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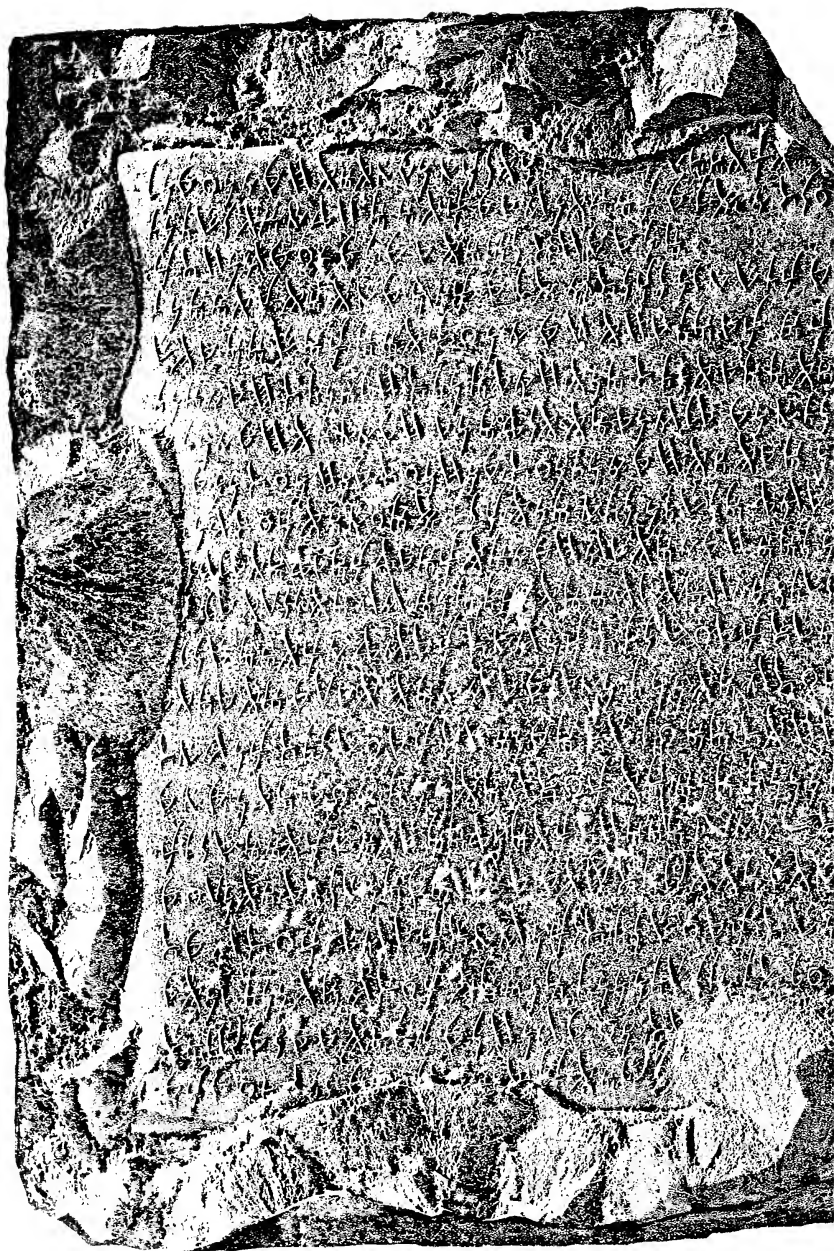
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MASSILIA-CARTHAGO
SACRIFICE TABLETS

MACDONALD







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MASSILIA-CARTHAGO
SACRIFICE TABLETS

OF THE
WORSHIP OF BAAL.

*Reproduced in Facsimile, Edited, Translated, and Compared
with the Levitical Code,*

BY
THE REVEREND
JAMES MIDDLETON MACDONALD, M.A.,

Houghton Syriac Prizeman, Oxford.

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1897.

TO MR. MACDONALD
ABINGDON

“DEAR MR. MACDONALD,

“Your Essay contains much interesting matter; which, as you say, is mainly buried in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, where few English readers have access to it Your English translation with notes, explaining the difficulties (where they can be made out), and pointing out the parallels in *Leviticus*, etc., would be interesting to many readers.

“S. R. DRIVER,

“*Christ Church, Oxford.*”

INTRODUCTION.

THE Massilia Sacrifice-Tablet shows in its first two words that it was intended for use in the worship of Baal; and as we know that the Phoenicians came to Massilia from Carthage, centuries before the time of Christ, we think it quite in the eternal fitness of things that this Sacrifice-tablet should have been found in Marseilles (Massilia) in 1844; our only wonder is that the tablet remained undiscovered for 2,300 or 2,400 years.

The doubts and disputes about the stone itself have all faded into oblivion: but before passing on to the inscription on the stone, we may as well sketch the later history of the stone.

At the close of the year 1844, a workman happened to be repairing the wall of a house in Marseilles which stood at that time almost on the ground of what is now the Sanctuary of the new Cathedral close to the quay. The workman mentioned to his employer and to the landlord that there was curious writing on one of the stones.

On examination it was found that there were two large pieces of one tablet, and unfortunately the left piece was chipped along the lower half.

Were such a stone found nowadays, everyone would at once be on his guard against forgery; but in the fifth decade of our century scholars' faith in finding had not been rudely shaken by Shapira, so the fact that the subject-matter on the stone was akin to the Levitical laws of sacrifice, did not deter scholars from thinking out the Massilia sacrifice-tablet on its merits.

When the "find" was announced, prudent investigators in epigraphy were divided into two classes.

a. Those who said that there was an ancient Pagan temple on the seashore on a spot which is now beneath the sea-level, but that this temple was probably devoted to the worship of Diana; and furthermore that the stone on which the inscription is engraved looks as if it were composed of the same materials as those in the rocks near Marseilles.

b. Those who based their argument on the fact that the inscription is Phœnician with Carthaginian names therein, and that the Phœnician sailors and resident merchants were certain to have a Temple of Baal.

Patient investigation showed that the *b* argument led in the right direction; for a chemical analysis of a fragment of the Massilia-tablet showed that its constituents are not those of the rocks around Marseilles, but that they are absolutely identical with those of the rocks close to Carthage, a fact proved by comparing the fragment of the Massilia-tablet with a chip from a tablet in the Louvre which was brought direct from Carthage. The Massilia-tablet is now deposited in the Museum at Marseilles, and should be an object of historic pride to the good people of Marseilles; but, as a matter of fact, they know nothing about it.

From the point of view of comparative philology

it was most fortunate that Mr. Nathan Davis discovered a similar but shorter sacrifice-tablet for Baal-worshippers in Carthage itself,* during his investigations there in 1858, and, after reading them both, we can at once see that there was a sacrificial code in Carthage compiled by authority, in much the same way as the Levitical code was drawn up by authority for use in the worship of Jehovah.

The purpose of the Massilia-tablet is manifest, viz., that the Phœnician colonists and careless sailors might know at first hand what were the proper dues to be paid to the priest in the sacrificial worship of Baal. In both the Massilia and Carthago-tablets the priests and the laity have their rights, privileges, responsibilities and punishments. The pious poor are carefully protected from rapacious priests.

The tone of both these sacrifice-tablets is simple and pure, resembling the simple code which Moses promulgated by Divine command in the wilderness, rather than the elaborate Levitical code drawn up by the priestly caste for the nation of Israel at a much later date when the priests ruled the nation.

