FOREIGN WORDS IN THE OLD TESTAMENT
AS AN EVIDENCE OF HISTORICITY

This article is the third in a series of essays in the literary criticism of the Old Testament based upon the foreign or presumably late words contained in the original documents of which it is composed. Since the beginning of modern criticism of the Scriptures, much has been made of the diction of the various authors as an indication of age. Long lists of the words peculiar to each document have been gathered and

1 The following dictionaries and concordances, except as otherwise noted, will be cited in this article simply by the names of the respective authors: Bedrossian, New Dictionary Armenian-English; Kreder, Konkordanz zum Targ. Onkelos; Brockelmann, Lex. Syriacum; Brown, A Heb. and Eng. Lexicon of the O.T. (Gesenius-Brown); Brünnow, A Classified List of Cuneiform Idiographs; Burnouf, Dictionnaire classique Sasanid-Empereur; Dalman, Arelm.-Neueb. Wörterbuch; Delitzsch, Assyrisch Handwörterbuch; Jastrow, Dictionary of the Targumim, etc.; Just, Handbuch der Zendsprache; Lane, An Arabisch-Eng. Lexicon; Levy, Chaldaisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim (Chalz.); ..., Neueb. u. Chald. Wörterbuchern. Muss-Arnolt, Assyrisch-Englisch-Deutsches Handwörterbuch; Norberg, Lexicon Codices Nasavari; Peyron, Lexicon Language Copticae; Richardson, A Dictionary of Persian, Arabic and English; Schalltheiss, Lexicon des Christ. Paläst. Aramäischen; Schwally, Edition des Christ. Paläst. Aramäischen; Vullers, Lexicon Persico-Latinum; West, Glossary and Index of the Pahlevi Texts. Further abbreviations are as follows: Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum (CIS); Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum (CT); Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute (JTVI); Schrader, Keilinschriften-Bibliothek (KB); Litzben, Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik (Ephem.) Handbuch der nordischen, Epigraphik (Ephemeris); Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archeology (PBB); Wilson, Studies in the Book of Daniel (Studies); Zeitschrift für Assyriologie (ZA); Zeitschrift für A. T. Wissenschaft (ZATW). Such natural abbreviations as "Syr." for Syriac; "Palm."
published. The reader has been overwhelmed by the collections of words which the different supposititious authors of an allegedly composite Pentateuch, and of the allegedly pseu-
donymous parts of Isaiah, are declared to have employed. Much has been made of the presence of terms presumed to be Aramaic, and of those used more or less frequently in the Hebrew, or Aramaic, of the Targums and Talmud. But thus far, excepting in the case of the Aramaic, no comprehensive survey seems to have been made of the foreign words found in the records of the Old Testament. It is my purpose in this article to collect the foreign terms, other than Aramaic, used in the Old Testament, and to show the bearing of their use upon the age and reliability of the documents in which they occur.

Before proceeding to the main discussion, two preliminary statements should be made. First, it will be presumed that the reader is aware that the chronological stages of the literature of a people can be determined by the foreign elements im-
bedded in the vocabulary in which the various documents are written; and that the age and the provenience of a record,

for Palmyrene, “Bah. Tal.” for Babylonian Talmud, etc., hardly need to have special attention drawn to them. A few further abbreviations which are used are those employed in the works cited.


See, e.g., Driver, Introduction, pp. 131-135, 238.


The fullest collection of the alleged Aramaisms in the Hebrew of the Old Testament is to be found in Kautzsch, Die Aramäismen im Alten Testament. This treatise I have endeavored to answer in my article on “Aramaism in the Old Testament” in this Review for April 1925.

See my article on “Babylon and the Bible” in the Presby. and Ref. Review for 1902.
even a very brief one, can often be fixed from the presence
in it of a proper name or of a common term. Thus, I have
been told9 that, when the English government organized the
judicial system of the kingdom of Iraq, formed after the
great war of 1914-18, they found no proper word in Arabic to
express the idea of an English judge.10 "Kadi" would not do. So
they took over the English word. In like manner, a verb and
derivatives have been formed in Arabic out of the name
Wilson, in order to denote the idea of the self-determination
of nations, promulgated by President Wilson. When I was in
Japan, I was told by those whom I thought to be experts on
the subject, that in the Japanese language traces of the Portugu
ese and Dutch were to be found which had come down
from the time of the early Roman Catholic missionaries and
European voyagers and merchants, and that many English
terms had lately been adopted.

But we need not go farther afield than our own Engli
sh literature in order to see that the traces of foreign
fluence, intellectual, religious, and political, are observable in
the documents written at the time when those influences were
exerted. Thus, the fact that in the Anglo-Saxon literature we
find such a large number of Latin ecclesiastical terms11 is in
itself a proof that the English derived their religion from the
Romans. Chaucer's Canterbury Tales show clearly that the
Norman-French had imposed their civilization upon the un-cul
tured Saxons, and had dominated them in government,
social customs and nearly every sphere of life and thought.12
The origin and influence of the Renaissance appears in the

8 No better exemplification of this principle is to be found than that
made by the great Oxford professor Richard Bentley, in his Dissertations
upon the Epistles of Phalaris, Themistocles, Socrates, Euripides and
upon the Fables of Aesop.
9 By Dr. John Van Ess of the American Mission, Basrah; author of
The Spoken Arabic of Mesopotamia, compiled for the Administration
of the Territories of Iraq in British Occupation (Oxford University
Press, 1918).
10 See Tisdale in JTVI, LIII. 221.
11 See vocabulary in March, Anglo-Saxon Reader.
12 See the glossaries attached to any good edition of Chaucer's works.
works of Spenser, Shakespeare and Milton, in the forms and
subjects of their poetry as well as in the great number of
Italian, Greek, and Latin terms which they employ. And the
trickles of influence flowing in from all over the world upon
that great empire upon which the sun never sets are to be seen
in the numerous terms—Spanish, German, Dutch, Hindoo,
American Indian, and in fact of all nations—to be found in
such works as those of Carlyle, Macaulay, Rider Haggard
and Rudyard Kipling; and the various English dictionaries
which contain them indicate the dates, localities, and in large
measure the history of the world-wide commerce and rela-
tions of the English speaking race. That these same influences
were at work among the ancient Egyptians and their succe-
sors, the Copts, is to be seen in their literatures. Thus, Bur-
chardt, Erman, W. Max Müller and others have assembled
a large collection of vocables which the Egyptians adopted
from Palestine and other lands of Western Asia;13 and Per-
sian, Arabic and especially Greek words, are to be found in
the Coptic manuscripts.14

The second preliminary statement is that the course of
Israelitish history and the nations that influenced the He-
brews throughout their chequered career from Abraham to
Ezra are clearly shown in the documents which have been pre-
served to us in the Old Testament. There are intervals of
silence in the narratives, from Joseph to Moses, from Zerub-
babel to Ezra, and from Ezra to the Maccabees. There are
many periods about which we have little reliable informa-
tion. But, on the whole, it is clear that the records show that
the history of the Israelites is to be divided into the follow-
ing periods, according to the great nations which influenced,
or dominated, them in pre-Christian times. These periods
may be designated as the Babylonian, the Egyptian, the Set-

13 See especially Burchardt, Die Altkanaanäischen Fremdwörter und
Eigennamen im Ägyptischen.
14 For Greek words in Coptic see almost any verse in the Coptic
versions of the Bible, and, also, Peyron. Peyron says (p. xiv) that
numerous Coptic words were adopted from the Greek and some from
the Persian and Arabic.
FOREIGN WORDS IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

The Imperial, the Assyrio-Chaldean, and the Persian. To these may be added the Greek and Roman period, covering post-Biblical Hebrew.

Our task at present, then, is to see whether in the literature which professes, or is supposed to come, from these different periods, we find traces of the infiltration of words from the great nations which the documents themselves allege, or assume to have dominated the Israelites. That is, if the Bible contains a true record of the history of Israel, we will expect to find Sumero-Babylonian words in the first period; Egyptian, in the second; few foreign words, if any, in the third (inasmuch as the language of Palestine at the time of the conquest was Hebrew); words from various nations in the fourth, or Imperial period; Syrian and Assyrio-Babylonian in the fifth; and Persian words in the sixth. Further, in the post-Persian times we would expect to find Greek influence preponderating, with a smaller infiltration from Roman and later Persian sources, until in the seventh century A.D. the tide of Arab conquest overflowed all the ancient civilizations just about the time that the Jewish literature of the Talmud was completed.

FOREIGN WORDS IN BIBLICAL ARAMAIC

We shall first investigate the vocabulary of the Aramaic literature, seeing that about half of Daniel and nearly one-third of Ezra are composed in that language. The Aramaisms in the Old Testament we have already discussed in this REVIEW and showed that Hebrew and Aramaic speaking peoples were in close touch from the time of Abraham down.

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15 I was inclined to insert another period between the Egyptian and the Settlement, to be called the period of the Wanderings, or the Arabic period, because of the comparatively large number of words apparently of Arabic origin to be found in the lists of places in the desert. It is certainly a singular and remarkable fact that the parts of the Old Testament containing the most Arabic words are those concerned with the Wanderings, the Book of Job, and the genealogies of the Ishmaelites and other desert descendants of Abraham. I shall not have time to discuss this subject at present.

16 Cf. footnote 6 supra.
to our own time. Fortunately, we have specimens of Aramaic literature from the 8th century B.C. down to the present time. Consequently, we shall first marshal the evidence from the Aramaic literature, in order to show that (1) the date and provenience of an Aramaic document can generally be ascertained by observing the foreign words contained in it, and especially that (2) the evidence from foreign words is in favor of placing Daniel and Ezra in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. rather than later.

In the Aramaic Dialects in General

As a preliminary to the study of the Biblical Aramaic, it will be necessary first to marshal the evidence for date to be found in the extra-Biblical Aramaic literature beginning with the oldest and coming down to our times, before proceeding to the discussion of the Aramaic portions of Daniel and Ezra, whose date and provenience are in dispute.

1. The oldest document in Aramaic is the Zekir inscription. It has *waw conversive* with the imperfect three times (II. 11, 15), and the 3rd masc. of the imperfect begins with y and not as in the Edessene Syriac with h.\(^{17}\)

2. The next oldest documents in Aramaic are the so-called Sendishiri inscriptions from North Syria. These inscriptions, embracing about 75 lines, were written about 750 B.C. They mention Tiglath Pileser, king of Assyria, a number of times. They have the *waw conversive* four times and about 20 words not found in Syriac, or Palestinian Syriac, but occurring in Hebrew and Phoenician. The 3rd masculine of the imperfect begins with y.\(^{18}\)

\(^{17}\) For the ZKR inscription see Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, III. 1-12. Lidzbarski says, p. 2: "Der postpositive Artikel, das vorkommen von *bar, st, an*, verleihen dem Texte ein aramäisches Gepriß, sonst steht er in Wortschatz und Syntax dem Kanaanäischen ebenso nahe."—Still older than this inscription is the phrase "heap of witness" (*jogar saka-datha*) which occurs in Gen. xxxi. 42. There is no good reason to dispute the claim of this narrative that Aramaic was spoken in Padan-aram early in the Second Millennium B.C.

3. The short inscriptions of Nerab from the sixth century B.C. have each one a Babylonian proper name, as does also the inscription from Teima from the 4th century B.C. 19

4. The five inscriptions from Assyria of the seventh century B.C. found in the Corpus Inscriptionum Semitimarum, all from the regions occupied by the eastern Arameans, have the imperfects beginning with y. One of the proper names begins with Nebo and two of them end with el, which is either Babylonian or Hebrew.

5. The Aramaic recension of the Behistun inscription of Darius I which was made shortly after 520 B.C. uses y in the imperfect. This copy is full of Persian and Babylonian words, but has in it no Egyptian words. This absence of Egyptian words indicates that it was written originally probably at Ecbatana, or at some other place not far from Behistun. There are traces in it showing that the Babylonian recension found on the rock at Behistun was translated from an Aramaic original. 20

6. Among the papyri found at Elephantine, one of the most interesting is the Story of Achikar. 21 This story seems to be of Babylonian origin and was possibly brought from Babylonia to Egypt by the Jewish soldiers whom Cambyses settled at Elephantine about 525 B.C. The kings mentioned in this story are Sennacherib and Esarhaddon, the well known kings of Assyria from 704 to 668 B.C. The principal persons of the story are Achikar, Nabushumishkun and Nadin, the last two among the most usual of Babylonian personal names. 22 Several common Babylonian terms, such as babu, "gate," and shezib, "to save," occur in the story. That it was

19 Lidzbarski, Epigraphik, p. 445.


21 See same works as in preceding note.

not written in Egypt appears in the fact that no Egyptian word occurs in it, though most of the papyri have many of them. The third masculine of the imperfect begins invariably and in many instances with y.

7. Among the Egypto-Aramaic papyri, No. 1 (495 B.C.), of 11 lines, has 3 Persian words and 1 Egyptian; No. 2 (484 B.C.), and No. 3, its duplicate, 7 Egyptian, 5 Persian and 3 Babylonian words; No. 5 (471 B.C.) 3 Egyptian, 7 Persian and 3 Babylonian words; No. 6 (465 B.C.) 6 Egyptian, 7 Persian and 6 Babylonian; No. 7 (461 B.C.) 2 Egyptian, 3 Persian and 2 Babylonian; No. 8 (460 B.C.) 4 Egyptian, 6 Persian and 2 Babylonian. And so on with all the papyri, till we come to No. 35 (c. 400 B.C.) which has 5 Egyptian, 4 Babylonian and 1 Greek words in 8 lines. No. 32 (408 B.C.), has 1 Egyptian, 5 Persian, 1 Babylonian, and 1 Hebrew words. No. 81 has no date; but, since it contains five or six Greek proper names, it is assigned by some to about 300 B.C. In all of these papyri, the third masculine of the imperfect begins with y. According to Cowley’s index these papyri contain 86 Egyptian words, 88 Persian, 61 Assyrio-Babylonian, 13 Greek, a few Phenician and many Hebrew words. The Greek form for stater occurs in four of the papyri, the earliest apparently from about 410 B.C. The Greek word for “tin” occurs in No. 69 from this period, but of uncertain year. The remaining 11 Greek names are all names of persons and all are found in No. 81. Cowley thinks No. 81 was probably written before 300 B.C. and says that “There seem to be traces of Persian in this document.” Sayce suggests that wassika (l. 31) is Persian, and certainly Azgad (l. 31) and artab (l. 4) and probably 82 (l. 64) are also Persian. It is hard to see why the occurrence of Greek proper names in an Egypto-Aramaic document should demand a date about 300 B.C., inasmuch as we find many Greek proper names on

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the rock at Abu-Simbel written already in the time of the Psammethich in the 7th century B.C.24

8. In the Aramaic indorsements on Babylonian tablets from the reign of Darius II, the proper names and some important borrowed common terms are Babylonian.25 Only the name of the king is Persian.

9. The Nabatean and Sinaiitic inscriptions dating from about 90 B.C. to A.D. 9526 have hundreds of Arabic words, mostly proper names, and an Aramaic grammar and vocabulary. They use the Babylonian names for the months and have the third masculine imperfect in y.27

10. The Palmyrene inscriptions date from 9 B.C. to A.D. 271.28 The proper names in these inscriptions are prevalingly Greek, with a large sprinkling of Latin. Of the common terms, I have counted 33 Greek, 10 Latin, 24 Babylonian, and possibly two Persian, one of which is found also in the Targum of 2 Chr. xxviii. 7.

11. The Syro-Palestinian, an Aramaic dialect spoken in Palestine at and after the time of Christ, contains in the fragments we possess about 185 Greek words, 45 Hebrew, 23 Babylonian (including 14 at least found in the Old Testament Hebrew, and all of the others found in the Hebrew or Aramaic of the Targums and Talmud). No Persian words occur in this dialect, except possibly two of doubtful origin which occur also in the Old Testament.29

12. In the Targum of Onkelos to the Pentateuch, there

24 See Lepsius, Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien (1842-5), Abt. VI, p. 98, containing 18 inscriptions in Greek, 5 in Phenician and 3 in Carian. Tisdale (JTVI, Vol. LIII, p. 206) says that kion, “tunic” (found in Cowley, Nos. xx. 5, xxxiv. 14, 20, xiii. 10) is from the Greek, and also the word for “arsenic.”


27 See also Euting, Sinaitische Inschriften.

28 See Liddelhart, Epig. (passim), and Cooke, North Semitic Inscriptions.

29 See Schwally, and Schultess in locis, p. 19; see also Bredereck, in loco.
are according to Dalman\textsuperscript{20} five Persian words, without counting 7 that occur in the Old Testament. There are, also, about 25 Greek, 17 Babylonian, and numerous Hebrew words.\textsuperscript{21}

13. In the Aramaic translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch there are about 20 Greek words but no Persian and only two or three Babylonian words not found in the Hebrew Old Testament.\textsuperscript{22}

14. In the Aramaic of the Targums and Talmud the foreign words occur as follows.\textsuperscript{23}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Jerusalem</th>
<th>Prophets</th>
<th>Hagiographa</th>
<th>Talmud</th>
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<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>212</td>
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<td>Latin</td>
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<td>Babylonian</td>
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15. In the Mande\textsuperscript{24} dictionary, the foreign words are as follows: Greek 27, Latin 2, Babylonian 36, Persian 50.

16. The Syriac literature may be divided into four periods.

a. To the first period belongs the inscription on the tomb of Manou from A.D. 74.\textsuperscript{25} It has one Babylonian word, one very ancient Aramaic word for “bones” used only once elsewhere in Syriac, and two foreign proper names, probably Parthian. The 3rd masculine of the imperfect begins with $y$.

b. The documents from the early Christian times have a large number of Greek words. Thus the history of Joshua the

\textsuperscript{20} Dalman, \textit{Aram. Grammatik}, p. 183.

\textsuperscript{21} See also Bredereck.

\textsuperscript{22} This statement is made on the authority of a concordance to the Aramaic version of the Samaritan Pentateuch prepared for me by a number of my students.

\textsuperscript{23} These tables are made on the basis of a count made by myself of all the words found in Levy and in Jastrow.

