

# THE RELIGION OF THE POST-EXILIC PROPHETS.

By Prof. W. H. BENNETT,  
D.D., Litt.D.

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T. & T. CLARK, Edinburgh and London.

THE  
MOABITE STONE

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EDINBURGH: T. & T. CLARK, 38 GEORGE STREET

1911

*Printed by*

MORRISON & GIBB LIMITED,

FOR

T. & T. CLARK, EDINBURGH.

LONDON : SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, HAMILTON, KENT, AND CO. LIMITED.

NEW YORK : CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS.

## PREFACE.



THIS little volume is intended to meet the needs both of students who wish to study the Hebrew, or rather Moabite, text of the Stone, and also of such of the general public as may desire to know the history, contents, and significance of this famous inscription. It is based on the Author's article MOAB in Dr. Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*; the article has been revised, expanded, and supplemented. This work includes a transcription of the inscription in the ordinary Square Hebrew, translations, notes, and other explanatory matter. As appendices there have been added transcriptions and translations of the Siloam Inscription and the Gezer Calendar.

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# THE MOABITE STONE

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## I.

### THE INSCRIPTION.

*The following is a free translation, in some places a free paraphrase, but the English reader will obtain from it a good idea of the general sense of the Inscription. Italics indicate that there is considerable uncertainty as to the substantial sense of portions of the inscription.*

*The reader will be able to check, and it may be correct, the latitude which the author has allowed himself in this translation, by referring to the literal translation in sec. viii. and the accompanying notes. The latter translation*

## THE MOABITE STONE

*also indicates the lines and punctuation of the original.*

I am Mesha of Dibon, king of Moab, son of Chemosh - *melekh*. My father reigned thirty years over Moab and I succeeded him, and I erected this sanctuary of Chemosh in Khorkhah in commemoration of my victory over hostile kings, because Chemosh gave me victory and vengeance over all my enemies.

When Chemosh was angry with his land, Omri, king of Israel, held Moab in subjection for many years ; and his son succeeded him, and he also purposed to subdue Moab. This was in my days. But I avenged myself upon him and upon his house, and Israel finally lost all power over Moab.

Omri annexed the land of Medeba, and for forty years, his reign and half his son's reign, it was occupied by Israel, but Chemosh restored it to Moab in my days.

## THE INSCRIPTION

I extended and fortified Baal-meon, where I made the reservoir, and Kirjathaim.

From of old the Gadites occupied the land of Ataroth; and the king of Israel fortified Ataroth, but I besieged and took it, and massacred all the population to gratify Chemosh and Moab. I removed thence the altar-hearth of Dawdoh and transferred it to the temple of Chemosh at Kerioth; and I settled in Ataroth the men of Sharon and the men of Makharath.

Chemosh said to me, "Go and take Nebo from Israel"; and I went by night, and assaulted it from daybreak till noon, and I took it, and massacred all the inhabitants, 7000 men and *boys*, and women and *girls* and slave-girls, because I had vowed to destroy it utterly in honour of Ashtor-Chemosh. And I took thence the *altar-hearths* of Yahweh and transferred them to the temple of Chemosh.

Then the king of Israel fortified Jahaz,

## THE MOABITE STONE

and made it his headquarters while he fought against me ; but Chemosh drove him out before me. I took *the fighting men* of the 200 *clans* of Moab, and led them against Jahaz and took it, to annex it to the territory of Dibon.

I extended and fortified Khorkhah, providing it with walls and gates and towers, and a palace, and, in the midst of the city, reservoirs. There were no cisterns in Khorkhah, and I bade every householder provide a cistern in his own house. I used the Israelite prisoners as navvies for my public works at Khorkhah.

I made the road by the Arnon, and I extended and fortified Aroer, and Bathbamoath that had been destroyed, and Bezer that was in ruins. *In the royal district of Dibon there were fifty clans, and a hundred in the newly conquered towns and their territory.* I extended and fortified Medeba and Beth-diblathaim. *And as for Beth-baal-meon there I placed shepherds*

## THE INSCRIPTION

.....sheep of the land.....and Horonaim, wherein dwelt.....and.....  
Chemosh said to me, "Go down, attack Horonaim," and I went down.....  
Chemosh in my days, and *Eleadeh* whence  
.....and I.....

## II.

### DESCRIPTION AND HISTORY OF THE MOABITE STONE.

THIS Stone was a monument of black basalt erected by Mesha king of Moab, c. 850 B.C., to commemorate his victories over Israel. It was first heard of by M. Clermont Ganneau through reports of natives, but was not actually seen till it was discovered somewhat later, in 1868, by the Rev. F. A. Klein, a Prussian in the employment of the Church Missionary Society. It was found amongst the ruins of the ancient Moabite city of Dibon,<sup>1</sup> probably at or near its original site. Mr. Klein's discovery consisted of the upper

<sup>1</sup> The site is now called *Dibán*.

## DESCRIPTION AND HISTORY

portion of the monument, a slab rounded at both ends, about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet high by 2 feet wide, and 2 feet thick. Unfortunately Prussian and French authorities bid against one another for its purchase, so that its Arab possessors perceived that the Stone was of great value, and conceived the happy idea of breaking it in pieces, in order, probably, to make more money by selling it in portions. Fortunately before this act of vandalism was carried out, copies of parts of the inscription had been taken by means of squeezes, notably two by Arabs employed by M. Clermont Ganneau. Ultimately a large proportion of the fragments was recovered, making up altogether about half the inscription. Of these, two large fragments and a number of smaller ones were purchased by M. Clermont Ganneau and the rest by Sir Charles (then Capt.) Warren. The whole set were presented to the museum at the Louvre in Paris; the surviving fragments were com-

## THE MOABITE STONE

bined with reconstructions from the squeezes of the missing portions; and thus a restoration of the Stone was produced, and placed in the Jewish Court of the Louvre. There is a facsimile of this restored Stone in the British Museum. In the accompanying plate the dark portions correspond to the fragments of the original Stone, the lighter portions to the reconstructions from the squeezes.

This important discovery was made known to the world in 1870, by letters, articles, and monographs by the Rev. F. A. Klein, M. Clermont Ganneau, Prof. Nöldeke, Dr. Ginsburg, and others.<sup>1</sup>

The inscription is written in a dialect of Hebrew, in the ancient Hebrew character.<sup>2</sup>

The statement of Mesha,<sup>3</sup> "I saw my desire upon him<sup>4</sup> and upon his house," *i.e.* Mesha's desire for revenge was gratified

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> Stone, line 7.

<sup>2</sup> See § x.

<sup>4</sup> Ahab.

## DESCRIPTION AND HISTORY

by seeing the ruin of Ahab and his dynasty, probably indicates that the Stone was erected after the extirpation of the House of Omri by Jehu, about B.C. 843.

### III.

#### MOAB AND ISRAEL.

MOAB and Israel were neighbours and kinsfolk; they had probably migrated together from the East; they occupied adjoining territories; they spoke dialects of the same language, and had much in common in their political, social, and religious life.

The patriarchal narratives in *Genesis* preserve a tradition, which may be unhesitatingly accepted as historical, to the effect that Moab was very closely akin to Israel, and that up to a certain point the history of Israel is also the history of Moab. Moab is the son of Lot, and Lot is the nephew of Abraham, and accompanies him

## MOAB AND ISRAEL

in his migrations from Ur to Haran, and from Haran to Palestine. In other words, Moab, Ammon, Edom, etc., together with Israel, once<sup>1</sup> formed a loose confederation of kindred tribes under the common name *Hebrews*; and this confederation migrated from Mesopotamia westwards, and led a nomad life in and about Palestine. Moab abandoned the nomad life much earlier than Israel, and settled down to cultivate the soil and live in towns and villages in the territories to the east of the Dead Sea and the southern end of the Jordan, with Edom to the south and Ammon and the nomad tribes of the desert to the east. Their northern neighbours were at first the Amorites and then the eastern tribes of Israel. The territory which is marked as "Reuben" on the ordinary maps was for the most part occupied by Moab both before and after the Israelite conquest of Canaan.

<sup>1</sup> More accurately, certain tribes which were the ancestors of Israel.

## THE MOABITE STONE

Thus Moab was a nation with a local habitation and a name long before the Exodus; the name *Muab* occurs in the lists of the conquests of Ramses II.<sup>1</sup> in Syria.

According to the narratives<sup>2</sup> in *Exodus*, Moab had suffered serious reverses shortly before the appearance of Israel in Eastern Palestine. An Amorite king Sihon had deprived Moab of its northern territory. When Israel came upon the scene, Sihon was overthrown, and the newcomers occupied his dominions, including the lands north of the Arnon which had once belonged to Moab.

It is difficult to determine the relations of Israel to Moab at this time, the data are meagre, and ambiguous, and inconsistent; but might perhaps be explained

<sup>1</sup> *Circa* 1300 B.C. Ramses II. is often styled the Pharaoh of the Oppression; but this is merely one among many conflicting theories.

<sup>2</sup> Some hold that the passages on which this paragraph is based are not historically accurate, but are a corrupt account of events which really happened much later.