The Massilia sacrifice-tablet is promulgated by order of **𐤇𐤍𐤔𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏** Halatsbaal the judge, just as the first code for the nation of Israel was issued by Moses the chief civil authority. The Massilia-tablet lets in a flood of light on the proneness of the Hebrews to drift towards the worship of Baal.

Judges ii, 13. **וַיַּעֲבֹדוּ אֶת־יְהוָה וַיַּעֲבָדוּ לַבַּעַל**

הַזֶּה אֶת־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל כִּי נָתַן אֶת־מִזְבֵּחַ הַבַּעַל

Judges vi, 30.

* Known as the Carthago-tablet.

וַיְהִי כִּאֲשֶׁר מֵת גִּדְעוֹן וַיָּשׁוּבוּ בְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיִּזְנוּ אַחֲרֵי
הַבָּעָלִים וַיַּשְׁמִימוּ לָהֶם בַּעַל בְּרִית לֵאלֹהִים

Judges viii, 33.

וַיָּקָם מִזִּבְחַ לַבָּעַל בֵּית הַבַּעַל 1 Kings, xvi, 32.

and the Massilia-tablet shows how easy it would be for time-serving priests and prophets of Jehovah to become priests and prophets of Baal in the time of Jezebel, when the Baal-cult became the Court religion.

וַיֹּאמֶר אֵילִיָּהוּ אֶל־הָעָם אֲנִי בֹתֵרְתִי נָבִיא לַיהוָה
לְבָדִי וַיָּבִיאוּ הַבַּעַל אַרְבַּע מֵאוֹת וַחֲמִשִּׁים אִישׁ

1 Kings xviii, 22.

As aforesaid, there are differences between the simple Baal-code and the detailed code of Jehovah's worship in the Book of Leviticus; but the resemblances are so striking that we must, for the purposes of this thesis, put aside theories of inspiration, plenary or otherwise; and must consider them as sister codes of sister nations, both nations speaking the same language with but slight dialectic differences.

The Phœnician sailor who sailed from Massilia to Tyre could read the Levitical parchments in the Hebrew synagogue at Jaffa; and, if he went inland for commercial reasons, he could *spell out** the inscription of Mesha the Moabite in Dibon, and then compare them with his own tablets in his beloved Tyre.

* If you placed Phœnician letters more to the right, and tipped them up more horizontally, then you might fairly consider four-fifths of the Moabite alphabet like Phœnician letters.

To a degenerate Jew of the nineteenth century, reading Hebrew one day in the week, with the help of the modern Massoretic points, or perhaps only carelessly listening to a rabbi cantillating the glorious old Hebrew liturgy, the Massilia-tablet would look like Chinese; but this Phœnician character is practically the self-same character in which Jehovah with His own finger wrote the Ten Commandments, as did Moses after him. When they are discovered, as I hope that they will be, this fact will be patent to all.

When the primal pure old Hebrew character changed into Talmudic Chaldee, etc., and then into Estrangelo-Syriac, such as Jesus Christ wrote, the simpler Phœnicians retained the old character.

When the Jews were in Babylon, the study of the old primal Hebrew character was kept up by few; and as a matter of fact, when the same finger which had written the Ten Commandments on stone wrote

כחכחכח כחכח כחכח כחכח

or as we write it now

כחכח כחכח כחכח כחכח

only Daniel, the devout student of the old כחכח could read the oracle (even its character), pronouncing doom upon the sacrilegious Belshazzar.

* The כ is a part of the word, for even nowadays the ک is essential
فارسی فرسی.

† Professor Sayce quotes M. Clermont-Ganneau's new Aramaic attempt at a translation of this, "Reckon a maneh, a shekel and its parts," and wonders why the wise men of Babylon who understood Aramaic could not read the oracle. I still say that the hand of God wrote the words in the archaic Semitic character.

who had toasted Bel and Nebo in the sacrificial chalices of Jehovah's worship taken from the Temple in Jerusalem.

Anyone studying Hebrew in the present character must remember that the oldest manuscript of the Old Testament is 1400 years later than our Massilia-tablet, and 1800 years later than Mesha's inscription on the Moabite Stone.

With regard to Baal-worship, it was probably the same throughout the littoral of the Mediterranean.

With a little imagination we can form a picture of the service in a good לֹאֲלֹאֲלֹא , taking as the working sketch for our picture the scenes in 2 Kings x, 20-27, where the cathedral of Baal in Samaria was full of earnest Baal-devotees from the altar to the door פֶּה לְפֶה ,* so full that their mouths almost touched each other.

The grandeur of the vestments reminds us of the vestments (לְבוּשׁ) appertaining to the house of Aaron; but in the Baal-cult every *layman* donned a grand robe while in the presence of the mighty god.

The sacrifices זִבְחִים וְעֹלֹת (and especially the burnt-offering) were almost the same as in the Hebrew Temple to Jehovah in Jerusalem; but the stone statues ($\text{אֱתֵר־מִצְבֹּת בֵּית הַבַּעַל}$)† to לֹאֲלֹאֲלֹא

* It is an assumption of the Revised Version of the Old Testament that פֶּה לְפֶה means *from* one end to the other.

† The Revised Version of the Old Testament studiously translates מִצְבָּה by "pillar" or "obelisk"; but the context of several passages and the conjunction and antithesis of אִשְׁתָּרָה , the female carved goddess, lead me to think that the מִצְבֹּת

Baal Berith, 𐤁𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤓𐤏𐤕 Ḥamōn, 𐤇𐤁𐤁𐤕 Zebūb, 𐤏𐤓𐤏 Peōr, 𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤕 Tsephōn, erected along the side walls are non-Hebraic, though essentially Phœnician. They are quite distinct from the great image of the local Baal (𐤁𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤓𐤏𐤕) which was at the inner end of the temple.

Let us examine the inscription on the Massilia-tablet letter by letter, and of necessity in the original photograph; for the type which is supplied to us as Phœnician is at times ludicrously unlike the same letters as shown in the photograph. Wherever a restoration has been effected in a hiatus, the same has been given in the original Phœnician.

The learned scholar who wrote the monograph on the Massilia-tablet in the *Corpus Inscriptionum* (Paris) for the French Academy, restored the lost phrase or word in *Hebrew and Latin* but not in Phœnician.

I think that this was a mistake, and I have therefore given what I believe to be the original Phœnician.

In one or two places I differ from the above writer, were male gods in stone ranged *inside*, down the side walls of the Cathedral of Baal.

Take a single passage conjoining carved female and carved male gods:

𐤁𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤓𐤏𐤕 𐤁𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤓𐤏𐤕 𐤁𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤓𐤏𐤕 𐤁𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤓𐤏𐤕

Exodus xxxiv, 13. 𐤁𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤓𐤏𐤕 𐤁𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤓𐤏𐤕

The *stone pillars* were *outside* the cathedral.

I have a photograph of the finest sun pillar in India. It was originally outside the Sun Temple at Kanārak, but was brought by the Lion dynasty to the Lion-Gate of the Jagannath (Juggernaut) Temple in Puri.

There is never more than one such pillar, and it is always *outside* the temple.

The 𐤁𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤓𐤏𐤕 𐤁𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤓𐤏𐤕 were many and were inside, for Jehu ordered them *to be brought out*.

must prefer **לִנְזַח**. The name occurs as a place in Exodus xiv, 2, 9, **לִנְזַח בְּעַל צִפּוֹן**, and also in slightly different Hebrew in Numb. xxxiii, 7, **אֲשֶׁר עַל-צִפּוֹן** both passages have the antique essence of a name in being topographical.

לִנְזַח would seem to mean the god of "hidden knowledge," but it may mean the great god of "The North."

