Hebrew š^epattāyim (Ps. 68:14): in search of an etymology

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Maybe the most serious difficulty in the interpretation of Ps. 68 is the lexical justification of the syntagm bên š^epattāyim (v. 14; see Judg. 5:16: bên mišp^etayim). In this regard, the precise masoretic notation /š/ sets aside any connection of šepattāyim with śāpāh, "lip", connection that has misguided many an interpreter (for the ancient versions see below). The targumic tradition on the contrary does not incurs this mistake,² so that it would be correct to conclude that the medieval masoretes are pointing the text under the influence of this reading tradition and with the support of the Arabic phonetics (Heb. *šp-= Ar. *tf-). Ug. mtpdm came as an opportune testimony of the base *tpd from whose Arabic semantics this lexeme can on its turn be satisfactorily explained. Lexicographically Arabic and Ugaritic support each other here like it is frequently the case. The phonetic correspondence Heb. /š/ :: Ug.-Ar. /t/ allows us to propose that inter-linguistic support between them and with Heb. Actually, according to the standard Hebrew lexicography to Ar. *tafada corresponds Heb. šapat with the general sense of "to place, put",³ although presuming a phonetic alternance between /d/ and /t/ (voiced / voiceless dental). In the case of the Heb. quoted nominal form $\check{s}^e patt\bar{a}vim$ the masoretic pointing supposes an assimilated fem. form $(\check{s}^e patt-<$ *šapat(a)t-) corresponding consequently to an Ar. form *tafadt-, not attested as such, or else a spontaneous consonantal lengthening could be presumed in order to warrant the radical character of the last consonant (/t/).

Ug. *mtpdm*, sometimes adduced to explain Heb. *šepattāyim*, has to be put aside as an etymological support. Itself is a term in need of justification and appears in a particular mythological context (*Îlu*'s subterranean abode: "layer, stratum", DUL 597)) unfitting for our biblical text from the point of view of contextual semantics. The quoted (sure rather rare) base *tfd has in Ar. (< taffada) the meaning "to cover with, line, bind", certified only in this II verbal pattern. It has a nominal derivative, *mitfad-*, "fold, pleat", pl. *matāfīd-*5. Both verbal and nominal semantic bearing, beside the morphology of the derivative, provide a fitting support to define the meaning of Ug. *mtpdm*, taking into account also the dual form of the Heb. term *mišpattayim* (Ug. tn mtpdm). This semantic nuance is already suggested by the basic seme of "double layer" as a consequence of "putting something over other thing" (in Eng. "bind", French "doubler", Spanish, "forrar").

- 1. This seems to be the case with the other only occurrence of this word (Ez. 40:43). See HALOT:1637 for a synthesis of opinions; the Targ. translates in this case 'wnqlyn, 'pegs'
- 2. See L. Díez Merino, *Targum de Salmos. Edición Príncipe del Ms. Villa-Amil n. 5 de Alfonso de Zamora* (Bibliotheca Hispana Biblica, 6), Madrid 1982: *byny qylqlt'* (p. 127).
- 3. See HALOT 1636f.; Fr. Rundgren, "The Root *šft* in the Modern Ethiopic Languages (Tigre, Tigriña, and Amharic) and Old Egyptian *hfty*, Coptic *šft*", *Orientalia Suecana* 2, 1953, 19-25.
- 4. See Freitag, Kazimirski, Corriente-Ferrando (see n. 7). It is nevertheless absent from the classic lexicographic Arabic sources and consequently it is not taken in Lane's, nor even in Wehr's lexicon
 - 5. See F. Corriente-Ig. Ferrando, Diccionario avanzado árabe. Tomo I árabe-español, Barcelona 2005, p. 133 ("pliegue").
 - 6. See DUL (Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language) 597.

