

Notes on the Aramaic Lexicon

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1. 'ôb^arā', bob^arā', *h^aôh^arā', Akkadian *ḫuḫāru*

The Aramaic 'ôb^arā' is attested in the Babylonian Talmud where it is described as a kind of trap for catching fish and is contrasted with 'îzlā'. The former is a less sophisticated construction, and the average person can make it. The latter is manufactured by a skilled craftsman.¹ Elsewhere, both terms, 'ûzlê wê 'ôb^arê, are used to clarify Hebrew *mêšôdôṭ* 'traps'.² The *Aruch* and Alfasi on *Moed Katan* 11a have 'ôh^arê. The *Aruch* relates this word to *sallê ḥōrî* (Gen. 40:16), which it derives from *h^ariyyôṭ šel deqel* 'palm branches', that is, woven baskets.³ What is of especial interest is that the *Aruch* describes the baskets as being wide at the bottom and narrow at the top. When fish or birds touch the lid it shuts on them.⁴

The variant cited suggests that the *h* in the word may go back to an original *ḫ*, and, in the case of the form appearing in the Yerushalmi, *h^aôb^arā*,⁵ both instances of *h* go back to original *ḫ*. Jastrow has proposed an original **ḫ^aôh^arā*'.⁶

It may be proposed that we have a loanword from Akkadian *ḫuḫāru* 'bird trap'. The well known Amarna gloss gives some indication of the construction of the *ḫuḫāru*; for example,

1 TB *Moed Katan* 11a, top.

2 TB *Gitin* 60b, bottom. Aramaic 'ûzlê goes back to 'zl 'spin'; cf. Targum Onkelos on Exodus 35:25, where *mê'azlā* (3p., f. pl.) renders *lāwû* 'they spun'; and a variant 'āzlān (A. Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic* [Leiden, 1959], 1:153). Compare also 'îzlā' 'net'; A. Kohut, ed., *Aruch Completum* (Vienna, 1878-1892; reprint: Jerusalem, 1970), 6:183a-b; and Arabic *ḡzl* 'spin'; E. W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon* (London, 1863-93), 2255a.

3 Kohut, *Aruch Completum*, 1:43a-b. Mishnaic *h^ariyyôṭ* 'branches, twigs', e.g., *yôm ḫibbûṭ h^ariyyôṭ* 'the day of striking branches' (Mishnah *Sukkah* 4:6), can be compared with Akkadian *ḫarû* 'young shoot of the date palm' and *ḫarūtu* 'branch of the date palm'; e.g., *giš.izi.an.na.gišimmar = a[ši]tim* 'sprout' = *ḫarû* 'shoot'; *MSL* 5, 142:30; cf. *CAD H*, 117b-118a, 121a-b; *AHW.*, 329a. They are Aramaic loanwords in Akkadian. The biblical *sallê ḥōrî* is variously rendered; e.g., Rashi, Rashbam, Radaq: 'open baskets'; Ibn Ezra: 'baskets of white bread' (citing Saadiah); Luther: 'drei weisse Körbe'; Jewish Publication Society (1917) and *The New English Bible*: 'baskets of white bread'; *Revised Standard Version*: 'cake baskets'; *The New American Bible*: 'wicker baskets'; New JPS *Torah* (1962): 'openwork baskets'.

4 Kohut, *Aruch Completum*, 1:43a-b.

5 TY *Moed Katan* II, 81b, top.

6 M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, The Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (New York, 1886-1903; reprint: New York, 1950), 23a.

kīma iṣṣūri ša ina libbi huḫāri/ kilūbi šaknat "like a bird who is in a *huḫāru* (gloss: cage) (I am trapped in Gubla)." ⁷ In the view of the CAD, the gloss *kilūbi* 'cage' suggests that the *huḫāru* could have been made of wickerwork. ⁸ The action of the *huḫāru* is referred to in the following passages: *kīma huḫāri ana saḫāpiya* "to clamp down upon me like a *huḫāru*-trap" ⁹ and *kīma šuškali asaḫ[ap] kīma huḫāri akattam* "I clamp down like a *šuškallu*-net, I cover like a *huḫāru*-trap." ¹⁰ The action of the lid is reflected in the use of the verbs *saḫāpu* 'clamp down' and *katāmu* 'cover' in connection with the *huḫāru*. ¹¹

