

ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES ON JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

By JOSEPH OFFORD.

*(Continued from Q.S., 1916, p. 196.)*XXVI. *Phoenician and the Old Testament.*

AMONG a number of Carthaginian, Punic, inscriptions in the Louvre which have until now remained inedited, is one, No. A.O. 5190, which, although only two legible words (חרש ארנת) remain, is of interest to Hebrew scholars. The person recorded was a maker of coffins, or sarcophagi; the word is the plural of the feminine word *arōn* (ארון) which had already been noticed as probably occurring in another mutilated Punic text edited by Renan.

The Sidonian inscription of Prince Tabnith also selects it to specify his splendid granite sarcophagus, which had once belonged to an Egyptian officer, and having been stolen from some tomb up the Nile, was transported to Phoenicia. The word is also found upon a small Carthaginian ossuary, published by Père Delattre, see *Répertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique*, No. 521.

As in Tabnith's case, this is the word employed in Genesis 1, 26, for Joseph's Egyptian-made coffin; and it is used for the Ark of the Covenant, and of the Testimony. The Aramaic texts have the same words for sarcophagi, which shows, in conjunction with the Punic ones, the close connection of these dialects with Biblical Hebrew.

It is not merely in their vocabularies that the connection between the Hebrew and Phoenician peoples and languages is demonstrated, but also by the similarities of thought and the manner of expressing in writing their identical sentiments. A convincing series of instances of this character may be cited from the Book of Job and a single Phoenician inscription: that engraved upon the sarcophagus of the Zidonian king Eshmunazar (for the name *cf.* Eleazar).

This prince died in his youth, and his tomb memorial plaintively reads: "I was rapt away before my time" (נגולת בל עתי); the

idea being identical with the words "cut down out of time," of Job xxii, 16. We may compare also the parallel expression of Ecclesiastes vii, 17: "Wherefore die before thy time?"

Eshmunazar, in his inscription, threatens tomb plunderers with a very elaborate series of curses. Among these one foretells: "They shall not have a root downward nor a fruit upward." This is a sentence entirely reminiscent of Job's expression: "From beneath his roots shall be dried up, and from above shall his branch be cut off" (xviii, 16). There may have been a common Semitic formula of this kind; see the words of Isaiah xxxvii, 31: "Judah shall again take root downward and bear fruit upward," and Amos ii, 9: "I destroyed her fruit from above, her root from beneath."

Job iii, 14, refers to kings who, having the means to do so, "build desolate places (? tombs) for themselves." That means graves concealed in desert sites, such as the "Valley of the Tombs of the Kings," near Thebes; and Eshmunazar might have been quoting Job to judge from the words his scribe uses: "I lie in this grave in the place I have built."

The Phoenician writer also three times calls his king's last resting place his "bed." So we read that Asa "slept with his fathers in his own sepulchre, in the *bed* filled with sweet spices." See also Isaiah lvii, 2, and Ezekiel xxxii, 25.

The funerary inscription of Tabnith, another Zidonian king, contains a phrase which is again repeated in Eshmunazar's text, viz., "under the sun." It appears also in Ecclesiastes i, 3, etc. Tabnith's memorial also speaks of the desecration of tombs as being the "abomination of Ashtart the goddess," a term identical with that used in Deut. vii, 15, and xvii, 1.¹

There is a third inscription commemorating a king of Sidon named Bod Astart, and in it there are three words identical with Old Testament Hebrew. The text calls him a Sidon "Prince" (שׂר), the last word being that used in Isaiah xxiii, 8, for the Tyrian merchant princes. In speaking of the Phoenician god Eshmun, the Bod Astart inscription styles that deity שׂרִקַד, "a holy prince" (שׂר קדשׁ), which is the title given to the chief of the Sanctuary in Isaiah xliiii, 28, and 1 Chron. xxiv, 5. Finally, the inscription qualifies Sidon as maritime (יָם), quite in the same way as does Isaiah in chapter xxiii, 4, where the same word points to her sea power, or prosperity as a port. For an article explaining from a Punic

¹ Eshmunazar's mother was "priestess of Ashtoreth."

inscription the missing Hebrew word in 1 Kings vi, 17, and the correct amplification in the LXX, see "Le Mois Intercalaire du calendrier Punique," *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 1916, p. 55; by E. Berliner; see note XXXII, below.

