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MOROCCAN ARCHIVES

Volume XIV

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HEBR ^ O-PHOENICIANS AND JUDEO-BERBER

INTRODUCTION

AT THE MOST OF THE JEWS AND JIIBAÍ81IE ER AFRICA

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INTRODUCTION
Cadmos and Melqart are two mythical characters,
whose features personify for classical antiquity the
migrations of the Phoenicians and their influence on the

development of Mediterranean society. Here is what
Greek traditions tell about them ^
Cadmos Terrant or V "Oriental" is the grandson of
Poseidon to whom Libya bore two sons: Belos (Baal) and
Agenor (Canaan). The first became king of Egypt, the
second, king of the Phoenicians. This one married Telephassa
(the one that shines in the distance) and had four children: a 611th,
Europa, and three sons: Cadmos, Phénix and Cilix.
Europa having been delighted by Zeus, Agénor sent his
son looking for her, but as they could not find her,
Phoenix settled in Phenicia, Cilix in Cilicia and Cadmos
pushed towards the West. During his wanderings in
Greece, Cadmos arrived at a place where he encountered a
cow he followed; then he began to found cities, between
others that of Thebes, the Cadmea par excellence, and

bably also Carthage la Cadméenne -

Cadmos - elsewhere Cadmilos ^ - the god Qedem, brings

1. Cf. Dote I. Supplement.

2. Cf. MovERS, Die Phoenizier, II, II, p. 36.

8. SN'Qlp is the fourth Cabire or Hermes adored in Thracia, i6iV /., t. 1, 1, p. 23. The Cadmiel-Cadmilus lesson, which we find in several ancient texts, definitively confirms the Semitic origin of this term.

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the Cadmean alphabet ^ and teaches the art of mining.

He introduced the cult of Dionysus, that is to say wine. Between other feats, he fights the Dragon.

This myth, - whose original etymological elements

Eastern gine are to be remembered here, - who brought the Cadmeans of Africa, makes them the oldest of the Phoenicians ^ the congeners of the Egyptians; he happens to agree with the genealogical list of the Bible which counts, among the sons of Gham, Gush, Misraïm, Pout and Canaan. Canaan engendra Sidon and Heth and the Canaanite peoples of Palestine 2.

The other myth concerning the Phoenicians is related and the era of Tyrian predominance; it is included in, the legendary cycle of Heracles - Hercules - Melqart »

Here is a brief analysis ^.

The god Heracles, born in Tire, protector of this city who worshiped him in a splendid temple under the name of "Melqart" or "king of the city", would have accomplished travels and makes conquests throughout the West; he subjugated barbarian peoples, overthrew tyrants, destroyed the wild beasts that ravaged the land,

abolished cruel and inhospitable customs and spread everywhere knowledge of the most necessary arts to the life of men, with the benefits of Asian lization.

After traveling through Greece, the Tyrian hero equipped a fleet ; he went to Crete, went from there to Africa where he killed the cruel Antaeus, introduced therein art and agriculture.

1. Cf. Ph. Berger, VÉcriture les Inscriptions sémitiques, p. 16 et seq., where the question is specified. There was an early Cadmean alphabet composed of 16 or 18 letters (Maspero, Hist, anc. of the peoples of the East, edits. 1905, p. 844).

2. Genesis, X, 6 and 15-20.

3. Father Barges summed up the question in his Archaeologiques on Phoenician colonization, p. 11 and following.

See DiODORUS OF Sicily, 1, IV, ch. VI; Movers, knock. eyelash. (cf. note 1, supp.).

4. Son of Neptune and Gea.

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ture, welfare and peace. He then built a large city of the name of Hecatompyle ^ the "city of a hundred gates" and arrived with his army on the shores of the Ocean, where he erected two columns on opposite shores of Tun and the other continent, in order to immortalize the memory of his expedition * tion. After submitting Spain and establishing a wise and virtuous government, he took the path of Gaul and Italy.

These two myths are the symbolic representation of the history of the Phoenician people: the one who Cadmos seems to bring the latter from Libya and he assigns Egyptian kinship.

In this story, Cadmos has little to do with Phenicia proper: he appears there as the elder brother of Phénix and therefore symbolizes a more an-

ciens; it is from Egypt or Libya that it enters Greece where he seems to have concentrated his civilizing activity. One would expect in vain to meet the name of Sidon, or Elder of Canaan"; Tyr's name is not there more. As for the myth of Melqart, it is of a completely different: it is, as its name suggests, the king of the City, the "Baal" which dominates the period of activity maritime from Tyre; its field of action which extends very little in Greece, but which embraces all of North Africa and the western Mediterranean, corresponds exactly to that of the maritime migrations of the Phoenicians of the time more or less historical. The legend of Melqart must therefore to be considered as the symbol of true history Tyr table.

It is true that some critics have sought to remove to these myths all historical character. They reject up to the Semitic etymology of the word "Cadmos" and

1. Tebessa. LL
2. Cf. Corpus Inscriptum Semicarum. L 122, 1X ^ 7- Hlp'tai] 'ÎMb.

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deal with pure artifice the identification of Melqart with Heracles-Hercules.

However, this fall of the eponymous gods, far from advance the solution of the problem of the Phoenician origins, rather resulted in the collapse of the only base that served of support to the historians of Phoenicia of all eras. Scientific criticism of the data provided by the Bible on their Hamitic origin has not been made neither to shed light on this obscure problem: What have we not imagined about the origin and character of this Phoenician people famous among all, whose history, language, traditions present such intimate affinities with those of the Hebrews of Palestine? While some bring the Phoenicians from the Persian Gulf, the others see them as an indigenous Palestinian population, while still others assign them an origin Anatolian and go so far as to deny the role played by the Phoenicians in the history of civilization.

A recent theory, which moreover proceeds from a deductive method, seeks to restore honor to the traditional Bible studies and brought the Phoenicians from Palestine, of Africa ^ while reducing the scope of their action civilizing and political. So much so that the independent researcher during, caught between all these irreconcilable theories, remains forbidden, gripped by doubt, in the presence of hypotheses, several of which were born in the brains of masters. Fortunately, the documents that served as a basis for historians of times past, although discredited by too hasty a review, always remain intact and have often the merit of being, if not certain, at least plausible; the Hellenist, baffled by the divergence of opinions denies, is always the possibility of returning to its former

1. Cf. especially Landau, Die Bedeutung der Phönizier im Völkerverkehr, Leipzig, 1905y passim. The author of this little essay is mainly based on Winckler's research, which will be discussed later.

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favorite authors and resume for own account
a new examination of the texts suspected by some

critical schools *.

The Bible and such Talmudic traditions remain always, at least as far as the history of Northern Semites, the most solid documents, otherwise in detail, at least as regards the substance and the whole; it is the primary source to which we always come back 2. Fortunately, the prodigious archaeological discoveries exercises carried out in all the countries of the East not only regenerate archaeological science, but broaden our knowledge of the ancient world: on periods of several thousand years, which formerly belonged to held to prehistoric times, the veil that enveloped; contemporary documents of the events things they relate make us penetrate the mystery of destiny of the first two great civilizations until IV * millennium before the vulgar era. Already in the current state

1. That the last word has not yet been said, as regards the character and age of the productions of classical antiquity, proves to us the latest work by Michel Bréal entitled: To make people better known Homer, In this ingenious study, the illustrious master develops an idea that I heard it formulate for the first time at the Collège de France and which is summed up in the following sentence: Homer represents the maturity and not the childhood of a poetic age. Applied to biblical literature, this maxim, which can be confirmed by archeology, opens new horizons on the origins of Hebrew poetry.

2. I have acquired this certainty especially after having followed for a long time. years of teaching that my eminent teacher, Mr. Philippe Berger, made at the College de France. This scholar mainly focuses on studying the biblical texts from the point of view of comparative archeology and the wise from a double point of view: an external point of view, which consists in studying to link the texts in their relation to archaeological data, and interior point, which consists in a careful study of the texts biblical. Of all this teaching a truth, which does honor to the French science emerges: The Bible is not a collection of literature pure, but rather a clever compilation where the precision of the style is commanded by its oracle character and where every word, even doubtful, deserves careful study before being dismissed out of hand. This character oracle is essential especially with regard to the prophetic books.

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from our knowledge, we know that at the beginning of the third millennium a great and powerful civilization laughed on the shores of the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf, from which proceeded the civilization of Egypt and all Eastern countries, from India to Armenia *. Already we begin to distinguish a whole series of nations

civilized, of flourishing races than classical antiquity herself no longer knew, except in the form myths whose heroes fought for the domination of world.

The same is true for the Mediterranean, where the discovery green of Mycenaean and Etruscan antiquities is supposed to pose that relations of commerce, art and thought were established between the Levant and the Atlantic Ocean from the beginning of the II^e millennium 2. So that instead of placing the height of ancient civilization towards the beginning of the first millennium, we must consider this time like that of the moral decadence of a civilization old and worn; we must rather imagine humanity, to the day before the birth of Mediterranean civilization, as being in the same state where she will find herself no longer ten centuries later, when, decrepit, it became the

prey of the barbarians of the north.

From the point of view of the evolution of ancient civilizations, these three classic peoples of new humanity, the Hebrews, Phoenicians and Greeks appear to us like the debris of more or less homogeneous races succeeding in saving the heritage of a glorious past and which will reconstitute on the ruins of a disappeared world a new civilization: Cadmos-Yahou and Melqart-Hercule are no longer for the researcher the first echo of a emerging world, but the synthetic expression of several

1. WİNKLER, *Geschichte der Stadt Babylon* {*Der Aile Orient*.VI, I, p. 12-18).

Idem, *Forschungen* III, p. 360; Landau, *ouvr, cilé* ^ p. 30.

2. WİNKLER in its *Forschungen* ^ not. cited.

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millennia of human civilization and evolution: they pass from the civilizations of the Orient which decline to that of the Mediterranean which will flourish.

How else to explain the silence of the texts

cuneiform and hieroglyphic, until a very late, on the history of these three peoples, while these same texts revive for us so many civilizations -which disappeared without leaving a trace?

How to conceive of the complete ignorance of the Orientals on the genesis and evolution of these peoples? Because it is not that at the time when decadence was already evident in Mesopotamie and in Egypt and where the amalgamated populations of Syria and Asia Minor form a group-ment, that some information is provided.

How to explain, above all, that the first manifestation

tion of the individual conscience of each of these peoples happen around the same time?

The Song of Deborah which marks the first apparition: tion of the national consciousness of Israel, the legends of Trojan wars, which have the same value for the Greeks, are they not closely followed by the myth of Melqart, the genius of the Phoenicians?

These three episodes show us three new ethnic groups, three new civilizations emerge giant of chaos which presides over all gestation work. 11 would be too risky to want to lift the veil that covers the origins of these peoples, it would be rash especially to want to continue the evolution of ideas and elements morals which have influenced their material constitution:

1. Mr. Michel Bréal {*Ibid.*, P. 6) place of the deflnitive composition of Homer in the seventh century. The writing of the Book of Judges would date from this same period. As for the origins of the myths of Melqart "the king-God of the Tyrian city, they appear for the first time in the book of Ezekiel (see below, ch. XII).

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like all embryos, as long as they do not live on their life of their own, they are beyond our control.

On the other hand, archaeological and epigraphics that we currently have, our knowledge ethnographic and geographical sessions on the evolution classical peoples already allow us to get a more or less precise idea of the ancestors of these peoples, the importance and factors of their activity and their migrations: they allow us especially to perceive, in the light of the documents discovered green, the bottom of truth hidden under Greek myths or under the prophetic accounts of the Bible.

By reviewing, in the light of archaeological discoveries of our time, these data which have for them the deserves to be old and closer to reality, we could come to more or less decisive conclusions on the problem of origins.

II

THE BENI-QEDEM IN THE BIBLE

The predominant view in historical studies of our time tends to link the origins of the two ancient civilizations of the East to a race, which would have differed significantly from that which we find more later established in the Semitic regions of Asia.

Touranienne according to some, proto-Semitic ouhamitic according to others ^, this race seems to have already been sub-merged by the Semitic invasions around 3000, that is to say when the first documents date back

found in Mesopotamia: at least, language and customs, beliefs and organization already carry, at the time of Sargon d'Agade the Elder 2, a strong Semitic hallmark. he

It was not to be the same in Egypt: the Egyptian and the other idioms, which one could call proto-semi-ticks 3, stopped in their evolution, because of the iso-geographically of the Nile basin, while in

1. Maspero, ^ < s /. anc. of the peoples of the East, the ed., I, p. 561. Semite or Sumerian, we do not yet know which preceded the other at the mouths of the

phrate. Mr. Joseph Halévy, he is more categorical. In many research, the eminent scholar rejects the very existence of the Sumerians.

2. WiNGKLER (Unlersuehungen, p. 44-45) places this king in the third millennium. naire.

3. The term is from Maspero. Hommel (Geschichte der Völker des alten MorgenlandSj p. 36) believes in the common origin of Egyptian and hamito-coushites. We would gladly admit for Ethiopian languages piennes and Berbers a Semito-Egyptian cross.

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Mesopotamian countries, under the continual shock of the no- of the neighborhood, languages continued to evolve. tion for long centuries before arriving at their form current.

It is precisely the second Semitic race of the Bible, that of the Yaqtan, which must be considered as the first nation of conquering Proto-Semites; celtic race succeeded in seizing Mesopotamia and printing in Syria and Arabia the Semitic physiognomy that they have kept since. You have to look for the main place of stay of these Semites between Indo-Kush and the Per-sique, which explains the fact that later traditions all agree to bring them from Qedem or

Orient *. The fairly high state of civilization, in which we meet them, is perfectly explained by the contact which these ancestors of the Semites had to take with Mesopotamian civilization, before moving to Arabia and in Syria: also they are known, from the earliest antiquity, in the archaic texts of the Bible, under the general name

rique of Beni-Qedem, Eastern Semites, by opposition to the Beni-Ereb or Western Semites, of pos- before the Bible introduced by its general table nealogical divisions that are too subjective and artificial, based only on the state of affairs in the East

tenth century BC.

During their long peregrinations, the Beni-

1. Paradise is in Qedem or east of Adam's place of stay.

after the fall {Genesis, 11.8 and 11.28 ; The ancient peoples who built the Tower of Babel are listed as "having traveled from Qedem" (ibid., XL 2).

In the genealogical table of Genesis, Elam located at Test de la Mesopotamie is rained from Shem. The excavations undertaken in Susa by M. de Morgan and the works of Father Sceil have revealed the high antiquity of this lisation, which already around 2000-2500 BC. AD had overflowed to the Medi-Syrian terrane.

Is this primitive Qedem the mysterious state which, from the second millennium, separates the sea from Mesopotamia and puts (In aux relations commerciales that this country maintained with the Indies? Cf. Winckler, die Pöliische Entwicklung Babyloniens und Assyriens, p. 10.

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Qedem overthrow all proto-Semitic populations or others of obscure origin that they meet on their road: in Mesopotamia, they make themselves masters of the country; in the maritime regions and the desert oases, they filter slowly, but surely, and like the Arabs in Africa, sometimes they exterminate the aborigines and the supplant, sometimes they cross with them. Later, again old branches which are related to them, but which have suffered as a result of a long stay in Chaldea the influence of Mesopotamian civilization, follow them in the same way; they drive back some peoples to the Red Sea, they merge with some others, and the merger between these various ethnic groups give birth to new related races, especially that of the Hebrews (those beyond the Euphrates), the Aramaeans (those from the north tagneux), finally Arabs, a race firmly established in the West tooth: of these clashes, of these crosses of races, of this confusion of genealogical traditions, the authors of the Bible, imbued with a monistic conception, seek to always clearing simple units, which results in strange contradictions.

Indeed, the same peoples, the same groups ethnicities appear in the Bible as belonging sometimes to the couchite branch, sometimes to that of the Yaqtanides and wind even to the young branch, unmistakably Mesopotamian gine, Abrahamids or Hebreo-Araméens \ Let us take a few examples that will support our research.

The genealogical table of Genesis attributes to Cough the following descent: Saba, Havila, Sabta, Ragema father

of Shaba and Vedan. Here all these tribes appear like Cushites congeners of Mizraim and Canaan ^.

1. Cf. rexpession ^ N flN "» mM (Dealer., XXVI, 5): my ancestor (Abraham) was a nomadic Aramaic.

2. Genesis, X, 7. Cough is identical to Ethiopia and is found on 12 MOROCCAN ARCHIVES

However, this same table also attributes to Yaqtan the Semite the jrace of Shaba, Ophir and Havilah, who occupy Arabia as far as the Eastern Mountain (Qedem) *.

Comes a third text that makes Yaqtan-Jaqshan riturean, Abraham's son, ancestor of these same Shaba, Dedan and Epher, the sons of Midian who occupy exactly the territory of Qedema, on the land side of Qedem ".

We will not stop at a fourth and a fifth sources, according to which it was established on the mountains of Qedem and Qadoumala Aramaic race, of which

several peoples bear the names which are already found among the Cushites and the purebred Yaqtanides • ^.

The phenomenon, moreover, would have nothing extraordinary: the genealogy of the Berbers, which likes to attribute to various fractions of the same strain sometimes an origin pure Berber, sometimes a Himyarite origin, sometimes an ori-Jewish or Arab gene (and this according to religious influences or ethnic, depending on the geographical stay and especially according to crossing with other races), provides us with the key to these apparent contradictions which relate to the even an idea of the Orientals.

However, as far as the Berbers are concerned at least, we learned about the root of the problem: we know that in the eponym of Ber, son of Himyar, etc., he must be seen, apart from the crossbreeding of races, foreign infiltrations and other primary circumstances, a more or less homogeneous ethnic group of the two shores of Eritrea. Saba is located south-west of the Arabia (DILMANN, die GenesiSy p. 181).

1. Ibid., \, 26.

2. / 6 / t /., XXV, 25. One easily recognizes in Qetura, the so-called wife of Abraham, Yetur, or the Iturean race.

3. Jbid., XXII and XXV; among others (v. 14), nmpT y \ 'n \

4. We have studied this question in our essay: Judeo-Hellenes and Judeo-Berbers, II, ch. I-III.

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constituting a new race, subdivided in turn into several secondary branches.

Was there something analogous among the races whose the formation was different, but the origin identical?

Could we find, in the present state of our historical births, the generic name for all

Semitic nomads, whose characteristic feature is this direction of their migrations, which carried them from the earliest times in the Orient to the South-West?

Will we find a common term which for the Semites of the first race, would be the equal of "Arabs" in the Islamized, "Berbers" in Africa, "Tartars" for the Mongols, "Slavs" for Eastern Europe?

We believe we can answer affirmatively to this question; we find this generic name in the very geographical term of Qedem which, curiously, occurs simultaneously in several of the lists genealogical records of the Bible; and it coincides with the place of stay of all these races taken as a whole. In

Indeed, the Beni-Qedem of all origins invariably occupied the entire region of Havila and the Red Sea up to than in the Shour * desert; they are always the same nomads which, under various designations, are found on the same extent: Beni-Qedem, Aramaeans, Minéens and Hebrews, a series of congenital races, always form the same. These populations, in their march towards TOccitooth, brought with them elements of a civilization hardly inferior to that of the Egyptians 2. Their language, as indicated by the Semitic terms ^ supplied by the

1. Genesis, XXX, 1 D "ip" "ai y" 'M. According to VVinckler, these peoples lived refit and the south-eastern Red Sea (Geschichle laraeU, II, p. 63). Already there fifth dynasty penetrated Sudan and Pouanit, land of balms and perfumes (HoMMEL, our. cited, p. 61). Y. Genesis, XXV, 6; XXIX, 1; Judges, VI, 3 and 33, etc.

2. Maspero, Hisl. anc, etc., ed. 1905, p. 124.

3. / 6 / d., p. 97-98. * Araou, Harichatou, Habâsa, Tiba-Tema, etc.

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Egyptian texts from the tenth dynasty, was already fundamental strongly Semitic; they knew the art of navigation, since Pharaoh Ounou already boasts of having restrained boldness of the Red Sea pirates. The group before-runner of these Persian Gulf invaders succeeds in settle in Mesopotamia; a second group came ran aground in the northern Red Sea where he founded the kingdom of Qadouma of the Egyptians, Qedema of the texts

Hebrew, later Edom or "red country";

Magan * or Ma'an of the Chaldean texts is only the part east of this agglomeration, as well as Tiba or

Tema should perhaps be regarded as being the southern part.

Successively the Red Sea basin is occupied by these nomads. Maritime races settle in the Pouanit, the Habashet, and begin to dominate the banks African women until then occupied by blacks.

The Egyptian texts specify this passage from the Semitics on the Red Sea. Under the Tenth Dynasty, Qadouma and Tema already existed in Arabia. Their leave-maritime nes begin to invade the African shore still populated by blacks. Pharaoh seeks to react against this occupation of the Nile regions, but he did not only to divert the invaders from Egypt itself 2. Ultimately, Cadmean races, including Ma'an-Minà, Havila and Saba, move from the Gulf of Aqaba to the Gulf of Bab-el-Mandeb. Civilized empires are melting in Nubia and Africa: Nubia is occupied by

1. Hommel, *Gesch. des alten Morgenlands*, p. 41: "Magan der später nach Sûdarabic übertragene Landesname Ma'an, die Minaerder Araber. i "

2. Hommel and Glaser first placed the origins of civilization Ma'anean-Minean ration around the year 2000 (BC). See Lagrange, *Review Biblical*, 1902, p. 250 and following. Today Hommel (op. cit., p. 107) still stands at the date of 1300 as being that of the flowering of civilization of the South Mineans.

> f »Otto Webr (Arabian vor dem hlam ^ p. 15) considers the Mineans BBNI-QUEEM IN BIBLE 15

Havila ^ Shaba and Dedan who disperse and push back the Proto-Semites to interior Africa; the origins of the first layer of Berbers must be sought in this push of the Orientals.

However, the Beni-Qedem remain confined in the country of Qedem, which is their main center, and we back to the historical period of Israel.

The desert of Qedemot is mentioned on the occasion of Exodus -; next to the land of Qedema • * and HarHa-Qedem ^, we have the Qadmoni sea and the Canaanite tribe of Qadmoni ^.

The later traditions of the Hebrews and the Phoenicians all agree to place the origin of these peoples, their beliefs and their civilization in this country of Qedema which corresponds to the peninsula of Sinai: the legends of Peleg and Yaqtan, that is to say of the Semites

after separation, those of Abraham or Nahor (Tera-hides), that is to say the Hebrews and the Aramaeans, relate to this region: the religious origins of the people Israel, its very Olympus, remain dependent on this

first current of Semitic civilization ^.

The wisdom of the Beni-Qedem * ^ is praised by the authors biblical: it continues even at the time when Edom, became in turn vassal and parent of Israel, dominates Petra and the Canaanites as one race, whose origins date back to third millennium.

1. MJ Halévy places Ophir and Havila in eastern Yemen on the shores of the Persian Gulf {Revue des études juive », t. VI, p. 291). HoMiCEL {open, cilé, p. 12) simply places them near the Persian Gulf. We readily admit that the stay in Yemen was only a second phase in the history of this people. The Phoenicians had emporia and dyeing factories in the basin of the Red Sea and Eritrea (cf. Barges, open. cUé, p. 150).
2. Deuter., II, 26.
3. Numbers, XXV, 20; / 6 / rf., XXIII, 7.
4. Genesis, X. 30; Numbers, XXI II, 3,
6. Ibid.t XLI, 6. Qadmoni is often mentioned in the Bible.
6. Cf. WiNCKLER, Geschich, Israels, I, 68-60.
7. I Wood, V, 10.

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and Tema. Witchcraft comes from Qedem ^; the first prophète, Balaam the Midianite, inhabits the Mounts of Qedem ^. We could cite other passages relating to high civilization. sation of the Edomites who, in the Israelite period, occupied the territory of Qadouma and Tema itself.

Names vary, the mother breed never. What her name is Qadouma or, preferably, Qedem, let her be called Edom or Tema, Havila or Ophîr, Dedan or Shaba, Pouanit or Habashet, Coush or Midian, Haggarites or Ishmaelites 3, it is still the perpetuation of the old civilization, the true conqueror of Qedem.

The first nation of seafarers and traffickers, whose caravans crisscrossed from the highest anti-fairness to everyone known to Africa and Asia, including Persian Gulf flotillas debouched skimming the ocean Indian at a time when Chaldea was still the center activity of the civilized world ^ . It is always these Beni-Qedem, these Proto-Phoenicians of Havila, who from the 4th thousand lénaire brought gold and stones from Oman to Chaldea and

from India; it is again they who from Qadouma in the East, of Pouanit and Habashat in the South import Egypt ^, from the time of Hycsos rule, gold, precious stones, balms, perfumes. It is still the Beni-Qedem, who later, under the name of Midianites or even Ishmaelites,

of the appearance of the Israelites, the commerce of the East ^ \

1. hated, II, 6.
2. Numbers f XXIII, 7. Note that the Rubéntde clan of " ^ l ^ n is found among the Midianites. See Genesis, XXV, 4; I Chron., V, 8.
3. Midian is often assimilated to the Coushites. Cf. Numbers ^ XII, I; Haba-eue, m, 7, etc.

On the other hand, the Kenites and the Midianites are subordinate groups. born in Beni-Qedem (Wingkler).

4. In the third millennium, Egyptian ships entered without intermediaries in Pouanit. Meltzer, Gesch. der Karthager, I, 17.
5. Maspero, open. cile, p. 195.
6. Abraham's family seems to have monopolized the trade since his beginnings; Douma, Tema, Kedar, Nebaïot, Midian, Épha, Dedan, Shaba, BENI-QEDEM IN BIBLE 17

Gushites, they are in Havilah or Ophir among a popu-proto-Semitic relationship, to be Hamites to Ma'an and Sinai under Egyptian rule; Semites, then Midia-

nites, Dedanites * and Ishmaelites in areas where the Abrahamids install themselves as masters. In those ancient times These peoples, in their traffic, are already showing suppleness, surprising faculty of assimilation which makes the fortune of the Hebrew-Phoenicians of the historical period. One conclusion, although quite negative, is in order. Among these civilized populations, traders, who dominate the Semites by religion, traditions, no mention is made of the Phoenician people as such; never there is no question of a role the Canaanites would have play; before the twelfth century, there is never any question of Palestinian Phenica. Already the Hebrews appear as a historical entity; Edom, Ammon and Moab are melt; Israel enters the scene with the Song of Deborah; only the Phoenicians figure at the time of the Judges alone ment, under the name of Sidonians. Even they make their appeal appearance in history next to Maon and ^ Amaleq ^, that is that is to say, the Beni-Qedem of Eritrea par excellence; But they only appear as the Shasu-Shosim of the Bible, Bedouin "plunderers" that no one would dare to take for Yetour. etc., all these children of Abraham engage in commerce (Cf.

Mo ¥ ERS, *ibid.*, II, III, p. 272).

1. SynceUus asserts that the Phoenicians are descended from the Dedan who originally inhabited the shores of the Persian Gulf. Josephus {Aniiq., I, 6, 2} places this people, whom he calls Judah-Dan, in Ethiopia (Movers, *die Phônizier*, II, I, 69). Dedan of the prophet is Ad-Dan, Attana of the Gulf Persian of Pliny (Cf. our appendix V).
2. JugcÈ ^ X, 12. It will be noted that the Sidonians figure in this passage like the elders of the Mao'nites and the Amalekites. For us it This is an invasion of Palestine by nomadic Beni-Qedem who came from the Sinai peninsula. It was these successive invasions of the Beni-Qedem, which should be attributed the founding of Sidon (derived from the name of generic god Sid), that of the cities which bear the name of Ma'on or Baal-Ma * on, as well as the installation of the Amalekites in Mount of Ephraim (Cf. Judges, V, 14; XII, 15). Once again the tradition classic on the Eritrean origin of the Sidonians is corroborated.

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civilized Phoenicians; no mention of trade and industry, which they would have exercised at the time of triarchs, like that of the Judges. These are still the Mid-Dianites and the Israelites who do the work of the Canaanites of the historical period. So it's not like Phéni-ciens, that the first Semitic elements burst in Palestine, but much like Beni-Qedem: the sanctaires, the primitive mythology of the ancient inhabitants of Syria, their most accredited traditions, the terms geographical and onomastics denote an ancient in-Cadmean fluency to such a visible point that we believe see the problem of the role played by the Beni-Qedem in as civilizers of the Levant, before the Egyptians would not have established their authority on the borders of Syria. This conception of the nomadic Siatou or Semites in a pre-hycsosist period is sufficiently known to us * by Egyptian texts so that we may not insist on it. Let's just say that the Heavenly Pantheon of these populations is dominated by the god El-Chronos ^ who forms the characteristic trait of the Semites 3; it's there that dominates the theology of the nomads *, which presides over the tion of the ancient Phoenician cities already in existence, before the penetration of Egyptian ideas in Asia. And it seems that, under the diversity of names according to the countries and the tribes,

we still worshiped the same god of Qedem, like more later Baal Shamaïm manages to impose his name on all the Aramaic deities *. Let's explain.

1. The Siatou are probably the nW = nTn ^: i of the Bible (Cf. Numbers, XIV, 17); on the presumed origin of Jehovah's worship in the son of Set cf. Genesis, IV, 24.
2. It is the collective Elohim of Shamaïm subdivided into local deities

of which it is the summary (see note I, sup).

8. Lagrange, Et. On the relig. Semitic ^ p. 71 and suir., Where this author summarizes the various opinions expressed on this subject.

4. El Elion is the god of all the Hebrews, we worshiped him under a tree [Genesis, XII, 18; XXI, 33], on a mountain [ibid., XXII, 2], on a spring j6., XXI, 27], on bethyl stones (i6., XVIII, 18). See Movers, i6 / d, 1.8.

THE BENI'QEDEM IN BIBLE 19

The term Qedem implies an etymological value double: seniority (Chronos) and Levant. In the mytho-Greek logy Cadmos or Cadm-El is the son of Agénor (the Ocean and the Moon ^).

For the Semites, it is the collective name of the seven deities (the Cabirim) who, according to the Babylonian conception and Hebrew, corresponds to the idea of the seven planets. These seven heavens are linked in the Bible to the term "Heavens from the Heavens of Qedem" ^ . But each of these heavens, whose

Hebrew literature had preserved for us the names distincts, equivalent to a Sky-God (Ouranos) of the ancient Pantheon of Qedem. Moreover, Jehovah himself hears God from Zabaot ("heavenly armies") seems to be linked to the myth cadmean. Here is the list of these seven deities celestial according to the Talmud: Vilon; Raqia (firmament); Shehaqim; Zebul; Ma'on; Builder ; Arabot ^.

The fact that many of these names identify with those of the Semitic peoples allows us to suppose that were the eponymous deities, who later took place in the Pantheon of the Semites as falling under Qedem. Perhaps Har Ha-Qedem was the Olympus of Cadmeans, like Mecca Test for Arabs, like Jerusalem Test for the Hebrews? Among these heavenly gods, Ma'on-Minos, the god of the Mé'unim-Minéens, seems to us be the oldest: it corresponds to the name under which Sar-

1. Agénor is Chnas Îp or yj! L ^ according to a Greek grammarian and according to the Liuredes Jubilees; Pietschmann, Gesch, der Phônizier, p. 98.

2. Dip " att? ^ aW3 23IS. Psalms, LXVIII. 34.

3. UoMMEL, open. cUéy p. 48; Winckler, ibid. \ Lagrange, opr, cit., Passim.

4. Talm. Babyl., Tr. Haguiga, f. 126. (Cf. tr. Nedarim, f. 39.) Tf \ 7IS ^ 1 nniy pD pya Sn *? o ^ pn ^.

Viion has no attributes: Raqia keeps the sun, moon and stars; Sbehaqim is reserved for the righteous; Zebul is the sky where lie located Jerusalem, the temple, the altar and the angel Michael; Ma'on is the seat Angels ; Mason, the home of snow, storms, hailstones; Arabot is the seat of the divine chariot. It goes without saying that this list varies with the middle and time.

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gon d'Agade designates the first sedentary Semitic people, the very one the Egyptians know as

Qadouma: it is the name which generalizes later with the Me'onim from biblical times, the Mauneans of the Egyptians of the second empire, the Minéens of mythological authors

classics: their original territory is the land of revelation
 tion of Moses and the cult of Sinai *.
 Ma'on, Elohim de Qedem (the god of Time), is at
 repeatedly identified with the ancient God of Israel.
 Moses' blessing tells us, "Ma'on ^ Elohim de
 Qedem is the one who drove out the enemies. " In this passage
 Ma'on is associated with Shehaqim and Arabot which correspond
 lay eggs in the third and seventh heavens.
 c <Ma'on, you were ours, from generation to generation,
 before mountains and men existed 'M', exclaims
 the Psalmite in an epiphany, which certainly relates to
 the idea of Chronos. The Levite will say the same *.
 Habacouc does not do otherwise when he exclaims:
 "Isn't it from Qedem Yahou?" "(Still in the sense of
 Chronos) ...

Several localities in Palestine bear the name of Ma'on
 and show us the penetration of this cult in this country.
 Let us mention for example Bet-Ma'on, Gour-Ma'on and even
 Baal-Ma'on, name which is the equivalent of Baal-Shamaïm. The
 Ma'onites are at war with the Israelites; David them
 subdues and Judaizes them; this king, as well as his successes-
 1. Cadmos (Qlp), Macar (J ^ C), Minos (J T ^) are three celestial gods;
 Carl Niebuhr. Gesch. des Hebräischen Zeitalters, I, p. 67. Ma'on and Mines
 are one (cf. Movers, i6 / d., 1, I, p. 32 and I, I, p. 264).
 2. Deuter., XXXIII, 27. The early version of Ma * on ^ VQ is pre-
 sumée by the Talmudic passage of Megillah, f. 9.
 H. Psalms, XC, I. Cf. also Samuel, II, 29 and 32; Doubt., XXVI, 15;
 Psalms, LXXI, 3; / 6 / d., LXVIII, 6; II, Chron., XXX. 27 (• ^ ^ Tp ^ ITC
 4. Deuler., VI, 15. "{Oip y ^ TOII n2 ^ ptt7n. All these passages are connected with
 fall into sacred terminology.

THE BENI-QEDEM IN BIBLE 21

sisters, seizes Elat, the city of the Ma'onim; later
 we meet them, with the Nefousséens, among the
 Judeans returned with Ezra ^

In Hebrew Tetymology Ma'on is the synonym
 of Zebul, terms which both mean "abode".
 This sky occupies a special place in the celestial map:
 it must be attached to one of the purest groups
 ethnicities of Israel, of which the tribe of Zabulon was the last
 branch.

It is in Carmel that we will find a sanctuary
 consecrated to the invisible God who recalls that of Sinai. Good
 that the name of Baal-Zebulne is known to us, it seems,
 that at a later time ^ we should not consider
 as a simple coincidence the fact that in the recognized part
 the oldest of Solomon's dedication the temple is
 called the "Bet-Zeboul" next to Mason 3, which corresponds to
 lays in the sixth heaven, where the "mists" reside.

Jerusalem is located in the sky says Zebul,
 the temple and Michael, the genius of the Hebrew people ”.

Like Ma'on, Zebul is the Chronos god of the Hebrews,
 the "El-Elion" who is worshiped in Jerusalem and Sidon ^.
 Qedem is therefore a Cadmean divinity who, among the
 Semites of the pre-Egyptian period, marks an attribute
 of God-Heaven. To return to the subject of our research,
 we can now make the following hypothesis:

before the establishment of the Hebrews in Palestine and before
 the invasion of the Hycsos in Egypt, the Semitic antiquity
 known in the country that today is referred to as
 name of Arabia and in the dependencies of that country, a
 more or less independent civilization, a conception

1. Ezra, II, Z \ Nehemiah, VII, 52.

2. Cf. ch. V (Movers, Die Phoenizier, I, I, p. 261).
 3. I Wood ^ VIII, 3. Mason is the sky of rains, hailstones, Jebovah does not do otherwise.
 4. Barges, ibidem; cf. . 1727 "TC ^ TIT ^^ CG ^ '{Habac.y III, 11).

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nun probably related to that of Chaldea ^
 but having its own character.

This civilization, these beliefs varying with the tribes are attached to a single origin, which means that the whole seems ethnic of the Beni-Qedem, as later the Beni-Ereb or the Arabs, will form a new race mitique. It doesn't matter what the Egyptians call names different from each other, Qedema or Qadouma or Adouma ^ the center of this civilization which marks the first first stage of the march of the Cadméens of the Persian Gulf towards the Red Sea; at that time nothing separated yet

the sons of Qedem of the Hebrews, the Phoenicians and other breeds of secondary training.

1. The old one, Qadouma or country of the Beni-Oedcm, becomes after the invasion of Hycsos Adouma-Edom or Red Country (Winckler, Gesch. Israel, I, p. 45). When we think of the persistence of the tradition which leads to Phoenicians of the Uouge Sea, confused between phoenix and çoivtxr ^ ç (the red ^ vp 45 et seq.) ^ to the presence in Ty riens mythology of the myth of Esaus-Esau, we can only further affirm the Cadmean origin and Phoenician. A response (iuc the troubles caused by the Hycsos, several siour traffickers of Qadouma-Adouma go back to the Phé nicie.

III

CANAAN AND COUSH

In the third millennium, Qedem, the south-east of Mesopotamia where the Semites place their Eden, seems to be became a hotbed of conquering populations. Parallelment to the movement of the Arians personified in the legend of King Indo-Thyriss *, a movement which ended in the Occupation North and Europe by Indo-Europeans and probably for the same economic or social reasons, the appearance of a new southern race is reported heading south. This one seems to have carried the name from Coush; Canaan would be the eldest. Originally, she lived was the shores of the Persian Gulf. They are already the conquered rants Phoenicians, as Winckler calls them, who parent of Chaldea and they push their conquests more far. It is the race which is personified by Nimrod, the chasbefore the Eternal, the eponym of the Cushites, who first in Semitic Mesopotamia, then to be driven back to the Red Sea 3. This is how M. Maspero

1. Maspero, opr, quoted, p. 125.
 2. HoMMEL (Ouvr, cited, p. 64) places the invasion of the Coushites around 1900. The names of the kings of the Hammurabi dynasty are not absolutely Phoenicians as Winckler {Gesch believes. Israel ", II, 30), but purely and silly Hebrews. Cf. Hammourabi 3TQV, Abichoua ^ TI ^^ IN, Schoumoulou SmlQVi Amouzadoca p113? ^ OV.

This author (/ 6 / d., P. 65) places the date of the invasion of the Hycsos in Egypt around 1800. However if we exclude the term of Salitis (Q ^ SuT) the names of the Hycsos and Hittite kings (Apopi, Khayan), like those of the Hit-
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sums up this turmoil of peoples, which he also considers Semites concentrated on the western and southern shores

end of the Persian Gulf. "These Test populations had learned the art of navigation and were enriched by the trade. Their caravans walked through the Arabian desert to the coast of Africa. A premy adventure had already thrown Coush the elder in the pool of the Nile. A second led the Pouanit from south to north from Egypt. The descent of the Elamites in Chaldea ny had not be a stranger. They left their homeland and turned to manage towards the West, drawing in their wake the peoples they met on the road. According to some, they would have followed the course of the Euphrates, would have rested in the vicinity of Babylon, then would have entered in Syria. According to Arab historians, they crossed the gorge of the Arabian Peninsula, from the mouth of Euphrates to the Jordan Valley *. When they arrive, they the half-barbarian nations easily overthrown, probably the so-called Hamite populations (proto-Semites?), Rephaim, Nephilini, Zamzumim, may tradition oppose, and they seized the whole country. After having conquered Syria, they rushed on Egypt (around 1900), seized Memphis of the North, gave themselves King Shalati and inaugurated the Pastors' period in Egypt. "

This invasion of the Hycsos or pastoral kings marks a turning point in the history of the world: it brings Egypt, which until then stood in what we would call a "Superb isolation", in the orbit of the Semitic world. But who were these invading pastors? The fact that titcs (see our p. 38) are hardly Semitic in appearance. The Coushites are not Semites, but they are followed by Cadmean populations. In Africa, where 1 Egyptian element predominates, the pasleur kings are hamitized. In Syria, they are under the ascendancy of the indigenous Semites.

1. Justin, I, XIII, c. 14.) 2. Perceval cushion, I, 33, 512.

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this invasion of nomads could have modified the map ethnicity of the ancient world, makes it resemble migrations of the peoples of the beginning of the Middle Ages.

It was a melee of peoples pushed by pastors, but there is no doubt that the Beni-Qedem, born of force by these "hunters", be attracted by the gain, largely participated in this movement *.

The traders of the Red Sea convoy were too much of Mizraim's riches not to seek to throw the nomads from the Orient on this side: alone, the advanced civilization of the Beni-Qedem, which

the Pastors, explains this fact that the Hycsos have was able to remain in Egypt and foment religious struggles there gious.

The tradition of a Canaanite migration has continued in the Greek world with singular precision. According to Herodotus 2, the Phoenicians (who are Canaanites, says Manetho) come from the Eritrean Sea. Homer {Odysée, IV, 84} and following it Eustathe {Schol. in Odys.} ^ do hint. Strabo ^ reported, without believing it, the same tradition attested by the people of the Persian Gulf where we found the names of Sidon, Tire and Arad and where the temples were similar to those of the Phoenicians. Pliny relates the same facts • '. Justin indicates the circumstances of this migration: Tyriorum gens condiia a Phœnicibus fuil ^ qui terras moi u vexaii relicio patriœ solo ad Syrium siagnum primo mos mari proximum lilus inco-luerunt condiia ibi urbe grama a piscium Sidona ^ Sidona

calls verunl ^ nam pisces phœnices Sidon vocantl ^.

1. Cf. NieBUHR, die Gesch. Zeiiallers delJebràer; Munk, Palestine, p. 197.

2. Herodotus, I, 2; IV, 27; VII, 89; XVI, 4.

3. Cf. Lagrange, op. cited, p. 57-8.

4. Strabon, XVI, 3, 4.

6. His, Nat., IV, 36.

6. XVIII, III, 2-4. Arab pirates still meet in the

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Fr. Lagrange believes that Lake Syria is the Sea

Dead and he brings this passage closer to the text of Numbers (XIII, 29) that the Canaanites inhabit Arad in the south.

And he adds: "If the Phoenicians were already sailors on the coasts of the Persian Gulf and the Bahrain Islands, we can explain what better way, in the first impetus of their

migration, they became sailors on the banks of the Mediterranean. »M. Berger * notes that the Phoenicians

belonged to the cushite race. We see them appear already under Thutmes III as tributaries of Pharaoh,

laden with the objects of their trade, gold, silver,

lapis-lazuli and richly decorated metal vases. Gold,

"Not only do these men not have the Semitic type,

but they have sparse beards and red skin and offer the

greater analogy with the Egyptians ". Only,

Winckler atrès bien vu- that it is not as simple

merchants that the Phoenicians wielded so much influence

in the West, in Greece, in Africa, in Spain. This does not

are not simple counters that they founded; they have

occupied the ground, sometimes rather before in the grounds. Their

expansion is best explained as a true conquest

table as the result of traffic. This migration

resembles that of Islam: however, it is especially at the beginning

let such a movement deploy all its strength.

However, is it necessary to see in the Hycsos these

Phoenicians traffickers? The fact that a Canaanite tribe oc-

was, at the time of the Exodus, on the very edge of Egypt,

would one part of the country be sufficient to establish it? Is it

village of Zur, near Aqaba (Lagrange, ouvr. cité, p. 38). It is proba-

the name of liy y ^ Uges, VII, 26; hated, X, 2 ^). Tyr Tarabique

(such would be the meaning of this term) is concealed under the name of the chief

médiamie "" "HiJoëué, XIII, 21j. This Zur, according to the biblical texts, read

the king of the midianite-roubenidc tribe "ti: in.

1. Phénicia, p. 2 (see above).

2. Die Bedeutung der Phônizier für die Kulturen des Mittelmeers [ZeiU-
chrifl für Sozialwissenschaft ^ t. VI, 1903).

CANAAN AND COUSH 27

certain that the Canaanites and the Phoenicians form a

single race? In the opinion of the old authors themselves, nothing is

less sure. The genealogical table of the Bible cannot

provide us with sufficient evidence for a time too

steephead Valley.

According to the source of Jules l'Africain (alias Manéthon) ^

these Hycsos or Pastors were Phoenicians. Only,

Josephus, according to this same Manetho 2, brought them from

rOrient, adding that according to some they would have been Arabs:

Mr. Maspero, who sees in the invading chiefs of the Khati,

now says that the bulk of the population was Semitic.

The opinion of the famous orientalist deserves all our attention.

tion. Information from ancient authors on a

great migration, coming from the Persian Gulf towards the beginning

the beginning of the third millennium, are too affirmative. " Hey-

rodote in his account of the formation of Tire reports the

testimony of the Phoenicians. Strabo took in an onolocal mastic, whose persistence, if it could be controlled, would be the best evidence. "Winckler believes recognize Canaanites in the dynasties of Our and Lagash ^.

Fr. Lagrange ^ is surprised to see M. Maspero return on his thesis and consider the Khati as the chiefs of the invasion, possibly the Ilycsos themselves.

Only, M. Maspero, with the clairvoyant sagacity which characterizes it, has very well grasped the connection between the appearance of the Hycsos kings-shepherds and the Semitic peoples from the East. The fact that Hittites and Hycsos worshiped the same god (Soutouch) is very important: the Hycsos or pastoral kings would not be

they are not more restless tribes who, like the Franks and

1. *Fragm. Hist. Grxc.j* ed. Didot, II, p. 566-8.

2. *Against Appion*,

3. *Getch. Babylonians and Assyrians*, I. *Ges. / sr.*, II, 80.

4. No. cited.

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of the Huns, led to heterogeneous populations, and Wouldn't it be more rational to see in this population conquering a couchite military hegemony which pose to the Semites? This is the opinion of the biblical author, that no new fact has yet come to contradict *.

The period preceding this movement is illustrated by the reign of Hammourabi, founder of the monarchy Babylonian, the one who moved definitively, in favor of this city, the axis of the domination of Mesopotamia. Nine out of eleven names of the kings of the Hammou dynasty-rabi are more Arab than Chaldean. It's a short story Semitic race which freed Chaldea and the West from the yoke elamite. Among these "Arabs" we find names that are Hebrew 2. According to the Bible, Eber has two sons, Yaqtan and Peleg; the first is the father of the Arabs, the other of Aramaeans and Hebrews. The two races would therefore have the same Hebrew origin.

This movement, which sets in motion the tribes of second Semitic race, which spread, with the help of Couchites, on the West, was to come up against everywhere Cadmean populations firmly established in the fertile regions of Arabia and Syria; at least the language and proper names are already the same; the divinities do not change either.

Only nothing proves that these Semites are the Hycsos and the ancestors of the Phoenicians; nothing proves especially that the Canaanites are Semites and that the language Canaanite or Hebrew; on the other hand, we admit willingly with the Bible, Josephus and M. Maspero that the

1. The Hittite proper names found in the texts of Tell El-Amarna have a non-Semitic appearance: Kourigalzou, Barraburias the Kanachean (Canaanite? Hommel, *ibid* , p. 90), Nawaizama, etc.

The recent excavations undertaken by \ Vinckler provide us with the following names: Khatousil, Shoubilouli, Moursilou, etc. (Maspero, *Daynal of the Debates of June 21, 1908*).

2. See ch. previous.

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Hycsos, the Khati (and the Canaanites) have the same ori-

gine: both do not appear in the texts before the invasion of the Hycsos. It is a breed of cushite hunters who everywhere form a dominante: in Egypt and Ethiopia, a country already recently colonized by the Egyptians, they are absorbed by the Egyptians and gave birth to a whole series of Hamitic peoples; those of them who settle in Syria, in the region of Lebanon especially S are subject to effects of the same law; as a minority, they let themselves be absorbed by the Semitic Cadmeans.

The genealogical table of Genesis assimilates the Hittites, the Canaanites and the Sidonians to the Egyptians: all are part of the Hamitic race which is foreign in the land of the Semites 2.

What has since been called the "red race" is not, in fact, than a mixture of the Semitized Egyptians and Cushites. Thus Adouma-Edom only replaces Qadouma-Qedem Period of the Hycsos. Perhaps a distant kinship linked it these two peoples. With regard to the Semitics, at least, the Hamites never knew how to absorb them. ber: in South Arabia we consider the natives of Havilah and the Sabeans as Cushites; in palestine even, they are considered foreigners, although they seem blent to have spoken the language of the Hebrews at the time of the predominance of this people ^.

1. Renan [Mission of Phenicia, p. 358] shows the little influence that a Phoenician element had exercised over the mountain populations. On the other hand, he notes the influence of Egypt on Phenicia (16 / d., pp. 70100).

WiNCKLER {Die Völker Vorderasiens, p. 20} suggests the idea that the Khati quests would be the precursors of the Indo-Germans.

2. J. HALÉvYleur attributes a Hittite origin {Rev. S "m., I, 3, p. 31}. In reality Libyans, Canaanites, Hittites and probably also the D ^ ns of Cyprus only make one breed of mixed origin.

3. WiNCKLER, Gesch. Israel " ^ p. 52, places the beginnings of the Amorites in fifteenth century. This assumption must conform to reality.

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Taking advantage of the weakness of Egypt and the Chaidée, the Pastors are heading south. In the time of Menophis III and IV, Rab-Abdiy king of Byblos, complains about the attacks of the Hittites, as the king of Tire complains of those of the Amorites. For the Phoenician cities, these newcomers are barbarians, invaders of alien race. The fact that

the Hittites dominated for many centuries several Syrian regions and that they have never been able to impose themselves on natives, shows us an uncivilized conquering race and few in number *.

Jensen correctly remarked that Khati was minus one name of people than name of country 2.

If the Bible links the Hittites to the Hamitic race cushite of whom Canaan is the brother, by that she means that this people was a foreign people, invader of a country who was Semitic, where he was only a minority ^. Besides -Josèphe and Julien l'Africain do not contradict each other:

the Canaanites led in their train populations Arabs, among others Havilah, Saba, etc., all Cadmen who dominated the commerce of the world.

But whatever ; the Hycsos invasion caused a transformation in the ethnic map of the Orient: it is a period which recalls that of the beginnings of the tianism; from the clash of races and beliefs are born nations, come out of religions.

The five centuries of pastoral rule were not not infertile. Egypt is emerging from this half-semi-tized; Western Arabia and Nubia * have since taken

1. Cf., the Texts of Tell El-Amarna; Carl Niebuhr, die Tell-el-Amarna ZeiL
2. ZeiUchrift der Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges., T. XLVIII, p. 245; Barn, open cile ^ p. 60.
3. Cf. among others, Genesis, XII, 6; XIII, 7, etc. The Hittites appear felt only under the nineteenth dynasty (Meltzrr, op. ciléy I, .p. 18).
- 4 ^ Cf. Maspero, Ouvr, ciléy p. 24.

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their Hamitic aspect. The Delta does not stop rer a place of abode of the Semites.

In Syria, the peoples who had possessed these regions in the days of the ancient Egyptian empire had faded almost completely. Surprised by the great invasion Canaanite, protected by the Hycsos, they had been in partly destroyed, partly absorbed by the conquerors. If Egypt is subject to Semitic influence, Palestine later becomes a political dependency and morality of Egypt.

This phenomenon, which occurred in East Asian

Nile, had to be repeated in West Africa.

Cain. From the domination of the Ilycsos, the texts Egyptians make mention of those peoples who, under their various names of Machacha, Rotenou or Lotenu * or even of Lebou-Lehabim, constitute the Libyan race which was to then swarm to northern Africa *.

The movement, starting from the Red Sea to head towards North and East Africa, has become almost a law history for the non-black races of the African continent; the Proto-Semites related to the Egyptians should not not escape this rule, like the Cousho-Poutites under the pressure of the Canaanites and the Hebrews.

Once the hypothesis of the arrival of the Libyans in Libya at the beginning of the II® millennium, it remains to be established by historical testimonies • ^.

1. Le9Lotenou-Rotcnou (J t3lS "t3l ^ ^ 2 1) bring to Pharaoh (ten-eight th dynasty) presents in silver, balms and negroes of Cousoh. Arvad, Samyra, Beruth, Tyr, Acco, Jaffa appear in the texts (M ELTZER, Gesch. der Karthager ^ l ^ p. 18).

2. The Machoucha-Mazices, Masutæ. The Egyptians call the nomades of western maritime Temhu or Tahcna (fair skin) and those of Lebu or Rebu desert (Meltzer, Ouvr, cited, p. 52, ibid., 65). HebuLebu appear around 1300 beyond Cyrenaica. No monument, no remembrance of an Egyptian influence prior to the Eighteenth Dynasty does not exist there (Meltzer, ihid., p. 63).

3. Cf. WiNCKLER, die Bedeutung der Phœnizier [Zeilschrift filr Sozial-wiênsensch., VI, 1903]; Landau, ouvr, cited, p. 30.

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In the first place, let us note that until the time of the Hycsos the commercial activity of the world was between India and Mesopotamia; only in relationships that seem to have existed between Mesopotamia ^ and Medi-terranée, the Phoenicians and the maritime cities of Palestine are not for nothing.

Perhaps we should cite here the Lydians, the Meonîe of Homer, whom Herodotus presents as the first people world trader.

It was only with the conquests of the Hycsos that the frame maritime expands; maritime relations between Egypt

and Mediterranean countries are establishing themselves; the "peoples of the Sea" (including the non-Palestinian Phoenicians) on- lie and begin to play a considerable role. Let us only take up the texts which * relate to the first appearance of the Phoenicians. These appear as the Mediterranean becomes a center of civilization, where commercial transits cials are established between it and the Red Sea; a push

of civilization towards the north manifests itself from this moment.

The Phoenicians may therefore have been fractions Coushite or Cadmean populations who, if they do not did not provoke the Pastors' invasions, took advantage of them at least to extend their activity to the north, under the protection of Shaliti-Hycsos.

Strabo, when he brings in the Phoenicians from the Gulf Persian * ^, confirms the primitive origins of the peoples navigators, whose southern towns bore the names of Sidon and Arvad before the very existence of these cities.

When Justin, " usually very knowledgeable, indicates in round numbers the year 2000 as the date of

1. HoMMEL, opr, cited, p. 60.
2. See above, p. 31. Cf. Munk, Palestine, p. 79.
3. See above, ibid., And Mu? Ck, ibid, p. 78.

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first appearance of the Phoenicians in the Levant, its statement fits perfectly with the role played actually the Hycsos in this push north.

And when Herodotus * brings them from the Red Sea Phoenicians from Palestine, he tells us that these few ples had kept the memory of their previous stay in the land of Edom, "Eritrea".

All these clues tie together, as the table does genealogy of the Bible and the myth of Cadmos, the nicians to other Cadméens traders.

Diodorus of Sicily ^, above all, is right to note the presence in Africa of a Libo-Phoenician race: it is there Egyptian Cadmeans, as there were in Palestine of the Hebrew Philistines and Canaanites. The language does not Gnificant nothing for a trafficker people. The Libo-Phoenicians de Leptis never spoke Hebrew ^. Besides, the Jews provide us with the best example of how easy it is with which of the trading colonies change their language. However, there must have been a family link between the Phoenicians and the ancient Beni-Qedem, which once moreover arise the problem of the origin of the ethnic name of the Phoenicians: should we see in the Phoenicians Egyptized Beni-Qedem or the Semitized Cushites ^? The Egyptian texts, which alone could have brought us lord, are silent on this point: for the Pharaohs of fifteenth century, the Libyan coast is called Dzech or Tech, while Phenicia is called Tahou-Zahi; this is the same name which seems to indicate "fair skin ^".

1. II, i, 69.
2. See further on p. 42.
- S. Cf. ibid.
4. It is only after the disappearance of the Hycsos that we meet the Ma- choucha, the Lebou (with blue eyes), these ancestors of the Berbers. In 1300,

the Lebou, the Machoucha and the Qehaq join forces with the peoples of the sea during the invasion of Egypt (Meltzer, *ibid.*, p. 64).

5. Cf. HoMMEL, *ibid.*, ^ p. 83. The author translates this term as die Schûnme-
BE? IDE.

ARGH. MOROCCO. 3

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Hebrew sources first know the Phoenicians
ciens under the various names of the traffickers of
TArabie, to link them later to Canaan and the
peoples of the sea.

"But it is astonishing," says their last historian S, that the
Phoenicians, as a people and as a race, have never
had a distinct ethnic name. "

The following fact shows that this astonishment is not
justified.

The Phoenicians were never a people apart; as
the Jews of the Diaspora they constituted a caste, of
preferably the trafficking and industrial caste of the peoples
old. Cadméens- Maritimes, they were not long in
adopt the language and customs of their masters
sopotamians. Maritime Semites, they let themselves be easy
to assimilate, when the Canaanite race entered
on stage, by the Couthite and Egyptian civilizations. Only
their esprit de corps and their economic interests, which
dominated world trade, explain autonomy
relative which they enjoyed in their maritime emporia.
From this point of view, the invasion of the Hycsos is a
important in the history of international relations
ancient world: a first Semitic invasion had
transported the center of gravity of the Persian Gulf in
Eritrea; a second, guided by the Hycsos or Cou-
shite hunters, had carried it to Egypt, a
Terranean par excellence.

1. PiETSCHMANN, *Gesch. dtr Phônizier* ^ p. 96.

'J.? Note the term "Cadmos l'Errant", which, for antiquity,
from the "Wandering Jew" of the Middle Ages. (Cf., among others, Herodotus, *Hist.*,
IV, 147; V, 87, etc.) The Cadmean colonies are often expelled.
Moreover, "the Phoenicians are cited in Homer as cunning com-

merchants and that's it "(M. Bréal, *ibid.*, p. 36).

IV

CADMEANS AND PHOENICIANS

The eddy of nomadic nations determined by
Hycsos and that we have rightly compared to the
Arab invasions, was not to stop until the formation
tion of the people of Israel. Egypt, half-Semitized, in-
drags in its orbit Syria and Libya which for
long must have been its satellites; mixture of races,
mixture of beliefs between the two continents continues to
will more.

The power of the Pastors in Egypt has not been
long duration: these Canaanites wore out, underwent the ascension
of Egyptian civilization and ended by succumbing
ber: their last armed effort, that the help of the new
a nomadic race, that of the Hebrews and Aramaeans,
had not pressed, broke against the national resistance
nal of the Egyptians; there is certainly a large background of
historical truth in the account of Manetho reproduced by
Josephus on the expulsion of the Pastors long before] took
final of Auaris. The Pastors that this author identifies with
the Canaanites (Phoenicians) flock, according to him, on the Pales-
tine: there they were able to rely on their fellows, the
Hittites.

1. The emigration of part of the Hycsos army to Syria is confirmed. mée by Manetho, by Polkmon (Eusebius, 1. X, c. 11), by Syncellus, 120, by Tacitus, III "/. V, II and until by Aboulfeda (Antéislamique ^ p. 179, ed. Fleischer). Cf. Movcbs, yes \ cited ^ 1, 1, p. 35. 30 MOROCCAN ARCHIVES

The biblical sources, in which, at the time of patriarchs, there is no question of the Canaanites yet, talk about it after the domination of the Hycsos; in the texts Egyptians, the name Canaan has been found very frequently. These invaders are characterized by their su-military period. The Canaanites, people of the plain, owned iron chariots which had until the time of David to inspire terror in nomadic Hebrews; this trait common to them with the Hittites and the peoples of Libye, which are presented to us in the Egyptian texts as traveling in ox-drawn carts. It's a simple confirmation of the genealogical table, which attributes to the peoples of tybie and to the Canaanites an origin common couthite.

Diodorus of Sicily * tells us about existence in Africa, before the arrival of the Phoenicians, of Libo-Phoenician populations

ciens came by land, populations of the same origin than the Tyro-Sidonicns, to whom they owe their success colonial. The Jubilee and Enoch books (sources from 135 BC. AD) state that Canaan stayed primitively on the African coast and that he did not seize the lestine only by "sedition".

Josephus identifies the Getulas with Ilavila or Haula de la Bible: he brings them from the Red Sea ^; this same author attributes to Africans an Iturean origin (Terahid) and it indicates the existence in Africa of two races: the 1. IV, r »5. 20. The Libo-Phoenicians are Phoenician Libyans or Cadméoiis borliêrisosi, It is the same population which occupied many many maritime islands, but which already occupied the fertile country of Tell SiRADON, 17, 3>. The example of Leplis iSalluste, BJ, LXXVII) el de Sabralha, Mft / kr, ourr. c // c, I, note 2. ")), two Libo-Phoenician towns it "where one did not speak the Phoenician" should be generalized.

The mHo of Hadrunièle cf. r"2"jrM owes ^ -on origin to an ery- colony-thr «HMuie. \ en "lexrait be the same of Carthae, the ancient Canibaou Kadmea of a \ ant rimiu: i: ration tyrieime.

2. .11 .. " , I. 1, r>. Ci. (IA- ^ ri.R, r.ftrorJi-U ^ s ofJerahniicl, 189i), p. 68. CL our

el. ; JiU.'O'iicii ^ 'itrs HJud (.ol> vr hères, l. IL cil. 1-liL CADMEENS AND PHOENICIANS 37

Cushites from the south and the Abrahamids, Semites from the north.

The legislative texts of the Talmud, generally very reserved regarding marriage restrictions

with the good guys, don't hesitate to attribute to the Libyans natives a common origin with the Egyptians ^

It is therefore in Egypt, and at a time which should not be prior to the domination of the Hycsos, which must be sought dear the problem of the origins of the Phoenicians. It's at the Libo-Phoenicians, mixed population of Cushites and merchant Cadmeans who had been influenced Egyptian, that we should see the origin of their activity maritime.

We have already pointed out the relative importance that must be attribute to differences in language and writing. It is possible that the ^ first Phoenicians, who came to the Mediterranean under the leadership of the Hycsos, quickly forgot their Semitic language to be influenced by the Egyptian-Berbers; it is also possible that the Libyan script ^,

so different from the Phoenician, or the prototype of the alphabet Cadméen and that this writing, whose Egyptian origin yours was assumed by Champollion and Ilalévy, i.e. the oldest of the known writings ^; if we admit it, there is has more to wonder why the Semites of Syria

continued to use cuneiforms: writing, already widespread in Arabia, Africa and even in the islands Mediterranean, would have entered Palestine only one later period.

The legend of Cadmos, which fits perfectly with the Bible, does not proceed otherwise when it calls

1. Talm. Jerus., Kilaim, 8, 3; Sabbath, 5, 7, etc. nafd Nin Uls Nin. The Libyans are of the same origin as the Egyptians.
2. U is certain, said of AvEZAC {VUniv, Pill, Numidie et Mauritanie, p. 79), that part of the Moors always knew navigation. Poseidon is a god of Libyan origin. Under the Romans, the Moorish pirates made forays into Spain.
3. Cf. above, p. 8, note 1.

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Cadmos, older brother of Phoenix, of Libya and that she presented as civilizing Greece, at a time when Syrian Phenicia was still called Zabi; she double-is right when she relates the first activity of Cadmeans to Egypt: the Cadmeans, elder brothers of the nicians, are precisely the maritime peoples of the Red who, carried along by the flood of Pastors, carry towards the Egyptian-Libyan coast where they are rooted and give birth to this Libo-Phoenician race which was later to make the fortune of the Phoenician colonizers ciens

After making contact with Egyptian civilization and to have drawn more or less precise information on the Mediterranean countries, these Egyptian Beni-Qedem inaugurate the first period of maritime excursions under the name of Cadmos l'Errant, generic name of Persian Gulf populations 2.

In Crete 3, Lydia, Greece, Etruria ^, these Cadmen play exactly the role assigned to them by the gende. From Qedem-Chronos or Ma'on-Minos, appa-returned to the Egyptians, these Cadmeans initiate the population

1. Cf. Movers »die Phosnizier, t. II, p. i, p. 40; Herodotus summons the Phoenicians from Eritrea. Meltzer {quvr, quoted, I, drown 3) does not contradict this opinion, but believes that the Phoenicians were still in the barbare when they came to Palestine.

On the Phoenicians in Egypt, see Odyssey ^ XIV, 29; Herodotus, 1,1 and II, 12.

The Phoenicians dominated part of Asia under Cadmos. Phoenix and Cadmos came from Thebes to Syria and captured Tire and Sidon

(Syncellus, 228). Cadmos is called "TErrant". Part of the Hycsos established under the leadership of Cadmos and Danaos in Greece. (Movers, open. cited, I, I, 36.)

2. The Israelites no longer speak Hebrew without ceasing to do so. consider them descendants of the Hebrews.
3. The elders indicate for Crete a tallassocracy under the reign of Minos-Ma'on (Movehs, ibid., I, I, p. 38). Minos is also the eponym of Lydie-Méonie (Bréal, / & / </., p. 35). The nation of the Minyans is remarked by its wealth, its civilization and its arts (Reclus, CHomme and the Earth, II, p. 282).
4. On Cadmus-Hermes the Etrurian, see Movers, I, 512. Nonnus calls this

god named yftBjjif.Xo ;.

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from reb to agriculture, to the cult of Dionysus, their mastering the art of mining and giving them a social and military organization. Qedem or Qadmilos pre- side to this movement of Proto-Semites, like the god Qedem presides over the formation of the cult of the Hebrew people.

