

Qôs קֹשׁ

I. Qôs is the national deity of →[Edom](#). He is attested only once in the Hebrew Bible as an element in the personal name Barqos, “Qôs gleamed forth” (cf. Lihyanite *qwsbr*; BARTLETT 1989: no. 34; South Safaitic *brqs*, BARTLETT 1989: no. 36), indicating the ‘father’ of an exiled clan of *nētînîm* returning from Babylon ([Ezra 2:53](#) = [Neh 7:55](#)). This clan or family must have been of Edomite or Idumaean origin. (The name Kushiah, [1 Chr 15:17](#), cannot be connected with Qôs [*pace* BARTLETT 1989:200–201]: according to [1 Chr 6:29](#), Etan’s father was also called Kishi, and Qôs is never spelled with [š] in Canaanite and Aramaic texts).

II. Well before the emergence of an Edomite state and an Edomite nation (8th century BCE; cf. BARTLETT 1989; KNAUF 1992), Qôs was already present in or near his later domain. Egyptian listings (SIMONS 1937:XXIII 7; 9; 13; 21) of what must have been the names of Shasu clans from the 13th century BCE (ODED 1971; KNAUF 1984) mention *qśr'* (“Qôs is [my] shepherd” or “Qôs is [my] friend”), *qśšpt*, *qśsnrm* (“Qôs is verily exalted”, Egyptian */n/* stands for Semitic */l/*), and *qśrbn* (“Qôs is brilliant, radiant”; here, Egyptian */r/* stands for Semitic */l/*).

As Edom’s national deity, Qôs is attested in the names of the Edomite kings Qaus-malak (BARTLETT 1989: no. 1), contemporary with Tiglath-Pileser III, and Qaus-gabar, who ruled under Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal (BARTLETT 1989: nos. 2 and 8). His official status is also attested by the *Horvat ‘Uza* ostraca, a piece of Edomite administrative correspondence from the first half of the 6th century: *hbrktk l-qws* “I bless you (in the name of Qôs” (KNAUF 1988a:78–79; BARTLETT 1989:221–222). Qôs may have been the owner of an estate at (or the recipient of revenues from) Aroer in the Negeb (BARTLETT 1989:213 no. 4). He is also mentioned, in a broken context, however, at the Edomite capital Bozrah (BARTLETT 1989: 223 no. 3). Qôs is further attested in the non-royal Edomite names *qws‘nl* (BARTLETT 1989: no. 9; BARTLETT 1989:214 no. 6; cf. Idumaean *Kōsanélon* BARTLETT 1989: no. 51), *bdqws* (BARTLETT 1989: no. 10), *pq‘qws* (BARTLETT 1989: no. 11), *qwsb[nh]* (BARTLETT 1989: no. 12, cf. *Kosbanou* BARTLETT 1989: no. 52), and *qwsny* (BARTLETT 1989: no. 13; BARTLETT 1989: 219–220 no. 7) from Tell el-Kheleifeh/ancient Elath, and *qws‘* from Aroer in the Negeb (BARTLETT 1989: no. 14). A building complex from the seventh/sixth century BCE excavated at *Horvat Qiṭmiṭ*—10 km south of Arad—has been interpreted as an Edomite sanctuary (BEIT-ARIEH 1985:201–202). Archaeological findings indicate that Qôs had been worshipped there together with an unnamed female consort. An abundance of ostriches among the votive gifts characterize him as a desert god, and as another god fulfilling the role of the ‘lord of the beasts’ (see →[Shadday](#); cf. KEEL & UEHLINGER 1992: 440–444).

Most references to Qôs derive from the period after the decline of the Edomite state (552 BCE) and testify to an uninterrupted continuity of population in southern Palestine and the Transjordan in the second half of the first millennium BCE.

The majority of the references to Qôs is Idumaean. Although Idumaea was not organized as a distinct administrative district before the early 4th century BCE, the Edomites of the post-state period

can conveniently be called Idumaeans. A cuneiform contract found at Tawilan and dated to the accession year of (most probably) Darius I contains two Qôs-names: Qôs-šama' and Qôs-yada' (BARTLETT 1989: nos. 3 and 4). Edomites/ Idumaeans exiled to Babylonia are attested under Artaxerxes I (Qôs-yada' and Qôs-yahab from Nippur, BARTLETT 1989: nos. 5 and 6). The Aramaic ostraca from Tell es-Seba' (ca. 400 BCE) contain 14 Qôs-names (BARTLETT 1989: nos. 15–28). Whereas *qwsynqm* (33.3), *qwsbrk* (33.4, cf. *Kosbarakos* BARTLETT 1989: no. 53), *qwsml[k]* (33.4, cf. *Kosmalachos* BARTLETT 1989: no. 55), *qwsgr* (37.4) and *qwsḥnn* [sic! *ed. princeps* reads -ḥbn] (41.6) continue Edomite/Canaanite name types, some of the Idumaean names are Arabic: *qwsnhr* (28.2; with Arabic *nahār* replacing Canaanite *nūr*), *qws'wt* (34.1; -ǵaut) and *qwswhb* (36.1); *qws'dr* (34.6; cf. *Kosadaros* BARTLETT 1989: no. 49) could be Aramaic as well as Canaanite.

