

meaning of *simor*, without any philological violence. The renderings which have been proposed recently, such as "water-shaft, penis, joint," all require much philological liberality for serious consideration. It may be added that Dr. Albright has withdrawn his own suggestion, as he informs me, and now accepts the view defended in this paper.

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פְּרֵי עֵץ הָדָר פְּרֵי עֵץ הָדָר

(Lev. XXIII, 40)

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... וְלִקְחֶתֶם לָכֶם בַּיּוֹם הַרְאִשׁוֹן פְּרֵי עֵץ הָדָר פֶּתַח מִכְרֵם וְתִנֵּף עֵץ עֵבֶר וְעֵרְבֵי-חֵלֶב...
RV : "And ye shall take you on the first day *the fruit of goodly trees, branches of palm trees, and boughs of thick trees, and willows of the brook...*"

The Feast of Tabernacles, which marked the completion of the harvest of fruit, oil, and wine, and historically commemorated the wanderings in the wilderness, was the most important of Israel's festivals, and as such it is also called תְּחִיֵּתוֹת "Feast of Yahweh" (Judges XXI, 19; Lev. XXIII, 39), or merely חֵדֶת, "The Feast" (I Kings VIII, 2; Ezek. XLV, 23; 11 Chron. VII, 8). Some details of its ritual are, however, of a very late date; this is the case, in particular, with the water libation, which is not mentioned earlier than in Zechariah XIV, 16-19 (about 520 B. C.), and with the command as to the use of the פְּרֵי עֵץ הָדָר of which there is no trace either in the book of Ezra (about 458 B. C.) or in Nehemiah's account of the Feast of Tabernacles shortly after his first return to Jerusalem in 445 B. C. On the other hand, the chapters XVIII-XXVI of Leviticus, forming the so-called "Holiness Code" were complete before 400 B. C.; that is to say that the only existing mention of פְּרֵי עֵץ הָדָר (Lev. XXIII, 40) was introduced

into the Pentateuch subsequent to 445 B. C. but previous to 400 B. C.

What was meant by עֵץ הָאֵפֶסֶת ? Jewish tradition says: the *ethrog*, עֵץ הָאֵפֶסֶת , that is the fruit which Theophrastus called the "Median" or the "Persian apple," and which botanists call *Citrus medica*. Josephus¹ says that it was this "Persian apple" that was used by the Jews during the Feast of Tabernacles; and this is confirmed by the story, told both by himself² and by the Talmud, of how Alexander Jannaeus, around the year 100 B. C. was pelted with their *ethrogim* by the congregation assembled in the Temple during the Feast of Tabernacles. The earliest trace of the *ethrog* in Jewish sources is found in the representation of this fruit on coins struck by Simon the Maccabee in the fourth year of the "Redemption of Zion," that is in 135 B. C. The date of the first introduction of the *ethrog tree* into Palestine we do not know; but what is certain is that it cannot have been before the third century B. C., because the earliest known mention of the fruit in western Asia occurs in Theophrastus' famous work on the geographical distribution of plants, in which he definitely states that in his time the *ethrog* was grown only in Media and in Persia³ and Theophrastus' treatise was written about 300 B. C. It follows that since the *ethrog* was not introduced into Palestine until the third century B. C. the עֵץ הָאֵפֶסֶת of the fifth century Holiness Code cannot possibly mean the *ethrog*. What, then, is the meaning of עֵץ הָאֵפֶסֶת ?

The rendering "the fruit of goodly trees," which later translations have taken over from the Septuagint, and which is based on the Hebrew noun עֵץ הָאֵפֶסֶת meaning "majesty, splendour," does not

¹ Antiq. III, § 4.

² Antiq. XIII, xiii § 5.

³ Theophrastus: *Enquiry into Plants*, IV, iv 2.