It may be useful to recall here that Car- thage itself, the old Cacabé or "star", had formerly known as Cadméa, an attribute that was that of any city in Syrian Phenicia. The city news "would therefore have played an important role for a long time. time before the appearance of the Phoenicians, at a time when Cadmos embodied the maritime migrations of the Proto-Phé nicians.

If we accept this explanation of the Cad myth mos, we will easily be able to decide problems which never cease to preoccupy scientists.

In the first place, it confirms the Greek traditions, already corroborated by biblical traditions, according to which is from Africa and Egypt, and not from Asia, where the primitive civilization of Greece had come; it confirms that the first eastern colonization in Crete and Greece comes from the Phoenicians from Egypt and Libya, which agrees with anthropological data and linguistics ^ Several scholars have been struck of the physiological relationship of prehistoric populations of Crete with the Berbers. On the other hand, mythology oldest Greek which is linked to the Cadmean cycle is it not similar in its simplicity to the ideas of turalists of the ancient Semites, before the solar cult of Osiris - of which Melqart is only one of the many in- 1. Cf. El. Reclus, V Homme ella Terre, H, p. 269. V. Doctor Bertholon, Origin and formation of the Berber language {Rev. Tunisian, 1906). This author arrives (p. 51) at the following conclusion: There is in the Berber languages a first layer of expressions

archaic having been used also in Europe and Asia Minor. And in Palestine, we add.

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skin tones - not come to imprint on them the ex- travagant and mythological that You know. In the second place, we will thus drop a big objection raised by non-Semitic archaeologists to the civilizing role of the Phoenicians in a prehistoric toric: the great Mycenaean civilization in particular, which dates back at least to the middle of the second millennium, had baffled the most conservative historians; we found himself driven to two theses, one of which tended to diminish undermine the role of the Phoenicians in the history of civilization tion and to make this people a tributary of civilization Mediterranean, and the other of which would have been reduced to the history of Phenicia up to times when even the ethnic name of this people could not exist. Now, if we take into account the fact that the Hycsos appear in Egypt and in the Mediterranean around Tan 2000 and if we place at this time the origins of the activity of the Cadmeans, trained from the Red Sea to the north, we easily understand that several centuries afterwards, a prosperous civilization, deeply influenced by that of Egypt, has already flourished on several points of the Mediterranean, as maritime relations have existed from the fifteenth century since Tarshish

"The Spanish" as far as Asia Minor. The invasions of peoples of the Sea in Egypt and Syria and the traditions which connect the Phoenicians and the Philistines of the Palestine to the island of Crete are by this means explained simply. Mycenaean civilization was therefore tributary of the Egyptian Cadmeans, as later the Western civilization will be dependent on the Tyro-Phéni-ciens.

We still have to say a few words about the origin of the words
1. M. Bertholon (ibid., p. 163) explains the origin of the term Tarshish by Telbrique Toursha-Tyrsiens, maritime people par excellence. It's his that owe their names Tarsis-Tars and Tarsis the African and the Spanish.

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"Phoenicians" or "Punics", terms which ended in prevail among classical peoples.

At the risk of appearing to exaggerate our way of elu-to solve so many complicated problems, we believe we have to present here a new hypothesis.

First of all, it is obvious that the term "Phoenicians"

is not of Semitic origin. The ancient Egyptians have two terms to designate the maritime peoples of Libyan coast: these are the Dzamhi or the Tahî-Dzahi (the fair skin). On the other hand, we have already thought of the root Greek (çoi vi ;, red), which would respond to Tarigine primitive of the Phoenicians who came, according to some authors, from Red Sea, further under Edom - red country - (the Qadouma of prehistoric times) and, even, to Adam the "Red", the presumed ancestor of the human race.

The color red is explained, moreover, by the colors reddish sands on the coasts of Phenicia Syrian and African. In Hebrew, this word translates to Hôl, more correctly "Haul"; Haula means "Dunes maritimes". However, this term is found in several localities occupied by the Beni-Qedem, under the name of Haoula (country red sands *).

We meet a country of Havilah in the far east of Persian Gulf, the first homeland of the Phoenicians navigating
teurs 2. Strabo still knows a "Havelata" country; the Targoum translates Havila-Indica, that is to say the Indies in the broad sense of the word 3. Now, this land of Havilah happens to be,
1. nS ^ tn. Cf. nwn nSaa, cm It is a collective formed by Sin at the tar of nzXf {Job, III, 4) of]: V, etc.

2. We could say that nS ^ in has always designated a people of dunes and sands (Cf. the Tuaregs nowadays). This is the case for the Bible. When Josephus (vp 48) translates T \ T ^ T \ by Gétules, he thinks evi-shows the etymological value of this term. Indeed, Salluste places the Getulas on the banks of the Sahara (Bellum Jugurt., XIX, II); Strabo, XVI, Jerachmiel and Eldad the Danite place the Havila-Haulata in the same country.

3. Cf. SCHWARTZ, yiNH mKi: in, Havila.

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with Ophir, the shopping center of the ancient world: Havilah is the land of Tor, this is where we also find the bdellion and Tonyx ^

It can therefore be assumed that the trade was carried on mitively by the inhabitants of Haoula, inhabitants of dunes or "Cadméens of the sea".

Later, at the time when the second Semitic race comes into play and where the Red Sea basin becomes a Semitic country, we find a Havilah - son of Yaqtan - in the extreme South Arabian, exactly at the point of Pouanit which becomes, from the tenth dynasty, with Ha-

basket, the shopping center on the shores of the Red Sea 2. They are therefore fractions of the former sailors of the Mesopotamia, the Havila or populations of the maritime dunes times of the Persian Gulf, which penetrate at this time

to the dunes of Eritrea, where they founded a new velle Havila. After the conquest of the Hycsos, the Havilas enter Africa and later Josephus identifies the Getulas with the Havilas, probably thinking of the etymology of the word, which means sands ^ . The history of this term geography is therefore exactly the history of the nations of the maritime Cadmeans; after having primitive-ment stayed in Havila, "land of gold and onyx", center Mesopotamian trade, these do with the Semites cadméens a cadmean stage and arrive with the Hycsos in Libya-Phenicia.

In the Delta as in the southern parts, these marchands still occupy the maritime dunes: they are people of red sands or dunes, like the Cana-

1. Genesis, II.

2. Proto-Arabic inscriptions know a deity named Sin (Otto Weber, Arabien vor dem Islam, p. 19).

3. The Havilahs are the competitors of the Ma'ounim (Minéens), for this which concerns commercial domination. In the large inscription of Glaser n "1155, we see the Havilahs joining forces with the Sabeans to sur-

to take the merchant caravan of the Mineans (Otto Weber, *ibid.*, p. 2S). cadmeans and phoenicians 43

neens are the people of the plain; the Amorrheans, the inhabitants so many mountains; the Labnani, the inhabitants of the snows from Lebanon.

This simple etymological exposition would appear without doubt too vague and too weak, if the mythology dear to elders did not corroborate it. Mythology does not derive "Phoenix" from "red", but from Phoenix, brother Cadmos younger - fabulous bird that would be reborn from its ashes every thousand years ^ Now, the etymology which in Greece makes associate "red" with "Phoenix" is found in Hebrew, and we could very well pre-

to assume that the origins of the myth of the Phoenix are rather Semitic than Greek: indeed, in the legend Greek, the Phoenix is lost in the sand of the desert; in Hebrew, the term "Haul", sand, applies to the Phoenix itself. even. Already the book of Job knows this mythical faculty of the Phoenix when he said: "I will die with my nest and will multiply my days like the Phoenix * ^ . »The version of Septuagint did not hesitate to translate Haul by cpoivixo ;. The Talmud says that the Ilaul is a bird that does not have ate the prohibited fruit of Tden. So he lives a thousand years, after which he decays, his body is destroyed and he ends up just an egg that turns into a bird 2.

1. Genesis Rabba, 19, 4. The V "s is a pure bird, which covers by flying the solar sphere. Talm. Bab. Ir. Sanhedrin, f. 108. All obeyed him (to Eve) except the Hôl = Phoenix. Commenting on verse 18 of chapter XXIX of Job, the Talmud says that the Phoenix lives a thousand years, after which he disappears in sand to rise from its ashes. The question clarified by Movers (v. II, 1.1, p. 23) is taken up by Meltzer {Geschicfile der Kartharjer, 1, 3, 76).

This author rightly dismisses the terms of TDIS-Pount and Fenchu; 90IV1 ?, ootviuc, 9otv'.yij are certain Greek words. The hypothesis of

origin of this term of $\zeta\omicron\iota\nu\chi\tau$) "land of palm trees" does not not lying. the same is true for $\omicron\omicron\iota\nu\omicron\alpha\epsilon\iota\nu$ of 901V0; = brigand, which cannot be explained by the Latin form, which is Pœnus. The Egyptians refer to their country as Kern (black country), but they also call the country of the Syrian coast of the name of Desert or country red, which corresponds to Hebrew DHN.

2. Midrash Rabba, Genesis, 2 and 19, 4; Midrash Samuel, § 12; Talm. Bab., Tr.

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All this brings us to the Semitic Etymology of Havila-Houla which is rooted in the Dunes Maritimes: theceptions of red and phoenix only come later.

The Mediterranean peoples could therefore have explained thus the etymological origin of the maritime fraction of Cadmeans who bore the name of Beni-Havila, peoples of Dunes, close to that of Haul-Phénix and that no one deny the sons of the Phoenix.

We will be objected that this term was not known in Palestine, cradle of the Phoenician language, such as we know it. To which we will answer that the Phé arab and african nicie having perhaps preceded that of Syria, this term spread in the Mediterranean before to be known in Palestine. However, we have already seen that, for the ancient Hebrews, the Sidonians were side of the invading Beni-Qedem; maybe they were guiding them to be. But even in Syria the trace of Havilah's name, <(inhabitants of the Dunes ", does not seem to have been absolute. ment erased. There were, among the Aramaic peoples neighboring Hamat the Canaanite, a tribe that carried precisely the name of HouP. On the other hand, the Bible does not mention the name of the small lake in the north, which she calls simply the Mé-Mérom, lac Supérieur-. However, this lake is famous for the fact that the Israelites took were a decisive victory against the coalition of Cana- Neans and Amorrhéans. However, this lake has retained its old name: the Arabs still call it by the name Bachr-el-Houl. Talmudic sources still know the ancient cien term of Hauvalata ^, name which in this place de- provided with sands has nothing to do with the etymology of Sanhedrin, f. 108. The legend of the Phoenix was taken up later for the Hiram's account. Like the Phoenix, this rui would have lived for 1000 years.

1. Gtnèfe, X. 23.

2. C-rS ^ C ^ JoscÉ, XI, 6 and 7.

3. Talm. Jerus., Ir. Deniäi, II, beginning.

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dunes and which must be linked to an ethnic group.

Moreover, the Israelites established in Galilee ^ continued to designate this lake under the name of Yam-Havila: simple coincidence, it will be said, that nothing further allows quer. But this fact is found precisely in the re- the most Phoenician region of Palestine, opposite Si- don the Great. While it is true that the Phoenicians are originating from the Ilavila of the Persian Gulf, or from Ery- threa, we can easily explain the persistence of this name in a region that has always been the fulcrum of the Phoenicians of Palestine and from which probably proceeded the ancestors of the Sidonians; from there to conclude that at one point in history we designated the various Canaanite clans of the Upper Galilee under the generic name of Ilavila, there would be only one step. All However, this clue cannot be overlooked regarding a Cadmean population, including the avant-garde, according to the Bible, camped at "Havilah in the Desert of Shur".

Mythology, traditions, archeology and anti-classical equity, the etymology itself agree for make the Phoenicians a Cadmean race that appears simultaneously in Africa and Syria under the protection Canaanite. Moreover, by assigning them as homeland primitive the Red Sea basin and starting from Egypt and Libya, antiquity seems to have wanted to indicate that the Phoenicians were only newcomers in Palestine. This trend, which is certainly already the of the biblical books, is formally expressed by the apocrypha of the second century BC, when that they make Africa the primitive homeland of the Canaanites. It remains to be clarified whether we can see in these Phoenicians populations of foreign origin who would, at some point given, predominant in Palestine.

1. J. SCHWARZ, yiNH niNim, p. 63.

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Last come to Syria, the Hebrews or "those of Tau beyond the Euphrates", that is to say the most Ghaldeans of Semites, take advantage of the domination of the Hycsos to filter simultaneously in Syria, Arabia and the Delta. Their Semitic individuality more pronounced than that of the others, their long stay in Mesopotamian countries of these most resistant nomads, the most aware of

Semites K The Beni-Qedem of the desert and eastern none of them quickly become stubborn; on the ruins of the ancients peoples, new tribes settled, Ammon, Moab, Edom, etc., who harass the Canaanite and Amorheans; the ancient Cadmeans of pure race such as the Saba, Tema, Havila, themselves undergo the ascendancy of new calves come and by genealogical links are attached to Abraham, "the father of many races".

In the Delta, those of their fellows who had to form the nucleus of the people of Israel settle down as pastors; later enslaved by the Pharaohs, we meet them as fugitives in Jewish and Egyptian traditions and as "Ephrii" until the time of Judges 2.

In Palestine, Egyptian domination did not prevent them not to become the masters of the country: the tablets of Tell

1. Cf. Maspero, op. cile ^ p. 201 and following.

2. Was this term the equivalent of "" zy or that of onSN?

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EI-Amarna, who shed new light on the situation of fifteenth century Syria, show us the Palestine harassed by the Habirou or by the Haber clans and of Malkiel * which precede the Beni-Israel.

We see them successively seize the territory innumerable small kingdoms, the organization of which shovel particularly that of the Berber societies of our days. For the duration that the Bible assigns to the time of the Judges, that is to say between the fifteenth and eleventh century, Palestine is going through a crisis in which new nations develop and develop, and basically of all the stories that have been transmitted to us, we see two races fighting for the conquest of the country: that of the Canaanites, to which we relate the Amorheans and the Hittiyour, northward, military race and primitive conqueror and having "chariots of iron and horses", which penetrates to the mountain, and that of the Hebrews, a nomadic race, but related to the Cadmeans and having a very high religious faith and a very developed loppée. It is in vain that we would seek to discover

between these two invaders, who sometimes kill each other mercilessly, sometimes merge with each other or with the small Cadmean peoples, the famous Phoenician people, illustrious to be among all; these inhabitants of the coast of Lebanon, who already in the eighteenth century would have foamed the seas, civilized the peoples, colonized Spain, are reduced to the fifteenth century, in Palestine itself, to a few towns located in seaside and in no way distinct from other Beni-Qedem. The texts of Tell El-Amarna show us the cities of Arvad, Gebal, Beirut, Sidon, Tyre, 2

1. Cf. Hommel, *Gesch.*, etc., p. 100; / 6 / d., p. 68 and 88; Baby carriage, open, cile, p. 15. The Habirou threaten Arad-Hiba the king-prêtre of Jerusalem.

Malkiel and his supporters flee the garrisons of Guezcr, Kiltu-Ké'ila and Rubutu-Hebron (îaiK nnp); Hommel, *ibid.*, p. 89.

2. Hommel, *ibid.*, p. 82.

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of Acco and Alasia-Ghypre, all forming small prin- isolated cipautés unlike other cities in Syria; all, they are threatened by the Khati and the Amorrheans of north, the Habirouou Hebrews of the south. It is only at this time, that the Amorites occupy Arvad and Byblos and that those who were to become Sidonians seize from the maritime city of Sidon. As for Tyr, his prince does keeps more than the little dregs or "rock of the sea", where "he is locked up like a bird in a cage "and where he im- weep in vain for alms of water and a little wood: well we are far from the time when the sea provided to "Tyr the Crown" the riches of overseas!

Global navigation, solidarity of interests and beliefs, no trace: of these famous Ecuadorian Phoenicians dies of the seas, no clue yet exists in the an- nales found at Tell El-Amarna.

The whole country of Zabi is reduced to a few isolated towns, as Laïch-Dan later remained, poor, insignificant children like the rest of Palestine, having same onomastic, the same origins as the others Cadmean cities.

Submitted by the Canaanites-Amorrheans, whom they embraced perhaps feels religion and whose origin cannot be explained that the Hycsos (Hamites)) speak of, these cities receive, laughingly perhaps, this name of Canaan, which in the eyes of the Hebrews peoples with origins com- munes with the Coushites ^

But already the Habiru or the Hebrews followed them near ; what was not occupied by the Canaanites became the prey of the sons of Abraham. Here is a typical example

1. Which confirms that the Canaanites and the Hittites are Hycsos driven back from Egypt. The Presence of the Canaanites in the Sinai Desert {Numbers, XXI, i, etc., and of the Hittites in Hebron {Genesis, XXHI) we shows the persistence of pastoral rearguards in the south. L * oc- Cupation of the valley of Toronte dates only from this period.

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ristic: the Canaanites succeed in seizing the north of Phenicia; they remain there and occupy Lebanon until Hamat. The north of the Syrian coast is therefore linked to the couchito-Egyptian world. However, the two clans he- breux de Haber and deMalkiel, who in the days of the of Tell El-Amarna occupy the territory of Judah,

blent find themselves, a century later, established in the north where they occupy the land of "Aseru", that is to say Phoenicia southern, that the Amorriteans could not reconquer on the old Beni-Qedem *.

Egypt, then ruler of Palestine, seems to have practiced the laissez-faire policy; she is content to occupy a few important strategic points many, including Gazeer, whom Pharaoh will cede to Solomon (tenth century), was to be the last vestige; Egyptian influence yours was exercised by the foundation of the | religious3 colonies, whose memories live on, such as these many Bet Shemesh or the "Heres" - Serah-Heliopolis y \ n 2 who meet after this time in Palestine, proving the introduction of the cult of Osiris - Amun in Syria.

Tire would it not have been occupied by a Egyptian garrison, and its sanctuary which later became Isn't that of Melqart of African origin?

We don't know; but what is known to us is that in the beginning the Baal of Tire seems to have been a god of localized Heaven and that it was adored without form or image ^; this which is even more certain is that in the eyes of the authors Hebrews, the Canaanites and the Hebrews represented two groups with distinct tendencies; some Chaldeans and Cadmeans personifying the cult of Qedem, the El Elion-Baal-ShamaIm, whose austere worship was to end in Jehovah;

1 C * e8t Opinion of M. Jastrow (cf. Jew. Encyclopedia, art. Asher).

2. Joêué, XV, 10; XIX, 22 and 41; XXI, 16; Judges, I, 35; VIII, 13; II Kings, XIV, 11, etc.

8. See our ch. XII.

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the others, the Canaanites, the Hittites, etc., having suffered Egyptian influence, remain faithful to Egyptian conceptions yours and perpetuate the cult of Soutouch-Baal, the god Soleil, which personifies the Egyptian civilization of the time.

Later, this cult results in Melqart-Amon, the sanguine-god nary and sumptuous. Which did not prevent, at least to the time we are in, a phenomenon of and absorption between the two races: several of the Jacob's sons are of mixed Hebrew-Canaanite origin ^ -

However, the unexpected arrival of a third factor gave a new twist to later destinies

of Palestine.

We are talking about those peoples of the Sea, of which, thanks to the in the texts, the role begins to clear up.

After the push of the Cadmeans of the Persian Gulf of third millennium, Palestinian Phoenicia, located just at the geographical center of three continents, becomes necessarily the meeting place of all the races nudes of antiquity.

1. Patriarchs frequently marry Canaanite women.

VI

THE MEDITERRANEAN IN PALESTINE

From the fourteenth century, the peoples living on the Mediterranean are beginning to play an active role in the destinies of the Semitic Mediterranean: some centuries of contact with the Libo-Phoenicians in Africa, with the Hittites in Anatolia (and probably also a current of active colonization starting both from Egypt than Libya to go to Greece and Italy, with denial of Crete as the central rallying point) had created in the regions of the Kittim Islands a

fairly advanced civilization *. The "peoples of the sea", as the Egyptians call them, maybe father of the first Indo-Aryan waves, begin to distinguish war especially as navigators and as warriors; so Ramses II already uses them in his campaigns against the Hittites. In the accounts of the wars of this period we find, we meet the Loukou (Lycians), the Dardanians (Dardaniens), Moschi, Javan, Kishag-Kolch, 'to the side of the Libyans and the Nubians ^; maritime relations

1. VE de Rougé, Extracts (A memoir on the attacks directed against Egypt by the peoples of the Mediterranean {Rev. Archéol., new. ser., l. XVI).

2. HoMMEL, Gesch., Etc., p. 38; Meltzer, Gesch. der Karl., I, p. 18.

3. M. Halévy attributes to all these peoples a Libyan origin (Journé Asial.y 1874, p. 408). One could say, with as much reason, of Cadmean-Egyptian or Mediterranean, maritime movements in

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between these riparian peoples of the three continents cannot therefore no longer be contested; Homogeneity of their civilization, their character is confirmed by the engravings

Egyptian: we can clearly see that the genius of Cadmos has been there. Mercenary peoples always suffer the law of attraction which attracts them to their customers: it is there is a historical rule to which the so-called peoples of Mer "have not escaped. .

During the reign of Mer-en-Ptah (4258-1230), a coalition of Mediterranean pirates, coveting the riches of Egypt and Syria, flows onto the coasts of these countries. Their troops, for the most part, consisted of peoples of the north and of all the countries of the sea, peoples classics: Loukou (Lycians), Akhaivach (Achaïens), Tourshou (Tyrsians), Shakloush (Sicilians), Sharden (Sardis), Mashoush (Libyans, Berbers, etc.) ^ Here is a table of this invasion transmitted to us by the Egyptians: "Aunop people resisted their weapons. From the land of the Hittites and from Qode (Gulf of Isée), from Carchemish to Arvad and Alasia (Cyprus), they exterminated the population and set up camp until the interior of the country of Amur the towns were ransacked, the fields ravaged in height ".

"They arrived in arms and threatened in Egypt: their main force consisted of Palsat, Zakkal, Dardanians, Danan, Chaklouch and Mashousha. "

This troubled time, when Syria and Egypt were threatened by the Libyans and the islanders, coincides with the first appearance of the people of Israel in a written text: an Egyptian document complains that even time the peoples of southern Palestine were harassed by "the tribe of Israel which then occupied the country between Uon being the result of a Mediterranean reaction against the Cadmeans subject to the influence of Egypt, their masters in civilization.

1. Maspero, opr, cited p. 295; Hommel, ibid.f p. 100.

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Âskalon, Guezer, In'oam on one side and the Troglodyte (Hori-Edom), on the other * ".

It was a wise policy to deliver this same territory to the rest of the peoples of the Sea, for it was to put the core of the future people of Israel struggling with a race who was infinitely superior to him in the military art; the king of Egypt thus got rid of the threats of one in making others his mercenaries. The Philishis, the

foreigners - term of probable Hamitic origin ^ - ne will no longer cease to be an Egyptian addiction. The newcomers settled in the maritime cities. times: the city of Askalon, the least ancient city, but also the most purely maritime of the federation of the Philistines, probably owes its name to the Shakoula, as Zéqalag and Zakkal ^ -En Dor owe it to the Zakkala. When to the "Danan", it will be discussed later.

The establishment of the peoples of the Sea on the coast Syrian had a decisive influence in the history of people of Israel. It's thanks to the clash with this enemy overseas, which subjected the "Beni-Eber" to a harsh and long ordeal, that the latter recovered and ended by asserting their own individuality: Israel will tend henceforth to personify the Hebrews in general. The oldest Biblical texts have preserved the memory of this invasion. It is to her that the oracle of Balaam ^:

“Flotillas will come from the Kittim ^; they will afflict

1. Maspero, *ibid.*, P. 208; Hommel, *ibid.*, P. 101.
2. Cf. that of Phalabha today.
3. HoMJ iEL, i6i £ f., P. 106.
4. Numbers, XXIV, 24.
6. The identity of the Hittites with the Kittim, as seen by Movers, is questioned by Meltzer (*op. cit.*, I, notes 7 and 11), but it does not could be refuted. This is the characteristic of all these colonizations which makes that several fractions of the maritime tribes each settled on a different point from the Mediterranean. So we find cities that bear the name of IMi in Phenicia and near the Gulf of Akaba; that of 54 MOROCCAN ARCHIVES

Asur * and will afflict Eber, but (after so many others) they also will end up being destroyed ... "

The next two centuries are known to be the heroic age of Israel. This is the time when the Hebrews and the Mediterraneans, who ended up being Semitized, amalgamés to the ancient Cadmean aborigines, will give birth to sance to a new and eclectic race: the Hebrew race. Phoenician who, towards the end of the time of the Judges, took definitely self-aware.

Jaffa (13 ^ = Jappo-Hyppo) in Palestine and Africa; that of Ascalon] Spt27K in Palestine and Iberia; that of Tarsis-Tars, that of Olifm Hadrumetes, Arabia and Africa, etc.

1. This is obviously the Palestinian coast occupied by the tribe. d * Asher. However, the territory of Tire already bears in the Egyptian texts of fourteenth century the name of Aseru. Movers signals us a form Greek Zvp to designate Phenicia. May Tyrian Phenicia have formerly known as n ^ 'N, this is confirmed to us by the passage of II Kings, II, 9. Or nu? N and "iny (i.e. Edom, Midian, Israel), etc., both passed through Ma'on (Otto Weber, Arabien vor dem Islam,

p. 24-6), the home of the Beni-Oedera who camped between IITT = IITTK and nS ^ 'in r Phenicia.

VII

THE PHILISTINES IN PALESTINE

The establishment of the peoples of the Sea on the coast Syria marks the second epoch of maritime activity time of the Phoenicians, that symbolized by the cycle of Melqart - local genius of Tire - who ended up dominating the

rival deities. Among these maritime immigrants there were ancestors ancient Ionians, originally from Crete or others Greek Islands, there were Anatolians, there were some also Lybians originating in Africa, races Hamitic, probably related to the ancient Cadmeans of Palestine, but strongly mixed with Egyptian. The Bible, relating the Canaanites and the Philistines from Phoenicia to the Cushite-Egyptian race, shows that all these peoples have deeply received the imprint Egyptian, which made them dependent on Hamites (Khem). Moreover, the peoples of the Sea (the Ascalonians) inaugurate their activity with the destruction of Sidon. The existence of their colony, which supplanted that of the Sidonians Cadmeans, was undoubtedly the reason why the Hebrews placed the origin of the Sidonians in Africa. However, in Jewish tradition the Sidonians of non-Hebrew Canaanites will die forever. On the other hand, the colonization of Sidon by the Philistines the supremacy of the maritime activity, which they will not lose that with the reestablishment of David's empire. Through the legends and traditions that are reached during this period, we barely glimpse us some historical glimmers on the time of Shofetim. During these centuries of the "becoming" of all races who fought for possession of Palestine, the Hebrews are the most resistant, the most vigorous: successively they get rid of all the new invasions of the nomads in Palestine, pushing back some, absorbing others; they drive the Canaanites north of Lebanon and eventually supplanted the Philistines in Military art. Not only did they manage to maintain themselves

against the latter, but they imposed on the Philistines and to all the peoples of the coast their language and their traditions ethnic. In historical times, the land of Canaan or Israel has the same language and the same civilization. The first manifestation of emerging individuality Israel is marked by the great victory of the Hebrews from the north over the Canaanites, a victory illustrated by the Canaanites Deborah tick. It is the first awakening of a master race. braid that becomes aware of itself. It's possible-lying as a result of this victory, that the northern tribes take Phoenicia from the Canaanites and force many tribes who remained on the coast to seek, among their Libo-Phoenician generations, a refuge in Africa. Indeed, the later tradition which places in 1100 the foundation of the oldest Phoenician colony, seems to establish this state of affairs and proves the maritime relations with Africa *. Other traditions that go back at least in the third century BC. AD "even specify the names of tribes, who had left Palestine to go to

1. Pb. Berge. ia Pheicia. p. 7.

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Africa, especially the Amorites, who occupied the coast in the time of Tell El-Amarna; the Gergesian, on which we particularly insists; the Qenites, tribe of Cad- origin maid who lived in the north of the time of Deborah; the Qadmoni or Cadmeans of Judah; the Qenizi, a fraction of which part of Judah and of which another figure like the founding

trice of Carthage ^
 These traditions, which some authors tend to consider
 as imaginary, are too old for us to
 can treat them as follows: the relations between the
 Syrian and African niece were still too intimate
 so that the memory is lost; on the other hand, ono-
 Punic mastic provides us with many examples of
 names of Qenaz, Gargash, names that did not exist in
 the Hebrews and which we must necessarily take into account.
 These populations driven back by the Hebrews, but already
 strongly influenced by them, are precisely the Ca-
 naneans who, according to Diodorus Siculus, came by sea,
 settled in Africa alongside and with the help of the Libo-
 Phoenicians and who have since remained dependent on
 the mother country; their onomastics, their beliefs, their
 organization are so different from the earlier races
 laughter that they keep a place apart: they are
 nicians who came by sea, representatives of the
 Syrian Breo-Phoenicians. If the Philistines, swelled by
 new contributions from the sea, still know
 maintain their individuality, the Phoenicians, whose former
 further expansion was to be paralyzed by the Mediter-
 1. The names of t & AlA àe 'r:] p are very frequent in the inscriptions

Punic Carthage (C. / S.), "pnSNS IsSn ^ JIQTpl ^ V2p, ^: ^ p Tal. Jer.
 nm33 41; niTatZT, VI, 36 etc. Strabo and Ptolomeus point out the pre-
 the presence in Africa of populations which bear Semitic names; Between
 others, the Kenitians, the Qedamasians, the Erebid, the Negabians (D * Ave-
 lAC, rAfr, ane., p. 179),

S. It is certain that the Libo-Phoenicians considered themselves Cana-
 Néens (Saint Augustin, Epié, ad Rom.y 13).

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raneans, are more and more effaced: they tend to become
 Hebrews.

Perhaps Sidon played a role in these migra-
 of the Canaanites ^ but no trace is found
 of an activity that the future queen of the seas would have carried out,
 before the tenth century and at the time of the Judges. Tyr (the
 mainland) was part of Asher's territory, occupied
 speaks Hebrews. She was surrounded by Israelite tribes
 who all, as we will demonstrate, were
 to navigation, as far as the Phi-
 listins, whose influence was little to the north. AT
 the time of the Judges, the Phoenician cities were not
 still mistresses of the seas; they are equal, otherwise
 the subjects, of so many other echelon maritime cities
 from Crete to Anatolian Tarsis and whose
 trade relations, after the invasion of the peoples of
 the Sea, tended to concentrate on the shore of the Pa-
 lestine. Wasn't this country at one time
 where Aiiatolia and Greece awaken to life, the center of
 world then known?

Movers ^, placing the foundation of the greatness of Tire
 in the eleventh century, is closer to historical truth
 than all the other historians: at most we could
 suppose that there was in Tire "the Rock of the Sea" a
 Egyptian garrison which, like Guezer, had been able to hold
 hold since the time of the Tablets of Tel El-Amarna. It is
 could also that it was a sanctuary dedicated to Amon-
 1. Sidon was taken twice, once by the Amorites (in the fourteenth
 century} and another by the Ascalonians (in the twelfth). Its population, and
 especially the ruling class, must therefore be of foreign origin. However
 dant rr ^ nCÍ? the principal divinity of the Sidonians and who is the same as

. \ thar, the goddess of the Arabs, has a certain Semitic origin.
2 / Gid., II, 11, p. 157-1 (m; cf. however Pietschmann, *Gesch, der Phönizier*, p. 374.

8. Berger, open. cUé ^ p. 7. The maritime power of the Phoenicians developed under the rule of Tiro around 1000-900. Landau (ibid.) Believes to be able to delay it until the sixth century.

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Osiris who gave birth to the cult of Melqart. There would be the origin of Egyptian influence or the Libo-Phoenicians from Africa, who became more or less Egyptians, on the cult local, an influence that ends up having its repercussions over time where the worship of Jehovah triumphs in Israel and detaches the Hebrews of the Tyrians.

But as we are, Hebrews and Phoenicians
ciens (those of the south at least) form a single group-
ment: the language community is established, the circumcision ^, of Egyptian origin, is practiced by both peoples, unlike the Philistines and other tribes non-Hebrew; Cadmean and Egyptian beliefs are shared by the two peoples: Samson and Joshua derive their origin from the same mythical conceptions as Melqart in Tiro. Egypt dominates the religious tradition of Tyr; it is the same for that of the Josephites who, them, trace their origin back to the priest of On, whose symbol bole is the "bull"; the calf is the emblem of the sun god Israel, as it is that of Melqart: they are always the "same gods who brought Israel out of the land of Mizraïm" or who bring Melqart-Baal from Egypt. It is the same also for the cult of El-Elion or Baal-Shalmalm of the lower period: Sidon, Arvad and Byblos have, with Jerusalem and Carmel, the supreme god of Qedem in veneration; the monotheistic activity of Elie is concentrated rather in Phenicia and Carmel precedes Jerusalem in its monotheistic evolution. In addition, the god Berit, the Baal-Berit of the lower period, which simultaneously meets in Bérit and in Sichem, remains the center of the federation of Beni-Israël; if Saul, David and Solomon allow

1. HerodoU, II, 104; Ezichiel, XXVIII, 18; Josephus, *Against Appion*, I.
2. See our appendix Melqart and Joshua,
S. Sichem is the Ka'aba of the tribes of Israel. See SkIIT ^ pN njm UXTQ
Genesis, II, 24. This is where we find the betyl or the sacred stone consa-
created in Baal-Beril, the supreme god of the Hebrew federation. It's there that
Joshua deposits Tarche, "sanctuary of the alliance of the tribes of the north". Abi-
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Tiro alone is that they are "brothers" and "allies" to him. In-
kor two centuries later, the prophet of Israel reproaches
to the Tyrians, who sold the Beni-Israel as slaves
to the Greeks, not to remember the fraternal Berit which
"Allied" the two peoples.
So in the days of the Judges, Hebrews and Phoenicians
formed a single ethnic entity. Some and
others must be considered as a Cadmean people
originally, but with heterogeneous mixtures between
Hebrews and Canaanites and even between Mediterranean
and Libo-Phoenicians.

Admitting that we can still do our thesis
some objections to the Phoenicians of the North, sub-

merged by the Canaanites, who for a long time time to stay in Lebanon, no dispute is possible for the Phoenicians of the South of which Tiro was the center, and where the Hebrews, assimilated to the Beni-Qedem, have of the country and cultivate it from the time of Judges K Tiro's role is reduced to that of a small maritime town. fortified time, which explains the name of Mibezar-Zor or "The Fort of Tiro"; this could not yet be the queen of the seas: could she, that the Philistines of the would have prevented it, just as they prevented the tribes of Israel to take off; at most, Tyr did she have Suffets little different from the Shofetim who pre- at the same time, astonished the destinies of the tribes scattered from Israel. The period of development of Tiro melec. Saül, David and Roobaam are successively crowned there. Cf. WİNCLEER, *Geschichte Israëls*, II, p. 56 and our appendix on Melqart and Joshua. Masoudi (*Prairies d'Or*, I, p. 115) still knows the term "Tour Berit" or mountain of Berit, by which one designated the mount of Garizim.

1. Amos, I, 9, D ^ nN nna.
2. Tyr, says Movers (*/ 6 / d.*, II, I, p. 67). was not founded by Sidon. Melqart is the genius of Tiro, while Astarte is the local goddess of Sidon.

8. Before Abibaal, Tiro was ruled by two SufTetes (V. Movbrs, *ibid.*, II, I, p. 353; Maspero, *open. cited*, p. 391).

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does not go beyond that of the final organization of the people Israel: it hardly became possible until after the Israelites, under Samuel and David, succeeded in shaking definitely the yoke of the Philistines. This domination of the Philistines, this "Cretan people", weighed heavily on the Phoenicians of the sea as on the Israelites of earth: the crushing of "Foreigners", which Hiram proclaimed in his message to David, was the signal of the monie of Tiro on the sea and of Jerusalem at the military ^ David's victory promised to be doing for the two new kingdoms and nothing also announced the rivalry that was to reign later between Tyrians and Israelites.

The Tyrians were so few Canaanites that they saw with an indifferent eye Solomon tie the Cana to the soil Neans who remained in Palestine. The figure of 150,000 which we estimate the number of these Canaanites is exaggerated without doubt, but it nevertheless shows the character of this breed warrior, who never formed more than a conquered minority rante, lost among a Hebrew-Cadmean population firmly seated 2; on the other hand, the memories of the an-old relations of the Cadmeans with the peoples of the sea

Red and the Persian Gulf were still alive among the Phoenicians of Palestine. Hiram takes advantage of the crash of the Philistines to master the trade of Tarsis (Africa and Iberia), he hastens to put disposition of the Hebrew conqueror of the "flotillas of Tarsis" to renew the old born cruises to

1. II Samuel, V, II.

S. The Canaanites and the Hittites are probably the 240,000 warriors Hycsos who, according to Manetho, left Egypt to settle in Palestine. Yet this figure should not be taken seriously. However, these were several successive invasions: they were first the Canaanites who settled in 'Arad and the Hittites in Hebron; then came the Jebusites, who seized Jerusalem from the Cadmeans of Malchi-Zedec. Everywhere, moreover, these invaders pass without leaving any lasting traces.

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the countries of Ophir, of Havilah and resume the path of these ancient Indies; as we know, the domination of Gulf of Aqaba and the supremacy of Arab navigation had preoccupied all the warrior kings of Jerusalem. Asa, Josaphat and Uzia set about it with ardor. The Judeans colonize Elat and the ports of the Red Sea, as the Tyrians colonize Tarshish, Africa and the Mediterranean Eastern Mediterranean ^

By this fact, which cannot be doubted, are explained the popular traditions which have always been course in Arabia and Ethiopia on the exploits of Solomon; as M. Maspero says very well ^ the role Israel has been indicated: "The territory of Israel located between the Mediterranean, the Red Sea and the desert commands the two great roads of the world. »It is an association. Tire provides the leadership and Israel the resources sources in men and in nature.

Why would it be any different with regard to overseas country? We know, moreover, that Solomon reserved the monopoly of the wire, chariots and horses, and that his successors sought to do the same.

The direct and systematic participation of the Beni-Israël to the maritime movements of the Phoenicians is therefore a fact that is essential. In this case, wouldn't it make more sense to accept without restriction the thesis of a collaboration of Israelites and Phoenicians at work of colonization in overseas countries? Thus, what is called general Canaanite colonization would be rather a Hebrew-Phoenician nization.

The problem arises so clearly that Mr. Pietschmann himself, the last historian of the Phoenicians 3, whose "estook denies all »which is not confirmed by documents

1. Cf. HouuEL, opr. cile, p. 120 and our note 2, suppl.

2. Open. cited, p. 392-393.

3. Pietschmann, *Gesch. der Phœniziery* p. 28.

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other than the Bible, comes to recognize that Northern tribes took part in the migrations of the Tyrians. Fortunately, more or less decisive clues exist and demonstrate up to the evidence that the second period of the Phoenician colonization, in particular that of the Tyro-Phoenicians proper, which distinguishes the Melqart cycle from that of Cadmos, differs from the first miere, or Libo-Phoenician period, by its character fundamentally Hebrew-Phoenician.

These clues can be found everywhere:

1 "In the biblical texts which we undertake here a new revision, in the light of knowledge current archaeological;

2 "*" In the epigraphic documents that the Corpus Inscript ionum Semilicarum provides us in their set ble and which all relate to the time and to civilization. Hebrew-Phoenician tion;

3 ^ In onomastics, theology and the priestly ritual same dowry of the two peoples;

h ^ In the data of mythology and folklore provided by the ancients and whose survivals are found wind still in North Africa.

We could not do better, to support our thesis, than to enumerate in detail the sources which concern each of these points. Let us first study those of

the tribes of Israel who, by their geographical location or through their direct relations with the Mediterranean, found predestined to exert an influence on maritime migrations, at the time of Tyrian supremacy ^.

1. MoVERS, says Phfmizier, II, I, p. 306-311, admits that of the Israelites of the buses of Dan, Asher, Zabulon, Issachar, Naphtali formed a part (\ e the population of the Phoenician cities, where they would have exercised as metics the trades of craftsmen, caravan drivers nes, and sailors.

VIII

ISRAEL MARITIME TRIBES

DANITES

Among the tribes whose destinies seem to have been closely linked to the migrations of the peoples of the Sea and to those of the Phoenicians, the tribe of Dan deserves all especially our attention. A thorough review of texts, which relate to it, shows us that in the eyes even of biblical writers, she has never been equal to all other tribes of Israel. Among the (they of Jacob, Dan figures as one of the four tribes "daughters of the concubines ", that is to say from a mixed breed; in addition, it is the only tribe that is not composite: its descendants form only one clan, that of Shucham or Husham * "the son of the unknown ", which indicates the little importance that this tribe already at the time of writing the general lists nealogicals of the Pentateuch; moreover, the most elders relating to the time of the Judges vaguely the Danites as a tribe in Israel: sometimes they call them the Danite family ^, sometimes quite simply

1. I Chron., VII, 12. in »^ 22, Dtt? N. I dismiss the lesson of Shucham which is very little Semitic, while D ^ n is reminiscent of p3; Z7n (city in Judea, Joshua, XV, 27), n ^ QTZrn (station of the Blessed Israel in the desert; Numbers ^ XXXIII, 29-30); and especially to D ^ njfQ ^: DD ^: Dtt? n (Psalms, LXVIII, 82).

2. Wn nnStro, Judges, XIII, 2; XVIII, II.

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the "camp of Dan ^". Already Kuenen and Gheyne * have recognized in the name of Dan an eponymous god, which seems to be confirmed by the text concerning the conquest of Laïch where the name of "Dan their father" is mentioned ^.

Besides, all other tribal names are explained in the same way way. By its dubious origins, by the cult that illustrated the sanctuary of Dan * where Jehovah was worshiped in the form of a golden bull, by its character of maritime people (to Period of Deborah) and especially by the legendary cycle which gave birth to the legend of Samson, the Melqart of Danites, this tribe reminds us of one of those tribes Libo-Phoenician women from Eritrea via Egypt, who ran aground in Palestine.

The fact that the "Danan", who are among the peoples who came with the Philistines, permanently disappear from Palestine, while the Phalazet, Shakoula, Zakkala ^ and many others such as the Cretans and the Cariens leave traces of their passage, allows us-perhaps trait to see in these nomadic warriors the last comers of the flood of the peoples of the Sea.

Greek mythology, Danaos is the son of Belus (the Baal) and Anchirrhoé, daughter of the Nile, nymph of a river of Libya being attached to Phenicia, which itself is small

fiUe of Poseidon and Libya ^, Nothing prevents
suppose that originally the Danites were only a frac-

1. Ibidem, XIII, 25.

2. Theologische Tigchriefl, t. V, p. 291; Encyclopedia Biblica, art. Dan.

3. Dn ^ 3K p msn Judges, XVIII, 29; XIX, 47. The Apocalypse of John (VII)
'does not mention the tribe of Dan either. ^ y {{J. Samuel, XXW, 6), would be
Aesculapius or Eshmoun the therapist (Movers, I, I, p. 533).

4. Dan is the serpent and the sacred dragon. Cf. Friedlander, Revue de
eiad \$ Jews, t. XXXVII, p. 25.

5. The origin of the name of the city of Ascalon must be sought on this side
the town of Dora had been called Zaccala until the Assyrian invasion.
nothing. That of âSpIP-Zakalag owes its origin to the same cause.

6. Note that the first Danite that appears in the Bible
(Ltvil., XXIV) is the son of an Egyptian; than the other brand Danite
(Solomon's rarchitect) has a Tyrian for his father.

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tion of these classic Danaens, cast by fate of arms
in Phenicia.

In the Bible itself, two indications lead us to formulate
lst this hypothesis: the first is provided by the famous
passage, very old, which, exactly restored by criticism
modern, relates to the capture of JaiTa by the Canaanites ^
However, Jaffa was a Danite possession before falling to the
hands of the Philistines 2. The second text, which dates from
reestablishment of kingship in Israel, explicitly says:
this May Dan judge his people as well as one of the
tribes of Israel ^, Dan is therefore a newcomer, a son
adoptive admitted to participate in the legislative federation of
people of Israel. Moreover, the first biblical mention
of an individual belonging to this tribe ^ we represent him-
feels like a Danite-Egyptian.

This naturalization. Dan seems to have it largely
deserved.

At the time of the Cadmean-Israelite coalition, under
Deborah, against the Canaanites, the tribe of Judah did not have
again the ascendancy which she was to exercise later; as well
are the Danites disinterested in struggles that
clashing Hebrews and Canaanites. Deborah reproaches them
to continue living on the waters and not to lend
their assistance to the other Israelites ^, This reproach indicates

that at this time the Danites were already in the process of
braise.

However, they are put in contact with peoples beyond
Sea by the thrust of these or maybe even by Tar-
shore of new immigrants from the Sea (Cretans and Carians),
who were not on the Egyptian list of peoples of

1. See note 6, supp.

2. Cf. Joshua, XIX, 26.

". Genesis, XLIX, 17. SnIU ^ 'iIS ^ "iilND.

4. Leviiich, XXIV, JO.

6. The Qenites of the north participate in this campaign (cf. Judges, V-VI).

6. Judge * y V, 17.

tnitlâ MARITIMES D * 1SRAEL 6f

the Sea, and congeners of the Philistines *. Cornered at the mountain
of Judah, the camp of Dan, harassed by the Judean clans, and
more developed no doubt from a military point of view than
the Hebrews, supported the shock of the invaders-. This
struggle of the Danites against the Philistines, is symbolized by
the myth of Samson, the Southern Hebrew Melqart, which
fights against Dagon, the god Fish, the national deity of
Philistines ^.

In this struggle we see Samson, personification of his tribe, to wear out by wearing down the enemy. In the Blessing of Jacob [^], attached to the private stay mitif of Dan in the south, the oracle expresses himself as follows: "Dan is a serpent [^] on the way and a cerast in the path, biting the horse's pasterns so that his cava-bind falls backwards. O Lord! I waited for your Hello !... "

In the impossibility in which it was to remain in the south, exhausted by the Philistines and held in check by Judah, a clan of Danites counting 600 warriors, decides to go up north to establish a solid base there.

This is the story of Laïch taking over the Canaanites and the establishment of the city and shrines of Dan, in the northernmost point of the land of Israel ⁷.

In the north as in the south, the Danites, already challenged nitively Hebrewed, form the rampart of Israel against the foreign Philistines. It is for this role of the Danites to hold 1. I Samuel THID VIII, 18; XXX, 14; II Samuel, XV, 18; I Chro-

nic, XVIII, 17, etc. ; II Samuel, [^] DH, XX, 23. Canaanites appear often as being Cretans. {Ezechiely XXV, 17; Zephaniah, II, 5).

2. Note that the city 'Yr Shemesh (Heliopolis) is counted among cities of the Danites (Joshua, XIX, 41). Abandoned by the Danites, it was occupied under the name of Bet-Shemesh by the Ephraimils (Judges, I, 35).

3. V. our appen. I.

4. Judges, XVI, 30 W [^] nWIB DV [^] "723 HCn.

5. Genesis, XLIX.

6. Dan remains for the Cabbalah the symbol of a serpent.

7. Judges, XVIII.

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the shock of the nomadic Bedouins, which the

Blessing of Moses [^] •

“Dan is like a young lion: he will jump from the Northern Gannet”.

At David's coronation, Dan definitely enters in Talliance or the Berit of Israel; the Danites figure as having delegated 28,600 "trained warriors" to the king. But the role of the Danites does not end with that of tribu- buffer and military instructor from Israel; holders of Mediterranean civilization, already material superior also, if not morally, to that of the Hebrews, the Da- nites appear to be their educators in in- dustrial and religious.

To judge the ascendancy that the Danites took over Israel from the religious point of view, it suffices to quote the myth of Samson who spread to all the tribes of Is- rael.

On the other hand, the cult of golden calves, imported from Africa. indisputable caine, commonly practiced in Dan until exile, enters Bet-El, a town bordering the private mitive of the Danites, and dominates all the religious tradition from Israel; he is so deeply rooted in manners that, despite the best efforts of the Bible writers, the name Aaron, the presumed ancestor of the priest caste, is inti- mement linked to the introduction of the cult of the golden calf [^]. The dice- direct ashes of Moses appear as the priests of worship of Dan until the destruction of the kingdom of Israel *.

Jehovah's First So-called Blasphemer "" in Israel is a Danite whose father is Egyptian.

1. D «u / er., XXXIII, 22.

2. I Chron »f XII, 35. The figures are, moreover, only too problematic.

ticks.

3. Cf. Exodus, XXVII, 36. nnN .itt ^ v WK Savn.

i. Judgeg.XVUI 31.

5. Levit.y XXIV, 10. Note however that n ^ obir, the name of the mother of this alleged blasphemer, is the same as that of the head of the clan of the Levites, descendants of Moses at the time of David (I Chron ., XXVI, MARITIME TRIBES OF ISRAEL 69

The influence of the Danites on the worship of Palestine we brings back to the industrial superiority of this tribe; the gloomy picture that the author of the book of Samuel * on the absence of any notion of art and crafts among the Hebrews, shows us the Danites dominating the cults of the "Pesel" and golden calves and probably also of Nehoustan (god-Serpent of brass), in their capacity industrial population. In the most important times aunts of art history in Israel, the Danites are always like its educators.

We could compare them to nomad camps

Jews or Bahouzim, whose survivors meet

still in Africa, uniting the art of war with the arts

Peace. Even today these Jewish Bedouins are the

goldsmiths, blacksmiths and weavers from the populations of desert ^ . But back to the Bible.

The first mention of the arts in Israel, if we

take into account the current state of the sacred books,

against about the construction of the sacred Tabernacle.

In the text which tells the details of this alleged

construction, the author mentions the names of the first two

artists in Israel, especially that of Bezalel, filsdeOuri,

son of Hour, of the tribe of Judah, and of Ahaliab, (they of

Ahisamach, from the tribe of Dan. Unfortunately,

coming up with the texts, we feel that an Aaronid editor, who

24-28). Could this story be the distant echo of a conflict between Mosaides and Aaro-

nesses? However, the cult of Nehustan (^ n ^^ n ^ Serpent God), attributed

to Moses, seems to us to be the basis of the Levitical story. Now this

a cast iron idol was used in temple worship in Jerusalem until

the time of Hezekiah (H Kings, XVI H, 4). Moreover, the Doctors of

Talmud and even the Fathers of the Church never hid their feeling

of repulsion for that tribe (UApocal. of Saint John, Vil and the Apocr. IV

Etdras suppressed it; cf. Irenaeus, Contra heretic.y V, 30, 2; Talm. Bab.

Sanfiedrin 96a; Genesis Rabba ^ 43, 98; not all of them know how to blame too much the attitude

study of the Danites).

1. \ Samuel, XIII, 29; cf. also Judges, i, 19, etc.

2. Cf. M. Netter, Univers Israelite, v. VII, p. 312 and s ., and our Voyage

(Jewish tefudes in Africa,

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could no longer admit that an event of this importance

had taken place without the assistance of Judah,

changed the substance of the original story.

If we take into account that the Bible writers

never invent and they strive to restore, with

the elements provided to them by various texts,

truths in accordance with their Jehovah's conception,

will easily see to discover the origins of the names of

artists who appear in both stories. We already have

recognized that the account of the problematic construction of

Tabernacle is modeled on that of the construction of the

Solomon's temple. This falls within the realm of history ^

We will be struck by the same etymological elements.

logic in a part of onomastics that deals with

artists of the two constructions, as one is astonished to find exactly the same terms in the appreciation of the artistic qualities of the two generations of artists. Obviously the author of the passage in Exodus has experienced the infinitely more historical passage of constructions of Solomon-

So how is it that it is precisely

in the fabulous story of the construction of the Tabernacle

that the names of the artists appear with precision

that we do not find in the authentic story

tick, at least as to the substance, of the construction of the temple

of Solomon in the text of the books of Kings and Chron-

1. Cf. among others, Exodus, XXXI, XIII, 8-7: "I have filled it with the spirit.

of God in industry, in intelligence, in science for all kinds of

worth, in gold, in silver, and in brass, and in stone and wood carving ...

they will do in purple, in a / Air (/ 6 / <./, XVII, 7). Hiram of Tyr, architect

of Solomon, is also filled with the spirit of God in industry, in

intelligence, in science for all kinds of work, in gold, silver,

brass, stone, purple, etc. (I Chron., VI and II Chron., II, 13-14). We

will grant that it was not in the desert that our artist could have executed

all that complicated art work.

2. Josephus (Antiquities, VIII, 2, 4) affirms to have copied in the same archives

from Tyre the originals of the letters exchanged between Solomon and Hiram.

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nics. Indeed, the name of the artist has undergone such alterations.

tions that we must see here the bias of an accustomed editor

to modify, rule out or change a lesson that bothers him.

The history of the different versions of this name

is also very informative. In the account of the Books of

Kings \ certainly mutilated, the artist that Hiram sends to

Solomon is named after the king of Tyre himself, which

already with ambiguities. In this text, Hiram is Tyrian

of origin, but his mother is from the Naphtali tribe.

In Chronicles 2, which often draw from sources

old, the name is Houram-Abi, a Tyrian whose mother

is from the tribe of Dan. However, the translation of the Septuagint is

here very mutilated. Alone, Josephus, who claims to have read

authentic documents concerning this subject, preserved

the lesson of Houram ben Ouri: it is the very name of the father

of the alleged artist of Moses 3, Bezalel, of the tribe of Judah.

As we cannot claim that the names of the artists

of the Book of Exodus have been changed, it is evident that

the intention to rule out a blatant contradiction prompted

the last editors of the Books of Kings to erase the

too obvious traces of a coincidence too bad.

In reality, the different versions of the constructor's name

of the temple of Solomon provide us with the

etymological, which were to serve as a basis for the editors

of the Bible.

This artist was originally called Ouri ben Hour (am)

Abi from the tribe of Dan, name used to make the

genealogy of the Judean artist of the Tabernacle: [Bezalel] the

son of Ouri, the son of Hour. The embarrassment experienced by

biblical writers before this identity of names

suggested the idea of replacing, at a time when the Penta-

teuque was already closed, the name of the artist by that of

1. I Kings, VII, V. 13 et seq.

2. He, ch. II.

8. Tin p mK p hniTI Exodus, XXXI, 2.

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King Hiram, the only Tyrian name of the time that was

known.

A second correction had made this Danite a man from the Naphtali tribe. Here, as in many others places, these are the Chronicles, which agree with Josephus, who have preserved the best lesson. As for Bezalel's name, it may be a simple doublet of the name of Ahaliab: the idea expressed by the two etymologies are almost identical ^

Forgive us for this digression in the field of Exegesis: it confirms the role of the Danites as a navigator, craftsman, industrialist and military people. The fact that it was a Danite who directed the construction of the Tabernacle, that it was another Danite established in Tiro who was the artist in charge of running the enterprises of King Solomon; this fact, together with the stories of the golden calves, the serpent of brass and cast iron idols, is it not conclusive for demonstrate the industrial superiority of the Danites? Moreover, the tribe of Dan disappears early from

Palestine. The case of the clan of 600 Danites who see each other forced to seek refuge in the north, must not be unique. Maritime and industrial people, mixed of Egyptians and Tyrians, the Danites must be the first to profit from the resumption by the Hebrews of the trade relations with Mediterranean countries. The great colonization which continues on both sides, on the south side, towards the Persian Gulf, and on the north side, towards the Mediterranean, alone explains the disappearance of this tribe, in the south, after the reign of Solomon, and in the north, a little later. In the texts where it is question of the tribes of Ephraim, Manasseh, and even Simeon, he Dan is never mentioned again. Zakir's inscription, 1. SkSsD = "in the shadow (rabri) of El • 3N ^ SnN =" my tent (my shelter) is Ab. "Note that Ab is part of the name of Houram-Abi as it appears in the Chronicles version.

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king of Hamat, seems to speak of Laïch * as of a city Aramaic. Among the northern tribes who resume under Hezekiah relations with Jerusalem, Dan does totally default: in the south as in the north, Dan disappears from good hour from the land of Israel.

In Ezekiel's Oracle on Tiro, there is talk of a southern Arab people named Dan or Ou-Dan ^ who supplied Phenicia with iron and other raw materials. and who figured among the trading peoples of the Red Sea, alongside the Arabs and the Sabeans. Without doubt, it will be difficult to recognize in this people the Danites of the tribes of Israel, but, on the other hand, the editions that run the Ethiopian countries for the most ancient times, and which relate to the first kings of Judah, are singularly reinforced by a whole cycle legends which relate to the Danites and explain the origins of Jewish influence on both shores of Eritrea. Since the Arabs stirred up Asia and Africa and brought regions unknown to civilization, several appearances of the Danites, Jews primitive, industrial and maritime which emerge from the bers of Arabia and Ethiopia ^.

We will deal elsewhere with these systematic appearances of the Danites from Eldad, the Danite adventurer of the new seventh century, until modern times.

1. M. Pognon, Semilic Inscriptiortê of Syria; Mr. Berger, in his course (1 ^) - L

2.Chap. XXVII, 19. ir ^ a] VT] 1 \ We wanted to correct here pi without keeping

account of the fact that this last ethnic name appears already in this chapter same (v. 15, beside the peoples of the north and v. 20, beside the Arabs and

Sabeans). If we admit that $l \wedge M \wedge$ is certainly an Arab region, (see Genesis, X, 27 and I Chron., I, 21) the other two names must be sought in the same direction. See Appendix V and our study on Judéo-Héliènes and Judéo-Berbers. Let us add that the Apocalypse of St. John, VII cl Tapocryphe EsdrasIW, unknown until the existence of the tribe by Dan. The Talmud {SanhedrinJ. 96} says that "Dan lies in the darkness." "The Chronicles no longer know the genealogy of the Danites. 3. See our appendices IV and V.

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Even in the sixteenth century the rabbis of Cairo saw in the Phalacha, these primitive Jews of Abyssinia whose the name recalls that of the Philistines \wedge , descendants of Danites.

The role played by these Danites in the Jewish folklore of Middle Ages is so striking that Mr. Neubauer exclaims with good reason: "Obviously the Danites meet with more persistence than all the other tribes of Israël 2 ", Nothing is impossible that large fractions Danite aunts, more or less monotheistic, took the sea on the flotillas of Solomon, Asa and Jehoshaphat, and that these early Jews left in Arabia and Ethiopia, more or less important colonies; the legendary cycle which relates to Solomon and the queen of Saba, like many other traditions known to rabbis and pre-Islamic Arabs, wouldn't they be the echo of these Danite migrations \wedge ?

1. See appendix V.

2. Were are the ien tribes of Israel '*. Jewish Quarterly Review I, I-IV.

3. These migrations were also carried out by land. See the exploits of the Ruben Denials who drove back the Haggarians, Itureans, etc. ; those of the Blessed Simeon who supplant the Ma'ounim and the Hamites (I Chron., IV and V). The migrations of the Israelites to Arabia have therefore started from the tenth century BC. AD That some fractions among these nomadic populations have not severed all contact with Isra <51, this is demonstrated to us by the precise information given the Chronicles with regard to them.

4. Cf. our appendix V, and our study: Judeo-Hellenes and Judeo-Berbers,

IX

THE TRIBE OF ASHEB

The history of the tribe of Asher, as it stands

in the Bible, is most instructive if we want to an idea of the relationship between Hebrews and Phoenicians. With Dan, Asher is one of the daughters of the tribes of the con cubines ", that is to say of mixed race.

The name of this tribe also relates to a di-onymous vinity: Asher is identified with Adonis Esmun * and Aesculapius \wedge ; it is the local god who in feminine makes Asherah, the Astarte of the Hebrew-Phoenicians, whose cult is certain-ment of Semitic origin.

The tablets of Tell El-Amarna show us the clans Hebrews of Heber and Malkiel (Habirou and Milkili) enva-hoising the south of Judah. But already in the eighteenth century, Pharaoh seizes the territory of Aseru, which is no other than southern Phenicia occupied by } 3eni-Asher3.

The boundaries of this tribe are well indicated in the

book of Joshua *: Asher occupies nineteen cities, that's all
 1. We assume that this is the identity the game alludes to.
 words which figure in the blessing of Jacob [Genesis, XLIX] לִיִּתְּכִיָּד
 2. The Baal-Marpé; cf. Ph. Berger, Phenicia, p. 21: "Esmoun was the
 supreme manifestation of divinity, that which enveloped all
 other manifestations and summed them up in his person, like the world
 envelop the seven planetary heavens ". It is therefore a god of Qedem who
 later becomes Es'moun-Melqart.
 3. Cf. Max Müller, Asien and Europa, p. 236.

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the territory of southern Phenicia, from Sidon to Acco;
 the city of Tiro is included in this territory under the name
 from Fort de Tyr ^

This last city is so well occupied by the Hebrews
 that she was not among those who remained in
 the possession of the Canaanites, such as Sidon and Acco '. The
 neighborhood of the Canaanites and the Hebrews gave rise to
 one of those mixed races referred to as "girls
 of concubines ". In the theocratic division of the tribes
 Israel in quarters, Asher happens to be Dan's neighbor
 and Naphthali ^. At the time of the Judges, Asher occupied all
 the sea coast. The Song of Deborah, confirmed by the
 Egyptian text, expressly says *: "Asher held to the
 gates of the sea and he stayed in those parts. " Of
 in Saul's time, the Philistines pushed to Apheq ^
 which shows us Phenicia no less threatened than
 the other Israelite tribes by the Mediterranean peoples.
 Besides, the Tyrians of David's day were so
 well regarded as Israelites than in the table
 genealogy of Genesis ^, where a distinct origin is
 indicated for each city in the north, no mention is
 made for Tiro, who was already at that time the
 great city of the Phoenicians.

In the list of tribes that meet in Hebron for
 consecrate the confederation of Israel under Thegemony
 of David, Asher figures for the respectable figure of
 40,000 warriors skilled in organizing war "".

The eagerness of the tribe of Asher, who in the days of

1. " ^ S? " ^ 51 ^, probably Palalyros.
2. es. Jugea, I. 31-32.
3. Xombres, II, 25-27.
4. Judges, V, 17.
5. 1 Samuel. IV; Apheq was in the neighborhood of Tiro; cf. 11
 fois, Xni. 17, etc.
6. M. Halkvy places his writing under the reign of Solomon Researches
 Biblical ^ T.
7. I Chroniqueâ, XII, 36.

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Debora took a weak part in the war against the Cana-
 neens, is explained by the fact that C3 people was happy to
 get rid of an enemy as troublesome as the
 Philistines, from the destruction of Sidon to the oc-
 cupation of Apheq. The hegemony of Tiro, the most deserving
 dionale of the great Phoenician cities, but also the most
 Israelite of all, only begins with the foundation of
 Temple of Israel and the entry on the scene of the Hebrew
 those who succeed the short domination of the Canaano-
 Pheicians.

It matters little that Tiro has kept, since the days of the Judges,
 a particular Shofet like so many other tribes of Israel,
 and that at the time of the establishment of the kingdom of Israel, Abi-
 baal, Hiram's father, improvises himself as king. Submission of

Biblos and Sidon to the hegemony of Tere begins that in the reign of David and Solomon, and probably also thanks to the military assistance of the latter. Of all the kings of Syria, Hiram is the first to salute David, to whom he sent cedar woods, masons and carpenters; he remains his friend throughout his life. The industrial superiority of the Sidonians subjugated by the Tyrians, as the military might of the kingdom of David and Solomon explain that of all kingdoms of southern Syria, Tere alone would have been spared and that, on the other hand, Hiram had sent presents to the king of Israel. 1. 1 Wood, V, 21 and 32. The workers are Sidonians or Gibrilites, Tartar Danite; Tere's dominant aristocracy is military. The troops of the earth are perhaps Asher's 40,000 skillful warriors (1 Chron., XIX).

2. H Samuel, V, 11; 1 Kings, V, 15; *ibid.*, IX, 14 where we see Hiram send 120 talents of gold to Solomon on the occasion of the temple that this king took from Syria. Hiram stands out as David's constant friend (V, 19); he calls Solomon his "brother" (ix, 13). The "alliance of brothers" between Tere and Israel is mentioned by Amos, 1. Winckler's hypothesis on Solomon's alleged submission to Hiram is refuted by all these quotes (the only sources we have), by everything that precedes and finally by the thesis of this author himself, who, elsewhere, denies Tere any world importance prior to the Assyrian domination.

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Judah. The Berit of the brothers of race alone could serve as starting point for Tyr's supremacy over the sea.

Note that, during David's reign, Asher had no special viceroy while, under Solomon, there is an intendant to Asher and Baalat *.

The later history of the tribe of Asher is incidentally that of the Tyrians themselves: this tribe should no longer exercise no influence over the destinies of Israel.

Jacob's Blessing alludes to the role of providing commercial support played by this tribe. "The bread that will come from Asher will be so fat that it will delight the kings 2. "

The author of the Blessing of Moses appears to be jealous of the astonishing fortune of this tribe: "Asher is the most happy of the children of Israel! »He exclaims, not without adding:

“May he remain approved by his brothers! " What shows that, already enriched by the sea trade, Asher tended to move away from his brothers. "O you who soak your feet in Thule, you who have iron and Tairain for shoes safe ! »Continues this same oracle, alluding to the metal trade and industry, source of riches of Tere "may your old age not deny your force! can you remember that there is hardly another god that TEL de Yechouroun, it is He who comes to your help. Ma'on, the god of Qedem, who supports the eternal armels, who rides the Arabot ^ is at your help and the She-haqim ^ with his majesty ... "

In this prophetic text, we feel the author's regret for the increasingly marked remoteness of the Tyrians, the which will unite by preferring Melqart to Yehou, TELobim of 1. i Wood, I \ u.

at. Genesis, no. oiled.