\textsuperscript{24} My use of the Mande\textsuperscript{24} vocabulary was confined to what is contained in Norberg. A new dictionary of this dialect is much needed, and the conclusions based upon Norberg are to be taken with caution.

\textsuperscript{25} See Pognon, \textit{Inscriptions Sémitiques de la Syrie}, etc. Première Partie, No. 2.
The literary works of the period of A.D. 700 to 1300 have Arabic and Tatar proper names and even common terms such as kalif “caliph” and khan “khan.”

d. The New Syriac of Ooroomiah has still some Greek words derived through Old Syriac, mostly ecclesiastical and theological terms; also, a large number of Arabic words, coming mostly through the Turkish and New Persian; also, many Kurdish, New Persian, Turkish, and even some English words such as botany, inertia, impenetrability, atom, attraction, oasis and volcano.

In the Aramaic of Daniel and Ezra

The Aramaic parts of Ezra have about 12 Indo-European and about 12 Babylonian words; the Aramaic parts of Daniel have possibly 20 Indo-European, about 12 Babylonian and, at most, 4 Greek words. I shall now proceed to give a discussion of the words in Daniel and Ezra borrowed (1) from the Babylonian and (2) from the Persian, or Indo-European.

Words borrowed from Babylonian

1. פַּלּי (“letter,” Ezra iv, 8, 11, v. 6: Heb., Est. ix. 26, 29; 2 Chr. xxx. 1, 6; Neh. ii. 7, 8, 9, vi. 5, 17, 19). Found repeatedly in the Assyrian documents of the 7th cen-

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60 I have used the edition of W. Wright, The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite, composed in Syriac A.D. 577 (Cambridge 1882).
67 See the Chronicon Syriacum of Barhebraeus in the parts concerning the Crusades and the wars of the Turks.
68 See Maclean, Dict. of Vernacular Syriac; also Noldde, Grammatik der Neusyrischen Sprache, especially the ”erster Abhang” on Fremdwörter im Neusyrischen, pp. 378 ff.
69 In the following lists of words the occurrences in the Aramaic of Ezra and Daniel are given first; then in the case of words found also in the Hebrew portions of the Old Testament the further occurrences are listed introduced by the word “Heb.”
tury B.C. Hence, cannot have been borrowed by the Babyloni-ans from the Persians, though it may have been indirectly from some other Indo-Greek people. Found, also, in Syr., Pal-Syr., Palm., Mand., and in both Talmuds in Hebrew and Aramaic.

2. נֵיטָן ("purple," Dan. v. 7, 16, 29; Heb., 2 Chr. ii. 6). In Bib. Heb. it is usually spelled נוֹטִים (Ex. xxv-xxxix (26) P, Num. iv. 13 P, Jud. viii. 26, Cant. iii. 10, vii. 6, Jer. x. 9, Ezek. xxvii. 7, 16, Prov. xxxi. 22, Est. i. 6, viii. 15, 2 Chr. ii. 13, iii. 14). In Assyrian it is mentioned in Sennacherib's account of the tribute of Jerusalem, and often elsewhere. Also, in Syr., Palm., Aram. of Bab. Tal. and of Onkelos; also, in the Heb. of the Bab. Tal.

3. אָשָׁפֶה (asheph "sorcerer," Dan. ii. 10, 27, iv. 4, v. 7, 11, 15; ashshaph in Heb. of Dan. i. 20, ii. 2, and in Heb. of Bab. Tal.). As ashuph in Syr. Both forms and the root occur in Assyri-Bab. in all ages of the literature.

4. נֶשָׁמָה ("furnace," Dan. iii. 10). Also, Syr., Aram. of Onkelos and of the Bab. Tal.; also in Ethiopic and Assyri-Bab.

5. בֵּיתְוָא ("palace," "castle," "temple," Ezra vi. 2: Heb. in Dan. viii. 2 and Est. 10, Chr. 2, Ne. 3) = Bab. birtu.


7. בֵּל-לֶשֶׁנָה (Dan. 10) = Bab. Bel-liṭa-šar-aṣsur, (O Bel, protect the hostage of the king).

8. לֶשֶׁנָה (Dan. v. 1) = Bab., Bel-šar-aṣsur (O Bel, protect the king).

9. לֶשֶׁנָה (Dan. iii. 1) = Bab. duru (wall).

10. לֶשֶׁנָה (Dan. 6, Ezra 7) = Bab., ekallu, from Sumerian e-gal, (great house, i.e., palace or temple).

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49 See Schrader in ZA. I. 461 and Delitzsch in loco.
50 Delitzsch in loc.
42 See Delitzsch and Mynoss-Arnolt and especially Frank, Studien zur babylonischen Religion.
44 Id., p. 34.
11. אל (Ezra iv. 13, 20; vii. 24) = Bab., ʾilku (income).
12. סמי (Dan. 7; Heb., 1 Kings vi. 1, 37) = Assy.-Bab. simu, (splendor), from earliest times. Also, in Syr., and in both Talmuds in both Heb. and Aram. Also, in Mand. and in the Targums Jerus. on the Pent. and Jonathan on the Prophets.

13. חותם (Ezra 7: Heb., iv. 7); also Syriac = Bab. kinatī (companions).
14. כִּפְתָּן ("hat," Dan. iii. 21) is probably borrowed from Bab. karbaltu, the name of a subat, "garment." It occurs in the contracts of Nabunaid 824.14; 1024.3. In Cyrus 183.17 it occurs with is; "wood," before it, and according to Oppert means "helmet," cf. edpbasus of Herod. vii. 64. Meissner makes it to mean "cap."45
15. שֶׁבֶר ("Cyrus"). See discussion on pp. 246 f.
16. סלע ("wall," Dan. v. 5; Ezra v. 8: Heb. Cant. ii. 9) also Targ., Sam., Ouk., Jerus. on Pent., Jon. on Prophs., and the Heb. and Aram. of both Talmuds = Bab. kutilatu.
17. רְבָּעְד (Ezra iv. 13, vii. 24) = רְבָּעְד (iv. 20, vi. 8: Heb. Neh. v. 4) = Bab. namdattu and madattu (tribute, taxes).
18. נָדָב ("row of bricks," Ezra vi. 4) = Bab. nadbahu.46
19. מְלָכָה ("dunghill," Dan. ii. 5, iii. 29) = מְלָכָה (Ezra vi. 11) = namalī (reeds).47
20. נַעֲלָה (Dan. vi. 3; Ezra iv. 13, 15, 22; Heb., Esth. vii. 4) = naalakhu, (to harm, harm).
21. הָדָא (Ezra vi. 8, vii. 26: Heb., Jos. xxi. 8, Ecc. v. 18, vi. 2, 2 Chr. i. 11, 12) = Bab., nikesu, (possessions, treasure).
22. נָבָא (Dan. ii. 48, iii. 2, 3, 27, vi. 8; Heb., Is. xli. 25, Jer. li. 23, 28, 57, Ezek. xxiii. 6, 12, 23, Ezra ix. 2, Neh. 9) = Assyr. šaknu (deputy). It is found in Assyr. Bab. from Assurnasirpal down to the Cyrus Chronicle.
23. כֶּסֶר ("coat," Dan. iii. 21, 27) means in Mod. Arab. "shirt, dress, coat of mail." It is common to connect this

45 Supplement, p. 30; see Mass-Arnolt, p. 436a.
46 Zimmern, akkadische Fremdwörter, p. 31.
47 So Mass-Arnolt, comp. KB. VI. I. pp. 40f.
word with Greek. σαρβίλη (cf. LXX and Theod. at Dan. iii. 27; Sym. ἀναξιπρῆ, "breeches") and to treat it as a loan-word from the Persian (in mod. Pers. sarvel = trousers). But the word is not found in Zend or Armenian; and it is regarded by Richardson as a loan-word from Arab. It should be noted, therefore, that a word s/sarβίλη occurs in the Assyrian syllabaries. Unfortunately the meaning of this word is uncertain. According to Brünnow (No. 6963, cf. 10428) it represents the Sumerian mer-sig. Since mer may mean "crown" or "girdle," sarβίλη may be an article of dress. The meaning of sig in this combination is uncertain. Since Babylonian ʃ becomes Persian r but not vice versa, it is better to hold that the Persian derives from the Babylonian and the Greek from the Persian; whereas the author of Daniel borrowed directly from the Babylonian. The word is found in Egypto-Aramaic, in both Heb. and Aram. of the Bab. Talt., and in the Targ. to Est. viii. 15.


26. פָּרָת = פּוֹרָת ("governor," Dan. 4, Ezra 6; Heb., 1 Kings x. 15, xx. 24; 2 Kings xviii. 24; Is. xxxvi. 9; Jer. li. 23, 28, 57; Ezek. xxxii. 6, 12, 23; Hag. 4; Mal. i. 18, Est. 3, Ezra 4; Ne. 11; 2 Chr. ix. 14) = Assyrian. pḫatu, "governor,"

48 Since the sign used here for sig (Br. 11866) differs only slightly from the Late Bab. form of the sign for ṣḫšu ("wool," Br. 10775; cf. Delitzsch, Assyrische Lesestücke, 5th Aufl. p. 125, no. 272 and p. 126, no. 300), or might possibly be used either intentionally or accidentally as its phonetic equivalent, we might think that we have here the determinative for "wool," or "garment." But this seems to be rendered impossible or at least highly improbable by the fact that it stands after instead of before the word mer.


50 It is used frequently by Sargon and other Assyrian kings to denote the governor of a district; and as late in the Babylonian as Cyrus (cf. Strassmaier, Inscriften von Cyrus, No. 257. 2). The passage in 1 Kings
27. הנש (noun, Dan. 2, 3, 23; Heb., noun, Ps. xlv. 10, Ne. ii. 6; verb, Deut. xxviii. 30, Is. xiii. 6, Jer. iii. 2, Zech. xiv. 2). Also, the noun in Palm., and in the Heb. of the Bab. Tal. = Bab. šīqītu, "lady of the harem."

28. בֶּלַע (Dan. 9) = Bab. šuzub, "to deliver, save."

29. בְּמש (Ezra vi. 15) = Bab. šēšī, "to bring out."

30. בֶּלַע (Ezra 8) = Bab. šukītu, "to complete."

These three roots and forms (Nos. 28-30) are all certainly Babylonian. šēšī occurs, also, in Syr., Pal-Syr., Nab., the Targ., of Onk. and of Jon. on the Prophets, and in the Heb. and Aram. of the Bab. Tal.; šēšī in the Targ. of Onk., Jerus. on Pent., Jon. on Prophs., and šaḥzel in Syr., Pal-Syr., Targ. of Onk., Jerus. on Pent., Jon. on Prophs., the Targ. on the Hagiographa and in the Heb. of the Bab. Tal.

31. רֶשׁ ("sheriff," Dan. iii. 2, 3) is probably the equivalent of the Hebrew šophet, "judge." The first 1 is common in Aramaic for Hebrew and Babylonian šā, and the second 1 is the same as in the Babylonian šapatu, "to judge," which in Hebrew becomes 1. 15. Cf. Heb. ḫafal and Arab. ḫatala.

32. Finally, there are in the Aramaic part of Daniel the Babylonian, or Sumerian, proper names, Nebuchadnezzar, Babylon, Arloch, Shadrach, Meshek, Chaldean.

Words Borrowed from Persian or Other Sources

A. The names of kings and other men. Cyrus, Darious, Ahasuerus, Mithredath, Artaxerxes, Tatmai (?).

B. Names of nations, or officials, especially in Ezra iv. 9: Dinaites, Tarpelites (see below), Aphansathchites, Aphan-

x. 15 refers to Solomon's governors (2 Chr. ix. 14) and is the only one in the Bible that uses the word of a time preceding Ahab. In 1 Kings xx. 24 Benhadad is advised by his servants to take away the kings from their places and to put governors instead of them. Since the Book of Kings was not written till after the destruction of Jerusalem, it is easy to see how the writer of it may have used the word to denote the governors of Solomon and Benhadad.

sites, Archevites, Susanchites, Delavites, Elamites, and, also, Mede (Dan. vi. 1) and Persia (Ezra iv. 7 and often).

C. Words of various meanings.

1. מַעְרָאִים. The latter part of this word is admirably defined by Levy as “soothsayers, to wit, those who determine one’s fate according to the division of the planets.”62 The first word in both Hebrew and Aramaic means “mighty,” “glorious,” hence “chief.”63 The root of the second word is יָשָׁה, “to decree,” from which the participle means, according to the Theaurus, “decernentes, definitentes, inde Chaldaorum Astrologi, qui e siderum in hora natali dispositione variiis computandis et hariolandi artibus singulorum hominum fatum definiebant . . . Bene Gr. Venit. ἰστολεσται.”

Meyer rightly questions the attempt of some to derive the word from a Persian andar-zaghār. Haug64 declares that the zar is the same as the new Persian zar and the Zend ċara. While this might be possible, it is certainly improbable in view of the fact that Persian s or sh never becomes Babylonian, or Aramaic, š in the transliterations of the Behistun inscription. Besides, Haug ends by saying: “Der erste Theil darg oder adarg ist sehr dunkel; ich vermuthe die Bedeutung Heer, so dass die ganze Heerfürst heissen würde.” That is, he conjectures the whole thing! Again, Haug was certainly wrong in claiming that “Semitics knows no such compositions of words.”65

If Haug’s objection were simply to the pointing, it could easily be rectified, by changing from ‘adār to ‘adders. The meaning would then be similar to that of the Babylonian rab-

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62 Levy (Chald.), (in loco): “Wahrsager, eig. die nach dem einteilen der Planeten die Geschicke bestimmen.”
63 Compare in Gesenius, Thesaurus, p. 28, and the meaning in Jud. v. 30, 2 Chron. xxiii. 20, Na. ii. 6, iii. 18, Jer. xxx. 21, Neh. iii. 5.
64 ZDMG V. 131.
65 If we take the second part as meaning “astrologers,” the first may be a noun after the analogy of “man” in the phrase “man of God”; or, it may be an adjective, as in the phrase “great ones of the earth.” Arabic, Ethiopic, Assyrio-Babylonian, Aramaic and Hebrew are all partial to this kind of “compositions of words” (See Wright, Arabic Grammar, II. 198 f.; Nöldeke, Syriac Grammar, pp. 161 f.; Deltzsch, Assyrische Grammatik, pp. 191 f.).
banē, "chief of the builders" (of the heavenly houses), or of
the Sumerian gal-dū, "chief of the astrologers." 58

2. סרפרב ("firm," Ezra vii. 23) probably connected with
the Zend dārez. 57 Used nowhere else.

3. סרפרב (Dan. ii. 5), is derived by some from the Avesta
azda, participle of az, "to desire," "to demand" or "to
go." 56 In the Egypto-Aramaic papyrus No. 27, 8, published
in Cowley's *Aramaic Papyri*, azd has the meaning "inquiry.
In the Babylonian Talmud, the root is used a number of
times in the sense "to go." In Armenian azd means "sug-
gestion, admonition, announcement," from the verb azdem,
"to suggest, inform, publish." In Dan. ii. 5 it may, therefore,
mean: "The thing is published or proclaimed by me." This is
supported by the phrase used by Darius Hystaspis in the
Nahs-i-Rustem inscription A 43, 45 adātir azdā bavutī,
"then it will be made known." Compare Behistun §10, natty
azdā abata, "it was not made known." 59

4. סרפרב (Dan. 8). In new Aramaic only in Cant.
R v. vii. 9. Gr. σατραπὴς, Syr. satrapas or satrapa, found in
the Syriac Bible. If Daniel (and Esther) were composed in
Babylon, or Susa, there is abundance of evidence to show
that the name would have been written in the Bible as it is. If,
however, these books had been composed in or about Palest-
ine in the 2nd century B.C., there is no evidence to show that
it would have been written as it is. It is certainly impossible
that the writer of Daniel could have gotten Ahashdarpān
from satrapas. 60 The Achaemenid Persian is *xathrapavan*;
Zend-Avesta, *shoithrapatiti*; New Persian *sitrap* (?). 61 It is

58 By reading ard instead of adr, the first word would mean "servant";
and, as ardkei means archi-ect, ard-goziya would mean arch-astro-
loger, or "chief of the astrologers," an Aramaic equivalent of gal-banē.
See *Studies*, Chap. XVII.
57 Justi, p. 148.
56 Justi, pp. 146, 150.
59 See my discussion of the word in *Investigation*, p. 79.
60 The compound word does not occur in Pahlavi. We find, however,
*shatro*, "city, country, realm," the Sanscrit *kshete*, "field"; and, also, *panak*,
"protection" from the Zend *pā*, "to protect," equal to Sanscrit *pāna*,
"protecting."
rendered by *pahîha* in the Aramaic recension of the Behistun inscription, §38. The word as written in the Scriptures is a correct transliteration of the Achaemenid writing; but could not possibly have originated in the Greek, nor in the Zend, form of the word.

5. *חָיָה* (Ezra v. 8, vi. 8, 12, 13, vii. 17, 21, 26). It seems to me that it is better to connect this word with the Armenian *sparum*, "to complete, to finish," and whence with the nominal ending *na* we get the meaning "thoroughly, to completion," a meaning that suits all the passages in Ezra. In Ezra v. 8 it is translated by "fast" in the A.V. and by "with diligence" in the R.V. The LXX translate it by *ἐπιθέσθω* in v. 8 (Lucian: ἀσφαλῶς); by *ἐπεμελῆς* in vi. 8, 12, 13; by *ἐπολωσ* in vii. 17, 21, 26; the Pesh. renders by "great" (?) in v. 8; *נְפֵסָה* (?), "expense," vi. 8; "quickly" in vii. 12, 13; *הַמָּרָה* "solicitously" in vii. 17, 26; "hastily" in vii. 21. Jerome renders in v. 8, vi. 13 by *diligenter*, in vi. 8, 12, vii. 17, 26 by *studiose*; by *absque mera* in vii. 21. The English versions have in v. 8 A.V. "fast," R.V. "with diligence"; vi. 8, A.V. "expenses." R.V. "with all diligence"; vii. 12 A.V. "with speed"; R.V. = vi. 8; vii. 13, A.V. "speedily," R.V. = vi. 8; vii. 17, 21, 26, A.V., R.V. = vi. 13. The only place outside Ezra where the word is found is in an inscription on a weight from Nerab and means "complete." *63* Probably it means a weight as in the Zend-Avesta *aspērena*, defined in the Pahlavi version as being as much as a *ṣnu*. *64* The Pahlavi *spor* means "perfect, complete." *65*


7. *יֶרֶב* (Dan. iii. 2, 3). The Aramaized form of *gīborough* can be found nowhere else except in the Targum to Ecc. ii. 7.

