

THE CRAFTSMEN'S GUILD OF THE TRIBE OF JUDAH.

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(Concluded from p. 253.)

IV.

Besides the Royal Stamps, there are a number of names on the Private Stamps which in the present section we must take into consideration. Excluding duplicates, eight such were found in Dr. Bliss's excavations in the Shephelah,¹ of which the following is a list, with conventional transliterations:—

1. לַצֶּפֶן אֶמְצָץ	Of Şephen son of A[b?]ma'az.
2. הוֹשֵׁעַ צֶפֶן	Hûsh'a son of Şephen.
3. לְעוֹר חַגִּי	Of 'Azar son of Ḥaggai.
4. שֶׁבַנְיָהוּ עוֹזְרִיָּהוּ	Shebanyahu son of 'Azaryahu.
4A. שֶׁבַנְיָה עוֹזְרִיָּה	Shebaniah son of 'Azariah.
5. מְנַחֵם [ש]בְּנֵיה	Menahem son of [She]baniah.
6. לְנַחֵם עֲבָדִי	Of Naḥam son of 'Abdi.
7. לְרַפְתִּי יְהוּאֵל	Of Raphti son of Jehual.
8. מִיכָה * * *	* * * son of Micha.

In Nos. 3 and 5 I have adopted the certain emendations of Ganneau and Lidzbarski to the readings first published; but in No. 7 I have preferred to retain יְהוּאֵל as against Ganneau's יְהוּבֵל, judging from my recollection of the original stamp, over which I spent a considerable time.

It will be seen that the order in which I have arranged these inscriptions is determined by the evident genealogical connections that can be detected between them. Two lines can be made out with the data before us—

A[b]ma'az	Ḥaggai
Şephen	'Azariah
Hûsh'a	Shebaniah
	Menahem

¹ *Excavations in Palestine*, pp. 119-122.

and that family relationships exist between these persons and those mentioned in other handles that cannot yet be brought into a pedigree, is suggested by the cognate forms of the names Menahem and Naham. Moreover, the discovery of a seal at Jerusalem of "Haggai, servant of Shebaniah," who may well be a brother of Menahem, named after his great grandfather, indicates that important help may be looked for from Old Hebrew seals.

When we turn to the genealogical record in 1 Chron., chap. iv, not only does the name Ezrah, to which we have already referred, and which is, of course, nothing but a shortened form of Azariah, meet the eye, but we also find the name of Naham, *totidem literis*, in verse 19. Naham's parentage is not given by the Chronicler, and that of Ezrah differs; on the jar-handles he is son of Haggai, in the Chronicler he is son of Jerahmeel (adopting the correction already suggested). This discrepancy may fairly be accounted for as an omitted step in the Chronicler's pedigree if other reasons in favour of the identification present themselves.

At first sight this looks hopeless, for we search the Massoretic genealogy in vain for the names Shebaniah or Menahem. Among Ezrah's numerous family, however, a certain Ishbah is mentioned, whose name might conceivably be a corrupt or contracted form of the first of these. This identification gains in probability when we find a passage in the Greek version, omitted in the Hebrew, which gives us ground for believing that Ishbah actually had a son named Menahem. This passage, which represents verse 19 of the English version, runs thus: *καὶ υἱοὶ γυναικὸς τῆς Ἰουῖας ἀδελφῆς Νάχεμ † καὶ Δαλειλά πατὴρ Κεειλά καὶ Σωμεῖων πατὴρ Ἰωρᾶν καὶ Μαναήμ † πατὴρ Κεειλά ὁ Τάρμι καὶ Ἐσθαιμωνῆ Μάχαθα*. I have obelized two words that seem wrong: the *καὶ* spoils the sense, and *πατὴρ* should be *πατήρ*. With these corrections the passage represents a Hebrew original that would have run thus: "And the sons of the wife of Hodiah, the sister of Naham, Daleila, father of Keilah, and Shimon, father of [Amnon?] and Menahem, father of Keilah the Tarmite and Eshtemoa the Maacathite." The confusion of eye caused by the repetition of the name Keilah is no doubt responsible for the mangled form in which the passage appears in the modern Hebrew text. It is important for several reasons. It gives a useful link for connecting the family of Shimon, enumerated in the following verse, with the main stem; it explains why Keilah-ben-Menahem is called the Tarmite or Garmite (a name perhaps

derived from that of his mother)—evidently to distinguish him from his cousin Keilah-ben-Daleila; and it gives us the missing name Menahem. Now, one of the brothers of Menahem is called Eshtemoa, and he, according to verse 17, is son of Ishbah. This leads us to a Biblical genealogy, Ezrah-Ishbah-Menahem, which, at least, curiously resembles that of the jar-handles.

