

town or 'by gipsies (Naury), who travel about the country making nails, axe-heads, etc., and dwelling in black Bedawin tents. Only on the other side of Jordan do we find smiths in the smaller villages, and there the surname Haddad (smith or forger) is of frequent occurrence. For things which they can neither obtain in their own village nor in the neighbouring town, the Fellahin are dependent on journeymen mechanics—coppersmiths, silversmiths, gun-makers, pedlars, and coverlet makers, who travel from place to place accordingly as they find work. The pedlars and mattress-makers are generally Jews. Quack doctors and inoculators are also to be found travelling through the villages.

In Bethlehem there is a considerable industry in rosaries and ornaments made of mother-o'-pearl and the black *Nebeg musa* stone, through which trade many families earn a living, and some even become wealthy.

Again, in villages like Ram Allah and Lifta, many gain their living by keeping donkeys and carrying produce into the towns. Every morning one sees groups of these animals being driven to the market at Jerusalem, laden according to the season, sometimes with wood, fruit, or grain, at others with oil or water. In the evening they trot merrily home with much joking on the part of the drivers. Lifta is the great centre of the donkey drivers and water-carriers, and in Sârts and Kubebe there are a great many camel-drivers, who are chiefly employed in carrying wares between Jaffa, Jerusalem, and Nâbulus.

(To be continued.)

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## SOME REMARKS ON THE INTERPRETATION OF THE IMPRESSIONS ON THE VASE HANDLES FOUND AT THE FOOT OF THE TEMPLE WALL.

By J. BAKER GREENE, LL.B.

AMONGST the many objects contained in the Museum of the Palestine Exploration Fund, perhaps none are marked with a greater interest, both in their historical and their religious associations, than some fragments of pottery, easily identified as vase handles, which were discovered some years since in the vicinity of the Temple wall at Jerusalem. Two or three of these fragments contain inscriptions, or rather impressions made in the clay when in process of manufacture, but although the Phœnician characters have been deciphered, I am not aware that up to the present any explanation of their meaning has been given which has recommended itself to the acceptance of Biblical archæologists. The object of the present paper is to throw, if possible, some light upon this obscure but most interesting subject.

The characters found on these vase handles are Phœnician, and similar to

those on the Moabite Stone, the date of which is as nearly as possible 900 B.C. Judging of the probable date of this pottery, which was found at the south-eastern corner of Solomon's palace, and adjoining the foot of the Temple wall, and which must have been subsequent to the building of the Temple, and prior to the Babylonian captivity, we should expect that the words, like those in the Moabite inscription, would be similar to those found in the Old Testament records, and if so we are not likely to err in interpreting them in the same way.

The characters found on one of the vase handles transcribed into Hebrew, are as follows:—L ל, M מ, L ל, Ch ך, Ts צ, P פ H. ה, or in their entirety, L M L Ch Ts P H. To these letters we must now supply the vowel points. The subdivision of the words into L : M L Ch : and Ts P H is doubtless correct. Let us for the present postpone the consideration of the first word or letter L.

M L Ch may be read, following the Hebrew text of the Scriptures, as Moloch, Molech, or Melech. This word, however spelt, was the name given to one of the deities worshipped in Canaan, and is supposed to have been the sun-god regarded in his scorching or destruction aspect, and as such he was propitiated with human sacrifices by fire. Molech was also, especially by the Carthagenians, identified with the planet Saturn, which may explain the myth of Saturn devouring his children. The word when translated, is "king," as Baal means "lord," but in the Hebrew text the word Molech is generally supposed to be used to express the deity, Melech to express the title of king. The word Moloch occurs very rarely. Molech is, like Baal, almost invariably preceded by the definite article. There are several passages in the Old Testament where this word is translated king, in which there can be no doubt the deity was alluded to. For example, in Is. xxx, 33, "For Tophet is ordained of old. Yea for *the king* it is prepared, etc." The Hebrew text is Molech, but we know from other sources that it was in Tophet that the fearful rites of Molech worship were chiefly celebrated. 2 Kings xxiii, 10 ; Jer. vii, 31, etc.

The letters in this inscription may therefore be read Molech or Melech, and in the absence of anything else to guide us, might, with equal plausibility, be construed as the name of a deity or the title of an earthly monarch. Let us now proceed to consider the next word.

