# מחרשת/מחרשה

plough(-point)

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## Introduction

Grammatical type: n.f.

Occurrences:  $3 \times HB (0/3/0)$ ;  $0 \times Sir$ ;  $0 \times Qum$ ;  $0 \times Inscr. (Total: 3)$ 

Nebiim: 1 Sam 13:20 (2), 21 (1). Qumran: — (see B.1 below)

A.1 While the first occurrence of מְחֲרֵשָׁתוֹ in 1 Sam 13:20 (מְחֲרֵשָׁתוֹ, with pataḥ as the third vowel) is a form of \*מְחֲרֵשָׁה , the second occurrence (מְחֲרֵשָׁת , with  $s^e r \bar{e}$  as the third vowel) is a form of \*מְחֲרֵשָׁה . The Masoretic vocalization of 1 Sam 13:20-21 suggests that the second occurrence of מְחָרֵשׁת is a form of the same noun as מְחָרֵשׁת in 13:21.  $^{1}$  supports the Masoretic vocalisation and translates the two forms with  $s^e r \bar{e}$  by forms of the same noun (עּוֹשְׁפָּא), while it represents the single form with a pataḥ instead of the  $s^e r \bar{e}$  with a form of a different noun (פְּרָשָׁא). However, most of the ancient versions treat the first occurrence of מַחֲרֵשׁת in 13:20 and מַחֲרֵשׁת in 13:21 as forms of the same noun (see section 4). The latter option becomes more attractive as soon as one notices that the series of agricultural implements in 13:20 (מַחֲרֵשָׁת, מֶּחְרֵשַׁת) partially corresponds to the series in 13:21 (מַחֲרֵשַׁת) מִחְרֵשׁתוֹ ) partially corresponds to the series in 13:21 (מַחֲרֵשַׁת)

אָתִים, אָּתִים פּלְשׁוֹן, קַרְדָּמִים (דְּרְבָּן, קַרְדָּמִים). Consequently, the first occurrence of וו מחרשתו in 13:20 and מחרשת in 13:21 are sometimes treated as forms of the same noun.

A.2 Of course, the twofold occurrence of מחרשתו in a single series of utensils (1 Sam 13:20) has raised questions. Since part of the utensils mentioned in 13:20 reoccur in the same order in 13:21 (מְרָדֹם, אֵת, מחרשׁת, חבים,), the latter verse was sometimes used as a basis for emending the text of 13:20. Julius Wellhausen assumed that the second מחרשתו, the fourth item of the list in 13:20, originally corresponded to הַּדְּרָבָן at the end of 13:21. He pointed to the fact that the ancient Greek and Syriac translations read forms of the same noun (LXX: δρέπανον, 'sickle'; s: ממשבי, 'ox goad') where MT reads מְחָרֵבֶּשׁׁתוֹ (13:20) and הַּדְּרָבָנוֹ (13:21).³ Wellhausen's proposal to read בּדְרַבְּנוֹ at the end of 13:20 was taken over by many others.⁴ Other scholars, however, assumed that the reading τὸ δρέπανον αὐτου, 'his sickle', goes back to Hebrew הַּרְמֵשׁׁי, since δρέπανον represents Hebrew מָּרְמֵשׁׁי as secondary.⁵

Dominique Barthélemy argued that there is insufficient reason to replace מחרשתו by a different word on the basis of the readings of LXX and S. The earliest translators seem to have experienced the same problems with the Hebrew text as modern scholars. They translated the second occurrence of מחרשתו differently from the first. The translators of LXX and S decided to use a noun that they used also to render the last utensil mentioned in 13:21. Barthélemy maintained that the first and second מְחַרֵשָׁה and "מַחֲרֵשָׁה and "מַחֲרֵשָׁה and "מַחֲרֵשָׁה and "מַחֲרֵשָׁה and different meanings, but neither the earliest translators nor modern scholars could retrieve exactly to what kind of sharp utensils the two terms initially referred. DCH shares Barthélemy's suggestion that the two occurrences of ancum in 13:20 refer to two different agricultural utensils and translates them as 'plough' and 'goad', respectively.

B.1 The sectarian composition Serekh ha-Yaḥad (Community Rule, ca. 100 BCE?) contains an enigmatic phrase: כיא בסאון רשע מחרשו.<sup>8</sup> The passage describes the characteristics of those who may not enter the community of the faithful. Although the interpretation of the phrase is disputed, it is clear that מחרשו is not an alternative form of מחרשתו as a noun meaning 'ploughing'. It has been proposed to regard מחרשתו as a noun meaning 'ploughing'. It has equivalent to Aramaic סוון/סיין, 'mud', the whole phrase can be taken as a proverbial saying: 'For in the mud of wickedness (is) his ploughing.'<sup>11</sup>