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63 Bedrossian, p. 630.
64 Lidsbarski gives the meaning 'genoa' (*Epigraphik*, p. 223). See, also, Gesenius-Brown.
65 Justi, p. 382.
66 West, p. 161.
67 Muss-Arnolt, p. 814.

9. מַע (“treasure,” Ezra v. 17, vi. 1, vii. 20) is found, also, in the Hebrew of Ezek. xxvii. 24 and Es. iii. 9, iv. 7; and with the Persian ending ʰk in 1 Chr. xxviii. 11. Also, in the Egyptian papyri xxxvi. 4, 13, (412 B.C.) and in lxix. 13. Also, in the Hebrew and Aramaic of the Babylonian Talmud, as is, also, the contracted Aramaic form gaza. The Targums to the Psalms and Hos., and Jonathan on the Pentateuch, have the form gus. Esarhaddon speaks of having received a thousand gns of spices from Hazael king of Arabia. The Syriac has gusza and the Mandean gens. The Armenian has the word ganta, “treasure,” the verb “to treasure” and six derivatives. It is not found in the Persian of Achaemenids, nor of the Avesta, and appears first in Pahlavi, which was written under the Sassanians, and in Persian documents in the New Persian which began to be written about the ninth century A.D. Why, then, do commentaries and Hebrew dictionaries persist in saying that the word is borrowed from the Persian, seeing that it is used by Ezekiel, Ezra, and the author of Esther, all of whom lived a thousand years, or more, before the word is found in a Persian document?

10. מַר (“Dan. vi. 19) is translated by ἐδομάτω in Theodotion. It may be connected with the Armenian dohamanta, “meat.”

11. מַת (Daniel 8, Ezra 6). In Heb. Dt. xxxiii. 2, Est. 20,

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67 Strassmaier, Inschriften von Darius, 256. 2.
68 KB. II. 131. See Mas-Arold, in loco.
69 Gani, “treasurer,” according to West.
70 Both the Cylinder and brick inscriptions of Cyrus are written in Babylonian cuneiform, and both refer to events in Babylon. The earliest of the known inscriptions in the Persian script and language is the Behistun inscription of Darius Hystaspis, written in, or soon after, 522 B.C. The last of these inscriptions comes from the reign of Artaxerxes III and hence cannot be earlier than 359 nor later than 338 B.C.; for he began to reign in the former and died in the latter year. See Weisbach, Kolleinschriften der Achaemeniden.
71 Bedrossian, p. 1330.
Ezra viii. 36. Also in Syr. and the Heb. of the Bab. Tal. In the Old Persian the word is found (once) in the Behistun inscription § 8. It occurs in Armenian also in the form dat; in Avesta dāta; N.P. dād; Pahlavi, dād.12

12. יְדָעָה ("judge," Dan. iii. 2, 3). In N.Heb. it is found in the commentary to Cant. vii. 9, where it is explained by the Greek word for "advocate." Hilprecht16 found datābarī or datābarī in tablets Nos. 82, 83, 84, 107, from the 40th and 41st years of Artaxerxes I, i.e., 424-5 B.C. This datābarī is evidently from an Old Persian word not found in the inscriptions. In New Persian we find dādī as a cognomen of God. In Arm. datavor means "judge," as also the Pahlavi dātōbar.19

13. לֶבֶן (counsellor," Dan. 4). This word may be Indo-European; but with our present knowledge it seems best to connect it with the Babylonian itbaru, "friend." "Ex syllaba λο δονīas persicae originis esse hoc ve., sed quid significet, non facile dixeris."170

14. לֶשֶׁת ("piece," Dan. ii. 5, iii. 29) occurs also in Targ. to the Prophets, Mandaean, and the Bab. Talmud; and in Syriac, which has a verb, also, derived from it. The Armenian has the noun andam, "piece." New Persian182 and Pahlavi also.183

15. מִלְשִׁים ("chain," Dan. v. 1, 16, 29) = Syriac מילס可用于 as a rendering of melshīm. The Greek has μωλυδίων, "armlet, bracelet, of gold worn by the Persians." The Armenian has manyah, "necklace, collar."184 The New

12 Id. 134.
13 Justi, 133.
16 Vullers.
17 So Vullers, 779b, but Richardson gives dātavor.
18 Bedrossiant, p. 153.
19 West, p. 11.
18 Gesenius, Theocarne, p. 365b.
18 Bedrossiant, p. 28.
18 Vullers, p. 128b; Richardson, p. 182b.
18 West, p. 33.
Hebrew has manika, and the Targum of Jonathan has it in Gen. xlix. 22.

16. וַיִּירָשׁ ("time," Ezra and Dan. passim) is more nearly like the Armenian sham, "time,"86 and zamanab, "season," than it is like zeran in Zend, or any other known word in Persian except the Pahlavi samán, also written daman.86 The verb, also, is to be compared with zamanem, "to have time." There are about fifty derivatives and numerous idiomatic phrases with these words in Armenian. The noun occurs in the Hebrew of the O.T. and in both Talmuds, in all the Targums and Samaritan. The verb is found in the Hebrew and Aramaic of the Bab. Talmud, and in Syriac, Mandic, and all of the Targums; and the noun in Eth. and Arab.

17. הָרָסִילִים (Ezra iv. 9) cannot have been a Persian word inasmuch as old Persian and Zend did not have an r.87 Even if we took it over from a hypothetical tarabara, equivalent to "beyond the river," it would be an unusual change from Persian r to Semitic l. There are none such in the transliterations of the Behistun recensions. Still, this may be an exception.88

18. חַרְזַת ("herald," Dan. v. 29) is generally regarded as borrowed from the Greek ἱφηγέα. This is supported by no proof except that they have the same meaning. The Armenian karaz, however, has the same sound, form and meaning.

85 Bedrossian, p. 234.
86 West, p. 149.
88 The transliteration of the Persian proper names in the Babylonian and Aramaic recension of the Behistun inscription should be at the foundation of all our investigations of the alleged Persian words in the Old Testament. It is marvellous with what accuracy the Babylonian and Aramaic recensions transliterate the Persian proper names. Thus, Persian b is always b or p in Babylonian, and p is always p. Persian g is nearly always g, a few times k; d is nearly always d, sometimes z, s, or t; t is commonly t, sometimes d or t; z is always z; m is always m; n is always n; r is nearly always r (34 times) and twice l; the nasal n is mostly n, sometimes m; and so on with the other letters for which it is difficult to find an equivalent in the English alphabet. If we keep these rules in mind and make the proper contraction of the vowels and prefix occasionally a prothetic aleph or he, we can arrive at an Indo-European original, if such exists, with some degree of ease and certainty.
and besides is a root having about a dozen derivatives. If it be a borrowed word, why not derive it from the Hittite-Mitanni-Armenian group of dialects? Besides, I can find in Dalman and Brockelmann no example of a Greek ή or ήs becoming z in Aramaic or Hebrew. Greek Ζ is originally equivalent to ζ in Hebrew and Aramaic, and Greek ξ to ήs.

19. הובחת ("reward," Dan. ii. 6, v. 17). As to the origin of this word I have no conjecture to express.

20. הנברע ("candlestick," Dan. v. 5) may be from the Babylonian naburrū, "top" and םטמ, "side, wall," = "top of the wall."

21. העל ("letter," Ezra iv. 18, 23, v. 5; Heb. iv. 7, vii. 11) is most likely from the Babylonian usłam, "to copy, announce, repeat." It is found in the Egyptian papyrus XVII. 3 dated 428 B.C. It is possible that the New Persian usłam, "writing," may have been derived from the Babylonian.

22. המ multerin ("dulcimer," Dan. iii. 5, 10, 15) is generally explained as the Greek συμψαλια. The Hebrew text of the Textus Receptus has a reading טפפינא (Dan. iii. 10), corresponding to the Greek στιφων, "pipe or tube." A word suṭpinu is found in Babylonian and is a synonym of ba'udu and poșuti, meaning instrument of some kind. If it be said that suṭpinu, as the name of a musical instrument, has not been found in Babylonian or early Aramaic, it may be answered that we do not know anything about the music or the musical instruments of the later Babylonians or the early Arameans; but the Syriac has sippon, "trumpet." The Hebrew of the Palestinian Talmud has simpon once (Mg.I,71c) and the Babylonian Talmud has symphoinia in Kel. XI. 6, and sipponia in Kel. XVI. 8 and also in Tosephia Kel. B. Mg. I. It occurs also in the Midrash Till, to Ps. xii as simphonio. But simpon commonly stands for the Greek στιφων, "pipe."

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89 Bedrossian, p. 747.
90 But Hebrew ζ sometimes is transliterated by Greek η, as in I Chron. i. 21, 37; viii. 38; Gen. ii. 21.
91 Cowley, Aram. Papyri.
92 Compare -alist for Heb. ḫippin in the Greek of I Chr. vii. 15.
FOREIGN WORDS IN THE OLD TESTAMENT 199

23. דַּעֵית ("president," Dan. vi. 5), is probably connected with the Armenian sarahaksem, "to serve or serve together,"93 whence sarahakoš, "colleague, vassal, officer." It is found in the Targums in the sense of "ruler."

24. חָסֵן ("hosen," Dan. iii. 21). The Midrash Rabbah to Lamentations, I. 1, defines it as a garment on one's legs, i.e., breeches or trousers.94

25. קֶסֶם ("psaltery," Dan. iii. 5, 7, 10, 15) is commonly supposed to be derived from the Greek ψαλτήριον. This involves the change of I to n. Why may it not come from the Babylonian pisannu which probably means "pipe"? Pisanu is a synonym of alallum, a word meaning "music," or "reservoir." If pisannu be taken as meaning "pipe," pisanterin would mean "double-pipe" as the word is interpreted in the Talmud. For the construction compare בְּנֵי שֵׁשׁ, "double portion,"95 and בְּנֵי שֵׁשְׁר, "double footed."96

26. קֵסֶר ("copy," Ezra iv. 11, 23, v. 6. In Hebrew, Ezra vii. 11). The synonym קְסֶר in Est. iii. 14, iv. 8, viii. 13, and also in Armenian paščakon97 and in the Targum of Onkelos Deut. xvii. 18, and Targum Jonathan to the Prophets, Jos. viii. 33, Jer. x. 11, and in Targ. to Ps. lx. 1 and to 2 Chr. xxiv. 27. In Syr. as in Jer. viii. 22.


28. הַרְפִּי or הַרְפִּי ("harp," Dan. iii. 5, 7, 10, 15). It seems

93 Bedrossian, p. 3081.
94 Jeladi to Gen. iii. 23 explains this bâruk = βρακκος, braccus. In the passage in Lamentations the pâshteh is said to be worn on the legs. See Levy and Jastrow in locis.
95 Deut. xxi. 17, 2 Kgs. ii. 3, Zech. xiii. 8.
96 Stein, Das Verbum der Mischma sprache, p. 9.
97 Bedrossian, p. 5980.
98 West, p. 111.
impossible to determine to what country and language this word originally belonged. Homer uses kitharid. On account of the final s, it is more likely that the Aramaic borrowed from the Greek than vice versa; although both may have borrowed from a common original source, alien to both. The thing and its name may easily have travelled from Troy to Babylon in the course of 400 years, more or less.

28. 17 ("secret," Daniel 9) occurs also in Syriac, in Gen. xlix. 6, in Onkelos, in the Targums to the Prophets and Hagiographa, in the Bab. Talmud in Hebrew and Aramaic, in Mandaean and Akkadian. The Armenian word eraz, "dream," was probably originally the same. 60 New Persian rāz, "secret."

Remarks on the Aramaic Parts of the Old Testament

1. It will be noted that the Aramaic literature may be divided into six general periods: first, the Assyrio-Babylonian; secondly, the Persian; thirdly, the Greek; fourthly, the Graeco-Roman-Persian; fifthly, the Arab-Turkish; and sixthly, the Perso-Turkish.

2. It will be noted, also, that almost every document in the Aramaic tongue can be determined as to time and locality of authorship by the foreign words present in it. The foreign words of the earlier periods may continue to occur in the documents of the later periods; but there are foreign words of the later periods not to be found in the literature of the earlier periods.

3. Note that in the first three of the above given divisions of the literature, none but Assyrio-Babylonian and Hebrew-Phenician foreign words are found. In the Persian period, however, we see that the foreign vocables are Persian, Babylonian, and a small number of Greek commercial terms, except that in Egypt the papyri have also a large number of Egyptian words. In the Greek period, the Greek proper names and common terms become more and more prevalent; many Latin names appear; Persian and Babylonian words disap-

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60 Bedrossian, p. 159; Lagarde, Gesammelte Abhandlungen, p. 192.
Foreign Words in the Old Testament as an Evidence of Historicity by R. D. Wilson

foreign words in the old testament 201

pear almost entirely from documents written to the west of the Euphrates, but are still comparatively numerous in those written to the east of the Euphrates.

4. The presence of Arabic in the Nabatean dialect, almost to the absolute exclusion of all other foreign elements, is a further evidence of the correctness of our premises that the time and place of a document can be determined by the foreign words in it. The documents of the fifth period are correctly characterized by Arab and Turkish among new foreign words and those of the sixth by New Persian, Azerbaijan Turkish and Kurdish.

5. Again, it is to be noted that there are no Aramaic inscriptions from any country which were written between 400 B.C. and 100 B.C., except perhaps a couple of small and imperfect ones from Egypt.

6. No Aramaic inscription of any date from Palestine has as yet been discovered.

7. Of the dialects from Palestine, the Syro-Palestinian has no Persian words and the Samaritan Pentateuch has none not found in the Hebrew of the Old Testament and probably only two found there; and of Babylonian words the Syro-Palestinian has only about nine and the Samaritan about three not found in the Hebrew Old Testament.

8. In the Nabatean inscriptions, mostly found in a section extending from Damascus to the Red Sea, the foreign words are almost all Arabic, except the Babylonian names of the months.

9. In Syro-Palestinian, Palmyrene, the Targums of Onkelos, Jerusalem, Jonathan, and of the Prophets, the various translations in the Hagiographa, the Talmud, Mandeans, and the second period of Syriac, Greek affords the largest proportion of foreign words.

10. Assyrio-Babylonian words are found in the Aramaic documents of all ages.

11. Persian words are found to occur frequently in the dialects of Egypt, the Jewish Targums, the Talmud, Mandeans, and Syriac b, c and d.
12. Latin words are found in Palmyrene, the Targums of Jerusalem and on the Hagiographa, the Talmud and Syriac, with an exceptional occurrence in Onkelos, Jonathan to the Prophets and Mandaean.

13. Egyptian words characterize only the papyri from Egypt.

14. It is evident that the Aramaic of Ezra seems to have come from the country between Egypt and Ecbatana before the Greek conquest of that part of Asia, since it contains no foreign elements except Hebrew, Babylonian and Persian.

15. The most common of foreign words are proper names; then come the titles of governmental and religious officials, objects of art and commerce, names of plants and animals, scientific and philosophical and ecclesiastical terms. For example, from the Assyrian come such words as 

16. Aside from the names of the kings, only three of the foreign non-Semitic words found in Daniel are found in the Old Persian of the inscriptions from 532 to 338 B.C.; three or four in the Avesta, of which three are the same as three of the Old Persian words. On the other hand, 13 of the allegedly Old Persian words are to be found in Armenian, of which two are met with in Old Persian, one in Zend, and three in five in New Persian. Only one of the so-called Persian words found in Daniel is not present in Armenian. How can we account for these facts? Only, it seems to me, by

\[\text{100} \text{ To wit, ahashdorpan “satrap,” aada “gone,” and dath “law.”} \]
\[\text{101} \text{ Some think that aapam is derived from the Zend patima “treasuries.”} \]
\[\text{103} \text{ That is, the word for “satrap.”} \]
supposing that the Arameans were in contact with the Ar- 
menians and other Indo-European tribes, as we know that 
they were with the Medes, who preceded the Persians in 
the march from the east into the countries to the north of the 
Semitic possessions in Western Asia. If we can believe that 
the Hittites and the Mitanni people spoke a language of the Indo-
European family, we have abundant evidence that the Aram-
eans were commingled with the Indo-Europeans from before 
the time of Moses. For the Amarna letters show us that the 
Hittites, Mitanni people and Arzawans were fighting one another 
and contending also against the Aramean tribes, Sukk, Suti, 
and Ahlamu in Syria and Mesopotamia at the time when these 
letters were written. From the middle of the ninth century 
on we have mention on the Assyrian monuments of Ar-
menians, Medes, Cimmerians, Scythians, and other Indo-
European tribes, and from the Assyrio-Babylonian records 
we learn that Assyria was conquered by the Medes in or about 
612 B.C. and Babylon by Cyrus in 539 B.C. Israelites were 
settled in the cities of the Medes as early as about 720 B.C.,

204 "Après la destruction du royaume d'Assyrie, la tribu de Manda 
conquit l'Osrhoène." So Pogson in his comments on the Nabonidus in-
scription of Eski-Harran. Further, he says: "La population assyrienne 
de Harrân fut la perdre sa langue et par se confondre avec les popula-
tions Araméennes des environs." These Mandaeans were Indo-Europeans, 
probably a tribe, or tribes, of the Medes. See Pogson, *Inscr. Semit. de la 
Syrie*, etc., I, 1-14.

205 See Kraelling, *Aram and Israel*, and Witzel, *Hethitishe Keilin-
scriftenkunde*.

206 See the references to all of these tribes and nations in the glossaries 
of Winckler's and Knudtzon's editions of the Amarna letters.

207 See the best description of the connection of these tribes with the 
Assyrians in Streck's *Assurbanipal*, I, cccxxvi, for the Armenians; cccxiv, 
for the Medes; cccxxi, for the Cimmerians and Scythians.