## MOAB AND ISRAEL

by supposing that at first Moab welcomed Israel as an ally against Sihon, but became hostile when it appeared that Israel did not intend to reinstate Moab in its ancient territories.<sup>1</sup>

Henceforth the lands north of the Arnon were debatable ground between Moab and Israel. Apparently at some early period the tribe of Reuben was practically destroyed and their country occupied by the Moabites; and at one time Moab under Eglon pushed its outposts to the west of Jordan, but were speedily driven back across the river. Doubtless also Moab was often engaged in contests with Edom to the south.<sup>2</sup>

Under Saul and David the Israelite tribes were consolidated into a compact military state, and waged successful wars

<sup>1</sup> The chief incidents in which Moab figures at this point are the worship of the Moabite deity Baal-peor by the Israelites, Num. 25<sup>1-5</sup>, and the episode of Balak and Balaam (Num. 22-24).

<sup>2</sup> See *D.B.* p. 410<sup>b</sup>.

## THE MOABITE STONE

against Moab, until the latter became tributary to David.<sup>1</sup> How long Moab remained tributary we do not know; probably it regained its independence under Solomon or soon after his death. It seems to have been independent in the time of Omri, for the Moabite Stone<sup>2</sup> speaks of that king "oppressing," *i.e.* "subjugating," Moab. As our monument deals with relations between Israel and Moab in the reigns of Omri, Ahab, and Jehoram, we will give this period a section to itself.

A few lines may be devoted to the later history of Moab. It seems probable that Jeroboam II. renewed the ancient suzerainty of Israel over Moab, but only for a brief space, for Moab must have again become independent when Israel was overwhelmed by Assyria. Later references in the Old Testament and the inscriptions mention Moab as the tributary first of Assyria, then of Babylon. Moab was usually hostile

<sup>1</sup> 2 Sam. 8<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Lines, 4, 5, 7; cf. p. 17.

## MOAB AND ISRAEL

to Judah, but the two were sometimes associated in revolts against the suzerain power.

Moab disappears from history after the Exile ; we do not know how or why.

#### IV.

### THE MOABITE STONE AND THE BOOK OF KINGS.

ON the Stone, Mesha, king of Moab, gives an account of his victories and other achievements. It is easy to fix with certainty the general period of Israelite history with which Mesha was contemporary. According to 2 Kings 3<sup>4, 5</sup>,<sup>1</sup> Mesha was a contemporary of three kings of Israel, Ahab, Ahaziah, and Jehoram, and therefore also of Jehoshaphat, king of Judah. This is confirmed by the Stone, in which Mesha speaks of himself as the contemporary of the son of Omri, *i.e.* of Ahab.<sup>2</sup>

Further, *Kings*<sup>3</sup> tells us that Mesha was

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 1 Kings 22<sup>51</sup>, 2 Kings 1<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Line 6; cf. pp. 19 f.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Kings 3<sup>4</sup>.

## THE BOOK OF KINGS

“ a sheepmaster,” and paid to the king of Israel tribute in the form of “ the wool of a hundred thousand lambs and a hundred thousand rams,” or, according to the margin of the Revised Version, “ a hundred thousand lambs and a hundred thousand rams, with the wool.” “ Sheepmaster ” in the Hebrew is a rare word, *nōkēdh*, meaning a keeper of a special breed of sheep noted for its wool ; the prophet Amos was also a *nōkēdh*.<sup>1</sup> The narrative on the Stone begins in the reign of the Israelite king Omri, about 887–876 B.C. The Old Testament account of the reign of Omri tells us nothing about the relations of Israel and Moab, but we gather<sup>2</sup> from the Stone that Moab was independent at the accession of Omri, and that he made it a tributary of Israel. In Num. 21<sup>14, 15, 27-30</sup> we have poetical fragments which, in their present form and content, refer to a conquest of Moab by the Amorite king Sihon ; but it

<sup>1</sup> Amos 1<sup>1</sup>. Cf. Century Bible on 2 Kings 3<sup>4</sup>.    <sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 14.

## THE MOABITE STONE

has been suggested<sup>1</sup> that these poems originally referred to the subjugation of Moab by Omri.

The general statements on the Stone, that Moab was tributary, but revolted under Mesha, agree with the information to the same effect in 2 Kings 1<sup>1</sup> 3<sup>4, 5</sup>. There are differences, however, as to the date of the revolt and the general chronology of the period. According to 2 Kings 1<sup>1</sup> 3<sup>5</sup>, Mesha rebelled after the death of Ahab; but according to the Stone, the revolt took place in the middle of Ahab's reign. The difference is more apparent than real; the revolt is only mentioned to introduce the story of the campaign of Jehoram and Jehoshaphat in 2 Kings 3; the author of that narrative did not know the date of the revolt, but only that Moab was in a state of rebellion in the reign of Jehoram. "After the death of Ahab" is a conjecture which a scientific historian

<sup>1</sup> H. P. Smith, *Old Testament History*, p. 196.

## THE BOOK OF KINGS

would have expressed by writing, "Some time before the accession of Jehoram, possibly at the death of Ahab."

Another discrepancy arises out of the statement of the Moabite Stone, lines 7 and 8, "Now Omri annexed all the land of Medeba, and Israel occupied it, his days and half his son's days, forty years."<sup>1</sup>

According to 1 Kings 16<sup>28-29</sup>, Omri reigned twelve years and Ahab his son twenty-two years. So that, even if we make an improbable assumption in order to minimise the discrepancy between the two sets of figures, and assume that the subjugation of Moab was the very first act of Omri, the founder of a new dynasty, even then we get from *Kings*—

|  |          |
|--|----------|
| Reign of Omri . . . . .                  | 12 years |
| Half the reign of his son Ahab . . . . . | 11 "     |
|  | <hr/>    |
|  | 23 years |

instead of the forty of the Stone.

<sup>1</sup> This is the usual translation. There are other less probable renderings, e.g. "half his sons' days"; "during the half of the years of my reign his son (occupied it)," etc. None of these altogether do away with the discrepancy.

## THE MOABITE STONE

Prof. E. L. Curtis<sup>1</sup> suggests that "his son" is not Ahab, but his grandson Jehoram, son being sometimes used in the Old Testament in the sense of descendant. But this view is improbable. It certainly removes the discrepancy, as it gives us

|                                 |    |       |
|---------------------------------|----|-------|
| Reign of Omri . . . . .         | 12 | years |
| „ Ahab . . . . .                | 22 | „     |
| „ Ahaziah . . . . .             | 2  | „     |
| Half reign of Jehoram . . . . . | 6  | „     |
|                                 | 42 | years |

But as, according to the mode of reckoning, the year in which a king died was counted twice, as both his last year and his successor's first year, we should have to deduct three years, and the period would amount to thirty-nine years. This is near enough, as "forty" is no doubt a round number, as it often is in the Old Testament. But it is not natural to state a period by mentioning two parts of it; and further, according to *Kings* the supremacy of Israel

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Hastings' *Dict. of the Bible*, i. 402.

## THE BOOK OF KINGS

over Moab came to an end at the death of Ahab.<sup>1</sup>

The chronological data in *Kings* at this point are ambiguous, mutually inconsistent, and of uncertain value; and the figures in the Hebrew text differ from those in the Septuagint. It is therefore possible that Omri reigned more than twelve years, and Ahab more than twenty-two. Wellhausen<sup>2</sup> estimates that the reigns of Omri and Ahab together occupied sixty years. Prof. O. C. Whitehouse<sup>3</sup> endorses Schrader's view that Omri's reign lasted twenty-five years; and maintains that "These dates harmonise better with the results of Assyriology, and with the deep impression which Omri had produced in Western Asia by his military prowess." For more than a hundred and fifty years Israel was known to the Assyrians as the "land of the House of Omri."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> *Encyclopædia Biblica*, i. 729 n.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Hastings' *Dict. of the Bible*, iii. 621.

## THE MOABITE STONE

Prof. F. Buhl<sup>1</sup> suggests that Mesha has expressed himself loosely in these lines of the Stone. His inscription compresses into short compass references to a number of events which must have occupied many years. Possibly, according to Buhl, although "his days and half his son's days" are connected by grammar and proximity with "forty years," they may in Mesha's mind have referred to different periods, the "forty years" covering the whole range of events from Omri's conquest of Moab to the time when the Stone was set up.

We have now to consider the relation of the statements on the Moabite Stone to the narrative in 2 Kings 3. We will begin by giving a summary of each, with a few comments, etc.

<sup>1</sup> *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie, etc.,*  
"Mesainschrift."

## THE BOOK OF KINGS

### (i.) SUMMARY OF 2 KINGS 3<sup>4-27</sup>.

(a) Mesha revolted from Israel after the death of Ahab. No steps, apparently, were taken to subdue Moab during the brief reign of his successor Ahaziah.

(b) Ahaziah's successor, Jehoram, gathered the whole force of Israel, and summoned to his assistance contingents from Judah and Edom, under the command respectively of Jehoshaphat and of the king of Edom. They made a circuit round the south of the Dead Sea, reached the border of Moab from the S.E., and defeated the Moabite army gathered to resist them. They then systematically laid waste the country, and eventually besieged Mesha in one of his cities, probably Kir-hareseth. When the Moabite king was reduced to the last extremity, he sacrificed his son and heir on the wall of the city in the presence of both armies. Whereupon the Israelites retreated.

## THE MOABITE STONE

Nothing is said of any further attempt to subdue Moab.

### (ii.) SUMMARY OF MOABITE STONE.<sup>1</sup>

(a) *Lines 5-8.* Omri and his son, *i.e.* Ahab, "oppressed" Moab until the middle of the reign of Ahab, when Mesha revolted.