XXVII. *The Name Chuza.*

A short time ago, in the *Mélanges* of the Faculté Orientale of the University of St. Joseph at Beyrouth, a description was given of an old inscription in Estrangelo Syriac, first seen by any modern scholar at Orfa. The text refers to a certain Quaimi, daughter of Arku, whose parent was Abdallat, son of Kuza ܩܘܝܡܝ ܩܝܘܡܝܐ. This name Kuza is identical with that of Chuza, or *χοῦζα*; the Epitropos of Herod, spoken of in Luke viii, 3. It evidently was a not uncommon name in Syria, because it has been found more than once as a Nabatean title, ܩܘܙܐ. See S. A. Cook's *Glossary of the Aramaic Inscriptions*, p. 63. Cf. also Jaussen and Savignac, *Mission en Arabie, Nabatean Texts*, No. 21. In the new edition of *Inscriptions from Petra*, edited by Dr. Dalman, No. 84, (ܩܘܙܐ) is restored, doubtless correctly, in the last line.

XXVIII. *Jewish Communities in Egypt.*

In the *Bulletin of the Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie* for 1915, Mr. C. C. Edgar edits several funerary inscriptions of Jewish personages, which were found in excavating for the Cairo drainage conduit at Demerdash, near Matarieh, and not far from Heliopolis. The presence of Jewish residents at or near this site is of interest, because, in the non-canonical book, the "Gospel of the Infancy," it is stated that the Holy Family stayed at Matarieh when they fled to Egypt. Probably, if this statement was true, they halted there because there was a Jewish quarter, and the newly-found texts certainly corroborate that view. It should be remembered, too, that Matarieh is not very distant from Tell el-Yahoudieh, a well known Jewish settlement in the Southern Delta.

The names, which are undoubtedly Jewish ones, are Sabbataios (*Σαββαταῖος*), Isaac (*Ἰσαάχ[ι]ος*), and Joseph (*Ἰωσήφος*). It is possible that these tombstones came from a cemetery specially belonging to the Jews, because on one was a rather lengthy inscription of a person bearing the Egyptian name of Paous, lamenting that he was buried among foreigners. The date of these texts is somewhat uncertain, as the words that would have disclosed it are partly illegible.

Two bear a duplicate date, a system in vogue under Cleopatra VII. The forms of the letters point to the first century before, or the first of, our Era.

This fresh proof of the frequent occurrence of Jewish communities in Egypt shortly before our Era, viewed in connection with the fact that the Holy Family fled thereto when in danger in Judea, as if it were a place where Jehovah could still be worshipped, may throw an interesting light upon the question discussed in the articles upon "The Elephantine Papyri as Illustrative of the Old Testament," as to the legitimacy of the Temple of Yao at Yeb.¹ That the papyri tend to show (indirectly) that the stricter Jews at Jerusalem looked upon the Elephantine Altar as improper, does not prove that it really was so. It should be borne in mind that Ezra's second temple was not a complete replica of Solomon's, as his was of the Tabernacle, with their sacred contents. For, in the second Temple, the Ark, the Mercy Seat and the Cherubim were wanting, so, therefore, the Shekinah was also absent—the symbol of Jehovah's presence. The Ark, also being wanting, prevented the rites of the "Great Day of Atonement" from being adequately performed. No blood could be sprinkled upon the Mercy Seat, and thus no complete annual propitiation for priests and people could be made to render the imperfect ceremonies enacted during the previous year acceptable. So the rending of the temple veil did not expose the holy relics to wanton gaze. It tore from top to bottom because the new "Offering" descended from on high, whilst the sacrificial savours had ascended from earth towards heaven.

Jehovah did not "dwell" in the Second Temple, and consequently to erect other shrines for similar imperfect worships, as at Onion, in the Egyptian Delta, and Yeb upon the "Border of Egypt," may not have been a misdemeanour.²

The Jerusalem priests, because of the emoluments of their temple ritual, may have, and did, contend that Jerusalem was still, with its inferiorly furnished temple, the only place whereat due worship to Jehovah could be made. The Elephantine documents point to their so acting, but that does not prove that their contention was correct.