208 See Pogson's Eski-Harran inscription in his work cited in note 104;
also, Streck, *Assurbanipal*, ccvi, f.

Akkadzeit*, 1-8. The year 539 is determined by means of the con-
tract tablets.

210 In the reign of Tigrath-Pileser (Pul) 2 Kings xv. 29, many Israel-
ites were taken captive and settled in Assyria about 750 B.C. In 2 Kings 
xxvii. 11, it is said that the king of Assyria (whom we know from 15. xx.
and Persians probably in Anshan, a part of Elam, about 640 B.C. During all of the long period of time from about 1800 B.C. to 539 B.C., it seems certain that the Arameans were in contact with Indo-Europeans, and, especially in the later part of the period, under subjection to these foreign rulers of alien language and government. And of all these foreign and closely related peoples of the Indo-European family, the Armenians, like the Gaels of Scotland in their mountain fastnesses, have alone been preserved as a people with a language comparatively free from the influx of foreign words. It is owing to this, most probably, that the Armenian dictionary gives words in a dialect which is the nearest and most analogous to the language from which the Aramaic dialect in which Daniel is written borrowed the foreign vocables which have hitherto been generally designated as Persian. And since the modern Armenian is the living language most closely connected in locality, and probably in vocabulary and pronunciation, with the ancient Hittite and Mitannian on the one side and with the ancient Median on the other, it is easy to see how the Aramean tribes may have borrowed such terms as we find in such a relatively large number in the Aramaic of the Book of Daniel. It is evident, also, from the above discussion, that these words may have been borrowed long before the time when Babylon was taken by Cyrus.

17. It is a striking fact that only one of all these foreign words found in Daniel and Ezra occurs in Palestinian Syriac, that is, the word רָהָשׁ, “secret or mystery,” as in Mark iv. 7; and that only three are found in the Aramaic of the Samaritan Pentateuch, that is, פִּילָגָם and the verb and noun פִּילָגָה.

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1 to have been Sargon) carried away the prisoners captured in Samaria and settled them in Halah and in Halah by the river of Giza, and in the cities of the Medes.  
111 This is probably the year in which Susa was captured and destroyed by Assurbanipal and the whole land of Elam desolated. Streck, Assurbanipal, I, ccxxiv.  
112 See besides works mentioned above Winckler, History of Babylonia and Assyria, p. 266, 213, et al.  
113 See Wetzel, Hitl. Keilschriften, p. x.
“time” and “appoint.” Rās is not found in Old Persian, nor in Zend and New Hebrew; but it occurs in Armenian, Syriac, Mandeàn, Egypto-Aramaic, the Targums of Onkelos, of Jonathan to the Prophets, and of the Hagiographa, and in the Hebrew of the Talmud. It affords, therefore, no evidence as to the time or place of a document. Zemān, “time,” is found in Pahlavi;[114] but does not occur in Old Persian, and is written zeman in Zend. The New Persian form zaman is almost certainly borrowed from the Arabic. It occurs, also, in Ethiopic, Nabatean, the Biblical Hebrew,[115] Mandeàn, the New Hebrew of both Talmuds and the Aramaic of the Babylonian Talmud, and in the Targums of Onkelos and Jerusalem to the Pentateuch, Jonathan to the Prophets and in the Targum to the Hagiographa. The verb occurs in Biblical Hebrew,[116] Armenian, Syriac, Mandeàn, in the Hebrew of both Talmuds, and in all the Aramaic Targums. Pitgam, “word,” occurs in Armenian, Biblical Hebrew,[117] Syriac, and the Targums of Onkelos. Jerus. on Pent., Jonathan on Prophets; being mentioned in the Talmud as an unknown word only to be explained.[118]

18. Another striking fact is that in Egypto-Aramaic only two common terms occur, which are found also in Daniel, to wit: gans, “treasure,” ozda, “gone”; and that in Nabatean we find only one such word, i.e., zeman, “time”; and in Palmyrene, not a single word.

19. In the Targum of Onkelos there are nineteen of the Indo-European words or roots found in Daniel and Ezra, of which all appear also in Armenian, but not one in Old Persian, and only seven in New Persian.[119]

114 Also written domān (West in loco).
115 Est. ix. 27, 31; Ecc. iii. 1; Ne. ii. 6.
116 Ezra x. 14; Ne. x. 35; xiii. 31.
117 Ecc. viii. 11; Est. i. 20.
118 See Levy (Chald.) IV. 154b. He cites from Meg. 19a.
119 These words are haddōm “piece,” zemen “time,” zimnēn “to appoint,” koros “voice” (?), abra “to call,” manika “chain,” sarab “offices,” pitgam “word,” gans “to treasure.”
120 These words are gans “treasure,” ganszor “treasurer,” rāz “secret,” endam “piece,” dād “law,” dādār “judge” (or God), and pitgam or pai-gram for pitgam “word.”
20. In the Palestinian Talmud there are only three of these words,\footnote{\textsuperscript{221}} of the documents written beyond the Euphrates, the Babylonian Talmud has twelve.

21. The presence of three or four Greek words in the Aramaic of Daniel has long been advanced as a convincing argument for the late date of the book (2nd cty.). It has been pointed out above that none of these words has been conclusively proved to be Greek. But even if this could be done it would be very far from establishing the late date and Palestinian origin of Daniel. There are at least three ways by which Greek words may have been taken to Babylon before the time of Cyrus, to wit: by commerce, by soldiers, and by slaves. In the year 630 B.C. the Greeks founded the city of Sinope on the Black Sea from which they carried on a good caravan trade with the Euphrates Valley.\footnote{\textsuperscript{122}} Gyges, king of Lydia, ruled over the Greeks of Miletus and other Greek settlements along the coast of the Aegean, and this same Gyges was subject to the great Assyrian king Ashurbanipal who reigned from 668 to 628 B.C.\footnote{\textsuperscript{123}} Sargon, king of Assyria, has left at Cition an inscription in which he tells us frequently that he had conquered (in 700 B.C.) seven kings of Cyprus\footnote{\textsuperscript{124}} belonging to the Greeks. Ashurbanipal mentions the names of ten kings of Cyprus who joined him in his attack on Egypt in 668 B.C.\footnote{\textsuperscript{125}} Most of these kings have Greek names. Sennacherib in his Tarsus inscription\footnote{\textsuperscript{126}} and Abydenus\footnote{\textsuperscript{127}} and Polyhistor\footnote{\textsuperscript{128}} tell us of battles by sea and land.

\footnote{\textsuperscript{221}} To wit: godbar “treasurer,” zeman “time” and karox “crier,” all found in the Old Testament and also in Armenian.

\footnote{\textsuperscript{122}} Encyclopaedia Britannica, XXV. 149.

\footnote{\textsuperscript{123}} K. B. II. 172; also Streck, Assurbanipal II. 21.

\footnote{\textsuperscript{124}} K. B. II. 74, Winckler, Sargon.

\footnote{\textsuperscript{125}} Streck, Assurbanipal I. cccxxx.

\footnote{\textsuperscript{126}} Cuneiform Texts, &c., p. xxvi.

\footnote{\textsuperscript{127}} Abydenus (268 B.C.) says that Sennacherib defeated and sank a Grecian fleet upon the coast of Cilicia. See Cory, Ancient Fragments, p. 63.

\footnote{\textsuperscript{128}} Polyhistor (A.D. 150) says that Sennacherib marched against the Greeks who had made a hostile descent upon Cilicia and overthrew them and erected a statue of himself with an inscription on it in Chaldean characters. \textit{id.} 62.
won by the Assyrians over the Cilicians and their allies the Greeks, and of the transfer of the conquered to Assyria. As early as the Seleucid dynasty the Greeks served in the armies of Egypt and had commercial settlements in lower Egypt.\textsuperscript{129} Greek inscriptions are found at Abu Simbel coming from the reign of one of the Psammetichi in the 7th century B.C.\textsuperscript{130} Besides, Ashurbanipal and Nebuchadnezzar are said to have had Greek mercenaries in their armies.\textsuperscript{131} These soldiers would almost certainly have their music, like the Jewish captives in Babylon, who hanged their harps upon the willows. And since Greece was in their time the land of song,\textsuperscript{132} we can be sure that her musicians and their instruments would find their way to the luxurious court of Nebuchadnezzar, and into its public functions. That the Babylonians had music at their court ceremonies is evident from the account of the accession of Nabunaid where we are told that they sang: "Father of the land! There is none like him."\textsuperscript{133} We may be sure that Nebuchadnezzar would have the best band of musicians that the world could give. Lastly, we know that in those times of slavery the young women captives as well as males were trained as musicians,\textsuperscript{134} just as later in the times mentioned in the Arabian Nights.\textsuperscript{135} Greek slaves would naturally use Greek instruments with Greek names.


\textsuperscript{130} See Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, 11th Abthellung, plate 98. There are about 20 Greek proper names and about a dozen common terms.

\textsuperscript{131} In 688 B.C., ten kings, most of whom have Greek names, joined Ashurbanipal's expedition against Egypt. In 659 B.C. we find a Greek a captain in Ashurbanipal's army, and another one a *shabahu*. See Streck, *Assurbanipal*, p. 787, and Johns, *Deceds and Documents* L. 159; K. B. II. 240. Nutumides, the brother of Pittacus, is said to have served in the army of Nebuchadnezzar (Strabo: XIII. 2).

\textsuperscript{132} Polybios, IV. 20.


\textsuperscript{134} Becker, *Charicles* 245.

\textsuperscript{135} *Fassim.*
and their names would pass on into the language of the people for whom they played.284 No terms are more frequently borrowed by a language than those denoting musical instruments.285 Thus in English we have borrowed organ, lyre, and cither (zither), guitar, directly or indirectly from the Greek; piano-forte, spinet, violin, violoncello, piccolo, cornet, trombone and others from the Italian; and lately, ukulele from the Hawaiian. So, in like manner, the Arameans who were the merchants and intermediaries of commerce in Western Asia from the 7th to the 4th century B.C., may easily have adopted the Greek names of musical instruments into the language.286 Schrader’s argument based on the fact that the names of these instruments have not been found in the Babylonian records breaks down when we find that no names of any musical instruments in any language have been found in the Babylonian records, as can be seen in the Dictionaries of Tallquist and Langdon.287 The stilted language of the later Babylonian documents did not admit of new or

284 For the use of foreign names for foreign musical instruments, even in Greek, see Musse-Arnott, Semitic Words in Greek and Latin, pp. 127-129.

285 The borrowing of the names of musical instruments was common also with the Greeks. Thus, the sable of Sophocles is the rebul of the Old Testament; the sambuke of Aristotle is the sabbabs of Daniel; the tympaan of Herodotus is the tephenu of the Assyrians; the kinyra is the hemor of the Hebrews; the siren and syrinx of Homer are probably of Semitic origin (see Levy, Semitische Fremdwörter in Griechischen, Musse-Arnott, Semitic Words in Greek and Latin; Thum, Greek Grammar, p. 128; Thackeray, Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek, p. 34). Böhl (Die Sprache der Amarnabriefe, p. 20, note) suggests that there may be Greek words in the Amarna letters. There are at least 22 Persian common terms in Herodotus and scores of Medo-Persian proper names (see Professor John D. Davis in the W. R. Harper Memorial Volume).

286 Thus Syriac transliterates lyre, cithara, et al.

287 In the German translation of Langdon’s great work on the Neo-Babylonian royal inscriptions, there is a complete glossary and an adequate concordance of the words in the inscription. Tallquist prepared a similar dictionary for the contract tablets of the age of Nabonidus (Die Sprache der Contrakte Nabonids).
FOREIGN WORDS IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

foreign words.140 Besides, this part of Daniel is not written in Babylonian but in Aramaic. That these names of musical instruments are not mentioned in the Egypto-Aramaic and the other pre-Christian Aramaic has no bearing upon their use in Daniel, inasmuch as no mention of either music or musical instruments is made in any of them.

22. Judged by the above criteria and evidence, the foreign words in Daniel point to Babylonia as the provenance of the Aramaic portions at least, since it has more Babylonian words than Persian, and no Egyptian or Latin words. The possible presence in it of three words derived from the Greek, which has led so many scholars to believe that the book must have been written in the Greek period, does not, as has just been pointed out, warrant the late dating of the book. There is no evidence in the language to show that it was written in Palestine. For, first, there is no inscription in writing of any kind in the Aramaic of Palestine (see Nos. 5, 6 supra) to bear witness to the supposition that the work was written there; and the testimony of the Samaritan dialect and of the Syro-Palestinian (see No. 7 supra) is decidedly against it. Secondly, it is the only work of any length written in Aramaic, wherein the majority of the foreign words are Babylonian. The Egypto-Aramaic, Ezra and Daniel, purporting to have been written from 539 to 400 B.C., all have a comparatively large number of both Babylonian and Persian words. Daniel has three or four Greek words, and the Egyptian papyri one common Greek term occurring a number of times, and another occurring once, and about a dozen Greek proper names. No one can doubt that the proper mixture of Persian, Greek and Babylonian, is found in Mandaic, Syriac, the Jewish Aramaic Targums and the Aramaic parts of the Talmud. We are entitled to assume that this will be true of Daniel also.

23. In conclusion from the facts stated in Nos. 16 to 22

140 Excepting the proper names Seleucus, Antiochus, Stratonice, and Macedonian, there are no foreign words in the Babylonian text of the inscription of Antiochus-Soter (280-260 B.C.). See K.B. III. II. 136.
above, it seems clear from the evidence that the Aramaic parts of Daniel and Ezra were more probably written east of the Euphrates than in or about Palestine. For, let it be observed and emphasized, that we have no sufficient evidence in existence to show that Aramaic documents like those contained in Daniel and Ezra could at any time whatever have been written in or about Palestine, or on the western side of the Euphrates. On the other hand, the evidence leads to the probability that these documents were written in or about Babylon, Susa and Ecbatana, under the conditions existing in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.; and to the certainty that they were written before the time of the Greek conquests under Alexander.

**Foreign Words in Biblical Hebrew**

Having completed our examination of the foreign words in the Aramaic portions of the Old Testament we shall now proceed to the second main topic of this article, the investigation of the foreign words in the Hebrew of the Old Testament. First of all a complete list of these words will be given arranged according to their occurrence, book by book, in the Old Testament. These words are classified according to their respective origins as Babylonian, Egyptian, etc. It is to be observed that this classification agrees in the main with the derivations found in the Gesenius-Brown *Lexicon*. Where such is not the case, attention is called to this fact in a footnote. The proper names are listed simply in their standard English form (e.g., Sennacherib); but in the case of common terms the Hebrew is added in a parenthesis to avoid any uncertainty as to the word referred to. The list will be followed by general and also detailed discussions of the bearing of these data upon the dates of the Old Testament books.

**The Foreign Words, Book by Book**

**Genesis. Babylonian:** Adam, Abel, Methusaleh, Amraphel, Chedorlaomer, Tidal, Abram, Sara, Babel, Erech, Ur, Harran, Havilah, Calah, Padan, Nineveh, Eden, Shinar; to cover
with pitch (מִכְּבָּה, מִכְּבָּה), pitch (כַּבֶּן), cherub (כִּרְעָבָה), oven (מְחֶבָּה, מְחֶבָּה) to dwell (בִּינָה), flood (מַכְבָּה). Sumerian: Arioch, Gihon, Pishon, Hiddekel; gopher-wood (מִכְּבָּה), cereal (שְׁבָלָה), canal (שַׁבָּל). 141 Egyptian: Asenath, Hagar, Potiphar, Potiphera, Pharaoh, Pikel (?), Zaphnath-Paaniah, On, Cush (?), Goshen; pasture (שֵׁל), ark (רֶמֶש), kind (טַח), Doubleful: Canaan; bdellium, to create (שַׁבָּל). 142 Arabic: many of the proper names in Gen. x and in the genealogies, are probably Arabic.

Exodus. Babylonian: charioteer (שֶׁבֶל), tablet (רֵכֶב), eunuch (רְכֶב), measure (רְכֶב), cherub (כִּרְעָב). Egyptian: Phinehas, Pithom, Raamoses, Pthahiroth, Migdol (?), Shur (?); pitch (רֶמֶש), slime (רְכֶב), 143 span (מַכְבָּה), magician (רְכֶב), reed (שַׁבָּל), shittim-wood (שַׁבָּל).

Leviticus. Egyptian: shoddy (שַׁבָּל), measure (רְכֶב).


141 This word is the Sumerian ša (corn or cereal) = Bab. ša (grain), often in inscriptions of Hammurabi's time. See King, Letters etc. of Hammurabi, III, p. 291, and Deitrich, Sum. Sprachlehre, p. 135.
142 Ed is a Sumerian word meaning "canal" or "river." In King, Tablets of Creation, it appears as a "determinative" before the rivers Tigris and Euphrates; and in Letters etc. of Hammurabi frequently before the name of a canal.
143 The word םֶכֶב (ark) is probably the Egyptian lep (boat).
144 All doubt about the Egyptian origin of this word was removed by Gardiner in his article in the PSBA (Vol. XXXVIII. 181). He shows that min (kind) was used in Egyptian documents as early as the XIXth dynasty. It occurs also in Coptic. See Peyron, p. 99.
145 It seems to me that the best derivation of בְּדֵי "to create" is the Sumerian ba-ru. It is translated three times in the Creation Tablets by the Babylonian it-tan (to make), used of mankind, beasts and herbs (King, Sum. Tablets of Creation, p. 134); and it occurs frequently in the sense of "build" or "form" in the chronicles of the kings of the First Dynasty.
146 On מֵכֶב (slime) and מִכְּבָּה (pitch) see "Essay on Egyptian Words in the Pentateuch" by Canon Cook in the Speaker's Commentary on Exodus, 99, 476-492.
147 See Studies, p. 377.
DEUTERONOMY. Babylonian: demon (שֵּם), diamond (לַעֲלָן); Hittite: law (לֶא).\footnote{149} Arabic: Di Zahab.\footnote{149}

JOSHUA. Arabic: Eshtaoel, Eshtemoa.

JUDGES. Dagon (?), Chemosh (?), Kushan-Rishathaim (?), Timnath-heres (?), Ashteroth (?), Eshtaoel, Lord (יִרְשָּׁדִי)\footnote{150} is either Babylonian (כִנְרָן) or Philistine.

