kingdom as a Greek picture of an Oriental realm with its harem (II.85), and notices particularly the

detail of the elders deliberating in the gate (II.98).<sup>57</sup> We can add its employment of the professional archer Pandaros beside the usage of Ugarit (II.138).

### 13.9 *The bow and the lyre*

In such symbolic usages the function of the bow as bearing death is ignored, so that it can be replaced by an instrument of life which likewise operates by strings stretched under tension. As the names of the arrow record the sound of its passage, the sound of the “twanging” bow (λίγξε *Iliad* 4.125) suggested its modification as a lyre. In Hebrew the same participle שָׁנַן is used for “handling” the bow (Amos 2,15) and the lyre (רִנָּן Gen 4,21); two of David’s qualifications are that he can play the lyre (I Sam 16,16) and can bend a “bow of bronze” (II Sam 22,35).<sup>58</sup> Above (II.21) we noted the parallels between David and Orpheus; we may end with his similarity to Apollo. In the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (3.131), the god says as soon as he is born, “May the lyre ever be dear to me and the curved bow,”

εἴη μοι κίθαρίς τε φίλη καὶ καμπύλα τόξα

From the beginning, Apollo goes beyond Nietzsche’s definition of him, for he combines the opposite uses of stored energy: death through the arrow-borne plague, life through the lyre’s music. Hence Heraclitus again<sup>59</sup> speaks of “reciprocal harmony, as of the bow and the lyre,” παλίντροπος ἄρμονιή ὄκωσπερ τόξου καὶ λύρης. The act of Odysseus in stringing his bow is compared to that of a minstrel putting a new cord on his lyre (*Odyssey* 21.406-409); when he tries the string (vs 411) “it sang beautifully like the voice of a swallow”:

ἦ δ’ ὑπὸ καλὸν ἄεισε, χελιδόνι εἰκέλη αὐδήν

Thus the heroes David and Odysseus each achieve an “Apollonian” integration of death and life.<sup>60</sup>

57 Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy, “Homer und der Orient; Das Königtum des Priamos,” *Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft*, n. F. 5 (1979) 25-31.

58 See p. 137 note 9 above.

59 Fragment 51 Diels-Kranz FVS<sup>8</sup>. Some authors refer to the saying with παλίντροπος instead, probably as a reminiscence of τόξον ... παλίντρονον *Iliad* 15.443.

60 Pindar in two stanzas of *Olympian* 2 (vss 83-91) in an elaborate metaphor compares his verses with arrows.

## Chapter 14: The Mediterranean Seer and Shamanism<sup>1</sup>

“Shaman” properly means the Siberian figure so named in Tungus and other Altaic languages of Central Asia.<sup>2</sup> Tungus *šaman* is often thought derived from Pali *samaṇa* (Sanskrit *śramaṇa*).<sup>3</sup> The Pali is frequent in the *Dhammapada*, where it has been strongly ethicised: thus 184 (cf 142, 254-5, 264-5): *na samaṇo hoti paraṃ vihethayanto* “nor is he an ascetic who harms others.” I extend “shaman” to the Ainu and the North American cultures closely related to the Siberian, but not to comparable figures in other parts of the world. By “Mediterranean” seers I mean prophetic or charismatic figures primarily attested in Greek and West-Semitic texts, supplemented by occasional artistic representations. Prehistoric religions and those of peoples without writing are a realm where everything can be compared with everything else. Here I strive for comparisons between cultures which commend themselves in as many ways as possible: through concrete details of cult or custom; in actual language attested in the texts; in artistic monuments.

There are several ways in which Mediterranean mantic figures *differ* from shamans.

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- 1 Revision of an article with the same title in ZAW 93 (1981) 374-400.
  - 2 For shamanism I originally followed the work of M. A. Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia: A Study in Social Anthropology*; Oxford: University, 1914; here p. 197. I now supplement it with the survey by Mircea Eliade, *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*; tr. W. R. Trask; Bollingen Series LXXVI; Princeton: University, 1972. I draw illustrations further from Joseph Campbell, *The Way of the Animal Powers*; Vol. 1, *Historical Atlas of World Mythology*; San Francisco etc.: Harper & Row, 1983—taking care to cite photos as close as possible to the restricted region defined above. The literature on shamanism is enormous and I make no claim to competency in it. My main point anyway is the *differences* between Mediterranean mantic figures and shamans strictly defined.
  - 3 Discussion in Eliade 495-6, who treats further the question how far Siberian shamanism takes up Buddhist/Lamanist influences.

(1) *The legendary element.* Shamanism, though extremely old in its origins, is also a contemporary phenomenon still being described and photographed by anthropologists. Our Greek and Hebrew texts describe charismatic figures, a Tiresias or Elisha, from what was already, for the authors of the texts (not to mention for us readers!), the legendary past. The principal exception is the Sicilian Empedocles, a personage apparently in the full light of history, although still in his poems making claims to divine status which in a few generations gave him too an aura of legend. Dodds:

the fragments of Empedocles are the one first-hand source from which we can still form some notion of what a Greek shaman was really like; he is the last belated example of a species which with his death became extinct in the Greek world, though it still flourishes elsewhere.<sup>4</sup>

Thus he promises to one who learns from him:

You will bring a needful drought for men out of black rain, and again you will bring sky-dwelling rains that nourish the trees from a summer drought; and you will bring the strength of a deceased man from Hades:<sup>5</sup>

θήσεις δ' ἐξ ὄμβροιο κελαινοῦ κείριον αὐχμὸν  
ἀνθρώποις, θήσεις δὲ καὶ ἐξ αὐχμοῖο θερείου  
ρέυματα δενδρεόθρεπτα, τὰ τ' αἰθέρι ναιήσονται,  
ἄξεις δ' ἐξ Ἀΐδαο καταφθιμένου μένος ἀνδρός.

In the sequel we shall find more rainmakers and raisers of the dead.

(2) *Historical period.* Siberian shamanism has coexisted for centuries with rational city life, and may well include broken-down practices from high religions such as Buddhism, *abgesunkenes hochreligiöses Gut*;<sup>6</sup> whereas Mediterranean prophecy was part of the matrix out of which civic freedom, high religion and rational thought was to grow.

(3) *Climate.* In the arid Mediterranean, rainmaking (14.3 below) is one of the functions of the seer. Around the Pole, rain or snow is the last thing the tribe needs to ask for. When the Ainu of northern Japan sacrifice the tame bear they have brought up from a cub, they instruct it:

You will tell the gods to give us riches, that our hunters may return from the forest laden with rich furs and animals good to eat, that our fishers may

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4 E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational*; Boston: Beacon, 1957; 145.

5 Empedocles frag 111, FVS<sup>8</sup> i.353.

6 K. Goldammer, "Elemente des Schamanismus im Alten Testament," pp. II. 266-285 (esp. 284) of *Ex Orbe Religionum* (Geo Widengren Festschrift); *Studies in the History of Religions* (Supplements to *Numen*) XXII; Leiden: Brill, 1972.



find troops of seals on the shore and under the sea, and that their nets may crack [cf Luk 5,6!] under the weight of the fish.<sup>7</sup>

No connection is made between the abundance of game and the weather. Only where Native Americans moved into agriculture in lands of uncertain rainfall, as in the southwest United States, did they take up the rain-dance.

However, shamanism has been important as the label for attempts to look freshly at Mediterranean religion. Thus for Israel, A. S. Kapelrud was a pioneer:<sup>8</sup> Jepsen,<sup>9</sup> operating with the model that the Israelites came from the desert into Palestine, concludes that the *נְבִיָּא* was a role which they first met in Palestine associated with a north-Syrian or Anatolian stratum of the population. K. Meuli explained striking elements in Hellenic prophecy as derived from contact with features of Scythian culture, beginning in the seventh century BC, which he identified as shamanistic; thus “Skythische Schamanen bei Herodot.”<sup>10</sup> So Dodds found appearing in Greece of the seventh century BC a “new religious pattern,” which “by crediting man with an occult self of divine origin, and setting soul and body at odds, ...introduced into European culture a new interpretation of human existence, the interpretation we call puritanical.”<sup>11</sup> He concludes (p. 142) that this was due to “the opening of the Black Sea to Greek trade and colonisation in the seventh century, which introduced the Greeks for the first time to a culture based on shamanism.”

I begin this chapter by considering features of the Mediterranean seer (14.1) which have good parallels in shamanism. I then go on to themes where Mediterranean prophecy has its own characteristic features, analogous often to shamanism, but distinct. Thus (14.2) the birth of the

7 A. I. Hallowell, *Bear Ceremonialism in the Northern Hemisphere*, Univ. of Pennsylvania thesis; Philadelphia; 1926, 126. For the bear-cult among the Ainu, see Kazunobu Ikeya, “Bear Rituals of the Matagi and the Ainu in Northeastern Japan,” pp. 55-66 of T. Yamada & T. Irimoto (eds.), *Circumpolar Animism and Shamanism*, Sapporo: Hokkaido Univ., 1997. (The same volume has an environmental essay [pp. 3-7] by Masanori Toyooka Atuy “Co-existence with Nature and the ‘Third Philosophy’: Learning from the Spirit of the Ainu.”)

8 A. S. Kapelrud, *Shamanistic Features in the Old Testament*, pp. 90-96 of C.-M. Edsman (ed.), *Studies in Shamanism*, Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1967.

9 A. Jepsen, *NABI: Soziologische Studien zur alttestamentlichen Literatur und Religionsgeschichte*; München: Beck, 1934, pp. 245-246.

10 K. Meuli, “Scythica,” *Hermes* 70 (1935) 121-176 = *Gesammelte Schriften*, Basel: Schwabe, 1975, II.817-880.

11 Dodds p. 139 (note 4 above).

seer takes place under divine auspices, perhaps directly by divine fatherhood; and upon birth he may undergo an ordeal such as exposure on the waters. In Mediterranean lands of uncertain rainfall, the seer is in charge of the withholding and granting of rain (14.3); here we find the common vocabulary of the *torch* (λαμπάς = לִפְיִר) imitating lightning. As the shaman is in close touch with the animal world, and in particular the bear, the Mediterranean seer in his mysterious disappearances and appearances takes on features (14.4) of the hibernating and risen bear. An eventual death is less final for him than for others, he remains powerful even in the realm of the dead (14.5). A mantic woman (14.6), a Circe, Sibyl or witch of En-Dor, controls access to him. Such a prophetic pattern might have been transmitted between Israel and Hellas through the travels (14.7) of the Gergithians or Gergashites.

### 14.1 Shamanistic traits of the Mediterranean seer

#### 14.1.1 The seer as third sex

Czaplicka says that it is common for male shamans to take up women's dress, exchange the lance and rifle for the needle and skin-scaper, and as "soft men" occasionally to be married to another man. Less common but not unknown is such a reverse case as the Chuckchee<sup>12</sup> widow with children:

Following the command of the 'spirits,' she cut her hair, donned the dress of a man, adopted the masculine pronunciation, and even learned in a very short time to handle the spear and to shoot with a rifle. At last she wanted to marry and easily found a young girl who consented to become her wife.

Hence Czaplicka rejects the theory that all shamans were originally female and represented a vestige of an original matriarchy; she concludes rather:

Socially, the shaman does not belong either to the class of males or to that of females, but to a third class, that of shamans. Sexually, he may be sexless, or ascetic, or have inclinations of homosexualistic character, but...may also be quite normal. And so, forming a special class, shamans have special taboos comprising both male and female characters.<sup>13</sup>

Campbell<sup>14</sup> from other authors reports both changes; adapts from Hermann Baumann a global map of peoples with a "ritualistic perma-

12 A tribe living just on the Siberian side of Bering Straits.

13 Czaplicka, note 2 above, pp. 249-253.

14 Campbell, note 2 above, pp. 174-5.

ment sex change”; and reproduces (his fig. 303) from Knud Rasmussen a “soft man,’ transvestite, or transformed shaman of the Chuckchi” wearing ordinary animal skins and boots.

Herodotus (4.67, cf. 1.105) among the “prophets of the Scythians” (μάντιες ... Σκυθέων) includes the “androgynous Enarees” (Ἐνάρες ... ἀνδρόγυνοι). Here as in οἰόρπατα (Herodotus 4.110, see I.224) he seems to transmit a genuine Indo-European word, *a-* privative + *nar* “man,” i.e. “unmanly” (cf. ἀνήρ, Sanskrit *nr*, Iguvine acc. pl. *nerf* “elders,” Sabine-Latin *Nerō* as proper name). Hippocrates *Airs* 22 records impotence, transvestitism and adoption of a feminine dialect among Scythian males:

εὐνουχίαι γίνονται οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐν Σκύθησι καὶ γυναικεῖα ἐργάζονται καὶ ὡς αἱ γυναῖκες [...?] διαλέγονται τε ὁμοίως καλεῦνται τε οἱ τοιοῦτοι Ἄναριεῖς

“Most of the Scythians become ‘eunuchs,’ take on women’s work, [dress?] like women and speak likewise; such are called Anaries.”<sup>15</sup> Aristotle *Eth. Nic.* 1150b14 attests μαλακία (hereditary effeminacy?) among Scythian kings.

The mantic figure of early Hellas above all is Tiresias, Τειρεσίας, more a class-name than that of an individual, “reader of portents” (τεῖρατα), and a dialectal variant of τερατίας (Diodorus 34/35.2.8). He was Odysseus’ guide in the underworld (*Odyssey* 10.492-3), “Tiresias of Thebes, the blind seer,” Θηβαίου Τειρεσίαο / μάντιος ἀλαοῦ. Hesiod in his lost *Melampodia*<sup>16</sup> told how Tiresias saw two snakes copulating, wounded them, and was turned into a woman; then after seven years (according to Ovid) saw them again and was turned back into a man. Once Zeus maintained against Hera that the woman enjoyed intercourse more than a man and they called Tiresias in as experienced arbiter. He rashly answered:

οἴην μὲν μοῖραν δέκα μοίρων τέρπεται ἀνήρ,

τάς δὲ δέκ’ ἐμπίπλησι γυνὴ τέρπουσα νόημα

“Of ten parts a man enjoys only one, but a woman enjoys the full ten parts in her heart.” Wherefore Hera blinded him, but Zeus bestowed on him the mantic art (μαντικήν).<sup>17</sup> Ovid (*Met.* 3.322-338) tells the story and adds: “for the loss of his sight [Jupiter] granted him to know the future, lightening the penalty by the honor”:

15 MSS of Hippocrates ἀνδριεῖς.

16 Hesiod frag. 275 Merkelbach-West from Apollodorus 3.6.7 and other sources; see Frazer’s notes ad loc. in the Loeb.

17 But others (Apollodorus *ibid.*) said that he saw his mother the nymph Chariclo naked while she was bathing, and was struck blind by Athena.

pro lumine adempto

scire futura dedit poenamque leuauit honore.

Zeus also gave him seven times an ordinary lifetime:

ἑπτά τ' ἐπὶ ζώειν γενεᾶς μερόπων ἀνθρώπων

“to live for seven generations of mortal men.”<sup>18</sup> Tiresias, “old man with wrinkled dug,” is the narrator in *The Waste Land* and, as with Zeus and Hera, foreshadows the union of the typist and the “young man carbuncular.”

The Hebrews found transvestites of both sexes in Canaan, and the practice caught on sufficiently to be forbidden, Deut 22,5

לֹא-יְהִיֶּה כְּלִי-גִבּוֹר עַל-אִשָּׁה וְלֹא-יִלְבַּשׁ גִּבּוֹר שְׂמֹלֶת אִשָּׁה

“The things of a man shall not be on a woman, and a man shall not put on a woman’s mantle.” The name of the mantle is in transposed form שְׂמֹלֶת; the prophet Ahijah wore one such (I Reg 11,29); of a woman, “the smell of your mantle is as the smell of Lebanon” (Cant 4,11). Of Yahweh it is said (Ps 104,2):

עֹמֵה-אֹר כְּשֵׁלְמָה נוֹמָה שְׂמִיִּם כִּי-רִיעָה

“wrapping himself in light as a mantle, spreading out the heavens like a curtain.” To put on such a garment from the opposite sex suggests some sort of functional interchange. In particular the earliest Hebrew documents attribute to prophetic women the martial lifestyle thereafter exclusively masculine. Thus Miriam the prophetess (Ex 15,20 נְבִיאָה) with her tambourine (14.1.5 below) celebrates the victory over Egypt; Deborah the prophetess (Jud 4,4) celebrates the slaying of Sisera by Jael. The only later prophetess we hear of is Huldah (II Reg 22,14); Noadiah (Neh 6,14) appears a false prophetess; at Isa 8,3 הַנְּבִיאָה is just the prophet’s wife.

#### 14.1.2 The seer as handicapped

The shaman is one unfitted for standard vocational roles. Czaplicka<sup>19</sup> interprets shamanism as a process of healing for the person involved: “to be called to become a shaman is generally equivalent to being afflicted with hysteria; then the accepting of the call means recovery.” Her description points less to physical defects than to psychological deviance: “the expression of a shaman is peculiar—a combination of cunning and shyness; ...it is often possible to pick him out from among many others.”

18 Hesiod frag. 276 Merkelbach-West from Tzetzes; the editors count the seven generations as: Cadmus, Polydorus, Labdacus, Laius, Oedipus, Eteocles, Laodamas.

19 Note 2 above pp. 172-4.

In early societies, where every able-bodied man is needed in time of peace for hunting or agriculture, and in time of war to take up arms, the sedentary occupations are reserved for the handicapped. Hephaestus the metalsmith was lame (χωλόν *Iliad* 18.397), as a result (it was said) of having been thrown from Olympus by Zeus (1.591-3); but rather, a lame boy would normally be apprenticed to a smith. Teutonic Wayland the smith is lame.<sup>20</sup> But Charles<sup>21</sup> thinks that Hephaestus “reflects the traditional view of the unhealthiness of the smith’s craft stemming mainly from the use of the early arsenical materials,” in particular the copper-arsenic alloy arsenical bronze found in early tools and weapons, which would have produced among other symptoms “muscular atrophy and polyneuritis”; in this view lameness is the effect, not the cause, of the trade.

The Phoenician priests of Baal “limped around the altar” (I Reg 18,26) חִיפְּסוּ, Luther *hinkten*; and Elijah mocks them in the same language (18,21) “Why do you limp (חִיפְּסוּ) between two opinions [?]?” LXX correctly χωλανεῖτε. Perhaps they were not doing a ritual dance-step but really were lame, either from birth or having been made so for the priesthood. (But in Israel lameness like other defects disqualifies for the priesthood, Lev 21,18.) Jonathan’s son Mephibosheth, whose true name was surely Meribaal (מְרִיבָעַל I Chron 9,40b), is lame (II Sam 4,4 etc.), and perhaps this accounts for his apparent devotion to Ba‘al (which here may be something more than a mere title of Yahweh).

Lameness also qualified a man, surprisingly, as a lover. The Amazons were said to cut off the hand or foot of their male children. The Scythians offered themselves as husbands, perfect and un mutilated, to which Antianeira the leader of the Amazons answered, in a formula which became proverbial, “the lame man does it best,” ἄριστα χωλὸς οἴφει.<sup>22</sup>

Even in the modern world blindness can bring the compensation of a heightened ear for language; we need only remember the blind or near-blind writers Milton, Joyce, Thurber. As with Tiresias (above) the *Odyssey* (8.63-64) says of the bard Demodocus, in verses which make

20 K. R. Crocker, “The Lame Smith: Parallel Features in the Myths of the Greek Hephaestus and the Teutonic Wayland,” *Archaeological News* (Tallahassee) 6 (1977) 67-71; comparing the representations of the two in the François Vase from Chiusi, painted by Cleitias ab. 570 BC; and the Anglo-Saxon Franks Casket, 8th century CE, now in the British Museum.

21 James A. Charles, in T. A. Wertime & J. D. Muhly (eds.), *The Coming of the Age of Iron*; New Haven: Yale, 1980; 178.

22 West IEG, Mimnermus frag. 21a, from a MS of proverbs.

us think twice about the favor of the gods, “Him the Muse loved very much, and gave him good and evil; she deprived him of his eyes, but gave him sweet song”:

τὸν πέρι Μοῦσ’ ἐφίλησε, δίδου δ’ ἀγαθὸν τε κακὸν τε  
ὀφθαλμῶν μὲν ἄμερσε, δίδου δ’ ἠδεῖαν ἀοιδήν.

He is propped against a pillar (vs 66) to orient him, as Samson in the temple, Jud 16,25. The *Homeric Hymn* to Apollo (3.172) says, apparently in reference to Homer, that the sweetest of singers is a “blind man” (τυφλὸς ἀνήρ) of Chios.

The Hebrew prophets describe themselves as poor speakers, in language which sounds real and not deprecatory. Isaiah is “unclean in his lips” (Isa 6,5 *טְמֵאֵי שְׂפָתַיִם*), Jeremiah “does not know how to speak” (Jer 1,6 *לֹא יֵדְעָתִי דְבַר*). Especially Moses is no “man of words” (Ex 4,10 *אִישׁ דְּבָרִים*) but “heavy of mouth and heavy of tongue”:

כִּבְד־פֶּה וּכְבֹד לְשׁוֹן

LXX ἰσχνόφωνος καὶ βραδύγλωσσος, Vg *impeditioris et tardioris linguae*; he is “uncircumcised of lips” (Ex 6,12.30 *עֵרֶל שְׂפָתַיִם*). Perhaps he had a stutter or the like. Yahweh recognizes and overrides Moses’ protestation (Ex 4,11)

מִי שָׂם פֶּה לְאָדָם אוּ מִי־שָׂוִים אֱלִים אוּ חָרַשׁ אוּ פֶקֶח אוּ עִוֵּר

“Who has given man a mouth? Who has made him dumb or deaf (Vg *mutum et surdum*), seeing or blind?”

### 14.1.3 The seer as madman or hysteric

Czaplicka<sup>23</sup> believes that Siberia has a high incidence of nervous disorders hardly known elsewhere. She ascribes this spectrum of “arctic hysteria” to the “dark winter days, light summer nights, severe cold, the silence, and the general monotony of the landscape.” Central is “imitative mania,” *ämürakh*,<sup>24</sup> “with its characteristic symptom of imitating unconsciously all gestures and sounds.” Campbell (156) states that the powers credited to the shaman

are believed to be derived from his intercourse with envisioned spirits; this intercourse having been established, usually in early adolescence, by way of a severe psychological breakdown of the greatest stress and even danger to life.

But Eliade insists (pp. 27,29);

23 Czaplicka (note 2 above) 320-4.

24 I cannot easily determine from what Siberian language this word is taken. The same condition as a feature of post-encephalitic syndrome is medically called echolalia.

...the shaman is not only a sick man; he is, above all, a sick man who has been cured...the shamans, for all their apparent likeness to epileptics and hysterics, show proof of a more than normal nervous constitution.

Campbell on p. 190 (fig. 316, from Edward Curtis) has a most impressive photo of a masked assemblage echoing the faces on the totem poles behind them:

On the brink of madness, the Kwakiutl Indians of the North Pacific Coast enact in spectacular mystery plays the violence and brilliance of shamanic visionary ordeals. A youth undergoing initiation here will be seized and possessed by a cannibal spirit, become cannibalistic himself, and dash about crying "Eat! Eat!" while snapping and biting at those who strive to restore him.

The Greeks for once correctly etymologized prophecy, μαντική, as derived from madness, μανίη. Plato (*Phaedrus* 244 A-C) so explains the *mantikē* at Delphi, at Dodona, of the Sibyl. Plutarch, in contrast to Sappho's charming words, quotes Heraclitus:<sup>25</sup> "The Sibyl with her raging mouth (μαινομένῳ στόματι) speaks words without laughter, beauty or perfume, yet reaches the age of a thousand years by her voice by means of the god." Tiresias says of the new god Dionysus (Euripides, *Bacchae* 298-9):

μάντις δ' ὁ δαίμων ὄδε· τὸ γὰρ βακχεύσιμον  
καὶ τὸ μανιῶδες μαντικὴν πολλὴν ἔχει.

"This divinity is a *mantis*; for Bacchic frenzy and madness contain much that is mantic." The contagious female Maenadism described in the *Bacchae* is attested still in the Roman period as a real cult-practice.<sup>26</sup> Plutarch<sup>27</sup> has one of his speakers describe as if real and current "ill-omened and gloomy days, in which occur eating of raw flesh, rending of victims, fasting and beating the breast," ἡμέρας ἀποφράδας καὶ σκυθρωπὰς, ἐν αἷς ὠμοφαγίαι καὶ διασπασμοὶ νηστεΐαι τε καὶ κοπετοί. Again Plutarch, describing the effects of cold,<sup>28</sup> mentions how the capes were frozen "of those who climbed Parnassus to help the Thyiades, when the women were caught in a strong wind and snow," τῶν εἰς τὸ Παρνασσὸν ἀναβάντων βοηθῆσαι ταῖς Θυιάσιν, ἀπειλημμέναις

25 Plutarch *de Pyth. orac.* 6 = *Mor.* 397A; opinions differ how much of this is exact quotation (Heraclitus frag. 92, FVS<sup>8</sup> i.172).

26 Dodds (see note 4 above) pp. 270-282.

27 Plutarch *de defectu orac.* 14 = *Mor.* 417C.

28 Plutarch *de primo frig.* 18 = *Mor.* 953D. Pausanias 10.32.7 speaks as if in his own times Parnassus is where "the Thyiad women rave (μαίνονται) in honor of Dionysus and Apollo."

ὑπὸ πνεύματος χαλεποῦ καὶ χιόνος. The reference is both so casual and circumstantial that we must take it exactly at face value.

Eating raw flesh has a parallel at I Sam 14,32 where the fasting Israelite army kills animals “on the ground” and eats them there, although what struck the narrator was that they ate “with the blood.” Previously (I.174) we noted how the prophets of Baal (I Reg 18,28) cut themselves “with swords and lances” like the Galloi of Hierapolis.<sup>29</sup> The Hebrews cut themselves in mourning for their own dead (and conceivably for dead gods too), for the practice is frequently forbidden.<sup>30</sup>

Samuel predicts approvingly what will happen to Saul (I Sam 10,6) “Then the spirit of Yahweh will come over you, and you will ‘prophesy’ with them, and you will be turned into another man”;

וְצִלְתָּה עֲלֶיךָ רוּחַ יְהוָה וְהִתְנַבֵּיתָ עִמָּם וְנִהַפְּכָתָ לְאִישׁ אֲחֵר

It does indeed come out so (I Sam 10,9-13). Another account of a similar or the very same episode at I Sam 19,18-24, where first Saul’s messengers, then Saul himself catch the contagion of “prophecy” and eventual nakedness. Such prophecy can bring the impulse to violence, going beyond that of the Kwakiutl (above): on the day after a triumphal entry (I Sam 18,10) “an evil spirit from God came over Saul, and he prophesied”:

וַתִּצְלַח רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים רָעָה אֶל-שָׁאוּל וַיִּתְנַבֵּא

in his prophetic fit Saul tries to kill David. It seems plain that the earliest sense of the root נבא involves ecstatic dancing and perhaps unintelligible speech. Sophocles (*Ajax* 243-4) represents the hero uttering ominous and evil words “which a daemon and no human being taught him”:

ἄ δαίμων / κούδεις ἀνδρῶν ἐδίδαξεν

some kind of glossolalia. The Pythia at Delphi once when the consultation went badly was filled with “a dumb and evil spirit,” ἀλάλου καὶ κακοῦ πνεύματος,<sup>31</sup> i.e. one which refused to tell its name. Compare in a different context Mark 9,17 πνεῦμα ἄλαλον, i.e. “spirit of dumbness.”

#### 14.1.4 The spirit-journey of the seer

The typical shamanistic performance—to discover the cause of disease or defilement, to predict animal migrations, or for sheer bravado—

29 Lucian *de dea Syria* 50, LCL ed. iv.402.

30 Lev 19,28; 21,5; Deut 14,1; Jer 16,6.

31 Plutarch *de defectu orac.* 51 = *Mor.* 438B.



takes the form of a dance and ventriloquism to illustrate a journey by air to consult a chief spirit, guided by a possessing spirit or animal. Campbell (pp. 158 and 167) reproduces maps by the shamans themselves of their spirit journeys, from Siberia and Eskimo lands; from other parts of the world (e.g. Bushman, pp. 94-95) he has actual photographs of the unconscious shaman as his soul travels.

#### 14.1.4.1 *The journey on an arrow*

Dodds<sup>32</sup> cites evidence that “the Tatar shaman’s ‘external soul’ is sometimes lodged in an arrow.” Herodotus (4.36.1) in a fine display of *praeteritio* forbears to tell the story of Abaris the Hyperborean, “how he carried his arrow across the whole world without once eating,” ὡς τὸν ὄϊστον περιέφερε κατὰ πᾶσαν γῆν οὐδὲν σιτέομενος. Porphyry (*Vita Pythagorae* 29) says that Hyperborean Apollo gave him the arrow and that “carried on it he crossed rivers and seas and deserts, somehow walking on air,” αὐτῷ ἐποχοῦμενος ποταμούς τε καὶ πελάγη καὶ τὰ ἄβρατα διέβαινεν ἀεροβατῶν τρόπον τινά.<sup>33</sup> When Aristophanes (*Nubes* 225, cf. 1503) has Socrates say “I walk on air,” ἀεροβατῶ (denied by Socrates, Plato *Apol.* 19C), he is making him a shamanistic figure.

#### 14.1.4.2 *Catalepsy and bilocation*

To one Aristeas of Proconnesus, supposedly of the 7th century BC, there was attributed a hexameter poem of which we have fragments,<sup>34</sup> describing what was perhaps a real voyage to Scythia, but remembered in the style of a spirit-journey. Herodotus 4.14 describes his marvellous disappearances and appearances. Pliny 7.174-5 has a little anthology of such stories. “The soul of Aristeas was seen flying out of his mouth in Proconnesus in the form of a crow,” *Aristeae [animam] etiam uisam euolantem ex ore in Proconneso corui effigie*, and like Pythagoras he simultaneously appeared in widely separated places.<sup>35</sup> So Hermotimus of Clazomenae had a “soul which habitually travelled, leaving his body behind,” *animam relicto corpore errare solitam*. But finally his enemies burned his body while the soul was absent, “and so deprived his soul on its return of what may be called its sheath,” *remeanti animae ueluti*

32 Dodds (n. 4 above) 141 and 161 note 34.

33 Further citations in J. D. P. Bolton, *Aristeas of Proconnesus*; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962; 158.

34 Edited by Bolton.

35 Porphyry *Vita Pyth.* 29, cf. Bolton 143.

*uaginam ademerint*. Elijah travelled no one knew how or where, “the spirit of Yahweh will carry you whither I know not” (I Reg 18,12), and ran tirelessly after the contest on Carmel (I Reg 18,46).

#### 14.1.4.3 Riding on a bird

A Siberian shaman will sometimes portray his journey home riding on a goose.<sup>36</sup> The *Dhammapada* 175 has:

haṃsâdiccapathe yanti, ākāse yanti iddhiyā

“Swans (*hamsâ* nearly = χήνες) travel on the path of the sun; men travel through the air by psychic knowledge.” In a lost poem of Alcaeus,<sup>37</sup> Zeus gave the new-born Apollo a golden *mitra*, a lyre, and a chariot drawn by swans or identified with them (κύκνοι δὲ ἦσαν τὸ ἄρμα); in it he travelled to the land of the Hyperboreans, gave them law for a year, and then returned to Delphi. Moses is to tell the Israelites in the name of Yahweh (Ex 19,4, cf Deut 32,11-12) that they had seen what he did to Egypt, “and I lifted you up on eagles’ wings”:

וְאַשָׁא אֶתְכֶם עַל-כַּנְפֵי נְשָׂרִים

Isa 40,31 “But those who trust in Yahweh shall renew their strength, they shall mount up on wing like eagles”:

וְקוּם יְהוָה יִחַלְפוּ כַּחַ וְיַעֲלוּ אֶבֶר כַּנְּשָׂרִים

See the “wings of Dawn” (I.112) and Goethe:

O dass kein Flügel mich vom Boden hebt...

#### 14.1.4.4 The dangers of the journey

Lindsay<sup>38</sup> in a speculative work accumulates evidence from many cultures, including shamanist Siberia, that the entrance to the spirit-world was guarded by a pair of rocks that clashed together, like the Clashing Rocks of the Argonauts that Odysseus must pass by, the Πλαγκταί (*Odyssey* 12.61). The ordeal finds a Hebrew counterpart in the fiery sword “turning every way” (Gen 3,24 הַמִּתְהַפֶּכֶת לְהַט הַחֶרֶב הַמִּתְהַפֶּכֶת, Vg *flammeum gladium atque uersatilem*) that blocked return to Eden; compare the self-moving sword of Jer 47,6 which the prophet tells in vain “go back into your sheath,” אֶל-תֵּעָרֶךָ הָאֶסְפִּי, Vg *ingredere in uaginam tuam*.

36 Czaplicka 242.

37 Discussed by D. Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus*; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955; 244-252; PLF 307.1 (c) p. 260. We know it almost solely from a paraphrase by the sophist Himerius 14.10-11.

38 Jack Lindsay, *The Clashing Rocks: A Study of Early Greek Religion and Culture and the Origins of Drama*; London: Chapman & Hall, 1965; esp. chap. 14.

## 14.1.5 The seer's drum

Previously (I.152-155) we discussed the drum or tambourine with its Mediterranean names τύμπανα = תִּמְבָּנָא, as an instrument of Dionysiac or ecstatic acts, and its near-monopoly by mantic women or transsexuals. Here we only need to note that it is the instrument *par excellence* of the shaman. “It may be said that all over Siberia, where there is a shaman there is also a drum. The drum has the power of transporting the shaman to the superworld and of evoking spirits by its sounds.”<sup>39</sup> Campbell (pp. 176-9) has three photos of Siberian shamans with their drums, two in full raggedy regalia. In most Siberian languages the drum is called *tüngür* or its equivalent, in Manchu *tunken* (Czaplicka 215); the words are both onomatopoeic and close to the Mediterranean ones. In Nichiren sects of Japanese Buddhism the mantra (the name of the Lotus Sutra in extended form, *namu-myōhō-renge-kyō*) is always recited to the beating of the drum. Nichidatsu Fujii (1885-1984), called Guruji by Gandhi, the great international anti-nuclear activist, with his drumming reached out to Native Americans on a deep level.

## 14.2 The birth and death of the seer

We saw (II.90) that one of the prerogatives or duties of the divine king (as of the High God) was the begetting of heroes. It was notorious that Zeus was the father of many such. Mopsus the *mantis* in one version (Apollodorus *Epit.* 6.3) was the son of Apollo and Manto daughter of Tiresias. In Israel there is some ambiguity about the true father of the seer. Here as often ancient societies tremble on the verge of reckoning by matrilineal descent, since mostly there is never any doubt about a man's mother.

Who was Samson's father? Manoah's nameless wife says twice (Jud 13,6) “a man of God came to me” (אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים בָּא אֵלַי) and again (vs 10) more simply “the man who came to me [the other] day”:

הָאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר-בָּא בְיוֹם אֵלַי

The author initially says that “an angel of Yahweh *appeared* (וַיֵּרָא) to the woman” (vs 3); but the second time uses the same language as the woman (vs 9) “and the angel of God came again to the woman, and she sitting in the field.” Eventually (vs 18) Manoah learns that the “man's” name is wonderful (or Wonderful?, פִּלְאִי); and in his ascension he is revealed to the couple (vs 20) as an “angel of Yahweh.”

39 Czaplicka p. 203.

Perhaps originally the woman simply reported to Manoah (vs 6) “a man came to me,” אִישׁ בָּא אֵלַי \* as at vs 10. But (Jud 15,1) Samson says “I will go to my wife to the chamber,” אֶל-אִשְׁתִּי הֶחֱדַרָה with the same idiom; “to the chamber” corresponds pretty nearly to 13,6 “and she sitting in the field.” Nobody doubts that here the idiom means “go in to her sexually” as very often (cf. I.67) since Gen 6,4 “the sons of God came to the daughters of man, and they bore [children] to them”:

יְבֹאוּ בְנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים אֶל-בָּנוֹת הָאָדָם וַיִּלְדוּ לָהֶם

Here the Vg has *ingressi sunt filii Dei ad filias hominum*.<sup>40</sup> The author’s use of the Hebrew language leaves open the possibility that the “man” is Samson’s father.

Who was Samuel’s father? I Sam 1,19 seems straightforward, “And Elkanah knew Hannah his wife, and Yahweh remembered her.” But later on (2,21) her further children are introduced simply by “For Yahweh visited Hannah,” אֶת-חַנָּה יְהוָה פָּקַד יְהוָה; same verb as at Jud 15,1 “and Samson visited (וַיִּפְקֹד) his wife.” The wicked sons of Eli “used to lie with the women<sup>41</sup> who served at the entrance of the tent of meeting”, I Sam 2,22:

יִשְׁכְּבוּן אֶת-הַנָּשִׁים הַצֹּבְאוֹת פֶּתַח אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד

It is in the sanctuary that Hannah proposes to Yahweh (I Sam 1,11) “And if you give your handmaid male offspring...(Vg *sexum urilem*).” So while the case here is not as clear as with Samson, the possibility remains that one feature of visiting the sanctuary was for the woman to have relations with the representatives of the God there. It may also be that in Israel of this date as in other societies the role of the male in procreation is not distinctly perceived, or is confused with the role of the god from whom children are requested.

When a child is exposed at birth there is some ambiguity about its mother also; and this is the case particularly with the two fateful figures Moses and Oedipus. Levin<sup>42</sup> pointed out parallels in their legends.

(a) *A male forebear who is a seer.* Moses’ grandfather was Levi (לֵוִי); for his mother Iochebed (יֹכְבֵד) was Levi’s daughter (Num 26,59);

40 Cf. Plautus *Per. 1 qui amans egens ingressus est princeps in Amoris uias.*

41 Or taking נָא as the sign of the accusative, with a more vulgar idiom “used to lay the women” (see I.68).

42 S. Levin, “Greek Occupational Terms with Semitic Counterparts,” *The First LACUS Forum* 1974, 246-263; “Jocasta and Moses’ Mother Jochebed,” *Teiresias Supp. 2* (1979) 49-61.

Oedipus' father was Laius, which from a name in λαφο- (I.38) was probably once \*Λάφιος. A Qumran fragment of Deut 33,8 has "give [masc. pl., in ref. to whom?] to Levi thy Thummim and Urim," ךרר ךרר ךרר ךרר ךרר ךרר in agreement with the LXX; thus Levi is a diviner. Oracles of Laius were extant, Herodotus 5.43 ἐκ τῶν Λαίου χρησµῶν.

(b) *A mother involved in incest.* While in Epic (*Odyssey* 11.261) Oedipus' mother is Ἐπικάστη, elsewhere as in Sophocles' plays she is Ἰοκάστη—with no obvious etymology in Greek, hence probably older. Levin observes the parallel in its first syllables to ךרר ךרר. Oedipus' marriage to his mother involves incest. Moses' father was Amram son of Kohath son of Levi; Amram married his father's sister Iocbebed (Ex 6,16-20); thus Levi was also Moses' *great-grandfather*.<sup>43</sup>

(c) *Both were exposed at birth in an ark.* Thus Moses in the Nile by his mother (unnamed here) in an "ark" (Ex 2,3 ךרר ךרר, LXX θίβις; I.35). A variant of the more familiar Greek story has Oedipus exposed on the sea in a chest (λάρναξ):

οἱ δὲ εἰς θάλασσαν ἐκριφῆναι βληθέντα εἰς λάρνακα καὶ προσοκείλαντα τῇ Σικυῶνι ὑπὸ τοῦ Πολύβου ἀνατραφῆναι

"Others say that [Oedipus] was put in a chest and thrown out to sea; he came on shore at Sicyon and was brought up by Polybus."<sup>44</sup>

Hyginus (*fab.* 66) says that "Periboea the wife of king Polybus took up the exposed child while she was washing clothes in the sea," *hunc Periboea Polybi regis uxor cum uestem ad mare lauaret expositum sustulit*—in those days queens (or princesses such as Nausicaa) had the same tasks as any other wife. (But Pharaoh's daughter more elegantly comes down to the river to bathe.) All such stories appear to symbolize the dangerous passage from the amniotic fluid of the womb into the world.<sup>45</sup> In this case the "arks" assimilate the ordeal of the new child to the ordeal of all humanity in the Flood; Noah's ark is ךרר ךרר (Gen 6,14, LXX κιβωτός); Deucalion and Pyrrha rode out the Flood in a λάρναξ (Apollodorus 1.7.2). (The chamber in which Danaë was exposed was also a λάρναξ.<sup>46</sup>) Romulus and Remus are floated in the Tiber (Livy 1.4.3). To what we saw about Deucalion's flood (I.83, 104; West, EFH 489-493) we can make additions: Plutarch<sup>47</sup> attributes to μυθολόγοι the story that Deucalion "released a dove from the ark," περιστερὰν ἐκ τῆς λάρνακος which by its eventual failure to return predicted fair

43 Further complications are discussed at I. 68.

44 Scholiast on Euripides *Phoenissae* 26,28 (ed. E. Schwartz, 1887, i.251).

45 Discussion West (EFH 439-440); Cornell 62.

46 Simonides frag. 543 Page PMG 284.

47 Plutarch *Mor.* 968F.

weather. Lucian<sup>48</sup> says that various animals entered the ark with Deucalion, “and whatever others live on the earth, *all by couples*,” και ἄλλα ὀκόσα ἐν γῆ νέμονται, πάντα ἐς ζεύγεα. It surely seems that both Plutarch and Lucian had heard the story of Noah from the LXX at one or more removes.

(d) *The graves of both were unknown.* Moses was buried by an uncertain party in Moab (Deut 34,6) “and no one knows the place of his burial until this day.” None but Theseus must know the place where Oedipus dies (Sophocles, *Oed. Col.* 1522); the Messenger (1661-2) suggests that either a πομπός from the gods received him, or the earth opened up.<sup>49</sup>

### 14.3 *The seer with his torch as rainmaker*

In the true Arctic shamanic realm, rain can be taken for granted. In the near-rainless river valleys of Egypt and Mesopotamia, crops can be grown through state-controlled irrigation, and only so. In the Mediterranean realm, a seer who is thought to manage the withholding and granting of rain holds the keys of life and death. Greek κλείς “key” went into Aramaic: at Luk 11,52 the “key of knowledge” (κλείδα τῆς γνώσεως) becomes in the Syriac אקלירא רידעחא; see Rev 1,18 “the keys of death and Hades,” τὰς κλείς τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τοῦ Ἅδου. See Matt 16,19 “the keys (Pesh אקלירא) of the kingdom of heaven,” τὰς κλείδας τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν. The theme is taken up in Quran 39.63 “His are the keys (مَقَالِيدُ, *maqālīdu*) of heaven and earth,” where *maqālīdu* is the plural of *maqlīd*, an inner-Arabic extension of the Greek.

The Rabbis agreed (*Gen. Rabbah* 73.4, *Deut. Rabbah* 7.6) that the Holy One had three keys (מפתחות): the key of the raising of the dead (מפתח של תחיית המתים), for he says (Ezek 37,12) “I will open (פָּתַחְתִּי) your graves”; the key of the womb (מפתח של רחם), for it is written (Gen 29,31) “And he opened (וַיִּפְתַּח) her womb”; and the key of the rain (מפתח של גשמים) for it is said (Deut 28,12) “Yahweh will open (יִפְתַּח) to you his good treasure.” But individually they are called in Greek style אקלירא.

48 Lucian *de dea Syria* 12 (LCL iv.351).

49 I have here deleted from my original version some more speculative materials about the two cities Thebes.

This doctrine provides a most ingenious exegesis of the history of Elijah (Bab. Talm. *Sanhedrin* 113a). He rashly predicted drought; in a weak moment the Holy One gave him the key of rain (אֶקְלִידָא דְּמַטְרָא). He locked the rain up but couldn't reopen it. A Galilean said, "He is like a man who locked the gate and lost the key." The Holy One saw distress on the world and resorted to subterfuge. He sent Elijah to Sarepta where the widow's son was sick, and Elijah begged mercy to be given the key of the raising of the dead (אֶקְלִידָא דְּתַחֲיַת הַמֵּתִים). The Holy One said, "Three keys have never been given to angel or seraph (*Deut. Rabbah*); people will say, 'Two are in the hand of the *talmid* and one in the hand of the *Rab*?' Return that one and take this one." So he got the key of the rain back, and the storm at Carmel follows. But Elijah kept the key of the raising of the dead.

Above (II.70-75) we discussed the vocabulary of rain as relating to the High God; here we look at the role of the seer. The displeasure of the god is made manifest by the withholding of rain. When the Pythia at Delphi tells the men of Thera to colonize Libya, and they refuse, "for seven years it did not rain on Thera" (Herodotus 4.151.1, II.73); the figure is conventional, cf. the "seven years of famine" of Gen 41,30 in Egypt. Elijah is abruptly introduced (I Reg 17,1) saying to Ahab, "As Yahweh the God of Israel lives, there shall be neither rain nor dew these years, except by my word." Yahweh in his brief against Israel (Amos 4,6-13) lists all his warnings, "yet you did not return to me"; he rains on one city or field and not on another (II.73).

The God can also carry out the alternate style of warning by bringing on unseasonable and damaging rain. Samuel (I Sam 12,17, II.73) wishes to convey the anger of Yahweh when the people ask for a king; and he does it by sending thunder and rain at the time of the wheat harvest. In almost the same political situation, mortals in a violent assembly "pass crooked decrees and drive out justice" (*Iliad* 16.385-6, cited II.27, 73); for in the parallel passage (Hesiod *Opera* 263-4) the problem, just as in Israel, is that "gift-eating kings" (βασιλῆς ... δωροφάγοι) have been passing "crooked judgments." So what Zeus does is to "pour out much rain." However, the same god; through perhaps the same seer, is available under proper conditions to inflict the same weather damage on the state's enemy. We will see (II.236-239) how, when the weather-god is let out of his box or house, he can drown the enemy, Canaanites or Sabines.

The cosmos is set up to provide rain, primarily through the fact (II.71) that the sky is "perforated" (τέτρηται Herodotus 4.158.3) like a sieve (κόσκινον Aristophanes *Clouds* 373); it has "windows" (אַרְבּוֹת, Gen 7,11; Mal 3,10; cf. I.108). But if God has reason to create a

drought, it is a vain hope to ask (Job 38,37, II.72) “Who will lay flat the waterskins of heaven?” to let the rain flow out:

וְנִבְּלִי שְׂמַיִם מִי יִשְׁכַּיֵּב

The seer cannot hope for such direct access and must use what we would describe as sympathetic magic to bring down rain. Pausanias (8.38) describes Mount Lykaios (Λύκαιος), “Wolf-Mount” of Arcadia, with its precinct of Zeus Lykaios where no man or beast casts a shadow (II.179), and with secret sacrifices which he prudently did not investigate. In time of drought, the priest lets down an oak branch to the surface of the spring Hagno,

ἀνακινήθέντος δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος ἀνεισιν ἀχλὺς ἐοικυῖα ὀμίχλη, διαλιποῦσα δὲ ὀλίγον γίνεται νέφος ἢ ἀχλὺς καὶ ἐξ αὐτὴν ἄλλα ἐπαγομένη τῶν νεφῶν ὑετὸν τοῖς Ἀρκάσιον ἐς τὴν γῆν κατιέναι ποιεῖ

and the water being stirred, there rises a mist-like vapor, and in a little the vapor becomes a cloud, and gathering other clouds to itself it causes rain to fall on the land of Arcadia.

So Elijah on Carmel hears a “sound of the rushing of rain”; he then “bowed himself down upon the earth, and put his face between his knees,” and sent his servant seven times to look at the sea until the cloud appeared (I Reg 18,41-44). It seems that the fire from heaven that consumed the sacrifice was the lightning that precedes the rain. Is Elijah’s posture one of forcing urination?

Herodotus 4.94.4 says that the Thracian worshippers of Salmoxis “shoot arrows (τοξεύοντες) up to the sky against the thunder and lightning, and make threats to the god.” This must be weather-magic to bring on rain.<sup>50</sup> For Strabo 7.3.5 says that Zalmoxis was esteemed among the Getai for his ἐπισημασίας, “weather-predictions.” Salmoneus (Σαλμωνεύς) of Elis, whose daughter Tyro Odysseus met in the underworld (*Odyssey* 11.236), has a name and attributes similar to that of Salmoxis. For Apollodorus 1.9.7 says that he claimed to be Zeus: when he dragged hides and bronze kettles at his chariot wheels he was thundering, and “by throwing lighted torches (βάλλων δὲ εἰς οὐρανὸν αἰθομένους λαμπάδας ἔλεγεν ἀστράπτειν) at the sky he said he was lightninging.”<sup>51</sup> But Zeus turned the real thunder against him; and the

50 Rhys Carpenter, *Folk Tale, Fiction and Saga in the Homeric Epics*; Berkeley: Univ. of California, 1946; 113-115, following Meuli.

51 From Hesiod, where frag. 30.1-14 Merkelbach-West was once an account of Salmoneus thundering.



Sibyl shows him to Aeneas among the Titans in Tartarus; no longer as before (*Aen.* 6. 586) “While he imitates the flames of Jupiter and the sounds of Olympus,”

Dum flammas Iouis et sonitus imitatur Olympi.

Originally perhaps he was a mantic king who brought on the thunderstorm by imitative magic; a fifth-century red-figured crater shows him holding a thunderbolt in his right hand and a sword in his left.<sup>52</sup> Conversely, the lightning is described as the torch which imitates it; see the usage of λαμπάς in the *Bacchae* of Euripides cited above (II.67).

At that place we noted that Greek λαμπάς and Hebrew לַפִּיד *lappiyd* both can mean both “torch” and “lightning.” It might seem as if the equivalence would be more perfect if the Hebrew were לַפִּיד\* *lappōd*; but this form is reserved for nouns of agent, as with גִּנֵּב “thief,” רִכָּב “rider,” דָּיֵן “judge.” The equivalence of the middle consonants is perfect as it stands. For Hebrew doubled stops (both voiced and unvoiced) correspond in Greek to (the coordinate nasal) + (the stop). Probably in fact the Hebrew “doubling” had a nasal element preceding the stop (SIE 456). Thus at II Sam 21,6 for the Qeri יָתֵן (“qal passive”) “let there be given” the Kethiv has יָתַן, presumably \**yuntan*.

The equivalence can be exhibited for all six stops:

Treatment of Semitic doubled stops in Greek and Latin<sup>53</sup>

d: דָּדוּ Esth 1,1 “Indus river”	Ἰνδός Herodotus 4.44
t: עִתִּיק Bib. Aram., I.119 “old”	<i>antiquus</i>
b: קִבְעָה I.167 “cup”	κύμβη (and κύββα)
p: שַׁבָּתַי (II.123) “Sabbath child”	Σαμβαθίων
p: לַפִּיד “torch, lightning”	λαμπάδ-
ם: תַּמְבוּרִים I.152 “tambourines”	τύμπανα
g: אִנְרָח Bib. Aram., I.342 “letter”	ἄγγαρος “messenger” (Persian) <sup>54</sup>
k: כֶּכָּר Ex 25,39, SIE 456 “talent”	κίχχαρες Jos. AJ 3.144 <sup>55</sup>

52 LIMC vii.2.498 Salmoneus no. 6.

53 Exceptions: Heb. פָּתַח\* “make open” (SIE 192) corresponds to Latin *pande* with a voiced stop instead of unvoiced. סַפִּיר (I.332) “sapphire” in Greek becomes σάπφειρος with no nasal. תַּנְנִינָה “incantation” (I.342) fails to assimilate but seemingly corresponds to μαγγανεία.

54 The doubled gamma in Greek disguises the fact that the first gamma represents the velar nasal as in English *anger*.

55 The Egyptian Aramaic כֶּכָּר (Cowley 26.17) like the Greek records a latent nasalization in Hebrew.

λαμπάς has a corresponding verb which seems surely Indo-European, thus Lithuanian *lópė* (Frisk ii.80); it and Hittite *lapzi* “glow” seem to show a more basic root lacking the nasal of the Greek nasalized present. Thus the Hebrew, as corresponding to the Greek secondary form, must be derived *from* the Greek (or from an Anatolian IE language with the same nasalization) rather than vice versa.

Gideon and each of his three hundred men (II.84!) had (Jud 7,16) “torches (LXX λαμπάδας, Vg *lampadas*) inside their jars,”  $\text{יִמְנְוּ אֶת־הַיָּרֵי אֲשֶׁר־בְּיָדָם}$ ; it is a pity the translators did not write, as they could have, \*λαμπάδας ἐν τοῖς κάδοις, \**lampadas in cadis* (for *cadus* see I.143).<sup>56</sup> When they blew their trumpets, broke the jars to show the torches, and cried “[A sword] for Yahweh and Gideon!” the Midianites fled in terror. What did they think was happening? The legend of Salmeoneus must give the answer: they interpreted the trumpets as thunder, the torches as lightning (same word!), and were convinced that the God of thunder and lightning was coming against them with his sword (as in the Salmeoneus vase).

The Watchman in Aeschylus (Ag. 28) when he sees the beacon asks for “a welcoming shout to this torch,”

ὄλολυγμὸν εὐφημοῦντα τῆδε λαμπάδι

The prophet (Isa 62,1) will not rest or be silent “until [Jerusalem’s] vindication goes out as brightness, and her salvation as a burning torch” (LXX λαμπάς):

עֲדָה־נֶצְחָה כְּנֵר־צֶדֶק וְיִשְׁעֵיהֶם כְּלַפְיֵד וְיִבְעֹר

In both passages the torch is seen as a beacon fire. In Hellas this use of the thing is institutionalized in the torch-race. Plato initially describes it at *Rep.* 1.328A “they will hold torches and pass them on to each other,” λαμπάδια ἔχοντες διαδώσουσιν ἀλλήλοις. In the *Laws* (6.776AB) he gives it a more definite application: a man must be “separated from his father and mother,” χωρισθέντα ἀπὸ πατρός καὶ μητρός, and both man and wife must “bid farewell to mother and father and the wife’s relatives...as if founding a colony (οἶον εἰς ἀποικίαν ἀφικομένους)” thus “handing on life as if a torch from one to another,” καθάπερ λαμπάδα τὸν βίον παραδιδόντας ἄλλοις ἐξ ἄλλων. Lucretius 2.75-79 shows how “the totality of things is perpetually renewed,” *sic rerum summa nouatur / semper*; “and in a brief space the generations

56 In the parable of the wise and foolish maidens (Matt 25,1-12) the λαμπάδες (Vg *lampades*) can hardly be wedding torches, since they require oil, but rather ordinary oil lamps. The usage is almost unique, but fixed the meaning of *lamp* in English and other modern languages.

of living things are changed, and like runners pass on the torch of life”:

inque breui spatio mutantur saecula animantium  
et quasi cursores uitai lampada tradunt.

The Olympic torch (in spite of all scandals) has become a precious symbol of the potential unity of the nations. Close to the phrase from *Laws* 6 is Gen 2,24, suggesting a Mediterranean formula, “wherefore a man shall leave his father and mother,”

עַל-כֵּן יַעֲזֹב-אִישׁ אֶת-אָבִיו וְאֶת-אִמּוֹ

LXX ἔνεκεν τούτου καταλείψει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ.

Deborah’s general has the fulguric name Baraq “Lightning” (בָּרַק Jud 4,6) like a man of Palmyra (II.63), but probably not Hamilcar Barca “Blessed”(?) (II.123). What does it mean that Deborah is (Jud 4,4) לְפִידוֹת אִשָּׁה? The Vg *uxor Lapidoth* understands that Lappidoth is the name of her husband—another fulguric name, “Torches” feminine plural as an abstract. Or Lappidoth could be a place name. Or it could be no name at all, but rather descriptive, “a woman of lightnings”; the plural of לְפִיד is elsewhere לְפִידִים, the form of Jud 4,4 could be a dialectal variant. In any case she and Baraq belong together.

Baraq is comparable to the Cyclopes Brontēs and Steropēs “Thunder and Lightning” whose names by a shift of accent alone are derived from their attributes. The words in the accusative with final accent are feminines, Hesiod *Theog.* 707 “thunder and lightning and the shining bolt”:

βροντήν τε στεροπήν τε καὶ αἰθαλόεντα κεραυνόν

When the accent recedes they become the masculine proper names of the Cyclopes, (*Theog.* 140), “Brontēs and Steropēs and tough-minded Argēs”:

Βρόντην τε Στερόπην τε καὶ Ἄργην ὀβριμόθυμον

In the first half of these two verses we have so to speak a unique epic formula indifferent to accent: if provided with the minimal final accent it denotes the natural phenomena in themselves as feminine; if with the distinctive next-to-final accent the phenomena are personified as masculine.

The poetry of Nah 2,5 describing the fall of Nineveh to the Medes and Chaldeans runs parallel to the Salmoneus myth: “the chariots go mad in the streets, they rush to and fro in the squares; their appearance is as torches, they dart like lightning bolts”:

בְּחֻצוֹת יְתְהוֹלְלוּ הַרְקָב יִשְׁתַּקְשְׁקוּן בְּרֻחֹבוֹת  
מִרְאֵיהֶן כַּלְפִּידִים כְּבָרָקִים יִרְוֹצוּן

The three rare frequentative verbs bring the lightning continually into the city. Divine agency is suggested but not definitely stated. The

underlying symbol is of the thunderstorm seen as the god's chariot. So Isa 66,15 "For behold, Yahweh will come in fire, and his chariots as the stormwind (וְכַסְיֹפָה מְרֻבְבֹתָיו)." The vision of Ezekiel 1, which the Rabbis call the *Merkabah*, includes wheels, living creatures (once horses drawing the chariot?), and fire all among them "like the appearance of the torches," כְּמִרְאֵה הַלְפָרִים (Ez 1,13). The Rabbis, to reconcile the vision with the more static one of the cherubim in the Temple (Isa 6), explained (Bab. Talm. *Hagigah* 13b) "All that was seen by Ezekiel was seen by Isaiah; Isaiah is like the city man who saw the king, while Ezekiel is like a villager who saw the king."

One of the kings of Midian was Šalmunna<sup>c</sup> (צְלִמְנָע Jud 8,5) who in several respects resembles Salmoneus, Σαλμωνεύς (II.171). First, his name. Then, he may have been among those defeated by Gideon's thunder-and-lightning stratagem, as Salmoneus was defeated by Zeus' own thunder and lightning. As a Midianite he was one of the בְּנֵי-קָדָם (Jud 6,33). Salmoneus was related to Cadmus (I.37); for his brother Athamas (Apollodorus 1.7.3) married Ino the daughter of Cadmus (3.4.2).

A Semitic water-ceremony which is specifically said to be for the purpose of getting rain took place annually in the Jerusalem Temple at the feast of Tabernacles.<sup>57</sup> Bab. Talm. *Rosh hashanah* 16a "Why does the Torah say to pour out water on the Feast [of Tabernacles]?<sup>58</sup> The Holy One, blessed be He, said, 'Pour out water before me on the Feast, so that the rains of the year may be blessed for you':"<sup>59</sup>

נסכו לפני מים בחג כדי שיתברכו לכם גשמי שנה

According to other sources Sach 14,16-17 was cited in this context. All former adversaries of Jerusalem are to go up annually to worship the King "and to keep the feast of Sukkoth," וְלַחֹג אֶת-חַג הַסֻּכּוֹת. "And whoever from all the families of the earth does not go up to Jerusalem to worship the King, Yahweh of hosts, there shall be no rain upon them":

... לְהַשְׁתַּחֲוֹת לְמֶלֶךְ יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת וְלֹא עָלֵיהֶם יְהִי הַגֶּשֶׁם

There is a beautiful contact with the story of Gideon in that the eight days of the festival also involved torches and trumpets. Mishna *Sukkah* V.4 "Hasidim and men of good deeds (wonder-workers?) used to dance before [the assembly] with burning torches in their hands":

57 For this whole development, see Matthias Delcor, "Rites pour l'obtention de la pluie à Jérusalem et dans le Proche-Orient," pp. 404-419 of his *Religion d'Israël et Proche Orient ancien: Des Phéniciens aux Esséniens*; Leiden: Brill, 1976.

58 The Torah doesn't say to pour out water on Tabernacles, but the Rabbis felt constrained to hold that it did.

59 Nearly the same text is attributed to 'Aqiba, *Tosefta Sukka* 3:18 (197) and elsewhere.

חסידים ואנשי מעשה היו מרקדים לפניהם באבוקות של אור שבידיהן  
 Here “torch” is אבוקה, perhaps originally “bundle of twigs.” Two priests  
 with (metal) trumpets (חצוצרות, not shophars) blew prescribed blasts.  
 Most remarkably, the torches were juggled. Bab. Talm. *Sukkah* 53a:

They said of R. Simeon b. Gamaliel<sup>60</sup> that when he rejoiced at the Rejoicing  
 at the place (‘house’) of (water-) drawing, he would take eight burning torches  
 and throw one and catch one, and one did not touch another.

אמרו עליו על רבן שמעון בן גמליאל כשהיה שמח שמחת בית השואבה  
 היה נוטל שמנה אבוקות של אור וזורק אחת ונוטל אחת ואין נוגעות  
 זו בזו

Here is a beautifully exact parallel to that Salmoneus who threw  
 lighted torches into the air.

The actual “libation of water” (ניסוך המים) *Mishna Sukkah* IV.9)  
 was done with two silver bowls (ספלים של כסף), one for water and one  
 for wine, perforated (מונוקבין) in a prescribed fashion. We see (II.256)  
 that Jesus’ true “entry” into Jerusalem was on the autumn feast of  
 Tabernacles, Joh 7,2 σακησπηγία. On the last great day of the feast  
 (Joh 7,37-8) Jesus refers to the water-theme of the feast by saying “If  
 any one is thirsty, let him come to me and drink” and cites an unknown  
 scripture, “rivers of living water shall flow out of his belly.”

The explicit testimony of the Talmud about the purpose of the pour-  
 ing out of water suggests that pouring water out of perforated jars is  
 elsewhere a ceremony of rain-making. Delcor cites Lucian *de dea Syria*  
 12, where twice annually seawater is poured out in the temple of  
 Hierapolis. At I.145 we discussed the leaking casks (*dolia*) of the Danaids;  
 see Horace *Carm.* 3.11.27 *inane lymphae / dolium*. They had to “carry  
 water to a perforated jar,” Xenophon *Oec.* 7.40 εἰς τὸν τετραμένον πίθον  
 ἀντλεῖν; in Plato’s Hades (*Rep.* 2.363D) “they make certain ones carry  
 water in a sieve,” κοσκίνῳ ὕδωρ ἀναγκάζουσι φέρειν. Diodorus 1.97.2  
 reports that in Egypt near Memphis there is a perforated jar (πίθον ...  
 τετραμένον) into which 360 priests, one for each day of the year, “carry  
 water from the Nile,” ὕδωρ φέρειν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου; this may be  
 an adaptation to guarantee the annual rising of the Nile.

A final parallel involving the torch brings it into connection with a  
 member of the bear and wolf clan, which figures in the next section.<sup>61</sup>

60 This Gamaliel is either Paul’s teacher Γαμαλιήλ (Act 22,3, cf 5,34) or a  
 descendant.

61 F. Bömer, “Die römische Erntepfer und die Füchse im Philisterlande,” *Wiener  
 Studien* 69 (1956) 372-384.

Samson ties torches (מִדְּרָדִים) to the tails of three hundred (!) foxes and sets them loose in the Philistine grain (Jud 15,4-5).<sup>62</sup> In Rome the same was done ceremonially on the Cerealia; Ovid *Fasti* 4.681-2

Cur igitur missae uinctis ardentia taedis

terga ferant uolpes causa docenda mihi est.

“So I must explain the reason why foxes are sent out, carrying fire on their backs through tied-on torches.”<sup>63</sup> So detailed a correspondence demands an historical connection, which is not easy to supply, though the Etruscans can be invoked as mediators. Perhaps the burning of the crops in Judges and Babrius is rationalization, and the foxes originally had the role of weathermakers. But their function remains ambiguous; do they carry the lightning-torches to assure rain on the growing crops, or to prevent rain at time of harvest?<sup>64</sup>

#### 14.4 *The seer as hibernating and risen bear*

Each of us grows up with a teddy bear, and around the “arctic” circle the bear is in special relation to human beings. Overhead circles a constellation known as *Ursa Major* (Germanicus, *Aratus* 164); or (*Iliad* 18.487-9 = *Odyssey* 5.273-5) “the Bear, which they also call the Wain, which circles there and watches Orion [its hunter], and alone has no share in baths of Ocean”:

Ἄρκτον θ', ἣν καὶ Ἄμαξαν ἐπίκλησιν καλέουσιν,  
ἣ τ' αὐτοῦ στρέφεται καὶ τ' Ὀρίωνα δοκεύει,  
οἷη δ' ἄμμορός ἐστι λοετρῶν Ὠκεανοῖο.

So Vergil on both Bears, *Geor.* 1.246;

Arctos Oceani metuentis aequore tingi.

In its upright posture the bear seems to have some relation to humanity. Mostly it is not specifically identified with human beings. In the materials gathered by Hallowell<sup>65</sup> the bear is object of hunt; conciliatory speeches are made to it; it is treated as a tribal pet, killed and sent as an emissary to another world; there is elaborate disposal of its

62 Sach 12,6 speaks of Judah as a “torch of fire among sheaves.”

63 Babrius 11 has a man punish a single fox by tying burning tow to its tail; but the fox runs straight into his grain field and burns it down.

64 A church or synagogue mosaic at Mopsuestia in a Samson cycle shows two foxes tied tail-to-tail: M. Avi-Yonah, p. 188 of Lee I. Levine (ed.), *Ancient Synagogues Revealed*; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1981.

65 Note 7 above. Hallowell's materials have been extended by David Rockwell, *Giving Voice to Bear: North American Indian Rituals, Myths and Images of the Bear*; Niwot (CO) etc.: Roberts Rinehart, 1991, with profuse illustrations.

remains; poetry and saga grow up around it.<sup>66</sup> Still in the kinship language addressed to the bear it is brought into some relationship with the tribe.