# 1. Root and Comparative Material

- A.1 ROOT: Both מְחֵרֵשָׁה and מְחֵרֶשֶׁה \*בְּחֶרֶשֶׁה are commonly assumed to derive from מְחֵרֶשָׁה, 'to plough', 'to engrave'. These nouns have some Semitic cognates denoting an agricultural implement, as will be shown below. The Hebrew verb stems from proto-Semitic <code>hrt</code> and has cognates in Ugaritic, Akkadian and many other Semitic languages (see below). It must be distinguished from ארש הרש הול manufacture', which stems from proto-Semitic <code>hrš</code>, just like Ugaritic <code>hrš</code> and Phoenician <code>hrš</code>, 'craftsman', 'artisan'. Contrary to Hebrew והרש הרש refers to the work of the craftsman or artisan.
- A.2 Akkadian: The Hebrew verb אורט has a cognate in Akkadian  $er\bar{e}\check{s}u$ , which means 'to seed by drilling seed into a furrow by means of a seeder-plow, to cultivate or plant (a field). Among the derivatives of this verb are  $m\bar{e}re\check{s}u$  and  $m\bar{e}re\check{s}tu$ , which mean 'cultivation' or 'cultivated land/field'. Derivatives relating to a utensil are not attested.
- A.3 UGARITIC: The Ugaritic cognate of Hebrew ו הרש is hrt 'to plough'. The Ugaritic noun mhrtt (KTU 1.6:IV.3, 14; 6.14:3) is usually interpreted as 'ploughed field'. However, O. Loretz proposed to regard it as a nomen instrumenti denoting the ploughshare or the plough as a whole. 20
- A.4 Arabic: The Arabic verb harata is a cognate of Hebrew ו חרש and means 'to plough, to cultivate'. The Arabic noun  $mihr\bar{a}t$  designates a plough. In Old South Arabian, however, mhrtt refers to ploughed, cultivated land. 22
- **A.5** ETHIOPIC: The Ethiopic (Ge'ez) verb harasa is a cognate of Hebrew ו and means 'to plough'. The noun  $m\bar{a}hras$  is translated as 'ploughshare' or as 'plough'.
- A.6 Postbiblical Hebrew and Jewish Aramaic: In the Mishnah, the Tosefta and the Talmudim, the word מְּחֲבִישָׁה is virtually always spelled with a yod as mater lectionis: מחרישה. The term occurs ca. 70 times and denotes the plough in its entirety. Not surprisingly, the word occurs in a context relating to ploughing (שְּׁרִשׁ) clods of earth and stones. The implement is regarded as indispensable. The expression החרישה is refers to יתד של מחרישה is the pin of the plough', denotes the sharp metal plough-point. The Tosefta refers to מחרישה המחרישה, 'plough-points', that were attached to the plough's המחרישה לail-piece, handle'. In the Babylonian Talmud, the expression מחרישה דכספא מחרישה דכספא, 'silver'. Such a strigil was used for scraping the skin; cf. the meaning 'to engrave' of the verb ו חרש. In modern Hebrew the word מחרישה "plough'.

#### 2. Formal Characteristics

A.1 \*מְחֵרֶשָׁה\* $^{31}/^*$ מְחֵרֶשָׁה is a miqtal form with a feminine termination.  $^{33}$ 

A.2 \*מְהֵרְשָּׁה is a maqtil form with a feminine termination. Many maqtil forms denote a utensil. 34

# 3. Syntagmatics

A.1 In 1 Sam 13:20, מַחֲרֵשָׁתוֹ and מַחֲרֵשָׁתוֹ represent the first and fourth objects of the verb מָחָרֵשָׁתוֹ, 'to forge', 'to hammer', 'to sharpen'. The other objects are (2) אַתוֹ (3) and (3) קַּרְדָּמוֹ (all marked by the accusative particle אַר. 1 Sam 13:21 indicates that the price for מַחַרֵשׁת as well as some other agricultural utensils was a  $\rightarrow$  פּים. Apparently, the price was paid for either producing or repairing them (see below).

## 4. Ancient Versions

A.1 In the following survey, '201' represents the first occurrence of מְחַרֵשְׁתוֹ (MT: מַחֲרֵשְׁתוֹ) in 1 Sam 13:20, while '202' represents the second occurrence (MT: מַחֲרֵשְׁתוֹ). '21' represents the word מַחֵרֵשׁת in 13:21.

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a. Septuagint (LXX) and other Greek versions
θέριστρον, 'reaping-hook': 35 201 (most manuscripts of LXX).
θεριστήριον, 'reaping-hook':<sup>36</sup> 20<sup>1</sup> (Antiochene text of LXX<sup>37</sup>).
θερίζειν, 'to reap', ^{38} 'to harvest': ^{39} 21 (LXX).
αροτρον, 'plough': 40 201 (Aq, Th<sup>41</sup>), 21 (Aq<sup>42</sup>).
บังเร, 'ploughshare': 43 201 (Sym<sup>44</sup>).
δρέπανον, 'sickle': 45 20<sup>2</sup> (LXX).
δίκελλα, 'two-pronged fork': ^{46} 20<sup>2</sup> (Sym<sup>47</sup>).
b. Peshitta (s)
(magg^{e}l\bar{a}), 'sickle': 48 201, 21.
حصمت (mass\bar{a}s\bar{a}), '(ox) goad': 49 20^2.
c. Targum (T^{J})
פָּרָשָׁא, 'goad', possibly also 'ploughshare': 50 201.
עוּשָׂפַא, 'adze', 'carpenter's axe', etc., used for chipping:<sup>51</sup> 20<sup>2</sup>, 21.
d. Vulgate (v)
vomer, 'ploughshare': 52 201, 21.
sarculum, 'hoe': ^{53} 20<sup>2</sup>.
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A.2 As the surveys show, the two occurrences of מחרשתו in 1 Sam 13:20 MT have two different counterparts in all the ancient translations. Aquila, S and V treat the first occurrence of מחרשתו  $(20^1)$  as a form of the same noun as מחרשתו (21) and translate the second form  $(20^2)$  differently. In LXX, the words representing מחרשת  $(20^1)$  and מחרשת (21) are derivatives from the same root. On the other hand, the translation of  $T^J$  suggests that the second occurrence of מחרשת  $(20^2)$  is a form of the same noun as מחרשת (21). This corresponds with the Masoretic vocalization.

