REVUE

DE

L'HISTOIRE JUIVE EN ÉGYPTE

PUBLIÉE

PAR

LA SOCIÉTÉ D'ÉTUDES HISTORIQUES JUIVES D'ÉGYPTE

N° 1 — ANNÉE 1947



LE CAIRE

IMPRIMERIE DE L'INSTITUT FRANÇAIS

D'ARCHÉOLOGIE ORIENTALE

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MCMXLVII

Revue De L'HISTOIRE JUIVE EN EGYPT

“We shall greatly cherish this rare book" La revue de l'histoire Juive en Egypte" published by La Societe d'etudes Juives Historiques d'Egypte in Cairo in 1947 .It is an important and rare document and will have a prominent place in our library.”

“ La revueL'histoire Juive en Egypte" was provided by Joe Rossano in memory of his parents: Felix Youssef Rossano and Victoria Rossano nee Abadi, and also to his uncle Nessim Youssef Rossano who gave him this book which is now on display at the University of Tel Aviv, in the Jews of Egypt section.

The HSJE would like to thank Mr. Joe Rossano for providing the book and Dr. Maurice M. Mizrahi for scanning it for the benefit of all the Jews from Egypt and their descendants for years to come

Pour tous renseignements concernant :

a) l'*abonnement* à notre Revue,

b) l'*adhésion* à notre Société,

c) la *collaboration* scientifique,

S'adresser au Directeur de la Revue,

M. B. GRDSELOFF, 12, Midân Seray el-Qubba, Le Caire.

Ou au Siège de la

SOCIÉTÉ D'ÉTUDES HISTORIQUES JUIVES D'ÉGYPTE,
Le Caire, Sekket el-Maghrabi. — Boîte Postale 339.

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AVERTISSEMENT.

Dans le domaine historique du Judaïsme égyptien, les chercheurs n'ont guère eu à leur disposition, jusqu'à l'heure présente, d'organe approprié. Aussi, en fondant à leur intention, cette nouvelle revue sommes-nous certains de combler une lacune, de répondre à un besoin défini, bref de remplir une mission.

En même temps, il est à prévoir que la diffusion des travaux des spécialistes suscitera un intérêt toujours croissant à l'égard d'une matière souvent ardue, éloignée des préoccupations quotidiennes, mais passionnante par les horizons qu'elle ouvre, en apportant régulièrement aux communautés juives des messages authentiques de leur passé au sein du peuple égyptien, messages d'ailleurs étroitement liés à l'histoire glorieuse et tant de fois millénaire de la Vallée du Nil.

Ainsi, répondant au vœu de ses membres et de ses nombreux amis en Égypte et à l'étranger, la Société des Études historiques juives d'Égypte *créée dès 1925 au Caire, décida, en séance plénière de son Comité en juin 1945, de publier annuellement la présente* Revue, *en définissant rigoureusement son caractère et son programme.*

Notre revue sera par dessus tout au service de la science exacte. Elle publiera les travaux originaux des savants qui puisent aux sources. En d'autres termes, elle ne contiendra que les recherches scientifiques de ceux qui savent extraire directement des vestiges du passé, la signification et la portée des faits historiques. Les articles seront donc pour la plupart spécialisés et techniques, rédigés à l'intention du lecteur averti et de tout ceux qui prennent une part active à l'élucidation des problèmes de l'histoire.

Il sera pris soin cependant d'inclure dans chaque tome annuel plus d'une contribution d'un spécialiste sur des sujets plus généraux et d'un caractère accessible à ceux de nos lecteurs qui ne s'intéressent qu'aux grandes lignes de l'histoire du Judaïsme en Égypte. Les comptes rendus des ouvrages récents tombant dans notre domaine seront également publiés dans un but de vulgarisation.

Notre revue sera d'ailleurs polyglotte. Afin de rendre aux savants de notre pays et à ceux de l'étranger, la collaboration plus aisée, nous leur laisserons le libre choix de l'expression et publierons leurs travaux dans leurs langues respectives. En même temps, nous avons jugé essentiel de mettre notre revue à la portée du grand public égyptien en résumant tous les articles en langue arabe.

Quant à notre programme, il se confond avec les limites, dans le temps et dans l'espace, de l'histoire des Juifs en Égypte : les origines et les destinées des diverses communautés juives sur les bords du Nil depuis leur première apparition, à l'époque des patriarches d'Israël, jusqu'à l'époque moderne, telle est l'étendue de notre domaine, qui peut se subdiviser comme suit :

1. L'époque archaïque — *Séjour des Hébreux en Égypte ; l'Exode ; les contacts fréquents entre l'Égypte et la Palestine jusqu'au règne de Salomon (environ 1000 av. J.-C.).*

2. L'époque ancienne. — *Les Juifs en Égypte depuis l'époque du Premier Temple jusqu'à la fin de la domination perse en Égypte (vers 400 av. J.-C.).*

3. L'époque classique. — *Le Judaïsme alexandrin à l'époque hellénistique et sous l'Empire romain jusqu'à la fin de l'ère byzantine (en 646).*

4. L'époque arabe. — *Les Juifs en Égypte sous la domination des Califes Fatimites et des Mamelouks (jusqu'en 1517).*

5. L'époque moderne. — *Les Juifs en Égypte sous la domination ottomane jusqu'à l'avènement de la Dynastie de Mohamed Ali le Grand*

Dans ce cadre précis, toutes les disciplines de la science philologique auront droit de cité dans nos colonnes. En premier lieu, l'histoire politique, économique, sociale et religieuse des communautés juives d'Égypte; d'autre part, l'histoire littéraire, y compris la linguistique, la papyrologie et l'épigraphie, l'histoire des sciences, la géographie et la chronologie; enfin l'histoire des beaux-arts, l'architecture et la numismatique : toutes ces branches spécialisées feront revivre dans un tableau complet la civilisation et le rôle des Juifs en tant qu'élément actif dans cette Vallée du Nil où ils jouissent toujours des plus précieuses libertés sous l'égide d'un monarque éclairé.

Nous présentons aujourd'hui au public ce premier volume dont la préparation a été confiée à notre éditeur, M. B. Grdseloff, qui n'a pas épargné de peine pour mener à bien notre tâche. Notre collègue, le Dr Yallouz a bien voulu se charger du résumé des articles en langue arabe. Nous voudrions aussi adresser nos remerciements à tous les auteurs qui, par leurs contributions intéressantes, ont donné à ce volume initial un intérêt tout particulier, et nous espérons qu'ils voudront continuer à nous prêter leur précieuse collaboration. Enfin, nous voudrions exprimer notre grande reconnaissance à M. Charles Kuentz, directeur de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale du Caire, lequel a bien voulu faire imprimer notre revue sur les presses de l'Institut dont l'outillage perfectionné est un gage sûr pour une présentation impeccable.

René Cattaui Bey,
Président
de la Société d'Études historiques
juives d'Égypte.

Le Caire, le 25 octobre 1946.

NOTICE ON THE ARAMAIC PAPYRI DISCOVERED AT HERMOPOLIS WEST

BY

MURAD KAMIL.

Eight papyri, well preserved in a jar, were unearthed in December 1944 by Prof. Sami Gabra, director of the excavations of Fouad I University at Hermopolis West (Tuna el-Gabal).

This discovery of Aramaic papyri is to be considered as second only to that of Elephantine (1904).

A communication on this discovery was given by Prof. S. Gabra and the present writer in the "Institut d'Égypte" on the 24th of March 1946. It is to appear in the *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*. A publication of the whole text with transcription, translation, commentary and plates will be given in the "Publications of Fouad I University".

All the eight of them are private letters and they are in a practically perfect condition. They differ in length, herewith the number of lines in each of them is given respectively: 13; 17; 14; 4; 13; 10; 9; 15.

They are clearly written with the Egyptian pen, rolled, bound with straps of papyrus, and clay seals fasten these straps.

The address on the outside of the roll is written in one line as follows:

To (the clay seal) so and so from so and so; the name of the town; to be brought. For example: תשי מן מכבנת בר פסמי סון יבל (clay seal) אל.

To Tashi from Macbanit b. Psami; Syene; to be brought.

The letters are addressed some to Assuan (Syene סון) and the others to Api (אפי) Thebes or Panopolis (Akhmim ? *'ipw*).

No date is mentioned, but they can be safely attributed to the vth century B. C., for the style is similar to the Aramaic style of the western provinces of the Persian Empire in the vth century B. C. A shrine of Darius found in the same gallery together with the papyri substantiates our inference. One of the most remarkable results of the present discovery is perhaps the proof it yields that within a century — or less — of the death of Jeremiah a colony of Jews, that worshipped the Queen of Heaven מלכת השמים and other deities אלהים אחרים had found their way to Hermopolis West.

There is nothing especially surprising in this, for we know from the Books of Kings (1 K. 15, 14; 22, 43. 2 K. 12, 3; 14, 4; 15, 4; 21, 3) that the worship of gods other than Yahweh was rife in the time of Jehoash, and Jeremiah denounces the Jews, dwelling in Egypt, who burned incense to the Queen of Heaven, even as their fathers, their kings and princes had done in the cities of Judah and the streets of Jerusalem (Jer. 44, 1; 15–17).

The different deities mentioned in our papyri are : Nebo נבו; Banit בנת, Bethel בתאל (*sic*) and Malkat Shamin (the Queen of Heaven) מלכת שמין. The mixture of Semitic and Egyptian proper names is of considerable interest. They show to what a great extent the Jews in Egypt were mingled with the Egyptians proper. We notice in the papyri Semitic proper names such as : ʾAḥatsin אחתסן; Bethelnatan ביתאלנתו; Bethelshazab ביתאלשזב; Nebunatan נבונתן; Neneḥem נניחם; Natatan נתתן; ʿAder עדר; ʿAḳab עקב; ʿAḳbah עקבה; Ṣebi צבי; She'al שאל; and Egyptian proper names such as : Usershut אסרשת; Bati בתי; *bti* , or *btj* ; Waḥpra' וחפרע *wȝḥ-ʾb-rʿ* (Apries); Neki נכי *nkj* ; Tutusiri תמסרי *tȝdj wsir*; Tefmut תפמה *tȝf-mwt*.

The letters deal with family affairs, greetings and commissions to buy something or other. They may be notifying the addressee that the sender has bought something for him, and sometimes he is only waiting for somebody going there, to entrust it to him.

ולעד אשכח אש למושרתהם לכן

"And until I find any person to deliver them to you".

or

אן אשכחת אש מהימן אתה לכן מדעם

"If I find an honest man I will send you the thing".

or

ולה אשכחת אש למיתית לכן

"And I have not yet found any person to bring it to you".

The things in question, which most probably had been requested by the addressee in former letters are wool עמר; ointment משח בשם or משח זית; clothes כתנה or חטבת; skin משכן; wood (?) נשרן; box ארון and different kinds of vessels. Money terms used in these papyri (the shekel and the zuz) are worthy of notice. The shekel is here abbreviated to ש followed by the number in the shape of strokes grouped by three, thus : one shekel ש ׀, five shekels ש ׀׀ ׀׀׀, six shekels ש ׀׀׀ ׀׀׀. The zuz זז here mentioned is not the bronze zuz but the silver zuz זז כסף זז. The zuz is known in Akk. zūzu and in Aram. zūzā.

A fresh light is thrown by these papyri on the history and character of the Aramaic language as it was spoken and written in the vth century B. C. New words and meanings are added, or fixed, to the Aramaic dictionary; and new forms and idioms to Aramaic grammar.

NATHANAËL BEN AL-FAYYÛMÎ
ET LA THÉOLOGIE ISMAËLIENNE

PAR

SALOMON PINES.

Le *Bustân al-ʿuqûl* [1], traité théologique juif de langue arabe, pose dès le premier abord un problème, celui de l'identité de son auteur, de l'époque de celui-ci et du pays où il a vécu. Le nom du moins paraît être certain [2] : Nathanaël ben al-Fayyûmî [3], mentionné à la fin de l'unique manuscrit conservé de cet ouvrage. Et il y a dans le texte deux indices chronologiques, qui ne concordent pas tout à fait : p. 70, il est question de Shelomo Haqqaton, c'est-à-dire d'Ibn Gabirol, et de Jéhudah Hallewi, qui « ont écrit de nos jours ». D'autre part, on trouve, page 70, la citation suivante du premier de ces poètes : « Ismaël a tué et détruit durant 559 ans. » Or Ibn Gabirol avait écrit : « durant 461 ans », le chiffre qui figure dans le *Bustân* indiquerait, selon Levine [4], la date de l'ère musulmane (= 1165 de l'ère chrétienne) où ce traité a été composé.

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[1] *The Bustan Al-Ukul, by Nathanael Ibn Al-Fayyumi, edited and translated from an unique manuscript in the Library of Columbia University by David Levine,* New York, the Columbia University Press, 1908. Voir aussi R. Gottheil, *Nathan'el al-Fayyumi, Festschrift für M. Steinschneider,* Leipzig 1896, p. 144-147 ; *Jewish Encyclopedia,* V, p. 354, s. v. *Fayyumi ; Encyclopaedia Judaica,* II, p. 261-262, s. v. *Al-Fajjumi.*

[2] Si toutefois l'on fait abstraction des discussions concernant sa forme exacte. Voir Steinschneider, *J. Q. R.,* X (1898), p. 523.

[3] Ou si l'on veut s'en tenir au texte même du manuscrit (p. 88 de l'édition) : רב נתנאל בירב פיומי.

[4] Bustân, *Introduction,* p. x.

Supposition qui s'accorde avec une autre, proposée par Gottheil [1] et acceptée par Levine [2]. D'après celle-ci, le *Bustân* serait l'œuvre du père de Jacob ben Nathanaël ben al-Fayyûmî, savant de Sana auquel Maïmonide adressa en 567/1172 l'*Épître du Yémen*. Cependant, dans l'absence presque complète de données positives, cette identification ne peut pas être considérée comme certaine. Elle est mise en doute par Steinschneider [3]; et Mann [4] en suggère une autre : l'auteur du *Bustân* serait le fils d'un correspondant de Maïmonide qui signe Fayyûmî b. Sa'adya. Questions de personnes qui sont périphériques à l'étude présente et auxquelles je ne toucherai qu'incidemment. En effet, l'examen des sources citées et des influences subies par l'auteur du *Bustân* semble légitimer certaines conclusions quant à l'époque et au milieu où il a vécu.

Cet examen, il est vrai, a déjà été entrepris par Levine [5]; travail consciencieux et incomplet. Il ne pouvait, d'ailleurs, ne pas l'être. En effet, lors de sa publication la théologie ismaëlienne n'était connue que de façon sommaire. Or il me semble indubitable que le *Bustân* en porte une forte empreinte. Les nombreux textes ismaëliens exhumés récemment — toute une littérature [6] ignorée auparavant des savants européens — permettent de démontrer cette thèse. C'est là une tâche qui exige l'examen de la conception de Dieu et des entités incorporelles telle qu'elle est exposée dans le *Bustân*. Car, c'est dans ce domaine que la ressemblance entre les doctrines des Fatimides et celles du traité juif éclate, et dès les premières lignes de celui-ci, dans l'invocation du début. Égrènement d'épithètes désignant Dieu, parmi lesquelles figure (p. 1, l. 3)

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[1] *Festschrift für M. Steinschneider*, p. 144.

[2] *Loc. cit.*

[3] Voir *loc. cit.*, et *Die arabische Literatur der Juden*, Francfort sur le M. 1902, p. 182. Un essai d'identification positive est attribué à Steinschneider dans l'*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (*loc. cit.*). Il semble qu'il y a méprise.

[4] Jacob Mann, *The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fatimid Caliphs*, Oxford 1920, I, p. 244; cf. II, p. 316.

[5] Voir Introduction, p. XII, sqq., et des notes nombreuses ajoutées à la traduction.

[6] W. Ivanow, *Guide to Ismaili Literature*, London 1933, fournit une bonne bibliographie de ces écrits.

mu'ill 'illat al-'ilal, «Causateur de la cause des causes». Faut-il voir dans cette expression une simple variante — sans portée dogmatique — des termes philosophiques usuels, cause première et cause des causes? Supposition peu probable à première vue et que d'autres passages du *Bustân* prouve fausse. En effet, cette expression figure également page 5, l. 23-24 et, un peu altérée, (*mu'ill 'illat al-mawjûdât*), p. 7, l. 2-3, et est explicitée dans le premier de ces passages : «le Créateur *e nihilo* (*mubdi'*), loué soit-Il, est le Causateur de la cause des causes..., étant trop transcendant (*tanazzaha*) pour pouvoir être qualifié de cause ou d'effet.» Explication qui se retrouve page 25, l. 27-p. 26, l. 1, mais étayée de l'argument que voici : «car une cause ne se sépare pas de son effet.» Et le texte continue page 26, l. 1-4 : «le Créateur (*bâri'*), loué soit-Il, transcende l'attribut (*sifa,* au singulier) d'intellect (*'aql*) et de cause (*'illa*), car il l'a créé *e nihilo* (*mubdi' dhâlika*) et lui a donné (*mu'ṭihi*) la vie, la perfection, la préétemité (*'azal*), la durée, la pérennité, le bonheur et d'autres choses encore, en une seule fois, en dehors du temps et du lieu.» Texte où il faut noter la juxtaposition de la cause, et de l'intellect ; juxtaposition voulue, car la Cause des Causes — et c'est d'elle que manifestement il s'agit — est identique avec l'Intellect : p. 25, l. 25-27 : «L'Âme Universelle est causée par l'Intellect, qui est la Cause des Causes et que le Créateur (*bâri'*), par Son Vouloir (*mashî'a*), Sa Volonté (*'irâda*), et Son Commandement (*'amr*) a tiré du néant (*'abda'ahu*)...» L'expression *mu'ill 'illat al-'ilal,* qu'emploie le *Bustân,* signifie donc de façon très précise : Créateur de l'Intellect.

Ce sont là des doctrines ismaëliennes énoncées avec diverses variations dans les traités où les docteurs des Fatimides élaborent leur système théologique ; par exemple dans le *Zâd al-musâfirîn* de Nâṣir-i-Khosrow [1]. En effet, ce missionnaire persan de Mustanṣir billâh nie que Dieu soit une cause, car s'Il l'était, Il serait lié à son effet. Pour qualifier l'action divine, il emploie le participe *'âll,* tiré de la même racine, mais d'une autre forme verbale, que *mu'ill ;* et qui indique que Dieu a déterminé la spécificité de

[1] Ouvrage composé en 453 de l'hégire, éd. M. Badhl al-Rahman, Berlin 1341 de l'hégire, p. 193-194. Cf. S. Pines, *Beiträge zur islamischen Atomenlehre,* Berlin 1936, p. 37-38.

la Cause des Causes [1]. Ce dernier titre Nâṣir le réserve (du moins dans le *Zâd*) au Premier Intellect ; auquel Kirmânî [2], autre propagandiste ismaëlien, attribue une fonction analogue, l'appelant « la cause de l'existence des existants [3] » et « la cause de toutes les choses (*kull amr*), par laquelle elles sont ce qu'elles sont, issues hors d'elle, existant et hiérarchisées au-dessous d'elle, subsistant en acte par elle [4] ».

Quel fut l'acte créateur qui tira le Premier Intellect du néant? Un texte déjà cité du *Bustân* [5] y fait intervenir la Volonté (*'irâdâ*) le Vouloir (*mashî'a*), et le Commandement (*'amr*) divins ; trois attributs ou puissances dont les deux derniers sont également cités dans un autre passage du même ouvrage : p. 2, l. 5-7. Dieu le Créateur (*al-bâri' allâh*), loué soit-Il, l'a créé *e nihilo* (*'abdâ'ahu ;* le suffixe pronominal se rapporte au Premier Intellect, dit Universel, v. p. 2, l. 2) par Son Commandement et Son Vouloir, de rien, dans rien et pour rien ; Lui, loué soit-Il, a voulu, et il fut un Intellect. »

Cette doctrine, à peine ébauchée dans le *Bustân* est explicitée dans les traités théologiques ismaëliens, où l'on trouve plusieurs thèses en présence. Celle du *Khwân al-ikhwân* [6] d'abord : Entre le Créateur (*mubdi'*) et l'Intellect elle interpose le Commandement (*'amr*) divin, appelé aussi

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[1] Les Druses, dont la terminologie dérive en grande partie de l'ismaëlienne, désignent Dieu par le terme *mu'ill 'illat al-'ilal* (S. DE SACY, *Exposé de la religion des Druses*, II, p. 77) ; celui-même employé dans le *Bustân*. C'est que ces sectaires, eux aussi, considèrent l'Intellect comme la cause des causes. L'appellation plus générale de *mu'ill al-'ilal* se trouve appliquée à Dieu chez les Nuṣairis et quelques *Ṣûfis* (voir PINES, *op. cit.*, p. 38, n. 2).

[2] Voir sur lui, IVANOW, *op. cit.*, p. 43 sqq. ; P. KRAUS, *Islam*, 1931, p. 242 sq.

[3] *Râḥat al-'aql*, fol. 129 *b*. Cet ouvrage capital de Kirmânî est cité d'après le manuscrit dont sont tirés les extraits édités par KRAUS, voir *op. cit.*, p. 242.

[4] *Râḥat al-'aql*, *ibidem*. Kirmânî, lui aussi, paraît enseigner que Dieu n'est point cause des actes qui dérivent de lui. Fol. 140 *b* : « Ce qui n'est pas dans le temps : c'est l'acte qui ne procède pas d'une cause agissante en elle-même ou en autre chose, ou qui rencontre des empêchements en elle-même et dans sa propre matière (*mâdda*), mais de Celui qui — los soit à Lui — transcende tout cela. »

[5] Cf. *supra*.

[6] *Ḫan al-Ḫwân, texte persan inédit de Nâṣir È Ḫosraw, publié par Yahya El-Khachab*, Le Caire 1940.

Volonté [1] (*'irâda*) et Verbe [2] (*kalima*) ; signifié par le mot *kun*, le *fiat* divin [3]. Il est l'*ibdâ'* [4], l'acte créateur hypostasié ; non-être [5] à la fois et cause des causes [6], immédiatement cause de l'Intellect [7], qui rayonne de lui comme la lumière du soleil, sans qu'il y ait véritable séparation [8].

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[1] Voir p. 180. Il est question de l'*amr* dans les traités du propagandiste ismaëlien Abû Ya'qûb Isḥâq al-Sijzî exécuté à Bukhara, en 942, voir Ivanow, *op. cit.*, p. 33-35. Selon la *Risâla* de Khâlid Ibn Zayd al-Ju'fî, traduite par E.E. Salisbury (*J. A. O. S.*, III, p. 167 sqq.), et qui fait partie de la littérature bâqirienne, l'*amr*, qui est la Première Cause (p. 175-176), a créé le *sâbiq* et le *tâli* (p. 172 sqq., et notamment p. 179). La première de ces appellations désigne chez les Ismaëliens l'Intellect ; la seconde, l'Ame. Sur l'*amr* et l'*aql* dans *rawḍat al-taslîm*, traité ismaëlien attribué à Naṣîr al-Dîn Ṭûsî, voir Ivanow, *J. R. A. S.*, 1931, p. 541-542. Selon les Druses, *'amr* et *'irâda* sont des qualificatifs de l'Intellect (voir Sacy, *Exposé*, II, p. 59, p. 1 ; *K. al-nuqat wa'l dawâ'ir*, éd. Ch. Seybold, p. 6-8). Cf. aussi Massignon, *K. Al Ṭawâsîn*, p. 145 sqq. ; *La Passion d'... Al Ḥallâj*, p. 624 sqq.

[2] Voir p. 173, 212.

[3] Voir p. 173, 180, 247.

[4] Voir p. 64-65, 212. Cf. p. 32-33. Le Créateur (*âfridgâr*) est considéré transcender « l'attribut de *mubdi'* et celui d'*ibdâ'* » (p. 79).

[5] Voir p. 32-33, 64-65, 248-249. L'*ibdâ'* est *nist* et *nâ-huwiyyat* (sur *huwiyya*, voir Pines, *R. E. I.*, 1938, *Abstracta Islamica*, VI, p. 56) ; l'Intellect est le premier être (p. 76) ; Dieu, ni être, ni non-être (p. 64-65).

[6] Voir p. 212. « L'*ibdâ'* est cause de toutes les causes », p. 180 : « L'*amr* est cause de toutes les choses. » L'Intellect, lui, est cause du corporel et du spirituel, voir p. 137, passage où il est également qualifié de Cause Première. C'est là un emploi impropre d'après la doctrine du *Khwân*.

[7] Voir p. 65, 249.

[8] Voir p. 176-178. Cette image figure chez les chrétiens la relation entre la Deuxième Personne de la Trinité et Dieu le Père. Elle est courante chez les écrivains orientaux. Cf. *The Histories of Rabban Hormizd the Persian and Rabban Bar 'Idta*, edited and translated by E. A. Wallis Budge, London 1902, p. 113, l. 11 sqq. du texte syriaque ; *Vingt traités théologiques d'auteurs arabes chrétiens*, éd. P. L. Cheikho, Beyrouth 1920, p. 42. On la trouve aussi dans *Maqâla masiḥiyya* (édition partielle, *apud* Massignon, *Recueil de textes inédits concernant l'histoire de la mystique en pays d'islam*, Paris 1929, p. 216, l. 7 sqq.). D'après ce texte, entre Dieu et *al-'azali al-qadîm*, comme entre le disque solaire et ses rayons, il n'y aurait ni union, ni séparation et éloignement. Il est évident que cette thèse, comme d'ailleurs tout l'écrit où elle est énoncée, comporte une interprétation chrétienne. Il y a aussi possiblité de la rattacher à la théologie ismaëlienne. En effet, le terme *'azali*

Ainsi des spéculations qui comme celles du *Bustân* mettent en cause le Commandement et la Volonté, mais en les identifiant, et divergent notamment du traité juif en posant une cause supérieure à l'Intellect.

Centrales dans le *Khwân al-ikhwân*, elles posent un problème d'histoire littéraire. Car cet écrit persan est attribué à Nâṣir-i-Khosrow, tout comme le *Zâd al-musâfirîn*, où certaines de ces doctrines sont prises à partie : ainsi il serait abusif de qualifier l'acte créateur (*'ibdâ'*) de Commandement divin, non moins, de le croire cause de l'Intellect, qui en irradierait comme la lumière du disque solaire [1]. C'est l'Intellect, nous l'avons dit [2], qui passe dans cet ouvrage pour la Cause des Causes ; incapable, d'ailleurs, de concevoir l'acte créateur originel [3].

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appartient au vocabulaire de la secte. D'après Khwân al-Ikhwân (p. 212) il désigne l'Intellect tandis qu'*azal* s'applique à l'*ibdâ'* ; l'être dont celui-ci a pourvu l'Intellect s'appelle *'azaliyya*. *Zâd al-musâfirîn* (p. 194-195) paraît proposer une explication différente : *'azal* serait l'affirmation de l'unité de Dieu, *'azaliyyat*, l'*ibdâ'*, et *'azalî*, l'Intellect. Il ne paraît pas que l'emploi de ces derniers termes dans le *Bustân*, p. 1, l. 4 et 9 puisse se rattacher à des spéculations semblables. Au rapport de Shahrastânî, *K. al-milal wa'l-niḥal*, éd. Cureton, p. 147, le terme *qadîm*, qui figure également dans *Maqâla masiḥiyya*, fut employé par les Bâṭiniyya comme qualificatif du Commandement (*'amr*) et du Verbe (*kalima*) divins.

[1] Voir *Zâd*, p. 195-196. L'auteur mentionne qu'un groupe de philosophes (*ḥukamâ'*) désigne l'*ibdâ'* par l'appellation *'amr* un autre, par celle d'*irâda*. Cf. Pines, *Hermès*, Bruxelles, novembre 1939, III, p. 56.

[2] Voir *supra*.

[3] Voir p. 196. Comment expliquer les différences de doctrine qui subsistent entre le *Khwân al-ikhwân* et le *Zâd al-musâfirîn*. Ces traités passent pour être du même auteur, mais il n'y a pas mention de l'un dans l'autre. D'autre part, le *Zâd*, et de même la *Risâla*, écrit également attribué à Nâṣir-i-Khosrow (et que je n'ai pas pu consulter pour l'étude présente) citent le *Bustân al-'uqûl*, ouvrage perdu, composé par le même auteur que les deux autres. (Voir Pines, *Beiträge*, p. 88, n. 2 ; El Khachab, *Nâṣir È Ḫosraw, son voyage, sa pensée religieuse, sa philosophie et sa poésie*, Le Caire 1940, p. 140.) Et le *Zâd* est à son tour mentionné dans le *Dîwân* de Nâṣir i Khosrow (voir Y. El-Khachab, *op. cit.*, p. 139). Il y a là un groupe d'écrits que de fortes raisons font croire composés par la même personne. Quant au *Khwân*, il semble avoir une connexion avec le *Safer-Nâmeh* ; du moins chacun des deux ouvrages contient un passage se référant à un talisman contre les scorpions que l'auteur a vu à Ma'arra al-Nu'mân, ville syrienne ; et les deux descriptions concordent en tous points. (Voir Y. El-Khachab, édition de *Khwân al-ikhwân*, p. IX.)

(*Suite de la note 3 de la page 10.*)
Ainsi il y a une certaine présomption que l'auteur du *Livre de Voyage* l'est également de *Khân al-ikhwân*. Ces deux groupes d'écrits, qui d'ailleurs se ressemblent par le style, peut-on les attribuer, l'un et l'autre, à Nâṣir-i-Khosrow? Question qui appelle évidemment des études approfondies et qui seraient déplacées ici. Une réponse affirmative supposerait qu'au cours de sa carrière de missionnaire ismaëlien, la doctrine de Nâṣir-i-Khosrow, eût subi une évolution très marquée. Dans cette hypothèse on croira — et c'est aussi l'avis d'El-Khachab (éd. du *Khwân*, p. x) — que le *Khwân* est antérieur au *Zâd*, remontant à une époque où Nâṣir-i-Khosrow ne polémique pas encore, comme il le fait dans ce dernier écrit et dans la *Risâla*, contre Abû Bakr al-Râzî. La chapitre du *Zâd* consacré à l'*ibdâ'* serait par conséquent comme une rétractation des conceptions consignées dans les traités plus anciens de Nâṣir-i-Khosrow et que celui-ci ne veut plus avouer. A noter que *Roshnâ'i-Nâmeh*, un poème philosophique attribué à Nâṣir-i-Khosrow, rapporte qu'un groupe (*gurûhî*) qualifie l'Intellect de Première Cause (éd. Ethé, *Z. D. M. G.*, 34, p. 432); opinion que l'auteur ne semble pas désapprouver — elle est celle du *Zâd*. Reste le *Wajh-i-dîn*, traité également attribué à Nâṣir-i-Khosrow, et dès 1092, par Abu'l-Ma'âlî, auteur du *Bayân al-'adyân* (El-Khachab, *Nâṣir È Khosraw*, p. 4 et 139-140) mais qui n'est cité dans aucun des autres écrits qu'on suppose être l'œuvre du propagandiste ismaëlien, ni ne les cite. La conception de l'*ibdâ'* et de l'*amr* qui y est ébauchée ne paraît concorder tout à fait ni avec les formules du *Zâd* ni avec celles du *Khwân*. Il est vrai que c'est en conformité avec ce dernier traité que l'*ibdâ'* est considéré dans le *Wajh-i-dîn* (éd. T. Irani, Berlin 1343 de l'hégire, p. 99-100) comme la cause de l'Intellect. Parce qu'il ne peut pas être conçu certains docteurs (*ḥukamâ'*) le qualifieraient, comme le fait le *Khwân* (voir *supra*), de non-être (*nîst*). Il est d'autre part l'unité (*'aḥadiyya*). Contrairement à la doctrine du *Khwân*, le *Wajh-i-dîn* ne semble pas l'identifier avec l'*amr*. Les passages (p. 26-27) où dans cet ouvrage il est question de cette dernière entité sont, il faut l'avouer, assez obscurs. Il en ressort, toutefois, que l'*amr* est la première chose qui soit venue à l'existence. A ce qu'il semble il fait un avec le savoir (*'ilm*, p. 27, l. 10-12, cf. p. 26, l. 20-21), qui, lui, est de la substance de l'Intellect (p. 26 l. 14).

Ces opinions s'écartent de celles exposées dans le *Khwân*. Cependant il faut tenir compte du fait observé par El-Khachab (*Nâṣir È Hosraw*, p. 291) que le *Wajh-i-dîn* est calqué sur un traité ismaëlien arabe, *K. al-fatarât wa'l-qirânât*, et qu'en partie il en est la traduction. Il se peut, par conséquent, que l'ouvrage persan ne reflète pas sur tous les points l'opinion personnelle de son auteur. — Notons cependant que l'attribution traditionnelle du *k. al-fatarât* à Ja'far b. Manṣûr al-Yaman, un des premiers docteurs ismaëliens, a été mis en question par P. Kraus (*R.E.I.*, 1932, p. 486) qui signale dans cet écrit une mention de l'imâm secret Al-Ṭayyib postérieur à Nâṣir-i-Khosraw. Il y a eu peut-être un remaniement du fonds primitif de l'ouvrage.

Une troisième opinion, celle de Kirmânî. Il considère l'acte créateur comme un des dix attributs [1] de l'Intellect ; ou comme identique à celui-ci. C'est là la signification d'une formule qui revient constamment dans le *Râḥat al-ʿaql* [2] : « L'Acte Créateur qui est le Premier Créé », *al-mubdaʿ al-ʾawwal,* terme ismaëlien, figurant aussi dans le *Bustân* [3], et qui désigne le Premier Intellect.

Créé qui est souvent confondu avec son créateur par les gens du commun qui croient qu'un être d'essence spirituelle, comme l'est l'Intellect, ne peut être que Dieu [4] ; aussi par des penseurs imbus de science grecque.

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[1] En voici la liste complète : La vie (*ḥayât*) qui est au centre de l'Intellect, c'est là qu'elle est située dans le diagramme représentant ces dix attributs ; la première vraie existence (*wujûd*) ; l'unité (*waḥda*) ; l'achèvement (*al-tamâm al-tâmm*) ; la perfection (*al-kamâl*) ; l'éternel (*al-ʾazalî*) ; la compréhension (*iḥâṭa*) ; la science (*ʿilm*) ; la puissance (*qudra*) ; le premier vrai *ʾibdâʿ* (*Râḥat al-ʿaql,* fol. 81). L'intellect fait aussi un avec l'*azal* (*ibidem*) et avec le Verbe (*kalima,* fol. 79).

[2] Fol. 77 *a*, 84 *a* et *passim*. Cf. *infra*.

[3] Voir p. 3, l. 17, p. 5, l. 21.

[4] *Zâd*. On ne peut pas appréhender le Premier Principe, et c'est une marque de science que de connaître cette impossibilité. Voilà le sens du dicton : *al-ʿajzʿan dark al-ʾidrâk ʾidrâk* qu'on rencontre dans la littérature ismaëlienne (voir Hamdani, *Islamic Culture,* 1937, p. 213, n. 1). Il figure également chez des penseurs arabes qui n'adhèrent pas à cette secte, ainsi que chez Maïmonide, voir Goldziher éd. pseudo-Baḥyâ, *Kitâb maʾâni al-nafs,* p. 12-13 des notes, et les études de D. Kaufmann qui y sont mentionnées. Aux citations recueillies par ces deux savants, on peut ajouter les deux suivantes, dont l'une se trouve chez Ghazâlî, *K. ʾiljâm al-ʿawâmm* (en marge, d'Al-Jîlî, *Al-ʾinsân al-kâmil,* Le Caire 1328 de l'hégire, p. 12) et l'autre chez Ibn Sabʿîn, *ʾAjwiba Yamaniyya ʿan ʾasʾila ṣaqaliyya* (*apud* Massignon, *Recueil,* p. 128).

La première : *Al-ʿajz ʿan dhalika al-ʾidrak ʾidrâk,* sentence attribuée à Abû Bakr (*sayyid al-ṣiddiqîn*). C'est à lui, également que cet apophtegme est prêté par Ibn Sabʿîn. La variante citée par celui-ci est celle que nous avons dit figurer chez les auteurs ismaëliens. Ce dicton pourrait être d'origine chrétienne ; il semble paraphraser ce mot de saint Grégoire de Nysse (*De vita Moysis, P. G.,* XLIV, p. 377) : « ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ ἡ ἀληθὴς ἔστιν εἴδησις τοῦ ζητουμένου, τὸ ἐν τούτῳ τὸ ἰδεῖν ἐν τῷ μὴ ἰδεῖν. » Sentence qui a également trait à l'incapacité humaine de connaître Dieu. Ajoutons que l'une des variantes du dicton arabe parle également de vision, ou du moins suggère cette notion : *wa-ghâyat al-sabîl ʾilayhâ al-istibṣâr bi-ʾanna lâ sabîl ʾilayhâ* (*Kitâb fuṣûṣ al-ḥikam,* attribué à al-Fârâbî, éd. Dieterici, p. 77, 3 ; cf. Goldziher, *loc. cit.*).

C'est pourquoi Nathanaël (p. 24) reproche à Baḥyâ Ibn Paqûda[1] de ne remonter dans sa doctrine de l'unification que jusqu'à la Cause des Causes, c'est-à-dire selon la terminologie ismaëlienne, qui contraste avec la philosophique, jusqu'à l'Intellect. Le fait est que les docteurs des Fâtimides avaient tendance à prêter à cette entité quelques-uns des attributs et des titres les plus essentiels du Dieu des péripatéticiens arabes. Nous venons d'en mentionner un. Un autre, appliqué par Kirmânî à l'Intellect, est celui du Premier Moteur, qui lui-même est immobile[2]. Et comme le Dieu aristotélicien, l'Intellect se pense lui-même, étant à la fois *ʿaql*, *ʿâqil* et *maʿqûl*, opinion explicitée par Kirmânî[3], on la trouve également dans le *Bustân* (p. 59, l. 10).

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[1] *Hidâya ʾilâ farâiḍ al-qulûb*, éd. Yahuda, Leyde 1912, p. 63-65, cf. p. 39.

[2] Fol. 88 et 173 sqq. L'Intellect meut sans être mû, comme le fait l'aimé pour l'amant et la pierre magnétique pour le fer. Cf. Hamdani, *Islamic Culture*, 1937, p. 218, qui cite l'expression *al-maghnaṭîs al-rûḥânî*, employée par des auteurs ismaëliens dans un sens différent, mais qui dérive d'une conception analogue. Et selon Ibn Sabʿîn (Massignon, *Eranos-Jahrbuch* 1937, Zurich, p. 76) Dieu lui-même exerce comme une influence magnétique sur l'âme.

[3] Fol. 90 *b* : « Quant à cet Intellect (*ʿaql*), son ipséité (*dhât*) connaît (*ʿâqila*) sa propre ipséité. Le fait qu'il est intelligible ou connu (*maʿqûl*) est dû à ce que son ipséité est intelligible à lui-même et ne dépend pas de son intelligibilité pour un autre... En lui, celui qui connaît (*ʿâqil*) est celui-même qui est connu »... et vice versa. Cf. *Khwân*, p. 28. Notons qu'une thèse répandue chez les chrétiens orientaux qualifie Dieu le Père de *ʿaql* ; le Fils de *ʿâqil* ; le Saint Esprit de *maʿqûl*. Trois qui ne font qu'Un. Ainsi le nestorien ʿAbdishû (*khuṭba fi'l-tathlîth wa'l-tawḥîd wa'l-ḥulûl wa'l-ittiḥâd*, voir P. L. Cheikho, *Vingt traités théologiques*, p. 121).

S'élever plus haut que lui-même, l'Intellect en est incapable d'après Kirmânî, *Râḥat al-ʿaql*, fol. 84 *a* : « Nonobstant sa perfection achevée, le Premier Créé — qui est l'acte créateur parfait — n'appréhende point par sa science Celui dont il tire son existence — los soit à Lui — ne le connaît (*yaʿqiluhu*) pas et, malgré ses efforts, ne parvient en cette matière à rien de juste ; ne pouvant s'élever jusqu'à aucune connaissance de cela. Sauf qu'étant lui-même de par sa noblesse et sa perfection, la fin des fins de toutes les choses, il Le figure d'après sa propre ipséité et Le trouve en elle. Et il s'en retourne tristement (ou fatigué : *ḥâsiran*) sachant que cela ne lui est pas donné, semblable à celui d'entre nous qui voudrait saisir l'eau qu'il a dans la main. Ce n'est que ses propres doigts qu'il parviendrait à saisir en les resserrant contre la paume... et non pas l'eau. »

Joie de l'Intellect contemplant sa propre essence. C'est elle qui selon Kirmânî [1] et Nathanaël [2] déclanche le processus d'émanations, auquel les Ismaëliens appliquent le terme *inbi'âth*, connu également de Nathanaël (p. 2, l. 16-17) [3]. Quel être fut le premier à émaner de l'Intellect? Question en litige. Le *Bustân* rapporte deux thèses qui s'affrontent, ismaëliennes toutes les deux, nous les retrouvons dans les textes de la secte.

L'une, la plus répandue parmi les docteurs des Fâtimides [4], celle aussi que Nathanaël semble professer lui-même (cf. p. 3, l. 17-18; p. 25, l. 25-26; p. 26, l. 8) soutient que c'est l'Ame Universelle qui fut la première émanation [5]. L'autre thèse, qui fut celle d'un ou de plusieurs savants

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[1] *Râḥat al-'aql*, fol. 94 *a* sq.