(b) *Lines 9-19, 32-34.* The Israelite king (unnamed) fortified Ataroth, *i.e.*, probably made it the headquarters of his forces engaged in attempting to reduce Moab. But Mesha captured in succession Ataroth and Nebo.

Then the Israelite king "fortified," *i.e.*, removed his headquarters to, Jahaz, but was driven out from thence by Mesha, who later on captured Horonaim.

The conclusion is wanting, but the whole may probably be summed up by the phrase in line 7, that "Israel was destroyed for ever," *i.e.* that at the time when the Stone was erected Moab had entirely recovered

<sup>1</sup> For full translation and notes, see pp. 48 ff.

## THE BOOK OF KINGS

its independence, and Mesha was confident that the Israelite intruders were finally expelled, and that his country would never again be in subjection to Israel.

(c) *Lines 21-31*. Mesha executed numerous and important public works, constructing fortifications, roads, aqueducts, etc. ; he also settled Moabite colonies in the cities and territories recovered from Israel.

We have already dealt with (a) the circumstances of the revolt ; and (c) Mesha's Public Works, does not directly concern us here. It remains to consider how the campaigns described in (i.) (b) and (ii.) (b), were related to each other.

There are three main possibilities. The campaign of 2 Kings 3 may have been either (1) prior to, or (2) later than, those described on the Stone ; or (3) the Stone may describe a series of campaigns, including the operations referred to in 2 Kings 3.

## THE MOABITE STONE

We must bear in mind that, in such documents as the Stone and 2 Kings 3, a writer dwells upon the successes of his own country, and says as little as possible about its reverses, or even ignores them altogether. Hence the silence of *Kings* as to Moabite victories, or the silence of the Stone as to Israelite victories, is no argument against their having been won.

Let us first consider our second alternative, that the campaign of 2 Kings 3 followed those described on the Stone. According to this view Mesha describes the original revolt; 2 Kings 3 describes a final but unsuccessful attempt to subdue Moab, of which Mesha says nothing.<sup>1</sup> This hardly seems likely if <sup>2</sup> the inscription was written after the death of Jehoram, some time later than the events described in 2 Kings 3.

<sup>1</sup> Some such view seems to be taken by Cornill, *History of the People of Israel*, p. 107, and Wellhausen, *Hist.*, etc., Eng. tr. p. 460.

<sup>2</sup> P. 9.

## THE BOOK OF KINGS

Let us turn now to our first alternative, that the campaign of 2 Kings 3 preceded those described on the Stone. According to this view, the Israelite kings, preoccupied with other matters, made no attempt to subdue Moab until the reign of Jehoram; and the futile efforts of this king were followed by successful aggressive operations by Mesha, which he recounts in his inscription. Probably this arrangement of the events, 2 Kings 3 earlier, the Stone campaigns later, is that more generally adopted.<sup>1</sup> This position would be more easy to hold if it were possible—as we think it is not—to place the revolt after the death of Ahab.<sup>2</sup>

But if the events in 2 Kings 3 are the earlier, they must fall within the period covered by the Stone; and there seems no reason why they should not form part of

<sup>1</sup> e.g., by H. P. Smith, *Old Test. Hist.* p. 196; McCurdy, *Hist., Prophecy, and the Monuments*, § 235; Jeremias, *Das A.T. im Lichte des alten Orients*, p. 318.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 18 f.

## THE BOOK OF KINGS

the struggle between Mesha and the king of Israel, described in the inscription. We cannot, indeed, identify the detailed incidents in the one document with those in the other, because the one is occupied with Israelite successes, just mentioning the bare fact of a final retreat, while the account of the revolt on the Stone is wholly taken up with Moabite successes. But Jehoram's initial victories and ultimate failure may have been the immediate prelude to the Moabite capture of Ataroth or Jahaz or Horonaim.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Thus Winckler, *Die Keilinschriften und das A.T.*, 3rd ed., p. 253, connects Jehoram's campaign with the fall of Horonaim.

## V.

### RELIGION.

UP to a certain point the Moabite religion was henotheistic ; there might be many gods, but Moab worshipped Chemosh as its national deity much as Israel worshipped Yahweh. The relation of Moab to Chemosh as indicated by our inscription is similar to that of Israel to Yahweh as it may be gathered from the earlier portions of the Old Testament. The name of Mesha's father is a compound of Chemosh, as the names of Israelite kings are compounds of Yahweh, *e.g.* Jehoram, Ahaziah. Chemosh is angry with his people ; abandons them to their enemy, and in his own good time saves them ; just as Yahweh is angry with Israel,

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punishes them by foreign invasions, and delivers them. Chemosh bids Mesha, "Go, take Nebo from Israel," l. 14; "Go down, fight against Horonaim," l. 32, and Mesha obeys and is rewarded with victory; just as Yahweh said to David, "Go up: for I will certainly deliver the Philistines into thy hand";<sup>1</sup> and David obeyed and was victorious. Mesha massacres the population of captured cities in honour of Chemosh, just as Joshua massacred the inhabitants of Jericho in honour of Yahweh. The savage rite of the *herem* or ban was common to both peoples. In fact, in these and other respects the inscription reads like a chapter from *Samuel* or *Kings*. In 2 Kings 3<sup>27</sup> we read that Mesha offered his firstborn as a burnt-offering—doubtless to Chemosh; as Abraham proposed to offer Isaac to Yahweh.

Chemosh obviously had his temples, priests, oracles, sacrifices, and offerings;

<sup>1</sup> 2 Sam. 5<sup>19</sup>.

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and it is possible that a traveller visiting Moab, Israel, and Judah would not have noted any striking differences in character and quality between the religious practices in these neighbouring States.

The etymology of Chemosh is unknown. On the strength of a winged sun-disk on a gem containing the name *Chemoshyehi*, Baethgen<sup>1</sup> regards Chemosh as God of the Sunshine, and a manifestation of Molech. The Greeks seem to have identified Chemosh with Ares or Mars.

The occurrence on the Stone of a deity, Ashtar-Chemosh, does not weaken the parallel with Israel. It may be merely a title of Chemosh ; similarly the Old Testament uses El Shaddai, El Elyon, Yahweh Sabaoth for Yahweh. According to Baethgen, Ashtar-Chemosh is a name which claims for Chemosh the attributes of the Ishtar, the Babylonian Aphrodite, the prototype of the Canaanite Ashtoreth or

<sup>1</sup> *Beiträge*, 13 ff.

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Astarte. It is possible, however, in view of the conjunction with Chemosh, that 'ShTR here is a male counterpart of Ashtoreth. Even if Ashtar-Chemosh is a distinct deity associated with Chemosh, the latter would still remain the special national deity. In Israel also other deities were worshipped besides Yahweh. The worship of the "Queen of Heaven," probably Ishtar, was a favourite cult in the time of Jeremiah.

Then as the name Baal-meon, l. 9,<sup>1</sup> occurs on the Stone, so names of the same type are found in Israel. In both cases they indicate that at some time deities were worshipped at these places under the title Baal, "Lord." This title was used for Yahweh in early Israel, and may have been used in Moab for Chemosh.

But neither on the Stone nor elsewhere is there any extant evidence that any Moabites regarded Chemosh as *the* one.

<sup>1</sup> Beth-baal-meon, l. 30.

## RELIGION

God, in a strictly monotheistic sense ; or that there was any attempt by priestly legislation to purify the ritual from superstition and immorality ; or that there was any ethical or spiritual movement parallel to the ministry of the prophets in Israel. But we must remember that, apart from the Stone and a few slight references in inscriptions, all we know of Moab is derived from the Old Testament. Israel might not have appeared to much advantage if it had been known only from an inscription of Omri and the literature of Moab.

As to the religion of Israel, we learn that the inhabitants of Ataroth worshipped a deity Dawdoh,<sup>1</sup> and that there was a sanctuary of Yahweh at Nebo ; and that at one or both of these sanctuaries, *'arels* or altar-hearths <sup>2</sup> formed part of the Temple furniture.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 55.

## VI.

### GEOGRAPHY.

THE Stone adds little to our knowledge of the geography of Moab. It only supplies us with three or four new place names.

Of these  $\text{K}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{H}}$ , ll. 3, 21, 24, 25, was apparently a quarter of Dibon. In Heb. the word means "baldness."<sup>1</sup> It also occurs as a proper name in the Aramaic inscriptions at Sinai.<sup>2</sup>

Nothing is known of  $\text{M}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{H}}$ , l. 14.

$\text{SRN}$ , l. 13, of course, is distinct from the Plain of Sharon near Joppa, and it is not usually identified with the Sharon, E. of Jordan, mentioned in 1 Chron. 5<sup>16</sup>.

$\text{JEARIM}$ , l. 21, if a proper name.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> *L* (see p. 64), p. 365.

## GEOGRAPHY

The rest occur in the Old Testament, and are given in the following alphabetical list; references are given to towns occurring in Isa. 15. 16,<sup>1</sup> or assigned to Gad or Reuben, and to some unfamiliar names. Those assigned to Gad have G against them, and those assigned to Reuben R. The names are spelt as in EV.

The list shows, what we might have taken for granted, that the Hebrew writers were acquainted with geography of a neighbouring district, often part of Israel.

Arnon, l. 26.

Aroer, l. 26, R, Josh. 13<sup>16</sup>; G, Num. 32<sup>34</sup>.