But besides this prefixed nominal derivative the duplicated Ar. base *taffada* has a simple nominal derivative by metaphorical shift: pl.t. *tafāfīd* (< sg. *taffād?) with the attested meaning "white clouds", maybe *cirrocumulus* or *stratocumulus*.⁷ This meaning may be considered belonging to the meteorological jargon of West-Semitic, or maybe East-Mediterranean culture (see Greek *nephelē-geréta(ēs)*, "cloud-gatherer", as epithet of Zeus)⁸ and fits well the context of our text (fall of snow on the Bashan mountain). But in itself seems suspicious and could be supposed to be an idiosyncratic semantic peculiarity of Ar. meteorological jargon. But in this connection the neo-Babylonian lexicography offers a starling support with its also meteorological almost technical expression *erpetu* / *urpatu šapītu*, "massing cloud" in perfect agreement with the provided definition of the Ar. lexica¹⁰. Starting from this Akk. syntagm a correspondence between *rōkēb bācarābôt* (Ps. 68:5: "who rides the clouds", see also Is. 19:1: *rōkēb cal-cāb qal*, "mounted on a swift cloud") and *šōkēb bên šepattāyim* (Gn. 49:14. "those of you who lie among the sheepfolds")¹¹ could be suggested. In fact the first epithet has been interpreted already as "the gatherer of clouds" ("Junta-nubes"), according to the quoted Gr. epithet *nephelē-geréta/ēs*.¹²

Our suspicion then of being face to a common meteorological jargon of the NE-Mediterranean culture gets out somehow reinforced. But the relationship between the Heb., Ar. Akk. lexical items remains yet uncertain from the phonetic point of view. Maybe we have to distribute the lexical data in two sets according to their morphological pattern and semantic value: a) on one side (*tpd) Ug, tn mtpdm

- 7. See G.W. Freitag, *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum*, Beirut 1975 (repr.), p. 220: "nubes albicantes, quarum alias supereminent aliae"; A. de Biberstein Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire arabe-français*. Tome premier, Paris 1860 (Beyrouth n.d.), p. 226: "nuages blancs qui s'amoncèlent et chevauchent les uns sur les autres"; Corriente-Ferrando, *Diccionario avanzado árabe* II, p. 133 ("nubes blancas aborregadas").
 - 8. See H.G. Liddell, R. Scott, H.St. Jones, *Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford 1996, p. 1171.
 - 9. See CAD Š1 487f.; AhW 1176f. (is it actually necessary to separate adj. šapû in two different lemmas A and B / I and II?).
- 10. In general Akk. šapû-A has a semantic nuance of "doubling", "swelling up and down, to roll in (said of the clouds)" and is frequently used in the field of astrology, while šapû-B has the meaning of "to wrap, to fasten with laces" (CAD 487ff.). All that connects it with Ar. *tfd, this time with the weakening of the third consonant (< *tpy), a consonant that has provided already a phonetic variation in the case of Heb. šapat (see in this connection Ph. Cassuto, "Remarques sur les verbes hébreux à troisième radicale Taw", CLAIX 14, 1997, 71-78). Maybe all three different bases *tfd, *špt, *špy send back, as different extensions, to the same binary ethymon *tp (?). In this regard South-Semitic *sf could be a good evidence, in any case it produces the fourth phenotyp, *sf(f), of the same linguistic cluster with a new extension (reduplication of the second consonant): see Eth. safafa, "to strech out, be diffused, abound, filled up" (W. Leslau, Comparative Dictionary of Geeez, Wiesbaden 1987, p. 487); but also Tig. safa, "nähen, zusammennähen" (compare Akk. šapû, above; En. Littmann, M. Höfner, Wörterbuch der Tigrē-Sprache, Wiesbaden 1962, p. 202); Trgñ. säfäyä, "to sew, to suture, to make a honeycomb", safa, "honeycomb", säfäfä, "to float"..., "to surround, encircle", mosfaf, "navigation, gliding in the air" (Th.L Kane, Tigrinya-English Dictionary, Springfield VA 2000, p. 798ff.): Amh. säfa, ,, to sew, sew on... (applied only to weaving in which bundles of straight fiber are wrapped around with more flexible fibers or straw, then formed into coils...)" (Th. L. Kane, Amharic-English Dictionary, V ol. I, Wiesbaden 1990, p. 594); Gu. sefä, "to sew", säffa, "to be wide, broad" (W. Leslau, Etimological Dictionary of Gurage (Ethiopic), Vol. III. Etymological Section, Wiesbaden 1979, p. 537, who refers it back to Ar, sufiha, safaha, as it does in the case of Eth. safafa // safha. Is this another extension *sph of the quoted cluster?).
 - 11. See Tanakh. The Holy Scriptures. The New JPS Translation..., Philadelphia-Jerusalem 1985, p. 658, 1183.
- 12. See S.P. Brock, *Nephelōgeréta = rkb °rpt*", *VT* 18, 1968, 395-397; J. Sanmartín, "Isoglosas morfoléxicas eblaítico-ugaríticas: la trampa lexicográfica", *Aula Orientalis* 9 (Fs. Civil), 1991, 168, n. 10: "El uso onomástico y el mapa de isolexias recomienda para la base (*rkb) el sentido de "juntar(se), avecinar(se), acercar(se), (per/con)seguir" (vd. etp. *rakaba*, CDG 469, ar. *rakaba*, AEL 1142s., ...". (above n. 5). Support for this porposal would be provided by Jewish Aramaic *riqpat*, specially in its acception "pile, mass" (see Jastrow DDT 1480); f.i. TargJer 51:16: *riqpat dmayîn bišmayyā*", "a mass of water in the sky". See also SamAram *špy*, "to cover" (A. Tall, *A Dictionary of Samaritan Aramaic* (HdO 1/50), Leiden 2000, p. 920. I thank Dr. W. Watson for calling my attrention to these Aramaic lexical parallels. The name of Old South-Arabian god *T°lb* could also reflect this semantics; see Ar. *²alaba*, "it became collected, compact / he collected", and the idomatic expression: *²alabati-l-ssamā²*, "the sky rained with long continuance" (Lane AEL 78).