A.4 Most of the ancient translations assume that the first occurrence of מחרשתו in 1 Sam 13:20 represents an implement used for ploughing (Aq, Th, Sym, V, possibly T<sup>J</sup>). LXX and S, however, interpret the word as an implement used for harvesting. In the case of LXX there is reason to believe that the translators of 1 Samuel misinterpreted the verb חרש as relating to harvesting instead of ploughing. The only verse in 1 Samuel in which the verb ווֹלְחֵרשׁ הַבְּישׁוֹ וְלֹקְעֵּר קׁצְירוֹ 'to plough' is 8:12, where we find the phrase: וְלַחֲלשׁ חֲלֵהְלשׁ חֲלִרְשׁׁ וְלַקְעֵּר קְצִירוֹ (MT), literally: 'to plough the ploughing and to harvest the harvest'. Most manuscripts of the LXX render the phrase as καὶ θερίζειν θερισμὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τρυγᾶν τρυγητὸν αὐτου. Both θερίζειν θερισμὸν and τρυγᾶν τρυγητὸν can be translated as 'to reap the harvest', not as 'to undertake the ploughing'. The same in 1 same

There is insufficient reason to suppose that the Greek translation of 1 Sam 8:12 goes back to a Hebrew text that differs from MT. The translation of the first occurrence of απρωπ/απρω in 13:20 by θέριστρον, 'reaping-hook', and the rendering of απρωπ in 13:21 by θερίζειν, 'to harvest', seem to be due to the same confusion regarding the meaning of πρωπ and its derivatives. In the Antiochene text of LXX καὶ θερίζειν θερισμὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τρυγᾶν τρυγητὸν αὐτου is preceded by καὶ ἀροτρίᾶν τὴν ἀροτρίασιν αὐτοῦ 'and to undertake the ploughing'. Apparently, the additional phrase was inserted to assimilate the LXX to the Hebrew text. The same confusion of 1 Sam 8:12 goes har la same series of 1 Sam 8:12 goes har la sa

In 1 Sam 8:12, s remains close to the Masoretic reading ולחרש חרישו ולקצר קצירו (MT). In the case of 1 Sam 13:20-21, however, the reading of s (בעלה, 'sickle') seems to have been influenced by the Greek translation of the first מחרשה/מחרשת (13:20) by θέριστρον/θεριστήριον, 'reaping-hook'.

# 5. Lexical/Semantic Fields

A.1 The nouns \*מְחֵרֵשֶׁה and \*מְחֵרֶשֶׁה are regarded as derivatives of the verb i חרשׁ, 'to plough', 'to engrave'. In the Hebrew Bible, the verb is used ten times for ploughing in a literal sense and four or five times for ploughing in a figurative sense. After  $a \to \dot{\nu}$ , 'yoke', was fasted over the necks of two animals and attached to the plough, the animals pulled (משׁך) pour 21:3) the plough.

A.2 The nouns \*מְחֵרֶשֶׁת and \*מְחֵרֶשֶׁת occur only in two lists of sharp utensils (1 Sam 13:20-21). The other items in the lists are  $\rightarrow$  אָת,  $\rightarrow$  פָּרְדֹם, possibly שָׁלֹשׁ (קּלְשׁוֹן  $\rightarrow$  חָלִשׁוֹן, and  $\rightarrow$  דָּרְבָן.

# 6. Exegesis

# 6.1 Literal Use

A.1 In view of the meaning of והרשׁח, 'to plough', 'to engrave', it is likely that one of the occurrences of מחרשׁת/מחרשׁה in the list of utensils in 1 Sam 13:20 denotes an implement used for ploughing. Most dictionaries interpret either \*מְחֲרֶשֶׁה or \*מְחֲרֶשֶׁה as 'ploughshare'. In the Mishnah, Tosefta and Talmudim, the noun מְחֲרֵשֶׁה designates the entire plough, while the cognates in Arabic and Ethiopic (and possibly in Ugaritic) also denote a plough (see above).

Most of the ancient translations assume that the first item in the list of 13:20 represents a plough (Aq, Th), or its cutting part (Sym, V, possibly  $T^J$ ). Since the plough is one of the most important agricultural utensils, it is indeed not unlikely that it is represented by the first item in the list.<sup>64</sup> In view of the evidence from the Mishnah, Tosefta and Talmudim, it is attractive to revocalize the first occurrence in 13:20 as מַחֲבֶּשָׁת (with  $s^e r\bar{e}$ ) and to maintain the vocalization of the parallel item מַחֵרָשֹׁת in 13:21 (see above).

A.2 Ploughs were largely made of wood, as is shown by the burning of בְּלִי הַבְּקַר, 'equipment of the oxen', which had just been used for ploughing a field (1 Kgs 19:19-21), and the use of בְּלִי הַבְּקָר, 'equipment of the oxen', for its wood (מֵצִים) Sam 24:22). However, 1 Sam 13:19-22 demonstrates that ploughs also comprised a sharp element made of metal, apparently the so-called 'plough-point'. The latter passage records that in the time of Saul and Jonathan the Israelites were subject to rigid constraints. The Philistines maintained a monopoly that enabled them to dominate the Israelites and to prevent them from producing their own weapons. According to many scholars, the monopoly concerned the production and/or repair of iron implements. However, the MT does not say explicitly that the implements involved were made of iron. It reveals only that among the Israelites there was no 'craftsman' (13:19), who produced ("לֹטשׁ); 13:20) utensils for them. 66 Only

the renderings of τρι in LXX (τέκτων σιδήρου) and V (faber ferrarius) specify that the craftsmen concerned were iron smiths. Actually, archaeological evidence from consecutive centuries demonstrates that in ancient Israel implements of bronze and implements of iron were used in the same contexts. Bronze plough-points and iron plough-points were also excavated in the same excavation layers (see below). The suggestion of LXX and V that the Philistines maintained an iron monopoly is an attractive option, but the MT may imply that the Philistines forbade all metallurgical activities among the Israelites. 68