[2] Voir p. 2, l. 11 sqq.

[3] Et aussi des falâsifa, d'Avicenne par exemple, qui l'emploie dans la Métaphysique de *Kitâb al-shifâ'*, vol. II, p. 615 de la lithographie de Téhéran. Il est vrai que dans ce passage le terme est appliqué à l'émanation des êtres procédant du Premier; une hérésie du point de vue des Ismaëliens, selon lesquels le mot ne peut désigner qu'une émanation issue de l'Intellect ou d'une des entités inférieures à celui-ci. C'est là une des implications de la définition suivante qui figure dans *Râḥat al-'aql*, fol. 94 *a* : « L'*inbi'âth* est une certaine affection qui n'est pas selon la première intention (*al-qaṣd al-'awwal*). C'est un être qui procède d'une ipséité réunissant deux choses (*'amrayn*; le sens du mot est tout à fait indéterminé); appréhendant par l'une de celles-ci et appréhendée par l'autre. Cette ipséité irradie lorsqu'elle se contemple et qu'elle en prend joie. Ensuite de quoi, il vient à l'existence (*yaḥṣulu*), de ces deux choses et hors d'elles, une chose qui subsiste (*yathbutu*) de par la subsistance de l'ipséité ». — D'après le nestorien 'Abdîshû (voir P. L. Cheikho, *Vingt traités théologiques*, p. 121) l'*inbi'âth* est un attribut du Saint Esprit, signifiant la procession de celui-ci de Dieu le Père.

[4] C'est la doctrine affirmée ou impliquée dans les écrits attribués à Nâṣir-i-Khosrow, voir *Zâd*, p. 196, *Khwân* (cf. p. 101, 171 et *passim*), *Wajh-i-dîn* (p. 75), *Roshnâ'i-nâmeh* (*Z. D. M. G.*, 34, p. 433); cf. Hamdani, *Islamic Culture*, 1937, p. 214.

[5] Selon le *Bustân* (p. 3, 1, 19), le Jardin d'Eden figure dans la Torah l'Ame universelle, tandis que d'après *Wajh-i-dîn* (p. 33) le paradis (*bihisht*, c'est la traduction de *janna*) signifie l'Intellect. Une troisème interprétation se trouve dans un texte ismaëlien traitant de la chute d'Adam, et qui a été édité et étudié par B. Lewis, *B. S. O. S.*, X (1937-1939), p. 691-707. Dans cet extrait tiré du *K. al-'iḍâh wa'l-bayân*, composé par le *dâ'î* yéménite Ḥusayn b. Alî (m. 1268), le paradis est identifié au monde de l'*ibdâ'* où furent créés tous les Intellects (p. 694

(*Bustân*, p. 2, l. 17 : *min al-ʿulamâʾ man zaʿama*), pose la procession de neuf intellects séparés, hiérarchisés, et qui seraient issus du premier Intellect [1]. Donc dix intellects en tout. C'est là l'opinion de Kirmânî [2]; à vrai dire, aussi celle des falâsifa [3]. Mais ce n'est pas chez eux, du moins

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et 702). Il y en a dix en tout, comme le note l'éditeur (p. 695, n. 1) ; donc tradition de Kirmânî. Une entité qui joue un grand rôle dans ce texte figure dans le manuscrit sous la forme العقل العاش. M. Lewis traduit (p. 694 et 697) «living Intelligence». C'est qu'apparemment il voudrait lire *al-ʿaql al-ʿâʾish* ; appellation qui, autant que je sais, ne se retrouve nulle part dans les textes ismaëliens. Or une rectification très légère de la graphie du manuscrit donne la leçon العقل العاشر. A ce qu'il me semble il n'y a pas de doute que c'est en effet le dixième Intellect qui est nommé dans cet extrait. Il y est dit (p. 702) que l'entité en question avait voulu s'égaler au premier *inbiʿath*, c'est-à-dire, au deuxième Intellect, qui est apparemment son supérieur immédiat. Il s'agit donc du troisième Intellect (Lewis, p. 697, n. 3), qui à cause de son outrecuidance a été déchu de son rang ; en conséquence, les sept Intellects qui lui furent inférieurs prennent actuellement le pas sur lui. C'est la doctrine même de la chute du dixième Intellect, telle qu'on la trouve dans les ouvrages ismaëliens mis à contribution par Hamdani (*Islamic Culture*, 1937, p. 214-215). Et ces écrits enseignent également (cf. p. 219), comme le fait le texte édité par M. Lewis (p. 695, 702-703), que, dans la plénitude du temps, l'Intellect châtié recouvrera le rang qui fut le sien.

[1] En exposant cette thèse (p. 2, l. 18-19), et aussi une fois du moins dans un autre contexte (p. 3, l. 19), Nathanaël désigne le Premier Intellect par l'expression *al-ʾibdâʿ al-ʾawwal* ; identifiant ainsi, à l'instar de Kirmânî, le premier acte créateur avec le premier être créé (*al-mubdʿa al-ʾawwal* ; cf. *supra*).

[2] Voir P. Kraus, *Islam*, 1931, p. 259-261 ; Hamdani, *Islamic Culture*, 1937, p. 214.

[3] C'est sous leur influence, ainsi que le suppose Hamdani (*ibidem*), que Kirmânî semble avoir élaboré cette théorie. Et, comme les falâsifa, il en fait un des fondements de sa cosmologie ; chacun des Intellects étant chargé tout particulièrement d'une des sphères célestes. La seule exception : le dixième et dernier Intellect, dont l'action ne se fait sentir que dans la sphère sublunaire (*Râḥat al-ʿaql*, fol. 138 *a*). C'est le rôle assigné au dixième Intellect par Maïmonide ; doctrine que Diesendruck considère comme une innovation révolutionnaire due au philosophe juif (*Moznaïm*, volume commémoratif publié à l'occasion du huitième anniversaire de la naissance de Maïmonide (Tel Aviv, 5695 de l'ère juive, p. 361). Il y a là une erreur de fait. En effet la théorie adoptée par Maïmonide lui est antérieure : professée non seulement par l'ismaëlien Kirmânî, mais aussi par le philosophe Baṭalyûsî (*kitâb al-ḥadâʾiq*, éd. M. Asin Palacios, *Andalus* 1940, p. 65), et mentionnée par Abu'l-Barakât

à ma connaissance, mais bien chez le propagandiste ismaëlien, qu'on trouve, invoquée pour étayer cette doctrine, la sentence suivante, extraite des *Pirqê Abôth* [1] : בעשרת מאמרות נברא העולם ועל עשר הדברות יעמוד העולם

Or Nathanaël rapporte que les savants qui croyaient aux dix intellects se prévalaient de cet apophtegme.

Bien d'autres doctrines cosmogoniques et cosmologiques du *Bustân* présentent des analogies avec l'enseignement ismaëlien [2]. Nous ne nous y arrêterons pas. Car contrairement à celles qui viennent d'être exposées, elles ont pu être puisées non pas dans les textes réservés en principe aux membres de la secte, mais dans les *Rasâ'il Ikhwân al-Ṣafâ'* [3] ; encyclopédie

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al-Baghdâdi (*k. al-muʿtabar*, éd. Serefeddin, Hyderabad 1358 de l'hégire, III, p. 151). — Notons qu'Ibn Fâḍl, qarmaṭe du Yémen, assignait au ciel à chacun des sept dieux qu'il supposait. Donc sept cieux en tout (voir C. VAN ARENDONK, *De opkomst van het zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen*, Leyde 1919, p. 305). C'est la cosmologie de l'islam primitif.

[1] V, 1 ; voir KRAUS, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

[2] Pour désigner la correspondance existant entre les trois mondes : le subtil (*laṭîf*), qui est celui de l'Intellect, de l'Ame Universelle et d'autres entités inférieures, le léger (*khafîf*) comprenant les astres et les sphères célestes, et le grossier (*kathîf*), Nathanael se sert du terme *tawâzana* (s'équilibrer ; ainsi p. 3, l. 24 ; *taqâbalat wa-tawâzanat*). Il semble qu'il y a là influence du vocabulaire ismaëlien. En effet c'est surtout les auteurs de la secte qui prêtent à ce verbe et à d'autres dérivés de la même racine une signification proche de celle que nous venons de dire. C'est un des maîtres-mots du *Râḥat al-ʿaql* de Kirmâni (*passim ;* cf. P. KRAUS, *Jâbir ibn Ḥayyân*, II, Le Caire 1942, p. 313 sqq. et notamment p. 313, n. 11), et il est probable que le titre d'un traité d'Abû Yaʿqûb al-Sijzî, savoir *Kitâb al-mawâzîn* (IVANOW, *Guide*, p. 34), fait allusion à la doctrine des correspondances. C'est le sujet de l'écrit d'Ibn al-ʿArabî intitulé *Kitâb al-muwâzana* (BROCKELMANN, *G. A. L.*, I, p. 444). Il semble donc que sur ce point de vocabulaire l'usage du ṣûfî espagnol concorde avec l'ismaëlien.

[3] Nathanaël n'adopte pas les idées astronomiques des *Ikhwân al-Ṣafâ'*. En effet, il croit (*Bustân*, p. 51) que les planètes ont un mouvement qui leur est propre et qui va de l'occident à l'orient, mais sont entraînées dans la direction contraire par le mouvement beaucoup plus rapide de la sphère des signes du zodiaque ; elles seraient comparables à des fourmis se déplaçant sur une meule dans un sens contraire à la révolution de celle-ci (image qu'on retrouve chez les *Ikhwân al-Ṣafâ'*, Le Caire 1928, II, p. 32, dans leur exposé de cette opinion qui n'est pas la leur). C'est là une théorie qui remonte au *Timée* de Platon ; courante parmi les falâsifa

ismaëlisante, que, Levine l'a montré [1], Nathanaël démarque à maintes reprises ; souvent citée d'ailleurs par les docteurs des Fatimides à partir du XII[e] siècle [2]. Toutefois ces considérations ne s'appliquent pas à un passage figurant aux pages 17-18 de l'édition du *Bustân,* et manifestement inspiré par des écrits ismaëliens qui ne dissimulaient aucunement leur caractère sectaire.

Il s'agit — sujet insolite pour un traité de théologie judaïque — de la véritable signification du verset coranique qui forme la première partie de la *shahâda : lâ'ilâh 'illâ'llâh.* Et c'est la philosophie des nombres qui en fournit la clef. En effet, cette formule se compose en graphie arabe de 12 lettres et de 7 groupes détachés de caractères. Allusion manifeste pour ceux qui savent aux 7 planètes et aux 12 signes du zodiaque — auxquels correspondent d'ailleurs, dans le macrocosme et le microcosme, d'autres séries septénaires et duodécénaires [3]. C'est là une des significations oc-

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(Voir Ibn Ṭufayl, *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓân,* éd. L. Gauthier, Beyrouth 1936, p. 71 du texte arabe) ; professée aussi par les théologiens ismaëliens, ainsi par Kirmânî, *Râḥat al-ʿaql,* fol. 178 *a* sqq.).

Les *Ikhwân al-Ṣafâ'* en proposent une autre (II, p. 29), selon laquelle chaque sphère céleste n'a qu'un seul mouvement, d'orient en occident, communiqué directement par la sphère supérieure contiguë, et, en dernier lieu, par la sphère circonférente (*muḥît*), qui est le premier moteur céleste. Plus les sphères inférieures sont éloignées de celui-ci, plus leur mouvement est lent. Opinion qui a probablement des origines antiques (Duhem, *Le système du monde,* II, p. 156 sqq.), et qui fut développée par Bitrûjî (cf. Gauthier, *J. A.,* 1909, p. 483 sqq.). Elle est mentionnée dans le *Kitâb al-baḥth* de Jâbir (P. Kraus, *Jabir Ibn Ḥayyân,* I, textes choisis, Paris 1935, p. 514-515) ; c'est semble-t-il, le texte arabe le plus ancien, parmi ceux qui nous sont connus, qui y fasse allusion.

[1] *Bustân,* Introduction, p. XIII et *passim.*

[2] Voir Hamdani, *Islam,* 1932, p. 292. Les ismaëliens croient que la clef des *R. Ikhwân al-Ṣafâ'* est fournie par la *Risâla al-jâmi'a* (voir Hamdani, *ibid.,* p. 284 sqq.), la dernière de toutes et d'un enseignement nettement ismaëlien ; inédite encore, et qui m'est actuellement inaccessible. A-t-elle influé sur le *Bustân?* Question à reprendre.

[3] Le *Kalâm-i-pîr* (éd. W. Ivanow, Bombay 1935, p. 102) relève également les différents nombres qu'on obtient en décomposant la formule du *tawḥîd* en ces éléments constitutifs (mots, groupes graphiques de caractères, ou lettres individuelles). Ce traité persan, qui fait partie de la littérature religieuse des ismaëliens

îles (*jazâ'ir*). Ces grades de la hiérarchie ismaëlienne sont mis en cause dans le *Wajh-i-dîn*, p. 109, lorsqu'il s'agit de rendre compte du fait que l'expression coranique *bismi'llâh al-raḥmân al-raḥîm* se compose de dix-neuf caractères ; peut-être aussi lors de l'interprétation du verset cité dans le *Bustân*, mais le texte qui le concerne n'est pas tout à fait clair [1]. Quoi qu'il en soit, il semble certain que l'essai d'exégèse coranique rapporté dans le *Bustân* est de provenance ismaëlienne. Ainsi un argument de plus tendant à prouver que Nathanaël avait une connaissance approfondie des théories élaborées par les théologiens des Fâtimides ; les concordances doctrinales signalées plus haut suffiraient à le démontrer [2]. Elles mènent loin.

Il semble en effet que Nathanaël a adopté tel quel l'enseignement de ces docteurs sur la déité et sur les premières émanations ; pour ce qui concerne ce domaine, l'influence d'autres philosophes juifs ou arabes, et même des *Rasâ'il Ikhwân al-Ṣafâ'* (avec l'exception possible de la *Risâla*

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[1] Les *dix-neuf* du verset coranique signifient d'après *Wajh-i-dîn* la série des 7 imâms, plus les 12 hujjas ; mais, peut-être, en même temps les 7 *nuṭaqâ'* et leurs *hujjas*, dont il est également question dans ce passage. Les ismaëliens comptent le plus souvent 6 *nuṭaqâ'*. Adam, Noé, Abraham, Moïse, Jésus, Muhammed, le septième est, sans doute, le *qâ'im*. Ce sont là les 7 législateurs (*ṣâḥib-i-aḥkâm* = *nâṭiq*) énumérés dans *Kalâm-i-pîr* (p. 102 du texte persan, p. 98 du texte anglais). Selon le *Khwân* (p. 72-73), les *dix-neuf* dont parle le Coran se composent de 6 *nuṭaqâ'*, 6 *asâs* (qui sont les premiers successeurs des *nuṭaqâ'*), 6 imams et du *qâ'im* (*khudâwand-i-qiyâmat*). Ils ont charge d'éclairer les habitants de l'enfer c'est-à-dire les ignorants qui s'en tiennent au sens apparent de la loi.

[2] Voir aussi *Bustân*, p. 7. Nathanaël y rapporte les paroles d'un des justes (*ṣâliḥîn*), qui s'adresse à Dieu, tout en sachant qu'Il transcende tout langage et pensée humains. Voici la fin de la citation (l. 11) : *Wa'l-ṭariq bayna'l-nafy wa'l-'ithbât mukhawwif*. « Le chemin entre la négation et l'affirmation est effrayant. » Phrase qui peut être inspirée par la théologie des Ismaëliens. En effet, c'est par *nafy* et *'ithbât* que selon la doctrine de la secte l'homme peut témoigner de la vérité de Dieu, voir l'interprétation de la *shahâda* proposée dans *Wajh-i-dîn*, p. 68 sqq. ; cf. *Khwân*, p. 138 ; Shahrastani, *Kitâb al-milal wa'l-niḥal*, p. 147. — Le titre même de *Bustân al-'uqûl* choisi par Nathanaël témoigne peut-être d'une certaine influence de l'usage ismaëlien. C'est celui — nous l'avons vu (cf. *supra*) — d'un traité composé par un docteur de la secte, Nâṣir-i-Khosrow. Il est vrai qu'il n'a rien d'insolite.

al-jâmi'a, franchement ismaëlienne)[1] paraît négligeable ou inexistante. Ainsi le *Bustân* peut passer, si l'on ne considère que ses fondements théoriques, pour un traité ismaëlien inspiré de la théologie des Fâtimides, comme d'autres écrits judaïques le furent du *kalâm* ou de la *falsafa* musulmans.

Un traité ismaëlien d'une espèce particulière évidemment, dont est absente toute mention des imâms, et qui ne nomme qu'en passant certains grades de la hiérarchie fâtimide ; écrit par un Juif, apparemment fidèle à sa communauté. On peut toutefois douter que Nathanaël ait gardée intacte la croyance au caractère unique de sa religion. Il est vrai que, pour prouver que la loi mosaïque n'est pas abrogée, il multiplie les citations coraniques (p. 66 et suiv.). Au moins l'une d'elles (p. 66, l. 24-25) contient — et c'est Nathanaël lui-même qui en fait la remarque — une affirmation selon laquelle Muḥammad serait un prophète envoyé aux Arabes, non pas à ceux qui possédaient déjà des lois divines. Cette doctrine, qui veut être coranique, semble bien être celle adoptée par Nathanaël. En effet, celui-ci ne nie pas la validité des législations autres que la mosaïque. Bien au contraire : chaque peuple (*qawm*) doit obéissance à la loi qui lui est propre, instituée par Dieu à son intention, et qui ne concorde pas tout à fait avec celles des autres nations ; diversité qui est l'effet de la sagesse divine, qui vise au bien des créatures, et varie les commandements et les interdictions, comme un bon médecin varie les traitements selon les cas particuliers (p. 67-68). Ainsi, à chaque peuple Dieu envoie un prophète, qui en parle la langue (p. 69). Un verset coranique à l'appui de cette dernière assertion, qui appelle une conclusion : la mission de Muḥammad ne pouvait concerner les Juifs (p. 69). Ceux-ci, tenus d'observer la loi dans laquelle ils sont nés (ou élevés : *nashu'nâ*, p. 68, l. 11), ne doivent pas témoigner d'antagonisme à ceux qui professent d'autres religions et qui ne relèvent pas de leur jugement, mais de celui de Dieu. Car Nathanaël blâme l'intolérance religieuse, *al-ta'aṣṣub fi'l-madhâhib wa'l-mujâdala 'alayhâ* (p. 69, l. 20-21) tout comme certains savants (*'ulamâ'*), dont il ne cite pas les noms, les *Ikhwân al-Ṣafâ'* peut-être, qui dans un passage au moins, en parlant des *mutakallimûn*, appelés

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[1] Cf. *supra*.

par eux *al-ṭâ'ifa al-mujâdila,* manifestent de la réprobation pour leur *ta'aṣṣub* [1]. Le passage se trouve dans la *Risâla fi'l-'arâ' wa-l-diyânât* dont l'auteur du *Bustân* semble s'être inspiré également en traitant des divergences des religions ; comme Nathanaël, les *Ikhwân al-Ṣafâ'* [2], considèrent qu'elles s'expliquent par les différences nationales — par celles aussi des époques historiques, chaque législation ayant pour but le bien d'une communauté ou d'une génération particulière. Doctrine illustrée par un exemple cité, nous l'avons vu, dans le *Bustân,* celui du médecin qui varie ses prescriptions.

Était-elle influente à l'époque de Nathanaël parmi les Juifs soumis à la domination ismaëlienne? Nous l'ignorons, mais il est certain qu'en enseignant le caractère contingent des divergences religieuses elle était faite pour accroître le désarroi, attesté par l'*Iggereth Téman* [3], que manifestèrent les Juifs yéménites devant la persécution, et pour faciliter la décision finale à ceux d'entre eux — et il y en avait — qui étaient à la recherche des arguments susceptibles de justifier une conversion sincère à l'Islam. En proclamant dans l'Épître citée l'unicité de la loi mosaïque, qui est différente des autres comme un homme vivant l'est d'une statue [4], Maïmonide condamne — sans apparemment les viser — les opinions de Nathanaël.

Celui-ci vivait-il dans le Yémen, où pendant longtemps ont régné des dynasties ismaëliennes, la ṣulayḥide et la zuray'ide [5], ou plutôt en Égypte, dans l'Égypte des califes fâtimides? L'analyse doctrinale du *Bustân* que nous avons tentée ne permet pas de trancher entre ces deux hypothèses possibles, dont l'une semble devoir être juste. Car il semble tout à fait improbable, qu'habitant un pays où la propagande fâtimide était proscrite, Nathanaël aurait pu acquérir ses connaissances en théologie

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(1) Voir III, p. 407 sqq, cf. Goldziher, éd. de *Kitâb ma'âni al-nafs,* p. 15 des notes.

(2) IV, p. 25 de l'édition égyptienne.

(3) *Qôbheṣ teshûbhôt ha-Rambam,* Leipzig 1859, II, fol. 1 *b.*

(4) Voir fol. 2 *a.*

(5) Voir Najd al-Dîn 'Umâra al-Ḥakamî, apud H. C. Kay, *Yemen,* London 1892, p. 14 sqq., 17 sqq., 46 sqq., 56 et 100 et sqq. du texte arabe ; Hamdani, *J.R.C.A.S,* 1931, p. 505 sqq. ; *B. S. O. S.,* 1933-1935, p. 306 sqq. ; Lofgren, *Arabische Texte zur Kenntnis der Stadt Aden im Mittelalter,* Upsala 1936, p. 40, 46-47.

ismaëlienne si surprenantes chez un Juif. Elles deviennent explicables si l'on suppose qu'il a vécu sous un gouvernement ismaëlien, par conséquent dans une ambiance où la discipline de l'arcane pouvait se relâcher sans risque. Or il paraît certain que Nathanaël a eu accès aux livres ésotériques de la secte.

Considérations qui suggèrent également un terminus *ad quem,* très approximatif. En effet, en 1172, peu après la date où, selon Lewine, le *Bustân* a été composé, Saladin mit un terme à la domination, même nominale, des califes fâtimides en Égypte ; et son frère Tûrânshâh se rendit maître du Yémen en 1173-1175. Or la théologie de Nathanaël a pu être élaborée avant cette période, où à l'époque même de l'avènement des Ayyûbides et de leurs premières conquêtes. Il est peu probable que le judaïsme ismaëlisant [1] attesté par elle ait pu survivre longtemps aux catastrophes où sombra le pouvoir politique de la secte [2] dont il marque l'ascendant spirituel ; soumise désormais partout à une domination ennemie, repliée sur elle-même, sans rayonnement extérieur.

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[1] Sur les Juifs dans l'empire fâtimide, voir J. Mann, *The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fatimid Caliphs.* Ya'qûb b. Yûsuf b. Killis (m. en 991), Juif converti et vizir du Calife fâtimide al-'Azîz, a écrit un traité de *fiqh* selon le rite particulier aux Ismaëliens (voir Gottheil, *J. A. O. S.,* 1907, p. 222 ; A. A. Fyzee, *J. R. A. S.* 1934, p. 23). Une étude de Samuel Stern traitant de l'attitude de certains écrivains juifs envers les Fâtimides va être publiée prochainement.

[2] J'entends le pouvoir des Ismaëliens de la Mission Ancienne, ceux qui du moins jusqu'à la mort d'al-'Amir bi-llâh furent partisans des califes régnant en Égypte. La puissance des Assassins ne fut définitivement détruite que plus tard, par les Mongols et par Baybars. L'auteur caraïte Jéhuda Hadassi consacre dans *Eshkol hakkofer* (Eupatoria 1836, fol. 41 *a*), œuvre qu'il commença à écrire en 1148, une curieuse notice à ces Ismaëliens schismatiques : En voici le début : « Il y a, en plus, les partisans de la religion d'*al-ḥashish,* née de nos jours, qui inventent une nouvelle doctrine. Ils disent en effet que cet univers (*hâ'ôlâm hazze*) doit être considéré par tous ceux qui le voient comme de l'herbe qui périt (*ḥashish wa-hâṣîr*). Dieu n'a pas cure des faits des hommes et n'y pense pas. Il est vrai qu'il existe dans l'univers un Dieu seul et unique, mais qui n'a cure de rien, qui n'ordonne rien, dont la providence ne pourvoit et ne commande aucunement aux faits des hommes. » Dans la suite de cette notice, il est question d'une doctrine de métempsychose selon laquelle les âmes de ceux qui méconnaissent l'unité de Dieu finiraient, dans leur déchéance, par entrer dans des plantes de toute sorte et s'y purifieraient.

A YEMENITE POET ON EGYPT OF THE XVIth CENTURY

BY

S. D. GOITEIN.

Recent research has shown that the relations between the Jewish communities of Egypt and the Yemen in the Islamic period were considerably closer and more continuous than has been assumed hitherto. Previously, the darkness which hung over the history of the Jews of the Yemen in the Middle Ages was relieved only by Maimonides' famous letter on the false Messiah who appeared in the Yemen at his time[1], and the various references in Maimonides' other writings as well as in the traditions of the Yemenites[2] about their acceptance of Maimonides' authority. Now it appears that at the time when the fatimid rulers of Egypt (969-1171) gained sovereignty over the Yemen and in the period following, the spiritual leadership of the Egyptian Jewish community was freely acknowledged by its Yemenite brethren even *before* the times of Maimonides. Egypt at that time was the cultural centre of the whole Islamic world, and there it was that Jewish scholars from Spain, North Africa, Palestine, Syria, Iraq and Persia freely met. No wonder that the Jews of the Yemen turned to this centre of learning and enlightenment whenever they had

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[1] The letter is addressed to one Ya'aqov b. Nethan'el b. el-*Fayyumi*, which means, of course, a man of Egyptian descent living in the Yemen.

[2] Cf. especially Ya'aqov Saphir's 'Iben Safir', Lyck 1866, p. 53 *a* (new edition of the section on the Yemen by A. Ya'ari, Jerusalem 1945, p. 65, where further references). The fanciful report on the Yemen by Binyamin of Tudela, the famous traveller, cannot be regarded as an historical source.

Egyptian authority. Abraham, Maimonides' son and follower in the office of the Nagid of Egypt, entertained a lively correspondence with the Jews of both the upper Yemen (ad-diyar al-Yamaniya) and Aden, 13 letters to the former and 8 to the latter being included in his *Responsa*, pp. 107-136 and 196-207 respectively [1], while others have not been preserved [2]. Even more significant is the fact, that Abraham's great-grandson, the Nagid Yehoshu'a b. Abraham b. David b. Abraham, who lived in Cairo in the years 1310-1355, was often addressed by Yemenite scholars in religious matters, especially in order to clear up doubts in respect of Maimonides' legal code [3]. This shows that the reception of the code of the Egyptian Nagid in the Yemen was a slow process which extended over a period of about 150 years [4]. However, it was not only with regard to religious instruction that the Yemen looked up to Egypt; we hear of Egyptian Jewish doctors in the service of the Rasuli rulers of the Yemen (1229-1454) [5], and naturally it was Egypt which was either the starting

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[1] Collected and edited by A. H. Freimann and translated from the Arabic original by the present writer, Jerusalem 1937. Two responsa to Aden and Yemen respectively are identical in their topic, but there are clearly two different collections, one addressed to the 'People of Aden' and another to those of 'ad-diyar al-yamaniya'.

[2] Cf. e. g. *ibid.*, p. 134, no. 91, note 2.

[3] Yehoshu'a's Responsa were published by A. H. Freimann, Jerusalem 1940.

[4] One is induced to compare the reception of Malik's Madhhab, which was originally the Islamic rite of the Hidjaz, by the Moslem communities of western North Africa, where—as is well known—it is still practised up to the present day, just as Maimonide's code is with the Jews of Yemen. The difference is that Maimonides had a much more prominent position in the history of Jewish law than Malik had in Islam.

[5] Khazraini-Redhouse, *The Pearlstrings*, I, 106 and 265, cf. E. Brauer, *Die Ethnologie der Jemenitischen Juden*, 1934, p. 33 and 274. Khazradji reports that the Jewish doctor took the liberty of riding on a mule, a privilege denied to non-Muslims by Muhammedan law (which was particularly strictly enforced in the Yemen). A striking parallel is Binyamin of Tudela's report that in Byzantine Constantinople the *Egyptian doctor*, Rabbi Shelomo Ham-misri, was the only Jew allowed to ride on horse-back. Cf. S. N. Adler, *Jewish Travellers*, 1930, p. 41. There were, of course, in the Yemen also Jewish doctors of Yemenite origin, as, e. g., the famous Yihya Zakharia b. Sulaiman, who lived in the xvth century.

point or the centre for all Mediterranean countries of that great trade to India and other Eastern countries which made Aden such an important business centre and at the same time a flourishing Jewish community [1]. The Mamluk domination of Egypt, however, led to a steady decline of that trade—and consequently the direct information concerning the relations between the Jews of the Yemen and the other Jewish communities became scanty. But it would be a fallacy to infer from this that they had altogether ceased. An examination of the considerable number of Hebrew and Hebrew-Arabic manuscripts written in the Yemen during the xiiith-xvith centuries which have found their way into European and American libraries, proves convincingly that the spiritual life of this community was in full conformity with that of other Oriental Jewish communities. Thus it is not surprising to find Jews from Aden coming to and living in Palestine during the xvth century [2]. Things changed again with the conquest of most of the lands of the old Caliphate by the Osmanli Turks : In 1546 they entered even San'a, the capital of the Yemen, and although their possession of that country always remained most incomplete and precarious, it stimulated international travel and trade. Indeed, starting with the second part of the xvith century, more direct information about the relations between the Yemenites and the other Oriental communities is available [3], but the preponderance of Egypt in this relationship was not yet as marked as before. Constantinople, Palestine and Saloniki had likewise become important, while the

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[1] A very detailed and richly documented account of the part played by the Jews in this trade is to be found in E. Straus' invaluable *History of the Jews in Egypt and Syria under the domination of the Mamluks* (in Hebrew), vol. 1, 1944, pp. 193-200. Cf. also David Neustadt's excellent sketch of the *Economic life of the Egyptian Jews in the Middle Ages, Zion*, vol. 2, pp. 222-224.

[2] Cf. Ya'ari's Preface to Iben Safir, p. 7.

[3] Cf. the business letter sent from Aden to Cairo, published by S. Assaf, *Zion*, vol. 4, pp. 232-236 and the additional data given in that article. By the way, the conquest and holding of the Yemen was chiefly the concern of the Pashas of Egypt, cf. *Précis de l'histoire de l'Égypte*, vol. 3, part 1, p. 24 : Dès cette époque le Yemen, devenu province de l'Empire, jouera un rôle assez important dans les préoccupations de l'Égypte.

traffic with India was still lively. Nevertheless, Egypt remained the main gate through which the Yemen was in contact with the outer world and in this capacity we find it in the Book of Maqamat of the Yemenite poet Yihya az-Zahiri, who travelled and wrote in the second part of the xvith century.

Yihya Zakharya [1] b. S'adya b. Ya'aqov az-Zahiri was a gifted writer and a remarkable personality. There is no need to dwell here on his literary work in general [2], but something must be said about his book of 'maqamat', before we can appreciate its references to Egypt and the Jews living there [3].

As the author states himself in the introduction to his work, he

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[1] The very strange identification of the Arabic Yahya (pronounced Yihya in the Yemen) with the Hebrew Zakharia, which has been common in the Yemen since the earliest times to the present day, is explained by Y. Rasabi (himself a promising young scholar of Yemenite origin) as a confusion of the two names which occur together in the seventh verse of Sura 19 (Leshonenu, vol. 13, p. 165, note 1). The confusion obviously has taken place already in Islam, for the famous legend of the never-congealing blood of the murdered prophet Zechariah (L. Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, vol. IV, p. 304), which in the Prot-evangelium of James, 24, was told of Zechariah, the father of John the Baptist (L. Ginzberg, *ib.*, vol. VI, p. 396), is attributed by the Muslims to John (called Yahya) himself.—The nisba az-Zahiri is obviously derived from az-Zahira, a village near Tan'im, east of San'a, cf. Rathjens, *Sud-Arabienreise*, vol. 3, map 3, 3 *c*-4 *c*. The place is inhabited by Jews up to the present day.

[2] In the 45th maqama, which is the last (p. 466 in the ms. used by me, see next note), he mentions the following books : 1. A commentary on difficult Aggada-passages. 2. His Commentary on the Pentateuch called Seda Lad-derekh. 3. 'Anaq, a didactical poem on linguistics. 4. His book of Maqamat. Nos. 2, 3 and 4 are still existent. In addition, many poems of his have been preserved, while another book of philosophical content, obviously lost, is mentioned by Kehati, *Zion* (old series), 3, p. 44.

[3] A testimony for the great popularity of the book is the considerable number of manuscripts extant. H. Schirman, *Bulletin of the Schocken Research Institute*, vol. 3, 1937, p. 188, enumerates *nine* of them. I am using a MS. not mentioned by Schirman, which was put at my disposal by the courtesy of the proprietor, M. Ya'ish Naddaf of Jerusalem, comparing at the same time the MSS. of the Hebrew University Library and the Schocken Institute. Some sections of the book have already appeared in print, cf. the list published by Schirman, *loc. cit.*

composed it after the fashion of the Arabic maqamat of al-Hariri and the Hebrew 'Tahkemoni' of al-Harizi. The maqama, as developed by these poets, is a piece of rhymed prose frequently intersected by verse, which deals with subjects of literary and general character, often highly autobiographical. In it one of the two imaginary heroes of the book recounts a story in which suddenly the second hero appears, usually in order to solve a difficulty or to recite a poem etc. In az-Zahiri's 'Sefer Hammusar', 'Book of Instruction', the two heroes are Mordekhai of Sidon and Avner of Yemen, but, as the author makes it clear in his introduction as well as in the last maqama which is a dirge on himself, each of the two constitute one half of his own self, which means that the facts recorded about both of them apply in reality to the author. Moreover, az-Zahiri, like his master al-Harizi, travelled widely, and like him, and even more than he, alludes to his travels in his book. As a matter of fact, fanciful names and routes are used by him much more rarely than by his master[1]. Nevertheless one must never forget that maqamat are primarily a work of fiction. Therefore every geographical, historical or autobiographical detail given in them has to be carefully examined before it can be admitted as a fact. E. g. the very first maqama of the 'Book of Instruction' as well as the 42nd opens with the words : 'I travelled from No-Amon to Mount Hermon'. No-Amon, throughout the Middle Ages, is the Hebrew name of Alexandria[2], whence we should infer that Zakharia had taken the route from Egypt to Syria. But that, as we shall presently see, was not the case. The rhyme is pure fancy and taken from the 'Tahkemoni', maq. no. 20, part 2, line 5. Many 'autobiographical' stories too are nothing but pure imagination, e. g. the story in the eighth maqama of the author's[3] marriage to a black Jewess in Cochin, India, of whom

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[1] Only a few of these az-Zahiri has taken over, e. g. 'Tebes', al-Harizi maq. 6 and 50, az-Zahiri maq. 34 (with the same rhyme 'Tashbes'); or 'Hadrakh', al-Harizi maq, 18, az-Zahiri maq. 14, which may mean, of course, Damascus, cf. Zech., ch. 9, v. 1. Where the 'Land of the Hittim' was (maq. 31), az-Zahiri certainly did not care to enquire.

[2] No doubt known to our author, cf. al-Harizi's twelfth maqama.

[3] Expressly noted as such in the rhymed 'Contents' which precedes the book.

he got rid by feigning madness [1], or the really moving story—in the sixteenth maqama—of his marriage to the beautiful Hanna in a town of Persia, who bore him twin sons, but died suddenly. On his return to the Yemen he had to leave his little sons with his brother-in-law (who is mentioned by name), but when he saw them again after fourteen years, he was greatly delighted to find the boys reciting poems in honour of the books studied by them. In reality, the whole story is only a frame for the poems on the books mentioned, and the author, as we shall soon prove, was in Persia only once.

In order to get solid ground beneath our feet, we must take recourse to those passages in which the author speaks almost in plain language about his life and his travels. These are found in maq. 25, p. 284, maq. 39, p. 417, and maq. 45, p. 466. From these passages it can be deduced beyond doubt that Zakharia travelled from the Yemen to India (Cochin and Calicut in the present Madras province and states), Persia (Hormuz), Basra, Bagdad, Mosul, Nisibis, Aleppo, Damascus, Safad, Tiberias, Kafr Kana, Nablus, Jerusalem, Hebron, Jaffa and from there by ship to Egypt, from where, through 'Kush' (Upper Egypt) he returned to the Yemen. The motives for his travels were, as he says in maq. 19, p. 211-212, that he had often heard [2] wise men praising those who acquired knowledge by travelling, and particularly—as stressed in maq. 41, p. 431 and 433—his desire to get exact information about the calculations concerning the advent of the Messiah which was then expected almost every day [3]. The date of these travels can be fixed accurately. For in 1562 Zakharia was in Tiberias (maq. 25, p. 284), while he came back to the Yemen about five years before the catastrophe

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[1] A wide-spread, almost international, motif. It is repeated in maq. 25 (p. 295-296) with the difference that there the unhappy bridegroom of an invalid princess frees himself by pretending to be a weaver—a most despised occupation in the Orient. Cf. a similar story e. g. in Bauer, *Das Palaestinische Arabisch*, p. 179.

[2] This seems to show that Yemenites were used to travel abroad in those days.

[3] The year 1575 and, then, 1579 were the dates for which the coming of the Messiah was calculated, maq. 21, p. 237. No wonder therefore that the author was very much depressed when 1579 arrived without anything happening, maq. 24, p. 268.

of the persecutions of the years 1568-1573 befell the Jews of San'a [1], cf. maq. 39, p. 418. So he must have been in Egypt in 1562 or 1563. As we have seen, he arrived there by ship from Jaffa and landed in 'Kaftor', which Biblical name could designate anything Egyptian [2], but must mean here either Damiette or Rosette—preferably the former [3],—because the author proceeded from there by ship on the Nile (called 'Pishon'), and there were obviously no other water ways used for the traffic between the Mediterranean and Cairo than the two arms of the Nile ending at either of these towns [4]. The voyage from the sea to Cairo on a sailing ship took the enormous time of eight days [5], maq. 7, p. 96; this may be explained, however, by the fact recorded in the 'Book of Instruction' that the Nile was infested by pirates and robbers, on account of whom the ship used to set anchor before darkness and did not continue its course until full daylight, maq. 12, p. 121. He arrived

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[1] The date 1568/1569 is given in the introduction, while 1573 is mentioned in maq. 12, p. 156 (in the poem there) as the time of the end of their sufferings. No doubt, these persecutions were connected with the reconquest of the Yemen by Sinan, governor of Egypt, in 1569 and the following years, cf. *Précis de l'Histoire d'Égypte*, 3, 1, p. 25-26. In maq. 2, p. 24, the author complains that the Edomim, by which obviously the very mixed Turkish army is meant, camped in their tents without intervening on behalf of the persecuted. About the other sources concerning these persecutions, cf. the present writer's article in *Kiryath Sepher*, vol. 14, p. 263.

[2] Cf. e.g. the opening of the 47 maqama of al-Harizi, the rhyme 'Kaftor-Hattor' of which is found in az-Zahiri's seventh and twelfth maqama, pp. 96 and 151.

[3] Zakharia was coming from Jaffa. Moreover, Damiette is identified with 'Kaftor' by the traveller Binyamin of Tudela, which no doubt, reflects a local tradition.

[4] Cf. the maps in Prince Omar Toussoun's, *La Géographie de l'Égypte à l'époque arabe*, t. I, 2e partie, pl. II and III.

[5] The author's memory may have failed him. It was during the bitter times of the persecution (1568-1573) when it first occurred to him to compose his 'Book of Instruction' and he worked on it for many years, cf. the dates mentioned above note 1. The latest date found in the book, as far as I can see, is 1580, maq. 26, p. 311 and maq. 41, p. 433. Anyhow it cannot have been concluded much later, for the Sassoon MS. of it (Ohel David, p. 1021-1033), which is not an autograph, was written as early as 1585.

at a place which he calls by the Biblical name of 'Patros', which may be identified with al-Mansura, as with him 'Misraim' is Cairo, 'No-Amon' Alexandria, and 'Kaftor' the Mediterranean port, and there was no other important town on the right arm of the Nile between Damiette and Cairo besides al-Mansura. But it is more plausible to assume that the author refers to Cairo itself, calling it inconsistently once 'Misraim', and another time 'Patros' [1]. The town is described as being full of military of all kind and description, people coming there almost got lost and forgotten, wherefore the town had become an ideal refuge for insolvent debtors. Jews were to be found in every corner riding on donkeys [2], among them were many men of learning and connoisseurs of poetry. Zakharia was particularly pleased to find there commentaries on the Mishna [3], especially on Pirke Avoth, some by Egyptian and some by other scholars [4], and there he got acquainted with Isaac Abarbanel's commentary Nahlat Avoth, which inspired him to a long encomium on the author, maq. 37, p. 399, 400. In general, Cairo alongside with Constantinople and Saloniki, was to the author the most important centre of Jewish learning in the East, outside Palestine, maq. 40, p. 426. There he attended a religious disputation. The Moslems inferred from the fact that Islam had existed already for 977 years [5] and like Christianity embraced mighty kingdoms while the Jews had no state for themselves, that the Jewish religion could not be true. In his reply, the author tries to prove that Christianity, which had preserved iconolatry, and Islam, which was purer, but still retained much dross, were but educational

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[1] The double name of Damascus (Damaesaeq and Ḥadrakh), mentioned above note 19, would be a parallel to that.

