

their tenets were of a gnostic, libertine character. Furthermore, even granting Lütgert's view of 6¹⁴⁻¹⁷, we have practically the same difficulty as on all other theories of this class with regard to the internal connexion of 6^{12, 13} with what immediately follows. JAMES MOFFATT.

Emmaus.

My note on Emmaus in the January number has called forth an interesting criticism by Dr. Lucien Gautier (see May number, p. 279). I ask leave to say only a few words by way of rejoinder. The passage in Josephus (*B.J.* vii. vi. 6) referring to *Kôlônîyeh* was of course not unknown to me, but in view of the summary character of my note in 1 Co 1¹² are not original, remarks that 'at any rate it is certain the Christ-party—if there really was one—played no special rôle and represented no special conception of the gospel.' This is certainly the impression left on one's mind by a study of the Corinthian Epistles.

I could not introduce it, because account had to be taken of many other points. Here it may suffice if I say in brief that the objection to locating Emmaus either at *el Kûbîbe* or at *Kôlônîyeh* appears to me to be found above all in the circumstance that the Emmaus whose position is clear from 1 Mac 3^{40, 57} 4³ 9⁵⁰ can be *only* Nicopolis = Amwâs; and further, that Josephus in no way brings the supposed two Emmauses into mutual relation. I may add that I have already dealt exhaustively with the whole question in the periodical edited by me, *Die Studierstube* (Langensalza, Dietmar), 1908, pp. 285-289, where all the points which Dr. Gautier misses from my note, along with the relevant literature, are duly mentioned, and I need not repeat on this occasion what I have said there. I would only add my hearty thanks to Dr. Gautier for his suggestive remarks and his complimentary references to myself. JULIUS BOEHMER.

Raben bei Wiesenburg (Mark).

The Earliest Hebrew Script.

BY THE REV. F. DE P. CASTELLS, LONDON.

THE archæological research and excavations of recent years have supplied a wonderful vindication of the Old Testament story. In *Researches in Sinai*, for instance, Professor Flinders Petrie makes this statement:

'It is agreed now by those Egyptologists who have most recently worked on the subject—Spiegelberg and Steindorff—that the Israelites sojourned in Egypt, and that an Exodus from there to Palestine took place.'

He does not attempt a demonstration; but after reading this book and examining the illustrations, one must acknowledge that he has made a very substantial contribution to the confirmation of those conclusions. If the Israelites sojourned in Egypt, one may expect naturally to find some records of the fact in the distinctive writing of the Semitic race; it is in this connexion that the account of the 'foreign monuments' found in the region of Sinai becomes so interesting. 'Among them there are some sandstone images with unknown characters.' The images, Professor Petrie tells us, are carved in a ruder style than the regular Egyptian figures discovered about

the same region; but, as we shall see, they are of great historic value.

There are two points to be elucidated, the age of the monuments, and the character of their strange writing. As to the antiquity of the monuments, Professor Petrie has sufficiently dealt with it. The facts are as follows. The image shown in his illustration No. 138 was found at the door of the Shrine of Sopdu, in the temple of Serabit, a shrine known to have been built by Hatshepsut (1503-1481 B.C.). And close to the image, when discovered, there was found a bit of the buff pottery with the red and black stripe which is characteristic of the succeeding reign, the time of Tahutmes III. (1481-1449 B.C.). Then, the sphinx of illustration No. 141 (a calf with a human face) came from the same temple, and on it there is, not only the six characters which we shall discuss later, on the upper sides of the base, but also on its shoulders a square containing a dedication to Hathor in ordinary Egyptian hieroglyphs, and between the paws Professor Petrie saw the Horus name of Snoferu, *Horû neb maat*, who was highly venerated in the reign of Tahutmes III.,

but not later. It is from all these facts combined, therefore, that the inscriptions are attributed to the 18th dynasty, about 1500 B.C. Professor Petrie goes on to suggest that they belong to 'some of the foreign workmen employed by the Egyptians, who may have been the Aamu or the Ratennu, both of the Semitic stock; but in this he has entered the region of conjecture. The sphinx mentioned is quite small, about a foot in length; it is said to be an imitation of the Egyptian sphinxes. It is now in the Egyptian Department of the British Museum, bearing number 41,748.

