

JOURNAL OF THE ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN  
SOCIETY OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY  
VOL. 3. No. 1. AUTUMN 1970

Moshe Held

**Studies in Biblical  
Homonyms in the  
Light of Akkadian**

It is generally recognized that modern biblical lexicography displays an amazing fondness for homonyms. While many of these alleged homonyms are the result of false etymologies and erroneous interpretations,<sup>1</sup> in certain specific cases the recognition of a homonym can scarcely be contested. One such case involves the pair שמר/נצר, "to guard, to watch," and their pseudo-homonyms נטר/שמרII, "to rage, to be in a fury." Although previously noted,<sup>2</sup> the

---

<sup>1</sup> M. Held, *AS* 16 (1965) *Landsberger Festschrift*, pp. 401f. (against the homonymy of Hebrew כסל). Another case in point is the alleged homonymy of קנה which, according to Koehler (*Lexicon*, p. 843), should be divided into קנהI, "to acquire," and קנהII, "to create." However, a casual perusal of Hebrew עשה will suffice to indicate that קנה (poetic for עשה) has the connotation of "to create" and "to acquire" in full agreement with עשה (cf. e.g., Gen. 14:19,22 with Ps. 115:15, on the one hand, and Lev. 22:11 with Gen. 12:5, on the other). Koehler's *Lexicon* is replete with such erroneous homonyms, and the problem surely merits a detailed examination.

<sup>2</sup> See G. R. Driver, *JTS* 32 (1931), pp. 361-363, who has anticipated me on several points studied in this paper. Though in many details unacceptable, his observation as a whole is certainly sound, and one is amazed to see that it has gone almost unnoticed for some thirty years. Despite the fact that I have arrived at similar conclusions independently, I wish to give full credit to Prof. Driver. In a communication dated July 7, 1969, Prof. Driver informed me that he, in turn, had been anticipated by both Delitzsch (*Hiob* [1902], p. 151) and Haupt (*ZDMG* 61 [1907], pp. 284-285). That several scholars from different lands and different generations have independently arrived at similar conclusions is certainly a good omen and serves to demonstrate once more the soundness of the dictum of our sages בה הפוך בה ובהפוך בה דכולה בה!

Moshe Held is Professor of Ancient Semitic Languages and Cultures at Columbia University. Professor Held has been a major force in the establishment and continuance of the Journal, and the Editorial Board is proud to present his contribution as the first of a series of articles by leading scholars in the field of ancient Near Eastern studies.

recognition of this pair of homonyms has failed to gain general acceptance.

It should be stressed at the outset that the verbs שמר II and נטר III are statives and are generally employed without an object.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, the verbs נצר/שמר, "to guard," are transitive and must take an object. Suffice it to call attention to the fact that the pair נצר/שמר is attested at least thirteen times in the Hebrew Bible,<sup>4</sup> and in no case is an object wanting.

Further, the poetic synonym of Hebrew שמר I, "to guard," is always נצר,<sup>5</sup> never the Aramaic נטר. The latter is attested only nine times in the Hebrew Bible, and a casual perusal of these passages reveals that נטר, "to guard," is restricted in its usage. It is only in the Song of Songs, a text characterized by its mixed dialect, that נטר is attested four times with the meaning "to guard,"<sup>6</sup> and in these passages it is clearly the Aramaic counterpart of Hebrew נצר. In the remaining five instances, however, נטר can hardly have such a meaning. Observe that only in one case, Jer. 3:12,<sup>7</sup> does נטר appear without a synonym. In the remaining four cases it is employed in synonymous parallelism with נקם, "to be vengeful,"<sup>8</sup> ריב, "to be wroth,"<sup>9</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The sole exception would seem to be נטר אה in Lev. 19:18. Observe, however, that Akk. nadāru (nanduru), though intransitive, is likewise attested in a similar construction. Thus, in a Babylonian wisdom text, reminiscent of The Babylonian Job in many respects, we read ebri u tappê ittanamdarūinni nišē aliya ittanamdarāninni "Friends and companions keep raging against me" (IV/3 plu. masc. + pronom. suffix): "My fellow citizens keep raging against me" (IV/3 plu. fem. + pronom. suffix) (S. Langdon, BW, p. 13:21). Hebrew נטר ל in Nah. 1:2 surely constitutes no problem in light of the not infrequent Akk. idiom nadāru (nanduru) ana. The following two examples will have to suffice here: ZA 45 (1939), p. 14: 6-7: kišpūša ana ramāniša linnadrū širissa ina ammatiša libaššer "May her sorcery rage against herself, may she tear apart her breast with her forearm"; CT 38, 35:55: šumma šēru ana pan amēli innadirma irammum "If a snake rages against a man and roars"; Cf. also CT 16, 14, IV:23-27 (see below, n. 39).

