BABELAO

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Ci-gît Osiris.
L'*Abaton* de Biggeh d'après les sources textuelles et iconographiques

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A u Ier millénaire avant notre ère, l'*Abaton* de Biggeh fut un sanctuaire des plus importants, car il passait pour être le tombeau mythique d'Osiris. Située à la frontière méridionale de l'Égypte, dans le nome de *Ta-Séty*, l'île de Biggeh fait face à la rive occidentale de l'île de Philae, qui est consacrée à la déesse Isis. Si l'*Abaton* de Biggeh est le tombeau d'Osiris le mieux attesté dans les sources classiques, sa topographie est méconnue et n'a fait l'objet que de rares études[2], à la différence des tombes d'Osiris à Busiris[3], Abydos[4] et Oxyrhynchos[5].

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[1] Je remercie le Professeur Claude Obsomer (UCL) pour ses photographies et sa relecture, ainsi que Mme Marie-Cécile Bruwier (UCL – Musée royal de Mariemont) pour ses conseils avisés.

[2] H. JUNKER, *Das Götterdekret über das Abaton* (Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften 58.4), Vienne, 1913. Voir aussi P. KOEMOTH, *Osiris et les arbres : contribution à l'étude des arbres sacrés de l'Égypte ancienne* (AegLeod 3), Liège, 1994.

L'île est nommée 𓇅𓃀𓈗 *Snmt* (*Senmet* ou *Senmout*) dans le *Conte du Naufragé*[6] (pErmitage 1115, l. 10) et dans la tombe de Rekhmirê (TT100), où elle est présentée comme la véritable frontière de l'Égypte avec la Nubie[7]. L'espace sacré de la tombe d'Osiris est appelé Ἄβατον, l'« Inaccessible », dans la majeure partie des sources classiques, mais il est désigné comme 𓊃𓊪𓈗𓈗𓈗𓈗 *Ỉꜣt wꜥbt*, la « Butte pure », en égyptien, voire 𓇯𓊪𓈗 *Ỉw wꜥb*, « l'Île pure »[8].

Si le toponyme *Senmet* s'applique bien à l'île de Biggeh[9], il semble qu'il ait pu désigner un territoire cultivable du premier nome de Haute-Égypte bien plus étendu que la seule zone de l'*Abaton*[10]. À l'époque ptolémaïque, Senmet englobait probablement tous les espaces cultivables, berges et îles en amont de la première cataracte, si bien que les textes égyptiens de l'époque insistent sur sa richesse agricole et prouvent son importance au sein du premier nome[11]. Dès l'époque ptolémaïque naît la confusion entre Senmet et l'*Abaton*, due au grand intérêt suscité par le tombeau d'Osiris. Progressivement, les textes vont néanmoins employer *Snmt* pour parler de l'île, mais *Ỉꜣt wꜥbt* pour renvoyer précisément à l'*Abaton*[12].

Au temple de Biggeh, le culte principal est celui d'Osiris-Onnophris[13], mais Isis y est également vénérée. Un culte est

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[3] S. AUFRERE, J.-Cl. GOYON et J-Cl. GOLVIN, *L'Égypte restituée : Sites et temples de Haute-Égypte*, III, Paris, 1991, p. 184.

[4] É. AMÉLINEAU, *Mission Amélineau. Le Tombeau d'Osiris, monographie de la découverte faite en 1897-1898,* Paris, 1899.

[5] H.I. AMER, « Les catacombes osiriennes d'Oxyrhynchos », dans L. COULON (éd.), *Le culte d'Osiris au Ier millénaire av. J.-C. Découvertes et travaux récents*, Paris, 2010, p. 269-282.

[6] Pour une édition de ce texte, voir A. M. BLACKMAN, *Middle-Egyptian Stories* (Bibliotheca Ægyptiaca II), Bruxelles, 1972, p. 42. Nous renvoyons à la traduction de G. LEFEBVRE, *Romans et contes égyptiens de l'époque pharaonique,* Paris, 1982, p. 32 sq.).

[7] A.H. GARDINER, *Ancient Egyptian Onomasticon*, II, Oxford, 1947, p. 2.

[8] K.H. BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire géographique de l'ancienne Égypte* I, Leipzig, 1879, p. 464-466 et 1246 ; H. GAUTHIER, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques* II, Le Caire, 1925, p. 51 ; *Wb.* I, p. 26 (14). Le terme *ỉꜣt*, « la butte », a été confondu tardivement avec *ỉw*, « l'île » : voir *Wb.* I, p. 26 (9).

[9] L'identification de Senmet avec l'île de Biggeh remonte à Champollion, pour qui le temple de Biggeh est « la deuxième édition d'un temple bien plus ancien et bien plus étendu, bâti sous le règne d'Aménophis III ». Voir J.-Fr. CHAMPOLLION, *Lettres écrites d'Égypte et de Nubie en 1828-9*, Paris, 1868, p. 166-167.

[10] Voir G. ZAKI, *Le Premier Nome de Haute-Égypte du IIIe siècle avant J.-C. au VIIe siècle après J.-C. d'après les sources hiéroglyphiques des temples ptolémaïques et romains* (Monographies Reine Elisabeth, 13), Turnhout, 2009, p. 179.

[11] IDEM, p. 179-180.

[12] IDEM, p. 227.

[13] IDEM, p. 267.

également célébré en l'honneur de la triade d'Éléphantine : Khnoum-Rê[14], Satis, qui est assimilée à Sothis[15], et Anoukis.

Il reste peu de choses du temple de Biggeh[16]. D'après Junker et Blackman[17], l'île était sans doute à l'origine le sanctuaire principal de la zone, avant d'être supplantée par Philae en raison de la taille réduite de son temple. Selon Blackman, les fondations du temple seraient antérieures à la période ptolémaïque, mais il est impossible d'explorer les strates inférieures, les fondations ayant été cimentées en vue de stabiliser l'édifice[18]. Construit sous Ptolémée XIII et agrandi sous Auguste[19], le temple de Biggeh, tel qu'il est conservé, date donc de l'époque gréco-romaine. Le sanctuaire est dominé par une grande arche d'époque romaine. Une église fut installée au VIIe siècle dans son naos[20]. On observe encore les vestiges d'un quai face au pylône, les restes d'un propylône avec deux môles garnis de corniches à gorge et suivis de deux colonnes composites. Mais « il ne reste plus rien de la partie proprement osirienne, le lieu où devait se trouver la crypte mystérieuse où se régénérait le corps d'Osiris »[21].

Fig. 1. David Roberts, *General View of the Island of Philae* (1838)[22]

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[14] Alors que son culte est attesté dès le Moyen Empire à Biggeh dans des inscriptions, Khnoum aurait subi le succès de Philae et l'installation à Biggeh des divinités liées au mythe osirien. Voir E. WINTER, « Bigga », dans *LÄ* I, Wiesbaden, 1975, col. 792-793 ; É. DRIOTON, « Philae, île sacrée », dans *Courrier de l'UNESCO*, Paris, février 1960, p. 36.

[15] Selon P. MONTET, *Géographie de l'Égypte ancienne*, Paris, 1957, p. 23-24, l'introduction de Sothis en *Ta-séty* est récente, et l'on ne s'explique pas très bien comment elle s'est assimilée à Satis d'Éléphantine (*cf.* ci-après, note 77).

[16] G. ZAKI, *Le Premier Nome de Haute-Égypte,* Turnhout, 2009, p. 267.

[17] H. JUNKER, *op. cit.*, p. 45 ; A.M. BLACKMAN, *The temple of Bîgeh* (Les Temples immergés de la Nubie), Le Caire, 1915, p. 1-2.

[18] L. MANNICHE, « Osiris' grav og tempel på Biga », dans *Papyrus: Ægyptologisk tidsskrift* 32.2 (2012), p 4-15 ; A.M. BLACKMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

[19] A.M. BLACKMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 2 ; É. DRIOTON, *loc. cit.*, p. 36.

[20] P. GROSSMANN, « Überlegungen zur Gestalt der Kirche im Tempel von Biga », dans T.A. BACZ, *A Tribute to Excellence. Studies offered in Honor of Erno Gaal, Ulrich Luft, Laszlo Torok* (*Studia Aegyptiaca*, 17), Budapest, 2002, p. 279-287.

[21] G. ZAKI, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

[22] Issu de *Egypt and Nubia*, s. l., 1846-1849 ; image tirée de https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:David_Roberts_Temple_Island_Philae.jpg. (consulté le 08/03/2016).

En 1838, le peintre anglais David Roberts peint une vue de
Philae montrant à l'avant-plan les vestiges du temple de Biggeh
(fig. 1). Des séismes et la stabilisation des murs au moyen de
ciment sont responsables de la détérioration du site. De sur-
croît, les vestiges avaient été en partie engloutis par le lac de
retenue formé à la suite de la construction du premier barrage
d'Assouan en 1902 (fig. 2)[23].

Quoi qu'il en soit, les vestiges du temple sont encore debout,
à moitié cachés dans les arbres et arbustes de la crique orientale
de Biggeh[24]. L'aspect actuel des paysages du territoire culti-
vable de Senmet ne ressemble plus à la végétation verdoyante
qui était présente à l'époque ptolémaïque, lorsque les déborde-
ments annuels du fleuve fertilisaient la région[25]. Mais il reste
possible d'imaginer la « Butte pure » de l'époque antique
comme un vaste bosquet à la végétation luxuriante.

Fig. 2. Carte de H. JUNKER, *Das Götterdekret über das Abaton*,
Vienne, 1913, p. 48[26]

De nos jours, l'île de Biggeh est entourée d'autres îles qui
parsèment la zone méridionale de la première cataracte : Agil-
kiya (où fut reconstruit le temple de Philae), El-Heseh, Ko-
nosso. Parsemée de rochers de granit érodés, elle est de forme
allongée et orientée selon un axe nord-sud. Ses berges abruptes
offrent des falaises et une crique sur la côte orientale qui fait

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[23] S. CAUVILLE et M. IBRAHIM ALI, *Philæ : Itinéraire du visiteur*, Lou-
vain, 2013, p. 257.

[24] L. MANNICHE, *loc. cit.*, p 4-15.

[25] Voir G. ZAKI, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

[26] Je remercie la maison d'édition de l'*Österreichische Akademie der
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certaines illustrations de cet ouvrage.

face à l'ancienne île de Philae, aujourd'hui sous les eaux. Biggeh et Philae sont séparées par un étroit chenal d'environ 80 m de large[27]. L'accès à Biggeh n'est pas autorisé, car il est dangereux de s'en approcher en bateau motorisé en raison des écueils. Dès lors, très peu de gens s'y aventurent. Les ruines sont connues sous le nom de *al Maʿabad al-Qadîma*, « le temple antique »[28].

Compte tenu des lacunes archéologiques, nous avons souhaité étudier l'ensemble des textes consacrés à l'*Abaton* de Biggeh, afin de permettre une meilleure connaissance de l'île sacrée et une meilleure compréhension de son organisation spatiale. L'intérêt se centrera sur la topographie locale, qu'elle soit réelle ou mythique, et les rituels qui y sont célébrés. Quelle vision de l'*Abaton* nous offrent les sources textuelles ? Dans quelle mesure les sources classiques et les sources égyptiennes sont-elles convergentes ? À quel point leurs descriptions sont-elles vraisemblables ? Telles sont les questions auxquelles nous tenterons de répondre.

Nous présenterons d'abord les sources égyptiennes dans l'ordre chronologique, en proposant notamment une traduction personnelle du Décret divin concernant l'*Abaton* de Biggeh, et nous détaillerons les reliefs de la Porte d'Hadrien liés à ce Décret. Nous étudierons ensuite les sources classiques en les traduisant et en les commentant, également dans leur ordre chronologique. Le corpus établi par Junker en 1913[29], qui incluait Diodore de Sicile, Sénèque, Plutarque et Servius, sera complété avec le passage de Strabon qui traite de l'interdiction de la musique, un extrait de Lucain et un autre de Claudien.

Les sources textuelles vont du Ier siècle avant notre ère au Ve siècle de notre ère : elles sont donc assez tardives en regard de la réalité du culte local qui dut connaître son apogée à la Basse Époque (712-333) et à l'époque ptolémaïque (332-31). Notre objectif est de récolter les informations pertinentes en vue d'une confrontation avec les sources égyptiennes.

I. Les sources égyptiennes

A. *La liste géographique d'Edfou*

La liste géographique d'Edfou, qui date de Ptolémée IV Philopator (222-205), est gravée dans le couloir mystérieux sur le pourtour du sanctuaire (paroi nord, série gauche) : elle figure au registre inférieur, au sein du défilé des nomes de Haute-Égypte. La légende qui accompagne la figuration du nome de *Ta-séty*,

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[27] Voir Ch. LEITZ, *Quellentexte zur ägyptischen Religion I : Die Tempelinschriften der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, Berlin, 2009, p. 44.

[28] L. MANNICHE, *loc. cit.*, p 4 et p. 14, note 1.

[29] H. JUNKER, *Das Götterdekret über das Abaton*, Vienne, 1913.

sous la forme d'un génie Hâpy tenant un plateau d'offrandes, donne des indications sur le nome dans son ensemble.

La mention que l'on y trouve de l'*Abaton* est la suivante[30] :

𓈖𓃀𓋴 𓂝𓅱 �𓈖𓆓𓏏 𓅓𓇋𓍑 𓈗 *Nbs, ꜥrw, šnḏt m Ỉw wꜥb.*
Le jujubier, l'arbre-ꜥrw (et) l'acacia sont dans l'Île pure.

Le bosquet sacré 𓏠𓈖𓏏𓆇 *mntꜣ*[31], qui s'élevait autour de la tombe d'Osiris de l'*Abaton*[32], comportait différentes espèces d'arbres : des palmiers-dattiers (*phoenix dactylifera*, ég. *bnrt*) évoqués par les offrandes de palmes dans le Décret I (*cf. infra*) et liés à l'utilisation rituelle des dattes[33], ainsi qu'un jujubier (*ziziphus spina Christi*, ég. *nbs*) [34], un arbre-*ꜥrw* non identifié[35], et un acacia (*acacia nilotica*, ég. *šnḏt*). Notons que le jujubier et l'acacia sont des arbres épineux et fruitiers : le premier donne des fruits comestibles nommés « jujubes » et le second des fruits sous forme de gousses contenant des graines. Selon nous, les arbres à épines avaient pour fonction de protéger la tombe du dieu.
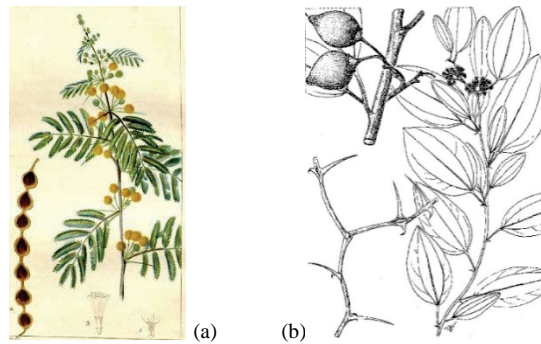
Fig. 3. (a) Branche et gousse d'*Acacia nilotica*
(F. P. CHAUMETON *et alii*, *Flore médicale*, I.1, 1833, pl. II)
(b) Branche et fruits du *Ziziphus spina Christi*[36]

Par ailleurs, les arbres fruitiers symbolisent pleinement le caractère nourricier d'Osiris. Le pJumilhac X, 13-15, rapporte que la même association d'arbres (*nbs, ꜥrw* et *šnḏt*) se trouvait dans le 18e nome de Haute-Égypte, sur les *ỉꜣt* de Dounanouy, consacrées aux acteurs du mythe osirien[37]. Les arbres du bosquet *mntꜣ* bordaient un canal entourant le tombeau d'Osiris (*cf.*

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[30] Édition : É. CHASSINAT, *Le temple d'Edfou* I, Le Caire, 1897, p. 337 (3-8) et pl. XV. Traduction complète de la légende : G. ZAKI, *op. cit.*, p. 6-7.

[31] Voir *Wb.* II, p. 91 (13-14).

[32] H. JUNKER, *op. cit.*, p. 50-51 et 58.

[33] Dans le cadre des Mystères osiriens, la pulpe de dattes est un des ingrédients nécessaires à la confection de la figurine du *Sokar*.

[34] Voir R. GERMER, *Flora des pharaonischen Ägypten* (*SDAIK* 14), Mayence, 1985, p. 114 ; N. BAUM, *Arbres et arbustes de l'Égypte ancienne. La liste de la tombe thébaine d'Inéni* (*OLA* 31), Louvain, 1988, p. 169.

[35] Voir N. BAUM, *op. cit.*, p. 326.

[36] Illustration tirée de http://www.ethnopharmacologia.org/recherche-dans-prelude/?plant_id=13310#lightbox[13310]/5/ (consulté le 08/03/2016).

[37] Voir N. BAUM, *op. cit.*, p. 326.

infra). Le reverdissement des arbres du bosquet prenait une signification osirienne[38].

Le jujubier est lié à Thot de *Pr nbs* (Pnoubs)[39], lui-même associé au mythe de la déesse lointaine et à l'anéantissement des ennemis d'Osiris[40]. La « fine stature légèrement penchée »[41] du palmier-dattier rappelle Isis implorante, et ses fruits sont doux comme les paroles de la déesse. Dans le pJumilhac XIV, 11-12, le palmier-dattier est décrit comme une hypostase d'Isis, sur base d'un calembour entre les termes *bnrt*, « palmier-dattier » et *bnr*, « doux ». La fonction maternelle attribuée au palmier-dattier est significative, puisqu'il est habité par des divinités célestes et nourricières, de même que le sycomore[42]. Néanmoins, une autre interprétation est possible. En effet, dans le pJumilhac VIII, 20-23, les palmiers-dattiers sont la manifestation végétale des lymphes d'Osiris[43]. Quant à l'arbre-ʿrw, dont l'espèce n'est pas encore identifiée, Osiris s'assimile à lui dans le *Rituel de l'Embaumement*, au chapitre 9, qui mentionne les deux cuisses d'Osiris, la relique de Biggeh, d'où le Noun fait jaillir l'inondation[44]. Le pSalt 825 mentionne aussi l'arbre-ʿrw : « Quant à l'arbre-ʿrw de l'Occident, il se dresse pour Osiris pour *l'affaire qui est arrivée sous lui* », c'est-à-dire son inhumation[45]. En effet, l'arbre-ʿrw était planté à l'emplacement des tombes osiriennes. L'acacia symbolise aussi Osiris, « Celui qui est dans l'acacia »[46], si bien que le lieu de la tombe d'Osiris dans le 21ᵉ nome de Haute-Égypte était nommé en grec Ἀκανθῶν πόλις, la « Cité des Acacias ».

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[38] P. KOEMOTH, *Osiris et les arbres : contribution à l'étude des arbres sacrés de l'Égypte ancienne* (AegLeod 3), Liège, 1994, p. 119.

[39] Pnoubs est une ville de Nubie, éponyme du jujubier. Thot de Pnoubs serait d'abord Thot de l'arbre-*nbs* (*pꜣ nbs*), puis éventuellement Thot de la localité (*Pr nbs*), selon D. INCONNU-BOCQUILLON, « Thot de Pnoubs (la ville) ou du nebes (l'arbre) », dans *Revue d'Égyptologie* 39 (1988), p. 47-62.

[40] Voir N. BAUM, *Arbres et arbustes de l'Égypte ancienne*, Louvain, 1988, p. 173-174. Cet arbre est lié aux deux mythes importants de Biggeh, celui d'Osiris et celui de la déesse lointaine. Il a donc un symbolisme particulièrement fort sur l'île sacrée.

[41] N. GUILHOU, *La mythologie égyptienne*, Paris, 2005, p. 290.

[42] N. BAUM, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

[43] S. AUFRÈRE, *Encyclopédie religieuse de l'univers végétal : Croyances phytoreligieuses de l'Égypte ancienne* I, Montpellier, 1999, p. 239.

[44] Voir J.-Cl. GOYON, *Rituels funéraires de l'Ancienne Égypte*, Paris, 1972, p. 68 et 70. L'Inondation personnifiée (Hâpy) a été étroitement identifiée à Osiris par les hiérogrammates de Basse Époque : voir J. YOYOTTE, « Études géographiques I. La "Cité des Acacias" (Kafr Ammar) », dans *RdÉ* 13 (1961), p. 104.

[45] Voir Fr.-R. HERBIN, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité* (OLA 58), Leuven, 1994, p. 211 ; Ph. DERCHAIN, *Le Papyrus Salt 825 (B. M. 10051), rituel pour la conservation de la vie en Égypte*, Bruxelles, 1965, p. 159-160, note 45.

[46] J. YOYOTTE, *loc. cit.*, p. 100 ; J.-P. CORTEGGIANI, *L'Égypte ancienne et ses dieux : dictionnaire illustré*, Paris, 2007, p. 9.

L'arbre ⸗𓇌𓏏𓆰 *iwy*[47] vénérable, qui est attesté à Philae, était
distinct du bosquet *mnt3* et s'élevait sur la tombe d'Osiris[48]. Le
déterminatif de la plante 𓆰 (et non de l'arbre 𓇏 comme dans
l'extrait présenté) évoque le caractère nourricier et verdoyant
de ce *iwy* vénérable[49]. Il n'indique pas qu'il s'agit nécessaire-
ment d'une plante basse, comme le montre la représentation de
l'arbre à Philae (voir fig. 4). De surcroît, le bosquet, composé
d'arbres à silhouette haute, est lui aussi déterminé par le signe
de la plante dans le Décret I (l. 5, *cf. infra*). Junker n'identifie
pas cet arbre à une espèce particulière et ne résout pas les di-
vergences présentes entre les sources égyptiennes. En se fon-
dant sur les sources textuelles et iconographiques, nous pou-
vons affirmer qu'il est question d'un arbre imposant, qui serait
un grand sycomore (*ficus sycomorus*), appelé *nht wrt* dans les
sources égyptiennes[50], et surnommé, selon nous, le « *iwy* véné-
rable ».

Les arguments en faveur d'une identification de cet arbre
avec le sycomore sont nombreux. D'abord, la forme de l'arbre
sur la représentation de Philae correspond bien à l'iconographie
du sycomore[51]. En revanche, l'arbre *išd* a une forme moins
compacte. De plus, le sycomore est lié à Nout-Hathor, nourri-
cière des défunts[52], présente dans le relief de Philae (fig. 4) et
au fond des sarcophages en bois de sycomore. Ensuite, une
stèle de Psammétique II et un texte du temple de Dakka attes-
tent la présence d'un sycomore à Biggeh[53]. Le sycomore et le
palmier-dattier sont souvent associés dans les nécropoles ou les
jardins funéraires[54]. Enfin, les branches de sycomore sont utili-
sées dans les Mystères d'Osiris pour fabriquer la figurine du
Sokar figurant Osiris roi des défunts[55]. La formule 574 des

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[47] *Wb.* I, p. 49 (20) : il s'agit d'un arbre ou d'un arbuste.

[48] D'après les inscriptions de Philae, « le sarcophage reverdit, l'arbre *iwy*
vénérable de Biggeh », ou encore « l'arbre *iwy* vénérable reverdit en vie » :
voir H. JUNKER, *op. cit.*, p. 52-53.

[49] Sur ce point, nous suivons P. KOEMOTH, *op. cit.*, p. 116 et 119. En fa-
veur de l'arbrisseau ou plante *iwy* : N. BAUM, *op. cit.*, p. 309.

[50] Voir H. JUNKER, *op. cit.*, p. 14 ; P. KOEMOTH, *op. cit.*, p. 31 ; p. 71.

[51] Voir N. BAUM, *op. cit.*, p. 27 ; forme très proche des sycomores de la
tombe de Rekhmirê : voir N. DAVIES, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rê at Thebes*,
New York, 1943, planche 110.

[52] Voir H. JUNKER, *op. cit.*, p. 14 ; J.-P. CORTEGGIANI, *op. cit.*, p. 525-
527. Il est question dans une inscription de Philae de « faire vivre le grand
sycomore avec le lait de la vache noire ».

[53] H. GOEDICKE, « The campaign of Psammetik II against Nubia », dans
MDAIK 37 (1981), p. 187-198 ; G. ROEDER, *Der Tempel von Dakke* I, Le
Caire, 1930, p. 147-148.

[54] Voir N. BAUM, *op. cit.*, p. 275-276.

[55] É. CHASSINAT, *Le mystère d'Osiris au mois de Khoïak*, Le Caire,
1966. Les Mystères d'Osiris sont des célébrations réservées aux prêtres
commémorant le meurtre et la régénération d'Osiris, en lien avec la montée
concomitante de l'inondation. D'origine abydénienne, les Mystères se ré-
pandent dans les grandes villes durant le Ier millénaire avant notre ère, si

Textes des Pyramides fait référence à sa fonction protectrice du tertre de la tombe d'Osiris[56].
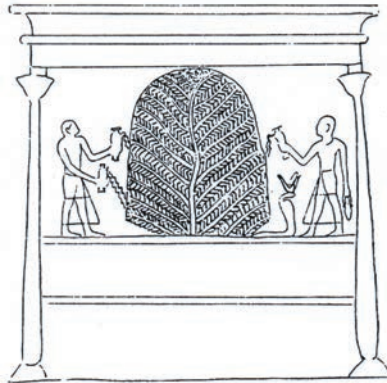
Fig. 4. Porte d'Hadrien : l'arbre *ỉwy* vénérable de Biggeh
(H. JUNKER, *Das Götterdekret über das Abaton*, Vienne, 1913, p. 52, fig. 17).

Selon Koemoth, « l'arbre pousserait en fait sur la tombe installée entre quatre colonnes reliées deux à deux par une corniche, l'ensemble étant à ciel ouvert »[57] et formant une espèce de baldaquin funéraire[58] qui représentait sans doute la Douat supérieure[59]. L'*uraeus* coiffé de la couronne hathorique qui sort des rameaux de l'arbre n'est autre qu'Hathor-Tefnout protégeant la sépulture[60]. Le tertre sur lequel l'arbre s'épanouit, logiquement situé en-dessous, n'est pas visible. Au niveau symbolique, l'arbre *ỉwy* vénérable était une hypostase d'Osiris reverdissant ; il matérialisait la présence et l'énergie d'Osiris ressuscité à Biggeh[61]. C'est pourquoi des libations étaient versées au pied de l'arbre afin de garantir la régénération du dieu.

Ainsi, les diverses espèces d'arbres évoquent soit Osiris lui-même soit les protagonistes du mythe d'Osiris (Isis, Thot) qui manifestent leur présence et témoignent de leur attention à l'égard du dieu défunt.

B. Les inscriptions du temple de Biggeh

Les inscriptions du temple de Biggeh montrent que les acteurs principaux du mythe de la Lointaine, la déesse Hathor-

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bien qu'à l'époque ptolémaïque chaque ville prétend posséder une partie de la dépouille d'Osiris. En réalité, les reliques sont des simulacres de parties du corps osirien (le *Lambeau divin*), fabriquées chaque année puis enterrées, en même temps que des figurines de la momie entière (le *Khenty Imentiou* et le *Sokar*).

[56] N. GUILHOU, *La mythologie égyptienne*, Paris, 2005, p. 295.

[57] P. KOEMOTH, *Osiris et les arbres : contribution à l'étude des arbres sacrés de l'Égypte ancienne* (AegLeod 3), Liège, 1994, p. 82.

[58] Voir JUNKER, *op. cit.*, p. 52 ; P. KOEMOTH, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

[59] La Douat supérieure désigne généralement une chapelle établie sous un arbre sacré et constitue le lieu d'inhumation temporaire des simulacres osiriens. La Douat inférieure désigne la crypte située sous le tertre et faisant office de lieu d'inhumation définitif.

[60] P. KOEMOTH, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

[61] *Ibidem.*

Tefnout et le dieu Thot, bénéficiaient d'un culte dans ce sanc-
tuaire[62]. Mais il semble clair que l'*Abaton* était consacré prin-
cipalement à Osiris et Isis[63]. Nombreuses sont, en effet, les
inscriptions de ce temple qui concernent la triade de Philae
(Isis, Osiris et Harpocrate) de même que la théologie osi-
rienne[64], utilisant parfois une phraséologie assez emphatique[65].
De plus, les sources classiques corroborent cette affirmation.

C. La Porte d'Hadrien à Philae

La principale source égyptienne qui décrit l'*Abaton* de
Biggeh se trouve à Philae, dans le couloir de l'embarcadère
menant à l'île de Biggeh, une structure appelée « Porte
d'Hadrien » ou « Portique d'Osiris ». L'on y voit deux exem-
plaires d'un décret concernant l'*Abaton* de Biggeh datant du
règne de l'empereur Hadrien (117-138), associés à une série de
reliefs figurés.

Fig. 5. La Porte d'Hadrien à Philae

1. Le décret divin sur l'Abaton de Biggeh

Des deux exemplaires du décret sur la Porte d'Hadrien, c'est
le « Décret I » qui est le plus complet : il comporte une dizaine
de colonnes. L'étude philologique la plus complète à ce jour
date de 1913 et est l'œuvre de Junker[66]. Il est donc opportun de
réexaminer le texte en utilisant les ouvrages de référence plus

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[62] H. JUNKER, *op. cit.*, p. 45 ; A. ERMAN, *La Religion des Égyptiens*, Pa-
ris, 1952, p. 431-434 ; P. KOEMOTH, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

[63] E. WINTER, « Wem war der Tempel von Bigge geweiht ? », dans *Stu-
dia Aegyptiaca* I, Budapest, 1974, p. 399-406 ; « Bigga », dans *LÄ* I, Wies-
baden, 1975, col. 792-793.

[64] A.M. BLACKMAN, *The temple of Bîgeh* (Les Temples immergés de la
Nubie), Le Caire, 1915, *passim*.

[65] IDEM, p. 22 : « Osiris maître du monde » (*Wsìr nb tꜣ*), « prince des
dieux » (*ḥry nṯrw*).

[66] H. JUNKER, *Das Götterdekret über das Abaton* (DAWW 58), Vienne,
1913 (ci-après JUNKER). Voir aussi Ch. LEITZ, *Quellentexte zur ägyptischen
Religion I : Die Tempelinschriften der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, Berlin,
2009, p. 44-48.

récents de Daumas et de Wilson[67]. Le texte hiéroglyphique est celui établi par Junker, auquel s'ajoutent quelques considérations sur des questions de lecture de signes notamment. La traduction proposée a bénéficié de la consultation de celles de Roeder et de Yoyotte (partielle)[68].
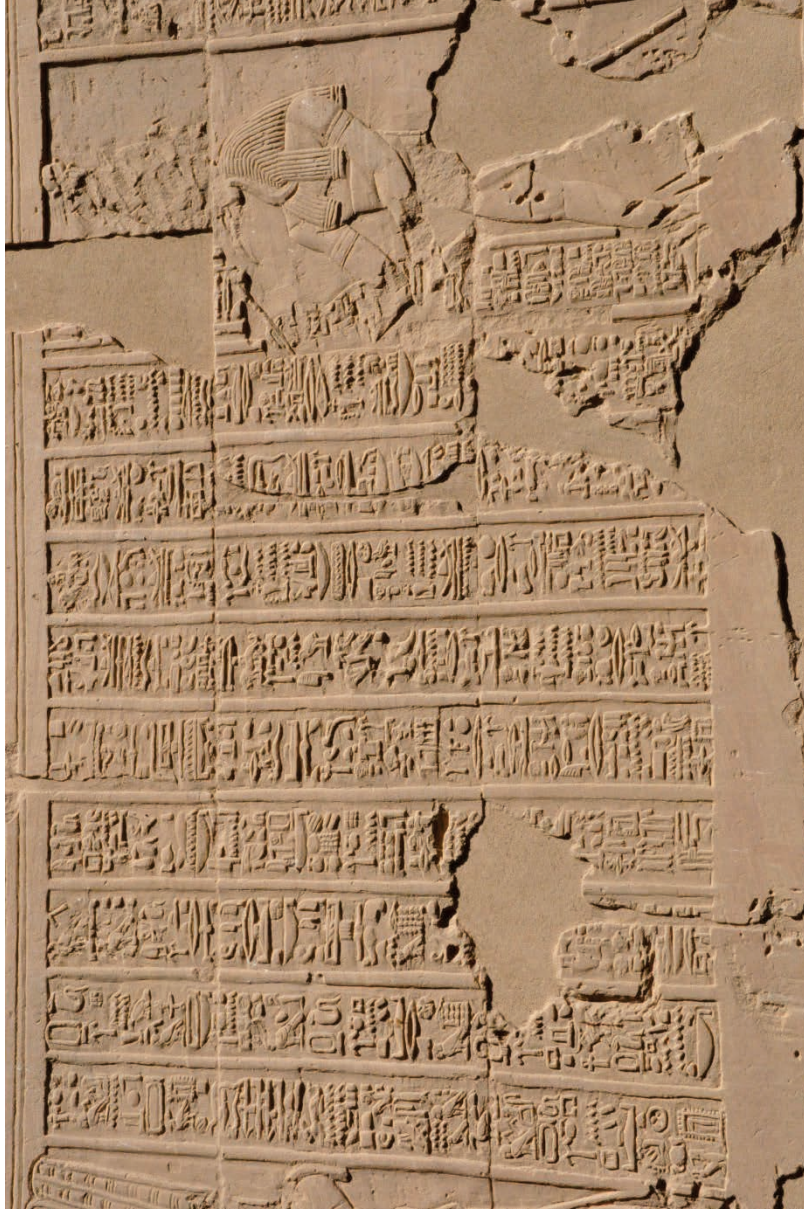
Fig. 6. Le Décret I de la Porte d'Hadrien

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[67] Fr. DAUMAS et *alii*, *Valeurs phonétiques des signes hiéroglyphiques d'époque gréco-romaine*, Montpellier, 1988-1995 (ci-après DAUMAS) ; P. WILSON, *Ptolemaic Lexikon: a Lexicographical Study of the Texts in the Temple of Edfu*, Louvain, 2000 (ci-après WILSON).

[68] G. ROEDER, *Urkunden zur Religion des alten Ägypten*, Iena, 1915, p. 31-33 (ci-après ROEDER) ; J. YOYOTTE, P. CHARVET et S. GOMPERTZ, *Strabon. Le voyage en Égypte*, Paris, 1997, p. 260-261 (ci-après YOYOTTE). Autres traductions : É. DRIOTON, « Philae, île sacrée », dans *Courrier de l'UNESCO*, Paris, février 1960, p. 36 ; S. CAUVILLE, M. IBRAHIM ALI, *Philæ : Itinéraire du visiteur*, Louvain, 2013, p. 268-269.

À destination des lecteurs qui ne pratiquent pas le ptolé-maïque, voici une liste de valeurs phonétiques notables de signes récurrents (dans leur ordre d'apparition) :

n

ḏ, t, d

k

bnw

nṯry ; ḥwt nṯr ; nṯr

n

i̓gr

k ; b3 ; nb, nbt

m

bnw

ḫn

I̓w-rḳ, Philae, « l'île du temps »
(graphie symbolique avec le signe de la butte)

ḥḥ (DAUMAS, signe U569, p. 730)

nṯr ; b3 (WILSON, p. 293-294)

spt

twy

Suit les noms de divinités

i̓r ; déterminatif des noms de déesses ; *s3*

Déterminatif

Ḏḥwty, Thot

wbn

s3, s

s

Déterminatif fautif de *spt*

di̓

i̓m, m ; déterminatif

5 *(di̓w) ; Gb*

pẖr

s

nb

Déterminatif

r

3pd

ḥr

wḏ

𓉼	*ˁḥ*
×	*wr*
𓁷	*ḥr*
▽	*dì*
𓏞	*ḥnˁ* (*Wb.* III, p. 110)

1a. L'hymne adressé au Ba d'Osiris

Formule d'invocation

[1] *Ìnḏ ḥr.k, bꜣ šps n(y) Wsìr (Wnn-nfr)| ! Bnw*[69] *nṯry*[70] *ḥp(rw) ḏs.f, wˁ wˁ, km3(w) wnnw, p(ꜣ)wt(y) šps n(y) nꜣ bꜣw 'Igrt*[71].

[1] *Salut à toi, Ba*[72] *vénérable d'Osiris Ounen-néfer ! Phénix divin*[73] *qui s'est engendré lui-même, l'Unique à être unique*[74], *qui a créé ce qui est, dieu primordial vénérable des Baou de l'Au-delà.*

Litanie sur les noms du Ba d'Osiris

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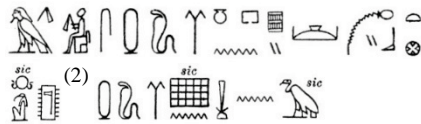
[69] Valeur *bnw* du signe G603 dans DAUMAS, p. 322. La lecture *bnw* est également proposée par H. W. FAIRMAN, dans *ASAÉ* 43 (1943), p. 269.

[70] Valeur *nṯry* du signe O675 dans DAUMAS, p. 501. La lecture *nṯry* est due à JUNKER, p. 8, n. 26, sur base d'une comparaison avec des signes de forme semblable (O679 entre autres).

[71] Valeur *ìgr* du signe 513 dans DAUMAS, p. 317. Voir WILSON, p. 118 ; *Wb.* I, p. 141 (4).

[72] Le Ba d'un dieu est la manifestation de son pouvoir dans le monde sensible, rendue visible pour les hommes (phénomènes naturels, étoiles, etc.). Il descend dans la statue divine chaque jour dans le temple afin de perpétuer sa puissance en se nourrissant des offrandes des hommes. Le Ba d'Osiris faisait l'objet d'un culte propre sous la forme d'oiseau à tête humaine sur l'*Abaton*.

[73] Osiris est invoqué à la fois en tant que démiurge à travers son assimilation à Rê-Atoum (il est celui « qui s'est engendré lui-même » et fait figure de « dieu primordial » dans notre texte) et en tant que dieu lié à la renaissance cyclique des forces naturelles, notamment à travers l'inondation et la Lune (« Phénix/héron-*bnw* divin »). En effet, selon Guilhou, le héron-*bnw*, forme du démiurge Rê-Atoum à Héliopolis représentant généralement la renaissance solaire, peut être une manifestation lunaire d'Osiris ; il est alors associé au héron-*bˁḥ*, symbolisant la profusion de la crue annuelle. Ainsi, les deux formes de « phénix » en Égypte reflètent le cycle de la création et de la (re)naissance. Voir N. GUILHOU, *La mythologie égyptienne*, Paris, 2005, p. 342-343. De surcroît, Osiris-Lune faisait l'objet d'un culte à Biggeh.

[74] Au commencement du monde, le démiurge, Osiris-Atoum, fut « l'Unique à être unique », puis il « se transforma en millions » par son œuvre de création. Voir E. HORNUNG, *Les dieux de l'Égypte : le Un et le Multiple*, Paris, 1986, p. 169.

Bꜣ šps rn.k m ẖnw p(ꜣ)y Ἰꜣt wꜥbt. Bnw ntry [(2)] *rn.k m ẖn(w) Snmwt. Bꜣ wsr*[75] *rn.k m ẖnw Pr-Sḫmt. Bꜣ <spd>*[76] *ἰrw rn.k m ẖnw p(ꜣ)y Ἰw-rḳ. Bꜣ rmy rn.k m ẖnw Pr-ꜣst. Bꜣ ꜥnḫ rn.k m ẖnw Ḫḫt*[77]. *Ntk* [(3)] *bꜣ ḥr(y) bꜣ*[78] *nṯrw.*

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[75] Comme l'indique JUNKER, p. 4, il y sans doute un lien entre le nom de *bꜣ wsr* d'Osiris et Sekhmet (*wsrt*, la « Puissante »). De surcroît, un hymne à Isis-*Ouseret*-Sekhmet est conservé à Edfou (É. CHASSINAT, *Le temple d'Edfou* III, Le Caire, 1897, p. 316, 13-14). D'après G. Zaki, *op.cit.*, p. 197, Isis est nommée « la Puissante » dans son rôle de « gardienne tutélaire du Sud et de sa position stratégique ».

[76] Restitution de JUNKER, p. 4, sur base de l'incohérence fondamentale de *bꜣ irw* et de parallèles. Le signe omis pour *spd* correspond au Z59 dans DAUMAS, p. 830 ; par ailleurs, la ressemblance entre les signes *spd* et *ir* suffit pour expliquer l'oubli du premier.

[77] Comme ROEDER semble l'avoir compris d'après sa traduction, le toponyme n'est pas *Hépet*, qui serait selon JUNKER, p. 5, un lieu de culte non identifié probablement dédié à Khnoum et Satet, mais Éléphantine. En effet, il ne s'agit pas du signe Aa5B ⚓ (variante de Aa5 ⚓ figurant un gouvernail, translittéré *ḥp, ḥpt*), mais du signe U97A ⚓ (variante de U97 représentant un instrument d'arpentage, translittéré *ḫḫ*) dont une variante ⚓, qui omet le fil à plomb et le cœur, est attestée dans les inscriptions ptolémaïques de Philae (H. JUNKER et E. WINTER, *Das Geburtshaus des Tempels der Isis in Philä*, Vienne, 1965, p. 170-171, photo 891, dans la légende de Sothis). Cette variante du signe U97A, telle qu'on peut la voir à Philae, montre une forte ressemblance avec le signe présent dans le Décret et note le toponyme *Ḫḫt*. Toutefois, *Wb.* III, p. 67, atteste une variante (au signe Aa5 notant *ḥp*) d'époque gréco-romaine qui ressemble au signe présent dans le Décret et concorde avec l'interprétation de Junker, mais la graphie indiquée ⋀ suppose que le sculpteur ait gravé par erreur ce signe dans le sens inverse au sens de lecture du Décret, ce qui amoindrit la validité de cette hypothèse. De plus, nous n'avons trouvé aucune autre attestation ou mention d'un toponyme *Ḫpt* que celle présentée par JUNKER, p. 3. Or, en *Wb.* III, p. 331, 12-13, il est fait mention d'un toponyme *Ḫḫt* formé sur le mot *ḫḫ*, « égaliser ». D'après WILSON, p. 748, le terme *ḫḫ* « peser » est attesté dans le toponyme *ḫḫt* identifié à Éléphantine. Selon H. GAUTHIER, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques* IV, Paris, 1931, p. 186-187, *Ḫḫt* est une « désignation tardive de la ville d'Éléphantine (métropole du Ier nome de Haute-Égypte), aujourd'hui Geziret-Assouan ». H. BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire géographique de l'ancienne Egypte*, Leipzig, 1879, p. 628, indique que *Ḫḫt* signifie « la ville de l'équilibre », c'est-à-dire l'équilibre cosmique rétabli par la déesse Sothis lors de son lever héliaque, et désigne la ville de Syène (Assouan) ou l'île d'Éléphantine en face de Syène. Satis est « maîtresse d'Éléphantine » (*Ḫḫt*) dans les inscriptions du temple de Biggeh. Nous proposons que cette phrase lie sémantiquement le dieu Khnoum qu'évoque le bélier du signe *bꜣ* et le toponyme *Ḫḫt* dont la

Ba vénérable est ton nom dans la Butte pure. Phénix divin [(2)] *est ton nom dans Biggeh. Ba puissant est ton nom dans le temple de Sekhmet. Ba à la forme efficace*[79] *est ton nom dans Philae. Ba pleuré est ton nom dans le temple d'Isis*[80]. *Ba vivant est ton nom dans Éléphantine*[81]. *Tu es* [(3)] *le ba qui est supérieur au ba des dieux*[82].

L'accueil du Ba d'Osiris sur l'Abaton
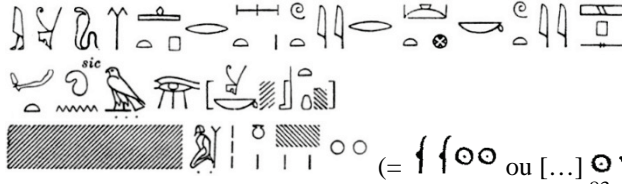
'Iỉ.n.k m ḥtp r spt twy r iȝt.k twy šps(t). Ḏsr n.k[83] *Ḥr, rm [n.k ȝst …] sbȉw/šnṯyw*[84] *m' [trwy^?]*[85].

Tu es venu[86] *en paix sur ce territoire, sur cette butte vénérable qui est tienne. C'est à toi qu'Horus (la) consacre*[87], *[c'est sur toi qu'Isis] pleure. […] les ennemis [pour toujours^?]*[88].

« maîtresse » n'est autre que sa parèdre Sothis-Satet dans les textes de Philae et de Biggeh.

[78] Valeur *bȝ* du signe J339 dans DAUMAS, p. 372. Il s'agit de la seule occurrence de la lecture *bȝ* pour le signe J339, proposée dans JUNKER, p. 5.

[79] Le Ba du dieu est dit « à la forme efficace » car sa forme (*irw*), la statue habitée par le Ba divin, prodigue au roi protection et soutien en échange du culte qui lui est rendu. Pour la signification de l'expression *spd irw*, voir WILSON, p. 833.

[80] Il s'agit du grand temple d'Isis à Philae.

[81] JUNKER : *ḥpt* ; ROEDER : *Elephantine*.

[82] ROEDER : *Du bist der Falke, der oberste (Herr) der Falkenweibchen (?)*.

[83] Les signes *n* et *k* sont inversés pour des raisons esthétiques. Le phénomène de l'inversion est fréquent dans cette inscription.

[84] La graphie concernée est propre à l'écriture ptolémaïque, ce qui nous permet de distinguer deux possibilités de lecture (*sbȉw/šnṯyw*) et d'écarter les paronymes (*ḫftyw* entre autres). Quelle que soit la lecture du signe, le sens est clair : il s'agit des « ennemis » du dieu. Voir *Wb.* IV, p. 87 (14) pour *sbȉw* ; *Wb.* IV, p. 520 (4-5) pour *šnṯyw*.

[85] *trwy* : *les deux temps, c'est-à-dire, le jour et la nuit, toujours.* Voir *Wb.* V, p. 316 (1-2). Le *n* remplace souvent le *m* en ptolémaïque pour des raisons phonétiques : voir H. W. FAIRMAN, « An Introduction to the Study of Ptolemaic Signs and their Values », dans *BIFAO* 43 (1945), p. 64. On pourrait également lire avec le même sens, mais sans expliquer la lacune, *n […] r^ꜥ nb*.

[86] JUNKER et ROEDER : *Du kommst*.

[87] JUNKER : *Horus ist (macht) dir ḏśr (?)* ; ROEDER : *Horus richtet sie dir schön her*. Usage transitif du verbe *ḏsr*, « être sacré ». Ce développement du verbe *ḏsr* s'est produit à la période tardive, en accord avec l'extension de sens d'autres verbes intransitifs comparables. Ce phénomène apparaît à Edfou, comme une alternative à *sḏsr*, et dans les temples gréco-romains. Pour le verbe *ḏsr*, dont le sens premier est « rendre sacré, consacrer », voir *Wb.* V, 613 (19), WILSON, p. 1247, JUNKER, p. 36. Cette occurrence du verbe *ḏsr* implique également l'idée de « rendre inaccessible aux profanes ».

La glorification d'Osiris sur l'Abaton

Ndr(w) ꜥ.k[89] *r Pr-Wsir.* (4) *'Irw.k <m> ḥy*[90] *n pt. Mdw.k n Rꜥ. Dsr n.k 'Imn. Wḏꜣ tw.k*[91] *Ḏḥwty ḥr rn.k. Wbn*[92] *sp-2 m-ẖnw Nww !* *Ta personne est conduite vers le temple d'Osiris*[93]. (4) *Ta forme se réjouit jusqu'au ciel. Tu t'adresses à Rê. Amon*[94] *te sanctifie. Thot te rend prospère en ton nom*[95]. *Resplendis dans le Noun, ô toi resplendissant*[96] *!*

En ce sens, voir *Wb.* V, 614 (14) et J.-C. Goyon, *Les Dieux-Gardiens et la Genèse des Temples* (BdÉ 92), Le Caire, 1985, p. 274.

[88] Junker : *… die Feinde des … immerdar (?)* ; Roeder : *[Harendotes und Arsnuphis töten deine] Feinde in Ewigkeit.* La restitution de Roeder est fondée sur la présence d'Harendotes et d'Arensnouphis en tant que dieux tuant les ennemis d'Osiris dans une scène de la Porte d'Hadrien et dans les textes des Mystères. Voir Junker, p. 6.

[89] D'après Wilson, p. 568-569, le verbe *ndr* peut signifier « to hold, to seize ». Voir aussi *Wb.* II, p. 383 (3). Par ailleurs, le substantif ꜥ, « bras », peut avoir le sens de « corps, personne ». La forme de la « personne » (ꜥ) divine d'Osiris est désignée par le terme *irw* mentionné plus haut. En outre, on observe une inversion entre le trait de l'idéogramme et le signe du bras.

[90] Voir *Wb.* II, p. 483. Voir Ch. Leitz, *Quellentexte zur ägyptischen Religion I : Die Tempelinschriften der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, Berlin, 2009, p. 48. Un *w* final parasite est fréquent en ptolémaïque. Voir H. Junker, *Grammatik der Denderatexte*, Leipzig, 1906, § 20.

[91] Pronom objet de la deuxième personne du singulier. Voir H. Junker, *Grammatik der Denderatexte*, Leipzig, 1906, § 52.

[92] Valeur *wbn* du signe W523 dans Daumas, p. 805.

[93] C'est-à-dire le sanctuaire du dieu à Biggeh.

[94] « Amon qui réside à l'*Abaton* » (*'Imn-Rꜥ ḥry-ib 'Iꜣt wꜥbt*) est mentionné dans une scène du mammisi de Philae datant de Ptolémée VIII Évergète II (145-116). Voir G. Zaki, *Le Premier Nome de Haute-Égypte du IIIe siècle avant J.-C. au VIIe siècle après J.-C.*, Turnhout, 2009, p. 134, doc. n° 53 ; H. Junker et E. Winter, *Das Geburtshaus des Tempels der Isis in Philä* II, p. 72-73, photo 936.

[95] *Thot*, le dieu des connaissances religieuses, *rend prospère* Osiris « en son nom », c'est-à-dire soit par référence à une épiclèse divine d'Osiris exprimant sa nature pérenne dans une légende de la Porte d'Hadrien, soit plus probablement au moyen de formules rituelles. Voir *Wb.* II, p. 427 (7-8).

[96] Roeder : *Re erläßt einen Befehl für dich, Amon richtet ihn dir schön her, Thot ruft dich an (?) auf deinen Namen, der du aufgingst im Nun!* Il semble que Roeder ait surinterprété ce passage. Pour la fin du passage, Junker : *Erglänze aus dem Ozean, du Glänzender.* Le texte du décret fait ici référence au premier lever de Rê à partir du Noun au moment de la création et renvoie donc à l'entité divine Osiris-Rê. En effet, chaque nuit, Rê vient

1b. Le décret stricto sensu

Introduction
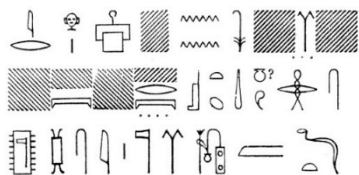
'Ir ḥr-s3 […] nn [… r] 3st mdw.s[97] *ḥnꜥ.s, nṯr.n*[98] *s(y) Ḏḥwty m sš m ḏd :*

C'est pourquoi […] Isis […] une parole qui la concerne[99] et Thot l'a rendue pure[100] dans ses écrits en ces termes :

Les termes du décret
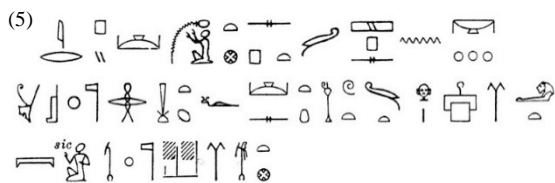
[5] *'Ir p(3)y 'I3t wꜥbt, spt šps n(y) nbw n(y) Wsìr ḥnꜥ snt.f 3st, wḏ.tw ḥr.s m ḫ3t ḥr Wsìr ms(w) (?) m W3st :*

[5] « Concernant la Butte pure, le saint territoire d'or[101] d'Osiris et de sa sœur Isis, il a été décrété à son sujet, dès le commencement, au profit d'Osiris qui avait été enfanté (?) à Thèbes[102] :

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s'unir à Osiris dans le monde souterrain de l'Au-delà afin de se régénérer avant d'apparaître de nouveau à l'horizon.

[97] Valeur *s* du signe G649 dans DAUMAS, p. 286.

[98] Valeur *n* du signe T177 dans DAUMAS, p. 664.

[99] Le pronom désigne la Butte pure. JUNKER : *… [-Stätte …] Isis … spricht mit ihr ?* ; ROEDER : *… die Stätte, und Isis … einen wohltätigen Befehl in bezug auf sie (?)*. Le verbe devant logiquement se trouver en tête de phrase dans la lacune, nous suivons Roeder, tout en traduisant plus littéralement.

[100] *nṯr*, « purifier », est la forme transitive de *nṯrì*, « être pur ». Voir WILSON, p. 560. Dans les inscriptions de Biggeh, Thot est le dieu « qui purifie tout ». Par ailleurs, ces inscriptions insistent de façon assez marquée sur la pureté du temple, des membres du dieu et des prêtres. Voir A. M. BLACKMAN, *The temple of Bîgeh* (Les Temples immergés de la Nubie), Le Caire, 1915, p. 45 et 47.

[101] Ce saint territoire est « d'or » car il est divin tout comme la butte de la création divinisée sous le nom de Tatenen et assimilée au démiurge. Dans les cosmogonies, les démiurges s'éteignent après leur acte créateur pour reposer dans des buttes. Rappelons également que la chair des dieux est faite d'or ; de plus, la figurine d'orge et de terre d'Osiris se change symboliquement en et la « salle de l'or » est le lieu de la divinisation du pharaon dans sa tombe. La divinisation de l'*Abaton* renforce son caractère inaltérable qu'évoquent également les roches granitiques de l'île, pierres d'éternité.

[102] L'enfance d'Osiris à Thèbes, l'une des grandes villes religieuses d'Égypte, est attestée notamment chez Plutarque (*De Iside et Osiride*, 12) qui raconte que l'enfant fut confié à un certain Pamylès à Thèbes. En revanche, Plutarque ne dit pas qu'Osiris y est né.
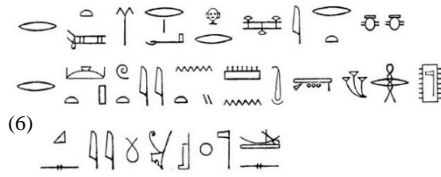
R tm rdi(w) ḥr irt(t) r ʾȝt twy nty mntȝ ḥnꜥ ḥwt nṯr (6) *ḳsy.n Wsir*
im.s.

On ne permettra pas que[103] le lait fasse défaut à cette butte où
se trouvent le bosquet-mntȝ et le temple (6) dans lequel Osiris
est inhumé[104].
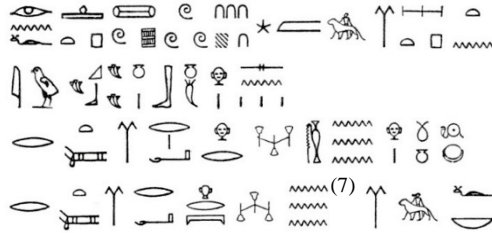
ʾIr n.f ḥtpw 365 m pḫr m spt tn, iw ḳbw n(y)w bn(i)w[105] *ḥr.sn.*
R tm rdi(w) ḥr ḳbḥw ḥr.sn rꜥ nb, r tm rdi(w) ḥr mw (7) *m-pḫr.f*
nb.

On dressera pour lui 365 tables d'offrande autour de ce terri-
toire, tandis que des feuilles de palme seront disposées sur
celles-ci. On ne permettra pas que les libations[106] sur celles-ci
viennent à manquer aucun jour, on ne permettra pas que l'eau
vienne à manquer (7) tout autour de ce territoire.

ʾIr(w) ḥt-nṯr m rꜥ nb in wꜥb ꜥȝ m ȝbd.f. Ḳbḥw n(y) ȝst, nb(t) ʾIw-rḳ,
ḥr ir(t) ḳbḥw im.sn rꜥ nb.

Le rituel divin sera accompli chaque jour par le grand-prêtre,
qui effectue son office mensuel. Le choachyte[107] d'Isis, dame de
Philae, accomplira la libation sur celles-ci chaque jour.

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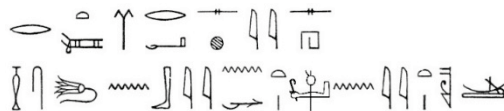
[103] Littéralement : *Pour ne pas permettre que...*

[104] Junker : *an dieser Stätte auf der der mntȝ-Hain und das Heiligtum,
in dem Osiris begraben wird, liegt* ; Roeder : *an dieser Stätte, auf welcher
der Mente-Baum und der heilige Begräbnisplatz des Osiris sich befinden* ;
Yoyotte : *à cette butte de l'arbre-*mentè *ni à (ce) temple où Osiris est
inhumé.*

[105] Voir *Wb.* I, p. 461 (12) : *bnr* ou *bni.*

[106] Roeder : *die Flüssigkeit.*

[107] Le choachyte ou « verseur de libation » (de χοή « libation » et χέω
« verser ») est le terme grec correspondant à l'égyptien *ḳbḥw* qui désigne les
prêtres spécialement chargés de faire les libations pour les morts. Voir J.
Yoyotte, P. Charvet et S. Gompertz, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

R tm rdỉ(w) sẖy sh(r) ḥsỉ n bynt wḏnyt[108].

On ne permettra pas de battre du tambourin et de jouer de la harpe ou du hautbois[109].
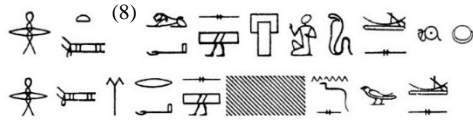
Ḥnᶜ tm (8) *rdỉ(w) sš s nb ỉm.s rᶜ nb, ḥnᶜ tm rdỉ(w) sš [wr] nḏs ỉm.s*[110].

Et on ne permettra (8) *à aucun homme d'y passer quel que soit le jour, et on ne permettra pas [au grand et] au petit*[111] *d'y passer.*
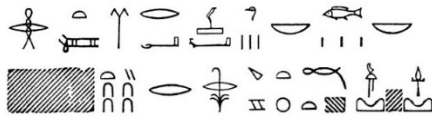
Ḥnᶜ tm rdỉ(w) grg ꜣpdw nbw rmw nbw […] 40 r Rsyw, Mḥty, 'Imtt, 'Ꜣbt.

Et on ne permettra de capturer aucun oiseau ni aucun poisson (sur une distance de) [x +] 40 (coudées) vers le Sud, le Nord, l'Ouest et l'Est.
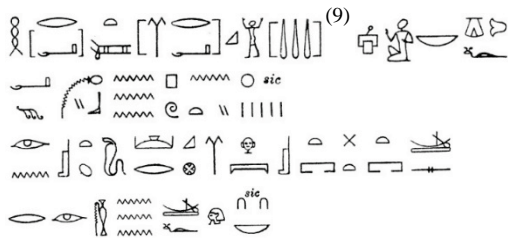
Ḥr tm rdỉ(w) ḳꜣ [mdw] (9) *s nb ẖr.f (m) ᶜḥᶜw*[112] *wᶜb pw n(y) hrw ỉr(w).n.f ꜣst, nbt 'Iw-rḳ, m ḥr(yt) st wrt ỉm.s r ỉr(t) ḳbḥw ỉm.f ḥr*[113] *hrw*[114] *10 nb.*

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[108] Le signe V25 (corde enroulée sur un bâton) est en combinaison avec le signe D40 (bras tenant un bâton) et forme un monogramme lu *wḏ* comme le signe simple V25. Or, comme le note S. EMERIT, « À propos de l'origine des interdits musicaux dans l'Égypte ancienne », dans *BIFAO* 102 (2002), p. 190, n. 8, le signe D40 est manquant dans le relevé de l'inscription chez JUNKER, p. 21, n° 42. Nous avons donc modifié le relevé de H. Junker à cet endroit dans notre copie.

[109] Selon S. Emerit, le terme *wḏnyt* désigne un double hautbois. Voir S. EMERIT, « À propos de l'origine des interdits musicaux dans l'Égypte ancienne », dans *BIFAO* 102 (2002), p. 199. Pour *ḥsỉ* + un instrument de musique dans le sens de « jouer d'un instrument », voir IDEM, p. 205.

[110] Les deux *ỉm.s* renvoient à *'Ꜣt wᶜbt*.

[111] JUNKER : *und es darf kein (Hoher ? oder) Niedriger sie betreten* ; ROEDER : *und daß [Laien und] Bürger es betreten*. Roeder imagine ainsi que ce passage devait préciser que l'interdiction de fouler le sol de l'*Abaton* était valable aussi bien pour les profanes en pèlerinage à Philae que pour les habitants de la région. Toutefois, il est plus probable que ce passage étende l'interdiction aux hommes riches et influents comme aux hommes de condition modeste.

[112] Voir *Wb.* I, p. 222-223.

Et on ne permettra d'élever la voix [(9)] *en contrebas*[115] *à aucun homme durant la période pure des jours qu'Isis, dame de Philae, y passe, en tant que celle qui est sur le Trône*[116], *afin d'accomplir alors*[117] *une libation tous les dix jours.*

Rdì(w)[118] *ḏȝy i(t)rw*[119] *[ȝst], nb(t) ['Iw-rḳ], r 'Iw wʿb<t> m hrw n(y)w ḥbw m-ḫnw wìȝ, [Gsdp ?]*[120] *rn.f.*

On fera en sorte qu'Isis, dame de Philae, traverse le fleuve jusqu'à l'Île pure lors des jours de fête[121], *à bord de la barque nommée Gesdep (?).*

1c. La rédaction divine du décret
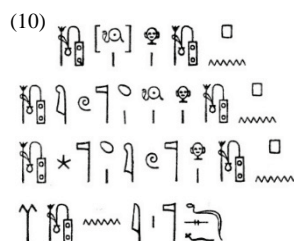
[(10)] *Sš Rʿ ḥr sš pn, sš Šw, sȝ Rʿ, ḥr sš pn, sš Gb, sȝ Šw, ḥr sš pn, m sš n(y) Ḏḥwty ḏs.f.*

[(10)] *Rê a signé cet écrit, Shou*[122], *fils de Rê, a signé cet écrit (et) Geb, fils de Shou, a signé cet écrit sur l'écrit de Thot lui-même*[123] *».*

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[113] Valeur *ḥr* du signe E3 dans DAUMAS, p. 143.

[114] Le Décret II fournit une variante permettant de corriger le premier signe 10 par *hrw*. Voir JUNKER, p. 23.

[115] Cette expression s'accorde bien avec le relief marqué de la Butte sacrée.

[116] Le « Trône » désigne le Saint des Saints du temple de Biggeh où s'installait la statue de la déesse Isis lorsqu'elle venait rendre hommage à son époux.

[117] Complément de temps équivalent à *durant cette période*.

[118] Valeur *di* du signe W143 dans DAUMAS, p. 777.

[119] Sur *ḏȝi ìtrw*, voir *Wb.* V, p. 512 (11).

[120] Restitution de JUNKER, p. 28, d'après la ligne 12 du Décret II.

[121] YOYOTTE : *lors des trois jours de fête.*

[122] « Shou, fils de Rê, qui réside à Senmet » (*šw sȝ Rʿ ḥry-ìb Snmt*) est mentionné dans une scène du Mammisi de Philae. Voir G. ZAKI, *op.cit.*, p. 136, doc. n°54 ; H. JUNKER et E. WINTER, *Das Geburtshaus des Tempels der Isis in Philä* II, p. 74-75, photo 938.

[123] JUNKER : *(es ist) von Thot selbst geschrieben.* Le décret est présenté comme une décision de Rê, le dieu suprême, en faveur d'Osiris, le dieu assassiné et devenu maître de l'Au-delà. Ce document, contresigné par les successeurs de Rê sur son trône, le dieu de l'air Shou et le dieu de la terre

2. Les reliefs de la Porte d'Hadrien

2a. Les représentations du mur nord

La source du Nil et le Ba d'Osiris

Dans l'angle gauche du mur nord figure l'île de Biggeh. L'on y observe, posés au-dessus des rochers, un vautour et un faucon qui représentent Isis et Horus.

Fig. 7. La source du Nil et le Ba d'Osiris

Cette figuration de la caverne du Nil constitue une image mythique et imaginaire de l'*Abaton* qui a l'apparence d'une caverne (*tpḥt*) creusée au pied d'une falaise. Elle enferme en son sein, dans les contours circulaires d'un serpent, le Nil fécondateur, le génie Hâpy, assimilé à Osiris, qui déverse symboliquement l'inondation à l'aide de vases à libation.

Devant la caverne, Hathor-Isis, à tête de vache, verse une libation sur le bosquet sur lequel est posé le Ba d'Osiris. Les rochers de l'île renferment la tombe du dieu qui est décrite en légende comme « celle qui est dissimulée et cachée, la haute colline (*ḏw ḳȝ*) dans Biggeh (*Snmt*) »[124]. Nous reviendrons sur le reste de la scène dans l'examen du texte de Claudien.

Geb, et rédigé par Thot lui-même, nous apprend que l'*Abaton* était dédié au silence et au calme, étant consacré à Osiris et voué à son sommeil éternel. Au niveau de la structure, les recommandations positives (libations, rites à accomplir) précèdent lès recommandations négatives (multiples interdictions) du décret.

[124] S. CAUVILLE, M. IBRAHIM ALI, *Philæ : Itinéraire du visiteur*, Louvain, 2013, p. 267.

Les dieux garants du décret

Les dieux représentés à droite sont, de gauche à droite, Isis et Nephtys, Rê-Horakhty et Amon.

Fig. 8. Les dieux garants du décret

Rê-Horakhty tient en main l'étui-*mks*[125], tandis qu'Amon tend à Osiris le signe de vie. Dans la légende, Rê-Horakhty s'adresse à Osiris : « Je fais pour toi un décret valable dans tout le pays, concernant ta nécropole sacrée dans la Butte pure »[126].

2b. Les représentations du mur sud

Le relief d'Osiris dans le bosquet mnt₃ (côté gauche)

Osiris est présenté en gloire, entouré d'Isis et de Nephtys en adoration (fig. 9). La scène évoque le bosquet *mnt₃*, dans lequel Osiris se fond complètement, et le canal proche de l'*Abaton* par le biais du signe hiéroglyphique du canal gravé sous les pieds du dieu. Ce relief offre donc une information topographique des plus précieuses : le bosquet *mnt₃* prospérait le long d'un canal. En effet, bien que les textes rassemblés dans cette étude ne donnent que peu de données quant à la localisation précise du bosquet sacré, une formule plus explicite de Philae évoque devant Osiris de Shenâ-khen, la butte sacrée du 21ᵉ nome de Haute-Égypte, « les arbres (qui) verdoient *à l'orifice de* son Abîme (*dw₃t*) »[127].

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[125] Il s'agit d'un étui cylindrique contenant les actes établissant la légitimité du roi, en l'occurrence Rê. Voir É. Drioton, *Pages d'Égyptologie*, Le Caire, 1957, p. 311.

[126] S. Cauville, M. Ibrahim Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

[127] J. Yoyotte, « Études géographiques I. La « Cité des Acacias » (Kafr Ammar) », dans *RdÉ* 13 (1961), p. 100 : la *dw₃t* mentionnée fait référence à un « abîme souterrain, identique ou comparable à la grande *Dw₃t* cosmique

Fig. 9. Le relief d'Osiris dans le bosquet *mnt3*

Le bosquet sacré devait verdoyer *tout autour* du temple d'Osiris contenant la sépulture du dieu. Il est clair également que le bois avait pour fonction non seulement de protéger la tombe d'Osiris[128], mais aussi de marquer une séparation entre mondes divin et humain, entre sacré et profane, en dissimulant la sépulture dans la « colline » derrière un mur de verdure. Dans son ensemble, il symbolisait la renaissance perpétuelle d'Osiris.

Le transport de la momie d'Osiris vers Biggeh
(côté droit, au-dessus de l'embrasure de la porte)

Durant la nuit, Osiris, sous la forme d'une momie, est trans-porté par un crocodile[129] à tête de faucon (Horus) de l'autre côté du Nil, vers l'île de Biggeh illustrée par les rochers. Osiris,

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qui existait sous notre monde et d'où montait la force du Nil », c'est-à-dire le monde souterrain des morts, royaume d'Osiris.

[128] Cette protection naturelle est renforcée par la garde protectrice des dieux morts qui veillaient sur leur ancêtre Osiris. Isis et Nephtys échan-geaient parfois cette tâche avec les deux déesses locales Satis et Anoukis, ce qui témoigne de la popularité de la triade d'Éléphantine dans la région et à Biggeh. Voir G. ZAKI, *op. cit.*, p. 196 et D. VALBELLE, *Satis et Anoukis* (*SDAIK* 8), Mayence, 1981, p. 141. Onze puissants génies à tête de chien, de bélier, d'homme ou de faucon, sont présents dans les représentations du temple de Biggeh. Armés de couteaux, ils incarnent une protection supplé-mentaire. Voir A. M. BLACKMAN, *The temple of Bîgeh* (Les Temples im-mergés de la Nubie), Le Caire, 1915, p. 33-34.

[129] Horus est assimilé à Sobek d'Ombos, chargé dans la théologie locale du rapatriement du corps d'Osiris. Voir G. ZAKI, « Sobek et le rapatriement d'Osiris à *ˁt-ˁ3t* à l'époque romaine », dans *Göttinger Miszellen* 188 (2002), p. 103-108.

assis sur un trône, est identifié avec le soleil[130], Horus l'enfant étant à ses côtés. La double colline de l'horizon évoque le paysage de Biggeh. Isis se tient à gauche comme si elle venait de Philae rendre hommage à son époux défunt[131]. Des plants de papyrus occupent le bas de la scène et font songer à un endroit marécageux aux abords du Nil. Ces fourrés de papyrus peuvent renvoyer soit à la nature marécageuse de la rive orientale de Biggeh à l'époque, attestée chez Servius (*cf. infra*), soit à l'origine de cet épisode des Mystères d'Osiris qui se déroulait dans le Delta[132].

Fig. 10. Le transport de la momie d'Osiris vers Biggeh

Après examen, les textes et les reliefs de la Porte d'Hadrien à Philae démontrent donc l'étroite relation théologique et iconographique qui unit Philae et Biggeh.

D. Un relief du temple d'Hibis à Khargeh

L'île de Biggeh abritait une relique[133], la jambe gauche d'Osiris, appelée ⸗ *siȝty* et surnommée « la Grande-

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[130] Le sycomore, établi sur le tertre de l'*Abaton* et assimilé à Osiris, est justement lié à la naissance du soleil.

[131] Notons que la disposition du mur respecte la géographie environnante : Biggeh devait se trouver vers la droite, comme les rochers suggérés sur la droite de la représentation, dans l'angle ouest.

[132] S. CAUVILLE, M. IBRAHIM ALI, *Philæ : Itinéraire du visiteur*, Louvain, 2013, p. 272.

[133] Sur la relique de Biggeh, voir É. CHASSINAT, *Le mystère d'Osiris au mois de Khoïak*, Le Caire, 1966, p. 153 et 375 ; D. VALBELLE, *Satis et Anoukis* (SDAIK 8), Mayence, 1981, p. 62, n°302 ; H. BEINLICH, *Die Osirisreliquien : zum Motiv der Körperzergliederung in der altägyptischen Religion* (Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 42), Wiesbaden, 1984, p. 209-210. Sur les reliques d'Osiris dans leur ensemble, voir L. COULON, « Les reliques d'Osiris en Égypte ancienne : données générales et particularismes thébains », dans P. BORGEAUD et Y. VOLKHINE, *Les objets de la mémoire : pour une approche comparatiste des reliques et de leur culte* (Studia religiosa Helvetica 10-11), Berne, 2005, p. 15-46.

Noble » (*srt-wrt*)[134]. Une représentation de la relique de Biggeh sous la forme du reliquaire abydénien se trouve au temple d'Hibis à l'oasis de Khargah dans le désert occidental (fig. 11).

Le reliquaire surmonte la « Haute colline » (Fig. 7) sise sur le signe de l'or ⟨𓋞⟩, le territoire de l'*Abaton* étant « d'or »[135]. Par les vertus de cette relique, lors de la crue annuelle, les eaux du Nil jaillissaient à foison pour fertiliser les villes de Thébaïde et toute la Haute-Égypte[136]. Sur la droite de l'image ci-dessous se dresse un magnifique faucon orné de la double couronne royale, qui représente Horus, à queue de crocodile[137], ce qui témoigne de l'implication d'Horus dans l'enterrement de son père et la protection de sa dépouille comme dans le relief précédent visible à Philae.
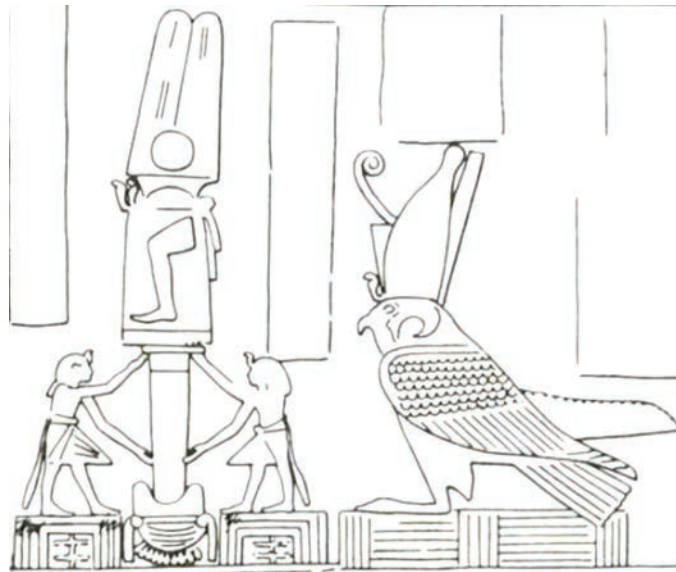
Fig. 11. Relief du temple d'Hibis
(N. DE GARIS DAVIES, *The Temple of Hibis in El-Khargeh Oasis.
Part III : The Decoration*, New York, 1953, planche IV.1)

En outre, l'*Abaton* est en connexion avec le lieu caché, l'abîme (*dw3t*), d'où monte l'inondation, issue des lymphes (*rdw*) du cadavre d'Osiris[138]. La jambe gauche est cachée dans une *dw3t* : *Isis remonte vers l'Abaton, elle pénètre dans le gouffre de l'abîme (dw3t) et y trouve les deux jambes d'Osiris*

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[134] Voir *Wb.* IV, p. 32 (7). On trouve aussi simplement « la jambe » (*wʿrt*). Voir G. ZAKI, *Le Premier Nome de Haute-Égypte,* Turnhout, 2009, p. 227.

[135] Voir Décret I, col. 5 : *le saint territoire d'or d'Osiris et de sa sœur Isis.* Le signe de l'or est fréquemment utilisé dans le temple de Biggeh sous des déesses ou des cartouches. Voir A. M. BLACKMAN, *The temple of Bîgeh* (Les Temples immergés de la Nubie), Le Caire, 1915, planche XXIV.

[136] J. YOYOTTE, « Études géographiques I. La « Cité des Acacias » (Kafr Ammar) », dans *RdÉ* 13 (1961), p. 102. JUNKER, p. 27-41.

[137] Voir G. ZAKI, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

[138] J. YOYOTTE, *loc. cit.*, p. 102 ; JUNKER, p. 37-40.

en action[139]. Un relief de Philae figurant la relique de Biggeh montre le bassin et les membres inférieurs du dieu ; l'eau qui jaillit de la cuisse gauche est recueillie par Isis et Nephthys[140]. Shenâ-khen (Acanthôn) conserve aussi la jambe gauche[141].

II. Les sources classiques

A. DIODORE DE SICILE, *Bibliothèque historique*, I, 22

Le témoignage de Diodore, qui date du Ier siècle avant notre ère, est le texte classique le plus ancien conservé sur l'*Abaton* de Biggeh. L'auteur tire ses informations de témoignages oraux ou écrits recueillis à Alexandrie, ainsi que d'ouvrages antérieurs aujourd'hui perdus, notamment celui d'Hécatée d'Abdère[142].

Après la mort d'Osiris, Isis, nous raconte Diodore, régna avec justice sur l'Égypte. Enlevée aux hommes, elle bénéficia d'honneurs divins. Son corps fut enterré à Memphis, où l'on montre encore, à l'époque de Diodore, le tombeau d'Isis dans le temple d'Héphaïstos, identifié au dieu égyptien Ptah. Toutefois, certains contestent cette tradition (édition de P. Bertrac *et al.*, traduction personnelle inspirée de celle d'Y. Vernière[143]) :

Ἔνιοι δέ φασιν οὐκ ἐν Μέμφει κεῖσθαι τὰ σώματα τούτων τῶν θεῶν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τῶν ὅρων τῆς Αἰθιοπίας καὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου κατὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ Νείλῳ νῆσον, κειμένην μὲν πρὸς ταῖς καλουμέναις Φίλαις, ἔχουσαν δὲ προσηγορίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος Ἱερὸν Πεδίον. Σημεῖα δὲ τούτου δεικνύουσιν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ταύτῃ διαμένοντα τόν τε τάφον τὸν κατεσκευασμένον Ὀσίριδι, κοινῇ τιμώμενον ὑπὸ τῶν κατ᾽ Αἴγυπτον ἱερέων, καὶ τὰς περὶ τοῦτον κειμένας χοὰς ἑξήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίας· ταύτας γὰρ καθ᾽ ἑκάστην ἡμέραν γάλακτος πληροῦν τοὺς πρὸς τούτοις ταχθέντας ἱερεῖς, καὶ θρηνεῖν ἀνακαλουμένους τὰ τῶν θεῶν ὀνόματα. Διὰ ταύτην δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ τὴν νῆσον ταύτην ἄβατον εἶναι τοῖς παριοῦσι. Καὶ πάντας τοὺς τὴν Θηβαΐδα κατοικοῦντας, ἥπερ ἐστὶν ἀρχαιοτάτη τῆς Αἰγύπτου, μέγιστον ὅρκον κρίνειν, ὅταν τις Ὄσιριν τὸν ἐν Φίλαις κείμενον ὀμόσῃ.

Cependant, certains disent que les corps de ces dieux (Osiris et Isis) *ne reposent pas à Memphis, mais aux frontières de l'Éthiopie et de l'Égypte, au cœur d'une île sur le Nil, qui est située en face d'un lieu nommé Philae et qui a reçu pour*

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[139] JUNKER, p. 79.

[140] JUNKER, p. 40, fig. 9.

[141] J. YOYOTTE, *loc. cit.*, p. 102. Sur les répliques de la jambe d'Osiris en Haute-Égypte (à Thèbes, à Edfou, etc.), voir L. COULON, *loc. cit.*, p. 37.

[142] Historien des IVe et IIIe siècles avant notre ère, Hécatée d'Abdère est l'auteur d'*Aegyptiaca*, œuvre aujourd'hui perdue traitant d'histoire et de religion égyptiennes.

[143] *Diodore de Sicile, Bibliothèque historique* (CUF), texte établi par P. BERTRAC et al., traduit par Y. VERNIÈRE, Paris, 1993, p. 56-57.

cela[144] *le nom de « Sol sacré ». Ils montrent, comme preuves de cette affirmation, des indices qui subsistent dans cette île, le tombeau érigé en l'honneur d'Osiris et vénéré en commun par les prêtres d'Égypte, ainsi que les 360 vases à libations qui se trouvent autour de lui. En effet, chaque jour, les prêtres chargés de cette fonction remplissent de lait ces (vases) et entonnent des chants funèbres en invoquant les dieux par leur nom. C'est pour cette raison que cette île est interdite d'accès (ἄβατον) aux visiteurs. Et tous les habitants de la Thébaïde, qui est la région la plus ancienne d'Égypte, estiment comme le plus grand serment lorsqu'on jure par Osiris qui gît à Philae.*

Au niveau microtoponymique, Ἱερὸν Πεδίον, « sol sacré », est une bonne traduction de l'égyptien *Ȝt wʿbt*, « butte pure ». Par ailleurs, Diodore évoque des « indices qui subsistent dans cette île », qui correspondent probablement au temple ptolémaïque de Biggeh. Les deux monuments importants de l'île sont mentionnés par le Décret I : il s'agit du temple et de la tombe d'Osiris qu'il renferme. Or, de façon similaire au Décret I, Diodore mentionne conjointement les διαμένοντα, c'est-à-dire les *vestiges* du complexe cultuel fonctionnel à l'époque de Diodore, et le tombeau érigé en l'honneur d'Osiris (τόν τε τάφον τὸν κατεσκευασμένον Ὀσίριδι).

Comparons à présent le texte de Diodore à celui du Décret à propos des libations rituelles :

Diodore : *Ils montrent, comme preuves de cette affirmation, des indices qui subsistent dans cette île, le tombeau érigé en l'honneur d'Osiris et vénéré en commun par les prêtres d'Égypte, ainsi que les 360 vases à libations qui se trouvent autour de lui.*

Décret I : *On dressera pour lui 365 tables d'offrande autour de ce territoire, tandis que des feuilles de palme seront disposées sur celles-ci. On ne permettra pas que les libations sur celles-ci ne viennent à manquer aucun jour, ni que l'eau ne vienne à manquer tout autour de ce territoire.*

Au lieu des 365 tables d'offrande du Décret, Diodore parle de 360 vases à libation. Mais il rend correctement *ḥtpw* par χοὰς, car les offrandes consistaient principalement en libations de lait. D'après Hermann Junker, les libations (*ḥtpw* – χοὰς) se composaient uniquement de lait et non d'eau à Philae, en raison de l'influence des coutumes religieuses nubiennes[145]. Les prêtres entretenaient, à la place d'Isis et d'Horus-Khnoum[146], la

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[144] C'est-à-dire parce que cette île contient la dépouille d'Osiris.

[145] JUNKER, p. 76 ; J. W. YELLIN, « *Abaton*-Style Milk Libation at Meroe », dans *Meroitic Studies* 6 (1982), p. 151-155.

[146] Horus était étroitement associé à Khnoum à la première cataracte où le dieu de la fertilité était prédominant.

vigueur d'Osiris à l'origine de la crue, en vivifiant les arbres de son bosquet au moyen de libations versées à partir des tables disposées le long des arbres.

En dépit de la légère erreur de dénombrement, il y a donc un accord presque complet entre le Décret et le témoignage de Diodore, qui montre que l'historien disposait de bonnes sources. En revanche, une différence subsiste entre les assertions de Diodore et le Décret : alors que ce dernier affirme que les tables à libation étaient dressées *autour de ce territoire* (*m pḫr m spt tn*), l'historien relate que les mêmes tables, évoquées par le biais des vases à libation, se trouvaient *autour du tombeau d'Osiris* (περὶ τοῦτον). Mais à quoi fait référence ce *territoire* qui apparaît dans le Décret I ? Etant donné la nature escarpée et rocheuse de Biggeh, il semble que ce *territoire* ne désigne pas l'ensemble de l'île, mais la partie du temple censée contenir la tombe d'Osiris. En effet, le terme *spt* est parfois utilisé pour décrire une nécropole[147]. Les deux textes disposent dès lors les tables à libation *autour* du sépulcre.

Comparons à présent les deux textes en ce qui concerne les prêtres concernés et leurs fonctions :

> **Diodore** : *En effet, chaque jour, les prêtres chargés de cette fonction remplissent de lait ces (vases) et entonnent des chants funèbres en invoquant les dieux par leur nom.*

> **Décret I** : *Le rituel divin sera accompli chaque jour par le grand-prêtre, qui effectue son office mensuel. Le choachyte d'Isis, dame de Philae, accomplira la libation sur celles-ci chaque jour.*

Selon les deux sources, ce sont des prêtres dotés d'un statut particulier qui accomplissent les rites de libation et du culte divin : Diodore parle de prêtres chargés de plusieurs tâches auxquels correspondent deux prêtres distincts et spécialisés dans le Décret. Le texte égyptien est plus précis, puisqu'il attribue les deux fonctions décrites par Diodore respectivement à un grand-prêtre (*wꜥb ꜥꜣ*) et à un choachyte (*ḳbḥw*), membres de la classe supérieure des prêtres-*wꜥbw*, les prêtres initiés[148]. En effet, les classes inférieures de prêtres (prêtres-lecteurs ou ritualistes) étaient sans doute exclues de l'accès à l'île sacrée[149]. Bien que Diodore ne fait qu'évoquer l'emplissage de vases avec du lait, il est clair qu'il fait référence aux libations rituelles. Le choachyte d'Isis devait utiliser une table à libation différente pour chaque jour de l'année. Ainsi, le Décret se révèle, de façon tout à fait cohérente, plus proche des réalités locales et il offre plus de nuances et de précisions.

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[147] *Wb.* IV, p. 98-99.

[148] Voir G. ZAKI, *Le Premier Nome de Haute-Égypte du IIIᵉ siècle avant J.-C. au VIIᵉ siècle après J.-C.*, Turnhout, 2009, p. 181.

[149] JUNKER, p. 76.

D'après Diodore, plusieurs prêtres étaient là pour « entonner des chants funèbres en invoquant les dieux par leur nom » (θρηνεῖν ἀνακαλουμένους τὰ τῶν θεῶν ὀνόματα). Notons qu'il est le seul des auteurs classiques à mentionner des « chants funèbres ». Si Junker interprète ces chants comme des chants de lamentations sur la mort d'Osiris[150], pour notre part, nous y verrions volontiers le « rituel divin accompli chaque jour par le grand-prêtre » mentionné par le Décret, c'est-à-dire le Rituel du culte divin journalier[151], dont le contenu est intimement lié à la mort d'Osiris et à sa résurrection, et qui, de surcroît, regorge d'invocations et d'épithètes divines. À ce sujet, les lamentations occupaient une grande place dans la célébration des Mystères osiriens, comme en atteste le papyrus Dogson[152]. Toutefois, Diodore indique que ces chants funèbres étaient célébrés *quotidiennement*, comme dans le cas du Rituel du culte divin journalier, alors que les Mystères n'étaient organisés qu'une fois par an.

Nous constatons chez Diodore une reproduction consciencieuse des lignes directrices du Décret[153], reproduites dans l'ordre exact du texte égyptien. Le nom et la situation de l'île sont fidèlement rendus, de même que son caractère sacré. Comme dans le Décret, Diodore évoque le tombeau d'Osiris, puis les libations, les rites journaliers et l'interdiction d'accès. Malgré une légère déformation au niveau du nombre de tables à libation, il est possible d'affirmer que Diodore disposait d'une source fiable et fidèle[154], d'origine égyptienne.

B. STRABON, *Géographie*, XVII, 44

Strabon rapporte une interdiction de la musique semblable à celle pratiquée sur l'*Abaton* de Biggeh (édition de H. L. Jones[155] ; traduction personnelle inspirée de celle de S. Emerit[156]) :

Ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀβύδῳ τιμῶσι τὸν Ὄσιριν· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ὀσίριδος οὐκ ἔξεστιν οὔτε ᾠδὸν οὔτε αὐλητὴν οὔτε ψάλτην ἀπάρχεσθαι τῷ θεῷ, καθάπερ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς ἔθος.

À Abydos on vénère Osiris ; et dans le temple d'Osiris il n'est permis ni à un chanteur, ni à un aulète*, ni à un har-*

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[150] JUNKER, p. 76.

[151] A. MORET, *Le rituel du culte divin journalier en Égypte d'après les papyrus de Berlin et les textes du temple de Séti Ier à Abydos* (Annales du Musée Guimet. Bibliothèque d'études, 14), Paris, 1902.

[152] JUNKER, p. 77.

[153] *Ibidem.*

[154] *Ibidem.*

[155] *The geography of Strabo. Volume VIII. Book 17* (The Loeb classical library 267), traduit par H. L. JONES, London, 1966-1970.

[156] S. EMERIT, « À propos de l'origine des interdits musicaux dans l'Égypte ancienne », dans *BIFAO* 102 (2002), p. 193.

piste de préluder aux rites en l'honneur du dieu, comme il est d'usage de le faire pour les autres dieux.

Comparons l'interdiction de la musique décrite par Strabon au sujet du temple d'Abydos et celle rapportée par le Décret I au sujet de l'*Abaton* :

Strabon : *(...) et dans le temple d'Osiris il n'est permis ni à un chanteur, ni à un* aulète*, ni à un harpiste de préluder aux rites en l'honneur du dieu, comme il est d'usage de le faire pour les autres dieux.*

Décret I : *On ne permettra pas de battre du tambourin et de jouer de la harpe ou du hautbois.*

Le double hautbois (*wḏnyt*, nommé αὐλός par Strabon) et la harpe sont prohibés dans les deux lieux sacrés[157]. Toutefois, Strabon se distingue par la mention d'une interdiction liée au chant et par la précision du moment concerné. Selon nous, Strabon fait peut-être allusion à l'absence particulière de chant et d'accompagnement musical aux prémices des cérémonies du rituel journalier célébré dans le temple d'Abydos en l'honneur d'Osiris. L'interdit abydénien se limiterait donc à un moment précis de silence observé quotidiennement.

De façon similaire à Biggeh, l'interdiction formelle de la musique et du bruit devait être limitée à certaines périodes, en l'occurrence aux Mystères d'Osiris et aux jours sacrés de la venue d'Isis à Biggeh[158]. En effet, dans le Décret, l'interdit musical est le seul à ne pas être suivi de *rꜥ nb*, « quotidienne-ment », ce qui indique son « caractère transitoire »[159]. La diver-sité des instruments concernés reflète un rejet global du bruit[160] à Biggeh. Le Décret ne mentionne également pas le chant, qui était sans doute autorisé à Biggeh comme en atteste Diodore de Sicile (*cf. supra*). Il semble qu'une loi générale, dépassant le cadre de Biggeh, s'appliquait aux lieux contenant une relique de la dépouille d'Osiris et imposait un silence rituel lié au deuil[161] et au repos tranquille d'Osiris.

C. Sénèque, *Questions naturelles*, IV A, 2, 7

Voici le texte de Sénèque (-1~+65) (édition de P. Oltramare, traduction personnelle inspirée de celle de P. Oltramare[162]) :

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[157] Les termes musicaux utilisés par Strabon dans cet extrait renvoient à des réalités égyptiennes au moyen de mots grecs interprétables suivant le contexte local. Voir S. Emerit, *loc. cit.*, p. 197.

[158] Voir Décret I, l. 7 ; 9. Idem, p. 207.

[159] *Ibidem.*

[160] Idem, p. 203.

[161] Idem, p. 197.

[162] *Sénèque. Questions naturelles,* vol. II, texte établi et traduit par P. Oltramare, Paris, 1929, p. 182.

Primum incrementum Nili circa insulam quam modo rettuli Philas uisitur. Exiguo ab hac spatio petra diuiditur – Abaton Graeci uocant, nec illam ulli nisi antistites calcant ; illa primum saxa auctum fluminis sentiunt. Post magnum deinde spatium duo eminent scopuli – Nili uenas uocant incolae – ex quibus magna uis funditur, non tamen quanta operire possit Aegyptum. In haec ora stipem sacerdotes et aurea dona praefecti, cum sollemne uenit sacrum, iaciunt.

C'est aux alentours de Philae, l'île dont je parlais à l'instant, que l'on voit le début de la crue du Nil. À une faible distance de celle-ci, il est divisé par un rocher – les Grecs l'appellent Ἄβατον, *et il n'est permis à personne sauf aux prêtres d'y mettre le pied ; ces pierres sont les premières à sentir la montée du fleuve. À une grande distance de là, s'élèvent deux écueils – les habitants les appellent les « Veines du Nil » –, desquels un fort courant d'eau se répand, mais pas au point de couvrir l'Égypte. Lorsque revient la fête sacrée annuelle, les prêtres jettent dans ces bouches du fleuve l'offrande rituelle et les présents en or du préfet.*

Sénèque semble bien informé sur la situation géographique de Biggeh, qu'il situe à peu de distance de Philae en décrivant l'*Abaton* comme une île rocheuse. Sa dernière phrase renvoie à la légende selon laquelle le Nil prendrait sa source au niveau des écueils, des montagnes de Biggeh. Cette vision mythique a une grande portée théologique, puisque c'est à partir de l'île où repose Osiris, identifié au Nil, que renaît le fleuve lors de sa crue, tout comme le dieu se régénère dans sa tombe. Parmi les sources classiques concernant l'*Abaton* de Biggeh, Sénèque est le seul à parler d'offrande rituelle (*stipem*) jetée dans le Nil, action qui symboliserait un don direct à Osiris-Nil.

Les *uenae Nili* étaient deux pointes rocheuses situées sur les rives opposées du fleuve entre Syène et Éléphantine et d'où, pensait-on, émergeaient les sources du Nil. Il faut probablement les identifier aux δυὸ ὄρεα dont parle Hérodote en II, 28, en les nommant Κρῶφι et Μῶφι[163], mais aussi avec les *duae petrae* de Sénèque, *Quaestiones naturales*, 6, 8, 4[164]. Comme l'atteste la représentation des sources du Nil à Philae (fig. 7), les deux montagnes mentionnées par Hérodote et le gouffre peuvent être localisées à hauteur de Biggeh, sinon plus haut[165]. Comme le bras du Nil entre Biggeh et Philae est particulièrement encais-

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[163] H. BEINLICH, « Die Nilquellen nach Herodot », dans *ZÄS* 106 (1979), p. 11-14, interprète ces toponymes comme deux phrases égyptiennes qu'Hérodote fut incapable de comprendre : *ḳrw pꜣy*, « C'est la berge » (désignant Syène), et *mꜣt pꜣy*, « C'est l'île » (désignant Éléphantine).

[164] Voir *M. Annaei Lucani Bellum civile. Liber X*, texte établi par E. BERTI, Florence, 2000, p. 243.

[165] J. YOYOTTE, « Études géographiques I. La « Cité des Acacias » (Kafr Ammar) », dans *RdÉ* 13 (1961), p. 104 ; JUNKER, p. 37 sq.

sé[166], les théologiens de Philae ont imaginé que l'inondation naissait de ces profondeurs.

En outre, le préfet romain d'Égypte devait sans doute se concilier le clergé puissant de l'*Abaton* de Biggeh. C'est pourquoi il lui offrait des présents en or (*aurea dona*) pour la fête sacrée annuelle (*sollemne sacrum*).

Malgré le manque d'informations précises sur la topographie de l'*Abaton* lui-même, l'extrait de Sénèque insiste sur le lien entre le retour de la crue du Nil et l'île rocheuse de Biggeh, la première terre égyptienne à « sentir la montée du fleuve » (*illa primum saxa auctum fluminis sentiunt*).

D. Lucain, *La guerre civile*, X, 323-326

Lucain (39-65) montre César prononçant un discours admiratif sur le Nil auquel il s'adresse. À l'approche de Philae, le Nil, dit-il, rassemble ses ondes, puis franchit violemment les rapides qui forment la première cataracte. Au-delà s'élève une roche sacrée (édition et traduction personnelles inspirées de celles d'A. Bourgery et M. Ponchont[167]) :

323 Hinc, Abaton[168] quam nostra uocat ueneranda uetustas,
324 terra potens[169] primos sentit percussa tumultus

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[166] A. Bernand, *Inscriptions grecques de Philae*, II, Paris, 1969, p. 131, n°158.

[167] *Lucain. La guerre civile (La Pharsale)*, texte établi et traduit par A. Bourgery et M. Ponchont, Paris, 1926-1929, p. 197.

[168] La forme *Abaton* que présente cet extrait est l'accusatif féminin singulier de type grec du mot *Abatos, -i* (issu du mot grec ἄβατον). Citant le vers 323 de Lucain, le passage de Servius sur l'*Abaton* atteste la forme *Abatos*, et non *Abaton*. Il semble que Servius ait mal compris la construction de Lucain en citant le seul vers 323 avec le relatif *quam*, alors qu'il ne cite pas le vers 324 qui contient son antécédent, *terra potens*, indispensable au sens et au respect de la syntaxe latine.

[169] L'édition d'A. Bourgery et M. Ponchont privilégie la conjecture du philologue humaniste français du XVIᵉ siècle Claude Saumaise : *petra patens*, « large roche ». L'expression *terra potens* a certes suscité de nombreux doutes, mais la leçon attestée est défendue par A. Hudson-Williams (« Notes on Some Passages of Lucan », dans *The American Journal of Philology* 97.2 (1976), p. 134-137), qui, reprenant une idée avancée dans une note de l'édition de Bourgery-Ponchont, propose de comprendre *potens* dans un sens religieux par référence à l'importance de l'*Abaton* comme lieu de culte (*potens* (*numine dei*)). Un parallèle assez proche se trouve notamment dans la Thébaïde de Stace (8, 337). De plus, la leçon attestée par les manuscrits constitue une *lectio difficilior* et semble donner plus de sens au texte. Le terme *potens* signifierait alors « très sacré », « sacro-saint », avec un sens plus fort que celui du terme *sacer*. Les inscriptions grecques de Philae qualifient l'Ἄβατον de πολύσεμνον, « très vénérable », « très auguste», épithète également plus expressive que ἱερόν. Voir A. Bernand, *Inscriptions grecques de Philae*, II, Paris, 1969, p. 131, n° 158 ; R. Cagnat, J. Toutain et G. Lafaye, *Inscriptiones graecae ad res romanas pertinentes*, I, Chicago, 1975, p. 5, n° 1313.

325 et scopuli, placuit fluuii quos dicere uenas,
326 quod manifesta noui primum dant signa tumoris.

Au-delà, une terre douée de vertus surnaturelles, que notre vénérable tradition nomme Abatos, ressent la première le choc des flots tumultueux, de même que les écueils qu'il parut bon d'appeler les « Veines du fleuve », parce qu'ils fournissent les premiers signes visibles de la nouvelle crue.

Il est clair que Lucain s'est inspiré du passage de Sénèque sur l'*Abaton*. Les parallélismes lexicaux qui suivent suffisent à établir un rapprochement et une filiation entre les deux sources : *scopuli* ; *Nili uenas* (Sénèque) et *fluuii uenas* (Lucain) ; *primum sentiunt* (Sénèque) et *primos sentit* (Lucain). De plus, les vers 324 et 326 reprennent l'idée de Sénèque lorsqu'il dit que « ces pierres sont les premières à sentir la montée du fleuve » (*illa primum saxa auctum fluminis sentiunt*). Les similitudes avec le texte de Sénèque sont évidentes et le passage de Lucain montre une bonne compréhension de celui-ci[170]. Lucain pouvait avoir eu connaissance de l'importance religieuse de l'île – outre la mention de prêtres (*antistites*), d'une « offrande rituelle » (*stipem*) et d'une « fête sacrée annuelle » (*solemne sacrum*) dans l'extrait précédent de Sénèque[171] – grâce à un traité sur les coutumes religieuses des Égyptiens écrit par ce dernier mais aujourd'hui perdu, qui fournissait sans doute des informations plus détaillées. Lucain a également pu tirer de plus amples informations du passage de Diodore de Sicile examiné plus haut. Un argument en faveur de cette hypothèse est la proximité sémantique entre les expressions *terra potens* (Lucain) et Ἱερὸν Πεδίον (Diodore).

Parmi les sources classiques, seuls les extraits de Sénèque et de Lucain font état de la proximité des sources du Nil et de l'*Abaton*. Passant sous silence le motif véritable justifiant la sacralité du lieu (la présence de la tombe d'Osiris), les deux écrivains latins semblent croire que le caractère sacré du lieu est précisément dû à la proximité des sources du Nil. C'est pourquoi Lucain évoque avec emphase la haute sacralité de l'*Abaton*, de même que le caractère surnaturel attribué à l'île. Dès lors, ils omettent tous deux d'évoquer les interdits liés à la présence de la sépulture divine.

E. PLUTARQUE, *Œuvres morales*, *Sur Isis et Osiris*, 20

D'après Plutarque (vers 46-126), certains Égyptiens croient que le cadavre d'Osiris fut enseveli à Abydos, d'autres pensent

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[170] E. Berti estime à l'inverse que ce passage de Lucain est assez confus et donne l'impression d'une lecture hâtive de la source. Voir *M. Annaei Lucani Bellum civile. Liber X*, texte établi par E. BERTI, Florence, 2000, p. 243.

[171] Notons que Lucain omet ces éléments textuels dans son œuvre, puisqu'il ne fait qu'évoquer l'*Abaton*.

qu'il le fut à Memphis, mais d'autres situent sa tombe sur une petite île inaccessible près de Philae (édition de Ch. Froidefond, traduction personnelle inspirée de celles de Ch. Froidefond et d'H. Junker[172]) :

> Τὴν δὲ πρὸς Φιλαῖς νησῖδα τηνάλλως μὲν ἄβατον ἅπασι καὶ ἀπροσπέλαστον εἶναι καὶ μηδ᾽ ὄρνιθας ἐπ᾽αὐτὴν καταίρειν μηδ᾽ ἰχθῦς προσπελάζειν, ἑνὶ δὲ καιρῷ τοὺς ἱερεῖς διαβαίνοντας ἐναγίζειν καὶ καταστέφειν τὸ σῆμα μηθίδος[173] φυτῷ περισκιαζόμενον ὑπεραίροντι πάσης ἐλαίας μέγεθος.

> *On dit qu'il est habituellement interdit* (ἄβατον) *à tous d'aborder et d'approcher la petite île située près de Philae, et que les oiseaux ne s'y posent pas et que les poissons ne s'en approchent pas. Mais, à un moment déterminé, les prêtres, faisant la traversée, y offrent un sacrifice funéraire[174] et ornent de couronnes le tombeau couvert d'ombre par un arbre « mêthis » qui surpasse en hauteur n'importe quel olivier.*

Tout d'abord, ἄβατον et ἀπροσπέλαστον expriment une interdiction et non une impossibilité d'accéder à l'île[175]. Cette information correspond bien à ce que dit le Décret. L'interdiction ne tolère qu'une exception : lorsque les prêtres pénètrent dans le territoire sacré pour accomplir les rites devant le dieu. Plutarque affirme que cela ne se produit qu'« à un moment déterminé » (ἑνὶ καιρῷ), à l'occasion d'une cérémonie funéraire. En effet, la traversée annuelle visait à célébrer les Mystères d'Osiris, qui étaient l'événement principal du sanctuaire de Biggeh, et se déroulaient à la fin du mois de

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[172] *Plutarque. Œuvres morales, tome 5, 2e partie, Isis et Osiris*, texte établi et traduit par Ch. Froidefond, Paris, 1988, p. 195 ; Junker, p. 69.

[173] La leçon la plus vraisemblable, attestée dans le manuscrit *Laur. Plut.* 80, 21, est μηθίδης. Toutefois, à la différence d'H. Junker, compte tenu des nombreuses aberrations présentes dans les manuscrits pour ce passage qui a pu paraître obscur à maints copistes, nous avons préféré suivre la conjecture de Wilhelm Schubart (μηθίδος), permettant de postuler la forme grecque μηθίς (génitif μηθίδος) décalquée sur le terme égyptien *mnt꜍*. Dans μηθίδος φυτὸν, μηθίδος est un génitif explicatif. Quoi qu'il en soit, la proximité entre les deux termes ne peut être une coïncidence. Voir *Plutarque. Œuvres morales, tome 5, 2e partie, Isis et Osiris*, texte établi et traduit par Ch. Froidefond, Paris, 1988, p. 273-274, note 7. Si, comme le dit H. Junker, le nom μηθίδη fait figure de *crux interpretum*, il ne nous semble pas pour autant demeurer un *locus desesperatus*. La chute du *n* devant un *t* s'observe souvent en copte, où le relatif du moyen-égyptien *nty* devient ⲉⲧ. D'après lui, la forme *mnt꜍* devait se prononcer « mētâ » suivant une évolution tardive de l'égyptien dont on trouve des traces dans les dialectes coptes. Voir Junker, p. 73.

[174] Il est intéressant de noter que Plutarque utilise ici le verbe ἐναγίζω, « offrir un sacrifice à un demi-dieu ou un mort », et non θύω, « offrir un sacrifice à un dieu ». Il marque ainsi de manière lexicale le caractère à la fois divin et périssable qui caractérise Osiris dans la religion égyptienne. Voir V. Magnien et M. Lacroix, *Dictionnaire grec-français*, 1969, p. 570 et 836.

[175] Junker, p. 71.

Khoiak[176]. Les dieux faisaient alors eux aussi la traversée jusqu'à Biggeh. Les prêtres enterraient de nouveaux simulacres du corps d'Osiris dans le tertre de l'*Abaton*. Les cérémonies mettaient en scène l'enterrement et la résurrection d'Osiris. En revanche, Plutarque paraît ignorer l'institution d'un culte journalier.

Confrontons à présent les textes de Plutarque et du Décret en ce qui concerne la faune de l'île :

> **Plutarque** : *On dit (…) que les oiseaux ne s'y posent pas et que les poissons ne s'en approchent pas.*
> **Décret I** : *Et on ne permettra de capturer aucun oiseau ni aucun poisson (sur une distance de)* [x +] *40 (coudées) vers le Sud, le Nord, l'Ouest et l'Est.*

L'information étonnante de Plutarque, selon laquelle les oiseaux et les poissons éviteraient l'île et n'oseraient pas s'en approcher, trouve une explication correcte dans le Décret : la chasse et la pêche étaient prohibées autour de l'île. Il s'agirait donc ici d'une simple erreur de compréhension.

La procession que décrit Plutarque faisait partie des Mystères d'Osiris. Par la suite, Plutarque utilise le terme ἐναγίζειν, « offrir un sacrifice funéraire », qui peut tout à fait désigner une libation offerte au dieu défunt. Il ajoute que le tombeau d'Osiris était alors orné de couronnes (καταστέφειν, « entourer d'une couronne »), alors que, dans le Décret, c'est sur les tables à libation entourant la tombe que sont disposées des feuilles de palme. La mention de l'olivier comme arbre de référence trahit l'influence de la pensée grecque sur la compréhension des sources par Plutarque ou par des commentateurs antérieurs. Toutefois, l'offrande d'une couronne au défunt est bien attestée à travers le rite ptolémaïque de la couronne ou guirlande de justification[177], qui avait pour but de légitimer l'accès de l'âme dans l'Au-delà.

L'arbre μηθίς, qui ombrageait la tombe d'Osiris d'après Plutarque, paraît transcrire en grec le nom du bosquet *mnt₃* mentionné dans le Décret à la fin de la colonne 5. Plutarque insiste sur la hauteur et la robustesse de l'arbre, ce qui corrobore l'hypothèse de la présence d'un grand arbre majestueux, comme le sycomore élevé sur le tertre, et infirme l'idée d'un arbrisseau.