With the other genealogical sequence recoverable from the handles we cannot claim equal success. Hush'a, **הוּשַׁע**, is cognate with Ishi (v. 20), **יִשְׁעִי**, and may be equated to it; the parentage of Ishi, however, is unfortunately not given.¹ There is, however, a scrap of the *Records of the Craftsmen* inserted in the earlier part of the fourth chapter which gives the sons of Hur (the son of Caleb-ben-Hezron, according to chap. ii, 19). Here we find Hushah (without the final 'ayin), son of Ezer, son of Abi-Etam: and though the forms are very remote, it is impossible to avoid casting a wistful glance at the identification of Abi-Etam—Ezer—Hushah with Abi-Ma'az—Sephen-Husha',² especially as this would agree with certain interesting synchronisms to be presently noted.

Of Raphti, son of Jehual, I find no trace in the Chronicler; but Micha appears in chap. iv, 21, in the Greek version in place of the Mareshah of the Massoretic text.

In the *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, vol. i, p. 167, Professor Clermont-Ganneau has published an onyx seal having a representation of the scarab, much resembling those on the Royal Stamps in outline, though with fuller detail and with an indication added of the manure-ball in which the insect deposits its eggs. This seal bears the legend **לְעַבְדֵּי הַדָּד**, "Of 'Abd-Hadad," and it is natural to enquire whether this particular "son of Bithiah" finds a place in the Chronicler's list. With some reservation, I venture to think it possible. The sons of Shimon, in chap. iv, 20, are called in Hebrew, Amnon, Rinnah, Ben-Hanan, and Tilon; in Greek, Amnon, Ana, Ben-Phana (or Anan), and Inon (or Thilon). Kittel queries Ben-Hanan on the ground that though it is a name theophorous in form,

¹ Ishi, son of Appaim, in chap. ii, 31, is, of course, a different person.

² Ezer might come from Sephen (שֵׁפֶן) by a double corruption, the שֵׁפ having become ז from a misunderstanding of the damaged letters in the Old Hebrew alphabet, exactly as was suggested above in the case of Ezrah and Jerahmeel; while the ז might have slipped later, after the introduction of the square character, into the very similar letter ע. Indeed, that a scribe would "correct" עֵזֶר to עֵזֶר would be inevitable.

the element *Hanan* does not appear to have been a divine name; he says that if sound, the name must be a late invention formed after the model of Ben-Hadad. Is it possible that 'Abd-Hadad, or Ben-Hadad, was actually in the original genealogy, and that the copyist, who (as we have already seen) perhaps meddled with the name of Bithiah, may have made another modification here, in a well-meant endeavour to expurgate heathenism from the records of the chosen people? The form *Hanan* might have been suggested not only by its own propitious meaning, but also by the redundant nasals of the names of the three other sons of Shimon.

It would be interesting to examine any other seals which bear the device of the flying scarab to see whether any further identifications suggest themselves. At present I can refer to two only. One is a small impression in wax, found in Tell el-Judeideh, inscribed * * * לְשֵׁמֶר. The unfortunate fracture that has carried away the end of the patronymic prevents our saying more than that this Shemer may have been a son of Naham. The other is a seal, now in the British Museum, that was figured on the last page of the *Quarterly Statement* for 1900. The inscription in this case is לְאֵלִיעִן,¹ for which also we look in vain in the Chronicler's list.

I may at this point anticipate an objection that may fairly be brought against the foregoing reasoning. It may be argued that chap. iv, 23, specifying the royal potters, refers to certain persons of the clan of Shelah, son of Judah, whose catalogue commences with verse 21, and that all the preceding matter has no radical connection with the craftsmen. But I would answer by requiring my opponent to show proof that this Shelah, son of Judah, is really the patriarch of that name, and not a son of the *Hodiah* mentioned in verse 19. This equation makes the whole passage and the genealogy continuous.