Ts P H is supposed to be Zepha, and this is further presumed to be a proper name. I question very much the accuracy of this conclusion. There is no record in history of a king so named, ruling either in the northern or southern kingdom, into which the Jewish Monarchy was split up by the revolt of the ten tribes, or in any of the adjacent States. I also think it very improbable that any king in those times, or indeed in any other, would have stamped his name and title on pottery intrinsically valueless. If he desired to mark it as royal property, it seems in the highest degree unlikely that he would adopt such a device or such an idiom. Let us cast about for a more probable solution of the mystery.

The Hebrew verb Zapha (Ts P H with the necessary vowel points

means "to look out, to view," and also "to shine," at least in the Arabic. It would be needless to cite passages in which it is used in the former sense, but we must refer to one because it is very much in point. At the parting between Laban and Jacob on Mount Gilead, they raised a heap of stones, and set up a pillar, and made a covenant to respect each other's possessions. Laban called the pillar "the Mizpah, for he said, the Lord watch (Jehovah itzeph) between me and thee when we are absent one from another." Gen. xxxi, 49. The verb is here employed to indicate the unceasing watchfulness of God, and a *paranomasia* is used to connect it with Mizpah, which comes from the same root, and signifies not only a pillar, but a watch tower. In the absence therefore of any indication that Ts P H is a proper name, it seems only reasonable to treat it as an ordinary translatable word, and all the more if we find that it is such a word as would in all probability be associated with the name given to the deity, and be expressive of one of his attributes. Molech was not an idol; though if we trust tradition, he was represented by a brazen image in the valley of Ben Hinnom, in whose outstretched arms the children were placed which were sacrificed to the terrible god. The early religion of the inhabitants of Palestine was simply nature worship. But the forces of nature were various. The unseen power whose efforts alone were manifested, might be exercised in a beneficial or in a destructive manner. The sun might by its genial warmth bring forth in abundance the fruits of the earth, or by its scorching heat utterly consume them. The generative power in nature needed the productive power as a counterpart, and if there was a king or lord of heaven, there was a queen or lady. The consort of Baal, or perhaps more correctly speaking the complement, was Baaltis. The Ashera (in the authorised version rendered "the grove") which was the symbol of the queen of heaven, invariably stood beside the altar which was raised to the king, and as we know, stood in the temple of Jerusalem at the time of King Josiah, by whom it was cut down. The Baalim and the Ashtaroth were numerous, but it is doubtful whether they were regarded as distinct deities or only as indicative of different manifestations of divine power. But however this may be, "the Molech," Καρ' ἐξοχη "the king," was believed to view, *i.e.*, to look out of heaven constantly, and if it was desired to refer to this attribute, some form of the verb Tsapha would unquestionably have been used by an Israelite living at the era to which the pottery found in underground Jerusalem unquestionably must be referred.

It may perhaps be suggested that Molech Z P H is simply an illustration of a practice which was very common amongst the various races inhabiting the region which, for convenience sake, we will call Palestine. We mean that of calling themselves by names compounded of the name of the deity they desired to honour. A great number of Israelitish names were thus formed, and a very curious light they seem to throw on the religion of Israel prior to the Babylonian captivity. For example Joash (a compound of Jehovah) has a son named Jerubbaal (a compound of Baal), who becomes Judge over Israel, and is succeeded by his son Abimelech (a compound of

Molech). Saul called one of his sons Jonathan (a compound of Jehovah), and another Eshbaal; and Jonathan in his turn called his son Meribbaal. Saul's High Priest is in one place called Ahiah (a compound of Jehovah), (1 Sam. xiv), and in a subsequent one is called Ahimelech (1 Sam. xxii), which would almost lead to the notion that Jehovah and "the Molech" were at one time considered convertible terms. David called one of his sons Beeliadah (1 Chr. xiv, 7), but elsewhere (2 Sam. v, 16) his name appears as Eliada (a compound of El, Elohim or God). Hezekiah, Jeremiah, Isaiah, and many other names might be cited as compounds of Jehovah. The Carthaginians, it is needless to remind the reader, preserved the usage of their Phœnician ancestors, as illustrated in such names as Hannibal, Asdrubal, &c., names compounded of Baal.