By the time of the completion of the Old Testament (which coincides with the creation of the Jewish colony at Yeb), a change

¹ See *Quarterly Statement*, 1915, pp. 80 and 144.

² See Hosea xi, 1: "Out of Egypt have I called my son."

in what may be termed the nationality of Jehovah was well-nigh due. He had become the God of the Jews beyond Palestine. Malachi says (i, 11) even more than this: "From sunrise to sunset my name shall be great among the Gentiles, and in every place shall incense be offered in my name, and a pure offering. For my name shall be great among the heathen." As early as Amos's time it was written that Jehovah had not only brought Israel out of Egypt; but He also had led the Philistines from Caphtor and the Syrians from Kir.

Still, the Elephantine people were wrongfully mixing up other gods with Yao, and, considering the evidence which shows that many of their number were Samaritans, their conduct seems to be distinctly alluded to in the Old Testament, and is certainly not contradictory thereto.

In 2 Kings xvii, 32 and 41, we read that a certain Samaritan priest returned to Bethel, the place whose name is that of one of the extra divinities at Yeb, and taught the people there to fear Jehovah (יהוה): "So they praised the Lord and served their own gods"; and, again: "So those nations feared the Lord and served their graven images." This mixed cult the author of Kings absolutely condemns; and so, apart from any human jealousy, the Jerusalem priests were justified in looking very askance at the Elephantine petition to re-erect their demolished Altar shrine there.¹

XXIX. *A Jewish Colony in the Fayoum.*

Among the great number of papyri discovered at Tebtunis in Egypt about ten years ago were two concerning a village named Σαμάρεια. One name of a person concerned in the documents had a very Hebrew look, and it was hoped that as the mass of manuscripts were unrolled and deciphered, evidence might be found that this site was a Jewish settlement. Dr. Bernard Grenfell, of Queen's College, Oxford, who is now preparing for publication the third volume of the *Tebtunis Papyri*, mentioned at the Annual Meeting of the Egypt Exploration Fund that he was editing other papyri from this Samaria, deciding definitely that residents there were Jews.

¹ Genesis xxxi, 48, gives a sacred character or shrine-sentiment to a heap or mound (cairn); so the Yeb temple was a "mound," "shrine," אֲנוּרָה. In verse 47 Laban uses the Aramaic words, Jacob the Hebrew. In the Rabbinic Targum a heathen altar was אֲנוּר, Jegar Sahadath, "a heap or mound."

He has kindly let me know, so that I may mention it in these notes, that one of the documents is a contract of loan upon mortgage dated 182 B.C. The parties describe themselves as Jews and bear such names as Sostratus and Apollonius. Another papyrus enumerates the villagers who were sheep-owners, and these bear the names, among others, of Dositheus Sambathaeus, and Ἰακώβης (Jacob). A third manuscript concerns persons named Theagenes, Hezekiah (Ἑζεκιᾶς), and Theodosius.

XXX. *A Jewish Sarcophagus.*

In the August number of the *Revue Archéologique* M. Franz Cumont publishes an article, "Un fragment de Sarcophage Judeo-Païen," which is based on a relief found upon part of a sarcophagus discovered at Rome many years ago.

The personages and scenes sculptured are with one exception entirely pagan, consisting of figures of the seasons, and winged Victories, also a youth executing a Bacchic dance. The sole exception is that two of the Victories hold up a medallion upon which is carved the Hebrew 7-branched candlestick.

M. Cumont by a learned argument seeks to connect the tableau with the advanced views of some not very strict Jew, who associated the symbolism and doctrines of the Old Testament with the Dionysiac mythology, or with the cult of Sabazios. He mentions that in Hellenistic times there was some confusion between Iovem Sabazium and Iahve Sabaoth. He considers the allegorical meaning of the reliefs to be that the deceased had, by a just life, gained a victory over death. The figures of the seasons therefore indicate the resurrection, because of the gods of vegetation bringing the dormant seed to fruition; whilst the candlestick represents the "6 planets" and the sun, and is thus symbolic of the eternal illumination of the stars. In this connexion he quotes Daniel xii, 3: "they shall shine as the stars for ever." There is even an instance of the candlestick symbol having ACTHP graven beside it, in which M. Cumont detects a modification of the Hebrew Esther, quoting inscriptions such as *Claudia Aster Hierosolymitana captiva*. He associates the long funerary inscription of the Jewish lady Regina, or Milcah, from the Jews' cemetery near Rome (published in the *Quarterly Statement* for 1916, p. 146), which speaks of her renewing her life and awaking to the light.