Ataroth, ll. 10 f., G, Num. 32<sup>34</sup>.

Baal-meon or Beth-baal-meon, ll. 9, 30, R, Beth-baal-meon, Josh. 13<sup>17</sup>, Baal-meon, Num. 32<sup>38</sup>.

Beth-bamoth, l. 27, probably = Bamoth-baal, R, Josh. 13<sup>17</sup>, and Bamoth, Num. 21<sup>19</sup>.

Beth-diblathaim, l. 30, Jer. 48<sup>22</sup>.

Bezer, l. 27, R, Josh. 20<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 40.

## THE MOABITE STONE

- Dibon, ll. 1, 2, 21, 28, G, Num. 32<sup>34</sup> ;  
R, Josh. 13<sup>17</sup> ; Isa. 15<sup>2</sup>.  
Horonaim, ll. 31, 32 ; Isa. 15<sup>5</sup>.  
Jahaz, ll. 19, 20, R, Josh. 13<sup>18</sup> ; Isa. 15<sup>4</sup>.  
Kerioth, l. 13, Jer. 48<sup>24</sup>.  
Kiriathaim, l. 10, R, Josh. 13<sup>19</sup> ; Jer. 48<sup>23</sup>.  
Medeba, ll. 8, 30, R, Josh. 13<sup>16</sup> ; Isa.  
15<sup>2</sup>.  
Nebo, l. 14, R, Num. 32<sup>38</sup> ; Isa. 15<sup>2</sup>.

## VII.

### GENUINENESS OF THE MOABITE STONE.

It may perhaps seem to the general reader at first sight that the genuineness of important monuments like the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser, the Rosetta Stone, and our inscription of Mesha, is assumed without sufficient investigation. He seldom finds any discussion of such matters in popular publications. But doubtless very slight reflection leads him to the conclusion that the question of genuineness is always carefully and thoroughly considered by the scholars concerned ; and that the confident, unhesitating and universal assumption of genuineness is not a mere otiose assent to

## THE MOABITE STONE

some hasty and possibly worthless judgment, but is due to overwhelming evidence. Every fresh discovery is subjected to the keenest criticism, and a forgery could not long survive unchallenged. Of course it is not safe to accept at once the statements made by a discoverer as to the nature and value of a newly found treasure ; he is apt to exaggerate its importance, and to interpret it according to his critical or theological bias. But the public may safely accept a monument which has been known to scholars for some years, and has been generally acknowledged to be genuine.

There is no doubt that the Moabite Stone was actually inscribed by the command of Mesha somewhere about 840 B.C. This view is held by a legion of scholars of various churches, nations, and schools of criticism. But it is the more certain, in that it has been challenged by a very small minority. Here, if anywhere, the exception proves the rule. Judgment has

## GENUINENESS OF THE MOABITE STONE

not been allowed to go by default, there have been *advocati diaboli*; all that the utmost ingenuity of hostile criticism could say against the Stone has been said, and the saying has only made it clear that there is absolutely no case. The general verdict of scholarship remains practically unanimous in favour of the genuineness.

There is, indeed, no cogency in any of the adverse arguments. It is only worth while mentioning one or two. It is urged that breaks between the words, vertical lines between some of the sentences, and dots between most of the words is not in accordance with the mode of writing early Hebrew records. But the Moabite Stone, though in a dialect similar to Hebrew, is not Israelite; it is unique, the sole relic of Moabite literature, and these *a priori* objections could in any case have little weight. But, further, such an objection could be relevant only if we possessed a sufficient collection of Israelite MSS and monuments actually

## THE MOABITE STONE

written before the Exile, and no such collection exists.<sup>1</sup> We have one Hebrew document, the Siloam inscription, which is usually regarded as pre-exilic, and in this the words are divided by dots as on the Stone. In another pre-exilic Hebrew inscription, the Gezer Calendar, there are perpendicular dividing lines. Also words are often divided by dots on ancient Aramaic inscriptions.<sup>2</sup>

Another objection may be stated thus. The Stone mentions a number of towns;<sup>3</sup> of these all but three or four are named in the Old Testament, many of them in Isa. 15. 16. One of those named on the Stone but not in the Old Testament is QRḤH;<sup>4</sup> there is, however, a Hebrew word *QoRHāH*, "baldness," which occurs

<sup>1</sup> Of course, various parts of the Old Testament were composed before the Exile, but the extant MSS of the Old Testament were written long after the beginning of the Christian Era.

<sup>2</sup> Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der Nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, p. 202.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. 34.

<sup>4</sup> There are no vowel points on the Stone.

## GENUINENESS OF THE MOABITE STONE

in *Isaiah* in the immediate neighbourhood of the names of some of the towns mentioned on the Stone. Thus *Isa.* 15<sup>1, 2</sup> reads, "The burden of Moab. For in a night Ar of Moab is laid waste, and brought to nought. He is gone up to Bayith, and to Dibon, to the high places, to weep: Moab howleth over Nebo, and over Medeba; on all their heads is baldness (*gorḥah*), every beard is cut off."

Of these names Dibon, Nebo, and Medeba are mentioned on the Stone;<sup>1</sup> but Ar and Bayith are not. It is possible, however, that Bayith in *Isaiah* is a common noun, "house."

The adverse argument based on these facts apparently amounts to this. As the Old Testament never mentions a Moabite town QRḤH, no such town existed; and the writer of the Stone obtained his QRḤH from *Isaiah* by mistaking the common noun *gorḥah*, "baldness," for the name of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 36.

## THE MOABITE STONE

a town. He thus betrays his ignorance of the geography of Moab, and shows that he is not Mesha, but an impostor writing at a much later date.

All this is interesting and ingenious, but quite inconclusive. There is no reason why Isaiah, or the Old Testament as a whole, should mention all the towns which existed in Moab; and the phrase about baldness on all heads was a commonplace.<sup>1</sup> So Isaiah might very well omit the town QRḤH and refer to "baldness," *qorḥah*. The coincidence, such as it is, presents no difficulties; it could not even be called "a striking coincidence." To take a parallel, no one would see anything significant in a Scotch poem mentioning London, Canterbury, and Brighton, using the common noun "battle," and saying nothing about the town of Battle.

But it is probable that *qorḥah* in *Isaiah*

<sup>1</sup> Jer. 48<sup>37</sup> (cf. 47<sup>5</sup>), Ezek. 7<sup>18</sup> 27<sup>31</sup>; cf. Isa. 3<sup>24</sup> 22<sup>12</sup>, Amos 8<sup>10</sup>, Micah 1<sup>16</sup>.

## GENUINENESS OF THE MOABITE STONE

refers to the town. The Old Testament is fond of playing upon the real or supposed meaning of proper names and other words ; a writer in using a word will have in mind and intend to suggest to his reader its use as a name and its etymological meaning. For instance, in Jer. 1<sup>11</sup> Yahweh asks Jeremiah what he sees, and the prophet replies, " A rod of an almond-tree, *shāqēdh* " ; and Yahweh rejoins, " It is a true vision, for I am watching, *shōqēdh*, over my word." So here Isaiah may intend to suggest that as Moab had a city QRḤH, it was natural that *gorḥah*, baldness, should befall them. Indeed, as the oracles on Moab in Isa. 15. 16, Jer. 48 are editions of an ancient poem on Moab, it is possible that the original poem explicitly mentioned the town QRḤH ; but that later scribes and editors, to whom the town was unknown, omitted the reference.

But the genuineness of the Stone in no way depends on the possibility of finding

## THE MOABITE STONE

absolutely clear, complete, and certain explanations of all that is on the monument or connected with it. It is the sole relic of the literature of an obscure tribe which disappeared from history more than two thousand years ago. It would be strange if it did not include obscurities and raise difficulties. Their presence is really a testimony to its genuineness.

The conclusive evidence in favour of this monument is found in the character in which it is written, the language used, and the contents. Its genuineness is a simple hypothesis that explains as much as we have any right to expect to have explained ; the view that it is a forgery is a theory which cannot be reconciled with the facts. No adequate motive can be assigned for a forgery ; it could only have been forged by an expert in palæography in order to make money ; but it was found in the possession of Arabs, and there is no trace of any connection between them and

## GENUINENESS OF THE MOABITE STONE

any possible forger. The character<sup>1</sup> in which it is written resembles that found in ancient Phœnician, Hebrew, and Aramaic inscriptions ; but it is not a slavish imitation of the writing of any one document ; and there are forms differing somewhat from any found elsewhere. The Stone was discovered in 1868, and it is incredible that a forger working before that date should have concocted the alphabet in which the inscription is written. Moreover, in 1880 the famous Siloam inscription was discovered, and just recently the Gezer Calendar. The Siloam inscription is usually assigned to the time of Ahaz or Hezekiah, *i.e.*, roughly speaking, to the same period as Mesha, and the Calendar is not later than 600 B.C. The alphabets of the Stone and of these inscriptions agree generally, but differ in some details ; the correspondence affords weighty testimony to the genuineness of both documents.

<sup>1</sup> P. 68.

## THE MOABITE STONE

Further evidence is afforded by the language.<sup>1</sup> This is a dialect closely allied to Hebrew ; it might be described as Hebrew slightly modified by Aramaic and Arabic forms. There is nothing whatever in the inscription which is inconsistent with its having been written by a member of a tribe neighbouring and akin to Israel in the time of the Israelite monarchy. But any one familiar with literary forgeries and other pseudepigraphal writings would know that it was in the highest degree improbable that the author of any such work would have been so successful in devising a dialect ; he would have made it either more or less like Hebrew.