[2] In the Yemen, even that was forbidden to non-Muslims.

[3] Not the Talmud, but the Mishna is the main occupation of the students of Jewish tradition in the Yemen. Cf. also maq. 25, p. 285.

[4] 'Some by the rabbis of So'an, and some speaking the language of Ken'aan', a phrase occurring also in maq. 41, p. 431 and found in al-Ḥarizi's Taḥkemoni. (The rhyme already in Yehuda Hallevi's famous ode, Brody, *Anthologia Hebraica* p. 187.)

[5] = 1569/1570. This is, of course, not the date of the author's sojourn in Egypt, but gives the time of the composition of that maqama.

stages for the human race towards the Kingdom of the Messiah, for which Israel was prepared through a long school of suffering (seventh maqama). Zakharia had not much luck with his stay in Egypt, for there reached him the news of trouble coming upon his correligionists in the Yemen; he hesitated whether to stay on, but finally decided to go home (maq. 39, p. 417), not without having concluded profitable dealings on his voyage [1] (maq. 45, p. 466, maq. 8, p. 104). He embarked again on a Nile boat which took him in about twenty days up to 'Kush', obviously Kus in Upper Egypt, from where in three days [2] he reached a Red Sea port, maq. 2, p. 10-11. Whether his bitter words about the haughty and ignorant inhabitants (both Jews and Arabs) of the Land of Merathaim ('double bitterness') beyond the rivers of Misraim—maq. 38, p. 408—refer to Egypt is not sure, but most probable, because in another reference to an Egyptian town (with the Biblical name Tahpankhes, maq. 16, p. 180) the author says that their women were beautiful, their men learned, but 'bare of intelligence', and altogether not according to his taste, for they were too conceited to wish to learn anything from others. However, as a whole it may be said that Egyptian Jewry of the xvith century appeared to the Yemenite traveller-poet as a numerous [3], flourishing and highly esteemed community.

Note : Originally it was intended to give the passages from the 'Book of Instruction' referred to in this article in the Hebrew original. But as the author hopes to be able, as soon as circumstances permit, to edit the whole work, he prefers to refrain from printing the extracts here.

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[1] Zakharia was, as most Yemenite scholars, a silversmith and pursued this occupation even while having his feet enchained in prison, maq. 15, p. 174. But during his travels he was engaged in business, cf. maq. 4, 5 and 29.

[2] The distance is about 150 km., which would require 4-5 days of smooth travelling.

[3] Maq. 7, p. 96.

PALESTINE
AT THE TIME OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM
IN EGYPT

BY

B. MAISLER.

The newly discovered Egyptian and cuneiform material together with the progress made in exploring the civilization of the Middle Bronze Age has, in many respects, reshaped our conception of the history of Palestine and Syria in the first quarter of the second millennium B. C. It appears more and more clearly that the western part of the 'fertile crescent' occupied an almost dominating position in the civilization of the Near East in this period, not only as a meeting-place of peoples and cultures and the bridge between Egypt and Mesopotamia, but also as an influential factor in the evolution of Mesopotamian history since the breakdown of the kingdom of Sumer and Akkad (IIIrd Dynasty of Ur) in the xxth century, and the Egyptian history of the Hyksos period from the middle of the xviiith century B. C.

Of basic importance for our study is above all the clearly apparent fact that, in the third millennium and the beginning of the second millennium B. C., the Semitic population was dominant and even predominant in Syria and Palestine. This can be said with some certainty in respect to those regions which stood in closest contact with Egypt, first and foremost Palestine and Phoenicia. Not only the numerous *Syrian* proper names, but also the many place-names mentioned in the sources of the Middle Kingdom and the few names mentioned in the sources of the Old Kingdom, can almost without exception be shown to derive from

West Semitic origins. A similar state of affairs appears in the cuneiform documents from Mesopotamia since the time of Sargon of Akkad, which concern the *Westland* (*Amurru*) and the Accadian texts from various sites of Syria dating from the first third of the second millennium, including the important Mari documents. It becomes more and more evident that the autochthonous and compact population of Syria-Palestine spoke *West Semitic,* though in the northern part of Syria other elements, *i.e.* the first waves of immigrants from Asia Minor, and the Hurrians, appeared at a comparatively early time. The flooding of Syria by non-Semitic peoples which profoundly changed the ethnographical and cultural picture began only in the xvuth century.

The material at our disposal shows, no doubt, that, in the period under discussion, the political structure of Syria and Palestine was made up by state formations of different kinds, *i. e.* by a great number of independent and semi-independent city states or federal formations comprising smaller regions, the inhabitants of which were partly sedentary and partly semi-sedentary or nomad, including border lands of the desert.

Moreover, it becomes more and more obvious that, in the course of the Middle Kingdom, Egypt did not only claim sovereignty over Palestine and Phoenicia, but also practised it during the XIIth Dynasty [1].

Noteworthy, too, are the complicated conditions of colonization in the different regions, *i. e.* the dense settlement of the sea coast and the plains, in the main the valleys of the Orontes and the Jordan, as well as of northern Transjordan, and the progressive occupation of other regions of the Cisjordan hill country and the Transjordan plateau; while the wooded mountains of Western Palestine could be occupied only to a small part. Of decisive importance in the history of colonization were the flourishing cultivation of crops and orchards, the gradual development of cattle-breeding, and, first and foremost, trade by sea, along the coast, and on the highways which led from Egypt or the coast across Palestine and Syria to Mesoptamia and Asia Minor. The fact that in the course of the third and the beginning of the second millennium, the road leading

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[1] Albright, *J.P.O.S.*, 8 (1928), p. 224; *Sellin Festschrift,* p. 1 ff.; *J.P.O.S.*, 15 (1935), p. 221; Wilson, *A.J.S.L.L.*, 1941, p. 225 ff.

along the Transjordan plateau to Damascus, the so-called *King's Way* (דֶּרֶךְ הַמֶּלֶךְ) [1], played an important part (together with the famous *Sea-road*) both in world traffic and the history of colonization is archaeologically established [2] and can also be proved from *Genesis*, 14 [3] and the new Egyptian documents of the Middle Kingdom. At the time of the XIth and XIIth Dynasties the caravans must have frequently used the route from Egypt via Kadesh Barneʿa and the ʿArabah, along the Transjordan highlands to Damascus, and from there via Palmyra to the regions of the Euphrates, which presupposes that the camel played a certain part in world traffic, as caravans of asses which were able to cross extensive deserts can hardly be considered. This seems to have really been the case, for there are several representations of tamed camels in Egypt from the time of the Old Kingdom onwards. The references in the book of *Genesis* (see especially *Gen.*, 24) to the camels used by the patriarchs for long journeys and the caravan trade (*Gen.*, 37, 25) take this fact for granted [4]. This world traffic was to cause the prosperity of oases in the desert normally only suited to provide the nomadic population with water. Such an oasis was Palmyra in the Syrian desert. A document from the time of Šamši-Adad I of Aššur (xviiith century), discovered at Mari implies the existence of a caravan route from *Tirqa* on the Euphrates to *Qaṭana* (*Qaṭna*, the present *el-Mišrifeh*) in Central Syria along the desert. It may be assumed with certainty that this route led via Palmyra [5]. It is, moreover, probable that the main route to the Euphrates valley from the Damascene (the land of *Âpum* of the Egyptian and cuneiform documents), which had relations with Mari, led via Palmyra [6]. In addition to that a document

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[1] This expression, appearing in Nu. 20, 17; 21, 22 is probably an official denotation for the Egyptian *King's Way*, though hardly for that of the New Kingdom (Galling, *Biblisches Reallexikon*, p. 261), but rather of the Middle Kingdom when it was used by royal messengers and caravans in transit to Syria and Mesopotamia.

[2] N. Glueck, *The Other Side of the Jordan*, 1940, p. 15 ss.; *A. A. S. O. R.*, 18/19, p. 91, 265.

[3] Maisler, *Untersuchungen zur alten Geschichte Syriens und Palaestinas*, p. 15 ss.

[4] J. P. Free, *J.N.E.S.*, 3 (1944), p. 187 ss.

[5] Albright, *B.A.S.O.R.*, 78 (1940), p. 25.

[6] Albright, *B.A.S.O.R.*, 83 (1941), p. 34 ss.; Dossin, *Syria*, 20 (1939), p. 109.

from the Assyrian merchant colony of *Kaniš* in Cappadocia (xixth century) denotes a merchant simply as a *Palmyrean* [1]. It is not improbable that already in this period, as well as later at the time of Tiglathpileser I (ca. 1100) [2], Palmyra, as the centre of inter-tribal trade and cattle-breeding, ruled the desert routes between South Syria and Mesopotamia. In the biblical sources the Syrian desert is called *Qedem*, or *the land of Qedem* (אֶרֶץ קֶדֶם ,אֶרֶץ בְּנֵי קֶדֶם). In the book of *Genesis* it denotes a country extending to the region of Harran, the home of the patriarchs (*Gen.*, 29, 1-4), and including the whole of the desert (*Gen.*, 25, 6). That this denotation was similarly understood by the Egyptians of the Middle Kingdom is clearly apparent from the story of Sinuhe, according to which Sinuhe traveled from Byblos to *Qdm* (probably pronounced **Qadmu*) in order to reach Northern Transjordan (see below) which belonged to the land of *Rṭnw*. In the same story (219 ff.) the ruler of the land of *Qdm*, called *M'k'* [3], is mentioned by the side of other rulers of the countries neighbouring on *Rṭnw* [4]. We may ask ourselves whether the residence of this ruler was not Palmyra. As the centre of the nomads of the Syrian desert, who had acquired an important position in the Middle East as cattle-breeders and intermediary agents in world trade, Palmyra must be considered in the first place [5].

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[1] Eisser-Lewy, *M.V.Ae.G.*, 35, 3 (1935), p. 21, n. a. In *Ta-ad-mu-ri-im* (Genetive)—*ibid.*, p. 19, No. 303—Lewy has recognized the nisbe of *Tadmûr*. The spelling of the name corresponds to the Hebrew תַּדְמוֹר, while the Assyrian *Tadmâr* (*KAHI*, II, No. 71, l. 20; No. 63, III, l. 9) represents the Aramaic form.

[2] Dhorme, *R.B.*, 1924, p. 106 ff. In the inscriptions of Thiglatpileser I Palmyra appears as the centre of the part of *Amurru* (Westland) which was inhabited by the nomadic Arameans.

[3] Cf. the name טָעוֹךְ, I. *Sam.*, 27, 2 (= טַעֲנָךְ, I, *Kings*, 2, 39). It is probably the name of a god (fem. *Ma'akhah*, cf. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, p. 158; 219, n. 104).

[4] Gardiner, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe* (1916), p. 155; Alt, *Z. Ae. S.*, 58 (1923), p. 50.

[5] As regards הררי קדם (No. 23,7) and הר הקדם (*Gen.*, 10, 3), they cannot be localized with certainty. As to Nu. 23, 7, Albright (*J.B.L.*, 1944, p. 211, n. 15) assumes that it may be the Canaanite designation of the eastern mountains, the *Antilibanos*. This assumption is hardly plausible, as the Antilibanos is called

As to the oasis of *Kadesh* in the southern part of the South Palestinian district of Negeb, it too, according to biblical references, particularly *Gen.*, 14, 7, seems to have played a certain part as a station for the caravan traffic along the *King's Way*. The lack of material from the Early and Middle Bronze Ages in the oasis of Kadesh—*Wâdî-l-Qudeirât* [1]—can hardly be presented as a counter argument, for there need not have been a permanent settlement. On the other hand, there is always the possibility that Bronze Age material is buried beneath that of the Iron Age in Tell el-Qudeirât and in the other Tell above Wâdî-l-Qudeirât. Besides Kadesh, which is sure to have been an important centre of the wandering tribes and a watering station of the shepherds in the South Palestinian steppe, other oases are also mentioned which, already at the time of the patriarchs, played a part in the economic and political life of the nomads, e. g. *Bered* (*Gen.*, 16, 4) and *Be'er Laḥai Ro'i* (*Gen.*, 16, 14; 24, 62; 25, 11). These places were not mentioned in the Egyptian sources of the Middle Kingdom, neither were the regional names of *Negeb* or *Pa'rân* or the names of the nomadic peoples known from the book of *Genesis*. However, the name of one people known to us from the Bible does seem to appear in the Egyptian sources. Albright [2] already has drawn our attention to the ethnic name of *Kwšw* (*Kâšu*) in the new *execration texts*, associating it with Kûšân (כּוּשָׁן), which appears as an archaic denotation of Midian in Hab. 3, 7. Two chieftains of the *tribes of Kwšw* (*E 50-51*, see below) are mentioned in this source, which probably denotes two different districts. Albright places them in Southern Transjordan. They may, however, be equally placed in the South Palestinian steppe, as Midianites are found not only in the region of Moab, but also in Edom and the surroundings of the desert of Pa'rân and the mountains of Sinai (Ġebel Ḥilâl?; *Ex.*, 2, 15; 3, 1; I. *Kings*, 11, 18). That the Midianites used the *King's Way* in their function of intermediaries in international

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Šaryânu, Hebrew שִׂרְיֹן, the Sidonian name of the Hermon, also in the new *execration texts*, and Bile'am comes from Petor on the Euphrates.

[1] Glueck, *A.A.S.O.R.*, 15 (1935), p. 118 ff.

[2] *B.A.S.O.R.*, 83, p. 34, n. 8; *Archaeology and Religion of Israel* p. 205, n. 49; *J.B.L.*, 1944, p. 220, n. 89.

trade (*Gen.*, 37, 28 ; 36) may be assumed with certainty. This in itself explains their expansion along this road—from Moab to Kadesh—as well as the use of camels (*Gen.*, 37 ; *Jud.*, 6-8). It seems that elsewhere, too, biblical sources speak of Kušites where Midianites are meant [1]. The confusion of the two ethnical terms can be easily explained by assuming that the two peoples had merged after the Midianites had gained sovereignty over the regions formerly belonging to the Kušites. *Kûšu* therefore became the archaic denotation for the new tribal federation and the regions inhabited by it (cf. *Šêt-Moab*, *Nu.* 24, 17), or perhaps the name of the remaining sections of the ancient people that merged in the Midianitic federation of tribes.

It is noteworthy that the land of *Kûšu* is also mentioned in the story of Sinuhe. In this story (219 ff.) the ruler of Southern *Kûšu* [2] is mentioned by the side of the ruler of *Qdm* (*Qadmu*). On the basis of this reference Northern *Kûšu* might be placed in the region of the later Moab, while Southern *Kûšu* would then be situated in the steppe region of Southern Palestine. As the centre of Southern *Kûšu* we may first consider Kadesh which, in the course of the following centuries, became the bone of contention between various nomadic tribes.

As regards the central part of Palestine and Syria, the story of Sinuhe and other Egyptian sources of the Middle and New Kingdom call it *Rṭnw* [3]. This is a somewhat comprehensive geographical name which is definitely

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[1] Thus when *Nu.* 12, 1 speak of a Kušite woman whom Moses married. Now we know of two fathers-in-law of Moses, both Midianites : the one Jithro (*Ex.*, 3, 1 ; 18, 1 etc.) and the second Re'uel (*Ex.*, 2, 18 ; *Nu.* 10, 29 whose son Ḥobab appears as Moses' father-in-law in *Jud.*, 4, 11. His descendants, however, are called *Qenites*, probably in the sense of *wandering smiths*. See Glueck, *P.E.Q.*, 1940, p. 22 ff.). In *Nu.* 10, the dislike of an alliance by marriage with Midianites may have found its expression (cf. *Nu.* 25). About other occasions where Kušites are mentioned in the Negeb see my *Untersuchungen*, p. 46, n. 1.

[2] For *Ḥnṭwkš* see Sethe, *Der Name der Phoenizier*, in *Festschrift Hommel*, who tried to identify *southern Kûšu* with Nubia. It should be noted that the name of the ruler of *Ḥnṭwkš* contains the theophorous element *Y'ws* = Hebrew יְעוּשׁ (*Gen.*, 36, 18). It is the god يَغُوثُ worshipped by the Arabs.

[3] Sometimes also *ḫ3st rṭnw* "*the land Rṭnw*".

not used with reference to a certain region or a certain state. The Sinuhe story already speaks of an *Upper* and a *Lower Rṯnw*. Sinuhe's patron is the lord of *Upper Rṯnw*, but in his land there are various smaller state units and districts, independent or semi-independent, quite apart from the hostile nomads and the lords of the hill country whom the story expressly mentions.

There is no doubt that the name *Rṯnw* is Westsemitic, which is in the first instance confirmed by the characteristic "Amoritic" ending *-ânu*. *Alt* assumed that it was originally the name of a state derived from a place-name, *Lydda*[1]. Albright, on the other hand, has referred its meaning to the Arabic root لوذ (*to take refuge*), associating it with the town of *Luz*, the old name of *Bethel*[2]. However, these interpretations can hardly do justice to the territorially comprehensive name *Rṯnw*, especially as there can be no question of a large state with Lydda or Luz as capital[3]. Perhaps *Rṯnw* should be connected with the archaic Hebrew word רָזוֹן (*Pr.*, 14, 28, otherwise רוֹזֵן, *Jud.*, 5, 3 etc.)—*prince*[4], *lord*, as a collective form in the sense of [*land of*] *the lords, rulers*, perhaps a Semitic equivalent for the Egyptian *ḫqꜣw ḫꜣśw·t, rulers of foreign lands*, an appelative denotation of the peoples of Asia, occuring already at the time of the XIIth Dynasty and frequently used in the Hyksos period. The name *Hyksos* in Manetho is probably derived from it[5].

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[1] Alt, *Z.D.P.V.*, 1924, p. 169 ff.

[2] Albright, *The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography*, p. 9, note 23.

[3] Alt bases himself mainly on *Rṯn*, the name of Lydda in the list of Thutmosis III. Semitic *d*, however, is never represented by *ṯ* in the *execration texts*. In addition to that the archaeological situation in Lydda is absolutely unknown. As to Luz, this town, too, can hardly be considered as the centre of a large federation, quite apart from the fact that the hypothesis maintained by Albright describing Luz as the original name of *Ha'ai* (*et-Tell*) is hardly plausible.

[4] The form suggests the Arabic root رزى *to receive a present* (ارتزى *to rely upon someone*). The form רָזוֹן seems to be more primitive than רוֹזֵן, and a root רזן can hardly be considered. Hebrew רָזוֹן corresponds to Westsemitic *Razânu* which in the Egyptian of the Middle Kingdom could only be represented by *Rṯnw*.

[5] On this term see Engberg, *The Hyksos Reconsidered* (1939), p. 6 ff. A similar case is perhaps the name *K'na'an*. In a newly discovered historical stela of Amenophis II, about which Mr. B. Grdseloff kindly informed me, we find the following

As has already been pointed out, *Rṭnw* was a conglomeration of various territories and state formations. The region assigned to Sinuhe within the realm of his ruler, the lord of *Upper Rṭnw*, is called ḫꜣꜣ. It is praised as a land rich in oil, honey, figs, wine, cereals and all sorts of innumerable herds. It has already been stressed by Albright[1] that, according to the orthography of the Middle Kingdom, this name must represent a *'rr, 'll, 'lr* or *'rl*. For my part I should rather think of the name of the town of *Araru* in the land of *Gari*, which is mentioned in the ʿAmârna letters (*EA*, 265, l. 25) and which Albright places in the Ǧôlân[2]. Its situation on the river Yarmûk, where numerous settlements existed at the end of the Early and the beginning of the Middle Bronze Ages[3], should probably be accepted. The description of the region as a land where agriculture and cattle-breeding were intensively cultivated falls into line with this.

About the various smaller state units, districts, city states and tribal federations of *Rṭnw* and the border countries we learn something from the so-called *execration texts*, the most important material from the time of the XIIth Dynasty concerning Palestine, Phoenicia, and Southern Syria.

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enumeration of the spoils from Syria : 550 Maryana, 240 of their wives, 640 *Kyn'nw* (Canaanites), 232 sons of princes etc. In this text the *Canaanites* most probably appear as a noble cast, as they are enumerated by the side of Maryana and the sons of princes and are distinguished from the people of Syria, the *Ḥwrw*. One may think on the well known term כְּנַעֲנִי, כְּנַעֲנִי—*merchant*, common in the Bible. It is not impossible that this is the original meaning of the word כנע, כנען (cuneiform *Kinaḫḫu, Kinaḫni/a*) which first appears only in the xvth century and is of doubtful origin. On the meaning of *Kinaḫḫu* in the Nuzi texts see Speiser, *A.A.S.O.R.*, 16 (1936), p. 121 f.; *Language*, 12 (1936), p. 124 ff.

[1] *Vocalization*, p. 9.

[2] Albright, *B.A.S.O.R.*, 89 (1943), p. 14, to whom we owe the correct interpretation of the document. However, Albright's assumption that *Araru* represents a name ערער is less probable than the explanation suggested here. It is noteworthy that one of the heroes of David is called הארארי, the *'Ararite* (2, *Sam.*, 23, 33). A place name (mountain range?) *'arr* is mentioned in the *Epic of 'Aqht* (III, 30-31) from Ugarit; see Gordon, *Ugaritic Grammar* (1940), p. 66. But the Ugaritic *'arr* has nothing in common with our *'Araru*.

[3] Maisler and Yeivin, *B.J.P.E.S.*, 10, (1943), p. 98 ff.

In the year 1926 Sethe[1] published the first compilation of execration texts, really curses and damnations directed against the enemies of Egypt inscribed on several pot sherds which had been found in Upper Egypt and taken to Berlin. The names of Palestinian-Syrian towns, districts and tribal federations listed in the texts have been discussed by several scholars[2]. The new Egyptian and cuneiform material has in some respects advanced the understanding of this source. The Berlin texts presumably belong to the early period of the XIIth Dynasty, probably the second half of the xxth century B. C.[3].

In the year 1938, a new series of *execration texts* appeared which eventually landed in the *Musée du Cinquantenaire* at Brussels. This series consisted of a great number of clay figurines (and fragments) of prisoners in fetters, inscribed in cursive hieratic of a content similar to that of the Berlin texts. The first news of the new material was given by M. Posener[4]. A book by Posener appeared in 1940 in which the material was published. Unfortunately the book is not yet available in Jerusalem, and I acquired the necessary information about its content and the various interpretations of the texts from two short articles by Albright[5]. Only in the autumn

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[1] Sethe, *Die Aechtung feindlicher Fuersten, Voelker und Dinge auf altaegyptischen Tongefaessscherben des Mittleren Reiches, Abh. Preuss. Akad. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl.*, No. 5, 1926.

[2] Dussaud, *Syria*, 8 (1927), p. 216 ff.; Alt, *Z.f. Ae. S.*, 63 (1927), p. 3 ff.; Albright, *J.P.O.S.*, 8 (1928), p. 223 ff.

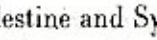
[3] On the chronological problems of the Middle Kingdom see Edgerton, *J.N.E.S.*, I (1942), p. 307 ff.

[4] Georges Posener, *Princes et pays d'Asie et de Nubie; Textes hiératiques sur les figurines d'envoûtement du Moyen Empire*, Brussels 1940.

[5] *B.A.S.O.R.*, 81 (1941), p. 16 ff., 83 (1941), p. 32 ff. In the last article Albright refers to Posener's book as well as to an article by Alt, *Herren und Herrensitze Palästinas im Anfang des zweiten Jahrtausends v. Chr., Vorläufige Bemerkungen zu den neuen Ächtungstexten*, in *Z.D.P.V.*, 64, 1941, p. 21 ff. I add here a series of articles and reviews referring to the question to which Mr. B. Grdseloff has kindly drawn my attention : Georges Posener, *Nouvelles Listes de Proscription (Ächtungstexte) datant du Moyen Empire, Chronique d'Égypte*, No. 27, janvier 1939, p. 39-46 (communication lue au XX^e^ Congrès international des Orientalistes, à Bruxelles, en septembre 1938); Jean Capart, *Figurines égyptiennes d'envoûtement*, Académie

of 1944 did I receive an exact transcription of the whole material from Mr. B. Grdseloff, and I should like to use this opportunity to thank him for it here as well. These texts probably belong to a later period than the Berlin texts; they show a change in the political and colonial history of Syria-Palestine. According to Posener they are not older than the end of the reign of Sesostris III (ca. 1840), while Albright dates them in the period between 1860 and 1800, probably ca. 1850-1825. To fix their date at the end of the xixth century seems plausible, a date which corresponds to the Ist Dynasty in Babylonia.

The following remarks deal with the geographical and ethnographical material concerning Palestine and Syria. The arrangement of the names corresponds to that of Posener [1].

E 1 :  *Ḥ;'m.*—

This name is interpreted by Albright as *Ḥl'm* and associated with biblical חילם (II. *Sam.* 10, 16), a town in northern Transjordan. The same town is called חלאם in II. *Sam.* 10, 17. It is identified with Ἄλαμα (I. *Makk.* 5, 23) and tentatively placed in the plain of Ḥaurân. Its exact situation however is unknown [2].

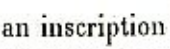
Having read my article in manuscript, Mr. B. Grdseloff has drawn my attention to the fact that the toponymy of *E 1* had suggested to Posener

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des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Comptes rendus 1938, p. 66-70; Georges Posener, *ibid.*, p. 70-74, Examen des Textes; Georges Posener, *Nouveaux Textes hiératiques de Proscription,* Mélanges syriens offerts à M. R. Dussaud, t. I, Paris 1939, p. 313-317; René Dussaud, *Syria,* 1940; Bernard van de Walle, *Figurines d'envoûtement portant des Textes de Proscription* (*Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire* (Bruxelles, n° 4, Juillet-Août 1940), p. 74-80. Vincent, *Vivre et Penser,* 2e série 1942, p. 193 ss.; J. G. Février, *Revue d'Égyptologie,* t. V (1946), p. 206-209; M. Noth, *Die Syrisch-palästinische Bevölkerung des zweiten Jahrtausends v. Chr. im Lichte neuer Quellen, Z.D.P.V.,* 65 (1942), pp. 12-15, 20-34.

[1] On the orthography of Semitic names in the texts of the Middle Kingdom see Albright, *The Vocalization,* p. 7 ff.; *B.A.S.O.R.,* 81, p. 20, n. 20 the method of which has generally held its ground.

[2] The attempts at identification with *ʿAlmah* or *ʿElamân* (Abel, *Géographie,* II, p. 347) are hypothetical as long as there is no thorough examination of northern Transjordan.

an inscription from the time of Amenemhet IIIrd found in Sinai (n° 110):  "20 *ʿAmw* from *Ḥ3m'*"[1] are mentioned there who work in the mines. I completely agree with his view[2] that these inhabitants of *Ḥ3m'* in the immediate surroundings of the Sinai peninsula were taken by the Egyptians of the Middle Kingdom to work in the mines, and that *Ḥ3m'* must then be identified with the biblical חָרְמָה; the more so as it appears first before Ashkelon in Posener's list. Moreover, חלאם, which was suggested at first, is not mentioned before David. The masculine form *Ḥ3m'* = חרם[3] by the side of the feminine form חָרְמָה in the Bible, presents no difficulty as regards identification[4]. In the Old Testament the town of Ḥormah is once called הַחָרְמָה (with the article, *Nu.* 14, 45) in order to emphasize the meaning of the name in popular ethymology, i. e. "ban". According to biblical tradition Ḥormah was a fortified Canaanite royal residence before the Israelite conquest; it was the most southern seat of government in the Palestine mountains on the border of the Negeb in the neighbourhood of ʿArad (the present Tell ʿArâd).

After the conquest it was colonized by the tribe of Šimeʿon[5]. Only in one source, *Jud.* 1, 17, is חָרְמָה identified with צְפַת. However, no conclusions about the old name of the town should be drawn from this. Such ancient identifications are in no way decisive, the less so as the source in question is an isolated specimen.

The assumption that חָרְמָה was the old name of the town is much more likely; it may also have been the name of the whole district (cf. *Nu.* 21, 2-3). Albright's suggestion[6] of identifying it with Tell eš-Serʿeh is just as improbable—on account of its distant western situation

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(1) See Jaroslav Černý, *Semites in Egyptian mining expeditions to Sinai*, Archiv Orientalný, t. VII (1935), p. 384 ff.

(2) I find now that L.-H. Vincent has accepted the same conclusion in *Vivre et Penser*, 2e série, 1942, p. 193.

(3) Cf. the North Palestinian place-name חָרֵם. LXX : Ἀρειμ, Ὥρεμ ; see Margolis, *The Book of Joshua in Greek*, p. 384.

(4) Compare : אָדָם (*Jos.*, 3, 16)—elsewhere אַדְמָה; גֶּבַע (Egyptian *Qbʿ*)—גִּבְעָה; בָּצֶר — בְּצָרָה, etc.

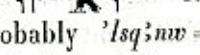
(5) Cf. *Num.*, 14, 45 ; 21, 1-3 ; *Deut.*, 1, 44 ; *Jos.*, 12, 14 ; I. *Chron.*, 4, 30.

(6) Albright, *J.P.O.S.*, IV, p. 157 ff.

(about 20 km NNW of Beersheba)—as that of Alt[1], who considers it to be Tell es-Saba' (probably the old Beersheba). In my opinion the identification with Tell el-Milḥ (about 25 kms. east of Beersheba and south west of Tell 'Arâd) is most plausible. This identification was considered by Garstang[2] and accepted by me[3]. The *Tell* is situated in a strongly defensible location and contains pottery characteristic of the Bronze and the Iron Ages.

E 2 :  *'Isq;'*.—

Probably *'Isq;nw* = *'Ašqalânu*, *Ashkelon* of the Berlin texts (f 15), though the omission of the suffix—*ânu* is very striking.

E 3 :  *'Is'nw*.—

This place-name is mentioned in the Berlin texts (f 14) between *Y;mwt* and *'Isq;nw*, *Ashkelon*. Albright[4] supposed a Semitic root אשא and suggested the pronunciation *'Aš'ânu* = אשאן. A town of this name in Palestine, probably in Cisjordan, is unknown[5]. The suggestion may perhaps be put forward here that the town in question is *Bethshan*. This important town of antiquity which was inhabited since the late chalcolithic period[6] is called בֵּית שְׁאָן (later form בֵּית שָׁן) in the Bible, *Bît-Sâni* (*E A* 289, 20), i. e. *Bît-Ša'âni* in the 'Amârna tablets and *Bt-Šꜣr* (where the *r* (= *l*) at the end in place of *n* is variously interpreted) in the Egyptian documents of the New Kingdom. It must be noted that the element בית, *bêtu* (*house, temple*) never occurs in the Syrian or Palestinian place-names known from the documents of the Middle Kingdom. Only in the Egyptian sources of the New Kingdom and in the 'Amârna

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[1] Alt, *J.P.O.S.*, XV, p. 314 ff.

[2] Garstang, *Joshua-Judges*, p. 216.

[3] Maisler, *Historical Atlas of Palestine*, Biblical Period, p. 8, 39.

[4] *J.P.O.S.*, 8, p. 245.

[5] An association with אשנה (*Jos.*, 15, 33, 43) or *Ginti-Ašna* (*EA*, 319, 5) is out of the question.

[6] Fitzgerald, *Museum Journal*, 24 (1935), p. 5 ff. The town was inhabited in the beginning of the second millennium, since stratum XI belongs to the end of th Early Bronze and the Middle Bronze I Ages.

tablets do we find very few names which contain this element. It seems to have appeared gradually in the course of the second millennium adhering at first only to theophoric place-names[1]. As regards the preceding *i* = *'a*, it is a frequent phenomenon in the place-names of Palestine known from the execration texts, e. g. *'Iksp'* (= hebr. אַכְשָׁף), *'Iḫbw* (= hebr. רְחֹב), *'Isq'nw* (= hebr. אַשְׁקְלוֹן), *'Iš'pw* (read : *'Aśrapu*). It might be suggested that in the case of *'As'nw* = *'Aš'ânu* (אשאן) we have an epithet of Makal, the Ba'al of Bethshan, the simplified form שָׁאָן coming into use later[2].

E 4 : *H'mw.*—

The assumption that this is the town of *Hâm* in northern Transjordan (*Gen.* 14, 5), which is perhaps also mentioned in the list of Thutmosis III (No. 118-*Hm*), the present *Tell Hâm* (7 km. south of Irbid), meets with orthographic difficulties. This identification is also contradicted by the archaeological facts at *Tell Hâm*[3]. may rather be taken to represent

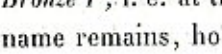
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[1] There is no doubt that the component *bêtu*, Hebr. בַּיִת was subsequently added in numerous place names known from later sources. As to theophoric names, it may be assumed that *bêtu* was added only after the foundation of a *city temple*. In Bethshan this was the case in the xvth century (Rowe, *The Topography and History of Bethshan*, p. 10 ff.; *The Four Canaanite Temples of Bethshan, passim*; Wright, *A.J.A.*, 1941, p. 485). It may also be considered with regard to *Śalem* for instance (*Gen.*, 14, 18, cf. *Ps.*, 76, 3, *Josephus Arch.*, I, 10, 2), the fortress of Jerusalem—*Bît-Śalim* mentioned in *EA*, 290, 16 (Lewy, *J.B.L.*, 1940, p. 519 ff.). Most place names known from the Bible which have בית as the first component and the name of a god as the second are also used without the first component, e. g. בית בעל מעון — בעל מעון, בית [בעל] פעור — [בעל] פעור; עשתרות (cuneiform *Aštartu*) appears only once in its aramaeic form בעשתרה (= בית עשתרה, *Jos.*, 21, 27). בית שמש is also called עיר שמש (*Jos.*, 19, 41), with the first component subsequently attached. בית-אל, of course, represents a special case.

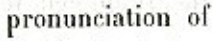
[2] This would be the case if Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, p. 79 ff. were right in seeing in *Makal "an exaggerated form of the god of pestilence"*. It would then suggest the root שוא, Arabic سوأ *"evil"*, *i. e.* שאה "to devastate", where from שָׁאוֹן-שׁוֹאָה "devastation" has been derived.

[3] Prof. N. Glueck kindly informed me that in Tell Hâm he did not find any sherds from the later phases of the Early Bronze or from the Middle Bronze Ages.

r or *l*[1]. Therefore the place-name בֵּית הָרָם (*Jos.* 13, 27) also called בֵּית הָרָן (Num. 33, 36), as proposed by Posener, must be considered in the first place[2]. Glueck[3] recently identified *Bêt-Hârâm* with *Tell Iktanû* in the Jordan Valley facing Jericho, finding there '*heavy occupation in Middle Bronze I*', i. e. at the time of the Middle Kingdom[4]. The final *w* in the name remains, however, inexplicable.

E 5 :  *M'ktwry*.—

The pronunciation of this place-name is probably *Magdôliyu* (with gentilitic suffix-*îyu*), i. e. the '*man from Magdôl*'. The spelling is of particuliar interest as the form with *w* probably represents the so-called 'Canaanite' form *Magdôl*, Hebrew מַגְדּוֹל, מִגְדּוֹל which existed by the side of the so-called 'Amorite' form *Magdâl*, Amarna—*Magdâli* (genitive), Hebrew מִגְדָּל. Of the many '*towers*' *Ma-ag-da-li* (*EA*, 256, 26) is most likely, probably *Migdâl Ṣabbayyâ* of the Talmudic sources[5], which may be identified with *Hirbet ed-Duweir* on the Yarmûk[6].

E 6 :  *Skm'm'*.—

That this is *Shechem* (Posener) can hardly be doubted; it is fully confirmed by the archaeological material in *Tell Balâṭah*. According to

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[1] The proper name *Hmy* (*E 39*) may be referred to which excludes the equation of *Ḥ³mw* to חָם.

[2] This name contains perhaps the theophoric element הָר = "*Mountain*". This name of a god is known from various proper names in the texts dealt with here, the Hyksos names *Y'qb-hr* and *'nt-hr*, some Amoritic names (the element *Ḥaru, Ḥarâ*) as well as הָרָן (the brother of Abraham), הוֹרָם (King of Gezer, *Jos.*, 10, 33) etc. In the last name as well as that of the mountain הר הָהָר (הר) we probably have the so-called "Canaanite" form of the name.

[3] *B.A.S.O.R.*, 91 (1943), p. 21 ff.

[4] In the late Aramaic place name *Bêt-ramthâ*, the present *Tell er-Râm*, we have, in my opinion, nothing but a change of the old name according to popular ethymology. The general opinion, which considers *m* in *Bêt-Hârâm* as belonging to the root must be rejected on the ground of the second form *Bêt-Hârân*, the more so as the Hebrew article in the old "Canaanite name" is inexplicable.

[5] Albright, *B.A.S.O.R.*, 89, p. 14, n. 4.

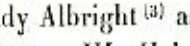
[6] I hope to justify the identification suggested in a special article. On *Tell ed-Duweir* see Albright, *A.A.S.O.R.*, 6, p. 31; Maisler-Yeivin, *B.J.P.E.S.*, 10 (1943), p. 99 ff.

Albright[1] the name should be pronounced *Šakmami* (*'the two shoulders'*), so that we have a simplification of the old name in *mât Šâkmi*, *EA*, 289, 23, and in the Hebrew שְׁכֶם. The spelling used in the document under discussion is also found in the *Sebek-ḫw* inscription from the time of Sesostris III (ca. 1887-1850). This text mentions a conquest of the land of *Skm'm'* during an Egyptian campaign[2].

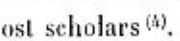
The two sources complement each other in a fortunate manner. The *land of Shechem* with the town of *Shechem* as capital appears already in the XIXth Century, and later in the 'Amârna tablets and the Bible, as a territorial and political entity in the middle of the Cisjordan mountains.

E 7 : *Kn'*.—

Already Albright[3] assumed that it is the town *Kunu* mentioned in the list of Ramses III, Hebrew כּוּן (I. *Chron.*, 18, 8), Roman *Conna*. Its identification with *Râs Ba'albek* was suggested many years ago and accepted by most scholars[4].

E. 8 :  *P'ḥ;wm*.—

This is *Piḥilum* (with the suffix *-um*, cf. *'Ipqwm*, *E 9*), the well-known town in the Jordan Valley, *Piḥili* (genetive) in *EA*, 256, 6, called *Phr* in the Egyptian documents of the New Kingdom, Hellenistic *Pella*, פחל in the Talmudic sources, probably the present *Tabqat Fâḥil*[5].

E 9 :  *'pqwm*.—

Most probably *'Apiqum*—Hebrew אֲפִיק, אֲפֵק.

Two towns of this name must be considered : 1) *Aphek* in the Plain of Saron, the present *Tell Râs el-'Ein*, which has already been suggested by Posener and Alt. This town is known from the list of Thutmosis III (No. 66—*'pqn*) and the new historical text of the stela of Amenophis II

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[1] Albright, *B.A.S.O.R.*, 83, p. 33.

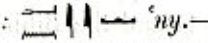
[2] Peet, *The Stela of Sebek-khu*, 1914, Manchester (no. 75).

[3] *B.A.S.O.R.*, 83, p. 33.

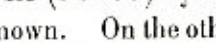
[4] Dussaud, *Topographie de la Syrie*, pp. 271, 405.

[5] Albright, *Vocalization*, p. 42; *B.A.S.O.R.*, 89, pp. 9, n. 9; 11, n. 20; Abel, *Géographie*, II, p. 405 f.

from Memphis, as well as from the Bible (*Jos.*, 12, 18; I. *Sam.*, 4, 1 etc.)[1] as an important centre; the archaeological material in *Tell Râs el-'Ein* shows a settlement in the Middle Bronze I Age[2]. 2) *Aphek* or *Aphik* in the Plain of Acre (*Jos.*, 19, 29; *Jud.*, 1, 31) mentioned also in the list of Ramses III, the present *Tell Kurdânch*, where an important settlement existed at least since the Middle Bronze I Age[3]. The first possibility seems more evident.

E 10 :  *'ny*.—

This is presumably the town of *'ny* mentioned in the list of Thutmosis III (No. 66) by the side of *Rḥb* (No. 87). Its situation, however, is unknown. On the other hand a place-name *'Ênu* = Hebrew עֵין (*'source'*) composed with the gentilitic suffix *-îyu* may be suggested (cf. e.g. *Nu.* 34, 11).

E 11 :  *'Iksp'*.—

Doubtlessly *'Akšapa*, Hebrew אַכְשָׁף, a royal residence in the Plain of Acre, frequently mentioned in the Egyptian documents of the New Kingdom (first in the list of Thutmosis III, No. 4 *-'ksp*), in the 'Amârna tablets (*Akšapa*), and in the *Book of Josua* (11, 1; 12, 20). It was identified with *Tell Keisân*, where the respective periods are represented[4].

The author suggested an identification with Tell Harbağ, where the M B I Age is also represented[5].

E 12 : *'Iśrp'*.—

This place-name, probably to be pronounced *Aśrapa*, is not known from any other source. It seems plausible that this name was derived from

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[1] Alt, *P.J.B.*, 21 (1925), p. 51 ff.; Abel, *Géographie*, II, p. 246.

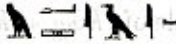
[2] J. Ory, *Q.D.A.P.*, 5 (1936), p. 113 ff.; 6 (1937), p. 99 ff.

[3] Alt, *P.J.B.* (1928), p. 58 ff.; more extensively Maisler, *B.J.P.E.S.*, 6 (1940), p. 151 ff.