The structure of the ancient Israelite ploughs is not described in the Hebrew Bible or other contemporaneous sources. However, a reconstruction is possible on the basis of contemporaneous illustrations from Mesopotamia and Egypt and archaeological finds from Israel/Palestine (see below). Further, some terminological information can be found in the Mishnah, the Tosefta and the Talmudim, especially in m. Kelim 21:2.<sup>69</sup> In the latter passage, the word מַחֲבִשָּׁה does not occur, but the following terms are used to denote elements of the plough: עַׁ ('yoke'), קַּטְבֵּב ('cross-bar?'), עָּיִ ('collar-piece?'), עָבוֹת ('thick ropes?'), תָּבֶב ('thick ropes?'), עַּיָּ ('fundle'), עַּיִי ('fundle'), עַבְּיִי ('guides'), עַּיִי ('plough-flanks' or 'mouldboards'). Unfortunately, it remains unclear to which elements of the plough some of the Hebrew terms refer. Also, it is dubious whether the ancient Israelite plough consisted of the same elements as the plough type to which this section of the Mishnah refers.

**A.3** Philip King and Lawrence Stager give the following description of the way in which ploughing was performed in ancient Israel:

Plowing prepared the ground for sowing in late October-November, after the first rain  $(y\hat{o}reh)$  had softened the earth. A field was plowed twice, once to loosen the crusty soil before the seed was broadcast, and then at right angles to the first plowing to cover the seed. The metal-tipped scratch plow did not turn over the soil the way a moldboard plow does but simply scratched a shallow furrow by breaking and loosening the soil.<sup>71</sup>

Like the ancient Egyptian and Mesopotamian ploughs, ancient Israelite ploughs were usually pulled by a pair (צֶּמֶד) of oxen (בְּקָר: 1 Sam 11:7; 1 Kgs 19:21; Amos 6:12; Job 1:3, 14; 42:12). A female cow could also be use for ploughing, as is shown by the remark that in specific situations a cow that had not yet carried a yoke or pulled a plough was used (בְּבָּה, 'cow': Num 19:2; 1 Sam 6:7; שֶּנְלָה , 'heifer': Deut 21:3; cf. Judg 14:18; Hos 10:11). Donkeys could also be used to work the land (cf. Isa 30:24: בְּבָרִים, 'male donkeys'), but it was forbidden to let an ox (שֵּוֹרִים) pull a plough together (Deut 22:10).

A.4 If the second occurrence of מחרשת in 1 Sam 13:20 is left unemended,<sup>73</sup> only one of the two occurrences may be assumed to designate a plough(-point).<sup>74</sup> A classical translation of the second occurrence is 'mattock'.<sup>75</sup> Stephen Cook supposed that the first of the near-homonyms derives from I חרשׁ, 'to plough, to engrave', while the second derives from II חרשׁ, 'to manufacture' (see above). According to Cook, the first noun clearly refers to a plough, while the second noun, which can be translated as 'crafted/forged tool', can best be interpreted as an equivalent of the parallel term in the list of 13:20 remains uncertain, as Cook admits.<sup>76</sup> Actually, the interpretation as a 'goad' is not attractive, since the presence of a metal point at the end of goads was not essential.<sup>78</sup> The noun can still be seen as a derivative of I חרשׁ I and may refer to a tool that is used for 'engraving' the soil, wood, etc. The noun may represent a hoe (cf. sarculum in V),<sup>79</sup> or a mattock, or an adze, etc. (cf. צוֹשְׁלַבָּא in T<sup>J</sup>). Dominique Barthélemy maintained the word, but decided to leave it untranslated.<sup>80</sup>

 ${\bf B.1}$  Only rarely is none of the occurrences of מחרשת/מחרשה in 1 Sam 13:20-21 identified with a plough or an element of it.<sup>81</sup>

6.2 Figurative Use Nihil.

#### 6.3 Pictorial Material

**A.1** The lack of ancient pictures of ploughs from the Levant (Syria-Palestine) is compensated by images from Mesopotamia and Egypt. The ploughs are commonly depicted as drawn by two oxen.<sup>82</sup> The images show two types of plough:

- Simple ploughs without a seed drill drawn by a pair of animals and guided by a single man, who may hold a stick or goad or whip to drive the animals.<sup>83</sup> In such cases, the seeding was done after the first ploughing. The distinction between the two procedures is illustrated by images displaying a sower who works at some distance from the ploughman and his plough.<sup>84</sup>
- Ploughs provided with a seed drill, drawn by a pair of animals and guided by a single man, who is assisted by another man, who takes care of the seeding process.<sup>85</sup>

The depicted ploughing scenes are Mesopotamian or Egyptian, but there are good reasons to believe that the ploughs of the Israelites were quite similar to the ploughs on the images. In ancient Israel, ploughs were not yet provided with a seed drill and the sowing took place after the first ploughing of the ground.<sup>86</sup> Therefore,

the Israelite ploughs were probably of the same type as the simpler ploughs of the Mesopotamians and Egyptians.