appear to be satisfactory; hence the proposal made by the Amora Rabbi Abbahu of Caesarea about 200 A. D. to read עֵץ הָאֵפֶסֶת , i. e. (a fruit) that remains "dwelling" on the tree from one year to the following one,¹ the reference being to the fact that the *ethrog*-tree blossoms at a time when the fruit of the previous year is still on its branches. But this rendering is hardly more satisfactory than that of the Septuagint. The analogous forms עֵץ הָאֵפֶסֶת , the vine tree (Ezek XV, 2, 6), עֵץ הָאֵפֶסֶת , the olive tree (Hag. II, 19), and עֵץ הָאֵפֶסֶת , the cedar tree (Lev. XIV, 6, 51, 52) prove that grammatically there is no reason why עֵץ הָאֵפֶסֶת should not simply mean "the fruit of the *dar* tree," if it can be shown that *dar* was the name of a tree. In point of fact, *dar* is a Sanskrit word which means "tree," and we meet it in the name of the Indian holy tree *par excellence*, the giant cedar of the Himalaya mountains, known to botanists as *Cedrus deodara*, from the Sanskrit *devadaru* meaning "the tree of God." The Persians, who under Darius I Hystaspes conquered the north-western provinces of India,² borrowed from the Indians both the cult of the tree and its name; they called it *divdar*, "the tree of the *div* or genii."³ And Bonavia has shown that on certain Assyrian sculptures the very prominent cone-shaped object held in the uplifted hand of winged genii, who invariably hold a bucket in the other hand, is a cone of the *Cedrus deodara*,⁴ which was probably used as a sprinkler for "holy water";⁵ it is, besides, known from certain hymns that the cedar cone was held in great veneration in Assyria. That the conception of the cedar as "the tree of God" was not unfamiliar to the Jews of the time is shown by the post-exilic Psalms LXXX, 11 (עֵץ הָאֵפֶסֶת "cedars of God")

¹ *Sukkah*, 35 a.

² Herodotus, IV, 44 and III, 98.

³ The Arabs of the Middle Ages called it *divdar* and عشبة شجر الله , *shajret-Allah*, "the tree of God" (see Ibn Beithar's *Dictionary of Simple Remedies*, No 1289).

⁴ E. Bonavia: *The Flora of the Assyrian Monuments*, London, 1894, p. 65.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 87.

and CIV, :6 (כִּנְזֵי יַחְזֵקוּ עֵצֵי יְהוָה אֲרָזִי), "the trees of Yahweh are satisfied, the cedars of Lebanon"). During the fifth century B.C. Palestine and Babylonia were equally parts of the Persian empire, and I believe that from Babylonia the authors of the Holiness Code borrowed the ritual use of the cedar cone and the Persian name of the tree itself. But, since the Persian *dria*, for God or the genii, could not very well be adopted by Jewish religious legislators and writers, only the word *dar* דָּר, for "tree," was taken over into the Hebrew. A striking argument in favour of this view is, I think, furnished by the Book of Esther I, 6, where the floor of the great banqueting hall in the royal palace at Susa, the capital of Persia, is said to have been covered with, or made of, שֵׁשׁ (marble) and three other, unidentified, materials: בַּרְמִת, כְּהָרִת, and דָּר, a word which the Septuagint renders as *πέλεκτος λίθος*, "pearl-stone." I believe that דָּר has no other meaning than "cedar"; cedar wood, we know, was one of the most highly valued materials used in the construction and decoration of temples and royal palaces. The word דָּר is also recognizable in the terms מִדְּרָה,¹ and מִדְּרָה² which are occasionally used in the Talmud for a certain variety of the cedar. We even find, in two of the most beautiful poetical passages of the Bible, the homonyms דָּר, "the cedar," and דָּר, "majesty" or "excellency," used as an occasion for a play upon words in connection with the cedars of Lebanon, namely in Isaiah XXXV, 2: כְּבוֹד-יְהוָה יִרְאוּ כִּבְדֵי-יְהוָה דָּר דָּר הַגְּלוֹרָה אֲרָזֵי-הַדֶּשֶׁת, "the glory of Lebanon shall be given unto it (i. e. to the desert), the excellency of Carmel and Sharon; they shall see the glory of Yahweh, the excellency of our God," and in Psalm XXIX, 4 and 5: קוֹל יְהוָה בְּפֶה קוֹל יְהוָה בְּרֹדֶד; קוֹל יְהוָה שֹׁפַר וְיִשְׁפַר יְהוָה אֲרָזֵי-אֲרָזֵי; קוֹל יְהוָה בְּכֹחַ קוֹל יְהוָה חֲזָק, "the voice of Yahweh is powerful, the voice of Yahweh is full of majesty; the voice of Yahweh breaketh in pieces the cedars,

¹ Sabb. 67a; R. Hash. 23a; Sanh. 108b; B. Mev. 26a.

² Bets. 15b.

yea, Yahweh breaketh the cedars of Lebanon," where the word דָּר, with its twofold meaning of "majesty" and "the cedar" forms the link between the description of the power of Yahweh's voice, as expressed in the thunder, and the picture of the cedars of Lebanon struck down by the power of that voice. In my opinion there is, therefore, no doubt that דָּר is a noun and הַ the article, that דָּר, literally "the tree," stands by contraction for "the cedar tree"; that consequently דָּר דָּר is a pleonasm, and that the meaning of דָּר דָּר is "the fruit of the cedar tree," that is to say *the cedar cone*.

