

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES ON JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

By JOSEPH OFFORD.

*(Continued from Q.S., 1916, p. 148.)*XX. *A New Jewish Incantation Bowl from Mesopotamia.*

AT a meeting of the French Academy last October M. Moïse Schwab described another of the curious incantation bowls with Aramaic inscriptions of which so many have been found in Mesopotamia. The bowl in question belongs to Prof. Pozzi and bears a text of four long circular lines. The chief collections of these relics are in the Philadelphia and British Museums, and also in the Louvre. In 1912, Prof. Montgomery, in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, edited one in private hands, and one belonging to M. Feuardent was published by M. Lacaou in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*.

The paleographical interest is augmented by the fact that some of the manuscripts brought from Khotan by Von Lecoq and M. Pelliot have texts in the same script. M. Schwab terms the language that of the Targum, with some later peculiarities similar to those of the Hebrew Zohar.

The time has certainly arrived for a full corpus of these exorcisms to be produced and it is to be hoped that some United States University will undertake the task.<sup>1</sup>

The text upon M. Pozzi's bowl concerns a certain Fena son of Rebuta, who suffered from some disease of the spine producing violent pains in the head. We have not space here to discuss the vocabulary of the formulæ. The word  $\text{טַיַט}$ , which has given rise to some discussion in reference to the earlier found bowls, M. Schwab renders, in this case, "invocation." Lili ( $\text{לִילִי}$ ) occurs for a demon, who M. Schwab says was paredra of Lilith.

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Montgomery's edition of the Philadelphia specimens is entitled *Aramaic Incantation Texts of Nippur* (Publications of the Babylonian Section, University of Philadelphia). Information about the Thibet manuscripts is to be found in an article by Herr Wohlstein in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Vol. IX.

XXI. *The Name Zakarbaal.*

Among the Hebrew names upon the Samaria Ostraca occurs Ba'alâzakar, which is interesting to anyone acquainted with the Egyptian papyri, because it so closely coincides with the name Zakar-baal, which as we now see was quite correctly deciphered by Prof. Golénischeff. Zakar-baal was the name of the prince of Dor, south of Carmel, on the Palestine coast, mentioned in the curious account of Wen-Amon's journey to Phœnicia in the days of Ramses XII. A Phœnician signet in the British Museum had for owner Zakar-Hoshea, and students will call to mind the many Biblical Jewish name compounds of Zecher. A recent razzia on the Punjab frontier was carried out by the Zacher-Khels. The signification in personal names was doubtless "memorable" (famed ones). Its meaning may be illustrated from cuneiform literature, as may almost all the Hebrew vocabulary. Thus in Assyrian to take an oath, or vow, that is to bind, or charge, the memory, was *nîs ili-zakâru*, "to pronounce a deity's name," the concept being that the god would remember the oath who was invoked at its taking. The root-meaning runs through the Semitic dialects; and perhaps from these arose *Θεόμνηστος* and *Διόμνηστος*. The papyrus of the Voyage of Wen-Amon, which refers to Zakar-baal, bears a difficult hieratic text, and it is very satisfactory that it proves to be so accurately translated.<sup>1</sup>

XXII. *The Weight Karsha.*

In the Aramaic Elephantine papyri concerning the Jewish garrison at Elephantine a word is employed for a weight karsha (כרש) which is a rendering of the Persian title for a weight of the same gravity, 10 shekels (karasha). This term is to be found upon a unique weight in the British Museum mentioned in the *Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities* (p. 172), No. 9117, which bears upon it an inscription 2 karasha (=  $\frac{1}{3}$  of a mina). This fact is deserving of mention because it proves the genuineness of these

<sup>1</sup> For a more complete discussion of this subject, previous to the discovery of the Samaria Ostraca, see Joseph Offord, "Semitic Analogies for Old Testament Names," *Proc. Soc. Biblical Archaeology*, 1902, p. 242, *seq.* In the Tel el-Amarna tablets the sentence, *la-a i-sa har si-hu i-zakir*, is interesting in connection with the subject. An Assyrian tablet apparently relating to the Girgashites mentions a chieftain named Zakar-gimilli.

papyri. Just as this Persian word was adopted into Aramaic, so it was taken over into the Sanskrit, for it was used as Karsa (*cf.* the coin Kāṣāpana) with the meaning of a certain weight. Cunningham, in his *Coins of Ancient India*, not knowing of its Iranian origin, or of its being sufficiently common to have spread to Palestine and Egypt, considered it a derivative of Sanskrit *Krish*, "to mark." Mr. F. W. Thomas points out that like the Vedic manā, or mina, it came to India from the west.