Cependant, chez Plutarque, il est question d'un seul arbre, et non d'un bosquet tout entier. Dans la légende d'une représentation d'Osiris à droite du Décret, le dieu est désigné comme

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[176] É. CHASSINAT, *Le mystère d'Osiris au mois de Khoïak*, Le Caire, 1966, p. 91.
[177] Voir P. DERCHAIN, « La couronne de justification. Essai d'analyse d'un rite ptolémaïque », dans *Chronique d'Égypte* 30 (1965), p. 225-287 ; S. KAMEL, « La couronne ou la guirlande de la justification offerte au défunt ou au dieu pour le justifier », dans *Arab Archaeologists* (2008), p. 1-35.

⌐⌐][⚱⚒⌐| *mnt₃y*, « celui du bosquet *mnt₃* »[178], sous la forme d'un adjectif nisbé. L'arbre *iwy* vénérable, puisqu'il constitue une hypostase d'Osiris, a pu également être désigné comme « celui qui est lié au bosquet» (*mnt₃y*)[179], épiclèse d'Osiris attestée à Philae. Cette hypothèse expliquerait la confusion présente chez Plutarque entre le bosquet et l'arbre sacrés. Toutefois, Plutarque est probablement tributaire de sources inexactes. Nous avons pu observer l'intérêt du témoignage de Plutarque à travers la présence d'éléments explicables en contexte égyptien tardif.

Diverses étymologies du bosquet *mnt₃* ont été avancées. Junker avait pensé à un lien étymologique avec *mnw*, « plantation d'arbres », qui n'explique toutefois pas la présence de la dentale. Il retenait donc essentiellement une paronomase avec *mnt*, la « cuisse », en lien avec la nature de la relique locale[180]. Koemoth a formulé depuis lors une hypothèse séduisante qui illustrerait une des fonctions du bosquet : *mnt₃* viendrait de *mn(w) t₃*, « qui fixe la terre »[181]. En effet, les racines des arbres du bosquet permettaient d'empêcher l'érosion des rives en période de crue. Somme toute, le nom est très probablement issu d'un calembour, technique linguistique très appréciée des Égyptiens, mais il est possible, outre ce jeu de sonorités, que la signification première du mot soit liée à la topographie de l'*Abaton*.

F. CLAUDIEN, *Éloge de Stilichon*, II, 424-436

Claudien (vers 370-404) prononça son *Panégyrique pour le consulat de Stilichon* en 400, afin de célébrer le consulat de Stilichon, chef vandale nommé régent de l'empire romain pendant la minorité des fils de Théodose (titre latin de l'œuvre : *De Consulatu Stilichonis*).

Derchain a reconnu à juste titre une description mythique de l'*Abaton* de Biggeh dans un passage de l'*Éloge de Stilichon*. L'exposé qui suit s'appuie en grande partie sur son excellent article[182], tout en étayant son propos. Cette source présente un grand intérêt, car elle nous éclaire sur la topographie mythique de l'*Abaton* représentée à Philae (fig. 7). De plus, ces vers de Claudien confirment que l'écrivain était originaire d'Alexandrie et nous permettent de croire qu'il a visité le temple de Philae. Voici ce texte, suivi d'une traduction à nouveaux frais qui respecte son caractère poétique et emphatique

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[178] Voir *Wb.* II, p. 91 (13-14) ; JUNKER, p. 54.
[179] JUNKER, p. 73.
[180] Voir JUNKER, p. 41.
[181] P. KOEMOTH, *Osiris et les arbres : contribution à l'étude des arbres sacrés de l'Égypte ancienne* (AegLeod 3), Liège, 1994, p. 121.
[182] P. DERCHAIN, « À propos de Claudien. Éloge de Stilichon, II, 424-436 », dans *ZÄS* 81 (1956), p. 4-6.

(édition de *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctorum Anti-quissimorum Tomus X, Claudii Claudiani Carmina*, Berlin, 1892, p. 218) :

      Est ignota procul nostraeque imperuia menti,
425   Vix adeunda deis, annorum squalida mater,
      Inmensi spelunca aeui, qua tempora uasto
      Suppeditat reuocatque sinu. Complectitur antrum,
      Omnia qui placido consumit numine, serpens
      Perpetuumque uiret squamis caudamque reductam
430   Ore uorat tacito relegens exordia lapsu.
      Vestibuli custos uultu longaeua decoro
      Ante fores Natura sedet, cunctisque uolantes
      Dependent membris animae. Mansura uerendus
      Scribit iura senex, numeros qui diuidit astris
435   Et cursus stabilesque moras, quibus omnia uiuunt
      Ac pereunt fixis cum legibus[183].

*   Il y a, ignorée et lointaine, impénétrable à l'esprit humain,*
425 *Presque inaccessible aux dieux, mère ténébreuse des âges,*
*   Une caverne de l'immense éternité, au sein vaste de laquelle*
*   Elle produit et rappelle les temps. Un serpent enveloppe l'antre,*
*   Qui ronge toute chose de sa placide puissance,*
*   Et est perpétuellement florissant grâce à ses écailles,*
430 *Qui dévore sa queue repliée vers sa bouche*
*   Revenant à ses origines d'un glissement silencieux.*
*   Gardienne de l'entrée, une vieille au beau visage,*
*   La Nature, se tient devant la porte, tandis que des âmes ailées*
*   Sont suspendues à tous ses membres. Un vieillard vénérable*
435 *Inscrit des lois durables, lui qui divise les nombres au moyen*
*   des astres,*
*   Ainsi que leur cours et les délais immuables, grâce auxquels*
*   tout vit*
*   Et périt selon des lois fixes.*

Les vers 424-425, qui expriment le caractère reculé de l'île et la difficulté d'y accéder (*procul nostraeque imperuia menti, Vix adeunda deis*), renvoient à l'extrait de Servius que nous examinerons plus loin. Au vers 425, Claudien affirme que l'île est « presque inaccessible aux dieux », puisque les dieux étaient autorisés à se rendre sur l'*Abaton* uniquement lors des cérémonies en l'honneur du Ba d'Osiris[184].

La « caverne de l'immense éternité », dont parle Claudien, fait référence à la représentation de la caverne du Nil à Philae sur la face interne du mur nord de la Porte d'Hadrien (fig. 12).

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[183] Comme Derchain ne faisait référence à aucune édition, nous avons repris la seule édition critique du texte, ce qui entraîne la présence de différences remarquables dans le texte latin lui-même entre la version reproduite ici et celle publiée par Derchain.
[184] P. DERCHAIN, *loc. cit.*, p. 5.
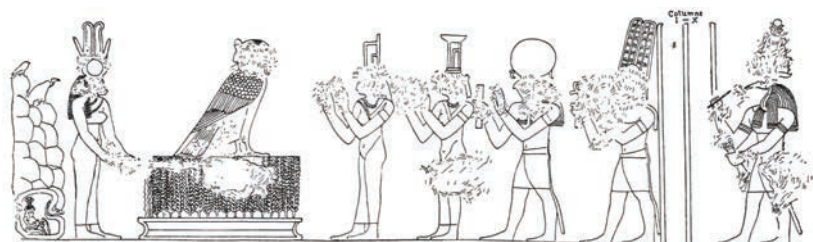
Fig. 12. Reliefs du mur nord de la Porte d'Hadrien (Junker, p. 58)

La caverne est désignée comme celle « de l'immense éterni-té », parce qu'elle est englobée par un ouroboros, symbole ici de l'éternel retour de la crue et du rajeunissement perpétuel du Ba d'Osiris. En effet, la seule forme circulaire du corps du serpent évoque les notions de perfection et d'éternité. L'ouroboros représente la « non-existence régénérante qui encercle le monde »[185]. Aussi l'Inondation est-elle conçue comme une résurgence du Noun[186], le flot originel. Les Égyptiens donnent au non-existant la forme visuelle du « serpent recroquevillé » (*mḥn*)[187], replié sur lui-même, tel qu'il est visible dans le relief. Bien que le serpent ne se morde pas la queue, on peut donc passer outre ce détail, puisque c'est la forme égyptienne de l'ouroboros. En outre, Claudien fait de cette caverne la « mère ténébreuse des âges » par référence à la périodicité annuelle de la crue du Nil.

Au vers 429, *uiret* traduit littéralement l'égyptien *wꜣḏ*, « être vert, florissant, vigoureux, jeune »[188], lequel est attesté pour décrire Osiris, nommé « Celui du bosquet *mntꜣ* », ainsi que l'arbre *iwy* dans les inscriptions de Philae[189]. L'expression de Claudien « perpétuellement florissant grâce à ses écailles » (*Perpetuumque uiret squamis*) fait penser à la mue des serpents, image du rajeunissement du Ba d'Osiris, et à l'hydronyme *Wꜣḏ-wr*, le « Très-vert », qui peut désigner le Nil. Le vers 430 nous montre que Claudien interprétait clairement le serpent comme un ouroboros, lui « qui dévore sa queue repliée vers sa bouche ». L'expression *relegens exordia*, littéralement « repassant par ses débuts », siérait de même parfaitement au Nil, qui est « celui qui renouvelle sa jeunesse » (*wḥm rnp*) et « celui qui rajeunit son corps au début de l'année » (*rnp(w) ḥꜥw.f tpy rnpt*) dans les inscriptions de Philae[190]. Bien qu'il ne cite pas le Nil accroupi dans la grotte, le génie Hâpy, Claudien y fait nette-ment allusion[191]. Peut-être a-t-il choisi de centrer son poème

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[185] Voir E. Hornung, *Les dieux de l'Égypte. Le Un et le Multiple*, Paris, 1986, p. 149 ; 162-163. Pour les Égyptiens, le non-existant ne s'arrête pas aux limites de la création ; il imprègne toute la création en la régénérant.

[186] Voir P. Koemoth, *Osiris et les arbres : contribution à l'étude des arbres sacrés de l'Égypte ancienne*, Liège, 1994, p. 3.

[187] Voir E. Hornung, *op. cit.*, p., p. 162.

[188] P. Derchain, *loc. cit.*, p. 5.

[189] Junker, p. 53-54.

[190] P. Derchain, *loc. cit.*, p. 5 ; Junker, p. 39.

[191] P. Derchain, *loc. cit.*, p. 5.

sur le serpent davantage que sur le Nil, parce que l'ouroboros était un support plus adapté et intelligible pour les lecteurs latins[192], ou simplement en raison de la signification plus riche et de l'importance particulière de ce symbole aux yeux des Égyptiens à l'époque hellénistique et romaine.

Dans les vers 431-432, Claudien décrit très fidèlement la déesse Hathor-Isis, postée comme « gardienne de l'entrée », qui « se tient devant la porte ». Il la qualifie de « vieille au beau visage », utilisant là encore une expression égyptienne, en l'occurrence une épithète d'Hathor-Isis, « celle qui a beau visage » (*ḥr nfr*)[193]. Hathor-Isis est identifiée avec la Nature, comme le mentionnent Plutarque et Athénagore d'Athènes[194]. Comme l'indique Derchain, « Devant Isis-Hathor, au-dessus du buisson sacré se tient l'âme d'Osiris sous forme d'un oiseau à tête humaine, qui est exactement une âme ailée »[195] (v. 432-433 : *uolantes … animae*).

Les vers 433-436 décrivent le dieu Thot, figuré bien plus à droite, après le bosquet sacré, quatre divinités et le texte du Décret. Du reste, Claudien ne parle d'aucun de ces éléments situés entre le bosquet sacré surmonté du Ba d'Osiris et Thot. Le poète alexandrin dit qu'« un vieillard vénérable inscrit des lois durables ». Or, selon Derchain, « Thot est souvent représenté comme un dieu très ancien » et « *mansura … scribit iura* rappelle les épithètes de Thot » le dépeignant comme l'ordonnateur de l'univers, par exemple « celui qui établit les lois » (*smn(w) hpw*)[196]. De plus, Thot se caractérise par sa fonction de scribe divin, qu'il exerce justement sur le bas-relief dont Claudien parle dans ces vers[197] et dans la rédaction du Décret gravé à gauche de ce bas-relief. Le dieu-scribe, en tant que dieu lunaire, « divise les nombres (de mois et d'années) au moyen des astres »[198]. Par ailleurs, de nombreuses épithètes de Thot insistent sur le rôle décisif qui est le sien[199] lorsqu'il écrit le destin du monde selon les décisions de Rê.

Nous avons tenté d'approfondir l'interprétation de Derchain en mettant en avant la concordance théologique et symbolique entre le témoignage de Claudien et les reliefs égyptiens à caractère religieux, en plus des rapprochements textuels et iconographiques. Nous concluons cette partie en observant que les

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[192] *Ibidem.*

[193] *Ibidem.*

[194] *Ibidem* ; T. HOPFNER et C. CLEMEN, *Fontes historiae religionis Aegyptiacae* (Fontes historiae religionum ex auctoribus graecis et latinis collectos, 2), Bonn, 1922-1925, p. 344. Voir PLUTARQUE, *Sur Isis et Osiris*, 38.

[195] P. DERCHAIN, *loc. cit.*, p. 5.

[196] IDEM, p. 6.

[197] *Ibidem.*

[198] *Ibidem.*

[199] *Ibidem.*

quatre personnages actifs de la scène de Philae sont repris par Claudien dans l'ordre exact de gauche à droite[200] : la caverne entourée du serpent, Hathor-Isis, le Ba d'Osiris et Thot dans sa fonction de scribe.

G. SERVIUS, *Commentaire sur l'Énéide de Virgile*, VI, 154

L'édition et la traduction du texte se fondent sur celles d'Emmanuelle JEUNET-MANCY[201] :

LUCOS STYGIS ET REGNA INVIA VIVIS ASPICIES : Seneca scripsit de situ et de sacris Aegyptiorum. Hic dicit circa Syenen, extremam Aegypti partem, esse locum quem Philas, hoc est amicas, uocant ideo quod illic est placata ab Aegyptiis Isis, quibus irascebatur quod membra mariti Osiridis non inueniebat, quem frater Typhon occiderat. Quae inuenta postea cum sepelire uellet, elegit uicinae paludis tutissimum locum, quam transitu constat esse difficilem ; limosa enim est et papyris referta et alta. Vltra hanc est breuis insula, inaccessa hominibus, unde Abatos appellata est ; Lucanus : *hinc Abatos, quam nostra uocat ueneranda uetustas.*

LUCOS STYGIS ET REGNA INVIA VIVIS ASPICIES : *Sénèque a écrit sur le pays et sur les pratiques religieuses des Égyptiens. Dans ces écrits, il dit qu'aux alentours de Syène, aux confins de l'Égypte, il existe un endroit qu'on appelle Philae, c'est-à-dire « les amies », parce que c'est là qu'Isis fut apaisée par les Égyptiens, contre lesquels elle était en colère de ne pas retrouver les membres de son mari Osiris, que son frère, Typhon, avait tué. Une fois qu'elle les eut retrouvés, voulant les ensevelir, elle choisit l'endroit le plus sûr du marais voisin, qui est - c'est un fait établi - difficile à traverser, car il est vaseux et rempli de papyrus, et profond. Au-delà de ce marais, il y a une petite île, inaccessible aux hommes et, pour cette raison, appelée Abatos ; Lucain : « puis c'est Abatos, que par une vénérable tradition nous nommons ainsi ».*

Servius (début du 5ᵉ siècle de notre ère) se fonde vraisemblablement sur le témoignage de Lucain et sur des sources aujourd'hui perdues. Le commentateur de l'Énéide devait disposer d'une source portant sur un marais voisin de l'*Abaton*, vu qu'il est le seul parmi tous les auteurs classiques à en mentionner l'existence.
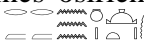
Servius rapporte qu'Isis se mit en colère parce qu'elle ne retrouvait pas le corps de son époux. Or, ce récit ne correspond ni au mythe d'Osiris, ni à l'image traditionnelle d'Isis se lamen-

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[200] *Ibidem.*
[201] *Servius. Commentaire sur l'Énéide de Virgile, livre VI*, texte établi, traduit et commenté par E. JEUNET-MANCY Paris, 2012, p. 58. Voir aussi la traduction de JUNKER, p. 78.

tant et pleurant la perte de la dépouille de son mari. En réalité, il semble que deux légendes, la recherche du corps d'Osiris et le mythe de la déesse lointaine (Hathor-Sekhmet/Tefnout)[202], se soient mêlées pour donner cette version. Le récit de Servius se fonde donc sur une véritable tradition égyptienne, qui porte sur une déesse de Philae irritée puis apaisée. L'erreur de Servius se limite à l'identification de la divinité furieuse.

Un relief de Philae (Fig. 10) montre que c'est à travers un fourré de papyrus qu'Horus mène le corps de son père vers l'*Abaton*. Or, Servius parle d'un « marais voisin » de l'*Abaton*, « rempli de papyrus », ce qui renvoie peut-être à l'irrigation et la fertilité de la crique orientale de l'*Abaton* où se dressaient le temple et la tombe d'Osiris. Le signe du canal ▭ (N36) présent dans les représentations du bosquet sacré nous invite également à cette interprétation.

Les tombeaux d'Osiris étaient habituellement installés sur une île ou sur une bande de terre presque complètement entourée par les eaux d'un lac ou d'un canal *išrw*[203]. La liste de Dendera cite, comme butte divine pour le premier nome, la Butte pure, et le nom de l'étendue d'eau où les prêtres allaient puiser pour former les figurines osiriennes dans le premier nome et pour les libations, le ⬚⬚⬚⬚ *Rmrm n(y)t Ỉ3t wˁbt*, le *Remrem de la Butte pure*[204]. Nous proposons de rapprocher l'hydronyme du verbe égyptien *rmrm* qui veut dire « châtier, punir » en lien avec l'interdiction formelle d'accès à l'*Abaton*. Junker affirme que la Douat supérieure de la butte divine de Busiris est, comme à Biggeh, séparée du temple par une étendue d'eau et forme une île (qu'il situe dans un lac sacré artificiel dans le cas de Busiris)[205]. De même, dans l'Osiréion d'Abydos, une île était entourée par un canal, ainsi qu'à Ou-Peqer, la butte osirienne d'Abydos. Il nous semble que la présence d'une étendue d'eau près d'un *Abaton* devait être perçue comme nécessaire pour les libations, la séparation entre espace sacré et profane et en raison de la symbolique de la butte primordiale. Toutefois, il est difficile de deviner aujourd'hui la configuration ancienne d'éléments apparemment répandus au

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[202] Ce dernier mythe rapporte l'apaisement de la déesse Hathor-Tefnout, qui était partie en Nubie sous l'effet de la colère, et son retour en Égypte. Hathor-Tefnout est liée à l'*Abaton*, ainsi que sa transformation de déesse agressive en déesse apaisée : les inscriptions de Philae relatent que Sekhmet, la forme agressive d'Hathor-Tefnout, s'est rendue sur l'*Abaton* et a purifié son corps sur l'île, c'est pourquoi on la nomme « l'île pure » (*ỉw wˁb*). Voir JUNKER, p. 78-79. Par conséquent, l'*Abaton* tire peut-être son nom égyptien de l'apaisement de la déesse, bien que cette explication ne repose sur aucun bien-fondé.

[203] P. KOEMOTH, *Osiris et les arbres : contribution à l'étude des arbres sacrés de l'Égypte ancienne* (AegLeod 3), Liège, 1994, p. 86.

[204] JUNKER, p. 75.

[205] JUNKER, p. 71.

niveau archéologique mais peu attestés dans les sources tex-
tuelles. Nous pouvons tout de même certifier l'existence d'une
étendue d'eau fort proche de l'*Abaton* sans plus de précisions
sur sa localisation.

H. Synthèse sur les sources classiques

L'interdiction de fouler le sol de l'*Abaton* est bien attestée
chez les auteurs antiques, puisqu'elle constitue la qualité la plus
importante de l'île, son essence même : elle est ἄβατον, soit
« interdite d'accès». Cela a pour conséquence de limiter les in-
dices textuels sur la topographie réelle de l'*Abaton*. L'assimi-
lation à l'*Abaton* grec est due à la délimitation cultuelle des
tombes d'Osiris par rapport au monde profane et aux interdits
liés au bruit. Bien qu'il n'y ait plus aucune preuve archéolo-
gique, la Porte d'Hadrien à Philae et les sources classiques nous
livrent des témoignages concordants et probants[206].

Junker[207] constatait que les mêmes interdits étaient de règle
dans toutes les zones où un mausolée d'Osiris, entouré de 365
tables d'offrande, se cachait dans un bois sacré, notamment à
Abydos[208] et au sanctuaire osirien qui se trouvait « en avant des
portes de Memphis »[209]. Sauneron a découvert que des interdic-
tions comparables étaient liées au tombeau des « dieux morts »
d'Esna[210]. La disposition et les rites différaient légèrement à
Acanthôn[211]. Les sources classiques et égyptiennes indiquent
que 365 tables d'offrande devaient se trouver autour du bosquet
sacré, comme à Ou-Peqer, la butte divine d'Abydos[212]. La liste
de Dendera montre que les rites accomplis sur l'*Abaton* ne font
qu'imiter ceux du grand sanctuaire abydénien et devaient donc
être de grande ampleur. Par ailleurs, la pratique de la butte arti-
ficielle sacrée est bien attestée au niveau archéologique, no-
tamment à l'Osiréion de Karnak[213] et à Oxyrhynchos[214].

Il est clair que la partie sacrée, l'*Abaton*, ne s'étendait pas à
toute l'île de Biggeh[215]. À l'origine, l'*Abaton* était vraisembla-

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[206] E. Winter, « Abaton », dans *LÄ* I, Wiesbaden, 1975, col. 1-2.

[207] Junker, p. 69 sq.

[208] Idem, p. 50, 78, 85.

[209] Idem, p. 69-74.

[210] S. Sauneron, « L'*Abaton* de la campagne d'Esna », dans *MDAIK* 16 (1958), Le Caire, p. 271-279.

[211] J. Yoyotte, « Études géographiques I. La « Cité des Acacias » (Kafr Ammar) », dans *RdÉ* 13 (1961), p. 103.

[212] Junker, p. 70.

[213] L. Coulon, Fr. Leclère et S. Marchand, « Catacombes osiriennes de Ptolémée IV à Karnak. Rapport préliminaire de la campagne de fouilles 1993 », dans *Cahiers de Karnak* 10 (1995), p. 213-214.

[214] H.I. Amer, « Les catacombes osiriennes d'Oxyrhynchos », dans L. Coulon (éd.), *Le culte d'Osiris au Ier millénaire av. J.-C. Découvertes et travaux récents*, Paris, 2010, p. 269-282.

[215] Voir l'extrait de Diodore *supra*. Junker, p. 45.

blement une butte osirienne liée au temple de Biggeh[216]. Pour Junker, comme l'inondation était censée jaillir du sud de Biggeh, l'*Abaton* devait se trouver près du temple au milieu de la pente de la partie sud de l'île[217]. En effet, l'appellation « Haute montagne » attestée à Philae montre clairement que la zone plane entre les pics nord et sud de Biggeh ne convient pas avec la notion de butte sacrée. Or, il n'y a pas assez d'espace à l'extrémité sud de l'île pour les installations de l'*Abaton*[218]. Ainsi, d'après Junker[219], la tombe et le bosquet devaient se situer à l'extrême sud de l'échancrure de la côte orientale, là où se dressent aujourd'hui les habitations les plus au sud du village moderne de Biggeh (voir fig. 13). Les coordonnées géographiques plausibles de l'*Abaton* de Biggeh sont les suivantes : 24°01'13.0"N 32°53'08.7"E (24.020283, 32.885758).

Fig. 13. Vue actuelle de Biggeh (à gauche) et de l'île engloutie de Philae (à droite), sur base de la carte satellite de *Bing maps*.

Conclusion

Nous pouvons dire que l'Abaton de Biggeh était un lieu de culte considérable au Ier millénaire avant notre ère. Nous avons clarifié l'organisation spatiale du lieu : nous connaissons mieux sa topographie, qu'il s'agisse de la description du lieu réelle ou mythique. En effet, nous savons désormais qu'un

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[216] *Ibidem.*
[217] JUNKER, p. 45-46.
[218] IDEM, p. 46.
[219] IDEM, p. 47.

temple consacré à Osiris-Onnophris et Isis, non à Hathor-
Tefnout, était érigé sur l'île et que la tombe et le bosquet sacrés
se trouvaient au sud de la crique orientale. Nous avons égale-
ment mis en lumière l'exubérance et la variété des espèces
d'arbres qui composaient ce magnifique bosquet, dont tous les
arbres avaient une consonance osirienne, en particulier le ma-
jestueux sycomore qui surplombait le sépulcre. Nous avons
redéfini la composition et la fonction du bosquet sacré et
l'espèce de l'arbre présent sur la tombe a été déterminée. Afin
de retourner aux sources, nous avons réalisé de nouvelles tra-
ductions et nous avons discuté certaines leçons. De plus, nous
avons montré les concordances et les divergences entre les
sources. D'une manière générale, nous avons insisté sur la fia-
bilité des sources classiques concernant l'*Abaton*. Elles fournis-
sent des informations complémentaires, parfois invérifiables,
bien qu'explicables (don direct à Osiris-Nil, rite de la couronne
de justification, etc.). Par ailleurs, nous avons prouvé que Dio-
dore évoquait, comme le Décret, la célébration du Rituel du
culte divin journalier à l'*Abaton* et nous avons expliqué
l'omission de la tombe osirienne par Sénèque et Lucain. Nous
avons avancé une première étymologie du canal proche de
l'*Abaton*. En outre, nous avons mis en évidence le rôle du signe
de l'or dans la divinisation du lieu, élément présent à la fois
dans les sources textuelles et iconographiques. Enfin, nous
avons montré, à la suite de Junker, que l'*Abaton* n'était qu'une
partie de l'île de Biggeh. Les interdictions ne s'étendaient donc
pas à l'ensemble de l'île.

<center>*   *   *</center>

Abstract : This article aims at giving an overall view of the
real and mythical topography of the *Abaton* of Biggeh, which
housed a relic, the left leg of the God Osiris, in connection with
the rituals. After a geographical and archaeological presenta-
tion, I will stress in particular the different species of trees
growing on and around the *Abaton*. A new French translation
will be provided, with commentary, of the *Abaton* Decree, in
relation to the depictions on the Gate of Hadrian in the temple
of Philae. A discussion of all the classical sources in chronolog-
ical order will follow, in order to draw comparisons with the
Egyptian sources. Lastly, the possible location and spatial or-
ganization of the *Abaton* in comparison with other sacred
mounds will be addressed.
Keywords : *Abaton*, Biggeh, Osiris, *Abaton* Decree, Gate of
Hadrian, tomb, mound, topography, relic, grove, tree, leg of
Osiris, Nile's sources, Lucan, Claudianus.

Résumé : Cet article vise à apporter une vue globale de la to-
pographie réelle ou mythique de l'*Abaton* de Biggeh, qui abri-
tait une relique, la jambe gauche du dieu Osiris, en lien avec les

rituels. Après une présentation géographique et archéologique, nous insisterons particulièrement sur les différentes espèces d'arbres qui croissaient sur et autour de l'*Abaton*. Une nouvelle traduction du Décret divin sur l'*Abaton* de Biggeh, assortie d'un commentaire, sera fournie et mise en relation avec les représentations de la Porte d'Hadrien dans le temple de Philae. S'ensuivra une discussion de toutes les sources classiques dans l'ordre chronologique, en vue d'établir des comparaisons avec les sources égyptiennes. En dernier lieu, nous traiterons de la possible localisation de l'*Abaton* et de son organisation spatiale.

Mots-clés : *Abaton*, Biggeh, Osiris, Décret divin concernant l'*Abaton*, Porte d'Hadrien, tombe, butte, topographie, relique, bosquet, arbre, jambe d'Osiris, sources du Nil, Lucain, Claudien.

Tableau comparatif des sources textuelles

	Diodore	Sénèque	Lucain	Plutarque	Servius	Décret
NOM DU LIEU	Ἱερὸν Πεδίον	Abaton	Abaton		Abatos	iȝt wˁbt (/ ỉw wˁb)
NATURE DU LIEU						
Île	✓ νῆσον	✓ petra	✓ terra	✓ νησίδα	✓ breuis insula	✓ Butte/île pure
Île rocheuse		✓			✓ uicina palus	
Difficile d'accès		✓	✓			
Proche des sources du Nil	✓		(potens)	✓	✓	✓: dans un temple
Tombeau d'Osiris						
Arbre/bosquet présent				✓ τὸ φυτὸν μηθίδος		✓ mn-tȝ
RITES						
Rites journaliers	✓					✓
Libations de lait	✓ 360 vases à libation					✓
Offrande végétale				✓ couronnes pour orner le tombeau		✓ feuilles de palmes disposées sur les tables d'offrande
365 tables d'offrande	sous-entendu					
Procession d'Isis		fête sacrée annuelle (solemne sacrum)		sacrifice funéraire à un moment déterminé		✓ tous les ans
Chants funèbres	✓	✓				
Offrandes jetées dans le Nil						
INTERDICTIONS						
de la musique						✓
de fouler le sol	✓ ἄβατον τοῖς παριοῦσι	✓ nec illam ulli nisi antistites calcant		✓ ἄβατον ἅπασι	✓ inaccessa hominibus	✓ Ḥr tm rḏi(t) sš s nb...
de chasser ou pêcher						✓
de crier (jours sacrés)						✓

Guerres et discours sur la guerre dans la propagande royale : le monde ouest-sémitique au Ier millénaire av. J.-C.

Par

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L a documentation épigraphique sémitique fournit des éléments qui permettent d'étudier le contexte politique de la région levantine[1] à partir de l'âge du Bronze, notamment au Bronze récent (c. 1550-1200)[2], pendant lequel les petits royaumes se trouvent constamment sous la domination

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[1] Par Levant, nous comprenons la région côtière du Proche-Orient ainsi que l'intérieur des terres, pouvant s'étendre jusqu'aux frontières orientales de la Syrie antique. Pour les besoins de la démonstration, nous pouvons avoir recours également à la documentation anatolienne et mésopotamienne, sans pour autant que nous considérions ces régions comme appartenant au Levant proprement dit.

[2] Toutes les références chronologiques de cet article sont à situer avant notre ère.

d'autres plus puissants. Dans ces rapports de réciprocité, l'autonomie des clients[3] est très limitée. Bien que se chargeant des affaires publiques au sein de leurs royaumes, ils peuvent difficilement, sans l'accord de leurs patrons, exercer d'activités relevant des relations diplomatiques, et encore moins envisager une expansion territoriale. Les villes soumises sont contraintes à payer un tribut au souverain qui, dans le cas contraire, sanctionne toute révolte, comme en témoignent les textes assyriens, dont la stèle de Tell Šayḫ Ḥamad du Grand roi Adad-nīrārī III[4].

Au cours du IIe millénaire, deux grandes puissances se disputent le Levant : d'un côté l'Égypte, de l'autre l'empire hittite, auxquels un royaume comme celui d'Ougarit-Ras Shamra, sur la côte syrienne, est successivement assujetti. Plus au sud, le royaume de Byblos se trouve également sous domination égyptienne, situation dont le roi giblite, Rib-Hadda (seconde moitié du XIVe siècle), tire profit, notamment lors des actions militaires du royaume d'Amurru qui menacent son trône. Il agit en client fidèle à « son seigneur » Amenhotep IV, comme le montre une importante correspondance qu'il entretient avec le souverain égyptien[5].

Tout le long du Ier millénaire, la situation géopolitique au Levant change peu et la sujétion d'états faibles à d'autres plus puissants continue d'être le schéma prépondérant. Les rapports patron-client restent généralement les mêmes, bien que l'on note, en divers moments et lieux, des tensions pouvant provoquer des rebellions, voire des guerres. C'est dans cette optique que nous nous focalisons ici sur le discours royal impliquant

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[3] Dans une perspective socio-politique, les rapports entre les royaumes peuvent être définis en terme de patrons et clients dans le vaste contexte méditerranéen plus particulièrement, mais également dans l'espace proche-oriental qui nous intéresse ici. Pour une bibliographie sur la question, voir E. PFOH, « A Hebrew mafioso: reading 1 Samuel 25 anthropologically », *Semitica et Classica*, 7 (2014), p. 37-43.

[4] Il ne subsiste qu'un fragment de la stèle, sur lequel figurent le profil et la main droite levée du roi Adad-nīrārī III et des symboles divins. Le texte lacunaire se trouve sur la partie inférieure du fragment. L'objet est conservé au British Museum sous le numéro d'inventaire 131124, cf. A. R. MILLARD & H. TADMOR, « Adad-nirari III in Syria. Another Stele Fragment and the Dates of his Campaigns », *Iraq*, 35 (1973), p. 57-64, pl. XXIX ; A. K. GRAYSON, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millenium BC*. II. *(858-745 BC)* (The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, 3 [= RIME 3]), Toronto-Buffalo-London 1996, p. 206-207 n° 5. Sur l'ensemble des campagnes d'Adad- nīrārī III au Proche-Orient et ses relations avec ses royaumes, voir L. R. SIDDALL, *The Reign of Adad- nīrārī III. An Historical and Ideological Analysis of an Assyrian King and His Times* (Cuneiform Monographs 45), Leiden-Boston 2013, p. 38-71.

[5] Voir les tablettes trouvées à el-Amarna, M. LIVERANI, *Le lettere di el-Amarna 1. Le lettere dei « Piccoli Re »* (Testi del Vicino Oriente antico 2, Letterature mesopotamiche 3), Brescia 1998, p. 167-239.

des parties adverses engagées dans des conflits. Nous étudierons le cas de certains royaumes sous domination assyrienne ou des Perses achéménides. La documentation ouest-sémitique offre un corpus d'inscriptions monumentales phéniciennes et araméennes qui constituent une mine d'informations pour recomposer le paysage politique et les rapports de force au Levant. Des rois locaux font graver des inscriptions qui célèbrent à la fois leurs exploits militaires et rendent grâce à leurs dieux. Certaines ont la forme d'une dédicace, d'autres d'une inscription commémorative. Mais pour notre propos, les deux sont pertinentes de la même manière. Nous excluons de cette étude la catégorie des traités politiques qui engagent deux parties dans une relation d'alliance diplomatique[6], car ils relèvent d'un genre littéraire différent. Des textes bibliques, seuls ceux dont le contenu est comparable à celui des inscriptions ouest-sémitiques seront pris en compte[7].

1. Présentation de l'intervention divine en faveur du roi

Les inscriptions commencent généralement par renseigner sur l'identité du souverain commanditaire, information suivie de près du nom du dieu auquel il doit ses victoires. Ainsi, dans l'inscription du roi moabite Mêšaʿ, qui date de la seconde moitié du IXᵉ siècle[8], l'invocation du dieu national Kamoš intervient dès les premières lignes : **[L. 1-3]** ʾNK . MŠʿ . BN . KMŠ[GD]

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[6] Les documents araméens de Sfiré (VIIIᵉ siècle) ratifient les accords passés sous serment entre l'Assyrien Bar Gaʾya, roi de KTK, et Matiʾilu, roi d'Arpad, voir D. SCHWIDERSKI, *Die alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften*, vol. 2 (Fontes et subsidia ad Bibliam pertinentes 2), Berlin-New York 2004, p. 402-406.

[7] Pour une étude approfondie sur les récits de guerre rapportés dans la Bible hébraïque, notamment dans les livres des Rois, voir F. BRIQUEL CHATONNET, « Les guerres araméennes et assyriennes dans les livres des Rois : l'événement et sa place dans l'histoire du salut », dans N. GRIMAL & M. BAUD (éd.), *Événement, récit, histoire officielle : l'écriture de l'histoire dans les monarchies antiques, actes du colloque du Collège de France, 2002* (Études d'égyptologie 3), Paris 2003, p. 49-61 et S. ANTHONIOZ, « Guerre juste ou justifiée ? Théologie de la guerre au Proche-Orient ancien. À la lumière de quelques exemples », dans M.-F. BASLEZ, *et alii* (éd.), *Guerre juste. Juste guerre. Les justifications de la guerre religieuses et profanes de l'Antiquité au XXIᵉ siècle*, Paris 2013, p. 30-34.

[8] La stèle en basalte de Mêšaʿ a été découverte en 1868 à Dhiban, sur le territoire de l'ancien royaume de Môʾāb, situé à l'est de la Mer Morte. Elle se trouve actuellement au Louvre, numéro d'inventaire AO 5066. H. DONNER & W. RÖLLIG, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften* (= *KAI*), Wiesbaden, 1971 (3ᵉ éd.) ; 2002 (5ᵉ éd.), n° 181 ; A. DEARMAN, *Studies in the Mesha Inscription and Moab* (Archaeology and Biblical Studies 2), Atlanta, Georgia 1989 ; J. M. ROBKER, *The Jehu Revolution. A Royal Tradition of the Northern Kingdom and Its Ramifications* (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 435), Berlin-Boston 2012, p. 232-240.

. MLK . MʾB . HDYBNY . ʾBY . MLK . ʿL . MʾB . ŠLŠN . ŠT . WʾNK . MLKTY . ʾḤR . ʾBY . Wʾ ʿŠ . HBMT . Zʾ T . LKMŠ . BQRḤH « C'est moi Mêšaʿ fils de Kamošgad, roi de Môʾāb, le Dibonite. Mon père a régné sur Môʾāb trente ans et moi j'ai régné après mon père et j'ai fait cette bama pour Kamoš à Qeriḥoh ». C'est à la demande expresse et sous l'égide de son dieu que Mêšaʿ entreprend sa conquête territoriale visant à établir son autorité sur des villes qu'il disputait au roi d'Israël[9]. Mêšaʿ prend ainsi Neboh et Ḥoronan : **[L. 14]** WYʾMR . LY . KMŠ . LK . ʾḤZ . ʾT . NBH . ʿL . YŠRʾL « et Kamoš m'a dit : "va, prends Neboh à Israël" » ; **[L. 32]** RD . HLTḤM . BḤRNN « descends et combats contre Ḥoronan ». Pour légitimer son intervention militaire, Mêšaʿ a dû avoir recours à cet artifice consistant à laisser au dieu l'initiative de ce qui aurait paru autrement comme une offensive délibérée.

Dans l'incipit de son inscription qui remonte au début du IVe siècle, Milkiyaton[10], roi de Kition et d'Idalion dans l'île de Chypre[11], mentionne son dieu protecteur, responsable de son succès militaire : TRPY ʾZ ʾŠ YṬNʾ MLK MLKYTN MLK KTY Wʾ DYL BN Bʿ RM WKL ʿM KTY Lʾ DNM LBʿ L Z « Ce trophée, (c'est) ce qu'ont érigé le roi Milkiyaton, roi de Kition et d'Idalion, fils de Baʿlirōm, et tout le peuple de Kition, à leur seigneur, au maître de la force[12] ». Par cette inscription commémorative, Milkiya-

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[9] Voir S.-M. KANG, *Divine War in the Old Testament and in the Ancient Near East* (Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 177), Berlin-New York 1989, p. 76-77.

[10] Pour les noms MLKYTN, Bʿ LRM et Bʿ LŠMYN, nous adoptons la vocalisation Milkiyaton, Baʿlirōm et Baʿlišamīn, avec une « voyelle d'appui » -i- entre les deux éléments de l'anthroponyme, puisque la séquence de trois consonnes n'existe quasiment pas en sémitique, voir F. BRIQUEL CHATONNET, J. DACCACHE & R. HAWLEY, « Notes d'épigraphie et de philologie phéniciennes. 1 », *Semitica et Classica*, 7 (2014), p. 186 n° 3.

[11] L'inscription de Milkiyaton, dite du trophée, est gravée sur une base de marbre trouvée à Larnaca. Elle est conservée au District Archaeological Museum, numéro MΛA 1513. M. YON & M. SZNYCER, « Une inscription phénicienne royale de Kition, Chypre », *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 135/4 (1991), p. 791-823. ; M. YON, *Kition dans les textes. Testimonia littéraires et épigraphiques et corpus des inscriptions* (Kition-Bamboula, 5 [=*KB*]), Paris 2004, n° 1144. Une analyse structurale de l'inscription est présentée dans F. BRIQUEL CHATONNET, J. DACCACHE et R. HAWLEY, « Notes d'épigraphie et de philologie phéniciennes. 2 », *Semitica et Classica*, 8 (2015), p. 242-246 n° 5.

[12] À cette époque tardive, le vocable Bʿ L, rarement mentionné, ne désigne plus le dieu de l'orage, mais représente une simple appellation signifiant « maître », bien que se référant à une entité divine, voir F. BRIQUEL CHATONNET, J. DACCACHE et R. HAWLEY, « Notes d'épigraphie et de philologie phéniciennes. 2 », *Semitica et Classica*, 8 (2015), p. 235-236 n°1. Selon l'inscription phénicienne *KB* 180, Bʿ L ʿZ « maître fort » ou « maître de la force » qualifie le dieu guerrier Rašap MKL, identifié dans une bilingue d'Idalion, en phénicien et en chypriote syllabique, à Apollon Ἀμυκλαῖος. Pour plus d'informations sur ce dieu et sa relation avec Milkiyaton, voir

ton et le peuple kitien expriment leur reconnaissance envers le dieu sans lequel ils n'auraient pu remporter la victoire. Le qualificatif de BʿL ʿZ « maître de la force » convient aux circonstances qui sont celles d'une guerre opposant les Salaminiens aux Kitiens : **[L. 3-4]** WYTN LY WLKL ʿM KTY Bʿl ʿ[Z ʿ]Z WNṢḤT BKL ʾBN « et bʿl ʿz a donné, à moi et à tout le peuple de Kition, la force, et j'ai remporté la victoire sur tous nos ennemis ».

L'objet commémoratif n'est pas toujours offert à la divinité qui assiste le souverain dans la bataille. Tel est le cas de l'inscription du roi araméen Zakkur[13], dans laquelle celui-ci fait une distinction entre le dieu auquel la stèle est dédiée et le dieu invoqué lors du combat : **[L. 1]** [N]ṢBʾ . ZY . ŠM . ZKR . MLK [. Ḥ]MT . WLʿŠ . Lʾ LWR « Zakkur, roi de [Ḥa]math et de Luʾaš, a érigé cette [s]tèle à ʾIluwer ». Ce dernier appartient à la catégorie des dieux de l'orage propre à la région du moyen Euphrate, entre Tuttul et ʿAnah[14], ville d'où Zakkur est originaire[15]. Le roi offre donc la stèle au dieu ʾIluwer, vénéré dans sa ville natale[16]. Néanmoins, afin d'imposer son pouvoir sur ses sujets puisqu'il ne bénéficie pas de la légitimité dynastique, Zakkur

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J. DACCACHE, « Milkiyaton et Rašap : une relation stratégique », *Semitica et Classica*, 7 (2014), p. 77-95.

[13] L'inscription de Zakkur (*KAI* 202 ; J. M. ROBKER, *The Jehu Revolution. A Royal Tradition of the Northern Kingdom and Its Ramifications* [Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 435], Berlin-Boston 2012, p. 275-278), qui remonte vers l'an 800 av. J.-C., a été découverte à Tell Afis en Syrie du nord. Elle est gravée sur une stèle en basalte, dont seule la partie inférieure est conservée. Il n'en subsiste que les pieds d'un personnage, probablement Zakkur (ou le dieu ?), et l'inscription. Le monument se trouve au Louvre (AO 8185). L'anthroponyme ZKR a été parfois vocalisé Zakir, mais nous adoptons la vocalisation Zakkur, définie par la forme *za-ku-ri* attestée dans la documentation assyrienne et corroborée par les attestations du nom à Éléphantine où il est écrit avec un *waw mater lectionis* (ZKWR), voir A. R. MILLARD, « Epigraphic Notes, Aramaic and Hebrew », *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* (1978), p. 23.

[14] Sur le dieu ʾIluwer, voir D. SCHWEMER, « The Storm-Gods of the Ancient Near East: Summary, Synthesis, Recent Studies, Part II », *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions*, 8/1 (2008), p. 27-29.

[15] À la deuxième ligne de l'inscription, Zakkur précise qu'il est « homme de ʿAnah » (ʾŠ . ʿNH ʾNH). La racine verbale ʿNH peut être également interprétée par « être opprimé », voir J. M. ROBKER, *The Jehu Revolution. A Royal Tradition of the Northern Kingdom and Its Ramifications* (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 435), Berlin-Boston 2012, p. 275 ou « pieux », voir J. C. L. GIBSON, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions. 2. Aramaic Inscriptions* (=*TSSI* 2), Oxford, 1975, p. 12 . Il est en tout cas clair qu'il s'agit d'un homme étranger au pouvoir et qui s'en est emparé et qu'il n'appartient pas à la lignée royale locale.

[16] Cela n'implique pas que Zakkur ait installé le culte du dieu ʾIluwer à Ḥamath, voir H. NIEHR « Religion », dans H. NIEHR (éd.), *The Aramaeans in Ancient Syria* (Handbuch der Orientalistik 106), Leiden-Boston 2014, p. 168.

dit devoir son accession au trône à Ḥamath au dieu local, Baʿlišamīn[17], qu'il a choisi pour défendre son nouveau royaume contre des ennemis : [**L. 3-4**] WQM . ʿMY . WHMLKNY . BʿLŠM[YN . ʿL] [Ḥ]ZRK… [**L. 11-15**] Wʾ Šʾ . YDY . ʿL . BʿLŠ[MY]N . WYʿNNY <.> BʿLŠMY[N . WYDBR] . BʿLŠMYN . ʾLY . [B]YD . ḤZYN . WBYD . ʿDDN . [WʾMR . ʾLY .] BʿLŠMYN . ʾL . TZḪL . KY . ʾNH . HML[KTK . WʾNH] [ʾ]QM . ʿMK . WʾNH . ʾḤSLK . MN . KL . [MLKYʾ . ʾL . ZY] MḪʾW . ʿLYK . MṢR « [**L. 3-4**] Et il (Baʿlišamīn) s'est dressé avec moi et Baʿlišam[īn] m'a fait régner [sur Ḥa]zrak… [**L. 11-16**] J'ai donc élevé mes mains vers Baʿliša[mī]n et Baʿlišamīn m'a répondu [et] Baʿlišamīn [m'a parlé] par le moyen des voyants et par le moyen des devins, et Baʿlišamīn m'a dit : "ne crains pas ! Car moi je t'ai fait régner, je me dresserai avec toi et je te sauverai de tous [ces rois qui] ont forcé un siège contre toi" ». Le fait d'invoquer la présence du dieu Baʿlišamīn, le « Seigneur des cieux », permet d'asseoir la puissance royale de l'usurpateur Zakkur sur ses adversaires, qui sont les dévots de ce même dieu.

Plus au sud, l'état de l'inscription araméenne trouvée à Tell Dan[18] et attribuée à Ḥazāʾêl, roi d'Aram-Damas[19], ne permet

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[17] Sur le dieu Baʿlišamīn dans la stèle de Zakkur, voir *Id.*, *Baʿalšamem. Studien zu Herkunft, Geschichte und Rezeptions-geschichte eines phönizischen Gottes* (Orientalia lovaniensia analecta 123, Studia phoenicia 17), Leuven-Paris-Dudley, MA 2003, p. 89-96 ; *Id.*, « Religion », dans H. Niehr (éd.), *The Aramaeans in Ancient Syria* (Handbuch der Orientalistik 106), Leiden-Boston 2014, p. 168-169.

[18] Ce qui reste de la stèle de Tell Dan est constitué de trois fragments (A, B et C) de basalte, conservés au musée d'Israël à Jérusalem. Le grand intérêt de cette inscription et qui a fait son succès réside dans la mention du royaume d'Israël et de la maison de David (A L. 8 et 9). Des restitutions ont été proposées pour les parties manquantes. Néanmoins, étant donné l'état très fragmentaire du texte, une interprétation globale de son contenu ne peut être envisagée avec certitude. Les hypothèses qui peuvent être formulées à son sujet, sont susceptibles d'être reconsidérées si de nouvelles découvertes venaient à changer la donne. *KAI* 310 ; A. Biran & J. Naveh, « An Aramaic Stele Fragment from Tel Dan », *Israel Exploration Journal*, 43/2-3 (1993), p. 81-98 ; *Id.*, « The Tel Dan Inscription: A New Fragment », *Israel Exploration Journal*, 45/1 (1995), p. 1-18 ; G. Athas, *The Tel Dan Inscription. A Reappraisal and a New Interpretation* (Journal for the Study of the Old Testament. Supplement Series 360, Copenhagen International Seminar 12), Sheffield 2003 ; H. Hagelia, *The Dan Debate. The Tel Dan Inscription in Recent Research* (Recent Research in Biblical Studies 4), Sheffield 2009 ; J. M. Robker, *The Jehu Revolution. A Royal Tradition of the Northern Kingdom and Its Ramifications* (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 435), Berlin-Boston 2012, p. 240-274. Pour un point sur les différentes restitutions du texte, voir H. Hagelia, *The Tel Dan Inscription. A Critical Investigation of Recent Research on Its Palaeography and Philology* (Studia Semitica Upsaliensia 22), Uppsala 2006, p. 13-50.

[19] H. Sader, « History », dans H. Niehr (éd.), *The Aramaeans in Ancient Syria* (Handbuch der Orientalistik 106), Leiden-Boston 2014, p. 35. Sur le roi Ḥazāʾêl, voir H. Niehr, « König Hazael von Damaskus im Licht

pas de savoir si elle était dédiée à une divinité précise, car le début du texte n'est pas conservé. Toutefois, l'assistance du dieu de l'orage Hadad intervient au moment de l'expédition armée entreprise par le roi (**L. 5**). Il est précisé que le dieu a devancé le roi dans sa marche militaire : WYHK . HDD . QDMY « et Hadad alla devant moi ». Cette formule se rencontre également dans les annales assyriennes, dans lesquelles les souverains sont guidés par une divinité pendant leurs campagnes. Lors de l'avancée de ses troupes contre la ville de Qarqar, en l'an 853, Salmanazar III dit recevoir sa force du dieu Aššur et ses armes de la part du dieu Nergal, qui l'escorte dans la bataille : « avec une force glorifiante qu'Aššur mon seigneur m'a donnée (et) avec les puissantes armes que Nergal, qui est allé devant moi, m'a présentées, j'ai combattu avec elles »[20]. Au IXe siècle, quand les petits royaumes levantins se trouvent assujettis à la grande puissance assyrienne, un roi comme Ḥazāʾêl semble s'être inspiré des textes assyriens, qu'il aurait imités jusqu'à emprunter la formule « [tel dieu] alla devant moi ». Cela lui permet de renforcer son prestige en soulignant sa victoire obtenue grâce à une intervention divine[21].

2. Les interventions militaires des grandes puissances et leur présentation dans le discours

Les inscriptions ouest-sémitiques citées plus haut ne mentionnent ni le soutien effectif que les grandes puissances apportent à leurs clients, ni la participation de ces derniers aux campagnes militaires menées par les patrons. Présenter l'engagement des rois auprès des grandes puissances lors des interventions militaires comme un devoir, ainsi que l'appui des patrons comme une aide nécessaire, auraient amoindri la gloire

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neuer Funde und Interpretationen » dans G. ERASMUS & S. HERMANN-JOSEF (éd.), *„Ich werde meinen bund mit euch niemals brechen!" (Ri 2,1). Festschrift für Walter Groß zum 70. Geburtstag* (Herders biblische Studien 62), Freiburg 2011, p. 339-356. Sur l'histoire du royaume d'Aram-Damas, voir P.-E. DION, *Les Araméens à l'âge du Fer : histoire politique et structures sociales* (Études bibliques. Nouvelle série 34), Paris 1997, p. 171-216.

[20] Voir le texte assyrien gravé sur le monolithe de Kurkh (RIME 3, p. 23-24 n° 2, col. ii 95-96 ; Sh. YAMADA, *The Construction of the Assyrian Empire. A Historical Study of the Inscriptions of Shalmanesar III (859-824 B.C.) Relating to his Campaigns to the West* (Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 3), Leiden-Boston-Köln 2000, p. 148 n. 241.

[21] Pour une étude plus exhaustive portant sur l'intervention divine auprès des rois lors des guerres rapportées dans la Bible et dans les inscriptions ouest-sémitiques, voir F. BRIQUEL CHATONNET, « "Kamosh me dit : 'Va, prends Nebo à Israël' ". Réflexions sur l'idée de guerre sainte dans la Bible et chez les peuples du Levant dans l'Antiquité », dans *La Guerre juste dans le Proche-Orient ancien et médiéval : approches historique, philosophique et juridique, actes du colloque international tenu à Beyrouth les 29 et 30 mai 2006. Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, 62, 2009, p. 218-232.

dont ces rois clients peuvent se targuer en invoquant seuls les
dieux. Il en est autrement du royaume de Samʾal et de ses sou-
verains qui entretiennent un lien plus étroit et explicite dans les
textes qui nous sont parvenus avec les rois assyriens, leurs pro-
tecteurs.

Même si l'absence quasi-totale de documents épigraphiques
datant du Xe siècle ne permet pas de tracer le début de l'histoire
de Samʾal (Bit Gabbari-Yādiya), notamment la prise du pou-
voir par les Araméens, la suite des événements est mieux con-
nue grâce à plusieurs monuments inscrits[22]. Toutefois, quelques
lacunes subsistent, notamment en ce qui concerne le rapport
avec l'Assyrie durant le règne de ŠʾL, le fils de Ḥayyā, au cours
de la seconde moitié du IXe siècle. Son père, Ḥayyā, après sa
défaite et celle de ses alliés[23] face à Salmanazar III vers 858,
succombe au joug assyrien en payant un lourd tribut[24].

Nous assistons avec Kilamuwa, le second fils de Ḥayyā, à
un début de changement dans les relations avec les rois
d'Assyrie. Vers 830-820, Kilamuwa commémore, dans une
inscription rédigée en phénicien, les hauts faits qu'il a accom-
plis[25]. Il se targue d'avoir protégé son pays qui, du temps de
son père, subissait des attaques de la part de puissants
royaumes voisins, sans rappeler les opérations militaires de son

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[22] Sur l'histoire du royaume de Samʾal, voir P.-E. Dion, *Les Araméens à
l'âge du Fer : histoire politique et structures sociales* (Études bibliques.
Nouvelle série 34), Paris 1997, p. 99-112 ; H. Sader, « History », dans H.
Niehr (éd.), *The Aramaeans in Ancient Syria* (Handbuch der Orientalis-
tik 106), Leiden-Boston 2014, p. 32-33.

[23] Les alliés de Ḥayyā étaient Ahuni roi de Bit Adini, Sapalulme roi de
Patina et Sangara roi de Karkemiš, voir RIME 3, p. 16-17 n° 2, col. i 51b-
ii 10a ; P.-E. Dion, *Les Araméens à l'âge du Fer : histoire politique et
structures sociales* (Études bibliques. Nouvelle série 34), Paris 1997, p. 99 ;
Sh. Yamada, *The Construction of the Assyrian Empire. A Historical Study
of the Inscriptions of Shalmanesar III (859-824 B.C.) Relating to his Cam-
paigns to the West* (Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 3), Leiden-
Boston-Köln 2000, p. 95.

[24] Voir l'inscription de Kurkh (RIME 3, p. 18 n° 2, col. ii 24-26 ;
P.-E. Dion, *Les Araméens à l'âge du Fer : histoire politique et structures
sociales* [Études bibliques. Nouvelle série 34], Paris 1997, p. 107 ;
Sh. Yamada, *The Construction of the Assyrian Empire. A Historical Study
of the Inscriptions of Shalmanesar III [859-824 B.C.] Relating to his Cam-
paigns to the West* [Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 3], Leiden-
Boston-Köln 2000, p. 109).

[25] L'inscription de Kilamuwa est gravée sur un orthostate trouvé *in situ*
dans le vestibule du palais J de la ville de Zencirli en Turquie.
J. C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions. 3. Phoenician
Inscriptions including inscriptions in the mixed dialect of Arslan Tash*, Ox-
ford 1982, n° 13 ; *KAI* 24. ; J. Tropper, *Die Inschriften von Zincirli. Neue
Edition vergleichende Grammatik des phönizischen, samʾalischen und
aramäischen Textkorpus* (Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-
Palästinas 6), Münster 1993, p. 153-154.

prédécesseur : **[L. 5-7]** KN . BT ʾBY . BMTKT . MLKM . ʾDRM . WKL . ŠLḤ . YD L<H>L[Ḥ]M . WKT . BYD . MLKM . KM ʾŠ . ʾKLT ZQN . W[KM] ʾŠ . ʾKLT . YD « La maison de mon père était au milieu de rois puissants. Et tous ont tendu la main pour faire la gu[er]re. Mais moi, j'étais dans les mains des rois comme un feu qui dévore l'oiseau et [comme] un feu qui dévore la main ». Vraisemblablement, Kilamuwa n'est pas toujours capable de se défendre des attaques dirigées contre lui. Dans de pareilles circonstances, il demande le soutien de son protecteur assyrien[26]. Ainsi, pour mettre fin aux menaces du royaume limitrophe de Qweh, situé à l'ouest de Samʾal, Kilamuwa « a payé pour les services » du roi d'Aššur, ou bien il « l'a engagé » : **[L. 7-8]** W'DR ʿLY MLK . DN[N]YM . WŠKR . ʾNK . ʿLY . MLK . ʾŠR « Le roi des Danouniens me dominait et moi j'ai engagé contre lui le roi d'Aššur », manière élégante de dire qu'il a pu tirer bénéfice de la menace que représentait pour Qweh une expédition du roi d'Aššur que Kilamuwa n'avait bien sûr pas commandée.

Avec l'accession de Bar-Rakkab, fils du roi Panamuwa, au trône de Samʾal, vers la seconde moitié du VIIIᵉ siècle, on constate que les inscriptions royales dégagent une nouvelle et singulière perspective. La sujétion à l'Assyrie est pour Bar-Rakkab davantage une protection qu'une lourde contrainte[27]. Cela est bien mis en évidence dans les inscriptions qu'il fait rédiger en araméen[28]. Il se montre loyal à son patron, Tiglath-Phalasar III (744-727), en se présentant dès les premières lignes comme son « serviteur » : ʾNH . BRRKB . BR . PNMW . MLK . ŠMʾL . ʿBD . TGLTPLYSR . MRʾ . RBʿY . ʾRQʾ « Moi, Bar-Rakkab, fils de Panamuwa, roi de Samʾal, serviteur de Tiglath-Phalasar, le seigneur des quatre coins de la terre ». De surcroît, il met le Grand roi assyrien sur le même plan que son dieu Rakkab-ʾEl, en précisant que c'est grâce à sa propre loyauté et à celle de son père, que son « seigneur Rakkab-ʾEl » et son « seigneur Tiglath-Phalasar » l'ont placé sur le trône dynastique : BṢDQ . ʾBY . WBṢDQY . HWŠBNY . MRʾY . RKBʾL . WMRʾY . TGLTPLYSR . ʿL . KRSʾ . ʾBY. Il se targue d'avoir conduit le char de son « seigneur, le roi d'Assyrie », aux côtés de grands rois, « riches en

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[26] Sur la mention du soutien assyrien dans certaines inscriptions ouest-sémitiques, voir A. R. MILLARD, « Assyria, Aramaeans and Aramaic », dans G. GERSHON, *et alii* (éd.), *Homeland and Exile. Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Bustenay Oded* (Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 130), Leiden-Boston 2009, p. 207.

[27] Sur l'étroite relation entre Bar-Rakkab et Tiglath-Phalazar III, voir P.-E. DION, *Les Araméens à l'âge du Fer : histoire politique et structures sociales* (Études bibliques. Nouvelle série 34), Paris 1997, p. 259-262.

[28] *TSSI*, 2, nᵒ 15-16 ; *KAI* 216-217 ; J. TROPPER, *Die Inschriften von Zincirli. Neue Edition vergleichende Grammatik des phönizischen, samʾalischen und aramäischen Textkorpus* (Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas 6), Münster 1993, p. 163-164.

argent et en or » : [**KAI 216 : 8-10**] …WRṢT . BGLGL . MRʾY .
MLK . ʾŠWR . BMṢʿT . MLKN . RBRBN . BʿLY . KSP . WBʿLY . ZHB.
Son père, Panamuwa, avait agi de la même manière au cours
des campagnes militaires assyriennes précédentes sans toutefois
s'enorgueillir de sa participation à ces expéditions. Cette in-
formation nous est heureusement parvenue dans une inscription
faite par Bar-Rakkab à la gloire de son père Panamuwa[29] :

[L. 12-16] WḤNʾH . MRʾH . MLK . ʾŠWR . ʿL . MLKY . KBR[Y
…] BRŠ […. WRṢ .] BGLGL . MRʾH . TGLTPLSR . MLK . ʾŠWR . MḤNT
. ʾW . MN . MWQʾ . ŠMŠ . WʿD . MʿRB… [WHWSP . L] GBLH . MRʾH .
TGLTPLSR . MLK . ʾŠWR . QYRT . MN . GBL . GRGM… WGM . MT .
ʾBY . PNMW . BLGRY . MRʾH . TGLTPLSR . MLK . ʾŠWR . BMḤNT

    « Et son seigneur l'a placé au-dessus de rois puissants…
Il a conduit le char de son seigneur Tiglath-Phalasar, roi
d'Assyrie, (pendant ses) campagnes de l'est à l'ouest… Et à
son territoire, son seigneur Tiglath-Phalasar, roi d'Assyrie, a
annexé des villes du territoire de Gurgum ».

Les inscriptions de Zakkur[30] et de Milkiyaton[31] exposent
chacune une victoire écrasante contre une importante coalition.
Est-il possible qu'un tel triomphe soit remporté sans le soutien
des grandes puissances, assyrienne dans le premier cas, perse
dans le second ?

Certes, aucun document assyrien ne fait allusion à la guerre
menée contre Zakkur, mais il paraît invraisemblable que le roi
assyrien Adad-nīrārī III ne soit pas informé du conflit qui op-
pose à Zakkur les dix-sept autres royaumes – sauf si le combat
a lieu à une période où la présence assyrienne dans la région
levantine est faible. Il est d'autant moins probable que celui-ci
et ses soldats aient pu se défendre et protéger le royaume de
Ḥamath et Luʿaš d'une invasion aussi massive. Zakkur aurait
donc bénéficié soit de l'assistance circonstancielle d'une
grande puissance militaire, en l'occurrence l'armée assyrienne,
soit d'une expédition menée par cette armée face à laquelle
chacun des petits rois araméens est retourné défendre son
royaume.

Par ailleurs, Attar-šumki, le roi de Bīt Agūsi, et Zakkur sont
les protagonistes d'un texte assyrien qui constitue la seule men-

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[29] *TSSI*, 2, nº 14 ; *KAI* 215 ; J. Tropper, *Die Inschriften von Zincirli.
Neue Edition vergleichende Grammatik des phönizischen, samʾalischen und
aramäischen Textkorpus* (Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-
Palästinas 6), Münster 1993, p. 159-162.

[30] *KAI* 202.

[31] *KB* 1144.

tion du roi de Ḥamath dans la documentation assyrienne[32]. Il s'agit d'une inscription traitant d'un conflit de délimitation frontalière entre ces deux rois, réglé par Adad-nīrārī III et par le turtānu Šamšī-ilu, en accordant à Bīt Agūsi la ville de Naḫlasi, dont l'emplacement exact reste inconnu. Cette délimitation des frontières s'est probablement effectuée à l'issue de la guerre menée contre Zakkur[33]. Si Adad-nīrārī III prend part à la conclusion de ce traité, qui relève d'une affaire territoriale, il nous semble évident que celui-ci a été informé du conflit ayant opposé les dix-sept royaumes à Zakkur.

La stèle de Zakkur n'étant pas complète, on peut se demander si le fragment manquant ne mentionnait pas la participation d'Adad-nīrārī III à la guerre. L'hypothèse est plausible, bien que, habituellement, le nom du roi assyrien figure au début de l'inscription, ce qui n'est pas le cas ici. D'autres textes phéniciens et araméens, notamment les inscriptions de Kilamuwa et de Bar-Rakkab, en font mention dans la première moitié du texte[34]. L'omission du nom du roi assyrien de l'inscription de Zakkur paraît d'autant plus volontaire qu'elle est rédigée uniquement en araméen. En s'appropriant la victoire, Zakkur entend peut-être affirmer, face à ses dix-sept adversaires, un pouvoir royal obtenu non pas par voie de succession, mais qu'il dit tenir de son dieu tutélaire Baʿlišamīn.

Avec l'effondrement des grandes puissances mésopotamiennes et l'arrivée des Achéménides qui étendent leur empire jusqu'à la côte levantine, les royaumes phéniciens, tout en gardant une certaine indépendance, passent sous domination perse. Les Phéniciens, en raison de leur hégémonie maritime, tiennent un rang privilégié dans les expéditions militaires menées par le Grand roi perse, notamment lors des batailles navales[35]. Les rois sidonien et tyrien jouissent d'une égale considération aux yeux du Roi des Rois. Hérodote les mentionnent dans l'épisode de l'inspection effectuée par Xerxès (486-465) des vaisseaux de la flotte perse :

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[32] Le texte est gravé sur une stèle découverte dans les environs d'Antakya et conservée au musée de cette ville sous le numéro 11832. RIME 3, p. 203-204 nº 2.

[33] Voir L. R. SIDDALL, *The Reign of Adad- nīrārī III. An Historical and Ideological Analysis of an Assyrian King and His Times* (Cuneiform Monographs 45), Leiden-Boston 2013, p. 35.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 37.

[35] Hérodote affirme que « tous les vaisseaux portaient des combattants perses, mèdes et saces, les meilleurs vaisseaux de la flotte étaient ceux des Phéniciens et parmi eux ceux de Sidon ». Des commandants les plus célèbres sont mentionnés le Sidonien Tétramnestos fils d'Anysos, le Tyrien Matten fils d'Eiromos et l'Aradien Merbalos fils d'Agbalos (***Hist.* 7, 96 et 98**).

[Hist. 8, 67] Lors donc que toutes les troupes furent arrivées en Attique, sauf les Pariens, qui, restés en arrière à Kythnos, guettaient l'issue de la guerre, – dès que le reste de la flotte fut arrivée au Phalère, alors Xerxès en personne descendit vers les vaisseaux, dans l'intention de prendre contact avec ceux qui les montaient et de s'informer de leurs sentiments. Quand il fut arrivé et qu'il eut pris place sur un trône présidentiel, les tyrans des peuples de son empire et les commandants des vaisseaux, mandés par lui, se présentèrent et s'assirent chacun au rang que le roi lui avait conféré ; au premier rang le roi de Sidon, après lui le Tyrien, les autres à la suite[36].

Malheureusement, aucune inscription phénicienne n'atteste de la participation des Phéniciens et surtout de leur flotte aux campagnes militaires perses : rappelons que la documentation phénicienne dont nous disposons est très maigre. Seul le texte d'Ešmūnʿazor II[37], le roi sidonien, fait allusion à l'apport probable de sa flotte à une victoire du Grand roi, qui, en échange, lui donne des terres :

[L. 18-20] … Wʿd ln ʾDN MLKM ʾYT Dʾr WYPY ʾRṢT DGN Hʾdrt ʾŠ BŠD ŠRN LMDT ʿṢMT ʾŠ Pʿlt WYSPNNM ʿlt GBL ʾRṢ LKNNM LṢDNM Lʿl[M] « … Le Seigneur des rois nous a donné Dor et Yapho, les riches terres à blé qui sont dans la plaine de Sharon, à la mesure des hauts faits que j'ai accomplis, et nous (les) avons ajoutées aux territoires du pays acquis pour les Si-doniens pour toujou[rs] ».

Il s'agit sans aucun doute d'une récompense qu'Ešmūnʿazor II reçoit de la part du Roi des rois en contrepartie de la participation de la flotte sidonienne à une campagne militaire menée par les Perses contre l'Égypte ou contre la Grèce[38].

Le patron perse entretient également de bonnes relations avec ses clients phéniciens installés dans l'île de Chypre.

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[36] *Hérodote. Histoire*, Livre VIII. *Uranie* (Collection des Universités de France), Texte établi et traduit par Ph.-E. LEGRAND, Paris 1953.

[37] Ce texte, datant du tournant des VIe et Ve siècles, constitue la plus longue inscription phénicienne provenant de la Phénicie même. Il est gravé sur le sarcophage du roi, importé d'Égypte, découvert dans la nécropole de Maġārat Tablūn au sud-est de Sidon. *KAI* 14 ; P. BORDREUIL & É. GUBEL, « Sarcophage d'Eshmouazor II », dans A. CAUBET, *et alii* (dir.), *Art phénicien. La sculpture de tradition phénicienne* (Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités orientales), Paris-Gand 2002, p. 101-102.

[38] F. BRIQUEL CHATONNET, « "Kamosh me dit : 'Va, prends Nebo à Israël' ". Réflexions sur l'idée de guerre sainte dans la Bible et chez les peuples du Levant dans l'Antiquité », dans *La Guerre juste dans le Proche-Orient ancien et médiéval : approches historique, philosophique et juridique, actes du colloque international tenu à Beyrouth les 29 et 30 mai 2006. Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, 62, 2009, p. 220.

L'inscription de Milkiyaton[39] ainsi que Diodore de Sicile[40] mentionnent l'attaque des Salaminiens sous la commande d'Évagoras Iᵉʳ contre les Kitiens. Ces derniers réussissent à faire face à leur assaut, sans toutefois se montrer capables de les repousser définitivement. C'est pour cette raison qu'ils demandent l'aide du roi perse. Ce détail, omis de la version phénicienne, est précisé par Diodore :

[Bibl. hist. 14, 98, 2] Il [Évagoras] soumit certaines cités par la force, s'acquit les autres par la persuasion ; il établit donc rapidement son pouvoir sur toutes les cités, sauf sur Amathonte, Soli et Kition, qui lui résistaient par les armes et envoyèrent des ambassadeurs au Roi des Perses Artaxerxès [II Mnémon] pour lui demander du secours ; ils accusaient Évagoras d'avoir fait mourir le roi Agyris, allié des Perses, et promirent au Roi de l'aider à conquérir l'île[41].

L'absence de toute mention de Milkiyaton du récit de Diodore de Sicile pourrait se justifier par le fait qu'il n'est pas encore roi. Il l'est devenu après cette guerre, pendant laquelle il a vraisemblablement su se valoriser aux yeux du roi perse et de son peuple. Effectivement, l'image qui se dégage de l'inscription phénicienne est celle d'un usurpateur. Si Milkiyaton ne mentionne pas l'appel à l'aide envoyé à Artaxerxès, c'est surtout pour s'arroger la victoire, qu'il dit avoir reçu de son dieu Rašap mkl, et asseoir son pouvoir. Ainsi, le choix d'une divinité de guerre qui valorise et consolide son pouvoir politique, et sous l'égide de laquelle il lutte et se défend contre l'ennemi, lui permet de légitimer son autorité, d'abord militaire, ensuite royale[42].

En mentionnant leur participation aux expéditions menées par leurs patrons, les petits rois cherchent à mettre en valeur leur relation avec les grandes puissances et à se vanter de les avoir côtoyées et suivies. Inversement, en omettant de leurs textes l'intervention militaire des grandes puissances dans leurs conflits, les petits rois en tirent vanité et s'arrogent la victoire pour affirmer leur pouvoir aux yeux du peuple. Finalement, dans les deux cas, les rois visent à s'élever à une dignité royale.

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[39] *KB* 1144.

[40] *Hist.*, 15, 2-4.

[41] *Diodore de Sicile. La Bibliothèque historique*, Livre XIV (Collection des Universités de France), texte établi et traduit par M. BONNET & E. R. BENNETT, Paris 1997.

[42] Voir J. DACCACHE, « Milkiyaton et Rašap : une relation stratégique », *Semitica et Classica*, 7 (2014), p. 77-95

3. Divulgue-t-on dans une inscription la cause de la guerre ?

La sujétion constante des États levantins à d'autres plus puissants au cours du Iᵉʳ millénaire demeure la principale cause de conflits dans la région. Rappelons que tout au long de cette période le climat politique au Levant est bouleversé. À partir du IXᵉ siècle, les petits royaumes en Orient se trouvent soumis à l'Assyrie, devenue la grande puissance dans la région. Les campagnes militaires se succèdent, permettant ainsi à l'empire assyrien d'étendre son territoire, de s'assurer la soumission des royaumes faibles et d'imposer le versement de tributs réguliers. Sous les deux premiers souverains de la période néo-assyrienne, Adad-nīrārī II (911-891) et Tukulti-Ninurta II (890-884), les conquêtes n'atteignent pas la partie occidentale de l'Euphrate. C'est seulement avec Assurnasirpal II (883-859) que le premier assaut est lancé contre les royaumes situés au-delà du fleuve. Il soumet plusieurs royaumes dont Bīt Agūsi, Byblos, Sidon et Tyr, qui lui payent désormais tribut[43]. Le fils d'Assurnasirpal, Salmanazar III (858-824), poursuit les opérations initiées par son père, mais non sans difficulté. En effet, les rapports patron-client sont généralement stables mais des tensions peuvent parfois provoquer des révoltes, voire des guerres. En l'occurrence, les royaumes levantins ne cessent de se rebeller contre l'emprise assyrienne[44]. Les annales de Salmanazar III mentionnent la formation, à plusieurs reprises, de coalitions de royaumes que le roi réussit à briser. Malheureusement, aucun autre témoignage épigraphique, ni araméen ni phénicien, n'étayent les dires du roi assyrien qui se targue d'une victoire écrasante à l'issue de chaque affrontement. À titre d'exemple, Salmanazar III écrit à propos de la bataille de Qarqar en 853, dans la vallée de l'Oronte au nord-ouest de la Syrie[45] : « J'ai quitté la ville de Arganâ, je me suis approché de la ville de Qarqar. J'ai rasé, détruit et incendié la ville de Qarqar ». Il cite ensuite les royaumes qui s'allient à Hadad-idri de Damas (Irḫulēni de Ḥamath, ʾAḥab d'Israël, des troupes de Byblos, Ṣumur[46], d'Irqata, d'Arwad, du pays d'Usanatu, de Siyannu, d'Arabie, etc.).

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[43] Ph. TALON, *Annales assyriennes. D'Assurnasirpal II à Assurbanipal*, vol. 1 (Nouvelles Étude Orientales), Fernelmont 2011, p. 34-43 et V.

[44] Voir P.-E. DION, *Les Araméens à l'âge du Fer : histoire politique et structures sociales* (Études bibliques. Nouvelle série 34), Paris 1997, p. 262-264.

[45] Inscription de Kurkh (RIME 3, p. 23-24 nᵒ 2, col. ii 89b-102).

[46] Nous adoptons la lecture Ṣum(u)r au lieu de Muṣ(u)r, proposée par A. LEMAIRE, « Joas de Samarie, Barhadad de Damas, Zakkur de Hamat : la Syrie-Palestine vers 800 av. J.-C. », dans *Avraham Malamat Volume* (Eretz-Israel 24), Jerusalem 1993, p. 151-152.

Bien que Salmanazar III se vante d'avoir anéanti toute velléité d'insoumission, la situation politique demeure instable et les États levantins ne cessent de secouer le joug assyrien, au moins jusqu'au règne d'Adad-nīrārī III (810-783). Il est regrettable que les sources assyriennes remontant à cette période ne soient ni nombreuses, ni disertes à ce sujet. Les textes ne donnent pas de précisions sur les territoires traversés ou saisis pendant les campagnes menées par le roi assyrien[47]. Le but des expéditions militaires d'Adad-nīrārī III, qui est de réprimer la révolte anti-assyrienne menée par certains royaumes araméens du nord de la Syrie, est en revanche expressément écrit dans les stèles assyriennes de Tell Šeikh Ḥamad[48] sur le Khabur et de Sabʿa[49] au sud du Ǧabal Sinǧār en Syrie. À s'en rapporter aux textes cunéiformes, Attar-šumki, roi de Bīt Agūsi, est l'un des principaux ennemis d'Adad-nīrārī III, puisqu'il réussit à dresser contre lui plusieurs rois du pays du Ḫatti. L'Assyrie et Damas n'entretiennent pas non plus de bonnes relations, à partir du moment où le roi araméen Bar-Hadad se voit imposer un tribut par Adad-nīrārī III[50]. Il forme une coalition de dix-sept royaumes araméens, dont Bīt Agūsi, contre le protégé du roi assyrien, Zakkur, comme en témoigne l'inscription de ce dernier[51] :

[L. 4-10] WHWḤD . ʿLY . BRHDD . BR . ḤZʾL . MLK . ʾRM . Š[BʿT] . ʿŠR . MLKN . BRHDD . WMḤNTH . WBRGŠ . WMḤNTH . W[M]LK . QWH . WMḤNTH . WMLK . ʿMQ . WMḤNTH . WMLK . GRG[M] [WMḤ]NTH . WMLK . ŠMʾL . WM[ḤNT]H . WMLK . MLZ . [WM]Ḥ[NTH] […] ŠBʿ[T .ʿŠR H]MW . WMḤNWT . HM . WŠMW . KL MLKYʾ ʾLH . MṢR . ʿL . ḤZR[K] WHRMW . ŠR . MN . ŠR . ḤZRK .

WHʿMQW . ḤRṢ . MN . ḤR[ṢH] « Bar-Hadad, fils de Ḥazāʾêl, roi d'Aram, a réuni contre moi dix-sept rois : Bar-Hadad et son armée, Bar-Guš (Bīt Agūsi) et son armée, [le roi de] Qweh et son armée, le roi de ʿAmuq et son armée, le roi de Gurgu[m et son ar]mée, le roi de Samʾal et son a[rmée], le roi de Melid et son [armée]. [… Dix]-sept rois, eux et leurs armées. Tous ces rois ont assiégé Ḥazra[k], ont élevé un mur plus haut que le mur de Ḥazrak et ont creusé un fossé plus profond que son fo[ssé] ».

Bien que Zakkur n'indique pas la cause de l'attaque de Ḥazrak, la capitale de son royaume, il semble que l'usurpation du pouvoir ainsi que sa soumission à Adad-nīrārī III en sont les raisons. Contrairement aux inscriptions ouest-sémitiques, dans lesquelles une généalogie sur au moins une ou deux générations est énumérée, l'inscription de Zakkur n'en donne aucune. Cela est certainement dû au fait qu'il n'a pas hérité le pouvoir de son père. En effet, à l'âge du Fer I, vers l'an 900, le pays de Ḥamath est gouverné par une dynastie louvite, dont les rois Parata, Urḫilina et son fils Uratami sont mentionnés, aussi bien dans les annales assyriennes de Salmanazar III[52] que dans des inscriptions louvites locales[53]. Au début du Fer II, vers l'an 800, la dynastie louvite de Ḥamath tombe aux mains du roi araméen Zakkur, qui étend son territoire en annexant Luʿaš à Ḥamath[54]. L'agrandissement du royaume ne pourrait pas s'effectuer sans que Zakkur obtienne le consentement d'Adad-nīrārī III, à moins que ces événements ne se soient déroulés pendant une période de retrait de l'Assyrie sous Šamši-Adad V – comme c'est le cas sous Salmanazar IV par exemple.

Les villes levantines sont également susceptibles de tomber sous la domination des villes voisines. Tel est le cas de Môʾāb qui, d'après l'inscription du roi Mêšaʿ[55], paraît avoir subi, comme conséquences de la colère divine, le joug israélite pendant de longues années :

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[52] Sur l'inscription mentionnant Urḫilina, voir RIME 3, p. 23 nᵒ 2, col. ii 88. Sur la lettre adressée à Uratami, voir S. PARPOLA, « A Letter from Marduk-apla-Usur of Anah to Rudamu/Uratamis, King of Ḥamat », dans *Hama. Fouilles et recherches 1931-1938*. II, 2. *Les objets de la période dite syro-hittite (âge du Fer)* (Nationalmuseets Skrifter 12), Copenhague 1990, p. 257-265.

[53] J. FREU & M. MAZOYER, *Les royaumes néo-hittites à l'âge du Fer. Les Hittites et leur histoire* (Kubaba), Paris 2012, p. 98-99.

[54] Pour plus d'informations sur l'histoire du royaume de Ḥamath et Luʿaš, voir P.-E. DION, *Les Araméens à l'âge du Fer : histoire politique et structures sociales* (Études bibliques. Nouvelle série 34), Paris 1997, p. 137-170 ; H. SADER, « History », dans H. NIEHR (éd.), *The Aramaeans in Ancient Syria* (Handbuch der Orientalistik 106), Leiden-Boston 2014, p. 33-34.

[55] *KAI* 181.

[L. 4-6] ʿMRY . MLK . YŠRʾL . WYʿNW . ʾT . MʾB . YMN . RBN . KY . YʾNP . KMŠ . BʾRṢH WYḤLPH . BNH . WYʾMR . GM . Hʾ . ʾʿNW . ʾT . MʾB . BYMY . ʾMR « ʿOmri régna (sur) Israël et opprima Môʾāb pendant de longs jours, car Kamoš s'était mis en colère contre son pays. Son fils lui succéda et il dit, lui aussi : "j'opprimerai Môʾāb". C'est en mes jours qu'il parla (ainsi) ».

La condition pour vaincre son ennemi de longue date est que Mêšaʿ se réconcilie avec son dieu. Désormais, il peut tirer vengeance du royaume d'Israël et « réjouir Kamoš »[56]. L'acte militaire de Mêšaʿ traduit donc un désir insatiable de châtier, voire de renverser son voisin oppresseur :

[L. 10-12] L'homme de Gad demeurait dans le pays de ʿAṭarot depuis longtemps, et le roi d'Israël avait construit ʿAṭarot pour lui-même. J'attaquai la ville et je la pris. Je massacrai tout le peuple de la ville pour réjouir Kamoš et Môʾāb.

La révolte de Mêšaʿ est également rapportée dans la Bible, plus précisément dans 2 Rois 3[57]. La version qu'en donne la Bible hébraïque diffère sensiblement de celle rapportée par l'inscription moabite, mais sur la question de la cause, les deux semblent s'accorder. Dans un cas comme dans l'autre, la guerre a pour point de départ un refus de la part de Mêšaʿ de payer sa redevance :

[2 R 3] [1] Yôrām, fils d'Aḫʾāb, devint roi sur Israël à Samarie la dix-huitième année de Yehôšāphāṭ, roi de Juda, et il régna douze ans. [2] Il fit ce qui est mal aux yeux de YHWH, non toutefois comme son père et sa mère, car il fit disparaître la stèle du Baʿl que son père avait érigée. [3] Cependant il demeura attaché au péché que Yorobʿam, fils de Nebāṭ, avait fait commettre à Israël ; il ne s'en écarta pas.

[4] Mêšaʿ, roi de Môʾāb, était éleveur de troupeaux ; il payait au roi d'Israël une redevance de cent mille agneaux et de cent mille béliers laineux. [5] Or, à la mort d'Aḫʾāb, le roi de Môʾāb se révolta contre le roi d'Israël. [6] Le roi Yôrām sortit aussitôt de Samarie et passa en revue tout Israël. [7] Puis il partit et envoya dire à Yehôšāphāṭ, roi de Juda : « Le roi de Môʾāb s'est révolté contre moi. Veux-tu venir avec moi pour combattre Môʾāb ? » Il répondit : « Je monterai ; il en sera de moi comme de toi, de

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[56] Nous rappelons que l'on rencontre cette idéologie très biblique dans le livre des Juges, voir F. BRIQUEL CHATONNET, « "Kamosh me dit : 'Va, prends Nebo à Israël' ". Réflexions sur l'idée de guerre sainte dans la Bible et chez les peuples du Levant dans l'Antiquité », dans *La Guerre juste dans le Proche-Orient ancien et médiéval : approches historique, philosophique et juridique, actes du colloque international tenu à Beyrouth les 29 et 30 mai 2006. Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, 62, 2009, p. 220-221.

[57] Dans cet article, la traduction des textes bibliques se fonde essentiellement sur la *Traduction œcuménique de la Bible* (*TOB*). La transcription des noms s'en écarte pour être plus proche de l'orthographe hébraïque.

mon peuple comme de ton peuple, de mes chevaux comme de tes chevaux.

Mêšaʿ n'est pas le seul roi de la région à avoir des relations conflictuelles avec son voisin Israël. Des affrontements – rapportés dans l'inscription de Tell Dan[58] et dans la Bible hébraïque – ont également lieu entre Israël et Aram-Damas, durant la seconde moitié du IXe siècle. Le roi de Damas, Ḥazāʾêl, commanditaire vraisemblable de l'inscription de Tell Dan, se vante de sa victoire contre un roi israélite, dont le début du nom n'est pas conservé. Les deux dernières lettres de son nom **[L. 7]**, encore visibles, permettent toutefois d'identifier ce roi à Yôrām. L'inscription, très fragmentaire, empêche de saisir l'élément déclencheur de la guerre, mais il est possible que le roi d'Aram veuille tirer vengeance de son voisin israélite, qui, selon le texte, a pénétré dans son territoire sous le règne de son prédécesseur : **[L. 3-4]** WYʿL . MLK Y[Š]RʾL . QDM . BʾRQ ʾBY « et le roi d'Israël est entré auparavant dans le pays de mon père[59] ».

Contrairement aux inscriptions moabite et araméennes où les causes de la guerre sont énoncées de façon suffisamment claire, l'inscription phénicienne du roi Milkiyaton ne fournit pas la raison de l'attaque lancée contre Kition et Idalion. L'accent est uniquement mis sur les ennemis du roi qui entreprennent une guerre contre les Kitiens, dont la riposte est rapide et efficace :

[L. 1-3] BMṢʾNM ʾBN WʿZRNM HPPYM LʾGD LN MLḤMT B[YM]M […] LYRḤ ZY[60] BŠT 1 LMLKY ʿL KTY WʾDYL WYṢʾ ʿLN[M MḤ]NT (?) ʾŠ KTY LʾGD LM MLḤMT « Quand ils se sont mis en campagne, nos ennemis et leurs auxiliaires les Paphiens, pour nous faire la guerre, au j[our] […] du mois zy de l'an 1 de son

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[58] *KAI* 310.

[59] Il est d'autant plus difficile d'identifier le père de Ḥazāʾêl que le début de l'inscription est cassé. Selon des sources assyriennes (voir Sh. YAMADA, *The Construction of the Assyrian Empire. A Historical Study of the Inscriptions of Shalmanesar III [859-824 B.C.] Relating to his Campaigns to the West* [Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 3], Leiden-Boston-Köln 2000, p. 189) et bibliques (2 R 8,7-15), Ḥazāʾêl n'a pas hérité le pouvoir de son père. Il est qualifié par Salmanazar III de *mār lā mammāna* « fils de personne ». Il est donc possible que le terme ʾB réfère à « ancêtre », ou que Ḥazāʾêl ait appartenu à la famille royale, sans être l'héritier légitime du trône. Voir A. BIRAN & J. Naveh, « The Tel Dan Inscription: A New Fragment », *Israel Exploration Journal*, 45/1 (1995), p. 18 n. 26 ; Sh. YAMADA, *The Construction of the Assyrian Empire. A Historical Study of the Inscriptions of Shalmanesar III (859-824 B.C.) Relating to his Campaigns to the West* (Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 3), Leiden-Boston-Köln 2000, p. 312.

[60] Nous proposons de lire le nom du mois ZY au lieu de ZYB, voir F. BRIQUEL CHATONNET, J. DACCACHE et R. HAWLEY, « Notes d'épigraphie et de philologie phéniciennes. 2 », *Semitica et Classica*, 8 (2015), p. 240.

règne sur Kition et Idalion, alors s'est mise en campagne contre eu[x l'ar]mée (?) des hommes de Kition pour leur faire la guerre ».

Milkiyaton ne décline pas l'identité du principal assaillant, mais seulement celle de ses alliés, les Paphiens. Néanmoins, le récit de Diodore nous permet de savoir qu'il s'agit des Salamiens de Chypre, commandés par leur roi Évagoras Iᵉʳ. Ayant pour ambition d'étendre son pouvoir sur l'ensemble de l'île de Chypre, le roi de Salamine entame une marche consécutive contre les villes chypriotes. Cependant, sa tentative d'invasion totale échoue face à la résistance de trois royaumes, dont celui de Kition et d'Idalion. Milkiyaton fait valoir d'ailleurs, mais d'une façon implicite, la force défensive de l'armée kitienne et sa capacité de faire plier l'ennemi. La formulation qu'il emploie est sans concession, dans le sens où il refuse d'adopter une position purement défensive. Il est question de répliquer à la hauteur de l'agression subie et le texte présente la riposte par une reprise de la même expression employée pour désigner l'invasion : de même que l'armée d'Évagoras Iᵉʳ « s'était mise en campagne » contre les Kitiens, ces derniers « se sont mis en campagne » contre les premiers.

Bien que les divinités soient toujours invoquées dans ces documents et présentées comme des « auxiliaires » de combat, il ne s'agit pas à proprement parler de mener des « guerres saintes »[61]. Plus probablement, la motivation est d'ordre géopolitique économique, à savoir le partage des territoires et des sphères d'influence. La religion n'est utilisée qu'en tant que moyen d'intimidation. Les inscriptions commémoratives de ces guerres mettent en exergue l'assistance des dieux aux combats, même si les causes réelles restent explicitement ou implicitement exprimées.

4. Présentation du déroulement de la guerre

Généralement les inscriptions commémoratives sont peu loquaces quant au déroulement de la guerre, contrairement aux annales assyriennes qui s'étendent longuement sur la question et abondent de descriptions saisissantes, comme dans le récit d'une des campagnes de Salmanazar III[62] :

« Grâce au dieu Aššur et les armes suprêmes, je les ai définitivement vaincus depuis la ville de Qarqar jusqu'à la ville de

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[61] F. BRIQUEL CHATONNET, « "Kamosh me dit : 'Va, prends Nebo à Israël' ". Réflexions sur l'idée de guerre sainte dans la Bible et chez les peuples du Levant dans l'Antiquité », dans *La Guerre juste dans le Proche-Orient ancien et médiéval : approches historique, philosophique et juridique, actes du colloque international tenu à Beyrouth les 29 et 30 mai 2006. Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, 62, 2009, p. 217-218, 223.

[62] RIME 3, p. 23-24 nᵒ 2, col. ii 89b-102.

Gilzau. J'ai abattu par l'épée 14 000 troupes. Comme Adad, j'ai fait déferler sur eux un déluge dévastateur. J'ai éparpillé leurs corps et j'en ai rempli la plaine. J'ai fait couler à flot leurs sangs. Le champ était trop étroit pour contenir leurs corps et toute la contrée a été retournée pour les recouvrir. J'ai obstrué l'Oronte de leurs corps en en faisant une voie, et au plus fort de la bataille je leur ai pris chars, cavaliers et troupeaux de chevaux ».

Nul doute que les faits présentés ont subi une certaine exagération rhétorique inhérente aux annales officielles de guerre.

La stèle de Mêšaʿ se distingue parmi les inscriptions ouest-sémitiques, puisqu'elle est le seul document épigraphique complet qui fournit quelques informations sur le déroulement de la guerre et sur les villes conquises :

[L. 7-34] Et ʿOmri avait pris possession t[out le pa]ys de Mahdaba et y demeura durant ses jours et la moitié des jours de ses fils, quarante ans. Mais Kamoš l'a rendu durant mes jours (…). L'homme de Gad demeurait dans le pays de ʿAṭarot depuis longtemps, et le roi d'Israël avait construit ʿAṭarot pour lui-même. J'attaquai la ville et je la pris. Je massacrai tout le peuple de la ville pour réjouir Kamoš et Môʾāb. J'emportai de là l'autel de dwdh et je le traînai devant la face de Kamoš à Qeriyot où je fis demeurer l'homme de Šaron et celui de Maḥarot. Et Kamoš me dit : "Va, prends Neboh à Israël". J'allai de nuit et je l'attaquai depuis le lever de l'aube jusqu'à midi. Je la pris et je massacrai tou[t], à savoir sept mille h[om]mes et hôtes résidents, femmes, hôt[es rés]identes et jeunes filles parce que je les avais voués à ʿAštar-Kamoš. J'emportai de là les [vas]es de YHWH et je les traînai devant la face de Kamoš. Le roi d'Israël avait bâti Yahaṣ et il y demeura lors de sa campagne contre moi. Kamoš le chassa de devant moi. Je pris deux cents hommes de Môʾāb, tous ses chefs, et j'attaquai Yahaṣ et je la pris pour l'annexer à Dibon (….) Kamoš me dit : "Descends et combats contre Ḥoronan". Je descendis [et je combattis contre la ville et je la pris ; et] Kamoš y (demeura) sous mon règne.

L'énumération de plusieurs villes par Mêšaʿ permet de situer approximativement la zone géographique dans laquelle la conquête est entreprise à l'est de la Mer Morte. La stratégie militaire est d'abord d'attaquer le successeur de ʿOmri dans le territoire moabite et ensuite d'envahir d'autres villes israélites. Avec l'aide de son dieu, Mêšaʿ réussit à mettre la main sur le pays de Madaba dont il proclame la légitime appartenance à Môʾāb. Et aussitôt, il entame une marche en direction des terres proprement israélites. En effet, Mêšaʿ s'enorgueillit de l'incursion de son armée dans des villes bâties par le roi d'Israël. Il attaque d'abord ʿAṭarot – identifiée au site jordanien

de Ḥirbet ʿAṭārūs[63], au nord-ouest de Dibon –, la capitale du royaume moabite où la stèle de Mêšaʿ a été découverte. La tactique employée par l'armée moabite n'est pas précisée dans l'inscription qui met surtout en relief la conquête de la ville (ʾḤZH « je l'ai prise ») et le massacre qui s'en suit (ʾHGR KL HʿM « j'ai massacré tout le peuple »).

Mêšaʿ attaque également Yahaṣ, une ville construite par le roi Israélite : ʾQḤ MMʾB MʾTN ʾŠ KL RŠH WʾŠʾH BYHṢ LSPT ʿL DYBN « je pris deux cents hommes de Môʾāb, tous ses chefs, j'attaquai Yahaṣ et je la pris pour l'annexer à Dibon ». Ce passage fournit davantage d'informations sur la troupe d'assaut et sur la localisation de la ville de Yahaṣ. Il est fort probable que Mêšaʿ donne le nombre des soldats pour souligner la difficulté de l'opération militaire dirigée contre Yahaṣ. Si l'emplacement exact de cette ville est toujours objet de discussion, son annexion à Dibon laisse penser que les deux territoires ont une frontière commune, ou, du moins, que la première est située dans le voisinage de Dibon. Par conséquent, une localisation de Yahaṣ à l'emplacement de l'actuel Ḥirbet el-Mudēyine et-Temed situé au nord-est de Dibon paraît convaincante[64].

La ville de Nebo, située au nord de Dibon, fait aussi partie des villes envahies par Mêšaʿ. Celui-ci se vante de l'ingéniosité de la technique utilisée par l'armée moabite. L'ennemi est pris par surprise, car l'assaut est lancé à l'aube : HLK BLYLH WʾLTM BH MBQʿ HŠḤRT ʿD HṢḤRM « J'allai de nuit et je l'attaquai depuis le lever de l'aube jusqu'à midi ». Est-il possible que le siège de la ville se soit effectué de nuit, avant de passer à l'offensive à l'aube ? La locution « j'allai de nuit » semble plutôt faire allusion à la marche entamée durant la nuit, et non au siège proprement dit. D'ailleurs, si les Moabites mettaient le siège devant Nebo, Mêšaʿ ne manquerait pas de le mentionner dans l'inscription.

De surcroît, le roi Mêšaʿ se vante de l'humiliation qu'il fait subir à ʿOmri, non seulement en tuant son peuple, mais aussi en amassant un précieux butin de guerre : WʾHRG KL[H] ŠBʿT ʾLPN G[B]RN W[G]RN WGBRT W[GR]T WRḤMT[65] … WʾQḤ MŠM ʾ[T K]LY

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[63] I. FINKELSTEIN & O. LIPSCHITS, « Omride Architecture in Moab. Jahaz and Ataroth », *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 126/1 (2010), p. 32, fig. 1, pl. 13 ; *Id.*, « The Genesis of Moab: A Proposal », *Levant*, 43/2 (2011), p. 148-149.

[64] *Id.*, « Omride Architecture in Moab. Jahaz and Ataroth », *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 126/1 (2010), p. 29-32, fig. 1 ; *Id.*, « The Genesis of Moab: A Proposal », *Levant*, 43/2 (2011), p. 148-149.

[65] À propos de ces termes, voir P. BORDREUIL, « À propos de l'inscription de Meshaʿ deux notes », dans P.M. M. DAVIAU *et alii*, *The World of the Aramaeans*. III. *Studies in Language and Literature in Honour of Paul-Eugène Dion* (Journal for the Study of the Old Testament. Supplement Series 326), Sheffield 2001, p. 158-161.

YHWH WʾṢḤB HM LPNY KMŠ « Je massacrai toute la population, sept mille hommes, hôtes résidents, femmes, hôtes résidentes et jeunes filles… Je pris les [vas]es de YHWH et les traînai devant la face de Kamoš ». Même s'il n'est pas question de statues, on est tenté de rapprocher les « vases de YHWH » des statues transportées comme trophée de guerre par une armée sortie victorieuse d'une bataille : par exemple, après la prise d'Ašdod et d'autres villes, Sargon II emporte « les dieux qui demeuraient dans ses endroits »[66]. Bien que datant d'une époque plus tardive, on peut citer le cas de la capture d'une statue colossale d'Apollon que relatent Diodore de Sicile[67] et Quinte-Curce[68]. Ils rapportent que le général carthaginois Hannibal le Magonide s'empare de la statue d'Apollon de Géla en Sicile, lors de sa campagne militaire, et l'offre à Tyr.

La guerre entre Môʾāb et Israël est décrite différemment en 2 Rois 3, l'initiative de l'attaque revenant à Israël. Pourtant les deux versions coïncident quant au motif du conflit, la révolte de Môʾāb. Après que Yôrām, le roi d'Israël, réunisse une armée constituée d'Israélites, de Judéens et d'Édomites, il marche en direction du pays des Moabites pour leur faire la guerre :

[9] Le roi d'Israël, le roi de Juda et le roi d'Edôm se mirent en route. Ils firent le parcours en sept jours, puis l'eau manqua aussi bien pour la troupe que pour les bêtes de somme qui suivaient. [10] Le roi d'Israël dit : « Ah ! YHWH a certainement convoqué ces trois rois pour les livrer aux mains de Môʾāb ». [11] Josaphat dit : « N'y a-t-il pas ici de prophète de YHWH, par qui nous puissions consulter YHWH ? » Un des serviteurs du roi d'Israël prit la parole et dit : « Il y a ici Élisée, fils de Šaphat, qui versait l'eau sur les mains d'Élie » (…) [15] (…) la main de YHWH fut sur Élisée. [16] Il dit : « Ainsi parle YHWH : Qu'on creuse des fosses en grand nombre dans ce ravin ! [17] Ainsi parle YHWH : Vous ne verrez pas de vent, vous ne verrez pas de pluie, et pourtant ce ravin se remplira d'eau et vous pourrez boire, vous, vos troupeaux et vos bêtes de somme. [18] Cela sera peu de chose aux yeux de YHWH : il livrera Môʾāb entre vos mains. [19] Vous détruirez toutes les villes fortifiées et toutes les villes importantes ; vous abattrez tous les arbres fruitiers ; vous comblerez toutes les sources ; vous dévasterez toutes les terres cultivées, en y jetant des pierres ». [20] Au matin, à l'heure de l'offrande, de l'eau se mit à couler venant d'Edôm et le pays fut rempli d'eau.

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[66] K. L. Younger, « Sargon II (2.118). The Annals (2.118A) », dans Hallo William W. (éd.), *The Context of Scripture*. II. *Monumental Inscriptions from the Biblical World*, Leiden-Boston-Köln 2000, p. 294.

[67] *Bibl. hist.* 13, 108, 2-4.

[68] Quinte-Curce 4, 3, 21-22.

²¹ Tous les Moabites avaient appris que les rois étaient montés pour combattre contre eux : on avait convoqué tous ceux qui pouvaient ceindre le baudrier et tous ceux qui en avaient passé l'âge, et ils avaient pris position sur la frontière. ²² Au matin donc, quand ils se levèrent et que le soleil brillait sur les eaux, les Moabites virent devant eux les eaux rouges comme du sang. ²³ Ils dirent : « C'est du sang ! Certainement les rois se sont battus à coups d'épée ; ils se sont frappés l'un l'autre. Maintenant, Môʾāb, au pillage ! » ²⁴ Ils s'approchèrent du camp d'Israël. Alors les Israélites surgirent et frappèrent les Moabites qui prirent fuite devant eux ; il pénétrèrent en Môʾāb et le frappèrent. ²⁵ Ils démolissaient les villes, ils jetaient chacun sa pierre dans toutes les terres cultivées et les en remplissaient, ils comblaient toutes les sources, ils abattaient tous les arbres fruitiers ; il ne resta finalement que les murailles de Qîr Ḥareśet que les porteurs de fronde encerclèrent et frappèrent. ²⁶ Quand le roi de Môʾāb vit que la bataille était perdue pour lui, il prit avec lui sept cents hommes portant l'épée pour faire une percée vers le roi d'Edôm mais ceux-ci échouèrent. ²⁷ Il prit alors son fils premier-né, qui devait régner à sa place, et l'offrit en holocauste sur la muraille. Il y eut un grand courroux contre les Israélites qui décampèrent de chez lui et retournèrent dans leur pays.

Selon ce passage biblique, la durée des combats entre Moabites et Israélites est plus brève que celle énoncée dans l'inscription de Mêšaʿ. Il est étonnant que chacun se dise victorieux, l'un dans le texte biblique, l'autre dans l'inscription moabite. Par ailleurs, le silence de cette dernière quant à l'attaque de Qîr Ḥareśet[69], la capitale de Môʾāb, ainsi qu'à l'alliance entre le roi d'Israël et ceux de Juda et d'Edôm, mentionnées dans 2 Rois 3, ne laisse pas de surprendre. On note également le rôle joué, dans la version biblique, par le prophète Élisée. Cela rappelle l'intervention des devins qui servent d'intermédiaires entre les rois et leurs dieux dans les textes proche-orientaux, dont l'inscription de Zakkur est un exemple. Des incohérences insurmontables jettent le doute sur l'objectivité avec laquelle les faits sont présentés dans la version hébraïque. De façon inconséquente, il est précisé à la fin du récit que les Israélites « décampent » et retournent dans leur pays. S'ils remportaient la guerre comme le texte le prétend, cette désertion est plus que surprenante. D'autre part, si Mêšaʿ était vaincu, érigerait-il une stèle pour commémorer une défaite ? Les exploits rapportés par Mêšaʿ, peut-être exagérés, concordent avec la conclusion livrée par la Bible sur le retrait

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[69] Cette ville est identifiée à l'actuelle al-Karak en Transjordanie.

des Israélites : il libère effectivement Mô'āb, ce qui montre qu'il est sorti victorieux de cette guerre[70].

L'inscription araméenne de Tell Dan ne permet pas de tirer d'aussi nombreuses indications sur le déroulement des faits qu'elle mentionne, étant donné l'état fragmentaire du support. Le roi (Ḥazā'êl ?) semble mettre en avant sa force et sa capacité d'anéantir des souverains qui « maîtrisaient des chars et des cavaliers » : W'QTL . ML[KN . ŠB]⸢'N⸣[71] . 'SRY . '[LPY . R]KB . W'LPY PRŠ « et j'ai tué [soixante]⸢-dix⸣ ro[is], qui maîtrisaient des m[illiers de ch]ars et des milliers de cavaliers ». Selon la restitution des lignes 7 et 8 proposée dans l'*editio princeps*[72], le commanditaire de l'inscription est également responsable de la mort de Yôrām, roi d'Israël et d'Aḥazyāhû, roi de Juda : [QTLT . 'YT . YHW]RM . BR . ['Ḥ'B .] MLK . YŠR'L . WQTL[T . 'YT . 'ḤZ]YHW . BR [. YHWRM . ML]K . BYTDWD « [J'ai tué Yô]rām, fils d'[Aḥ'āb] roi d'Israël, et j'ai tu[é 'Aḥaz]yāhû, fils de [Yôrām, ro]i de la Maison de David ». En 2 R 9,1-10,28, ces deux rois sont les victimes de l'assassinat perpétré par le général de l'armée israélite, Yēhû', lors de son coup d'état. Celui-ci profite de la faiblesse physique de Yôrām, qui reçoit des blessures en combattant contre Ḥazā'êl à Ramoth de Rāmot Gil'ād, pour l'attaquer :

[2 R 9] [14] Yēhû', fils de Yehôšāphāṭ, fils de Nimšî, conspira contre Yôrām au moment où celui-ci, avec tout Israël, défendait Rāmot Gil'ād contre Ḥazā'êl, roi d'Arām. [15] Le roi Yôrām était revenu se faire soigner à Izréel des blessures que lui avaient faites les Araméens, tandis qu'il se battait contre Ḥazā'êl, roi

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[70] Le style et l'emploi de certains verbes rappellent ceux utilisés dans les annales assyriennes. Il s'agit moins d'exagération que d'imiter des tournures de phrases connues de textes assyriens. Pour en prendre deux exemples, Salmanazar III et Adad-nīrārī III accompagnaient leurs récits de conquête de villes d'une formule récurrente : « J'assiégeai la ville. Je (la) conquis, je massacrai bon nombre d'entre eux… » (RIME 3, p. 21 n° 2, col. ii 63b-66a) ; « au 25 d'Arḫsamnu je partis de Burali. Je conquis Pandu […] (et) Ḫabatešu, ensemble avec leurs villages. Je les massacrai » (SIDDALL, *The Reign of Adad- nīrārī III. An Historical and Ideological Analysis of an Assyrian King and His Times* [Cuneiform Monographs 45], Leiden-Boston 2013, p. 71-72).

[71] Notons que ce chiffre peut être également lu TŠ'N qui correspond à « quatre-vingt-dix », voir G. Athas « Sargon II (2.118). The Annals (2.118A) », dans Hallo William W. (éd.), *The Context of Scripture. II. Monumental Inscriptions from the Biblical World*, Leiden-Boston-Köln, Brill, 2000, p. 293-294, p. 237 ; J. M. Robker, *The Jehu Revolution. A Royal Tradition of the Northern Kingdom and Its Ramifications* (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 435), Berlin-Boston 2012, p. 257, 264 a remplacé le *'ayn* par un *pe* et a proposé la lecture complètement crédible ML[KN . TQ]PN « rois puissants ».