(KTU 1.3 IV 35 and par.), Ar, sg, *mitfad-*, pl. *matāfid-*, Heb. *mišp^etayim*, "sheepfolds" (Judg. 5:16; see HALOT 652); b) on other (*tpd / *špy) Ar. sg. *taffād?, du. *taffādan, pl. tafāfīd, Heb. du. š^epattāyim, "white massing clouds" (Ps. 68:16), ¹³ Akk. (*erpetu* / *urpatu*) šapītu.

In the first case, Judg. 5:16, $y\bar{a}s\bar{o}b$ $b\hat{e}n$ $misp^etayim$ ("to stay among the sheepfolds", Tanakh 385), points to a "double" element of the animal outfit (sheep, mule...) or stall / pen in a context of shepherds life ("to lay in / between..."; see in this connection Gn. 49:14: $r\bar{o}b\bar{e}s$ $b\hat{e}n$ $hammisp^et\hat{i}m$, "crouching among the seepfolds, Tanakh 81) and it is addressed to people who renounce to take part in the battle, while in the second, Ps. 68:16, $s\bar{a}k\bar{o}b$ $b\hat{e}n$ $s^epatt\bar{a}yim$ is addressed to the "Canaanite Kings / Gods" in direct personal discourse in a context of divine fight in the Canaanite divine abode, Salmon-Bashan, with a snow tempest as a threatening Yhaweh's intervention there.

The Hb. form $\S^epatt\bar{a}yim$ may function as the bridging link between Akk. (*erpetu*) $\S ap\bar{\imath}tu$ and Ar. $\$ t\bar{f}d > t\bar{a}f\bar{a}f\bar{\imath}d$. Lexicographically it may be taken as a semantic phenotypic loan of the Akk. epithet¹⁴ and as a semantic lexico-phonetic (namely, phonological) transcription of the Ar. base (see \S /, \S /, \S /). It represents very likely a traditional reading of the Hebrew text, while the premasoretic versions (LXX, Vulg. and Syr.; for the Targum see above) seem to follow their own way, suggesting rather a reading in connection with Hb. $\S ap\bar{\imath}ah$, "lip" or similar. The traditional reading existed but was considered irrelevant by the versions; on the contrary, the traditional reading was (re)interpreted correctly by the masoretes under the guide of the Arabic lexicography. Accordinly the following version of Ps. 68:14a is porposed: "If you would lay (in ambush) between two white clouds...". ¹⁶

^{13.} Also *š*°*pattāyim* in Ez. 40:43 maybe also reflect the base *tp(p)d with the basic seme "to line, bind, extend..." > "bracket" of a wall, as a technical building term. See AHw 1176f.: "dicht, dick", *šapītu*, said of "Gefässen" (< *šapû*) and coinciding in this semantic field with *šaptu*, "Rand, Gefässlippe", "edge, rim" (Hb. *śāpāh*; Ug. *špt*). Again this semantic agreement trained maybe the versions to read *ś*°*pātîm* and interpret it in connection with *śāpāh*, "lip" (LXX, *palaistēn geīsos lelaxeuménon*; Vulg. *labia* ... *reflexa*; Peš., *s*°*fawt*°*hon*, but see Targ. 'ûnqelîn, less likely)

