

THE LIGHT SHED BY THE
JEWISH-ARAMAIC PAPYRI
OF THE FIFTH CENTURY B. C.
UPON CONTEMPORARY
BIBLICAL LITERATURE

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Watson Boyes B.A.

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FOREWORD.

Dr. A. Cowley's readings of the Aramaic papyri as presented in his "Aramaic Papyri of the 5th Century" have been utilised in the preparation of this thesis. References have been made to the papyri and are given thus:-

C.15-12, C.16-4,7. standing for
Cowley, papyrus 15, line 12. or Cowley, papyrus 16, lines
4 and 7.

The abbreviation b. = bar = son, has been used throughout the thesis.

INTRODUCTORY.

The Jewish people in Egypt are evidence of the Semitic characteristic of migration. Semitic peoples have always been emigrants, even from the early dawn of history. Possessed with the nomadic tendency they moved steadily forward, settling new lands, and overpowering strange peoples.

Perhaps this tendency was heightened by the union upon the Palestinian bridge of the Hittite, the Aramaean and the Egyptian stocks, producing a homogeneous race of people, though their several peculiar characteristics constantly asserted themselves.

Nor was this migration tendency confined to the early days of Hebrew history. It has been an integral part of the life of Jewish peoples. Their history constantly bears out this fact.

In passing from the nomadic stage of their history to the settled life of the agriculturist, we should have thought that this tendency would have been weakened. Though it lay dormant for years, yet after a while it would break out again, setting up new movements.

The period from the beginning of the 8th century B.C. down to at least the end of the 5th century B.C., witnessed such a movement among the Palestinian Jews.

It was not the advance of the Assyrian armies that set the people in motion. The cause was internal. Restlessness and a desire to emigrate again gripped the people. The land was not able to contain the already large and growing population. Deforestation, the result of a diminished rainfall, couple with unskilled methods

of agriculture which denatured the soil, made it more and more difficult for the land to support the people. A drift towards the city set in, but Jerusalem was small, and incapable of any considerable growth.

Political intercourse and international relationships broadened the people's outlook. The cult of Yahweh tended to breed narrowness and exclusiveness, and the great prophets from the 8th century down sought by word and precept to keep the nation free from foreign entanglements. They failed, and the lure of the outside world performed its magic power with the result that the people emigrated to foreign lands.

Hence the words of Charles C. Torrey,¹ "One very important fact, often overlooked, must be always be kept in mind, when the Hebrew "exiles" (voluntary or involuntary) are under discussion; they were--and knew that they were--uniformly much better off in the foreign countries than they could ever have been in the home land."

The foreign policy of Psametik i (663-609 B.C.) aided this new movement. He caused the doors of Egypt to be opened to foreign colonists, and Asiatic traders and emigrants poured in. "Phoenician galleys filled the Nile mouths, the Semitic merchants, forerunners of the Aramaeans, so numerous in Persian times, thronged the Delta."

If credence can be placed in the letter of Aristeas, it is seen that Jewish mercenaries fought in the army of Psametik ii (?)

¹ Ezra Studies, 1910, p293.

² History of the Ancient Egyptians, Breasted, 1908, p398.

in a certain campaign against the Ethiopians.

This movement of emigration received a further impulse when Sennacherib and Esarhaddon carried out successful campaigns in Palestine, early in the 7th century, ^x resulting in the carrying away to Babylon of the Northern Kingdom of the Jews in 721 B.C. The Scythians, too, swept through the land with their hordes in 624 B.C.

Furthermore came the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar in 586 B.C., and the carrying away of the people of Judah into captivity. Over the Jews left to cultivate the land, Nebuchadnezzar appointed Gedaliah ben Ahikam as governor.¹ As a result of this appointment, many Jews who had fled to the surrounding lands of Moab, Ammon and Edom, returned to their native soil. Intrigue on the part of the Ammonite king resulted in the death of Gedaliah and the captivity of the people of Mizpah. Through the intervention of Johanan ben Kareah and the leaders of the clans (שְׂרֵי הַחַיִּל), these captives were released.² Fearing further invasions and realising their insecurity, Johanan and his associates decided to emigrate to Egypt, and taking with them the prophet Jeremiah, they went down to the land of the Pharaohs, settling in Taphanes (תַּפְנֵחַס), Migdol (מִגְדֹּל), Memphis (מִנְפִּיִּס), and the land of Pathros (אֶרֶץ פַּתְרוֹס). that is, Upper Egypt.³

As the colonies spread in Upper Egypt, these Jews settled in strategic commercial centres, such as Elephantine and Abydos. This will enable us to understand the inception of this colony,

¹ Jer. xl 7. ² Jer. xli 1-10. ³ Jer xli 11-17. xliv 1.

4.

which according to its records existed over 120 years, that is, from before the coming of Cambyses to Egypt in 525 B.C.¹ to the revolt of Amyrtaeus,² the Egyptian king, against Persia about 405 B.C.

During the last half century or so, archaeological research in the sands of Egypt has brought to light thousands of ancient records--mostly papyri--relating to the policy and domestic life of Egypt during Graeco-Roman times.

Among these finds, more important than any to students of the Bible, are the Aramaic records, especially those of the Jewish colony at Assuan (Syene, *Σουήνη*, 770), on the southern border of Egypt, a short distance below the first cataract, some 600 miles above Cairo.

In 1901, Dr. Sayce was instrumental in saving from the hands of Egyptians diggers, the first roll of Papyrus written in Aramaic along with three ostraka.

In 1904, Robert Mond Esq. made another discovery at Assuan of what at first were thought to be Hebrew papyri. While excavating at Thebes, he heard that more papyri had been found. Immediately he secured these, which upon examination proved to be written in Aramaic. He presented them to the Cairo Museum and forwarded photographic facsimiles to England. These with the other papyrus previously found, were edited by Professor Sayce and Dr. A. Cowley in 1906.³

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¹ Cowley, Aramaic Papyri, papyrus 30, line 13. ² C.35-1.

³ Aramaic Papyri discovered at Assuan (London 1906).

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This collection, dating from the 15th year of Xerxes (471 B.C.) to the 13th year of Darius ii (411 B.C.), consisted of legal documents relating to several generations of a Jewish family settled in Elephantine (Ἐλεφαντίνη, 2^s), an island in the Nile opposite Assuan.

In 1907, while making excavations in the mound which marks the site of the ancient city of Elephantine, Dr Rubensohn found other papyri of a different type. These were forwarded to Berlin and were examined by Dr Sachau who later published them. The three most important,¹ dated 498 B.C., are

- 1) A petition of the Jewish colony of Elephantine to Bigvai, the Persian governor of Judea.
- 2) A mutilated duplicate of the same.
- 3) The reply of Bigvai to the Jewish colony.

These reveal the sad state into which the colony had fallen at the loss of their temple.

Though various books and articles have been written on these finds, Dr. A. Cowley was the first to publish a volume, containing all the known legible pre-Christian Aramaic papyri, entitled "Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.". It contains eighty-three papyri, concluding with the Aramaic story of Ahikar, and the Aramaic papyrus version of the great trilingual Behistun inscription of Darius, the son of Hystaspes. This collection consists of royal communications, legal records, private letters, name lists and general literary material. Some are complete, others fragmentary.

¹ Drei Aramaische Papyrusurkunden. (Berlin 1908).

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Many are dated, and in some cases, the dates are given in both the Jewish and Egyptian reckonings. The Cowley papyri which belong to the fifth century B.C. are very valuable because they illuminate the Bible as literature and history.

The purpose of this thesis is to depict the general condition of the Jewish colony of Elephantine and Syene, as revealed in the papyri; to discuss the problems arising therefrom; and to shew their relation to the life and history of the Palestinian Jews.

In so doing, the colony will be considered first of all in the light of its external administration under the Persians, then in that of its autonomous control. This second section will deal with home government; judicial affairs; social organisation relating to clan life, the family, marriage, divorce, the laws of inheritance and transmission of names; economic conditions, arts and crafts, currency and notation.

The third section will deal with the religious life of the colony in its relation to Yahu the God, the temple with its sacrificial system, and the Egyptian cult of Knoub, the cataract deity.

The fourth section, dealing exclusively with special problems arising from the native data of the papyri, will include (1) the language of the papyri in its relation to Biblical Aramaic; (2) contemporary personages and events of Palestinian history; and (3) the relationship of the Elephantine and Jerusalem temples in the light of the Deuteronomic Code, followed by a brief conclusion.

In view of our inability to read the notational signs, the dates given are only to be regarded as approximate.

NATIVE DATA AND PROBLEMS.

1. EXTERNAL ADMINISTRATION.

According to papyri dated 428-408 B.C., the satrap or governor general of Egypt was "Our Lord Arsames" (אֲרַסְמֶס).¹

In his official capacity, he received the accounts of the collections (presumably taxes) and the distributions of the supplies through the provincial notaries (סֹכְרֵי מִדְּנָה),² and forwarded them to the King. He also received the decree from Darius ii, in 419 B.C., permitting the Jewish colony to observe the passover,³ and in 412 B.C., he authorised the repairing of the Nile boat used in the government service.⁴

While absent on a visit to the Persian capital about the year 411 B.C., the Jewish colony suffered the loss of their temple.⁵ Petitioned by the Jews, Bigvai or Bagohi (בִּגְוַי), the Persian government of Judea, forwarded to Arsames in 408 B.C. instructions for its rebuilding.⁶

SYENE was the seat of the Persian jurisdiction for the southern province of TSTRS (תַּשְׁטְרֶס)⁷ of the satrapy of Egypt.

It was the headquarters of the Fratarak (פְּרַטָּרַק) or provincial governor, and from papyri, dated 420 and 410-408 B.C. respectively, the holders of this title were Damandin (דַּמַּנְדִּין),⁸ and Waidrang (וַיְדְרַנְג).⁹

Moreover as Fratarak, Waidrang's sympathy lay with the Egyptians to the detriment of the Jewish colony. When Arsames, the

¹ C.17-5 etc. ² C.17-16. ³ C.21-3. ⁴ C.26. ⁵ C.30-5. ⁶ C.32.

⁷ Tashetres = Canal du Sud. pl4. Une Communaute Judeo-Arameene. A.van Hoonacher. ⁸ C.24-39. 43. 27-9. ⁹ C.27-4. 30-5. 31-5.

Egyptian Satrap, was visiting King Darius at Susa, Waidrang having received bribes from priests of the god Knoub (כרמ'א וי אל'הא) ¹, ordered his son Nephayan to destroy the Jewish temple in Yeb, which destruction took place in the 14th year of Darius. ²

Elephantine, the island opposite to Syene, was the headquarters of the Rabhaila (רב ח'ילא). From the papyri the following officials held this office.

- Ravaka. (רוד) ³ (495 B.C.).
- Nephayan. (נפ'ין) ⁴ (435 B.C.).
- Waidrang. (וידרנג) ⁵ (420 - 416 B.C.).
- Nephayan. (נפ'ין) ⁶ (408 B.C.). the son of Waidrang, and no doubt the grandson of Nephayan.

The Rabhaila was the Persian administrator of the Jewish colony or hail (ח'יל) ⁷, which was divided into degels or regels (see page 15). Six such degels or regels are mentioned as existing at the dates given below.

- The degel or regel of Warizath (ור'זת) ⁸ (471-411 B.C.)
- " " Artabanu (ארטבנו) ⁹ (465 B.C.)
- " " Athroparan (אתרופרן) ¹⁰ (465 B.C.)
- " " Nabukudurri (נבוכדור'י) ¹¹ (461-400 B.C.)
- " " Haumadata (הומ'דת) ¹² (460 B.C.)
- " " Iddinnabu (ידדנ'בו) ¹³ (420 B.C.)

¹ C.30-5. ² C.32-7. ³ C.1-3. ⁴ C.16-7. ⁵ C.20-5. 25-2,5. ⁶ C.30-7.

⁷ Cowley. p318-9.line 6.fragment C. מנדת ח'ילא "Tribute of the colony". ⁸ C.5-2,3. 6-4,10. 13+2. 14-3. 15-3. 28-2. ⁹ C.6-3. 45-2

¹⁰ C.6-9. ¹¹ C.7-3,4. 29-2. 35-2. ¹² C.8-2. 9-2. ¹³ C.29-2. 67-1.

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Waidrang, as the Persian administrator in Syene, presided in 416 B.C., over the civil case of Yedoniah bar Hoshaiiah versus Yedoniah and Maḥsiah, sons of Nathan, re the renunciation of a claim against the house of Jezeniah b. Uriah.¹

In 420 B.C., Waidrang and Damandin the Fratarak, acted as assessors at the court of Nepha (חנפא),² in the case of Menahem and Ananiah, sons of Meshullam versus Yedoniah and Maḥseiah, sons of Ashor b. Zehō, re the withdrawal of a claim against goods placed in bond with Ashor.³

Not only did Waidrang as Rabḥaila administer civil jurisdiction at Yeb and Syene, but his authority extended to Abydos (אבדוס), for in 411 B.C., he sentenced Ma'uziah of Abydos to imprisonment in connection with a precious stone (קצבן) found in the hands of the dealers.⁴

In the administration of the colony's affairs, several minor officials are mentioned.