[72] A. Biran & J. Naveh, « The Tel Dan Inscription: A New Fragment », *Israel Exploration Journal*, 45/1 (1995), p. 9-11.

d'Aram. Yēhûʾ dit : "Vous vous êtes donc ralliés à moi ! Que personne alors ne sorte de la ville pour aller porter la nouvelle dans Izréel !" ¹⁶ Yēhûʾ monta sur son char et partit pour Yizreʿeʾl. Yôrām y était alité et ʾAḥazyāh, roi de Juda, était descendu voir Yôrām. ¹⁷ Le guetteur qui se tenait sur la tour de Yizreʿeʾl vit venir la troupe de Yēhûʾ et dit : "Je vois une troupe". Yôrām dit : "Prends un cavalier et envoie-le à leur rencontre et qu'il dise : Est-ce la paix ?" ¹⁸ Le cavalier partit à leur rencontre et dit : "Ainsi parle le roi : Est-ce la paix ?" Yēhûʾ répondit : "Que t'importe la paix ? Fais demi-tour et suis-moi !" Le guetteur annonça : "Le messager est arrivé jusqu'à eux mais il ne revient pas". …²⁰ L'allure ressemble à celle de Yēhûʾ, fils de Nimšî, car il mène à une allure folle". ²¹ Yôrām dit : "Qu'on attelle !", et on attela son char. Yôrām, roi d'Israël, et ʾAḥazyāh, roi de Juda, sortirent chacun sur son char à la rencontre de Yēhûʾ qu'ils trouvèrent dans la propriété de Nābôt de Yizreʿeʾl. ²² Dès que Yôrām aperçut Yēhûʾ, il dit : "Est-ce la paix, Yēhûʾ ?" Celui-ci répondit : "Comment ! La paix, alors que continuent les débauches et les innombrables sorcelleries de ta mère Jézabel ?" ²³ Yôrām tourna bride et s'enfuit ; il dit à ʾAḥazyāh : "Trahison, ʾAḥazyāh !" ²⁴ Yēhûʾ, qui avait pris son arc, atteignit Yôrām entre les épaules ; la flèche ressortit après lui avoir percé le cœur et il s'écroula dans son char… ²⁷ Voyant cela, ʾAḥazyāh, roi de Juda, s'enfuit par le chemin de Bêt Haggān. Yēhûʾ le poursuivit et dit : "Frappez-le, lui aussi !" Et on le frappa sur son char, à la montée de Gûr, près de Yibleʿān. Il s'enfuit à Megiddô, où il mourut. ²⁸ Ses serviteurs le transportèrent dans un char à Jérusalem et on l'ensevelit dans sa tombe avec ses pères dans la Cité de David.

Il n'est pas facile de savoir laquelle des deux versions, araméenne ou hébraïque, est la plus crédible. Étant donné que la rédaction de l'inscription de Tell Dan remonte à l'époque où les événements se produisent, au IXe siècle, on est enclin à croire à la réalité des dires de ce document épigraphique. Les discours du roi sont certes marqués par une exagération, mais il est difficile de penser qu'il tient des propos complètement mensongers, en prétendant avoir tué les rois d'Israël et de Juda. L'hypothèse qu'il soit question, dans l'inscription, précisément des rois Yôrām et ʾAḥazyāhû qu'aurait tués Ḥazāʾêl ne peut être définitivement prouvée que par la découverte d'un nouveau fragment. Pour le moment, la lecture reste conjecturale, puisque le verbe QTLT « j'ai tué », ainsi que le début du nom de Yôrām sont restitués. Quant aux livres des Rois, qui sont rédigés au plus tôt à l'époque perse, ou même à l'époque hellénistique, l'anachronisme est patent. Leur rédaction intervient à un moment où la fonction autrefois échue aux rois est attribuée à un gouverneur nommé par le roi perse. S'il s'agit de l'époque hel-

lénistique, ce rôle revient au grand prêtre qui porte le titre de
« chef de la nation »[73]. Fort probablement, le texte hébraïque
relève d'une tradition transmise oralement de génération en
génération, susceptible de déformer les événements rapportés,
puisque des éléments auraient pu y être ajoutés ou omis. Il nous
paraît donc évident que la mise à mort de Yôrām et d'Aḥaziāhû
par Yēhûʾ ne peut être ni contestée ni affirmée. En revanche, il
n'est pas tout à fait exclu que Ḥazāʾêl, lorsqu'il revendique
l'assassinat de Yôrām, croie que celui-ci a déjà succombé à sa
blessure. Il peut se considérer comme responsable immédiat de
sa mort, alors qu'en réalité c'est la flèche de Yēhûʾ qui a porté
le coup fatal au roi d'Israël.

Les textes épigraphiques sont par définition économes en
détails, étant donné le support même peu adapté à de grands
développements narratifs. Les commanditaires doivent se res-
treindre à un message concis, percutant et contenant les infor-
mations essentielles des événements qu'ils veulent faire ins-
crire.

5. Affichage des inscriptions et public visé

Il n'est pas toujours possible de déterminer l'endroit exact
où les stèles royales inscrites sont érigées, ni de savoir à quel
type de public elles sont destinées. Cela devient encore plus
problématique, lorsque les objets sont découverts hors contexte
archéologique, comme la stèle de Mêšaʿ trouvée fortuitement
en 1868 à Dhiban par un missionnaire allemand à Jérusalem, ou
comme les fragments de l'inscription de Zakkur découverts à
Tell Afis par Henri Pognon lors de son voyage en Syrie[74]. À
Tell Dan, bien que le site soit fouillé, les trois morceaux de
l'inscription araméenne ne sont pas trouvés *in situ* : le frag-
ment A de la stèle est découvert, en juillet 1993, en position de
remploi dans le mur occidental d'un édifice, bordant une place
pavée, dont la destruction est causée par la conquête de Tiglat-
Phalasar III en l'an 733/2. En poursuivant le dégagement du
même mur lors de la mission de juin 1994, les archéologues
mettent au jour, non loin du fragment A, les fragments B1 et
B2. Le premier est découvert dans des débris situés à 80 cm

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[73] F. Briquel Chatonnet, « "Kamosh me dit : 'Va, prends Nebo à
Israël' " ». Réflexions sur l'idée de guerre sainte dans la Bible et chez les
peuples du Levant dans l'Antiquité », dans *La Guerre juste dans le
Proche-Orient ancien et médiéval : approches historique, philosophique et
juridique, actes du colloque international tenu à Beyrouth les 29 et 30 mai
2006. Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, 62, 2009, p. 229-230 ;
A. Sérandour, « Le développement du judaïsme et de la religion ju-
déenne », *L'archéo thema*. 5. *Les judaïsmes au temps de Jésus*, p. 4-5.

[74] Il y repère trois fragments de la stèle remployés dans un mur et un
quatrième installé à l'ouverture d'un puits ou d'une citerne. H. Pognon,
*Inscriptions sémitiques de la Syrie, de la Mésopotamie et de la région de
Mossoul*, Paris 1907, p. 156.

d'une tribune pavée sur laquelle trois maṣṣebot sont dressés à l'extrémité nord. Cette tribune serait construite au-dessus de la couche de décombres issus de la destruction assyrienne. Le fragment B2, de la même époque, est réutilisé comme élément de dallage à l'endroit où le pavement et le mur d'enceinte se rencontrent.

Plusieurs hypothèses peuvent être émises quant à l'emplacement originel de ces stèles. Étaient-elles érigées dans un lieu inaccessible, ou dans un édifice dont l'accès était limité à certaines personnes, tels les sanctuaires ? Cette hypothèse n'est pas à exclure, notamment si l'on considère que le texte a pu circuler dans des copies ou des traductions inscrites sur des supports souples. De la trilingue de Behistun, gravée sur une falaise, on en connaît des versions en akkadien trouvées à Babylone et des traductions araméennes découvertes à Éléphantine et à Saqqārah[75]. Malheureusement, le climat humide de la côte levantine ne permet pas la conservation des supports et des matériaux périssables, tels le papyrus, la peau, l'encre des ostraca. De ce fait, s'il existait d'autres versions des inscriptions étudiées dans cet article, aucune n'est conservée. De façon singulière, le sarcophage d'Ešmūnʿazōr II, roi de Sidon, pourtant destiné à être enseveli dans la sépulture, déploie une longue inscription phénicienne à caractère autobiographique, atypique pour un texte funéraire. Vouée à rester méconnue, l'épitaphe est néanmoins rédigée dans le style propre aux inscriptions commémoratives des hauts faits, qu'un souverain veut apporter à la connaissance de tous. Ce monument reste un cas isolé, sinon unique dans l'histoire du Proche-Orient.

Par ailleurs, la mention de la divinité tutélaire de chacun de ces royaumes permet de supposer que ces monuments proviennent de temples. L'apologie de la guerre et le discours élogieux, qui constituent le point capital de ces inscriptions, laissent penser que les lieux fréquentés étaient privilégiés pour l'emplacement de ces stèles. Tel est le cas des inscriptions in situ de Kilamuwa et de Bar-Rakkab, chacune gravée sur un orthostate. La première est située dans le vestibule (J 1) du Palais J et la seconde appartient originellement à la façade principale du bâtiment dit « nördlichen Hallenbau »[76]. Il n'est pas

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[75] L'inscription de Behistun, commanditée par Darius Iᵉʳ, qui a accédé au trône en 522, relate les campagnes de celui-ci en trois langues, le vieux-perse, l'élamite et l'akkadien, voir Ch.-H. BAE, « Literary Stemma of King Darius's (522-486 B.C.E.). Bisitun Inscription: Evidence of the Persian Empire's Multilingualism » *Eoneohag*, 36 (2003), p. 3-32 (www.archive.org, avec bibliographie antérieure).

[76] L'orthostate a été trouvé parmi les décombres de la façade, voir F. VON LUSCHAN, « Bildwerke und Inschriften », dans *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli ausgeführt und herausgegeben im Auftrage des Orient-Comités zu Berlin*, vol. IV (Königliche Museen zu Berlin, Mittheilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen 14), Berlin 1911, p. 374, 377, pl. L.

étonnant que l'inscription de Kilamuwa soit placée à l'entrée
du palais, puisqu'elle traite du pouvoir royal et des bienfaits
accomplis par le roi. Toute personne qui entre dans le complexe
palatial peut ainsi admirer l'œuvre de Kilamuwa.

Parfois l'inscription elle-même fournit des informations sur
la place initiale de la stèle, comme c'est le cas de l'inscription
phénicienne de Milkiyaton. Certes elle n'a pas été découverte
lors des fouilles, mais elle nous indique que le trophée était
originellement placé à l'endroit où le combat eu lieu: LʾGD LM
MLḤMT BMQM ʾZ BYM Hʾ BNTY « dans cet endroit précis, en ce
jour-là je l'ai construit (= le trophée) »[77]. Il est clair que dans ce
cas, même offert à BʿL ʿZ, le trophée n'était pas destiné au
temple de la divinité. En commémorant ses hauts faits au lieu
même où la victoire est remportée, Milkiyaton assure la péren-
nité de cet événement.

On peut ainsi postuler que les stèles inscrites, au moins
quelques-unes d'entre elles, sont affichées dans des endroits
publics, à la vue de l'ensemble de la population. La question se
pose de savoir si le message de ces inscriptions est accessible à
la compréhension de tout le peuple ou seulement à une élite
lettrée représentée par une minorité. L'affichage en soi d'un
monument inscrit assure une certaine autorité à celui dont
émane le texte, sans que nécessairement l'on comprenne les
termes de son contenu.

6. Conclusion

Dans un monde où la loi du plus fort règne, il est difficile
pour un petit royaume de s'imposer au cours du Ier millénaire.
Si les grandes puissances ont pour but d'élargir leur territoire et
de déployer leur autorité sur des rois moins influents du
Proche-Orient, la motivation de ces derniers est de rétablir la
paix et la sûreté dans leur pays. Ces rois doivent faire face à
toutes sortes d'incursions afin de maintenir leur indépendance
au sein de l'empire et leur dignité vis-à-vis de leur peuple. Le
fait même de faire inscrire des textes à caractère commémoratif
et officiel revient à afficher une certaine autonomie par rapport
aux patrons dont ils dépendent, et constitue en même temps un
moyen de propagande auprès des leurs, non exempte de vantar-
dise. Cette rhétorique peut servir à asseoir la légitimité royale,
notamment en cas d'usurpation, comme c'est le cas du roi ara-
méen Zakkur et de Milkiyaton, roi de Kition et d'Idalion, qui se
targuent d'avoir remporté des victoires contre leurs ennemis.
S'ils restent discrets sur l'aide que leur apportent les grandes
puissances, ils abondent en formules dont le contenu consiste à
affirmer le soutien et l'assistance de la divinité à dire que la

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[77] Sur cette traduction, voir F. Briquel Chatonnet, J. Daccache et
R. Hawley, « Notes d'épigraphie et de philologie phéniciennes. 2 », *Semi-
tica et Classica*, 8 (2015), p. 242, 245-246.

divinité les assiste lors des combats. Cela rend la victoire encore plus éclatante et peut contribuer à maintenir la paix, à l'issue de la guerre.

Εἰδῆτε, ἴδητε, οἴδατε, and Scribal Activities in 1 John 2:29a

by

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I n 1892, Peter Corssen lamented in a short study on the Cyprian Text that modern textual criticism is built on the recension of fourth century texts.[1] Today Corssen's lamentation does not hold sway because, as William L. Petersen notes, « [t]he question facing textual critics today is not 'How far back *can* we go?' for . . . we can go back to the time of Ignatius, *c*. 107 CE. Rather, the question is 'How far back do we

[1] P. CORSSEN, *Der Cyprianische Text der Acta apostolorum*, Berlin, 1892, p. 24, observes « der destillierte Text, den die Modernen aus einigen griechischen Uncialen gewonnen haben, ist auch nur ein Spiegelbild einer willkürlich fixierten Recension des vierten Jahrhunderts, die mit derselben Notwendigkeit wie jede moderne Recension subjektiv sein musste ».

wish to go?' ».[2] NT textual criticism has advanced since Cors-
sen's time. One obvious step in this is that contemporary liter-
ature on NT textual criticism no longer employs the traditional
term « original text »[3] so as to adopt the newly hypothetical-
constructed « initial text »[4] in constructing the earliest recover-
able text.[5]

Current literature on textual criticism for the Catholic Epis-
tles, which applies the Coherence-Based Genealogical Method
(CBGM),[6] has focused on reconstructing[7] the earliest text to
arrive at the most reliable reading of the text.[8] For 1 John
2:29a, particularly, the eighth-revised-1998 Nestle-Aland[27] lists
no variants while the 2012 Nestle-Aland[28] cites eleven manu-

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[2] W.L. PETERSEN, « What Text Can New Testament Textual Criticism Ulti-
mately Reach? », in B. ALAND and J. DELOBEL (eds.), *New Testament Textual
Criticism, Exegesis and Church History* (CBET 7), Kampen, 1994, p. 151.

[3] M.W. HOLMES, « From 'Original Text' to 'Initial Text': The Traditional
Goal of New Testament Textual Criticism in Temporary Discussion », in B.D.
EHRMAN and M.W. HOLMES (eds.), *The Text of the New Testament in Contempo-
rary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis*, 2nd ed.; Leiden, 2013, p. 637-88.

[4] K. WACHTEL and M.W. HOLMES, *The Textual History of the Greek New Tes-
tament: Changing Views in Contemporary Research* (SBLTCS 8), Atlanta, 2011, p. 2,
state: « The concept of editing or reconstructing the original is no longer a
matter of course ». Abandoning the « original », G. MINK, « Problems of a
Highly Contaminated Tradition, the New Testament: Stemmata of Variants as
a Source of a Genealogy for Witnesses », in P.v. REENEN, A.d. HOLLANDER,
and M.v. MULKEN (eds.), *Studies in Stemmatology II*, Amsterdam, 2004, p. 25,
defines: « [t]he initial text is a hypothetical, reconstructed text, as it presumably
existed, according to the hypothesis, before the beginning of its copying ». For
Mink, « [t]he simplest working hypothesis must be that there are no differences
between the original [i.e., authorial] and the initial text », p. 26.

[5] J.K. ELLIOTT, « Recent Trends in the Textual Criticism of the New Testa-
ment: A New Millennium, a New Beginning? », *BABELAO* 1 (2012), p. 117-
36.

[6] See T. WASSERMAN, « Criteria for Evaluating Readings in New Testament
Textual Criticism », in EHRMAN and HOLMES, *Text*, p. 579-612, cf. n. 3.

[7] H. STRUTWOLF, « Scribal Practices and the Transmission of Biblical Texts:
New Insights from the Coherence-Based Genealogical Method », in J.S.
KLOPPENBORG and J.H. NEWMAN (eds.), *Editing the Bible: Assessing the Task
Past and Present* (SBLRBS 69), Atlanta, 2012, 139, states, « [t]he most important
task of textual criticism is to reconstruct the original text, or to be more mod-
est: to establish a sound and well-argued hypothesis about the initial text of the
transmission of a certain piece of literature that was handed down to posterity
via manuscripts ».

[8] E.J. EPP, « Traditional 'Canon' of New Testament Textual Criticism: Their
Value, Validity, and Viability – Or Lack Thereof », in Wachtel and Holmes,
Textual History, 127.

scripts for ἴδητε (aorist subjunctive) in place of εἰδῆτε (perfect subjunctive). The 2013 ECM[9] provides seventy-nine manuscripts, plus lacunae, for ἴδητε (compared to fifty-four manuscripts for εἰδῆτε). Besides, several witnesses read οἴδατε (perfect indicative) instead of εἰδῆτε or ἴδητε; ἐάν and δέ appear in some manuscripts but not in others.

The difference between these subjunctives in the protasis (the ἐάν-clause) gives insight into their aspects. Each variant has the potential of affecting the interpretive implications: the variants reflect the scribal activities in the text; they alter the aspectual types of action in the conditional clause. These variants obviously call for various interpretations of v. 29, in that the grammatical and theological distinctions between εἰδῆτε, ἴδητε, and οἴδατε cannot be fully appreciated without a careful examination of the protasis. These distinctions, while subtle, lend significant insight to the *Aktionsarten* perceived through the aspects of the perfect and aorist subjunctives.

Applying the criteria in the so-called reasoned eclecticism,[10] this paper evaluates the different readings of v. 29a in the textual tradition to see whether εἰδῆτε, ἴδητε, or οἴδατε (with or without ἐάν-δέ) is the most reliable.

1. External Evidence

The evaluation of external evidence rests on the cluster of manuscripts that support the respective variants and on the manuscripts' geographical areas.[11] Special attention is also given to « the study of coherence and contamination [which] requires full collation of relevant witnesses ».[12] In this regard,

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[9] This fourth-volume ECM contains two of three projected parts (Text and Supplementary Material). I will hereafter cite volume, followed by part and page numbers. For convenience, 1 John 2:29 in ECM 4:1.299 is offered: (a) ἐὰν |εἰδῆτε // ἴδητε| ὅτι δίκαιός ἐστιν, (b) γινώσκετε (c) ὅτι καὶ (d) πᾶς ὁ ποιῶν τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγέννηται.

[10] Separately discussed by J.K. ELLIOTT, « Thoroughgoing Eclecticism in New Testament Textual Criticism », p. 745-770; M.W. HOLMES, « Reasoned Eclecticism in New Testament Textual Criticism », p. 771-802; both are in Ehrman and Holmes, *Text* (cf. n. 3).

[11] Cf. E.J. EPP, « Textual Clusters: Their Past and Future in New Testament Textual Criticism », p. 519-77 (cf. n. 3). Also K. ALAND and B. ALAND, *The Text of the New Testament: An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism*, trans. E.F. RHODES, 2nd ed., Grand Rapids, 1995, p. 72-184.

[12] G. MINK, « Contamination, Coherence, and Coincidence in Textual Transmission: The Coherence-Based Genealogical Method (CBGM) as a

it is imperative to evaluate the evidence for εἰδῆτε, ἴδητε, and οἴδατε according to the ECM and CBGM.[13] Compiled from the ECM,[14] the inventories in tables 1abc are drawn to facilitate the lists of all manuscripts that support each variant or indicate doubt about each (with or without ἐάν-δέ).

Table 1a: Εἰδῆτε, ἴδητε, and οἴδατε in 2:29a with more clearly attested MSS[15]

Readings	Supporting Manuscripts
εἰδῆτε	ℵ(01) B(03) C(04) 049 6 18 35 81 88 104 206 252 254 319 323 365 378 <u>400</u>*V <u>424</u>Z 429 431 436 459 467 522 630 642 808 915 945 1067 1127 <u>1270</u>*[16] 1292 1409 1448 1501 1505 1523 1611 1678 1735 1739 1799 1837 1838 1842 1852 1881 2138 2200 2298 2492 2541
ἴδητε	A(02) 018 020 P^apr(025) Ψ*(044) 0142 1 5 33V 43 61 69 93 94 180 181 218 307 321 326 330 398 <u>400</u>C <u>424</u>T 442 453 607 614 617 621 623 <u>629</u> 665 720 876 918 996 1175 1241 1243 <u>1270</u>C 1297 1359 1490 1524 1563 1595 1609 1661 1718 1729 1751 1827 1831 1832 1844 1845 1874 1875 2147 2243 2344 2374 2412 2423 2464 2544 2652 2744 2805 2818 K:B Ä L590 L596 L921 L938 L1141 L1281
οἴδατε	468 1890 2186

Table 1b: Variants for εἰδῆτε, ἴδητε, and οἴδατε in 29a with Lacunae and Defects

Reading	Supporting Manuscripts
Lacunae/defects in the text of ei-	𝔓^9 𝔓^74 048 0245 0296 1836 1846 Pr

Complement and Corrective to Existing Approaches », in Wachtel and Holmes, *Textual History*, p. 146.

[13] Cf. M. Holmes, « The Case for Reasoned Eclecticism », in D.A. Black (ed.), *Rethinking New Testament Textual Criticism*, Grand Rapid, 2002, p. 77-100; G. Mink, « Eine umfassende Genealogie der neutestamentlichen Überlieferung », *NTS* 39 (1993), p. 481-99.

[14] ECM 4:1.298-9.

[15] U.C.v. Wahlde, *The Gospel and Letters of John*, Grand Rapids, 2010, 3:1-2, notes « [t]he critical texts [for 1 John] used as the basis for this analysis are the Nestle27 and UBS4 ». Evidently, von Wahlde offers no discussion of variants for v. 29a (pp. 102-3, 111-3). Expectedly, NA27 lists no variants for ἴδητε or οἴδατε. Moreover, the « text-types » have been abandoned (cf. Elliott, « Recent Trends », p. 128-9). Here we use all the manuscripts listed in the ECM to describe the complexity of readings for v. 29a.

[16] The underlining (══ or ⌇⌇⌇) shows overlapping support.

ther εἰδῆτε, ἴδητε, or οἴδατε	L60 L156 L1126 L1442
Neither εἰδῆτε or οἴδατε can be determined by the cited witnesses	**L**:VT **K**:SV^v **S**:PH

Table 1c: Variants for ἴδητε or εἰδῆτε in 29a with ἐάν and with or without δέ

Reading	Supporting Manuscripts
R 1 (with ἐάν): ἐὰν ἴδητε ὅτι δίκαιός ἐστιν	Majority texts, except 629f
R 2 (without δέ): ἐὰν ἴδητε ὅτι δίκαιός ἐστιν	Majority texts, plus **L**:VT **S**:PH **K**:S^{mss}BV
R 3 (with δέ): ἐὰν δὲ εἰδῆτε ὅτι δίκαιός ἐστιν	1292 [**K**:S^{mss}]
Lacunae/defects in the text for δέ	𝔓^9 𝔓^{74} 048 0245 0296 1836 1846 Pr L60 L156 L1126 L1442

The witnesses in table 1a are in favor of ἴδητε over against εἰδῆτε and οἴδατε.[17] The earliest manuscripts are attributed to ℵ, A, and B of fourth and fifth centuries. Here οἴδατε receives the least attestation among the witnesses.

Leaving aside οἴδατε and the issue of counting,[18] the overall results for εἰδῆτε and ἴδητε indicate an almost even balance in quality and weight.[19] While εἰδῆτε receives strong support from the witnesses of the « very special quality » (01 03), ἴδητε is attested by more manuscripts, including 02.[20] The closeness

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[17] Aland and Aland have offered helpful presuppositions in evaluating the known manuscripts (*Text*, 317-8).

[18] E.C. COLWELL and E.W. TUNE, « The Quantitative Relationships between MS Text-types », in J.N. BIRDSALL and R.W. THOMSON (eds.), *Biblical and patristic Studies in Memory of Robert Pierce Casey*, Freiburg, 1963, p. 25-32.

[19] ALAND and ALAND, *Text*, p. 159; METZGER and EHRMAN, *Text*, p. 217.

[20] Helpfully reminded by PETERSEN, « What Text », p. 147, that the « earliest [manuscript such as 01 02 03 or 04] is not always best ». Compare 025 with 02. The text can be older than the manuscript; and careful attention must serve as the guiding principle. For METZGER and EHRMAN, *Text*, p. 304, « Not all of these criteria are applicable in every case. The critic must know when it is appropriate to give primary consideration to one type of evidence and not to another ». For EPP, « Traditional 'Canons' », p. 125, « In the final analysis, therefore, the exegete is the arbiter in textual-critical decisions ». For T. DO, « Μόνον or μονῶν? Reading 1 John 2:2c from the *Editio Critica Maior* », *JBL* 133 (2014), p. 610, n. 27, « the point of the entire process of evaluating the initial text is to avoid at all cost the one-sided and/or oversimplified attention to any one manuscript over and against the other(s) ».

in quality and weight between εἰδῆτε and ἴδητε suggests that no preference can be established exclusively from the external evidence.

The issue however will come to more light when we examine the possible omission of ἐάν-δέ. While the majority texts, except 629, attest to ἐάν, some Western texts omit δέ. Manuscript 1292 cites ἐάν with δέ. Since ἐάν is significant in v. 29, it is critical to test each variant in tables 1ab in parallel with ἐάν in table 1c.

Manuscripts Supporting οἴδατε

In the ECM, 468 and 1890 are among those manuscripts « closest to the Byzantine text of the First Letter of John ».[21] Several reasons seem to discredit οἴδατε as being the initial reading. The lack of homogeneity among the manuscripts for the Catholic Epistles in table 1a shows a lack of support from geographical distribution. The CBGM shows that οἴδατε has the shortest genealogy (see appendix 3). The three manuscripts supporting οἴδατε are of much later witnesses; two of these belong to the so-called Koine or Byzantine text, which text critics tend to discard or to consider secondary.[22] We now turn to εἰδῆτε in v. 29a.

Manuscripts Supporting εἰδῆτε

Εἰδῆτε is supported by two first-grade manuscripts (א B).[23] Outside this fact, however, εἰδῆτε suffers some irresolvable difficulties. The genealogical coherence of εἰδῆτε among the supporting manuscripts is rather disintegrated (see appendix 1). The hypothetical archetype text « *A* » shows nine different potential descendants within the same textual flow diagram (i.e., 01 03 04 35 81 1292 1409 1739 1739 1852 1881 2298), yielding an unbalanced coherence in the textual flow for v. 29a, and leaving 01 03 04 1735 1852 with no descendants. Being the parent of manuscript 1799, moreover, 35 only possesses a fifth rank as the potential descendant of the hypothetical witness « *A* ».

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[21] See Installment 3 of the 2003 ECM 4:2.15.

[22] METZGER and EHRMAN, *Text*, p. 305-6; K. WACHTEL, *Der byzantische Text der katholischen Briefe: eine Untersuchung zur Entstehung der Koine des Neuen Testaments*, Berlin, 1995, p. 218-22.

[23] METZGER and EHRMAN, *Text*, p. 62, 67; ALAND and ALAND, *Text*, p. 103, 107-9.

Table 1a shows that εἰδῆτε receives fifty-four supporting manuscripts.[24] In comparison to ἴδητε (seventy-nine supporting manuscripts), this less attestation to εἰδῆτε is probable due to the dead ends in the textual flow from 01 03 and 04 in the CBGM. Besides, some reservations accompany εἰδῆτε. The fifteenth-century manuscript 400, which support εἰδῆτε, is listed with « * » and « V ».[25] The symbol « * » indicates that the manuscript is « always » coordinated with corrections, namely, 400 also reads ἴδητε (with symbol « C »). Corrections have been made as a result of a difficult reading that was erased, defaced, or marked for deletion. The symbol « V » indicates that the Greek text was revised using one of the Vulgate editions.[26]

These symbols suggest that some manuscripts supporting εἰδῆτε in v. 29a have undergone multiple layers of successive corrections. We now turn to ἴδητε.

Manuscripts Supporting ἴδητε

Ἴδητε is attested by more manuscripts than those supporting εἰδῆτε. Such a number is vital. Noted among these are 02 33 614 1175 1241 1243 1832 2344 2412 – all of which are considered « primary » authorities for the Catholic Epistles.[27] In addition, the large number of supporting manuscripts corresponds well with the coherence-based genealogy of ἴδητε. According to the CBGM, ἴδητε has 025 as the potential ancestor; this genealogy continues to 2412, yielding a well-balanced coherence in the textual flow for v. 29a (see appendix 2).[28]

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[24] WASSERMAN, « Criteria », p. 588, notes: « Witnesses are to be weighed rather than counted ». In his 2014 SBL paper, « Historical and Philological Correlations and the CBGM », Wasserman added, « variants are both weighed and counted. But counting comes first ».

[25] See ECM 4:2 for further descriptions.

[26] See ECM 4:2.68 for some examples of the Latin witnesses.

[27] ALAND and ALAND, *Text*, p. 107-37.

[28] In comparison with the parent manuscripts 35 for εἰδῆτε, 025 for ἴδητε possesses a first rank as the potential ancestor (compare appendix 1 with 2). While 025 is of ninth-century, Mink's comment is helpful: « As the text of a manuscript can be much older than the manuscript itself, a witness that is preserved in a late manuscript (e.g. 10th century) can be a potential ancestor of a witness preserved in an early manuscript (e.g. 5th century) » (http://intf.uni-muenster.de/cbgm2/guide_en.html). This is also the reason why 025 relates genealogically much better with 02 for ἴδητε than 35 with 01 03 04 for εἰδῆτε.

We also notice three overlapping manuscripts (400 424 1270) that attest to ἴδητε and εἰδῆτε. In their support for ἴδητε, 400 and 1270 are accompanied by « C », meaning that the text has undergone correction, but not « successively ». In their support for εἰδῆτε, however, these same manuscripts are followed by « * » and « V », signifying that εἰδῆτε cannot be determined without being coordinated with ἴδητε.[29] In comparison with εἰδῆτε, one may say that the redaction for ἴδητε is less excessive.

Manuscripts Reading ἐάν and δέ

Two things stand out in table 1c. The majority texts read ἐάν, except for 629. Similarly, the majority manuscripts omit δέ, except for 1292 (and **K**:S^mss). A closer look at tables 1abc affirms that ἴδητε receives support from the majority witnesses.

First, while manuscript 629 omits ἐάν, it is accompanied by « f ». The ECM notes that « the defective form ['f'] represents a reading which cannot be reconstructed with confidence. . . . [T]he manuscript [629] unequivocally supports the reading indicated, but represents it defectively ».[30] One notices that error has occurred in the transcription of ἐάν, and that εἰ has been introduced.[31] This defect seems to reflect a change due to itacism and/or etacism. Note that 629 supports ἴδητε (see table 1a).

Second, reading 3 citing δέ (table 1c) occurs in 1292 and some Sahidic Coptic (**K**:S^mss). While 1292 cites εἰδῆτε, it has no further genealogy (see appendix 1).[32]

In short, the external evidence suggests that in comparison with εἰδῆτε and οἴδατε, ἴδητε is the most reliable reading in v. 29a. This conclusion may be grounded on several assessments. Ἴδητε is supported by the majority of texts. While εἰδῆτε occurs in 01 and 03, ἴδητε receives supports from more manuscripts of different geographical distributions.[33] The evaluation

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[29] Similar evaluation is on the symbols « T » against « Z » with regard to 424.

[30] ECM 4:2.3.

[31] ECM 4:2.30.

[32] The Coptic versions do not support εἰδῆτε (see table 1a). The Sahidic versions should be examined in parallel with those of Bohairic, which read ἴδητε.

[33] In his paper, « The Coherence Method and History », at the 2014 Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, K. WACHTEL announced that « the CBGM is not the tool to use for dating manuscripts or texts ». This state-

of ἐάν and δέ further confirms the support for ἴδητε. Οἴδατε is the least possible case among the three variants. We may now turn to the internal evidence.

2. Internal Evidence

An appeal to internal evidence asks which variant was written by the author and which was therefore produced by the scribes. [34] We will introduce the transcriptional and the intrinsic probabilities in evaluating εἰδῆτε, ἴδητε, and οἴδατε. These criteria address the issues surrounding the scribes' habits and practice and the author's vocabulary, style, and theology.

Transcriptional Probability

« Transcriptional Probability », Westcott and Hort state, deals with « the consideration of what a copyist is likely to have made him seem to have written ». [35] In any given passage, Aland and Aland call this method « the local principle », [36] giving due attention to each variant individually before arriving at the overall conclusion. Here the transcription concerns the probabilities that different scribes changed, say, ἴδητε to εἰδῆτε and οἴδατε; and vice versa. [37] These changes can be intentional or unintentional and introduced for various reasons. [38] The following statistics will help facilitate our evaluation of the scribal tendencies. [39]

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ment echoes PETERSEN's saying, « What Text », p. 147, that the « earliest [manuscript such as 01 or 03] is not always best ».

[34] ELLIOTT, « Recent Trends », p. 130-1; HOLMES, « Reasoned Eclecticism », p. 771, 790-6; METZGER and EHRMAN, *Text*, p. 313; and J. DELOBEL, « Textual Criticism and Exegesis: Siamese Twins? », in ALAND and DELOBEL, *New Testament Textual Criticism*, p. 102-4.

[35] B.F. WESTCOTT and F.J.A. HORT, *The New Testament in the Original Greek*, New York, 1882, p. 542.

[36] ALAND and ALAND, *Text*, p. 281.

[37] Thus, STRUTWOLF, « Scribal Practices », p. 147, advices that « we [text-critics] have to distinguish between the behavior of individual scribes and the overall tendencies of the textual history in general ».

[38] See METZGER and EHRMAN, *Text*, p. 250-7.

[39] Statistics are taken from W.F. MOULTON and A.S. GEDEN, *Concordance to the Greek New Testament*, 6th ed., London, 2002, p. 738-41. Slightly different counts occur in H. BACHMANN and W.A. SLABY, *Konkordanz zum Novum Testamentum Graece* (based on NA26), 3rd ed., Berlin, 1987, p. 1319-26. See John 8:56 for an example.

Table 2a: List of the Verb οἶδα in the NT

οἶδα (324 Different Verbal Forms)													
Gospels				Ac	Paul	He	Re	Catholic Letters					
Mt	Mk	Lk	Jn	19	103	3	12	Ja	1 Pe	2 Pe	Ju	1 Jn	3 Jn
25	23	26	86					4	2	3	2	15	1

Table 2b: List of the Verbal Forms of οἶδα in the Johannine Writings

Readings	Gospel	1 John	3 John
οιδ- (perf. ind. act.)	63 times (1:26; 3:2, 8, 11; 4:22 [2x], 25, 32, 42; 5:32; 6:42; 7:15, 27, 28 [3x], 29; 8:14 [2x], 19, 37, 55 [3x]; 9:12, 20, 21 [2x], 24, 25 [2x], 29 [2x], 30, 31; 10:4, 5; 11:22, 24, 49; 12:35, 50; 13:7, 17, 18; 14:4 [2x], 5 [2x]; 15:15, 21; 16:18, 30 [2x]; 18:21; 19:10, 35; 20:2, 13; 21:15, 16, 17, 24)	13 times (2:11, 20, 21 [2x]; 3:2, 5, 14, 15; 5:15 [2x], 18, 19, 20), and οἴδατε disputed in 2:29a	1 time in v. 12
ηδει- (pluperf. ind. act.)	17 times (1:31, 33; 2:9 [2x]; 4:10; 5:13; 6:6, 64; 8:19 [2x]; 11:42; 13:11; 14:7; 18:2; 20:9, 14; 21:4)	None	None
ειδ- (part. perf. act.)	6 times (6:61; 13:1, 3; 18:4; 19:28; 21:12)	None	None
ειδ- (perf. subj. act.)	None	εἰδῆτε disputed in 2:29a (and 5:13b)	None
ιδ- (aor. subj. act.)	None	ἴδητε disputed in 2:29a (and 5:13b)	None

In table 2a, οἶδα occurs more often within the Johannine corpus. Among the gospels, John employs οἶδα over three times more than Mark (3.74x), Matthew (3.44x), Luke (3.31x), and Acts (4.53x). Averaged to each Pauline letter, John uses οἶδα more than ten times (10.86x; compared to 28.67x and 7.17x more than Heb and Rev). Within the Catholic Epistles, 1 John registers οἶδα more frequently than James (3.75x), 1 Peter (7.5x), 2 Peter (5x), Jude (7.5x), and 3 John (15x).

Table 2b displays five different verbal forms of οἶδα. The perfect indicative active occurs 63x in John, 13x in 1 John

(plus v. 29a), and once in 3 John. The pluperfect indicative (17x) and perfect participle (6x) occur in the Gospel, but not in the Epistles. Noticeable is the subjunctive of οἶδα, which appears only twice in 1 John (2:29a; 5:13b). Variants are involved in both incidents, having the same second person plural.[40]

Our analysis starts with the assumption that each of the variants was the initial text. We pose one question to each scribe: what motivates them in changing from the initial text to their standing variant?

Transcription from εἰδῆτε or ἴδητε to οἴδατε

Suppose that either εἰδῆτε or ἴδητε was the initial text, and that οἴδατε was a transcription. Two factors support this supposition. First, οἴδατε may have been transcribed by the scribes of 468 1890 2186 for consistency of person, number, tense, voice, and mood with other οἶδα-occurrences in 1 John. Οἴδατε occurs in 2:21c, 21a, 20 backwardly, and in 3:5, 15 forwardly. Besides οἴδαμεν appears in 3:2, 14; 5:15a, 15b, 18, 19, 20. Second, the scribes may have seen in these places an appeal to harmony of the exact same word. The following diagrams display the transcriptional consistency and harmony of the οἶδ-form within 1 John. For consistency (graph 1), the scribes changed from εἰδῆτε or ἴδητε to οἴδατε in v. 29a (cf. 5:13b); and they wrote οἴδατε in 2:29a for harmony with 3:5a, 15b; 5:15a, 15b (graph 2).
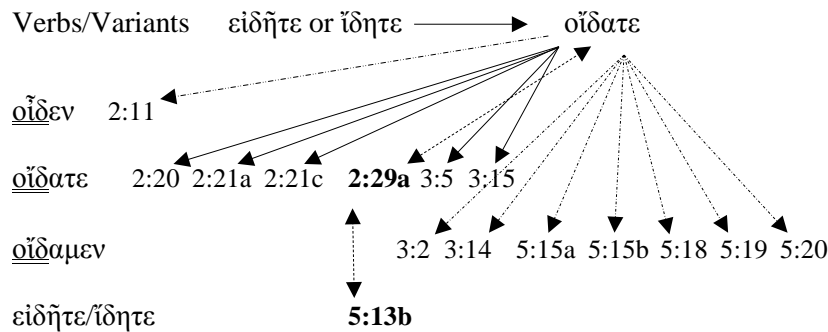
Graph 1. Error Committed for Consistency of οἶδ-Form within 1 John

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[40] While 2:29a cites three variants (εἰδῆτε, ἴδητε, and οἴδατε), 5:13b sees only two (εἰδῆτε and ἴδητε).

Text	2:29 (468 1890 2186)			
Reading	ἐὰν οἴδατε ὅτι			

Reading	οἴδατε ὅτι	οἴδατε ὅτι	ἐὰν οἴδαμεν ὅτι	ὃ ἐὰν αἰτώμεθα οἴδαμεν ὅτι
Text	3:5a (maj. text)	3:15b (maj. text)	5:15a (03 025 *rell*)	5:15b (01 025 *rell*)
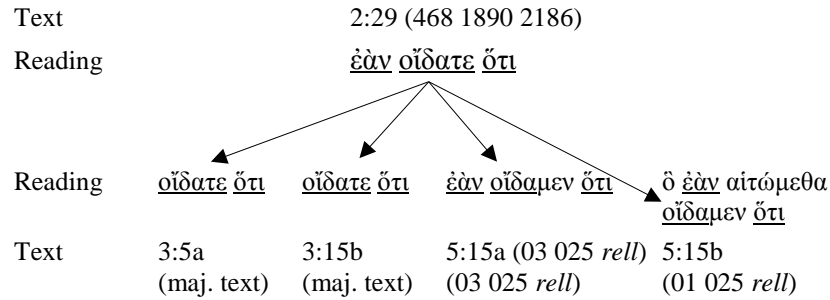
Graph 2. Error Committed for Harmony of Similar Expressions to ἐὰν οἴδατε ὅτι in 2:29a

Graphs 1 & 2 show weaknesses in the argument for consistency (οἶδ-form) and harmony of similar expressions to ἐὰν οἴδατε ὅτι 2:29a. The consistency does not speak for the perfect indicative third person singular οἶδεν in 2:11;[41] it also weakens itself when the variants in 5:13b involve only the subjunctives εἰδῆτε and ἴδητε. Plus, the nearest exact word οἴδατε in v. 29a occurs in 2:21 (162 words before) and 3:5 (90 words after). Such a distance between these occurrences softens the argument for consistency. The harmony between 2:29a and 3:5a, 15b (cf. 5:15a, 15b) may have been erroneously committed because the former text looks identical to the latter. If the scribe of οἴδατε saw in v. 29a two variants (εἰδῆτε and ἴδητε), he wanted to eliminate this dilemma and write οἴδατε. A palaeographical examination further suggests that the scribe seems to have changed from εἰδῆτε or ἴδητε to οἴδατε in v. 29a, in order to avoid the disharmony between εἰδῆτε and ἴδητε.[42] The CBGM demonstrates this transcription (appendix 3), in which both 1890 and 2186 have no further genealogy.[43] Overall, a transcription has probably occurred from εἰδῆτε or ἴδητε to οἴδατε.

This having been said, we next consider the transcription from εἰδῆτε to ἴδητε.

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[41] ECM indicates that the other variant of 2:11 is εἶδεν, which is the second aorist indicative active of ὁράω.

[42] According to B.M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament: A Companion Volume to the United Bible Societies' Greek New Testament [Third Edition]*, 1974, p. xxvi-xxvii, the transcriptional probabilities often depend on the considerations of palaeographical details and the habits of the scribes. See also Metzger and Ehrman, *Text*, p. 302-3.

[43] The local stemmata show οἴδατε deriving from εἰδῆτε (see appendix 4).

Transcription from εἰδῆτε to ἴδητε

Let us again suppose that εἰδῆτε was the initial text, and that ἴδητε was later transcribed. Another look at graph 1 reveals that both εἰδῆτε and ἴδητε are variants in 2:29a and 5:13b. These are the only places in 1 John where οἶδα is employed in the subjunctive mood. Unlike 2:29a, however, the variation in 5:13b involves 15 words (from ἵνα to τοῦ θεοῦ) and 29 variants.[44] An examination illustrates that some manuscripts (e.g., 1127 1838) supporting εἰδῆτε in 2:29a now read ἴδητε in 5:13b; and vice versa (e.g., 02 33V 69).[45] With only two subjunctives of οἶδα in 2:29a and 5:13b, it is difficult to make a strong argument: there are not enough examples; some manuscripts conversely support the two readings in the two places. We thus look at neighboring words surrounding v. 29a, namely: the use of ἐάν with δέ and the erroneous transcription εἰ.[46]

Bachmann and Slaby register 351 occurrences of ἐάν in the NT.[47] This includes ἐάν, ἐὰν μή, and ἐάνπερ: Matthew (65x); Mark (34x), Luke (30x); John (61x); Acts (11x); Pauline letters (94x); Hebrews (9x); James (7x); 1 Peter (1x); 1 John (22x); 3 John (2x); and Revelation (9x). The Moulton-Geden lists 532 times of εἰ: Matthew (58x); Mark (38x); Luke (55x); John (49x); Acts (38x); Pauline letters (224x); Hebrews (16x); James (11x); 1 Peter (16x); 2 Peter (2x); 1 John (7x); 2 John (1x); and Revelation (17x).[48] These statistics reveal that among the Catholic Epistles, 1 John has the highest frequency of ἐάν (per 1,000 words: 10.20x for 1 John compared with 4.00x for James and 0.59x for 1 Peter); but it rarely employs εἰ (per 1,000 words: 3.28x for 1 John compared with 6.3x for James and 9.53 for 1 Peter).[49] Both εἰ and ἐάν are conjunctive particles, signaling a subordinate clause.[50] Here one may safe-

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[44] See ECM 4:1.356-7; and visit http://intf.uni-muenster.de/cbgm2/Coh1_4.html. Twenty variants show εἰδῆτε while seven read ἴδητε, and two omit both.

[45] In ECM 4:1.356-7, see variants « n » and « p » for 1838 1127 and « d » and « k » for 02 33V 69. Cf. table 1a.

[46] See ECM 4:2.30 for the error (εἰ) in v. 29a.

[47] BACHMANN and SLABY, *Konkordanz*, p. 454-62. But actual count may vary slightly.

[48] MOULTON-GEDEN, *Concordance*, p. 262-8.

[49] Statistics come from R. MORGENTHALER, *Statistik des neutestamentlichen Wortschatzes*, Zürich, 1958, p. 164.

[50] G. ABBOTT-SMITH, *A Manual Greek Lexicon of the New Testament*, 3rd ed., Edinburgh, 1960, p. 125, 130.

ly say that εἰ is a simple error from « interchanges of vowels »[51] since no manuscript attests this reading.

The difference between εἰ and ἐάν however affects the types of the conditional statements. Attic Greek allows six different conditional sentences with mixed uses.[52] The condition-type of v. 29 is significant here: the protasis consists of ἐάν and a subjunctive (εἰδῆτε/ἴδητε) while the apodosis a present indicative (γινώσκετε).[53] Verse 29 is considered the present general conditional sentence (type 3).[54]

The 29 variants in 5:13b suggest that each scribe had his own preference in the word order.[55] The issue of 2:29a however is different. An examination of table 3 reveals that the construction of ἐάν with perfect subjunctive does not occur in the Johannine writings. This rarity suggests that the Johannine authors are not inclined to employing ἐάν with perfect subjunctive,[56] making a weak possibility for εἰδῆτε in following ἐάν.

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[51] ECM 4:2.25, 30.

[52] H. HANSEN and G.M. QUINN, *Greek: An Intensive Course*, 2nd rev. ed., New York, 1992, p. 91-98. Compared to 5 types in BDF, §371. It is helpful to list the formula of each type.

Type:	Protasis:	Apodosis:
1. Future more vivid:	ἐάν + subj. (if does)	future ind. (will do)
2. Future less vivid:	εἰ + opt. (if should do)	opt. + ἐάν (would do)
3. Present general:	ἐάν + subj. (if does)	pres. ind. (does)
4. Past general:	εἰ + opt. (if did)	impf. ind. (did)
5. Present contra-factual	εἰ + impf. ind. (were doing)	impf. ind. + ἄν (would be doing)
6. Past contra-factual	εἰ + aorist ind. (if had done)	aorist ind. + ἄν (would have done)

[53] Note that none of the εἰ-uses in 1 John (2:19, 22; 3:13; 4:1, 11; 5:5, 9) is employed with subjunctive or optative. Thus, the possibility of a mixed conditional sentence in 1 John is very unlikely.

[54] J.H. MOULTON, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, vol. 1, *Prolegomena*, 2nd ed., Edinburgh, 1906, p. 240, is partly correct that the optative had disappeared at the dawn of the κοινή. J. KNÜNZ, *De enuntiatis Graecorum finalibus*, Innsbruck, 1913, p. 15–17, argues that the optative in the secondary sequence in classical and Attic Greek has lost its usage in the NT. Optative cases survive in the NT, however. A.T. ROBERTSON, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research*, Nashville, 1934, p. 326, notes, « [t]here are only sixty-seven examples of the optative in the N.T. Luke has twenty-eight and Paul thirty-one (not including Eph. 1:17), whereas John, Matthew and James do not use it at all ». Cf. R. KÜHNER and B. GERTH, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache:Satzlehre*, Hannover, 1898, p. 225-8.

[55] Ἐάν does not occur in 5:13b.

[56] I use « authors » in plural because current Johannine scholarship has become increasingly uneasy with the view of common authorship. See T. DO,

By frequency per 1,000 words, we notice 2.14x for a perfect subjunctive compared to 21.37x for the present subjunctive and 23.51x for the aorist subjunctive. Consequently, a transcription from εἰδῆτε to ἴδητε in 2:29a is rather wanting.

Table 3: List of ἐάν with subjunctive in the Johannine Writings

Type / Text	ἐάν + Subjunctive		
	Present	Aorist	Perfect
John	3:2, 27; 5:19, 31; 6:62, 65; 7:17, 37; 9:31; 11:9, 10; 12:26 [2x]; 13:17, 35; 14:15, 23; 15:4 [2x], 6, 7b, 14; 21:22, 23, 25	3:3, 5, 12; 4:48; 5:43; 6:44, 51, 53; 7:51; 8:16, 24, 31, 36, 51, 52, 54; 9:22; 10:9; 11:40, 48, 57; 12:24 [2x], 32, 47 [2x]; 13:8; 14:3, 14; 15:7a, 10; 16:7 [2x]; 19:12; 20:25	None
1 John	1:7, 9; 2:3, 15; 3:20, 21, 22; 4:12; 5:14, 15b[57]	1:6, 8, 10; 2:1, 24, 28, 29a(?); 3:2; 4:15, 20; 5:16	None, except 2:29a(?)
2 John	None	None	None
3 John	None	5, 10	None

Returning to table 1a, we notice that 1292 supports εἰδῆτε. While 1292 and some Coptic versions (**K**:S^mss) attest to δέ,[58] the Coptic do not support εἰδῆτε. One may safely say that this reading is weak and probably a transcriptional augment. The CBGM verifies this observation (appendix 1), in which 1292 has no further genealogy.

The following diagrams exhibit some scribal activities and habits.

Re-thinking the Death of Jesus: An Exegetical and Theological Study of Hilasmos and Agapē in 1 John 2:1-2; 4:7-10 (CBET 73), Leuven, 2014, p. 12-26; von WAHLDE, *Gospel and Letters of John*, p. 6-7, 49-55; J. ZUMSTEIN, *L'Évangile selon Saint Jean (1-12)*, (CNT 4), Genève, 2014, p. 37-40. Cf. J. PAINTER, *1, 2, and 3 John* (SaPa 18), Collegeville, 2002, p. 18-24.

[57] Except 5:15a where ἐὰν is coupled with οἴδαμεν (a perfect indicative active).

[58] See ECM 4:1.298-9; and the discussion of this postpositive conjunction δέ in DO, « Μόνον or μονῶν? », p. 615-6, 619-23.

Text	01 03 *rell*	02 025 *rell*
Variants	ἐὰν εἰδῆτε	ἐὰν ἴδητε
Uncial readings	ΕΑΝ<u>ΕΙ</u>ΔΗΤΕ	ΕΑΝ<u>Ι</u>ΔΗΤΕ

Graph 3: Itacism by One Letter – Adding or Dropping *epsilon* (E)

Text (01 03 *rell*)	ἐὰν εἰδῆτε	
Text (468 1890 2186)		ἐὰν οἴδατε
Text (02 025 *rell*)	ἐὰν ἴδητε	

Graph 4: Dilemma between εἰδῆτε **and** ἴδητε**, resulting in a New Variant (οἴδατε)**

Text (629f)   ἴδητε

Graph 5: Transcriptional Error in Dropping One Entire Word ἐάν

Text (1292)   ἐάν   δέ   εἰδῆτε

Graph 6: Transcriptional Error by Adding One Entire Word δέ

These graphs demonstrate various transcriptional errors by the scribes of their respective manuscripts. Since « all the vowels are isochronous »,[59] the errors may reflect dilemmas between vowels (e.g., graph 3). « In some cases the scribe wanted to eliminate a 'lectio difficilior'. . . . He may have corrected an apparent *inconsistency* in the text ».[60]

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[59] C.C. CARAGOUNIS, *The Development of Greek and the New Testament: Morphology, Syntax, Phonology, and Textual Transmission*, Grand Rapids, 2006, p. 24.

[60] DELOBEL, « Textual Criticism », p. 108. He continues observing, « Whenever an explanation of a particular reading on the level of transcriptional probability presupposes a deliberate change by the scribe, there is a great deal of hypothetical construction involved, because the textual critic has to imagine what the scribe's intention might have been. However . . . these deliberate changes by scribes are to be distinguished from passages that they 'corrected' by guess-work », p. 111.

Let us examine each graph by supposing that ἴδητε is the initial reading. Graph 3 implies that the scribe of εἰδῆτε committed an error by adding an *epsilon*. If the scribe of 01 03 04 copied from a third-century 𝔓⁹ (see table 1b), which cannot be related unequivocally, then he would have to make a decision regarding the *epsilon* in εἰδῆτε. Not only may the visibility between « E » and « EI » preceding –ΔΗΤΕ in the uncials be unclear, but the hearing could be phonetically confusing at best or easily faulty at worst. The scribal activity in graph 3 is best described as a result of an error, which « reflect[s] an unintentional change due to isochronism or itacism (simple error) ».[61] This is true of the interchanges of vowels, the single writing of a double consonant, or the doubling of a single consonant (αι-ε, ε-η, ει-η-υ-ι-οι, and ο-ω). The case in mind lies in the error between ἐάν and εἰ, namely: the latter is a result of faulty hearing.[62] Quite often, « [p]honetic confusions resulted in orthographic uncertainty ».[63] Such a confusion may have resulted in the scribe adding the *epsilon* into the text, thus supporting εἰδῆτε (i.e., 01 03 *rell*).

Graph 4 exhibits two options. For one, the scribe of 468 probably saw both εἰδῆτε and ἴδητε, so he decided to write οἴδατε (cf. graphs 1 and 2). For another, the CBGM and local stemmata (appendices 3-4) suggest that the same scribe seems to have copied from the manuscripts supporting εἰδῆτε.[64] He may have seen a similar case in 5:15a, where ἐάν is coupled with οἴδαμεν, so he changed the initial text to οἴδατε in v. 29a.

Regarding graph 5 (cf. table 1c), a « defective form represents a reading which cannot be reconstructed with confidence ».[65] The scribe of 629, which supports ἴδητε, decided to drop ἐάν. He may have experienced an itacism in hearing – an assimilation of ἐ̣+ά̱ν (a two-syllable word) and ῐ̱+δητε, resulting in an elimination of the entire ἐάν. The CBGM displays this fallacy (appendix 2) where 629 has no further genealogy.

Graph 6 (cf. table 1c) displays a reversion from graph 5. Here the scribe of 1292 added δέ. In copying, he seems to have succumbed to the phonetic confusion from interchanges

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[61] ECM for 1 John (2003 – 1ˢᵗ edition), 28*.

[62] ECM 4:2.25, 30.

[63] ECM for 1 John (2003 – 1ˢᵗ edition), 28*, n. 3.

[64] Thus, the dashes (instead of straight-line) are shown for ἴδητε to οἴδατε in graph 4.

[65] ECM 4:2.3.

of vowels (itacism) and inserted δέ. By so doing, he would not experience what the scribe of 629 did.[66]

The evidence hitherto suggests that the probability for εἰδῆτε to be the initial text becomes increasingly difficult. The lack of the ἐάν + perfect subjunctive construction across the Johannine writings enhances support for ἴδητε in v. 29a.

Having said this, we now consider the transcription from ἴδητε to εἰδῆτε.

Transcription from ἴδητε to εἰδῆτε

If the scribe (01 03 *rell*) changed ἴδητε to εἰδῆτε then to οἴδατε (see table 1a), he seems to have done so intentionally.[67] Here the syntactical issues surrounding ἴδητε play an essential role. Because v. 29a is a protasis of a present general conditional sentence, elements such as ἐάν and a verb in the subjunctive mood are crucial. They govern a « specific » type of conditional sentences;[68] they nuance the aspects of the *Aktionsarten* of the subjunctive mood;[69] and they determine whether or not the action is probable or potential.[70] Ἐάν is vital in the clause, for it can change the structure of v. 29. Thus, if 629 were correct in omitting ἐάν, then v. 29 would no longer be a conditional sentence, but a hortatory or deliberative subjunctive

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[66] The CBGM displays this error (appendix 1) where 1292 has no further genealogy.

[67] Or « unintentionally ». According to D. TROBISCH, *The First Edition of the New Testament*, Oxford, 2000, p. 8-9, difficulty is inherent in establishing any « final edition » of the NT, because « the evidence provided by the extant manuscripts indicates that the history of the New Testament is the history of an edition. . . . The term *final redaction* [or final edition used with regard to anthology] . . . designates editorial elements that serve to combine individual writings into a larger literary unit and are not original components of the collected traditional material ». Similarly MINK, « Contamination », p. 204, notes, « [p]hilological plausibility is the criterion in instances in which the question of the origin of a variant is definitely left open ».

[68] HANSEN and QUINN, *Greek*, p. 91-98.

[69] Different models of the Greek verbal aspects have been charted by C.R. CAMPBELL, *Verbal Aspect, the Indicative Mood, and Narrative: Soundings in the Greek of the New Testament* (SBG 13), New York, 2008, p. 244-5; J.H. MOULTON, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, vol. 3, *Syntax*, by N. TURNER, Edinburgh, 1963, p. 95-117; D.B. WALLACE, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament with Scripture, Subject, and Greek Word Indexes*, Grand Rapids, 1996, p. 472-4; 614-5.

[70] BDAG, s.v., ἐάν; and BDF, §31.

introduced by ἴδητε, equivalently: « Let you know that . . . » or « Are you [supposed] to know that . . .? »[71]

It has been argued that the presence of δέ can make a difference syntactically.[72] In v. 28 the author asks the Johannine members (τεκνία) to abide (μένετε) in Jesus, so that they would not be in shame at his coming. In this context, the transitory, explanatory, or adversative overtone of δέ in v. 29a also affects the meaning of this conditional sentence (see graph 6).[73]

The issue here lies in the *status quo* of ἐάν and/or δέ in the context of vv. 28-29. The fact that all the first-grade codices (01 02 03 *rell*) read ἐάν without δέ (see table 1a and graph 3) suggests that the scribe intentionally dropped ἐάν in 629 (see graph 5), but added δέ in 1292 (see graph 6). In so doing, he seems to have eased out a *lectio difficilior* caused by orthographic confusion between ἴδητε and εἰδῆτε. Such an alteration, in the scribe's mind, does not change the nature of the subjunctive (ἴδητε or εἰδῆτε) in v. 29a.

This observation finds support in some scribes' transcriptional activities. Ἐάν occurs 22 times in 1 John (see table 3). On two occasions, the scribe of 629 seems to have altered ἐάν deliberately to ὅταν in 2:28 and to ἄν in 4:15. In the first alteration, he changed it against 01 02 03 *rell*. In the second, he did so against 03 614 1241 1243 2412 – all of which support ἴδητε.[74] In addition, δέ occurs 9 times in 1 John (1:3, 7; 2:2, 11, 17; 3:12; 4:18; 5:5, 20).[75] On two occasions, the scribe of 1292 omitted δέ against 01 02 03 *rell* (cf. 1:3; 5:20); on other occasions he cited δέ, following 01 02 03 *rell* (cf. 1:7; 2:11; 4:18), but against 02 044 048 *rell* (cf. 5:5).[76] These transcriptional activities seem to have been committed intentionally, thus resulting in different errors in v. 29a.

In short, the transcriptional probabilities suggest that εἰδῆτε is not a reliable reading. The syntactic structure of ἐάν + (present / aorist) subjunctive across the Johannine writings makes

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[71] Here I am stressing the nuances of the subjunctive. For uses of hortatory and deliberative subjunctives as complete sentences, see HANSEN and QUINN, *Greek*, p. 145-6, 311-3.

[72] DO, « Μόνον or μονῶν », p. 618. Cf. BDF, §475; and TURNER, *Syntax*, p. 331-3.

[73] ABBOTT-SMITH, *Manual*, p. 98-99; cf. the « Intrinsic Probability » below.

[74] Cf. ECM 4:1.298, 336.

[75] See table 5 in DO, « Μόνον or μονῶν », p. 620.

[76] Cf. ECM 4:1.266, 269, 281, 341, 347, 364.

most likely that ἴδητε was the actual reading. The attestation of εἰδῆτε in some manuscripts appears to be a deliberate transcription resulting from the scribe's phonetic or orthographic confusion. We next consider the intrinsic probability.

Intrinsic Probability

Intrinsic probability argues for the text actually written by the author. In presuming that v. 29a is a textual unit within 1 John,[77] we will discuss the theological issues surrounding ἐάν with οἴδατε, εἰδῆτε, and ἴδητε by testing the possible translations. Keep in mind the aspects.

Table 4: Possible Translations of ἐάν with οἰδέναι

Conditional Readings	Possible Translation[78]	*Aktionsarten* or Aspects of (non-factual) Time of the Subjunctive
r1: ἐάν <u>οἴδατε</u> ὅτι δίκαιός ἐστιν γινώσκετε	(a) If you <u>know</u> that he is righteous, you realize	Complete / resultative / perfect
r2: ἐάν <u>εἰδῆτε</u> ὅτι δίκαιός ἐστιν γινώσκετε	(b) If you <u>know</u> that he is righteous, you realize	Complete / resultative / perfect
r3: ἐάν <u>ἴδητε</u> ὅτι δίκαιός ἐστιν γινώσκετε	(c) If you <u>perceive</u> that he is righteous, you realize	Undetermined / punctiliar

The main verb γινώσκετε in this conditional statement belongs to the primary sequence of time. The theological nuances of all three translations (a), (b), and (c) in table 4 vary according to the *Aktionsarten* or aspects of the verb in the ἐάν-clause.

Reading Using ἐάν with οἴδατε

Ἐάν occurs only twice with the perfect indicative οἶδ-stem (2:29a; 5:15a; cf. table 3 and graphs 1+2). Let us compare 2:29 with 5:15. ECM 4:1 lists (15a) καὶ <u>ἐὰν</u> <u>οἴδαμεν</u> ὅτι ἀκούει ἡμῶν (15b) <u>ὃ ἐὰν</u> <u>αἰτώμεθα</u>, (15c) <u>οἴδαμεν</u> ὅτι ἔχομεν

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[77] Against R. BULTMANN, *Die drei Johannesbriefe* (KrExKNT 14), 7th ed., Göttingen, 1967, p. 48-58, who assigns v. 29abc to an ecclesiastical editor and 29d to the author.

[78] Because οἰδέναι is a special verb, I render the translation as follows: οἴδατε and εἰδῆτε are present semantically but perfect morphologically (thus « know »), while ἴδητε is aorist from ὁράω (thus « perceive » or « see »).

τὰ αἰτήματα ἃ ἠτήκαμεν ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ.[79] In 15a, the critical appa-ratus notes that 03 025 *rell* attest to οἴδατε while 01 02 *rell* could not be cited as witnesses.[80] This implies that the scribe of 02, which supports ἴδητε in 2:29a, is uncertain about the author's intention in 5:15a. Looking over to 5:15b, we detect some unusual grammar.[81] The usual conditional statement with relative protasis consists of ὅς, ἥ, or ὅ + ἄν + subjunctive in the protasis and the verb in present indicative in the apodo-sis. The English equivalent for this type is « whoever does, does ».[82] This grammatical error of ἐάν in 15b seems to have caused the scribe of 02 (03 0142 33 *rell*) to change it to ἄν.[83] Moreover, the particle ἄν occurs 3 other times in 1 John (2:5, 19; 3:17) – in which ἄν is coupled with ὅς followed by the pre-sent subjunctive (τηρῇ in 2:5; and ἔχῃ in 3:17);[84] most im-portantly, however, there are very little, if not at all, textual problems involved. Consequently, one may say that the author is more consistent grammatically in 5:15 than some scribes (e.g., 01 03) who recorded the text.

With regard to ἐάν οἴδατε in 2:29a, however, it is vital to distinguish this second plural from the first plural in 5:15a (οἴδαμεν). In graph 1, οἴδατε occurs 6 times in 1 John. Out-side of v. 29a, the author does not employ οἴδατε following ἐάν. When the perfect indicative is used in this present general conditional sentence, the aspect in reading 1 cannot be ren-dered smoothly without some qualification. Usually ἐάν is not used with an indicative.[85] This rarity makes οἴδατε less likely to be written by the author.

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[79] 5:15c is not included, because it is not an ἐάν-clause.

[80] ECM 4:1.358-9.

[81] See B.F. WESTCOTT, *The Epistles of St John: The Greek Text with Notes*, Lon-don, 1966, p. 190.

[82] See HANSEN and QUINN, *Greek*, p. 176-8.

[83] Ἄν should not be confused as a contraction of ἐάν. Thus, E. MAYSER, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, vol. 1, *Laut- und Wortlehre*, Berlin, 1923, p. 152, notes: « Die regelmäßige Form der Papyri ist ἐάν. Lit-erarische Texte haben nicht selten das durch Kontraktion entstandene ».

[84] The construction of 2:19 can be categorized as a mixed condition: type 5 in the protasis, but type 6 in the apodosis. The author nonetheless uses ἄν correctly.

[85] This is why 5:15a sees severe textual problems. Against this grammar, DBF, §372.1, notes, « [s]poradically ἐάν appears for εἰ (= ἐπεί) with such casual pres. (perf.) indicatives. . . . 1 Jn 5:15 ἐάν οἴδαμεν (Sᶜ ἴδωμεν is not good; in a similar sense 2:29 ἐάν εἰδῆτε 'just as, as soon as . . ., you also know,' where the transition to the other, here less appropriate, ἐάν-construction is complete) ».

Reading Using ἐάν with εἰδῆτε

Grammatically, the employment of εἰδῆτε as a perfect sub-junctive is possible in a present general conditional sentence (type 3). But table 3 suggests that the author is not inclined to constructing ἐάν with a perfect subjunctive. The (b) translation of reading 2 with εἰδῆτε would require some grammatical ex-planation. The interpretive issue is how one renders the trans-lation based on the completed aspect of εἰδῆτε in this prota-sis.[86] The perfect aspect of the protasis does not seem to fit the theological interpretation of the present indicative in the apod-osis.[87] One may argue that οἶδα (« the perf[ect] of the stem εἰδ- [Lat. video], but used as a pres[ent] »[88]) may have influ-enced the author in using the perfect subjunctive εἰδῆτε. If we stress the perfect aspect of εἰδῆτε, then the act of « having known » would have to be part of the « implied » meaning. This rendering seems odd, however, since « [ἐ]άν with the sub-

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Note that this 1961 grammar book was prepared before NA[26-27], which does not list ἴδητε as a variant in 2:29a.

[86] Thus, BDF, §318, states: « The *perfective* [*Aktionsarten*] in the perfect stem: a condition or state as the result of a past action is designated ». In recent dec-ades there has been debate on the difference between time and aspect of the Greek verbal expressions. According to TURNER, *Syntax*, p. 59, for example, « essentially the tense in Greek expresses the kind of *action*, not time, which the speaker has in view and the *state* of the subject ». S.E. PORTER, *Verbal Aspect in the Greek of the New Testament, with Reference to Tense and Mood* (SBG 1), New York, 1989, p. 107, argues that « tense forms in Greek are not primary time based (i.e. tense is not grammaticalized in Greek) but that they are aspectually based. . . . The Greek verbal aspects are three: perfective, imperfective, and stative ». Refuting this, however, Caragounis, *Development*, p. 334, asks « if tense forms are non-temporal in reference to why does the Aorist refer to the past in the great majority of uses, and the Present to the present? » « Aspect », he argues, « is extremely important for Greeks, because it plays such a crucial role in their communication, in expressing the shades of meaning that they intend. However . . . a Greek would . . . insist that the verb signals not only aspect, but also time, and that the two are equally pronounced », p. 317. For HANSEN and QUINN, *Greek*, p. 39, « Tense always conveys information about *aspect* and sometimes conveys information about *aspect and time* »; « In fact », for M. ZERWICK, *Biblical Greek* (SPIB 114), trans. J. SMITH, Rome, 1963, §240, « aspect is an essential element of the Greek tenses . . . whereas the time of the actions is expressed in the indicative only, and in the other moods is either lacking or secondary. . . . [Thus time] can be gathered only from the sense of the context ».

[87] E. MAYSER, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, vol. 2, *Satzlehre*, Berlin, 1926, p. 283, notes: « Im Vordersatz steht der Konj. Perf. (meist periphrastisch), um eine in der Gegenwart vollendete Handlung (Zu-stand) auszudrücken ».

[88] BDAG, s.v., οἶδα.

junctive denotes that which under certain circumstances is expected from an existing general or concrete standpoint in the present: 'case of expectation' and 'iterative case in the present' ».[89] As a result, the aspect of the perfect subjunctive does not seem to make εἰδῆτε the author's most probable intention.

Reading Using ἐάν with ἴδητε

Turner notes that the « aorist stem expresses punctiliar . . . action ».[90] The *Aktionsarten* are essential in the subjunctive.[91] The issue here, as table 4 displays, is how one interprets the aspects of the non-factual time of the subjunctive in v. 29a.

Commenting on the Greek construction (ἐὰν εἰδῆτε . . . γινώσκετε) in 2:29abc, Westcott notes, « [k]nowledge which is absolute (εἰδῆτε) becomes the basis of knowledge which is realized in observation (γινώσκετε) ».[92] It seems that Westcott only refers to the difference in meaning of εἰδῆτε and γινώσκετε, but the perfect subjunctive εἰδῆτε is here less convincing than the perfect indicative οἴδατε. For the indicative is « the mood of factual statements »[93] and « the mood of assertion, or *presentation of certainty* ».[94] Thus, it is not possible to agree entirely with Westcott that the author intends the perfect subjunctive in v. 29a to denote an absolute knowledge. The sense of an unquestionable knowledge seems to occur once at the end of the letter: οἴδαμεν δὲ ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἥκει καὶ δέδωκεν ἡμῖν διάνοιαν, ἵνα γινώσκωμεν τὸν ἀληθινόν, καὶ ἐσμὲν ἐν τῷ ἀληθινῷ, ἐν τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ. οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἀληθινὸς θεὸς καὶ ζωὴ αἰώνιος (1 John 5:20). Here the author employs οἴδαμεν to express his belief in Jesus, the Son

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[89] BDF, §371. This agrees with the present general conditional sentence in HANSEN and QUINN, *Greek*, p. 91-98.

[90] TURNER, *Syntax*, p. 59. Against TURNER, see ZERWICK, HANSEN and QUINN, and CARAGOUNIS (n. 87 above).

[91] See T. DO, « 'That you may not sin,' On the Reading of 1 John 2:1b », *ZNW* 102 (2011), p. 86-94.

[92] WESTCOTT, *Epistles*, p. 82. While credit is given to Westcott who alone notes ἴδητε as a variant in 2:29a, he nevertheless offers no comments on this variant.

[93] HANSEN and QUINN, *Greek*, p. 42.

[94] WALLACE, *Grammar*, p. 448.

of God, who has come into the world, and whose coming means eternal life.[95]

When, however, ἐάν is constructed with an aorist subjunctive (ἴδητε) and followed by an indicative (γινώσκετε), we have a present general conditional sentence (v. 29). In conditional sentences, « [t]he subjunctive occurs in the *hypothetical* protasis which is introduced by ἐάν »; and when ἐάν is constructed with aorist subjunctive, « [t]his represents a definite event as occurring once in the future [not yet completed], and conceived as taking place before the time of the action of the main verb. It is expectation, but not fulfillment as yet ».[96] The ἐάν-ἴδητε-clause is a hypothetical statement whose *Aktionsarten* limit the reality of the main clause (γινώσκετε).

Scholars have little doubt that γινώσκετε in 2:29bcd expresses an actual event, namely: knowing that whoever does righteousness is born of [God].[97] But they are unclear about the aspect of the subjunctive in 29a. Commenting on ἐὰν εἰδῆτε, for example, John Painter observes that « the conditional form need not imply uncertainty about the first statement [29a] ».[98] Painter's observation is unconvincing, for the grammatical feature of a conditional statement is to hypothesize the action of the verb. So long as the aspect is perceived as conditional, the action is not yet completed until it actually occurs. The fact that God is righteous does not warrant the reality that every Johannine member perceives it as such; thus the ἐάν + subjunctive construction is specifically employed here to qualify this perception. Put differently, God's righteousness, while existentially real, is still outside the realm of perception until his is realized as such. Here the aspect of per-

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[95] Here WESTCOTT, *Epistles*, p. 195, is correct in his notes regarding οἴδαμεν in 5:20: « There is given to us the power of ever-advancing knowledge and of present divine fellowship. We can wait even as God waits ».

[96] TURNER, *Syntax*, p. 113-114. Also, Mayser, *Satzlehre*, p. 279, notes that « ἐάν mit Konj. Aor. bezeichnet einen in die Zukunft fallenden einmaligen und damit abgeschlossenen Vorgang ».

[97] If one considers γινώσκετε as an indicative, the present tense reflects an actual statement. R. SCHNACKENBURG, *Die Johannesbriefe* (HThKNT 13), Freiburg, 1979, p. 167 n. 2, notes: « Γινώσκετε ist sicherlich Indikativ. . . Der Einleitungssatz mit ἐάν bedingt eine Folgerung, die in einer Erkenntnis besteht. Solche Erkenntnisse werden sonst als Feststellung gegeben ». [God] is in square-brackets because no consensus has been reached on whether δίκαιός ἐστιν or αὐτοῦ in v. 29 refers to God or Jesus. Cf. WESTCOTT, *Epistles*, p. 82; BULTMANN, *Johannesbriefe*, 49; R.E. BROWN, *The Epistles of John* (AB 30), New York, 1982, p. 382-4; von WAHLDE, *Gospel and Letters of John*, p. 103, 112-3.

[98] PAINTER, *1, 2, and 3 John*, p. 213.

ceiving God's righteousness should not be perfected (εἰδῆτε), but punctiliar or undetermined (ἴδητε).[99] Brown's comment is insightful: « The latter construction here [i.e., ἐάν with the subjunctive] is not meant to question the certainty that 'he is just,' but to turn the audience toward self-interrogation ».[100] In this regard, the shades of meaning of how the audience should examine themselves are best denoted if the verb following ἐάν is not the perfect (εἰδῆτε), but aorist (ἴδητε) subjunctive.

In evaluating the theological issues surrounding the construction of ἐάν with ἴδητε in v. 29a, we note that the result is less surprising than it is for the cases of ἐάν with εἰδῆτε or οἴδατε. Grammatically, the construction of ἐάν with a subjunctive is more logical than it would be with an indicative, thus eliminating οἴδατε. Theologically, the choice of ἐάν with an aorist subjunctive is more cogent than it would be with a perfect subjunctive, thus ruling out εἰδῆτε. The collaboration between ἐάν and ἴδητε expresses well the author's theology that the Johannine members are to advance in knowledge (γινώσκετε in apodosis) that whoever does righteousness is borne of [God], *if* (ἐάν) they keep perceiving (ἴδητε in protasis) that he [God] is righteous. To borrow Westcott's word, the Johannine members' « ever-advancing knowledge »[101] is expressed most forcefully in the construction ἐὰν <u>ἴδητε</u> ὅτι δίκαιός ἐστιν, <u>γινώσκετε</u> ὅτι. The undetermined and punctiliar *Aktionsarten* of an ever-advancing knowledge in the aorist subjunctive would not be brought forth, were εἰδῆτε or οἴδατε employed.

The intrinsic probabilities suggest that following ἐάν, the variant ἴδητε is most likely the earliest recoverable text. While the reading with εἰδῆτε is possible, this perfect subjunctive is not employed at all in other places in the Johannine writings. Despite one possible occasion of ἐὰν οἴδατε in 5:15a, the reading with οἴδατε 2:29a is the least probable.

The probabilities (transcriptional and intrinsic) have demonstrated unanimously that ἴδητε is most likely identical with the earliest text.

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[99] Famously stated by the Johannine Jesus to Thomas Didymus: μακάριοι οἱ μὴ ἰδόντες καὶ πιστεύσαντες (John 20:29). Both participles are employed in the aorist active. Hence aspects: aorist subjunctive (- - - ⟶- - -); perfect subjunctive (⟶ | at present | - - - -).

[100] BROWN, *Epistles*, p. 382. It is crucial to note that besides Westcott (cf. n. 92 above), no scholar has pointed out the variant ἴδητε in v. 29a until the ECM.

[101] WESTCOTT, *Epistles*, p. 195.

3. Conclusion

This study applies two criteria in the reasoned eclecticism (external and internal evidence) and evaluates the variants οἴδατε, εἰδῆτε, and ἴδητε in 1 John 2:29a. It also examines ἐάν and δέ. Careful attention on the variants οἴδατε and ἴδητε, together with ἐάν and δέ, has been overlooked in Johannine studies.[102] The fact that the construction of ἐάν with perfect subjunctive does not occur in the Johannine writings, and that the syntactic structure of ἐάν with aorist/present subjunctive across the Johannine writings makes most likely that ἴδητε was the actual reading of 1 John 2:29a. Considering these criteria, I propose that in v. 29a ἴδητε constitutes the most reliable reading over against its alternatives εἰδῆτε or οἴδατε. This conclusion reflects the progress in the printings of NA^{27}, NA^{28}, ECM^{1}, and ECM^{2} for 1 John 2:29a:

Text:	ἐὰν εἰδῆτε ὅτι	•⌜ἐὰν εἰδῆτε ὅτι	ἐὰν εἰδῆτε ὅτι	ἐὰν	εἰδῆτε / ἴδητε	ὅτι
Printing:	NA^{27}	NA^{28}	ECM^{1}	ECM^{2}		
	(no variant)	(⌜• ἴδητε)	(a) εἰδῆτε	(a) εἰδῆτε		
			(b) ἴδητε	(b) ἴδητε		
			(c) οἴδατε	(c) οἴδατε		

Evidently, a concerted decision has been made by the Münster INTF editors regarding the increasing significance of ἴδητε. One could only hope that in the next ECM, εἰδῆτε would no longer be an equally weighted variant to ἴδητε. Such hope is now displayed by the CBGM in appendices 1-4 below.

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[102] The earliest evidence this study could gather regarding ἴδητε appears in WESTCOTT, *Epistles* (1883), p. 82-84. Yet, while Westcott listed this variant in the apparatus, he completely neglected the discussion in his annotations – as if ἴδητε were of no significance, let alone οἴδατε. Evident also is the fact that the eighth-revised-1998 NA^{27} lists no variants. Scholars have thus neglected this textual problem for over a hundred years.

Appendix 1: Unbalanced coherence in the textual flow diagram for 2:29/4a showing multiple origins, one of which is Codex 01 without any potential descendants[103]
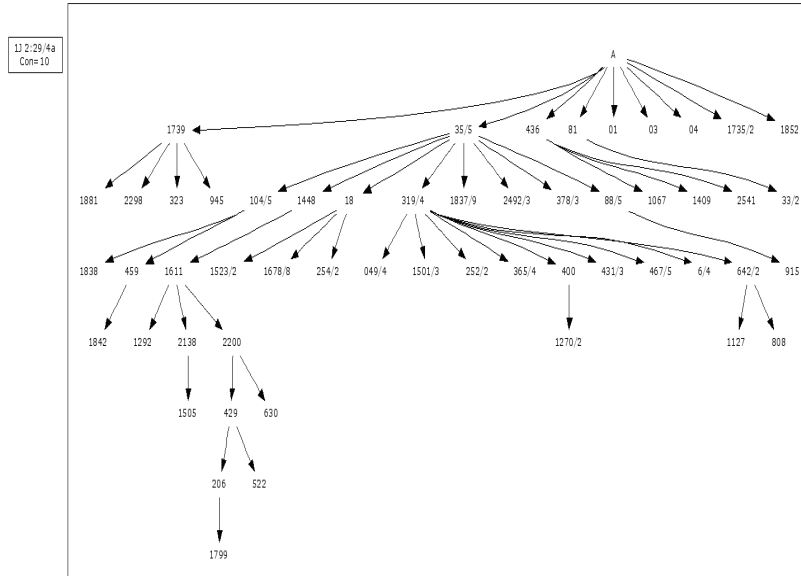
Appendix 2: Balanced coherence in the textual flow diagram for 2:29/4b showing one potential ancestor (025), regarded as initial text

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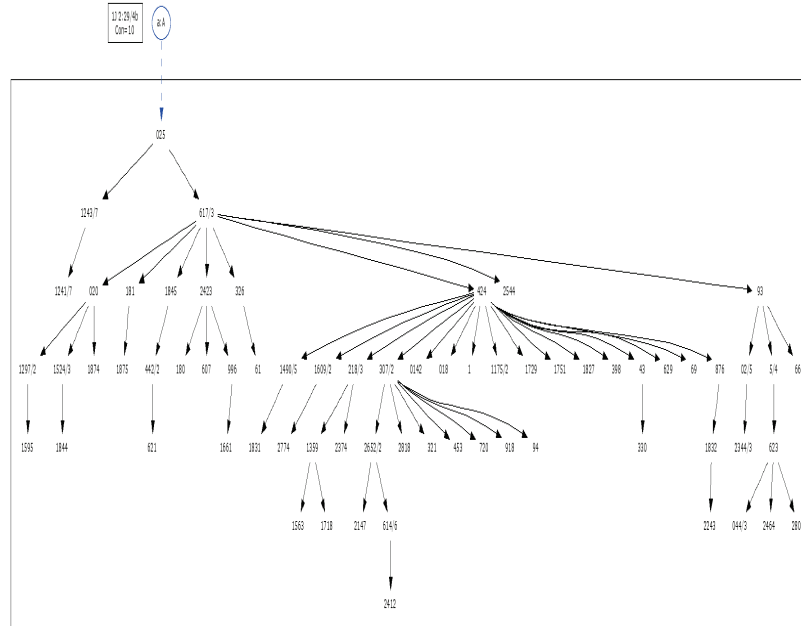
[103]   These   diagrams   come   from   http://intf.uni-muenster.de/cbgm2/Coh1_4.html (accessed May 30, 2015).

Appendix 3: Unbalanced coherence in the textual flow diagram for 2:29/c showing two potential ancestors
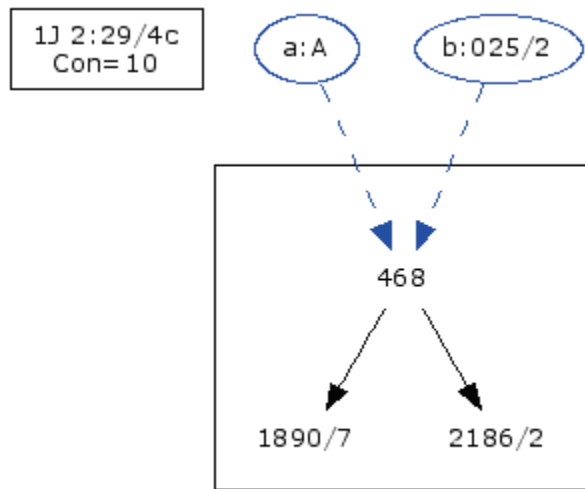
Appendix 4: Local stemmata of variants (a) εἰδῆτε, (b) ἴδητε, and (c) οἴδατε
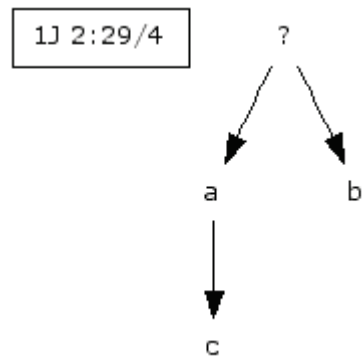
L'édit de Milan entre tradition et renouveau

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1. Le contexte historico-politique de l'édit

Au mois de mars 313, Constantin quitta Rome, dont il s'était rendu maître lors de la fameuse bataille du Pont Milvius, le 29 octobre de l'année précédente, bataille lors de laquelle celui qui régnait alors sur Rome, Maxence, s'était noyé dans le Tibre. Constantin se rendit alors à Milan pour y rencontrer Licinius et avoir des entretiens avec lui. Licinius était alors, avec Maximin Daïa en Orient, un des trois empereurs qui se partageaient le gouvernement de l'empire – cette triarchie était le dernier état de la tétrarchie qu'avait inventée Dioclétien. Il est important de rappeler quels étaient leurs territoires respectifs : Constantin venait d'ajouter à son domaine primitif (Gaule, Espagne, Bretagne) l'Italie et l'Afrique, enlevées à Maxence ; Licinius, à qui Galère avait attribué l'Italie et l'Afrique, mais s'était abstenu de les reprendre à Maxence, gouvernait de la Dalmatie à la Thrace, car Maximin Daïa, à la mort de Galère, s'était empressé de se rendre maître de l'Asie Mineure (une mesure peut-être décidée

par Galère avant sa mort) ; Maximin, quant à lui, outre ce territoire, gouvernait la Syrie et l'Égypte.

Cette énumération de leurs territoires permet de constater d'emblée que Licinius, à cette date, est en position de faiblesse. Maximin Daïa a déjà étendu son domaine à ses dépens et Licinius a toutes les raisons de penser qu'il a l'intention de l'étendre davantage. Lui-même n'a pu ou voulu récupérer celui de Maxence, comme Galère le lui avait demandé. Constantin, en revanche, a agrandi son territoire. Il vient à cette rencontre auréolé de son succès au Pont Milvius, une victoire exceptionnelle, qui a été considérée par tous ses contemporains comme un don de Dieu. Constantin, en vérité, avait bien peu de chances de l'emporter : il avait entrepris la marche sur Rome contre l'avis de tous ses conseillers, ses troupes étaient moins nombreuses que celles de Maxence, elles arrivaient de Gaule après des semaines de marche, après le passage des Alpes, après de durs combats en Italie du nord qui en avaient déjà diminué le nombre. Rome, d'autre part, était à l'abri de ses murailles, un abri efficace, puisque dans les cinq années qui précédaient, elles avaient empêché Sévère, puis Galère, de s'en emparer ; d'autre part, on était fin octobre, et Constantin pouvait craindre de devoir faire un long siège en hiver… Or Maxence, confiant dans un oracle qui annonçait la fin de l'ennemi des Romains (si l'on en croit Zosime[1]), fit l'erreur de sortir des remparts, ses troupes furent défaites en un seul jour ; lui-même tomba dans le Tibre et se noya. Ce succès inattendu fut donc unanimement considéré comme le résultat d'une intervention divine. De nombreux récits, tant du côté païen que du côté chrétien, mirent en scène cette intervention, la mise en scène la plus connue étant celle de la vision dans le ciel la veille de la bataille – dont on peut pourtant rappeler que le premier témoin, Eusèbe de Césarée, ne la plaçait ni à Rome ni la veille la bataille, comme le feront ses successeurs, mais lors de « quelque expédition » non précisée[2].

Donc, lors de cette rencontre, Constantin est en situation de force, d'autant plus que le sénat de Rome lui a attribué, après sa victoire, le titre de premier Auguste, que revendiquait Maximin Daïa depuis la mort de Galère (et qu'avaient reconnu Licinius

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[1] Zosime, *Histoire nouvelle,* II, 16, 1.

[2] Eusèbe, *Vie de Constantin,* I, 28, 2. La vision a lieu bien avant la descente sur Rome, et « l'armée qui le suivait dans quelque expédition » voit elle aussi le prodige. Socrate, *HE* , I, 2, 4 et Sozomène *HE* I, 3, 3 en reste au « quelque part ». C'est Lactance qui en situant la vision (en songe) de Constantin juste avant la bataille, qui a fait placer la vision dans le ciel juste avant la bataille, fin octobre (*Mort des persécuteurs [MDP],* XLIV, 4). La *Vie d'Alexandre et Métrophane* (chez Photius, *Bibliothèque*, 216, 470 a) place l'apparition à l'époque de la bataille, après un premier engagement.

et Constantin lui-même)[3]. Il a du reste déjà pris cette fonction au sérieux, car avant même de partir pour Milan, il a écrit à Maximin Daïa en lui ordonnant de faire cesser dans son territoire la persécution des chrétiens[4], ce que Maximin avait refusé de faire après l'édit de tolérance de Galère du 30 avril 311, et cette fois il a obtempéré (son édit de tolérance date de novembre ou décembre 312, peu après la victoire de Constantin)[5]. Aussi, à mon sens, c'est Constantin qui inspirera les mesures prises à Milan, aussi bien les mesures de politique générale que celles qui concernent la politique religieuse.

Mesures de politique générale : les deux empereurs se sont « heureusement réunis, dira l'édit, « pour discuter de tous les problèmes relatifs à la sécurité et au bien public ». Constantin vient à la rencontre de Licinius pour faire alliance avec lui (les deux y trouvent leur avantage) – ce qu'il concrétise en lui donnant sa sœur Constantia en mariage – et pour faire reconnaître à son allié les changements provoqués par sa victoire sur Maxence : son titre de premier Auguste, le fait que l'Italie et l'Afrique font maintenant partie de ses territoires, que Licinius n'a plus le droit de revendiquer. Il est clair aussi que cette alliance vise indirectement Maximin Daïa, ce qui explique que celui-ci ait obtempéré à l'ordre de Constantin de faire cesser la persécution, et que Licinius, que cette alliance renforce, accepte sans problème apparent les conditions posées par Constantin. Mais laissons ce point pour en revenir à notre sujet, l'édit de Milan, cet « édit » qui n'a peut-être jamais été un édit à proprement parler ou dont nous n'avons plus le texte, mais dont nous connaissons quelles mesures il décidait à la fois par la lettre que Licinius adressa à un gouverneur d'Asie mineure pour les faire appliquer (c'est le texte sans doute le plus proche de l'édit, s'il y en a eu un)[6] et par l'énoncé que fait Eusèbe de Césarée de ces constitutions impériales dans son *Histoire ecclésiastique*[7]. Comme l'a dit N. H. Baynes, « L'édit de Milan peut être une fiction, mais le fait que recouvre le terme reste entier »[8]. D'autre part, bien qu'elles soient prises

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[3] LACTANCE, *MDP,* XLIV, 11.

[4] *Ibid.,* XXXVII, 1 ; EUSÈBE, *Histoire ecclésiastique (HE),* IX, 9, 12. Sur la date de ces *litterae Constantini* (que Lactance place trop tôt), voir Torben CHRISTENSEN, *C. Galerius Valerius Maximinus. Studies in the Politics and Religion in the Roman Empire AD 305-313,* Ed. by Mogens Müller, Copenhague, 2012, p. 271-274. La nature, voire l'historicité de ces *litterae*, ne font pas l'unanimité parmi les historiens.

[5] EUSÈBE, *HE,* IXa, 1, 2-6.

[6] LACTANCE, *MDP,* XLVIII.

[7] EUSÈBE, *HE,* X, 5, 4-5.

[8] N.H. BAYNES, *Constantine the Great and the Christian Church,* Londres, 1929, réimp. 1972, p. 11.

par les deux empereurs, ces mesures sont semblables à celles que Constantin avait déjà fait appliquer en Afrique peu après son arrivée à Rome[9], ce qui contredit ceux qui ont voulu en attribuer la paternité à Licinius ; à mon sens, la lettre de Licinius, si on la compare aux autres lettres de l'époque de Constantin, c'est du Constantin.

2. Le caractère traditionnel de l'édit : obtenir la faveur divine

L'édit de Milan a un caractère traditionnel : comme l'édit de tolérance de Galère d'avril 311, qu'il complète (et dont on pourrait considérer, à première vue, qu'il constitue les décrets d'application – d'autant que Constantin faisait partie des signataires de cet édit, bien qu'il n'y fût sans doute pour rien)[10], comme le rescrit que Maximin adresse à ses sujets d'Orient en avril 312, qui eut pour effet de prolonger la persécution, il considère que le bonheur de l'État est procuré par la faveur divine et obtenu par le culte rendu à Dieu par tous. « Que tous se réjouissent de ce que, grâce à Notre Piété, à nos cérémonies sacrées, à l'honneur rendu aux dieux, la force très puissante et très ferme de l'air s'est adoucie »[11], et il rend responsable des maux récents l'attitude des chrétiens, qui ne prient pas les dieux. Galère, de son côté, constate qu'un des fâcheux résultats des édits de persécution, c'est que les chrétiens « ni n'accordaient aux dieux célestes le culte qui leur est dû, ni n'honoraient le Dieu des chrétiens »[12]. Il leur demande donc, en retour de la tolérance qu'il leur accorde, de « prier leur Dieu pour notre salut, celui de l'État et le leur, afin que de les affaires publiques soient de toute manière en bon état »[13]. Le motif est politique : il est dangereux pour l'empire romain que les chrétiens ne prient plus aucun dieu[14]! L'édit de Milan tient le même discours : parmi les problèmes relatifs à la sécurité et au bien public, il a mis au premier rang « ceux qui assurent le bien de la majorité, ceux sur lesquelles repose le respect de la divinité, afin que tout ce qu'il y a de divin au céleste séjour nous soit favorable et propice, à nous-mêmes et à tous ceux qui se trouvent sous notre autorité ». Ainsi, dans les deux édits, s'exprime une conception traditionnelle de la religion, dans

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[9] CONSTANTIN, *Lettre* 1 (fin 212, début 213). Les lettres sont citées avec leur numérotation dans Constantin, *Lettres et discours,* trad. P. Maraval, Paris 2010.

[10] EUSÈBE, *HE,* VIII, 17, 4. Lactance, *MDP,* XXXIV, a omis le préambule de la loi, qui comportait la titulature des empereurs.

[11] EUSÈBE, *HE,* IX, 7, 11.

[12] *Ibid.,* VIII, 17, 9.

[13] *Ibid.,* 10.

[14] T. CHRISTENSEN, *op. cit.*, p.175.

laquelle la piété envers les dieux assure en retour la stabilité, la paix et la prospérité de l'empire. De ce point de vue, il n'est pas faux d'écrire que « Constantin ne fait qu'adhérer tout simplement à l'antique précepte du *do ut des* de la religion païenne »[15]. Les deux édits s'inspirent cependant de considérations bien différentes, et la conclusion qu'ils en tirent l'est tout autant. L'édit de Galère était un aveu d'échec : la persécution n'avait pas éradiqué le christianisme, les chrétiens n'étaient pas revenus « au bon sens », ils « demeuraient dans la même folie » ; malgré cela, l'empereur, par pure philanthropie (vertu impériale), leur accordait son pardon et les autorisait à exister, tout en leur demandant, dans sa grande clémence, de prier Dieu pour son salut. En revanche, les mesures prises à Milan, tout en ayant pour but, elles aussi, « la sécurité, la prospérité publique », n'entendent pas corriger une politique religieuse qui avait échoué : elles déclarent au contraire vouloir prolonger la faveur divine dont les empereurs venaient « d'éprouver les effets dans des circonstances si graves » - ce qui est une claire allusion à la victoire de Constantin, et seulement à celle-ci.

Or comment ces mesures prolongent-elles la faveur divine ? Tout d'abord en instaurant une politique de consensus en matière de religion, en accordant à chacun « la libre faculté de pratiquer le culte de son choix ». Après des années où la persécution avait provoqué une véritable discorde civile entre les adeptes des cultes anciens et les chrétiens, ces mesures entendaient réconcilier les uns et les autres, en donnant aux chrétiens une place reconnue dans l'empire, tout en laissant toute liberté à la religion traditionnelle : « La même possibilité d'observer leur religion et leur culte est concédée à tous les citoyens, ouvertement et librement ». Les signataires, Constantin et Licinius, déclarent qu'ils cherchent, « avant tout, à assurer le respect et l'honneur de la divinité », et c'est pourquoi il donnent, aux chrétiens comme à tous, « la liberté et la possibilité de suivre la religion de leur choix ». L'édit de Milan est donc d'abord un édit de tolérance religieuse de portée générale, qui spécifie que celle-ci concerne aussi les chrétiens. Les dispositions précédentes, celles des persécuteurs, sont déclarées « tout à fait malencontreuses et étrangères à notre mansuétude ». Est donc récusé tout recours à la violence, implicitement affirmé que la religion ne doit pas être contrainte, ce qui tranche avec les édits de la grande persécution. « Moins tranchant et conflictuel que Dioclétien, qui exclut de l'empire chrétiens et manichéens, Constantin fut loin d'élever le christianisme en religion d'État et de frapper d'interdiction les

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[15] D. De DECKER, *Le De mortibus persecutorum : un libelle au service de la propagande constantinienne,* Iaşi, 2013, p. 409.

cultes traditionnels »[16]. Ce n'est pas lui que l'on peut accuser d'être à l'origine d'une politique d'intolérance[17].

3. La nouveauté: la faveur est attendue de la divinité suprême

D'autre part, si les deux édits traduisent la même conviction sur le lien entre bonheur de l'empire et pratique religieuse, l'édit de Milan introduit une autre nouveauté : la bienveillance divine n'est plus attendue des dieux immortels, comme le disaient Galère ou Maximin Daïa dans leurs édits, mais de « la divinité suprême » (*summa divinitas*) (Lactance), à laquelle les signataires déclarent rendre hommage. Une lettre adressée à la même époque par Constantin au proconsul païen d'Afrique le redit de la manière la plus claire : « Il est manifeste, à partir d'un grand nombre de faits, que la négligence de la religion, dans laquelle est conservé le respect souverain de la très sainte et très haute <puissance>, est cause de grands dangers pour les affaires de l'État ; en revanche, lorsque la religion est reçue et gardée conformément aux lois, elle apporte, procurées par les bienfaits divins, une très grande prospérité au nom romain et une réussite notable à toutes les entreprises humaines »[18]. C'est donc désormais le Dieu suprême, la très haute puissance, et non plus les dieux de la religion traditionnelle, qui assure la protection de l'empire. L'édit de Milan est monothéiste, à tout le moins monothéisant, d'une sorte de « monothéisme neutre »[19], qui tolère les différences d'approche, mais est nettement affirmé. De surcroît , en réservant le recours à la divinité suprême, à « tout ce qu'il y a de divin au *céleste* séjour » (Lactance), « tout ce qu'il peut y avoir de divinité et de puissance *céleste* » (Eusèbe), il exclut les divinités d'en bas, autrement dit le polythéisme local et populaire de la *superstition*[20].

On a ici un changement de perspective important : la liberté totale est accordée à toute religion, mais ne méritent

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[16] Polymnia ATHANASSIADI, *Vers la pensée unique. La montée de l'intolérance dans l'Antiquité tardive,* Paris 2010, p. 58.

[17] Voir H. A. Drake, *Constantine and the Bishops. The Politics of Intolerance,* Baltimore et Londres, 2000, dont un des premiers recenseurs (S.G. Hall, *JTS* 52, 2001, p. 895) remarquait que l'A. aurait aussi bien pu lui donner comme sous-titre, s'agissant de Constantin (et non des évêques), « la politique de tolérance ». Ce sont les luttes entre chrétiens qui ont conduit à l'utilisation par les évêques des moyens coercitifs de l'État en faveur de leurs croyances.

[18] CONSTANTIN, *Lettre* 3, 1 (avant avril 313).

[19] L'expression est de Charles PIETRI, *Histoire du christianisme,* II, Paris 19, p. 201.

[20] R. TURCAN, *Constantin en son temps. Le baptême ou la pourpre ?* Paris, 2006, p. 174.

l'appellation de religion que celles qui rendent un culte à la divinité suprême, dont pourtant l'identité n'est pas précisée. Si, pour Constantin, il s'agit déjà du Dieu chrétien, il n'en est pas de même pour Licinius, qui restera païen, mais païen monothéisant : deux ans plus tard, avant sa bataille définitive contre Maximin Daïa, si l'on peut se fier à Lactance sur ce point, il fera réciter à son armée une prière au Dieu suprême (dont certains historiens supposent, peut-être à juste titre, qu'elle avait été composée par Constantin)[21] – ce qui ne l'empêchera pas, lors de son conflit ultérieur avec Constantin, de s'en prendre aux chrétiens de son territoire, tenus non sans raison pour une cinquième colonne favorable à son rival. Une des conséquences de cette définition de la religion est que pour la première fois, dans l'empire, le christianisme est explicitement reconnu comme *religio*, alors que jusque-là il était considéré comme une superstition. Souvenons-nous des termes qu'employaient Tacite, Suétone, Pline le Jeune, « superstition exécrable », « superstition nouvelle et maléfique », « superstition déraisonnable et sans mesure »[22]; l'édit de Galère parlait de folie, Maximin d'erreur aveugle, d'exécrable folie[23]. Or le texte parle de la « *religion* des chrétiens » (le grec utilise παραφυύλαξις, observance, et θρησκεία, le latin *observantia* et *religio*), alors qu'à l'inverse il considère implicitement celles qui s'adressent aux divinités inférieures comme des pratiques superstitieuses. Ce ne sera pas sans conséquence pour la politique ultérieure de Constantin.

4. Mesures ponctuelles en faveur des chrétiens

Pour l'instant cependant, l'édit se contente d'ajouter à la mesure essentielle, la liberté pleine et entière de religion et de culte (toujours liées chez les Romains, où il n'y a pas de religion sans pratique du culte), une série de mesures ponctuelles en faveur des chrétiens, qui sont d'abord des mesures de justice : il est décidé que seront rendus aux chrétiens les bâtiments qui leur ont été confisqués lors de la persécution, essentiellement les lieux où ils avaient l'habitude de se réunir. Ils devront même leur être rendus immédiatement, et ceux qui les avaient reçus en donation de l'État sont tenus de les rendre aussitôt – un dédommagement toutefois pourra leur être accordé ! Ces mesures constituent un progrès par rapport à l'édit de Galère, qui se contentait d'autoriser les chrétiens à

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[21] LACTANCE, *MDP,* XLVI, 6 ; A. PIGANIOL, *Mélanges H. Grégoire* (= Byzantion, 35, 1-2), 1965, p. 515. La prière est très proche de celle que Constantin prescrit de faire réciter à son armée le jour du soleil : Eusèbe, *Vie de Const.,* IV, 20.

[22] TACITE, *Annales*, XV, 44, 3 ; SUÉTONE, *Vie des Douze Césars. Néron,* 16 ; PLINE LE JEUNE, *Lettres,* X, 96, 7.

[23] EUSÈBE, *HE* VIII, 17, 9 ; IX, 7, 11-12.

reconstruire les églises qui, conformément au premier édit de persécution, avaient été détruites par les autorités. Elles témoignent déjà de la bienveillance de Constantin, une bienveillance qui s'est déjà exercée à Rome avant même la rencontre de Milan et qui ne cessera de s'accentuer.

Il est certain en effet que, pour Constantin, l'édit de Milan n'était qu'un minimum, un point de départ, alors que pour Licinius c'était un maximum. Il sera suivi en effet d'une politique favorable aux chrétiens et à l'Église (car Constantin a déjà le sens de l'institution, qu'il saura utiliser à son profit). A l'Église en tant que collège reconnu, Constantin accorda des dons – d'argent ou de terrains, permettant ainsi la construction de vastes basiliques, à Rome, à Jérusalem et ailleurs –, l'autorisation de recevoir des héritages, l'exemption de l'impôt foncier. Ces mesures devaient provoquer un développement considérable des biens de l'Église, à laquelle toutefois il était demandé d'assurer une fonction de sécurité sociale dont l'État ne se chargeait pas. Les clercs reçurent aussi quelques privilèges fiscaux, ceux dont bénéficiaient déjà les prêtres païens ainsi que certaines professions, signe simplement que leur fonction était maintenant reconnue. Parmi ces privilèges, la loi qui donne aux évêques un droit d'arbitrage dans les procès au civil constituait en fait, pour les évêques, une lourde charge non rétribuée. Tout cela fut de grande conséquence : en donnant à l'Église une place reconnue, et sur certains points privilégiée, Constantin a favorisé sa visibilité et son développement[24].

5. Le christianisme, seule véritable *religio*

De surcroît, à mesure que le temps de son règne avançait, Constantin allait affirmer de plus en plus ouvertement son choix du christianisme. En 324, après avoir vaincu Licinius et être devenu le maître de tout l'empire, il adressa aux païens et aux chrétiens d'Orient qui venaient de passer sous son autorité deux lettres qui montrent non seulement ce choix, mais sa conviction que les chrétiens, dont il fait partie, possèdent « la demeure resplendissante de la vérité » ; ce qu'il exprime en s'adressant à Dieu (la demeure… « que tu nous as donnée ») et en lui demandant que cette possession soit donnée aussi aux païens[25]. Ces lettres, qui sont des lettres officielles (la première se termine par « à publier dans nos régions orientales »)[26], auxquelles on peut ajouter le *Discours à l'assemblée des saints,*

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[24] Sur les faveurs accordées à l'Église et aux clercs, voir P. MARAVAL, *Constantin le Grand, empereur romain, empereur chrétien,* Paris, 2011, p. 114-119.

[25] CONSTANTIN, *Lettre* 15, 14.

[26] ID, *Lettre* 13, 31.

prononcé devant sa cour un jour de 325[27], peu avant le concile de Nicée, ont un ton et une portée qui vont au-delà de ceux de l'édit de Milan. Ces textes montrent , en particulier, que la conception que se fait Constantin de la *religion* a évolué : ce terme, pour lui, désigne désormais le seul christianisme, la vraie religion. S'il y continue d'accorder aux païens la liberté de culte, c'est par seul souci de la paix et du bien commun. Ils peuvent, s'ils le veulent, « fréquenter les temples du mensonge », mais Constantin leur dit clairement qu'ils sont « dans l'erreur »[28], que leur culte est superstition (δεισιδαιμονία)[29]. Avec ces textes, le christianisme est passé de la périphérie de la superstition privée au centre de la religion publique. Constantin a sans doute lu à cette époque les *Institutions Divines* du maître de rhétorique de son fils Crispus, Lactance, qui lui avait dédié la deuxième édition de son ouvrage[30]. Il en partage du moins le point de vue. Lactance écrivait : « La religion est du domaine du vrai culte, la superstition du faux ; aussi les adorateurs des dieux se croient *religiosi*, alors qu'ils sont *superstitiosi*[31], car seul le christianisme est *religio* »[32]. En écho, Constantin, dans ses lettres, l'appelle « la religion véritable et pure », « la religion pure et authentique qui procède de l'accord sur le divin »[33]. Malgré cela, il n'entend pas contraindre les païens à adopter le christianisme. Lactance invitait lui aussi à la discussion argumentée avec les intellectuels païens et les prêtres de la religion païenne, car nul ne doit être délivré de sa folie, de sa sottise (*amentia*, *stultitia*) contre son gré[34]; les chrétiens sont donc invités à la « *tolerantia malorum* », qui n'est pas ce que nous appelons la tolérance, mais est une attitude de patience, qui supporte des maux qu'elle ne peut corriger[35]. Constantin, s'adressant à des chrétiens, prône une attitude semblable : « Si quelqu'un fait obstacle à sa guérison, qu'il n'en soit pas blâmé par un autre, car la guérison des maladies est proposée à tous, est sous les yeux de tous… Ce que chacun a vu et compris,

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[27] Sur la date (discutée) de ce discours, voir l'introduction à Constantin, *Lettres et discours,* p. XXII.

