Two Hebrew Cruxes

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I. ומקום תגור על־יד ...(Ben-Sira 41:18 = MS III:22)

The line in question occurs as the sixth in a list of admonitions introduced by the sage (MS III:18a) as "Instruction on Shame" (mwsr. bšt).

In the ed. pr. of the Scroll, Y. Yadin commented on this line as follows (p. 20):

 $_{n}^{c}[l]$ yd [:] Thus Bmarg. All the editors read in Bmarg: zd, but a study of the facsimile clearly indicates that the reading is: ...yd. Btext [reads] ...zr [which] does not suit ... contextually, nor does it serve as a fitting parallel to $m^{c}l$ in col. A.⁶¹

This translation of the line (p. 42) reads: "(Be ashamed) of a place where thou sojournest o[f] sleight of hand". The translation ostensibly draws its inspiration from 42:6 (= MS IV:12):

ומקום ידים רבות מפתח

"And where many hands are - (be not ashamed of) a key".

Despite some superficial similarity of terminology, however, the two texts are scarcely comparable; for they differ markedly in their syntactic usage of the problematic *yad. In 42:6, the meaning of $y\bar{a}d(dayim)$ is thus straightforward, unlike 41:18, where the syntax appears to preclude this meaning. Nor does Yadin's interpretive 'sleight-of-' find support in 42:6. It is rather an inference from context; specifically, a presumed (synonymous) parallelism with m^{cl} of col. A. Yet even a casual look at the parallelisms in this section suffices to show that in most cases the parallelism is more 'formal', or 'complementary' than 'synonymous'. We find $phz//kh\delta$ (41:17); $q\delta r/[p]\delta^{c}$ (41:18); and $^{3}lh//bryt//lhm$ in 41:19, the latter in particular noteworthy in this connection.

It is thus with good reason that J. Strugnell (EI 9 [1969]: 113) observed, in his review of Yadin's ed. pr., that Yadin's translation was 'awkward', through he himself could suggest no plausible alternative. More precisely, it is the *Hebrew* of Ben-Sira which is awkward if his intention was to express the thought contained in Yadin's translation.

It is my opinion, and submission, that the word yd in 41:22 has nothing to do with 'hand', at least on the semantic level; it is identical with O.T. yd as used in Deut. 23:13f., viz., a 'privy', or - by virtue of its location - an 'out-house', constructed an acceptable distance away from human habitation.²

¹ Yadin's pronouncement on Bmarg is confirmed by the critical edition of Ben-Sira published by the Israeli Academy of Hebrew Language (ed. Z. Ben-Hayyim [1973]), p. 46. But Bmarg has wng yd for Scroll's (= Btext) tgwr, the latter supported also by the LXX (... οὐ παροικεῖς).

² The treatment of the Biblical attestation by scholars ancient and modern is less than satisfactory. Like their medieval Jewish counterparts who followed the Targumim (T^o and Ps.-J.), modern lexicographers and commentators have followed LXX, all rendering identically

What the sage is warning his (upper-class) student/client against is the construction of such a building – whether for personal use or commercial gain remains unclear – in the proximity of his residence. Such an act has a deleterious effect on the neighborhood (reducing property-value?) and it constitutes an anti-social act; hence it is in 'bad taste' and shameworthy.

Together with the parallel clause in col. A, render accordingly 41:22 as follows: "(Feel shame) towards a partner and friend for (an act of) treachery, (And) towards your neighborhood for (making) a privy."³

II. Qumran-Heb. (3)bdn

The word in question, without prothetic *aleph* and (mostly) in construct plural form, occurs frequently in the newly published *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*.⁴ Outside the *Shîrôt*, it is known only from the *War Scroll*, where it is found twice, once with prothetic *aleph*. The term has yet to find satisfactory explanation.⁵ The editor of the *Shîrôt*, C. Newsom, has summarized the situation as follows:

'place' or the like. Yet convincing support, be it contextual or etymological, for yd = (non-euphemistic) 'place' is virtually non-existent. Ges.-B. (= BDB) cite Nu. 2:17 (thus already Rashi and Ibn-Janah), Isa. 57:8, and Jer. 6:2. But HAL, while echoing Ges.-B. ('Platz' = 'Abort'), distinguishes this meaning from that of 'Seite' which Ges.-B. (= BDB) posit as the underlying meaning of yad 'place'; and Nu. 2:17 is subsumed by HAL under 'Seite' rather than under 'Platz'. As for Isa. 57:8, it is classified under 'penis', while Jer. 6:2 is not cited anywhere in the entry. Thus yd = 'Platz' = 'Abort' is, for HAL, hap, leg. in Deut. 23:13.