But now we have to deal with the second point, the nature of the writing. Professor Petrie takes it to represent one of the alphabets current in the Mediterranean long before the Phœnicians had adopted theirs. This would make the writing quite independent alike of the hieroglyphic and cuneiform, and so far we agree. For our purpose, we shall deal only with what is visible in his enlargement of the inscription in fig. 138, a reproduction of which will accompany this paper. Referring to the concluding line, he very pertinently remarks that as the signs are repeated on four various objects, they cannot be fanciful, but form probably 'some religious phrase.' They certainly are not arbitrary; their recurrence several times over proves that they were put together according to method.

sometimes see the letters facing one way, sometimes another. All the late Western alphabets look to the right; but the Etruscan and all the late Semitic alphabets look to the left.

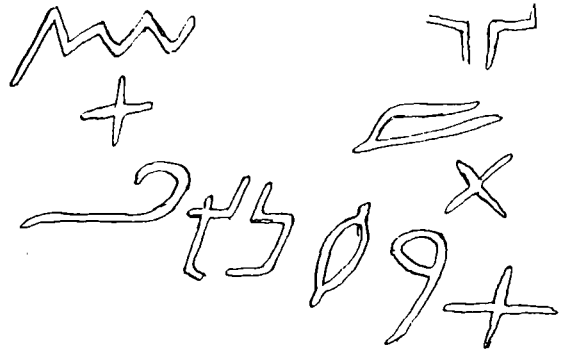


Illustration No. 138 of *Researches in Sinai*.

SINAITIC.	HIERATIC.	MOABITE.	JUDAH.	MODERN.	
⤴	⤵	⤴	⤴	⤵	
⤴	⤵	⤴	⤴	⤵	
⤴	⤵	⊕	⊕	⊕	400
⤴	⤵	⤴	⤴	⤵	40
⤴	⤵	⤴	⤴	⤵	4
⤴	⤵	⤴	⤴	⤵	90

Identification of the Characters, by the Rev. F. de P. Castells.

But even after transliterating and inverting the order of the six characters, we shall be told that the meaning is not at all obvious. It certainly differs from the Hebrew spelling of the Bible. But the differences are such as might be expected from so ancient a script. Following the Masorettes we should have to write it לַעֲשׂוֹרֵת, 'To Ashtoreth.' How, then, can we account for this archaic spelling? First of all, the ⤵ may not have been in use; no equivalent can be found in Hieratic, and in the absence of it, ⤴ would be the letter employed. The use of ⤴ and ⤵ in the word indicates a distinction of sound, but this agrees with the Greek transliteration of the Biblical plural Ἀσραφῶθ, where we have τ and θ. But now we have to inquire, Who is Ashtoreth? The popu-

What we desire to note is that the characters in question are practically the same as those of later Semitic monuments (the Moabite Stone and the Siloam Inscription), but with this remarkable difference that the form is reversed. Having discovered this, therefore, we shall try to identify the principal characters. The writer has tried, and he gives the result in the appended comparative table, which resolves the six characters forming the last line as חרטיאל. The Hebrew scholar may perhaps say that he cannot make any sense of these letters. But in *Researches in Sinai* we have a statement which explains the reason of this failure. In some instances, we are told, the six signs are found in vertical arrangement, and from this it is obvious that when drawn lengthwise they must be read from left to right. This reversed order in Semitic writing is a great surprise. But as we compare the later characters with these older ones, we might infer from their very form, that a change in the direction of the writing had been made. In Cadmæan Greek we