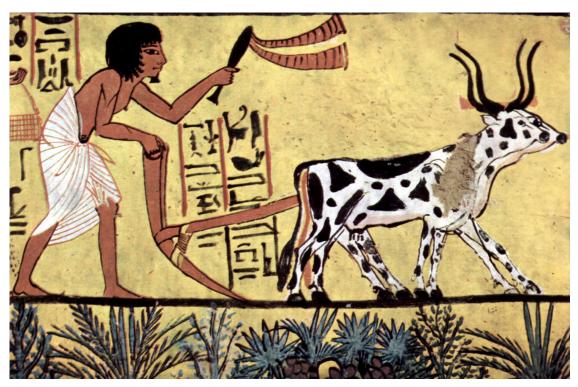


FIGURE 1: Egyptian ploughing scene, burial chamber of Sennedjem, 13th century BCE

The ploughs of the Mesopotamian and Egyptian depictions have the following features in common:

- A wooden beam connects the plough with a yoke that was fastened over the necks of the pulling animals.
- The essential part of the plough is a wooden beam protruding forward in the direction of the animals, at the bottom of the plough. The beam may be curved and is provided with a sharp metal point that makes furrows in the ground.
- The plough includes a wooden handle or a pair of handles, serving to steer the plough. Usually, the steering handle is part of the same beam as the wood to which the plough-point was affixed.

**A.2** Photographs from the early twentieth century show traditional ploughs with construction styles that hardly differed from the ancient Near Eastern structures.<sup>87</sup> Recent film recordings show a way of ploughing that gives an impression of the ways in which ploughing was performed in the ancient Near East.<sup>88</sup>



FIGURE 2: Plough shop in Beersheba, October 16, 1924 Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht, Collectie Vriezen

# 6.4 Archaeology

**A.1** Of course, the wood of ancient Near Eastern ploughs has usually decomposed completely, but many metal plough-points have survived. The archaeological evidence from Israel/Palestine shows that in the twelfth century BCE bronze plough-points began to be replaced by iron plough-points, although the use of bronze plough-points appears to have continued for several centuries.<sup>89</sup> Oded Borowski offers an excellent description of the excavated plough-points:

The plow-point was an elongated tool, 20-30 cm long, with a pointed tip for soil penetration. The other end was shaped like a pipe, ca. 8-10 cm wide. A wooden shaft, which was part of the plow-handle, was inserted into this end. 90

Nowadays, the designation 'ploughshare' is commonly used for the curved blade of the so-called mouldboard plough, which turns over the soil. It is confusing to denote the cutting element of the ancient Israelite scratch ploughs as 'ploughshare', since its form and function where quite different from the ploughshares of mouldboard ploughs. Therefore, Borowski's designation as 'plough-points' is preferable.<sup>91</sup>

## 7. Conclusion

A.1 It is justified to interpret מחרשת/מחרשה as a term denoting the ancient Israelite 'plough' or 'plough-point'. In the Mishnah, Tosefta and Talmudim, the word denotes the plough as a whole. It is possible that one of the occurrences of in 1 Sam 13:20 also designates the entire plough, but it cannot be excluded that at this earlier stage it represented only the metal plough-point. If in 1 Sam 13:20 the first occurrence of מחרשתו represents a plough, the form must probably be revocalized as מְחֵרֵשֶׁתוֹ. The vocalization of the parallel term מְחֵרֵשֶׁתוֹ in 13:21 can be retained and this form can be translated as 'ploughs' or 'plough-points'. The reasons to replace the second occurrence of מחרשתו in 1 Sam 13:20 by a different word are debatable. If we leave the text unemended, it is not possible to identify the item with any certainty. The noun may denote a hoe, a mattock, an adze, or another implement.

#### Notes

- 1 ↑ If מְחֲרָשֶׁה in 13:21 were a plural form of \*מְחֲרָשֶׁה, the expected vocalisation in 13:21 would be מְחֲרָשׁׁת (with *qames*). Cf. מַּאֲרָכוֹת in Lev 24:6, מַאֲכָלוֹת in Prov 30:14, and the similar plural forms of other nouns mentioned in BL, 490 aζ.
- $2 \uparrow DCH \text{ V}$  (נ-מ), 229-30. See also the discussion in 4. A.2 and 6.1.
- 3 ↑ Wellhausen 1871: 84.
- $4 \uparrow \text{See } BHK^1$ , BDB, 361, and the literature mentioned in Barthélemy, CTAT 1: 180.
- 5 ↑ See BHK²/3, KBL, 515, Ges¹8, 661, and the literature mentioned in Barthélemy, CTAT 1: 180-81. In other contexts, δρέπανον represents Hebrew מַּוְמֵּרָה (Isa 2:4; 18:5; Mic 4:3; Joel 4:10) or Hebrew מָּלָל (Jer 50:16 = 27:16<sup>LXX</sup>; Joel 4:13). Remarkably, no scholars seem to have suggested reading מגלו מגלו מומרתו at the end of 1 Sam 13:20. Stoebe (1973: 254) proposed reading מַּרִיצוֹ instead of מַחַרְשָּׁתוּן (cf. 2 Sam 12:31).
- 6 ↑ Barthélemy, CTAT 1: 181. Similarly: Cook (1994), who retained the MT as the lectio difficilior.
- $7 \uparrow DCH V (ג-מ), 229-30.$
- $8 \uparrow$  The reading is found in 1Q28/1QS III:2 (Burrows 1951: Plate III; Charlesworth 1994: 12) and  $4Q257/4QpapS^c$  III:3-4 (DJD XXVI, 73, damaged).
- 9 ↑ For unknown reasons, the noun מחרש in the Community Rule is mentioned under the lemma \*מְחֵרֶשֶׁת\*/מְחֵרֶשֶׁת in Ges 18, 661.