Most Qôs-names in Greek inscriptions and papyri (mostly from Egypt) should have belonged to Idumaeans (some may refer to Nabataeans or Hijâzians, see below). In addition to those already mentioned, these include *Abdokōs/'bdqws* (BARTLETT 1989: no. 48), *Kosadou/qws'dh* (from Marissa, BARTLETT 1989: no. 50), *Kosgērou/qwsgr* (BARTLETT 1989: no. 54), *Kosnatanos* (Marissa; BARTLETT 1989: no. 56) and *Kousnatanos/qwsntn* (BARTLETT 1989: no. 59; from Zenon's archive, 259 B.C.E.), *Kosramos/qwsrm* (BARTLETT 1989: no. 57), *Kostobaros/qwsgr* (or -br? BARTLETT 1989: no. 58; Jos. *Ant. XV 8, 9*) and *Pakeidokōsōi/pqydqws* (BARTLETT 1989: no. 60, from Delos). A bilingual ostracon from Khirbet el-Qôm, dated to 277 BCE (GERATY 1975), contains the Idumaean name *qwsyd'/Kosidē* (line 2).

In the course of the first half of the 6th century BCE, Edom established a colony at Dedan, a North Arabian caravan town ([Isa 21:13](#); [Jer 49:8](#); [Ezek 25:13](#); Thr 4:21). Hence, some Qôs-names are attested in local inscriptions (fifth-third century BCE), e.g. *qwsmlk* (BARTLETT 1989: nos. 32–33) and *qwsbr* (334; BARTLETT 1989: no. 34; names ending in -qs may refer to the North Arabian deity Qais, and North Minaean *smtqs* [BARTLETT 1989: no. 35] is better disregarded in the present context, as Minaean transliterates foreign /s/ by [t]).

The southern part of what had been Edom became the cultic centre of the Nabataean realm (in Arabic, *aš-Šarā*, culminating in the environs of Petra). The Nabataean national deity Dushara (*Dū-Šarā*) 'The One of the Sharâ-Mountains' can hardly refer to any deity other than Qôs (KNAUF 1989: 110–111; 158–159; KNAUF 1991). Under his proper name, Qôs is mentioned in the Nabataean inscriptions of Jebel et-Tannûr, where his consort is a goddess belonging to the →[Atargatis](#)-type. Here, Qôs is called the "god of *Haurā*" (*ḥwrw*', presently el-Humaimah, in the *Hismā* district of Southern Jordan; KNAUF 1988b:89–90) by a certain *qsmlk* (BARTLETT 1989: no. 47). After the decline of the Nabataean state, Qôs still receives the dedication of an eagle at Bosra (IGLS XIII 9003; 2nd-3rd centuries CE; BARTLETT 1989: no. 44). From roughly the same period stem the graffiti in the Nabataean script in southern Sinai, whose authors mostly came from the northern Hejâz (MORITZ 1916); here, another *qws'dr* (*CIS II* 923.2; BARTLETT 1989: no. 45) is attested; from Hegra (Madâ'in Ṣâlih), the Nabataean successor of Dedan el-'Ulâ) came a *qsntn* (*CIS II* 209; BARTLETT 1989: no. 46). Furthermore, Edomite emigration is attested by the occurrence of the personal names *qwśnhr* and *qwśdkr* in the Samaria-papyri excavated at Wadi ed-Daliyeh.

As a deity, *qws* is once mentioned in a Thamudic inscription from the vicinity of Jerash (KNAUF 1981, roughly contemporary with the Nabataean references to Qôs). Several Safaitic and Thamudic persons
Karel van der Toorn, Bob Becking, and Pieter Willem van der Horst, *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (Leiden; Boston; Köln; Grand Rapids, MI; Cambridge: Brill; Eerdmans, 1999).

were called *qs*, which is better interpreted as *Qais, a frequent Arabic name (BARTLETT 1989: nos. 37–42), and two Safaites named *qsl* (BARTLETT 1989: nos. 42–43) may have been called either **Qōsīl*, “Qôs is (my) god”, or, more likely, **Qēsīl*.