RUTH. (No foreign words.)

SAMUEL. Temple (הַמֵּלֶכֶת) = Sumerian e-gal, “great house.”

KINGS. Assyrian: Tiglath-Pileser (Pul), Shalmaneser, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, Sharezer, Anak, Sepharvaim, Sennacherib, Benoth, Beth-Zakuth, Nebhaz, Nisroch, Gozan, Cutha, Chabor; Tartan, Rab-Shakeh, Rab-saris, governor (רָשָשׁ),\footnote{151} deputy (מֹזֶה),\footnote{152} treasurer (רָבָא),\footnote{153} constellations (רֹאשׁ). Babylonian: Nebuchadnezzar, Nebuzaradan, Baladan, Merodach-Baladan; mina (חָבָק). Egyptian: Shishak, Tahapanes, So, Tirhakah, Necho, Syene. Phoenician and Aramean: Hiram, Jezebel, Tyre, Sidon, Bul (month), Rimmon, Hazael, Hadadezer. Sanscrit or doubtful: ape (אַפָּא),\footnote{154} peacock (לֵוֹא),\footnote{155} ivory (לַעֲלָן).

ISAIAH. Assyrian: Sargon, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, Baladan, Merodach-Baladan, Nebu. Bel, Tel-asar, Lilith; treasure (רָבָא), abundance (מָא), deputy (מֹזֶה). Egyptian: Noph

148 Dath is possibly the Babylonian diiti or diiti (judgment, decision). There is no sufficient reason for identifying it with the homonymous Persian word (cf. p. 193, supra) which occurs in the late books.

149 Di-zahab means “possessor or place of gold.” See Lane, p. 984, and Wright, Arabic Grammar, II, 203.

150 The word earne (lords) may be borrowed from the Babylonian sorrani (kings).

151 See p. 190, supra.

152 See p. 189, supra.

153 See Zimmermann, Akkadische Fremdwörter, p. 8.

154 Probably from Sanscrit kopti (Burnouf, p. 126a).


156 Hab (elephant) = Sanscrit ibha (Burnouf, p. 89b, “whence perhaps ek-’bh is the Semitic article ‘a’?”); or = Egyptian ‘ab (Budge, Reading Book, p. 371).
(Memphis), Hanes; pitch (עֶשָׁה), girdle (בָּרָה). Persian: Cyrus. 187

Jeremiah. Babylonian: Samgar-Nebo, Sarsechim, Nergal, Nebuchadnezzar, Neboshzban, Bel, Merodach, Merathaim (?) 188; officer (מְבוֹשֶׁשׁ), governor (שַׁמֶּשׁ), deputy (נַפְס). Egyptian: Noph (Memphis), Hophra, Tahpenes, Necho.

Lamentations. (No foreign words.)

Ezekiel. Babylonian: Gog, Koa, Shoas, Tammuz (as name of month), wing (לִפְתָּח), garments (נְבָרָה), gilt (קֹנֶה). Egyptian: Syene, Pibeseth.


Amos. Assyrian: Chium (מַעֲשִׂים) = kaimanu (Saturn).

Jonah. Phenician: boat-swain (עַל בַּעַל). 189


Haggai. Persian: Darius.

Malachi. Assyrian: governor (מְבָשׁה).

Joel, Obadiah, Micah, Habakkuk, Zephaniah: (No foreign words).

Psalms. Babylonian: diamond (עָנֵנֶים), gold (צָנָן), corner (יָשָׁב). Egyptian: Egypt (עָנָה), aloe (שִׁלְמִיחַ).


187 See Excursus on Cyrus at end of article, pp. 246 f.

188 A name for Babylon. Fdk. Delitzsch thinks it = Bab. Murratat, the land by the nar Murraitu, or bitter river. According to another etymology the word is Hebrew and means “double rebellion.”

189 An old Sumerian combination of hab (tablet) and sar (writer).

160 May be compared with the Babylonian qalim. See Muss-Arnolt, in loco.

161 Probably the same as the Assyrian baddi (timbers).

162 Burnouf (p. 400) gives the word parvan(y)a as meaning literally “bed.” If the word and thing came from India, at what better time than that of Solomon could it have come? That was the time at which the other
ECCLESIASTES. Babylonian: wealth (בָּנָק), free men, nobles (בַּלָּוי), 154 Indo-European: garden (גִּדְרָה), time (צָרָה), word (סְפָּר). 155

Daniel. Babylonian and Sumerian: Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, Babel, Shinar, Elam, Ulai, Mede, Grecia, Chaldean, Shushan, Hiddekel, Ashpenaz, Amelcar (?), Shadrach, Meshach; temple, palace (הַרְדוֹת), sorcerer (חֵטְא), fortress (הָרָה). Persian: Cyrus, Darius, Xerxes (?); colonnade (הָרָה). 166 princes (שָׁם אָדָם). Various: portion (פֶּסֶף), magician (לְשֶׁה), fine gold (מצמא), Greeks (יוֹדָה), possibly Sanscrit words for elephant, peacock and ape came. Or it may have come easily at that time from the Hittites, the forerunners and first cousins of the Armenians, seeing that words from the proper root in Armenian mean divan, throne, etc. The prothetic aleph in Hebrew would suit the derivation from the Armenian as well as from Greek or Sanscrit. Again, Hrozny in his Sprache der Hittiter gives a verb p'taar, "to bear," "draw," etc.

153 Parés (paradise, garden, park) = Bab. pāرد (Cyr. 212,3, written in 335 B.C.). Commonly assumed to be from Greek ἀρδέα, first used by Xenophon of the parks of the Persian kings after his retreat, 400 B.C. May be connected with the Zend pāرد, "Umbaum" (Justi, p. 180); but more likely with Armenian pārd, "garden" (Bedrossian, p. 6th). Armenian has also words from the same radicals for gardener and gardening.

154 Hor (free man, noble). A word with the same radicals is used in the Code of Hammurabi for a husband, and the feminine for a wife, who was free-born. It seems to have been a primitive Semitic root, being found also in Arabic, Aramaic, and Sabean.

155 Pēgan is nearest in form and meaning to the Armenian pēgam (word, order), with derivatives for messenger, prophet, envoy, etc. (Bedrossian, p. 599).

156 Apādāna is found in an inscription of Artaxerxes II (404-359 B.C.). It is transliterated by the Sasanians as ḥabudana and by the Babylonians as appādān. Weissenbach translates by Südenhalle (colonnade). See Weissenbach, Keilschriften der Achämeniden, pp. 122-125, and Johnson in Tolman's Cuneiform Supplement, p. 5, and Strassmaier Alphabetisches Verzeichnis, 106.

157 Patībā (delicacies) is commonly taken to be from Sanscrit pukkhā (heart). Zend pukkha = Greek πυκκά (a transliteration), Syr. πυκκα. Unfortunately for this derivation the words from which the Hebrew is supposed to have been borrowed do not occur in either Sanscrit or Zend. Lorsbach derived it from put (idol), and bakh (food), and made it mean "food of God"; von Bohlen from pad (father) and bakh and made it mean cibus patris. Both are far fetched. Better from the Hebrew path (morsel) = Sumerian pat, and the Sumerian baga, meaning "a
FOREIGN WORDS IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

ESTHER. Babylonian: Nebuchadnezzar, Mordecai, Cushi, Shushan, Adar, Nisan, Siwan; fortress (כֹּבֵד), letter (תֵּאָלְתָה), purple (םָכָה), blue (םָכָה), a kind of stone (מָכָה), governor (כָּכָה), loss (כָּכָה). Persian: Xerxes, Esther, Vashti, Shaashgaz, fourteen names of counsellors and princes of Persia and ten of the sons of Haman, Hage, Bigian, Teresh, Haman, Hatheh; princes (םָכָה), cotton (מָכָה), law (כָּכָה), satrap (כָּכָה), copy (כָּכָה), time (כָּכָה), mule? (כָּכָה), dromedary? (כָּכָה). Various: linen (כָּכָה), porphyry? (כָּכָה), byssus (כָּכָה); or doubtful: pearl (כָּכָה), lot (כָּכָה).

CHRONICLES. Babylonian: fortress (כָּכָה), fortress (כָּכָה), letter (כָּכָה), cup (כָּכָה), treasure (כָּכָה), which (כָּכָה). Persian: Cyrus; daric (כָּכָה), crimson (כָּכָה), sheath? (כָּכָה), suburb (כָּכָה). (These are in addition to the foreign words contained in the passages which the Chronicler has taken from Kings, Jeremiah and other Biblical sources).

Ezra. Babylonian: Nebuchadnezzar, Sheshbazzar, Zerubbabel, Mordecai, Esarhaddon, Ashur; deputy (כָּכָה), governor (כָּכָה), talents (כָּכָה), companions (כָּכָה), cup (כָּכָה), temple (כָּכָה). Persian: Cyrus, Darius, Xerxes, Artaxerxes, Mithridates, Bigvai; satrap (כָּכָה), basket? (כָּכָה), treasurer (כָּכָה), copy (כָּכָה), copy (כָּכָה), daric (כָּכָה), law (כָּכָה), to fix a time (כָּכָה).


Special part of a temple where the offerings to the god were brought" (Frank, Studien zur Babylonischen Religion, p. 211). The Sumerian sign for pet (Brünnow, p. 401) stands also, for kurnatu and kurnumatu, meaning "food, share," perhaps including drink; hence "food for the gods" (Muss-Arnolt, p. 438). Compare ἀνθρώπου καταγείρομαι. Compare ἀνθρώπου καταγείρομαι. Compare ἀνθρώπου καταγείρομαι. Compare ἀνθρώπου καταγείρομαι. Compare ἀνθρώπου καταγείρομαι. Compare ἀνθρώπου καταγείρομαι.

169 Runak in Pahlavi means "herd, flock, troop, company" (West, p. 137). The New Persian is the same.

169 Daric is most probably from the Persian Darius. The Pahlavi has Dārī and Darāk for Darius and dārākhan for the adjective Darian. See West, p. 180.
concubine (נְחָלָה), garden (בַּרְבָּר), letter (מַלְתָּה), governor (רְבִּיק), deputy (פָּנָה), division (פַּלֶד), talents (מְטָבָה). Persian: Bigvai, Azgad, Darius, Artaxerxes; appoint a time (בֵּית).

General Remarks on These Words

1. It will be seen from the above collection of facts in evidence, that the different kinds of foreign words in the Hebrew of the Old Testament are found in just the books where we would expect to find them, provided that these books originated either in the time indicated in the books themselves, or were composed from original sources, contemporaneous with, or of about the same age as, the events or subject-matter recorded in them,—as far, at least, as related to the period from Abraham to Ezra.

2. That these particular and correct kinds of foreign words could have been deliberately and knowingly inserted into the Pentateuch by writers of myths and fictions living as late as the 8th century B.C., (when the critics agree that J and E were written), or as late as the 6th or 4th century (where they place H and P) is absurd. At least, there is certainly no documentary evidence of any kind or place, leading us to suppose that there ever were scholars in pre-Christian Judaism (or post-Christian for that matter) who knew Sumerian, Babylonian, Egyptian, Persian and Arabic well enough to scatter words borrowed from them in documents treating of events covering a period of nearly two thousand years. Especially is this statement weighty, when we consider that these various writers never made a mistake in their use of a word. That is, we never find Egyptian words in documents alleged to have been written after the time of Moses, except such as had already been adopted by Moses in his works and the proper names of a number of royal persons and of cities which were brought in contact with Israel from Shishak to Hophra; and, again, we never find any Persian words in documents alleged to have been written before the time of Daniel and Cyrus, except three words, two probably
FOREIGN WORDS IN THE OLD TESTAMENT 217

Hittite (both occurring in Ecclesiastes and one in the Song of Songs) and the word Cyrus in Isaiah. And lastly, the discriminating use of such purely Assyrian terms as Tartan, Rabshakeh and Rab-Saris, indicates that the documents containing them must have been written before the destruction of Nineveh in 612 B.C.

3. It will be noted, also, that scarcely a foreign word is to be found in any one of the numerous poetical productions from first to last.

4. As to the Pentateuch, we find that Sumero-Babylonian words are to be met with in the first chapters of Genesis, and Egyptian in the rest, except in the Wanderings in the desert, where the foreign names are predominantly Arabic.

5. In the time of Solomon, we find Hittite, Sanscrit and other foreign words, agreeable to the commercial activity of his peaceful reign.

6. From Tiglath-Pileser to the fall of Nineveh, the words are almost entirely Assyrian; for this was the period of the Sargonids, the greatest kings of Assyria.

7. From 612 B.C., when Nineveh was destroyed, to 539 B.C., when Babylon was captured by Cyrus, we find Babylonian words predominating.

8. From 539 to 400 B.C., the last period of Old Testament history according to the prima facie evidence, we find Ar- meno-Persian and Babylonian words almost exclusively. It must be remembered that from the capture of Babylon by Cyrus to its re-capture by Xerxes, the kings of Persia reigned over Babylon under the title "king of Babylon" or "king of lands," or both. Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah served

119 For a discussion of tartan and other Assyrian officials, see Klauber’s Assyrisches Beamtentum. For the rab-shakeh and other army officers, see W. Mannhardt, Das ehrende Heer der Assyriker, (ZA. xxiv. 199 ff).

120 This date for the destruction of Nineveh has been established by the record edited by C. J. Gadd, The Fall of Nineveh (1923). For a discussion of this tablet see the article by O. T. Allis in this Review for July, 1924.

121 See further p. 238, infra.
the kings of Persia in Susa and Babylon especially. Hence, their writings are naturally full of words from the languages both of Persia and Babylon.

9. No certainly Greek words are found in the Hebrew of the Old Testament, nor in the Zadokite fragments; and only one in the Hebrew of Ecclesiasticus. 174

10. On the contrary, the Hebrew of the Talmud is full of Greek words and has many Latin, Persian, and Babylonian words; although, while all parts have Greek words, some are entirely devoid of Latin, Persian or Babylonian.

Special Discussion of Hebrew Literature by Periods

A. The Pentateuch.

We shall now enter on several discussions of groups of books purporting to be from a given period. And, first, let us look at the bearing of the collections of foreign words upon the origin and date of the books of Moses.

1. The foreign common words in the Pentateuch are Babylonian and Sumerian, Egyptian and a couple of Aramaic words.

2. The Babylonian and Sumerian words occur in the parts of Genesis preceding the descent into Egypt; the Aramaic words in the history of Laban from Aram Naharaim.

3. The Arabic words all occur as the names of places in the Wilderness or of persons living in Arabia.

4. The only Egyptian words in the part preceding the going of Joseph into Egypt are Pharaoh, Hagar, mtn (kind), and possibly Picol.

5. The only words certainly foreign in E are Egyptian.

6. There are no foreign words in H alone; and but two in D and H (one Egyptian and one Babylonian).

7. Perhaps one Babylonian and one Indo-European (Hittite?) word are found in D.

174 See my articles in the Sachau Denkschrift and in this Review for 1905-6.

174 Some claim that there is a Greek word in the Song of Songs, iii. 9 (see note 162 supra), and the doubtful word ajil in Exclus. i. 9 is supposed to be borrowed from the Greek.
8. Gen. xiv has three Babylonian words and one Sumerian, but no Egyptian.

9. P has from four to eight Babylonian, eight Egyptian words, and many Arabic words, especially in the genealogies and the account of the Wanderings.

10. Five foreign words (two Egyptian and two Babylonian) occur in JE, two Egyptian in EP, and one Egyptian in JRE.

11. Two foreign words occur in JDP, and three in JEDP and one in JEP.

12. How are we to account for these 27 Egyptian words, 13 of them common terms, occurring in the Hexateuch, unless the original sources were written in the Mosaic period? How could 19 of them have gotten into J and E, if they were written in the 8th century B.C.? How could 16 of them have gotten into P, if it was written in the 5th century B.C., or later? Why are 18 of these words found in no other book of the Old Testament and most of the 27 in no language outside the Bible except Egyptian?

13. Again, how account for the fact that there are 29 Babylonian words in J, 11 of them common terms, if J were written in the 8th century B.C. in Judah, and for the fact that there are only about 8 Babylonian words in P, if it were written largely by Ezra at Babylon (or under Babylonian influences) in the 5th century B.C.? Daniel, Esther, Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah, which purport to be from post-captivity times, have all a large number of Babylonian words. Why so few in the lengthy work of P, treating, as it does, of so many subjects? Especially why, if, as many hold, the Hebrews derived many of their laws and religious ideas from the Babylonians?179 In my judgment, the small number of Babylonian words in P, as compared with the five books named above, can only be accounted for by supposing that it was written at a different time. And when we take into account the large number of Egyptian words as compared with

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179 See my article on "Babylon and the Bible" in the Pres. and Ref. Review for 1902.
all other parts of the Old Testament, the only proper period for P is the period when the Israelites were in, or just out of Egypt.

14. The small number of foreign words in H and in the legal parts of P can only be accounted for by supposing that the language of law was a native development of the Israelites and that the law given by the Lord to Moses was put by him in plain language that every one could understand.

15. The absence of all Babylonian words, except two or three, from Deuteronomy, can be accounted for by the fact that it is largely popular speeches on legal matters and poetry, both of which avoid foreign words as much as possible.

16. If H was written during or after the Captivity, how does it come that there is in it only one Babylonian word? If it were written after the Captivity, why has it no Persian words? The only foreign words in it are one Egyptian and one Babylonian word, both of them found also in D.