Maringer<sup>67</sup> gives evidence for a bear-cult in Palaeolithic Europe. Thus during the last interglacial the Drachenloch cave<sup>68</sup> at 8,000 feet altitude in the eastern Swiss Alps was used as a shelter or dwelling by (presumably) Neandertal hunters, whose principal quarry was the great cave-bear; numerous skulls of cave-bears were found set in its recesses and protected by stone slabs. *Homo sapiens* during the last glaciation apparently kept cave bears in captivity like the Ainu (II.155); for in the cave Hellmichhöhle of Silesia, dated by Aurignacian flints, the skull of a cave bear was found in which the canines and incisors had been filed down during life and the dentine had regrown—evidently to make the pet less dangerous. A bear's skull was carefully placed in the Chauvet cave.<sup>69</sup> Elsewhere Maringer<sup>70</sup> proposes to interpret the late-Palaeolithic cave paintings of France in analogy with Siberian shamanism.

Now the Bering land bridge<sup>71</sup> was open between Siberia and Alaska from ab. 10,000 to 8,000 BC, when there was also a corridor south between the Cordilleran and Laurentide ice sheets. The Aleuts and Eskimos are proto-Mongoloid and made a coastal passage to North America; the American Indians went by land into the interior. The Aleuts and Eskimos are related to Aurignacoid stone industries of Siberia about 13,000 BC; the American Indians (Llano culture) to Mousteroid industries with projectile points. It is difficult to imagine extended contact after 8,000 BC; accordingly, agreements between Native American and Siberian shamanism should point to the degree of development reached before that date.

Herodotus (4.95) continues his account of the Thracian devotees of Salmoxis by saying that Salmoxis, previously a slave of Pythagoras, held a feast for his fellow-Getai, telling them that none present should

66 Lauri Honko et alii, *The Great Bear: A Thematic Anthology of Oral Poetry in the Finno-Ugrian Languages*; Oxford: University, 1994. It includes stills from a color film of Siberian bear-hunt ceremonies in 1985 and 1988.

67 J. Maringer, *The Gods of Prehistoric Man*; tr. M. Ilford; London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1960; 30,69.

68 Photos and diagrams in Campbell 54-56.

69 Jean-Marie Chauvet et alii, *Dawn of Art: The Chauvet Cave*; New York: Abrams, 1996; p. 51.

70 J. Maringer, "Schamanismus und Schamanen in vorgeschichtlicher Zeit," *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 29 (1977) 114-128.

71 D. M. Hopkins (ed.), *The Bering Land Bridge*; Stanford: University, 1967; pp. 403, 411, 464.

die; meanwhile he constructed an underground chamber (κατάγειον οἶκημα), into which he retired for three years, and then emerged to confirm the prediction. Zalmoxis and Abaris reappear at Plato *Charm.* 156-8; Socrates was in the army with one of the Thracian physicians of Zalmoxis, “who are said to grant immortality (ἀπαθανατίζειν),” 156D. Porphyry (*Vita Pyth.* 14-15) adds that the name “Zalmoxis” was taken from the Thracian word for a “hide,” ζαλμός, because the seer was dressed in a bearskin (δορά ἄρκτου); and that he was tattooed (στιχθέντα) on the forehead.<sup>72</sup> Carpenter observes:<sup>73</sup>

Surely it is not very difficult to read such a riddle. The *daimon* who wears a bear’s hide, who feasts heartily, then retires to fast in a secret cavelike dwelling in the ground, vanishing from mortal ken to be given up for dead, yet after a time returns to life and his old haunts, can be no other than the hibernating bear, whose mysterious, foodless, midwinter sleep has everywhere made of him a supernatural spirit to the wondering mind of primitive man.

Aristotle (*Hist. Anim.* 600b3) is aware of the bear’s hibernation, and asserts that it lasts for forty days. Again, at the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios in Arcadia no man nor beast cast a shadow (Pausanias 8.38.6, καὶ θηρία καὶ ἀνθρώπους οὐ παρέχεσθαι σκιάν). Carpenter<sup>74</sup> points to the role of the Germanic bear and (on Groundhog Day, February 2) the American woodchuck as prophesying fair weather from his lack of a shadow (and vice versa).

The Greek seer who most closely realizes the traits of Salmoxis is the semi-legendary Cretan Epimenides, supposed to have purified Athens about 595 BC (Diogenes Laertius 1.109-114).<sup>75</sup> He was long-haired. Looking for a lost sheep, he wandered into a cave and slept for 57 years. It was said that the cave was of Dictyeon Zeus in Crete, and that there he met with the gods.<sup>76</sup> But some said he had spent his time digging up roots. He was fed by the Nymphs, but never seen eating or evacuating. He kept the food from the Nymphs in a “cow’s hoof” (ἐν χηλῇ βοός, D.L. 1.114)—perhaps a projection of the widespread belief that the hibernating bear receives nourishment by sucking its paws.<sup>77</sup>

72 A gilt silver cheekpiece from Letnitsa in Bulgaria (ancient Thrace) shows two bears in combat: I. Marazov (ed.), *Ancient Gold: The Wealth of the Thracians; Treasures from the Republic of Bulgaria*; New York: Abrams, 1998; Plate 101.

73 Rhys Carpenter, note 50 above, p. 114.

74 Carpenter 135, 144-5.

75 We saw his testimony to Cretan unreliability (Titus 1,12) at I.32; the hexameter “Cretans are always liars...” is attributed to him by Clement Alex. *Strom.* 1.59.2; it is further alluded to by Callimachus *Hymn* 1.8.

76 Maximus of Tyre: FVS<sup>8</sup> i.32, Epimenides frag. 1.

77 Hallowell 27-31 discusses this belief, widespread since the 18th century.



Surely the gaunt hibernating bear appears in the riddle of Hesiod *Opera* 524-5 “On a winter’s day, when the Boneless One gnaws his own foot in his fireless house”:<sup>78</sup>

ἤματι χειμερίῳ, ὅτ’ ἀνόστεος ὄν πόδα τένδει  
ἐν τ’ ἀπύρῳ οἴκῳ ...

Epimenides’ soul left his body and returned as often as he wished; at his death his body was found to be tattooed (γράμμασι κατὰ-στικτον).<sup>79</sup> Noble Thracians were tattooed (ἐστίχθαι, Herodotus 5.6.2), and the Hebrews found tattooing in Canaan (Lev 19,28), עָרְפָּק תְּבִתָּק, LXX γράμματα στικτά. I saw a Native American community organizer in the slums of Oakland with a bear tattoo on his forearm. Of all the ursine traits of Epimenides, the one best attested in shamanism is the long sleep which introduces the shaman’s vocation.<sup>80</sup>

A “Cretan myth” which probably comes from Epimenides<sup>81</sup> says that, when the infant Zeus was being guarded in the Cretan cave, Kronos came by, and out of fear Zeus turned himself into a serpent (δράκοντα) and his nurses into bears; when he overcame Kronos, Zeus put a memorial of these events in the northern sky as Draco and the Bears. Epimenides<sup>82</sup> also treated another ursine myth in which the twin sons of Zeus and Kallisto were Pan and Arkas. Kallisto daughter of Lykaon (Λυκάων, “Wolfman”) was a companion of Artemis, wearing the same dress and sharing a love of hunting; Zeus fell in love with her, and (various reasons are given) Kallisto was turned into a bear (Apollodorus 3.8.2). Her son Arkas, eponym of the Arkadians, who surely seem to be the “Bear-people,” saw her one day while hunting and was about to kill her,<sup>83</sup> when Zeus took her up into the sky and

78 West *ad loc.* (pp. 289-290) with the ancient commentators assumes that the Boneless One is the octopus, which perhaps fits ἀνόστεος a little better than the anorexic bear. But he admits “It is ... hard to see why Hesiod’s thoughts should suddenly turn to the octopus, which is not a visible feature of the landscape.” In every other feature the bear fits better. It is precisely in the winter that the bear, in the second category of “horned and hornless wood-dwellers” (κεραοὶ καὶ νήκεροι ὑληκοῖται, *Opera* 529), has looked for shelter, though fireless. The bear-cub is formless, and has to be licked into shape. (Or does ἀνόστεος mean that the creature has no meaty bone to gnaw on, and so must feed off its own foot?)

79 *Suda*, FVS<sup>8</sup> i.29, Test. 2.

80 Czaplicka 179-183. She does not mention the tattooing of shamans, but her plate 2 shows a young Ainu woman with tattooed upper lip.

81 FVS<sup>8</sup> Epimenides frag. 23 = Scholiast on Aratus 46.

82 Frag. 16.

83 According to some sources at the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios in Arcadia, see PW X 1728 s.v. “Kallisto.”

made her the Great Bear (Ovid, *Met.* 2.496-507). Polygnotus represented Kallisto at Delphi in a bearskin (Pausanias 10.31.10).

That Artemis herself was a bear-goddess is shown by the cult recorded in the Scholiast to Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* 645: ten-year-old girls in yellow-brown clothing played the role of bears (ἀρκτευόμεναι) in the cult of Artemis at Brauron (Βραύρων) of Attica.<sup>84</sup> One story said that a tame bear was kept there, which clawed a girl and was killed by her brothers; Artemis sent a plague, and the Athenians decreed that every girl should play the role of bear to the goddess before she was married. Another story said that the attempted sacrifice of Iphigenia was not at Aulis but at Brauron, and that the girl was not replaced by a stag but a bear. The "Pelasgians" took the women celebrating the cult of Brauron to Lemnos (Herodotus 6.138).

Carpenter<sup>85</sup> compares the history of Odysseus with the widely disseminated folktale *Bearson*, which has apparently left traces also in *Beowulf*. Panzer<sup>86</sup> has gathered hundred of versions in many languages. I cannot forbear entering here the first paragraph of a version from Petznik gathered by Ulrich Jahn;<sup>87</sup> this work cannot be in many American libraries.

Es war in der Erntezeit, da alle Leute, jung und alt, draussen waren, um den Gottessegen vom Felde heimzuschaffen. Nun wurde dem Schulzen ["mayor"] ein wichtiger Brief übermittelt, und weil er gerade niemand anders zur Hand hatte, bat er seine junge Frau, dass sie den Brief in das nächste Dorf zu dem andern Schulzen trage. Das that sie auch; wie sie jedoch im Walde war, kam mit einem Male ein grosser, starker Bär auf sie losgestürzt, nahm sie in seine Arme und trug sie in seine Höhle; dann wälzte er einen Stein vor das Loch, dass die Frau nicht entfliehen konnte, und

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84 Apparently at the conclusion of their ceremony or term of office the girls took off their brown clothes and finished naked, as they are represented in vases from the site. The vases are pictured in Ellen D. Reeder (ed.), *Pandora: Women in Classical Greece*; Princeton, 1995; 321-326. See Christiane Sourvinou (-Inwood) in *Classical Quarterly* NS 21 (Vol. 65, 1971) 339-342; and T.C.W. Stinton, *CQ* NS 26 (Vol. 70, 1976) 11-13. In Aeschylus *Ag.* 239 the suppliant Iphigeneia also drops her yellow-brown garment to the ground. *Brauron* may mean "Brownie, i.e. Bear" in some Indo-European language from the adjective represented in English *brown*; see Greek φρόνη "frog" (Frisk), Latin *fiber* and English *beaver*, and Old High German *bero* "bear."

85 Pp. 128ff.

86 Friedrich Panzer, *Studien zur germanischen Sagengeschichte*; I. *Beowulf*; München: Beck, 1910 (repr. Wiesbaden: Sändig, 1969).

87 Ulrich Jahn, *Volksmärchen aus Pommern und Rügen*; Forschungen, Verein für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung II; Norden & Leipzig: Dieder. Soltau, 1891; p. 135 "Der Bärensohn."

trottete wieder seiner Wege. Am Abend kehrte er zurück und trug ein Schaf in seinem Maule. Damit ging er, nachdem er den Stein zurückgeschoben hatte, zu der Schulzenfrau, riss das beste Stück herunter und gab es ihr; und weil sie Hunger hatte, ass sie es auf, roh, wie es war. Die Nacht über musste sie an des Bären Seite liegen, und ihr wurde warm von dem weichen Pelze; als aber der Morgen kam, lief er wieder aus der Höhle und ging auf Raub aus; doch vergass er nicht, den Stein vor den Eingang zu wälzen. So verging ein Tag wie der andere, und die Frau wurde vertraut mit dem Bären, und ehe ein Jahr vergangen war, schenkte sie ihm einen kleinen Sohn. Der war rauh über den ganzen Leib, aber sonst von schöner Menschengestalt; doch wuchs er schneller, wie andere Kinder pflegen, und als er sieben Jahre alt geworden war, hatte er die Grösse und das Ansehen eines ausgewachsenen Mannes.

Several items point to Odysseus' character as originally ursine. In particular he had a sister Kallisto (Athenaeus 4.158C) and a son Arkesilaos.<sup>88</sup> His grandfather on his mother's side had the wolfish name Autolykos (*Odyssey* 19.394). His grandfather on the other side, Laertes' father, has a sensational birth-story, told in Aristotle's lost *Constitution of Ithaca*. Cephalus had no children. He consulted the oracle at Delphi, and was told that the first female he met would be the mother of his son; it turned out to be a she-bear, and by her he had Arkeisios the father of Laertes.<sup>89</sup> (In the story Bearson, mostly but not always it is a male bear who has Bearson by a married but childless woman.) Heroes and heroines are properly nursed by animal mothers; a she-bear is specified for Paris (Apollodorus 3.12.5) and Atalanta (3.9.2); see further Cornell 62.

Yahweh is compared with (among other animals) a she-bear: "I will fall upon them like a bear robbed of her cubs" (Hos 13,8; II.3); David is compared to a "bear robbed of her cubs in the field" (II Sam 17,8, and see I.340 for parallels with Gilgamesh and Homer). Having the day of that Yahweh come upon you is like fleeing from the lion and coming upon the bear (Amos 5,19); David compares the danger of the Philistine to the danger of the lion or bear (I Sam 17,34-37). In these last two passages it is בַּרְבַּר, "the Bear," as if there were only one, appearing solitary and unforeseen at different times and places. The ultimate complaint against God is that he has been like "a bear lying in wait, or like a lion in hiding" (Thr 3,10). His ursine character comes out concretely when his prophet Elisha curses the boys in the name of Yahweh, and two she-bears (שְׁתֵּי בְּרִיּוֹת) come out of the forest and kill

88 Eustathius on *Odyssey* 16.118.

89 Heraclides Ponticus 38 (Ithaca), FHG ii.223.

forty-two of them (II Reg 2,24). The indeterminate sex of the bear runs parallel to that of the shaman.

Elijah and Elisha are not merely in league with the Bear; in some sense they *are* the Bear. Elijah was  $\text{בַּעַל שָׂרָף}$  “lord of hair” (II Reg 1,8), RSV “wearing a garment of haircloth.” But the Versions interpret as “hairy man,” LXX ἀνῆρ δασύς, Vg *uir pilosus*, Luther *er hatte langes Haar*. Whether the hair is his own or detachable, Elijah has a “mantle” ( $\text{אֶדְרָת}$ ) with magical properties (II Reg 2,8.14), which can transfer his power to a new owner (I Reg 19,19; II Reg 2,13). It can cover his face (I Reg 19,13); the same word is used to describe the birth-hair covering Esau (Gen 25,25) the “hairy man” ( $\text{אִישׁ שָׂרָף}$  Gen 27,11). (Jacob puts on himself goatskins, as it were making himself a satyr, to imitate his brother, Gen 27,16.) When Elisha takes up the mantle, the boys call him “Baldhead” (II Reg 2,23); this must be reverse mockery and imply that the hair mantle covers his head. Sach 13,4 explicitly defines the prophet’s mantle as hairy,  $\text{שָׂרָף אֶדְרָת}$ , LXX δέριον τριχίνην. John Baptist, who was understood as modelling himself on Elijah, gets himself up as a camel, Mark 1,6 τρίχας (δέριον codex D) καμήλου.

But the Baptist’s diet suggests rather that he is identified with the bear, for he eats locusts and *wild honey* (Mark 1,6). Samson, another hairy figure and eater of honey (Jud 14,9), is associated with the fox as Elisha with the bear. Heb 11,32-38 specifies of “Gideon, Baraq, Samson, Jephthah, David, Samuel and the prophets” that they “went about in skins of sheep and goats” and lived in “dens and caves of the earth.” That Elijah fasts for Aristotle’s forty days (I Reg 19,8) may be the origin of the same figure for Moses (Deut 9,9), as it certainly is for Jesus. Elijah never dies, and it is appropriate that both he and Elisha have the power (like Jesus) of raising others from the dead; Jesus in effect compares himself with both (Luk 4,25-27). Elijah spends much time in caves and moves about magically (I Reg 18,12.46); like Abaris and Epimenides, he can get by with eating very little (I Reg 17,6); he has a special source of supply, the raven. He (or perhaps his successor John) was thought to have been raised from the dead as Jesus (Mark 6,14-15).<sup>90</sup>

Elijah and Elisha are a novelty in Israel. Did they take up attributes of the god they are fighting against?—the Baal of Tyre, namely (it seems clear) Melqarth ( $\text{מֶלְקָרַת}$ , in Greek Μέλακρθος<sup>91</sup>). We discussed his

90 The true relation of Jesus to John Baptist comes out at Joh 4,2 “Jesus did not baptize, but only his disciples.” Why? The natural conclusion is, that most or all of Jesus’ original followers had, like himself, been baptized by John. What Jesus founded was then initially a further reform movement inside John’s reform movement.

91 Philo Byblius, FGH 790 F.2.27.

attributes at I.119-121.<sup>92</sup> His name is similar to that of the Greek mythical figure Melikertes (Μελικέρτης). Ino mother of Melikertes is daughter of Cadmus and a sea-divinity (*Odyssey* 5.333-5). His father Athamas (the brother, as we saw [II.175], of Salmoneus the lightning man) killed a third brother Learchus in the form of a deer. Ino threw Melikertes into a boiling cauldron and then jumped into the deep with him; they were renamed, she as Leucothea, he as Palaimon, and both help sailors in storms (Apollodorus 3.4.2). Melikertes was brought to the isthmus of Corinth by a dolphin (Pausanias 1.44.8) where Sisyphos instituted the Isthmian games in his honor. Palaimon has an underground *adyton* at the Isthmus where he lay concealed (Pausanias 2.2.1); at Tenedos children were sacrificed to him.<sup>93</sup> Carpenter (p. 124) compares the hiding place with that of Salmoxis; and suggests that Melikertes' name means "Honey-eater," comparing Homeric κείρω in the sense "eat." For in Slavic languages the bear has a taboo name, e.g. Russian медвед "Honeyeater."

In the original version of this chapter I explored the possibility that Melqarth (lacking a certain Semitic etymology) might be derived from Melikertes (which seems to have a good Greek one). But Melqarth seems too thoroughly rooted at Tyre to have come in from the outside; and the situation is rather that in the western Mediterranean Phoenicians transferred the attributes of Melqarth to Heracles. That both Melqarth and Melikertes have ursine character must then be explained by transfer, in one direction or the other, between divinities with coincidentally similar names. Or is Melikertes a folk-etymology of Melqarth? Anyway in both lands the two figures, and their associates, make the hibernating and risen bear a symbol of life beyond death, which in Israel is realized as resurrection. Samson ate honey from the lion's carcass; the Baptist ate it regularly; according to one reading of Luk 24,42 the risen Jesus eats the honeycomb. It would naturally be assumed that honey, the bear's favorite food, is what gives him strength to rise again from his winter-long sleep. Then honey ought to be the "medicine of immortality" (I.16).<sup>94</sup>

After the human mother has borne Bearson in the cave, "the bear prevents his captives from escaping by closing the entrance to his den

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92 In the fourth century CE, one Heracleius of Tyre has been a priest of Heracles there and is accused of magic (γοητεία); Sozomenus, *Hist. Eccles.* 4.24.10 = PG 67.1193A.

93 Lycophron, *Alex.* 229.

94 Porphyry *Ant. Nymph.* 18 strangely calls honey "the type of death," τὸ μέλι ... θανάτου σύμβολον.

with some large object, usually a boulder”;<sup>95</sup> Carpenter compares the boulder that the Cyclops rolls against the door of the cave (*Odyssey* 9.240). In the folktale, “mother and son escape from the bear’s den thanks to the Bearson’s attainment of sufficient strength to roll the stone aside.” In the Gospels a stone is rolled against the rock tomb of Jesus.<sup>96</sup> Perhaps this detail in the Bearson story is derived from the Church rather than vice versa. Here the bear, from his residence in the realm of death, and perhaps from some reminiscence of the terrible cave-bear (*Ursus spelaeus*), has become assimilated to the power of death, like the beast from the sea with bearfeet of Rev 13,2; thus in some versions of the story Bearson kills his bear-father.<sup>97</sup>

#### 14.5 *The seer as insightful even in death*

The dead continue in some relation to the living; the most obvious proof of this is that we *dream* of the dead. The *psyche* of Patroclus comes to Achilles in a dream (*Iliad* 23.65ff) and gives instructions for his own burial. Achilles fails to embrace him, “for the soul went underground like smoke, twittering as it went” (23.100-101):

... ψυχή δὲ κατὰ χθονὸς ἦν τε καπνὸς / ὄχετο τετριγυῖα ...

The same verb is used for the souls of the suitors going underground and for bats (*Odyssey* 24.5,7), τρίζουσαι. In Hebrew for a bird to “chirp” is מְצַפֵּץ (Isa 10,14, Vg *ganniret*, cf. 38,14); then at Isa 29,4 “Your voice will come from the ground like a ghost, and your speech shall chirp from the dust,” Vg *et erit quasi pythonis de terra uox tua, et de humo eloquium tuum mussitabit*:<sup>98</sup>

וְהָיָה כְּאוֹב מֵאֶרֶץ קוֹלָהּ וּמְעַפָּר אֶמְרֹתֶיהָ מְצַפֵּץ

At Isa 8,19 the wizards “chirp,” מְצַפֵּץִים where Vg almost Homerically *stridunt*. Achilles draws conclusions about the nature of death (*Iliad*

95 Carpenter 141.

96 At Jesus’ burial the stone is described only by Mark 15,46 = Matt 27,60; but both Luk 24,2 and Joh 20,1 mention that the stone has been rolled or moved away.

97 The temporary transformation of men into “werewolves” (lycanthropy) is obviously related. Every member of the Scythian Neuri annually became a wolf for a few days (Herodotus 4.105). Damarchus the Arkadian became a wolf at the festival of Zeus Lykaios, and so remained for nine years (Pausanias 6.8.2). See further Plato *Rep.* 8.565D (II.25); Pliny 8.81-82; Augustine *de civ. Dei* 18.17; Petronius 62; Vergil *Ecl.* 8.97; Ovid *Met.* 1.237. The Midianite Zeeb (Jud 7,25) is just “Wolf,” along with his companion Oreb “Crow” (1.281).

98 See West, EFH 163.

23.103-4) “Then there is some *psyche* and likeness even in the halls of Hades, but no *phrenes* (solid bodily organs? intelligence?) at all”:

ὦ πόποι, ἦ ῥά τις ἐστὶ καὶ εἰν Ἀΐδαο δόμοισι  
ψυχὴ καὶ εἰδωλον, ἀτὰρ φρένες οὐκ ἐνὶ πάμπαν.

So Propertius 4.7.1 of dead Cynthia *sunt aliquid Manes*. When Odysseus meets his mother in the underworld (*Odyssey* 11.206-8) “Three times I tried, for my spirit (*thymos*) urged me to embrace her, three times she flew out of my hands like a shadow or a dream”:

τρὶς μὲν ἐφορμήθην, ἐλέειν τέ με θυμὸς ἀνώγει,  
τρὶς δέ μοι ἐκ χειρῶν σκιῇ εἴκελον ἦ καὶ ὄνειρῳ / ἔπτατ' ...

So Aeneas tries three times to embrace his father in the underworld (*Aen.* 6.700-2):

ter frustra comprehensa manus effugit imago  
par leuibus uentis uolucrique simillima somno.

“Thrice the shade, vainly embraced, escaped his hands, just as light winds and most like winged sleep.”<sup>99</sup>

In a common Mediterranean physiology, what makes the difference between a living person and a dead one is the breath. After Sarpedon’s companions rescue him from the fray and push out the spear which pierced his leg (*Iliad* 5.696-8), “His *psyche* left him and a dark mist was cast over his eyes; but he got his breath back again, for the breath of the North wind revived him as he was painfully gasping out his *thymos*”:<sup>100</sup>

τὸν δὲ λίπε ψυχὴ, κατὰ δ' ὀφθαλμῶν κέχυτ' ἀχλύς·  
αὐτίς δ' ἐμπνύνη, περὶ δὲ πνοιῇ Βορέαο  
ζώγρει ἐπιπνεύουσα κακῶς κεκαφηότα θυμόν

Again, when the widow’s son approaches death, “there was no breath (LXX πνεῦμα) left in him” (I Reg 17,17):

לֹא-נִוְתַרְהָבוּ נְשָׁמָה

By sympathetic means Elijah brings it about (17,22) that “the child’s *nephesh* (LXX ψυχὴ) came back into him again, and he revived”:

וַתָּשָׁב נְפֶשׁ-הַיֶּלֶד עַל-קִרְבוֹ וַיְחַי

What constitutes the life of animals is  $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$  (LXX πνεῦμα), Ps 104,29-30, inseparable from the wind (Gen 1,2; Ez 37). In the original creation of mankind God forms them of dust and breathes into their nostrils the breath of life (Gen 2,7); at death “the dust returns to the earth which it had once been, and the *ruah* returns to God who gave it” (Koh 12,7, cf. Job 13,14-15 and II.78).

99 Similar comparison West, EFH 151.

100 G. S. Kirk in the Cambridge *Iliad ad loc.* (ii.129): “thus the...main descriptions in *Il(iad)* of losing consciousness...draw in different ways on a formular terminology primarily designed for describing death.”

Previously (I.57) we saw the agreement of Greeks and Hebrews on the ephemeral character of humanity, a creature of a day and “man the dream of a shadow,” σκιαῖς ὄντα ἄνθρωπος (Pindar *Pyth.* 8.96). Israel in its pessimistic mood sees life itself as no more than a dream (Ps 90,5) or a shadow, Ps 144,4 “Man is like a breath, his days are as a passing shadow (LXX σκιά):”<sup>101</sup>

אָדָם לַהֶבֶל רִמָּה יָמָיו כְּצֶל עוֹבֵר

The two nations agree in the miserable condition of the dead. The scenery of their land is described at Ps 18,5-6 = II Sam 22,5-6:<sup>102</sup> “For the breakers of death encompassed me, the torrents (LXX χείμαρροι) of perdition assailed me; the cords of Sheol (LXX ὠδίνες ἄδου) entangled me, the snares (LXX παγίδες) of death confronted me”:

כִּי אֶפְנִי מִשְׁבְּרֵי-מָוֶת נִחְלִי בְּלִיעַל יִבְעַתְנִי  
חֲבֵלֵי שְׂאוֹל סִבְּנִי קִדְמֵי-מִקְשֵׁי-מָוֶת

Odysseus' mother points out to him the “great rivers and terrible streams” in the land of the dead, above all Ocean,<sup>103</sup> and speaks of its “gloomy darkness,” ζόφον ἠερόεντα (*Odyssey* 11.155-8). So Ps 88,7 “You have put me in the pit of depth, in darkneses, in deep places”:

שֵׁתַנִּי בְּבוֹר תְּהִיזוֹת בְּמַחְשָׁבִים בְּמַצְלוֹת

Cassandra describes the net in which Clytemnestra ensnared Agamemnon as a “net of Hades,” δίκτυόν τι Αἰδου (Aeschylus *Ag.* 1115); previously (I.208) we saw it as a “tunic without armholes or neckhole,” χιτῶνα ἄχειρα καὶ ἀτράχηλον (Apollodorus *Epit.* 6.23).

The inhabitants of Sheol are regularly called Rephaim (רִפְּאִים), a word which ought to mean “healers” (but hardly can), and is so translated ἰατροί by the LXX of Isa 26,14; Ps 88,11. It corresponds to Ugaritic *rpum*, but the texts are not very informative about their true nature. A Latin-Neopunic bilingual from Libya (KAI 117, 1st cent. CE) has D(is) M(anibus) SAC(rum) = אַרְאֵפֶאם [לעל]נם where *Manes* is an excellent version of “Rephaim.”<sup>104</sup> *Manes* plural can refer collectively to the shade of a single individual: Tibullus 1.1.67 *tu Manes ne laede meos* “do not you harm my shade”; *Aen.* 10.534 *patris Anchisae Manes* “the shade of father Anchises.” Our *Manes* are our fate, for which our acts in life are responsible, but which comes to be seen as an entity independent of us, (*Aen.* 6.744) *quisque suos patimur Manis*, “Each of us suffer our own

101 See Job 8,9; 14,2; Koh 6,12.

102 Text of II Sam, LXX of Psalm 18.

103 Circe had previously warned Odysseus about the rivers of the dead (*Odyssey* 10.513-4) Acheron and Pyriphlegethon, Kokytyos and Styx.

104 Here the ‘ayin and aleph are just serving as vowel-letters.



*Manes*.” The meaning “shades” is clear for רָפָאִים at Ps 88,11 “Do you work wonders for the dead? Do the shades (Jerome iux. Hebr. *gigantes*, Luther *die Verstorbenen*) rise up to praise you?”:

הַלְמַחִים תַּעֲשֶׂה-פְּלֵא אִם-רָפָאִים יִקְוּמוּ יוֹדוּךָ

Mostly the LXX and Vg have either “giants” as here or transliterate. For what must be the same noun is applied to gigantic peoples left over from an earlier age.<sup>105</sup> At Deut 2,10 they are compared with the “Anaqim” and “Emim” as very tall (רָם). At II Sam 5,18 etc. the “valley of the Rephaim” (עֵמֶק רָפָאִים) in the LXX becomes “valley of the Titans” (τὴν κοιλιάδα τῶν Τιτάνων).<sup>106</sup> The two senses of powerlessness and power come together at Isa 14,9 “Sheol (LXX ᾗδης) beneath is stirred up to meet you [the king of Babylon] when you come; it rouses the Rephaim (LXX γίγαντες) to greet you, all who were leaders of the earth; it raises from their thrones all who were kings of the nations”:

שָׂאוּל מִתַּחַת רְגֹזָה לָךְ לִקְרַאת בּוֹאֶךָ  
עוֹרֵר לָךְ רָפָאִים פֶּל-עֲתוּרֵי אֶרֶץ  
הַקִּים מִכְּסֻאוֹתָם כֹּל מַלְכֵי גוֹיִם

Since the Greek Titans were giants or elder gods banished to the underworld, the LXX versions are unusually perceptive. Deut 3,11 “For only Og the king of Bashan was left of the remnant of the Rephaim (Luther *Riesen*)”:

כִּי רַק-עוֹג מֶלֶךְ הַבָּשָׁן נִשָּׂאֵר מִיְתֵר הַרָפָאִים

with a note of the great size of his sarcophagus (?—עָרֶשׂ) of iron. Hesiod (*Theog.* 133, 207) lists among Titans Ocean (Ὠκεανός), whom Pherecydes<sup>107</sup> knows as Ὠγηνός. Jos 2,10 makes the killing of Og parallel to “drying up the water of the Red Sea,” so that he could once have been an ocean-figure.<sup>108</sup>

These tall peoples are not wholly legendary, for the earliest Greek contact with Palestinians shows them as a real folk. A fragment of Alcaeus, partially paraphrased by Strabo 13.2.3, has:<sup>109</sup>

105 See further West, EFH 117.

106 At Prov. 2,18; 9,18 a different LXX translator makes the Rephaim γηγενεῖς “Earthborn” as at Aeschylus *PV* 351 Typhon is the “earthborn inhabitant of Cilicia,” τὸν γηγενῆ τε Κιλικίων οἰκῆτορα.

107 Papyrus, cited at FVS<sup>8</sup> 8 frag. 2.

108 For Og and Ogygos see: Joseph Fontenrose, *Python: A Study of Delphic Myth and its Origins*; New York: Biblio & Tannen, 1974 (first pub. 1959), pp. 236-238; W. Fauth, “Prähellenische Flutnamen: Og(es)—Ogen(os)—Ogygos,” *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* 23 (1988) 361-379; Scott Noegel, “The Aegean Ogygos of Boeotia and the Biblical Og of Bashan: Reflections of the Same Myth,” *ZAW* 110 (1998) 411-426.

109 Denys Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus...*; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955; 223-4; PLF 350.

ἦλθες ἐκ περάτων γᾶς ἔλεφαντίαν  
 λάβαν τὼ ξίφος χρυσοδέταν ἔχων  
 ... τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀντιμενίδαν ... φησὶν Ἀλκαῖος Βαβυλωνίοις συμμαχοῦντα  
 τελέσαι

ἄεθλον μέγαν, εὐρύσαο δ' ἐκ πόνων  
 κτένναις ἄνδρα μαχαίταν βασιληῶν  
 παλάσταν ἀπυλείποντα μόναν ἴαν  
 παχέων ἀπὺ πέμπων

“From the ends of the earth you are come, with your sword-hilt of ivory bound with gold” ...Alcaeus says that his brother Antimenidas fighting beside the Babylonians accomplished “a great labor, and delivered them from distress, having slain a warrior who wanted only one palm’s breadth of five royal cubits.”

Another fragment of Alcaeus<sup>110</sup> brings together the names of Ascalon and Babylon. Thus it appears that Antimenidas fought on the side of Nebuchadrezzar against the Philistines of Ascalon (and perhaps against Jerusalem also). Goliath of Gath was “six cubits (𐤇𐤍𐤁𐤏, LXX πήχεων) and a span in height” (I Sam 17,4) but these cubits are not necessarily comparable.<sup>111</sup> The historical Philistines, it seems, inherited their height from their semi-legendary predecessors.

In principle the underworld is a “land of forgetfulness,” Ps 88,13 𐤇𐤍𐤁𐤏 𐤇𐤍𐤁𐤏 (Jer. iux. LXX *in terra obliuionis*); Plato *Rep.* 621A “the plain of Lethe,” τὸ τῆς Λήθης πεδῖον (only in Ovid does it become a river, *Met.* 11.603 *riuis aquae Lethes*).<sup>112</sup> For most mortals the breath which makes them a living being is fragile enough during life, and fails wholly at death; but the true seer has what Elisha asked from Elijah (II Reg 2,9), “a double share of your spirit on me,” 𐤇𐤍𐤁𐤏 𐤇𐤍𐤁𐤏 𐤇𐤍𐤁𐤏 𐤇𐤍𐤁𐤏 (II.38). Samuel was exceptionally endowed with the Spirit, since he can dispense it to kings (I Sam 10,6; 16,13), and from him it falls by contagion on the messengers and on Saul (19,18-24). Hesiod (*Theog.* 31-32) tells how on Helicon the Muses “breathed into me a divine voice, so that I might sing of things to come and that previously were”:

... ἐνέπνευσαν δέ μοι αὐδὴν

θέσπιν, ἵνα κλείοιμι τὰ τ' ἐσσόμενα πρό τ' ἔοντα

When Circe sends Odysseus off to consult the *psyche* of Theban Tiresias (*Odyssey* 10.493-5, II.158) “the blind bard,” she testifies

110 Lobel-Page PLF 48.10-11.

111 Also the LXX MSS here give 4 or 5 cubits as alternatives.

112 West, EFH 160.

... τοῦ τε φρένες ἔμπεδοί εἰσι·  
 τῶν καὶ τεθνηῶτι νόον πόρε Περσεφόεια  
 οἷῳ πεπνῦσθαι· τοὶ δὲ σκιαὶ ἄϊσσοσιν

“his *phrenes* are still sound; for even when he died, Persephone granted him alone the faculty of intelligence;<sup>113</sup> the others flit around as shades.”

#### 14.6 The “witch” of En-Dor, Circe, the Sibyl

To get in touch with the shade of a (male) seer a female intermediary is needed, who herself plays a professional mantic role. The woman of En-Dor who brings up Samuel is a בַּעֲלַת-אוֹב (I Sam 28,7), “mistress of an *ob*,” LXX ἐγγαστριμύθον “ventriloquist!?” Vg *habens pythonem*. As Samuel arises she says (I Sam 28,13) “I see gods [plural!] coming up from the earth”:

אֱלֹהִים רְאִיתִי עֲלִים מִן-הָאָרֶץ

It is unclear how the *ob* was conceived. The connection of LXX and Vulgate is explained by Plutarch:<sup>114</sup>

It is childish in the extreme to think that the god [of Delphi?] after the manner of ventriloquists (ἐγγαστριμύθους), who used to be called ‘Eurykleis’ (Εὐρυκλέας) but now ‘Pythones’ (Πύθωνας),<sup>115</sup> enters into the bodies of prophets and prompts their speech, using their bodies and mouths as his instruments.

The slave girl of Philippi (Act 16,16) has a “spirit of divination,” πνεῦμα πύθωνα, Vg *spiritum pythonem*. The same word went into Rabbinic, Mishna *Sanh.* VII.7

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“A [male] necromancer is a *pithom*, one who speaks from his armpits.” Here the Mishna reflects a Hellenistic concept, rather than any original Hebrew one.<sup>116</sup>

Likewise Circe, Odysseus’ guide to Tiresias and the underworld, is of “many enchantments” (πολυφάρμακος, *Odyssey* 10.276) and has a magic wand (ῥάβδος 10.238).<sup>117</sup> The Sibyl of Cumae (*Aen.* 6.65-66) is

113 Probably πεπνῦσθαι was not originally a form of πνέω, but the Greeks surely thought it was.

114 Plutarch, *de defectu orac.* 9 = *Mor.* 414E.

115 A connection with the serpent (Πύθων) of Delphi or its name of Πύθω is probable but unclear. Compare also שָׂרָפָה Isa 11,8 “serpent.”

116 Latin *uentriloquus* was calqued on the Greek: Tertullian (*Adv. Prax.* 19.4; *adv. Marc.* 4.25.4) translates Isa 44,25 LXX σημεῖα ἐγγαστριμύθων (Heb. אִתּוֹת בְּרִיִּים) as *signa uentriloquorum* (where Vg differs).

117 An Apulian crater of the fifth century BC shows Odysseus sacrificing with a slain ram at his feet, and the head of Tiresias emerging from the earth to drink

“a most sacred seer, knowledgeable about the future,” *sanctissima uates / praescia uenturi*. West (EFH 551) has an elaborate table comparing the consultations of the spirits of Darius (in Aeschylus’ *Persae*) and Samuel; I would suggest that rather Aeschylus is adapting *Odyssey* 10, to which he perhaps added some independent knowledge of Sibylline divination. Saul, Odysseus and Aeneas all in their different ways need to know what is coming; only the underworld seer can tell them; and only his female agent can reach him. Women normally stay at home and keep the house, in Greece they are “white-armed” (I.237). Circe and the Sibyl in the big house of Hades, the witch of En-Dor with respect to Sheol, all play the role of *concierge*: you have to go through them to get into the inn in the first place, and then to find what room your prophetic party is lodging in. The act of consultation is dangerous, in Saul’s case because he has declared it illegal himself, in all cases because of the danger of being trapped in the underworld. How shall we account for the common pattern of a seer in the underworld, to be reached only through a female intermediary?<sup>118</sup>

The story of Saul and the “witch” of En-Dor is isolated in the Hebrew Bible and so far as we know in West Semitic. While various forms of magic and necromancy are condemned, most fully at Deut 18,10-11, we have no picture how they were carried out except for the one tale. In contrast, Hellas has several stories of descents to the underworld, as with Odysseus and Orpheus, and a widespread cult of the Sibyl. The Sibylline phenomenon was well adapted to travel, for through its outpost at Italian Cumae it made a deep impression at Rome, both through the Sibylline books and as worked up in *Aeneid* 6. Here I propose a route by which it might have made its way to Palestine as well. The clue will be the accounts of the “returns” or dispersals of peoples, heroes and seers from Troy.

A Sibyl was attributed a life of up to a thousand years: the ancients spoke as if, in every city with Sibylline activity, the same woman held the same position throughout all of time.<sup>119</sup> Some further ascribe Sibylline activity in different cities at different time to the same woman. Thus Pausanias 10.12 attributed it in Delphi, Marpeessos, Samos and

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the blood; see L. Brisson, *Le Mythe de Tirésias: Essai d’analyse structurale*; EPROER 55; 1976: Frontispiece; see now LIMC viii.2.826, Teiresias 11.

118 The stories of Saul and Odysseus are compared on literary grounds by Teresa Carp, “Teiresias, Samuel, and the Way Home,” *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 12 (1979) 65-76.

119 There is a very large literature on the Sibylline movement: survey by N. Horsfall in *Classical Review* n.s. 40 (1990) 174-5; see M. Goodman “The Sibylline Oracles” in *SVMB* iii.1.618-653.

Erythrae to a single woman Herophile.<sup>120</sup> But the opposite tendency won out, canonized by Varro (as cited by Lactantius *Div. Inst.* 1.6.7-12), according to which the Sibyl of each such place was a distinct woman; Varro adds six more to Pausanias' list of four for a total of ten.<sup>121</sup> The Sibyl's spooky grotto at Cumae, which I walked through in 1960, has been excavated and fits well the ancient sources.<sup>122</sup> Pausanias (10.12.7), a reliable observer, further records the tomb of Herophile at Alexandria near Troy.

At Erythrae of Asia Minor the actual Sibyl's grotto has been excavated, with a long elegiac poem put in her mouth (IGRR 4.1540).<sup>123</sup> Vss 1-2 and 9-10 read:

Ἡ Φοίβου πρόπολος χρησηγόρος εἰμι Σίβυλλα  
 νύμφης Ναϊάδος πρεσβυγενῆς θυγάτηρ ...  
 τρὶς δὲ τριακοσίοισιν ἐγὼ ζώουσ' ἑνιαυτοῖς  
 παρθένος οὖσ' ἀδμήσ παῖσαν ἐπὶ χθόν' ἔβην.

I am the handmaid of Phoebus, the Sibyl who speaks in oracles, the ancient daughter of the nymph Naias. ...For thrice three hundred years of my life, an unwed maiden, I went over the whole earth.

Italian Cumae was founded according to Thucydides 6.4.5 (in "Opicia") from Chalcis on Euboea, to which Dionysius Hal. 7.3.1 adds Eretria of Euboea, and Strabo 5.4.4 Kyme—it is uncertain whether this Kyme is an obscure city of Euboea or the well-known one on the mainland of Asia. Varro<sup>124</sup> gives Herophile as one of the names of the Cumaean Sibyl also. Ovid (*Met.* 14.137-8) records her unwise choice of a gift from Apollo: "I foolishly asked to receive as many years as the sand has grains"

quot haberet corpora pulvis  
 tot mihi natales contingere uana rogau

120 He also names Sibyls at Cumae and Palestine.

121 Varro adds Sibyls of Persia, Libya, Cimmeria, Cumae, Phrygia, Tibur. Rzach (art. "Sibyllen," PW IIA.2073-2103), who conventionally follows Varro's model, has a grand total of 19. Michelangelo in the Sistine Chapel reduces Varro's list to five: the Libyan, Cumaean, Persian, Delphic, and Erythraean.

122 In particular Pseudo-Justin, *Cohortatio ad Graecos* 37 (PG 6.308), a first-hand account of the third or fourth century CE. See A. Maiuri, *The Phlegraean Fields from Vergil's Tomb to the Grotto of the Cumaean Sibyl*, 3rd ed., Roma: Ist. Poligrafico dello Stato; 1958.

123 Commentary and further inscriptions in H. Engelmann and R. Merkelbach, *Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai*; Teil II; Bonn: Habelt, 1973; pp. 378-388.

124 In Lactantius *Div. Inst.* 1.6.18.

when (like Eos [I.112]) she forgot to ask for youth as well.<sup>125</sup> When Aeneas meets her she is already 700 years old and has 300 yet to run. Servius,<sup>126</sup> who identifies her with the Sibyl of Erythrae, adds that the gift had a condition, that she never again saw Erythrae; its people kindly freed her from her wretched old age by sending her a letter sealed with native clay.<sup>127</sup> Thus Cumae, from whichever cities it was founded, got its Sibylline institution from Asia Minor, where the original foci of the activity were Erythrae and the Troad.

Varro<sup>128</sup> says that his eighth Sibyl was “from the region of the Hellespont, born in a village Marmessus [elsewhere Marpessus] near the town *Gergithium*; Heraclides of Pontus testifies that she lived at the times of Solon and Cyrus”:

Octauam Hellespontiam in agro Troiano natam, uico Marmesso circa oppidum Gergithium, quam scribat Heraclides Ponticus Solonis et Cyri fuisse temporibus.

So Stephanus 203:

Gergis, city of Troy...feminine ethnic Gergithia. From it the prophetic Sibyl is called Gergithia: she and a sphinx are stamped on the coinage of the Gergithians, so Phlegon in his *Olympiads*, Book I. They say that the tomb of the Sibyl is in the temple of Gergithian Apollo.

Γέργισ, πόλις Τροίας ... τὸ θηλυκὸν Γεργιθία. ἀφ’ οὗ Γεργιθία ἡ χρησμολόγος Σίβυλλα, ἥτις καὶ ἐτετύπωτο ἐν τῷ νομίσματι τῶν Γεργιθίων αὐτῇ δὲ καὶ σφίγξ, ὡς Φλέγων ἐν Ὀλυμπιάδων ἁ. ἐν δὲ τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Γεργιθίου Ἀπόλλωνος Σιβύλλης φασὶν εἶναι τάφον.

Here we explore the extensions of “Gergithian” as an ethnic of the Sibyl, and the movements of the Gergithians and allied peoples.

### 14.7 Gergithes and Gergashites

The Gergithes were “the remnants of the ancient Teucrians,” Γέργιθας τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας τῶν ἀρχαίων Τευκρῶν (Herodotus 5.122, cf. 7.43); Strabo 13.1.19 shows that they extended as far south as Aeolic Kyme, where there was another city of the same name Gergis.<sup>129</sup> Thus they are associated with two of the cities (Erythrae and Kyme) said to have founded Italian Cumae. Their relation to the Teucrians is further

125 For the innumerability of sand see I.314-316.

126 On *Aen.* 6.321.

127 Eliot as motto to *The Waste Land* quotes Petronius 48.8, where the Sibyl of Cumae already is shut up in an *ampulla* and wishes only to die.

128 Lactantius *Div. Inst.* 1.6.12.

129 And perhaps yet a third Gergis in the territory of Lampsacus?

supported by a fragment of Arrian:<sup>130</sup> Dardanus the founder of Troy married the daughters of a king Teucer, Neso and Bateia; by Neso he had a daughter Sibylla the mantis, from whom other prophetic women were named Sibyls. One testimony shows Teucrians as predating the Trojan war: Herodotus 7.20.2 has Mysians and Teucrians before the Trojan war invade Thrace and northern Greece. Strabo 13.1.48 regards the Teucrians as having come from Crete (before ever they arrived at the Troad?).

The Gergithians are attributed further migration, interpreted by our sources as “returns” after the fall of Troy; it is only part of a more extended migration told of the Teucrians and similarly interpreted. The Gergithes are traceable as far as Cyprus. Clearchus of Soli on Cyprus (early 3rd century BC), who also attests the two cities Gergis near Troy and Kyme respectively, describes a class of Cypriotes he calls Gergini: “One of the Gergini was a descendant of those Trojans whom Teucer<sup>131</sup> received as his share of the captives from Troy, and with whom he colonized Cyprus.”<sup>132</sup> Again Athenaeus (12.524AB) quoting Heraclides of Pontus (4th cent. BC) names the lower class in Miletus as Gergithes, recounting incidents of a civil war between them and the oligarchy; they thus seem Anatolian natives reduced to serf status by Greeks like the Helots of Laconia.

The Teucer (Τεῦκρος) of Homer is the half brother of Ajax of the island Salamis near Athens (distinct from the Ajax son of Oileus of Locris), as being the illegitimate son of Telamon of Salamis (*Iliad* 8.284). Before the great expedition of Agamemnon, Troy had previously been captured and sacked by Heracles (*Iliad* 5.640-651) with only six ships. On that expedition Telamon received as prize the daughter Hesione of king Laomedon king of Troy (Apollodorus 2.6.4, 3.12.7 with Frazer’s notes); by her (but not as a lawful wife) he had Teucer. We are to assume that Teucer was so named from his mother’s Asiatic ancestry. The tradition then takes him to be leader in migrations of his namesake people after the Trojan war, as if elected by them as a foreign prince of their line. Vergil *Aen.* 1.626 has Teucer call himself “descended from the ancient race of the Teucris,” *ortum antiqua Teucrorum a stirpe uolebat*. Herodotus at 2.118.2 has Egyptian priests call the Troad “the Teucrian land,” τὴν Τευκρίδα γῆν. But the *Iliad*

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130 Arrian frag. 95 FGH 156, from Eustathius on *Iliad* 2.814.

131 Evidently the Achaean, discussed below, not the father-in-law of Dardanus the founder of Troy (above).

132 Athenaeus 6.256-7, from Clearchus’ book *Gergithios*, named after a courtier of Alexandria descended from the Gergini.

nowhere so refers to it. Perhaps we are to think of the Teucrians after the war as having moved into the Troad, before they or a contingent of them travelled elsewhere.

At *Iliad* 8.303-5 Teucer kills Gorgythion son of Priam, whose name surely echoes the Gergithes; the “Gergithes remnants of the Teucrians” are projected back into the heroic age as individual antagonists. The supposed travels of Teucer suggest movements of the Asiatic Teucrians after the war. Vergil (*Aen.* 1.619) has Teucer come to Sidon, meet Dido’s father Belus who is attacking Cyprus, and as we saw praise the “Teucri” (Vergilian mostly for Trojans) from whom he himself is descended. Isocrates (*Euagoras* 18) has Teucer found Salamis of Cyprus and name it after the Athenian Salamis.<sup>133</sup> But Martin Bernal<sup>134</sup> suggests that both Σόλαμις of Cyprus (Herodotus 4.162.2) and the island near Athens (*Iliad* 2.557) are derived from סלם as “safe harbor,” comparing the port Arabic *Dar es-Salām*.<sup>135</sup> If the name is Semitic, then the Cypriote city is surely the original. Teucer also went on to Spain, where his golden belt lay in the temple at Gades.<sup>136</sup> For Justin (44.3, cf. Strabo 3.4.3) says that Teucer was rejected by his father Telamon and founded first Salamis on Cyprus, then Carthago Nova in Spain. Horace (*Carm.* 1.7.32) makes Teucer, expelled by his father, the type of eternal self-sufficient wanderers,

Cras ingens iterabimus aequor.

Olbe of Cilicia had a temple of Zeus founded by Teucer’s son Ajax (named after Teucer’s half-brother), whose priest kings were alternately called Teucer and Ajax (Strabo 14.5.10).

If any of the travels of Teucer son of Telamon can be historicized as movements of Teucrians, or of their subdivision the Gergithes, after the supposed fall of Troy, we may think of the Teucrians and Gergithes as part of the shadowy Sea Peoples (if indeed such existed, II.212). Again the Achaean seers at Troy, both those named in Homer and others, are regarded as having migrated to the East, either individually or as the leaders of actual peoples. Especially when they themselves play the role of seers powerful after death, they are plausible candidates to have brought necromancy and Sibylline prophecy to Palestine.

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133 Pausanias 1.3.2 (and so Isocrates 9.19) regards king Euagoras of Salamis on Cyprus (435-374 BC) as descended from Teucer and the daughter of Cinyras; for Teucer in Salamis of Cyprus see Pindar *Nem.* 4.46.

134 Communication of January 1996.

135 Gordon (UT iii.491) thinks that Ugaritic *šlmy* (KTU 4.261, 4.313.1) and *šlmym* (KTU 4.41.1) are ethnics.

136 Philostratus *Vit. Apol.* 5.5.



Herodotus 7.91 speaks of the Pamphylians as among those dispersed from Troy with Amphilochochus and Calchas. The sixth book of the *Epitome* of Apollodorus recounts the returns or dispersals of the Achaeans other than Odysseus after the fall of Troy. Strabo 14.4.3 (cf. I.33) quotes Callisthenes<sup>137</sup>:

Calchas died in Claros, but the people with Mopsus passed over the Taurus; some stayed in Pamphylia, others were dispersed in Cilicia and Syria as far as Phoenicia.

τὸν μὲν Κάλχαντα ἐν Κλάρῳ τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον ... τοὺς δὲ λαοὺς μετὰ Μόψου τὸν Ταῦρον ὑπερθέοντας, τοὺς μὲν ἐν Παμφυλίᾳ μέναι, τοὺς δ' ἐν Κιλικίᾳ μερισθῆναι καὶ Συρίᾳ μέχρι καὶ Φοινίκης

Either “Mopsus” like “Tiresias” was a generic name for a seer, or one man was thought to have outlived a number of generations—which come down to the same thing. For there was a μάντις ... Μόψος with the Argonauts (Pindar *Pyth.* 4.190). I discussed the testimonies for Mopsus at I.33-34, including his appearance at Ascalon. Calchas is well-known from the *Iliad*; he appears in an Etruscan mirror divinised with wings as a sacrificing priest, studying the liver of the victim.<sup>138</sup> Apollodorus *Epit.* 6.1 lists those who after the war went from Ilion to Colophon: Amphilochochus (below), Calchas, Leonteus and Polypoites from Thessaly, and Podalirius the physician son of Asclepius (all but the first known from the *Iliad*).

The seers after the war found themselves in deadly combat. Calchas went to Claros of Asia Minor after the war with Amphilochochus; there he was defeated by Mopsus in a contest of divination and died of chagrin.<sup>139</sup> Mopsus and Amphilochochus sons of Manto the daughter of Tiresias were half-brothers, Amphilochochus as son of Alcmaeon (Apollodorus 3.7.7), Mopsus as son of Apollo. In single combat at Mallus of Cilicia they in turn killed each other,<sup>140</sup> but after death were reconciled and became joint patrons of its infallible oracle (Frazer on Apollodorus *Epit.* 6.19, without noting that they were half-brothers). Their posthumous expertise reflects the same prophetic psychology as with Tiresias and Samuel in the underworld. Vergil allows the role of seer to be

137 Most MSS and editions “Callinus,” but West in IEG ii.50 reads “Callisthenes.” Elsewhere Strabo (13.4.8) cites both authors.

138 LIMC v.2.601 Kalchas no. 1.

139 Strabo 14.1.27 = Hesiod frag. 278 Merkelbach-West. It had been foretold to Calchas that he would die if he met a *mantis* wiser than himself (Apollodorus *Epit.* 6.2). The later history of the oracle at Claros is discussed by S. Levin, “The Old Greek Oracles in Decline,” ANRW II.18.2 1599-1649, esp. 1628-1637.

140 Strabo 14.5.16 = Hesiod frag. 279 Merkelbach-West.

taken up also by Anchises, who has almost the same name as Achish of Gath the Philistine (I.164).

The whole Sibylline phenomenon, and in particular the Sibyl of Cumae, has as we saw a good claim to be called “Gergithian”; Tibullus 2.5.67 connects the Cumaean and Marpessian Sibyls (the latter from next to Gergithium near Troy). The Gergithes and Teucrians are attested in Cyprus, and the witch of En-Dor has Sibylline traits. There is a beautiful parallel to the Γέργιθες in the Girkashites, גִּרְגָּשִׁי, always collective. In Ugaritic, *bn grgš* appears at KTU 4.123.15, 4.377.9, not necessarily as indigenous. They appear with the Qadmonites (Gen 15,19, see I.37), the Hivites (Achaeans?—Deut. 7,1 etc., see I.32), and (Gen 10,15-18) the men of Arwad (Aradus), Arca of Lebanon, and Hamath.

According to the Rabbis (Jer. Talm. *Shebiith* 6.1, 36c54-6, and elsewhere), Joshua gave the Canaanites three options: emigration, peace, and war. The Girkashites chose the first:

גרנשי פינה והאמינו לו לקרוש ברוך הוא והלך לו לאפריקי

“The Girkashites emigrated, for they believed the Holy One, blessed be He, and went to Africa.” Somehow this tradition came to Procopius 43.10.17ff, who says that the Γεργεσαῖοι (with Jebusites and others) at the coming of Joshua emigrated, first to Egypt, and then to Libya. He claims further that at Tigisis of Numidia there is an inscription in Phoenician, Ἡμεῖς ἔσμεν οἱ φυγόντες ἀπὸ προσώπου Ἰησοῦ τοῦ ληστοῦ υἱοῦ Ναυῆ “We are they who fled from before Joshua the bandit, the son of Naue.” He adds that the Carthaginians expelled them from their territory, and that they later became known as the Moors (Μαυρούσιοι).<sup>141</sup> The story further recalls the Western journey of the Teucrians.

En-Dor, where Saul consulted the seer, must be in some sense “the spring of Dor.” We saw reason (I.33) to conclude that Dor was named after the Dorians. It first appears surely in the narrative of Wen-Amon (11th century BC) who comes to “Dor a town of the Tjeker, and Beder its prince.”<sup>142</sup> The Tjeker appear elsewhere in the catalogue of the Egyptian “Sea-Peoples”: “Their confederation was the Peleset, Tjeker, Shekelesh, Denye(n) and Weshesh.”<sup>143</sup> Identifications are much disputed. Wilson confidently identifies the Peleset with the Philistines; less confidently the Shekelesh with the Siculoi, the Denyen with the Danaoi,

141 Lipiński in DCP 500 s.v. “Zarzis” of Tunisia suggests that the similarity of names underlies the story (see also the articles “Girkish” 190 and “Tigisi” 454).

142 ANET<sup>3</sup> 26a.

143 ANET<sup>3</sup> 262b.

and the Tjeker with the Teucrians.<sup>144</sup> If the Teucrians reached not merely Cilicia and Cyprus, but Palestine also (along with “Mopsus”), we have additional grounds for identifying their tribe of Gergithes with the Palestinian Girgashites.

Dorians are not out of place in the eastern Mediterranean. Besides the possibility of their presence at Dor, the Pamphyloi through whom Mopsus led his people, and whom Herodotus knows as scattered from Troy with Amphilochus and Calchas (7.91, II.196), have the identical name of the Dorian tribe (Herodotus 5.68, see I.32). At I.31 we discussed the mix of peoples in Crete (*Odyssey* 19.175-7): Achaeans, true Cretans, Cydonians, Dorians, Pelasgians. Each has some definable relation to Palestine.

How shall we explain the parallels we have found? We can take it for granted that each Mediterranean society, like societies everywhere, had some sort of male seer or wonder-worker. In lands of uncertain rainfall, rain-making again is an almost necessary function of such a personage. Pouring water on the ground is a natural magic to induce rain; the use of perforated buckets could have been independently devised. But the use of the *torch* with its common name to imitate lightning (along with the mysterious parallel of the torch-bearing fox) surely shows a connection. In what direction? The name of the “torch” seems Indo-European but not specifically Greek; both Israel and Hellas could have gotten it from Anatolia, where the root is attested in Hittite. The ursine character of the seer seems specifically due to boreal shamanism; there is no common vocabulary, and both Israel and Hellas could have gotten it independently from the North.

The theme of the seer as knowledgeable in the underworld, and accessible only through a female medium, is too close to be accidental, and not specifically boreal. It is attested in Israel only at En-Dor, a site with Mediterranean connections. The Sibyl can be called Gergithian from the town Gergis, and the Gergithes are part of a dispersal of peoples and seers in Asia Minor, Syria and Phoenicia after the dramatic date of the fall of Troy; then the Canaanite Girgashites can be plausibly explained as a people migrating from Ionia. Thus I suggest that the prophetic powers of Samuel and the narration of the “witch” of En-Dor represent specific Sibylline influence.

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144 But H. Goedicke, *The Report of Wenamun*; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1975, 182, thinks the Tjeker just Semitic “males,” root *zkr*. Drews (*Bronze Age 70*) rejects the view that these Siculoi were eastern peoples who gave their name to Sicily; rather, they were the Sicilians themselves serving as mercenaries.

## Chapter 15: Sacred Space and Time in Israel and Italy<sup>1</sup>

Rome and the native Italian cities, so far as they did not undergo foreign influence, agree with the ancient Near East or Israel only through their inheritance from remote Indo-European antiquity. The earliest indigenous documentation comes from the bronze tablets of Iguvium (mod. Gubbio). The agreement with Hellas (and ultimately Israel) which we find (II.69) at Iguvium in the divinity overcoming an enemy with thunder and snow is such an inheritance. But the Iguvine agreement with Israel (less exactly with Hellas) in combining the sacrifice of a bull with the libation of wine (I.152) already represents a Mediterranean loan in the name of *wine*, and perhaps of the bull (Iguvine *toru*) also.

Rome, from the earliest date at which we have authentic documents or plausible testimonies, shows influence by the Greek cities of Italy and the Etruscans, and perhaps from the beginning by Carthage also. That is not surprising, since Rome and Greek Naples are the two principal seaports of Western Italy. It might seem puzzling that the Etruscans with their overseas connections set most of their cities well inland except for iron-exporting Populonia (Etruscan *Pupluna* and *Fufluna* on its coins [TLE 378-9]).<sup>2</sup> But several had separate seaports; and Rome for centuries looked much like an Etruscan city.

Rome in her religion, and her self-understanding of her civic institutions, both in peace and in war, shows a curious blend of legalism and of something like magic. The legalism is also attested at Iguvium,

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1 Revision of an article, "The *Templum* and the *Saeculum*: Sacred Space and Time in Israel and Etruria," ZAW 98 (1986) 415-433.

2 Probably "the city of Fufluns," i.e. the Etruscan Dionysus, for he appears on a vase as the son of *Semla*, i.e. Semele (*Iliad* 14.325); for the vase see G. & L. Bonfante, *The Etruscan Language: An Introduction*; Manchester: University, 1983, p. 123 [hereafter "G. & L. Bonfante"].

in large part as at Rome from Indo-European antiquity; the magic less so. The Romans attributed the most explicitly magical elements in their institutions to the Etruscans. In the next chapter we discuss magic in war: the notion of a box or building in which the military numen of the state is contained, and from which, by the use of proper formulas, it goes out to defeat the enemy. In this chapter we discuss magical features of the city itself, more or less at peace.

The sacred space of the city is marked out by a magical circle, and by a precinct set up for divination (with a common element of vocabulary); its life-span by a magical formula of the extended generation, or *saeculum*. The industry of Etruscan Populonia was iron-metallurgy from the rich mines of Elba (Latin *Ilua*); and here we find the magical or pseudo-scientific idea of regeneration of metal in the mine. These features, attributed in Rome to the Etruscans, mostly pass by Hellas and find their closest parallels in Israel; except that in Israel they are more nearly rationalized. It seems that the Etruscans preserved archaic eastern Mediterranean notions, perhaps intensifying sacral-magical features which were elsewhere softened or dropped.

In a notorious ancient controversy, continued to the present day, Herodotus (1.94) maintained that Lydians colonized Etruria, Τυρσηνίην ἀποικίσαι; and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1.30.2) that the Etruscans were indigenous, ἐπιχώριον. Pallottino observes that we cannot ask where French culture came from, it was developed in France. With the Etruscans the real question is where their language came from, and here a third position arises. We shall see (II.212) that a language similar to Etruscan was known at Lemnos, among whose inhabitants were some called by the Greek name for the "Etruscans," Τυρσηνοί. On the first theory the Etruscans of Italy were colonies of some Aegean people; on the second theory, Lemnos was a colony of the Italian Etruscans; on a third, Etruscan and Lemnian are remnant islands of a pre-Indo-European language once more widely extended. In any case, whether by migration, or by colonial and trading contacts, or by remote inheritance, the Etruscans were in touch with near Eastern cultures. Inscribed livers for divination (I.185), attested in Assyro-Babylonia and Italy, but rarely between,<sup>3</sup> are a clear example.

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3 Numerous liver models have been found in Hittite territory inscribed in Akkadian, and a few in Hittite: Hans G. Güterbock, "Hittite Liver Models," pp. 157-160 of *Perspectives on Hittite Civilization* (II.86 above, note 16); from F. Rochberg-Halton (ed.), *Language, Literature, and History* [Erica Reiner Festschrift], pp. 147-153; New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1987.

If we could read the Etruscan texts better, these and many other questions might be answered. For example, it is not fully clear how the Etruscans referred to themselves. Greeks called them Τυρσηνοί (with the same name as apparently for Aegean natives or pirates); Roman *Etrusci* or *Tusci*. The only indigenous version of this name proposed is on an archaic gold fibula from Clusium (TLE 489), which has been conjecturally read<sup>4</sup>

mi Araθia Velaveśnaś zamaθi Manurke mrevenike tursikina  
and translated “I am the gold of Arath Velavesna; Manurke the Etruscan made me.” A unique classical text (Dionysius Hal. 1.30.3) says “they call themselves by the same name as one of their leaders, Rasenna (Ῥασέννα).” Pallottino<sup>5</sup> interprets TLE 87 (Tarquinii, 4th century BC) *zilaθ amce meχl rasnal* “he was *zilath* of the people(s) of Rasna” (comparing TLE 137, 233) on the basis of a Latin office of the second-century Empire. Thus in an inscription<sup>6</sup> of AD 184, dedicated to one Q. Petronius Melior, he has been (in the dative) *praetori Etrur(iae) XV populorum bis* “twice praetor of the fifteen peoples of Etruria.” *amce* is known to represent the verb “be” with past suffix *-ce*. Much usage shows that *zilaθ* is some public office, and the comparison with the Latin suggests the meaning of both *zilaθ* and *meχl*. But much more still escapes us.

Latin inscriptions from Tarquinii of the early Imperial period, probably set up by T. Vestricius Spurinna (consul for the second time AD 98), commemorate the exploits of his Etruscan ancestors.<sup>7</sup> The fullest, thought also the oldest by Torelli, reads (with T.’s supplements, some uncertain):

V[elth]VR SPVR[inna] [L]ARTIS F(ilius) PR(aetor) II [in] MA-  
GISTRATV AL[terum] EXERC[i]TVM HABVIT ALTE[rum in]  
SICILIAM DUXIT PRIMVS O[mnium] ETRVSCORVM MARE  
CV[m legione] TRAIE[dit a q]V[a clupeo et corona] AVREA [ob  
uirtutem donatus est]

Velthur Spurinna son of Lars, twice praetor; in his magistracy he held one

4 C. de Simone, “Etrusco *Tursikina*: sulla formazione ed origine dei gentilizi Etruschi in *-kina* (*-gina*),” *Studi Etruschi* 41 (1973) 153ff; but this proposal is not noted in the work of G. & L. Bonfante.

5 M. Pallottino, *The Etruscans*; tr. of the 6th Italian ed. (1975) of *Etruscologia*; Bloomington: Indiana Univ., 1978, p. 126 [hereafter “Pallottino”]; see G. & L. Bonfante p. 115.