8. Deuterot .. X \ XILS-24.

4. C ^ nC n * 2 *? are planetary gods with Ma'on. See above, ch. 11.

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Qedem. Vain appeal, vain recriminations! The tribe of Asher, enriched by overseas trade, special to Tire between the years 1000 and 500, had to undergo the law of attraction that the economic factor determines in any prosperous society. The small island of Tire, which was never to hold that a few thousand sinners, becomes under Hiram a great city that stretches across the mainland and absorbs all the surrounding populations. The old one temple of the Baal (probably the Baal Shamai'm of the Cad-Means who, according to Herodotus, had no other divine feeling than the two columns that we find vons to Jerusalem) ^ becomes the sanctuary of Melqart, the "King of the city", of Egyptian origin, whom we adored in the form of a bull 2. Besides, for these skimmers of the seas, Melqart, the conqueror of Africa and Mediterranean, offered more resources than the poor god of the Judean Demos, the Yehou of Zion.

The territory of Asher, absorbed by Phenicia, does not no longer appears in archaeological documents ^; the in-Assyrian invaders, Egyptians no longer know this ethnic name; the eponymous god of Asher is only one times in the Phoenician inscriptions *. It's Ashera-Ashtoret, the Sidonian feminine of Baal, the correspondent, who eventually predominated in Hebrew-Phoenician theology.

At the time of the destruction of the northern kingdom, Asher shares the fate of Phenicia; populations of suburbs of Tire have never been displaced by the Assyrians like those of Samaria and Sidon ^. Alone

1. Cf. Meltzer, *our. cited*, v. I, note I, where he summarizes the literature on the history of the temple of Melqart.

2. M. Berger, *opr. cited*, p. 20.

8. Asoros and Karchedon {*aliaSy Xa> ^ xi | 8ov*) would be the founders of Carbage (Meltzer, *ibid.*, II, note I). Cf. Herodian who designates Phenicia 8OU8 the name of 2ûp, which Movers derives from 1 \ Z7N. See above, p. 60.

4. *CI Sem* ,, I, 65.

5. HoMMEL, *Gesch. garlic. Morgenl.*, P. 100-112.

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Jehovah's school, faithful to the traditions which are attached to the time of Israel's greatness under the flag of Yehou, will still remember this ancient kinship of the Tyrians and the Hebrews. Almost all of the prophets before

the captivity treat Tire with indulgence; they are always old "brothers", enemy brothers, it is true, but not at all lost ^ As happens in all the aristocratic blics, the great masses of the people and the rural class itself, which was to be composed of Israelites, were most affected by the state of enmity and enslavement that Tyr's greatness was to entail for them. As Jehovah, the god of the weakened and impoverished people of Zion, democratized, handled, approached the humble and the small, Melqart took on the bloodthirsty and selfish character that is special to his worship. It is not by mere chance that the poor widow of Elijah is placed in Zarepta, in the middle of roof of the Phoenicians, and that later, after the destruction of Samaria, "of the people of Asher" are among the first those who submit to Jehovah ^. Among the inhabitants of Asher's territory who followed the Tyrians in their sea migrations, there must have been some who got wet.

bound before Jehovah and remained faithful to the elder ideal of Israel. For Asher, the conflict between Aristocracy and the working masses show an organized antagonism unique, which led to the final separation of the people of Jehovah from that of Melqart, and this antagonism is more evident clearly among other tribes, his relatives, in particular at that of Zabulon.

1. Cf. our chap. XIII.

2. II Chron., XXX, 11. According to Saint Luke (11, 31), the prophecy "8se Anne ap-partnered with the tribe of Asher.

THE TRIBE OF ZABULON

The tribe of Zabulon occupied Carmel and its outbuildings. dances and dominated the Phoenician coast. The eponym of Zebul, which is the synonym of Ma'on * and Qedem, makes suppose that this is one of the ancient tribes

meanings which, at the time of the Canaanite invasions, went up north and settled firmly in

Carmel. There is also a mountain called

Carmel in Judea 2. An important mythical figure of the time of the Judges was called Zebul ^.

In the tradition biblical Zabulon appears as a race of He-pure braique: he is with Issachar the legitimate son of Jacob and Leah; in the military distribution of tribes, these both appear under the flag of Judah '*

It is therefore a fraction of the Beni-Qedem, who pri rent, after their eponymous deity, the name of Zabulon

We meet, moreover, on the very territory of the Zabu

Ion a city called Ma'on. As for the deity of Baal

Zebul, it is known to us from data from

old. At a certain point in history, the Beni-Zabu-

We seem to have owned the city of Sidon. In the tra-

1. There is a city called Ma'on in the territory of Zabulon

[Talm.Bab ,, ir. Zebahim, f. 118).

2. II Samuel XXV, 2, 6 and 7.

3. Judges ^ IX, etc.

4. Numbers ^ no. cited.

AnCII. MAHOC.

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Jewish edition, Baal-Sidon * is identified with the Patriarch Zabulon. The Canaanites or the Libo-Phoenicians of Africa that early seized Sidon the Great.

Sidon is a city which was not to be occupied by

Beni-Israel. On the other hand, their border followed that of the city itself, of which they also dominated the suburbs. Or-

pure Semitic genius, the cult that characterizes the Beni-

Zabulon has indisputable affinities with the one

of Jehovah of Jerusalem; the importance that this territory has

taken in the history of the development of monotheism,

made it into a Northern Judea: Zabulon personifies the awakening of the national and religious conscience of Israel. He's leading

the other tribes, either in war or in time of peace.

At the time of the crushing of the Canaanites by Deborah,

the tribe of Zabulon exposes itself to death for

defend its supremacy; it is she who, more advanced than

the others supply the scribes and the staff to Israel.

"Zabulon is a people who exposed his life, with Naphtali

open country. The kings of Canaan have in vain

fought ... They fight disinterestedly! "

Thus under David, 50,000 Zabulonites, "all military

experts in the art of war and ready to make any sacrifices ^ ",

embrace the cause of the Jehovist conqueror; their leaders

already at that time theophoric names Jehoo-

vists ^.

It may be under the influence of the eponymous deity of this tribe that Solomon calls his sanctuary "Bet ZebuP". However, it remains a given that a sanctuary

1. IpSna lIpa pSllT Tosephia, Ir. Gillin, I; J. Schwarz: Teboaoat Ha-arez, p. 232. There is still a "qoubba" near Sidon which the Arabs call 'Cheiq es-Sidon' and which the Jews designate as the tomb of Zabulon.

2. Judges, V, 18.

3. II Chron., XII, 32.

5.1 Kings, VIII, 14.

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very old cadmean existed on the territory of Zabulon.

The Blessing of Moses tells us explicitly: "The peoples will meet on the mountain, there they will offer sacrifices of Zedec ^ "

We cannot but compare this Zedec to Malhi-Zedec and de Adoni-Zedec (or Bezeq 2) of the old sanc- of Jerusalem: it would be, as the variant of Bezeq, of an astonishing Zeus-Jupiter, master of the sea, which inhabited a grove in Carmel ^, divinity Mediterranean people; it is the planetary God who corresponds lays in Jupiter and who, in the Pantheon of the gods méens, would correspond to Zebul.

This sanctuary, located on the mountain and of which we dierons later evolution, is with that of Sinai a hotbeds of monotheism.

The great prophetic revolution, which is linked inti- in the mysterious name of Elijah and in which Yahou, the only god, ends up winning over the priests of Baal, would have been accomplished on the altar of Carmel; the dramatic story tick of drought in the Book of Kings, an account of which the background is confirmed by the Tyrian annals, explains to us the more social than religious character of this revolution tion ^.

In the presence of the wealth and the superiority of Tire, arrival under Itobaal at its peak and bringing together the two kingdoms of Israel under the tutelage of the Tyrian king and Baal, the oppressed moral conscience of the proletarian masses, represented by the Nabi, rebels and reacts.

1. Dealer., XXXIII, 18-19. "Rejoice, Zabulon, in your going out and you, Usachar, in your tents. The peoples (of Palestine) will meet on the mountain ; there they will offer sacrifices of Zedec 1N "1p ^ IH D ^ CT.

2. Judges y I, 5-7.

o. Baal Zcus = Sydec. See our appendix Zedec and Zadoc.

4. Cf. Micah, VII, 1. Sa " ^ 3 ^ 1 ^ 2 "T 1111 ^: 3V7. You who live alone the wood in the middle of Carmel! Cf. njD ^ J312? (corr. 1310) 1 Deuter., XXXIII, 16.

6. MÉNANDRB, in J08ÊPHE, Anfiquiées, VIII, 7.

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In this symbolic struggle of Yahou against Baal, the Thunder God plays his role. It is not the Baal Sun who can bring rain and thunder, but it is Yahou-

Zedec, the god of thunders, of great waters, who ends by becoming the god of Justice.

The day after a crisis "in which he hardly remained Israel of 7.000 men not prostrate before the Baal ", Jehovah takes his final spiritualistic physiognomy on

Tautel of Carmel.

Jehovah is the new name of rElohim Cadmean which is stands in front of the African Melqart; his name is the word order given on this sanctuary of Zabulon: also this last deny escaped the debacle, which made all the others forget Bamot or high places of Syria. 11 remained until Roman times, and even we owe to Tacitus some specific information, which is proof of the identity of this altar with that of the god of Moses, Elijah and the last prophets of Judah, after the reform of Hezekiah. This author * says that in his time we loved Carmel, by virtue of an ancient tradition, a god who had neither temple nor statue, but only an altar where invoked him under the name of the god of Carmels ^: "Est Judaeam inter Syriamque Carmelus ita vocant montem Deumque; nec simulacrum Deo aut templum; situm tradidere majores, aram tantum and reverentiam. " It's about therefore from a Bama of Jehovah, from a high place which is in the gine of Hebrew sanctuaries ^.

The Roman historian continues:

(In the year 69, Vespasian during his visit to Ptolemals, having learned that there was, on the neighboring mountain, a divinity predicting the future, wanted to consult her. He met

1. Tacitus, Hisl., II, 78.

2. Cf. Deul, no. quoted INID ^ IH D ^ D ^ which could be translated: the peoples invoke "the mountain".

8. Cf. Berger, Ouvr, cited, p. 26.

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contra on Carmel a priest named Basilides who predicts him (follows the story) ... "

Suetonius * confirms these details; Christian authors keep the memory of this sanctuary.

A synagogue stood on its site in first centuries of the Christian era and it was in the form Nazarenes or Essenes, who were found in the same right the descendants of the ancient Nabi.

The invisible God of Zabulon who ends up imposing on Jehovah his character of Zedek, god of righteousness, cannot was not to be unknown to the great emigrating masses who

colonized the Mediterranean countries; indeed, according to the tradition, Zabulon provided Phenicia with the element industrialist and worker par excellence. Genesis already specifies this character of the Zabulonites: "Zabulon resides in north of the seas, it inhabits the edge of boats and its flank touch Sidon 2. "

. In the Canticle of Deborah, Zabulon provides, apart from warriors, "experts in the art of writing ^".

In the Blessing of Moses ^, Zabulon appears as a marine people. "Rejoice, Zabulon, in your excursions! exclaims the author of the Blessing of Moses.

For they will suck the abundance of the sea and the treasures hidden in the sands. »It is curious to note that

the three great inventions attributed by Greek antiquity- that to the Phoenicians are located in the territory by Zabulon. For the first, that is to say the skill in the art of writing, it suffices to refer to the Canticle of Deborah ^.

1. Vespasian, V.; cf. Movers, *ibid.*, II, p. 670. Elisha (II RoiSy II, 26 and IV, 23) passes through Carmel. Jamblique claims that Pythagoras would have lived in the society of Carmelite ascetics (Smith, Dictionary of the Bible, art. Carmel).

2. Genesis, XLIX, 16.

3. Judges, V, not cited.

4. Deuteron ,, XXXIII, U.

6. ISiD B3W3 -pO

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As for the other two, the manufacture of azure purple and that of white glass, they are confirmed to us by the passage where it is said "that they inherit from Tabondance seas, "treasures hidden in the sand", and by Talmudic traditions commenting on this passage. "The subscriber dance of the seas, they are purple worms; the treasures hidden in the sand, it's white glass ^ "

This maritime role of Zabulon is so accredited in the tradition, that the author of the book of Jonah, when he is looking for a prophetic name for his thesis novel, the found at Gat-Hefer ^, in the territory of Zabulon ', so much considered it natural that it was a Zabulonite who embarked at Tarsis. Note that Jonas himself declares to be a "Hebrew who fears Jehovah".

Industrial, maritime, full of activity, the tribe of Zabulon appears to be the most Israelite, the most Hebrew of all the Israelite tribes of the north. All the texts say fundamentally attached to the worship of Yahou the invisible.

Home of monotheism, how could we conceive the role of the emigrants that she was to send through the Mediterranean other than as the avant-garde of Jehovism, even in overseas countries? If traditional tions, whose origin often predates Islam, current, in several Mediterranean countries, on Joshua ben Noun, on Solomon and Joab, wouldn't it be more logical, instead of attributing them to a Muslim influence, to go back to the time of Tyrian colonization, that is that is, between 1000 and 500 BC? Moreover, many their authors did not hesitate to designate the zabu group Leonite as the oldest among the Jews of Africa *.

1. Tr. Meguila, f. 6a.

2. II Kings, XIV, 25.

3. Joshua, XIX, 13.

4. The editors of the genealogical lists of Book I of Chronicles do not no longer knew the descent of the Beni Zabulon.

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We must add that if the Galilee of the second temple appears to us, with the exception of Samaria, as a country essentially Jewish, it owed it to the persistence of this Jehovist tribe little affected by Assy-

nothing. At least the Talmudic texts place in Phé nicie part of the ten extinct tribes of Israel ^

Let us add that throughout the Middle Ages the Israelites of Phenicia were devoted to the glass industry and dry cleaners. We know how many professions and thirds have a hereditary character in the East 2.

There would be a few words to say about the role played by the tribe of Naphtali during the war of Deborah; at the time of David, she sends "37,000 warriors carrying the shield and the halberd ". We could add a few words about the role played by the tribe of Issachar, sister of Zabulon, in subject of which it is written: "The chiefs of Issachar are with Debora; Issachar is Debora's support. " - Elsewhere they praise their astrological science: "The sons of Issachar who were very skilful in consulting the weather to find out what that Israel had to do ".

But we believe that our research has suf- established that the Phoenicians of the Tyrian period formed are in reality one block with the Hebrew-Israelites

and that there is even impossibility, from the double point of view of geography

1. See ialm. Jeras ,, Ir. Sanhedrin, chap. XI, J 6: iSa nvSa ^ S ^
nnNi N '»DV'D2K hvj n: sT nnn nnxT" [VûnaD ihûd d ^ jsS nnK Ski ^ t ^

DD31] 23rnDn> Sy TI ^ IZT. The Israelites suffered three successive exiles: the first carried them to the opposite bank of the Sambation river, the other threw them under the ruins of Antiochia and the last one covered them with a cloud who came down from Heaven. "The first of these events is probably allusion to the destruction of Antioch in 114. The second may relate to the Israelites who lived in northern Phenicia near the river Sabbatical, cf. : Joséphe, Guerres Jud. ^ VII, 13. Corroborated by Yâlkout Shimeoni, IsalCy XLIX, etc., this passage shows us that it is about the ten tribes of Israel.

2. Itinerary of Benjamin de Tudèle.

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graphic and ethnic, to separate from each other: moreover the practice of circumcision, onomastics common, the formation of the ritual of worship and until proto-Israelite archaisms, which after their disappearance from metropolis are still found in the Phoenician colonies. ciennes of Africa, all this is so obvious that we could say that, who says Tyro-Phoenician, says Hebrew-Phoenician. . .

XI

THE ORIGINS OF MELQABT

By introducing here the Phoenicians of the time of the Tyrian supremacy, as part of the history of Hebrews, we expect the objection made by many learned and very well summarized by M. Ph. Berger *. "The passage from the genealogical table of the Bible, says this one, presents the Canaanites as close relatives of the Cushites and the Egyptians and as forming with them the group of Hamitic peoples. We sought to explain the place given by Genesis to the Canaanites by Tantipathy inspired in the Hebrews by a people rivaling which they disputed Palestine. But to this account, adds with reason M. Ph. Berger, the Hebrews should have made as much for the Moabites, the Ammonites and especially the Idumeans and Amalekites, their traditional enemies. " This objection falls by itself, if we admit the thesis that we have tried to establish on the origin couchite of the Hycsos: it would be these invaders not Semitics who, having been in contact with civilization and of the Egyptian language, spread in the basin of the Red Sea, in North Africa, on the islands of Mediterranean and the Syrian coast; the author of the table genealogy, which lived a millennium after the invasion of Hycsos, being in the presence of two oriental races

1. Ouvr, cited, p. 2.

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distinct by their beliefs and traditions, did that to observe this division which brought together Egyptians, the rest of the Mesopotamians. The difficulty that there was from that time to make this distinction, we is shown by the confusion of the biblical texts on both Semitic and Hamitic origins of this or that people. As regards the Phoenicians properly said, same confusion, same contradictions ^ The authors biblical had knowledge of a more or less

cadmean of the marine peoples of Palestine, and even Sidonians themselves, traditions which bring them back close to the Beni-Qedem, among perpetual mixtures, impossible to follow, between populations of Africa, beyond Crete, Cyprus and the Phoenician coast. On the other hand, the Hittites 2 and the Canaanites who captured Sidon and other cities, were considered by them as Pure Ilamites. In addition, the origins of the Phoenician cults underwent a Wibo-Egyptian influence, which was accentuated from the invasion of Sheshanq (c. 900).

Movers maintains ^ however that Byblos or Gebal, the most ancient Phoenician city, by the character of its Pantheon and his particular cult always distinguished by the Bible, was populated by Hebrew-Aramaean. The inscription, published by Renan *, confirms the merger of his language with Hebrew. Beirut, the city of Berith, seems to us to have kept the same character. As for Tyr, we have sufficiently established its Hebrew character in

1. Note however that this confusion does not exist in the Bible in what concerns the so-called Japetite peoples.

2. The Egyptian influence on Hittite civilization is attested by the latest excavations (Maspero, the Hittites and their empire, Journ. Debals, June 21, 1908).

3. Die Phönizier, II, 1, p. 20 and following. Meltzer (our. Cited, I, p. 18) shows with good reason that Byblos never played the role attributed to him by Movers, and that Sidon itself only appears in the ancient Egyptian texts as a city of secondary importance.

4. Journal des Savants, July 1875; Berger, open. cited, p. 6.

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The time of the constitution of the Kingdom of Israel. We are going to find, until a late time, this kinship conscious between Tiro and Israel expressed by the "Bérit fraternal" and show that the separation between Melqart and Jehovah dates only from a later time.

The second king of Tiro, Hiram, succeeded in subjugating the Phoenicians and to make its capital the metropolis of "Sidonians" ^ . He employs Gible, Sidonian workers and Lebanese in the constructions of Solomon: Hiram therefore follows, like the indigenous peoples of Lebanon, the same policy of enslavement as Solomon towards of the Canaanites ^ . Vassal king, or at most protected, Hiram provides Solomon with workers and materials, Sidonian captains and precious metals. When that the sumptuous king of Judah will want to reward him with the Cabulun concession, Hiram will be careful not to alienate the sympathies of the tribes of Israel: he will refuse distinctly • ^ .

On the other hand, it will take advantage of the security that overwriting of the Philistines had made reign over the Mediterranean, for carry out major works and undertake in the Mediterrorized colonization on a vast scale.

"The city which then covered several separate islands" by inlets, was enlarged and united by means of blais and fortified quays ^ . It could house approximately 30,000 inhabitants and it overflowed on the continent; the absorption of Beni-Asher continued at this

1. Berger, open. quoted ^ p. 7.

2. I Bois, V, VIII, IX, X. JosÈPHE {Aniiq., VIII. 2) asserts that the archives of the city of Tiro still possessed of its time documents authentic concerning the relationship between Hiram and Solomon. In believe this author, the King of Jerusalem occupied an honorable place in the folklore of the Tyrians (cf. V History of the sage Abdemon).

3. Josephus (/ 6id.) Is right to interpret vv. 10-13 of IJ Kings IX as a refusal to accept this gift.

4. JosÉPiiE, *ibid.*f VIII, 2; Maspero, *Hist. anc. ueup, from the East*, p. 434.

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era already, and by peaceful means. The "Qarta" where the city par excellence was thus created. With the city, the 'king of the city "where Melqart entered the scene and inaugurated the activity the Tyriens, which the Greeks later owed represent by the myth of Melqart.

But at the time we are now, Melqart cannot was still going to take the ascendant that he had to have more late. According to the Tyrian cosmogony, which Servée Sanchoniaton, Tire was founded by two brothers, Sameroumos and Ous'oos. Now, Sameroumos is Heaven high, a certain Cadmean divinity; as for Ous'oos, we tried to identify him with Esau, the mythical father of Edom or "Red People", brother of Israel and master of southern maritime outlets *.

In Hiram's time, one of the Tyrian islets had a temple that the Greeks later identified with their Olympian Zeus and which corresponds to a Semitic El-Elion. On another island, the bigger one, Hiram builds the temple of the Tyrian Baal or of a local god who perhaps owes his origine to a former African colonization. Only, from time of Hiram, and even later, Melqart was still far from having the solar physiognomy that antiquity classed sique attributed to him ^.

The temple of Hiram appears to be an exact copy of that of Solomon ^.

Two columns (the Jachin and the Boaz de la 1. After MovERS and Renan (*Mém de CAcad. Des Inser. And B.-Lellret, XXIII, p. 241-334*), M. Delagrangé [*Studies on retig. simit. ^ p. 861 and 8.*]) a resumed the criticism of the work of the Tyrian cosmographer. We admit willingly an ancient Hebrew origin, common to cosmographies Phoenician and Biblical. The role that ODI TN plays in these texts does not in no way surprises us, the Phoenicians themselves having drawn their origin of Idumea.

2. Maspero, *ibid.*

S. I Kings, VH, 21. \ n ^ ^ 3 ^.

Etymologically, the term Phoenician 5> y corresponds to the Hebrew n ^ H ^ = ^^ T. As for the term TW »it appeared in the Bible as the name of King David's ancestor. These two sj-mbolic columns must be identified with the famous columns d Hercules-Heracles.

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Bible ^) were, to the exclusion of all others, the image of divinity, and this in the time of Herodotus. The form Egyptian of the bull, which will later impose itself in the cult de Melqart, never succeeded in penetrating to the interior of the temple, where a Puritan conservatism prohibited any innovation. This form will also be common to Tyrians and the Israelites who worshiped Jehovah under the shape of a golden calf; also the prophets of the old school, prior to the reform of Josiah, will they be very indulgent towards Tire. For Amos, Tyr is the ally brotherhood of Israel. Isaiah has great respect for Tire 2. He even foresees a return from Tire to Jehovah, to whom she will bring all its "riches".

Ezéchiely who wrote at the time of the height of the power maritime session of Tire, explicitly tells us that the divi- The nization of Melqart only began in his time.

"You were perfect ^ in your ways since the day you was created and until a perversity was found

in you. This perversity - the prophet returns to it in this chapter twice, - it is the deification of the king from the city. "Because your heart has risen and you have said: I am El and I sit on the throne of Elohim in the midst of the sea, though you're just a man and not the strong God ... because you lifted up your heart

as if he were the heart of God ... "

In reality, the mythical deification of Melqart, the king of the city, dates from a later period. The kings of Israel, who nevertheless professed all the pagan cults of Syria, have never known this cult remained foreign to

1. Berger, *ibid.* ^ P. 22.
2. Chap. XXIII.
3. Ch. XXVIII.
4. D't2n
6. Melqart wears purple with the kings of Tiro. Hiram himself is identified (in the Jewish Haggada at least) with the Phoenix that lives 1,000 years old.

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Hebrews. It was during a late period infiltration that the Hebrews owe human worship, mythology compiled, as well as the bloodthirsty procedures which worship the Baal.

Under Hiram and his successors, we therefore find ourselves in the Hebrew-Phoenician world: it is the time when Melqart inaugurates its maritime campaign. This is the time Tyrian who succeeds that of the African Cadmeans and Mediterranean; it is the Hebrew civilization which supplant that of the Libo-Phoenicians.

Indeed, Melqart does not invent writing * nor purple, nor the manufacture of glass: all this was known before even the founding of Tiro. But Melqart presides over the propagation of a new alphabet, the one that the Jews designate under the name of Hebrew writing and which has twenty-two letters. Fairly founded hypotheses allow us to believe to the existence of an ancient writing which, in Arabia, would have been imagined under the Hycsos and which seems to have been link to the peoples of Africa and the Mediterranean. But in Palestine itself, they continued for quite a long time bend a cuneiform writing as shown to us the tablets of Tell El-Amarna and the biblical term of

"Divine Scripture 2". The first Phoenician inscriptions

These do not appear until the ninth century and we writing still young, little used. This writing has since spread throughout all Western countries.

It is the same with colonization; Melqart does civilize Greece not: Cadmos has already done it; but he par-runs this country and Crete to recruit an army ^, this

1. Cf. D ^ I ^ V 3r) 3 as opposed to D ^ IICK 1713 or Aramaic; Tal. Bab. Sanhedrin, t. 21.
2. D ^ nS ^ in3D; sacred script or hieroglyph in which were written the tables of the Law (ExodCy XXVI I, 16). See Berger, *ouor. ci7è*, p. 6. Note the passage of II Chron ,, II, 10 in ^ I DTn n ^ VT ^ I.
3. Mercenaries and sailors.

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which conforms to material reality. Mercenaries Greeks and Cretans are found among the Phoenicians.

It concentrates, with the help of the peoples of the sea, its action maritime and political in Africa and the Mediterranean west, to the Pillars of Hercules; these columns are nothing but the representation of the divinity of Tiresias at a very old time.

We know the stages of this colonization: it is first the island of Cyprus which, in the time of Tell El-Amarna, carried the name of Alasia or Eiasa and was under the domination of a only king (Hittite?) *. The letters that this king sends to Pharaoh show us that the island had no relation to the Phoenicia and the Phoenicians; its population was among the peoples of the sea, ancestors of the Ionians. The city of Cytion or Qittim, whose name was to spread over all northern Mediterranean countries, particularly after the weakening of the Philistines, is shown to us by the inscriptions like a Tyrian colony called Qarta-Hadasha, that is to say the "New City", exactly like African Carthage. Little by little, however, the island undergoes Phoenician influence; as well as later Carthage, it became the central repository of wealth and Tyrian trade. It is she who, as will more later African Carthage during the siege of Tiresias by Alexander, give refuge to the Tyrians during a siege of the Assyrian king.

The occupation of Rhodes and Thasos by the Tyrians did not must not be from a later era. This is where the Tyrians continue their excursions across the islands from the Mediterranean to Spain.

Indeed, if the ships of Tarsis (or the Transatlantic

1. Maspero, open. cited 284; Landau, open. cited, p. 27. We will notice that at the time of the Hittite supremacy in Asia, Tiresias of Cyprus - i'Alasia of the Egyptian texts - had Cytion or D ^ n3 for center.

2. / «are, XXIII, 18: ^ TIV ^ Dlp D ^ TS.

4

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ticks, as we will say), were already doing under Hiram expeditions to the coasts of Spain, nothing proves that the coast of Tarsis, Spain and West Africa Dentale was occupied by the Phoenicians from Palestine. If Gades seems to be of Tyrian foundation, the city d'Escaluna probably owes its origins to the same Shakoula who invaded the shores of the Mediterranean and who in Palestine built Askalon and occupied Sidon. Herodotus, who speaks of the Phoenicians established up to Carthage, tells us explicitly that in his time he there were no Phoenicians or Greeks to be found "Beyond Libya" ^ Carthage already existed for a long time Judges, but under a more or less native name, like Kition the Hittite or the Canaanite already existed before the Tyrians had captured it. Indeed, the ancients indicate on the site of Carthage an ancient city which bore the name of Kambe and even of Cadmea ^ . This city, one of the capitals of Tarsis, otherwise Tarsis itself, was to be an ancient center of co-Libyo-Phoenician colonization like most cities maritime regions of Africa and Spain. She could be the oldest even from Tiresias. In Isaiah's time, Tarshish was still a formidable competitor of Tiresias.

"Cross your country like a river, O daughter of Tarsis, you no longer have a belt that locks you in ^ ... this is not your city of Élisabeth (the Joyful) the one The most ancient Qedem came from afar to live there.

ter *? ... "But, it is there, however, that the Tyrians seek

1. The question is elucidated by d'Avezac {P Ancient Africa ^ p. 167-169).

2. Among others Stéphane de Byzantium (M eltzeb, or ur.ci/é, note 9). Exa). £ iTo \$ £ Kxivii izùAiç xai Kao {A £ ix xat Oivoixia xac Kaxxa6r |. An inscription bears Jbid., U ") "S n3 NSàX 1 * 23 D ^ K D- ^ nr? To Sidonians, mother (metro-

pole) from Kamba. of Hyppo, of Kiti and of Tire |?) Cf. Virgil, jEn., 1, U.

3. Chap. XXin, 10. 2CD should perhaps be compared to ^ TJ Oezekiel,

XXX. 5 \ See quarter note 6, supp.

4. In the original nî '?' '2V yj \ ^ nr'2Tp DTp " '0 ^ 2 nvh7 DdS riNTH.

THE ORIGINS OF MELQART 97

chent a refuge. "Go through Tarshish. Howl, you who

live in the lees. "

Ezekiel mentions the autonomy of Tarshish: "Tarshish

deal with you in all kinds of wealth, doing
abound in your markets silver, iron, tin and
lead. "

The merchants of Tarshish make with their "lion-
ceaux 2 ", that is to say their dependencies, the trade in
Palestine.

Under one of the kings of Jerusalem (Jehoshaphat or rather
Hezekiah ^, we are told that "Tire and the kings of Tarshish and
islands brought their gifts to the king of Judah ".

All this contemporary information indicates
that in the days of the first kings of Israel, Tire and the
nicie do not yet play the political role that
posterity attributes to them. At most, the genius of
Tyrian city, embodied by King Hiram more than anything
other, begins its migrations through the Mediter-
rancid, without seeking any profit other than that of relationships
trade between the peoples of the Mediterranean and
Hebrew country.

These considerations explain the absence in the
Western country of any Phoenician inscription dating
from a distant era, as is the character

TiaS fTSai We cannot take sufficient account of the pre-
feel this text for the study of the origins of Carthage. The prophets have
admirably well known to the Phoenician world (as proof, chapter XXIU
d / wre and Ezekiel's description of Tire, a description which remains a
masterpiece of ethnographic and economic precision). On the other hand
the oracle character of this prophecy excludes any idea of im-
desired precision. Isaiah certainly knew the myth of lisa - Hfny
(probable allusion to Elisa) and the attribute of Kadmea. On the etymology of
this term, cf. Meltzer, Gesch, des Karthager, I, 129 about Dido-
Elissa, Tanit, Ashera, the genius goddess of Carthage Ôai'fxwv Kap / .iibovici> v.
The coins of Tire bore the emblem of Dido who fled before
Pygmalion (Babelon, Carthage, p. 15).

l.XXVII, 12,

2. / 6id., XXVIII. 18.

3. Psalms, LXXII, 10.

ARCH. MOROCCO.

7

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Hebrew of the so-called Phoenician colonies in
Africa and the indisputable Egyptian origin of objects
the oldest art that has been found in Africa; they

would explain to us above all the African character of the cult
Phoenician of the low period, character which will be marked
especially from the failure of the Hebrew policy of Ito-

baal. But let's not anticipate the events.

XII

YAHOU AND MELQART

Israel's political rise under David and Solomon did not
was not going to have a tomorrow. Egypt weakened and divided
recovered at the time of the accession to the throne of She-
shaq or Sheshonq, one of those Libyan military leaders * who
since the Hycsos invasion provided Egypt with its
mercenaries then became his masters. Sheshonq does
did not stop turning his eyes towards Syria.

Without breaking with Solomon, he encouraged the uprisings
fomented by Jeroboam in Israel and by Adad Tlduméen,
in Syria. Five years after the Israelite schism, he invaded
Judea, plundered Jerusalem and passed into Israel. He took
number of captives who could serve as stock for the first
first Israelite colony in Egypt. This invasion, like
the constant hostility between Judah and Israel, the invasions of
Aramaeans and the incessant clash of factions ended
to weaken the Hebrew people and deprive them of all prestige
policy 2.

Likewise in Tire, which is subject to the same influences and
not stop being bloodied by incessant revolutions
health 3.

1. On the primitive Asian origin of these Libyans, cf. Maspero, open.

ciie ^ p. 419. For us, it is a question of the Libo-Phoenician groups, which form
ment of a mixture of Egyptianized Proto-Semites and Coushito-Cadmeans.
Cf. *ibid.*, Pp. 391, 409 and 416.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 436.

3. Pn. Berger, open. cile, p. 8.

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These events resulted in an emigra-
tion which then went to Africa and to

Spain, where the Phoenicians were no longer satisfied with
simple "emporia 9 but sought to establish colo-
nies ^ For, not being able to firmly establish their supremacy
in Asia, the Hebrew-Phoenicians will therefore turn
to overseas countries; it is probably at this
era when the "Tire camps" of Memphis were founded
and the other colonies reported in Egypt by Herodotus.
But Egyptian influence did not manifest itself alone-

ment by this resumption of invasions in Palestine. The instal-
lation of the two golden calves, under the image of which we
worshiped Yahou, the god of David, in Dan and Bethel, mark
a conscious tendency to detach Israel from the He-
breu of Jerusalem and to bring it closer to that of Osiris
Amon: "We have no part with David, nor any inheritance.
floor with Isai's son. Return to your tents, O Israel ^! m
This call is in reality only a reaction in favor of a
revival of Egyptian influence.

When Joroboam cries out, "Here are your gods, Israel,
took you out of the land of Mizroim! »He will only want
better accentuate the Egyptian origin of this cult, a little
too late, it is true 3. The legend of the golden calf, which is
that the account of this event symbolized by the Prophecy School
tick, shows us the ancient Cadmean belief, sin-
regularly idealized by the glory forever lost now
but from the reigns of David and Solomon, with roots
already too strong for a simple reform to have been able to

1. Cf. Mo ^ -ERS, op. cited, II, pp. 340-346.

2. \ RoU.Xn. 28, etc.

3. Cf. Exodus, XXXIII, 16, where this same passage is reproduced. This is
that the story of the golden calf • made by Aaron • where * is that fiction

of a disgusted prophet at Raël's return to paganism. The same note Supreme Mancoia is found in the story of Elijah who invokes Jehovah at Mount Horeb, and of Moses regretting the making of the calf Golden.

TAHOU BT MBLQART 101

read: The history of the Northern Kingdom will henceforth be even of the secular struggle which was waged between Baal and Yahu. All of Israel's policy will henceforth be géé in a double current: one, that of the aristocracy Egyptianized, the other, that of the Cadmean prophets who comes popular ^

Things weren't supposed to be right different in the kingdom of Tîre; there, the aristocracy was born health, which no longer had anything to do with Palestine, was Egypt through its increasingly centered in Cyprus and Africa. The incarnation of Baal tyrian in a golden bull should be related to same origins as the introduction of golden calves in Israel; only to Tîre this divinity tended more and more to be confused with Osiris-Amon or the Baal-Amon, the Sun God of the Libyans ~. Judging by the revolutions who had bloodied Tîre after Hiram's death and by the influence which Jewish prophecy had until that in Phenicia, this transformation was not all at once.

A popular revolution with democratic pretensions separates the northern kingdom from that of Judah, and at the same time a conspiracy of workers, mercenaries and of slaves overthrows the throne of Hiram's successors ^.

The disastrous domination of the plebs had the effect of the emigration to Africa of part of the aristocracy. The revolutions followed one another in Tîre, as in Israel, until the accession to the throne of the usurper Itobaal, the second great king of Tîre. Itobaal was a priest of Astarte *; over there

1. Already under the reign of David, Yahu, the God of natural forces, spiritualizes himself to become T] ^ T] * God of Being and of becoming. But Celtic abstraction remained accessible only to an elite (Winckler, Gesch, hraeli, I, p. 29 and 39).

2. Berger, open. cited, p. 27.

S. Maspero, open. cited, p. 486-6.

4. Berger, open. eity ^ p. 8.

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s ^ explains the violent hatred that he and his children profess know for the prophets of Yahu, representing the aspirations of the great Hebrew masses who, both in Phenicia in Israel, tended to revert to the old unity, under the aegis of the God of Zion. Supported by the Tyrian Taristocracy who had material and moral interests in the colonies of Africa, Itobaal conceived the idea of taking back for his account the work of David and put himself at the head of a Syrian empire.

He contracted a family alliance with the two dynas royal ties, which a wise politician succeeds in bring closer, despite a secular animosity. High in pious practices by his father who had grown up priest of Astarte, Izabel built in Samaria even a temple to Baal and Tasherah, whose priests and phetes sat down at the royal table. But the time was not more where one could erect an altar to Baal near that of Yahu without exciting either horror or anger. If Solomon had been able to tolerate foreign cults in his wives, was only because Baal ceded him at that time in

dignity to Yahou and because the African god did not have again his character of "jealous" god and conqueror imperialist, nor the Egyptian practices that distinguish it-will subsequently. The roles are then changed': Baal ten-more and more to become the divinity of Taristocracy centralizer of Tire, while Yahou had become the god Qedem of democratic populations * in decadence and who, jealous of their moral independence, aspired to restore a glorious regime under the reign of the God of

1. The supreme ideal of the Democratic Israelite is summed up in the two following passages reiterated in the Bible:

.1 * • Each under his vine and under his fig tree. "(I Kings, V, 5; Miehét ^ IV, 4, etc.)

2 * • No king in Israel; everyone did what they liked. • {Judges. XV^{II}, 6 and XXI, 25.) The repetition of these passages accentuates their popular character.

TAHOU AND MELQART 103

Jerusalem. So the prophets of Yahou took sides against Baal, against the queen who worshiped him, against the king who tolerated religion; they pursued him with their hatred relentlessly ^ Itobaal's great imperialist project was fail against this resistance which appears to have been supported by the demos.

Itobaal found no other way than to organize the extermination of the Jehovahists in Palestine. A moment he did not remain with more than 7,000 faithful who are not pros-tarnished in front of the god Baal ...) But there a reaction was not long not to happen. Moreover, several indications drawn of the prophetic cycle of Elijah and Elisha show us that the political and moral revolution of Palestine at this it was a social and economic moment; among others, the story of the poor woman who sees her children sold by the tax authorities, the drought which then devastated the land of Israel and Phenicia, the Aramaic invasions which ruined the population; the usurpation of the vineyard of Israel where Izabel and Ahab appear in the guise of rapacious tyrants, all of this was to raise a crisis of popular indignation. For the first time in history, the people realize of his human dignity and revolts in the name of Yahou 3, to which the attribute of Jupiter-Zedec, the god of nature and thunder, linked the idea of a god of Justice *. The invisible god of Carmel and Zion who came in the miraculous personality of Elijah, the prophet jealous of Carmel and Horeb, declare war without thanks to Baal. After performing miracles in Phé nicie and in Israel, after having massacred the priests of

1. Maspero, open. cited, p. 437. Wellhausen, Pro / eyomena, p. 305 and following.
2. MENANDRB, quoted by JosÈPUE, gives according to the Phoenician sources details of this drought (see above, p. 89).
3. The naturalistic character of Yahou is specified by Wincklbr; it's the god of winds, thunder, changes of seasons; as Tamouz-Adonis in spring (Gt9ch. Isr. ^ II, 78).
4. See our appendix II.

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Baal and ridiculed the worship of this god, Elijah

withdraw to Mount Horeb to do the work of Moses again. A careful examination of the texts allows us to understand, deep down, the sadness of Moses, in the presence of adoration

golden calf; we find accents that will end up giving
n a more spiritual conception of monotheism.
In the account of the appearance of Mount Horeb, Yahou, the
invisible god, definitively emerges from the attributes that
personified in him the forces of nature. " After the
wind, earthquake and fire is the voice
silent, imperceptible ", which personifies the divinity ^
It was over with a whole world several times milled
naire; this decline of natural forces was a challenge
to all pagan deities. Yahou, who is no longer the
exclusive god of a natural phenomenon, but the god of all
the universe, the supreme El, will no longer intend to have rivals.
In this vision, Elijah receives the cruel order to anoint Jehu,
son of Nimchi, as king of Israel, Elisha the son of Saphat,
as Nabi in his stead, and Khazael as king of Syria.
Fanitized by this idea, he cruelly declares:
conch will escape the sword of Khazael, Jehu will
laugh, and whoever escapes Jehu's sword, Elisha will
die 2. "

The twists and turns of this prophetic drama unfolding
simultaneously over the entire expanse of the ancient empire of
David, in Phénicia and Judea, in Israel and in Damascus,
show us that it was a Hebrew-Ara reaction-
mean (i.e. pure Semites) who tended to op-
ask new ideas and designs from the

1. itois, XIX, 17. The abstract and purely moral character of Taltribut
npT naOT bip is explained in chap. IV of Job T ^ WWH Slpl naa "T, etc.
2. For the Israelite Nabi, Hazael represents the reaction of Puritanism
Hebrew Ramean conti ^ e Egyptian worship introduced by the Idu dynasty
Maean of Hadad. See the story of Na'aman and Elisha (11 Roiê, V) and the
chap. IX of Zaccharia, where Jehovah rests in Damascus and Hadrak, in
at the same time as he cursed Tire.

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outside, the last word of his own mentality, of his
puritanical dances.

Prophet-led democracies everywhere seek
to shake off the yoke of an aristocracy which, at the time
of the supremacy of Tire, had sought to oppress them ^
A new social conception was to be formed.

Ma'on, the Elohim of Qedem, the ancient god of Hammou-
rabi and Abraham, located on Carmel, crushed by
alien deities who harassed him in his domain
clean, could no longer recover his individuality than
by a bloodthirsty revolution. Submit or separate

rerating his rivals had become a vital question for him.
He preferred the last party. The seditious cry: "Yahou is
Elohim! Has had its counterpart in history. At seven o'clock
centuries later we will see Judah the "Maccabi" launching
his turn against Greek Zeusle who threatened Adonai, the god
of the Judeo-Aramaeans, the war cry: "Who is like
you among the Elohim, O Jehovah! ^ "
The violent clash between Yahou and Melqart inaugurates a
new stage in the history of mankind; only
it would be wrong to see it as the manifestation of a
to be born, Taube of a] new world. In reality, the separation
ration between the two deities marks the separation between
two principles which until then, confused in the chaos
primitive religious and cosmogonic conceptions,
acted indiscriminately on humanity. Putting
Jehovah above nature, the monotheistic idea itself
1. There were Nabi of Baal; but there were. believers of the god
Qedem among the other peoples of Syria. Mr. Ph. Bergeb studied at his

course the new Syro-Phoenician inscription found by M. Pognon. As a result, the Hebrew-Aramaeans (?) Worshipped Baal Shamaïm, had a pantheon of seven planetary celestial gods; than kings had at their disposal H ^ n (cf. VV ^) who uttered oracles in the same style as the Disraël prophets.

2. H):] ^ DnN2 "nos ^ O in initials = U3Q is at the origin of the term Machabée.

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even enters the scene and Jewish spiritual prophecy is born. The two names of Melqartetde Yahou are the last word of a worn-out millennial civilization. This ancient Cadmean race, mixed with all the r ^ these, spread over all civilized countries, explorer of all known seas of antiquity, had in vain sought to sit firmly and dominate destinies of the world ; his last material creation, the empire of David, collapsed as a result of ethnic disagreements, Itohaal's imperialism had to fail in the face of a crisis social and religious, the first of which history mention. Both attempts failed as a result of this inability to organize, that we encounter in societies worn out and tired of living. How else to explain the melancholy breath, this kind of romanticism full of regret and sadness tesses which animates the epic of Elijah \ which is found in the story of the worship of the golden calf attributed to Moses ^.

How, on the other hand, to explain the fierce fanaticism, the striking exclusivism which characterizes this struggle to mination between Baal and Yahou, which will leave its mark in

the history of mankind.

Cleared from the mists of the Heavenly Pantheon of Qedem for become a supreme solar deity, the Baal of Tire embodies a powerful economic aristocracy, which endlessly threatened, takes refuge in fierce selfishness, in a cruel particularism, and which, in the heap of appetites excessive domination and enjoyment, only fears the fatality of the forces of nature; also the cult of Melqart, deprived of all joie de vivre, all sensitivity and all idealism 3, will it only become a tissue of superstitions?

1. Cf. especially I Kings, XIX, 4-15,

2. Exodus, XXXII. Note the exclamation: "Otherwise delete me from your book!" "

3. However, the information should not be taken too literally.

information that the ancients provide us on the religion of Carthage.

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lions all tending to make his faithful avoid the effect of his brutal forces and to prolong their material existence *, Moloch is Taboutissant and not the starting point by Melqart.

Now isolated from the Pantheon of Cadmean divinities, Jehovah-Zedek, who will become the abstract God-Idea, superior laughing, unique and exclusive king, the nameless God ^, incarnates the conception of a democracy torn, decimated, forced (take refuge in Jerusalem ^. The latter tends moreover in addition to becoming the city of Ebionim, the "poor people and wretch who will be left alone in Zion and of whom Jehovah alone is the protector ". In the name of the pure idea of monotheism abstract that it had first conceived, the prophetic school tick will try to oppose a democratic and moral ideal list, the supremacy of the idea over the force, of the feeling of justice over interest. Faced with the shipwreck of so many aspirants and efforts, a word will ring out that several centuries will hear: "The kingdom of God (of the idea) on

Earth ! "

History has recorded the subsequent consequences of the reform relating to the epic of Elijah on the email.

The revolution organized by the prophetic party succeeds to the destruction of Ahab's house and cruel death Izabel herself.

However in Jerusalem an energetic woman, Athalie, worthy emulator of his grandmother, succeeds in maintaining for a few more years. The priestly house of

1. V. Mbltzer, Gesehichie der Karthager ^ II.
2. See our appendix, Zedtc and Zadoe,

3. Cf. Zephaniah, 111, 12 (and many others): - "El I will leave - to Jerusalem - a poor and humiliated people, who will seek shelter in the name of Jehovah. However the supreme word of the situation is provided by the following passage: "The peoples toil for the fire (destroyer); the nations 8 * uscnt for a futile future I "{HabacouCy II, 8; Jérémie, LI, 38 |.

• Vanity of vanities •• is a prophetic idea. Such state of mind marks the end and in no way Taube of a civilization.

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Zadoc, represented by Joadas *, will soon be restoring the power of the house of David. Foreign cults will still be tolerated by the ruling classes in Israel, but the people are definitively acquired by Yahou.

In Tîre, a revolution that took place around Tan 800 caused remigration of a large part of the Faristocracy to Cacabé or Cadmea, which later received the name of Cartahadashat.

The colonization of this city is the beginning of a great movement of emigration which brought the Phoenicians from Palestine to Africa. The Assyrian invasions, which resulted in the destruction of Sidon and the subjugation of Tîre, threw many settlers, including the aristocracy and the people, on the shores of the Mediterranean western. Only since then can we talk seriously of colonization, of the spread of Phoenician language and culture in Africa. We saw that the Israelite tribes of the north were drawn into this movement. Among the merchants and mercenaries of Tîre there were certainly some Israelites. On the other hand, the Tyrians, "oblivious to the fraternal alliance", sell the Israelites to the Greeks and other peoples of the sea. Diaspora more or less aware of its young individuality is beginning to take shape.

1. In Jeremiah's time, Joadas is considered the chief from the priestly dynasty (Jeremiah ^ XXIX, 26).

XIII

JERUSALEM AND TYR

From the ninth century, a new arbiter entered in the history of Phenicia: it is Tssyria who in his march towards the West, in order to reach Egypt, subdue Syria *. Also, throughout the period of

wars of Assyria and Chaldea against Egypt, do we see Phenicia and the kingdom of Israel linked to a common fate and often allies. The kingdom of samaria had more than once to put into practice an eclecticism Hebrew-Phoenician religious. Tîre, whose security colo-

niale depended on Egypt, agreed with the aristocracy of Samaria to rely on this power, despite thanks to the exhortations of the prophets to whom the astral religion of the Semitic Chaldeans seemed less dangerous for monotheism than Egyptian polytheism. When capture of Samaria by Salmanasar, the entire Phoenician coastienne separated from Tiro, whose dominion weighed heavily on his neighbors, to help the Assyrians, supported by the colonies, defeated the enemy fleet, but they lasted undergo a five-year blockade. Families of the besieged seem to have sought on this occasion a refuge in Cyprus, but again they were not safe. See for details, Berger, op. cit. p. 9.

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gon and Sennacherib exercised their cruelty against the city queen, who emerged from this crisis "humiliated and lessened for seventy years". As for Sidon, she did not let to be on this occasion destroyed from top to bottom and its population was replaced by a foreign colony. Assyrian invasions ended prosperity from Syria. One after another, the capitals, which compete for the supremacy of this country, disappear from scene of the story: Damascus and Karkemish are destroyed; Sidon and Samaria see themselves populated by foreign colonies. Only Jerusalem and Tiro, both weakened and diminished, still hold, like two rocks emerging above the flood. On the eve of their disappearance, the two Hebrew-Phoenician cities will still have some moments of prosperity, even greatness, which assures them will live in the history of mankind; and this great-momentary was the root cause of the rivalry which, in this last period, divided the two cities. The insecurity of the seas for relations with Cyprus explains the economic development of Jerusalem during the reign from Uzia, Jotham and Ahas. Land trade with Sabeans flourished in the days of the last kings of Judea, while Élat, the southern maritime outlet, fell under Jewish influence. King Sennacherib, after having occupied and devastated Judea, had to lift the siege of Jerusalem for an unforeseen cause of an imprecise nature, but which did not stop being commented on by Isaiah as a victory due to Jehovah. This deliverance, admirably operated by a wise king, helped to increase the stem of the City, the only one that had not been occupied by a foreigner. Alone among the local gods of Syria, Yahou lived in his sacred city of Zion. Big victory

for monotheism and for its prophets! Beautiful occasion for an exalted poet, doubled as a statesman like Isaiah, to give free expansion to his temper-

JERUSALEM AND TYR li

is lying ! This visionary in whom lived the most ideal ceptions of humanity, seems to have been found, the next day of the deliverance of Jerusalem, in the situation of man who, yesterday threatened with bankruptcy, escapes miraculously lamentably disaster and even resumes its speculative tions, rich in hope. So he let himself be carried away. King Hezekiah Técouta, the people worshiped him. Master spiritual of Judea, the prophet thinks to take advantage of the state anarchy in which Syria is, after the capture of Samarie, and to exploit the weakening of Tyr to restore

the ancient empire of David.

We institute an Easter feast in Jerusalem, we send messengers to all the tribes of Israel for them invite *. The people of Ephraim mocked the envoys of the king of Judah, but, from the north, of the people of Asher (Phénicie Lyrienne), Menashé and Zabulon went to Jerusalem; a partial union of the tribes of Israel therefore had location. But the prophet, aware of the mission of the Hebrews and their scattering far from Palestine, do not stop there 2: as he foresees that Tiro will return to Jehovah, he desires a similar return from all the overseas colonies. The countries bordering the Red Sea mainly attract its solicitude. There, in this distant Saba, colonies Israelites may have already existed at the time of the cruises maritime routes of Solomon, trade there were doing with Jerusalem ^, A political opportunity arose senta to establish relations with Couth l'Africaine: the Ethiopian dynasty, represented by Tirhaka, sent l.nChron., XXX.

2. Cf. hated, X. 120, etc.

3. Cf. Joël ^ IV, 8; Isaiah, XLV, U. Modern historians admit that the Jews would have civilized the Eritrean world from the sixth century (Weber, Arabien vordem Islam, p. 34).

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a delegation to Hezekiah to make a treaty against the Assyrians, common enemies.

The prophet took this opportunity to predict the conversion of Ethiopians to Jehovah. Chapter XVII

Isaiah speaks, in fact, of the people who "cast a shadow with their two wings (the two juxtaposed banks of the southern Nile, beyond the rivers of Couth), which sends by sea ambassadors in rush ships saying, "Come on, light messengers, to the torn and crushed nation, to a people that we fear from today and whose the rivers (the land of the Nile and Mesopotamia) had plundered the country... "

This event, which perhaps dates from the first relations between Ethiopia and Judea, should no longer be forgotten.

The prophet Zephaniah takes up the same song: "So I will turn the lips of all peoples into pure lips, so that they all call on Jehovah's name to serve him of the same spirit. My worshipers who are beyond rivers of Couth, the daughter of my dispersed, will bring me their offerings ^ "

Elsewhere: "Hashmanim will come from Egypt; Couth hasten to stretch out his hand to Jehovah. "

The presence of the Jews in Couth is moreover attested by Isaiah himself ^.

1. Chap. III, 9-10. The words ^ yS ri3 ^ nny are also obscure. WInCKLER (/ 6 / Vf., I, p. 198) speaks of a probable alliance between the Sabée and Hezekiah. Cf. Amos, IX, 7. See our appendix V.

2. Psaumen, LXVIII, 32 D ^ JD ^ n of W ^ n the fls of Dan or of p ^ n = TDtJN. The whole chapter betrays the time of Isaiah. It is first the young master Benjamin; it is the chiefs of Zabulon and Naphtali who claim to emanate from the source of Israel (SnI ^^ np ^ Q). Those of Ephraim and the tribes of the center are lacking there, since it is they who move quent of the envoys of the king of Judah (II Chron., XX, 11). On the other hand, exotic kings send tributes. The gifts of the Hebrew-Phéniciens of Egypt and Ethiopia, those of Bashan (the Reubenides) and maritime lands (v. 23) are addressed to Jehovah.

3. Chap. XI, 13.

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This propaganda which tends to make Jerusalem a world metropolis, as it had made it the metropolis Syrian, should no longer slow down. It is spreading among the Jews of the Diaspora as among those of Palestine, until the advent of Jeroboam. The Jehovist reform of Osias crowned an effort several times secular. The pious king succeeded in rallying the debris of the northern tribes to Jehovah's cause ^ and to destroy secular shrines in Israel. Of Samaria, of Shechem and Shiloh, the ancient rivals of Jerusalem 2, offerings are brought to Jerusalem! Jeremiah, from his side, multiplied the prophecies to bring back

Israel r "lost", that is to say the tribes of the north 3. Jerusalem, on the eve of its destruction, seemed to have attained a degree of supreme prosperity. City of David would become the capital of Syria. However, this time it was Neco, the king of Egypt, who ended the reign of the king of Judah and the prosperity of his people. Osias paid with his lives his loyalty to the anti-Egyptian policy of the pharaohs.

In 587, Nebuchadnezzar took Jerusalem and exiled the aristocracy and the clergy in Babylon. Tyre, her rival sister, had precisely attained the height of her greatness. The pitiful little description that in fact Ezekiel remains a work of historical and ethnographic precision. In the new vale of the destruction of the rival city, already glimpsing its own supremacy over the decimated populations of the Syria, the selfish aristocracy of Tyre would have cried out: "Ah! ah! the door rallying the peoples has been broken, it will be turned on my side, I'll fill the ruins (the voids left by Jerusalem) ^!"

1. II /? Oï ", XVIII.
2. Jeremiah, XLI, 5.
3. Ibid., III, IV, VI, etc.
4. Ezekiel, XXVI, 2.

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Only, Nebuchadnezzar, after taking Jerusalem, turned against Tyre; the thirteen year siege he made on her underwent to complete the decadence of the city of Hiram ^ These two events, the capture of Jerusalem and the siege of Tyre, mark the end of a civilization.

We know the rest. So many invasions, so much hatred between brothers, so many transfers from indigenous populations, so many massacres had ended up devastating Palestine. This unhappy country had become the symbol of a region which "devours the human race and consumes its own peoples" ^ . The exile of the noble aristocracy of Samaria and of the intellectual and religious aristocracy of Jerusalem, monitoring of the emigration of the plutocracy of Tyre in Africa and the military oligarchy of Jerusalem in Egypt, had removed from what remained of Israel all traces of individuality clean bed. The arrival of the Canaanite settlers in Samaria and in Phoenicia could not replace the loss of the intelligent classes intellectual, descended from the old Hebrew-Phoenician race. The imperialist idea of Tyre, the universalist ideal of Jerusalem resulting from a thousand-year-old civilization had undergone,

for a moment at least, a stop. Little by little, however

dant the desolate regions of central Palestine can be
please, life and commerce had resumed; alone, the indi-
the identity of the Hebrew race does not see it again. Ezekiel,
or rather an anonymous prophet, draws the little captivating picture.
before Palestine at the time of its recovery ^ i

"You will come to the land where those who have been
saved from the sword, land where peoples are gathered
many ... know, to the mountains of Israel that were de-
crimped. When this people have been removed from among the few
please, they will live there with confidence ^ ... You will put your

1. Berger, open. quoted ^ p. 10.

2. Ezekiel, XXXVI, 1 ".

3. Chap. XXXVIII, 8.

4. Ibid., V. 12.

JERUSALBU AND TYR II ^

hands on the deserted places, on the populations which were.
collected in several nations and who devote themselves to Têie-
vage and commerce (thanks to its location) in the center of
world ... "

This is the exact picture of Palestine before the invasion
Greek: country which will become <c a collection of all
peoples ", a jumble of all races.

When the captive people return from Babel
with Zerubbabel and Esdras, the Samaritans, the Asdodians,
the Tyrians will hardly recognize in these des-
ashes of the race of David their fellows and co-
religionists: an extreme puritanism, an exclusivism
jealous will result in making the new Judea a race of
Nibdalim d ^ Stij, those precursors of the Pharisees, who
open a new period in the history of Israel,
that of the Judeo-Aramaeans, or Jews of the Synagogue.

It will be the same in Phenicia. The rising momen-
tané of Tyr will result in a return of at least part
of its aristocracy in the metropolis. But this will be
now so imbued with reli-

gious and moral of Africans, that we will
to recognize in these worshipers of Melqart of the Hebrews
Classical Phoenicians; a libo-Phoenician reaction
will therefore dominate in the Tyrian city.

The destruction of Sidon by Artaxerxes (351) and that of
Tire by Alexander (333) deprived the Phoenician cities of
their last indigenous inhabitants. Greeks, Ara-
Means and Jews replaced them and assimilated without
the civilization of secular enemies, the Phoenicians
ciens. For the Phoenicians of the Mediterranean, Tire becomes
dra the sacred city; the Syro-Phenicia of the times of the Seleu-

cides will be populated by a mixed race, which Josephus calls
with reason Helleno-Phoenicians.

As Jehovah Leaves His Own City

to become the universalist God of the Diaspora, Melqart

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loses his personality to identify with deities

foreigners. We must push historical research to

in the West, to deepen the destinies of the ancients

Hebrew-Phoenician settlers in Africa to find

some rare memories of an old fraternity of

race, a communion of ideas, traditions, writing

between the representatives of the Hebrews and the Phoenicians

1. Cf. our appendices: Melqart and Jomé and: Un Temple à Yahou.

XIV

THE HEBREO-PHOENICIANS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN

We have seen that throughout their development in Palestine

the Hebrews had alternately been influenced by two great civilizations of antiquity. So that the rivalry between Egyptian influence and Mesopotamian must be considered as the backbone of their history; we have tried to show that, in a general way, the aristocracy and the clergy who directed the destinies of Hebrew peoples leaned towards the Egyptian side. These castes were almost always in love with the sumptuous cult, luxurious civilization, regime strongly organized from Egypt and material interests and immediate trade with this country, its dependencies African and Arab; but in Palestine and in the country of Israel especially, the ethnic and religious conditions were not the same as in Egypt. The dominants had before them a population which, consequently, had ceaseless contributions of nomadic congeners \ had never ceased to remain imbued with a conception of life more or less anarchic, resistant to any attempt of absolute domination and despotic centralization. This democratic tendency, which found in the Nabi and 1. It is the Beni-Qedem who, under the influence of the Aramean and Hebrew, tend to become Ishmaelites and Haggan.

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the Nazir his highest expression, was especially hostile to Egyptian influence. The prophetic school, which cannot would certainly see in the Mesopotamian powers friends of Israel, however, preferred their domination to alliance with Mizraim. Nothing frightened these ideologues that an assimilation with the regimes and Beliefs of Egypt: the return to Mizraim is prohibited forever in the legislation of Moses. Only Aristocracy, among the Hebrew peoples, knew how to resist this current hostile to Egypt; for her, it was not, moreover, than a simple whim of a tyrant.

Too many ethnic and religious relations, too much interest economic and social links linked Syria to the countries of the Nile, so that its populations could move away from these definitely.

For the Phoenicians, Egypt was the main stopover to their African possessions, the natural protector of their traffic in the Red Sea and Libya, it was also their industrial educator, their inspirer in religious matters; she had become even, by the number and size of the Phoenician colonies established at home, a second homeland. Herodotus tells us * that around the palace of Proteus in Memphis inhabited the Tyrians of Tyre who formed there but an entire town called "Tyrian camp". They have also attracted warehouses in the cities of the Delta: Tanis, Bubasta, Mendés, Sais, and Ramsés-
Anakhoustou, warehouses subject to the surveillance of the Egyptian authority ^.

Captives and Israelite refugees came to swell the number of the Phoenicians, at a time when the Phoenicians and Hebrews still differed very little from one of the other.

1. L. II, 6, 112.

2. Maberger, *anc ^ etc.*, p. 246.

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These (descendants into Egypt "by the Hebrews were very frequent: Joroboam, the founder of the Northern Kingdom,

takes refuge in Egypt, from where he brings back the cult of calves Golden. Sheshonq, the Libyan conqueror "invaded the Palestine and bring back a great number of Hebrew captives. At the time of the Assyrian invasions, the well-to-do Israel seek asylum in Egypt. Hosea * never gets tired not to predict all possible calamities to these emigrants who travel to Egypt. "In reality, Mizraim their will serve as a sepulcher, Memphis will bury them; we don't want it than their money. "The others will come back" like a bird captive of Egypt and the countries of the sea".

The prophets are especially bent on relationships policies with Egypt, which, according to them, practiced a most equitable policy towards its Syrian allies voices.

The fall of Samaria, a direct consequence of this policy Egyptophile tick, did not stop throwing in Egypt good number of fugitives from the northern kingdom 2. The prophets of Judah took advantage of this only to tage against relations with the country of the Nile. But after the fall of Samaria, intermediate between Jerusalem and Tiro, Israelite aristocracy who practiced a kind of eclecticism religious, combination of Jehovah with Baal, was exterminated or sent into exile; the military state which provides mercenaries were born in Tiro and allies were replaced by foreign colonies; as for "Am ha-arez", that is to say to the great mass of the population, politics Hezekiah and Joziah, encouraged by the prophets, had done everything to group them around Jerusalem and detach them from Phoenicia. The Jehovah's Flag is

1. Chap. VII, VIII, IX and XII,

2. Maspero, open. cile, p. 576. Jirimie (chap. XXIV) opposes captivity of Babylon left with Joiacin and destined to return to Jehovah, to Tanshis former colony of Egypt. The latter would never see her again, Palestine.

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not only became a predominant cult in Judah, it became the rallying sign of all Hebrews and even of Humanity, whose vision haunted the last prophets of Israel.

At the very time when Tiro, protected by its fleet and by Egyptian relief, had reached the peak of its colonialism, Jerusalem, disappointed with its dream of ration of the kingdom of David, had arrived at the conception of a spiritual universalism: she dreamed of the religious and moral of humanity. The messianic idea has germinated with Isaiah; by substituting the imperialist ambition moral to national ethnic ambition, it should no longer stop in its march. The capture of Samaria, the ruin of Judea, where only a small population remained and miserable", finally the deliverance of Jerusalem did more for the separation between the two peoples that all previous prophetic propaganda.

The search for the root cause of universalism prophetic had already preoccupied historians of all the temperature; but we cannot approach the problem without take into account two phenomena, which had to react on the Syrian populations of the time.

The first consists in the very character of the colo-

Phoenician nization, which in the seventh century BC. J.-C. had already encompassed almost everyone known. A Diaspora Hebrew-Phoenician already existed almost everywhere and, if the eye poorly exercised of a Greek traveler did not know how to distinguish between Phoenicians and Phoenicians, the Jews, they knew very well find "those who were in Baal and those who were Yehou's".

The Diaspora, whose origins are lost in history obscure of the Phoenician colonization, received an increase considerably considerable; the populations of Syria, demembrées, dispersed throughout the whole world; some big Palestinian settlements merged into Asia
HEBRJEO-PHINICIBIFS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN 191
Central ^ others in Ethiopia and on the Gulf shores Persian; we may well dispute the direct filiation which exists between the iraelite populations of the Mediterranean, one cannot deny the presence of Jewish settlements or Hebrew-Phoenician in most countries known to from the seventh century BC.

It is the scattering of the Hebrews all over the world which was to inspire the last prophets with the universalist, the spread of Jehovah's worship among all the peoples of the earth. The Ebed-Yehou, the servant of Jehovah Who Traveled The World To Speak Out divine, was born in the chaos of Hebrew-phoenicienne.