17. But not merely are there Egyptian words in H and P, the most surprising thing about them is that there are no Persian words in them. Nor are there any Persian words in any of the Redactors, whom certain critics conjure up from their imagination as the composers of the Hexateuch in its present form. This is especially noteworthy in view of the fact that Ezra, the greatest of the scribes and the last and best equipped of all the alleged composers and redactors, should in his so-called Memoirs and in the other works supposed to have been written by him, have a large number of Persian words. There must have been two Ezras, a Dr. Jekyll Ezra who wrote Hebrew as if it had been written a thousand years before his time, and a Mr. Hyde Ezra who wrote the ordinary language of his time! And this Dr. Jekyll Ezra must have determined that he would compose and edit a Mosaic work, ostensibly the work of Moses, which would fool the whole world of his time and after into believing that it was really the work of Moses! His contemporary, Nehemiah, the minister of the king of Persia and governor of Judea, and all the priests and Levites and scribes of the second temple
were taken in by him and his allegedly Mosaic work. The great high-priests, the two Simeons, and the learned Jews of Alexandria, and the Ben Siras, and the predecessors of the Maccabees were all deceivéd into thinking that the Pentateuch was the work of Moses. There was not a single Jew to protest against the forgery. The generation of Mattathias gladly laid down their lives rather than cease their devotion to its commands and regulations. Believe this who can and will. As for me, I cannot believe that there ever was among that brilliant nation which along the line of its historic development produced and was led by such men as Abraham, Joseph, Moses, David and Solomon, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel and Ezra—that there ever was a generation so ignorant, submissive and easily beguiled, as to accept without protest or rebellion a system of law so onerous written in a language so markedly ancient as that of the Pentateuch, less than a hundred years after the death of Haggai and Zechariah, and while Malachi, the last of the prophets, was still in the midst of his labors unless it was really what it purported to be.

18. When we consider that the narratives of the Hexateuch contain nothing that is known to conflict with the incontrovertible evidence of the language as to the time of its composition, our belief in its Mosaic origin is confirmed. For when, so well as in the time of Abraham, could the first chapter of Genesis have been written? The time of Hammurabi was the age when the minds of men were exercised about the question of the origin of the universe and man. A Babylonian account of the flood similar to that in Genesis corroborates our conviction that the Biblical record refers to an historic event known at the time of Abraham alike to the ancestors of both Babylonians and Hebrews. The account of Hagar and Ishmael shows a knowledge of the laws of the Babylonians about legal substitution of the rights of a concubine and about customs of adoption. The contract about the cove of Macpelah reflects the Babylonian laws about

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See *Das Gilgamēš (Nimrud) Epos* in Jensen’s *Asyrisch-babylonische Mythen und Epen*, vol. VI of KB, especially pp. 228-256.
the sale of land. The code of Hammurabi affords a parallel in many respects to the laws of H and P, and its differences from the Mosaic laws support the theory of its independent development and sanctions. The divisions and boundaries of the land have their analogues in both Egypt and Babylon from before the time of Abraham. The biographies of Abraham, Joseph, and Moses have their prototype in the numerous biographies and autobiographies of Egypt. The catalogue of the nations given in Gen. x points back to a time preceding the age of Solomon. So that we are reasonably justified in concluding that the substance of the Hexateuch dates back to about the time of Moses. Even if it could be shown that certain passages, like the list of the kings of Edom in Gen. xxxvi, had been interpolated at a later time, or even as late as Ezra, this would not invalidate the veracity of the whole Hexateuch; nor would it show that the list of the kings of Edom was incorrect. The later scribes to the time of Ezra may have been as much inspired to edit the books of the canon as were the original documents or the works composed by Moses himself. Thus the revelations made to Jeremiah were written by the inspired scribe Baruch. The deeds of David were written by the inspired prophets Samuel, Nathan and Gad; and Ezra the scribe and others like him were just as much inspired to give us the Canon as we have it.

Neither does it invalidate the trustworthiness of the Hexateuch in general, to show that there are certain so-called duplicates, or parallel passages, differing slightly. Such a criticism would invalidate the testimony of Matthew, Mark and Luke. Nor will it render the records of the Hexateuch unworthy of confidence to show that there are in it many things that we do not clearly understand and that we cannot explain or corroborate. There are many such inexplicable and unsubstantial statements in all human histories, even those of the late great world war. It does not prove that a thing is not true, because we cannot prove that it is. But, by and large, we can securely take the position, that the Hexateuch is substantially correct and that no one knows enough to show
that it is not. So far as we know, the prophets, Christ and the Apostles, and the Churches of Christ in all ages and lands, have been fully justified in asserting that “the law was given by Moses.”

B. From the Conquest to the Reign of David.

The second period of the Israelitish history, from the time of the conquest to the beginning of the reign of David, embraces the books of Joshua (which will here be considered without regard to the alleged documents P, D, etc.), Judges, Ruth and Samuel. These books contain the history of Israel in Palestine shortly after the time when the Tel-el-Amarna letters were written, and it is noteworthy that the proper names of cities and nations mentioned in these books correspond closely with those named in the Letters. The only common foreign terms mentioned in the books are *saron* as the title or name of the rulers of the Philistines, and *hekol* palace, or temple. The former of these may be Phoenician, or it may be the plural of the Assyrian word for king. The latter is the Sumerian phrase *e-gal* meaning great house, either palace or temple. In view of the fact that, as the Amarna Letters show, the Assyrio-Babylonian language was written and read at that time all over the part of the world whose center is Palestine, we can readily see how likely it is that these words were borrowed by the Philistines and Israelites from the Babylonians.

It is noteworthy that in the Psalms ascribed to David we find not a single foreign word, unless possibly in Ps. cxxxix, where we have a form of the verb which may be of Aramaic origin.\(^{117}\)

C. David to Omri.

The third period embraces the reign of David, Solomon, Rehoboam, Abijah, Asa, and those of Jeroboam I, Abijah of Israel, Baasha, Elah and Zimri. The history is recorded in the books of Samuel and in 1 Kings i-xvi. 15. The other works

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\(^{117}\) See discussion of word *ezaakh* in my article “Aramaisms in the O.T.” in this Review for April, 1925.
professedly written in it are Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, and much of Proverbs and the Psalms. Egypt at this time, under the XXIInd and XXIIIrd dynasties, was in a decline. We have only a few monuments of the reigns of its kings and there was comparatively little intercourse with Palestine and the rest of Asia. Solomon is said to have married an Egyptian princess. She was probably of the family of Hez-haq-Ra (987-952 B.C.), the last king of the XXIInd dynasty. Hadad the Edomite is said to have married the sister of Tahpenes, probably the queen of Hez-haq-Ra. Shishak is the king of Egypt who conquered Jerusalem during the reign of Rehoboam, an account of which is given by Shishak on a pylon at Karnak. As far as our information extends Assyria and Babylon had no special relations with Israel during this period. In fact, from Tiglath-Pileser I (about 1100 B.C.) to Assurnasirpal, (875 B.C.) there are very few inscriptions from either Babylon or Assyria during a period of 225 years. Tyre, however, was at this time at the height of its splendor and its king Hiram is according to Josephus celebrated in the histories of Dius and Menander. The Hittites, also, were still in Syria where they had been so powerful in the days of Rameses II, and their power was not finally destroyed until the capture of Carthage by Sargon II in 717 B.C. So, we can understand how Bathsheba, the mother of Solomon, can have been married

278 Breasted in his great work on Egypt gives only 225 pages to dynasties XXI-XXVI inclusive, whereas he gives 1000 to the XVIIIth to the XXth. In the 500 years before Necho, Shishak alone conducted a great expedition into Palestine.

279 1 Kings ix. 16.

280 Petrie's History of Egypt, III, 225.

281 1 Kings xii. 20.

282 Sheshonq reigned from 932 to 930 B.C. See Petrie's History of Egypt, III, 232.

283 1 Kings xiv, 2 Chron. xii.

284 See Breasted, Egypt IV, 348-357.

285 See Winckler, History of Babylonia and Assyria.

286 See Josephus, Contra Apion, I, 18.


288 See Winckler's Sargon, Hall xiv. 9; and KB. II. 42.
first to Uriah the Hittite, how Solomon can have had Hittite wives, how Abimelek the Hittite may have been the companion of David, and how easily the Syrians may have thought that the king of Israel had hired against them the kings of the Hittites.\textsuperscript{139} We can understand, also, how Solomon may have used words of Hittite origin.\textsuperscript{140} Again, knowing that David conquered the Arameans of Sobah, Maachah and Damascus, and the Moabites and Ammonites, we can see how Syrian (or Aramaic) and Moabite words like Chemosh, Ben-Hadad, and Hadad-ezer, are to be found in the records of this period.\textsuperscript{131} Finally, when we note that the fleets of Solomon and Hiram sailed the seas as far as Gibraltar on one side and perhaps as far as India and Somalia on the other, we can see the reason why Sanscrit words for aloe, nard, elephants, apes, peacocks,\textsuperscript{137} are to be found in works assigned to this period.

D. The Assyrio-Babylonian Period.

This period extends from about 875 to 539 B.C., i.e., from the beginning of the reign of Omri to the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, king of Persia. Its history is recorded in the books of Kings from 1 Kings xvi, 16 to the end of 2 Kings. The other works purporting to have been written in the same period are Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Hosea, Amos, Micah, Jonah, Nahum, Zephaniah, Habakkuk, Prov. xxv.-xxix, and probably Obadiah.

1. Of foreign words mentioned in the literature of this period, we have the Egyptian kings So, Tirkheh, Necho and Hophra; the Assyrian kings Shalman, Tiglath-Pileser (Pul), Sargon, Sennacherib and Esarhaddon; the Babylonian kings,
Merodach-Baladan, Nebuchadnezzar and Evil-Merodach; Ethbaal of Tyre; Benhadad, Hazael and Rezin of Damascus; Mesha of Moab. The names of all these kings appear in the proper order and in the proper place with reference to their contemporaries. Moreover, the acts of each as recorded in the Scriptures are either confirmed by the extra-Biblical inscriptions of Moab, Babylon, Assyria and Egypt, or in harmony with them. And, lastly, the names with two exceptions are spelled with exactly the equivalent consonantal letters.

2. The relative importance of the dominating nations of the part of Asia in which Israel was placed is also stated with accuracy and truth. Thus, the recrudescence of Egypt under Shishak, Tirhaka and Necho corresponds with the reappearance of Egypt in the literature of Israel; the rise to power of the New-Assyrian empire is reflected in the names for Assyria and Assyrian which occur 27 times in Hosea, Micah and Isaiah, and only 19 times in the rest of the Bible; whereas Babel and Babylonians appear appropriately in the time of Merodach-Baladan and then sink out of sight till the time of Nebuchadnezzar when they are found 53 times in Jeremiah and Ezekiel as against 38 times in all the other books of the Old Testament. Moab, Tyre and Syria come on the stage in their proper place. On the other hand, the one reference to the Amorites and the few references to the Philistines and Hittites show that they had ceased to be dominant forces in the view of the Israelites, a

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193 See my A Scientific Investigation of the O.T., p. 177 f.
194 Id., pp. 72 f.
196 Moab in 2 Sam. viii. 2, 2 Kings i. 1 et al.; Tyre in 1 Kings ix. 12, Joel iii. 4 et al.; Syria, 1 Kings x. 29, xi. 25, xix. 15 et al.
197 Amos ii. 9.
198 Seventeen times in Judges, forty in Samuel, and in Kings only once.
199 Only three times in the books of Kings, and not elsewhere in the literature of this period.
decadence which is confirmed by the records of this period which have come down from other nations.\footnote{The Hittites are mentioned 203 times in the index to the third volume of Breasted’s *Egypt*, covering the XIXth dynasty alone, whereas in the fourth volume the name appears only three times and always in the XXIth dynasty, which ceased about 1100 B.C. From then on, the Assyrians were the dominating power in Northern Syria. See Winckler’s *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, 200-202.}

3. The names of the gods of the foreign nations which appear in the Hebrew literature of this period seem, also, to show the extreme accuracy of the Biblical records. Thus Ashur, Sin, Anu, Adar, Nergal, Ramman, Bel, Nebo, Merodach and Tammuz (some alone, some in proper names) declare to the initiated the gods of Assyria and Babylon,\footnote{Nahum iii. 8, Jer. xlv. 25.} and Amon the great god of No (Thebes) in Egypt,\footnote{1 Kings xi. 7. Compare the occurrence of Chemosh nine times on the Moabite Stone. Lidzbarski, *Epigraphik*, p. 415.} while Chemosh is constantly mentioned as the god of Moab, in accordance with the Mesha inscription (l. 3).\footnote{Tartan, or *tartan*, appears as an officer of the Assyrians from the reign of Shalmanezer III, 859-824 B.C., when Da-Asur, a *dimnu*, is called a *tartan* to the beginning of the reign of Assurbanipal, when he summons his *tartan* to go against Egypt. K.B. III. 132. Streek II. 158. 11. I cannot find the word in the records of Babylon.}

4. The names of foreign officials, also, are in harmony with what the extra-Biblical records would lead us to expect. Thus, Tartan,\footnote{Tartan, or *tartan*, appears as an officer of the Assyrians from the reign of Shalmanezer III, 859-824 B.C., when Da-Asur, a *dimnu*, is called a *tartan* to the beginning of the reign of Assurbanipal, when he summons his *tartan* to go against Egypt. K.B. III. 132. Streek II. 158. 11. I cannot find the word in the records of Babylon.} Rab-Shakeh,\footnote{Rab-Shakeh, “chief cupbearer,” was one of the principal officials of the Assyrian court. See Klauber, *Assyrisches Beamtentum*, p. 73, and Mamitius in ZA, XXIV. 199.} Rab-Saris\footnote{Rab-Saris, the *rab* is certainly “chief” and the *sarîš* is certainly the Assyrian *saris*. In the ritual tablet 57.10 the *sarîš* of the king is mentioned. See Muss-Arnold, 1120.} and Rab-Mag\footnote{The identification of the *Rab-mag* with the *rab-mugs* of the Assyrians is, according to Klauber (Ass. Beamtentum, p. 52) very probable.} are used in the literature of this period only; and Sagan\footnote{In Rab-Saris, the *rab* is certainly “chief” and the *sarîš* is certainly the Assyrian *saris*. In the ritual tablet 57.10 the *sarîš* of the king is mentioned. See Mius-Arnolt, 1120.} is used in Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and besides only in Ezra, Nehemiah and the Aramaic of Daniel; while

\footnote{The Hittites are mentioned 203 times in the index to the third volume of Breasted’s *Egypt*, covering the XIXth dynasty alone, whereas in the fourth volume the name appears only three times and always in the XXIth dynasty, which ceased about 1100 B.C. From then on, the Assyrians were the dominating power in Northern Syria. See Winckler’s *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, 200-202.}
Pechah is used in Kings 3 times, Isaiah 1, Jeremiah 3, Ezekiel 3, Daniel (Aram.) 4, Ezra 4 in Heb., 6 in Aram., Hag. 4, Esther 3, Mal. 1, Neh. 11, and Chron. 1.

5. The foreign names of persons are, also, in harmony with what one would expect to find in this period, such as Hadadezer, Baladan, Jezebel, Tarshish, Adrammelech, Shalmanasar, Nebuzaradan, Nebuchadnezzar, Shamgar-Nebo, Shar-sechim.

E. The Babylonian-Persian Period.

This period extends from 539 B.C. to about 400 B.C., and, according to the prima facie evidence is the time in which were written the books of Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Daniel, Esther, Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah, i.e., counting Chronicles as two, nine books of the Old Testament Canon. Of these books, all except Malachi have the name of at least one of the Persian kings as a sure sign of the time of their composition. Malachi, however, mentions the governor under the Babylonian term pechah (פְּכָח) a word never used for the rulers of Judea except after the time of the conquest of Babylon by the Persians. Haggai and Zechariah show their date by the mention of Darius and Chronicles, Ezra and Daniel by that of Cyrus. Esther refers frequently to Ahaseurus (Xerxes) and Ezra and Nehemiah to Artaxerxes. The number of the significant foreign words in these nine books may be denoted by the following table:

219 “Governor, captain or deputy” in the King James version.
219 i.e., there is no commixture such as having a man with an Assyrian or Babylonian name from some other country. Besides, the kings of each country are in the right order of time and in the proper synchronism.

211 Thus in the Aramaic papyrus, No. 30, Bagohi is pachath (governor) of Judah, and Sanballat of Samaria. This papyrus is dated on the 20th of Midatshanwan, the 17th year of Darius (i.e. 408 B.C.).
212 1 Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23, Ezra i. 1, 2, Dan. i. 21, x. 1.
213 Est. i. 1, ii. 19, 21, iii. 12, vi. 2, vii. 1, 10, x. 1.
215 The last column enumerates the aggregate of occurrences, not the different words.
Ben Sira has no words certainly Persian;\textsuperscript{217} only 11 Babylonian words of which 8 are found in the Old Testament; and possibly one Greek word. We note further:

1. The entire absence of all foreign words of Greek origin (except the word Javan “Tonia” in Zech. ix. 21, x. 20) from the Hebrew literature of this period is a strong confirmation of the \textit{prima facie} evidence that they were all written before the time of Alexander the Great.\textsuperscript{215}

By this it is not meant to imply that a Greek word might not have been found here and there in the literature preceding the time of Alexander, or even that of Cyrus, or for that matter as early as the time of Moses;\textsuperscript{219} but certainly it must be admitted that there is no indication of a predominating Greek influence, such as is to be seen in most of the Hebrew literature which is known to have been written in Greek times.\textsuperscript{220}

If the authors of all of these books had been averse to the use of all foreign terms, as the writer of Ecclesiasticus and of the Zadokite Fragments seem to have been, this absence of Greek words might be accounted for from the intention of the authors to avoid anything but pure Hebrew expressions. But that they had this intention is precluded by the fact that the

\textsuperscript{217} \textit{Pilgams} (word), occurs in v. 4, viii. 9, and \textit{râs} (secret), in viii. 18, xii. 11.

\textsuperscript{218} That is, before about the year 330 B.C.

\textsuperscript{219} \textit{Penieth} (concubine), for example, may have been borrowed from the Greeks as early as the time of Moses. The Greeks were at that time already in Cyprus. See article “Cyprus” by S. A. Cook in \textit{Enc. Brit.}

\textsuperscript{220} For example, the tracts of the Talmud edited by Strack.
authors, especially of Daniel, Esther, Chronicles and Ezra-
Nehemiah indulge so freely in the use of Persian and Baby-
lonian words.

2. It will be noted, that of the books written by authors
who lived in Palestine, Haggai and Zechariah have but one
Persian word (that of Darius) while Malachi has none;
whereas, of the works whose authors lived in Babylon,
Daniel has at least five, Chronicles 6, Ezra 14 and Nehe-
miah 4.