^{14.} One cannot exclude that the rather unusual adjectival fem. Akk. phenotyp \$ap\tilde{t}u\$ (< adj. *\sap\tilde{a}ap\tilde{u}\$, according to the lexical records, CAD, AHw)), with the meaning "swelling, massing" (dubious [?] for CAD), applied to the "clouds", derives from a base *tpd (Ar. *\tilde{t}app\tilde{a}d < Akk *\tilde{s}app\tilde{a}d > *\tilde{s}app\tilde{a}(a)t < *\tilde{s}app\tilde{t}(t), transcribed \$\tilde{s}apItu\$ by assimilation to the same form derived from base \$\tilde{s}ap\tilde{u}\$, with a similar meaning ("to surge, swell up"), also applied to the clouds ... Actually similar ambiguity among these bases may also be seen in Ar, \$\tilde{t}a\tilde{a}\$, in the pattern D used in the same way as Heb. \$\tilde{s}ap\tilde{a}\$: Ar. \$\tilde{t}aff\tilde{a}\$-1 kidra, "he put the cooking-pot upon" (AEL 341) // Heb. \$\tilde{s}apat\$ hassir, "he put a cooking pot on" (HALOT 1636).

^{15.} LXX: ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν κλήρων; also the Christian versions: Pesh. *bet šepāyā*, "stumbling block",; Vulg. "inter medios cleros" (see LXX).

^{16.} For the contextual discussion of this version see G. Del Olmo Lete, "Ps. 68: A Composite Canaanite-Yahwistic Celebration of the Israel's God. A new reading", to be published in the forthcoming Fs. Oswald Loretz.

Two Iron Age Scarab Seals from Khallet el-Qa^saqir – el-Kom village

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The two scarabs were discovered in a tomb in Khallet el-Qa^caqir near el-Kom village (sea level 425m, E-146590 N- 104440), about 13 km south west of Hebron during a salvage excavation carried out by the Department of Palestinian Antiquities and Cultural Heritage on 15 June 2014. The current location of the objects is in Hebron Antiquity Department, closet 5, shelf 3, case 61. On 11 June 2015 they were made available for study.¹

1. Archeological context

The tomb (length 1.80 cm, width 1.60 cm, height 90-100 cm) in which the two scarabs were found, has revealed skulls, bone remains belonging to 4 persons suggesting that either it has been functioned as collective burial or reused many times. About 60 archeological finds including 53 complete objects, mainly pottery vessels as well as beads, a small Egyptian statue and the two scarabs under discussion, these finds can be dated to the end of the Late Bronze II Age – Iron Age (Unpublished preliminary report issued by the Department of Antiquities in Hebron, July 2015).

2. Stylized features and inscribed elements

The two scarabs were finely made of bone and are in a good state of preservation. They have no coating or glazing. Both objects have been longitudinally drilled through suggesting that they had rings which were for some reason went missing. The types of heads, backs, and sides of the scarabs reflect different designs (see below). The features² inscribed on the bases of the two objects are:

- Fauna motif of two walking lions on the base of HB 5086.
- Hieroglyphic signs on the base of HB 5087.

1. HB 5086

Object: scarab, E2/I/e11, oval base, border line, partially broken, hollowed out engraving. Material: bone. Dimensions: 17 x 12 x 5 mm.

Base: in horizontal arrangement two loins³ *m*3*j* (§ 536 9E1, 536–542) or two felidae walking parallel to each other are represented with closed mouths, see Keel 1997, OBO.SA 13 Afek Nr. 41; Akko Nr. 91, 126; for two walking lions with four-legged animal in front, see Keel 2010, OBO.SA 29 Bet Shemesh Nr. 11; Keel 1994, OBO.SA 135 Pl. 8 Nr. 10, Pl. 10 Nr. 22. For two lions with an archer in front, see Keel

- 1. I thank Mr. J. Yasin, the director of excavations and museums at the Department of Palestinian Antiquities and Cultural Heritage who granted me an access to study the two objects. My thanks should also go to Kh. Khanfar, who has given hints about the existence of the two pieces and to I. Iqtet for preparing the drawings.
- 2. The description of the types of heads, backs and sides as well as the inscribed features here is following Tufnell's classification of designs and motifs 1984:32–38, 115–150, that has been adopted and developed by Keel 1995, *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette aus Palästina/Israel, Von den Anfängen bis zur Perserzeit, Einleitung* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, Series Archaeologica 10) (= OBO.SA) 10:41–62, 158–246; and Keel 2013, OBO.SA 33:xv.
- 3. For lions on MB stamps, see (Keel Uehlinger 1992, § 12). It is known as class 9E (Tufnell 1984, II:133ff., Pl. 40; Ben-Tor 2007, OBO.SA 27:97, 177, Pl. 100).