The North was the region of religious mystery. Lucifer sat in the North. Evil came from the North. The King of Kings came from the North.

הִנְנִי מֵבִיא אֶל-צִר זְבוּדָּרְאֶצֶר מֶלֶךְ-בָּבֶל מֵצִפּוֹן מֶלֶךְ מִלְכִּים
Ezek. xxvi, 7.

לִנְזַח was a Phœnician name in Africa like **عبدالله** among Mussulmans, so that **לִנְזַח** is not a harsh restoration.

[לִנְזַח] is a certain restoration, for we luckily find both words complete in Mr. Nathan Davis's tablet in the British Museum, which tablet he found in Carthage itself.

Hebrew usage would at once lead us to translate **לִנְזַח** "in the time of";* but we see later on in this self-same line that the genius of Phœnician employs **לִנְזַח** "time" *without a preposition*.

לִנְזַח is therefore a noun.

* Compare **לִנְזַח** in the Moabite Stone.

I am not quite sure; but from the fact that בעה, a good Hebrew word, seems to be of the same sound, and from a comparison of other words in our tablet, I incline to the view that the Phœnician final פ was often pronounced like א, just as it is in Arabic. Arabic writes the *ṣ* e.g., ^ṣدولة, but pronounces it daulah. ^ṣمدرسة is pronounced madrasch; Syriac ^ṣܡܕܪܫܐ gives the final ܡ and then adds ܐ for euphony.

Aramaic later words derived from בעה would suggest "the demand" of the taxes. St. Luke, xii, 48, ^ṣܦܬܐܢܐ ^ṣܕܡܢܐ ^ṣܕܡܢܐ:

^ṣܦܬܐܢܐ ^ṣܕܡܢܐ means "the sale" of the taxes;* the context, however, would cause us to translate freely "the list" of the taxes. ^ṣܦܬܐܢܐ ^ṣܕܡܢܐ. We get the singular ^ṣܦܬܐܢܐ ^ṣܕܡܢܐ in 2 Chron. xxiv, 6, ^ṣܦܬܐܢܐ ^ṣܕܡܢܐ meaning the temple-tax imposed by authority, and with the weight of ages helping it; there it means "a proper burden," here we take it as "the taxes," ^ṣܦܬܐܢܐ ^ṣܕܡܢܐ.

^ṣܦܬܐܢܐ is good Phœnician for ^ṣܦܬܐܢܐ; Aramaic sometimes had only ^ṣܦ. It is thought that ^ṣܦܬܐܢܐ is the best reading of Gen. xlix, 10, and that the Septuagint expresses the meaning in the expanded *τα ἀποκειμένα αὐτῷ*.

^ṣܦܬܐܢܐ Again we are fortunate enough to find the entire word in Davis's Carthago-tablet.

* The *Corpus Inscriptionum* says ^ṣܦܬܐܢܐ, but it is not usual Arabic.

Lo is good old Semitic for being set over, in charge of anything.

$\log[\chi^2/\chi^2_{\text{min}}] \neq 0$. From line 19 we get the missing

* 𐤒𐤓𐤕𐤔 Ḥalāṯsbaal was not only a temple ruler, he was the renowned chief civil authority or judge. In some private votive tablets in the Public Library of Paris we see such titles as 𐤒𐤓𐤕𐤔, e.g., 𐤕𐤔𐤕𐤔𐤕𐤔 the barber of the gods, The Temple-barber.

Line 2 :—

His colleague was another Halatšbaal, also a civil judge. He is the man mentioned in line 19 as son of Bodesmun. It would appear as if these officers of rank were uncle and nephew, the one being son and the other being grandson of the great Bodesmun.

* Livy invariably translates $\Theta\gamma\omega\alpha$ "the chief civil authority," among the Carthaginians. Livy, xxviii, 37, transliterating it as *Sufes*. Ignorance of its Semitic origin caused the *f* to be doubled (*Suffes*) later on.

After this genealogical tree comes לֹאֲנֵי־אֵלֶּיךָ as we may assert, seeing that it occurs after the same tree in line 19.

The word must mean "and their colleagues."

Fenner's inscription tells of ten such temple-officials in Carthage $\text{אֲשֶׁר־בְּאֵמֶן־אֵלֶּיךָ}$.

It is quite a Semitic word, for we have חֵבֶר Ps. cxix, 63, חֵבֶרֶת Malachi ii, 14; and מִבֶּן־ St. Luke v, 7.

Line 3:—

$\text{פֶּאֶלֶן־לֵלֶךְ־אֲשֶׁר־בְּאֵמֶן־אֵלֶּיךָ}$
 $\text{לֵלֶךְ־אֲשֶׁר־בְּאֵמֶן־אֵלֶּיךָ}$
 $\text{לֵלֶךְ־אֲשֶׁר־בְּאֵמֶן־אֵלֶּיךָ}$
 $\text{פֶּאֶלֶן־לֵלֶךְ־אֲשֶׁר־בְּאֵמֶן־אֵלֶּיךָ}$

From line 3 onwards we get sacrificial rules and details.

אֵלֶּיךָ . This is evidently the original of the later Hebrew אלֹהֶיךָ , an ox.

Psalm cxliv, 14. $\text{אֵלֹהֵינוּ מִסְבָּלִים}$
 $\text{וְאֵלֵינוּ מִסְבָּלִים}$

but פֶּרֶךְ and בֶּקֶר are more common Semitic. The ox stood *facile princeps* as a sacrificial animal among Semites.

Hindus and Egyptians worshipped him as a god, but Semites offered him to their God—Jehovah, Baal, Moloch, Ashtoreth, Chemosh.

The Phœnicians had three kinds of sacrifices, in all of which the $\text{גל}\times$ figured, viz., the גלג , the חסג , and the גלגגל . We must first try to arrive at a conclusion as to the meaning of these words.

גלג .* If we turn to the Hebrew Scriptures, we find that the word גָּלִיל is used; but not for a burnt offering like עֹלָה ; but as “a whole burnt offering” to be utterly burnt. Levit. vi, 23 (16 Hebrew text) $\text{גָּלִיל תְּהִיָּה לֹא תִסָּבֵל}$; also in the poetical passage in Deut. xxxiii, 10, it means “a whole burnt offering,” $\text{וְגָלִיל עַל-מִזְבְּחָהּ}$. It means the same in the Psalms as late as the age when Psalm li, 19, was written, עֹלָה וְגָלִיל ; but in the later books such as Ezekiel גָּלִיל means *perfection*, וְגָלִיל יָפִי , Ezek. xxviii, 12, and in Syriac, the lineal descendant of the later Hebrew, it means “a garland” of beautiful flowers.

$\text{סכמטן נטמן לאטן סס גלג ססן לב; סס סגלגן}$

Acts xiv, 12. $\text{גלג סכמטן לאטן ג גלג}$

These later words show clearly that the primal meaning of “totality” was lost in the full phrase, whole burnt offering. The Phœnicians took “burnt

* Note that in the Davis Carthago-tablet the word occurs in the plural גלגלג

offering" without "totality" and the Aramæic Semites took "beauty" or perfect beauty as the meaning, and dropped the idea of burnt offering.

The Phœnician פֿסֿוֹחֿ does not occur in Hebrew, Syriac or Arabic, in any root or derived form. We are at a loss to get at its exact meaning; but as לִלְי stands for עוֹלָה and לִלְי יִלְי may fairly be taken to represent something akin to the זֶבַח הַשְּׁלָמִים, then we must assume that פֿסֿוֹחֿ is equal to the אֲשֶׁם or the חֲטָאת.