And as to contents. These are just such as Mesha and his subjects would be interested in, their sufferings and successes, their cities and public works. But why should a forger, with the whole range of Scripture History to choose from, take infinite pains

<sup>1</sup> P. 71.

## GENUINENESS OF THE MOABITE STONE

to construct an inscription dealing with the dry details of an obscure episode. An inscription from the hand of Moses describing the passage of the Red Sea, or a parchment written by Mary Magdalen giving an account of the Resurrection, might have been produced with less labour ; would have created a greater sensation ; and would have commanded a higher price.

Thus the Moabite Stone commends itself in that it bears all the marks of genuineness ; and at the same time no forger could have been sufficiently ingenious to construct such a monument from the information at his disposal.

## VIII.

### LITERAL TRANSLATION OF THE INSCRIPTION.<sup>1</sup>

Words or parts of words in ( ) represent what certainly stood in the original, but is not now certainly legible, though it is required by the context.

Words in [ ] represent conjectural restorations, where the original is neither clearly legible, nor indicated with certainty by the context.

Words required by English idiom, but not by Moabite, together with a few explanatory words, are in italics.

Names found in OT are given in AV. spelling ; in other cases the consonants are given without supplying vowels.

The numerals refer to the lines on the Stone ; the perpendicular strokes show where similar strokes stand on the Stone.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 1 for a more idiomatic version.

## LITERAL TRANSLATION OF INSCRIPTION

1. I *am* Mesha, son of Chemosh [-melekh],  
king of Moab, the D-
2. ibonite | My father was king over  
Moab thirty years and I became ki-
3. ng after my father | And I made this  
high-place for Chemosh in K̄RH̄H,  
[a high-place of sal-
4. vation], because He saved me from all  
the [king]s, and because He caused  
me to see *my desire* upon all that  
hated me. O(mr)
5. i, king of Israel,—he oppressed Moab  
many days, because Chemosh was  
angry with his lan-
6. d | And his son succeeded him, and  
he also said, I will oppress Moab |  
In my days he said (thus)
7. But I saw *my desire* upon him and  
upon his house, and Israel perished  
utterly for ever. Now Omri an-  
nexed the (lan-)
8. d of Medeba, and *Israel* occupied it, his

## THE MOABITE STONE

- days and half his son's days, forty years, and (resto-)
9. red it Chemosh in my days | And I built Baal-Meon, and I made in it the reservoir (?), and I (built)
10. Kirjathaim | And *the* men of Gad occupied the land of Ataroth from of old, and built for himself the king of I-
11. srael Ataroth | And I fought against the town and took it | and put to death all the (people from)
12. the town, a *pleasing* spectacle for Chemosh and for Moab | and I removed thence the altar-hearth of DWDH, and I dr-
13. agged it, before Chemosh in Kerioth | and I settled in it—*Ataroth*—the men of SRN, and the men of
14. MHRT<sup>h</sup> | and Chemosh said to me, Go, take Nebo against Israel | and (I)
15. went by night, and fought against

## LITERAL TRANSLATION OF INSCRIPTION

- it from break of dawn till noon |  
and I t-
16. ook it, and put them all to death,  
7000 men and.....s | and women  
and.....
17. s and female slaves | for I had made  
it taboo to 'ShTR Chemosh | and I  
took thence the al[tar]
18. hear]ths of YHWH, and I dragged  
them before Chemosh | And the king  
of Israel built
19. Jahaz, and occupied it while he  
fought against me | And Chemosh  
drove him out before (me, and)
20. I took from Moab two hundred men,  
*of* all its clans, and led them against  
Jahaz, and took it
21. to add it to Dibon | I built K̄R̄H̄H,  
the wall of the forests, and the wall  
of
22. the Citadel (?) | And I built its gates,  
and I built its towers | And I
23. built the house of the king, and I

## THE MOABITE STONE

- made sluices (?) [for the reservoirs  
for the water] in the midst of
24. the city | And there was no cistern  
in the midst of the city in  $\text{QRHH}$ ,  
and I said to all the people, make  
(for)
25. you, each *of you*, a cistern in his  
house | And I cut the cutting (?) for  
 $\text{QRHH}$  by means of the prisoners
26. *taken from* Israel | I built Aroer, and  
I made the road by the Arnon, (and)
27. I built Beth-bamoth for it had been  
destroyed | I built Bezer for *it was*  
*in* ruins
28. ....[clans] of Dibon, fifty, for  
all Dibon was loyal | And I reign-
29. ed.....a hundred in the cities  
which I added to the land and I  
built
30. (Medeba) and Beth-diblathaim | And  
*as for* Beth-baal-meon, there I placed  
(shepherds)
31. ....sheep of the land | and

## NOTES ON THE TRANSLATION

- Horonaim, wherein dwelt .....  
and.....
32. ....Chemosh said to me, Go  
down, fight against Horonaim, | and  
I went (down)
33. ....Chemosh in my days, and  
[‘L’DH] whence.....
34. .... ..and I... |.....

## NOTES ON THE TRANSLATION.

Slight variations in the readings are not dealt with in the notes, where the variations do not affect the sense. See, further, in “Notes on the Text,” p. 60, where also the abbreviations are explained, p. 64; and p. 72.

Also various points are discussed elsewhere; see the references below to the pages on which the discussions will be found, under the several Lines, Names, etc., and cf. “Contents.”

Line 1. *Mesha*, see pp. 16 f.

*Chemosh*, see pp. 29 f.

*-melekh*,

## THE MOABITE STONE

thus *L*, *SS* ; but the corresponding Moabite letters are indistinct, and are also read or restored thus, *D*, *khan* ; *G*, *gad* ; *Cl*, *gad*, *-shlkh*, or *-shlm*.

Line 3. *KRH*, not mentioned in OT, perhaps a quarter of Dibon, cf. p. 40.

[*a high place of salvation*], so *Cl*, *D*, *i.e.* probably a high place erected as a thank-offering for the victory gained over Israel ; but *N*, *SS*, *SH*, "for the deliverance (*msh'*) of Mesha (*msh'*)."

Line 4. [*king*]s, so *L*, *SS*, reading *mlk*, "king" ; but *Cl*, *D*, *G*, *N* read *Sh l k*, a word of uncertain meaning, probably a synonym of "enemy." According to 2 Kings 3, Mesha was attacked by the confederate kings of Israel, Judah and Edom.

Lines 7, 8. *the land*, so *Cl*, *D*, *G* ; but *SS*, *L*, "all the land."

Line 8. *his days*, etc., see pp. 19 f.

Line 9. *built* here and elsewhere does not mean that Mesha was the first to erect the town in question ; it often means restoring and extending, and especially fortifying an existing town.

*reservoir*, 'SWH, not found in OT ;

## NOTES ON THE TRANSLATION

sense requires some such translation; cf. line 23.

Line 12. *spectacle*, see p. 73.

*altar-hearth*, 'R'L, perhaps also in 17 f., probably = Heb. 'āri'ēl, Isa. 29<sup>1. 2. 7</sup> EV. "Ariel," Rmg. "The lion of God," or "The hearth of God," Ezek. 43<sup>15. 16</sup> RV. "altar hearth"; also as a proper name, Ezra 8<sup>16</sup> and perhaps also 2 Sam. 23<sup>20</sup> RV. "the two sons of Ariel of Moab," AV. "two lionlike men of Moab"; though possibly here too the meaning may be "two altar-hearths," *i.e.* "sanctuaries"; but RV. is more probable; the Septuagint reads "sons of." The word is not found elsewhere.

*DWDH*, apparently the name of a deity worshipped by the Israelites of Ataroth; not mentioned elsewhere. There is a god *Dadi* named in the Babylonian Chronicle, L. W. King, *Letters, etc., of Hammurabi*, iii. 245, and *Dudu* occurs as a proper name in the Amarna tablets, Winckler, 105, etc. Hebrew proper names perhaps indicate the existence of a deity *Dôd*, identified with Yahweh, *Die Keilinschriften und das AT.*

## THE MOABITE STONE

p. 25. *Dwdh* is almost identical with David. It is curious that, of the three or four passages in which 'R'L occurs, it is connected with the City of David in *Isaiah* and with *Dwdh* here.

Line 16. *men and . . . s, and women and . . . s.* The characters here are indistinct; *D*, partly supported by *Cl, N*, has "men and male strangers, and women and [female stranger]s." The "stranger," *ger*, was a resident alien with semi-civic rights; the Greek *metoikos*; *SS* read "men and boys and women and girls."

Line 17. *female slaves r̄hmth*, cf. Judg. 5<sup>30</sup> *rahām rahāmāthāyim*, RV. "a damsel, two damsels."

*made it taboo, i.e.* "massacred the population in honour of his god,"—the rite of *herem*, recognised in the Pentateuchal law and elsewhere, and practised in the case of Jericho, Josh. 6<sup>17</sup> etc.

'*ShTR Chemosh*, see p. 31.

*altar-hearths*, cf. line 12, so *L, SS*; but *D* restores "vessels"; and *Cl* suggests either "vessels" or "(sacred) tents."