3. It will be noted, further, that in the works whose
authors lived in Palestine, Haggai has 2 Babylonian words,
Zechariah 6, and Malachi 1; whereas, in the works whose
authors are connected with Babylon, Daniel has 17, Chroni-
icles 7, Ezra 16 and Nehemiah 16.

4. Further, it will be observed that the book of Esther
whose scene is laid in Susa, has 42 Persian words and 14
Babylonian.

5. The facts just mentioned, especially when taken in
conjunction with the fact that no certainly Persian words
(except Cyrus) are found in any other book of the Old Test-
ament afford a sufficient amount of irrefutable evidence to
drive us to the double verdict, first, that these nine books
were written in this period, and secondly, that the other books
were not. The evidence as to place as well as time of com-
position, as far as this evidence can be gathered from the
diction of the Hebrew of the documents, supports the prima
facie evidence that Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi were
written in Palestine in the 6th and 5th centuries B.C., and
that Daniel, Esther, Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah were
composed by men who spent their lives among the exiles in,
or near to, Babylon, from the 6th to the 5th century B.C.
Further remarks along this line will be reserved until we
have presented the linguistic evidence for the next period.

F. The Greco-Roman and Parthian-Persian Period.

The last period of Hebrew literature which I shall con-
sider in this article in that extending from 300 B.C. to A.D.
700. During most of this time, the Greeks and the Romans had control of all the countries to the west of the Euphrates, and divided with the Parthians and Sassanid Persians the overlordship of the provinces to the east of the Euphrates as far as the mountains of Iran.223 These were the parts of the world in which all of the Aramaic Targums and all of the Palestinian (or Jerusalem) and Babylonian Talmuds were composed.224 We have treated above of the Aramaic Targums and shall here confine ourselves to the Talmud, using as the sources of our information the general dictionaries of Dalman, Levy and Jastrow, the special glossaries of Strack225 and concordances of the Pirke Aboth, of the Hebrew of Ben Sira and of the Zadokite Fragments, all prepared by my students. In the Dictionary by Dalman, which is the latest and most critical of the three dictionaries just mentioned, we find about 2250 Greek and Latin words and a few over 400 other foreign words (i.e., not Hebrew or Aramaic). Considering these words in the great dictionary of Levy which gives the references to the places in the two Talmuds where these 2650 words are found, we discover that of the Greek and Latin words about 1300 are used in the Babylonian Talmud alone, 325 in the Palestinian Talmud alone, and 650 in both; or, putting it in another way, about 1950 in the Babylonian and 975 (just half as many) in the Palestinian Talmud. Of the other foreign words about 169 are claimed by Levy as of Persian origin. Of these, 8 are found in the Palestinian Talmud alone, 148 in the Babylonian, and 13 in both; or, 161 in the Babylonian as against

221 Or from the beginning of the Greek era, 312 B.C. to the conquest of Western Asia by the Arabs in the 7th century A.D.
222 See Bevan, The Seleucids; Mommsen, Römische Geschichte, Vol. V; Gibbon's Rome in many places.
223 That is, the three Jewish Aramaic Targums to the Pentateuch, the Samaritan Targum, the Targum of Jonathan to the Prophets, and the various Targums to the books of the Hagiographa, as well as the Palestinian and Babylonian Talmuds.
224 In his editions of the Pirke Aboth, the Aboda Zara, the Shabbath, Yoma and Pesachim.
21 in the Palestinian. Of these 169 Persian words, 21 are found in the Hebrew of the Talmud and 139 in the Aramaic, and 9 in both. Of the 30 Persian words in the Hebrew parts 13 are found only in the Babylonian Talmud, 4 in the Palestinian, and 13 in both.

Of Babylonian words, there are in the Hebrew of the Talmud 34, of which 23 are found in the Bible. Of these words, 21 are in both the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmud (of which 14 are in the Bible) and 13 in the Babylonian Talmud, of which 9 are in the Bible. There are none in the Jerusalem Talmud alone.

In the Hebrew of the Talmud, we gather from the special glossaries prepared by Strack that the Hebrew of the Tract Sabbath has 52 Greek, 8 Latin, 1 Babylonian and no Persian words; Yoma has 12 Greek and 2 Babylonian; Pesahim, 14 Greek, 5 Babylonian (3 of these found in the Bible) and 1 Persian; Aboda Zara, 22 Greek, 7 Latin and 1 Babylonian (found also in the Bible); the Pirke Aboth has 16 Greek, 1 Persian and 1 Babylonian (the latter two found also in the Bible).

To this period belong also the following documents and dialects:

1. Ecclesiasticus, or Ben Sira, has of words not in the Hebrew of the Old Testament the Greek word ἔως (L. 9); the Persian or Armenian word Ῥ (viii. 18; found in the Aramaic of Daniel). ἑλληνικα (xlvi. 5, 167), ζωή (xli. 8), and ἡλληνικα (x. 29) of uncertain origin. Also, the Armenian

225 I call the attention of my readers to the fact that I have not been able to determine in all cases which of the above lists of words are found in the Hebrew portions of the Talmud as over against the Aramaic. This point is not always made clear in the dictionaries, and I have not yet had the time to look them all up in the original documents. Further, it ought to be said, that the smaller number of foreign words assigned to the Palestinian Talmud is due in part to the fact that this western Talmud is itself much shorter than the eastern. It is to be hoped that some Jewish scholar will clear this up.
word פידגון found in the Old Testament in both Hebrew and Aramaic. 226
2. The Zadokite Fragments have one word פ组织领导 possibly of Greek origin; one גווע (governor), from the Assyrian (used often in the Old Testament); and one ממון (mammon), used also in Ben Sira and in the Greek of the New Testament. 227
3. The fragments of the Syro-Palestinian dialect contained in Schwally’s dictionary have 185 Greek words and no Persian (except possibly two found also in the Bible). 228
4. The Aramaic translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch has 20 Greek words and no Persian. 229
5. The Mandaean dictionary has 27 Greek words and 50 Persian. 230

Remarks

1. It has been seen above that the only parts of the Bible that have a considerable number of Arabic words are the lists of names of persons and places in the Hexateuch and in Job, just as we would have expected when we consider the relation of these parts to Arabia. In like manner we find in the Talmud a large number of words borrowed from the Arabic. That there are comparatively few of these in the Palestinian as compared with the Babylonian Talmud is to be accounted for by the fact that the authors of the Palestinian lived at some distance from direct Arab influence. The Nabatean power which reached from Damascus to Elath was broken by Hadrian in A.D. 105, 231 and the seat of Hebrew learning in Palestine was in the extreme north of the country...
at a distance from Petra on the south and the desert on the east.\(^{232}\) On the contrary, the Babylonian Talmud was composed in a part of Mesopotamia (using the word in the broad sense) which from the end of the third century A.D. to the seventh century was largely under the dominion of the Arabs of Hira,\(^{233}\) and in daily intercourse with them. This fact will account for the large number of words which the writers of the Talmud borrowed from the Arabic.\(^{234}\)

2. In the Palestinian Talmud there are no Babylonian words, not occurring either in the Bible, or in the Babylonian recensions of the Talmud. Of the five of the latter kind, one is derived from a word borrowed from the Babylonian;\(^{235}\) one is a part of a Babylonian word found in Nahum and Jeremiah;\(^{236}\) one is the word for document occurring frequently in the Aramaic indorsements of the fifth century B.C.;\(^{237}\) one is a word for the metal “lead”;\(^{238}\) and the last is

\(^{232}\) The principal seats of the rabbis in Palestine were Caesarea, Sepphoris, Tiberias and Usha.

\(^{233}\) Nehardea, Sura and Pumbedita were all near to the Arabs of Hira.

\(^{234}\) The matter of the Arabic words in the Talmud needs further investigation. The dictionaries are not satisfactory. It is hard to prove just how many words are derived from the Arabic by the Hebrew or Aramaic, seeing that the resemblances in sound, form and meaning may be due to the fact that many words go back to the primitive Semitic from which they were all descended. While doctors may differ as to the total amount of the words borrowed from the Arabic by the writers of the Talmuds, there will be, I think, no material difference in the relative proportion of the numbers borrowed by the writers of the Palestinian and Babylonian recensions.

\(^{235}\) To wit, Eitul from the name of the month Eitul.

\(^{236}\) Duf is part of tuf zar (“tablet-writer,” Na. iii. 17. Jer. li. 27). In the cuneiform the first part is written dup, tuf or tuf. See Zimmern, Althitische Fremdwörter, &c., p. 19.

\(^{237}\) Dufw is the common word for “document” in the Aramaic Indorsements on the Babylonian tablets. See Clay’s Aramaic Indorsements. It is from the same root as the biblical Hebrew shā’er, “scribe” (Ex. 5, Num. xi. 16, Deut. 7, Jos. 5, Prov. vi. 7, Chron. 6). The verb is found 13 times in the old Babylonian contracts (See Schorr, Urkunden des Altbabylonischen Zivil-und Prozessrechts, p. 533); and also in those of the new Babylonian (Tailhüter in his work, Die Sprache der Contrakte
the common word in Hebrew for temple preceded by the Babylonian word for servant.\textsuperscript{239}

3. In the Hebrew of the Tractates of the Mischna called Aboda Zara, Pesachim, Sabbath and Yoma\textsuperscript{240} there are 100 Greek words, 20 Latin, 7 Babylonian and 2 Persian.

4. In view of the facts given under Nos. 1, 2 and 3, we would expect to find that works written in Hebrew, or Aramaic, in or about Palestine, during this period, would contain a large number of Greek words. It is noteworthy, therefore, that the Hebrew of the Old Testament has not a single Greek word except Javan, the old name for “Grecian” or “Greek,” and that Ben Sira and the Zadokite Fragments have but one each.\textsuperscript{241} To be sure the $\text{יִנֶּשֶׁנֶּש}$ of the Song of Songs may be derived from the Greek. This word means “chair that is carried,” corresponding to the chair of the 18th century in England or to the jinrickshaw of modern China and Japan. Such chairs were used by the kings of ancient Egypt,\textsuperscript{242} and it is easy to see how the Greek kinglets of Cyprus may have adopted the use of them from the Egyptians long before the time of Solomon, and how he may have taken the thing and the Greek name of the thing from the kings of Cyprus. Or, since the word for “carry” in many Indo-European languages began with $b$ or $f$, it is possible that the word and the thing were derived from some one of the numerous nations who preceded the Armenians, Medes and Persians in their irruptions into the cis-Euphratean

\textit{Nahmoids &c., gives the verb as occurring 16 times and the noun 12}. This noun is the same as the one under discussion. See also Zimmern, \textit{Abk. Fremdwörter}, pp. 19, 20.

\textsuperscript{238} “Lead,” is found also in Syriac. Zimmern, \textit{id.}, 59.

\textsuperscript{239} \textit{Viz. orad + elal, “servant of the temple.” See Zimmern, Abk. Fremdwörter, p. 26.}

\textsuperscript{240} Edited by my former Berlin Professor Hermann L. Strack.

\textsuperscript{241} That is, in the O.T., and in the Zadokite Fragments \textit{Javan}; and in Ben Sira \textit{ajal}.

\textsuperscript{242} See Erman’s \textit{Ägypten und Ägyptisches Leben im Alterthum}, p. 100.
lands, for example, the Hittites, or Cyprians, with whom
Solomon was so intimately connected.245

5. In view of the fact that the Samaritan Targum has
no Persian words; that the Syro-Palestinian has no Persian
words (except possibly two, found also in the Old Testa-
ment); that in the Palestinian Talmud alone there are, ac-
cording to Levy, Jastrow and Dalman, only eighteen words
possibly of Persian origin,246 of which seven are found in the
Bible,247 two are probably from the Greek,248 one is a proper
name of a person249 and one of a place,250 four are names of
Persian feasts,251 two are probably Arabic,252 and the other
one is the name of a bunch of vegetables;253 and that Ben
Sira and the Zadokite Fragments have no Persian words not
found in the Old Testament; it is difficult to see how the
books of Daniel, Esther, and any part of Chronicles, Ezra
and Nehemiah can be considered written in the Greco-Roman
period, or that they ever have been written in Palestine.
At least, the evidence of the foreign words in these books is
all in favor of their dating from the Persian period and from
the Tigreis-Euphrates region, and all against the Greco-
Roman period and the Cis-Euphratean region.

CONCLUSIONS ON THE LANGUAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

1. Looking back over the language of all the periods we
see that the age and provenance of every part or document
of the Old Testament containing foreign words can be de-

245 According to Hrozný and Witzel the verb “to bear, carry” in
Hittite begins with & or p. Compare fero, Arm. burnam. See Hrozný,
Heiditiische Keilinschriften, and Witzel, Hethitische Keilinschrift-
urkunden.
246 At least seven of these eighteen are of doubtful origin.
247 To wit, gazbar (treasurer), parvar (suburb), ramah (drome-
dary?), mān (vessel), darkon (daric), 'ajo (nut) and nard (nard).
248 To wit, pəraso (parasang) and faso.
249 Ardeban, name of a Persian ruler.
250 Ardašana, name of a city.
251 See Levy (Chald.), II. 359 b.
252 Akapata (an official), and naph (naphtha); though this latter word
may be Greek.
253 The consonants are pr-pr. There is in Babylonian a šam-paru and
a šam-parru.
FOREIGN WORDS IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

...determined approximately by the number and origin of these words occurring in it. Thus, we have seen that the first period, embracing the accounts of the creation and flood, to which similar accounts are known from the Babylonian monuments, and also, the biography of Abraham who came out from Ur of the Chaldees, a Babylonian city, contain a goodly number of Babylonian and Sumerian words, which are found nowhere else in the Old Testament and of which a like amount are found nowhere in the Bible except in Daniel. Only three Egyptian words (min “kind,” Hagar, and Pharaoh) occur in this part of Genesis.\(^\text{242}\) The word min may properly have been added by Moses when he composed the book of Genesis,\(^\text{243}\) and Pharaoh was already in Abraham’s time the official title of the king of Egypt.\(^\text{244}\)

In the part of the second period, extending from Abraham to Moses, and down to Ex. xix, the foreign words are exclusively Egyptian, except a few Arabic proper names of the descendent of Abraham who dwelt in the Arabian desert, and two Aramaic words in Gen. xxxi. 47.

The latter part of the second period,—that of the wanderings,—contains a few Egyptian words not found elsewhere, and a number of Arabic names of places. The third period embracing the books of Joshua, Judges, Ruth and Samuel, contains two Arabic names of places,\(^\text{255}\) one Philistine (or Assyrian) word,\(^\text{256}\) and the name of the Mesopotamian king

\(^{242}\) If the name Hagar be Egyptian.

\(^{243}\) It is used nowhere in the Old Testament outside the Pentateuch except in Exod. xlvii. 10.

\(^{244}\) According to Breasted (\textit{Egypt}, I, \$ 401), Pharaoh occurs already in an inscription of Kheti I of the IXth (or Xth) dynasty in the phrase “the officials of Pharaoh were (a prey) to fear.” Budge gives it as occurring under Teti, the second king of the IIId dynasty (\textit{ibid.}, I, \$ 185) and again under Pepi the third king of the VIIth dynasty, and again under Sesostis I the second king of the XIIth dynasty (\textit{ibid.}, III. 10). It became common first in the XIXth dynasty, but was seldom used after the XXth. It is used, however, by Psamtek I of the XXVIth, and of Xerxes and Artaxerxes of the XXVIIth.

\(^{255}\) \textit{Echtema} and \textit{Eshtema}. See Gesenius-Brown in loco.

\(^{256}\) Sarai, lords or kings of the Philistines. Perhaps = Assyrian sarraami.
Cushan-Rishathaim.\textsuperscript{257} The fourth period, from David to Omri, the period of the empire and commerce of Solomon, borrowed words from the subject Hittites and Arameans and from the East Indies or Egypt—the words for apes, ivory and peacocks, the name of an Egyptian princess and of Shishak the king of Egypt, and one Assyrian word for governor.\textsuperscript{258} The fifth period, extending from Omri (about 850 B.C.) to about 550 B.C., during which time the Assyrians and Neo-Babylonians (or Chaldeans) dominated the region from Iran to the Mediterranean, has a large number of Assyrio-Babylonian common terms and proper names, but scarcely any other foreign names, except those of four kings of Egypt and various geographical terms and especially (in Isaiah xlv. 28, xlv. 1) the proper name Cyrus.\textsuperscript{259}

2. It will be noted that the poetical books of Psalms, Proverbs and Lamentations and, as a general thing, even the individual poems such as Gen. xlvi, Ex. xv, Balaam's Oracles, Deut. xxxii, xxxiii,\textsuperscript{260} Judges v, 2 Samuel xxvi, Hab. iii and others, have in them no foreign words to determine their time and provenance. This almost complete absence of foreign words is a characteristic of lyric poetry in general, as may be seen by examining a church hymn book, or a volume of Burns' songs. Proverbs, also, being used by the common people, smack of the native soil. The Hebrew of Ecclesiasticus, also, has very few foreign words. It contains only one Greek word and two or three other foreign words of uncertain origin, which do not occur in the writings of the Old Testament. The large number of Arabic words in the book of Job is to be accounted for from the fact that the scene of the account is laid in the land of the Arabs.

\textsuperscript{257} Joshua iii, 8.

\textsuperscript{258} The \textit{paathoth} of 1 Kings x. 15 may have been inserted by the composer of the books of Kings. Or, the name may have been used by Solomon himself, since he reigned a hundred years, or so, after the time of the great Assyrian king Tiglath-Pileser I, who ruled over all the nations as far as the Mediterranean.

\textsuperscript{259} See Excursus, pp. 246 f.

\textsuperscript{260} The \textit{dath} of Deut. xxviii. 2 probably comes from \textit{dow}, "to judge."
3. It is noteworthy that foreign words are almost entirely absent from the strictly legal works which are to be found in the ancient Hebrew literature outside the Talmud. Thus, the Zadokite Fragments seem to have not one foreign word not occurring in the Old Testament. In the laws of the Pentateuch, also, as distinguished from the narrative portions, there are only eight foreign words, five Egyptian and three Babylonian. Five of these are names of measures. One is the Egyptian min "kind" (in D and P) and another the Egyptian word for "shoddy" (in D and H), and another is the Babylonian word iudh (tablet).