The importance and frequency of the latter causes us to accept חֲטָאת, פֿסֿוֹחֿ then means the offering which expiates the missing of the mark through ignorance or negligence; but it may mean זֶבַח לְפָלֵא נֶדֶר, לִלְי יִלְי as aforesaid is like זֶבַח הַשְּׁלָמִים.

The order of the sacrifices with blood would then agree in the main with the early simple code drawn up by authority of Moses himself; for when the Hebrew nomads were about to settle down as a Syrian Semitic nation with Semitic neighbours, Moses gave the nomads their law of the עוֹלָה, זֶבַח לְפָלֵא נֶדֶר, שְׁלָמִים, נֶדֶבָה, and מִנְחָה, *vide* Numbers xv. 3. 8.

Before passing on, it is only fair to say that it is not absolutely certain that פֿסֿוֹחֿ and לִלְי יִלְי are distinct sacrifices.

פֿאֶסֿוֹחֿ יִלְי יִלְי. The Phœnician temple dues in Marseilles included a gift of money to

the Temple priests, quite distinct from the mass of flesh retained for the Temple priests.

The Davis and Guienot inscriptions show that this practice was common in Carthage, that it was authoritative, though the sum is not detailed as in the Massilia-tablet. It only occurs once in the

Davis-tablet *in re* birds אבאסו || א~אז

In the Guienot, generally אזאזאז.

The enormous amount of flesh retained by the College of Priests strikes one who lives in the East, for in the Holy Land, and on the plains of India, a bullock would not scale 300 pounds; but in Marseilles the priests could retain 300 pounds and still give back 300 pounds or more to the layman. The Davis-Carthago inscription does not give money to the priests in the greater sacrifices. It is therefore surprising that the Massilia sacrifice-tablet (coming from the Baal-city of Carthage) allows the European priests of Baal to take money instead of the skin, the feet, etc. *This is a non-Semitic custom.*

The priests of Semitic temples, from Jerusalem to Carthage, were paid in kind. Skins may have been very valuable in the Marseilles market, seeing that the laity gave ten shekels instead of one.

There cannot be the shadow of a doubt that the priests of Baal in Massilia were very well off with twenty-five shillings paid at every kind of greater sacrifice of a bullock and 300 pounds of flesh for every burnt offering of a bullock.

אזאזאז is good archæic Semitic for "over and above."

We find it in Job xvi, 14—יִפְרָצֵנִי פָרֶץ עַל-
פְּנֵי פָרֶץ.

In the Decalogue it is the first phrase which strikes the eye: **לֹא יִהְיֶה לְךָ אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים עַל־פָּנַי**, “other gods ranking over, above Me.”

~ must mean **וְזֶה** just as **אֲשֶׁר = אֵל**.

[**אֵל אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִהְיֶה לְךָ אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים עַל־פָּנַי**] **אֵל** is a restoration, but it is morally certain, as the layman is directed in line 6 to give 150 lbs. with a calf.

Line 4 :—

וְהָיָה בְּיָמֵי הַשְּׂמִינִיּוֹת וְהָיָה בְּיָמֵי הַשְּׂמִינִיּוֹת
וְהָיָה בְּיָמֵי הַשְּׂמִינִיּוֹת וְהָיָה בְּיָמֵי הַשְּׂמִינִיּוֹת
וְהָיָה בְּיָמֵי הַשְּׂמִינִיּוֹת וְהָיָה בְּיָמֵי הַשְּׂמִינִיּוֹת

The **וְהָיָה** was evidently distinct from the **וְהָיָה**.
 Special portions of the body are in the **וְהָיָה** given back to the layman; and special parts belong to the priests.

According to the Levitical Code for the worship of Jehovah, the priest who sacrificed the sin offering and the peace offering, took the fat parts, the kidneys, &c., cut out the fat and burnt the fat to Jehovah, vide Leviticus viii, ix and x; and it is noticeable that the skin is mentioned there immediately afterwards, just as in the *Massilia*.

The prophets and priests who wrote the history of the sacrificial worship of Jehovah, and who represented Jehovah so anthropomorphically, tell us that

* **וְהָיָה** I translate freely as weight, taking it to equal **מִשְׁקָל** or **מִשְׁקָל**, but it may be a participial adjective.

the sweetest smell in the nostrils of Jehovah was the smell of the fat of kidneys. The fat was therefore cut off and burnt to Jehovah and the priests ate the flesh. This was always the case in the **הִטָּאת**, and so in the corresponding **חִסְיָא**, the priest *cut out*, retained and ate the kidneys, etc.

חִסְיָא must mean "parts cut out" with a secondary meaning added on.

חִלְיָא is allied to **חֲצִיל** and **חֲצִיל**, the root-meaning of which is "*side*."

Ezekiel xiii, 18. **עַל-קַל חֲצִילֵי יָדַי**,

Levit. xii, 12. **חֲצִיל הַמִּנְיָהּ**,

and may have been used in the sense in which we say "a side of mutton."

חִסְיָא and **עוֹר** are clearly "the skin and "the feet."

חֲצִילֵי looks like the entrails, bowels.

חֲצִיל means "to twine a border."

The **חִסְיָא** and **חִלְיָא** were **הַטָּלָבִים**, the perquisites of the priests.

The entrails, the feet and the *skin*, together with the rest of the flesh, were given back to the pious layman **אֹהֶל־גִּמְלוֹת**.

The word **לֹא** must have had many shades of meaning; but it could not here mean the Hebrew "master," **בַּעַל**.

These details by their slight differences from the Levitical Code show us why the Jehovistic priestly

is good grammar for "a horned calf," then the succeeding phrases must be extra-descriptive.

𐤊𐤋 may be Phoenician for the old 𐤋𐤌 of Hebrew poetry; or it may agree with 𐤋𐤏 as a collective. The collective taking the plural 𐤊𐤋.

𐤊𐤋𐤊𐤋𐤊𐤋 probably means in the state of still lacking horns, or not yet fully formed, from 𐤏𐤌𐤏𐤋 "to lack aught."

Proverbs xxviii, 27. 𐤊𐤋𐤋𐤋 𐤊𐤋 𐤌𐤏𐤏𐤋.

St. Luke xii, 20. 𐤊𐤋𐤋𐤋 𐤊𐤋𐤋𐤋.

𐤊𐤋𐤋𐤋𐤋𐤋 is almost impossible to explain as a Semitic word. In its formation it goes against all rules, turning the first and second radicals out of place when re-duplicated 𐤊𐤋, 𐤊𐤋𐤋.

If we admit that the Phoenician traders knew Greek, and, having picked up a little, transliterated* the Greek into Phoenician characters, just as "the Children of the Ghetto" do in London with their scraps of German in their Yiddish, then we see at once that this is probably the Phoenician patois for ἀτμητος, viz.: ἀτομητος, not-castrated, = "a horned calf, undeveloped, but not-castrated."

𐤋𐤋 𐤊𐤋𐤋 𐤊𐤋𐤋 [𐤋𐤋𐤋 𐤊𐤋𐤋 𐤋𐤋𐤋. What kind of animal was the 𐤋𐤋𐤋? Its rules are

* μαχαίρα transliterated appears to be the only explanation of 𐤌𐤏𐤏𐤋𐤋, Genesis xlix, 5.

very carefully formulated. Was it a stag, אֵיל, or a ram, אֵיל? A stag might well be paired with a calf as of equal weight and value.

