

isolated masses of masonry noticed above may be a fragment of that wall, or mark its position at a particular point; but none of them, singly or collectively, supply definite evidence with regard to the course of the wall, or throw light upon the question whether it included or excluded the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The massive masonry west of Christian Street appears to me to have formed part of the *second* wall, but extensive excavation alone can show whether this is the case, and, if so, where the wall turned east, and where it crossed the street *Khân ez-Zeit* and the Tyropœon Valley.

THE CRAFTSMEN'S GUILD OF THE TRIBE OF JUDAH.

By R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, M.A., F.S.A.

I.

IN the excavations conducted by Sir Charles (then Captain) Warren at Jerusalem,¹ in those of Dr. Bliss in the Shephelah,² and, again, though to a less extent, at Gezer, certain stamped jar-handles have been discovered which have given rise to a good deal of controversy. The device impressed upon these handles consists of a winged creature, recognised by Professor Clermont-Ganneau³ as a flying scarabæus; above, in Old Hebrew letters, the inscription לַמֶּלֶךְ, "to the king," and below one of four words, which we may conventionally transliterate *Hebron*, *Shocoh*, *Zeph*, and *Memshath*.

The first specimens discovered were incomplete; they consisted of a *Zeph* handle without its central *yodh*, and a *Memshath* example without its initial *mims*. It was, therefore, natural to take these imperfect words as unknown proper names, and to translate "Belonging to King Zepha" or "Belonging to King Shat."

The hope was at the time expressed that some further information might later come to light regarding these newly-found royal

¹ *Recovery of Jerusalem*, pp. 474-5.

² *Quarterly Statement*, 1899, pp. 104, 184; *Excavations in Palestine*, pp. 106-118.

³ *Ibid.*, 1899, p. 204.

personages, and that some explanation might be discovered of the difficult passage 1 Chron. iv, 23, mentioning the potters who "dwelt with the king for his work."¹

Later a *Shocoh* handle was unearthed, and this led to the identification, by Professor Sayce, of the names underneath the flying scarab as *town* names. A suggestion that he first made,² connecting the stamp with the local god or *Molech* of the towns mentioned, was afterwards withdrawn³ in favour of the explanation that the towns were the sites of potteries under royal patronage. On the other hand, Professor Clermont-Ganneau⁴ advanced the hypothesis that the jars to which the handles belonged were the receptacles for dues and taxes, paid to the king in kind, which had been collected from districts of which the towns in question were the centres.

Zepha and Shat thus went the way of all kings, and the "town" theory received unexpected confirmation in the discovery of the first *Hebron* handle at Tell Zakariya by Dr. Bliss. On the other hand, the first complete *Memshath* handle (from Tell el-Judeideh) was unlooked for; it was natural to see in the surviving letters of the one specimen till then known the termination of (*More*)shath. Instead, a name was found for which the Bible, the Onomasticon, and the map were searched in vain.

It was thought that other town-names might from time to time make their appearance. This hope has been disappointed; and now as new handles come to light and are always found to belong to one or other of the four groups, I have ceased to expect any additions to the list. The present seems, therefore, a favourable time to re-examine the subject.

A fatal objection to the "royal pottery" theory ought to have been obvious from the first. In modern Palestine, there are potteries at Ramleh, Jerusalem, Gaza, and other centres. The clay and the technique at all these places possess so many peculiarities that very little practice is needed to be able to distinguish at a glance the work of each town. This modern analogy suggests that, had there been potteries at the places named, their work would have been distinguishable by criteria other than the stamps impressed upon them. This is not the case, however: a *Hebron* handle and a

¹ *Recovery of Jerusalem* (loc. cit.).

² *Quarterly Statement*, 1893, p. 240.

³ *Ibid.*, 1899, p. 210.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1899, p. 204.

Shocoh handle are always so much alike that they might have belonged to the same vessel. Such an identity of type and material is a physical impossibility if the handles come from different manufactories.

On the other hand, the three known towns are not well placed to be the centres of fiscal areas, and there are many parts of the Kingdom of Judah (such as the entire territory of Benjamin) which they could not serve in the capacity suggested. Besides, if Memshath were sufficiently important to be the capital of a district, we might surely have expected to find some reference to it in the historical or prophetic writings.