Line 20. of *all its clans, rshh*. *Rsh* here

## NOTES ON THE TRANSLATION

may be the Heb. *rôsh*, "head," *i.e.* "chiefs"; so *D*, *SS* explain "chiefs and their followers." The Heb. *rôsh* sometimes = division of an army, *e.g.* Judg. 7<sup>16</sup>.

Line 21. *forests* may be a proper name, *EV*. *Jearim*; cf. p. 34.

Line 22. *Citadel*, 'PhL, Heb. 'ôphel, 2 Kings 5<sup>24</sup>, Isa. 32<sup>14</sup>, Mic. 4<sup>8</sup> *RV*. hill, *AV*. fort, tower, stronghold. Neh. 3<sup>26</sup> etc., *RV*. 'Ophel; apparently a fortified hill.

Line 23. *house of the king*, but Neubauer "house of Moloch."

*sluices*, *kl'y*, so *L*, *SS*, both doubtfully,—a sense suggested by the use of *kl'* in Heb. for "shut in."

*D*, *L* (another suggestion), *Jeremias*, *Paton*, "the two"; cf. Heb. *kil'ayim*, "two kinds."

*G*, "prisons," cf. Heb. *beth kele'*; but this does not suit the sense.

*reservoir*, so *D*; but *L*, *SS* "reservoirs"; cf. line 9.

Line 25. *I cut the cutting*. The words translated "cut" and "cutting" are both derived from the root *krt*. The noun *mkrtth* is not found in Heb., and we can only conjecture the exact nature of the "cutting";

## THE MOABITE STONE

*L* suggests "timber"; *G*, "ditch"; as the immediate content deals with water supply, the word might mean "canal" or "aqueduct," or the "excavation," thus, "I made the necessary excavation," etc.

Lines 28 ff. The following lines are very imperfectly preserved; but they do not seem to have added anything new in character to the rest of the inscriptions. They describe further conquests, and the arrangements made by Mesha for the occupation of the newly acquired territory.

Lines 28, 29. *fifty . . . a hundred*. These numerals perhaps refer to clans, cf. line 20. Possibly Moab generally was divided into 200 clans, of which 50 belonged to Dibon, the royal city, and its territory; and Mesha formed 100 clans for the conquered territory; cf. SS, p. 14, n. 3.

Line 30. *And as for Beth-baal-meon*, so SS, the | is probably equivalent to a stop; moreover, *Beth-baal-meon* is probably the same as *Baal-meon*, which was "built" in l. 9; but *D* and *G* neglect the |, and make *Beth-baal-meon* the last of the list of towns beginning with *Medeba*.

## NOTES ON THE TRANSLATION

Line 30. (*shepherd*), the reading *nkd* thus translated, seems fairly certain ; *nōkēd* is used in OT of Mesha, 2 Kings 3<sup>4</sup> RV. "sheepmaster," and cf. Amos 1<sup>1</sup> "herdmen" ; cognate Arabic words denote a kind of small sheep with abundant wool, and the keeper of such sheep. *L*, *SS* translate here "flocks."

Lines 31 f. *SS* read "wherein dwelt the son of Dedan and Dedan said" ; but the reading is not generally accepted.

Line 32. After "I went down" *SS* read letters which indicate "and I fought" ; but the reading is very doubtful.

Line 33. '*L'DH* would indicate a proper name "'Eleadeh" ; but there may be merely a blank between *d* and *l*.

## IX.

### THE TEXT OF THE INSCRIPTION.

OWING to the age and varied fortunes of the Stone<sup>1</sup> some portions are missing, and in the surviving part some letters are indistinct or wholly illegible. In the case of what is preserved only on the squeeze, another difficulty arises, it seems that it is not always possible to distinguish between accidental folds, marks, etc., on the squeeze, on the one hand, and the impressions made by the letters, etc., of the inscription on the other.

The letters enclosed in square brackets are more or less conjectural restorations of letters which are wholly or partially in-

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 6 ff.

## THE TEXT OF THE INSCRIPTION

distinct, or are wholly lost; cf. the notes which follow the text. Where there is no note to restored letters, it may be understood that the restoration is generally accepted as indicated by visible remains of the letters, or as required by the context, or on both grounds.

In some cases parts of letters are broken or worn away, but palæographers are generally agreed that what is visible is sufficient to show which letters were originally written. Such letters are not placed in brackets.

Asterisks denote letters represented by traces, in cases where neither the traces nor the context enable us to identify the letters.

Further information on palæographical details may be obtained from the works cited on p. 64.

THE MOABITE STONE

|    |   |    |
|----|---|----|
| 1  | אנך .משע .בן .כמש[מלך] .מלך .מאב .הד                            | 1  |
| 2  | יבני   אבי .מלך .על .מאב .שלישן .שת .ואנך .מלך                  | 2  |
| 3  | תי .אחר .אבי   ואעש .הבמת .זאת .לכמש .בקרחה   במלת .י           | 3  |
| 4  | שע .כי .השעני .מכל .ה[מל]כן .וכי .הראני .בכל .שנאי   ע[מ]ר      | 4  |
| 5  | י .מלך .ישראל .ויענו .את .מאב .ימן .רבן .כי .[י]אנף .כמש .באר   | 5  |
| 6  | צה   ויחלפה .בנה .ויומר .גם .הא .אענו .את .מאב   בימי .אמר .[בן | 6  |
| 7  | וואר .בה .ובכתה   וישראל .אבד .אבד .עלם .וירש .עמרי .את .[אר    | 7  |
| 8  | ץ .מהבא   וישב .בה .ימ[ה] .חצי .ימי .בנה .ארבען .שת .[ויש       | 8  |
| 9  | בה .כמש .בימי   ואבן .את .בעלמען .ואעש .בה .האשוח .ואבן         | 9  |
| 10 | את .קריתן   ואש .גד .ישב .בארץ .עמרת .מעלם .ויבן .לה .מלך .י    | 10 |
| 11 | שראל .את .עמרת   ואלתחם .בקר .ואחזה   ואהרג .את .כל .ה[עם] .מ   | 11 |
| 12 | הקר .רית .לכמש .ולמאב   ואשב .משם .את .אראל .דהה .ואם           | 12 |
| 13 | חבה .לפני .כמש .בקרית   ואשב .בה .את .אש .שרן .ואת .אנש         | 13 |
| 14 | מחרת   ויומר .לי .כמש .לך .אחז .את .נבה .על .ישראל   וא         | 14 |
| 15 | הלך .בללה .ואלתחם .בה .מבקע .השהרת .עד .הצהרם   ואח             | 15 |
| 16 | זה .ואהרג .כל[ה] .שבעת .אלפ[ן] .גבר[ן] .י * * * ונבחת .י * *    | 16 |
| 17 | ת .ורחמת   כי .לעשתר .כמש .החרמתה   ואקח .משם .א[נ]ר            | 17 |

THE TEXT OF THE INSCRIPTION

18 לי יהודה ואסחב הם לפני כמש ומלך ישראל בנה [את] 18  
 19 יהץ וישב בה בהלחמה בי ויגרשה כמש מפני ר 19  
 20 אקח ממאב מאתן אש כל רשה ואשאה בהץ ואחזה 20  
 21 לספת על דיבן אנך בנתי קרחה חמת היערן וחמת 21  
 22 העפל ואנך בנתי שעריה ואנך בנתי מגדלתה וא 22  
 23 נך בנתי בת מלך ואנך עשתי כלאי האשונה למאן בקרב 23  
 24 הקר ובר אן בקרב הקר בקרחה ואמר לכל העם עשוי לל 24  
 25 כם אש בר בביתה ואנך כרתי המכרתת לקרחה באמר 25  
 26 י [ישראל אנך בנתי ערער ואנך עשתי המסלת בארנן ר 26  
 27 אנך בנתי בת במת כי הרס הא אנך בנתי בצר כי עין 27  
 28 ש דיבן חמשן כי כל דיבן משמעת ואנך מלך 28  
 29 [תני] מאת בקרן אשר יספתי על הארץ ואנך בנת 29  
 30 י [את מהלבא ובת דבלתן ובת בעלמען ואשוא שם את נקד 30  
 31 זאן הארץ חורנן ישב בה ב \* \* \* ר \* \* \* א \* \* \* 31  
 32 אמר לי כמש רד הלתחם בחורנן ואורד 32  
 33 \* \* \* בה כמש בימי ועל[א]דה משם עש 33  
 34 ת שדקן ואנך 34

18  
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## THE MOABITE STONE

### NOTES ON THE TEXT.<sup>1</sup>

THE following abbreviations are used in what follows :—

*Cl* = Clermont-Ganneau, *La Stèle de Méša*, 1887 (a review of *SS*).

*D* = Driver, art. "Mesha," *Encyclopædia Biblica*.

*G* = Ginsburg, *Moabite Stone*, 1871.

*L* = Lidzbarski, *Nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, 1898, p. 415, etc.

*L.E.* = Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für Nordsem. Epig.*, 1900, 1 ff.

*N* = Nordländer, *Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa von Moab*, 1896, apud *SH*, only referred to when differing from *SH*.

*SH* = Socin (with Holzinger), *Zur Mesainschrift, Berichte der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, as a rule only referred to when differing from *SS*.

*SS* = Smend and Socin, *Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa von Moab*, 1886.

For vocabulary, forms, and constructions, see XI. On Language.

<sup>1</sup> For discussions of translation, subject-matter, etc., see "Notes on the Translation," pp. 53 ff.; for brackets, see p. 60.