The general shape of the *huḫāru* is indicated by a citation which is a commentary on a *Maqlū* passage: *ma huḫāru ana iṣkakkulli mašil ša . . . iṣd [iṣ] u rapša pūšu qatan* "that means: the *huḫāru*-trap looks like a *kakkullu*-vat . . ., its base is wide, its opening narrow." ¹² These descriptions coincide remarkably with the *Aruch*'s characterization of the 'ōḫāra', a basket-type structure with a wide base and narrow opening. If, as is proposed, we have in the Aramaic an Akkadian loanword, the form might be *ḫoḫāra'.

2. *p^ešid(ā')*, Akkadian *pašādu*

Aramaic *p^ešid(ā')* occurs in the Targumim as the equivalent of *geb, gebe* 'pool, cistern' (2 Kgs. 3:16, Isa. 30:14), *ārūṣ* 'cleft, gully' (Job 30:6) and *uḫāq* 'bed of a stream, channel' (Isa. 8:7, Job 6:15). The word, also occurring in Syriac, ¹³ goes back to a root **pšd* 'cut' which has been identified with Akkadian *pašādu* 'cut, split rocks'; for example, *kiṣir šadi ina akkullat erī lupešid* "I cut through the bed rock with bronze *akkullu*'s". ¹⁴ Arabic *fašada* 'let blood' has also been identified with these, as the basic sense appears to be 'cut'. ¹⁵

The semantic development of *pšd* > *p^ešidā* 'channel' parallels *ḫrṣ* 'cut' > *ḫ^ariṣā* 'moat, ditch'. The latter word renders *t^eālāb* 'channel' in the Targum on Job 38:25. Old Aramaic *ḫrṣ* occurs with *šr* 'wall'; for example, *wbrmw šr mn šr ḫzrk wbmqw ḫrṣ mn ḫr[šb]* "they made a wall higher than the wall of Hatarikka; they made a moat deeper than its moat." ¹⁶ A similar conjunction of the two terms occurs with Akkadian *dūru* 'wall' and Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian *ḫariṣu*, viz., *ultu muḫḫi ḫariṣi adi muḫḫi dūri* "from the moat to the wall." ¹⁷

⁷ EA 74:45-47; 79:35-36, etc. The Canaanite gloss is cognate with Hebrew *k^elūb* 'cage, basket'; Jer. 5:27, Amos 8:1-2.

⁸ CAD H, 225b.

⁹ *Maqlū* 2, 162.

¹⁰ KAH 2, 84:21.

¹¹ CAD H, 225b.

¹² KAR, 94:26.

¹³ C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*² (Göttingen, 1928), 586b.

¹⁴ Weidner, *Tn.*, 32, 18:7; *AHw.*, 839b.

¹⁵ *AHw.*, 839b; Lane, *Lexicon*, 2404c-2405a.

¹⁶ KAI #202:10; trans. Rosenthal, *ANET*³, 655b.

¹⁷ VAS 3, 165:5; cf. CAD H, 103b. Compare also *ḫiriṣu* 'moat, ditch'; e.g., *ḫiriṣa rabā ana limēt dūri lu aḫri* "I dug a great moat around the wall" (KAH 1, 18:7). This word also occurs in later stages of Akkadian, i.e., Neo-Assyrian and Standard Babylonian; cf. CAD H, 198a.

Akkadian *ḫirūtu* 'canal, moat' from *ḫerū* 'dig' has the same meaning as *ḫarīšu* and is attested from Old Babylonian on.¹⁸ It, too, is used in conjunction with *dūru* 'wall', but this combination is also mainly attested from Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian; for example, *dūr Barsippa ʿššiš ʿepuš ḫirīssu aḫrēma ina kupri u agurri akšur kibirša* "I built anew the wall of Barsippa; I redug its moat and reinforced its bank with kiln-fired bricks (laid in) bitumen."¹⁹