It is generally accepted that the etymon of Qôs is Arabic *qaus* “bow” (BARTLETT 1989: 200–204). The Semitic word for “bow” belongs to the few words with biradical roots: **qs₁* became triradical by suffixation of a -*t* in Akkadian, Ethiopic, Canaanite and Aramaic (Heb *qešet*, pl. *qešātōt*), and by infigation of an -*u*-in Arabic (*qaus*, pl. *qusiyy* and *qisiyy*). The orthography of the divine name in Edomite and Aramaic poses, however, a problem which is widely disregarded: Proto-Semitic /*s₁*/ corresponds to /š/ in 1st millennium BCE Canaanite, whereas Qôs is consistently spelled with <*s*> (representing Proto-Semitic /*s₃*/). An historic solution of this problem assumes that /*qaus₁*/ is a loan-word in Canaanite Edomite from a language that had not yet participated in the Canaanite shift /*s₁*/: [s] > [š]; /*s₃*/: [ts] > [s] (KNAUF 1988b:73–76), i.e. Qôs was at home in one of the Proto-Arabian languages of the Shasu-bedouins in southern Edom at the end of the 2nd millennium BCE (with Egyptian /s/ for /*s₁*/) and was borrowed into the Canaanite Edomite of the incipient Edomite state (originating in northern Edom; KNAUF 1992) during or shortly before the 8th century (KNAUF 1984b).

Meaning “bow”, Qôs is the deified weapon of the weathergod (cf. [Gen 9:13](#)) or a war-god (hardly an alternative in the barely specialized pantheon of a simple farmer-herder society at the fringe of the agricultural area); deified divine weapons or tools are also known from Ugarit ([ygrš KTU 1.2 iv:12](#)). Although the inventory of the Qiṭmīt sanctuary is rather late, it presents Qôs in the role of the ‘lord of the animals’ (a role also played by a close relative of Qôs, the Israelite →[Yahweh](#); see below), a connection that may help to elucidate Esau’s ‘ritual hunt’ in [Genesis 27](#) (cf. esp. [27:27–29](#)). The worship of Qôs seems to originate in Southern Edom, i.e. south of Wâdî-l-Ghuweir or even south of Râs en-Naqb, in the *Hismā* area of southern Jordan and Northwest Arabia. Close to the present Saudi-Jordanian border, a Jabal al-Qaus is recorded (MUSIL 1926:41). According to his attestations, Qôs entered the Edomite pantheon not long before, probably with the foundation of the Edomite state in the 8th century BCE. He was supremely *en vogue* among the Idumaeans under Persian rule, when loyalty to the national deity probably compensated for the loss of national independence (a process that may find a parallel in the history of Yahweh). The presence of Qôs in North Arabia and among ancient Arabs can be explained as a cultural loan from the Edomites (and their successors). The inscriptions from Khirbet et-Tannûr, still link him though to the *Hismā*.

III. His area of origin and his nature as an aspect of the Syrian weathergod present Qôs as closely related to Yahweh. Could the two have originally been identical? At Kuntillet Ajrud around 800 BCE, a “Yahweh of Teman” is attested besides “Yahweh of Samaria”. Teman was another designation for northern Edom (cf. [Amos 1:12](#); [Jer 49:7, 20](#); [Ezek 25:13](#)), but could also refer to any area south of Samaria in this context. In addition, Yahweh arrives from Seir to fight for his people in the archaic song of Deborah ([Judg 5:5](#); [Ps 68:9](#)). One may further note that Qôs is not mentioned in the Hebrew Bible (nor is there any ‘national deity’ for Edom mentioned), whereas the Ammonite →[Milcom](#) and the Moabite →[Chemosh](#) are (BARTLETT 1989:197–200). Yahweh, Qôs and Dushara are primarily epithets that were used instead of the god’s real name, →[Haddu/Hadad](#) (another of his epithets was, of course, →[Baal](#)). From an historical point of view, one may claim the five deities mentioned as differentiations of Karel van der Toorn, Bob Becking, and Pieter Willem van der Horst, *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (Leiden; Boston; Köln; Grand Rapids, MI; Cambridge: Brill; Eerdmans, 1999).

a single deity; his different names indicate, however, that various groups of believers stressed various aspects of that generic ‘Syrian weathergod’. What they thought about the identity or non-identity of their respective gods is, for the lack of unambiguously phrased source material, presently beyond our insight (cf. KNAUF 1991).

IV. *Bibliography*

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