It is good Phœnician usage for a deer to be offered to a *goddess*, but Baal is of the male sex. On the other hand the אֵיל, ram, is one of the commonest Semitic animals offerable as a sacrifice from the days of Abraham.

וַיִּלֶּךְ וַיִּקַּח אֶת־הָאֵיל וַיַּעֲלֵהוּ לְעֹלָה תַּחַת בְּנוֹ

Genesis xxii, 13.

We see this animal offered throughout the nomad forty years.*

לֶקַח פֶּר אֶחָד בֶּן־בָּקָר וְאֵילִם שְׁנַיִם

and in the later days of the Levitical Code the ram was specially laid down to be offered as an עֹלָה,

Levit. viii, 18. וַיִּקְרַב אֵת אֵיל הָעֹלָה

The Massilia-tablet orders the same number of shekels to be paid with the $\text{L}\alpha\chi$ and the $\text{L}\wedge\sigma$ viz., five—just half of what had to be given with the

* M. Clermont-Ganneau in his "L'Imagerie Phénicienne" says that the Massilia-tablet proves that the ram was in Carthage offered instead of a man, just as in the case of Abraham's offering. As Sayce points out, this coincidence between the sister religions of two Semitic nations can hardly be accidental. "Higher Criticism and the Monuments," page 186.

גלח and the priest retained for the sacred College just half the amount of flesh retained in the case of the גלח. The ram must also have been of greater size than now known to permit of the priests retaining 150 lbs. of meat, and yet of their being sufficient for the layman and his family (the family was the social unit). The skin of the ram does not appear to have been so valuable.

A hiatus occurs after the mention of the five shekels, and the *Corpus Inscriptionum* very properly inserts as in line 3, לו חל נחמ ללח נח אבאג for the next line begins with the ח of חלו.

As in the case of ללח גלח, the priest retained for the College the kidneys, caul, the side, etc., and gave back to the layman the skin, the feet, etc.

Line 6:—

חחחחח חחח חחח חחח חחח חחח חחח
 חחח חחח חחח חחח חחח חחח חחח
 חחח חחח חחח חחח חחח חחח חחח
 חחח חחח חחח חחח חחח חחח חחח

It is noticeable how many words are in common everyday use in Phœnician which are only just used in Hebrew. A Hebrew sacrifice-tablet would certainly have used בשר instead of שער, as in Levit. vii, 15, ובשר נבח תורת שלמי. The Syriac also uses

𐤀𐤁𐤁. The only printed type we can get of the numerals is not much like those in the photograph.* The restoration from 𐤅𐤅𐤐𐤑 onwards is certain.

The sacrifice-tablet now leaves well-known Semitic words and lays down laws for other animals well known, but with more obscure names.

Line 7:—

𐤏𐤋𐤏 𐤏𐤏 𐤕𐤐𐤏𐤕 𐤏𐤏 𐤋𐤏 𐤏𐤐𐤑 𐤏𐤏 𐤋𐤑𐤕𐤑
 𐤁𐤀𐤏𐤑 𐤀𐤏𐤀 𐤋𐤏𐤏 𐤑𐤕𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤋𐤏𐤏
 𐤕𐤏𐤕𐤏 𐤕𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤕𐤕𐤏 𐤕𐤐𐤏𐤕 𐤑𐤏

Line 8:—

𐤏 𐤏𐤅𐤐𐤑𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤑𐤋𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤕𐤏𐤐𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤕𐤋𐤕𐤕𐤏
 𐤀𐤑𐤏𐤏 𐤋𐤐𐤑𐤋 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤕 𐤏𐤀𐤏

These two lines taken together lay down laws for the 𐤋𐤑𐤕 and the 𐤏𐤐 which agree with the preceding laws, as the money payment of one and three-quarter shekels is probably a proportionate calculation.

* This sentence was written before the fount of type used in the present work was cast.—J. M. M.

לִשְׂנֵי does not occur in Biblical or other Hebrew as the name of an animal; but the immediate connection of לִשְׂנֵי with שֵׁן which we know means a "she-goat," would lead us to suggest that לִשְׂנֵי means a he-goat. On the other hand יִבְלֵי does occur in the Pentateuch in connection with festivals, joyful sounds, trumpets.

Joshua vi, 4, 6, שֹׁפְרוֹת הַיֹּבְלִים, may mean rams' horns or may mean sacred festival-trumpets.

A ram and a she-goat would be most unequally paired here in value, size, etc.

A ram and a calf is a far better pair, and here a he-goat and a she-goat.

If לִשְׂנֵי be not a he-goat, then the he-goat, which is such a common Semitic sacrificial victim, is absent from this Semitic sacrifice-tablet. To the present day the men of Islām sacrifice the he-goat.

The بَكْرِي عِيد is a great festival in India; its essence is the slaying of a goat. With reference to the money to be paid with the לִשְׂנֵי or with the שֵׁן, the phrase 119~ would be perplexing, were it not for the fact that the phrase is translated in line 11 רְבַע שֶׁלֶשֶׁת, so that its meaning is clearly three-quarters. Here the due paid is one and three-quarter shekels.

The sacred College still gets its חֲאֵרֶץ and חֲלִיץ, because it would be unprofessional to give back to the laity the parts whose fat has been a sweet savour in the nostrils of Baal, whether small

parts or great. Note that in line 7 the word **לֶאֱמָ** occurs for the only time in the Massilia-tablet, though it underlies the meaning of the price paid with every animal.

לֶאֱמָ does not occur in the Davis-Carthago-tablet. Line 8 is remarkably short, but there is no hiatus.

Line 9:—

יֶאֱמָ לֶלֶךְ לֶמֶלֶךְ יֶאֱמָ יֶאֱמָ יֶאֱמָ
 יֶאֱמָ יֶאֱמָ יֶאֱמָ לֶלֶךְ יֶאֱמָ יֶאֱמָ
 [לֶמֶלֶךְ יֶאֱמָ יֶאֱמָ יֶאֱמָ]

Line 10:—

יֶאֱמָ לֶלֶךְ לֶמֶלֶךְ יֶאֱמָ יֶאֱמָ יֶאֱמָ
 לֶמֶלֶךְ יֶאֱמָ יֶאֱמָ יֶאֱמָ יֶאֱמָ
 יֶאֱמָ

יֶאֱמָ is not a Hebrew word, but it is good Semitic for “a lamb.”

Ezra vii, 17, Chaldee gives תִּזְכִּירִין זִכְרִין.

Ezra uses זִכְרִין at about the date of the promulgation of the Massilia-tablet, two thousand miles away from the place where Artaxerxes' royal iradé

was translated into Chaldee. Later on it is found in

St. Matt. vii, 15. **וְאֵלֶּי לֹהֶכֶת, חֲלָצָהּ וְאִמְרָא**

Acts viii, 32. **אִם אִמְרָא לְחִטְמָהּ וְאִבְדָּהּ**

for a *sheep*.

אִמְרָא resembles Hebrew. We have **גְּדֵי עֲזִים** and the plural **גְּדֵי עֲזִים**, in the historical books, and also in

Levit. iv, 23, **שְׂעִיר עֲזִים**

St. Matt. xxv, 32, **סִיִּימָה מִן הַמְּלִיכִים**

אִמְרָא is not a Hebrew conjunctive phrase for an animal; for the root meaning of the Hebrew **זָרַב** is "to burn"; but the context here shows that it means "youth." A lusty, fiery young ram may be the meaning evolved from **זָרַב**.*

מַחְסָהּ means "hasty."