After copying out the names of the family of Shelah, the Chronicler seems to have found the rest of his authorities illegible, and contented himself with noting what he could decipher. That there was much of which he could make nothing may be inferred from the complaint with which he closes his list—"and the records are ancient!" This, as we have seen, is an adequate reason for the corruptions in the forms of the names that, with the help of the stamped jar-handles, we have endeavoured to detect.

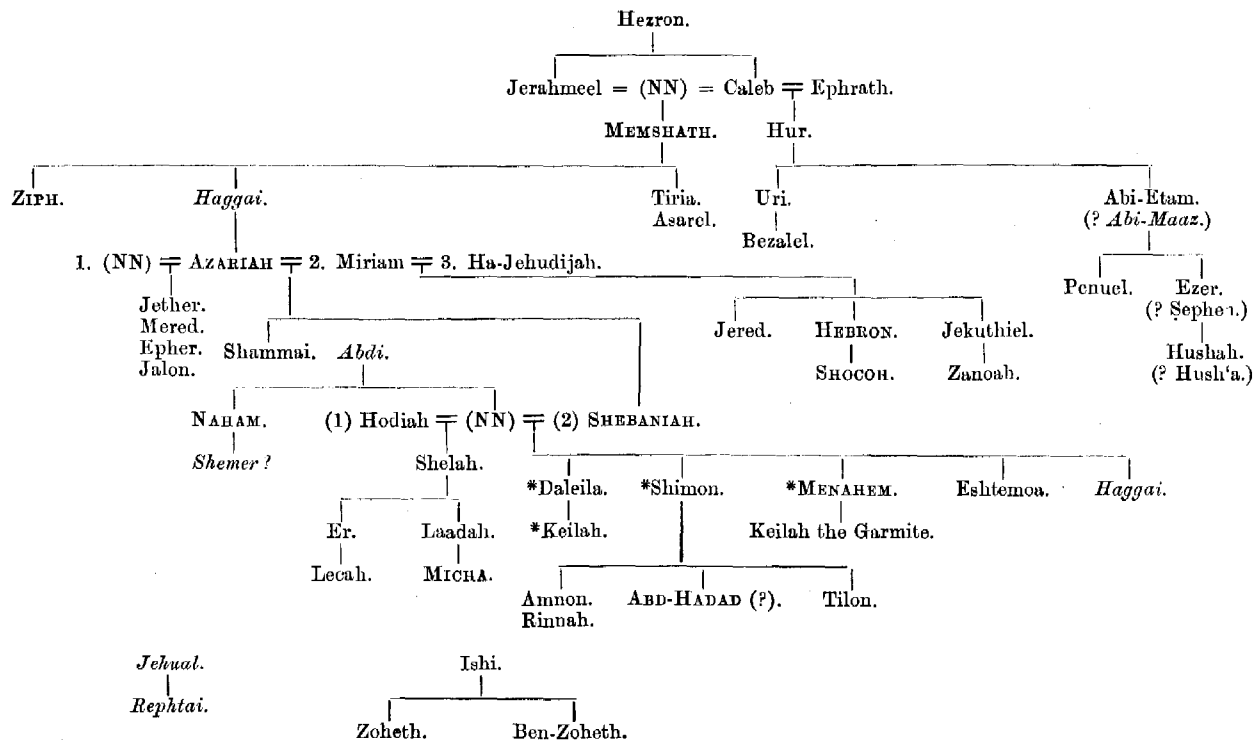
¹ [Or perhaps אֵלִיעִן.]

A few guesses regarding the names at the end of the list may be adventured. "The house of them that wrought fine linen" (בית־עבודת הבץ) may refer to another branch of activity followed by the craftsmen; or it may be a corruption of Obed-Thebez (עבד־תבץ), which is perhaps a not impossible theophorous name, literally meaning "servant of brightness." Passing over *Ashbea* and *Jokim*, may we see in *Cozeba* and *Saraph* names denoting trademarks? כּוּבָא might be meant for כּוֹכַב, "a star," and refer to the stars or rosettes found in the ornamental stamps on the jar-handles; while שֶׂרֶף might mean here, as everywhere else, a serpent, and refer to the concentric circles (possibly a conventionalised snake) sometimes impressed upon them. *Joush* recalls יוּשְׁבִי, which I read on a jar-handle from Gezer; but the reading has been disputed.