Aramaic *paršīdā*²⁰ has the sense 'kernel of a fruit', for example, *paršīdayyā d'erummānā sūmqā* 'seeds of a red pomegranate'.²¹ The sense 'seed, kernel' must derive from the basic meaning 'cut', referring to a small piece cut off of something larger. It parallels a similar development in *ḫrṣ*. Biblical *ḫaršān* (Numb. 6:4) is not decisive for our case because of the varying renderings which have been offered from earliest times.²² But *ḫaršānītā* 'stone, kernel' is clear; for example, *kēhādā pirṭētā d'erimmōnā d'ḫaršānītēb miḫamyāb mil'ga* 'w' "like the berry of a pomegranate whose stone is seen from within."²³

3. *s'ḫūtā*/*s'ḫītā*, *s'ūtā*, Akkadian *ḫimmatu*

Aramaic *s'ḫūtā*/*s'ḫītā* and *s'ūtā* have the meaning 'sweepings, refuse, dung'; for example, the Targum of *g'ālīm* 'dung' (Zeph. 1:17) is *s'ḫītā*.²⁴ One variant on a passage in Midrash *Pesikta de Rav Kabana*, cited by the *Aruch*, is *min s'ūtēb d'beytāk* "from the refuse of your house," and another variant cited there is *ḫerwātēb* 'its dung'.²⁵

18 CAD H, 198a-99a; 175a-76a (*ḫerū*).

19 VAB 4, 134, 6:60. On the conjunction of *šr* and *ḫrṣ*, *dūru* and *ḫirūtu/ḫirīšu/ḫarīšu*, see now R. Brauner, *A Comparative Lexicon of Old Aramaic* (unpublished Ph.D. diss., Dropsie University, 1974), 214-17. While the form *ḫarīšu* appears to be an Aramaization, it is difficult to determine whether *ḫirīšu* and Aramaic *ḫrṣ* 'moat' are loans in one direction or the other, or both parallel developments of cognates.

20 The form of *paršīdā* 'kernel', with dissimilation of a doubled consonant -šš- > -rṣ-, appears to be derived from the adjectival form **paššīd*. The form *pešīd(ā)* is nominal; cf. Caspar Leviaš, *A Grammar of Babylonian Aramaic* (New York, 1930), ##55:1, 85:1, 97:1 [in Hebrew]; Theodor Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar* (London, 1904), ##110, 118.

21 TB *Baba Metzia* 84a.

22 The Mishnah records the view of Rabbi Judah that *ḫaršānīm* are what is outside and *zaggīm* what is inside. Rabbi Jose's view is the reverse; *zaggīm*, compared to *zūg* 'cattle bell', is on the outside (Mishnah *Nazir* 6:2); cf. Ibn Ezra on Numb. 6:4. Other renderings are: Targum Onkelos: *ḫaršānīm* = *puršānīm* 'kernels'; Targum Pseudo Jonathan: *ḫaršānīm* = *q'luḫīm* 'husks'; LXX: *ḫaršānīm* = ΣΤΕΙΧΡΟΛΩΝ 'mass of pressed olives', *zag* = ΥΛΥΑΦΤΟΥ 'grape stone' (A. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta*, 1:223); Rashi: *ḫaršānīm* = 'seeds'; Luther: 'Weinkern'; BDB, 359a: 'grape-stones, from acrid taste'; *Revised Version*: 'kernels'; *Revised Standard Version*: 'seeds'; *The New English Bible*: 'shoot'; JPS (1917): 'pressed grapes'; *The New American Bible*: 'unripe grapes'; JPS *Torah* (1962): 'seeds'.

23 *Pesikta de Rav Kabana*, ed. B. Mandelbaum (New York, 1962), 6:4; cf. critical apparatus for variant readings; Midrash *Tanḫuma*, *Vā'ērā*, 14; Midrash *Exodus Rabbab* 12:6; Midrash *Numbers Rabbab* 12:10. An alternate translation is: "like the split pomegranate whose seeds are visible from without" (Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 1225a).

24 *Miqra'ōtē G'ēdōlōtē* (Warsaw, 1860-68; reprint: New York, 1951); cf. the form *saḫūtā* in Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic*, 3:468.