Beside the stamps with "to the king" (which we may call by the name that has become general, *royal stamps*) others have been found on handles precisely similar. These can be classified into two divisions: the first, which we may call *private stamps*, are evidently impressed with a seal of the ordinary Old Hebrew type bearing two names divided by a horizontal line—no doubt the personal and patronymic names of the owner; the second, which will here be termed *ornamental stamps*, bear a device, usually a rosette or star. In some jar-handles two or three concentric circles are impressed (specimens are figured in the *Recovery of Jerusalem and Excavations in Palestine*) either in addition to the stamp, or, more rarely, alone.

The private stamps, no doubt, are those of the potters, and the present paper is written to support a thesis that, though not absolutely new,¹ has not hitherto been worked out fully—namely, that *Hebron* and the other three words are not the names of cities at all, but of men; and that those men were the potters who worked under royal patronage and who are alluded to in the passage in I Chron. already cited by Captain Warren.

II.

It is generally agreed by scholars that the date of the Book of Chronicles is to be assigned to some time about 300 B.C. When

¹ After the first draft of this paper had been completed, I discovered a paragraph by Professor Hilprecht, quoted in the *Quarterly Statement*, 1899, p. 209, from the *Sunday School Times* of 27th May, 1899, making the same suggestion with regard to the first *Hebron* jar-handle found as is here proposed. I had quite forgotten this paragraph till I accidentally lighted upon it while revising the paper.

the compiler was engaged in collecting the genealogical material with which his first chapters are filled, it is evident that he did what anyone else would have done under the circumstances. Before him were a number of documents, some fairly continuous and complete, others mere waifs, in part illegible, that had survived the storm and stress of the exile. Naturally, he paid first attention to the longer and more intelligible fragments, working in, wherever a suitable place seemed to offer, such of the smaller extracts as he could make out. At the end he copied the remainder of the decipherable fragments, fortunately without making any attempt to link them together by original matter. Such a method was, of course, apt to lead to grave errors, not the least of which is the certainty of confusing two persons of the same name who happened to be mentioned in different extracts; and that such a confusion has actually taken place more than once I hope to show.

In the consideration of the genealogies to which the present section is devoted, it must not be forgotten that names given as those of personal individuals are sometimes ethnic or territorial; and also that we need not assume either that all the steps of a pedigree are given, or that all the sons of a family are mentioned.

The long genealogy of the tribe of Judah, which occupies 1 Chronicles, chaps. ii, iii, iv, 1-23, is the most perfect example of the chronicler's method. The first of these chapters is an almost continuous pedigree, from which a tree can without much difficulty be constructed—there are a few obvious gaps, such as the omission of Carmi's paternity in chap. ii, 6 (to be restored with the help of Joshua vii, 1), but these cause little embarrassment. Towards the close of this chapter the matter becomes more fragmentary. In chap. iii, the historian is entirely occupied with the royal house of David; to this part of the genealogy we need not again refer. The fourth chapter, so far as it relates to the tribe of Judah, consists entirely of incoherent fragments, interspersed with odds and ends of personal history, such as the story of Jabez in verses 9, 10.

In the following paper I hope to show that among the materials which the chronicler had before him were stray scraps of an ancient record containing the genealogical record of a family whose headquarters were in the district of Hebron, some of whose members rose to distinction, and enjoyed royal patronage, and with which we have, as I may express it, been brought into personal contact by

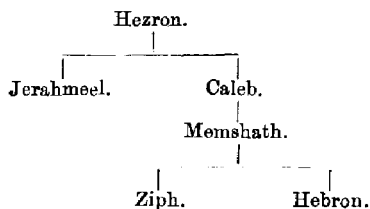
recent excavations. For reasons that will presently be understood, I shall call this supposed source the *Records of the Craftsmen of Judah*.

If we read the genealogy of Chronicles with the stamped jar-handles in mind, the attention is arrested by chap. ii, 42; this runs, according to the Revised Version (which I follow throughout the present paper): "And the sons of Caleb the brother of Jerahmeel were Mesha his firstborn, which was the father of Ziph; and the sons of Mareshah the father of Hebron." Here are two names of the four found on the royal stamps, together with Mareshah, an easily-understood corruption for a third, *Memshath*. This leads us to further investigation; and when we turn the page, and find in chap. iv, 16, the name of Ziph; in chap. iv, 18, "Heber the father of Soco"; in chap. iv, 21, once more Mareshah; and at the end, in chap. iv, 23, "these were the potters . . . [who] dwelt with the king for his work," it is obvious that we have a promising clue to the explanation of the royal stamps which is well worth following up.