This analysis that we have now finished enables us to display in tabular form the complete genealogy of the family with which we are concerned. In the following table, names found in the Chronicler only are printed in small type, without distinguishing mark. Those restored from the Greek versions are denoted by an asterisk, those restored from the jar-handles are printed in italics, and those found in both the Chronicler and the jar-handles in capitals. For the sake of clearness, most of Caleb's family enumerated in chap. ii, 18-28, are omitted. In the majority one form of each name only is given. The abbreviation NN denotes an unknown name (*see* p. 333).

V.

In the foregoing analysis I have assumed without question that the names with which I have had to deal are those of persons rather than tribes and communities. That town, district, and tribal names are sometimes treated as though they are the names of individuals is, of course, unquestionable; but I venture to think that this is not so common as some scholars have tried to make out. I have treated, for example, *Jerahmeel* and *Caleb* as two brothers, not as two cognate tribes. That there were such tribes, I make no doubt; but in the fragments I have endeavoured to bring together and have named the *Records of the Craftsmen*, they find no place according to the theory I have attempted to develop. No one can doubt that the names on the jar-handles are those of individuals. If the parallels I have drawn between these names and those found



in Chronicles be not merely a series of curious coincidences, the same names must in the Chronicler also denote individuals; and so must those which denote persons in family relationship to them.

That this is the case results further from the dates indicated by the chronology of the jar-handles, which, whatever their exact period may be (a point we shall presently discuss), must belong to the Hebrew monarchy—as is proved by the contents and palæography of their inscriptions and the dateable remains found in association with them. It follows from this that the names in the Chronicler do not (as is usually assumed) belong to the remote age when the tribal system of the Israelites was being developed, but to a period too late to permit us to expect details regarding the migrations and fusions of clans on the foundation of new cities. Hebron, Keilah, Eshtemoa, Gedor, were all founded long before the lifetime of the persons said in our genealogies to be their "father": whence it follows that "father of [for instance] Hebron" must mean either chief sheikh of the town Hebron, or physical father of a son named Hebron. That the formula is used in both senses is clear, even in the few verses with which I have been specially concerned. Though all the other quasi-local names in these verses are really, according to my view, names of persons, there is one which is probably territorial.

This is Gedor, whose "father" was Jered, brother of Hebr[on]. His predecessor in the office (whatever its exact nature may have been) was Penuel, mentioned in chap. iv, 4. This village seems to have been one of the headquarters of the family, as we now proceed to show.

In chap. iv, 23, the family is spoken of as "the men of Netaim and Gederah" (the marginal reading may safely be rejected), and in the ruins of these cities, wherever they may have been, the rest of the genealogy lies hidden. For the identification of the first of these places no suggestions have been made. The second is equated to *Khurbet Jedireh* in the Fund survey, and I only wish that there was the faintest possibility that this identification could hold; for as that site is only 40 minutes' walk from Gezer, I might, in that case, expect a fine harvest of stamped jar-handles from the Gezer excavations. However, the identification is quite out of the question, for *Khurbet Jedireh* is altogether a Roman site, and contains no remains of earlier date. The true site must be sought nearer Tell Zakariya and Tell el-Judeideh, the localities which yielded stamped jar-handles

in greatest numbers; indeed, I have felt tempted to suggest that the unidentified Tell el-Judeideh itself may be Gederah. Failing this, one may provisionally suggest Khurbet Jedûr, north of Hebron, where the Survey *Memoirs* mention "foundations, walls, caves, and cisterns, remains of an ancient road, a spring to the north, and a large tree in the ruins. The ruins stand on a kind of tell." About six miles north-west of this is Khurbet Niâteh, where are "foundations, cisterns, and the stones of an olive-press." Though always suspicious of identifications resting on similarity of ancient and modern names, I put forward these *à priori* possible, and in agreement with the archæological and historical evidence. Khurbet Jedûr has already been identified with *Gedor*, a village or town mentioned in the survey of the tribe of Judah, Josh. xv, 58. The place names Gederah and Gedor are easily confused, and though there was also a Judahite village called Gederah in the lowland (Josh. xv, 36), the distribution of the jar-handles requires us to localise the potters in the Hebron district.