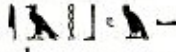
[4] Albright, *A.J.A.*, 1936, p. 159; and already Garstang, *Joshua-Judges*, p. 354. On the excavation in Tell Keisân see *Q.D.A.P.*, 5, p. 207 f.

[5] Maisler, *B.J.P.E.S.*, 6 (1939), p. 158. On the excavation in Tell Harbağ see Garstang, *B.S.A.J., Bulletin*, 2 (1922), p. 12 ff., 4 (1924), p. 45 ff.

the root שׂרף, while the form with preceding *'a-* seems to be characteristic of a number of place-names [1]; cf. *Akšapa* (*E 11*). As *Aśrapa* is mentioned between *Akšapa* and *Miš'al* (see below), one would like to place it in the Plain of Acre. At any rate the suggestion may be put forward here that it is the town of מַשְׂרְפוֹת [מַיִם] known from the Bible (*Jos.*, 11, 8; 13, 6) and identified with *Ḫirbet el-Mušeirifeh* [2].

E 13 :  *M'š'l.*—

In this place-name Posener has recognized the town of מִשְׁאָל, *Miš'al*. It is mentioned in the list of Thutmosis III (No. 39—*Mš'r*) by the side of *Akšapa*. According to biblical references this town was situated in the Plain of Acre (in the country of the tribe of Asher), *i. e.*—as we learn from *Jos.*, 19, 26—in the south western corner of the plain, in the neighbourhood of the Carmel and the sea [3].

E 14 :  *'Iḥbwm.*—

This place-name, probably pronounced, *Arḥabum*, is also mentioned in the Berlin execration texts (f. 8). Albright [4] suggests the town of *Rḥb* (*Raḥabu*, Hebrew רְחֹב) known from the Egyptian documents of the New Kingdom, which is also mentioned in a Taanach letter (No. 2—*Raḥabu*), later Ῥωώβ, first identified by *Abel* [5] with *Tell eṣ-Ṣârem* in the plain of Bethshan. This possibility, however, is not certain. Reḥôb, רְחֹב in the Plain of Acre, in the country of Asher (*Jos.*, 19, 30; *Jud.*, 1, 31) [6] may also be suggested.

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[1] *Aśrapu* is possibly the name of a god or an appellative to a god connected with Hebrew שָׂרָף, perhaps originally a mythological figure (cf. *Jes.*, 6, 2).

[2] It may suggest a later change of the name, perhaps by popular ethymology. *Ḫirbet el-Mušeirifeh* was inhabited in the Middle Bronze and Late Bronze Ages as well as in the Early Iron Age. Saarisalo, *J.P.O.S.*, 10 (1930), p. 10; Maisler, *Untersuchungen*, p. 67 f.; Garstang, *Joshua-Judges*, p. 396.

[3] The identification with *Tell en-Naḥl* lies close at hand (on this tell see Saarisalo, *J.P.O.S.*, 9 (1929), p. 38 f.).

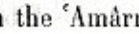
[4] *J.P.O.S.*, 8, p. 241; *B.A.S.O.R.*, 94, p. 23, n. 70.

[5] Abel, *R.B.*, 1913, p. 318 f.; *Géographie*, II, p. 433.

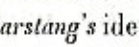
[6] Abel, *Géographie*, II, p. 433; Saarisalo, *J.P.O.S.*, 9, p. 38 ff.

E 15 :  *Ḥdw'ʾ.*—

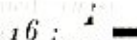
As already recognized by Posener this refers to the well-known town of *Hazor* in Eastern Galilee. This town is frequently mentioned in the Egyptian documents of the New Kingdown (List of Thutmosis III, No. 32), in the ʿAmârna tablets (Ḥazûra-Ḥaṣûra) and in the biblical sources as an important royal residence in preisraelitic Palestine. In *Jos.*, 11, 10 it even appears as *'the former head of all these kingdoms'*, *i.e.* Galilee; while in *Jud.*, 4, 2, 24 Jabin, king of Hazor, bears the title of *'King of K'na'an'*. *Garstang's* identification with *Tell Waqqâṣ* which has been generally accepted is also corroborated by the source under discussion, as this place was an important settlement already in the Middle Bronze Age [1].

E 16 :  *Q(?)nš.*—

The first consonant being doubtful, there is nothing to say about this place-name.

E 17 :  *Tʿpvm.*—

This place-name with the characteristic suffix-*um* (cf. *'Apiqum*) is most probably West Semitic (the roots טעף זעף and צעף should be considered). We have, however, no equivalent from later sources.

E 18 :  *ʿynw.*—

This place-name, probably pronounced *ʿAyyânu*, has been associated by Posener with the well-known town of *Iyon*, Hebrew עיון on the northern border of Canaan (I. *Kings* 15, 20, II. *Kings* 15, 29; II. *Sam.*, 24, 6), the present *Tell Dibbin* in *Merǧ ʿAyyûn*. There are, however, two towns by the name of *ʿyn* in the list of Thutmosis III : the one (No. 46) probably the biblical *Iyon*, the second (No. 95) perhaps identical with *Ḥa-ya-ni* (= *ʿAyyâni*, in the genetive case), *EA.*, 256, 1. 28. The latter was associated by Albright [2] with the place עין known from Talmudic literature, the present *ʿAyûn*, north west of *el-Ḥamme* on the Yarmûk. A thorough examination of both sites might decisively clarify the identification of *ʿynw*. The first possibility seems, however, more plausible.

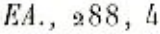
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[1] Garstang, *A.A.*, 14 (1927), p. 35 ff.; *Joshua-Judges*, p. 381 ff.

[2] *B.A.S.O.R.*, 89, p. 14, n. 43.

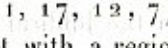
E 19 : *D'ˀm.*—

This place-name, with the characteristic suffix-*um*, is probably connected with the town of *Drbsn* [1], called *Zi-ri-ba-ša-ni* (genitive) in *EA.*, 201, which was identified by me with the town of *Zar'oi* (זְרֹעִי, זְרֻעִי, זְרֻעָא) known from later sources, the present *Ezraʿ* in the Ḥaurân [2]. Less probable is the association with *Zilû* (= Canaanite *Sillô*) in the Amarna tablets (*EA.*, 288, 42).

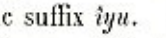
E 20 :  *Bqʿtm.*—

Probably *Baqʿatum* (with the characteristic suffix-*um*), Hebrew בִּקְעָה = "*valley*".

In my opinion it can only be the Lebanon Valley, Hebrew בִּקְעַת הַלְּבָנוֹן (*Jos.*, 11, 17, 12, 7), the present *el-Baqâʿ*. Here, for the first time, we meet with a regional name, a great number of which occurs in the text under discussion, in the documents of the New Kingdom, as well as in Biblical Literature.

E 21 :  *ʾlˀy.*—

This place-name may be variously interpreted, *e.g. ʾr* or *ʾl* with the gentilitic suffix *iyu*. In my opinion we must first consider it to be the Syrian town of *ʾAra*, known since the time of Thutmosis III (List of towns No. 132), *ʾr* in a document from Ugarit, Assyrian *Arâ*, later *Arra* [3].

E 22 :  *Šˀmry.*—

There is no equivalent in other sources for this place-name. Perhaps

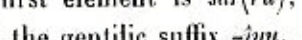
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[1] Grdseloff, *Les débuts de culte de Rechef en Égypte* (1942), p. 41 f. Vocalized by Albright, *Vocalization*, p. 55, *D(i)-ra-bi-sa-na*.

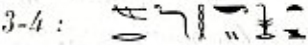
[2] *J.P.O.S.*, 9 (1929), p. 84 f.; cf. Abel, *Géographie*, II, p. 10. The identification suggested is uncertain as long as there is no archaeological examination of the place.

[3] On this town see Maisler, *J.P.O.S.*, 16 (1936), p. 155. It was identified by Littmann (*Z. f. S.*, I, p. 176) with *Maʿarrit* in-*Noʿmân*. It seems however to have been rather situated in the neighbourhood of Ugarit.

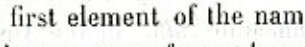
the first element is *šar(ru)*, Hebrew שַׂר [1]. It is probably composed with the gentilic suffix *-ỉyu*.

E 23-4 :  (Var.) *Mrḏḫky*.—

Here we have two countries (?), a southern and a northern *Mrḏḫky*. The first element of the name probably contains *Maraṣ*, the westsemitic god known to us from 'Amorite' proper names [2].

E 25 :  *'st['];tm*.—

In this place-name Posener has recognized the well-known town of *Ashtaroth* in northern Transjordan, the present *Tell 'Aštarah*. It is frequently mentioned in the documents of the New Kingdom (list of Thutmosis III, No. 28—*'strt*); it appears as an important town in the 'Amârna tablets (*EA*, 197, 10; 256, 21—*Aštartu*) and in the biblical sources as the capital of the land of Bashan (*Dt.*, 1, 4; *Jos.*, 9, 20, etc.) [3]. In *Gen.*, 14, 5 the town is called עשתרות קרנים which in my opinion should be understood as *'Aštaroth in the land* (or *district*) *of Qarnaim'*. קַרְנַיִם is then an explanatory gloss of the editor after the foundation of the district of *Qarnaïm* (Assyr. *Qarnini*) [4].

E 26 :  *'ḫwmwt*.—

As Semitic *'aḫu, brother* is regularly represented by Egyptian *'ḫ* in the execration texts [5], this place-name contains a West Semitic *'Aḫu-Môt* (*The god Môt is a brother*, cf. Hebrew אחימות) [6].

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[1] Cf. the name *'bš'* (Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, I, in the explanatory inscription on the description of Semitic caravans) explained by Albright as *Abi-šar*.

[2] Cf. the tribal and regional name *Idâmaraṣ* or *Abîmaraṣ*, Albright, *J.A.O.S.*, 45 (1926), p. 223 f.; Lewy, *Z.A.*, 1929, p. 253 f.; Dossin, *Syria*, 19 (1938), p. 109.

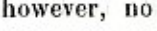
[3] Maisler, *J.P.O.S.*, 9, p. 84; Abel, *Géographie*, II, p. 255; Albright, *B.A.S.O.R.*, 89, p. 12, n. 33; Alt, *P.J.B.*, 29, p. 20 ff.

[4] On the province *Qarnini* see Forrer, *Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches* (1921), p. 62. There was even earlier an Aramaic province in Northern Transjordan with *Qarnaïm* as capital (cf. *Amos*, 6, 13).

[5] Albright, *B.A.S.O.R.*, 83, p. 36, n. 20.

[6] On the god *Môt*, see Cassuto, *B.J.P.E.S.*, 9 (1942), p. 42 ff.

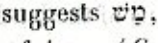
We have, however, no equivalent from later sources. This place-name is also mentioned in the Berlin execration texts (J. 19).

E 27 :  — *Bwṣ'nw.*—

This place-name, probably pronounced *Buṣrânu*, was already recognized by Alt and Albright to stand for the town of *Buṣrâna* known from the ʿAmârna tablets. In *EA*, 197, 13 it is mentioned in close association with *Aštartu* and *Ḫalunni*, both towns in northern Transjordan (v. also *EA*, 199). It is most probably the well-known town of *Bosora* (I. *Makk.*, V, 26)—*Bostra*, the present *Buṣrâ eski Šâm* [1].

E 28 : . . . . . —

The place-name is not extant.

E 29 :  — *M'š'.*—

This name suggests מֶשׁ, probably an old regional name included in the genealogy of Aram (*Gen.*, 10, 23). Jensen [2] tried to combine the biblical מֶשׁ with the mountain range *Mâšu* of the Gilgameš epic [3], *i. e.* the mountains of Lebanon. It is not impossible that we have here the later Assyrian province of *Mansuate*, Μασσύας of Hellenistic and Roman times, which included part of Baqâʿ, south of Baʿalbek [4].

E 30 :  — *Š'ynw.*—

This name is most probably pronounced *Šaryânu* and is identical with the mountains of שְׂרִיֹן (*Deut.*, 3, 9; *Ps.*, 29, 6), the *Antilibanos*.

The mountains of *šryn* occur in the Baʿal epic of Ugarit parallel with

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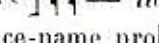
[1] Maisler, *J.P.O.S.*, 9, p. 85; Abel, *Géographie*, II, p. 9, 286 f.

[2] *Keischriftl. Bibl.*, 6, 1, p. 576.

[3] *Gilgameš*, tablet 9, l. 36-37. Gressmann-Ebeling, *Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament*, 2nd. ed., p. 168.

[4] On the province of *Mansuate*, *Mansua* (the transcription *Manṣuate* is possible, but no obligatory) see Elliger, *P.J.B.*, 32 (1936), p. 51 f.; Noth, *P.J.B.*, 33 (1937), p. 42 f. This regional name perhaps shows the later Aramaic form of the old name מש. It is to be assumed that originally it did not only include southern Baqâʿ (Μασσυάς αὐλών), but also part of the Lebanon.

Ibnn (the Lebanon)[1]. The mountain *Šariyâna* is also mentioned with *Lablani* and the chief goddess of *Kinza* (Qedeš on the Orontes: cf. *Ps.*, 29, 6) among the patron gods of treaties in the treaty concluded by the Hittite king Šuppiluliuma with Azira, King of Amurru[2].

E 31 :  *Rwby* (*Rby*).

This place-name probably contains the gentilitic ending $y = iyu$. It seems plausible to connect it, in spite of the orthographic variant (one would expect *Rb'y*), with the frequently mentioned northern frontier post of the land of Canaan and the kingdom of Israel לְבֹא חֲמָת (*Num.* 34, 8; *Jos.*, 13, 5; II, *Kings*, 23, 33, etc.).

The usual interpretation לבא חמת meaning '*entry to Ḥamath*' was shown to be improbable on weighty grounds by Noth[3]. It probably means nothing but '*the town of* לבא *in the land of Ḥamath*'[4]. A town by the name of *Lab'u* is known from an inscription of Tiglathpileser III, where it is mentioned after an enumeration of the towns of the land of Ḥamath[5]. It is probably identical with *Libo* of the '*Itinerarium Antonini*', the present Labwe, south of Râs Ba'albek[6]. I find a confirmation of this assumption in the text of the new historical stela of Amenophis II mentioned above (p. 39, n. 5) according to which the pharao on his return march from Syria to Egypt, reached '*R(')b(')w in the wood*' when marching from *Qadesh* on the Orontes. There a hunt was organized after which the pharao intended to continue his march to the South via *H(')š(')bw*

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[1] Virrolleaud, *Syria*, 11 (1932), p. 113 ff.; Ginsberg, *Kitve Ugarit*, p. 35, 130; Gordon, *Ugaritic Grammar*, p. 110.

[2] Weidner, *Polit. Dokumente aus Kleinasien* (1923), p. 68, 74.

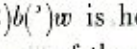
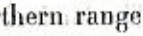
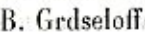
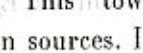
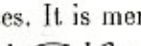
[3] *Z.D.P.V.*, 58 (1935), p. 242 f.; *P.J.B.*, 33 (1937), p. 36 f.

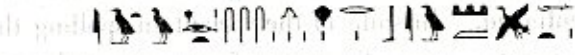
[4] Cf. e. g. עשתרות קרנים (above, p. 52, *E* 25), בית־לחם יהודה (*Bethlehem in the land of Juda*), etc. The regular Greek translation τῆς εἰσόδου Ἡμάθ, ἕως τῆς εἰσόδου Ἐμάθ does, of course, not convey anything. Once, however, we find in a version of the Septuagint : ἕως Λαβὼ Ἐμάθ (*Jud.*, 3, 3).

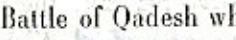
[5] Rost, *Die Keilschrifttexte Tiglathpilesers*, III, *Kl. Inschr.*, II, 49 f.; Luckenbill, *A.R.*, I, p. 294.

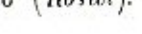
[6] On this identification, which however is rejected by most scholars, including Noth, see my article in *B.J.P.E.S.* XII, to be published shortly.

(*Hašabu*). *R(ʾ)b(ʾ)w* is here probably *Lebô'* in Baqâ' on the border of the northern range of the Antilibanos [1].

Mr. B. Grdseloff has been kind enough to supply the following additions. This town  of *E* 31 is known from different Egyptian sources. It is mentioned in the List of Thutmosis III (no. 82) where it is spelt  *R;b;w* and  *R;b;*. It is known also from a sphinx of Amenophis III in Spalato (no. 40) :  *R;b;*. The spelling of this place-name recalls the word  *r;bwt* "lioness" (Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Stories*, p. 31) of which an archaic form is  *rw;bw*, in Coptic ⲗⲁⲃⲟⲩ (cf. Müller, *Mitt. Vorderas. Gesellsch.*, 1912, 3, p. 69, sqq.). The Egyptians were probably aware that the place-name meant לביאה "lioness" (cf. Honigmann, *Z.D.P.V.*, 47, p. 11; Koehler, *Z.D.P.V.*, 62, p. 121). On the new historical stela of Amenophis II found in Mit-Rahina (Memphis), l. 11, the passage mentioned above runs as follows :



'A hunt was undertaken in the wood of Lebô' (*R;biw*). Now the same wood is mentioned also at the time of Ramses II in the description of the Battle of Qadesh where the text refers to the rear of the Egyptian army which was marching  'in the wood of Lebô' (*Rb;wi*). For this text see Wreszinski, *Atlas*, II, pl. 170.

E 32 :  *Qny*.—

This place-name, probably with the gentilitic suffix *y* = *iyu*, is hardly connected with *Qânah* in Galilee (so Alt and Albright), but rather with *Qanû* of the El-'Amarna tablets (*EA* 204), *Q(ʾ)n(ʾ)w* of the list of Thutmosis III (No. 26), a town in northern Transjordan which I have identified with biblical קְנָת (*Num.* 32, 42), Καναθα-Κανατα of the Hellenistic sources, the present *Qanawât* in the Ḥaurân [2].

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[1] Perhaps *Rb'* in the list of Thutmosis III (No. 82) is nothing but our *Lebô'*?

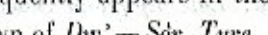
[2] See Maisler, *J.P.O.S.*, 9, p. 84 ff.; cf. Abel, *Géographie*, II, p. 9.

E 33-34 :  (and) *'Ipwm.*—

Two districts, the *southern* and *northern* *'Âpum*. The land of *'Âpum*, also known from the Mari documents [1], was identified with the Damascene by Albright [2]. It is the region of *Âpi*, *Ûpe* of the cuneiform and Egyptian sources of the New Kingdom.

E 35 :  *Ḏw'wy.*—

Probably pronounced *Ṣôrâwi*, with the gentilitic ending *âwi*, which frequently appears in the Mari documents [3]. It certainly stands for the town of *Ḏw'* = *Ṣôr*, *Tyre*, called *Ḏ(w)r* in the Egyptian sources of the New Kingdom, in the cuneiform sources *Ṣurru*, Ugaritic *Ṣr* [4], biblical צוֹר צ֫וֹר.

E 36 : [] *Y'nq'.*—

See below *E 64*.

E 37 : *M'k'w.*

Most probably the name of a tribe or a region. In *E 62* the *'chiefs* of *M'kyw'* are mentioned. In spite of the variant in spelling the same name seems to be meant. מַעֲכָה, the name of a country and a people in Transjordan, may be suggested [5]. This land comprised northern *Ġôlân* and part of the northern plain of the Jordan (*Deut.*, 3, 14; *Jos.*, 11, 5; 13, 13; etc.) probably including the town of אבל בית מעכה, the present *Abil el-Qamḥ* in north-eastern Galilee (II. *Sam.*, 20, 15, I. *Kings*, 15, 20; etc.) [6] and became an Aramaic kingdom since the time of David (II. *Sam.*, 10, 6).

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[1] *Ma-a-at A-pi-im*^{ki} (genetive); Dossin, *Syria*, 20 (1939), p. 109.

[2] Albright, *B.A.S.O.R.*, 83, p. 34 ff.

[3] Cf. *Qa-ṭa-na-a-wi* (*the man of Qaṭana*); *Gu-ub-la-a-wi* (*the man of Gubla, Byblos*), etc.; Dossin, *Syria*, 20 (1939), p. 111.

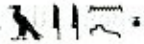
[4] *'Aṯṯṣrm* (*Asherah of the Tyrians*), *Keret*, l. 197 f.; Virolleaud, *La légende de Kéret*, p. 46, 89; Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, p. 196, n. 17.

[5] On the proper name מעכה = מעון see above, note 10. The variant suffix is in my opinion of no importance; cf. *Dm't'w* (below *F 5*) and *Dm'tyw* in the Berlin texts (f. 16).

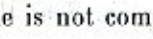
[6] See Abel, *Géographie*, I, p. 249 f. מעכה, like various other places in southern Syria, appears in the genealogy of Naḥor, the brother of Abraham (*Gen.*, 22, 24).

E 38 : . . . . . . *ynw*.—

The name is not completely extant. Noteworthy is the characteristic ending.

E 39-40 :  (and) *Qhr'mw*.—

Two countries : *southern* and *northern Qhr'mw*, probably *Qhrmw* of the Berlin texts (f. 7). Albright has probably correctly explained the name as *'God Qh is exalted'* [1]. There is, however, apparently no later equivalent.

E 41 :  *Tw'wdnw*.—

This place-name may be analyzed either as *Tw'w-dnw* (cf. Hebrew צוריאל, צוריאדי) or as *Tw'wd-nw* (with the characteristic ending—*ânu*). In the latter case the association with biblical צְרֵדָה is not out of the question [2], in spite of the strange spelling. A connection with *Sidon* is mistaken [3].

E 42 : *'f'...'*.—

This place-name is not completely extant.

E 43 : *Yb'y*.—

This place-name recalls *Yabliya* of the Mari documents. It probably stands for the town of *Ya-bi-li-ma* (*EA*, 256, 28) known from the ʿAmârna tablets, which is mentioned with various other places in Southern Ǧôlân

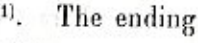
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[1] See Albright, *J.P.O.S.*, 8, p. 240, n. 2. There is probably no connection of this name of a god with Ugaritic *'qht* and the biblical name קהת.

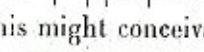
[2] We know two places of this name from the Bible : 1) The native land of Jerobeam in the mountains of Ephraim (I. *Reg.*, 11, 26), the present *ʿEin Ṣerideh*, and 2) A town in the plain of Jordan (II. *Chr.*, 4, 17 and probably also *Jud.*, 7, 22, where the variant צרדתה is probably possible in place of צררתה) normally called צרתן, the present Tell *Saʿidîyeh* (see Glueck, *B.A.S.O.R.*, 90, p. 6 ff.). Only the second alternative is probable.

[3] See Albright, *B.A.S.O.R.*, 83, p. 34.

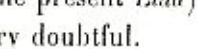
and connected by Albright with *Abila* in the Dekapolis, the present *Tell Abil*[1]. The ending *y* in *Yb'y* may be best explained as the gentilitic suffix *iyu*.

E 44 :  *R'yt'* (*Ryt'*).—

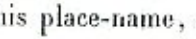
This might conceivably refer to *Rtmrk* (= *Rt-mlk*) of the list of Thutmosis III (No. 45), with the first element still unexplained (אַלְמֶלֶךְ, *Jos.*, 19, 26, is usually thought of). On the other hand *Lydda*, Hebrew לֹד (the present *Lidd*) may be suggested[2]. This assumption, however, is very doubtful.

E 45 :  *'wš'mm.*—

This place-name, also mentioned in the Berlin texts (f 18), is almost certainly *Jerusalem*, as has been already recognized by Sethe[3]. It is the Egyptian rendering of Semitic [*wa*]*rušalimum* (with the characteristic ending —*um*).

E 46 :  .....*'y*.—

The name is not extant.

E 47 :  *'Ibw'm*.—

This place-name is pronounced *'Abu-râmu* (or *'Abû-râm*), and probably means '*The father is high*' (or '*God Râm is father*') corresponding to the biblical אֲבִרָם[4]. A place by the name of *'Ibrm* is known from the

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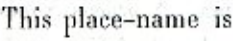
[1] See Albright, *B.A.S.O.R.*, 89, p. 15, n. 44, who explains the name in the sense of Hebrew יַבְלֵי מַיִם (*streams of water*), associating it with Hebrew-Aramaic אֵבֶל. Perhaps one of the four places called *'br* = אבל in the list of Thutmosis III is meant here. *Abel-Meḥolah*, a town in Transjordan, might be considered for instance (see Glueck, *B.A.S.O.R.*, 90, p. 10 ff. on this town).

[2] Provided *t* = Hebrew ד, as in *M'ktry* (*E* 5). Later the town is called *Rṯn* (list of Thutmosis III, No. 64).

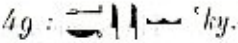
[3] See at length Maisler, *J.P.O.S.*, 10 (1930), p. 182.

[4] On the name אברם see Albright, *J. B. L.*, 54 (1935), p. 193 ff. who has analysed the various interpretations of the name.

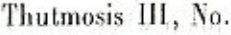
Shoshenq list of Palestinian towns (No. 72); its situation however is unknown [1]. The assumption that it denotes the name of a tribe is not impossible [2].

E 48 :  *'Išn(u)wš.*—

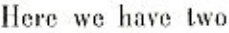
This place-name is inexplicable. Perhaps the first element may represent *išn* which we also have in the place-name of *Knt'šn* (list of Thutmosis III, No. 44) = *Ginti-ašna* (*EA* 319, 5); cf. אֶשְׁנָה, *Jos.*, 15, 33; 43.

E 49 :  *'ky.*—

Most probably pronounced *'Ak(k)iyu* (with gentilitic ending *y* = *iyu*). As recognized by Posener, it is the town of *Acre*, called *Akkâ* in the 'Amârna tablets, in the Egyptian sources of the New Kingdom *'k* (List of Thutmosis III, No. 47), Hebrew עַכּוֹ, Phoenician עכא, Arabic *'Akkâ*, the present *Tell Fuḫḫâr* near *Acre* [3].

E 50-51 :  *Kwšw.*—

Here we have two chiefs of the tribes of *Kwšw* = *Kûšu*. See above, p. 37-38.

E 52-53 :  (and ) *Šwtw.*

E 52 is called the *'chieftain of Upper Šwtw'* and *E 53* *'the chieftain of Lower Šwtw'*. The Berlin execration texts mention three lords of *Šwtw*. Like *Kwšw*, *Šwtw* is the name of a country and a people. Already Gressmann [4] thought of *Šutû/i*, an Assyrian denotation for Bedouin tribes

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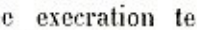
[1] This name was combined by several scholars with the preceding *phqr'* (No. 71) and interpreted as *the field of Abram* (Spiegelberg, *Randglossen*, p. 14; Breasted, *A.J.S.L.*, 1904, p. 22 ff.), though on insufficient grounds. The explanation אֶבְלִים is not impossible; see Simons, *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographic Lists*, p. 183; Noth, *Z.D.P.V.*, 1938, p. 291.

[2] It would, of course, be going too far to suggest a tribal name connected with *Abram the Hebrew*.

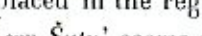
[3] Cf. Abel, *Géographie*, II, p. 235 f.

[4] *Z.A.W.*, 1926, p. 280 ff.

of the Syrian desert. Albright[1] has directed our attention to *Šutûm*, *Šutû*, the Akkadian denotation for West Semitic nomad tribes appearing frequently since Rîm-Sin (ca. 1750 B. C.). The countries mentioned in the execration texts were identified by him with שׁת of Bile'ams oracle (*Num.* 24, 17), an archaic denotation for *Mo'ab*. The lands of *Šutu* and *Kûšu* were probably neighbouring countries. '*Southern Šutu*' is best placed in the region of *Mo'ab*, in the neighbourhood of *Kûšu*, while '*northern Šutu*' seems to be connected with the later land of *Gile'ad*[2].

E 54 :  *'Irqtm.*—

This is *'Ar'Irqatum*, an important town in Phoenicia. The same place-name also appears in the Berlin execration texts (f 12). This town is frequently mentioned in the Egyptian sources of the New Kingdom (*'rqt*) and in the 'Amârna tablets (*Ar'Irqata*), הָעַרְקִי in *Gen.* 10,17 and Ἄρκη of the Greek sources. The present Tell *'Arqâ* in the plain where the *Nahr el-Kebir* has its mouth[3]. *E 61* mentions the «*tribes of 'Irqt*», probably with the meaning of the Phoenician tribes of the land of *'Ar'Irqata* = *'Ar'Irqatum* (cf. *E 63* — *The tribes of Kbny* = Byblos).

E 55 :  *Šmw'nw.*—

This place-name, pronounced *Šamu'ânu*, has been recognized by Alt and Albright to represent a town in the Plain of Jezre'el known from the Egyptian sources of the New Kingdom (list of Thutmosis III, No. 35 : *Šm'n*) and the 'Amârna tablets (*Šamḫûna*, *E A* 225,4), which is called שֹׁמְרוֹן (LXX : Συμοών!) in *Jos.* 11,1; 12,20[4].

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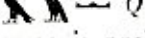
[1] *B.A.S.O.R.*, 83, p. 34, n. 8; *J.B.L.*, 1944, p. 220, n. 89.

[2] I am obliged to Mr. B. Grdseloff for the information that in the inscription describing the representation of the Semitic caravan from the tomb of Beni Ḥasan (Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, I, 28-31) the Semites with *'Ibš* (*'Abišar*) at the head are said to come from the land of *Śwtw*. As the caravan is shown bringing spices to Egypt, only the land of *Gile'ad* rich in spices can be meant by *Śwtw* (cf. *Gen.*, 37, 25; *Jer.*, 8, 22, etc.).

[3] See Albright, *B.A.S.O.R.*, 21, p. 4; *J.P.O.S.*, 8, p. 245; Noth, *Z.D.P.V.*, 1937, p. 236.

[4] See Albright, *B.A.S.O.R.*, 81, p. 19, n. 15; *J.B.L.*, 1939, p. 186; *B.A.S.O.R.*, 94, p. 25.

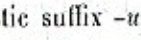
In the later sources the place appears in its Greek form as *Simonias*, Hebrew סימוניה, while the old name שמעון is also found in Talmudic literature [1]. The present *Tell Semûnîyeh*, with remains of the Middle and the Late Bronze Ages [2].

E 56 :  *Q;q;m.*—

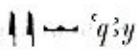
This place-name is probably pronounced *Qarqarum, Qarqôrum* (with the characteristic suffix *-um*).

It first suggests the land of *Qarqôr*, קַרְקֹר in the eastern desert or on its border (*Jud.* 8,10) [3].

The town of *Qarqar* in the land of Ḥamât in Syria known from Assyrian inscriptions is probably less likely.

E 57 :  *Šwśw.* —

This is probably the collective term for the wandering desert tribes *Š;św* which frequently appears in the documents of the New Kingdom; Hebrew שסה (originally ששה, cf. *Jes.* 10,13) 'Plunderer' is a frequent name for the 'Amaleqites (1 *Sam.* 14,48) and other nomad tribes on the border of the sown (*Jud.* 12, 14, 16, etc.). In the new historical text of the stela of Amenophis II *Š;św* is a section of the population of Palestine by the side of the *Ḥ;rw*, who formed the nucleus and the *'prw* (= cuneiform Ḫapiru). With regard to the form of the name cf. *Šwtw, Kwšw.*

E 58 :  *'q;y.* —

Certainly not *Ekron* עֶקְרוֹן, whose existence has been shown to date only from the end of the second millennium. This place-name probably contains the gentilic ending *y* = *iyu*. In spite of the phonetic difficulty (*q* = sem. ג), the identification with *Bethagla, Bethaglaim* (= בית עגלים)

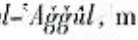
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[1] *Tosephta*, ed. by M. S. Zuckermandel, p. 71, l. 29. Cf. Klein, *B.J.P.E.S.*, 2, 2, p. 43, who, however, suggested that the place had been renamed at the time of the Maccabean Simon (שמעון). Cf. also Alt, *P.J.B.*, 33, p. 82, n. 2.

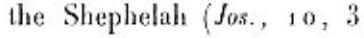
[2] See Maisler, *B.J.P.E.S.*, 1, 4, p. 1 ff.

[3] According to Musil, *Northern Heǧâz*, p. 284 : *Qarqar* in *Wâdî Sirḥân*.

south of Gaza, mentioned by Eusebius and Hieronymus (*Onom.*, 48, 19), modern *Tell el-ʿAǧǧûl*, may be proposed. This important site was occupied during the Middle Bronze I Age[1]. *ʿEglôn*, עֶגְלוֹן, the Canaanite royal city in the Shephelah (*Jos.*, 10, 3; 15, 39, etc.; cf. *Isq'* = Ashkelon, *E* 2), was suggested by Posener.

E 59 :  *ʾwšy*. —

This place-name has already been recognized by Posener to stand for the town of *Laish* (with gentilitic ending *y* = *iyu*). The town is called *Rws* in the list of Thutmosis III (No. 31), biblical לַיִשׁ, לֵישָׁה (Judges 18, 7, 27, later דָּן), the present *Tell el-Qâḍi*[2].

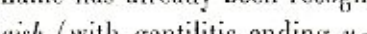
E 60 :  *Bwt-Šmš*. —

This place-name contains the element *bwt* and the theophoric name Šamšu. Albright[3] assumed the reading *g* in place of *b-w*, but this assumption cannot be accepted. The first element *bwt* = *but* is probably identical with Hebrew בָּתוּר in place-names and proper names like בָּתוּאֵל (I. *Chron.* 4, 30 = בתול, *Jos.* 19, 4; *Gen.* 22, 22).

A similar form is found in *mwt* = Hebrew מָתוּר (*Mwt'-Muti-ilu*, Sethe f. 17; cf. biblical מָתוּשֶׁלַח, מָתוּשָׁאֵל, *Gen.* 4, 18; 5, 21)[4].

E 61 :  *ʾsqt*. —

The *'tribes of 'sqt'* = *ʿAsʿIrqata*. See above *E* 54.

E 62 :  *M'kyw*. —

Here are the *'chiefs of M'kyw'* in general, without mention of their names. See above *E* 37.

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[1] See Maisler, *Z.D.P.V.*, 1933, p. 186 ff.; Albright, *A.J.S.L.*, 1938, p. 337 ff.

[2] Cf. Abel, *Géographie*, II, p. 302.

[3] *B.A.S.O.R.*, 83, p. 34, n. 9 : *G(?) tšmšw* = *Gitti(?)-šamšu*. Such a place-name in Syria-Palestine is not known however. On the other hand Albright has rightly rejected the identification of this name with בית שמש.

[4] It can hardly be assumed that the component *bwt* is a parallel form of *bêtu*, בית (Albright, *B.A.S.O.R.*, 81, p. 19, n. 14). Cf. the place-name *Bú-tú-ḫi-im* (*Gen.*) = *Batu-aḫim* in the Mari texts (Jean, *R.É.S.*, 1941, p. 126).

E 63 :  *Kbny*· —

Here too the *'tribes of Kbny'* are generally spoken of (cf. *E 61* : the «*tribes of 'iqt'*»).

Kbn spelt in its archaic form (with the gentilitic ending *y=iyu*), *Gubla* of the Mari texts and the 'Amârna tablets, גבל of the Phoenician inscriptions and the biblical sources, Βύβλος of the classical authors, the present *Gebeil*. While the Berlin execration texts mention the famous Phoenician port (f. 2), the source under discussion only speaks of the tribes of the Byblian. That Byblos had become independent in the meantime may be put forward as a suggestion only [1].

E 64 :  —

A country (?) *Y'nq'* seems also to be mentioned in *E 36*. This geographical term also appears in the Berlin texts (f. 4). Here «*all lords of Y'nq'*» are spoken of. It therefore refers to an important territory.

The association with the *'Anaqites* of Southern Palestine [2] is highly improbable. The suggestion may be worthy of consideration that the land of *Unqi* [3], is meant here which is known from cuneiform sources, *Onchae* of the classical authors (cf. Arabic *el-'Amûq*), the present *el-'Amq*, the plain of Antiochia [4]. This identification meets with a difficulty of spelling however, if one attempts to identify the land of Unqi with 'Inq of the Egyptian sources of the New Kingdom (List of Thutmosis III, No. 148 etc.), unless the confusion of 'ayin with aleph is due to the influence of the Non-Semitic population of Northern Syria in the middle of the second millennium [5].

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[1] Byblos became an autonomous state probably at the end of the xixth century (see Albright, *B.A.S.O.R.*, 83, p. 32). Strangely enough the denotation *The land of the Giblite* is still known in the Bible (*Jos.*, 13, 5).

[2] See Albright, *J.P.O.S.*, 8, p. 237, who has rightly pointed out that our *Y'nq'* is connected with biblical ענק only philologically.

[3] On the land of *Unqi* see Dussaud, *Topographie de la Syrie*, p. 425, 445, 469.

[4] See Abel, *J.P.O.S.*, 13, p. 151 f.

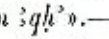
[5] It may be noted that at the time of the Middle and New Kingdom the Egyptians had regular contact with the coast of Northern Syria; see Virolleaud, *Le légende phénicienne de Danel*, p. 12 ff.; Schaeffer, *Ugaritica*, I, p. 20 ff.

At the end of the Brussels texts we find an enumeration of various peoples generally denoted as *ʿ3mw*. This denotation is also found in the Berlin execration texts. This collective name of the population of Syria-Palestine current since the time of the Old Kingdom and used in a very wide sense lends itself as little to interpretation as the terms *Stt* and *Mntw* which were used from old times in a stereotyped manner so as to be hardly understood and also occur in our source (See below). Of their meaning and origin we know nothing.

At the time of the Middle Kingdom and still more at the time of the New Kingdom they are conventional terms with which the Egyptians refer to their neighbours in Asia. Any possible association with certain countries or national groups known to us from cuneiform or biblical sources is only based on anachronistic hypotheses, it is therefore not worth considering more closely.

The list of the *ʿ3mw* peoples is given by Posener under *F 1-7* :

F 1 :  «all the *ʿ3mw*».—
F 2 : «*from ʾIw3ṯ*».—
F 3 : «*from ʿmt...*».—
F 4 : «*from ʿqḥ*».—
F 5 : «*from Dmʾṯw*».—
F 6 : «*from Ḥsšwm*».—
F 7 : «*Mntw in Stt*».

F 2 :  *ʾIw3ṯ*.—

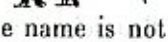
A place-name *ʾIw3ṯ* is mentioned in the Berlin texts (f. 3) between *Byblos* and *Yʿnq*. This name, certainly pronounced *Ullaza*, is closely connected with the port *ʾIṯ* (also *wlṯ*) known from the Egyptian sources of the New Kingdom, *Ullaza* of the ʿAmârna tablets, which is rightly placed in Phoenicia north of Byblos[1].

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[1] The northern situation of *Ullaza* is clearly shown in the ʿAmârna Tablets, where the port is often mentioned in connection with *Ṣumur* (*Ṣimirra* of Assyrian royal inscriptions, Σιμυρα of the classical authors, which is placed in *Ṣumrah* ca. 40 km. north of *Tripoli*), *ʾArqata* (see above, p. 56), and even with the

F 3 :  *ʾmt*.....

The name is not completely extant.

F 4 :  *ʾqḫ*.—

A place-name *ʾqḫ* is mentioned in the Berlin texts (f. 11) before *ʿʾqtm* (*ʿA/ʿIrqatum*, f. 12).

There is, however, no equivalent.

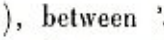
F 5 :  *Dmʾtʿw*.—

This name is also found in the Berlin texts, i. e. in the form of *Dmʾtyw*[1] (f. 16), between *ʾsqʾnw* (*Ashkelon*) and *Mwtʾ* (*Muti-ilu*) and *ʾwšlmm* (*Jerusalem*).

I should like to suggest that it is דוּמָה (<דוֹמָה), the archaic name of the land of Edom. *Jes.* 21,11 has דוּמָה parallel to שֵׂעִיר *Seʿir* :

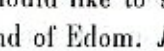
מַשָּׂא דוּמָה. אֵלַי קוֹרֵא מִשֵּׂעִיר

In my opinion it belongs to the number of archaic names of countries and peoples extant in the Bible (cf. כוּשָׁן and שׁת which are found again in the execration texts).

F 6 :  *Ḥšwm*.—

The curious spelling of the name is noteworthy.

It is certainly not the town of *Ḥaššum* on the Middle Euphrates[2] known from the Mari documents and the Boghazköi inscriptions.

F 7 :  *Mntw m Stt*.—

On the archaïc names of the Asiatic peoples and countries, cf. p. 64.

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island town of *Arwad* (see Weber, in *Kundtzon, Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, II, p. 1141 ff.). On the other hand Noth, particularly on the basis of the topographical list of Sethos Ist, assumed the situation of *Ullaza* to have been south of *Tyre* (Noth, *Z.D.P.V.*, 1937, pp. 219 ff., 229 ff.). A connection with the Syrian place-name *U-li-si-im* (gen.), known from an inscription of Narâm-Sin King of Akkad (Gadd-Legrain, *Ur Excavation Texts* I, No. 257 II, 13 and p. 80), is possible.

[1] For the orthography of the name of *Mʿkyw* (*E 62*) and *MʿKʾw* (*E 37*).

[2] Dossin, *Syria*, 20 (1939), p. 109; Güterbock, *Z.A.*, 44, p. 126 ff.