The ancestry and family connections of Caleb are given in chap. ii, 18-21, and he is named as son of Hezron, whom the chronicler clearly identified with Judah's grandson of that name. Evidently he considered the Chelubai, כְּלוּבַי, of chap. ii, 9, to be identical with the Caleb, כָּלֵב, of verse 18. In this he appears to have fallen into error, for the interpolation of the Caleb genealogy has a disturbing effect on the pedigree. As a rule, the Chronicler enumerates the sons of a family; then he follows out the descendants of the eldest for a few generations, and returns to the second, and afterwards to the third, and so on in order. Here he has made one easily-comprehended departure from his scheme, in tracing out Ram, the second son of Hezron, first of all—obviously because he was ancestor of the royal line; he should then have returned to Jerahmeel, but instead is made to work out the complicated family relationships of the youngest son, Chelubai or Caleb, after which come particulars regarding the re-marriages of Hezron (verses 21-24). The removal of these verses would make the genealogy run much more smoothly, and more in accordance with the scheme of the official pedigree which forms the framework of the Chronicler's compilation. In this passage I see the first fragment that we meet with of the *Records of the Craftsmen*.

In verse 42, with which we commenced the discussion, the Greek version enables us to make a correction of importance.

Mesha there gives place to *Mareshah* (*Mapetra*), and the pedigree thus becomes continuous. It is not necessary to point out how easily both these names could have arisen from corruption of the *Memshath* of the jar-handles: the first by the loss of a *mim* and the confusion of an unknown name with that of the famous king of Moab; the latter by a confusion of two not dissimilar letters,¹ *mim* and *resh*, and the influence of the well-known town name *Mareshah*. As I hope to bring forward sufficient cumulative evidence for the identification of *Mesha* and *Mareshah* with *Memshath*, I shall make the correction at once, and represent the little scrap of genealogy in verse 42 in tabular form, thus:—



Passing now to the second mention of *Ziph*, in chap. iv, 16, we are confronted by a difficulty. *Ziph* is there stated to be son of *Jehallelel*, a person of whom we do not hear again before or afterwards. The solution of this discrepancy is very simple, though for various reasons I hesitate to suggest it. *Jehallelel* is a corruption of the name *Jerahmeel*; two torn or worn places in the fragment from which the Chronicler was copying would account for the error, as the following diagram² shows.

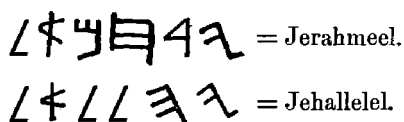


FIG. 1.

The name *Jehallelel* could easily occur to the Chronicler, for it appears in a passage (2 Chron., chap. xxix, 12) where there is no special reason to suspect corruption, a fact which shows that it had

¹ Of course in the Old Hebrew character.

² The lettering, of course, is meant to represent the character in which a contemporary record might be supposed to have been kept, a fragment of which I assume to have been before the Chronicler; and not the later script of the Chronicler's own time.

an actual separate existence as a personal appellation. Professor Cheyne (*Encyclopædia Biblica, sub voc.*) has anticipated this correction, but has built different theories upon it, and has not indicated the simple process by which the error may have arisen.

That Ziph is stated in chap. ii, 42, to be [grand]son of Caleb, and in chap. iv, 16, of Jerahmeel¹ is easily accounted for by supposing him, or rather his father Memshath, to have been the offspring of a levirate marriage. The very unusual description of Caleb as "brother of Jerahmeel" in chap. ii, 42 (instead of "son of Hezron"), seems to indicate some such conclusion. If so, we must suppose that Jerahmeel died childless, and is a different person from the Jerahmeel, son of Hezron, of chap. ii, 9, whose numerous descendants are catalogued in chap. ii, 25-41. This agrees with the theory already put forward that Hezron, father of Chelubai, and Hezron, father of Caleb, ought not to be identified. Though theoretically the law regarding the levirate marriage was straightforward, in practice it must have caused much confusion, especially when the highly-developed selfishness of the normal Oriental and his personal longing for a numerous male offspring is taken into account. It is not in the least surprising that even in the same record a person should be enrolled as son of the actual father in one place, of the legal father in another.