Later, in chap. iv, Gedor reappears in a curious passage that for our present purpose is of great importance. Verses 39-41 describe a razzia, made in the reign of Hezekiah by certain of the wild semi-nomadic tribe of Simeon under a number of leaders who are mentioned by name upon the rich pasture-lands of Gedor. Two curious points call for notice in this narrative.

The first is the extraordinary statement that the Simeonites found Gedor peaceful, "for they that dwelt there aforetime were of Ham" (מְרַחֵם). This seems a very inadequate reason for peacefulness; we might have expected it to have had the exact contrary effect. But the insertion of a missing *mim* would make the passage much more intelligible. If we read מְמַנְחֵם, and translate "they that dwelt there aforetime were of [the race of] Menahem," we gather that the family of Menahem was a peaceful, unwarlike clan of artificers who could offer no resistance to the marauding Simeonites.

This theory assumes that the family of craftsmen derived their descent from an eponymous ancestor after whom the Menahem and the Naham, which we have found named on their handiwork, were called. For such an assumption there is some corroboration. Being residents in the Hebron district, no doubt they owned, as the ultimate founder of their family, Caleb-ben-Jephunneh, and probably our Caleb-ben-Hezron was named in his honour. Now we find among the descendants of Caleb-ben-Jephunneh, at the end of 1 Chron. ii,

two references to a sept called the Menuhoth, or Manahathites. The origin of this ethnic, which once reappears (1 Chron. viii, 6), has never, so far as I know, been satisfactorily determined, and I offer the suggestion that they are no other than the craftsmen whom we have been studying.

Secondly, we must enquire who are the Meunim, destroyed by the Simeonites (iv, 41), according to the reading of the *Keri* followed by the Revised Version. This ethnic is derived from the place name **מעון**, Ma'on. There are two places of this name referred to in the Hebrew Scriptures, one in Arabia, or East of the Dead Sea, whose inhabitants are mentioned (as "Meunim") in 2 Chron. xxvi, 7; the other in the neighbourhood of Hebron, and thus in the country of the craftsmen. It is quite possible that this Maon may have been the original home of the sept, and that after they had settled in Gedor and Netaim they continued to be known as the Meunim or Maonites, just as some of my own workmen from El-Kábat and Abû Shûsheh, though settled for a generation or two in their present homes, are still spoken of as "the northerner" or "the Egyptian."

In 2 Chron. xxvi, 10, King Uzziah is described as one who "loved husbandry," and mention is made of an agricultural and vine-growing establishment which he maintained *in Carmel* (marginal reading). This Carmel is, of course, not the sea-coast hill-range of that name, but the fertile district near Maon, where, in earlier days, Nabal the Maonite had his property (1 Sam. xxv, 2).

Now, there is in the Louvre a well-known seal of *scarab* form, bearing the figure of a man clad in a long tunic on one face, and on the other two *winged discs* (a device often found on the jar-handles in place of the four-winged scarab) between which is the legend **שבני עבד עזי** "Shebanyaû servant of 'Uzzyaû." The formula is comparable with that of the Jeroboam seal recently found at Tell Mutasellim, and suggests the hypothesis that the **עזי** (= עזיה) here mentioned is King Uzziah himself; and it is reasonable to equate his servant Shebaniah with the Shebaniah whom we have already seen to have belonged to a family under royal patronage, domiciled in the very district where Uzziah maintained an establishment,¹ and employing Egyptian emblems as a kind of coat-of-arms.

¹ The name of one of David's "mighty men" is called Hezro[n], the Carmelite (1 Chron. xi, 37), indicating that the name was localised in the district from early times.