## NOTES ON THE TEXT

1. Line 1, [מלך] SS print all three letters as legible, and *N* substantially agrees; *SH* are sure they can see מ and ד; and *L* prints לך as certain. According to others the letters are indistinct; the following restorations have been proposed: *G*, גר; *Cl*, גר or שלך or שלם; *D* (after *L.E.*) בן.  
Only the squeeze is available here.
2. Line 3, במלת ילשע, so *Cl*, *D*; but *SS*, *SH*, *N*, במשע. משע, and *L*, במלשע. מלשע.
3. Line 4, ה[מ]לכן, so *L*; and *SS*, המלכן; but *Cl*, *D*, *G*, *N*, ה[ש]לכן.
4. Line 5, [י]אנף, so *D*; and *L*, *SS*, יאנף; *Cl*, *G*, [ת]; *N*, [נ].
5. Line 6, בן] on the basis of *Cl*; *D* leaves blank and translates "[thus]"; *SS*, כדבר; *L*, כד[ב]ר.
6. Line 7, את[אר]ץ, so *Cl*, *D*, *G*; but *SS*, אתכל[אר]ץ, and *L*, את[כל אר]ץ.
7. Line 8, ימה: *D*, *G*, *L*, *SS*, ימה; *Cl*, [ימ]ד or [ימ]ר, perhaps to be read with following וחצי as proper name.
8. Line 13, א[ש], so *Cl* possibly; *D*, אש; *N*, \*א; *L*, *SS*, א[נשי].

## THE MOABITE STONE

9. Line 16, [כלה], so *D*, *Cl*; *G*, כלה; *SS*, כלם; *L*, כלם.
10. Line 16, [אלפן. גבתן], so *L*; *D*, *G*, אלפן. גבתן; *Cl*, [גבתן]. אלפן; but *SS*, אלף. מגבתן.
11. Line 16, ו \* \* \* \* \* , so *L*, *SH*; but *D*, ו \* \* \* \* \* ; *N* and *Cl* (possibly), ו \* \* \* \* \* ; *SS*, [ומבטן].
12. Line 16, \* \* \* \* \* , so *L*, *SH*; but *D* restores ו \* \* \* \* \* , which would be indicated by his previous ו \* \* \* \* \* ; *Cl* regards this as possible. *SS* read ו \* \* \* \* \* , which would correspond with their previous ו \* \* \* \* \* .
13. Line 17, א[רא]לי, so restored by *L*, *SS*; but *D* restores א[ת] כ[ל]י; while *Cl* suggests either א[ת] כ[ל]י or א[ה]ל[י].
14. Line 18, ואסתב . הם; *SS* read ואסתביהם; but our other authorities do not accept the *yod*.  
Note the size of the Moabite *yod*, p. 69.
15. Line 23, האשתח. למין, so *D*, *Cl* (suggestion); but *L*, *SS*, האשתחן למין . .

## NOTES ON THE TEXT

16. Line 26, באסתלי . אישראל , so *D*, *N* ;  
but *L* [\*]; *SS*, באסתלןמיש'.
17. Line 26, בארנלן . ו , so *Cl* ; *L*, *SS*, ון ;  
*G*, ון ; *D*, ון.
18. Line 30, לוקד , so *D*, *L*, *N* (traces), *SS* ;  
but *Cl*, *H*, nothing distinct be-  
yond נ , for which *G*, and at one  
time *Cl*, read מ .
- Line 31, \* \* \* \* \* ד \* \* \* \* \* ; *SS* propose
19. בן . דדן . ודדן , which has not been  
accepted.
20. Line 31, \* \* \* \* \* א : *SS*, אמר ; *D*, איש .
21. Line 32, ווארד , *D*, *Cl* ; but *L* adds  
\* \* \* \* \* ו ; and *SS*, ואלת .
22. Line 33, ועל[א]דה , *SS* ; *D*, ועל דה ;  
*L*, ועל[ת]י ; *Cl*, ועל \* דה .

## X.

### THE CHARACTER.

THE reader may remember that the character of the extant Hebrew MSS, in which the Hebrew Old Testament is printed, the so-called "Square Hebrew," is not the character used by the ancient Israelite writers; but is an Aramaic alphabet adopted by the Jews sometime after the Return from the Captivity.

From the Siloam inscription<sup>1</sup> and other evidence we know that the ancient Hebrew alphabet was very similar to the alphabet of the Moabite Stone given below.

On the Stone the letters are not absolutely alike, *e.g.* one "B" is not the exact facsimile

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 77 f.

# THE CHARACTER

## MOABITE ALPHABET.

|   | SQUARE<br>HEBREW. | MOABITE. | SILOAM<br>INSCRIPTION. |  | SQUARE<br>HEBREW. | MOABITE. | SILOAM<br>INSCRIPTION. |
|---|-------------------|----------|------------------------|--|-------------------|----------|------------------------|
|   | ז                 |          |                        |  | L                 |          |                        |
| B | ב                 |          |                        |  | M                 |          |                        |
| G | ג                 |          |                        |  | N                 |          |                        |
| D | ד                 |          |                        |  | S                 |          | ²                      |
| H | ה                 |          |                        |  | ' .               |          |                        |
| W | ו                 |          |                        |  | P                 |          |                        |
| Z | ז                 |          |                        |  | Q                 |          |                        |
| H | ה                 |          |                        |  | K                 |          |                        |
| T | ט                 | ¹        | ²                      |  | R                 |          |                        |
| Y | י                 |          |                        |  | S                 |          |                        |
| K | כ                 |          |                        |  | T                 |          |                        |

¹ This letter occurs only in 'Aṯaroth, lines 10, 11. There is some question as to how far it can be actually seen; hence it was omitted from the table in the *Dictionary of the Bible*.

² Occurs in the Gezer Calendar but not in the Siloam Inscription.

## THE MOABITE STONE

of every other, but the foregoing table gives a good idea of their average shape. The letters of the Siloam inscription are given where they differ essentially from the Moabite letters ; where they are not given it may be understood that they are approximately the same.

## XI.

### THE LANGUAGE.

THE language of the Stone differs very slightly from Biblical Hebrew either in vocabulary, accidence, or syntax. It possesses some of the most characteristic features of Hebrew, *e.g.*, the *Waw Consecutive* or *Conversive*; thus line 5, רענר, "and he oppressed," and *passim*; and also probably the use of the inf. abs. to emphasise the finite tense; thus line 7, אבר אבר, "perished utterly."<sup>1</sup>

Some of the words and forms<sup>2</sup> on the Stone, though found in Hebrew, are unusual in the Old Testament; but this is hardly a real point of difference; it is

<sup>1</sup> *D*, however, takes the second אבר as a noun.

<sup>2</sup> See below, (2) (c) (e) (3).

## THE MOABITE STONE

probable that such words and forms were common in the Hebrew of Mesha's Israelite contemporaries. For instance, the Stone uses the *scriptio defectiva*, omitting silent consonants; thus, line 6, **הא** for **הוא**; line 10, etc., **אש** for **איש**, etc.; but ancient Hebrew was written in the same way, e.g. the Siloam inscription.<sup>1</sup> In view of the limited amount of ancient Hebrew that is extant, it is quite probable that words found on the Stone and not in the Old Testament are really Hebrew.

Where the Stone differs from Hebrew it has affinities with Arabic and Aramaic.

The chief differences are as follows:

(1) *Vocabulary*.—In addition to proper names the following words are not found in Hebrew: line 2, **שת** for "year" = Heb. **שנה**, and may be a contraction for **שנת**; **שת** also in Neopunic inscriptions, *L*, p. 379.

Line 4, **השלכן**, if read; cf. notes on text and translation.

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 77 f.

## THE LANGUAGE

Lines 9, 23, אשוח; cf. notes on translation.

Line 12, רית, usually regarded as a derivative of ראה, "to see," and translated "spectacle."

Line 25, מכרתת; see notes on translation.

Line 34, שדק. In the absence of any context it is difficult to suggest a meaning; it may be a proper name.

(2) *Accidence*.—(a) אנך, line 1, etc., "I." As elsewhere, the Stone expresses the silent consonant of final vowels, אנך can scarcely be אנכי written defectively. The same form is found in Phœnician, *L*, s.v.

(b) The plural and dual are formed by *Nun*, line 2, שלשן, etc., as in Aramaic and Arabic; so occasionally in OT.; but מ is used for dual in line 15, צהרם.

(c) The fem. ending is regularly ת, whereas in Heb. it is more often ה. Thus line 2, שת = Heb. שנה; line 26, מסלת = Heb. מסלה.

(d) The root ענו for "oppress" = Heb.

## THE MOABITE STONE

ענה. In line 5, ויענו, and line 6, אענו. But many of the Heb. ל"ה verbs were originally ל"ו, Ges.-Kautzsch, § 75.

(e) The suffix for "his," "him" is ה; line 6, ארצה, ויחלפה, etc.; so occasionally in Heb., e.g. אהלה, "his tent, Gen. 9<sup>21</sup>. This ה is apparently used for "his" even after a plural noun; thus line 8, יומה = his days.

(f) Line 8, מהדבא for Heb. מידבא, *Medeba*.

(g) Line 11, ואלתחם. If parsed as Heb., this must be taken as Hithpa'el, the ת of the prefix and the first radical ל being transposed, a transposition only occurring in Heb. when the first radical is a sibilant. This transposition, however, occurs for all first radicals in the Arabic 8th conjugation, *igtatala*, similar in sense to the Heb. Hithpa'el. See, further, Driver, *Sam.* xciii; cf. line 19, בהלתחמה.