A great number of the names of places, districts and peoples in Syria and Palestine which are mentioned in the Brussels texts can be localised with some certainty. On the other hand, there is quite a number for which only a hypothetical identification was possible or even none at all. In the face of the material extant, according to the Berlin execration texts and other sources of the Middle Kingdom, Syria-Palestine, as has already been mentioned, appears as a somewhat loose conglomeration of various political formations, city states, districts, federations of tribes, which ruled over large territories subject to a great extent to Egyptian sovereignty or at least to the influence of Egypt.

The first place in this material is taken by Southern Phoenicia, including the Plain of Acre; especially, the ports of *Tyre* (*E 35*) and *Acre* (*E 49*), whose commercial relationship with Egypt at the time of the Middle Kingdom ensured an important economic position to these city-states. To them must be added *Byblos* (*E 63*), *Ullaza* (*F 2*), *'Arqatum* (*E 54, 61*) in Northern Phoenicia, and probably also *Y'nq'* (*E 36, 64*), provided it may be identified with *Unqi*. However, it must be noted that *Byblos* and *Ullaza* are not mentioned as towns or regions in the Brussels texts (in contrast to the Berlin texts); only the tribes of *Byblos* and the *'3mw* of *Ullaza* are spoken of. From this fact one may draw the conclusion that these ports had meanwhile freed themselves from Egyptian hegemony. It is interesting that many of the towns mentioned in the sources which have been dealt with here are situated in the Plain of Acre, besides *Acre* (*E 49*) *Akšapa* (Achshaph, *E 11*), *Mish'al* (*E 13*) and perhaps also *'Aśrapa* (*E 12*) and *'Arḥabum* (*Reḥob, E 14*). This corresponds to the archaeological situation in several sites of the plain. Of the other settlements in the coastal plain of Palestine only two are confirmed in the texts, *i. e. 'Apiqum* (Aphek, *E 9*) and *Ashkelon* (*E 6*). The association of *R(3)yt'* (*E 44*) with *Lydda* is very doubtful. On the other hand it corresponds to archaeological facts that so few places of the Brussels texts belong to the Cisjordan mountain range, properly only *Jerusalem* (*E 45*) and *Shechem* (*E 6*). To the Plain of Jezreel only *Šam'ânu* (biblical Shimron-Συμεών, *E 55*) belongs with any certainty, to the Plain of *Bethshan—'Aš'ânu* (*E 3*), if it is really identical

with Bethshan, and doubtfully also *'Arḥabum* (*Reḥob, E 14*). To this region *ʿny* (*E 10*) probably belongs as well.

Corresponding to the close settlement of the Jordan plain in the Middle Bronze I Age, we have the fact that several places are known in this fertile plain, above all *Laish* (*E 59*), *Iyon* (*E 18*), *Hazor* (*E 15*), *Piḥilum* (*Pella, E 8*) and perhaps also *H;mw* (*E 4*), *Migdôl* (*E 5*) and *Tw;wdnw* (*E 41*).

Numerous geographical names are closely associated with the fertile regions of Northern Transjordan, above all *Ashtaroth* (*E 25*), *Buṣrânu* (*Bosora, E 27*), *Zirum* (*E 19*), *Qanû* (*E 32*), *Yabilu* (*E 43*), and the regional and ethnographical name *M'k'w-M'kyw* (*E 37, 62*).

To the north of it extended the land of *'Âpum* (*E 33/4*), the region of Damascus. The regions of Gileʿad and Northern Moab are denoted by the comprehensive regional and ethnographical name of *Šutu* (*E 52/3*). The ethnographical name *Kûšu* (*E 50/1*) is used for Southern Moab and the South-Palestinian steppe. The land of Edom-Seʿir is probably called *Dm't'w* (*F 5*), which is also a regional and ethnographical term. The south eastern steppe seems to be denoted by *Qarqarum* (*E 56*), while the remaining nomadic tribes generally appear as Šušû (*E 57*).

As to Southern Syria, attention must be particularly drawn to the two names *Baqʿatum* (*E 20*), probably denoting the Lebanon Valley (el-Bâqaʿ) and *Šaryânu* (*E 30*), the Antilebanon. Into this region we must also place *Maša* (*E 29*), *Kunu* (*E 7*) and *R(w)by* (*E 31*), if it is really identical with biblical *Lebô*, the present *Labwe*. *'Âra* (*E 21*) should be probably placed in N.-W. Syria. It is fairly obvious from the geographical and ethnographical names dealt with that all regions of Palestine and Phoenicia as well as southern Syria, including the border lands of the desert, are represented in the Brussels texts. It seems that the whole of the Syrian coast as far as the river ʿAfrîn in the north was implied by the authors of the texts, while Central Syria includes the Lebanon, the Antilebanon and the Damascene.

These indications, no doubt, determine the limits of the Egyptian influence in Asia. In Syria it extends to the state of *Qaṭana* (*Qaṭna*) which, by the side of *Yamḫad* with the capital of Aleppo, is known to

us from the Mari documents as an independent political unit in the XVIIIth century [1].

The Brussels texts are significant for the situation in Palestine, Southern Syria and along the Phoenician coast at the time of the Middle Kingdom and offer us much richer material than the older Berlin texts. Further study of this material is bound to produce important results with regard to the origin and evolution of state-formations in Syria-Palestine at the time of the Hyksos and the Pharaos of the New Kingdom [2].

Jerusalem, 5th September 1945.

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[1] Dossin, *R.A.*, 36, p. 46 ff.; Albright, *B.A.S.O.R.*, 78, p. 23 ff.; Smith, *Alalakh and Chronology* (1940), p. 10 ff.

[2] These problems will be dealt with separately.

ÉDÔM,

D'APRÈS LES SOURCES ÉGYPTIENNES.

PAR

BERNHARD GRDSELOFF.

Nelson Glueck, dans son ouvrage intitulé : *The other Side of the Jordan*, paru en 1940 et déjà devenu classique pour tous les aspects archéologiques se rattachant à l'histoire d'Édôm et de la Transjordanie, écrit à la page 149 :

«In this region we find a gap in the history of permanent settlement extending from the end of the xxth to the beginning of the xnth century B. C., and another one from the end of the vith century until about the iird century B. C. It is significant with regard to the earlier gap in history in Transjordan as far as the Jerash region, that neither the Egyptian lists of towns nor the Tell el-Amarna tablets refer to Eastern Palestine in this period. Edom and Seir, for instance, are first mentioned in the records of Merneptah (1225-1215 B. C.) and Ramses III (1198-1167 B. C.). It may furthermore be mentioned in this connection, that there are no archaeological traces of Horites in either the hill country of Edom or the Wadi Arabah or in southernmost Palestine, unless under Horites are to be understood purely nomadic groops, such as the Edomites must have found and conquered when they entered southern Transjordan.»

Les sources égyptiennes éclairant l'histoire de Séïr et d'Édôm sont-elles si tardives comme le prétend l'éminent explorateur américain? Ses données ne sont-elles pas tirées uniquement de deux sources, le Pap. Anastasi VI,

54-55 et le Pap. Harris I, 76, 9-11 [1], alors qu'il existe dans les textes égyptiens de nombreuses références plus anciennes et plus précises qui attestent que les Égyptiens avaient connaissance des mouvements ethniques dans Édôm et la Transjordanie? En fait, nous allons tenter de montrer que les sources égyptiennes corroborent, entièrement, d'une part l'ensemble des faits archéologiques relevés dans ces contrées, et, d'autre part, les souvenirs précis que les textes bibliques ont perpétués relatifs à Séïr et Édôm [2].

Dès qu'il est question dans la Bible d'Édôm, les rédacteurs sont d'accord sur le fait précis que les Édômites sont des envahisseurs tardifs dans un pays anciennement habité par les Séïrites qui sont rattachés à la famille des Horites. Dans le Deutéronome, on lit parmi les gloses deux passages parallèles qui formulent clairement ce fait :

Deut., II, 12 :

« Seïr était habité autrefois par les Horiens ; les enfants d'Ésaü les chassèrent, les détruisirent devant eux, et s'établirent à leur place, comme l'a fait Israël dans le pays qu'il possède et que l'Éternel lui a donné. »

Deut. II, 22 :

« C'est ainsi que fit l'Éternel pour les enfants d'Ésaü, qui habitent en Séïr, quand il détruisit les Horiens devant eux ; ils les chassèrent et s'établirent à leur place, jusqu'à ce jour. »

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[1] Le livre de chevet des sémitisants et biblistes pour la géographie ancienne d'après les sources égyptiennes semble toujours être celui de W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa nach altägyptischen Denkmälern*, Leipzig 1893. La question d'Édôm y est traitée aux pages 31-142. Du point de vue historique, l'étude de base au sujet d'Édôm est celle d'Eduard Meyer, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, Halle 1906, p. 329-363. Un grand progrès dans la question a été marqué par H. L. Ginsberg et B. Maisler, *Semitised Hurrians in Syria and Palestine*, *J P O S*, vol. 14 (1934), p. 256 sqq. à la suite de l'étude de E. A. Speiser, *Ethnic Movements in the Near East in the Second Millenium B. C.*, Baltimore 1933, p. 27 sqq.

[2] On croyait à un certain moment que les textes de Ras Shamra allaient nous renseigner le plus copieusement sur le Négueb et le pays d'Édôm. Virolleaud et Dussaud avaient tiré du « Poème de Keret » de nombreuses indications topographiques de ces contrées qui semblaient révolutionner nos connaissances. A l'étude plus approfondie des textes, leur interprétation dut être abandonnée. Cf. W. F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, Baltimore 1942, p. 59-60.

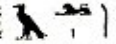
Ces textes tardifs de la Bible pourraient paraître suspects s'ils ne s'appuyaient pas sur des données précises relatées dans des parties plus anciennes du Pentateuque[1]. Or, on sait que le deutéronomiste s'inspire ici du chapitre 36 de la *Genèse* qui nous a conservé des extraits d'une chronique des rois d'Édôm précédés de la généalogie d'Ésaü, le patriarche des Édômites. Le chapitre s'ouvre sur les mots : « Voici la postérité d'Ésaü, qui est Édôm.» Puis, on lit (36, 8) : « Ésaü s'établit dans la montagne de Séïr. Ésaü, c'est Édôm»; (36, 9) : « Voici la postérité d'Ésaü, père des Édômites, dans la montagne de Séïr.» Suit à présent la liste généalogique d'Ésaü et parallèlement court une généalogie de Séïr, le père des Séïrites, d'origine horite qui habitèrent la montagne de Séïr avant les Édômites (36, 20) : « Voici les fils de Séïr, le Horite, anciens habitants du pays»; vient ensuite la liste des chefs des Horites et enfin le passage célèbre dû à la rédaction de *JE* qui forme un extrait de la chronique des rois d'Édôm « avant qu'un roi régnât sur les enfants d'Israël». L'extrait comprend une liste de huit rois qui se succédèrent directement l'un à l'autre. Si nous accordons en moyenne vingt-deux ans à une génération et plaçons l'avènement de Saül en 1020 av. J.-C., la chronologie des rois d'Édôm remonterait jusqu'à 1200 environ avant notre ère. Or, cette date tombe sous le règne de Ramsès III.

Avant de procéder plus loin, voici d'abord quelques éclaircissements concernant ces données bibliques. C'est autour de la montagne de Séïr et dans l'ʿArabah[2] qu'étaient centrés les Horites, ou Horiens, avant d'en être expulsés par les Édômites sémitiques, étroitement apparentés aux Hébreux. A la suite des récentes recherches, on a abandonné tout à fait l'ancienne erreur consistant à expliquer le terme Horite par « habitant des cavernes». Aujourd'hui, il ne fait plus aucun doute que חרי (Χορραῖοι) « Horite» est le nom biblique pour le cunéiforme « Khurri» et l'égyptien

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[1] Raymond Weill, *Phoenicia and Western Asia to the Macedonian conquest*, London 1940, p. 105.

[2] Des études détaillées de cette contrée ont paru antérieurement à celles de N. Glueck : cf. les explorations de Fritz Frank, *Aus der ʿAraba, I. Reiseberichte, ZDPV*, 57 (1934), p. 191-280 et pl. 9-32. Le complément historique à cette partie descriptive des explorations est fourni par A. Alt, *Aus der ʿAraba, ZDPV*, 58 (1935), p. 1-78.

 *Ḥ;rw·j* « Khurrite », ethnique qui surgit à la veille de l'expulsion des Hyksôs. On a démontré d'ailleurs que les noms des clans horites énumérés dans la *Genèse* 36 sont essentiellement de caractère khurrite. Séïr ne représente donc pas l'élément autochtone du territoire d'Édôm, mais la couche ethnique qui s'est déposée sur ce territoire à la suite de la migration des peuples asianiques qui, probablement pas avant 1900 av. J.-C., à partir du nord de la Mésopotamie, obtinrent l'hégémonie dans la plaine d'Alep et étendirent leurs conquêtes des deux côtés de la vallée du Jourdain jusqu'à la Vallée du Nil. Ce fut l'époque de la domination des Hyksôs qui dura environ 150 ans. Le signal de la retraite des Hyksôs de ces postes avancés semble avoir été donné par la prise d'Alep par les Hittites de Muršiliš Ier vers 1595 av. J.-C. [1]. Les Hyksôs se replièrent graduellement de la Vallée du Nil jusqu'à ce qu'ils parvinrent dans le Négueb palestinien : à Šaruḥen [2], ils se trouvèrent réunis aux Khurrites de Séïr et purent opposer au pharaon ʿAḥmôse une résistance de trois ans dans leur forteresse. Depuis lors, les Khurrites [3] sont une entité permanente de cette région, souvent rencontrés par les Égyptiens du Nouvel Empire.

Retournons à présent à la constatation de M. Glueck d'une interruption de la vie sédentaire à la fin du XXe siècle av. J.-C. en Transjordanie et dans les steppes méridionaux de la Palestine. A la page 123 de son ouvrage, il définit la civilisation à laquelle l'invasion des Hyksôs est venue mettre fin :

« Wherever there is a strong spring or other source of water, and a high,

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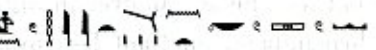
[1] Sidney Smith, *Alalakh and Chronology*, London 1940, p. 12-13. Cf. W. F. Albright, *A third revision of the early chronology of Western Asia*, *B. A. S. O. R.*, no. 88, December 1942, p. 31.

[2] Sur le Négueb palestinien cf. W. F. Albright, *Egypt and the early history of the Negeb*, *J.P.O.S.*, IV (1924), p. 131-161. Šaruḥen est maintenant situé à Tell el-Fâr'ah, à environ 29 kilomètres à l'est de Bersheba. Cf. *The Westminster Historical Atlas to the Bible*, édité par G. E. Wright et W. V. Filson, avec une introduction de W. F. Albright, Philadelphia 1945, pl. 4.

[3] Sur la civilisation des Khurrites, cf. Albrecht Goetze, *Hethiter, Churriter und Assyrer*, Oslo 1936, p. 79 sqq.

completely isolated, flat-topped hill with good soil, located preferably but not necessarely in the midst of the fertile region, there one may expect to find a walled site belonging to the xxiiird-xxth centuries B. C. The inhabitants of Transjordan during this period are predominantly an agricultural people. They used much excellent, if on the whole coarse, handmade pottery, and lived under a political system of apparently disunited feudal city-states. In their day the land was obviously flowing with milk and honey, rich in grain, and replete with wine. The limits of cultivation were extended even to difficult *wadi*-slopes.»

A quel peuple devrons-nous attribuer cette civilisation sédentaire et agricole du xxiii[e] au xx[e] siècle av. J.-C., dans ces territoires? Ce sont exclusivement les sources égyptiennes qui nous fournissent la réponse. Les «Listes de Proscription» (*Ächtungstexte*), qui datent du début du Moyen Empire, mentionnent, parmi les nombreux ennemis de l'Égypte deux «chefs des tribus de *Kwšw*» (Posener, E 50-51)[1] :



Nous devons aux recherches d'Albright et de Maisler[2] la découverte de l'identité de ces tribus de *Kwšw* et des nomades de Kûšân, nom archaïque des Midianites cité par *Habakuk* III, 7 :

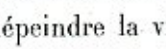
> «*Je vois dans la détresse les tentes de Kûšân,*
> *et les tentes du pays de Midian sont dans l'épouvante.*»

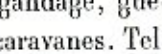
Le parallélisme des membres rend l'identité des deux termes évidente. Les établissements de ces *Kwšw* ne se trouvaient pas seulement dans le sud de la Transjordanie (Séïr-Édôm), mais encore dans le steppe sudpalestinien où le centre semble avoir été à Ḳadeš (Wadî el-Qudeirât) dans le désert de Zîn. Ainsi, dans le train des envahisseurs hyksôs venus du Nord, les Khurrites, par une rapide avance, détruisirent tous les

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[1] Georges Posener, *Princes et pays d'Asie et de Nubie*, Bruxelles 1940, p. 62-69.

[2] Voir dans le présent *Bulletin* les intéressantes remarques à ce sujet de B. Maisler, *Palestine at the Time of the Middle Kingdom in Egypt*, p. 37-38.

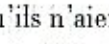
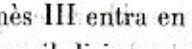
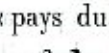
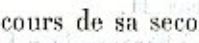
établissements de *Kwšw* qui ne furent pas rebâtis par les envahisseurs. D'où l'hiatus de six siècles à partir de ce moment dans la vie sédentaire dans ces régions dont parle M. Glueck. Le caractère purement nomade de la vie des Khurrites dans le Négueb, et dans Édôm et Moab, se dégage nettement des sources égyptiennes. Conformément à la nouvelle situation qui s'était produite dans ces territoires à la suite de l'apparition des Khurrites comme élément prépondérant de la population, les Égyptiens du Nouvel Empire ne parlaient plus des tribus de *Kwšw*, sédentaires et agricoles, mais du peuple des Šōs : , *Š3św*, le peuple de bergers nomades. Il nous faut donc tout d'abord éclaircir cette nouvelle dénomination.

Déjà Champollion avait entrevu la relation entre le *Š3św* des hiéroglyphes et le copte ϣⲱⲥ « berger », plur. ϣⲱⲱⲥ. D'autre part, *Š3św* en égyptien semble être le participe substantivé dérivant de la racine  *š3ś* « errer, aller d'endroit à endroit »[1]. Ce terme convient donc parfaitement à dépeindre la vie nomade des Bédouins qui vivent sous la tente et élèvent leur bétail. Maîtres incontestés des déserts, ils se livrent souvent au brigandage, guettant les voyageurs sur les routes et s'attaquant même aux caravanes. Tel dut être le type d'existence des habi-

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[1] Cf. B. Gunn and A. H. Gardiner, *The Expulsion of the Hyksôs, JEA*, 5 (1919), p. 38, n. 2 : « The derivation of the Coptic word ϣⲱⲥ from Egyptian *Š3sw* goes back to Champollion, and may be regarded as the more certain since the word *'3m* (*'A'amu*) had undergone practicaly the same change of meaning in Coptic (ⲁⲙⲉ *bubulcus*), as Max Müller, *Studien zur Vorderasiatischen Geschichte*, p. 6, n. 1, points out. » Ce point a été repris aussitôt par Gardiner, *Military Road between Egypt and Palestine, JEA*, 6, 1920, p. 100, n. 1 : « While most recent writers connect the name of the Shosu with the West-Semitic root שָׁסָה, Sethe has recently returned to the old etymology from Egyptian *š3s* « to wander » (*Nachrichten v. d. kön. Ges. der Wissensch., phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1916, p. 130); he also interestingly shows how both the names Shosu and the still older name 'A'amu given to the Semites came to mean « herdsman » in Coptic times (ϣⲱⲥ, ⲁⲙⲉ) because in contrast with the settled agricultural Egyptians the Semites could be regarded as nomades and a pastoral people. » Encore tout récemment W. F. Albright dans *B. A. S. O. R.*, 89, February 1943, p. 32, n. 27 souscrit à la thèse de Sethe, et écrit : « Under no circumstances can the Egyptian word be derived from the Canaanite, as thought by Max Müller and others. »

tants khurrites dans cette partie du monde ancien. Rien d'étonnant, par conséquent, qu'ils n'aient laissé des vestiges matériels de leur occupation.

Déjà Thoutmès III entra en contact hostile avec ces Bédouins. En l'an 39 de son règne, il dirigea sa 14e campagne asiatique contre le , « pays du Négueb » palestinien [1] où s'étaient révoltés les , « coupables de Šōs » [2]. Son fils, le roi Aménophis II, au cours de sa seconde campagne en l'an 9 menée contre la ville  d'« Apheq » (Râs el-ʿAïn), au sud de la Palestine, ramena vivant à Memphis  « 15200 Šōs » [3] prisonniers, probablement durant sa traversée du Négueb. Cette dernière campagne est mémorable entre toutes : pour la première fois dans l'histoire, on y voit côte à côte les Šōs et les ʿAperw. Au cours des opérations, le roi égyptien s'empare d'un nombre très considérable d'ʿAperw : dans la liste des prisonniers la mention des « 15200 Šōs vivants » est précédée des , « 3600 ʿAperw ». Or, il ne fait plus aucun doute aujourd'hui que les ʿAperw du temps d'Aménophis II doivent être les Khabiri des *Lettres d'El-ʿAmarna*, voire le peuple des Hébreux [4]. Ces Hébreux s'attaquent aux roitelets de la Palestine dont les appels au secours retentissent dans leur correspondance aux pharaons. Leurs bandes pénètrent jusqu'au sud de la Palestine et, bientôt, elles déterminent des changements dans l'aspect politique et ethnique du Négueb.

Nous allons démontrer à présent que ce bouleversement correspond à l'invasion des Édômites à Séïr attestée par le récit biblique. Nous verrons aussi par les contre-coups, que cette invasion détermine, combien la poussée sémitique devait être forte : nous assisterons alors à un véritable

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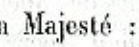
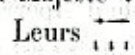
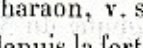
(1) *Urk.*, IV, 890 (biographie du général Amenemhab).

(2) *Urk.*, IV, 721. L'identité des deux opérations a été reconnue par Breasted, *Ancient Records*, II, p. 229.

(3) A. M. Badawi, *Die neue historische Stele Amenophis' II., Annales du Service*, t. XLII (1943), p. 21 *g*, l. 30. Nous nous proposons de publier incessamment une étude détaillée de cet important document.

(4) Cette double équation est maintenant, après la découverte de nouveaux documents égyptiens relatifs aux ʿAperu, plus séduisante que jamais (voir plus loin, p. 98).

exode des Šōs khurrites, en d'autres termes, des Séïrites, des territoires du Sud, et leur émigration, soit vers les frontières de l'Égypte à l'Ouest, soit vers le Nord afin de se réunir à leurs frères khurrites qui venaient de tomber sous la domination hittite. Ainsi, la date précise de l'invasion édômite est l'apogée de l'époque ʿamarnienne, suivie peu après par l'émigration des Séïrites qui toucha de près l'Égypte et à laquelle s'opposèrent vigoureusement les rois Séthos Ier et Ramsès II.

Quand Séthos Ier monta sur le trône des pharaons le 7 Khoïak [1] d'une année apokatastasique, c'est-à-dire 1314 av. J.-C. [2], il trouva tout le territoire désertique qui relie l'Égypte à l'Asie en bouillonnement. Les grands reliefs de Karnak, représentant les guerres de ce roi, portent des inscriptions [3] qui décrivent clairement la situation : l'an 1 de Séthos Ier : « on vint dire à Sa Majesté : Les coupables  de Šōs ont tenté une révolte. Leurs  chefs de clans (c'est le terme égyptien correspondant à אלופי *Gen.*, 36, 17) se sont tous réunis et se tiennent au haut des tells de la Palestine. Ils ont commencé le tumulte et les troubles. Chacun tue son prochain, sans se soucier des lois du Palais. » Le roi décide alors immédiatement d'entreprendre une campagne punitive qui s'avéra d'un succès complet. C'est ainsi qu'on lit encore sur les reliefs de Karnak : « L'an 1 de Séthos Ier : le désastre qu'a produit le fort glaive de Pharaon, v. s. f.! parmi les  coupables de Šōs, depuis la forteresse de Tjaru (Tell Abu Ṣêfeh, à quelques kilomètres à l'est d'El Ḳanṭarah) jusqu'à P3-K3n'n3 (Gaza [4], la capitale égyptienne du Canaʿan). » L'action se déroule donc dans le désert le long de cette route célèbre reliant l'Égypte à la Palestine. Les reliefs de Karnak

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[1] Kurt Sethe, *Zur Jahresrechnung des Neuen Reichs*, *Ä.Z.*, 58, p. 41-42.

[2] D'après les calculs récents de J. W. S. Sewell dans S. R. K. Glanville, *The Legacy of Egypt*, Oxford 1942, rectifiant la date proposée par Borchardt, *Mittel zur zeitlichen Festlegung von Punkten der ägyptischen Geschichte*, etc., p. 122. Cette rectification a été endossée par Sidney Smith, *Alalakh and Chronology*, London 1940, p. 1, n. 1.

[3] On consultera ces reliefs le plus commodément dans les grandes reproductions photographiques de Wreszinski, *Atlas*, II, pl. 34, 39 et 40.

[4] W. F. Albright, *J.P.O.S.*, 4 (1924), p. 139-140 où l'auteur se refère à A. H. Gardiner, *J.E.A.*, 6, p. 104.

représentent ici une des plus anciennes tentatives de dresser une sorte de carte géographique de cette route du désert, en indiquant successivement les différents points d'eau, tantôt fortifiés, tantôt se trouvant en dehors des murs du fort. Le point de départ était Sîle (Tjaru) [1] sur la frontière égyptienne, et de là la route se dirigeait vers la côte et longeait le bord de la mer jusqu'à El-ʿArish (Rhinocolura), et plus loin, à Raphia et Gaza. Dans la suite de la campagne, Séthos Ier parvient encore à mâter une révolte des  ʿAperw dans le voisinage de Beth-Shan [2], et réussit une incursion dans les monts du Liban. A sa rentrée triomphale à Tjaru, il est suivi de files de prisonniers de Šōs que le texte explicatif à Karnak décrit en ces termes : « Le butin que Sa Majesté à rapporté des Šōs et que Sa Majesté a pris Elle-même en l'an 1. » Ainsi, sous le règne de Séthos Ier (1314 av. J.-C.), l'Égypte voit l'approche des Séïrites vers les frontières de la Vallée du Nil. Des hordes compactes occupent les points d'eau entre Tjaru et Gaza et coupent la ligne vitale qui relie l'Égypte à l'Asie. Cette poussée des Šōs vers l'ouest ne peut être que la conséquence de l'irruption des Édômites dans leurs foyers paisibles autour de Séïr depuis l'époque ʿamarnienne. Le roi Séthos Ier par son action énergique, frappe les Bédouins séïrites dans la péninsule du Sinaï et en repousse les restes vers la Palestine. Depuis lors, nous verrons les Šōs se retirer vers le Nord, après que leur expansion vers l'Ouest leur eût été rigoureusement interdite.

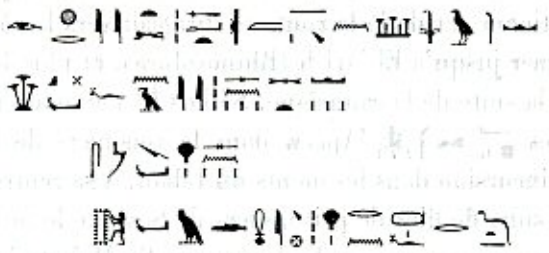
Le fils de Séthos Ier, Ramsès II paracheva l'anéantissement des Šōs dans le Négueb et dans la montagne de Séïr, entre l'an 5 et l'an 8 de

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[1] W. F. Albright, *The town of Sellê (Zaru) in the ʿAmarnah Tablets, J.E.A.*, 10, p. 6-8.

[2] Ce point ressort de la stèle S. 885 A et B du Palestine Archaeological Museum de Jérusalem qui fut découverte par Clarence S. Fisher en 1921 à Beth-Shan. L'inscription de cette stèle très effacée que nous avons réussi de lire presque entièrement, fit l'objet de notre communication à l'Institut d'Égypte, au Caire, à la séance du 8 janvier 1945, sous le titre : *Une rébellion des Hébreux en Palestine du Nord sous le règne de Séthos Ier*. Voir provisoirement la note dans la *Chronique d'Égypte*, nos 39-40, janvier et juillet 1945, p. 116-117, et *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*, tome XXVII, 1946, p. 449-450.

son règne. Le fait est attesté d'abord sur un fragment de stèle de ce roi découvert par Petrie [1] à Tell er-Retabeh (dans la région de Gošen), sur lequel Ramsès II est décrit :



« faisant un grand massacre dans le pays de Šōs ;
il pille leurs tells [2]*, en tuant au haut d'eux,*
puis les rebâtit avec des villes en son nom
pour l'éternité. »

Ailleurs, sur l'un des obélisques retrouvés à Tanis [3], Ramsès II s'attribue ces grands titres de gloire :



« Lion féroce au regard fascinateur qui a dévasté le pays de Šōs et qui a pillé la Montagne de Séïr de son bras vaillant. »

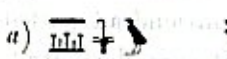
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[1] Petrie, *Israelite and Hyksos Cities*, 1906, p. 31 et pl. 32.

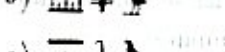
[2] Il ne fait pas de doute, en dépit de ce que dit le *Wörterbuch*, V, p. 401, 5-10, que *ṯs.t* ne constitue pas *toujours* un vocable distinct signifiant « montagne », mais qu'en réalité ce mot sous sa forme féminine s'est substitué depuis le Nouvel Empire à l'ancienne forme masculine *ṯs* « banc de sables, dune », d'où comme élément d'un nom géographique « tertre, tell ». C'est ainsi que nous avons aussi rendu le terme *ṯs.t* dans l'inscription des reliefs de Séthos Ier à Karnak, plus haut, p. 76.

[3] Pierre Montet, *Les Obélisques de Ramsès II, Kêmi*, 5, pl. III, obélisque I, face est. Cf. W. F. Albright, *The Oracles of Balaam, Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. LXIII (Sept. 1944), p. 228-9.

La guerre contre les Séïrites fut donc un événement retentissant à cette époque. Par une récente découverte, nous pouvons entrevoir maintenant l'envergure de cette action de Ramsès II : elle s'est déroulée jusqu'aux confins d'Édôm en Transjordanie. En 1938, M. Fairman [1] a dégagé le temple d''Amarah-ouest, au Soudan. Il y a découvert une liste asiatique qui date du règne de Ramsès II, mais qui semble être en majeure partie une réédition d'une liste d'Aménophis III qui figure à Sulb (Sôleb). Cependant, il s'y trouve un groupe séparé de toponymes rédigé très certainement à l'époque de Ramsès II et comprenant pour la première fois les noms de localités diverses du territoire des Šōs. En voici d'abord la liste :

a)  *Sēïr en Šōs.*

b)  *Labân en Šōs.*

c)  *Pēspōs en Šōs.*

d)  *Šam'ath en Šōs.*

e)  *Jahwă en Šōs.*

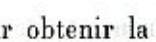
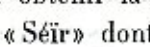
f)  *Arbela en Šōs.*

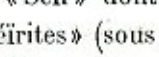
Nous allons tenter l'identification de ces localités dans l'ordre que suit la liste :

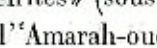
a) . Il saute aux yeux que la graphie égyptienne est ici légèrement défective, comme il ressort de la copie impeccable de M. Fairman, qu'il a bien voulu me communiquer. Il suffit de la corriger en

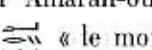
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[1] H. W. Fairman, *Preliminary Report on the Excavations at 'Amarah West,* Anglo-Egyptian Sudan 1938-1939, *JEA,* 25, p. 141 et pl. 14, fig. 4. Dans *JEA,* 26, p. 165, M. Fairman écrit : « These 'Amarah lists, which will shortly be published in detail, are ostensibly of Ramses II, but have little or no connexion with the Ramesside lists and seem to be related to the lists of Amenophis III at Sulb, whence it is possible they may have been copied. » Cf. aussi plus loin dans son compte rendu, p. 166, les rapprochements entre la liste d''Amarah et la liste de Sôleb. Je dois à l'amabilité de mon ami Fairman l'obtention d'une copie complète de cette nouvelle liste et la permission d'en faire usage ici.

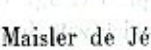
 pour obtenir la graphie correcte[1] rendant en égyptien : שְׂעִיר (LXX Σηειρ) « Séïr» dont on a tiré en égyptien le gentilice :  « Séïrites» (sous Ramsès III, voir plus loin). Il est clair que dans la liste d'ʿAmarah-ouest, Séïr est certainement un toponyme, tout comme  « le mont Séïr» (cf. הַר שֵׂעִיר *Gen.*, 36, 8 et souvent) sur l'obélisque de Tanis qui est contemporain, ou plus exactement comme אֶרֶץ שֵׂעִיר « le pays de Séïr» (*Gen.*, 36, 30). Cette contrée s'étend à l'est de l'ʿArabah, depuis l'extrémité de la mer Morte (El-Ghôr) jusqu'à la mer Rouge (ʿAkabah). Elle comprend au centre le Gebel Sherâh (Séïr) au sud de Pétra.

b) . Cette graphie égyptienne transposée en sémitique donne : לָבָן « Labân», la blanche, nom qui conviendrait parfaitement à une ville de tentes blanches. Cette localité est citée dans *Deut.*, I, 1 dans un contexte fort confus, mais qui ne laisse aucun doute que Labân représente un toponyme du territoire édômite.

Dans *Nombres*, 33, 18 et 20, Labân apparaît sous la graphie féminine : לִבְנָה « Libnah». Enfin, le même toponyme semble revenir sous la graphie  dans la liste géographique de Shoshenq Ier, mais sa localisation précise fait encore défaut.

c) . Ce nom géographique est intéressant par la graphie curieuse que le scribe égyptien a choisie : il a écrit deux fois de suite une particule possessive que l'on peut interpréter soit comme un pronom possessif, 3e pers. fém. sing. : « le sien» (en copte : ⲡⲱⲥ), soit comme l'article possessif correspondant : « son» (en copte : ⲡⲉⲥ). Nous sommes donc en présence d'une racine redoublée que l'on peut lire Pĕspĕs, Pōspōs ou mieux Pĕspōs. C'est en apparence une racine sémitique que l'on rapprocherait de l'arabe *bisbâs* « muscadier», en égyptien

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[1] Le Dr B. Maisler de Jérusalem auquel j'ai soumis le cas, se demande s'il ne faudrait pas retenir quand même la variante curieuse de notre liste. La réduplication de la consonne *r* dans ce nom géographique est attestée dans la graphie assyrienne : Sa'arri (Luckenbill, *Anc. Records*, vol. II, § 818). Ce phénomène ne serait pas d'ailleurs isolé parmi les graphies égyptiennes de toponymes asiatiques : cf. l'exemple classique :  כִּנֳרוֹת (Liste de Thoutmès III, n° 34).

 bśbś (*Chants d'amour de Turin*, II, 5). Le nom Pĕspōs s'identifierait-il avec la racine פספס qui d'après Eisler [1] signifie « bigarré », sens qui conviendrait à souhait à un campement de nomades? On sait que jusqu'à nos jours, les Bédouins se servent parfois de tissus rayés, en diverses couleurs, pour former les parois de leurs tentes.

Maisler préfère voir dans Pōspōs un nom d'origine Khurrite et le rapproche du nom propre *Pa-aś-pa-śu* attesté dans l'onomastique de Nuzi. Le mot désignerait quelque oiseau, probablement le canard [2].

d) . Il s'agit ici du gentilice bien attesté dans la Bible : שַׁמְעָתִי* (I, *Chr.*, II, 55 donne le plur. שַׁמְעָתִים), « le Sham'atien » qui est issu des Ḳénites, les forgerons ambulants de l'ʿArabah. Ainsi, parmi les sources extra-bibliques, les textes égyptiens confirment pour la première fois l'existence réelle de cette famille khurrite [3] des Sham'atiens, tout en nous apprenant qu'il y avait une ville dans Édôm qui portait son nom.

e) . Nous arrivons ici au toponyme peut-être le plus surprenant de cette nouvelle liste, car sa transcription à la lettre donne incontestablement : יהו « Jahwă ». Pour la valeur phonétique des deux premiers radicaux, nous avons l'analogie dans יְהוּד qui est contenu dans le toponyme : « la terre de Jahoud » au voisinage de Memphis [4]. Et n'est que la graphie syllabique (« group-writing ») pour rendre le *waw*. Or, on ne saurait manquer de rapprocher ce nom du tétragramme יהוה, dont la forme abrégée יהו, sans le ה final en guise de *mater lectionis* [5], est attestée dans les Papyrus araméens d'Éléphantine qui datent de l'époque perse. De même, le nom du roi d'Israël que les

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[1] Robert Eisler, *Der Bunte Rock Josephs*, *O. L. Z.*, 11, August 1908, Sp. 368-371 ; cf. *O. L. Z.*, 14, Sp. 509. Cf. aussi *bśbś* désignant une sorte d'oie ou de canard (*Wb.*, I, 477, 1).

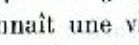
[2] J. J. Gelb, P. M. Purves, A. A. Macrae, *Nuzi Personal Names*, 1943, p. 311 G.

[3] Cf. Ginsberg et Maisler, *J.P.O.S.*, 14, p. 262, et Ginsberg, *The Ugaritic Texts*, Jerusalem 1936, p. 94.

[4] Kurt Sethe, *Spuren der Perserherrschaft in der späteren ägyptischen Sprache*, dans *Festgabe für Theodor Nöldeke*, Göttingen 1916, p. 138.

[5] Arthur Ungnad, *Aramäische Papyrus von Elephantine*, Leipzig 1911, Einführung, p. III-IV.

massorètes écrivent יְהוֹא. « Jéhou » est attesté en cunéiforme avec la vocalisation *Ja-u-a* dans les textes de Salmanassar II en 842 av. J.-C. [1]. Ainsi, il n'y a pas de doute que notre localité édômite portait d'après notre source qui date du règne de Ramsès II (vers 1300 av. J.-C.) le nom sacré du dieu des Israélites. Pour sa localisation plus précise, il nous manque encore tous les éléments. Mais nous pouvons montrer au moins que la ville de Jahwă dut être un centre ḳénite, tout comme Sham'ath. On sait que le tétragramme יהוה est une innovation qui date de l'époque de Moïse [2]. Afin d'expliquer aux Israélites le nom sacré יהו, leur chef eut recours à la forme développée d'après l'interprétation fournie par *Exode*, III, 14. Or, Moïse dont les liens familiaux avec Hobab, le Ḳénite, sont connus (*Juges*, IV, 11), semble avoir élevé un dieu ḳénite au rang de dieu national des Israélites opprimés en Égypte. Le succès de ce dieu auprès de ces derniers peut être cherché dans le fait que, par la bouche de Moïse, son élu, il promettait de les sortir d'Égypte. Dans tous les cas, on a écrit avec raison [3] : « it is clear that Jahweh had been recognized and had been worshipped before Israel came into contact with him. » Le fait nouveau qui émerge maintenant de notre documentation est donc l'existence d'une ville Jahwă en territoire ḳénite, ce qui rend l'origine ḳénite du culte de Jahwă encore plus probable [4].

f) . La graphie suggère immédiatement un nom tel que Arbela. On connaît une ville de ce nom à l'est du Tigre, à mi-chemin entre le Zab supérieur et le Zab inférieur, l'ancienne Urbilum, aujourd'hui Irbil (ou Arbil). C'est près de cette ville d'Arbèles que le 2 octobre 331 Alexandre le Grand remporta sa célèbre victoire d'Asie sur le roi de Perse. Une autre ville célèbre qui porta le nom Arbela est le site d'une

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[1] Cf. Ungnad, *O.L.Z.*, 9, 224 sqq.

[2] Arnold Schleiff, *Der Gottesname Jahwe*, *Z.D.M.G.*, 90 (nouvelle série, vol. 15), 1936, p. 696 sqq.

[3] Oesterley et Robinson, *Hebrew Religion, its Origin and Development*, London 1931, p. 138.

[4] Sur cette thèse voir H. S. Nyberg, *Deuteronomium* 33, 2-3, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. 92 (Nouv. Série, vol. 17) Leipzig 1938, p. 337-338 ; Julian Morgenstern, *Amos Studies*, vol. I (Hebrew Union College Press) Cincinnati 1941, p. 127-129.

ancienne synagogue juive à Irbid [1], à l'ouest du lac de Tibériade, près de Magdala en Galilée, souvent citée par l'historien Josèphe. Enfin, on connaît le grand tertre d'Irbid en Transjordanie [2], le בֵּית אַרְבֵאל « Beth-Arbēl » d'Osée, 10, 14. Il est un fait acquis de nos jours que les toponymes qui comportent l'élément בֵּית « maison » (temple du patron de la ville) dans la Bible et ailleurs, sont de formation relativement récente, en ce sens que cet élément ne saurait être considéré comme ayant primitivement fait partie du toponyme en question. Ainsi, nous pouvons placer notre localité à Irbid en Transjordanie qui à l'époque d'Osée portait déjà le nom Beth-Arbēl et qui avait été conquise, sans doute, par Salmanassar III (839-824 av. J.-C.), lors de ses campagnes contre les Araméens de Damas.