25 Kohut, *Aruch Completum*, 6:97a; *Pesikta de Rav Kabana*, ed. Mandelbaum, 160:8; cf. critical apparatus for variants.

Another passage shows the use of these words in conjunction with Aramaic *bmm* 'sweep'; for example, *w^ehammat bādā' iṭā' s^eḥūtā' d^e baytā'* "a woman swept out the refuse of her house."²⁶ The verb *bmm* also occurs in Hebrew in the Midrash, viz., *h^amāmām kib^em^ekabbēd* "he swept them as with a broom."²⁷ Aramaic *h^amāmā'* renders *mappal* 'refuse' (Amos 8:6), and the verb *bmm* is the rendering of the Targum of *ṭa'ṭē'* 'sweep' (Isa. 14:23).²⁸

Aramaic and Hebrew *bmm* has been identified with Arabic *ḥmm* 'sweep',²⁹ this being further identical with Akkadian *ḥamāmu*, *ḥummumu* 'collect, gather up small particles'.³⁰ Aramaic *h^amāmā'* should be compared with Akkadian *ḥimmatu* 'collected sweepings, refuse'.³¹ The Akkadian idiom meaning 'anything of the smallest value', that is, *ḥāmu u ḥuṣābu* 'straw or splinter of wood', has already been compared with Elephantine Aramaic *mn ḥm w'd ḥwt* "from a piece of straw to a piece of thread."³² There are parallels to this idiom in Hebrew, for example, *kol šebimlîkûhû: 'alēbem 'pîlû šerôr wa'pîlû qîsām* "whatever people make their ruler (that is, worship), be it a pebble or a chip of wood,"³³ and *'al 'isqê teḥen wāqaš* "(if an enemy invaded a border city) for matters of straw and stubble (that is, insignificant matters)."³⁴ We may compare *ina šadē dannūti ša balṭi šarî ḥāmu ḥuṣābu ina libbi laššūni* "in the mighty mountains where there is no abundant (plant)-life, neither straw nor stubble."³⁵ Hebrew *qîsām* 'chip' is equivalent to *ḥuṣābu*, and it occurs in the expression *ṭôl qîsām mibbēn šineykā* "remove the chip from between your teeth," to which the insolent reply is *ṭôl qôrāb mibbēn 'ēneykā* "remove the beam from between yours eyes."³⁶ Interesting to compare is Akkadian *[ḥā]mu ḥuṣāba u mimma ša ina inē šūli* "(incantation for) removing a straw, a splinter of wood, or anything from the eyes."³⁷

26 TY *Moed Katan* III, 81d, top. The reading *w^ehammat* is proposed by Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 971a. Biblical *sûḥāb* 'offal' (Isa. 5:25) is to be identified. Targum Jonathan renders it by *sāḥūtā'* (*Miqrā'ôl G^edôlôṭ*). Another vocalization is *siḥw^eṭā'*; Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic*, 3:12.

27 Midrash *Lamentations Rabbah*, Introduction, par. 5 (R. Abbahu 2); *Yalkut Shimoni*, Isaiah, par. 414; cf. Midrash *Numbers Rabbah* 23:14 and Midrash *Tanḥuma*, *Mas'ê*, 13, where the verb is *ḥikbîdān* 'he swept them'.

28 Compare *w^ehamm^emat 'ibūrā'* 'and the refuse of grain' (Amos 8:6, *Miqrā'ôl G^edôlôṭ*) and the variant *wab^amāmūt*; Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic*, 3:428, critical apparatus. On Isa. 14:23 the printed edition has *w^ehamm^emināb* 'I will sweep her', and a variant is *wa'ebā^emināb*; Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic*, 3:31.

29 E. Ben Yehudah, *Thesaurus Totius Hebraicitatis*, 2:1116b.

30 CAD H, 58b-59b. Cf. the present writer's "Rabbinic Homilies and Cognate Languages," in I. Passow and S. Lachs, eds., *Gratz College Anniversary Volume* (Philadelphia, 1971), 269-73.

31 CAD H, 191a-b.

32 E. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri* (New Haven, 1953), #2:10; E. A. Speiser, *Genesis*, Anchor Bible 1 (New York, 1964), 105; idem, "A Figurative Equivalent for Totality in Akkadian and West Semitic," *JAOS* 54 (1934), 200-03.