Recibido/Received: 03/02/2016 Aceptado/Accepted: 29/02/2016 1997 OBO.SA 13 Akk Nr. 89. The tails of the two lions are raised over their backs and sharply bent towards the front. For a single lion with the same representation, see Keel 2010. OBO.SA 31 Tell el-Fa^ora South Nr. 881; Eggler – Keel 2006, OBO.SA 25 Pella Nr. 67; Tall as-Sa^oidiya Nr. 6, 18, see also Hornung – Staehelin 1976:387 Nr. B 83. In front of the lion figures there are remnants of a deep vertical scratch which is probably part of a Maat-feather "truth" (§ 462)⁴ see Keel 2013, OBO.SA 33 Tel Gamma Nr. 71, Keel 1994, 29f., Pl. 8,11, or part of a *nb*-sign "lord" (§ 458) see Keel 1997, OBO.SA 13 Achsib Nr. 15, 104, Akko Nr. 139, or *j* "reed panicle/leaf" (§ 456).⁵

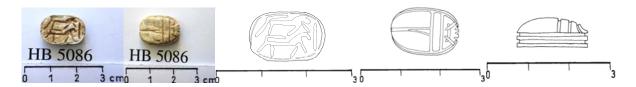
Displaying apotropaic potent and powerful animals which are symbolically representing the pharaoh (see Keel 2010, OBO 29 Bet Mirsim Nr. 99) on the base of the scarab was intended to enhance apotropaic power of the amulet. $m \nmid j =$ "lion" and is an acrophony for m and the vertical scratch is a nb an acrophony for n, thus we have jmn the name of the god "Amun" (see with crocodile Keel 1997, OBO 13 Achsib Nr. 15, 104).

Date: 20-21th dynasty (ca. 1130-945 B.C.).

Find's context: tomb, Khalet el-Qacaqir – el-Kom village.

Collection: Department of Palestinian Antiquities and Cultural Heritage, HB 5086.

Bibliography: Previously unpublished.



2. HB 5087

Object: scarab, D5/II/d5, oval base, border line, hollowed out engraving. Material: bone. Dimensions: 14 x 10 x 7 mm

Base: four hieroglyphic signs have been vertically carved on the base: an overturned⁶ *nfr* "perfect" (§ 459),⁷ below it there is *z*3 "goose, flying pintail duck" which indicates "son" (§ 465 (Gardiners 39, 40)) with the wings raised high. ¹⁰ On the upper right side of the base there is another sign, it is *hz*-vessel "favor, praise" (§ 455 (Gardiners W14), ¹¹ see Keel 2010, OBO.SA 29 Ekron Nr. 6. A lizard, gecko¹² (I1) occupies

- 4. Or traces of what could indicate something being hunted (?) (see Rowe 1936, Pl. 21 Nr. 851). For two figures of four-legged animals in similar setting but in combination with a griffin (see Giveon 1985, OBO.SA 3 Gezer Nr. 58).
- 5. For representation of a single lion with vertical j "reed panicle/leaf" in front, see Keel 1997, OBO.SA 13 Achsib Nr. 104; 2010, OBO.SA 29 Bet Shemesh Nr. 12.
- 6. For a pair of overturned *nfr*-signs, see Keel 1997, OBO.SA 13 Tell el-cAgul Nr. 12. For a combination of *nfr* and *z*³ see Keel 2010, OBO.SA 29 Betanien Nr. 9, Ekron Nr. 36; 2013, OBO.SA 33 Geser Nr. 362. For *nfr* with *z*³ and *r*^c see Keel 2010, OBO.SA 29 Bet Mirsim Nr. 70, Tell el-Farca South Nr. 148, 411.
- 7. Or *mj* "like" (Gardiners W19), which it could be read as *mrj* "beloved", for the combination of *mj* (= *mrj*) and goose, see Keel 1997, OBO 13 Ashkelon Nr. 10.
- 8. A pintail duck (Gardiners G38) see Keel 2010, OBO.SA 29 Bet Shean Nr. 238. For a pintail duck spreading wings on sides and *nfr*, see Keel 2013, OBO.SA 33 Tel Gamma Nr. 159. For a bird spreading its wings, See Keel 2010, OBO.SA 29 Bet Mirsim Nr. 80, also 2010, OBO.SA 29 Bet Shean Nr. 51.
- 9. Gardiner's sign list of Egyptian Hieroglyphs. http://www.ancientegyptonline.co.uk/Gardiner-sign-list.html, accessed 20 August 2015.
 - 10. Duck spreads wings low, for z³ and r² and uraeus, see Keel 2010, OBO.SA 31 Tel el-Far² South Nr. 608.
 - 11. (Keel 1995, OBO 10:171; "praise" Hornung Staehlen 1976:169 and Nr. 713, 767, 805, 807).