Prof. Sayce has noted an apparently interesting corroboration of the Elephantine records of the permit having been given for the restoration of the Jewish shrine there to Yahu by recording the discovery in a quarry in Upper Egypt of three mason's marks upon pieces of stone reading *beth* (בֵּית), "house." The form of the letters is identical with that of those employed for the same term in the papyri. They indicated to the workmen the destination or employment for the stones when cut, and may have designated the temple in question, "the house of Yahu."

### XXIII. *Latin Inscriptions from Lebanon and Arabia.*

Although all exploration in Palestine is for the present at an end, the results of previous work there are from time to time published. Prof. J. A. Montgomery of Pennsylvania University, for instance, has edited a Latin inscription copied by him some time ago in Southern Lebanon, which is worthy of attention as probably proclaiming the date and origin of the many tombs in that district whose era was uncertain. Although the dedicator of this text was of Arabian, or perhaps more correctly Iturean, race (a people who under the Roman Empire settled all over Syria), the record is in Latin:—

OMRIVS  
 MAXIMVS  
 —IRAIFILIVS  
 IOVIMO . . . . A  
 DESVOFECIT

"Omrius Maximus son of —ira made for Jupiter . . . . at his own expense (? from his own property)."

A much mutilated Latin inscription found by Père Savignac at Kal'at ez-Zerga ten years ago was edited by M. Clermont-Ganneau, with comments by Prof. Brünnow, and should be recorded in our

Journal because, as M. Ganneau mentioned, it indicates the transference of troops from Palestine to Arabia, and the construction of a fort on the *limes* of the Arabian province frontier. If the Arabian governor was A. Aurelius Theo, as suggested by Brünnow, it would be an event taking place under Valerian and Gratian.

..... Augg., tu(t)e(l)ae gratia, ex Palaes(tina in provinciam Arabiam?) ..... tra(nstul)erunt (cas)tra (q)uo(q)ue (a) solo oppo(r)tunis loces . . . erunt, et . . . extr)uexerunt, per Aur(elium) . . . m leg(atum) Aug(g n).

The completion of the lacunae is that of M. Ganneau, and he gives the alternatives in the second and third lines of disposuerunt and vallis or fossis, or (vallo fossaque abdu)xerunt.<sup>1</sup>

#### XXIV. *The Site of Capernaum.*

At the meeting last Christmas of the "Archaeological Institute of America," Prof. E. A. Wicher, of San Francisco, read a paper entitled, "A New Argument for Locating Capernaum at Khan Minyeh." This he derived from the fact that he had noticed the remains of a Roman aqueduct running northward to a spring. This, he says, continued to bring water to Khan Minyeh until the seventeenth century, and for the Genneseret Plain lower down. Prof. Wicher refers to the statement of Josephus that this plain was watered from a very fertile fountain called Capernaum, but in the summary of his paper in the *American Journal of Archaeology* there is no mention of the spring still existing close to the shore, the 'Ain es-Sin, nor is there any reference to the other some three miles to the south, called the "Circular Fountain," which may be that to which Josephus alludes.

Prof. Wicher points out that the Tell el-Oreimah, which is now 330 feet above the lake level, when crowned with the buildings which the ruins on the summit prove were once there, would render our Lord's saying as to Capernaum being "exalted unto heaven" more appropriate than any such allusion would be to a site at Tell Hâm.

#### XXV. *The Title of "King of Kings."*

The following note is supplementary to the essay upon Babylonian and Hebrew Theophoric names in the April *Quarterly Statement*.

<sup>1</sup> See M. Clermont-Ganneau's *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*.