The solution lies readily at hand once the Ugaritic evidence is properly considered. Ug. ydy (I) denotes 'expel, drive (out/off), cast, hurl', and is used in such diverse contexts as the 'expulsion' of disease (mrs [1.16:V:10ff.]), and venom (hmt [1.100 passim]), the 'driving off' of an enemy laying siege (1.119:26ff.), and the 'casting' of speech (rgm) by an ailing cow (1.93:1). (In 1.100:64, ydy is used of 'uprooting' a tree. The idea is that Hrn, as a chthonic deity, uproots the tree by pushing – i.e., 'expelling' – it out of the ground.) If properly restored in 1.82:1f. – wygl. wynsk. '[qltn]/[wyd]y. lars – ydy can also be used to describe Baal's 'hurling' of Leviathan-Tann nn (back) into the Netherworld.

It is thus likely, if not altogether certain, that yd in Deut. 23:13 derives from $\sqrt{y}dh$ and is an abbreviation of *b(y)t. yd 'House-of-Excreta' (or the like), on the analogy of b(y)t. (h)ks ' used (euphemistically) for the same object in Rabbinic Hebrew.

After this note had been completed, and just prior to its submission for publication, the Anchor Bible Commentary by Skehan and Di Lella came to my attention. Although their translation of the pericope (41:14ff. = \S 49) as a whole differs considerably, and favourably, from Yadin's, they are of one mind as regards the phrase under discussion. The similarity extends even to the support sought in 42:6. The appended note (p. 478) is however less than clear. The Hebrew text of the Scroll and Bmrg is rendered literally "of [your] hand". Either the square brackets are a misprint for rounded ones, or else Skehan and Di Lella are proposing a reconstructed Urtext of * cl yd[k].

4 C. Newsom, Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition (HSS 27 [1985]): 283f.

⁵ Cf. Y. Yadin, *The Scroll of the War* (1962): 280; J. van der Ploeg, *Le Rouleau de la Guerre* (1959): 93. The latter cites Arabic *badanun* "qui peut signifier une sorte d'ornement que les femmes portent sur la poitrine", while Yadin draws attention to Sa^cadiah's use of the term to render BH *hošen*, the ornamented breast-plate worn by the high-priest for purposes of divination.

"whatever the etymology of the word, its approximate meaning can be discerned from its close association with the parallel terms dmwt, mr by, and swrwt."6

We offer the following suggestion: The word (3)bdn derives from the root \sqrt{bdh} (< PS *b-d-y) = 'invent, fabricate', used both in the positive sense of 'invention, composition, creation (of an artifact)' and in the negative sense of 'fabrication, deception, lie'.

In BH, we find the phrase $bad\bar{a}$ millibô "he made up (a story); he lied", lit., 'he invented from his heart' (1 Kgs. 12:33). A nominal form $bad(d\hat{\imath}m)$ 'lie(s)' is also attested.

In Ugaritic we find the root in the positive sense of 'invent a story; compose a song/poem'. Thus the goddess Anat, in her ardent desire to obtain the precious composite-bow fashioned by the artisan-god Koshar-Ḥasis as a 'coming-of-age' present for the lad Aqht, promises literary as well as mythical immortality: Aqht, she avers, will be the subject of epic song (ybd. wyšr. 'lh "One will compose and sing of him" [KTU 1.17:VI:31]).8 The negative connotation is reserved for $\sqrt{s}rg$, probably a synonym of $\sqrt{b}dy$, to judge by the Arabic cognate saraga, 'deceive' by 'embellishing the truth'. By no co-incidence, $\sqrt{s}rg$ is found in the lad Aqht's response to the goddess's offer which he designates as sargk "thy fairy-tale(s)".

In sum, it would appear that \sqrt{bdh} has, as its basic meaning, 'invent; embellish; adorn' from which there develop both positively and negatively connotative meanings. Qumran (3)bdn seems to preserve this basic meaning, and can best be rendered 'artifact; work-of-art'.

Abstract:

This paper proposes solutions to two lexicographic cruxes in Second Commonwealth Hebrew literature. A difficult passage in Ben Sira (41:18 = Masada Scroll III:22) is explained on the assumption that the word $y\bar{a}d$ means here, as in Deut. 23:13f., a 'privy'; and that the word (5)bdn attested in Qumranic literature derives from *bdy (> Heb. bdh) 'invent; fabricate', both in the positive sense of 'create (a poem or artifact)' and in the negative sense of 'invent (a story); lie'.

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⁶ Loc. cit., 284.

⁷ Cf. German Dichtung 'poem' < erdichten 'invent, fabricate'.

⁸ For a detailed discussion of this well-known passage in the epic of *Aqht*, cf. my Commentary (BZAW 182 [1989]: 304ff.).

⁹ A similar picture presents itself in English: 'artifact' is positive, 'artificial' is (usually) negative (as contrasting with 'genuine, authentic'). An 'invention' can lead to both a Nobel prize and to a prison-term. A 'story' can be a work of literary art as well as a 'lie'. And even 'art' can bear the unsavoury meaning of 'wile'.