[28] ID., *Lettre* 15, 13 et 14.

[29] ID., *Lettre* 27, 2 ; *Discours à l'assemblée des saints,* I, 5 ; XVI, 1 ; XVIII, 2.

[30] LACTANCE, *Institutions divines,* I, 1, 13-15.

[31] *Ibid.,* IV, 28, 11.

[32] *Ibid.,* V, 4, 8.

[33] CONSTANTIN, *Lettre* 28, 5 ; *Lettre* 40, 7.

[34] ID., *Discours à l'assemblée des saints*, V, 19, 10-13.

[35] LACTANCE, *Institutions divines,* V 7, 5 s. ; 22, 2 s. ; VI, 18, 18 s., 29 ; VII, 5, 15.

qu'il l'utilise, si possible, pour aider autrui, mais si c'est impossible, qu'il s'abstienne. C'est une chose d'accueillir librement le combat pour l'immortalité, c'en est une autre de l'imposer avec des sanctions »[36].

Cette attitude de tolérance, de patience envers les erreurs des païens s'est maintenue durant tout le règne de Constantin, mais elle ne l'a pas empêché de tenter d'interdire tout ce que, dans la religion traditionnelle, il considérait comme pratique superstitieuse : il a voulu, comme le disait Alföldi, « désinfecter »[37], purifier le paganisme. D'où, bientôt, l'interdiction de l'haruspicine (la divination à partir de l'examen des entrailles des victimes), celle des pratiques magiques, et finalement celle des sacrifices sanglants[38], qu'il tolérait encore, quoique de manière particulièrement méprisante, dans son *Discours à l'assemblée des saints* : « Allez-vous en donc, impies – cela vous est permis parce que votre péché est incorrigible –, allez aux égorgements des victimes sacrées, aux festins, aux fêtes, aux beuveries, en prétendant accomplir un culte alors qu'en réalité vous vous adonnez à l'intempérance et aux plaisirs »[39]. On voit ici que la liberté accordée n'est pas celle, positive, que l'édit de Milan reconnaissait aux chrétiens : c'est la tolérance du moindre mal, celle que Constantin accorda aussi aux donatistes, par découragement devant leur obstination. L'interdiction des sacrifices sanglants, du reste, ne sera pas respectée, comme le montre sa constante répétition chez ses successeurs jusqu'à Théodose et même au-delà, et Constantin, par sagesse politique, dans un empire qui était encore majoritairement païen, ne chercha pas vraiment à la faire appliquer – exigeant toutefois que le temple bâti en l'honneur de sa famille à Hispellum ne soit « souillé par les fraudes d'aucune superstition contagieuse »[40], donc à tout le moins par les sacrifices sanglants. Mais on sait aussi qu'il conserva le titre de *Pontifex maximus (Souverain Pontife)* de la religion païenne et les attributions de cette charge, qui lui donnait autorité sur le calendrier civil et religieux et sur le recrutement des collèges sacerdotaux païens, qu'il laissa subsister toutes les institutions religieuses existantes, les temples (aucun ne fut détruit à Rome), les collèges des pontifes, ceux des vestales ; la statue de

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[36] CONSTANTIN, *Lettre* 15, 19.

[37] A. ALFÖLDI, *The Conversion of Constantine Constantine and Pagan Rome*, Oxford, ²1969, p. 106 (*sterilized*).

[38] EUSÈBE, *Vita Constantini,* II, 45 ; *Cod. Theod.*, XVI, 10, 1 (haruspicine) ; XVI, 10, 2 (sacrifices : loi de Constance et Constant de 341, mais qui en appelle à une loi de leur père non retenue dans le Code). Sur cette question débattue, voir P. MARAVAL, *op. cit.,* p. 266-268.

[39] CONSTANTIN, *Discours à l'assemblée des saints,* XI, 7.

[40] *CIL* XI, 5265.

la Victoire resta au Sénat, les subsides publics pour les anciens cultes continuèrent d'être versés. Il restait fidèle en cela au refus de la contrainte, des « stipulations tout à fait malencontreuses » des persécuteurs qu'il dénonçait dans l'édit de Milan, et mieux encore au principe qu'il posait dans une de ses lettres de 324 : « Je désire, pour le bien commun de l'univers et de tous les hommes, que ton peuple soit en paix et reste exempt de troubles. Que ceux qui sont dans l'erreur, joyeux, reçoivent la jouissance de la même paix et de la même tranquillité que les croyants », - et il donne la raison de cette attitude dans cette phrase magnifique, mais sans doute bien utopique – « car la douceur de la concorde aura de la force pour les corriger eux aussi et les conduire dans le droit chemin ». Donc, « que personne n'en moleste un autre, que chacun retienne et pratique ce que désire son âme ». L'édit de Milan parlait déjà, à propos du christianisme, « d'adhésion réfléchie », de « libre détermination », et demandait de respecter cette attitude. Il n'en reste pas moins que Constantin, en 324, affirme nettement sa préférence : « Mais il faut que ceux qui ont de saines pensées soient convaincus que seuls vivront de manière sainte et pure ceux que tu appelles à se reposer sur tes saintes lois »[41]. Les bons citoyens, aux yeux de l'empereur, ce sont désormais les chrétiens, les seuls à bien se conduire.

6. Constantin didascale

Ces lettres de 324 mettent aussi clairement en évidence le Constantin enseignant, didascale, celui qui s'était convaincu que son devoir était de diffuser le christianisme. Conduire ses sujets à la connaissance de Dieu était du reste une des tâches assignées aux souverains de l'époque hellénistique. Aussi l'empereur chrétien sera largement incité à être un héraut de la foi par son entourage d'évêques, en particulier par Eusèbe de Césarée, qui dans son discours pour les trente ans de règne, en juillet 336, lors des *tricennalia soluta*, lui rappelait ses devoirs, fondés sur l'origine divine de son pouvoir et sur l'imitation de son modèle, le Logos : « Comme un interprète du Verbe de Dieu, (l'empereur) appelle tout le genre humain à la connaissance du Tout-Puissant, en criant d'une voix forte aux oreilles de tous et en proclamant les lois de la piété véritable à tous les habitants de la terre… Dans son zèle pour le Tout-Puissant, ayant purifié de toute souillure d'erreur athée le royaume terrestre, il convoque le chœur des saints et des hommes pieux à l'intérieur des demeures royales, en veillant à assurer le salut commun de la flotte tout entière de ceux dont il est le pilote »[42]. Constantin prendra cette tâche à cœur. Dès 315, il écrivait à un gouverneur africain : « Que dois-je faire de

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[41] CONSTANTIN, *Lettre* 15, 13.

[42] EUSÈBE, *Triakontaétérikos (Louanges de Constantin)*, II, 4-5.

plus, du fait de ma fonction et ma charge de prince, une fois dissipées les erreurs et détruites toutes les témérités, sinon présenter à tous la vraie religion, une concorde loyale et le culte dû au Dieu tout-puissant ? »[43]. Et en 335, il devait écrire aux évêques réunis en concile à Tyr : « Même les barbares aujourd'hui, grâce à moi, l'authentique serviteur de Dieu, ont reconnu Dieu et ont appris à le louer »[44]. L'édit de Milan, aussi bien en ce qu'il avait de traditionnel qu'en ce qu'il avait de nouveau, contenait cela en germe.

[43] Constantin, *Lettre* 10, 5 (315).

[44] Constantin, *Lettre* 37, 10 (335).

Le livre des Actes dans la Bible éthiopienne. A propos d'un livre récent

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[1] L.C. NICCUM, *The Bible in Ethiopia. The Book of Acts (Ethiopic Manuscripts, Texts and Studies Series, 19)*, Eugene, 2014, p. xii, 354.

(I.P.T.A), initié par C.D. Osburn[2] et Th.C. Geer, et repris entre-temps par l'Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung de Münster. Ce projet prévoit l'édition d'un texte critique des *Actes* en grec, latin, syriaque, copte, arménien (dejà paru), géorgien et éthiopien.

Les éditions Picwick Publications et la série Ethiopic Manuscripts, Texts, and Studies étant encore relativement peu connues[3], il nous a paru d'autant plus important de recenser cet ouvrage, qui risquait de rester inaperçu, malgré son caractère remarquable.

1. Présentation de l'ouvrage

L'ouvrage comporte 88 pages d'introduction, 179 pages de texte et d'apparat critique, 3 appendices, une bibliographie, un index des auteurs et un index des matières mentionnées.

Le premier chapitre de l'introduction est consacré à l'histoire de la transmission du texte des Actes en éthiopien. Après une brève discussion des origines de la Bible éthiopienne, Niccum en vient à un historique des recherches. H. Zotenberg est le premier à distinguer deux groupes de manuscrits (les familles A et B de Niccum). I. Guidi est le premier à remarquer que la famille B provient d'une révision de la Bible éthiopienne sur une traduction arabe, la famille A représentant, par contre, le texte antérieur à cette révision. A partir de 10 chapitres de Matthieu, L. Hackspill conclut que la Bible éthiopienne a été traduite, vers 500, d'un manuscrit grec « syro-occidental ». Hackspill voulait ainsi, utilisant la terminologie élaborée par Westcott et Hort, parler de ce que nous appelons aujourd'hui le texte byzantin. Mais plusieurs, ignorant le sens de cette terminologie, ont pensé à rechercher une part d'influence du syriaque dans la Bible éthiopienne. A. Vööbus, tout en notant de fortes traces d'influences du grec et de l'arabe, affirme, exemples à l'appui, que la Bible éthiopienne est traduite de la *Vetus Syra*, mais a du être soumise à plusieurs révisions ultérieures. R. Zuurmond, travaillant avec des manuscrits plus nombreux et plus anciens que ceux connus par Vööbus, a montré que les strates les plus anciennes de la version éthiopienne ne montrent qu'une influence grecque, et que les exemples d'influence syriaque cités par Vööbus proviennent de développements ultérieurs dans la transmission du texte éthiopien (en fait il n'y a influence du syriaque – y compris parfois

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[2] C.D. Osburn mentionne ce projet dans son article « The Search for the Original Text of Acts - The International Project on the Text of Acts », *JSNT* 44 (1991), p. 39-55.

[3] La série « Ethiopic Manuscripts, Texts and Studies », dirigée par St. Delamarter, compte déjà quatre volumes parus, mentionnés, immédiatement après le titre, dans l'ouvrage que nous recensons ici. 14 volumes au moins sont donc en préparation.

de la *Vetus Syra* – qu'à travers la traduction arabe faite sur le syriaque qui a été utilisée par les réviseurs qui sont à l'origine de la famille B). M.-É. Boismard et A. Lamouille pensent que la Bible éthiopienne est traduite du grec, mais à partir du texte « occidental », un texte court dont l'éthiopien originel serait le seul témoin relativement pur. Malheureusement, ce texte originel n'est préservé qu'en partie, car la version éthiopienne aurait subi deux révisions indépendantes, l'une sur le texte grec « alexandrin » (la famille A), l'autre sur la Peshitta syriaque (la famille B). Cette théorie bute sur le fait que le premier de ces réviseurs omet de combler les leçons ultra-brèves des ch. 27 et 28 des *Actes*. En outre, les traces d'une *Vorlage* arabe pour la famille B sont claires et il est incompréhensible que Boismard et Lamouille ne les aient pas vues[4].

La question de la date de la traduction éthiopienne est également discutée tout au long de l'examen de ces multiples théories. Niccum la situe quelque part entre 350 (établissement ferme de l'Eglise éthiopienne) et 525 (les inscriptions du roi Caleb, contenant des citations bibliques), avec une préférence pour la seconde moitié du IVe siècle. Cependant, certains détails (énumérés à la p. 13) pourraient indiquer un certain intervalle entre la traduction des *Evangiles* et des *Epîtres pauliniennes*, d'une part, les *Actes* et les *Epîtres catholiques* de l'autre, mais ces détails pourraient aussi être interprétés comme des harmonisations ultérieures. Le problème, pour les *Actes*, c'est que nous n'avons aucun manuscrit antérieur au XIVe siècle[5]; les plus anciennes citations des *Actes*, dans le *Kebra Nagast*, ne remontent qu'au XIIIe siècle. Et même si certains détails montrent une fidélité d'ensemble de la famille A par rapport à la traduction originelle, d'autres détails montrent que le texte éthiopien des *Actes* a connu un certain développement, difficile à mesurer, entre la traduction primitive et ses plus anciens témoins[6].

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[4] En apprenant l'éthiopien à Louvain-la-Neuve, avec le Père U. Zanetti comme professeur, nous avons étudié *Act* 27 et 28 selon le manuscrit eth 42 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Même dans ce manuscrit, qui appartient à la famille A, les traces d'influence arabe sont évidentes, surtout dans les noms propres. Nous avons pris soin de signaler nos conclusions par courriel à M.-É. Boismard, lequel les a rejetées en bloc, se contentant de me renvoyer (*ne varietur*) à ses écrits.

[5] Une grande partie de l'Ethiopie a été occupée, de 1531 à 1543, par un émirat islamique qui a procédé à une destruction systématique des Eglises, des monastères, et de leurs manuscrits, et à un massacre des prêtres et religieux, accompagnés d'une tentative d'islamisation forcée de la population. *Nil novi sub sole …*

[6] Niccum ne dispose que de 6 manuscrits plus ou moins complets comme témoins de la famille A (voir liste p. 75-84), mais presque tous souffrent de négligences scribales, voire d'un début de révision sur l'arabe. Il peut aussi recourir au témoignage de 14 lectionnaires éthiopiens, dont le

Niccum regroupe un nombre important mais non-homogène de manuscrits sous le label Ab, une appellation justifiée par le fait que ces manuscrits sont encore proches de la famille A, tout en préfigurant le texte de la famille B. Dans ce groupe, la révision sur l'arabe n'est que partielle. L'absence d'homogénéité indique que le processus de révision s'est fait sans direction d'ensemble, du XIIIe au XIVe siècle. Le témoin le plus ancien de ce groupe date de 1400.

La famille B, par contre, est très homogène, ce qui témoigne d'un effort concerté de révision sur l'arabe, au XVe ou au début du XVIe siècle (le plus ancien manuscrit de cette famille est du XVIe siècle).

Le deuxième chapitre est consacré à la fidélité du texte de la famille A par rapport à son archétype grec. Niccum relève le fait qu'en certains endroits l'éthiopien a transcrit une désinence d'un cas grec, ou translittéré des mots grecs; parfois l'éthiopien atteste une variante qui n'est connue qu'en grec, ou encore, manifeste une erreur de traduction qui ne s'explique qu'à partir du grec. Niccum examine ensuite les rapports possibles entre l'éthiopien et les principales versions anciennes des *Actes*. Les versions arabes ne sont utiles que pour comprendre l'origine de la famille B, que Niccum voit comme proche du texte du manuscrit arabe 151 du Sinaï et de celui de la colonne arabe de la tétraglotte de Milan. L'exemple le plus probant est le fait que la finale des *Actes*, dans la famille B, traduit littéralement une note marginale du Sinaï arabe 151 et d'autres témoins arabes. Les versions latines, syriaques et coptes n'offrent par contre aucun parallèle qui ne pourrait être compris qu'en termes de dépendance littéraire de l'éthiopien. Ce chapitre se termine par une table des 221 noms propres des *Actes*, en éthiopien, grec, syriaque et copte.

Dans le troisième chapitre, Niccum examine quel type de texte grec a pu être utilisé par les rédacteurs de la traduction éthiopienne. L'auteur utilise plusieurs méthodes, en prenant soigneusement en compte les limitations de la langue éthiopienne pour rendre le grec. Il commence en comparant l'éthiopien avec les passages variants étudiés par K. ALAND et al. dans *Text und Textwert der Griechischen Hanschriften des Neuen Testaments, III. Apostelgeschichte* (Berlin-New-York: Walter De Gruyter, 1993); puis il utilise l'analyse quantitative de Colwell et Tune, et finalement, la Comprehensive Profile Method de B. Ehrman. Le texte éthiopien des *Actes* appartient indiscutablement à la famille alexandrine. Les variantes occi-

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plus ancien date du XIVe siècle, mais ces lectionnaires n'offrent qu'une partie du texte des *Actes*, plus ou moins restreinte en fonction du nombre des lectures bibliques retenues. Il est intéressant d'observer qu'en éthiopien également, les lectionnaires donnent accès à une strate plus ancienne de la transmission du texte biblique.

dentales sont rares, et l'influence du texte byzantin, bien que plus constante, est cependant limitée. Niccum prend encore la peine d'examiner (p. 61-67) 23 endroits où l'éthiopien semble présenter des variantes peu attestées. Ces variations, conclut-il, sont souvent apparentes ou accidentelles. Il reste néanmoins 2 accords avec p^{74} et deux avec 05 (D), et 6 accords possibles dont 3 avec 05 (D), 1 avec p^{45}, 1 avec 08 (E), et 1 avec 1739 et 1891.

Le quatrième chapitre présente l'édition critique et son apparat. Niccum commence en rappelant les lacunes bien connues des deux éditions précédentes, celles de Rome (en 1548-1549) et celle de Th.P. Platt (1830). La première part du manuscrit 23 de la Bibliothèque du Vatican, un manuscrit de la famille A, mais incomplet (les passages manquants étant traduits en éthiopien à partir de la Vulgate !); la seconde part d'un seul manuscrit[7], appartenant à la famille B, avec des corrections occasionnelles sur l'édition de Rome. L'édition de Niccum est la première édition critique du texte éthiopien le plus ancien tel qu'accessible par les manuscrits (mais pas d'un texte original éthiopien que l'on pourrait parfois tenter de reconstruire par émendation conjecturale). Elle suit généralement le manuscrit 20 de l'Ambrosiana de Milan, le témoin le plus ancien de la famille A, mais en le corrigeant quand il y a lieu à l'aide des autres témoins de la même famille.

L'apparat critique est introduit (p. 73-74) par une liste de sigles parfois inhabituels, mais bien expliqués, et nous ne saurions trop recommander au lecteur de bien s'imprégner du sens de ces sigles avant de commencer la lecture de l'apparat. L'auteur explique les principes qui ont présidé au choix des variantes retenues dans l'apparat critique, forcément incomplet pour éviter la surcharge; il précise notamment que toutes les variantes attestées avant le XVIIe siècle y sont incluses. Enfin, Niccum fournit une liste de 117 manuscrits continus et de 17 lectionnaires ou textes liturgiques avec leur localisation, et en donnant, autant qu'il en soit informé, le contenu biblique, la date et l'appartenance à une famille textuelle[8]. Niccum précise

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[7] Th. Pell-Platt ne précise pas quel manuscrit il a utilisé. Il s'agit sans doute d'un manuscrit de la British Library à Londres, mais personne ne semble savoir précisément lequel (voir à ce sujet Br. M. METZGER, *The Early Versions of the New Testament*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), p. 231, en particulier la n. 1).

[8] Il n'y a pas que les familles A, B et Ab, que nous avons déjà pu présenter. Un manuscrit unique présente une conflation du texte de la famille Ab avec une nouvelle traduction faite sur base d'un modèle arabe. Pour certains manuscrits de la famille B, des sous-groupes ont pu être établis; en outre, d'autres manuscrits de cette famille peuvent être qualifiés de « faibles » - ce qui laisse entendre, nous le supposons, que des leçons de A ou de Ab subsistent en certains endroits ; ici encore des sous-groupes apparaissent. Enfin,

que la liste devrait encore s'accroître, au fur et à mesure qu'est
révélée l'existence de manuscrits encore inconnus. Un chiffre
entre parenthèse indique le sigle qui désigne le manuscrit dans
l'apparat. 18 manuscrits continus sont cités constamment dans
l'apparat, et 20 autres sont cités dans 243 versets contenant des
variations génétiques importantes pour l'histoire du texte (voir
listes en p. 84), et les 17 lectionnaires ou livres liturgiques sont
tous cités dans l'apparat. Les éditions de Rome et de Pell-Platt
sont aussi citées, sauf quand l'édition de Rome traduit la Vul-
gate, et sauf quand Pell-Platt est influencé par l'édition de
Rome.

L'appendice A (p. 269-271) contient un supplément de lec-
tures fautives de l'éthiopien qui suggèrent une *Vorlage*
grecque. L'appendice B (p. 272-277) est une table des accords
entre la famille A du texte éthiopien et différents témoins des
Actes en 419 lieux variants. Cette table permet d'établir un
ordre décroissant de proximité. Les témoins les plus proches
sont p^{45}, puis B, boh, א, p^{74}, 1175, A et vg (allant de 86 à 82%
d'accords). Last but not least, l'appendice C (p. 278-330) con-
tient une liste de variantes du Nouveau Testament grec qui bé-
néficient du soutien apparent de la famille A du texte éthiopien.
Le texte éthiopien cité est traduit en anglais, puis l'auteur
donne une liste de témoins non éthiopiens qui attestent la même
variante; des notes de bas de page discutent du degré de proba-
bilité du soutien d'une variante par l'éthiopien, lorsqu'il y a
lieu de le faire. Cet appendice sera très utile aux critiques tex-
tuels, surtout s'ils ne sont pas eux-mêmes éthiopisants.

2. Appréciation

Ce nouvel ouvrage comble un grand vide, et C. Niccum maî-
trise admirablement bien son sujet. L'ouvrage est dans
l'ensemble bien présenté, clair et est un modèle à suivre en ma-
tière d'édition d'une version ancienne d'un livre biblique.
L'histoire textuelle des *Actes* éthiopiens est établie clairement,
et les théories erronées de Vööbus et de Boismard sont, espé-
rons-le, écartées définitivement. Le souci de rendre l'ouvrage
accessible même au lecteur qui ignorerait le ge'ez est d'autant
plus louable qu'il est rare dans des publications de ce type. Un
défaut mineur toutefois dans la présentation: les chiffres indi-
quant le début des versets bibliques sont en petits caractères,
assez difficiles à repérer dans le texte.

Peut-on attendre de l'avenir de nouveaux progrès dans
l'édition des *Actes* éthiopiens ? Ce qui suit ne dépend pas de
Niccum, qui souligne lui-même cette lacune; mais on peut re-
gretter, en tout cas, pour mieux comprendre l'origine des fa-

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certains manuscrits du XXe siècle sont simplement des copies de l'édition de
Pell-Platt, ou sont fortement influencés par cette édition.

milles Ab et B, l'absence d'une recherche portant sur l'ensemble des manuscrits arabes des *Actes*, et, plus particuliè-rement, l'absence d'une édition critique de la version melkite du IXe siècle (une révision du Sinaï arabe 151). Cette absence est toutefois partiellement compensée par le fait qu'un manus-crit tardif de cette version a été édité par Th. Erpenius[9] à Leyde en 1616 – C. Niccum ne mentionne pas cette édition. Il ne semble pas non plus avoir comparé le texte éthiopien avec la colonne arabe de la Polyglotte de B. Walton (Londres, 1657)[10], laquelle édite un manuscrit de la version melkite du XIIIe siècle, faite sur le grec.

Ce retard dans l'étude des *Actes* en arabe fait que nous sommes incapables de voir si la ou les révisions éthiopiennes menant aux familles Ab et B découlent du même type de texte arabe, ou de plusieurs textes arabes distincts; il empêche aussi une évaluation sérieuse de la technique de traduction utilisée par les réviseurs éthiopiens.

La liste établie par Niccum des manuscrits éthiopiens des Actes souffre de quelques lacunes – nous parlons ici de manuscrits connus depuis longtemps. Le manuscrit Tanasee 12 de Hambourg est omis. Il date du XVIIe siècle, et nous déduisons de ce qu'en disent Boismard et Lamouille qu'il devrait appartenir à la famille B. Son absence est donc sans doute sans (ou de peu d') importance pour la reconstitution du texte le plus anciennement accessible de la famille A. Un peu plus significative, par contre, pourrait être l'omission des deux lectionnaires suivants: Paris, B.N. Eth. 43, fol. 67, XVe s., contenant *Act* 13:27-34, et Paris, B.N. Eth. 44, fol. 8v-9v, XVIe s., contenant *Act* 1:15-22. Ces deux fragments, que nous avons collationnés, appartiennent à la famille A. Enfin, en compulsant le catalogue de W. Macomber[11], nous constatons l'omission du lectionnaire EMML 4752, provenant de Warana Baro (XVe s.) et contenant *Act* 1:15-20, 2:22-33, 3:12-4:4, 8:26-40, 18:11-31, ainsi que celle de EMML 2197 (XVIe-XVIIe s.), et d'autres manuscrits ou lectionnaires plus récents. N'ayant pas vu ces documents, nous ne pouvons évaluer la portée de ces lacunes.

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[9] *Novum Domini nostri Iesu Christi Testamentum Arabice ex Bibliotheca Leidensi*.

[10] *Biblia Polyglotta* (6 tomes).

[11] *Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Ma-nuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Abeba, and for the Monastic Manuscript Microfilm Library (EMML), Collegeville* (Collegeville, 56321 Minnesota: Monastic Manuscript Microfilm Library of St John's Abbey and University; vol. I (mss 1-300), 1975; vol. II (mss 301-700), 1976; vol. III (mss 701-1100), 1978; vol. IV (mss. 1101-1500), 1979; vol. V (mss. 1501-2000), 1981; vol. VI (mss. 2001-2500), 1982; vol. VII (mss. 2501-3000), 1983; vol. VIII (mss. 3001-3500), 1985; vol. IX (mss. 3501-4000), 1987; vol. X (mss. 4001-5000), 1993. Ce catalogue est encore incomplet.

C. Niccum n'a pas inclus dans son apparat critique les variantes des manuscrits 526, 529, 530 et 531 de la British Library, lesquels figurent dans l'apparat critique de Boismard et Lamouille. Il fallait certes bien limiter la taille de l'apparat critique, mais c'est toujours avec regret que nous voyons des témoins cités dans une étude antérieure ne pas être repris dans une édition qui se veut définitive.

Nous avons collationné pour les chapitres 1 à 10 des *Actes*, le manuscrit 518 (du XVIIIe s.) de la Bibliothèque des Bollandistes de Bruxelles, qui ne figure pas dans l'apparat critique de Niccum. Ce dernier classe, erronément, ce manuscrit 518 comme porteur d'un texte de la famille B, alors que le nombre de leçons A qu'il soutient devrait plutôt le faire classer comme appartenant à la famille Ab. Il faut espérer qu'une telle erreur soit unique, mais qui va vérifier pour tous les autres manuscrits laissés de côté par l'apparat ? Ce manuscrit porte aussi un assez grand nombre de leçons uniques ou peu attestées à notre connaissance, ce qui pourrait montrer qu'une étude plus détaillée et complète de l'histoire du texte éthiopien pourrait encore être porteuse d'enseignements.

Les images les plus récemment créées de manuscrits éthiopiens en possession de la Hill Monastic Manuscript Library ne révélant que des manuscrits récents, il semble peu probable que les bibliothèques éthiopiennes recèlent encore des manuscrits anciens qui pourraient être importants pour mieux établir l'histoire du texte éthiopien des *Actes*[12]. Par contre, des découvertes pourraient toujours être possibles chez quelques antiquaires et dans les collections privées telles que celle où nous avons eu le privilège de découvrir le manuscrit 2345, le plus ancien témoin de la famille Ab.

La principale faiblesse du livre de Niccum est l'absence presque totale des citations bibliques faites par les auteurs éthiopiens, à l'exception des quelques citations du *Kebra Nagast*. Nous établissons, depuis des années, un répertoire de ces citations, grâce aux ressources de la Bibliothèque de l'Université de Louvain-la-Neuve. Nous pouvons ainsi affirmer la présence de citations des *Actes* chez au moins 23 auteurs éthiopiens[13], à partir du XIVe siècle. En outre, il s'agit fréquemment de citations longues. Nous n'avons pas étudié ces citations en détail, mais il

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[12] A l'exception probable du « vieux manuscrit brûlé » (du XVe siècle ?) vu naguère à Rome par R. Zuurmond, dans une petite bibliothèque dont il n'a pas conservé l'identification (cf. p. 74, n. 16). Si quelque lecteur possédait une information permettant de localiser ce manuscrit, nous serions heureux qu'il le fasse savoir.

[13] Nous ne parlons ici que d'œuvres éthiopiennes originales, sans inclure les citations contenues dans des œuvres de traduction (les Ethiopiens ont traduit un nombre important d'ouvrages grecs, coptes, syriaques, arabes et même latins).

est facile de voir que nombre d'entre elles attestent le texte de la famille A. Nous pensons ici en particulier aux citations des œuvres de Giyorgis de Saglā et du Négus Zarʾa Yāʿqob, deux auteurs du XVᵉ siècle, lesquels citent forcément des manuscrits plus anciens. Si quelque progrès reste à réaliser pour mieux rétablir l'état accessible le plus ancien des *Actes des Apôtres*, ce sera vraisemblablement essentiellement cette voie qu'il faudra suivre. Peut-être un jour publierons-nous une étude de ces citations, si Dieu nous prête vie, et si personne d'autre ne s'en charge avant nous (nous prêterions volontiers notre concours à un jeune chercheur qui voudrait s'engager dans cette voie).

Précisons enfin que l'éloge que C. Niccum fait de nous (« a constant conversation partner ») dans ses Acknowledgments, p. ix, nous paraît aimable mais quelque peu exagéré. C. Niccum nous avait envoyé, il y a déjà longtemps, un brouillon de son édition, et nous lui avons transmis des remarques sans doute utiles, mais jusqu'au chapitre 7 des *Actes* seulement; par la suite, depuis des années, nous avons cessé de le faire, à cause de notre implication grandissante dans la recherche sur les *Actes* arméniens.

Ceci dit, nous souhaitons que l'ouvrage remarquable que nous recensons ici jouisse de la plus grande diffusion, et le recommandons vivement à tout chercheur qui s'intéresse à l'histoire du texte des *Actes des Apôtres* ou à la Bible éthiopienne, faisant nôtre cette adaptation par Niccum (p. 68) d'une citation de Westcott et Hort: « Knowledge of versions[14] should precede final judgment upon readings ».

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[14] Westcott et Hort avaient dit « knowledge of manuscripts ».

Sephardic Hebrew Bibles of the Kennicott Collection[1]

By

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T he Bodleian Library holds one of the best collections of Hebrew manuscripts in the world. Some of the most representative Hebrew bibles copied in the Iberian Peninsula are in this library, such as all included in the Kennicott collection, made up of nine bibles. Kenn 1 is the famous *Kennicott Bible*, which has been already studied, which I am not going to include in my work[2]. The Kennicott manuscripts transferred from the Radcliffe Library, where Benjamin Kennicott (1718-1783) had been librarian, to the Bodleian in 1879.

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[1] This work has been carried out working directly with the manuscripts at the Bodleian Library, during my stay as visiting scholar at the Oxford Center for Hebrew and Jewish Studies in Oxford, Hilary Term, 2014 and within the framework of the research project *Legado de Sefarad. La producción material e intelectual del judaísmo sefardí bajomedieval* (Ref. FFI2012-38451) and *Patrimonio Cultural Escrito de los Judíos en la Península Ibérica* (Ref. FFI2012-33809).

[2] *The Kennicott Bible*. Facsimile editions, London, 1985; B. Narkiss and A. Cohen-Mushlin, *The Kennicott Bible*, London, 1985.

We have no specific information about how Kennicott gathered those manuscripts. But we know that one of his main projects was the study of the text of the Bible. In order to achieve this work, he collated a large amount of manuscripts during all his life and published a dissertation comparing different texts[3]. The Bodleian Library kept among its documents a large number of bundles keeping all collations, written by Kennicott himself or by his collaborators. The volumes are distributed by libraries and manuscripts, and represent a vivid testimony of his work, as a complement to his publications on this matter.[4] The collations were prepared during the tour which he made to many European libraries between 1770 and 1773. It includes manuscripts from Paris, Louvain, Köln, Turin, Milan, Rome, Florence, Bologna Venice, Vienna, Dresden, Berlin, Hamburg, Kassel and Leyden. They bear the following shelfmarks from the Bodleian Library: Ms. Kennicott a.1, b.1-3, c.1-26, d.1-26, e.34-43 (Neubauer 2432) and Kenn 9 (N 2341), which under the title *Liber Discrepantiarum* or ספר השינויים, includes different readings in the Targum, in Latin and Hebrew (see pl. I) . The manuscript contains a document (fols. 3r-4r) signed by Joannes Antonius Constantius[5] in Rome in 1761, where the collations of some manuscripts in the Vatican Library are mentioned.

Until now, good descriptions of Kenn 1 and 2 have been published, very detailed, but not of the other codices. The only catalogue is that of Neubauer's, from 1886[6], and obviously lacks of important details about the texts. Moreover, Neubauer affirms in his catalogue: «nobody expects to have minute details about the Masorah » (Preface, p. 7). An additional volume has been published by M. Beit Arié in 1994 but only refers to some of the manuscripts.[7] The manuscripts are also included in

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[3] B. Kennicott, *A Dissertation in Two Parts: Part the First compares I Chron. XI with 2 Sam. V and XXIII; and Part the Second contains Observations on Seventy Hebrew mss, with an Extract of Mistakes and Various Readings*, 2 vols, Oxford, 1753.

[4] B. Kennicott, *The Ten Annual Accounts of the Collation of Hebrew Manuscripts of the Old Testament: Begun in 1760 and Compleated in 1769*, Oxford – Cambridge – London, 1770 ; Id., *The State of the Collation of the Hebrew Manuscripts of the Old Testament : At the End of the Ninth Year,*. Oxford – Cambridge – London, 1768.

[5] Professor of Hebrew language in the Vatican Library and in the *Colegio Urbano de Propaganda Fide*, at the service of Cardinal Zelada (1717-1801).

[6] A. Neubauer, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, London, 1896-1906.

[7] M. Beit Arié, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library. Supplement of Addenda and Corrigenda to Vol. I* (A. Neubauer's Catalogue), Oxford 1994.

SfarData webpage[8], but with limited information. The nine Kennicott bibles are all Sephardic, except Kenn 3 (Neubauer 2325) and Kenn 10 (Neubauer 2324) which are of Ashkenazi origin and Kennicott 8 (Neubauer 2332) which is Italian. Only Kenn 2 reproduces the whole bible and has received special attention. A description was given by Bezalel Narkiss in 1982[9], and also some details were offered by Katrin Kogman-Appel in 2004.[10] It is dated in 1306 in Soria (Castile), being the scribe and illuminator the same person, the famous Joshua ibn Abraham ibn Gaon, copyist of other important bibles now in the the BnF (Heb 20 and 21). First Ibn Gaon Bible (Heb 20) is signed in the decorative Masorah *magna* and is dated in Tudela (Navarre), 1300. In Heb 21, he signed in a micrography stating that he has executed the manuscript and the Masorah. Kenn 2 is signed in the colophon which appears after the plan of the Temple, before the text of the bible (fol. 2v).[11]

All Ibn Gaon manuscripts mentioned have similar characteristics in their decorations: geometrical designs for the Masorah *magna*, grotesques, dragons, lions, or vegetal motifs. Sometimes appear a human head in penwork, as in the panel decorating the *parašah* signs in Second Kennicott Bible. This one includes very frequently designs of three tower castles, lions or fleur de lys, symbols of the kingdoms in the Peninsula (see pl. II). Even more, we can find a crescent, which is a clear influence of Islamic art. The formula 'blessed be God forever and ever, amen, amen' appears at the end of some long micrographic Masorahs, as in fol. 110r. This formula is very frequent in manuscripts copied by Ibn Gaon.

The rest of the manuscripts of Kennicott collection are incomplete, lacking of some books in each case. One of them, Kenn. 4, belong to the so called "liturgic Bibles", including Pentateuch and *Megil·lot*. But nevertheless, all of them are relevant codices which deserve a detailed description and which can help to identify special characteristics of Sephardic Bibles. Codex Kenn. 7, dated in Toledo in 1222, belong to the same copyist (Israel ibn Isaac ibn Israel) of ms. 44a of the Jew-

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[8] http://sfardata.nli.org.il

[9] B. NARKISS, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts in the British Isles*, 2 vols., Jerusalem – London, 1982, 1, p. 24-30.

[10] K. KOGMAN-APPEL, *Jewish Book Art between Islam and Christianity. The Decoration of Hebrew Bibles in Medieval Spain* Leiden-Boston, 2004, p. 101-114 and 116-118.

[11] The manuscript Opp. Add. 4º 75 of the Bodleian Library is also a Bible of Ibn Gaon. It includes Former Prophets with Targum. Another Ibn Gaon Bible is kept in the Trinity College in Dublin. It is dated *ca.* 1300 again in Tudela, and has no colophon, but a note in micrography where Ibn Gaon responds for the copy.

ish Theological Seminary in New York. This Pentateuch is dated in 1241, also in Toledo, and is considered an authentic copy of the model codex *Hil·leli*, since its colophon affirms that «it has been carefully corrected according to the model codex *Hil·leli*». Nevertheless, in some works has been demonstrated that the agreement between this manuscript and the readings considered from the *Hil·leli* represents only about a 66%.[12] Kenn 7 refers in its Masorah *parva* in twelve times to the codex *Hil·leli*, comparing the reading offered by its text with the reading considered as model.

In the present work, I shall deal with the biblical manuscripts of the Kennicott collection written in the Iberian Peninsula, including two aspects: the first one corresponds to the description of the codex. In the second one, textual aspects will been revised, since the texts included in micrographies and masoretic lists are often shared by manuscripts produced in the same geographical areas or by same scribes. My purpose is to prove the textual uniformity of Spanish codices and its proximity to the Tiberian tradition. In addition, I shall give a physical description of each manuscript.

Only one manuscript is illuminated: Kenn 2. The rest of the codices present some penworks around *parašah* or *seder* signs, sometimes also when the scribe introduces indication of the middle of the book. Micrographic decorations are more frequent, being similar to other Sephardic manuscripts from 13th - 15th Centuries.

1. Kennicott 2[13]

The codex reproduces the whole Hebrew Bible, and is constituted by one codicological unit, copied by Joshua ibn Gaón in Soria in 1306.[14] It is an illuminated Bible with II+428 folios, being its measures 308x235 mm with a text block of 237 x 145 mm (including Masorah). It is written on a high-quality parchment, with some holes that do not affect readability. The manu-

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[12] M. T. Ortega-Monasterio, «Los códices modelo y los manuscritos hebreos bíblicos españoles», *Sefarad* 65, (2005), p. 353-383.

[13] Former Signatures: Kenn 2, N. 2323. Previous catalogues: Neubauer 2323. Bibliography: Narkiss 1982, 1, p. 224–30; Neubauer, 2323; Kogman-Appel 2004, p. 61–62; 100–114; 98–130. Nordström 1971, p. 39–74.

[14] After the correction made by Beit Arié in *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library. Supplement of Addenda and Corrigenda to Vol. I (A. Neubauer's Catalogue)*, Oxford 1994, p. 1, the manuscript should be copied in 1303/4. He affirms that the last line in the colophon also belongs to the scribe.

script conforms to Gregory's Law[15] and is distributed quite regularly in 39 quires of 12 folios each although there are some exceptions : $2+8+3+12^8+8+12^6+16+12+10+12^{10}+10+12^2+10+12^2+9+4$. It has reinforcing strips on all quires. Quire catchwords appear usually in the lower left margin, in the scribe's hand. Others are added later in a second hand, as in fol. 61v (perhaps because the original catchword was cut off when the volume was bound). The modern pagination in pencil using Arabic numerals has been corrected. There is another pagination that begins at the end of the codex and is upside down. The book titles are added in Latin.

Ruling is very visible on the recto side of the folios, in plummet, with horizontal and vertical lines, following the outline of the text and Masorah, as occurs frequently in Iberian codices.[16] The pricking is also visible in the outer margins of the pages, creating a uniform vertical line, although in places it is cut off due to binding. The text is written in two columns, generally of 34 lines. The Masorah *parva* occupies the intercolumnar space and the Masorah *magna*, two lines in the upper and three in the lower margins, often taking micrographic forms with illuminations.

The codex is written in Sephardic square script with Tiberian punctuation, in dark brown ink for the text and slightly lighter for the Masorahs, without any significant corrosion. Frequent micrographies appear throughout the manuscript, except in the books of the *Ketuvim* and thereafter.

The manuscript has a decorative program that has been studied in detail.[17] First of all, there is a Temple drawing—unrelated to the other decoration—on fols. 1v–2r, which according to the colophon, was also executed by Ibn Gaón. This drawing and all the other illuminations in the manuscript are described in detail by Narkiss. The two folios showing the Temple drawing are bound incorrectly: fol. 2r has been rotated, so that the two halves of the drawing do not match up. Also, part of the design is missing, having been lost. The drawing includes the Temple's architectural features as well as many temple implements. Various colors of ink are used: black, red,

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[15] Rule used in codicology corresponding to the consistent medieval practice of collating parchment leaves so that grain side faced grain side and flesh side flesh side.

[16] «In Spain and other Sephardic areas visual clarity of the ruling scaffoldings, which ensured aesthetic and uniform copying, was preferred over low cost.» M. BEIT-ARIÉ, *Unveiled Faces of Medieval Hebrew Books*, Jerusalem, 2003, p. 31.

[17] NARKISS, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts,* 1, p. 24-27. Given this excellent description of the manuscript's entire decorative program, I limit myself here to outlining the most important elements.

blue, green, yellow and brown, as well as gold decorations. There are inscriptions with the names of some rooms, gates, and areas.

Another decorative element is the *frames*, which take up the entire space around the text, as can be seen on fol. 1r around the colophon. This one is an interlaced design done in the *mudéjar* style in red. Lists of precepts and masoretic lists are framed by red and green lines and, around that, by text in large, golden letters, as in fols. 204v–205r. The lists on fols. 3r–13r are also written in two columns framed by arches—horseshoe, pointed, multi-lobed, or simply rectangular—in red, green, or gold. They include drawings of animals (dragon, bird) or vegetation. Fol. 13v lacks decoration.

Carpet pages: In four cases, carpet pages take up the whole page (fols. 14r to15r and 117v), decorated with interlaced geometric motifs and including—as also happens in many other places throughout the manuscript—a castle, in allusion to the kingdom of Castile. In two other cases, these interlaced panels occupy only half the page (fols. 299r and 427r). In all cases, a wide variety of colors are used (red, blue, green, and gold).

Micrographic decoration: The Masorah *magna* very often takes the form of micrographies, with different additional motifs, generally in gold. Some examples are fols. 265v and 266r, where there is a downward-facing crescent; fols. 166r, 142r, and 298v have more drawings of a castle with three towers and several lions, symbols of the kingdom of Castile; dog heads can be seen on fol. 64v, 70v, and 100r; and in multiple places we find the fleur-de-lis, as on fol. 227v, used as a royal symbol.

Decorative panels: Many of the *parašah* indications are decorated, usually in gold, with small panels in red and gold, as on fol. 4v. Sometimes they do not have illuminations and they are marked only by the letters פרש, as on fol. 111v (Deut. 26:1). Larger-size letters are written in gold (fol. 67v), and the benedictions that can be found at the end of various Masorah *magna* notes are written in micrography with some golden ornamentation (fol. 98r) (see pl. III).

At the end of each biblical book, from the beginning of the manuscript up to and including the Minor Prophets, there is a decorative panel giving the verse count and indicating the middle of the book. At the end of the Pentateuch, the panel takes up the entire page, with the written text taking the form of a frame that encircles a drawing of interlaced geometric motifs in gold outlined in red. Below, a later annotation states: 'Vers in Pent.: 5830'. The beginning of each book has no special markings. This panel does not appear, at the end of each of the Minor Prophets, where there are simply four blank lines. The panel consists of a simple red box bordered by two golden lines, one inside the box, the other outside of it. Or the opposite: the box

is gold and the lines, red. At the beginning of the Book of Song of Songs there is no panel with the count from the previous book, Ecclesiastes; but the first letter of the book, a *šim*, is of larger size and written in gold outlined with red. Beginning with the book of Ruth, decoration becomes less frequent and much simpler, as in fols. 311v–312r, and is limited almost exclusively to the last page of a quire and the first of the next. In some cases, the decoration is even incomplete, as can be seen clearly on 323v–324r.

The colophon appears on fol. 2v, written on lines that run the entire width of the page and surrounded by a frame of interlaced forms in *mudéjar* style, in red, green, and yellow, as a continuation of the text that occupies fol. 1r, which is very damaged but has a similar interlace design. In the colophon, the scribe identifies himself as Joshua ibn Abraham ibn Gaón de Soria. It also mentions that the copy was completed in the month of *Adar* in the year 1306. This is on the last line, written in the same hand but with lighter ink, and some authors consider it to have been added later.[18] The page (fol. 1r) begins with the text of Job 34:10 'So listen to me, you men of understanding':

בינ"ו נא אנשי לבב ראו גם ראו דעו והתבוננו איך הוכן בית אלהינו על מכונו
והוסד על יסודו למען כל איש שכל מרחבי תבניתו וחוקת עזרתו ומשפט
הבניתו לאחוז ואורח השכל ולשום לבבות שנתינת כל החכמה כי זה כל האדם
ואז יבינו אבירי לב ויתמלאו רוח אלהים בעלותכם במחשבה על כי דעת
סרעפי לבותם לדעת נכוחות ולשון למודים תשפק דברי צחות במבטא שפת
קדש על מקדש קדוש לעמוד על ודרתו? דעת בנינו במוצאיו ובמובאיו
במעלותיו ובמסיבותיו ארך מסיבתו ודוחב חליכתו גובה קומתו ומדת גמתו
בקנה המדה ועל כן [...]טו הרבים ויתברר ויתלבנו ויצר פרי[...]   [...] זכירים
זהירו ויבינו וערו עם קדוש [...........]

(8 lines are missing due to parchment damage caused by moisture)

להפנות אליהם קדושים אשר באו אחריהם כי הם זרע אחד ושפה אחת לכלם
ודברים אחרים אחרו להם וזה כתבתי וצייירתי אני הקטן והצעיר יהושע בר
אברהם זלה"ה אבן גאון משוריא כאשר למדתי מהחכם הרב ר׳ יצחק בר
גרשום ריתב"ע ליקר הנכבד החשוב הנחמד הרב הגדול המעוז ר׳ משה ן׳
חביב נר"ו למלאת רצונו ומרוב אהבתי אצלו וכדי שיהיה תמיד אהבתי בלבו
צייירתי לו ולבניו כפי מעט השגחי לבאר קצת ממלאכת הקדש להשקל שקלי
הנביאים עם אבני המלואים אשר הביאו הנשיאים בצדי השוה ולא תהא כף
אחת עולה והשנייה יורדת או שקול ישקלו וישאו סוד מאוזני צדק ואבני צדק
ונמלך לבי עלי לבנות מלאכת ההבנית הכל בכתב ביד אלהי הטובה על

ותשלם כל המלאכה ותייסדה על מכונה ועל יסודה בנה בניתי מלון הצדק
מרום מראשון מקום מקדשנו יי לנטיעת שמים וליסודת ארץ לשכולל הבית
שיבנה במהרה בימינו לספר שם בציון ותהלתו בירושלים וימלא כבודו את כל
הארץ אמן ואמן ונגמר בחודש אדר שנת תתרס"ו ליצירה בשוריא

The contents of the manuscripts is as follows: Exhortations addressed to the reader (fol. 1r), Temple plan (fols. 1v–2r), continuation of the text from fol. 1r and colophon (fol. 2v), Laws given by God to Moses (fols. 3r–13v), Gen (fols. 15v–40v), Exod (fols. 40v–62v), Lev (fols. 62v–77r), Num (fols. 77r–98r), Deut (fols. 98r–117v), Josh (fols. 118r–131r), Judg (fols. 131r–143v), 1 Sam (fols. 143v–160v), 2 Sam (fols. 160v–174r), 1 Kings (fols. 174r–189v), 2 Kings (fols. 189v–204r), list of *sedarim* from Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Minor Prophets (fols. 204v–205v), Isa (fols. 206r–227v), Jer (fols. 227v–255r), Ezek (fols. 255v–280r), Minor Prophets (fols. 280r–299r), Ruth (fols. 300r–301r), Ps (fols. 301v–337v), Job (fols. 337v–352r), Prov (fols. 352v–365r), Eccl (fols. 365r–368v), Song (fols. 368v–370v), Lam (fols. 370v–372r), Dan (fols. 372r–379v), Esth (fols.379v–383v), Ezra (fols. 383v–388v), Neh (fols. 388v–395v), and Chr (fols. 396r–427r).

The order of the *Ketuvim* and the *Megil·lot* coincides with that of the Talmud and with that of the M1 manuscript.[19] *Parašiyyot* are indicated with the letters פ or פרש. From Josh. 1:1 to Judg. 14:1 and from Isa. 1:1 to the end of the Minor Prophets the *sedarim* are marked in a later, coarser hand, numbering them in Hebrew in a correlative way (e.g., Josh 4:24, fol. 119v). The Psalms are numbered in Hebrew in the margin by the principal scribe. The chapters are numbered in pencil by a much later, Christian hand.

Some masoretic lists are copied on fols. 204v–205v (אלה הסדרים של ארבעת ספרים האחרנים בכל ספר וספר ישעיהו :Lists of *sedarim* from Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Minor Prophets) and fols. 3r–13v (אלה המצות אשר צוה ה׳ את משה אל בני ישראל בהר סיני : Lists commandments given by God to Moses on Mount Sinai).

Ibn Gaón often uses a formula praising God that he writes at the end of the Masorahs in the form of micrography, as we can see on fols. 189 v, 98r, 43v, 44r and on 110r: ברוך יי לעולם אמן אמן, sometimes with minor variations.

The manuscripts copies some notes of purchase which can help us to reconstruct part of its history. For example, on fol. 427v it reads:

בפנינו עדים חתומי מטה הודה החכם הישיש המעולה כה״ר שמואל פארזנט שקבל מן היקר הנכבד כ״ר נסים בכ״ר אהרן הכהן נ״ע שני אלפים וחמש

מאות כספים ממטבע דמשק ומכר לו בהן זה הארבעה ועשרים מכירה גמורה
גלוייה ומפורסמת לכל שרירא   וקיימא דלא למהדר מינה וכל דיקום וערעור
על זאת המכירה ויערער על זה הספר על החכם המוכר הוא לסלקו ולהחזיקו
ביד הקונה הוא לו ולזרעו אחריו מן יומא דנן ולעלם : וקנינא מן החכם המוכר
הוא על כל הכתוב עליו ולמעלה קנין   שלם במנא דכשר למקנייא ביה ולפי
שעבר בפנינו להיות ולראות ביד הקונה הוא כתבנו וחתמנו שמותינו פה ביום
שני שמונה ימים לחדש מרחשון שנת חמשת אלפים ומאתים ושמונים לבריאת
עולם למיננינו פה דמשק ד"ע נהרי אמנה ופרפר מותבה והכל שריר וקיים יוסף
פלכון... סופר... יצחק...

This text is written in a Sephardic cursive script and states that Samuel Parzant bought the manuscript from R. Nissim ibn Aaron ha-Cohen on October 2, 1519, for 2500 Damascus coins. The names Amana and Parper belong to two rivers that flow through Damascus, mentioned in 2 Kings 5:12.

The codex is bounded in tobacco-colored leather with embossing on the center piece, frame, and interior corners with floral designs in deep-red, probably from the seventeenth century. The interior (covering and turn-in) consists in a floral paper with a dark red background and drawings in gold of vegetal design.

Textual Characteristics

The text is meticulously written in an excellent Sephardic square script of medium size. In many places there are corrections made by the scribe himself, or secondary hands can be perceived over erased text, for example, in 1 Sam 22:16. The fragment of Num 7:18–83 is incompletely vocalized, though not in the same way as in other manuscripts. Whereas usually none of the verses in this section are vocalized, this manuscript vocalizes a verse here and there, leaving the rest of them with accents only (fols. 81v–82v).

To complete lines, the manuscript generally uses the technique of enlarging some letters, although in places the first two consonants of the first word of the following line are written unvocalized or the letter *yod* is written. Often the last word on the line is compressed; in cases where there is a *sof pasuq* at the end of the line, a blank space is left between the last word and the *sof pasuq*. On fol. 198r the second column of text is wider than the first, and the text is more compressed than usual. The scribe wrote in this column a longer text than what had been planned. Also in Job 12:17–18 some text is added in the margin (fol. 341v).

The manuscript includes the two verses Josh. 21:36–37, noting in the MP: אלו השני הפסו אין כתובי לא בבבלי ולא בהללי, citing the *Codex Hil·leli* and the *Codex Babli* as a reference. Neh 7:68 is also included, without a note.

בֶּן־נוּן is written without a *dageš* in the *nun* (Josh 1:1, Num 13:8), בֵּית־אֵל as two words (Gen 31:13 [fol. 29v] and Gen 35:3 [fol. 31v]), and כדרלאמר as only one word, as in the passages Gen 14:1, 4, 5, 9, and 17, with a note written in a second hand in the MP to Gen 14:1 stating that in the most-precise texts it is written this way, although some Masorahs say that it should be two words. Also, יששכר is punctuated with a *dageš* in the *sim*, according to the reading of Ben Asher, as in Exod 1:3 (fol. 40v) and Num 1:28 (fol. 77v). Extraordinary points are written in the customary way.[20]

When the word יהוה is to be suppressed, it is encircled in a continuous black line and is not crossed out or erased, as can be seen on fol. 180v, 1 Kings 9:6, where the word יהוה is written by mistake after מאחרי. The same thing happens twice on fol. 198r.

The manuscript rarely uses the *meteg*, even before a *ḥatef šewá*, as can be seen in the following cases:

Dan 10:1	וֶאֱמֶת	Dan 10:15	וְנֶאֱלַמְתִּי
Dan 11:7	וְהֶחֱזִיק	Dan 8:27	וָאֶעֱשֶׂה
Dan 9:7	בְּמַעֲלָם	Dan 9:11	הָאֱלֹהִים

And normally the *dageš* is not put in a consonant that follows a guttural with a *šewá*, as in

Dan 6:3	טַעְמָא	Ezra 8:18	מַחְלִי
Neh 8:11	מַחְשִׁים		

Nor in the first letter of a word preceded by the same letter:

Dan 1:8	עַל־לִבִּי	Dan 2:11. 15	קדם מלכא
Dan 11:25	הנעל לדניאל		

When a consonant with a simple *šewá* is followed by the same consonant, the *šewá* is not replaced by a *ḥatef pataḥ*:

Dan 9:4	וָאֶתְפַּלְלָה	Dan 9:18	שְׁמֵמֹתֵינוּ (*pm* מוּ)
Dan 11:15	סוֹלְלָה		

The Masorah is written meticulously in very small but extremely clear lettering. A second hand appears very frequently

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[20] On extraordinary points, see GINSBURG, *Introduction*, 318-334 and M. J. DE AZCÁRRAGA, «The Ortographic Irregularities in the Manuscript M1 of the Library of the Universidad Complutense de Madrid», *Sefarad* 59 (1999), p. 239-250.

in the Masorah, using a lighter ink and slightly less uniform handwriting. This hand adds notes or text fragments that were omitted when the biblical text was copied or makes reference to the model codices, as we will see below. On a few occasions, the entire Masorah on the page is written by this second hand, as on fols. 262r and v. In this case, neither the page nor the bifolio are added, which leads me to believe that this second hand is contemporaneous with the copyist. We have numerous examples of additions and corrections made by this second masorete. For example, on fol. 157r, 1 Sam 25:3, a text is added in the margin that had been omitted due to *homoioteleuton*. On fol. 123r (Josh 10:23), we see the same thing.

Frequently in the Pentateuch though rarely in the rest of the Bible, the MP uses the expression וחלוף to indicate a reading contrary to what is given in the masoretic information or in the text. In Deut 20:19, concerning the word תצור the MP says: ל וחלוף נפש יקרה תצוד, referring to the fact that the case of Deut is written with *reš* and that of Prov 6:26 with *dalet*. Also in 1 Kings 8:7, concerning the word ויסכו the MP says: ל וחלוף וישכו. Frequently, the notes in the MP indicate the textual variants in the manuscript compared to the *textus receptus*, generally offering a different spelling.

The Masorah often mentions in an indeterminate way "some exact texts" to indicate correct readings. For example, in Gen 14:18 (fol. 20v), concerning the word ומלכי צדק the MP, written by a second hand, says: בנוסחי דיקין חד מלה כת ובמסורה תרין הילדך יעביד תרין מלין וחד שנוא, explaining the difference between the opinion given in the Masorah and other correct texts. In other places, the masorete expresses the opinion of commentators such as Abraham ibn Ezra. Concerning the word מקרה in Deut 23:11 (fol. 110v), the MP says: פולג עליה ושאומ׳ שהדגש נוסף ויש אומ׳ שהמם הוא משרתת והוא לאבדהם ן׳ עזרא ז"ל על כן אין הדגש נוסף: 'there is a discrepancy about this word; there are those who say that the *dageš* has been added and there are those who say that the *mem* is servile. But R. Abraham ibn Ezra says about this that the *dageš* has not been added.'

This second hand that appears in the Masorah is the one that indicates many cases of *qeré* that were not included by the first hand, as happens in the book of Daniel, on fols. 378r - v and several other places. This hand has also written a series of annotations about punctuation that differ on the customary information in the Masoretic notes, as in Ezek 18:6 (fol. 262v), concerning the vocalization of לֹא אכל, where the annotation explains that the *pataḥ* in אכל is an open *pataḥ* ומאן דלו אכל אכל קמץ.

Model codices

Three model codices are mentioned in the Masorah *parva* of the manuscript: the *Codex Hil·leli*, the *Codex Babli* and the *Codex Muggah*. These are reference codices, considered to be very exact with respect to the most correct tradition of the biblical text.[21] The most frequently cited of the three, by far, is the *Codex Hil·leli*. The masoretic notes referring to these codices are always in a second hand, in a less regular script that is bigger than that used by the first hand of the Masorah and in lighter ink. In several places, the text in the manuscript differs from others that are mentioned and concurs with the text of the *Codex Hil·leli*. But in the majority of cases, the text of Kenn 2 is different from the model codex, and in some places the reading of the manuscript even differs from that of the masoretic text according to the Leningrad Manuscript. There are also cases in which the text is clearly corrected in order to make it agree with the reading of the model codex. The passages where model codices are quoted are the following:

Codex Hil·leli

Lev 4:5	וְהֵבִ֞יא אֹת֛וֹ אֶל־אֹ֥הֶל
MP	את נוסחי דנקדי והביא אתו אל־אהל מועד ובהללי אתו זקיף אהל טרצה
L	וְהֵבִ֞יא אֹת֛וֹ אֶל־אֹ֥הֶל

Josh 5:1	כשמע (over erasure, *pm* כ)
MP	כן בהללי היה רפי וצור
L	כשמע

Josh 8:22	הִשְׁאִיר־לָהֶם
MP	מצאתי בבבלי לו וכן בהללי
L	לוֹ

2 Sam 10:3	וּלְרַגְּלָהּ
MP	בהללי ולרגלה רפי
L	וּלְרַגְּלָהּ

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1 Kings 3:15	אדני
MP	ובהללי יהוה
L[22]	יהוה

1 Kings 12:2	שלמה המלך (over erasure, *pm* המלך שלמה)
MP	כן בהללי ובבבלי המלך שלמה
L	המלך שלמה

2 Kings 5:6	וִיבֵא
MP	את נוסחי דיקי דנקדי ויבא צרי וטעיה היא דמסורת תשיב ויבא נא ולית דין מנהין ובהללי ויבא חולם
L[23]	וִיבֵא

Isa 30:12	בּעשק
MP	ובהללי בַעשק כת
L	בָּעשק

Isa 38:16	יהוה
MP	בבבלי אדני כן בהללי
L	אדני

Jer 13:17	עינִי
MP	בהללי עינַי
L[24]	עינִי

Jer 51:34	מלֹא
MP	כן בהללי בצרי מלֹא
L	מלֹא

Ezek11:19	בקרבם
MP	בהללי בקרבכם
L	בקרבכם

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[22] BHS refers to this variant as common to many other manuscripts.

[23] See G. WEIL, *Massorah Gedolah. Manuscrit B19a de Léningrad*, Rome, 1971, I, p. 77, list 639.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 282, list 2501.

Ezek 41:24 (2nd)	שתִּים֙
MP	בהללי שָׁתִים
L	שָׁתִים

Codex Muggah

Isa 17:11	נַחֲלה
MP	כך במוגה נְחלה
L	נַחֲלה

Ezek 16:63	לכל אשר עשית
MP	במוגה לכל-אשר עשית
L	לכל-אשר עשית

Codex Babli

Josh 8:22	השאיר-להם
MP	מצאתי בבבלי לו וכן בהללי
L	לו

Josh 8:24	אשר רדפום שם
MP	בבבלי בו
L	בו

1Kings 12:2	שלמה המלך (over erasure, *pm* המלך שלמה)
MP	כן בהללי ובבבלי המלך שלמה
L	המלך שלמה

Isa 38:16	יהוה
MP	בבבלי אדני כן בהללי
L	אדני

As can be seen, in fourteen cases the Masorah cites the *Codex Hil·leli*; in four of them the text of Kenn 2 coincides with the text of the *Codex Hil·leli*, but in the rest it is different, including from the reading of the Leningrad Manuscript. The *Codex Muggah* is cited in only two cases, in one of which Kenn 2 coincides and the other it does not. And in none of the four

cases where the *Codex Babli* is cited in the text of Kenn 2 does the manuscript coincide with the model codex. It is likely that the masorete who penned these Masorahs wanted to point out the nonconformity of the text he was annotating with important sources in cases that he considered to be especially relevant.

2. Kennicott 4[25]

The manuscript is a Hebrew Pentateuch with *haftarot* and *Megil·lot*, one of the so called liturgical bibles. It constitutes one codicological unit, copied in Castile (Toledo?) in 1318. It has I+366 folios, being its measures 315x255mm, (the text block is 240x185 mm including the Masorah). It is written in a high quality parchment, conforming to Gregory's Law, although it does not present much difference between both sides of the parchment. One folio with its text lacks after fol. 357: it has been cut, remaining the stub. The last folio is cut in half lengthwise, in an irregular form. The parchment presents some stains due to humidity, mainly at the beginning of the codex, whit does not prevent the correct reading of the text. It has also some holes due to imperfections in the parchment, as in fol. 86r, which do not affect readability.

The codex is very regularly distributed in 47 quires of 8 folios in most of the cases: $8^{14}+6+8^{30}+6^{-1}$(one folio has been cut, the stub remaining)+2. It has no quires or pages catchwords. It is paginated using Arabic numerals in pencil and a second and erroneous pagination appear in the upper right angle of each folio, crossed out in many cases. The name of each biblical book is added with pencil in the upper margin in English, but only in the first page of each book. The same hand marks in the margins the biblical passages in the *haftarot*. The text is written in two columns, generally of 19 lines, being the ruling or pricking hardly visible.

The Masorah *parva* occupies the intercolumnar space and the Masorah *magna*, two lines in the upper and up to six in the lower margins, with some occasional micrographies. There is no Masorah *magna* in the *Megil·lot* , being rare the Masorah *parva*. At the end of each biblical book, appears count of chapters and verses.

The Hebrew text is written in a beautiful Sephardic square script, much larger for the text and smaller for the Masorah with Tiberian punctuation in dark brown ink for the text and slightly lighter for the Masorahs and punctuation, without any significant corrosion (see pl. IV).

The manuscript has no illuminations or special decorations, with exception of some micrographic decorations in geometric

[25] Former Signatures: Kenn 4; N.2326. Previous catalogues: NEUBAUER 2326.

forms, very simple. Some of them are similar to manuscript Heb 24 of the BnF, fol. 86r or 143r, 222v (3 circles in vertical bound by straight lines). In some occasions, the sign of *seder* appears surrounded by a simple penwork, as in fol. 11v. No decoration appears in the *haftarot*.

At the end of the Pentateuch, in fol. 269r and written by a different hand appears the colophon: נשלם זה הספר שליש ראשון הששי (ע"ח=)לח׳ סיון שנת גאל יגאל לאלף, specifying the date: month of *siván*, year 1318.

The contents of the manuscripts is as follows: Gen (fols. 1v-69v), Exod (fols. 69v-127v), Lev (fols. 127v-166r), Num (fols. 166r-221r), Deut (fols. 221r-269r) and *Haftarot* (fols. 269v-339r), Ruth (fols. 339v-342v), Song (fols. 343r-346v), Eccl (fols. 346v-354r), Lam (fols. 354r-357v), Esth (fols. 357v-365v). The order of the *Megil·lot* agrees with those of many Sephardic manuscripts[26]. *Parašiyyot* are indicated with the letters פ or פרש and *sedarim* marked with ס.[27] At the end of each *parašah*, mnemotechnique words indicate the number of verses of *parašah*, as frequently occurs in Sephardic codices.[28] Numbers of all chapters and verses from five to five have been added in the margins.

The manuscripts copies some notes of purchase. On fol. 5r there is a note in oriental semicursive script: מקנת כספי יצחק; in fol. 121r, in a very blurred Sephardic semicursive script Yi✿haq Qaldilon (Calderon?), as owner, is quoted in Spanish language: ... אשטי ליב[ו]לו איש די יצחק קאלדילון; in fol. 351r in very small semicursive script reads «probationes calami»; and finally, in fol. 366r copies a text of Tractate *Hul·lin* 13,1 with some variants:

שחיטת נוכרי נבלה ומטמאה במשא נבלה אין איסור הנאה לא מתניתין דלא
כר' אליעזר דאי ר' אליעזר האמר שחיטת נוכרי אסורה בהנאה לעולם כר'
אליעזר

The manuscript is bounded in dark brown leather with dark stains, probably from eighteenth Century. Flyleaves and covering come from a Hebrew book, containing fragments of the Maimonides *Misneh Torah* (*Hilk̲ot sejitá, hilk̲ot terefá*), laws of

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[26] GINSBURG, *Introduction*, 4, list 3.

[27] G. Sed Rajna connects the signs of *seder* with manuscripts produced in Toledo, G. SED-RAJNA, «Toledo or Burgos», *Journal of Jewish Art*, 2 (1978), p. 6-21. She also affirms that in Toledo the use of sexternions was frequent. This manuscript has 8 folios quires like other manuscripts from Toledo (Parma 2025).

[28] GINSBURG, *Introduction*, 67 and 71 and fols. In most cases it consists in a proper name with a numerical value identical to the number of verses. Depending of each scribe or school, variations can be found. Ben Ḥayyim edition of the Bible sometimes writes them. They appear in manuscripts BL Or 4445, M1, Or 2201, and Or 2626-28.

Judaism concerning ritual purity and cleanliness, slaughtering, etc.

Textual Characteristics

The text is written in excellent Sephardic square script, with dark brown ink. The Masorah presents occasional annotations, sometimes in its same hand (as in fol. 111v) but also with different hands. A second semicursive script, in black ink and larger size corrects occasionally the Masorah, as in fols. 48v, 40v, 39v, or 25r. Another oriental semicursive script, smaller and thoroughly done, adds some annotations to the Masorah, as in fol. 109v, where even the *circellus* is added, as the referred word אהרן had no Masorah.

To complete lines, the manuscript generally uses the technique of enlarging some letters or introducing a separation between words. In other occasions, the last word or words of the line are compressed. Corrections to the text are scarce, with few erasures, except some of them more visible, as in the first line of fol. 197v in Num 20:6. The manuscript does not vocalizes the passage of Num 7:18-83, writing only the accents, as it happens in Leningrad codex. Nevertheless, the unvocalized passage starts in 7:26. The extraordinary points are written in the customary way, giving sometimes a larger information in MP, as in Num 3:39 (fol. 170v). The MP about the word ואהרון says:

י נקודי בתו ודי נקוד כלו ולמה נקוד לפי שלא היה במני אלא מפני כבדו זכרו אתו

The manuscript writes בית־אל in two words, as in Gen 31:13 (fol. 40v), or Gen 35:3 (fol. 46r), even dividing the expression in two lines, as in Gen 12:8 (fol. 14v). It writes also כדרלאמר as a single word, as in the passages of Gen 14:1, 4, 5, 9, 17 and vocalizes יששכר with *dageš* in the *sim*, according to BA reading. In Gen 6:3, the word בשגם vocalizes with *pataḥ*, not with *qame* ✿, as it is said to be the *Hil·leli* reading. In Gen 29:25 (fol. 38r), vocalizes וְהִנֵּה־הוּא without any indication of *le* ✳ case. It writes בן־נון without *dageš* in the *nun*, after BA tradition, as in Num 11:28; 13:8 or 14,6.

The *rafeh* is used very frequently. The manuscript rarely uses the *meteg*, even before a *ḥatef sewá*, as occurs in the most exact codices, as can be seen in the following cases:

Exod 3:6 (fol. 72r)	צַעֲקָתָם	Gen 37:25 (fol. 50r)	לֶאֱכֹל
Gen 18:29 (fol. 21r)	אֶעֱשֶׂה		

Normally the *dageš* is not put in a consonant that follows a guttural with *šewá*, as in:

Gen 30:22 (fol. 39r)	רֻחָמָה	Gen 10:7 (fol. 12r)	רַעְמָה
Gen 49:20 (fol. 67v)	לַחְמוֹ		
Num 14:9 (fol. 187v)	לַחְמֵנוּ	Deut 5:21 (fol. 230v)	שָׁמַעְנוּ
Deut 3:4 (fol. 225v)	לְקַחְנוּ		

Nor in the first letter of a Word preceded by the same letter:

Gen 6:6 (fol. 7v)	אֶל־לִבּוֹ	Gen 30:25 (fol. 39r)	אֶל־לָבָן
Gen 10:12 (fol. 12v)	בֵּין־נִינְוֵה	Gen 17:27 (fol. 19v)	בֶּן־נֵכָר

But *dageš* is present, as usually, in *begadkefat* letters:

Gen 11:8 (fol 13r)	וַיַּחְדְּלוּ	Gen 14:15 (fol. 16v)	וַיִּרְדְּפֵם

The manuscript does not change a *šewá* in *ḥatef pataḥ* when a consonant with simple *šewá* is followed by the same consonant:

Num 31:8 (fol. 212v)	חַלְלֵיהֶם	Deut 32:6 (fol. 265r)	וַיְכֹנְנֶךָ
Deut 32:10 (fol. 265v)	יְסֹבְבֶנְהוּ	Lev 22:9 (fol. 156v)	יְחַלְלֻהוּ

The Masorah is written in smaller characters and with lighter ink, as usual, very clear and carefully done. When the MP is longer than usual it is written as a column, writing each word in each line, occupying the entire vertical margin. Occasionally, the note of MP seems to be properly a MM note, due to its extension, as occurs in fol. 95r, referring the word הַשְּׁלִישִׁי (2nd.) in Exod 19:11, where the MP is developed, quoting the *simanim* of all cases[29] or in fol. 70v referring the word הלכת where the MP is also developed, offering information about the rooth, which does not appear in other manuscripts. The same occurs in fol. 66v, with the word הבכור of Gen 48:11. Sometimes, the MM is written in the right margin in cross wise sense, when the space in both upper and lower margins was not as much as necessary (fol. 72v). The Masorah includes frequently lists of unique cases, as it happens often in oriental manuscripts (Or 4445), even writing them in similar layout (fol. 63r, in lower MM, fol.87v). Occasionally, to fill the lines a sign made up of little circles joined by a horizontal line is used, which is also very frequent in oriental manuscripts, as in fols. 17v, 18r, 14r o 63r.These features, similar to scribal devices of oriental manuscripts, can be due to its early dating, when still less contamina-

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[29] See Weil, *Massorah Gedolah*, I, p. 62, list 506.

tion with other textual traditions or specifically Sephardic characteristics are present. The MP notes on occasions the differences between BA and BN, as in Gen 41:50 (fol. 56r), referring the word ילד. Its MP writes:

בן אשר פת בן נפאלי קמ וממסיר ב קמצי כי אדם

The MP uses frequently the expression וחלוף to indicate a contrary reading to the passage referred as in Gen 30:16 (fol. 39r), about the word שכר. Its MP says that, being a unique case, another with different accentuation can be found, with *pašṭa* in the *kaf*: ל וחלוף למען שכר הוא (Neh 6:13). In fact, the reading in the passage of Nehemiah is plene (שכור). The manuscript also uses the word פלוגתה for the same purpose, as in Gen 11,12 (fol. 13). The word וַיִּמְצְאוּ writes in its MP: ל פלוג וימצאו.

At the end of each biblical book, in a very simple form, appear the total number of chapters, verses, words, etc.

3. Kennicott 5[30]

The manuscript copies the Former Prophets with Targum and commentary by Rashi, David Kimḥi, and Levi ibn Gershon. It constitutes a single codicological unit, the work of a single copyist, Abraham Alabit: אברהם אלאביט and is dated in Segovia in 1487 (according to the colophon).[31]

The codex has III+262+III fols.; its measures are 345x275 mm, being the text block 200x265 mm (including the Masorah *parva* and the commentaries). It corresponds to a large-format Bible and has no blank pages. It is written on parchment of good quality and medium thickness, conforming to Gregory's Law with some corrosion due to moisture, but in general does not hinder legibility. The first two folios are restored on paper, but this does not affect the text. It is distributed in 33 quires of 8 folios each, except the first and the last, in a very regular composition: 7+8[31]+7.

Quire catchwords appear on the lower left-hand corner in the same hand as the scribe's, although some are absent due to having been cut off during binding. An occasional catchword has been added in a later Sephardic semi-cursive script. There is another numbering system, which is much later and does not coincide with the quires, in the middle of the lower margin of each recto, using the Hebrew alphabet and including the final form of the letters, ending on fol. 86r. Modern pagination has been added in Arabic numerals in pencil and with corrections. At the top of each page, the biblical book and chapter are giv-

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[30] Former signatures: none. Catalogues: NEUBAUER 2329. Bibliography: E. VAN STAALDUINE-SULMAN, 2009.

[31] Kasher dates the manuscript in 1594. See R. KASHER, תוספות תרגום לנביאים (*Targumic Toseftot to the Prophets*), Jerusalem, 1996.

en; and in the margins, the verse numbers are written. The titles of books are added at the top in English. Drypoint ruling is visible on the recto side of the folios, with horizontal and vertical lines, marking the writing grid for the text and commentaries but pricking is not visible. The text is written in two columns, generally of 20 lines.

The manuscript has no Masorahs; the only indications in the MP are some *qeré* readings, in a darker ink and a different hand from the rest of the text.

The Hebrew Bible text and Targum in written in Sephardic square script with Tiberian pointing and the commentaries in Sephardic semi-cursive script. Written in the inner and outer margins is the text of the Targum, and in the upper and lower margins, the biblical commentaries of Rashi, D. Kimḥi, and Ibn Gershon. The copyist uses brown ink for the biblical text. But the text of the Targum, some of the commentaries, as well as the pointing are written in darker, almost black, ink (see pl. V).

The manuscript has no decorations except a small, very simple pen drawing that appears in the following places: on fol. 135r, indicating the *haftarah* for the *parašah* שמני (Lev 9:1-11:47), on fol. 171r, indicating the *haftarah* for the *parašah* ויהי(Gen 47:28–50:26); on fol. 174v (1 Kings 3:15), indicating the *haftarah* for the *parašah* מקץ (Gen 41:1–44:17); on fol. 183r (1 Kings 7:51), indicating the *haftarah* for the *parašah* פקודי (Exod 38:21–40:38); and on fol. 180v surrounding the sign of the *parašah* (1 Kings 7:13), although in general the *parašiyyot* are not marked. Another marker appears on fol. 256r (2 Kings 23:1), indicating the *haftarah* for the second day of Passover. On fol. 46v, the first word of a paragraph from the commentary of Ralbag on the Song of Deborah is decorated in the Islamic style.

The colophon occupies the bottom part of a column of text on fol. 262v and is written in a Sephardic semi-cursive script. It indicates that the copy was completed on Sunday, the fifth day of the month of *Sivan* of the year 1487, and was copied in Segovia by Abraham Alabit. The date is given by means of citing Gen 17:5 ("No longer will you be called Abram; your name will be Abraham, for I have made you a father of many nations"). The colophon states:

נשלם זה הספר על ידי החתום למטה פה העיר שקביא ביום ראשון חמישה
ימים לחדש סיון שנת לא יקרא עוד שמך אברם והיה שמך אברהם כי לאב
המון גויים נתתיך [=רמ"ז] [אב]רהם אלאבית

The contents of the manuscripts is as follows: Josh (fols. 1–40r); Judg (fols. 40r–77r); 1 Sam (fols. 77r–127v); 2 Sam (fols. 127v–168r); 1 Kings (fols. 168r–216v); 2 Kings (fols. 216v–262r). There are no *parašiyyot* or *sedarim* indications. Sometimes the beginning of a *haftarah* is indicated in the margin, as

in 1 Kings 3:15 or the cases already mentioned in the section on the manuscript's decoration.

The codex has some notes, such as the following on fol. 262 after the colophon:

בילא"ו ברוך נותן ליעף כח ולאין אונים עצמה ירבה

Later, also on fol. 262v, there is a note of sale in Sephardic cursive script, quoting the name of Eliel bar Rabi Yeshua as owner of the manuscript in the year 1495 (or 1500)[32] and the city of Tremecen, in North Africa:

קנין כספי אני עלאל (*sic*) ב"ר ישועה ס"ט בן סידון שנת מה נאוו על ה'ה'ר'י'ם' רגלי המבשר[ישעיה 52:7] [1495] או 1500] המקום ברחמין יזכנו אנו ובנינו לקרות בו ולהגות עד סוף כל הדורות ... תלמסאן [פעמים]

The part that is scratched out and almost illegible seems to repeat: קנין כספי אני... ...

Below, in the center of the page, is a rather indistinct note of sale by a certain Yiṣḥaq Cohen: קניתיו אני יצחק כהן בתשעה ושלשים [...]

On fol. 39r, a note a half line long in the lower left margin in Sephardic cursive reads: התועלות המגיעים מזה הספור הם אלו

The binding of the manuscript is modern, probably from the 18th century, in leather that has faded to light brown, over cardboard, with two very slightly embossed frames, the spine with raised bands.

Textual Characteristics

The biblical text is written in Sephardic square script with very clean lines and clears pointing. The text includes some erasures and corrections made by the scribe himself—generally of *plene* or defective readings—which are easily spotted. Sometimes, a word that had been omitted is added by a second hand in the margin, as happens on fol. 119v, where the word רגלי is added at 1 Sam. 25:41. This is the same hand that occasionally indicates the *qeré*. There is a third, later hand that adds three words in Josh. 11:15 (fol. 18v), which are written vertically in the left margin of the text column and which are enclosed in a simple decoration, as if to draw the attention of the reader. The text of 2 Sam. 15:16 is missing. The scribe elongates the last letter of the line to fill in the remaining space, even letters that are not usually elongated, such as the *'ayin*. Elsewhere, he compresses the letters in order to make space for an entire word, or, less frequently, he writes the letter *yod* to fill

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[32] The year could be 1495 if the first *he* is the millennium (5000), but if it is לפרט קטן, it is possible that the millennium is not expressed and we would have to add the two *he*, in which case it would be 1500.

in the space remaining in the line. There are sporadic textual corrections, as on fol. 181r, 1 Kings 7, where three lines have been scratched out and the text is written over the erasure. The text of the Targum[33] is written in the right and left margins of the biblical text, in a square script of smaller size, and is vocalized (without accents).

In the manuscript, the *rafeh* is frequently placed on the *begadkefat* letters. It not only includes the two verses of Josh. 21:36–37 but also repeats them in unvocalized, consonantal form. בית־אל is written as two words, for example in Josh 8:9; 9:16; 12:7 and 12:9. יששכר is pointed with a *dageš* in the *sim*, following the reading of BA, as in Josh. 19:17. בן־נון is pointed with a *dageš* in the *nun*, following the tradition of BN, as in Josh 1:1; 2:1; 2:23; and 21:1. The extraordinary points in Samuel are written in the customary way (2 Sam. 19:20), with no other marks.

The manuscript rarely uses *meteg*, even before the *ḥatef sewá*, as can be seen in the following cases:

Josh 19:23	נַחֲלַת	1 Sam 16:21	וַיֶּאֱהָבֵהוּ
2 Sam 21:3	אֶעֱשֶׂה		

And usually the *dageš* is not placed in a consonant following a guttural with a *šewá*, as happens in:

2 Sam 24:5	יַעְזֵר	Josh 21:3	מִגְרְשֵׁיהֶן
Judg 18:9	מֵחְשִׁים	2 Kings 9:21	וַיֶּאְסֹר

Nor in the first letter of a word preceded by the same letter:

2 Kings 12:5	עַל לֵב	Judg 9:2	אִם מְשׁוֹל
Judg 8:10	אִישׁ שְׁלַף		

When a consonant with a simple *šewá* is followed by the same consonant, the *šewá* is not replaced by a *ḥatef pataḥ*:

1 Kings 8:35	וְהִתְפַּלְלוּ	1 Kings 8:33	וְהִתְחַנְנוּ
2 Kings 19:32	סֹלְלוּ		

4. Kennicott 6[34]

The manuscript consists of fragments of the Former Prophets, in a single codicological unit, the work of an unknown copyist, dated in Sepharad in the 15th century. It has III+96+III fols., being its measures 265x215mm, (text block 180x155 mm), without blank folios.

It is written on parchment of medium quality and medium thickness roughly polished, with some corrosion due to moisture, but in general does not hinder legibility. Fol. 96 has a tear in the upper right corner that cuts off the first word on fol. 96r and the last one on the first line of the verso. A few other folios present tears or holes due to defects in the parchment that do not affect the text (fols. 57, 66, 74, 85, 94), although others do make reading difficult (fol. 96, fol. 15 in photo, fol. 12). The two sides of the parchment are very different and the manuscript conforms to Gregory's Law.

The codex is distributed in 12 quires of 8 folios, in highly regular composition: 8^{12}. Catchwords appear on the lower left corner of each folio in a later, Sephardic semi-cursive script, although some are absent, having been cut off during binding. The numbering of quires is written in Hebrew, probably by the scribe, in the upper right corner; it is not correlative due to the lacunas in the manuscript. Modern pagination in Arabic numerals in pencil has been added. The titles of the biblical books is written at the top of the recto of each folio, in a Latin script that is later than the one used for the book titles, indications of the biblical book and the chapter, with frequent errors. In the upper margin, the beginning of each fragment is indicated in English. The text of the Hebrew Bible is written on lines, usually 20, running the full width of the page in Sephardic square script with Tiberian pointing. Dark brown ink has been used for the biblical text and slightly lighter ink for the pointing. Drypoint ruling is barely visible on the recto side of the folios, with horizontal lines. The pricking is not visible (see pl. VI).

The manuscript lacks Masorahs; there are only some *qeré* readings indicated in the MP, in a lighter ink and a different hand from the text. The codex has no decorations, save some small pen drawings in the margins framing the words חצי ספר in the middle of the book (fol. 15v) and around the only *seder* marking in the manuscript, on fol. 5v. There is also a drawing that is repeated in some margins, for no apparent reason (e. g. 80v or 31v). It lacks colophon, date, and copyist. There are no markings for *parašiyyot* or *sedarim* except in one place: Josh. 19:50. A later hand marks the middle of each book in the mar-

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[34] Former signatures: Codex Kenn 86. V. Dip-p-373 N.2330. Kenn 6. N. 2330. Catalogues: NEUBAUER 2330.

gin, as for instance in the book of Judges (fol. 15v) or in 1 Samuel (fol. 35v). Only some of the *haftarot* are marked.

The contents is as follows: Josh 15:7–22:29 (fols. 1r–8v); Judg 5:26–11:20 (fols. 9r–16v) and 19:18–21:25 (fols. 17r–20r); 1 Sam 1:1–14:4 (fols. 20v–32v) and 26:4–31:13 (fols. 33r–37v); 2 Sam 1:1–24:25 (fols. 37v–65v); 1 Kings 1:1–22:8 (fols. 65v–96v).

The manuscript present some notes, as in fol. 17r: Judicum cap. 19, pars posterior versus 18 or in fol. 39v: Mat 18 In thy name will I put my trust. I suppose my purpose will not be amiss to mention with […] ardour, with impulsion of mind. Holy […] put their trust in.

The binding is modern, probably from the 18th century, using cardboard and marbled paper in reddish, light-blue and yellow tones, though very faded.

Textual Characteristics

The manuscript presents a uniform text produced by a single copyist to which words that were omitted when the text was copied are added by other hands in the margins. To fill the lines, the manuscript often employs the technique of compressing the last word, but some letters are also elongated, and frequently the letter *yod* is written at the end of the line.

At the end of each biblical book there is a verse count. In Judg 21:19 (fol. 20r) there is a note above the words שלו, מזרחה, שכמה בת־אל, including in the margin a highly schematic diagram, partially cut off by the binding. Similar diagrams, such as the Temple drawings, appear in manuscripts of Rashi's commentaries on this passage concerning the location of Shiloh.[35]

In the manuscript, the *rafeh* is placed on the *begadkefat* letters and on the *alef*. The *dageš* is not placed in the *nun* in בן־נון, as can be seen in Josh 17:4 (fol. 2v), in Josh 19:19 and 50 (fol. 5v) or in Josh 21:1 (fol. 6r). Also, יששכר is pointed following the tradition of BA, with a *dageš* in the first *sim* (Josh 19:17, fol. 5v) and בית־אל is written as two words, as in Judg 20:31 (fol. 18v).

Meteg is rarely used, even before *ḥatef šewá*, as can be seen in the following cases:

2 Sam 6:1 (fol. 43r)	לְהַעֲחות	2 Sam 2:21 (fol. 39v)	וְאֶחז
1 Kings 21:11 (fol. 95v)	וַיַעֲשו		

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[35] See M. T. Ortega-Monasterio, «Un solo manuscrito en dos bibliotecas: el comentario de Raši a la biblia», *Babelao* 2 (2013), p. 135.

When a consonant with a *šewá* is followed by the same consonant, the *šewá* is not replaced by a *ḥatef pataḥ*, as in:

1 Kings 7:24 (fol. 74v)   סְבִים   1 Kings 8:33 (fol. 77r)   והתחנְנו

1 Kings 8:35 (fol. 77r)   ויתפלְלו

The *dageš* is not placed in a consonant following a guttural with a *šewá*:

1 Kings 1:7 (fol. 65v)   ויעְזרו   1 Kings 5:3 (fol. 71r)   ויחְמור

1 Kings 10:3 (fol. 80r)   ונעְלם

Nor in the first letter of a word preceded by the same letter:

1 Kings 2:4 (fol. 67v)   בכל־לבבם   1 Kings 2:5 (fol. 67v)   בן־נר

1 Kings 2:32 (fol. 68v)   וטבים ממנו

This Bible was used for religious readings and has some annotations in a later cursive script indicating feast days and certain weeks (לשבוע שני, לחג ...).

5. Kenicott 7[36]

The manuscript is constituted by two codicological units. The Hebrew text corresponds to fragments of the Prophets, beginning with Isa. 39:2 up to the end of Ezekiel except for Ezek 13:2–37:19 and Minor Prophets, copied by Israel ha-Sofer ibn R. Yiṣḥaq ibn Israel, the Sephardi[37] and dated in Toledo in 1222. It has II+248+II fols., of which 1–29 and 143–178 are paper, being its dimensions 255x225 mm. (text block: 215x200 mm, including the Masorah). The blank folios are all in paper section (29v, 143r–178v). Folio 142 bis (unnumbered) is missing, but its stub remains. The last folio, number 248, is ripped down the middle.

It is written in parchment and paper, being the former of high quality and medium thickness, with no major deterioration except some moisture stains that affect the legibility of the colophon. The manuscript conforms to Gregory's Law.

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[36] Former signatures: Kenn. 7, N. 2331. Catalogues: NEUBAUER 2331.

[37] Ms. Parma 2445 (nº 1346 of Richler's catalogue, p. 373) mentions one Israel Ha-Sofer as the scribe of a single folio (1347-6). He is also cited in the Sassoon catalogue, p. 2, with a reference to ZUNZ, *Zur Geschichte und Literatur*, p. 425, and in the *Kiryat Sefer* by Menahem ha-Meirí, Izmir edition, 1865, 8d. Israel Ha-Sofer is also the same scribe who penned ms. 44ª in the Jewish Theological Seminary of New York, Lutzki 44ª, dated Toledo 1241 (*Hil·leli*).

It is distributed in 27 quires of highly irregular composition but predominantly senions, plus 65 paper folios: 29 paper fols.+ $10+8+12+8^3+4+8+10+8+6^4+6^{-1}+36$ paper fols. $+6^2+4+6^4+9+5+6^2+4$.

Quires are unnumbered. Catchwords appear only on the first 54 fols., in a later hand, in the lower left margin. Modern pagination in Arabic numerals in pencil, with an error due to the repetition of a folio before number 155 has been added. The text columns are numbered in Hebrew at the top of each one. It has no book titles. Drypoint ruling is visible on the recto side of the folios, with horizontal and vertical lines, marking the writing grid for the text and Masorah. The pricking is not visible. The hebrew text is written in Sephardic square script, in a large size for the text and a smaller size for the Masorahs with Tiberian pointing and in two columns, each generally of 17 lines. Dark brown ink has been used for the text and lighter ink for the Masorahs and vocalization.

The Masorah *parva* occupies the intercolumnar space, and the Masorah *magna*, which is very scant, occupies one line in the upper margin and another in the lower, though near the end of the manuscript it occupies two lines in the upper and three in the lower.

The manuscript lacks decorations, illuminations, and micrographies with the exception of a marking at the midpoint of the book of Jeremiah surrounded by a simple pen drawing (fol. 90v) and at the midpoint of the book of Minor Prophets (see pl. IX). On fol. 129v there is a verse count for the book of Jeremiah in the form of a rhombus, and another at the end of Ezekiel (fol. 196v). No indications for *parašiyyot* or *sedarim*. No enumeration of chapters or verses. Verse counts at the end of each biblical book, including at the end of each of the Minor Prophets (see pl. VII).

On fol. 248r, difficult to decipher due to moisture damage, appears the colophon. We can gather from it that the scribe, Israel ha-Sofer ibn R. Yiṣḥaq ibn Israel, the Sephardi, copied the complete Bible, though only the fragments bound together here remain. He writes:

אני ישראל הסופר בר יצחק ס"ט בן ישראל כתבתי ערבעה ספרי נביאים
האחרונים בעזרת ארון האדונים עם יתר ארבעה ועשרים בארבעה ספרים
לר[...] הכהן ש"צ בר' יהודה הכהן רית" [...]וצוה לחקור דקדוקים ולחקר
לכל אשר אזן [...]ר האל יחייהו ויזכהו להגות בם ולקרות ולשמור ולעשות
הוא ובניו ובני בניו עד סוף כל הדורות כן יהי רצון וסיימתים במתא טליטלה
בירח אלול שנת ד אלפים ותתקפב לבריאת עולם ישע יקרב

The contents of the manuscript is as follows: Reflections on the manuscript and lists of readings and variants of the same in English (fols. 1r–29v); Isa 39:2–66:24 (fols. 30r–54v); Jer 1:1–

52:34 (fols. 54v–129v); Ezek 1:1–48:35 (fols. 129v–196v); Hosea 1:1–Mal 3:24 (fols. 197r–247v).

The manuscript has some notes. At the end of the biblical text (fol. 247v) there is a text in another hand in a simpler square script, with a drawing signed by Yiṣḥaq Ḥadida.[38] The text is written at the beginning in judeo-spanish and later in Hebrew and is of the kind seen in the contents of amulets, and the side drawing is also of the same type used in the decoration of amulets. The text mentions blessings on who returns the book, on Mordecai, Esther, and all of Israel and maledictions against who steal the book, against Haman and the wicked. The text is difficult to read because it is blurry and because of moisture damage to the manuscript:

אישטי ליברו איש די יצחק חדידה קיין שלי פרטאירי ארור הוא ביום ובלילה
קיין של בולבירי ברוך הוא ביום ובלילה ארור המן ברוך מרדכי ארורה יורש
ברוכה אסתר אורורים? הרשעים ברוך כל ישראל וגם הר? בונה וכח לטוב
אליהו והביא יצחק חדידה

On fol. 248v there is a note, probably related to a sale, in Sephardic cursive, which is illegible due to damage. According to the Neubauer catalogue, it mentions the year 1376 and the name of a witness, Moseh ha Cohen ben Yehoshua.

The manuscript is bounded in brown leather, with a small, very simple embossed frame, probably from the 17th century. The spine has raised bands.

Textual Characteristics

The English text is written in pen with brown ink and in a meticulous hand. It contains hand-written notes on the Hebrew text of the manuscript: it takes some words or passages from the Hebrew, arranges them by biblical book, and presents variants for vocalization and accentuation. The references or Masorahs in Hebrew are written in a square script and very fine handwriting. Fol. 1v says:

"This manuscript was presented to me by the Revd. Mr. Isaac Netto, on the 20th of August 1770. Mr. Netto bought it when at Tetuan in Barbary, of a boy carrying it to a box in the Sinagogue called גניזה where all fragments of holy writings are preserved, lest they should chance to be put to improper uses. A short time after, I employed Mr. Isaac Luria carefully to compare the said MS with the best printed edition of the Hebrew Bible, which is supposed to be that printed in Amsterdam in the

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[38] This could be a descendant of Abraham ibn Judah Ḥadida, a 15th-century Spanish Talmud scholar and author of an unpublished commentary on Ecclesiastes and Esther ("Cat. De Rossi", No. 177, Parma 2211, nº 685, 3 in the Richler catalogue).

year 1667. The following are the variations he found; the observations thereon have been approved by the Revd. Mr. Netto."

From this we can deduce that the text was written by Kennicott himself. Following the text above, there is a translation of the manuscript's colophon, a list of the fragments it contains, and some general observations about the manuscript, mostly regarding pointing of the Hebrew and ways to write certain words. Beginning on fol. 3v and continuing up to fol. 29r is a list of variants. In some cases, there are comparisons with the readings of the Athias Bible, as the note above mentions. But Kennicott alludes to the 1667 edition: most likely he is referring to the date the edition was already begun, since it was not completed until 1679. In fact, the original collations of some of the manuscripts from the Bibliothèque Impériale de Paris with the Athias Bible are bound in the Bodleian Library under the signature Ms. Kennicott d.19.

The lists of variants are on fols. 3v–29v. They are arranged according to biblical book and always indicate the word to which they refer according to the reading of the manuscript, the column of the manuscript where the word appears (using Arabic and Hebrew numbering), the reading offered by the printed Bible used by Luria, the vocalization or masoretic note, and a personal opinion, if there is one. Sometimes it is clearly stated that the text of the manuscript is correct, as on fol. 5v, in reference to the word וייראו in Isa. 59:19, explaining that it is the root 'to fear' not 'to see.' Also, on fol. 12v, for the word מביאים in Jer. 33:11, it says that the manuscript is correct, pointing out that the Masorah marks this word as an exception to the rule. However, the text of L is defective and lacks the Masorah: מבאים, just like the text of the printed edition with which the manuscript is being compared. Moreover, a little further down on the same folio, in reference to the word הרבעית in Jer. 36:1, it says that the manuscript has the correct reading because the root of the word is רבע, and when written *plene*, if a *yod* must be omitted, it should be the first. However, in L it is written in the opposite way, הרביעת, with no Masorah (see pl. X).

Elsewhere, it says that the text of the manuscript is incorrect and that, by contrast, the printed edition has the correct one. For example, on fol. 3v, regarding the word נועץ in Isa. 40:14, the manuscript vocalizes the ָע and notes that this vocalization is very strange since the *qameṣ* is not found at the end of a word if it is not in pause (with *atnaḥ* or *sof pasuq*), which is not the case here. Many of the cases that are indicated as erroneous readings in the manuscript are related to clear mistakes made by the scribe, such as switching one letter for another, as on fol. 15v, regarding the word שובבים in Jer. 50:6, where the scribe has written a פ instead of a ב; or on fol. 16v, where it is noted that a ו is missing at the beginning of the word העמודעם in Jer.

52:21, adding that the error was taken from the previous verse, where the word does not take the conjunction. In other places, a commentator is cited, as on fol. 13v, where it says that שר סכים in Jer. 39:3 is written as two words whereas in L and the rest of the manuscripts, it is written as one, adding that the Kennicott manuscript is wrong and directing the reader to Radaq's commentary on this text.

The Hebrew text of the Bible is written in a large, very clear and meticulous Sephardic square script. The filling out of lines is done through the technique of elongating some letters or repeating a letter at the end of a line, usually a *yod*. Sometimes, the last word is compressed. The pointing is done, as is customary, in lighter ink, as are the Masorahs. There is a very infrequent second hand in the Masorah, as on fol. 76v, which is also very meticulous, of a somewhat larger size, and which in this case completes the Masorah for the entire page. We can even find a third, much later hand, which indicates some cases of *qeré*, as on fol. 112v.

The manuscript rarely uses *meteg*. Examples can be found at:

Isa 58:2 (fol. 44v)	תִּשְׁקְלוּ־	MP	מתחלף תשקלו־
Jer 5:5 (fol. 60r)	אֵלְכָה־	MP	אֵלֵכָה־ מתחלף
Jer 20:9 (fol. 79v)	כַּלְכֵל	MP	כַּלְכֵל מתחלף
Jer 49:28 (fol. 122r)	ולממלכות	MP	מתחלף ולממלכות

In these cases, the reading of L coincides with that offered as a variant in the manuscript. Elsewhere, the variants concern accentuation, as in:

Isa 60:17 (fol. 49r)	אָבִיא (2nd)	MP	מתחלף אביא
Ezek 39:17 (fol. 181v)	תָּיתְמוֹשׁ	MP	תיתמוש

In these cases, the reading of L coincides with that of the manuscript.

The manuscript rarely uses *meteg* even before a *ḥatef šewá*, as can be seen in the following cases:

Isa 43:14 (fol. 34v)	בָּאֳנִיּוֹת	Isa 44:3 (fol. 35r)	צֶאֱצָאֶיךָ
Jer 12:5 (fol. 69r)	תתַחֲרֶה		

A *dageš* is usually not placed in a consonant following a guttural with a *šewá*:

Jer 6:5 (fol. 61v)	ארמנותיה	Jer 11:19 (fol. 69v)	ונכרתנו
Jer 31:35 (fol. 96r)	מֵהְיוֹת		

Nor in the first letter of a word preceded by the same letter:

Jer 31:31 (fol.   להוציאם מארץ   Jer 31:36 (fol. 96r)   שמים מלמעה
96r)

Jer 3:16 (fol. 58r)   על עב

Nor is the *šewá* replaced by a *ḥatef pataḥ* when a consonant with a simple *šewá* is followed by the same consonant, as in Jer 29:7 (fol. 91v) והתפללו.

The Masorah *parva* quite frequently uses the word מתחלף to indicate that there is a reading commonly found in other manuscripts but different from the one offered in the text. There are numerous cases of this throughout the text, and almost all of them concern the inclusion of *meteg*. The systematic treatment of this issue in the masoretic language implies that the use of *meteg* was a problem of special concern to the masorete. For example, in two places on fol. 180v: for הַאַתה (Ezek 38:17), the MP says: מתחלף הַאתה; and for וְרעשו (Ezek 38:20), the MP says: וְרֶעשו.

Sometimes the differences between Eastern and Western codices are cited, as on fol. 39v, in Isa 49:5. The MP for יצרי explains: למדנח כת יוצרי. The expression פלוגתא is also used to indicate that there are divergent readings, as on fol. 39v, Isa 49:5, with respect to the word לא. The MP indicates the *qeré* לו and also says: פליג עלוי.

The MP indicates the middle verse of the Bible on fol. 61v, Jer 6:6. Curiously, on one occasion the MP has only vowels with accents, without the consonants, on fol. 108v, Jer 39:3, beside the words סמגר־נבו.

Model Codices

The notes in the Masorah *parva* of the manuscript sometimes mention model codices. The *Codex Babli* appears only two times, one of them in combination with the *Codex Muggah*:

Jer 7:28 (fol. 64r)	מפיהם	MP	בבבלי מפיהם
Jer 29:22 (fol. 92v)	וכאהב	MP	בבבלי וכאחיו בשטה

The *Codex Muggah* is quoted four times, including the one in which the *Codex Babli* is also mentioned:

Isa 40:10 (fol. 30v)	משלָה	MP	במוגה משלָה
Jer 4:30 (fol. 60r)	שָׁני	MP	במוגה שָׁני
Jer 16:26 (fol. 76v)	ומביאי	MP	ל ובמוגה מבאי חס
Jer 29:22 (fol. 92v)	וכאהב	MP	(*sic*) בבבלי וכאחיו מוגה בשטה

The most frequently cited model codex by far is the *Codex Hilleli*, appearing twelve times:

Reference	MP		L	
Jer 13:17 (fol. 71v)	עיני	MP	כן בהללי עיני	L	עיני
Jer 28:12 (fol. 91r)	ירמיה	MP	בהללי ירמיה דגש	L	ירמיה
Jer 31:1 (fol. 94r)	אהיֶה	MP	בהללי אהיֶה קמ	L	אהיֶה
Jer 31:34 (fol. 96r)	למקטנם	MP	בהללי בלא דגש הקוף	L למקטנם
Jer 38:22 (fol. 108r)	מוצאוֹת	MP	בהללי מוצווּת	L מוצאוֹת
Jer 46:17 (fol. 117v)	הֶעֱביר	MP	כן נקוד בהללי עֶ	L	הֶעֱביר
Jer 51:31 (fol. 126v)	מקצה	MP	ובהללי מקצה בלא דג	L	מקצה
Ezek 9:6 (fol. 138v)	ובתולה	MP	בהללי ונתולה (*sic*)	L	ובתולה
Ezek 41:5 (fol. 185r)	הצלֶָע (*pm* לֶ)	MP	בההחי הצלע פת	L	הצלֶָע
Ezek 48:18 (fol. 196r)	תבואתה	MP	בהללי תבוא דגש תֶּו	L	תבואתה
Hosea 5:2 (fol. 199v)	ושַחטה	MP	בהללי ושַחטה (*sic*)	L	ושַחטה
Mic 1:10 (fol. 219v)	לְעַפְרָה	MP	לְעַפְרָה בהללי (*sic*)	L	לְעַפְרָה
Mic 1:14 (fol. 219v)	לאַכזב	MP	כן נקוד בהיל אָ	L	לאַכזב
Nah. 2:1 (fol. 224v)	הִנֵּה	MP	בהללי הִנֵּה (*sic*)	L	הִנֵּה
Zeph. 2:14 (fol. 230r)	קָאַת	MP	בהללי קָאַת	L	קָאַת
Zech. 13:1 (fol. 243r)	לחַטַּאת	MP	בהללי פת	L	לחַטַּאת

In this list, there are two places where the reading of the MP is marked *sic* due to the fact that it does not differ at all from the text (Hosea 5:2 and Mic 1:10). Perhaps the masorete merely wished to emphasize that this was the correct reading. The other two passages with *sic* (Ezek 9:6 and Nah 2:1) are thus marked because the reading proposed for the *Codex Hilleli* is not possible. In Jer. 13:17 the pointing in the manuscript differs

from that of L, but its reading is documented by the model codex.

The similarities between this manuscript and ms. 44ª at the JTS in New York are many, not only in the arrangement and graphic aspects, but also in the importance given to the readings of the *Codex Hilleli*, as we saw above.

Final Remarks

Following the study of the Sephardic Bibles in the Kennicott collection (with the exception of Ms. Kennicott 1, as was noted above), we can state that, although it is not a unified collection, taken together the Kennicott Bibles provide an excellent sampling of biblical manuscripts of high textual quality. It is clear that Kennicott collected a greater number of Sephardic Bibles, probably because of the good reputation that the texts of these Bibles enjoyed. His primary objective was a critical edition of the Hebrew text of the Bible and this is demonstrated by the numerous collations among different manuscripts he made during his trips to European libraries. The textual research on the Bibles reveals that the majority of the codices preserves the pristine textual tradition of Ben Asher and confirms once again the accuracy of the Sephardic texts. The manuscripts in this collection contain notes and other evidence of direct work with these texts, especially in the case of Kennicott 7. The Bodleian Library has preserved an exceptional collection tied to the work of one of the early librarians and Hebraists, thanks to which we are also able to observe the working methods and the research interests of the biblical scholars of his time.

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http://sfardata.nli.org.il

Abbreviations

BA   Ben Asher

BN   Ben Naphtali

BHS   Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia

BL   British Library

BnF   Bibliothèque National de France

Bodl   Bodleian Library

L   Leningrad Codex, manuscript B19a, Public Library, Saint Petersburg

MM   Masorah Magna

MP   Masorah Parva

M1   Manuscript M1 (118-Z-42), Library of the Universidad Complutense, Madrid

Parm   Palatina Library in Parma

pm   *prima manu*

Abstract

Benjamin Kennicott (1718-1783), important Hebraist and librarian at the Radcliffe Library, gathered a number of Hebrew Bible manuscripts, kept nowadays in the Bodleian library. It is a collection of nine bibles, being seven of them of Sephardic origin; only two were copied in Ashkenaz and one in Italy. Until the present days, the only complete catalogue of those manuscripts is Neubauer's, dated in 1886, which obviously does not include codicological aspects. The present work is focused in a detailed study of the bibles in this collection copied in the Iberian Peninsula, excluding the famous Kennicott Bible (Ms. Kenn 1), which has been already described and studied. The work on each manuscript is two folded: the first part corresponds to the description and in the second part textual aspects of the manuscript are presented.