Hebrew writers of the Old Testament were very chary of applying to earthly potentates any honorific title which might possess some semblance of arrogating to a man the powers or attributes of the Almighty. This precaution is interestingly illustrated by the phrase "king of kings," which occurs in Ezra vii, 12, concerning Artaxerxes, Ezekiel xxvi, 7, and Daniel ii, 37, of Nebuchadnezzar, and 2 Maccabees xiii, 4, of Antiochus. It also appears frequently in the apochryphal Book of Enoch. In the first four instances it is solely allotted to monarchs of neighbouring nations to Palestine. We possess valuable evidence of the correctness of its ascription to foreign monarchs, in the first case, from a letter which was sent from Artaxerxes to Paetus, given in Hercher's *Epistolographia Hellenikoi*, wherein the king calls himself βασιλεὺς βασιλέων μέγας; and in a letter addressed by Hystanes to the king, he ascribes to him the same high-sounding title.

It has been suggested that this title was not familiar anywhere until the Persian period, and therefore there is not anything remarkable in Jewish literature not recording it, except as attributing it to heathen monarchs; but this view is incorrect, because the Old Testament gives it to Nebuchadnezzar, and we have ample evidence of its early use. An Aramaic title in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, No. 82, reads סַרְסַרְאֵל, "king of kings is El," which Mr. Stanley Cook suggests probably should have read סַרְסַרְאֵל. The Prince of Sidon, Bod Astart, in his inscriptions, is "king of kings," whilst Eshmunazar, of the same dynasty, calls his contemporary monarch "lord of kings." The date of these Phoenician principedoms is, however, generally ascribed to the Persian period. But to go back to the period of Amenhotep III, this Pharaoh was called "king of kings." In Assyria, Assurnazirpal was "king of kings" and "lord of lords." Esarhaddon was styled "king of kings" as suzerain over the small kingdoms he had established in Egypt, and a cuneiform text in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, XI, p. 99, calls him "lord of lords."

Many instances of Persian and Parthian monarchs having such a title can be given, and they doubtless assumed it because it was used by predecessors of great antiquity. This, however, does not add to the evidence it is desired to produce here to the effect that Hebrew writers of all the historical and prophetic books never used it for any personage except when quoting the edict of some foreign monarch. To the Jew, as we can see from Ecclesiastes xi, 5,

God made all things; and He was the Only One who could consistently be termed "king of kings."

The Mesopotamians also felt this, because their god Ea was called Ea-ban-Kala, "creator of the universe." The goddess Šala was Ša Kallati, and Sin, the Moon-god, Sin-li-i-Kallati, "lord over all things." The earliest yet known cuneiform text using this phrase is in a hymn addressed to the primitive deity Enlil, and designates him "lord of lords" and "king of kings." See *Proc. Soc. Biblical Archaeology*, 1912, p. 155. This view of the Deity was echoed by the Emperor Julian, who was steeped in Oriental lore, and who speaks of *ἄραρχεὺς τῶν ὄλων* "Ἡλίου." But the Mesopotamians deified their kings, thus derogating to them the attributes of God, an act impossible to a Jew who possessed concepts of the Divine far above those of the surrounding peoples.

(To be continued.)

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## THE WARNING WRITING ON THE WALL AT BELSHAZZAR'S BANQUET.

By JOSEPH OFFORD.

WHEN commenting upon "An Aramaic Text upon a Babylonian Contract Tablet" in the April *Quarterly Statement*, p. 97, I mentioned that the word *paras*, there used for a half mina, was of interest in connexion with the Greek version word *peres*, of Daniel v, 25, in the mystic sentence, *Mene, mene, tekel peres* (*Upharsin*). It is convenient, therefore, that in the same volume of our Journal some significant sentences in cuneiform literature tending to show that the supernatural phenomenon of a hand writing upon a portion of the hall, or room, in which Belshazzar's fateful feast was held, would not be deemed a very surprising occurrence to the Babylonian and Assyrian courtiers and guests.

The, to us, almost pathetically persistent belief of ancient peoples in priestly magic or in priestly power to interpret events, has preserved, especially in Babylonia, hundreds of records of enchant-