6 ILS 1429; compare 1047, 5013, 6611, 6615.

7 Mario Torelli, *Elogia Tarquiniensia*, *Studi e Materiali di Etruscologia e Antichità Italiane*; Firenze: Sansoni, 1975; for the text cited here see p. 43.

army, led another to Sicily; first of all Etruscans he crossed the sea with a legion; whence he was granted a shield and golden crown for merit.

VELTHVRNE appears in another text. Torelli thinks the Sicilian expedition is that chronicled by Thucydides 6.103.2, where three Etruscan ships support the Athenians at Syracuse in 414/3 BC. But now the painted tomb inscription of the *zilaθ...mexl rasnal* (TLE 87) begins ...x]urinas and certainly appears to be of a [Sp]urinas! Torelli identifies the party buried with the Velthur Spurinna Lartis filius of the inscription. T. J. Cornell<sup>8</sup> doubts a number of these connections; but it seems firm that the Latin imperial text and the 5th or 4th century Etruscan tomb painting at least refer to the same family. T. Vestricius Spurinna is well-known from the letters of Pliny the Younger; he carries the name of the Etruscan *haruspex* Spurinna who warned Caesar of the Ides of March (Suetonius *Iul.* 81).

The magical features of the city presuppose a founding at a definite date, when the magical circle was drawn and from which the count of *saecula* began. Those features thus hardly appear in mainland Hellas, where the cities came down from Mycenaean times, and few traditions of a takeover or refounding by a new population were preserved. Likewise we should hardly expect them to appear in the Phoenician homeland. They do appear in the founding of Greek colonies, in the capture and refounding of Canaanite cities by the Israelites, and in Phoenician colonization in the West.

Moshe Weinfeld, we shall see, attributes similar themes in Israel and Italy to a “pattern of Greek colonization,” which ran parallel to Phoenician colonization, as at Carthage. To the extent that the *Aeneid* is based in legendary fashion on Greek traditions of colonization, Weinfeld’s analysis will hold. But if Rome was ever historically settled or refounded by anybody, it was by Etruscans. Thus the Etruscan elements in Roman legend and theory about the origins of herself lend additional support to the position that *not all* elements of Etruscan culture were indigenous in Etruria—otherwise there would have been no occasion to set up doctrines about the founding and lifespan of cities. The contents of the *libri rituales* (Festus p. 358 L.) show the Etruscans as above all beginners:

Rituales nominantur Etruscorum libri, in quibus perscriptum est, quo ritu condantur urbes; arae, aedes sacrentur; qua sanctitate muri, quo iure portae, quomodo tribus, curiae, centuriae distri-

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8 Review of Torelli in JRS 68 (1978) 167-173.

buantur; exercitus constituent(ur), ordinentur; ceteraque eiusmodi ad bellum et pacem pertinentia.

The Etruscan books are called *ritual* in which it is written, with what rite cities should be founded; altars and temples consecrated; with what holiness walls, with what law gates, how tribes, assemblies, centuries should be distributed; armies set up; and other matters of this sort pertaining to war and peace.

To these themes I preface two introductory sections: (15.1) on the pattern of a twelve-city league (with a paragraph on river-names); and (15.2) on the evidence for Eastern connections of the Etruscans. I then (15.3) summarize Weinfeld's materials on parallels arising from Greek colonization. The substantive sections then follow: (15.4) on the magical boundary of the city, and its analogue, the sacred precinct with its international name (Latin *templum*); (15.5) on the magical regeneration of metals in the mine, with notes on metal-names in the Mediterranean; and (15.6) on the extended "generations" of the city.

### 15.1 *The amphictyony of twelve peoples*

Politically the Etruscans agree with both Greeks and Canaanites in organizing themselves in federations of what in theory were twelve peoples. Following a seminal monograph of Martin Noth<sup>9</sup> we may call such a federation an "amphictyony" (ἀμφικτυονία Demosthenes 5.19) of peoples "dwelling around" a central sanctuary. Across the Mediterranean such groupings agree in three features: the number of peoples is twelve; the bond of their unity is the central sanctuary which they collectively maintain, though political decisions are made there; the peoples each send one or more delegates to a council at the sanctuary, whether for peace or war. Such federations are the closest the ancient Mediterranean comes to what we would call a "nation," an organized community larger than an individual city-state or tribe.

The Etruscans were believed to have founded twelve cities in their heartland (Strabo 5.2.2), twelve in Campania in the south (Strabo 5.4.3), and twelve in the Po valley in the north.<sup>10</sup> The difficulty of drawing up a list of any one of these shows that theory has been at

9 Martin Noth, *Das System der Zwölf Stämme Israels*; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft; 1966.

10 Modern works agree in the group of twelve cities in the north, but I have not easily found an ancient text which states this.



work.<sup>11</sup> Five texts from Livy<sup>12</sup> attest a “temple of [the god] Voltumna,” *fanum Voltumnae*, whose site remains uncertain, as the deliberative center of the Etruscans. Thus the tradition for 434 BC (Livy 4.23.5):

Igitur dum duae ciuitates legatis circa duodecim populos missis impetrassent ut ad Voltumnae fanum indiceretur omni Etruriae concilium...

Therefore while the two states [Veii and the Faliscans (not strictly speaking an Etruscan people)], sending legates around among the twelve peoples, had obtained their consent that a council for all Etruria should be announced for the sanctuary of Voltumna, [the Roman senate took counter-measures].

While the *fanum* is defined by its name as a religious center, in all five cases as here the function of the council is a declaration of war. But among the Etruscans, matters relating “to war and peace” were governed as we saw by the ceremonies of the *rituales libri*.

Livy 1.8.3 states as the majority opinion that the number of twelve for the lictors of the Roman king or consul with their axes and rods (II.267) was derived from the Etruscans, *quod ex duodecim populis communiter creato rege singulos singuli populi lictores dederint* “because of the twelve peoples who collectively made a ‘king,’ each contributed one lictor.” Dionysius Hal. 3.61.2 states with more detail:

For it seems to have been an Etruscan custom for each of the kings (βασιλέων) city by city to be preceded by a lictor (ῥαβδοφόρον) carrying an axe with the bundle of rods; and when there was a joint military expedition of the twelve cities, the twelve axes were given to the one receiving complete power (τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχήν).

This suggests that Livy’s “king” was a temporary military commander, while the “kings” of the individual cities were more permanent. Their Etruscan name was *lucumo*: Servius<sup>13</sup> *Tuscia duodecim lucumones habuit, id est reges, quibus unus praeerat* “Etruria had twelve *lucumones*, that is kings, of whom one was foremost.” See further Servius on *Aen.* 10.202 (II.207) where in place of cities he speaks of *prae-fecturas*. Etruscan *lauχume* is attested at TLE 440. It would appear then that in the council at the *fanum* the cities were each represented either by their *lucumo* or by one (or more) other delegates, who chose

11 There were also twelve peoples (*duodecim populi*), of whom nothing more is known, among the Bruttii (Livy 25.1.2), Salentini (Probus ad Verg. *Buc.* 6.31), and Paedicali (Pliny 3.102).

12 Besides Livy 4.23.5 see also 4.25.7; 4.61.2; 5.17.6; 6.2.2.

13 Servius on *Aen.* 8.475, cf. on 2.278.

a supreme commander for war from among the number of the *lucumones*. But there was also a peacetime side to the united peoples, at which *solemnia ludorum* “solemn games” were conducted and over which a priest (*sacerdos*) presided; so Livy 5.1.4-5, recounting an occasion (BC 403) when the *rex* of Veii (his office an innovation!) interrupted them.<sup>14</sup>

The best known of these federations of twelve peoples is the Delphic “amphictyony” around the sanctuary of Delphi as its center, recorded in literary sources and inscriptions. The orator Aeschines, who conducted a mission to the Amphictyonic Council in 340 BC, lists the “twelve peoples who shared the sanctuary,” ἔθνη δώδεκα τὰ μετέχοντα τοῦ ἱεροῦ (Aeschines 3.116). From inscriptions, e.g. SIG<sup>3</sup> 145 (380/379 BC) we know (line 36) that the delegates were “hieromnemes,” τοὶ ἱερομνάμονες τοὶ Ἀμφικτυονικοί]. Resolutions were adopted by “the wardens and assessors of the Amphictyons and their council” (Demosthenes *de corona* 154, document), τοῖς πυλαγόροις καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις τοῖς Ἀμφικτυόνων καὶ τῷ κοινῷ. Elsewhere (II.239) we discuss their policies in a “sacred war.”

The Ionians (Herodotus 1.145) had twelve cities in Achaea and took the same number over to what became Ionia. Their center was the Panionion, “the sacred site of Mycale” (Herodotus 1.148) τὸ δὲ Πανιώνιον ἐστὶ τῆς Μυκάλης χῶρος ἰρὸς where they held their festival (ὄρτην) of the Panionia. Plato (*Laws* 745DE) will divide his ideal city into twelve parts, “and assign twelve lots (κλήρους) to twelve gods, and name [the lots] after [the gods], and dedicate to each god his appointed share, and name the [corresponding] tribe after him (φυλὴν αὐτὴν ἐπονομάσαι).” Mythical Scheria, the realm of the Phaeacians, had twelve “kings” with Alcinous the 13th (*Odyssey* 8.390, cf. I.22, 194).<sup>15</sup>

Noth explained the twelve tribes of Israel in terms of this Mediterranean pattern. At a later date their cult center was at Jerusalem; earlier perhaps at Shechem (Jos 24,1, cf Noth 79). He proposes that the list of the נְשִׁיבָיִם at Num 34,19-29 represents the delegates to a central council. The Hebrews took from the Jordan twelve stones, one for each tribe, and set them up in Gilgal (Jos 4,19); since לְמַעַן means “circle,”

14 Cornell 67 illustrates the 13 altars (of different styles!) at Lavinium, and comments (p. 109) that probably “the several Latin communities each maintained its own altar, just as the Greek cities had their individual treasuries at Delphi.” Was the Latin league then an amphictyony of 12+1 members as at mythical Scheria?

15 I wonder if Homer has rumors of Etruria in mind when he describes the maritime Phaeacians.

perhaps a megalithic stone circle stood there and gave rise to the story.<sup>16</sup> Twelve pillars for the tribes are set up in Sinai (Ex 24,4). Ishmael also had “twelve princes according to their tribes” (Gen 25,16); and Nahor had twelve sons who could be twelve Aramaean tribes, although the text (Gen 22,20-24) does not total them.

How shall we explain this Mediterranean pattern? Noth thought that the full Hebrew “amphictyony” of twelve was preceded by groups of six; and that these two numbers represented a successive administration of the sanctuary by its members during the year (p. 86):

die Sechs- oder Zwölfzahl hätte dann einen praktischen Grund in dem zweimonatlichen oder einmonatlichen Alternieren in der Verwaltung des Zentralheiligtums unter den Amphictyonen innerhalb des Jahres.

Gottwald<sup>17</sup> pointed out that the evidence for such a monthly sharing of the sanctuary is weak. We saw that Aeschines 3.116 says of Delphi that there were “twelve peoples sharing the shrine,” ἔθνη δώδεκα τὰ μετέχοντα τοῦ ἱεροῦ; but not in what sense the shrine was shared. Plato sees his ideal city as worshipping twelve gods (the Olympian number, *Hom. Hymn* to Hermes 4.128; Aristophanes *Aves* 95) with each assigned to a tribe; in it the division into twelve was functional rather than timewise. Solomon (I Reg 4,7-19) set up twelve administrative districts cutting across tribal boundaries; each had a נְצִיב (vs 19) over it, and (vs 7) “a month of the year was assigned to each to send provisions [for the king and his household]”:

חֲדָשׁ בְּשָׁנָה יִהְיֶה עַל-אֶחָד לְכָל־כֶּלֶל

In the Chronicler’s later report (I Chron 27,1-15) David’s bodyguard had twelve divisions which rotated month by month, but again they are not correlated with the tribes. Still, the number “twelve” is so strongly fixed around the Mediterranean that some reason should be searched, and this remains the most plausible.<sup>18</sup>

Israel and Italy agree in seeing the twelve peoples in a 4x3 or 3x4 array. Ez 48,30-35 makes new Jerusalem square, each side having

16 With לְגַלְגַּל Levin SIE 272-275 cautiously compares κύκλος and Latin *circulus*. Diodorus 2.47.3 describes in the land of the “Hyperboreans” a “circular temple” of Apollo, νᾶόν ... σφαιροειδῆ; a rumor of Stonehenge? The stone circle of Callanish in Lewis of the Outer Hebrides, unlike Stonehenge, suggests a divine council in the individuality and veining of the stones.

17 Norman K. Gottwald, *The Tribes of Yahweh...*; Maryknoll: Orbis, 1979, 354-355.

18 Here I soften my more sceptical position at I.22. For amphictyonies see Weinfeld, *Promise of the Land* 29-31.

three gates for three tribes—the scheme taken up by the Apocalypse. Servius (on *Aen.* 10.202) comments on Vergil's description of his home town, Mantua, formerly Etruscan,

gens illi triplex, populi sub gente quaderni

“It had three clans, and four peoples under each clan.” Servius says:

Mantua tres habuit populi tribus, quae in quaternas curias diuidebantur; et singulis singuli lucumones imperabant, quos tota in Tuscia duodecim fuisse manifestum est, ex quibus unus omnibus praeerat. his autem totius Tusciae diuisas habebant quasi praefecturas.

Mantua had three tribes of people, divided into four *curiae* each, over each of which a *lucumo* ruled. It is known that the *lucumones* of all Etruria were twelve, one of whom presided over all; these held as it were the separate prefectures of all Etruria.

*European river-names.* By way of parenthesis, I note that the name of the river “Jordan” from which Joshua's twelve stones were taken constitutes a linguistic contact throughout the Mediterranean world. Heb. יַרְדֵּן may mean “river” generally (Job 40,23); Jos 4,22 speaks of “*this* Jordan.” Homer also knows a river name Ἰάρδανος, used in the same phrase Ἰαρδάνου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα for two apparently different rivers with poor subsequent attestation: one in Elis (*Iliad* 7.135, Strabo 8.3.20) and one in Crete (*Odyssey* 3.292, Pausanias 6.21.6). For its connection with the battles of David and Nestor against a giant see I.35.<sup>19</sup> Did Ἰάρδανος also once just mean “river” generically? Pausanias 5.7.4 refers to the Palestinian river in Homeric fashion, Ἰάρδανος. Greek legend knew a man Iardanos, father of that Omphale queen of the Maeonians who became the wife of Heracles (Diodorus 4.31.5); as befitting a river-daughter she was married to one bearing the name of the mountain Tmolos (Apollodorus 2.6.3, cf. Herodotus 1.7.4, who makes it the source of amber). Almost the same name is borne by Ἰριδανός a real river in Attica (Plato *Critias* 112A), elsewhere a mythical one (Hesiod *Theog.* 338, Herodotus 3.115) later identified with the Po or Rhône; and by Ῥοδανός the Rhône (Polybius 3.49).

Rivers flowing into the Black Sea have names *beginning* with Dan-, which plainly meant “river” in some language: *Danastius* the Dniester (Ammianus 31.3.3-4); Δάναπρις the Dnieper;<sup>20</sup> *Tanais* the Don (Vergil *Georg.* 4.517); cf further *Danuuius* the Danube (Caesar *Bell. Gall.* 6.25); and cf the Ἀπιδανός of Thessaly (Herodotus 7.129.2).

19 See also West, EFH 370.

20 *Periplus Maris Pontici* 58, GGM i.417.

Such languages are Iranian and Indian. Avestan *dānuš* fem. is “river”;<sup>21</sup> Mayrhofer<sup>22</sup> with Sanskrit *dānu* neut. “Flüssigkeit” compares the Avestan, Ossetian *don* “Wasser, Fluss” and these river-names. Those flowing into the northern Black Sea (Don, Donets [not attested in antiquity?], Dnieper, Dniester) are thought by Mallory to have been named in an Iranian invasion.<sup>23</sup> If Scythians spoke a language with the same feature (I.224) they would be more probable invaders. *Rhodanus* and *Danuuius* would then have been named by Kelts.<sup>24</sup> The agreement between Hebrew Jordan and Greek Iardanos (with Eridanos and Rhodanos?) seems independent. If *dan* “river” is the same element in both sets of names, its joint appearance in Indo-Iranian and “Hellenosemitic” points to a very old contact indeed.

The foundation of the original ideal twelve Etruscan cities is attributed to the eponymous hero Tarchon. Strabo 5.2.2: “And when Tyrrhenos arrived, he named the land Tyrrhenia after himself, and founded twelve cities, appointing a certain Tarkon (Τάρκωνα accus.) as the founder, from whom the city Tarkynia (Latin *Tarquinius*) is named; because of his intelligence even from childhood it is said that he was born gray-headed.” In particular Mantua was founded by “Tarchon the brother of Tyrrhenos” and named after Mantus the god of the underworld (Servius on *Aen.* 10.200). The traditions about Tarchon are summarized by Pallottino<sup>25</sup> in his commentary on an Etruscan mirror. Lycophron mysteriously speaks (1248-9) of “Tarchon and Tyrsenos, tawny wolves, sprung from the blood of Heracles”:

Τάρχων τε καὶ Τυρσηνὸς αἴθωνες λύκοι,  
τῶν Ἡρακλειῶν ἐγγεγῶτες αἰμάτῳ

Vergil (*Aen.* 8.506 etc.) makes *Tarchon* an Etruscan leader. Thus the Etruscan *Tarquinius*, kings of Rome, along with the first two consuls

21 *Yasna* 60.4, cited by C. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*; Strassburg: Trubner, 1904, 733-4.

22 M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, Heidelberg: Winter, 1963, ii.33.

23 J. P. Mallory, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans: Language, Archaeology and Myth*; London: Thames & Hudson, 1989, p. 78; he explains *Dnieper* as \**danu apara* “river to the rear” and *Dniester* as \**danu nazdya* “river to the front.”

24 Matters are further complicated by the Avestan name of an enemy people *Danavo* (Bartholomae loc. cit.) and Sanskrit *Dānavah* “hostile demon.” Also the Greek Δαναοί have been compared; A. B. Cook (*Zeus* iii.366-369) thought them “rivermen,” for both Diomedes and Ajax the Danaoi are compared to rivers in torrent (*Iliad* 5.87, 11.492). See I.227 on the Danaoi and Hebrew Danites.

25 M. Pallottino, “Uno specchio di Tuscania e la leggenda Etrusca di Tarchon,” *Rendiconti della R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di Scienze mor. etc.*, ser. 6 vol. 6 (1930) 49-87.

(II.104), bear the name of the hero. One unknown to literary history is portrayed in the “François tomb” from Vulci of about 300 BC being killed by an Etruscan hero; he is *Cneve Tarχunies Rumaχ* (TLE 300), “Gnaeus Tarquinius of Rome.”<sup>26</sup>

This Etruscan name must surely be connected with the weather-god named in the Hieroglyphic Luvian version of the Karatepe inscription (KAI 26) as *Tarḫui*.<sup>27</sup> Gurney<sup>28</sup> gives his name in Hittite proper as *Tarḫund* on the basis of personal names. He appears in theophoric Cilician names of the Roman period, e.g. Ταρκονδῖμοςτος Dio 51.7.4. What surely appears the same name is Ugaritic *trǵds* (KTU 2.10.5 etc.), and as a place name *trǵnds* (KTU 4.400.15). It would have been attractive to compare the Calebite *תַּרְחֻנָּה* (I Chron 2,48), but we would have expected consonants closer to the Ugaritic. The agreement of *Tarchon* with the Anatolian weather-god, combined with Strabo’s testimony to a migration, further supports the theory that some of the Etruscans and their language came from the Aegean or Asia Minor.

### 15.2 Eastern connections of the Etruscans

One route by which the peoples of Italy were in touch with ancient Near Eastern institutions was through Carthage. Previously (I.275-6) we saw how Polybius (3.22-26) found a treaty between Rome and Carthage on a bronze tablet, often dated to the second year of the Republic, 508/7 BC; and we noted parallels to its oath (in later Latin form) *per Iouem lapidem* “by Jupiter the stone.” We were attracted by Bernal’s radical proposal (I.24) that *Rōma* itself was so named by Phoenician traders, *רֹמָה* “citadel.” Provisionally we accepted the proposal (I.220) that the Ara Maxima (Livy 1.7.10) of Heracles in the Forum Boarium was of Phoenician foundation; I can now point out that it constitutes one more in the series of “Great Altars” (I.201).<sup>29</sup>

26 For a speculative historical reconstruction see T. N. Gantz, “The Tarquin Dynasty,” *Historia* 24 (1975) 539-554.

27 P. Meriggi, *Manuale di eteo geroglifico*; *Incunabula Graeca* 14, 1967; ii.73ff. But any connection is doubted by C. de Simone, “Hethitisch *Tarḫu-* — etruskisch *Tarχu*,” pp. 401-406 of J. Tischler (ed.), *Serta Indogermanica* [Günter Neumann Festschrift]; *Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft* 40, 1982.

28 O. R. Gurney, *The Hittites*; Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1952; 138.

29 Cornell (69, 112) compares Pyrgi as a Greek emporium with the Forum Boarium, which, “with its hellenising cults, its location outside the sacred boundary of the city, and its association with the river harbor (Portus), was evidently the haunt of foreign merchants, many of them resident.”

Above (II.103) we noted the parallel between the two Roman consuls and the two Carthaginian suffetes, both called “judges.”

The relations between Etruscans and Carthaginians were closer. Etruscan cities and Carthage were allied against Phocaeen colonists in a naval battle off Corsican Alalia about 535 BC (Herodotus 1.166). Again they were allied in a naval battle off Cumae in 474 BC when they were defeated by the Syracusan fleet (Pindar *Pyth.* 1.70-75); Hieron king of Syracuse dedicated at Olympia an Etruscan bronze helmet from the battle:<sup>30</sup>

ΘΙΑΡΟΝ Ο ΔΕΙΝΟΜΕΝΕΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙ ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ ΤΟΙ ΔΙ ΤΥΡΑΝ' ΑΠΟ ΚΥΜΑΣ  
 “Hieron son of Deinomenes and the Syracusans [dedicate] to Zeus Etruscan spoils from Kyme.” At about the same time are dated the gold tablets of Pyrgi (the port of Caere) in Punic and Etruscan recording a dedication of one doubly identified: in the Punic (KAI 277 Nachtrag) “Tiberius Wlnš king of Caere”:

תבריא ולנש מלך על כישריא

and in the Etruscan (TLE Sup 874) *mex θuta θefariei Velianas* “Of the people (*mex*) — Thefariei Velianas.” Aristotle (*Pol.* 3.5.10 = 1280a36) speaks of commercial relations, perhaps a treaty, between Etruscans and Carthaginians (Τυρρηνοὶ καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι).

T. J. Cornell (pp. 146-147) proposes a remarkable Etrusco-Roman takeover of the image of the “goddess at the window,” shown in among other works an ivory from Nimrud of the 8th century BC, ANEP<sup>2</sup> no. 131. Jezebel with her mascara looks out of her window (II Reg 9,30) like a harlot or perhaps Ashtoreth the patroness of harlots: וַתִּשְׁקֹף בְּעֵד הַחַלּוֹן, LXX καὶ διέκυψεν διὰ τῆς θυρίδος, *Vg et respexit per fenestram*. In reverse Wisdom looks out *her* window (Prov 7,6) and sees a young man meeting a harlot. Tanaquil the Etruscan (Livy 1.34.9) is *perita...caelestium prodigiorum* “accomplished in celestial signs”; she addresses the people *per fenestram* (Livy 1.41.4) and urges them to accept her son-in-law Servius Tullius as regent. When Servius became king, he took the goddess Fortuna as mistress, and she “entered his house at night through a little window” (Ovid, *Fasti* 6.577):

nocte domum parua solita est intrare fenestra

Plutarch (*Quaest. Rom.* 36 = *Mor.* 273BC) gives the two stories as alternative explanations of the gate named Φενέστραν; he notes that Servius was the luckiest of men (εὐτυχέστατος) through his congress with Fortuna (Τύχη in his version). He is comparable to Solomon to whom God gave Wisdom (I Reg 5,9).

30 Now in the British Museum: Meiggs-Lewis no. 29; LSAG<sup>2</sup> Plate 51.7.

We may also summarize some Roman contacts with western Greeks. The Greek colony at Cumae just up the coast from Naples was founded about 750 BC from Chalcis of Euboea and some Greek city Kyme (Strabo 5.4.4). In 504 BC according to Dionysius Hal. 7.5, presumably relying on a Cumaean source, Aristodemus tyrant of Cumae made common cause with the Latins of Aricia (just south of Rome) and at Aricia defeated Arruns son of Porsena the Etruscan (Livy 2.14.5-9 makes it 508 BC). About the same time we have a Greek dedication from Graviscae, the port of Etruscan Tarquinii just north of Rome, which evidently had a Greek quarter. The dedication is of a stone anchor which perhaps saved him from shipwreck:<sup>31</sup>

ΑΠΟΛΟΝΟΣ ΑΙΓΙΝΑΤΑ ΕΜΙ ΣΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕ ΘΟ[...]

“I [i.e. the anchor] belong to Apollo of Aegina. Sostratus the...made [me]...” Herodotus 4.152 speaks of one “Sostratos of Aegina son of Laodamas,” Σώστρατον τὸν Λαοδάμαντος Αἰγινήτην, as the wealthiest trader of his time, and it is natural to see in him the dedicator at Graviscae. In 393 BC the Romans dedicated a gold bowl at Delphi to commemorate a victory over Veii, and set it in the treasury of the Greek Messaliotes (Diodorus 14.93.4). Polybius (1.6.2) begins his history in 387 BC (on his dating) with the capture of Rome, except the Capitoline hill, by the Gauls; Plutarch (*Camillus* 22.3) says that Aristotle<sup>32</sup> had accurate information about the event. In the same place Plutarch quotes the near-contemporary Heraclides Ponticus as speaking of the capture of a “Greek city Rome” (πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα Ῥώμην) by “Hyperboreans.”

Diodorus 5.13.4, 5.20.4 refers to a time when Tyrrhenians “held a thalassocracy,” Τυρρηνοὶ θαλαττοκρατοῦντες referring plainly to the Italian Etruscans. When Strabo 6.2.2 refers to “pirate bands of the Tyrrhenians,” τὰ ληστήρια τῶν Τυρρηνῶν in the tenth generation after the Trojan war, it is unclear whether he means the Etruscans based in Italy or pre-Etruscan sea-rovers. The same doubt arises for the “Tyrsenian pirates” of the *Homeric Hymn* to Dionysus 7.7-8 (I.171). In a legend recorded by Athenaeus (15.672B) Tyrrhenians living by piracy make off with the statue of Hera at Samos. Plutarch (*Quaest.*

31 First published by Mario Torelli, “Il Santuario di Hera a Gravisca,” *Parola del Passato* 136 (1971) 44-67; photo and further bibliography in John Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas: Their Early Colonies and Trade*; new ed.; London: Thames & Hudson, 1980, p. 206 & fn 160 p. 279; further SEG 26 (1976/7) 1137, LSAG<sup>2</sup> Plate 73.7. The name Sostratus appears further in Egyptian Aramaic about 300 BC as סטרסוס (Cowley 81.126). Greek vases in Etruria have a ΣΟ trademark (Cornell 111).

32 Aristotle frag. 610 ed. V. Rose; Leipzig: Teubner, 1967.



*Graec.* 21 = *Mor.* 296B)<sup>33</sup> speaks of “Tyrrhenians” who carried off the daughters and wives of the Athenians from Brauron “at the time when they held Lemnos and Imbros,” ὀπηνίκα Λήμνον καὶ Ἰμβρον κατῶκουν. Pallottino (pp. 82-83) appears to regard all this evidence, together with the testimonies in Herodotus (6.138) and Thucydides (4.109)<sup>34</sup> to early “Tyrsenians” in the Aegean and Lemnos associated with the “Pelasgians” (I.171), as still referring to historical Etruscan commerce. It is unclear whether there is any continuity from the Egyptian records of *Teresh* as one of the supposed “Sea-Peoples”;<sup>35</sup> or with Tiras (טִּרְסַן Gen 10,2) the son of Japheth.

A famous stele of Lemnos<sup>36</sup> in Greek script and a non-Greek language bears an obvious relation to Etruscan: thus it has αφιζ σιαλχιζ (twice with variations) corresponding to Etruscan *avils...šéalχlsc* (TLE 98), both “years...40 (or 60).” It is surely the epitaph of the warrior represented on it with his spear; Heurgon<sup>37</sup> regards his name as the text in larger letters ἠολαιεζ ναφοθ ζιαζι and considers him a Greek, “Υλαίος of Phocaea (φοκισιαλε) “nephew of Siasi.” Drews,<sup>38</sup> who hardly believes in the existence of any “Sea Peoples,” comments:

Although the stele might have been seen as evidence that several hundred Etruscan colonists had come to Lemnos in the seventh or early sixth century [apparently Drews’ own view], it was instead seen [by 19th century scholars] as evidence that the entire Etruscan nation had originated in Lemnos and its environs.

Many scholars feel that the stele represents a distinct language rather than a dialect of Etruscan.<sup>39</sup> Pallottino (p. 72) illogically minimizes its agreements with Etruscan; for I see no way to separate the speakers of

33 Cf. Plutarch *de fem. virt.* 8 = *Mor.* 247A.

34 Thucydides makes it appear that at one point these sea-rovers actually held Athens.

35 Nancy K. Sandars, *The Sea Peoples: Warriors of the Ancient Mediterranean, 1250-1150 B.C.*: London: Thames & Hudson, 1978; 111-112.

36 Friedrich KASD 144; drawing in Pallottino Plate 9.

37 J. Heurgon, “A propos de l’inscription ‘tyrrhénienne’ de Lemnos,” CRAI 1980, 578-600, with comments by M. Lejeune and further discussion (600-606).

38 Robert Drews, *The End of the Bronze Age: Changes in Warfare and the Catastrophe ca. 1200 B.C.*; Princeton: University, 1993, p. 59.

39 If Etruscan *nefts* or *nefis* (TLE 131, 234, 233) “grandson” were originally borrowed in Italy from Latin *nepos*, and if ναφοθ of the stele is the same word, that would be a strong argument that the Lemnian stele was written by colonists from Italian Etruria. But the word could have been borrowed from Greek ἀνεπιός “cousin” or some Indo-European equivalent, used to mean “nephew” (sister’s son) in the matriarchal Aegean, and transferred to mean “grandson” in patriarchal Italy under the influence of *nepos*.

its language from the “Tyrrhenians” attested by the historians at Lemnos, whom Pallottino (p. 82) wants to make Italian Etruscan traders or pirates. The Lemnian stele and the “Tyrrhenian pirates” of the Aegean go together: either both represent Etruscan colonists and trade, or both represent an Aegean seafaring people a form of whose language was spoken also by Etruscans. In the latter case, we can think either that some people migrated from the Aegean to Italy, imposing a non-IE language on an IE local population, from which Etruscan civilization as we know it emerged; or that both in the Aegean and Italy were stranded relics of an old Mediterranean tongue, elsewhere superseded by the IE migrations.

Although it would be nice to achieve some clarity on this matter, for our present purposes it is enough to point out that Etruscan has intimate contacts with the eastern Mediterranean from an early date, in whichever direction colonization (if any) took place. One further ambiguous testimony to an ethnic movement is the fact that a people of eastern Sardinia, the Αἰσαρωνήσιοι (Ptolemy 3.3.6) has a name hard to separate from the Etruscan word for “god”: Suetonius *Aug.* 97 *quod aesar... Etrusca lingua deus uocaretur* “because in Etruscan *aesar* means “god.” In several forms including *aiser* thought plural (TLE 1.4.20 etc.) it is frequent in the texts; it is tempting to compare Old Norse *aesir* “chief gods,” though I do not know how to judge the parallel.

Perhaps as loan words, some names of social roles in Etruscan have Greek dialectal connections. At I.65 we discussed the doubtful parallel between Etruscan *Turan ati* of Venus “Mother Turan” (TLE 754, bronze mirror showing Venus and *Atunis* [Adonis]), Greek τύραννος “tyrant,” Hebrew (Philistine?) מְלָכִים “rulers,” and Hieroglyphic Luvian *tar-wa-na-s*. Clearer is the case of *purθne* (TLE 465, also at TLE 87 [II.201] with *zilaθ* in the form *purθ*), which Lambrechts<sup>40</sup> shows to be the title of an Etruscan magistracy; it is generally compared with πρύτανις, also the title of a magistrate in Greek states as well as in Italy.<sup>41</sup> Pindar (*Pyth.* 6.24) calls Zeus “*prytanis* of lightning and thunder,” στεροπαῖν κεραυνῶν τε πρύτανιν. Most striking is Etruscan *puia*, plainly “wife”: thus TLE 888<sup>42</sup> *metli arnθi puia amce spitus larθal* “Metli Arnthi was the wife of Spitu (son of) Larth.” It must go with Homeric ὀπυῖω: in the active of the man, “marry, take to wife”; in the middle of the woman, “to become married to.” It is the regular verb in the Cretan Doric of the Gortyn code

40 R. Lambrechts, “Essai sur les magistratures des républiques étrusques,” *Etudes de Philologie, d’Archéologie et d’Histoire anciennes* 7 (1959) 114-119.

41 For example, at Rhegium, SIG<sup>3</sup> 715; but it seems older in Etruria.

42 Discussed by G. & L. Bonfante 111.

(II.278). While common in Homer, it seems especially at home with Trojans. Thus *Iliad* 13.429-30:

ἦρω' Ἀλκάθοον, γαμβρὸς δ' ἦν Ἀγχίσαο,  
πρεσβυτάτην δ' ὤπυιε θυγατρῶν, Ἴπποδάμειαν

“...the hero Alkathoos, who was son-in-law of Anchises, and had married the eldest of his daughters, Hippodameia.” Even Etruscan *clan* “son” (I.225) has a conceivable parallel in Scots Gaelic *clann* “children,” whence English *clan* “tribe.”

### 15.3 *The formulas of Greek and Phoenician colonization*

As the Homeric epics show a general similarity to Hebrew texts, even apart from common vocabulary, narrative themes, or any theories of historical connection; so does the *Aeneid*—and on subjects distinct from its general reliance on Homer. Cyrus Gordon<sup>43</sup> gathered such parallels as are to be found on a surface comparative reading. It remained for Moshe Weinfeld to explain why such parallels should exist and put them in an orderly context. Readers will remember his unearthing of international juristic formulas in other areas: as mediated through treaties and their loyalty oath (Vol. I Chapt. 8, esp. p. I.254); and as mediated through royal proclamations (Chapt. 10 above, esp. II.47).<sup>44</sup> Just now in a third fundamental study Weinfeld has organized parallels between the *Aeneid* and the early parts of the Hebrew Bible through the “pattern of Greek colonization.”<sup>45</sup> He sees the Phoenicians as the mediators (pp. 20-21):

The two stages of the colonization tradition recognizable in ancient Israel, ancient Rome, Carthage, and the house of Mopsos may reflect a certain

43 Cyrus H. Gordon, “Vergil and the Bible World,” pp. 111-130 of I. D. Passow & S. T. Lachs, eds., *Gratz College Anniversary Volume*; Philadelphia: Gratz, 5371/1971; revising his study “Vergil and the Near East,” *Ugaritica* 6 (1969) 267-288.

44 We may add the possible dependence of the Twelve Tables at Rome on Near Eastern models: see Raymond Westbrook, “The Nature and Origins of the Twelve Tables,” *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: Romanistische Abteilung*; 105 (1988) 74-121. Westbrook contrasts the specific nature of early Roman and Pentateuchal legislation with the general principles found both in the Mishna and the work of Gaius (themselves nearly contemporary). See the parallels among Roman, Greek and Hebrew legislation found already by Grotius in the killing of a thief at night (I.4); and at II.279 below.

45 Moshe Weinfeld, *The Promise of the Land: The Inheritance of the Land of Canaan by the Israelites*; Berkeley: Univ. of California, 1993, chapters 1 and 2. I heard the original lectures at Berkeley in 1989 with much profit.

historical process. C. R. Whittaker has demonstrated in his elaborate study of the Western Phoenicians and their colonization that both the Greeks and the Phoenicians refer to two phases of Phoenician colonization.<sup>46</sup> The first phase comprises the beginning of a connection with the indigenous population (for purposes of trade), which is followed by a second phase involving a great influx of new settlers into the area and representing real colonization.

But Phoenician colonization is little known to us except through Greek and Roman historians, and the Greeks hardly chronicled the founding of their colonies apart from some inscriptions at Cyrene. Thus the process in each case is best recorded at second hand: in the adaptation of Phoenician colonial themes by the Hebrews in their takeover of the promised land; and in Vergil's reworking of Greek colonial themes in the legendary founding of Rome (perhaps more reflecting Etruscan realities).

Here I note Weinfeld's outline of narrative themes in the two phases of colonization; and append some outstanding examples of literary parallels falling under each.

In Chapter 1, Weinfeld does a "typological comparison" of "patriarchal stories" with the examples of Abraham and Aeneas:

1. A Man Leaving a Great Civilization and Charged with a Universal Mission.
2. Gap between Migration of the Ancestor and the Actual Foundation.
3. Promise at Stake.
4. The Pious Ancestor.
5. The Ancestral Gods.
6. The Burial Place of the Founder.
7. [Tension of] Canaan versus Aram, Rome versus Carthage.

In Chapter 2, Weinfeld compares the "pattern of Israelite settlement" with the "pattern of Greek colonization."

1. Inquiry at the Shrine.
2. Priestly Guidance.
3. Divine Obligations.
4. The Founder's Tomb.
5. Naming the Land.
6. Dividing the Land. [II.22 above.]
7. Divine Promise.
8. Setting Up Stones.
9. Building an Altar.

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46 C. R. Whittaker, "The Western Phoenicians: Colonization and Assimilation," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* (1974) 58-79. [Weinfeld's note.]

Readers will do well to work through Weinfeld's rich treatment of each theme. A nice introduction is his quotation from the *Hippias Major* 285D (ascribed to Plato, but rejected by many) where Hippias says that the Lacedaemonians prefer to hear stories "about families, heroes, men, and foundations, how in old times cities were founded (... τῶν κατοικίσεων, ὡς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐκτίσθησαν αἱ πόλεις)." But it is mostly from Hebrew and Latin texts that we hear what such stories were like. Here are some of the most pointed of Weinfeld's parallels, not treated in these pages elsewhere.

(a) *Founding a great nation* (on 1.1 above). Yahweh says to Abram (Gen 12,2) "I will make you become a great nation," וְאָנֹכִי לְגוֹי גָדוֹל Vg *faciamque te in gentem magnam*; Isaac says over Jacob, "Let peoples serve you, and nations bow down to you" (Gen 27,29):

וְעַבְדוּךָ עַמִּים וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוּ לְךָ לְאֻמִּים  
Vg *et seruiant tibi populi et adorent te tribus*. He compares *Aen.* 6.851 "You, Roman, remember to rule the peoples with your sway,"

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.

I would add *Aen.* 1.33 "So great a task it was to found the Roman race,"

Tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem.

(b) *Birds of prey threatening the sacrifice* (on 1.3). Gen 15,11 "And birds of prey came down on the carcasses," וַיֵּרְדוּ הָעֵיט עַל-הַפְּגָרִים Vg *descenderuntque uolucres super cadauera*.<sup>47</sup> *Aen.* 3.226ff Harpies (*Harpyiae*) come down and "tear the banquet," *diripiuntque dapes*.

(c) *Household gods taken* (on 1.5). Rachel steals her father's הַתְּרָפִים, Vg *idola*, Luther *Hausgott* (Gen 31,19); Hector commends to Aeneas the "Penates of Troy" (*Aen.* 2.293) [which Weinfeld suggests may in an alternate version have been carried by Creusa]. Six hundred men of Dan (twice three hundred, II.84) guard the teraphim, Luther *Hausgötzen* (Jud 18,16); six hundred men take care of the Penates in Lavinium (Dion. Hal. 1.67.2).

(d) *The founder's bones removed* (on 1.6). The bones of Joseph are brought up from Egypt to Shechem (Gen 50,25; Jos 24,32). The bones of Orestes are brought by stratagem from Tegea to Sparta (Herodotus 1.67-68); Cimon brought the bones of Theseus from Scyros to Athens

47 עֵיט "bird of prey" can be seen as parallel to αἰετός "eagle," and there is a beautiful agreement in that each is used to name the bird emblem of Cyrus the Great. Isa 46,11 קָרָא טַפְּזָרְחַ עֵיט in reference to Cyrus, "calling a bird from the east"; at Xenophon *Cyr.* 7.1.4 "his ensign was a golden eagle with wings outspread on a long shaft," τὸ σημεῖον αἰετός χρυσοῦς ἐπὶ δόρατος μακροῦ ἀνατεταμένως.

(Plutarch *Thes.* 36.2), where his grave was a “place of refuge for slaves,” φύξιμον οικήταις.

(e) *Inquiry at the shrine* (on 2.1). The Danites at Micah’s house ask the Levite (Jud 18,5) “Will the journey we are beginning be prosperous?”:

הַתְּצַלִּיחַ הַדְּרָגָנוּ אֲשֶׁר אֲנַחְנוּ הַלְכִים עָלֶיךָ

Dorieus before sailing for Italy asked at Delphi “whether he would capture the land he was sailing to” (Herodotus 5.43), εἰ αἰρήει ἐπ’ ἧν στέλλεται χώραν.

(f) *Sacrifice of the red beast* (on 2.3). At Num 19 Eleazar shall sacrifice a red heifer (vs 2 פָּרָה אֲדָמָה) outside the camp (vs 3 לַמַּחֲנֶה אֶל-מַחֲוֵי לַמַּחֲנֶה); its ashes are for the “water [for removal] of impurity” (vs 9, לְמִי נִדָּה). At Cyrene, the great inscription of the 4th century BC of *leges sacrae*<sup>48</sup> begins “If there should come disease or famine or death on the land or on the city, sacrifice *before the gates*, as an [atonement (*katharma*)] for averting evil(?), to Apollo who averts evil, *a red goat*.”

[A] ΚΑ ΕΠΙ ΤΑΓ ΓΑΝ Η ΕΠΙ ΤΑΜ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΕΠΕΙΗΙ ΝΟΣΟ[Σ Η ΛΙΜΟ]Σ Η ΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ ΘΥΕΝ ΕΜΠΡΟΣΘΕ ΤΑΜ ΠΥΛΑΝ [ΚΑΘΑΡΜ]Α ΤΩ ΑΠΟΤΡΟΠΑΙΩ ΤΩΙ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ ΤΩΙ ΑΠΟΤΡΟ[ΠΩΙ] ΧΙΜΑΡΟΝ ΕΡΥΘΡΟΝ

The agreement in three themes—a sacrifice outside the city, of a red beast, as purification—is striking.

(g) *Promise to the sons of sons* (on 2.7). Weinfeld (*Promise* p. 5) compares the promises to the patriarchs and David with *Iliad* 20.307-8:

νῦν δὲ δὴ Αἰνεῖαιο βίη Τρώεσσιον ἀνάξει

καὶ παίδων παῖδες, τοί κεν μετόπισθε γένωνται.

“Now the strength of Aeneas will rule over the Trojans, and the sons of his sons who will be born afterwards.”<sup>49</sup> A late Hellenistic reading

(cited by Strabo 13.1.53 and the Scholiast) interprets as of the myth of the race of Aeneas founding Rome, ... Αἰνεῖαιο γένος πάντεσσιον ἀνάξει. (Already Aeneas and Latinus appear together at Hesiod *Theog.* 1008-1016.) Although Vergil likely knew Homer’s original, it is the late version that he reworks (*Aen.* 3.97-98):

Hic domus Aeneae cunctis dominabitur oris  
et nati natorum et qui nascentur ab illis.

48 SEG 9 (1944) no. 72.1.

49 Strabo 13.1.53 understood this to mean that Aeneas founded a dynasty which ruled over a reborn city at or near Troy. Some moderns think that Homer is flattering a dynasty of Aeneadae in his own time. Similar verses in the *Homeric Hymn* to Aphrodite 5.196-197; discussion by Edwards in the *Cambridge Iliad* v.298-300.

(Apollo speaking) “Here [in your ‘ancient mother’] the house of Aeneas will rule over all shores, the sons of their sons and those who will be born from them.” I can add the parallel at Ezek 37,25:

וַיָּשׁוּבוּ עָלֶיהָ הַמָּה וּבְנֵיהֶם וּבְנֵי בְנֵיהֶם עַד-עוֹלָם וְרוּד עֲבָדַי נְשִׂיא לָהֶם  
לְעוֹלָם וְכָרְתִי לָהֶם בְּרִית שְׁלוֹם

Vg *et habitabunt super eam ipsi et filii eorum et filii filiorum eorum usque in sempiternum, et David seruus meus princeps eorum in perpetuum. Et percutiam illis foedus pacis.* “They shall dwell there forever, they and their sons and their sons’ sons, and David my servant shall be their prince forever. And I shall make with them a covenant of peace.”<sup>50</sup> At Ezek 28,25 the promise of the land is for the *בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל*, Vg *domum Israhel*. For the “covenant of peace” see Velleius Paterculus 2.77.2 *in hoc foedere pacis*.

#### 15.4 *The magic circle of the city*

When Vergil (*Aen.* 1.421-426) shows Aeneas watching the construction of Carthage, he lists all the essential features of a city:

Miratur molem Aeneas, magalia quondam,  
miratur portas strepitumque et strata uiarum.  
Instant ardentes Tyrii; pars ducere muros  
molirique arcem et manibus subuoluere saxa,  
pars optare locum tecto et concludere sulco.  
Iura magistratusque legunt sanctumque senatum.

Aeneas marvels at the massive construction, just now huts;<sup>51</sup> he marvels at the gates, the bustle, the streets. The eager Tyrians push on: part draw out the walls, raise up the citadel, roll up stones with their hands; part choose a site for the temple [‘roof’] and surround it with a furrow. They set up laws, magistrates, and the sacred Senate.

Why does a temple or a city need to be surrounded with a furrow? At first it was a magico-religious act to render it inviolable. The ark had to circle Jericho for seven days, and on the seventh day for seven times, before the great shout (Jos 6): it seems that some original magic

50 West (EFH 226) compares the expanded phrase “sons and sons of sons” at Gen 45,10 *בְּנֵי בְנֵי בְנֵי* (LXX *οἱ υἱοὶ σου καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν υἱῶν σου*) with Tyrtaeus 12.29-30 IEG “His tomb and his children are conspicuous among men, and his children’s children and his race thereafter”:

καὶ τύμβος καὶ παῖδες ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀρίστημοι  
καὶ παίδων παῖδες καὶ γένος ἔξοπίσω

51 *Magalia* is surely, as claimed in antiquity, a Punic or Numidian word, but its prototype cannot be determined.

circle needed to be undone. In the Roman tradition Achilles drags Hector three times around the walls of Troy (Vergil, *Aen.* 1.483, where Aeneas sees himself represented in the gate of Carthage); again perhaps to render it defenseless. The theory is clear at Sardes, which should have been made impregnable by carrying around the walls the lion born to the king's concubine; unwisely, it was not carried past the steepest part of the ramparts (Herodotus 1.84). It was the prophetic men of Telmessus (Arrian *Anab.* 2.3.3) who had proposed this means of safety; but in legends of this sort human folly regularly nullifies the elusive divine protection. The walls of Jerusalem were consecrated by two processions moving in opposite directions and meeting at the other side (Neh 12,31-43). When Dido was granted by the Africans as much land as an ox-hide would encompass, she cut the hide into a single narrow thong and surrounded the future citadel of Carthage (Appian *Pun.* 8.1.1).<sup>52</sup>

Vergil's furrow, though attributed to Phoenician Dido, is specifically Roman. When Romulus marked the circuit of Rome, following the instructions of men from Tyrrhenia (Etruria), he did it with a bronze plow, yoking together a bull and a cow, and lifted the plow over the site of the future gates (Plutarch *Rom.* 11).<sup>53</sup> He killed his brother Remus for jumping over such a trench or the first course of the wall (Plutarch *Rom.* 10.1; Livy 1.7.2). Macrobius 5.19.13 cites one Carminius:

prius itaque et Tuscos aeneo uomere uti, cum conderentur urbes,  
solitos, in Tageticis eorum sacris inuenio et in Sabinis ex aere cultros  
quibus sacerdotes tonderentur.

I find it in the sacred books of Tages<sup>54</sup> of the Etruscans that, when they were founding cities, they used a bronze plow; and among the Sabines, that their priests were shaved with bronze razors.

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- 52 Appian names the citadel of Carthage Βύρσα on the basis of this story by folk-etymology to βύρσα "leather"; but the Punic (though unattested in Carthage) must have been בצורה "Stronghold," as Gen 36,33 בְּצִרָה the name of several cities, and particularly Nabataean *Bostra*, attested in Palmyrene at PAT 0290 as בצרה, as also in Nabataean (Cooke 101.8); Βόστρα Ptolemy 5.17.7. Alternative explanations at DCP 83.
- 53 See further Plutarch *Quaest. Rom.* 27 = *Mor.* 271A; Varro *de ling. lat.* 5.143; Dion. Hal. 1.88. Plutarch (*Mor.* 271A) quotes Varro as saying that the wall must be considered sacred so that men can fight and die in its defence (see I.160).
- 54 Tages has multiple connections with Tarchon. Tages was turned up by a plowman at Tarquinius, like Tarchon "with the appearance of a boy but the wisdom of a mature man" (Cicero *de div.* 2.50). "As a boy he gave the discipline of haruspicy [I.185] to the twelve peoples of Etruria," *Tages...puer*



Archaic tools must be used for sacred tasks.<sup>55</sup> After the census of Servius Tullius in the purificatory ceremony of the *lustrum* the whole army was drawn up and the sacrifice (*suouetaurilia*, I.214) of a pig, sheep and bull was offered (Livy 1.44.1-2); Dion. Hal. 4.22.1 adds that the victims were first led three times around the whole army—another type of magic circle.

Cities are founded, not only with a magic circle around them, but with a magic head underneath them. That prehistoric skulls are found out of stratigraphic context is due to the habit of keeping them as talismans. Hiel relaid the foundations of Jericho at the cost of his firstborn, and its gates of his youngest (I Reg 16,34); this may not be as claimed the result of a curse (Jos 6,26) but normal practice. When L. Tarquinius Superbus was digging for the foundations of the temple of Jupiter on what became the “Capitoline” hill, a human head with features intact (*caput humanum integra facie*) was found; and soothsayers including Etruscans said that this portended here would be *arcem...imperii caputque rerum*, “the citadel of empire and the head of the world” (Livy 1.55.5-6). Olenus of Cales, the most famous *uates* of Etruria, tried to transfer the good omen to his own people by drawing a picture of the temple on his own soil, and asking the Roman envoys, “Is this what you say, Romans, ...‘We found the head *here*’? (*hic caput inuenimus*)” (Pliny 28.15).

The Capitoline Hill at Rome together with its Temple of Jupiter and the citadel (*arx*) was thereafter seen as the primary seat of Roman rule: thus Horace (*Carm.* 1.37.6-8) *dum Capitolio / regina dementis ruinas / funus et imperio parabat* “while a queen [Cleopatra] was preparing senseless ruin for the Capitol and a burial for the empire.” The com-

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*dicitur disciplinam haruspicii dedisse duodecim populis Etruriae* (Festus 492 L.). He “sang out that discipline, and the ruling *lucumones* of Etruria wrote it down” (Censorinus 4.13 *qui disciplinam cecinerit extispicii, quam lucumones tum Etruriae potentes exscripserunt*). Perhaps it was Tarchon himself who turned up Tages with the plow (Johannes Lydus *de ostentis* prooem. 2-3). J. R. Wood (“The Myth of Tages,” *Latomus* 39 [1980] 325-344) brings together all versions of the story, and concludes that in its original form Tages passed from infancy to adulthood to old age and death in a single day. A beautiful bronze mirror often reproduced (see Pallottino, Plate 37 and note 24 above) shows a young *haruspex* examining a liver, *Pavatarchies* (Tages?); bearded *Tarxunus* watches intently.

55 The Jerusalem temple was built without iron tools: Ex 20,25; Deut 27,5; I Reg 6,7; Josephus *BJ* 5.225. Circumcision and embalming must be performed with flint knives (I.80-81), and for the retention of Joshua’s knives see footnote 63 below.

plex was felt eternal, Vergil *Aen.* 9.448 *Capitoli immobile saxum* “the immovable rock of the Capitol.” Civic centers elsewhere were then named after it, *Capuae Capitolium* (Suetonius *Tib.* 40); and so with every state’s “capitol” today. It surely appears in Rabbinic at *Mechilta* on XIII.19<sup>56</sup> “they buried [Joseph] in the *Capitolium* of Egypt among the kings,”

בקפיטולין של מצרים קברוה בין המלכים

The Jerusalem Talmud (*Sotah* 20b27) records that “they found the skull of Ornan the Jebusite under the altar,”

גולגולתו של ארנן היבוסי מצאו תחת המזבח

His name is given in the form אֲרֹנָן of I Chron 21,15 etc. rather than as אֲרֹנָה (II Sam 14,20). Another foundation sacrifice? Lieberman<sup>57</sup> cites later Rabbinic traditions to the effect that the skull was found on the return from Babylon; miraculously, all the previously offered sacrifices were not invalidated, in spite of Haggai 2,14 (cited by the Jer. Talm. l.c.) “And what they offer there is unclean.” Perhaps then the place Golgotha, Γολγοθά or “the place of a skull” Κρανίου Τόπος (Matt 27,33 etc.), Vg *Golgotha...Calvariae locus* (where Joh 19,17 explains Γολγοθά as “Hebrew,” Ἑβραϊστί) was thought to be on the Rabbinic site. The Fathers believed that the skull of Adam was found at Golgotha: thus Epiphanius *adv. Haer.* 46.5.6<sup>58</sup> τοῦ πρωτοπλάστου ἀνθρώπου ἐκεῖ τὸ κρανίον ἤϋρηται “the skull of the first-made man was found there.” Medieval representations of Calvary often show a skull which is to be interpreted as Adam’s. Much curious information in Jeremias,<sup>59</sup> who speculates that already in Judaism the site of Golgotha was one of cosmic significance.

The magic circuit around a square city is paralleled by the boundaries of a sacred precinct, whose name traversed the Mediterranean. Jud 2,9 narrates the burial of Joshua at Timnath-Heres (תִּמְנַת־חֶרֶס). This seems the original form of the name, “Precinct of the Sun,” altered at Jos 19,50 & 24,30 to תִּמְנַת־חֶרֶס out of fear of idolatry. The meaning of חֶרֶס is clear at Job 9,7 “who commands the *sun* and it does not rise.” Joshua made the sun stand still (Jos 10,12-13)<sup>60</sup> and his burial place

56 Lauterbach i.177.

57 Saul Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine...; Texts and Studies of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America*, vol. 18; New York: JTS 5711/1950; p. 161.

58 Ed. K. Holl (GCS, 1922) p. 209, who on p. 208 (note on lines 16ff) gives a very full catena of Greek and Latin Patristic passages in agreement.

59 J. Jeremias, *Golgotha*, Leipzig: Pfeiffer, 1926.

60 For Homeric parallels see II.59 above.

might have been named after the feat.<sup>61</sup> The tell at Khirbet Tibneh in rugged rocky country fits the data well enough.<sup>62</sup>

The LXX after Jos 21,42 adds an account of Joshua receiving the city Timnath as his inheritance.<sup>63</sup> Sometimes the place names in *Timnath*- have been derived from the root טנה “count, assign” as “assigned territory.” But *ti-* is not a very common feminine prefix. Then we should compare a Sumerian loanword in Akkadian, *temmenu*, *temennu* etc. “clay foundation document of a temple.” Thus in the inscriptions of Sennacherib<sup>64</sup> Nineveh is the *tim-me-en-nu da-ru-ú*, “the everlasting substructure” of the universe; elsewhere (p. 102) more prosaically *i-na tim-me-en-ni ekal* “in the foundation-platform of the palace.” In view of Sumerian TEMEN<sup>65</sup> “terrace, terre-plein, foundations,” it is further attractive to propose that τέμενος “sacred precinct” is not Indo-European but a loan from *temennu*.<sup>66</sup> “Precinct” would provide an excellent meaning for תִּמְנָת\*.<sup>67</sup> The Greeks presumably thought that τέμενος came from τέμνω “cut”; thus *Iliad* 6.194 of Bellerophon:

καὶ μὲν οἱ Λύκιοι τέμενος τάμον ἔξοχον ἄλλων  
 “And the Lycians cut him a *temenos* better than the others.” But that can just be popular etymology. Finley<sup>68</sup> holds that in Homer *temenos* normally means “royal land” and was not the gift of some other party except in this Lycian case where non-Greek customs are in effect. The Pylos Mycenaean tablet DMG<sup>2</sup> 152, much discussed, has two categories of *te-me-no* sown to wheat. Elsewhere in the *Iliad* (e.g. 8.48) a *temenos* can be a sacred precinct with an altar, as also in Pindar. In

61 The places called Beth-Shemesh, “House of the Sun,” are apparently different from Joshua’s, as is הר־הַשֶּׁם Har-Heres (Jud 1,35) “Hill of the Sun,” but confirm the meaning. The other places called Timnah are probably abbreviations of some such name.

62 ABD vi.557-8.

63 The LXX also add here that Joshua took the stone knives (I.80-81) with which he had circumcised the Israelites and laid them up in this city.

64 D. D. Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib*; Chicago: Univ. of Chicago, 1924; p. 94.

65 R. Labat, *Manuel d'épigraphie akkadienne*; 4th ed.; Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1963; 173.

66 So Jacqueline Manessey-Guitton, “Temenos,” *Indogermanische Forschungen* 71 (1966) 14-38. Angela Della Volpe, “Τέμενος: an Etymological Study,” *The Twenty-First LACUS Forum* 1994, 626-634, shows that the development of τέμενος from Indo-European τεμ- “cut” is possible; but this does not exclude what seems the more plausible etymology.

67 תִּמְנָת might have an alternate תִּמְנָת\*, as קִדְרָת has in קִדְרָת.

68 M. I. Finley, “Homer and Mycenae: property and tenure,” *Historia* 6 (1957) 133-159, p. 149.

Herodotus 9.116.1 at Elaious “there is the tomb of Protesilaus and a *temenos* around it,” Πρωτεσίλειω τάφος καὶ τέμενος περὶ αὐτόν. Here is an exact parallel to Joshua’s tomb in the middle of a place called Timnath. If Hebrew had שֶׁשֶׁשׁ-תְּמִנָּה\* “Precinct of the Sun,” it would have been a complete linguistic parallel (II.60) to an inscription of Rhodes (IG 12.1.2 line 7) where the temple of the Sun had around it a precinct, ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Ἀλίου.

A sacral area had three elements—temple, precinct, and altar—all of which appear in the *Homeric Hymn* to Aphrodite, 5.58-59:

ἔς Κύπρον δ’ ἔλθοῦσα θυώδεα νηὸν ἔδυσεν,

ἔς Πάφον· ἔνθα δέ οἱ τέμενος βωμός τε θυώδης.

“And [Aphrodite] went to Cyprus and entered her fragrant temple, to Paphos, where she has a precinct and a fragrant altar.” Here are also all three words νηός (II.43), τέμενος and βωμός (I.188 etc.). The temple of Aphrodite at Paphos was her principal or only one in Cyprus; Herodotus 1.105 says that it was founded from the temple of Aphrodite Ourania in Ascalon. Thus we shall not be surprised that the appearance of these three words in Hebrew is marginal. But a Hebrew temple (the “habitation” of the god) must have an altar, even with different vocabulary. Thus at Isa 27,9-10 in the destruction (of Gentiles) “all the stones of the altar (תְּבִיטֵי אֲבִיבֵי לֶבֶן, LXX βωμῶν)” are crushed, and the fortified city becomes “a desolate habitation,” תְּבִיטֵי הַיְּבִי.

Latin *templum*, similar to τέμενος, denoted a precise concept of space, probably Etruscan: a delimitation of the visible area for the sake of taking omens. Varro (*de lingua latina* 7.8) defines *templum* as a “place defined by a certain set of words for the sake of augury or taking auspices,” *dictum templum locus augurii aut auspicii causa quibusdam conceptis uerbis finitus*. Behind the legal verbalism of this definition we discern a primitive concept more sheerly magical than anything attested in the Hebrew Bible. Romulus and Remus both take hills as “their *templa* for augury,” *ad inaugurandum templa* (Livy 1.6.4). Hence in poetry *templum* becomes “a tract of space, sea or sky”; thus a fragment of Ennius’ *Annales*<sup>69</sup> quoted by Varro *de ling. lat.* 7.6 “One [Romulus] there will be whom you [Jupiter] will lift up to the blue tracts of the sky”:

Unus erit quem tu tolles in caerula caeli / templa...

After that it acquires the familiar sense of “religious sanctuary, *temple*,” for which older Latin is *aedes*, “house.” Hence probably it is from \**temlum* with *p* for euphony and either parallel to τέμενος or an Etruscan deformation of it (so Ernout-Meillet). The meaning “expanse

69 Ennius frag. 54 Skutsch.

of sky or air” is nicely paralleled by Aeschylus *Persae* 365 κνέφας δὲ τέμενος αἰθέρος λάβη “when darkness seizes the *temenos* of the sky.”

### 15.5 Regeneration of metals in the mine<sup>70</sup>

Much of the wealth of Etruria came from the iron mines of Elba, mostly processed opposite on the mainland in Populonia, “the Pittsburgh of antiquity,”<sup>71</sup> where the slag-heaps have covered the old town and necropolis. (No doubt it was uneconomical to bring timber over to the island for preliminary smelting.) Diodorus 5.12.13 gives the island its Greek name of Αἰθάλεια “Sooty” and describes the process of smelting. Minto<sup>72</sup> describes how the ancient city was disinterred from its blanket of slag. Vergil, cataloguing Aeneas’ Etruscan allies, says (*Aen.* 10.172-4) that Populonia gave him six hundred soldiers, “and Ilua three hundred [again!], an island rich in the inexhaustible mines of the Chalybes”:

...ast Ilua trecentos

insula inexhaustis Chalybum generosa metallis.

Vergil suggests that the mining industry here was derived from the Chalybes of Asia Minor (I.174-5). His *inexhaustis* is not conventional exaggeration but points to a magical element in what was surely Etruscan thinking. For even the sober Strabo (5.2.6) states it as a remarkable feature of the island that “the pits which have been mined out are in time filled up again,” τὸ τὰ ὀρύγματα ἀναπληροῦσθαι πάλιν τῷ χρόνῳ τὰ μεταλλευθέντα as he also claims for Rhodes, Paros and India. Pseudo-Aristotle (*de mir. ausc.* 93 = 837b30) says (correctly) that originally the island produced copper; and that after the copper was exhausted, a long time later “iron appeared from the same mine,” φανῆναι ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μετάλλου σίδηρον. Native copper has a characteristic “dendritic” or branched structure from the manner of its deposition, and this may have suggested that it, and other metals, were organic products. Servius (on *Aen.* 10.174) reads *in exhaustis Chalybum*

70 See in general J. F. Healy, *Mining and Metallurgy in the Greek and Roman World*; London: Thames & Hudson, 1978.

71 Jacques Heurgon, *The Rise of Rome to 264 B.C.*, tr. James Willis; Berkeley: Univ. of California, 1973, p. 43. Populonia is further described by Luisa Banti, *Etruscan Cities and their Culture*, tr. Erika Bizzarri; Berkeley: Univ. of California, 1973, 140-146; H. H. Scullard, *The Etruscan Cities and Rome*; Ithaca: Cornell, 1967, 141-146.

72 Antonio Minto, “L’antica industria mineraria in Etruria ed il porto di Populonia,” *Studi Etruschi* 23 (1954) 291-319.

*generosa metallis* “generous in the exhausted mines of the Chalybes”: and comments *quanto exhausta fuerit, tanto generosior, hoc est* πολύγονος “the more it had been exhausted, the more productive or *polygonos* it was.” He claims to quote Pliny:

cum in aliis regionibus effossis metallis terrae sint uacuae, apud Ilvam hoc esse mirum quod sublata renascuntur et rursum de isdem locis effodiuntur.

While in other regions when the mines have been completely dug out the lands remain empty, the remarkable thing about Ilva is that what has been removed is regenerated and again is dug up from the same places.

This theme is shared with the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus (from Doliche of Commagene) where a number of inscriptions appear to speak about the *birth* of iron: thus (ILS 4302, Rome) *Ioui optimo maximo Dolicheno ubi ferrum nascitur...* “To Jupiter Optimus Maximus, of Doliche where iron is born.”<sup>73</sup> The Greek encyclopedists speak in the same way about the Chalybes: thus Hesychius Χάλυβοι· ἔθνος τῆς Σκυθίας ὅπου σίδηρος γίνεται “Chalyboi, a people of Scythia, where iron comes into being”; the *Suda* replaces the verb by τίκτεται “is born.”<sup>74</sup> Lying behind these testimonies is the language of Homer (*Iliad* 2.857):

τηλόθεν ἐξ Ἀλύβης, ὅθεν ἀργύρου ἐστὶ γενέθλη  
where for Ἀλύβης among the variants are Χαλύβης and Χαλύβων,  
“from far-off Alybe (Chalybe?) whence is the birth of silver.” Aeschylus (*Persae* 238) has the Chorus of elders tell the queen Atossa that “they [the Athenians] have a fountain of silver, a treasure of the earth,” referring to the mines of Laurion:

ἀργύρου πηγή τις αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ, θησαυρὸς χθονός

Thus in the general mystery of mining and metallurgy, how metals got into the earth in the first place, there was added the notion that silver and iron were in time regenerated in the mine; a notion best attested in the archaic thinking of the Etruscans. Hebrew knows the process of mining only through the testimony of Job (28,1-2), who perhaps has in mind the copper-mines of the Sinai:

כִּי יֵשׁ לְכַסֵּף מוֹצֵא וּמְקוֹם לְזָהָב יִזְקֶה  
בְּרִזְל מַעֲפָר יִקַּח וְאֶבֶן יִצְוֹק נְחֹשֶׁה

“There is a source of silver, and a place for gold which they refine; iron is taken from the dust, and one melts stone into copper.” But elsewhere מוֹצֵא can be an ever-flowing spring of water: Isa 58,11

וְכַמּוֹצֵא מַיִם אֲשֶׁר לֹא-יִכָּזְבוּ מֵימָיו

73 F. Cumont, *Etudes syriennes*; Paris, 1917, 196-202 lists and discusses further inscriptions of the same sort.

74 Cumont (prev. note) p. 199.

“like a spring of water, whose waters never fail,” LXX ὡς πηγὴ ἣν μὴ ἐξέλιπεν ὕδωρ. Of the four metals mentioned here, silver is the one where the language most strongly suggests regeneration. This appears the interpretation in a passage of Ethiopic Enoch<sup>75</sup> pronouncing judgement on practitioners of magic and technology:

how silver is produced from the dust of the earth, and how bronze is made upon the earth—for lead and tin are produced from the earth like silver—their source is a fountain inside (which) stands an angel, and he is a running angel.