The judges of the courts, (שופטים) of whom Damidata (דמידא), the Persian,⁵ was president in 465 B.C.. In a papyrus dated 435 B.C., the names of מגפרן, the Persian form of the Greek Megaphernes, נפחאן Nephayan, and מננכא Mannuki,⁶ appear as judges coming to Syene.

The prefects (פרקט).⁷

The recorders (סופרים).⁸

The accountants or clerks of the treasury (סכרני).⁹

¹ C.25-4. ² C.7-4. ³ C.20. ⁴ C.38-3. ⁵ C.6-6. ⁶ C.16-4,5. ⁷ C.42-2,7. 26-9,21

⁸ C.17-5.7. ⁹ C.26-4,23.

The overseers of public works (פרמנכריא).¹

The sheriffs (and) police (ת'פתיא גושכא).²

2. INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

HOME GOVERNMENT.

The colony's home government was directed by a headman and his priestly colleagues. According to papyri, dated 419-407 B.C., Jedoniah b. Gemariah (דונה בר גמריה) filled this position, and about 411 B.C., Ma'uziah (מעוזיה) and Uriah (אוריה) were his associates.³

The Persian authorities recognised this leader, to whom the edict of Cyrus was addressed in 419 B.C., through Hananiah (חנניה)⁴ a Jewish Persian official, directing him and his Jewish colonists (ח'לא יהודא) to observe the passover and the feast of unleavened bread.⁵

Jedoniah, in 419 B.C., received a personal contribution of two shekels (// ש) from the men and women of the colony toward the temple funds, which were probably needed for the sacrifices in connection with Hananiah's visit regarding the passover and the feast of unleavened bread.⁶

Other Jewish settlements outside the jurisdiction of Yeb and Syene recognised the leadership of Jedoniah. Ma'uziah, who had gone to Abydos, wrote a letter of recommendation about 411 B.C. to the Elephantine Jewish leaders, requesting that assistance be given to Zeho and Hor (זחא וחר), then travelling to Yeb, on the grounds that they had interceded on his behalf before the Rabhaila JJ-----

¹ C.26-4, 28. ² C.27-9. ³ C.37.38. ⁴ C.21-2. ⁵ C.22-120, 121. ⁶ C.21.

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Waidrang, when he had imprisoned him at Abydos in connection with a precious stone which had been stolen.¹

The Jews of the province of Thebes (81 81778)² also sent complaints to Yedoniah regarding the Egyptian policy towards them. Arsames had rendered a decision respecting their supplies but the Egyptian officials had failed to carry out his instructions.³

Upon the destruction of the Jewish temple in Yeb by Nephayan, the Rabhaila, at the instigation of his father Waidrang the Fratarak, in 408 B.C., Yedoniah and his colleagues petitioned Bigvai, the Persian governor of Judaea, asking for authority to rebuild their temple.⁴ Later, a further petition, drawn up by Yedoniah and four of the leading property owners of Yeb, was sent to the satrap Arsames, asking for permission to offer sheep, oxen and goats as burnt offerings in the temple along with the incense, meal and drink offerings. Should this request be granted they offered to pay a stipulated amount in money and in kind to his lordship.⁵

Further trouble overtook this Jewish colony. In 407 B.C., Yedoniah along with other prominent men and women were lodged as prisoners, supposedly, in the guardhouse of Thebes (81 8222).⁶

JUDICIAL AFFAIRS.

In matters of jurisdiction, the colonists were granted full civil rights. As stated above (page 8), Persian officials presided over the courts; the Fratarak over the provincial court of appeal at Nepha (81 8211),⁷ and the Rabhaila and the judges of the lower courts at Yeb, Syene and Abydos respectively.⁸

¹ C.38. ² C.37-6. ³ C.37. ⁴ C.30-31. ⁵ C.33. ⁶ C.34. ⁷ C.7-4. ⁸ 20. C.25-4. 38-3.

The litigants, when witnesses and evidence were not available, were compelled to swear an oath before the judges, which oath the colonists, both Jews¹ and Aramaeans², usually swore by the God Yahu (יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ).

The following cases record the fact that an oath was taken.

Dargman b. Harshin versus Mahseiah b. Yedoniah, concerning the right to certain property.³

"X" versus Mahseiah b. SBYA (שִׁבְיָא), where Mahseiah was accused of robbing and cheating "X" of some fish.⁴

Menahem b. Shallum b. Hodaviah versus Meshullam b. Nathan, concerning the possession of an ass.⁵

Menahem's oath is given in full and is interesting because he not only swore by Yahu the God, but by different parts of the temple as well.

אָו [מֵאָה זֵי] מִנְחָם בֶּר שְׁלוֹם בֶּר
הוּ [דוֹיָה זֵי] יֵמָא לְמִשְׁלָם בֶּר נִתָּן
בִּי [הוּ אֵלֵה] אֵא בַּמִּסְגָּדָא וּבְצִנּוֹת יְהוָה
וּ [אֵמֵר לָהּ] לֹא־אֵמֵר אֶת־נֹא זֵי בִיד
כִּי [אֵמֵר וְאֵסֵפִי] מֵעַ זֵי אֵנֹת רֶשֶׁה לִי
זֵי [לִי הָאֵל] כִּלְגָה זֵי־לִי הוּ צָדִיק
אֵי [כִּי־אֵמֵר לָהּ] חֲסִינוּתָהּ כִּמְסִי אֲבוּךָ
לִי [אֵם] יְהוָה לִי חֲמֵר חֲלָקִי כִלְגָה
וְלֹא [יְהוָה] לִי כִסֵּף וְדָמִי כִסֵּף חֲלָקִי
[כִּלְגָה]

"The oath of Menahem b. Shallum b. Hodaviah, which he swore to Meshullam b. Nathan, by Yahu the God, by the place of

¹ C.2-15. 6-6. 11-1. ² C.45-4. ³ C.6. ⁴ C.45. ⁵ C.44.

worship (שְׁתַּחֲוִיָּה, literally, by the mosque), and by the abode of Yahu (יְהוָה); and he spoke to him, saying, The she-ass which is in the possession of Pamisi and Espemet, about which you sue me, behold, the half of it which is mine, is legally mine. But Pamisi your father claimed (?) to own it, saying, that he gave me a he-ass in exchange for half of it, but he did not give me either money or value in exchange for the half of it".

In the divorce proceedings between Pi' b. Pahi (פִּי בֶן פַּחִי), a Syene builder, and Miphtahiah, daughter of Mahseiah b. Yedoniah, the latter swore by the Egyptian goddess, Sati (סַתִּי), because her opponent was an Egyptian, and she had married into an Egyptian family.

It is a noteworthy fact that in the matter of jurisdiction, women had equal rights with the men, and further, they had the privilege of instituting proceedings in their own behalf.

Thus in 495 B.C., Selua, daughter of Kenaya, and Yethoma, her sister, (סֵלוּאָה בִּתְּחֹמָה וְיֶתוֹמָה אָחֶיהָ) instituted suit and process against Yahaor, daughter of Shelomim (יְהֹאֹר בִּתְּשִׁלֹּמִים), re the division of certain property.

On the judge's decision of each case, a contract was drawn up on behalf of the litigants, stating therein the nature of the case, the resulting verdict, a stipulated fine in the case of breach of contract, the name of the official scribe and the names of the witnesses. When duly signed the contract was handed to the interested party.

14

SOCIAL ORGANISATION.

The Jewish colony was divided into degels or regels.

Dr.A. Cowley writes,¹ "How did they(the Jews) get there?

The Jewish force or garrison can only have been a military settlement and there was no doubt likewise an Aramaean garrison at Syene... They were divided into בגד, "companies" or "regiments", each bearing a name, Babylonian Or Persian, probably that of a commander."

Throughout his book, Dr. Cowley reads degel (בגד), though in conjunction with Dr. Sayce, in an earlier work, regel (רגל) was read. Through the similarity of the Aramaic "d" (ד) and "r" (ר), a confusion has arisen and both words may be read into the text.

To read degel throughout and to postulate a Jewish military colony, is hardly in keeping with the evidence. In papyrus 43, it is written,

מכמתיה ברה גמריה יהודי

ז' ב' ב' ר' א' ל' דגלה א' ר' מ' א'

"Miphtahiah, daughter of Gemariah, a Jew) in Yeb, the fortress, according to her degel (or regel), an A(ramaeen).....» Here it is found that a woman belongs to a regiment or military company, for so it must be accepted if degel postualtes a garrison organisation.

Whether degel or regel is read, would it not be better to link these terms with the ethnic grouping of the Jews. Miphtahiah

¹ Aramaic Papyri, Introduction p xvi.

according to her degel or regel was an Aramaean, thus clearly shewing that her clan affiliation was referred to.

Dr. Cowley again thinks that the names of the degels or regels are those of Babylonian or Persian commanders. As the record of the degel or regel of Warizath continued from 471-411 B.C., and that of Nabukudurri from 461-400 B.C., bringing the latter into the reign of Amyrtaeus, the Egyptian king who rebelled against Persia shortly before 400 B.C., it is hardly probable that one or two Persian officials should continue in one office for some 60 years.

The degel or regel was an internal ethnic grouping of the Jews based upon clan affiliation. A man probably belonged to a degel or regel (A) because he was born into it, as his mother's group. Then he could belong to another degel or regel (B) because he married into it, thus acquiring property rights through his wife's affiliations. A man of an A degel or regel could not marry a woman of the same group, but must marry outside his own group and take a wife from another group, say B. Hence it follows that a man could belong to two degels or regels at the same time, and such is the evidence of the papyri.

So Mahseiah b. Yedoniah, as an Aramaean of Syene, belonged to the degel or regel of Warizath,¹ but as a Jew holding property in Yeb, to the degel or regel of Haumadata.²

Also Koniya b. Zadok, as an Aramaean of Syene, belonged to the degel or regel of Warizath,³ but as a Jew of Yeb, to the degel

¹ C.5-2, 3. ² C.8-2. ³ C.5-2.

or regel of Athroparan.¹

Aramaeans of Syene and Jews of Yeb were members of the degel or regel of Warizath, Aramaeans of Syene to the degel or regel of Artabanu, Jews of Yeb to the degels or regels of Haumadata, Athroparan, and Iddinnabu respectively, while Aramaeans of Syene and Aramaeans holding property in Yeb were members of the degel or regel of Nabukudurri.

The colony was further divided into divisions called centuriae or hundreds (מאת),² and over each centuria presided a chief (רב מאת).³ Four such centuriae are mentioned.

Centuria of Behheltakem.	(מאתה ז' ב'תאלתקם) ⁴
" " Nabushalliv.	(מאת נבושלו, מאתה ז' נבושלו) ⁵
" " Siniddin.	(מאת שנדן) ⁶
" " Nabu'akab.	(מאת נבוזקב) ⁷

This division of the colony into centuriae seems to have been a domestic arrangement whereby the distribution of the food supply was regulated. Thus Hosea b. Hodaviah (הושע בר הודויה) and Ahiab b. Gemariah (אחיאב בר גמריה) were merchants of Yeb who received supplies of barley and beans from the Nile carrier, Espemet b. Peptonith (אספמט בר פפטונית), the cataract sailor (מלח ז' מ'א קשיא).⁸ They delivered these supplies to the centuriae as specified in their contracts, and were responsible for their safe delivery to the government officials and the clerks of the storehouse (רבני מלכא וסכרי אוצר).⁹

¹ C.6-9. ² C.2-11, 3-11, ³ C.2-11. ⁴ C.2-6, 10. ⁵ C.2-6. ⁶ C.2-8. ⁷ C.22-19.
⁸ C.22-20. ⁹ C.6-10. ¹⁰ C.2-10, 11. C.3.

Women too, were accounted members of the centuriae, for in the list of contributors to the temple funds, out of fifteen names of the centuria of Siniddin, seven are those of women.¹

The lowest unit of the colony was the family, with monogamy as the prevailing custom. In the marriage contract papyrus, it is recorded of Ashor (אשור), that should he attempt to divorce his wife, Miphtahiah (מפתיחיה), "He has no right to say,

איתי לי אנתה אחרה להן מפתיחיה ובנן אחרנן להן בנן י
תלד לי מפתיחיה הן אמר איתי לי בנן ואנתה אחרן להן
מפתיחיה ובניה אנתן למפתיחיה כסף כרשן 3 באבני מלכא

"I have another wife beside Miphtahiah, and other children than the children whom Miphtahiah shall bear to me. If I say I have children and wife other than Miphtahiah and her children, I will pay to Miphtahiah the sum of 20 kerashin, royal weight....."²

Intermarriage with the Egyptians was common.

Miphtahiah, daughter of Mahseiah, was married three times.

