

the end of her days), because they did not think of Sheikh Shaker until the moment of her death, and now it is finished." And when Sheikh 'Abd heard these words he returned to his lord and informed him that the woman was dead. Sheikh Shaker said: "I knew at once after I opened the book that when we left she would die; that is why I did not give her any medicine, because I saw 'her spirit was in her throat' and there was no hope of a cure."

(To be continued.)

FURTHER ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE ELEPHANTINE ARAMAIC JEWISH PAPYRI.

By JOSEPH OFFORD.

DURING the last two years, when examining new publications of Egyptian, cuneiform, and other kindred literary antiquities of Western Asia for matters bearing upon Ancient Palestinian history, a number of interesting facts throwing light upon the connection of the Jews with Egypt, and with the pre-Hebrew inhabitants of Palestine and neighbouring peoples, which agree with and throw light upon the Old Testament books and other Hebrew records, have come to my notice. Some of the more important of these will be summarised here so as not to be widely separated from the volume of the *Quarterly Statement* for 1915 which contained two articles upon the Yeb Papyri.

For instance, an apt illustration, from the Egyptian side, of Ezekiel's geographical antithesis between the extreme northern and southern limits of the frontiers of Pharaohland at his epoch, expressed in the phrase "from Migdol to Syene," appears in the Sinuhit Papyrus. That official, thinking his life endangered, for political reasons, fled into Syria, but finally returned to his fatherland. In commenting upon the folly of his action, he pleads guilty saying the course he took was absolutely unreasonable, as stupid as things one imagines we do in a dream. As an instance of the fatuity of dreamland incidents he suggests as particularly absurd the

idea of "a man of Athu (in the Delta) who sees himself at Abu (Yeb), or a man of the plain of Egypt who sees himself on the mountain" (the sterile plateau on each side of the Nile valley).¹

Sinuhit thus makes Syene, or Yeb, the very geographical antipodes—as does the Prophet—of the marshland (Migdol protected northern district. The intercourse between Palestine and Egypt, permitting the permeation of these Egyptian modes of thought and expression into Hebrew literature, may have been more recent than the residence in Goshen before the Exodus, because Jeremiah xxiv, 8, refers to Jews in Egypt in Zedekiah's time before the Captivity.

It cannot at present be proved that the "el" of the Haram-Bethel at Yeb is a compound of the Biblical El, with the meaning "house of El," although we have evidence that Syrians, and perhaps Samaritans, had a god El, because we know of a personal name reading (â) "King of Kings is El."² On the other hand, records for a deity named Bethel accumulate; thus Bethel occurs as a divine name in a treaty between Esarhaddon and Baal, king of Tyre³.

Prof. Hoonacker quotes several proper names in the Elephantine Papyri compounded with Bethel, such as Bethelitaqshezib, "Bethel protects." Also Bethel-nathan and Bethelaqab. There is an ostrakon from Assouan given in the *Corpus* of Semitic Inscriptions, II, No. 154, which bears a name made up of Bethel. Moreover, the syllables Bethel in a name evidently were not understood to mean house, or shrine, of El, but conveyed the idea of a polysyllabic deity's name, when Jeremiah wrote "Moab shall become ashamed because of Kemosh, as the House of Israel because of Bethel," Jeremiah xlvi, 13.⁴

Upon the other hand, there were various cults beyond Yahveh's prevalent in Palestine, so that, that a worship of Bethel⁵ existed there

¹ Sir G. Maspero, "The Adventures of Sinuhit," *Records of the Past*. New Series. Vol. II, p. 31.

² Stanley A. Cook, *Glossary of Aramaic Inscriptions*, p. 85.

³ Zimmern, *Der Keilinschriften und das Alte Test.*, 3rd edition, p. 437.

⁴ With reference to the worship of Anat at Elephantine it is noteworthy that Shamgar was Ben-Anath, and that among scarabs from the Delta where Hyksos Asiatic Pharaohs reigned, there was one in the Fraser Collection of a personage named Ânt-'il, viz., Anati-el. A Canaanite name Anati also occurs in the Tel el-Amarna tablets.

⁵ In Zechariah vii, 2, we may read a man's name Bethel-Sharezer, instead of the A.V. "House of God of Sharezer."

is not unique, there having been other heresies. Of these one was the duplicate of that of Baal, or Bel his Mesopotamian prototype, and common among the Amorites of Northern Palestine. The evidence for this is that one of David's officers was named Bealiah. Also in Genesis xlii, 21, one of Benjamin's sons is called Ishbel. As time passed and Baal became known to be an offence to Yahveh, the name Ishbel was changed by the Chronicler into Jediel, see 1 Chronicles vii, 6.¹ However, a name compounded of Baal, Merib-baal, occurs in 1 Chronicles viii, 34, and is repeated upon the Ostraca from Samaria. But the change of Baal names, by substitution, is in agreement with Hosea's foretelling that they should no more be used by the Israelites, and consequently it is most interesting to find how the latest archaeological discoveries confirm the Prophet, for out of some four hundred personal names among the Elephantine Papyri not one is compounded of Baal, and the same statement applies to the name-list of the LXX translators.

The acknowledgment of Baal, or Bel, as a deity, did not always imply a denial of that of Yahveh, because Dr. Pinches² gives a cuneiform writing of a man's name as Bel-yau, "Bel (is) Yahu," with which we may compare a title in a Punic inscription from Constantine בעל אהו.