In Heb. the Niph. of לחם is used for "fight."

(h) Line 18, according to the usual read-

## THE LANGUAGE

ing (see notes on text), the object of אסחב is a separate הם.

(3) *Usage.* Some of the words, though found in OT., are used on the Stone in senses or shades of meaning unknown or rare in OT.

Line 6, חלה, the meaning "succeed" is Arabic rather than OT.

Line 11, etc., אחז is not used in OT. of capturing a city. קר, "city"; in OT., קיר = "wall."

Line 15, בקע, OT., "burst open," in connexion with the "dawn" only Isa. 58<sup>8</sup>.

Line 16, גבר, גברת, are not the usual Heb. for "man," "woman."

Line 17, רחם; see notes on translation.

Line 28, משמעת, rare in OT., Isa. 11<sup>14</sup> for "a subject people"; elsewhere in OT., "bodyguard."

(4) *Syntax.* Line 3, הבמת זאת; in Heb. in such a phrase the demonstrative would usually have the article.

## THE MOABITE STONE

Line 11 f., הַלְעַמ־מִן הַקָּר. According to the readings of SS here and in lines 16, 26, the prefixed preposition מִן is used to express the genitive. The readings are challenged in every case (see notes on the text); but SS is probably right here. But here the relation may not be a simple genitive; but מִן may have the sense, quite usual in Heb., of “taken from.” A similar explanation would be possible, though less obvious, if the SS readings were accepted in lines 16, 26.

## APPENDIX I.



### SILOAM INSCRIPTION.

THIS inscription is about 27 in. square. It is carved on the native rock on the wall of the water-conduit leading from the Virgin's Spring to the Pool of Siloam, about 19 ft. from the Siloam end.

It was discovered in 1880 by native boys who were playing in the water. They informed Mr. C. Shick, who published an account of it in the Palestine Exploration Fund Statement for that year. Later on squeezes were taken by Sayce, Guthe, and others. Driver in his *Samuel* gives facsimile, transcription into Hebrew, and translation. There is a good article, "Siloah," on the

## TEXT OF SILOAM INSCRIPTION

(TRANSLITERATED INTO SQUARE HEBREW).

Letters in square brackets are conjectural restorations of lost or indistinct portions.

[ 78 ]

|   |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | * * * * הנקבה . וזה . היה . דבר . הנקבה . בעוד * * * *                    | 1 |
| 2 | הגרזן . אש . אל . רעו . ובעוד . שלש . אמת . להכ[ת] . נשמ[ע] . קל . אש . ק | 2 |
| 3 | רא . אל . רעו . כי . הית . וזה . בצר . מימן * * * * ובים . ה              | 3 |
| 4 | נקבה . הכו . החצבם . אש . לקרת . רעו . גרזן . על . [גרזן] . וילכו         | 4 |
| 5 | המים . מן . המוצא . אל . הברכה . במאתים . ואלף . אמה . ומ[א]              | 5 |
| 6 | ת אמה . היה . גבה . הצר . על . ראש . החצבם                                | 6 |

THE MOABITE STONE

## SILOAM INSCRIPTION

conduit, with useful diagrams by Guthe in his *Kurzes Bibelwörterbuch*. The inscription is now in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople.<sup>1</sup> It is written in ancient Hebrew characters similar to those of the Moabite Stone.<sup>2</sup>

The date is uncertain, but it probably belongs to the closing period of the Jewish monarchy. There are three or four passages in the Old Testament which may refer to it, viz., Isa. 8<sup>6</sup> "the waters of Shiloah that go softly," a passage written in the reign of Ahaz; 2 Kings 20<sup>20</sup> "Hezekiah.... made.....the conduit" (= 2 Chron. 32<sup>30</sup>); Isa. 22<sup>9, 11</sup> "ye gathered together the waters of the lower pool.....ye made also a reservoir between the two walls for the water of the old pool," a passage written in the reign of Hezekiah.

It will be seen that the inscription does not state when or by whom it was written. The absence of names, the inconspicuous

<sup>1</sup> *L* (cf. p. 64), p. 439.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 68.

## THE MOABITE STONE

position, and the rude style of the writing, suggest that it may have been written unofficially by the foreman of the workmen who made the conduit.

The words are divided by dots as on the Moabite Stone ; these dots are placed irregularly, sometimes lower, sometimes higher.

### NOTES.

Line 2, *אש קל*. This inscription, like the Stone, uses the *Scriptio Defectiva* ; cf. p. 72.

Line 3, *הית* ; OT., *היתה*.

Line 4, *לקרת* ; OT., *לקראת*.

### TRANSLATION.

Words in italics are supplied for the sake of the English idiom.

1. . . . .the boring. Now this was the manner of the boring. While yet . . . . .

2. the pick each towards his fellow ; and while *there were* yet three cubits to strike *through*, the voice of each [was heard]

## NOTES ON THE TRANSLATION

3. calling to his fellows, for there was ZDH in the rock on the right hand . . . . . and on the day of the

4. boring, the hewers struck *through* each opposite his fellow, pick to pick, and came

5. the waters from the spring to the pool, 1200 cubits. And 100

6. cubits was the height of the rock above the head of the hewers.

## NOTES ON THE TRANSLATION.

Line 1. *boring*; the Heb. *nḵbh* is not found in OT. in this sense, but the root *nḵb* is used for "pierce."

Line 2. *each towards his fellow*. The boring was made by two parties working from opposite ends. Guthe's diagram of the conduit shows *culs-de-sac*; apparently the workmen sometimes went too far in one direction, and went a little way back and started afresh.

*three cubits*, etc., about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet.

Line 3. ZDH, not in OT., which, however, has the root ZWD, to boil, be proud,

## THE MOABITE STONE

exceed in pride, whence the meaning "excess" has been suggested, *i.e.*, at this point the two parties had gone a little too much to the right of each other and might have gone past each other, if they had not heard a noise; "excess" is the rendering given by Sayce, *Fresh Light*, etc., 86. Possibly "fissure" would suit the context; this is suggested by *L* (cf. p. 64); S. A. Cook, *Encyc. Bibl.* i. 883; Driver, *Sam.*

Lines 3, 4. *the day of the boring*, the day when the boring was finished.

Line 5. *the spring*, *i.e.* the Virgin's Pool; so Driver, *Sam.*, "source"; so 2 Kings 2<sup>21</sup>.

1200 *cubits*; according to Col. Conder the distance is 1758 ft. If the number 1200 were exact, it would give us 17.58 in. for the cubit; but 1200 is obviously a round number (A. R. S. Kennedy, *Dict. of the Bible*, T. & T. Clark, iv. 907<sup>b</sup>). The statement, however, confirms the indications afforded by other data that the cubit was about 18 in

Lines 5, 6. 100 *cubits*, etc., *i.e.* the surface of the rock was 100 cubits above

## NOTES ON THE TRANSLATION

the conduit ; but it is not clear at what point, whether at the point where the two parties met, or at the point where the distance was greatest.

## APPENDIX II.



### THE GEZER CALENDAR.

IN 1908 a tablet was discovered by Mr. Macalister at Gezer, containing a list of months in an archaic alphabet similar to that of the Moabite and Siloam inscriptions, but more closely resembling the former. The terms used for the months are probably descriptive rather than proper names; and the inscription is probably the work of a private individual, and is not official. There are various opinions as to the date; but it is not likely to be later than 600 B.C., and may be considerably earlier. Full accounts of the tablet will be found in the Quarterly Statements of the Palestine Exploration Fund, Oct. 1908, p. 271, Jan. 1909, p. 26.

## THE GEZER CALENDAR

For the following transcription and translation I am indebted to the Rev. Prof. G. Buchanan Gray, D.D., of Mansfield College, Oxford.

### TRANSCRIPTION IN SQUARE HEBREW.

The letters marked with dots are doubtful.

יִרְחַ וְאֶסְפָּ | יִרְחַ וְנָ (1)

יִרְחַ וְלִקְשׁ | מַעַ (2)

יִרְחַ עֶצֶד פֶּשֶׁת (3)

יִרְחַ קֶצֶר שְׁעָרִים<sup>1</sup> (4)

יִרְחַ קֶצֶר וְנָל (5)

יִרְחַ זֹמֶר (6)

יִרְחַ קֶץ (7)

אֲבִי<sup>2</sup>

### TRANSLATION.

(1) A month and ingathering | A month  
and pl

<sup>1</sup> The final ן is written in the original below the line, at right angles to the other letters.

<sup>2</sup> These three letters are written in the original at right angles to the rest.

## THE MOABITE STONE

- (2) anting<sup>1</sup> | A month and the spring-gathering
- (3) The month of the pulling up (?)<sup>2</sup> of flax
- (4) The month of the reaping of barley
- (5) The month of the reaping | and (?) all (?)<sup>3</sup>
- (6) A month and pruning
- (7) The month of summer fruits

Abi<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The letters represented by "planting" are indistinct and uncertain. Others decipher ורע, "sowing."

<sup>2</sup> The original word 'çd is not found in OT., and its meaning is doubtful.

<sup>3</sup> Here the original cannot be deciphered with certainty.

<sup>4</sup> Possibly part of a name such as Abiram or Abijah. Cf. note<sup>2</sup> to transcription.