- 1) To Jezaniah b. Uriah (יזניה בר אוריה), a Jew of Yeb, previous to 460 B.C.³
- 2) To Pi' b. Pahi. (פי' בר פחי), a builder of Syene, (ארדיכל), an Egyptian, from whom she was divorced in 440 B.C., receiving back her deed of marriage, (ספר אנתן).⁴
- 3) To Ashor b. Neho. (אשור בר נחא), the king's contractor or architect (ארדיכל זי מלכא),⁵ an Egyptian, who changed his name to Nathan (נתן) between 421-416 B.C., thus identifying himself with the Jewish colony.

¹C.22-2.18. ²C.15-32.34. ³C.9-3.4. ⁴C.14. ⁵C.15-2. ⁶φ.25-3. C.

When a young man contemplated marriage, he approached the father of the woman of his choice, and made with him the necessary arrangements. Hence Ashor b. Zeho came to Mahseiah as a suitor for his daughter's hand, Miphtahiah.

In the absence of the father, the mother made the necessary arrangements with the suitor. Thus at the end of a fragment of a marriage contract, Yahuhan (יְהוֹחָן) was a party to the marriage contract of her daughter Sallua (סַלּוּא) on the latter's probable marriage with Hoshaiiah (הוֹשַׁיָּהוּ).

Upon the drawing up of the marriage contract and at the wedding ceremony, the bridegroom repeated the following formulae before his father-in-law.

אָנָּה (א) תִּהְיֶה בִּיתְךָ לְאִמְתִּי לִי (ל) בְּרִית
הִי אֲנִי וְאַנָּה בְּעֵלָה מִן יוֹמָא וְנָה וְעַד עַלְמָא יְהִיבָה לְךָ מֹהָר
בִּרְתְּךָ..... (כֶּסֶף) שְׁקָלֹו..... בְּאַבְנֵי מַלְכָא עַל עֲלִיד וְטַב לְבַבְךָ בְּנִי

" I came to your house that you might give to me your daughter.....in marriage (or for a wife). She is my wife and I ~~am~~ her husband from this day for ever. I have given to you as the mohar (מֹהָר) or marriage settlement of your daughter..... the sum of.....shekels, royal weight. It has ~~been~~ received by you and your heart is content therewith."

Ashor b. Zeho gave to Mahseiah, his father-in-law, five shekels, royal weight, as the mohar or marriage settlement. Though Miphtahiah had been married twice previously, and must have been well over thirty years of age, and well able to conduct her own business, yet the legal sum to make the marriage valid was paid

¹ C.15-3. ² C.18. ³ C.15-3,6.

to her father.

It was customary also for the bridegroom to make a money payment to the bride as well as give to her a wedding present.

Ashor gave to Miphtahiah a money payment of One karash, two shekels, royal weight, to cover the cost of providing furniture. His wedding gifts to her, consisting of clothing, bronze cups and bowls, a tray and a mirror, were valued at six kerashin, five shekels, twenty hallurin, of the standard of two R to ten, royal weight.

Provision was made in the marriage contract in the event of either party seeking a divorce. It was obtained by the man or the woman rising up in the constituted assembly (²קדש), and saying, in the case of the woman, ¹בַּיְתִי עָזַבְתִּי וְאֶת־אִשִּׁי שָׂאָה, "I hate, i.e. divorce,.....my husband;" or in the case of the man,..... ³אֶת־אִשְׁתִּי עָזַבְתִּי וְאֶת־אִשִּׁי שָׂאָה, "I hate, i.e. divorce, my wife....." ⁴

The contract stated very definitely what became of the property, furniture and gifts in the event of divorce proceedings being taken.

The general usage seems to have been

- 1) if the woman divorced the man, she forfeited everything.
- 2) if the man divorced the woman, she received compensation.
- 3) if the man violently drove away the woman, she received a larger compensation.

Hence, in the marriage contract of Ashor and Miphtahiah, if Miphtahiah divorced Ashor, the price of divorce was upon her

¹ C.15. ² C.15-22. ³ C.15-23. ⁴ C.15-27.

head (כסך שנהגה בראשה), and she was compelled to return to her husband the sum of seven shekels, two R, along with everything he had given to her, and then she was free to go where she listed without fear of further suit or process (227 857 } T' 857).²

If Ashor divorced Miphtahiah, he forfeited the mohar of five shekels given to her father, but he received back all his gifts which he had given to her, and she was free to go her own way without fear of further molestation.³

If however, Ashor used violence to drive her away from his house, then he was to pay to her twenty shekels, or four times the amount of the mohar, and the marriage contract became null and void as far as she was concerned.⁴

Again, if he endeavoured to divorce his wife by claiming he had another wife and children living, he had to pay her twenty kerashin, royal weight, and he forfeited his right to all his goods and chattels which appertained to his wife. Should he lay claim to them, he would be further mulcted in a fine of twenty kerashin, royal weight.⁵

Papyrus 14 gives an instance of a settlement of an estate following divorce proceedings, which had apparently been instituted by Pi' b. Pahi, the second husband of Miphtahiah, the daughter of Mahseiah. Pi' here renounces all claim upon Miphtahiah, following a division of certain properties.⁶

Property rights were very jealously guarded, and provision was generally made in order that the property might not pass out of the power of the family to which it belonged.

III-----
¹ C.15-23. ² C.15-26. ³ C.15-22, 26. ⁴ C.15-26, 29. ⁵ C.15-30, 32. ⁶ C.15-31, 36.

Mahseiah b. Yedoniah gave to his daughter Miphtahiah, a house with its surrounding lands, and in the deed of conveyance which he gave to her, he caused it to be written

ביתא זק ארק אנה יהבתה לכי בחי ובמותי
 אנת' שליטה בה אן יומא זנה ועד עלם ובניכי אחריכי למן די
 רחמתי תנחנך לא איתי לי בר וברת אחרנך אח ואחיה ואחותא
 ואיש אחרך שליט בארקא זק להן אנת' ובניכי עד עלם

"This house, as an estate, I give to you for my lifetime and after my death. You shall have full rights over it from this day for ever, and your children after you. To whom you wish you may give it. There is no other son or daughter of mine, brother or sister, or other woman or man who has rights over this land, except you and your children for ever."

וביתא ביהכי אכם ולבניכי אחריכי
 "And the house is yours assuredly and your children after you."

Upon Miphtahiah's further marriage to Jezaniah b. Uriah, Mahseiah, her father, had another deed drawn up regarding the estate he had given to his daughter, safeguarding the Family's property rights. Jezaniah was permitted, as the husband of Miphtahiah, to live upon the estate, to build upon it, and to cultivate it or stock it with cattle, but he could not deprive his wife of it. It was further stipulated in the deed, that if Miphtahiah instituted divorce proceedings against her husband, she forfeited all rights and claims to the estate, but her children by Jezaniah had full power over it in return for the labour which

Jezaniah, their father, had expended upon it.¹

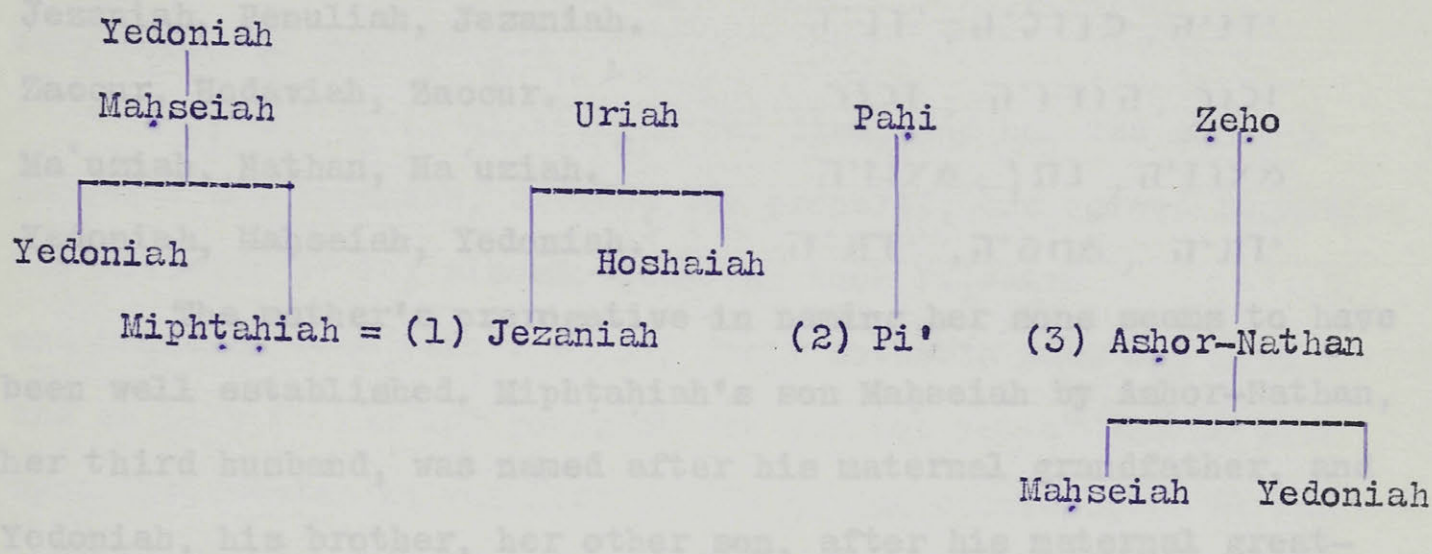
If the divorce proceedings were instituted by Jezaniah, then his wife received half of the estate, while Jezaniah retained temporary rights over the other half in return for the improvements he had made upon it. At his death, Jezaniah's portion of the estate reverted to his sons by Miphtahiah.²

In the marriage contract between Miphtahiah and Ashor, provision was made that if Ashor died without male or female issue by Miphtahiah, the property, goods and chattels became his wife's inheritance. Should Miphtahiah die without male or female issue by Ashor, then he inherited her goods and chattels, but not the property or estate.³

An attempt was made, however, to obtain part of the estate from the descendants of Mahseiah b. Yedoniah. Miphtahiah's first marriage produced no issue, and upon Jezaniah's death, the property belonging to him was held under Miphtahiah's power. By Ashor-Nathan, her third husband, she had two sons, Mahseiah and Yedoniah, and these two men, on the grounds that they were Miphtahiah's sons, laid claim to the property. At the same time, Yedoniah b. Hoshaiiah, the brother of Jezaniah, Miphtahiah's first husband, also claimed the property, thinking he had, or his father had a better right to the estate. The claims were laid before Waidrang, the Rabhaila, at the court of Syene, and the claim of Mahseiah and Yedoniah, sons of Ashor-Nathan, was upheld. Thus the property was secured in perpetuity for the descendants of Mahseiah b. Yedoniah.⁴

¹ C.9. ² C.9. C.15-17, 22. C.25.

The following chart shows the relationship of the different parties concerned.



It would seem that children assumed their parents debts. Yahuhan, daughter of Meshullak (יהוחן ברת משלך) had borrowed a sum of our shekels from Meshullam b. Zaccur (משלם בר זכור), a Jew of Yeb. She was charged interest at the rate of two hallurin per shekel per month. If the interest was not paid, it was added to the capital and continue to bear interest. If the loan was not repaid by the end of the second year, Meshullam could destrain Yahuhan's property. If Yahuhan died before the loan was repayed, then her children were responsible for the debt, and failing to pay it, Meshullam had the right of distraining their property.

A study of the names in the papyri reveals a practise common both the Jew and Persian alike, and that was the naming of the sons after their grandfathers.

Among the Persian administrators we find the names of

Nephayan, Waidrang, Nephayan. (נפין , וידרנג , נכין), i.e.
Nephayan the son of Waidrang, and the grandson of Nephayan.¹

Among the colonists we find

Jezaniah, Penuliah, Jezaniah. ²	ידניה, כנוליה, ידניה
Zaccur, Hodaviah, Zaccur. ³	זכור, הודויה, זכור
Ma'uziah, Nathan, Ma'uziah. ⁴	מצויה, נתן, מצויה
Yedoniah, Mahseiah, Yedoniah. ⁵	ידניה, מחסיה, ידניה

The mother's prerogative in naming her sons seems to have been well established. Miphtahiah's son Mahseiah by Ashor-Nathan, her third husband, was named after his maternal grandfather, and Yedoniah, his brother, her other son, after his maternal great-grandfather.⁶

In two cases we find a man distinguished by his mother's name.

.....b. Nehebeth daughter of Mahseh.	בר נהבת ברת מחסה
Gadol b. Meshullam b. Miphtahiah.	גדול בר משלם בר מבטחיה

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.

The economic life of the Jewish colony is well represented in the papyri.

Possession of Egyptian slaves was permitted, and Miphtahiah daughter of Mahseiah, was the possessor of four--three males and one female. These slaves were tatooed with a yod (י) upon their hand at the right of a marking in the Aramaic language, "tō Miphtahiah".

עבד יוד א שנית על ידה ג'מן שניתת מקרא ארמית כונה למבטחיה

¹ C.16-7.25-2.30-7. ² C.15-38.25-19. ³ C.20-18.22-3. ⁴ C.23-2.20-16.33-2.