lar handbooks of mythology tell us that she was the principal female divinity of the Phœnicians. In the Old Testament we see that Solomon introduced the cult of Ashtoreth from Phœnice, and then the description given us is: 'Ashtoreth the goddess of the Zidonians.' But the cult can be traced to a very remote past in Central Asia. The equivalent of the name can be found as that of a supreme deity in other nations of antiquity: *Istar* in Babylon; *Astarte* among the Greeks; *Atthar* in Moab; *Hathor* in Egypt. In the earlier parts of the Bible we have the plural *Ashteroth*, but this is to designate the great diversity of idols which were made to represent that divinity; there were many *Ashteroth*, and yet only one *Ashtoreth*. Even among these Semitic monuments found in Sinai there are two distinct types of *Ashteroth*—the female figure No. 138 and the Sphinx No. 141. This use of the plural may help us to understand how the Hebrews came to adopt *Elohim*, in the plural, as a divine name while a monotheistic people. Our reading of the six characters finds ample confirmation in the little Sphinx described before, for this dedication 'To Ashtoreth' in Semitic characters, corresponds to the dedication to Hathor in Egyptian hieroglyphs on the other side.

Now above the dedication on figure No. 138 there are four other characters used separately, two on either side, and one above the other. What can they mean? Evidently they are used in their numerical signification: 40, 400, 4, 90. They probably are intended to give the simple astronomical or chronological formula of the Egyptian year, which at first consisted of 360 days without the five epagomenal days subsequently added to it. 40 above 400 means obviously 40 from 400, or 400 - 40, which equals 360; 4 above 90 on the other side means 4 × 90, which equals the same, the year being divided into four equal seasons. It is possible that the two symbols Γ Γ immediately above indicate this subtraction and multiplication.

Professor Petrie tells us that the practice of burnt

sacrifice was the chief feature of the religion of the early Semites, and he therefore mentions that on the hill before the sacred cave, described in the book, there was found a great bed of ashes estimated at about fifty tons, itself the residue of hundreds of tons once accumulated there, for at different periods vast quantities have been removed.

The image has the features of a female, and this reminds us of how Jeremiah denounced the worship of Ashtoreth as the Queen of heaven. He describes the cult thus:

The children gather wood, and the fathers kindle the fire, and the women knead their dough, to make cakes to the queen of heaven.

We may now sum up the results obtained under five heads:

1. The inscriptions of Serabit el Khadem are evidently the records of a Semitic people who in 1500 B.C. were settled in Egyptian territory, and had lived long enough under such conditions to have become familiarized with both the religion and the hieroglyphic writing of Egypt.

2. The alphabet used by these Semitic people has on close inspection proved to be practically that of a Judæan monument of 800 years later, and as the name 'Ashtoreth' has a Hebrew prefix (ש), it is legitimate to infer that they were the ancestors of the Hebrews.

3. Ashtoreth is now positively identified with Hathor, the chief deity in the region of Sinai.

4. At the period to which these monuments belong, prior to the Exodus, those people wrote, *not as the Hebrews of later times did, from right to left, but from left to right.*

5. They probably were monotheists worshipping a Supreme Deity, here named Ashtoreth, but under the influence of Egypt they made use of various images which represented God under different aspects. It may be that the Sphinx now in the British Museum is the sort of image which Aaron made at Sinai (called the Golden Calf) when the Hebrews were clamouring for a visible representation of their tribal *Elohim*. Aaron gave it to the people as representing the God Yahveh (Ex. 32⁴⁻⁵).

Entre Nous.

Marcus Dods.

The loss to scholarship by the death of Dr. Marcus Dods is very great. The loss to the Church is greater. He was always more than his work.

He did the larger and more influential part of his work as a reviewer of books. What did the authors of the books he reviewed think of him? Did they recognize the conscience he put into a

review? Did they see that he brought his sympathy and imagination into exercise and placed himself alongside the author, judging him not only by what he did, but also by what he sought to do?

And what did the readers think?

The ordinary reader of reviews applauds the 'slating' reviewer. Dr. Dods did not applaud him. He knew how meagre his equipment is. He knew how little conscience he has. The