May we not have here stamped on this jar handle a name compounded of Molech, and may not this stamp be that of the potter who made the jar or of the owner? The latter supposition may, I think, be summarily rejected. The modern usage of having crests or cyphers stamped on dinner plates when in the course of manufacture, or if in trade, of having the name and calling of the makers stamped on bottles and jars, was, so far as I am aware, unknown to the ancients. The possibility that it may be the potter's name demands, however, careful consideration, because if we have here simply the manufacturer's stamp, the discovery of these jar handles throws no light on the religion of Israel.

We have in the Old Testament one name which has an apparent if not a real analogy to Melech ZPH considered as a compound name. It is Zephaniah; the last syllable indicates a compound of Jehovah, but it is not so easy to speak with certainty regarding the first portion of the word. St. Jerome was of opinion that it was derived from the verb we have just been considering, Zapha, and accordingly interpreted the entire name as "speculator Domini," the watcher of Jehovah. This would have been a very fitting name for the prophet, of whose name St. Jerome supplied the etymology, but as he was named when he was a child, and as others who were not prophets held the name before him, we must examine his name irrespective of the qualifications of its possessor. Gesenius with more probability derives the name from Zaphan, "to hide," the true interpretation of the entire name being "whom Jehovah hides," that is "defends."

Those who accept the patristic etymology will see in Zephaniah the precise counterpart of Molech Zepha. The only difference being that one name is compounded of Jehovah, and the other of Molech. Those who prefer placing their reliance on Gesenius, must however still admit that there is no valid reason why a compound name should not have been formed with the verb Zapha as with the verb Zaphan.

Curiously enough there was a Zephaniah who was second priest in the Temple at the time of its destruction by order of Nebuchadnezzar (2 Kings xxv, 18), and the temptation is very great to identify his name with the inscription, and to conclude that as Ahiah (1 Sam. xiv) became Ahimelech (1 Sam. xxii), so the Molech ZPH or Melchizeph of the inscription became converted by the sacred historian into Zephaniah. But irrespective

of etymological objections to this solution, it seems to me in the highest degree improbable that vessels used in the service of the Temple were stamped with the names of any of the priests.

Thus far therefore our inquiry carries us no farther than this—Molech Z P H may be a compound name, and in that case the vase handle tells us no more than probably the name of the maker ; or else Molech Z P H is a phrase which must be construed according to the meaning of the words comprising it. Let us however now proceed to consider that apparently insignificant portion of the inscription, the notice of which is purposely postponed.

The first letter is L  $\zeta$ . This is simply the preposition “to,” which is invariably used in the Old Testament writings. In 1 Kings xi, 7, which states that Solomon raised a high place to Molech, the precise letters are found in the Hebrew text as in this inscription, L M L Ch ; and equally so in 2 Kings xxiii, 10, where an account is given of the defilement of Tophet by king Josiah in order “that no man might make his son or daughter to pass through the fire *to Molech.*”

Does not, however, the employment of the preposition “to” furnish the key to the right interpretation of the following words, and completely dispel any doubts whether, after all, we had only acquired possession of an old Hebrew trade mark ? If Molech Z P H meant king Zepha, or if the two words together formed a proper name similar to Zephaniah, the employment of the preposition is unintelligible. But if the words be understood in their ordinary meaning, the employment of the preposition becomes at once obvious. If the vases or jars were employed in the service of Molech, what more natural than that they should have impressed on them at the time of their manufacture a stamp declaring that they were dedicated to the service of the deity, and at the same time conveying a warning that the ever watchful deity would take notice if they were stolen or appropriated to any profane use ?