Clearly, if this identification can be corroborated, we will have a very important criterion for dating the other seals and handles belonging to the same family; and I think I can show that there are several indications witnessing to its soundness. We may first notice, as minor points, that Shebaniah's connection with the king sufficiently accounts for the discovery of his son Haggai's seal at Jerusalem, and also for the circumstance that his daughter 'Amdyahu had a seal of her own—a privilege probably enjoyed by comparatively few women.¹

The following chronological table will be found useful at this stage of the discussion:—

- B.C.
- 837. Accession of *Joash* (reigned 40 years).
 - c. 827. Repair of the temple commenced.
 - c. 817. Death of Jehoiada and apostasy of Joash.
 - 798. Death of Joash, accession of *Amaziah* (reigned 9 [?] years).²
 - 790. Death of Amaziah, accession of *Uzziah* (reigned 52 years).
 - c. 750. Uzziah smitten with leprosy: *Jotham* regent (reigned in all 16 years).
 - c. 736. Death of Uzziah. *Jotham* sole king for about 2 years.
 - 734. Death of Jotham. *Ahaz* king (reigned 16 years).
 - c. 725. Ahaz introduces the worship of Syrian deities.
 - 719. Death of Ahaz. *Hezekiah* king (reigned 29 years).
 - c. 705. Razzia of the Simeonites on Gedor in Hezekiah's reign.

The first point to notice is that Uzziah's agricultural pursuits and his supposed patronage of Shebaniah must be referred to the first part of that king's long reign, before his leprosy drove him into retirement. Shebaniah must, therefore, have flourished about 790–750 B.C.

In attempting to date the genealogical predecessors and successors of Shebaniah from this fixed point, it must be remembered that the comparatively early age of marriage in the East makes the 30 years usually allowed as the average duration of Western generations excessive. The allowance I have here made is 25 years, and even that is probably over rather than under the proper figure. On this basis, reckoning backwards, we gather that Azariah might well belong to the last days of Joash. Ziph could have been born about the time of the restoration of the Temple, at which date

¹ See *Quarterly Statement*, 1902, p. 265.

² According to Wellhausen's conjectural emendation of the "29 years" of the Book of Kings.

Memshath would be in his prime. Reckoning forwards, Shimon the son of Shebaniah might have been born about the time when Uzziah's disease overtook him, and his son, 'Abd-Hadad, about five and twenty years afterwards, *exactly when Ahaz was introducing the worship of the Syrian deities*. There was no more suitable time in the history of the monarchy for the birth of a person so named.

If the reader will examine the genealogical table given on the preceding page, he will notice that there is an entire generation—that of Azariah—during which the potters do not stamp “royal” seals with the scarabæus. After Ziph, the symbol is not used officially till it is revived by Shebaniah's younger brother Hebron. This interruption may possibly be due to the influence of the upright kings, Amaziah, Uzziah, and Jotham. The scarab may have been used under royal patronage by Memshath, at the end of his life, which fell in the time of Apostasy in the latter part of Joash's reign, and continued by his son Ziph under the same auspices. When Amaziah came to the throne he may have prevented his servants from employing the emblem in works executed under his patronage, and the prohibition would hardly be removed till the accession of Ahaz. The close of the life of Shebaniah's younger brother Hebron, and the chief activity of the latter's son Shocoh, would be contemporary with this backsliding monarch. This argument dates the Memshath and Ziph handles in 817-798, and the Hebron and Shocoh stamps in 734-719. Of course, the occurrence of the symbols on the seal of Shebaniah is an objection to this theory, but the objection can be met by supposing that the righteous kings, while preventing the public use of the symbols under their patronage, did not, or could not, prevent their private use by their subordinates.

By a curious coincidence a seal came to light (probably in Jerusalem) at about the same time as the Jeroboam seal from Tell el-Mutasellim, and bearing the same name in the same connection. This read “Belonging to Sham'a, servant of the king.” We may perhaps connect this with the Shammai (who has by some accident lost his *ayin*), the elder brother of Shebaniah. It will not escape notice that one of the sons of Shebaniah had a cognate name, *Eshtemo'a*.

The nature of the service which the house of Shebaniah owed to the king was probably the stewardship of his Carmel estates. Perhaps this is what is meant by the expression במלמכתו,

translated "for his work" in chap. iv, 23. This is the more ordinary meaning, but it might also signify "with his property," which in this connection would give slightly better sense. (Compare the Greek version, *ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ*.)