The texts also allow us to make a exact idea of the extent of this primitive Diaspora. We disregard the Ethiopian colonies here and their Jehovah's mission already studied elsewhere; we let us pass on the presence among the Arabs and the Iturians, which entered the scene with the wars of Chaldea, fractions of the Jewish tribes of Simeon and Reuben ^ . In a deep Jewish influence, which will always be found days in early traditions and genealogy, made felt on the Arab world. The presence of colonies many Israelites in Egypt and throughout Eritrea leave no doubt.

But even the expansion of these settlements on the Mediterranean, an expansion whose character had escaped the Greeks, but which emerges from the very character of the colonization Phoenician tion, is confirmed by multiple texts.

The slave trade, which was one of the specialties of the Greeks 3, had served as a primer for Jewish colonization in the

1. See our studies: The Jews in Afghanistan and your Jews and Judaism in Indies (Bev. Of the Muslim World, April and May 1906).
2. See our appendix Y and the study; Judeo-Hellenes and Judeo-Berbers.
8. Ezekiel, XXVI, 13..

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Greek seas. The prophet Joel S complains of the dispersion of his peiiple. "The Tyrians and the Philistines came said the sons of Judah and Jerusalem to the Ionians in the goal of removing them from their respective homeland. »However, the (they of Judah and Jerusalem were the most Jehovist of Israelites.

'Isaiah defines the boundaries of the Diaspora in the terms following 2:

u Jehovah will regain possession of the remains of his people who will be left from Assyria, Egypt, Pathros, Coush, Elam, Sinear, Hamat and the islands of sea. "

These allusions to a Diaspora that extended to the

Libya, Ethiopia and the Mediterranean islands are constantly will no longer haunt the imagination of the prophets until the destruction of Jerusalem: and even on the day when Tire will believe the mistress, "the door of the peoples", the prophet will oppose to him his universalist messianism for pre-serve the rest of Israel. Besides, the Israelites have everything done to increase the number of settlements in the Diaspora.

Israelite mercenaries were among the troops Tyrians 3. After the destruction of Jerusalem, the chiefs soldiers of Judah, guided by Johanan Ben-Qareah, pre-federated to emigrate to Egypt rather than to submit in Chaldea. These Hebrew-Phoenicians remain until their last breath faithful to the Philo-Egyptian policy dear to the peoples of Palestine. Despite the exhortations of Jérémie, "Johanan son of Kareah and the captains of men of war took all the rest of those of Judah who had returned from the nations where they had been scattered

1. Chap. IV, 2-6; cf. Zaccharie, ix, 13.

2. Chap. XI, 11.

3. O ^ ae, IX, 13. This is the only plausible translation of this verse:

Epfaraïm delivered to the massacre these sons, while the Tyrians themselves even remained at rest in their opulent city.

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to dwell in the land of Judah. Men, women, and children, the king's daughters ... and also Jeremiah the prophet and Barouch, son of Nérija. And they entered the country of Egypt ... »^

These were the first Judeans or Jews who settled

to Migdol ^, to Noph and the land of Pathros ^.

In reality, it was a whole people who descended in Egypt guided by military leaders: a people who were uniquely inspired by the patriotic desire "to return in the land of Judah ", but indifferent to exclusivism religious *. It was a last layer of these Hebrews.

Phoenicians who for a millennium gravitated around of the Egyptian civilization. Egypt, starting point development of this race, was also to serve as a burial ^ ..

1. Jeremiah ^ XLI. The newcomers found a colony in Egypt unorthodox Judean, long established (Jeremiah, XXIV). A note the curious inscription found in Egypt and published by M. Clermont Ganneau (CR dé VAcad, d. /, El BI ,, p. 237) and which deals with weights and measures. The eminent scholar concludes that this inscription is from ungue Jewish and prior to the Persian period.

2. The Elepbantine papyri (see our appendix III) allow us to identify this city with Aswan or Ezekiel's Migdol Sevené (XXIX, 10 and XXX, 6).

8. Ibid., XLIV.

4. Ibid,

6. Cf. Oêée, IX, 6.

XV

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What especially distinguishes the colony that came with Jérémie in Egypt, it is its military character and its eclecticism in religious matters. By there she still held old Palestinian tradition which made Egypt and its cult a civilization to imitate. The military character of this Judean colony is clearly manifested by the presence of warlords at its head. It emerges from the born later and explains the benevolent attitude of which Pharaoh Ephren shows towards these Judeans, who ask nothing better than to reconquer Judea

with the help of Egypt.

Pharaoh appointed the towns already occupied to the Judeans by the Phoenicians, as a place of stay; among others, Memphis or Nof, Noh or the future Alexandria (?), Taphnis or Daphne, Heliopolis, Patros (Bubasta?) in the Delta and Migdol (Aswan?) ^ He uses it with regard to these Judeans as his son Psammetichus will use with the colonists Greeks, to which he will concede Naucratis.

A Hebrew-Phoenician confederation or a Pentapolis

seems to have existed since in Egypt 2. The pseudo-Aristaeus

1. Cf. on the identification of these localities, the Pesikta of Rabbi Gahbna, ed. Buber, p. 63 and note 2. Talm., Bab. ^ Menaholy f. 110a. V. on the cities Tyrian Women of Egypt, c. Maspero after Movers, p. 282.

2. Herodotus (not cited) speaks of five Phoenician cities in Egypt; the prophet Isale (XIX, 18) also knows five lives that speak the
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whose assertions - moreover in part confirmed by

Josephus - found themselves verified by papyri

recently discovered in Aswan, explicitly states that

Jewish troops were employed by Psammetichus

against the Ethiopians. On the other hand, the allusion that Jeremiah

made to an extermination of the Jews under Hephren could

well relate to his disastrous campaign against

Cyrenians ^

The Elephantine papyri no longer leave any

doubt about the existence, under the Pharaohs and before the occu-

Persian pation, mercenary Jews and shrines

as far as Ethiopia.

It remains to specify the religious state of this colony. Under

this report, chapter XLI V of Jeremiah is categorical:

not only does it give us insight into the mentality

of this last colony, but at the same time

he draws us a picture of the religious beliefs of

all Jewish settlements in the Mediterranean. This painting,

the biblical passage relating to the Samaritans on

sums up as follows: "They fear Jehovah, but in

at the same time they adore the "Baals". In Africa like

in Palestine, they continue to have Bama or Hauts-

Places to worship Jehovah 2. So if the Judeans have

turn to Jeremiah to consult Jehovah in their

favor, their wives, with the consent of husbands,

continue to offer incense to the Celestial Goddess or to

Astarte, to make images pertaining to the phe-

nicien.

Let it be said after that that there could hardly be

of Israelites in the Phoenician colonies overseas,

language of Canaan "; like Jeremy when he enumerates the towns that

served as a refuge in Egypt.

1. The passage of Jeremiah, XLIV, 2d-30, would it not be an allusion to this event ?

2. Cf. Isaiah, XIX. "An altar to Jehovah in Egypt and a Mazebeh near from its border. ^

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for the simple reason that the documents found there are of pagan origin *!

Moreover, in Taphnis-On or Héliopolis, an ancient sanc-

Hebrew tuary existed whose origins went back

perhaps in the time of Joseph and Moses ^. It's there that

rose a High Place or Agora in honor of the god So-
laire. The fact that a Jewish shrine arose a little later
to Elephantine allows us to grasp the deeper meaning of
Jeremiah's relentless imprecation against "the Mazebots of
Beth Shemesh who are in the land of Mizraim - ^ x>
Later tradition will show us that this sanctuary
Delta played a role in revolution of religion
from Israel.

This eclectic and tolerant character of the Jewish settlements
of Africa, places us in full Hebrew-Phoenician society.
cienne: language, onomastics and writing, manners and
the professions were always those of "Canaan", term
which ends up prevailing after the destruction of the kingdoms
from Israel.

The rare Phoenician inscriptions ^ which deal with
ritual of sacrifices, and none of which predates
The time of captivity reminds us of too many passages
analogues of the priestly code so that One is not
tempted to want to find a common origin for them.
In the overseas country this state of affairs was
last a long time yet.

Unfortunately so far epigraphy has provided little
data. The Bible itself has little to say
on the countries located to the west of Egypt.

Also, how could one distinguish between Israelites

1. In the very temple of Jerusalem and on the eve of its destruction
the women wept for Tamuz-Adonis (Ezekiel ^ VIII, 14)!
2. See our appendix Zedec and Zadoc.
3. Jeremiah, XLIII, 13.
4. See our Hebrew-Pheniciem and Jews appendix.

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and Phoenicians, in Carthage for example, while the only
epigraphic documents that we have are of order
religious and not ethnic and historical and, since, in
Jerusalem itself, the Celestial goddess and Adonis-Tamouz

had a cult until the destruction of the city by
Nebuchodnasar *?

Here, moreover, is what we find in these documents.
epigraphic elements. La Cyrenaica, which appears to be the
"Country of the kings of the allied country" in Ezekiel ^, is found
perhaps in the following passage from the prophet Abadia:
"And the army of the children of Israel transported as
Canaanites to Zarephath; and those transported from Jeru-
salem which are in Sepharad ^".

This text relates to the Beni-Israël who
towards the north of Phénicia, while Judeans pushed
know as far as the Hesperides. Coincidentally enough
strange, we found in Cyrenaica, an inscription
Hebrew who bears the same name of the prophet: Obadia-
hou ben Jachoub ^. On the other hand, we meet Cana-
born from Cyrenaica to the time of Christ.

Were there any Israelites in Carthage? Jewish traditions
seem to have retained the memory of the founding of this
city: they attribute it to the Qenizi or to the clan related to the
Judean calbites. The Bible quotes us Carthage under the
name of Tarshish: it would even seem that Isaïe alluded
to the domination of ancient Cadmea, and that he had known
the myth of Elisa. However, it can be concluded that when

1. Deuteronomy, XXVI II, 28, seems to indicate the return of the Jews to
Egygia by sea. The presence of Jewish slaves until
Greece seems to be confirmed by a passage from Aristophanes (the * Phinicitn " ^
II, 1. V. MovERS, op. cited, III, 1, p. 12.

2. Ezekul, XXX, fi.

3. Could this name be the Hebrew form of the name of the Hesperiden? It's about from those of Libya where the Canaanite name persisted until the time Christian {Martyrologe Hieronymique, etc.) 2,10 p n'fiyshiJahrbuch fUr die Geic / i. d. Juden, t. II, p. 263). Movers reports trade in this country Edomite and Nabataean chands in an era prior to Christianity.

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siege of Tiro by Salmanasar, its inhabitants, who had seen unable to ship their families to Cyprus \ sent them to Carthage, as during the siege of Alexander ^.

The religion of Carthage also seems to have had a African origin: the identification of Tanit with Astarté is later and, to the present state of our knowledge, we cannot specify which of the two Phoenician cities ciennes, in religious matters at least, had the most borrowed from the other.

It should be noted, however, that the most beautiful sarcophagus found in the necropolis of Carthage, contains

a seal bearing the name Theophorus of Joab ^. As

Mr. Berger observes it with reason, the handwriting dates from a very old time. The sarcophagus is also from Greek manufacture.

To this same origin we must relate several other names of the Carthaginian onomastic ^: the names rabbinics themselves will be found in large numbers at Carthage.

The great dreamer that was the known anonymous prophet under the name of Isaiah II, certainly knew this dispersion in Mediterranean countries; he comes back on several occasions: "For the islands will await my call and the ships of Tarshish will be the first to soul your sons from far off lands, with their money and or ^. "

"I will send escapees of them to Tarshish, Poul (Pout), Loud, to the people who shoot bows, in Toubal

1. It emerges from the step. city of haie, XXIII, 1 and 12.

2. Quinte Curce, Alex, the Great, 1. IV, chap. 6.

3. See appendix IV for details. I was able to study this monument at Carthage itself; seal and sarcophagus certainly belong to a high character.

4. See our appendix IV.

5. hated, XLIII, 6.

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and in Javan (lonie) and the remote islands which have no heard of my name ^ "

The grandiose universalist vision of the prophet anonyme cannot be explained other than by the existence of a Diaspora in all known countries. The idea of the mis-Zion of Ebed-Jehovah, also the Nabi of the Israelites and of the Gentiles, can only be explained by this dispersion of Hebrews to unknown islands.

The dreamer in his conception of a better society is far from imitating Jeremiah and Ezekiel, however, who all their hopes for the individual salvation of Israel in its country. Far from this first citizen of the world the idea to ward off the non-Israelites and even the brothers of yesterday become enemies of today, of "the legacy of Jehovah ". For this visionary the Jewish homeland is everywhere the Hebrew-Phoenician world exists. The "seed of Israel is a blessed seed "distinct from others by its morality. ity. Abraham's is her favorite 2. She wears a

distinct mark of his divine origin, of his selection
"spiritual". Never has an idea reached such purity

great, never has aspiration been more human ...

It is to this same inspiration that we owe the oracle
that the future temple of Jehovah will rise to Helio-
polis, in Egypt ^,

"On that day there will be five cities in the countries of Egypt
who will speak the Canaanite language ^ and who will swear
ity to Jehovah, the God of the heavenly hosts. One of
they will be called the City of the Sun ^. That day there will be a
altar to Jehovah in the midst of the land of Mizraim and a monument
drawn up to Jehovah on his border. "

1. hedge, LXVI, 9.

2. hated, XLI, 8; LI, 2.

3. Chap. XIX.

4. These are the Hebrew-Phoenicians.

6. Dinn TV is definitely the primitive lesson. See our appendix. Z "f" c
and Zadoc.

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At the sight of Assyria where the captives are confined
from Israel *; of this Egypt in full decadence, populated
of prosperous Hebrew and Phoenician colonies, the
phète will forget the old hatreds and rivalries for
to predict "The union of the Assyrians, who became his people, with
the Aegylians, the work of his hands, through
of Israel, his heritage".

It was the swan song of a whole race moving
would. Never again Jehovah, the spiritualized god of the Cad-
méens, will not find his people: never again Tantic
language of Canaan will only sound accents
beautiful. The thrust of new civilizations, of
far superior, had taken forever from the Hebrew
Phoenicians their preponderance over civilization and
than their independence.

Two groups, reduced to a minority among the popula-
surrounding them, still resist this anean-
weaving of individuality.

On the one hand, the small aristocracy of Carthage must
to the vital energy that characterizes the people, embodied in
the myth of the "Phoenix", of having been able to be, a moment of
less, the arbiter of the Mediterranean and brave the power
fledgling from Rome. But the great momentum, illustrated by Tépopeë
of Hannibal, was to break into hateful exclusivism and
proud of a plutocracy which ends up falling into
the most atrocious superstitions. It was in the blood of

the noble youth who were sacrificed to him, which Melqart
glutton * ^.

Jehovah, the happier god of hosts in heaven, is reborn
in his holy city of Jerusalem and reigns supreme over
his faithful people of Judeo-Aramaeans, known since
the name of Jews. At one point he almost took it back

1. The Hebrews of the land of Safon (from the north) are often invoked by
the prophets after the destruction of Samaria.

2. Quinte Curce, Alex, the Great, IV, § 6.

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its former splendor and subject to its influence all
the known world *: but the exclusivity of an aged race,

disappointed in her thousand-year-old dreams, and the infiltration of mystics who reappeared with the Greco-civilization Roman, stop the momentum given by the Sadducees and Conqueror Hasnionians.

the Church and the Synagogue are the heirs, but in no way mark a step forward in the evolution of prophecy.

! • V. black append. Zedec el Zadoc,
XVI

CONCLUSION

From the earliest times of ancient history, of the maritime fractions of the Benî-Qedem or Eastern Semites rates engaged in overland trade and piracy by sea. They owed their status as "Havila" or "those of the dunes of the sea", and nomades sands of the desert, to have been able, the first, to organize nise international caravans on the routes nude of the Semitic populations of Mesopotamia; they must also have been the first to have been pushed to along the coast of the Persian Gulf, for having thus created outlets towards the distant Indies. Compared to the Mesopotamiens, these Beni-Qedem traders who brought them were gold, bdellion, onyx stone and the other of the Indies were already Phoenicians from the ballast.

The oldest maritime terminology we have found in Mesopotamian texts, seems to be bring to the ancestors of the maritime Phoenicians.

A first push of Semitic nomads had thrown on the Gulf of Akqaba and the Red Sea of the populations of Beni-Qedem who brought to Arabia, Syria and Ethiopia an advanced civilization: that of Ma'on (Minos), of Havila, of Qadouma, of the Cadmeans of Syria and of Pouanit of Eritrea.

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With these migrations, the centers of world trade widen and take their extension towards Touest. A new Havilah or a new Ophir, having its origins in the same populations that once inhabited the Persian Gulf, merge into Eritrea: these are the peoples trading with Egypt, the future Dedan, Teima, Midian and Sidon, all Beni-Qedem carrying out their trade between the coastal countries from the Persian Gulf and those from Arabia or Egypt. The influence of the latter country will be decisive on the subsequent births of these maritime populations. The land of the Nile was surrounded by Semitic races who coveted its natural wealth and fertility stupendous.

But Egypt was not only rich by it- same: it was at the same time the natural key, which paved the way for Mediterranean countries, a center maritime and land expansion: so we see the Phoenicians take advantage of the Hycsos invasion, "chascoushite sisters and Hittites to follow them to the north.

This invasion of the Pastors, who were leaving the surroundings of Mesopotamia to invade the known countries of Mediterranean, causes a great stir of races and country. It is under the anarchic domination five times secule the land of the Hycsos in Egypt, whose influence may be compared to that of the Franks in Gaul, that the

world known from the Bible. Egypt is emerging from this crisis half Semitized, but the Cushite invaders, who the ascendancy of their fellows, the Shalitis from Egypt are hamstrung. A mixed breed hatches, rearing up in the Egyptian style, as in the past the Beni-Qedem song to the Mesopotamian race; it is the Hamitic world, opposed to that of the Semites. It extends to Arabia, including several sedentary peoples, and not the least,
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are considered sometimes as Semites, sometimes as

Hamites. But Arabia is constantly receiving new contributions of nomads heading south; and however yet it retains its Semitic physiognomy. Crossing of races gives rise to the formation of the Beni-Ereb or Semi- your Westerners as opposed to the Beni-Qedem or "Semi- your Orientals".

It was different in Africa: the Semi- conquerors ticks of Eritrea had driven back the old races white proto-Semitic and congeners of the Egyptians towards the desert and the north; it is these populations, ancestors probable Libyans, that the Cadmeans, marching towards the Mediterranean, meet in front of them, everywhere on their paths. The maritime stations that navigators cad- Means founded in Egypt and Libya establish a new velle step in the history of the world: it is this admirable maritime expansion which is symbolized by the myth of Cadmos, son of Poseidon and Libya, who civilized the Medi- eastern terrane.

It was under the protection of the Hycsos kings that the Cad- seafarers lead in their wake the populations Libyans who colonize Sicily, Tlberie, Crete, Chy- pre, resturia, the Greek countries, etc.

The Cadmeans themselves are content to found maritime stations, including Alasia, Hadrumete, Camba (Cad- mea?), Carthage, Cytion, Thebes-Cadméa and several others remained.

This is the first indication of a maritime movement that Tire and Venice had to renew: so that eve of the crushing of the power of the Hycsos, a new civilization is born, that of the "peoples of the sea" lon the Egyptian texts or the Hamitic races from Egjpte, according to the Bible.

However towards the end of the first half of the second millennium, the race of the Kings-Shepherds, remained a
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tiny minority in the midst of a very numerous and very cultivated, can be partially absorbed, partly to eliminate by a national reaction of the Egyptians against the yoke of the barbarians. These are also still quite numerous and above all too well organized militarily so as not to seek a derivative on the neighboring Mediterranean countries.

During their stay in Egypt, they occupied the plains of the Delta where they seem to have mainly practiced the art of driving military tanks: it is this superior warrior rity which was to bring into the hands of the Cana- neens "those of the low country", the plains of Libya. Their assimilation to the Libyan proto-Semites gave probable- birth to this Libo-Phoenician race that came by

land in Africa and which even later supported the expansion of the Phoenicians at sea. Antiquity had considered Africa that and not Palestine as the homeland of the Canaanites. Guided by the "Havilas" or the maritime Cadmeans, the Libo-Phoenicians spread throughout the Mediterranean, where they inaugurate the troubled period of the "peoples of Sea", which covet Syria and Egypt.

Other movements of Canaanites "from Egypt" are moving towards Syria; if doubts are possible in as regards the Hittites, nothing can be opposed to Bible data on the Hamitic origin of the Canaanites and on their role as intruders in Palestine.

On the eve of the fifteenth century, these did not occupy even the maritime cities of Palestinian Phoenicia, whose historical role was null at that time. On the other hand, the Hittites and Canaanites do not leave in the onomastick, the ethnography, theology and linguistics of Syria, no trace that allows us to consider them other than as a minority of ephemeral invaders mothers.

However, by a fair turnaround, the peoples MOROCCAN ARCHIVES

of Libya, swelled by the ancestors of classical peoples, take advantage of Egypt's weakening towards the thirteenth century to seek to seize both Egypt and from Syria.

They fail in Egypt, but succeed better in Syria, thanks to the help of the Pharaohs who use these well-armed troops to keep the new came Semitics, who threatened their suzerainty Egyptian in the Sinai peninsula and in Palestine.

It is about the migrations of the Hebrews, race of origin Cadmean, but imbued with the Chaldean spirit, which remembers held Syria and Palestine and whose rearguards retained in Egypt were to constitute the future tribes from Israel.

The tactics of the Pharaohs of pitting the little ples of the Sea, - of which the Philistines, - however fail, against the stubborn resistance of the Hebrews who, from remainder, met in Palestine a cad-congeneric and native maid. The Semitic populations ques are strong enough to organize and shake, with the help of the peoples of the sea, the yoke of the Canaanites, some fractions of which seem to have left Palestine towards the thirteenth century to make way for the Hebrews. However it is the Philistines and the other populations

of the coast which dominate, between the thirteenth and eleventh centuries, maritime trade, and which must be considered res as the first organizers of the medi-Terranean international.

Successively, the Hebrews form a nation homogeneous and appear around the eleventh century as the Beni-Israel of history: a truly civilizing race, they absorb all the other elements, take Canaanites their military art, the Philistines their superior maritime and industrial rity. From the shock of so many influences, from the crossing of so many ethnic groups ^ a race

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new will be formed: that of the Hebrew-Phoenicians, characterized by a language, a script, a religion and a

homogeneous civilization. Under David, the Hebrew Phoenician will find himself organized and even imbued with a principle centralizer, he will seek to subordinate (to God without name) of Qedem all other ethnic individualities and religious of the peoples of Syria. However, this centralizing tendency came up against a pitfall: two great centers of the Hebrews, Tiro and Jerusalem, each proceeded from a vital principle: Jerusalem, capital of a semi-nomadic tribe, remained democratic and egalitarian, saw itself obliged to direct its destined according to the conceptions of the nomads who never ceased do not know to gravitate around her; she remained fundamentally strongly Cadmean. Tiro, the maritime city isolated from the rest of the Hebrew world, stood out more and more from former congeners; become mistress of the seas, home of a colonization whose expansion tended towards the West, obliged to count on the support of Egypt, which offered an outlet and stopovers for its migrations, the city of Hiram evolved in a direction opposite to that of Beni-Israel. Its aristocracy, strong in its wealth, holding to the authoritarian principles which formed the basis of Egyptian beliefs and civilization, suffered more and more the ascendancy of this civilization. Not without resistance elsewhere. For several centuries the classes popular figures represented by the prophets of Israel their revolutionary activity. For many years, the three Hebrew capitals, Tiro, Samaria and Jerusalem, will be the scene of bloody struggles between the Demos and the Despotism Oligarchy: and even the greatest revolution Monotheistic will take place in Phoenician territory. But if Samaria, situated between its two rivals, hesitates and succumbs, Jerusalem finally decides to become, less from the fall of Samaria, the city of Yahu, the

One God, subsisting among ancient beliefs, and became with his people the citizen of the spiritualized world. As for Tiro, whose mainland had been more several times destroyed from top to bottom, the aristocracy finished in his island is definitively carried away by African influence. Melqart, the king of the City of Hiram, will become the synonym of Baal-Hamon, of God-Sun, Amon-Osiris, presiding over the destinies of his people. After the fall of Jerusalem and Tiro, it was over of the ancient imperialist dreams of the Hebrew-Phoenicians. The Judeo-Arameans or the theocratic aristocracy who returning to Palestine will have only one worry: the conservation of the monotheistic idea, of a particular moral, whose origins are lost in darkness of the appearance of the first Hebrews ^

The Punic Tyrians, including the oligarchic aristocracy is concentrated in Carthage, will seek only to defend their maritime supremacy on which their future depended and their very *raison d'être*.

From there to claim that any trace of ethnic consciousness Hebrew-Phoenician would have disappeared, there is a long way and it would be misunderstand the very psychology of human societies " ^.

Struggles for the supremacy of an idea or an order are rarely the work of the great masses, all days ready to be carried away, momentarily less, by conceptions of a more immediate order; But it is the moral or social elite which remains consciously lying faithful to his ideas. It was the same for the

Hebréo-Phoenicians. Apart from the two aristocracies, One theocratic and the other plutocratic, which ended up embody the ancient Hebrew conceptions, there were

1. Left text <»8 Hammurabi's legislative texts must be considered as the first manifestation of this Hebrew mentality which resulted in the Law of Moses.

2. V. our app. I and IV.

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great masses of "people of the earth" who remained indifferent to any questions of a religious or political and which, consequently, continued to consider as a descendant of the ancient Hebrew-Phoenicians. In Palestine itself, the "Am Ha-Arez" hesitated after the victory of the Hamonians between Jehovah and Baal. When to the Ephraimites of Shechem that one must beware of melt with the Cutheans of Samaria, they will continue until the second century to oscillate between Jehovah and Baal. Regarding the persecution of Antiochus-Epiphanes, the Hebrews of Shechem make a very characteristic statement

ristic: "The Sidonians (Phoenicians) who live in Shechem introduce themselves to King Antiochus, visible god. Our ancestors pledged to celebrate the Sabbath and to build on the Garizim a temple in honor of a "god without name ^".

Now we are persecuted because we are considered as having the same origin as the Jews. Now it is easy to demonstrate through our archives that we are Sidonian lineage and that our customs and origins differ from those of the Judeans. "

The Shrine of Shechem, never having been destroyed since it had served as a "ca'aba" for the tribes Israel, it was easy for his priests to demonstrate their common with the Phoenicians who, unlike the Jews, never left Palestine. Whatever say critics, we believe that if these archives did not exist not, the Sidonians of Shechem would never have dared to speak. Indeed, the king confirms their right by calling them "Sidonians who live in Shechem".

I. JosÉPHE, Aniq ,, t. XII, chap. VII. In reality it was the El Elion who was worshiped in Samaria under the Greek name of Zeuç u ^ iotoç or ëXicuv xaXoufi.Evo { wpioTo; (cf. MovERS, ibid., I, 1, p. 5U and p, 341). In the minds of his teens rators, a subordinate deity served as an intermediary between him and humanity. Cf. Maléach-Jehovah, Melqart, Adonis, Josué, Sanbat among the Phalacba nowadays. Logos, Metatron among Orthodox Jews. (V. black appendix Melqart and Joshua.)

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If this were still in the second century the situation in Palestine itself, all the more so these affinities between Hebrews and Phoenicians were to be perpetuated in the distant colonies of the Phoenicians, where representatives so many of the tribes of Israel followed them. A careful study of ethnological, genealogical gic and mythological could bring some glimpses on this problem of the role of the Hebrews in the Medi-African and European terrane. It is in this study that we devote the series of discussions and notes which support this work and which serve to consolidate conclusions that emerge.

But here we come close to another problem no less complicated, that of Jewish origins in these same countries: to Telucidate these problems, which pose particularly in Africa, we will devote a

special study *.

1. Judeo-Hellenes and Judeo-Berbers.

APPENDIX I

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The so-called Judges period is the heroic period of people of Israel. An ancient collection of epic songs intitulé: the Book of Wars of Yahou ^, seems to have served main source for the stories developed in the first historical books of the Bible. The myth and the time had been, at one time, flourishing in Israel as in Phenicia, in Palestine as in Greece. This myth stands out for its solar character, which ranks among the Mediterranean myths including those of Melqart and Heracles are the most popular, with a difference, however: while among the Tyrians and the Greeks remained pagan to the end, heroic stories have evolved by becoming more complicated and closely followed the destinies of the peoples they represented, among the Israelites, in Judea, they suffer the effects of the prophetic reaction which dominates from the eighth century known history of the people of Israel. Under his influence, a evolution contrary to that found in others ancient peoples. Mythical heroes symbolize the time 1.mn ^ mySa ISD, Numbers, XXI, 14.

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that the first efforts of a people end up being placed among the gods; on the contrary, among the authors biblical, they are reduced to the state of mere mortals. This "fall of the gods" is a trait that characterizes the evolution of religious lution of the people of Israel. This is how, without venture to follow Mr. Winckler in his ingenious "Astral method", we cannot refuse to see in the legend of the famous Samson a solar myth which personifies the struggles of the Danites against the Philistines. Samson - The Sun, - the son of Manoah, Hebrew god-Phoenician ^ was born on the same soil as Melqart, Témule Phoenician of Hercules. Like Melqart who fights Neptune, the god of the peoples of the sea, Samson fights Dagon (Neptune): just as the first represents the epic maritime of Tire, the second is the local personification of the struggle of the Israelites against the Philistines. Like Melqart and Heracles, he accomplished a series of superhuman feats; like Hercules, he is subjected to the charms of women. What distinguishes Samson from his followers is his character: a more human being, his good nature which makes him almost real, taken from life. We feel that the myth of this hero arises be too early, did not have time to reach the divinisation and, even, that the editors did everything to erase the last trace, the one that could have recognize in the hero danite, a solar myth. The epic of Samson is a clear proof of the existence tence of a solar mythology among the ancient Hebrews: one is then inclined to wonder if such an example is

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isolated in Jewish traditions and if Hebrew antiquity did not leave us other memories, of a character who, like Melqart, - personification of history

1. Barges, Rech. archeol. on the Phoenician colonies, etc., p. 61.
2. Mr. Ph. Berger devoted a series of very informative lectures

on the relationship between the heroic narratives of Israel and the myth Eastern theology.

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of the Tyriens, - would have summed up in him the history of the res de Yahou "and the conquest of Palestine?

And it seems that we can say so.

Indeed, the comparative examination of the texts provided by the Bible and by later tradition allows us to discover see a character who presides over the conquest of Palestine by the Israelites, namely Joshua ben Nun: his life, his works, miracles performed by him, contradictions and the inconsistencies relating to his person, we show, as it appears in the current state of the texts, a mythical character in the figure of a general begging.

Far from us the thought of going so far as to deny the existence real Joshua ben Navé, better Hosea ben Noun. The name of Hoshe'a, - in its primitive form, - is quite frequent among the Israelites in the north, * so that we may let us rule it out straight away.

The very stop observed in the evolution of his legend, is much too abrupt for us to be able to put doubts the effective life of the character: however, as he is presented to us, too many legendary traits are attached to the person of Joshua so that we can do without them submit for rapid analysis. Strange are, indeed, the destinies of this Israelite conqueror: strange especially the exploits attributed to him; so that for Tauteir of the Book of Joshua, this hero sums up the entire period of conquest of Jehovah, as Melqart sums up that of Tire.

Hoche'a, the son of Noun pa, a name that cannot be found elsewhere and which is an exact synonym of Dagon, the god of the Philistines ^, is from the tribe of Ephraim, at one time where the tribes of Joseph did not even exist yet.

1. This name is even very common. The leader of the Ephraimites of the time of David was called Hoshea (I Chron., XXVII, 20). Hosliea is the name of a well-known prophet of the north, as he is that of the last king of Samaria.

2.] iai means "fish" and "flowering" (from ^ il). Note that Joshua, 144 MOROCCAN ARCHIVES

As Stade Ta very well recognized *, Joshua embodies the Josephite clans; he is their patriarch: it is the eponym of a tribe, having ended up settling in the mountain region in central Palestine and thus become the core of the future Israel.

The Jehovist editor, preoccupied with reducing the role of Ephraimite hero to that of a subordinate of Moses, substituted to his name originating from Hoshea the theophore of Joshua. For this author, Joshua is above all the subordinate of the legislator, who presides over the formation of the people of Israel.

Thus, he made him inaugurate the warrior cycle of Israel by a campaign undertaken at the behest of Moses against the Amalekites of the desert: the artifice of the process is clear ment, if we consider that until the time of the Judges, the future Mount of Ephraim was still called Mount of Amaleq and that, therefore, the struggle of the Ephraimites against the Amalekites reduced to a campaign of invasion in the central Palestine 2.

Same process for the second feat of Joshua, from living of Moses: his participation in the exploration of Palestine by order of Moses. We wanted to establish everything prize that the hero had taken part in this campaign alongside of Caleb the Judean. However his name is missing both

repeated in the passages of the story where one would expect particularly to see him play a role with Caleb 3.

In other passages, the role of the future leader of Israel is singularly erased. In both cases, the mention of Joshua happens to be an interpolation, going back to the time than writing the Bible.

The miraculous account of the passage of the Jordan is precise in the Bible, is hardly ever separated from his father (cf. Niebuhr, *Gesch. des Zeitalters der Ilebrâer*, pp. 322 and 371).

1. *Gesch. Israels*, p. 136-161.

2. Cf. pSrjyi DWiw DnsK • ”: a Judges, v, 14; ^ phnyr ^ ini onsK ri »n Ibid., XII, 15.

3. Cf. NiEBUHR, *op. cile*, p. 322.

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sow too miraculous, to be taken

seriously. Here Joshua is only the Ephraimite lining of Moses and Elijah: one cleaves the waters of the Red Sea,

the other two those of the Jordan. The fall of the walls of Jericho is a story that certainly dates from an era posterior to Elijah.

With Elijah, Joshua has more than one point of attachment, so that Niebhuhr was able to demonstrate, by a simple study comparison of the places where the activity of two characters, that the story concerning Jericho is taken from Elijah's story ^ In fact, Joshua never left the proper domain of the land of Ephraim, which extended from Bethel to Carmel. Bethel shrines and of Shechem are the only serious landmarks, which sub ' of the field of activity attributed by posteriority to our hero *

Let us continue, moreover, the examination of the life of Joshua. Caleb " who accompanied him in the exploration and who is the eponymous Calébités, received from Moses, or according to another version of Joshua, a lot in Palestine 3. Joshua received nothing, no family in Israel is attached to this hero ^.

Besides, Joshua leaves no posterity, although Moses himself be the ancestor of a line which fart until the time of royalty in Israel. The st- rility is also common to him with Samson, his Judeo-Danite.

It is true that the Book of Chronicles ^ seeks to fix things by explaining that Joshua did not have of sons, but only daughters.

1. NiBBUHR, oApr. cited, p. 326-331.

2. He himself is a non-Israelite, since he is an iT ^ Jp or of the triba cadmean of t: 3p.

5. Numbers, XII, 31 and Joshua, XIV, 13.

4. The passage from Joshua, XIX, 49-50 is a late addition (NiBBUHR, *Ibid.*, p. 309. Cf. below).

6. I, I, 27.

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Hey ATcmvES MAitocAiNEs

Who are these girls? The first gave its name in Timnat or Timnat Herès * - related town to solar worship, - the second gave hers to Tamar, or Baal Tamar 2, which relates to the cult of sacred trees, and finally in 'Aia, city which would have been destroyed by Joshua after crossing the Jordan.

- In addition, Timnat is precisely the same city, where

We meet Samson struggling with the Philistines,

while the second name of this city is Hérès le sun, the very synonym of Shemesh-Samson. Thus the cycle of Joshua Tefraimite, like that of Samson the Danite revolves around solar worship. This solar character of the myth of Joshua, which is already in the heart of the story of Joseph ^, his presumed ancestor, we brings back to the influence of the Egyptian cults which characterizes the accounts concerning the solar myths of Palestine. So Joshua performed the miracle of circumcising 600,000 individuals in a single day ^ . However, we know that Hebrews and the Phoenicians said that they all had both learned circumcision from the Egyptians ^ ". However, the greatest miracle associated with name of Joshua, it is the stopping of the sun at Gibeon ^, myth which served as a basis for the Jewish and Christian tradition, because did not want to bring himself to admit that the earth is not the center of the planetary world. The Sanctuary of Gibeon ^, where a religious eclecticism,

- 1. Din'riTiTiID cf. MovERS, i, I, 229 and the generic name WnNiniD.
 - 2. Zû; ATjfxapou; V. NiEDUHR, ibid., P. 320.
 - 3. Joseph is the son-in-law of the priest of On or Heliopolis and of Egyptian origin. yours. See iS -lin -m ^; "1122 {Deui., Xxxiii, 17) and nî? -" Sy TT2rî ni: n [Genesis XLIX, 22). These are allusions to the symbolic Taurus.
 - ^ 4. NiEBUHH, 228. They are circumcised with D ^ Tiî "♦ Din.
- Din term is very common in the history of Joshua.

5. See above.

6. Joshua, ix, 10-11.

7. Joshua, XX, 8; He Samuel, II, 17; I / 0 / s, III, 5 and IX, 2; I Chronicles, XVII, 3y; XXI, 29, etc.

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dating from the time of the Hebrew invasion, is discovered by later accounts, is the cradle of this tradition. tion. The book ltt7M, The Lost Iliad of the Hebrews, recounts was that on the occasion of his victory over the Amorites, Joshua had ordered the sun to stop, telling him:

“Sun, stop on Gibeon, and you. Moon, in the valley

Ajalon! And the sun stopped and the moon too, until that the people had avenged themselves on their enemies. So the sun stopped in the midst of the heavens and did not hasten to

expensive a whole day. "

This is clear: Joshua is the master of the sun, which he order, like Adonis himself.

But where Joshua appears in his midst, it is in the struggles of the Israelites against the Philistines. This story" which gives birth to the epic of Samson, do not to ignore Joshua.

The story of the captivity of the ark of the covenant * emme-born by the Philistines and from Yahu's vengeance on Dagon, the god of the Philistines, ends with the episode next, the ark of the covenant after having caused all sorts of calamities to the Philistines, is brought back by these last in Bet-Shemesh (Heliopolis) on the territory Hebrew. It was placed "on the great stone which is in the field of Joshua the man of Bet-Shemesh, until this day ^ ". The story of the epidemic, which would have plagued by the inhabitants of Ben-Shemesh, is only a mentary from a Jehovah's bass editor period, which could not admit that the sanctuary of Jehovah once allied himself with Joshua's sun worship and

of Heliopolis.

In reality, this "stone", or betyl, associated with the name of Joshua, reappears many times in the account of the exploits

1. iSamae /, VI, p. 14-18.

2. Note Hf H DVH 1 ?.

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of Joshua: she is always associated with Shechem, the city of "Berit", the center of Tunion of Israel until the time of Solomon*. So Joshua contracted a Berit with the people in Sichem ^. Ily brought the ark of the covenant. Elsewhere he is said that "Joshua made a covenant that day with the people and proposed statutes and ordinances to Sichem. And Joshua wrote these words on the book of the Law of Jehovah. He also took a large stone and raised it there under the (sacred) oak which is in Jehovah's sanctuary ^".

If we add that Joshua built an altar in E'bal which later became the Mount of Curse ^, that soon he did the same in Gilgal or in Sichem itself, it is easy to get an idea of the synthesis that took place, between the conqueror of that name and an ancient deity hebraic.

11

We can now resume our demonstration to establish that one and the same base served building up the legend of Joshua, the hero of the Hebrews, and that of Melqart, the Hercules of the Tyrians. Alonethat of Joshua appears to us to be of more ancient origin.

Melqart travels all over the Mediterranean, subjugating

1. See above, chap. V.

2. Joshua, XXIV, 25-26.

3. Cf. Weiss, Vt: rim m yn I, where this author (that we would not have yet not to suspect an outraged criticism) concludes in the astarUen character of this Oak.

4. It will be noted that the Mount of Ebal, 6 on which Joshua built a altar to Jehovah { VIII, 30), becomes, for e DeuléronomCy the Mount of Mathe ediction (Dcu / er., XI, 29; XXVII, 13). The Samaritans themselves dare will no longer devote it.

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barbarian peoples, overthrowing the Tyrants, destroying the wild animals.

It is the same for Joshua in Palestine: since

Moses and until Deborah, that is to say during several centuries, he presides over all the conquests of Israel.

It is he who seizes Hebron and Debir, according to the Book of Joshua, while in older texts this

was the Judean clan of Caleb which accomplished the same quest elsewhere, after the death of Joshua K It is he who extended the Anaqim, while this feat is attributed to

Caleb clan. In addition, the great Hebrew victory

Phoenicians, won over Jabin, the king of Hazor, the one who was to crown the work of the conquest of Palestine on the Canaanites and which is illustrated by the song of Deborah, is herself attributed to Joshua, despite the context of the Book of Judges ^.

We are therefore right to consider this hero as the mythical genius of the tribe of Joseph, who presided over the constitution of the people of Israel: Melqart overthrows the very; Joshua did the same for the Anaqim. Melqart exterminate the wild beasts: in Palestine, they are the a Zir'ah ^ "who flee from the Beni-Israel". The encounter of Joshua with the angel, chief of Jehovah's armies, relieves

of the same order of ideas*.

Melqart arrived with his army at the edge of the ocean, where he erected two columns on opposite shores of one and

the other continent. Joshua crosses the Jordan with his army and erect an altar of twelve stones on Gilgal ^ and another on Mount Ebal; he consecrates the Betyl and the Astarte oak from Sichem; he carries the ark of al-

1. Joshua, X, 36, 39, and Judges, I, 20.

2. Cf. Joshua, XI, and Judges, IV.

3. Joshua, XXIV, 12 nTl ^ j fawn bleat or mysterious insect.

4.V, 13-16. It is inspired by Exodus, II.

6. Joshua ^ IV. On this sanctuary and the 7V \ n ^ " ^ nSq, see Judges, II, 1; cf.

the Idols worshiped by Ehud, etc., (/ 6 "U, IV, 19; I Samuel, XI, 13, etc.).

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binds to Shechem and gives laws to the tribes of Israel, all as Melqart will do for the peoples of Africa,

Melqart fights at the mouth of the Rhône against two terrible children of Neptune; he crushes them with the help of Jupiter who unleashes a shower of pebbles on them.

It is the very repetition of the history of the campaign of Gibeon: there, Joshua defeats the Canaanites with the rocks and the pebbles that Jehovah rains on them ^

The same background of legends would therefore have given birth to both myths. Only, as the conquest of the

Palestine by the Hebrews had long preceded the maritime exploits attributed to Melqart, and like the cycle of Joshua is more human and more natural, oti would be quite naturally led to consider the myth of Joshua as much earlier than that of its Tyrian emulator.

It remains to be seen whether the evolution of the legend of Joshua was completed during the writing of the biblical texts and if, in the popular mind at least, this legend did not accompanied the Beni-Israel out of Palestine, before the writing the Bible.

We know what bad luck had been bitter against the real or imaginary hero of the conquest of Palestine, after this conquest. Jehovah's editors, who do not could ignore the written and oral texts concerning the popular tradition of the eponymous hero of Ephraim, in the need to accept the legendary cycle by reducing the hero in the role of servant of the great prophet and lawgiver of Jehovah.

Here ends the efl'acient and secondary influence of the hero,

1. Cf. Barges, open. cited, p. 11-13; Pomponius Mela, II, 5; Aeschylus, Proméllée Enchaîné,

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in traditional Judaism as in that of the Law ^

The poor creator of the people of Israel was condemned to

Toubli in later prophetic texts. The Hagga-dah doesn't know anything or rather doesn't want to know anything about this hero in which she smelled a little Jehovist origin,

“The rabbis,” said Niebuhr, “lacked the materials and the desire to take care of this hero ^ ”

The desire, if you will, but not the materials. The

Samaritans, still attached to worship and sanctuary?

of the northern kingdom, consider the conqueror of the Palestine as their only prophet and hero. We will see that the

folklore of the Hebrew populations of the north had yet to be powerfully haunted by the memory of this hero. Texts of very ancient origin ^ attribute to him conquests as far as Armenia, in the North, and ju ^ u'en Africa and Yemen.

No longer daring to attack a personality who plays a preponderant role in the Hexateuch, the rabbis sought at least a strange silence around him. Of from time to time, however, they let slip a word which marks their dislike for this hero. What, in effect, that this attribute "of severed head" ^ which the Haggadah allows himself to crown him and that texts posted laughter trying to accommodate with the Bible? And many others that we will study elsewhere! It would be too bold to want to identify the deity of Joshua with one of the Phoenician deities. However if etymological comparisons are allowed, we will easily see in this name a doublet of Eshmoun (Adonis). Indeed, in the Phoenician triad, Eshmoun ve- is born immediately after Baal and Astarte; it corresponds to Logos, to the intermediary, to the former "Maleach of Jehovah" 1. Ouvr, cited, p. 318.

2. The book of Joshua of the Samaritans ^ folklore of Arania, etc.
3. yvop irn. V. appcnd. I.

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and to the later idea of the God-son. Now we know that the Jews of Jerusalem themselves had worshiped this God until the time of the destruction of Jerusalem. In the even temple of Jehovah, women mourned death

Adonis under his Mesopotamian name of TamouzS Ceculte had therefore followed the Jewish emigrants, just like that of the Celestial Goddess. On the other hand, Eshmoun assimilated to Hermes is the god of salvation, the Zcu; ScuTilp of the Greeks. Word "Hello" in Hebrew means exactly Yechou'a, term which plays a major role in Jewish theology. Certainly it It's a long way from now to conclude that the Joshua-Eshmoun of the Hebrews is of the same origin as the complex divinity Eshmoun-Melqart ^, although the extraordinary fortune of this name outside the Synagogue, lends itself to more than one hypothesis.

One of the peculiarities that are common to Joshua, to Melqart and Hercules, it is the multiplicity of places where they would their tomb. This subject has already provided to MR Basset the occasion of a study ^. Indeed, according to the Bible, Joshua is buried in Timnat Hères, "x in his possession".

According to Joseph, the same tomb was at Gabata ^. The chronicle of the Samaritans, it rests in Gawaïra.

Jewish sources from the Middle Ages place it elsewhere.

But the most curious is the presence in Africa of North and near the columns of Melqart of a sanctuary-tomb which still bears the name of the Israelite hero. Alone-before explaining the details of this strange survival vance, we believe it is our duty to expose the traditions which relate to Joshua in the bosom of Judaism itself.

1. Ezekiel, VIII, 14.
2. V. Berger, Phenicia, p. 25.
3. Nedromah and the Traras, chap. V.
4. Antiquities, 1. V.

5. scHWARzyiNH mNiin.

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III

First, the role of Joshua among the Samaritans

deserves our attention.

We have become accustomed to considering these dissidents as Cutheans of origin. However, we gladly forget that the religious center of the Samaritans was not Samaria, but Shechem *, the ancient capital of Israel, whose sanctuaries are attached to the name of the patriarchs and Joshua. No clue allows us to consider Sichem as having been populated by foreign colonies.

Under Jeremiah, people of Shechem, of Shiloh and even of Samaria, bring offerings to Jerusalem ^ . The Jews established in Elephantine still recognize Samaria or Shechem, as the second center of Israel ^ . Ben Sirah call the Samaritans "foolish people of Shechem *". In Alexander's time, the Pentateuch was already authoritative in Samaria, but Shechem is the religious capital and administration of Samaria.

Shechem sitting on the mountain was the capital of Samaritans; it was inhabited by deserting Israelites of their nation ", that is to say authentic Jews, formerly conclusion of the Cutheans of Samaria, but not having recognized the puritanical reform of Esdras ^ .

The sanctuary they occupied on the Gerizim was first a high place or Bama; but, even after the construction of the Samaritan temple, under Alexander, we continued to ignore the restrictions on

1. Cf. JosÉPHE, Antiquités ^ XI, 8.

3. Jeremiah, XLI, 6.

3. See our appendix III.

4. nyan Ssd m, ch. i ^

6. JosÉPHE, Antiquités, XXII, 7.

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nant forbidden meats and Sabbath-keeping. We

lived in Shechem in the midst of Hebrew-Phoenician eclecticism.

This proto-Hebrew state of the Sichemites, mixed with the debris more or less amalgamated from the ancient tribes of the north,

is evident during the persecution led by

Antiochus Epiphanes against monotheism *: while

the Jews preferred death to religious treason, the

Samaritans of Shechem, arguing of their Phoenician origin

cienne, have no difficulty in identifying their

deity with the Zeus of the Greeks. They claim to be

"Sidonians who dwell in Shechem, keeping the Sabbath

and immolating victims in honor of "God without

last name ". Moreover, their archives present them as

Sidonians ^ .

It is therefore in Shechem, whose cult has in reality suffered

no sudden revolution, and not in Jerusalem, which

should look for the old Hebrew traditions.

Indeed, the Samaritans have a Book of Joshua,

essentially different from that of the biblical books. We

find there exploits attributed to Joshua that are not listed

in biblical accounts. Among other things, we see it as

defeat Sobach, king of Armenia, son of Hamam, son of Put,

son of Ham that "God blessed when he left Arca".

The Samaritans are probably the oldest in

recognize in Joshua the Spirit of God, the son of God: "Ipse

sum Jusaô Nuni filius naturæ humanæ sed simul divinæ

particeps, Discipulus ejus qui cum Deo colloquebatur filius

Amici Dei?.. "3,

We involuntarily think of this kinship of Jesus represented by the Fish, with Joshua, son of Nun or the Peabran, which we loved with the ictos or fish sign.

1. Josephus, Antiquities ^ XII, 7.

2. Cf. above, conclusion.

3. Liber Jusaœ, Chronicum Samaritarum, chap. XXIX; cf. Hieronymus Paulino. Venum ad Jcsun Nave, qui typum Doraini non solum gesti, verum etiam nomine praïfert.

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A Jewish or Samaritan sect, the Sabaïtes, claimed, in the first centuries of Thegira, that Joshua, son of Nun, was a God. It is said that Abd Allah ibn Saba, the founder of this sect, renounced his faith and substituted Ali for Joshua ^ In a German work analyzed by M. Julien

Weill in the Bévues des études juives 2, we study the Pre-Christian Jesus and the very name of the Nazarenes, who both predate the beginning of Christianity.

Among the Caribbean, dissident Jews who, in the eighth century, reconstituted the old Jewish schisms, the name of Jechua became famous because he alluded to the messianic salai 3. Now, it has already been established that the Caribbean had certainly known the books of the Sadducees and of the Essenes ^.

In Yemen, where Proto-Israelite tribes existed even before the Bible, legends about Joshua circulated already. Yemeni Jews still believe they came to this country with Joshua. Vague traditions of a struggle between Jews of the Synagogue, represented by the character of Esdras and the Jews of Joshua, stayed there ^. Mr. Basset has already studied the legend that ran in ancient Arabia Islamic on Joshua and the Fish. There is Joshua and Miriam, the sister of Moses, confused with Jesus, the son of Marie ^.

These legends, which predate Islam, contradict too much of the written traditions of the Bible for us to attribute to them an Orthodox Jewish origin. Moreover, we 1. Samaritan Chronicle ^ ed. Adier and Seligson; Blunder of the Studies jmvtt, t. XLX, p. 249.

2. Received. des Et. Jews, t. READ.

3. Bâcher, Bev, des Et. Juives, v. XXVIII, p. 290.

4. POZNAN8KY, cited review, t. LI.

6. Cora / i, Soura III, 31 and XVIII, 52; Moses and Joshua go to the con-fluent of two seas and lose the fish there. See soura XXI, 82 on D'oui Noun.

6. Koran, Soura XXI, 87. See our Study on VUisl. Jews in Morocco, I, p. 48.

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will see that the Arab Jews were very primitive in their religious conceptions ^ These traditions are mainly abundant in Africa. If Joshua were to, at some point given, playing the role of a mythical character, it was good in those countries which have long been under the influence of Phoenician polytheism.

We have insisted that the invasion of the Hebrews, driving back the Canaanites, had to reject them on the side of the sea. We have seen that the Beni-lsraël followed the Cana-born in these migrations. A rivalry between the two groups seems to have manifested themselves, in Africa, from all time ; the first data on this subject appear to us-even feels associated with the name of Joshua -.

Already in the third century, that is to say at an earlier time

after the destruction of Carthage, these traditions take body: the Septuagint of Isaiah know the rabbi tradition nique concerning the flight of the Canaanites under the pressure of Beni-Israel ^ . An old Talmudic text, which the Tossephta of the second century already considered very old, explicitly mentions the role of Joshua *: three "con- M editions were sent by Joshua to Palestine before that the Israelites had not entered the land: "Let those Canaanites who reside in Palestine go, let them ask for peace or declare war on him. The the Gergesian people, among others, then withdrew to Africa ". Another text of certainly ancient origin which, alongside of Alexander, includes the name of a former doctor, priest of the Temple, tells " that the Canaanites of Africa would have demanded the restitution of the Palestine kidnapped by Joshua to their ancestors. This curious passage of folklore

1. Cf. black elude: Judeo-Hellenes and Judeo-Berbers, 1. II, chap. I-III.
2. Cf. MovERS, die Phônizier, II, II, p. 15 and following. and P. 427 and auiv. Talm. Jerus., Msnitt? § 6; Talm. Bab. VMn: D f. 91.
3. Isaiah, XVII, 9. *
4. Talm, Jerus., MVIltt ^ § 14 el Hll Vnir2.
6. Talm. Bab., Sanhedriyiriy ibid.

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Jewish seems to relate to the translation of the Septuagint. The fact is successively recorded by the Book of Jubilees ^ by the Book of Enoch ^, by Saint Jerome, by Saint Augustine who all know about the migrations of Canaanites in Africa.

But Procopius above all is categorical: "They still live the country and they use the Phoenician language. They built a fort in a town in Numidia, Tigisis; we can see two stone stelae near a large fountain white (the two columns of Melqart?) covered with Phoenician characters which mean: "We are those who fled before Joshua son of Nun the thief. " We discussed it up to the point, but we neglected the information. related matters and which are confirmed by a document prior to Procopius himself.

The Armenian chronicle of Mar Apas Katina confirms the data of Procopius *: "Defeated by Joshua, the Cana- neens, to escape extermination, passed into Africa, scathing at Tharsis; an inscription relating this fact would still be there. "

Assuming that the purpose of registration is only one invention, whether the inscription is apocryphal or inspired by the Bible, we cannot dismiss the substance of the story, nothing authorizes us to do so.

The tradition of Joshua that takes place in Africa is therefore anterior to Islam. It is of the same nature as that of Melqart, the conqueror. It owes its origin, if not to precise memories of the Palestinian origins of the Punics, at least to a rivalry between Jews and Phoenicians from the last centuries of the existence of Carthage.

1. Chap. IX, I.
2. Chap. VIII, 22.
- Z.DeBeUo vandalico, II, 10.
4. Collection of the Hihlorians of Armenia, Paris, 1867; 1. 1, p. 30.

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Moreover, this opinion found a clear conGrmatïon aunt in the important work brought to us by Mr. Bas- set on the Judeo-Berber folklore of Africa. It is

and that local tradition attributes to Joshua ben Noun. I have already dealt with this subject in a previous work, but since I had the opportunity to visit this sanctuary, and this visit only confirmed my opinion of its antiquity.

If, at some point, the Beni-Israël had to colonize these areas, they could not have made a choice happy to raise a sanctuary to their own Melqart.

This further accentuates this Heracleian character of the sanctuary, these are precisely its gigantic attributes.

The Berbers of Beni-Menir do not make any difficulties to declare that Sidi-Usha had been an "Israel" and a conqueror of gigantic size. The stone that covers its tomb is very long: it measures ten to fifteen meters and traditions agree that in Sidna-Oucha does not rest a mere mortal, but Hercules*.

Near Sidi-Oucha, there is another sanctuary on the slope of a mountain, in an artificial cave artificial which is singularly reminiscent of that of Elie on the Carmel. This is where Noun, Joshua's father, would be buried. The cave was certainly dug at a strong time Ancient. As for Noun's name, I have already had the opportunity to say that this term is the Hebrew synonym of the word Dagon, god-fish*.

On either side of the Pillars of Hercules, at Tlemcen, at Ceuta and Cape Noun, Jewish folklore is full of allusions to the legendary fish relating to Moses and

1. Cf. Slousch, A trip to Jewish Studies in Africa,
2. Mr. Martin brings us in his work on the Saharan Oases (p. 34) a new fact about the discovery he made in Touat of an idol in fish head. It is the link, believes this author, between the ancient Hebrew and the Jewish colonization of the hub age.

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Joshua: one and the other advanced until the sunset of Sun.

The most important of these traditions is that which deals with of Noun as part of the myth of the resurrected, which recalls the myth of Adonis and Jesus ^

Note that the Jews of Gibraltar and Ceuta are obstinate do not eat a certain species of fish which would be linked to this tradition.

There would be much to say about superstitions and customs that are part of this cult: everything suggests that we are dealing here with a survival of an ancient myth Hebrew-Phoenician.

The hypothesis of an emulator of Melqart, that the colonists Hebrew-Phoenicians represented themselves as Eshraoun-Josué, would be plausible here, especially if we hold account of what the surrounding area was among its inhabitants, until the seventh century, Judeo-tribes Berbers, among others the Mediouna and the Riata. We are struck by the Phoenician character that still certain religious rites among the Riata du Riff; the name of Mediana finds herself with certainty, already in the time of Procope ^: it would be the tribe of this name that would have brought the worship of Joshua on the North African coast. The tribes of Beni-Noun, Beni-Mousa, Beni-Sha'ban, Oulad-Ichou, nowadays, would relate to

the same strain. The persistence of the sound of w (sh) proper to Hebrew in the name of the Beni-Ichou would also indicate is of pre-Islamic origin. Only here we can- let us test the presence of theophorus v 3, which is only an abbreviation viation of Yahou.

1. Mr. Basset, no. ciliated; Bévuc des Écoles Isr., III; Mr. Vassel, Lit, Pop, Tunisian Jews, p. 128.

2. Slousch, Judeo-Hellenes and Judeo-Berbers ^ U, chap. II L

3. Cf. 3ntt7 ^ of Chronicles which replaces the prophetic form

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But more convincing is the form Oucha ', that con- * continues to carry the sanctuary. Usha 'is properly the word Ochea \ but pronounced by Punics and Africans ^

Now, how could African Jews have continued to designate their hero by his original name "Ochea", if this name had not been transported to Africa before the writing of the Bible which confers the theophora Yehuchu'a to the hero of Ephraim? To the etymological proof provided by M. Basset on the seniority and persistence of letter w in this name, so we add one new.

In the country, moreover, there are quite a few ancient Jewish memories. Among other things, I will point out the fact, not very convincing, moreover, that the Berbers of the region call the Jews "El-Ichornén", which is thing that the Jechourun ^ of the archaic period of the Bible, a name that it is quite curious to find in this square.

M. Basset, who concludes that the sanctuary is old, says with reason: "c The veneration of the tomb of a prophet common to the three religions was first the work of the Jews, then Christians, then Muslims ". Or the Qoubba

Usha is equally sacred to Jews and Muslims. mans.

All the reasons given by Mr. Basset do not seem besides not having satisfied the famous orientalist who M. Goldziher ^: this scholar refutes M. Basset's thesis for the following reasons.

Will believe him, Joshua ben Noun did not enjoy any notoriety among the Jews. Traditions that relate to

1. The vowel o is pronounced or even by the Saharan Jews of nowadays (cf. Slousch, un Voyage d * él J, in Afr, Notes).

2.. "[TITOI, see note 7, supp.

3. Revue de VhUtoire des religions, 1902, v. II: New contributions to Muslim hagiography.

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Africa deals with the migration of the Canaanites and not those of the Jews.

2 <> Noun, Joshua's father, is unknown in folklore Hebrew.

3 ** The location of the legend of Joshua at Nedroma does not does not seem sufficient to admit the existence of a year his Jewish influence on the people of this country.

4 ** Also, a Jewish influence should have left everything first of all traces in the scattered survivals of tunes and uses or specifically Jewish institutions, foreign to the specific character of the natives.

To our great regret, despite our respect for the Eminent scholar, we do not believe that it is possible to follow on this ground.

Mr. Goldziher is quite right when he speaks of the little notorious role of Joshua in Jewish tradition: we

we have seen that this tradition seeks to reduce the importance of this hero of character little Jehovist; but there is Judaism and Judaism ^ Apart from the Synagogue, which is a formation of a later period, there are Sadducees, or Jews who remained faithful to the papal dynasty of Zadoc, who are, for post-Macabbean Judaism, the party national refractory to the exclusivism of the Synagogue of Esdras: however, it turns out that this party, preponderant in Jerusalem until the second century BC. J.-C. and which, after, remained at the head of the two dissident sanctuaries of Shechem and Leontopolis did not recognize, any more than the Samaritans, the holiness of the books of the Bible, except the Hexateuque. For him as for them, Joshua is the outcome-

health, the last word of the Jewish religion. We have already shown that for the Samaritans at least, Joshua is the Maleach, the Holy Spirit, the son of God; that for the Sabaites it is 1. The author of the book of Nehemiah still knows the V "time of Joshua ben Noun" like that of Tapogeus of the Israelite religion. (Nehemiah, VII, 17.)

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God in person, and that even for the Caribbean this name is equivalent to that of the Savior par excellence.

There was, as the Qur'an and some other traditions, many of which have spread to Sudan ^, a confusion between Joshua, a disciple of Moses, and Jesus son of Mary: this confusion is the proper cause the little notoriety with which the conqueror of Palestine enjoys in rabbis resistant to any infiltration Christian idea.

Only it turns out that rabbinism itself has been powerless to erase a medieval mythology which related to the name of Joshua. Joshua, the son of Fish, animated the tradition of the Midrashim, which served traits in flagrant contradiction with the Joshua of Bible. We have seen that the Haggadah designates it under the unflattering name of "severed head" 2. The Midrash Ta am ^, which is confirmed by the "book of Tales" of r. Nissim le Gaon de Caïrouan ^, has preserved the story following on the cause of this designation. here are the details of this anecdote.

“Joshua's father resided in Jerusalem (!) As he had no children, he prayed to God to grant him a son. God answered the prayer of the holy man and his wife became pregnant. However the father, instead of rejoicing in happy event, did not stop fasting and cry day and night. The saddened woman insisted to the holy man so that he might reveal to him the cause of his affliction. Finally he told her that a revelation of En-Haut had told him that this long-awaited son owed a 1. M. Le Chatelier, F Islam in West Africa, p. 14, etc. 2. Jd / m. Bab., Sola, 36. 8. V. From »SVS: n Revue des Midrashim de r. Abraham ^ Warsaw, 1894, p. 23. 4. Tenth century. See Isr. Levi, B, des Et, juiv., T. XLIII, p. 283-284. This Bavant reads Josué ben Lévi instead of Josué ben Noun. Our legon, confirmed by the Talmud (V ^ lSpim). is also certain.

day chopping off his father's head. The woman had full faith in her husband's words, and she decided to move away from him such a great misfortune. As soon as she was given birth, she took a box, coated it with bitumen and pitch, she put his child and threw him on the waters of the river. God sent a large fish which swallowed the casket. That day, the king gave a great feast to his lords: they brought on the table a big fish, and big was the surprise general, when we found in the belly of this fish a crying child. The king sent for a nurse and the child was brought up in his court. As soon as he grew up, the king named him Sandator (chief executioner). Now it happened that the holy man (Noun) having committed a crime against the king of Egypt, he ordered his executioner to cut off his head: it was done. According to the custom of country, wife, children and property of the victim returned to the executioner. However, when the Sandator is approached by his mother, milk gushed from her breasts and spread throughout the bed. Joshua, scared, grabs the sword to kill the one he believed to be a witch. It is then that the poor woman revealed to him her origin and the dream of his father. The young man hastened to withdraw and do penance. From then on, the people called him Son of Nun or fish and his colleagues called it "head tran- chée "because he had chopped off his father's head. "

This story confirmed by pre-Islamic data, hardly indicates the intention to embellish the role of Joshua. We would readily see in it a rabbinical version of a Samaritan tale of mythical origin. It's still history roof of Jesus or Adonis which circulates in folklore popular.

Jewish mysticism has, moreover, preserved traditions

1. Thus the Haggadah, in accordance with the Bible, copies the story of Joshua on that of Moses.

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on this character of Joshua: "Joshua ben Noun looks like a fish: it is he who is the intermediary between earth and Divinity * ", just like the Logos of Therapists, the Metatron of the Rabbis and the Sanbat of the Phalacha2.

In the prayers which relate to the ritual of the Horn isw, we see in Joshua "a kind of minister of the interior" of Jehovah ^ . We wanted to see in this passage an interpolation of Christian origin; but the above we shows that in reality it is a question of a mystical idea, anterior

higher in Christianity, concerning an intermediary between God and man. We have shown that Joshua ben Noun plays a leading role in the episode of Eldad the Danite, the ninth century traveler ^ . Mr. Israel Lévi speaks of a passage taken from a Midrash by Raymond Martini ^ \ where it is about Joshua ben Noun as legislator of the Jews. This scholar believes in an influence of Eldad the Danite and mentions, in besides, that the text in question already appears in the Koran. It doesn't matter.