And this construction seems to find corroboration in the writings of St. Paul. He appears to have been familiar with the practice of “dedicating” vessels and the way of signifying their dedications by means of a seal. In his Epistle to the Romans (ix, 21) he asks, “Has not the potter power over the clay of the same lump to make one vessel to honour and another unto dishonour ? What if God, willing to show His wrath, and to make His power known, endured with much long suffering the vessels of wrath fitted to destruction, and that He might make known the riches of His glory on the vessels of mercy which he had afore prepared unto glory.” Pursuing the same train of thought in his Second Epistle to Timothy (ii, 19, 20), and using the same metaphor, he writes, “The foundation of God standeth sure having this seal, ‘The Lord knoweth them that are His ;’” and then follows the allusion to the “Great house,” where were “not only vessels of gold and of silver, but also of wood and earth, and some to honour and some to dishonour.” The Apostle thus continues “If a man therefore purge himself from these, he shall be a vessel unto honour sanctified and meet for the master’s use, and prepared unto every good work.” The practice of

dedicating, nay of sanctifying vessels for the Temple, would seem to have survived down to the time of St. Paul, and it would also appear that in the case of earthenware vessels which, being intrinsically valueless, might in the service of the Temple be inadvertently used both for sacred or profane uses, it was the practice of the potter to impress upon those which were to be exclusively employed for sacred purposes a seal denoting their sanctification.

There are in the Museum two other handles, the impressions on which are not so legible. In both, however, it would seem that the introductory word is L. MLK ; and consequently according to this construction dedicated "To Molech."

The presumption that the impressions on the vase handles indicated the dedication of the vessels to a sacred use, is of course considerably strengthened if the inference be well founded that the figure resembling a dove with outstretched wings, which forms part of the impression, was the emblem of the sun-god.

How then must we read this inscription, and what light, if any, does it throw on the religion of Israel prior to the Babylonian captivity? What were these vases and this pottery, of which the relics were found in such quantities as to give rise to an idea on the part of Mr. Fergusson and others that they were the remains of a museum of crockery which had been collected by one of the kings of Judah? The conclusion appears to me irresistible that these vases were used in the service of the Temple, and that this is shown by the place where they were found, and the stamp which declares that they were dedicated "to Molech who views," "the All Seeing" or "Ever Watchful." That Molech worship, which was simply a worship of Baal, existed side by side even in the Temple at Jerusalem with the worship of Jehovah, is placed beyond all doubt by the records of the Books of Kings, and by the protests of the Prophets of the seventh and eighth centuries B.C. Tophet, in the valley of the son of Hinnom, was just outside the walls of Jerusalem, and there the sacrifice of children to Molech was perhaps only too common down to the very eve of the captivity. We are told that Manasseh, Josiah's immediate predecessor on the throne of Judah, sacrificed his son to Molech. But under Josiah, a great reformation was effected. The book of the Law was found in the Temple by Hilkiah the priest, and Josiah proceeded to carry out the instructions which he found therein. "And the king commanded Hilkiah the High Priest, and the priests of the second order, and the keepers of the door, to bring forth out of the Temple of the Lord all the vessels that were made for Baal and for the Grove" (the Ashera, the symbol of Ashtoreth, the consort or female side of Baal), "and for all the host of heaven, and he burned them without Jerusalem in the fields of Kidron, and carried the ashes of them unto Bethel" (2 Kings, xxiii, 4). Is it very improbable that in this broken pottery found at the foot of the Temple wall, we may have some of "the vessels of Baal" (as they would be termed by the historian) which were cast out of the Temple by order of Josiah, but which, from their fragile nature, intrinsic worthlessness and incombustibility, were not removed to

Kidron to be destroyed by fire? Nay, do not all the circumstances seem to indicate that these vessels were cast in Josiah's time on the spot where they have now been discovered? So long as the kingdom of Judah lasted, so long it is reasonable to assume that comparatively little alteration took place in immediate proximity to the Temple walls. But when the monarchy was overthrown, and the Temple was rifled and destroyed, the first layer would be formed of the *débris*, through which, after the lapse of two thousand four hundred years, deep shafts must now be sunk to reach the ground on which Josiah's contemporaries stood.

It is not however necessary to suppose that the fragments now found are those of the vessels which were destroyed by order of Josiah. The pottery used in the service of the Temple was, like all other pottery, fragile, and when broken was doubtless thrown out as useless. Those who accept the rendering given by Grotius of Zech. ii, 13, will perhaps recognize in the place where these fragments were found, "the pottery in the House of the Lord" that is in the precincts of, or adjoining the Temple where refuse was cast, and which was therefore an appropriate place for the thirty pieces of silver of which the prophet speaks.