⁵ C.5-2 etc.8-31.9-20. ⁶ C.25. C.22-11. C.22-25. C.28-5,6.

Beside the mark of private ownership, it is probable that the yod (י), the initial of Yeb (יב), indicated the district in which these slaves were registered, and to which, if they fled, they could be restored.

By 410 B.C., Miphtahiah had died, and her two sons, Mahseiah and Yedoniah, divided her property, and agreed regarding the division of her slaves. Yedoniah took Petosiri (פֶּטוֹסִירִי), and Mahseiah took Belo (בֶּלוֹ). Their mother's name was Tebp (תֵּבֶפּ) and as Lilu (לִילוּ) her youngest son was not yet of age to work upon the estate, he was left in his mother's care until he reached maturity, when a further agreement regarding him and his mother would be made by Mahseiah and Yedoniah.

It is a noteworthy fact that a woman could hold property in her own name and transact business independently of her father or husband.

Miphtahiah lent to her father, Mahseiah, while he was HNDZ (חֲנִדְזַי), an inspector of weights or controller of the water supply in the fortress of Yeb, goods to the value of five kerashin. Upon his failure to return or pay for them, he deeded to his daughter an estate acquired from Meshullam b. Zaccur b. Attar.

Considerable trading was done by the colonists.

Barley (שֶׁכֶר) and beans or lentils (טֶלֶח) formed the staple food of the people, and Hosea b. Hodaviah and Ahiab b. Gemariah were the merchants who handled these commodities, receiving them from Espenet b. Peptonith, the Nile sailor. Fish (דָּג) also formed part of the food supply, with Mahseiah b. SYBA as the fish-merchant.

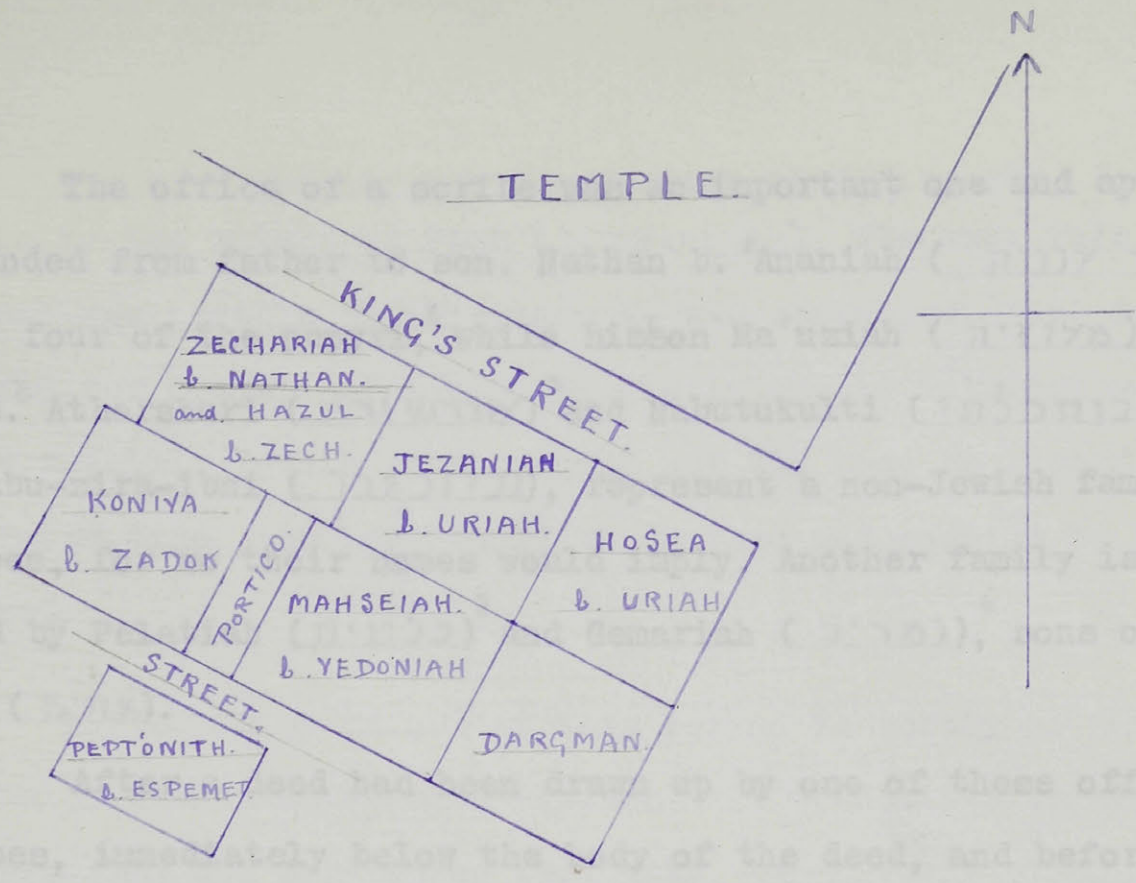
Real estate and property were also marketable commodities. Mahseiah b. yedoniah bought a house from Meshullam b. Zaccur b. Attar, and received the deed for it.

Various occupations were carried on in the colony.

A Nile boat used in the government service required repairing about 412 B.C.. Upon requisition being made to the Persian authorities, Arsames, the Egyptian satrap, gave the necessary order for the repairs to be made upon the boat, presumably at Yeb. Consequently the boat was drawn up on the beach in front of the fortifications, and repaired. It may be assumed that the colonists benefitted by this work as planks, nails of iron and bronze, plates of bronze, sulphur and arsenic for the paint, sails of cotton and awnings were needed to make the boat seaworthy.

Building too was carried on in the colony. There is a record where Koniya b. Zadok (קוניא בר זדוק) was granted permission by Mahseiah b. yedoniah to build a portico (?) (יתא or יתא) in the gateway of his house. Whether this was a kind of balcony attached to Koniya's house and built over the gateway or entrance to Mahseiah's house is difficult to determine as the word יתא or יתא has not been satisfactorily explained. The building put up by Koniya and used by him, was however, Mahseiah's property. The following diagram shews how these properties were situated.

C.13-3. C.26. C.5.



There is mention also in the papyri of Pi' b. Paḥi (כ"א ב' פה), a builder or architect of Syene (ארדכללסון),¹ Miphtahiah's second husband; and Ashor-Nathan b. Zehō (אסחור ב' זח),² the king's builder or architect (ארדכללד'מלכ),³ Miphtahiah's third husband. These men, though Egyptians, represent leading building contractors of the towns of Elephantine and Syene.

Tilling the land and rearing cattle may be assumed from Mahseiah's (b. Yedoniah) injunction to Jezaniah b. Uriah, Miphtahiah's first husband, when he said, אקא יד נני ואחד בה איתא,⁴ "Lay out this land and rear cattle."⁵

The articles enumerated in the marriage contract between Ashor-Nathan and Miphtahiah,⁶ shew that the following craftsmen probably carried on their arts and crafts within the colony:- the weaver, the dyer, and the worker of bronze and precious metals. Tatooing also formed another branch of the art of the craftsman.⁷

¹ O. 13-3. ² C. 14. ³ C. 25. ⁴ C. 5-5. ⁵ C. 15. ⁶ C. 28-4, 5.

The office of a scribe was an important one and apparently descended from father to son. Nathan b. 'Ananiah (נתן בר אנניה) wrote four of the papyri,¹ while his son Ma'uziah (מעוזיה) wrote three.² Atharshuri (אתרשורי)³ and Nabutukulti (נבוטכלטי)⁴ sons of Nabu-zira-ibni (נבוזציראבני), represent a non-Jewish family of scribes, for so their names would imply. Another family is represented by Pelatiah (כלמיה)⁵ and Gemariah (גמריה),⁶ sons of Ahio (אחיה).

After a deed had been drawn up by one of these official scribes, immediately below the body of the deed, and before the witnesses signed their names, the scribe wrote his full name and the name of the person who had authorised the drawing up of the deed, thus, for example, "Nathan b. 'Ananiah wrote this deed at the dictation of Ashor and the witnesses thereof:-

כתב נתן בר אנניה ספרא זנה ככס אסחור ושהדיא בלו

Banking and moneylending was a lucrative business, for money loaned out brought in a return of apparently 60% interest per annum.

Meshullam b. Zaccur lent to Yahuhan, the daughter of Meshullak, the sum of four shekels, in royal currency, at the interest rate of two hallurin per shekel per month (כסף חלרין //), i.e. eight hallurin per month (כסף חלרין / לירח), assuming that the relative monetary value in the next section is correct, this would imply a return of 60% interest per annum. All unpaid interest was added to the capital and bore interest at the usual rate.

¹ C.10.13.15.45. ² C.18.20.25. ³ C.9-8. ⁴ C.28. ⁵ C.5. ⁶ C.11. C.15-37. C.10.

Let it be assumed that 3 kerashin 34 shekels 6 R is the equivalent of 6 kerashin 5 shekels 20 hallurin.

From papyrus 15-7,14, the standard of silver is given as ר/ל צטרס, i.e. 2 R to the 10, and in 20-15, the standard is ר/ל לכרש, i.e. 2 R to 1 karash. Assuming that 1 karash is equivalent to צטרס "the ten" or the equivalent of 10 shekels, from the first total, 34 shekels becomes 3 kerashin 4 shekels, thus bringing our total to 6 kerashin 4 shekels 6 R. A new equation is thus formed, 4 shekels 6 R = 5 shekels 20 hallurin.

What does R stand for and what is its value? May not R stand for ר, a quarter, i.e. a quarter of a shekel. With 4 quarters equalling 1 shekel, it follows that 2 R = 20 hallurin. From these equations, the following table may be drawn up.

1 karash (כרש) = 10 shekels = צטרס

1 shekel (שקל) = 4 quarters.

1 quarter (ר) = 10 hallurin (חלרין).

Various standards of silver prevailed at different times. In the early part of the 5th century, money was described as כסף צריר, pure silver,¹ and paid מלכא מלכא, in the stones of the king, i.e. royal currency. Later in the same century, money was paid מלכא מלכא, in royal currency, ר/ל צטרס, i.e. 2 R to the 10, or ר/ל לכרש, i.e. 2 R to 1 karash. Assuming that the above table is correct, 2 R = 2 quarters or $\frac{1}{2}$ a shekel in 10 shekels or in 1 karash, is the equivalent of a 5% alloy, shewing that the currency of the Persian realm came to be debased.

¹ C.2-15. 5-7. 28-11.

In papyrus 11 (circa. 435 B.C.) the money was described as כסף פתח, i.e. in the stones of Ptah, or in the currency of Ptah. Egypt at this period was in revolt against Persia and Egyptian currency displaced the Persian for the time being.

The higher values of מנא Minae and כוכך talents are rarely found. Once, in the specification for the repairing of the Nile boat is an item of 1 talent 10 minae (כוכך אחד מנא עשרה),¹ being the cost of certain materials.

In the later documents, another term is used, סתטר, stater, or the Greek στατήρη, and is given the value of 2 shekels.²

The dry measures used by the colonists were the אדר, ardab and the קב kab. These were used to measure out barley, beans and corn.³

One feature of the papyri is the fact that many are double dated, that is, the Jewish month synchronising with the Egyptian month is given side by side with the regnal year of the ruling king. This is fundamental because it shews that while the Jewish colony used their own calendric system, yet in deference to the ruling powers, they used also the chronological system of Egypt.

The following list shews the synchronisms of the two systems

<u>Papyrus No.</u>	<u>Jewish month.</u>	<u>Egyptian month.</u>	<u>King.</u>	<u>Year of reign.</u>	<u>(B.C.)</u>
5.	Elul 18th	= Pahons 28th.	Xerxes.	15th.	(471)
6.	Chisleu 18th	= Thoth 7th.	Artaxerxes.	1st.	(465)
8.	Chisleu 21st	= Mesore 1st.	"	6th	(460)

¹ C.26-17. ² C.35-4,7. 37-12. ³ C.2,3. 33-11.45.

<u>Papyrus No.</u>	<u>Jewish month.</u>	<u>Egyptian month.</u>	<u>King.</u>	<u>Year of reign.</u>	<u>(B.C.)</u>
9.	Chisleu	21st = Mesore	1st.	Artaxerxes.	6th. (460)
10.	Chisleu	7th = Thoth	4th.	"	9th. (457)
13.	Chisleu	3rd = Mesore	10th.	"	19th. (447).
14.	Ab	14th = Pahons	19th.	"	25th. (441).
15.	Tishri	25(?) = Epiphi	6th	"	? (c441).
20.	Elul.	= Payni.		Darius.	4th. (420)
25.	Chisleu	3rd = Thoth	12th.	"	9th. (415)
28.	Shebat	24th, 13th Yr. =	Athy	9th.	" 14th. (411)

Other papyri have only single dates in the Egyptian system.