We saw that in the thinking of the goldsmith-bankers who lie behind the collections of proverbs of “Solomon” and Theognis, gold and wisdom are nearly identical (I.298ff). Job introduces his whole description of mining to ask by way of contrast (28,12) “But where shall wisdom be found? and what is the place of understanding?” Similarly in the Greek world Heraclitus of Ephesus could look at the placer-mining in the rivers coming down from Mount Hermus, which gave Croesus the Lydian his wealth, and comment:<sup>76</sup> χρυσὸν γὰρ οἱ διζήμενοι γῆν πολλὴν ὀρύσσοι καὶ εὕρισκουσιν ὀλίγον, “Those who search for gold dig up much earth and find little.” But he himself searched for something else, ἐδιζησάμην ἐμευτὸν “I searched for myself.”<sup>77</sup> For the truth of the matter was this:<sup>78</sup>

ψυχῆς πείρατα ἰὼν οὐκ ἂν ἐξεύροιο πᾶσαν ἐπιπορευόμενος ὁδόν, οὕτω βαθὺν λόγον ἔχει

“For by going you could never find the boundaries of Soul, not if you proceeded along every way, so deep a meaning (*logos*) it has.” Here the Greek philosopher like the Hebrew poet goes beyond the facile equating of men with their wealth.

Of the metal-names in Greek and Latin, only χρῦσός “gold” has a certain Mediterranean parallel in Heb. יָרֵךְ (I.301). Latin *aurum*<sup>79</sup> and *aes* “copper, bronze” are Indo-European; χαλκός “copper, bronze” is unexplained and ἠψῆπις “copper, bronze” has no parallels outside Semitic. The words for “silver,” *argentum* and ἄργυρος, are Indo-European; see I.301 for a conjectural parallel in יָרֵךְ. But Hebrew קַסְפָּ (stem-form *kasp-*) could be related to Κάσπιος, which Strabo 11.8.9 gives as the name of the Caucasus or its southern tier; for it might have been continuous with the land of the Chalybes, possibly the source of

75 I Enoch 65.7-8, p. i.45 ed. Charlesworth.

76 Heraclitus frag. 22 FVS<sup>8</sup> from Clemens Alex.

77 Heraclitus frag. 101 FVS<sup>8</sup>.

78 Heraclitus frag. 45 FVS<sup>8</sup>.

79 I have wondered whether θησαυρός in the sense “treasury” might attest τίθημι plus an otherwise lost Greek parallel to *aurum*, “place of depositing gold.”

silver. The כּספּי following proper names at Elephantine (Cowley 13.18-19) has been interpreted both as “silversmith” and “Caspian.”

Greek σίδηρος “iron” has been compared (by Persson in Frisk) with Latin *sīdus* “star” on the grounds that the earliest iron used was meteoritic; but who finding a meteorite in the ground would have conjectured that it had fallen from the sky? Also the vowels of *sīdera* plural differ in length. As soon as the higher temperatures required for iron metallurgy were achieved, it was found to be very common. Canaan is a land “whose stones are iron” (Deut 8,9); the Caucasus is “mother of iron,” τὴν σιδηρομήτορα ... ἐς αἴαν Aeschylus PV 301-2. Latin *ferrum*, unexplainable from Indo-European, suggests a Mediterranean origin from the unknown peoples or technologists who brought the principles of its metallurgy. Ernout-Meillet cautiously compare Old English *bras*, *broes* “bronze” and Hebrew בְּרִזָּל. Can anything be made of these?

Rendsburg<sup>80</sup> has a detailed study of the words for “iron.” The abnormal correspondence of consonants in Aramaic פּרוּל (Cowley 10.10 etc.), Ugaritic *brdl* (KTU 4.91.6 *kkrm brdl* “talents of iron”) shows that the word spread by borrowing rather than inheritance. On the basis of Ethiopic names of iron like Amharic *bərät*, and South Arabian *frzn*, Rendsburg conjectures that the *-l* of Semitic is the expansion of an original trilateral root on the pattern of בְּרִמָּל from בְּרִם, both “vineyard.” He then further compares Cushitic *br(r)* “silver” and names of an uncertain metal in various languages, Egyptian *bi3*, Ugaritic *brr*, Sumerian BAR; and suggests that Latin *ferrum* is from either the trilateral *\*frz* or the like, or the bilateral *\*br*. By the nature of things the proposal cannot be decisively rejected or validated.

More plausible and tempting is Rendsburg’s comparison of Heb. בְּרִזָּל and its like with a medieval European word. Since Chaucer, English knows a noun *brasil* for a red dye: of the ruddy Nun’s Priest he says:<sup>81</sup>

Him nedeth not his colour for to dyen

With brasile, ne with greyn of Portyngale.

The OED s.v. *Brazil* regards the noun as “Originally, the name of the hard brownish-red wood of an East Indian tree, known as Sappan (*Caesalpina Sappan*) from which dyers obtain a red colour.” And further:

On the discovery of an allied species, also yielding a dye, in South America, the territory where it grew was called *terra de brasil*, ‘red-dye-

80 Gary A. Rendsburg, “Semitic PRZL/BRZL/BRDL, ‘Iron,’” *Scripta Mediterranea* 3 (1982) 54-71.

81 Epilogue 13 to the Nun’s Priest’s Tale = 3456-7 = \*4648-49.



wood land', afterwards abbreviated to *Brasil* 'Brazil'. *Brazil-wood* was thus not named from the country, but the converse was the case.

Albertus Magnus<sup>82</sup> is attested with Latin *brasilium* for the wood of the same tree. This in itself is no parallel; but enticing is the fact that the wood (OED 1.d) is "taken as the type of hardness (whence formerly turned into balls for bowling); thence the simile *as hard as brazil* [accented on the first syllable as in Chaucer] still common dialectally" though not before the 19th century. English also has another word *brazil* (pronounced *brazzle*) for iron pyrites or coal containing it (since mid 18th-century). Rendsburg suggests that the meaning "hard" preceded "dye-wood" as a miner's term; and further proposes that place-names in northern Spain like *Barcelona*<sup>83</sup> rest on Punic ברול as places which mine or ship iron.<sup>84</sup>

### 15.6 *The saecula of the city and their portents*

On August 2, 1956, the last Union veteran of the American Civil War and survivor of the Grand Army of the Republic, Albert Woolson, died at the age of 109—which would have been 110 according to the ancient reckoning, counting both ends. He had enlisted in a Minnesota regiment at the age of 17 in 1864. The record book was closed and turned over to the Library of Congress, the official seal of the Grand Army went to the Smithsonian. The next day the *New York Times* remarked editorially that "now the old war is only a story told of men whose bones are ashes"; the front-page story noted that Woolson in his late nineties had seen the shift from muzzle-loaders to the atomic weapon of Hiroshima. At his death four days before the anniversary of Hiroshima it was clear that one age had come to an end and another begun.

Joseph also died at the age of 110 years (Gen 50,26). And likewise Joshua was 110 years old at his death (Jos 24,29). Jud 2,7-10 elaborates:

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82 *Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch*, München: Beck, 1954-; i.1565, citing Albertus Magnus *veget.* 2.79, 2.82.

83 Pliny 3.22 *colonia Barcino*; Avienus *Ora maritima* 520 et *Barcilonum amoenas sedes ditium* "and the pleasant seats of rich Barcilones."

84 Jean Delumeau (*History of Paradise: The Garden of Eden in Myth and Tradition*; tr. Matthew O'Connell; New York: Continuum, 1995; p. 104 with notes) observes that medieval maps from the 14th century on place an idyllic island Bracile in the Atlantic. He regards it as having given its name to present-day Brazil; and that its name "does not come from a plant that yields a glowing red dye, but from a Dutch term, *Hy Bressail* or *O Brazil*, meaning Happy Isle."

And the people served Yahweh all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the elders who prolonged their days after Joshua, who had seen all the great work which Yahweh had done for Israel. [Joshua dies at the age of 110; he is buried at Timnath-Heres (II.221).] And all that generation (הַדּוֹר הַזֶּה) was gathered to their fathers; and there arose another generation after them, who did not know Yahweh or the work which he had done for Israel.

In contrast, those who previously had gone into the wilderness with Moses had done so badly that Yahweh swore none of them should see the land which he had promised to their fathers (Num 14,22-23); “For forty years I loathed that generation” (Ps 95,10):

אַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה אָקוּט בְּדוֹר

And so they had to stay in the wilderness “until the entire generation, that is, the men of war, had perished from the camp, as Yahweh had sworn to them” (Deut 2,14). At most a Caleb might be excepted (Num 14,24; Deut 1,36); otherwise they were not to see the land flowing with milk and honey (Jos 5,6). But their sons who took part in the conquest did so well that during their lifetime they were a safeguard for the people, as having seen “all the great work which Yahweh had done for Israel” (Jud 2,7). Yahweh left enemies in Canaan just so that “the generations of the sons of Israel might know war, that he might teach war to such at least as had not known it before” (Jud 3,2).

Here “generation” (דּוֹר) is used in an extended sense from the one we are more familiar with, we may call it a “long generation”: when a great event happens, its generation continues until the last survivor of those who saw it has died. In Hebrew and American thought, when a society has gone through a great collective experience, it continues to be marked by it as long as any of those who participated are alive.

Roman formalism defined this way of thinking with great exactness. The Roman antiquarian Censorinus in AD 238 wrote a work *de die natali*, “On the birthday.” He defines (17.5-6) the “age” or “generation” (*saeculum*), probably following Varro, whom he quotes a little later for the contents of “Etruscan histories”:

in unaquaque ciuitate quae sint naturalia saecula rituales Etruscorum libri uidentur docere...quo die urbes atque ciuitates constituerentur, de his qui eo die nati essent, eum qui diutissime uixisset die mortis suae primi saeculi modulum finire.

The ritual books of the Etruscans are known to teach what the natural *saecula* are in any given state. ...Of all those who were already born<sup>85</sup> on the

85 Censorinus’ Latin taken more naturally would mean “of all those born on the very day...” But the proclamation at the Secular Games (II.232) announces an

very day on which cities or states are founded, he who lives longest brings an end to the compass of its first *saeculum* by the day of his death.

Censorinus goes on to say that the Etruscan histories claimed to have been written in the eighth Etruscan *saeculum*, and gives the numerical value of the first seven *saecula* in years; he adds that when the tenth should be finished “there would be an end of the Etruscan name,” *finem fore nominis Etrusci*. So among the Hebrews, when certain parties are excluded from the assembly of Yahweh “even to the tenth generation” (Deut 23,3-4), if this is the long generation (and not just the age of a father at the birth of his son), it might have been intended as the utmost extension of the Israelite state. It seems then that the Etruscans had somehow carried from the Near East a formula for the utmost conceivable life-expectancy of a city or state. Censorinus 17.15 suggests that the lifespan of Rome might be 1200 years, perhaps 12 *saecula* of 100 years each.<sup>86</sup>

While both Romans and Hebrews seemingly inherited formulas which attributed to their state a fixed life-span, of ten or twelve long generations, an alternative theory saw the unity of their society based on a single city felt as unique and eternal. Joel 4,20 “Judah shall be inhabited for ever and Jerusalem from generation to generation”:

וְיִהְיֶה יְהוּדָה לְעוֹלָם תָּשֵׁב וִירוּשָׁלַם לְדוֹר וָדוֹר

Vg [3,20] *et Iudaea in aeternum habitabitur, et Hierusalem in generatione et generationem*. Mount Zion, and by implication the city set on it, “cannot be moved but abides for ever” (Ps 125,1):

לֹא-יִמוּט לְעוֹלָם יֵשֵׁב

Vg (with different phrasing) *non commouebitur in aeternum*. The Romans, unaware that their volcanic hills were of very recent geological formation, thought of their city as *aeterna urbs* (Tibullus 2.5.23), or at least with a beginning but no ending, *in aeternum urbs condita* (Livy 4.4.4).<sup>87</sup>

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event “which no one had seen or would see again”; and some of those already born would surely outlive the small group of those born on the very day.

86 Ogilvie (p. 55) on Livy 1.7.1 states positively that “Etruscan divination had predicted a life-cycle of 12 *saecula* for Rome”; but Censorinus 17.15 does not quite say this, although I do not totally follow his arithmetic.

87 An archaic mode of time-reckoning was to drive in an annual nail; thus Festus p. 97 L. “That was called an annual nail (*clavis annalis*) which was driven into the walls of sacred edifices year by year, so that through them the number of years might be determined.” One such was driven in the temple of Minerva in the *aedes* of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Ides of September (Livy 7.3.5); its purpose was to serve as a *notam numeri annorum* in an age of illiteracy. One such also was driven in the temple of the Etruscan goddess Nortia at Volsinii

The end of a *saeculum* was marked by *ludi saeculares*, “Secular Games.” Because of the honorific character of presiding over a new beginning, the computation was manipulated. Augustus celebrated Secular Games in May and June of 17 BC for which we have exceptional documentation. Horace’s extant *Carmen Saeculare* was the anthem; we possess on a magnificent white marble (now in the Museo delle Terme) the commemorative inscription with documents, lists of participants, a description of the ceremonies, and a reference to Horace’s poem;<sup>88</sup> Zosimus (2.6) records in the original Greek the Sibylline oracle conveniently produced; and we have the words of Augustus himself (*Res Gestae* 22). The Quindecimviri under Augustus determined that the correct length of a *saeculum* was a fixed 110 years.<sup>89</sup> Censorinus 17.10-11 therefore states that the games had been or ought to have been celebrated in 456, 346, 236 and 126 BC.<sup>90</sup> The real dates and historical actuality of early celebrations are controversial. Under Augustus a prominent role was played by 110 matrons (inscription line 23). The stunning agreement between Israel and Rome in the period of 110 years suggests further an old Etruscan-Levantine connection, conceivably based on actual observations of group longevity as in the American experience. No obvious numerological meaning for “110” suggests itself.

Claudius in his now lost *History*, written under Augustus, praised the Emperor’s calculations in restoring the games on the correct date (Suetonius, *Claudius* 21.2). But when he became Emperor himself he alleged that Augustus had set the wrong date, and celebrated the games himself in AD 47 (Tacitus *Ann.* 11.11) as being the 800th year since

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annually. Occasional nails were also driven to avert calamities—to keep the evil from getting around. See Maria Jose Peña, “La ‘lex de clavo pangendo’,” *Hispania Antiqua* 6 (1976) 239-265; L. A. Foresti in *American Journal of Ancient History* 4 (1979) 144-56 (not seen by me). There is a parallel in the Assyrian system by which each year was named after an eponymous official chosen by lot, the *limmu*, and also marked by a notable event like a campaign or plague; Ungnad believed (ANET<sup>3</sup> 274) that certain rows of stelae at Asshur were meant to serve as a monumental index of the *limmu*.

88 CIL 6.32323 (pp. 3237-3244) = ILS 5050.

89 The Greek oracle so reads (Zosimus 2.6 verse 2); Horace *Carm. Saec.* 21 has *undenos deciens per annos*, “every ten-times-eleven years”; and line 25 of the inscription has *centesimo et [decimo anno]*.

90 Censorinus gives some alternatives, and his text is in a little disorder, but he does include testimonies for secular games *post Romam conditam ...anno CCXCVIII* (AUC 298 = 456 BC), AUC 408 = 346 BC, AUC 518 = 236 BC, DCXXVIII (AUC 628 = 126 BC). Augustus’ celebration in DCCXXXVII (AUC 737 = 17 BC) on his showing was a year early.

the founding of the city in 753 BC.<sup>91</sup> Ever since Claudius it has been the “century” of 100 years to which objective meaning is given; we speak of *fin de siècle*, and I suppose that if enough people entering the twenty-first century believe hard enough that it will be different, their actions will make it such. Suetonius goes on:

Quare uox praeconis irrisa est inuitantis more solemniori ad ludos quos nec spectasset quisquam nec spectaturus esset, cum superessent adhuc qui spectauerunt, et quidam histrionum producti olim tunc quoque producerentur.

So they laughed at the herald’s proclamation when he invited people after the solemn fashion to games “which no one had seen before or would see again,” since some were still living who had seen them before, and some of the actors brought on had been brought on previously as well.

By *more solemniori* Suetonius is quoting the official formula of proclamation given by Zosimus 2.5 for Augustus’ games, “And the heralds going around urged all to attend the festival for a sight which they had not seen before and would not see again (ἐπιθεῶν ἣν οὔτε πρότερον εἶδον οὔτε μετὰ ταῦτα θεᾶσονται).”<sup>92</sup>

It went without saying that a new *saeculum* was introduced by marvellous signs. Censorinus 2.5 states that where men are ignorant “portents are sent from the divinity so that by them men may be advised that a certain *saeculum* is finished,” *portenta mitti diuinitus, quibus admonerentur unum quodque saeculum esse finitum*. Plutarch (*Sulla* 7), although imposing his own theory of eight ages in a cycle, records that while Marius was preparing civil war against Sulla (88 BC), the sound of a trumpet (φωνὴ σάλπιγγος) rang out from a cloudless sky, and Etruscan wise men (λόγιοι) declared that this portended the transition to a new age. (Cf Rev 1,10 φωνὴν μεγάλην ὡς σάλπιγγος). Many sources record the appearance of a comet (Halley’s, in fact) during the funeral games for Julius Caesar in July of 44 BC;<sup>93</sup> Augustus put it on a coin probably of his Secular year, 17 BC.<sup>94</sup> Servius<sup>95</sup> quotes Augustus’ own words:

91 Both ends must be counted and there was no year 0.

92 So the inscription in a fragmentary context (line 56) has *neque ultra quam semel*. When the U.S. House of Representatives impeached a President on Dec. 18, 1998 for the first time since 1868, the commentators noted it as an event that “no living American had seen before.”

93 Augustus’ own words in his *Commentarii de uita sua* are recorded by Pliny 2.94.

94 H. Mattingly, *Roman Coins from the Earliest Times to the Fall of the Western Empire*; 2nd ed.; London: Methuen; 1960, Pl. XXXVI.1.

95 Servius on Vergil *Ecl.* 9.46.

Sed Vulcatius aruspex in contione dixit cometen esse, qui significaret exitum noni saeculi et ingressum decimi. sed quod inuitis diis secreta rerum pronuntiaret, statim se esse moriturum, et nondum finita oratione in ipsa contione concidit.

Vulcatius the haruspex said in a public speech that this was the comet which signified the end of the ninth *saeculum* and the beginning of the tenth; but, since he was speaking hidden matters against the will of the gods, he would immediately die. And before his words were finished he fell in the midst of his own speech.

It would seem that this was a computation of Etruscan, not Roman, *saecula*; if Augustus knew that the tenth was to be the last, he could put a good color on it by explaining that within the lifetime of some already born the Etruscan nation would be fully absorbed by the Roman. Vergil in *Ecl.* 4.5 affects to believe that *saecula* come in a fixed sequence or *ordo*, and that this sequence itself is repeated:

magnus ab integro saeculorum nascitur ordo

“the great order of *saecula* is reborn anew.” (But its variation in the motto on the U.S. dollar bill, *Novus ordo saeculorum*, suggests that a brand-new, and perhaps unrepeating, sequence has begun.) Vergil is fairly confident that he is so much part of the new *ordo* as to survive until its consummation (*Ecl.* 4.53-54): “O may the last part of a long life then remain to me, and breath enough to sing your deeds,”

O mihi tum longae maneat pars ultima uitae  
spiritus et quantum sat erit tua dicere facta!

As Rome spread over the civilized world, her *saecula* acquired a cosmic significance paralleled in the New Testament, which probably got the pattern from Rome rather than from its distant parallel in Joshua. Thus Jesus explicitly states (in Censorinus’ terms) that he is living in the final *saeculum*: “There are some of those standing here who shall not taste of death until they see the kingdom of God coming with power” (Mark 9,1). Once γενεά (Vg *generatio*, Luther *Geschlecht*) is used: “This *generation* shall not pass away until all these things take place” (Mark 13,30). There may be a contrast between two αἰῶνας (Vg *saecula*): “It shall not be forgiven him either in this age or in the age to come” (Matt 12,32, cf Luk 20,34-35). Here the Etrusco-Roman theme fuses with a Rabbinic one, where two ages are constantly compared: thus R. Jacob (*Avoth* IV.16) “This age is like a *prozdor* before the age to come,”

העולם הזה דומה לפרוזדור בפני העולם הבא

where פרוזדור must be a Greek loanword, although the original is unclear.

The portents of the shift of the Roman *saeculum*—the Etruscan trumpet and the comet—are beautifully associated with the transition between the ages in the New Testament. I Kor 15,52 (cf. I Thess 4,16) “We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed...at the last trumpet”; as at Mark 9,1, the new age must fully come in before all who saw its inception die. Isa 27,13 “In that day a great trumpet (LXX σάλπιγξ) shall be blown” lies behind these passages; Isaiah may be thinking of the fall of Jericho. The great trumpet of Matt 24,31 is accompanied by the falling of stars (Matt 24,19, cf Rev 9,1). The blowing of the seventh and final trumpet (Rev 11,15) is the sign of the transformation of the kingdom of this world to the kingdom of the Lord and of his Christ, who shall reign “to the ages of ages,” Vg *in saecula saeculorum*. New Testament eschatology weaves together the Etrusco-Roman and the Hebrew-Rabbinic versions of the shift of the *saecula*.

## Chapter 16: The Ark of the Covenant and the Temple of Janus<sup>1</sup>

Here I discuss an exit to battle and a return in triumph. Exit and return of what or whom? Of what I call the military numen of the state in Jerusalem and Rome, as represented by the commanding general. Both exit and return continue to be ritually represented in our own world.

We begin (16.1) by outlining the double motion of the military numen, normally confined in a box or building, going out to battle and returning to its home. Its exit is accompanied by (16.2) a ritual declaration of war. But since each side to a conflict has its own divinity, effort is put into (16.3) *euocatio*, “calling out” the opposing numen to join your side. It is only prudent then to keep both the name of your divinity and of your city secret; one Roman, Q. Valerius of Sora (16.4), was reputed to have betrayed the true name of Rome to the enemy. After battle the numen ceremonially returns to its home (16.5) in triumph. What is called the “triumphal entry” of Jesus (16.6) has then old ritual features. In the return procession, especially in Rome, the victorious general is assimilated (16.7) to the divinity. The triumphal procession in Israel and Rome has a long series (16.8) of common elements. In particular (16.9) both divinity and triumphator may be represented by an *axe*.

### 16.1 *Exit to battle, return in triumph*

In the contemporary synagogue service,<sup>2</sup> but not in the earliest prayer books,<sup>3</sup> when the Ark is opened for the reading of the Torah, and for

- 1 Revision of “The Ark of the Covenant and the Temple of Janus: The magico-military numen of the state in Jerusalem and Rome,” *BibZ* 30 (1986/7) 20-35.
- 2 I have used S. Singer & N. M. Adler, *The Authorised Daily Prayer Book of the United Hebrew Congregations of the British Empire*; London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1925; pp. 66, 71. The pattern appears to hold throughout Ashkenazic synagogues.
- 3 E.g. Seder R. Amram Gaon, ed. David Hedegård; Lund: Lindstedt, Part I, 1951 (supposedly 9th century CE).



the procession of the Torah scroll, Num 10,35 is said, “And it came to pass, whenever the ark set out, that Moses said, ‘Rise up, Yahweh, and let your enemies be scattered (LXX διασκορπισθήτωσαν);<sup>4</sup> and let those who hate you flee before you”:

קוּמָה יְהוָה וְנִפְצוּ אֲיִבֶיךָ וַיָּנֹסוּ מִשְׁנֵאָדֶךָ מִפְּנֵיךָ

After its glad progress and return to the Ark, it is said (Num 10,36), “And when it rested he said, ‘Return, Yahweh, to the myriads of thousands of Israel’”:

שׁוּבָה יְהוָה רַבְבוֹת אֶלְפֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל

It is not absolutely clear that either of the nouns in the “return” verse is truly a number; the Vg has *reuertere Domine ad multitudinem exercitus Israel*;<sup>5</sup> Luther *zu der Menge der Tausende*. Similarly in Christian churches on Palm Sunday the congregation exits and returns with palms in their hands, singing a processional hymn.

Although the context in Numbers is peaceful, the twin “songs of the ark” both presuppose a military use. “Thousands” (whether or not a true number) is a military term: Num 31,14 “the officers of the army, the commanders of thousands and the commanders of hundreds, who had come from the host of battle”:

פְּקוּדֵי הַחֵיָל שְׂרֵי הָאֲלָפִים וְשְׂרֵי הַמֵּאוֹת הַפָּאִים מִצֵּבָא הַמְּלַחְמָה

Vg *principibus exercitus tribunis et centurionibus qui uenerant de bello*. The one Psalm (132,8 = II Chron 6,41) which names the ark as the abode of the God of Israel conflates the two halves of Num 10,35-6: “Arise, Yahweh, to your resting-place, you and the ark of your strength”:<sup>6</sup>

קוּמָה יְהוָה לְמִנְוַחְתֶּךָ אָתָּה וְאָרוֹן עֲזֶיךָ

It is the God of Israel that wins battles. —By the sea as in the song of Miriam, Ex 15,21 “Horse and its rider he has thrown into the sea”:

סוּס וְרִכְבּוֹ רָמָה בַּיָּם

—By his control of the stars that bring flash floods, as of the Kishon at Tabor (Jud 5,21). —By his thunder (I Sam 7,10, Heb. cited II.67) “And Yahweh thundered with a great voice that day against the Philistines and routed them.” It is in his capacity as god of the elements (Chapter 11 above) that he can do these things on the battlefield. But

4 Echoed at the Magnificat (Luk 1,51), “he has scattered the proud,” διασκορπισεν ὑπερηφάνους.

5 N. Gottwald (*The Tribes of Yahweh...*; Maryknoll: Orbis, 1979, 272) following G. Mendenhall thinks that אֲלָפִים represent small fighting units.

6 The difficult Psalm 68 may be a development of Num 10,35-36: Ps 68,2 repeats the first half, and Ps 68,18 has the “myriads of thousands.”

it is the ark that gets him there. That (Deut 23,15) “Yahweh your God walks in the midst of your camp” is the result of the ark’s being there. When the sons of Eli bring the ark from Shiloh to Ebenezer (I Sam 4,4), the Philistines hear a shout and learn that the ark has come into the camp; and they say (4,7-8) “A god has come into the camp...Who will deliver us from the hand of these mighty gods?”<sup>7</sup>

בָּא אֱלֹהִים אֶל־הַמַּחֲנֶה ... מִי יצִילֵנוּ מִיַּד הָאֱלֹהִים הָאֲדִירִים הָאֵלֶּה  
 On that occasion the Philistines rallied and captured the ark, but it was too strong for them; it brought the power of Yahweh concretely into their midst. At Jos 6 what destroys Jericho is perhaps the circuits of the city made by the ark rather than the trumpets and shouting. At II Sam 6,2 there is some problem with the grammar, but it would seem that the ark itself is called “Yahweh of hosts who sits on the cherubim.”<sup>8</sup> When it is captured a child is called Ichabod, “For the glory<sup>9</sup> has departed from Israel” (I Sam 4,21-22). To touch it brings death (II Sam 6,7).

What is the God’s precise relation to the ark? Does he accompany it; or live in it; or is he identified with it? The Apocalypse of John suggests an answer: when (Rev 11,19) the temple of God is opened and the ark of the covenant is seen, there are “lightnings and ‘voices’ and thunders and an earthquake and heavy hail.” The clearest way we moderns can put it is to say rationalistically that *the Ark is a house or box containing the military numen of the state which through its control of the elements brings victory for its people.*

There is nothing very close to this in Greek. Pandora’s “box” (really a storage jar, *πίθος*, Hesiod *Opera* 94),<sup>10</sup> containing many ills and one benefit, is a little like what the ark seemed to the Philistines; the ark, dangerous in any form, killed (at a minimum!) seventy men who looked inside it (I Sam 6,19). Pandora’s jar can be compared with Zeus’ jar of evils (*Iliad* 24.528, cited I.56); but neither has any military function, and both affect Hellenes rather than foreigners. In contrast

7 It might seem that the Philistines are unclear whether it is one or many gods opposing them. But Levin treats the verse as “a lesson on Hebrew syntax”: because the verb precedes “it is naturally singular; but thereafter the noun, plural in form as a superior being, precedes adjectives and demonstratives that all have plural agreement.” However Luther *Gott...Götter*.

8 Some take this as the original title or “name” of the God of Israel, “He who brings into existence the hosts (of heaven and earth) sits on the cherubim.”

9 The Psalmist (Ps 3,4) calls his God “my glory,” *כְּבוֹדִי*.

10 That we call it a box comes from confusion with the *pyxis* given Psyche (Apuleius *Met.* 6.16); see West ad loc.

Latin has a beautifully exact parallel to the Ark of the Covenant in the Temple of Janus.<sup>11</sup>

At Rome, according to Piso, king Numa decreed (Varro *de ling. lat.* 5.165) “that [the gate of Janus] should always be open except when war was nowhere,” *ut [porta Ianualis] sit aperta semper nisi cum bellum sit nusquam*. So Livy 1.19.2 says that Numa “built Janus at the base of the Argiletum as an index of peace and war, when open to signify that the city was under arms, when closed that all peoples around had been pacified”:<sup>12</sup>

Ianum ad infimum Argiletum indicem pacis bellique fecit, apertus ut in armis esse ciuitatem, clausus pacatos circa omnes populos significaret.

Before Augustus it had only been closed twice (*Res Gestae* 13), under Numa and after the First Punic War in 235 BC. Vergil (*Aen.* 1.294) celebrates the event, “the gates of War will be closed,” *claudentur Belli portae*, but ends Jupiter’s prophecy of the Augustan future with a curiously gloomy description of “impious Furor still inside,” *Furor impius intus*.<sup>13</sup> Servius on this passage explains the origin of the temple of Janus with reference also to an allusion of Ovid (*Fasti* 1.267-276):

Alii dicunt Romulo contra Sabinos pugnante, cum in eo esset ut uinceretur, calidam aquam ex eodem loco erupisse, quae fugauit exercitum Sabinorum; hinc ergo tractum morem ut pugnaturi aperirent templum quod in eo loco fuerat constitutum, quasi ad spem pristini auxilii.

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11 See Richardson 207-8 for the history of the Temple of Janus, its (unlocated) original site between the Forum Romanum and Forum Julium, and its successive moves. See further Claridge 69.

12 R. M. Ogilvie, *A Commentary on Livy Books 1-5*; Oxford: Clarendon, 1965; p. 94, who in general locates Livy’s archaisms wherever possible in Augustus’ world, suggests that “the practice of closing the doors as a symbol of peace was not in fact generally recognized but was resuscitated either by antiquarians in the closing years of the Republic or by Octavian himself as a propaganda gesture.” Here I do not try to penetrate behind what Romans under the Empire believed to have been archaic practices.

13 The other Augustan poets had the theory that the temple was closed to hold Pax inside and keep her from getting out. So Horace *Epist.* 2.2.255

claustraque custodem pacis cohibentia Ianum  
 “and the gates holding back Janus the custodian of Peace.” Ovid (*Fasti* 1.279-281) has Janus explain, “When the people has gone out to war, my gate stands wide open, unbarred, so that their return also may be open. I bar the doors in time of Peace lest she depart”:

pace fores obdo, ne qua discedere possit.

But this does not fit the legends (above) about the origins of the temple.

Some say that when Romulus was fighting against the Sabines, when he was at the point of defeat, hot water broke forth from that place and put the army of the Sabines to flight; hence the custom was derived that when they went out to war they opened the temple [of Janus] which had been built on that site, as if in hope of help as previously.

Macrobius (*Sat.* 1.9.17-18) gives an even more colored version: when Romulus was facing defeat, “from the temple of Janus through the gate [‘of Janus’ at the Viminal] a great wave of raging water broke out in torrents,” *ex aede Iani per hanc portam magnam uim torrentium undis scatentibus erupisse*. And hence, he concludes, “it was determined that in time of war the doors should be unlocked as if for the god who went out to help the city,” *ea re placitum ut belli tempore uelut ad urbis auxilium profecto deo fores reserarentur*. The god who goes out to help the city is not necessarily Janus; rather he seems nameless, the military *numen* of Rome. The temple of Janus, just like the Ark of the Covenant, is a house from which the military divinity of the state goes out to overcome the enemy through his capacity as weather-god, in particular with floods as at Mount Tabor.

While some of the legend may be of Etruscan origin, the military weather-god appears also at Iguvium, as an Italic or even Indo-European inheritance: see II.69 above for the formula of imprecation, where the parties to be obliterated include the Etruscans, *Tuscer* or *Tuscom*. Although the Etruscan language was long extinct in the time of Alaric (AD 402, II.248 below), the Tusci of Narnia (II.67) reported that their divinity drove off the barbarians through thunder and storm.

The closest that Mediterranean peoples came to the idea of a “nation” was in their “amphictyonies” (II.203-207) of twelve cities or tribes, sometimes sharing a central sanctuary. Since wars undertaken on behalf of the whole collectivity did not spring from the decision or needs of any one member, they required and warranted an especially sacral character. Hence the concept of a *sacred war*. The Hebrew “devotion” of an enemy to destruction is especially characteristic in the texts of united Israel in the earliest period. Thus Num 21,2 “Israel vowed a vow to Yahweh and said, “If you will indeed give this people into my hand, then I will utterly destroy (וְהָחַרְמָתִי, LXX ἀναθεματιῶ) their cities.” The devoted thing or city is חָרָם, LXX ἀνάθεμα (Jos 6,17). Occasionally to prepare war is to “consecrate” it: thus Joel 4,9 ironically to the nations קִדְּשׁוּ בְּלִקְחֵיכֶם, LXX ἀγιάσατε πόλεμον, Vg *sanctificate bellum*.

In Greece it is mostly the Delphic amphictyony of twelve that declares a “sacred war,” ἱερὸς πόλεμος (Thucydides 1.112). In it the

aggressor is accursed, ἐναγής (Aeschines 3.110) and his cities razed to the ground (τὰς πόλεις ἀναστήσειν, 2.115). Rome conducts sacred war on her own behalf, but perhaps she got the idea from the Etruscan league of twelve cities; for (II.271) the twelve lictors with their axes that went before kings or consuls were thought derived from the twelve peoples of Etruria who elected *their* “king,” probably a temporary military commander. The Roman *patres* voted any war in the formula, *puro pioque duello quaerendas [res] censeo*, “I move that our interests be sought by a pure and pious war” (Livy 1.32.12). The penalty for refusal to take part in war, sacred or otherwise, can be stoning (Aristophanes *Achar.* 285 in jest; Jos 7,25).

### 16.2 *The ritual declaration of war*

The outcome of a war depends on a number of unpredictable factors. When two infantry phalanxes are engaged, one side may suddenly give way—because of the slope of the ground? inferior training? failure of nerve? Who knows? Even in modern times superiority in numbers or in technology does not necessarily guarantee victory. Then as now, very often soldiers’ morale is the decisive factor. Today, combatants try hard to get world public opinion on their side—in part, to bolster morale. In the ancient world, with no instant communications and little reality of world public opinion, it was all the more important to ensure that the gods were on your side. It was some god or other who swayed the course of battle at the decisive point, often by throwing one party into a “Panic fear,” Polybius 20.6.12 πανικοῦ ἐμπεσόντος αὐτοῖς “a panic coming over them.” And if your enemy finally confessed defeat, and a treaty (favorable to yourself) was signed, your principal guarantee that he would abide by it was his respect for his own gods (I.254). So you should set a good example by respect for your own gods.

On all these grounds it was important to start off the war on the right foot. Two common features of the declaration of war can be understood alternatively as the building of morale and as the enlistment of the gods on one’s side.

#### 16.2.1 Striking a sacrificial animal

Previously (I.274-5) we discussed the carrying out of a sacrifice with the formula, implicit or explicit, “As this animal is struck, so may I be struck,” if I do not carry out the terms of my agreement. With Saul over Jabesh-Gilead it is to initiate war; with the Roman fetial priests it is to define a ritual combat. In Rome this was one of the procedures

carried out by the *fetiales* “by whom a just war was entered upon,” Varro (*de ling. lat.* 5.86) *per hos fiebat ut iustum conciperetur bellum*, to insure that the state was in the right both in the eyes of gods and of men (Dionysius Hal. 2.72).

### 16.2.2 Pointing or casting a spear at the enemy

Joshua defeats Amalek because Moses all day long holds the rod (מִטָּה) of God in his hand (Ex 17,8-13). Joshua defeats Ai (II.137) by stretching out the javelin (פִּיִּדוֹן) in his hand towards the city (Jos 8,18); it may be only rationalizing when the narrative represents it as the signal for the ambush to attack. Turnus begins battle by casting a javelin (*iaculum*), this is the *principium pugnae* (Vergil, *Aen.* 9.52-53). Servius on this text preserves traditions from Varro and others. When Rome first undertook an overseas campaign in the war against Pyrrhus (280-275 BC), she took pains to sell land to one of his prisoners so that she could still carry out the fetial ceremony of casting a javelin onto alien territory. On the site was built the temple of Bellona as permanent alien land, onto which thereafter a spear was thrown when war was declared against any enemy.<sup>14</sup> We saw (I.267) how the fetial calls to witness the gods of three realms, *caelestes, terrestres, inferni* (Livy 1.32.10) in agreement with Greek and Hebrew formulas. Ogilvie (p. 128) thinks that “By the beginning of the second century [BC] the old *ius fetiale* was, therefore, obsolete,” citing Polybius 13.3.7. He regards its “antiquarian rediscovery...at the end of the second century” as only theoretical until Octavian revived it in 32 BC to declare war against Cleopatra, himself acting as φητιαλίου (Dio 50.4.5)—Livy’s readers would remember this.<sup>15</sup> But Ogilvie accepts the practice as resting on old traditions.

As with the flint in the pig sacrifice above (I.275), an archaic weapon must be used. Livy 1.32.12 preserves the detail that the fetial, in the presence of three grown men, throws onto enemy territory “a spear tipped with iron, or of cornelwood hardened in the fire,” *hastam ferratam aut sanguineam praeustam*. Burkert<sup>16</sup> observed that the fire-hardened stake is the weapon of Palaeolithic times. Odysseus blinds Polyphemus with one such (*Odyssey* 9.379ff). Jael repeats an older

14 I cannot easily reconcile this story with the historical Aedes of Bellona near the Circus Flaminius (Richardson 57-58).

15 The fetial formulas were continued by Claudius; Suetonius *Claud.* 25.5.

16 Walter Burkert, *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual*; Berkeley: Univ. of California, 1979; 34.

mode of warfare, now ascribed to a woman, when she kills Sisera (Jud 4,21; 5,26) with a tent-peg (יִתְּךָ, LXX πάσσαλος, Vg *clauum*), perhaps itself fire-hardened.

### 16.3 Euocatio

An ancient war, from one point of view, was a contest between the tutelary divinities of the two parties, each embodying the magico-military energy of its state. This is plainly the conception behind the *Iliad*, even though its enlightened author uses the divine background more as a domestic comic relief to the tragedy of human conflict and death. Vergil has a deeper sense of the matter: after Venus tells Aeneas that all is lost and he must flee, she disappears. Then (*Aen.* 2.622-3) “There appear the dire countenances of the gods and the great *numina*, hostile to Troy”:

Apparent dirae facies inimicae Troiae  
Numina magna deum.

No more than with human combatants is it possible to tell in advance which divinity will get the upper hand. For one state, or its gods, may succeed in capturing the gods of its opponent. Each party must calculate the possible gain by letting loose its divinity out of its Pandora’s box, and the possible loss of its capture.

The Aramaeans based their strategy on the assumption (I Reg 20,23; II.8):

אֱלֹהֵי הַרִים אֱלֹהֵיהֶם

“Their gods are gods of hills [but not of valleys, vs 28]”; Vg correctly *dii montium sunt dii eorum*, Luther *Ihre Götter sind Berggötter*. The Rabshakeh says before Jerusalem, “Who among all the gods of the countries have delivered their countries out of my hand, that Yahweh should deliver Jerusalem out of my hand?” (II Reg 18,35). When he asks, “Where are the gods of Hamath and Arpad?” and so on (vs 34), the intended answer must be that they have been taken over by Assyria. At Jer 49,3 (cf. 50,2) for the Hebrew

כִּי מִלְכָּם בְּגוֹלָה יִלְךְ

we should understand with the LXX [“30,19”] Μελχομ ὄδι ἐν ἀποικίᾳ βαδιεῖται, “For Milcom shall go into exile.”<sup>17</sup> It has been said of the *Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur* that “the chief effect of destroying a city beyond the obvious physical consequences was to

17 Same reading possible at Amos 1,15 in place of “And their king (MT מִלְכָּם) shall go into exile.”

force the abandonment of a city by its gods.”<sup>18</sup> The Hittites had a priest called the “master of the gods” who performed a frontier ritual which consisted of an appeal to each god displaced by the enemy to “take thought for his place of worship and to win it back,” and an indictment of the enemy gods now in possession.<sup>19</sup> The capture of the ark (I Sam 4,21) ought to have been the end of Israel; but its divinity maintained an exceptional loyalty to his own people, and even in captivity overthrew the statue of Dagon (I Sam 5,1-5).

Aeneas already in principle, even before Venus showed him the enemy gods, realized that his cause was hopeless (*Aen.* 2.351-2):

excessere omnes adytis arisque relictis  
di quibus imperium hoc steterat

“All the gods by whom this *imperium* stood have abandoned their sanctuaries and altars and departed.” Vergil’s scene of the gods abandoning Troy has echoes closer to real history. In Antony’s last days, Plutarch (*Ant.* 75.4) reports a sound of midnight revellers leaving the city; interpreters determined that the God whom Antony most resembled (Dionysus) was deserting (ἀπολείπειν) him. (Shakespeare in *Antony and Cleopatra* for his own purposes changes the god to Hercules.) Tacitus (*Hist.* 5.13) reports that in the Temple of Jerusalem *apertae repente delubri fores et audita maior humana uox excedere deos; simul ingens motus excedentium* “suddenly the doors of the sanctuary were opened and a voice louder than human was heard to say that the gods<sup>20</sup> were departing; at the same time there was a huge rush of departing ones.” Even Josephus (*BJ* 6.300) makes the departers plural, μεταβαίνομεν ἐντεῦθεν “we are departing hence.”<sup>21</sup>

The Romans with their customary superstition, legalism and pragmatism institutionalized a procedure of bribing the enemy gods to desert their present seats and defect to Rome. In the fifth century CE Macrobius (*Sat.* 3.9.1-5) explains Vergil’s text (*Aen.* 2.351-2):

Et de uetustissimo Romanorum more et de occultissimis sacris uox ista prolata est. Constat enim omnes urbes in alicuius dei esse tutela moremque Romanorum arcanum et multis ignotum fuisse ut, cum obsiderent urbem hostium eamque iam capi posse confiderent, certo

18 Frank S. Frick, *The City in Ancient Israel*; SBLDS 36; Missoula: Scholars, 1977; 223, citing J. Dunne.

19 ANET<sup>3</sup> 354-5.

20 Levin wonders if the plural *deos* is based on Heb. מַלְאָכִים!

21 Stern ii.60 cites several further accounts of gods departing: thus shortly before Commodus’ death (*Script. Hist. Aug. Comm.* 16.2) “footprints of the gods were seen in the Forum departing from it,” *uestigia deorum in foro uisa sunt exeuntia.*



carmine euocarent tutelares deos.... Nam propterea ipsi Romani et deum in cuius tutela urbs Romana est et ipsius urbis Latinum nomen ignotum esse uoluerunt. Sed dei quidem nomen non nullis antiquorum, licet inter se dissidentium, libris insitum, et ideo uetusta persequentibus quicquid de hoc putatur innotuit.... Ipsius uero urbis nomen etiam doctissimis ignoratum est, cauentibus Romanis ne, quod saepe aduersus urbes hostium fecisse se nouerant, idem ipsi quoque hostili euocatione paterentur, si tutelae suae nomen diuulgaretur.

Now this text is derived from a most ancient custom of the Romans and from their most secret ceremonies. It is agreed that all cities are under the protection (*tutela*) of some god; and that the Romans had a secret (*arcanum*) custom unknown to many that, when they were besieging an enemy city and believed that it could now be taken, they called out (*euocarent*) its tutelary gods by a certain formula (*carmine*) .... That is why the Romans in their turn wished to keep unknown the god under whose protection the city of Rome lies and the Latin name of the city itself. Now the name of the god is set down in several books of the ancients, though disagreeing among themselves; and so whatever was conjectured on this topic has become known to students of antiquity. [Rome's tutelary divinity variously reported as Jupiter, Luna, Angerona, Ops Consivia.] But the name of the city itself was unknown even to the most learned, since the Romans were afraid that, because they knew that they themselves had often so acted against enemy cities, they themselves should be laid bare by hostile evocation, if their own tutelary name were divulged.

Macrobius goes on to cite the formula of evocation as it was used against Carthage, no doubt in 146 BC;<sup>22</sup> it begins *si deus, si dea est, cui populus ciuitasque Carthaginensis est in tutela*, and invites the divinity to abandon Carthage and come over to Rome and find *loca, templa, sacra, urbs acceptior probatiorque sit* "that the places, temples, ceremonies, city are more acceptable and convenient."<sup>23</sup> It is followed by a formal *deuotio* or execration of Carthage addressed to the unknown God of Rome, *Dis pater, Veiovis, Manes, siue quo alio nomine fas est nominare*, asking it to throw panic on them. Pliny 28.18 citing Verrius Flaccus testifies both to *euocatio* where the priest prom-

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22 Ogilvie 674 believes that originally the ceremony "was only effective in theory between communities properly constituted by the same or similar religious solemnities"; and therefore that in the case of Carthage "the old ritual was deliberately refurbished and given a new application in order to eliminate once and for all the power of Rome's great rival. If so, it was a piece of religious improvisation by the *pontifices*." This reconstruction only underlines the power that Romans saw as inherent in the *euocatio*.

23 A fragment of the formula also at Servius on *Aen.* 2.244.

ises the foreign god “the same or better worship among the Romans,” *eundem aut ampliorem apud Romanos cultum*; and the fear “lest some of the enemy do the same,” *ne qui hostium simili modo agerent*. An inscription<sup>24</sup> from Cilicia records such a *devotio* by P. Servilius Vatia, proconsul and pontifex (later as a result of this exploit Vatia Isauricus) of Isaura Vetus, 75 BC:

Seruilis C(a)ii f(ilius) imperator, hostibus uicteis, Isaura uetere capta, captiueis uenum dateis, sei deus seiue deast, quouis in tutela oppidum uetus Isaura fuit...uotum soluit.

“Servilius son of Gaius, imperator, after conquering the enemy, capturing Isaura Vetus, selling the captives [into slavery], fulfilled the vow, whether it is a god or goddess under whose protection the town Isaura Vetus lies,...” Macrobius lists cities so devoted, including Veii, Carthage and Corinth (no doubt in the same year as Carthage, 146 BC). Livy 5.21-22 describes how at Etruscan Veii (396 BC) the statue of the goddess Juno (probably Etruscan Uni) cooperated with the soldiers transferring her to Rome. Hence it seems probable that both rites were Etruscan.

Macrobius’ testimony that the name of the tutelary divinity of Rome was kept secret or unknown is corroborated by Servius on *Aen.* 2.351:

Romani celatum esse uoluerunt in cuius dei tutela urbs Roma sit et iure pontificum cautum est, ne suis nominibus dii Romani appellarentur, ne exaugurari possent...et pontifices ita precabantur, “Iupiter optime maxime, siue quo alio nomine te appellari uoueris.”

The Romans wished it hidden what god had Rome under its protection, and by a law of the pontiffs it was forbidden for Roman gods to be called by their own names, to prevent their being alienated... And the pontiffs prayed thus, “Jupiter Optimus Maximus, or by whatever other name you wish to be called.”

Plutarch<sup>25</sup> summarizes that “the Romans believed that silence and ignorance [about his name] was the safest and surest protection of a god.”

Macrobius (we saw) testified that the name of Rome’s tutelary divinity, though kept secret, had leaked out and was to be found in various books; but that the secret of the true (Latin!) name of Rome itself was perfectly kept. (Here is a suggestion that *Rōma* was not the Latin name of the city, partially confirming Bernal’s proposal [I.24] that it was in fact Phoenician, 𐤓𐤓𐤕 “height.”) New and secret names

24 L’année épigraphique 1977.816. Cf. J. Le Gall, “Evocatio,” *L’Italie pré-romaine et la Rome républicaine; Mélanges offerts à Jacques Heurgon; Collection de l’Ecole française de Rome*, no. 27; 3 vols.; Rome: 1976, i.519-524.

25 Plutarch *Quaest. Rom.* 61 (= *Mor.* 279A).

play a substantial role in the Semitic world. The prophets give Jerusalem stated new names (Isa 1,26; Jer 3,17; 33,16; Ez 48,35; Sach 8,3); more mysteriously, it will be called “by a new name that the mouth of Yahweh will give” (Isa 62,2). God tells Moses that he appeared to the patriarchs as El Shadday, “but by my name Yahweh I was not known to them” (Ex 6,3). The angel or god at the ford who renames Jacob as Israel is able to refuse his name to Jacob, evidently on the grounds that their wrestling bout is a draw (Gen 32,29); with more right the angel avoids telling his name to Manoah (Jud 13,18).

New names of God and his city are prominent in the Apocalypse. The believer (Rev 2,17) gets a white stone with a new name (his own) “which no one knows but the receiver.” The Christ (Rev 19,12) has a name written “which no one knows but himself,” unless it is revealed at 19,13 as “the Word of God.” At 3,12 Christ will write on the believer three names: “the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God..., and my own new name.” On Yom Kippur (Mishna *Yoma* VI.2) the priests and people hear “the expressed Name (שם המפורש) come forth from the mouth of the High Priest” in his recitation of Lev 16,30;<sup>26</sup> also at the recitation of the priestly blessing Num 6,24-26 “in the Temple [but not in the provinces] they pronounced the name according to its writing” (Mishna *Sotah* VII.6), השם ככתבו. The higher reason for secrecy in all these cases is that the name reveals the character of the one named, and only the party intended can accept the revelation. There seems also to be a lower reason: if you know the true name of a party, you have power over them. The fact that the unclean spirit of Mark 5,8-9 tells Jesus his name “Legion” proves that Jesus had already acquired control over it. The “unknown god,” ἄγνωστος θεῶν of Act 17,23 would have an especial resonance at Rome.<sup>27</sup>

Mishna *Sanh.* VII.5 says that the law of blasphemy (Lev 24,16) holds the accused innocent until he actually “pronounces the Name itself,” עד שיפרש השם. But this implies further that the mere act of pronunciation (except by the High Priest as prescribed) is itself blasphemy. Also the penalty involves not just stoning as in Leviticus, for “all that have been stoned must be hanged” (*Sanh.* VI.4)

כל-הנסקלין ניהלין

26 Levin notes that the Kaufmann codex omits this sentence; and that the High Priest presumably is represented as pronouncing the Name at the conclusion of Lev 16,30 also at *Yoma* III.8, IV.1 and IV.2.

27 See BAGD s.v. ἄγνωστος (p. 12a) for possible other testimony to an unknown god.

in line with Deut 21,22 “And you shall hang him on a tree”:

וְתִלְתֵּן אֹתוֹ עַל-עֵץ

Vg *adpensus fuerit in patibulo*. The Romans had an indigenous equivalent to crucifixion, “hang him from a barren tree with a rope” (Livy 1.26.6), *infelici arbori reste suspendito*. The Passion narrative at Mark 14,64 (// Matt 26,65) has the high priest accuse Jesus of blasphemy (βλασφημίας) and tear his garments (as the judges are required to at *Sanhedr.* VII.5). Thus there is some indication that Mark or his source is trying to fit Jesus’ crucifixion into the Rabbinic pattern of execution for blasphemy, i.e. speaking the ineffable Name. Perhaps the “I am” of Mark 14,62 ἐγώ εἰμι is thought of as a substitute for the divine Name as at Ex 3,14 LXX. But whether or not the Sanhedrin had the power of capital punishment, Romans executed Jesus in Roman fashion.

#### 16.4 The crime of Q. Valerius Soranus

We saw that the true name of Rome was surrounded with even more safeguards than that of its tutelary deity. But somebody somewhere (it seems) did preserve the tradition of the city’s name. What would happen if it were revealed? Servius on *Aen.* 1.277:

urbis enim illius uerum nomen nemo uel in sacris enuntiat. denique tribunus plebei quidam Valerius Soranus, ut ait Varro et multi alii, quia hoc nomen ausus enuntiare, ut quidam dicunt, raptus a senatu et in cruce leuatus est, ut alii, metu supplicii fugit et in Sicilia comprehensus a praetore, praecepto senatus occisus est.

For the true name of that city [Rome] nobody speaks even in sacred ceremonies. Once a certain tribune of the plebs Valerius Soranus, according to Varro and many other authorities, dared to speak this name; according to some, he was seized by the Senate and crucified; according to others, for fear of punishment he fled, but was seized in Sicily by the praetor, and by order of the Senate was executed.

Likewise Pliny 3.65:

Roma ipsa, cuius nomen alterum dicere<sup>28</sup> arcanis ceremoniarum nefas habetur, optimaque et salutari fide abolitum enuntiauit Valerius Soranus, luitque mox poenas.

28 Mommsen added *nisi* here “*except in secret ceremonies*” to explain how the name was handed down at all; but the agreement of Pliny’s text with that of Servius shows that the antiquarians were at a loss to explain its preservation.

Rome itself, whose other name it was held impious to speak <even> in secret rites of ceremonies; Valerius Soranus pronounced that name, which had been suppressed with excellent, salutary fidelity, and soon paid the penalty.

Servius on *Georg.* 1.498 says that the tribune revealed rather the name of Rome's tutelary divinity, as does Plutarch.<sup>29</sup>

Macrobius and Pliny speak of a secret, *arcanum* or *arcana*. So Solinus 1.5-6 *quo minus enuntiaretur caeremoniarum arcana sanxerunt* "secret ceremonies forbade [the name of Rome] being spoken." Hence the notion arose that the maintenance of Roman *imperium* rested on keeping secret a hidden truth, *arcanum*, more or less identified with the name of Rome itself. Later authors play on this doctrine, while severely transferring the *arcanum* to the realm of geopolitics. Thus Tacitus, *Hist.* 1.4, discussed by Brizzi,<sup>30</sup> with reference to the "year of four emperors," AD 68-69, *euulgato imperii arcano posse principem alibi quam Romae fieri* "after the *arcanum* of empire had been disclosed, namely, that the *princeps* could be made elsewhere than at Rome." In the fourth century Claudian (*de bello Gothico* 104) asks Jupiter to prevent rising barbarism from "grasping the *arcanum* of our great empire," *arcanum tanti deprendere regni*. Rutilius 2.42 says that by letting Alaric enter Italy (AD 402), Stilicho "became the betrayer of what had been the Empire's *arcanum*," *proditor arcani quod fuit imperii*: namely, perhaps, that Italy was vulnerable to invasion.

The career of Quintus Valerius of Sora was reconstructed from scattered data by Cichorius<sup>31</sup> and is generally accepted. Cicero, listing orators "among the allies and Latins" (*apud socios et Latinos*), *Brutus* 169, includes *Q. D. Valerii Sorani, uicini et familiares mei*; Soranus is mostly considered not a name but an ethnic, and the brothers Quintus and Decimus Valerius his "neighbors and friends" came from Sora 60 miles ESE of Rome near Cicero's home town of Arpinum. Cicero calls Quintus *litteratissimum togatorum omnium* (*de oratore* 3.43) "most learned of all Roman orators." The brothers were elder contemporaries of Cicero, who in 56 and 45 BC corresponds with Quintus Valerius

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29 Plutarch *Quaest. Rom.* 61 = *Mor.* 278F.

30 Giovanni Brizzi, "Il *nomen* segreto di Roma e l'*arcanum imperii* in Plinio," A. Spallino et alii (eds.), *Plinio il vecchio sotto il profilo storico e letterario* [acts of two congresses]; Como: Banca Briantea, 1982; pp. 237-251.

31 Conrad Cichorius, "Zur Lebensgeschichte des Valerius Soranus," *Hermes* 41 (1906) 59-68.

Orca son of Quintus (*Epist. ad fam.* 13.4-7), praetor 57 BC and probably son of Quintus "Soranus"; he had worked for Cicero's return to public life (*post red. in senatu* 23). We have scattered testimonies to Q. Valerius' grammatical works.<sup>32</sup> Augustine (*de civ. Dei* 7.9) drawing from Varro quotes his lines (perhaps corrupt and variously emended)

Iuppiter omnipotens regum rerumque deumque  
progenitor genetrixque deum, deus unus et omnes.

"Almighty Jupiter, begetter of kings, of all things and of gods, mother also of the gods, one god comprising all." Varro as quoted by Augustine explains how Soranus could give Jupiter the feminine attribute *genetrix*. Pliny in the *Preface* (33) to the *Natural History* says that he has adopted his mode of reference to authors from the Ἐπόπτιδες of Valerius Soranus; this implies that the *Epoptides* was a large encyclopedia. Köves-Zulauf,<sup>33</sup> in line with the secret revealed by Soranus, thinks the title means *tutelae*, "tutelary [divinities]," but if so the work must have included much else.

Cichorius saw that Plutarch *Pompey* 10.4 must narrate the execution of this Q. Valerius by Pompey (Cn. Pompeius Magnus) in Sicily in 82 BC, for Plutarch describes the Quintus Valerius put to death as φιλόλογος ἀνὴρ καὶ φιλομαθῆς ἐν ὀλίγοις "a man of exceptional scholarship and learning." And this puts Valerius' career in political context. Pompey, a partisan of Sulla (L. Cornelius Sulla [Felix]), likewise in Sicily executed the consul and Marian leader Cn. Papirius Carbo. Plutarch's circumstantial account suggests that Varro's alternative tradition—death by crucifixion—was a theoretical punishment for breaking a religious taboo. It was natural that Q. Valerius, as a Latin, like all such with Roman citizenship, who had risen to the rank of tribune of the plebs, should support the Marian party against Sulla's aristocracy. Earlier in 82 on Nov. 1 (the Kalends) the Samnite Pontius Telesinus<sup>34</sup> took advantage of the civil war between Sulla and the Marians to attack Rome. After a desperate battle he was defeated by

32 H. Funaioli, *Grammaticae romanae fragmenta*, vol. 1, Leipzig: Teubner, 1907, pp. 77-79.

33 Thomas Köves-Zulauf, "Die 'Ἐπόπτιδες' des Valerius Soranus," *Rheinische Museum* 113 (1970) 323-358.

34 At some points the Samnites were in league with the Marians against Sulla; on this occasion it is plain that Telesinus saw an opportunity to carry out his own goals. Telesinus claimed to be a descendant of the Samnite C. Pontius who had forced a Roman army to surrender at Caudium, 321 BC (Scholiast on Lucan 2.137, ed. H. Usener, Leipzig: Teubner, 1869, i.59). *Pontius* is Oscan for "fifth," Latin *Quintus*; thus Pontius Pilatus *praefectus Iudaeae* (so known from his inscription at Caesarea) hailed from somewhere in Oscan territory.

Sulla at the Colline Gate; the tribune of the plebs went out of office on Dec. 10 and lost his personal immunity. Velleius Paterculus 2.27.1-3 says that Telesinus “hated the name of Rome,” *Romano nomini infestissimus*; and before the battle urged his men to take Rome:

dictitansque adesse Romanis ultimum diem uociferabatur eruedam delendamque urbem, adiciens numquam defuturos raptores Italicae libertatis lupos, nisi silua in quam refugere solerent esset excisa.

...saying that the last day for the Romans was at hand, and crying out that the city must be overthrown and destroyed, for the wolves that attacked Italian liberty would never disappear unless the forest where they took refuge was cut down.

The Italian coinage shows VITELLIU “Italy” (i.e. “Calf-land”?) and the Italian bull goring the Roman wolf.<sup>35</sup>

Perhaps as *tribunus plebis* Q. Valerius of Sora was in a special position to attend secret ceremonies at which the name of Rome or of its god was spoken. Could he as a scholar have published the secret name of Rome in his book, whose title suggests such contents? But Servius on *Aen.* 1.277 (II.247) goes on to say that “not even Hyginus, speaking about the site of Rome, records this name of the city,” *hoc autem urbis nomen ne Hyginus quidem, cum de situ urbis loqueretur, expressit*: and Macrobius, as we saw, testifies to the same. Now since Valerius’ encyclopedia was in the hands of Pliny and presumably others, if the name had stood there somebody should have recorded it. Thus it is more likely that the tradition refers to an event than to a publication. Brizzi and Alfonsi<sup>36</sup> suggest that in some way his speaking the name was a political or even military act (which the Sullans could point to as treasonable) to throw the victory to the Marian party and their Samnite Italian quasi-allies: Telesinus would be emboldened by possessing the true name of that Rome which he hated.

### 16.5 *The return of the numen to its home*

We saw that Num 10,36 and its parallels envisage the return of the military numen back to the ark at rest, whether it is in a tent (II Sam

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35 The coin is illustrated in M. Cary, *A History of Rome...*; 2nd ed.; London: Macmillan, 1954, p. 320. Cary states that the lettering is Oscan (where U has a distinct form from V): a genitive?

36 Luigi Alfonsi, “L’importanza politico-religiosa della ‘Enunziazione’ di Valerio Sorano (à proposito di CIL I, I2, p. 337),” *Epigraphica* 10 (1948) 81-89.

7,2), or in a booth in the open field (II Sam 11,11). Ps 132 (II.236) recalls David's act of bringing the ark into the city, and perhaps is the text for an annual or occasional liturgical reenactment. With or without the ark, the returning victorious Israelite general is greeted by dancing women holding tambourines, as with Jephthah (Jud 12,34) and with Saul and David (I Sam 18,6). Ps 24,8 celebrates the entrance of Yahweh "mighty in battle," יהוה גִּבּוֹר מִלְחָמָה, through the gates of city and temple. The most complete form of a return to the city is David's procession with the ark at II Sam 6,12-19, showing many special features, separately discussed below. The connection between Ps 132 and II Sam 6 is discussed in detail by Seow.<sup>37</sup> Solomon installs the ark in his new temple in the seventh month (I Reg 8,1-2), that is, in the autumn. Under the monarchy it seems that on the old Feast of Booths, as Israel relived its outdoor days (Lev 23,42) when the ark rested in the Tabernacle, somehow the entry of the ark into the Temple was repeated. The Feast of Booths is to be an occasion for the nations to go up to Jerusalem (Sach 14,16). Psalm 118, used at the Feast of Booths (II.256), is an entrance of unspecified parties through the "gate of Yahweh" (II.263).

In Rome, which saw many more victorious generals than Israel, the declaration of war and opening of Janus (when not already open) remained an archaic ceremony; but the return of the general was institutionalized in a ceremony of unparalleled detail and splendor: the *triumph*. It has captured the world's imagination as the most concrete example of her imperial self-awareness. The ceremony was intimately bound up with the city Rome: when Antony celebrated a triumph in Alexandria (ἔθριόμβευσεν Plutarch *Ant.* 50.4), what offended Romans was that "he made a gift to the Egyptians of the honorable and sacred rites of his fatherland (τὰ καλὰ καὶ σεμνὰ τῆς πατρίδος) on account of Cleopatra."

Once an obscure phrase suggests that some features of a triumph may have been legitimately carried out elsewhere than in Rome. Gerasa of the Decapolis put up a "triumphal" arch (still partly extant) for the visit of Hadrian in AD 130. The Greek inscription<sup>38</sup> has: "Good fortune! On behalf of the safety (σωτηρίας) of the emperor ... Hadrian

37 C. L. Seow, *Myth, Drama, and the Politics of David's Dance*; Harvard Semitic Monographs no. 44; Atlanta: Scholars, 1989, esp. pp. 104-117.

38 C. B. Welles in Carl H. Kraeling (ed.), *Gerasa: City of the Decapolis*; New Haven: Am. Schools of Oriental Research, 1938, p. 401 no. 58; W. F. Stinespring, "Hadrian in Palestine, 129/130 A.D.," *JAOS* 59 (1939) 360-365. Reprinted in E.M. Smallwood, *Documents illustrating the principates of Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian*; Cambridge: University, 1966; no. 76.



... and the fortune and continuity of his whole house, the city of the Antiochenes on the Chrysorhoas, formerly Gerasenes, by the will (?—διαθήκης) of Flavius Agrippa [dedicated] the gate with a 'triumph' (τῆν πύλην σὺν θριάμβῳ) in the year 192 [of the city's era of 63 BC]."

Most striking are the numerous archaic features of the triumph, scrupulously preserved for more than a millennium by a rigid legalism. The very extensive documentation is conveniently laid out by Ehlers.<sup>39</sup> The most recent full-length treatment is that of Versnel,<sup>40</sup> oriented in the end towards an anthropological explanation of the triumph; it is supplemented by two studies of Warren in the same year.<sup>41</sup> The one feature in which it does not exactly fit the theme of exit and return is that the Roman triumph does not return to the temple of Janus, which appears in it only marginally,<sup>42</sup> but to that of Jupiter Capitolinus.<sup>43</sup>

The soldiers marching behind the returning victor in the Roman triumph cried out *io triumphe* (e.g. Horace *Carm.* 4.2.49), and the Arval priests in their ancient chant<sup>44</sup> said five times *triumpe*. Cicero (*Orator* 160) from antiquarian knowledge for a long time consciously pronounced the noun (acc. pl.) *triumpos* as the correct form, until he gave in to general usage. Varro (*de ling. lat.* 6.68), no doubt correctly, derives *triumphe* from θριάμβος; the Greek may be both an epithet of Dionysos and the name of a song in his honor.<sup>45</sup> It is surely an anachronism of the Roman period when Arrian reports (*Anab.* 6.28), from what he regards as inferior sources, that Alexander held a Dionysiac procession through Carmania, on the grounds that processions (πομπάς) after military victories were already called by a title of Dionysus, θριάμβους. The difference between the Latin and Greek is

39 W. Ehlers, "Triumphus," PW VIIA 493-511.

40 H. S. Versnel, *Triumphus: An Inquiry into the origin, development and meaning of the Roman triumph*; Leiden: Brill, 1970.