33 TB *Sanhedrin* 64a, bottom.

34 TB *Erubin* 45a.

35 OIP 2, 156:1-3.

36 TB *Baba Batra* 15b (version in *Eyn Yaakob*); *Yalkut Shimoni*, Ruth, par. 597; Matthew 7:3; Luke 6:41.

37 R. Campbell Thompson, *Assyrian Medical Texts* (London, 1923), 12, 1:50.

There is a clear relationship between verbs with the meaning 'sweep, gather' and nouns denoting the objects of those actions, that is, 'refuse, straw, stubble, dung'; compare Akkadian *ḥamāmu* and *ḥimmatu*; Hebrew *qšš* 'gather' and *qaš* 'straw',³⁸ Aramaic and Hebrew *gbb* 'gather, rake up', *g^eḥāḥāb* 'raking, stubble'; and Akkadian *gabbu* 'totality, all'.³⁹

Akkadian *ḥamāmu* is used of one who gathers to himself office, power, knowledge and divine laws, and it occurs in idioms with *sakkê* 'rules', *nēmequ* 'wisdom', *têrēti* 'commands', *paršū* and *mê* 'law, divine offices'; for example, (*Nabû*) . . . *ša naphar parši ḥammu* "(Nabû) . . . who has gathered to himself all divine offices" and (*lštar*) . . . *ša rikis tērēti ḥammāt* "(lštar) . . . who takes to herself the totality of commands."⁴⁰ It can only be speculated whether Aramaic *bar qaššā* 'mayor, official of a city' is parallel, *qšš* being semantically equivalent to *ḥamāmu*, or whether it is to be related instead to *qšš* 'be old', hence 'elder'.⁴¹

To return to *s^eḥūṭā*/*s^eḥūṭā* and *s^eḥūṭā*, the form of these words suggests an underlying root **sḥb* and **s^hb*.⁴² The latter form is attested in Ps. 55:9 *merūaḥ sō'āb missā'ar*. Dahood, following Ginsberg, has identified this with Ugaritic *s't* in *s't bšdm ḥtb* "he swept from the fields the woodcutter."⁴³ He thus renders Ps. 55:9 "out of the sweeping wind and tempest."⁴⁴ This is another example of a relationship between the verb 'sweep' and the objects swept, 'refuse, straw, stubble, dung'. The passage from Ps. 55:9 may be compared for content with *u ša ḥimmat ašamšati tēšū iṣād ina qabli* "and (like) sweepings (swept along) by windstorms, confusion whirls through the battle."⁴⁵

38 Cf. Exod. 5:12; Numb. 15:32-33; 1 Kings 17:10, 12; Lane, *Lexicon*, Supplement, 2988c. Arabic *qašš* is a loanword from Aramaic; S. Frankel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen* (Leiden, 1886), 137.

39 Compare Hebrew *gbb* 'gather'; e.g., *hamm^egabbēḥ bayyāḥēš* "if he gathers dried vegetables" (Mishnah *Shebi'it* 9:6); and the Aramaic form occurring in the Mishnah, *g^eḥāḥā* 'rakings, stubble, straw'; e.g., *kīnāḥ šebissiqūbab baqqaš ubagg^eḥāḥā* "if a double stove had been heated with stubble or straw" (Mishnah *Šabbat* 3:1); cf. Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 203b-04a. On *gabbu* 'totality, all', cf. *AHW.*, 272a-b.

40 *CT* 17, 41, K. 2873, r. 2; *BA* 3, 351:3.

41 *TB Šabbat* 110a, top; *TB Baba Batra* 110b, top.

42 The verb *sḥb* 'scrape, clean away' occurs in Ezek. 26:4. On the identification of *s^eḥū* 'offscouring' (Lam. 3:45) and *s^eḥūṭā*, cf. *BDB*, 695a. On *sūḥāb* 'offal' (Isa. 5:25), see note 26. The *ḥ/* interchange, as in *sḥb/s^hb*, *s^eḥūṭā*/*s^eḥūṭā*, also occurs in the following examples: *nsh* (Prov. 15:25)/*ns* 'pull out, uproot' (Judg. 16:3, 14); *ḥūg*/*ūgāḥ* 'circle', e.g., *b^eḥuqō ḥūg 'al pēnē t^eḥōm* "when he drew a circle on the face of the deep" (Prov. 8:27), and *āg^g 'ūgāḥ w^e 'āmad b^eṭōḳāḥ* "he made a circle and stood inside it" (Mishnah *Taanit* 3:8); *ḥawwāq/ūwāq* 'rung of a ladder', e.g., *'ōleb šib^e 'in 'awāqim w^e yōrēd* "(The Holy One Blessed Be He showed to Jacob our father the prince [patron angel] of Babylonia) ascending seventy rungs and descending" (Midrash *Tanbuma*, *Vayyese*, 2), and *bēkē dāmē sullām hammišrū* . . . *kol še 'en lō 'arbā'āḥ ḥawwāqin* "what is the Egyptian ladder? . . . one that does not have four rungs" (*TB Baba Batra* 59a). Compare Akkadian *ḥūqu*, for example, *simmiltu ša sebe ḥūqī* "a ladder of seven rungs;" H. Zimmern, *BBR*, # 68:11; Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*², 222b. This word is quite late in Akkadian and may be Aramaic; cf. *CAD H*, 243b-44a.