That "Heber, father of Soco," is to be identified with the Hebron of chap. ii, 42, and the Hebron of the jar-handles, is a tempting hypothesis. The loss of the final *nun*, which is all that is wanted for the identity of the names, is an accident that could easily happen. It is true that Soco has no place among the sons of Hebron in chap. ii, 43; but it appears to me that the Chronicler, misled by a similarity of names, has again gone off the track at this point, and inserted from another fragment particulars about the house of a different and otherwise unknown Hebron, none of whose descendants reappear in the parallel passage in chap. iv.

In chap. ii, 42, however, Hebron and Ziph are brethren, or at least nephew and uncle; in chap. iv the gulf between the two names is wide and difficult to bridge. Let the reader examine chap. iv, 16-18, and he will see three broken strands in the genealogy. The first is the appearance of Ezrah in verse 17, who comes before us as suddenly as did Jehallelel just now; the

¹ The omission of the intermediate link (Memshath) in chap. iv, 16, is not a matter of serious moment.

second is the obvious gap preceding the words, "and she bare," in the middle of verse 17, no female having been mentioned to whom the "she" can refer; the third is the lack of precision regarding the husband of "The Jewess"—a reading to which the marginal Ha-Jehudijah must surely be preferred.

Ezrah, I think, can be linked to the sons of "Jehallelel" by a process similar to that just followed in the case of Jehallelel himself. In Hebrew letters it is spelt עזרה. The ע would in an ancient document like the theoretical *Records of the Craftsmen*, be represented by a small circle that might very easily be effaced: and a slight injury to an ך would turn it into a ך (see the diagram, Fig. 2.) The doublet Huppim = Hiram among the sons of

FIG. 2.

Benjamin (1 Chron. vii, 12, viii, 5) is similar. If an officious scribe had the well-known name זיפה in his head, and came upon זפדה (not knowing that it was a worn-down form of עזרה) he might easily be supposed to insert a *yodh* in order to homologate the forms; and if he had immediately before written the name *Ziph* he would the more be tempted to make this correction. Therefore, when we find in two consecutive verses, "And the sons of Jehallelel, Ziph and Ziphah . . . , and the sons of Ezrah, Jether," &c., it is not very rash to suggest the substitution of Ezrah for Ziphah. That "Ziphah" had a brother *Tiria*, and "Ezrah" a son *Jether*, offers an argument in favour of the equation; I believe that Dr. Buchanan Gray has shown that kindred often bore names cognate in form or meaning.

The missing antecedent to "and she bare Miriam," has been supplied in various ways. The Greek version, which is followed by Kittel, substitutes "and Jether begat Miriam." Many modern critics, including the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, transfer the sentence about Bithiah, daughter of Pharaoh, in chap. iv, 18, to this place; but, as will presently appear, there are other uses for this mysterious

¹ *Hebrew Proper Names*, p. 8, as quoted in *Quarterly Statement*, 1904, p. 342.

princess. The suggestion I have now to make is so simple that some one must surely have hit on it previously ; I can only claim to have arrived at it independently. Noting that female names very rarely occur in these genealogies unless wifehood or motherhood is expressly in question, I would suggest that Miriam herself was a second wife of Ezrah, specified as such in a line of writing that has dropped out, and that it was she who was the mother of Shammai and Ishbah. As I conceive the text that lay before the scribe, it ran something like this (of course without word-divisions and final letters)—

ובנעזרהיתרומדועפרוילון
ותהיאשהאחרתלעזרהושמהמרים
ותהרמרימאתשמואתישבחאבי

“And the sons of Ezrah were Jether and Mered and Epher and Jalon ;
[and Ezrah had another wife whose name was Miriam] and Miriam
bare Shammai and Ishbah the father,” &c.

The similar beginnings of the lines would easily deceive a copyist's eye. The Greek reading *καὶ ἐγέννησεν Ἰέθερ*, as well as the Massoretic **ותהר אתמרים ואת**, I take to be guesses of later scribes who realised that the sense was discontinuous.

As to Ha-Jehudijah, after this correction it is not difficult to see that the sense requires her to be treated as a third wife of Ezrah, since no other person is brought into sufficient prominence in the context.

These conjectures link Hebr[on] to Jerahmeel [Jehallelel] as was required, and show him to have been a nephew of Ziph, which is in practical agreement with the fragment of genealogy in chap. ii, 42.