Key words

Hebrew Bible, Hebrew text, Sephardic manuscripts

PLATES

Pl. 1.- Bodleian Library, Ms. Kennicott 9, f. 1v

Pl. 2.- Bodleian Library, Ms. Kennicott 2, f. 76r

Pl. 3.- Bodleian Library, Ms. Kennicott 2, f. 76r, *parašah* sign

Pl. 4.- Bodleian Library, Ms. Kennicott 4, f. 86r

Pl. 5.- Bodleian Library, Ms. Kennicott 5, f. 22v

Pl. 6.- Bodleian Library, Ms. Kennicott 6, f. 5v

Pl. 7.- Bodleian Library, Ms. Kennicott 7, f. 90v

(With permission of the Keeper of Special Collections of the Bodleian Library, Letter 4th February 2016)

(Pl. 1)

(Pl. 2)

(Pl. 3)

(Pl. 4)

(Pl. 5)

XX, 1

Josh. 20.7.

(Pl. 6)

(Pl. 7)

Constructing Syriac in Latin – Establishing the Identity of Syriac in the West over a Century and a Half (c.1550-c.1700)

An Account of Grammatical and Extra-Linguistic Determinants

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The precise definition of Syriac no doubt remains in some sense a work in progress, but for a real, though naturally not absolute, sense of a distinct and separate identity for Syriac early Western scholars were ultimately dependent upon native speakers and native texts[1]. But at the beginning of the Sixteenth Century neither of these was available in large measure and in consequence there were considerable difficulties in establishing a precise notion of Syriac. Moreover, in time, na-

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[1] JOHN F. HEALEY, "Syriac" in Stefan WENINGER ET AL. (eds.), *The Semitic Languages An International Handbook* (HSK36: De Gruyter, Berlin 2011), p. 637-652 and FRANÇOISE BRIQUEL-CHATONNET, "Syriac as the Language of Eastern Christianity", *ibid* p. 652-659. WERNER STROTHMANN, *Die Anfänge der Syrischen Studien in Europa* (Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 1971). RICCARDO CONTINI, "Gli inizi della linguistica siriaca nell' Europa rinascimento", *Revista degli Studi Orientali* 68 (1994) p. 15-30. For Aramaic generally, KLAUS BEYER, *The Aramaic Language Its Distribution and Subdivision* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 1986).

tive speakers themselves brought their own traditional views of
the age and features of the language which were not entirely
accurate. Further, there was lacking an exact and agreed termi-
nology which might have helped a measured and precise
placement of Syriac within Aramaic. There was, of course, the
indisputable *similarity* of Syriac to earlier forms of Aramaic
with which Christian scholars were becoming familiar—
biblical Aramaic, targumic Aramaic[2], the language of the
Mishnah and Talmuds[3] and finally, with Postel, the Aramaic of
later Jewish works like the Zohar but achieving further distinc-
tion was difficult[4]. These varieties are now properly seen as

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[2] Targums translated into Latin in the Sixteenth Century appeared in two
distinctly different kinds of publications; polyglot bibles and small anno-
tated editions, usually of single books for use as textbooks. A targum was
published as part of Agostino Giustiniani's *Psalterium hebraeum, graecum,
arabicum et chaldaeum,* Genoa, 1516. Giustiniani provided not only the
targumic text of the Psalms but also a Latin translation. Cardinal Jimenez
spent about 50,000 gold ducats on preparing the text of his Complutensian
Polyglot (1514-1517) for printing. The editors provided *Targum Onqelos* in
Aramaic and a facing Latin translation. The Antwerp Polyglot Bible contai-
ned targums to nearly every book of the Hebrew Bible, with facing Latin
translation by Benito Arias Montano, the editor-in-chief, himself. Volume
VIII also included Franz Raphelengius's collation of variant readings in the
Targums.

[3] It was very difficult for any sixteenth-century Christian scholar to study
Talmud without a Jewish guide. For want of which, Wolfgang Capito gave
his Talmud to Conrad Pellican in Zurich in 1526. Pellican was helped from
1538-1540 by a Jewish convert Michael Adam and between them they pro-
duced a Latin version of seventeen tractates from both Talmuds, but this
remained in manuscript. Pellican's motives were explicitly apologetic.
(CHRISTOPH ZURICHER, *Konrad Pellikans Wirken in Zurich, 1526-1556*
(Züricher Beitrage zur Reformationsgeschichte 4 (Theologischer Verlag,
Zürich 1975) p. 169-74, 190-91.) Those few Christians who were not Jewish
converts involved in the censorship of the Talmud similarly had to learn
from those with a Jewish formation. Immanuel Tremellius (a convert) was
involved in the censorship of the Basel Talmud between 1578 and 1580. His
former student from the University of Heidelberg, Pierre Chevalier was also
involved. A third censor Marius Marinus, the papal inquisitor of Venice.
Marinus had first learned Hebrew from Pablo Veneto, a Jewish convert and
a fellow Augustinian in the Congregation of S. Salvator of Brescia. Later
Marinus was further instructed by Samuel Archevolti in Venice at the same
time that young Leon Modena studied with him. See FAUSTO PARENTE,
"The Index, The Holy Office, The Condemnation of the Talmud and Publi-
cation of Clement VIII's Index" in GIGLIOLA FRAGNITO, *Church, Cen-
sorship and Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge University Press,
2001) p. 171-72. Johannes Coccejus and Constantijn L'Empereur in the
early Seventeenth Century began to use of the Talmud as a source for un-
derstanding the Bible; P. T. VAN ROODEN, *Theology, Biblical Scholarship,
and Rabbinic Studies* (E. J. Brill, Leiden 1989) p. 119-30, 179-82.

[4] Postel described the language of the Zohar which he believed to have
been compiled by Simon ben Iochai as: *Chaldaica sive vulgaris syriaca*, F.
SECRET*, Le Zohar chez les Kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance*
(Librairie Durlacher, Paris 1958) p. 57. I observe Postel's promiscuous use
of *lingua Chaldaica* to cover Targumic, Talmudic and Zoharic Aramaic as

different dialects of Aramaic separated by time and space. But initially it was the observation of obvious similarity which *faute de mieux* guided understanding of what we now call Syriac. Scholars needed the similarity for explanation and understanding: they were possessed of insufficient data clearly to mark the necessary distinctions between the dialects. The tenth-century Syriac-Arabic dictionary of Abu'l Hassan ibn al-Bahul distinguished sixteen Syriac dialects: by the end of our period Western scholars managed three or possibly four[5].

The initial context of the study of Syriac lay thus in Christian Aramaic studies, which began in the late Fifteenth Century in Italy and Spain and developed thereafter North of the Alps[6].

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well as Syriac in ROBERT J. WILKINSON, *Orientalism, Aramaic and Kabbalah in the Catholic Reformation* (E. J. Brill, Leiden 2007) p. 104-105. For a modern characterization of Zoharic Aramaic: ADA RAPOPORT-ALBERT and THEODORE KWASMAN "Late Aramaic: The Literary and Linguistic Context of the Zohar", *Aramaic Studies* 4 (2006), p. 5-19; YEHUDA LIEBES, "Hebrew and Aramaic as Languages of the Zohar", *ibid.*, p. 35-52; CHARLES MOPSIK, "Late Judeo-Aramaic: The Language of Theosophic Kabbalah", *ibid.,* p. 21-33. Postel's Aramaic has now received detailed investigation in the work of JUDITH WEISS, see initially her "The Quality of Guillaume Postel's First Zohar Translation" Academia XV (2013) p. 63-82.

[5] P. J. R. DUVAL, *Lexicon Syriacum auctore Bar-Bahlule Voces syriacas græcasque cum glossis syriacis et arabicis complectens... E pluribus codicibus edidit et notulis instruxit...* (Bovillon et Vieweg, Paris 1888-1901, 3 v. Reprint 1970. 3 vols in 2). Also F. LARSOW, "De Dialectorum Linguae Syriacae Reliquiis", in *Zu der öffentlichen Prüfung der Zölinge des Berlinischen Gymnasiums* (Berlin 1841) p. 1-28.

[6] An excellent summary used here is STEPHEN G. BURNETT, "Christian Aramaism: The Birth and Growth of Aramaic Scholarship in the Sixteenth Century", in (eds.) R. L. TROXEL, K. G. FRIEBEL, D. R. MAGARY, *Seeking out the Wisdom of the Ancients Essays Offered to Michael V. Fox on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake 2005) p. 421-436. On the relative numbers of works printed on Hebrew and Aramaic, he writes: "A comparison of printing statistics for Hebrew and Aramaic philological books written for Christians suggests different markets for each kind of book. Over the course of the century [16th], 852 philological books on Hebrew related topics were printed for Christians, while only 61 were printed that contained substantial information on Aramaic. Of the books that were produced, only three of the authors, Elias Levita, Sanctes Pagninus, and Jean Mercier had their works reprinted, which implies a lack of demand for the titles". Burnett also observes that though Aramaic works were initially mainly sponsored and produced in Catholic Europe, they enjoyed an avid readership amongst Protestant scholars particularly in Germany. In the Seventeenth Century Protestant scholars took the lead in Aramaic scholarship. The article contains valuable quantitative measurement, but does not deal with Syriac. JUDITH OLSZOWY-SCHANGER "The Study of the Aramaic Targums by Christians in Medieval France and England" in (eds.) A. HOUTMAN, E. VAN STAALDUINE-SULMAN, H-M. KIM, *A Jewish Targum in a Christian World* (E.J. Brill, Leiden 2014) p. 223-247 deals with such evidence there is for the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Centuries. The same collection includes a useful article by Burnett "The Targum in Christian Scholarship to 1800" p. 250-265.

It was a study initially determined to a great extent by patron-
age and the availability of Jewish assistance, but which over a
century came to establish at least a rudimentary apparatus and
rationale for Christian study of the Targums[7]. But though the
knowledge of Aramaic amongst Christians was clearly less than
that of Hebrew, initially the knowledge of Hebrew itself did not
extend to any great extent to post-biblical texts. However it is
initially to Christian Aramaism as a context for the developing
appreciation of 'Syriac' that we now turn.

1. Christian Aramaism

Sebastian Münster and the Lingua Chaldaica

The Christian Hebraists' grasp of earlier Aramaic had as it
strong foundation the erudition of the German-born Jewish
scholar and grammarian Elias Levita (1468-1549) who enjoyed
the patronage of Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo in Rome. Elias
worked with Egidio's encouragement on the Hebrew Massorah
and part of his work was presented in his *Meturgeman*. This is
a remarkable dictionary of biblical and targumic Aramaic in-
tended specifically for Christian readers which because of its
arrangement can be used as a Hebrew-Aramaic or an Aramaic-
Hebrew Lexicon[8]. It has over 500 citations from *Yerushalmi*
and made use of *Neofiti I*. It surpassed in scope and design its
rival, the *'Aruk* of R. Nathan of Rome, which it had plundered,
adding numerous Greek and Latin loan words from the Tar-
gum: it dealt with more than 3,300 'roots'. Paul Fagius, Elias'
former student, provided a shorter printed version in his [*Me-
thurgeman*] *Lexicon Chaldaicum authore Elia Levita* (Paul
Fagius, Isny 1541).

Earlier, in 1527, Sebastian Münster (1489-1552), the
Protestant Professor of Hebrew at the University of Heidelberg,
had expressed his indebtedness to Elias Levita in matters of
Hebrew in the preface of his 1527 *Chaldaica Grammatica*
(Froben, Basel 1527)[9]. He then turned to speak of *lingua Chal-
daica* or *Syriaca*. His title-page suggests his modest aspirations

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[7] Patronage was important: Pagninus enjoyed papal support as did Car-
dinal Jimenez and Agostino Giustiniani who both dedicated their works to
Pope Leo X. David de Pomis dedicated his *Zemach David* to Pope Sixtus V.

[8] DEENA ARANOFF, "Elijah Levita: A Jewish Hebraist", *Jewish History*
23 (2009) p. 17-40 comments on the stimulus to Levita's work of a Chris-
tian as well as a Jewish readership.

[9] [*Diqduq də Lishon 'Aramî 'ô HaCCasd'ah*] *Chaldaica Grammatica*
(Froben, Basel 1527). Münster learned Hebrew from Conrad Pellican his
superior in the Franciscan order and a Jewish convert Matthaeus Adrianus.
Most of his Aramaic education, however, rather like the study of Hebrew in
the early part of the century, involved personal study, with occasional help
from learned Jews.

in study: *non tam ad Chaldaicos interpres quam hebraeorum commentarios intelligendos, hebraicae linguae studiosis utilissima*. That is to say: to help with Medieval Hebrew Commentators rather than to attempt the Targums. (Though at the end of his book he does offer for translation from the Targums some simple passages close to the Hebrew and supplies a crib.) In a later section of his book, mentioning again the Hebrew Commentators, he refers to their language as both *Chaldaica* and *Syriaca*. He had made his study of the language without suitable tutor or previous grammars to hand and had himself to reduce *farraginem illam in ordine*[10]. He sought to make sense, *cogitans pulcherimum esse, si & lingua haec latinis auribus per certas regulas tradi posset.* He describes his grammatical categories as: *proprietates, modos, tempora, personas, genera, numerum* and elsewhere as: *verborum ordines, conjugationes, personae, tempora, itemque pronomina quae vel nominibus vel verbis adhaerent*. The imposition of grammatical categories upon a language – although those suitable for Latin may not necessarily be most apposite for a very different language – is, of course, a fundamental way of conceiving of or of creating a language's identity.

In his Grammar Münster conceived of the *lingua Chaldaica* or *Syriac* (he also calls it *Assyrian*) as the language closest to the original Hebrew. He is aware of the affinities of Hebrew and Aramaic (indeed he makes his way following this Ariadne's thread) but also draws attention to obvious differences. He is able to trace the language from the Tower of Babel through the dispersion of Noah's sons—in a common Renaissance fashion he identified Noah with Janus—to the language of Rabshakeh before the walls of Jerusalem. It was the Babylonian vulgate in which Daniel had spoken and which was subsequently used to explain Hebrew Scripture. The words often called 'Hebrew' in the Greek New Testament (*hebraisti*) he considers properly *lingua Chaldaica*[11]. He has met a Jew who refers to

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[10] Johannes Buxtorf the Younger wrote a letter, much later around 1635, with advice on beginning the study of post-biblical Aramaic: one must first attain a good knowledge of Aramaic dialects, consult a variety of study aids and purchase Latin translations of the texts—a crib being an invaluable help. See PETER T. VAN ROODEN, *Theology, Biblical Scholarship and Rabbinical Studies in the Seventeenth Century: Constantijn L'Empereur (1591—1648), Professor of Hebrew and Theology at Leiden* (E. J. Brill, Leiden 1989) p. 119.

[11] This will be a repeated topic of discussion. For a modern assessment, PIERRE GRELOT, *L'Origine des Evangiles Controverse avec J. Carmignac* (Cerf, Paris 1986) p. 16. Note that *hebraisti* is used in Revelation 9.11, 16.19 for the transcription of two undoubtedly Hebrew words *Abaddôn* and *Har Magedôn* (in spite of its ending!). It may be used here as merely the opposite of *hellênisti* ('Semitic' or the Judeans' language *cf.* Acts 6) without further intent to specify the language. Note now RANDALL BUTH and CHAD PEARCE "Hebraisti in Ancient Texts : Does *Hebraisti* Ever Mean

the whole of this linguistic history somewhat abusively as '*Targum*'. The role of this long perspective upon Aramaic history (which is, of course, utterly valid and arises rather obviously from the Hebrew Bible) was not innocent in suppressing the individuality of Syriac – especially when (as we shall see) it turned into an occult Aramaean tradition and the homogeneity of that tradition in both language and arcana was assumed.

The recurring problem of the name of what we now call Syriac is reflected in the body of the Grammar which begins with a refutation of Johannes Potken of the Cologne Chapter who in 1513 produced from the Monastery San Stefano Maggiore in the Vatican the first printed book in Ethiopic (indeed in any Oriental language): *Alphabetum seu potius Syllabarium litterarum chaldaeorum, Psalterium chaldaeum, cantica Mosis, Hannae etc.* Münster wished to call this language *lingua Indiana* (*i. e.* that of the Abyssinians who live under Prester John) and is at pains to distinguish its script from what he considered the true script of the *lingua Chaldaica*, though Ethiopic remained 'Chaldean' amongst scholars associated with the monastery until Job Leuthof (Ludolf) brought out his *Grammatica Aethiopica* in Frankfurt in 1702[12].

Münster's Grammar itself assumes some familiarity with Hebrew and proceeds by marking the difference between the *lingua Chaldaica* and Hebrew. Letters are divided into servile or radical letters and the first group is treated by describing the various functions of prefixed and suffixed letters and syllables. Regular differences between consonants in Hebrew and *lingua Chaldaica* are tabulated (*Zade in ain; Zain in aleth etc*). He then deals with the six *orationis partes*: nouns (numerals, gentilics, gender and patterns of noun formation); pronouns, attached and separate; verbs; adverbs; prepositions and conjunctions. The last three categories are essentially lists. Latin influ-

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'Aramaic' ? " in (eds.) RANDALL BUTH and R. STEVEN NOTLEY, *The Language Environment of First Century Judaea* (E. J. Brill, Leiden 2014) p. 66-109.

[12] Thus Achilles Venerius, Canon of S. Nicola in Carcere in Rome and in 1622 Supervisor of the Finance Section of the Congregation of Faith, brought out in 1630 his *Chaldeae sive Aethiopicae linguae Institutiones Opus utile et eruditum.* (Typis Sac. Congregatis de Fide, Rome). It is an Ethiopic Grammar. For the names of Hebrew and Aramaic in the Hebrew Bible: the term *ᵃramî* (cf *ᵃramît* Daniel 2.4) marks the transition to Aramaic from Hebrew in the Book of Daniel, but this is omitted in the fragment from Qumran Cave I. In Greek the word is *suristi* but this is never employed other than to distinguish this Aramaic or Syrian from Judaean *i..e.* Hebrew. (See 2 Reigns 18.26,28 = Isaiah 36.11,13; also 2 Chronicles 32.18 (*cf.* Nehemiah 13.24 where Judaean is distinguished from the language of Ashdod); or from 'Chaldaean' *i.e.* Akkadian Cuneiform (Daniel 1.4 cf 2.4 where the 'Chaldaeans' speak in 'Aramaic'). In Ezra 4.7 *ᵃramît* introduces in a Hebrew narrative a document sent by the Syrian authorities (Greek *suristi).*

ence is apparent in the *partes orationis* and particularly in declension of nouns through their cases (using prefixed prepositions and the construct). One of the fourth-century Roman grammarian Donatus' six accidents of nouns was case and the particle *yath* is described as *articulum obliquorum casuum*. The influence of Hebrew grammatical terms (and the Latin neuter?) however is apparent in the treatment of the verbs: *Nam habent Chaldaei in suis verbis non secus quam Hebraei masculinum, foemininum & commune genus; singularem & pluralem numerum: Praeteritum Benoni, Paul, (Present Participle and Past Participle Passive) Zivvi, Makor (Infinitive) & futurum: Praeteritum, praesens & futurum tempus: primam secundam & tertiam personam...*[13]. He then treats of the *kal*, *piel* and *hiphil* (and calls them such by the Hebrew terms) in participles, imperatives, infinitives and their future tense followed by the patterns of verbs with weak radicals. He speaks of active and passive. It hardly needs to be observed that in all this there is no trace of what we call Syriac.

Münster also produced an Aramaic dictionary, which he had printed in 1527, the same year as his Grammar. He based his work on both a manuscript copy of the *Sefer Aruk ha-Qizzur,* which he found in the Dominican monastery library in Regensburg, and upon Pagninus's *Enchiridion.* His old teacher, Pellican, also gave him his notes on talmudic vocabulary to include in the dictionary[14].

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[13] For Hebrew terms for the tenses and their treatment in sixteenth-century Hebrew grammars, SANTIAGO GARCÍA-JALÓN DE LA LAMA*, La gramática hebrea en Europa en el siglo XVI* (Publicaciones Universidad Pontificia, Salamanca 1998) p. 142-151. L KUKENHEIM, *Contributions à l'Histoire de la Grammaire grecque, latine et hebraïque à l'époque de la Renaissance* (E. J. Brill, Leiden 1951); *idem*, "Contribution à la Grammaire hebraïque à l'époque de la Renaissance", *Acta Orientalia* 21 (1953) p. 124-153; 22 (1954) p. 190-206.

[14] SEBASTIAN MÜNSTER, *Dictionarium Chaldaicum non tam ad Chaldaeos Interpretes quam Rabbinorum intellegenda Commentoria necessarium: Per Sebastianum Munsterum ex baal Aruch & Chald. biblijs atque hebraeorum peruschim congestum* (Froben, Basel 1527) comprising 434 pages. He also produced a *Shiush Leshonoth Dicytionarum trilingue in quo scilicet latinis vocabulis in ordinem alphabeticum digestis, respondent Graeca & Hebraica: Hebraicis adiecta sunt magistralia & Chaldaica: Sebastiani Munsteri opera & labore congestum …* (Henricus Petrus Basel in 1530 and again in 1562) but this contributed little to the study of Aramaic. Of earlier dictionaries dealing with Biblical Aramaic and then post-biblical Hebrew, Alfonso de Zamora's *Vocabularium Hebraicum atque Chaldaicum Veteris Testamenti cum alius tractatibus prout infra in praefatione continetur in Academia Complutensi noviter impressum* (Arnao Guillién de Brocar, Alcalá de Henares) appeared in Volume VI of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible (1514-17) containing both the words of the Hebrew Bible and those of the biblical Aramaic texts. In 1523 there appeared Pagninus, *Enchiridion expositionis vocabulorum Haruch, Thargum, Midrascim, Berescith, Scemoth, Vaicra. Midbar Rabba et multorum alium librorum etc.* (Strozi, Rome

Reuchlin and Hebrew Grammar

The pervasive imposition of Latin grammatical categories upon Semitic languages at the time – in the event Hebrew not Aramaic—may be illustrated by the case of Reuchlin's *De Rudimentis hebraicis* which is based entirely upon Latin paradigms[15]. Having observed that when it comes to declension, Hebrew noun endings distinguish only singular and plural, Reuchlin finds only two declensions of nouns: one masculine with a plural in *–im* and another feminine changing *-ah* or construct *–at* into plural *–oth*. But straight away he proceeds to decline nouns through the cases making use of the article, the object marker *'eth*, the construct for a genitive and the preposition *l-* for the dative and *m-* for the ablative. Thus he creates a declension entirely based on Latin.

Whatever immediate pedagogic utility in this imposition of a familiar grammar on an unfamiliar language, it hardly describes the texts. In considering a verse (2.19) in the second chapter of

1523). Pagninus, a Dominican, learned Hebrew in Florence from Clemente Abraham, a Spanish-Jewish convert, SANTIAGO GARCIA-JALON DE LA LAMA, *La gramatica hebrea en Europa en el siglo XVI. Guíade lectura de las obras impresas* (Publicaciones Universidad Pontifica, Salamanca 1998) p115. He served as a professor of Hebrew in Rome while Leo X was pope, enjoying his patronage and the patronage of three of his successors. Pagninus based his dictionary, not on *Sefer 'Aruk* directly, but on a Jewish summary, the *Sefer 'Aruk ha-Qizzur*. Samuel Krauss provided an extensive evaluation of one manuscript of the '*Aruk ha-Qizzur,* which had been owned by Italian Jewish grammarian Abraham de Balmes (1440-1523) in "Aruch ms. Breslau," *Monatsschrift fur Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 73 (1929) p. 385-402, 451-65. Subsequent Aramaic dictionaries, including Sebastian Münster's *Dictionarium Chaldaicum*, were by contrast generally based on Nathan ben Yehiel's *Sefer 'Aruk* (*c*.1100) written for advanced Jewish talmudic students and covering the Targums and Midrashim. The focus was on difficult words, especially loan-words, at the expense of common words. The *Sefer 'Aruk* was not organised on the pattern of triliteral roots but was presented in alphabetical order. It was not (for this reason) easy to use and the study of post-biblical Hebrew was much facilitated in this matter by the arrangement of Johannes Buxtorf's *Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum et Rabbinicum* (Ludwig König, Basel 1639) which drew upon his father's previous work. Pagninus's work was reprinted twice in expanded form, once in the sixth volume of the Antwerp Polyglot (1568-72), edited by Guy Lefèvre de la Boderie, and as the *Thesaurus Linguae Sanctae sive Lexicon hebraicum* with annotations by Jean Mercier, Cornelius Bertram and Pierre Chevalier, printed in Lyons in 1575 by Barthélemy Vincent and reprinted by him there in 1577.

[15] MARGUERITE SOULIÉ, "L'apprentissage de l'hébreu d'après les paradigmes latins", *Bulletin de l'Association d'étude sur l'humanisme, la réforme et la renaissance* 15 (1982) p. 109-116. For learning Greek: PAUL BOTLEY, *Learning Greek in Western Europe 1396-1529: Grammars, Lexica and Classroom Texts*, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society New Series* 100 (2010) p. iii-xiii, 1-270 and FEDERICA CICCOLELLA, *Donati Graeci Learning Greek in the Renaissance* (E. J. Brill, Leiden 2008).

Ruth 'and she spoke the name of the man' *'wa tomèr shem ha- ish / et dixit nomen viri'* Reuchlin concludes that 'the man' is genitive because it is preceded by the article *ha-*. In collecting further examples, however, Reuchlin comes unsurprisingly across some supposed genitives without the article and some supposed accusatives without the object marker *–eth*. He concludes that it is necessary to remember that one cannot always recognise case from the article as it is clearly often missing: one must make use of the sense of the passage. Clearly the imposition of Latin grammatical theory did not really work!

Reuchlin imposed Latin, the language of education and science for all Europe, as a template upon a somewhat recalcitrant Semitic language. It was perhaps pedagogically justified as the pupil would be familiar with Latin grammar, and the scheme is clear and memorable. It nonetheless was a distortion and quite unsuccessful at describing the Hebrew usage. Reuchlin glosses *dibheré adonaï* with *verba domini*. He describes morphological changes within a construct chain but he does not appear to notice it is *dibheré* which changes its ending in Hebrew, whereas it is *domini* in Latin! The structures of the expressions are totally different. Reuchlin's terminology has, however, survived and one still speaks of a *nomen regens* and *nomen rectum* in construct chains today.

We may contrast Münster's Hebrew work positively with that of Reuchlin, thanks to the influence of Levita, behind whom in turn, of course, stands the Jewish grammatical tradititon. Münster's *Institutiones Grammaticae in Hebraeam linguam* … (Froben Basel 1524) was written before his subsequent grammars and based mainly on Levita's work. In the *Praefatio* he acknowledges his grammatical debts to Donatus and Diomedes, David and Moses Kimhi and amongst the *recentiores* Reuchlin, his teacher Pellicanus and a work by Caspar Amman[16]. In the Preface to his *Grammatica Hebraica Absolutissima* of the following year, 1525, Münster, however, confesses frankly that he had little notion of Hebrew grammar before he read Elias. Elias' contribution makes Münster's Grammar enormously different from Reuchlin's: the letters are clearly distinguished including *sin* and *shin; dagesh* marking doubled letters is better explained; the themes of the verb are studied according to their meanings which represent aspect rather than as the active, middle and passive voice of Latin or Greek. The *Compendium Hebraicae Grammaticae* (again of 1525) is Munster's translation of Levita's work which explains

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[16] Münster refers here to a work of Caspar Amman (Ammonius 1450-1524), Augustinian Prior of the Abbey of Lauinghen, which has either been lost or was not in fact published. See: SANTIAGO GARCÍA-JALÓN DE LA LAMA, *La gramática hebrea en Europa en el siglo XVI* (Publicaciones Universidad Pontificia, Salamanca 1998) p. 36-37.

how to distinguish between radical letters – those which occur only as part of a root and never have a grammatical function— and servile letters (those which may occur as part of a root or which may have a grammatical function). Thus presented with a word, the accidental letters must be removed to find the root and theme (*radix et thema*), the traditional starting point of the paradigm. In the Hebrew tradition, after Arabic influence, descriptions of morphology are based on the letters, working through the alphabet and examining the function of each letter in turn as an inflectional ending, derivational affix, a monosyllabic preposition, a pronoun or an article[17]. So Levita in his Grammar explains *mem* at the start of a word form a verbal noun *e.g. merhab* 'breadth'. Secondly it forms the participle in all conjugations except the first, (*e.g.* in the second [conjugation] *mə-dabber* 'speaking', *mə-shubbar* 'broken)'. Thirdly it has the same force as *min* 'from' The Hebrews also use it to paraphrase the comparative. In final position it means 'their' or 'them'.

We may return finally to Munster's Aramaic work with his second lexicon the *shiush leshonoth Dicytionarum trilingue in quo scilicet Latinis vocabulis in ordinem alphabeticum digestis, respondent Graeca & Hebraica: Hebraicis adiecta sunt magistralia & Chaldaica: Sebastiani Munsteri opera & labore congestum* … (Henricus Petrus, Basel 1530 and again in 1562)[18]. In the later edition there are three columns of respectively Latin, Greek and Hebrew words with *quaelibet dictio Chaldaica* starred in third Hebrew column. An awareness of systematic differences between Hebrew and Aramaic (*Habent autem & ipsi peculiares loquendi modos*) is shown: the first page of the *Praefatio* observes difference between first and second conjugations *qətal* for *qatal*; *pa'al* for *pi'el*; and in *hiphil* instead of intial *he* they have an *aleph* (*aphel*). Similarly he notes that Chaldaean nouns without suffixes end in *aleph*.

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[17] WILLIAM CHOMSKY, "How the Study of Hebrew Grammar Began and Developed", *The Jewish Quarterly Review* n.s. 35 (1945) p. 281-301. One of the most notable contributions to Hebrew grammar was the triliteral theory of Yahuda Hayyuj (c.1000) which shed light on the nature and structure of the language, particularly in respect of to the assimilated and weak verbs. Moses Kimhi is responsible for the final and standard arrangement: *Kal, Niph'al, Pi'el, Pu'al, Hiph'il, Hoph'al, Po'el, Hitpa'el*. His paradigm verb *pqd* was also accepted by many subsequent grammarians, though Profiat Duran criticised the choice as it is semantically very different in the different themes.

[18] This is not his 1527 *Dictionarium Chaldaicum non tam ad Chaldaeos Interpretes quam Rabbinorum intellegenda Commentoria necessarium: Per Sebastianum Munsterum ex baal Aruch & Chald. Biblijs atque hebraeorum peruschim congestum* (Basel: Froben) mentioned above.

Münster in the Context of Latin Grammar

We may ask to what extent the presentation of Aramaic here is determined by the European grammatical tradition in which it is so obviously cast. The tradition was built upon the transmission of the work of Aelius Donatus from the Fourth Century[19]. His *Ars Minor* distinguished eight *orationis partes: nomen, pronomen, uerbum, aduerbium, participium, coniunctio, praepositio* and *interiectio*[20]. To these the *Ars Maior* prefaces remarks on letters, syllables, metre, accents, and *distinctiones* (*i. e.* punctuation). Finally it adds a section on what we would perhaps call (admittedly rather generally) 'figures of speech' – *barbarismus, soloecismus, tautologia, eclipsis... etc..* To the work of Donatus was added that of Priscian of Caesarea in North Africa. We know his *Institutiones Grammaticae*—a title we shall find much copied amongst sixteenth-century Semitists for their grammars which in itself indicates clearly in what light they conceived their own work – was copied by Flavius Theodorus in 526-527. It comprised eighteen books. The first sixteen on sound, word-formation and inflections (often called *Priscian Major*) and the last two longer sections on syntax. He also wrote a *De nomine, pronomine, et verbo*, an abridgment of

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[19] For the tradition of Donatus in Greek: FEDERICA CICCOLELLA, *Donati Graeci Learning Greek in the Renaissance* (E. J. Brill, Leiden 2008).

[20] One may indicate how the work procedes by question and answer and illustrate the eight *orationis partes* as follows: Of Nouns: *nomini quot accidunt?* sex. *quae?* qualitas comparatio genus numerus figura casus. [Obvious cases and their gender and number as Latin] Of Pronouns: *pronomen quid est?* pars orationis, quae pro nomine posita tantundem paene significat personamque interdum recipit. *pronomini quot accidunt?* sex. *quae?* qualitas genus numerus figura persona casus. Of Verbs: *uerbum quid est?* pars orationis cum tempore et persona sine casu aut agere aliquid aut pati aut neutrum significans. *uerbo quot accidunt?* septem. *quae?* qualitas coniugatio genus numerus figura tempus persona. *qualitas uerborum in quo est?* in modis et in formis. Of Adjectives: *aduerbium quid est?* pars orationis, quae adiecta uerbo significationem eius explanat atque implet. Of Adverbs: *aduerbio quot accidunt?* tria. *quae?* significatio comparatio figura. Of Participles: *participium quid est?* pars orationis partem capiens nominis, partem uerbi; nominis genera et casus, uerbi tempora et significationes, utriusque numerum et figuram. *participio quot accidunt?* sex. *quae?* genus casus tempus significatio numerus figura. Of Conjunctions: *coniunctio quid est?* pars orationis adnectens ordinansque sententiam. *coniunctioni quot accidunt?* tria. *quae?* potestas figura ordo. Of Prepositions: *praepositio quid est?* pars orationis quae praeposita aliis partibus orationis significationem earum aut complet aut mutat aut minuit. *praepositioni quot accidunt?* unum. *quid?* casus tantum. *quot?* duo. *qui?* accusatiuus et ablatiuus. Of Interjections*: interiectio quid est?* pars orationis significans mentis affectum uoce incondita.*interiectioni quid accidit?* tantum significatio. *significatio interiectionis in quo est?* quia aut laetitiam significamus, ut *euax*, aut dolorem, ut *heu*, aut admirationem, ut *papae*, aut metum, ut *attat*, et siqua sunt similia. See RO-LAND HALL and C. LEJEWSKI, "Symposium: Parts of Speech", *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society Supplementary Volumes* 39 (1965) p. 173-204.

part of his *Institutiones* for teaching grammar in schools. This last detail indicates the common use of such grammars in the Middle Ages for teaching Latin and indeed all literacy. We shall note the importance of the pedagogic role of grammars in the Sixteenth Century below.

We may however also note in passing that Priscan also provided material for the elaboration of Speculative Grammar on the part of the Modalists of Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century[21]. The *Modistae* developed a tripartite theory of linguistic meaning comprising modes of being *(modos essendi)*, modes of understanding *(modos intellegendi)* and modes of signifying *(modos significandi)*. The various parts of speech were considered to reflect reality in terms of the modes: the modes of being are objectively existing qualities in an object of understanding, the modes of understanding are the mind's means of representing the *modos essendi* and the modes of signification are grammar's way of representing the *modos intellegendi* in language. This corresponds to Aristotle's schema of words which represent concepts which in turn represent objects. But although one might wish to assimilate Grammar to the requirements of this Aristotelean science – it is difficult to achieve with all the specific singularities of a natural language[22]. For the Modistae the grammatical forms, the *modos significandi* of verbs, nouns and adjectives represented the deep ontological structure of language. Nevertheless in this way we may see them as anticipating some of the notions of Universal Grammar (which suggest universal rules may be extracted from living languages) which we meet in the Sixteenth Century.

Grammarians in the Renaissance, as we have already mentioned, were particularly focused upon educational matters and memorization, but also with the production of acceptably classical Latin[23]. Fifteenth-century Latin grammars retained the emphasis of Donatus on the *partes orationis*, but in the Sixteenth Century, with the legacy of both Priscian and the mediaeval grammarians, emphasis falls upon 'syntax' or construc-

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[21] For Speculative Grammar: PIETER A. VERBURG, *Language and its Functions* (John Benjamins, Amsterdam 1995) p. 48-55. Also: E. J. ASHWORTH, *The Tradition of Medieval Logic and Speculative Grammar* (Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, Toronto 1978); JEFFREY BARDZELL, *Speculative Grammar and Stoic language Theory in Medieval Allegorical Narrative From Prudentius to Adam de Lille* (Routledge, New York 2009).

[22] CATHERINE ATHERTON, "What Every Grammarian Knows", *Classical Quarterly* 46 (1996) p. 239-260 points out the apparent lack of interest on the part of the Classical Grammarians in the language as spoken by a native compared with the language grasped as an abstracted logical system.

[23] W. KEITH PERCIVAL "Grammar, Humanism and Renaissance Italy", *Mediterranean Studies* 16 (2007) p. 94-119.

tion. Some grammarians (Linacre, who was clearly not writing grammars for initial learners, is an example) then focus on what is the relationship between the *partes orationis* and the construction of *oratio*?[24] But though the humanist grammars, such as those of Niccolò Perotti[25], Antonio de Nebrija[26], Ioannes Despauterius[27], and Peter Ramus eventually monopolized grammatical instruction, their success and concentration on descriptive analysis of Classical Latin meant a loss, namely, of the philosophical approach pioneered by medieval speculative grammars. The impulse for correct Latin and pedagogy focused on nouns placed an emphasis on inflected endings with these detailed and often tabulated for easier memorisation or on rules in rhyme - and all in obvious respects specific to Latin. Precision here was incompatible with universalising aspirations of speculative grammarians.

The difficulties with accommodating syntax on top of varying accounts of the *partes orationis* need not, however, concern us too much. This is not an area early or much developed by the teachers of Aramaic. Munster discussed the *partes orationis* in Aramaic – but when it came to syntax he was merely concerned to tell the reader to treat it just like Hebrew.

One further meta-grammatical issue that did exercise Renaissance humanists (as we have already seen) was that of the first human language. Hebrew was, of course, the leading candidate, and it had in its favour the authority of St. Augustine in *De Civitate Dei* and Dante in *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, both of whom argued that only the Jews have retained the pre-Babel language. But Aramaic was at times considered a possible contender and the notion of primacy (whatever the original language) naturally entailed implications for tracing descent and other affinities.

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[24] BERNARD COLOMBAT, "Les 'parties du discours' (*partes orationis*) et la reconstruction d'une syntaxe latine au XVIe siècle", *Langages* 92 (1988) p. 51-64. See for an example of engagement with syntax, KRISTIAN JENSEN "*De emendata structura Latini sermonis*: The Latin Grammar of Thomas Linacre", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 59 (1986) p. 106-125.

[25] NICCOLÒ PEROTTI, *Rudimenta Grammatica* (ed. W. K. Percival) (Centre for Digital Scholarship, University of Kansas Library 2010).

[26] KATHERINE ELLIOT VAN LIERE, "After Nebrija: Academic Reformers and the Teaching of Latin in sixteenth-century Salamanca", *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 34 p. 1065-1105.

[27] A convenient overview of Despauterius' works and their distribution may be obtained by consulting (eds.) ANDREW PETTEGREE and MALCOLM VALSBY, *French Books Published in France before 1601 in Latin and Languages other than French* (E. J. Brill, Leiden 2011) p. 550-562. For the eight parts of speech, Johannis Despauterii, Ninivitae, *Commentarii Grammatici* (Robertus Stephanus, Paris 1537) p. 4.

Aurogallus

Münster distinguished Aramaic from Hebrew effectively by listing differences which if converted in reading would turn Aramaic into Hebrew. If we turn to Wittenberg, which was to become the centre for a very distinctive Lutheran Hebraism we shall find the same approach[28]. Matthäus Aurogallus (Goldhahn) (1490-1543) was Professor of Hebrew at the University of Wittenberg after the Jewish convert Matthaus Adriani (1475-1521) and a colleague of both Philippe Melanchthon and Martin Luther. He assisted Luther in the revision of the reformer's translation of the Old Testament and was University Rector in 1542. His *Grammatica Hebraeae Chaldaeaeque Linguae a Matthaeo Aurogallo in lucem aedita, pluribusque in locis ab autore emendata et aucta* appeared from J. Klug in Wittenberg 1523 and with Münster's printer Henricus Petrus in Basel in 1539[29]. One needs to know *Chaldaeus sermo* for Daniel and Ezra which use this 'dialect' '*hac usus est dialecto*'. Similarly for Onkelos, Jonathan and Joseph which are useful for understanding some more obscure passages of Scripture, these being translated into *hoc sermonis genus*[30]. Aurogallus writes *de Chaldaeae et Hebraea e lingua discrimine*[31] : Chaldaean uses the same script as Hebrew, though with frequent exchange of letters (*aleph* is often changed to *waw* or *jod*, *nun* is used for a terminal *mem etc.*)[32]. He pays attention to the final syllables of plurals and generally characterizes the difference between the two as differences in letters and syllables tied to function. He

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[28] G. MILETTO and G. VELTRI, "Die Hebraistik in Wittenberg (1502-1813): von der 'lingua sacra' zur Semitistik", *Henoch* 25 (2003) p. 93-111; JEROME FRIEDMAN, *The Most Ancient Testimony: Sixteenth Century Christian Hebraica in the Age of Renaissance Nostalia* (Ohio University Press, Athens 1983) p. 165-176, and, earlier, ID., "Luther, Forster and the Curious Nature of Wittenberg Hebraica", *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 42 (1980) p. 611-619. Also S.G. BURNETT, "Reassessing the Basel-Wittenberg Conflict: Dimensions of the Reformation-Era Discourse of Hebrew Scholarship", in A. P. COUDERT and J. S. SHOULSON (eds.), *Hebraica Veritas, Christian Hebraists and the Study of Judaism in Early Modern Europe* (University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia 2004) p.181ff.

[29] There is no Aramaic material in his *Compendium Hebraeae Grammatices* (J. Klug, Wittenberg 1523).

[30] Some indication of the sorts of arguments made in favour and against the Christian uses of Targums may be found in EVELINE VAN STAALDUINE-SULMAN & JOANNA TANYA "Christian Arguments for Including Targums in Polyglot Bibles" in (eds.) A. HOUTMAN, E. EVELINE VAN STAALDUINE-SULMAN, H-M.KIM, *A Jewish Targum in a Christian World* (E. J. Brill, Leiden 2014) p. 208-222.

[31] *Ibid*,   p. 142.

[32] *Ibid*,   p. 145.

supplies a list of abbreviations used by Jewish commentators. This is not an independent account of Aramaic. Rather – just as with Münster—it is a list of things to do when reading it to turn it back into Hebrew.

What is more striking however is Aurogallus's awareness that the traditional Hebrew Grammarians distinguished essentially three parts of speech rather than the eight of Donatus. He discusses the *partes orationis* as follows: *orationis numerantur tres tantum partes, nomen, verbum & consignificatio. Sub nomine pronomen, sub verbo, participium, sub consignatione, praepositionem, coniunctionem, adverbium interiectionemque, Iudaeorum grammatici comprehendere*[33]. He speaks also *de accentibus, de tonorum locis, de copula de nomine*, (but in the end deals with the headings of the usual eight parts!). This rather different structural analysis of the parts of speech into three categories (noun, verb and particle: *onoma, rema, sundesmos*) is however increasingly found amongst the Christian scholars. Anja-Silvia Goeing, in an essay focused on Zürich[34], traces its appearance in Jacob Ceporinus (1499-1525) Reuchlin's pupil and the first Reader of Greek and Hebrew at Zwingli's school in Zürich; Wolfgang Capito (1478-1541)[35]; Münster (in 1531 but not 1523); Johannes Böschenstein (1472-1540) *et al.*[36] It is most probable that this form of distinction goes back to Moses Kimhi (whose Grammar Münster, of course, translated in 1531 under the guidance of Elias Levita). There we read: *haec enim tripararia sunt; nomen dictio verbum; Isti sunt filii linguae: nomen. Verbum et dictio*[37]. This distinction itself has a long history within the Eastern grammatical tradition. Saadia classifies language into three classes (nouns, verbs and particles); Dunash, Ibn Ezra and Kimhi do likewise[38]. We find the pattern in the opening chapter of Siba-

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[33] p. 17 of the 1539 edition.

[34] ANJA-SILVIA GOEING, "Establishing Modes of Learning: Old and New Hebrew Grammars in the 16th century", in E. CAMPI (ed.), *Scholarly Knowledge: Textbooks in Early Modern Europe* (Droz, Geneva 2008) p. 157-182.

[35] *Institutionum Hebraicarum libri duo* (Joannes Frobenius, Basel 1518; V. Cephalaeus, Strasburg 1525). Beginning of Book I: *Cunctas orationis partes Verbo, nomine & consignificativo complectuntur. Verbo participia, Nomini appellationes, & consignificativo articulum, pronomen, reliquasque partes orationis subijciunt.*

[36] Böschenstein was another pupil of Reuchlin. He was professor at Wittenberg and Zwingli's Hebrew teacher in Zürich.

[37] Münster 1531: 3r, 11r

[38] IRENE E. ZWIEP, "The Hebrew Linguistic Tradition of the Middle Ages", *Histoire, Épistémologie, Langage* 18 (1996) p. 41-61; W. BACKER, *Die Anfänge der Hebräischen Grammatik* (Brockhaus, Leipzig 1995). Also N. I. VIDRO, I. E. ZWEIP, J. OLSZOWY-SCHLANGER (eds.), *A Universal Art.*

Waihi's *Kitab*; the Syriac scholar Bar Hebraeus has nouns, verbs and particles.

Kukenheim suggested the Alexandrian grammarian Dionysius Thrax as the probable source of the noun-verb-particle scheme[39]. J. B. Fischer, however, felt that Dionysius's *Techne Grammatike* with its paradigms and system of verbal forms was completely foreign to the spirit of a Semitic language, and could in no way appeal to an Arabic or Hebrew grammarian[40]. Furthermore there is no indication whatsoever of the use and study of the *Techne Grammatike* by Hebrew and Arab scholars. Fischer by contrast drew attention to the role played by a continuous Syro-Arabic transmission of Aristotle's *Poetics* which had been little appreciated[41]. The Aristotlian categories were free of detailed terminolgy of cases and gender and without persons, number, voices and moods inapplicable to Semitic languages. The *Poetics* contains not parts of speech, but subjects of significance in the discussion of speech and grammar[42].

It should however be remarked that Dionysius Thrax certainly was most influential upon Syriac grammarians in the period of biculturalism and bilingualism which characterised

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Hebrew Grammar across Disciplines and Faiths (E. J. Brill, Leiden 2014) for pre-Renaissance Hebrew grammatical studies.

[39] L. KUKENHEIM, *Contribution à l'histoire de la grammaire grecque, latine et hébraïque à l'époque de la Renaissance* (E. J. Brill, Leiden 1951) p. 91-92. He states bluntly: "il est même probable que la grammaire de l'hébreu derive indirectement de Denys le Thrace, dont on connaît des interprétations et des adaptations arméniennes et syriaques, utilisées par les grammairiens arabes... ". Also C. C. De Jonge's revised thesis *Between Grammar and Rhetoric. Dionysius of Halicarnassus on Language, Linguistics and Literature* was published in 2008 (E. J. Brill, Leiden). See p. 81-145 for Dionysius on the parts of speech. JEAN LALLOT, "Origines et développement de la théorie des parties du discours en Grèce", *Langages* 92 (1988) p. 11–23; ID., *La grammaire de Denys le Thrace*, Paris, CNRS Editions, 2003 ,2ᵉ éd. (trad. avec notes). Earlier, THOMAS DAVIDSON*, The Grammar of Dionysios Thrax* (St Louis. Mo. 1874).

[40] J. B. FISCHER, "The Origins of the Tripartite Division of Speech in Semitic Grammar", *Jewish Quarterly Review* 53 (19620 p. 1-21 & 54 (1963) p. 132-160.

[41] It was not known to Merx who did not consequently discuss the grammatical chapters of the Poetics: A. MERX *Historia Artis Grammaticae apud Syros* (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, 9 (2), Leipzig 1889) p. 149 ff. and 154 ff.

[42] Aristotle's Poetics deals with grammar in three chapters. After a discussion of language in general, and an analysis of the 'parts of speech' (ch. 20), there follows a presentation of types of nouns in poetic language and of the four kinds of metaphors (ch.21) with a passage on the gender of nouns. Illustrations of poetic diction and recommendations for the proper use of words in a harmonious and clear style (ch. 22) round off the discussion. These grammatical chapters represent one of the earliest attempts at a systematic treatment of language.

the progressive Hellenisation – the move from 'antagonism to assimilation'[43] - of the Fifth to Ninth Centuries, along side the influence of Aristotelian logic and rhetoric[44]. A Syriac version of the *Techne Grammatike* played an important role in the Schools of Nisibis[45]. Dionysius provided the Syriac grammatical tradition with an extensive technical vocabulary very much in the Greek mould. The eight parts of speech (noun, verb, participle, article, pronoun, preposition, adverb, conjunction), imposed by *Techne Grammatike* as the morphological and syntactic basis of Greek grammar were faithfully reproduced in the version of Joseph Huzaya. However they had to be modified to fit Syriac: the article was omitted and the morphological class corresponding to the Greek *metoche*—translated as *d-šawtap̄ûṯa* 'participle' in the Syriac version of *Techne Grammatike*—

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[43] The phrase is that of Dr Brock: SEBASTIAN BROCK, *From Antagonism to Assimilation. Syriac attitudes to Greek Learning*, in NINA G. GARSOÏAN, THOMAS F. MATHEWS and ROBERT W. THOMSON (eds.), *East of Byzantium. Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period* (Dumbarton Oaks, Center for Byzantine Studies, Trustees for Harvard University, Washington 1982) p17-39. Also in his *Syriac Perspectives on Late Antiquity* (Variorum Reprints no. V, London 1984). J. WATT, "Grammar, Rhetoric and the *enkyklios paideia* in Syriac", *Zeitschrift der deutschen morganländischen Gesellschaft* 143 (1993) p. 45-71.

[44] Greek influence and that of the *Techne Grammatike* is most apparent in the treatment of the accidents of the verb. See SARA ECO CONTI - MARGHERITA FARINA, "The Accidents of the Verb in some Medieval Syriac Grammars", in *Comparing Ancient Grammars The Greek, Syriac and Arabic Traditions* (Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa 2013) p. 132-153. ID., "Diathesis and Middle Voice in the Syriac Ancient Grammatical Tradition: The Translations and Adaptations of the *Techne Grammatike* and the Arabic Model", *Aramaic Studies* 6 (2008) p. 175-193. See also, R. TALMON, "Foreign Influence in the Syriac Grammatical traditions", in S. AUROUX ET AL. (ed.), *History of the Language Sciences... An International Handbook on the Evolution of the Study of Languages from the Beginnings to the Present* (Berlin-New York 2000) Vol. I, chap. : X "The Establishment of Syriac Linguistics", p. 337-341. Also there RICCARDO CONTINI, "The Role of Linguistics in Syriac, also ID., *Medioevo: la scienza siriaca. Le scienze del linguaggio*, in *Trecani.it L'encicopedia italiana s.v.* (2001). Generally on influence of Greek grammar, CORNELIUS H. M. VERSTEEGH, "Borrowing and Influence: Greek Grammar as a Model" in PIERRE SWIGGERS - ALFONS WOUTERS, avec la collab. de RENÉ LEBRUN [ET AL.], *Le langage dans l'Antiquité* (E. Peeters, Louvain 1990) p. 197-212.

[45] DIONYSIUS THRAX, *Techne grammatike*, in ADALBERT MERX, *Historia artis grammaticae apud Syros cui accedunt Severi bar Sakku Dialogus de grammatica, Dionysii Thracis Grammatica syriace translata, Iacobi Edesseni Fragmenta grammatica cum tabula photolithographica, Eliae Tirhanensis et duorum anonymorum de accentibus tractatus*, Leipzig, In Commission von F. A. Brockhaus, 1889, p. 50-72. There is now a translation by Daniel King: A. MERX, *Historia artis grammaticae apud Syros (translated and edited)* (Gorgias Press, Piscataway, NJ 2015). On the School of Nisibis, ARTHUR VÖÖBUS, *History of the School of Nisibis* (Secrétariat du Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Louvain 1965).

became the *Mellat šma* 'verbal noun', which also includes the infinitive, giving rise to the establishment of a system of seven parts of speech that was the canon in Syriac grammar until the introduction of the Arabic model for imitation, the tripartite division, of Aristotelian origin, of noun-verb-particle we are currently discussing[46]. The imposition of such Greek models upon Syriac inevitably distorted the empirical evidence. The Syriac technical term *mappalta* 'case' (Greek *ptosis*) designated the inseparable particles *b* -, *d*-, *w*-, *l*-. The second and fourth of these introduce prepositional phrases that are functionally equivalent to the Greek cases genitive and dative. But there were limits: sections 2-10 and 14 of the Greek Dionysius (treating letters, phonetics, syllables and conjugations) were omitted as of no use in dealing with Syriac.

The most distinguished Syriac grammarian was the West Syrian Jacob Bishop of Edessa (633-708) working to consolidate his native religious and intellectual culture in a world progressively dominated by Islam[47]. His *Syriac Grammar*, now preserved only in fragments, is the oldest documented and also the most original attempt to describe Syriac using terms and concepts drawn from Greek grammar, but considerable independence and a remarkable interest in the spoken language are both particularly noticeable in his phonological approach to variations in the morphology of the noun paradigms. Such a phonological interest was not subsequently pursued in the tradition.

Jacob was also involved in the production of a system of vowel signs which involved inevitably the prior collection and analysis of forms and their pronunciation. The symbols he introduced mainly for pedagogical purposes were placed on the

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[46] This issue is briefly treated in R. CONTINI, "Considerazioni interlinguistiche sull'adattamento siriaco della Techné Grammatiké di Dionisio Trace', in (eds.), R. B. FINAZZI - A. VALVO, *La diffusione dell' eredità classica nell' età tardoantica e medievale Il Romanzo di Alessandro e altri scritti* (Edizioni dell'Orso Roma 1998 [1999]) p. 107–108.

[47] RAFAEL TALMON, "Jacob of Edessa the Grammarian", in Bas ter Haar Romeny (ed.), *Jacob of Edessa and the Syriac Culture of his Day* (E. J. Brill, Leiden 2008) p. 159-188 for up to date bibliography and a contemporary evaluation. E. J. REVELL, "The Grammar of Jacob of Edessa and the other Near Eastern Grammatical Traditions", *Parole de l'Orient* 3 (1972) p. 365-374. Earlier: GEORGE PHILIPS (ed.), *A Letter by Mār Jacob, Bishop of Edessa, on Syriac Orthography; also a Tract by the Same Author, and a Discourse by Gregory Bar Hebræus on Syriac Accents Now Edited, in the Original Syriac, from MSS. in the British Museum, with an English Translation and Notes* (Williams and Norgate, London 1869); JEAN-PIERRE PAULIN MARTIN (ed.), *Jacobi episcopi Edesseni epistola ad Georgium episcopum Sarugensem de orthographia syriaca* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1869); WILLIAM WRIGHT (ed.), *Fragments of the Turrāṣ mamllā nahrāyā or Syriac Grammar of Jacob of Edessa, Edited from MSS. in the British Museum and the Bodleian Library* (Gilbert and Rivington, London 1871).

same line as the consonants[48]. A reverence for the consonantal text probably prompted their subsequent replacement with the supra- or sub-linear system of 'Greek vowels'. Only slowly do Western scholars come to terms with the various conventions of vocalisation in Syriac.

2. The Arrival of the Syriac Scholars

From the Fifth Lateran Council to the editio princeps of the Syriac New Testament

The first European scholar to obtain any significant knowledge of Syriac was Teseo Ambrogio who was given the responsibility of entertaining the Maronite delegation sent at the invitation of Leo X by the forty-first patriarch to the Fifth Lateran Council (1513-1515)[49]. He worked to establish the orthodoxy of the liturgy they brought with them and began to acquire some knowledge of Syriac. The monk and sub-deacon Elias bar Abraham taught Syriac to Teseo as Teseo taught him Latin and he also copied manuscripts, Gospels and Psalters, in Syriac: Rome for the first time had some books in Syriac and native speakers to explain them. In March of 1539 in Pavia Teseo published his *Introductio in Chaldaicam linguam*[50]. This offered the first detailed Western account of Syriac and opens with two sizes of the (Western) Syriac alphabet. The letters remarkably are printed with moveable type for the first time[51]. Ligatures are discussed and the Syriac vowels are considered together with those of Samaritan, Hebrew, Arabic and Punic. The names of the Syriac consonants, we learn, tend to have /o/

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[48] JEAN-PIERRE PAULIN MARTIN, "Jacques d'Édesse et les voyelles syriennes"', *Journal asiatique* 6, 13 (1869) p. 447-482. EBERHARD NESTLE, "Zur Geschichte der syrischen Punctation", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 30 (1876) p. 525-533. Also AXEL MOBERG, "Über den griechischen Ursprung der syrischen Akzentuation", *Le Monde Oriental* 1:2 (1906) p. 87-100. ADALBERTUS MERX, *Grammatica Syriaca quam post opus Hoffmanni refecit Adalbertus Merx Particula Prima* (Impensis Librariae Orphanotrophei Halis 1867) p. 24-25 for a specimen of Jacob's vocalisation. [This work is cited hereafter as Hoffmann.]

[49] For full consideration of importance of Teseo and the Maronite delegation for the history of Syriac Studies see: ROBERT J. WILKINSON, *Orientalism, Aramaic and Kabbalah in the Catholic Reformation* (E. J. Brill, Leiden 2007) p. 11-27. [This work is cited hereafter as *Orientalism.*]

[50] EBERHARD NESTLE, "Aus einem sprachwissenschaftlichen Werk von 1539", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morganländische Gesellschaft* (Wiesbaden) (1904) p. 601-616.

[51] For the font see J. F. COAKLEY, *The Typography of Syriac A historical catalogue of printing types 1537-1958* (British Library, London 2006) p. 29-30. The type was based on Elias' own handwriting. Teseo also has some estrangela which is also Elias' (p. 155). [This work is cited hereafter as Coakley.]

vowels where Hebrew has /a/ ('*Olaph*' pro '*Aleph*' *etc.*)[52]. This /o/ is more primitive than corresponding Hebrew /a/. Although Hebrew was the first language, in Hebrew this vowel had suffered mutation, but not in Chaldaean: the first man was '*Odom*'.

Teseo further presents an interlinear *Ave Maria* and a similar *Pater Noster* in Syriac font, with a Latin transcription below it and a Latin translation below that. A *Magnificat* is given in Syriac without transcription and Latin. Virgil Strohmeyer sees here evidence of Elias and Teseo working together on each other's language. He draws attention to some of the rather unexpected transliterations of the Syriac, particularly the apparent sounding of silent letters. Ingeniously he suggests Elias may have adopted a slightly unusual pronunciation to guide Teseo towards orthographic accuracy, rather than have spoken entirely naturally[53].

Elias Levita himself met these Maronite delegates to the Fifth Lateran Council (1513-1515) who first brought knowledge of Syriac to Rome: he calls them three Chaldeans (*csdym*) from the country of Prester John. Though their vernacular was Arabic, they were masters of the Syriac language and literature (which he calls *spr wlshn csdym*). This was the special language in which were written the gospel books they brought with them – 'it is also called Aramaean, Babylonian, Assyrian, Chaldee, Tursea or Targum, being denominated by those seven names'. Some these terms designate people and places, others possibly texts ('Targum' and perhaps 'Babli')[54]. 'Syriac' is not, however, among them, though in this case we do know that it is precisely Syriac that he is talking about. Chaldean was perhaps the commonest name: Teseo referred to his Syriac Psalter which he designed to print as *Psalterium Chaldaicum ex Syria advectum*. (This again certainly was in Syriac as appears plainly from his account of his preparations at ff.12 v2, 15, *etc.*) The title page of the Syriac New Testament in the Antwerp Polyglot (1571), though in Syriac font, also refers to the text as *Chaldaice*.

Teseo's first printing of a Syriac alphabet contributed to the impulse towards recognition of Syriac as a separate entity which a distinctive script eventually brought. One force mitigated against this however: the mystical interpretation of the letters of the Syriac alphabet which Teseo imposed upon them. He drew directly upon Egidio da Viterbo's *Libellus de Litteris*

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[52] *Ibid* f21.

[53] VIRGIL STROHMEYER, "Ambrogio Teseo's Intentions for the Learner The Aesthetic and Epistemology entailed in the Presentation of Multilingual Exercises", *Iran & the Caucasus* 3/4 (1999/2000) p. 183-192 esp. p. 185.

[54] WILKINSON, *Orientalism* p. 51-52 for these names.

Sanctis of 1517[55]. The mystical and kabbalistic interpretations Egidio described there for the Hebrew alphabet, Teseo hunted down in his new script. This was the imposition of a form of significance not characteristic of the native Syriac tradition and the beginning of the kabbalistic fantasies which many of the Catholic Scholars of the first part of the Sixteenth Century were eager to find in both Syriac and Aramaic generally. Egidio da Viterbo was to elaborate an entire counter-history of an occult Aramaean tradition which greatly affected the initial reception of Syriac in Europe. He believed that Noah had reached Egidio's own home town of Viterbo—where consequently the inhabitants originally spoke Aramaic—and that the Janiculum Hill in Rome was consequently named for Noah / Janus[56]. Belief in such an arcane Aramaean tradition, of course, did nothing to differentiate and distinguish the various dialects of Aramaic[57]. We shall meet similar arcane convictions in the work of Guy Lefèvre de la Boderie below.

That the discovery and printing of a distinctive Syriac script did not necessarily nor immediately distinguish Syriac from the perceived identity of the continuum of the *Chaldaica Lingua*, is apparent from the early work of Guillaume Postel[58]. Teseo had shared his expertise in printing Syriac with moveable type with Postel, though the latter pre-empted the publication of Teseo's *Introductio* with his own *Linguarum Duodecim Characteribus Differentium Alphabetum* of March 1538 which also used moveable Syriac type. His assessment of *lingua Chaldaica* was simple: *quae eadem praeter characteras, Hebraica est*. His subsequent remarks make it clear that for him the *lingua Chaldaica* embraced promiscuously the Jewish Aramaic of the Targum and the Aramaic of kabbalistic texts like the Zohar[59]. He presented his Syriac alphabet, but then reverted to Hebrew

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[55] BRIAN COPENHAVER - DANIEL STEIN KOKIN, "Egidio da Viterbo's *Book on Hebrew Letters:* Christian Kabbalah in Papal Rome", *Renaissance Quarterly* 67 (2014) p. 1-42.

[56] Egidio relied upon Annio of Viterbo for much of his 'Etruscan' material. WALTER STEPHENS, "When Pope Noah Ruled the Etruscans: Annius of Viterbo and his forged "Antiquities", *Studia Humanitatis: Essays in Honor of Salvatore Camporeale* (MLN CXIX/1) (Johns Hopkins, Baltimore 2004) p. 201-223. As advocated by the circle of Giovambattista Gelli, the promotion of Aramaic as the *Ursprache* even became part of the political propaganda of the sixteenth-century Medici Dukes of Florence.

[57] For Egidio's influence on the understanding of Syriac and the occult Aramean Tradition, WILKINSON, *Orientalism* p. 29-62.

[58] Postel later when writing to Plantin referred to estrangela as majuscule. Estrangela was often mistaken by Western scholars (*e.g.* Widmansetter or Waser) for majuscules. In fact it was the ancient script and used exclusively in manuscripts before the Eighth Century.

[59] See footnote 4.

characters for Syriac text. Syriac grammar, he opined, was no different from that found in Münster's *Grammatica Chaldaica* and was useful for Targum studies to the confusion of the Jews.

Of the first significance for the establishment of Syriac was the magnificent 1555 *editio princeps* of the Syriac New Testament which J. A. Widmanstetter brought out in Vienna. It was the product of Widmanstetter's interest in the language after having been given a Syriac gospel book by Teseo and having located Syriac manuscripts for himself in Siena[60]. He was aided by Postel who provided some manuscripts, typographic experience and mystical insights and, most importantly, by a Syriac monk Moses of Mardin[61]. Moses of Mardin, who had been sent to Rome by the Syrian Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch to procure printed Syriac Bibles, provided Postel, Andreas Masius and Widmanstetter with indispensable assistance in the form of tuition and texts but Moses also proved an essential scribe, teacher and collaborator in the production of the *editio princeps*[62]. The *editio princeps* provided for the first time and accessibly in print a substantial body of text in Syriac. It was set in a splendid Syriac serto font based on Moses' own handwriting and it was partially vocalized[63]. It was around this edition – both in preparatory work and subsequently that the identity of Syriac began slowly to coalesce. We shall follow the subsequent editions of the Syriac Scriptures as an index of the growing consolidation of a sense of Syriac's distinct identity.

At this point we find evidence of the conviction (no doubt learned from Moses) that Syriac was the language of both Christ and his Mother[64]. The title page of the *editio princeps* declares it offers the New Testament *characteribus & lingua Syra, Jesu Christo vernacula, Divino ipsius ore consecrata, et ab Joh. Evangelista dicta*. Widmanstetter's short alphabet and reader, *Syriacae Linguae ... Principia Elementa* (Vienna 1556), which is often bound with the *editio princeps* makes clear by its title when Widmanstetter considered Syriac was used: *[Syri-*

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[60] *Orientalism*, p. 137-169.

[61] For Moses, *Orientalism*, p. 64-77, 83-85, 89-90.

[62] Widmanstetter also met a Father Joseph in 1550 who gave him a Syriac Missal (*Orientalism*, p. 147-149). Masius also met Mar Sulaqa (*Orientalism*, p. 85-88).

[63] Coakley, *op.cit.*, p. 31-34 and p. 156-7 for estrangela. Note the ambivocalisation in some of the letters which have the vowels cast onto them and where both Eastern and Western forms of the vowel signs are used, presumably for elegant variation (*ibid* p. 33).

[64] See Serge Ruzer "Hebrew versus Aramaic as Jesus' Language: Notes on Early Opinions by Syriac Authors" in (eds.) Randall Buth and R. Steven Notley, *The Language Environment of First Century Judaea* (E. J. Brill, Leiden 2014) p.182-206.

acae Linguae] Iesu Christo, Eiusque Matri Virgini atque Iudaeis omnibus, Christianae redemptionis Euangelicaeque praedicationis tempore, Vernaculae & popularis, ideoque a Novi Testamenti Scriptoribus quibusdam Hebraicae dictae [Prima Elementa]. Syriac is here considered the vernacular of Christ, his Mother and the Apostles[65]. This gives Syriac a sacred importance, but at the abiding cost of dating it far too early[66]. Thus at the first moment of its public appearance, Syriac was enduringly confused with first-century Jewish Aramaic.

3. Tremellius and the Parisian Scholars

A Comparative Grammar of Aramaic including Syriac

Once the *editio princeps* was in print it provided the focus for further work on Syriac. Notable was the work of Immanuel Tremellius who taught Hebrew at the University of Heidelberg from 1561 to 1575 and in 1569 produced his own edition of the Syriac New Testament there[67].

Most of scholars of Syriac we have discussed so far were Catholics and knew each other at least by correspondence and often by cooperation. They were a small group but had had privileged access to Syriac native scholars and the texts they

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[65] Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* 3.39.16 has the suggestion that Matthew's Gospel [?] may have originally been written in some form of Hebrew or Aramaic. A manuscript (Vatican sir. 15) copied by Elias, one of delegates to the Fifth Vatican Council carries at the end of Matthew the colophon: "*Explicit evangelus matei Apostoli qui locutus est et predicavit habrayce in phlestini*" where *habrayce* renders the preceeding Syriac *'BR'YT*. The same belief expressed in very similar words is found in Vinob. Syr 1, the Syriac gospels in Vienna copied by Moses of Mardin in 1554 for the Emperor Ferdinand I. I discuss Elias' manuscript in *Orientalism*, p. 16 & Moses' manuscript in *Orientalism*, p. 154.

[66] So [Anonymous], "The Printed Editions of the Syriac New Testament", *Church Quarterly Review* 26 (1888) p. 285: "There is no doubt that in the eyes of Teseo Ambrogio and of Widmannstadt, and of many other early students of Syriac, the Peshitto was invested with a glory above other versions – if not above the sacred original – through the idea that its language was that in which Christ spoke, in which His Apostles preached His word." The altar inscription of 1625 in the Kaufmannskirche in Erfurt has 'This is My Body, This is My Blood' in Vocalised Hebrew, Vocalised Syriac, Greek, Latin and German. The presence of Syriac may represent its supposed status as the language of Jesus. A vocalisation error indicates that the text is taken from the Antwerp Polyglot. Stephan Schorch, "Die hebräische und die syrische Inschrift des Hochaltars in der Erfurter Kaufmannskirche", *Herbergen der Christenheit. Jahrbuch für deutsche Kirchengeschichte* 21/22 (1997/98) p. 253-262.

[67] Kenneth Austin, *From Judaism to Calvinism The Life and Works of Immanuel Tremellius (c.1510-1580)* (Ashgate, Farnham, 2007). Robert J. Wilkinson, "Immanuel Tremellius' 1569 Edition of the Syriac New Testament", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 58 (2007) p. 9-25.

provided. Immanuel Tremellius was thoroughly educated as a Jew, converted to Rome and then to the Reform. He had no contact with native Syriac speakers and no access to any Syriac type. His sole resource, other than his own considerable erudition, was fifteen manuscripts in the Elector Palatine's Library which Pfalzgraf Ottheinrich had acquired from an impecunious Postel. Amongst these was Vat sir. 16, the manuscript Tremellius used – together with the *editio princeps*—to produce his own *Testamentum Novum Est enim interpretatio Syriaca Novi Testamenti … autore Immanuele Tremellio* (Henr. Stephanus, Geneva 1569).

Tremellius had a thorough knowledge of the grammar of biblical and earlier Jewish Aramaic. Using the *editio princeps* of 1555 and Vat sir.16 as representatives of different stages of the later dialect Syriac he set about constructing an historical grammar of the development of Aramaic upon which he based his understanding of Syriac. The *Grammatica Chaldaea et Syra* (1568) was like the New Testament printed in Geneva, (as was Mercier's pupil Bertram's later Grammar) and was sometimes bound with his New Testament. Tremellius' Grammar contrasts sharply with that which Widmanstetter accompanied his *editio princeps,* the *Syriacae Linguae… Prima Elementa* (1556). Though boasting Syriac type, this was little more than a guide to reading (aloud) vocalized Syriac script. Having mastered the script the student could then practice on some vocalized passages which were transcribed into Latin and Hebrew. The work though properly using 'Syriac' to designate the script, offers no grammatical description of the language.

But Tremellius' grammar was different. He had only Hebrew type, but he focused on the grammar of the whole of Aramaic setting out vocalized paradigms after the manner of the great Hebrew Grammarians, but morphological and other differences between earlier and later forms are given throughout and copiously referenced to occurrences in the Targums and the Syriac New Testament. Different paradigm verbs are used to illustrate differently defective roots.[68]

Though he was prepared to concede the possibility that there may have been an Aramaic original of the Gospel of Matthew and the Epistle to the Hebrews, Tremellius rightly held that the text he was editing – *Syriaca nostra* – was made from the Greek. He also held however that it was an early – Apostolic or sub-Apostolic – translation.

Tremellius' procedure with respect to the *editio princeps* was controversial. He held that in Vat sir. 16 he possessed an older text that the manuscripts to which Widmanstetter had

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[68] AARON D. RUBIN, "The Paradigm Root in Hebrew", *Journal of Semitic Studies* 53 (2008) p. 29-41.

access. Though the *editio princeps* was only partially vocalized and Var sir. 16 not at all, Tremellius transcribed the text into Hebrew letters and then vocalized it in the light of the reconstruction of the history of Aramaic set out in his grammar and the assumption that the Syriac text came from early times: his older manuscript gave evidence of an older linguistic form of the text and that is what he was trying to restore. In short he vocalized the text in what he considered the dialect appropriate to the time of its writing – *and not according to the barbarism of later vernacular Syriac*. This was a very specific aim: later Gabriel Sionita who was, of course, a native speaker would accuse Tremellius of Chaldeanising the Syriac text in vocalizing it, by which he meant correcting the vocalization from that of the later dialect to that of the earlier. That however was exactly what Tremellius was consciously trying to do – to use an older manuscript to reconstruct the oldest possible form of a text he considered at least sub-Apostolic in date. It is clear that Tremellius had little interest in producing an edition for Eastern Christians in their own contemporary dialect. In fact he went out of his way to prevent his edition being that, asking: Who would want a demotic Demosthenes or an Italian Cicero?

Tremellius' procedure was entirely rational given his aims and it may be worth pointing out that to make the choice of an early form of the language, he had to be able clearly to recognize the later form. Tremellius recognized contemporary Syriac (though he was hardly extensively familiar with it) but wasn't interested in it. Unlike Widmanstetter he had no interest in providing a book for Eastern Christians[69]. Whilst the Roman Church, as we shall see, promoted Syriac studies in the context of attempts to achieve unity with Eastern Christians, Tremellius and Protestants more generally were interested in biblical philology. He had no access to native speakers, but if he had it would have made little difference to his main philological project – an edition of the earliest form of the Peshitta New Testament accessible to textual criticism in the light of the history of Aramaic, assuming that the Peshitta was a very early translation[70].

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[69] The *editio princeps* in this respect was furnished with a list of the festal days of the Syriac Lectionary which Tremellius omitted. These were seen by Catholics as evidence of the antiquity and ubiquity of the Church's ritual which Protestants wished to suppress. This underlines the confessional division which is so apparent in sixteenth-century Syriac studies. I have discussed the controversy over the festal days in WILKINSON, "Tremellius", p. 14, 19, 23.

[70] A. T. HOFFMAN, *Grammaticae Syriacae Libri III* (Impensis Orphanotrophei, Halle 1827) p. 43 is critical: *In iis principue, quae ad recte legendum et pronuntiandum pertinent, manca atque mutila est, ut in quibus, sicuti in caeteris, Hebraicae tantum dialecti analogiam respexerit multaque ex Hebraicis grammaticis desumserit, quae in Syriaca lingua non valent. In*

The Royal Parisian Scholars and their Pupils

We may consider Tremellius's approach a misplaced classi-
cism (Syriac scholars today generally are interested in the lan-
guage and literature of the Eastern Churches) but it was not
unprecedented. Jean Mercier (Johannes Mercerus 1510-1570)
succeeded his teacher François Vatabilis as Professor of He-
brew at the Collège Royal in Paris[71]. The recipient of important
royal patronage, he was of considerable importance in stimulat-
ing both the study of Aramaic and book sales by (similarly to
his colleague Jean Cinqarbres[72]) printing Aramaic readers for
his students[73].

Mercier's *Tabula in Grammaticen Linguae Chaldaeae quae
Syriaca dicitur* appeared in Paris in 1560 with a preface to his
students *omnibus eius studiosis*[74]. It does not deal with Syriac

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*verbis enim flectendis, ut hoc solum moneamus, docet praeformativum 3.
pers. Fut. esse Jud, et in 3. Persona plur. Praeterit. Pronuntiandas esse
litteras Jud et Waw finales, quae apud reliquos grammaticos prorsus non
audiri dicuntur. Orationis partes ita absolvuntur, ut verbum initium faciat,
tum nomen cum pronomine sequatur: de particulis denique hoc tantum
monet, nullam subire eas posse mutationem et significationem illarum in
lexicis tradendam esse. Syntaxis, quam ponit, nihil continet, nisi suffixorum
coniunctionem cum verbis, nominibus et particulis. Sola et unica huius libri
praestantia in eo est, quod permulta exempla eaque aptissima afferuntur
variam nominum formationem illustrantia et in diversis verborum classibus
distinguendis perspicuitas ordoque laudabilis deprehenditur.* Hottinger,
*Grammaticae Chaldaeo-Syriacae Libri Duo Cum triplici Appendice,
Chaldaea, Syra & Rabbinica* (Typis Joh. Jacobi Bodmeri, Zurich 1652)
Appendix II p. 168-169 is cited below. Tremellius is there taken as an exa-
mple of Hebraising vocalisation.

[71] Vatable produced a Targum edition to the Hebrew Bible published by
Robertus Stephanus between 1544 and 1546. Tremellius himself explicitly
discusses Mercier in respect of Chaldeanising vocalisation (if we allow that
he wrote the anonymous *Specularis dialogus* of 1581). See WILKINSON,
"Tremellius", p. 21.

[72] JEAN CINQARBRES, *Targum seu paraphrasis Caldaica in Lamenta-
tiones Jeremiae prophetae, nunc primùm Latinitate donata, Johanne Quin-
quarboreo... interprete. Accessit communis latina translatio, ut faciliùs
appareat, quid commodi, quidque utilitatis adferat nostra haec Caldaica
versio. Additae sunt etiam ejusdem Quinquarborei... annotationes non
poenitendae.* (Martin Le Jeune, Paris 1549).

[73] So, for example: J. MERCERUS, *Chaldaea Ionathae in sex prophetas
interpretatio, Michaeam... & Malachiam, Latinitate nunc primum donata &
scholiis illustrat* (C. Stephanus, Paris 1559); *Chaldaea translatio Haggaei
prophetae, recens Latinitate donata, cum scholiis haud infrugiferis per Joh.
Mercerum* (M. Juvenis, Paris 1551).

[74] He refers them back to his *Tabulae in Chaldaeam grammaticen, qui-
bus ea continentur quaecunque sunt ad Chaldaeas Bibliorum paraphrases
assequendas necessaria* (Martin Le Jeune, Paris 1550), similarly addressed
Linguae Hebraeae candidatis omnibus, which were *ex Munsteri grammati-
ca magna ex parte confectas*. This time he offers them an improved edition

but is essentially (as we would now expect) a guide to Aramaic for those who have some grasp of Hebrew: *Ei enim qui in Hebraismo sit mediocriter versatus, haud sane multum negotii sermo Syriacus facesset...* Mercier bewails the chaotic state of Aramaic studies which lacked the antecedent grammars and scholarship, Jewish and Christian, which made Hebrew a fairly well known quantity[75]. The language has been allowed to decay from the days of Daniel and Ezra (and Ezra is not without imperfection); it is a tale of progressive impurity[76]. Even the text of the Targums in the Bomberg Bibles which everyone used was not entirely reliable. Mercier's solution was resolute: he would correct in his grammatical tables the evident impurities that have entered the language following two guides: analogy with Hebrew and the usage of the Biblical books Daniel and Ezra. Unlike Tremellius, he did not even have a manuscript.

Mercier we may consider misguided and intent on eliminating the very evidence which today would be used to establish the history of Aramaic dialects. He shares Tremellius' misplaced classicism but without the defensible aim of reconstructing the earliest recoverable textual form of a document judged itself to be early. Rather he seeks to standardize the whole language to its pristine purity by eliminating subsequent impurity. It is not a view of language change (merely as corruption) which we are inclined to recognize and, naturally, it made no contribution to the isolation of Syriac. For Jean Mercier 'Syriac' was just another name for the *lingua Chaldaea* which he was about to restore to its original monolithic purity.

Four years after Mercier's work (1554) there appeared in Paris Angelus Caninius' *Institutiones linguae syriacae, assyriacae atque thalmudicae, una atque aethiopicae atque arabicae collatione*. Caninius like Mercier was Professor of Hebrew at

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no longer based on Münster. A new edition came out from Johann Crato, Wittenberg in 1570. Johannes Drusius republished Mercier's work in 1602: *Grammatica Chaldaica descripta ex tabula Merceri ad usum juventiutis, sed inter describendum, ita mutatuta interpolata, aucta ut plane nova plane grammatica dici merito queat* (Apud Aegidium Radaeum, Franeker 1602).

[75] *...in hoc linguae genere, cum ratio nondum ita certa & accurate est, ut Hebraicae, cuius grammaticen tot antehac praestantia & Hebraeorum & nostrorum ingenia tractarunt, ut nihil fere iam in ea super sit, quod non aut aeque compertum & exploratum sit atque apud Graecos & Latinos autem etiam compertum...* (Introduction, p. 3.)

[76] *Linguam autem vel Babyloniam seu chaldaeam quae purior fuit, qua apud Danielem & Ezram nonnulla scripta sunt (etsi Ezras ad Syros magis accedat) vel Syriacam, quae haud multum diversa fuit, non tamen ita pura, qua Onkelus & Ionathas sunt usi, & post alij paraphrastae & Talmudici, licet impurius, ut Ierosolmitana magis dicta sit, quae usque ad Christi tempora pervenit, quam aut Chaldaea aut Syriaca (etsi Talmud duplex sit, Babylonium purius, Ierosolmitanum impurius) eam inquam linguam paucissimi, forsan quod vernacula & vulgo Iudaeorum diu notior fuerit, tentarunt (ibid).*

the Collège de France. The book is fundamentally an Aramaic grammar seeking explicitly to improve on the work of Münster as the Introduction makes clear for it both praises him and yet finds deficiencies in his work[77]. The book moreover is structured by an appreciation of comparative philology and at least of some notion of language change and of dialects. There is not much Ethiopic or Arabic beyond the essential conjugation of strong verb. There are, the *Praefatio ad Lectorem* explains, three fundamental languages – Hebrew, Greek and Latin. The dialects of Greek we know as Attic, Ionic, Doric and Aeolic. Those of Latin are *Italica, Gallica* and *Hispanica*. (At this point we may note that whilst we still speak thus of Ancient Greek dialects, we would not so describe the Romance languages.) The dialects of Hebrew are analogously *Syriaca, Arabica* and *Aethiopica*. *Syriaca* is here roughly equivalent to our 'Aramaic'. It was in early times called *Chaldaica & Babylonica*. That difference is merely one of age. *Babylonica* was also often called *Aramaea, Mesopotamica and Assyriaca*. This was the language of Laban (for Abraham had lived in Chaldaea) and Daniel and Ezra used it. So did Onkelos and Jonathan, but (here we may suspect a note of sympathy with Mercier) *not so elegantly*. The language flourished just before the time of Christ. The Pharisees may have argued in Hebrew but the ordinary folk spoke *Syriaca*. This was also the language of Aquila the Proselyte (considered here the author of the Targum to the Prophets) and Joseph Caecus, considered the author of the Targum to the Hagiographer. The Talmud also presents an example of *Syriaca*. There is little difference amongst all these except perhaps for a lack of purity in later cases, a greater vocabulary and the presence of loan words.

Whatever imaginative advances in historical and comparative philology Caninius might be credited with, they had little effect upon his notion of Aramaic. Of the earlier and later language he remarks: *Haud magnum tamen inter hanc illamque discrimen advertas ...* His nomenclature indicates he considers *Syriaca* and all his other terms to refer essentially to the same language which in turn is a dialect of Hebrew. Caninius' book appeared a year before Widmanstetter's *editio princeps* made available a body of text in Syriac in its proper script, but there was nothing there which needed of necessity to change his analysis. Nearly forty years later, again in Paris, Pierre Victor Palma-Cayet, produced his *Paradigmata de quatuor linguis orientalibus praecipuis arabica armena syra aethiopica ...* (Es-

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[77] HOFFMANN, p. 42 observes: *In praefatione ait, se in consilium adhibuisse doctissimorum Christianorum et Iudaeorum iudicium, multorum codicum collationem et postremo aliquot annorum laborem. Sine dubio in Hispania, ubi diu versatus est, adeundi et perscrutandi codices illos nactus est opportunitatem.*

tienne Prévosteau héritier de Guillaume Morel, 1594) in which the four languages are presented separately but in parallel and all compared to Hebrew their common source. But there is little obvious advance marked here. We shall return to Palma-Cayet later.

Cornelius Bonaventura Bertramus (1531-1594)

Cornelius Bonaventura Bertramus (Bertram) was a Protestant student of both Mercier and Caninius (he had also learned from Tremelllius' work) who fled to Geneva to escape persecution and, in the absence of Antonius Rodolphus Cevallaerius, taught Hebrew at the Academy there from 1567 to 1586[78]. In 1574 he produced a comparative Hebrew and Aramaic Grammar: *Comparatio grammaticae hebraeae et aramicae atque adeo dialectorum aramicarum inter se: concinnata ex hebraicis Antonii Cavellarij praeceptionibus: aramicisque doctorum aliorum observationibus... Auctore Bonaventura Cornelio Bertramo.* (E. Vignon, Geneva 1574). What is of interest here is that beyond a comparison of Hebrew and Aramaic, we are offered a comparative account of Aramaic dialects which clearly isolates Syriac. The influence of Tremellius upon this pupil of the Parisian Scholars is clear.

From Bertram's *Praefatio* we learn that Hebrew not Aramaic was the first Adamic language which remained in vigor even after Babel until the Exile, but that thereafter Judaeans used *lingua Chaldaica*. Geographical Syria is named from '*sur*' or the 'desert' that lies between Egypt and Assyria. It extends West through Cyprus onto Cilicia and Cappadocia, North to the Black Sea, South and East through Mesopotamia to the Persian Gulf. The name *syrica* derives from *sur*, as *assyrica* does from *assur*. In Ancient Hebrew, however, the area was called 'Aram' and this was then used for the area from the Antilebanon to Mesopotamia and Arabia Petraea. Scripture uses Aram in place names: 'Paddan-Aram'; 'Aram Tsobah'; 'Aram Beth Rechob'; 'Aram Mahachat'; 'Aram of Damascus' *etc.*. 'Syriaca' is not used of these places in Scripture but Strabo calls inhabitants of Syria, Comagene and Antioch, '*Arimos*' which is 'Aramaeans'. Aram (first encountered in Genesis 22.21) carried the name East and West. Chesed (*ksd)* is mentioned amongst the sons of Nahor's first wife. From his name we get *kasdim*. The *lingua casdim* is the same as the *lingua aramaea* and *the lingua Chaldaeorum*: *ita ut Aramaea lingua Hebraicam aliquot modo antiquasse & quasi obliterasse videatur: nec id semel, sed saepius variisque suis dialectis.*

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[78] PAULUS COLOMESIUS, *Gallia Orientalis sive Gallorum qui Linguam Hebraeam vel alias Orientales excoluerunt Vitae...* (Adrian Vlacq, The Hague 1665) p. 68ff for Bertram.

Bertram isolates as Aramaic dialects: (1) *Babylonica* used by Daniel and Ezra; (2) *Chaldaica* or *Sy[r]aca* found in Targum Onekos on the Pentateuch and Jonathan on the Former and Later Prophets; (3) *Dialectam... Ierosolymitanam* found in the later Targums on the Pentateuch and Esther. The *vulgum Israelitarum*, returned from Exile, adopted loan-words from Ammonite, Moabite, Persian and Greek which characterize this dialect; (4) A dialect intermediate between 2 & 3 and found in the Targum to Psalms, Proverbs and Job; (5) A mixture of 1-4 but with an admixture of Hebrew and its idioms, Latin Greek and Arabic loan-words *& barbaris aliis audacius paulo assumptis*. This is the language of Talmuds (though Bavli is purer than the Palestinian Talmud and a similar distinction may be found between Targums); (6) *Dialectam syram Antiochenum seu Comagenam seu etiam Maroniticam*. This is placed last of all not because Bertram considered it arose last of all, but rather because it has endured and outlived all the other dialects[79]. This is the language of the Church not only in Antioch and its regions but of the whole Patriarchate in Palmyrene and Mesopotamia. Bertram does not consider this *dialectam syram* to be the language of Christ. In John 19.13 the Peshitta for (the Greek transcription) *gabbatha* (The Pavement) has *gəpiptha'* ('*septum*') whereas other Aramaic dialects have *gabbtha',* indicating that Jews of Christ's time were using the dialect of Targum Jonathan supposedly written forty years before Christ. But this dialect is nonetheless not late: *Tantam vero huius linguae antiquitatem arguit paraphrasis in Novum Testamentum, ut eam ausim Ecclesiae illi Antiochenae primum nascent, christianisque illis primum in ea appellatis ascribere*. Unusually, then, not the language of Christ, but nonetheless early.

The dialect of Aramaic Bertram now calls *dialecta syra* is of particular usefulness to Christians in providing illumination of the precise meanings of New Testament words and resolving ambiguities[80]. He finds Acts 3.21 (*Quem oportet coelos quidam capere*) improved by the Syriac: *quem necesse est coelis ut capiant*[81]. This sort of thing makes desirable a translation of the

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[79] *... illam sexto & postremo loco ponimus, non quod velimus post alias illas omnes ortam fuisse, sed quod omnium postrema usum suum constanter retinuerit, atque omnibus illis successerit, omnesque illas antiquaverit.*

[80] *Atque hoc effecit, ut huius dialecti aramicae cognitionem nobis christianis magis necessariam credam, quam ullius superiorum. Nam praeter usus varios, quos cum illis omnes communes habet, peculiares quosdam & proprios & Christiano theologo necessarios suppeditat. Nemo sane dubitat loca esse quam plurima in Bibliorum contextu quae multorum ingenia exercuerunt, vel propter varias vocum significationes, vel etiam sententiarum amphibologias. Ea vero omnia sincere explicare potest Syra Dialectus, ut nihil ad eius interpretationem requiras.*

[81] See also p. 222.

whole Syriac Bible not just the New Testament. It is Syriac which illuminates *maranatha* in 1Cor 16.22 and the minatory prophesy ('The Lord cometh') in Jude 14. Syriac is also more generally useful in illuminating the usage of other Aramaic dialects and helps the study of both etymology and meaning: the Chaldaean *mrt* 'vinum' is compared to Syriac *m'ryt* (from *yrt* from Hebrew *yrsh*) explaining the link to *tirosh*. This account of Syriac is sophisticated and nuanced. We shall discover many less able accounts subsequently.

The Grammar itself uses Roman type on the pages dealing with Hebrew and Italic on the Aramaic pages. Often alternating pages are so differentiated, but frequently the two fonts are inter-spliced on one page when both languages are mentioned. Thus Hebrew and Aramaic are attended to separately and the differentiation of the Aramaic dialects and their separate and distinct usages are noted on the Aramaic pages. There is no Syriac type (there was none in Geneva at this point, so Bertramus suffered the same disadvantage as Tremellius who also brought out his Grammar there). Syriac examples are taken from throughout the New Testament and *pqd* is used as the paradigm verb for both languages.

The Hebrew authorities acknowledged are Kimhi with others and the *Grammatica* of Antonius Cevallerius (his immediate predecessor in the Genevan chair). The Chaldaean authorities are Levita's *Methurgheman,* Canisius and Jean Mercier. However the authority *in Syris* is Tremellius alone – the only preexisting historical grammar of Aramaic. Bertram mentions to his patron Christopher, Count Palatine, Duke of Bavaria (p4) that the library of his ancestors *qui primi in hoc nostro occidente eius linguae hospites fuerunt* held the Syriac texts from which Tremellius had worked. No doubt Bertramus used Tremellius' New Testament text as well as his Grammar for this, unlike the 1555 *editio princeps*, provided a vocalized form of the text in Hebrew characters. He makes no mention of the New Testament in the Antwerp Polyglot. His choice may indicate a confessional preference – or simply that, once equipped with Tremellius' text and comparative grammar, Bertram needed nothing else.

The Grammar begins with an Introduction on reading and pronunciation. The Syriac accents are not treated very thoroughly as not (we are told) often used in their books. Puncta for plurals are however mentioned[82]. Three *orationis partes de vocis consignificatione* are isolated after a discussion of *dictio* (*dictio consignificans eodem modo Aramice quo Hebraice tradenda, definienda & intelligenda* – containing not only what the Latins call adverbs, conjunctions, prepositions and interjec-

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[82] p. 130.

tions, but also pronouns and even articles). We meet (1) *de vocis consignificatione*; (2*) nomen* (with observation on absence of cases in quite the same way as Latin has them); (3) *verbum* – discussing themes, defective stems *etc.*. The Hebrew grammatical terms *Benomi Pahul etc.* are used for both Hebrew and Aramaic, though Aramaic is given its own form *ith-* instead of *hiph'il etc.*. In all Bertram's work represents an informed and analytical presentation of Tremellius, enhanced by his comparison with Hebrew. But with specific reference to Aramaic little has been added to Tremellius.

Petro Martinez (1530?-1594)

Nor was much progress made in the work of Petro Martinez (1530?-1594), a pupil of Jean Mercier, Gilbert Génébrard and Petrus Ramus. He brought out his *Grammaticae Hebraeae Libri Duo* in 1567 with Martin Le Jeune in Paris[83]. He followed it, twenty three years later, with his *Grammatica Chaldaea* from Hieronymus Haultinus in La Rochelle in 1590[84]. The *Grammatica Chaldaea* proceeds in the usual way of marking the difference between Hebrew and Aramaic in letters, syllables, nouns and verbs noting the degeneration of Hebrew into Aramaic. The themes of the verb in both languages have Hebrew names (*hiph'il*) but Latin is used to mark the *participium praesens*. A second book dealing ostensibly with 'syntax' covers construct chains, pronominal and possessive suffixes, pronouns, adverbs and gerunds in a predictible way. The only evidence cited in the Grammar is from Daniel and Ezra. No New Testament passages are cited. Occasionally a difference is noted *Talmudice*, *Rabbinice* or *Syriace* but without citation. The volume has no Syriac type – in fact no mention is made of the different script used for Syriac. Syriac has very little pre-

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[83] SANTIAGO GARCÍA-JALÓN DE LA LAMA, *La gramática hebrea en Europa en el siglo XVI* (Publicaciones Universidad Pontificia, Salamanca 1998) p. 49-58 for Martinez contribution to the study of Hebrew grammar.

[84] This was followed by *Grammaticae Technología* (Ex officina Plantiniana Raphelengi, La Rochelle 1611). Sixtinus Amama brought out an edition of the Hebrew Grammar combined with material from Buxtorf and his own editing and issued with a copy of the *Grammatica Chaldaea* in 1625 (Apud Henricum Laurentium Bibliopolam, Typis Frederici Heysii Typo in Acad. Franekerana, Amsterdam). Just before Martinez' *Grammatica Chaldaea* appeared the Jewish physician David de' Pomis (1525-1593) dedicated to Sixtus V a trilingual post-biblical Hebrew and Aramaic dictionary, again based on the *Sefer 'Aruk*, for Christians in Hebrew Latin and Italian. [*Zemah David*] *Dittionario novo hebraico, molto copioso, dechiarato in tre lingue, con bellisime annotationi, e con l'indice latino, e volgare, de tutti li suoi significati = Lexicon nouum hebraicum, locupletissimum quantum nunquam antea, triplici lingua perspicuè explanatum, cum externarum vocum, in quibus tum prisci, tum recentiores rabini, hactenus versati sunt, ac passim ubique versantur, ab Aruk, Meturgeman, Tisbi, fideliter excerptarum, additione... Dauid de Pomis... autore* (Giovanni de Gara, Venice 1587).

sence in the book other than being mentioned as the language's most corrupt state.

The *Praefatio* commends the study of Daniel and Ezra, the Targums and the Jewish Commentators. Chaldaean is also commended as the Jewish vernacular (much influenced by Greek words and phrases) which Christ and his Apostles spoke. Martinez acknowledges the Syriac New Testament, but has made little use of it: *Accedit Novi Testamenti interpretatio Syriaca, tanquam Thesaurus quidam e tenebris vetustatis nuper in lucem editus*. But it represents exactly the same language: *Syriaca est illa ipsa Chaldaica* mentioned in Isaiah 36, unknown before the Exile, but brought back to Judaea by the returning captives where it had become native and widespread by the time of Christ. It was called Hebrew (after the people) but the Hebrew on the *titulus* of the Cross, or that Paul spoke is Chaldaean: only the learned preserved Hebrew itself. The purest Aramaic is that of Daniel and Ezra and Syriac is the most impure. Later, we shall see, Myricaeus was to claim inspiration from Martinez work.

4. The Antwerp Polyglot Bible

We have detected a growing awareness of Syriac amongst the scholars variously involved in Widmanstetter's *editio princeps* and also in the brilliant but lonely labours of Tremellius (who was, however, interested in something slightly different) but our brief review of the work of the Parisian scholars has reminded us just how little differentiation was found within the *lingua Chaldaea.* It was the influence of Tremellius which enabled the Protestant Bertramus in Geneva to produce his properly comparative grammar. Otherwise the contribution of the Parisian scholars and pupils was not particularly outstanding. The next spur towards some recognition of the autonomy of Syriac came with the project of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible[85].

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[85] *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece & Latine* (8 volumes, Plantin, Antwerp 1569-1573). 1200 sets were printed (twice the number of copies of the Complutensian Polyglot) with twelve copies on vellum for Philip II. The fifth New Testament volume came out in July 1570. For Robert Granjon's Type, Coakley, p. 34-36. There is some ambi-vocalisation as in Widmanstetter's font. Guy Lefèvre de la Boderie claimed in his introduction to the *De Ritibus Baptismi* that Widmanstetters's New Testament text was revised for the Antwerp Polyglot from a manuscript bought by Postel in Damascus. Fr. Raphelengius also drew on it for his *dyhyq' hdh' Variae lectiones ex Novi Testamenti Syrici Manuscripto codice Coloniensi nuper a Fr. Raph. Collectae* (Plantin, Antwerp 1574, 1575). Lefèvre de la Boderie, however, does not appear to have noticed Raphelengius' variants in his Syriac New Testament text: C. Moss, *Catalogue of Syriac Printed Books and Related Literature in the British Museum* (London 1962) # 155. The volumes of the Polyglot were expensive and somewhat rare. This rather inhibited the distribution of the linguistic aids they contained.

It contained an edition of the Syriac New Testament in Syriac type with an additional transcription into vocalized Hebrew type by Guy Lefèvre de la Boderie and some supporting language aids which will retain our interest here[86]. The project was directed by Arias Montano under Imperial patronage and the Bible printed by Plantin. I have elsewhere drawn attention to continuities between the scholars working on Widmanstetter's *editio princeps* and those involved with the Polyglot and especially their shared interest in Christian Kabbalah[87].

A perpetual desideratum for Syriac scholars was a good dictionary. Other than the New Testament there was little material in Syriac and scholars were eager to get their hands on any document in Syriac not least for the grammatical and lexical information it might contain as well as for its intrinsic interest. Widmanstetter had Moses of Mardin write him a manuscript Syriac lexicon which is now in Munich (BSB Cod Syr I: folios 89-329) and entitled *Dictionarium Syriacae Linguae cum interpretatione Arabica et Latina, atque, ubi opus est, etiam Graeca*[88]. Andreas Masius had also made use of Moses to help him construe a text of the Anaphora of St. Basil he had obtained. He had also met Mar Sulaqa a Nestorian monk from Rabban Hormizd who was visiting Rome on delicate ecclesiastical business[89]. Sadly he tells us in his Dedicatory Epistle he not managed to obtain the Syriac Lexicon which Moses had brought with him and which we know Widmanstetter had had him copy. What progress he would have been able to make with that volume! Nonetheless he collected unknown lexical terms that were not in the New Testament and made use of them, together with New Testament vocabulary and words from the Psalter, to form his short *Syrorum Peculium* the 54 pages of which appear

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[86] Juan de Mariana's *censura* of Guy Lefèvre de la Boderie's Syriac New Testament indicates the learned Jesuit's view of Syriac. (He was a pupil at Alcalá and a teacher of Robert Bellarmine at the Collegium Romanum.) He distinguished Syriac from Chaldaean and knew the language was currently spoken by Christians around Jerusalem. He found the liturgical material in the *editio princeps* and subsequently in the Polyglot useful for refuting Protestants when defending the antiquity of the rites of the Church. He considered the possibility of the Peshitta version of Mark being the work of the Evangelist himself and of the originals of Matthew and Hebrews being written in Syriac. He concluded however that the whole Syriac New Testament was produced from the Greek text long after Mark. The Syriac he argued follows the Greek even where the Greek has been corrupted from agreement with the Vulgate. Care should be taken not to use the Syriac, made from a corrupt Greek, to corrupt the Vulgate! WILKINSON, *Kabbalistic Scholars*, p. 95-99 (where the currently lost *censura* is reconstructed from Mariana's Treatise *Pro Editione Vulgata*).

[87] WILKINSON, *Kabbalistic Scholars.*

[88] *Orientalism*, p. 152-153.

[89] *Orientalism*, p. 85-89.

in the Polyglot. It is the first printed Lexicon of Syriac (and only Syriac)[90]. Whereas previously scholars had depended upon Jewish scholars for an accurate understanding of the Hebrew Bible, Masius claimed that his little work made a contribution to Hebrew Lexicography; it offered the reassuring potential for Christian philological correction of Jewish biblical understanding.

Guy Lefèvre de la Boderie's *Dictionarium Syro-Chaldaicum* (1571) was by contrast a lexicon running to 198 pages. It is essentially (though without acknowledgement) Münster's Aramaic Dictionary with some words transcribed into Syriac script[91]. The supplementary Syriac words contained in the book are in part derived from Lefèvre de la Boderie's accompanying edition of the New Testament and the additional vocabulary he found *ex rituali libro Severi Patriarchae*[92] and both serto and estrangela fonts were used for Syriac words. However the dictionary has a wide scope - referring to rabbinic authorities and midrash - and kabbalistic material is found scattered throughout. In spite of the specific isolation of Syriac words in their proper script, the title of the work as a *Dictionarium Syro-Chaldaicum* emphasizes the understanding which underlies the work and is given full expression in a three page introductory letter to Montano. Lefèvre de la Boderie stresses the importance of the Aramaic tradition which he traces back to Nebuchadnezzar. Had its literature not been lost, its eloquence would have matched that of Greece and Rome: as it was, the tradition passed through the Medes and Persians (Lefèvre de la Boderie is being guided here by the composition of Nebuchadnezzar's image in Daniel Chapter 2) before being appropriated as his own by Alexander the Great's teacher Aristotle. His point is to emphasize that Syriac was part of the longer occult Aramaean tradition which Egidio da Viterbo had celebrated. Lefèvre de la Boderie's additional transcription of the whole New Testament in Hebrew characters at the bottom of each page certainly facilitated the observation of dialectic differences but the huge ideological weight of the arcane tradition of

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[90] For Plantin's Syriacs, COAKLEY, p. 36-37. The type cut by Grajon, possibly after Postel's designs, was used not only for Masius and Guy Lefèvre de la Boderie but also in C. Waser's *Institutio linguae Syrae*. It is to be distinguished from his later type cut at Rome.

[91] WILKINSON, *Kabbalistic Scholars*, p. 81-85 for more detail. For an earlier account see GABREL A. SIVAN, *Guy Le Fèvre De La Boderie and his Epic "History" of Gaul: The Biblical, Rabbinic and Kabbalistic Foundation of a French Renaissance Legend* (Unpublished PhD Hebrew University 1974 p. 91, 110-117. I owe my copy to the kindness of Dr Judith Weiss.

[92] Printed as *D. Severi quondam Patriarchae de ritibus baptismi, et sacrae synaxi apud Syros Christianos receptis, liber; nunc primum in lucem editus Guidone Fabricio Boderano exscriptore & interpretore* (Plantin, Antwerp 1572).

Aramaean Kabbalistic mysteries was set in the balance against their estimation as signs of singularity. Moreover the Hebrew transcription is annotated with Hebrew roots, derived stems and Hebrew glosses as a guide to parsing[93]. There was no expressed aspiration here to be free of Jewish interpretive authority[94]. Neither was Lefèvre de la Boderie minded to take the existence of Syriac script as of fundamental importance. He considered its distinctive script to have been devised by orthodox Syriac speaking Christians to distinguish themselves from heretical Ebionites: his transcription of the New Testament into Hebrew letters, then, rather than being arbitrary, in fact restored the original.

Guy brought out another edition of the Syriac New Testament with Estienne Prévosteau in Paris in 1584[95]. There was no Syriac font available there, nor apparently the expertise or the will this time to vocalize the text in Hebrew letters. There is however an inter-linear Latin gloss. In his *Dedicatio* Guy (no doubt to a certain extent *faute de mieux*) remarks that the absence of, not just Syriac script, but vocalization of the Hebrew script was to enable Jews, for whose conversion he was concerned, to read the text as Hebrew or Jewish Aramaic and thus make it as similar as possible to the language of their own Talmud. Thus Guy downplays (or even eliminates) both the distinctiveness of the script and the dialectical differences. His extensive eschatological and kabbalistic introduction to the edition indicates the continuation of the mystical notions which had provided the context of Catholic Syriac studies since Teseo, Egidio da Viterbo and Postel[96].

We turn now from the lexicons to the grammars which accompanied the Antwerp Polyglot. Moses of Mardin, we know,

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[93] In *Ad Lectorem ... Praefatio*, Guy writes: *addimus praeterea in margine difficiliorum vocum, themata, & obscurium, aut omnino Syriacarum radicum Hebraicam explicationem, tum ut huius linguae studiosis consuleremus, tum etiam ut Judaeos linguae sanctae peritos ad novi Testamenti lectionem alliceremus.*

[94] The Dictionary was cited by the Jewish lexicographer and philologist David ben Isaac Cohen de Lara (c1602-1674) *Keter Kehunnah Corona Sacerdotii, Lexicon Thalmudico-Rabbinicum* (Hamburg 1688) who calls him Guido Bodia. On the Sephardi rabbi Cohen de Lara see *E. J.* X cols. 1428-1429.

[95] See MAUREEN ANN CROMBIE, *A Study of the Work of Guy Lefèvre de la Boderie (1541-1598)* unpublished PhD, University of British Columbia (1971) p. 186-193 on his *Novum Testamentum*. (This work seems to be the first doctorate devoted to De La Boderie before that of G. A. Sivan); WILKINSON, *Kabbalistic Scholars*, p. 101-120.

[96] Many of Postel's ideas are recapitulated in this work, see (ed.) F. SECRET, *Guillaume Postel, Le Thresordes Propheties de l'Univers* (Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague 1969) Introduction p.30-31.

had soon after his arrival provided Widmanstetter with a manuscript copy of the Syriac Grammar of Barhebraeus (BSB Cod Syr 1 f1-32r) followed by the same author's work on synonyms[97]. Widmanstetter annotated the precious grammar with Latin and Italian glosses, but nothing was printed. Unfortunately Masius was not able to see this as Moses had left it in Venice[98]. The Antwerp Polyglot however contained two grammars. The first was that of Raphelengius, a *Grammatica Chaldaea* of some twelve pages devoted to Biblical Aramaic and its difference from Hebrew, but showing awareness of Talmud, Targum, the Hebrew Massorah and such similarities with Syriac as there are. The most important work however is Masius' *Grammatica Linguae Syricae* (Plantin, Antwerp 1573)[99]. For the first time a grammar concerned itself with Syriac alone. Masius was aware of the novelty of his work his title page proclaims this: *opus novum & a nostris hominibus adhuc non tractatum.* He was also evidently proud of the pointing[100].

This quite outstanding work does indeed takes full advantage of the ability to deploy Syriac type and the expertise to add detailed vocalization. (The use of points to indicate plurals is explained.) There are full paradigms and copious commentary. The material is generally taken from the Syriac New Testament and the Psalter and is the product of prolonged collection and sorting of the material. The work is quite devoid of any mystical or kabbalistic interest. It is structured similarly to Münster's *Chaldaica Grammatica* in that it follows the *sex orationis partes*, common, Masius says, to all languages. It

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[97] *Orientalism*, p. 152-153 for details.