<sup>4</sup> Dt. 33:9; Ps. 12:8, 105:45, 119:34, 55-56, 145-146, 140:5, 141:3; Prov. 2:8, 11, 4:6, 5:2, 27:18.

<sup>5</sup> The distribution of the pair נצר//שמר I is as follows: Akk. našāru // (kādu); Ug. ngī // x; Aramaic-Syriac נטר//זוהר; Arabic ḥarāsa // ḥafīza.

<sup>6</sup> Cant. 1:6 (2x), 8:11, 12.

<sup>7</sup> This verse is clearly defective. One surely expects לא לא אטר לעלם וולא אשמר לנצח <

<sup>8</sup> Lev. 19:18; Nah. 1:2.

<sup>9</sup> Ps. 103:9.

and שמר II, "to rage."<sup>10</sup>

The occurrence of נטר in synonymous parallelism with these words is highly significant, since נקם is parallel to חמה,<sup>11</sup> while בעל חמה is equated with נטר.<sup>12</sup> Similarly, ריב, a synonym of נטר, is parallel to קצף.<sup>13</sup> These semantic equations point to the meaning "to rage" for נטר, as well as for its synonym שמר in Jer. 3:5. The MT reads הינטר לעולם אם ישמר לנוצח. This passage is rendered in the latest commentary on Jeremiah: "Will he nurse a grudge forever, retain his anger always?"<sup>14</sup> Such a rendering, however, is without any philological basis whatsoever.<sup>15</sup> The direct objects "grudge" and "anger" are not to be found in the Hebrew text. Even if the verbs נטר/שמר denoted "to guard" in our verse, one would have to render "Will he guard forever, will he watch to eternity?" which hardly makes sense in this context. However, the verse is immediately illuminated and the difficulties are overcome once we recognize that the verbs נטר/שמר are stative and denote "to rage, to be furious."

Recognition of the homonyms נטר/שמר-נצר II may likewise be applied to the exegesis of the enigmatic verse Amos 1:11. The MT of our verse reads ויטרף לעד אפן וענרתו שמרה נוצח. This vocalization simply reflects the despair of the Masoretes, and translations based upon it can hardly be accepted. For example, the JPS version renders our verse "And his anger did tear perpetually, and he

<sup>10</sup> Jer. 3:5. See discussion below.

<sup>11</sup> Ez. 24:8, 25:17; cf. Prov. 6:34. Note the Akkadian sequence of *imta tabāku*, "to pour out poisonous foam" (= Heb. שפך חמה, e.g., Isa. 42:25 // עזרו מלחמה // *anantu nandurtu*, "stormy battle," in RA 48, p. 147:33), *nadāru*, "to be furious," (= Heb. נטר) and *šamāru*, "to rage," (= Heb. שמר) in IVR 24, No. 1:31ff. (= J. Böllenrucher, *Nergal*, pp. 24-25).

<sup>12</sup> Nah. 1:2; cf. Prov. 29:22 חמה בעל אף // *ibid.*, 22:24 בעל אף // איש חמה.

<sup>13</sup> Isa. 57:16; Jer. 51:36 (ריב/נקם); cf. קצף/חמה Isa. 34:2; Ps. 38:2; Dt. 29:27; Jer. 21:5, 32:37; Est. 1:12. Note also קצף/נער (Isa. 54:9 = Akk. *ezēzu // šasū eli* in En. el. I:42), קצף/זעם (Jer. 10:10; Ps. 102:11 = *ezēzu // agāgu* in OECT 6, p. 32:9-11), and קצף/אנף (Dt. 9:8 = *agāgu // rābu* in Borger, *Esarh.*, p. 13, Ep. 5:11-13). For Amarna Canaanite *qsp* = Akk. *ašāšu*, see M. Held, *JCS* 15 (1961), p. 23b; *idem*, *Landsberger Festschrift*, p. 399a.