<u>Papyrus No.</u>	<u>Egyptian month.</u>	<u>King.</u>	<u>Year of reign.</u>	<u>(B.C.)</u>
1.	Epiphi	2nd.	Darius.	27th. (494)
2.	Paophi	28th.	Xerxes.	2nd. (484)
7.	Paophi	18th.	Artaxerxes.	4th. (461)
22.	Phamenoth	3rd.	Darius.	5th. (419)
26.	Tebet	13th.	"	12th. (412)
29.	Mesore.		"	16th.(?) (c409)
30.	Marheshwan	20th.	"	17th. (408)
35.	Phamenoth	21st(?)	Amyrtaeus.	5th. (c400)
43.	Paophi	25th.	?	

The above dates with the findings of the monetary values (see page 30) are purely conjectural, because we do not know how to read the figures or notational signs. This is to be lamented as it throws out of perspective the historical situation. A glance at the accompanying table shews very different methods of describing what from our standpoint would be the same number.

- 10. —
- 11. \ —
- 12. // —
- 13. /// — \\ —
- 14. \ /// — //// —
- 15. | //// —
- 16. / /// —
- 17. \ /// —
- 18. // /// — // /// — / /// —
- 19. /// /// — /// /// — / /// — \\ /// —
- 20. —
- 21. \ — | — / —
- 22. // —
- 23. \ // — /// —
- 24. \ /// — \\ // —
- 25. // /// — / /// —
- 27.) /// — \ /// —
- 28. // /// — // /// —
- 31. \ — —
- 37. / /// — —
- 40. — —
- 44. | /// — — \ // — —
- 46. \\ /// — —
- 54. | /// — — —
- 55. // /// — — —
- 60. — — —
- 64. \\ // — — —
- 70. — — — —

75. // III — 3 3 3
 80. — 3 3 3 3
 90. — 3 3 3 3
 100. — 1
 120. — 1
 125. // III — 1
 400. — \ III
 814. // III — 1 // III
 1252. // — 3 3 — // 7 5 8 1
 1446. // III — 3 3 — \ III 7 5 1 8
 1690. — 3 3 3 3 / III III 7 5 8
 23885. // III — 3 3 3 3 — // III III 7 5 III 3

3. RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS.

The religious life of the Jewish colonists centred around the worship of Yahu (יה¹, once יהה).¹ Among the Jews he was known as Yahu the God (יהו אלהא),² but in their relations with the Persians, he was spoken of as "the God of Heaven" (אלהא שמיא)³ or Yahu, the God of Heaven (יהו אלהא שמיא).⁴

Cowley, in his introduction, would infer that the Jews of Elephantine worshipped at least five gods:—Yahu (יה), Anath (אנת), Bethel (ביתל), Ishum (אשום) and Herem (הרם).

He refers Anath as the name of a goddess in Syria, suggesting that Anathyahu was a consort of Yahu. Bethel, he says, has long been recognised as an early Canaanite god. Ishum may be the

¹ C.13-14. ² C.22-1. ³ C.25-6. ⁴ C.30-15, 27.

Babylonian demon of that name, but at the same time, the persistent tradition must be remembered that the Samaritans worshipped a divinity called Ashima. Regarding Herem, Cowley has no suggestion to make.

G. R. Driver, in his Review of Cowley's book, says, "These divine names cause some perplexity, and to these on his (i.e. Cowley's) interpretation, must be added Herembethel the god (חֶרֶם בֵּיתֵל אֱלֹהִים),¹ Ishumbethel (אִשׁוּם בֵּיתֵל),² Anathbethel (אֲנַת בֵּיתֵל)³ and Anathyahu (אֲנַתְיָהּ).⁴

Driver admits that Bethel was a god, and was worshipped as such. 'Anath however, he takes to mean "dwelling or abode" derived from the root בָּנָה to dwell, whence בֵּית dwelling, especially the dwelling of Yahweh on earth as well as in heaven. This interpretation suits papyrus 44-3, where Menahem b. Shallum swore an oath by Yahu the God (יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ), by the place of worship (מִקְדָּשׁנוּ) and by 'Anathyahu (בֵּיתֵל אֱלֹהֵינוּ), i.e. the dwelling of Yahu, the last two names representing different parts of the sanctuary. Also in the case of 22-125, this interpretation is permissible, where a certain amount of the contributions to the temple were earmarked for 'Anathbethel, i.e. the dwelling of Bethel.

Herem likewise, Driver takes to mean "sanctuary" and not the name of a god, so Herembethel, the sanctuary of Bethel.

Ishum may be the name of a Babylonian god, but Driver takes objection to a divine name compounded of two male deities, as in the case of Ishumbethel. He suggests that this passage be

¹ C. 7-7. ² C. 22-125. ³ C. 22-125. ⁴ C. 44-3. ⁵ Ps xxvi 8. ⁶ Deut xxvi 15.
¹ C. 22-124.

read, לְעֹלֹתֶיךָ יְהוָה, and mean certain contributions were to be set apart "for a guilt offering unto Bethel" (the genitive expressing the indirect object as in אֲנִי הָיִיתִי, the offering unto the Lord).¹

As for the word "herem or haram" (חָרָם), Robertson Smith² points out that "every sanctuary was protected by rigid taboos," and that "its site and limits should be clearly marked". The root חָרָם which runs throughout the Semitic language is a root that conveys the idea of prohibition, so that a sacred thing is one which, whether absolutely or in certain relations, is prohibited to human use. The same idea of prohibition or interdiction associated with that of protection is found in the root חָמַם, from which is derived the word himā, a sacred enclosure or temenos (τέμενος). The word temenos means a piece of land marked off from common use and dedicated to god, involving the altar (βῶμος) or the temple (νῆος). Syracuse, therefore, was the temenos of Areos, the sea was the temenos of Neptune, and the valley of the Nile, the temenos of the Nile.

"In Arabia", says Robertson Smith,² "the himā sometimes enclosed a great tract of pasture land roughly marked off by pillars and cairns, and the haram or sacred territory of Mecca extends for some hours journey on almost every side of the city..... The haram at Mecca even contained a large permanent population!"

Cannot we therefore postulate therefore in the case presented to us in the papyri, a similar meaning? Herem or Haram Bethel was the sacred territory of Bethel the god, the land surrounding the

¹ 1 Sam ii 17. ² Religion of the Semites, 1889, pl40. ppl44-5, 147.

temple used or dwelt upon by the Jews, who paid tithes to the upkeep of the temple.

Hence the other names, too, should present no difficulty. 'Anathyahu was the dwelling of Yahu, perhaps limited to the precincts of the temple itself. While the herem or haram was the sacred territory outside the temple, so 'anath was the sacred dwelling within the walls. Anathbethel would come to mean the same. Ishumbethel, accepting Driver's suggestion, would mean, "A guilt offering unto Bethel."

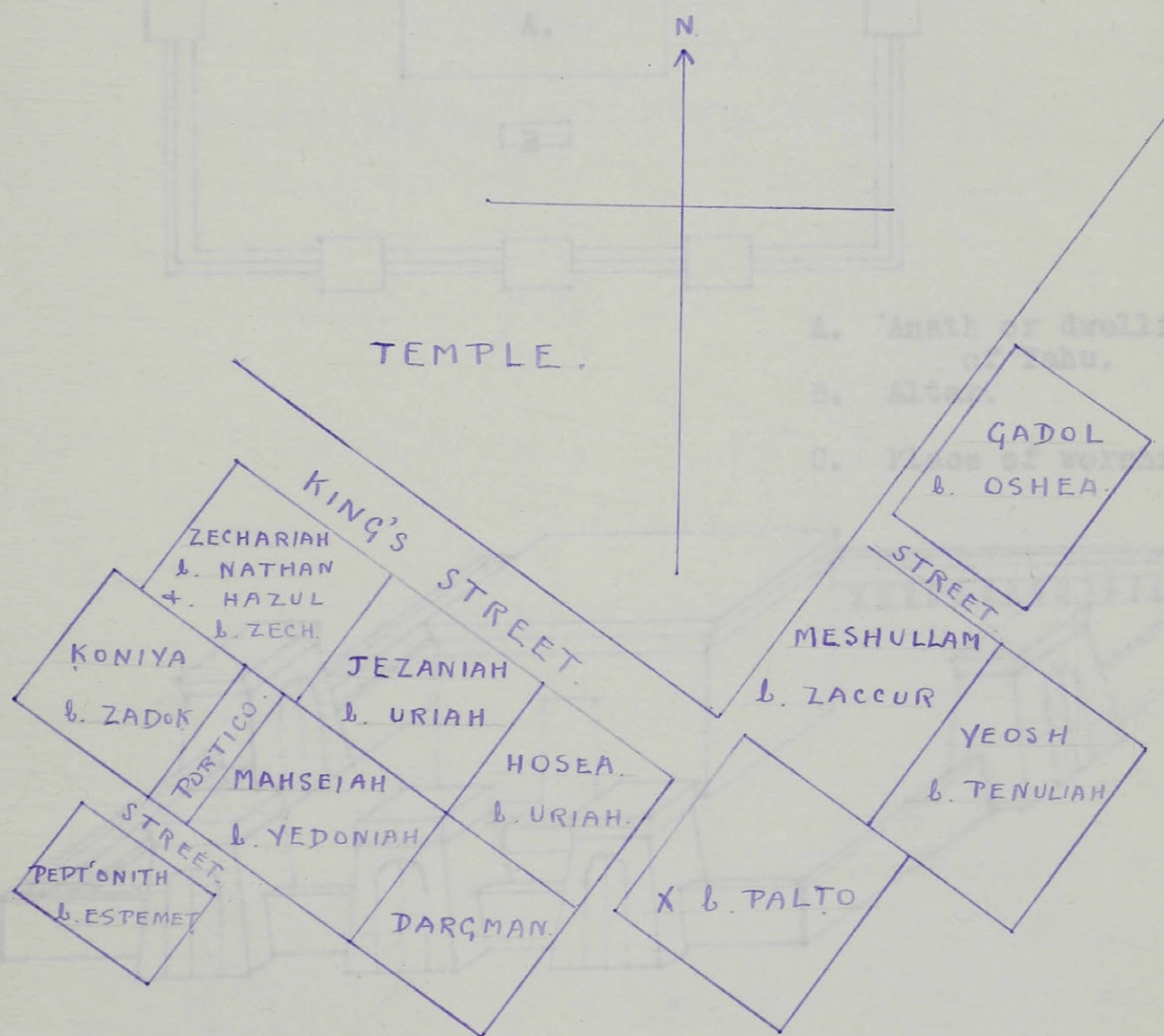
Just what relation Bethel had to Yahu is difficult to postulate. In the times of trouble and consequent petitions for assistance, Yahu the God was appealed to and there is no mention of Bethel. To Yahu the temple belonged, and the list of contributions was headed "This is (a list of) names of the Jewish colony who gave money for Yahu the God". It is difficult to believe, from the meagre data of the papyri, that the god Bethel played an active part in the life of the Elephantine Jews, and the suggestion is made that Bethel may have been sometimes used for Yahu, i.e. the name of the sanctuary (בֵּית יְהוָה) "the house of God" stood for the name of Yahu.

The worship of Yahu found its expression in the temple services. This temple (בֵּית יְהוָה) of Elephantine was no mere synagogue, but a considerable building supported by pillars, with an altar and all the appendages of a sacrificial ritual. It was built of hewn stone, and was surrounded by a walled enclosure

A famous kind of granite called Lapis Syenites was obtained in the neighbourhood of Syene. Dr. L. Schmitz, A Manuel of Ancient Geography, 1859, Book ix p 379.

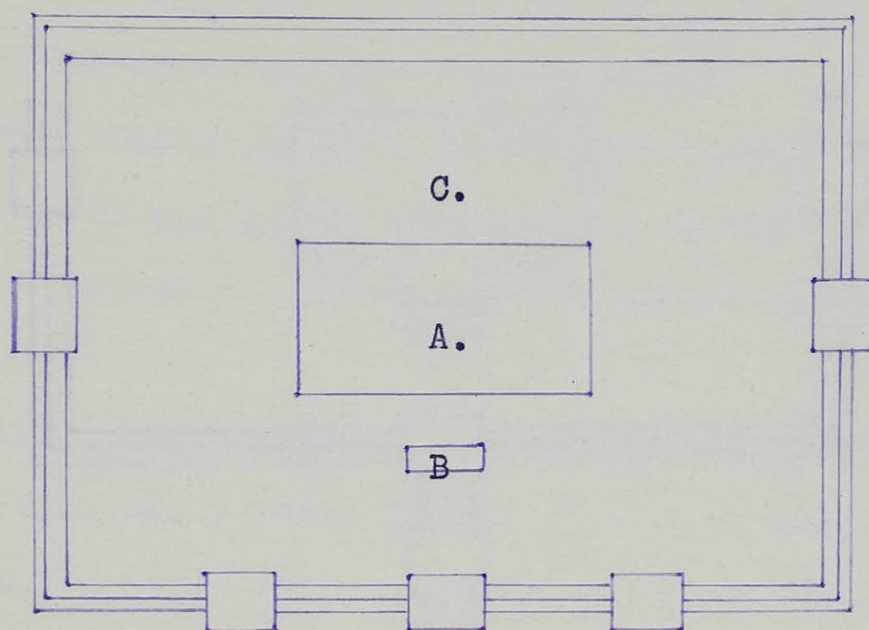
which could be entered by one of five gateways through doors hung upon bronze hinges. It was roofed with cedar and the temple vessels were of gold and silver.¹ On its south western side ran the king's highway (סֶדֶק מֶלֶךְ), while its south eastern side was bounded by the estates of Gadol b. Oshea and Meshullam b. Zaccur.