43 M. Dahood, *Psalms II*, Anchor Bible 17 (New York, 1968), 28, 33, from *UT*, *Krt*:216 (cf. 111-13, 214).

44 M. Dahood, *Psalms II*, 28.

45 Tn.-Epic, ii, 43; cf. *CAD S*, 58b.

A parallel to this group of words is *galgal* 'wheel', also denoting 'sweeping wind', undoubtedly through metaphor; compare Ps. 77:19; and also what the wind sweeps, that is 'straw, stubble'; compare Isa. 17:13 and Ps. 83:14. We may also compare Aramaic *gîlā* 'stubble' and Aramaic *gilg^elā*, *g^elā*, *g^elāiū* 'dung' (compare biblical *g^elālīm*).⁴⁶ Aramaic *s^ehūtā*/*s^ehītā* and *s^eūtā*, as noted, also have the sense 'dung'.

Isa. 5:28 compares the wheels of the enemy's chariots with the stormwind, *sūpāb*. There is, however, another association evoked and possibly intended by the use in this verse of *galgillāyw* 'his wheels' namely, an allusion to *galgal* 'whirlwind'. This is especially compelling in view of Isa. 17:13, where the enemy is described as being pursued like 'whirling dust' or 'stubble' (*galgal*) before the storm (*sūpāb*). The parallelism with *mōš* 'chaff' should be noted. Kimchi appears to have grasped the double-entendre in 5:28 when he says: "and the wheels of the chariots will come swiftly like the storm, that is, like the straw which rolls in the wind."

4. *hūrpā*, Akkadian *hurāpu*.

The biblical word *q^ešūtāb* (Gen. 33:19, Josh. 24:32, Job 42:11) has been variously understood in rabbinic literature. Rabbi Akiba related that, when he visited North Africa, he learned that *m^eāb*, a unit of money, was called *q^ešūtāb*. The Talmud applies this to the interpretation of Gen. 33:19, identifying the word with Aramaic *danqā*, Persian *dānkh* 'one sixth of a dinar'.⁴⁷ Another understanding of *q^ešūtāb* is 'precious stone'; for example, Targum Pseudo-Jonathan on Gen. 33:19, which renders *margalyāyn* 'pearls'.⁴⁸

The word has also been understood as 'lamb'; compare on the verse LXX ΕΚΑΤΟΝ ΟΜΒΟΥΣ 'a hundred lambs'.⁴⁹ The *Aruch* cites a Midrash passage in which '*immartā*' is called *q^ešūtāb* in colloquial speech.⁵⁰ Targum Onkelos on Gen. 33:19 and Targum Jonathan on Josh. 24:32 and Job 42:11 render *hūrpān* 'lambs'.⁵¹