<sup>14</sup> J. Bright, *Jeremiah, The Anchor Bible*, Vol. 21 (Garden City, 1965), p. 19.

<sup>15</sup> See M. Held, *Eretz-Israel* 9 (1969) *Albright Festschrift*, p. 73, n. 19.

kept his wrath forever."<sup>16</sup> Such a rendering must be rejected, because it overlooks the fact that this verse is a classic example of synonymous parallelism.<sup>17</sup> That is, אף "anger" is parallel to עברה, "wrath,"<sup>18</sup> and לעד, "perpetually," is parallel to נצח, "forever."<sup>19</sup> Consequently, one would expect the verb represented by MT ויטרף to be in synonymous parallelism with שמרה.

There is no escaping the conclusion that the correct reading is ויטר<sup>20</sup> as is indicated by the parallelism of שמר//טר in Jer. 3:5 and fully corroborated by the rendering of the Syriac ונטר לעלם רגזה.<sup>21</sup> Further, the Masoretic ויטרף is in all probability due to contamination by or confusion with such expressions as אפו טרף וישטמני "His wrath rages while he harbors a grudge against me,"<sup>22</sup> or טרף נפשו באפו "Who rends himself in his anger."<sup>23</sup>

Modern biblical scholarship, aware of the curious pointing of the MT, attempts to solve the problem by emendations.<sup>24</sup> Not only does it err in emending נצח to לנצח,<sup>25</sup> but it adds insult to injury by emending שמרה to שמר.<sup>26</sup> Surely both these emendations are gratuitous.<sup>27</sup> The

<sup>16</sup> The Holy Scriptures, Vol. II, p. 1445. For similar renderings cf. e.g., J. Wellhausen, Die Kleinen Propheten, p. 2; Th. H. Robinson, Die...Kleinen Propheten (HAT, 14), p. 74.

<sup>17</sup> Contrast W. R. Harper, Amos and Hosea, ICC (1936), pp. 33,34, who considers שמרה נצח ועברה as a gloss! More to the point and by far more convincing is the statement of Qimḥi (12th century) כפל העניין = "synonymous parallelism."

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Gen. 49:7; Isa. 13:13, 14:6; Hos. 13:11; Hab. 3:8; Ps. 7:7, 78:49, 85:4, 90:11; note also Isa. 13:9; Job. 40:11.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Ps. 9:19; note עולם//נצח (Isa. 57:16; Jer. 3:5; Ps. 103:9), דר דר//נצח (Isa. 13:20, 34:10; Jer. 50:39; Ps. 49:20, 77:9) and ארך ימים//נצח (Lam. 5:20).

<sup>20</sup> The reading ויטר has been adopted by several scholars (e.g., Wellhausen, Die Kleinen Propheten, p. 70; Robinson, Die...Kleinen Propheten, p. 75) without noting, however, that the verb in question has nothing to do with the Aramaic verb נטר, "to guard."

<sup>21</sup> As far as can be ascertained J. Olshausen, Die Psalmen (Leipzig, 1853), p. 397, appears to first have suggested the reading ויטר for ויטרף in our verse. However, his sound observation is based solely on parallelism (e.g., Jer. 3:5) with no reference to the reading of the Syriac.

<sup>22</sup> Job. 16:9.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 18:4.

<sup>24</sup> See the note in BH.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. e.g., Wellhausen, Die Kleinen Propheten, p. 70.

<sup>26</sup> Cf., e.g., Robinson, Die...Kleinen Propheten, p. 75.