41 Larissa Bonfante Warren, "Roman triumphs and Etruscan kings: the Latin word *Triumphus*," *Janua Linguarum series major* 44; The Hague/Paris: Mouton, 1970; pp. 108-120; *eadem*, "Roman Triumphs and Etruscan Kings: the changing face of the triumph," *JRS* 60 (1970) 49-66.

42 When Augustus celebrated his triple triumph in 29 BC he first ordered the gates of Janus to be closed (*Orosius* 6.20.2); but this was less part of the triumph than a claim of universal pacification.

43 See Richardson 221-224 for the Temple's illustrious history.

44 Arthur E. Gordon, *IILE* no. 75 = *ILS* 5039 = *CIL* 6.2104.

45 The words ἰαμβος, θριάμβος and διθύραμβος, all denoting some form of verse or meter, seem to have non-Greek forms of the Indo-European numerals for 1 (or 2), 3 and 4 prefixed to a common stem; but no further precision seems possible. See D. A. Hester, "'Pelagian'—a new Indo-European language?," *Lingua* 13 (1965) 335-384, esp. p. 354.

naturally attributed to *triumphus* having passed through Etruscan, though (by the nature of the texts) it is not attested there.

Greeks recognized the kinship between the two words and used θρίαμβος as translation of *triumphus*. Thus Polybius 6.15.8 “the θρίαμβους so-called by [the Romans].” Zonaras 7.21,<sup>46</sup> excerpting Dio Cassius, writes as if θρίαμβος were an actual transliteration of the Latin, “The procession of the victory celebration, which they called a *thriambos*,...,” ἡ δὲ τῶν ἐπινικίων πομπή, ἣν καὶ θρίαμβον ἐκάλου. *Triumphus* and θρίαμβος are surely equivalent at Augustus RG 4 although both texts have gaps. Dubuisson<sup>47</sup> regards Polybius as having coined the verb θριαμβεύω for the Roman sense. Ctesias (early 4th century BC) is quoted by Photius as having twice used the verb of the Persian kings, once absolutely, ἐθρίαμβευσεν,<sup>48</sup> once with object θριαμβεύσας τὸν μάγον “celebrating a triumph over the Magus.”<sup>49</sup> But this is more likely the language of Photius than of Ctesias. Often as here the object of the verb is the party triumphed over or led in triumph, as Plutarch (*Comp. Thes. & Rom.* 4) “[Romulus] triumphed over kings and generals,” βασιλεῖς ἐθρίαμβευσεν καὶ ἡγεμόνας.

θρίαμβος is often paraphrased by πομπή as in Zonaras: Dionysius Hal. 9.35.5 ἡ δὲ βουλή τὴν τοῦ θρίαμβου πομπὴν ἐψηφίσαστο “the Senate voted the celebration of a triumph.” So Josephus *BJ* 7.122 of Vespasian’s triumph, ἡ πομπή τῶν ἐπινικίων. In turn *pompa* went into Latin, already in Plautus: Ovid *ex Pont.* 2.1.20 *spectata triumphi...est mihi pompa* “I saw [through popular report] the celebration of a triumph.” Hence Rabbinic פּוֹמְבָּה פּוֹמְבָּה “procession, solemnity”, used of a public as opposed to a private (בְּצַנְעָה) wedding at Bab. Talm. *Baba Bathra* 145b.

Pomp and triumph naturally belong together in English. Thus Theseus to Hippolyta in *Midsummer Night’s Dream* I.1.17

But I will wed thee in another key,  
With pomp, with triumph, and with revelling.

Similarly *Samson Agonistes* 1311-1312

This day to *Dagon* is a solemn Feast,  
With Sacrifices, Triumph, Pomp, and Games.

But it is Shakespeare’s predecessor who most fully grasps the tragic arrogance of the triumph. Marlowe in *Tamburlaine* Part I, II.v:

46 In the LCL Dio Cassius i.193.

47 Michel Dubuisson, *Le latin de Polybe: les implications historiques d’un cas de bilinguisme*; *Etudes et Commentaires* 96; Paris: Klincksieck, 1985; p. 31.

48 FGH 688 F 16.64 from Photius *Bib.* 72 pp. 43b-44a.

49 FGH 688 F 13.15 from Photius *Bib.* 72 pp. 37ff.

*Tamburlaine.* Is it not passing brave to be a king  
And ride in triumph through Persepolis?  
*Techelles.* O, my lord, it is sweet and full of pomp!  
*Usumcasane.* To be a king, is half to be a god.

It is patent that in Israel the return of the ark is a celebration of Yahweh's power. Likewise at Rome the triumph is an honor paid to Jupiter and perhaps to other gods too; the prominent role of the military victor is a further indication (II.257) that in some sense he represents the god. Tacitus *Hist.* 4.58 has the legate Vocula in Gaul say *Te, Iuppiter Optime Maxime, quem per octingentos uiginti annos tot triumphis coluimus*, "You, Jupiter Optimus Maximus, whom for eight hundred and twenty years [751 BC—AD 70] we have worshipped with so many triumphs,...." At Livy 28.9.7 (207 BC) the consuls petition the Senate *ut pro re publica fortiter feliciterque administrata et deis immortalibus haberetur honos et ipsis triumphantibus urbem inire liceret*, "that for a brave and successful defence of the state, honor should be given the immortal gods and they themselves [i.e. the consuls] permitted to enter the city in triumph"; the two clauses are aspects of the same event. Servius on *Aen.* 9.624 in context of a triumph says *quia non tantum Ioui, sed et aliis diis qui bello praesunt, sacrificatur* "since sacrifice is made not to Jupiter alone but also to the other gods who preside over war."

### 16.6 The "triumphal entry" of Jesus

It is customary to call Jesus' entry into Jerusalem his "triumphal entry." It differs from the Roman triumph or from David's entry into Jerusalem in that it does not presuppose a prior exit. But intrinsically it follows their pattern closely, and the Pauline letters twice (II.265-267) speak of Christ as "triumphing." I cannot trace the usage of referring to Jesus' "triumphal entry" behind the Middle Ages. The Austrian Cistercian Hermann of Runa of the 13th century says in his *Serm.* 21.1<sup>50</sup> on Palm Sunday that the crowds acclaimed Jesus *quia praesago spiritu eum triumphatorem diaboli et mortis et uitae largitorem cognouerunt*, "because by a prophesying spirit they knew him as the triumphator over the devil and death, and the bestower of life." It was rather in Jesus' passion that the Fathers saw him as participating in a triumph, and there playing a double role: thus Ammonius on Joh

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50 CC Cont. Med. 64.85; I was led to this text by consulting the Corpus Christianorum computer disk for *triumph*\*.

14,31<sup>51</sup> “While being triumphed over he triumphed, while being crucified he crucified,” θριαμβευόμενος ἐθριάμβευσε καὶ σταυρούμενος ἑσταύρου. Duff<sup>52</sup> has compared the narrative of Jesus’ entry into Jerusalem with both the Hebrew theme of return and the Roman triumph; in its peaceful and simple style it plainly parodies or reverses the military theme of both. Here I point out that the Roman institution itself has ancient Near Eastern connections.

Jesus’ entry into Jerusalem was itself imitated or parodied by the famous entry of the Quaker James Nayler into Bristol on October 24, 1656 [Old Style]. A little group of men and women, part riding, part on foot, proceeded in heavy rain on the muddiest part of the way so that the men “received the rain at their necks and vented it at their hose and breeches.” Nayler sat alone in silence while the others sang “Hosanna” and “Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Israel” in a “buzzing melodious noise.”<sup>53</sup> Modern historians feel that Nayler passively accepted the women’s extravagant devotion, and that George Fox did much less than he could have to vindicate his colleague. The subsequent Parliamentary debate over some weeks, and Nayler’s savage punishment, are history.<sup>54</sup>

Jesus’ entry into Jerusalem raises two questions: What time of year did it happen? What does the *Hosanna* mean?

### 16.6.1 Jesus’ entry as in the autumn?

Lev 23,40 prescribes that at the autumn feast of booths people should take branches of palm, myrtle and willow; Mishna *Sukkah* III calls a wreath of these three a *Lulab* (לולב) and adds a citron (אתרוג). We have

51 PG 85.1493B. Similarly Origen *Exhort. ad Mart.* 40, PG 11.617C.

52 Paul Brooks Duff, “The March of the Divine Warrior and the Advent of the Greco-Roman King: Mark’s Account of Jesus’ Entry into Jerusalem,” *JBL* 111 (1992) 55-71.

53 They had started from Glastonbury, where the legend placed Joseph of Arimathea; Blake apparently believed that on an earlier visit the Saint had brought the young Jesus, “And did those feet in ancient time / Walk upon England’s mountains green?”

54 I cannot verify the description of Nayler in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed. (1911) as “a rawboned nude [rude? unadorned?] figure, with lank hair reaching below his cheeks” (this and other sources erroneously give the date as Oct. 24 1655). H. Larry Ingle, *First Among Friends: George Fox and the Creation of Quakerism*; Oxford: University, 1994 (p. 147 and p. 323 note 60) draws mostly from the contemporary letter of George Bishop to Margaret Fell [later to marry Fox], Oct. 27 1656 (London: Library of Society of Friends; Swarthmore MSS; 1:188). If this has been printed in full somewhere I have not seen it.

letters of Bar Kochba both in Greek<sup>55</sup> and Aramaic<sup>56</sup> requisitioning “palm branches and citrons,” σ[τε]λεού[s] καὶ κίτριά = ללבין ואחרונין. Mishna *Sukkah* III.9 prescribes use of Ps 118,25 “O Yahweh, save now!”

בָּרֵךְ הוֹשִׁיעָה יְהוָה

which goes on “Blessed is he who comes in the name of Yahweh.”

Bab. Talm. *Sukkah* 30b and following uses הוֹשַׁעַנָּא as if a noun to denote either the myrtle or the wreath. All four Gospels at Jesus’ entry have “Blessed is he who comes...”; Matt 21,8 and Mark 11,8 speak of “branches” and Joh 12,13 precisely “palm-branches” (τὰ βᾶϊα τῶν φοινίκων, II.265); and Matt 21,9, Mark 11,9 and Joh 12,13 ὡσαννά, where Pesh has the correct Aramaic equivalent אֹשַׁעְנָא. It is hard to believe that all these features have been transferred from an autumn ceremony to the spring. In our own world children would never have jackolanterns and cry “Trick or treat” in April. The natural conclusion (which Levin pointed out to me long ago) is that Jesus really entered Jerusalem in the autumn, six months before his death. Matt 21,17 “He spent the night” in Bethany (ἠὺλίσθη) is suitable for the feast of Booths, since ἀυλιζω means “lie in the ἀυλή” or courtyard; at Herodotus 8.9 ἀυλισθέντας means “bivouac” for the evening before a midnight sail.

If we take it as a firm conclusion that the event described as Jesus’ triumphal entry into Jerusalem can only have taken place in the autumn, the relationship between the Synoptic Gospels and John’s will appear rather different. The Synoptists will have telescoped Jesus’ entry into Jerusalem together with his arrest and death six months later. But John at 7,1-13 represents Jesus as having gone up to Jerusalem precisely at the Feast of Tabernacles! It is true, John says it was in private (7,10), and puts his processional entry where the Synoptists put it, in the week of Passover (perhaps out of deference to their tradition). John seems to understand no more than they do that its symbolism was possible only at Tabernacles. But John understands the feast well enough, as a celebration to ensure the coming rains (II.175), that on its last day he has Jesus speak of thirst and drinking (Joh 7,37-38). Furthermore John is able to fill in the six months between Tabernacles and Passover with an appropriate series of events. Midway in the narrative comes the winter festival of ἐγκαίνια (Joh 10,22), that is Hanukkah. What this means is: John in his characteristic style still

55 Baruch Lifshitz, “Papyrus grecs du désert de Juda,” *Aegyptus* 42 (1962) 240-256; often reproduced.

56 Joseph A. Fitzmyer & Daniel J. Harrington, *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts; Biblica et Orientalia* 34; Rome: Biblical Inst., 1978; no. 60.

records a series of episodes which will nicely fill the six months of winter between the date when we must put Jesus' entry and his arrest. Although the discourses of Jesus do not sound like the sayings we know from the Synoptists, and his adversaries remain the mysterious 'Ιουδαῖοι,<sup>57</sup> we reach the surprising conclusion that it is John and not the Synoptists that has the chronology approximately correct.

### 16.6.2 "Hosanna" as reinterpreted

Mark 11,9 and Joh 12,13 begin the crowd's acclamations with ὠσαννά simply, which is naturally taken as a Messianic appeal from Ps 118,25 "Save!"—a political provocation. Matt 21,9 expands λέγοντες ὠσαννά τῷ υἱῷ Δαυίδ. It is hardly possible to take this as "saying 'Save!' to the son of David"; furthermore, Matthew and Mark agree in ὠσαννά ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις. Pope<sup>58</sup> thinks that an original Semitic vocative in *l-* has been misunderstood by the Evangelists, and that the crowd intended "Save, O son of David!...Save, O Most High!" John reports the tradition in such a way that *hosanna* can have that sense; Luke omits the foreign word altogether. But Talmud *Sukkah* cited above shows that by the second century *hosanna* had been reinterpreted as the name of the wreath of leaves. Perhaps Mark and Matthew record a similar reinterpretation, although it is tempting to give *hosanna* the politically provocative sense. Jerome (*Epist.* 20), writing to Pope Damasus on *osanna*, understands the original meaning but does not see the problem in the following datives; his "Hebrew Matthew" gospel for ὠσαννά ἐν ὑψίστοις read *osianna barrama* (*Epist.* 20.5) with the same problem as the Greek. Anyway in the Church *hosanna* becomes an acclamation of praise simply. Eliot (*The Hippopotamus*) so interprets it, and ingeniously makes *loud hosannas* rhyme with *damp savannas*.

### 16.7 *The victor assimilated to the god*

Since the Israelite ark clearly represents or contains the God of Israel, when the king accompanies or replaces the ark in entering the city, he also in some sense must be representing the God. This side of the

57 Everything in John's Gospel exists on two levels. Probably the final author lived in a community where the synagogue of "Jews" was hostile to the new Church; but had a Galilaeian tradition where 'Ιουδαῖοι meant hostile "Judaean." Joh 7,1 "And after that Jesus walked about in Galilee (ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ); for he did not wish to walk about in Judaea (ἐν τῇ 'Ιουδαίᾳ), for the Judaeans (οἱ 'Ιουδαῖοι) sought him to kill him."

58 Marvin H. Pope, "Hosanna," ABD iii.290-291, with bibliography.

Israelite ceremony is not so clearly marked; but special features of the Roman triumph make it there unmistakable.

### 16.7.1 The face painted red

Pliny 33.111 quotes Verrius that “the face of the statue of Jupiter himself was regularly on festivals painted with cinnabar (*minium*), as were the bodies of those triumphing; Camillus triumphed thus” *Iouis ipsius simulacri faciem diebus festis minio inlini solitam triumphantiumque corpora; sic Camillum triumphasse*. So Servius on Vergil *Ecl.* 6.22 (cf. on 10.27) *triumphantes facie miniata, et in Capitolio Iuppiter* “Those who triumph do it with their face covered with cinnabar, and likewise Jupiter on the Capitoline.” For (Pliny 35.157) the cult statue of Jupiter Capitolinus was done [in the sixth century BC] by the Etruscan terra-cotta artist Vulca, and was painted with minium. Clearchus tyrant of Heracleia (366-353 BC) likewise called himself “son of Zeus” (Διὸς υἱόν) and painted his face red (ἐνερευθές).<sup>59</sup> Sap Sol 13,14 (I.241) says that the maker of the statue of a god “smears its skin with ochre and reddens it with rouge,” καταχρίσας μίλτω καὶ φύκει ἐρυθήνας χροῶν αὐτοῦ.

### 16.7.2 “Look behind you”

A slave rode behind the victor in his chariot, holding a heavy golden crown over his head, and kept saying to him, “Look behind you,” ὀπίσω βλέπετε (Zonaras 7.21);<sup>60</sup> Epictetus (Arrian *Epict.* 3.24.85) adds that such remind those triumphing that “they are men,” ὅτι ἄνθρωποι εἰσιν. Tertullian (*Apol.* 33.4) gives the Latin for both phrases, *Respice post te, hominem te memento*. For (Zonaras) a bell and whip were fastened to the chariot, showing that the general might still be scourged or wear the bell of one condemned to death (to warn others not to contract his *miasma*). Tertullian uses these materials to prove that the Emperor is not (as claimed in the imperial cult) a god; but the need of a reminder shows that all else about the ceremony tells the triumphator he *is* a god.

### 16.7.3 The ornaments of Jupiter

David at his entrance with the ark wore a “linen ephod” (II Sam 6,14)—a ritual garment which did not block his “uncovering himself.” The triumphing general wears what are called the insignia of Jupiter.

59 Memnon in Photius 222 ed. Bekker (iv.48 ed. R. Henry, Budé 1965).

60 LCL Dio Cassius i.198.

Thus Livy 10.7.10 refers to *qui Iouis Optimi Maximi ornatu decoratus curru aurato per urbem uectus in Capitolium ascenderit*, “the one who, decked out in the ornaments of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, and carried through the city in a golden chariot, ascends the Capitol.” Servius on *Ecl.* 10.27 *triumphantes qui habent omnia Iouis insignia, sceptrum, [tunicam] palmatam*, “triumphing generals who have all the insignia of Jupiter, the sceptre, and the tunic decorated with palms.” Juvenal 10.38 says the victor is *in tunica Iouis*. At the end of the day he is one that has “placed his laurel wreath in the lap of Capitoline Jupiter,” Seneca *Dial.* 12.10.8<sup>61</sup> *laureamque in Capitolini Iouis gremio reposuerat*. Versnel (58ff) concludes that these items of dress were removed from the statue of Jupiter on the Capitoline; and that even if the kings of Rome once wore the same dress, this does not merely prove that the triumphator represents the king, but also that the king in turn had represented Jupiter. Elsewhere I hope to discuss the starry robe worn by dignitaries on state occasions. When Scipio Africanus conducted his triumph over Carthage in 201 BC, he wore (Appian *Pun.* 66) “after ancestral custom a purple [toga] with golden stars embroidered on it,” ἐξ τὸν πάτριον τρόπον πορφύραν, ἀστέρων χρυσῶν ἐνυφασμένων.

## 16.8 Common features of the “triumphal” procession

### 16.8.1 Indecency and dance

The sexual (as well as military) prowess of the victor is celebrated (II.90). David in his dance surely “uncovered” himself as Michal accuses him of doing (II Sam 6,20). His dance is anticipated by Miriam and other women after victory when the ark had not yet appeared; at Ex 32,19 the “calf” (really a bull, I.194) gets the dance. The soldiers in the Roman triumph were privileged to insult their general. Thus Julius Caesar’s soldiers shouted at his Gallic triumph (Suetonius *Jul.* 51) “Townsmen, take care of your wives, we’re bringing in a bald adulterer,”

Urbani, seruate uxores; moechum caluom adducimus.

As Roman boys might wear a *bulla* or locket containing a phallus, the same was fastened underneath the triumphal chariot of the Roman to ward off the evil eye. Pliny 28.39 (cf Macrobius *Sat.* 1.6.9) *Fascinus, imperatorum quoque, non solum infantium, custos, qui deus...currus triumphantium sub his pendens defendit medicus inuidiae* “The phal-

61 That is, the text *Helvia, On Consolation*.



lus (*fascinus*) was not only the guardian of boys but of *imperatores*; and this god(!)...hanging underneath the chariots of those triumphing defends them as a physician against envy.”

There was a ritual game carried out by Roman youths on horseback, the “game of Troy” (*Troiae lusus*, Suetonius *Aug.* 43.2), which Julius Caesar put on as a sequel to his triumph (Suetonius *Julius* 39.2). Pliny 36.85 suggests that it was marked out on the ground of the Campus Martius in a mosaic pavement like a hopscotch court. Such a *lusoria tabula* was found incised on the probable site of the Lithostroton (Joh 19,13) in Jerusalem, and if we like we may assume that the mocking of Jesus (Mark 15,16-20) was a form to which all prisoners were subjected there.<sup>62</sup> Vergil (*Aen.* 5.588ff) compares it to the Cretan labyrinth, which Homer only knows as a dancing-floor (*Iliad* 18.590-606), and not under the name *labyrinthos*; Theseus carried out a similar dance at Delos also compared to a labyrinth (Plutarch *Thes.* 21).

#### 16.8.2 The number of the slain

When David and Saul returned from war the women came out to meet them, singing “Saul has slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands” (I Sam 18,7):

הַפָּה שְׂאוֹל בְּאַלְפֵי וְדָוִד בְּרִבְבֵּיהֶן

It is picked up by the Philistines themselves at I Sam 21,11; 29,5.<sup>63</sup> (In a less advanced age, Samson killed only a thousand, Jud 15,16.) Actually this may have been a *necessary condition* for a triumphal return when the words became interpreted as true numbers (II.236). For at Diodorus 36.14 Roman soldiers, when their general with them had killed at least six thousand of the enemy, “hailed and acclaimed him *imperator*,” ἰμπεράτορα αὐτὸν ἀναγορεύειν καὶ ἀποκαλεῖν.<sup>64</sup> Valerius Maximus 2.8.1 cites a law of unknown date that “nobody should triumph unless he had killed five thousand of the enemy on one field,” *lege cautum est ne quis triumpharet nisi qui quinque milia hostium una acie cecidisset*. (It was because *imperatores* had requested triumphs for

62 Jack Finegan, *The Archeology of the New Testament...*; Princeton: University, 1969; 161.

63 The general gets all the credit for the casualties created by his men. At I Sam 18,6 “when David came back from smiting the Philistine (הַפִּלְשְׁתִּי),” the ethnic may be collective rather than referring to Goliath alone.

64 For the required number of the slain see further Appian *Bell. Civ.* 2.7; Dio 37.40.2.

“small battles,” *ob leuia proelia*).<sup>65</sup> Appius Claudius, after losing 5,000 of his own men, killed 5,000 of the enemy and asked for a triumph on this basis, but was refused (Orosius 5.3.7).

This law regularizes the feeling expressed in soldiers’ songs such as those for Aurelian (Versnel 381): they are cited in the *Historia Augusta*, *Aurelian* 6.5 and 7.2, here conceivably from a good tradition:

Mille mille mille decollauimus  
 unus homo mille decollauimus  
 mille bibat quisquis mille occidit  
 tantum uini nemo habet quantum fudit sanguinis.

“A thousand, thousand, thousand we beheaded; as one man we beheaded a thousand; may whoever killed a thousand have a thousand drinks; no one has as much wine as he shed blood.”

Mille Sarmatas, mille Francos  
 semel et semel occidimus  
 mille Persas quaerimus.

“We killed a thousand Sarmatae, a thousand Franks once and again; now we are looking for a thousand Persians.” With good will we can add up the thousands in each song to five exactly. Archaic and bloody as these customs are, perhaps five thousand slain does not quite surpass the power of a simple infantryman to count. But the hundred thousand killed by a single modern weapon, and the many millions envisaged by the theorists of “thinking the unthinkable,” not quite yet bygone history, transcend all finger-enumeration.

### 16.8.3 The procession moves to the sound of the trumpet

So at David’s entry (II Sam 6,15, the *shophar*). Psalm 47,6 refers to some representation of the entry or enthronization of Yahweh, “God has gone up with a shout, Yahweh with the sound of the *shofar* (LXX σάλπιγγος, Jerome iuxta Heb. *bucinae*)”:

עָלָה אֱלֹהִים בְּתוֹרָעָה יְהוָה בְּקוֹל שׁוֹפָר

The third day of Aemilius Paulus’ triumph in 167 BC (Plutarch *Aem. Paul.* 33.1, cf. Appian *Pun.* 66) was introduced by trumpeters, σαλπιγκταί with themes of battle. The trumpet used at a triumph was

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65 Valerius says that this law was supported by a second law of L. Marcius and M. Cato (tribunes 62 BC) which required generals on their return to certify that their reports to the Senate about enemy and Roman dead had not been (respectively) exaggerated or minimized. See Robert Develin, “Tradition and the Development of Triumphal Regulations in Rome,” *Klio* 60 (1978) 429-447, p. 436.

the straight metal *tuba*, not the curved *bucina* originally a cow's horn. The beautiful relief of Marcus Aurelius in his triumphal chariot (AD 176), slightly restored,<sup>66</sup> our best representation of a Roman triumph, shows one in the background blowing a long straight *tuba*. The *tuba* is used for ceremonies, Varro (*de ling. lat.* 6.14) *sacrorum tubae*. Polybius carefully renders *tuba* by σάλπιγξ and transcribes *bucina* by βουκάνη (15.12.2) and its derivatives. *Bucina* is in military use, Vergil *Aen.* 7.519 *qua bucina signum / dira dedit* "where the dire *bucina* gives the signal"; it is curved so that Ovid *Met.* 1.335 can call Poseidon's seashell-horn a *bucina...tortilis* "twisted *bucina*."

Jerome translates the (curved) שופר as we saw by *bucina*, but NT σάλπιγξ by *tuba*. The advent of the Son of Man, when he is "coming" (ἐρχόμενον) on the clouds of heaven, is marked by "a great trumpet" (Matt 24,30-31), μετὰ σάλπιγγος μεγάλης, Vg *cum tuba*, Pesh שיפורה רבא. Both a Latin and a Greek word for "trumpet" went into Rabbinic, regularly for the armies of Gentiles. At *Midrash on Psalms* 18,14 Pharaoh sought to hearten [his host] "with all kinds of *bucinae*, horns, *shophars* and *salpinges*,"

במיני בוקינוס וקרנות ושופרות וסלפינוס

On Ps 89,16 "Happy is the people that know the sound of the blast," *Lev. Rabbah* 29.4 comments, "But do not the nations of the world know how to sound the blast? What a host of horns they have!

כמה קרנות יש להם

What a host of *bucinae* (בוקינוס) they have! What a host of *salpinges* (סלפינגוס) they have!" The trumpet was thought an Etruscan invention: one Tyrsenos discovered it (Pausanias 2.21.3), and already Aeschylus (*Eum.* 567-8) speaks of the Τυρσηνική σάλπιγξ.

#### 16.8.4 The victor's twelve attendants

The Roman *triumphator*, necessarily one with the full *imperium* of the Roman state, was exceptionally on his triumph privileged to exercise that authority within the *pomerium* that surrounded the city walls. So inevitably at his triumph he was preceded by his (twelve) lictors, ῥαβδοῦχοι (*Appian Pun.* 66); the victor "bound branches of laurel on the *fasces*" (Zonaras 7.21<sup>67</sup>), κλώνας δάφνης περιέδει τοῖς ῥάβδοις. Each of the *fasces* was an axe (II.267) surrounded by rods. The chiefs of the

66 H. Stuart Jones (ed.), *A Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures preserved in the Municipal Collections of Rome: The Sculptures of the Palazzo dei Conservatori*; Oxford: Clarendon, 1926; pp. 25-26 and Plate 12.

67 In the LCL Dio Cassius, i.192.

(twelve) tribes of Israel (each represented by a rod at Num 17) join Solomon to bring the ark from the hill of Zion to the new Temple (I Reg 8,1). The Twelve whom Jesus named appear at Mark 10,32 just before they reach Jericho, and again at 11,11 just after Jesus enters Jerusalem. Their number corresponds to that of the tribes (Matt 19,28 // Luk 22,30). Perhaps we may think of the victor as representing his amphictyony (II.239) returning to its central sanctuary or *fanum*.

### 16.8.5 Entering through the gate

The gates of city or temple through which the ark or Davidic king passes are seen as animate and self-opening, Ps 24,7:

שָׁעוּ שְׁעָרִים רְאֵשֵׁיכֶם      וְהִנָּשְׂאוּ פְתָחֵי עוֹלָם

“Lift up your heads, O gates (Jerome iux. Hebr. *portae*); and be lifted up, O everlasting doors (LXX πύλαι).” The Psalm for Succoth or the Feast of Booths is some kind of an entrance liturgy for a merely human procession (II.256), Ps 118,19-20 “Open for me the gates of righteousness; I shall enter through them, I shall praise Yah. This is the gate (LXX πύλη, Vg *porta*) of Yahweh; the righteous ones shall enter through it”:

פֶּתַח-לִי שְׁעַר-צְדָקָה      אֲבֹתֵכֶם אֹדְהָ יְהוָה  
וְזֶה-הַשְּׁעַר לַיהוָה      צְדִיקִים יְבֹאוּ-בּוֹ

But in the Gospel context “Blessed is he who comes...” suggests the entrance of a king or God.

The Roman triumph passed through a *Porta Triumphalis*: at Augustus’ death flattery proposed that his funeral should pass through it, Suetonius *Aug.* 100 (cf Tacitus *Ann.* 1.8) *funus Triumphali Porta ducendum*. Versnel 132-163 concludes that it was free-standing and discusses it at length; it was perhaps the model for the imperial arches like that of Titus.<sup>68</sup> Josephus *BJ* 7.130 describes it at Vespasian’s triumph (AD 71) as “the gate (πύλην) which has its name among the Romans from the fact that triumphs (θριάμβους) are always sent (πέμπεσθαι) through it.”

In the New Testament the theme of “entrance” is transferred to “entering the kingdom of God”; it restates the condition of the old entrance liturgy, “Who shall ascend the hill of Yahweh?”. Jesus says (Matt 7,13, cf Luk 13,24-25) “Enter through the narrow gate,” εἰσέλθατε διὰ τῆς στενῆς πύλης, Vg *intrate per angustam portam*, Pesh אַלִּיצַא עוֹלוּ בַחֲרֵעָא אֲלִיצַא. With the word for “door,” θύρα, the new church

68 But Richardson 301 regards it as an actual gate (unlocated) in the Servian wall. Claridge 250 puts it near the present S. Omobono (map p. 242 no. 11).

often found an “open door,” Rev 4,1 θύρα ἡγεωργμένη (cf 3,8; I Kor 16,9; II Kor 2,12; Kol 4,3). For Jesus himself is the door, Joh 10,9 ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ θύρα, Vg *ego sum ostium*, Pesh אַנְא אַנְא תְּרַעָא; or alternatively, he stands by the door, Rev 3,20 ἰδοὺ ἕστηκα ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν, Vg *ecce sto ad ostium*.

πύλη went into Rabbinic in a text which speaks to us directly, though in an artificial context. *Lev. Rabbah* 18.1 concludes from Koh 12,5 “For man goes to *his* eternal home (אֶל-בַּיִת עוֹלָמוֹ)” that “though each one tastes of his death (טועם מִיַּתָּה), cf Mark 9,1 etc. οὐ μὴ γεύσονται θανάτου), each righteous man has an eternity of his own (עולם בפני עצמו).” It illustrates: “Parable of a king who enters a city, and with him his *duces* and eparchs and soldiers:

דכסין ואפרכין ואסטרטיוטין

although each one enters by the same *gate*,<sup>69</sup> each is taken care of according to his rank”:

אף על פי שהכל נכנסין בפילין אחד כל אחד ואחד שרוי לפני כבודו

#### 16.8.6 The palm of victory

The triumphator at Rome “wore a wreath of laurel and held a branch in his right hand,” Zonaras 7.21 (II.262)<sup>70</sup> στέφανόν τε δάφνης ἀναδησάμενος καὶ κλάδον κρατῶν ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ. Also the army carried laurel, Appian *Pun.* 66 ἡ στρατιά ...δαφνηφοροῦσα, cf Plutarch *Aem. Paull.* 34.3. Tibullus 2.5.117-118 describes the scene:

Ipse gerens laurus; lauro deuinctus agresti  
miles “io” magna uoce “trumphe” canet.

Messalinus before his chariot will have [images of] conquered towns, “himself carrying the laurels, while his soldiers, crowned with wild laurel, will cry out loud *Io triumphe*.” The laurel wreath was put “in the lap of Jupiter Capitolinus” at the end of the day (II.259). The triumphator underneath his *toga picta* wore a *tunica palmata* (Livy 10.7.9), a “tunic embroidered with palms.” In Claudius’ triumph M. Crassus Frugi was dressed in *ueste palmata* (Suetonius *Claud.* 17.3). Tertullian *Apol.* 50.3, describing the martyr burnt at the stake, cries *Hic est habitus uictoriae nostrae, haec palmata uestis, tali curru triumphamus* “This is the dress of our victory, this our tunica palmata, in this chariot we triumph.”

Already in Greece the palm is the sign of victory, Aristotle *Mag. Mor.* 1196a36 ὁ λαβῶν τὸν φοῖνικα “he who receives the palm.” In all the ancient languages the palm-frond is seen as a hand with fingers

69 Hebrew פִּילִין may represent either πύλων or the accusative πύλην.

70 In the LCL Dio Cassius, i.195.

(I.18). In the Aramaic of Tema (5/4 cent BC) קלן (KAI 228 A 18) are an offering or sign of victory. We saw the use of palm-branches with the other species at the feast of Succoth (II.256). II Makk 14,4 uses φοίνικα of a palm-branch given a king (Demetrius I, 161 BC); and at 10,7 (164 BC, I.157) in the entry of Maccabeus “thyrsos (from the cult of Dionysos!), branches and palms (Vg *palmas*),” θύρσους καὶ κλάδους ... φοίνικας.<sup>71</sup>

I Makk 13,37 uses an Egyptian word βαῖνην (Vg *baen*), Eg. *b<sup>ε</sup>*;<sup>72</sup> for the palm-branch given by Demetrius II to Simon (142 BC); and (I Makk 13,51) βαῖων (Vg *ramis palmarum*) for the palms in the grand entry of Simon. Joh 12,13 at Jesus’ entry follows the language of I Makk, where the crowd take up τὰ βότρυα τῶν φοινίκων, Vg *ramos palmarum*, Pesh סוכה דדקלא.<sup>73</sup> I cannot determine whether the Coptic versions of Joh 12,13 have the Egyptian word. Porphyry *de abst.* 4.7 says that Egyptian priests “make their bed of palm-branches, which they call *bais*,” κοίτη δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν σπαδικῶν τοῦ φοίνικος, ἧς καλοῦσι βότρυς; Jerome (*adv. Iouin.* 2.13)<sup>74</sup> translates *cubile eis de foliis palmarum quas baias uocant contextum erat*. I Makk surely illustrates a Palestinian Aramaic usage, further attested at *Lev. Rabbah* 30.2 where two come before a judge; “if one of them takes a palm-branch in his hand we know that he is the victor”:

אלא מאן דנסב באין בידה אנן ידעין דהוא נצוחא

### 16.8.7 Those led in triumph; the sacrifice

In two passages from the letters attributed to Paul θριαμβεύω takes an object, but of different nature.

#### 16.8.7.1 Victorious soldiers led in triumph

II Kor 2,14 “But thanks be to God who always leads us in triumph (θριαμβεύοντι ἡμᾶς, Vg *triumphat nos*) in Christ and manifests the sweet odor (ὀσμὴν) of his knowledge through us in every place.” In what capacity are the parties involved being “led in triumph” or “triumphed over”? Duff<sup>75</sup> cites a number of scholars who are sure that

71 φοῖνιξ both as “palm” and “purple” has been proposed as the source of Φοινίκη “Phoenicia.”

72 Erman-Grapow i.446.

73 The Pesh. here is Rabbinic סוכה “branch” (Bib. Hebr. שוכה Jud 9,48), originally distinct from עֲבֹד “booth,” but perhaps conflated in usage.

74 PL 23.303A.

75 Paul Brooks Duff, “Metaphor, Motif, and Meaning: The Rhetorical Strategy behind the Image ‘Led in Triumph’ in 2 Corinthians 2:14,” CBQ 53 (1991) 79-92.

“Paul compares himself to a captured prisoner of war led to his execution by a triumphant general.” But this interpretation requires difficult and (as I see it) forced exegesis; and I do not see why we need abandon the sense found by LSJ here “*lead in triumph*, as a general does his army.” The soldiers were as much part of the event as the prisoners or more so. The verb *triumpho* in classical Latin is intransitive except when it takes a cognate accusative; thus Gellius 2.11.4 of L. Sicinius Dentatus, a republican tribune of the people, *triumphauit cum imperatoribus suis triumphos nouem* “with his generals he participated in nine triumphs.” But in the Fathers θριαμβεύω can take an object of the soldiers following the victor. Thus Dionysius of Alexandria (quoted in Eusebius *HE* 6.41.23): at the trial of a Christian, soldiers profess themselves Christians also and frighten the judge into letting them go free, “God thereby leading them gloriously in triumph,” θριαμβεύοντος αὐτοὺς ἐνδόξως τοῦ θεοῦ. Again, the “sweet smell” of II Kor 2,14 suggests that Paul knew the Roman triumph to be accompanied by sacrifices with incense: thus (Plutarch *Aem. Paull.* 32.2) “every temple was opened and was full of wreaths and incense (θυμιαμάτων).” This again implies that Paul is identified with the winning rather than with the losing party.

#### 16.8.7.2 Captives led in triumph (and executed)

Kol 2,15 has several problems of interpretation which we can here pass over; the relevant phrase is clear apart from the uncertain subject (God or Christ?), θριαμβεύσας αὐτοὺς (Vg *triumphans illos*) “triumphing over them,” i.e. the “principalities and powers,” τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐξουσίας, or equivalently “leading them in triumph.” Here plainly the principalities and powers are the conquered prisoners, in line with Ps 68,18. An archaizing Latin inscription describing the triumph of Gaius Duillius in 260 BC probably says that “he first led in triumph freeborn Carthaginians,” *Cartacinie[ns]is [ince]nuos*.<sup>76</sup> One more feature of a triumph is the execution of prisoners, above all a captured general. Gideon executed the captured Midianite kings (Jud 8,18-21), and Samuel hews Agag in pieces “before Yahweh” (I Sam 15,33). Zonaras 7.21<sup>77</sup> affirms execution as a general rule, and so Cicero *Ver.* 2.5.77 *idemque dies et uictoribus imperii et uictis uitae finem facit* “the same day ends the *imperium* of the conquerors and the life of the conquered.” Thus (Livy 67 *summ.*, 104 BC) *In triumpho C. Marii ductus*

76 CIL I.2; Gordon IILE 48.

77 In the LCL Dio Cassius, i.200.

*ante currum eius Jugurtha cum duobus filiis et in carcere necatus est*, “In the triumph of Gaius Marius, Jugurtha with his two sons was led before his chariot and put to death in prison.”<sup>78</sup> Vespasian halted his triumph at the Capitoline in accordance with an “ancestral custom” (παλαιὸν πάτριον, Josephus *BJ* 7.153-4) until the death of the enemy general was announced, in this case Simon bar Giora. In the Pauline context this suggests the ultimate destruction of Satan; in Mark’s context of the “triumphal entry” with its reversed symbolism it is turned upside down to suggest the sacrificial death of Jesus.

When the soldiers mocked Jesus by putting on him the garments of a king, or when the Alexandrians mocked Carabas (II.118), the underlying symbolism becomes complex. We saw above that the garments of the triumphator assimilate him not merely to the old kings but also to Jupiter the god of victories, who from his own statue provides the *Iouis ornatum*. Gregory of Nyssa *In Christi Resurrectionem* 5<sup>79</sup> sees the mocked Jesus as participating in a triumph, ἔθριάμβευον ἔμπαιζοντες οἱ στρατιῶται τὸν τῆς στρατιᾶς τῶν οὐρανῶν δεσπότην “The soldiers conducted a triumph by mocking the Lord of the heavenly army.” Thus he participates as victor and divinity on the one hand, as captive and sacrificial victim on the other.

### 16.9 An axe as representing the divinity

We saw (II.262) that the Roman triumphator exceptionally was allowed to exercise his *imperium* within the *pomerium* that surrounded the city walls. As at all times outside the city he was preceded by his twelve lictors bearing the *fascēs*, on his triumph he was exceptionally entitled to have them inside the city as well, with their *fascēs* garlanded with laurel. Perhaps rather we should say that at the triumph he enjoyed his full and complete power, at all other times diminished by custom or law. Notoriously the *fascēs* consisted of “bundles” of rods surrounding an axe. Livy 2.5.8 describes an execution: *missique lictores ad sumendum supplicium; nudatos uirgis caedunt securisque feriunt* “the lictors were sent to carry out the punishment; the victims were stripped; the lictors scourge them with rods and strike [their heads off] with the axe.” The authority for life and death of the triumphator is

78 Plutarch *Marius* 12.3-4 indicates rather that Jugurtha was allowed to starve to death in prison.

79 PG 46.688A.



concentrated in the axe. And to the extent that the triumphator represents Jupiter, it would seem that Jupiter also is represented by the axe.

Yahweh, Zeus and Jupiter (we saw, Chapter 11) can all act as gods of the thunderstorm; how is such a god represented? A basalt statue of a weather-god from Til Barsib of about 1100 BC shows him standing under the solar disk with a three-branched lightning in his left hand and an axe in his right; I do not easily find a transcription or translation of the Luvian hieroglyphs on the stele.<sup>80</sup> We see Yahweh as a woodsman at Isa 10,33-34 with its unique vocabulary: “Behold, the lord Yahweh of hosts is lopping off boughs with a crash...The stands of the forest will be cut down with iron; and Lebanon will fall [at the hand of?] the mighty one:”

... הַיָּהּ הָאֲדוֹן יְהוָה צָבָאוֹת  
 וְנִקְפָּה סִבְכֵי הַיַּעַר בַּבְּרִזְלָה  
 מִסַּעַר פְּאֲרָה בְּמַעֲרָצָה  
 וְהִלְבִּינוּן בְּאֲדִיר יָפוֹל

In context, “Lebanon” seems to stand for Assyria, which controlled it. The Assyrian (apparently Tiglath-Pileser III) said “By the strength of my hand I have done it” (Isa 10,13); Sennacherib boasted that he had cut down the forest of Lebanon (Isa 37,24). Tiglath-Pileser III roofed his palaces at Calah with Lebanese cedar, and Sennacherib another palace with cedar from Amanus and “Sirara” (eastern Lebanon?).<sup>81</sup> But all is Yahweh’s doing, and in cutting down the forest of Lebanon the Assyrian is cutting the source of his own strength. Thus Yahweh says to the Assyrian (Isa 10,15), “Shall the axe (Vg *securis*) vaunt itself over him who hews with it, or the saw magnify itself against him who wields it?”:

הֵי־תִפְאֵר הַבְּרִזְלָה עַל הַחֹצֵר בּוֹ  
 אִם־תִּתְהַלֵּל הַמַּשְׁוֵר עַל־מְנִיבּוֹ

He has a controversy with (probably) Israel as represented by the cedars (Isa 2,12-13), against Tyre as similarly represented (Ez 31), and out of political context breaks the cedars of Lebanon (Ps 29,5). Temporarily the Assyrian acts as the axe in his hand, but his role as woodman is permanent. The Celtic god Esus appears precisely as a woodman, chopping down a tree on the pillar of *nautae Parisiaci* under Tiberius (ILS 4613, cf. I.195), now in the Musée de Cluny. Thus the symbol of the axe represents Yahweh’s roles as bringer of the storm, as woodman, and as lord of history.

The felling of a tree can stand for the fall of an empire. In the *Iliad* (13.389-391 = 16.483-485) the death of a hero on the battlefield is

80 ANEP<sup>2</sup> no. 532. A similar stele from Sam’al of the 9th century BC is now in the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin; see Horst Klengel, *Geschichte und Kultur Altsyriens*; Leipzig: Koehler & Ameland, 1967; plate 33.

81 Brown, *Lebanon and Phoenicia*, 191-193.

compared to the cutting of a great tree by woodworkers on the mountains with their sharp axes for ship timber. Vergil extends the symbol to a whole city when (*Aen.* 2.626-631) he makes the fall of a tree stand for the fall of Troy.

Mediterranean words for “axe” have some enticing similarities but no firm connections. Hebrew *qardom* in קַרְדָּמוֹ (I Sam 13,20) and קַרְדָּמָה have a similar non-Semitic structure but no attestation outside Hebrew. Greek πέλεκυς goes with Sanskrit *paraśubh* (Frisk); neither can be clearly connected with Akkadian *pilakku* (Heb. פִּלְקָה) which as it seems mean only “spindle” and never “axe.”<sup>82</sup> ἀξίνη goes with Latin *ascia* and Old English *æx*. It is tempting to compare Akkadian *ḥaššinnu* (e.g. *Gilgamesh* X.iii.44) and Rabbinic Aramaic חַצִּינָא (Bab. Talm. *Shabb.* 123b “the carpenters’ axe,” חַצִּינָא דַּנְּגָרִי); any ancestor would have to be an old culture-word taken over early both by Semitic and by Indo-European.

The double axe is the most prominent motif in the palace of Knossos, and the palace’s name λαβύρινθος in some language may mean “palace of the double axe”: a document in Linear B (DMG<sup>2</sup> 205) has been interpreted as donating honey to the “Mistress of the Labyrinth,” *dapw<sup>2</sup>(?)-ri-to-jo po-ti-ni-ja*. Late sources (Frazer on Apollodorus *Epit.* 1.9) describe the ball of thread which Ariadne gave Theseus to find his way out; the story is known to *Cant. Rabbah* on 1.8.<sup>83</sup> Plutarch<sup>84</sup> attests that the statue of Zeus at Labraunda of Caria carried an axe. The story ran that Heracles gave the axe of Hippolyta to his mistress Omphale queen of Lydia, who passed it on to her successors. King Candaules gave it to one of his companions to carry until it was taken in war by Arselis, who built the statue and called it *Labrandeus*, “for the Lydians call the axe λάβρυς.” A. B. Cook<sup>85</sup> saw the *labarum* of Constantine as the final version of the *labrys*. Labraunda certainly seems a variant of the pre-Greek *labyrinthos*. Drews<sup>86</sup> regards Plutarch’s

82 Rabbinic פִּלְקָה “axe” (*Midrash Tehillim* on Ps 105,10) must be just a loanword from πέλεκυς like Syriac פִּלְקָה.

83 “Imagine a large palace with many doors, so that whoever entered could not find his way back to the door, till one clever person came and took a coil of string and hung it up on the way to the door, so that all went in and out by means of the coil.”

84 *Quaest. Graec.* 45 = *Mor.* 301F.

85 Zeus ii.513-703. Eusebius *Vita Const.* 1.31 (PG 20.945A) describes the λάβαρον of Constantine and calls it Roman.

86 Robert Drews, “Light from Anatolia on the Roman Fasces,” *AJP* 93 (1972) 40-51.

story as “valid evidence that in the early sixth century the Lydian king was attended by a single ‘lictor’ who bore an axe.”<sup>87</sup>

It is remarkable then that the Porsenna who at Rome held royal power (Dionysius Hal. 5.35), which must have included the fasces, had a tomb which Pliny calls a labyrinth.<sup>88</sup> At 36.84-93 Pliny describes four “labyrinths” known to him: those of Egypt, Cnossus, and Lemnos;<sup>89</sup> and the tomb of Lars Porsenna at Clusium, which he describes with quotations from Varro. The grandiose architecture there described can hardly have existed in full;<sup>90</sup> but Scullard<sup>91</sup> thinks it related to the “vast labyrinth of *cuniculi* and burial chambers” 3 miles northeast of Chiusi.

At Etruscan Vetulonia near Elba there was found an archaic stele (7th-6th century BC) showing a warrior with plumed helmet, a round shield with hexagonal design, and holding a double axe.<sup>92</sup> The inscription, perhaps the oldest one known, reads (TLE 363):

[a?]veleš feluskeš tusnutn [...] panalaš mini muluvaneke hirumi[.]  
apərs naxs

The warrior was apparently Aulus Feluske, and “Hirumina of Perusia(?) dedicated me.” Silius Italicus 8.483-8 among institutions which came to Rome from Vetulonia includes the bundle of rods (*fasces*) and the axes (*securēs*) along with the trumpet:

bis senos haec prima dedit praecedere fasces  
et iunxit totidem tacito terrore securēs

“This city first granted that the twice-six fasces should go ahead, and added the same number of axes with their silent terror.” The excavation of a tomb of the sixth century BC there produced actual miniature iron fasces complete with a double-headed axe.<sup>93</sup>

The two Roman consuls in alternate months were preceded by twelve

87 Greek *labyrinthos* is first attested by Herodotus 2.148.1 of an Egyptian “labyrinth,” but the usage at Cnossus must be older. Frescoes of a maze have been found in the Hyksos palace at Tell el Dab’a, ancient Avaris: Manfred Bietak, “Connections Between Egypt and the Minoan World: New Results from Tell el-Dab’a / Avaris,” pp. 19-28 of W.V. Davis & L. Schofield (eds.), *Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant: Interconnections in the Second Millennium BC*; British Museum, 1995.

88 Porsenna’s capture of Rome (I.171) is attested by Tacitus *Hist.* 3.72.

89 Since Pliny has the “Lemnian” built by Theodoros of Samos (I.303), it is probably an error for the temple of Hera at Samos, which (34.83) he calls the “Samian labyrinth.”

90 Guido A. Mansuelli, “Il monumento di Porsina di Chiusi,” *Mélanges Heurgon* (note 24 above) ii.619-626.

91 H. H. Scullard, *The Etruscan Cities and Rome*; Ithaca: Cornell, 1967; p. 156.

92 Pallottino plate 30 and p. 130.

93 Pallottino plate 31.

lictors bearing axes in bundles of rods (Suetonius *Julius* 20). They were known to be *insignia magistratuum Etruscorum* (Macrobius 1.6.7). Dionysius Hal. 3.61-62 believed that a commander of the united Etruscans had twelve axes, one for each city, and that the Roman kings adopted all twelve. So Livy 1.8.3 (II.204) explains that the number was derived from the Etruscans “because each of the cities which united to elect the king [i.e. a temporary commander in battle] contributed one lictor,” *quod ex duodecim populis communiter creato rege singulos singuli populi lictores dederint*. Mussolini, who restored *fascismo*, modestly forewent twelve lictors, but set up two large fasces on the balcony of the Palazzo Venezia where he made public appearances.<sup>94</sup>

Not only the axes but their number seems an Aegean inheritance. The ordeal of Odysseus is to shoot an arrow through a line of twelve axes, πελέκεων δυοκαίδεκα (*Odyssey* 19.573-4, cf. 21.76). The most natural assumption is that the axes “are not everyday tools, but *votive* axes whose handle terminates in a metal ring that allows the axes to hang from a peg.”<sup>95</sup> And then we will naturally ask, How did Odysseus happen to have twelve non-functional axes in his house? What can they be but the insignia of his royal authority?

At Num 17 the twelve tribes are represented by twelve rods (מִטָּה). Both מִטָּה and טֹבֵטֵב have the double meaning “rod” and “tribe”; the tribe was so named as being led by a man carrying a staff, as very frequently for other nations in the Hebrew Bible as well. That “the rod (טֹבֵטֵב) shall not pass from Judah” (Gen 49,10) implies the continuity and permanence of the tribe.<sup>96</sup> If twelve rods corresponding to twelve tribes were gathered together into a bundle they would resemble a single *fascis* (minus the axe) of the twelve which preceded the Roman king or consul. Perhaps then the original meaning of the *fascis* was the unity of clans in one “amphictyony” (II.239) under the protection of a divine woodman.

Once again the New Testament brings out the latent sense of Hebrew materials in a Roman context. The reconstructed “Q” document of Jesus’ sayings likely began with the word of John Baptist, “Even now the axe is laid at the root of the trees” (Matt 3,10 = Luk 3,9). It ended with “Wherever the corpse lies, there the ‘eagles’ (αἰετοί) will be gathered together” (Matt 24,29 = Luk 17,37). The birds combine the

94 R. de Felice and L. Goglia, *Storia fotografica del fascismo*; Laterza: 1981, *passim*.

95 Oxford *Odyssey* iii.105.

96 There is a fairly close phonetic parallel between שבטֵיִךָ וְטֹבֵטֵב (Deut 12,14) “your tribes” and σπάθαι “broadswords,” but the meanings are not that close.

sense of the Near Eastern and Etruscan vultures on the battlefield (I.280-282) with the eagles of the Roman legions. God's "wrath to come" is concretized and separated from him in the quasi-autonomous axe. The trees which are to fall stand for the whole of history. The historical agent is now Rome, which with its fasces takes over from Assyria the role of axe in the hand of the lord of history.

## Chapter 17: Levels of Connection Between Greek and Hebrew

### 17.1 Summary

Since Vol. I came out, several books have given me by contrast a clearer picture of my own enterprise. One (“SIE”) is by my associate Saul Levin;<sup>1</sup> I saw its MS chapter by chapter as I was writing, but the whole makes possible a synoptic view and page references. Another (“EFH”) is by M. L. West,<sup>2</sup> which among other things much extends the work of Walter Burkert.<sup>3</sup> Fortunate delays in my writing and in de Gruyter’s printing schedule have let me revise this volume in view of West’s work, as he revised his in view of mine. While I have entered here what I found most relevant in these two authors, students will miss much unless they look through both books for themselves. The same is true of the *œuvre* of Moshe Weinfeld, in particular two new books; my indebtedness to both is recorded in the text.<sup>4</sup> I now then reposition my own work in the oblique light that these three authors have thrown on it.

Each of us studies one or more *levels of connection* between Greek and Hebrew texts. —Levin builds bridges between the Semitic and Indo-European language families at the earliest possible date, although

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- 1 Saul Levin, *Semitic and Indo-European: The Principal Etymologies; with Observations on Afro-Asiatic*; Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science; Series IV; vol. 129; Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1995; referred to here as “SIE.”
  - 2 M. L. West, *The East Face of Helicon: West Asiatic Elements in Greek Poetry and Myth*; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997; here referred to as “EFH.”
  - 3 Walter Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution: Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Age*; Cambridge: Harvard, 1992; English tr. with extensive revisions by the author.
  - 4 Moshe Weinfeld, *Promise of the Land: The Inheritance of the Land of Canaan by the Israelites*; Berkeley: Univ. of California, 1993; *Social Justice in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East*; Jerusalem: Magnes & Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995.

Hebrew and Greek often provide the best examples; from time to time he cites texts in which those primeval etymologies continue to link historic Israel and Hellas. —West’s enterprise (after a first chapter “Aegean and Orient”) is a literary one: to cite Semitic (with Sumerian and Hittite) texts which he regards as having influenced Greek epic and lyric. An earlier article of his<sup>5</sup> sees such influence by Near Eastern poetry as the latest stratum of Homeric epic, which is then to be traced back through Ionian epic, Aeolic epic, and two stages of Mycenaean epic to its remotest roots in “Indo-European praise poetry.” West sees the primary Eastern influence on Greek epic as the style and themes of Akkadian epic, though he often finds Hebrew reflexes of the Akkadian. —Weinfeld’s vision is of *international juristic formulas* in treaty, law and cult practice; he begins with Akkadian influence on Hebrew, but regularly extends it to Greece and Rome. Of the three scholars, his work is closest to mine: my Chapter 8 (“Treaty and Loyalty-Oath,” Vol. I) and Chapter 15.3 (“The formulas of Greek and Phoenician colonization”) begin as summaries of his discoveries; Chapter 10 also owes much to his discussion of divine justice.

In partial contrast to Weinfeld, I regard the *shared vocabulary*<sup>6</sup> of Greek and Hebrew embedded in their texts as the strongest indication of genuine cultural parallels. I begin from the vocabulary recognized in Emilia Masson’s scrupulous work,<sup>7</sup> while extending it in several directions; I treat parallels lacking shared vocabulary more cautiously. West’s work confirms what I suspected from Weinfeld: in Semitic-Greek relations, *translated matter and literary motifs hardly ever generate loan-words*.<sup>8</sup> The shared vocabulary, though embedded and transmitted in literary texts, did not get there by translation but by shared enterprises: movement of women, trade by land and sea, exotic imports, viticulture, warfare, sacrificial cult, weddings, goldsmithery and banking, mythology, treatment of friend and enemy.... Where shared vocabulary infiltrates translated texts, it is because the texts record the enterprises.

The purpose of my volumes is humanistic: to help the reader better appreciate by comparison the Hebrew and Greek texts (and Latin ones too) we have always had in our hands. In Israel (I.1) the texts them-

5 M. L. West, “The Rise of the Greek Epic,” JHS 108 (1988) 151-172.

6 Previously I have often written “*common* vocabulary”; in this chapter the adjective “common” is restricted to “common nouns” naming things, in contrast to “proper” nouns naming persons, tribes, places and gods.

7 Emilia Masson, *Recherches sur les plus anciens emprunts sémitiques en grec*; *Etudes et Commentaires* 67; Paris: Klincksieck, 1967.

8 Levin observes that this rule does not follow everywhere, e.g. in Middle English translations from the French.

selves are the primary deposit of the cultural achievement, along with the institutions of church and synagogue which carried them. In Hellas the art and architecture stand nearly on the same level as the literary texts, but during many centuries were unknown or unnoticed, except through Roman copies or imitations. In both lands the great novelty is the society which produced the texts—and for which the texts are the primary witness.

Levin, as I know from long friendship, values Greek and Hebrew texts equally; but his austere philology values the languages, along with Sanskrit, above all because of the accuracy with which their writing systems express the sound of words, and in particular the accents. And the writing system is no small matter: its clarity encouraged progressive refinement of the texts; without it they could never have come down to us through so many generations of custodians. — West the exemplary editor of Hesiod defines his priority in the index (p. 640) of passages discussed, where the “emphasis is on passages illustrated rather than those which illustrate”: Greek texts are listed fully; Akkadian and Sumerian very briefly, Hebrew only a little less so. His favorite among Semitic texts may be *Gilgamesh* (p. 65): “The Gilgamesh epic is deservedly the most famous work of Mesopotamian poetic literature. It is by some way the longest, and the most affecting.” —Weinfeld’s focus is always the Hebrew Bible, especially Deuteronomy; he is ambivalent how far its emphases are truly anticipated in Mesopotamian texts, as in royal proclamations of justice (II.47). He is unique among scholars of the ancient Near East in discerning continuations of its juristic institutions in Greek and Latin texts, which however (it is perhaps fair to say) fall into West’s category of things illustrating rather than illustrated. —But all of our projects supplement, rather than contradicting, each other.

I differ thus far from my fellows that I see Hebrew and Greek (with Latin) texts as equally warranting illustration rather than serving to illustrate something else. By their shared features (I.10-14)—continuity of preservation; phonetic script; an origin from a whole people; theism and humanism; exemplary character and originality—they constitute the societies they define as two poles of a unique emergence. It is my presumption (borne out I trust by the evidence) that the relations between them are not one-sided but of mutual influence. It is problematic for me whether the texts of the ancient Near East—lost for many centuries, lacking a learned tradition, mostly fragmentary, written in defective scripts—can lay claim to a comparable exemplary character. The Gilgamesh epic comes closest; but any modern version, pieced together out of various recensions, owes such resonance as it achieves in our ears



more to the historical connotations of its translator's language than to its own.<sup>9</sup> —Anyway, here I compare Biblical and Classical texts with each other rather than with something else; to lay out their differences, or better complementarity, remains a task for the future.

In this chapter I survey my work, and excerpt that of my colleagues, in the easier manner: from the outside in, moving backwards in time; stripping off the most accessible and recent layer of Greco-Semitic connections, then on to the next, and so on, ending with the deepest parallels yet discernible. Where I have adequately treated a topic before, I summarize; hence some unevenness of coverage. Let me then here outline my results in the opposite order, *forward* in time, starting at the earliest relationships we can find.

*Shared structures of Indo-European and Semitic* (17.6). Here Levin in his two books (“IESL” and “SIE”) made a breakthrough by the discovery of morphological parallels (including vowels) between the two language families, rather than contenting himself with a comparison of consonantal roots. I note some of his stronger parallels that continue as constituent elements in the culture of Israel and Hellas (and other societies too).

*Ethnics and noun-endings* (17.5). In a joint article<sup>10</sup> Levin and I propose that three grammatical forms are preserved for nouns and adjectives of all sorts by the names of foreign peoples: masculine eponyms, masculine collectives or plurals, feminine singulars. Very likely, the ethnic names jointly known to Hebrew and Greek rest on earlier names of the same formation.

*Shared vocabulary* (17.4). I propose that Israel and Hellas have a broad commonality composed of parallel enterprises with the same names for key elements. At I.19-21 I list those enterprises as treated in these chapters; now I rearrange the names by likely origins. They include old wandering words, indigenous names of Mediterranean things, Canaanite and Akkadian loanwords in Greek, names of exotic imports from further east, words from the Aegean or Anatolia carried eastwards into Canaanite, and words from Egyptian and Persian. An impartial focus on Israel and Hellas alike by itself frees the shared vocabulary from the straitjacket of “Semitic loanwords in Greek.”

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9 But at the very least, the Gilgamesh epic, unlike all other Ancient Near Eastern works, lends itself to modern literary adaptation. See the essays in the large collection edited by John Maier, *Gilgamesh: A Reader*; Wauconda: Bolchazy-Carducci, 1997. Its special status warrants separate study.

10 J. P. Brown & S. Levin, “The Ethnic Paradigm as a pattern for nominal forms in Greek and Hebrew,” *General Linguistics* 28 (1986) 71-105.

Where the suffixes of words themselves are comparable, often they follow the ethnic paradigm (17.5).

*Men and cities of the Mediterranean* (17.3). The Hebrew Bible and Greek literature stand on a sturdy joint framework of political history: names of cities and peoples (with their gods); dynasties of rulers, from shadowy echoes of the Hittites to the regimes of Egypt, Assyria, Babylon and the Old Persian empire. The historical names grade off into figures of legend and myth.

*Translation, evident and presumed* (17.2) Closest at hand are the deposits of translation in the historic period, certain or plausible, mostly so effective as to dispense with the transliteration of one language into another. Here fall treaties and other juristic formulae which Weinfeld has made his own; shared proverbs, once carried by goldsmith-bankers whose trade constitutes their earliest metaphor; and the style and motifs of Mesopotamian epic which West has so fully catalogued. Again here we shall entertain broader possibilities about the language translated from.

## 17.2 Translation, evident and presumed

### 17.2.1 Juristic formulas

*Treaties.* I outline their structure in Chapter 8 (vol. I), extending in some areas the work of Weinfeld. West (EFH 19-23) summarizes the materials and adds a helpful table of “Matching phrases to do with oaths and treaties.” By definition the treaty (or loyalty oath) is the basic text translated between peoples. Our earliest witness to its formulas is Hittite. But the concrete curses of the oath-taker on himself must have multiple origins, and a few shared words appear: *naphtha* (I.279) was borrowed from Akkadian into Hebrew, Greek and Latin; the parallel between γύψ “vulture” and ἄετο, often “bird of prey” (I.281), more likely came from contact on the battlefield than from a treaty-text; the onomatopoeic similarity of verbs for “lick” (I.282, SIE 275-7) is a linguistic constant. The cognate accusatives “vow a vow, pour an oblation, observe an observance” (I.257-8) show close calque-translation (in which direction?) resting on a parallel structure of IE and Semitic.<sup>11</sup>

11 At I.257 I proposed that the parallel I Reg 8,31 “a curse to adjure(?) him,” לְהַלְלָהּ לְהַלְלָהּ, LXX ἄρὰν τοῦ ἀρᾶσθαι αὐτόν; Sophocles *Oed. Col.* 952 (etc.) ἄρᾶς ἤρᾶτο “he uttered curses” connected Heb. לְהַלְלָהּ “curse” with the root לָלַח and Greek ἀρά; but the style of translators suggests rather an accidental similarity of sound.

*Civil law-codes.* The Eastern connections of Greek *civil* law have previously been noted. The one substantial Greek civil law-code, that of Cretan Gortyn, in one place runs parallel to the Pentateuch.<sup>12</sup> To keep property in the male line, the Gortyn code prescribes (VII.15-18) “The heiress is to be married to the brother of her father, the oldest of those living.” It goes on (VII.21-24) “And if there should be no brothers of the father, but sons of the brothers, she is to be married to that one (who is the son) of the oldest”:

ΑΙ ΔΕ ΚΑ ΜΕ ΙΟΝΤΙ ΑΔΕΛΠΟΙ Τῶ Π[Α]ΤΡΟΣ, ΥΙΕΕΔ ΔΕ ΕΚΣ ΑΔΕΛΠΙΟΝ, ΟΠΥΙΕΘΑΙ ΙΟΙ ΤΟΙ  
[Ε]Σ ΤΟ ΠΡΕΙΓΙΣΤΟ

interpreted as αἱ δέ κα μὲ ἴοντι ἀδελπιοὶ τῷ πατρὸς, υἱέεδ δὲ ἐκσ ἀδελπιῶν, ὀπυῖεθαῖ ἰοῖ τῶ ἕξ τῶ πρεῖγιστῶ. In such a case Num 36,6 has Moses prescribe “Let them become wives to whom they think best; only, they shall become wives within the family of the tribe of their father (לְמִשְׁפַּחַת מִטְּהָ אֲבִיהֶם).” Even more specifically, the daughters of Zelophehad (Num 36,11) “became wives to sons of their father’s brothers” just as at Gortyn:

וַתְּהַיְיָנָה ... לְבָנֵי דְרֵיהֶן לְנָשִׁים

where the Vg interprets דִּיר correctly *filiis patruī sui* “to sons of their paternal uncle.”

*Criminal law-codes.* Morton Smith<sup>13</sup> holds that Greek law-codes might have derived materials from Egyptian ones. Westbrook (II.214) contrasts the casuistic style of the XII Tabulae and the Pentateuch with the general principles found in the contemporary works of the Mishna and Gaius. Now I can cite what I consider a remarkable set of parallels in near-perfect sequence between the “Covenant Code” of Exodus 21 and the ninth book of Plato’s *Laws*, like the Gortyn code set in Crete! I tentatively propose that the Exodus code is a local version of an international code which somehow served as Plato’s model.<sup>14</sup> I leave it for others to determine whether Plato shows further parallels to the Akkadian law-codes.

12 Ronald F. Willetts, *The Law Code of Gortyn*; Kadmos Supplement I; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1967. The parallel to Mosaic law in the case of the woman inheriting is the only one noted by Willetts (p. 24); he seems to regard its features as reflecting an original matriarchy.

13 Morton Smith, “East Mediterranean Law-Codes of the Early Iron Age,” pp. 38\*-43\* of H. L. Ginsberg Memorial Volume (ed. Menahem Haran); *Eretz-Israel* 14; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1978.

14 See further the parallel (II.173) of a married couple “leaving father and mother” between *Leges* 6.776AB and Gen 2,24.