- 1 ** From what precedes, we see the Jewish literature of accord with the Koran, as regards the character my- thics of the names of Joshua and his father: Nun, the syno- mythical nyme of fish, Dagon, has a special place in Jewish mysticism. If we add to this that the early Christians used to associate Jesus, the son of Mary, at the symbolic sign of the fish, we arrive-

1. "nNH 2ip2 D-: i :: nn '-; i? 2 ^^ S ai' ^ nann pj p 7Wn \ This passage, which still appears in the ritual of Jewish prayers, is very characteristic.
2. V. black and. Judeo-Hellenes and Judeo-BerberSy II, ctiap. III and appendix: Therapists and Maghrabia.
3. CISn ^VS2 TX3 ^ (Stiofar ritual).
4. Cf. our study on /'/// "/. Jews in Morocco, II, Eldad, traveler of ninth century, begins all the legislative texts that he attributes to ten tribes of Israel by the HTian "SD \ 2 n TW ^ T ^ t «iini IDK.
5. Received. des El. Jews, t. XVII, p. 313.

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it may be necessary to get a more exact idea of the origin true of the legend of Joshua, the Nazarene, confused with Christ and the Logos.

2 ** The location of the legend of Joshua is confirmed through a series of traditions that attest to an influence Jewish or rather Hebrew throughout the Maghreb *: it meets closes reminiscences of a heroic cycle parallel to that of Melqart.

Primitive Jewish tribes, moreover, meet there until after the Arab invasion.

3 ** A trip that I made to Africa and a personal contact nel with the Berbers and their folklore have definitely informed about this, especially because of the survival Jews of ancient origin and some of whom are still in a nomadic or troglodyte state.

The legend of Joshua can therefore serve as a fulcrum for the elucidation of the problem of the origins of Judaism had Africa.

M. de Motylinski pointed out the presence among the Berbers of a divine term which, under the name Youche, replaces again for some Berbers of the desert the name of Allah -: it is thus, as this scientist shows it quite clearly, that we must read the term of Yacouch who had been the God of the Judaizing schismatics of Berghôuta ^ . As the Sanbat among the Phaiacha, Youche presides over the rains. We will come back to that.

Would this Youche be the same as that of Usha'-Youch? with the softening of the v so frequent among the Berbers? Anyway, this name is found among the Berghouata, in the Nefoussa and the ksour of the Sahara, that is to say by-everything where Jewish influence is evident.

1. Cf. for the Rhône basin, Barges, ouvr. cited, p. 48.
2. The Berber name of God among the Abbadiles, Revue Africaine, 1906, II, p. 257 and s.
3. See our aforementioned study.

APPENDIX II

ZEDEC AND ZADOG

Not enough account has been taken of Thelle's influence. nism over Judea from the conquests of Alexander and maybe even earlier. We gladly neglect the fact that the first clash between Judaism and Hellenic nism was very peaceful and that never before the second century, good understanding between the two peoples denied.

Friedlaender * appreciated the profound influence of the Hellenization of Alexandrian Judaism on the Jews of Judea itself. It shows that under the action of thought Platonic Judaism is purified: worship purified by al- The legend of Therapists and Essenes is unmistakable. ment of Alexandrian origin. This spiritualization of ancient materialist beliefs distinguish the Hebrews Phoenicians of the Judeo-Arameans and it determines a relation-

close to each other; the two groups are reconcile on the allegory which replaces the practice religious. In Judea itself we see, from the third century; a loosening of the cult of sacrifices and others materialistic practices which will eventually lead to the Synagogue 2.

In these conditions, one should not be surprised to

1. Blunder of Jewish Studies ^ v. XIV: The Essenes.

2. Ibidem, p. 193.

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find in ancient Jewish literature traces of a old tendency of Greco-Jewish syncretism which consisted in bring closer the Olympian Zeus, the god of thunder and forces of nature, of Jehovah, the god of thunder and great waters, by means of a symbolic interpretation terms considered to be the attributes of these deities. This mystical game had to manifest itself all the better, as rarely does a word lend itself to so many allegorical forms that the Hebrew term of Zédec which designates the planet Jupiter ^ Zedec is one of the ancient planetary gods of Hebrews, but it also means "Justice". However, this last nière had become with the prophets the cardinal attribute of Jehovah; it is also found at the etymological source even of the legal dynasty of the priests of Jerusalem, of Samaria and of Onion, all of whom are descendants of Zadoc, little historical character of the time of David 2. The sect of the Sadducees owes its name to the family of priests, less in the allegorical sense that he took after the destiny killing of the house of Zadoc. Besides in the first century we have known a sect which bore the name of Melchisedec; it is mentioned in the Apostle to the Hebrews attributed to St.Paul.

"The author of this epistle is" a Melchizedecian " convinced who ends up separating from his sect to bring closer to the worship of Jesus ^. "

Melchizedek is for his followers the King of Justice and of great strength "without beginning or end", "without father ", " without mother "and" without generation ".

It's the Logos, an pre-Christian Jesus.

1. p * T3r Jupiter; Tripoli, the city of Alliance n ^ ll, was dedicated to Cabires. the sons of Sydec-Zedec. Zedec is therefore equivalent to Cadmos and Yahu. Mo VERS, die PhOnizier, II, I, p. 555. Malchi-Zedec is the son of Hercule et d * A8tarté, ibid., I, I, p. 152.

2. We have seen that, in Jeremiah's time, Joadas was still considered as the founder of the priestly house (Jeremiah ^ XXIX, 26),

3. Revue des Etudes juives y t. V, p. 189.

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The epftre seems to be the work of an Alexandrian, follower of

some mystical society, abstinent and ascetic like the Therapists and the Essenes; maybe it's even their own profession of faith.

We retain this opinion of a deep connoisseur of Alexandrian Rhellenism which we dare not contradict.

But while admitting that such was the character of the Melchizedecian sect at the time of Jesus, we want demonstrate that this was only the last step in the evolution mystical and allegorical lution of an ancient Hebrew myth Phoenician under Greek influence.

In reality, Zedec is a divine attribute whose beginnings are lost in the darkness of Babylonian antiquity.

Already in the third millennium, a king named Amizadoc * reigns in Babylon. The first mention of Jerusalem in a text relating to Abraham, whose character archaic does not seem to be in doubt, shows us Melchisédec, the Cohen of Salem, as the priest to whom Abraham pays the legal tithe.

At the time of the Judges, the sacrifices that one brings to "God without name of Carmel" are called sacrifices of Zedec 2; this observation allows us to suppose that this same deity was worshiped in Jerusalem before Jehovah, the God of Sinai, was not established in the sanctuary of Solomon. Zédec nonetheless ceases to remain a attribute of Jehovah.

The priest-king of Jerusalem, during the time of the conquest, porto the name of Adoni-Zédec, a simple variant of Malchi-Zédec ^. In the Book of Judges ^, this king is called Adonî-Bezec, lord of lightning (and thunder) ^, which

1. See above, chap. III.

2. See ch. II.

at. Joshua, X, 1 and 3.

4. Judges, 1, 5, 6 and 7.

6. Cf. Ezéchiei, I, U.

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firm identification of this name with that of Jupiter. We therefore sees that it is a matter of a Zedec divinity who is only the Sydic of Sanchoniaton and the Sydic Baal-Zeus of the ancients, attached to the primitive worship of Jerusalem. If at the time prophetic, the worship of the nameless God emerges, purifies itself, to become the cult of the representative of the idea of the Justice *, Jerusalem does not therefore cease to become the city of "Zédec ^", the home of "Zédec ^", while the faithful are those who pursue Zedec, who seek Jehovah, "those who know Zedec ^". Jehovah itself is called in several texts with insistence:

“Jehovah is our Zedec ^”.

After the Restoration, the Zadoc family succeeded in prevail over all its competitors and dominate in Jerusalem and Sichem ^.

It reached its peak under Simon the Zadic (the Just or the real Man of Zedec) ^. In front of the infiltration of mysticism in the worship of Judea after the exile, the The monotheistic principle remains the indisputable master. This is even in this definitive victory of the one God and supreme that we must seek the reason why the "Separated" From "S" Taj, who however did not compromise on questions of divine unity and justice and of morality, let themselves be penetrated by all these pagan beliefs, that the prophets could not condemn enough. Is that

1. See above, ch. X.

2. haXe, I, 26.

3. Jeremiah, XXX, 1, 2, 3, and 4.

4. haU, LI {here, Zedec is parallel to Jehovah), I and 6 (here, Zedec is parallel to ya? """); cf. also, Ibid., XLI, 2, etc. The symbolic character of these passages is certain.

5.i: pT3f mn ^ JeremU, XXIII; 6, XXXIII, 16, etc.

6. The rivalry between the last prophetic school and the house of Zadoc is attested by several passages from Zaccharie (ch. III) and from Maiachie. Cf. the priestly text & Ezekiel (ch. XL-XLVIII).

7. That the term pñiH is not specific to this Simon shows the fact that he

there were two high priests to whom tradition attributes this epithet.
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 the mythological period was definitely over for
 Israel. Jehovah reigned supreme and independent,
 but, precisely, the unknown, the void which remains between
 heavenly forces and real nature left the field
 open to an infiltration of ancient pagan ideas,
 but this time these are definitely subordinate
 monotheistic idea ^ This is how the mysticism which
 no longer threatens the monotheistic faith, which has become unassailable,
 easily supplants mythology. The old divi *
 fallen rivalities of Jehovah reappear in the
 Judaism in the form of angels, demons or even
 national geniuses. It's a whole legion of intermediaries
 heavenly between Man and Jehovah. Spiritual beings at
 the Jews having passed through Platonic philosophy,
 more or less material creatures among the Judeo-Ara
 méens, these angels, geniuses or demons dominate the last
 Bible books. This is how the Book of Daniel knows

the existence of national "geniuses" specific to each
 people. The angel Michael would even be the genius of Israel ^.
 To the celestial spirits correspond the terrestrial spirits,
 who, among most peoples of antiquity, were the
 kings or the first priests. Already in the days of Ezekiel,
 the Tyrians deified their kings 3. The Corpus Inscrip ^
 tionum Semiticarum reveals the fact that at the time when
 we are, the high priests and the punic kings
 bore the title of MeqomÉlim ^, that is to say the
 çants or vicars of the gods.

1. It will be noted that in the texts relating to the Grand Priest of
 the Restoration, Joshua ben Jehozadoc reappears as the ^ K ^ O
 Ty ^ Tj " ^ or the intermediary between Jehovah and the man of the days of Judges
 (Zacchariet chap. III, etc.) -

2. Cf, especially the apocrypha: The Book of Jubilees and that of Enoch, etc.
 SV above, ch. XII.

4. Cf. D ^ Sn DpO- This is how to read the passages of C. / . 5.n * 227,
 260 * 262 and 317. The lesson qiSn Dp ^ D which appears in a multiple text
 cf. Ph. Berce Rf Beue Assyr., 1888, p. 30), proves nothing.

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It was to be the same, but in a more
 purist and allegorical, in Jerusalem. The worship of this
 ancient sacred city was too attached to the term of Zedec,
 his legal priests themselves played too much of their origin.
 gine zadocite so that we are not, at some point,
 tempted by the idea of an allegorical synthesis between the cult
 of Jehovah-Zedek, god of righteousness, and of Zeus the Olym-
 pien, interpretation which would be based on the same etymology
 from the word Zédec. Indeed, the term "Zédec" has too large a
 role in the post-exilic texts of the Bible, so that
 could ignore it.

Thus, the name of Melchizedek which no longer meets
 since Abraham, and which gave birth to a Jewish sect,
 is found in a psalm of low time, where, next to
 du Cohen, its synonym Malchi-Zédec ^ In a
 another passage the Cohens wear the "Zédec ^". The Book of
 Daniel speaks of the mystical period of the eternal "Zedec".
 The Book of Jubilees, a mystical product of the second century
 and most certainly of Hebrew-Phoenician origin, which
 reflects the real state of Hebrew-Phoenician synthesis,
 shows Shem building a city named after
 "Zédecat-lebab ^".

It is probably in this direction that we must look

the real etymology of the term Ha-Zadic, the attribute of the two high prince-priests of Jerusalem in the Ptolemaic period master, while the good understanding between Jews and Greeks could only favor a rapprochement of the concepts

religious relations of the two peoples.

It is here above all that we should see the logical origin of much discussed term of "Saducee *" which SaducéenSy as supporters of the old Phoenician policy

1. See the curious passage from the Psalms, CX, 4.

2. Ibid., CXXXII, 9.

8. Ch. I, MS- η T3f.

4. In Hebrew η pITX.

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Hellene of the Sadocite priests, and as followers of the cult of Jehovah-Zedek, will form the warrior and political aristocracy of Israel itself, after the disappearance of the Zadocites in Jerusalem and the Pharisee reform of the Machabees \wedge

Which shows that our hypothesis is not too

risky, this is the attitude taken by the Sadocite priests, so that Antiochus Epiphanes began the persecution against Jehovah and his worshippers. The branch of the Sadocites of Sichem does not make any difficulty in submitting to the introduction of the cult of Greco-Phoenician Zeus. Many official priests of Jerusalem itself are among the sponsors of this reform. It is at this origin that we must to attribute the messianic conception which manifests itself under the symbol of a white bull. The Book of Jubilees (written around 135 BC J.-G.) says that the Messiah will appear in the form of a white bull. This bull is the symbol of Zeus Melqart the Tyrian. A very old Talmudic text, which is relates to the persecution of Antioch, is expressed as follows: "Write on the horn of the bull that you are giving up to the worship of Elion, god of Israel \wedge ". This text, which confuses commentators are explained by the infiltration of Melqart-Zeus in Judea opposed to Jehovah-Jupiter, the supreme god. Moreover, the vestiges of the cult of the Bull among the Jews are found in the Jewish liturgy for the feast of Easter.

Only the most independent of the Sadocites,

Onias IV, prefers exile to apostasy. He went away for remake a new Jerusalem at Heliopolis, but even there, the old allegorical interpretation of the term "Zédec" does not appear to have been abandoned. We have already cited the prophetic passage on which this priest relied to dedicate a temple to Jehovah in Egypt. House

is surprised to see that the Septuagint, the most

1. V., on this sect, Schûrer, *Gesch. of Judentum* etc. I, *pastim*,

2. PT \wedge niao; Midrash nn " \wedge ", Genesis, IV.

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authorized in the matter, since it was made in Egypt, translates the words Dinn T'sr * or Heliopolis by kôXiç "A6e8 É x, the city of Zédec. This small substitution shows the eclectic and unorthodox character of this temple, intended to promote rapprochement between Jews and Gentiles. Once again Josephus is right to say that Onias expected a native clientele 2.

However, with the victory of the Hasmoneans, the "separatists res "become masters of Jerusalem. Puritanism and an outraged exclusivism founded on the pha-

risean. We break with all the practices from outside. The term Malchi-Zédec is replaced definitively. the term of El-Elion, which now accompanies all official acts in Israel and which is only the confirmation exclusive ration of the ancient spiritualized Hebrew god * ^.

We come back to materialistic worship and minimalist practices. concerned with sacrifices and the purity of the body; we take back Hebrew-Phoenician writing and language by reaction against Syrian Hellenism. The texts of the time (the last psalms, the old Beraitoth, the Book of Machabées ^) betray a renaissance of Hebrew.

1. hated, XIX, 18.
2. Cf. our and. Jud.-Hel. and Judeo-Berbers, chap. II.
3. The coins and official documents of the time bear invariablement the terms TvSsT SnS Slia] n3. Graetz, ibid., Ir. Hebr. I end and II, p. 1-25. The real meaning of this reform is explained to us by the n ^ iynnS ^ a chap. 11 and ch. VII; in the first of these passages we read: [SN1tt? ^% lSN]] vh7l pSn DdS] ^ N ^ 3 11tt? n [pp] hy nna. " The taste-Greek-Syrian government ordered to engrave on the horn of the bull that their owners have no share in the Elion (God of Israel). " The other text, which completes the first, explains to us that during the persecution many Greek Jews betrayed faith in the "God who is in sky ". In contrast, the victory of the Hasmonians resulted in the reestablishment of the cult of El Elion and even, to better celebrate this reform of the reign of the God of heaven, it was decided that all public acts would bear the formula for the year of the] vSy SnS Sna] nD reign.
4. It will be noted that the coins of the Hasmonian period and that of the Judeo-Roman wars have legends in Phoenician characters.

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Only the Sadducees, puritanical and ascetic sects like the Malchi-Zedecean ascetics, the Essenes, etc., will keep the traces of this old attempt at syn-sadocite thesis. For some, this tendency will continue to assert itself: thus the Book of Jubilees best reflects the character true era of the cult of Onias, with its own ritual of sacrifices, with its solar calendar, with its

tions of a "Messiah" who will be like a "white bull" symbolic, reminiscent of Melqart-Hercules the Tyrian *. Others, such as the Melchizedecians, will continue to cultivate the ancient myth of Zédecou de Zadoc, the vicar of God, in an allegorical form.

ciens. The style sometimes Aramised, sometimes imitated from Ben Sirah, the Aramaic of books of Ezra and Daniel, the artificial and barbarian Hebrew of the last chapters of Daniel and chronicles give way to a neo-Hebrew from which the Haggadah and the Mischnah will proceed.

1. The survivals of this solar cult are found even in the Talmud. So the Patriarch Jacob himself is called Sun and Serapis (Megillah, 18aj Joseph proceeds from the sun {Baba Balra ^ 16a}).

APPENDIX III

A TEMPLE OF GOD YAHU IN ELEPHANTINE (v® S.)

We have brought out the absolute syncretistic character of the Jehovah's religion that the colony had practiced military and aristocratic came with Jeremiah to Memphis. We have shown that these Judeans remained Hebrew Phoenicians, worshiping both Jehovah and Celestial Goddess (cf. the formula hn] S of the pu- inscriptions nics). The cult of Tamouz-Adonis should not be theirs foreigner either. It is to J. Salvador that we owe * to have recognized in the Therapists, a sect so dear to Philo, the descendants of those ancient Hebrews. Else part, S.-J. Rapoport established the identity that exists between ancient rehabilited ascetics of the time of Jeremiah ^ and the

Jews of Khaibar of whom the Midrash, the Koran and the Jewish authors of the Middle Ages. However, even under Persian domination, when Mazdaism will have contributed to purifying Hebrew mysticism, this syncretism will not cease to exert its influence on Jewish settlements in Africa. From this point of view the recent green, made in Elephantine, Aramaic papyri of Jewish origin of the fifth century ^ serves as confirmation

1. JisuS'Christ and his doctrine, I, p. 142 and s.
2. Jeremiah, chap. XXXV.
3. This whole problem is studied by us in the Judeo-Hellenes and Judeo-Berbers, app. Therapists and Maghrabia.

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brilliant to our thesis on the persistence of a Judaism

primitive in Africa.
These are authentic contemporary documents of the puritanical reform of Ezra and Nehemiah, which was to lead to the Orthodox Synagogue and the separation final of the Judeo-Aramaicans of Judea from the rest of Hebrews.
The city of Syene is the military market of Egypt and from the countries of the upper Nile. A Hebrew-Phoenician colony may have existed in Solomon's time ^ The pseudo-Aristée claims that Jewish soldiers were taken there bent by Psammeticus II against the Ethiopians. Herodote ^ tells that the Persians kept Elephantine a military garrison ^ It is in this military environment that was located a Jewish colony which had, in a called Yeb, an agora (or altar) dedicated to Yahou the God of heaven and having at his service a clan of Gohenites or legal priests. Onomastics that is against in these documents is' Hebrew and Theophorus. When the characters therein take an oath, it is in the name of their God Yahou. Only our papyri show that religious scruples did not embarrass again these Hebrews. We see them pass the legislation Persian and even in a dispute swear by the name of a Egyptian deity.

Three papyri also relate to the organization of the cult of this Jewish colony. Here is the text and the translation the most interesting of these documents *:

1. Cf.ch. XIII.
2. II, 17, 18, 28.30. There is no doubt, believes Mr. Isr. Levi, that the construction of the temple of Elephantine, that is to say before the reform of Josiah (Hev. Des Et. Juiv.y L. IV, p. 165).
3. Ed. Sachau Drei aramdische Papyrus, Berlin, 1907.
4. According to the Heu. of the And, Jewish, t. LIV.

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TEXT
n "" : T "T" iDy iin "" nm xi "]" xid ^ x .1
îom ^ i py; dd x ^ w ' ? xtr' »X '» Dtr n ^ x] xid .a
pnx i "" m *) 7X in] yD n jd T "n "" xn "" D' " : di .3

py 733 ^ in intri mm ^^ jn: ""
non m ""3 pDx p nusi n " :! ^ ^ 3y in ./i
Dtrix "" î3 X3 ^ D crimm 1 1 1 1 " = * r): ^
3 '»3" »T 313n Xn7X M XnD3 X3 ^ D? Y ^ îxi *) d: .5
n : n ^^ mD n "it" i dv n "" aiDn xm ""3
xnT'S 3 "" 3 M xn7x iiT "" "T xni ^ x D ^ mn. 6

7 ^^ iT "i inx no] D nvn ""
 ^^ n 31 • "? m3 pw ^ yn ^ tr max x ^ n ^ . 7
 3 '»3'» î xii: x iDx ^ xm '»3 pD3 mn
 x'j ^ n Dv xnxD i3T j 'â d: inx icrii ^ xm' »3 .8
 Dm ^ n Dy 3 ^ m ^ 3 ^ inx pnnx
 xmDyi xyix 1 ^ ^ mtri: ^ T xn: x3 i ^ y. 9
 pnn mn *) X iDn n3n nn '• t xasx "" t
 X1WX3 nn n px " î n ^ "" DD i "" : 3 1 1 1 1 1 px * •? .10
 Dnn ^ si iD ^ p Dmc; ii wia ^ T
 nx ^ 3 nx M] npy ^^ ûdi crna ^ ? x X' "" rc; 3 • "? .11
 no •"? pnx x: ic; x nn "" c; dv
 î | D31 3nî "" T X ""piîD1 IDIC; nc; X3 X ^ 3 mn .la
 inp ^ xb [ijî xn: x3 mn n xndyn: Di
] ^ n3X inxD -i ^ D '• Dr] DT n: y Dinc; D3'? i .i3
 înxD *? ^ y '• Tî3: 3' • î31 xm '»3 3'3 iT xiax i: 3
 'js psD \ 17X mjxi nn3c; nn: 3 ^ TX ■ ^^: x .i4
 73n X7 "jT X'm: iX3 Din: i2 c \ n '. Ii: t:
 AnCfl. MOROCCO. 12
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 îppc; pi3i pcr: Dî n: n: K nny n: TD nDi .i5
 k'jdd ipD: n K ^ 'ab ^ î aiin ^ n pinn n .ib
 *) K DinD pîm i ^ ""t] p ^ 2 ^ T Kni3x ^ " TiKa lya n. 17
 Kn "r" "îo Kî M pya n: T nmp
 KD1 K: nD pmiT »^ vi; kid jn ^ c? m: x] b T »3y .18
 kd'jd crinm 1 1 1 1 " = ^ n: t !? Tion dv jd
 K 'â c ? : pD' ^ xi] V2b ippu n: n: K «Dr n: T ly ^ .ao
 1 1 j 1 1 1 1 " => n: c? DV nyi '• dî p> ix pnu x ^ nom .ai
 m ^ yi n [:] u ^ i nnac xd ^ o cinm
 nm: Di • t 'â t' i ^ dv î ^ d ^ T xii ^ xn nny k *? .aa
 ^ î K-Ti ^ x ^ y nc? iTix 30 jKio b: f jn .a3
 '• jya »î n n'»: 3D ^ } *? ipnc; k ^ '• nn: 3D ^
 n ' ? nc; ' »^ aD max] nxD3 n: n '• î ^ '• Dn-n innt) .a4
 xn ^ x m "" "" î xni ^ x ^ y oin- ^ Vy
 pDip mn n: 3 m ' ? 3p ^ xnn ^ 3 s' ^ n n " : 3D ^ .a5

pnnp '»xni ^ yi xms ^ i xma
 T " ? Y1 ^ b ^ : ^ y2 ^ 2 xn ^ x in ^ ^ t xn3iD by .a6
 xmn * " ! pa3i pc; ; in: n: x py ^ d3
 nish "7 x-Ti: x •"? ly n3y p jn n: nn ^ d .a;
 n ^ x iit »Dip ^^ mm npisi
 jDT | n3ii m ^ jy nb sip * »n 133 jd x 'â dc; .at 8
 niî 'jy 3nT b: f ^ * i ^ î 0 ^ 3: 3 ") D3 ^ Dn3
] nh ^ mn m3X3 X '»^ D x ^ 3 ^ jx jamn jn ^ c; .ag
 piotr nnD 0 * 73X30 ^ : 3 n 'â D ^ ui m ^ i ^ y
 • 3 yT 'x ^ Dunx xb3] ^ n ^ 3y ^ tn: T3 t \ h .3o
 XD ^ fc] uinm 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 -sn: D pc ^ rnc ^
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TRANSLATION

(From Isr. LÉTi, in Rev, de \$ EL juives,)

- (1) To our lord, Bagoas, governor of Judea, your Yedoniah servants and consorts, priests of Yeb (Elephan * tine), the fortress, hi.
- (2) May our Lord, the God of heaven, please your good at all times, may he conciliate you the favor of King Darius (3) and his family a thousand times more than today; may he grant you a long life, and be happy and healthy at all times!
- (4) Now here is what your servants have to tell you Yedoniah and others: In the month of Tamuz of the year 14 of King Darius, when Arsame left to visit to the king, the priests of the god Chnoum de Yeb the fortress agreed with Vidrang, your commander here, (6)

for the purpose of destroying the temple of God Yehou, to Yeb the fortress. Then that vile Vidrang (7) sent a letter to Napian, his son, who was chief of Syene the fortress, letter thus conceived: "Let us demolish the temple of Yeb (8) the fortress. Then Napian took Egyptians and other troops; they arrived in the strong- of Yeb with their weapons, (9) entered this temple, destroyed it to the ground, broke the stone columns, tore off the stone doors (10) five in number, made of freestone, which is lived in this temple; as for the leaves of the doors which remained and to the brass hinges (11) which were fixed to these doors, roof all in cedar wood, with the rest (?) walls and other things that were there (12), all that they set it on fire. As for the gold and ar- 180 MOROCCAN ARCHIVES gent and the objects that were in this temple, they took (13) and attributed them to themselves. Now it is

already under the domination of the kings of Egypt that our ancestors had built this temple at Yeb the fortress, and, when Cambyses came to Egypt, (14) he found this temple built. While all the temples of the gods of the Egyptians, no one did any damage to this this. (15) So when we had done so, we, with our women and our children ^ we put on the cilice, we we fasted and prayed to Yahu, God of heaven, (16) that he showed the ruin of that dog from Vidrang. The chains were taken from his feet (?), all the goods he had acquired perished, all those (17) who had wanted evil at this temple were killed and we saw their defeat. But already before that, at the time when this evil (18) befell us, we had sent a letter [to] our lord and to Yohanan, high priest, and following him, the priests of Jerusalem, to Oustan, his brother (19), who is the same as Anani, and to Jewish notables. But they did not send us any reply. Since this day of Tamuz in the year 14 of the king Darius (20) to this day we wear the hair shirt, we let us fast, women have become like widows, we don't anoint (21), we don't drink anymore of wine. Likewise from that time to day [20] of the year 17 of King Darius, we no longer offer oblations, incense and burnt offerings (22) in this temple. Now your servants, Yedaniah and others and the Jews, all inhabitants of Yeb, express themselves thus: (23) If pleases our lord, let it be decided about this temple that it be rebuilt, because we do not allow ourselves to restore it. See those who have experienced your blessings (24) and your friends who are here in Egypt. Let it be shipped a letter to their destination, about the temple of God Yehou (25) so that it is rebuilt in Yeb the fortress as it was previously built, and oblations will be offered, A TEMPLE OF GOD YAHOU ISI incense and burnt offerings (26) on the altar of God Yehou in your honor; we will pray for you in everything time, we, our wives, our children and the Jews, (27) all while they are here. That if you do, until the reconstruction of the altar, you will draw a merit in front Yehou, God of heaven, of every man who offers burnt offerings and sacrifices, worth a thousand silver and gold kikar. On this (29) we sent a report. Similarly we sent the story of all this in a letter to Delaiah and to Shelemiah, son

of Sanaballat, governor of Samaria. (30) Of all that we had been made Arsame knew nothing. The [20] Marheschvan, year 17 of King Darius. This is clear. The complainants say explicitly that their ancestors had built this temple dedicated to Yahou the "God of Heaven" in Yeb with the permission of the kings of Egypt, and that Cambyses already found this temple built. It is therefore about the Israelites who came with Jeremiah or the

less than their contemporaries. With a savory snack texts, Mr. Israel Lévi demonstrates that the Aramaic text is a translation from the Hebrew which remained the language proper to the Jews of Yeb. We add that the Hebrais- those who meet there feel the Penta- teuque only. This fact, which confirms the origin little orthodox of this community, is corroborated by following considerations. The Cohen of Yeb who does not receive no response from Jerusalem and for good reason (Judaism after exile had condemned all shrines and priests who were outside Jerusalem), did not does not scruple to address the sons of Sanaballat, the Samaritan, the rival and the enemy of Nehemiah. The temple of Yehou at Elephantine therefore holds by its 182 MOROCCAN ARCHIVES origins and by its eclectic character to the ancient cults Hebrew Phoenicians ^ If that was the situation at that time Jews in Egypt and in a more or less ara- how much more syncretistic must then be the first Jewish settlements in Mediterranean countries distant!

1. The following passage, which Josephus attributes to Onias, shows us that this temple was not unique: "I found almost everywhere (in Egypt) sanctuaries erected against all convenience "(Antiq., XIII, GO. Cf. Clermont-Ganneau, Recueil d * Archéol. Oriental ^ VIII, 1907).

APPENDIX IV

HEBREO-PHOENICIANS AND JEWS

(Later development)

A seal found in Carthage belonged to a certain Joab - note the full theophore form of 3k1 'with the letter l - and carries an angel with outstretched wings. Those are possibly Cherubim of Hebrew origin. We meet against among the ancient Carthaginians characters who bore the theophoric names of tt? N% SN ^ (Joël, Joas), with the removal of the letter l very common in texts of the Bible after the exile *.

The political and religious organization of the Carthaginians denotes indisputable affinities with that of the Hebrews of the low period. Just like Jerusalem, Carthage was headed by a Synedrion 2. The municipal council is called peeled gerosia. High priests of the lineage of Hiram seem to have presided over the cult of the temple of Melqart in Carthage: this spiritual leader calls himself d ^ Sn opa (the vicar of the gods) 3. We saw in our appendix on

1. See CR d. VAc. d. I. el B.-L., 1905 p. 757; VS. /. S., I, 132, etc.
2. Justin ^ I, 18, 7, etc.
3. C. /. S., ly 26, etc. The term DpQ means in talmudi texts- ques "in place of". Furthermore, D * IpDn is an attribute of Divinity. Cf. VS. /. S. /., 227, 260-262, 377, etc.
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"Zedec and Zadoc" that this idea of a vicar of the gods was not completely foreign to the priestly worship of Jerusalem. The two curious inscriptions * which deal with ritual of the sacrifices, although they are adapted to the to speak of late Phoenician times, some passages of Leviticus so that one is not tempted to see a common origin. Note that the Carthaginians had their troops accompanied by a sacred tabernacle and seers 2, and which they sent to Tire of tithes and prizes of war 3.

A class of OnsiD scribes, analogous to the one that existed among the Jews after the exile, is formed at the same time in Phenicia - especially in Sidon - and we meet several of its representatives in Carthage ^.

But here do not end the affinities that existed certainly between Jews and Phoenicians of the Greco-era Roman. Along with Jerusalem, Sidon and just that in Carthage undergo the effects of Taramization which dominates the post-biblical East.

The language and onomastics of the overseas Phoenicians undergo, moreover, the same evolution with ara- tendency less than those of the Jews of Palestine.

It is curious to find in the inscriptions of Carthage of the last centuries of its existence and even in Roman Carthage itself, the same names that are found in the Talmud. Example:

KTK, KIK-NI, ^^ U- "3K," nSiV, "^\ -jij," : ^ D.

It is the same for the language. What sets the

1. Cf. C. / . S. I, 165, etc.

2. Meltzeb, Gesch. dcr Karlhagtr ^ I, p. 145-146.

3. / 6 / rf., P. 460 and Babelon, Carthage, p. 13.

4. C. / . S., I, 273, etc. DnSID. Cf. Esdras "the Sofer".

5. Ibid. 2653 and 2874.

6. Ibid., T. II, f. 3.

7. Ibid,

8. Ibid., 2832.

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designations of localities of the low period, it is their Aramaic character. Already the term Knip has an aramean; it is in the same sense that we must look for the former plication of the name of Byrsa, which could be a derivative of Kmu (see nV3m). The term of HeracleaCaceaberia that Stephen of Byzantium translates: head of a horse that identifies with Aramaic "] pip" Knsplp ^ This category of words belongs to take the neo-Hebrew terms found in Phoenician inscriptions, such as: naa = menuisier; nSn = cave; ^ D3p = I adjourn; pan = you will remove; rraaS = down, etc.

One thing is certain: the Punic language, although mutilated, survived the existence of the Phoenician colonies. ciennes 2. Its disappearance dates only from the sixth century. However, this date coincides with a rebirth of his sister eldest, the Hebrew language, which reappears from this period on the epitaphs of the countries of the Mediterranean to replace Greek and Latin 3; it is, moreover, the time of the definitive formation of the Jewish liturgy. However, we are struck to find in the latter entire sages borrowed from Phoenician terminology.

It manifests itself in the persistence of superstitions and customs of Phoenician origin which are found still among African Jews ^, in a whole literature mystical and anthropomorphic conceived in a Hebrew

pure and original (cf. the m ^ yi b nDlp n ^ wb, the Midrashim

1. Cf. Barges, Rech. archeol. on colon, phen. ^ p. 37 and 187; Meltzer,

Ouvr, cited ^ I, note 49. The Aramaic tendency is confirmed, among others, spoke C.L.S., I. 1,3, etc., and by the enlarged inscription of Micispa, published by M. Berger (Rev. Assyr., 1888, p. 30 et seq.).

2. Cf. Renan, Hisl. camp, des Long, semil., 1855, p. 23. See supplemental note 7 is lying.

3. The Jewish Encyclopedia ^ art. Catacombs, grouped these texts.

4. M. Vassel (La Liltér. PopuL des Israël. Tunis, book II; brought together all

the materials that confirm our point of view. The persistence of

Punic customs was demonstrated by M. Ph. Berger in a decisive manner.

sive {Report on Tunisian tattoos, Rev, d * Assyr. and d archeol., 1894,

21, 38).

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abundant of Hebrew mythological and folkloristic elements

sixth and seventh century Phoenicians), finally in

a popular idiom that contains African elements

or Greek (cf. the personal style and idioms proper

to the works of Eldad the Danite, (ninth century, collection

read by M. Epstein *; see also the stories of Elhanan the

Marchand, published by Mr. Gaster in his "Chronicle of

Jerahmiel "). It is this Hebrew-Phoenician origin

that I attribute the vestiges of the Hebrew dialect that I have

found in the Sahara 2.

We will study this question in a special work

of the disappearance of the Mediterranean basin of Telement

Phoenician, replaced by the Jewish element, both for

practice of the language only for the exercise of navigation

and trade ^.

But in this study devoted to antiquity alone

ment, we will content ourselves with gathering some data

on the middle-aged development of a trading group

ancient whose origins are lost in the darkness of

Phoenician antiquity.

The Rhône basin seems to have always been

a center of Phoenician activity. This is where the legend

locates the struggle of Melqart against Neptune *. It is in this

countries that have been founded since ancient times, the co-

Rhodian lons who gave their name to the town of Rho-

danesia. Barges ^ indicates near the mouth of the Var the

survival of a whole nomenclature of Hebrew origin

phoenician. So we meet Berotins that this

author derives from nns and which would have come under the

conduct of Jehus (? nm ^) by Berut the Phoenician 6. A

1.. ^: Ti tiSn d

s. Summer travelers, Jews in Africa.

3. JudMiellènes el Jadéo Berbères, 1. 1, ch. VIII.

4. Cf. Melqart and Joshua,

6. Ouur, quoted, p. 00.

6. Today Beirut.

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valley still bears the name of Chanaan; where is there, in

in addition, localities which bore the names of Manasés,

Solomon, Uriel and Adon ^

Only, here does not end the role of the Rhone.

Merchant towns located near the bank of the Rhône

know, from the first centuries of the vulgar era,

Rhone merchants and even JSaulx Rhodanili-

We know, in fact, that the conditions of inter-

nation have not undergone any radical transformation, less before the Crusades forced open the doors of the Orient for the benefit of the Venetians. However, between these last and the Phoenicians, a gap remains: we are asks in vain which group would have replaced the Phoenicians in the exercise of international trade? he is true that too many clues, from both Asia and Africa and Europe, tell us that the Jewish element played, at least from the fifth century, a role preponderant if not exclusive in the existence of trade world prior to the Crusades ^ . But it remains to be elucidated the problem of the transmission of trade through the Phoenicians to the Jews, a fact on which Jewish literature orthodoxe does not tell us anything. Now it turns out that a Arabic author who wrote in the year 817, that is to say to ujjie time when nothing had changed yet in relationships international, clearly designates Jewish traders under the name of Rodanites.

In his *Kilab el Maçalik wa'n IMamaHk* edited by Barbier de Meynard and MJ Goeje, Ibn Khordâdbeh traces the complete nary of "those Rodanite Jewish merchants", who go through everyone known to the ancients, who are

1. A similar nomenclature is found in the Gharian, the Troglotripolitan dyte.
2. Mr. Simonsen reported this fact in the *Btv. d. El. Jewish*, t. LIV, p. 141.

S. We have studied this question in the *Judeo-Hellenes and Judeo-Berbers*, not cited. See details at Herzfeld, *Handels-gesch. der Juden*, 1877, passim.

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at home in the palace of the Frankish kings as in the ksour of the Sahara; who organize maritime expeditions towards the Red Sea and the Indies and pushing their caravans to China and Sudan.

These masters of commerce who continue to carry the name of Rodanites, while being Jews, do not seem not to be in favor with their fellow Orthodoxists doxes. In Jewish circles they are sometimes called Dardanites ^ sometimes Dardanites (the independent Jews of Caucasus and Illyria among the rabbis), sometimes Béni Hadanites ^ Jin ^ Ji at Dounash (African author of the tenth century ^), sometimes Danites.

Now, these Danites, as the case of the mysterious traveler Eldad, whom we meet until the zth century, we are given as speaking a dialect very personal Hebrew ^ . Once they appear next to the worshipers of Astarte-Melita whose followers subsisted still in ninth century Sudan *.

In addition, they are all dissidents and, like the

Samaritans, they ignore the Prophets and the doctalmudic hearts ^ . Until the tenth century at least, their master and sole leader is Joshua son of Nun. All their texts invariably begin as follows:

If we think that these Rodanites or Dedanites, alias Danites ^ , are found especially on all large

1. Ibn Daoud in the *nSlpnb An*. (Cf. Targoum, Onkelos, Genesis, XVI). Cr. Appendix V, where we take up the problem again.
2. VA Epstein, Eldad the Danite.
3. Neubauer, *Wereare ihe len řibes \ Jeiv. Quarl, Rev.*, 1. 1, 1-IV) and Epstein, oiiivr. cited, summed up the question, without resolving it.
4. Epstein, *ibid*,

5. Thus in the sixteenth century, Rabbi David ben Zemera of Cairo does not know whether he should consider these Danites as Jews or as Carafites.

(>. The confusion between these two lessons already reigns in the texts biblical. Genesis (X) has D ^ JTI while Chronicles (II) has .D ^ m. The Septuagint invariably have Rodanites.

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trade routes once occupied by the Phoenicians

ciens; that the Orthodox Synagogue seems to ignore them

intentionally, as she ignores all Judaisms

which certainly existed since ancient times,

in Gaul as in Spain, in Berberia as in

Ethiopia; that the disappearance of the Phoenician idioms coincided

cide with a rebirth of Thebrew among the Jews and

with penetration into Orthodox Jewish circles

of a whole mystical and even mythological literature;

that this phenomenon is characterized by the resurgence of

superstitions and pagan survivals of which the rabbi

nism itself will be felt and from which the Kabbalah will emerge;

if you think above all that the first data that

we have on French Judaism 'or other (cf. Isr.

Levi, Hisl. of Jews in France ^ ^) relate to these concepts

mystical and anthropomorphic tions of Phoenician origin

this is probable, would we not be entitled to issue

this daring, but no less logical hypothesis which remains

comes out of all of the above?

The Jews of the coasts of the Mediterranean basin and its

dependencies would be, in large part, the descendants

direct from the ancient Hebrew-Phoenician settlers of the

fairness.

1. MovERS, die PhOnizier, II, III.

2. Here, according to this author, the first facts of the history of the Jews in France :

The Jews appear for the first time in the history of the Gauls, as merchants, sailors, slave traders, doctors (p. 10), militia silence, etc. They personify the commercial class there, so that "When the Normans land on the coasts of Gaul narbon- but they are taken for Jewish merchants (p. 21). The first notions that come to us from the Gauls tell us about the conceptions of low mysticism and crass Gnosticism which represent God under body shape (p. 20). Rabbinism penetrates there only towards the tenth century (p. 27). Historians of the ilc of Malta devote many multiple studies with survivals of Phoenician influences (cf. Preca, Malla Cananeùt Carouana, etc.).

APPENDIX V

DANITES AND RODANITES

Alongside the nomadic and agricultural tribes, there were

two shores of Eritrea, merchant tribes of reli-

Jewish gion. We have already studied the history of relations

maritime lines that existed between Edom and Judea and between

the Sabians and the Dedanites of the biblical period. It is necessary

suppose that * under the pressure of the wars of invasion of

Nebuchadnezzar, a general upheaval occurred

in the ethnic makeup of the southern regions of

Arabia 2. The Sabeans tend to disappear and their last

niers groups are transported to the African coasts. The

Dedanites are driven back to the South where they divide more

later, sometimes 3 under the name of Dédanites, sometimes under that

of Rodanites ^ '. Pliny ^ knows them under the name of Attana,

this last name can be explained by the Arabic Ad-Dan ^.

Movers brings this last term closer to that of pi (Or-

Dan), merchant people of the South Arabian period of Ezek

chieP. These Ou-Danites who would be the ancestors of the Had-

1. The Hebrew Phoenicians S^j ch.XIII; Otto Vi ebeh, Arabian vor dtm Islam and append. IV.
 2. Movers, die PhOnizier, II, III, p. 303.
 3. Targum Onkelos, Genesis ^ XXV, 3.
 4. Cf. our ch. VII.
 6. Hist. NaL, VI, 32, i 147.
 6. Movers, ibid., 303.
 7. Ezekiel, XXVI I, 19. Cf. the Dana-ouna, maritime people of the texts6 egyptians,
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Danites OR Danites of the Middle Ages occupied the outlets maritime routes from Aden and its outbuildings to the gulf Persian. At the same time, we meet in these same another maritime population which carried the name of Yenos or Yanos and that Movers relates to that of Yenisos and Yanos. These Yonians might be to be the Yavan (bones) of Ouzal (Zânéa) of Ezekiel *. These two peoples succeeded, from the third century BC, a new known riparian population among the ancients under the name of Guerréens Tippa ^ . This people, whose origin is unknown, remained for several centuries the master of maritime trade and southern outlets. It dominates the seashore Red and the Persian Gulf; he feels strong enough to carry the plunder to the coast of Persia, from Ethiopia and India. The Semitic character of this population being certain, we would be tempted to compare the term Guéra, not that of the D ^^ nan, nomads who play a certain role in the biblical annals and which the Rubenides had taken away their territory ^ . Now the term na or nan (rerrant, stranger) immediately thinks to that of the Djeroua Jewish warriors who play a role capital in the history of the Berbers ^ , as well as that of Phalacha-Phiiistins, the root ^ Ss not itself being than an Ethiopian synonym of Hebrew na. Moreover, the Phalacha owe this ethnic term only to their neighbors non-Jews, while they themselves call themselves Qar {an} or GdLT {sLn} ^ . This linguistic rapprochement is corroborated by historical data which testifies

1. Ezichiel, II, III, p. 286 StUN ^ ÎJ V.
2. Aristobule at Strabo, XVI, 3. Movers, II, III, p. 291 and 302-305.
3. I Chronicles ^ \,
4. Ibn Khaldoun, Histoire des Berbères, I and II (cf. our study Jud.-Hel, and Judeo-Berbers, \. II and III).

6.np. cf. D. Maguid, W ^ DX: liOV liW collection Meassef, Sainl-Pélcre-town, 1902, p. 227-239.

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of a mercantile supremacy which the Jews would have enjoyed in pre-Islamic Arabia.

So we know that Emperor Constance was obliged to renounce the establishment of maritime relations with the Indies facing the resistance of the Jews of the port of Aden ^ The island of Yataba located in front of the latter city was the seat of an independent Jewish republic 2.11 in was to be the same of the island of Tylos which was occupied by the Attana - or ad-Dana - of Pliny. As for the famous Jewish maritime tribe of Yanos, it has its special place in

the Jewish folldore of the Middle Ages. However, it would be none other than

the Youneans of the ancients, the Yavan of Ouzal of Ezekiel ^,
We know that a Jewish trading principality, having a
probable Arab origin remained in India until the fifteenth
zth century ^.

Moreover, settlements of Jewish pirates who ventured into
ruled as far as Ethiopia, still existed in Arabia in
twelfth century- ^.

The Christian dynasty of Ethiopia, seconded by
the Byzantine Empire, having wanted to seize trade
maritime ^, unleashed the bloody wars of the sixth
century, which had to profoundly modify the state of
things.

The Guerra were disappearing early from Arabia
and, if we judge from the path followed
their successors, it is in Africa that we should seek
their traces. The Phalacha and the Djeroua, which two documents
mentions under the name of Philistines "would perhaps be

1. Graetz, after Caussin de Perceval, ed. hebr. III, p. 46-47.

2. Procope, de Bello persico, L, 9.

3. Cf. A. Epstein, Eldad Ila-Dani.

4. Y. Stousch, the Jews and Judaism in India. {Rev, from the Muslim World
man, May 1908).

6. Benjamin deTudèle, Itinerary.

6. These wars characterized by the epic of Dou Nouas are told
by Graetz, v. III (Hebrew ed.).

7. J. GiBERG, Specchio geogr. e stalistico delVimpero de Maroceo ^ Gc-
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be their descendants. As for the Had-Danites or Roda-
nites, their descendants are found in the Middle Ages,
while they are masters of the world trade.

The mysterious tribe of Yanos itself meets
in Ethiopia and as far as Sudan. So well that we wanted
see in this geographical term the origin of the legend
of the priest John.

Once again Hebrew literature brings a
important contribution to the solution of the problem of
Asian origins of Africans.

nova, 1834, p. 88 (cf. Movers, II, III, p. 337; see also our Voyage (TEI.
Jews in Africa).

1. Cf. our and Jad.-HeL, etc., 1. I., ch. VIII.

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NOTES

1. - Generic names or divinities.

Cf. Philippe Bebger, Phinicia ^ p. 6; Maspero, Ancient History of
Peoples of the East, p. 295; Lenormant, the Legend of Cadmus and the
settlements of the Phoenicians in Greece; Great Encyclopedia, art. Cadmus;
Preller, Griectiische Mythologie ^ II, p. 22-9; Meltzf.r, Geschichte der
Karlhager, I, notes.

Movers in his seminal work, Die Phoenizier, delves into the question
tion, but he certainly exaggerates when he seeks to draw conclusions.
historical sions of the various myths attached to it. Thus (v. II,
1. 2, p. 58 et seq.) * He attempts to apply the various versions to the various
income stages, which the Phoenician colonization had taken. So good
that this author believes he can divide the history of the Phoenicians into several
several successive periods, as follows:

a) Mediterranean or prehistoric period, which corresponds to the mid
grations of Chronos-EI. about which Greek mythology tells us; 6) Epo-
that Sidonian, which corresponds to the legend of Astarte, local deity
of the Sidonians and which, according to this author, is only a Semi-
tick of the cult of Isis and Egyptian import; c) Cadmean period,
characterized by the myth Chronos or Cadmos TErrant, whose activity
is moreover little specified by him and d) Heraclian or Tyrian period,

the most famous of the classical peoples.

Despite all its ingenuity, this system should not be taken at the letter, for the simple reason that the mythological texts, on which Movers are based, vary with the authors and origins and man-quent of unity and cohesion.

However, a careful examination of the multiple texts that this historian has been able to group together with as much sagacity as erudition, joined to a in-depth study of biblical texts and archaeological data, allows us to take back for our own account the only elements which remain solid in these myths, namely: those among the names own figures and descriptions of cults that are original Hebrew certain. No matter how much we discuss and seek explanations various terms such as Cadmos, Cadmiel, Melqart, Bel-Baal, Ęreb-Eremb, Adonis, etc. ; we may discuss the Semitic character of the cult of the Cabires and Dionysus, for the Hebraizing their Semitic, their affinity with the corresponding Syrian cults cannot no doubt.

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However, if we want to better understand the ethnographic and historical interest risk that these names present for a clearer understanding of

ancient history, it is especially necessary to take into account the role that the elders, the local gods or the eponymous people of each people and wind even from every city or tribe. Under multiple terms, it is always the same divinity which perpetuates itself, but which changes its name, depending on whether such or such a people take off and prevail over their sins, or depending on whether it changes habitat. If we disregard of the two names more or less common to all Semites, that of El (El Elion the Sky God or Chronos) k the ancient times and that of Baal-Bel (the Lord, most often the solar God) and d * Adon (who has the same meaning) in the historical period, all other names of deities s explained by generic origins. For example, Ma'on-Minos is the Heaven god of the Ma'onim in pre-biblical times; Qedem is the god of all Eastern Semites; Shem is probably the El-Sham (of Cielj as Ham would be the non Sn = ^ on in (Sun God), etc. The tri-Israel buses themselves are no exception to the rule: almost all the names of these tribes correspond to the names of deities. So] *! 3r2TZ ^ name probably derives from! r2 ~ CC; it is the fusion between the former god Ciel-Shem and the local god of Ma * on including the Simeonites occupy the territory. That of nTn ^ is explained by the name of Tn ^ n ^ Thunder God, one of Yahu's attributes (in Arabic Tn still means thunder), ISTTIP is composed of 'y ^ W CN, Thomme de Sacar, divinity Phoenician who is found in Africa and whose Corpuê Inscriptionum Semilicarum provides us with several examples. La Massora is therefore right to transcribe this name with two C's The name of] 1 * 51î is explained by that of the god (1) S ^ lî S ^ TI. TI is the God-FoKune of the Phoenicians: 1CN (2) is the Esmoun-Aesculapius of the environs of Tire; the name of Sl <np7M3) is found in Egyptian inscriptions prior to the formation even from the people of Israel; we note the Egyptian influence in the term of] N] n3 ^ S ^ c ^ S the alleged ancestor of the Josephites and in that of 12 ^ K' *] 3 The old generic name of Benjamin; It is difficult to not to recognize the god ^ - ^ On-Helios. As for the tribal names of ^ 2 * N ^ and ^ iS, they all seem to be two of Libyan origin. Egyptian texts, making no difference between the letters L and B write Bebu instead of Lebu: Beuben the elder, the • ^ '532 removed from the profile of Levi, could therefore be an alteration Semitic by the name of Leb or Libyans. As for the name of i-.S (cf. hnS Jacob's wife), Nieiubr Gesch. of ihbr. ZeUallerit, p. 32 'Your already compared to that of the Lebu-Loua the Libyans). We would see third in the two other generic names ^ ^ rs * and? i of the survivals Mediterranean deities who come from Danaus (4) and from Nep-you do not. The hypothesis would not be sufficiently founded, if it had not for

L. See above, chap. IV.
2. / 6 / J., Ch. IX.
8. HoMMEL, Gtsch. have. Aforgen., P. b8.
4. Cf. above, ch. VIII.
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it makes it capital which emerges from all the preceding, in particular that each people or tribe bears the name of an eponymous deity, located in the country it occupies i. The federation of the twelve tribes represented chaired by Tautel du Berit and chaired by Yahoo forms the pantheon of Israel. Seen from this point of view, the history of the migrations of the Semites and crosses between races, gains a lot in clarity.

2. - The commerce of Judea.

Elat and Ezion Geber (VAqaba nowadays) occupy a con ~ astounding in The History of Judean Maritime Relations with the peoples of the South. Already under Moses, the Beni-Israfil would have camped at Ezion-Geber {Numbers, XXXIII, 36 and 36; Ueuter., II, 8}. David extended his domination over the Hamitic nomads who occupied part of the Sinai peninsula (this follows from I Chron., IV, 40 D ^ WM Dn * n ^ 3). The Israelites of the tribe of Simeon occupied from the shores of the gulf (i6û /., 41). Solomon, eager to resume the old maritime to Ophir, goes in person to Elat and Ezion-Geber (cf. II Chron., VIII, 17-19), where he organizes, with the help of captains of Hiram and Israelite sailors, expeditions to the countries of the South (I / ? o / 8, IX, 26; X, 22, etc.). King Josaphat resumes this attempt (1 Wood XXII, 49) which, moreover, does not succeed. After the victory he rem-door to Edom, King LJztas succeeded in retaking the port of Élat (II Kings, XIV, 22). Successively Aram and Edom succeed in seizing the city of Élat. Rezon, king of Aram, drives out the Jews to settle in this city of the Edomites (/ ôicf., XVI). However under Hezekiah many clans of the tribe of Simeon succeed in driving back the Ma'onites and Edomites of the peninsula. Several biblical clues (II Bois, XIV, 22; XVI, 6, Isaiah, II, 6 et seq., III, 18-24) bear witness to the commercial boom taken by Judea in the eighth and seventh centuries. In a passage prophetic (Joel, IV, 6), we oppose the commercial activity of the Judeans, which was exercised through the Sabaeans, to that of the Tyrians through compared to the Greeks. The Sabaean period which follows that of the Mid-neens begins around the eighth century BC. AD (Winckler, die Völker Vorderasiens, p. 17). We have since met Jews in Arabia (see our appendix V.). However Mr. Clermont Ganneau has just communicated to TAc. of I. and deB.-L. (Session of October 16) a Minean inscription of Delos which dates from the third century BC. J.-C.

3. - The Danites in Jaffa,

See NiEBUHR, Gesch. des Zeitalters der Ifebrâer, p. 30-38 and 88. This author, in agreement with Budde and Pietschmann, relates to these events the archaic passage of Genesis ^ IX, 26. Only he reads it in the same way next: IS 133? p »M ^ 1 [W] QtZ? % iSn mn> 1113

.toS 733? tV23% -I-> 1 [O] QtZ? * SnN3 T3C7 ^ 1 nS" S DmSk FIDV

It would be the city of JafTa (the Japhth Palias of mythology) which

1. It is the IW or the genius proper to each people (cf. Daniel).

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the people of the sea (the sons of Japel) seize around the fourteenth century. These Japetites, sun worshipers and enemies of the Canaanites, would they be the Danites, of whom foreign Toriginc seems to us to be more or less certain (cr. Josui ^ XIX, 46)? A word on the etymological value

named JafTa. We do not take enough account of spelling he-Braic name, which is not written ns ^ but ÎS ^ {Esdras.IU ^ 7, even the lesson of k * IS ^} - The term would have the same origin as the myth of Japhetot (the titan brother of Chronos, to which Tantiquilé relates this name).

We should pronounce it Jappo or even Yippo. In this case, the very origin disputed by the name of the African city of Hippo (Hyppo) would be explained by this same term of is>.

4. - Biblical traditions prior to Islam.

Ethiopia is rich in ancient Jewish traditions. Kings David, Solomon and the high priest Zadoc himself figure in folklore local. Jeremiah plays a certain role in it (cf. R. Basset, the Apocrypha Ethiopians ^ 1, p. 2), Moses himself would have reigned there for 40 years (Jo-SÈPHE, Antiquités, II, 18). A whole midrashic cycle deals with wars that the Israelites and the Idumeans would have supported there against the Beni-Qedem (cf. 1 " ? M 1SD, mctt?; 21pSv etc.).

In greater Sirte, the Jews of Borion attributed the origin of their synagogue to King Solomon (Procopius, De Mdificiis, 6, 29). In Morocco, traditions concerning Daniel, Joab and Solomon are noted by Leo TAfricain, by Chénier and, lastly, by M. Doutté (cf. Slousch, And, on ^ Histoire des Juifs au Maroc, Archives Marocaines, IV and VI, passim]. In the island of Djerba, a similar tradition still persists (cf. Cahen, Hist. Jews from Septent Africa). Especially in Spain, traditions analogues and emanating from a pre-Islamic era, abound. We find there many towns which bear the same names as those of the Palestine (Escaluna, Maqeda, Jopes, Aseca, Gadara, Rimon, etc.). Cf. Graetz, trad. hebr., III, p. 66 ^ 6 and Fagnan, Hist, de V Afrique et de VEs-loincloth (Al Bayani el Maghreb), p. 40.

5. - The myth of Hiram.

MovERS supposes (ibid., II, I, p. 339) that Hiram built on the island of Tire a temple similar to that of Solomon and that he introduced same cult practices as those in Jerusalem. Midra folklore hique takes care of Hiram a lot. 11 claims that Hiram would have lived thousand years in a Paradise and that he would have built a temple composed of seven glass heavens located in the open sea. (Cf. Yalkout Simeoni, Eze-CHiEL; Origen, Homil., Ezekiel, XIII, already knows these traditions). The cult of Hiram or Hurmubel (SviDTn) must be at the origin of that by Melqart. The fact that the Haggadah attributes to him a life of 1000 years, which is that of the Phoenix (the genius of the Phoenicians), and that it makes it inhabit a Paradise composed of seven heavens, justifies our hypothesis on the identity that the great Tyrian king would present with Melqart nip " ^ Sc, the king of the City. NOTES 205

6. - Leê Cananienê el Carthagt,

The Talmad asserts that the Guirgashi, the QeDî, the Qenisi and the Qadmon emigrated CD Africa. The Qenisi would even have founded Carlhag ^ I (see more top p. 63.) In reality, Carlhage Tancienne could not yet play a

important commercial role. We have reason to believe that Cadmeans and the Canaanites who emigrated to Africa were mainly devoted to Agriculture. It will be noted that Cadmos and Melqart teach Tagriculture to the Greeks and Lybians, that an important treatise on Tagriculture of Carthaginian origin was very famous in Tantiqité. Else On the other hand, we know that the Moors were engaged in navigation. (Cf. Yanovsky " Carlhage, p. 1. ^ 2). The rise of Carthage did not begin until moment when the Mediterranean colonies threatened by the Greeks group around the Tyricanistocracy, which merges into the city new (eighth century, cf. Thucydides, VI, 21). It is only from this epoch which the Hebrew authors begin to designate particularly rement Carthage under the name of Tarshish. This last term is right liter compared to that of 0 «XaaaT) ç (cf. D ^ l Pno in the Talmud). The gemstone which in the Bible bears the name of Tarshish seems to be that which Pliny designates under the name of CarbuncuU Carchadonii (ibid., p. 136). The Septuagint, who often translate Tarshish by the term of icXoVa OaXaaOT); (cf. hated, XI, 16), correctly translate the passages from hated, XXIII, 1 and Ezekiel, XXXVII, 12 by that of Carlhage. The version of Josephus {Aniiq., I, 6, 1) relates only to the primitive genealogical list of the Bible.

7. - The Hebrews, Phoenicians and the Jewish liturgy,

It is curious to find in the liturgical texts of the Synagogue expressions and terms that are common to it with several Phoenician or Punic texts. Thus the votive term [l ~ | i: 3 [l] t7N is still in use among the Jews. We have already quoted the text concerning Joshua ben NouD, the emulator of Fish. More instructive are the following passages: (C. L. S. 1, 1). iS pm Hin piy j) i2 ^ 3- VT \: iW ^ ra ^ -iiNm iinm yiN ny ^:] ^ 3; Si [d \ -iSh] d ^ An ^ r: rS p ... piy nciSi ^ nt ^ m Sn ^ m Sy (Ibid., 1, 86). Several Phoenician texts seem to be borrowed from the Bible. Examples: KIH 131.1 n ^ nwy nayn [> j3. (CILS2); DNSiriK 33 \ inD {Ibid.j I, 3); piy nOX (Ibid, i, 86); ntT ^ ID ^ V ^ K 713? {Ibid., 1, 1). Sidon the maritime and Sidon land of Yechouroun. We are tempted to see in this last word ^ IW ^ hearing synonymous with Israel, the Phoenicians having occupied the territory of the northern tribes. So much so that the Samaritans of the second century (BC) claimed to be of Sidonian origin. In this regard, a study of the angelological terms of the liturgy and Midrashim which contain mythological elements and traditions Bebreo-Phoenician (cf. among others, the role of the Beni-Qedem in Arabia and Ethiopia according to "it ^^ nb) would be of real historical interest.

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JUDEO-HELLENES
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BOOK ONE

JUDEO-HELLENES AND JUDEO-ROMANS
THE ISRAELITES IN AFRICA

The problem of Jewish origins in Africa is an intimate one. linked to that of the first Asian migrations towards the black continent. This question falls under the prehis-roof and it would be at least risky to assign a date precise on arrival, in such or such African region, of any Jewish group; the general fact does not exist no less, and it can be said that the Hebrew race has always followed his Semitic fellows in their migrations in Africa. We know, in fact, that the tion of the groups from which the Beni-Israel subsequently emerged was caused by the anarchy of the Nile countries, since the invasion of the Hycsos. We have tried to demonstrate elsewhere * that the Hebrew-Phoenicians had participated in the colonization of North Africa. The Biblical Annals have recorded several streams of Jewish emigration, both towards rEgypt than to Arabia and Ethiopia 2. However, these Proto-Jews, even in Palestine, did not still distinguished neither by their worship, nor by a cons-ethnic knowledge; in addition, they settled in regions, of which the classical authors do not speak: if

1. The Hebrew-Phoenicians, chap. XIII.
2. Ibidem, chap. XIV; Maspero, Hisl. anc. of the peoples of the East (Paris, 1906), p. 636; v. Hosea, vii, 16; VIII, 13; IX, S and 6; Jeremiah, XXIV, 8; ch. XLII-XLIV.

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although it is difficult to have some precise data on the first colonization of Jews in African countries cains. Indeed, the period when we begin to distinguish

the African Jews of their former Phoenician compatriots ciens, samaritans and aramaeans, only begins

after the extension of the Puritan reform of Ezra to the Palestinian settlements ^

The Synagogue only begins with the haughty response from Nehemiah to the Samaritans willing to participate in the construction of Jehovah's temple: "It is not for you to build with us a house of Jehovah. " The Nibdalim 2, or the "separated", not only separate enemy Samaritan brothers, Phoenician settlers established at Asdod 3, but still 'Am Ha-Arez *, that is, the peasants of Judea itself, of those who never left the soil of their ancestors and who are remained indifferent to the movement of religious puritanism gieux, following the exiles of Babel. In reality, the Babylonian exiles were one tiny minority among the peoples of Palestine, a theocratic aristocracy which succeeded in imposing itself on the Judaism by its austere mores, by its eco-democracy nomic, political and theocratic and by prestige remembered by the temple of Jehovah of which she had remained mistress; she owed her fortune, moreover, to its ties with the Persian government, which understood all the benefits to be derived from a centralization of worship Jewish, whose adherents were already dispersed in the "One hundred and twenty-seven countries" ^ of the empire.

1. Ezra, IV, 3.
2. Ibid., VI, 21. The term hl12 in Hebrew is equivalent to tTTIS in Judeo-Aramaic. This is the first mention of the Pharisees in Jewish texts.
3. Cf. M. Pu. Berger, Phénicia, p. 24.
4. Cf. Nehemiah, X. 29.
5. See chap. V from the book of Nehemiah.
6. Esther, 1 and III.

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This supremacy of the high priest of the house of Sadoc, put by force of events at the head of the Jewish people, was to relate only to Judea; but, as we shows the Schism of Shechem, it was rather illusory in the provinces where the Hebrew-Phoenicians, established before the reform of Ezra, continued to practice a species of eclectic religion. In Egypt and Ethiopia notably ment, there was no great change in religious life. gious of the Jews, until the eve of the Greek conquest. We have, in a special work, studied the character certainly syncretist of the religion, which had practiced the military and aristocratic colony that came with Jeremiah to

Memphis. We have shown that these Judeans were remained Hebrew-Phoenicians, worshiping Jehovah and Baal at the time. It is to J. Salvador * that the merit of having recognized in the therapists, a sect so dear to Philo, the descendants of these ancient Hebrews. However, even under Persian rule, religious syncretism ceased to exert influence over the Jewish settlements in Africa. From this point of view, the recent discovery made to Elephantine from Aramaic manuscripts of the fifth century, reveals the religious state of the Jewish colonies; it allows us to glimpse what the situa-religious lion of Jews from other countries. These documents, of the Persian period, relate to a period whose im-lift is capital for the rest of our thesis; also in will we give a brief analysis. It is time where, under the influence of Mazdaism, Judaism definitively purifies anthropomorphic mysteries borrowed from Mediterranean mythology. Also the

papyrus of Aswan allow us to return
account of the real state of the religious mentality of
1. Jeûs'Chrisi el sa doctrine, t. I, p. 142 and following. See our appendix:
Therapists el Maghrabia.