Au terme de ce rapide essai d'interprétation de la liste de Ramsès II concernant les localités conquises dans le « pays de Šōs », précisons l'étendue de ce pays à cette époque. Depuis que les Édômites se sont emparés de cette contrée, le mont Séïr en est toujours resté le centre, à l'est de l'ʿArabah. L'ancienne expansion des Séïrites vers le Négueb, à l'Ouest, semble avoir pris fin. Ce territoire se trouvait fermement entre les mains des Égyptiens, depuis Séthos Ier. Au nord du mont Séïr, toute la Transjordanie jusqu'à Beth-Arbēl leur était soumise, un territoire étendu que les armées de Ramsès II semblent avoir victorieusement traversé.

Entre-temps, l'émigration des Šōs séïrites, après la défaite que leur avait infligée Séthos Ier de la frontière de l'Égypte jusqu'à Gaza, avait viré vers le Nord. Ces Khurrites de Séïr décidèrent en effet de passer dans le camp ennemi et de se réunir aux adversaires les plus puissants de l'Égypte, les Hittites, qui, sous la direction de leur roi Muwattali, concentrèrent de très grandes forces près de Ḳadeš sur l'Oronte en l'an 5 de Ramsès II. La présence de clans séïrites dans les lignes ennemies est attestée explicitement dans les sources égyptiennes. L'une des versions du célèbre récit égyptien de la « Bataille de Ḳadeš », relate l'arrivée de deux Šōs que Muwattali envoya au-devant de l'armée de Ramsès II qui

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[1] Cf. Kohl et Watzinger, *Antike Synagogen in Galiläa*, Leipzig 1916, p. 69.

[2] Anton Jirku, *Durch Palästina und Syrien*, *Z.D.P.V.*, 53 (1930), p. 150.

pénétrait déjà en Syrie, pour espionner les mouvements de l'armée égyptienne. Les deux espions furent capturés et amenés devant Ramsès II à Šabtwna. Questionnés sur les positions occupées par les forces du roi hittite, les espions séïrites essayent d'induire Ramsès II en erreur : ils lui cachent la présence de Muwattali, tout près, à Ḳadeš, et affirment qu'à l'approche des armées égyptiennes, il s'est retiré très loin, jusqu'aux environs d'Alep. Voici en quels termes s'exprime l'inscription égyptienne au passage [1] qui nous intéresse :



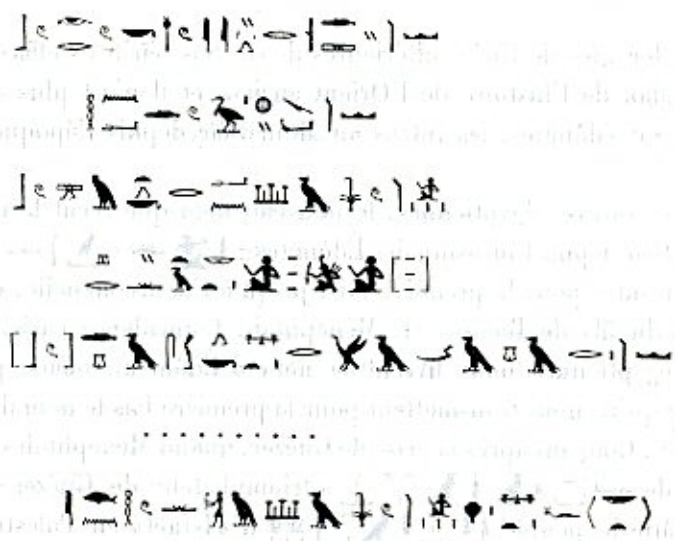
« Arrivée de deux Šōs des clans de Šōs, en disant à Sa Majesté : Ce sont nos frères, les chefs des clans qui sont chez le coupable de Ḫatti, qui nous ont fait venir auprès de Sa (sic) *Majesté. »*

On ne saurait définir plus clairement la position des Šōs à ce moment de l'histoire. Chassés de leurs foyers du Mont Séïr et repoussés par Séthos Ier depuis la frontière de l'Égypte jusqu'au nord de la Palestine, ils sont à la veille du grand choc entre Hittites et Égyptiens près de Ḳadeš dans les rangs ennemis. Les Šōs séïrites, qui avaient réussi de s'échapper au cours de leur exode vers le Nord, furent sans doute accueillis à bras ouverts par les Hittites qui en firent leurs alliés. Ils furent même jugés si inébranlablement loyaux à la cause hittite que le roi Muwattali n'hésita pas de choisir deux chefs des clans séïrites pour espionner les armées de Ramsès II.

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[1] Charles Kuentz, *La Bataille de Qadech*, « *Bulletin* », p. 330-331.

Un siècle plus tard, à l'époque de Séthos II, les Šōs sēïrites sont toujours en Syrie, dans la région de Ḳadeš. C'est là que les Égyptiens les rencontrent et craignent leur présence. Dans les écrits satiriques du Pap. Anastasi I[1] qui remonte à cette époque, nous lisons la savoureuse polémique que le scribe Hori soutient contre son confrère Amenemōpe. Hori dévoile l'incompétence de son adversaire dans la géographie des possessions asiatiques de l'Égypte et écrit (19, 1-3) :



« Tu n'es jamais allé encore à Ḳadeš et Tubihi.
Tu n'es pas parti vers la région des Šōs avec le bataillon d'archers.
Tu n'as pas foulé le chemin vers M3g3r3
(où le ciel est obscurci le jour par la végétation
des cyprès, des chênes et des cèdres,
où les lions sont plus nombreux que les panthères et les ours)[2],
et qui est de tout côté entouré de Šōs.»

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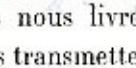
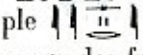
[1] Alan H. Gardiner, *Literary Texts of the New Kingdom*, I, p. 21.

[2] Cf. Georges Posener, *La mésaventure d'un Syrien et le nom égyptien de l'ours. Orientalia*, vol. 13, fasc. 3 (1944), p. 199-200.

Et plus loin, dans le même papyrus (23, 7-8), ces Šōs redoutables sont dépeints sous les traits de géants mesurant plus de deux mètres :

« Le défilé étroit est infesté de Šos cachés sous les arbustes.
Quelques-uns parmi eux ont quatre coudées ou cinq coudées
depuis la tête jusqu'à la plante du pied,
ont un regard féroce, leurs cœurs n'étant point tendres,
et ils ne prêtent pas l'oreille aux flatteries. »

Depuis lors, les destinées ultérieures de ces Šōs séïrites s'effacent dans l'arrière-plan de l'histoire de l'Orient ancien, et il n'est plus question que des Šōs édômites, les intrus au Mont Séïr depuis l'époque ʿamarnienne.

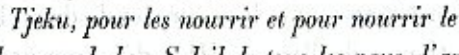
Dans les sources égyptiennes, le nouveau nom que reçut le territoire du Mont Séïr depuis l'invasion des Édômites :  « Édôm » ne se rencontre pour la première fois, jusqu'à l'heure actuelle, que sous le règne du fils de Ramsès II, Ménephtah. Coïncidence curieuse : les sources égyptiennes nous livrent le nom d'Édôm au même point de l'histoire qu'ils nous transmettent pour la première fois le nom du peuple d'Israël [1]. Cinq ans après la prise de Guézer, quand Ménephtah s'attribua le titre de  « triomphateur de Guézer » [2] après avoir châtié le peuple  d'« Israël » en Palestine (vers 1225 av. J.-C.), les gardes-frontières de Pharaon à l'est de l'Égypte permettent aux clans de Šōs sémitiques d'Édôm d'entrer dans la contrée de Gošen, entre Tanis et Tjaru, pour y faire paître leurs troupeaux autour

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[1] Stèle du Caire, n. 34025, dite « Stèle d'Israël » : Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire*, p. 52-59 et pl. 17-19. Traduction dans Spiegelberg, *Ä. Z.*, 34 (1896), p. 1-25 et Breasted, *Anc. Rec.*, III, § 602-617. Cf. pour le texte parallèle très mutilé à Karnak, Kuentz, *B. I. F. A. O.*, 21, p. 113-117.

[2] Henri Gauthier, *Le temple d'Amada*, p. 187 et pl. 41 B, stèle de Ménephtah, l. 2. Un vestige, peut-être, du passage du roi égyptien dans cette ville, a été mis au jour par les fouilles de Guézer : un petit cadran solaire portatif en ivoire inscrit aux cartouches de Ménephtah ; cf. Stewart Macalister, *Excavations at Gezer*, II, p. 331, fig. 456.

des lacs. Le passage célèbre qui nous livre ces données est contenu dans le Pap. Anastasi VI, 51-61 sous la forme d'un rapport officiel [1] :

« *Nous avons accompli la tâche consistant à faire passer*  *les clans des Šōs d'Édôm par la forteresse de Ménephtah à Tjeku en direction des lacs* (brk.t) *de « Pithôm de Ménephtah » qui est à Tjeku, pour les nourrir et pour nourrir leurs troupeaux, avec l'approbation de Pharaon, le bon Soleil de tous les pays, l'an 8, le 5e jour épagomène : Naissance de Seth.* »

Quel contraste avec l'époque de Séthos Ier : alors, les bandes de Šōs séïrites déferlant sur l'artère vitale de l'Égypte vers l'est furent poursuivies avec acharnement, maintenant les Édômites sont autorisés non seulement à faire paître leurs troupeaux à travers la péninsule sinaïtique, mais une fois arrivés, tout affamés, aux portes de l'Égypte, Pharaon en personne leur ouvre la contrée fertile de Gošen.

Ces rapports amicaux avec les Édômites ne cessent qu'à l'époque de Ramsès III (vers 1200 av. J.-C.). Dans le grand Pap. Harris I, 76, 9-11 [2], nous lisons une pittoresque description d'une campagne de Ramsès III contre les « Séïrites » qui évidemment à cette date ne peuvent être que les Édômites :



« *J'ai mis en pièces les Séïrites parmi les clans de Šos et j'ai pillé leurs tentes* (אֹהֶל) *avec ce qu'elles contenaient d'hommes et de biens, (de même que leurs innombrables troupeaux).* »

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[1] Alan H. Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, p. 76.

[2] W. Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris*, I (1933), p. 93.

Ainsi vers 1200 avant J.-C., les Édômites du Mont Séïr habitent encore sous la tente. Le scribe égyptien se sert ici du vocable sémitique *ohēl* (en ugaritique *ahl*) pour désigner la tente du Bédouin. Leurs bestiaux sont sans nombre, ainsi que leurs richesses. Mais, par suite de leur organisation particulariste en clans indépendants les uns des autres, et toujours en discorde entre eux, les Édômites sont une proie facile pour une force coordonnée qui les surprend dans leurs foyers paisibles. L'armée égyptienne de Ramsès III a dû avoir peu de peine à piller les tentes de ces Bédouins dispersées sur de vastes distances à travers les steppes et les déserts. Après cette défaite, ou à la suite de défaites semblables, les Édômites ont dû se rendre compte de l'avantage qu'il y aurait à s'unir, à concentrer leurs forces pour mieux résister à des attaques futures, et à confier leur défense à un roi, élu parmi les chefs de leurs clans. Avec la réalisation de la royauté d'Édôm qui date de cette époque, nous rejoignons les données historiques de la Bible avec l'extrait de la Chronique des rois d'Édôm «avant qu'un roi régnât sur les enfants d'Israël» (*Gen.*, 36, 31).

Là ne s'arrêtent pas les sources pharaoniques sur l'histoire d'Édôm. Elles prolongent encore et complètent les données bibliques sur les démêlés que le royaume israélite eut avec le royaume d'Édôm sous les règnes de David et de Salomon. Le premier *livre des Rois* rappelle l'action vigoureuse entreprise par David contre Édôm (I, *Rois*, 11, 14 et suiv.). Au dire de la Bible, les troupes israélites du général Joab mirent six mois à exterminer tous les mâles de ce pays. Quelques Édômites augmentés d'une poignée d'hommes de Paran parvinrent à s'échapper et mettre à l'abri, à la cour d'Égypte, le jeune prince Hadad, seul survivant de la maison royale d'Édôm. L'accueil que lui réserva Pharaon fut chaleureux à tel point qu'il accorda au jeune prince la main de sa propre belle-sœur. Hadad attendit en Égypte la mort de David pour retourner dans ses États et y faire valoir ses droits au trône [1].

Jusqu'à l'heure, on croyait connaître le nom de l'épouse du pharaon hospitalier qui avait reçu Hadad et sa suite. A trois reprises, le récit

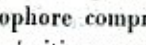
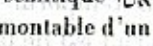
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[1] Albrecht Alt, *Israel und Ägypten*, Leipzig 1909 (*Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten Testament*, fasc. 6), p. 17, n. 1 et p. 18-19.

biblique semblait en effet le citer : תחפנים (I. *Rois*, 11, 19), תחפנים, var. תחפנס (I. *Rois*, 11, 20). La lecture traditionnelle de ce nom : « Takhpnès » paraissait toujours suggérer aux initiés un nom spécifiquement égyptien, seulement les sources égyptiennes ne l'attestaient point [1]. Nous pouvons montrer à présent, pour la première fois, que sous cette graphie hébraïque ne se cache point un nom propre égyptien de femme, mais le titre que les reines d'Égypte portèrent depuis les temps immémoriaux. En fait, nous sommes en présence de la contre-partie féminine du titre des rois d'Égypte : פרעה « Pharaon » [2] emprunté par les rédacteurs bibliques. Nous verrons aussi que le contexte supporte entièrement notre nouvelle interprétation.

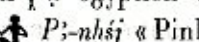
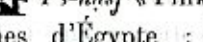
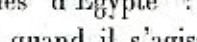
La clef du problème réside dans la version grecque des Septante relative à notre passage. La reine égyptienne y est appelée : Θεκεμεινα (var. Θεχεμεινα) [3]. On voit que les Septante avaient eu sous les yeux un texte hébraïque qui portait à l'endroit la leçon : תחמנים. Or, dans le ת les égyptologues avaient déjà reconnu l'article égyptien du genre féminin  *t;*, fort courant au début des noms propres féminins de l'époque. L'interprétation de cet élément étant acquise, il reste חמנים où le ח

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[1] Cf. les anciennes tentatives d'interprétation de W. Spiegelberg, *Ägyptologische Randglossen zum Alten Testament*, Strassburg 1904, p. 40-41. On ne saurait accepter davantage la nouvelle tentative de Pierre Montet, *Le Drame d'Avaris*, 1941, p. 197 consistant à égaliser Takhpenès avec l'ég. *t;šp n ist*. Il ne saurait s'agir en effet d'un nom propre théophore comprenant l'élément « Isis », puisque le nom de cette déesse s'écrit en sémitique אסי et non pas יס ou ס, sans parler de l'obstacle qui nous paraît insurmontable d'un ח hébraïque devant rendre le *š* égyptien. En réalité le nom *t;šp n ist* n'existe pas sur la statue 741 du Musée du Caire, à laquelle M. Montet se réfère : le nom qu'on y lit est :  *T;-p(s)š(·t)-n(·t)-ʾIs-t* « La part (accordée) à Isis ». Cf. le nom  qui d'après Spiegelberg (*Z.D.M.G.*, 53, 635) est rendu en hébreu par פְּשְׁחוּר (Jérémie, XX, 1-3, 6, etc.). M. Montet néglige aussi totalement la version grecque Ταχεμπὰς des Septante dont Spiegelberg avait souligné l'importance.

[2] L'identification avec le titre égyptien  *pr-ʿ;* (en copte ⲣⲣⲟ, ⲉⲣⲟ et en grec Φαραώ) est due à É. de Rougé : cf. H. Brugsch, *Die Aegyptologie*, Leipzig 1891, p. 200.

[3] Gesenius, *Hebr. u. Aram. Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*, 16. Aufl., 1915, p. 875 sqq.

hébraïque que le grec rend régulièrement par un κ ou un χ, peut représenter un 𓐍 *ḥ* égyptien comme dans le nom propre פינחס, en ég. :  *P;-nḥsj* « Pinkhas ». Or, *ḥm-nìś* reproduit à la lettre le titre des reines d'Égypte :  *ḥm·t-nìśw·t*, « épouse royale » qui souvent, quand il s'agissait de la principale femme de Pharaon, était suivi de l'épithète ;  *wr.t* « la grande ». Notre texte biblique se refère précisément à « la grande épouse royale » : תחמנים הגבירה. Il reste à expliquer la corruption du מ original en פ : à part la possibilité très vraisemblable d'une confusion graphique entre ces deux lettres similaires, je suis enclin d'admettre plutôt dans la forme fautive תחפנים une erreur par assonance avec le toponyme égyptien fort connu des prophètes d'Israël : תחפנחס Takhpankhès [1] (Daphnae, aujourd'hui Tell Défenneh). Le passage entier (I, *Rois*, 11, 19-20) prend ainsi le sens que voici : « Hadad trouva grâce aux yeux de Pharaon, à tel point qu'il lui donna pour femme la sœur de sa femme, la sœur de la grande épouse royale. La sœur de l'épouse royale lui enfanta son fils Guénoubath et l'épouse royale le sevra dans la maison de Pharaon. »

L'identification du pharaon en question est possible, en dépit de la pénurie de documents datés pour la fin de la XXI[e] dynastie. On peut en effet établir un synchronisme entre les royaumes d'Israël et d'Égypte pour le début de la XXII[e] dynastie grâce à deux mentions du roi Shoshenq I[er] dans la Bible. La première met Shoshenq I[er] en rapport avec la 24[e] année du roi Salomon, lorsque l'Éphratien Jarobeam s'enfuit en Égypte (I, *Rois*, 11, 40), et la seconde le place en l'an 5 du roi Rehabeam (I, *Rois*, 14, 25-26), lors du triomphe qu'il remporta dans sa guerre palestinienne que commémore un célèbre relief à l'est de la salle bubastite à Karnak [2]. Or, une inscription rupestre dans les carrières du Gebel Silsilleh datée de l'an 21 du règne de Shoshenq I[er] [3] relate l'inaugura-

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[1] Noël Aimé-Giron, *Adversaria Semitica* (III), VII. — Ba'al Ṣaphon et les dieux de Tahpanhès dans un nouveau papyrus phénicien, *Annales du Service*, t. XL, fasc. 2, p. 444 sqq.

[2] Joseph Lammeyer, *Das Siegesdenkmal Scheschonk I. zu Karnak*, Neuss a. Rh. 1907.

[3] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 254 *c*. Breasted, *Ancient Records*, IV, § 701-708. Cf. aussi Breasted, *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Litteratures*, t. 21,

tion des travaux dans ces carrières en vue de constructions ordonnées par le roi dans le temple d'Amon à Karnak, comprenant en premier lieu, sans doute, la salle bubastite et le relief de la campagne palestinienne [1]. L'an 5 de Rahebeam correspond par conséquent approximativement à l'an 21 de Shoshenq Ier. Si l'on se tient à la chronologie biblique du 1er *Livre des Rois*, et en particulier aux quarante ans attribués comme durée de règne à Salomon (I, *Rois*, 11, 42 = II, *Chron.*, 9, 30), il suffit de déduire ces vingt-et-une années de Shoshenq Ier de la période de quarante-cinq ans comprenant les cinq années de Rehabeam, pour obtenir pour le début du règne de Shoshenq Ier l'an 24 de Salomon. C'est précisément en cette année que la Bible place la fuite de Jarobeam : ayant achevé le temple de Jérusalem en l'an 11 (I, *Rois*, 6, 38) et son palais en l'an 24 (I, *Rois*, 9, 10), Salomon entreprit en effet les travaux du « Millo » [2] (I, *Rois*, 11, 27), au début desquels Jarobeam commença sa conspiration contre le roi et s'enfuit auprès de Shoshenq Ier qui venait de fonder une nouvelle dynastie en Égypte.

On peut prouver, d'autre part, l'identité du pharaon qui reçut le prince Hadad et du pharaon qui maria sa fille à Salomon. Pour cela, il suffit de montrer à quelle date Salomon fut en possession de la ville de Guézer qu'il reçut en dot de Pharaon (I, *Rois*, 9, 16). Dans la correspondance échangée entre Salomon et Hiram de Tyr concernant les préparatifs de la construction du temple de Jérusalem, le roi de Tyr promet à Salomon de lui fournir du bois des forêts du Liban qu'il fera acheminer en radeaux par mer jusqu'à Jaffa, d'où Salomon pourra le faire transporter à Jérusalem (II, *Chron.*, 2, 16). Or, la route de ce point de la côte à Jérusalem passe par Guézer. Salomon n'aurait pu se servir de cette voie de communication, s'il n'était pas déjà en possession de la ville de Guézer qui la commande. Salomon épousa donc la fille de Pharaon avant l'an 4 de son règne, date du commencement des travaux de construction du temple

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p. 22 sqq. L'argument offert par cette inscription est déjà mis en ligne par F. J. Lauth, *Aus Aegyptens Vorzeit*, Berlin 1881, p. 404.

[1] Ludwig Borchardt, *Zur Baugeschichte des Amontempels von Karnak*, Leipzig 1905, p. 36 sqq. Cf. Wiedemann, *O. L. Z.*, 1906, p. 338.

[2] Sorte de fort massif destiné à boucher la brèche de la cité de David (I, *Rois*, 11, 27)

(I, *Rois*, 6, 11 = II, *Chron.*, 3, 2). D'ailleurs, nous savons que, durant toute la période de construction du temple et du palais royal, la femme égyptienne de Salomon habita la sombre « cité de David» (I, *Rois*, 3, 1 et 9, 24). Or, le roi qui régna vingt ans avant Shoshenq Ier en Égypte fut incontestablement le roi Siamon, prédécesseur immédiat de Psousennès II dont le règne fut le dernier de la XXIe dynastie et n'excéda pas de beaucoup la durée de douze ans, attestée jusqu'ici par les monuments contemporains. Si nous ajoutons à ces douze ans les dix-sept ans connus du règne de Siamon, la prise de Guézer tomberait vers l'an 9 de Siamon. Mais en réalité, il faut accorder encore quelques années de règne à chacun de ces rois : le plus sûr serait de fixer la prise de Guézer vers l'an 12 de Siamon. Or, on sait que le jeune prince édômite Hadad retourna dans sa patrie dès la mort du roi David et du chef de l'armée Joab (I, *Rois*, 11, 21), et le pharaon qui l'avait accueilli étant le même que celui dont il prit congé avant son départ, il s'agit donc encore du roi Siamon [1].

Longtemps cette solution avait paru purement conjecturale, à défaut d'une preuve attestant l'activité guerrière des rois de la XXIe dynastie en Asie. Au contraire, leur grande faiblesse et l'isolement de l'Égypte se dégageaient d'une manière éclatante du rapport officiel que le fonctionnaire égyptien Wenamoun nous a laissé de son voyage en Syrie, en mission royale, au début de la XXIe dynastie. Les choses n'ont pris pour nous un autre aspect que depuis les récentes découvertes du professeur Montet à Sân el-Hagar. La trouvaille des sépultures royales de la XXIe dynastie à Tanis nous a mis maintenant en possession de nouveaux documents épigraphiques qui révèlent distinctement chez les monarques de cette dynastie un esprit martial jusqu'alors insoupçonné. Cela s'applique notamment au roi Siamon. M. Montet vient de publier un relief de ce roi qui le représente dans la pose du roi triomphateur, brandissant une arme qui s'abat sur les têtes des ennemis qu'il a capturés [2]. Le fragment a

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[1] Voir cependant le résultat différent auquel semble avoir abouti en 1941 le Dr Jaroslav Černý « qui s'est spécialement occupé de la chronologie de la XXIe dynastie » (*Annales du Service*, t. XLII, 1943, p. 334).

[2] Pierre Montet, *Le Drame d'Avaris* (Essai sur la pénétration des Sémites en Égypte), Paris 1941, p. 196 et fig. 58.

(I, *Rois*, 6, 11 = II, *Chron.*, 3, 2). D'ailleurs, nous savons que, durant toute la période de construction du temple et du palais royal, la femme égyptienne de Salomon habita la sombre « cité de David» (I, *Rois*, 3, 1 et 9, 24). Or, le roi qui régna vingt ans avant Shoshenq Ier en Égypte fut incontestablement le roi Siamon, prédécesseur immédiat de Psousennès II dont le règne fut le dernier de la XXIe dynastie et n'excéda pas de beaucoup la durée de douze ans, attestée jusqu'ici par les monuments contemporains. Si nous ajoutons à ces douze ans les dix-sept ans connus du règne de Siamon, la prise de Guézer tomberait vers l'an 9 de Siamon. Mais en réalité, il faut accorder encore quelques années de règne à chacun de ces rois : le plus sûr serait de fixer la prise de Guézer vers l'an 12 de Siamon. Or, on sait que le jeune prince édômite Hadad retourna dans sa patrie dès la mort du roi David et du chef de l'armée Joab (I, *Rois*, 11, 21), et le pharaon qui l'avait accueilli étant le même que celui dont il prit congé avant son départ, il s'agit donc encore du roi Siamon [1].

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[2] Pierre Montet, *Le Drame d'Avaris* (Essai sur la pénétration des Sémites en Égypte), Paris 1941, p. 196 et fig. 58.

conservé dans la main d'un des captifs une double hache, arme caractéristique des « peuples de la mer », ce qui fait présumer que la scène symbolise une guerre de Siamon contre les Philistins qui tenaient la côte palestinienne, y compris Guézer.

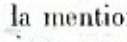
En résumant ces résultats, nous pouvons brosser un tableau plus complet des relations politiques que l'Égypte entretint avec le pays d'Édôm à l'époque de la monarchie d'Israël. Depuis que la royauté fût instaurée à Édôm, huit rois montèrent sur le trône, dont le 4e et le 8e portèrent le nom de Hadad, sans parler du prince du même nom qui se réfugia à la cour de Siamon. C'est donc sous le règne de Hadad II que le vieux roi David porta la guerre en Édôm et y demeura six mois massacrant tous les mâles. L'Égypte, cependant intéressée directement aux destinées d'Édôm, ne riposta pas, et son roi Siamon dut se borner à accueillir le jeune Hadad III, en attendant le moment propice où il pourrait se servir de ce prétendant au trône pour intervenir dans les affaires d'Édôm. Entretemps, il unit le prince édômite par des liens matrimoniaux à la maison d'Égypte, en lui accordant la main de sa belle-sœur. A la mort du roi David, Hadad III, ayant atteint l'âge adulte, parvint, sans doute avec l'aide égyptienne, à s'imposer à une partie au moins de son royaume, à la montagne de Séïr. Siamon ne sous-estima pas la puissance du royaume de Jérusalem sous l'égide d'un roi fort et sage que fut Salomon. Une trêve de bon voisinage fut conclue probablement et le différend concernant Édôm fut mis en veilleuse. Pour fournir des preuves de ses intentions amicales, Siamon, au lendemain de son triomphe sur les Philistins de Guézer, accorda la main de sa propre fille à Salomon avec la ville nouvellement conquise en dot. Contrairement au dire de la Bible, Guézer ne dut pas subir alors une destruction totale par le feu, ce qui d'ailleurs a été confirmé par les fouilles entreprises dans ce site [1], sans quoi ce serait

[1] On en a même tiré argument pour dénier à la ville de Guézer le rôle qu'elle joua lors du mariage de Salomon avec la princesse égyptienne ; cf. W. F. Albright, *Egypt and the early history of the Negeb, J.P.O.S.*, IV (1924), p. 143 qui va jusqu'à substituer ici à Guézer, la ville de Guérar au sud de Gaza, en admettant dans le texte biblique une confusion entre ces deux noms qui présentent des graphies similaires.

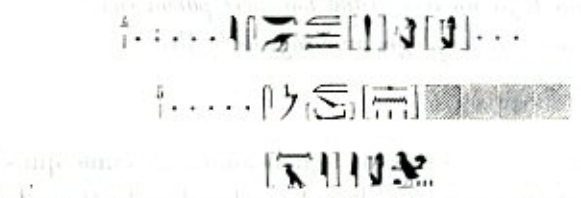
une bien drôle de dot qu'une ville ruinée, un vaste monceau de cendres ! Durant toute cette période, Salomon eut tous les loisirs d'étendre ses voies de communications vers le Sud, d'ouvrir un accès à la mer Rouge en agrandissant le port et le centre minier et industriel d'Étzion-Guéber, sur le golfe d'''Aqabah. Les récentes fouilles de M. Glueck à Tell el-Kheleifeh [1] ont révélé la vitalité insoupçonnée de ce grand centre métallurgique et l'importance de son port d'où partirent les navires tyriens vers les côtes d'Ophir rapportant de l'or en abondance pour les coffres de Salomon. Un demi siècle environ, le royaume israélite tira seul tout le profit des mines de cuivre de l'''Arabah, sans être directement molesté par l'Égypte. Ce ne fut qu'à l'avènement d'une nouvelle dynastie dans la Vallée du Nil qui eut à sa tête le roi Shoshenq I^er^, issu d'une vieille famille de mercenaires libyens, que les Égyptiens nouèrent savamment une intrigue qui réussit si bien que la perte d'Édôm ne put être évitée par les monarques de Jérusalem. Comme Siamon l'avait fait avec Hadad, Shoshenq I^er^ soutint Jarobeam contre Salomon avec son mouvement séparatiste des dix tribus du Nord. Au moment critique, il lui offrit un refuge en Égypte jusqu'à la mort de Salomon. Le roi égyptien prépara pendant vingt ans les forces qui devaient le porter à la victoire en Palestine. L'enjeu était d'ailleurs d'importance : la riche province d'Édôm. A Pithôm, à Tell el-Jahoudiéh, à Tanis, Shoshenq I^er^ se fortifia. A la mort de Salomon, il envoya Jarobeam semer la discorde au cours des cérémonies du couronnement de Rehabeam à Sichem. Le plan réussit à souhait et la scission devint inévitable. Le roi Rehabeam régnant à Jérusalem sur un territoire très réduit, et constamment en guerre avec le Nord, dut nécessairement affaiblir son flanc méridional. Shoshenq I^er^ frappa donc en direction de la province d'Édôm qui lui tomba entre les mains comme un fruit mûr, presque sans coup férir. Le pharaon dépouilla la riche province et M. Glueck a montré que le centre d'Étzion-Guéber, tel qu'il exista au temps de Salomon fut mis à sac par Shoshenq I^er^. Le butin en

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[1] Nelson Glueck, *The other side of the Jordan*, p. 105. Cf. aussi le même auteur dans *B. A. S. O. R.*, 75, p. 17-18 et 79, p. 5. On peut encore lire un bel aperçu sur cette fouille intéressante dans Chester C. Mc Cown, *The Ladder of Progress in Palestine*, 1943, p. 297-299.

lingots de cuivre et en objets façonnés en divers métaux dut être considérable. La liste des villes conquises par Shoshenq Ier, qui est préservée à Karnak et se trouvait reproduite à el-Hîbe, fait une très grande part aux localités édômites [1], sans parler de la mention de la province d'Édôm, qui semble être citée séparément au numéro 56 de la liste :  avec une graphie similaire à celle de l'époque de Ménephtah (voir plus haut, p. 86). Battu au sud et harassé dans le nord, Rehabeam livra Jérusalem et ses trésors au roi égyptien qui ne tarda pas à poursuivre sa campagne jusqu'à Mégiddo.

Du côté égyptien, ce ne fut point une guerre de conquêtes territoriales, mais une expédition qui avait pour but le pillage des trésors de l'ennemi, une guerre de rapines. Les sources égyptiennes nous apprennent toute la mise en scène du conflit. Le prétexte fut un de ces éternels incidents de frontière si faciles à conjurer et qui dégénèrent inévitablement en guerres. C'est ainsi en effet que nous interprétons le récit d'une stèle très fragmentaire de Shoshenq Ier trouvée jadis à Karnak et actuellement au Musée du Caire [2]. La date est perdue, mais la présence dans le cintre du fils royal Ioupout aux côtés du roi avec les titres de chef de l'armée et chef du sacerdoce de l'État nous place d'emblée à l'époque de la stèle rupestre du Gebel Silsilleh. L'inscription étant très mutilée, et notre interprétation différant sensiblement de celle de nos devanciers, nous jugeons bon d'en reproduire ici le passage qui nous concerne, avec toutes les restitutions qu'il comporte :



[1] M. Noth, *Die Wege der Pharaonenheere in Palästina und Syrien*, IV. Die Schoschenkliste, *Z. D. P. V.*, 61 (1938), p. 277 sqq. Cf. encore Albright dans *Archiv für Orientforschung*, 12 (1939), p. 385-386.

[2] Stèle du Musée du Caire, *Journal d'entrée* n° 59635. Publiée par Legrain, *Annales du Service*, t. V, 38 et traduite par Breasted, *Ancient Records*, IV, 724 *a*. Cf. Eduard Meyer, *Gesch.*, t. II, 2, p. 47.



5 . . . « *Or donc, (Ma) Majesté apprit que . . .*

5 . . . *(ils) tuèrent (mes soldats?) et mes commandants.*
Sa Majesté fut très soucieuse au sujet de leur sort . . .

6 . . . *(comme) ils désirent.*
Sa Majesté parla alors aux dignitaires de la Cour
(qui étaient dans sa suite :) . . .

7 . . . *(« Voyez) ces vilaines actions qu'ils ont commises ! »*
Et ils répondirent (à Sa Majesté :) . . .

8 . . . *sa charrerie étant à sa suite,*
sans qu'ils le sussent. Or donc, . . .

9 . . . *Sa Majesté fit un très grand massacre parmi eux.*

10 . . . *il les (tua) sur les plages au rivage de la Mer*
Rouge », etc.

On sait que Salomon laissa à son fils Rehabeam un royaume qui s'étendait au Sud jusqu'à la frontière de l'Égypte [1]. Là, dans l'isthme de Suez, un coup de main de la garnison égyptienne fut sans doute repoussé par les forces de Rehabeam, n'empêche que le roi égyptien interpréta l'incident comme un acte de provocation de la part de l'ennemi et se mit en guerre.

[1] Cf. I. *Rois*, IV, 21.

Les premiers combats se livrèrent dans le voisinage d'Ismaïlieh [1], au rivage de l'ancien Djanab el-Timsah, qui formait autrefois la pointe extrême du golfe de Suez. Ce fut le déclenchement de la campagne palestinienne qui culmina avec le pillage de Jérusalem.

L'histoire d'Edôm a toujours été, et peut encore être considérée comme la pierre angulaire pour la fixation de la date de l'Exode des Israélites. A ce sujet M. Glueck écrit très judicieusement :

« It may be emphasized with regard to the Iron Age pottery of Edom, Moab and the other kingdoms of Transjordan, but particularly with regard to the first two because the largest quantities were found there, that its beginnings go back to what would be the end of Late Bronze in Palestine, no later than the first part of the xiiith century B. C. Again do archaeological facts bear out the validity of details or of the background of Biblical accounts. The precedence of the beginnings of Edomite and Moabite pottery, for instance, over those of Israelite pottery, has a direct relationship to the Biblical account in *Genesis*, 31, 31-39, which lists eight Edomite « kings » who reigned in the land of Edom before the Israelites had a king.

« It becomes impossible, therefore, in the light of all this new archaeological evidence, particularly when studied in connection with the deposits of historical memory contained in the Bible, to escape the conclusion that the particular Exodus of the Israelites through southern Transjordan could not have taken place before the xiiith century B. C. It will be recalled that the Israelites begged the Edomites and Moabites in vain for permission to travel through their kingdoms on their way to the Promised Land. The Israelites were compelled to go around them, and finally force their way westward to the Jordan on the north side of the Arnon, which at that time was part of the territory of Shihon, king of the Amorites. Had the Exodus through southern Transjordan taken place before the xiiith century B. C., the Israelites would have found neither Edomites nor Moabite kingdoms well organised and well fortified, whose rulers could

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[1] J. J. Hess, *Suez and Clysma, J. E. A.*, 14, p. 277 sqq. Cf. Posener, *Le canal du Nil à la mer Rouge avant les Ptolémées; Chronique d'Égypte*, 1938, p. 259-273.

have given or withheld permission to go through their territories. Indeed the Israelites, had they arrived on the scene first, might have occupied all of Edom and Moab themselves, and left the land on the west side of the Jordan for late comers. [1]»

Voilà un aperçu qui se recommande par l'absence de préjugés et par la logique des faits. Les recherches modernes ont montré en effet que l'histoire des Hébreux (*alias* Khabiri) est une chose et l'histoire des Israélites en est une autre. L'apparition des Hébreux en Syrie et en Palestine est liée chronologiquement à l'expansion des Khurrites dans ces territoires, c'est-à-dire au lendemain de l'invasion des Hyksôs. Le succès éphémère de cette invasion en Égypte et en Palestine est suivi d'un recul des Khurrites vers le Nord. Les Hébreux sont trouvés près de Jaffa sous Thoutmès III et à travers toute la Palestine sous Aménophis II comme une caste militaire au service des princes cananéens. La crise se produit à l'époque d'El 'Amarna, lorsque le pouvoir des Hébreux croît et leur emprise sur la Palestine augmente graduellement. De ces Hébreux, qui par maints aspects sont apparentés aux Khurrites [2], sont issus les Édômites d'une part, et les Israélites de l'autre. Ceux qui les premiers parviennent à se conquérir des foyers permanents sont les Édômites qui s'établissent autour du Mont Séïr à une date correspondant au début

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[1] Nelson Glueck, *The other side of the Jordan*, New Haven 1940, p. 145-147.

[2] Plusieurs auteurs ont montré récemment les liens étroits qui existent entre Hébreux et Khurrites ; cf. Sidney Smith, *What were the Teraphim? (Journal of theological Studies*, 33, p. 33 sqq.) ; Gordon, *Parallèles nouziens aux Lois et Coutumes de l'Ancien Testament*, p. 34 sqq. ; J. Levy, *Ḫabirū and the Hebrews (Hebrew Union College Annual*, 14 [1939], p. 587-623) et Idem, *A New Parallel between Ḫabirū and Hebrews (Hebr. Un. Coll. Ann.*, 15 [1940], p. 47-58). Depuis, l'apparition d'une mention de « Khapiru » dans les textes de Ras Shamra a mis la confusion dans l'esprit des orientalistes au sujet de l'équation Khabiru-Hébreux ; cf. E. G. Kraeging, *Light from Ugarit on the Khabiru*, *B.A.S.O.R.*, 77, February 1940, p, 32-33 ; Albrecht Goetze, *The City Khalbi and the Khapiru people*, *B.A.S.O.R.*, 79, October 1940, p. 32-34 ; H. L. Ginsberg, *Ugaritic Studies and the Bible*, *The Biblical Archaeologist*, vol. 8, no. 2, may 1945, p. 41-58. Nous montrerons ailleurs que leurs doutes ne sont pas entièrement fondés.

du règne d'Aménophis IV (en 1373 av. J.-C.). Les luttes entre Édômites et Séïrites, anciens habitants d'Édôm, ont pu se prolonger jusqu'à la fin de la XVIII[e] dynastie et la décision finale semble être tombée au début du règne de Séthos I[er] déterminant l'exode des Séïrites (vers 1314 av. J.-C.).

L'histoire d'Israël, avec le séjour des enfants d'Israël en Égypte, peut commencer au plus tôt à l'époque de la domination hyksôs (de 1730 à 1573 environ). Mais la date de l'établissement des Hébreux en Égypte est une autre question, indépendante de l'Exode des Israélites. Ce dernier événement, dont personne ne saurait mettre en doute l'historicité, n'a pu donc se produire avant 1314, date de l'établissement définitif des Édômites en Séïr.

ON THE INTERPRETATION

OF A

JEWISH INSCRIPTION FROM ALEXANDRIA

BY

M. SCHWABE.

In Preisigke's *Sammelbuch Griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten* a Jewish inscription from Alexandria is listed under No. 2654. Though twice treated by Botti [1] and re-edited by de Ricci [2], the interpretation of this inscription seems still open to discussion. The text of it runs : [Ὑπ]ὲρ σωτηρίας κυρᾶς [3] Ῥούλας Θυγαθρὸς [τοῦ μα]καριστάτου ἐντολίου Βορούχ Βαραχία שלום.

Small differences exist as to the reading itself. Ῥούας is given by Botti and de Ricci, Ῥούλας by Breccia and Preisigke ; Θυγατρός is read by de Ricci, Θυγατρώς by Botti, Θυγαθρός Breccia and Preisigke ; de Ricci and Breccia read ἐντολίου, Botti ἐντόλου. That the inscription is Jewish is shown by the Hebrew blessing at the end, quite apart from the two proper names, that of the father and grandfather. The two names mean : "Baruch, son of Barachyah". The darkening of α into ο in the name of the father is not without parallel in Jewish inscriptions. In an inscription from Syria [4] we find a Ἐδιδοροῦχος i. e. עבד ברוך. The

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[1] *Catalogue*, p. 3, no. 7 and *Riv. Quindicinale*, 4 (1892), p. 130.

[2] *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, 1905, p. 158.

[3] Naturally it must be accented thus.