(1) *Death for violence done to father or mother.* Ex 21,15 prescribes death merely for striking (מַדָּבֵר) father or mother, *Leges* 9.869C for killing them.

(2) *Penalties for killing a slave.* Ex 21,20; *Leges* 9.865C, 868A (slightly out of order).

(3) *The Lex Talionis.*<sup>15</sup>

(a) “*Eye for eye*” etc. Ex 21,24 (Lev 24,20; Deut 19,21); and so Hammurabi 196. Lacking from Plato’s *Leges*; however the rule of eye for eye (but not other body-parts) appears at Demosthenes 24.140, and life for life, is ascribed to Solon (Diogenes L. 1.57) and Charondas at Thurii (Diodorus 12.17.4). Now I can add Quran 5.46 “life for life, eye for eye, nose for nose, ear for ear, tooth for tooth,” correctly cited as an (expanded) Jewish formula:

النَّفْسَ بِالنَّفْسِ وَالْعَيْنَ بِالْعَيْنِ وَالْأَنْفَ بِالْأَنْفِ وَالْأَذْنَ بِالْأَذَنِ وَالسِّنَّ بِالسِّنِّ  
echoing the old IE-Semitic pair eye and ear (II.316).

(b) “*Blood for blood.*” Gen 9,6 “He who sheds a man’s blood, by man shall his blood be shed” (I.5). See my citations of Euripides *Electra* 857-8 and Aeschylus *Choephoroi* 400-402.<sup>16</sup> Plato *Leges* 9.872E speaks of “the justice which avenges the blood of kindred,” ἡ τῶν συγγενῶν αἱμάτων τιμωρὸς δίκη at least in reincarnation.

(c) “*As he has done...*” Lev 24:19-20 “As he has done, so shall it be done to him.” Plato *Leges* 9.872E continuing “[Avenging Justice] has decreed that one who has done any such [crime] should necessarily suffer the same things he has done,” ἔταξεν ἄρα δράσαντί τι τοιοῦτον παθεῖν ταῦτὰ ἀναγκαίως ἄπερ ἔδρασεν. δράσαντι ... παθεῖν quotes Aeschylus *Choephoroi* 314 (or *its* source); see Hesiod frag. 286 cited I.5.

(4) *The goading ox to be killed.* Ex 21:29; *Leges* 9.873E.<sup>17</sup>

(5) *Theft of an ox.* Ex 21,37, not in Plato; but see II.18-19.

(6) *Lawful to kill a thief at night.* Ex 22,1; Plato *Leges* 9.874B, see citations at I.4. The old root-parallel between Hebrew גָּנַב “steal” and Greek κλέπτω (II.323, SIE 214-220) appears in Ex 22,1 גָּנַב (LXX κλέπτῃς), Plato *Leg.* 9.874B κλοπῇ “theft”; the linguistic agreement was inevitable, though resting on the archaic institution of cattle-raiding (II.279).

*Other juristic formulas.* Elsewhere Weinfeld has found parallels between Near East and the Greco-Roman world in instructions for

15 See my discussion in “From Hesiod to Jesus” 331-335.

16 Cited at “From Hesiod to Jesus” 331; see further West EFH 575.

17 And see the discussion “From Hesiod to Jesus” 331 with the citation of Aristotle *Ath. Pol.* 57.4.

temple visitors;<sup>18</sup> in the discipline of the Qumran sectaries and Hellenistic guilds;<sup>19</sup> in the conduct of a census.<sup>20</sup> We noted (II.47) his study of Near Eastern royal proclamations as echoed both in Israel and in Greece. Finally (II.214-218) we excerpt his comparison of the pattern of Israelite settlement in the promised land with Vergil's language about the settlement of Aeneas in Italy, both resting on the style of Greek (and Phoenician) colonization.

### 17.2.2 Proverbs

We compared the proverb-collections ascribed to Solomon and Theognis (vol. I, Chapter 9),<sup>21</sup> and in an Excursus (I.316-326) parallel proverbs later attested. The only shared vocabulary (I.303-305) is in the denominative verb "to test" (יָבַח, βασιανίζω, probably Egyptian) with the noun for "gold", Greek χρῦσός; Hebrew יָבַח, the Phoenician word, appears elsewhere in Proverbs but not in this context. The phrase "testing gold" has a special position in both collections, less as a proverb than as defining the profession of goldsmith-bankers who carried the proverbs. The earliest groupings of shared proverbs are Egyptian, but they are highly international material; shared proverbs from the Talmud are likely of Greco-Roman origin.

### 17.2.3 Epic themes

Here, in the body of the text, and in the Appendix, I add some of the more striking materials from West's *East Face of Helicon* ("EFH"). I omit two categories: pages where he cites parallels from my Vol. I without notable additions; proposed etymologies which I feel insufficiently plausible. West frequently cites the 17th-century book of the Corpus Christi scholar Zachary Bogan<sup>22</sup> which anticipates much 19th-

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- 18 "Instructions for Temple Visitors in the Bible and in Ancient Egypt," pp. 224-250 of Sarah Israelit-Groll (ed.), *Egyptological Studies; Scripta Hierosolymitana* 28; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1982.
  - 19 Moshe Weinfeld, *The Organizational Pattern and the Penal Code of the Qumran Sect: A Comparison with Guilds and Religious Associations of the Hellenistic-Roman Period*; *Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus* 2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986.
  - 20 Moshe Weinfeld, "The Census in Mari, in Ancient Israel and in Ancient Rome," pp. 293-298 of D. Garrone (ed.), *Storia e tradizioni di Israele*, 1991.
  - 21 The two collections were compared by Joseph P. Schultz & Lois Spatz, *Sinai and Olympus: A Comparative Study*; Lanham: Univ. Press of America, 1995, p. 290, but without specific examples.
  - 22 Zachary Bogan, *Homerus Ἐβραϊζῶν sive comparatio Homeri cum scriptoribus sacris quoad normam loquendi*; Oxford, 1658. Mostly I note where West cites Bogan, but pass by his copious references to later scholars.

century work. Most of West's materials are epic motifs: features of heaven and earth (West's Chapter 3); aspects of style and technique (his Chapter 4); and phrases and idioms (his Chapter 5). The remainder are West Asiatic illustrations of passages from Hesiod, Homer, Greek lyric, and Aeschylus. His parallels seldom include loanwords: when they do, as in the words for "concubine" (παλλακίς, פִּילֻנִּי, at *Iliad* 9.447-457 and Gen 35,22 etc. (EFH 373; SIE 234; I.65, II.298), it is because the texts refer to shared enterprises. Another reader might make a quite different and perhaps better selection from West's materials. Mostly I have suppressed his parallels to Akkadian in favor of citing actual Greek and Hebrew texts.<sup>23</sup>

*Attitude of prayer* (EFH 42-43). "And [Solomon] spread out his palms to heaven," וַיִּפְרֹשׂ כַּפָּיו הַשָּׁמַיִם (I Reg 8,22); "And he lifted up invincible hands to heaven," ὁ δ' ἀνατείνας οὐρανῶ χειρας ἀμάχους (Pindar *Isthm.* 6.41). And [Moses] spread out his palms to Yahweh," וַיִּפְרֹשׂ כַּפָּיו אֶל-יְהוָה (Ex 9,33); "lifting up hands to Zeus," Διὶ χειρας ἀνασχεῖν (*Iliad* 6.257).

*Casting pollution into the sea* (EFH 53).<sup>24</sup> Micah 7,19 "And you will cast into the depths of the sea all their [our?] sins":

וַחֲשִׁלּוּ בַמַּצְלוֹת יָם כָּל-חַטֹּאתֵיהֶם

*Iliad* 1.314 "And they washed off their defilement and threw the washings into the salt sea":

οἱ δ' ἀπελυσμαίνοντο καὶ εἰς ἄλλα λύματα βάλλον

*Features of a pantheon* (EFH 107-113). The Homeric pantheon compared with Mesopotamian, Hurro-Hittite, and Ugaritic conceptions. In particular they are categorized as heavenly and chthonic "gods of heaven and gods of earth": Zakur stele (KAI 202B,25-6) וְאֱלֹהֵי שָׁמַיִם [וְאֱלֹהֵי אָרֶץ]; Euripides *Hecuba* 146 θεοὺς τοὺς τ' οὐρανίδας τοὺς θ' ὑπὸ γαῖαν. I can add the Aramaic apotropaic formula Jer 10,11 "Let the gods who did not make heaven and earth perish from earth and from below the heavens":

אֲלֹהֵיָ דִּי-שָׁמַיָא וְאֲרֻקָא לָא עֲבָדוּ וְאֲבָדוּ מֵאַרְעָא וּמִן-תַּחְתּוֹת שָׁמַיָא

*Widow and orphan* (EFH 129-130). Ex 22,21 "You shall not oppress any widow or orphan," וְלֹא-תִצְנֶן אֶת-יְתוּמָה וְאֶת-אַלְמָנָה, LXX πᾶσαν χήραν καὶ ὀρφανόν. Hesiod *Opera* 330 one who "wrongs orphan children," ἀλιτῆνεται ὀρφανὰ τέκνα incurs the anger of Zeus. Widow and orphan go together, Andromache to Hector (*Iliad* 6.432) "Do not leave your child an orphan, your wife a widow":

23 These notes (and others elsewhere here) will make up for a peremptory dismissal of West's enterprise at I.15.

24 Citing Cyrus Gordon, *Before the Bible* 13, 259.

μη παῖδ' ὀρφανικὸν θήης, χήρην τε γυναῖκα

*A god puts sentries to sleep* (EFH 182). I Sam 26,12 “For a deep sleep from Yahweh had fallen on them,”

כִּי תִרְדָּמַת יְהוָה נָפְלָה עָלֵיהֶם

*Iliad* 24.445 “For Hermes the courier had poured sleep over them”:

τοῖσι δ' ἐφ' ὕπνον ἔχευε διάκτορος Ἀργειφόντης

*The god identifies himself (herself) and says “Fear not”* (EFH 185).

Gen 26,24 “I am the God of Abraham your father; Fear not (אַל תִּירָא).”

*Iliad* 24.171-3 Iris to Priam “Be of good cheer (θάρασει)...fear not (μηδέ τι τάρβει)...I am the messenger of Zeus (Διὸς δέ τοι ἄγγελός εἰμι).” I can add: at Mark 6,50 Jesus says Homerically “Be of good cheer, it is I, fear not” θαρσεῖτε, ἐγὼ εἰμι· μὴ φοβεῖσθε where the Old Syriac takes θαρσεῖτε as a word of power and transliterates ܗܪܫܘ.

*Features of a standard dream* (EFH 186-190). “The dream-figure comes and stands by the dreamer’s head” and numerous other themes.

*Speaking to one’s own heart* (EFH 199, Bogan 306). Of the god: Gen 8,21 “Yahweh said to his heart,” וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל-לִבּוֹ; *Iliad* 17.200 “[Zeus] said to his heart,” προτὶ ὃν μυσθῆσατο θυμόν. Similarly of human beings. But Gen 8,21 is unique, and perhaps needs accounting for instead of the Greek.

*The heavy hand of the god* (EFH 223-4). I Sam 5,6 “The hand of Yahweh was heavy” on the Ashdodites, וַתִּכְבֹּד יְד-יְהוָה; *Iliad* 1.97<sup>25</sup> “Nor will [Apollo] sooner withdraw the heavy hands of plague,”

οὐδ' ὁ γε πρὶν λοιμοῦ βαρείας χεῖρας ἀφέξει

“*Not without a god*” (EFH 224, Bogan 76). II Reg 18,25, Rabshakeh to Hezekiah “Is it without Yahweh that I have come up against this place?”:

הַמְבַלְעָדֵי יְהוָה עָלֵיתִי עַל-הַמָּקוֹם הַזֶּה

LXX μὴ ἄνευ κυρίου ... *Iliad* 5.185 “It is not without a god that he rages thus”

οὐχ' ὁ γ' ἄνευθε θεοῦ τάδε μαίνεται

“*Sons of the Achaeans*” (EFH 226, Bogan 5). υἱες Ἀχαιῶν is standard in the *Iliad*, but in Hebrew the eponym is normally singular; the only exceptions are I Chron 15,15 “sons of the Levites,” בְּנֵי הַלְוִיִּם, LXX οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν Λευιτῶν; Amos 9,7 “as sons of the Kushites,” בְּבָנֵי כְּשִׁיִּים, LXX ὡς υἱοὶ Αἰθιοπῶν. Since I have interpreted the Hebrew הַחִוִּי “Hivites” as Achaeans, and at Jos 11,19 they appear with the “sons of Israel,” בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, the plural idiom is perhaps Greek rather than Semitic.

25 Variant reading attested by MSS and Zenodotus.

“*All that breathes and creeps*” (EFH 235). Gen 1,30 “Everything that creeps on the earth in which is the breath of life”:

לְכֹל רוֹמֵשׁ עַל-הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר-בּוֹ נְפֹשׁ חַיָּה  
LXX παντὶ ἔρπεται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὃ ἔχει ἐν ἑαυτῷ ψυχὴν ζωῆς. *Iliad* 17.447 = *Od.* 18.131 “of all things that breathe and creep on the earth”:

πάντων ὅσσα τε γαῖαν ἔπι πνεῖει τε καὶ ἔρπει  
cf. *Hom. Hymn Demeter* 2.365. An exceptional parallel!

*Yesterday and the day before* (EFH 242, Bogan 14). Ex 5,7 etc. “as previously,” בְּתַמּוֹל שְׁלֹשׁ, LXX καθάπερ χθές καὶ τρίτην ἡμέραν (where the Hebrew “third day” as usual counts both ends); *Iliad* 2.303 χθιζά τε καὶ πρωῖζ(α) i.e. “years ago”; Herodotus 2.53.1 reversed πρώην τε καὶ χθές.

*King suffers pains of a woman* (EFH 251, Bogan 117). Ps 48,7 “Trembling seized [the kings] there, travail as of a woman giving birth”:

רַעְדָה אֲחֻזָּתָם שָׁם חֵיל פִּיּוּלָהָ  
*Iliad* 11.269-272 Agamemnon’s wound likewise pains him as with labor-pains, ὠδίναις; Ps 48,7 LXX Homerically ὠδίνες ὡς τιακτούσης.

“*How long will you be idle?*” (EFH 257). Jos 18,3 “How long will you be idle?” to go in and take the land, עַד-אֲנָה אֲתָם מְתַרְפִּים, LXX ἕως τίνος ἐκλυθήσεσθε; Callinus 1.1 (IEG ii.47) to the young men “How long will you lie there?,” μέχρις τέο κατάκεισθε;

“*Who knows but the god may show favor?*” (EFH 258, Bogan 113). II Sam 12,22 “Who knows but that Yahweh will be gracious to me and the child live?”:

מִי יוֹדַע יַחַנְנִי יְהוָה וְחַי הַיְיָלָה  
LXX Homerically τίς οἶδεν εἰ .... *Iliad* 11.792 “Who knows but with the god’s help you might move his spirit?”:

τίς δ’ οἶδ’ εἴ κέν οἱ σὺν δαίμοι θυμὸν ὀρίναις ...

*Whatever one wishes.* (A) The God does whatever *he* wishes (EFH 267, Bogan 397). Ps 115,3 “Our God is in the heavens, he does whatever he wishes”:

וְאֵלֵהֵינוּ בְּשִׁמּוֹם כֹּל אֲשֶׁר-חָפֵץ עָשָׂה  
LXX [“Ps 113,11”] ... πάντα ὅσα ἠθέλησεν ἐποίησεν. *Odyssey* 6.188-9, Nausicaa to Odysseus, “Zeus himself the Olympian allots good fortune to men, to the bad and the good, just as he wishes, to each,”

Ζεὺς δ’ αὐτὸς νέμει ὄλβον Ὀλύμπιος ἀνθρώποισιν

ἔσθλοῖς ἠδὲ κακοῖσιν, ὅπως ἔθέλησεν ἐκάστω

(B) “May the God give you whatever *you* wish” (EFH 274). Ps 20,5 “May [Yahweh] give you according to your heart,” יְתֹן-לָךְ כְּלִבְבְּךָ



*Odyssey* 14.54 (cf. 17.355) “May Zeus ...give you whatever you most wish”:

Ζεὺς τοι δοίη ... ὅττι μάλιστα ἐθέλεις

*Thief as “Daysleeper”* (EFH 327, Bogan 422). Job 24,16 “In the dark they dig through houses, by day they shut themselves up, they do not know the light.” Hesiod *Opera* 605 ἡμερόκοιτος ἀνήρ.<sup>26</sup>

*Dust and ashes* (EFH 340, Bogan 169). Ezek 27,30 (cf. Job 30,19) “They cast dust (LXX γῆν) on their heads, and wallow in ashes (LXX σποδόν)”:

וַיַּעֲלוּ עִפְרָר עַל-רֶגְלָאֵיהֶם בְּאֶפְרָר יַחַפְּלִשׁוּ

*Iliad* 18.23-25 “Achilles with both hands took up grimy dust (κόνιν) and poured it over his head...and put black ashes (τέφρη) on his sweet-smelling tunic.”

*Fasting for battle* (EFH 390-1, Bogan 193). Saul curses the man who eats food before evening (I Sam 14,24); the people urge mourning David to eat but he refuses (II Sam 3,35). Achilles refuses food and drink until he has avenged Patroclus at sundown (*Iliad* 19.209, 306).

*Wife’s maid as surrogate* (EFH 419). Sarah sends Abraham to her maid (Gen 16,1-16); Rachel and Leah send Jacob to their maids (Gen 30,1-13). *Odyssey* 4.11-14, Menelaus has a son Megapenthes by a slave woman, since Helen can bear only Hermione.

*Birth from tree or stone* (EFH 431). Jer 2,27 “Saying to a tree, You are my father, and to a stone, You gave us birth”:

אֲמַרְיִם לְעֵץ אָבִי אֲתָה וְלִאֲבֹן אַתָּה יְלִדְתָּנוּ

*Odyssey* 19.163 (Penelope to disguised Odysseus), “You are not from that proverbial oak or a stone”:

οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ δρυὸς ἔσσι παλαιφάτου οὐδ’ ἀπὸ πέτρης

*One strikes rock with rod for water* (EFH 447). Moses in a doubled story (Ex 17,5-6; Num 20,8-11) does so. Poseidon brought out water at Lerna by striking the rock with his trident (τριάϊνης);<sup>27</sup> so Atalanta in Laconia with her spear (λόγχη, Pausanias 3.24.2); and Dionysus in Messenia with his thyrsus (Pausanias 4.36.7).

*Following the (previously) unyoked cow* (EFH 448). Diviners told the Philistines to put the Ark on a cart drawn by two unyoked cows, and determine from their destination who had caused the plague (I Sam 6,7-12). Tyrian Cadmus found the site of Thebes by following an “unyoked heifer” (μὸσχος ἀδάματος), Euripides *Phoen.* 640.

26 West in his commentary *ad loc.* calls this a “kenning” and notes the Attic equivalent τοιχωρύχος “housebreaker.”

27 Scholiast on Euripides *Phoenissae* 185.

“*Lord of weapons*” (EFH 546). West cites numerous passages where Akkadian uses *belu* as “owner” etc., and so Hebrew לַעֲבָד, and Greek ἀναξ. Note particularly Gen 49,23 אֲדָמָה לְעֹלְבָדִים “lords of arrows, archers,” LXX κύριοι τοξευμάτων; Euripides *Iph. Aul.* 1260 χαλκέων θ’ ὀπλων ἀνακτες “lords of bronze weapons.”

*Death as eternal sleep* (EFH 573). Jer 51,39 מְלִיחָה-נְנִיף, LXX (“28,39”) ὕπνον αἰώνιον; Aeschylus *Ag.* 1450 ἀτέλευτον ὕπνον.

What is the source of such parallels? West in his Chapter 5 “A Form of Words” (covering phrases and idioms, similes, metaphors, figures of speech, exclamations, hymns and prayer) sees some or all of them as “Semiticisms in Homer” (p. 220). Besides parallels in the Hebrew Bible cited above, most have earlier parallels in Akkadian epic verse. I note a couple of especially elegant Greco-Akkadian parallels lacking comparable Hebrew. Achilles confronts his opponent (see EFH 215) “Who and from what breed of men are you, that dare come against me?” (*Iliad* 21.150)

τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν, ὃ μιν ἔτλης ἀντίος ἔλθεῖν;

And from the Anzu epic:

Who are you, that comes to fight me (lit. to my battle)?

Again (EFH 543) West cites Bacchylides frag. 4.69-72:

On the iron-bound shield grips the webs  
of tawny spiders (αἰθᾶν ἀραχνᾶν ἰστοί) appear,  
while pointed spears and two-edged swords  
are overcome by rust (εὐρώς)

beside Akkadian *Erra and Ishmun*:

Over our battle gear spiders’ webs are woven ...

The points of our sharp arrows are bent;

our swords, from lack of slaughter, have developed verdigris.

Among extant texts, that is, the Semitic have priority in time.

But when at an uncertain date the first Greek-speakers came into the peninsula, it was not deserted; people were there speaking some other language or languages, perhaps Luvian, perhaps not. Also the Trojan adversaries of the Achaeans might have spoken some sister language of Hittite. And the Greek epics cannot be separated from the new situation that the Greeks found themselves in. Where did they get the idea of heroic epic? Perhaps it was already indigenous. Dactylic hexameter has no Indo-European cognate. So themes and style of heroic narrative may have been equally ancient in the Aegean, but unknown and unrecorded like the heroes themselves, *caerent quia uate sacro* (I.11). West (p. 220) notes with surprise:

We shall find that Homeric and other Greek poetic diction is characterized by many turns of phrase that do not correspond to normal Greek idiom as we know it from Classical prose, but do correspond to oriental idiom.

(Edward Said<sup>28</sup> warns us generally against imagining a uniform “Orientalism,” whether in linguistic idiom or anything else.) But classical Greek prose has its own linguistic borrowings from the East. So while some of the parallels industriously gathered by West and his predecessors may well have entered Greek as translations from Semitic (or Hittite), others may simply represent the style of heroic narrative in the whole region from the Aegean to Mesopotamia, where the question of origin can hardly be posed. West’s materials then *en bloc* are less clearly translations from East to West than the juristic formulas and proverbs.

### 17.3 Names of rulers and cities

Greek and Hebrew verse and legend are carried out against the same geographical background, from Sardes (I.336) to Babylon, from Damascus to Egyptian Thebes. As soon as we look at their historical works, supplemented by inscriptions, coin-legends, and papyrus (the last mostly from Aramaic-speaking Elephantine), we find that the two literatures are equally knowledgeable about the deities worshipped in those lands—we have noted many. And the dynasties of their kings form a shared chronological framework.

In Greece the Assyro-Babylonian kings are figures of the past, but Sennacherib (704-681 BC, סִנְחַרִּיב II Reg 18,13) appears in Herodotus 2.141.2 as Σαναχάριβος (I.341), whose bowstrings are gnawed by mice in Egypt. Nabonidus (556-539 BC) appears as נבני at Qumran,<sup>29</sup> and with a consonantal shift as Λαβύνητος of Herodotus 1.74—appearing at the eclipse of 585 BC, a little before his true time. Pharaohs of the 26th Saite dynasty anchor the narratives of Herodotus and Jeremiah: Necho II (610-595 BC) is Νεκῶς of Herodotus 2.158.1, who tried to dig a Suez canal; and כְּנֻז of Jer 46,2, defeated at Carchemish. Apries (589-570 BC) is Ἀπρίης of Herodotus 2.161.1, who ended ill; הַפְּרֵעַ Jer 44,30, who seems to know the same story. Others known to Herodotus (Psammetichus I, 664-610 BC; Amyrtaeus ab. 460) are attested in the Aramaic papyri. Likewise the Achaemenid rulers from Cyrus (560-530

28 Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*; New York: Vintage 1979.

29 “Prayer of Nabonidus,” ed. Milik in *Rev. Bib.* 63 (1956) 407-415.

BC) to Artaxerxes I (465-424 BC), known from their own records in Old Persian, form the backbone of Herodotus' tale and of Hebrew history from Second Isaiah to Ezra (again supplemented from Elephantine). Equally the cities and tribes of the Aegean and Near East constitute a common setting for legend and history; below (17.5) I select out their names which fall in shared linguistic patterns.

#### 17.4 *The shared vocabulary*

For centuries, scholars have looked for Semitic loanwords in Greek (and Latin). Emilia Masson,<sup>30</sup> who has drawn up the most reliable minimal list, has helpfully surveyed the work of many predecessors, including Bochart (1646), Gesenius (1815), Movers (1849-1856), A. Müller (1877). I have worked carefully through the studies of Muss-Arnolt,<sup>31</sup> H. Lewy,<sup>32</sup> and Maria-Luisa Mayer,<sup>33</sup> among others. Burkert<sup>34</sup> now summarizes "There is a marked presence of Semitic loanwords in Greek." Zimmern collected on a large scale Akkadian loanwords, mostly in Hebrew and Aramaic, but as attested also in Greek.<sup>35</sup> The reality of loan-words in Greek from other language families has attracted less attention. Fournet<sup>36</sup> summarized the scanty literature on Egyptian loan-words in Greek (but omitting proper nouns); from my ignorance of Egyptian, I hesitate to go much beyond him. Rüdiger Schmitt has analyzed with phonetic care the Median and Persian vocabulary in Herodotus, mostly of men's names;<sup>37</sup> Iranian common nouns in Greek are surveyed by Hemmerdinger.<sup>38</sup>

30 See footnote 7 above.

31 W. Muss-Arnolt, "On Semitic Words in Greek and Latin," TAPA 23 (1892) 35-156.

32 Heinrich Lewy, *Die semitischen Fremdwörter im griechischen*; Berlin: Gaertner, 1895.

33 Maria-Luisa Mayer, "Gli imprestiti semitici in greco," *Rendiconti dell' Istituto Lombardo, Cl. Lettere* 94 (1960) 311-351.

34 W. Burkert, *Orientalizing Revolution* 35.

35 Heinrich Zimmern, *Akkadische Fremdwörter als Beweis für babylonischen Kultureinfluss*; 2nd ed.; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1917.

36 Jean-Luc Fournet, "Les emprunts du grec à l'égyptien," *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 84 (1989) 55-80.

37 R. Schmitt, "Medisches und persisches Sprachgut bei Herodot," *ZDMG* 117 (1967) 119-145; see also his *Die Iranier-Namen bei Aischylos*, Österreichische Akad. der Wiss., phil.-hist. Klasse, *Sitzungsber.* 337; *Veröffentlichungen der iranischen Kommission* no. 6; Wien 1978.

38 B. Hemmerdinger, "158 noms communs grecs d'origine iranienne, d'Eschyle au grec moderne," *Byzantinoslavica* 30 (1969) 18-41.

Levin has put the comparison of the Indo-European and Semitic language families on a solid new footing by establishing clear morphological parallels in the formation and affixes of nouns and verbs. He thus goes beyond the limitation to root-consonants alone in the work of Möller,<sup>39</sup> Cuny,<sup>40</sup> and Bomhard;<sup>41</sup> and likewise (it seems) in the Italian work of Alfredo Trombetti, and the Russian work of T. V. Gamkrelidze & V. V. Ivanov, and V. M. Illič-Svityč. I summarize some of his discoveries in 17.5 and 17.6 below.

In the present volumes the study of loan words in Greek (and Hebrew too) becomes ancillary as the key (though the principal one) to the comparison of their societies on equal terms. A second key is the comparison of their art objects, above all those with a shared name in the two languages; I have made a beginning on this elsewhere.<sup>42</sup> There has been less interest in discovering loan words in Hebrew: for a survey of Egyptian loan words in Biblical Hebrew the relevant entries in Ellenbogen<sup>43</sup> will serve, where also Iranian words there are gathered.

In previous comparative work (except with Weinfeld), the focus has been on Greek literature as the thing illustrated, with Hebrew and other literatures in the subordinate role of the thing illustrating. Nobody assumes that Hebrew texts were known in Greece directly; rather, Hebrew with Akkadian texts are used to document Semitic words or motifs which are presumed to have moved over to Greece, most likely via Phoenician or Aramaic. This presumption has traditionally served to obviate further search for an Indo-European etymology of the Greek word; and also to attest what is seen as an alien infiltration into Greek culture. But if we attribute equal importance to the Hebrew texts, we shall often see that the word in question is equally a loan into Canaanite from Akkadian—which for Canaanites was no less a foreign language than Greek. And when we consider the shared vocabulary of Greek and Hebrew as a whole, we are led to a new viewpoint.

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39 Hermann Möller, *Vergleichendes indogermanisch-semitisches Wörterbuch*; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1911.

40 Albert Cuny, *Invitation à l'étude comparative des langues indo-européennes et des langues chamito-sémitiques*; Bordeaux: Bière, 1946.

41 Allan R. Bomhard & John C. Kerns, 1994.

42 "Images and their Names in Classical Israel and Hellas," pp. 7-32 (with illustrations) of Asher Ovadiah (ed.), *Hellenic and Jewish Arts: Interaction, Tradition and Renewal*; the Howard Gilman International Conferences I (Delphi, 18-24 June, 1995); Tel Aviv University: Ramot Publishing House, 1998.

43 Maximilian Ellenbogen, *Foreign Words in the Old Testament: Their Origin and Etymology*; London: Luzac, 1962.

For the shared vocabulary proceeds from a whole linguistic geography of sources, where “Semitic loanwords in Greek” are much less than half the whole, perhaps not even its major constituent. It naturally groups itself under cultural enterprises, where typically each contains loanwords from *several different sources*. The chapters of this and the previous volume take up the loanwords by enterprise. Here we cross-classify them by probable source. The end of the Hebrew Bible suggests that we cut off the Greek materials early in the Hellenistic age. Hebrew and Greek lose their old statuses as donor and recipient respectively. Rather, their literatures appear in parallel as influenced by a similar spectrum of sources (besides each other), and as raising those influences to a new level of culture. It will become less important that Hebrew literature is preceded in the Near East by millennia of literate societies; for we must assume that Greek literature was also preceded by many centuries of partly literate Aegean societies.

I mostly omit the large body of etymological proposals in the existing literature which I regard as less than highly probable. Of the Greek words which Emilia Masson considers as “genuinely borrowed from a Semitic language” I doubt some connection for two only.<sup>44</sup> In her “possible” list of 12 I raise seven (βάλασμον “balsam,” λῖς & λέων “lion,” μέγαρον “cave,” σῆς “moth,” σαμβύκη “musical instrument,” and τύμπανον “tambourine”) to probability, while sharing her doubts about the others. But I add many items of shared vocabulary from different sources to her list, and reinterpret a number which she calls “Semitic loanwords.”

Martin Bernal with great generosity has circulated two long lists with hundreds of proposed Semitic and Egyptian parallels (respectively) to Greek words. I have entered a few of his Semitic-Greek proposals here with credit to him; I pass by the Egyptian ones since they do not seem to create Greek-Hebrew contacts. Various authors have proposed Semitic etymologies for figures of Greek myth and

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44 Masson (p. 44) regards σιπή “meal-tub” since Aristophanes (*Equites* 1296 etc.) as derived from the Semitic represented in Hebrew קִי “basin” (Ex 12,22), “goblet” (Sach 12,2), “utensils” generally (תִּיבֹת II Reg 12,14); but the meaning is not all that close, and we would expect the doubled labial to appear in Greek as -μπ-. Likewise (p. 22) she regards κασᾶν “horse-blanket” (Xenophon *Cyr.* 8.3.8, acc. sing.) as derived from the Semitic represented in Heb. תְּהִיטָה “clothing” (Ex 21,10 etc.), LXX ἱματισμόν: but the Hebrew is never used for an animal covering; the form of the words is fairly different, and no better in other Semitic languages. We would almost expect Xenophon’s word rather to be Iranian—Agatharchides 20 calls it Ethiopian.

legend; I have seldom accepted these except when the Greek name is given an appropriate meaning by our sources, or the myth points to Canaan. Saul Levin has proposed many new parallels between Indo-European and Semitic; I note them here where they continue to generate cultural connections between historical Israel and Hellas.

Looking back over my own practice, I suggest ideal criteria to authenticate proposed linguistic parallels in the historic period—criteria which become less and less helpful as we move back into the prehistoric.

(1) Shared words are normally *nouns*, the names of things exchanged between cultures on known or plausible routes.

(2) The items named are *precise* rather than general parallels.

(3) *Verbs* and verbal nouns are best authenticated when they take a shared noun as object.

(4) The words of the two languages should ideally agree *phoneme by phoneme*, where vowels and accent can be as important as consonants.

(5) It is even stronger if the words agree in inherited *suffixes* (17.5).

(6) The thing denoted is a feature of shared *enterprises*, and its name appears in texts of similar genre describing them—ideally, along with other loanwords.

(7) Less than perfect phonetic correspondence can be plausibly explained by *folk-etymology*, phonetic change or the like.

(8) Divergence of meaning with good phonetic correspondence can be explained by *semantic parallels* elsewhere.

But a large part of linguistic change is unknown to us, and we can be sure that many prehistoric parallels have been lost or distorted beyond recognition. It is tempting, but hazardous, to move one step further back into that unknown. Some criteria outweigh others: that לְבָנָיָהּ and Βύβλος mean the same city overrides the phonetic differences—in fact suggests some new law. Relations *within* the Semitic and IE families—better understood, even so still holding many mysteries—are a key to relations between contiguous language families. In the end, etymology demands prudent intuition, and is as much art as science.

As I survey the literature, I am struck by the partiality of scholars for connections which they have themselves proposed or at one time championed. Perhaps in rare instances this is true of myself also. The surest sign of linguistic insight is the critical intelligence to sift out assayable nuggets of history from the fool's gold of bright ideas—above all one's own. A reviewer's highest praise should be reserved for the materials an author silently omits.

## 17.4.1 Canaanite loan words in Greek

Here we consider words which from the beginning were part of Hebrew and its sister tongues (though they may exist also in Akkadian), as indicated by their root-formation or by the fact of their naming Canaanite things; we may assume that they were carried west by traders of Ugarit, Phoenicians or Aramaeans.

*Resting on West-Semitic roots.* ἀρραβών “down payment” from עֲרָבוֹן, root ערב “he pledged” (I.74, EFH 24).<sup>45</sup> βάλσαμον “balsam” from בִּשְׁם (I.97, SIE 112), with Rabbinic root בסם “be sweet.” γαῦλος “Phoenician freighter” and γαυλός “serving vessel,” both with לָזַל “bowl” (also Ugaritic *gl*) from root גלל “be round, roll” (I.146). λίβανος “frankincense” from לִבְנָה, root לבן “be white” (I.210, EFH 40). μύρρα (Aeolic) “myrrh” from מַר, associated with מָרַר “be bitter” (I.95, EFH 40).<sup>46</sup> σκηνή “tent,” prob. from a Phoenician noun with root שכן “dwell” (I.179, II.330). — σφαγ- “sacrifice” owes its permanent *a*-vowel to the guttural in the root זבח (I.199, SIE 247, EFH 40).

*Naming Canaanite things.* δέλτος “tablet” from דֶּלֶת “door,” also name of the fourth letter (I.52, EFH 20, 50, 561). κάμηλος “camel” from מָמֶל (I.338). λῆς “lion” from לֵישׁ (I.340). νάβλας “lute” from נָבַל (I.155). δάκτυλος “date(-palm),” folk-etymology to “finger” from Mishnaic דָּקֵל “date” (I.19).<sup>47</sup> κλωβός “bird-cage” from כְּלוּב with Amarna *ki-lu-bi* (I.341). κύμβη “silver vessel” with קַבְעָה (I.167).<sup>48</sup>

*Jewish loanwords in Greek.* There is a large body of Jewish loanwords in the LXX, often in the Aramaic form of the Targums, which continued thereafter in Hellenistic Jewish literature, the New Testament, and Patristic Greek.<sup>49</sup> Thus πάσχα “passover” at Ex 12,11 LXX for Heb. פֶּסַח where Onqelos פֶּסַח and often in the NT. At Ex 12,19 the LXX has γειώραις “sojourners” for Heb. בְּנֵי יוֹרֵי where Onqelos has בני יוריא; so Isa 14,1 LXX ὁ γιώρας for Heb. יוֹרֵי where Jonathan גִּיּוֹרֵי.

45 Note its connection with “Phoenician” Thales, I.77.

46 It is tempting to compare Latin *amarus* “bitter”; but there is no obvious connection, and the Latin initial vowel is problematic.

47 The Aramaic of Sefire has דקל (KAI 228A 18-19).

48 Latin names of farm-implements seem derived from Punic agriculture (I.145): *dōlium* “cask” from דֶּלֶי; *marra* “hoe” with Rabbinic מַר, cf. further מָרַר from Hatra (F. Vattioni, *Le Iscrizioni di Hatra*, Sup. n.28 agli *Annali* [Ist. Or. di Napoli, 1981], no. 281.4). Levin (SIE 396-7) discovered that Heb. עַד-מָאֵד “very much,” of beautiful Abishag (I Reg 1,4), Vg *puella pulchra nimis*, was picked up by Romans as *admodum* (unexplained) in the same context! Plautus *Bac.* 838 of a *bella...mulier*; at Plautus *Poen.* 246 in the mouth of a Punic character.

49 A selection is discussed in my “The Septuagint as a Source of the Greek Loan-Words in the Targums,” *Biblica* 70 (1989) 194-216, esp. 200-201.



It appears in Jewish Greek at Philo *de confusione* 82 (LCL iv.54); in Justin Martyr *Dial.* 122.1; and Eusebius *Hist. Ec.* 1.7.13, who supposes that there were archives in Jerusalem tracing descent from γειώρας τοὺς ἐπιμίκτους “those of mixed ancestry.”

The principal Jewish loanword entering pagan Greek (and Latin) was for the “sabbath,” Ex 16,25 LXX σάββατα for שַׁבָּת, where Onqelos אַחַבְשׁ. The Greek is mostly treated as a neuter plural of a festival. It appears in an early Hellenistic papyrus<sup>50</sup> tallying brick (πλίνθον) received in the month Epeiph of some year; on the 6th and 8th a thousand (ἀ) are received; against the 7th the scribe noted σάββατα. Time-measurement by the sabbath spread widely. Meleager of Gadara (*Anth. Pal.* 5.160, first century BC) on his Jewish lover:

ἔστι καὶ ἐν ψυχροῖς σάββασι θερμός Ἔρως  
 “Even on the chilly Sabbath [when lighting a fire was forbidden] Eros is warm.” Suetonius *Aug.* 72 illustrates a common misconception, *ne Iudaeus quidem...tam diligenter sabbatis ieiunium seruat* “not even a Jew keeps the Sabbath fast as diligently” as I do. A decree of Augustus, by all appearances genuine, in Josephus *AJ* 16.163-4 mentions ἐν σάββασιν and prescribes penalties for thefts “from the synagogue or ark,” ἐκ τε σαββατείου ἐκ τε ἀρῶνος.<sup>51</sup> Besides other proper nouns it makes Σαμβαθίων (II.123) “child born on the Sabbath.”

#### 17.4.2 Akkadian loanwords in Hebrew and Greek

Here we note words first attested in Akkadian or Sumerian which later appear in the alphabetic scripts of Greek and Hebrew—two languages equally heard as foreign by Akkadian speakers. All are culture-words originating from Mesopotamia.

χρυσός, the trade-name for “gold” (I.301-4, SIE 170), Mycenaean *ku-ru-so*, Heb. קֶרֶט, is exotic in Hebrew where קֶרֶט is normal, but regular in Phoenician (קרר), Ugaritic (*brs*), and Akkadian *burāsu* (CAD 6.245). χιτώνας “tunic,” Mycenaean *ki-to*, has suffixed forms in Hebrew, חִתּוֹן and חִתּוֹנָה, but כְּתוֹן in Eg. Aramaic; Akkadian *kitû* (CAD 8.473), itself perhaps from Sumerian GADA (I.204; SIE 289, EFH 14). μνᾶ “mina” is the normal unit of weight throughout our area, Hebrew מִנָּה, from Akkadian *manû* (CAD 10A.220); see I.307, SIE 169, EFH 24. σίγλος “sheqel,” LXX σίκλος, is 1/60 mina as weight or coin; Akkadian *šiqḷu*, whence Heb. שֶׁקֶל, Aram. שֶׁקֶל, Ugaritic *ṭql* (I.307, SIE

50 *P. Cairo Zenon* 59762 = CPJ no. 10, i.136.

51 MSS ἐκ τε σαββατείου ἐκ τε ἀνδρῶνος. ἐρών (Josephus *AJ* 3.134) “ark” transliterates אֶרֶץ II Reg 12,10; in both forms lacking from LSJ with Sup.

145, 286). “Fine flour,” *σεμίδαλις*, is Talmudic סמִידָא and Akkadian *samīdu* (I.343). The “sacred precinct,” *τέμενος* (with Latin *templum*) appears in Hebrew only in place-names, *Timnath* תִּמְנַת; but surely represents Akkadian *temmenu* “foundation” (II.222) and Sumerian TEMEN (SIE 291, EFH 36). *πλίνθος* “brick,” Hebrew לְבִנָּה, surely has its Greek form from Aramaic לְבִינָה;<sup>52</sup> it first appears both in Greek and Hebrew with respect to the architecture of Babylon, Akkadian *libittu* (CAD ix.176); see I.83, EFH 39 note 153.

### 17.4.3 Names of exotic imports from farther East

These entered Greek and Hebrew partly via Akkadian, partly via the Red Sea trade, but none are “Semitic loan-words” except by folk-etymology. There are more such in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. All names of *jewels* fall in this category. ἴασπις “jasper” with Heb. יִשְׁפָּה appears also in Akkadian but presumably is from some uncertain language, Hurrian or Urartian (I.87). *σάπφειρος* “sapphire,” with סַפִּיר perhaps came from India (I.332). *σμάραγδος* and *μάραγδος* “emerald,” in Hebrew בְּרֶקֶת as in Akkadian *barraqtu* (CAD ii.113) has a folk-etymology to בְּרֶק “lightning,” but surely is ultimately from Sanskrit *marakata* (I.332; SIE 207-8 otherwise). Later appear βήρυλλος “beryl” with בורלא (I.333); and μαργαρίτης “pearl” (Theophrastus *de lap.* 36) with Rabbinic מַרְגָּנִית and מַרְגָּלִית.<sup>53</sup>

Likewise for several *spices*. *κασία* “cassia,” must be from the Phoenician equivalent of Heb. קַצִּיעָה; but this is surely folk-etymology to the root קצע “scrape” of a far-Eastern word, for cassia and cinnamon come from southeast Asia (I.70-72, 94-5; II.331; SIE 288-9). Likewise then with *κινάμωμον*, Heb. קַרְמוֹן. *νάρδος* “nard,” with נֶרְדִּי is ultimately from Sanskrit *naladah* (I.148-151). *χαλβάνη* “galbanum,” with חַלְבָּנָה is of uncertain origin (I.150). Later appears *πέπερι* “pepper” with Mishnaic פלפל (I.335). —Very likely *κάρπασος*, a name of “cotton” (or fine linen?), though attested late in Greek, is pre-Hellenistic, for כַּרְפָּס appears in Esther, no doubt from Sanskrit *karpasa* (I.339). *βύσσος*, Heb. בּוּיָן, “byssus” is a luxury import of uncertain origin. *σηρικός* “silken”<sup>54</sup> as a Greek word is from Σῆρες (Strabo 15.1.34), traditionally “Chinese” (source unknown); Rabbinic סִרְיָקִין (Bab. Talm. *Shabb.* 20b) is a loanword from the Greek.

52 In later Targums of Gen 11,3 and Ex 24,10 (Jastrow i.689).

53 I hope to discuss elsewhere the widespread texts where the pearl appears.

54 *Periplus Maris Rubri* 39 (GGM i.288).

## 17.4.4 Loanwords from Egyptian

Hebrew and Egyptian are much closer than Greek and Egyptian; it is not easy for the outsider to adjudicate the source of shared vocabulary. Hebrew is thought to have well-established loan words from Egyptian like סֶהַל “seal,” Eg. *h̄tm* (I.75); רֶגֶל “footstool,” Ugaritic *hdm*, Eg. *hdm.w*;<sup>55</sup> טַיִן “spear,” Eg. *h̄nj.t* (E-G iii.110). Hoch finds very numerous loan words in Egyptian from West Semitic languages.<sup>56</sup> Hebrew and Egyptian apparently share East-Mediterranean terms as for “olive oil,” טַיִן and *dt* (E-G v.618); זֶבֶד “wolf” with *s3b* (E-G iii.420) “jackal.” Greek and Hebrew share knowledge of the names of Egyptian kings (II.286), places (I.329), and gods (I.333); but Greek took up only the common names of very specifically Egyptian items.

Greek soldiers and visitors in Egypt noted impressive objects and named them ironically. They called the great herbivores of the Nile “river horses,” Herodotus 2.71 ἵπποι οἱ ποτάμιοι; and the great amphibians “lizards,” Herodotus 2.69 κροκόδειλοι, comparing them to animals which lived in Ionia on the walls.<sup>57</sup> But Job honorifically calls the one “Behemoth,” בְּהֵמוֹת (40,15), either a plural of majesty or a Phoenician singular reinterpreted; and the other mythological “Leviathan,” לֵוְיָתָן (40,25). The stelae of the kings Greeks called “roasting-spits,” ὀβέλους Herodotus 2.111.4 (our familiar *obelisk* is from Strabo 17.1.27 ὀβελίσκους), as we refer to “Cleopatra’s Needle”;<sup>58</sup> Jer 43,13 literally calls them מַצְבֵּוֹת “pillars” (LXX στύλους). The enormous burial monuments of the kings Greeks called (Herodotus 2.8.1) “muffins” (πυραμίδες Ehippus 13.5<sup>59</sup>), probably as folk-etymology of a true Egyptian word with definite article *pi-*; but no good candidate has been proposed.<sup>60</sup> Neither the Hebrew Bible nor Rabbinic mentions the “pyramids.”<sup>61</sup>

55 Erman-Grapow ii.505, who however treat the Egyptian as a loanword *from* Semitic.

56 James E. Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period*; Princeton: University, 1994.

57 Herodotus 2.69.3 gives Egyptian for “crocodiles,” χάμψαι; Eg. *h̄ms.t* Erman-Grapow iii.96.

58 Attested since AD 1693, OED x.291c.

59 Kock ii.256 from Athenaeus 14.642E.

60 Horace (*Carm.* 3.30.2, cf. I.11) sees pyramids as flawed symbols of eternity; M. L. West (“Near Eastern Material in Hellenistic and Roman Literature,” HSCP 73 [1968] 113-134, see p. 132) finds hieroglyphic antecedents.

61 I cannot forbear noting the Anglicization of Egyptian for the “double crown” of the two Egypts. On the Rosetta stone (OGIS 90.44) ἡ καλουμένη βασιλεία ψχεντ “the so-called royal *pschent*” where the Demotic 26 has *p3 shnt*. Classically it is *sh̄m.tj*, Erman-Grapow iv.250. From the English of Egyptolo-

Of the Egyptian loan-words in Greek listed by Fournet, and those in Hebrew by Ellenbogen and others, a few run parallel. κῆβος and קָפִים (pl.) “monkey” correspond to Egyptian *gjf* (Erman-Grapow v.158), itself likely from an African language (I.44). The products of Egypt were much used there and elsewhere both as cosmetics and in embalming. νίτρον and λίτρον “nitre” (the variation already shows a loanword) with נִתְר serves in both capacities; Egyptian *ntr* (I.241). Greeks stereotyped Egyptian names of products as neuters ending in *-i*: στίμμι “mascara” (I.241); κόμμι “gum” (קוֹמוֹס is Mishnaic); κίκι “castor” is perhaps Jonah’s gourd קִיקִיִן (I.331). The “touchstone” βάσσανος is surely Egyptian *bhn* and probably Hebrew נִבְּחִי “stone for testing” (I.306). Fournet 73 regards σινδών “linen strip” with Hebrew נִדְּוֹן as derived from Egyptian *šndwt* (Erman-Grapow iv.552); see I.209. Greek θείβις “basket” appears early in Egypt, perhaps before Alexander; it and Heb. תֵּבָה “ark” are from Egyptian *dbt* (Erman-Grapow v.561); see I.35; II.168.

Especially two products of Upper Egypt, one white and one black, enter Mediterranean languages. Latin *ebur* with Hebrew עִבְרִי (I Reg 10,22) “tooth of elephant” is from Egyptian *3bw*, both “ivory” and “elephant”; the source of Greek ἑλέφας is uncertain (I.337). ἔβενος “ebony,” with Heb. הַבְּנִים (Ez 27,15 Q), is from Egyptian *hbny* (Erman-Grapow ii.487), itself likely a loan from some African language such as Nubian (I.197).<sup>62</sup> Ivory and ebony appear together at Herodotus 3.97 as Ethiopian tribute to Persia, and at Ez 27,15 in the trade of Tyre (ivory in the paraphrase “horns of tooth,” שֵׁן קַרְנֵי); and in exact Egyptian form *ebenum...ebur* in a letter of Augustus (I.89). The Egyptian words for ebony and ivory (*hbny...3bw*) are likewise recorded as appearing together in the texts,<sup>63</sup> and I would hope somewhere to compare actual hieroglyphic documents with Augustus’ text.

Generally Greek and Hebrew record Egyptian items as “black”; Greek Phineus and Hebrew Phinehas reflect *P3-nhsj* “the Negro” (I.181). Egyptian peasants were “blackfeet,” μελάμποδες (II.31). Egypt itself is Χημία “the Black Land” “because of its exceptionally black soil”;<sup>64</sup> this is Egyptian *Km.t* (Erman-Grapow v.126), probably the

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gists it made its way into Joyce’s *Ulysses* 15 where in the whorehouse of Nighttown Bloom’s Hungarian grandfather Lipoti Virag chutes down the chimney flue: “On his head is perched an Egyptian pshent.”

62 “Ebony” is conjectured at Cant 3,10, and may appear in Ugaritic at KTU 4.402.6 *hbn*.

63 Erman-Grapow ii.487 with the Belegstellen *ad loc*.

64 Plutarch *de Iside et Osiride* 33 (= *Mor.* 364C); so Herodotus 2.12.2 τὴν Αἴγυπτον ... μελάγατον.

same as חָם the son of Noah and father of Mišrayim (Gen 10,6)—in Ps 105,23 etc. חָם אֶרֶץ חָם “the land of Ham” is synonymous with מִצְרַיִם.

#### 17.4.5 Loanwords from Iranian

These items from the fully historical period mark a large area of shared Greek and Hebrew experience with Medo-Persian administrative realities. Thus γάζα “treasure” (Theophrastus *Hist. Plant.* 8.11.5), תְּכֵלֶת הַמֶּלֶךְ “the king’s treasures” (Esther 3,9), Bib. Aramaic תְּכֵלֶת עֶזְרָא Ezra 5,17 (LXX [“2 Esdras 5,17] γάζης), Parthian *gnz*<sup>65</sup> (I.40). The “daric” (after king Darius) crossed with “drachma”: δαρεικός beside דַרְכָּנִים (II.335). μάγος “Magian,” with actual Magians מַגִּישָׁא at Elephantine; Old Persian *maguš* (Darius, *Beh.* I.36, Kent 117); Quran 22.18 اَلْمَجُوسُ (I.342). Two flower-names are probably Iranian: ῥόδον “rose,” with Targumic ורדא (I.339); and one of the names of the “lily,” οσῶσον and שושן, in view of the Persian city Σοῦσα with שושן, Old Persian *Çušāyā* (I.331). κίταρις “headdress” (Plutarch *Artaxerxes* 28.1, conjectured at Herodotus 7.90) is likely to stem from the Persian period; then cf. כֶּתֶר Esther 1,11—both must go back to an unknown Persian original. ἀρσενικόν “arsenic” (Pseudo-Aristotle *Prob.* 38.2 [966b28] with folk-etymology to ἄρσην “male”), appears in the boat-building text Cowley 26.21 ורניכא; modern Persian *zarniq* (Frisk i.152). σαράβαρα “trousers”<sup>66</sup>, Dan 3,27 סָרָבָרָהוֹן “some garment” (LXX [“3,94”] σαράβαρα); modern Persian *šalvar*; Quran 16.81 *sārabīla* acc. pl. “coats.”

Here I propose a novelty: it is well established that τεῖχος “wall” (since Homer) is derived from Proto-IE \**dhiǵhā*- (Kent 191), cf. English *dike* and *ditch*; then Heb. קֵיֵךְ “siege-wall” II Reg 25,1 (LXX περίτειχος) may be a loan from a Median version (Old Persian *didā*-). An undoubted parallel from the same Indo-European root is the word for “paradise,” which I hope elsewhere to study in detail. It enters Greek as the παράδεισος or hunting-park of the Persian satraps (Xenophon *Anab.* 1.2.7 etc.); the forest of Lebanon under Persian control is the פַּרְדֵּי הַמֶּלֶךְ of the king (Neh 2,8, LXX [“II Esdras 12,8”] παραδείσου). In the Avesta (*Videvat* 3.18) it is an “enclosure,” *pairi.daēzqñ* which would be exactly \*περίτοιχος; it is probably the *pa-ra-da-ya-da-a-ma* of Artaxerxes II at Susa (Kent 154).

Persian administration was well known in the person of the “satrap,” that is a “kingdom-protector,” *xšaçapānā* (Darius *Beh.* 3.14), σατράπης (Xenophon *Oec.* 4.11, Herodotus 3.89.1 σατραπήϊας “satrapies” acc. pl.), variously spelled elsewhere in Greek. “Satraps” at Esther 8,9 are

65 Gignoux 51.

66 Antiphanes frag. 201 (Kock ii.97).

הַאֲחַשְׁוֵרְפַּנִּים and similarly in Aramaic (Dan 3,3). In the trilingual of Xanthos (I.29) the Aramaic has חַשְׁתַּרפְּנַא, the Greek ξαδράπτης, the Lycian a verb *χssaθrapazate*. The compound is not Persian but Median, for the rebel Fravartish/Phraortes assumes the name *Xšaθrita* (Darius *Beh.* II.15); the working language of the Empire was Median.

Finally, the title of the Old Persian ruler, “king of kings” (only sparsely attested in earlier Akkadian) is calqued in Greek and Hebrew. At Aeschylus *Sup.* 524 (EFH 557) the Chorus addresses Zeus as “lord of lords, most blessed of the blessed”:

ἄναξ ἀνάκτων, μακάρων / μακάρτατε

At Deut 10,17 Yahweh is “God of gods and lord of lords,”<sup>67</sup>

אֱלֹהֵי הָאֱלֹהִים וְיְהוָה הָאֱדֹנָיִם

Darius (*Beh.* I.1) calls himself *xšayaθiya xšayaθiyānām*. Some Artaxerxes at Ezra 7,12 is מֶלֶךְ מְלָכֵי; Rabbi ‘Aqabya (*Avoth* III.1) said “Know before whom you are to give account: before the King of the kings of kings”:

לפני מלך מלכי המלכים

It seems uncertain whether (either in origin or in later understanding) the title meant “king *par excellence*” or “king ruling over minor kings.” I hope elsewhere to study in more detail both the names of the “satrap” and the title “king of kings.”

#### 17.4.6 Anatolian, Aegean and Greek loanwords in Hebrew

These are the exact counterpart of “Semitic loanwords in Greek.” As Akkadian words assume an altered form in Hebrew, Anatolian and Aegean words assume an altered form in Greek. West (EFH 38), contesting the position that λέσχη became a Greek loanword in Hebrew (below), states “there is no other evidence of early Greek loanwords in Hebrew.” Here, casting our net a little wider, we gather evidence for such.

“*Philistine*” loan words in Hebrew (I.65). Goliath (I Sam 17,5) wore a “helmet” (פּוֹכֵץ), elsewhere קוֹבֵעַ (Ez 23,24); the variation points to it as foreign, the attestation as Aegean-Anatolian. Hence we compared

67 In two other features the Pentateuch suggests signs of Iranian influence. The man of Zebulun פְּרִזְנִי Num 34,25 must have the name of Pharnakes, Φαρνάκης (Herodotus 7.66.2 in the genit.); it is hypocoristic for some name in *Farna* “Glory”; see R. Schmitt, “Medisches und persisches Sprachgut bei Herodot,” ZDMG 117 (1967) 118-145, p. 136. (But it is doubtful that Ugaritic *aršm* KTU 4.153.2 can be Iranian Ἀρσάμης Herodotus 7.69.2, Driver ארשם passim, Darius *Beh.* I.4 *Aršāma*, as Gordon suggests.) Also the “sheqel” of silver (שֶׁקֶל Lev 5,15 etc.) may be not a weight but the Tyrian silver sheqel of the Persian period.

*Iliad* 15.536 κύμβαχον with Hittite *kupahi* “turban” or the like (I.165-6). —The “concubine,” Heb. שְׁפִילָגִישׁ, obviously foreign, has counterparts in παλλακίς and Latin *paelex* (with its perfect fit to the Heb. stem *piylagš-*, I.65). Rabin claims it as Indo-European, and Levin now in his full treatment (SIE 234-7, see West briefly EFH 373) suggests that it is Messapic. In any case it is North Mediterranean. —The “tyrant” (τύραννε voc. *Hom. Hymn* 8.5), undoubtedly related to Hieroglyphic Luvian *tar-wa-na-s* “king,” is surely reflected in סְרַנְי “rulers” of the Philistines, as well as in Etruscan. —Some Philistines carry Asiatic names (I.164): with Goliath (גִּלְיָת) we compared Lydian Alyattes (Ἀλυάττης); with Achish (אַכִּישׁ) Anchises (Ἀγχίσης). Achish appears in the new Phoenician inscription from “Philistine” Ekron<sup>68</sup> as אכיש ... שר עקרן “Achish...ruler of Ekron.”<sup>69</sup>

*Anatolian cult objects.* “Tambourines” (τύμπανα, תַּפִּים) seem of Asiatic provenance (I.152-5); Siberian *tüngür* sounds both like the drum and its Mediterranean names (II.166). Ancient grammarians<sup>70</sup> like moderns connect the Greek with τύπτω “strike”—IE, cf. Sanskrit *tu(m)pati* “hurt.” The Hebrew noun is primary and its participles denominative. Since the Hebrew noun represents the root directly, without the Greek suffix of instrument -ανο-, both Greek and Hebrew must be from some Anatolian IE language. —The words לִפְיָר and λαμπραδ- have both meanings “torch” (II.172) and “lightning” (II.67). The IE root lacks the *m* infix; but the Hebrew doubled stop presumes it. Thus the Hebrew must be derived from some language, presumably Anatolian, where the nasal had been infix as in the Greek, and the vocalism of the suffix altered.<sup>71</sup>

*Speculative Greek loanwords in Hebrew.* In the pages above I have proposed some Greek originals for Hebrew nouns; and while I hope that scholars will give the proposals serious consideration, and ideally find arguments to approve or reject them, I am not prepared to let the discus-

68 IEJ 47 (1997) 1-16.

69 The editors transcribe his name as *Ikausu* from the inscriptions of Esarhaddon (Borger 60 line 58) and interpret it as “the Achaean,” which we see rather in the “Hivites,” הִיִּטִּי. His four ancestors—he is בן ארם בן יסר בן ארם בן יסר—  
—are all believed to carry Semitic names by the editors. The Phoenician text and these names are new evidence for the early Semitization of the Philistines. The temple is dedicated to לפתניה ארתה “*Ptgyh* his lady”—a new Anatolian goddess? Aaron Demsky (“Discovering a Goddess,” *Biblical Archaeology Review*, Sept./Oct. 1998 [24.5.53-58]) sensationally proposes to read לפת[נ]יה, i.e. Greek Πότνια “Lady”! The fourth character is poorly written. On this reading, ארתה merely translates. See Πότνια as city-name (II.314).

70 Scholiast on Aristophanes *Ploutos* 476.

71 West (EFH 576) misses the Hebrew connections of the Greek.

sion here rest on them. I list them for reference. At I.226 I noted Yahuda's proposal that הַרְלוֹת "harlot" is primary and the root denominative, and the noun derived from γυνή "woman," on the grounds that "(foreign) woman" and "harlot" are nearly identical. Of the words discussed below as having undergone contamination (II.303), βωμός "altar" with הַרְמוֹת "high place" (I.201-4) is most likely to have had a Greek origin. If there is a connection between φάναξ and הַלְךָ "king,"<sup>72</sup> the Greek must be the original, since *waw* cannot begin a Hebrew word except "and." Elsewhere I hope, with all due caution, to make the radical proposal that Hebrew תְּקַדְּשׁ "justice" is derived from δίκη in the Elean dialect form ΖΙΚΑΙΑ (for δίκαια),<sup>73</sup> i.e. *zдикаia*, with the root *šdq* everywhere in Semitic denominative. At I.342 I modestly suggested that IE φακός "lentil (-shaped flask)" might underly הַפֵּי "oil-flask."

*Later Greek loans to Semitic.* Rabbinic has many hundreds of loan-words from Greek; the process began with the Greek names of musical instruments in Daniel 3,5 etc. (II.329). Elsewhere<sup>74</sup> I propose that many of the Greek loan-words in the earlier Targums, Onqelos on the Torah and Jonathan on the Prophets, entered from the LXX on the same passage. —The earliest obvious Greek loanword in Semitic is the name of the "standard" coin στατήρ "stater" appearing at Elephantine ab. 400 BC as סְטַתְרָה (II.335). — γλύφω "engrave, sculpt" (since Aristophanes) appears at Ex 28,9-11 LXX as γλύφεις where Targum Onqelos הַגְּלוֹף, and noun γλύμμα where the Targum הַגְּלוֹף. At Hatra, in the first century of our era, are attested both the verb הַגְּלוֹף (KAI 238.1) and noun הַגְּלוֹפָא (KAI 237.3) "sculptor;" the Greek art brought its name with it. Later in Palmyrene (PAT 1719) and Syriac (Act 17,29 Pesh.). If a 5th century B.C. ostracon from Elephantine is correctly read הַגְּלוֹף (KAI 271 v.9), this is a pre-Hellenistic Greek loan to Semitic.<sup>75</sup>

*The earliest Greek loans to Semitic.* Homeric μίσγω "mix" is surely an inceptive from \*μυγ-σκ-ω like Latin *misceō*.<sup>76</sup> Only such a form can explain the twin roots Hebrew מִשְׁכַּח and מִשְׁכַּח, with already Ugaritic *msk* (I.142-3, SIE 237-9). This uniquely clear instance is due to the international custom of mixing wine with water, for in Greek and Hebrew the verb takes the common word for "wine" as object. See further in

72 Strongly denied by West, *Classical Review* 47 (1997) 112.

73 C.D. Buck, *The Greek Dialects ...*; Chicago: University, 1965; no. 61 p. 259.

74 "The Septuagint as a Source of the Greek Loan-Words in the Targums," *Biblica* 70 (1989) 194-216.

75 Al Wolters ("šōpiyyā [Prov. 31:27] as hymnic participle and play on sophia," *JBL* 104 [1985] 577-587) assumes σοφία underlying הַפֵּי צוֹפִיָּה as the *šadhe* word of the alphabet. But nothing else about the poem suggests so late a date.

76 Frisk ii.193.



Latin<sup>77</sup> *cum uini uim miscendo fregisset* “when he reduced the strength of wine by mixing”; from Hebrew or Aramaic comes Quran 76.6 etc. *mizāj* “mixed.”

A “room” for eating or wine-drinking can be both  $\text{רָצוּף}$  and  $\text{רָצוּף}$  (I. 141-2), a sure sign of foreign origin. The appearance of ΛΕΣΧΗ in an inscription from Doric Rhodes (IG 12.1.709) is perplexing (SIE 290), and the etymology of λέσχη is uncertain, whether or not from λειχ- “recline.” But the use of λέσχη by both Homer (*Odyssey* 18.329) and Hesiod for a gathering place must surely be the origin (I.141-2 and Burkert<sup>78</sup>).

#### 17.4.7 Mediterranean words in both Greek and Hebrew

A series of Latin plant names with Greek parallels are not easily explained as derived from Greek in the normal mode of borrowing, nor from any Indo-European ancestor, but rather, with the Greek, as going back to a Mediterranean substrate—simply the name of the thing. Thus *menta* with μίνθη “mint”; *eruum* with ὄροβος and ἐρέβινθος “vetch”; a generic tree-name *citrus* with κέδρος;<sup>79</sup> the name of uncertain flowers, *uaccinium* with ὑάκινθος; *viola* with (F)ιον “violet”; *buxus* with πυξός “box-tree”; *pīrus* with ἄπιος “pear”; *uiscum* with ἰζός “mistletoe”; *fraga* “strawberries” with ῥάξι “raisin.” The non-Greek suffix -ινθ- marks several as substrate. Also a few of other categories: *plumbum* with μόλυβδος etc. “lead”; *fungus* with σπόγγος “sponge”; *funda* with σφενδόνη “sling.” (Words denoting social institutions where Latin likewise differs from Greek are more naturally explained as having passed through Etruscan: thus *triumphus* from θρίαμβος.)<sup>80</sup>

77 Celsus 1 pr. 69 as cited by the OLD.

78 W. Burkert, “Lescha-Liškah: Sakrale Gastlichkeit zwischen Palästina und Griechenland,” OBO 129, 19-37. West (EFH 38) wishes to see λέσχη as a Semitic loan to Greek, but this ignores the variable initial consonant of the Hebrew.

79 West (EFH 39) proposes to derive κέδρος (along with καθαρός “pure”) from the root  $\text{קָרַךְ}$  “make smoke”; but neither in Biblical nor Rabbinic Hebrew does the root form a noun naming a tree, nor an adjective with an appropriate sense.

80 A. Meillet, “De quelques emprunts probables en grec et en latin,” Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris 15 (1908) 161-164; —, Esquisse d’une histoire de la langue latine, repr. Paris: Klincksieck, 1966, 84-94; A. Cuny, “Les mots du fonds préhellénique en grec, latin et sémitique occidental,” Revue des Etudes Anciennes 12 (1910) 154-164; P. Kretschmer, Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache; Göttingen; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1896; 164-165; summary by Frédérique Biville, Les emprunts du latin au grec: Approche phonétique; Tome II [all seen by me]: Louvain/Paris: Peeters, 1995; 496-503. I list words from these sources which commend themselves as “Mediterranean” in the dictionaries of Ernout-Meillet & Frisk.