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Hebrews at the time of transition, as the reform
of Esdras had not yet come to impose spiritualism
monotheistic to those who were to become the Jews of
the Diaspora.

The city of Syene is the military market of Egypt and
from the countries of the upper Nile. The island of Elephantine towers over Arabia
and Ethiopia; it has always served as a stopover for
world trade. A Hebrew-Phoenician colony
may have existed in Solomon's time. " Under the
reign of Psammeticus we put the automals for
defend this country against the Ethiopians. The Persians, said
Herodotus, still have troops in the
same places as under Psammeticus, because there is a
Persian garrison at Elephantine and Daphne *.
However, it is Elephantine and Syene (today's Aswan-
from hui) that papyri of Jewish origin come to us
reveal the existence of a Jewish colony from the time of
Xerxes (471 before the Christian era). "It's not Celtic
times, says Israel Levi, more or less conjecture
learned. The documents are dated with the most minu-
great precision, and the fact leaves no room for doubt. ^ "
The first series of papyrus contains contracts
written in Aramaic; these documents were part of
archives of one of the Jewish families domiciled in the
two towns of Elephantine and Syene. They range
over a period of sixty years. The head of the family

is called Mahseyah, sons of Yedaniah. 11 marries his daughter name-
mée Mibtayah with Yezaniah, son of Ouriah, his neighbor.

This Mibtayah then becomes the wife of x \ s Hor, aka
Nathan son of Teos. She has two sons, Yedaniah, who
bears the name of the grandfather and Mahseiah, called after his
grandfather. The names are Jewish, Hebrew, Theophoric,
1. Herodotus, Histories, II, 17, 18, 28, 30.

2. Revue des Études juives ^ 1907, t. LIV. We have already dealt with this
discovered in the Hebr, -Phen.y appendix III.

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sometimes they are decorated with the title of Jews "Yehoudi";
when they take an oath, it is in the name of their god
Yahou; Jews are also the many inhabitants of
Syene and Elephantine who are in contact with them,
their neighbors of properties, witnesses or scribes in the
lawsuits that concern them. Of the forty names given
by documents, only nine are not of those
what does the Bible give; still they approach it. Twenty-
six are found in Ezra, Nehemiah or Chronicles,
which establishes certain affinities with the "captives of
Babylon".

Furthermore, not one of these theophoric names has the form
Yahou, but Yah, which is especially noticeable in the lists
of the Bible after the exile. In general, we can
assert that this is indeed the onomastic of the contem-
porains of the return to Judea after the Babylonian exile. Mon
contractors even has the form n> instead of n \

We have seen bankers in these Jews; M. Lévi sees it
military settlers, such as those in the service
of the Ptolemies ^

The word Sai, as Mr. Levî rightly reads it, is the term

of the command, translated by To ^ iMixa 2, It is therefore a Hebrew term denoting an Ante-Aramaic origin.

M. Lévi concludes that the Elephantine colony was in Jewish majority. This is where was, on the road royal, "TAGora" ^ of Yahou.

As Schûrer clearly saw, one of the assertions of pseudo-Aristaeus is thus confirmed, namely, that many Jewish soldiers came with the Persians in Egypt.

1. M. Th. Reinach, Greek and Demoi Papyrus, etc., Revue des Études Jewish, t. XLVII.

2. Cf. Numbers, I, 5 and XI, 17.

3. I compare NIIJIN to the term of 13 ^ and that of lia. This is a stone altar. The Targum of Jerus. (I Kings, XIII, 2) translated raïD by

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Our papyri show that no religious scruples did not prevent these Jews from being good soldiers. The Jews who chose the profession of arms did not bother hardly any of these scruples. We see them pass the legislation Persian, and even, in a dispute with an Egyptian, swear by the name of an Egyptian deity.

We are therefore dealing with Jews, who, like their ancestors who came with Jeremiah, still practiced the eclectic ^ religiousism approaching the ancient Hebrew cults Phoenicians.

These papyri, whose importance was already considerable, have just been completed by a new series that publishes M. Sachau ^ and whose historical interest is capital: A whole colony probably descended from the Jews who came to Egypt with Jeremiah, but having already undergone the influence of the captives returned to Jerusalem, we have been felt. This group had, since the reign of Darius, a temple called "Agora". Only the Egyptian priests took advantage of the revolution which had freed Egypt from Persian yoke, to destroy the temple of Yahou the "God of Heaven" 2. Here we find traces of this ancient deity of the worshipers of Amun against the Baal-Shamaïm of Semites. Religious persecutions are therefore more none that you would think. Moreover, Tautel escaped destruction of the temple, and the latter had, - as The temple of Onias will have it later, - his clan of priests who are: Yedaniah and his colleagues, the Cohanim of Yeb, the city of our Lord the "God of Heaven".

What we have most characteristic here is see the colony contact for local questions,

1. Drei aramaïsche Papyrus aus Elephantine, Berlin, 1907.

2. The term "God of Heaven" or D ^ IOV 171 tends, since the entry into scene of the Aramaic element, to be diluted among the Semites at all other designations of the supreme deity. We know that the Jews themselves even did not escape this influence. Cf. Hebr.-Phen., append.

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not to the Egyptian governor, but to the Judean pasha:

this confirms that the Persians, - as later

Rome, and then the Caliphate, favored centralization national and religious of the Jews: and the subsequent attitude

of these Jews, according to the texts themselves, supports our opinion. Here is the full translation of this

letter that opens the history of African Judaism:

“To our Lord, Bagoas, governor of Judea, the Yedaniah servants and consorts, priests of Yeb (Elphantine), the fortress, hi. what our Lord, the God of Heaven, wants very much your property at all times, may he conciliate you the favor of the rqi Darius and his family a thousand times more than today of today; may he grant you a long life, and be happy and in good health at all times!

a Now here is what your servants have to tell you Yedaniah and others: In the month of Tamouz of year 1 & of King Darius, when Arsame left to visit to the king, the priests of the god Chnoum de Yeb the fortress agreed with Yidrang, your commander here, for the purpose of destroying the temple of God Yahou, to Yeb the fortress. Then that vile Yidrang sent a letter to Napian, his son, who was chief of staff if Syene the fortress, letter thus conceived: "Smooth the temple of Yeb the fortress." Then Napian took Egyptians and other troops; they arrived in the Yeb fortress with their weapons, entered this temple, destroyed it to the ground, broke the stone columns, tore the stone doors from the number of five, made of cut stones, which are lived in this temple; as for the leaves of the doors which remained and to the brass hinges which were attached to these doors, with a roof all in cedar wood, with the rest of the walls and other things that were there; all this, they set it on fire.

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"As for the gold and silver basins and the objects which were in this temple, they took them all and assigned them drank to themselves. However, it is already under the domination of the kings of Egypt that our ancestors had built this temple to Yeb the fortress, and when Cambyses came to Egypt, he found this temple built *. As we all tear down the temples of the gods of the Egyptians, no one made the least damage to this one. So when we had thus acted, we, with our wives and children, we clad the hair shirt, we fasted and prayed to Yahou, God of Heaven, let him show us the ruin of that dog of Vidrang. The chains were taken from his feet, all that he had acquired perished, all those who had wanted evil at this temple were killed, and we saw their defeat. However, already before that, at the time when this evil befell us, we sent a letter to our Lord and to Yohanan, high priest and following him, the priests of Jerusalem, Oustan his brother who is the same as Anani, and nota-Jews. But they gave us no answer. Since this day of Tamuz of year 1 & of king Darius

to this day, we wear the hair shirt, we fast, our women have become like widows, we do not there are no anointings, we no longer drink wine ^ . The same- from that day until the day of the year 17 of the king Darius, we no longer offer oblations, incense and holocaustes in this temple. Now your servants, Yedaniah and others and the Jews, all inhabitants of Yeb, express themselves thus: if it pleases our Lord, let him be decided about this temple that it be rebuilt, because we do not we will not allow it to be restored. See those who have

1. The document confirms that the ancestors of these Jews came to

Egypt before the Persian occupation, it is therefore the military colony came with Jeremiah ^ cf. Jeremiah, chap. XLIII-XLIV \ but already having more or less under the influence of Judaism purified by the restoration of Esdras.

2. See our appendix: Therap. ei Maghrab.

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tested your blessings and your friends who are here in Egypt.

That a letter be sent to their destination, about of the temple of the god Yahou, to be rebuilt in Yeb the fortress, as it was previously built, and we of- will fry oblations, incense and burnt offerings on the altar of the god Yahou in your honor; we will pray for you at all times, us, our wives, our children and Jews, all while they're here. That if you do, until the reconstruction of the altar, you will draw a merit in front Yahou God of heaven, of every man who will offer him ho- locusts and sacrifices, worth a thousand talents silver and gold. On this we sent the story of all this in a letter to Delaiah and to Shelémiah, (they Sanaballat, governor of Samaria. Of all that we had been done, Arsame knew nothing. The (20) Marheschvan, Fan 17 of King Darius. "

Here is quietnet: the contrast between the religion of the Hebrews and that of the Egyptians is such that ideas are already emerging religious persecution and national exclusivism.

By a clever collation of the texts, Mr. Israel Lévi comes to the following conclusion: "The style of the papyri is unmistakably Hebrew; there are sentences under the- which one feels the biblical language running, such for example ple that which describes the affliction of the Jews and prohibits them tions they impose on themselves to ward off their misfortune ^ »11 is therefore likely that this Aramaic text is a translation from Hebrew. This conjecture is corroborated by spelling corrections noted by the same learned. The scribe noticed that he had left too many he ^ braïsmeSj and he tried to make his text more telligible to the Persian official. This explains the presence of Aramaic writing, instead of the Phoenician one that should have been used.

1. We publish elsewhere the Aramaic text of the document in question (Hebrews' Phen., appendix 111).

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What is striking is the eclecticism practiced by these priests. We know that the Jews of the synagogue admit- were exclusively the holiness of the Sanctuary of Jeru- salem. This was the main cause of the rivalry between Jews and Samaritans.

Now, the Cohen of Yeb, who does not receive a response from Jerusalem and for good reason | (Judaism after the exile had condemned all the shrines and priests who find themselves lived outside Jerusalem), has no qualms to address the sons of Sanaballat, the rival and the enemy of Nehemiah. This fact, together with the fundamentally Hebrew text, which was demonstrated by Mr. Israel Lévi, transports us to the height of Hebrew eclecticism. Phoenician.

He does not displease us at the beginning of our thesis on Jewish origins in Africa, to study this document according to the commentary of a critic as precise as it is sober. In our "Study on the Jews in Morocco", we had already glimpsed in Africa of the proto-Jewish influences laughing at Islamism *; our hypothesis is confirmed

mée; and the documentary testimony comes to us from the place even who commanded the markets of Ethiopia and Africa. Indeed, it is Ethiopia which has always been the point of departure for Semitic migrations. These, almost all, had established their headquarters on southern banks of the Nile; from there, they spread in the Ksour of the Sahara and as far as the Tell of North Africa. Cain.

1. Moroccan Archives, t. IV cl VI.

II

JUDEO-ARABIC AND HELLENES

Alexander's conquest of the Orient brings us in the midst of historic times: classic testimonies corroborate Jewish traditions and allow us to easily follow the evolution of Jewish establishments, as in Africa than in Europe.

The first clash between Judaism and Hellenism cannot did not cause much disturbance, either that the disciple Aristotle would have really fallen in love with the puritanical majesty of Jewish worship, either because he had sought to reconcile a

population spread far and wide, whose fidelity and virtues military personnel had been put to the test under the Persians. It seems likely that Alexander treated the high priest of Jerusalem and the sanctuary of Jehovah with the most great regards ^

Not only did he allow the Jews to live by the laws of their ancestors; but he exempted them in the seventh year, of the tribute they had paid him until then, and he ordered that, throughout the empire, they could live according to their laws. Those whom he enlisted in his armies also received the right to live there according to their religion and customs.

1. JosBPHB, AntiquityM, VI, 8, {4 * 6; Leviticus Rabba, XIII, fln; cf. Reuee from \$ Jewish Studies, III, p. 259 and following. Despite the reservations that criticism modern made on this subject, we admit a grain of truth in this information, where Josephus happens to agree with the Haggadah, 222 MOROCCAN ARCHIVES

As for the Samaritans, they did not yet have the capacity, particular ethnic and religious character that they present were then: however, taking advantage of the benevolence of Alexander or at least one of his generals, Saneballat II, governor of Samaria, obtained permission from build a temple, rival of that of "God without name ", on Mount Garizim. He exposed to the Greek king the usefulness of the state in dividing the Jewish forces and prevent dangerous revolts. So it would be produced the schism of Shechem, at the head of which we find Manasseh, son of Yadoua, high priest of Jerusalem. Only, Alexander did not want to leave Palestine the 8,000 soldiers brought to him by the governor of Samaria, and he garrisoned them in Thebaid ^ We later find a town called Samaria in central Egypt 2.

At the same time, the king transported voluntary settlers Jews in Alexandria 3. Convinced of their fidelity to the oath loaned, he entrusted Jewish soldiers with the care of various places ^ . According to Josephus, he granted the emigrants Jews a location by the sea and gave them the Macedonian right of citizenship. These established their domination until the North African outlet which, on the coast, served as a stopover for merchant ships. The newcomers found already established in Egypt Hebrew populations and Samaritan colonies.

Also, the rivalry between Jerusalem and Gerizim had to extend to the Egyptian colonies; that's what the Talmud and Josephus teach us in detail ^.

In Egypt, says Josephus ^ the descendants of the Jews were in continual war with the Samaritans, because neither

1. Josephus, Antiquities ^ XI, 8.
2. Th. Reinach, Greek and Demotic Papyrus. Journal of Jewish Studies. t. XLVII, p. 178.

3. Josephus, Against Appion, II, 4.

é. Josephus, Antiq. ^ XII, l.

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neither of them wanted to part with their customs. Those in Jerusalem maintained that only their temple was holy and one should not sacrifice fices elsewhere. The Samaritans protested that at the to milk it was necessary to offer sacrifices on the mountain of Garizim ^.

If we add that local shrines are shared cried the believers, we will imagine the clashes of beliefs and opinions that upset Judaism African.

Ptolemy Soter, founder of the Ptolemaic dynasty, inau- His reign ended with an invasion of Palestine. He arrived in Jerusalem on the Sabbath and took advantage of the Jews, on this day of rest, did not want to take weapons; he treated them cruelly, taking so much of the city than the mountains of Judaea and Gerizim, more of a hundred thousand captives. As he knew, - by conquest of Alexander, - which they observed very scrupulously their oaths, he entrusted them with the care of various places and gave them the right of bourgeoisie in Alexandria, like the Macedonians. Some went with their full willing to settle in Egypt, attracted by the fertility of the country and by the favors of Ptolemy. It was the recovery of the year- the policy of the Pharaohs, who relied on Libyan or Semitic military colonies ^. He chooses thirty thousand of the strongest Jewish and Samari captives tains, and entrusted them with the Greek fortresses, the Delta and the outlet of the sea. At the same time, wanting to ward off Cyrene and Libya, Ptolemy appealed to Jews, who in large numbers settled in the towns of the Pentapolis and other strategic points in Libya ^.

1. The rivalry between Jerusalem and Samaria 8 * has intensified since the reign of Alexander (cf. Kirghheim,) ni2TO ^ QID, p. 2. and Josephus, pa \$. cited; SCHÛRER, Geéichie dt \$ Judentums, etc., t. He, p. 108.

2. Cf. our study the Hebrew-Phoenician, chap. XIV.

S. Juiu Wars., II, 18, 7; AniiquUés, XVI; 6, 1, XI \; Against Apion, II, 4.

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The origin of these colonies is unknown to us; but he is certain that, on the secondary points at least, a Hebrew influence predominated. As for the Greek cities * ques of the Cyrenean Pentapolis, the Jews enjoyed the same rights as their Greek fellow citizens. Each the community was headed by a municipal council, laMn ^^, chaired by a magistrate.

Greek civilization early entered the Cyrenalque; already in the second century before Tère chré- well, a Jewish historian, Jason of Cyrene, wrote a

five part account of the wars of the Hasmoneans ^ The more or less orthodox character of this work, whose analysis has been preserved to us by the second book of Mâchaopen, attests to the relationship between Cyrene and Jerusalem. The presence of Judeo-Palestinian necropolises ^ in this country, as well as some data dating from the first century, and local traditions that are perpetuated until our days, testify to a Judeo * Aramaic influence in this country beyond the Egyptians.

From this period, the Jews took in Hellenic Africa of political and social importance first class ; their executives, constantly enlarged by immigrants from Palestine and the assimilation of Phoenician and Syrian elements, become, through progress continuous, the preponderant factor in the History of the Ptolemes.

Ptolemy Philadelphus, the first, relies on the element Jewish warrior and industryU to begin the political that will characterize the conduct of his successors:

He frees the 120,000 captives brought from Judea by his > era; what read it assures the sympathies of those of rég \ 'pte and those of Jerusalem. It is he who,

1.11 JlfA <^^, Kvr \$. IL SS: Schûker, Gestk, 6a JméÊmJumtL, de ,, 3 * ed., T III, i «V. JrNX ^ A A> r '\ % \ Kieia« aii, C «L '« M ^ tâs; t. plos Mb, L II.

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said OQ, had presided over the translation of the Pentateuch said "Of the Septuagint", translation which was to cement the union between the various Jewish strata of Egypt and who, in ity, aroused violent discussions among Jews, Cana-Neans and Samaritans ^

As a result of this translation, a new Judaism, Jewish Hellenism was about to flourish: under the protection of the Ptolemes, the aristocracy of Judea itself, to which belong Joseph the Tobiad and the priests saduceans, approached Greek life and customs.

The Aramaic language and even the Hebrew language were going to give way to the Greek. In Egypt the epitaphs and the dedications, which until the third century written in the Hebrew idiom, end up being written

in grec ^. Palestine itself, which under the Pto-Lemean, had achieved a prosperity unknown since centuries, then followed suit.

Proselytism dates from the time of the translation of the Bible, and the enlightened Greeks first looked with a benevolent curiosity the new idea of a religion different from all others ^.

The prophet's prediction announcing the victory of the idea universalist in the land of Mizraim, seemed to want to achieve in Alexandria rather than Jerusalem. Influence of Greek philosophy, moreover, contributed to the ritualization of religious ideas.

1. Josephus, Antiquities ^ XII, II. Talmudic texts sometimes speak of 70 elders, as translators, sometimes 5 translators (Talm. Bah, Megillah, f. 19; Mischna, Soferim, WII; Mechilla Exodus, XII, 40. etc. The translation, whatever Graetz may say, goes back to the year 280 (cf. Weiss, ihid.). It seems that executed by five translators, the version was approved by the Synedron of 70 elders.

2. Cf. M. Th. Reinach, Revue des Études juives, t. XXXVII, p. 250 and t. XLVI, p. 161.

3. Cf. the ancient texts grouped by Josephus in his Conlre Appion and by M. Reinach in his collection: Greek and Latin texts relating to Jews.

The anthropomorphism of certain biblical passages shocked the scholars, who, nourished by Plato, admitted however always the integral sanctity of the Law, which gave birth to this allegorical way of interpreting the sacred texts, consisting in bringing back all beliefs and all the mysteries to the Bible. The Christianity and Kabbalah came out of there ^

A school of "Nazirim", that is to say of the disciples of Nabi, like Elie, like the Beni-Réchéab, like more late Therapists, sought above all to win hearts to Judaism. The hermits brought to the explanation of texts of their own interpretations. They personified the work of God, the creation of the universe; they made him by thought, an animated individual, a Adam. The sacred books, the Hebrew words themselves, had a soul, a hidden meaning. Philo talks about the allegorie of the old masters, of Therapists, which goes back to several centuries. The Regina Coeli of the Jews, come with Jeremiah, worshiped beside the God of heaven and Adonis, gave birth to a mixed interpretation, specific to the Gospels. The figure of Jesus is the living summary of a divinity who, in his incarnate human form, appeared alternately as wife and

mother, and of a god who, in order to resurrect with more burst, fell victim to a black treason.

Thus, under the influence of Judeo-Aramaic ideas, the mvlhes of the Hebrew-Phoenicians tended to abstract themselves, to emerge from their anthropomorphic character, to lead to the neo-Platonic metaphysics of Philo.

In Africa, as in Palestine, Judaism is growing peacefully under the domination of the Ptolemies. Hellenism was introduced as a result of the Macedonian armies niens. The seductions inseparable from his cult risk

1. See our appendix I.

2. J. Salvador, Jesus Christ and his doctrine, p. 153.

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not only to transform material life and intellectual of the Jews, but still to ruin their beliefs.

"Tolerance and time, believes Mr. Th. Reinach, might have solved the problem in favor of the Greece. »This hypothesis finds a singular confirmation in several obscure texts of the time ^

The domination of the Ptolemies must be considered like the golden age of Judea after the captivity: the destruction of the supremacy of Tiro by Alexander had returned to Jerusalem its rank as the first Hebrew city.

On the other hand, the downfall of the Semitic deities was to group around Jehovah's temple most of the Hebrew pulations. The Galilee in particular once again became a Israelite country.

The priestly house of Sadoc, placed by the events at the head of the destinies of Israel, emerges from the exclusivist theology of the Scribes, to return to the universalist rance of the Jews before the Diaspora. Anyone who analyzes the style inspired by the classic Ben Sirah's Jewish cism discovers a sober mentality and free from any mystical conception, and it is evidently tooth that the ruling classes of Judea sought to break free from the embrace of the Soferim, nnsiD, to return to the prophetic conception universalist, cosmopolitan and

humanitarian ^.

The glorification of Simon the Just by this author must be considered one of the highest chapters of Hebrew literature ^. Through the confusions of this literature, we perceive vague indications, in Judea even, from a connection between the conception of Jehovah, the God of Heaven, and Jupiter-Zeus the Olympian; slow-
1. Th. Reinach, History of the Israelites (3rd edii.), P. 3.

2. Cf. the Hebrew-Phoenicians, appendix Zedec and Zadoe.

3. U Ecclesiastical ^ L.

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ment, but surely a religious syncretism begins prevailed. Decidedly, Judaism suffered ascendant of Hellenism.

Only the cession of Judea to the Seleucids was going to stop this development in its tracks: To curiosity and self-interested benevolence that the Ptolomees showed to Judaism, succeeded persecution. The old rivalry between Judeans and Tyrians came to rekindle in its form Hellenized.

The impatience of Antiochus Epiphanes, who saw in the religious unity of the Jews a threat to his empire Greco-Syrian, caused one of the most violent upheavals moral elements of history. This king entered Egypt with a strong army; but he was stopped by the Romans and was able to seize the land of the Pharaohs.

Forced to retreat, he must have been particularly moved by the union which linked the Jews of Egypt to those of the time *.

The Philo-Ptolemaic Party, whose existence in Jerusalem is attested by Josephus' ^^ particularly frightened him. He found no other way to react against this alliance between Egyptian and Judean Jews, than to try to detach them from their common worship and to establish in Jerusalem the Greco-Phoenician cult. Without doubt, we must hold there are a few other factors, such as the imperishable rivalry against Jerusalem and Tyre: but we cannot explain why this monarch treated the Jews, so differently before his attempt to conquer

Egypt and after the failure of this attempt. Thus, at more than six centuries apart, the king of the Greco-Phoenicians tried to resume the policy of Itobaal and Izabel, imposing pagan religion for the Jews and pushing them towards a

1. JoâÉPHE, Antiquité XII, 7.

2. Josephus, Guerres, I, I.

3. Cf. Josephus, Guerres juiv., Passim.

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merger with their Syrian neighbors. Antiochus, Epiphanes set fire on Jerusalem, plunder the temple and ruin the city by a terrible massacre. But it mainly attacks the religion and seeks to erase all traces of mono-

Jehovah's theist. We know the role played by some priests and by the Tobiades in this affair *.

The Jewish aristocracy, in love with Greek civilization and of his lavish cult, lends his support to Tenvahisseur and inaugurates in Jerusalem the reign of the Olympian Zeus symbolized by a bull.

In the face of these brutal provocations, the old spirit of Elijah and

prophets awoke; the uprising of Matathias
 Thasmonean was the signal for a democratic reaction and
 salutary theocratic. The bravery of the insurgents, the talent
 of their leaders, the internal rifts of the dynasty
 Seleucid, the interested support given to the patriots by the Ro-
 hands, influences to which we will add the democracy
 consciousness of the Jewish masses: all these factors
 the triumph of independence. The dynasty of
 Hasmonians succeeded the Sadocites and enshrined the return
 definitive, to El Elion ^ "the supreme God ^".
 The theocratic and Stoic nationalism of the Pharisees,
 these Stoics par excellence, supplanting the eclecticism of
 Saducites; the aticians masters of the temple and their allies
 will be excluded from the synagogue.
 The Sadducees, partisans of the house of Sadoc and
 of an aristocratic and secular oligarchy policy,
 will henceforth constitute an epicurean aristocracy 3,
 1. Cf. Ltf "HebréO'PhénicienSj ibidem.
 2. From now on the official documents and coins of Judea bear the
 legend of IvS ^ li <(cf. Josephus, Anliq.yXVI, 6, 2; VAêiompHon de MoXse ^
 VI, I, etc.). n'jVn nSaa (cf. our et. above).
 3. So much so that the word Dllp ^ SN is equivalent in Jewish literature to that
 of heretic. On the other hand, the Pharisees realize the ideal of Zenon. The DOC-
 teur Max Nordau (Seen "from outside, chap. Guy de Maupassant), consecrated
 several really ingenious pages to the Stoic psychology of the
 traditional Judaism.

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which will tend to lose more and more its former prestige.
 Hasmonian royalty is not lacking in brilliance:
 happy conquests, forced conversions but lasting
 bles, rapidly extended the territory and religion
 Jews. But was it possible to maintain long
 the agreement between austere and meticulous legislation, made
 for a small community of devotees and the conditions
 of existence of a considerable state, of secular character,
 warrior and looter on occasion? The event proved that
 no*. Doctors, now more respected than
 priests, will devote themselves to the explanation of the law and its
 development through oral tradition, that is to say,
 to enter into the ritual the habits and customs combined with
 a whole system of restrictions, which tended above all to

isolate Judah from its neighbors, to make it a theo-
 cratic. The term Jew, opposed to that of Gentile, had
 then its application. And such was the importance of this fac-
 tor, that the kings of the Hasmonian dynasty, shackled
 in their policy of expansion and tolerance by all
 a system of religious restrictions, eventually passed
 stand on the side of their adversaries, the Sadducees. We
 had reached the point where reason of state was no longer understood
 patible with the reason of the Synagogue.

1. Th. Reinach, Hisi. des Ur., p.

III

THE HOUSE OF ONIAS

Just when the last glimmer of the old
 Hebrew religion was dying in Palestine, at the same
 time that the legal dynasty of the Sadocites, a representative
 so many of this family conceived the idea of transporting this cult
 in Egypt.

The presence of the various classes of Syrians, Hebrew
 Phoenicians, Israelites, Samaritans and Judeo-Aramaean, the
 persistence of eclectic cults, of antecedent traditions
 laughing at the reform of Esdras, the survival of

old, the universalist tendency which manifested itself in because of the proximity of the Greeks and the tolerance of the Ptolemies, made Egypt a very important center of ancient Israel; the wars and the persecutions which rule Judea in the second century BC. J.-C. threw in this countries and in Libya * many fugitives, among whom distinguished people, like the learned priest Dositheus and especially Onias III, the grandson and legal heir of high priest of Jerusalem.

Onias IV ^ son of Onias III and grandson of Simon the Fair, seems to have from the start of his career condemned the Tyro-Hellenic policy of several members

1. JosÈPHE, Antiqq., 1. XII and XIII; cf. I, Machabées, chap. XV 2, 3 and II, Machab., Chap. I.

2. The story is told by J ^ ^ èphe, AntiquitéSy IXIII, 6.

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of the family. Faithful to the tradition of its predecessors, heir to the pontificate of Jerusalem was devoted until

last moment for the cause of the Ptolemies in Syria: for account of these, he undertook trips in Phoenicia. Between the exclusivist religious particularism of Pharisees and the pre-dissolving policy of assimilation nised by the pro-Syrian party, which was that of usurpers of his pontifical heritage, Onias remained faithful to the enlightened syncretism of the Sadducees; he sought to harmonize the reasons of conscience with those of state. Ambitious temperament coupled with a mili-shut up, Onias ends up despairing of the cause of the Judea, whom he believed to be on the eve of the Hashish uprising Moneans, ruined by the Macedonians and doomed to a certain loss *. Judging that Egypt and its dependencies with their agricultural and industrial Hebrew colonies, with their autonomous groups of craftsmen and sailors teurs, with their nomadic populations bordering on me-Judaies 2, offered a vast field to the ambition of a energetic man, the grandson of Simon the Just deserted Palestine to go and settle in Egypt. He remembered <[an ancient oracle predicted at a sanctuary of Jehovah a great future and that an ancient autql dedicated to a Hebrew-Phoenician nity existed at Heliopolis'. He designed therefore the plan to build a new Jerusalem on the land of Mizraïm ^ without perhaps daring to compete rence in Jerusalem itself. In his letter to Ptolemy and Cleopatra, Onias explicitly says that he considers especially the various Jewish groups or rather he- of all origins, of all beliefs, "by whom have been built various temples without the necessary rules

1. Josephus, *ibid.*, XIV, 7.2.

2. Cf. on the social condition of the Jews in Egypt, MUchna, tr. DH 4, IV, 3; Tal-mud. Jerus., Ir. HDID, V; Tal. Babli, even tr. f. 56, etc.

3. Isaiah, XIX, end; cf. black study: the Hibr.-Phén., chap. XV.

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have been observed, which puts a great deal of division * ”.

The presence of a temple of Jehovah at Elephantine, with his regime of asceticism (Nazir), which already existed antiquity in Egypt shows us the true character table of this project. The trend towards proselytizing found at the very bottom of the oracle of Isaiah, which Onias, must have been no stranger to the attempt to unify cation of the various Hebrew strata in Africa.

A religious syncretism which explains some elements between the character of the ritual specific to the house of Onias ^ and solar worship, or the formation of a Eclectic Judaism, reminiscent of early Christianity, can be guessed by the following passage: "Les Égypt- also commit the same fault by the multitude of their temples and the diversity of their feelings in

things of religion ". They tended to nothing less than conversion of the Egyptians in the name of Jehovah! And for- what not? the prophet predicted it well.

Ptolemy and Cleopatra granted the legal priest Jerusalem an ancient pagan temple in Leontopolis, for build a house there for Jehovah, "unless this or contrary to Jewish law ". We have reason to believe that the site chosen by Onias served as a sacred place to the Semites who populated the Delta. Only by a measure of clairvoyant wisdom, the founder was well kept to imitate the house of Jerusalem in all its details, and he defended himself from undermining the supreme matter of the temple of Jerusalem. Also, the rabbis who excommunicated the Sicheni shrine did they hesitate to 1. Move closer to the temple of Yeb. On the other hand, we know that the Samari- some had temples and a legal high priest in Egypt. See Jew. Encyclopy art. Samaritan),

Of this ritual, we know, it is true, little, cf. the highest, our appendix and our and. the Hebr.-Phen, ^ ap. Zedec and Zadoc. 284 MOROCCAN ARCHIVES

absolutely condemn what they called "the House of Onias ". For a while they considered him like a Bama ^ or a "high place", a cult that was tolerated in the prophetic era *. But, little by little, the gap between the two brother cults, one of which was influenced by Pharisees and the other that of the Hellenists, became very large: it even seems that in Egypt the Samaritans fought this temple from its origins 2. In Alexan- drie, the Rabbinical Synédrión of the Seventy Elders ^ decidedly put himself under the tutelage of the Pharisees, and Philo no longer even mentions the existence of this house. its sacred.

A fortiori, the religious influence of this temple, moreover tolerated by the Orthodox, should it be exercised on the early Hebrew groups of Africa. So that we cannot get an exact idea of what Judaism was primitive from Africa, regardless of the influence exercised over the Gentiles by this eclectic sanctuary, hel- lenised, universalist, acting outside the synagogue orthodox.

That this action was exerted in the first place on the Se- nomadic moths, on the very edge of Egypt, and that it later spread to both Arabia and Ethiopia, this is explained by the political and military role that Onias supported from the start of his career *. Onias, in ed'et, accompanied by another influential Jew, Dositheus, granted the title of Generalissimo, who remained hereditary be silent in his family; he also received a region at

tonome, which he made his headquarters. This territory is that of O / i / o / i, which became a new Judaea in Tan- cien quarter of the Semites in Egypt. It's from this neighborhood

1. See Talm. Bab., Ir. Menahol, f. 109, Hala, f. 4.
2. Antiquities, VI, 4.
3. Tosephta Souca, IV; Tal.Jerus. Souca, V, I.
4. V. Graetz, Ouvr, cited, III, p. 392.

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that Onias dominated the Arabs between Arabia and Egypt; hence its title of arabarque *.

If we add that Onias was the tax collector on ships arriving at the Delta, he was named judge and ethnarch of the Jews of Alexandria, we will understand the importance of the house of Onias in the subsequent births of African Judaism.

By his very situation, Onion had become a kind buffer state against invaders from Asia, which Its chief has the upper hand over the destinies of Egypt.

The land of the Onion ruled by the Arabarch priest (leader of the Arab troops) thus came a military stronghold of rEgypt, as it had long been the home Jewish propaganda to Arabia and Ethiopia.

Rather vague clues that we will study in a special note, reveal to us a kind of rebirth religious eclecticism, which at all times characterized the rivalry between solar and lunar cults; can-be this movement of interest to the Canaanites established in many in Egypt, whose conversion was pre-said by Isaiah; perhaps also mysteries prior to the construction of the temple of Onias related to the local cult of Léontopolis and the region of On-Heliopolis. Anyway, on the eve of the definitive victory of the Synagogue, a victory which was to lead to City Jews of Egypt, a new Judaism is taking shape day, opposite that of Jerusalem, on the African continent. cain; he is imbued with the universalist conception of the phetes and religious eclecticism of the Proto-Hebrews; it even has at its head a representative of the Sa-legitimate cerdotal of Sadoc ^.

1. Josephus, Aniiquitég, XXII, 8,9; Graetz, III, p. 324 and 392,894 (the alabarque form would only be the lining of that of arabarque).
2. The "Jewish Sibyls" and probably also the "Book of Jubilees"

came out of this environment.

3. Cf. our study cited; append. Josué el Mtlqar!; Zedtc and Zadoc, 236 MOROCCAN ARCHIVES

Only the eclectic character of the new state, its secular and military role to excess, its heterogeneous composition rogene, were to detach it more and more from Judaism traditional; the house of Onias, barely tolerated by the former doctors of Jerusalem, will eventually become a dissident sanctuary like that of Samaria; his priests and his Levites, although of authentic origin, will be excluded from the Temple service ^

The history of the house of Onias is that of Judaism primitive in Africa; it is intimately linked to the problem of Jewish origins on this continent. If at the end of a few centuries, we meet sometimes in Arabia, sometimes in Ethiopia and as far as the Oases of the Sahara, traces of a primitive Judaism different from that of salem, will we not be able to admit the very great im-lift of this sanctuary for Judaism in Africa?

There is a clear tendency to reconcile solar worship with that of the moon 2, the persistence of the Greek terms and Hellenized names in the ritual of dissident Jews of Arabia and Africa, the existence of a special ritual

concerning the killing of animals, the reappearance of families of priests military chiefs, the existence of temples and shrines in distant Africa, the ob-strict and non-rabbinical adherence to the laws of purity, which give birth to the "Hâra", all this set of facts that we propose to study here not establish not the considerable influence of this sanctuary on the Proto-Jews of Africa ^?

But this influence was not exerted on the Jews alone.

1. Tal. B. Menahot, f. 109; Mirchna, tr. YadaXm, 3, 4. Cf. Weiss, opr, ciliated, t. I.

2. This trend emerges from several passages relating to the calendar. drier Jewish found in the Book of Jubilees; it manifests itself as follows everything from the Therapists and their African successors of the Middle Ages <V. our appendix Therapists and Magbrabia).

3. See our appendix cited above; Josèpiie, Antiquités, pas. cited; Wars ^ VII. The question is elucidated in our second part.

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of course. The Arabian dominated the Sinai desert, go you Arab nomads. As with the primitives, the religious supremacy goes hand in hand with political suzerainty. tick; Judaism was making progress among these sons of

desert.

On the other hand, the forced conversion of Idumeans and Itureans by Hyrcanus, king of Judea, won in Judaism all the rest of the Arabian North. The sea basin Rouge thus found himself caught between two Jewish currents. who influenced him on either side. The limits of the "En-children of Abraham ", as are called by the Talmud all Semites practicing primitive monotheism and circumcision ^ widened with the migrations of Arabs ^. If you take into account what in the last centuries before Christ the proto-Arab races, Itureans, Naba teans and Himyarites, merge into happy Arabia and seize Ethiopia and the shores of the Red Sea, to wait for an opportunity to pounce on the rest of Africa, it will be easy to get an idea of the origins of Jewish influence noted by historians; but we will especially understand the unorthodox character of those influences that lead to Islam. Existence autonomous temples in Elephantine, in Léontopolis, shows what was the early Hebrew influence in Africa.

After the death of Onias, his sons Helkias and Ananias him succeeded. The Greeks, irritated by the Jewish policy of Ptolemy and Cleopatra, revolted for the benefit of Ptolemy Lator. Only the Jews remained faithful to Cleopatra; but this support was sufficient to assure him victory.

Helkias and Ananias pursued Lator's troops

1. This act is called IJ ^ IN DnilK hw inna; cf. Urael Levi - the Jewish proselytism " {Rev. des El, y., t. READ).

2. Josephus, Anliq., XIII, 10.4; 13, I.

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as far as Syria. During this campaign Helkias died in Palestine, and his brother Ananias remained the only really. Cleopatra then let herself be seduced by the advice of his son, who wanted to take Judea from the Jewish king Alexander. Although Ananias could have taken advantage of this to rally the two Judeas, he blamed this project and objected to the sovereign "that if he did wrong to the king, or to his people, all the Israelites would become the enemies

irreducible put of his kingdom and his throne ". Intimidated by this threat, Cleopatra hastened to make an alliance with the king of Judea. Moreover, the conversion of Hyrcanus to the ideas of the Sadducees was alienate the masses from him. In Judea, as in the cities Egyptians, the Temple ceases to be a dominated sanctuary through ritual: a more spiritualistic conception is made day and necessary. The house of Jehovah tends more and more to become a great synagogue, centralizing small local synagogues established everywhere. The

prayer replaces the rituals of sacrifices, the study of the law of mysteries; the Scribe to the Priest. When Roman domination comes to destroy the last political fortresses of the Hebrew world, when Carthage is ruined, Jerusalem enslaved, Egypt subjugated, the Hebrews will have to mourn their political independence, of their social individuality, expressed by their national cults: In front of the power of Rome, which represents the idea of a centralisation based on strength, Jehovah the God of hosts is gone " to become the abstract and spiritualized God of Synagogue. For a while, this one will search to oppose the material universalism of Rome with a spiritualism, unable to fight the adversary by Force, but seeking to enslave it by the Idea.

IV

THE AFRICAN DIASPORA

To weaken the power of the Syrian Empire, Rome willingly made the protector and ally of the first Hasmonéens. The Roman Senate renewed this alliance with Hyrcanus and ordered Antioch to restore to Judea everything he had taken from her. The second kingdom of Judah is therefore more or less a Roman dependency: but the eagerness of the Romans to come to the aid of this people can only proceed from an altruistic feeling, only their tick never knew.

This policy is explained otherwise, by the importance already great at this time of a Diaspora with a character military in Africa, - industrial elsewhere, and commercial everywhere.

The clairvoyance of the Romans had already glimpsed all the profit to be derived from the centralization of the Hebrews of all country, under the tutelage of Jerusalem. With the high priest and the Temple under his hand, and by the unification of worship, Rome could more easily supervise this people, who already had many representatives in all country.

The conquests of Hyrcanus, singularly encouraged

1. UMachabées, XV, 16-24; Josèphe, Anliqail ^ ê, XII, 17; XIII, 9 and 17.

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by the Romans, resulted in the re-establishment of

ment of the ancient kingdom of Israel.

But the prosperity of the Jews extended beyond Jerusalem and Judea, to Alexandria, Egypt, and the tle of Cyprus. Strabo of Cappadocia says "that no was listened to by Cleopatra, only the Generalissimo Chelkias and Ânanius, because only the Jews were faithful to this Queen ",

This same Strabo tells us about the importance by the Jewish element in Libya 2. Speaking of the troops that Lucius had sent to Cyrene against a sedition Jews (probably remained faithful to Ptolemy?), he said: "In Cyrene there were bourgeois, labourers, foreigners (metics) and Jews. Because these last are widespread in all cities, and it would be difficult to find a place all over the world that would not have received and where they were not the masters ^".

"Egypt and Cyrenaica, when they were insured thrown to the same prince, as well as several other still esteemed the Jews to the point of embracing their customs, and to observe the same laws ^ . There are in Egypt several colonies of Jews ^, not to mention Alexandria which they largely occupy. They have in this city? magistrates to settle all disputes according to their laws and to confirm contracts and other acts they pass between them as in the most absolute. Thus, this nation was established in Egypt, point that the Egyptians seem the descendants of Jews, let no difference make the passage of

1. Josephus, *ibid.*, XIII, 18.

2. *Ibid.*, XIV, 12.

3. / 61V /, XI V, 7, 2.

4. This testimony, dating from an era prior to Christianity, is to remember.

5. An inscription found at Athribis concerning the foundation of a synagogue is named after a police captain (Th. Reinach, *Revue des Jewish studies*, t. XVII, p. 236).

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to each other, just as no difference separates from VÉgypte la Cyrenaica which not only is a neighbor, but still was part of it. "

The authors note an instinct for revolt in the Jews of Cyrenaica against all those who wanted limit their specific rights.

In Philo's time, the Jews formed the majority of populations of Cyrenaica 2.

Thus, from Elephantine to Roman Byzacene and as far as Ethiopia, history notes on the eve of the Roman penetration, and long before the name even of Berbers appeared, the existence of republics Jewish, autonomous, military, agricultural and industrial; these republics constituted, in the countries withdrawn from the Greek colonization, the only element which had on the natives a military and religious superiority, a civilizing action and above all which possessed an worship 3.

This conclusion will be that, not only of the history nothing accustomed to handling texts from antiquity, but of the clairvoyant geographer who, by means other than simple archaeological research, arrives at the same point, as did for example Elisée Reclus.

Carthage, as an imperialist center, frightened the Romans; Jerusalem, as a religious center, served their designs; also, from the year 138 or 139, the Roman Senate, in a message to all governments of

Mediterranean countries, declares itself the ally of the Jewish people *; and, in this message, Cyrenaica appears separately, which

1. Cf. *JosLPHE*, *ibid.*, VI, I.

2. *JostPHEy Against Appion*, II, 4; *Wars*, II, 187; *Antiquities*, XII, XVI,

6, I, MOMMSEN and Markhardt; Antiq. Roman, trad. fr., t. IX, p. 424; Legal, ad Cajum 30.

3. Cf. ELISÉE Reclus, VHomme et la Terre, l. II, p. 239; cf. Fournel, the Berbers, I, p. 23; Mercier, VHist. of Africa Sept., I, 70.

4. Josephus. Antiquities, XII, 3; XIV, 10; XVI, 6; XX, 8. Against Ap. I. iS Wars, 11,13, 18.20 ..

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proves the repercussion of Tantonism between Jews and Greeks from Syria in the colonies of Africa, despite rhellenization of the Jews in the great Greek centers. Syrian persecutions attracted to Cyrenaica many refugees who came from Jerusalem and contributed to strengthen the union between Jerusalem and Jewish Libya *. The Lybians have their synagogue in Jerusalem; their proselytes very often appear in Talmudic texts and apostolic.

This concern, to promote the centralization of Judaism of the Diaspora in Jerusalem, is the salient feature of the history of relations between Jews and Romans. She will even survive the temple in Jerusalem. Only the reign of the last Hasmoneans and the Idu dynasty of the Herods, the frequent desecration of temple, ended up definitively discrediting the cult official of Jehovah and the quorum of his priests. The day

had come where in front of the old house of Jehovah, a Pharisee doctor declared that the world is based on three principles: the Torah (Law), the Aboda (worship assimilated to prayer) and Mutual Charity ^ . The Synagogue, definitive acquired to the faith in the reward and the individuals, will eventually abandon the old patriotic ideal. It is no longer Israel the people of God who will rise up in face of humanity, but the individual, the Jew, who will find his salvation in his personal conduct. Uprisings successive which bloodied the Roman world are now simple convulsions of an organism that breaks the links of its ancient tradition. But this exhausted race, disappointed with her millennial dreams of imperialism 3, before lay down arms, still nourishes the ambition of a moral and spiritual quest for the world.

1. Cf. H, MachabéeM, I.

2. Tr. MiN or Principles, I, 2.

". Cf. The "HibriO" Phoenicians, chap. XIV.

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A tacit understanding, based on the community of interests rêts, seems to have united Rome to the Synagogue. As long as Rome does not undermine moral independence of Israel, the Pharisee party which begins to predominate in Judea as in the Diaspora, is resolutely showing hostile to any armed resistance: we know that wars of Tan 68-70 themselves were rather unleashed by the religious and moral persecution of prefects by a fierce patriotism of the Jews ^ The last consuls of the Republic and Caesar himself understood this pacifying action of the Synagogue; also favored they that of Jerusalem at the expense of all the others, which seemed to them rightly suspect. The episode following is very characteristic: Caesar inaugurated his dictation tature by an act of courtesy towards the Jews. 11 renew vela the old pact of friendship and alliance between the people Roman and the Jewish nation; this one did not allow him to der her competition against Pompey, whom she considered the promoter of his enslavement ^ . "But the Jews of

the Egyptian province which bears the name of Onias, wanted they opposed Caesar; or Antipater, the father of Herod, supporter of Caesar, succeeded in persuading them, by means of letters from the High Priest Hyrcanus, urging them to provide to Caesar's army food and other things which it might need. However, the former colonies Hebrews of Memphis, center of the Hebrew-Phoenicians 3, where until the Middle Ages are found their descendants, did not let themselves be taken *. They called Mithridates and made common cause with him. The battle from which Caesar came out victorious was delivered to a place called "the Camp Jews ". Caesar was careful not to punish the Jews; But

1. Antiquity, XIV, 16.
2. Ibid, XIV, 14, 15.
3. Cf. our aforementioned study ^ chap. XIV.
4. See our appendix: your Therapists and your Maghrabia.
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he granted Antipater riduméen his high protection, after conferring on him the title of Roman citizen, thus ensuring control over Jewish affairs. The surveillance lance was all the more effective as it was loath to the Jews to be administered by Idumeans: this solidarity of Herod's house with Rome is even the cause for which Jewish folklore still confuses Rome with Edom. Moreover, Caesar lavished on the Jews the marks of his affection: In Alexandria, where the Greek populace, jealous welfare of the Israelites, began to harass them, Caesar had the text of the rights of citizens enjoyed by the Jewish colony of this city K
The republics of Sidon, Tire and Ascalon, including the inhabitants treated the Jews as enemy brothers, received rent of the emperor of the ordinances conceived in terms such as the Greco-Phoenicians saw there rather a threat to their own rights than a simple confirmation of the rights of their fellow Jews. He decreed "that Hyrcanus and his descendants would be forever recognized princes and high priests of the Jews of all the countries ^ to exercise these responsibilities according to the laws and the customs of their country, as they would also be our friends and allies ... Let them judge according to their laws those of their nation ... May the kings of Syria and Phénicia res- hold the lands they took from the Jews ... ^ "
In Cyrenaica, Caesar ordered the Greeks not to prevent the sending of sums intended for the temple of Jerusalem. It was a "State within the States, with Jerusalem as its capital, formed by the Jewish Diaspora ". Among the populations of the Mediterranean, the Jews are only exempted from the prohibition to hold meetings
1. Antiquities, XIV, 7.
2. / 6id., XIV, 24.
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public. Antoine continues the policy of Caesar. So, he orders the Senate of Tire to return the land taken to the Jews ^
. Augustus, who becomes the protector of Herod, confirms these orders. Regarding Africa, Marc-Agrippa sends in his name the following decree:

"Marc Agrippa, to the magistrates and to the Senate of Cyrene, Hello ! The Jews who dwell in Cyrene having us made complaints, because although Augustus had ordered to Flavius, governor of Libya, and to the Africans of this province to let them send in all freedom of sacred money in Jerusalem, as they have always been used to it, there are also people malicious enough to want to prevent them, under the pretext of some tributes which they would be, it is claimed, indebted, and that in reality they do not owe. On what we order that they be kept in full enjoyment of their rights, without them being disturbed and that if it happened that in some town money sacred has been withdrawn, this money is returned by those who will be appointed for this purpose. "

Elsewhere, Augustus sends another message to the Greeks:

"The Jews have always been faithful to the Roman People and particularly to Caesar, Augustus therefore orders, following the advice of the Senate, that they will live according to their laws and customs, as in the time of Hyrcanus, high priest of Jerusalem. It shall be permitted to them to send to Jerusalem the money which they devote to the service of God; they will not be constrained to appear in judgment, neither on the Sabbath day, nor Sabbath eve after nine o'clock; if someone steals their holy books, or the money intended for the temple of Jerusalem, he will be punished as sacrilege, and his property will be confiscated. "

1. Antiquities, XIV, 22.

2. Ibid., XVI, U.

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The Greek inscription found in Benghazi gives us an exact idea of the relations between the Jews and the Roman rites in the time of Jesus Christ. This listing date in fact from Tan 1 & before Jesus Christ at the latest K Here is the translation:

((The year 55, the 25 of Paophi, in the assembly of the feast of Tabernacles, under the Archontate of Cleanthes, son of Stratonicus; Euphranor, son of Ariston; of Sougène, son of Sorippe; of Andromache, son of Andromache; by Marcus Lélius Onasion, son of Apollonius; of Philonides, son of Age-my ; d'Autoclis, son of Zenon; of Zonicus, son of Theo-

pote and Joseph, son of Straton.

"Since Marcus Titian, son of Sextus of the Emilia tribe, an excellent character, has been accession to the prefecture involved in public affairs public with great humanity and fairness; and that having shown in his conduct all kinds of goodness, he keep using it the same way and show himself to be human, not only in general things, but also with regard to those who have recourse to him for particular matters lières, especially treating the Jews of our synagogue, and that he never ceases to do worthy actions of its beneficent character. For these reasons, the chiefs and the bodies of the Jews of Berenice ordered that he would be delivered a speech in praise of him, and that his name would be adorned with an olive wreath, with the lemniscus, to each each of their public meetings and at each new moon velle, and that at the behest of the said leaders, the present deliberation would be engraved on a marble column of Paros, to be erected in the most prominent place of the amphitheater. "

The inscription of Berenice shows us that Jews and self-

Roman rites leaned on each other, although

1 C. / Gr., III, 6364.

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that the names and the language in use among the Jews were Greek; this testifies that each city of the Pentapolis had an autonomous regime (i: oX {Teu {ia) under the leadership of nine Archons. For large centers at least, it is necessary add a gerousia (Yspouafa) and an ethnarch ("OvavxTiç). In besides, every synagogue in the Hellenic colonies which had served as prototypes for the Roman colonies, had at its head an archi-synagogue, or a "pater-synagogue *". Thus, it is established that since 138-139 (BC) and until that at the destruction of Jerusalem, the Jews of the Pentapolis, under the domination of Rome, enjoyed the benevolence authorities as in the time of Ptolemy. Only one times, we see them revolt: it was in 87, when the Romans took the province from the Ptolemies. After the death of Apion, the last Greek king of Libya and Cyrenaica, these countries were annexed to the Roman Empire (74 BC). The prosperity of the Jewish colonies, the exclusive rights and favors from which they benefited, together with the rivalry which characterized the relations between Jews and Hel- lènes since the second century, had aroused the jealous sies of their Greek neighbors.

Moreover, Jewish colonies existed in all regions of Libya, and there is no evidence that these have all been influenced by the language and the civil Greek station.

It's to the Jews or the Hebrews who lived in Libya

that probably date back to the necropolises that we found in Cyrenaica *, and the Hebrew-phe- nicienne which by its form predates the destruction of the people 2.

In the Gospels, there is even mention of the Jews or Canaanites from Libya: thus, we are told

1. Cf. further on, chap. VIII.

2. ai? »P inniyS. y.Jahrbuch far d. Gesch. by \$ Judentumê, l. II, p. 263.

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lioness a certain Simon of Cyrene, and it is his relationship with Jesus ^ In the hierony martyrology- Simon the Canaanite is also mentioned, that some authors identify with Simon of Cyrene. Now the term Canaanite can hardly be applied to Phoenicians of Palestine; because these, at that time, had lost that name. On the other hand, only the Hebréo-Phé nicians in Africa kept this name until the end of the qua- third century.

Testimonies of the existence of Jews in Libya abound in the Gospels: "Now there was in Jerusalem Jews who stayed there, pious men of all the nations ... Among others of Egypt and the regions of Libya Cyrenaica, both Jews and proselytes 2. "

"But some of those in the so-called Synagogue freed, Cyreneans and Alexandrians arose to argue with Etienne 3. "

At this time, Cyrenean Libya still seems to have preserved its indigenous Libyan populations, which Herodotus says extended from Egypt until than at Lake Triton ^ . These populations that were once expelled from Egypt, but remained in constant with its civilization, had been at permanent war

with the Greeks and Carthaginians. The Pharaohs often defended against the Greeks, Psammeticus ^ no-so much.

It was among these natives that the prosely-Jewishism on which the Gospels and the Talmud are cord. A curious rabbinical dissertation, which dates from a contemporary era to Christianity, contributes

1. Matthew, XXVII, 32; Marc, XV, 21; Luke, XXIII, 26.
2. Cf. Leclerg, Christian Africa, I, p. 36; Acts of the Apostles, II, 6.

3. Ibid., VI, 9.

4. Stories. IV, 186, I.

6. Cf. Babelon, Cyrenaica {Great Encyclopedia), THE AFRICAN DIASPORA 249

to the solution of the problem of the origins of the natives Africans. As this is a legislative text, nothing can be saved. would make its authenticity suspect.

According to the law of Moses ^ the Egyptians are considered as a race whose representatives, even converted in Judaism, cannot marry a Jew until the third generation.

Now, in the presence of proselytes who had come in large numbers to Jerusalem salem, we wondered whether to assimilate the proselytes of Libyan origin to the Egyptians.

a Proselytes arriving from Libya had to wait three generations before you can contract marriage with the Israelites. This was the clear decision: nxa Kin uiS «in there is no difference of race between a Egyptian and a Libyan. Linguistics seems to confirm this last opinion *.

Anyway, on the eve of the destruction of Jerusalem, the Jews and Judaizers already formed a large part, if not the majority of the population of Libya.

Strabo and Philo ^ are too categorical on this subject so that we can doubt it.

1. Deuiéron., XXIII, ^ 10.

2. Talm. Jerus ,, O ^ vH ^ 8 | 3; nitff 6J ”etc. These are texts prior to the destruction of Jerusalem, since Habbi Akiba no longer takes it into account (cf. Tossephta ^ tr. Qedoushin ^ II).

3. Legatio ad Cajum,% 30; Scuûber, open. cited, III, p. 72; Grabtz, Hebr., t. II, p. 39.

THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM AND ONION

On the eve of its destruction, Jerusalem appears to us like one of the world's metropolises: religious center of a large part of humanity, it was at the same time one of the busiest markets. The great city Judean was then at the height of its greatness. The last political setbacks ended up giving supremacy to the Pharisees who dominated public opinion.

The simplicity of life, kindness, faith in the world future, tendencies that merge with messianism, the substitution of prayer for sacrifices, like that of synagogue at the Temple, this is what the great Hillel achieves to be imposed on Israel. The virtues of the Jews, their way of living, their speeches, says Josephus, are everywhere objects of praise ^ So it is the Pharisees who dominate the masses and which substitute individual faith for the patriotic ideal tick, Puritan exclusivism to eclectic universalism wave. So the great insurrection, which was to bring

destruction of the Jewish state, had rather been the work of the
lites from countries other than those of Judea 2. First of all
my place is Galilee; this country remained Hebrew-phen-
ician by the primitive character of its populations and by
1. Josephus, Guerres et Herzpeld, Hadehgeschichte der Juden ^ passim.
2. AntiquitéSyXVUL.IS.

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the divergence of their beliefs and origins,
which sometimes linked it to the Phoenicians, sometimes to the Ju-
deens.

The old memories of the Nabi and the Nazir lived
still in this province; an ardent patriotism animated
its populations; the slightly Hellenized Hebrew race, y
still stood firm against infiltration from outside; she
even represented the last breath of the ancient indi-
Hebrew viduality. So it was in Galilee that Judah the
Galilean founded the sect of the Zealots which was to determine
the subsequent fate of Israel: these Jehovist anarchists,
while admitting the practices of the Pharisees who are
democratic in their essence, remained faithful to the
ancient ideas of the nomadic Hebrews; these, in effect,
believed that only Jehovah is worthy to be master.
They stirred up against Rome the revolt which was to
braze the whole Diaspora. The first to respond to
their call were the Idumeans, these pillaging Bedouins
yesterday, resistant to any state discipline. Elders
Israelite tribes scattered in Armenia and Persia
hastened to come to the aid of the insurgents ^ Only the
Pharisees of the synagogue still hesitated: he was
the same in Africa: Alexandria, the enlightened city, with
his s;Tiédron of Pharisees which replaces the syncré-
tism of the cult of Onion; Cyrene with its wealthy Jews im-
bus of Pharisee individualism, stand aside. In
on the other hand, the distant countries, the primitive Judaisms
frent willingly to fight. The presentation made to us
Josephus of all that had perished in the ruin of Jeru-
salom, confirms that the siege of the city cost the life of
eleven hundred thousand Jews, most of whom were not
born in Judea, but had come there from all

vinces to celebrate the feast of Easter. Among these last
1. War, VI, 46.

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denying, the Libyans * were in great numbers. In addition,
many slaves sold by Titus had entered
in Africa ^.

The fall of Jerusalem took away from the Hebrew world its
last bulwark, and it further heightened the animosity of the
against their Greco-Roman adversaries.

The wars of extermination that ravaged Judea
had their repercussions in the Hellenic colonies
from Africa. The barely contained jealousy of the Greeks
of Alexandria and Cyrene was favored by the lowering
policy of Israel.

The native Egyptians were drawn into this
anti-Jewish movement. Their priests joined to this
political lousia another factor coming from the difference
between religions, between the celestial purity of Tune
and the quite earthly brutality of the other, a difference
bable to that which exists between the nature of God and that
unreasonable animals ^.

A whole school of demagogues, including Appion, Posedo-
nius and Apollonius, had prepared this movement of ani-

osity against the Jews ^.

The same procedures were applied to the Jews, will repeat throughout history, at all times. Already in Philo's time, a popular movement broke out against the Jews of Alexandria: the leaders of the Synedrion; the houses of the rich are pillaged; we massacre the poor, and what remains is expelled from the Greek the Delta. Part of the Jewish aristocracy including Alexander Tiberius, Philo's own nephew, abjures his religion and prefers desertion to a life of social humiliation ^.

1. Wars, VI, 2.

2. V. Neubauer, *Mediavel Jewish Chronicle* ^ I, 190.

3. Cf. JosÉPHE, *Against Appiory I*, 9.

4. *Ibid*,

6. Aniiquiles, XVI II, 8 and XIX, 5; Philo ,, *Leg. ad Cajum*; *Contra Fia-*
ceam; *Rev. d. El, Jewish*, t. XXXI, p. 161-178.

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At that time the Jews count, in Egypt alone, a million individuals: they form the seventh part of its total population ^ They feel too powerful to not to seek to react against a policy of lowering ment: but a meeting between Jews, Greeks and Egypt well, which took place under Nero, cost the lives of fifty thousand of the first.

Nevertheless, the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie of Alexandria and Cyrene remained faithful to Rome: even after the capture of Jerusalem, the wealthy Jews did not retreat not in the face of a massacre of fugitives who sought, in Africa, to instigate riot against Rome.

“The Jews who were established in the remote provinces genes felt the effects of this propaganda, and a number of Zealots who had settled in the environs of Alexandria were massacred ”.

“In Egypt,” says Josephus, “those of the faction of Sicaires who were able to escape to this country, were not satisfied not to stay there safe from danger; but, always ready to the revolt to preserve their freedom, they said that the Romans were no more valiant than they and they only recognized God as master. The most con-astonished Jews, not sharing their feelings, killed several and tried to persuade the other. So the most qualified of the nation remained faithful to the Romans, before their stubbornness, seeing that they could not without great danger openly reduce them, gathered the other Jews, represented to them how far went the madness and the fury of these factious, who were cause of all their ills. If we are satisfied with force them to flee, we will not be for that in safety, because the Romans will not have learned sooner

1. Harnack, *Mission and AusbrtHung des Chrislenlums*, p. 9.

2. JoBÉPHE, *Wars*, VII, 36.

i.

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their evil designs that they will take revenge on us and will kill the innocent with the guilty; thus, the only way to provide for our salvation is to deliver them to the Romans to punish them as they deserved.

The imminence of peril persuaded the assembly; we threw ourselves on these Sicaires; six hundred were taken: the rest fled to

Thebes where they were arrested and brought to Alexandria. One could see without admiration their invincible constancy, that I do not know how to qualify: madness, or firmness of soul, or fury; for, in the midst of the most horrific torments we could never get a single one to give to the emperor the name of master; all remained inflexible in their refusal; their souls seemed insensitive to pain in their bodies, and they seemed they would take pleasure in the road, they would tear them apart and fire consume them. But, in this horrible spectacle, nothing seemed more astonishing than incredible Topinatrix young children to also refuse to give to the emperor the name of master, so many maxims of this furious sect had established their minds and raised them above of their age. "

Lupus, then governor of Alexandria, immediately surrendered account of the event to the emperor; this one, seeing how much the Jews were prone to revolt and how much it was easy for them to group with others, ordered the governor to ruin the temple they had in the city of Onias. Lupus, to carry out the Emperor's order, went to the temple, took some of its ornaments and had it closed. After his death, Paulin his successor obliged the sacrificers, by violent threats, to deliver all the ornaments that remained; he took them, closed the temple, without suffering that nobody would go there henceforth to worship God.

It was 2 & 3 years since this temple had been built ^

1. J08ÉPHE, *ibid* ; cf. Gbaetz, *ibid* , II, p. 137.

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This episode, together with the fact that the Zealots sought to enter Onion beyond Thebes, in the Libyan desert and Arabia, that is to say in the places where there were settlements of Jewish warriors, is very characteristic.

He reveals to us the bottom of the great insurrection which was to raise the Roman world between 115 and 133.

So this was the end of the last vestige of the ancient cult Hebrew. Of so many calamities, the Rabbinical Synagogue came out alone intact. Titus remained faithful to the policy of protection with regard to the latter; also, he refused to Alexandrians to deprive the Jews of their rights as citizens.

However, disappointed in Egypt, the Zealots wore their propaganda in Libya, where Jewish military settlements existed since Ptolemy. The daring of the Sicarii rampant like a contagious disease in the towns of surroundings of Cyrene *. A zealous weaver named Jonathan, gathered two thousand Jews who took him as their leader ^.

Josephus, who personally came close to being involved in this affair, calls this patriot "one of the most wicked men of the world "; he says that Jonathan drove his followers in the Libyan desert, with promise of their show miracles. However, his subsequent conduct shows us in Jonathan rather a warrior patriot than

magician. Josephus had every interest in turning it around, he and his companions who were later to accuse him personally, with the wealthy Jews of Rome and Alexandria, to be a traitor to the cause of Rome. In reality, it is known for these patriots to rally the tribes of the desert, of which Strabo already said that they embraced Jewish customs ves 3. But the prominent Jews of Cyrene denounced Jonathan to the prefect Catullus. Harassed by the Romans the zealot

1. Wars, VII, 34, 36, 37: Vita, 76; Graetz, III, p. 455.
2. I managed to find the ruins of the Jewish military towns of Tinthe interior of Libya. See appendix II.
3. Y. above, chap. II.

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who lacked weapons, could not resist. The most of his followers killed themselves and the others were led before Catullus; Jonathan himself was arrested. This Zealot remained until his last breath an avenger fierce: to chastise Jewish notables, he denounced many as his accomplices. The prefect Catullus took advantage of the occasion; he massacred three thousand and confiscated their belongings. Fearing the influence of the Jews at the court of Titus, Catullus recommended to Jonathan to denounce Joséphe and the most important Jews of Rome and Alexandria, but these had no difficulty in justifying themselves; Jonathan was burnt alive and Catullus dismissed. Libya was therefore capable of revolting: perhaps should we seek in these movements the cause of the beheading of Ismaël, high priest of Jerusalem, executed in Cyrene *. The fact, in any case ^ lets us suppose a great effervescence, that the presence in these parts Jewish military colonies, which had become suspect in Rome, had to powerfully maintain.