- 10 ↑ DJD XXVI, 76.
- 11 ↑ See Charlesworth 1994: 13 (with different translations in n. 44); DJD XXVI, 76-77. See also the lemma מְחֵרָשׁ in DCH V (נ-מ), 229.
- 12 ↑ BDB, 361; KBL, 515; DCH V (ג-מ), 229; HALOT, 572.
- 13 ↑ For cognates of ו חרשׁ in Old Canaanite, Official Aramaic, Palmyrenean and Phoenician, see *DNWSI*, 407, 408.
- $14 \uparrow$  Loewenstamm 1959;  $TDOT \lor 222$ -23. For וו חרש , see  $Ges^{18}$ , 402 (הרש הַרְאֶל in Gen 4:22 and הרש הו in 1 Kgs 7:14); cf. the noun הרש היים, 'craftsman', 'artisan'.
- 15 † For Ugaritic  $hr\check{s}$ , 'craftsman', 'artisan', see WUS, 108; UT, 399 (#903); DULAT<sup>1</sup>, 370-71; DULAT<sup>3</sup>, 366; KWU, 47. For Phoenician  $hr\check{s}$ , 'craftsman', 'artisan', see DNWSI, 408.
- 16 ↑ CAD 4 (E), 285-89. Similarly: AHw I, 238-39.
- $17 \uparrow CAD \ 10 \ (M II), \ 23-25.$  Similarly: AHw II, 645-46).
- $18 \uparrow WUS$ , 108-09; UT, 399 (#905);  $DULAT^1$ , 371-72;  $DULAT^3$ , 367; KWU, 47.
- $19 \uparrow WUS$ , 108; DLU, 268; UG, 267; DULAT<sup>1</sup>, 537-38; DULAT<sup>3</sup>, 531.
- 20 ↑ Loretz 1993. After a discussion of the various translations, the interpretation as 'plough(share)' is rejected in Dietrich & Loretz 2005, 228-30 (bmḥṛṭṭ in KTU 6.14:3 interpreted as 'from the agricultural field'; cf. TUAT.NF 6: 86). KWU, 71, assumes the meaning 'Ackerland' (cultivated land) for the occurrences in KTU 1.6:IV.3, 14, but prefers the translation 'Pflug' (plough) for the occurrence in KTU 6.14:3.
- 21 ↑ Lane, 541-542; Wehr, 166.
- $22 \uparrow SD$ , 71; DOSA, 192.
- $23 \uparrow CDG, 243.$
- 24 ↑ In addition to the occurrences mentioned in the following notes, the word מחרישה occurs in m. Bava Batra 2:1, 12, 13; t. Shabbat 6:8; t. Bava Qamma 2:6; t. Bava Metzi ʿa 9:18; t. Bava Batra 1:2, 14; t. Kelim Bava Metzi ʿa 5:7; t. 'Ohalot 15:13; b. Ta ʿanit 25b; b. Bava Qamma 30a; b. Bava Batra 17a, 18a, 19a, 26a, 27b, 82b; y. Pe'ah 2, 17a; 6, 19c; y. Kil'ayim 7, 30d; y. Nazir 7, 55d; y. Bava Qamma 3, 3c; y. Bava Metzi ʿa 9, 12b (together with קורדים in 1 Sam 13:20-21); y. Bava Batra 2, 13ab; 7, 15c. In m. Shevi ʿit 5:6 and b. ʿAvodah Zarah 15b, reference is made to מְחֵרֵישָׁה וְּכָל בֶּלֵיתָה 'the plough and all its implements'.
- 25 ↑ m. 'Ohalot 17:1-3.
- 26 ↑ m. Shevi 'it 3:7; t. Shevi 'it 3:4; y. Shevi 'it 3,34bd; m. 'Orlah 1:3; y. 'Orlah 1,60c.
- 27 ↑ According to m. Bava Metziʿa 9:13, a creditor who wants to take a pledge from a debtor may take a בָּר, 'pillow', by day and must give it back by night (cf. Deut 24:12-13) and may take a מַחֲרֵשָׁה by night and must return it by day. Apparently, the בַּר and the מַחֲרֵשָׁה were seen as essential. The rule is quoted in b. Bava Metziʿa 113a, y. Bava Metziʿa 9,12a, and b. Temurah 6a.
- 28 ↑ m. Shabbat 17:4 quotes Rabbi Yose as saying that on the Shabbat 'all utensils may be moved except for the large saw and the plough-point' (כל הכלים נטלין חוץ מן המסר הגדול ויתד של מחרשה). The saying occurs also in t. Shabbat 14:1; b. Shabbat 123b, 157a; b. 'Eruvin 35a; y. Shabbat 17, 16a. Further, the expression יתד של מחרישה occurs also in b. 'Eruvin 86a.
- 29 ↑ t. Kelim Bava Batra 1:7, which refers also to the עיין, 'eye', as an element that could be detached from the plough. In m. Kelim 21:2 the terms איין are also used for parts of the plough (see above).