We should not be surprised then when such names (including also animals and man-made objects) are recorded in Canaanite too. A number are regarded as “Semitic loanwords in Greek” by Masson. But apart from the special case of “small pests,” none of them in their Hebrew form show specific signs of Semitic morphology; and none at all name uniquely Palestinian things. Only the absolutizing of the category “Semitic loanwords” has slotted them in there. The older Hebrew lexica held that every noun must be derived from a verbal root, attested or presumed; as soon as we abandon that doctrine, we perceive that the Hebrew words in this section are as detached from any “Proto-Semitic” as the Greek words from Indo-European. If all were known, this group of parallels would likely be the largest of all.

*Natural products.* Two seeds: “cummin,” κύμινον with כַּמְוִן; “sesame,” σήσαμον. Both appear in “seed tablets”: Linear B,<sup>81</sup> *ku-mi-no, sa-sa-ma*; Ugaritic,<sup>82</sup> *ššmn...kmm*; Phoenician, KAI 51.7 וּשְׁשֹׁמֶן ... וְכַמְוִן (I.335-6; EFH 13). The “reed,” κάμνα with קַמְנָה, names an aromatic as well as the measuring-rod; it now seems more likely to me that it is a Mediterranean substrate word for a natural product of varied uses (SIE 288 against I.94). The “clothes-moth,” σής with סֶס (I.73, cited EFH 542). The name of the “tuna,” θύννος, is similar though not identical to that of the sea-dragon, תַּנִּינִן (I.132).<sup>83</sup> The “ass,” Latin *asinus*, Heb. אֲתוֹן, is regarded by Levin (SIE 119-124) as a later Semitic loan to Latin; but as bearing the “sack” is perhaps older (II.51).

*Small pests.* Hebrew names of such often have four root-consonants: עֲכָבֵר “mouse,” חֲרָבִיל (Lev 11,22) “locust,” פְּרָעֵשׁ “flea,” עֲכָבִישׁ “spider.”<sup>84</sup> This is a genuine feature of Hebrew grammar, but cannot be proved rooted in “Semitic” as such, and all the pests are endemic to the Mediterranean. Shared then with Greek are the names of the “scorpion,” σκορπίος with עֲקָרִיב; and of the “frog,” βάτραχος with its numerous dialectal variants, beside עֲפָרְהָע (five root consonants!); see I.146, 336; II.60; SIE 282. I can now add עֲטָלָה, probably “bat” (Lev 11,19) in a list of “birds”; LXX νυκτερίδα; at Bab. Talm. *Sanhedrin*

81 DMG<sup>2</sup> 105.

82 KTU 4.14.4, 9.

83 Lipiński agrees, and adds (OLP 27 [1996] 242, citing his *Dieux et Déeses* 276) that אִיתָנָם (KAI 99.5, Hadrumetum) means “Island of the tuna” and represents modern Tonnara off the Tunisian coast. West (CR 47 [1997] 112) notes that “Ugaritic *tnn* is vocalized *tu-un-na-nu* in a quadrilingual glossary, *Ugaritica* v.241.”

84 עֲכָשׁוֹב Ps 140,4 “viper?” is of uncertain reading and meaning.

98b the cock (תרנגול) calls light useless to the עמלף. Compare then (Lewy 17) ἀττέλεβος Herodotus 4.172 “locust” in African context.<sup>85</sup>

*More speculative names of natural products.* Lost languages of the Mediterranean would likely have phonemes and morphology differing from both IE and Semitic, so that their words would often be partially disguised in any takeover.<sup>86</sup> —*The vine.* Three names: ἄμπελος with Latin *pampinus* and עַמְּן (I.136); the “grape cluster,” βότρυς with בֹּטְר (I.155); the “vine-stem,” θύρσος with שִׁירֹשׁ (I.156). —*Crops.* “Bean (-porridge),” πολτός with Latin *puls* and פּוּל (II.15); “grain,” πυρός with Latin *far* “spelt” and פָּר (II.10); “fig,” σῦκον (var. τῦκον) with Latin *ficus* and פִּיגָה (II.12); μᾶζα “barley bread” with Latin *massa* and מַצָּה (I.337; SIE 170, 293).<sup>87</sup> —*Terrain.* “Mountain,” ὄρος with הָר (II.65); “land, valley,” γῆ and γαῖα with אֲרֵץ (I.58); νότιον “valley” with נַפְתָּ (I.342, II.72). —*Serpent names.* ὄφις at *Iliad* 12.208 is strangely scanned ὄφῑν where the variant ὄφιν suggests a lost consonant; אֶפְסֹה provides it; cf. ἔχιδνα, Latin *anguis*, Sanskrit *ahih* (I.340). “Python” the serpent of Delphi, Πύθων (Apollodorus 1.4.1), cf. הַיָּם Isa 11,8 (II.190). —*Ship-timber:* κυπάρισσος and Latin *cupressus*, both “cypress” with עֵצֵי הַיָּם the material of Noah’s ark (I.329). Here is a beautiful case (as with the “vine-stem,” ἄμπελος/*pampinus*/עַמְּן) where a Mediterranean tree-name differently treated in Greek and Latin also has a likely echo in Hebrew. —*Lion-names,* see I.340.

*Man-made products.* —*Containers:* the “jar,” κάδος with Latin *cadus* and כַּד (Ugaritic *kd*), used regularly in the wine-trade (I.143). The “sack” (also for “sack-cloth”), σάκκος with Latin *saccus* and שַׁק (Ugaritic *sq*, Akkadian *saqqu*) is carried by the “ass” and goes with its name (II.50, SIE 288). —*Light weapons in the plural* (as changing sides in combat): “lances,” λόγχοι (cf. also ῥομφαῖαι) with Latin *lanceae* and לְחָיִם (I.173-4; SIE 281). “Arrows,” ὄιστοί with Latin *sagittae* and יָצִיק (II.70,140; SIE 293). —A “flaw” in a woman or sacrificial animal, μῶμος with מוּם (I.194, 232; EFH 41); Levin (SIE 170) notes that “neither IE nor Semitic has verbal roots that consist of the same consonant pronounced twice.” —“Mascara,” Latin *fūcus* with פִּיפִּי (and φῦκος “rouge”) might be Egyptian as στίμμι (II.295) since the

85 Nah 3,17 LXX for עַמְּן “locust” has ἀττέλεβος.

86 A number of these are accepted by Bomhard, who however against probability requires them to be derived from “Nostratic” precursors by fixed phonetic laws.

87 The seeming connection with the root μάσσω “knead” may be a folk-etymology, so that there is no need to consider this as I did a Greek loanword in Semitic.

product came from there (I.241).—*More speculative architectural items:* “temple,”  $\nu\alpha(\rho)\acute{o}\varsigma$  with  $\aleph\aleph$  “habitation (of the god)” II.43,223; “(sacral) cave,”  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha\rho\alpha$  with  $\aleph\aleph\aleph$  (I.244, EFH 40).

#### 17.4.8 Cases of contamination

Here are word-pairs where the Greek has a plausible IE etymology and the Hebrew a Semitic one, but the two forms are closer to each other than to their seeming antecedents. In all five cases the cultural parallels are particularly striking. The natural conclusions are that a word from one language family was assimilated to a similar word from the other, and their connotations became fused. In the first three cases it is more likely the Greek word that has travelled.

“*Darkness.*”  $\xi\rho\epsilon\beta\omicron\varsigma$  “dark underworld” with  $\aleph\aleph$  “evening” (I.57-8; SIE 288, 294; EFH 154). The Greek has good IE parallels like Armenian *erek* “evening”; the Hebrew has as corresponding root Arabic *ḡrb* “sink” with  $\aleph\aleph$  *ḡarb(un)* “west,” cf. Ugaritic<sup>88</sup>  $\aleph\aleph$  *špš* “going-down of the sun.” But the perfect parallelism of the Greek and Hebrew implies contamination. An identical correspondence between a Greek neuter and a Hebrew segholate appears in  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\theta\omicron\varsigma$  (*Odyssey* 24.253) “stature” with  $\aleph\aleph$  (Deut 33,13) “greatness” (SIE 458); and in  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  “precinct” with Sumerian TEMEN and possible Heb.  $\aleph\aleph$ \* “same?” (II.222, SIE 291, EFH 36).

“*Sickle, sword.*”  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\pi\eta$  “sickle” with  $\aleph\aleph$  “sword” (I.78, EFH 291). The Greek has a possible verbal root  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\pi\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$  “seize” and IE correspondent in Lithuanian *sirpe* “sickle”; the Hebrew has a seeming root in  $\aleph\aleph$  “attack,” with a feminine form in Mishnaic  $\aleph\aleph$  “knife.” But each is used of the High God’s weapon in attacking the sea-dragon.

“*Altar.*”  $\beta\omega\mu\omicron\varsigma$  with  $\aleph\aleph$  (I.201; SIE 161; EFH 35). The Greek has a doubtful etymology from  $\beta\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$ , with Homeric meaning “platform”; the Hebrew often seems to mean “heights,” and Ugaritic *bmt* is “back.” But the Hebrew plural construct is anomalously  $\aleph\aleph$  *bomōēley*, whose first part is phoneme by phoneme a perfect parallel to  $\beta\omega\mu\omicron\varsigma$  nom. sing.! Mostly in Greek and Hebrew it denotes a place of cultic sacrifice, deeper rooted in Hellas than in Canaan.

“*Cherub, griffin.*”  $\gamma\rho\upsilon\psi$  with  $\aleph\aleph$  (I.85, SIE 287, EFH 580). Lipiński<sup>89</sup> rejects the parallel on linguistic grounds and because the Greek griffin has an eagle head, the cherub human or leonine; but West accepts it. The Greek has a parallel in  $\gamma\rho\upsilon\pi\omicron\varsigma$  “hook-nosed”; the

88 KTU 1.15.V.18-20.

89 E. Lipiński, review of Vol. I in OLP 27 (1996) 241.

Hebrew a more distant one in the undescribed Akkadian *kuribu*. But they serve identical functions as guardians of gold and as upholding thrones. And the representations in art of such composite beings demonstrably came to Greece from the Orient. Thus the switch of voicing from *kəruwḅ* to *gr̥p-* was assisted by folk-etymology to γρῦπος.

“Vulture, bird of prey feeding on dead.” γρῦψ is always “vulture”; Hebrew עוֹר mostly “bird,” but in curses “birds feeding on the dead” (I.280; for the curse, EFH 216). The Greek has no close IE parallel, so may be derived from the Semitic in treaty or curse-format after the pattern of γρῦψ.

#### 17.4.9 The oldest travelling words

These are words obviously old in both Greek and Hebrew, but ultimately entering the languages by loan rather than by linguistic descent.

“Bull.” ταῦρος with עוֹר. (I.190-191; SIE *passim*).<sup>90</sup> This is the centerpiece in Levin’s analysis of “non-verbal nouns” with several parallels in case-endings: accusative sing., ταῦρον & Latin *taurum* with Arabic نَوْرَانٍ *pawran*; oblique dual, Greek \*ταῦροιον with Arabic نَوْرَيْنِ *pawrayn*; nominative pl. ταῦροι, *taurī*, Aramaic תאורי. Levin notes (SIE 15) “-au- also, rather than the normal IE -eu- or -ou-, points to a borrowing.” The name is likely a very old one predating the formation of original IE or Semitic as such.

“Wine.” (φ)οῖνος with יַיִן, Ge’ez *wayn* (I.137-8; SIE 54, 239, EFH 13). The name surely travelled with the technology of viticulture from its original home, perhaps in Anatolia or the Caucasus.

“Earth.” Old English (*eorðan*, Arabic اَرْضًا *ardān* acc.; with Greek ἔραζε “earthward,” Hebrew אֶרֶץ pausal (SIE 58-65; II.68). That the word has only marginal attestation in Greek suggests that it is “pre-Indoeuropean” (SIE 61), and likely the designation of feminine Earth as worshipped. Thus Tacitus (*Germania* 40.2-3) states that seven German tribes worship her, *Nerthum*,<sup>91</sup> *id est Terram matrem, colunt*; cf the Ugaritic sacrificial text KTU 1.148.5 *arṣ. w šmm. š* “a sheep to Earth and Heaven.”

“Horse.” ἵππος with סוס (II.6). Latin *equus* is an exact cognate of Sanskrit *açvah* etc., but the initial *hi-* of the Greek marks it as a loanword. Ugaritic *ššw* and old Aramaic ססיה (KAI 222 A22) must be loans which retain the *v* of Sanskrit, lost in the further development of

90 See also West in CR 47 (1997) 211.

91 It is likely that *Nerthum* is corrupt, e.g. for \**Herthum*, which would be a good parallel to later Germanic forms.

Hebrew  $\text{סָוֶד}$ . The name of the “horse” was surely carried by its riders, very often across linguistic families.

### 17.5 Ethnics and noun-endings<sup>92</sup>

“Ethnics” are nouns or adjectives defining men and women by the people they belong to; the people in turn is normally defined by its “eponym”—the founder, legendary or historical, it was named after. Hebrew and Greek have a set of parallel endings for ethnics; and these endings are then transferred to many common nouns, some of which we saw in 17.4. There are two indications that the ethnic endings are primary: the names that peoples gave themselves and their neighbors were fixed; the ethnic endings form a logical self-consistent set.

The *name of a city or people* (17.5.1) usually comes from the name of its eponymous founder. In the patrilineal Mediterranean the founder is nearly always a man (Carthaginian Dido [I.336] is a rare exception). Since the names of peoples and founders seldom vary from language to language, they constitute a built-in set of parallels between languages, which carries across also its grammatical forms. A masculine eponym (with extensions to the name of his people or city) normally in Hebrew has a stem ending in a consonant. Its Greek parallel often also has a stem of the consonant declension, with parallel treatment of final stops. Otherwise, the Greek eponym is a second-declension noun in  $-\sigma$ , where however the ending falls away under various conditions. These mandatory parallels in proper nouns then generated corresponding parallels in common nouns.

Men of a neighboring people mostly come to a speaker’s attention not as individuals but as collectivities: traders, colonists, slaves, soldiers. The original eponym therefore forms a *masculine plural or collective* (17.5.2), in form a suffixed and accented diphthong in  $-y$ ; it continues today in such forms as *Israeli*, *Pakistani*. In Hebrew the  $-iy$  suffix may designate either a collective or an individual man. In Greek the  $-\sigma$  suffix marks a nominative plural; in the case of peoples where the plural is more needed than the singular, the eponym is slotted in as  $-\sigma$  (for consonant stems must make a nominative plural in  $-\epsilon\sigma$ ). In Hebrew the collective suffix sets the pattern for construct plurals in

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92 This section is mostly a condensation of the central materials in a joint article, J. P. Brown & S. Levin, “The Ethnic Paradigm as a Pattern for Nominal Forms in Greek and Hebrew,” *General Linguistics* 26 (1986) 71-105.

-*éy* of common nouns. Greek common nouns of the 2nd declension form the identical nominative plural in -οι; the agreement in the suffix sometimes includes a final accent as well.

Foreign women normally come one by one as wife, concubine, harlot. Here then the ethnic agreement is in the *feminine singular* (17.5.3), in two formations. In Hebrew the first is a suffix in -*iyýšh* to designate a single woman; the second is a suffix in -*íyí* which can also designate the language. Phoenician script does not mark different formations, but simply adds -*t* for the feminine, whether or not pronounced, which generates anomalous forms in Hebrew and Greek too. Greek consonant and -ος stems with equal ease form a feminine singular in -ίη (Ionic) or -ιά (Attic etc.) which also serves as adjective or name of the land. They can also form a second feminine in -ίς, -ίδος, with extensions such as an adverb of language in -ιστί. But the open vowel by itself (Hebrew *qomēš* or *ʕ*, Greek long alpha -*ā* or eta η, in names of women or goddesses rarely omega -*ω*) was also heard as a feminine ending, and as such appears in numerous common nouns.

An unaccountably negative review of Levin's SIE by an otherwise distinguished scholar, whom Levin and I have often cited with approbation, holds it as a general law of contact between languages:<sup>93</sup>

Wörter nicht in irgendeinem beliebigen Kasus oder mit ihrem gesamten Flexionsparadigma von einer Sprache in eine andere übernommen werden, sondern in einer bestimmten 'Leitform'.

Here on the contrary we propose that reference of one people to another, with its mandatory forms for eponym, feminine singular, and masculine/collective plural, goes beyond any bare stem or *Leitform* ("principal form"?) to a genuine paradigm, which then less systematically serves as a template for common nouns of all sorts. Extensions of this pattern are the "thematic" masculine imperatives in -E (17.6.4) with accompanying vocative or quasi-participial forms; and the active and stative verbal nouns (17.6.9), feminine in Hebrew, feminine and neuter in Greek. Parts of the ethnic paradigm remain in English as in *Iraq* and *Iraqi*, *Arab* and *Arabia*. I urge readers to take seriously the demonstration here that the mutual relations of peoples in the ancient Eastern Mediterranean built into their languages shared manners of speaking about each other, which then in diverse ways spilled over into their languages at large.

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93 Kratylus 41 (1996) 203-5, p. 204.

## 17.5.1 Masculine eponyms

17.5.1.1 *Ethnics in a consonant stem compatible with Greek*

Eponymous names ending in *-n* or *-r* are compatible with a Greek consonant stem, and in *-l* with a Latin one. Thus the original “Ionian” is Ἴων, probably once \*ἰάφων (plural ἰάφονες *Iliad* 13.685); Hebrew יוֹן designates all Hellenes (I.82), as well as their land, Ez 27,13 (LXX Ἑλλάς).<sup>94</sup> “Sidon,” שִׁדְוֹן as masculine eponym is the “first-born of Canaan” (Gen 10,15), as feminine names the city שִׁדְוֹן (Jos 19,28) and Σιδών (Herodotus 2.116.6, Σιδῶνος *Odyssey* 15.425).<sup>95</sup> The city “Ascalon” is אַשְׁקְלוֹן (Jud 14,19), Ἀσκάλων Herodotus 1.105.4; the eponym is Ἀσκαλος.<sup>96</sup> Phoenician גִּרְסַךְ (KAI 77.2) comes out in Greek as Γέσκων (Polybius 1.70.3), Latin *Gisgō* (II.126), and so other personal names in *-ōn*. Phoenician Matten, מַתֵּן (KAI 18.2) appears at II Reg 11,18 מַתֵּן and Ματτήν Herodotus 7.98 (I.330). —A “Carian” is Κάρ, <sup>97</sup> as eponym Herodotus 1.171.6 the brother of Lydus; the collective קָרִי II Reg 11,19 suggests an eponym קָר\* (I.30-31). —Phoenician names in *-baʿal* go into Latin with the *-l*: thus (II.128) עֹרְבַעַל with *Hasdrubal*, but Greek Ἀσδρούβας.

*Pumathon and Pygmalion*. Here are two names in *-ōn* with a puzzling relationship. A king of Kition in the 4th century BC is (KAI 33.1) [י] כַּתְיָן פּוּמִי־יַתְוֹן “Pumi-yathon [‘the god Pumi has given’] king of Kition”; Athenaeus 4.167D attests Πυμάτῳ τῷ Κιτιεῖ. Diodorus 19.79.4 appears to call him Πυγμαλίωνα, but may just be echoing Πυγμαλίῳν the legendary king of Tyre (Menander Eph. FGH 783 F.1 = Josephus *con. Ap.* 1.125) and of Cyprus (Apollodorus 3.14.3—see Ovid *Met.* 10.243ff for his ivory statue become real). The Greek seems a partial folk-etymology to πύγμα “fist” (Frisk 2.619). It is then very surprising to find פּוּמִלִּין (KAI 73) twice on a gold medallion from Carthage, supposedly of the 8th century BC. KAI thinks it an import from Cyprus; but why even there should the Greek be transcribed? Can it be misdated? or a (perplexing!) forgery?<sup>98</sup>

94 At Elephantine יוֹן כֶּסֶף (Kraeling 12.5) is “Greek money.”

95 For variations in the length of the two vowels in both languages see “Ethnic Paradigm” 77-78, IESL 90.

96 Stephanus 131 = Xanthus FGH 765 F8.

97 Archilochos 216 IEG.

98 Elaborate discussion in Hans-Peter Müller, “Pygmaion, Pygmalion und Pumaïjaton: Aus der Geschichte einer mythischen Gestalt,” *Orientalia* 57 (1988) 192-205; see further DCP 364-5; C.R. Krahmalkov, “The Foundation of Carthage, 814 B.C.: the Douïmès Pendant Inscription,” *JSS* 26 (1981) 177-191.



17.5.1.2 *Ethnics whose stem ends in a stop*

The 6 Hebrew stops *ptkbdg* when not doubled are fricated after a vowel. That this feature of the Massoretic pointing is old is shown by a parallel in Greek. The fact that Ψ and Ξ became separate letters of the alphabet shows that they began with sounds not elsewhere represented, *fs* and *ks* or the like. Greek forms the third-declension nominative singular of stems ending in a stop by fricating and adding *-s*. Thus final π and β become ψ; κ and γ become ξ; and τ and δ become ς, perhaps once *\*ts* as in *baths*. So “Arab,” עֲרָב Ez 27,21 (LXX Ἀραβία) corresponds to Ἀραψ Josephus *BJ* 1.159 (stem Ἀραβ-) and Latin *Arabs* Propertius 3.13.8. λιψ Herodotus 2.25.2 is probably the “Libyan” wind (cf. Λιβύη), cf. Latin *Libs* of the giant Antaeus (Sidonius *Ap. Carm.* 9.97); from the African people לוֹבִים II Chron 12,3 (LXX Λιβύες) we can restore likely לֹב\* as eponym (conjectured at Ez 30,5), see I.30. “Cilicians” have eponym and ethnic Κίλιξ Herodotus 1.74.3 (stem Κίλικ-), and surely appear as קִילִי Ez 27,11 (I.29). A “Cretan” is Κρής<sup>99</sup> (stem Κρητ-), and so perhaps Ugaritic *Krt*; the bodyguard יִרְתָּי II Sam 8,18 are surely Cretans (so LXX Zeph 2,5) and suggest an eponym קִרְתָּ\* (I.32). The city “Gergis” of Troy (Γέργις, stem Γεργίθ-) shows a similar phenomenon with θ; it seems to appear in Ugaritic as the man’s name *grgš* (KTU 4.50.14 etc.) and in the “Girgashites,” גִּרְגָּשִׁי Gen 10,16 (II.197).

17.5.1.3 *Greek ethnics of the second declension*

Case-endings are always vulnerable to loss. Those of classical Arabic are dropped in colloquial; those of Ugaritic (only attested after aleph) are dropped in Hebrew; those of Latin disappear in Romance. Those in German are sturdiest. Second-declension Greek ethnics in *-os* form the first feminine derivative just like consonantal stems: thus “Lydos” Λυδός makes Λυδίη just as Κάρ makes Καρήη (17.5.3.2). In other forms also the thematic ending disappears as if it had never been there. Thus “Iapetos” Ἰαπετός with יָפֶת “Japheth” (I.82-83) makes Ἰαπετιόνιδα “son of I., i.e. Prometheus” (Hesiod *Opera* 54). Πελασγός “Pelagian” (I.170) with its likely relation to פְּלִשְׁתִּים “Philistines” makes Πελασγικός with its variant Πελαστικός. Doros eponym of the Dorians, Δῶρος (Euripides *Ion* 1590), perhaps appearing at the Palestinian city דוֹר or דָּר (I.33), makes Δωρικός (Herodotus 1.56). Kadmos Κάδμος with his relation to the קַדְמוֹנִי (I.37) makes Homeric Καδμείοι.

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99 Alcman(?) fr. 164 PMG.

#### 17.5.1.4 Common nouns with compatible consonantal stems

Those three categories of proper names have exact common equivalents. Some common nouns have stems ending in consonants compatible with Greek (and Latin). The “pledge,” ἀρραβών~ עֲרָבוֹן (I.74, SIE 281). The “tunic,” χιτών with Eg. Aram. כַּחוֹן (I.204, SIE 289); Hebrew has forms with a fem. suffix, חֲתָנָה and חֲתָנָה. The “serpent,” Πύθων with חֲתָנָה (II.302). The final -s- of the “moth,” σῆς with חֲתָנָה (I.73, EFH 542) can be reckoned a stem-ending. Latin *puls* “bean” corresponds to פֹּל (but Greek πολτός, II.15). Heb. “cattle,” בָּקָר (II.18, SIE 457) matches Latin *pecus*, where the -s represents the *r* of plural *pecora*.

#### 17.5.1.5 Common nouns whose stem ends in a stop

These show the same frication as the ethnics. The “griffin,” γρύψ (stem γρύπ-) matches כְּרִיב “cherub” with switch of voicing, and both final consonants are fricated (I.85, SIE 287, EFH 580); compare γύψ “vulture” (stem γύπ-) with עוֹף “bird (of prey)” (I.281). In the speculative comparison of words for “king,” βάνας (stem βανάκ- or βανάκτ-) and מֶלֶךְ (II.96), the treatment of the final guttural is a further element of agreement. The words for “torch/lightning” (the Greek feminine), λαμπάς and לִפְתִּיךְ, show parallel treatment of *d*, while differing in the second vowel (II.172).

#### 17.5.1.6 Greek common nouns with removable -os

As with ethnics, the ending falls away in derivatives just as if the noun were athematic. οἶνος makes “poor wine,” οἰνάριον (Demosthenes 35.32) just as athematic χιτών makes “a poor tunic,” χιτωνάριον (Arrian *Epict.* 1.25.21). χρῦσός makes a “golden eagle,” χρυσιάετος (Aelian *N.A.* 2.39) just as γρύψ makes “griffin eagles,” γρυπιάετους (Aristophanes *Frogs* 929).<sup>100</sup> The “bull,” ταῦρος makes ταυριάφτης “toreador” (*Anth. Pal.* 9.543). Fem. βάσανος “touchstone” makes a verb βασανίζω (I.306).

### 17.5.2 Masculine plurals and collectives

#### 17.5.2.1 Ethnic masculine plurals and collectives

Greek ethnic plurals in -οί with final (“oxytone”) accent from an eponym in -ός correspond to Hebrew collectives in accented -יָ from a consonantal eponym. In most cases one of the four forms is missing, but the pattern is clear.

100 At II.216 we further compare αἰετός “eagle” with עֵיט.

*Lydians.* The vocative Λῦδέ Herodotus 1.85.2 makes plural Λῦδοί 1.13.1; the eponym לִוְיָ (Gen 10,22) as son of Shem with plural לְוִיִּם (Jer 46,9, LXX ["26,9"] Λῦδοί) would naturally make a collective לְוִיִּם\* (I.30).

*Pelasgians/Philistines.* Eponym Πελασγός<sup>101</sup> with plural Πελασγοί *Iliad* 10.429; from the country-name פְּלִשְׁתִּים Isa 14,29 (ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Συρία Herodotus 1.105.1) is formed the singular פְּלִשְׁתִּי I Sam 17,8 of Goliath; for the phonetics see I.170.

*Achaeans/Hivites.* Eponym Ἀχαιοί Euripides *Ion* 1592; Homeric Ἀχαιοί, perhaps \*Ἀχαιφοί in view of Latin *Achiuī* (Horace *Ep.* 1.2.14). Hebrew (with no eponym) shows collective אֲחֵי; for this bold comparison see I.32, 201; SIE 165.

*Aramaeans.* אֲרָם Gen 10,23, eponym and people, makes a regular ethnic אֲרָמִי, singular and perhaps also collective (Deut 26,5); the total phonetic fit with Ἑρεμβοί *Odyssey* 4.84<sup>102</sup> makes a connection very probable (I.80, EFH 420).

*Midianites.* The eponym מִדְיָן Gen 25,4 makes ethnic sing. מִדְיָנִי Num 10,29; the comparison with Ματιηνοί Herodotus 5.49.6 is tempting but historically problematic.<sup>103</sup>

*Laius/Levites.* Levi the eponym is identical to his ethnic “Levite,” לֵוִי; the form is as near as possible to λαοί “people,” probably \*λαφοί. Levin sees legendary Laius (Λαῖος Sophocles *OR* 103) as the eponym of Thebans as “people” *par excellence*; at I.38 we discuss possible IE origin for all these names.

*Arabs.* Here exceptionally Greek (with Latin) in rare forms accommodates both Semitic singular and collective: thus Ἀραψ has an occasional “heteroclite” plural corresponding to אֲרָבִי sing. (Neh 2,19) and אֲרָבִים collective (Isa 13,20, where LXX Ἀραβες): Ἀραβοί Act 2,11 codex D (accent uncertain); Vergil *Aen.* 8.706 *Arabs* sing. but *Arabisue* 7.605 dative plural.

#### 17.5.2.2 Common nouns in nominative and construct plural

Correspondingly, common Greek nouns in -ος form a nominative plural in -οι parallel to the Hebrew construct plural -ey. “*Sheqels*,” σίκλοι II Chron 3,9 LXX with שֶׁקֶלִי I Chron 21,25 (I.307, SIE 286).

101 Hesiod frag. 161 M-W = Strabo 5.2.4.

102 *Odyssey* has acc. pl. Ἑρεμβούς with variants, but Strabo 1.2.31 attests Ἑρεμβοί.

103 In the Greek, the two syllables -ηνοί stand under suspicion of being a suffix, compare Τυρσηνοί Herodotus 1.166.1 “Etruscans” and especially Τιβαρηνοί Herodotus 7.78 in view of בְּלָל Gen 10,2 among the sons of Japheth (I.175).

“Camels,” κάμηλοι and Latin *camēlī* with גַּמְלֵי Gen 24,10 (I.210).<sup>104</sup> “Sacks,” σάκκοι ostraca<sup>105</sup> and Latin *saccī* with שַׁקִּיָּם Gen 42,35); see II.320, SIE 124. “Jars,” probable \*κάδδοι and Latin *cadī* with פְּדֵי Mishna *Keth.* XIII.4 (I.143). “Gardens,” παράδεισοι (Xenophon *Oec.* 4.13) with פַּרְדֵּיסי (Bab. Talm. *B.M.* 193a). In the old noun “bulls,” ταῦροι (Euripides *Bacchae* 743), Latin *taurī* Vergil *Geor.* 1.65, with Aramaic חוּרֵי (Targum Onqelos Num 29,13). “Ravens,” Latin *coruī* (Juvenal 8.252) with עֲרָבֵי Prov 30,17 (I.313).

Even closer to the ethnic plurals/collectives are three Greek common nouns with final “oxytone” accent. “Arrows,” οἶστοί with הִצְיָה, *hisséy* (II.70, 140). *Baby animals.* ἀμνοί with Latin *agnī* “lambs” and עֲגֻלֵי “calves,” where the middle consonant in both language groups was once a labio-velar (SIE 107; II.16). And with problematical consonants, “fields,” ἀγροί and Latin *agri* beside both Heb. הַצְרָה, *hasréy* and Aramaic חַקְלֵי (SIE 86-90).

A Greek feminine plural “tablets,” δέλτοι (Aristophanes *Thes.* 778) corresponds to a Heb. fem. dual דְּלֵתַי “doors,” Job 3,10 (I.52).<sup>106</sup> In a divine name, Greek plural Κάβειροι for the “Great Gods” corresponds to very probable כְּבִירֵי\* “great ones” (I.36, EFH 58). In a perplexing adjective, Latin *antiquī* “ancient” corresponds to עֲתִיקֵי “weaned” at Isa 28,9 but later “old” (Bab. Talm. *Pes.* 42b); see SIE 382-6, II.327, Bomhard 555. These Hebrew construct plurals sometimes correspond to Greek or Latin feminine plurals in -αι, *ae*. Thus beside הִצְיָה “arrows,” Latin *sagittae*; “lances,” λόγχοι (Aristophanes frag. 404 Kock), *lanceae*, רֹמְהֵי in רְמִיָּהוּ Neh 4,7 (I.173).

### 17.5.3 Feminine singulars

Here it will be simpler to begin with common nouns rather than ethnics.

#### 17.5.3.1 Feminine nouns with final vowel

These take one form in Greek for common nouns, and another for a few proper names of divinities. *Common nouns* (see the index for references). Latin *galbanum* with χαλβάνη and חַלְבָּנָה. “Cassia,” κασία with קַצְיָה. “(Wine-)hall,” λέσχη with לִשְׁכָּה. “Tent,” σκηνή with Talmudic שְׂכִינָה “tabernacling Presence” (I.180 with II.330). “Love,” ἀγάπη with אֲהָבָה. Add the speculative comparison (I.226) of γυνή

104 Levin boldly with the Hebrew compares further Latin *caballi* “nags” (SIE 13).

105 “Ethnic Paradigm” 86.

106 One would have expected \*δέλτοιου “twin tablets” corresponding to the ending (but not the stem) of דְּלֵתַי Job 38,10.

“woman” with וְזָנָה “harlot”; and the probable contamination of ἄρπη “sickle” with Heb. קֶרֶב “sword” and Mishnaic קַרְבָּה “knife.” Finally, a link to the ethnics in -iā, -iygōh appears in ἀνίη “grief” (*Odyssey* 15.394) beside אֲנִיָּה Isa 29,2 “mourning.”<sup>107</sup>

Greek apparently inherited some nouns ending in -ō such as κερδῶ “fox” (Aristophanes *Eq.* 1068, where it is accus.). But a few divine or legendary feminine names in -ō probably transcribe Semitic names in Phoenician form, where the correspondent to Hebrew -ōh was heard as long ō. “Cow”: Plutarch (*Sulla* 17) attests a goddess Θουρῶ named for Phoen. θῶρ “cow” (*IESL* 330);<sup>108</sup> so Hesychius Ταυρῶ as epithet of Artemis. It corresponds to Canaanizing Aram. שׁוֹרָה “cow” (KAI 222.A23) and Targumic תּוֹרְחָא Lev 22,28.<sup>109</sup> *Kabeiro*: the mother or grandmother of the Kabeiroi was Καβειρῶ (Strabo 10.3.21 Καβειροῦς genit., quoting older authorities), which likewise corresponds to unattested קַבְּבִירָה\* (I.37). *Dido*: Δειδῶ<sup>110</sup> seems a feminine of “David” as “beloved one,” and corresponds to דִּדְרָה\* “aunt” (דִּדְרָהוּ Lev 20,20); see I.336, *IESL* 252.

#### 17.5.3.2 Feminine ethnics in a vowel

Greek forms many feminine ethnics in -īη (Ionic) or -iā (Attic) from masculine eponyms (with either consonant or vowel stem) and from feminine names of cities and islands. Mostly they designate the land itself: Ἀραβίη Herodotus 3.107.1, Ἰωνία & Κᾶριᾶ Thucyd. 2.9.4, Κιλικία,<sup>111</sup> Ἀβδίη Herodotus 1.93.1, Ἀχαΐη Herodotus 7.94; less often as an adjective, Ποδία Thucyd. 8.44.2. These look like feminine singulars of masculine plural ethnics in -ioi which have no obvious Semitic counterpart. Thus in “Tyrian purple,” ἡ Τυρία ... πορφύρα Strabo 16.2.23, the adjective looks like the feminine of Τύριος (Τύριοι Herodotus 2.11.2), where the Hebrew ethnic is צִרְי I Reg 7,14. But Hebrew forms a *first* feminine ethnic in -iygōh which exactly corresponds to the Greek feminines, designating a woman of that city or nationality. Thus “Aramaean woman” אֲרַמְיָה I Chron 7,14; “Moa-bitess” מוֹאֲבִיָּה Ruth 1,22; “Hebrew woman” עִבְרִיָּה Deut 15,12; “Jewess” יְהוּדִיָּה I Chron 4,18.

In three cases with some reconstruction we can compare Hebrew and Greek.

107 “From Hesiod to Jesus” p. 336; connected with ὄνος “ass” or *onus* “burden”?

108 So Philo of Byblos, FGH 790 F. 10.43

109 See II.313 for the *t* appearing in the Aramaic.

110 Timaeus FGH 566 F 82.

111 Euripides frag. 819 Nauck.

*Sidonian.* I Reg 11,1 lists five nationalities of foreign women loved by Solomon in the plural: from צִדְוֹנִיָּה “Sidonian” we can restore צִדְוֹנִיָּה\* (see I.69). This agrees nicely with Herodotus 8.92.1 “Sidonian ship” νηϋς ἡ Σιδωνίη and with *Iliad* 6.291 Σιδωνίη|θεν “from the Sidonian land.” —Thus despite the disagreement in the masculine plural / collectives Σιδόνες *Iliad* 23.743 and Σιδώνιοι Herodotus 7.44, צִדְוֹנִיָּה Jud 3,3 and צִדְוֹנִיָּה Deut 3,9, by some route the feminine singulars agree perfectly, as do the eponyms.

*Assyrian.* Beside Ἀσσυρίη Herodotus 1.192.2 (I.43), from “Asshur” אַשּׁוּר we restored אַשּׁוּרִיָּה\* “Assyrian woman,” where all six letters correspond to those of presumed original Greek \*ΑΣΥΡΙΑ.

*Of Ashdod.* In the list of foreign women at Neh 13,23, from the Q אֲשֻׁדְדִיָּה “women of Ashdod” we may restore a singular אֲשֻׁדְדִיָּה\*. Here the LXX has Ἀζωτίας (acc. pl.) in agreement with Ἀζωτος “Ashdod” Herodotus 2.157 and Ἀζωτιος Stephanus. Then \*Ἀζωτία must have existed in Greek.<sup>112</sup>

### 17.5.3.3 Phoenician nouns with -t

Hebrew feminine nouns in *-šh* make their construct (and other forms) with *-at*: thus לְשֵׁכַת הַשְּׂרָיִם “hall of the princes” Jer 35,4; אֶהְבֵּת נָשִׁים “love of women” II Sam 1,26. In Phoenician the absolute also is written with a *-t*: with Heb מִנְחָה “offering” Gen 4,3, construct מִנְחַת הָעֶרֶב “evening offering” II Reg 16,15, see KAI 74.10 (Carthage) זבח במנחה “a sacrifice with offering”; with Heb. construct עֵלְמָה “young girl” (Ex 2,8) compare KAI 24,8 (Kilamuwa) בת יתן בש עלמה “one gave a girl for a sheep.” This *t* is unstable: it was lacking in the dialect underlying the consonantal text of the Quran, and in spoken Arabic it quiescens. It is written regularly in Ugaritic as in Phoenician, but must have quiescens under some conditions to account for its non-appearance when many words are borrowed by Greek. However it has left traces in Greek; and in Hebrew in the names of feminine divine beings and cities. Thus “Wisdom,” חֵכְמוֹת Prov 9,1 and “Behemoth,” בְּהֵמוֹת Job 40,15 may be misreadings of Canaanite singulars rather than “plurals of majesty” or “of intensity.”<sup>113</sup>

*Cities named for goddesses.* West (EFH 38) noted Greek and Hebrew cities whose name is the plural of a goddess; I can add that in both languages they may also appear as a singular. The same Canaanite

112 When Herodotus wrote Ἀζωτος, zeta must have had the value *zd*, so that the city was pronounced *azdōtios* in agreement with the Hebrew *ʾašdowd*.

113 The form of אָחוֹת “sister,” surely an old word, admits of no easy explanation.

city is attested both as singular and plural: thus “Baalath” בַּעֲלָת I Reg 9,18 but בַּעֲלוֹת I Reg 4,16 (with Phoen. absolute בעלת כהן “priest of the Lady” KAI 11). The goddess Ishtar always appears in Phoenician עשתרת (Ugaritic *ʿttrt*) and Greek with the *t*, Ἀστάρτη or Ἀσταρτα (II.332); Hebrew interprets the name both as singular, עֲשֶׁתֶרֶת I Reg 11,5, and as plural, עֲשֶׁתֶרֶת I Sam 31,10; and likewise her city, עֲשֶׁתֶרֶת Jos 21,27 but עֲשֶׁתֶרֶת Jos 12,4. The goddess ענת, so common in Ugaritic, is occasional in Phoenician (KAI 42, Lapethos, ענת) and on inscribed arrowheads (II.136); and apparently attested in “Shamgar son of ‘Anath,” בֵּית-עֲנַת Jud 3,31. A city of hers can be called either בֵּית-עֲנַת Jud 1,33 or בֵּית-עֲנַת Jos 15,59. It would seem that Phoenician singulars are being reinterpreted as Hebrew plurals. But the Hebrews were sufficiently persuaded that these were genuine plurals to give a city the seemingly true plural name עֲנַתוֹת (Isa 10,30 etc.). West (EFH 38) compares Greek city-names that are the plural of their tutelary goddess, Ἀθηναί, along with feminine plurals of what may once have been goddesses, Θήβαι and Μυκῆναι. Πότνιοι (Pausanias 9.8.1 “Ladies”) however actually refers to the mother and daughter Demeter and Kore; no Ugaritic or other legend proves that “Be<sup>c</sup>aloth” (בַּעֲלוֹת) refers to two or more goddesses. The other Greek cities also may appear in the singular, Ἀθήνην *Odyssey* 7.80, Θήβης 11.263, Μυκῆνη *Iliad* 4.52. I cannot easily determine how much is reinterpretation here and how much a genuine double version of the city name.

In a smaller group of words a non-quietescent Phoenician or Aramaic *t* is recorded in Greek. Thus “frankincense,” Heb. לְבִנָּה (I.210), in Phoenician is לבנת (KAI 76.B6), with *t* in the Heb. possessive לְבִנְתָּה Lev 2,2; the double forms in Greek, λίβανος and λιβανωτός, can both be explained from the Phoenician, where the ending in something like *-ōt* was alternatively heard as *-os* and *-ωτ-*. The “brick,” πλίνθος, records the Aramaic of Babylon לבינחא rather than Hebrew לְבִנָּה (I.83)—where *t* appears in the construct לְבִנְתָּה הַסַּפִּיר Ex 24,10 “pavement of sapphire.” A numinous tree, Heb. אֵלֶּה (Ez 6,13), may carry a feminine divine name as in Phoenician לאלת “to the goddess” (KAI 172.3) and be recorded in ἑλάτη “fir” (I.342).

#### 17.5.3.4 Feminine ethnics in t/d

Hebrew has a second form of the feminine sing. ethnic in *-iyē*: “Hittite woman” חֵתִית Ez 16,3, “Egyptian” מִצְרַיִת Gen 16,1; it also serves as adverb of language, II Reg 18,26 יְהוּדַיִת ... אֲרַמִּית “in Aramaic...in Judaeon (i.e. Hebrew),” where the LXX Συριστί ... Ἰουδαίιστί. In the bilingual KAI 59 from the Peiraeus צרנת = Σιδωνία “Sidonian woman,” the vocalization of the Phoenician is unknown. Greek likewise makes

a second form of the feminine ethnic in *-ίς*, gen. *-ίδος* with several derivatives. Thus “a Dorian city,” Δωρίς ... πόλις (Euripides *Ion* 1590); the ethnic makes a verb Δωρίσδεν “speak in Dorian” (Theocritus 15.93), a noun Δωρισμός (Demetrius *El.* 177), and an adverb Δωριστί “in the Dorian mode” (Plato *Laches* 188D). From Καβειρώ is formed “daughters of K.” or the like, Καβειρίδας Strabo 10.3.21. At I.30-32 we saw the Greek stereotypes of their neighbors, using these forms: Κιλικισμός was “barbarous slaughter,” Καρίζειν “to speak barbarously,” Κρητίζων “lying.”

There are parallels (partially attested) in four cases.

*Pelasgian/Philistine.* From Herodotus 6.138.2 Πελασγίδων γυναικῶν “Pelasgian women” we restored the singular \*γυνή Πελασγίς (I.226); from  $\text{הַשְּׁלִימִי}$  I Sam 17,8 we restored the feminine  $\text{הַשְּׁלִימִי}$ \* and proposed a whole phrase “Philistine harlot,”  $\text{הַשְּׁלִימִי הַזְּנוּי}$ .

*Ionian.* From the rare ethnic Ἴωνίς (Ἴωνίδας Pausanias 6.22.7) is formed Ἴωνιστί “in the Ionic dialect” by grammarians; at Joh 19,20 for Ἑλληνιστί “in Greek” the Peshitto has  $\text{יוֹנִי}$  and similarly Rabbinic  $\text{יוֹנוֹ}$  at Bab. Talm. *Shab.* 115a.

*Ashdodite.* Neh 13,24 records the language or dialect of Ashdod,  $\text{אֲשְׁדוֹדִי}$ , where the LXX following the usage of Herodotus has Ἀζωτιστί.<sup>114</sup>

*Achaean.* The feminine of Ἀχαιός is Ἀχαιῖς (Ἀχαιῖδα γαῖαν *Iliad* 1.254; as disparaging soldiers, Ἀχαιῖδες οὐκέτ' Ἀχαιοί 2.235); from  $\text{הַיִּיטִי}$  “Hivite” we can restore  $\text{הַיִּיטִי}$ \*.

### 17.6 Old agreements between Semitic and Indo-European

Here we discuss linguistic connections between Hebrew and Greek which antedate those languages as such and their societies, but continue to build cultural parallels. Most are treated by Levin, who in his SIE has brought to light a broad spectrum of agreements between Semitic and IE, recorded here only in small part.

#### 17.6.1 Eye and ear

Levin (SIE 29-43) finds that nouns for body-parts of the head coming in pairs end the stem in *-n* and take comparable dual endings (I.196).

114 Since Ekron in the seventh century BC put up a regal inscription in Canaanite (II.298), the language of Ashdod two centuries later may not have been unknown “Philistine” but a dialect either of Canaanite or of Aramaic replacing Canaanite there as elsewhere in Palestine.



Thus: “two ears,” אָזְנִים (Deut 29,3) and οὐράτοι;<sup>115</sup> קַרְנִים (Hab 3,4) “horn-like rays,” κεράτοις (Aelian *Hist. Anim.* 11.15) “twin tusks of an elephant.” The comparable words for “eye” and “ear” continue together: Koh 1,8 (cf. Job 13,1) “No eye (עֵין) is satisfied with seeing, and no ear (אָזְנִי) filled with hearing” (cf. I Kor 2,9, SIE 40); Isa 37,17 = II Reg 19,16 “Incline your ear (אָזְנִי), Yahweh, and hear; open your eye (עֵינִי), Yahweh, and see” (EFH 270); *Avoth* II.1 (Rabbi) שומעה ואוזן שומעה עין רואה ואוזן שומעה “A seeing eye and a hearing ear.” And so in Middle and Old English, *Eien lokeð and eare lusted, Wip pe eeris and een of his bert.*<sup>116</sup> West (EFH 385 from Bogan 136) compares *Iliad* 15.128f (Athena to Ares) “it’s for nothing that you have ears to hear with,” ἦ νύ τοι αὐτῶς / οὐατ’ ἀκουέμεν ἔστί; Jer 5,21 etc. “They have eyes and see not, they have ears and hear not”:

עֵינִים לָהֶם וְלֹא יִרְאוּ אָזְנִים לָהֶם וְלֹא יִשְׁמְעוּ  
with echoes in the New Testament.

### 17.6.2 Six and seven

Levin (SIE 400-412) proposes that the similar Semitic and IE names of “six” and “seven” represent an infiltration from Akkadian superseding any earlier lost IE names.<sup>117</sup> God made heaven and earth in six days (שֵׁשֶׁת יָמִים) and rested on the seventh (בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי, Ex 31,17); Job sat on the ground seven days and seven nights (Job 2,13); the cloud was on Sinai six days, and Yahweh called from it on the seventh (Ex 24,16); after six days the walls of Jericho fall down on the seventh (Jos 6,15). West (EFH 175 with Ugaritic parallels also) observes the Homeric formula (*Odyssey* 10.80, cf. 15.476) “For six days together we sailed night and day; on the seventh ...”:

ἕξῆμαρ μὲν ὁμῶς πλέομεν νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμαρ / ἕβδομάτῃ ...  
similarly for feasting (12.397, 14.249). The great fire in Rome raged “six days and seven nights,” *per sex dies septemque noctes* (Tacitus *Ann.* 15.44); it was blamed on Christians and is described in a Jewish phrase.

### 17.6.3 Children’s language

The first labial words of a child serve, variously segmented, in many languages both for nourishment and for its parents, not clearly

115 Hippocrates *de glandis* i.494 Kühn.

116 OED<sup>2</sup> v.19 col. 3 s.v. *ear*: *Trinity College Homilies* 181; *Apology for Lollard Doctrines* 36.

117 Enkidu lies with the harlot for six days and seven nights (*Gilgamesh* I.iv.21); Gilgamesh weeps over him for the same period (Assyrian version X.iii.23), and must stay awake for the same (XI.199).

separated. Nausicaa calls her father πάππα (*Od.* 6.57), and Praxinoa calls her husband so, Theocritus 15.16 (I.241). A common name in Anatolia, Παπίας of Hierapolis (Eusebius *HE* 3.39.2), with much epigraphic attestation. Beside formal Hebrew אבא, familiar Aramaic אבא עלי נאמן “My father is acceptable to me [as a judge or witness]” (*Mishna Sanh.* III.2); Jesus (an orphan?) says ἀββᾶ ὁ πατήρ Mark 14.36. Menander *Samia* 28 has μάμη “mother,” the same primary word as Semitic, Hebrew אמה. The goddess of Comana is Mā, Strabo 12.3.3. Varro<sup>118</sup> attests such children’s words in Latin, *cum cibum ac potionem buas ac pappas uocent, et matrem mammam, patrem tatam*, “Since [children] call food and drink *bua* and *pappa*, mother *mamma* and father *tata*.”

#### 17.6.4 Men’s language

Semitic and Indo-European are men’s languages. Although the oldest verb-formations in both are “athematic,” ending in consonants, very early they are supplemented by forms in a variable vowel—in Greek *o/e*, in Hebrew from biconsonantal roots conventionally written with final *he*. Likewise Greek (and Latin) “third declension” nouns with consonantal stem are early supplemented by “second declension” nouns or adjectives with the same variable vowels; and so in Hebrew for participles from biconsonantal roots. It is in these highly successful innovations that specifically male language most clearly shows up. “Thematic” verbs and nouns/adjectives take their simplest ending—namely, the briefest E-vowel—when a man is being addressed; the previous vowel distinguishes verbs from nouns. (In Greek, but not in Hebrew, the imperative does double duty recording the fulfilment of the command in the imperfect: thus *Od.* 21.359 τόξα λαβὼν φέρε “he picked up his bow and brought it” but 21.369 φέρε τόξα “bring your bow.”) In both languages feminine nouns and participles have an extended form; in Hebrew (and Semitic generally) the feminine imperative is distinct from the masculine and extended.

The most basic Greek utterance is a command from one man to another, a vocative plus imperative, each with *-e*. With a common noun, Eumaeus to disguised Odysseus (*Od.* 14.80) ἔσθιε νῦν, ὦ ξεῖνε “Eat now, O stranger.” With a proper noun, Achilles to the shade of Patroclus (*Iliad* 23.19):

χαῖρέ μοι, ὦ Πάτροκλε, καὶ εἰν Ἄϊδαο δόμοισι  
 “Rejoice with me, Patroclus, even in the house of Hades.” With an

118 Varro in Nonius i.113 ed. Lindsay.

adjective or quasi-participle and forms of the same root (Aristophanes *Eccl.* 738):

φέρε δεῦρο ταύτην τὴν ὑδρίαν, ὑδριαφόρε  
 “Bear that pitcher here, pitcher-bearer.” The adjectival form varies from the verbal by the vowels ο-ε instead of ε-ε. With τρέφε “rear!” (Aristophanes *Birds* 1367) compare the vocatives τροφέ “nurse!” (Euripides *Electra* 54) and κουροτρόφε “child-rearer!” (*Homeric Epigram* 12). In these quasi-participles, if the accent retreats further the sense shifts to passive: thus κεραυνοβόλος “thunder-striking” of Zeus ([Lucian *Philopatris* 4), but κεραυνόβολος “thunderstruck” of Semele (Euripides *Bacchae* 598). In all these forms the final -ε is a morpheme shared by verbs and nouns to call attention to the hearer.<sup>119</sup>

Hebrew has no separate vocative form and usually does not accompany an imperative with a vocative of the person addressed. An imperative and participle with shared object have the same vocalism as Greek: from “build yourself a house,” בִּיחַ בְּנֶה-לְךָ (I Reg 2,36), Solomon can say “I am building a house,” בּוֹנֵה-בַיִת (II Chron 2,3). From the imperative “herd the flock,” רִעֵה אֶת-צֹאֵן (Sach 11,4) we can say that Abel is “flock-herding,” רִעֵה צֹאֵן (Gen 4,2). Correspondingly in Greek we could say “build a house,” \*δέμε οἶκον (cf. δέμον *Od.* 23.192 “I built”) where the vocative οικοδόμε “Housebuilder!” (in reverse order from the Hebrew) is actually attested;<sup>120</sup> Levin (SIE 161) subtly compares both verb “build” and object “house” with their Hebrew parallels. As with other Greek and Hebrew nouns, these singular forms in -E make plurals in -οι, -ey (nominative in Greek, construct in Hebrew): “house builders” would be בּוֹנֵי בַיִת\*, see οἰκοδόμοι (Plato *Rep.* 2.370E); “flock-herders” are רִעֵי צֹאֵן (Gen 46,12), and in Greek beside αἰπόλε voc. sing. (Theocritus 1.12), αἰπόλοι (Herodotus 2.46.3).

In a few biconsonantal roots Hebrew and Greek are directly comparable.

“Bearing.” With the Greek forms above φέρε “bear!” and -φόρε “bearing” we can compare פִּרְהָ (Gen 35,11) “be fruitful!,” פִּרְהָ (Deut 29,17) “bearing (poison).” With the plural χρυσοφόροι (Herodotus 4.104) “gold-bearing” we can reconstruct פִּרְהֵי חֲרוֹץ\*.

119 S. Levin, “Language Structure Reconsidered I-III,” *General Linguistics* 27 (1987) 201-238, p. 207: in Greek, “-e deserves to be reckoned the same morpheme in vocatives as in imperatives,” for “both express a direct demand.”

120 Vocative of the Church in pseudo-John Chrysostom *In adorationem uenerandae crucis* (PG 62.753.29)—a text discovered through the disk *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*.

“*Getting, begetting.*” Latin *\*gignere, \*gene* “beget!” are probable, compare קָנָה (Prov 4,5) “get, acquire!”; hence singulars παιδογόνε (Euripides *Sup.* 629 voc.) of Zeus “begetting children”; קָנָה שָׁמַיִם וְאָרֶץ (Gen 14,19) of God “creating heaven and earth”; likewise plurals τεκνογόνοι (Aeschylus *Agam.* 1478) “bearing children,” קָנְיָהֶם (Sach 11,5) “buying [sheep].”

“*Leading.*” The *a*-vowel in ἄγε “lead!” (Latin *age*) has brought IE scholars to postulate a lost initial “laryngeal” consonant; it appears in עָשָׂה Jos 5,2 “do!” (though the other consonant is problematical). Here a Greek noun of agent exists independently as ἄγέ “leader!” (vocative, *Hom. Hymn* to Ares 8.5), differing from the imperative verb only in accent; in this form the Hebrew guttural loses its effect, making עָשָׂה Isa 5,5 “doing.” At Ex 15,11 עָשָׂה פֶּלֶא “doing a marvel” reads naturally as a vocative.

#### 17.6.5 Things that fall from the sky: the “elements”

In chapter 11 (SIE 198-213, 287) we saw three such with parallel consonantal stems: Hebrew שָׁלֵג “snow” with Russian снег (Greek νίφα accus., Latin *nix*); בָּרָק “lightning” with φλόξ, *fulgur*; חֶטֶט “rain” with English *water* (Greek ὕδωρ “[rain-]water”). The final consonants are in different ways compatible with Greek. In Hebrew and Greek each bears a close relation to the High God; he is the subject of the verb and the possessor of the noun. Zeus is an old god, but originally associated with the *bright* sky; very likely both Zeus and Yahweh have inherited their dark roles from older Mediterranean High Gods with the same function. Each noun has a corresponding verb (Greek ὕδωρ has ὕει by folk-etymology). The verb may take the noun as cognate object (or subject).

*Rain.* Isa 5,6 (of the clouds) מִהַמְחֵטֵר עָלֵיו חֶטֶט “not to rain rain on them”; Aristophanes *Clouds* 1279-80 καινὸν αἰεὶ τὸν Δία / ὕειν ὕδωρ “Does Zeus always rain new rain?” *Twelfth Night* V.i “For the rain it raineth every day.”

*Lightning.* Ps 144,6 בָּרוֹק בָּרוֹק “flash lightning,” LXX ἄστραπον ἄστραπήν; Luke 17,24 ἀστραπή ἀστράπτουσα where Vg *fulgur...fulget*. Seneca *Epist.* 57.8 with peculiar physics on the escape of the soul at death:

Quomodo *fulmini*, etiam cum latissime percussit ac *fulsit*, per exiguum foramen est reditus...

“Just as the lightning, even when [Jupiter] strikes and flashes most widely, has a return [to the sky?] through a narrow opening...”

*Snow, dew, clouds.* Aeschylus *Septem* 212 (but text in some disorder) νιφάδος ... νειφομένης “a snowfall falling.” Ugaritic (KTU 1.19.I.42)

*tl ytlł lgnbm* “dew falls on the grapes.” Gen 9,14 “When I becloud clouds,” עָנַן עָנַן עָנַן, LXX ἐν τῷ συννεφεῖν με νεφέλας. The names of the elements, obviously old, show striking resistance to replacement by taboo or linguistic change.

### 17.6.6 Full containers

Levin (SIE 179, cf. II.143) proposes that the “richest vein of Semitic-IE etymology is located in the root that means ‘full’ or ‘fill’.” He compares the declensions in the fem. sing., מְלֵאָה (Num 7,14) with πλεῖη (*Od.* 15.446); and in the masc. plur., מְלֵאִי (post-Biblical) with πλεῖοι (*Od.* 12.92), just as in the ethnics treated above. He finds extensions of it as far as Austronesian, and explains its spread through trading. I can add that its use as such continues in the historical period, with shared vocabulary both for contents and for container.

*Contents.* Things can be full of wine, pitchers (Jer 35,5 מְלֵאִים יַיִן, Vg *plenos uino*, Luther *voll Wein*) or tents (*Iliad* 9.171 πλεῖαί τοι οἴνου κλισίαι). Or of grain: Joel 2,24 “The threshing floors shall be full of grain,”

וּמְלֵאֵי הַגֶּרְנוֹת בָּרֶךְ

The Versions have cognates of the verb, LXX καὶ πλησθήσονται αἱ ἄλωνες σίτου, Vg *et implebuntur areae frumento*, Luther *voll Korn*, where they might have had cognates of the contents as well, \*πυροῦ and \*farre.

*Containers.* The Greek papyri ought to show “a full jar, sack,” \*πλήρης κάδος, σάκκος. In Latin the nouns are more literary. Catullus 13.8 *plenus sacculus est araneorum* “[Catullus’] money-sack is full of cobwebs”; Gen 42,25 “And Joseph gave orders, and they filled (וַיִּמְלְאוּ, LXX ἐμπλήσαι) their containers with grain (בָּרֶךְ, σίτου, *tritico*), and [he ordered them] to return every man’s silver to his sack (שָׂקוֹ, σάκκον).” Horace *Carm.* 4.11.2 *plenus Albani cadus* “my jar is full of Alban wine”; Plautus *Amph.* 429 *cadus erat uini, inde impleui hirneam*; Ugaritic *kd yn* (I.144); Gen 24,16 “And she filled her jar,” וַתְּמַלֵּא בַרְדָּה (LXX ἐπλήσεν, Vg *impleuerat*).

We can thus reconstruct longer phrases from bills of lading:

<p>“Six jars full of wine”  שֵׁשׁ בַּרְדִּים מְלֵאֵי יַיִן  ἕξ κάδοι πλεῖοι φοίνου  <i>sex cadi pleni uini.</i></p>	<p>“Seven sacks full of barley”  שִׁבְעָה שָׂקִים מְלֵאֵי בָרֶךְ  ἑπτὰ σάκκοι πλεῖοι πυροῦ  <i>septem sacci pleni farris.</i></p>
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## 17.6.7 Verb and noun object

Besides “fill a sack, a jar,” we have found four cases where both the verb and its object are comparable; but the history of each is different. Only with “stealing cattle” (Latin *\*clepere pecora* etc.) do both verb and noun go back to remote antiquity on both sides, IE and Semitic. In “slaughter a bull” (σφάζειν ταῦρον etc.) the verb seems to be Semitic נבַח in view of the guttural enforcing an *a*-vowel; the noun is very old but not clearly of IE or Semitic structure. In “mix wine” (μίσγειν οἶνον etc.) the verb seems a Greek inceptive *\*μίσκαω* which travelled east to Canaan, and the noun from the uncertain area and language where viticulture was devised. In “testing gold” (βασανίζειν χρυσόν etc.) the verb is comparatively recent and of Egyptian origin, perhaps coming to Greece through Lydia (for the touchstone is “Lydian”); the noun is Akkadian. Thus in each case but the first the common phrase is not inherited but constructed in the Mediterranean.

## 17.6.8 Verb roots with Latin parallels

“*To lift*” (SIE 177-179). We saw (I.307) the similarity of Heb. הִלָּף and Latin *tulit* “he carried” (where ἔτλη “he endured” has a derived sense). Hence they are used for execution by hanging. Gen 40,19 “He will hang you on a tree,” וְעַל-עֵץ אֶחָדְךָ אֶחְלָףְךָ, Vg *ac suspendat te in cruce*; Cicero *Att.* 7.11.2 *hoc...miserius esse duco quam in cruce tolli* “I declare this more wretched than being hung from a cross.”

“*To seelfear*” (SIE 259-261). The Hebrew forms רָאָה “he saw” and יָרָא “he feared” would be thought related if the meanings were closer. But Greek and Latin show the same meanings in similar verbs ὁράω “I see” and *uereor* “I fear”; and to see a God is to fear him. *Od.* 7.71 οἱ μὴν ῥα θεὸν ὡς εἰσορόωντες “who, looking up to him as a god”; Jacob at the ford, Gen 32,31 רָאִיתִי אֱלֹהִים “I have seen (a?) god”, II Sam 6,9 וַיִּרְאֵהוּ דָוִד אֶת-יְהוָה “And David feared Yahweh.”

“*Stink, be ashamed*” (SIE 250-258).<sup>121</sup> Hebrew and Latin agree in having similar pairs of verbs meaning “stink” (onomatopoetic and primary) and “be ashamed, be put to shame”: שָׂחַ with *putet* and *foetet* “stink,” בֹּשָׁם with *pu-det* “be ashamed.” It is often held that in a heroic “shame-culture,” to have one’s status reduced in the eyes of one’s fellows renders irrelevant the consideration whether the cause is one’s own failing or the action of another. Thus these words acquire

121 See also “From Hesiod to Jesus” 326-328, which I hope to revise and extend elsewhere; it is evident from these brief paragraphs that much more can be said on the concept of “shame” in antiquity.

seemingly opposite meanings. II Sam 19,6 Joab says to David that by his mourning for Absalom “You have covered with shame (הַבְּשָׁתָה, LXX κατήσχυσας) the faces of all your servants” who have in fact acted blamelessly; but mostly people are said to feel shame for their own misdeeds, Hos 2,7 “For their mother has played the harlot, she who bore them has acted shamefully”:

כִּי וְנָתְתָה אֶפְסֹם הַכִּישָׁה הַזֹּרְתָם

Conversely in Latin *pudor* and its derivatives mostly have a good sense “modesty, chastity,” arising from the sense of shame at the mere thought of wrongdoing; but it equally applies to shame at actual wrongdoing, the OLD cites Calpurnius *Decl.* 49, the adulterer *pudore torquetur* “is tormented by shame.” Greek αἶδος and αἰσχύνη have the same ambivalence. West (EFH 239) is surprised that both Hebrew and Greek can say “clothed in shame”: Ps 109,29 “May [my accusers] be wrapped in their shame as a garment,” וְיַעֲטוּ כַמְעֵיל בְּשָׂתָם; *Iliad* 1.149 Achilles calls Agamemnon “clothed in shamelessness,” ἀναιδείην ἐπιειμένε. The reason seems to be that the “shame” words from their initial origin in “stinking” have acquired a secondary physical characteristic, *blushing*; Cicero *Tusc.* 4.19 *ut pudorem rubor...consequatur* “that blushing follows shame.”

### 17.6.9 Active and stative verbal nouns

Levin finds a second distinction of O and E vowels in forming from verbal roots, respectively, feminine active nouns and “stative” nouns (the latter neuter in Greek, feminine in Hebrew). Thus γονή (*Iliad* 24.539) “begetting,” γένος neut. “thing begotten”; βολή “throw, cast” (βολάων *Od.* 17.283), βέλος “missile.” The formation is rarer in Hebrew, and the semantic connection in the clearest case is uncertain: perhaps it is נִבְלָה Deut 22,21 “criminal folly,” נִבְלָה Lev 7,24 “result of such folly, corpse.” From two triconsonantal roots a nearly complete paradigm emerges.

“*Rain, blessing.*” One more “elemental” word has a different set of parallels. Heb. בִּרְכָה (Ex 32,29) is conventionally “blessing,” but the principal blessing is rain, גְּשָׁמֵי בִרְכָה Ez 34,26 “showers of blessing”; then its stative counterpart is בְּרִיחַ construct I Reg 22,38 “pool.” Beside it are βροχή Matt 7,27 “drenching rain,” and probable neuter \*βρέχος “thing drenched,” see the adjective ἀρτιβρεχής Meleager, *Anth. Pal.* 5.175.2 “newly drenched.”

“*Steal.*” Feminine active noun κλοπή “theft” Plato *Laws* 941B; neuter stative κλέπος “thing stolen”;<sup>122</sup> גְּנֵבָה\* “theft” would be possi-

122 Adespota Iambica 56, IEG ii.27.

ble, and cf  $\text{גָּנְבוֹתוֹ}$  Ex 22,2 “his stolen thing.” We saw (II.18) that in Latin and Hebrew the verb takes as object corresponding nouns for “cattle”: *pecudes...clepere* (Accius),  $\text{בָּקָר} \dots \text{יִגְנוֹב}$  (Ex 21,37). Here is the oldest “Nostratic” phrase I find, where the historic cultures in archaic texts look back to an almost forgotten age of cattle-rustling.



## Appendix 2: Additions and Corrections

(I.4) *Jerome on Isa 57,16*. The text is at Corp. Christ. 73A.655.27.

(I.16) *Gilgamesh at Qumran*. The fragments of the Aramaic Enochian *Book of Giants* from Qumran have now been published by Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran: Texts, Translation and Commentary: Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum* 63; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997. גלגמיס appears (p. 105 Stuck.) from 4Q530 = 4Q En Giants<sup>b</sup> col.ii.3; גלגמיש [ג] (p. 162) from 4Q531 = 4Q En Giants<sup>c</sup> frag. 17.12; חובבש (p. 71) from 4Q 203 = 4Q En Giants<sup>a</sup> frag. 3.3. For the plant of youth see West, EFH 118.