[98] He discusses this misfortune in the dedicatory epistle to Arias Montano *ad finem*. Masius refers to the work in *De Paradiso* 42: *est etiam apud Syros, ut mihi meus doctor dixit, Grammatica absolutissima de syriaca lingua.* For the question of which of Barhebraeus' two grammars is in view, see R. CONTINI, "Gli Inizi della Linguistica Siriaca nell'Europa rinascimentale", *Revista Studi Orientali* 68 (1994) p. 15-30. HOFFMANN, p. 44 boldly conjectures that Tremellius was responsible for its loss: *Masius a Mose Mardeno eam grammaticam, quam ex Syria ille secum tulerat Venetiisque reliquerat, et lexicon in usum Widmanstadii esse descriptam narrat. Omnes vero Widmanstadii libros, ergo et illam grammaticam cum lexico Bavarorum dux emit: sed quo deinde illa Mosis Mardeni apographa venerint, nusquam commemoratum videmus, forte tamen a Tremellio usurpata sunt et in aliqua bibliotheca Bavarica scatent.*

[99] Masius often used the adjective *syrica* as on title page of his *De Paradiso commentarius scriptus a Mose Bar-Cepha* (Plantin, Antwerp 1569).

[100] The title page continues: *[opus] quod laboriosa animadversione atque notatione vocalium, aliorumque punctorum Syricorum, quibus dictionibus in optimis emendatissimisque libris appositorum ille [Masius] nuper composuit.*

does however treat the verb before the noun[101]. It similarly makes use of Hebrew grammatical terminology (*benoni, paul, makor*) and calls the derived themes of the verb by Hebrew names. The work is explicitly directed at *iis qui Hebraice erudite sunt* (like Münster's also) so this approach is intelligible and has been long-lived[102]. Some attempt is made however to provide Syriac terms for nouns, verbs *etc*. The Dedicatory Epistle offers an account of the origins and history of Aramaic[103]. He considers Syriac the language of Christ and the initial propagation of the Gospel. He is conscious of the large number of Greek loan-words in Syriac, but also is aware of attention paid to sacred texts by Syriac grammarians and exegetes and suggests a growing awareness of what we might call 'Classical Syriac'. He appears to be the first to mention the Syriac Massorah[104].

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[101] Hoffmann (p. 44) praises the work noticing Hebrew influence, but also the effect of Moses of Mardin's instruction in treating the verb first: *Docet is elementa legendi atque scribendi; in partibus orationis illustrandis verbum primo loco ponit, secundo nomen, tertio particulas simul cum pronominibus. Hinc Mosis Mardeni institutionem, qua Masius usus est, praestantissimam fuisse luculenter apparet; sed hic quoque Hebraicae dialecti analogiam repiciens, ubique sagacitatem singularem adhibuit, omniaque bene perpendit ac perspicue proposuit, quanquam methodus minus interdum apta videatur; institutio quidem brevis est, sed omnia quae necessaria sunt, continet et sermone plano conscripta est.*

[102] For example, the contemporary T. MURAOKA, *Classical Syriac for Hebraists* (Harassowitz, Wiesbaden 1987).

[103] *Itaque ex illo sermone quem a Chaldaeis acceperant Israelitae, cum eum ipsi, ut dixi, plurimum casibus terminationibusque mutavissent; & multa insuper Graeca vocabula admiscuissent; (ut erat in sequentibus temporibus, apud plerasque nationes, Graecorum lingua in multo usu;) effecta est ea lingua, quae non modo a nostris hominibus, sed ab illis quoque, quorum propria est, Syrica vocatur. Habes ergo paucis Syricae linguae ortum.*

[104] *Qua cum Christus Dei & Mariae filius, eiusque discipuli, quippe vernacula, in Iudaea primum Israelitis sacrosanctum Euangelium patefecissent, pervulgassentque, plerique omnes deinde Christiani homines, qui illa, atque vicina circumquaque loca incolebant, eadem uti coepere, ad sacra illa salutaris doctrinae monimenta conservanda, tum posteris prodenda, atque etiam explicanda. Fueruntque proinde longo tempore Syrorum Christianorum coetus celeberrimi & frequentissimi: quamquam fere in Graecis semper sint annumerati a nobis, qui ad Occidentem habitamus. Doctissimorum igitur hominium studio, quales apud illos multi vixere, & scriptis libris floruere, brevi usque eo expolita est illa lingua, ut non minus scite vocalibus notis, punctisque aliis, quaeque eius literae, syllabae, verba; denique verborum casus, numeri, personae, tempora, genera notata, atque distincta, & illustrata sint, quam in Hebraea lingua factum est ab excellentissimo ingenio viris illis, qui auctores Massoreth, hoc est, traditionis, vocantur.* Notice the enumeration of the *orationis partes*. For the Massorah: GUSTAV ERNST SAMUEL DIETTRICH (ed.), *Die Massorah der östlichen und westlichen Syrer in ihren Angaben zum Propheten Jesaia nach fünf Handschriften der British*

Syriac Texts other than Scripture

The Syriac scholars of our period were very much busied by the establishment of the grammatical singularity of the language and the work of establishing editions of the biblical text. The definition given to Syriac by the progressive edition of the works of Syriac authors really got underway only towards the middle of the Nineteenth Century[105]. Nonetheless, a beginning was made and two scholars of the Antwerp Polyglot may be considered to have attended the birth: Masius and Guy Lefèvre de la Boderie.

Masius published a Latin translation of Moses Bar-Cepha's *De Paradiso* writen c. 850. The choice of text was made for him in that this was a manuscript (now lost) which Moses of Mardin was able to supply[106]. (It is perhaps appropriate to notice that at this time Masius was sufficiently confident in his competence in Syriac to write letters to Moses in Syriac[107].) The book also included some other liturgical and doctrinal documents[108]. In the preface Masius described the life of Bar-Cepha and enumerated the other works of Bar Cepha mentioned in the *De Paradiso:* a hexaemeral commentary, a *De Anima*, a commentary on Matthew and a treatise on heresies. Masius also found references in the work to Ephrem, Philoxenus of Mabbug, Severus of Antioch, Jacob of Sarrug, James of Edessa, Julian of Halicarnassus and John of Apamea. It would appear however that he knew these authors only from the work he had just translated. Thus, though not yet a history of Syriac Literature, we have at least a list of some famous names.

Masius also facilitated some small appreciation of the as yet unnoticed complexities of the Syriac Scriptural tradition by his edition of *Joshua* for which he had access to a Syro-hexaplaric manuscript[109].

In 1572 Guy Lefèvre de la Boderie published *De Ritibus Baptismi*, a text and Latin translation of the Liturgy of Baptism

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Museum in Verbindung mit zwei Tractaten über Accente (Williams and Norgate, London 1899).

[105] "Für die … Denkmäler syrischen Literatur wesenlich erst seit der Mitte des 19. Eingesetzt". So A. BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* (Bonn 1922; reprint 1968) p. 3.

[106] WILKINSON, *Orientalism*, p. 44.

[107] WILKINSON, *Orientalism*, p. 84.

[108] WILKINSON, *Orientalism*, p. 89 ; A. VAN ROEY, *Les études syriaques de 1538-1658* (K. U. Leuven, Faculteit der Godgeleerdheit Bibliotheek 1988) p. 27.

[109] *Joshuae Imperatoris Historia, illustrata atque explicata …* (Plantin Antwerp 1574); WILKINSON, *Kabbalistic Scholars*, p. 44-45.

and of the Eucharist attributed wrongly to Severus of Anti-
och[110]. The *Dedicatoria Epistola* to Petrus Danesius describes
two purposes to the edition. Neither is the propagation of
knowledge of Syriac Literature. He intends firstly to score po-
lemical points: *Nec enim parum valet ad confirmandos receptos
in Ecclesia Romana ritus Orientalium Christianorum consen-
su: apud quos non disssimiles in sacramentorum administra-
tione ceremonias invenias: quae non heri aut nudiustertius na-
tae sunt, nec a Pontificibus Romanis adinventae… sed iam a
multis retro seculis inter Aspostolicos viros in usu fuerunt.* The
second goal was pedagogic: *ut studiosis linguarum, ac potis-
simum Syriacae, Iesu Christo redemptionis nostrae auctori
quondam vernaculae, aliquantulum prodesse possem.* He had
been asked by the professors of Paris and Louvain *ut aliquid
Syriace seorsim a Bibliis Regis* (Antwerp Polyglot) *in lucem
emitterem, in quo tyrones seipsos exercerent.* There was very
little Syriac text around: Crinesius, we shall see, was obliged to
draw on this text for his Lexicon.

The Heritage of Masius

Masius' work became a model for subsequent Syriac gram-
mars[111]. Casper Waser (1565-1625), the Zürich Reformed theo-
logian, Professor of Hebrew and an Orientalist, a friend of both
Drusius and Buxtorf, brought out his *Institutio Linguae Syriae
ex optimis quibusque apud Syros scriptoribus, in primis Andrea
Masio collecta…* in 1593 in Leiden with Raphelengius (who
apparently sollicited the work) and announced its debt to Ma-
sius on its title page[112]. This was one of the first Syriac books

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[110] *D. Severi Alexandrini quondam Patriarchae de ritibus baptismi, et
sacrae synaxis apud Syros Christianos receptas liber. Nunc primum in
lucem editus Guidone Fabricio Boderiano excriptore et interprete* (Plantin,
Antwerp 1572). The manuscript is in Leiden. (M. J. DE GOEJE, *Catalogus
Codicum Orientalium Bibliothecae Academiae Lugduno-Batavae, Vol. V*
(Leiden, 1873) p. 65. WILKINSON, *Kabbalistic Scholars*, p. 103-132.

[111] R. CONTINI, "Gli Inizi della linguistica siriaca nell' Europa rinasci-
mentale", in *Giorgio Levi della Vida nel centenaria della nascita 1886-1967*
(Rome 1988) p. 25-40 at p22.

[112] *Casper Waserus Tigurinus, cum Masii grammaticam in Bibliis Po-
lygl. Antwerp, adire haud facile cuiquam contingeret, eam meliorem in
ordinem redactam nonnullisque observationibus tabulisque singula magis et
facilius illustrantibus auctam typis denuo imprimendam curavit. Primarius
vero eius finis in emendanda hac grammatica fuit, ut singula praecepta
memoriae facilius mandarentur. Idem Hebraicas grammaticas tunc exs-
tantes assidue comparavit virumque se praebuit, qui non solum iis, quae ab
aliis proponuntur, optime uti possit, sed etiam ipse linguae indolem atque
naturam satis perspiciat.* HOFFMANN, p. 44.

to be printed in the Northern Netherlands[113]. A *Grammatica Syra,* an augmented version of the *Institutio,* appeared in Leiden 1619 with Erpenius[114]. (Erpenius, Waser claimed, again urged him to produce the book[115].) Both works enjoyed the benefits of the Plantin Syriac punches (used for the work of Masius and Guy Lefèvre de la Boderie) and so join the group of works that were increasingly drawing attention to the distinctive nature of Syriac by using its own script[116].

Waser is keen to encourage his readers to ever more adventurous study of Oriental Languages. After learning Hebrew, the route to the *lingua Chaldaea* lies open. The languages are close apart from some vocabulary which the Hebrews did not use, or did not use very frequently. The main difference is *in terminatione, mutatione litterarum, punctorum & articulorum variatio, hoc est, in analogia, non essentia utriusque linguae consistit.* In affirming the antiquity of the *lingua Chaldaea* which goes back to Zoroaster, Waser describes the ancient Chaldean traditions of Metaphysics, Mathematics, Physics, Politics, Logic and Astronomy which were once transmitted in the language – and were subsequently appropriated by Plato and Aristotle and passed off as their own. This is reminiscent of Egidio da Viterbo's Aramaean Kabbalah. Predictably biblical Aramaic

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[113] Waser later brought out an *Elementale Chaldaicum, ad usum scholarum. Adjectum est Somnium Chaldaico-Latinum Nebudcad-Netzaris* (Typis G. Voegelini, Heidelberg 1611).

[114] CASPAR WASER, *Grammatica Syra duobus libris methodice explicata... editio posterior, priori ita emendatior et locupletior, ut nova videri possit* (Typis Rephalengianis, Leiden 1619). Hoffmann positively remarks the distinctly Semitic features of the first edition (*e. g.* treating the verb before the noun) derived from Masius yet 'Westernised' in the second edition and notes other comparative demerits there: *Quamvis vero haec secunda editio in elementis copiosior sit et uberior atque etymologiam et syntaxin distinguat, prior tamen sine dubio ei multo praeferenda, cum in partibus orationis eundem, quem Syri ipsi exhibent, ordinem linguae Semiticae magis consentaneum sequatur, ita ut primo verbum, deinde nomen et particulae, quibus pronomen adnumeratur, accurate tractentur, illa vero altera editio ex Europaearum linguarum natura primum de nomine cum pronomine, tum de verbo et variis denique particulis praecipiat, et syntaxis, quam ab etymologia separat, nihil nisi suffixorum coniunctionem cum nomine, verbo et particulis, ut apud Tremellium contineat. Prior praeterea editio tabulis optime dispositis rem collustrat, altera vero minus aptis utitur et quae in illa de nominum formatione et flexione proposita erant utillissima, nescio quam ob causam omnino omittit.* HOFFMANN, p. 44-45

[115] In the preface of the 1619 *Grammatica Syra* Waser reminisces (in a Preface to his five sons dated 1614) on the first edition composed in 1593-1594. Erpenius had recently sent him his Arabic Grammar and urged him to republish his Syriac Grammar as a sequel.

[116] COAKLEY, p. 36. In 1593 he called *estrangela maiusculae*: in 1619 it is designated *difficilior atque minus usitata.*

and the Targums are also considered good for refuting the Jews in their blasphemies against Christ.

Having mastered *lingua Chaldaea*, those with pious daring may aspire to *Lingua Syra Antiochena seu Commagena & Maronita* named for the areas where it is now used. It is a conflation from Hebrew and Chaldaean which began at the time of Cyrus, or not much later under Darius, when the Jewish exiles returned from Babylon to Judaea and over the passing years became much changed from Chaldaean. This was the language of the Jerusalem Talmud in which, in addition to Chaldaean, Babylonian and Assyrian words were distorted *in Syrismum* and in which also Persian, Arabic, Greek and Latin words are found. Similarly the Targums were written in a language further different in speech and sense. This was the Jewish vernacular from Alexander the Great to Christ, evidenced by words in the New Testament and sanctified by our Lord whose language it was. Study of *lingua Syra* can magnificently illuminate more obscure New Testament passages.

Waser was able to review the slowly growing body of Syriac scholarship, which in itself increased the characterization of Syriac. To the extent to which scholars can appeal to a bibliography, they are increasingly able to define their subject. (When we finally consider Lysius' *Dissertatio Philologica de Historia Linguae Syriacae* of 1727 we shall find he has recourse to a defining bibliography of previous editions and studies.) Waser tells of Widmanstetter's edition and manuscripts and of Moses and his Patriarch who used Syriac but through lack of books had scarcely any vestiges left of their religion except baptism. Tremellius followed, working, not from the Vienna manuscript used by Widmanstetter, but from another much older and better one in the library of Frederick III, the Elector Palatine.

The Grammar he claims was written twenty years earlier in Lyons. Hebrew, Chaldaean and Syriac grammars for the sake of good method may all be divided up into *Etymologia* (*Elementa, Litterae, Puncta and Orationis Partes)* which is found in Book 1 and *Syntaxis* found in Book 2. This Grammar however is unmistakably Syriac. One notices that (following Masius) the verb is treated before the noun. He speaks of the *aph'el* rather than the Hebrew *hiph'il*. Nouns are declined. Examples in vocalized serto are taken from the New Testament and put into useful tables 'to give light', of which he is evidently proud[117]. The estrangela alphabet ('*posterior & difficilior*') is mentioned. Like Teseo he refered to these as *maiusculae*. Sections *De Adverbio*, *De Conjugatione*, *De Praepositione* and

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[117] For Waser's Syriac font, COAKLEY, p. 36. It was part of Plantin's material which passed on his death to his son-in-law Raphelengius, passing to his other son-in-law Moretus when Raphelengius' business was wound up.

De Interjectione finish of the list of *orationis partes*. Book 2 treats *De Syntaxi Nominis, Pronominis, Verbi, Adverbii & Praepositionis*. As a reading guide he offered (p. 157) a *Magnificat* in Syriac with an inter-linear Latin gloss and a full grammatical commentary on each verse.

5. Early historical and comparative linguistics

As if to encourage the 'pious daring' needed to explore new Semitic Languages, Waser also reissued Konrad Gessner's *Mithridates* (Wolf, Zürich 1610)[118]. In 1555, with specific focus on general linguistic phenomenon, the Swiss Konrad Gessner (1516-1565) wrote his *Mithridates,* a consideration of ancient languages still in contemporary use. In all he mentions some 130 languages and is able to give the Lord's Prayer in 22[119]. For our purposes we may notice that he equated (f. 15r) *lingua Chaldaica* with *lingua Aramaica* and *lingua Syrorum, Assyriorum & Babyloniorum*[120]. What he knows, or hears, of the language he notes there: *Chaldaica lingua hodie eruditiores in Aegypto & Aethiopia utuntur, ut audio. Hebraicae confinis est, nec forte multo amplius differt quam Dorica a Graeca communi.* However he considers (f. 6v) Ethiopic to be properly called 'Indian' and cites Münster's *Grammatica Chaldaica* as authority. Waser himself made additions to the second part of the book, adding information on several of the languages and providing Paternosters for German Gothic and Turkish.

It is also of interest to see Gessner define what he means by 'dialect' as (we have just seen) he considers Chaldaean a dialect rather like Doric. 'A dialect is an expression presenting a mark or character proper to a place, or an expression showing

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[118] Waser's *De Antiquis Numis Hebraeorum, Chaldaeorum et Syrorum quorum S. Biblica & Rabbinorum Scripta meminerunt Libri II* (In Officina Wolphiana, Zürich 1605) has only Hebrew type. Syriac terms for coins discussed are taken from the New Testament.

[119] A standard technique to display language diversity was to use the Paternoster. Postel had used it so in 1538 in his *Linguarum Duodecim Characteribus Differentium Alphabetum Introductio* (P. Vodovaeus Vernoliensis, Paris). Bibliander did this also in his *De Ratione Communi* of 1548 (below) which was followed and expanded by his pupil Gessner. Hieronymus Megister was to produce an even yet larger collection of Paternosters in 1593: R. SMITSKAMP, *Philologia Orientalia Philologia Orientalis* (E. J. Brill, Leiden 1992) #108 #109 p116-118. [Hereafter cited as *P.O.*]

[120] For a systematic consideration of Gessner's sources, BERNARD CO-LOMBAT, "L'horizon de rétrospection du *Mithridate* de Conrad Gessner (1555)", in DOUGLAS A. KIBBEE (ed.), *History of Linguistics 2005 Selected Papers from the Tenth International Conference on the History of the Linguistic Sciences* (Urbana-Champaign, Illinois 2007) p. 89-102. Pliny the Elder mentions King Mithridates of Pontus in his list of famous polyglots (N. H. VII/24). He allegedly spoke to the people of the twenty-two nations he governed in their own tongues.

the character proper or common to a people'[121]. 'Moreover barbarous words (those naturally used by the Greeks) since they are inintelligible are not even said to be called dialects but glosses …[122]'. 'As for us' (he continues), 'we have observed that 'dialect' signifies often simply a word or an articulated item, or an item in relationship with several words often (especially amongst grammarians) the specific character of a language either in a single word or several by which it differs from the common language or others which resemble it or are related to it'[123]. There is a hierarchy of dialects in French (*Gallica lingua recentior*); one is more elegant (*tersior*) and spoken specifically in the part of the country known as France; the others are *grossiores*—Provençal, the dialect of Alsace and that of the Bourgogne. The Savoyard dialect from the Italian Alps is the worst *crassissima*. *Italica vulgaris lingua* is a corrupted form of Latin. The best dialect is that of Tuscany, around Siena. The language become more corrupt as one approaches the Alps and the worst (*ineptissimus & maxime depravatus sermo*) is the Rhaetian spoken in the Alps themselves (f. 57v).

Seven years earlier in his *De Ratione Communi Omnium Linguarum et Literarum Commentarius* (Zurich: Froben, Zürich) of 1548 the Protestant Hebraist Theodor Bibliander (1504-1564) with whom Gessner had studied and who since 1530s had occupied Zwingli's old chair at Zurich believed he could work out not only the family tree of all languages stemming from Hebrew and their underlying *ratio*, but also a method for their easy apprehension because Hebrew was the product of no mere art or accident but of the Holy Spirit itself[124]. The languages investigated included Turkish, Persian and Hungarian. All are derived from Hebrew: *ebrea est primigenia reliquae ex ea propagatae et genitae sunt*. In the process of descent the Japhet languages degenerated further than the Semitic ones. The resemblances and differences between the scripts in which

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[121] … *dictio peculiarem alicuius loci notam seu characterem prae se ferens: uel dictio quae propriam communémve gentis characterem ostendit.*

[122] *Porro uoces barbaras (quae scilicet à Graecis usurpantur) cum sint incomprehensibiles, non etiam dialectos, sed glossas uocari aiunt.*

[123] *Nos dialectum alias simpliciter sermonem siue orationem articulatam significare obseruauimus, uel ipsum in pluribus uerbis colloquium: alias (apud grammaticos praesertim) linguae alicuius siue in singulis siue in pluribus uerbis proprietatem, qua a communi uel reliquis similibus aut cognatis differt* (1v-2r).

[124] Newly edited and translated: HAGIT AMIRAV - HANS-MARTIN KIRN - THEODOR BIBLIANDER (eds.), *De Ratione* etc. (Droz, Geneva 2011). See PIETER ADRIANUS VERBURG, *Language and its Functions: A Historico-Critical Study of Views Concerning the Functions of Language from the Pre-Humanistic Philology of Orleans to the Rationalistic Philology of Bopp* (John Benjamins B.V., Amsterdam 1998) p. 172-174 on Bibliander.

languages are written are considered to provide evidence for affiliation. Difference arises from spread of settlements, political domination and education[125]. Words are modified by addition, subtraction, transposition - and exchange (mutation) *i. e.* anything else[126]. Bibliander used the biblical narrative of the Tower of Babel to underpin his work[127]. The original language was not simply confused at the time of the Tower. More positively, the Reason inherent in the first unique language was thereby suffused into the subsequent dialects which ultimately became all the tongues of mankind. Babel guaranteed a common reason which is the rational structure of all language and it is that reason, common to all languages as residue of the original language, which ensures the universal reception of the Christian gospel.

Such a doctrine had however a positive and practical pedagogic consequence, which can be seen from a consideration of his Hebrew grammar, the *Institutiones*[128]. There the tradition of classical grammar is followed and the whole work is integrated into the curricular approach of the Zurich *Schola Tigurina* based on the theological conviction of common features amongst the languages the student already knows. The imagined student will already have achieved some language proficiency and sufficient experience to facilitate developing strategies of teaching and learning. The use of Latin, Greek and Hebrew in *Institutiones* thus had a didactic motivation and justification: a basis in teaching and learning consolidated by his doctrine of universal linguistic *ratio* underlies his grammar, though, as we have seen, this was written thirteen years before the *De Ratione Communi*.

We have lingered somewhat over these two early accounts of historical and comparative linguistics in anticipation of both similar later treatments (with Hutter) and a more focused, vigorous and widespread interest in comparative semitic philolo-

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[125] HANS ARENS, *Sprachwissenschaft : Der Gang ihrer Entwicklung von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (Verlag Karl Alber, Freiburg - Munich 1955) p. 56.

[126] PIETER A. VERBURG, *Language and its Functions* (John Benjamins, Amsterdam 1995) p. 172-174 on Bibliander.

[127] MAURICE OLEANDER, "From the Language of Adam to the Pluralism of Babel", *Mediterranean Historical Review* 12 (1997) p. 51-59 at p. 56-57.

[128] Bibliander published his *Institutionum Grammaticarum de Lingua Hebraea liber unus*, in Zürich with Froschauer (In officina Froschoviana, Zurich 1535) thirteen years before the *De Ratione* and his *De Optimo Genere Grammaticorum Hebraicorum*, (Hieronymus Curio, Basel) in 1542. See ANJA-SILVIA GOEING, "Establishing Modes of Learning: Old and New Hebrew Grammars in the Sixteenth Century" in E. CAMPI (ed.), *Scholarly Knowledge: Text Books in Early Modern Europe* (Droz, Geneva 2008) p. 157-182.

gy which we shall encounter below[129]. Nonetheless we may already make a distinction between a comparative philology which considers merely descent and one which also seeks to assert some more essential commonality between languages.

Palma-Cayet

We may briefly assess the comparative linguistic perspective in two confessionally opposed works. Forty years after Canisius' *Institutiones Linguae Syriacae, Assyriacae etc.* (1554) appeared in Paris, Pierre Victor Palma-Cayet (Caietanus) (1525-1610) published his *Paradigmata de quatuor linguis orientalibus praecipuis arabica armena syra aethiopica ...* (Estienne Prévosteau héritier de Guillaume Morel, Paris 1594) which he dedicated to Clement VIII. Palma-Cayet was, like Petro Martinez, a pupil of Peter Ramus. He embraced Calvinism with him, but returned to Catholicism in 1595, became a priest and Professor of Hebrew at the Collège de Navarre in Paris. His experiences evently left him with plenty of animus towards the Calvinists against whom he wrote extensively. His work is occasionally just a little heavy with Catholic piety. It is 'comparative' sadly only in the sense that it once more compares Hebrew and Aramaic. It does not distinguish Syriac from Aramaic.

Palma-Cayet has Arabic, Turkish, Armenian and Syriac type though they are often poor–as well as Greek and a pointed Hebrew generally used for Syriac. There is only one specimen of Syriac (vocalized serto) on p130 which I take to be a wood-cut. It is an *Ave* transliterated and provided with a verse by verse commentary with devotional and anti-Calvinist polemical remarks to enliven a purely philological attempted reading. A *Paternoster* in Hebrew type follows with somewhat more philological comment, at least initially, and finally a *Requiem* in Hebrew type.

The section on the *Lingua syriaca* tells us that this was Jesus' language and of the early date of the Syriac New Testament: traces of Syriac words found in Greek New Testament manuscripts argue for an early date for the Syriac New Testa-

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[129] For Joseph Justus Scaliger's (1540-1609) short excursus on the grouping of the European languages *Diatriba de linguis Europaeorum* which appeared posthumously in *Opuscula Varia antehac non Edita* (Apud Hieronymum Drouart, Paris 1610) p. 610ff, see HANS ARENS, *Sprachwissenschaft Der Gang ihrer Entwicklung von der Antike bib zur Gegenwart* (Verlag Karl Alber, Freiburg/ Munich 1955) p. 59-6. Scaliger was happy to consider several languages with linguistic descendants as a mother-language (*matrix lingua*). He was not eager to establish descent from merely one language nor of that of Latin from Greek. His work, which in considering Persian, opened a perspective onto Oriental languages, was firmly grounded in empirical linguistic observations.

ment. *Lingua syraca* is also used by all Asiatic Christians as their vernacular and *in sacris*. Their liturgies were not different from Rome's. A confessionally loaded point is being made here. Roman Catholic controversialists, as we have seen, found the supposedly ancient liturgies recovered from the Eastern Church valuable evidence of the validity in the face of Protestant detraction. Palma-Cayet is also eager to tell of the Fifth Lateran Council and the Maronites' earlier submission to Innocent III and the renewing the Oath of Union[130].

Lingua syraca is the language of the Targums and the Talmuds (Bavli is purer, not having so many foreign words). Its origin is usually put in the Exile but Palma-Cayet considers it belongs earlier to the time of King Hezekiah *(i. e.* the time of Rabshakeh). After the Exile it was adopted by the Syrian *gens*, and the assorted nations then occupying the Galillee. (The maiden in Matthew's Gospel who told Peter that his speech betrayed him shows that the speech of Galilee was different from that of the Judaeans.) Nothing here really distinguishes Syriac other than the word-cut *Ave.*

The book invites one to learn the alphabet by learning divine names which begin with each of the letters, as found in both Teseo and Widmanstetter. We are introduced to the five vowels and told the Nestorians' are different. A few Syriac grammatical terms are used (*atat* for *apica*: *kusui* & *ruchoch* for *dagesh* and *spiritum*). *Omnes orationis partes* are in frequent agreement with Hebrew. The book is not at all usable. It is rather written to display the universal and catholic interests of the Church, and in stressing that the Eastern Church enjoys the same Scripture and Liturgy as the Roman Church makes a familiar polemical point. This is scholarship in service of the Church and not much more.

On the other side of the confessional divide John Gaspar Myricaeus, (-1653), the German Swiss Reformed Theologian and Orientalist stressed the double glory of Syriac as the language of Adam and of Christ[131]. He addressed Syriac in two

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[130] *Orientalism*, p. 12-13.

[131] Giwargis Amira similarly considered Aramaic the language of Paradise (see below). For the view of some Syriac scholars that their language was spoken in the Garden of Eden, see YONATAN MOSS,"The Language of Paradise: Hebrew or Syriac? Linguistic Speculations and Linguistic Realities in Late Antiquity," in (eds.) Markus Bockmuehl MARKUS BOCKMUEHL and GUY G. STROUMSA, *Paradise in Antiquity: Jewish and Christian Views* (Cambridge University Press, 2010) p. 20-37.

Exception was taken to Myricaeus's championship of the priority of Syro-Chaldaean by Bartholomaeus Mayer (1598-1631), rector of the Thomasschule at Leipzig in his *Philologiæ sacræ pars prima continens Prodromum Chaldaismi sacri, in quo ejusdem causa eruitur ac sylloge vocabulorum Ægyptiacorum, Græcorum et Latinorum, quæ in Veteris Instrumenti authentico codice... habentur, exhibetur. Pars secunda, in qua linguæ sacræ*

works, the *Prima Elementa Linguae Syriacae Iesu-Christo
Vernaculae...* (1616)[132] and the *Grammaticae Syro-Chaldaeae
Libri Duo* of 1619[133]. The guide to reading and writing displays
Johannes Richter's Wittenberg Syriac font for serto (which it
calls miniscules) and a (wood-cut) book-hand estrangela which
it calls majuscules[134]. These latter are pretty crude and only
appear in the intial alphabet on p. 4-5. A few Arabic letters
partly in type appear at the end of the book. Vocalization
above and below the line is displayed with Greek vowels (*an-
tiquior*) and puncta (*recentior*). Thereafter vowel lengths, diph-
thongs, vocalization with prefixes and suffixes are treated to-
gether with advice on writing letters and syllables. Declensions
are given for nouns and pronouns using prefixed prepositions.
Latin grammatical terms are used, though the derived themes of
the verb are described using Syriac vowel patterns. Exercises in
reading follow: an Apostles' Creed, some liturgical passages
and some graces[135].

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antiquitas contra Myricaeum astruitur, etc. (Sumptibus G. Grosii, excudebat
J. A. Minzelius Leipzig 1629-31). In the second part, Myricaeus's Syriac
Grammar in respect of the priority of Aramaic is the object of criticism. The
work uses no Syriac type.

[132] *Prima Linguae Syrae, Iesu Christo Vernaculae, Elementa. His acces-
sere exercitia quaedam lectionis cum versione interlineari: Nec non Manu-
ductio ad conficiendam tabulam radicum Hebraecarum, suis cum significa-
tionibus; Ut et consilium conscribendi Lexicon Polyglotton, methodo novo
et plane artificiali; cum quibusdam versibus Gram. Heb. concernentibus etc.*
(Pierre de la Rouière, Geneva 1616. 1618 or 1622 for second ed.).

[133] *Grammaticae Syro-Chaldaeae Libri Duo, Quorum Primus voces sim-
plice; Secundus vero conjunctas considerat. Interseritur sparsim Rabbinico-
talmudicae dialecti variatio* (Pierre de la Rouière, Geneva 1619). Also,
*Grammatica Syra Duobus Libris methodice explicata. Editio posterior,
priori ita emendata & locupletior, ut nova videri possit* (Typis Raphelengi-
anis, Leiden 1619).

[134] For the font, COAKLEY, p. 48-50.

[135] Cardinal Robert Bellarmine S. J. (1542-1621) makes use of Myricae-
us' reader in his *Institutiones Linguae Hebraicae, postremo recognitae, ac
locupletae huic editioni accesserunt... Item Linguae Syriacae Iesu-Christo
Vernaculae Elementa Prima, syriacis characteribus edita*. (Apud Petrum de
la Rouière, Geneva 1618). They shared the same printer whose commercial
interests were no doubt not to be sacrificed to confessional allegiance. See
A. VAN ROEY, *Les Etudes Syriaques de 1538-1658* (K. U. Leuven, Faculteit
der Godgeleerdheit Bibliotheek 1988) p. 13. Bellarmine discussed *De Edi-
tione Syriaca* in his *Disputationes...* (Ingolstad 1581-1593 and elsewhere
thereafter) at First Disputation, Book II, *cap* 4. He distinguished the lan-
guage (which had arisen after the Exile from a mixture of half forgotten
Hebrew and badly pronounced Chaldaean) very clearly from Chaldaean:
*Porro distinguuntur hae duae linguae characteribus, verborum, conjuga-
tionibus, affixis, punctuorum notatione, sono vocalium, idiotismis, ac tota
fere linguae structura & multis etiam propriis dictionibus* – which seems
fairly comprehensive. Bellarmine considered it possible that Matthew and
Hebrews were written in Syriac (he followed Widmanstetter), but could not

The Dedicatory Epistle of the Grammar is modest, calling the work *primitias* (first-fruits) *hasce nostras*. It affirms the unity of the language—*Syra, Assyriaca, Chaldaea* or *Aramaea*—-and demonstrates its history from the usual biblical and classical passages, finding the language generally belonged to the same set of people through the ages. Nevertheless it is acknowledged to have significant internal differences in pronunciation and vocabulary analogous to those of the ancient Greek dialects. Syro-Chaldaean however is not the product of a mixing of Hebrew and Chaldaean. Rather it is the original Adamic language and flourished both before Hebrew and after the latter was forgotten. The Hebrew people were the descendants of the Chaldaeans and it was the Chaldaeans who retained the original language after Babel. (Heber the grandson of Shem (whence 'Hebrews') is, of course, mentioned in Genesis 10—in the chapter *before* Babel—and Myrcaeus has thus to account for this inconvenient fact.)

Apart from being the original language, the other distinction of Syro-Chaldaean was that Christ and his Apostles spoke *idiomate Syro*. When the New Testament refers to Hebrew (*hebraisti*) it means the *Lingua Syra* which the people spoke. Only the Pharisees and the learned spoke Hebrew – that is why when hearing Jesus speak Hebrew they asked whence he had learned his letters. Syro-Chaldaean is the language of peace: of the Angel's proclamation at the birth of Christ; the language in which Jesus preached the remission of sins and instituted the sacraments – in all a language consecrated by the very words which came from his own mouth.

In addition to these distinctions, the Targums are useful for the interpretation of difficult Hebrew passages in the Old Testament and difficulties in New Testament Greek are made clear in the Syriac New Testament. The language also provides access to Daniel and Ezra, the Jewish commentators and the many astronomical, mathematical, philosophical and theologi-

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believe, for lack of evidence, that (as the Syrians themselves asserted) St Mark handed over the whole New Testament put into Syriac to the Eastern churches. Bellarmine's catechism *De Doctrina Christiana* was put into Syriac by the Propaganda in 1665. Otherwise Bellarmine has acquired notoriety for his judgment that Ephrem 'was obviously more pious than learned', quoted with approval by R. PAYNE SMITH, "Ephrem the Syrian" in *Dictionary of Christian Biography* (London 1880) II, p. 140. The sentiment was repeated by F. C. BURKITT, *Early Eastern Christianity* (London 1904) p. 99 who lamented that [the popularity of Ephrem's works] "shows a lamentable standard of public taste". For similar see: "The Christian Church in the East" in *The Cambridge Ancient History* (CUP 1939) XII, p. 502; J. B. SEGAL, *Edessa The Blessed City* (OUP, 1971) p. 89. For a decisive early response: S. P. BROCK, "The Poetic Artistry of St. Ephrem: An Analysis of H-Azim III", *Parole de l'Orient* 6/7 (1975-1976) p. 21-28, esp. p. 22.

cal books written in this language. Nonetheless, the interest
here is essentially biblical. There appears to be little interest in
contemporary Syriac, but rather in the abiding original tongue
and the light it shines on Scripture. It may be however that in
the reference to 'the many … books written in this language',
rather than to the legendary works of Aramean wisdom, there is
some acknowledgment of resources of the properly Syriac tra-
dition.

The Grammar itself (rather than the reading book) forms two
books. The first begins with letters, vowels and accents. *De
vocis generibus* comprises a clear opening division of language
and words. Then come: the noun and its declensions, the pro-
noun and the verb—its conjugation and themes, the *aph'el* and
verbal nouns—then adverbs and conjunctions. The second book
of syntax treats of joining morphemes together to put nominal
suffixes on verbs or possessives on nouns *etc*. Names of nu-
merals, letters as numerals and the *alphabetum Arabico–Syrum*
follow. In a note to the language student we are told that the
grammar itself was inspired by the method of Peter Martinez in
his *Grammatica*. Syro-Chaldaean is taught by addressing the
differences. The student is advised to start by reading the *voces*
which have the same sounds as Latin and move on to those that
sound different from Latin. Vocalized Hebrew font and Rich-
ter's vocalized serto are used. The wood-cut estrangela again
makes an appearance but only at the beginning. The Syriac is
marked out from the other Aramaic words clearly by its font so
whereas other tables are given in Hebrew letters, the Syriac
tables appear in their own font. Examples given are generally
references to the New Testament as we might expect.

6. The founding of the Maronite College

As a result of the missionary efforts (1578-1582) of the Jes-
uit Giambattista Eliano the Younger (the converted nephew and
disciple of Elias Levita) among the Maronites, Gregory XIII
(1572-1585) founded The Maronite College in Rome under
Jesuit direction[136]. Two young Maronites arrived in Rome in

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[136] PIERRE RAPHAEL, *Le Rôle du Collège maronite romain dans
L'Orientalisme aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (Beirut 1950) p. 11-69 for the
early history of the College. Also, N. GEMAYEL, *Les échanges culturels
entre Les Maronites et l'Europe: du Collège maronite de Rome (1584) au
Collège de 'Aya Warka (1789)* (Beirut 1984). Gregory's outreach to the
Eastern Churches created an enduring legacy of oriental expertise in Rome,
see ROBERT J. WILKINSON, "Syriac Studies in Rome in the Second Half of
the Sixteenth Century", *Journal of Late Antique Religion and Culture* 6
(2012) p. 55-74. Gregory also established the chair in Arabic. Nevertheless a
certain tension was apparent between those who sought acclimatisation to
Rome and those who sought to develop native clergy. Also the Patriarch
concerned for his own future priests and their linguistic and theological
competences viewed their enrolment in the Society of Jesus with suspicion.
MURIEL DEBIÉ, "La grammaire syriaque d'Ecchellensis en contexte", in

1579 and were housed initially in the Collegio dei Neofiti, itself established in 1577 to offer instruction to new Christians, particularly Jewish converts. The libraries of both colleges came to hold important oriental texts[137]. In 1580 four more Maronites arrived from the Lebanon and a third group of ten boys arrived in 1583. The College became in time the major stimulus for Syriac studies in Europe and its scholars in time transformed the understanding of the language in the West.[138] It maintained nonetheless its essentially missionary vocation and together which the press of the De Propaganda Fide was concerned with the relations between the Holy See and contemporary Eastern Christians with whom unity was sought in the historical doctrines of the Roman Church.

In the last decades of the Sixteenth Century Rome was outstanding as the European centre of Oriental study and print technology. That expertise was exported to Paris and lies behind the Paris Polyglot Bible. But by the middle of the next century this intellectual leadership had, we shall see, crossed over the Alps not only to Paris but also Oxford and Leiden.

Printing started at the Maronite College in 1617 and their type was sold to the Propaganda Fidei in 1653[139]. Some of works printed were principally for the use of the Maronite students in Rome, but others sought a wider distribution in their

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BERNARD HEYBERGER (ed.), *Orientalisme, science et controverse: Abraham Ecchellensis (1605-1664)* (Brepols, Turnhout 2010) p. 99-117 at p. 102; more widely S. TABAR, "Les relations de l'Église maronite avec Rome au XVIIe siècle", *Parole de l'Orient* 9 (1979-1980) p. 255-276.

[137] Kircher made use of Hebrew manuscripts from the Neofiti. He also located the Syriac *Philosophia* of Mor Isaac at the Maronite College: Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* (1719) p. 461-462; DANIEL STOLZENBERG, *Egyptian Oedipus Athanasius Kircher and the Secrets of Antiquity* (University of Chicago Press 2013) p. 107-108.

[138] "Once the Maronite college, founded in 1584, had become fully established, it was a series of great Maronite scholars working in Italy who provided the real stimulus for the development of Syriac studies in Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries." S. P. BROCK, "The Development of Syriac Studies", in K. J. CATHART (ed.), *The Edward Hinck Bicentenary Lectures* (Dublin 1994) p. 94-113, 97-98.

[139] COAKLEY, p. 56-59, 160-163 for the Maronite College's punch cutters and their type. Initially at its founding in 1622 the Congregatio did not have its own printing office. Stephanus offered to print works for missionary purposes at his own expense on condition that the press bore his name; that he was the congregation's exclusive printer; and also that he had exclusive rights to publish in oriental languages. A true publishing house and foundry was established in the Congregation's name but under Paulinus' direction in 1626. It thereafter acquired the exotic types of the Stamperia Vaticana and the Medicean Press. Paulinus retired about 1636. See MARGHERITA FARINA, "La nascita della Tipographia Medicea: personaggi e idea" in Sara Fani & Margherita Farin (eds.), *La Tipographia Medicea tra Roma e l'Oriente* (Mandragora Florence, 2012) p. 43-72.

homeland. Still others had a significant influence on Syriac Studies in Rome and more widely in the West[140]. Amira published his massively influential grammar in 1596 which was exploited by Maronite and Westerner alike[141]. Girgis al-Karamsaddani wrote a Syriac-Latin lexicon *Manârat as-syrânŷa* for the College in 1619[142]. Ecchellensis' grammar appeared in 1628. The works of Sergius Risius (1635), Sciandrensis (1636), Acuriensis (1645) were intended primarily for native speakers. (Arabic was their vernacular and Syriac, as their scriptural and liturgical language, needed to be perfected by study. Those coming to Rome as children had the additional burden of Latin if not of Italian.) Such pedagogic concerns produced grammars which better defined the language.

The Propaganda promoted Syriac with several alphabets. An *Alphabetum Chaldaicum, cum Oratione Dominicali, Salutatione Angelica, & Salutatione ad Virginem Mariam. Latina, & Chaldaica lingua compositis & impressis* (Typis Sacrae Congreg. De Propaganda Fide, Rome 1634) tabulated Latin letters, their transliterated Syriac name, the same name in Syriac letters, and finally the Syriac letter sign. Vowels, hard and soft sounds, and writing vowels onto consonants were explained before a reading passage[143]. An *Alphabetum syro-chaldaeum: una cum Oratione Dominicali Salutatione Angelica et Symbolo Fidei* (Typis Sac. Congregationis de Propag. Fide, Rome) appeared much later in 1797. It is not well printed but now has three scripts after Amira with unvocalised estrangela passages

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[140] *Inter multos Maronitarum illorum aemulos, plerumque in Germania, praestantiores Crinesius, Dilherr, Leusdenus, Cellarius, maxime vero Opitius fuerunt; alii Chaldaeam et Syriacam dialectos coniunctim, alii Syram cum reliquis dialectis collatam tractarunt; ex illis Io. Buxtorfium, Hottingerum, Schaafium, Iahnium et Vaterum, ex his vero Ludovicum de Dieu laudandos putamus.* HOFFMANN, p. 46.

[141] *Cum vero fere omnes qui post illum grammaticam tractarunt, eius vestigia magis minusve legerint, atque nos ipsi plerumque ...* HOFFMANN, p. 46

[142] See GEORG GRAF, *Geschichte der Christlichen Arabischen Literatur III* (BAV, Vatican City 1947) p. 336. [Hereafter, GRAF *GCAL*.] The work is mentioned in STEPHANUS M. QUATREMERE ET AL., *Thesaurus Syriacum* (Clarendon, Oxford 1879) I, p. iv: *"Lexicon Georgii Karmsedinoyo Maronita A. C. 1619 Romae conscriptum, et in usum huius operis [i. e. the Thesaurus Syriacum] a Josepho et Mose Wolfio exscriptum"*.

[143] An *Alphabetum Chaldaicum antiquum estranghelo ductum, una cum etc.* appeared dated to 1636 and an identical copy dated (by error?) to 1635. This 1636 copy diffused more widely the term estrangela first used by Amira. It also makes reference to Nestorian script called here *reformata*. It provided a Lord's Prayer, Angelic Salutation and Credo in estrangela and then serto. For the estrangela type, COAKLEY, p. 161-162.

(identified as in a more ancient script), as well as vocalised serto[144].

Giwargis Amira's *Grammatica Syriaca sive Chaldaica... in septem libros divisa* (In Typographia Linguarum Externarum, apud Jacobum Lunam, Rome 1596) was the first scholarly Syriac Grammar to be edited by a Lebanese scholar and printed by a Lebanese printer[145]. The author (c.1573-1644) was sent to Rome in 1583 from Ehden in the Lebanon, and subsequently taught Syriac at the Maronite College until 1595. Thereafter he returned home to become bishop of his home town and in 1633 was chosen Patriarch. He published the Maronite Missal of 1594[146] and took an active part in the publication of the Quzḥayya Psalter of 1610, the first Syriac book to be printed in the Middle East[147]. The Grammar was dedicated to Cardinal Caetanus, Clement V, to the Council of Vienne (where the value of Syriac to Rome had already been recognised) and to its as yet unfulfilled ambitions: *"quasi cedrorum fructos a Libano decisos... & qui primum ab homine Syro, in solo Romano lingua Latina sint editi"*. In the Preface to the Reader Raimondi is

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[144] The Preface begins with a discussion of Theodoret's claim that Syriac (*hê tôn Surôn glottê*) was the oldest language (*Questions On Genesis* c. LX &LXI). The use of the language in the Old Testament and Greek New Testament is traced. More instances of Syriac in the New Testament now include Jesus's Cry of Dereliction and the Commission of Peter. Mention is made of St Ephrem. The Syriac names of the vowels are given and the controversy over orthography is mentioned. This was printed on the eve of the Napoleonic conquest of Italy, during which the French government ordered the confiscation of exotic language punches and matrices from the Propaganda for the Imprimerie nationale.

[145] The work was printed by the Maronite scholar Ya'qûb b. Hilâl (Jacques Kamar or Jacobus Luna), a composer at the Medicean Press under Raimondi, and as such responsible for the Arabic and Syriac publications issued between 1590 and 1594. (For the 24 pt serto used here and cut in 1590 by Jean Cavaillon for the Medicean Press, see Smitskamp *P.O.* #184c p. 164 Coakley p.43-45). In 1595 he started printing on his own, and possibly took over some of the types of the Vatican Press, where Dominicus Basa had died in 1596. See N. GEMAYEL, *Les échanges culturels entre les Maronites et l'Europe: du Collège maronite de Rome (1584) au Collège de 'Aya Warka (1789)* (Beirut 1984) p. 190-91. At the beginning of the Grammar a Syriac alphabet is presented in three different scripts: estrangela (this word possibly used here for the first time, see Nestle in *Marksteine* 34 and diffused more widely in the Propaganda's 1636 Alphabetum), serto, and the first appearance in print of the Nestorian script, possibly in type, but perhaps wood-cut. I give an overview of Syriac typography in Rome at this time in ROBERT J. WILKINSON, "Syriac Studies in Rome in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century", p. 55-74,60-62,71-73. There is now the delightful catalogue M. FARINA & S. FARI, *Le vie delle lettere La typografia medicea tra Roma e l'Oriente* (Mandragora, Florence 2012).

[146] GRAF, *GCAL*, III, p. 338.

[147] COAKLEY, p. 45-47.

mentioned as his friend and instigator of the work and thanked for his help with the type[148].

His aim was to teach Syriac (*Lingua Chaldaica, sive Syriaca*). The language was not commonly understood, for previous grammars (as we have seen) were in fact Hebrew grammars (*potius ad linguae hebraicae, quam Chaldaicae, sive syriacae normam constructas*) – which cannot convey a true understanding of this language to their students and leads them into error and thus the language in Europe has been corrupted. His work further aimed to be of use to members of the Maronite College who came to Rome to study and who were put to much trouble by the considerable difficulty of the native Syrian Grammarians and the scarcity of their books. He also wanted to use Syriac grammatical terminology alongside the Latin[149].

In the *Praeludia* Amira explains the many names given to Syriac: *chaldaica, babylonica, aramaea, syriaca, assyriaca, hebraica* and *christiana.* The language is ancient and dignified. It is useful both for the study of Scripture and for the conversion of the heretical Eastern churches. He mentions S. Ephrem, *Iacobus Syrus qui multa in Scripturam edidit commentaria* and *Iacobus Nisibenae civitatis episcopus* – but mentions no other works of Syriac literature. He stresses the essential homogeneity of Chaldaic (by which he means Eastern Syriac) and Syriac (styled by him *Chaldaica reformata*), and their accidental differences (*nomina perfecta* ending in /*a*/ or /*o*/; consonant duplication, *etc.*). For the first time it was made clear that Syriac has two dialects, Western and Eastern, of the same one language and may be written in three alphabets, estrangela (the oldest), serto and syro-oriental or 'Nestorian'. He also makes a spirited case for the primogeniture of Chaldaic as the language spoken in Paradise. The glory of the language is further enhanced by use by Christ and the apostles as their *[lingua] vernacula... ac materna* as is proved by the consensus of scholars and, indeed, the New Testament itself. We thus may note that the vivifying influence of a real Syriac Grammar is tempered by the conviction of its antiquity and sanctity. Thus once more we see linguistic erudition tempered and constrained by firmly held convictions.

The grammar itself is divided into seven books: the first three on morphology take up the main part (pp. 1-430), and afterwards two books *de partibus orationis* and de *syntaxi*. Two

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[148] COAKLEY, p. 43-45.

[149] J. S. Assemani (*Bibl. Or.* I p552) mentions manuscript abbreviations of Amira's work by Petrus Metroscita and Gabriel Avodius Hesronita in the Library of the Maronite College and in the Collegium Urbanum of the Propaganda.

more follow *de contexendis carminibus* and *de interpungendae orationis ratione*[150].

Amira felt the need to provide generous examples for a language so little known in the Latin West and with insufficient resources of dictionaries and other necessary books, so that rules might become comprehensible and also to teach more of the language. He is eager to stress the distinction between *lingua Chaldaica* and *lingua Syriaca* but draws a distinction between a *distinctio essentialis* and *distinctio accidentalis*. When it comes to accidents: ancient Chaldaean in remote parts had its absolute singular noun end in /a/ but in Syriac it is /o/: *mscihha* /*mscihho*; *Adam* /*Odom*. Moreover Chaldaeans in reading in some circumstances double /d/, /y/ and /l/ before /a/. Those in Eastern parts often add /a/ when Syriac uses /e/: ssala/ ssela (*hinnitus*). Nevertheless underneath they are the same essentially and this 'essential' language is what was found in Paradise and through the subsequent historical manifestations of Aramaic with which we are familiar.

Syriac literature boasts its own tradition of grammatical studies, which as we have seen, played no part whatsoever in the early Western discovery of the language. The language there, we know, was identified almost from the first as that spoken by Jesus and was confused with Biblical and other types of Aramaic as well as Hebrew. The confusion was not helped by the lack of appropriate type. The first reflex of the native tradition appears here in Amira's Grammar, and because it was printed in Latin, though it was modestly presented merely as a tool for students of the Maronite College, its publication facilitated a larger audience.

That native tradition was, we know, characterized by the Aristotelian logic taught in the schools and was influenced by Greek grammatical thought with, notably, the translation in the Sixth Century of the *Techne Grammatike* of Dionysius Thrax. Subsequently Arabic grammatical thought influenced descriptions of phonology and morphology. Jacob of Edessa (†708) whom we considered above reflected the former influence; Bar Zobi (XIIIcent) the later[151]. The Large and Small Grammars of Barhebraeus represented something of a synthesis of the two

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[150] *In septem libros dispertita est, ita ut in primo de litteris, vocalibus, punctis et aliis, quae ad legendi modum pertinent; in secundo de nomine ac pronomine; in tertio de verbo et verbo nominis sive participio; in quarto de reliquis orationis partibus; in quinto de syntaxi; in sexto de contexendis carminibus; in septimo denique de interpungendae orationis modo agatur.* HOFFMANN, p. 46.

[151] G. BOHAS, *Les bgdkpt en syriaque selon Bar Zobî* (AMAM-CEMAA, Toulouse 2005); JEAN-PIERRE PAULIN MARTIN, "Le Traité de Bar-Zu'bi sur l'accentuation", in *Congrès international des orientalistes. Compte-rendu de la première session, Paris 1873* (Maisonneuve, Paris 1876) p. 455-456.

traditions. It seems probable that Amira knew at least the Large
Grammar[152]. Thus there was no one monolithic native tradition
and one should not be surprised at differences between native
scholars[153].

Whilst Amira drew on the native Syriac grammatical tradi-
tion, he also digested that tradition to offer a serviceable gram-
mar both to his fellow countrymen as well other scholars in
Rome. In this respect it should be noticed that the native tradi-
tion was not at this point greatly imposed upon by analysis in
terms of the eight Western *orationis partes*[154].

Sionita

Gabriel Sionita (Gibra'il al-Sahyuni) (1577-1648), was an-
other Maronite scholar who first worked in Rome for the
French ambassador François Savary de Brèves (1608-1614) at
his Typographia Savariana[155]. He went to Paris with Savary in
1614 where he also became Professor of Arabic at the Collège
Royal. Sionita was editor in Paris of a Psalter printed somewhat

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[152] Edited by AXEL MOBERG, *Buch der Strahlen. Die grössere Grammat-
ik des Barhebräus. Übersetzung nach einem kritisch berichtigten Texte, mit
Textkritischem Apparat und einem Anhang, zur Terminologie* (Otto Har-
rassowitz, Leipzig 1907, 1913.). The French version is: *Le Livre des
Splendeurs: la grande grammaire de Grégoire Barhebraeus. Texte syriaque
édité d'après les manuscrits avec une introduction et des notes.* Acta Regiae
Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis 4 (C. W. K. Gleerup, Lund
1922). GEORGES BOHAS, "Barhebraeus et la tradition grammaticale syri-
aque", *Parole de l'Orient* 33 (2008) p. 145-158; ERNST BERTHEAU (ed.),
*Gregorii Bar Hebraei qui est Abulpharag Grammatica linguae syriacae in
metro Ephraemeo* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 1843); JEAN-
PIERRE PAULIN MARTIN (ed.), *Œuvres grammaticales d'Abou'lfaradj dit
Bar Hebreus* (Paris: Maisonneuve, Paris 1872) 2 vol.; vol. II, p. 77-126.

[153] Thus Assemani and Amira disagree on gemination, MERX, *Gramma-
tica*, p. 57-58.

[154] *Quae res cum ita se habeat, quanti momenti sit illa Amirae grammat-
ica, facile intelligitur; praestantissimorum enim grammaticorum veterum
sententias de sua vernacula litteris mandatas simulque quae ipse sagacissi-
mus artisque grammaticae valde peritus de iis iudicarit, accurate exhibet ...
In numero partium orationis Amira latinos sequitur grammaticos et distin-
guit nomen cum numeralibus, pronomen, verbum, verbum nominis seu par-
ticipium, adverbium, praepositionem, interiectionem et coniunctionem;
syntaxis ipsius, quamvis mutila sit, multas tamen observationes praebet
grammatico valde utiles.* HOFFMANN, p. 47. MERX, *Grammatica*, p. 140
notes that Barhebraeus, Amira, Abraham Ecchellensis, Sciandrensis and
Acuriensis show an awareness of the triple division of the *partes orationis*
no doubt under Arabic influence. The *antiquores*, however, John the Stylite
(*c*.830) and Elias bar Shinaya (c. 1049) distinguish seven *partes orationis*
(Amira p. 56). Also bar Zobî (*c*.1200). For John, AXEL MOBERG, "Die
syrische Grammatik des Johannes Esṭōnājā" *Le Monde Oriental* 3:1 (1909)
p. 24-33.

[155] GEMAYEL, I, p. 212-240; p. 322-334. SMITSKAMP *P.O.* #191 and 187.

later in 1624-1625 and also of Bar Hebraeus' *Veteris philosophi Syri de sapientia divina poëma aenigmaticum* (1628)[156]. The printer in both cases was Antoine Vitré[157].

Sionita was charged with the production of the Syriac and Arabic texts (complete with a Latin translation) for Le Jay's Paris Polyglot Bible. Sionita broke off his work abruptly at volume VII and declined to provide the material for the seven remaining volumes. The issue seems to have been financial and, after a trial before the Conseil d'État and internment in Vincennes, Sionita resumed his studies. Le Jay, however, was eager for a substitute should things go wrong again and sought a year's leave for another Maronite scholar Abraham Ecchellensis to join the project. He was required to review Sionita's work after his imprisonment and after five months of work declared the texts and translations sound.

The Paris Polyglot was a prestige project similar to the great Catholic polyglots of Alcalà and Antwerp[158]. Though academically soon replaced by the London Polyglot with its superior texts and apparatus, it nonetheless marked an achievement of both philology and printing. It was also the occasion for Syriac to establish itself as a scriptural language deserving of scholarly attention. And it was the occasion of bringing Maronite scholars to Paris. Abraham Ecchellensis, above all, took a conspicuous role in the European Commonwealth of Letters.

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[156] *Liber Psalmorum Davidis Regis et Prophetae* (Antoine Vitré Paris, 1624-1625). In the *Praefatio* to the Psalter Sionita refers to a very old book of Soadedus, Episcopus Hadethensis, *Locorum difficilium & vocum obscurarum in sacris litteris occurrentium elucidatio* from which he quotes: *Sacrorum librorum translatio hanc ordinem est adepta. Pentateuchus, Joshua, Judices, Ruth & Samuel, David, Proverbia, Ecclesiastes, Cantica Canticorum & Job, translati fuerunt tempore Salomonis, orante Hiram, Rege Tyri. Reliqui vero libri Vet. pariter ac N. T. tempore Abgari regis Syriae, cura & sollicitudine Thaddaei, aliorumque Apostolorum.* This is an account of the origins of the Syriac Scriptures which was to become common. Sionita also collaborated upon and Arabic psalter, *Davidis Regis et Prophetae Psalmi Ex Arabico in Latinum Idioma, a Victorio Scialae Accurense & Gabriele Sionita Edeniensi* ... (Ex Typographia Savariana, Excudebat Sephanus Paulinus Rome 1619).

[157] COAKLEY, p. 50-55

[158] P. N. MILLER, "Making the Paris Polyglot Bible: Humanism and Orientalism in the Early Seventeenth Century" in H. JAUMANN (ed.), *Die europäische Gelehrtenrepublik im Zeitalter des Konfessionalismus* (Wiesbaden 2001) p. 59-85; ADRIAN SCHENKER, "The Polyglot Bibles of Antwerp, Paris and London (1568-1658)" in MAGNE SAEBØ (ed.), *Hebrew Bible / Old Testament The History of its Interpretation II From the Renaissance to the Englightenment* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 2008) p. 774-784 at p. 779-781. Earlier: JACQUES LELONG, *Discours historique sur les principales éditions des Bibles polyglottes* (Paris 1713).

The complete text of the Syriac Bible – including the Old Testament – appeared for the first time in the Paris Polyglot, a ten volume in-folio[159]. The Syriac text of the Old Testament with a Latin translation appeared in volume 6 (the Pentateuch) and volumes 7-9 (the rest). The Syriac text was based upon six or seven manuscripts, one of which Abraham Ecchellensis took to Paris in 1640. The New Testament text was that of the Antwerp Polyglot with the De Dieu's Syriac Apocalypse text and his *Pericope Adulteriae* and Pococke's four Syriac Letters (2 Peter, 2&3 John and Jude), for which see below. Gabriel Sionita was responsible for the edition of the Syriac text and he translated it into Latin with the exception of Ruth, translated by Abraham Ecchellensis and Proverbs, Ecclesiates, Canticles and Wisdom translated by Joannes Hesronita[160].

The Polyglot facilitated a sustained comparison of the texts of the various biblical versions which was subsequently to become a standard activity of biblical scholars. The resources of the Parisian Polyglot in this respect are illustrated by a 1649 dissertation on the work by the distinguished J. H. Hottinger whom we shall meet again[161]. He examined the text of the versions for their possible text-critical value. He devoted a dozen pages to a consideration of five readings in the Syriac which he considered of value for their antiquity and text.

Ecchellensis

One of the outstanding Maronite scholars in the West was Abraham Ecchellensis (al-Hâqilani, 1605-1664)[162]. Having

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[159] *Biblia 1. Hebraica, 2. Samaritana, 3. Chaldaica, 4. Graeca, 5. Syriaca, 6. Latina, 7 Arabica, quibus textus originales totius Scripturae sacrae quorum pars in editione Complutensi, deinde in Antuerpiensi regis sumptibus extat, nunc integri, ex manuscriptis toto fere orbe quaesitis exemplaribus, exhibentur...* excudebat Antonius Vitré, Regis, Reginae Regentis, et Cleri Gallicani Typographus: Lutetiae Parisiorum 1629-1645. For the type see COAKLEY, p. 69-71. Gabriel Sionita and the printer Antoine Vitré had previously worked together using F. Savary de Brèves' type, COAKLEY, p. 50-51. See the 36 pages of *Linguarum Orientalium, Hebraicae, Rabbinicae, Samaritanae, Syriacae, Graecae, Arabicae, Turcicae, Armenicae Alphabeta* (apud Antonium Vitray Paris 1636).

[160] GRAF, *GCAL*, III, p. 345-347, 352, 354-351.

[161] JOH. HENRIC. HOTTINGER, *Dissertatio Historico-theologica De Heptaplis Parisiensis Ex pentateucho ita Instituta, ut ad eam, quidquid deinceps Lector, in Opere Regio, observaverit, commode referri possit* (Typis Joh. Jacobi Bodmeri, Zurich 1649).

[162] GRAF, *GCAL*, III, p. 354-359 et IV 3; G. LEVI DELLA VIDA, "Abramo Ecchellense" in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani Vol I* (Instituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, Rome 1960); N. GEMAYEL *Les Echanges culturels*, vol. I, p. 62-64; 235-240; 266-289; 299-317; 387-400; PETER J. A. N. RIETBERGEN, "A Maronite Mediator Between Seventeenth-Century Mediterranean Cultures: Ibrahim al-Hakilani or Abraham Ecchellense (1605 – 1664):

arrived in Rome at fifteen years old in 1620, he succeeded in 1625 to the chair in Syriac and Arabic at the College of the Propaganda after another Maronite, Father Pietro Metoscita SJ, who died that year. He was corrector of the Maronite *Brevarium* (Rome 1624) and 1628 wrote a short introduction to Arabic. Also in 1628 at the instigation of the rector of the Maronite College, Fabius Brunus, he produced *Abrahami Eccheliensis Collegij Maronitarum Alumni Linguae Syriacae sive Chaldaicae perbrevis Institutio ad eiusdem Nationis studios Adolescentes* (Typ. Sac. Cong. de Prop. Fidei, Rome) using the serto of the Propaganda[163]. The work was intended as a short Syriac introduction for Maronite beginners to sit alongside Amira's Grammar (which was perhaps a little less accessible being in Latin)[164]. It was universally popular, even in his own country— a short structured introduction in the form of a small pocket book (an unusual 32°) for daily use and ideal for learning the sacred language of their Scriptures and liturgy—though more detailed than that of Isaac Sciadrensis[165]. Ecchellensis tells us in his autobiography of 1658 that from the age of nine years old he had pursued his studies in Syriac in Lebanon: Syriac is the learned and sacred language of the Maronites and several other oriental peoples. It is analogous to Latin in Europe, with Arabic being the vernacular.

Ecchellensis' abiding interest in grammar is perhaps indicated by the manuscripts in the Vatican Library which Assemani described in his *Bibliotheca Orientalis*. Though not all of the *Codices Ecchellenses* are necessarily from Ecchellensis, they include ms 27 of the Fourteenth Century containing the Grammar of Elias of Nisibis, that of bar Zobî and a treatise on letters[166]. There are also nine manuscripts containing Arabic grammatical works. Ecchellensis' own grammar (which is read from right to left) is dedicated in Latin to Cardinal Ottavio Bandini, *Collegi & Nationis Maronitarum Protectori Optimo.*

Between Christendom and Islam", *Lias* 16 (1989) p. 13-41 and now (ed.) BERNARD HEYBERGER, *Orientalisme, science et controverse: Abraham Ecchellensis (1605-1664)* (Brepols, Turnhout 2010). Heyberger himself provides an excellent introduction in "Abraham Ecchellensis dans la République des Lettres", *ibid.*, p. 9-51.

[163] COAKLEY, p. 64-65. This 20pt serto is slightly smaller than that originally cut for the Maronite college in 1617 by Nicolas Gobbe (Gemayel p. 191). C. BALZANETTI, "Ancient Treatises on Syriac Homonyms", *Oriens Christianus* 81 (1997) p. 73-81.

[164] MURIEL DEBIÉ, "La grammaire syriaque d'Ecchellensis en contexte ", HEYBERGER, p. 99-117.

[165] *Idem*, p. 114-116.

[166] J. S. ASSEMANI, *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana I* (Rome 1719) p. 578. RICHARD J. H. GOTTHEIL (ed.) *A Treatise on Syriac Grammar by Mâr(i) Eliâ of Sôbhâ* (Wolf Peiser, Berlin 1887).

The *imprimatur* is given by the Cistercian monk Hilarion Ran-
catus of the Monstery of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme (in
Rome); Ignatius Lomellinus SJ (1560/1-1645) relying upon the
advice of the third, Sergius Risius (Sarkîs al-Riz); and Risius
himself in three pages of karshuni. Risius (-1638) was one of
the earliest pupils at the Maronite college. On his return to Leb-
anon he was placed over the Quzhayya convent before becom-
ing Syrian archbishop of Damascus, brother to two and nephew
to one Rizzi patriarchs of the Maronite church. He had himself
written a Syriac grammar in Arabic which came out in Rome in
1627[167].

Ecchellensis spent an active period in the Lebanon in the
service of the Druze Grand Emir Fakhraddîn, and thereafter
was appointed lecturer in Arabic in Pisa. He was succeeded in
Arabic and Syriac in 1636 by Isaac Sciandrense (Ishâq al-
Shadrâwî) who served there for two years. Thus the University
of Pisa contrived to have professors of *lingui orientali* from
1620-1638 & 1644-1648 in part by hiring Abraham Ecchellen-
sis from 1633/4-1636/7 and Sciandrensis 1636-1638[168]. Urban
VIII summoned Ecchellensis to Rome for the second time to
teach Arabic and Syriac at the Sapienza University and to assist
in the Arabic translation of the bible which had been underway
since the 1620s[169]. It was a period of collaboration with Atha-
nasius Kircher on his Coptic studies. The poems in Syriac and
Arabic which Ecchellensis contributed to *Prodromos Copticus*
in 1636 indicate their collegial relationship[170]. He was twenty-
three years old at the time. In 1640 Ecchellensis was invited to
Paris by Louis XIII and Richelieu to work on Le Jay's Poly-

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[167] *Grammatica Syriaca sive Chaldaica S. Risii Maronitae e Libano*
(Rome, 1627): G. LEVI DELLA VIDA, p. 392; GEMAYEL, I, p. 473; GRAF,
GCAL, III, p. 338.

[168] *Storia dell'Università di Pisa* Vol. I Part 2 (Pacino editore, Pisa,
1993) p. 542-544 and ANGELO FABRONI, *Historia Academiae Pisanae* 3
vols (1791-1793) (Formi, Bologna 1971), Vol. 3, p. 680.

[169] DANIEL STOLZENBERG, "Une collaboration dans la *Cosmopolis* catho-
lique: Abraham Ecchellensis et Athanasius Kircher", in Bernard Heyberger
(ed.), *Orientalisme, science et controverse*, p. 81-88.

[170] Jean Plantavit de La Pause (1579-1651) bishop of Lodève (Hérault)
brought out his monumental (and inevitably named) *Planta Vitis seu The-
saurus synonymius hebraico-chaldaico-rabbinicus* (Lodève) in 1644. This
was similarly enhanced by tributes from Kircher in Syriac and Arabic as
well as by the Maronites Gabriel Sionita and Vittorio Scialac. (Other than
the bishop's books, there was no other Oriental printing in Lodève.) The
bishop was Professor of Arabic and Syriac at the Collège de France from
1614 and worked on Arabic and Syriac for Le Jay's Polyglot. See MATHIAS
DELCOR, "Jean Plantavit de Pause, évêque de Lodève, un grand hebraïsant
oublié (1571-1651)" in ID., *Études bibliques et orientales de religions com-
parées* (E. J. Brill, Leiden 1979) p. 393-402.

glot[171]. The invitation had been prepared by the Oratorian Jean Morin and Gabriel Sionita, the leading scholar of Syriac and Arabic in Paris at the time, his 'brother' and 'compatriot'[172]. Ecchellensis contributed to the Polyglot the Arabic and Latin versions of the Book of Ruth and the Arabic version of 3Maccabes. (There being no translation as it was judged non-canonical.)

Back in Rome Ecchellensis was able to play a full part in the 'Republic of Letters' as Europe's leading Oriental scholar with extensive connections across Europe[173]. The context was controversial with confessional interests dividing scholars, but nonetheless the erudite elite of Europe were much taken with the Levant, the Near East and with their successive languages and civilisations. Kircher's engagement with Egypt was an example of this enthusiasm. There was a hunger for Oriental documents – manuscripts, medals, inscriptions and coins – across Europe and collections were formed in a context of national and confessional rivalry. Leiden possessed the largest Protestant collection of Oriental manuscripts in Europe and Pococke was building the collection in Oxford after his journey East[174]. The largest Catholic collection was of course that of

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[171] GÉRARD TROUPEAU, "Les deux séjours parisiens d'Abraham Ecchellensis (1640-1642, 1645-1651)", in HEYBERGER, p. 53-58.

[172] Joannes Morinus (Jean Morin) (1591-1659) who translated the Samaritan Pentateuch and editied the sixth volume of the Paris Polyglot was born to Calvinist parents and studied in La Rochelle and Leiden before converting to Catholicism and entering the Congregation of the Oratory. Called to Rome by Urban VIII he was appointed to the Pontifical Commission for the examination of Oriental Ordinations. However under pressure from Cardinal Richelieu he was permanently recalled to Paris only a few months later by his superiors. Morin's *Commentarius* (1655) arose from the discussions of the Pontifical Commission and Morin's determination to study the Eastern rites on the sound basis of their texts. After an initial discussion of the Byzantine Schism (1-16) he published the ordination rituals of the Greeks (17-256), the Latins (257-378), the Maronites (379-433), the Nestorians (434-473), Jacobites (474-508) and Copts (504-508). Pages 489-503 are *Adnotationes in Syrae ordinationes.* Morin used a manuscript *antiquus et egregrie scriptus* lent him by Abraham Ecchellensis. The Nestorian ritual came from a Vatican manuscript. In the *Adnotationes* he mentions as Syriac authors: Ephrem, Jacob of Sarrug, Abdisho of Nisibis and John of Dara (p493-494). He read the latter's commentary upon Pseudo-Dionysus (Baumstark p. 277) in a copy made for him by François Bosquet, bishop of Lodève from a manuscript belonging to Abraham Ecchellensis. Morinus illustrates the characteristically Roman exploitation of Syriac and Syriac literature (together with that of the other Oriental languages) in confessional controversy.

[173] See HEYBERGER, "Abraham Ecchellensis dans la République des Lettres", p. 36-38, whom I follow closely here, for greater detail.

[174] G. DUVERDIER, "Les circonstances favorables à l'apparition des impressions orientales pour l'Europe savante", in C. ABOUSSOUAN (ed.), *Le Livre et le Liban jusqu'à 1900* (Unesco-Agecoop, Paris 1982) p. 187.

the Vatican library which had acquired Oriental manuscripts from its inception[175]. In the Seventeenth Century its collection was strengthed by manuscripts brought from the East by Leonardo Abel and Gianbattista Raimondi as well as those that arrived from Heidelberg in 1622. In the second part of the Seventeenth Century Colbert sought seriously to increase the Parisian holdings.

Such enthusiasm is reflected in teaching posts with the first in Arabic instituted in Rome in 1585. That at the Sapienza was given to Marco Dobelo of Nisibis in 1605, to Victor Scialic from 1610-1634 and to Ecchellensis in 1636 and again from 1652 until his death[176]. There was a chair of Arabic in Leiden in 1613, in Cambridge 1632, and Oxford in 1634[177]. An increase in suitable grammars and eventually lexica and teaching material in Arabic is also characteristic of the period, as it is also for Syriac[178].

In 1645 Ecchellensis was to return to Paris upon nomination to the Chair of Arabic at the Collège Royal. This was apparently unpopular and led to sharp criticsms of Ecchellensis' work on the Polyglot from the Hebraist Valérien de Flavigny over vocalisation and an acrimonious dispute with Sionita. Unfortunately we know nothing of Ecchellensis's course in Syriac at the Collège Royal nor the name of any of his students. He perhaps used his own *Perbrevis Institutio* of 1628. It was also in Paris that he compiled his *Nomenclator Arabico-Latinus*[179]. He resigned from his chair in 1651 and returned to Rome.

In 1653 Ecchellensis published in Rome a *Catalogue of Syriac Books* by Abdisho of Nisibis (†1318, though Ecchellensis misidentified him and so in turn did Hottinger), taken from a manuscript found in Santa Croce in Gerusalemme near the Lat-

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[175] For the Vatican holding of Syriac manuscripts in the middle of the Sixteenth Century, WILKINSON, "Syriac Studies in Rome", p. 55-74, p. 56.

[176] GIOVANNI PIZZORUSSO, "Les écoles de langue arabe et le milieu Orientaliste autour de la Congrégation *De Propaganda Fide* au temps d'Abraham Ecchellensis", in HEYBERGER, p. 59-80. Also B. HEYBERGER, "Islam and the Arabs in the Work of a Maronite Scholar in the Service of the Catholic Church (Abraham Ecchellensis)", *Al-Qantara* 31 (2010) p. 481-512.

[177] Protestant teaching courses in Syriac are considered below.

[178] HEYBERGER, "Abraham Ecchellensis dans la République des lettres", p. 40-41. For the Scriptures in Arabic, we now have: RONNY VOLLANDT, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch: A Comparative Study of Jewish, Christian and Muslim Sources* (E. J. Brill, Leiden 2015).

[179] On which: M. MOUBARAKAH, "Le nomenclator arabico-latinus d'Abraham Ecchellensis, Ibrahim Al-Haqilani", *Parole de l'Orient* 22 (1997) p. 419-439; ALASTAIR HAMILTON, "Abraham Ecchellensis et son Nomenclator Arabico-latinus", in HEYBERGER, p. 89-98.

eran where Hilarion Rancatus (Ilarone Rancati) had assembled manuscripts from all over Italy and founded the *Bibliotheca Sessoriana*[180]: *Hebediesu metropolita Sobiensis. Tractatus continens catalogum librorum Chaldaeorum tam ecclesiatico-rum quam profanorum cum versione et notis* (Typis Sac. Con-greg. Propag. Fide Rome 1653)[181]. This was republished in Ecchellensis' *Concordia nationum christianarum...*[182]. It was of some significance in giving a native account of the corpus of Syriac literature and in this way contributing to a clearer idea of Syriac itself. The work remained authoritative for some time. In 1664 J. H. Hottinger used it in his *Bibliothecarius quadriparti-tus...* in the section *De Scriptoribus Syriacis*. Ecchellensis' edi-tion was ultimately and decisively replaced by that of Assema-ni. The work betrays in its preface Ecchellensis' interest in the signs for vocalisation. Ecchellensis contested the claim of Sio-nita to have invented the two dots marking the plural. He also mentions the Grammar of Elias of Nisibis and the views of the Dutch Arnold Boot (De Boote, Boanus 1606-1653) on Syriac vocalisation. Such an interest is characteristic of the native Sy-riac tradition.

Lest we imagine that Ecchellensis' interest here was in lit-erary history, the context of the second publication in *Concor-dia nationum christianarum...* underlines the controversial uses of the work similar to those of the *Library of the Patriarch*

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[180] *Quod ex Bibliotheca S. Crucis in Hierusalem ab Hilarione Rancato Abbate Cisterciensi acceperat* - J. S. ASSEMANI, *Bibliotheca Orientalis III 1* p. 1-362. Assemani found this manuscript to have been poor and badly writ-ten. He reedited the work from a Vatican manuscript and did the Latin trans-lation again.

[181] HUBERT KAUFHOLD, "Abraham Ecchellensis et le Catalogue des Livres de 'Abdisho' Bar Brika", in HEYBERGER, p. 119-133. See p. 120 for the history of the Bibliotheca Sesssoriana.

[182] A. ECCHELLENSIS, LEONE ALLACCI, BARTHOLD NIHUS, *Concordia nationum Christianarum per Asiam, Africam, et Europam, in fidei Catholi-cae dogmatibus: apud borealis europae Protestantes deferi contra fas pro-nuper coeptis indicata* (Typis Nicolai Heylii, Mainz 1655) (p. 1-90). For other controversial works of Ecchellensis see *e. g.*: *Eutychius vindicatus* against John Selden and *De origine nominis Papae* directed primarily against Johann Hottinger's *Historia Orientalis*. Reitbergen p19-25. Barberi-ni wanted him in Rome to fight against heretics with his Arabic version of the Constitution of the Council of Nicaea and to show that the dogmas of the Church were in accord with those of the early Christians regardless of the Protestants' claims. (See the *Dedicatio* to Barberini in *Concilii Nicaeni Praefatio una cum titulis et argumentis canonum et Constitutionum eiusdem, qui hactenus apud Orientales nationes extant, nunc primum ex Arabica lingua Latine redditi ab Abrahamis Ecchellensi... cum eiusdem notis*. 1645

Photius published around the same time[183]. Catholics sought to appeal to Oriental authors in support of the antiquity of the Tradition, liturgical practices and Papal authority. Protestants tended to notice parallels with their convictions in matters of married priests, the sacraments, denial of Purgatory *etc.* but there was little disinterested interest in literary culture. Ecchellensis may have also made a contribution to wider knowledge of St Ephrem. He appears to have been the translator behind: *S. Ephraem Syri... in Nativitatem et Epiphaniam Domini cantica, nunc primum ex Syriaca... vernacula lingua latine reddita, studio... Jo. Baptistae Mari...* (Apud F. Monetam, Rome 1645)[184]. His work on Maronite history also contributed to growing awareness of the singularities of the Syriac speaking Churches[185]. Ecchellensis also had plans to catalogue the Vatican's Syriac manuscripts[186].

Peter Rietbergen described Abraham Ecchellensis as a mediator between the Mediterranean cultures of the Seventeenth Century – that is between Latin Christianity, Oriental Christians and Islam. Ecchellensis certainly moved Maronite Syriac out into the flow of European letters. In the context of European enthusiasm for the East, developing library resources, pedagogic tools made a substantial contribution of the identity of Syriac - with grammars, typography, a growing corpus of Scripture and a nascent awareness of literature and history. Ecchellensis also firmly identified the Maronites within the Catholic cause.

Sciadrensis

Isaac Sciandrensis' (Isḥāq al-Šadrāwī's) small Syriac reading book, *Rudimentum Syriacum* (ex Collegio Maronitarum,

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[183] L. Canfora, *La Biblioteca del Patriarcha* (Salerna Editrice, Rome 1998). French translation : *La Bibliothèque du Patriarche Photius censuré dans la France de Mazarin* (Les Belles Lettres, Paris 2003).

[184] Apparently referred to under another but similar title in Graf, *GCAL* III, p. 357. Mireille Issa & Joseph Moukarzel, "Abraham Ecchellensis Maronita Biographie faite par Carlo Cartari", *Tempora* 18 (2007-2009) p. 155-195, p. 189. Widmanstetter had found some Ephrem (or pseudo-Ephrem) along with the 'Syrian Jacob' in Siena—this to my knowledge is the first mention of Ephrem's works in Syriac (Wilkinson, *Orientalism*, p. 140-141). Gerard Vossius (1540-1609) *Sancti Ephraem Syri..., Quotquot in insignoribus Italiae Bibliothecis praecipue Romanis Graece inveniri potuerunt, operum omnium... in tres tomos digesta per Gerardum Vossium,* (Ex Officina Typographica Arnoldi Quentelii, Coloniae,1603) collected Ephrem in Greek not Syriac.

[185] Joseph Moukarzel, "Les origines des Maronites d'après Abraham Ecchellensis", in Heyberger, p. 151-170.

[186] Hubert Kaufhold, "Abraham Ecchellensis et le Catalogue des Livres", p. 125-126.

Stephanus Paulinus, Rome 1618) first showed off the College's type-cutter Moro's type[187]. He was a pupil of Amira and was in the College from 1603 to 1618. Some rubrics are in red, and there are some small devotional wood-cuts. Io. Bap. Ferrarius (whose work we shall shortly consider) vouched for the imprimatur with *'nihil contra veritatem vulgatae nostrae Latinae editionis inveni'*. The work is in Syriac with a Latin index at the end. The reader includes biblical passages, prayers from printed and manuscript Syriac sources or translated from the Latin psalms, passages from the Maronite Breviary and a hymn of St Ephrem. It concludes with a plate of the arms of Paul V acknowledging his patronage. It is clearly aimed at Maronite student beginners in the College, *ad piam institutionem Tyronum.*

There subsequently followed the 255 pages of *Grumuṭiki deleshānā Sūryāyā Isaac Sciadrensis, Maronita e Libano, archepisc. Tripolis Syriae, Grammatica Linguae Syriacae* (Ex Collegio Maronitarum, Stephanus Paulinus, Rome 1638)[188]. This is first substantial Syriac Grammar entirely in Syriac, preceded only by the earlier *Rudimentum* and Ecchellensis' *Institutio* (which was also *perbrevis*). The work is dedicated to Cardinal Francesco Barberini, the great sponsor of Eastern cultural exchange. The text is again entirely in Syriac with some Latin prefatory material. The Arabic preface which is written in karshuni describes the author's motivation. The Grammar itself comprises four parts dealing with: letters; noun and pronoun; the verb and the participle; and finally a section which Hoffmann translated as: *de coniunctione eiusque sociabus sive de praepositione et interiectione sive verbo animi motum significante.* For this rather unexpected part of speech, one may consult his note[189]. Together with Johannes Heshronita, Sciandrensis acted as an interpreter between the Holy See and the Eastern Churches. He was appointed bishop of Tripolis but returned three more times to Rome[190].

Finally we may make mention of the grammar of Josephus Acurensis (Al-'Aquiri) from 1647[191]. The work is dedicated to

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[187] Moro's type was thereafter used in the monumental *Shḥimto Officium Simplex Septem Dierum Hebdomadae ad usum Ecclesiae Maronitarum* (1622-1625) for which it was principally intended.

[188] GRAF, *GCAL*, III, p. 347-350 for Isaac Sciadrensis. He draws attention (p350) to the Arabic original of the work (Bn Paris syr. 265 in karshuni) which is fuller than the printed edition by some five chapters and has the author's Latin translation.

[189] A. G. HOFFMANN, p. 49.

[190] GRAF, *GCAL*, III, p. 347-50.

[191] *Grammatica Linguae Syriacae. Authore Illustrisimo, & Reverendiss. Domino Iosepho Acurense Patriarcha Antiocheno e Libano* (Ex Typograph-

the Cardinals of the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide by *Joseph Eliae e Monte Libano olim Collegij Maronitarum in Urbe alumnus*, offering the printing in gratitude for the Holy See's benefits to the Maronites. The grammar is in Syriac, printed in the serto of the Propaganda and vocalized only when that is important for the grammatical form being discussed. It is destined purely for Oriental students. The Syriac is followed by a version in karshuni, and similarly for the verb paradigms. The preface is entirely in Arabic.

The scholarly efforts of the Maronite College were in part directed at the instruction of Maronite students and contributed to the systematic presentation of native Syriac grammars. They were also part of a wider outreach to the Eastern churches on Rome's part which was promoted by the Congregation De Propaganda Fide.

7. Other Roman Scholars

We have encountered Giovan Battista Ferrari (1584-1655) vouching for the *imprimatur* of Sciandris' little reading book. He was the Italian Jesuit Professor of Hebrew and Rhetoric at the Collegium Romanum. He brought out his lexicon, *Nomenclator Syriacus,* from Stephanus Paulinus (whom we have already met as a printer in Rome in 1622 and who published many Oriental books in Rome for the Congregatio De Propaganda Fide until his retirement *c.*1636). Its main purpose was to explain words in the Syriac Bible, in which he was able to include several Old Testament books.[192] The book opens 'from the rear' in Semitic fashion and a Syriac word in vocalised serto on the right of the page is followed by the Latin translation value on the left and sometimes a biblical reference or two. Whatever Ferrari's own competence he was able to boast in the *Isagoge* of the help of his old student at the Roman College who subsequently became a Professor of Syriac, the Maronite Isaac Sciadrensis and also his own Syriac teacher and colleague Peter

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ia Sacrae Congreg. De Propaganda Fide Rome 1647); GRAF, *GCAL*, III, p. 339-340.

[192] Ferrari came to Rome and entered the Society of Jesus on April 24 1602 and attended the Collegium Romanum. He studied Syriac with Peter Metoscita in the years 1615-16. From 1612 to 1616 he taught grammar to the students of the first year of the Maronite College, where he was Prefect of Studies from 1616 to 1619. See 'Ferrari, Giovanni Battista' in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani XLVI* (Instituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, Rome 1996) *sub voce.* Also AUGUSTIN ET ALOIS DE BACKER, "Ferrarius, Ferrari, Jean Baptist", in *Bibliothèque des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus, ou Notices bibliographiques; 1° de tous les ouvrages publiés par les membres de la Compagnie de Jésus, depuis la fondation de l'Ordre jusqu'a nos jours; 2° des apologies, des controverses religieuses, des critiques littéraires et scientifiques suscitées à leur sujet, par Augustin et Alois de Backer, de la même Compagnie* (Grandmont-Donders, Liège 1853) p. 306-307.

Metoscita[193]. He may disagree with some other authors, but this is because the Arabic interpreters of Syriac do not themselves always agree in interpretation[194]. He also made use of the manuscript resources not only of the Maronite college but also the Vatican library and Medici library in Florence[195]. He had, of course, access to Giwargis Amira's *Grammatica Syriaca sive Chaldaica... in septem libros divisa*. The book was not intended for absolute beginners. The end of the book there are two indices: one of Latin words which enables one, working backwards, to find the appropriate Syriac for a Latin term and the other which enables a quick unencumbered list of Latin translation values for Syriac words. The book is enhanced by Epigrams printed in (vocalized) Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac, Greek and Latin contributed by Peter Metoscita, Isaac Sciandrensis and Franciscus Donatus O. P. (Francisci Donati 1598-1635), Professor of Theology and Oriental Languages in Rome[196].

Tommaso Obicini da Novara

Tommaso Obicini da Novara (1585-1638), a Franciscan and a priest, was one of the most distinguished Arabists of his day. His career illustrates the connection between mission to the Eastern churches and the Orientalism sponsored by the Propaganda[197]. In 1612 he became Vicar to the Custodian of the Holy Land and subsequently Guardian of the Convent of Aleppo (1613-1620). During his time there he became proficient in both Arabic and Syriac and was active in his attempts to reconcile the Syrian Christians to Rome. He was

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[193] Petrus al-Matûsî (Matuscia, Metoscita, Matuscita) †1625 wrote a Syriac grammar and an Arabic-Syriac dictionary but both remained in manuscript: GRAF, *GCAL*, III, p. 336-337.

[194] *Iam vero si quis de nonnullarum potestate vocum dissentiat: intellegat is inter ipsos Syriacae linguae Arabes interpretes saepe non convenire: adeoque obscure, atque perplexe interpretari, ut ipsi non raro probabili coniectura interpretandi fuerint.*

[195] For an overview of the Syriac holdings of the BAV in the second part of the Sixteenth Century, Robert J. WILKINSON, "Syriac Studies in Rome", p. 56. S. E. ASSEMANI, *Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentiae et Palatinae codicum mms. [sic] orientalium catalogus* (ex Typographio Albiziniano, Florence 1742 [for 1743]) is fundamental for the Medicean holdings.

[196] Baumstark apparently admired the poem of Sciandrensis (SMITSKAMP, *P. O.* p168, p171).

[197] See further, AURÉLIAN GIRARD, "Des manuels de langue entre mission et érudition au XVIIe siècle: les grammaires de l'arabe des *Caracciolini*", in IRENE FOSI ET GIOVANI PIZZORUSSO (eds.), "*L'Ordine Chierici Regolari Minori (Caracciolini)*", *Studi medievali e moderne* 14 (2010) p. 279-295. ID., "Entre croisade et politique culturelle au Levant: Rome et l'Union des Chrétiens syriens (première moitié du XVIIe siècle)", in MARIA ANTONIETTA VISCEGLIA (ed.), *Papato e politica internazionale nella prima età moderna* (Viella, Rome 2013) p. 419-437.

delegate of the Holy See at the synod held in Diarbekr in 1616 and 1619 to consider union with the Eastern Syrian Church. He was elected Custodian of the Holy Land in 1620 (Custode di Terra Santa e Commisario Apostolico per tutto l'Oriente) and moved to Jerusalem. Returning to Rome he retired from the Custodianship and proposed the foundation of a school of Arabic studies near the Convent of S. Pietro in Montorio on the Janiculum, which was accepted by the Congregatio De Propaganda Fide. He is a most important figure in the history of Arabic in Rome and the author of several significant works.[198]

His 1636 *Thesaurus Arabo-Syro-Latinus* is a product of his personal learning and experience of Syriac in the Middle East[199]. It is not focused upon the elucidation of the vocabulary of Scripture, rather shows an engagement with the contemporary spoken language as means of daily communication in the East. There is no interest in historical or comparative grammar, nor any bookish reference to Hebrew. It is focused on contemporary spoken languages and their words used in practically determined semantic fields. Nevertheless it is not an original work but an expanded translation of a work of Elia bar Shinaya (Barsinaeus / Elias of Nisibis) who died in 1049.[200] An Arabic-Syriac dictionary had apparently earlier been drawn up by Peter Metoscita but remained in manuscript. The basic form of a page in the *Thesaurus* is three columns of synonyms in (from the left) Latin, Syriac and Arabic. The book is arranged into

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[198] Including: *Isagoge Idest, breve Introductorium Arabicum, in Scientiam Logices cum versione Latina ac Theses sanctae Fidei* (Rome, 1621) and *Grammatica arabica (in arabo), Agrumia appellata. Cum versione Latina, ac dilucida expositione* (Rome, 1631) the fourth edition of this native grammar. The Propaganda also accepted his proposals for an Arabic bible which, however, did not appear before 1671, GRAF, *GCAL*, IV, p. 174-176. Obicini was also involved with Kircher in facilitating his early Coptic studies, DANIEL STOLZENBERG, *Egyptian Oedipus Athanasius Kircher and the Secrets of Antiquity* (University of Chicago Press 2013) p. 89-91. Kircher's *Prodromus Coptus, sive Aegyptiacus* (Rome 1636) published an inscription carved in an unknown script found by Obicini at the foot of Mount Horeb in the Sinai (p 204,207). Kircher compared the script with Hebrew, Samaritan and Syriac script and concluded that the inscription was in ancient Chaldean, otherwise known as Assyrian, Targumic, Aramaic, Lebanese or Babylonian, and used before and during the Exile. Having restored the script, Kircher translated the inscription (*mirabile dictu*) as: *Deus virginem concipere faciat. Et illa pariet filium*. STOLZENBERG, p. 96-98.

[199] *Thesaurus Arabico-Syro-Latinus R.P.F. Thomae à Nouaria Ord. Minorum, theologi, ac linguarum orientalium in Collegio S. Petri Montis Aurei, de mandato Sacrae Congregationis Fide propagandae, magistri* (Typis Sac. Congregationis de Propag. Fide, Rome 1636). The work is published by his pupil Germanus de Silesia and dedicated by Achilles Venerius to Cardinal Barbarini.

[200] GRAF, *GCAL*, IV, 175; BAUMSTARK, p. 287.

tractates and then chapters which each deal with a specific area of subject vocabulary – the list begins with names of God, includes parts of the body, religious sects and denominations, tools of trades, medical terms (after the Arabic alphabetical order), aqueducts, stars *etc, etc*. After p345 the pages are determined by an alphabetical listing of Syriac words (which are as usual glossed in the other two columns). This therefore is a useful and practical way of finding the Arabic or Latin for a Syriac term. The Syriac types are the 20pt Maronite serto types used in Ecchellensis' Grammar. The book is badly printed and whole words appear upside down. There is a massive list of errata (32 pages) dutifully assembled at the end. Nevertheless the work is important: here is Syriac presented for the purposes of contemporary communication rather than for biblical philology.

8. Lutheran Scholars

We turn our attention now away from Rome, the Maronites and the missionary field in the East to return to Wittenberg to consider some more Lutheran scholars[201]. These, together with Reformed scholars to whom we shall turn shortly, became during this period increasingly sophisticated users of Hebrew, Comparative Semitic Linguistics and Rabbinic Scholarship. There also show a growing interest in Syriac. We shall have to make one or two chronological jumps in our presentation.

Elias Hutter

The last polyglot bible of the Sixteenth Century to contain Syriac was not the product of a group of Catholic scholars nor a Protestant project like the London Polyglot. Rather it was the sole work of Elias Hutter (*c*.1553-1609) who studied Oriental languages in Jena and was appointed Professor of Hebrew at the University of Leipzig (1577-1579). He later taught and published in Nuremburg[202]. Hutter can probably best be unders-

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[201] For a detailed survey of later Lutheran Hebraists, STEPHEN G. BURNETT, "Lutheran Christian Hebraism in the Time of Solomon Glassius (11593-1656)", in CHRISTOPH BULTMANN AND LUTZ DANNEBERG (eds.), *Hebraistik-Hermeneutik-Homiletik Die "Philologia Sacra" in frühneuzeitlischen Bibelstudien* (De Gruyter, Berlin 2011) p. 441-467.

[202] HANS ARENS, *Sprachwissenschaft Der Gang ihrer Entwicklung von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (Verlag Karl Alber, Freiburg / Munich 1955) p. 61-63; ID., "Hutter, Elia", in *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 10 (1974) p. 103-104; LORE-SPORHAN-KREMPEL - THEODOR WOHNHASS, "Elias Hutter in Nuremburg und seine Biblia in etlichen Sprachen", *Archiv für Geschichte des Buckwesens* 27 (1986) p. 157-162; CHRISTOPH RESKE, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet* (Wiesbaden 2007) p. 704-706.

tood as an educational visionary and entrepreneur[203]. One should not only read the bible in different languages, he belie-ved, but by understanding the principles of their construction one will learn quickly to do so. There will thus be demonstrated a linguistic harmony which approaches divine Wisdom (one is somewhat reminded of Bibliander's *Ratio*). In 1597, when he arrived in Nuremberg, Hutter planned to found a school for languages and sought the support of the City Council to publish multilingual books, a monumental multilingual dictionary, a New Testament edition in twelve languages, and then his enormous Hexateuch printing in Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, La-tin, German, Slavonic, French, and Italian[204]. He borrowed excessively from the Council. The anticipated sales never mate-rialised and Hutter was forced first to turn over his remaining stock of books in 1604 and then permanently to leave town in 1605.

Hutter is perhaps most famous for his 1587 Hamburg edition of the Hebrew Bible[205]. Hutter's concern was neither for cor-rectness of text nor beauty of typography, though here he suc-ceeded in both. His was a more practical, scholarly mission—to make the Hebrew Bible more readily accessible to the student. He therefore used two forms of type—a solid letter for the root (the three letters of which signify the Holy Trinity) and a hol-low letter for the prefixes and suffixes, which give the page an aesthetically pleasing and subtle shading. This is usually bound in one thick folio volume and is distinguished by the large font used for the Hebrew letters. Thus, he introduced a major educa-tional tool where a simple glance at the printed biblical text enabled the reader to recognize the root letters of any Hebrew word. But behind this typographic clarity was hidden a far more wide-ranging and rather mystical apprehension of the harmony between all languages.

The *Offentlich Außschreiben An allgemeine Christliche Obrigkeit...* (Nuremburg, 1602) gives an exposition of Hutter's

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[203] ARENS, "Hutter, Elias" in *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 10 (1974) p. 103 speaks of "eine Art linguistisch-pädagogisches Sendungsbewußtsein".

[204] Such polyglots are only partially anticipated by The "Hamburg Poly-glot", *Biblia Sacra Graece, Latine & Germanice; opera Davidis Wolderi; in usum ecclesiarum Germanicarum, praesertim earum quae sunt in dictioni-bus illustrissimorum Ducum Hostatiae* (Jacobus Lucius Junior Hamburg 1596). Here there are four columns across the page, Greek, Vulgate, the Latin version of Pagninus for the Old Testament and Beza for the New Tes-tament and finally Luther's German. This convenient gathering of biblical texts does not pretend to display a deeper harmony between the languages.

[205] *BIBLIA EBRAEA Eleganti et Maiuscula Characterium Forma, qua ad facilem sanctae linguae & scripturae intelligentiam primo statim intuitu literae RADICALES & SERVILES, DEFICIENTES & QVIESCENTES, &c. situ & colore discernuntur* (Hamburg, no named printer 1587).

notions of Linguistic Harmony. This is not just, as with others, a case of deriving Greek, Latin and German (indeed all languages) from Hebrew. Hutter uses his morphological understanding of Hebrew (the isolation of the three radical letters which are the real bearers of meaning and the accidental letters which modify that meaning) to analyse the other three (as we would say) inflected languages. He demonstrates an organic similarity between the shape of their letters (they all, of course, use an alphabet). Then by use of the versions of Isaiah 40. 8, setting the four languages (Hebrew, Greek, Latin and German) in columns side by side, he uses difference in type to distinguish radical from accidental letters (initial or final syllables, particles *et al.*) in all four languages. This is not just a claim that all languages derive from Hebrew: it is rather a claim that all became structurally transparent in the light of his analysis of Hebrew into radical and accidental letters[206]. The work also contains a helpful list of his works proclaiming this doctrine to date (1602).

Syriac appears in Hutter's Polyglot New Testament (1599-1600), now a very rare book[207]. This is a handsomely printed Polyglot Bible in twelve languages. The texts are arranged in six columns across facing pages with two languages per column, including the Hebrew printed with Hutter's unique font of black and hollow letters. The Syriac is given in Hebrew characters. Hutter appears to have little specific interest in Syriac other than as an early daughter of Hebrew. He had presented Aramaic in his Polyglot of the Old Testament and Syriac was a similar asset in his New Testament – if not more so as it gave clearer access to his method of linguistic analysis[208]. It is thus

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[206] HANS ARENS, *Sprachwissenschaft Der Gang ihrer Entwicklung von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (Verlag Karl Alber, Freiburg/ Munich 1955), p. 62 writes "Mit Hilfe einer Art Lullischer Kunstoder Kabbalistik – vermutlich 3 in Quadratform oder auf 3 gegeneinander bewegliche Ringe geschriebenen Alphabeten – glaubt er nämlich da ja 3 Radike in Hebräischen genügen, die urspüngliche göttliche oder adamitische Kunst der Namengebung (*impositio vocum*) aller Dinge wiederzuentdecken. So verbinden sich im Kopfe eines Orientalisten des 16. Jahrhunderts die grammatischen Kenntnisse mit mystischen Geheimlehren und einem praktischen pädagogischen Anliegen".

[207] *Novum Testamentum D[omi]ni N[ost]ri Jesu Christi. Syriacè, Ebraicè, Græcè, Latinè, Germanicè, Bohemicè, Italicè, Hispanicè, Gallicè, Anglicè, Danicè, Polonicè. Studio & Labore Eliæ Hutter.* (2 vols. Philipp Alexander Dietrich, Nuremberg 1599-1600). This was preceded by *Sanctus Matthaeus, Syriace, Ebraice, Graece, Latine etc* (Nuremberg 1599) anticipating the larger work and followed by *Sanctus Marcus, Syriace etc* (Nuremberg 1600).

[208] *Biblia Sacra Ebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, Latine, Germanice, Gallice* (*Slavonice, Italice* in variant printings with the Slovenian text of Juri Dalmatin's version of the Bible 1584, the Italian text of A. Brucioli and also the

an illustration of his linguistic key – unfolding a structure in which the Holy Ghost had linked Hebrew to reality. Hutter has no apparent interest in the Eastern Church; nor any interest in the differences in text and the minutiae of different vocalizations which would interest later Lutherans. Hutter was (alarmingly) content to add or subtract from those biblical texts he place side-by-side in his Polyglot to make them concur and was interested only in their proper structural analysis. His Syriac text is consequently text-critically worthless.

The second volume begins with a (very long) *Praefatio* to the Christian Reader by Jacobus Colerus (1537-1612*) in Eliae Hutteri Biblia Ebraea* (Berlin, 1587) which is evidently considered to have abiding relevance here[209]. Hutter himself reviews noteworthy passages in the first edition and in the present second volume. All of this is given a second time in German. What is quite disconcerting again is to read here of Hutter's own harmonisation of the versions by the simple and efficient means of addition and subtraction!

Some further indication of Hutter's approach may be taken from the introductory *Christiano et Candido Lectori* of the Edition of the Polyglot Matthew (Nuremberg 1599) written in anticipation of completing the whole Polyglot New Testament - *simile dispositione & forma, cum aliis necessariis methodis, Harmonicis, Symmetricis, Grammaticis, Cabalisticis, Masoreticis compendiis, breve subsequatur*. Adam the *protoplastus* was in a single moment able to give appropriate and lasting names to the animals by understanding of the *Cubus Alphabeticus* which gave access through Hebrew to the underlying realities[210]. Joseph, Solomon, Daniel, and even the untaught Apos-

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Low German version of Luther, Wittenberg 1599). (Only eight books: Genesis to Ruth) (Alexander Philipp Dietrich, Nuremburg 1599).

[209] The Lutheran Colerus was Professor of Hebrew in Frankfurt (1576-1577), Provost at St. Nicholai in Berlin (1577-1599) and finally Superintendent at Güstrow (1599-1612). His *Praefatio* (Berlin 1587) gives us a linguistic history which marks little difference between (an early) Syriac (*Lingua Syra*) and Chaldaean. Indeed they merged to produce *Syrochaldaica* which some call the Jerusalem dialect which was the vernacular of Christ. This tended more towards Syriac than Chaldaean in its idioms. He mentions some contemporary scholarship, but also the utility of Hutter's method for undoing the works of the Devil. The descent of languages is described within the perspective of Hutter's insights.

[210] *... per Cubicam Alphabeti combinationem, juxta Trinitatis mysterium, cunctis animalibus propria & apposita imponerat nomina, quibus, non sine singulari admiratione, utilitate & voluptate, utimur.* His *Cubus: Ein hebraisch Dictionarium auß welchem ein Jeglicher so nur hebraisch lesen kann, eines jeglichen Radicis oder Schoresh deutsche Bedeutung ergründen und also die H. Sprach in wenig Zeit mit geringer Mühe lernen und verstehen kann* (Froben, Hamburg 1603) is technically anonymous and a preface in Latin describing the use of the book was signed G. L. Frobenius (such assistance was lacking in earlier editions and one wonders what unini-

tles evidently had access by the Holy Spirit to some unusual linguistic abilities (*ex missione Spiritus Sancti, omnium linguarum expeditissimam cognitionem in momento perceperunt*)[211]. But Hutter is not interested in the purely miraculous but is concerned with the natural and physical aspects of this early wisdom which he contrasts with the triviality and ineffectiveness of contemporary linguistic education. Hutter has sought to recover the *veram sapientiae et linguarum cognitionem*. Lack of this wisdom causes much of the misery in the world. The principal cause is the ingratitude and pride of this world which provoked the confusion of tongues at Babel and rejects the divine wisdom with which the Holy Spirit cooperates. This wisdom is itself is an untarnished mirror of divine activity and goodness and is powerful in sustaining creation and inhabiting the hearts of the faithful. Hutter's tone here is pious and devotional. The second cause is the ignorance and contempt of Hebrew, the original language, which facilitated the wisdom of the patriarchs, kings and prophets. It is contempt of Hebrew, as of German (wisely spread by the holy Charlemagne) which is the Devil's work and causes our problems. Greek and Latin are apparently not intrinsically bad – but contempt of Hebrew and German is.

Whence the project of putting the whole of the NT into pure Hebrew –*in quo tamen omnis nostra & totius Mundi pendet restitutio*[212]. Syriac is useful here. The way forward is by *Harmonia & Symmetria* - which link the dimensions of Noah's Ark, the Holy of Holies, Urim and Thummim, Ezekiel's Vision, Daniel's Stone, the Cube, the Sphere, the Cross, the Square, Jerusalem Descending from Heaven and the Twenty Four Elders - and foretell the action of the Holy Spirit in the future destruction of the devilish Babylon, Mother of Harlots and all Abominations, from the Ecclesia where God will be all in all and all languages will flow back to the original primaeval Hebrew.

Just as many different musical instruments may contrive to bring a pleasant sound to our ears, so the different languages analysed by the Cube, the Sphere, the Cross and the Square

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tiated readers might initially have made of the work). The work is essentially a set of matrices 24×24, one for each letter of the Hebrew alphabet designed to give as far as possible a German interpretation of each triliteral Hebrew root. There was an earlier *Sanctae Linguae Cubus Hebraicogermanus* (Froben Basel 1578 of which no known copy remains); a 1586 *Cubus sacrae Linguae Ebraeae* (Johann Sachse, Hamburg) and another edition from Wolf in Hamburg in 1588.

[211] Much of Hutter's writing here may be seen to be dependant on St Jerome (*In Epistola ad Paulinum*) which he cites *in extenso*.