<sup>27</sup> It is amazing indeed that a scholar of the stature of N. H. Tur-Sinai, מקרא של פשוטו, Vol. 3, Pt. 2 (Jerusalem, 1967), p. 452, still retains both of these gratuitous emendations.

first because the poetic usage of נצח, "forever," without a preposition is attested in biblical Hebrew.<sup>28</sup> The same phenomenon is observable with its synonym עלם (for לעלם) in Hebrew,<sup>29</sup> as well as in Ugaritic<sup>30</sup> and Moabite.<sup>31</sup> The second emendation fares no better than the first, for once we realize that the subjects of our passage are אף "anger" and ענרה "wrath" (and not אדום), it becomes abundantly clear that the masculine verb ויטר goes with the masculine substantive אף, while the feminine verb שמרה goes with the feminine substantive ענרה. Thus, we must read the verse ויטר לעד אפו וענרתו שמרה נצח and render "And his anger seethed forever, his wrath raged for eternity."

Our assumption gains much in probability when we recall that the Akkadian roots ŠMR and NDR denote "to rage, to be furious"<sup>32</sup> and that both are poetic synonyms of

<sup>28</sup> Ps. 13:2, 16:11.

<sup>29</sup> Ps. 10:16, 45:7, 48:15, 52:10, 61:8, 66:7, 89:2,3,38 (//עַד), 104:5.

<sup>30</sup> IVAB, 3:6-7: *kqny n c l m [ ] k d r d < r > d y k n n [ ]* "For our creator is eternal, for ever and ever more our begetter." See H. L. Ginsberg, *Orientalia*, NS 7 (1938), p. 9; U. Cassuto, *Tarbiz* 14 (1942), p. 8; cf. M. Held, *JBL* 84 (1965), p. 282, n. 68.

<sup>31</sup> Meshah 1. 7: *ו ארא בה ו בנתה ו ישראל אבד אבד עלם* "But I saw my desire upon him and his dynasty (i.e., I triumphed), while Israel utterly perished." For the idiom *ב ארא* cf. Hebrew *ב ארא* (חזה, הביט) (e.g., Ps. 54: 9, 59:11; Mi. 4:11; Ps. 92:12), Aramaic *ב חזה* (A. Cowley, *AP*, No. 30:17, 31:16) and Ugaritic *ph cl* (IAB, 5:11ff.); cf. also Akk. *nekelmû* (antonym *naplusu*), "to look with evil intent," (e.g., E. Ebeling, *Handerhebung*, p. 132:56), and Amarna-Canaanite *šâru*, "to look with evil intent" > "to denounce" (e.g., EA 286:6-7). Observe that the attempt of S. Segert, *Ar Or* 29 (1961), p. 224, to go back to the old idea (cf. G. A. Cooke, *NSI*, p. 8) whereby *אבד ו ישראל אבד* and *עלם אבד* are to be viewed as two separate clauses, the latter being in the construct is stylistically difficult. See most recently Donner-Röllig, *KAI* II (1968), p. 173. Here it will suffice to call attention to the inf. abs. *אבד* in Hebrew (e.g., Dt. 4: 26, 8:19), on the one hand, and to idioms such as *אבד לעד* (Ps. 9:19) and *אבד לנצח* (Job. 4:20, 20:7), on the other.

<sup>32</sup> Note that the verb NDR, like its synonym LBB, is for the most part attested in N forms only. Contrast the sequence of *šabāsu*, *kanālu* and *zenû*, "to be angry" (most common antonym: *salāmu*, "to be reconciled," e.g., E. Ebeling, *Handerhebung*, p. 114:23), which are never attested as N forms. This holds true also of the sequence *ezēzu* (inherent quality)-*agāgu* (passing emotion), "to be furious," (most common antonym: *nāhu*, "to calm down," e.g., Ebeling, *op. cit.*, p. 46:89).

ezēzu (= aqāqu), "to be furious,"<sup>33</sup> and labābu, "to rage."<sup>34</sup> These roots are well attested, especially in their adjectival forms šamru (šitmuru) - nadru (nanduru). These forms appear in such well known expressions as nēšu/labbu aqqu/nadru, "raging lion";<sup>35</sup> kakku/kašūšu/anantu nadru/šamru/ezzu, "fierce weapons/battles";<sup>36</sup> šāru/mehû/imhullu/umu ezzu/šamru, "raging storm";<sup>37</sup> aqû/edû ezzu/šamru/dannu, "raging wave/tide";<sup>38</sup>