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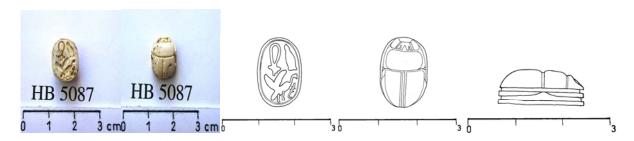
the lower left side of the base; it means ^cš³ "rich, plentiful" (Hornung – Staehlen 1976:109f.). See Keel 2010, OBO.SA 29 Dor Nr. 35, Bet Shean Nr. 225; 2010, OBO.SA 31 Tel el-Far^ca South Nr. 354, 452.¹³ It may read *nfr/mrj z*³ "perfect/beloved of, (is) the son".

Date: 20–22th dynasty (ca. 1190–713 B.C.).

Find's context: tomb, Khalet el-Qacaqir – el-Kom village.

Collection: Department of Palestinian Antiquities and Cultural Heritage, HB 5087.

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- 12. This was classified as class ID by Ward 1978:51f., for a lizard in combination with a human figure (Ward 1978, Pl. 5 Nr. 145, Pl. 6 Nr. 160–63).
 - 13. See Petrie 1925, Pl. 18 Nr. 1401; Hornung Staehlen 1976, Pl. 90 Nr. 805, 807.

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Two Notes on Aramaic Epigraphs*

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1. The source of the Babylonian term hatru

Cardascia (1972–75: 150b; 1977: 3f.) concluded that the LB administrative term *haţru* is the equivalent of Aramaic 'rq "land". He showed this by comparing Aramaic 'rq Bnšy' in the epigraph of BE 10 126 with *haţru ša Bannēšāyi, whose existence he inferred from a reference to the foreman (šaknu) of Bannēšāyi in the Akkadian main text of the same receipt. As we will demonstrate, however, 'rq refers to a single parcel of land (bow property) held by one haţru-organisation, whereas 'rqt (pl.) refers to several land parcels belonging to another such organisation. On the one hand, 'rq occurs frequently in the Aramaic epigraphs on receipts of the Murašû archive denoting: (1) a single parcel of a bow property; (2) a single divided horse property; (3) a field or a palm grove. A parcel of land could stretch from one settlement to another, if the locales were adjacent. This may be the case with the property described in BE 9 71, EE 20 and in IMT 43 (though the reading of 'rq' here is doubtful). On the other hand, 'rqt (pl.) in the deed BE 10 99 refers to multiple non-adjoining parcels of land which were scattered in five settlements. Hence, despite the apparent equivalence posited by Cardascia, 'rq cannot stand for haṭru.