The argument is very ingenious and convincing, unless the sarcophagus was originally made for a pagan, whose portrait would have been placed in the medallion; and being disposed of for a Jew's burial the candlestick emblem was inserted instead.

XXXI. *Some Hebrew Patriarch Names in Babylonia.*

Père Scheil has now published a Babylonian cylinder-seal of the era of Agade, of about Naram Sin's period, bearing as a personal name that of Išre-il, or Išre-el.¹ This name, which the LXX, writing of **ישראל**, 'Iσραήλ, tell us was given because of Jacob's successful wrestling with God, was one that was used in the Babylonian onomasticon long before, as was that of Abraham at about the same date as his own. This is not now surprising, because upon Manishtusu's obelisk we have such names in cuneiform script as Išlup-il and Išmâ-il or Išmâ-el, whilst upon a text from Sippara we find Iš-mi-i-lum. The same coincidence occurs in the case of several other names in the Abrahamic genealogy: Eber being analagous to E-bi-r-um, a name of Hammurapi's period, whilst Peleg is similar to Palga, an Akkadian title.

But there is reason to think that this Palga was a deity's name, for there was probably a Syrian god Peleg, or Palak. The Hittite Rameses treaty speaks of a Souken, or Sutech, of a place to the south, that would be towards Palestine from the Hittite country, called Paliga, or Palika.² This would be a **בעל פלך**, because the numerous Baals of Syria were grouped as Sutechs by the Egyptians. The reason for this we do not yet know, but the curious composite animal of Set, or Sutech, was the determinative for Baal, transliterated in Egyptian as Bal. He was recognised as being a Semitic god, and had a chapel at Memphis, the city where so many foreigners and their deities were permitted. This Baal appears often in the annals of Pharaonic wars in Syria, as at the temple of

¹ *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 1916, p. 6. *Recueil de Travaux*, XXII, 1900, p. 55. In a contract from the country of Khana, *P.S.B.A.*, XXI, p. 23, Prof. Sayce gives a royal name, "Isarlim, or Israel, where the vowel of **אל** is lost." A name, Ishi-Shadû-rabû. "O Shadu, raise (me) up," is an expression identical with Psalms cxlv, 14, and cxlvii, 6.

² The Palega of the Egyptian recension of the Hittite Alliance may be read Parga, as *l* and *r* are similar in Egyptian. The Hittite version from Boghaz Keui may decide the question. See the city **Φάλιγα**, which Isidore of Charax cites near Circensium.

Medinet-Habou. M. Daressy shows from these that the thunder-clap in the sky was considered his manifestation; it was a sound which the Egyptian armies in Syria would have often heard above the mountain peaks of that region.

The Hittites or their kinsmen seem to have sent colonists to Italy; thus Tarquin and Tarkondemos appear connected, and we find Palisce in Sicily.

The Rev. C. J. Ball has pointed out that Peleg can mean stream, Palgu, or Puluggu, being Assyrian for canal. If so, it would appear as if some of the Hebrew patriarchal names are related to Mesopotamian ones for a canal, a city, or a place: Serug being similar to Sarrugi, a city, and Harran to the district, or caravan routes junction place, Abraham journeyed from. Reu, "shepherd" (Gen. xi, 18), often appears as part of a theophoric name on the tablets.

Moses is said to have called his son Eliezer, because of the help God had given to him, but the same idea was expressed long before by a Babylonian parent who named his boy—though perhaps at priestly suggestion—Ili-ha-zi-ri, a name quoted by Prof. Ranke.¹ Moses was not likely to have copied a Babylonian name because of his Egyptian education, but his Semitic relationship caused him to conceive and express his devotion in similar phrase to that of his kinsmen by the Euphrates.

The occurrence of the name Israel in cuneiform may have some bearing upon the mention of this name upon the stele relating Menepthah's razzia into Palestine. It has been concluded he fought with relatives of the Biblical Israelites, but it is now possible that another sheikh and his people bore that name. The Aiah of Genesis and of the Egyptian records is the name of a tribe, and appears to be also that of a Babylonian deity, as Gad was, and, as we saw above, was Peleg.