The material point is that the fragments to which I have directed attention were parts of vessels used in the Temple in the service of "the Molech," and that they dated in all probability from the concluding years of the Jewish monarchy. Josiah survived his great attempt at reformation only a few years. Assyria having been threatened by Egypt, he was so ill advised as to interfere, and endeavoured to arrest the advance of the Egyptian army. A battle was fought at Meggido, where the Israelites were routed and Josiah slain. The bent of Hebrew religious thought, both among believers and unbelievers, invariably connected temporal prosperity or adversity as the case might be, with divine pleasure or divine resentment,\* and it was therefore not surprising that the terrible disaster at Megiddo and its consequences were attributed by the discontented people to their abandonment of the worship of the Baalim and the Ashtaroth. The kingdom of Judah was laid under tribute; many of the Israelites were carried into captivity beyond the Nile. Hence the bitter reproaches addressed to Jeremiah by the exiles in Egypt: "Since we left off to burn incense to the queen of heaven (ML Ch Th) and to pour out drink offerings to her" as "we and our fathers, our kings and our princes have done in the cities of Judah, and in the streets of Jerusalem, we have wanted all things, and have been consumed by the sword and by famine." (Jer. xlv, 17, 18.) At all events, on the death of Josiah, the Jews and their rulers appear to have acted on the assumption that the deceased monarch had committed a blunder. The former religion was re-established, so far as we can judge from the little that is told us by the sacred historian of Josiah's sons and grandsons, who in turn filled the throne of Judah. It is conveyed in the familiar refrain, "they did

\* This sentiment is very clearly exhibited in the inscription on the Moabite Stone.

evil in the sight of the Lord according to all that their fathers had done." Then came the crowning disaster. The siege and capture of Jerusalem by the Babylonian monarch. The spoilation of the Temple. The removal of all its treasures, and the carrying away into captivity of the bulk of the population. To the Jews the night seemed at its blackest, but still it was the harbinger of the dawn. When they returned from the Chebar to the Jordan, and proceeded to rear the walls of the second Temple, a new era was commencing; Baal, and Molech, and Ashtoreth had vanished never to return. The overthrow of the Babylonian empire by Cyrus gave the Israelites their liberty, and when Ezra proceeded to Jerusalem, "with the Book of the Law in his hands," his companions, like himself, were the staunch maintainers of that pure monotheism which was then firmly established in Judea, and has continued amongst the Children of Israel uncorrupted to the present day.

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### BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

#### JANNES AND JAMBRES WITHSTANDING MOSES.

I HAVE received with great pleasure the statement of your Committee that "they desire that their Journal should become as much as possible a record of all discoveries connected with Biblical Research." Few Biblical names are more interesting than those of Jannes and Jambres, or Kamr(es) as the Select Papyri seem to call him. The two are named by St. Paul to Timothy as agents, in a general way, who "withstood Moses;" and if we find their names connected with that of Moses in pure Egyptian papyri, in other words, if the epoch of Moses is the epoch of Jannes, and the epoch of Jannes is the epoch of Seti II and Bai-n-Ra, then many an old stop-gap theory of a merely Egyptian chronology will have to make way for the chronology of the epoch of Moses, in which the Bible and the papyri are very closely intertwined.

Most unfortunately, the fifth Anastasi Papyrus, which I shall chiefly make use of, has been injured at the name of Kamr(es), and the name only occurs once; but we shall find him engaged with a Jannes in a very important military business; a business the very object of which was to "withstand" a person named Moses. With respect to the reading of the name of Kamr(es) or Kamr, the authority of my lamented friend and former pupil, Charles Goodwin, is so great, that I am much pleased to see that he follows me so far as he goes, and differs from me only in saying nothing about the letter *r*. In the "Cambridge Essays," p. 262, he reads: "Ka Kam (Black Bull)." He agrees that Ka is a title; and therefore that the true name begins with Kam.

The passage to which I would first call your attention is in the fifth Anastasi Papyrus, beginning from plate 18, line 6. It contains a sequence of military orders from this Kamr(es) or Jambres. Happily we can here learn in a few lines a good deal about the man, and, to begin with, it is a great thing to know which side he was fighting for, in the anarchy around