We have just rejected the identification of LB *haṭru* with Aramaic 'rq. Let us clarify the actual source of the term *haṭru*. Von Soden (AHw. 337a) listed *haṭru* together with Akk. *hāṭiru* "pen, fold". Later on he separated these lemmata and regarded *haṭ(a)ru* as originating from an unknown language (von Soden 1966: 10f. §50b). CAD H, 23b–24 normalize *hadīru* "animal pen" and regard *haṭru* as a word of unknown origin.¹ Beaulieu (1988) discovered that the earliest occurrence of the term is recorded in the 11th year of Nabonidus: NB *ha*-DAR "pen, enclosure". He compares Jewish Palestinian and Targumic Aram. 'dr(') "flock, herd" (Jastrow 1903: 1046) with etymological /ġ/-.² However, NB and LB *haṭru* more likely renders Aram. hṭṭr "ground",³ which is extant in Palmyrene hṭṭr "courtyard, enclosed court", and Haṭran hṭṭr '(dŠmš), the toponym Haṭra itself.⁴ It is further recorded in Babylonian Jewish Aramaic hṭṭr '(hwṭr') "sheepfold",⁵ which is vocalised as haṭrā in the Yemenite tradition (Morag and Kara 2002: 82). A derivation from Old Iranian *hāðra- "compartment, (sheep)fold, pen, penfold" (extant in Avestan compounds) is unlikely because of the pre-Achaemenid occurrence and the lack of ø/h- interchange in LB.6

- * Abbreviations follow those of AHw and CAD, except for those in the bibliographical list. I wish to thank Gene McGarry for editing the manuscript.
- 1. For discussion of the various *haṭru*-organisations see Stolper (EE: 70ff.), Tubach (1995: 102, n. 27) and Kessler (2002: 244ff.).
- 2. Cf. possibly Classical Arabic *ġadira* "to remain, lag behind, loiter"; Brown, Driver and Briggs (1907: 727b) followed de Lagarde (1889: 76f.) in associating Heb. ' $\bar{e}der$ with this verb, given the use of $\Gamma\alpha\delta\epsilon\rho$ to render the second component of mgdl 'dr in LXX Gen. 35, 16 (= MT 35, 12).
- 3. Aram. htr < Proto-Sem. hzr (to H-Z-R) which is also extant in Arab. hazīra(t). See Malamat (1962: 146f.) on the distinction between H-Z-R and H-D-R (Classical Arabic hadara), South-Arabian hdr "dwelling, settlement", both merged in Heb. hsr.
- 4. Hoftijzer and Jongeling (1995: 400f., s.v. hṣr4); modern Arab. al-Ḥaḍr for Aram. Ḥaṭrā is due to reinterpretation, i.e. to Ḥ-D-R, see just above.
 - 5. Sokoloff (2002: 450a, s.v.), cf. Abraham and Sokoloff (2011: 33).
- 6. See Zadok (1989–90: 274), pace Livshits 1979; Dandamayev (1992: 17f.) does not mention Livshits' etymology due to Beaulieu's discovery. Tavernier (2007: 537 §5.5.3.8); "in all likelihood a Semitic word."

2. Aramaic Šwkn and Babylonian Šuma-ukīn

NA Su-ki-nu refers to a member of a group of at least ten Babylonian diviners, who were active in Esarhaddon's court. Insofar as they have been preserved, the names of the other diviners in this group are all Babylonian. Therefore Su-ki-nu in this case does not render a Canaanite form as suggested by Zadok (1995: 432a; cf. PNA 3, 1153b, s.v. Sūkinu), but is rather a Neo-Assyrian rendering of the outcome of NB Suma- $uk\bar{t}n$. The latter is written either logographically MU-GIN or (less frequently) semi-logographically Su-GI-INA in NB, which renders Su(Mu)-U-U-IIIV0 occurs as Su0 IV1 was is common in NB (see Kümmel 1979: 85 n. 15). This name, Sum(IV0)-IV1 occurs as Su0 in the Aramaic epigraph on a document from IV1 (507 or 506 B.C., Stevenson, IV1 IV2 IV3 IV4 IV5 IV4 IV5 IV6 IV6 IV6 IV7 IV8 IV9 IV9

3. Abbrevations

- EE Stolper, M. W. 1985. Entrepreneurs and Empire: The Murašû Archive, the Murašû Firm, and Persian Rule in Babylonia. PIHANS 54. Leiden: NINO.
- IMT Donbaz, V. and Stolper, M. W, Istanbul Murašû Texts. PIHANS 79, Leiden: NINO.
- PNA 1 Radner, K. 1998–99. *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire*, 1. Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, University of Helsinki.
- PNA 2, 3 Baker, H.D. 2000–2001, 2002–2011. *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire*, 2, 3. Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, University of Helsinki.

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^{7.} For the rendering of NB /š/ with NA <s> compare *E-ri-su* (with variants, E. Frahm, PNA 1, 403b), *Mu-ra-su-u* (Baker, PNA 2, 770b) and *Sa-pi-ku* (K. Kessler, PNA 3, 1091).

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