If errors in the Massilia sacrifice-tablet—a public authoritative document—be thought of for a moment, we might agree with Munk,† who says that it is an error for **אִמְרָא**; vide **מַחְסָהּ**, small; but the Davis-Carthago-tablet also gives **אִמְרָא**. One of these tablets might have an error, but both could not be wrong.

* **זָרַב** is most probably the Aramaic **זָרַב** a *sheep* (like **זָרַב**). Note by Professor Driver.

† Munk, "L'Inscription Phénicienne de Marseille, 1847."

With these three young sacrificial animals the pious layman gave three-quarters of a shekel to the College, whether the sacrifice was ללך, תֹּזָר or ללך ףלמ, and the priest also retained the kidneys, etc.; but there is no notice of a large amount of flesh being retained by the College.

The hiatus at the end of line 9 can easily be filled up, for line 10 evidently begins with םתלז.

Note, that where the Massilia-tablet uses ללך the Davis-Carthago-tablet uses ףללך.

The Davis-Carthago here inserts

םתלז לך םתלז לך םתלז לך םתלז לך
םתלז לך םתלז לך

but we shall treat of this later on, as the Massilia-tablet has a similar direction in line 15.

Line 11:—

םתלז [ל]לך ףלמ רר ףת םתלז ארת[ג]
תלמ םתלז רת ףתלז לך תלמ ףת רת
[.םתלז לך ארת]םתלז לך ףתלז ארת

This line is the first portion of the inscription, apart from the names in the first line, which shows that it is a pagan tablet. Up to the present, I have endeavoured to show the nearness of the laws of the

Baal-worship to those of the worship of Jehovah; and I have restrained myself from introducing Greek and Roman comparisons; but in line 11 we are introduced to *pagan augury* in a Semitic religious document. The hiatus in the first word is easily restored; the broken tail of the first letter shows that it is a פ not a ׀. It cannot be אָן. Restoring as above אָןפ we now come to the sacrifice of *birds*.

This is similar to the order of sacrifices in Leviticus; where the pious Hebrew, if he could not bring a bullock or a ram for his אֶפְסָם or הַפָּאָה, he brought “two doves or two pigeons or the tenth part of an ephah of flour.” Levit. xiv, 21, 22. לָלֶאֱכֹל and פִּיפִּי are both Semitic. If לָלֶאֱכֹל be transliterated, it looks distinctly Aramæic לֵלֵא. The old Hebrew root-form לָלֵא means to protect.

2 Kings xix, 34. וַיְגַזְזֵנִי אֶל־חֲזִיר

and the late author who writes in the decline of the nation even after the Restoration gives the Hiphil,

Zech. ix, 15. וַיִּגְזֵן יְהוָה עָלֵיהֶם

which gets us close to Aramæic:

Luke i, 35. סִסְיָס בִּנְדָּלָן סִרְסִרָא

It probably means “barndoor” fowls here.

In opposition to barndoor fowls we have פִּיפִּי, “game birds,” which fly (from פִּיפִּי). פִּיפִּי luckily

occurs in the Davis-Carthago, where the offerer pays the same as here.

Munk thought that צץ means "flowers." As a rule it is in the matter of this inscription "difficult to differ from" Munk; but I think that the slightest consideration of the end of the line should have convinced him that animals were meant; for the layman receives back (in both ללץ and צץ) "the whole of the *flesh*."

ללץ גאצא ללץ גאצא

It must be admitted that Munk has the general spirit of Hebrew on his side:

Isaiah xl, 6. כְּצִיץ הַשָּׂדֶה
כְּצִיץ יָבֵשׁ

with only one or two exceptions, such as

Jerem. xlviii, 9. תָּנוּ צִיץ לְמוֹצָב כִּי נָצָה תֵּינָה

but the cumulative force of the sacrificial argument, the amount given, the flesh, etc., must weigh down the beam in favour of ללץ as an animal.

A very striking point about the sacrifice of birds in Marseilles was that they could not be offered as a ללץ or as a פסח; they were offered as ללץ גאצא or פסח. Here we have the Semitic peace-offering conjoined with two pagan sacrifices. The inclusion of these in the national worship of Israel would be sufficient to explain

the wrath of Jehovah against Baal-worship and the record of his hatred by his priestly historians.

שָׁפַךְ. The root-meaning of this is "overflowing," vide שָׁפַךְ and שָׁטַף, and a sacrifice with a meaning evolved from this root "a propitiatory sacrifice to avert the overflowing wrath of Baal." Halevy turns it "to avert calamity."* שָׁכַף has the idea of "minimizing calamity."

חֲזָא. The idea of divination by watching the movements, the cries, the flight of birds, and of sacrificing in connection therewith is a practice which we associate with the Pagan Republic of Rome rather than with a Semitic nation; but as far as the word חֲזָא is concerned it is essentially Semitic. We find חֲזָא all through the Old Testament :

חֲזֹן יִשְׁעֵיהוּ בֶן־אֲבִיזָן אֲשֶׁר חֲזָא

and the man, the seer, the prophet, is the חֲזָא. We have God's seer, the king's seer, then we have the trusted holy men of Bel and Nebo,

לַחֲזִים בְּנוֹכְבִּים חֲבָרִי שְׁמִים

but in these passages there is *not a word of watching birds*.

The Phœnicians may have picked up this startling addition to their sacrifices from the Romans; there would be Romans in Massilia, and the Baalic residents would respect Roman sacrifices.

As in the case of bullocks and rams, etc., a proportionate amount of money is given to the priests with each bird, viz., three-quarters of a shekel. From

* Halevy, "Nouvel Essai sur l'Inscription de Marseille."

the Davis-Carthago-tablet we see that though the Carthaginian worshipper followed the Semitic custom and gave the skin of the *bullock*, etc., to the priest without money, still the Carthaginian as well as the Massilian worshipper of Baal gave three-quarters of a shekel with each *bird*.

Line 12:—

𐤙𐤁 𐤀𐤕𐤁𐤓𐤕 𐤙𐤁 𐤕𐤙𐤁𐤕 𐤕𐤙𐤁𐤕 𐤙𐤁 𐤀𐤕𐤕 𐤕[𐤕]
 𐤓𐤕[—𐤕𐤀𐤕]𐤁 𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤙𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤕𐤙𐤙 𐤁𐤓𐤕
 —𐤕𐤀𐤕𐤁𐤓𐤕

With regard to the hiatus at the beginning of line 12 I find myself unable to agree with the author of the monograph in the *Corpus Inscriptionum*. This painstaking scholar has assumed that the letter which still remains is an 𐤕, and he has therefore fixed upon 𐤕𐤀 as the word. The most cursory glance at the letter will show that it is an 𐤕: it is as different from the initial 𐤕 of 14, 16, 18, 20, and 21, as is chalk from cheese.

Having assumed that 𐤕𐤀 must be the word, he labours to get rid of the great difficulty of having two different articles next door to each other both treating of 𐤀𐤕𐤕, the one introduced by 𐤓 the other by 𐤕𐤀! The whole difficulty is an imaginary one. The preceding line (11) ends with 𐤕𐤕𐤕 and

12 begins with **ל** following the examples of 5 and 6, 9 and 10. Over and above the animal flesh, the layman was ordered to give a gerah (the twentieth part of a shekel) to the priests.

This corresponds with the order in line 6:—

לֶחֶם אֱלֹהִים אֲנִי מֵעַתָּה

Such a thing as opposing my view to that of a great scholar is foreign to my nature; but I humbly submit my reading, because it makes no difficulties; and because it appears to follow examples.