The question now arises as to when and why, in the ritual of the Feast of Tabernacles, this cedar cone was abandoned and the *ethrog* adopted in its stead. *A priori*, it may be said that this can only have happened after the cultivation of the *ethrog* tree in Palestine had reached such proportions that it became possible for every member of the multitude that went up for the festival to the Temple to acquire the fruit without difficulty and at a price which even a poor man could afford to pay. Allowing for the distance, the difficulties of transport, and the technical and biological conditions which govern the migration and dispersion of trees, and keeping in mind that by 300 B.C. the tree was still cultivated only in Media and in Persia, the *ethrog* can hardly have become common in Palestine before the second century B.C., and the place in Judea where its cultivation is most likely to have been practised on such a large scale was Jaffa, which is still to-day the centre of Palestine's orange industry. And now the occurrence of the *ethrog* on coins of Simon the Maccabee acquires a significance hitherto unsuspected. It was Simon who conquered Jaffa, drove out its Greek inhabitants, and annexed the city definitely as part of the Jewish state, in 143 B.C. In 139, he obtained from Antiochus VI Sideres the right to issue money, and, though for the next three years his coins bear the emblem of the "illy of Sharon," in 136 (the last year of his life) we find him suddenly issuing copper

half-shekels, quarter-shekels, and sixth-of-shekels bearing the picture of an *ethrog* or two *ethrogim* together with the bundle of branches prescribed for use at the Feast of Tabernacles, or with baskets filled with dates and other fruits, an obvious reference to the offerings of the first fruits (אֲשֵׁרֵינוּ) which, on ascending the Temple hill, each person was compelled to take upon his shoulder.¹ These facts, together with the further facts that none of Simon's successors imitated his example and that he remained the only Jewish ruler who ever represented the *ethrog* on his coins in connection with the Feast of Tabernacles, seems to me to point definitely to the conclusion that it was Simon the Maccabee who introduced the *ethrog* in place of the cedar cone into Jewish ritual, and that this important step was taken by him on the occasion of the feast of Tabernacles, October, 136 B.C.

And now as to the reasons of the change. It may be taken for granted that the Maccabees, vindicators and restorers of the Jewish religion, did not of their own free choice abandon the use of the cedar cone, but that circumstances compelled them to do so. What these circumstances may have been we do not and may never know, but it is quite within the realm of possibility that the Seleucides, in their systematic campaign, first started by Antiochus IV Epiphanes in 168 B.C., for the destruction of the Jewish religion and the ceremonies connected with it, took steps to prevent the export of cedar cones from the countries under their rule to Judea. But once granted the necessity for Simon Maccabeus to find a substitute for the cedar cone, then the choice of the *ethrog* rather than any other fruit was undoubtedly prompted by the striking likeness which the unripe *ethrog* shows to the still green cedar cone, a resemblance so remarkable that at least one botanist, a century ago, gave the *ethrog* the scientific name of *Citrus Medica Conifera*.²

¹ Madden: *History of Jewish Coinage*, London, 1864, pp. 47 and 50.

² Etienne Michel: *Traité pu Citronnier*, Paris, 1816, p. 3 and plate 11, fig. 1 and 2.

There is one more interesting point in connection with this substitution of the *ethrog* for the cedar cone in the ritual of the Feast of Tabernacles. The Greeks called the cedar *κείδος*, *kedros*, and its cone *κείδος*, *kedris*; the Greek-speaking Jews of Palestine called the latter *κείδος*, *ketiv*,¹ while they used the name *κείδος*, *ketiva*, for the *ethrog*.² On the other hand, we find that the Romans, including Pliny himself, called both the cedar and *ethrog*-tree by one and the same name, *citrus*, which is obviously nothing else than a latinized form of the Palestinian-Greek *ketiv*. This designation of two such widely different trees by one and the same name, a fact which has led astray many translators of the Latin classics, cannot be explained otherwise than by the philological interchange which occurred in Palestine at the time of the substitution of the *ethrog* for the cedar-cone in the ritual of the Feast of Tabernacles. And it is also as a result of the same interchange that *cedro* in Italian, and *cedre* in medieval French are used both for the citron and the cedar, that in modern French the *ethrog* is named *cedral* which means, literally, "the fruit of the cedar," that in English it is called the citron, and that the word *citrus* has become the scientific name of the large family which comprises the citron, the lemon, the orange, the grapefruit, and the mandarine or tangerine.

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¹ Julius Fürst: *Glossarium Graeco-Hebraicum oder Der Griechische Wortschatz der jüdischen Mishnaschreiber*, Strassburg, 1890, p. 198.

² Josephus, *Antiq.* XIII, xiii 5.