46 Cf. Targum Onkelos, Exod. 5:12 *l^eqōšēš qaš*, rendered *l^egabbāhā* *gîlê* 'to gather stubble'; Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*², 115a; cf. *k^eʾilēn gilg^elayyā* *d^ešippôrîn* "like these bird droppings," Midrash *Kobelet* *Rabbah* 12:6, interpreting *galgal* 'wheel' (Qoh. 12:6); cf. also *gilê mapqāt ʿenāšā*, the rendering by the Targum of *gelê šēʾat bāʾādām* (Ezek. 4:12), and *gîlê ʿenāšā* (v. 15) 'human dung'; Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic*, 3:272. The printed edition has *gelê ʿenāšā*. The relationship between circling and wind-swept dust is seen in Arabic *gawlān* 'dust which the wind makes to turn about, circle, revolve'; Lane, *Lexicon*, 489c. Compare Akkadian *šādu* 'prowl, make one's rounds, turn about, whirl!'; e.g., *ašamsūtu ša ina šamē ezziš išsanundu šunu* "they (the demons) are a whirlwind which whirls furiously across the sky" (CT 16, 19:32); and *šumma ina libbi āli ašamšātu išsanunda* "if a storm whirls in the midst of the city" (CT 38, 8:40f.). For this meaning of *šādu*, cf. n[li-mi-en] [NIGIN] = *šādum, saḥārum, lawûm* 'turn, surround' (*Proto-Diri* 64f.); cf. CAD S, 57b-59a. For Arabic *gillatu* 'animal dung' see Lane, *Lexicon*, 437a-b.

47 TB *Rosh ha-Shanah* 26a, bottom; M. Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 315b; Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*², 160b, "the sixth part of a dirham."

48 M. Ginsburger, *Pseudo-Jonathan—Nach der Londoner Handschrift* (Berlin, 1903), 63.

49 *Septuaginta*, ed. A. Rahlfs, 1:53-54.

50 A. Kohut, *Aruch Completum*, 7:224b; cf. Midrash *Genesis Rabbah* 79:7 (Vilna edition) for a different text and the variant spelling *k^ešūtā*.

51 *Miqrā ʾôl G^edôlôl*, ad loc.; cf. Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic*, 1:55 (Gen. 33:19) for the reading *hūrpān*; ibid., 2:44 (Josh. 24:32) for the reading *hurpān*. Biblical *q^ešūtāb* is obscure. Speiser terms it

Aramaic and Syriac *ḥūrṣā* 'young lamb, lamb of one year' are to be identified.⁵² Landsberger established that *ḥurāpu* (Nuzi: *ḥirāpu*) is a term denoting an age and stage of development of a lamb, prior to the age of mating, and it does not refer to birth in the early part of the year. Noting the Talmudic distinction between sheep which are *ḥorṣeyyātā* 'early' and *aplātā* 'late', he rejected this as evidence for interpreting Akkadian *ḥurāpu* as 'early born lamb'. A significant point is that Akkadian lacks the corresponding term *aplu* with the meaning 'late-born lamb'.⁵³ To strengthen this argument and to dissociate Talmudic *ḥorṣeyyātā* 'early-conceiving lambs' from *ḥurāpu* and from Targumic *ḥūrṣā*, we may note that the distinction between early and late-conceiving sheep is also expressed in Aramaic by

"a monetary unit of unknown value," Speiser, *Genesis*, 259. It has also been equated with Arabic *qisṭ* which is equal to 481 dirham or 1429 grams; L. Köhler and W. Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros* (Leiden, 1953), 858b, citing Lane, *Lexicon*, 3522b. If *qēšāb* is Semitic at all, it is difficult to see any relationship between it and Arabic *qaṣāṭa* 'removed, put off'; Lane, *Lexicon*, 2526a; and etymologies are perilous. Kohut assumed that the basic meaning was 'lamb' and that the transferred sense 'unit of money' was parallel to the development of Latin *pecus* 'cattle' and *pecūnia* 'property, money'. He also proposed that images of sheep were engraved upon early coins; Kohut, *Aruch Completum*, 7:224b. We may also compare German *Vieh* 'cattle' and English 'fee'. For the sense 'unit of money' we may propose instead a comparison with Akkadian *kašātu* (<**qašātu*) 'cut down (orchards, vineyards, reeds), cut off, interrupt'; e.g., *iṣṣē u qanapparāte ina qulmē ikšitū issuḥū šurussu* "they cut down with axes the trees and the reed (covering Babylon) and pulled out the roots"; Borger, *Esarb.*, Episode 18:13-15; *ebūršu assuḥ kirātēšu akšitū* "I uprooted its harvest, I cut down its orchards"; BA 6/1, 135, iv:4-5; and *api kup[ē ša] qereb Kaldī akšitma* "I cut down the reed marshes which are in Chaldea . . .," OIP 2, 95:72; cf. CAD K, 287a-b. Units of money, subdivisions of larger units, are often named by terms developed from verbs with the sense 'cut, divide'; e.g., Aramaic *zūzā*, Hebrew *zūz*, Akkadian *zūzu* < *zāzu* 'divide'; cf. *giš.silā=qū*, *giš.silā.bar.ra=zūz*; MSL 6, 104:237-38; ba.a.EŠ=*mutatum*, *zūzi*, *bantum* 'one half'; A II/4, 173ff.; cf. CAD Z, 170b; CAD B, 77a; Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*², 191b; *bitqu* 'one-eighth of a shekel' <*btq/batāqu* 'cut, divide'; cf. *šina šiqla rebūt bitqa* 'two shekels, one fourth, and one eighth', J. N. Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Nabuchodonosor, König von Babylon* (Leipzig, 1889), 454:2-3; cf. CAD B, 161b-65b, 278a-b; and *peṛās* < *prs/parāsū* 'cut, divide'; e.g., *māneb ben peṛās* " 'a *minab*, the son of a half a *minab*', i.e., 'a distinguished son of a less distinguished father,'" TB *Taanit* 21b; for *parāsū*, cf. *AHW.*, 830b-32a.