<sup>33</sup> For šamāru-nadāru in parallelism with ezēzu (agāgu) cf. e.g., M. Streck, Ašb., p. 212:4-5 (= T. Bauer, Ašb., p. 87 r. 4-5): tālitti nēšī...ina ukulti alpī šēni u amēlūti innadrūma ēzizū "The brood of lions became wild and fierce from devouring cattle, sheep and human beings"; R. Borger, Esarh., p. 14, Ep. 7:39-41: agû ezzi (var: agû šamru; cf. Ašb., p. 48:95) edû šamru (var: edû ezzu) mīlu kašū tamšil abūbu, "fierce wave, raging tide, huge flood, the very Deluge"; E. Ebeling, Handerhebung, p. 102:39-40 (cf. l. 41) Adad kaškaššu gitmālu ezzu allallū šamru, "Adad the powerful, the perfect, the fierce, the brave, the raging"; IVR, 58 II:59 (= ZA 16 [1902], p. 176:59) ezzet šamrat "she is fierce, she is raging"; note also the sequence ezziš šamriš (= aggiš ezziš), "fiercely, furiously," (e.g., BIN 2, 22:45-46 ašamšutu ša ezziš šamriš tebāti! "A dust storm risen in fierceness and fury").

<sup>34</sup> For šamāru-nadāru in parallelism with labābu cf. e.g., OIP 2, p. 51:25: labbiš annadīma allabib abūbiš "I raged like a lion, I was furious like a flood"; Tn. Epic V:37-38 labbūma šamrū...kadrū ezziš ana tēšē "They are raging and fierce...furiously wild at the melee."

<sup>35</sup> E.g., JRAS, Cent. Supp. (1924), p. 72:29: nēšum nadrum niḥid alaktim "The raging lion, the danger of the road"; M. Streck, Ašb., p. 308, e:3: labbi nadrūti (= aggu labbu in Theodicy 50) ilitti ḥuršāni ezziš itbūni "Raging lions, native to the mountains, attacked me fiercely"; ACh. Sin, No. 33:62: nēšū innaddarūma alakti māti iparrasā "Lions will rage and block the road(s) of the land"; cf. also YOS 10, No. 18:28, No. 42, IV:26, No. 46, V:21; CT 20, 28 r. 13; 39, 22:18; ACh. Sin, No. 34:26, 29; No. 35:47.

<sup>36</sup> E.g., RA 12, p. 80:20: kašūški (= kakkaki) nadru...gardāma lišabriq "May your raging weapon strike the wicked with lightning"; IR, 30, IV:22-24 (= KB, I, p. 184): GN...ultu pan namurrat kakkēya šamrūti (cf. ibid., III:28 kakkē ezzūti) epēš tāḥāzia dannī...iplaḥū "The Akkadians became afraid of the brilliance of my fierce weapons and my strong attack"; RA 48, p. 147:33: idkâ anantu nandurtu tuqutta igri "He stirred up a stormy battle, opened up a fight"; OECT 6, p. 71:17: ša ina muḥḫi aštūte ušamraru kakkēšu ezzūti "Who makes his raging weapons storm against the fierce enemies"; cf. also BWL, p. 192:22; YOS 9, 80:24; OIP 2, p. 82:36-37; Ašb., p. 60:9-11; AKA, p. 44:63-64; p. 282:82; p. 291:107.

<sup>37</sup> E.g., AFO 17 (1954-1956), p. 358:14-15: šāru ezzu ša tebūšu nanduru šamru ezzu ša šamriš illaku "The fierce wind, the rising of which is fearsome, raging (and) fierce which blows along violently"; OIP 2, p. 45:77: kīma tīb meḥē šamri ana nakri aziq "I blew against the enemy like the onrush of a raging storm"; KAH 2, No. 84:19-20: kīma tīb šāri ezzeqe(!) kīma anḥulli (= imḥulli) šitmurāku "I blow like the onrush of a wind, I rage like a destructive wind" (lit. "evil wind"); cf. also BIN 2, 22:43, 45; Maqlû II:126; Borger, Esarh., p. 58:16.