1. JosÉPHB, Ouerrière, VI, 9.

VI

JUDEO-HELLENS AND ROMANS

The destruction of Jerusalem takes some time Alexandria at the head of universal Judaism: the great Synagogue of this city whose Talmud does not know how describe the splendor ^ replaced, for the Hellenist Jews at least, the ancient majesty of Jehovah's temple: those of Alexandria seem to have resigned themselves to their role as subjects

Romans. But it wasn't just peaceful citizens among the Jews of Africa: to the former military settlers who occupied the borders of Egypt and Libya came add prisoners of war brought by the Romans as colonists in the Atlas ^ and Zealots who sought to avenge the national defeat ^ . Political grievances are joined moral and social grievances. Animosity of the Greek society of Africa against the rights of which enjoyed the Jews, urged the various groups of these the last to shake off their torpor and organize themselves; those even who, during the wars of independence, had kept apart, declared a bitter war on Greek society supported by the Romans, who had no more reason to spare the sensibilities of the Jews.

1. Toiéphla Souca ^ IV, etc.
2. Cf. Neubauer, Mediaval Jewish Chronicles, no. cited, p. 19; See our Travel (TEL Jews in Africa (rec. Des Savants Étr. À TAcad. Des Ins. Et BL
3. JosÉPHE, Guerreÿ VI, 9, 2.

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The ancient rivalry between the races and the civilizations ciennes et grecques reappears in the form of an antagonism between Jews and Greco-Romans *; the rabbis themselves even until then excessively peaceful, inaugurate this work of Jewish particularism. The reformed S> * nagogue at Jamnia begins by banning the study of science Greek and by hindering proselytism. A whole system of legal requirements and exclusion measures isolates the Jews of their neighbors, keep their race and their religious individuality. The success of the propaganda

Paul's disciples only pushed the rabbis further away of ancient mystery *. If the Jewish people, already contaminated by the Gentiles, let himself be won over by the doctrine of the Logos which was only the metaphysical resumption of Tancien Hebrew-Phoenician mythology, the chiefs of Synédrión foresaw its fate. On behalf of c <Faction which takes precedence over reasoning and speech ", they declared war on all non-Jewish society, including the Jews Hellenists ^ and Judaists.

At one point, the most angry representatives of the S}Tiagogue will seek to extend this method of "action" until resistance resumes against Rome.

After the death of Yohanan ben Zakai, doctor rabbi Akiba will gain more and more ascendancy over the Synagogue. We could somehow give this fierce patriot the name of Anti-Paul, so great was this organizer of national resistance, this theorist a supremacy of oral Law based on action and not on abstractions, this legislator of the S} 'nagogue. Her way of seeing is expressed in the following maxim:

1. Rachmout, Die Juden in Sordafrika: Jüdischt Monaischrip ^ 1906, p. 30.

at. Graetz, i6id., U II, p. 208.

3. Cf Tal. Bab. Soia, f. 49; Baba Qama, f. 82-83.

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"Everything is planned, but free will exists; the world is judged with kindness but according to the size of the Action! (by opposition to the Word). "

True organizer of the Judaism of the Synagogue, Qabbi Akiba travels through all known countries as an apostle or in master. He is assigned 24,000 students, including several are from Africa ^

Mnemon, the Mesrean proselyte, Hanan, an Egyptian distinguished, Simeon the Yémeenite are among his pupils.

In the year 95-96, it is found in Rome ^; in 110, he runs Mesopotamia; it was around this date that he crossed the E-Egypt, Africa and Arabia ^.

The considerable part played by this doctor in the movements events of insurrection that set Judaism ablaze all countries between 115 and 133 is confirmed by too many haggadic texts so that we can question it.

It is summed up in the following passage from Rabbi Dosa: a Are you, oh Akiba, whose fame is widespread from one end of the world to the other ^! The patriotic doctor acts on the spirits by the treasures of war amassed during of his travels, by his relations with Bar Kokeba and by his prophecies concerning the coming deliverance ^.

Be that as it may, it is certain that many doctrabbinical leaders, including representatives of the his Patriarchal of Hillel, lent their support to the movement of revolt which, silently, worked the Jewish society, a generation after the destruction of temple. Otherwise, we would not explain the outbreak simultaneous insurrection on so many distant points.

Historians say "that a breath of madness and bra-

1. Tr. Of Principles, III, 19.

2. Cf. Tal. B., YebamotJ. 16, 34 and 121; Rosh-Haêhana.î. 26, etc.

3. reôamo /, f. 16.

4. Tossephta, DemaX, I, 10.

5. Tr. Sanhedrin, f. 94a Cf. Schûreb, III, p. 76; Weiss, opened, ciliated, It

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voire had passed over the minds of the Jews to the more distant, to come to Judea and Africa ”.

Schürer ^ agrees with Mommsen, considers that this national movement aimed at the extermination of Romans and especially Hellenes and the foundation of a Jewish empire. This uprising shows the 'real reports between the Diaspora and the Metropolis and the character of State in the state that Judaism had taken)>. But, at the bottom of this struggle against Rome, there was above all an implacable animosity cable against Greek society; these were the centers of Hellenism which became the centers of this resistance bloody; it was the Greeks that were targeted in the salutes reported on all sides.

The first blow was struck in Mesopotamia, where the Jews allied themselves with the Parthians to drive the Romans out of Mesopotamia and invade Palestine.

Despite the conciliatory attitude of Nerva and Trajan towards the Jews, fire was smoldering everywhere. From Tan 11 &, two Alexandrian brothers, Lulianus and Papus arrive with many troops in Palestine, where they do not appear to have immediately met the sympathies of the Jews metropolitan; but the Tile of Cyprus rises, the Jews Fanaticized massacred 200,000 Greeks there.

It was in Hellenist Africa that the movement reached hamper its greater intensity. Ancient populations Hebrew-Phoenician, Jewish military colonies paralysed by the Romans, clans of priests, sanctaires, were found scattered as far as Abyssinia, Arabia and the Sahara: their considerable influence is exerted was on the Itureans, the Nabataeans and the Himyarites already steeped in Jewish beliefs.

With regard to these proto-Semitic or Semitic tribes, the Jews seem to have employed the same tactics as 1. Open. ciliated, \ h p. 75.

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their co-religionists from Mesopotamia to the Parthians, and their action extended to the Canaanites, those ancient opponents of Israel. A text from the Tosephta even makes the praise of the Canaanites driven back into Africa By the Romans.

This document written towards the end of the second century, after having reproduced the tradition concerning the origin of the Africans, draws a clear conclusion honor of these former enemies. She said about this:

a There is no nation which is more reasonable (] ino, honest) than the Amorites; also we found in an old passage, which they had full confidence in God, and they willingly retired to Africa ^ "

The African Canaanites, as we can see, figure in this text as a very honest population, and even pious, since she had full confidence in Jehovah. He is not difficult to see there the signs of a rapprochement political and even religious between Jews and Punics, which was to appear especially after the destruction of Jerusalem.

Moreover, the Canaanites lost nothing, as

another text notifies us, since Africa does not cede it nothing to Palestine itself '• Also the rapprochement between Jews and Libo-Phoenicians, powerfully assisted by Jewish proselytism and the revolt of the Jews Cyrenians, became more and more intimate. The elders enemies became allies and relatives; Joshua, the year-he conqueror of the Canaanites, the rival of Melqart, who was to be the symbol of hatred, became the epic hero of the non-Greco-Roman populations of North Africa. As we will see, his worship and fame will have survived. cu to these populations and to Greek Cyrenaica itself ^.

1. Tossephla, ir. Sabbal, XVIII; Midrasch Rabba, HS ^ N.
2. Ibidem Kipl. {17.
3. V. on 1. III; The Hebr.-Phenic. : append. Melqart and Joshua.

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Everything suggests that this Jewish propaganda among the Punic and even Berber populations is not remained sterile, and that the closest nomadic tribes near Cyrenaica, at least, had benefited from An opportunity to try to shake off the Roman yoke. The visit of Rabbi Akiba, whose patriotic ardor equal religious authority, could have a decisive effect on the outbreak of the Cyrenean revolt, which spread over all of Berberia and as far as Mauritania, with its population predominant Punic relationship. This extension of the revolution of 115-118, as well as the considerable number of victims of the insurgency - 220,000 in Cyrenaica only - show its hardiness and duration prolonged.

The prelude to the great Jewish national drama, which was to shake up the foundations of the Roman Empire, was played temporarily in Babylonia, where the Jewish insurgents allied in the Parthians, and in Cyrenaica. In the latter country, the Jews, who have become very numerous since the destruction of the temple by Titus, fanaticized by their misfortune and irritated by the mistreatment of Romans and Greeks,

revolted again in 115. General Lupus marched against them, was defeated and forced to throw himself into Alexandria. But the Egyptian Jews were quick to make common with their brothers in Cyrenaica. Likely- lie to take revenge on the Jews for their defeats in this last country, the Roman legions subjected to Jews of Alexandria of horrible martyrs and massacred a big number. Exasperated, the Cyrenean Jews, having put at their head a certain Andréas or Lucus, and assisted by their neighbors and desert allies (which explains the considerable number of victims and the ferocious nature of struggle), rushed on their Greek neighbors and created 220,000, with unheard-of cruelties.

Thus freed of its internal enemies, the army JUDEO-HELLENS AND ROMANS 263 victorious over the Jews, in her turn, threw herself on Egypt and in check the Roman army for three years. Trajan was then held back by the war against the Parthians and their allies Jews of Asia. He charged Marcius Turbo, Moorish prince who probably had a perfect knowledge of country, to march against the rebels with imposing, composed of infantry, cavalry and even of a naval division, which is explained by the intervention of the Jews of the island of Cyprus in the insurgency movement tional. But it was a real war to wage, and it took all the skill of the Moorish general and no doubt

also its relations with the natives, to triumph over the revolt, which lasted until the accession of Hadrian, in 118, and extended to Mauritania and Berberia interior. The repression was terrible. The Romans surrounded the rebels and cut them to pieces; women were slain and rebels massacred without quarter. In order to cut the retreat to the vanquished and to prevent the fugitives from returning, the country was devastated and transformed into a desert*; the fugitives seek cherish asylum in Berberia and Ethiopia*.

After this murderous war, the Gyrénaïque and all Eastern Libya, ruined and depopulated, disappear long from the annals of Jewish history. The province proconsulaire, Mauritania and the Atlas, as well as interior Berberia, take their place. It is specified in 118 that Mauritania appears in a text where it is about the Jews.

1. The details, very incomplete, are given by the following authors: Dion Caséius ^ I, II; Eusebius, Histoire Eccles., 2; Spartan, Hadrian, 2, 6; Synesius (of Regno II) Bar-Hebrews, Chronicle, 54; Abulfeda; Orasius, VII, 12. Talm. Jerus, Souca, VI; Midrash Threni; Tal. Bab, Giiiii, 57b; Graetz, IV, p. 308; Mercier, Ouvr, cited, I, p. 107; Mommsen, Ant, Rom. trad. franc., XI, p. 186, etREiNACH, Greek and Latin texts, etc., p. 196.

2. Cf. Ora "fu", VII, 2: Nam et per totam Libyam adversus incolas atrocissima bella gesserunt.

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From this time on, Hellenist Judaism in

Africa is falling into decline. The destruction of the great Synagogue of Alexandria precipitates its ruin.

A rabbi exclaims: `` At this moment the Horn of Israel is decided, and it will only push back for the finish of the Messiah! "

It's a whole civilization that is disappearing. If Hadrian can still write to Sesnianus that in Egypt everyone, including the rulers of the Jews, Samaritans and Christians well, adores Serapis, it is because ancient customs persisted were still in this country. The subsequent history of the Jews of Egypt will only be the story of incessant struggles between the Greeks who Christianize and the Jews who devote to the Synagogue. It will end, when Cyrille (& 15) expel from the city the last Jews who, naked and deprived of everything, disappeared who knows where ^.

Some ancient Hebrew groups, such as Borion in Sirte, and the Canaanite-speaking Jewish colonies, probable ancestors of the syncretistic Jews of the Middle Ages, will still survive the struggles that bloodied Africa Hellenist.

However, among these missing, two groups are particularly interesting for our study:

First, the Jewish military groups, including us studied history prior to the Roman occupation.

We cannot admit that these military colonists whose Libya for several centuries was populated, which had been involved in all the struggles between Greeks and Libyans, would have disappeared without leaving a trace: they had than to take refuge among the Berbers or among the Himiarites ^.

1. Cf. Graetz, ed. Heb., II, p. 234.

2. SocRATUS, Hist, Eccles., \ II.

3. A trip that we have just made through Cyrenaegu, we provides decisive testimonies on this subject.

Second, the descendants of the Aaronides ^ who dominated the temple and the region of Onion and which be for many in the work of uprising against Rome, could accompany the fugitives to try to transplant their activity to countries removed from the influence of Rome!

A vague Talmudic information tells us that in Onion's house they continued to offer sacrifices fices until the fourth century ^. Likewise, the Phalacha of Ethiopia practiced the ritual of sacrifices until Nineteenth century.

Moreover, this question is related to the problem of origins of the Berbers that we will try to resolve.

Let us only note that, from that time on, the Berbers enter the campaign with Rome, and deaf influences, of an imprecise character, worked the populations of the interior.

1. In the Talmud there is frequent reference to the "Priests of the house of Onias".

2. Tal. Bab „tr. Megailla, p. 10a.

VII

JUDEO-ROMANS

The bloody struggles between Hellenist Jews and Greco Romans who brought about the decadence of Judaism from East Africa, do not seem to have had a any impact on the prosperity of the Jewish colonies in the Roman provinces of Africa. "Did he already exist, asks Mr. Monceaux, a Jewish colony in Carthage Punic? »The learned author, to whom we owe the more complete according to Latin sources on "the colonies Jews in Roman Africa", replies with reason *:" We has often supposed it, and it is, in fact, quite likely corn ". Jewish authors confidently present group Zabulonite, emigrated from Palestine at the same time as the Phoenicians. Cardinal Lavigerie adds: "that we cannot can hardly explain the current presence of so many thousands of Israelites in the land ". Father Delattre suppose that a current of emigration ^ had gone from Egypt to West Africa. We sought to summarize our opinion in a special study: we go so far as to admit that the Hebrew-Phoenicians lasted to be driven back towards the Tell and inside, with the Punic

1. Revue des Études Juives, t. XLIV, I p. 2. We refer the reader to this study which is perfect especially as regards the testimonies gnages of Greek and Latin authors.

2. Gamart, p. 88.

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themselves. At least that's the meaning of some passages Talmudic dating from the first centuries of the vulgar era. However that may be, at the time when Roman Carthage takes the place of the ancient Phoenician capital, this city becomes the center of traditional Judaism, such as the Ta Synagogue established from the second century.

Its history is the very history of the Synagogue in Africa. Organized by the Patriarchate of Tiberias, to whom we owe the publication of the Mishnah, it leads to the Ju-Talmudic daism, which will eventually impose itself on the whole

of the Diaspora.

Alexandria had been the capital of a Greek Judaism
nist; Roman Carthage is home to the Judeo group
Roman, embracing the Roman language and civilization,
and predominant on the western banks of the Mediter-
bloody. This Judaism, by its particularistic character,
his peaceful life above all, by his submission to the masters
foreigners, inaugurates the rabbinical Diaspora in Africa.
It is important to distinguish clearly, because of its affinities with
the rest of Orthodox Judaism, the Judeo-Roman group of
that of the Judeo-Hellenes; also we will be allowed here
to go back in history and recall what we
have told of the origins of this other group. Before
even the destruction of the temple, Carthage is in relation
with Palestine. Christian traditions bring
Carthage Simon the Canaanite and Judah the Zealot. The Syna-
gogue des Lybiens is mentioned in several texts ^

There were certainly Jews in Carthage, when the
messengers of the Good News made their appearance there.

A tradition preserved by Flavius Dexter *, is that
Saint Peter passed to Africa, and another tradition,
of Greek origin, killed the Samaritan woman in Carthage ^

1. Cf. above, p. 46.

2. Father Delattre, Gamart ^ p. 49.

3. Ibid.

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and his son Joseph. EnBn, Nicéphore Calixte says express-
ment that Tapôtre Simon would have visited all of Libya.

We know that from the beginning of our era,

Jewish communities spread throughout the empire

Roman as far as Spain and Gaul ^ The great

dispersion of Tan 70 had thrown in Carthage, which enjoyed

know of the benefits of the Roman peace, many
Jewish immigrants. The revolutionary events of
115 to 133 were to increase the number still further. Hadrian
and his successors spare proconsular Africa
religious persecutions, including Jews in the Eastern Mediterranean
Terran were victims following the uprisings; this
which proves that peace had not been disturbed in the
proconsular regions.

The arrival of many prisoners of war in 1970
is a fact which emerges implicitly from the general testimony
realized by Josephus ^ and which is confirmed by a chronicle
medieval Jewess 3; this one reports that Titus would have
established in Carthage 30,000 Jewish settlers, apart from those
that he had established in the other centers. This coloniza-
tion is, moreover, attested by a local tradition.

The Jews of the Western Atlas, whose last descendants
dants still live in Nefoussa, Matmata and the region
Gharian troglodyte, were, until the nineteenth
seventh century, attached as serfs to the soil. It would be ^
they claim, Phanagora, one of the Greek generals of
siege of Jerusalem, which would have established them in these parts ^.
This tradition is also confirmed by evidence
collected on site, and which will be discussed later.

But this already concerns the history of the Jews of the interior

1. Journal des Savants ^ 1889, p. 57.

2. Cf. ViGOUROUX, the Bible and modern discoveries ^ t. III, p. 25-9;
Neubauer, Mediavel Jewish Chronicles, no. cited.

3. Cf. Rachmut, art. cited, p. 32.

4. Y. on this name the Mid. Habba n3 ^ 2t. See Slousch, Un voyage (TEtude »
Jews in Africa (Recueil des Sav. Étr. à tAcad, d. In, and B.-Let.).

African. Let us only give, for the moment, a summary brief history of the Judeo-Roman colonies on the African coast, a story which, moreover, already has a literature.

After the devastation of Cyrenaica and the ruin of the community of Alexandria, referred to in the previous chapter, the center of religious activity and intellectual, and no doubt also commercial, of the Jews, moves to Carthage.

From this time, the great Roman city-Punic shines on the Jewish colonies of West Africa. dental, which appear to have developed especially after the defeat of Bar-Kokeba in Palestine. The Talmud, the Fathers of the Church, and especially recent discoveries archaeological sites, confirm the importance of the community of Carthage and the action exerted by it on Judaism

from the west coast of North Africa.

First of all, it emerges from archaeological data that the Jewish community of Carthage had resources considerable, since she had secured possession of a vast necropolis north of the city, notably in Gamart, apart from the Jewish epitaphs that we note on other points of Carthage.

“We have explored in recent years, says M. Monceaux *, this old Israelite cemetery dug in the slopes of the Djebel Khaou, and today we visit hundreds of vaults carved in limestone, whose appearance is reminiscent of that of the tombs of Palestine. They are hypogeums rectangular, accessed by stairs. The walls are pierced with niches, deep as ditches, where the bodies were placed. The epitaphs are painted or engraved, some in Hebrew, or most in Latin
1. Les Colonies juives dans l'Afrique romaine, Revue des et, juives, t XLIV, p. 128; cf. DiLATTRE, Gamart, no. city, etc.
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with symbolic designs: candlestick with seven branches, vines and grape pickers, riders, winged geniuses, even busts which reproduce the portrait of the dead ... arrangement of the graves conforms to the Talmud. ”

During my stay in Africa, I had the opportunity to visit the tombs of Gamart myself. After studying *in situ* the Jewish necropolises of Palestine, I do not then that I rally to the opinion of Father Delattre on his Jewish character. This necropolis with the image of the candlestick sacred, since become the symbol of African Jews, is not unique *.

These cemeteries, which certainly date from the antéislamique, show us the importance of Carthage and its wealth. But another discovery green, made previously, gives us a clear idea of the religious life of the Jews at that time: it was that of a synagogue cleared from the ashes near Hammam Lif, north of the Gulf of Tunis ^.

These ruins of an old synagogue from Roman times help to reconstitute the religious life of the Jews by mosaic paving, which we find there with inscriptions Latin, one of which relates to the head of the *nauté*, the archi-synagogue and of which here is the exact text:
1. - Sanclam synagogam Naronitanum pro salute sua

II. - Ariarius filius Ruslici arcosynagogi Margariai Ridei partem portici tessellavit.

III. - Instrumenta servata tui to Naroni.

IV. - Instrumenta servata tui Naritanus.

1. See however our 1. III. ch. II.

2. Kaupmann, *Revue des Etudes juives*, t. XII.

3. *Corp. Ins, Lût.*, VIII, supp. 12457.

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This synagogue is the type of all other synagogues from West Africa to the Roman period, since the expression archi- or pater-synagogue, as well as the names Romans (in Jewish inscriptions), are found until then in Morocco.

To the discoveries of synagogues, we must also add the frequent discovery of candlesticks with seven branches, engraved on stones or terracotta: in Gamart, in La Marsa, and on other points of the Carthaginian territory, we discover Jewish epitaphs, accompanied by the candlestick at seven branches; most of these epitaphs are written in Latin, some with the word *Salom* in Hebrew. I have also observed at the Saint-Louis museum the presence of a whole series of Jewish lamps, coming from this territory*.

These discoveries, and those that are made daily on the western coast of North Africa, are for our study of particular interest: the Palestinian character and Roman Jewish settlements in Roman Africa stand out clearly, and you have to push it to the extreme West, to find Volubilis traces, doubtful, Hellenist Jews who predominated in Africa before the revolt of 135-136. This is further proof that the Roman persecution prevented the survivors from returning to the African provinces which have remained loyal to the Emperor.

In an inscription in Utica there is an archon ^ title ordinary of the principal Jewish magistrate ^ . Saint Augustin speaks of a Jewish sorcerer in Uzali near Utica 3. In the Tripolitania, I found a Greek inscription, next to it from another Hebrew, in Poasis de Zlitan ^ .

1. Delattre, *Gamart; Monceaux, ibidem; Slousgh, Ei*, over the range of Jews at MaroCyl.l.

2. *Corpus inscriptionum latin* ,, VIII, No. 1205, *Additum*, p. 931.

3. *De Civitate Dei*, 1. XXII, ch. VIII, § 21.

4. A Jewish study trip to Africa; v. appen. II.

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A curious inscription found in Henchir Djana, in Touest de Kaïrouan, seems to relate to the Judaean pagans. Hadrumète had its Judaizers. In Tripolitania, a community had existed in Oea (Tripoli), having rabbins ^ Jewish antiquities were discovered in Tripolite*.

South-East of Oea, near Cyrenaica, the resort maritime of Iscina bears the name of "Locus Judaeorum Augusti ^ ".

There was obviously, said Monceaux ^ a group important from Jewish settlers or slaves, probably

blis on this coast following a war. The place is called shovel again Medinat-es-Soultan, the "city of the emperor" ^ which is equivalent to "Vicus Augusti". This fact corresponds to the local tradition, according to which the Jews of the interior from Libya had come as serfs attached to the soil ^.

A region beyond Sirte, where tradition speaks of a queen Jewish woman still bears the name of Yehudia.

The city of Borion (Sirte) had a Jewish colony and an ancient synagogue ^.

Near Leptis, a Roman castle and a por- still try the name of Yehoudia ^.

In Byzacene, traces of Jews are rarer. However dant Saint Augustine points out to us on the shores of Lake Triton, in Thuzarus, Judaizers, including the local bishop even ^.

Not far, between Sufes and Djebel Trazza, a locality bears the name of Henchir-loudia ^.

1. Epist., 71,3,5.

2. Cazès, Revue des Etudes Juives, t. XX, 1890, p. 78 and s.

3. TissoT, Geog. camp, from the Prov. from Africa ^ ch. II, 237.

4. / 6irf., P. 7.

6. (^ is still the case of the Jews of Moroccan TAUAs.

6. Procope, of JEdificiis, VI, 2.

7. A Jewish Studies trip to Africa,

8. Epist., 196.

9. TissoT, ibid ,, t. II, p. 630.

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A limestone column, adorned with candlesticks with seven branches and bearing these words: Deas Abraham ^ Deus Isaac, was found at Henchir Fuara, near ancient Tebessa.

In Sétif, Tancienne Sétifis, the first town in the Mauritanie, an inscription tells us about the existence of a gogue. Here is its content, which recalls that of the syna- Hammam Lif gogue: Aoilia Aster Judea, M. Aviliis Januarius pay synagogae thread. dulcissime *, which implies naturally the existence of a synagogue in this city.

Another inscription found in the same town appears to be relate to a converted Jew 2. Likewise, we found at Auzia the epitaph of a Jew.

With regard to Mauritania tingitane des Anciens, archeology has hardly done anything yet, and yet owing to the research undertaken by M. de La Martinière have been crowned with deserved success: this is the registration purely Hebrew found at Volubilis, of which we have already spoken elsewhere, and which carries the following text:

"Matrona, daughter of Rabbi Judah, rests 3 ..."

This inscription affirms the existence, in this city, of a Judeo-Roman colony, the name Matrona being Roman, as well as the presence of a Palestinian doctor, or at least of his daughter, since the title "rabbi" applies to doctors of Palestine, and, which is also very interesting, the presence of an engraver who handled Thebrew correctly.

I am inclined to consider the other two inscriptions in Greek language, found in the same excavations, as

1. C. L Lai. VIII, 8423; VIII, 8499.

3. Monceaux, ibidem,

3. Ph. Berger, Bulletin du Comité des travaux histor, et scient ,, II, p. 64;

Schwab, Revue des Eludes juives ^ XXII, p. 294; Slousch, Et. On Chist. of Jews in Morocco, I, p. 27 (Arch, Morocco, v. IV.)

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being, also, of Jewish origin, but with provenance from a Judeo-Hellenic background ^

Thus, the epigraphy confirms to us that before Christianity, there were Jews and even communities, synagogues and Palestinian doctors

niens in the Roman cities of the western provinces.

These indications show us that the Jewish settlements of the African coast had the same organization as those of other countries of the Roman West, and which they all have a distinctly Talmudic character: this fact stands out the organization of the cult of the Synagogue, as well as the title of "rabbi" found in Volubilis.

Data from the fourth and fifth centuries, that we will reproduce later, will allow us to establish by what means these Jews from Mediterranean countries neens or Palestine, like Italy and even Spain, came to settle on the coast of North Africa.

Cain. As for Africa itself, it is established that Jews of Carthage had commercial relations ciales with those of Numidia. These same data and some others show this Jewish population as part of the Roman Diaspora ^, Against Cyrenean Jews, who were Hellenists and often warriors, she formed a peaceful element, given over to arts, trades, commerce, and even navigation, like those of their co-religionists who live these countries nowadays.

Moreover, the fact that the Jews of the West Coast of Northern Africa were part of the Diaspora, emerges from the fact that they continued to send their oboli to the schools and patriarchs of Tiberias, even after destruction of temple 3. In addition, they participated in

1. Slousch. Study on fhist. of the Jews in Morocco, t. I.
2. See our ch. VIII.
3. SCHÛRER, yes; r. cited, t. III, p. 71.

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rabbinical studies and the composition of the Talmud. In Indeed, Carthage is a city very well known to the talmudic, who speak of her as "one of the four great cities "of the Roman Empire ^

The importance of Carthage as one of the centers of Orthodox Judaism is attested by the following passage, whose interest will escape no one. By commenting on verse from Isaïe which we reproduced above, surrounding the Jews of Gyrene and the temple of Onias in Heliopolis, a doctor, Rab Joseph ^ (third century) translates Dinn W playing on the D word "in: the" city of sun T "(Heliopolis) which is destined to become a Din "Ruin" ^.

In this regard, another doctor, Rab Houna, mentions the verse of chapter XLIII of the same prophet, where he is said: "Bring my sons from afar and my daughters from the ends of the earth. "" My sons "refers to the Jews of

Diaspora of the Babylonian countries, which are firm in their orthodox opinions, as are sons; " my daughters " are the sons of the Diaspora from other countries, who are unstable, wavering in their beliefs, like Girls.

This observation of the unorthodox character of the colodistant nies seems to have moved certain doctors, and for

specify the expansion of faith, we invoke a text which goes back to Rab, the well-known doctor of how third century cement.

“From Tiro to Carthage, we know Israel and his Father who is in heaven. From Tiro and to the West coast, and from Carthage to the East, we do not know Israel, nor her Father who is in heaven. ”

Close to each other, these two texts which follow

1. SiFRi, Numbers, I, p. 47 b, ed. Friedman.

3. Tr. Menahol, 110a.

3. Cf. The Hebr., -Phen., appendix Zedec and Zadoc, 276 MOROCCAN ARCHIVES

wind, tell us that this is the synagogue orthodox and rabbinical.

Indeed, the starting point for Tiro is the West European, which brings us back to the Hellenic colonies not allied to the synagogue and where schisms have never ceased, especially in the Byzantine Empire and the regions of the black Sea.

Likewise the African East, with the remains of the Hellenic nations, and the tribes of the interior, remained outside of rabbinical influence, while the entire North West African and Roman submitted to the discipline of the synagogue, of which Carthage became an active center that radiated all over Roman Mauritania ^

Not only was Carthage the orthodox city by excellence, but it had its Talmudic doctors, many of whom their names are kept by the Talmud, like those of Rabbi Isaac, of Rabbi Hanan or Hana, or Hinna, and Rabbi Aha or Ada, Rabbi Ba (Aba), who dealt with religious questions before the Palestinian masters of beginning of the third century, and especially before Rabbi Joshua ben Levi and Rabbi Kahana. C * esi to one of these scholars that we owe a prayer that is part of the New Year K liturgy

The Talmudic character of Carthaginian Judaism, thus that his attachment to the law, is confirmed, moreover, by the oldest Christian sources. The polemics

ques de Tertullien and certain other Christian writers after him, as well as the decisions of the councils, we provide valuable information on how to life and beliefs of North African Jews.

1. Saint JEROME, The Jewish colonies form an uninterrupted chain from Mauritania through Africa and Egypt to India (Epist. 122, ad Dardanum; Schürer, *ibid.*, t. III, p. 19).

2. Talm. Bab. : Jebamol 10a, Sanhedrin, 92a, Baba Kama, 114b, KilaXm-28b; Ketubot 27b; Beracot, 29a; Demai, 24a. Tal. Jerus. : Beça, III, Shabbat.XW, Beracot, XV. 8, etc.

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In Africa, as everywhere else, the disciples of Apostles, who came from Palestine among the Jewish doctors, announced the Good News in the synagogues from Carthage and other maritime towns. This propaganda in the synagogues did not cease until the plethora between Jews and Christians, and even, for the towns of at least inside, it continued long after.

Everything suggests that at the beginning the two religions did not formed only one ^ that old influences

Hebrew-Phoenician women made their mark on theology mostly. Evidence of mutual tolerance, professed by Jews and Christians, manifested mainly by

the fact that in Carthage we find tombs and epitaphs of Christians among the tombs of the cemetery Jewish. This characteristic fact, as well as that of the predication of Christianity in the synagogues, is decisive. However, towards the end of the second century this state of things change little by little. Hadrian's persecutions seem to have reached little to African Jews. Septimus Severus and Caracalla favored the Jews. This monarch grew up in Carthage, in the company of young boys Jews. The progress of Christianity, which ends up shaking definitely the yoke of the religious restrictions of Judaism, and the adhesion of many refractory elements to the Jewish spirit on the one hand, the growing exclusivity of the Jews 'after the defeat of Bar-Kokbeba and the strengthening of Orthodox rabbinism on the other hand, accelerated the rupture complete between Judaism and Christianity. Indeed, from the time of Tertullian (towards the end of second century), Jews and Christians treated each other reciprocally as enemy brothers.

1. Monceaux, *History of Africa Christiana*, I, p. 3-9.
2. SCHÜRER, *ibid.*, I, 677-680.
3. Lebclercq, *VAfrica Christiana*, I, 124.

4. De Ridolff, 14.

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In its Christian propaganda and its polemics against pagans and Jews, Tertullian often tells us on the state of African Jews at this time.

According to this author, Judaism appeared in Africa around 180-200 as "a famous and authorized religion in state, to the point where Christians were accused of having sought to spread new opinions "in the shadow of Judaism".

Taking advantage of these prerogatives, and probably also to release the responsibility that Christianity in as a revolutionary religion, attracted to them, the Jews often side with opponents of the new religion and, if we are to believe Tertullian and what other Christian writers, "the Synagogue is the source of all persecutions".

It is true that Christians were often the cause of this animosity because they went so far as to take advantage of political debasement and woes of the Jewish peoples in favor of Christian propaganda.

The relentlessness with which the Fathers of the African Church came fight the Jewish Messianism and the hope of the Jews to recover terrestrial Judea, shows us how many North African Jews valued their nationality and excluded rabbinical Judaism.

On the other hand, the continual efforts made by the Fathers of the Church and by the councils, before and even after denial of Christianity, to prevent relations between Jews and Christians, inform us about the successes of Judaism in Africa, as well as the instability of great Christian masses in matters of religion.

It seems, moreover, that during the whole of the third century, Jewish propaganda had never ceased to make

1. Monceaux, *ibid.*, cited I, p. 10 and 39; Lebclercq, *ibid.*, cited I, p. 66.
2. Tertullian, *Apologetics* XXI.
3. a. *Ibidem*, XVI-XVIII and XXI; At Nations I, XIV.

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sandstone among the Roman and Punic population of Africa; hence all the controversial literature, which Tertullian

inaugurated with his treatise Against the Jews. These advances in Judaism in Africa are further attested to us by the

discovery of many amulets, where the cult of Jehovah plays a considerable role, as well as by the existence of Judalistic sects, the most famous of which was of Coelicolæ ^.

Tertullian complains that the Jews have the freedom to publicly read their sacred books, which attracts Christians at the synagogue on Saturday.

As for the Talmudic character of the Jewish populations of Roman Africa, Christian authors confirm in this not Jewish data. Tertullian tells us about ablutions daily life carried out by the Jews, and which is one of the Talmudic ticks, as we know *.

As opposed to the Sadducees, African Jews believed to the resurrection of the flesh • *. They practiced the same restrictions on meats and meals. Even the fasts observed by pious people only, especially those of the days of Monday and Thursday, were practiced by African Jews ^. They believed that the sacred land was only terrestrial Judea ^. Women were pushing the feeling of modesty until not going out in the street not veiled ^.

The apocryphal book of Enoch is excluded from the Jewish canon, as the Talmud requires, while the Phalacha of Abyssinia still consider him today as one of the most sacred books ^.

1. Monceaux, Rev. des Et., juiv., art. cited.
r Baptism, XV.

3. Tertullian, Treatise on the Resurrection of the Flesh, I, XV.

4. Tertullian, Fasting, XIV; Monceaux, Hist. lit. of CHRETIEN AFRICA, 1, p. 73.

5. On the resurrection of the flesh,

6. Reformation of women,

7. See below, 1. II.

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This last fact does not exclude the collaboration of the Jews and Christians in the work of translating books sacred, and M. Monceaux proves that it existed in Africa Latin and Punic Bibles translated from the original Hebrew*. If we have correctly understood a passage from Tertullian, African Jews, or at least some of them continued to speak Hebrew; what should not let us surprise, if we take into account the predominance of the Punic language in the western provinces

tales of Roman Africa *.

These are the data we were able to collect on the origin, life and character of the Jews of the West North African at the time of the consolidation of Christianity, that is to say before the fourth century, which is proud of the political and social conditions of Judaism in Roman Empire.

During the third century, says M. Monceaux, African Christian authors continued their attacks against the Jews; Minucius Felix attacks them in passing; Cyprien, relatively gentle towards them, assimilates them to heretics; but, if we judge from the

veneration that the Jews of Carthage professed for his memory at the time when Christianity was still that a persecuted religion, a rapprochement would have carried out around this time between Jews and Christians 3. Only Commodian was really tough and mocking at towards the Jews, which perhaps indicates a grudge personal.

This good understanding, however, appears to have been disturbed at the beginning of the fourth century.

The Council of Elvira reunited in 313 and composed of bishops

1. Monceaux, *op. cit.*, quoted, I, p. 110.

2. Apologetics ^ XVI II: The Jews are originally Hebrews and it is why they speak Thôbreu.

8. See our *Et sur Us Juifs au Maroc*, chap. IV and V, JUDEO ^ ROMANS 281

of the Churches of Spain and Africa, and among the latter a number of Mauritania, forbid to solicit the blessing of the rabbis to obtain abundant harvests, which in these provinces presupposes the existence rabbis esteemed by Christians themselves.

The Councils of Laodicea and Carthage prohibited to receive any gift from the Jews and to have with them the most innocent reports, without however their prohibit access to churches, for the purpose of propaganda Christian ^

Around this time Judaism seems to have flourished. health, especially in Mauritania, if we judge diaprés relations between Jews and Christians on the eve of the triumph of the latter. The Acta Marciana us tell for example the incidents of Caesarea: <c La virgin Marciana, guilty of overturning a statue on a public place, had been locked up by order of the judge in a gladiatorial school, next to the amphitheater.

Close by was the house of Budarius the Archi-synagogue. One day Marciana was abused by a group of Jews who had seen her from windows or terraces of this house. So she cast this curse on them:

"May this house be devoured by fire from heaven, and it can never be rebuilt f "

On the day of martyrdom in the amphitheater, Budarius and the Jews still stirred up the Gentiles against Marciana; But they were cruelly punished; because at the same time the soul of the virgin came out of her body, the house of Budarius was devoured by divine fire, along with all who The Jews' attempts to reconstruct this house failed.

In Tipasa, according to the author of the Passion of Saint Salsa ^,

1. Ab. Cahen, *Lts Juifs dans t Afrique septenl.*, P. 18-19.

S. Monceaux, *op. cit.*, supra.

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a synagogue had replaced the dragon sanctuary, then had been transformed into a church.

From all these data it is clear that, up to the complete rupture between Jews and Christians, both rival religions followed the same path of development move towards the West; and that Carthage had become Roman times a hotbed of Judaism, like Alexandria had been in the Hellenistic period.

The second century can be considered the point of Jewish history in Mauritania, as the third century was for Christianity.

The Jews of the Mauritanian coast were likely-

all of Palestinian or Roman origin, on the contrary to the Hellenist Jews of the eastern coast and Libya. They early enjoyed all civil liberties and religious, as Roman citizens, and devote themselves to born to navigation, commerce, the arts and various trades. They maintained constant relations with the Palestine and the rabbinical schools, and, from the second century, already knew the Talmud; they collaborated even in its writing.

Despite the exclusivism in which rabbinism falls more and more from the second century, the number of Judaizers is constantly increasing in Africa, to the point where they even form distinctes *.

From the third century, Roman Mauritania, y including the region occupied by present-day Morocco, is

strewn with Jewish settlements, which eventually prevail over those of the other Roman provinces of the North African coast caine.

Finally, apart from the Roman language which pre-dominated in these colonies, the last of them

1. See chap. IX.

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already present in this distant time, the same aspect religious and social characteristics that characterize the Jews of the times of the current Maghreb.

We know little about the situation of Judaism

African in the time of the Vandals and under the Byzantine. However, one cannot sufficiently take into account stunned the opinion that the Jews and the Donatists provided effective assistance to the Vandals ^ However, it is certain that here, as among the Goths Arians, Judaism enjoyed certain freedoms. Same, archaeological memories some date from this time.

The polemicists of the fifth and sixth century, Victor de Vita, Fulgence de Ruspae, Facundus, Primasius Hadrumetum, Junilius, Ferrandus, Liberatus and several others ^, mention the Jews quite frequently, but almost always in general terms, to deal with commonplaces of Tapologetics or Christian Texegesis yours on the relationship between Christianity and Judaism.

We hardly notice a few features which aim more especially the Israelites of the time. Victor de Vita,

for example, says: "Let us not be moved by the scandal of the Jews, who deny the Son of God, who worship only the Holy Spirit. »Voconius, bishop of Castellum in Mauritania, wrote Against the Jews,

From the end of the fifth century dates the booklet entitled: Ad Vigilium episcopum de judaica incredulitate, dedicated to Vigilus, bishop of Thapsus, by a certain Celsus. This is a fairly long letter, which served as a preface to a Latin edition of the Dialogue between Jason and Papiskos on the Christ ^ composed in Greek by Ariston de Pella towards the mid-second century. At the beginning of his preface, the au-

1. Cf. Mercier, Hiêt. deVAfr, sept., I, p. 110.

3. Monceaux, Â. d. Et, J., Et. Cited, p. 28-27, where this author summarizes all the subject's bibliography.

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their indignation against the temptation of the Jews. He finds them

even more hardened than the Pagans: "I realize, he said, may the folly of the Jewish people resist even more name of the Lord, even today, with stubbornness hardened and iniquity which they inherited from their fathers ...

It is maintained and it still lasts; also i think that it will always last until their last post-rity, the sacrilegious and innate perfidy of their fathers. Fortified for the hatred of the name of the Lord by the folly of Tincrédulity, it cannot be brought to know the truth, nor be educated for the fear of God, nor convinced by his own teachings ... "

These rare testimonies only prove that Israelites were still in number in the African Vandals. We are a little better informed about the condition of the Jews in Byzantine Africa. The Greeks liberators presented themselves, less defenders of the Romans against the barbarians than in defenders of the Orthodoxic doxy against Arianism. So Justinian immediately-civil power at the service of the Church's grudges. All the dissidents were cruelly beaten. Under of the edicts of 535, the Jews, assimilated to the Arians, the Donatists and pagans, were excluded from all charges public, and could not have Christian slaves; their synagogues were turned into churches; their worship was proscribed, and all meetings were forbidden to them. Sure order of the emperor, the Jews were forcibly converted from Borion, on the border of Cyrenaica, and probably those of other communities. This Hebrew-Phoenician colony cien, the only one that survived the sinking of 115-118, claimed to have an origin dating from the time of Solomon. She had an ancient synagogue which owed its foundation to the wise king of Jerusalem. Now, this town had never paid taxes to the Romans and the Vandals. The representatives Belisarius sailles are explained by the participation of JUDEO-ROMANS 285

Jews in the resistance movement against the Byzantines ^ The latter, however, could not prevent the expansion. Zion of the Berbers, who then occupied the coast. A bit more later, Ferrandus, deacon of the Church of Carthage, inserted in its collection of ecclesiastical regulations several canons of the councils, which targeted the Jews or health.

However, the Byzantine administration gradually relaxed. few of these rigors. Towards the end of the sixth century, the em-Pereur Maurice forbids converting Jews by force, and made them return their synagogues, defending them only to build new ones. Pope Gregory the Grand himself set the example of wide tolerance and intervned in favor of the Israelite communities of different provinces, especially Sicily and Sar-deign. There is no doubt that the Pope sent the same instructions to the African bishops, and that these instructions have not been followed.

The persecutions of Justinian had a consequence unforeseen quence: they had contributed to the expansion of African Judaism. "Hunted in the Roman country, or even expelled, many Jews had taken refuge in the Berbers from the mountain ranges or the desert; and, there they had resumed their propaganda, so that rivals of the Arabs, many Berber tribes were more

or less won in Judaism, especially in Tripolitania, in the Aurès and in the ksour of the Sahara - "

1. Procopius, De / Edifie, VI, 2.
2. Monceaux, *ibid.*, p. 27 and s. Fournel, Uê Berbère, I, p. 247; DiehLi f Byzantine Africa, p. 828-329; Leglerq, passage cited; cf. our 1. II, ch. I-IV.

VIII

GENERAL OVERVIEW OF JUDAISM IN ROMAN AFRICA

Now we have an idea of what the

African Judaism under Roman rule; the Judeo-Hellenes who preceded the Judeo-Romans in the African settlements, we find, even after the destruction of Alexandrian and Cyrenean Judaism, roughly the same organization in Jewish colonies subject to Rome and Byzantium *.

This organization was based on communal life. We have seen that, in Cyrenaica, the communities were headed by a Council of nine archons. This is the substitution of gerousia for the ethnarchy, which prevails later on throughout the Roman Empire, with this one difference that the Judeo-Romans tend to substitute number seven to that of nine found at Bérénice 2.

The election of the archons took place in September, during the solemnities of the "Feast of Tabernacles ^".

The archons directed communal life and exercised had the right of jurisdiction over the Jews, a privilege that always kept, even in Christian times *.

The title of archisynagogue or patersynagogue, which

1. SCHÛRER, *Geseh. deê Judentums ^ etc.*, t. III, p. 41.
2. These are the y ^ 7 \ WT3 nV ^ O of the Talmud.
3. *Ibid.*, P. 48 and the inscription of Bérénice.
4. SCHÛnEB. *ibid.*, 71-72; Cod, Thodos., II, 10.

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we find in the inscriptions of the Roman period, is of definite Palestinian origin ^ The great assemblies public wheat took place during the feast of Tabernacles; but we also held public meetings at every new moon and every Sabbath \ The exercise of worship took place in synagogues, except in the days of public fasts during which the book of the Law, according to the Talmud, on the seashore or on a public place ^.

Moreover, the influencerabbiniquesurrolutionreligious of African Jews is confirmed by the presence in Carthage doctors of the Talmud, and that of Asia even among the Punic is confirmed by Tonomastic of the inscriptions Punic published by the last fascicules of the CIS ^.

We have seen that even after the destruction of Jerusalem, we continued to send religious contributions to Patriarchs of Tiberias, through the "Apostles" li ^ ". Rabbi Akiba is considered to be one of these apostles. These relations with Africa explain the information information given by the Talmud on the Berbers and on Africa. We wanted to see in the name of Africa a designation which would be equivalent to "distant land" in general.

Only, apart from the special mention made of people of Barbary and Mauritania, we find in the Talmud a whole list of generic names of tribes Berbers ^. What sets African Jews apart is the

1. See nD33n TTNI; and D31S.
2. Rachmut, *éi.* cited, p. 50.
3. Tertullian, *Aux Nations*, I, 3; *Fasts*, XVI. Cf. *Mischna*,

Taanit, II, I.

4. T. II, fas. II-IV. Aramaic and Talmudic names such as, ^ UK "^^ V nStV NTN HZ ^, etc., are very common there.

5. SCHÛRER, open. cited t. III, p. 77.

6. Africans, ii <p ^ 15K. African Indians, Syenians, Libyans, Bert> ères, Coucbites, Zinguas, Mazakiens of Mauritania. Targoum, I Chron., Si / W, D «ii /., 320, Jebamot, 63b. Exodus.-Habba, III, 4. (Cf. Jew Encyc, Africa),

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syncretistic character of their beliefs: despite their intimate relations with Palestine and its synagogue, as

of Jews had stayed in Africa even before the tion of the Talmud, we explain how it is, in this country, so many testimonies often contrary to the spirit of the Talmud and coming from an ancient Phoenician origin. Cienne or Hellenist ^

Thus, the necropolises of Cyrene and Gamart show Jews buried next to Christians or

Judaizers, as in Tanticum necropolis of Carthage. In these necropolises, as in the synagogues,

Fart has not yet been banned and you signal the presence of animal figures in many places.

Pagan superstitions, demonology, witchcraft

Roasted among the Jews of Africa. M. Vassel applies to demonstrate "the direct relations existing between these nieres and Jewish customs in Tunisia today ^".

The original language of the Jews was to be Hebrew. The testimony of isaïe and several other sources

show Hebrew dominant in the Hebrew colonies primitive in Africa. The influence of Taramean, which Asia ends up supplanting Hebrew, is discovered in the on-Jewish and Punic mastic. Several registrations between mingled magic formulas, found in Cyrene, Alexandria, Libya, Elephantine and as far as Volubilis, at least show us that Hebrew or Aramaic have subsisted on the secondary points ^.

It is certain that the Jews settled inside among the Punics have never forgotten their language; so that the

1. Among other things, the strict observance of biblical rules on purity of the flesh (Josèpue, Guerres juiv., II, 18. Cf. the letter of the priests * <FElé phantlne. Tertullian. not. cili ^ e \ cX

2. Liter. Popul. d ^ s Jsr, Tunisiens ^ p. 14S et seq.; Slousgh, Travel of Jewish Studies in Africa ^ ch. Judeo-Berber customs,

3. See ch. next (p. 277). V. Tertullian, above, p. 78; d'Herbeloi-Bibl. East. y art. Afriqiah.

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persistence in the Sahara of a Hebrew idiom that I discovered in the Tripolitan Jebel and who, next particular Hebrew forms, includes elements

Aramaic and Greek mentions, is very significant *. At the time where the Berbers gain a foothold, the Jews seem to have adopted the native idioms: at least this is the case of Judeo-Berber tribes, which will be discussed later and Phalacha who speak an Ethiopian Semitic language pienne.

However, in the great Hellenist centers, like Alexandria and Cyrene, the Greek ends up winning Semitic ridioma. This language became the official language

Hellenist Jews and thanks to them she penetrated a little everywhere: its traces can be found in Abyssinia, in the Sahara and as far as Volubilis, where two Greek inscriptions of Jewish origin have been found.

In the countries of Roman colonization, Latin supplants Hebrew and Greek: it is found almost everywhere; we can find traces of it among African Jews maritime towns until the tenth century.

However the ease with which the Jews give up European languages to adopt Arabic, which predominates mine among them from the eighth century, would indicate that the great masses have never entirely forgotten their ancient Semitic language.

The economic situation of the Jews has not always been the same. Moreover, we meet among them representatives from all social classes: artisans, merchants, sailors at Alexandria and Cyrene; soldiers in Elephantine, in the forts of Ethiopia and Libya; farmers in the interior of Egypt and probably also in the rest of Africa, as were the captives brought in Egypt and Libya by Ptolemy Soter, in Tunisia and in 1. Sloubgh, Un Voyagêf etc .; ch. A Hebrew dialect from the Sahara, 890 MOROCCAN ARCHIVES Tripolitania by Titus, and as the Judeo-Berbers of the Atlas *.

But already in a very ancient time, the Jews counted, with the Phoenicians and the Greeks, among the masters of African commerce. Apart from ancient commercial relations between Judea and basin of the Red Sea and the Nile, we find the Jewish masters of African commerce under domination Roman.

The Jews of Alexandria and Gyrene rivaled Garthage, as regards trade with the interior African ^ . Moreover, at a time when the Punics begin to disappear from the Mediterranean, it is the Jews who supplant them, both as traders on earth and as browsers.

Even in the ports of the Gyrénaïque, however tested by the insurrection of 115-H8, the Jews reappeared are like sailors. In this respect, the testimony of Synesius ^ is very characteristic. Get christian author made the crossing from Posidion to Gyrene on a ship, whose the owner was a Jew, named Amarantes, to whom he confers the dismissive epithet of "Japetos". Ge boss heavily indebted no longer cared about his own life and cared little, according to Synésius, of the life of his passengers. On the other hand, the crew was made up of twelve sailors,

mostly Jewish, treacherous people who do not ask have to send to the next world as much as possible of Greeks. There were a total of fifty passengers, including took women and children. Friday, a turmoil surprised the ship on the way, which did not prevent night, the pilot, also a Jew, to leave the rudder and refuse to engage in manual labor 1. See above; Monceaux and Rachmut, and. cited, 8. Jewish Encyclop, ^ art. Trade. S. Epietol, IV, 9-S6.

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on the evening of the Sabbath ^ To all the imprecations of the past gers, the pious pilot answered by reading aloud of the Bible "as a true Machabée and observer of

the law ". He didn't come back to his post until around midnight so that the sinking was imminent, the Talmud authorizing in this case the transgression of the sabbatical rest ^.

The story, which is animated by a fierce hatred, gives the note relations between Jews and Greeks and the rabbi character nique of those Jews who had supplanted the Hellenists.

- And this is confirmed to us by many others authors.

In short, the Jews, after the disappearance of the Phoenicians, had to replace them as browsers. But here we let's touch on a completely different problem, only explicable by the existence in Africa of major movements of judaization.

1. La Tossephta finds DH ^ On D3TI VaSDn.

2. Cf. tr. N01 \ f.85.

IX

JUDAISANTS IN AFRICA

When we study the Jewish origins in the medi-Terraneans, we cannot stress enough the distinction between "Jews of nationality", as the Gospels as well as Josephus and the "Jews of religion or proselytes ", which are becoming more and more numerous under Roman Tempire.

In reality, the Synagogue became with Rabbinism

Talmudic a closed body has never renounced the old prophetic universalism ^ Rabbis have never thought of closing the door of salvation to the Gentiles. Only, confined in their conception of a stofque and moral life excessively, convinced that only the Jewish people are predestined determined to preserve the germ of divine truth, the Fathers of the Synagogue sought to preserve their faithful from national or social assimilation between them and their neighbors sins; because they considered the latter as prepared as little as possible to the realization of their dream of a puritanical and austere society. For them, Judaism was not not a privilege, but rather an office ^ bequeathed by the following their ancestors, through a whole millennial tradition,

1. Cf. M. IsRAfiL Lévi, le ProtilyiUme juif ^ Beu, d. EL /, 19 (MI; Habbhaci, Mition und Ausbrtitung de \$ Christentumt, p. 20i.

S. Cf. the curious step ". of Ir. nV ^^ I, 10, etc.

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which the greatness of the origin and the nobility of the goal made necessary and compulsory. Also, the more we see them particularistic and rigorous within Judaism itself which they sought to shield from external influences, the more we find them broad and tolerant of Nice ; they distinguish these into several categories:

1® the "Guère Zédec" proselytes, who accept Judaism of the Synagogue with all its consequences, but which are not admitted into its bosom until after a severe test; they are assimilated to the original Jews; 2® this seed of Abraham, "a term which first designates the set of Semitic peoples congenial to the Hebrews practicing

circumcision, to then designate the observers of fundamental principles of the ancient world of the Hebrews, among others monotheism and circumcision *; 3 * the Bené Noah (the meluens) ^ that is to say all the Gentiles who are deserving of Divinity, provided they observe the seven commandments which all except faith in unity divine, are part of universal morality. These latter are free even from the heavy burdens weighing on the followers of Orthodox Judaism.

Provided they are monotheistic, honest and pure in their customs, the Gentiles are worthy of Paradise. So do not be surprised to see it increase, especially ever since Rome succeeded in subduing the medieval world Terran in the centralizing regime, a strong movement monotheist: Strabo, Philo, Seneca and many others do not cease, some with kindness, others with jealousy, to point out this propagation of fundamental ideas ideas of Judaism everywhere. Only (such is character of human societies), as soon as an idea has germinated in the minds of a number, its followers

1. Uīran rxt; cf. the term TS ^ N UTVaH hm inm applied to the cir-concision.
3. Cf. TossephU, Sanhedrin, XIII.

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tend to come closer to each other, seek to popularize their thinking and form a group or sect; it could not be otherwise in this push of judalization of the Roman world. Admirers of "Jewish superstitions", without going so far as to become Jews ethical, felt by the very nature of their new vels convictions, separated from the rest of their fellow citizens. The Hellenes of the Jewish religion, like the Judal Romans his, as soon as they felt in number, manifested more and more a tendency to form a distinct society and to be united in common theological opinions. munes.

The ancient worshipers of pagan deities, those even whose anthropomorphic conceptions will be deeply shaken by their Jewish neighbors, or by the Greek metaphysics, will feel a compelling need to give their religious ideas a new form, to subordinate them to a more or less monotheistic and to a more human and equal to hush up.

From the shock of these opinions and beliefs, a social concept will emerge, further favored by recovery of the "Roman Peace". The Judafation movement will develop freely through the foundation of the many sects which at the beginning - that of the Christian sect by example - will appear as emanations of the es-took Jew. The Romans, generally reluctant to metaphysical speculations, did not hesitate to see in this monotheistic movement a Judaizing tendency exclusive. But the heads of the Synagogue were more clairvoyants: their monotheistic conception, which Jehovah apart from nature, was resistant to all mythological and even mystical and pantheistic influence; it allowed them to distinguish, in a mono-theistic more or less altered, a philosophical transformation

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phique of what remained of ancient pagan beliefs ^ So they did not hesitate to declare all monotheists those, who accepted the fundamental principles of Jewish morality, but they persisted in excluding from Synagogue all those who, under the name of Gnosticism, Christian messianism, etc., hid conceptions mysterological ^ The Jewish "Minim" - whether they are Samaritans, worshipers of the Holy Spirit of Joshua, or Jews Hellenists worshipers of the Logos, the mystical emanation of the Divinity, or even Manichaeans, believing in dualism - remain for them always pagans. As well

cable to the Jewish Synagogue. Their representatives understand are born very well that Judaism was not a mother, but a "stepmother".

Moreover, this attitude of the Synagogue, far from through the progress of new ideas, had only made reject on the side of Paganism. Disappointed in his hope to save the Jews, Saint Paul abolished Circumcision and Sabbath; his successors erected in dogma the mystery of the Trinity already known to the Pagans; walking towards a religious eclecticism, from which Christianity will emerge middle ages, could no longer be stopped. However, at when we are, Christianity is not yet that a small sect of Judaizing appearance, lost between so many others. Across the expanse of the old world Hebrew-Phoenician, regenerated by the Greco-Romaine, we see for several centuries two trends religious in conflict. However, they are only the echo of two ancient religious conceptions that were opposed One to another in Palestine: the first is mythological, pantheist and philosophical; it tends to substitute, by

1. Cf. the Hebr.-Phen., app. I and II.

t. mc ^ Hi yz ^ n yn tr. HouUn, f. is.

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its very essence, to the ancient trinitisilence, the mysterological conception of the Trinity, from which drew the Christian dogma ^ The ancient solar cults purified, identified with the Logos and Jesus, will emerge spiritual read, but not started in their original character. The second, the Synagogue, is abstractionist (that is to say putting the divinity outside of nature) and moralist (i.e. dominated by the feeling of absolute justice) first of all; but, simplistic and puritanical for what con-surrounds its external form, it will tend to dominate The old Bedouin conception of the God of Heaven on the mysteries and speculations of reason.

If the first is imposed on the Pagans, the second enters in conflict with Christianity itself: wherever Hebrew-Phoenician groups still subsisted, we can Tate the presence of rival Judaizing sects of Christianity. Among the early Jews themselves, we find mystics who convert to the Trinity, as we meeting among the Phoenicians of perfect Oneness. In the first century BC, Damascus saw all its women converted to Judaism 2. Throughout Phenica, where the worship of El Elion ^ or Supreme God, is perpetuated, there are autonomous Jewish colonies. The Pheni-

ciens and the Himyarites, who practiced circumcision, were mostly Judaizing. The reform of Saint Paul, which singularly favored the prohibition of circumcision by Hadrian, could have no hold on them.

It is precisely in Phenicia that originate the two Judaisant sects, which come closest to ancient Hebrew beliefs. At a time when the victoire of Christianity forces its adversaries to for or against Jesus, ancient beliefs and myths

1. The Sky God, the Heavenly Goddess 171 ^ S and Adonis. Cf. Slouscb, / es

Hebr.-Phenia, ^ pazsim,

2. Joseph E, Jewish Wars, I, 20, 12 and II, 18, 2.

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appear in a form more or less suited to

philosophical conceptions of time.

Tertullian is one of the first to point out Teresy of

Coelicolo or worshipers of heaven ^ This sect, like the

Jews before the reform of Ezra, personify Uranus,

the God of the ancient Hebrews: furthermore, his adherents

attend the synagogue, celebrate the Sabbath and above all remember

are close to Judaism. It is a sect which, according to the emperor

Theodosius, is formed "of people without God, but having faith

in Jewish superstition "^. Arcadius equates them to the Jews

and Samaritans. The Judaizers, very numerous in Africa,

are in reality only the result of a new evolution

velle in ancient Hebrew-Phoenician beliefs.

The day when the Punics will be brought or admit

identification of Tanit with Mary, or to renounce

entirely to their worship, they will adopt the belief in

Dieu-Ciel, characteristic of the Semites of the time ^.

Neander believes "that this sect, against which

Roman legislation, is known to the Talmudists as

that of the Proselytes of the Door * ".

We know in fact how much the word Heaven has entered

Jewish liturgy.

Even more interesting is the sect of the worshipers of the

tcOTJip Î ^ toToç 5, who worshiped El Elion or the Supreme Father.

1. To the Nations, I, 73.

3. Cod. Theod. brings the Jews closer to the Gœlicoles. Cf. Schmid,

nut. Calicoloerum, 1704.

3. The D ^ QTIQT ^ 2 ' > 1H of the Jewish and Christian liturgy.

4. m na Alg. Gesch. of christs. Religion ^ 1826, I, p. 810. The term

1707 na (cf. Exodus, XX, 10; Deater ,, V, 14. XXV, 12) means "the foreigners

gers of the market ". The traces of the Phoenician merchants can be found at

Jerusalem until the first century (see Nehemiah, XHI, 16, 20; Saphony,

10, 11; Evang. of Saint John, II, 14; Matthew, IV, 12; Movbrs, die

PhOnizier, II, III, p. 204). It is in this sense that we must look for Texplica-

tion of the mysterious term of "^^ 0 and ITtTl very frequent in the inscriptions-

Punic tions (C. / . S., / . 291-.W6, etc.).

6. Zfùc â | i9T0 <is the translation of the term Wiy Sn (Movers, ibid ,, I, I,

p. 50).

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This sect, of certain Phoenician origin, is spreading

especially in Africa.

Here we no longer have to do with an original sect

eclectic, but to the ancient cult of El Elion, Semitic,

who is identified with Jehovah, and whose Hebrew character

unmistakable cannot escape the original Christians

Israelite themselves.

Also Saint Augustine complains that "the Christians

yours are not afraid to call themselves the Israelites.

They regard as their ancestors these prophets and

patriarchs. They are in honorable company with

Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, David and Solomon. They continue,

with the Jews, to believe in the virtue of the Law and in the

of Nature capable by itself to be perpetuated "

We have already seen that it is the rabbis, and not

the priests who are called to bless the fields, in Spain

as in Africa, that is to say wherever the last

traces of the ancient Hebrew-Phoenician world remained

again. The Donatists themselves are closer

of Judaism than of Christianity ^.

Archeology confirms this movement of judaisation, sensitive especially in countries removed from an influence Roman direct. We mentioned above of many magic tablets, on which, in the middle deities and demons, appears the name of Lao or laou the god of the Jews. Here it is not the Jehovah of rabbis, but from Yahou or Yaho, the god of Elephantine and Proto-Jews: one reads on one of these tablets: "I again adjures you by the God of heaven who reigns over cherubim, who bounded the earth and separated the sea, lao, Araboth, Sabao, Adonai ^". The role of magicians

1. A. Cahe: *, *ibid.*, P. 20.
- S. Leferre. *Hist. du Christian, in Africa*, I, p. 294.
3. Monceaux, *El cilée*, p. 6; *VS. / Lat., VIII, sup. XII, 609, 611, etc. ; Vassel, ibid., P. 14â, and s.*

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Jews has been known since ancient times. In general, the harassment of the Fathers of the Church does not turn so much against the Jews as against the Judaisers ^ On the eve of their disappearance, the societies Phoenicians will cling to the synagogue to escape a definitive Christianization. If, in & 21, we notes that there are no more Pagans in Africa, it is the ancient cults hide under a Jewish guise or heretic *.

This is how we see Christian bishops obliged to speak the Phoenician idiom to their flocks, if although the Bible itself has been translated or rather adapted in this idiom, brother of Hebrew ^; in addition, we find too much alive the traces of the cult of Joshua, under which Tancien Melqart hides, so that we can question the existence of an eclecticism Jewish. Neo-Punic onomastics itself is affected by too many Jewish influences, so that we can discuss the per-continued kinship between primitive and Punic Jews, as shown by the necropolises of Gamart and of Cyrene.

Folklore and customs came together, not only also between Jews and Phoenicians, but even between Libo-Phoenicians, Berbers and Jews.

But we have another clue of the coming together between Jews and Phoenicians, not only religious and ethnic like the first, but in addition economic: and here a big problem arises, that of commercial supremacy.

We have studied at length the commercial role of Gadméens and their successors the Hebrew-Phoenicians *.

1. *Jew. Encyc, Church Falhers; St Jérôme, EpUl. XII.*
- S. Cf. Leclerc, *ibid.*, II, p. 94.
3. Monceaux, *Hist, liit., Etc., t. II, p. 48.*
4. See our and. the Hibrao-Phoenicians,

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We have especially shown that, if the trade in Ty- nothing was the main economic factor between countries of the Mediterranean, the Israelites, them, with the Dedanites, (Rodanites) held the markets of Ethiopia. However, the Phoenicians remained in possession of the market from the East until under the Roman Empire. The destruction of Tire by Alexander and the foundation of Alexandria their had dealt a sensitive blow. It was like a new

This is the phase of the struggle of Egypt against Assyria. At
 From then on, Alexandria monopolized part of the
 Eastern sea; yet she does not succeed in removing it
 completely to the towns of the Syrian coast. This is not
 that! in the middle ages that the merchants of Venice replaced
 definitively the Phoenicians.

Only, it just so happens that these Phoenicians
 since the advent of Christianity, too many
 Judaized, and that before the advent of the Venetians the
 Phoenicians disappeared to make way for the Jews. Now these
 Jews who run the world's commerce instead wear
 the proto-Jewish cachet than that of the Jews of the Synagogue. We
 know, in fact, that the Jews of the interior of Judea
 were not a trading population, and Josephus
 insists; the great commercial boom of Jerusalem is due
 to the Jews and Judahs who flocked there from all
 country. On the other hand, the Jews of Alexandria and Rome
 already appeared as a population of craftsmen,
 goldsmiths, etc., while those of Cyrene were
 traders.