⁵² Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*², 258b, also citing Arabic *ḥarūf*. Compare Hebrew *ḥrp* 'be early', e.g., *bimē ḥorṣi* 'in the days of my youth' (Job 29:4); Aramaic *hrp*, e.g., *tar'ā ḥorṣā*, *tar'ā' apīā* 'early market, late market' (TB *Baba Batra* 90b); and Akkadian *ḥarāpu*, e.g., *iḥtarṣūni mīl kiššati ittagpušū mē naqbi* "the strong floods came early, the (flow of) waters of the spring became strong," CT 15, 34:27; Lambert, *BWL*, 178:27; cf. CAD H, 90a-b. In view of these cognates, it is difficult to determine that Aramaic *ḥūrṣā* is a loanword from Akkadian, as there is a real possibility of parallel development.

⁵³ B. Landsberger, "Studien zur den Urkunden aus der Zeit des Ninurta-tukul-Aššur," *AfO* 10 (1935), 155-57, especially 156-7, n. 77. It is puzzling that CAD H, 245a-b, renders *ḥurāpu* as 'spring lamb' and *AHW.*, 357a-58a, as '*Fruhjahrslamm*', both citing, nonetheless, Landsberger's article in *AfO* 10 without giving any other source or reason for deviating from his definition. The Talmudic discussion in TB *Rosh ha-Shanab* 8a concerns Rabbi Meir's view that ewes become pregnant in Adar (Feb.-March) and give birth in Ab (c. July-Aug.) and the opposing view of Rabbis Elazar and Simeon that they become pregnant in Nisan (c. March-April) and give birth in Tishri (c. September-October). Exceptions to the first view are called *aplātā* 'late ones' and to the second, *ḥorṣeyyātā* 'early ones'.

other terms. The contrasting terms in Gen. 30:41-42, *baššō'n hamm^equššārōt* 'the stronger of the flock' and *ub^eba' aṭīp baššō'n* 'when the flocks were feeble', are rendered by Targum Onkelos, respectively, as *'ānā' m^ebakkartā* 'early sheep' and *ub^elaqqiṣūt 'ānā'* 'when the sheep were late'.⁵⁴ Rashi's explanation of the passage in TB *Rosh ba-Sbanah* 8a shows how he connects it with Gen. 30:41-42. He refers to sheep *ma' aṭīpōt umit'ah^arōt l^eqabbēl zākār 'ad Nisān* 'which are late and delay receiving the male until Nisan.' His use of *ṭp* from Gen. 30:42, here understood as 'be late', is evidence of his connection of the passages.

54 *Miqra'ōt G^edōlōt*; cf. Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic*, 1:49; cf. Syriac *bkr, lqš*; Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*², 73b-74a, 370b-371a. Compare Speiser, *Genesis*, 237, who cites S. R. Driver to the effect that stronger ewes are known to lamb in winter and the weaker ones in spring, and his own view that *qšr* in this context corresponds to Akkadian *gašrum* 'sturdy, robust'. The difference in initial consonants, however, raises some doubt about this identification.