[212] The version was subsequently published by William Robertson in 1661.

may appear to have some unity. Uniting structures of symmetry
may also be found in the script of various languages. But if
Harmony and Symmetry dominate this will also be so for con-
sonants, vowels, accents, orthography, prosody, etymology,
syntax *etc etc*. These structures can be displayed and seen. The
Cube, the Cross and other manipulative procedures may be
seen illustrated on the tile page of Hutter's *Dictionarium Har-
monicum Biblicum, Ebraeum, Graecum, Latinum Germanicum*
(Ex officina Typographica Alexandri Philippi Theodorii Nu-
remburg 1598; Apud Johannem Walschaert, Amsterdam 1616).

Before leaving Hutter, it may be of interest to compare the
work of Estienne Guichard, Professor of Foreign Languages in
Paris, who wrote a harmonistic etymology of Oriental, Classi-
cal and Modern languages in 1631[213]. The etymology proposes
a Hebrew root from which words in other languages are said
(implausibly, we would think) to be descended. The basic tech-
niques are addition, subtraction, transposition and the inversion
of letters.   Guichard quoted with approval Classical writers
after Plato whom he considered held that the understanding of
words preceeds that of things, reminding us perhaps of the
Mediaeval Speculative Grammarians we mentioned earlier. But
they did not then enjoy the knowledge of Hebrew which per-
mits the exhibition of the fundamental ties which bind other
languages to the maternal tongue[214].

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[213] *L'Harmonie Etymologique des Langues Hebraique, Chaldaique, Sy-
riaque, Grecque, Latine, Françoise, Italienne, Espagnole, Allemande, Fla-
mante, Angloise &c. En laquelle ... se demonstre evidement que toutes les
langues sont descendues de l'Hebraïque* (Guillaume Pele, Paris 1631).

[214] It is perhaps of interest to our consideration of the extent to which Sy-
riac was identified as a separate language to read his comments on
'Hebrew', under which term he includes Chaldaean and Syriac: *Mais no-
tons, que quand nous dison que la langue Hebraique est la premiere de
toutes, & qu'à icelle toutes les autres doivent estre reduites par etymolo-
gies; nous entendons comprendre souz ce mot d'Hebraique, la Chaldaique
& Syriaque: ne faisans des ces trois langues distingées par nom, & en
quelque chose, qu'une seule en substance. Par ce que les uns disent que la
langue Chaldaique est la premiere: Theodoret dit que c'est la Syriaque: les
autres que la Chaldaique & la Hebraique ne sont qu'une, quelques fois
diverses: les autres confondent la Chaldaique & Syriaque pour une meme. A
cela donc je dis, que quant à la substance ou essence de la langue, on peut
facilement estimer ces langues estre une seule: entant que ces trois,
Hebraique, Chaldaique, & Syriaque, contiennent les mesmes racines.
D'autre coste, je dis qu'on les peut distinguer & estimer diverses par les
proprietez & accidens qui leur sont particuliers. En ce que l'Hebraique et la
plus simple des trois, ayant moins corrumpu ses trois radicales, que n'a fait
La Chaldaique et Syriaque, lesquelles adioustans plusieurs lettres à leur
racines, ont engendré diverses Dialectes de la langue Hebraique, & en tel
cas ont estés distigées d'icelle. Mais touchant la substance des racines, nous
dison que ces trois langues ont esté appellees generalement par le nom de
l'Hebraique comme comprises en icelle: & que en ce sens la langue
Hebraique est la premiere de toutes, et la mere de toutes, de laquelles toutes*

Wittenberg

Other Lutheran scholars lacked the comprehensive and mystical insights of Hutter. What characterises them is a desire to develop what is available (often from the work of the Maronites); a thorough consolidation of understanding with attention paid to discrepancies in vocalisation and other details of previous grammars; an interest in establishing serviceable editions of the Scriptures; the production of helpful and accurate grammars for their students and a desire to achieve a comparative context for the understanding of the languages. These scholars were generally careful philologists with a focus on biblical studies. Avid consumers of the earlier Catholic scholarship, they nonetheless worked to make it their own.

Increasingly we shall encounter comparative dictionaries and grammars – extending beyond merely the difference between Hebrew and Aramaic – which became increasingly popular[215]. In the Seventeenth Century these tended to be called 'harmonic'. They are generally (but not all) less comprehensive and mystical than Hutter and more straightforwardly empirical. The previous tradition of comparative description of Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic in Jewish philology of the Tenth to Twelfth Centuries established all the sound shifts and several grammatical correspondences between these languages, but with the end of Jewish Arabic culture in Spain and North Africa this work rather came to end, and Western Europeans had to start again[216]. Early Hebrew grammarians were not readily available and much of their contribution was forgotten. This is particularly true of their explorations in comparative Semitic grammar. We shall find the Western Christian grammarians had to extend their own studies into these areas often from their own observations.

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les autres esté derivees. Ce qui se verifie manifestment tant par la voye d'etymologies, que par le temoignage des Anciens qui ont eu connaissance de cette langue. [References to Origen and Jerome follow].

[215] YAAKOV GRUNTFEST, "Harmonic Dictionaries and Grammars in Semitic Languages", in ANDERS AHIQVIST (ed.), *Diversions of Galway: Papers on the History of Linguistic from ICHoIS V* (John Benjamins, Amsterdam 1990) p. 103-112. A far less ambitious work is that of the Dutch Jacobus Alting (Professor of Hebrew in Groningen 1618-1679) *Synopsis Institutionum Chaldaearum et Syrarum* (Fridericki Knochii, Frankfurt-a-M. 1676. 6th Edition 1701, 1717). As the form of the book did not permit placing the Chaldaean and Syriac together they are handled separately. This is a teaching text citing the authorities with which we are familiar. Often bound with similar synopses of Rabbinic Hebrew, Samaritan, Arabic, Ethiopic *etc*.

[216] A. MAMAN, *Comparative Semitic Philology in Middle Ages* (E. J. Brill, Leiden 2004).

Valentin Schindler (1543-1604) was a Wittenberg Hebraist. With him we see a developing concern – evident already in Bibliander and Waser - to present grammar in a comparative context very much in parallel with the Polyglot bibles (in his case the Antwerp Polyglot). We may also consider him anticipated in some respects by Angelo Canini's *Institutiones* which mainly treated Aramaic but with Arabic and Ethiopic paradigms of the strong verb. In 1588 Schindler became *ordinarius* for Hebrew in the Philosophy Faculty at Wittenberg. Interestingly, his subsequent nomination the chair of Hebrew and Oriental Languages effectively withdrew the post from the tutelage of the Theology Faculty who had proposed another candidate. His *Lexicon Pentaglotton* was published posthumously in 1612[217]. An abridgement was published in 1635[218]. Here Schindler systematically developed his entries to display the similarites and filiation of Hebrew Aramaic and Arabic and passes beyond the comparative analysis we have previously seen developing and shows a determination to use all the available resources of Oriental languages. This achievement is particularly striking when one realises that his Lexicon came out one year before the 1613 Arabic-Latin Lexicon of Franciscus Raphelengius. It is with his Arabic that he was widening horizons. That work on the Arabic is inevitably faulty but no doubt the effort was considerable, there being few resources for him to call upon[219]. He used the Arabic New Testament and the Koran. He was better served however for Syriac and Chaldaean, though the absence of any type other than Hebrew is noticeable. Schindler lists a root (say *gdl*) and gives informa-

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[217] *Lexicon Pentaglotton, Hebraicum, Chaldaicum, Syriacum, Talmudico-Rabbinicum,& Arabicum. In quo omnes voces Hebraeae, Chaldeae., Syrae, Rabbinicae & Arabicae, adjectis hincinde Persicis, Aethiopicis & Turcicis, ordine Alphabetico, sub suis singulae Radicibus digestae continentur: Earumque Significationes, Usus ac Elegentiae, ex SS. Hebraeis Bibliis; horum Chaldaicis Paraphrasibus; Testamento N. Syriaco; utroque Babylonico & Hierosolymitano Talmudo, Midraschim, Rabbinorum Commentatoribus, Theologis & Philosophis; Arabica V. & N Instrumenti Translatione, Alkorano, Avicenna, &c. ut & graeca LXX Interpretum, & omnibus Latinis Bibliorum versionibus, docte, ample ac dilucide proponuntur & explicantur... opus novum, nunc post Authoris obitum, ex ipso Autographo fidelissime descriptum...* (Cura et Auspiciis Rylandiorum... Typis Joannis Jacobi, Hanovia 1612). An edition with the imprint Hanau (*typis Hennei*) seems a second issue of the same year. An edition with a Frankfurt imprint is again not identical but is also *typis Hennei*. The office of Johannes Jacobus Henneus in Hanau was famous for its Hebrew works.

[218] *Schindleri Lexicon Pentaglotton... in epitomen redactum a G. A. [Gulielmus Alabaster]* (William Jones, London 1635).

[219] Schindler went to considerable trouble with his Arabic roots. He also had at his disposal Saadia Gaon's Arabic Pentateuch and Giustiniani's Polyglot Psalter. JAN LOOP, *Johann Heinrich Hottinger, Arabic and Islamic Studies in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford University Press 2013) p. 79.

tion on its (1) Hebrew meaning (*magnus fuit / factus est*) citing biblical, targumic and septuagintal material. He then deals with the Hebrew forms *gadôl, gadêl, gôdel, gedulla, migdal, migdôl* etc. This followed by (2) the Syriac meaning: *gedal* (*filavit retorsit*), compare *gedilîm* (*fila*). Then the (3) Arabic *gadal* is glossed disputavit, though the supporting biblical reference to Acts 34, 15 is obviously wrong. Syriac material is found throughout the entry. As a model of a comparative lexicon Schindler's work was influential and it remains, together with Hottinger (1661) and Castell (1669), one of only three comparative lexica of Semitic languages ever published.

Schindler left Wittenberg in 1592 suspected of leanings towards Calvinism and was succeeded by Laurentius Fabricius from Danzig who taught there for 35 years. Fabricius taught Crinesius and Trost who eventually succeeded his teacher in the Wittenberg chair of Hebrew in 1628 . Like Crinesius, Trost gave serious attention to Syriac. Trost's pupil Andreas Sennert (1606-1689) worked in the Universities of Leipzig, Jena, Strasburg and Leiden before returning to take the Hebrew chair at Wittenberg after Trost's successor Jacob Weller. His career pathway passing through several universities of different Protestant confessions is illuminating. This was a subject with rare resources and few experts – one had to learn where one might. Sennert brought considerable skills in Arabic and other Oriental languages to his treatment of Syriac in an increasingly comparative context. Arabic was important philologically, but it also provided access to comment upon other languages.

Crinesius

The decidedly Lutheran Christoph Crinesius (Grünes) (1584-1629) came from the University of Jena in 1616 to enroll in Wittenberg where he was Fabricius's pupil and subsequently became a docent. He enjoyed a period as court chaplain and finally was Professor of Oriental Languages at Altdorf. Increasingly these universities were developing formal teaching courses in Arabic, Aramaic and Syriac. Jena began advertising Aramaic in 1601, though Wittenberg did not begin until 1632. Jena also offered the first formal course in Syriac in 1614. Altdorf was the first Lutheran university to offer an Arabic class in 1624, followed in 1632 by Wittenberg[220]. The following works we shall consider went some way to meet the demand for books suitable for these courses.

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[220] I rely here on data from STEPHEN G. BURNETT, "Christian Aramaism: The Birth and Growth of Aramaic Scholarship in the Sixteenth Century", in R. L. TROXEL, K. G. FRIEBEL, D. R. MAGARY (eds.), *Seeking out the Wisdom of the Ancients Essays Offered to Michael V. Fox on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake 2005) p. 421-436.

Crinesius' *Ma'nevath Suriya: Gymnasium Syriacum. h. e. Iesu Christo vernaculae perfecta institutio ex Novo Testamento Syro et aliis Rerum Syriacarum Scriptoribus collecta, novis et genuinis characteribus adornata.* (J. Gormann, 1611) was printed in Wittenberg[221]. The Grammar (like the subsequent Lexicon) is built around the available material in the Widmanstetter *editio princeps*. Like the Lexicon it also has a preface by Fabricius[222]. The book introduces a new Syriac font in Germany[223]. The serto font (somewhat similar to Granjon's Plantin types) is attributed to Johannes Richter in the printing office of J. Gormann in Wittenberg[224]. The alphabet table however contains a large estrangela in woodcut.

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[221] The title page has I Cor 12.4 in Latin and vocalised serto around a Medalion with Hebrew Tetragrammaton. There is discussion of the Tetragrammaton in his *Exercitationum Hebraicarum Pentameron Pars Prima (Quinta)* (Typis et impensis Simonis Halbmayeri Nürnberg 1625) p. 57ff.

[222] Fabricius found that the Messiah was announced in Old Testament Hebrew, and proclaimed in the Greek of the New Testament, the language of Scripture in primitive church. Hebrew was purer, for New Testament Greek is not of the purest being mixed with Hebrew idiom (*liquore Hebraei sermonis*) which make it in many places barbarous and not really Greek, though this was the consequence of preserving a little of the primeval language in the New Testament. Accurate interpretation, however, is difficult for those not possessed of both Greek and Hebrew. By 'Hebrew' he means also the daughter languages *Chaldaea* & *Syra* which are instrumental in providing proper access to the mother tongue and the meaning of Holy Scripture. For example, Mk 5.41 *Talitha kumi*: do we know whether the explanation *puella surge* is from the Evangelist or is later marginal gloss subsequently inserted into the text itself? The Greek is no help. Hebrew will provide the key to *kumi* as a feminine imperative, but what of *talitha*? Even Jerome in places recognized this to be a *vocem Syram* followed by Nicholas of Lyra, but in other places emended it to *Tabitha* denoting *Dorkas / caprea*. He cites evidence of Hebrew letters changed in Aramaic and Syriac from Acts 9. 40. Others have made worse emendations: *tabbiti* (*respece, extolle oculos*). The *editio princeps* of the Syriac New Testament 1555 however showed that *talitha* does mean little girl from its other occurrences (Mk 5.39,40,41,42; Mat 9 twice in same story.) There is therefore he concludes no need for the emendation of Christ's very own words.

[223] This font we shall find used subsequently in Myricaeus's *Prima Elementa Linguae Syriacae* (Geneva 1621); in Köthen with Martin Trost's New Testament edition (1621) and his separate edition of 1 John with primer and in Jena in 1638 with J. M. Dilherr's *Eclogae Novi Testamentum.*

[224] *De Confusione linguarum* in which he tried to portray the Hebrew language as a mother tongue of Oriental and Romance languages was printed by the same office in 1610 and apparently has wood-cut Syriac. (COAKLEY, p. 48-50.) The work appeared again as *De confusione linguarum – Sive Discursus De Confusione Linguarum, Tum Orientalium: Hebraicae, Chaldaicae, Syriacae, Scripturae Samariticae, Arabicae, Persicae, Aethiopicae: tum Occidentalium, nempe, Graecae, Latinae, Italicae, Gallicae, Hispanicae, statuens Hebraicam omnium esse primam, & ipsissimam Matricem, concinnatus* (Halbmayerus, Nuremberg 1629).

The work is divided into three parts. The first, *Etymologia*, tells us that the dialect is very close to the primitive language of Hebrew. Letters different from Hebrew are tabulated, ligatures and terminal forms explained and vowels points also. For the noun he considers: *numerus casus* and *declinatio*; notes and observations address pronouns. For the verb he treats: *genus numerus tempus persona and conjugatio*. He gives the perfect verb and conjugations active and passive. He then deals with defective verbs and verbs with quiescent radicals. He speaks of *Benoni*, but also *ethpa'el*. Adverb, prepositions, conjunctions and interjections follow. *Syntaxis* describes the joining or separation of the *partes orationis*. It also deals with prefixes and affixes for nouns and cases. The *Pars Practica* comprises texts, translations (Latin and vocalized Hebrew) and analysis of the *Magnificat, Benedictus and Nunc Dimittis*. There is a Decalogue and *Paternoster*, some New Testament texts relating to Baptism and the Eucharist and the bare bones of Luther's '*Catechismus Minor*'.

Vivien Law has drawn attention to the way in which Crinesius makes use of a morphological analysis derived from the Hebrew Grammarians which distinguished morphemes added (*affixum*) to a verb (*radix*), these being usually *praefixum* and *suffixum*. The picture is one of building blocks. This he points out is not characteristic of the organic way in which word structure was pictured in Medieval Christian linguistic discourse. Crinesius, thus, distinguishes between a free form (*vox separabilis*) and a bound form (*vox inseparabilis*). Here he has changed the metaphor, for in the Graeco–Roman tradition a free form had been called a *nomen integrum* (whole word) and a bound form a *nomen corruptum* (truncated word) thus preserving a picture of an entity in different states. Crinesius's terms promote the new 'building blocks' image[225]. This indeed may all be so, but we have noticed just such an awareness in Münster's translation of Levita's work in his *Compendium Hebraicae Grammaticae* of 1525 and several times thereafter.

Crinesius also wrote a Lexicon. The first Syriac dictionary we have seen was that of Masius's short *Syrorum Peculium* followed by Guy Lefèvre de la Boderie's *Dictionarium Syro-Chaldaicum*. This was, one recalls, essentially Münster's Aramaic Grammar used without acknowledgement and supplemented with a few New Testament words and some from Severus' *De Ritibus* in Syriac characters. The Antwerp Polyglot Bible in which Lefèvre de la Boderie's work and Masius's more targeted dictionaries appeared was however rare and expensive. Crinesius did the work again from the *editio princeps* and Severus. This was a useful format and increased the acces-

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[225] VIVIEN LAW, *The History of Linguistics in Europe From Plato to 1600* (CUP, 2003) p. 250.

sibility of Syriac to Lutheran scholars. We shall find his contribution subsequently developed by Trostius, and others with increasing sophistication.

Thus Crinesius's *Lexicon Syriacum, e Novo Testamento Et Rituali Severi, Patriarchae quondam Alexandrini, Syro collectum, tribus linguis Cardinalibus expositum, atque in illustri Wittenbergensium Academia tredecim Disputationibus propositum...* (J. Gormann, Wittenberg) followed his Grammar in 1612. He began it on 27 November 1611 and finished it on the 8 August 1612. It was essentially, as we have seen, a Lexicon of the New Testament Syriac text, supplemented with words from the text of Severus's *De Ritibus Baptismi*[226]. Support is full and the work almost constitutes a concordance (Crinesius claims) of the Syriac New Testament. New Testament citations are glossed in Greek and Latin. Hebrew etymologies are given for entries. Use is made of the Hebrew grammatical term *Benoni*. It has Richter's serto and a Hebrew font. There is a Latin and Greek index. One finds an *Epistula Pauli* often bound at the end of the Lexicon for reading practice, but sometimes it appears separately as a small *4to* (Impensis Z. Schureri, Typis Gormannianis 1612). It takes its text from the *editio princeps* and acknowledges this[227].

Crinesius's Dedicatory Epistle to the Lexicon offers us his concept of Syriac. Daniel and Ezra spoke pure Chaldaean but less pure and authoritative is Syriac (used in Genesis 31.47). This was the spoken vernacular of Christ and his apostles as 'Talitha Qumi" and 'Aceldama' (so called (Acts 1.19) in 'their own proper tongue' *i. e.* in the speech of Jerusalem) indicate. This was *mera Syriaca* – pure Syriac.

The Syriac New Testament was the first translation ever made from the Greek of the New Testament and made moreover in the vernacular of the time gives the sense better than either the original Greek or the later Latin. The translators worked at Antioch where they could ask Peter and Paul, who spent a year teaching there (Acts 11.26) about difficult or obscure passages. Europe has been without this first translation of the New Testament for 1400 years and at considerable cost until Moses of Mardin arrived in the West. So too even for the Greeks who used the original Greek text, matters are clarified. Take our 'daily bread' (*epiousios/superstantialis*). The Syriac has 'bread of our poverty' which makes the meaning clear: in John 5.2 'Bethesda' is seen to mean 'house of Grace'; 'Marana-

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[226] Published in 1571 by Guy Lefèvre de la Boderie. On this work see: *Kabbalistic Scholars*, p. 103-106. Severus was in fact Patriarch of Antioch.

[227] The separate edition is dedicated to Fabricius in Wittenberg, J. Drusius in Franeker, N. Albertus in Prague, J Buxtorf in Basel and C. Helvicus in Giessen – "the Christian rabbis of Europe, most learned in Aramaic".

tha' in 1Cor 16.22 becomes intelligible; I Cor 10.2 'baptized into Moses' is explained by the Syriac 'by the hand of Moses'. In Romans 4.8 the Syriac adds support to the doctrine of *sola fide* to the upset of the Louvain censors. In 1Cor 12.20 the Syriac 'eating and drinking' justifies giving the chalice to the laity against the Jesuit Johannes Harlemius (just 'eating' alone was an argument not to). The Syriac often refutes papists and has remained untainted by Eastern superstition. Less confessionally contentious, in Acts 16.6 the Syriac's 'Spirit of Jesus' variant may be used to argue for Trinity. There are more than 600 places in the Syriac New Testament where this extra help is given[228]. Finally we may mention his *Disputatio de Confusione Linguarum, Continens Linguae Hebraicae antiquitatem, veros characteres et partes constitutivas* (Johann Gormann, Wittenberg 1610) which defends the thesis of the primacy of Hebrew though treating of Chaldaean, Syriac, Greek and Latin. Sections XVI-XXV treat of Syriac, by brief description of unique features, its ultimate descent from Hebrew, though close similarity with Chaldaean, and from references in Old Testament. Reference is made to Widmanstetter and *Rituale Severi Episcopi Alexandrini* (dated to AC 82). There is no font other than Hebrew.

Martin Trost

Martin Trost (Trostius) (1588-1636) had already acted as *respondens* for one part of Crinesius's Lexicon (*Disputatio Secunda*). He had similarly been inspired by Fabricius in Wittenberg. He taught at the gymnasium in Köthen (a small village south-east of Dessau) in 1628 but then returned to Wittenberg in 1629 and became Professor of Hebrew in Fabricius's stead. Later he was to contribute to Walton's Polyglot Bible. In 1623 he brought out the largest Syriac Lexicon so far: *Lexicon Syriacum ex Inductione omnium exemplorum Novi Testamenti Syriaci adornatum; Adjecta singulorum vocabulorum significatione latini & germanici cum Indice triplici.* (Prostat Lipsiae ex Officina Cotheniana, Köthen). Trostius was the first to draw attention to Syriac phraseology on a larger scale, and the Lexicon entries are often phrases. His special interest in syntactical questions is also testified by his intention, announced in the preface of the Lexicon, to publish a *Particularum sylloge*, which however never appeared.

Trost also published the first Protestant edition of the Syriac New Testament to use Syriac characters (and the second after Tremellius) *Dīyatīqī ḥedattā Novum Domini nostri Jesu Christi*

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[228] Crinesius's *Ogdoozētēma glōttikon* (Scherffius, Altdorf 1628) offers illumination of chosen biblical texts from different Oriental and Western languages. The fourth essay *Latere Christi in cruce perfosso, Joh. 19. 34.* uses the Syriac for enlightenment.

*Testamentum Syriace: Cum versione Latina: Ex diversis editio-
nibus diligentissime recensitum: Accesserunt in fine notationes
variantis lectionis, ex quinque impressis editionibus diligenter
collectis* (Köthen, 1621, 1622, 1627). It has a preface by Jaco-
bus Martini of Wittenberg University. As Trost indicates it was
produced from previous printed editions and like Widmanstet-
ter's edition omits the *Historia adulterae* at John 8.1-11. The
Richter serto is used and vocalised. The use of the Syriac font
makes the difference from Hebrew vocalisation clearer[229].
Though not yet a 'complete' New Testament, this was a notable
addition to Protestant studies of Syriac. He the author relies
upon his own careful analysis and consolidation rather than any
new material or an authoritative teacher.

Trost's *Grammatica Ebraea eademque universalis recognita
et locupletora vice altera...* (J. W. Fincellius, Wittenberg 1653)
contains *Hypotyposis Harmonica Linguarum Orientalium:
Chaldaeae, Syrae, Arabicaeq; cum Matre Ebraea* by his pupil
Andreas Sennert[230]. The work has a serto and an Arabic font
and moves through the headings of a Hebrew Grammar indica-
ting the extent of similarity and difference in the other two lan-
guages, both for the benefit of learners but also to display their
common descent from Hebrew. One notices the common em-
phasis upon comparison in a pedagogic context.

Andreas Sennert (1606-1689), Trost's pupil, was in his turn
professor of Hebrew at Wittenberg. His small 4to *Chaldaismus
& Syriasmus, hoc est praecepta utriusque linguae, in harmonia
ad Ebraea... Accessit in fine lexici utriusque linguae compen-
dium....* (Typis et sumptis J. W. Fincelli Wittenberg 1651)
gives generous acknowledgement to his predecessors, especial-
ly Trost and De Dieu. Later a more ambitious harmony of
Aramaic in a growing network of Semitic languages was of-
fered in his *Rabbinismus: h. e. Praecepta Targumico-
Talmudico-Rabbinica: In harmonia ad Hebraea, eademque
Universalia, Chaldaeo-Syra nec non Arabica (seorsum antehac*

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[229]   His *Epistola B. Joannis Apostoli Syriaco-Latina* (Köthen 1632) is
a separate edition of I John with a primer also in the Richter serto. His
Quaestiones nobiliores Syro-Ebraicae. appeared in Wittenberg in 1630. He
had published an earlier *Concordantiae Chaldaicae, ex Danielis et Esaiae
capitibus Chaldaico idiomate conscriptis collectae* also in Wittenberg in
1617.

[230]   The first edition of this Grammar was *Grammatica Ebrea Genera-
lis cui Chaldaeo-Syriasmus collectus relictis accessit, ita ut communia, quae
habent hae linguae, quae minus αὐτοψίᾳ statim exponantur...* (Impensis &
Typis Johannis Röhneri, Wittenberg [1637] 1639) which similarly compared
Hebrew, Chaldaean and Syriac. Sennert added the *Hypotyposis* combining
Syriac and Arabic grammatical rules matching paragraph by paragraph the
Hebrew 'mother'. Andreas Mylius, Professor of Hebrew in Königsburg, was
dependant on Trost's Hebrew Grammar in his *Grammatica Chaldaica in
quantum ab Hebraea differt* (Danzig 1737).

edita illa ab autore) conscripta illustrataque. Accessit in fine Compendium Lexici Targumico-Talmudico-Rabbinici, Radicum & Vocum notabiliorum praecaeterisque usitatorum, &c. Autore Andrea Sennerto, P. P. In Acad. Witteberg. (Typis & Sumptibus Fincelianis, Wittenberg 1660).

Tübingen, Jena, Altdof and Leipzig

Wilhem Schickard (1592-1635) was a Lutheran minister busy with pastoral work until 1619 when he was appointed Professor of Hebrew at the University of Tübingen[231]. In 1631 he was also appointed professor of Astronomy there. Schickard was a universal scientist. His research was broad and included not only Biblical Languages but also Mathematics and Surveying. He invented several machines, famously one for calculating astronomical dates and another, remarkably, for Hebrew grammar. He and his entire family were wiped out in 1635 by bubonic plague during the Thirty Years War. The Hebrew Grammar which Gerhard modified by adding a Harmony (below) was a late version of Schickard's popular *Horologium Hebraeum* written with the intention of teaching Hebrew in 24 hours over a number of days. Schickard himself wrote a short harmonizing work systematizing the conjugations of five languages (Hebrew, Chaldean, Syriac, Arabic and Ethiopic)[232]. He also left an unfinished Syriac grammar in manuscript written when he was a deacon in Nürtingen which is now in the Universitätsbibliothek Freiburg[233]. Their emphasis is upon comparison within an efficient pedagogic programme.

Johann Ernst Gerhard (1621-68) another Lutheran Professor of Theology at Jena supplemented Shickard's work with a *Harmony* of Aramaic, Syriac, Arabic and Ethiopic[234]. He

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[231] CLAUDIA OTT, "Schickard als Orientalist – verkannter Genie oder interessierte Laie?", in F. SECK (ed.), *Zum 400. Geburtstag von Wilhelm Schickard Zweite Tübinger Schickard Symposion* (Thorbecke, Sigmaringen 1995) p. 117-130.

[232] WILHELM SCHICKARD, *Circulus Conjugationum Perfectarum Orientalium, Ebraeae, Chaldaeae, Syrae, Arabicae, Aethiopicae harmonice delineatus & explicatus juxta methodum... Jena:* (Sumtibus Christiani à Saher Bibliopolae Erffurtensis... Charactere Georgi Sengwaldi & Caspari Fretschmidi, Jena 1646).

[233] See (ed.) F. SECK, *Wilhelm Schickard (1592-1635) Astronom. Geograph. Orientalist, Erfinder d. Rechenmaschine* (Mohr, Tübingen 1978) p. 49-101 for his Hebrew and Chaldaean; p. 102 -104 for the Syriac Grammar, *Dialectus Christij Hoc est Syriasmus* (HS504). The Grammar makes use of the Elder Buxtorf's *Grammatica Chaldaica* and knows only the New Testament and Psalter. It deals with prosody, vocalisation and roots and is concerned to reduce apparently four-radical roots to tri-radicals by postulating affixes or reduplication of original bi-radical roots.

[234] Far less ambitious is a Harmony confined to Hebrew and Aramaic, *Brevis Institutio Linguae Syriacae, D. Joh. Henr. Maji Hebraicae atque*

acknowledges as predecessors; Bonaventura Cornelius Bertramus, Angelus Caninius and more recently Joh. Buxtorf and Louis De Dieu[235]. But their work suffered from just using Hebrew type which obviously created problems when pupils came to read texts in their proper script. (Though the deficiency did show the cognate relationships of Chaldaean and Syriac.) But Gerhard intended to use real script for Chaldaean, Syriac, Arabic and Ethiopic. This will show (fear not) no less the languages as descendants of Hebrew their Mother. The title page shows a Matronly *Ebrea* seated crowned below a radiate Tetragrammaton and attended by her four daughter languages in distinctive dress standing two on either side. *Ebrea* has a book with Hebrew script on her lap which *Chaldaea* and *Syriaca* touch. *Arabica* has a book with Arabic characters open at her feet. Sadly *Aethiopica* does not seem to have characters on the book at her feet. An opening presents Hebrew in one large column with a smaller one showing Harmony with Chaldaean. The next page displays that for Ethiopic, Arabic and Syriac. There are indices and (inevitably) a huge list of errata. The Dedicatory Epistle nonetheless boasts of the ground-breaking Ethiopic font. The letters in all the languages are very crude and struggle both with ligatures and vocalization.

In 1649 Gerhard brought out for his own part his *Skiagraphia Linguae Syro-chaldaicae cum Analyseos Syriacae specimine* (Typis Haeredum Oeschlengeli, Halle) dedicated to twelve other fellow Orientalists and signed as from Jena. Chaldean is compared throughout with Hebrew and Syriac is compared with Chaldaean in a few final tables.[236] Gerhard considered knowledge of Aramaic and Syriac important for reading the

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Chaldaicae nuper emissis Harmonica ad collegiorum conscripta a M. G. C. B. (Typis Johannis Wustii, Frankfurt-am-M. 1696) which appeared from The Elder Majus (1653-1719) Lutheran and Professor of Hebrew at Gliessen from 1688. M.G.C. B. refers to Magister Christian Bürklin's (-1716) *Brevis Institutio Linguae Chaldaicae Hebraicae antehac editae Harmonia* of 1695. Maius considers Syriac derived from Hebrew and Chaldaean: He considers: *permutatione litterarum*, vocalization; noun; pronoun; strong verb, weak verbs, vowel changes and has a note on absence of accents.

[235] *Institutiones Linguae Ebraeae, noviter Recognitae et Auctae. Accessit Harmonia Perpetua aliarum Linguarum Orientalium, Chaldaeae, Syrae, Arabicae, Aethiopicae...Opera M. Johannis Ernesti Gerhardi Jenensis* (Sumtibus Christiani à Saher Bibliopolae Erffurtensis... Charactere Georgi Sengwaldi & Caspari Fretschmidi, Jena 1647). RIJK SMITSKAMP, *Philologia Orientalis* (E. J. Brill, Leiden 1992) #131.

[236] The work has vocalized serto and vocalized Hebrew. The Grammar treats: the peculiarities of Syriac writing, verb, verbal patterns for the themes, tenses, defective verbs; the noun *nudum* or *auctum* as in Hebrew; prefixes; suffixes. Acts III 19-21 receives an *analysis grammatica* but there is no Syriac text.

Targums, understanding the Aramaic words in the New Testament and reading the bible commentaries of the Rabbis.

Johann Michael Dilherr (1604-1669) in turn was a pupil of Gerhard and became Professor of Theology in Jena in 1640. His *Eclogae Sacrae Novi Testamenti, Syriacae, Graecae, Latinae* appeared in 1637[237]. His selection of passages was made from the whole New Testament which had now been completed by the work of De Dieu and Pococke (below). He considered Syriac to be the language of Christ. He boldly ventures emendations to the newly available Syriac text of Jude and prints Psalm 150 in Syriac with vocalization from Erpenius' edition. The work enjoys Hebrew, Greek and Syriac type (Richter's serto) but there is no Arabic. Passages are given in Hebrew Greek and Syriac. Matthew 5.18 is given in Syriac and in Tremellius' transcription ("*Immanuel Tremelius haec in characteribus Ebraicis ita (sed non satis accurate) expressit*".) 'Amen' in Greek, we learn, comes not from the Hebrew or the Chaldaean but the Syriac form, though there are lots of loan words in Syriac. There are annotations on grammatical points and vocalization: he discusses 'Chaldaeanising', the Eastern long /a/ and the Western long /o/. There is also consideration of errors: using *dagesh forte* as opposed to the use of Syriac *kuschoi* (seen as similar); gemination contrary to practice of Amira and Sionita; shewas; silent letters (*alaph* lost in pronunciation, and first person plural imperfects in /n/ rather than Syriac *yudh*). Errors are pointed out in Matthew 6.9; 16.18; 16.15,16 *etc. etc.* and the work contains a *Censio in Scriptorem Tremellianum*.

Dilherr makes reference (*z'l*) to Daniel Schwenterus (1585-1636) Professor of Sacred Languages and Professor of Mathematics at Altdorf and his *Ventilatio Grammatica Gemina, Altera de pronunciatione vocalis Syriacae* z q p '*altera An Syri dipthong os Agnoscant? Cui* en paraodoi *genuina pronunciatio* Kametz & Pathahh *Hebraeorum accessis, Dictata Altdorphi Noricorum* (Typis Simonis Halbmayeri, Nuremberg 1627). Schwenter addressed the vocalization of the Syriac vowel sign

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[237] JOHANN MICHAEL DILHERR, *Eclogae Sacrae Novi Testamenti, Syriacae, Graecae, Latinae* (Lobenstein, Jena 1637). The first edition comprised two volumes bound together in one: *Rudimenta Grammaticae Syriacae* is volume 2. The following year: *Eclogae Sacrae Novi Testamenti, Syriacae, Graecae, Latinae. cum notis & observationibus ita explicatae, ut, praeter rerum non inutilem cognitionem, adhibitis Grammaticae Syriacae Rudimentis antehac excusis Attentus Lector Linguam Syriacam proprio marte possit addiscere. Adduntur Indices locupletissimi et manuale Lexici Syriaci...* (Joh. Lud. Neuenhahn. Litteris Joh. Jac. Bauhöffer, Jena 1638). An edition of 1646 'Typis Haeredum Oelschlegelianis printed in Halle in 1646 uses both Richter's type and that of J. Viccars, COAKLEY, p. 72-75. Later Edition: Apud Joh. Lud. Neuenhahn Litteris Joh. Jac. Bauhöfferi, Jena 1662. See COAKLEY, p. 49 for Johannes Richter's type.

zqapha which he considered was pronounced /a/ (like a *Kametz Hebraeorum*) and not /o/. He also like Dilherr maintained that Syriac had no diphthongs[238]. The indices of the *Eclogae* comprise a word list for Hebrew and an *Index Vocum Syriacarum qui loco manualis Lexici Syriaci esse potest*. This is an alphabetic list of Syriac words with Latin translation values. We meet here in Dilherr the practice of gathering passages from the Syriac Scriptures into an anthology for learners. This was not just a matter of convenience: not every student could be expected to have even an edition of the Syriac New Testament. The editions of the Old Testament in the Polyglots were even more inaccessible if only for reasons of rarity and cost. Other teachers will offer similar *excerpta*.

J. A. Danzius (1654-1727) in his turn brought out *Aditus Syriae reclusus, compendose ducens ad plenam linguae Syriacae Antiochenae seu Maronitae cognitionem...* (sumptu Jo. F. Bieckii) in Jena in 1689. Whilst many thought the language of Antioch and Maronites to be that of Christ, he considered that of the Targums Jonathan and Onkelos to be more of the era. Several Aramaic words cited in the Greek New Testament are from the language of the time and are not the later forms. Still, this dialect developed early, though not perhaps so early as suggested by the opinion of *Soadedi Episcopi Hadethiensis* cited by Sionita in his Syriac Psalter. He held the Syriac Old Testament dated mainly from time of Solomon who wished thereby to please Hiram, king of Tyre[239]. Syriac is important for understanding Semitisms in Scripture (he follows De Dieu) and, of course, it is the sacred language of many Eastern Christians and their Scriptures.

Hermann von der Hardt (1660-1746), Professor of Oriental Languages at both Jena and Leipzig was given the Chair of Oriental Languages in Helmstedt in 1690. We have his *Brevia atque Solida Syriacae Fundamenta* (1660. Second edition Typis & sumptibus Georgi Wolfgangi Hammii, Acad. Typog. Helmstad, 1701) and *Elementa Syriaca in usum Auditorum suorum Helmestadi* (Hamm, Helmstad 1694, 1694) which have an evident diadactic purpose and are directed at his students, as was a similar 1693 *Elementa Chaldaica in usum Auditorum suorum edita*. A *Hebraeae Linguae Fundamenta* appeared also in 1694 and a *Via in Chaldaeam Brevis et expedita, in fundamentis linguae* ... dealt with biblical Aramaic (3rd ed. Apud

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[238] DANIEL SCHWENTER, *Ventilatio Grammatica Gemina, Altera de Pronunciatione Vocalis Syriacae zqapha, Altera An Syri Diphtongos Agnoscant?...* (Typis Simonis Halbmayeri, Nuremberg 1627). Nicolai (below) was of the same opinion.

[239] Further citations of this view are conveniently assembled in Hieremias à Bennettis, *Chronologia Critica et Historiae profanae et sacrae...* (Haeredes Francisci Bizzarrini Komarek, Rome 1766) p. 91-94, esp. 93.

Christ. Frider. Weygand. Literis Schnorrianis, Helmstad 1732).
Hoffmann remarked dismissively that the *Fundamenta fere
nihil nisi paradigmata continent*[240].Von der Hardt gives some
paradigms and examples of parts of speech. There is a reading
passage from the Syriac Matthew with phrase by phrase Latin
translation. The language is considered the vernacular of Christ
and the Apostles spoke *Dialecto Syro. Chaldaica.* These works
are essentially course books for Von der Hardt's lectures and
hardly exciting. Reviewing the history of Syriac in 1727, J. H.
Lysius found far more interesting Hardt's attempt to derive not
only Syriac but the other Semitic languages from Greek.[241] The
sons of Japhet who colonised Scythia under the influence of the
sons of Shem (very oddly spelled) produced Syriac which is
able to articulate all the force of Greek[242]. Lysius was dismissi-
ve and cited supporting authorites for his view. Hardt's unusual
spellings he found key to his misrepresentation. Nevertheless
the view received countenace from De Dieu and Hottinger[243].

Finally we may turn to Leipzig. Hieronymus Avianus, enter-
taining an interest in versification, produced a two-volume lex-
icon to facilitate the production of poetry[244]. It boasts a Letter
of Salutation from Buxtorf senior. The lexicon draws on the
acknowledged work of forerunners Crinesius and Trost; words
are listed by termination to facilitate the appreciation and com-
position of poetry which in these languages, rather than relying
on quantity, uses rhythm especially that of endings of words.
Three languages are presented in Hebrew font. Lists of gram-
matical functions of various endings for each of the three lan-
guages are given distinguishing between Chaldaean and Syriac.
A list of Syriac words is given. Specimens of epigrams written
in the appropriate languages are also provided. There is sadly

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[240] HOFFMANN, p. 53.

[241] *Dissertatio Philologica de Historia Linguae Syriacae...* (Regiomonti
Litteris Reusnerianis 1727) B2, B3.

[242] The theory is exposed in his *Arabia Graeca* (Helmstad 1715) and *Sy-
ra Graeca* of the same place and date.

[243] DE DIEU, *Animadversiones in Veteris Testamenti Libros Omnes ...*
(Elsevir, Leiden 1648) in Gen. Cap. X v22; HOTTINGER, *Smegma Orientale*
(Typis et Impensis Adriani Wyngaerde, Heidelberg 1658) p. 262.

[244] HIERONYMUS AVIANUS, *Mafteah dot li-melekhet shire hakodesh Cla-
vis poeseos sacrae, numquam antehac visa, trium principalium LL orien-
talium hebraeae, Chaldaeae ac Syrae rhythmos, seu omnium & singularum
homoioptôta kai homoioteleuta, juxta Alphabeti seriem inversam ita dispo-
sita, ut simul Lexici vulgaris usum admittant, exhibens... olim in privatum
usum ex authenticis Buxtorffii Crinesii & Trostii Lexicis non sine labore
fideliter concinnata etc.* (Godfried Gros, Leipzig, 1627). There is also a
1628 edition. For consideration of Hebrew versification and metre amongst
Lutheran Hebraists, STEPHEN G. BURNETT, *Christian Hebraism in the
Reformation Era (1500-1660)* (E. J. Brill, Leiden 2012) p. 112-113.

no Syriac type and in the Introduction the difficulties preventing the production of a Syriac font in Leipzig are discussed.

9. Reformed Scholars

The fruits of much of the developing Christian Aramaism we have been following are gathered in the works of solid textual scholarship exemplified for 135 years by Buxtorfs - father, son and grandson - with some sixty editions to their credit from Basel alone. The culmination of their work being perhaps the monumental *Lexicon Chaldaicum Talmudicum et Rabbinicum* (1639-40). J. Buxtorf *filius* (1599-1664) succeeded his father (1564-1629) as Professor of Hebrew in Basel and became Professor of Theology in 1647.

J. Buxtorf *pater* had produced a Grammar of Aramaic and Syriac in Basel in 1615 where he mentions as his predecessors Münster, Mercier, Tremellius, Bertram and Martinez[245].   Buxtorf bewailed the lack of type in the Basel printing offices. His son brought out a second edition *Grammaticae Chaldaicae et Syriacae Libri III... Inserta quoque passim est dialectus Talmudica & Rabbinica. Editio secunda, auctior & emendatior.* (Haeredes L. König, Basel 1650) allowing his father's remarks to remain unchanged. But by this time he had produced his own Syriac Lexicon in 1622 with proper types[246]. The Lexicon comprised Aramaic words from the Old Testament, the Targums and the Syriac New Testament. He mentions Münster and Levita as predecessors. Buxtorf brought out his late father's

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[245] *Grammaticae Chaldaicae et Syriacae Libri III. Quorum primus vocum singularum proprietatem declarat: Secundus coniunctarum rationem ostendit, tertius praxeos chaldaicae et syriacae exempla varia et luculenta continet ex Daniele, Onkelo, Jonathane, ex Targum Hierosolymitano, Talmud Babylonico et Hiersol[ymitano], ex Zohar, et versione Novi Testam[enti] Syra: Cum facili vocabulorum difficilium explicatione Grammatica, et pravorum ad veram linguae analogiam collatione. Inserta quoque passim Dialectus Talmudica et Rabbinica* Typis C. Waldkirchii, impensis L. König, Basel 1615). The Grammar draws on rabbinic literature and is essentially a grammar of Biblical Aramaic. After the Aramaic forms, the corresponding Syriac forms are given in italics, but all Syriac is printed in Hebrew characters. Readers are recommended to use the grammars of Masius and Waser to learn the Syriac alphabet. In the third part of the book he gives several texts in biblical and rabbinic Aramaic and the Syriac text of Matthew 6.5-13 with Latin version and *notae grammaticae*.

[246] *Lexicon Chaldaicum et Syriacum quo Voces Omnes Tam Primitivae quam Derivativae, Quotquot in Sacrorum Vet. Testamenti librorum Targumim seu Paraphrasibus Chaldaicis, Onkeli in Mosen, Jonathanis in Prophetas, & aliorum authorum in Hagiographa: Item In Targum Hierosolymitano, Jonathane altero in Legem & Targum Secundo in librum Esther; Denique In Novi Testamenti translatione Syriaca reperiuntur, Accurate et Methodice... describuntur...* (Ex Officina Ludovici Regis, Basel 1622).

Aramaic Lexicon – the fruit of 30 years combined work—in 1639[247].

Louis De Dieu

Other scholars maintained the distinguished standards set. Louis (Lodewijk, Ludovico) De Dieu (1590-1642), son of Calvinist pastor, studied at Leiden under Thomas Erpenius and Jacobus Golius before becoming himself a pastor at Flessingue (Vlissingen), Middelburg and eventually Leiden where he was also Regent of the Collège Wallon. His *Animadvertiones*, like Heinsius's *Exercitationes Sacrae* (1639) were the first purely philological commentaries on the New Testament to appear from Leiden[248]. His two teachers were themselves, of course, most distinguished[249].

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[247] *Johannis Buxtorfi P. Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum, Et Rabbinicum, Nunc Primum in lucem editum a Johanne Buxtorfio F. Ling. Heb. professore, Cum Privilegio* (Sumptibus et Typis LUDOVICI REGIS, Basel 1639).

[248] *Animadversiones in Veteris Testamenti libros omnes, in quibus ex Chaldaeorum Targumim, et Syrorum, & Arabum & aliorum versionibus, ut & Hebraeorum commentariis, & recentiorum observationibus, difficiliora quaeque loca illustrantur, & diligenti collatione habita explicantur; Animadversiones sive commentarius in quatuor Evangelia, in quo collatis, Syri imprimis, Arabum, Evangelii Hebraei, Vulgati, Erasmi & Bezae versionibus, difficiliora quaeque loca illustrantur, & variae lectiones conferentur. Accessit Appendix in Matthaeum, in quo cum praetermissa quaedam, tum Aethiopicae versionis nonnulla adduntur & expenduntur; Animadversiones in Acta Apostolorum, ubi collatis Syri, Arabi, Aethiopici, Vulgati, Erasmi & Bezae versionibus, difficiliora quaeque loca illustrantur, & variae lectiones conferuntur; Animadversiones in Pauli Epistolas ad Romanos... Accedit spicilegium in reliquas ejusdem apostoli, ut & Catholicas epistolas* (Elzevier, Leiden 1648; 1631; 1634; 1646). The exotic scripts were printed by the Elzevier publishers with the fonts acquired from Erpenius' press. For the type see Coakley p. 66-68. In the preface to the first volume the author claims to have used an incomplete Syriac-Arabic glossary in the Scaliger legacy, composed by Jacob Elgais, *i. e.* the 10th century glossary of Ishô bar 'Alî. See BAUMSTARK, p. 242, SMITKAMPS, *P.O.* p. 305-307.

[249] Thomas Erpenius (Van Erpe) (1584-1624) died of plague scarcely forty years old. Master of Arts at Leiden 1608, he perfected his Oriental languages especially Arabic with William Bedwell in London and with Casaubon and others in Paris where he wrote his *Grammatica Arabica* (In Officina Raphelengiana, Leiden 1613). In that year became Professor of Arabic at Leiden. He created an Oriental printing house at his own expense. Erpenius brought out as a small quarto in 1625 *Psalmi Davidis Regis & Prophetae, lingua Syriaca nunc primum, ex antiquissimis codicibus in lucem editi a Thoma Erpenio...* (Ex Typographia Erpeniana Linguarum Orientalium, Prostant apud Joh. Maire & Elzeviros, Leiden 1625). This was based on two Jacobite manuscripts offering a vocalized text, one of which came from Joh. Borelius and the other of which was procured by Erpenius himself and both of which are now in Cambridge. Erpenius finished the printing but died in1624. It was subsequently published with a preface by his widow who included a dedication to the States-General. (In 1625, as we

De Dieu brought out a Syriac edition of Revelation in 1627 which together with Edward Pococke's Syriac edition of the Minor Catholic Epistles (2Peter, 2-3John and Jude) was intended to complete the Syriac New Testament with the books absent from the ancient Peshitta[250]. He published the first text of the *Pericope Adulterae* in 1631.[251]

De Dieu represents the Dutch school of biblical exegetic scholars favouring the grammarian's point of view who, in the wake of the Buxtorfii, did so much to sieve and select from the Rabbinical commentaries. His interpretations often compared the Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic versions.

His *Grammatica Linguarum Orientalium* appeared in Leiden in 1628[252]. The *Grammatica* displays together Hebrew,

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have seen Gabriel Sionita published a Syriac edition of the Psalter in Paris. Both claimed a first edition, but both were ignorant of the karshuni Psalter from Quzhayya (Lebanon, 1610).) Upon Erpenius' decease his Oriental manuscripts were bought by the Duke of Buckingham and were given in 1626 to Cambridge. Jacob Golius (van Gool 1596-1667) was the author of the *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum* (Leiden, 1653) which was based on the *Sihah* of Al-Jauhari. He came to the University of Leiden to study Mathematics in 1612, but registered again in 1618 to study Arabic. He was the pupil of Erpenius whom he replaced (1625) after accompanying a Dutch embassy to Morocco (1622). Thereafter he toured Syria and Arabia until 1629 when he returned to Leiden to hold the chairs of Mathematics and Arabic. In 1656 he published a new edition, with considerable additions, of the *Grammatica Arabica* of Erpenius. After his death, there was found among his papers a *Dictionarium Persico-Latinum* which was published, with additions, by Edmund Castell in his *Lexicon heptaglotton* (1669).

[250] A. WILLEMS, *Les Elzevier: Histoire et annales typographiques* (Typographie C. Annoot-Braeckman a Gand, Brussels 1880) #269 and #334 and SMITKAMP, *PO* #303 for De Dieu's edition from a Scaliger legacy manuscript, by the hand of a certain Caspar of Malabar who was copying manuscripts in Rome. Pococke's work (*Epistolae quatuor, Petri secunda, Johannis secunda & tertia, & Judae, fratris Jacobi, una....* (Elsevir, Leiden 1630) was offered explicitly as a supplement to De Dieu's (who probably saw it throught the press) and was probably published through the good offices of G. Vossius who visited England in 1629. The arrangement of the two editions is identical but there are differences in the headings and considerable typographical difference. For the font see Coakley p. 66-68: De Dieu's book is in the old Plantin font, but Pococke's is in a completely new type. They were intended to be published together, as indeed they were. A Latin translation of Pococke's text was published earlier in 1612 in Mainz by *Nicolaus Serarius* in his *Commentaria in Epistolas Canonicas*.

[251] See his *Animadversiones sive Commentarius in quatuor Evangelia* (Leiden, 1631) p. 443-444. He took the text from a manuscript lent him by James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, which is now in Trinity College Dublin. The same text appeared in Walton's Polyglot.

[252] *Dikduk leshonot ha-kedem shel Ibrim we-Casdim wa-Aramim ... id est Grammatica linguarum orientalium Hebraeorum, Chaldaeorum et Syrorum inter se collatarum ...* (Ex Officina Elseviriana, Leiden 1628). Also the same *ex recensione David Clodii* (J. D. Zunnerus, Frankfurt-a-M, 1683).

Chaldaean and Syriac grammar. He explains "*Tres linguas sibi apprime vicinas inter se conferimus, Hebraicam, Chaldaicam, Syriacam: ut quod commune habeant, quid different, lector uno intuitu quasi in tabula perspiciat*".

De Dieu commends Oriental languages on the grounds that mankind, civilisation and religion came from the East. But their utility in the study of Scripture makes them more important. The Chaldaean Targums are useful for explaining for explaining the Old Testament text and contain messianic prophecies. There is the usual list of Chaldaen or Syriac words in the New Testament, but it is also important he asserts, to attend the wider Semitic phrasing of New Testament locutions. He does distinguish Syriac from Chaldaean because others do, but nonetheless he thinks they are essentially the same language: see Daniel 2.4 where the Chaldaeans speak to the king *'aramith id est Syre*. Chaldean is seen to be more like Syriac if just the consonantal text rather than the different vowels are attended to. Cases where Aramaic has a *yod* which is really marking a vowel and Syriac does not, or vocalizations such as *-hûn* for *–hôn* show this. Generally he follows Buxtorf's vocalization of Chaldaean, but is convinced that arbitrary European decisions rather than any rules of language are at work there. Buxtorf had done good work in emending Chaldaean vocalizing but De Dieu felt there was a lot further to go in conforming the Chaldaean to the Syriac. Syriac grammar has surer rules than Chaldaean[253]. He examines cases from Daniel correcting towards the Syriac. There is something of a new departure here. We may recall Mercier's attempts to correct the Targums to Biblical Aramaic and Tremellius' 'Chaldaeanising' of the Syriac New Testament. Here De Dieu wishes to correct the Targums to Syriac! It is in this context that he acknowledges his principle debt to Amira: "*Maximam autem in syriacis opem mihi tulit Georgius Amira Edeniensis, a monte Libano maronita, qui luculentam scripsit grammaticam syriacam Romae anno 1596 excusam*".

He also tells us that his late teacher, the regretted Thomas Erpenius (1584-1624), had already for publication an abbreviated version of Amira's Grammar at the moment of his untimely death: *Hanc in brevissimum compendium contraxit clarissimus Thomas Erpenius, vir longiori vita dignus, et magno literarum dispensio extinctus. Id iam procul dubio lucem vidisset, si ipse author superstes extremam manum adhibere, et in characteres syriacos transfundere potuisset. Iam enim hebraicis est*

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[253] *... in hac linguarum collatione Syriacae magis quam Chaldaeae linguae insistam. Non tantum, quia hanc copiosius quam illam tractavit in grammat. sua Clariss. Buxtorf, sed vel axime, quia linguae Syriacae precepta longe sunt certiora quam Chaldaicae, & haec ad illam dirigenda.*

exaratum[254]. De Dieu acknowledges benefit enjoyed from Bertram's work, but especially from that of Buxtorf in Chaldaean.

De Dieu expresses disagreement, however, with Erpenius on the writing of silent letters having been advised by (reading) Gabriel Sionita[255]. Merx further observed that De Dieu was

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[254] THOMAS ERPENIUS, *Grammatica Chaldaea ac Syra opera ac cura Constantini L'Empereur de Oppijck ...* (1628 Altera editio ex Officina Francesci Moyardi, Leiden 1659). Syriac Grammar is treated under: orthography, the verb, the noun, particles (prepositions pronouns, the 'genitive') and Syntax (mainly concerning 'affixes'). The Chaldaean grammar follows. Chaldaean is very like Syriac but closer to Hebrew: five 'rules' are given to distinguish them. A second edition, *opera et cura Constantini L'Empereur* subsequently appeared (Franciscus Moyardus, Leiden 1659). The second edition fills up empty space with *De Anomaliis in Lingua Hebraea ex Dialecto Aramea* taken from J. Alting's *Grammatica Hebraea*. This is followed by J. LEUSDEN, *Scholia Syriacae Libri Tres* (Ex officina Meinardi à Dreunen, Typogr. Utrecht 1658). Only the introductory epistles and the contents page were however printed. This work comprised Book I Grammar – letters, vowels, syllables word and points; Book II Syntax - 'the joining of words'; and Book III giving examples mainly taken from the Syriac New Testament. Book IV dealt with the differences from Samaritan Letters and language. Constantine l'Empereur's *Praefatio ad lectorem* makes a virtue of the fact Erpenius, though he believed Chaldaean and Syriac were the same language, used only Hebrew type and therefore was different from others who wished to print the Chaldaean parts of the Old Testament in Syriac script. Hebrew script made it easier to display the similarities of the languages and was useful as the Syriac New Testament now also existed in Hebrew type. This point holds good, he considered, even if one holds with Masius and others that the Hebrew Letters used to print contemporary Hebrew texts had evolved over time into the Syriac script (Scaliger and others, of course, considered that the letters used in contemporary printings of the Hebrew bible were not those used at the time of Ezra).

[255] *Caeterum puncta vocalia literarum Jod, Wau & Nun, quae is Syriasmo ex sententia quorundum doctissimorum virorum otiari multis locis asollent, cum ea author propria manu ascripsisset, negligere non fui ausus: cum authorem commemoratae sententiae non fuisse ignarum & p13 constet manifessime, utpote qui cum ipsis Syris aliquoties loquutus fuerit. Verum quidem est i, u, & a, ultimas vocum vocales cum Jod, Wau & Nun passim in affixis & verbis distincte ac manifeste non audiri; attamen nullum omnino edere sonum, saltem, i in affixis & a, in verbis, Masius (& ipse a Syro praeceptore, cuius peritiam alicubi laudat, institutus) in genere non asseverat. Sed enim quandoquidem ista lingua arctis limitibus conclusa non fuit, evenit fortassis, ut diversa diversis locis pronuntiatio obtinuerit, prout in Arabismo videre licet: nam aliam pronuntiationem a D. M. Erpenio edoctus fui, quam postea Lutetiae a viro linguae Arabicae pariter ac Syriace peritissimo, D. Gabriele Sionita, (cui plurimum debeo) me percepisse memini. Nec etiam mirum cuiquam videri debet, si vocales vel literes in celeri sermone absorbeantur audirique nequeant, quae nihilo secus, si quis lente & distincte verba proferat, aliquatenus saltem auribus percipiuntur: quod vel vulgares nobis linguae experientibus palam faciunt. Atque huc pertinet, quod me aliquando Lutetiae Parisiorum audivisse memini e Maronitis celeberrimis D. Gabriele Sionita (de quo supra) eiusque collega, quum de lectione vocum Arabicarum, quae per weslon conjuguntur, sermones inciderent: afferebant viri doctissimi, eliph illud unionis, quod una cum vocali sua non auditur, ubi*

correct in holding that the stress (*tonus*) in Syriac generally falls on the penultimate syllable[256]. This was confirmed for Merx by the work of D. T. Stoddard on modern Syriac[257]. He observed the convergence of Syriac accents of those with Arabic which stresses the penultimate syllable if long, but the antepenultimate if the penultimate is short. He remarked that the topic was avoided altogether by the older Syriac grammarians. Crinesius and Dilherr and others rather rashly imposed here the Hebrew pronunciation upon Syriac, but analogies from this dialect do not constitute a rule. It is far better to follow Arabic practice. De Dieu's remarks in this respect are found in his *Grammatica Linguarum Orientalium* p55 *et seqq.*[258].

10. The London Polyglot

England was not the first of countries to be distinguished in Oriental studies, but in Walton's Polyglot Bible research, drawing freely on antecedent continental scholarship, reached a peak of philological and typographical excellence[259]. Ten years after

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uno spiritu, absque ulla intermissione, vocabula conjunguntur: nihilominus una cum vocali sua proferri posse, si (ut nonnunquam fieri solet) inter hujusmodi vocabula spiritum ducere, atque interspiratione (ut loquitur Cicero) intercedente, ipse efferre lubeat. Quis si simile, quid hic evenire statuamus, ut discrepantes alioqui sententiae eo facilius coeant atque concilientur. Enimvero quos jam commemoravi missos facio: en viri Doctissimi Boderianus & Tremellius, cum Syriaca expresserunt literis Hebraeis (ut in hoc opusculo, author noster) literis Jod, Wau & Nun passim suas vocales ascripserunt. Denique si lingua Syra a Chaldaea diversa non est, nonne cum illis Danielis & Ezdrae Chaldaeis vocales passim alioquo saltem modo resonent, idem in Syra lingua fieri, videri queat? Ut aliquanto vocales non desiderari in ipsis Syriace excusis libris taceam. Hac eo non quod vocales, quas alii multis locis reticeri sono proferri velim; sed ut praeter sententiarum conciliationem (de qua peritiores dispiciant) iis qui puncta passim apposita mirabuntur fortassis, si pote sit satisfaciam, hoc praeloquium praemittendum expedire estimavi. Qui & eo libentius puncta authoris minime neligere volui, quod Danielem, Ezdram ac targum, ubi puncta passim conspiciuntur, auditoribus ennarare constituerim si libuerit benignissimo & omnipotenti Numini: quod, ut tuo labore benedicat, veneror.

[256] *Grammatica*, p. 136.

[257] D. T. STODDARD, "Grammar of the Modern Syriac Language as spoken in Oroomah, Persia, and in Koordistan", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 5 (1855-1856) p. 1-180 at p. 20.

[258] For other proposed rules on accents: DILHERR, *Rudimenta Gramm. Syr.*, p. 23 *seq.*; HOTTINGER, *Rudimenta Gram. Harmon.*, p. 16; LEUSDEN, *Schol. Syr.*, p. 33; GRAFUNDER, *Gram Syr.*, p. 19; CELARIUS, *Porta Syr.*, p. 9; OPITIUS, *Syriasmus*, p. 24.

[259] Simon Sturtevant, a member of Christ's College Cambridge, brought out *Dibre Adam or Adam's Dictionarie A Rare and New Invention for the speedie atteyning and perfect reteyning of the Hebrew, Chaldee and Syriack. Where (by the motion of 66 characters) all the dictionarie words of the language of Canaan are truly represented and cleerly written. Divised and complied by S. S.* ([F. Kingston], London 1602). (The first two words of the

that of the Paris Polyglot the printing of the London Polyglot began[260]. It was principally the work of Brian Walton (1600?-1661), assisted by several other English scholars. The Syriac text was that of the Paris Polyglot, revised for the Old Testament by Walton with recourse to several manuscripts supplied by J. Ussher and E. Pococke (see vol.VI). In the New Testament John 7, 53-8,11 was printed from the manuscript of Ussher which De Dieu had previously used.

Herbert Thorndyke (1598-1672) was an Orientalist and canon of Westminster Abbey[261]. In 1640 he was appointed Hebrew lecturer to Trinity his Cambridge college in 1640. Thorndike, who carried on a correspondence with Walton, Ussher, and Pococke, took an active part in the editing of Brian Walton's Polyglot, the Syriac portion of which was his special contribution. He was responsible for *Variantes in Syriaca versione Veteris Testamenti Lectiones e codicibus mss.* in Volume VI of the Polyglot (London, 1657). He also wrote *Epitome Lexici Hebraici, Syriaci, Rabbinici et Arabici; una cum observationibus circa linguam Hebraeam et Graecam. Authore Harbelo Thorndicke Cantabrigiensis* (William Jones, London 1635 and 1637). This is an Epitome of Schindler.

John Viccars (1614-1660), by contrast from Oxford, also collaborated on the London Polyglot. He produced a learned commentary on the Psalms *Decapla in Psalmos: sive Commentarius ex decem linguis; viz. Hebr., Arab., Syriac, etc.* (O. Pullein, London) which was published in 1639 and 1655[262]. The commentary drew on twelve major Jewish sources and other

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title are xylographic.) This comprises an Introduction of 32 octavo pages. This was apparently all that got into print: what happened to the rest is unknown. See G. LLOYD JONES, *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England: A Third Language* (Manchester University Press, 1983) p. 261. This book is an excellent introduction to Christian Hebraism in England.

[260] *Biblia Sacra polyglotta, complectantia Textus originales, Hebraicum, cum Pentateucho Samaritano, Chaldaicum, Graecum; versionumque antiquarum, Samaritanae, Graecae LXXII Interp., Chaldaicae, Syriacae, Arabicae, Aethiopicae, Persicae, Vulg. Lat., quicquid comparari poterat. Cum textuum, et versionum Orientalium translationibus Latinis... cum apparatu, appendicibus, tabulis variis lectionibus, annotationibus, indicibus... Edidit Brianus Waltonus* (6 vols Thomas Roycroft, London 1655-1657). See: PETER N. MILLER, "The 'Antiquarianization' of Biblical Scholarship and the London Polyglot Bible (1653-57)", *Journal of the History of Ideas* 63 (2001) p. 463-482; ADRIAN SCHENKER, "The Polyglot Bibles of Antwerp, Paris and London (1568-1658)" in MAGNE SAEBØ (ed.), *Hebrew Bible / Old Testament The History of its Interpretation II From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 2008) p. 774-784 at p. 781-784. The Polyglot is best approached by reading its own introductory material. For the type, COAKLEY, p. 72-73; 75-77.

[261] W. B. PATTERSON, *DNB*. Life of Walton vol. I, p. 209-215.

[262] G. J. TOOMER in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

versions and made use of manuscripts consulted in Paris and Rome. He shared with his brother Samuel the expense of the Arabic and Syriac types described in the dedication to the Archbishop of Canterbury as *'novis Typis Syriacis & Arabicis (sumptibus haud exiguis) adornata*[263]*'*. A table of these Arabic and Syriac fonts, the first to be cut in England, appears on the errata page at the front of the second edition. Syriac words are quoted throughout *propria lingua et charactere non illo novo Estrangelo* (f2 recto)[264].

Christian Ravis (formerly Raue) (1613 Berlin–1677), by contrast, was an itinerant German Orientalist and Theologian[265]. In 1630 he entered Wittenberg University, where he studied Oriental languages under Trost before going to Holland in 1637 to study Arabic under Golius. Ravis was a facile linguist (his English writings are thoroughly idiomatic), but not a profound one. He strove for the original, but usually achieved only the bizarre. He played no part in the production of the Polyglot yet produced the first English Grammar of Syriac, though setting the language in a rather unusual comparative context.

He was patronized from 1639 by James Ussher in order to enable him to make a journey to the East to collect manuscripts. Ravis spent some time in Smyrna and Constantinople, assembling manuscripts on his own account, and returned to England in 1641 with his amanuensis, Nicolaus Petri of Aleppo, an Arabic-speaking Greek (who subsequently made Golius suspicious of Ravis' integrity—he called him a 'treasury of lies'). He carried with him some 300 manuscripts, mostly Oriental, of which the most notable was an Arabic version of Apollonius' Conics. Back in England in 1648, he was sponsored to give lectures in Oriental languages for Sion College Oxford, he was elected fellow of Magdalen College and taught Hebrew[266].

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[263] COAKLEY, p. 73-74.

[264] SMITKAMP, *P.O.* #368 for illustration of the Syriac type.

[265] G. J. TOOMER, *Eastern Wisdom and Learning: The Study of Arabic in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1996), p. 83–4, 142–5, 151–2 & 183–200. ID., 'Ravis, Christian (1613–1677)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004).

[266] Failing to obtain the chair of Arabic at Oxford (his patron Pococke was suspected of Royalist sympathies), Ravis accepted an offer of appointment as Professor of Oriental languages at Uppsala from Christina of Sweden in 1650. He lectured on Oriental languages at Kiel after 1669 where he published his particular ideas on biblical chronology as *Unica Vera et Infallibilis Chronologia Biblica* (1670), which met with almost universal derision. He devoted the rest of his life, and several publications, to defending this. In 1672 Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg procured him a chair as Professor of Oriental Languages and Biblical Chronology at the

Ravis who displayed an unattractive blend of penury and self-promotion figured significantly amongst English Orientalists in the 1640s. He proposed that the teaching of Oriental languages might assist in the conversion of the Jews, and that the printing of the Koran might lead to its refutation and the success of a mission to the Turks. Otherwise, he claimed his knowledge of Hebrew could improve the translation some difficult places in the Bible. His book, *A Generall Grammer for the Ebrew, Samaritan, Calde, Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic Tongue*, was published in London in 1648 and went into several editions from 1648 to 1650, and was published with his *Discourse of the Orientall Tongues*, and a collection of letters from scholars[267]. In this work, which was was intended as a preface to the *Grammer*, he propounded his peculiar theory that these six languages are not merely related, but are in fact the same language (which may be called 'Arabic'). According to Ravis, Hebrew was the oldest language, which had been corrupted at Babel into many different pronunciations, from which the modern Semitic languages resulted. As we have seen other scholars do, Ravis stressed the copiousness of the biblical Hebrew in which a relatively restricted number of roots could express the whole of language and (moreover) that people could easily be taught to read the Hebrew and English scriptures side by side.

In spite of its context in this unusual comparative analysis *A discourse of the Oriental tongues* is the first scholarly introduction to Syriac and Arabic in English. It comprises three differently titled works with varying title pages and dates as follows: *A discourse* dated 1649; *A generall grammer for the Hebrew, Samaritan, Calde, Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic tongue. By Christian Ravis*; and *Sesqi-decuria (!) epistolarum adoptivarum* dated 1648. Detailed analysis of grammatical rules for Semitic languages are illustrated with strikingly executed engraved text plates for Hebrew nouns and verbs. There is reading practice in all five languages. The first elements of the Oriental languages with semitic alphabets are presented in 29 numbered columns. There are three pages of Syriac paradigms and one of Ethiopic. Finally there are eight pages on Arabic orthography and declensions. Ravis did not consider Hebrew vowels coeval with consonants nor show much respect for Hebrew accents, dismissing them as 'pricks and strooks'.

University of Frankfurt an-der-Oder where he died of scurvey in 1677. His Arabic manuscript of Apollonius' Conics went to the Bodleian.

[267] *A Discourse of the Oriental tongues viz. Ebrew, Samaritan, Calde, Syriac, Arabic and Ethiopic. Together with a generall grammer for the said tongues. Whereunto is added the Synonimas of the Hebrew tongue* (W. Wilson for T. Jackson, London 1649-8 // J.Y for G. Adderton 1647). The fifteen letters from other scholars printed here include one from Sionita.

Yet this rather singular comparative context for the Semitic languages (they are all essentially Arabic) excluded other possible axes of comparison[268]. It is "but in vaine", Ravis claimed, "to fashion the ebrue grammar after the greeke and latine grammars[269]" It was pointless, he argued, to try to find special terms for the Hebrew subjunctive: there was only one mood in Hebrew, so there was no need to try to distinguish more than one as in Latin[270]. Ravis also pointed out that if grammarians "had not the anomalies and defects of the pronownes in latine and greeke (where there is more reason for them) yet in their memorie, and had never yet learned great grammars, but sorne little compendious ones, they would have made more plaine worke about the pronownes here. For what need is there to speake much of many amomalies [sic] and defects... leame you the pronownes, and observe, that you have but ten whole pronownes, of which cometh the contrated ones, called, *affixes* "[271].

Yet consideration of Ravis merely distracts from the some of the really substantial comparative work done in the wake of the Polyglot project. Edmund Castell (1606-86) was appointed Sir Thomas Adams Professor of Arabic in Cambridge in 1666. Castell moved to St. John's in 1671, because of the library there. His great work, the *Lexicon Heptaglotton Hebraicum, Chaldaicum, Syriacum, Samaritanum, Aethiopicum, Arabicum, et Persicum* (1669), took him eighteen years to complete, working (according to his own account) from sixteen to eighteen hours a day. He employed fourteen assistants on the project, and spent £12,000, ruining himself in the process as there was little demand for his finished work[272]. Before under-

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[268] The point made here and the quotations are taken from VIVIAN SALMON, "The Study of Foreign Languages in Seventeenth Century England" *Histoire Epistémologie Langage*, 7 (1985) p. 45 -70.

[269] C. RAVIS, *Annotations upon the Ebrue Grammar of P. Martinius.* Appendix to *The Key of the Holy Tongue,* by PETRUS MARTINIUS, translated by John Udall (2nd edition For L. Sadler and G. Bedell, Amsterdam).

[270] *A Generall Grammer.*

[271] *Annotations upon the Ebrue Grammar of P. Martinius*, p. 184.

[272] H.T. NORRIS, "Edmund Castell (1606-86) and his Lexicon Heptaglotton (1669)", in G. A. RUSSELL (ed.), *The 'Arabick' Interest of the Natural Philosophers in Seventeenth Century England* (E. J. Brill, Leiden 1994) p. 70-87. Also ROBERT JONES, "The Medici Oriental Press (Rome 1584-1614) and the Impact of its Arabic Publications on Northern Europe", *ibid*., p. 88-108. JAMES CROSSLEY (ed.), *The Diary and Correspondence of Dr John Worthington*, Vol. I (Cheetam Society, Manchester 1847) p. 243. The first Persian dictionary to be printed was complied by Golius.

taking the *Lexicon Heptaglotton*, Castell had helped Walton in the preparation of his *Polyglott Bible*[273].

The Lexicon is still today the only complete 'synoptic' Semitic dictionary and contains a rich treasury of material. The Preface acknowledges use of Schindler, but moves far beyond his work. The Syriac section was not the work of Castell but rather of William Beveridge (1638-1708) who had entered St. John's in 1653 who in later life in 1704 became Bishop of St. Asaph[274]. Beveridge did his work badly[275]. Perhaps he may be somewhat excused as at twenty years old he produced the first English Grammar solely of Syriac (though still, of course, in Latin)[276]. This appeared in 1658 in *De Linguarum Orientalium etc. praestantia et usu, cum Grammatica Syriaca* (London 1658, 1684). Thomas Roycroft, printer of the London Polyglot used the type for Beveridge's *Grammatica Syriaca*[277]. The Grammar, which sported a vocalized estrangela heading, was designed to be used with the Polyglot as its title indicates[278].

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[273] Somewhat later Henricus Opitius (Heinrick Opitz) (1642-1712), a friend of Castell and Professor of Oriental Languages at Kiel from 1679 to 1689 (who produced a popular Hebrew Grammar, an edition of the Hebrew Bible and several works as synopses or harmonies of Hebrew and Aramaic) brought out: *Gĕmārā dĕ-leššānā ārāmāyā Seu syriasmus facilitati & integritati suae restitutus simulque hebraismo et chaldaismo harmonicus, ac regulis qvinqvaginta absolutus. Exemplis & singularibus qvibusvis versionis syriacae vet. & novi test. summô studiô annotatis* (1678 2nd ed. Joh. Caspar Meyer, Typis Colerianis, Leipzig 1691). The second edition has a Syriac title in bold red estrangela. The serto is that of Johannes Richter used in Köthen from 1621, appearing also in Trost's New Testament and in Jena for Dilherr's *Eclogae Novi Testamenti.* Once some differences are acknowledged (Syriac has no *sheva compositum*, **mapik**, *figurae accentuum & kametz chatuph*), the Harmony of the languages is displayed in fiftty memorable rules covering *De elementa linguae* (vocalisation, syllables accents); *de Etymologia seu Notatione* (radical and servile letters, derivations from Hebrew, anomalies in medially defective verbs) and *De Mutatione Vocalium* finishing with an appendix *De idiotissimis Syntacticis.*

[274] See p. 3 of the Preface.

[275] Only superficial use was made of Bar Bahlul's Lexicon c. 963 (*Bib. Or.* III p257). The Syriac section of the *Lexicon* was issued separately at Göttingen in 1788 by J. D. Michaelis.

[276] In his *Epistola Dedicatoria*, though it is in his interest so to remark, he bewails the unavailability of Syriac Grammars in England and the exorbitant price of any that may be found. Cost deterred many from approaching the subject.

[277] COAKLEY, p. 77.

[278] *Grammatica Linguae Domini nostri Jesu Christi, sive Grammatica Syriaca tribus libris tradita, quorum primus vocum sigularum proprietatem, Secundus Syntaxin, tertius figuras grammaticas & praxin continet. Omnibus adeo breviter & dilucide explicatis ut menstruo spatio (ut praefatione ad Lectorem docetur) ipsa linguae medulla exugatur... in usum Bibliorum polyglottatôn Waltoniensium* (Thomas Roycroft, London 1658).

The third section (on syntax) is fuller than is usual and illustrates with citations *Ellipsis, Enallage, Pleonasmus Synthesis & Syllepsis* as grammatical figures and finishes with some longer reading passages. The notice *Ad Lectorem* contains commonplaces on the ease of the language for Hebraists, commends the Lexicons of Ferrarius, Trost and the Younger Buxtorf. Unfortunately none as yet existed for the Old Testament, but he hoped for one from the editors of the Polyglot.

The *De Linguarum Orientalium* to which the Grammar was appended addresses the value of Oriental languages in much the same way as Walton in the Polyglot[279]. *Cui Christus sine scripturis, cui Scripturae sine linguis?* asks Beveridge. His aim is to establish Scriptural authority against the Aristotelians and the Cartesians on one hand and the unsupported claims of Tradition on the other. To understand Scripture one must know Hebrew: but one cannot know Hebrew well if one knows nothing of the other oriental languages. They are necessary for the establishment of the text, explaining difficult vocabulary and illuminating the usages of Scripture. The Aramaic words in the New Testament are, of course, discussed[280].

The London Polyglot provided an enduring and definitive expression of seventeenth- century Orientalism and Biblical Philology. It not only provided a complete Western Canon of Scripture – particularly for Syriac – but also in supporting material gave scholarly definition to the languages involved. An *Introductio Ad Lectorem Linguarum Orientalium* (Roycroft, London 1655) provided a reading guide to the several scripts (p39-55 for Syriac) and a *Praefatio* discussing the various languages. The history and utility of Syriac are described in the light of the scholarship to date. After a discussion of *Sermo Galilaeus*, three dialects are distinguished*: Babylonica*; *Hierosolymitana*, *Antiochena seu Comagena & Maronita*. Though Widmanstetter made popular the view that Christ spoke the Syriac of his *editio princeps* of 1555, Breerwood observed that 'Syriac' words in the Greek New Testament differ from corresponding ones in the Peshitta. It is concluded that dialects (like those in contemporary Devon or Yorkshire) might be very local but also quite different. Gregorius is cited from Pococke's *Histor. Arab.* p.360 to distinguish three contemporary dialects: *Aramaea* (the most elegant) spoken in Roha, Harran and further Syria; *Palestina* (similar to it) used in Damascus and the Lebanon and the Syrian interior; and finally (*at omnium impurissima*) *Nabataea*.

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[279] *De Linguarum orientalium praesertim Hebraicae, Chaldaicae, Syriacae, Arabicae & Samaritanae Praesantia. Necessitate & utilitate quam & Theologis praestant & philosophis. Per G.B.* (Thomas Roycroft, London 1658).

[280] Op. cit. p. 35-37.

Walton's *Dissertatio in qua, de linguis orientalibus Hebraica, Chaldaica, Samaritana, Syriaca, Arabica, Persica, Aethiopica, Armena, Copta...breviter disseritur* (Typis Johannis Colombii, Deventer 1658) deals with these languages and the authority of the Scriptural texts in these languages in the various Polyglots. Page 55ff offers for *lingua syriaca* a compendious and authoritative statement subsequently widely cited. The comprehensive Prolegomena to the Polyglot deals with languages, scripts, editions, versions and variant readings. *Cap. XIII De Lingua Syriaca & Versionibus Syriacis* (p87-92) may be properly considered a full and authoritative statement of Syriac Studies to date. It thus marks the climax in our chosen period of Syriac's status as a learned biblical language, necessary for the study of the biblical text and enjoying edited texts, serviceable teaching grammars and increasingly comprehensive lexicons.

11. After the Polyglot

The substantial achievements of the Polyglot did not repress further publications; rather several works appeared in the wake of the Polyglot which in their comparative scope draw upon the Polyglot. Thus Castell's work may be compared with that of Johann Friedrich Nicolai (1639-1683) Professor at Jena, *Hodogeticum Orientale Harmonicum quod complectitur I Lexicon Linguarum Ebraicae, Chaldaicae, Syriacae, Arabicae, Aethiopicae et Persicae Harmonicum II Grammaticam linguarum earundem, secundum Prima Praecepta Delineatam Harmonicam III Dicta Biblica cum et sine Analysi Grammatica Exhibita, Harmonica...* (Typis & Impensis Johannis Jacobi Bauhoferi, Jena 1670)[281]. The *Ad Lectorem* describes the origin of work and makes honourable mention of Golius (for the Persian) and Walton. The difficulties of the typesetting are discussed. The demands were complicated, but the results are not particularly pretty. Merx described letters attempting to join those preceeding but never quite succeeeding.

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[281] The three parts were published both together and separately. Thus for the Lexicon: *Johann Friedrich Nicolai, Critica sacra, Sive lexicon Hebraicum, Chaldaicum, Syriacum et Arabicum... Ex optimis Lexicographis, Buxtorfio, Castello, Golio, Aliisque Autoribus ita paratum atque conscriptum...* (Richter, Frankfurt 1686 and Hamburg). It has the same *Ad Lectorem* as the 1670 edition. For the Grammar: *Grammatica Ebraicae, Chaldaicae, Syriacae, Arabicae, Aethiopicae, Et Persicae Lingvarum Harmonica: ex Optimis, qui haberi potuerunt, Auctoribus conscripta & secundum prima praecepta compendiosa methodo ita delineata, ut ad Regulas Linguae matricis Ebraicae fundamentales fundamenta Linguarum reliquarum facile formari, atque sic omnes sex Linguae una opera & doceri & disci possint* (1670 Jena). Herrm. Nicholai's octavo, *Idea et comparatio linguarum Aramaearum per comparationem unius cum altera et utriusque cum Hebraea brevibus praeceptis methodice comprehens* (Copenhagen 1627) is to be distinguished from J. F Nicolai's work. See HOFFMANN, p. 48.

The Classical scholar Christoph Cellarius (1638-1707*) in his Universal History Divided into an Ancient, Medieval, and New Period* helped popularize this three-fold division of History. Cellarius may be taken here as a further example of the scope of works which might be now offered facilitated by Walton's Polyglot and associated lexicon. The material was accessible and authors competed in claims for the ease of learning their works provided for students. Thus a grammar of several languages is offered in *Philologicarum lucubrationum sylloge: hoc est praecipuarum linguarum Orientis, Ebraicae, Chaldaicae, Syrae, Samaritanae, & Arabicae grammatica praecepta, quarundam etiam pericopae Biblicae & glossaria, cum sciagraphia universae philologiae sacrae* ... (Prostat apud Iohannem Bielckium; Typis Fridemanni Hetstedii; Typis Martini Jacqueti. Ienae; Cizae; Francofurti). He dealt with Syriac more specifically in *Porta Syriae Patientior sive Grammaticae Novae, perspicuis praeceptis ita adornatae, ut primigenia Christianorum lingua a quolibet, qui non plane rudis Ebraeae, paucis diebus feliciter arripi possit* (Zeitz, 1677, 2nd edition Sumt. Io. Bielikii, Bibliopol...Typis Fridem. Herstedii, Ducal. Saxon. Numb. Typog. Jena 1682)[282]. He referred there back to his earlier *Excerpta Veteris Testamenti Syriaci cum interpretione nova et annotationibus* (Jo. Bielckus, Cizae 1682) and his *Excerpta N. Testamenti Syriaci, cum Latina interpretatione nova & Annotationibus* (Jo. Bielckus, Jena 1682)[283]. Anthologies of Syriac biblical passages we have already met as a convenient and

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[282] "Gate of Syria" is a conceit paralleling restricted linguistic access to the language with the difficulty of access in mountainous Syria where the vernacular language of Christ and his apostles was long preserved inaccessible to Europeans. He discusses: letter forms, diacritical points and accents and the diphthongs of the *Syri hodierni* are given (*nam de veterum pronunciatione non satis constat*). Then: nouns–with prefixes and suffixes, separate pronouns, the verb – conjugations of defective and weak verbs and *de mutatione vocalium* on quiescent and mute letters. He remarks the sources of Syriac lexical items in Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek and Latin. The type is vocalised serto and helpful tables are provided. He comments up the differences in vocalisation between Gubirius and the more accurate London Polyglot. The text follows Walton rather than Trost or Gutbier.

[283] He did the same for Samaritan in *Horae Samaritanae, hoc est excerpta Pentateuchi Samaritanae versione* ... (Sumptibus Jo. Bielcki, bibliopola Jenens. Exscripsit Friedmannus Herstadt 1682). And provided a word for word Latin translation. He also produced a beginner's grammar of Arabic in *Isagoge in Linguam Arabicam* published anonymously in 1678, with a second edition appearing in 1686 (2nd ed J. Bielck, Jena 1686. SCHNURRER, p. 83-84). According to Schnurrer we find here for the first time displayed the Jena Arabic types modelled after those of Erpenius, and from then on used everywhere in Germany. *Christophori Cellarii Chaldaismus sive Grammatica nova Linguae Chaldaicae, copiosissimis exemplis, & usu multiplice, quem Chaldaea Lingua Theologiae & Sacrae Scripturae interpretati praestat, illustrata* (sumpu Bielckiano excudebat Fr Hetstedt, Zietz 1685) contains no Syriac.

cheap tool for students. Also from Joannes Bielckius in 1683 came a *Glossarium Syro-Latinum, nuper vulgatis utriusque testamenti excerptis accomodatum* - a word list glossing into Latin.

J. Coccejus's *Lexicon et commentarius sermonis Hebraici et Chaldaici Veteris Testamenti. Accedunt interpretatio vocum Germanica, Belgica ac Graeca ex LXX interpretibus; et necessarii indices*, (Ex officina J. à Someren Amsterdam: Excudebat A. Verhoef, Leiden, 1669) is a dictionary, favoured by both Remonstrant and Pietist theologians, offering a detailed lexicon of Old Testament Hebrew with Greek, Latin, German (the Luther version) and Dutch translations of the lemmata. The main work includes a special section for Aramaic (cols. 985-1037). Nonetheless the work is something of a disappointment. There is little engagement with comparative philology by offering *e.g.* an Arabic or Syriac quotation and with respect to Syriac little advantage is taken to exploit any knowledge of Oriental languages.

Protestant scholars working after the London Polyglot further consolidated the study of Syriac and developed the comparative context in which the language was understood. Two outstanding Dutch scholars, Gutbier and Leusden, also produced new separate editions of the Syriac New Testament in the wake of the London Polyglot.

Two further editions of the Syriac New Testament

Giles Gutbier (1617-1667) travelled extensively during his academic career, spending time in Leiden, Oxford and Paris. He set up a printing press (a recourse others had found necessary) in his own home (1664-1667) and undertook the production of a serto Syriac font at his own expense[284]. He printed with this his duodecimo fully vocalised edition *Novum Domini Jesu Christi Testamentum Syriace* 1663-1664[285]; his *Lexicon Syriacum, continens omnes NT Syriaci dictiones et particulas* in 1667; and his *Notae criticae in NT Syriacum* in 1667[286]. The

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[284] COAKLEY, p. 83-86. The types were probably cut to his design by Bartholomeus Voskens and appear in his Hamburg specimen as *Colonel Sirisch*.

[285] *Novum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi Testamentum Syriace, cum omnibus vocalibus & versione latina Matthaei ita adornata, ut unico hoc Evangelista intellecto, reliqui totius operis libri, sine interprete, facile intellegi potest accurate... Aegidio Gutbiro* (Typis, & sumptibus auctoris, Hamburg 1664).

[286] *Lexicon Syriacum Continens omnes N.T. Syriaci Dictiones et particulas; Cum spicilegio Vocum quarundam peregrinarum & in quibusdam tantum N.T. Codicibus occurentium, Et appendice, Quae exhibet diversas punctationes, a praecipuis huius Linguae Doctoribus in Europa circa Novum T.*

three works are often bound together in various editions and combinations. An instance of common binding is *Novum Testamentum Syriacum Punctis Vocalibus Animatum. Cum lexico & institutionibus l. Syriacae. Accedunt Notae difficiliora N. T. loca explicantes* (Hamburg 1663) which has an elaborate frontispiece framed by female figures representing the Hebrew Old Testament and the Greek New Testament under Christ and a radiant Tetragrammaton of three *yods*. It displays not only Hebrew and Greek fonts but also Arabic, Persian and Ethiopic.

The New Testament has the Western Peshitta text (*i. e.* is not restricted to the Syriac canon) with the *Pericope Adulteriae*, the Western reading of Hebrews 2.9 as well as the Five Western Books (II Peter, II John, III John, Jude and Revelation). There are Latin running titles and chapter and verse numbers. Matthew is equipped with a Latin translation at the bottom of the page and it is claimed that working through this will teach one to read the rest. In the *Praefatio* to the *Notae Criticae* discussed below Gutbier ascribes the origins of the punctuation in his edition to non-Western manuscripts shown him by his teacher Constantine l'Empereur in Leiden. He transcribed their ancient vocalisation into his edition of Trost and used that and nothing else as the basis of his edition.

The *Praefatio* betrays an enthusiasm for Oriental languages and a defense of their status and utility. Gutbier is clearly seeking to improve the accessibility of Syriac and commends his combination of text, lexicon and notes as a pedagogic *clavis*. The utility of Syriac is by this time become almost conventional: particularly Jesus' use of language will be illuminated[287]. Several pages of *Testimonia & Judicia Cl. Virorum de Lingua & Versione N. T. Syriaca* display the extent of the consensus that Syriac was Christ's vernacular.

The New Testament Lexicon of 137 pages sports vocalized Syriac serto, Hebrew and Rashi script. A list of variants in mentioned editions and grammars is arranged in alphabetical order, but without indicated preference. The *Praefatio* discusses the recurring problem of different methods of vocalization[288]. He retains his educational approach and clearly hopes

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syr. Hactenus usurpatas, Adjecto Indice latine … (Typis & Sumptibus Gutbirianis, Hamburg 1667).

[287] Particularly those words and phrases considered to be Syriac*: Lama sabachthani* Mt 27.46; *korban* Mk7.11; *ephphatha* Mk 7.34; *bar iona* Mt 16.17; *boanerges* Mk 3.17; *mamona* Lk 16.9; *talitha qoumi* Mk 5.31; *sappheie* Acts 5.1; *tabitha* Acts 9.36; *cephas* Jn 1.43; *abba* Romans 8.15; *aceldama* Acts 1.19; *maranatha* I Cor 16.22.

[288] *Diversae autem illae Editiones non una semper eademque punctandi ratione sive Dialecto utuntur; hinc & Lexica, in earum usum edita, ipsique Grammatici in hac parte aliquando inter se dissentiunt; prout ex Widmanstadii, Masii, Waseri, Trostii, Crinesii, Tremelli, Buxtorphii, Georgii*

his work will be used by those favoring the vocalization of the two new Polyglots of Paris and London. Similarly didactic, the *Notae Criticae* seek to show how the vocalization of the Paris and London Polyglots and some other previous editors differ from the ancient practice by placing the different variants cited by sigila alongside each other in a list following the order of the Scriptural chapters and verses[289].

Gutbier is presenting evidence of ancient vocalization. We know, he argues, that the Syriac of Christ's day showed dialectic differences – *Syriacam linguam iam Christi aetate suas habere Dialectos*. This is made clear by references to Peter's speech (Mt 27.73 and Mk 14.70, especially in the expanded Arabic version). In ancient Syriac manuscripts, therefore, we

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Amirae, Ludovici de Dieu, Abrahami Ecchellensis Grammaticorum institutionibus; & ex Trostianus, Crinesiano, Buxtorfiano ac novo Anglicano (cuius partem iam vidimus) aliisque lexicis satis liquet. Post praeclaros igitur doctissimorum virorum labores, quibus laudata opera confecta sunt, studiosae juventutis utilitas doctissimaeque antiquitatis auctoritas postulare visa est, ut diversae illius punctationis memoria non omnino apud nos exolescat. Ea enim veterum quarundam punctationum ratio, ea supra laudatorum Auctorum conditio est, ut non nisi gravissimis & certissimis rationibus adductis rejici ac repudiari possint. Widmanstadius usus est, una cum Mssts, Praeceptore Syro, Mose Meridinaeo, ad cuius patrocinium a Masius provocat tandemque Waserus [Vide utriusque praefat. In Grammat. Syr.]. Guido Fabricius Boderianus, praeter MSStorum apparatum, laboris sui socium habuit Gulielmum Postellum, Virum exacta & exquisita rerum & Linguarum Orientalium scientia instructissimum, qui, teste Baumbacheo, [Tract. de L.L. Orient. cap. 13] parte Asiae semel atque iterum peragrata, magnas & Syriacae & Arabicae linguae opes consectatus est. [Vitae praef. dicti Guidonis in Tom. V Operis Regii Hisp. (i. e. the Antwerp Polyglot.*)] Ludovicius de Dieu, Georgii Amirae & Gabrielis Sionitae imprimis vestigia legit. Sic & Buxtorffi, Crinesii & Pocokii punctationes non e fungis certe natae sunt, sed Virorum industriae & eruditionibus laude illustrium observationibus nituntur. Discrepantes igitur illae punctationes collationem potius, quam censuram nostram mereri visae sunt. Non in universam Linguam Syriacam, sed solius Novi Testamenti Syriaci usum hoc Lexicon conscriptum est. Causam igitur variae punctationis cura pro me dicet, candide Lector, si methodus eius omnium votis & desideriis non responderit. In appendice nostra omnes dictiones annotatas invenies, quae in Anglicana, illique examussim fere respondente Parisiensi Novi Testamenti Syr. Editione aliter punctae sunt, quam in hoc Lexico. His parum immutatis Lexicon habebis recentissimis illis editionibus accomodatum. Caeterae formae Trostianae aliarumque punctatum Editionum lectori inservient. Et quia duas illas Editiones praeter hodierniae Linguae Syriacae usum & consuetudine constans & uniformis punctandi ratio commendat, illas praecipue tam in Notis quam in appendice volui conferre.*

[289] From his son we have an *Aegidii Gutubrii Notae Criticae in Novum Testamentum Syriacum; Quibus Praecipua variae punctationis exempla aliaeque variantes Lectiones, quae observationem merentur, inter se conferuntur: Ex optimis quibusque Exemplaribus olim collectae, & in gratiam Studiosae Juventutis editae; nunc vero revisae & emendatae a Johanne michaele Gutubrio* (Typis & Sumptibus Gutbirianis, Hamburg 1667).

should not be surprised to discover that the vocalizations of Jerusalem, the Maronites, Comagene and Antioch may all have come down in part to us, but without material change to the sense. In his list of notes Gutbier follows the authority (*analogia*) of the vocalization of Paris and London, but only to display more effectively the honour due to the remains of the old punctuation. He reminds us how after Rephalengius & Buxtorf (these are the two he cites) the diverse vocalizations of the Targums have been conformed to that of Daniel and Ezra. Finally he warns us that the ancient manuscripts are often rather strange in their pointing and have other usual scribal features. In such cases he defaults to Walton's Polyglot[290].

Jan Leusden (1624-1699) was a distinguished Dutch Calvinist Theologian and Orientalist and Professor of Hebrew in his home town of Utrecht. His *Scholae Syriacae Libri Tres una Cum Dissertatione de Literis & Lingua Samaritanorum* came out in 1658[291]. It comprises five books: 1. Grammar (letters, vowels, syllables, individual words and points); 2. Syntax–*sive voces in oratione conjunctas*; 3. Extracts from the Syriac New Testament and elsewhere with translations; 4. *Synopsis Chaldaica, inserviens explicationi Textus Chaldaici Danielis & Ezrae*, followed by *Dissertatio de Literis & Lingua Samaritanorum.* There is some Samaritan type. Leusden had himself taken in hand the cutting and casting of the type. Because the University of Utrecht had no Syriac type for his book, he had matrices and type made at his own expense in Amsterdam[292]. One is reminded *inter al.* of Gutbier.

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[290] *Denique hoc moneo: Cum Syri in MSS. Suis vocales non semper suo loco ponant, sed eas saepe praecedentibus syllabis addant, quae sequentibus debentur, & interdum puncta non tantum vocalia in literis Ribbui notatis, sed & essentalia literarum; & omittant vel confundant; harum & aliarum anomaliarum exempla, quae in Archetypo nostro paucissima erant, in his notis ad Anglicanae Editionis analogiam revocavi.*

[291] Ex Officina Meinaardi à Dreunen 1658; second ed. again 1685 Apud Jordanum Luchtmans, Leiden. Also ex Officina Gregorii à Poolsum, Utrecht 1672. Leusden also wrote a 40 page *Lexicon Novum Chaldaeo-Biblicum in Danielem & Ezram* which appears in William Robertson *Lexicon Novum Hebræo-Latinum, Admodum Lexici Schreveliani Græci Compositum, Per Modum Indicis Hebræi Primo a D. Robertsono Conscriptum; Sed Jam Latinitate Donatum ... Atque Adauctum Lexico Chaldaieo-Biblico a J. Leusden* (F. Halma, Utrecht 1687). It is a dictionary of Biblical Aramaic arranged in alphabetic order.

[292] *Illustris nostra Academia hactenus typis illis caruit, & ego eosdem nullibi ullo pretio antea accipere potuerim, tandem, savente summo numine, incidi in quosdam Amsterdamenses, qui mihi magnis meismet sumptibus & laboribus archetypos exculpserunt, Matrices, uti vocant, effecerunt, & Tandem typose in illis Matricibus suderunt* (p2-4). COAKLEY, p. 80-83.

Leusden addresses the question of the two schools of thought concerning pronunciation of some final letters[293]. He notes the practice of the *recentiores* in reading pronouns and verbs not to sound some endings. Thus *malki > malk* and *pekudw* or *pekudi > pekud*, because these ending are never vocalised in Syriac books. However many grammarians (Buxtorf, Hottinger *et al.*) pronounce these syllables. (Waser often also agrees, for in his Grammar *malki* is written with a final vowel.[294]) Leusden follows this older fashion because: 1. The *antiqui Syri* always pronounced these letters as the Greek translation of Mk 3.41 *talitha koumi* indicates for we can hear there that Christ pronounced the final syllable. Similarly in Mat 27.46, Christ's Syriac word is transliterated into Greek as *sabachthani* again with the final syllable sounded. 2. If these last syllables are not pronounced great confusion will arise as several words will not be distinguished. 3. These syllables were are pointed and pronounced in Chaldaean. So they should be in Syriac because of the great similarity of the languages. 4. Should one retort that these final syllables are *never* punctuated in Syriac books, the response is that many other words and syllables are not either. Whence one may conclude that it is brevity alone which motivates the modern practice: anyone can easily know to sound a /y/ or an /a/ from a final *yudh* or *waw*[295].

The consequences of this disagreement may be seen in the 1708 edition of the Syriac New Testament, the thirteenth, which was the work of both Leusden and C. Schaaf[296]. Up until Luke 18.27 the vocalization of the *Chaldaizantes* is preferred[297]. But thereafter (following Leusden's death) Schaaf

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[293] *In nonnullis dissentio à Lud. de Dieu: quia ille novissimam Syrorum pronunciationem sequutus est; ideo etiam multas syllabas, praecipue finales, desinentes in [Waw] & [Yudh] absque ulla pronunciatione praeterivit: sed ego juxta Buxtorfium, Hottingerum aliosque has syllabas judicio esse pronunciandas; & propterea easdem etiam vocalibus ornavi. Rationes do infra pag. 62 & 63. Angli hanc novam Syrorum pronunciationem, in novis Bibliis polyglottis, etiam imitantur; ideoque easdem syllabas non punctarunt: sed Lector, eligens antiquam Syrorum pronunciationem, eas deficientes vocales facillime inter legendum addere potest.*

[294] On p. 62. The matter of accents and silent letters in Eastern and Western Syriac is clearly set out in A. MINGANA, *Clef de la langue araméenne ou grammaire des deux dialectes syriaques* (Mosul / Paris 1905) p. 6-7; 8-33.

[295] This matter is also discussed in De Dieu, Buxtorf and Gutbier.

[296] *Novum Testamentum Syriacum, cum versione Latina; cura & studio J. Leusden et C. Schaaf editum* (C. Boutesteyn & S Luchtmans, typis, Mulleri, Leiden 1708). For the use of stereotype plates first with this book, (ed) R. SMITKAMP, *Luchtmans & Brill : dreiehonderd jaar uitgevers en drukkers in Leiden 1683-1983* (E. J. Brill, Leiden 1983) p. 48-49. COAKLEY, P. 85-86.

[297] This edition also offers 100 pages listing all the variant readings of previous editions collated *magno sudore* by Schaaf.

continued with the vocalization used in the Paris and London Polyglots. In the Introduction to *Relatio historica ad epistolam Syriacum a Maha Thome* 1717 which he intended to be placed at the end of his New Testament, Schaaf claims that he brought out the New Testament edition in the purest dialect of Antioch following the example of the native speakers Amira and Sionita.[298] He also complains that he has not had his fair share of glory for his labour[299].

In 1708 and 1709 Schaaf's Syriac Lexicon was published as a companion volume to the New Testament.[300]. It had Syriac

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[298] *"Et hunc librum [NT] edidi juxta purissimas dialecti Antiochenae regulas"*.

[299] *Hunc quoque in finem* <u>*meum*</u> *Novum Testamentum Syriacum, simul cum Lexico meo Syriaco a me edito (cuius* <u>*mei*</u> *Testamenti* <u>*meam*</u> *operam Lector melius ex Testamenti Praefatione intellegit, quam ex Testamenti Titulo: nam in Tituli pagina operae meae honor valde spoliatus conspicitur: Professor enim Leusden p. m. in Testamento hoc edendo non ulterius mecum operatus est quam in decimum quintum caput Evangeli Lucae; nec post mortem suam operae suae literam unam reliquit. Proinde de caetera omnia ad Testamenti finem usque mea solius opera peracta sunt. Praeterea solus ego Testamentum Syriacum inde a capite ad calcem ad omnes Novi Testamenti Syriaci Editiones, quarum praeter* <u>*meam*</u> *duodecim sunt, diligenter recensui. Solus ego ex omnibus dictis editionibus Varias Lectiones magno labore collegi* … The under-scored words are italicized by Schaaf. (The context is a discussion of the Letter from Mara Thoma, an edition and version of which Schaaf had prepared so that it might be conveniently added to his New Testament and Lexicon.)

[300] *Lexicon Syriacum Concordantiale, Omnes Novi Testamenti Syriaci Voces, Et ad harum illustrationem multas alias Syriacas, & Linguarum Affinium dictiones Complectens, cum necessariis Indicibus, Syriaco & Latino; ut & catalogo nominum Propriorum Ac Nominum gentilicum N. T. Syr indefesso labore elaboratum ...* (Typis Joh: Mulleri, Joh: Fil: Apud Vid: & Fil: Corn: Boutesteyn, Samuelem Luchtmans, Leiden 1717). There had appeared earlier *Opus Aramaeum complectens grammaticam Chaldaico-Syriacam; selecta Targumin, cum versione Latina, et annotationibus: Lexicon Chaldaicum, libris Vet. Test. Chaldaeis; item selectis Targumicis accommodatum* (J. Luchtmans, Utrecht 1686). After the usual brief summary of the history of Aramaic, there is a longer account of its utility, now embracing the Old Testament and contemporary Oriental Christians. Syriac words in New Testament are given and the list of *Syriasmi* has grown: *biblos pro catalogo* (Mat 1.1) *aion pro mundo*; *adelphos pro socio*; *chera pro terra*; *rema pro re aut negotio*; *etc. etc*. There are Syriac passages in praise of the work; an Aramaic Grammar and reading passages from the Targums. Hebrew font is used except for a few words in the dedication and the Syriac passages. And half a dozen cases of Syriac words appear in the vocabulary list. An attempt to put Syriac vowels onto Hebrew letters when they are first introduced is not elegant. There is an awareness of different Syriac scripts (distinguished properly by age), the question of o/a, diphthongs and silent letters. There is episodic distinction in the notes between Chaldaean and Syriac, but essentially they are the same language. For the type in Schaaf's *Opus Aramaeum* (1686), *Lexicon Syriacum* (1708) and New Testament 1709, see COAKLEY, p. 80-81.

type, cognates in Arabic, Ethiopic and Samaritan fonts as well as Hebrew (except when they evidently ran out). The Lexicon is comprehensive for the New Testament. The *Ad Lectorem* explains how entries are arranged and how material is arranged within entries (following the order of grammatical function). Greek influence is noticed upon some entries. Syriac was Christ's vernacular, which explains those Syriac phrases in the Greek New Testament. Following Martinus he maintains that the Syriac New Testament is a version, but the first of all versions and most ancient, written by one of the evangelists or those at Antioch who had the Apostles there to cast light on difficulties. It is therefore the only source which may be consulted on difficulties and obscurities with total confidence. It is the only source of illumination for the Greek text and therefore approaches it in status. Its antiquity, Leusden added, was demonstrated by the absence of the Minor Catholic Epistles and the Apocalypse – books which had attracted the doubts of the very early churches.

Schaaf edited a letter of Mara Thome in such a way as to be conveniently bound with his NT[301].This was a letter sent by Bishop Maha Thome of the St Thomas Christians in Malabar to the Patriarch in Antioch asking for appointment to vacant offices to help defend against Nestorian influence from Babylon. One copy of the letter is in Syriac, another given to the Dutch Governor of *Malaku,* Cornelis van der Duin (1692-1696), was in 'Belgian'. Schaaf had produced Latin versions with some note of the circumstances. He expresses particular regret at having to use the same type as for his Lexicon and New Testament for the characters of the bishop's epistle *quae literae a nobis communibus literis multum discrepant*. He prints without vocalization. Schaaf was particularly struck by what he was able to recognize as the pure classical style of the bishop's letter. Here we see Protestant awareness of Syriac as a modern language and an interest in the contemporary Eastern church – in the context, not of Roman efforts to promote unity, but in the context of Dutch colonialism[302].

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[301] *Relatio historica ad epistolam Syriacum a Mahathome id est, Magno Thoma Indo, antiquorum Christianorum Syrorum in India Episcopo, ex Chaddenad in Malabaria scriptam, ad Ignatiam Patriarcham Antiochenum: Et ipsa illa Episcopi Indi epistola syriaca, cum versione Latina; Accessit Epistola Syriaca ad eundem Episcopum, etiam cum Versione Latina. Acurrante Carolo Schaaf* (Sumptibus editoris & Authoris, Leiden 1714).

[302] David Grafunder's *Grammatica Syriaca cum syntaxi perfecta hactenus non ita visa et lexico brevissimo, in usum gymnasiorum et scholarum ita elaborata ut quis suo et proprio Marte hanc linguam possit addiscere opera et studio M. Davidis Grafunderi, Scholae Cuestrinensis* (Wittenberg 1665) may be taken as a typical teaching Grammar of this period. It collects remarks of Mercerus, Gerhard, Dilherr, De Dieu, Buxtorf, Hottinger and Leusden. There is an emphasis on syntax, a lexicon and selected New Tes-

Johannes Henricus Hottinger (1620-1667)

Hottinger studied at Geneva and lived in Groningen and Leiden where he lodged for several months with Jacob Golius the Professor of Arabic. After travel in England and France he became Professor in Zurich in 1643, was appointed Professor of Oriental Languages by the Elector Palatine at Heidelberg in 1651 and returned to Zurich in 1651. He drowned in the River Limmat just outside Zurich before he was able to take up a chair at Leiden. The number and importance of his works make him a suitable scholar with which to conclude our discussion. His work covers broad aspects of Syriac linguistic study and also the growing awareness of native Syriac literature[303]. If Syriac Scriptural studies in our period reached its climax with Walton, Hottinger may mark the high point of achievement in the comparative location of the Syriac language and also of the less extensive knowledge of non-biblical Syriac literature. His contribution particularly underlies the increasing security with which Syriac was placed in a comparative Semitic philology and the 1661 *Etymologium Orientale* itself establishes Hottinger as a founding father of Semitc philology.[304] One recalls the work of De Dieu and others.