gallû ezzu/nadru/šamru, "raging demon";<sup>39</sup> and the like.<sup>40</sup>

Though not as frequent as ezēzu-agāqu or zenû-šabāsu, the pair ŠMR-NDR is well attested in describing the fury and rage of humans and gods. The most celebrated cases involving humans are perhaps the following passages from The Babylonian Job: ištēn šēršunūma pā iteddi [i]nnadrūnimma<sup>41</sup> nanhuzū<sup>42</sup> išātiš "They (my former friends) are united in body...<sup>43</sup> they rage at me and are set ablaze like fire,"<sup>44</sup>

38 E.g., Maqlû III:79: lamânni agû edû šamru "A wave, a raging tide, has surrounded me"; OIP 2, p. 99:46: GN agû šamru šitmuru ša ina našîša gignê qabalti āli u'abbitūma kimappišun pazrūti (var: nakmūti) ukallimu šamšu "GN a raging stormy stream which in its rising had destroyed sacred buildings on terraces inside the city and had exposed to the sun their hidden (var: tiered) graves"; Esarḥ., p. 109:10-13: Baal-samēme Baalmalagê Baalšapūna šāru lemnu ina elippātikunu lušatbâ markassina liptur<u> tarkullašina lissuhū edū dannu ina tâmti liṭabbišina šamru agû elikunu li[tbi] "May the Canaanite gods cause an evil wind to rise against your boats, may they loosen their moorings, tear out their mooring stakes, may a huge tide sink them in the sea, may a raging wave [rise] against you"; cf. also BWL, p. 136:159 (Šamaš); OIP 2, p. 105:79-83; Esarḥ., p. 14, Ep. 7:39-41, p. 32:18; Ašb., p. 48:95-96.

39 E.g., Era I:185-186: gallê šamrūte ana eršet lā târi aṭarrad kakkēya ezzūti elišunu ušazzaza "I shall drive the raging demons to the netherworld, I'll array my furious weapons against them"; CT 16, 14 IV: 23-27: gallū eṭēra ul idū ana nišī nadrū ākil šīri mušaznin damē šātū ušlāti "Demons who know not to save, who rage against people, devour flesh, shed blood, drink (blood) from the veins"; IVR, 24, No. 1:34 (= J. Böllenrucher, Nergal, p. 25) bunnannê šunnâta bināti nandurāt gallê šamrūti imna u šumēla "You have strange features, awesome limbs, raging demons right and left."

40 It may not be out of place to note in passing the following: (1) barbaru nanduru "raging wolf" (e.g., ACh., Sin 35:47); (2) bašmu nadru "raging serpent" (Frank, Str KT, 3:5); (3) išātum ezzetum "raging fire" (e.g., CH 28:31-32); (4) kalbu nadru/ezzu "raging dog" (cf. Isa. 56:11) (e.g., BWL, p. 208a:16-17; KAR, 54:4); (5) mû ezzūtu "raging waters"; cf. Isa. 43:16 (e.g., Sumer 3, 8 II:5); (6) rīmu nadru "raging wild bull" (e.g., Ašb., p. 54:60); (7) šēru nadru "raging snake" (e.g., CT 38, 35:55); (8) šahū nanduru "raging pig" (e.g., CT 41, 31:36); (9) tāhāzu šitmuru "raging battle" (e.g., AKA, p. 291:107); (10) zību nadru "raging vulture" (Maqlû VIII:85).

41 This reading, following CAD, A<sup>1</sup>, p. 183a and AHw., p. 703b, is preferable to [li] bba nadrūnimma suggested by Lambert (BWL, p. 34).