It is significant that the family appears first to come into royal notice in the early part of the reign of Joash, when the great public work of the Temple repair would naturally bring the best workmen in the country into personal contact with the king. Memshath may well have been one of these. And in all probability a greater than Memshath was employed on the same work, no other than the famous Bezalel, son of Uri.

Bezalel is in Hebrew tradition what Wayland Smith is in Scandinavian and Góhán Saor in Irish legend. I have no doubt that all three were equally historical personages whose consummate skill in their craft seemed even to their contemporaries a thing uncanny, and whose fame, handed from mouth to mouth, was in later ages so magnified that it seemed fitting to push them back to the dim beginnings when the natural and the supernatural came into closest contact.¹ The tradition that Bezalel was employed by Moses in the making of the Tabernacle has no literary authority older than the Chronicler, as it is found only in the latest parts of the Book of Exodus. Its historic basis is probably the employment of Bezalel in directing the work of Joash's restoration of the Temple. That there is but one step in the pedigree from Memshath, and three from Bezalel, to Caleb, is, of course, a serious difficulty in the way of this explanation; but it is, perhaps, possible to suppress one of the ancestors of Bezalel. Either the very similar names הור Hûr and אורי Ūri may be doublets, or the latter may be not a name but part of an appellation of Bezalel himself—[בן אורי] "son of revelations"—a name referring to the apparently inspired nature of his cunning workmanship.

VI.

It will be noticed that by this chronological scheme the genealogy in all its branches stops short just at the time of Hezekiah, when the razzia of the Simeonites took place. In conclusion, we may note what seem to have been the subsequent developments.

¹ That legends rapidly gather round the name of a distinguished man is illustrated by the extraordinary development of the Cromwell myth among the Irish peasantry.

In chap. iv, 42, we read that certain persons concerned, after the *razzia*, captured and occupied territory in Mount Seir. These persons are said to be of the Simeonites by what has every appearance of being an unfortunate gloss that has crept into the text and spoilt the sense. Removing the words מִבְּנֵי שִׁמְעוֹן ("even of the sons of Simeon") it becomes clear that the five hundred who seized on Mount Seir were not Simeonites but the dispossessed natives of Gedor who survived the Simeonite raid. As testimony in favour of this view, it may be noticed that the leaders of the five hundred were the four sons of Ishi, a name not found in the Simeonite genealogies, but, as we have already seen in evidence, in the pedigree of the craftsmen. More probably the four persons named are Ishi's grandsons; his sons mentioned in chap. iv, 20, had different names. If the identification of Ishi with Hushah (which, with many misgivings, I suggested above) be sound, the grandsons of this person would be in their prime in the days of Hezekiah, which is just what the story requires.

Here, then, is an explanation of the otherwise utterly unintelligible clause in chap. iv, 22, "the men . . . who had dominion in Moab." And it can hardly be an accident that Manahath and Moab come close together in chap. viii, 6-8, though as the meaning of this passage is still a hopeless enigma, we cannot expect at present to learn much from it, save a curious and unexpected picture of inter-tribal disunion, for which the more formal histories do not prepare us. Judah seems to take certain Benjamites prisoner, while Simeonites in their turn invade the territory of Judah.

Until the captivity, nothing more of the craftsmen is heard in the records of Judah; they seem to have settled permanently in their newly acquired Moabite or Edomite territory, and to have prospered in a sort of semi-independence. The "return to Beth-lehem," if that be what Jashubi-lehem in chap. iv, 22, implies, probably took place after the exile. But this part of the history is still very obscure.