[4] W. K. Prentice, *Gr. a. Lat. Inscr. in Syria*, Section B : Northern Syria, part 2 (Publ. of the Princeton University Archaeological Exped. to Syria, 1904-1905); Div. III, p. 61, no. 948.

phrase *ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας* is common in both Jewish and Non-Jewish inscriptions of the Empire. The dedicatory inscriptions in parts of the great mosaic in the synagogue of Apamea in Syria [1] present a suitable parallel to our dedicatory inscription. What strikes one as strange is the name of the daughter to whom the inscription was dedicated by the father. The name, ΡΟΥΑΑ, has no parallel as far as I can see. It is improbable in its form, it also stands in a strange contrast to the Jewish names of the father and the grandfather. However, if we suppose that there is a slight reading error or a mistake of the lapicide, the daughter for whose benefit the inscription was dedicated, receives her Jewish name. The Λ is Δ, with the result that we obtain the good Jewish name of ΡΟΥΔΑ i. e. Ruth. In the place of the dental aspirate we have the *media* which is the less surprising as the *media,* like in Modern Greek, had an early tendency to an expiratory pronunciation. The spelling of *Συγαθρός* proves that the lapicide or the author of the inscription could not manage the dentals. Confusion of *δ* and *θ* in inscriptions is not infrequent. With Josephus [2] the name has the form of *Ρούθη*. The interchange of *η* and *α* suffixes is quite common with feminine proper nouns. For the *α* form we have the testimony of a Christian inscription from Rome [3] : *Ruta omnibus subdita et atfabilis bibet* (= *vivet*) *in nomine Petri in pace.* The spelling of the name with a *tenues* is the third and last possibility. The use of the Jewish name by Christians is not surprising. The Christian communities gladly continued the use of Jewish names taken over from Judaism by the early Christians. Since the discovery of a Christian Akiba in Antioch all Jewish names may crop up in Christian communities. The genetive case in *ας* (*Ρούδας*) of the name in our inscription has its parallel, for example in *Ματρώνας* [4].

The dead man receives two predicates. *Μακάριος* is also common

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[1] Cf. my article in *Kedem,* I, p. 87 sqq.

[2] Cf. *Ant.,* V, 319.

[3] Cf. *Inscr. Christ. Lat. Vet.* (Diehl), no. 3376.

[4] In the synagogue inscription of El-Hammeh in Palestine, cf. *Tarbiz,* t. XIII, p. 66. By the side of this genetive compare the normal form *Ματρώνης* in *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua,* III (1931), no. 262 A.

with Jews, though it is very rare in Jewish inscriptions from Palestine[1]. The second ἐντολίου presents difficulties. Referring to our inscription Liddell-Scott-Jones mention it (evidently a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον) with the remark that the sense is doubtful. But ἐντολή is the translation of מצוה usual in LXX. It is used in this sense in the New Testament. The meaning of the adjective cannot be doubted, even if the form seems extraordinary. In Jewish inscriptions from Rome [2] the dead are given the predicate φιλέντολος, i. e. אוהב מצוה. The use of ἐντόλιος is certainly in praise of the dead man, he was what the Hebrew calls a בעל מצוה or מקיים מצוה.

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[1] Cf. my remarks on the word in *Notes on the Kh. Habra Inscription, Bull. of the Jew. Pal. Expl. Soc.*, vol. XI, p. 27.

[2] Frey, *Corp. Inscr. Jud.*, I, no. 132, 509. This word also appears in Christian inscriptions, where, however, it has a different meaning. Cf. Preisigke, *Sammelb.*, I, no. 1540, and Kaufmann, *Handb. d. altchr. Epigraphik*, p. 145.

ON EGYPTIAN IDEAS AND NAMES IN CANAAN AND THE BIBLE

BY

H. TORCZYNER.

I

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME PAPYRUS.

The name *papyrus* for the plant and the writing material, which, from Egypt, conquered the world of the ancient Orient until the word remained in such developments as paper, papier, Papier etc. even after the writing material was changed by the new invention, is not found in Egyptian proper. And though it occurs in the Coptic language, it must be regarded as a loan-word from the Greek Πάπυρος and not as the equivalent of a traditional Egyptian word. Thus also the Egyptian etymology profferred by J. H. Bondi, *Zeitschrift f. Ägypt. Sprache* XXXIII, 62-68, as if it were *pa-pe-yeor*, must be considered as mere conjecture, without foundation in actual fact[1]. Nor is such an etymology as the (thing) of the Nile at all likely; a natural name for papyrus could only be : *reed* of the Nile, or *reed* alone. Now, however, *yeor* as the name of the Nile, or of a great river in general, is not confined to Egyptian alone. By this name, yeor (יאור), this and perhaps other rivers are called also in Hebrew,

[1] Even worse than this explanation are other attempted etymologies. Cf. lastly H. G. Christiansen, *Zur Etymologie des Wortes Papier, Or. Littztg.*, 1938, p. 204-205.

and certainly in Canaanitic in all its aspects. It was the Phoenician who brought the papyrus to other countries, among them to Greece where the name *papyrus* is first documented, particularly from Byblos, the centre for the import of papyrus from Egypt and the birthplace of the name *Biblia* for the book written on papyrus. There is therefore the possibility that such a name as papyrus originally *pp-yeor*, meaning the *reed* of the river, or of the Nile, may have originated rather in Canaanitic than in ancient Egyptian.

This possibility seems now to become most probable by the study of the last words in the inscription on the sarcophagus of Ahiram, king of Byblos. After re-examination and in accordance with most of the scholars who attempted an explanation of it, the last sentence of this inscription can only be read in the following manner :

והא ימחו ספרהו לפפו שבל

These, hitherto unintelligible words, can mean nothing but : "*And he* (who lays bare this sarcophagus) *himself, shall be blotted out into..... (pp shbl).*"

Now, such a sentence, whatever the meaning of *pp shbl*, is certainly connected with the idea, frequently mentioned in the Bible[1], of a Book of the Living in which everybody alive is registered, written down for life (*Isaiah* IV, 3), and if he is blotted out there, he must die immediately : Yet now, if thou wilt forgive their sin—; and if not, blot me out (מחני) I pray thee, of the book which thou hast written. And the Lord said unto Moses, Whosoever hath sinned against me him will I blot out (אמחנו) of my book (*Exodus*, XXXII, 32 f.). Let them be blotted out (ימחו) of the book of the living, and not be written with the righteous (*Psalms*, LXIX, 29), etc. Now, as one could say in Biblical Hebrew with the same verb about the wine : "and (the wine) hath not been emptied (ולא הורק) *from vessel* to vessel" (*Jeremia* XLVIII, 11), and also : "And shall empty (וריקו) *his vessels*" (v. 12), thus one could say not only : "he shall be blotted out (ימח) from the book" but also "his book shall be blotted out" (ימח ספרה), *i.e.* on this particular page the book of life shall be erased,

[1] As in other countries and particularly in ancient Egypt.

so as to blot out his name. But if the book of life, written like other books on papyrus, was blotted out, in order to write other names on it, as was the practice with the scribes, the written sheet or page in the book was turned again into—*papyrus : And he* himself, his book shall be blotted out *and turned again* (thus we naturally have to complete the idea) *into papyrus.* And thus it must be "papyrus" which is meant here by the two words *pp shbl.* Now *shbl,* in Hebrew shibbolet (שִׁבֹּלֶת), also means *river,* as in *Isaiah* XXVII, 12 : that the Lord shall beat off from the channel of the river (משבלה הנהר) unto the stream of Egypt; *Psalms* LXIX, 2 : I am coming into deep water where the floods (שבלת) overflow me; and v. 16 : Let not the water flood (שבלת מים) overflow me; *pp shbl* must therefore be a compound expression for *papyrus,* originally meaning : reed of the river, reed of the flood. Thus also *pp yeor,* as a parallel expression to *pp shbl,* and as a Canaanitic not an Egyptian word, must mean : *reed of the river.* Such a Canaanitic word *pp,* meaning reed, may be a reduplicated plural-form of a simpler word, פִּ. For instead of מים, cap. מֵי water, the reduplicated plural-form מֵימֵי is used to give the short word more substance; thus also from פה mouth, edge of a sword, a reduplicated plural פִּיפִיּוֹת appears in *Isaiah,* XLI, 15; *Psalms,* CIL, 6, along with the simple פיות in *Judges* III, 16; *Proverbs* V, 4. And if Ben Yehuda is right in his suggestion, *Thesaurus,* vol. VII, p. 3653, that פי יאור (*Isaiah,* XIX, 7) may mean papyrus, this simpler form, instead of *pp yeor,* may actually be given in the *Bible,* not as a loan-word from Egyptian, however but as a Hebrew expression.

Such a simple word פִּי, meaning straw, reed, may correspond to the Accadic word, known particularly from the formula used in juridical documents : *ishtu pī adi ḫurāṣim,* from the straw until the gold, the worthless thing as well as the most costly.

The reduplicated form פִּפּ may later even be used in singular, if we have to recognize it in the mishnaic פיף של צמר (Kil'aim 9, 9), strip of wool.

Thus we have to recognize the Greek word Πάπυρος, papyrus, as a loan-word from Canaanitic or Hebrew *pp yeor* = *pp shbl,* the reed of the river, of the Nile. And the last words of the Aḥiram-inscription have to be translated : And he himself (= his name) shall be blotted out and turned into (uninscribed) papyrus, ready to be used again.

II

THE ALLEGED HEBREW VERB *HITRAPPES*, AN EGYPTIAN COUNTRY-NAME.

Twice we find in the Bible, in very difficult passages, the verb התרפס, usually connected with the other verb רפש. In *Psalms* LXVIII, 29 ss. we read : מהיכלך על־ירושלם לך יובילו מלכים שי׃נער חית קנה עדת אבירים : בעגלי עמים מתרפס ברצי־כסף בזר עמים קרבות יחפצו׃ יאתיו חשמנים מני מצרים כוש תריץ ידיו לאלהים׃ ממלכות הארץ שירו לאלהים זמרו אדני סלה׃

We have here a description of kings and countries, doing homage to God at his sanctuary in Jerusalem. But some expressions need a fuller interpretation. Thus the words יובילו שי (v. 30) do not mean, as universally believed, "to bring donation", but, as I have shown in an article in *Tarbiz*, XIII (1942), p. 213-217 : "to acknowledge as king", this expression being a development of the Accadian *bēlishu*, "his lord", used for "the king", which through the medium of the Hittite language passed into Hebrew as well as into Greek, changed here into *βασιλεύς*, the king. Among the countries doing homage, and also bringing donations, one in v. 30 is described as "the beast of the reed" (חית קנה) the band of mighty among the calves of the nations. The name of this country is apparently not given; but as it seems to me, we have to recognize it in the word נער at the beginning of v. 31, usually translated as the imperative : rebuke! Such an imperative, however, does not fit the context, describing nations and kings doing homage to God. This new name *G'r* must be another name for Egypt as a whole, but as this country is described here as *the beast of the reed* נער may simply mean *the roaring* (*gō'ēr*) *lion*, just as רהב, another name of Egypt originally means : the dragon; for the continuation also speaks of other names of Egypt, enumerating its parts and its surroundings, as the countries acknowledging God as their King and Lord. Thus מצרים, Egypt, and כוש, Ethiopia are expressly mentioned in v. 33. Here מנים of חשמנים is only a reduplication of the following (מני מ)צרים, and so we have to read (cf. Aquila) : יאתיו חש מני מצרים "they come quickly from Egypt, Ethiopia

hasteneth (read תָּרִיץ)". The last two words of this verse are to be connected with v. 33 : "Praise (read יוֹדוּ instead of יִדְיוּ) God, ye kingdoms of the earth, sing praises unto the Lord; Selah." And, therefore, also in v. 31, where it has already been recognized by some scholars, מִתְרַפֵּס stands instead of מִפַּתְרֹס, from Pathros (cf. *Jeremia* XLIV, 1 etc.) : "From upper Egypt, with pieces of silver." And, to complete these remarks, also at the end of the verse in בּוֹר, בּוֹז עַמִּים קִרְבוֹת יִחְפְּצוּ can be no verb, meaning "disperse" (as פּוֹז) but, parallel to "with pieces of silver" it is another expression for treasures brought as donations, perhaps another spelling of בָּצַע, originally meaning "strength", but used in the *Bible* in the sense of wealth and treasure. קִרְבוֹת יִחְפְּצוּ does not mean "that delight in war", but "that desire to approach (God)", just as in *Isaiah*, LVIII, 2 : קִרְבַת אֱלֹהִים יֶחְפָּצוּן. Thus the whole passage has to be translated approximately : "At thy palace at Jerusalem kings shall acknowledge thy kingdom. The lion, the beast of the reed, the band of the mighty among the calves of nations; from Pathros with pieces of silver, the treasure of the nations, delighting to approach thee. They come quickly from Egypt, Ethiopia hasteneth, praise God ye kingdoms of the earth, o sing praises unto the Lord; Selah.

The same verb הִתְרַפֵּס apparently occurs in *Proverbs* VI, 3 ss. in the passage dealing with the unlucky man who has pledged his word for a stranger : My son, if thou be surety for thy friend, if thou hast stricken thy hand with a stranger. Thou art snared with the words of thy mouth, thou art taken with the words of thy mouth. Do this now, my son, and deliver thyself, when thou art come into the hand of thy friend; לֵךְ הִתְרַפֵּס וְרַהֵב רֵעֶיךָ. Give not sleep to thine eyes, nor slumber to thine eyelids. Deliver thyself as a roe from the hand (of the hunter) and as a bird of the hand of the fowler.

Here, to add misforturne to the unlucky, the main advise to the man who has pledged himself for the stranger, has not been understood. For if we accept for the Hebrew words in v. 3 the usual, though unfounded translation : "go, humble thyself and make sure thy friend", this is in strict contradiction to the continuation : "Deliver thyself as a roe from the hand of the hunter, and as a bird of the hand of the fowler"; for it is not by humbleness that animals and birds deliver

themselves, but *by quick flight!* And thus also here we have to read simply : . . . לְכָה פַתְרֹס וְרַהַב *go away to Pathros and Rahab, . . ., flee into Egypt!* Egypt was for the fleeing Palestinian the usual refuge. Hither fled Jerobeam before Solomon and also the prophet Uriah, when the king and his officers wanted to put him to death, and hither, far away from his creditor's grasp, the unfortunate bail also is advised to flee. Rahab (רהב), as a regular name for Egypt is used here as in *Psalms* LXXXVII, 4 : I will make mention of Rahab and Babylon to them that know me; behold Philistia and Tyre, with Ethiopia.

At the end the sentence is not complete. Possibly we have to read instead of the second רעיך : Go away to Pathros and Egypt, the cities of Kush and Sheba (ערי כוש ושבא).

Thus there is no such verb as התרפם in the *Bible;* on the other hand the spelling תרפם instead of Pathros פתרס may be of interest for the Egyptologists.

THE JEWS IN EGYPT

IN THE HELLENISTIC-ROMAN AGE

IN THE LIGHT OF THE PAPYRI[1]

BY

V. TCHERIKOVER.

PREFACE.

The original plan of the author when he first began to study the Jewish papyri and ostraca was to compile them into a *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*. Such a task, involving visits to the great European libraries as well as constant correspondence with numerous scholars and specialists, could not be performed during the war. The author, therefore, decided to use the material already collected by him for a series of inquiries into a number of special problems concerning Jewish life in Egypt, such as, the settlement of the Jews in different parts of Egypt, their economic life, their civic status in Alexandria, etc. The feature common to all these inquiries is that they are based on one principal source, namely, papyri and ostraca.

The English text is but a brief summary of the Hebrew original. It gives its principal conclusions, but omits the discussions and the main body of evidence, as well as references to the sources and to modern literature.

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[1] [*C'est le titre d'un ouvrage du même auteur paru en hébreu à Jérusalem, en 1945. Nous réimprimons ici pour nos lecteurs le résumé en anglais qui se trouve à la fin de l'ouvrage, avec l'approbation expresse de l'auteur. — B. G.*].

INTRODUCTION.

The introduction consists of a brief survey concerning the development of papyrology with special reference to its importance for the history of the Jews in Egypt. Jews are mentioned in various publications of papyri, and particularly in the following collections : The Flinders-Petrie Papyri ; the Archive of Zenon ; the "Enteuxeis" from Magdola ; the Tebtunis Papyri ; the Ostraca from Upper Egypt in the Hellenistic period (included in the collections of Ostraca published by Wilcken and Tait) ; the Alexandria Papyri (in *B. G. U.*, IV) ; the Oxyrhynchos Papyri ; the correspondence of Apollonios, the strategus of Apollinopolis-Heptakomia ; the Edfu Ostraca ; the Acts of the Alexandrian Martyrs.

It is at times no easy task to distinguish between a "Jewish" and a "non-Jewish" papyrus. The papyri containing the word "Jew" or "Jewish" are very few in number, as are the documents referring to events or institutions connected with Jews, or coming from places known to be Jewish settlements. In most cases it is the proper name of a person which enables us to conclude whether the papyrus is "Jewish" or "non-Jewish". Hence the importance of a careful study of the proper names in the papyri, which serves as a preliminary and necessary step towards composing a *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*. The Jews in the Hellenistic-Roman period were called by Hebrew, Semitic, Greek, Egyptian and Roman names. A Hebrew name is the surest testimony to the Jewish origin of its bearer, but even here we meet with difficulties, as in the names Shabbethai (cf. chap. VII) and Simon (which may also be a Greek name) ; in the Byzantine age the Biblical names are commonly used by the Christians. Among the Greek names we note the theophoric names, such as, Dositheos, Dorotheos, Theophilos, etc., as being widely spread among the Jews ; yet it would be false to consider every man named Theophilos a Jew. As to the other names (Greek, Semitic, Egyptian, Roman and even Hebrew in the Christian period), it is obvious that we have no means of distinguishing between a Jew and a non-Jew, if there are no precise indications in the document concerning the nationality of the man.

In dealing with uncertain names, such as, Simon, theophoric names, etc., we have to search for additional proofs, and it is apparently right to decide in favour of the Jewish origin of the bearer in the following cases only : 1) when both father and son are called by uncertain names ; 2) when the uncertain name is mentioned in a document containing names of indubitable Jews ; 3) when the uncertain name is mentioned in a document containing at least two or three more names of the same nature ; 4) when the papyrus comes from a place known as an important centre of Jewish settlement ; 5) when the document containing the name in question belongs to a period when the Jews preferred this particular name to many others.

What are the problems to be studied with the aid of papyrology? Firstly, there are problems of social and economic life which cannot be studied without this aid ; such are the settlement of the Jews in Egypt, their share in various employments, their part in the military service, the taxes paid by them, etc. Secondly, the papyri provide us with valuable material for the inquiry into the civic status of the Alexandrian Jews and the development of anti-Semitic feelings among the Greeks ; further, they help us to complete our knowledge of certain historical events in the life of Egyptian Jewry (*e. g.* the great revolt of the Jews in the reign of Trajan). Thirdly, there are problems of cultural life which, too, receive a new light from the papyri, such as, the proper names used by Jews, or their attitude towards the Hellenistic law : the religious and intellectual life of Egyptian Jewry can, however, be studied on the basis of literary sources only.

CHAPTER I.

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE JEWS IN EGYPT.

Of the early settlement of the Jews in Egypt before Alexander the Great we have evidence in Jeremiah (44, 1 ; 46, 14), the Letter of Aristeas (13) and the Aramaic Papyri from Elephantine. Literary sources (Josephus and Aristeas) mention the Jewish immigration into Egypt in the time of

Alexander and Ptolemy I Soter; yet the first of the Greek papyri relating to Jews (*P. Hib.*, 96 and some of the *Zenon Papyri*) date from the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphos, whereas the Jewish inscriptions from the Necropolis of Ibrahimje in Alexandria can be vaguely ascribed to the reign of the first two Ptolemies. Jewish emigration from Palestine to Egypt can be traced from the beginning of the Hellenistic period to the end of the IIIrd century B. C.; it seems that the stream of emigrants was particularly high in the time of Antiochos Epiphanes and the first Hasmoneans. We have no evidence of Jewish emigration from the end of the IIIrd century to the reign of Claudius, but the lack of evidence does not imply the non-existence of the fact itself. Claudius stopped the immigration of the Jews into Alexandria; yet it was merely an emergency measure. On the conclusion of the wars of 70 and 135 A. D. many Jews were brought into Egypt as captives. After this time we have but few notes on Jews entering Egypt (as in *P. Oxy.*, 1205), and it may be assumed that the deterioration of the social and economic conditions of the Egyptians Jews gradually resulted in the reduction, if not the total cessation, of Jewish immigration into Egypt.

From the point of view of the Egyptians, the immigration of the Jews was but a part of a far greater immigration of Syrians. As it happened, they did not discern between a Jew and a Syrian, the cause being perhaps the lack of a special name for Southern Syria. "Palestine" mentioned already by Herodotus, was not in official use until the IIIrd century A. D., and the places inhabited by Jews were included in the larger geographical unit of "Syria and Phoenicia" (Letter of Aristeas, 22; SB 8008). We learn from *P. Petr.*, III, 7 that the Hebrew language was taken in Egypt for "Syrian" (*i. e.* Aramaic), and the author of the Letter of Aristeas even warned his readers specially not to commit this error (11). The settlements of the Syrians were scattered all over Egypt; we know of at least eight [1] settlements named "Syrian Villages", and of a number of "Syrian quarters" in various towns, to say nothing of numerous villages whose Semitic names (like Magdola) point to their Syrian inhabitants. The Syrians were engaged in various occupations and are mentioned in

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[1] Cf. Henne, *Sur trois nomes du Delta, Actes du 5e Congrès de Papyrologie*, p. 151.

the documents as merchants, officials, members of religious societies, soldiers, agricultural labourers, slaves, prostitutes, etc. It may be assumed as certain that there were many Jews among these numerous "Syrians". We know that there were Jewish inhabitants in "Syrian villages" (cf. *B. G. U.*, 1282, *P. Hamb.*, 2), but we have no ways of recognizing them among their non-Jewish countrymen.

The Jews preferably settled in separate quarters (as in Alexandria, Arsinoe, Hermupolis, Edfu), but it would be false to say they lived in Ghettos, since they were not confined to their quarters. With the aid of various sources, primarily of the papyri, we can draw up the following list of places (towns and villages) in Egypt, in which we find Jewish inhabitants.

Lower Egypt.—Alexandria, Schedia, Xenephyris, Nitriai, Busiris, Mendesian nome (district), Pelusion, Migdal, Tachpanches, Pharbetites nome, Athribis, the "Land of Onias", Castra Judaeorum, Vicus Judaeorum, Teberkytis, Syrian Village (in the nome of Heliopolis), Memphis, and a place in the vicinity of the modern Demerdash.

Middle Egypt.—Fayum and its towns and villages : Alabanthis, Alexandru-Nesos, Apias, Apollonias, Areopolis, Arsinoe (Krokodilopolis), Bacchias, Berenike-Hormos, Bernikis Aigialu, Embolu-topos, Euhemereia, Hephaistias, Herakleia, Karanis, Kerkeosiris, Kerkesephis, Lisymachis, Neilupolis, Philadelpheia, Philoteris, Psenyris, Samareia, Sebennytos, Soknopaiu-Nesos, Syrian Village, Tebtunis, Theadelpheia, Trikomia. The nomes of Herakleopolis, Kynopolis and Oxyrhynchos (in addition to Oxyrhynchos itself the following villages are mentioned : Anteiis, Pela, Phthochis, Sinary, Sephtha), a place in the vicinity of modern Minieh, the nome of Hermupolis magna, Antinoupolis.

Upper Egypt.—Ptolemais Hermiu, Abydos, Koptos, Apollinopolis-Heptakomia, Thebes, Krokodilopolis, Apollinopolis magna (Edfu), Ombos, Elephantine, Syene.

CHAPTER II.

THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE JEWS IN EGYPT.

The opinion commonly held by scholars, based on literary sources, is that the main occupation of the Egyptian Jews was trade and money-lending. The papyri do not confirm this view. They teach us that the social conditions of the Jews in Egypt were as varied as they could be, and that their part in agriculture, cattle-breeding, military service and administration was by no means less than their achievement as merchants and money-lenders.

1. *Soldiers.*—The Aramaic papyri from Elephantine revealed to us the existence of Jewish soldiers in Egypt in the pre-Hellenistic period. The Ptolemies continued the old Egyptian custom of using foreign troops as mercenaries or as permanent garrisons in the fortresses and along the frontier, and to settle them on the soil. We have evidence of Jews serving in the fortresses (*Letter of Aristeas,* 13), guarding the frontier in Transjordan (*P. C. Z.*, 59003) and in Pelusion (*Ant.*, XIV, 99; *bell. Jud.*, I, 175), and settled as κληροῦχοι or κάτοικοι in Herakleopolis (*P. Hib.*, 96), in Fayum (*P. Tebt.*, 815, fr. 2, ll. 17-22; 817; 818; 820; 856, ll. 46-49; 882; 1075; *P. Gurob.*, 2; 8; *P. Freib.*, 12 *b*) and in the "Land of Onias" (*Ant.*, XII, 388; XIII, 62, 287, etc). The papyri show us Jews serving in the regular army and in the *Epigone* (reserve troops) as horsemen and infantry, soldiers and officers. Jews serving in the regular army are mentioned nearly thirty times in the papyri. Jews in the Epigone—not more than half this number. Among the officers we can name Tobiah, the Chief of the military settlement in Transjordan (*P. C. Z.*, 59003), and a "tactomisthos" (*P. Tebt.*, 818), who was perhaps a paymaster. A Jewish "hegemon" in Fayum is mentioned in an inscription (*S. B.*, 27). Like every soldier in the Ptolemaic army, all Jewish soldiers were designated by an *ethnicon* following their names ("X., a Jew"; "Y., a Jew of Epigone"). The ethnicon "Jew" was never used as a pseudo-ethnicon, like the ethnica "Macedo-

nians", "Persians", "Cretians", etc., which could be applied to men of various origins. There are two reasons for this exclusive use of the Jewish ethnicon : 1) the Jews, until the reign of Ptolemy VI Philometor (180-145), did not serve in separate Jewish units, but were distributed among various regiments, so that there was no possibility for a non-Jew to be assigned to a Jewish unit and in consequence be called a "Jew"; 2) the ethnicon "Jew" had a religious connotation as well, and a non-Jew could not be styled a Jew when he was not a proselyte. In the reign of Philometor an important reform concerning the Jewish army was inaugurated by the King : Jewish soldiers were settled on the "Land of Onias", they formed a Jewish unit and served under the command of Jewish generals. From this time on we can speak of a "Jewish army" in Egypt. Unfortunately, we learn of this reform from Josephus only; the papyri cease to give us evidence regarding Jewish soldiers at the particular moment when their voice would be of the utmost importance.

While it was not possible for a non-Jew to be styled a Jew, there was no prohibition for Jews to enter a "pseudo-ethnic" group of soldiers and to be styled "Persians" or "Macedonians". Jew-Persians are mentioned in the following papyri : *P. C. Z.*, 59003 ; *P. Tebt.*, 815, fr. 5, ll. 10-27 ; *B. G. U.*, 1106, 1134 ; *S. B.*, 7341 ; *P. Hamb.*, 2. Only the "Persian" in *P. C. Z.*, 59003 was a real soldier, all the others belong to the "Persians of Epigone", who became in the beginning of the Roman period not only a pseudo-ethnic, but also a pseudo-military group.

As for the Jew-Macedonians, we hear of their existence in Alexandria from Josephus (c. *Ap.*, II, 36 ; *bell. Jud.*, II, 488 ; *Ant.*, XII, 8), and his evidence is confirmed by that of the papyri from the time of Augustus (*B. G. U.*, 1132, 1151, I). When our sources speak of "Macedonians" without any further specification, their purpose is to designate the Macedonian army; as applied to Alexandria, the "Macedonians" are the garrison of the town. It thus follows that the Ptolemies assigned the Jews (not the whole community of Alexandrian Jews, of course, but a single military unit) to this important part of the Macedonian army, whose duty it was to defend the King and to keep order in the capital. It may be assumed that this important event in the history of the Alexandrian Jews took place at the time of Philometor, his reign being the

culmination point of Jewish influence at the court of the Ptolemies.

We have no knowledge of Jewish soldiers in Egypt in the Roman period. (The soldiers in *P. Oxy.*, 735 are not Jews. It is possible that the centurion in *O. E.*, 159 was a Jew.)

2. *Police.*—The lack of confidence in the natives was the principal reason why the Government engaged numerous foreigners in the police (as well as in the army). Hence the Arabs serving in great numbers in the Ptolemaic police. Jews are also mentioned in the documents as policemen, or as simple guards (*O. G. I. S.*, 96 ; *B. G. U.*, 1272 ; *P. C. Z.*, 59509, *P. Oxy.*, I, 43 verso).

3. *Government officials.*—Even in the Persian age a Jewish secretary is mentioned in the documents : "Anani the scribe" (*Cowley*, 26, l. 23). The first Hellenistic evidence of Jewish officials dates from the IIIrd century B. C. A certain Onias, who was probably a strategus and a courtier, is referred to in the year 164 B. C. (*U. P. Z.*, 110) ; another strategus is mentioned on the "stone of Chelkias" (*Arch. f. Pap.*, I, 48 ; II, 554). A large number of Jewish tax-collectors appears in Upper Egypt in the middle of the IInd century, as may be seen from the Theban ostraca. The same ostraca mention Jewish peasants as well, and it is not an easy task to distinguish between them ; yet on the whole it may be assumed that persons referred to in the receipts of the τράπεζαι are tax-collectors, whereas persons figuring on the receipts of the Θησαυροί are peasants. Among the collectors of various taxes (e. g. taxes on fishing, transport-tax, ἀπόμοιρα, etc.) we note the following Jews : Simon, son of Iazaros, Sabbathaios, Abietos, Abram, Abiel, Aristomenes, son of Joseph, Sabbathaios, son of Salum ; it is possible that Apollonios, son of Salamis (or of Solaios), Apollonios, son of Dositheos (in Apollinopolis magna), and three persons in *W. O.*, 1231 (Theodoros, Abbaios and Skymnos) were Jews as well. Among the collectors of chaff (ἄχυρον) Simon, son of Abietos (*W. O.*, 1513) was certainly a Jew, and so were, perhaps, Japheus (*O. Bodl.*, 232), Horos son of Sulis (Saul?) (*ib.*, 234) and Simon (*O. Strassb.*, 326). Abietos, whose signature we have on the bank-receipt in *O. Bodl.*, 118, was probably a "banker of the King". Jews were employed in the storehouses of chaff, as were [X], son of Sabbathaios

(*O. Strassb.*, 326), Joseph (*W. O.*, 1513/1514; *O. Bodl.*, 233), and possibly Simon, son of Dexiphanes (*O. Bodl.*, 234) and Jason (*W. O.*, 1513/1514).

In the Roman age there are very few instances of Jews in Government service; cf., p. ex., *O. E.*, 30; *B. G. U.*, 715. For the Byzantine age see *P. Oxy.*, 1429.

Our survey of Jewish officials in Egypt reveals that Jews were particularly employed as tax-collectors; yet it is a well-known fact that tax-collectors were detested by the population. What, then, was the reason that made Jews choose this particular office? It is doubtful whether tax-collection was particularly lucrative, considering the fact that it was subject to very severe control on the part of the Government, so that illegal enrichment was almost impossible. Such enrichment was even less possible in the Roman age, when the office of tax-collector became a liturgy, *i. e.* a duty forced by the Government on a private person. It is, therefore, doubtful whether the Jews really tried hard to secure this office; it is more likely that they were driven to it, owing to the fact that all other offices had long since been in the hand of the Greeks. The Ptolemaic administration was from the first based on Greek officials; it was a hard task for Jews to compete with them and to try to get them out of their offices, even if we suppose that the Government did not prevent them from so doing. It is no wonder, therefore, that the Jews did not secure the important offices of strategi, toparchs, etc., and that they were obliged to content themselves with the very difficult and unpleasant task of tax-collecting.

4. *Peasants.*—The papyri give evidence of the existence of Jewish peasantry from the beginning of the Hellenistic period to the VIth century A. D. Jewish peasants were scattered all over the country and lived in various economic and social conditions as military settlers, landowners, lease-holders, farmers, vine-dressers, hired labourers, etc. Their agricultural proclivities are sufficiently explained by the fact that the Jews, trained as they were in agriculture in Palestine, were inclined to adopt the same work in the foreign country as well. A second cause may be seen in the role played by Jews in the Ptolemaic army. Soldiers of

foreign origin serving in the Egyptian army were settled on the soil in very good conditions, their land-shares ranging from 20 to 100 arurae [1] whereas those of native soldiers did not exceed 5-7 arurae. The land-shares granted to Jews were on the same scale as those given to all foreigners. Jewish settlers owing 80 arurae are mentioned in *P. Tebt.*, 818 (cf. for other instances *P. Tebt.*, 882 ; 856, l. 46 sqq.). Apparently these settlers did not perform all their work themselves, and resembled landowners rather than simple peasants. We know from many instances that the military settlers leased their land to native peasants, who paid a fixed rent to their new masters. In the Roman period the entire system of granting land to soldiers had discontinued ; nevertheless, the "land of the settlers" (*κατοικικὴ γῆ*) is sometimes mentioned in the documents (a family owning such land in *P. Wuerzb. inv.*, 5, is perhaps a Jewish one). Jewish peasants of the Hellenistic period are mentioned principally in ostraca from Upper Egypt ; we know of about 25 persons who may be regarded as Jews, paying land-tax to the King's granaries. It can hardly be assumed that they were real land-owners, because in the strict sense of the word the King was the sole owner of all the land in Egypt. It is, therefore, more probable, that they were holders of the King's land. Jewish vine-dressers are mentioned in *P. S. I.*, 393 and *P. C. Z.*, 59367, and Jewish hired labourers working in the fields—in *W. Chr.*, 198 (IIIrd century B. C.). In the Roman and Byzantine periods we find mentioned in the documents both Jewish land-owners (*B. G. U.*, 1129 ; 1132 ; *P. Oxy.*, 500 ; 203) and Jewish lease-holders (*P. S. I.*, 883 ; *B. G. U.*, 585 ; *St. Pal.*, 22, p. 47, No. 178 ; *S. B.*, 7196 ; *B. G. U.*, 166 ; *P. Mendes. Genev.*).

Nothing is known of the conditions of Jewish life in the villages ; it is obvious that the standard of living varied according to the general social status, but there is no reason to assume that it was in any way different from the usual mode of life of the Egyptian villagers. They suffered from the same difficult conditions of life, which comprised the usual lot of the Egyptian fellahin. The Egyptians used to flee into the desert or seek asylum in a neighbouring temple when life grew too hard even for them ;

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[1] An Egyptian *arura* = 2,756 square metres.

such cases of passive resistance were called *ἀναχώρησις* in Egypt. We have no instances of *ἀναχώρησις* among the Jews, yet we learn from *P. Fay.* 123 (100 A. D.) that Jews were also inclined to escape from hard work on the Crown's land and to look for work on private estates.

5. *Shepherds and cattle-owners.*—The Semites, sons of the desert as they were, had not forgotten the nomad's life even after they had settled on the soil; this, perhaps, explains why they were often engaged in cattle-breeding. From the very beginning of the Hellenistic period we find Arabs playing a considerable role as shepherds in Egypt. Jews, while still in their own country, used to occupy themselves with cattle-breeding, and continued to do so in Egypt. The following papyri and ostraca mention Jews as shepherds and cattle-owners in Egypt: *P. C. Z.*, 59241, 59402; *P. Zen. Mich.*, 67; *P. Ent.*, 2; *P. Gurob.*, 22; *P. Tebt.*, 882 (Hellenistic period, Fayum); *W. O.*, 1510; *O. Bodl.*, 49; *O. Ashm.*, 2; *O. Wilb. Brk.*, 3 (Hellenistic period, Upper Egypt); *S. B.*, 7344; *P. Oxy.*, 353; *P. Cornell*, 22; *O. E.*, 186, 189, 195, 260; *S. B.*, 5811; *P. Oxy.*, 2037 (Roman period).

6. *Merchants and artisans.*—There are hardly any instances of Jewish merchants in the papyri, and this lack of evidence probably corresponds to the true state of affairs. The Jews, a people of peasants in Palestine where they left the conduct of trade to the Greek cities, did not bring the necessary skill for the development of trade into Egypt. On the other hand, the Ptolemies distrusted anyone who tried to show personal initiative in trade or industry, such behaviour being in contradiction to the Ptolemaic theory of Governmental control of economic life. In the Roman period, trade was in the hands of *collegia mercatorum*, whose connection with pagan cults was a serious impediment to the entrance of Jews. The few Jewish merchants were concentrated in Alexandria (cf. Philo, in *Flacc.*, 57). Jews engaged in trade, transport, etc. are mentioned in the following papyri and ostraca: *P. Oxy.*, 276 (cf. *B. G. U.*, 1741/1743); *P. Col. Zen.*, 2; *P. Princet.*, 2; *P. Fay. O.*, 39/40; *P. Wiscons.*, 16 (all these being instances of Jews engaged in transport); *P. Tebt.*, 818 (a "common business" of two Jewish soldiers, apparently in retail trade); *P. Lond.*, III, 1177 (dealers in timber or artisans).

Not more numerous are instances in the papyri of Jewish artisans, among whom potters (*B. G. U.*, 1282), weavers (*B. G. U.*, 1436; *S. B.*, 5819), tanners (*P. Oxy.*, 2037), a painter (*P. Ross. Georg.*, III, 38), and a flute-player (*P. Tebt.*, 882), are mentioned. It may be assumed that in this case the paucity of instances does not correspond with the true state of affairs, the various handicrafts being the chief occupation of the Jews in Palestine. The Talmudic sources (Tosephta Sukka, IV, 6; B. Sukka, 51 *b*; B. Joma, 38 *a*; B. Arachin, 10 *b*; J. Kiddushin, 3, 14) and Philo (in *Flacc.*, 56/57) mention various kinds of Jewish artisans in Alexandria.

7. *Bankers and money-lenders.*—The part played by Jewish bankers in Egypt has been exaggerated by modern scholars no less than their part as merchants. The long list of Egyptian bankers drawn up by Calderini[1] contains no Jews at all. There may have been Jewish bankers in Upper Egypt in the IIIrd century B. C., but it must be remembered that under the Ptolemies bankers were officials of the King and not private persons lending their own money. In the Roman period Jewish money-lenders are mentioned in Alexandria (*B. G. U.*, 1079); Alexander, the brother of Philo, was evidently a rich banker (*Ant.*, XVIII, 159; *B. Jud.*, V, 205). It has been suggested that Jewish capitalists are to be found among the Πέρσαι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς so numerous in Egypt at the end of the Hellenistic and the beginning of the Roman period; yet from the total number of nearly 530 "Persians" known to us from the documents[2], hardly ten may be regarded as Jews (s. p. 117 above). There is thus no reason to suspect that there was a large number of Jews among the "Persians". Numerous documents mention various money-transactions of a private character, including money-lending, in which Jews are involved (*P. Tebt.*, 817; 818; 815, fr. 2; *P. Oxy.*, 1281; *P. Cornell*, 7), as well as Greeks and Egyptians. In all these cases

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[1] Calderini, *Censimento topografico delle banche dell'Egitto greco-romano*, *Aegyptus*, 18, 1938, p. 244-278.

[2] Heichelheim, *Die auswaertige Bevoelkerung im Ptolemaerreiche*, p. 100 ff.; *Arch. f. Pap.*, 9, p. 53; 12, p. 61.

the money-lenders are not bankers, but private persons lending their money on occasion.

8. *Slaves.*—The number of slaves in Egypt could not have been very large, as all the hard work in the fields was performed by the free native population. Slaves were chiefly employed as house-servants, and it may therefore be assumed that their conditions of life were not very bad. Jewish slaves were brought into Egypt as prisoners of war (*Letter of Aristeas,* 12-14) and, perhaps, as an article of trade between Syria and Egypt (compare the purchases of slaves made by Zenon in Palestine and Transjordan). Among the papyri mentioning Jewish slaves only one presents any interest : *P. Oxy.,* 1205, containing a deed of liberation of a female Jewish slave with her two children (291 A. D.). The liberation is performed in a specific manner known in Roman law as a *manumissio inter amicos.* The ransom is paid by the Jewish community in Oxyrhynchos.

Conclusion.—The economic life of the Egyptian Jews was far from being uniform, unlike Jewish life in the Ghettoes of Christian Europe. They were not confined to a Ghetto and were engaged in all kinds of work and business. They did not avoid hard work, such as, agriculture, cattle-breeding and handicrafts, and we shall probably be right in considering the great majority of Egyptian Jews as men of small income, earning their daily bread by the sweat of their brows. Secondly, we find Jews in the King's service (in army and administration) who are probably wealthier and live in better conditions; both these sources of income cease, however, in the Roman period. We do not know if there were many rich Jews in the villages; we know of some house-owners among the Jews (*P. Lond.,* II, 258; III, 1119 *c; P. Oxy.,* 335; *B. G. U.,* 854), but this fact is of no importance, all fellahin being "house-owners" of their miserable huts. Wealthy Jews—merchants, ship-owners, money-lenders—were settled in Alexandria, and their standard of living was doubtless very high. Unfortunately, we have no instances in the papyri of men practicing the liberal arts, no teachers, writers, judges, physicians, etc., but it is obvious that they played a considerable part in the life of so great a community as that of Alexandria.

CHAPTER III.

THE TAXES OF THE JEWS.

1. *Common taxes.*—The Jews, like every inhabitant of the country, paid the common taxes imposed by the Government on the entire population of Egypt. The Edfu ostraca give us a long list of taxes paid by Jews in the period from Vespasian to Trajan : the bath-tax, the dyke-tax, various taxes for the maintenance of guards, land-taxes, pasture-fees, various assessments (*μερισμοί*) etc. In all the 235 ostraca from the Jewish quarter of Edfu there is no mention of the Jewish community, and we may thus draw the conclusion that the Government collected the taxes by means of its own officials only.