The following diagrams shew the disposition of the temple, the surrounding estates, and its probable general aspect.²

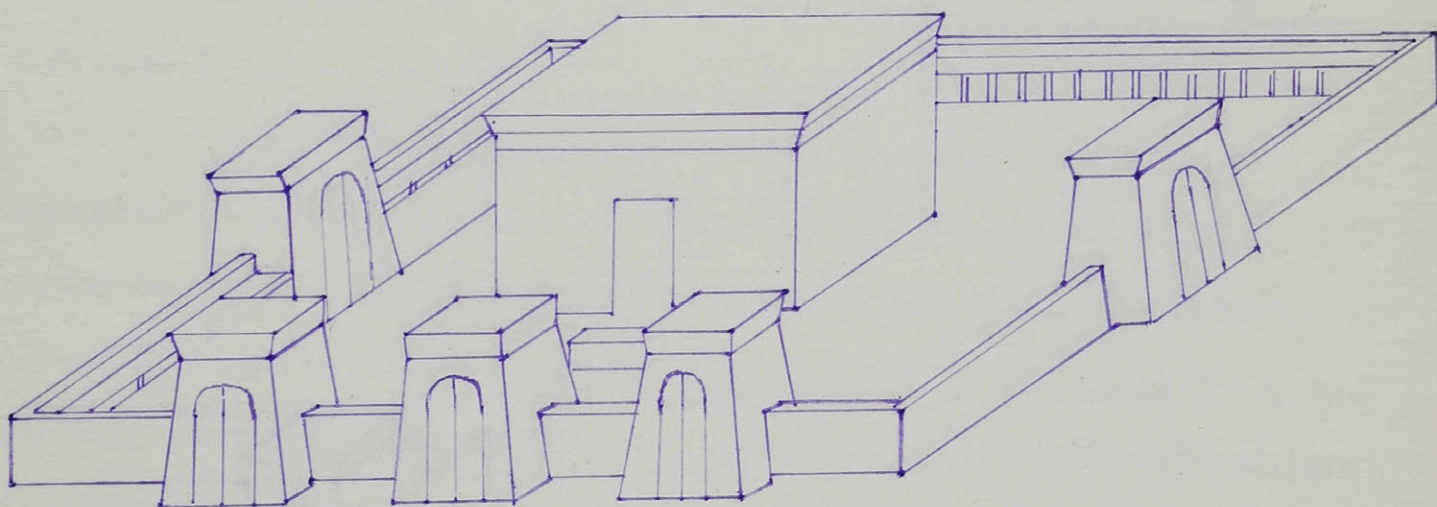


Probable plan and view of Elephantine Temple.

¹ C.30-9,12. ² Une Communaute Judeo-Arameene, A.van Hoonacker. pp 14,52.

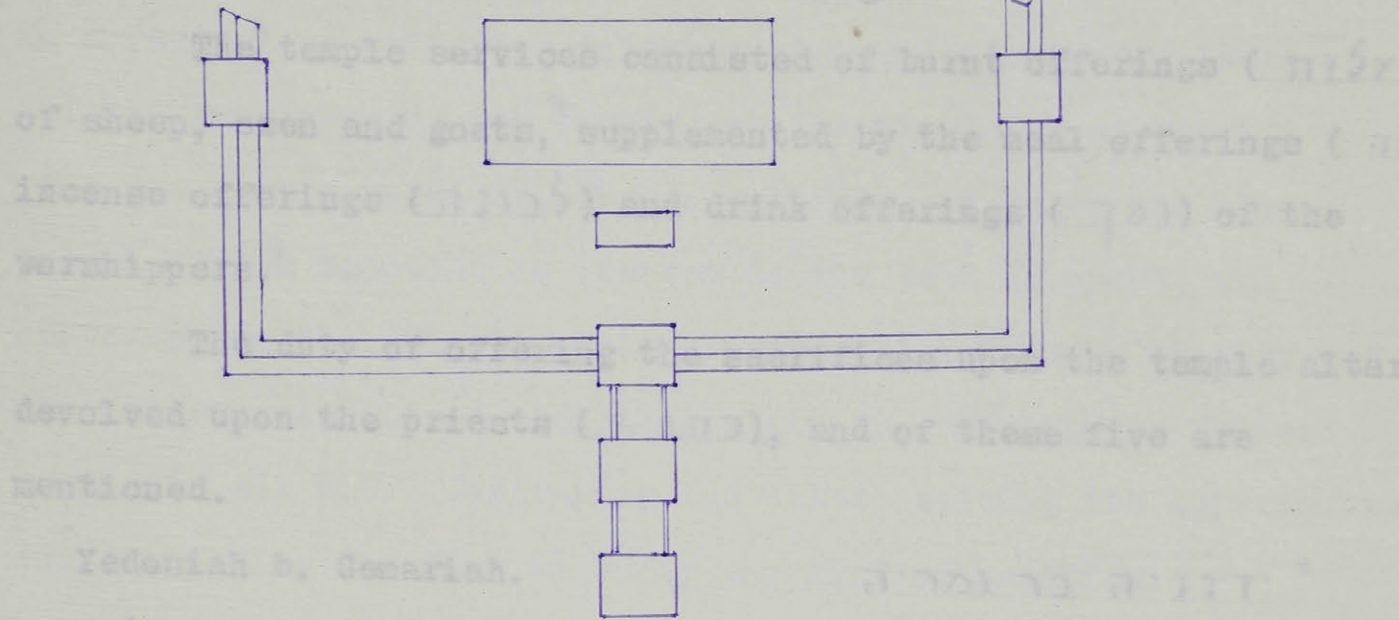


- A. Anath or dwelling of Yahu.
- B. Altar.
- C. Place of worship.

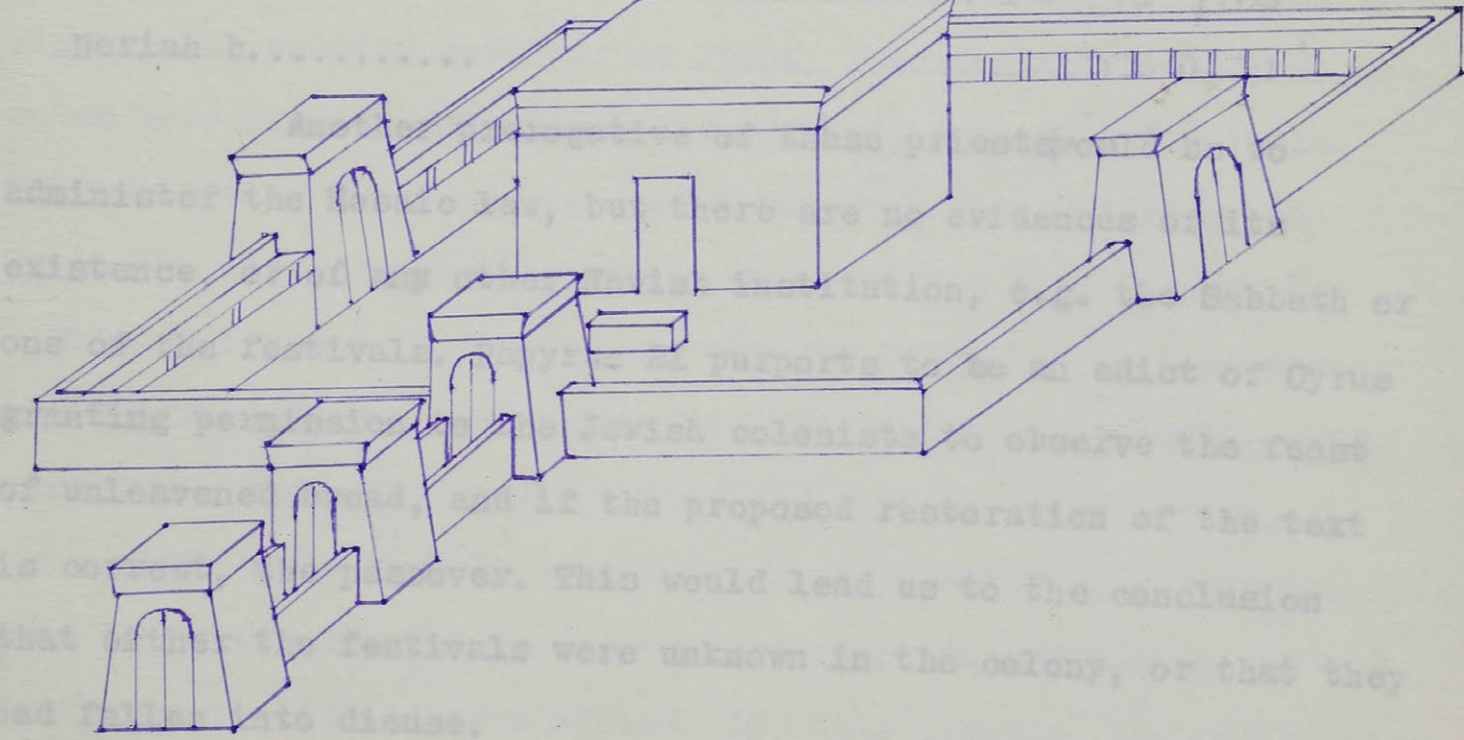


Probable plan and view of Elephantine Temple.

The oath of Mesbulian (page 12) sworn by Yahu, and the place of worship, i.e. the court yard around the altar, and the abode of Yahu, i.e. the central building which housed the sacred utensils, corroborates Hochmacker's designs.



Yedoniah b. Semariah.
Ma'usiah.
Uriah.
Hatan b. Yashilish.



Another probable plan and view of Temple.

The oath of Meshullam (page 12) sworn by Yahu, and the place of worship, i.e. the court yard around the altar, and the abode of Yahu, i.e. the central building which housed the sacred utensils, corroborates Hoonacker's designs.¹

The temple services consisted of burnt offerings (עֹלֹת) of sheep, oxen and goats,² supplemented by the meal offerings (מִנְחָה) incense offerings (לִבְנוֹנָה) and drink offerings (נֹסֶךְ) of the worshippers.³

The duty of offering the sacrifices upon the temple altar devolved upon the priests (כֹּהֲנִים), and of these five are mentioned.

Yedoniah b. Gemariah.	יְדוֹנְיָה בֶּר גִּמְרְיָה ⁴
Ma'uziah.	מְעֻזְיָה ⁴
Uriah.	עֻרְיָה ⁴
Mattan b. Yoshibiah.	מַטָּן בֶּר יוֹשִׁבְיָה ⁵
Neriah b.....	נְרִיָּה בֶּר..... ⁵

Another prerogative of these priests would be to administer the Mosaic law, but there are no evidences of its existence, or of any other Jewish institution, e.g. the Sabbath or one of the festivals. Papyrus 21 purports to be an edict of Cyrus granting permission to the Jewish colonists to observe the feast of unleavened bread, and if the proposed restoration of the text is correct, the passover. This would lead us to the conclusion that either the festivals were unknown in the colony, or that they had fallen into disuse.

Over against the cult of Yahu in Elephantine, there was

¹ C.44. ² C.33-10. ³ C.30-21. ⁴ C.37. ⁵ C.38.

the cult of the Egyptian god Knoub, the deity of the cataract district (8758 2000),¹ presided over by his priests (8758). These priests were instrumental in bringing trouble upon the Jewish colony. Ananiah's visit to Elephantine had probably resulted in a revival of religious interest. Subscriptions were taken up for the repairing of the temple, or for providing of sacrifices for the temple services. The sacrificing of rams, the sacred animal of the Egyptian in respect to the cult of Knoub, was abhorrent to the priests. This aroused the Egyptians to fury and the priests signalled their hostility by entering the Jewish temple in 411 B.C., destroying the altar, seizing its appurtenances and forbidding the Jews to offer any kind of sacrifice.²

This persecution caused the Jews to petition the Persian authorities for reparations with regard to their losses. This petition must have failed in its object for in another petition to Bigvai, the Persian governor of Judea, Yedoniah and his colleagues, enter into minuter details concerning the loss of their temple. The priests of Knoub had leagued themselves with Waidrang the Fratarak, when Arsames the satrap was visiting King Darius. He commanded his son, Nephayan, who was the Rabhaila, to lead out the Egyptian forces and destroy the Jewish temple. This they did, completely rasing it to the ground and burning it with fire, while the temple vessels they carried away. Waidrang in the meantime came to grief, his estate was wrested from him and themen who had destroyed the temple were killed. In this nemesis, the petitioners saw the hand of God at work and evil had brought its own punishment.³

¹C.30-5. ²C.27. ³C.30.