- 30 ↑ Jastrow, DTT, 764, WTM III, 82, with reference to b. Ketubbot 68a, b. Bava Metzi ʿa 113b. According to b. Bava Metzi ʿa 113ab, Raba son of Rabbah interpreted the word מחרישה in m. Bava Metzi ʿa 9:13 (see above) as 'strigil', not as 'plough'.
- 31  $\uparrow$  This form is proposed in BDB, 361; KBL, 515; HALOT, 572; Ges<sup>18</sup>, 661.
- 32 † This form is proposed in DCH V (נ-מ), 229.
- 33 ↑ BL, 490 aζ.
- $34 \uparrow BL$ , 492 q $\zeta$ , s $\zeta$ ; Meyer 1969: 34-35.
- 35 ↑ GELS, 328, with reference to Van der Meer 2008: 592-96. In all the other verses (Gen 24:65; 38:14, 19; Isa 3:23; Song 5:7), θέριστρον is translated as 'light summer garment' or 'veil'.
- 36 ↑ LSJ, 793; *GELS*, 328.
- 37 ↑ Fernández Marcos & Busto Saiz 1989: 36; Taylor 1992: 42.
- $38 \uparrow LEH^1$ , 204.
- $39 \uparrow GELS$ , 328.
- $40 \uparrow \text{Adrados}, DGE, 521; \text{LEH}^1, 62; GELS, 92.$
- 41 ↑ Field 1875: 507.
- 42 ↑ Field 1875: 508.
- 43 ↑ LSJ, 1849; Montanari, *BDAG*, 2184.
- $44 \uparrow \text{ Field } 1875: 507-08.$
- 45 ↑ Adrados, *DGE*, 1167; LEH<sup>1</sup>, 121; *GELS*, 178.
- 46 ↑ LSJ, 430; Montanari, BDAG, 530. Adrados, DGE, 1094: 1) 'azada de dos puntas, laya', 2) 'piqueta, azuela para demolición'.
- $47 \uparrow \text{ Field } 1875: 507-08.$
- 48  $\uparrow$  Payne Smith, CSD, 250; Sokoloff, SLB, 709.
- 49 ↑ Payne Smith, CSD, 285; Sokoloff, SLB, 793. SLB gives as a second translation 'part of plow'.
- 50 ↑ Jastrow, DTT, 1243, distinguishes פְּרָשָׁא I, '[driving] goad' (TJ Judg 3:31), from פְּרָשָׁא II, '[breaker, crusher,] ploughshare' (1 Sam 13:20). WTM IV, 145, and Dalman, ANHT, 354, suggest that אַבְּרָשָׁא means 'ox goad' in Judg 3:31 as well as 1 Sam 13:20. See further the discussion in section A.3.
- 51 ↑ Jastrow, DTT, 1059. WTM III, 711 (Hebr. עוֹשֶׁרָ): 'der spitze Theil eines Instrumentes, welcher zum Bohren und Pflügen diente, der andere scharfe Theil dieses Instrumentes diente zum Holzspalten.' According to m. Kelim 13:3, the → קַרְדָּם has an עוֹשֶׁרְ 'paring/chipping edge' and a בֵּית בָּקוּעַ 'splitting/chopping edge'.
- $52 \uparrow \text{Lewis \& Short}, LD, 2014; OLD, 2103.$
- $53 \uparrow OLD$ , 1691. Lewis & Short, LD, 1631, describe sarculum as 'an implement for loosening the soil, weeding, etc., a light hoe.'
- 54 ↑ For the distinctive character of the transmitted LXX text of 1 Samuel, see Hugo 2015: 129-32; Hugo 2016: 222-23.
- 55 ↑ GELS, 328, 689. For the precise meaning of θερίζειν θερισμὸν and τρυγᾶν τρυγητὸν, see also Grillet & Lestienne 1997: 196-97.
- 56 ↑ Grillet and Lestienne (1997: 197) suggest that the Hebrew source used by the Greek translators read ולפצר בצירו ולבצר בצירו (MT). See also DJD XVII, 59.

However, in addition to the deviating Greek rendering of מחרשה/מחרשה in 1 Sam 13:20-21, reference must be made to a fragment of 4Q51/4QSam<sup>a</sup> showing the letters [ ולחר] at the expected position (DJD XVII, 58). The Greek translation seems to be due to confusion about the meaning of Hebrew הרש, see Wirth 2017: 5.