Some remarks of M. René Dussaud in his latest edition of the text upon the Moabite Stone, printed in the Catalogue of the Palestinian Antiquities in the Louvre, concern the writing of the name of God as יהוה, which form, it should be noted, is precisely that upon a coin of Gaza cut above a figure of Zeus.³ M. Dussaud writes as follows: "Yahu upon Mesha's Stone is יהוה, and the regularity with which -h is added to the word appears as if the Jews said 'Yahwoh,'" which would explain the graphic equivalence of יהוה and יהוה. The Assyrian form Yaua for Jehu suggests the Hebrew was Yahwah. As to the polytheism of some Jews at Mesha's era and subsequently, M. Dussaud suggests that according to the Moabite record the Hebrew Gadites had a shrine to Dodoh at their city of

¹ For a similar reason the Ishbaal of 2 Samuel was purposely altered by orthodox scribes into Ishbosheth, see 2 Samuel ii, and 1 Chronicles viii, 33.

² See *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1892, p. 4. In the same Journal, 1917, p. 71, is a most interesting cuneiform name: (who is) "like Yahveh" , *Aki-yauau*.

³ See *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1908, p. 47.

Ataroth, as well as one to Yahveh. As pointing to such an action being possible, and known to some of the Old Testament writers, he follows Winckler in connecting the דֶרֶךְ *derek*, "way" or "manner" of Amos viii, 14, into דֹדֶכָּה *dodëka* = "thy Dodah," thus reading: "And they say, as thy Elohim lives, O Dan; as thy Dodah lives, O Beersheba." He does not allude to the fact that as late as David's time two personages are named Dodo or Dodai,¹ and a third man in the time of the Judges where the LXX translate the name πατραδέλφου αὐτοῦ (Judges x, 1), "his father's brother," a perfectly natural rendering if we had not the evidence of the Mesha tablet and the two names just quoted.

As Bel-yau unites two divine names, so does the patronymic upon one of the still inedited Samaritan ostraca who was called Gadyo(= yah), thus uniting Fortune with Yahveh. This name is very similar to the Gadiou of a Nabatean inscription to be read in the *Revue Biblique*, 1911, p. 314²; also of Cook's *Aramaic Glossary*, p. 36. Isaiah (lxv, 11) speaks of "a table for Gad and offering for Meni." This recognition of Gad by a Jew may confirm the Rev. C. J. Ball's view, that, Genesis xxx, 11-13, are intended to be read "with Gad's help," and "with Asherah's help." A seal published by M. de Vogüé gives a personal name Gad-melek, and among the names in the Murashu banker's records at Nippur, many of whose clients were Jews and Syrians, is one Gad-aliâma. The Gad-melech of de Vogüé's seal forms a most curious commentary upon Jeremiah xlix, 1, where the prophet says of the Ammonites "Why does their Melek inherit Gad?"²

Reference was made in the previous account of the Elephantine Papyri and the heretical worship at that post, to the connection of the kings of Judah with sun-worship as shown by some of them keeping horses and chariots of the Sun-god near the Temple upon Mount Zion. Palestine under the Hebrew monarchies also had "images" or "sun pillars," emblems of solar worship, which 2 Chronicles xiv, 4, tells us Asa destroyed. These sun pillars

¹ 1 Chronicles xi, 12, and xxvii, 4, דָּוִד and דָּוִי; Josephus *Δαδελος*.

² de Vogüé, *Revue Archéologique*, 1869, p. 146, גַּד טוֹב, "Gad is good," is a name in a Nabatean inscription. Gad-melek is upon a seal given in Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in Phœnicia*. Gadsan occurs in a Punic inscription found in Tunis in 1908. Gaddai is in Clermont-Ganneau's *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, IV, 26. Gadmarâm is on an Israel seal, see *Revue Biblique*, 1910, p. 417.

(*khammānīm*) are mentioned in at least three other Old Testament books, and Ezekiel specially condemns the worship.¹

A bright light is thrown upon them by a Palmyrene inscription now in the Ashmolean Museum. It is a dedication to Shemesh the Sun-god: "In the month Elul, year 396 of the Seleucid era (A.D. 85), this sun pillar (𐤍𐤏𐤍) and this altar were erected and dedicated." The word Hamman in the many Phoenician texts to Baal Hamman is this word.

THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM.

By ESTELLE BLYTH.

THE Order of St. John of Jerusalem is one of the few romances of history which have survived the buffets of time, and, in spite of conditions of utility and common sense, so-called, that control and sometimes blight our modern existence, it continues to enjoy a vigorous life to-day. The foundation of the Order dates from a very early period, and was due to the action of one Gerard of Amalfi and his fellow-merchants, who, with an admirable mixture of charity and foresight, "had made the prince of Egypt (then governor of Jerusalem) their friend by paying him tribute and presents, and were in high favour with him. These men easily persuaded the prince to suffer them to build a Latin church in honour of St. Mary, near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, scarce a stone's throw from it Wherefore the aforesaid church is, even to this day, called St. Mary the Latin, for they established therein a Latin abbot and monks to conduct Divine Service according to the Latin rite. In the course of time, without the walls of the aforesaid convent, whose monks thought it unbecoming that they should lodge women pilgrims, they established another convent dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, and a sisterhood therein of religious women to minister to Latin women pilgrims in that place, and give them entertainment. Afterwards, however, as

¹ Leviticus xxvi, 30; Isaiah xvii, 8; Ezekiel vi, 4.