In any case, we gather from Ezra and Nehemiah that an important family called Pahath-Moab was much in evidence in Jerusalem and its district in the years following the return of the Jewish captives. This name means "Governor of Moab," and a comparison has already been suggested by Smend¹ between this name and the

¹ Quoted in *Encyclopædia Biblica* under the word *Pahath Moab*.

passage relating to Moabite dominion, chap. iv, 22. The writer in *Encyclopædia Biblica* seems to me, if I do not misjudge him, to be rather doubtful of the soundness of the comparison; but I venture to think there are reasons for accepting it. Pahath-Moab was divided into two branches, called respectively the houses of Jeshua and Joab. In Jeshua we can hardly be wrong in recognising Ishi, whose children led the expedition to Mount Seir; and as for Joab, though his name is not to be found in the genealogies, it is at least curious that "Atroth of the house of Joab,"¹ and "half of the Manahathites" are coupled together as sons of Salma, a sept of Caleb-ben-Jephunneh, in chap. ii, 54. In Ezra, chap. x, 30, occurs a list of those of the family who had taken foreign wives; in this list occurs a second person bearing the rare name Bezalel, which may have been a characteristic appellation in the family; and if the Joab of Ezra, chap. viii, 9, be the founder of the Joab branch of the family, his representative, Obadiah, son of Jehiel, bears a name and patronymic that might be restored from the jar-handles.

It is possible that one form of the Greek text may indicate the direction in which Joab is to be sought. In chap. iv, 21, for "And the sons of Ishi; Zoheth and Ben-Zoheth," which in itself looks suspicious, we read *καὶ υἱοὶ Σέει, Ζωὴν καὶ υἱοὶ Ζωάβ*, which may indicate an original that ran "And the sons of Jeshua were Zoheth and the sons of *Joab*."² This would make the Joab branch merely a subordinate sept of the main stem.

I am conscious that the foregoing paper is little but a string of conjectures, but I think they will be allowed to "hang together," and make a coherent whole. If they stand criticism they may claim to have shed some light on a few of the most difficult passages in the whole of the historical portion of the Bible. Without the clue afforded by the stamped jar-handles, this would have been impossible,

¹ Atroth may be taken either (*a*) as a place-name, which I prefer, or (*b*) as a common noun, "crowns." The "crowns of the house of Joab" would in this case mean the rulers or governors of that clan. But to my judgment this interpretation seems strained.

² It might also be suggested that there is some confusion between *Joab*, זבוב, and the similar-looking name יציר, *Jair*, a grandson of Hezron, "who had three and twenty cities in the land of Gilead," according to 2 Chron., ii, 22. This, however, is open to the obvious objection that the Chronicler has here for a moment gone back to Hezron, grandson of Judah, as is proved by the reference to Machir, father of Gilead, just before, and consequently this *Jair* has nothing to do with the family under discussion.

and herein may lie an answer to a complaint I have sometimes heard against the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund—that however useful to the archæologist or anthropologist it may be, it makes no direct appeal to the Biblical student.

Notes added in the Press.

1. The "torn or worn" places assumed above (*Quarterly Statement*, p. 242, Fig. 1) should, perhaps, for clearness, have been more definitely indicated. The first is supposed to carry off the ך of "Jerahmeel"; the second removes the left-hand upright of the ן and the stem of the ך, leaving nothing but the two little "teeth" on the left hand of the latter letter. These develop into the לל of "Jehallelel."

2. The discrepancy in the length of the three lines of Hebrew on p. 251 is apparent rather than real, being due to the preponderance of broad letters in line 2 and of slender letters in line 1. In point of fact, they practically contain the same number of letters. As the letters in the Old Hebrew alphabet are more nearly of uniform breadth than the square Hebrew characters, the difference in the length of the lines would not be found in the MS. from which the Chronicler was by hypothesis copying.

3. When speculating as to the personality of Joab, the ancestor of one branch of Pahath-Moab, I somehow missed 1 Chron. iv, 14, which not only solves the problem at once, but is a valuable corroboration of the deductions set forth in the preceding papers. Here we read *Seraiah begat Joab the "father" of the Valley of Craftsmen: for they were craftsmen.* This must be a different valley from the Benjamite Ge-haharashim mentioned in Nehemiah xi, 35: it is probably the valley entered by the Simeonites (ch. iv, 39). Unfortunately the connections between Joab and the rest of the genealogy are missing; evidently the fragment is inserted on account of the name Seraiah immediately preceding, which, however, must denote a quite different individual. It does not even appear whether the preceding part of the same verse, *and Meonothai begat Ophrah*, really belongs to this connection. It is tempting to see in Meonothai, *מעונתי*, some sort of corruption of Meunim, *מעונים*.