לֶחֶם is very Semitic, its rootmeaning being “early,” then “first.” The next word **אֱלֹהִים** shows that the “holy firstfruits” are meant. This is a good example of words being good Hebrew words, but not expressing the Hebrew idiom. The Hebrew idiom is

Levit. ii, 14. מִנְחַת בְּכוֹרֶיהָ

In India we have thousands of examples of what is called “Babu English,” good English words used by Indian clerks, but not making a good English idiom.

אֲנִי מֵעַתָּה would cause us at once to think of **אֲנִי מֵעַתָּה**, hunting. I suppose it must mean provision, etc., offered before going a hunting, or animals caught when hunting in the chase; but it seems curious that frankincense is left out of the sacrifices, particularly as oil, etc., are mentioned. With a High Altar and stone statues to various Baals there must have been frankincense.

The *Corpus Inscriptionum* gives 𐤀𐤆 as corn, but I take 𐤌𐤌𐤆 of line 14 to be corn. The Levitical code gives corn, oil, and frankincense :

גִּרְשׁ בְּרֹמֶל וְנִתַּתָּ עָלֶיהָ שֶׁמֶן וְשִׁמְתָּ עָלֶיהָ לְבוֹנָה

Levit. ii, 14.

There is a hiatus in the price.

The only letter remaining is 𐤀. Ewald suggested 𐤆𐤀𐤌𐤀, and the right-hand portion of the second (fragmentary) letter looks in the photograph like a 𐤌. This would agree with אֲגוּרָה in

1 Sam. ii, 36. לְהַשְׁתַּחֲוֹת לוֹ לְאֲגוּרַת כֶּסֶף

and with the commoner גִּרָה :

Levit. xxvii, 25. עֲשִׂימִים גִּרָה יְהוָה הַשֶּׁקֶל

The phrase 𐤀𐤌𐤀𐤆𐤌 looks ungrammatical, in fact incomprehensible, judged by ordinary rules of Semitic grammar; but two prepositions are not unknown in Phoenician epigraphy, such as 𐤌𐤌𐤀𐤆𐤌.

A hiatus now occurs of which we cannot fathom the meaning.

Line 13:—

נָחַם מִלְּאֵל הַנֶּחֱסֵם מִלְּאֵל הַנֶּחֱסֵם לֵךְ[9]
 הַנֶּחֱסֵם מִלְּאֵל הַנֶּחֱסֵם מִלְּאֵל הַנֶּחֱסֵם

Following examples above, we may assert 9 at the beginning of the line.

The line is not satisfying from the point of view of conclusive argument; for we have by this time come to the conclusion that **הַנֶּחֱסֵם** is equal to the **הַנֶּחֱסֵם** in the matter of sacrifices by blood; but it is here mentioned after **נָחַם** and just before **לֵךְ**.

The shorter Davis-Carthago inscription inserts this notice after the sacrifices with blood; and before the smaller sacrifices of the impecunious: in fact, just before the **לֵךְ**.

The Carthago arrangement is more natural; but it may be that the **הַנֶּחֱסֵם** is a general name or a general sacrifice, which would be used in the **לֵךְ** just the same as in the sacrifices with blood.

We must not be led away by Leviticus from the fact that the Massilia-tablet is a sacrifice tablet of Baal, and this a local, Western Baal.

נָחַם מִלְּאֵל הַנֶּחֱסֵם in the plural may be explained by the stone statues in 2 Kings x, 26.

אֱלֹהִים in the plural, “gods,” occurs in the national pæan,

Exod. xv, 11. **מִי כְמוֹתָהּ בְּאֱלֹהִים**

𐤆𐤋𐤊 agrees with 𐤆𐤐 in showing that the genius of Phœnician does not require a preposition such as 𐤆. Hebrew does, e.g., לִפְנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים.

The Davis-Carthago tablet unaccountably gives 𐤆𐤋𐤊, which is surely an error.

The Carthago tablet was not so carefully done by public authority as the Massilia.

𐤆𐤋𐤊 is the Niphal, as in good Semitic, but עָמַס means "to load," not "to offer," as here.

Perhaps in Phœnician it developed into the meaning, "heaped up, laid before the gods."

2 Chron. x, 11. וְעֵתָה אָבִי הָעַמִּים עָלֶיכֶם עַל כָּבֶד

I cannot offer any suggestion as to what follows the second 𐤆𐤐𐤋𐤊, for I could not have imagined the first which we have here.

Line 14:—

𐤆𐤋𐤊 𐤋𐤌𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤋𐤌𐤏 𐤋𐤌𐤏
 [𐤏𐤏 𐤆] 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏
 𐤋𐤌 [𐤏𐤏𐤏]

𐤋𐤌 is an old Semitic form meaning "corn," Hebrew בִּלְלִי.

The *Corpus Inscriptionum* takes it as equivalent to בִּלְלִי, but the meaning is perfectly clear, as "corn" and בִּלְלִי ought to be 𐤆𐤋𐤊. Most critics have assumed that 𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤋𐤌𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤋𐤌 is a careless

repetition, but there are two Semitic words with the same consonants :

חָלָב = milk. מִזְגָּה חָלִיב חָלָב

חֵלֶב שֶׁנֶּאֱמָר = fat.

Munk agrees that the Massilia-tablet deals with both fat and milk.

In a sacrifice-tablet, fat is a certainty; and, on the other hand, all Semitic tongues agree in representing milk by these consonants.

The Davis-Carthago inscription expresses the same idea in a simpler way, viz.,

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בגלל שם שם בגלל, is a curious phrase, we should have expected שם שם, but if it had been so written, commentators who object to בגלל לוי בגלל לו would certainly have said that שם שם was a repetition.

$\text{Eg} \sim \text{L}$ is the Semitic strong intention.

Genesis xv, 12. וַיְהִי הַשָּׁמַיִם לָבוֹא

חֶבֶל is found throughout Semitic languages as an offering, very often as a “meal-offering,” which is its meaning here, agreeing with

Levit. ii, 1. קָרֵבִין מִנְחָה לַיהוָה סֶלֶת יְהוּדָה

Hebrew.

Ezra vii, 17. *וּמִנְהָתָהּוּ וְנִסְפִיָּהוּן* *Chaldee.*

After the Θ of $\text{f}\Theta\text{z}\gamma$ there is a hiatus on the Massilia-tablet which would allow of three letters.

The writer in the *Corpus Inscriptionum* inserts the f of $\text{f}\Theta\text{z}\gamma$, and then calmly passes on to the next letter found still and assumes that this is the π of $\text{z}\gamma\pi$; but in his printed reproduction of the photograph he leaves two spaces, one small and the other almost double. There is not the shadow of a doubt that some word of two or three letters came after $\text{f}\Theta\text{z}\gamma$ and before the ω , as the *Corpus* assumes it to be.

After close examination I have satisfied myself that the letter is \sim , Hebrew ז , and if we insert $\omega\chi$ in the hiatus there remains space for one letter, and I suggest L :

$\Theta\text{z}\sim\text{L}\ \omega\chi$

for there is a distinct remnant of an L above the line. Then, after this, we could easily insert

$\gamma\text{z}\beta\gamma\text{L}\ \text{z}\gamma\pi$, etc., etc.

Line 15:—

$\text{L}\alpha\ \gamma\chi\ \chi\text{z}\beta\gamma\ \text{L}\alpha\ \Theta\text{z}\sim\pi\ \omega\chi\ \Theta\text{z}\sim\text{L}\gamma\gamma$
 $\text{—}\gamma\beta\gamma\text{L}\ \text{z}\gamma\pi\ \text{L}\gamma\ \alpha\gamma\alpha$

$\text{L}\alpha$ is a good old Semitic word for "the poor." Its antithesis $\alpha\gamma\gamma$ is often used with $\chi\text{z}\beta\gamma$.