42 For nanhuzu(m), "to flare up (fire)," see the references in CAD, A<sup>1</sup>, p. 183; cf. von Soden, AHw., p. 19b.

43 Lit., "their flesh is one." The following phrase pā iteddi is obscure and defies translation.

44 Ludlul I:67-68. (W. G. Lambert, BWL, pp. 32, 34).

and ālī kī ayyābi nekelmanni tūšāma<sup>45</sup> nakrātu namdurtu (for nandurat) māti<sup>46</sup> "My city looks at me with an evil eye like an enemy; my people rage against me as if they were foes."<sup>47</sup>

As to gods, Adad as kaškaššu gitmālu ezzu šamru lā pādû, "mighty, perfect, fierce, raging, merciless,"<sup>48</sup> and of the warrior goddess Ištar as Irninītum labbu nadru libbaki linūba rīmu šabbasû kabattaki lippašra "O Irninītu (= Ištar), may your heart, a raging lion, calm down for me, may your mood, an angry wild bull, relent towards me."<sup>49</sup> Indeed, it is not uncommon to encounter the pair šMR-NDR in such sequences as ezzu-šamru-qaššu-qaššu-nadru, "fierce, furious, ferocious, overbearing, raging,"<sup>50</sup> or ezzu-šamru-nadru-qaššu-qaššu-dannu, "fierce, furious, raging, ferocious, overbearing, savage"<sup>51</sup> and the like.

Finally, a word must be said concerning the shift of d>ṭ in NDR-ṭṭ. There is no decisive evidence for attributing this shift to the passing of the word from Akkadian into Hebrew, and the examples adduced by Driver<sup>52</sup> are hardly convincing. Similarly, one can only speculate as to whether nadru\*naṭru<sup>53</sup> is an internal Akkadian development, or whether the shift ṭṭ<ṭṭ took place in Hebrew, perhaps under the influence of Aramaic ṭṭ "to guard." The former possibility

<sup>45</sup> For the modal particle tūša, tūšāma, see M. Held, JCS 15 (1961), p. 22.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. S. Langdon, BW, p. 13:21 ebrī u tappê ittanamdarūinni nišē āliya ittanamdarāninni (see above, n. 3).

<sup>47</sup> Ludlul I:82-83 (W. G. Lambert, BWL, p. 34). For other cases involving the fury of humans cf. e.g., BA 6, 135 IV:2: RN alīlu šamru ša tukultašu Ninurta "RN, the brave one, the fierce one, who puts his trust in Ninurta"; H. Winckler, Sargon, p. 104:40; OIP 2, p. 50:16; Borger, Esarh., p. 43:57: labbiš annadir "I (the king) raged like a lion"; R. C. Thompson, Rep., 103:7-8; ACh., Supp. 2, 97 r. 9: ḥabbāte innandarū "robbers will rage."

<sup>48</sup> E. Ebeling, Handerhebung, p. 96:16-17; cf. ibid., p. 102:39-40, 41: kaškaššu gitmālu ezzu allallū šamru "mighty, perfect, fierce, brave, raging."

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., p. 132:51-52; cf. Reiner and Güterbock, JCS 21 (1967), pp. 261f.

<sup>50</sup> Maqlû, V:139-140; cf. BBR, No. 26, V:75; AMT, 86, 1:5-6; 95:2: 16; 97, 1:8; Afo 17, p. 358:14-15 (see above, n. 37).

<sup>51</sup> E. Ebeling, TuL, p. 143:8-9.

<sup>52</sup> JTS 32 (1931), p. 363, n. 2.

<sup>53</sup> It is not excluded that our nadru/nanduru goes back to \*naṭru/nanṭuru, the latter having been confused with nanduru, the IV infinitive of adāru "to become apprehensive." See CAD, A<sup>1</sup>, p. 108a (discussion).

seems to be recommended by the coexistence in Akkadian of durru/turru,<sup>54</sup> "rope," as well as the verb derû (durrû)/terû (ṭurrû) "to cane, thrash."<sup>55</sup>

---

<sup>54</sup> CAD, D, p. 192a; AHw., p. 178a.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p. 129a; AHw., p. 167.



## ARCHAEOLOGY

The latest excavations in Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine are published in **ARCHAEOLOGY** magazine. Important finds are fully illustrated and discussed along with chronology. Recent articles have covered Nimrud, Tell al-Rimah, Tell Nagila, Ashdod, and Jericho. **\$8.50 a Year**

*Color slides of Near Eastern sites available to illustrate your lectures. A wide selection includes Hazor, Lachish, Jerusalem, Jericho, Boghazkeui, and Susa. For catalogue, write*

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA  
260 West Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10013