From this petition, it is learned that the petitioners had previously written stating their case to Johanan, the high priest and his colleagues, the priests, who were in Jerusalem, and to Ostanēs, the brother of Anani, and the nobles of the Jews.

(יהוחנן כהנא רבא וכנותה כהנא בירושלם וצל אוסתן)

(אחיה זיצנני וחר' יהודא)

From these Jerusalem leaders they received no reply and in the meantime all temple worship was abandoned. Yedoniah and his colleagues redoubled their efforts to obtain assistance, writing to Darius himself, and also to Delaiah and Shelemiah, the sons of Sanballat, the governor of Samaria.

דליה ושלמיה בני

(סנאבלט פתח שמרן) asking for permission to rebuild their temple and reorganise their temple services. To this appeal, Bigvai, the governor of Judea, and Delaiah and Shelemiah, sons of Sanballat, issued instructions through Arsames the Egyptian satrap,

על בית מדבחה ז' אלה

שמא ז' ב' בירחא בנה

הוה מן קדמן קדם כנבוז'

ז' וידרנג לחיא זך נדש

בשנת כ' דר' והוש מלכא

למבניה באחרא כז' הוה לקדמן

ואנחתא ולבונתא יקברון על

מדבחה זך לקבל ז' לקדמין

הוה מתצבד

"Regarding the altar house of the God of Heaven, which was built in the fortress of Yeb formerly, before Cambyes, which

Waidrang, that reprobate, destroyed in the 1st the year of Darius the king, to rebuild it in its place as it was before, and that they may offer the meal offering and incense upon that altar as formerly was done".

It will be noticed that Bigvai did not sanction the offering of burnt sacrifices when he granted permission for the rebuilding of the temple. He had realised that this form of worship, being of an offensive character to the Egyptians, had been the cause of the previous trouble. This however, did not satisfy the Jews, and through Yedoniah and his colleagues¹ again petitioned that this feature of their worship might be granted them.¹

4. SPECIAL PROBLEMS.

THE LANGUAGE of the PAPYRI.

The language of the colony, now known as Egyptian Aramaic, in conjunction with Palestinian Aramaic and Palmyrenian, belongs to the western branch of the Aramaic language, the "Lingua franca" of the Persian Empire, which ranged from Asia Minor to Arabia and Upper Egypt.

Aramaic was the language of commerce and diplomacy, of edicts and official communications, vide, Copies of the Behistun inscription sent to various parts of Darius' dominion:² the order to repair a boat from Arsames, the satrap of Egypt:³ the edicts and letters found in Ezra:⁴ and also the language of the lawcourts.

² Cowley, Aramaic Papyri, p248. ³ ibid. p88.

⁴ Ezra i 2-4, iv 8-16, 17-22, v 7-17, vii 3-5, 6-12.

¹ C. 33.

In vocabulary, phraseology and style, this Egyptian dialect closely resembles that of the Aramaic portions of Ezra and Daniel. Emphasis² has been laid upon the "points of contact". So Sayce and Cowley, "Much of the interest of the texts lies in the many points of contact which they shew with Palestinian Aramaic as represented by the books of Ezra and Daniel. The differences are due no doubt partly to the difference of locality, partly also perhaps to the popular style of the deeds as compared with the literary style of Biblical Aramaic."

So also Sachau, writes, " Die Sprache, in der sie geschrieben sind, ist in allen wesentlichen Stücken indentisch mit derjenigen der aramäischen Kapitel in den Buchern Esra und Daniel, und ihre Phraseologie bietet nahe Berührungen mit derjenigen der amtlichen Urkunden im Esrabuche".

In making a study of the points of difference, a significant fact is noticed with regard to what may be called an "Aramaizing tendency", in which a gradual process is at work, bringing about changes of language forms and leading up to the fully developed western branch of the Aramaic languages. This tendency is seen first of all in the replacement of certain sibilants by their corresponding dentals. For example, in the oldest Aramaic inscriptions represented by the Zanjirli and Nerab monuments of the 8th century B.C., and others leading up to the 4th century, the relative

Sayce and Cowley. Aramaic Papyri discovered at Assuan, 1906, p20.
Drei aramaische Papyrusurkunden aus Elephantine, 1907, p3.

² "The language, in which these are written, is identical in all essential points with those of the Aramaic chapters in the books of Ezra and Daniel, and their phraseology presents a close contact With that of the official documents in the books of Ezra."

pronoun is 'ד , and the root of the demonstrative is ד ; in all the inscriptions dating from the 3dr century and later, the relative pronoun is always 'ד , and the demonstrative root ד .

The Elephantine papyri of the 5th century must therefore occupy the middle ground between the language of the old inscriptions and the Aramaic of the Old Testament. The relative 'ד is found throughout, but in papyrus 13-7,11,16, the combination 'ד'ל is found. The forms ונה, ונך, וך, ו' are very numerous, but forms written with ד , i.e. דכא, דכ, occur twice in the same document.¹

Hence in the Jewish Aramaic of Egypt which prevailed circa 408 B.C., the demonstrative and relative pronouns which represent a characteristic Aramaic form, were only just beginning to make their appearance, while the more extensive change of which it is only a single manifestation had not progressed far. By the 3rd century, the ד forms of the pronouns and demonstratives had gained the upper hand, as the evidence of Biblical Aramaic proves.

In the case of nouns and verbs, this Aramaic tendency was well on the way in the case of the papyri. דת' (not דט') is found, also דת, דתור, דתקל, דכר, דרע (arm), דכד, מדבכא, but at the same time we find דהבא², דכר³ (Ezra דכר and דכרונה), and also דבריא (Ezra vii 21) and דברא (Dan iii 2).

Another phase of this Aramaic tendency may be seen in the substitution of כ for the preformative ה of the causative stem of the verbs. In the papyri from 494 to circa 410 B.C., the regular

¹ C.14-6,9. ² C.30-12. C.31-11. ³ C.31-1,2.

preformative was $\overline{\text{ה}}$. After this period, the preformative ח began to take its place, so חֲחַדֵּר ¹, חֲחַדֵּר ², חֲחַדֵּר ³, חֲחַדֵּר ⁴, חֲחַדֵּר ⁵, חֲחַדֵּר ⁶, חֲחַדֵּר ⁷ (the only Aphel form in the papyri). This phase was slow in gaining ground. The Aramaic portions of Ezra reflecting the Aramaic of the 3rd century B.C. only shew a slight tendency regarding it, so חֲחַדֵּר , a verbal noun from the hithpa'al of חֲחַדֵּר , Ezra iv 15 cf חֲחַדֵּר Dan vi 15.

The Aramaic of a century later represented by the Aramaic portions of Daniel, shews that the tendency had obtained a good hold. Thus from חֲחַדֵּר (Dan ii 45), חֲחַדֵּר (vi 8), חֲחַדֵּר (vii 15), חֲחַדֵּר (iii 19), it is seen that the syllable ח with the preformative ח had become a characteristic of the later western Aramaic.

A word may be said about some of the points of contact between the two dialects.

The papyri testify to another early tendency among Semitic peoples in which they made use of compound tenses, composed of the verb to be and the participle, or the perfect or the imperfect, a form which became fully developed in post Biblical Semitic languages.

G. R. Driver, in his review of Dr. Cowley's book has called attention to the following three types.

i. On the analogy of חֲחַדֵּר , he used to do.

This construction of which there are only two examples,

¹ C.34-3, 4. ² C.21-6. ³ C.71-2, 9. Cooke, N.S.I. papyrus 76 D5. ⁴ C 28-2

⁵ C.27-2, 13. ⁶ C.34-(1), 4. ⁷ C.34-6.

⁸ Journal of Theological Studies, Vol xxv, April 1924.

¹הו'ת אשלח, I used to send, and ²הוה אשתא, he used to come, is also rare in Syriac, but represents the regular Arabic construction of ³ك followed by the imperfect, meaning "used to". Biblical Aramaic has no example of this construction.

ii. On the analogy of ⁴הוה דלך, he had done.

This construction of which there is one example, ⁵הוה הוה had been built, is the regular Arabic use of ⁶ك followed by the perfect to express the pluperfect. No example of this construction is found in Biblical Aramaic.

iii. A. On the analogy of ⁷הוה דלך, he was wont to do, expressing past time.

This construction is the most common of the three types. The papyri have the following cases:- ⁸לשן הוה, we continued to wear; ⁹הוה מתלך, it was wont to be done; and ¹⁰הוה שלחן, they kept on sending.

Biblical Aramaic has many examples of this construction of which the following are representative cases:- ¹¹הוה הוה, thou didst continue to see; ¹²תהוה מתלך, it shall continually be given; ¹³הוה זלך, they continued trembling and fearing.

B. On the analogy of ¹⁴הוה דלך, he is wont to do, expressing present time.

The papyri have the following cases:- ¹⁵אהוה משלם, I kept on paying; ¹⁶הוה שותן, they will continue drinking.

Representative examples from Biblical Aramaic may be cited as follows:- ¹⁷מתערבב ליהוה, they shall continually mingle themselves;

¹ C.41-3. ² C.41-3. ³ C.30-25. ⁴ C.30-15. ⁵ C.17-3. ⁶ C.32-11. Dan ii 31.

⁸ Ezra v 8. ⁹ Dan v 19. ¹⁰ C.11-7. ¹¹ C.27-7,8. ¹² Dan ii 43.

¹לִהְיוֹן יִדְבָק י' , they shall continue to cleave to one another;
²יִדְּעָ לִהְיוֹן , it shall be known, equalling the Jussive, Let it be known.

The constructions represented by A and B later became the normal constructions in Mishnaic Hebrew.

The influence of the Persian language in both dialects is evidence of the universal range of Aramaic over the Persian empire. Even in Upper Egypt this influence was felt, for the papyri testify to the presence of Persian linguistic forms. Babylonian terms and phrases also appear, due to the fact that when the Persians overran the Assyrian empire, owing to the similarity of language, many legal terms were retained.

Thus the papyri along with Biblical Aramaic give evidence of this influence.

This influence is found in words that are identical in both dialects. Thus ³כֹּהֵל , to be able; ⁴כֹּוֹי , windows; ⁵אֶמֶר , wool; ⁶אֶשְׂרָא , the meaning of this word is doubtful in both dialects. It refers to some part of a wall made of wood and burnt. It has been variously translated as furniture or fittings. Torrey would suggest "colonnade" and that it was the same word שֶׁן of the Bod'astart inscription with a prosthetic א for the sake of euphony.⁷

It is also found in words that are peculiar to each. Words of the papyri are represented by ⁸אֶתְרָא'2א , a legal term meaning a fine; ⁹אֶתְרָא , an official having to do with the

¹ Ez v 12. ² C. 5-6, 6-12. 14-7. cf Dan ii 26, iv 15. ³ C. 25-6. cf Dan viii. ⁴ C. 15-7, 10. cf Dan vii 9. ⁵ C. 25-5, 9, 21. ⁶ 27-18. 30-11 cf Ez v 3, 9. ⁷ Ezra Studies, p176. ⁸ C. 20-14. 25-15. ⁹ C. 13-4.

inspection of weights or the control of the water supply; ¹רנח or ¹רנח, brickwork; ²פרתרק, fratarak or provincial governor; ³רנח, a written receipt; ⁴כרש, karash, an amount of money equalling ten shekels; ⁵חלל, hallur, a small coin.

Words of Biblical Aramaic may be represented by ⁶רנחור, counsellor; ⁷רנח, lamb; ⁸רנח, tribute; ⁹רנחשדרכי, satraps; ⁹רנח, judge; ⁹רנח, treasurer; and ¹⁰רנח, lawyer.

In the study of an Aramaic vocabulary, it may be said that the papyri make their contribution, but it is restricted in range, for the papyri deal too exclusively with legal and domestic contracts, and it is difficult to distinguish the technical from the vernacular in such documents. For example, ¹¹רנח in vernacular means "to receive", but in technical language of the law courts, it comes to mean "to lay a complaint against anyone".

CONTEMPORARY PERSONAGES AND EVENTS.

One fact making the Elephantine papyri of special interest, is that they are a link in framing the historical data of the Palestinian Jews. Relying upon the historical facts of Ezra and Nehemiah which were written with the Book of Chronicles from the priestly standpoint, makes it difficult to relate the events in their true sequence. The papyri, being contemporaneous with the events they relate, and free from any priestly bias, bear a truer historical perspective.

¹ C.5-4,5. ² C.20-4 etc. ³ C.11-6. ⁴ C.15-6 etc. ⁵ C.10-5. ⁶ Dan iii 2,3.
⁷ Ez vi 9,17. ⁸ Ez iv 13. ⁹ Dan iii 2. ¹⁰ Dan vi 8.

The petition of the Elephantine Jews in 408 B.C., to rebuild their temple, which had been destroyed at the instigation of the priests of Knoub, was sent to no less than five important officials of Judah and Samaria.¹ They were

Bigvai, Bagohi or Bagoas, the Persian governor of Judah,

Johanan, the high priest in Jerusalem,

Ostanes, the brother of Anani, and

Delaiah and Shelemiah, the sons of Sanaballat, governor of Samaria.