XXXII. *Palestinian and Phoenician Month Names.*

In the *Revue d'Assyriologie* for 1916, M. Berliner has an article, noteworthy for Hebraists, upon the intercalary month in the Punic calendar, founded upon words to be read in the inscription discovered at Bir Bou Rekba, in North Africa. This text may be found given, rather imperfectly, in the *Repertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique*,

¹ *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 1916, p. 9.

No. 942.¹ The inscription concerns the installation of certain deities in a shrine, and states that this function took place on the 17th of מִסַּע לַפְּנִי. These words M. Berliner renders "Mopha anterior," comparing the second one with the *lippenai* (לִּפְנֵי) of 1 Kings vi, 17, which in our Hebrew text apparently should have been followed by הַיְדִבְרִי, for the LXX has *καὶ τεσσαράκοντα πηχῶν ἦν ἡ ναὸς κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ ἑαβείρ*. The possibility of one day completing the list of the Phoenician months is interesting to Hebrew students because before the Exile (after which Babylonian month-names occur in the Old Testament) some of the Phoenician titles were used by the Jewish writers in Palestine, such as Ethanim, Ziv, and Bul.

The Punic month-name M. Berliner studies is Mopha. This name is not new to us, but the fact, which he proves, that it was used as a duplicate or intercalary month is novel. He says we cannot ascertain whether its place was that of the sixth or of the final month of the year, but there are indications of its position which he has, apparently, overlooked, M. Clermont-Ganneau having shown that Phalot was the Punic sixth month, whilst a Phoenician inscription found at the Piraeus gives the sixth month as Marzekh.

The subject of the intercalary months among the Semites is at present very intricate because, whilst one supplementary month was added at short periods, the calendar still drifted away from accuracy with the solar year, and an additional month had to be inserted at longer intervals to rectify matters. The Babylonians for the more frequent service used a duplicate Adar, the final month of the year, and this is the only name we at present know the Jews gave to an extra month. For the longer interval month extra the Babylonians had a second Elul, which was the sixth month in their year.

It would appear from these facts that Mopha was the last month of the Phoenician year, because they, like the Babylonians their kinsmen, would duplicate the last month with Adar. Then, Phalot being the ordinary sixth month equivalent in the calendar to the Babylonian Elul, it would sometimes need to be duplicated. This may account for a sixth Phoenician month named Marzekh having been recorded, it being the name for the occasional extra sixth month. In connexion with this it is interesting that at Athens

¹ For M. Clermont-Ganneau's latest remarks upon the inscription see *Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études*, 1912-1913, p. 98.

the sixth month *Ποσειδών* was chosen for the honour of intercalation.¹

Dr. Haupt has shown that the word Adar is from Assyrian *Aldar*, "threshing-floor" (circular), the threshing-ox being tied so as to tramp round and round. This month came towards the culmination of the harvest, thus its Sumerian name was *Iti-sa-ku-kut*, "grain harvest month." Intercalary times were, magically, always dangerous, so the second Adar was *Arkhu mikhru ša Adlari*, "The unlucky month of Adar." "The thirteenth extra zodiacal sign," says Haupt, "was the (croaking) raven, harbinger of misfortune." Precisely so, the five epagomenal days needed to render complete the Egyptian twelve-month year, were all unlucky ones. The Babylonian dangerous thirteenth month may be the cause of the persistent dread of having thirteen guests.²

Mr. E. W. Maunder has described how the importance of correctly timing the occasion for inserting the intercalary months is partly the origin of the frequent occurrence upon Babylonian "boundary-stones" and cylinders of the lunar crescent on its back, and the twin stars, Castor and Pollux. When the new moon was seen setting with the twins, it was known that the spring equinox month was begun. If it then set upon the first or second day, the year should have but twelve months. If it did not so set until the third day then it must contain thirteen months.

¹ M. Berliner mentions that it was sometimes called *Ἀδριανών*, which may be a reminiscence of Adar.

² See F. W. Read, "Egyptian Calendar of Lucky and Unlucky Days," *Proceedings Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1916, p. 61 *seq.*

(To be continued.)