The *Thesaurus Philologicus seu Clavis Scripturae; qua quicquid fere Orientalium, Hebraeorum maxime, & Arabum habent monumenta de religione ... breviter & aphoristice ita referatur, & aperitur ...* was first printed in 1649 and thereafter in 1659 in Zurich and again in 1696. It is an important theological work founded upon the principle, intrinsic to the Walton Polyglot: *Scriptura non potest intellegi Theologice, nisi prius intelligatur Grammatice* (1659 p. 4 verso). In the second edition he thanks his publisher for newly acquired Arabic, Syriac

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tament passages and a Creed with a Latin translation as grammatical exercises. Grafunder's *Grammatica Chaldaica, Methodo adeo facili conscripta, ut quis proprio Marte sine manuductore hanc linguam addiscere possit* (Sumptibus Philippi Fuhrmanni... Typis Matthaei Henckelii, Wittenberg 1670) is merely an Aramaic Grammar – though with the same claim of easy learning.

[303] The *Historia Orientalis quae ex variis orientalium monumentis collecta; agit ... De Chaldaismo, seu Superstitione Chaldaeorum Nabataeor. &c* (Typis Joh. Jacobi, Zurich Bodmeri 1651, 1660) is essentially a book about Islam. The *Dedicatio* reviews previous Orientalists and praises Bibliander, Erpenius and De Dieu. The book uses the new fonts. Ecchellensis' *De origine nominis Papae* was directed primarily against Johann Hottinger's *Historia Orientalis*. REITBERGEN, p. 19.

[304] JAN LOOP, *Johann Heirrich Hottinger: Arabic and Islamic Studies in the Seventeeth Century* (Warburg/ Oxford 2013) p. 74-79 for Hottinger and comparative Semitic Philology.

and Samaritan types. A poem by Huldricus praises the new types, used again in the *Historia Orientalis* of 1660[305].

Hottinger's *Grammaticae Chaldaeo-Syriacae Libri Duo Cum triplici Appendice, Chaldaea, Syra & Rabbinica* (Typis Joh. Jacobi Bodmeri, Zurich 1652) has a clear pedagogic aim, yet seeks to integrate the language into a comparative understanding. Though printed only in vocalised Hebrew script, Chaldean and Syriac are compared. Question and Answer are used to deal with the eight *orationis partes*. Syntax is discussed, but the grammatical terminology used is Hebrew. There are Appendices on Rabbinic, Aramaic and Chaldaean with useful messianic proof-passages and Revelation 21 in Syriac with very detailed grammatical comment. Hottinger proclaims a middle path in Syriac vocalisation avoiding both the Hebraisms of Tremellius and the opposite excesses of the *recentiores*[306].

A comparative perspective is evident in Hottinger's *Grammatica ... Harmonia* of 1659[307] which prepares us to examine his *Etymologium Orientale* or *Lexicon Harmonicum* of 1661[308].

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[305] For type see Coakley, p. 78-79. Also: J. H. Hottinger, B. Koeblinus, J. F. Coakley et al., *Elementale Quadrilingue: a Philological Type Specimen (Zurich 1654)* (Jericho Press, Michigan 2005).

[306] *Quam fuerit superiori Seculo syriaca lectio incerta, ex variis Novi Testamenti editionibus facile est colligere. Alii Hebraica praecepta sequuntur ut Tremellius in quo non modo; praeter Syrorum consuetudinem; Patach furtivum ubiq; reperias, Dages fortes seu geminans; sed & formativum Futuri Jod, & alia, quae Syris plane sunt ignota. Alii rigide nimis recentiorum Syrorum authoritatem urgent, & a regulis eorum ne latum quidem unguem recedunt. Hi plerosque nostrae aetatis Linguae Syriacae studiosos in sua jam castra pertraxerunt. Media nobis videtur tutissima, quam in ipsa aliquoties Grammatica vindicavimus. Ejus geminum nunc dabimus specimen, alterum quidem punctatum; alterum vero studiosorum relinquemus industriae suis ornandum apicibus. Cum enim Syrorum libris punctis, ut plurimum destituantur vocalibus, in ipso statim limine voces, ex flectionis & formationis analogia, suis vestire dicent accidentibus Linguae hujus studiosi.* Appendix II, p. 168-169.

[307] *Grammatica Quatuor linguarum Hebraicae, Chaldaicae, Syriacae et Arabicae Harmonia ita perspicuere & compendiose instituta ut Ad Linguam Hebraicam, tanquam matrem; caeterarum etiam, ceu filiarum, Linguarum, accomodentur...* (Adrian Wyngaerden, Heidelberg 1659). Hottinger speaks of the complementary nature of his works in the *Dedicatio*: *Ista Lexicon Linguarum Hebraicae, Chaldaicae, Syriacae, Arabicae; Samaritanae etiam & Aethiopicae Harmoniam exhiberet. Haec denique tum Grammaticam Harmonicam, tum Bibliothecam Orientalem suppeditaret.*

[308] *Etymologicum Orientale sive Lexicon Harmonicum Heptaglotton quo non matris Tantum, Hebraicae linguae, radices Biblicae omnes vel constituuntur; vel ubi inter Iudaeos temporis injuria usitatae esse desierunt, ex Chaldaea, Syria, Arabia, Aethiopia, &c. restituuntur, diversisque significatibus suis explicantur; sed et; Chaldaicae, Syriacae, Arabicae, Samaritanae, Ethiopicae, Talmudico-Rabbinicae dialectorum, ceu filiarum, voces juxta seriem radicum Hebraicarum, magno numero, ex libris tam canonicis,*

The Preface of the Lexicon deals with possible objections to his harmonic enterprise and clearly states his sources. He has not collected his own words, he protests: *Helvetius natus sum, non Hebraeus, non Arabus, non Syrus* (f b4recto). Starting from a triliteral root (often reconstructed), of which two letters are printed in bold on the right side, the dictionary gives words (roots and derivations) for Hebrew, cognate words in more than one Semitic language; words not occuring in Hebrew, and words occuring in one particular other language.

Finally the *Promptuarium or Bibliotheca orientalis* of 1658 is a convenient point to consider the knowledge of Syriac literature available in the mid-century[309]. The third chapter deals with Syriac studies. It would have been fuller if only he had had Abdiso's catalogue which Ecchellensis had published five years before in 1653. He treats biblical works (Bible editions and commentaries) and Theological works (*didactica*, histories and liturgical works) and Philosophical works (grammars, systemata philosophica, letters and lexica). Not all of these classes are well represented. Of Old Testament Scriptures he knows the Peshitta and one translated from the LXX. He also mentions *versio Maronita Syro-Arabica*. He knows his New Testament from the editions we have already reviewed. Of bible commentaries he knows of the *Hexaemeron* of James of Edessa which he found in a manuscrript in Leiden. He knows of commentaries by James the Syrian (Bar Salibi) edited by his friend Dudley Loftus; commentaries by Ephrem, James of Nisibis, a certain Denys, Severus of Antioch and Ishodad of Merv. Amongst *didactica* he counts theological works of Ephrem (known from the manuscripts at Leiden and those belonging to Ussher); the *De Paradiso* of Moses bar Cepha and the Treatise of Severus of Antioch against John Grammaticus and other works published with these by Masius. As history he mentions a *Chronicon Syro-Arabicum* of Bar-Hebraeus. Describing the Syrians enthu-

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quam Ecclesiasticis exhibentur; Harmonia simul vel matris cum filiabus, vel filiarum inter se luculenter ostenditur, propriae denique cuiusvis radicis significationes adjiciuntur; .... Accesit ... brevis apologias contra Abrahamum Ecchellensem Maronitam (Sumptibus Joh. Wilhelmi Ammmonij, & Wilhelmi Serlini, Frankfurt 1661). The *Apologia contra Abraham Ecchellensem* is entitled *Epistola responsoria ad Joh. Jonstonum* and discusses Hottinger's *Abrahami dokimasia.*

[309] *Promptuarim; sive, Bibliotheca Orientalis: Exhibens Catalogum, sive, centurias aliquot, tam authorum, quam librorum Hebraicorum, Syriacorum, Arabicorum, Aegyptiacorum, Aethiopicorum, etc. Addita Mantissa Bibliothecarum aliquot Europaearum, tam publicarum quam privatarum; ex quibus, quid deinceps etiam praestari possit ab aliis, luculenter monstratur. Scriptum, Quod Theologorum, Iurisconsultorum, Medicorum, et philosophorum accomodatum est Studiis* (Typis et Impensis Adriani Wyngaerdeni ... Heidelberg 1658). The type is that made in Amsterdam for Leusden, COAKLEY, p. 80-81.

siasm for liturgy he mentions a Liturgical Thesaurus made by
Moses of Mardin in 1556 (and in Hottinger's day in the library
at Saint-Gall[310]; the liturgical works in Morin's *Commentarius*;
the commentary on Pseudo-Dionysus by John of Dara; the bap-
tismal and eucharistic liturgies published by Guy Lefèvre de la
Boderie and another writing on baptism by James of Edessa of
which a manuscript was in the libray in Tübingen. Amongst the
philosophical works he mentions the Book of Spendours which
Masius mentioned in his *Syrorum Peculium* and a grammar of
Mar Gregorius (not apparently consciously linked with Bar-
hebraeus). *Systema philosophica* has a sole mention of Mar
Isaac and Letters comprise only those exchanged between
Moses of Mardin and Masius. Finally there is mention of the
dictionary of Bar Bahlul seen in England in a manuscript that
came from Thomas Erpenius and the Lexicon of bar Ali (co-
pied probably from a manuscript of Scaliger: he possessed the
text as far as nun) and an *Etymologicum Syrum*. The expose is
rounded of by some of the dedication of bar Ali's Lexicon cho-
sen to give and example of the scholarly and classical style of
Syriac. This harvest Hottinger found dispiriting. The Period had
been good for language studies and bible editions but not so for
literature. In the dedication of the *Promptuarium* to Jean Mau-
rice de Nassau he feared that Oriental Studies had fallen into
decline in the midlle of the Seventeenth Century and appears
anxious for the preservation of the humanists legacy[311].

Hottinger's subsequent *Bibliothecarius quadripartitus ...*
(Sumptibus Melch. Stauffacheri, Zurich 1664), which uses
transcriptions or Hebrew characters, contains Leo Africanus'
biographical work on Arabic authors of 1527 and benefits from
Abdiso's catalogue which Ecchellensis had published. The
section *De Scriptoribus Syriacis* (with oriental characters in
transcription or Hebrew) offers a new summary under similar
headings of known Syriac authors and their works[312]. Having
found in Walton's Polyglot a lasting identity for Syriac as a
learned biblical language, we may in Hottinger's comparative
linguistic sophistication find a similar terminus for Syriac in the
context of Semitic Philology. Knowledge of non-biblical Syriac
literature was obviously limited.

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[310] BAUMSTARK, p. 47.

[311] *Eo vero libentius in hanc discendi arenam* (that of Oriental langu-
ages), *quod haec studia, praeter meritum, inculta observabam jacere, et si
non exitio, exilio saltem pene vicina. Quam enim vereor, ne brevi tempore
tam laboriose expulsa barabarie, et Originalium (de caeteris Orientalibus
ne quidem loquar) Linguarum pudenda et segnis revocetur ignorantia.*

[312] LE ROEY, p. 30-32.

12. Finale

Considerably later, Joannes Henricus Lysius summarised the field of Syriac studies in his Dissertation of 1727 with the anticipated learned notes[313]. He discusses the various names for the language and also the different things which might be meant by calling it Hebrew. It is not totally different from, but may also be distinguished from Chaldaean or Aramaic. (Hottinger was right to suggest that we know nothing of early Chaldaean texts[314].) Syriac uses different scripts. There are vowel differences: Chaldaean wrote and pronounced *bilchôr* (*tantum*) but Syriac has *balchûr;* Chaldaean has *tchôth* (*sub*) but Syriac *tcheth*; Chaldaean has *qdam* (*ante*) but Syriac *qdom*. There are different contructions of words and phrases. Chaldaean has one praeterite tense like Hebrew which does for imperfect, perfect and pluperfect tenses and indicative, subjunctive and optative moods. Syriac however has a proper preterite, a perfect and rarely a pluperfect with the auxilary verb 'to be'. Syriac has its own idioms unknown to Chaldaean which Opitius listed in his *Appendix ad Syriasmum restitutum* and De Dieu in Book V of his *Harmonic Grammar*. Though some vocabulary is shared, Syriac has its own unique words. But this does not justify those (De Dieu again) who take the Aramaic of Dan 2.4 as really Syriac.

Nor is the language older than Hebrew: some say rather it is the child of Hebrew and Chaldean. Amira says the opposite, appealling to Scripture, and claims that Syriac preceeded Hebrew; that it was implausible that such a fine language should arise from such a harsh one; and that Hebrew speakers have difficulty speaking Syraic - none of which impress! Rather refugees returning from Babylon mixed Chaldaean and Hebrew to make Syriac.

Hardt's idea that Syriac is descended from Greek is rejected – though loan words from Greek and Latin are acknowledged. Conversely Syriac may be considered the mother of Arabic (which "appropriated her script and conformed to her sounds") - and also Ethiopic, even Persian.

As Christianity spread from Antioch, the capital of the East, so did the Syriac language and letters spread to Persia and even India. After the arrival of Islam in Seventh Century, Arabic replaced Syriac as the vernacular, but though it is now only spoken in a few villages in Lebanon, it nonetheless survives as far away as India.

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[313] *Dissertatio Philologica de Historia Linguae Syriacae... submittit M. Joannes Henricus Lysius Orient. Lingu. Prof. Extraord. Designatus ... 3 October 1727 Regiomonti Litteris Reusnerianis).*

[314] *Smegmate orientali*, p. 35.

Several Classical sources suggest the *Syroi* may have invented letters, but others take this to refer to the Hebrews. Three types of Syriac letters (scripts) are identified.

Once Syriac vowels were confined to y/w/ *aleph.* Subsequently vowels were marked by dots (mentioned by Ephrem) or Greek vowel letters.

There are three dialects of Syriac: Babylonian, that of Jerusalem and Antiochean, but Babylonian long ago withered away. More properly the Jerusalem dialect is called Syriac, different in period and purity and different also from Galilean which often confused distinct letters and joined different sounds akwardly (This was Peter's dialect in Mk 14.70). Anthiochene was the dialect of the church in Antioch. Sometimes it is named for Comagene, the far region of Syria, or called *Maronitica* from the Christians of Mount Lebanon. This is the sacred language of Christians throughout the East who use it for Scripture and worship, though their vernacular is Arabic. Abulfarajius mentions another dialect Nabatean, *maxime rudem,* spoken in the mountains of Assyria and by the *pagorum Eraci incolae*.

Nonnus considered the titulus of Christ's cross written in Latin, Syriac and Greek. Taken in this sense, the question arises whether the inspired New Testament writers wrote some things in Syriac (*quosdam Syriaco idiomate scripserint*) which our age possesses (now only) in Greek? The Fathers thought Matthew and Hebrews were written in Hebrew, but this has difficulties. Widmanstetter though these were first written rather in Syriac and Walton concurred[315]. This is because (i) Hebrew had withdrawn into Temple and scholarly debates; (ii) because of the desirability of preaching the one message in a language all could understand; (iii) the Apostles would not have been reliable witnesses if they had not articulated and handed down to us the heavenly philosophy of Christ in the same language they had heard it proclaimed; (iv) Matthew the publican was ignorant of Hebrew; (v) providentially - as with the priesthood of Melchizedek (he is thinking of Hebrews) - with the new law came a new language for articulating the heavenly teaching. But for Lysius these are pursuasive rather than probative arguments and show only that neither Matthew or Hebrews was written in Hebrew: but that doesn't make them written in Syriac – why not Greek?

As for the Old Testament, Syriac had a two versions; one from the Hebrew and one from the Septuagint (which Walton has shown was "not from the time of Solomon, but rather from the time of King Abgar"). Some (both Maronites and Westerners) look for very early origins for the Syriac New Testament. It is without doubt the earliest version. Lysius then list the ma-

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[315] *Praefatio ad N.T. Syriacum*; WALTON, *Proleg.*, XIII.6.

jor Syriac biblical from Widmanstetter's New Testament, *via* Sionita's Psalter to the two Polyglots. He concludes (a sign of an established discipline) with a bibliography.

Wedding songs in the dialect of the Jews of Ḥabbān in eastern Yemen

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The village of *Ḥabbān* was a village inhabited by one of the most amazing and most isolated Jewish communities in the world. Called *Ḥábbən* in its Jewish dialect, it is located in eastern Yemen in present-day *Shabwa (Šabwa)* district, some 300 km north-east of Aden and about 100 km from the Indian Ocean. This Jewish community numbered 450 people in 1947. Although the administrative Yemenite district belongs to *Shabwa*, the Jewish community of *Ḥabbān* tends to regard its place of origin as the *Hadramawt (Ḥaḍramawt)* region. They attribute their small number to innumerable pogroms and riots that forced them to convert to Islam. *Ḥabbān* was remote geographically from other Yemenite Jewish communities, with which it had hardly any contact. The *Ḥabbāni* Jews were renowned as excellent goldsmiths and sil-

ver and gold jewellers; their dialect contains an enormous vocabulary in this field. The history of the first settlement of Jews in this remote corner of the southern Arabian Peninsula is shrouded in mystery. Their outward appearance distinguishes them from other Jewish communities in Yemen: they had long hair, would go about half-naked, and wore no *kippa* on their heads. Local traditions date this community to the First Temple era. These Jews differed from their Yemenite co-religionists in their appearance and religious tradition,[1] but also in their Jewish dialect with its very large original vocabulary, which may well have been preserved because of their isolation. Thus customs and folklore in this community are unique and preserve ancient and singular traditions. The *Ḥabbāni* Jews (Sing.m *Ḥabbāni,* Sing.f. *Ḥabbānyah*, Pl.m *Ḥabbanīm*[H] or *Ḥabbanīn,* Pl.f. *Ḥabbányet*) lived in the *Jewish Quarter*, which was called *Ḥāft elYahūd.*[2] Their neighbourhood lay on a mountainside on which the Sultan's fortress (*elMíṣanʿa*[3]) was built. The Moslems however resided in a neighbourhood which topographically lay lower down the slope than the Jewish Quarter, which generally caused resentment towards the Jews.

Nowadays most of the Jews from *Ḥabbān* live in *Moshav Baréḵet* in Israel in the vicinity of Ben-Gurion Airport. A few live in *Kfar Shalém* near Tel Aviv. The clustering of the majority of the community together still today helps them maintain their tradition.

The Jews of *Ḥabbān* were divided into several clans, which still today are preserved in Israel; every person is deeply conscious as to the clan he or she belongs to. Each clan has its own standing and characteristics. The most eminent are the *Maʿṭūf, Híllel, Šammakh (Šammax)*, and *Gahlān.*[4]

I conducted my fieldwork in *Moshav Baréḵet* in 2013.[5] This article is based on a recording I made on 22 December 2013 in the village with Mrs. *Tova Hillel*, born in 1945 in *Ḥabbān*. Al-

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[1] For more details see YOSEF SHAʿAR, 'Yehudéy Ḥatsarmávet: rešít hityašvút ha-Yehudím be- Ḥatsarmávet' [=The Jews of Ḥadramawt: The beginning of the Jewish settlement in Ḥadramawt]. In *Tehuda* 16, 1996 pp. 23-26. See also SʿĀDYA BEN YITSHAḴ MAʿṬŪF, *Yahadút Ḥabbān (Ḥatsarmávet) ba-Dorót ha-ʾAḥaroním* [The Jews of *Ḥabbān* (Ḥadramawt) in recent centuries]. Baréḵet: The Author, 1987), p.1.

[2] SʿĀDYA BEN YITSHAḴ MAʿṬŪF, *ibid.,* pp. 9, 18-24.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

[4] A family clan is called *hil*, apparently from the Arabic word *ʾahl* [=family]. There is also *hil* ʿÁdani. *Ibid.*, p. 11-12.

[5] I would like to express my thanks to Mr. Evyatár Saʿīd for helping me during my fieldwork.

so in 2013 I held several interviews at *Baréḵet*, where I also attended marriage ceremonies. This linguistic informant participates regularly in marriage ceremonies in *Baréḵet* as a singer, and one of the last original authorities in all the details of this ritual. This community still upholds its folklore and customs very strictly, as most Jews of the village in Israel remain deeply religious. Ceremonies are held in the synagogue or in a hall at the village centre. The community is intensely aware of its exceptional tradition: there is a museum of their folklore in the village; the marriage ceremonies especially are still fully adhered to, as are other ceremonies that fill community life.

1. Some important phonological remarks on the dialect

The dialect of the Jews of *Ḥabbān* renders several consonantal shifts from Classical Arabic. Ancient **q* shifts to *g*,[6] as is normal in Bedouin tribal dialects. **ǧ* has an allophone which sounds like *g^y*, hence differs from *q* which turns into *g*. The ʕ is very pharyngeal.[7] Consonants *ṭ* and *ṣ* are emphatic in their articulation, but not surprisingly are not greatly velarized. In this dialect we find the suffix *-k* in feminine personal pronouns tu - *š*, e.g. *ʾabūš* [=your father] and *ʕalīš* [=on you]. All interdentals are preserved.[8] These consonantal features represent a highly conservative dialect.

Long vowels tend to be shortened, especially if they consist of only one syllable, as is the case with the particle *yā* [O!] which is often shortened to *ya*.

Accentuation is unique and tends to be implemented as in some Yemeni dialects, thus is not always on the last long vowel. An example is **niswān*, which is implemented as *níswa(~ā)n* [=women].

2. Marriage Folklore

The marriage customs of the *Ḥabbāni* Jews differ entirely from those of other Jewish communities in Yemen. The richness of the traditional musical and oral repertoire and variety is remarkable. In *Ḥabbān* itself the marriage ceremonies were many – about twenty in number, and went on for several weeks before the marriage itself: *elxiṭbe* (asking the parents for their daughter's hand); *elqali* (a bean-roasting ceremony at the

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[6] Compare PETER BEHNSTEDT, *Die nordjemenitischen Dialekte* (Teil 1: Atlas) (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert, 1985), p. 41, Karte 1.

[7] See more in WERNER DIEM, *Skizzen yemenitischen Dialekte* (Beirut und Wiesbaden: In Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag, 1973), p. 9.

[8] Compare PETER BEHNSTEDT, *ibid.*, p. 44-45, Karte 5.

bride's house, and again at the groom's (*ḥarīw*[9]), as refreshments before the marriage ceremony); *elmadd* (display of the dowry items which the groom gives the bride); *eššidux* (<שידוך, namely sprinkling oil on the bride's head); *sḥēq eṭṭīb* (grinding a mixture of perfumes); *sabt ilkullān* (trickling oil and scattering dust on the groom's head); *ḥaṭab* (wood chopping); *laylet elgṣūd* (a night dedicated to liturgy singing); *ḥiddi* (preparation of special footwear for the groom); *laylet elleile* (applying henna to the groom's feet and hands); *dagg elḥenne* (grinding henna); *ḥenne* (applying henna very artistically to the bride's hands and feet); *giddušīn*[10] (<קידושין, the wedding ceremony itself); *ṣibeḥ* ('seven blessings'); *šabbāt Sos-ʾAsīs* (*Aliyah la-Torah* of the groom); *rudiyyeh* (the first visit of the bride to her parents' house after the wedding); *rḥāṣ* (dismantling the bride's braids); *gahwet essukar* (drinking coffee with sugar) and *xídded*[11] (a sophisticated braiding ceremony[12]). Today only twelve of these ceremonies are maintained; eight have been abandoned and two entirely changed.[13]

Most of the women's marriage songs[14] are not written, so I had to transcribe some of them, which appear here in the appendix. There is an element of improvisation in the songs I recorded, sung by Tova Hillel. The songs during the marriage ceremony are accompanied by various kinds of dance.[15]

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[9] Compare with the same meaning PETER BEHNSTEDT, *Glossar der Jemenitischen Dialektwörter in Eduard Glasers Tagebüchern (II, III, VI, VII, VIII, X)* (Wien: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1993), p. 56.

[10] Compare the root √קדש in MOSHE PIAMENTA, *Dictionary of Post-Classical Yemeni Arabic*. V.2 (Leiden, New York, København, Köln: E.J. Brill, 1991), p. 389.

[11] See MOSHE PIAMENTA, *Dictionary of Post-Classical Yemeni Arabic*. V.1 (Leiden, New York, København, Köln: E.J. Brill, 1991), p. 121: 'Plaiting of Jewish Ḥabbāni bride's hair when returning from ritual bath'.

[12] Compare JOSEPH CHETRIT, *ha-Ḥatuná ha-Yehudít ha-Masortí be-Maróḳo* [=The traditional Jewish wedding in Morocco] (Haifa: University of Haifa, 2003), p. 535. The tying of a ribbon to the bride's hair among the Jews of Morocco is called *rḇoṭ äzǝllum*.

[13] See more in YAEL SHAY, 'Shirá u-maḥól ba-ḥatuná be-ḳérev nešót Ḥabbān' [=Wedding songs and dance among the women of Ḥabbān]. in *Tehuda*, 15, 1996, pp. 54-57.

[14] On Women's songs in the Jewish communities of Yemen see also HAIM SA'ADON (editor), *Teymān* [=*Yemen*]. Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 2002.

[15] Tova Hillel was born in Ḥabbān in 1945. The recording was conducted at her home on 22 December 2013 in Bareḳet.

3. The recorded songs

A *bahālīl* song: This is regarded as an opening song, re-calling for the groom Jacob's marriage to Leah instead of Ra-chel.[16] This song cautions the groom to watch out for any trickery, as played on Jacob. The song begins with an allusion to the name *Leah* through the Arabic *ʾillā* [literally: = except] and *ḷḷā* [= God]: *ʾillā ya-sma ḷḷā wa ḥāʿur* {1} [= In the name of God, be careful]. This type of song seems archaic, since it combines Hebrew words and tradition with hints at Arabic words. The two first phrases were sung by the professional singer (Tova Hillel) and the women taking part in the braiding ceremony answered her, as if in a so-called 'echo dialogue'. Here I noticed some room for improvisation, for example, in-serting the particle *wi*, which can be understood as a warning , e.g. *ʾillā wi ya-sma ḷḷā wa ḥāʿur*. These four verses also serve as a blessing on the bride for a good life as she leaves her par-ents' house for her new home. Especially notable is the fourth verse: *we gʸaʿliš dūb mugʸbūr* [So you will be all the time hon-ourable]. The rhyming pattern is ABAA.

The *bahālīl* is followed by the song *yā lēlt erraḥmān* [O night of the Merciful]. This song tells of the astrologically hap-py, blessed hour of the wedding (*ḥarāwa*[17]), represented by the timing of the appearance of the star (Classical Arabic سعد السعود[18]), formally *Beta Aquarii*, a double star in the constella-tion Aquarius, but here denoting a fluid and undefined time of good fortune. A pun is found, based on the root $\sqrt{s}$-ʿ-*d* [= to be happy]. This song describes the entry of the groom. Sometimes improvisations show up in the song, such as *we lʿanbar* [=and the amber] inserted in the fifth line: *we-lmēzkē **we lʿanbar** yin-faḥ* [And the perfumes and amber spread]. This song is a syn-aesthesia of several senses: sight [of the green plants] and smell [of the perfumes *mēzkē* and resin *bʿūd*]. The rhyming pattern here is ABCBCB.

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[16] In a wedding song from the Jewish community in Baghdad, Iraq, there is also a reference to Jacob: '*baššiǧu Yaʿqūb bilēla*' [=Inform Jacob on the night]. See Y. AVISHUR, *ha-ḥatuná ha-Yehudít be-Bagdād u-vnotéha* [=The Jewish wedding in Baghdad and its vicinity] (Haifa: University of Haifa, 1990), II, p.87, and also *ibid.,* p. 95: *Yaʿqūb yā ʿēni*; compare also *ibid.,* pp. 99, 108 (23.3).

[17] The groom is called *ḥarīw* and the bride *ʿarūs.*

[18] Compare ALI AHMAD HUSSEIN, *The Rhetorical Fabric of the Tradi-tional Arabic Qaṣīda in its Formative Stages.* (Wiesbaden: Deutsche Mor-genländische Gesellschaft, Harrassowitz Verlag, 2015), p. 141: 'I met by her the *saʿd as-suʿūd.* At other times / I become displeased once I abandon [my] water courses'.

The *bahālil* and the subsequent entry of the groom are fol-
lowed by a second type of song, which accompanies the last
stages of the henna spreading ceremony. Its rhythm is slower
and it is accompanied by drumming and the *zafīfäh* circle-
dance.[19]

This latter type of songs is quite unusual since it mentions
the most important *Ḥabbāni* clans or families. In the song sung
by my informant three clans are named: the *Maʿṭūf, Šámmax*
(*Shammakh*), and *Gahlān.* Each is described differently and in
a different rhyming pattern. The *Maʿṭūf* family is presented in
reference to the *Ḥabbāni* fortress (*(elMíṣanʿa*) which is a paral-
lel image to the portrayal of the bride. The fortress is stunning –
as is the bride – since it contains vast halls, chandeliers and
priceless swords. It denotes the clan's economic strength.

The *Šámmax* (*Šammakh*) family is presented through not on-
ly a depiction of the bride but also of her father.[20] Rather than a
lavish lifestyle, this song addresses religion, where a local cer-
emony of slaughtering a chicken over the bride's head is de-
scribed as an atonement (*Kapparōt*). This means that this clan
is religiously observant and performs Jewish religious customs
meticulously.

The third song of the second type is dedicated to the *Gahlān*
clan, portrayed through images from nature: water [*la-yäkarráʿ
men galtš* Oh stored water of a water-reservoir!] and honey
[*ʿasal ṣafiyy* and *gibḥ gawiyy*=pure honey and fine hive], and
there are hints at a life of indulgence through the attribute *al-
haliyy* [spoiled] applied to the bride of this family.

A third type of songs, sung by my informant, comes after the
bahālīl. These too have a slow rhythm, accompanied by the
zafna-dance.[21] Sometimes the women clap their hands, alt-
hough the rhythm tends to vary. This song is called *we-ḏa-
llayla saʿīda* [O happy night!]. The informant noted that this
song is accompanied by body movements rendered by the verb
√*n-ʿ-š* (Sing. *tinʿaš* pl. *yinʿašu*). The dance itself is offered *min
hazzit gubāli* [to whom may dance in front of me]. The third
song is dedicated to the bride, beginning with encouraging
phrases meant to turn the gloomy mood into a joyful wedding
atmosphere: *we-ḏa-llayla ʿazamna nhizz ilgaʿed liswad* [To-
night we are determined to dispel the doleful air]. The bride is

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[19] See more in YAEL SHAY, *ibid.*, p. 56.

[20] Compare Y. AVISHUR, *ha-ḥatuná ha-Yehudít be-Bagdād u-vnotéha*
[=The Jewish wedding in Baghdad and its vicinity] (Haifa: University of
Haifa, 1990), I, 109: ʿבת אלמלוך וכ'וואלכי שג'עאליʾ [=You are the daughter of
kings and your maternal uncles are brave men].

[21] YAEL SHAY, *ibid.*, p. 56-57.

described as beautiful with her diamonds and jewellery; she smells as good as fresh basil, and she is well rounded. The description builds up by means of rhetorical questions in a dialogue between the singing women and the bride. The women ask *minnēn ʾinti ḥaṣīnä? min ilsamn ilmṣaffa w kubr lˁagīnä?* [Where do you get to be so pretty from? Where to you get to be so pretty from? Is it from the pure butter? Or is it from the large dough?]; the bride answers as if she has not heard their questions asked in public. She speaks of the husband she is going to marry, as if he is the actual cause of her beauty *min zōg iddállāˁ ma-yˁudni bi-ṭṭabīná*[22] [Or perhaps will it be the spoiling husband?] The third songs ends with the groom's appeal, in which he gives sexual intimations referring to the semantic meaning of 'lending', which at this point are acceptable as he is going to marry the bride *ṣubayya síllifīni w-ʾana ḥibb ilmsíllif* [Oh girl, please lend me as I love this money-lender!]. He also hints to his future bride about his excellent financial situation *bēti mṭarráf ˁala bēti taranga w rummāna tˁinnif* [my house is wide{=big} And…I have near my house a citron tree and a pomegranate, both loaded with fruits?].[23]

The fourth type of songs has a characteristic quick rhythm, accompanied by *raqṣa*-dancing[24] and drum beating. This is the time of the procession *(síyyar)*. A wide range of improvisations tell of God versus Satan, each respectively seeking to draw/lure the bride onto the right/wrong path. The bride is admonished to go in the good path of God and the Holy (Jewish) Bible, to behave well *tigˁay*[25] *w kḥaylä* [you have to behave yourself] with the groom, and to eschew rumour-mongering, which is characteristic of women and demons.

My recordings covered a fifth type of wedding songs, titled *yegūl ʾAbū-Sālem* [Abu-Sālem says:]. This type refers to three men: Abu-Sālem, Abu-Sādya, and Abu-ïazāl. One of the first two is apparently the father of the groom [Abu-Sālem]; his companion is perhaps a rabbi [Abu-Sādya]. Abu-ïazāl is the name given to the father of the bride [literally = *father of the deer*] since this type of song has an image of the bride as a

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[22] See *Dictionary of Post-Classical Yemeni Arabic*. V.2 (Leiden, New York, København, Köln: E.J. Brill, 1991), p. 300: 'طبينه pl. طبائن = rival wife, a wife other than the first of dual or plural marriage'.

[23] Compare Y. RATZABY, *Mizimrat Temán: Yemenite Folksongs* (Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad Publishing House, 1981), p. 53: ' עץ פרי הדר בגני' [=there is a citrus tree in my garden].

[24] YAEL SHAY, *ibid.*, pp. 56-57.

[25] <√*w-q-ˁI : see HAMDI A. QAFISHEH, *NTC's Yemeni Arabic-English Dictionary* (Lincolnwood, Chicago: NTC Publishing Group, 1999), p. 632: 'to be'.

deer. It has a long neck, which is a symbol of beauty *w ʿunguha šíbreyn*[26] *w ʾarbaʿa banāyn -ʿala ďiba*[27] *zayyad b-gāma* [And her neck is in the length of twenty centimetres and two thumbs]. The groom swears that he will be faithful to his bride and will never love another woman *dowba ʿalayy ma-ḥib mifla ḥaḏa* [Atonement on me, I will never love anybody except her]. A description follows telling why the groom fell in love with his bride, and one reason is her hair, which is combed to perfection. This hints at the hair-braiding ceremony, which is of great importance for the Jews of Ḥabbān.

A very interesting description of the bride's outer appearance in this type of song symbolizes a woman's exemplary beauty. The picture starts with her beauty-spot (*šāma*) and her eyes (*ʿyūn*), then step by step descends to describe other bodily parts: her nose (*xušm*[28]), her lips (*míbṣima*[29]), her neck (*ʿúnug*[30]), her chest (*ṣadr*), and finally her belly (*buṭn*).

Nothing below this part is portrayed for reasons of modesty.[31] The descriptions in this song seem very archaic and bellicose in their type, akin to similes in pre-Islamic poetry for women. The bride does not leave the house of her future husband except on account of the exigencies of war. Even the description of the chest, namely the breasts, is markedly crude: the ideal is a huge breast, 'as wide as a square'. It reminds us of pre- and early Islamic poetry of men who fell in platonic love with women. But here the similes and depictions are blunt and too sensual for a description of a bride, who is going to be a wife of one man. Even the picture of the bride's belly is somewhat coarse, apt for a vision of an overweight woman whose plump belly is described as 'prime silver silk…for bonnets'.

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[26] See PETER BENSTEDT, *Glossar der Jemenitischen Dialektwörter in Eduard Glasers Tagebüchern*, p. 112: 'Spanne'.

[27] Compare JEFFREY DEBOO, *Jemenitisches Wörterbuch* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1989), p. 45: *ḏabi/ďuba, ďuban=gazelle*.

[28] SᵉĀDYA BEN YITSHAḲ MAʿṬŪF, *Milón ʿIvrí-ʿArví be-Dialékt Ḥabbāni* [=A Hebrew-Arabic dictionary in the dialect of *Ḥabbān*] (Baréḵet: The Author, 2007), p.8.

[29] Compare MOSHE PIAMENTA, *Dictionary of Post-Classical Yemeni Arabic*. V.1, p. 33: 'mouth'.

[30] >عنق

[31] Compare the poetry of Šanfarā for modesty criteria: ولقد أعجبني لا سقوطا قناعُها [=I liked that her veil never falls down]. AḤMAD MUḤAMMAD ʿABĪD, *Çiʿru Çanfarā lʾAzdiyyi* [=The poetry of Shanfarā from the tribe of *ʾAzd*] (Abu Dhabi: alMağmaʿu aṯ-Ṯaqafiyyu, 2000), p.1.

4. Conclusion

The Jews of *Ḥabbān* lived as a remote and isolated community in eastern Yemen – a geographical location that contributed to making its tradition unique. Thematically its wedding songs share a common basis with those of Jews in other parts of Yemen, and also of other Jewish communities, for example, in Iraq and Morocco. The *Ḥabbāni* Jews were renowned as bodyguards. The songs reflect the bride's feisty spirit: she does not leave her house for reasons of modesty – but if she breaks the rule it is only because of wars.

As mentioned earlier, the outward appearance of the *Ḥabbān* Jews made them exceptional among the Jews of Yemen. Their long hair and half-nakedness gave them an archaic look. This echoes the pre-Islamic ambience. Likewise the bride's physical description – from her upper bodily features such as her hair, then down to her belly. This same motif is found in the pre-Islamic poetry of an-Nābiġa. Common Jewish motifs are the references to Jacob and Leah and the portrayals of the groom and bride. However, what makes these songs unique is the account of the *Ḥabbān* landscape with its fortress, in reference to the various clans of this Jewish community.

The dialect of the songs is archaic in its vocabulary and it associates with the dialects of eastern Yemen and *Ḥaḍramawt*. This was the sole Jewish community in this remote corner of the world. The fact that most of the *Ḥabbān* Jews have lived in the same village since their arrival in Israel, their religiousness, and their high motivation to preserve their customs, undoubtedly help preserve their tradition and dialect, unlike dialects of Jews from other Arabic-speaking countries, which are threatened with extinction. However, the geographical distance from their original village in eastern Yemen delays dialectal obsolescence only temporarily. Most probably, also inevitable is the disappearance of the subtleties of culture that only in the vast deserts of *Ḥaḍramawt* could have been preserved for centuries as an oral tradition.

5. Appendix : The Wedding Songs Xidded

I. *'bahālīl'*

ʾillā (wi) ya-sma ḷḷā wa ḫāđur[32]	In the name of God, be careful
ʿalīš ya-bint elʿḫbūr[33]	on you, you too, oh daughter of rabbis
wa-min ʿyūn ilmanāḫîs	Beware of the eyes of the envious
we gʸaʿliš dūb mugʸbūr	So you will be all the time honourable
'ya-lēlt erraḥmān'	O, the night of the Merciful
ya-lēlt errḥmān	O the night of the Merciful
dxal seʿd isʿūd	The Sadalsuud-star entered
fi ha-lxʿēr mayyaḥ[34]	All the plants are swaying
we rriyāḥa tnūd	And the pleasant smells scattered
we-lmēzke yinfaḥ	And the perfumes spread
we lksā daxxan bʿūd	The [groom's] clothes[35] smell of resin

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II. ya-benti Ben-Meʿṭūf (x2)	O daughter of Maʿṭūf-Family
ya-ḥarf elḥrūf	O daughter of Maʿṭūf-Family
ya-meṣnaʿat Ḥabbān đī fīš il-wuṣūf	O ineffable fortress of Ḥabbān
fīš elganābi we ttarāki we-ṣṣyūf	In you there are halls, chandeliers and swords
ya-benti Ben Šámmax (x2)	O daughter of Shammakh-Family
ʾabūš ilmirbaʿi	Your father is a great man

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[32] Compare SʿĀDYA BEN YITSHAḲ MAʿṬŪF, *Milón ʿIvrí-ʿArví be-Dialékt Ḥabbāni*, p. 137.

[33] Compare MOSHE PIAMENTA, *Dictionary of Post-Classical Yemeni Arabic*. V.1, p. 81: 'ḥibr pl. -ān scholar, scholar of the law'.

[34] Compare MOSHE PIAMENTA, *Dictionary of Post-Classical Yemeni Arabic*. V.2 (Leiden, New York, København, Köln: E.J. Brill, 1991), p. 475: 'ميح II-I to pass by land; V to go and come'.

[35] On the groom's attire in Jewish communities in Yemen see ESTER MUCHAWSKY-SCHNAPPER, *Yehudéy Teymán* [=The Jews of Yemen] (Jerusalem: Israel Museum, 1999), pp. 94-95.

gídliš ṯalāṯa ʾayyām	Since the last three days
bigaʿdiš tinṣaʿi	He lets you shine
baḥúwwaʿiš bā-simm	He makes a ritual on your behalf
ʿasa la-tifzaʿi	Hopefully you will not be afraid of it

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ya-benti Ben-Gahlān (x2)	O daughter of Gahlān-Family
ya-bint elhaliyy	O a spoiled child!
la-ya-ʿasal ṣafiyy	O a pure honey!
min lgibḥ elgawiyy	From a fine hive
la-yäkarráʿ men galtš	O stored water of a water-reservoir!
III. we-ḏa-llayla saʿīda	O happy night!
w zād elwagt sāʿid	And the time became happier
we-ḏa-llayla ʿazamna	This night we are determined
nhizz ilgaʿed liswad	To revoke the depressive atmosphere

(yinʿašu[36])

lak ya-ġāli lg^Yadd	To you, O dear Grandfather
wa-ya-ḥayya-ḷḷa	Welcome all
min hazzit gubāli	To whom may dance in front of me

(tinʿaš)

baddít bi-lʿung líblag	She revealed with her white neck
w fīha ʾarbaʿa marāri	Which has four gems
wa-ya-ḥayya-ḷḷa	Oh, welcome all
lʿung ḏī šall lmarāri	The neck that took all the gems
ʾAḷḷá ya-laʿba	What a lovely bride is she!
gālet ʾummiš	Your mother prayed:
ṣāneš ʾAḷḷa	'May God keep you!
we tifḏiš ilġanam w ilbagar	And may he redeem you with sheep and cattle
we lḥāres ʾAḷḷa	And may he guard you!'

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[36] The dancer stands in front of the bride; she tries to make sure not to turn her back on the bride or the wedding guests. She turns her head and twists her braids before the bride and then another dancer stands up and dances in front of the bride, while the first dancer returns to her place. See more in YAEL SHAY, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

ʾAḷḷá ya-laʕba	What a lovely bride is she!
ya-šgūrr kulla ḥamāḥim	Oh fragrant basil full of sprouts!
w min šámmeš šgurr	Who smells you [knows that you are] a fragrant basil
ya-ṣabiyy síllim darāhim	Oh girl, full of silver coins!
ṣubayyä xabbrīni	Tell me, oh girl!
minnēn ʾinti ḥaṣīnä	Where do you get to be so pretty from?
min elsamn ilmṣaffa	Is it from the pure butter?
w kubr lʕagīnä	Or is it from the large dough?
minnēn ʾinti ḥaṣīnä	Where do you get to be so pretty from?
min elsamn ilmṣaffa	Is it from the pure butter?
w kubr lʕagīna	Or is it from the large dough?
min ezzōg lddállāʕ	Or perhaps will it be the spoiling husband?
ma-yʕudni bi-ṭṭabīná	That never threatens to take a second wife!
ṣubayya síllifīni	Oh girl, please lend me
w-ʾana ḥibb ilmsíllif	As I love this money-lender!
wa la-ma-taʕrifīni	Don't you know me? -
bēti mṭarráf	My house is wide,
ʕala bēti taranga w rummāna tʕinnif	And that I have near my house a citron tree and a pomegranate, both loaded with fruits?!

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IV. Zaffe: Síyyar	Marriage/Procession
ʕala séyri, ʕala séyri	On the procession, on the procession
ʕala ya-sāʕät errahmān (X2)	On the procession, on the procession
ʾAḷḷa yexzak ya-šáyṭān	May God humiliate you, O Satan!
ʾallā tedxuli l-ʾáwṭān	Please do not enter (O bride) his territories!
fī xēr ya-binti	There is goodness, O girl
waddaʕtēš erRaḥmān	May God accompany you,
binti bi-gᵞāh ʾAḷḷā	my daughter with the glory of God
w bi-gᵞāh essēfer[H]	and the glory of the Bible!
ḍi- fī min ʕehūd ʾAḷḷā	These are the promises of God

ʾAḷḷā baṣīš ya-bintiy	I recommend you this advice, O my daughter, in the name of God!
min tigʿay w khaylä	that you have to behave yourself
ʾAḷḷā baṣīš ya-bintiy	I recommend you this advice, O my daughter, in the name of God!
min megʿad enníswan	Stay away from women -gossip-sessions
ysayneš w-yilhayneš	That will waste your time and distract your mind
w yilgu fi-gulayybiš gʸann	Lest they will bring into your heart demons!

V. yegūl ʾAbū-Sālem	Abu-Sālem says
yegūl ʾAbū-Sālem	Abu-Sālem says:
w-ʾAbū-Sʿadiyä	And also Abu-Sʿādya
yegūl ʾAbū-Sālem	Abu-Sālem says
w-ʾAbū-Sʿadiyä	And also Abu-Sʿādya
w-Abu-ïazāl li-lʾōhagiyä	And also Abu-Ghazāl to those who fell in love:
dowba ʿalayy ma-ḥibb	Atonement on me, I will never love
miṯla ḥaḏa	Anybody except her
ma-ḥábbeta sámmet fuʾādi	The moment I fell in love with her - she poisoned my heart
gaṭṭaʿa lgínwada	She broke my shoulders
w-ittsargaḏat ʿindha šawāḏi	And warriors kneeled before her
w xaddaha múxđub[37] mīlan be-mīl	Her hair-tail is combed meticulously
mil eḏḏahab namnam w šāma (yādān[38])	Full with shining gold and she has a beauty-spot
w ʿyūnaha ya-nār tišʿal sʿeyl	And her eyes are blazing fire
min ḥírritha tiʿhar ṣmāma	Their heat causes chills.

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[37] Compare MOSHE PIAMENTA, *Dictionary of Post-Classical Yemeni Arabic*. V.1, p. 130: 'to stir up (a liquid); to mix'. See also PETER BEHNSTEDT, *Die nordjemenitischen Dialekte* (Teil 1: Atlas) (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert, 1985), p. 329: 'umrühren; beat up'.

[38] A word that appears in the songs and whose meaning is not certain but only rhetorical.

w xúšmaha ya-seyf yuṣgul ṣagīl	And her nose carved neatly
ma-xārgʸa ʾillā li-ḥirāba	She goes out only towards wars.
we míbṣima barig barag min naḥáyl	Her lips have a shine like hives
tgūl ḏa-barig thāma!	You could say - it is like a lightning of Tihāma![39]
w ʿunguha šíbreyn w ʾarbaʿa banāyn	And her neck is in the length of twenty centimetres and two thumbs
ʿala ʿíba zayyad b-gāma	Which is longer than the length of a deer's (neck)
w ṣádraha mīdän li-lmūlaʿîn	And her breast is as wide as a square for those who crave
w kam min wullāʿ garred ḥuṣāna!	How many cravers dragged her horses!
w búṭnaha ṣūṣi ṣawānef ḥarīr	And her belly is like prime silver silk
ma-xargyaʿaha ʾilla li-lʿimāma!	which is used only for Bonnets!

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[39] Compare MOSHE PIAMENTA, *Dictionary of Post-Classical Yemeni Arabic*. V.1, p. 54 'low plain'.

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Collective Nouns in Journalistic Modern Standard Arabic

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1. Definition of the Term, *Collective Noun*

1.1 Collective nouns in Western descriptions

According to Lyons, «Collective nouns may be defined semantically as lexemes which denote collections or groups of persons and objects.»[1] The following examples are considered to be collective nouns in English: *army*, *audience*, *committee*, *family*, *staff*, *team*, *flock* and *bunch*. In the category of collective nouns there are also proper nouns naming official bodies or organizations, e.g., the UN, Congress, Parliament and the BBC.[2] Collective nouns can cover a range of meanings and can thus be divided into three classes:

a. <u>Groups</u>, e.g., team, family, staff. These nouns are the most general words, allowing for the widest range of associations.

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[1] J. LYONS, *Semantics*, Cambridge, 1987, p. 315.

[2] D. BIBER AND C. LEECH, *Longman Student Grammar of Spoken and Written English*, Harlow, Essex, 2002, p. 61.

Moreover, they can accept the plural marker *-s*, and can therefore be called *collective count nouns.*[3] Biber and Leech suggest calling this group *of-collectives* because they are generally followed by an *of* + plural noun, where the plural indicates the individuals.[4] Thus, for example, the collective noun, *group,* has a general meaning, while an utterance such as *a group of adults*, *girls*, *animals*, *buildings*, *things* has a more specific application.

b. <u>Classes</u>, e.g., aristocracy, clergy, proletariat. As opposed to the first group, the collective nouns belonging to this category are rarely pluralized or followed by the *of* + plural noun structure. This group consists of generic collectives because they always refer to all the members of a class and never to the individuals comprising this group.

c. <u>Collections</u>, e.g., forest, herd, library. The collective nouns classified in this group designate the non-human.[5]

Some additional differences between the collective nouns presented above should be mentioned. Some of the collective nouns can accept the plural marker *–s* and therefore can be labeled as individual collective nouns or collective count nouns, as in *family* and *families*, *buffalo* and *buffaloes*. On the other hand, collective nouns such as *deer*, *cattle*, *clergy* and *police* cannot be used in English as count nouns, i.e. the plural *-s* marker cannot be a suffix to these nouns. Furthermore, it is not always possible to add a quantifier before the collective noun, as, for example, one might say *four buffalo* and *some buffalo* while *some government* and *some aristocracy* are grammatically incorrect. Collective nouns are also differentiated by their singular form. Some of them have a form-match individual noun, e.g. *buffalo* is also the singular form of the collective noun *buffalo*. In contrast, the collective noun *army* has a semantically-related individual noun, which would be *soldier*.[6]

Scholars usually distinguish between collective nouns indicating human and collective nouns indicating non-human. One reason for this distinction arises from the fact that inanimate nouns can be also characterized by the lack of volition, i.e., they cannot express any wish, desire or will and sometimes they lack mobility, i.e., the possibility of moving.[7]

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[3] I. Depraetere, «On Verbal Concord with Collective Nouns in British English», *English Language and Linguistics* 7.1(2003), p. 88-89.

[4] Biber and Leech, p. 61.

[5] Depraetere, p. 182.

[6] K. Bock and K.M. Eberhard, «Meaning, Sound and Syntax in English Number Agreement», *Language and Cognitive Processes* 8.1 (1993), p. 81.

[7] Depraetere, p. 182.

The following exemplifies the difference between human and non-human collective nouns:

Example	+/– volition or mobility
The family has decided to go on vacation to London.	+volition. The family has the will and the ability to go on vacation.
The army withdrew from this area.	+mobility The army has the ability to move.
The forest was burned.	–mobility The forest cannot escape, i.e., the ability to move.
The library was painted.	–volition The library cannot express the will to be painted.

The collective noun is usually classified as or considered to be a plural form.[8] However, plurality is a complex phenomenon due to the morphological variations of this form. Thus, we may distinguish between two primary types: the first is a marked plural, i.e. the plurals are formed by adding a certain suffix or prefix, and the second is regarded as an unmarked plural. In this case, there are no morphological signs indicating that the noun is singular or plural, and therefore at the referent level one might accept or reject the notion of plurality and thus the unmarked form can be ambiguous.[9]

In English, for example, the collective nouns fall into several different grammatical classes. Thus, the collective noun *cattle* can be treated as plural, while *furniture* is treated as a singular noun. Some ambiguity might be found, however, regarding the number of the collective noun. The collective noun *family,* for example, can be considered as a singular noun, as in *the family has decided*. A sentence in which *family* is considered as a plural noun is also acceptable, e.g., *the family have decided*. The grammatical ambivalence of many collectives with respect to the distinction of singular or plural can be explained by the fact that a collective can be regarded as a single entity on one hand and, on the other, can be regarded as plural, or, more accurately, the individuals are being considered.[10] The reference to

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[8] D.A. CRUSE, «Number and Number System», in *The Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*, vol. 5, Oxford and New York, 1994, p. 2857-2861.

[9] A. ROZUMKO, «Countable, Uncountable and Collective Nouns in the Early Eighteenth Century English», *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 32 (2002), 132. Cf. BOCK AND EBERHARD, p. 61.

[10] LYONS, p. 315.

the collective noun as singular or plural can be discovered only when different syntactic elements agree with it.

In the following examples, there are different agreement types with the same noun:

The Government <u>have</u> decreed that we will have to rebid for our betting license.
The Government <u>has</u> decreed that we will have to rebid for our betting license.

In the first example, the collective noun *Government* is treated as plural. Nearly all human collective nouns occasionally occur with plural agreement in British English. In the second example, the agreement is in the singular, which is the norm in American English.[11] These two examples indicate two types of agreement with collective nouns. When the syntactic element matches the noun in number, it may be called grammatical agreement. In the sentence *The Government <u>has</u> decreed*, the verb in the singular agrees with a noun that is grammatically singular.

The second type, the notional agreement, exists when the elements agree with the subject according to the notion of number rather than with the nouns' grammatical marker. Thus, in the sentence *The Government <u>have</u> decreed,* the noun is considered as collection of individuals and not as a single undivided body.[12]

Distinction between *grammatical agreement* and *notional agreement* is not always the acceptable or the rational explanation for agreement types especially when a sentence such as *The family <u>has</u> decided to travel to New York so <u>they</u> looked in the Internet for cheap tickets.* The family is first referred to as singular and then as plural. The shift from the singular to the plural agreement is not random. Singular forms are far more likely to be followed by the plural than vice versa. Moreover, the distance between a node word and concord mark may affect the agreement by increasing the likelihood of an agreement in the plural. Another factor that causes the mixed agreement is semantic memory rather than syntactic-lexical memory. It has been shown that the meaning of a sentence is more easily re-

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[11]   BIBER AND LEECH, p. 235

[12]   R. QUIRK, S. GREENBAUM, G. LEECH AND J. SVARTVIK, *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*, London and New York, 1986, p. 757-758. Cf. M. LEVIN, «Concord With Collective Nouns Revisited», *ICAME Journal*, 23(1999), p. 21. K.R. HUMPHREYS AND K. BOCK, «Notional Number Agreement in English», *Psychonomic Bulletin & Review* 12.4(2004), p. 689, explain the difference between notional number and grammatical number as follows: «Notional number is the numerosity of the subject's referent in the speaker's mental model, and grammatical number is the conventional linguistic number of the subject (head) noun.»

membered than the form, both in long-term memory and in short-term memory.[13]

Referring back to the examples, *the family has decided* vs. *the family have decided*, the usage of the verb in the singular or in the plural is possible because the verb might refer to the family as a group or to the various members of the family. However, when an adjective is involved, it cannot always refer to the members. A collective noun is highly variable if the adjective that modifies it cannot refer to the characteristics of the individuals in the group, as, for example, in the utterance *a big family* does not mean that each member in the family is big (if, for example, there are babies) whereas in the example *a beautiful family* the adjective refers to all the members making a beautiful unit.[14]

1.2 Collective Nouns in Arabic

1.2.1 Collective nouns in the traditional Arabic thought

We commence our review of this linguistic phenomenon in Arabic by referring to Sībawayhi's definition of the term, collective noun:

> *mā kāna wāḥidan yaqaʿu li-l-ǧamīʿi wa-yakūnu wāḥiduhu ʿalā bināʾihi min lafẓihi, ʾillā ʾannahu muʾannaṭun talḥaquhu hāʾu t-taʾnīṭi li-yatabayyana l-wāḥidu mina l-ǧamīʿi*

> «The collective noun is morphologically singular but indicates plural (or a group). Its singular has the same morphological form of the collective noun, except for the fact that the singular form is feminine, due to the addition of a feminine singular suffix, and thus the singular is distinguished from the group.»

Sībawayhi presents numerous examples of these types of collective nouns which are called *ʾasmāʾ al-ǧins*, dividing them according to their morphological pattern, e.g., the pattern *faʿl* as in *tamr* «dates», *tamra* «one date», whereas *tamarāt* indicates the plural of paucity, nouns of the pattern *faʿul*, e.g. *samur* «acacia» (also known as thorntree) and *samura* «one acacia» and nouns of the pattern *fuʿl*, e.g. *burr* «wheat», *burra* «one straw», «one stalk of wheat» and *burrāt* «a small number of straws».[15]

The collective nouns of this group have the so-called form-match individual noun, i.e., *nomen unitatis*. There is an additio-

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[13] LEVIN, «Concord with Collective Nouns», p. 29.

[14] DEPRAETERE, p. 88. Cf. F. JOOSTEN, «De Boorbaarheid van Nederlandse Collectiva», *Over Taal* 40 (2001), p. 77-79.

[15] SĪBAWAYHI, *al-Kitāb*, Beirut, 1999, vol. 3, p. 583-585.

nal group of nouns called *'asmā' al-ǧam'* or *'ašbāh al-ǧam'*,[16] which, like the former, indicates the group or the members of the group, but possesses no *nomen unitatis*, and thus these words are described by traditional Arab grammarians as *al-ism llaḏī yaqa'u 'alā l-ǧamī'i lam yukassar 'alayhi wāḥiduhu* «nouns which indicate plural, and a singular form cannot be derived from this noun [by adding a feminine suffix to the noun].» Examples of such nouns are *qawm* «tribe» or *rakb* «traveling party», which indicates the group, but cannot be considered to be broken plurals, i.e., *rakb* is not the plural of *rākib* «rider»[17]. This type of collective noun has a semantically-related individual[18], i.e., the singular of *qawm* would be *raǧul* «a man».

According to Mubarrd, nouns of this group can be counted when a qualifier precedes them, as for example *ṯalāṯun mina l-'ibili* «three camels».[19]

Ibn Ya'īš mentions also nouns with feminine marks indicating both plural and singular. This group includes different kinds of plants, as in *ṭarfā'* «tamarisk» (many trees of this kind or one tree) and *ḥalfā'* «esparto» (many sorts of grass or one sort).[20] Ibn Ya'īš is one of a few grammarians who discusses albeit briefly the issue of agreement. He mentions examples in which the noun can be followed by an adjective in the singular, as, for example, *'a'ǧāz naḫl mun'aqir* «uprooted stems of date-palms» or a nominal predicate in the plural, as in *al-naḫl bāsiqāt* «the date-palms are tall».[21]

1.2.2 The term, collective nouns, in Western descriptions of modern standard Arabic

Since this paper concerns modern standard Arabic it is worth mentioning that the development of the language may be roughly divided into four varieties. Old Arabic or classical Arabic: this blanket term refers to the Arabic from the period of pre-Islamic Arabia. Both the pre-Islamic poetry and the Qur'ān have a primary role in the standardization process of Arabic

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[16] These terms are mentioned by Fischer (1940, p. 12-13) based on Wright (1971, part II p. 180-181, 234). The same classification is presented by Blachère (1958, p. 31-32), Fleisch (1961, p. 310), Brockelmann (1965, p. 93-94), Fleischer (1968, vol. 1, p. 256-257) and Fischer (2002, p. 49-50).

[17] IBN YA'ĪŠ, *Šarḥ al-mufaṣṣal*, Beirut 1994, vol. 1, p. 29

[18] BOCK AND EBERHARD, p. 81.

[19] AL-MUBARRAD, *al-Muqtaḍab*, Beirut, 1994, Vol. 2, p. 186.

[20] IBN YA'ĪŠ, vol. 1, p. 29.

[21] IBID., vol. 1, p. 71.

These two examples are mentioned by Fleischer (1968, vol. 1, p. 257); however, he provides no explanation for the agreement types.

language, and making it the accepted language in various fields such as trade, education, media and governance.

The term Neo-Arabic signifies a variety of the spoken Arabic which was already in existence in the initial stages of the Islamic conquest and developed into the modern dialects. There are various theories explaining the emergence of New Arabic. According to one opinion the shift from Classical Arabic to New Arabic took place as early as the pre-Islamic period in the colloquial language of the Arab tribes.[22] Middle Arabic refers to the language written mostly by non-Muslims and characterized by deviations from the classical rules of Arabic.[23] Modern Standard Arabic has emerged due to the influence of new Western knowledge in various fields such as science and philosophy, the invention of the printing press and the rise of the media, which led to the introduction of lexical and grammatical changes in Arabic language.[24]

As for the term, *collective nouns,* in the research literature of modern Arabic, it is usually discussed indirectly as an item of the grammatical categories, number and gender. Holes, for example, explains the collective nouns as follows when discussing number in modern written Arabic:

> «There exists a separate category of collective nouns which is used, in roots where it exists, to refer to uncountable nouns or to plural entities (usually humans, animals and other classes of living things such as fruit, vegetables, trees, etc.) as an undifferentiated group. For example *naxl* is a collective used when reference is made to palm trees in general, whereas *naxi:l* means, '(particular) palm-trees'. From the collective is derived the instance noun by the suffixation of the feminine endings -*a*, e.g. *naxla* 'a (single) palm-tree'.»[25]

Only a few Western grammarians refer exhaustively to the category of collective nouns in modern written Arabic. One source worth mentioning is Fischer et al. (2001). Their contribution to the issue of collective nouns lies in the fact that they tries to present some new collective nouns illustrated by examples from modern literature, and not only the classical examples. After a short definition of the term, *collective noun*, which is not much different from that presented by Holes, Fischer et al. continue by presenting the different groups of the collective nouns. Their division is based on that of the traditio-

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[22] Ibid., p. 102.

[23] Ibid., p. 115.

[24] Ibid., p. 183.

[25] C. Holes, *Modern Arabic: Structures, Functions, and Varieties*, London, 1995, p. 133.

nal grammarians, i.e., human vs. non-human, with or without *nomen unitatis*.

Fischer et al. begin with collective nouns that have a singular form. In the first group they mention collective nouns denoting animals, plants and material. Then after speaking about the familiar collective nouns such as *šaǧar* «trees» and *šaǧara* «a (single) tree», they mention a new noun – *sandwīš* «sandwich» and *sandwīša* «one sandwich». The agreement with these nouns is in the singular, i.e., in accordance with the morphological form of the collective noun, as, for example, in: *l-lu'lu'u ṣ-ṣināʿiyyu l-yābāniyyu* «the industrial Japanese pearls». In the second group he classifies collective nouns − human and non-human; their singular is an active participle, e.g., *ṭayr* «bird» (generic noun) and *ṭā'ir* «one bird», *ḥaras* «guard» and *ḥāris* «watchman», *ṭalaba* «students» (as a group) and *ṭālib* «one student».

The agreement with the collective nouns designating the non-human is usually in the singular, while the agreement in the plural is seen with collective nouns designating the human, as in: *man lā yaʿrifu ṭ-ṭayra yašwīhi* «(he) who does not know the bird, roasts it» or *yulāḫiẓu l-maliku 'anna ḫadama l-qaṣri qad tarakū 'aʿmālahum* «the king noticed that the servants had abandoned their duties».[26] Fischer et al. continue to discuss collective nouns that designate a collection of people, animals or things, as, for example, *ǧīl* «generation», *šurṭa* «police» and *ǧamāʿa* «group», «band», «troop», «gang». Most of these nouns do not have a singular form. In the case of nouns designating the human, the singular form is achieved by suffixing *yā' n-nisba* «the termination ـِيّ». It is added to the word to denote that a person or a thing belongs to or is connected to a specific origin, family, sect etc., e.g., *šurṭiyy* «policeman«. Some additional examples of this type of collective noun are: *ǧumhūr* «public», *šaʿb* «folk», «people» and *farīq* «team», «band», «troop». The agreement with such nouns, according to Fischer et al., is in the singular feminine in accordance with their morphological marks, as in: (…) *fa-'iḏā ǧamāʿatun mina n-nāsi waqafat 'amāma bābin muġlaqin* «and there (suddenly) a group of people stand in front of a closed door.» Agreement in the plural can also be found in the example *wa-lā ṣaḥḥata li-t-tasrībāti l-qā'ilati 'inna ǧamāʿata ṭ-ṭālibāni mustaʿiddūna li-taslīmihi 'ilā l-'amīrikiyyīna* «there is no truth in the reports saying that the organization of the Taliban is willing to hand it over to the Americans».[27]

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[26] W. FISCHER, H. EL-AYOUBI AND M. LANGER, *Syntax der arabischen Schriftsprache der Gegenwart*, Wiesbaden, 2001, p. 90-97.

[27] FISCHER ET AL., p. 91-93.

To the collective nouns also belong names of geographical areas, as for example, *fa-'inna min 'abrazi ṯimāri ziyāratihi li-'ūrūbbā 'iqrāruhum mu'aḫḫaran bi-ḥuqūqi l-'insāni fī l-yamani* «and from the outstanding results of his visit to Europe came their last decision on human rights in Yemen.» In this example, Europe is considered as plural. Names of peoples, countries and ethnic groups also belong to the collective nouns, as, for example: *šī'a* «the Shiah», *sunna* «the Sunna», *qibṭ* «Copts» and *'almān* «Germans». The agreement with these nouns might be in the singular or in the plural, as in *fa-'inna šī'ata l-'irāqi yarawna 'annahum l-mutaḍarraru l-'akbaru* «the shi'a of Iraq see (understand) that they are the most damaged».[28]

To conclude this part, it might be argued that the issue of collective nouns in classical Arabic receives attention in grammar books although it is rarely discussed in modern Arabic research literature. The category of collective nouns is usually mentioned when discussing the question of number in Arabic, presenting several examples, most of which are familiar from classical Arabic. An exception to most scholars are Fischer et al. (2001), who present a list of the collective nouns used in modern written Arabic and provide some observations about the type of agreement. However, their list includes only six nouns used in Arabic language newspapers and those are: *ǧīl*, *šurṭa*, *ǧamā'a*, *farīq*, *ša'b* and *šī'ā*. In the following section we would like to present a more detailed list containing fifty-eight collective nouns used in Arabic newspapers. Although it is an incomplete list, it presents the lexical and syntactic features of this category.

The material for this study comes from five journals in their electronic versions:
1. *al-ḥayā* (al-Hayat) from 2013
2. *aš-šarq al-'awsaṭ* from 2001-2015
3. *al-'ahrām* from1999-2015
4. *an-nahār* from 2013
5. *al-'ayyām* from 2013
6. *bānūrāmā* (see Panet) from 2007-2015

In total, 3,324 items i.e., newspaper articles containing collective nouns, were collected and examined. It should, however, be mentioned in this context that not every collective noun has syntactic elements agreeing with the collective noun. Thus, for example, of the 163 items, including the collective noun *baqar*, no agreement patterns with this noun were found. Furthermore, it was decided to limit the number of the examined nouns to one hundred; however, in some cases fewer than one hundred items were found.

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[28] IBID., p. 94-95.

2. The Data

Collecting the collective nouns in Arabic involved two obstacles: first, they are morphologically unmarked; and second, there is no dictionary or any other work devoted to collective nouns. As has already been mentioned, the researchers typically used examples from classical Arabic. The researchers of course, are not wrong, because even the following list includes nouns that are found in the Qur'ān, such as: *qawm*, *fi'a*, *nafar*, *'ahl*, *'ibl/'ibil*, *naḥl* and *lu'lu'*.

Expanding this list is possible due to several works on collective nouns in English, such as those by Sparkes (1975), Levin (2006) and Depraetere (2003). Most of the nouns presented in these works have parallels in Arabic newspapers. But before presenting the examined list, it should be explained why collective nouns are often used in journalistic language. Charles and Many explain the role of collectives in journals as follows:

> «This bias of language becomes most apparent when journalists use such collective formations as «the Supreme Court said today,» or «the state legislature has decided to...» we refer to such formations in this article as language collectives. We view language collectives as concepts which exist mainly in their encryption as language terms and not as symbols of truly tangible entities (…) when journalists attribute to language collectives they attempt to walk on semantic water. Terms such as «The Supreme Court» and «The International Society for General Semantics» refer to entities that do not exist in the same way as a pumpkin or you. Language enters here to work its magic. As such terms enter the language, they begin to gain the same status as other terms similarly used that refer to more tangible, unitary entities. Along the way they also pick up other qualities and attributes that generalize from the contexts in which they usually appear. Language collectives result when such rolling snowball terms reach the bottom of the cultural hill and find their way into print.»[29]

Using collective nouns in journalistic language may cause two problems. First, when a journalist reports, for example, on a decision of the Supreme Court or of the Congress, s/he might present these bodies as omnipotent, immutable, immortal or monolithic. In other words, they are presented as powerful and undefeated bodies. Secondly, there is a logical mismatch between the lexeme and its meaning. Thus, by saying that *the university plans to*, for example, or *the school intends to*, one might wonder how inanimate buildings can take any action. In

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[29] R. CHARLES AND P. MANY, «How Language Collectives Comprise Journalistic Accuracy», *ETC: A Review of General Semantics* 51.1(1994), p. 88.

these cases, it is clear that the reference is to the people who work in these buildings. Collective nouns such as *Congress*, *the Supreme Court*, *the CIA*, and *the White House* are considered as a type of metaphorical shorthand. They are used for quickly conveying complex information, or when the source should be kept anonymous.[30] Secondly, collective nouns such as *the city council* are presented as powerful bodies, entities that might create a reaction in which the simple man believes he cannot oppose; the same reaction goes for the individual members of the council, and the decisions of the body. Furthermore, such nouns can be vague and inaccurate. Thus, for example, when a journalist refers to a specific minority as a group, it might happen that not all members of this minority act, think and view things alike.[31]

The journalistic use of collective nouns in the USA does not differ from its use in the Arabic journals. Thus the following list includes *inter alia* metaphorical shorthand, i.e., instead of referring to the people who compose the institutions or other bodies, they are replaced by an inanimate noun such as *madrasa* «school».

Table A: Collective Nouns Designating the Human

Noun	Translation	Agreement in singular	Agreement in plural
1. *ğayš*	army	+	-
2. *'i'tilāf*	coalition	+	-
3. *ğabha*	political frontline	+	-
4. *ḥukūma*	government	+	-
5. *šurṭa*	police	+	-
6. *munaẓẓama*	organization	+	-
7. *mu'āraḍa*	opposition	+	-
8. *muqāwama*	opposition, resistance	+	-
9. *qiyāda*	leadership	+	-
10. *ša'b*	folk, people	+	-
11. *ğamā'a*	group, gang	+	-
12. *mağmū'a*	group	+	+
13. *ṭā'ifa*	sect, class, reli-	+	-

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30 IBID., p. 88.

31 IBID., p. 90.

	gious minority		
14. *farīq*	gang, group	+	+
15. *'ittiḥād*	union	+	-
16. *šī'a*	the Shiah	+	-
17. *qawm*	people	-	+
18. *maǧlis*	board, council	+	-
19. *qabīla*	tribe	+	-
20. *ḥaraka*	political movement	+	-
21. *qāfila*	convoy	+	-
22. *ṭāqim*	team, crew	+	+
23. *firqa*	band, group company, party	+	-
24. *'idāra*	management	+	-
25. *kūnġris*	congress	+	-
26. *al-yūniskū*	UNESCO	+	-
27. *hay'a*	institution	+	-
28. *ba'ṯa*	delegation	+	-
29. *maḥkama*	court	+	-
30. *madrasa*	school	+	-
31. *ǧam'iyya*	association, club	+	-
32. *nādin, muntadā*	club	+	-
33. *barlamān*	Parliament	+	-
34. *ǧumhūr*	public	+	+
35. *kutla*	faction, bloc	+	-
36. *ḥizb*	political party	+	-
37. *sulṭa*	government, authority	+	-
38. *fi'a*	group, class	+	+
39. *aṣ-ṣalīb l-'aḥmar*	The Red Cross	+	-
40. *ǧīl*	generation	+	-

41. *baladiyya*	City Hall	+	-
42. *nafar*	group of people	+	-
43. *ʻašīra*	tribe	+	-
44. *maʻšar*	assemblage, group	-	+
45. *wizāra*	ministry	+	-
46. *fawǧ*	graduates	+	-
47. *liwāʼ*	district	+	-
48. *ʼahl*	family	-	+
49. *ḫaliyya*	cell	+	-
50. *lubnān* (and other countries)	Lebanon	+	-
Total 3272		2802 (sg.)	470 (pl.)

Table B: Collective Nouns Designating Non-human

Noun	Translation	Agreement in the singular	Agreement in the plural
1. *luʼluʼ*	pearls	+	-
2. *samak*	fishes	+	-
3. *šaǧar*	trees	+	-
4. *tuffāḥ*	apples	+	-
5. *naḥl*	bees	+	-
6. *ʼibl*	camels	+	-
7. *daǧāǧ*	chickens	+	-
8. *bīḍ*	eggs	+	-
Total		52	0

3. Classification of the Collective Noun

Since 48 collective nouns out of 50[32] designating humans do not have a singular form achieved by adding the feminine suffix, or as Bock and Eberhard[33] define them as collective

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[32] Both nouns *lubnān* «Lebanon» and *šurṭa* «police» can be individualized by adding the termination *yāʼ n-nisba* to the noun, e.g., *lubnāniyy* «Lebanese» and *šurṭiyy* «policeman».

[33] BOCK AND EBERHARD, p. 81.

nouns which have semantic-related individual nouns (as oppo-
sed to collective nouns which have a form-match individual
noun) and, in addition, they all are collective count nouns, the
classical division of the collective nouns based upon whether or
not the nouns have a *nomen unitatis* is no longer valid in jour-
nalistic Arabic. The research literature offers different methods
of classification and, based on these methods, a different classi-
fication of collective nouns in modern written Arabic is propo-
sed.

Aremo distinguishes between two groups of collectives: in
the first group belong the singular collective nouns such as
Congress, *council*, *government*, *parliament*, and *senate*; the
second group includes collective nouns such as *club* and *public,*
which in the singular denotes a group of entities and in the plu-
ral more than one group of such entities. These nouns are sin-
gular in form but plural in meaning — a fact that can explain
the agreement with these nouns both in the singular or the plu-
ral.[34]

The singular collective nouns can be used as a subject or ob-
ject but when they are used as a subject they usually have
agreement in the plural, as in, for example: *Congress think that
the case should be re-examined*.[35] The singular collective
nouns may be determined or undetermined, and this is also
what differentiates such nouns from other collective nouns,
such as *audience*, *class*, *club*, *crowd*, *family*, *party*, *public* and
team. Singular collective nouns such as *Parliament* no longer
have any need for the identity-specifying determiner (*the*), be-
cause there is only one parliament in the context in which it is
being used. In other words, these nouns have the same value as
a proper name, i.e., they have a specific and unambiguous refe-
rence.

Thus, one could say *Parliament decided* but not *club de-
cided*, only *the club decided*. Furthermore, all singular collec-
tive nouns, unlike other collective nouns, have something to do
with a body of persons elected or selected whose task is to di-
rect a larger body, for example *city – the city council*.[36]

Joosten et al. distinguish between the types of collective
nouns according to the two conceptual individuation levels of
the collective nouns: The collection level i.e., the collective
noun is conceptualized as one (group), and the member level
i.e., the collective noun is conceptualized as more than one
member or it is viewed in terms of the individual members ma-

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[34] B. AREMO, «On Some Uses of Singular Collective Nouns», *English Today* 1 (2005), p. 61.

[35] IBID., p. 69.

[36] IBID., p. 72.

king up the collection. Not all collective nouns profile the members of the collection to the same extent; thus in the example *an old club*, the adjective applies to the collective aspect, while in *an old audience*, it indicates a characteristic of the members.[37] After considering this idea, Joosten et al. divide the Dutch collective nouns into three groups:

1. The first group includes collective nouns such as *vereniging* «association», *maatschappij* «company», *firma* «firm», *bond* «union», *club* «club», *partij* «party», *organisatie* «organization», *koor* «choir», *leger* «army», *regering* «government», *orkest* «orchestra» and *orde* «order». The first type of collective noun consists of those nouns that generally trigger collection-level interpretations.

2. The second group includes collective nouns such as *team* «team», *bende* «gang», *familie* «family», *ploeg* «team», *staf* «staff», *redactie* «editorial staff», *klas* «class», *jury* «jury», *panel* «panel» and *delegatie* «delegation». The second type of collective noun seems to occupy a middle position, in the sense that both collection and member-level interpretations are very common.

3. The third group includes collective nouns such as *duo* «duo», «pair», *echtpaar* «married couple», *kliek* «clique», *gezin* «family», «household», *publiek* «public», *bemanning* «crew», *tweeling* «twins» and *trio* «trio, threesome». These nouns generally trigger member-level interpretations.[38]

Based on the data presented in the chart, a classification of the Arabic collective nouns based on the agreement patterns might be considered.

A. There are collective nouns with agreement only in the singular as, for example, *ḥukūma*, *munaẓẓama*, *qiyāda*, *maǧlis*, *kūnġris*, *al-yūniskū, barlamān, aṣ-ṣalīb l-'aḥmar* and *wizāra*. Such nouns are conceptualized as one group and called *metaphorical shorthand* by Charles and Many (1994). It is possible to classify here also all the nouns that have agreement only in the singular, such as: *mu'āraḍa, muqāwama, ša'b* and *ṭa'ifa*. The syntactic elements connected to these nouns can refer only to the collective, thus an adjective such as *blond, thin, high, wise* that characterizes only individuals cannot be attached to these nouns. In the research literature these collective nouns are called *wholistic collectives*, i.e., nouns with a single group sense or *nouns with collection interpretation*.

[37] F. Joosten, G. De Sutter G., D. Drieghe, S. Grondelaers, R.J. Hartsuiker and D. Speelman, «Dutch Collective Nouns and Conceptual Profiling», *Linguistics* 45.1(2007), p. 86.

[38] Ibid., p. 92-93.

B. There are collective nouns such as: *farīq* and *ṭāqim* which, according to Joosten et al. (2007), take the middle position. This means that these nouns can have an agreement in the singular or in the plural, i.e., the syntactic elements that agree with the noun might refer to the collection or to the individuals of the group. However, as will be explained in Section 4, agreement in the plural with these nouns can be considered only when they are complex noun phrases, i.e., collective head nouns are embedded by a *local noun* in the plural. Biber and Leech (2002) therefore call this type of collectives as *of-collectives*, namely an utterance structured by *of + noun in the plural* is introduced after the collective noun.[39]

C. We found only four collective nouns which have an agreement only in the plural and these are: *šīʿa*, *qawm*, *maʿšar* (followed by a *local noun* in the plural) and *ʾahl* (followed by the name of a city as for example *ʾahl n-nāṣira* «the people/citizens of Nazareth». Such nouns are called *distributive collectives* or *nouns with individual interpretation*, i.e., the references are to the multiple objects.

D. Collective nouns designate the non-human have usually the singular agreement type.

4. Agreement Patterns of the Collective Nouns

As previously mentioned, Holes and Fischer et al. explain that the agreement in the singular is in accordance with the morphological form of the collective noun, while agreement in the plural indicates reference to the individuals. Furthermore, the statistical data indicate that the most common agreement type in Arabic newspapers is an agreement in the singular. Examples of this type of agreement are:

(1) *qāla <u>l-ǧayšu</u> n-nīǧīriyyu ʾinnahu qatala 150 mutamarridin*

«The Nigerian army said that it had killed 150 rebels.» (*al-Hayat* 18th September, 2013)

The collective nouns *ǧayš* «army» is regarded as a singular noun, therefore agreement   in the plural with this noun might be considered a mismatch between the morphological form of the noun and its agreement. The mismatch may make it difficult for the reader to understand the sentence. This claim draws support from an experiment conducted on the collective nouns in Dutch. One of the results was that collective nouns of low member level accessibility such as *club*, *firma* and *organization*, which are combined with a plural possessive pronoun, require more cognitive effort than sentences in which those collective nouns are combined with a singular pronoun. The

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[39] BIBER AND LEECH, p. 61.

resulting average reading times for plural agreement are slightly slower than for singular ones.[40]

Additional examples for agreement in the singular are:

(2) *wa-'aṯbata š-ša'bu l-kurdiyyu 'annahu ša'bun yataṭalla' 'ilā s-salāmi* (*aš-šarq al-'awsaṭ* 4th October, 2013)

«The Kurdish people have proved that they long for peace.»

(3) *fī mawsimi l-ḥaǧǧi mina l-'āmi l-muqbili taḫruǧu qāfila-tun mina s-siniǧāli qāṣidatan l-'arāḍīya l-ḥiǧāziyyata l-muqaddasata li-tadḫula l-qāhirata* (*al-'ahrām* 5th October, 2013)

«During the Hajj next year, a convoy from Senegal will leave facing the holy territory of Hijaz in order to enter Cairo.»

(4) *wa-'a'rabati l-yūniskū 'an qalqihā mina istimrāri l-ḥafriyyāti* (*al-'ayyām* 5th October, 2013)

«UNESCO has expressed its concern over the continued excavations.»

(5) *'anhā ttiḥādu ṣinā'ati l-ḥaǧari wa-r-ruḫāmi 'amsi mušārakatahu fī ma'raḍi fīrūnā d-dawliyyi fī 'īṭāliyā* (*al-'ayyām* 30th September, 2013)

«The Association of Stone and Marble Industries completed its visit to the display in Verona in Italy.»

(6) *'afāda maṣdarun rasmiyyun 'anna maǧlisa l-'amni t-tābi'a li-l-'umami l-muttaḥidati ṣawwata 'amsi 'alā qarārin bi-ša'ni tadmīri l-'asliḥati l-kīmāwiyyati s-sūriyyati* (*al-'ayyām* 28th September, 2013)

«An official source said that the Security Council which belongs to the United Nations voted last night to a decision regarding the destruction of chemical weapons in Syria.»

(7) *'adānat miṣru 'amsi l-haǧamāti l-'irhābiyyata llatī šan-nathā ǧamā'atu būkū ḥarām l-'irhābiyyatu* (*al-'ahrām* 8th February, 2015)

«Egypt condemned the terrorist attacks that were carried out by the terrorist organization Boko Haram.»

(8) *ḥaqqaqati l-firqatu l-miṣriyyatu naǧāḥan kabīran ba'da 'an qaddamat 'urūḍahā l-faniyyata l-muḫtalifata* (*al-'ahrām* 1st September, 2014)

«The Egyptian band achieved a great success after appearing in various artistic performances.»

Thus, most of the collective nouns in journalistic Arabic are conceptualized as singular nouns, or as a single group. Yet we

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[40] JOOSTEN ET AL., p. 108.

cannot ignore the collective nouns which have both singular and plural agreements, and stand at the heart of our discussion in this section trying to refute the conventional argument presented in modern Arabic descriptions that agreement in the plural results only when the noun is conceptualized as more than one. It will be shown here that the distinction between a complex noun phrase and a non-complex noun phrase has a major effect on the agreement pattern, because complex collective nouns are more likely to attract plural agreement.

Collective nouns in any language are not always embedded by a *local noun*. Even when they are followed by an adjective (see Example 1), they still can be analyzed as singular nouns and not as complex noun phrases. However, there is a group of nouns that become complex noun phrases because it is necessary to add a completion in order to specify these nouns. Joosten et al. call such nouns *highly relational* because they are highly dependent on a contextual identification of the members.[41] Collective nouns such as *group*, *herd*, or *swarm* usually require more information about the identity of the members, and thus they are often followed by the *of* complement, as in: a group of boys, a herd of sheep, a swarm of wasps. Such nouns are to be found in Arabic, as for instance, in: *maǧmūʿa* «group», *farīq* «group», *fiʾa* «group», «class» and *ṭāqim* «team», «crew». If we look at a collective word *ḥukūma* «government» it is obvious that it can refer only to the members of the government; however when a collective noun such as *ṭāqim* «crew» or «staff» is used the reference might be ambiguous. Even by adding a qualifier such as *ṭāqim ṭibbiyyi* «a medical staff», it still has no specification because it may refer to the doctors, or to the nurses, or to the paramedics, or even to all of them. But when an utterance such as *ṭāqim mina l-ʾaṭibbāʾi* «a team of doctors» is used, then the collective noun has a more specific application. What concerns us is the fact that the complexity of the noun is the main factor that causes the agreement to be in the plural and not in the singular due to the phenomenon called *number attraction*.

If we examine a sentence such as «Good grammar favored by listeners *are* often associated with people from an upper class.» The verb *are* exhibits a plural inflection because it agrees with the plural local noun *listeners*.[42]

Another example is «The key to the cabinets are on the table», where the verb *are* is affected by the number of the second noun in the noun phrase *the key to the cabinets*. This ef-

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[41] JOOSTEN ET AL., p. 89.

[42] K. BOCK, K., K.M. EBERHARD, L.C. CUTTING, S.A. MEYER AND H. SCHRIEFERS, «Some Attractions of Verb Agreement», *Cognitive Psychology* 43(2001), p. 85.

fect of a second noun or, as it is called; a local noun is known as *number attraction*. This phenomenon is more common when the head noun is in the singular and the local noun is in the plural and not vice versa.[43]

The term, *attraction* is defined as follows:

«Normally, verbs in both Dutch and English agree in number with the head noun of the subject noun phrase, yielding sentences such as *Membership in these unions was voluntary*. In attraction, the verb agrees instead with another noun in its vicinity, as in *Membership in these unions were voluntary*. We call the head of the subject noun phrase the *agreement controller* (e.g., *membership*), the number-carrying part of the verb the *agreement target* (e.g., the past tense of the copula *be*), and the number-attracting noun phrase the *local noun* (e.g., *unions*) (…) Attraction is a kind of spurious resolution between conflicting number specifications (Corbett, 1983). Normally, the number of the agreement controller dominates this contest, but occasionally the number of a local noun takes over the control of verb agreement.»[44]

Cases of collective head nouns followed by a local noun are very common in journalistic Arabic especially with a group of nouns mentioned in the following examples, while the potential attractor is a prepositional phrase structured from the preposition *min* + noun in the plural.

In Example 9, the head of the subject nouns phrase (*controller*) is *maǧmūʿa,* which is grammatically singular feminine. It is followed by the partitive *min*, while *l-ǧunūd* is the number-attracting noun (*local noun*) that causes all the syntactic elements following the noun phrase *maǧmūʿa mina l-ǧunūd* to be in the plural rather than in the singular.

(9) *fī waqtin badaʾa l-ǧayšu l-ʾisrāʾīliyyu tanfīḏa ḫuṭṭatin wāsiʿatin li-taʿzīzi wa-našri quwwātihi (…) tamarradat <u>maǧmūʿatun mina l-ǧunūdi</u> llaḏīna yaḫdumūna fī waḥdati ġūlānī, rāfiḍīna tanfīḏa ʾawāmiri ḥirāsatin*

«At the time when the Israeli army began to carry out its broad plan to fortify

and scatter its forces (…), a group of solidiers serving in the Golani military unit rebelled, refusing to carry out guard duties.» (*al-Hayat* 16th July, 2013)

(10) (…) *ʾištakā <u>maǧmūʿatun mina t-tuǧǧāri</u> min ʾanna t-taṣārīḥa llatī muniḥat li-l-muwāṭinīna (…) ʾaṯarat bi-šaklin*

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[43] A. STAUB, «On the Interpretation of the Number Attraction Effect: Response Time Evidence», *Journal of Memory and Language* 60(2009), p. 308–309.

[44] BOCK ET AL., p. 85-86.

*kabīrin ʿalā l-ḥarakati t-tiǧāriyyati fī l-baladi, wa-ṭalabū bi-
ʾīǧādi ḥallin li-hāḏihi l-muškilati*

«A group of merchants complained that the licenses granted
to residents adversely affected the trade in the town and de-
manded finding a solution to this problem.» *(al-ʾayyām,* 9ᵗʰ
October, 2013)

Example 10 has the same structure as Example 2, i.e., a col-
lective head noun is in the feminine singular, followed by the
partitive *min* and *local noun* in the masculine plural. The
agreement with the complex noun phrase is in the plural. As for
the verb preceding the complex noun phrase, it is in the mascu-
line singular and not the feminine because the verb refers to the
merchants (*tuǧǧār*) and not to the group (*maǧmūʿa*).

(11) *yūǧadu ḥāliyan fī sūriyā farīqun min 20 ḫabīran mina l-
ʾumami l-muttaḥidati wa-munaẓẓamati ḫaẓri l-ʾasliḥati l-
kīmyāʾiyyati waṣalū fī l-ʾawwali min tišrīn l-ʾawwali wa-
badaʾū mihmatahum fī l-ʾišrāfi ʿalā tafkīki t-tarsānati l-
kīmāʾiyyati s-sūriyyati*

«At present, there is in Syria a group of 20 experts from the
UN and the organization for the prohibition of chemical weap-
ons from the beginning of October and they have started their
task of supervising the closure of the chemical weapon depots.»
(*al-ʾayyām* 9ᵗʰ October, 2013)

In Example 11, the collective head noun *farīq*, is grammati-
cally singular masculine, yet the local noun, *20 experts,* takes
over and thus the agreement is in the plural.

(12) *wa-iʿtarafati ṣ-ṣaḥāfiyyatu Valiriya Māntū bi-ʾanna
fiʾatan min bāʿati ṣuḥufin rafaḍū bayʿa nusaḥi l-maǧallati bi-
sababi muḥtawāhā*

«The journalist, Valeria Mantu, admitted that a group of
newspaper vendors refused to sell copies of this journal be-
cause of its content.» (*aš-šarq al-ʾawsaṭ* 21ˢᵗ September, 2012)

Example 12 indicates again that the number of the *local
noun*, *bāʿat ṣuḥuf,* is the element in the complex noun phrase
that affects the agreement, which is in the plural.

In Example 13 the collective noun is found in an annexation
structure that makes it a complex noun phrase. The agreement
in the plural of the verb and the suffixed pronoun is affected by
the number of the *nomen regens* which is in the plural.

(13) *wa-ʾaṯnā ṭāqimu l-mufattišīna ʿalā mustawā l-ʿamali l-
mumtāzi fī l-madrasati (…) wa-ʾabdawu stiʿdādahum li-
taʿāwunin maʿa l-madrasati* (*Panet* 4ᵗʰ February, 2015)

«The team of inspectors praised the level of the excellent
work in the school and expressed their willingness to cooperate
with the school.»

(14) *kayfa tuṭālibu l-ḥukūmatu <u>maʿšra t-tuǧǧāri</u> bi-taḫfīḍi ʾasʿāri mabīʿātihim wa-hiya tarfaʿu ʾasʿāra kulli mā tataḥak-kamu fī ʾintāǧihi wa-bayʿihi li-n-nāsi* (*al-ʾahrām* 7th February, 2014)

«How can the government require all merchants to lower prices when it controls the production and sale of merchandise/groceries to the people?»

When the collective nouns *maǧmūʿa*, *fiʾa*, *firqa* and *ṭāqim* have no complements, they tend to attract the singular agreement as the following examples indicate:

(15) *dakkat ṭāʾirātu l-ʾabātši <u>maǧmūʿatan</u> musallaḥatan ǧanūba rafaḥ kānat taqūmu bi-ʿamaliyyati ʾakminati li-l-muwāṭinīna* (*al-ʾahrām* 14th February, 2015)

«South of Rafah, Apache helicopters pounded an armed group that had set ambushes for the citizens (of the area).»

(16) *ʾinna hunāka fiʾatan (ʾaṣbaḥat kabīratan) lā taǧidu fī kulli tilka l-ʾanwāʿi ḥtiyāǧahā l-munāsiba mina s-sakani* (*al-ʾahrām* 22nd December, 2013)

«There is a group (that has become big) and cannot find in all these types (of solutions) a suitable solution for housing.»

(17) *aṭ-ṭāqimu ṭ-ṭibbiyyu fī n-nuqṭati t-tābiʿati li-wikālati l-ʾūnrū ʿālaǧaʿadadan mina l-marḍā* (*aš-šarq al-ʾawṣaṭ* 11th March, 2015)

«A medical staff that works at the care station, and belongs to UNRWA, treated several patients.»

(18) *qāla ʾarsīn fīnǧir mudarribu nādā ʾarsināl ʾinna farīqahu qtaraba mina t-taʿāqudi maʿa l-faransiyyi tīyari hinrī* (*al-ʾahrām* 1st September, 2014)

«Arsène Wenger, the coach of the Arsenal Football Club, said that his team was close to signing a contract with the French football player, Thierry Henry.»

Examples 9-14 indicate that the *local nouns* that are grammatically plural cause plural agreement. It is important to note that, in this case, the agreement in the plural has nothing to do with notional agreement, i.e., the reference to the group or to the individuals has no significant effect on the number of the verbs, adjectives and pronouns.[45] Examination of the corpus shows that when the collective nouns, *maǧmūʿa*, *farīq*, *fiʾa*, *maʿšar* and *ṭāqim,* are so-called complex noun phrases there is a preference for agreement in the plural; however it does not necessarily mean that agreement in the singular cannot be found with these nouns. In Example 19 there is an annexation structure, while the adjective *d-dawliyyīna* is in the plural and

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[45] BOCK ET AL., p. 108.

refers to the *nomen regens l-ḫubarā'*. As for the agreement, all pronouns referring to the complex noun are in the singular.

(19) *waṣala <u>farīqu l-ḫubarā'i d-dawliyyīna llaḏī</u> yar'asuhu Ākī Sīlsitrūm (…) 'ilā maqari 'iqāmatihi fī funduqi four seasons*

«A group of international experts which Ākī Sīlsitrūm heads found its accommodation at the Four Seasons hotel.» (*al-'ayyām* 26th September, 2013)

There are several explanations for the agreement type in Example 19. First, with regard to the number represented in the speaker's messages,[46] it might be argued that the reporter who wrote this article sees the group in his mind and not the individuals. It should be mentioned that the sentence could also paraphrased as follows: *wa-waṣala <u>farīqu l- ḫubarā' d-dawliyyīna llaḏī</u> yar'asu<u>hum</u> Ākī Sīlsitrūm (…) 'ilā maqar 'iqāmati<u>him</u>* «A group of international experts led by Ākī Sīlsitrūm came to their accommodation.» In other words, the pronouns referring to the subject noun phrase have a distributive value and can refer to the individuals composing the group.

The agreement in the singular could be also explained by the structure of the noun phrase. Unlike Examples 9-13, in which the complex noun is composed of the collective head noun in the singular + partitive *min* + noun in the plural, the noun phrase in Example 19 is in the construct state. However, Example 20 eliminates this possibility by showing that a noun phrase constructed by the partitive *min* can have an agreement in the singular.

(20) *'inna hāḏihi <u>l-fi'ata mina l-muhāǧirīna</u> 'aṣbaḥat taǧidu l-yawma 'amalan fī l-maġribi*

«Indeed this group of immigrants finds work today in Morocco.» (*aš-šarq al-'awsaṭ* 28th October, 2010)

The following examples however, might strengthen the argument that the complexity of the noun phrase affects the agreement. Thus, in Examples 21 and 22, the collective noun *ǧumhūr*, like most collective nouns in Arabic, is not complex and attracts agreement in the singular.

(21) *wa-yantaẓimu hāḏihi l-'ayyāma (…) ǧumhūrun 'arīḍun li-mušāhadati l-'urūḍi s-sīnamā'iyyati 'alā šāšatin mutaǧawwilatin*

«A general public is, at the moment, organizing films on a screen which will move from place to place.» (*aš-šarq al-'awsaṭ* 27th June, 2013)

(22) *<u>fa-l-ǧumhūru</u> yurīdu 'an yaḫruǧa mina l-fīlmi sa'īdan*

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[46] IBID., p. 86.

«And the public wants to leave the movie when it is happy.» (*aš-šarq al-'awsaṭ* 26th December, 2012)

In Example 23, however, the *local noun l-muṯaqqafīna* was added to the collective head noun, *ǧumhūr*. In this instance, the agreement in the plural was caused by the *attraction*, i.e., the syntactic elements agree with the number of the *local noun* and not with the (grammatical) number of the collective head noun.

(23) (…) *l-wazīru Ḫūǧa hatafa fī ǧumhūri l-muṯaqqafīna lladīna ltaqāhum masā'a 'awwalin min 'amsi fī qā'ati l-muḥāḍarāti (…) ṭāliban minhum 'an yatawaǧǧahū bi-n-naqdi 'ilā wizāratihi*

«The minister, *Ḫūǧa*, told the educated public that he had met them in the evening of the day before yesterday in the lecture hall (…) while asking them to refer their criticism to his office.» (*aš-šarq al-'awsaṭ* 12th March, 2010)

An additional factor that affects the agreement pattern is the usage of a vocative structure which is usually found in op-eds, i.e., articles in which the writer expresses his opinion. In the following examples, the vocative particle *yā* 'O' is involved. The direct address to a certain group in this case is in the plural. Thus, in Example 24, the verb precedes the collective noun in the plural. In Example 25, the verb in the imperative is in the plural, and likewise in Example 26, all pronouns referring to the collective noun are in the plural.

(24) *limādā tataṣarrafūna hākadā yā maʿšara š-šabābi*?

«Why do you behave like this, O young people (the sector of young people?).» (*Panet* 30th April, 2008)

(25) *yā 'ahla t-tībati ḫdarū s-sirqata*

«O people of those who have a good nature beware of stealing.» (*Panet* 4th October, 2013)

(26) *ġarībun 'amrukum yā maʿšara l-bašari, yā man 'antum baqāyā dikri wa-ṣafḥatin ṭuwiyat min kitābi n-nisyāni*

«It is strange — your issue, O people (mankind) O whoever you are, the relics of a memory and a page which was forgotten (to be mentioned) in the book of forgetfulness.» (*Panet* 2nd October, 2007)

A personal address has more impact on the group, because any command, demand, request or desire presented by the addresser is directed to each member of the group, so each one feels responsible to fulfill the addresser's wish.

In this category, another case of direct speech should be mentioned. Occasionally the spokesman of a certain group is being interviewed. The examined texts show that s/he answers using the first person plural. For example, in a report on the Sudanese revolution front (*al-ǧabha t-ṯawriyya s-sūdāniyya*),

when the spokesman was asked about their latest activity in Sudan, he replied:

(27) _nahḏaru ḥukūmata (ḥizb) l-muʾtamari l-waṭaniyyi fī stiḫdāmi l-ʿunfi l-mufraṭi ḍidda l-mutaẓāhirīna l-muslimīna_

«We warn the government (party) of the national congress/convention against using excessive violence against the Muslim protesters.» (_aš-šarq al-ʾawsaṭ_ 29th September, 2013)

In his answers, the spokesman could use the collective noun _al-ǧabha ṯ-ṯawriyya s-sūdāniyya_ and say _al-ǧabha taḥḏaru_ «the front warns» as he represents this organization. Instead he uses a verb in the first person plural as if he were presenting the approach of the members and not of the group.

Finally, we refer to a small group of collective nouns that appears only with agreement in the plural, as is shown in the following examples:

(28) _wa-kāna š-šīʿatu llaḏīna yušakkilūna 16 fī l-miʾati mina n-nāḫibīna ʾabraza l-ḫāsirīna ʾiḏ nḫafaḍa ʿadaduhum min 17 nāʾiban ʾilā 8 nuwwābin_

«The Shiah, which constitutes 16 percent of the voters, were the prominent losers since their number decreased from 17 representatives to 8 representatives.» (_al-Hayat_ 28th July, 2013)

(29) _aš-šīʿatu murtabaṭūna bi-n-niẓāmi s-sūriyyi wa-s-sunnatu bi-l-muʿāraḍati_

«The _Šīʿa_ are linked to the Syrian regime and the _Sunna_ are linked to the opposition.» (_aš-šarq al-ʾawsaṭ_ 23rd November, 2013)

(30) _nahaḍtu min makānī (…) wa-waǧadtu l-qawma muḫtalifīna, fa-farīqun minhum yawaddu l-ǧulūsa wa-laʿba l-balūti_

«I got up from my place and I found the people disagreeing (…) and a group of them (of the people) wants to sit and play Baloot (a card game).» (_aš-šarq al-ʾawsaṭ_ 23rd June, 2008)

(31) _naḥnu ʿalā ṯiqatin bi-ʾanna ʾahla n-nāṣirati lā yurīdūna ḫuṣūmātin lafẓiyyatan tāfihatan_ (_Panet_ 28th September, 2013)

«We are sure that the residents of Nazareth do not want to seek verbal and trivial fights.»

Unlike most of the collective nouns that are considered as singular nouns, the two nouns, _šīʿa_ and _qawm,_ are conceptualized as more than one, i.e., the reference is always to the individual member and not to the group. The agreement type in these cases has nothing to do with the fact that the agreeing elements are distributive or less distributive. It seems, for example, that the nominal predicate _murtabaṭūna_ in Example 29 should have been in the singular rather than the plural because it is more reasonable to say that the _šīʿa_ as a group (the

second largest denomination of Islam) is attached to the regime. Although the nominal predicate is less distributive and it is most likely that it applies to the collection level, it is in the plural.

As for the collective noun, *qawm,* one cannot ignore the fact that the agreement with this noun in the Qur'ān is always in the plural. No agreement in the singular was found, except for the verb preceding these nouns that are always in the masculine singular.

As there are collective nouns that always attract agreement in the singular, regardless of the type of the agreeing elements, there are several collective nouns with agreement in the plural. Thus, in the case of *šī'a,* the reference in the newspapers is to the adherents while in the noun, *qawm,* the reference is to the people.

Finally, an additional aspect must be considered in the discussion about agreement types. One cannot ignore the fact that the personal dialect of the journalists and their language level might also affect the agreement pattern of collective nouns. However, since the identity of the writer is not always known it would be hard to prove such effect on the writing style. Yet the agreement types presented above are common to Egyptian, Syrian and Israeli newspapers, and this might indicate that these are not the personal dialect or writing styles that affect the agreement type, but rather there are conventional agreement types with collective nouns in modern journalistic Arabic.

3. Conclusions

Collective nouns are defined as nouns that are morphologically singular with multiple references, singular or plural. As for the collective nouns used in Arabic-language newspapers, there are modern words that have been introduced into Arabic as a result of the influence of Western languages, particularly English. Examples of such words are *kūnġris* «congress« and *barlamān* «parliament». Along with these nouns, there are also collective nouns that can be found in classical sources such as the Qur'ān, e.g., *qawm* «tribe» or «people», *nafar* «group of people» and *lu'lu'* «pearls». As for the classical noun, *fawǧ,* which means «a group of people» in the Qur'ān, it received the modern meaning «graduates». Examination of the collective nouns collected in this paper has raised the need to re-examine the principles presented by grammarians for the classification of collective nouns. In other words, it is impossible to classify the collective nouns used in Arabic journalism according to the distinction between human and non-human nouns with or without *nomen unitatis*. A correct classification should be based on the agreement pattern of the collective nouns. Thus, we might distinguish between three groups of collective nouns: those that have agreement in the singular; those that have

agreement in the plural; and those that have agreements both in the singular and in the plural.

Based on the statistical data presented in this paper, it might be well argued that the prominent agreement pattern is in the singular. Of 50 collective nouns designating the human, 42 have one agreement type in the singular. These data indicate that collective nouns in Arabic journalism are regarded as *wholistic collectives* rather than *distributive collectives*, i.e., these nouns have a sense of a single group or they are conceptualized as one group without any reference to the objects.

As for the agreement type in the plural, it has been shown that this pattern is limited to three cases. First, agreement in the plural with collective nouns can be found together with the following nouns: *maǧmūʿa*, *farīq*, *fiʾa*, *maʿšar* and *ṭāqim*. These collective nouns are expanded through the *local noun* in the plural and hence the collective noun becomes more specified. It is the number of the *local noun* that causes the agreement to be in the plural.

Second, when direct speech or, more precisely, a vocative structure appears in the article, then the agreement would be in the plural. Third, the collective nouns *qawm*, *šīʿa* and *ʾahl,* (followed by a name of a city) are always with an agreement in the plural.

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Abstract

The category of collective nouns in classical Arabic has been discussed by traditional grammarians of the Arabic language. They provide a clear definition of the notion of *collective nouns* and also present lists of such nouns. As for modern written Arabic, it might well be argued that the category of the collective noun has not received sufficient attention in grammatical descriptions of modern written Arabic. Western grammarians usually address this category when they discuss the topic of the plural in Arabic; however, they provide a laconic explanation which mainly revolves around the morphological aspect, especially the distinction made between collective nouns which have *nomen unitatis* and collective nouns which do not have *nomen unitatis*. They also mention some examples taken from traditional descriptions such as *qawm* «people» or *naḫl* «palm-trees». When reading Arabic-language newspapers, one may notice the use of multiple and diverse collective nouns. The number of collective nouns in journalistic Arabic language has grown, especially due to the interaction of Arabic with other languages such as English, and therefore lists of collective nouns should be updated. Furthermore, examination of collective nouns in journalistic Arabic shows that the traditional classification of collective nouns which is adopted from classical Arabic and based on the dichotomy between human and non-human nouns, and nouns with or without *nomen unitatis* should be re-examined. Thus, in this paper a different classification based on the idea of the level of member interpretation is proposed. It means that some collective nouns, especially those that indicate bodies that were elected or selected, as for example *ḥukūma* «government» are considered in Arabic as a collection of things taken as a whole. With these nouns, which are grammatically and conceptually singular and called *wholistic collectives*, a reference to the members of this collection has not even been considered. On the other hand, a reference to the individuals can be made by using collective nouns such as *maǧmūʿa* «group» which are called *distributive collectives*. However, the reference to the individuals is usually made when a subsequent noun or, as it is called, a *local noun* is added to the collective head noun, as for example *maǧmūʿatun mina ṭ-ṭullābi* «a group of students». This classification of collective nouns into two primary groups also affects the agreement with the collective nouns. The data presented in this paper, based on a corpus consisting of 3,324 instances of collective nouns taken from various Arabic newspapers, show a preference of agreement in singular. Agreement in the plural is registered in three cases: when the collective noun is a complex noun phrase as, for example, *maǧmūʿa min ṭ-ṭullābi*; when the collective noun is being addressed; and when the nouns *šīʿa* «Shia», *qawm* «people» and *ʾahl* «people»/«citizens» (followed by a name of a city) appear in the sentence.