- 57 ↑ Fernández Marcos & Busto Saiz 1989: 22; Taylor 1992: 25.
- 58 ↑ McCarter argues that the Antiochene text of LXX reflects the initial Hebrew reading (reconstructed as לחרש חרישו ולקצר קצירו ולבצר בצירו). This leads to the artificial assumption that the shorter readings of MT and the rest of LXX are 'haplographic, each in its own way' (McCarter 1980: 155).
- 59 ↑ s reads מנבוס בין אונים מעבוס (wndbrwn dbrh wnḥṣdwn ḥṣdh). The verb בין (dbr) is a common translation of Hebrew אונים שוו with the meaning 'to plough' (see Deut 22:10; 1 Kgs 19:19, etc.), while עבר (ḥṣd) is a standard translation of the verb קצר (see 1 Sam 6:13; 2 Kgs 4:18; 19:29, etc.).
- $60\uparrow$  Deut 22:10; 1 Sam 8:12; 1 Kgs 19:19; Isa 28:24; Jer 26:18; Amos 6:12; 9:13; Mic 3:12; Job 1:14; Prov 20:4.
- 61 ↑ Judg 14:18, Hos 10:11, 13; Ps 129:3; Job 4:8.
- 62 ↑ For other terms used in connection with ploughing, see Borowski 1987: 48, 51-53.
- 63 † Gesenius, TPC I, 530; BDB, 361; GB, 416; Zorell, 428; KBL, 515; DCH V (ג-מ), 229; HALOT, 572; Ges<sup>18</sup>, 661.
- 64 ↑ Compare the rule in m. Bava Metzi ʿa 9:13 implying that a creditor may not take a מַחֲרֵשָׁה as a pledge during the day. See above.
- 65 ↑ Klein 1983: 127-28; Van der Steen 2008: 67; 2009: 69.
- 66 ↑ The verb לטש means 'to forge', 'to hammer', 'to sharpen'. 1 Sam 13:20-21 was often assumed to relate to the repair of metal implements (e.g., McCarter 1980: 232; Klein 1983: 128), but is likelier that the passage has their production in mind. See Stoebe 1973: 254-55.
- $67 \uparrow$  However, see also כל מן דברול 'each iron implement' in 1 Sam 13:21  $T^{J}$ .
- 68 ↑ McNutt 1990: 19, 144, 205, 238. Cf. also Dietrich 2015: 50.
- 69 ↑ In addition to m. Kelim 21:2, see the evidence discussed in 1. A.6. t. Kelim Bava Metzi ʿa 5:7 mentions a בֶּרֶדְ הַמְּחֲבִשָּׁה, 'hoop of the plough'. The בֶּרֶדְ הַמְּחֲבִשָּׁה, 'knee of the plough', is also mentioned in m. 'Ohalot 17:1-3 and b. Ta ʿanit 25b.
- 70 ↑ For the disputed translation of the terms, see WTM; Jastrow, DTT; Dalman, ANHT; Krauss 1911: 172-73, 553-56; Danby 1933: 636; Bunte 1972: 372-75. A drawing in Albeck's edition of the Hebrew text (1959: 93) shows which elements of the plough were assumed to be designated by the terms מַנְרְיֵין and יַצִּוּל בְּבֶּרָדְ, חָרֶבּ
- 71 ↑ King & Stager 2001: 92 (cf. 88).
- $72 \uparrow$  See also Borowski 1987: 52.
- 73 ↑ For emendation proposals and Barthélemy's objections, see above.
- 74 ↑ Gesenius, TPC I, 530, translated one of the occurrences as vomer, 'ploughshare', and the other as cultrum, 'knife', dens aratri, 'plough-point'.
- 75 ↑ KJV, ASV, NJPS. In these translations, not only the final item of the list in 13:20 (MT: מַחֲרֵשָׁתוֹ) is translated as 'mattock', but the first item of the list in 13:21 (MT: מַחֲרֵשֶׁת) is also translated as 'mattocks', undoubtedly because these forms have the  $s^e r\bar{e}$  vowel in common.

- 76 ↑ Cook 1994. In *DCH*, where the first occurrence of מחרשת/מחרשה in 13:20 is translated as 'ploughshare', the second occurrence is also interpreted as 'goad' because of the parallelism with דְּרָבָן (*DCH* V (נ-ع), 229-30).
- 77 ↑ Cook 1994: 252, 254, n. 11.
- 78 ↑ See Stoebe 1973: 254.
- 79 ↑ In NASB not only מחרשׁת/מחרשׁם at the end of 13:20 but also דָּרְבָּן at the end of 13:21 is translated as 'hoe'.
- $80 \uparrow$  Barthélemy, CTAT 1: 181.
- 81 ↑ Fokkelman (1986: 45) identified the first occurrence of מחרשת/מחרשה in 1 Sam 13:20 with a scythe, probably due to LXX θέριστρον. Like many others (see above), Fokkelman replaced the second occurrence in the same verse by חָרְמֵשׁ , 'sickle'.
- 82 ↑ Wiggermann (1999: 189-90, 228) remarks that if one ox is depicted this must be due to artistic convention, 'since one ox cannot pull a plough in a straight line' (190). Differently: Borowski 1987: 51; Seidl 2003-2005: 514.
- 83  $\uparrow$  Egyptian: Fig. 1 in the present article; *ANEP*, 25 (fig. 84), 27 (fig. 91), 37 (fig. 122);  $BRL^2$ , 255 (fig. 66/2); Borowski 1987: 53 (fig. 5), 58 (fig. 8), 60 (fig. 10); Mesopotamian: Wiggermann 1999: 228 (fig. 7a, 7b).
- 84 ↑ Mesopotamian: Lambert 1979: 22-23, regarding Plate VII fig. 63; Wiggermann 1999: 228 (fig. 7c), 230 (fig. 9); Egyptian: Borowski 1987: 53 (fig. 5); Nicholson & Shaw 2000: 270 (fig. 11.2).
- 85  $\uparrow$  Only Mesopotamian: *ANEP*, 25 (fig. 86, cf. 88); Borowski 1987: 55 (fig. 6; cf. 56 fig. 7); Wiggermann 1999: 228 (fig. 7d); Seidl 2003-2005, 514.
- 86 ↑ Borowski 1987: 53-56. However, Borowski (47-48, 53-54) shows that also in Israel the relationship between ploughing and sowing was close, since ploughing was done for the sole purpose of sowing (cf. Isa 28:24).
- 87  $\uparrow$  See Figure 2 and Dalman, AuS 2, plates 18-39. See also the discussion in Dalman, AuS 2, 64-115; Borowski 1987: 48; King & Stager 2001: 92.
- 88 \( \) Several informative recordings have been uploaded on YouTube (e.g. from Egypt and India).
- 89 ↑ For the gradual replacing of bronze implements by iron implements in Israel/Palestine during the twelfth to tenth centuries BCE, see McNutt 1990: 209-11.
- 90  $\uparrow$  Borowski 1987, 51, with several drawings of plough-points (50-51, fig 3, 4) and a survey of the sites where they were discovered (49, 51). For a similar description as well as drawings of plough-points, see  $BRL^2$ , 255 (fig. 66/1). Excellent drawings of two iron plough-points excavated in Kinneret are offered in Fritz 1990: 366-67 (Plate 116). For a photo of an iron plough-point and other iron implements from Tel Miqne-Ekron, see King & Stager 2001: 93.
- $91 \uparrow Cf.$  also Wright 1943: 35; Dietrich 2015: 28.

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