2. *Poll-tax.*—The poll-tax did not exist in the Ptolemaic period; the Syntaxis (*σύνταξις*) mentioned in the 1st century B. C. was only a temporary tax. The Romans, on the contrary, introduced the poll-tax (*tributum capitis*) in every province ; it was the very mark of the enslavement of the provincial population to the victorious conqueror. In Egypt the poll-tax—here called *laographia* (*λαογραφία*)—was introduced during the reign of Augustus. The citizens of Greek cities were exempt from payment of the tax, and the Greeks in the principal district-towns and other privileged groups of the population paid it at a lower rate than the Egyptians. It is obvious that the Jews had to pay the poll-tax, in so far as they did not belong to any privileged group. Jews paying the laographia in Fayum are mentioned in *W. Chr.*, 61, 62 and *P. Princet.*, 2. The Jews in Edfu paid laographia at an annual rate of 16 drachmae, according to the usual rate in Upper Egypt. In Alexandria the imposition of the poll-tax brought about a serious crisis among the higher circles of Jewish society. These well-to-do persons, assimilated as they were among the Greeks, did not see any important difference between themselves and their Greek fellow-townsmen, and now they were degraded to the low position of the Egyptians by the ignominious obligation to pay the poll-tax. The attainment of civic rights alone could free the Jews

from this humiliation ; hence the stubborn struggle for these rights during the time from Augustus to Claudius, which left important traces in the literature of the period (Philo, Josephus, III. Macc.). As to the papyri, we hear the echo of this struggle in *W. Chr.*, 58 and in a fragment of the "Acts of Alexandrian Martyrs" [1] ; in both documents the connection between civic rights and the payment of laographia is most clearly emphasized.

3. *The "Jewish Tax".*—The Jewish tax (Ἰουδαῖον τέλεσμα) was imposed on all the Jews of the Roman Empire by Vespasian after 70 A. D., this tax taking the place of the "half-Shekel" (didrachmon) paid until then by every adult Jew to the Temple in Jerusalem (*B. Jud.*, VII, 218 ; Dio Cassius, 66, 7, 2). We obtain some knowledge of this tax from a papyrus of Arsinoe in Fayum (*W. Chr.*, 67) and from 62 ostraca from Edfu. The following facts, based on the interpretation of these documents, may be learned :

1. The edict of Vespasian concerning the Jewish tax was issued in his third year (according to the Roman reckoning), which is his fourth year, with a difference of two months, according to the Egyptian calendar. Yet the collection of the tax was reckoned from the day of the destruction of the Temple, *i. e.* from the second year of Vespasian, and the Jews were therefore obliged to pay arrears for two years (*O. E.*, 40 ; *S. B.*, 5814).

2. The tax is called "the price of two dinars of the Jews" (τιμὴ τῶν δηναρίων δύο Ἰουδαίων) until the 8th year of Domitian ; from his 12th year on [2] the name is "the Jewish Tax". The first name emphasizes the connection between the new tax and the didrachmon : it was Jupiter Capitolinus (whose temple was consumed by fire in 69 A. D.) who now enjoyed the revenues of the Jewish God. The change in name denotes a corresponding change in politics, namely, the income from the Jewish tax was no longer used for the benefit of Jupiter. It may be that Domitian

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[1] W. Uxkull-Gyllenband, *Stzb. Preuss. Akad.*, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 28, 1930, S. 664 ff.

[2] Between the 8th and 12th year of Domitian no ostraca from Edfu have been preserved.

at that time completed the entire work of reconstruction of the temple of Jupiter (which had meanwhile burnt down a second time in 80 A. D.) and decided to apply the income from the Jewish tax for other purposes.

3. The Edfu ostraca mention the "Jewish tax" until the end of the reign of Trajan. Since there are no certain instances of the collection of the tax after this date (the information of Appian, Tertullian and Origenes being very doubtful), it may be suggested that the "Jewish tax" was abolished by Hadrian with the aim of replacing it by heavier taxes.

4. The Jewish tax was paid in Egypt by every Jew, male and female, from the age of 3 to 60 or 62 years. The annual rate was 8 dr. 2 oboles *pro capite,* according to the Egyptian value of money. To this amount an additional rate of 1 dr. called "aparche" (ἀπαρχή) was imposed. This aparche may presumably be identified with the "first fruits", the delivering of which also ceased with the destruction of the Temple (Mishnah, Shekalim, 8, 8; cf. Blau, *Papyri und Talmud,* p. 12).

The Jewish tax in itself was not so heavy a burden for a single man as was the poll-tax, though as a supplement to other taxes it could become quite a nuisance. But for a man overburdened with a large family it was nearly unbearable and could rapidly lead to his complete ruin. Yet the principal objection lay not so much in the economic burden of the tax as in the feeling of injury connected therewith. The payment of the tax humiliated the Jews in the eyes of even the native population, being a mark of distinction between them and all other nations, like the "yellow spot" in mediaeval Europe.

CHAPTER IV.

JEWISH AND HELLENISTIC LAW.

The entire population of Egypt under the Ptolemies may from the juridical point of view be divided into four groups : 1) the native Egyptians, whose legal affairs were examined in special law-courts in accordance with "the laws of the land"; 2) foreigners, principally Greeks and Hellenized nations, subject to the Hellenistic law based on the laws of the

Greek cities; 3) citizens of the three Greek cities in Egypt enjoying their own jurisdiction; 4) members of numerous communities (πολιτεύματα) granted their own jurisdiction on a limited scale and subject in all other cases to the Hellenistic law. In the Roman period a fifth group was added, namely, the Roman citizens, whose legal affairs were conducted in accordance with the principles of Roman law. Such a variety of juridical status of the population enabled the Jews as well to adapt themselves to the conditions of Hellenistic life. The Jewish people in Egypt as a whole could not enjoy a juridical organisation of its own, because the autonomy of such great ethnical units could not be acknowledged in Egypt from the political point of view. Every Jewish community, however, could enjoy its autonomy on a reduced scale, like every other *politeuma* in Egypt. The principal privilege granted the Jews by the Kings was the right "to live in accordance with their own laws", *i. e.* in accordance with the law of the Bible.

We have very few instances in the papyri of the existence of Jewish communities in Egypt (cf. *W. Chr.*, 193). In the Byzantine age we can distinguish between three different groups of men within the community : the heads of the community, the "elders" (evidently members of a council of elders) and the "holy community", *i. e.* the people (see the article by Cowley, *J. E. A.*, 2, p. 209 sqq.). Synagogues are mentioned in ten different places in Egypt. Among other institutions we hear of an "archive" (notarial office) (*B. G. U.*, 1151, I) and a tribunal (Tosephta, Ketuboth, 2, 1) in Alexandria. It is, indeed, undisputed, that Jews enjoyed their own judical organisation, particularly in Alexandria, yet this fact is by no means confirmed by the papyri, except the reference to the above-mentioned "archive" and an obscure hint of a marriage contracted in accordance with Jewish law (*P. Ent.*, 23). On the contrary, the papyri show us that the Jews acted in accordance with the principles of Hellenistic common law. The papyri of Fayum, from the IIIrd and IInd centuries B. C. (particularly *P. Tebt.*) and of Alexandria, from the reign of Augustus (*B. G. U.*, IV) give the following evidence : 1) The documents dealing with Jews are drawn up in the usual manner of Hellenistic documents. No details are omitted, not even the full titles of the Kings, referring to their divinity; 2) the documents were as a rule

drawn up in the Government office and in the presence of Governmental officials; 3) the Jews usually brought their judicial claims before the official bodies, *i. e.* before the various Greek courts or the strategus of the district; 4) the laws and regulations forming the legal basis of the family and business life of the Jews are the usual laws of the Greek population of Egypt. There were, of course, judicial cases which were heard before Jewish courts, especially matters relating to family-life (marriages, divorces), but we have no instances thereof in the papyri, save the obscure hint in *P. Ent.*, 23 mentioned above. The influence of Hellenistic law on Jewish life in Egypt may be noted particularly in the following two cases : 1) A Jewish woman in Egypt is always represented in the law-courts by her *κύριος* like the Greek woman,—a fact indicating the inferiority of her judicial rights; yet this representation is not demanded by Jewish law. 2) There are instances in the papyri of Jews lending their money to other Jews on interest, which is inconsistent with the principles of Jewish law [1]. The explanation for so great an influence of the Hellenistic law on the Egyptian Jews may be found in the weakness of Jewish national institutions in the beginning of the Ptolemaic period and in the strong process of Hellenisation among the Jews of Alexandria.

CHAPTER V.

THE CIVIC STATUS OF EGYPTIAN JEWS IN THE ROMAN PERIOD.

1. *Rome, Alexandria and the Jews.*—From the very beginning of the Roman period, Alexandria, the second city in the Empire, was constantly hostile to Rome. Her enmity to Rome, now overt, now dissimulated, can be seen during the whole history of the Roman Empire. It therefore happened that "the Jewish question" was at times associated with the

[1] There are, however, many instances in the documents of persons lending their money (or corn) without interest, but it cannot be assumed that all these persons of various nationalities and social status were influenced by Jewish law. See Tscherikower and Heichelheim, *Jewish religious influence in the Adler papyri? Harv. Theolog. Review*, 35, 1942, p. 25 sqq.

broader question of the relations between Rome and Alexandria. This fusion of various interests is to be found, for example, in the fragments of anti-Semitic literature known as "Acts of Alexandrian Martyrs". The fragments are composed as if they were official records of law-suits between Jews and Greeks before the Emperor's court in Rome; in reality they are free compositions of unknown authors, although based on actual events, so that many historical facts are preserved therein. The main purpose of these fragments is to incite hatred against the Roman Emperors or to ridicule them; the hatred against Jews is merely a matter of subordinate significance. The "Acts" describe the Roman Emperors as the truest allies of the Jews, and under the influence of the Jews the emperors are permanently in conflict with Alexandria and its best representatives. What could be the origin of such a legend? We can point out three main causes: 1) At the end of the Hellenistic period the Jews were partisans of some of the Ptolemaic Kings and their friends the Romans, whereas the citizens of Alexandria were champions of a national policy and resisted the growing influence of Rome in Egypt. The Jews desired a strong centralized administration, for only such a Government, and not that of a free Greek polis, could keep their privileges intact and guarantee the autonomy of Jewish communities. The Alexandrians, therefore, had a well-founded case to accuse the Jews of helping the Romans to suppress the freedom of their mother-city. 2) The famous trial of Isidoros and Lampon before Claudius ended with the execution of the Alexandrians; hence the impression that in the law-suits between Jews and Greeks the Emperors upheld the cause of the Jews. This impression was false, because in many cases referred to in the "Acts" the Emperors inflicted heavy punishments on the Alexandrians, though the Jews were by no means involved in the trial. 3) The Jews appeared to the authors of the "Acts" as the traditional enemies of the Alexandrians. For purposes of propaganda it was an ingenious trick to paint the Roman Emperors as favouring the Jews, thus arousing in the reader double hatred to Rome. Hence the description of the Roman Senate as being full of Jews; the curious idea of representing Claudius as the son of a Jewess (or as influenced by a Jewess); the story of the Empress Plotina conducting propaganda in the interest of the Jews among the members

of the Senate, and the like. There is no sense in looking for historic truth in stories like these, as they are composed with one aim only, namely, to impress the reader with certain ideas put forth by the author. Yet it is worth noting that the legend concerning the "alliance" between Rome and the Jews took deep root among the readers, and there are scholars even today who believe in its veracity.

2. *Gymnasium education and the question of civic rights.*—Every young Greek in Greece was brought up in the gymnasium of the polis. The termination of this course of study was the prerequisite to citizenship. The Greeks transferred this important institution to Egypt as well as to other countries; in the Ptolemaic period even villagers received gymnasia of their own. Private initiative played an important part in the establishment of the gymnasia. The existence of village-gymnasia may be taken as proof of the fact that education in the gymnasia was not reserved for "citizens" only (there were no citizens in the villages), but was available to all who wished to make use of it. We may assume that things were different in Alexandria, where the gymnasia were doubtless controlled by the King and the authorities of the polis. Yet the state of anarchy, so strong towards the close of the Ptolemiac period, probably prevailed in civic affairs as well, and it is to be expected that the city's authorities themselves were not always certain who was to be considered a citizen, and who not. Hence the possibility for Jews as well to enter gymnasia and after completing them to be inscribed as citizens. It was, of course, only Jews of considerable wealth who tried to take this course, the imitation of the Greek forms of life being so characteristic a trait of the well-to-do Oriental. In so far as the Hellenistic age is concerned, it may be stated, that the efforts of Jews to enter gymnasia were not so much a question of deriving any political advantage but rather a cultural tendency.

The Roman conquest changed the whole situation immediately. From the very beginning of Roman rule it was the Greek population which was chosen by Rome to serve as a basis for its government in the Orient. "A Greek" in the eyes of the Romans was identified with "a citizen of a Greek city", the civic status and not the nation determining one's place

in the Roman Empire. Yet in Egypt there were Greeks living outside the three Greek cities, whom the Romans were obliged to consider too. They granted them certain privileges and inscribed them in a separate group of *οἱ ἀπὸ γυμνασίου* ("men of the gymnasium"). Adherence to this group opened the doors to a political career in the province (municipal offices, minor posts in the administration of the province, etc.). The result was that membership in the body of "men of the gymnasium" indicated not merely membership in a "cultured society", but was the first step towards the fulfilment of an active part in political and municipal life. Such a state of affairs brought about a new attitude towards gymnasium education. The anarchy of the Ptolemaic rule came to an end; the gymnasia ceased to be a matter of private initiative, and the enrolment of a young man to the ephebi was henceforth bound up with a thorough examination of the candidate. The latter had to answer a set of questions referring to the civic status of his parents, membership in the "men of the gymnasium" being a legal state transmitted by inheritance, like citizenship in a polis. It is easy to visualize the great influence of this new state of affairs upon Egyptian Jewry. The Jewish youth, hitherto entering the ephebi without much difficulty, was henceforth obliged to answer the dangerous questions : Who is your father? Who is your mother? The Roman Government and the city authorities were both anxious to keep Alexandrian citizenship free from any foreign influence, because membership in the body of Alexandrian citizens was in the Roman age connected with many privileges, and above all with the exemption from payment of the poll-tax. It was also the first step towards securing the rights of a Roman citizen.

Two documents of the early Roman period contain allusions to this new attitude towards the gymnasium education of the Jews : the "Papyrus of the *βουλή*" (*P. S. I.*, 1160) from the reign of Augustus, and the Letter of the Emperor Claudius to the Alexandrians (*S. P.*, 212). The first document is written by a spokesman of the Alexandrians; he emphasizes that the Council (if the Emperor will grant it to the Alexandrians) will not permit persons paying the poll-tax to be inscribed as ephebi, nor persons lacking Greek education to enter the ranks of citizens. Though Jews are not mentioned here, it is obvious that the warning is

directed against them, as well as against the Egyptians. In the second document all persons enrolled as ephebi until the reign of Claudius are granted Alexandrian citizenship, whereas Jews are forbidden to take part in the contests presided over by the gymnasiarchos or the kosmetes. This prohibition is to be understood only on the assumption that the Jews had no access at all to the gymnasia, the contests being an integral part of the gymnasium education.

The prohibition of gymnasium education for Jews was not an expression of the anti-Semitic sentiments of the Romans, but rather a logical outcome of the principles of Roman Government in the Orient. The division of the whole population of the Eastern provinces into two elements—Greeks, enjoying various privileges, and "natives", devoid of any rights—left no room for a third element. As to the Alexandrians, it is easy to understand why this policy seemed a right one to them; it helped them to get rid of men whose opinions and beliefs were foreign to their own. We must not forget that the Greek polis was not only a political, but a cultural and religious community as well. The Jews strongly opposed this Roman and Alexandrian policy in a long struggle for civic rights. This struggle reached its climax in the reign of Caius Caligula and ended in complete failure in the time of Claudius.

3. *The Emperor Claudius and the Jews.*—There are two documents (besides *Ant.*, XIX, 280 sqq.) dealing with the policy of Claudius towards the Jews in the first year of his reign : his Letter mentioned above and the fragments of the "Acts of Isidoros and Lampon", concerning the trial of these two Alexandrians before the Emperor. This trial is commonly supposed to have been held in 53 A. D.; yet the opinion of the minority, placing the date of the trial in the year 41 B. C. seems to me to be correct. The following reasons may be advanced in favour of the year 41 : 1) Agrippa, the King mentioned in the trial, may certainly be identified with Agrippa I, whose interest in Alexandrian affairs is well attested to, and not Agrippa II, whose connection with Alexandria is dubious; 2) There is reason to believe that Isidoros, who visited Rome at the end of 40, was still there in the spring of 41; 3) The desire of Claudius to avenge his friends Theon and Macro, who were sentenced

to death by Caligula as a result of the accusation of Isidoros, is quite understandable immediately after the assassination of Caligula, but not twelve years thereafter ; 4) The dispute about the problem of Jewish rights in Alexandria fits the year 41 better than 53.

On the basis of literary and documentary sources, the following sketch of what happened in 41 can be drawn up : At the end of 40 the Jews were in a very sad plight. The anti-Semitic outbreak in Alexandria two years earlier not only paralized the economic development of the Jews, but threatened the very existence of the Alexandrian community. The delegation to Caius, consisting of three important members of the community, with Philo at the head, was met with scorn on the part of the Emperor, so that Apion, the head of the Greek delegation from Alexandria, could be quite certain of his victory over the hateful Jews. Yet on January 24, 41 A. D., Caligula was assassinated, and the reign of Claudius promised the inauguration of a new epoch, the Emperor showing a sincere desire to return to the principles of the rule of Augustus. Fresh hopes were cherished by Jews as well. Particular importance could be attached to the fact that the Jewish King Agrippa, clever and artful as he was, won the friendship of the new Emperor in a few days. Impressed by Agrippa, Claudius consented to hear the complaints of the Alexandrian Jews, and it may be suggested that he received the delegation of Philo which was probably still residing at Rome. At the same time he heard the claims of the Greeks, probably represented by Apion. This was the first examination of the Jewish question before Claudius, mentioned by him in his *Letter*, l. 87-88. With regard to the Jewish question, as well as to many others, Claudius returned to the policy of Augustus. He sanctioned the ancient privileges of the Jews and permitted them to live in accordance with their own laws. An edict was drawn up, which was handed over to Agrippa, who was to publish it in Alexandria upon his return home via Egypt. This edict, with some interpolations, is preserved by Josephus in *Ant.*, XIX, 280 sqq. The "victory" of the Jews provoked great agitation among the anti-Semites. Their leader Isidoros, seconded by his friend Lampon, took the initiative and called Agrippa to court. Agrippa's position was very embarassing. Isidoros, perhaps, was not so dangerous an enemy (he acted not as an official representative

of Alexandria, but at his own peril); but Ti. Claudius Balbillus, a friend of the Emperor and the head of the Alexandrian delegation which had just arrived in Rome, was ready to appear at the trial and to give Isidoros his support. The Alexandrian delegation, moreover, brought news of fresh riots in Alexandria, and the Greeks accused the Jews of being the aggressors this time. The sentiments of the persons surrounding the Emperor began to turn in favour of the Greeks. But it was not the intention of Claudius to give support to the leaders of the Alexandrian demagogues, and Isidoros and Lampon were accordingly sentenced to death. Agrippa left Rome for Palestine. Meanwhile, the state of affairs in Alexandria became even more confused. The Jews, immediately upon receipt of the news of the assassination of Caligula, took the offensive against the Greeks, being supported in their actions by their compatriots from Egypt and from Palestine. These disturbances entirely changed the attitude of Rome towards Jewish affairs : Jews, and not Greeks, now deserved punishment. A second Jewish delegation left Alexandria for Rome, and now had to work in a political atmosphere by no means favourable to it. Agrippa was away; Claudius, influenced as he now was by his Greek friends, was very angry with the Jews, who had dared to trouble him with two delegations in so short a time (cf. his *Letter*, l. 91). Nevertheless, he agreed to meet again with both Jews and Greeks (the latter were represented by Ti. Claudius Balbillus and his delegation) and to hear the arguments of both sides again : that is the *ἀντικατάστασις* referred to in his *Letter*, l. 75. This time it was not the question of Jewish rights in Alexandria which was discussed before the Emperor, but a far more dangerous one, namely, responsibility for the renewed outbreak of hostilities in Alexandria. Unwilling to aggravate the situation, Claudius did not consent to hold a new investigation of the case, yet he was convinced of the culpability of the Jews and his attitude towards them was now imbued with hardly dissimulated hatred and wrath. These sentiments can be perceived clearly in the famous passage of his *Letter to the Alexandrians*, dealing with the Jewish question (ll. 73-104).

In this passage Claudius emphasizes that he reserves for himself "an unyielding indignation against whoever caused this renewed outbreak"

(l. 77/78)[1], *i. e.* against the Jews. He announces several restrictions of the political life of the Alexandrian Jews, without giving any justification for such a step. At the end of the passage, as if to crown the whole Letter, appear the striking characteristics of the Jews as a people "fomenting a general plague for the whole world" (ll. 99/100). The real importance of the Letter, however, is not confined to threats, but consists in the precise definition given by Claudius to the rights of the Jews. He urges the Alexandrians not to disturb the Jews "in the exercise of their traditional worship but to permit them to observe their customs" (ll. 85/86), *i. e.* he confirmed the religious and national rights of the Jews. But he forbade the Jews to take part in the games and to seek additional rights "in a city not their own" (l. 95), *i. e.* he deprived them of all hopes of obtaining Alexandrian citizenship and of being on equal terms with the Greeks. In this sense, it may be said that the Letter of Claudius put an end to the "emancipation" of the Alexandrian Jews. As for the famous words relating to Jews "fomenting a general plague for the whole world", it is false to connect them with the Claudian prohibition of the admission of Jews from Egypt and Syria to Alexandria, as is generally assumed. They served as a conclusion for the whole passage dealing with Jews. The stopping of immigration was merely an emergency measure aiming at the rapid suppression of the Jewish riot, whereas the words regarding "general plague" refer to the revolutionary movement amongst the Jews directed against Rome, and now beginning to manifest itself in several places (Palestine, Antiochia, Rome itself). It may be assumed that Messianic hopes played a considerable part in this movement, although there is no reason to identify it with Christianity.

4. *Roman citizenship.*—Roman citizenship could be obtained in three different ways : by enfranchisement from slavery, by serving in the Army and by a personal grant from the Emperor. Like all inhabitants of the Empire, Jews also used all these ways ; yet that of army service was not a common one, Jews being infrequently enrolled in the Roman army.

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[1] The translation (here and later) is that of H. J. Bell in his first publication of the *Letter of Claudius* (*Jews and Christians in Egypt*, 1924).

It is not difficult to distinguish a Roman citizen in the documents, his Roman name bearing testimony to his adherence to the nation of the conquerors. There are very few Roman citizens among the Jews mentioned in the papyri. In Edfu, the families of Antonius Rufus (under Vespasianus) and Achillas Rufus (under M. Aurelius) are mentioned, and also the individuals M. Verrius (*O. E.*, 257), M. Annius (*O. E.*, 260) and the freedman Q. Caecilius (*O. E.*, 120, 127, 128). In 212 A. D. all the inhabitants of the Roman Empire received Roman citizenship, but it is still an unsettled question whether the *dediticii* received the rights as well, though this seems to be very probable. Jewish Aurelii are mentioned in *P. Oxy.*, 1205, 1429; cf. also the supplement in Greek to an Aramaic papyrus (Cowley, *J. E. A.*, 2, p. 212). The small number of Jewish Aurelii cannot serve as proof that the whole Jewish population did not receive Roman rights in accordance with the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, as the total number of Jewish papyri from the Byzantine period is very small, and does not permit the making of any far-reaching conclusions.

CHAPTER VI.

JEWISH REVOLT UNDER TRAJAN.

There are very few literary sources dealing with the great Jewish revolt under Trajan, the most important being Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.*, IV, 2, and *Dio Cassius*, 68, 32. The papyri extend our knowledge through many valuable details. The "Acts of Paulus and Antoninus" refer to a trial between Jews and Greeks before the law-court of Hadrian. The debates centre around the events that occured in Alexandria during the revolt, such as, the edict of the Prefect concerning the confiscation of arms, the disorders caused by slaves, etc. A "King of the scene and the mimos"—evidently the Jewish Messiah from Cyrene—is also mentioned. From this document it appears that the Jewish population of Alexandria was not annihilated (as might be assumed on the basis of literary sources alone), and that the Prefect, after suppression of the revolt, was preoccupied with the establishment of a new Jewish settlement in the vicinity of the town (the settlers being recruited, perhaps, from among the Jewish

refugees who could no longer return to their devastated homes and estates). Further details concerning Alexandria during the revolt may be found in a newly published papyrus from Milan (*R. U. Mil.*) [1]. It is an edict of the Prefect M. Rutilius Lupus, issued on October 13, 115 A. D., *i. e.* in the first year of the revolt. The edict records the "battle" (μάχη) between Jews and Romans, and it thus follows that until October 115 there was only one decisive clash between the rebels and the Roman army in Alexandria. Otherwise the Prefect would have spoken of a war (πόλεμος) or at least of a revolt (στάσις). It is obvious that this battle ended in favour of the Romans, so that Alexandria became a relatively quiet place in comparison with the rest of the country. The edict of the Prefect was directed not against Jews, but against rich Alexandrians, who stirred the mob (including slaves) against the Jews after the revolt had already been suppressed. Slaves participating in the riot present a common subject in both documents.

The papyri, supplemented by our meagre literary sources, enable us to draw up a list of places affected by the Jewish revolt, as follows : Alexandria, the environs of Pelusion, Athribis (Delta), Memphis, Fayûm, the districts of Herakleopolis, Oxyrhynchos, Kynopolis, Hermupolis and Thebais. It may be said therefore, that the revolt overran the entire country, to say nothing of Cyrene. Our principal source for studying the revolt in the χώρα are the private letters from the archive of Apollonios, the strategus of Apollinopolis-Heptakomia in Upper Egypt. To these should be added some isolated documents written for the most part after the revolt, such as, *P. Oxy.*, 500; 705; 707 recto, 1189; *B. G. U.*, 889. All these documents are written from the point of view of the Greeks and Egyptians, and we have not a single word telling us the story of the revolt as seen with the eyes of a Jew. Yet even this partial picture is of great interest. We see the great strength of the revolt, which was a real war, involving battles, victories and defeats. Not only the regular army of Rome, but the irregular militia of Greeks and Egyptians as well participated in the war, and the need for officers was so great that even

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[1] Cazzaniga, *Torbidi giudaici nell'Egitto Romano*, etc., *Mélanges Boisack*, 1937, p. 159-167.

the civil administrators, such as the strategi of the districts, were enrolled in the army or joined up as volunteers. Fear and consternation reigned among the Greek families, whose members, fighting at the "front", were exposed to the hostility of the Jews. Bad news of a defeat seriously affected overstrained nerves, whereas good news revived courage, and the days of victory were fixed as permanent festivals. The roads were not safe, and fields, estates and houses were burnt down or devastated. The fertile soil became desert, and thirty years after the revolt signs of the devastation were still to be seen in Egypt. The hatred for Jews reached its climax. The Jews were styled "impious" (ἀνόσιοι) even in official papers, and from this expression we may assume that the Jews, during the revolt, gave vent to their anger not on men alone, but on the gods as well. And, indeed, we learn from Appian that the Jews destroyed the τέμενος of Nemesis in the vicinity of Alexandria, and inscriptions from Cyrene tell us of the devastation of a temple of Apollo with the buildings attached to it. This intolerance can easily be understood if we assume the revolt to have been connected with a revival of Messianic hopes, so common among the Jews in the years 70—135 A. D. The unexpected appearance of a "King" (*i. e.* Messiah) in Cyrene perhaps gave the first impetus to the whole movement.

CHAPTER VII.

NAMES OF THE JEWS.

In the Hellenistic-Roman period the Jews used to call themselves by Hebrew, Semitic, Greek, Egyptian and Roman names. The choice of names, though seemingly arbitrary, is in reality bound by custom, imitation and tradition, and the examination of the names used by a people at a certain stage of its history can, therefore, serve as an important chapter in the study of its cultural development. Hebrew names were in common use among the Jews from the beginning of the Hellenistic period until the Arab conquest. The most common name was Shabbetai (see below). Second place may be given to Simon; about thirty persons in the papyri named Simon can claim Jewish origin. Yet it must be

remembered that Simon was a Greek name as well. This name was common in the Hellenistic more than in the Roman or Byzantine periods, *i. e.* it was popular at the time of the greatest Hellenisation among the Jews. It is possible that Jews liked to be called Simon just because it sounded Greek and Hebrew at once. Third place may be given to the name Joseph, which occurs 26 times in the Jewish papyri. This name may have been so popular among the Egyptian Jews because of the part played by Joseph of the Bible in Egypt. The names of the first ancestors of the Jewish people (Jacob—18 times in Jewish papyri, Isaac—11, Abraham—8) are very rare in the Hellenistic but more frequent in the Roman and Byzantine periods. The use of the venerable names of the ancestors symbolises the return to the old national tradition, and since the turning point from Hellenisation to tradition took place at the beginning of the Roman period, it is apparent why these names occur frequently from this time on. Among the other Hebrew names occuring frequently in Jewish papyri mention may be made of Joshua, Samuel, Johanan, Onias, Hananiah, Tobiah, Jonathan, Judah and Helkiah; more seldom do we find the names Abiel, Haggai, Ezekiel, Aaron, Hezekiah, Elasar, Zebulun, Enoch, Ishmael and Hosea (each name is mentioned once or twice in the papyri). Among women's names we may mention : Sarah (5 times), Johanna (twice), Maria (three times) and Marion (three times).

Jews were frequently called by Semitic, particularly Aramaic names; thus in the papyri we encounter Jews named Abdi, Abitai (Ἀβιήτης), Barrabas, Martha, etc. In most cases (particularly regarding the names Malchi, Zabdi, Salamis) it is impossible to discover whether the persons in question were Jews or not.

As to the Greek names, the theophoric names were widely spread among the Jews : Dositheos (26 times in Jewish papyri), Theodotos (13), Theodoros (14), Theophilos (8) and Dorotheos (3). Among other names we may point out : Ptolemaios (11 times), Alexander (7), Antipatros (6), Jason, Philon, Ptollas and Tryphon. The Egyptian Jews had no religious scruples about being called by names of pagan gods, and so we find Jews in the documents whose names were derived from Athene, Ammon, Apollo, Dionysos, Zeus, Hermes, Herakles, Here, Isis,

Men and Sarapis. No definite system in the adoption of Greek names can be stated. It is commonly held by modern students that the choice of a Greek name was based either on a translation of the Hebrew name into Greek (*e. g.* Tanhum-Paregoros), or on a similarity in the sound of the word (*e. g.* Abtalion—Ptollion). Yet this was by no means systematic, and it would be false to assume that in each case the adoption of a Greek name was made in accordance with fixed rules. The double names in the papyri show us that the Greek name bore no connection with the Hebrew (see f. ex., *B. G. U.*, 715 : "Joses, named also Theophilos"; *P. Tebt.*, 818 : "Theodoros, son of Theodoros, called also Samuel"). It is worth noting that the great majority of translated names (like Tanhum-Paregoros, or Zaddok-Justus) were the result of deliberation by the well-educated men, not a creation of the people itself, and were used especially in Palestine. As to the Jews of Egypt, it is possible that at the beginning of the Hellenistic period they, too, endeavoured to find the Greek names best corresponding to the Hebrew ones. Soon, however, the Greek names were included in the collection of usual Jewish names, so that a new-born child was named after his father or grandfather, and no question arose as to whether this name was Hebrew or Greek.

The group of Egyptian names is smaller than those mentioned above, yet it is of special significance, the use of Egyptian names revealing to us the gradual assimilation of the Jews among the natives. This process of assimilation did not bring about the creation of cultural values, like assimilation among the Greeks, and could not be traced, therefore, in literary sources. Papyri and ostraka alone revealed this important fact. Egyptian names used by Jews include the following : Pasis, Seos, Petesuchos, Horos, Paus, Petos, Seuthes, Paabos, and the woman's name Thermutharion.

Jews called by Roman names were Roman citizens, and these we have already discussed above.

A special problem arises in connection with the name of Shabbethai, mentioned nearly 90 times in the papyri and 15 times in Greek inscriptions from Egypt. It was the most common name of the Egyptian Jews. This fact in itself should not surprise us, Shabbethai being a rather common name in other lands of Jewish dispersion as well. The difficulty

arises when we consider the fact that not all persons bearing that name in the papyri can be regarded as Jews. We thus find in the Fayûm village Karanis (171/174 A. D.) 13 persons named Shabbethai, though there are no other Hebrew names in the long lists of the inhabitants of the village (see *P. Michigan*, IV). The same picture is presented to us in Theadelpheia (*B. G. U.*, IX; *P. Columb.*, 1), and it may clearly be stated that in many other places in the Roman period this name occurs as a single Hebrew name among the great number of Egyptian and Greek names. In almost all these cases the Hebrew name ("Shabbethai") is transcribed not as Sabbathaios, or Sambathaios, as is usual in the Hellenistic period, but Sambathion, and it might be suggested that this latter name was derived from the Egyptian "Sambas", and not from the Hebrew "Shabbethai". Yet this suggestion cannot be supported if we consider the following facts : 1) both endings *-αῖος* and *-ίων* are merely two different suffixes of the same root *Σαμβαθ-* ; 2) we have instances from the Roman period as well of "Sambathions" being definitely Jews (*e. g. S. B.*, 5817), and on the other hand we have at least one instance of a Sambathaios (written incorrectly Sambatheios) being a member of a purely Egyptian family (*P. Hamb.*, 60); 3) we know that some persons called "Sambathions" were members of a religious community in Tanais on the sea of Azov [1], and there can be no question of any influence of an Egyptian name on persons living so far from Egypt. We shall find the true solution to the problem if we consider the fact that in several parts of the Roman Empire various names of persons, buildings, religious cults, etc. were derived from the Hebrew word "Shabbath". Yet the persons or groups of persons who used these names were not Jews, although the influence of Judaism upon them is obvious. Compare, for example, the following instances : 1) the persons named "Shabbethai" in Rome (cf. Frey, *Cor. Insc. Jud.*, No. 68 +, 69 +, 95 +, 63 +, 71 +) who are certainly not Jews ; 2) the building called *Σαμβαθεῖον* in Thyateira which cannot be taken for a synagogue ; 3) the god *Σαββατισθής* worshipped by a sect of *Σαββατισταί* who cannot be identified with the Jewish God ; 4) a sect of worshippers of *θεὸς ὕψιστος* in Tanais,

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[1] E. Schuerer, *Stzb. Preuss. Akad.*, 1897, XIII.

including men called Sambathion, who were not Jews, but members of a syncretistic cult; 5) a group of men called *σύνοδος Σαμβαθική* in Naukratis which was probably a Greek association. All these names were derived not from the name of a Phrygian goddess Sambethe whose existence was suggested by W. Schulze, without sufficient proofs (see his article *"Samstag"*, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 281), but from the Hebrew "Shabbath". We may thus conclude that there were some groups among the pagan population of the Empire who learned Shabbath observance from the Jews, and we know from the Tanais inscriptions that some of them used to call themselves "Sambathion". It is quite clear, therefore, that the "Sambathions" of Karanis, Theadelpheia, etc. were not Jews, but Egyptians observing the Shabbath. Mostly women were called by that name (*Σαμβάθιον*) whether because the performance of the Shabbath rites at home was essentially a woman's duty, or because it was dangerous for a man to proclaim his observance of Jewish rites at a time when Jews were severely persecuted by the Roman Government in Egypt.

CONCLUSION.

The conclusion presents a brief survey of the development of Egyptian Jewry from the beginning of the Hellenistic period down to the Arab conquest. The cultural features of this development (assimilation on the one hand, devotion to religion and national customs on the other) are especially emphasized, in so far as this can be done on the basis of papyrological evidence alone, without the use of literary sources.

THE HIGH PLACE AT GIBEON [1]

BY

S. YEIVIN.

The story of Solomon's visit to the high-place at Gibeon is well known [2]. But it is far from clear why he should have chosen Gibeon in preference to other high-places. The Ark of the Covenant was in Jerusalem, and Solomon had already begun preparations for the erection of a permanent sanctuary to house it. And as to high-places, these were quite numerous in the vicinity; some of them hallowed by historical associations, like the high-place at Miṣpâ, others endeared by family ties, like the one at Ḥebrôn, while Gibeon was in the district of Benjamin and one of the Canaanite-Gibeonite cities. On his mother's side, too, Solomon could have had no particular connections with Gibeon, since his mother was Bath-Sheba, the daughter of 'Eli'am [3], and grand-daughter of 'Aḥîtofel the Gilonite [4].

We must, therefore, look for a special reason for this visit. Indeed, if we read carefully the Biblical account thereof, we shall find that the

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[1] This article was written in 1937; for various reasons its publication has been held up at the time. It is being now published with few emendations. The thesis presented in it has meantime been strengthened by the conclusions drawn in my two Hebrew articles : The Beginnings of the Davidids (*Zion* IX (1944), pp. 49 foll.) and the Date of Deuteronomy (*The Dinaburg Jubilee Volume*, pp. 30 foll.).

[2] 1 *K.*, 3, 4-15; 2 *Chron.*, 1, 3-13.

[3] 2 *Sam.*, 11, 3.

[4] 2 *Sam.*, 23, 34. On his probable non-Israelite origin see *Zion* IX (1944), pp. 63 foll.

reason is stated in a roundabout way : " . . . In Gibeon the Lord appeared to Solomon in a dream by night : and God said, Ask what I shall give thee . . . " [1]

Sleeping at Holy Places in order to achieve a cure or attain some other wish was a common enough practice in antiquity, in various countries ; thus, Petrie found numerous sleeping cubicles at Ṣarabîṭ-l-Ḫâdim in Sinai, round the sanctuary of the Baʿalat (*ḥthr*) [2], dating to the Middle Kingdom (the beginning of the second millenium B. C.) ; on the other hand, we know from various classical sources that the sick and ailing in Greece were wont to spend a night in the temples of Esculapius in order to see in their dreams the means by which they could be cured (the priests interpreted the dream-oracles on the following morning) [3]. Hence, it is conceivable to assume that Solomon went to Gibeon in order to ask the Lord there for wisdom and understanding ; while the sacrifies offered at the high-place there were intended to propitiate the deity and gain his ear. But if so, we are still at a loss to know why Gibeon was chosen as the appropriate place. For the Arc of the Covenant of the Lord God of his father David was already housed in Jerusalem [4].

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[1] 1 *K.*, 3, 5.

[2] See W. M. F. Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, pp. 67-69 ; 102, and the references cited there.

[3] The temple of Esculapius at Epidaurus in the Peleponesos gained special renown in the ivth century B. C. ; but the custom was much more ancient. The author owes this particular instance to the courtesy of Prof. Clark Hopkins of the University of Michigan.

[4] The author of the *Book of Chronicles* justifies this visit of Solomon's by reporting the ancient tradition that Gibeon was the place of the Tabernacle. The *Book of Samuel*, too, hands down the same tradition, namely that the Arc of the Covenant was housed at Gibeon during the period between its return from the Land of the Philistines and its removal to Jerusalem by David. Though it is probable that the original Tabernacle was destroyed at Shilo after the death of Ely, it still seems likely that a new Tabernacle was erected at Gibeon soon after the Arc came to be re-established. Still the account seems surprising : for what possible connection could there have been between the Canaanite-Gibeonite city of Gibeon and the Arc of the Covenant of the Hebrews? Then, again, even if the author of *Chronicles* implies that the particular sanctity of the high-place at Gibeon was derived from the fact that the Arc and the Tabernacle were situated there, but as

We may possibly find a satisfactory solution of the puzzle, if we examine other countries of the Near East for similar phenomena. A scarab found lately in the excavations of Tell Jeriše (locally known as "Napoleon's Hill") is particularly interesting in this connection [1] (see figs. 1-2).

This scarab represents Pharao (the Uraeus on his head-gear makes the identification absolutely sure) kneeling with arms raised in supplication (the indistinct engraving does not allow us to discern whether the King holds anything in his hands) before the Baboon ape. Between the two figures there are two hieroglyphic signs: *ntr nfr* (usually translated: "The good God"). As is well known the Baboon is the symbol of Thoth, Moon God and patron deity of writing, sciences and scribes. The symbolical meaning of the Baboon is further emphasized in this case by the crescent of the moon, with the representation of the full moon inside it, engraved over the ape's head. The scarab can be dated with a fair amount of certainty to the XIXth Dynasty (ca. 1320-1198 B. C.), on both intrinsic and archaeological grounds (it was discovered in the upper levels of the L.B. II period, ca. 1400-1200 B. C.).



Fig. 1. — A drawing of the Scarab found at Tell Jeriše.



Fig. 2. — An impression of the same (both 2 : 1).

Similar scarabs had already been found on various sites [2]. The overwhelming majority dates, like the scarab discussed here, to the

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soon as the Arc was removed to Jerusalem, what possible reason could have Solomon had to go to Gibeon, in preference to other high-places?

[1] The author wishes to express his sincerest thanks to Prof. E. L. Sukenik, of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, for the kind permission to publish this scarab before the publication of the report on the excavations (season 1936, March-May).

[2] The author wishes to express his great obligation to Dr. E. Ben-Dor, Librarian of the Palestinian Department of Antiquities, who very kindly supplied him with a long list of similar scarabs, extracted from various catalogues on hand in Jerusalem, when he himself was unable to visit Jerusalem during the disturbances (summer 1936).