(I.17) *Tethys and Tiawat*. Burkert Or. Rev. 93 derives the Greek from the Akkadian. Alternatively I compare the accusative Τηθύς (the only form in Homer [*Iliad* 14.201, 302]) with תְּהוֹם “the deep.” That requires the Semitic internal *-h-* to be shown in Greek by the initial *t* aspirated; and the Hebrew initial reduced vowel to come from Phoenician (I.301), but for some other Semitic dialect underlying the Greek to have had a full E vowel there.

(I.24) *The water supply of Jerusalem*. It is described further by Sirach 50,3; Tacitus *Hist.* 5.12.1 with notes by Stern II.59; *Ep. Arist.* 89-91; Eusebius *Praep. Ev.* 9.35-37.

(I.26) *Plastered cisterns*. The technology is described at *Avoth* II.8 as metaphor of a retentive student, “A plastered cistern that does not lose a drop”: בור סוד שאינו מאבד טפה.

(I.33) *Azitawadd*. The ruler’s name (אזתווד KAI 26A.1.1) is continued in the city Aspendus (Ἀσπενδος Xenophon *Hell.* 4.8.30), for on its coins (Head 700) its name appears as ΕΣΤΡΕΔΙΟΥΣ.

(I.35) *Thisbe and “Tishbite.”* With these have been compared the Anatolian weather-god *Tešub* and Sisyphos (Σίσυφος). See now S. Levin, “The Etymology of the Place-Name Thisbe,” pp. 13-24 of J. Bintliff (ed.), *Recent Developments in the History and Archaeology of Central Greece*; Proceedings of the 6th International Boeotian Conference; London: BAR Int. Series 666, 1997.

(I.37) *Cadmus*. See the fuller discussion in West, EFH 448-450.

(I.39) *The Semitic alphabet of 22 letters*. It made its way so widely

in the West-Semitic world that likely it spread to languages with more than 22 consonantal phonemes. The Masoretes heard that *shin* had two pronunciations; perhaps this had been true also of others, so that words they spelled and pronounced the same once were distinct. Thus perhaps Hebrews pronounced differently צִירַר Num 10,9 “oppressing” (cf. Arabic ضَرَّ *ḍarra*) and צִירַר Job 26,8 “binding” (صَرَّ, *ṣarra*). James E. Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period*; Princeton: University, 1994, proposes that the phonetic inventory of Canaanite included 27 to 29 consonants; review by Gary Rendsburg, *JAOS* 116 (1996) 508-511.

The variation between אֶרְעָא and אֶרְקָא “earth” in the single Aramaic verse Jer 10,11 (II.000) suggests that the word was still pronounced with *d* as in Arabic *ʿard(un)*. —A complete Aramaic alphabet has appeared at Hatra (Vattioni 14).

(I.45) *Origin of the Greek alphabet*. Roger D. Woodard (*Greek Writing from Knossos to Homer: A Linguistic Interpretation of the Origin of the Greek Alphabet and the Continuity of Ancient Greek Literacy*; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997) holds that the Greek alphabet was derived from the Phoenician with reference to the Cypriote syllabary and ultimately to Linear B, so that there was (p. vii) a “continuum of Greek writing from Mycenaean Knossos to Homer.” His argument is complex; but even if correct, suggests no thematic continuity from Linear B to alphabetic.

(I.46) *Synagogue alphabetic verse*. The poem אל ברוך of the text is already in the Seder R. Amram Gaon, ed. by D. Hedegård; Lund: Lindstedt, 1951; p. 47 & יח; attributed to the 9th century CE.

(I.50) *Necessity of an oral tradition in Hebrew*. The article by Saul Levin in Hebrew has now appeared in English as “The ‘Qeri’ as the Primary Text of the Hebrew Bible,” ed. J. P. Brown, *General Linguistics* 35 (1995) 181-223 [Levin Festschrift].

(I.55) “*Knowledge of good and evil*.” Some take “good and evil” as inclusive opposites, “knowledge of everything, from good to evil.”

(I.58) *The land of no return*. See West’s beautiful paragraphs (EFH 154-5) “One-way traffic.” Job 16,22 “I shall go the road I will not return,”

וְאֶרְכָּ לֹא-אֲשׁוּב אֶהְלֵךְ

Vg *semitam per quam non reuertar ambulo*. Anacreon PMG 395.12 “for one going down not to return,” καταβάντι μὴ ἀναβῆναι. Job 10,21 “Before I go, not to return, to the land of dark and blackness”:

בְּתַרְסָם אֵלַי וְלֹא אֲשׁוּב אֶל-אֶרֶץ חַשְׁדָּי וְצִלְמוֹת

Catullus on Lesbia’s sparrow (3.12) *per iter tenebricosum, / illuc unde negant redire quemquam*. Vergil *Aen.* 6.126 *facilis descensus Auerno*

with what follows. *Hamlet* II.2 Folio “The vndiscouered Countrey, from whose Borne / No Traueller returnes...”

(I.59) “*Naked*” and “*subtle*.” Why do these near-identical adjectives, נִטְוָה, appear together at Gen 2,25 (Adam & Eve) and 3,1 (the serpent)?

(I.60) *Anointing with olive oil*. Originally somebody else bathes you, “After she washed him and anointed him richly with olive oil” (*Od.* 3.466):

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ λοῦσέν τε καὶ ἔχρισεν λίπ’ ἐλαίῳ  
Burkert (*Or. Rev.* 175 note 9) compares Akkadian *lipa* accus. “fat”; but it is not clear why such a word should be borrowed.

(I.61) *The olive on the Acropolis of Athens*. It was indestructible, for the day after Xerxes burned it, it sent up a fresh shoot (Herodotus 8.55).

(I.74) *The pledge*. ἀρραβών has now appeared in a lead tablet recording a commercial transaction from near Narbonne, Gaul (Ionic, 450-440 BC): SEG 38 (1988) 1036.

(I.75) “*Capital*.” The Greek usage is a calque from Akkadian (West, EFH 23, *qaqqadu* “head”): thus Plato *Leges* 742C μήτε τόκον μήτε κεφάλαιον “neither interest nor capital”; the intermediary was probably Aramaic, Cowley 10.6 (456 BC) מַרְבִּיהָא כַרְשָׁא “interest along with capital”; Act 22,28 πολλοῦ κεφαλαίου “for a large sum.” A second calque in Latin *caput*: Livy 6.15.10 *de capite deducite quod usuris pernumeratum est* “Deduct from the capital what has been fully rendered in interest payments.”

(I.88) *Lapis lazuli at Byblos?* The DNWSI s.v. אִקְנָא (p. 100) doubts whether it means “lapis” in the Byblos inscription.

(I.91) *Etymology of νέκταρ*. Levin’s derivation from נִקְטָר “that which is wafted up” is accepted by West, EFH 39.

(I.93) *Spices for incense*. Old South Arabian *kmkm* is κάγκκαμον (Dioscorides 1.24).

(I.95) *Phoenician embalming*. The new Phoenician text from Byblos (cited I.88 note 106) has

אֲנִי שֹׁכֵב בְּאֲרוֹן זֶה אִסְף בַּמֶּר

“I lie in this tomb...with myrrh.”

(I.97) *Chaldaeans*. Their name in the Aramaic plural כְּשִׁדְיָא (Dan 2,5 Q) nicely matches Χαλδαῖοι.

(I.98) *Mount Kasios*. See further P. N. Hunt, “Mount Saphon in Myth and Fact,” pp. 103-115 of E. Lipiński (ed.), *Phoenicia and the Bible*; *Studia Phoenicia* 11; *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 44; Leuven: Peeters, 1991.

(I.102) *The Egyptian demon Seth*. He is Egyptian *Stš* (Helck-Otto

v.908). Plutarch calls him Σήθ; LXX gives the same name to Adam's son נח Gen 4,25. Did the LXX see a connection? The two are thought conflated in Coptic magical papyri.

(I.104) *The Flood story*. William Ryan & Walter Pitman (Noah's Flood; New York: Simon & Schuster, 1998) summarize the geological evidence that the Black Sea had dropped 350 feet below the Mediterranean and was refilled in a gigantic waterfall about 5600 BC. They take this as the origin of all the Flood stories, in particular the Sumerian. But the Akkadian, Hebrew and Greek versions must have been reinforced by the great tsunami of Thera. For the dating of the explosion of Thera near or at 1628 BC see Peter Ian Kuniholm et alii, "Anatolian tree rings and the absolute chronology of the eastern Mediterranean, 2220—718 BC," *Nature* 381 (27 June 1996) 780-783; Colin Renfrew, "Kings, tree rings and the Old World," *ibid.* 733-734.

(I.108) *Fingers*. Levin (SIE 424-430) discusses primordial connections between finger-counting and the numerals; thus δάκτυλος and Latin *digitus* must go with IE for "ten," δέκα and *decem*. The tablets of the Commandments ("ten words" Deut 10,4) were "written with the finger of God" (Ex 31,18)—as easily countable? or one per finger?

(I.112) *God holding a compass over the deep*. "No doubt the Almighty could have drawn a perfect circle without [a compass], like Giotto" (West, EFH 144).

(I.117) *Seven pillars of wisdom*. At Palmyra (PAT 0298) there was a "basilica of seven pillars," בסלקא דנא עמודין שבעא

(I.119) *Punic for Utica*. Lipiński's review (OLP 27 [1996] 241) cites נחא on neo-Punic coins (see his *Dieux et Déesses* 399); but this is far enough from both the Greek and Latin to raise doubts whether the coins are really of Utica, or (if they are) whether the true Semitic name was remembered. Aramaic עֲתִיק is continued in Arabic *ʿatīq(un)*, Quran 22.30 بِالْبَيْتِ الْعَتِيقِ "the ancient House," i.e. the Ka'aba of Mecca (Jeffery 211).

(I.123) *Gates*. Heracles like Samson "tears up gates," μοχλεῦει θύρετρα Euripides *Herc. Fur.* 999 (West, EFH 462). As the underworld has gates, so there is a "Heaven's gate," הַשְּׁמַיִם שְׁעַר הַשְּׁמַיִם Gen 28,17 (LXX Homerically ἡ πύλη τοῦ οὐρανοῦ), which proved so enticing to American cultists; *Iliad* 5.749 = 8.393 "And the gates of heaven, guarded by the Hours, creaked all by themselves" (EFH 141):

αὐτόματα δὲ πύλαι μύκον οὐρανοῦ, ἃς ἔχον Ὕραι.

For the gates of death see West, EFH 158-160; also II.264.

(I.126) *Seven-headed dragon on cylinder seal*. The seal has been reinterpreted by Gary Rendsburg, "UT 68 and the Tell Asmar Seal," *Orientalia* 53 (1984) 448-452, who further compares the many-headed Hydra.

(I.134) *Mago on agriculture*. Varro (R.R. 1.1.10) states that Mago wrote his book in the Punic language, *Poenica lingua*. Varro himself knows only a Greek version by Cassius Dionysius of Utica, who presumably called it a translation from Mago's Punic; the Greek work may have been a more independent one than its author lets on.

(I.135) "*The blood of the grape.*" It is possible that Achilles Tatius 2.2 has been influenced by Christian usage; G. W. Bowersock, *Fiction as History: Nero to Julian*; Berkeley: Univ. of Calif., 1994, p. 125.

(I.140) *Reclining on couches at symposia*. "In Homer people sit on chairs, they never recline in company...In Alcman and Alcaeus...there are couches and pillows" (West, EFH 32); and so on Corinthian vases of about 600 BC. An earlier testimony to the luxury is Amos 6,4 on "those who lie on ivory beds" eating, drinking wine, anointing themselves and singing:

הַשְׂכָּבִים עַל-מִטּוֹת עֵץ

(I.146) *Twins*. A girl of Kition (KAI 35.3) is "daughter of Thomas," בַּת תּוֹמָא. The ship-name Dioscuri, Διοσκούροις Act 28,11, in the Peshitto comes out תּוֹמָא. Levin (SIE 44-51) subtly compares δίδυμοι with תּוֹמָא Cant 4,5; suggests that "Dedan" דֶּדָן Gen 35,3 means "Twin"; and compares the various mounts Δίδυμον of Anatolia, one with "twin breasts" (Scholiast on Apollonius *Argon.* 1.985). Through the "mimetic rivalry" of brothers (René Girard), twins above all are thrown into conflict: Jacob and Esau, Romulus and Remus.

(I.146) *The signs of the Zodiac*. West (EFH 29) gives the Akkadian for numerous Greek constellations. The Zodiacal ones appear in Aramaic in the "Brontologion" from Qumran (4Q318), which I know from R. H. Eisenman & M. Wise, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered*; Element: 1992, pp. 258-263. Most follow the Hebrew, but Aries is דְּכָרָא and Pisces נוּנְיָא (Akkadian *nunu*). The symbolism of the Zodiac in Jewish mysticism is discussed by Lucille A. Roussin, "The Zodiac in Synagogue Decoration," pp. 83-96 of D. R. Edwards & C. T. McCollough, *Archaeology and the Galilee*, Univ. of South Florida, 1997. The Zodiacal passage from *Pesiqta Rabbathi* 20.2, cited in my *Lebanon and Phoenicia* 10-14, is better translated by W. G. Braude in his edition (Yale Judaica Series 17, 1968) I. 400-401. The Zodiacal signs in Hebrew are listed along with the months in an inscription from the 'En Gedi synagogue: Lee I. Levine (ed.), *Ancient Synagogues Revealed*; Israel Exploration Society, 1981; p. 140. The Hebrew poet Eliezer (ben) Qalir, of uncertain century and homeland, in his difficult poem on "Dew" has incorporated the signs of the Zodiac in successive stanzas: Michael Sachs, *Festgebete der Israeliten*; 7 Teil; Pessachfest, Erster und zweiter Tag; Berlin: L. Gerschel, 1860; 176-179.

(I.149) *Costus*. It is frequent in Latin poets as exotic. On Sabaeen incense-altars with four ingredients, *qšt* (CIS IV.3.682-5).

(I.153) *Musical instruments*. The Ugaritic text KTU 1.108.4 lists musical instruments *bknr wtlb btp wmltm bmrqdm* “with lyre and ..., with tambourine and cymbals, with dancers.” “Dances,” מרקדנא, attested at Hatra (Vattioni 202.19).

The first Greek loanwords attested in later West-Semitic are in Dan 3,5 etc. (Aramaic):

קל קרנא משרוקיחא קיחרוס סבבא פסנתרין סומפנייה  
LXX τῆς φωνῆς τῆς σάλπιγγος καὶ κιθάρας, σαμβύκης καὶ ψαλτηρίου, συμφωνίας where the translations are mostly uncertain. At Luk 15,25 for συμφωνίας the Old Syriac has צפונייה.

Latin *ambubaia* for a “courtesan” Horace *Sat.* 1.2.1, Petronius 74, Suetonius Nero 27. Porphyry on Horace *ad loc.* (*ambubaiarum collegia*) has *nonnulli tamen ambubaias tibicines Syra lingua putant dici* “but some think female flute-players are called *ambubaias* in the Syrian language.” So Akkadian *embūbu* “flute”; Peshitto I Kor 14,7 אבובא for αὐλός; Mishna *Arach.* II.3

לא ... באבוב של נחשח אלא באבוב של קנה  
“not with a flute of brass, but with a flute of reed.”

“Dancing.” The god of Deir el-Qal’a above Beirut is (OGIS 1081) Βαλμαρκωδι; at OGIS 1078 Βαλμαρκωθ is interpreted as κοίρανε κωμῶν “Lord of dances.” Hence he must be בעל מרקוד\*. Another inscription (MUSJ 7 [1914-21] 387-390) explains the “dancing” as of earthquake: θεῷ Βαλμαρκωθ καὶ [ἐν]σοίχθον[ι] γενναίω Ποσιδων[ι] “to the god Balmarkoth and Poseidon the true Earthshaker,” as at Ps 29,6 וַיַּעַן לַיהוָה וַיִּרְקְדוּ כַּמֹּזֶן-עֵגֶל “And [Yahweh] makes [the cedars of Lebanon] dance like a calf.” See Brown, Lebanon and Phoenicia 117-119. The cult of Balmarcodes also at Rome (CIL 6.403).

(I.154) *Adonis in Athens*. An inscription from the Piraeus of 300/299 BC (IG II-III, 2nd ed., 1.1261 = SIG<sup>3</sup> iii.1098) from the members (θιασῶται) of a confraternity of [Aphrodite] honors one Stephanos a maker of breastplates (θωρακοποιός) and their curator (ἐπιμελητής) on the grounds that “he conducted the procession of the Adonia according to ancestral custom,” [τ]ὴν πομπὴν τῶν Ἀδωνίων ἔπεμψε κ[α]τὰ τὰ πάτρια. A fragmentary stone (IG II-III 2nd ed. 1.1290) records the same or a similar group at the Piraeus which honors Aphrodite and Adonis and originates from Salamis of Cyprus. See R. Parker, *Athenian Religion: A History*; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996; pp. 160,194.

(I.160) *The city wall*. Plutarch *Lyc.* 19.4, quoting a Spartan saying, “A city is not unfortified which is crowned with men and not with bricks,” οὐκ ἂν εἶη ἀτείχιστος πόλις ἅτις ἀνδρεςσι καὶ οὐ λίθοις ἐστεφάνωται.

(I.175) *Midas king of Phrygia*. Add Tyrtaeus frag 12.6 (IEG ii.157) “if he were richer than Midas or Kinyras”:

πλουτοίη δὲ Μίδεω καὶ Κινύρῳ μάλιον

Ovid *Met.* 11.104 tells of his “baleful gift,” *nocituraque munera* of the golden touch. Homeric Kinyras is said to have competed with Apollo in music (εἰς μουσικήν, Scholia ad Iliadem 11.29a, ed. H. Erbse [1974] iii.126); if the testimony is old, his name could be from קִנּוּר “lyre,” borrowed by the LXX as κινύρα. See my “Kothar, Kinyras, and Kythereia,” JSS 10 (1965) 197-219, p. 207.

(I.175) *Cain as “smith”*. Thus the Peshitto of II Tim 4,14 for χαλακῆς has קִינִיָּא.

(I.180) *The Shekinah*. The שכִּינָה, seemingly only a Rabbinic concept, appears both in Syriac Christian verse and in Islam. Ephrem Syrus says that Paradise has four levels (ed. Edmund Beck, *Des Heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Hymnen de Paradiso und Contra Julianum*; CSCO vols. 174-5; *Scriptores Syri* tom. 78-79; Louvain 1987; tr. Sebastian Brock, Crestwood: St Vladimir’s, 1990; text from *Paradise* 2.11.5-6): “Its ground level for the penitent, its middle for the just; its top for the victorious, its summit for the Shekinah”:

מצעתה לודיקא	ארעה לחיבא
ולשכינתא רשה	רומה לנציחא

Quran 9.26 “Then Allah sent down his *Sakinah* (سَكِينَةٌ) on his Messenger.” Connection already seen in 1825 by Geiger 39.

(I.181) *Andromeda at Joppa*. The myth was transformed or forgotten by the Church: Paul B. Harvey, Jr., “The Death of Mythology: The Case of Joppa,” *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 2 (1994) 1-14.

(I.183) *Sacrificial procedure*. West (EFH 41-42) lists features in which Hebrew and Greek procedure agree.

(I.185) *Hepatoscopy*. Lev 3,10 does attest to use of the liver in divination somewhere, for every prohibition implies a practice (cf. I.213). Further discussion in West (EFH 48).

(I.186) *Gods at the sacrifice like flies*. Lucian, *de sacr.* 9 (LCL iii.164) “[the gods] drink the blood spilled on altars like flies,” τὸ αἷμα πίνοντες τοῖς βωμοῖς προσχεόμενον ὥσπερ αἱ μύϊαι (West, EFH 248).

(I.191) *Etruscan Minotaur*. The Etruscan mirror showing the labelled Minotaur is illustrated at LIMC iii.1.1071 (Ariatha 4)

“*Taurus*” as *bull and mountain*. The two Aramaic words appear together in the *Genesis Apocryphon* from Qumran 21.16 מוֹר תּוֹרָא “Mount of the Ox.”

(I.191) *The Lithuanian bison*. Simon Schama (*Landscape and Memory*; New York: Knopf, 1995) begins with a chapter on the bison in which (pp. 39-41) he sees the animal in the 18th century as central

to the “Lithuanian-Polish cult of knighthood”; “so long as the beast and its succoring forest habitat endured...so would the nation’s martial vigor.” He quotes the epic poem (of 1,070 lines) of the Polish author Mikolaj Hussowski (Nicolaus Hussovianus) *Carmen de Statura, Feritate ac Venatione Bisontis*; Kraków 1523; Carmina ed. Jan Pelczar, Kraków, 1894. He quotes lines 55-58:

Barba riget late pendentibus horrida uillis,  
Lumina terrorum plena furore rubent  
Terribilisque iubae collo funduntur in armos  
Et genua et frontem et pectoris ima tegunt.

“Its bristling beard spreads out stiffly in shaggy tufts; its eyes are red with angry terrors; its mane hangs down from its shoulders to its terrible forearms, and covers both its knees and forehead and deep breast.”

(I.195) *Bel god of Babylon*. Herodotus 1.181 knows him as Βῆλος; same name surely carried by Belos of Egypt (I.227) and of Lydia (Herodotus 1.7).

(I.196) “Two horns” in Arabic. Quran 18.83 speaks of a mysterious figure Dhu’l-Qarnayn (ذِي الْقَرْنَيْنِ genitive) “possessor of two horns” whom many identify with Alexander the Great; he is in conflict with “Gog and Magog” (18.94 يَأْخُوجُ وَمَأْجُوجُ *Ya’jūja waMa’jūja*).

(I.199) *Moses as horned?* The meaning of Ex 34,29 is disputed, but the Vulgate *cornuta* is clear.

(I.200) *Sacrifice*. The Ugaritic verb *dbḥ* “sacrifice” is common; see Quran 2.67(73) تَذْبَحُوا بَقَرَةً *tadbahu baqaratan* “to sacrifice a cow.”

(I.202) *Zeus the altar*. The Syrian inscriptions IGLS 2.465, 569 are treated further by Frank R. Trombley, *Hellenic Religion and Christianization*; 2 vols.; RGRW 115; Leiden: Brill, 1994; ii.254-255.

(I.209) *Byssus in the Hebrew Bible*. Aram (or Edom?) traded with Tyre in יָבֵיב and other goods (Ez 27,16); elsewhere only in Esther and Chronicles.

(I.210) *Provenance of cassia and cinnamon*. Manfred G. Raschke (“New Studies in Roman Commerce with the East,” ANRW 2.9.2; 604-1361; 1978) accepts the opinion of ancient authors that the spices so named came from East Africa, but thinks that they “do not designate the same spices we know under these names today” (p. 655). But L. Casson, “Cinnamon and Cassia in the Ancient World,” pp. 225-246 of his *Ancient Trade and Society*; Detroit: Wayne State, 1984, accepts the usual identification; points out that laurels could not grow around the Red Sea; and restores the modern interpretation that the true source of cassia and cinnamon in Southeast Asia was kept secret by middlemen. For the trade-routes see F. De Romanis, *Cassia, Cinna-*



momo, Ossidiana: Uomini e Merci tra Oceano Indiano e Mediterraneo; Saggi di Storia Antica 9; “L’Erma” di Bretschneider, 1996.

(I. 213) *Astarte inscription*. Here is the text of Inscr. de Délos 2305:

Διὸ Οὐρίῳ καὶ Ἀστάρτῃ Παλαιστίνῃ Ἀφροδίτῃ Οὐρανίᾳ θεοῖς ἐπηκόοις Δάμων Δημητρίου Ἀσκαλωνίτης σωθεὶς ἀπὸ πειρατῶν εὐχὴν.

The goddess’ name appears earlier as Doric ΑΣΤΑΡΤΑ on a potsherd of the late 5th century BC from Corinth (SEG 36 [1986] 316).

*Arms of enemy hung up in temple*. The Philistines hang Saul’s armor in the temple of Ashtaroth (I Sam 31,10); Hector proposes to hang up the armor of Ajax in the temple of Apollo (*Iliad* 7.83), West EFH 369.

(I.217) *Sacrifice in the wilderness?* Amos 5,25 seems to deny the plain testimony of the Pentateuch; but we can reconcile them, “Was it to *me* [or to another] that you brought sacrifices and offerings in the wilderness?”

(I.220) *Jerome’s knowledge of “Beelzebul”*. Though in the Gospels Jerome always reads *Beelzebub*, he knows *Beelzebul* since he specifically rejects it.

(I.227) *Matrilocality*. See OCD<sup>3</sup> 938b.

(I.227) *Riddle of Oedipus*. Echo at *Lev. Rabbah* 18.1 “Two have turned into three: a stick in addition to one’s two legs.” See also Hesiod *Opera* 533 for the “three-legged mortal,” τρίποδι βροτῶ.

(I.229) *Generation of bees*. An oft-repeated Hellenistic story has bees generated from the carcass of an ox: Vergil *Georg.* 4.284-5;

...quoque modo caesis iam saepe iuvenicis

insincerus apes tulerit cruor...

“how often when oxen have been slain their rotting blood generates bees.”

(I.233) *Apollodorus the orator*. See Jeremy Trevett, *Apollodorus the son of Pasion*; Oxford: Clarendon, 1992; he thinks Pasion Phoenician (pp. 1, 17).

(I.237) *The four virtues*. Cicero (*Catil.* 2.25) Latinizes them as *aequitas, temperantia, fortitudo, prudentia*. Augustus received a shield with a different list of four (*Res Gestae* 34 = ILS 82), *uirtus* = ἀρετή, *clementia* = ἐπιείκεια, *iustitia* = δικαιοσύνη, *pietas* = εὐσέβεια.

(I.241) *Mascara*. Eustathius on *Iliad* 8.545 (= 728.47 and ii.635 van der W.) στίμμι, ὃ δηλοῖ τὸν παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄρτι δὲ χολῶν, ὃν κόχλον ἢ γυναικεῖα γλῶσσα φιλεῖ καλεῖν “*Stimmi* means the substance called *chollas* by ancients and moderns, which feminine language likes to call *kochlos*.” The verb is at Ezek 23,40 תְּיַבֵּשׁ אֶתְעֵינֶךָ, LXX ἔστιβίζου τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς σου “you darkened your eyes with mascara”; the noun at Mishna *Shab.* VIII.3 לַחֲמַל and Aramaic Enoch אֶלְחַמַּל (ed. J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*; Oxford: Clarendon, 1976;

167). The Greek is folk-etymology to κόχλος “snail shell.” Arabic *al-kuḥul* كُوْحُل whence with a semantic shift our *alcohol*.

(I.242) *Commercial prostitution*. Cornell 112 cites a probable brothel at the Italian emporium of Pyrgi.

(I.243) *Harlot at the city wall as foreign sympathizer*. Add Weinfeld (Promise of the Land 142-3), who compares Michal’s rescue of David (I Sam 19,12) with texts from Hammurabi and the Hittite world.

(I.244) *“Cavesepulchre”*. Heb. מְעָרָה “cave” appears in Palmyrene in the bilingual PAT 2817 מַעְרָתָא, where it is translated τῶ σπηλαίῳ as at Gen 23,9 LXX.

(I.245) *Afqa*. Another such at Palmyra, PAT 1918 רב עין על אפקא “curator of the spring at Afqa,” and so Ugaritic *apq* “stream.”

(I.247) *Io as the moon*. “The men of Argos called the moon so,” *Suda* s.v. ἰώ (ed. A. Adler ii.646); this nice parallel offsets Lipiński’s critique of this etymology (OLP 27 [1996] 241).

(I.248) *Prostitution tax*. Also at Palmyra in the Tariff (PAT 0259.47) ינבא מכסא מן זנוחא “he shall assess a tax from a harlot”; for the vocabulary see Peshitto of Matt 21,31 מכסא וניחא “publicans and harlots.”

(I.253) *Treaties between equals and unequals*. Livy 34.57.7-9 lists three kinds of treaty: (1) between unequals, *cum bello uictis dicerentur leges*, “when terms are imposed on those conquered in war”; (2) between equals, *cum pares bello aequo foedere in pacem atque amicitiam venirent*, “when those equal in war come into ‘peace and friendship’ in a *foedus aequum*”; (3) between those who have never been enemies. (It is unclear at 35.46.10 whether *foedere iniquo* is an “unjust” or “unequal” treaty.)

(I.254) *Moshe Weinfeld on treaties*. The two articles cited in the text extend Weinfeld’s analysis in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972) 59-157, where he only cited Ancient Near Eastern treaty parallels to Hebrew texts, but not Greco-Roman ones. In his *Promise of the Land* he covers many of these themes: a triple sacrifice (p. 253, see our I.214); halves of victims (p. 255, our I.215); symbolic acts (p. 257, our I.272).

(I.263) *“Friend to your friends”*. Quran 60.1 “Choose not my enemy and your enemy for friends”:

لَا تَتَّخِذُوا عَدُوِّي وَعَدُوَّكُمْ

(I.265) *“Heart and soul”*. The legalistic double usage (to cover all bases) is extended to other contexts (West, EFH 233, cf. 199). Jos 23,14 “You know in all your heart and all your soul ...”

וידעתם בקל-לבבכם ובקל-נפשכם

*Iliad* 4.163 “For I know this well in my *phren* and *thymos*”:

εὖ γὰρ ἐγὼ τόδε οἶδα κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν

As subject: Ex 35,21 “Everyone whose heart moved him, and every one whose spirit stirred him”:

כָּל-אִישׁ אֲשֶׁר-נָשָׂא לְבוֹ וְכָל אִשָּׁר נָדְבָה רוּחַ

*Iliad* 10.220 “My heart and my manly *thymos* urge me”:

... ἔμ' ὀτρύνει κραδίη καὶ θυμὸς ἀγήνωρ

(I.273) *Sowing with salt*. Odysseus feigning madness to avoid going to Troy yoked an ox and an ass to a plow and sowed his fields with salt; Palamedes showed him up by putting his infant son Telemachus in the path of the plow. See Frazer on Apollodorus *Epit.* 3.7 (LCL ed. ii.176-7). Here alone (it seems) in the classical world is sowing with salt attested, namely in two identical Latin texts (Servius on *Aeneid* 2.81; Lactantius on Statius, *Achilleis* 93 [ed. R. Jahnke with Statius; Leipzig: Teubner, 1898, iii.491]) *cum ille iunctis dissimilis naturae animalibus salem sereret, filium ei Palamedes opposuit*.

(I.273) *The god Hadad*. Ben-Hadad (בֶּן-הַדָּד I Reg 15,18 etc.) is a dynastic name of the kings of Aram at Damascus; one such king set up an Aramaic stele at Tel Dan (original pub., A. Biran & J. Naveh, *IEJ* 43 [1993] 81-98; new fragment, *IEJ* 45 [1995] 1-18) and records that Hadad made him king “and Hadad went in front of me,” וַיֵּךְ הָדָד קִדְמַי. The god’s name also appears in the Aramaic inscriptions from Eretria & Samos of king Hazael, ed. F. Bron & A. Lemaire, *Revue d’Assyriologie* 83 (1989) 35-43.

(I.273) *Damascus*. Aramaic דַּמַּשְׁק (KAI 215.18); Hebrew דְּמִשְׁק (II Reg. 11,24 etc.), also דְּרִמְשֶׁק (I Chron 18,5). Theophrastus *Hist. Plant.* 3.15.3 the terebinth (τέριμινθος) is best at Δαμασκὸν τῆς Συρίας. In Pali (*Dhammapada* 9) *damasaccena* is “a saffron robe.” The “terebinth” (*Pistacia*) may have the name of a different tree, Akkadian *šurmēnu-*, likely “cypress” (as modern Arabic *šarbīn*).

(I.276) *Throne and sceptre*. Before the curse that they are to be overthrown, they are standard symbols of royalty (West, EFH 134, 540, 563): Aeschylus *Sup.* 374; Pindar *Pyth.* 4.152; Sophocles *Oed. Col.* 448, 1354. The “throne” (Heb. כִּסֵּא, ultimately Akkadian) is attested from Ugarit to Mecca, Quran 2.255 (256) “And his throne (كُورْسِيَّيْهُ *kursiyyuhu*) extends over heaven and earth.”

(I.282) “*King of the birds*.” As the lion is king of the beasts (I. 340), so the eagle is of the birds (West EFH 540): Pindar *Pyth.* 1.6-7 αἰετός ... ἀρχὸς οἰωνῶν (cf. *Olymp.* 13.21; Aeschylus *Ag.* 114; Josephus *BJ* 3.123 of the legionary eagle); *Hymn of the Pearl* 51 נִשְׂרָא מַלְכָּא דְכֻלָּה פִּרְחָתָא

“*Lionheart*”: II Sam 17,10 of a valiant man, אֲשֶׁר לְבוֹ פֶּלֶב הָאֲרִיָּה, *Iliad* 7.228 etc., Achilles is θυμολέοντα (West EFH 247).

(I.284) *Treaties*. The Hittite treaties have been retranslated by Gary

Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts, Writings from the Ancient World* vol. 7; Atlanta: Scholars, 1996.

(I.301) *Coin-names: darics and drachmas.* στατηρῶν Δαρεικῶν Herodotus 7.28.2 are “staters of Darius,” for see Diodorus 17.66 χρυσὸς χαρακτῆρα Δαρεικὸν ἔχων “gold with the impress of Darius.” A drachma was originally a coin worth a “handful” of obols, Herodotus 7.144.1 δέκα δραχμάς. West-Semitic transcriptions appear to conflate the two, see esp. the transcriptions in KAI 60 (text at I.301). Neh 7,70 אֲדַרְכַּמַּיִם וְהַבְּרֶכֶת מִן הַרְפָּמַיִם, Vg (“II Esr 7,70”) *auri dragmas*; I Chron 29,7 אֲדַרְכַּמַּיִם; Mishna *Sheq.* II.1 דרִכּוֹנוֹת. But Arabic pl. *darāhima* دَرَاهِمٌ (Quran 12.20) is surely “drachmas,” direct from Greek rather than from Aramaic.

*The stater.* The στατήρ (Herodotus 7.28.2) is a (variable) “standard” coin. At Cowley 35.3 (ab. 400 BC) 2 shekels = 1 סַחְחָרִי. At Matt 17,27 the stater to be found in the fish’s mouth is to serve as the temple tax (didrachma) for two; the tax was of 1/2 shekel (Ex 30,13), so here the stater is reduced to a single shekel—but both standards might differ from those at Elephantine. Rabbinic אַסְטִירָא (Krauss 98).

(I.301) *Purple items.* ἀργεμῶνη Dioscorides 2.117 is a poppy with purple flowers (ἄνθος φοινικοῦ); see then (II.96) אֲרָגְמָן “purple (cloth).” From Akkadian *argamannu* “purple wool, tribute” (connection unclear) come Hittite *arkamanna(n)* and Ugaritic *argmn*, both “tribute.”

(I.303) *Metallurgy.* The shops of Hephaestus and Ugaritic Kothar are compared, West EFH 388-389, see KTU 1.14.I.24-28 = UNP 121. Greek φύσας “bellows” (*Iliad* 18.468) is onomatopoeitic, see the Heb. root פָּנַח “blow.”

(I.304) *Phoenician craftsmen.* Hanno son of Yatonba‘al (KAI 101.6), הַבְּנָאִים בְּנֵי יַחְנַבְעֵל is one of the “builders,” הַבְּנָאִים.

(I.307) *The sexagesimal system in Babylonian.* Greek preserved words in Akkadian for 3600 (years) (σάρος = *šāru*), 600 (νῆρος = *neru*), and 60 (σῶσσοσ = *šūšu*); only the first is in LSJ + Sup. So Berossus FGH 680 F 3b.10 (= Syncellus 61.3) and Abydenus FGH 685 F 2a (= Syncellus 68-70). The *Suda* (iv.329 Adler) for σάρος has a “Chaldaean” period of 222 months, evidently for Halley’s cycle of 223 lunations after which eclipses repeat themselves at a longitude 120° West from their former position. (On the reckoning of the *Suda*, after 3x222 = 666 months eclipses repeat themselves in the *same* position—one more connection for the famous number 666 of Rev 13,18).

(I.311) “*Better not to have been born.*” Add Helen (*Iliad* 6.345-8), Andromache (22.481); West EFH 368. Beit Shammai and Beit Hillel debated for two and a half years (Bab. Talm. *Erubin* 13b). Beit Shammai held that “it would have been better for man not to have been created than to have been created”

נוה לו לאדם שלא נברא יותר משנברא

Beit Hillel held the opposite. They finally voted and decided that it would have been better for him not to have been created; but, now that he has been, he should examine his deeds.

(I.312) *A new proverb*: “Count no man happy...” Sophocles (OR 1529-1530) “Count no man fortunate before he reaches the end of life having suffered nothing grievous,” μηδέν’ ὀλβίζειν πρὶν ἄν / τέρμα τοῦ βίου περάσῃ μηδέν ἄλγεινὸν παθῶν. The theme runs through Solon’s speech to Croesus, Herodotus 1.32. Ovid *Met.* 3.136-137 *dicique beatus / ante obitum nemo...debet*. *Avotth* II.5 (Hillel) “And do not trust yourself until the day of your death”:

ואל תאמין בעצמך בעצמך עד יום מותך

Echoed at Sirach 11,28. See Latin *dies mortis* at Seneca *Ben.* 5.17.6.

(I.316) “*The wine is the master’s*.” On this proverb see H. Jacobson, “A Note on Petronius *Sat.* 31.2,” *Classical Philology* 30 (1971) 183-186.

(I.320) *Aesop and Joseph*. Their names are similar, Αἴσωπος and יִסְחָר; Cristiano Grottanelli (“The Ancient Novel and Biblical Narrative,” *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica*, N.S. 27.3 [1987] 7-34) compares the motif of the hidden silver cup at Gen 44,2 and a golden cup (φιάλην χρυσῆν) in the Aesop romance (B. E. Perry, *Aesopica...* vol. I [all pub.]; Urbana: Univ. of Illinois; 1952; p. 74 sect. 127).

(I.321) “*In the kingdom of the blind...*” Sumerian: “In the city of the lame, the halt are couriers,” Bendt Alster, *Proverbs of Ancient Sumer...*; vol. I; Bethesda: CDL, 1997; p. 18.

(I.328) *Cybele*. In Phrygian she is ματαρκυβιλε (KASD 126). She seems a mountain-deity, for see the Phrygian mountain Κύβελα (Strabo 12.5.3). Then compare English *gable*, κεφαλή “head,” Macedonian κεβλήν (Callimachus frag. 657 Pfeiffer i.436), Ezek 27,9 כַּבֵּל “Byblos” (i.e. “Hilltop?”), Arabic جبل *jabal(un)* “mountain”; and see Levin SIE 285. The emperor *Elagabalus* must be “god of the mountain.” — Lipiński (OLP 27 [1996] 241) rejects the comparison with Humbaba, the monster of the Cedar Forest.

(I.330) *Vocabulary of writing*. Jer 36,18 יְהִי בְּיָדֶיךָ “with ink” (Vg *atramento*) is unexplained; Lewy 18 ingeniously compared τευθίς “squid”; Aristotle (*de part. anim.* 679a8) groups τευθίδας along with cuttlefish (σηπία, whence our *sepia*) as emitting ink, θόλον. At II Kor 3,3 for μέλανι (Vg *atramento*) the Peshitto has כְּדִיוֹתָא.

(I.332) *Cythera*. Lipiński (OLP 27 [1996] 241) discounts the witness of Stephanus that the island Κύθηρα has its name from a Phoenician Κύθηρος.

(I.336) *Dido*. Her name is carried by a girl of Numidia who died at 18 (CIL 8.8044). Similar names are frequent, e.g. *Dida* (CIL 8.12580),

and see K. Jongeling, *North-African Names from Latin Sources*; Leiden: Research School CNWS; 1994; p. 41, for a list of forms. Lipiński (OLP 27 [1996] 241) thinks this not Semitic but “Libyco-Berber”; I do not see that the inscriptions settle the matter one way or the other.

(I.337) *Syene*. At Elephantine סון (Cowley 5.2 etc.).

(I.338) *Citadel*. Elephantine בִּירְחָא is Bib. Aram. Ezra 6,2 בִּירְחָא (LXX τῆ βάρει); Bib. Hebr. בִּירְחָא Esther 3,15; Akkadian *birtu*. As a quasi-proper noun at Josephus *AJ* 15.403 βάρειν (add at LSJ Sup 1996). Parthian ideogram *byrt'* Sapor RG 5, Greek βίρθαν.

(I.338) *Egyptian Khnum*. An ostracon from Elephantine has “I bless you by YHH and Khnub,” בִּרְכַתְךָ לַיהוָה וְלַחֲנַן [ב]; J. M. Lindenberger, *Ancient Aramaic and Hebrew Letters*; Atlanta: Scholars, 1994, no. 20 p. 45.

(I.340) “*Flies o'er th' unbending corn*”. Casey Stengel said of Mickey Mantle, “The kid runs so fast he doesn't even bend the grass when he steps on it” (NYT Book Review, April 7, 1996, p. 13).

(I.340) *The salamander*. An agreement in pseudo-science. Aristotle *Hist. Anim.* 552b16 (perhaps an addition to the text) διὰ τοῦ πυρὸς βαδίζουσα [σαλαμάνδρα] κατασβέννυσι τὸ πῦρ “by walking through fire the salamander puts out the fire.” Hence to Rabbinic, Bab. Talm. *Hag.* 27a:

וְמָה סַלְמַנְדְּרָא שְׂתוּלְדוּת אִשׁ הִיא הִסָךְ מִדְמָה אֵין אֹר שׁוֹלְמַנְח בּו  
 “For whoever smears himself with the blood of the salamander, which is a product of fire, the fire has no power over him.” I suppose the nugget of truth hidden in this belief is that salamanders crawled out of rotten logs thrown on the fire. We know from *Faust* that *Salamander* is the elemental spirit of fire.



## Index 1: Words Discussed

Words whose phonetic equivalents in other languages are discussed.

### 1.1 West-Semitic

Biblical Hebrew except as marked: Aram(aic); Bib(lical) A(ramaic); Nab(ataean); Palm(yrene); Pal(estinian) S(yriac); Phoen(ician); Pun(ic); Qum(ran); Rab(binic); Syr(iac).

#### 1.1.1 West-Semitic common nouns (with verbs and adjectives)

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## 1.1.2 West-Semitic proper nouns

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## 1.2 Greek

### 1.2.1 Common nouns (and verbs)

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ἀγγαρεία	“conscription” 52	βάσανος	“touchstone” 280,295, 309,321
ἄγγαρος	“Persian courier” 172	βασιλική	“basilica” 327
ἄγε	“lead!” 319	βάτραχος	“frog” 60,301
ἄγρός	“field” 140,311	βήρυλλος	“beryl” 293
αἰετός	“eagle” 216,271,309	βίος	“bow” 135
ἄμνος	“lamb” 16,311	βότρυς	“unripe grapes” 302
ἄμπελος	“vineyard” 96,302	βουκάνη	“horn” 262
(F)ἀναξ	“king” 96,299,309	βουλευτής	“senator” 107
ἀνεψιός	“nephew” 212	βουλή	“senate” 100
ἀνίη	“grief” 312	βροχή	“rain” 73,322
ἄξινη	“axe” 269	βύρσα	“hide” 219
ἄπιος	“pear” 300	βύσσος	“byssus” 293,331
ἄρά	“curse” 277	βωμός	“altar” 30,223,298,303
ἀργεμώνη	“purple flower” 335	γάζα	“treasure” 296
ἄργυρος	“silver” 226	γαῖα	“earth” 65,302
ἄρπη	“sickle” 303,312	γαυλός	“wine-vessel” 50,291
ἄρραβιών	“pledge” 291,309		
ἀρσενικόν	“arsenic” 296		
ἀττέλεβος	“locust” 302		

γιώρας	“sojourner” 291	ιός	“arrow, poison” (2 words) 141-2
γλύφειν	“to carve” 299	ἵππος	“horse” 6-7,304
-γόνε	“begetting” 54,319	ἶρις	“rainbow” 147
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δαρειακός	“daric” 296,335	κάρπασος	“cotton” 293
δέλτος	“tablet” 45,291,311	κασᾶν	“blanket” 289
δέμειν	“to build” 318	κασία	“cassia” 293,311
δῆμος	“people” 100	κέδρος	“cedar” 300
δίδυμοι	“twins” 328	κεράτοι	“two horns” 316
δίκη	“justice” 299	κεφαλή	“head” 335
δόγμα	“decree” 100	κῆβος	“monkey” 295
δραχμή	“drachma” 296,335	κίγχαρες	“talent” 172
ἔβενος	“ebony” 295	κιθάρα	“zither” 153,329
ἔδος	“seat” 92	κίκι	“castor” 295
ἐλάτη	“fir tree” 314	κιννάμωμον	“cinnamon” 293
ἕξ	“six” 316,320	κίταρις	“headdress” (Persian) 296
ἐπαρχος	“eparch” 264	κλείς	“key” 169
ἐπίτροπος	“steward” 100	κλέ(φ)ος	“fame” 39
ἑπτὰ	“seven” 316,320	κλέπτειν	“steal” 18,96,279,322
ἔραζε	“earthwards” 68,304	κλῆρος	“pebble, lot” 22,205
ἐρέβινθος	“vetch” 300	κλωβός	“bird-trap” 291
ἔρεβος	“darkness” 303	κόμμι	“gum” 295
ἔρών	“ark” 292	κόχλος	“mascara” 332
εὐαγγέλιον	“good news” 114	κύκλος	“circle” 206
ἔχις	“serpent” 302	κύμβαχος	“helmet” 298
ζίκαια	“just things” (dial.) 299	κύμβη	“dish” 172,291
ἥλιος	“sun” 7,60,223	κύμινον	“cummin” 301
θαρσεῖτε	“take heart” 282	κυπάρισσος	“cypress” 302
θησαυρός	“treasure” 226	κύριε	“Lord!” 117
θῆβις	“chest” 168,295	λάβαρρον	“labarum” (ensign) 269
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θύννος	“tuna” 301	λαμπάς	“torch” 67,172-4,298, 309
θύρσος	“thyrsus” 265,302	λαός	“people” 310
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ἱξός	“mistletoe” 300	λίβανος	“libanos” 291,314
(φ)ίον	“violet” 300	λίπα	“fat” 326
		λίς	“lion” 291
		λίτρον	“nitre” 96,295
		λίψ	“southwest wind” 308

- λόγχαι “lances” 302,311  
λύκος “wolf” 17
- μαγγανεία “enchantment” 172  
μάγος “magus” 296  
μάζα “barley-cake” 302  
μάκαρ “blessed” 10  
μάμη “mother” 317  
μαραναθα “Lord, come!” 117  
μαργαρίτης “pearl” 293  
μέγαρον “cave” 289,303  
μέγεθος “stature” 303  
μίλιον “mile” 53  
μίνθη “mint” 300  
μίσειν “to mix” 299,321  
μνᾶ “mina” 292  
μόλυβδος “lead” (metal) 300  
μύρρα “myrrh” 291  
μῶμος “flaw” 302
- νάβλας “lute” 291  
να(φ)ός “temple” 43,223,303  
νάπη “glade” 72,302  
νάρδος “nard” 293  
νάραξ “chest” 96  
ναῦς “ship” 50  
νάφθα “naphtha” 277  
νέκταρ “nectar” 326  
νῆρος “600” 335  
νίτρον “nitre” 96,295  
νίφα “snow” 68,319
- (F)οἶκος “house” 93,318  
(F)οἶνος “wine” 304,309,320-1  
οἶστος “arrow” 70,140-1,302, 311  
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οὔτοι “ears” 279,316  
οὐρανός “heaven” 72  
ὄφις “serpent” 302  
ὄψωνιον “wages” 110
- παλλακίς “concubine” 281,298
- πάππα “father” 317  
παράδεισος “paradise” 12,296,311  
πάσχα “passover” 291  
πέλεκυς “axe” 269  
πέτερι “pepper” 293  
πίμπλημι “fill” 143,320  
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πόκος “fleece” 18  
πόλεμος “war” 50,93  
πολτός “bean-soup” 15,302, 309  
πομπή “procession” 253  
πραϊτώριον “praetorium” 110  
πρᾶξις “business” 50  
πρύτανις civic office 213  
πύθων “diviner” 190  
πύλη “gate” 264  
πύξος “box-tree” 300  
πυραμῖς “pyramid” 294  
πυρός “grain” 10,320
- ράξ “raisin” 300  
ράψωδος “rhapsode” 50  
ρόδος “rose” 296  
ρόή “pomegranate” 12  
ρομφαία “broadsword” 302
- σάββατα “sabbath” 292  
σάκκος “sack” 50,302,311,320  
σαλαμάνδρα “salamander” 337  
σάλπιγξ “trumpet” 262  
σαμβύκη musical instr. 329  
σάπφειρος “sapphire” 172,293  
σαράβαρα “trousers” 296  
σᾶρος “3600” 335  
σατράπης “satrap” 296  
σεμίδαλις “flour” 293  
σηρικός “silk” 293  
σῆς “moth” 301,309  
σήσαμον “sesame” 301  
σίγλος “shekel” 292,310  
σίδηρος “iron” 227  
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σιπύη “meal-tub” 289  
σκηνή “tent” 150,291,311  
σκορπίος “scorpion” 301  
σμάραγδος “emerald” 293  
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σοφία?	“wisdom” 299	τύρρανος	“tyrant” 213,298
σπάθη	“broadsword” 271	ύακινθος	“hyacinth” 300
σπόγγος	“sponge” 300	ύδωρ	“water, rain” 70,319
στατήρ	“stater” 299,335	ύπατικός	“consul” 117
στρατιώτης	“soldier” 264	φακός	“bean” 15,298
σύγκλητος	“senate” 85	φάλαγξ	“phalanx” 5
σῦκον	“fig” 12,302	φέρε	“bear!” 317-8
συμφωνία	“symphony” 329	φητιάλιος	“fetal priest” 241
συμπέλιον	“bench” 110	φλόξ	“flame” 64
συνέδριον	“council” 107	φρύνη	“frog” 181
σφάζειν	“to slaughter” 291,321	φῦκος	“rouge” 258,302
σφενδόνη	“sling” 300	φῦσα	“bellows” 335
σῶσσοσ	“60” 335	χαλβάνη	“galbanum” 293,311
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τευθίς	“cuttlefish” 336	ψχεντ	“double crown” (Eg.) 294
τλή	“he endured” 321	ώσαννά	“hosanna” 256-7
τόξον	“bow” 141		
τῦκον	“fig” (dialect) 12,302		
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## 1.2.2 Greek proper nouns

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Ἄδριανός	“Hadrian” 116	Ἄσδρούβας	“Hasdrubal” 128
Ἄδώνια	“Adonis festival” 329	Ἄσκάλων	“Ascalon” 307
Ἄζωτος	“Ashdod” 313-5	Ἄσπαθίνης	“Aspathines” (Persian) 6
Αἰσαρωνήνσιοι	people of Sardinia 213	Ἄσπενδος	“Aspendos” (city) 324
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Ἄμιλκας	“Hamilcar” 102,121-9	Ἄφακα	“Aphaka” (spring) 333
Ἄννίβας	“Hannibal” 125-9	Ἄχαιοί	“Achaeans” 30,85,141, 282,310-5
Ἄννων	“Hanno” 125	Βαλμαρκώδης	“Balmarcodes” (god) 329
Ἄπρίης	“Apries” Pharaoh 286		
Ἄραψ	“Arab” 308-312		
Ἄρειμάνιος	“Ahriman” 39		
Ἄρέτας	“Aretas” of Nabatea 117		



Βάρκας	“Barcas” (Hamilcar) 63,123,174	Ἰουδαῖοι Ἴω Ἰωάννης	“Jews/Judaeans?” 257 “Io” 333 “John” 120
Βεελσάμην	“Beelsamen” 88		
Βήλος	“Belos” (god) 341		
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Βραύρων	“Brauron” 181	Κάρμηλος	“Carmel” 9
Βύβλος	“Byblos” 290	Καρχηδών	“Carthage” 103,108
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		Κήτειοι	“Hittites?” 86
		Κίλιξ	“Cilician” 308-312
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Γέργιθες	“Gergithes” 193-8,308	Κιτιεύς	“of Kition” 307
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		Λιβύη	“Libya” 308
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		Μαρνάς	“Marnas” of Gaza 71, 117
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		Μελικέρτης	“Melicertes” 184
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		Μίλητος	“Miletus” 85
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Ἰάρδανος	“Iardanos r.” 89,207		
Ἴάων	“Ionian” 307-315	Μότυλος	“Muwattalis?” 85
Ἰμίλκων	“Himilco” (Punic) 121-5	Μοῦσα	“Muse” 39
		Μόψος	“Mopsus” 196
Ἰνδός	“Indos r.” 172	Μυρτίλος	“Myrtilos” (Homeric) 86
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Νεκῶς	“Necho” Pharaoh 286	Σανδρόκοττος	“Chandragupta” 13
Νέφθυς	“Nephthys” (Eg. god) 8	Σήθ	“Seth,” Eg. demon 327
Νιβάρος	“Mt. Nibaros” 8	Σιδών	“Sidon” 307,313-4
Νιφάτης	“Mt. Niphates” 8	Σίσυφος	“Sisyphos” 324
Παλαιστίνη	“Palestine” 310	Σοῦσα	“Susa” 296
Πάνδαρος	“Pandaros” 138	Συδύκ	“Sydyk” (Phoen. god) 33
Παπίας	“Papias” 317	Σώστρατος	“Sostratos” 211
Πελασγός	“Pelasgian” 308-315	Τάνταλος	“Tantalus” 86
Πήγασος	“Pegasus” 6	Ταπροβάνη	“Taprobane” (Ceylon) 13
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*Πότνια	“Lady”?? 298,314	Τάρκων	“Tarchon” of Etruria 208
Πρίαμος	“Priam” 85-6	Ταυρώ	“Tauro” name of Artemis 312
Πυγμαλίων	“Pygmalion” 307	Τηθύς	“Tethys” the Deep 324
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Ῥασέννα	“Rasenna” (Etruria) 201	Τυρσηνοί	“Etruscans” 211,310
Ῥοδανός	“Rhône” 207	Φαρνάκης	“Pharnakes” 297
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Σαμυλία	“Samylia” (Anat.) 85	Ὠρομάζης	“Ahuramazda” 39

## 1.3 Latin

admodum	“extremely” 291	aurum	“gold” 226
ager	“field” 311	brasiliūm	“some wood” 228
agnus	“lamb” 16,311	bucina	“cow’s horn” 262
albus	“white” 8	buxus	“box-tree” 300
amarus	“bitter” 291	cadus	“wine-cask” 302,311, 320
ambubaia	“fem. flautist” 329	camelus	“camel” 311
angaria	“conscription” 52	circulus	“circle” 206
anguis	“serpent” 302	citrus	“some tree” 300
antiquus	“old” 172,311	clepo	“steal” 19,323
arcus	“bow” 141	coruus	“raven” 12,311
ascia	“axe” 269	cupressus	“cypress” 302
asinus	“ass” 51,301		

- digitus "finger" 327  
 dolium "jar" 72,176,291  
 dominus "lord" 117  
 dux "leader" 264  
 ebum "ebony" 295  
 ebur "ivory" 295  
 equus "horse" 6,304  
 eruum "vetch" 300  
 euangelium "good news" 114  
 far "spelt" 10,302  
 ferrum "iron" 227  
 fetialis "fetial priest" 241  
 fiber "beaver" 181  
 ficus "fig" 12,302  
 fraga "strawberry" 300  
 fucus "mascara" 302  
 fulgit "it lightens" 63,319  
 funda "sling" 300  
 fungus "sponge" 300  
 galbanum spice 311  
 gigno "beget" 319  
 haedus "kid" 16  
 homo "man" 78  
 humus "earth" 78  
 kyrie eleison "Lord, have mercy" 117  
 labarum "standard" 269  
 lancea "lance" 302,311  
 lucumo "king" (Etr.) 204  
 lupus "wolf" 17  
 magalia "huts" 218  
 mamma "mother" 317  
 marra "hoe" 291  
 massa "lump" 302  
 menta "mint" 300  
 mille "1,000" 53  
 misceo "mix" 299  
 nepos "nephew" 212  
 nix "snow" 68,319  
 nomen "name" 96  
 obsonium "pay" 110  
 paelex "concubine" 298  
 pampinus "vine" 96,302  
 pande "open!" 172  
 pappa "father" 317  
 pecus "herd" 18,309,321,323  
 pirus "pear-tree" 300  
 plenus "full" 143,320  
 pompa "procession" 253  
 praetorium "pretorium" 110  
 primus "first" 86  
 pudet "be ashamed" 321  
 puls "beans" 15,302,309  
 putet "stink" 321  
 sabbata "sabbath" 292  
 saccus "sack" 50,302,311,320  
 sagitta "arrow" 70,140,302, 311  
 septem "seven" 316,320  
 sex "six" 316,320  
 sol "sun" 60  
 subsellium "bench" 110  
 sufes "suffete" 102  
 taurus "bull" 304,311  
 taxus "yew" 141  
 templum "precinct" 96,223,293  
 terminus "marker" 24  
 triumphus "triumph" 252  
 tulit "he carried" 321  
 uaccinium "some flower" 300  
 uereor "I fear" 321  
 uinum "wine" 304,320  
 uiola "violet" 300  
 uirus "poison" 142  
 uiscum "mistletoe" 300  
 uolpes "fox" 17  
 Achiui "Achaean" 85,141, 310  
 Agrigentum city of Sicily 125  
 Albion "Britain" 8  
 Alpes "Alps" 8  
 Annobal Punic PN 128  
 Arabs "Arab" 308,310  
 Barcas "Barca" 63,123  
 Barcelona city of Spain 228  
 Bomilcar Punic PN 122  
 Bostar Punic PN 124  
 Budda "Buddha" 13  
 Capitolium "Capitoline hill" 221  
 Carmelus "Mt Carmel" 9  
 Danastius "Dniester" 207  
 Danuuius "Danube" 207  
 Dido queen of Carthage 336  
 Elagabalus emperor 336

Enosin	island 109	Mago	Punic PN 129
Gisgo	Punic PN 126,307	Marnas	god of Gaza 71
Hamilcar	“Hamilcar” 102,121, 138	Mercurius	“Mercury” 109,134
Hannibal	“Hannibal” 127,138	Neptunus	“Neptune” 8
Hanno	Punic PN 126	Populonia	Etruscan city 199
Hasdrubal	Punic PN 128,307	Roma	“Rome” 103,209,245
Himilco	Punic PN 121	Tanais	“Don” 207
Iuppiter	“Jupiter” 56	Tarchon	Etruscan PN 208
Libs	“Libyan” 308	Tarquinii	city 208

## 1.4 Other languages

	<i>Akkadian</i>		<i>Anatolian</i>
argamannu	“tribute” 335	ΦΑΝΑΚΤΕΙ	“king” (Phrygian) 96
barrāqtu	“emerald” 293	ΕΣΤΡΕΔΙΙΥΣ	“Aspendus” 324
birtu	“castle” 337	λάβρυς	“axe” (Lydian) 269
embūbu	“flute” 329	ματαρκυβιλε	“mother Cybele” (Phrygian) 336
ḥaṣṣinnu	“axe” 269	χσσαθραπαζατε	“act as satrap” (Lycian) 297
ḥurāṣu	“gold” 292	Ἄλυάττης	Alyattes (Lydian) 298
ina er-se-tim	“on earth” 68	Mā	mother-goddess 317
ki-lu-bi	“bird cage” 291	Παναμύης	Carian PN 85
kitū	“linen” 292	Tešub	weather-god 324
kuribu	guardian? 304		
libittu	“brick” 293		
lipa	“fat” 326		
manū	“mina” 292		
mariannu	“charioteer” 86		
mišarum	“justice” 47		
miṭru	“rain” 71		
neru	“600” p. 335		
nūnu	“Pisces” 328		
pilakku	“spindle” 269		
samīdu	“flour” 293		
saqqu	“sack” 50,302		
šiqḷu	“sheqel” 292		
šāru	“3600” p. 335		
šurmēnu	“cypress” 334		
šūšu	“60” p. 335		
temennu	“foundation” 222,293		
Alašia	“Cyprus” 145		
Ikausu	“Achish” 298		
Nabu-Naid	“Nabonidus” 96		
Tiawat	Ocean 324		
Yamani	“Ionian” 960		
			<i>Arabic</i>
		ʿal-kuḥūl	“alcohol” 333
		ʿarḍa	“earth” 68,304,325
		ʿaqabatu	“ascent” 47
		ʿatiq	“old” 327
		burr(un)	“grain” 10
		darāhima	“drachmas” 335
		ḍarra	“oppress” 325
		ḍbh	“sacrifice” 331
		garb	“West” 303
		grāb	“raven” 12
		injilu	“Gospel” 114
		jabal(un)	“mountain” 336
		jaral(un)	“stones” 22
		kalb(un)	“dog” 17
		kursi	“throne” 334
		laban(un)	“milk” 8
		magūs	“magician” 296
		malik(un)	“king” 96
		maqlid	“key” 169

- mizāj “mixed” 300  
 sakīnah “divine presence” 330  
 sārābīla “trousers” 296  
 šarra “bind” 325  
 šamsun “sun” 60  
 šarbīn “some tree” 334  
 thawran “bull” 304  
 ʿAršūf city 145  
 Dar es-Salāmport 195  
 Dhuʿl Qarnayn Alexander 331  
 Gog & Magog 331
- Old South Arabian*
- frzn “iron” 227  
 kmkm spice 326  
 qšṭ “costus” 329
- Armenian*
- erek “evening” 303
- Avestan*
- danuš “river” 208  
 hvarə “sun” 60  
 manah “strength” 39  
 pairi.daēzān “enclosures” 296  
 sravaḥ “word” 39  
 Ahuro Mazda High God 39  
 Angra Mainyu “Ahriman” 39  
 Danavo some people 208
- Cypriote*
- a-la-si-o-ta-i “of Alashiya” 145
- Egyptian*
- 3bw “ivory” 295  
 bʿj “palm” 265  
 bḥn “stone” 295  
 bi3 some metal 227  
 dbt “basket” 295  
 dt “olive” 294  
 gjf “monkey” 295  
 hbny “ebony” 295  
 ḥms.t “crocodile” 294  
 ir.t “eye” 147  
 nṯr “natron” 96,295  
 p3 shnt “double crown”  
 (Demotic) 294
- s3b “jackal” 294  
 sndwt “linen” 295  
 śśmt “horse” 6  
 Km.t “Black Land” 295  
 Nb.t-ḥ.t “Nephthys” 8  
 P3-nhsj “the Negro” 295  
 Stš demon Seth 326
- English*
- aex “ax” 269  
 arwe “arrow” (OE) 141  
 181  
 bere “barley” (OE) 10  
 bolca “gangway” (OE) 5  
 bras “brass” (OE) 227  
 brasil “red dye” (ME) 227  
 brown 181  
 dike, ditch 296  
 eare “ears” (OE) 316  
 eien “eyes” (OE) 316  
 eorðan “earth” (OE) 304  
 feoh “herd” (OE) 18  
 gable 336  
 sun 60  
 water 71,96  
 whelp 17
- Ethiopic*
- 16  
 bərāt some metal (Amharic)  
 227  
 br(r) “silver” (Cushitic) 227  
 wayn “wine” (Geez) 304
- Etruscan*
- aesar “gods” 213  
 avils “year” 212  
 clan “son” 214  
 hanipaluscle “men of Hannibal?”  
 127  
 lauxume “king” 204  
 nefts “grandson” 212  
 puia “wife” 213  
 purθne “prytanis” 213  
 rasnal “Rasenna” 201  
 Atunis “Adonis” 213  
 Nethyns “Neptune” 8

Pupluna “Populonia” 199  
 Rumax “of Rome” 209  
 Semla “Semele” 199  
 Tarxunies “Tarquin” 209  
 Ōefariei Velianas king of Caere 210  
 Turan “Venus?” 213  
 tursikina “Etruscan”? 201

*Germanic*

bero “bear” (OHG) 181  
 Erde “earth” 68  
 fihu “cattle” (OHG) 19  
 Geiss “kid” 16  
 in erdo “on earth” (OHG) 68  
 kilbur “lambs” (OHG) 16  
 Vieh “herd” 18

*Gothic*

faihu “property” 19  
 hlifand “they steal” 19  
 sauil “sun” 60  
 wulfs “wolf” 17

*Hittite*

(some names not transcribed)

arkamanna “tribute” 335  
 kupahi “turban” 298  
 laman “name” 96  
 lapzi “glows” 173  
 uatar “water” 71,96  
 Ahhiyawa “Achaeans” 85  
 Alaksandus “Alexander”? 85  
 Lablana “Lebanon” 9  
 Lazpas “Lesbos” 86  
 Millawanda “Miletus” 85  
 Mursilis king 86  
 Muwatallis king 85  
 Sariyana “Sirion” 9  
 Suppiluliuma king 86  
 Tarhund weather-god 209  
 Telipinus king 86  
 Tudhaliyas king 86  
 Wilusa “Ilion”? 85

*Indo-European*

θρίαμβος “triple beat”? 252  
 Ὀλυμπος “white mtn”? 9  
 paelex “concubine” 281

*Iranian*

(Old Persian except as marked; see also Avestan)

asa “horse” 6  
 byrt’ “castle” (Prth.) 337  
 didā “wall” 296  
 farna- “glory” 297  
 gnz “treasure” (Parthian) 296  
 maguš “Magian” 296  
 paradayadam “enclosure” 296  
 šalvar “trousers” (modern Persian) 296  
 taχs “arrow” (modern Persian) 141  
 xšaçapāvā “satrap” 296  
 zarniq “arsenic” (modern Persian) 296  
 Auramazda High God 40  
 Aspacanah man’s name (Median) 6  
 Čušāyā “Susa” 296  
 Xšaθrita Phraortes (Median) 297

*Italic*

nerf “elders” (Iguvine) 158  
 ninctu “to snow” (Iguvine) 69  
 toru “bull” (Ig.) 200  
 Iupater Jupiter (Ig.) 56  
 Nero Sabine PN 248  
 Pontius Fifth (Oscan) 249  
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Items in quotation marks indicate that the word both is discussed as a topic and translates an element of the common vocabulary. The numerous translations on pp. 291-303 are mostly omitted; but their Hebrew and Greek equivalents are entered in Index 1.

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