In the Code of Hammurabi, there are many Sumerian words in the prologue and epilogue; but, in the laws themselves, there are only the Sumerian words duppu "tablet," and mo-gal "greatly" (xxiii. 71). In the Assyrian laws, also, the language is pure Assyrian. It is evident that in those old times the laws were meant to be understood and observed.

4. How do the results of this investigation affect the criticism of the Pentateuch? (1) They confirm the prima facie evidence that the first part of Genesis as far as and including the history of Abraham was written under Babylonian influences; that the latter part of Genesis and most of the remaining four books, except the wanderings in the Wilderness, were composed under Egyptian influences; and that the wanderings actually took place through a country already inhabited and its stations named by Arabs. (2) They show in the legal parts no such influence of Aramaic and Babylonian as we would have expected had the laws been derived largely from the Babylonians in the time of the Exile. The claim made by Giesebrecht that there are many Aramaisms in P was sufficiently well answered by Dr. Driver. That the language of the laws shows no marks of Babylonian derivation.

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263 "Zur Hexateuchkritik," in ZATW, I, 177-275.
264 See Driver's discussion (Introduction, pp. 155-157).
tion appears from the comparison of the Hebrew and Babylonian vocabularies.265 And lastly, the absence of any Persian or Greek word argues against the composition of any part of the Pentateuch after the time of the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus. Besides, how would a Jew living in Babylonia get all of those Arabic words that are found in the genealogies and the geographical terms of P?

5. Viewing the headings of the Psalms in the light of the antique and unique language found in them and of the entire absence of Persian, Greek and other foreign terms, one is compelled to admit that there is in them every evidence of verisimilitude and no evidence that would lead us to suppose that they were a late insertion or addition, to the original text of the Psalter.266

6. Judging by the number of times and by the books and dialects of Hebrew and Aramaic in which Babylonian and Persian words occur, it will be seen that the literature of the Israelites may be divided into two great sections according as it was composed by authors who passed their lives inside or outside of Palestine and its environs. Thus, the authors of Daniel, Esther, Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah were probably all of them residents of Babylon or its vicinity (?) and these books are the only ones which have many Persian words. The author of Job, also, either was, or affected to have been, a denizen of the Arabian desert; and his book is the only one which makes a large use of Arabic borrowed terms. So, also, the Samaritan Version of the Pentateuch and the Syro-Palestinian dialect have no Persian words not found in the Bible. The Targum of Onkelos and the Palestinian Talmud have only three, or four, Persian words not found in the Bible. The book of Ben Sira (Ecclesiasticus) and the Zadokite Fragments have not a single Persian word, nor one claimed as such, except what are

265 See my article in Pres. and Ref. Review for 1922 on "Babylon and the Bible."
266 See my article on the "Headings of the Psalms" in this Review for 1927.
found in the Old Testament. The Nabatean inscriptions, all
of them written near Palestine, have not one Persian word,
and the Palmyrene have but one, and that an official title.

Remember, of the Hebrew Biblical writers living in Pale-
setine, Isaiah has the one word Cyrus, and Haggai and Zecha-
rial have each the one word Darius. These two words are
the only ones certainly of Persian origin to be found in the
works of all the Jews who certainly lived and wrote in
Palestine. On the other hand, of the Hebrew and Aramaic
literature which according to the prima facie evidence, was
composed east of the Euphrates: (a) The Syriac Lexicon of
Brockelmann has 52 Persian words beginning with Aleph
alone; (b) The Mandaean Lexicon to the Nazarean Codex
alone has 50 Persian words; (c) The Babylonian Talmud
has about 50; (d) Daniel has from 15 to 20 certainly or
allegedly Persian; (e) Esther has about 50; (f) Chronicles
has 5; (g) Ezra has 14; (h) Nehemiah, possibly, 6 or
more.

7. Again, no work claiming to be or alleged to have been
written before the time of Cyrus, has in it a single Persian
word, except the word Cyrus in Is. xlv. 28, xlv. 1. No one
of the works, such as Joel, Jonah, Job, the so-called Maccabean
Psalms, the headings of the Psalms, the Priest Codex,
et al., which many critics put after 539 B.C., has a single
assuredly Persian word,—not even Ecclesiastes and the Song
of Songs, as we have seen above.

Consequently, as far as the evidence of foreign words in
the O.T. languages goes, the prima facie evidence of the
time and place of the composition of the books of the Old
Testament cannot be successfully assailed. And so, at last
and at length, I have come to the end of my philological
investigations into the language of the Old Testament Scriptures.
I call them scientific, because they are along the lines
of what is known. Anyone who knows enough of the lan-
guages referred to can readily follow me in the proper dic-
tionaries and correct me when I am wrong. Perhaps, as
humanum est errore, I have here and there made a mistake
or enlarged my conclusions above what the premises allow; but, by and large, I am thoroughly persuaded that my conclusions will stand. And, if they do, what does it show? It shows that the arguments of the assailants of the Old Testament Scriptures insofar as they have been based upon philosophical premises have been in general fallacious. Just as a hundred years ago, the ablest scholars used to explain the names of the Assyrian kings as if they had been Persian, and as later they explained the Babylonian as if they had been Aramaic, so they have been and are yet explaining the Indo-European terms, as if they were almost all of Persian origin. All of these explanations have been manipulated by them, so as to injure the historical character of the documents of the Old Testament. In my article on “Aramaisms in the Old Testament,” I investigated thoroughly more than 360 different words alleged by one or more critics to have been embedded in the Hebrew portions of the Old Testament, and also alleged by the same critics to show that the documents containing them are either late or have been interpolated and corrupted from their original form. I endeavored to show by evidence from reliable sources outside the Scripture, first, that since the Hebrew literature of the Old Testament had a beginning, there never was a time when Moses and his successors may not have used an Aramaic word; and secondly, that of the 360 words alleged to be Aramaisms only about 50 have any apparent ground for being considered as such. Seventy-six of them do not even occur in any Aramaic dialect. Ninety-six more of them are found in Babylonian and

287 Thus Gesenius’ Thesaurus derives Esarhaddon from the Persian *sar bhanā*, “wise prince,” or from another combination of two Persian words meaning “king of fire.” The Thesaurus was published in 1860. Lorsbach derived Nebuchadnezzar from Nebu + ḫēkām + sar, i.e., “Nebu is chief of the gods.” Von Bohlen got it from another combination of Persian words meaning “Nebu is the god of fire,” id., 89.

288 Thus Driver (in his *Introd.*) still treats yōqel, “to cease,” ḫēdūdah, “joy,” and many other words as if they were derived from the Aramaic, as does Wellhausen *rādā*, “to rule” and ḫēsē, “to subdue” (*History of Israel*, p. 389), although all of these words are common in Babylonian.

289 In this Review for July 1925.
one hundred and fifty-six in Arabic, as well as in Hebrew. Only eighty-one of the 360 are found in Hebrew and in one or more Aramaic dialects alone. And, with regard to these last, it is more reasonable to suppose that, in most cases at least, the Aramaic documents borrowed from the Hebrew rather than that the Hebrew borrowed from the Aramaic; inasmuch as the most of the Aramaic documents are from 300 to 1000 years later than the Hebrew.

In a second article on the “Evidence in Hebrew Diction for the Dates of Documents,” I investigated especially the Hebrew words cited by the critics to show that certain parts of the Old Testament must have been written subsequent to Nehemiah. The argument of the critics is this: if a word occurs only once or a few times in the Old Testament and that in one or more books written late; and if this word occurs also in the Hebrew of the Talmud, this proves that the Biblical document is later than Nehemiah. To answer this, I gathered up all the words of the Old Testament that occur in it anywhere from one to five times, and that occur also in the New Hebrew; and I found that there are 216 of them in the literature admitted by such critics as Dr. Driver, to have been written before 400 B.C., and only 44 in what, according to the same authority, was written after 400. This kind of word is found in all periods of the Hebrew literature and in almost every document; so that it is evident that they should not be used as an indication of post-Nehemiah date, nor, in fact, of any date at all, of an Old Testament document. Besides, it was natural to expect that the later Jews, who wrote the Talmud, would draw largely on the vocabulary of the Bible which they translated and expounded. In fact, we find that the Aramaic of the Talmud and Targums uses about 550 words which are not found in Syriac, or other Aramaic, but evidently are borrowed from the Hebrew of the Old Testament in which they occur. These words prove Hebraisms in Aramaic documents, not Aramaisms in Hebrew.

I have shown, I hope beyond successful contradiction, that

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319 In this Review for July 1927.
the words in the Hebrew and Aramaic literature of the Jews which were alien from the writers of this literature and borrowed by the authors of it from peoples outside the Israelitish fold, bear witness to the historical character of the documents embraced in the O.T. canon. This testimony is objective. It is open to the consideration of all who can read the Old Testament in the original tongues. I would remind my readers that I have generally agreed with the judgment passed on these borrowed words by Brown, Driver and Briggs in their great Hebrew Dictionary, and by Gesenius in his Thesaurus, and in the no less great New Hebrew and Aramaic dictionaries of Levy, Jastrow and Dalman. I have used Brockelmann for Syriac, Dillmann for Ethiopic, Lidzbarski, Cooke and Sachau for the Aramaic inscriptions, Norberg for Mandaean, Schulthess and Schwally for Syro-Palestinian, Hommel for Sabean, Lane and Wortabet for Arabic, my own concordances for Samaritan, Ecclesiasticus and the Zadokite Fragments, Muss-Arnolt and Delitzsch for Assyrio-Babylonian, Tolman, Weissbach and Justi, for Old Persian and Zend, Richardson and Vullers for New Persian, West for Pahlavi, Burnouf for Sanscrit, Bedrossian for Armenian, Hrozny and Wetzel for Hittite, and Budge, Erman, Petrie and Breasted for Egyptian; besides, the special discussions and vocabularies especially of Haug, Tisdale, Lagarde, Schefelowitz, Muss-Arnolt, and Levy (on Semitic words in Greek), Gardiner, Cook, Schrader, Winckler, Sayce, King, Strack, Franke, Franz Delitzsch and many others. Experts will observe that I have differed from previous scholars mostly on two points. I have referred more words than they did to Babylonian rather than Persian origin, and I have preferred judging from the facts as I saw them, to assign some words to an Armenian (or possibly Hittite or Mitannian) original, rather than to a Persian. But my main object has been to show that these foreign terms came into the Hebrew literature at the time when we would have expected them to come, provided that the original historical documents of the Old Testament from Abraham to Ezra...
were contemporaneous with the events recorded. The antibiblical critics have summoned to their aid legions of winged words marshalled from all quarters of the compass, but I have arrayed against them not merely the Hebrews themselves but hosts of auxiliaries gathered from the Egyptians and Ethiopians, from Arabia and Palestine and Syria, from Babylon and Nineveh, from Persia and Armenia, from India and Greece and Rome. I have called the dead of all the ages of civilized society, who embalmed their ideas and their words in the literature which they wrote, to rise up to life again to confound the unwarranted assaults made by unbelievers upon the Word of God. I have summoned these dead men who were alive when the events recorded in the history of Israel were enacted to testify in their own words as recorded in the literature which they wrote and as made known to us in the dictionaries which have been derived from this literature. These words in these dictionaries present an ever-living and objective witness to the thoughts and environment of those who used them. Opinions and conjectures of all of us who are living can never determine the real historical values of the records of the Old Testament, nor the outside forces which moved their authors to write as they did; but the written testimony of the men who were living in the ages when the history of Israel was enacted and presumably written down, is testimony to which all of us must submit. That is the testimony which I have presented in this article. It is testimony which runs like a thread of gold through all the warp and woof of Old Testament history. It can be seen and recognized everywhere by every competent scholar, and it serves to bind the whole fabric together. It gives the relative sequence of events and brings out the beautiful and orderly design of the whole. And it can never be taken away from the fabric without destroying the plan of the whole. As long as the Hebrew Bible exists, this thread will be in it as a witness that the records of the Old Testament from the first of Genesis to the last chapter of Nehemiah come from original sources, extending all along the line from Abraham
to Ezra. To explain the meaning of these records, such as the first chapter of Genesis, I leave to others, such as Guyot, Dana, Dawson and Price. I maintain simply, that the records, so far as anybody knows, are correct and that, when rightly interpreted, they are an "infallible rule of faith and life."

R. D. Wilson.

EXCURSUS ON THE NAME "CYRUS"

The employment by Isaiah of the name of Cyrus is the only instance I have found which seems to militate against the general proposition that the foreign words in a Hebrew document show the approximate date of the document. This conclusion with reference to Cyrus, may, however, be due to our ignorance. For, unfortunately, we know neither the language nor the meaning of the word Cyrus. In the Old Persian, it is spelled "kurdu" (genitive "kurud"), Elamite "kurdu," Babylonian, "kur-ud," "kur-ra," "kur-ra" "kur-ud," etc.; Greek "kúpos," New Persian "kuros," Armenian "kurus," Heb. and Aramaic "kures." It may probably be connected with the Old Persian "kura" (people or army) and "ras" (head or chief). It would, then, mean "chief of the army," like the German Heerfiiest, or Napoleon's "Tête de l'armée." Compare the New Persian "kūr-čān" (vizier), and "kūr-čär" (battle), and "kūr-kān" as a cognomen of Timur. Its use to denote the king or generalissimo of the Persians, or Acharaites, would then be similar to the titles Pharaoh, Ptolemy, Augustus, Caesar and Great Mogul.

Again, it is worthy of note that Darius Hystaspis says that he was the ninth king of his family to occupy the throne of Persia; but including himself are mentions only six of the nine by name. It is usual to get the number nine by counting Cyrus the Great, his father Cambyses, and his grandfather Cyrus as making up the other three. But why omit Cambyses the son of Cyrus the Great, who was certainly a legitimate king and, also, the conqueror of Egypt? In fact, Darius in his Behistun Inscription does mention Cambyses the son of Cyrus the Great, but not the father. Nor does he anywhere mention Cyrus the grandfather of Cyrus the Great. Cyrus the Great mentions his predecessors as Cambyses his father, Cyrus his grandfather, and Teseas his great-grandfather, all as kings of the city of Anshan (Cylinder, I, 21, cf. K.B. p. 123). Darius mentions his predecessors as Hystaspis his father, Arsames his grandfather, Artaxerxes his great-grandfather, and then Teseas (Behist. Ins. 82. See Weisbach, Kröll, d. Achaemen. p. 9), thus connecting up with the line of Cyrus, whose great-grandfather was Teseas the Achaemenid. Teseas was the first king of the city of Anshan mentioned in the Cylinder Inscription, and probably became king of that city on the fall of Nineveh in 612 B.C., or possibly earlier, about 620 B.C., when Ashurbanipal conquered Elam (cf. Streck, Assurbanipal, II, 289, Elam reappears under Cyrus). Achaemenes was either the own father, or the ancestor, of both Cyrus and Darius. Cyrus was a popular name in the royal line of Persia, being the name not only of Cyrus the Great but of...
his grandfather, of Cyrus the Younger and of Artaxerxes I before he became king of Persia (so Josephus, Antiq. xi. 184). It is possible that this was the name, or title, of one or more of the eight predecessors of Darius Hystaspis of whom he names only five in the Behistun inscription. In this case, a Cyrus may have been at the head of a Persian contingent of the Indo-European host that came into conflict with the Assyrians under Sargon, about 714 B.C. (cf. Winckler, Hist. of Bab. & Assyri., pp. 248-253). In Esarhaddon’s time (680-666 B.C.) an army under a certain Teispé was defeated by the Assyrians (cf. Streck, Assurbaniphal, 1, p. ccxxvii; also K.B. II, p. 128). May this Teispé have been the same as the Teispé the first mentioned king of Anshan? If so, his father according to Xerxes in Herodotus, was a Cyrus the son of Cambyses the son of Achaemenes. The date of this Cyrus would be about 700 B.C. If he were one of the nine meant by Darius, and we add him and his father Cambyses after Achaemenes and before Teispes, according to the list given by Xerxes in Herodotus, we harmonize the sources and we get a Cyrus in either case at about 700 B.C. In Herodotus vii. 11, Xerxes is said to have spoken as follows: “I should not be sprung from Darius, son of Hystaspis, son of Arsames, son of Ariaramnes, son of Teispes, son of Cyrus, son of Cambyses, son of Achaemenes, if I did not avenge myself on the Athenians.” In the Cylinder Inscription of Cyrus he says: “I am Cyrus... son of Cambyses... grandson of Cyrus... great-grandson of Teispes.” In the Behistun Inscription Darius says: “My father is Hystaspis, the father of Hystaspis Arsames, the father of Arsames Ariaramnes, the father of Ariaramnes Teispes, the father of Teispes Achaemenes. Eight of my race (or family) were aforesaid kings. I am the ninth.” Combining the other genealogies and omitting Hystaspis who was certainly an underling of Cyrus and Darius (See Xenophon, Cyropaedia and Beh. Ins. §§ 35, 36. Hystaspis was commander of one of the armies of Darius) we get the nine kings as follows: Darius, Cambyses, Cyrus the Great, Cambyses (or Arsames), Cyrus (or Ariaramnes), Teispes, Cyrus, Cambyses, Achaemenes.

Finally, Kuru occurs in the Mahābhārata as the ancestor of Pandu and of Dhritarāṣṭra, the heroes of that poem (See Burnouf, p. 173a.). About 734 B.C. many of the Hebrews were transported to the cities of the Medes. Through these transported Hebrews, Isaiah may have learned about this traditional hero of the Indo-Europeans, whose name was Kuru, or Cyrus; and so he could understand when the Lord says concerning a certain Cyrus: He will be my shepherd, my anointed, and he will perform all my pleasure.

Of course, it will be understood by my readers that I am not denying the possibility that God may have revealed the very name Cyrus to Isaiah a hundred years, or more, before there was a man, or a king, of that name. I am only contending that it is not necessary to maintain this, inasmuch as Isaiah probably knew of some leader of the name or title Cyrus, who already in his time was at the head of that wave of Indo-European hosts which was just beginning to break in an overwhelming flood over the plains of the Tigris and Euphrates, not to be stopped till it beat against the sands of the Sahara and the shores of Salamis.

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