Josephus² mentions a Persian governor, Bagoses, and a Jewish high priest John (*Ἰωάννης*) at about this date, though it is customary to identify this Persian officer with the Bagoas (*Βαγώας*) who held such an important place at the court under Artaxerxes iii Ochus (359-336 B.C.). Josephus describes his Bagoas as *ὁ στρατηγὸς τοῦ Ἀρταξέρξου*, which might refer to any one of the kings of that name. If Bagoas-Bigvai was governor of Judah in 498 B.C. under Darius ii Nothus (424-404 B.C.), he could only have served under Artaxerxes ii Mnemon (404-359 B.C.). Hence it is probable that Bigvai or Bagoas or Bagoses, the governor of Judah, was the person whom Josephus intended in his narrative.

The failure of the Jews of Jerusalem to give the much needed help to the Jews of Elephantine may be due to the relations of Bigvai with Johanan the high priest. Josephus³ tells the following story. "When Eliashib, the high priest, was dead, his son Judas succeeded him, and when the latter died, he in turn was succeeded by his son Johanan. Jesus was the brother of Johanan and a friend of

C.30-1, 18, 29. ² Antiquities xi 7.

Bagoses, who had promised to secure for him the priesthood.

Relying upon his support, Jesus quarrelled with Johanan and in the end Johanan killed him. Bagoses vowing vengeance, not only defiled the temple, but imposed tribute upon the Jews, that for a period of seven years, out of the public stock, before they offered the daily sacrifices, they should pay fifty shekels for every lamb."

As the Elephantine Jews would scarcely know of the trouble that existed between the priests of Jerusalem and the Persian governor, they would appeal to both parties in all good faith.

It might be conjectured that officially, the Jerusalem Jews would refuse the request, as detracting from the policy of the centralisation of Jerusalem as the metropolis of the Jewish cult, due to the growing influence of the Deuteronomic law.

Financially, they were unable to render assistance, because of the impost placed upon them by Bigvai.

Again, granting that there was no feeling of animosity between the two communities, it would be utterly impossible for Johanan and his colleagues to request of Bigvai, assistance for the Elephantine Jews, because of their ill-fated relations.

The situation regarding Sanaballat is more difficult. Nehemiah mentions him as a bitter enemy¹ and speaks of him as "the Horonite",² probably as a term of contempt, without using his official title, "the governor of Samaria".

It is reasonable to believe also that he was still alive in 408 B.C. as implied in the expression of the papyri, "sons of Sanaballat, governor of Samaria". Had he been dead, the document

¹ Neh iii 33-34. ² iii 19.

would have indicated the fact. Then again, according to Nehemiah,¹ a son of Joiada, the high priest, married a daughter of Sanaballat, and was expelled from the highpriesthood for that reason.

Turning to Josephus,² it is found that he narrates a different story. He says that Sanaballat was sent into Samaria as satrap by Darius the last (τελευταίον) king of Persia. This would be Darius iii Codamannus (336-to the fall of the Persian empire). In so doing, Josephus and the Chronicler vary about a hundred years in dating their records. Josephus makes Sanaballat give his daughter Nicaso (Νικασω) in marriage to Manasseh, a brother of Jaddua, and therefore a son of Johanan, bringing Manasseh into relation with Alexander the Great after the defeat of Darius iii at the battle of Issus (333 B.C.). According to Josephus it was Manasseh who was thrust out of the priesthood and many priests and Levites who were entangled in foreign marriages followed him.

Dr. Cowley writes,³ " If Sanaballat was governor of Samaria in 408 B.C., and had grown up sons, then he must have been at least 40 years old, and it is hardly possible that he should have lived 76 years longer, for Josephus makes him die in 332 B.C."

From the two accounts it would look as though there were two Sanaballats, each governor of Samaria, and each with a daughter who married a high priest of Jerusalem. In view of this, Dr. Cowley³ is forced to conclude, "That while Nehemiah's contemporary account is consistent with other historical facts, Josephus has gone astray

¹ Neh xiii 28. ² Ant xi 7,2. ³ Aramaic Papyri, pl10.

by confusing the two kings Darius, and the two officials Bigvai, and then has filled in his history largely by imagination. Events may have happened somewhat as he says, but not when he says, and the result does not give us a high opinion of his trustworthiness as an historian".

Torrey, on the other hand, says, "It has been universally taken for granted that Samaria never had but one governor named Sanaballat.....but Sanaballat may have been a common name... ..The Elephantine letter may be even said to make it probable that another Sanaballat held the post of governor of Samaria in the next following generation. The duties of the office were already in 408 B.C. exercised by the two sons of Sanaballat, named Delaiah and Shelemiah, and upon his death one of them, presumably the older of the two, was evidently expected to succeed him. According to the well known law of Semitic nomenclature, the oldest grandson of Sanaballat, if there should be one, was pretty certain to bear the name of his grandfather, that is, if the Persians permitted the office to remain in this family--and judging from the papyrus letter they did so permit--all probability pointed to a Sanaballat ii as the successor to it at the time when Delaiah and Shelemiah should be old men, that is, at just about the time when Darius ascended the throne. It seems to me that the evidence before us is sufficient to shew that the probability was actually realised. At the time when Alexander the Great arrived in Syria, the governor of Samaria was, in fact, Sanaballat ii."

Thus Torrey would hold that there were two Sanaballats, one

governor of Samaria in Nehemiah's time, and another governor of Samaria at the time of the fall of the Persian empire.

Regarding the marriage of Sanaballat's daughter, Torrey concludes that the two stories (that of Josephus and that of the Chronicler) are not the same, but they are not independent of each other. The Chronicler obviously wished to shew how Nehemiah had dealt with a case precisely like that of Manasseh's.

In other words, Torrey's suggestion would bear out the fact of the priestly bias in the records of the Chronicler. Let it be assumed that the facts as related by Josephus regarding Manasseh, the high priest, marrying Nicaso, the daughter of Sanaballat ii, be fairly correct. It follows that the Chronicler in dealing with the event, in order to enhance the work of Nehemiah, has accorded to him some years before the actual event, the honour of purifying the priesthood, in relation to the mixed and foreign marriages, thus bringing about the establishment of the Samaritan church. This characteristic of enhancing the records and achievements of certain men and kings, of omitting facts that were detrimental to their records, of viewing all historical facts through priestly spectacles throughout the books of Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah may thus account for the variations in the two stories.

From this, a clue may be obtained regarding the date of the Samaritan Seession, universally placed in the days of Nehemiah. The fact that the Elephantine Jews likewise applied to Delaiah and Shelemiah, sons of Sanaballat, at Samaria, and mention this fact to

the authorities at Jerusalem, precludes the idea that a religious schism had taken place as early as 408 B.C.. May not it be asked that if the patriot Nehemiah had been connected in tradition with the Samaritan Secession, and that Nehemiah xiii 28^L had been supposed to contain mention of the renegade Manasseh, could these facts ever have been forgotten in Jerusalem? Josephus mentions the high priest's name, but the Chronicler merely records the fact that it was "one of the sons of Joiada, the son of Eliashib, the high priest. Nehemiah may have chased away ^{one} of the priests who had married a foreign woman, but the case does not warrant the dating of the Samaritan Secession from this event. With all the facts clearly presented, it looks as if Josephus had given the truer account, and that the secession of the Samaritans had occurred ^oshrtly before the end of the Persian rule in 333 B.C.

The following table gives the events of the period under discussion with their approximate dates.

B.C.

464. Artaxerxes i Longimanus.

444. Nehemiah, governor of Judah.

Sanaballat i, (The Horonite), governor of Samaria.

424. Darius ii Nothus.

c415. Johanan, high priest in Jerusalem.

Bigvai or Bagohi, Persian governor of Judah.

Murder of Jeshua in the temple in Jerusalem.

^L "And one of the sons of Joiada, the son of Eliashib, the high priest, was son-in-law to Sanballat, the Horonite; therefore I chased him from me."

- 411. Destruction of the Elephantine temple.
- 408. Petition of Elephantine Jews for rebuilding of temple.
 Delaiah and Shelemiah, sons of Sanaballat i, in charge of
 affairs at Samaria.
- 407. Revolt of Egypt from Persia.
- 404. Artaxerxes ii Mnemon.
- 359. Artaxerxes iii Ochus.
- 336. Darius iii Codomannus.
 Jaddua, high priest in Jerusalem+
 Sanaballat ii, governor of Samaria.
 Expulsion of Manasseh from priesthood, Samaritan Secession.
 Building of temple on Mount Gerizim.
- 332. Palestine under Macedonian rule.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE ELEPHANTINE AND JERUSALEM TEMPLES.

Many scholars who have discussed the problems raised by these papyri, have pronounced the Jews of Elephantine schismatic, and their temple an eyesore to the Jerusalem Jews.

The question however arises, Had the laws promulgated in the Deuteronomic Code, any reference to sanctuaries outside the jurisdiction of the Hebrew kings? Were not the laws in question framed for the maintaining of the primacy of the temple in Jerusalem, in face of the increasing popularity of sanctuaries elsewhere in the land? especially those of Dan and Bethel of the Northern Kingdom, whose priesthods were hostile to the priesthood of Jerusalem? The Deuteronomic Code was formulated as a priestly protest against the worship of the grove and the high place, and as such, could only be

effective within Palestine.

On the contrary, the evidence of the papyri shews no sign of friction existing between the two bodies. Had their temple been counted heretical, they could never have appealed to the high priest in Jerusalem. The fact that their sanctuary had been standing for over 100 years when the request was made, warrants us in believing that if their temple had been schismatic, they would have known it long before.

Once a Jew stepped outside the bounds of Palestine, may not he have taken his stand upon the words of the Code, wherein it said,

כִּי־יִרְחַק מֵאֵךְ הָעֻקִּים אֲשֶׁר יִבְחַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ לָשֵׂים שְׁמוֹ שָׁם וְזָבַחְתָּ מִבְּקָרְךָ
וּמִצֹּאֲנֶךָ אֲשֶׁר יִתֶּן יְהוָה לְךָ כְּאֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתָךָ וְאָכַלְתָּ בְּשַׁעֲרֶיךָ בְּכָל אֲוֶת רֵפְשֶׁךָ

"If the place which the Lord thy God shall choose to put his name there be too far from thee, then thou shalt slaughter for sacrifice of thy herd and of thy flock, which the Lord hath given thee, as I have commanded thee, and thou shalt eat within thy gates, after all the desire of thy soul!"

Note the word used here which the English version translates "kill", is the word zabah (זָבַח), and means "to slaughter for sacrifice." As the zebah was considered an act of communion between God and his worshippers, does it not infer the use of an altar with its ritualistic appendages? The later verses of the same chapter claim that if a man offers his sacrifice in the prescribed way, permitting the blood which is the life to escape upon the ground, his act of worship will be acceptable.

Hence, while the mother temple continued to hold his

affection, it would be altogether out of place to expect him to limit himself to whatever pilgrimages he might make to Jerusalem, in order to maintain his connection with the religious life of his people.

In such centres as Elephantine, the Jewish community therefore, built a temple and maintained the national religion, doing so without any seeming disrespect to the parent body in Palestine.

CONCLUSION.

In summing up the evidence of the papyri, we are brought face to face with a self contained Jewish colony settled upon the Nile banks in Upper Egypt, bearing marks of a unity of life and thought which represent an oriental international characteristic.

Though Egypt at this period was under the Persian regime, the colony enjoyed full civil rights, and exercised its franchise upon all occasions even to the appealing to Darius for redress in consequence of their losses.

The people still maintained their relationships by means of ethnic groupings or clans, as seen by the evidence of the *degel* or *regel* and the *centuriae*. Family life was based upon monogamy, while the father had power over his daughters in regard to ~~an~~ marriage, even though they had been married before.

Woman, however, held a very high status. She enjoyed the same civil rights as the men, being able to institute proceedings in the civil court on her own behalf. She could engage in business on her own account, and hold property and maintain slaves in her own name. She could institute divorce proceedings if she so desired, and could appear before the assembly or congregation of her own kinsfolk for this purpose.

The economic conditions of the colony warrant us in believing that it was a very wealthy community. Elephantine and Syene were strategic centres of commerce, being situated on the trade route that crosses the border between Egypt and Ethiopia. While commercial interests were carried on extensively by the colonists and the Egyptians with the Ethiopians from these centres

at the same time, the Persian authorities were enabled to keep watch upon their troublesome neighbours. This will account for the presence of the fortress.

On their religious side, the Elephantine Jews have been brought into close touch with their Palestinian brethren, and it is here perhaps that the greatest value of the papyri is felt. Until recent years, certain sections of biblical history covering the Persian period, have been very uncertain. The papyri have given to us data which has enabled us to give sequence to biblical history and certainty to hazy facts. It cannot be said that the papyri have given us the last word upon the subject, but their evidence has enabled us to place events in a truer perspective than heretofore. Biblical students will therefore welcome these finds from the sands of Egypt, and rejoice in the much needed light necessary in their research.

