

ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES ON JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

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(Continued from Q.S., 1919, p. 38.)

LVI.—*Sanballat in Josephus and the Elephantine Papyri.*

THE results arising from the mentioning of Sanballat as an official of influence in Palestine at the date of the appeal for the rebuilding of the Jewish shrine at Yeb in the Elephantine papyri, in its relation to the fact that Josephus (*Antiquities*, XI) brings down his date to the time of Alexander and Darius Codomanus, have not apparently been adequately noticed.

It is now evident, as was suggested by scholars before the discovery of the papyri, that Josephus had mixed up events of a century previous with those of Alexander's advent into Palestine. Whilst, however, the new evidence contradicts Josephus' chronology in dating the action of Sanballat in reference to Samaria, it confirms his statement that this official, who is stated to have been an Horonite, was sufficiently powerful to be able to raise several thousand men, and to appoint a relative, Mannasseh, as high priest of the rival Gerizim temple of Samaria.

Long before the finding of the Egyptian manuscripts, Wellhausen, in his *Israel. und Jüdische Geschichte* (p. 148), said that Samaria was the seat of a Persian Government district, and that Sanballat was one of such officials, terming him a Persian satrap. The numerous Samaritans among the Elephantine community may, therefore, have induced the Jews, in their claim for restoration of their temple, to include Sanballat's name as one likely to give consent, as he was not averse to a shrine in Samaria. Until the Elephantine manuscripts were found, the Jewish temple at Leontopolis was generally considered to be so exceptional that its existence afforded no excuse for the continuance of the one at Gerizim after the Jews returned from the Captivity to Jerusalem.

But the existence of the Yeb temple has minimised this view of the question. The idea that until the desecration of Zion's temple by Antiochus, no Jew would admit the possibility of orthodox

Jehovah-worship being carried on elsewhere, has been refuted by Elephantine evidence, proving that the hierarchy at Jerusalem permitted it, with restrictions apparently as to a certain class of sacrifice in the temple to be re-erected.

This may explain the fact that Eupolemus translates *Argarizin* as "Mountain of the Most High." The misstatement of Josephus, it would seem, is due to his anxiety to convince his readers that Alexander the Great had authorised the Gerizim temple, and the mixing up of Sanballat with the creation or continuance of such a shrine, and appointment of its high priest in Alexander's time, throw doubt upon Josephus' chronology and veracity; but the recent recovery of the Elephantine documents proves that his statements as to Sanballat's powerful opposition are probably accurate, though his dates are wrong.¹

In connection with these remarks, it is apropos to mention that the discovery among the papyri from Tebtunis that there was a town in the Fayoum called Samaria, may be a corroboration of Josephus' statement that Alexander ordered Sanballat's soldiers to follow him into Egypt, as he wished to present to them grants of land therein, adding that he gave such to them in the Thebaid, and considered them as a guard for their district. That they were anything to do with Sanballat's force in the previous century is impossible, if their settlement really took place under Alexander. But now we know that the Jewish garrison at Elephantine communicated with Sanballat, the coincidence is curious.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF PUBLICATIONS.

Watson Pasha, by Stanley Lane Poole. A Record of the Life-work of Sir Charles Moore Watson, K.C.M.G., C.B., M.A., Colonel in the Royal Engineers. John Murray. London.

To record adequately in 248 pages a life so full of constant and consistent effort as that of Watson Pasha is well nigh an impossible task. The uncoloured facts presented with such meticulous care by the Pasha himself, set the *motif* which the biographer must needs

¹ It should be remembered that Deut. xi, 29, "Thou shalt put the blessing upon Gerizim," gave a reasonable excuse for considering its summit to be sacred to Jehovah.