Genesis xiii, 2. $\text{וְאַחֲרָם בֶּן־דָּן מְאֹד בְּמִקְנֶה}$

אגא לא appears to have been desperately poor.

אגא לא is a peremptory prohibition; we therefore gather that the ecclesiastical authorities in the Baal-cult rigorously protected the poor.

The Davis-Carthago tablet has clearly אגא in the singular and adds the grammatical form אגא (אגא), compare the Syriac ܐܓܐ.

The idea of many critics that אגא means the Greek *μνα* is too quaint.

Line 16:—

אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא אגא
—אגא אגא אגא אגא

Munk thought that these were the names of other Phoenician sacrifices, but we have no א at the beginning.

Renan thought that they represented classes of people in Carthage like the Roman equites, plebs, etc.*

אגא means "to rise," but אגא was a person opposed to the אגא or אגא. This makes for Renan's view. We may venture to translate אגא, "a son of the soil."

In the Old Testament אגא was found only in the feminine אגא, "a maid-servant"; but the

* *Langues Semitiques.*

𐤁𐤁 probably means “laid down.”

Ps. xlix, 14. 𐤁𐤁 𐤋𐤍𐤁𐤏𐤋 𐤍𐤏𐤁

𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 begins to talk about some well-known Book on Sacrificial Ceremonial.

Line 18:—

𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 . 𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤁𐤁 𐤋𐤁 𐤁𐤁 𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤋[𐤁]
𐤋𐤁 𐤁𐤁 𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤁𐤁 𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤁𐤁𐤁
𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤁𐤁 𐤋𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁. 𐤁 𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁

Line 19:—

𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤁𐤁 𐤋𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁

The missing letter in line 18 is a 𐤁 though a bad one. 𐤋𐤁𐤁 is an extraordinary word.

We have already treated 𐤋𐤁 as a powerful negative, but 𐤁𐤁 is an interrogative:

Genesis iv, 9. 𐤁𐤁 𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤁𐤁𐤁

Then how is the compound a simple negative? I suggest that it is a conditional possible negative, not probable, but *possible*.

𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 must mean “in this tablet”; but it has no corresponding form in Hebrew.

𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁. Hebrew would have led us astray; for we should by it translate “and they shall give”; but

in Phœnician this would be 𐤆𐤍𐤕. The text must be Niphal with Waw Conv.

𐤍𐤕 is another peculiar Phœnician phrase, "according to," "following," like 𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤕𐤕𐤕.

The Hebrew is עֲלֵפִי.

There can be no manner of doubt that the writer in the *Corpus Inscriptionum* is correct in his restoration at the end of the line, according to the plan of lines 1 and 2; it so naturally agrees with line 19, which is fortunately preserved, and has the names running on continuously.

Line 20:—

𐤕𐤕 𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤕𐤕𐤕
—𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤕𐤕𐤕

This is an authoritative warning to rapacious priests.

𐤕𐤕 as it stands is unintelligible. It may be an error for 𐤕𐤕𐤕, though this is an assumption from which I shrink in connection with an authoritative public document and particularly in a clause warning the Temple priests. If it ought to be 𐤕𐤕𐤕 then we endeavour to interpret it along the plane of 𐤕𐤕 to "run over the brim" or "to stretch out" as in

Psalm lxviii, 32. כּוֹשׁ תַּרְיֵץ יָרִיו לְאֱלֹהִים

any priest *overstretching* the limit of the Temple dues

is to be severely fined; but we have unfortunately lost the record of the amount both in the Massilia and Carthago-tablets. This is most annoying.

𐤌𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕 "shall be fined" is the Niphal with Waw Conversive. This Niphal is clearly seen in

עָנוּשׁ יַעֲנִישׁ בְּאִשֶּׁר יִשִּׁית עָלָיו בַּעַל הָאִשָּׁה

Exod. xxi, 22.

Line 21:—

𐤇 𐤔𐤕 𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕 𐤕𐤓𐤕 𐤌𐤓𐤕 𐤕𐤓𐤕 𐤕𐤓𐤕 𐤕𐤓𐤕
[—𐤌𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕 𐤔𐤕] 𐤌𐤓𐤕 𐤔𐤕𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕 [𐤕𐤓𐤕]

The first letter of the line looks rather like a 𐤇, but as in line 18 we take the liberty of considering the word to be 𐤕𐤓𐤕.

𐤔𐤕. The sign of the accusative is interesting.

The hiatus in the centre of the line cannot be composed of a single word and the word beginning with 𐤇 shows no sign of an 𐤕, so I prefer 𐤇𐤕𐤕, and as the last of the five letters shows by its remnant that it is a 𐤔, I venture humbly to suggest the reduplication of the former 𐤔𐤕 and to restore the authoritative warning to rich niggardly laymen.

As regards the date of publication of the tablet, I think it very probable that Massilia was one of the colonies founded by Hanno at the close of the sixth century before Christ, in order to get rid of the half-breeds and slaves, who, now freed from slavery, were

becoming too powerful in Carthage. The tablet would go with the settlers and the merchants or would be sent shortly afterwards.

As the date of publication in the fifth or sixth century B.C. is not a very important matter, I have merely mentioned it here at the end of the thesis. The character shows that it could not be later than the fifth century, i.e., about the time of Ezra's return from Babylon.

Quite a number of thoughtful clergy and lay friends interested in the monuments have asked me to publish an English edition of the Massilia sacrifice-tablet. Of course all Semitic scholars have seen the Latin edition in the *Corpus Inscriptionum*, but in their books they merely refer to the the tablet as in existence in Marseilles. Rawlinson notes the fact in his "History of Phœnicia": so does Sayce in his "Higher Criticism and The Monuments"; but it is high time that the Carthaginians should be allowed to speak for themselves in English about their religion, or about any of its details, when a well-known book of reference like "Chambers' Encyclopædia" publishes an article on *Carthage*, wherein the writer says that "the Carthaginians had no order of priests"! The crass ignorance of such a statement can only be dispelled by the publication of such theses as the Massilia-Carthago; for *the Massilia-tablet mentions the priests ten times in twenty-one lines*.

The Carthago-tablet follows the Massilia in using both "priests" and "priest," and mentions them six times in eleven fragmentary lines. The Guenot

tablet uses "priest" only. All three tablets were graven and published in Carthage itself by Government authority, though the Massilia one was more carefully done. It is popularly believed, on the authority of Roman writers, who were enemies of Carthage, that the Carthaginian religion was simply the worship of fire and especially by human sacrifice.

The Massilia-tablet shows that this is as true as the Christian belief that none could with safety go near the procession of the Jagannath (Juggernaut) car. During the present *century* there have been no persons pushed under the wheels of Jagannath's car, and only three instances of people throwing themselves under the car! In like manner it will be seen from the Massilia-tablet that *the ordinary worship of Baal in Carthage or Massilia did not include human sacrifice.*

The preparation of this thesis has been an engrossing labour of love, begun in England, continued in France, and now finished in India.

If, by an English annotated edition of the Massilia-tablet, I could bring some slight confirmation of the truth of Leviticus as a Semitic code to the large number of English students of the history of the Bible, who prefer English books on any subject, it would be a great pleasure to me to publish it, even though these same earnest students of the Old Testament in English should be shocked at first to find so much in common between a *pagan* sacrifice-tablet and the sacrificial code of the chosen people of Jehovah.

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