Mareshah, mentioned in chap. iv, 21, we may for the present pass over ; at the stage which we have reached we pause to notice that we have now found the four names on the royal stamps in close genealogical relationship, and closely associated with a Biblical passage referring to certain potters who worked for the king. We have also seen that the names in the pedigrees are in successive generations, of which Memshath is the first and Shocoh the last. It occurred to me at this point that there was a possibility of testing the soundness of the above conjectures.

Yusif, the foreman of the Fund's excavations, is one of the few Orientals who have a general interest in antiquities for reasons

other than their pecuniary value. He has taught himself the Old Hebrew alphabet, and finds pleasure in spelling out the names on jar-handles which have been found from time to time at Gezer and elsewhere; and, having no theories of his own, his judgment is unprejudiced. Without giving any hint of the reason for my enquiry, I asked him which of the four groups of royal stamps had, in his opinion, been most often picked up *on the surface of the ground* in the tells where he had worked. Without hesitation he answered "*Shocoh*," an answer confirmatory of my conclusion that the Shocoh handles ought relatively to be the latest of the four. In a later section the absolute chronology of the jar-handles will be discussed.

III.

In the 18th verse of the passage we are analysing, occurs a sentence calculated to arrest the attention of the most casual reader: *And these are the sons of Bithiah, the daughter of Pharaoh, which Mered took.* How could any Pharaoh have a child named "Daughter of Yahweh"? And who, we ask in wonder, was Mered, that his should be the honour of espousing an Egyptian princess? These problems can no doubt be answered in various ways: that such events, though highly improbable, are not impossible, or that Pharaoh does not mean the Egyptian king, or that there is some corruption in the names; but there still remains the unanswerable question, *who* are the sons of Bithiah? No persons are mentioned who can be assigned to her as parent in any of the neighbouring verses: the mother of the preceding list is Ha-Jehudijah, of the following lists the unnamed wife of Hodiah.

In these difficulties it has occurred to me to express a doubt whether Bithiah was a real person at all. I would take "Bithiah, daughter of Pharaoh," to be a *kenning* (to borrow a useful term familiar to students of Icelandic literature) for the scarabæus, which is so conspicuous a feature of the stamped jar-handles. "Daughter of Yahweh," because a religious emblem; "daughter of Pharaoh," because of Egyptian origin. The "Sons of Bithiah" would therefore mean "men who used the scarabæus." It is possible, indeed, that originally some Egyptian divinity was named in the place now occupied by "Yahweh"; and that a scribe, shocked that foreign heathenism should find a place in a Hebrew genealogy, converted Bithiah to Judaism by a simple alteration of her name before admitting of her union to Mered.

But why Mered? It cannot imply that Mered was the first to adopt the emblem, for Mered's grandfather, Memshath, used it on his jar-handles; and, so far, no archæological evidence connecting Mered with the scarabæus has come to light. I would suggest that what was here originally was something like אשר לקחו במרד "which they adopted *in contumacy*" (an expression of disapproval natural to the Chronicler), and that a copyist who misunderstood the kenning and was deceived by the occurrence of the proper name Mered a line or two before, ventured on an emendation. Omitting the bracketed letters, he transformed, like some magician of the Arabian Nights, a beetle into an Egyptian princess, who, in later Jewish folklore, became the foster-mother of Moses, and was translated in reward for her services to him to Heaven without dying.

(To be concluded.)

FURTHER OBSERVATIONS ON THE OSSUARY OF NICANOR OF ALEXANDRIA.

By R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, M.A., F.S.A.

It is a fate which has befallen all noteworthy archæological discoveries, from the Moabite Stone downwards, that as soon as they have attracted attention someone is sure to raise the cry of "forgery." This, perhaps, is not altogether a disadvantage, as it leads to a re-examination of the evidence on which the authenticity of the monument rests. In the case of the Nicanor ossuary the inevitable blow has fallen in an article entitled "Un monument douteux," by Lazare Belléli, Docteur en Philologie, published in *Corriere Israelitico*, xliii, No. 9 (Trieste, 1905). A copy of this has just come into my hands, and as one who was acquainted at the time with the circumstances of the discovery, and who has on numerous occasions examined the inscription itself, I may be allowed to offer a reply.

First let me remark that Dr. Belléli is not first in the field. At the time of the discovery, and before anything regarding it was published, I was told by a gentleman in high position in Jerusalem