In the third century, a Talmudic doctor, this same
 Rabbi to whom the Synagogue owes the famous New Year's prayer

1. Ph. Berger, Phoenicia, p. 32.

2. Saint Jerome in his comm. at ch. XIX of Isaiah indicates the persistence
 in Egypt (around the year 400) of five cities that the
 Phoenicians (cf. Jewish Quarterly Review, VI, p. 247).

8. Jewish Wars, II, 19; V, 8.

4. Cf. above, ch. V.

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Philo, who seems to be one of the latest universal inspirations
 lists of Judaism, exclaims with pride: "From Tyre to Car-
 thage we know Israel and his Father who is in Heaven ..."

But from there to speak of a commercial supremacy
 it is still a long way from Israel. However, this supremacy
 is established around the fourth century, that is to say at the time
 of the appearance of the Judaizing Phoenician sects: the
 solidarity of interests and the presence of the Diaspora had
 urged the Phoenician traders and navigators to
 get closer to the Jews, their former fellows and
 compatriots. The great development of Jewish proselytism cannot be
 not even plausibly otherwise. Already the Talmud knows the
 trade relations between Africa and Asia. Philo
 alludes to the existence of Jewish coasters, and the Talmud
 speaks favorably. Saint Augustine, who does not know
 how to fight the Judaizers, is expressed in the way
 next:

"I am," says the Synagogue, "neither slave nor servant
 Christians, since my sons are not taken prisoner-

deny, since instead of making them wear iron
 other marks of servitude they are left free to
 navigate and trade."

The ports of Cyrenaica are at this time visited
 by Jewish sailors, who frequented, in the fifth century,
 Narbonne and Marseille with Syrian traders. The
 Frankish kings themselves maintain relations with them.
 active commercial ties. In England, in Brittany,
 in Ethiopia, in Yemen, everywhere, we meet sailors
 Jews. Egica, the persecutor of the Jews, forbids them
 maritime trade. In Africa, the Jews of Mauri-

1. Philo, ad Flaccum; cf. above, ch. VII.

2. A. Cahen, *Ouvr*, cited, p. 20.
 8. Synesius, Ep. IV, 9-16; Herzfeld opened, eile ^ p. 282.
 4. Grégoire de Tours, *Jéw*, EneyCL. art. Trade.
 6. Hisi, *gaLy* IV, 12-35; VI, 5; VII, 26.
 6. *Leg. Visigot.*, XII, 2, 18.

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tanie maintain relations with those of Constan-
 tine and Spain ^

To show that wherever an ancient population
 Phoenician had constituted a commercial minority and
 industrial, this population ends, between the third and the
 sixth century, by disappearing, and a Jewish community
 substitutes for it, we could rely on
 evidence drawn from folklore, survivals, uses and
 customs, the persistence of an onomastic and
 synagogical and secular terminology, myths and
 traditions, traces of the Hebrew language that
 can only explain the rabbinical tradition,
 altered by the Judeo-Hellenes and Romans ^ . Finally, it should
 should take into account that the first colonies
 Jews, both in Europe and Africa, spread over
 the coast or on the great river currents that served
 of routes for international trade.

But this research would take us too far. A
 point remains certain: it is the willful ignorance of
 rabbinical texts with regard to Jewish communities, which
 lie outside the influence of the Synagogue. We
 have rather rare information on the life of groups
 Jewish settlements in France, the Rhine countries, Spain
 and in the African and Arabian interior before the new
 seventh century; but all show rather an indifference
 profoundness from the religious point of view and of an igno-
 absolute rancor of traditional Judaism. They denote at
 these groups have a rudimentary anthropomorphic conception.
 to hush up.

1. SLOU8CH, *EL êur Fhisl. deê Juift in Morocco*, I, chap. V.
 S. It is to this literature that mystical books belong to.
 ciens such as HI ^^ T ^ * DnQ1p '^\ 17 \ r ' D (already known to the Jews of France from the
 eighth centuryj ^ etc., as well as all the mythological Midrashim
 of which 1TZ7 ^ n 'D gives us an exact idea, and to which will be attached
 the travel novels of Eldad-le-Danite 'd'Klhanan-le-Marrhand (cf. *Chro-
 niele \$ ofjerahmiel*, ed. Gaster ').

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Saint Jerome says that the Jewish colonies formed a
 uninterrupted chain from Mauritania to
 India ^; we can also say that in Europe the first
 Jewish communities, after the official disappearance of
 Paganism, arose in the Roman maritime cities
 and Gallic, through the great stages of the Rhône,
 Rhine, etc.

It is the slow but sure absorption of the Phoenicians by
 the Jews who gave birth to Jewish settlements
 posterior, from which will emerge a distinct economy class.
 This transformation lasts several centuries; what alone
 can explain the silence of the Talmud towards him. A
 Arabic testimony, dating, it is true, from the year 817, but
 confirming a situation of very distant origin, we
 provides information on this role of the Hebrew-Phoenicians.

“The Jewish merchants called Rodanites speak He-
 breu, Persian, Roumi (Greek), Arabic and the languages of
 Franks, Spaniards and Slavs. They go from the West to

the East of the world, sometimes traveling by land, sometimes by sea. From the West, they bring eunuchs, slaves, women, young boys, beaver skins, brocard, marten pelisses, and other pelts and swords. Some embark in the country of the Franks on the western sea and arrive by sea at El Farana (Pelusium) where they load their wealth back camel and go by land to Kolzum (Suez) with a distance of 25 parasanges. They cross the Red Sea to reach El Djar (port of Medina) and Djedda (port of Mecca). From Arabia they go to Sind, to India and in China, from where they bring the musk, the wood of aloe, camphor, cinnamon, etc., and they come back to Kolzum, where they embark to return to the eastern sea tale. Others embark with their goods at

1. EpistoL 122, 4, ad Dardanum .,
2. iBKKnoBDADBEH.Kitab.elMaçalekwà'tmamaUckf ed. deGoeje, p. 117, US. 904 MOROCCAN ARCHIVES Constantinople to sell them to the Romans or in

the palaces of the Frankish kings. Some embark on the western sea to go up the Euphrates basin. They go by land from Antioch to al Djabia (al Hamya). Others descend from the Tanaïs (Don). Ibn Yahia adds: they go to Samaouch (Samakars) the city of the Jews and annoy the Slavic countries; they travel through Central Asia to lead by land to China and India. From at-very embark in Spain, from where they go to Sous-El-Akça (South Moroccan), to return to Tangier, to Kairouan and in Cairo, from where they pass to Damascus, Koufa, Baghdad, Persia, in Kerman, or from Rome to the Slavic countries, in Khan Balydj, the capital of the Khazars ^ in the Caspian Sea, in Balkh, Turkestan and China. "

These are the very trade routes of antiquity that the Arab author has preserved for us; later jealousy of the Arabs, the door opened to the East by the Crusaders, the maritime power of the Venetians were to take away Jews the monopoly of trade. But between the disappearance of the Phoenicians and the appearance of the Venetians there was a stage, that of the Jewish Rodanites. These Rodanites are not besides, not the strangers that one would suppose: according to Talmudic sources, which bring them closer to the Dedan = Rodan = traffickers from Arabia, "they are cousins of Israel who, when Israel prospered, caressed it, and when it drops, hit it ^ ". We will notice that we apply to them the same trait that Josephus had applied that already to the Samaritans; it is true that this passage, based on an etymological interpretation of texts, cannot be taken into consideration without other more decisive clues. sifs. But the Dedanites (or Rodanites) ^ Figure in the Bible as a merchant people par excellence. The

1. See Mid. TtAq ^ sec. MT \
2. We have devoted to this problem two special studies {the Hi ^ bréo PhénicieM, appendices: Hebreo-Phoenicians and Danites and Rodanites).

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Targoum Onkelos (Genesis, 25) and the historians of the Greek and Roman equity (cf. Movers, / 6irf., II, III, p. 302-30 &) often deal with these Dedanites trafiquants.

The relations of these traffickers with the Frankish kings, date back at least to the time of Grégoire de Tours. The commercial role of the Jewish Rodanites in the Rhône and as far as Persia, is established by other informa-

tions ^. In addition, from the sixth century, Rodanians Dardanians appear in Slavic countries. IYyria, at some point is called the country of Israel ^. From the ninth century, these same Jews appear in Africa under the name of Beni-Hadani, Had-Dani 3, with softening of the letter R and this is the very origin likely named after Eldad the Danite ^.

The special Hebrew idiom, pointed out by the latter, is confirmed by the existence of a dialect that I found in Africa. As for the Danites, they disappear with the Crusades. However, until the twelfth century, we find against in Aden, sheltered from any Muslim influence, Jewish pirates who entered Ethiopia ^. Already at fourth century, the Jews of Aden, jealous of their monopoly, oppose the penetration of Byzantine trade in India. the same is true in Africa, where we are let us fight the Danites until the sixteenth century ^. These are discussed in a special appendix.

Danites and their role in Africa; but our demonstra-

1. Cf. M. SIMONSEN, /? Evue des B tud. Jewish, i, Liy, p.141 where i) is a question, of the nautâB Hhodanici.
2. The Caucasus and Illyria (the Dardania of the Greeks) have among the the names of Rodanie and Dedan (cf. The Chronicle of Ibn-Daoud twelfth century, fln).
3. Lesson from Dunash, a tenth century African author.
4. Cf. Abraham Epstein, Eldad Hadani; Slousgh, EL on VhisL des Jews in Morocco, c. II and III.
6. Graetz, ed. Hebr., IV, p. 313. Itinerary of Benjamin de Tudèie.
6. Cf. Graetz, i6., T. III, p.467.
- 7- Cf. Epstein, ibidem.

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tion is sufficient to establish a direct link between the old Hebrew-Phoenician colonies and Jewish communities shopping centers.

If in the Mediterranean basin a regeneration of Hebrew was caused by the merger between Phoenicians and Roman Jews, so that this language from sixth century replaced Punic and Greek or Roman in the epitaphs *; if this regeneration manifested itself in a whole mystical folklore, containing elements obvious mythologies, including the Kabbalah of the Middle Ages will be the direct product; at least in the countries removed at the Synagogue, she gave the impetus to a Judaism unknown.

A new problem therefore arises, from now on, if we want to deepen religious and economic development ancient societies; since it is they who reappear-feels in new forms in the Christian Middle Ages or Jewish. But how did he find himself absorbed by the Synagogue, the Phoenician element? Because wherever Jews and Punics no longer formed a commercial minority and industrial, a special class was formed, which, thanks to its international character, was able to maintain a

everywhere. But this problem, which we only glimpse in Europe and in the Roman provinces of the Mediterranean, arises clearly in countries exempted from Greco-Roman civilization. In Arabia, Ethiopia, the interior of North Africa, where Judaism remained

safe from the centralizing and disciplinary action of the syna-
Judeo-Roman and Mesopotamian gogue, he continued
to form more or less compact ethnic groups

1. We report for the sixth and seventh centuries a rebirth of
Pure Hebrew in all Mediterranean countries. In Egypt, in Ita-
lie, in Greece itself Thebrew replaces the Greek and the latin on the
taphes and in religious acts (cf. the Egyptian papyri found
ved by M. Scherhter in the Gueniza of old Cairo and dating from Tan
483); V. CiiwoLSON, Corpux Inscr, ilebraicarum.

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and to bring together, thanks to its eclectic religious character,
mitive and not very resistant to external influences, a
population joining its commercial religious activity
a military and political predominance: in Arabia
and in Africa especially, Telucidating the problem of
Jewish influences on the ancient Semitic populations
ques, can shed new light on the evolution of
indigenous populations who end up throwing themselves into
rislam.

Unfortunately, once out of the realm of
Greco-Roman society, the historian finds himself forced to
research that is too difficult and very often jeopardizes
women in the field of prehistory: only a few
vague information, provided by the elders and by the ar-
geology, folklore, ethnography, and, with regard to
encircles Judaism, by Hebrew texts more or less
suspects, can serve as a basis for a story
of Jewish origins in interior Africa.

SECOND BOOK

JUDEO-HIMYARITES AND JUDEO-BERBERS

THE ORIGINS OF THE BERBÈRES

Canaanites, Hebrew-Phoenicians, Israelites, Judeo-Hel-
Lenes, Judeo-Romans, Judaizers, such is the long list
superimposed Jewish layers which, successively, disperse
appear from North Africa.

But, for the southern and western regions of
North Af rican, we are in the darkness of prehistoric
roof. A priori, we could suppose that all these agglo-
Jewish mothers who disappeared from the historical scene of the world
ancient, must have been absorbed by groups
mothers of the interior; they would thus have suffered the fate of all
the invaders, who came to Africa by land, and all having
been amalgamated in a more or less complete way, a
new race would be born from the Berber race. Thus, to
Berbers would correspond to the Judeo-Berbers. Else
on the other hand, we have seen that most of the early Jewish groups
driven back inland had left the coast before
the definitive strengthening of Talmudic Judaism, which
marks the Jewish Middle Ages. We should therefore expect
find the survivals of the ancient Judaism, either in
regions which remained outside Roman influence
sustainable, either among the Berbers who from time to time
invaded the coastline and left traces of their
passage.

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In addition, intellectual, religious and
military force of the Jews was too obvious for their
chiefs, the priests and army chiefs of the Union do not seek
point to turn towards the Berbers and recover
in the interior the land lost on the coast ^ We would be
therefore founded to seek at the bottom of the movements of Ber-

bers, sensitive especially after the struggles that devastated Cyrenaica, more or less pro-Jewish influences foundations.

Unfortunately, as soon as we turn away from Greco-Roman coast and its immediate outbuildings, we find ourselves in the presence of a world almost unknown and remained in the middle of the prehistoric period. The Berber race, from its appearance until today, has always undergone an obscure evolution and the rare made for the constitution of nations were to remain unsuccessful. Thus, Numidia is crushed by the Romans to become the prey of the Berbers of the desert ^; Cyrenaica becomes under the very eyes of the Romans a prerogative of the Bedouins, such as Taurès and the Atlas. It was the same in the Middle Ages, when alluvium successive Arab races came to destroy the few islets civilized that the Berbers themselves had succeeded in constitute: thus will be upset the ethnic elements and linguistics of indigenous races.

But precisely these successive alluvial deposits of nomads of white race who, since the Libo-Phoenicians of the anti-equity as far as Beni-Hilal, spread by way of land, from the basin of the Red Sea and the Nile towards the West. tooth, can serve as a solid base, if not for Teluci-

1. Indeed, a fourth century source claims that the house d ^ Onias continued to practice the worship of sacrifices. This must be raUa-dear to the Aaronides of the house of Onias rather than to the temple of Onion itself {Talm. Bah., Tr. Meguilla, f. 10).

2. Fifth century.

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dition of the problem originating in the primitive Berbers, less to establish a more or less narrow sequence between the migrations of races in Africa. By proceeding from the known to the unknown, that is to say in groups pant the historical data transmitted to us on the Berber invasions and their relationship with the ancient world, we could perhaps find for our study a solid basis, especially with the help of green areas of archeology and ethnography.

What we do know is that ^ since the Second Empire Egyptian, white races occupied the Tell and the ksour, which these primitive races certainly have been enlarged by voluntary or forced colonies, resulting from all Mediterranean countries: Phoenicians, Punics, Greeks, Romans, Spaniards and Vandals, all contributed to a certain extent in the constitution of homo-more or less apparent genealogy of the Berbers; only, not all of them succeeded, like the Jews, in maintaining their distinct individuality throughout history. It is even this individual character of Jewish groups established among the Berbers, which makes the problem of Jewish origins serves to study the whole Berber problem.

The permanent contact of the Jewish element with the races indigenous peoples of Africa allows us to seek in the Jewish traditions of the indications, which very often wind predates the very appearance of the ber-beers.

We know how Salluste ^ and Ibn Khaldoun ^ explain Berber origins. The first divides them into Numidians and in Moors, or sedentary Berbers and Berbers nomads; the other distinguishes Berbers of the first race and Berbers of the second race, that is to say Ber-

bers who occupied Africa since the highest anti-

1. Bel Jug „§ VIII.

2. The Berbers ^ vol. I and II, trad. from Slane, passim.

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Equity and Berbers, descendant of Himyar and forming a proto-Arab race which mingles in Africa only with aborigines and definitively Berberized.

This first appearance of the Himyarites in Africa *

seems to coincide with the period of bloody wars

between Romans and Punics in the vicinity of the Proconsular.

It was not until the second century BC,

that the name of the Afari people appears in this territory,

<| ui were to give their name to Africa ^.

Perhaps we have not taken sufficient account of the fact that this

geographical name, which was to replace that of Libya,

appears in full historical period and only after

the destruction of Carthage. Treaties of the Carthaginians

with the Romans do not quote it yet ^.

Josephus, who lived at a time quite close to these

facts, we have preserved several very early

heavens for Telucidation of the origin of Africans.

Its indications tend to confirm the assertions,

that we have already studied in our study on

Hebrew-Phoenicians concerning the Proto-Semitic origin

or Libo-Phoenician of the Berbers of the first race *.

It coincides with the Talmudic data, according to the

which the Libyans form with the Eg} 'ptiens a race

hnmitic ^. The Arabs, moreover, continued to call

Tripolitan Libya called Khem ®.

At a time close to Josephus, the Talmud assimilates

1. Even in Arabia the date of the so-called Himyarite era cannot be an-

terior to Tan 115 BC Cf. MJ Halévy, *Revue des Eludes Juives*,

t. XIX, p. 313,

2. The question has been studied by Dr. Otto Weber in his *Ara-*

well vor dfni Islam.

3. Cf. KocRMX, *the Berbers*, L p. 24-28; Meltzer, *Geschichte des Kar-*

ihager, passim.

4. *The HébrieO'Phéniriensi*, chap. I-IV.

A. ^ ^ ĪO N * n ^ sV " ^ XM. Cf. above. I, p. 47.

6. Cf. the Kilab el Adouani, trans. by Féraud, p. 167, etc.

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the civilized Libyans to the Egyptians; but it is in these

texts of a race related to Mizraim and having nothing to

to see with the Canaanites.

Josephus himself * considers, with the Bible and the Books

of the Jubilees, Africa as the homeland of the Hamitic race.

“The children of Ham occupied Syria and all

country from the mountains of Aman and Lebanon to the sea

Western; they gave them names that today

are some forgotten, others so corrupt that hardly

could we recognize them. There are only Ethiopians

whose ancestor is Chus, the eldest son of Cham, who have

always kept their name. The Mesreans occupy

Egypt; the Phutians populated Libya. There is still

in Mauritania a river which bears this name. But Phut

changed name because of one of Mesrée's sons named

Libis. Chus had nine sons: Sabas, prince of the Sabeans; Evilas, prince of the Evilians, now called Getules; Sabat, prince of the Sabattians, that the Greeks name Astabatheans; Sabacta, prince of the Sabachthéens; Romus, prince of the Romeans; the latter had two sons, one of whom called Judadan gave his name to the nation of Judadans who dwell among the Ethiopians in the west, and the other Sabbus to the Sabeans ^.

These Ilamites therefore occupied, in the time of Josephus, the Southern Libya, Ethiopia and the Sahara. However, Josephus already knows the movement of the second race Berber, that of the Beni-Qedem, or the Himyarites, who, from the shores of the Red Sea and Aksum, entered in Africa.

1. Antiquité I, 6.

2. Cf. A. Epstein, *Revue de l'histoire juive*, XVI, p. 82.

SV what Mr. Isid says. Levi {Rev. d. Eludée Juives, LIV, p.46) on the subject of this passage. Moreover, its importance does not lie so much in its historicity, that in the indisputable fact, that the traditions which linked to the movements of the Abrahamids in Africa, were already circulating in an era prior to Josephus,

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These races which were already attributed, as more late to the Arabs, an Abrahamid origin, form the second race of Ibn Khaldun, especially the Semitic that has nothing to do with the Proto-Semitic Libyans. Josephus * relates the testimony of Alexandre Polyhistor, nicknamed Malchus by the prophet Cleodemus and "who, at the example of the legislator Moses, wrote the history of the Jews".

This author says that Abraham had Cheturah - among others children - Aphram, Sus and Japhram: that Sus gave his name to Syria, Aphram to the city of Wphre, Japhram to Africa, and that they fought in Libya against Antaeus, under the leadership of Hercules. He adds that Hercules married the daughter of Aphram, and that he had one (they, named Dedore (Dedan), who begat Sapu and Saphaces.

This Sapu appears in the Midrash ^ as an ancient con-beggar who appears simultaneously in Egypt, Africa and in Italy, next to the Beni-Qedem.

Josephus, whose mind is resistant to mythology, expresses himself thus: "Abraham advised his children born of Chétura to settle in other countries; also send them to the Troglydyte and all the countries of Arabia happy to the Red Sea ^.

It is therefore either the Beni-Qedem or the Himyarites of the ancient race, which once occupied the territory of Midian, of Edom, of the Itureans and of the Nabataeans and the maritime outlets of the Red Sea and even that of Gaza and Hadrumète *. Pushed back south, they crossed

1. Antiquities, I, XV,

2. Under the name TS ^ Sn p ISST. We cannot take enough into account Jewish folklore predating Islam and often Christianity itself even. The 1C?% T ISD contains mythical-looking traditions about wrestling of the Beni-Qedem or the Himyarites both in Ethiopia and in Africa North. We meet the names of Afer-Ifrikos, that of Angias (Negus), that of D ^ p Mythical ancestor of the Kenites. Caussin de Perceval place rère de Ifrikos at 27 BC. AD (Fournel, *Les Berbères*, p. 27). S. Maçoudi (*Green Prairies*, I, p. 126) knows these movements.

4. Cf. MJ Halévy, *Revue de l'histoire juive*, XIX, p. SIS.

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the Red Sea to spread to Ethiopia, from where they went north.

Josephus adds: u It is also said that Ophres seized by the arms of Libya, that his descendants blamed and named this country after its name Africa *. " If you think that this information dates from the first century, that the land of Gharian which formed the vanguard of Libya still bears the name of "Troglodyte ^", which almost all the Cadmean tribes that wandered in Syria have since been found in Africa, we can not contest the opinion of Arab historians who attribute a Himyarite origin to the Berbers of the second race. Who were these nomads who, in Josephus' time, came from the Red Sea to Libya? Herodotus ^ speaks of the nomadic Libyans wandering from his time, from Egypt to Lake Tritonide, that is say in Tunisia. Diodorus of Sicily already distinguishes among Africans four races: the Phoenicians, the Libo-Phoenicians, the Libyans and the Numidians. There is a clear distinction between Sedentary Libyans and Numidians or nomads.

These nomads would be the Berbers of the second race, Semitic that one, who, since the Punic wars, invaded the Tell of North Africa. Among them, the 1. Here is the old bibliography confirming this hypothesis. We saw that the Afari did not appear until after the destruction of Carthage. The Targoum (II Chron., XIV) translates the term of > Dinn Sy H iN2iy D ^ UTID ^ p ^ IDKL. They are Arabs who stand on the edge of Africa. The Talmud knows the immigration of ^ JIQlp ^ T ^ 3p ^ 3 ^ p to Africa (Ta /., Jerus. nillDI 4- Shabouot 36 6). Hérodien already knows the Afri in Africa (Higt. Lib.f VII, 6). Strabo and Ptolomé (v. D'Avezac, r Afrique ancien ^ p. 17M79) place the following peoples in Libya: the Erebidis 3 " ^, Ips Negebians 1: 1:] ^ the Qadamasians iJOlp, the Kinithians i; 3 ^ D (i ^ elon Ptolomé, Strabo has a lesson from Sintæ). All these names, which are still ignored " by Herodotus, suggest a certain Semitic origin. 2.IV, 1S6, I. 3. Cf. Faith, ibid, f p. 26.

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Afari come, as formerly the S capsules from the edges of the Red Sea, settled in the Proconsular after the destruction of Carthage, but before the Romans would have undertaken the colonization of the devastated regions. According to Carette's Opinion 2, it was the Afariki, who became naked in Arab times the Aurir'i, who occupied the land roof of Carthage and gave their name to Africa; this hypothesis is supported by the authors approximately contemporaries of the events reported by Josephus. The infiltration of the so-called Abrahamid tribes should no longer stop, it is passing by the himyarite kingdom of Axum as the successors of the Libyans and the Afari penetrated as far as Ksour and Tell; if some tribes, who came to a not distant time, bore the name of Mediouna, Qadamisians, Gadamès, Nefoussa, Qentim and Itureans, nothing prevents us from believing that would have been fractions of the ancient Midianites, Itureans, Nefoussa-Méounim and the Israelites, who had been centuries on the edge of Egypt and that the great Nabataean thrust had driven back towards the Red Sea. Thus would be confirmed the opinion of ibn Khaldoun and Al Bekri on the penetration of the Himyarites in Africa ^: Ifrikos, the son of Kaïs Ibn-Sai (i, would have conquered Africa after killing the king, a Palestinian named Djerdjis * ^ driven out with his people by the Israelites from Palestine. If Ifrikos embodies the Afari, Djerdjis embodies a

ancient Libo-Phoenician or Chanaanite race, established in Africa. As for Saïfi, it is the same character

mythical that Josephus knows under the name of Sapo, and that Hebrew traditions bring with the Beni-Qedem

1. Cf. our aforementioned study, ch. III.

S. Exploration of tribag migration in Algeria, p. 40; Mbbcier " BisL from FAF. sept., p. 181.

S. Ibn Khaldoun, Hist. of the Berbers ^ I, p. 168 and 171.

4. Note that the eponym v: y \ 2 is frequent in the ononiastic pu> nique of Carthage.

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at Coush, from where they penetrate as far as Carthage and the Medi * terrane.

The exodus of the Abrahamids in Africa is elsewhere known to rabbis of all ages, this fact being previously reported to Tislam; on the other hand some names bearing in this cycle Greek endings, it is not difficult to see very

old ^

The Himyarite invasion had therefore continued since the last centuries before J.-C. It is even necessary to seek dear their starting point in the Himya migrations-rites in Ethiopia.

. The Nouba 2, the Blemyes and other populations, including taken all the Troglodytes, call themselves:

Berberins or Barabra, name that is certainly found on the Ethiopian coast, and which explains the supposed kinship between the Berbers, the Phrygians of Asia Minor ^ and the Afridi of Belochistan, the same peoples having been thrown from Arabia, some to the Persian Gulf, the others to Abyssinia *.

These Berabra, identified with the Nabades or the Nobates of Procopius, under the pressure of the Himyarites, continue their migrations towards the South-West; Procopius already knows Nobates invading the oases li-byennes.

Makrizi says that the Bedja-Bega are Berbers from Nubia driven back to the West: Axum's inscription makes mention of a people called Bougaïtas, next to which

1. Cf. the Youhassin of Zacoula: npnSNS IsSn niTOP ■ "":! Among the eponyms that we meet in the IV ^ il 15D, we note those of ISST D * ipnS ^ N DIJi DN"aJN and the generic names of Dlp ^ 21 and mnap ^ n.

2. Cf. M. Bertbolon, in La Reue tunisienne, 1906, p. 164.

3. Cf. Cherubini, rUnivers Pi7., Nubia, p. 48-60. Procopius asserts that the Nabates already occupied the Ksour of the Sahara in the sixth century.

4. M. Le Chatelier, in his course (at the College de France, 1908).

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are the Tangaïtes and the nomads troglod} 'tes ^

According to the historical law, according to which at all times the nomads encamped near Eritrea were pushed to the west, the Himyarites took advantage of every war to enter the Ksour of the Sahara, from where they waited for the opportunity to throw themselves on the countries inhabited by sedentary populations.

If the destruction of Carthage removed supremacy from the Libyans to highlight the Afari 2, tribe of origin Semitic, the bloody wars of 115-118 determined

a great surge of Ethiopian races; these races were designated by the name of Berbers, a term which prevails thereafter, especially since it recalls the word "Berbers" of the Greeks.

Only these Berbers of Semitic origin, in contact with Jewish influences, both on the edge of the Palestine that in Egyptian and Ethiopian Arabia, will be the bearers of a whole folklore drawn from traditions Jewish; Abraham-Berhoum, Goliath-Djalout, the security enemy David, Joshua and Solomon will figure in their works. Traditions, sometimes as ancestors and eponymous, sometimes as traditional enemies ^.

An Arab tradition predating the ninth century and to Islam itself, says that the Berbers had left Palestine after the death of Djalout killed by David: they had come to Libya and had occupied the Marma-rique ^. They later dispersed: the Zenata and the Meg'ila pushed towards the Western Atlas. The Louata

1. Chérudini, *ibid.*, p. 94. To compare these names with that of Bagala, former capital of Paures and that of Tangia-Tangier.
2. Fouhnel, *op. cit.* p. 49.
3. Movers has summarized the related literature on this subject {t. II, p. 2, p. 416 and s.}.
4. Already Ibn Kordadbeh {Kitab at Masalik wa 'l Mamalik, tr. De MJ de Goeje, p. 66}, author of the beginning of the ninth century, knows these traditions, which can also be corroborated with Jewish sources oldest ^ ;.

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occupied Gyrénaïque, the Haouara-Lebda and the Ne-foussa settled in the Sahara. The Afari, whose name comes from that of King Fari ^ remained subject to the Greeks *.

Ibn Khaldoun's dissertation tends to attribute a Himyarite origin in Zenata, son of Abd Chams and brothers of Saba and his brother Kahtan (Havila). Ibn Khaldoun divides the Berbers into two distinct races, which make up the war against each other: by this seems to be confirmed the presence of a double alluvial layer of Berbers, came one after another from Eritrea. This is the opinion even Josephus, Edrisi, and Targoum: all speak Arabs who roam the borders of Africa, and they attribute an Abrahamid origin to Africans.

In short, an incessant surge of Himyarite peoples demonstrated towards North Africa, and it should no longer stop until the appearance of the Arabs: and posterior even, new Berber races like the

Kitama, the S'anjaja, the Lemtouna and the Targa, quit- left Abyssinia to escape the Arab invasions.

After having stayed in the Sahara and Sudan, they went up in their turn, between the eighth and the tenth century, towards the Tell and the Atlas.

Now, there is no doubt that in Arabia and in all the Himyarite countries, a strong Jewish influence had valued the ancestors of the Arabs, whose instructors in religious matter and the initiators of civilization were Jews, either sedentary or nomadic; also, a soft had it preceded by several centuries

The outbreak of Islam, an outbreak that was only a reaction Arab against Jewish influence. Folklore, prehistory, the genealogy of the Arabs bear too much the imprint of this

1. Ibn Khaldoun, I, 177-184.
2. *Ibid.* Is not. cited; cf. Focnel, *Ouvr.*, cited, p. 37-38.

3. FouRNEL, *ibid.*, P. 86; From Slane, in *Tappeadice to Ibn Khaldoun*, 1. 1.

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phenomenon, so that we can question it ^ Now, these influences are found in a double aspect. Empire himyarite and that of Axum present us of non-Jewish populations who end up judging themselves. On the other hand, the presence in Arabia of the original Jewish tribes pure Israelite genius, even of Aaronid clans and Nazir tribes or ascetics shows us a strong immigration-commercialization from Proto-Jews to Himyarites. Moreover, this presence of Jews among the Arabs is plique historically: it serves as a counterweight to the resistance of the Hebrew-Phoenician populations of the littoral ^ We have already had the opportunity to observe the exchanges between mercials who, through the Dedanites,

Sabeans, Rodanites, often Judeans themselves, were made between Arabia, Palestine and Ethiopia. But it is curious to follow the Jewish traditions, about the Israelite migrations, across Arabia to the Meri-Nile dional.

1. This pre-Islamic Jewish influence is recognized by all scholars up to Meltzer [*Gesehiehte des Karthager* ^ I, p. 59).
2. Cf. above I, chap. VIII; *The Hibrio-Phinics*, chap. VII et seq. and appendix Y.

II

THE ANCESTORS OF THE JUDEO-BERBERS

Among the tribes of Israel who are disappearing quite quickly from Palestine, that of Simeon must figure before any other. Indeed, the Beni-Siméon, who always remain at Nomadic state, partly left, under the reign of David, southern Judea and occupy the Gulf of Aqaba on the Méo'niens-Minéenshamites ^ It is probably with their help that the kings of Judah seized the trade of south; their resistance to nomads gave rise to the legendary cycle say about the struggles of David against Djalout, that the Berbers first breed transported to Africa 2. More late, and under the pressure of the Itureans, the Béni Siméon made up of fugitives from Judea, are in turn driven back towards South Africa ^, The Jews of Yemen, which derive as the purest of the Diaspora and some of whom

1. Cf. I, *Chronicles*, IV, 31; v. our and. the Hebrew-Phenic, c. VI II. The persistence of Israelite element among the populations of Arabia having was established by us as a fact whose origins go back at least at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, nothing will oppose the admission of the traditions in question. We know how many place holds genealogy among the Hebrews and the Arabs.

2. MOVERS, II, III.

3. On the influence of the Jews in Arabia, cf. Otto Weber, *Arabian vor tooth Islam.*, p. 35-36.

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fractions continue to live in a nomadic state, claim to be of a Simonian origin *.

In the eighth century, Tarif, Tun of the conquerors of Es-loincloth, whose son founded in Morocco the Judaisant Empire of Berg'houata, also considers himself a descendant of Shimoun ben Yacoub or the patriarch Simeon. It was to be the same for the Beni-Ruben: these the last supplant the Haggarians under Saal; already, under

the reign of Saûl, they seize the regions of the Itureans Nefoussa and Nodab: we therefore find them mixed with early in the migration of the Beni-Qedem and the Himyarites. They are Proto-Jews who, constitute - (likewise that the Behuzim ^ today, whose persistence in Africa and Arabia is a vivid testimony to what we said earlier) - the race of Jews nomads; as well as the Hebrew or Hellenic Proto-Jews sedentary people from agricultural countries formed the sedentary Jewish woman.

These Jewish influences had gone through the same stages than the migrations of the old Berbers, in general. We finds them after Arabia, in Ethiopia, this focus of Himyarite and Berber races. "In this country, Judaism and its traditions are preserved, not only among Hebrew refugees from Palestine, but also among Himyarites from Arabia ^."

“The Hebrews arrived in Ethiopia at a time predating Christianity and introduced their books and their Samaritan script ^."

1. J. Sapia, I ^ SD 71N, I. A sixteenth-century source places the tribe of Simeon in Ethiopia (Neubauer, *Mediaeval Jewish Chronicle*, II, p. 181).
2. I, *Chronicles*, V, 9. This is the probable origin of the Israelite-midianite clan of Hanoch. Cf. *Genesis*, IV, 4; I, *Chron.*, V, 8; / c »Hibr.-Phén., p. 14, note 8).
3. The Jewish nomads of Tunisia and Algeria. V. our trip cTEi. Jews, etc., note.
4. D'AvEZAC, *l' Afrique anc.*, p. 23.
5. Cherubini, *Nubia*, p. 125.

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The Jews seem to have benefited in Abyssinia from an autonomy proper to the time of the Babylonian captivity. Basnage S Rilter ^ and Reclus talk about Jewish refugees, who brought Judaism to Abyssinia before the penetration of the Christian.

The Talmud, which places the ten extinct tribes in Africa of Israel 3, the Koran which knows independent Jews in Africa *, only confirm the existence in Africa of Primitive Jews, of whom the Phalaches are the last

feeling.

At the time of the Nabataean movement, pushing back the Idumeans, followers of Judaism, the Me'onim, the Neofools, the last Midianites and the other tribes which lived around the temple of Onias "Jewish nomads from race or religion increase the ranks of the population of Israelites from the Red Sea basin. If we judge by what their co-religionists do in Mesopotamia, the Zealots who appear, after the destruction of Jerusalem by Yitus, in the Thebaid and in Libya, seek above all to win over the primitive Jews and the Judaizers in the revolution against Rome 6. It is even this ardent patriotism kindled by the Zealots among the Jews of Hellenized or barbarian countries, who noted the great insurrection from 145 to 433. As such, the participation in these struggles of the dissident Israelites, such as the Samaritans and certain sects with Gnostic tendencies, is quite characteristic.

1. *Hist. Jewish*, t. VIT, p. 186.
2. *Die Erdkunde*, I, p. 218.
3. Tr. -JmnJD, f. 94a; NnS4 DD, NI 17; *Mid. Hll*, D "" in, V. 14.
4. Bâcher, *die Aggada des Tanaileriy I*, p. 298; Epstein, *Eldad Hadani*,

p. 16.

6. Fractions of the Nefs, brothers of the Itureans after being turned away by the Beni-Ruben appeared with the Mé'onites in the books CrEsdras (11,3) and of Nehemiah (VII, 62) as having professed the daism.

6. Cf. above, I, ch. V.

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We have already told the story of this struggle.

In Roman lands, at least two groups managed to maintain keep thanks to their rather passive attitude, the Judeo-Romans and Judeo-Christians like: also the Synagogue Orthodox Church and the Church alone emerge enlarged from this struggle.

The survivors of other groups, Israelites, Sadducees, Judeo-Hellenes, hunted down in the Roman countries, saw themselves scattered in regions free from the influence of Tempire. So we find ourselves in the Caucasus, in Armenia, in Central Asia *, Arabia and Africa, the my primitives who no longer resemble the ancient Hebrews half pagan of the Phoenician era, but already having all were influenced by the Judeo-Hellenes.

However, in order to clarify the real character of these Dissident Judaisms, which are based in countries not

Romans, we could not do better than to give a approximate picture of Judaism in the two countries where its remains have been preserved until Muslim times. mane, namely: Arabia and Ethiopia.

This penetration of Judaism towards the South goes back, according to M. Halévy, in "the Himyarite era: according to this scholar, it cannot go back beyond the year 115 before J.-C2. "

We have seen that the influence of Judaism radiated over these populations of several different points: the temple of Onias dominated the nomads of the right bank of the Nile; the one of Jerusalem spread over the Idumeans and the Sa-beans.

However, despite the presence among the Arabs of past teurs and farmers who claimed to have come to Arabia with Joshua son of Nun, no evidence prior to 1. Cf. nos and. Jews in Afghanistan and Jews and Judaism in Indies (Revue du Monde Moslem, April-May 1908). 2. See above, ch. I.

THE ANCESTORS OF THE JUDEO-BERBERS 327 second century does not show what influence Judaism could then exercise on the Arab nomads ^

However, the texts become more decisive from the second century: thus Graetz ^, Reinach ^ and Hirschfeld * place the historical origins of Jewish influences in Arabia after the events of the second century. Hirschfeld quotes a Talmudic passage on Judeo-women Arabs, which cannot be later than this date. Others texts confirm this opinion. What sets the newcomers from their predecessors is that next syncretistic Hellenistic ideas, they already profess to vague rabbinical beliefs. If the ancient myth of Joshua tends to merge more and more with that of Jesus the son of Marie, confused with Miriam, Amram's daughter, a new calf myth is formed around the character of Ezra, the restorer of the Synagogue. The Koran, who knew yet better the true state of mind of his contemporaries rains, tells us: "Jesus and Ezra are divinized all two® ". This curious passage, but too isolated, would be insufficient.

health, if local traditions found in Yemen and until the island of Djerba did not betray the persistence of a struggle between early Judaism, represented by Joshua and resulting in Christianity, and that of Synagogue represented by Esdras. "Be that as it may, the

1. The fact is no less certain that there were Hebrews in Arabia, at least from the sixth century BC. JC Caussin de Perceval,

Test on Vhist. of the Arabs, II, p. 642; SJ Rapoport, D ^ Wn m ^ S 1829.

See appendix "Therapists and Maghrabia"; our and. the Ilibr.-Phén., app. IV and V.

2. Hist. Jewish, III, p. 75 and following. ; we quote Téd. Hebrew who is corrected by Doctor Harkawy.

3. Hist. of Israel., p. 97.

4. Reue des Et. Juives, t. XLIV. The Talmud knows his influences. Cf. Talm. Jirus., Sabbat, VI, 6. Talm. Bab. Gillin, f. I.

5. Soura, III, 30.

6. Soura, XLIV.

7. Travelers Benjamin de Tudèle and Benjamin II already know these traditions. J. Sapir (yes / r. Quoted) confirms them. In Djerba, one of the centers ARCH. MOROCCO. 21

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Arab Judaism has retained its primitive physiognomy until than in Mahomet's time and even beyond.

As in Onion and in the land of Israel, Judaism

Arabic presents a warrior, agricultural and nomadic character

of the desert; trafficker on the shores of Eritrea, generally

ral dominated by Aaronid clans and groups

ascetics ^ In a sedentary country, the Aaronides

solidly: divided into many isolated tribes, these

Israelites take shelter in a fortified castle that serves as their

center and which is at the same time the seat of an aaronide,

leading their armies and their worship.

The Koreiza and the Nadhir ^ who resisted Muhammad

by arms, are known as Al-Kahinan

(the two Cohen tribes). By their origin and by their tra-

warlike ditions, they enjoy high esteem among

of their co-religionists and surrounding tribes.

Moreover, the word Kahin is only the Arabic form and sama-

rite of the Hebrew word kohen: in the Koran, it takes the

value of "diviner", which corresponds to the functions that

was the ancient Cohen of the Bible, holder of the oracles.

As for the non-Aaronid tribes, they devoted themselves to

everything to agriculture, commerce and manual trades,

at Torfèvrerie in particular ^.

In nomadic country, the old institution of the Nazirs, which

under the influence of Hellenism evolves to transform

eu Essenes, Therapists, etc., disputes the priority

(the Judeo-Berbers "I have studied them myself (cf. Slouscu, Voyage

d * Jewish Studies in Africa),

1. In particular the Rechabites of Kbaïbar. (Cf. Rapoport, et. Cited and Graetz, idid., III, p. 76).

2. From the baby 1 ^ -, ascetic. Graetz wanted to see in these tribes

Caribbean prior to the formation of the Caribbean (eighth century). In

in reality, it is a question of a primitive Judaism where the priest and the ascetic dominate the

rabbi. See Hirschfeld, Bev. d. And. J., T. VII, p. 167. Samuel ben Adia. the

hero of pre-Islamic Arab folklore was according to Kitab al-Aghani a

Aaronides.

3. Hirschfeld, ibid. ^ P. 269.

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Aaronidae. This was the case with Beni-Khaïbar from the north, Jews nomads and warriors, who by their asceticism recall the Essenes. They are also referred to as Qenites or Beni-Moussa K

Both were warriors. Their role in the struggles of the Arabs against Muhammad no doubt. Even in the twelfth century, their last survivors, masters of the mountains of happy Arabia who dominated Aden, raided Ethiopia * ^.

We do not have to do here the history of Judaism in Arabia, but its very existence in archaic protects us from the surprises that the historian can meet in Africa.

We have seen that the Limyarites were not satisfied with possession of Arabia: they crossed the Red Sea to spread to African countries. However, we see among the Himyarites, at least from the third century, an infiltration of Judaism. Edouard Glaser ^, basing himself on epigraphic documents of the same time, makes the following observation.

Until the fourth century, the Himyarite texts are still dominated by the pagan deity of Athtar. From of this period, however, appears the "God of Heaven and of the earth " ; then the "Rahman" and "the Merciful" even, the "God of Heaven and of Israel" supplanted the an- these deities. As the Himyarites overflowed in Ethiopia, it is not surprising to come across the term "God of Heaven and Earth" even in an inscription tion found at Axum.

The inscriptions of Jewish origin date from the years 378, 1. These Beni-Moussa already lived in Africa at a time prior to rislam (Bâcher, die Aggada der Tanaiten, I, 298).

2. Graetz, 16id., L. IV, p. 313. See the Ilebr.-Phén., Appen. V.

3. Rev. d. Ejud. Jewish, t. XIX, 313. M. Duciiesne, *ibid.*, T. XX, 220-3; J. Derenbourg, *ibid.*, T. IV, p. 56. See above all, Glaser, *Skizze der GeschicMe und Geographie Arabiens*, I, 1889.

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448, 458, 467, while no indication of the presence of Christianity is not found before the sixth century. Besides, The Himyarite Church was not formed until around 500, while the first Christian Himyarite inscription dates only of 542. Before this time and the conversion of King Abu Karib to the Jewish religion, it predominated over the two shores of Eritrea. Despite the controversy between MM. Halévy, Glaser and Duchesne, this fact cannot be today questioned.

In the sixth century, the Jews reached Tapogeus with their power in Arabia: thus, they dominate the outlets maritime routes to India and Africa, and strong enough to prevent the Byzantines from accessing India. Economic causes, together with a per- execution that the Jewish king YousseoufDhou Nouas would have led against Christians, served as a pretext for Ellesthacos ^ king of the Christian Ethiopians, to wage war on his former master. Having learned that the Hamerites on the other by the sea, some of whom were then Jews, others attached to their old religion, oppressed Christians, this king assembled a fleet and an army, then marched against them. Fortune of arms gave victory to the Christian king yours, and dealt a severe blow to Arab Judaism, whose setbacks prepared the Muslim reaction.

However, in Ethiopia itself, and especially in the Abyssinian mountains, a primitive Judaism knew how to maintain nir to the present day.

The discovery of the Elephantine papyri allows us now to see a Jewish influence on this side, from less from the fifth century BC: the tradilocalations, which trace the origin of Judaism until Solomon, are all the better explained.

A legendary cycle already known, that of Josephus and the

1. Procopius, by Bello Persico, I, 20.

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Midrashim, relates to the activity of the lawgiver Moses in this country.

However, it remains beyond doubt that the Jewish colony of Ethiopia received, in 115-118, a considerable contribution of Hellenist Jews who sought refuge in this country removed from Roman influence. How to explain to-

the persistence among the Phalacha of terms and assuredly Hellenist ideas, alongside Proto-Jewish uses, traditions that denote a rabbinical influence not less certain?

These Phalacha, or the "exiles", as they are called their neighbors call themselves "Qaran". As MA Epstein established it very well, they keep their beliefs intact since the ninth century, we will see in the appendix: k Therapists and Maghrabia »what he must think of the origin of this tribe.

The Phalacha - those nowadays at least - do not do not know Hebrew; their Bibles are written in Ghez, ancient Himyarite language, but made on the Greek text of Septuagint, uncorrected. The terms of worship and onomastics of their own are often of Greek origin.

Moreover, their religious conceptions are very Greek. nists, so that we often do not know where Judaism ends, where Christianity begins, the latter being himself, in Abyssinia, very Judaizing ^ . So the Phalacha believe to the existence of Logos, the intermediary between God and nature 3. They call it Sanbat; it dominates the Sun and the Rain ; it is the Messiah who will bring the Jews back to Jerusalem.

The apocryphal books of Enoch and the Jubilees, banished from

1. Epstein, ^ 3Tn TtSh; Jewish Encyclop. ^ Art. Phalacha \ Flad, dieAbys- ainUchen Juden.

2. SJ Rapoport rec. DTiyn mDI, 1824. We owe to the journey of M. FaUlovitch and the presence in Paris of two young Phalachas, specific information on this subject.

3. See the above-mentioned appendix and our study. Ub Ilebr.-Phén., Ap. Zedec and Zadoc "

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the Synagogue, are in great veneration among the Phalacha. However, the latter ignore the holidays legal documents of Esther and the Machabées, although the Esther and the Machabées are known to them. Sum whole, their cult bears the stamp of an eclecticism which both Jews and Samaritans. They are divided into three castes: that of the Cahen (and Levites), that of the Monks (Nazir) and that of the Debtera (Scribes). The ritual of the sacrifices was formerly in force among the Phalacha; of same as the Samaritans and the Jews of the Sahara through age, they continue to immolate the Paschal Lamb; their synagogue looks like the temple in Jerusalem: they call it from the name of Masjid or Meqarib, a term reminiscent of singu directly that of the sect of Maghrabia *.

Like the Hellenists of antiquity, the Phalacha does not take literally the texts concerning the use of threads and religious philacteries; the Phalacha strictly observe fully the rules relating to the impurity of women. Their

ritual for animal snuffing corresponds to Tancien ritual, which has been preserved to us by the Book of Jubilees and by Eldad the Danite. All in all, Hellenist influence is so certain that one cannot see in the Phalacha only a fraction of this primitive Judaifism, whose survivors meet in Africa, everywhere under the name of Karia and Magharia in Egypt, and elsewhere under that of Maghrabia. Their occupations are same as those of Arab and African Jews; they are warriors, farmers and artisans.

Unfortunately, the early history of the Phalacha is little known: it is lost in prehistory, from Himyarite migrations. As one would not know, on the other hand, deny the influence of Judaism in the struggles between

1. Cf. Maguid, collection A / <rasc /; Sainl-Pélersbourg, 1902, p. 227-239.
2. n ^ sr ^ îr.
- 3.] " S2n.

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Himyarites and the Ethiopians, Mr. Joseph Halévy attributes the historical origins of the Phalacha in Tarrivé in Ethiomagpie of the war captives brought by Christian king Caleb, after his wars. against Dhou Nouas Thimyari te *. However, the above proves that the in Hellenistic influences are too evident among the Jews Ethiopians, so that we can dispute their earlier origin dating from the wars of the sixth century. If you wanted to accept this hypothesis, it would first be necessary to prove that the Arab Judaism was as Hellenized as it is in our eyes that of Ethiopia.

Mr. Halévy is, however, right when he asserts that Yemenite Jews entered Ethiopia; indeed, next Hellenistic influences, one finds in this country infiltrations of Arab origin. It is to this last that he must be attributed the penetration of certain rabbi precepts nics and Midrashim. The particles of truth that are find in the account of Eldad the Danite, and an indication by Benjamin de Tudèle ^ corroborated by other data from Jewish sources, show us that the existence of the Phalacha was not entirely unknown to the rest of Judaism.

The so-called Rodanite Jewish merchants penetrated certain in this country, and they were able to maintain relations with their native co-religionists.

Moreover, the traditions on the migrations of the Himyarites, half Judaized since the fourth century, we show that the origin of Judeo-Arabian influences must be sought on that date.

Above all, the emigrations from Arabia were to increase. kill from the appearance of the Prophet; if the movement of the Jews of Khaibar or of the Rechabites to the Mesopotamia and Syria are historically established ^, how

1. Rev. of Jewish Studies y art. above.
 2. Itinerary.
 3. Cf. Graetz, / 6 / d., T. IIL p. 75 and s.
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deny that a similar movement, attested by folklore African and by an Arab source, carried these same Beni Khaibar to Ethiopia, from where they did not stop spread in the ksours of the Sahara and up to the Maghreb *?

Along with forced or voluntary migration, which from coastal regions penetrated inland African, a second category of Jewish migration went from Arabia and Ethiopia to the West and the North, and we have to take that into account. With regard to Ethiopia and Sudan, this fact is attested by a whole series of source accounts Jewish and Arab.

By proceeding by deduction, we easily arrive to establish the penetration in northern Africa of Judeo-Himyarite bus, next to the Berbers of the second race.

Even a priori, we could admit the hypothesis of persistence of a Judeo-Berber race.

But if we find all over the land

North African folklore, a folklore common to Jews and Berbers from Arabia or Ethiopia before

Islamic; if survivals of sanctuaries and clans

of Aaronides, warrior and dissident Judaisms

hoist everywhere; if the testimonies of historians

Arabs on the role played by this unknown Judaism are cor-

enhanced by archeology, epigraphy, linguistics and

ethnography; if there are still Jewish groups

nomads, Troglodytes Jews, Fellah Jews attached

how can we refuse to admit

1. This hypothesis has just found a decisive confirmation by Tins-Jewish description in Kufic found in Mesopotamia and that the scholar M. Schwab publishes in the last issue of the Revue des Et. J. This inscription made during the one I brought back from Jebel Nefoussa (see further).

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the thesis that we present: namely that of the persistence in Africa of a more or less indigenous Jewish race, which, by its constitution, its origins, its traditions, correspond to the Berbers themselves?

The Judeo-Berbers correspond to the Berbers, as formerly the Hebrew-Phoenicians corresponded to the Punic, the Judeo-Hellenes to the Greeks, the Judeo-Romans to the Romans.

III

ARCHAEOLOGICAL TESTIMONIES

The historical light, which is done from the second century on the state and destinies of the Roman Jews of Mauritania, darkens regarding the survivors the massacres of 115-118 and the Christian persecutions towards the inside.

The fate of the latter remained a mystery until our days and historians are constrained by the force of things to admit of ancient Jewish influences on Berbers. Basnage *, which must have drawn from the same source that the Hebrew writer Fischer - ^ notes the presence of Jewish fugitives among the Berbers. Others admitted the presence of Hellenist Jews in Abyssinia, but all remain silent about the rest of Africa - *.

One thing is certain: scholars and explorers

French, who had the opportunity to explore the problem Berber migrations, from Carette and Fournel to

that Basset and Motylinski brought us documents matters concerning the persistence of former Jewish influences teislamic. Ibn Khaldoun's assertion is thus confirmed.

1. T. VII, p. 185.

2. rilti; ^ nnSin Krakow, 1817.

3. Cf. Jewish Encyclop., Art. Phalacha and Africa,

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These documents fall within the domain of ethnography

and folklore; they are not always confirmed by the testimony of classical authors; we used them in a previous study on the problem of origins Jews in Morocco. Already in another job we had first put forward the hypothesis of persistence, in the Atlas and the Sahara, of a primitive syncretized Judaism tist and eclectic in its religious conceptions, more political than theological in its way of living and recalling by its amalgamated character the Berbers.

This opinion on the existence of the Judeo-Berbers, results so much of everything we have studied about migrational Jewish relations to Africa, is confirmed by the real presence of a syncretistic Judaism in the only country with written traditions, Abyssinia. Moreover, survivals and testimonies of authors Arabic on broadcast, in North Africa and up to the Sudan of Berberized Judaism are too Goriques so that a researcher initiated into African things can ignore them.

This is how Monceaux, the learned historian of Africa Christian, author of an excellent monograph on Judeo-Romans, try to explain these political influences ticks, religious and ethnicities that we find in Berbers ^:

“The persecutions of Justinian,” he said, “had had a unintended consequence; they had contributed to the expansion Zion of African Judaism. Hunted in Roman lands or even expelled, many Jews had taken refuge among the Berbers of the mountain ranges or the desert, and there they had resumed their propaganda. So that the arrival of the Arabs, many of the Berber tribes were

1. Moroccan Archives ^ I. IV and VI.

2. Revue des El, Juives, art. ciliated, t. XLIV, p 27.

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more OR less won in Judaism, especially in Tripolitaine, in the Aurès and in the ksours of the Sahara ”.

This presence of Judeo-Berber populations, reported by several Arab authors is affirmed by Ibn Khaldoun ^ The great historian of the Berbers, to whom we owe these facts, unknown to Jewish historians, specifies the distribution * geography and character of these Jewish tribes Berbers in the following way:

i <In Ifriqiah (i.e. in Proconsular Africa),

it was the Nefoussa who professed Judaism; in

rOrania today and particularly in the region of

Tlemcen, it was the Mediouna; in the Maghreb el

Akça, Judaism counted among its adherents the tribes

following: the Behloulou, the Rhiata, the Fazaz and the Fendeloua ”.

Regarding these latter tribes, Ibn Khaldoun, about the foundation of the Moroccan empire by Idris, tells us that there were still independent Jews in Africa at the end of the eighth century.

This information seems to be confirmed by concordant texts of Raudh el-Kartas ^ of El-Bekri, and of several others 2.

However, among all those tribes who professed the Judaism, Ibn Khaldoun seems to reserve a place for goes to Djeroua or Djouroua, which he considers having formed a great nation, composed of many tribes which continued to inhabit Ifrikia and the Maghreb, in almost absolute independence.

We will devote a special chapter to the predominant role undermining Djeroua, this people who, according to Ibn Khaldoun, "provided kings and dynasties in all Berber bus from the Branés branch ”.

In the history of the struggles of Africans against Arabs,

1. HUt. of the Berbers, I, p. 2C »8-209; Fournel, the Berbers, I, p. 217.

2. See further, III, chap. VI.

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the Djeroua lead the fierce resistance of the Berbers against Asians. These struggles animate the epic of Cahena, the Debora of African folklore, heroic character whose real existence has been demonstrated by Fournel, name who is authoritative in the matter ^ Moreover, Ibn Khaldoun, who knows how to trace the ancestors of La Cahena back to eight generations back, specifies the

date of the foundation, if not of the very people of Djeroua, at least that of the dynasty which was to impose its last name. This name of the founder, unless it appears in the list as an eponymous, is written by the Arab historian in Guera ^ ”. However, it is not necessary | to have births in Arabic only to find that

It is, for the Djeroua as for Djera, the ancestor of same name, taking into account the softening of the Hebrew letter Gimel in djim under the influence of Arabic.

This Guera Nia would therefore have lived about two centuries before the Cahena, that is to say around the fifth century, in full vandal domination. Aurès having declared himself independent in 483, we can place around this time the date of the first appearance in Africa of the Djerouas, people whose origins are lost in darkness that surround the entire problem of migrations of Ilimyarites after the revolt of 115-118. The Djeroua were they a people of purely Jewish origin, or

an agglomeration of Judaizers, such as the Fathers of the African Church point out many times? Professed- did they know traditional Judaism, or a mono-primitive theism, as it would seem, from the description that Arab historians give us customs of this semi-nomadic people, and as we could conclude it with the very term Cahena (priestess), title unorthodox Jewish, unless we assume it is

1. VI Ifi, ch. II.

3. Ibidem.

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the daughter of a family of priests and not of a priest braided. This problem had preoccupied us already during our research on the origins of Jews in Morocco; he

is more imperative when one undertakes This-
roof of Judaism and Jews in Africa.

In the absence of any information from Jewish sources or
rabbinical, on the existence of Berber Jews in Africa,
we are led to think that these are populations not
Orthodox, in which the rabbis refused to
recognize Jews in the Talmudic sense of the word. And,
revising the rare rabbinical texts which
may relate to this fact unrecognized by historians
Jews, such as Graetz, Fürst *, etc., we
convinced that in reality the existence of Jewish populations
independent and primitive in Africa should not be
ignored by rabbinical authors.

Already in the fourth century, a doctor of the Talmud affirms
that the ten extinct tribes of Israel were relegated
in Africa 2. Or, in these texts, it is necessary to understand the Jews
independent and not subject to the authority of the Synagogue.

Another passage from Rab, doctor of the third
century, and which relates to Orthodox Judaism, as opposed to
to dissident elements, points out Roman Carthage
as the foyer of the Synagogue, excluding Rinie ^
laughter from East Africa ^; and the Hellenized Jews or
Berbers would thus have found themselves outside the Syna-
rabbinical gogue. As for the existence of communities
Jews in all parts of the African Mediterranean,
it is pointed out by Saint Jerome ^ and confirmed by
numerous epigraphic and historical data ^ \

1. Geschichte der Karaerfums.
2. Sanhedrin, p. 94a.
3. See above, 1. 1.
4. Spikes, ad Dardanum ^ 129.
5. The aforementioned Arabic legends form the link between the data

of the Talmud and those of the rabbis of the Middle Ages.

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We will ignore the problematic information.

matics provided by Eldad le Danite, le Marco-Polo du
ninth century, whose rehabilitation is still to be done,
and other texts speaking of a "Jewish country" in Africa *,
to arrive at the rabbinical period which opens with the foundation
of the famous school of Kaïrouan in the tenth century.
At this time, the Caraïtes, these antagonists of the Talmud,
although they were themselves a negative product of
rabbinitism, enter the scene, as a separate sect.

The real importance of this sect, which from its beginnings
has its literature, is such that until today historians
Jews often continue to take for Caribbean all
proto-Israelite groups.

The latter, in Africa as in Asia, in the lower
sin of the Black Sea as in the Sahara, were only
Primitive Jews who had never known the Talmud and, by
therefore, the Caribbean, its antithesis.

In reality, we must be careful not to confuse the Proto-Jews
or descendants of the Jews, having left Palestine before
drafting of the Talmud, and the Caribbean whose origin is the
same as that of all Jews in the Diaspora. In what
concerns Africa, we have rabbi texts
nics which clearly speak to us of the Judeo-
Berbers.

A letter attributed to Maimonides 2, and in any case strong
old, tells us about the people who live in Djerba and the
Djebel-Nefoussa, the whole country extending from Tunis to
than in Alexandria.

These Jews, although they are very attached to their belief in God, have the same superstitions and the same practices. ticks as Muslim Berbers. So they hijack their eyes of the unclean woman and do not stop their sight,

1. A. Epstein Wn TtSn; NEUBAUER, yett'w / i QuarlerlyReview, 1. 1, Where are the len fribe ”?
2. We »reproduce it in our l. ÏII, ch. v.

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neither on his waist, nor on his clothes; they do not address the word and they are scruple to tread the ground that his foot touched. Likewise, they don't even eat the neighborhood from behind slaughtered animals, etc. In short, they are neither Caribbean, nor Orthodox. Moreover, these uses are still in force among the Jews of Jebel IflFren, the same among

which I found an archaic dialect and inscriptions from the tenth to the twelfth century which bear witness to a Syncretistic Judaism ^

Abraham Ibn Ezra, in his commentary on the Exodus -, points out the “heretics” of Ouargla as making a journey (pilgrimage) and spending Easter day in the desert in commemoration of the Exodus.

Abraham Ibn Daoud, in his Chronicle, seems to confirm sea the existence, in Africa as in Spain, of hereditary ignorant ticks having spent their lives near the Caribbean. Finally, the persistence in Abyssinia of the Phalacha, a tribe primitive mosaicist devoted to the arts, warrior tribe who continued his struggles until the full sixteenth century, thus what the learned M. Halévy has just demonstrated, is it not likely to make one think about the analogy of this population relationship of the Aures with the Djeroua and the other tribes of Africa. Mr. Halévy, in fact, has sufficiently emphasized that the Phalacha remained faithful to the institution of Nezirim or Aascetes and the prescriptions concerning sacrifices, the impurity of the woman, etc., prescriptions mosaics that the Talmud abolished.

Unfortunately, just like the Phalacha of the time Himyarite, the Berbers of the first era did not write not, or at least wrote little; epigra- documents phiques ^ are just beginning to shed light on the darkness in which the destinies are shrouded

1. Chap. Xil.
2. See below, 1. ïïï, ch. VII
3. See our appendix II.

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intimate births of the Berbers, prior to the penetration tion of rislam. However, in the absence of written documents, archeology and ethnography allow us to admit with full confidence the assertions of Ibn Khaldoun and even confirm our thesis on the preexistence of a Judaism primitive, whose organization and religious character would have recalled those of Arabia and Ethiopia. To this subject, a study trip that I made following the itinerary rage of Jewish tribes, as provided by Ibn Khaldoun, gave me some new elements, allowing us, with the admirable discovery of the Jewish necropolis by the P. Delattre, to give us an idea of this Judaism. Indeed, it emerges from the long discussion which precedes,

that African Judaism, contrary to Opinion of certain scholars, must necessarily bear the trace of Judaisms prior to the Synagogue, such as the Patriarchate and the Gaonat had consecrated it. In this respect, this Judaism must necessarily have points of contact with the Judaism of Arabia and Ethiopia, or with that of African Phenicia in the time of ancient Libya.

This hypothesis of a pre-Talmudic origin of the people Judeo-Berber lations suggested to me the idea of shooting my research on the analogies that these populations could present with Judaism. We had to expect to find in these indigenou people of Africa traces of cults known to us, either by historians or by the archaeological discoveries of the first centuries of Christianity. This prototype of what was to be the Primitive African Judaism, which we have fixed in the first part of our work, presents itself to us under the following aspects:

1 <* The persistence of temples and altars, excluding synagogues, such as we meet at Elephantine in fifth century BC, such in Egypt that of the Onias and the shrines found among the Phalacha today.

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2® The traditions of certain Aaronic clans, such as those of Arabia, or of certain priests who were to exercise cer the cult of sacrifices and which the Synajgogue does without since the abolition of the rites of sacrifice.

3 ^ Permanence, at least for the first centuries of reestablishment of these Jews, of the carved necropolises in the rock which form the type of classical Jewish tombs. sic in Palestine and Cyrene, and which denote a direct pre-rabbinic or Palestinian influence.

4 ^ Linguistic or ritual survivals are linked song, either to Palestine, or at least to Cyrenaica hellenized.

The research I did on the spot gave me quite convincing results, so that we can henceforth assert that wherever Ibn Khaldun places the Judeo-Berbers, the traces of their passage and even survivals of their stay in Africa are found for sure'.

A. - Pre-Islamic necropolises.

I start with a study of the necropolises for two reasons, first of all because the uses which concern dead, are those which are perpetuated among all peoples with the most persistence; then, because the big

necropolis of Gamart discovered by Father Delattre, dating from Roman times, brings us back to the type classic of Jewish necropolises in Palestine. Those are vaults dug in the rock and in which we find niches, or rectangular tombs, that the Talmud designates under the name of yyo "Koukhin". At Djebel-

1. I have gathered this \$ documents in a dissertation entitled: Un Voyage of Jewish students in Africa (Collection of Foreign Scientists at the Academy of I. and B.'Lj forthcoming ^

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Khaoui, Mr. Delattre explored more than a hundred vaults reils; each of them is provided with a corridor which serve as a place of prayer and meeting for the family; this corridor contains a few benches, sometimes even the remains of a well, whose water was used for

ritual ablutions. This is the case of the necropolises of Jerusalem, including the vaults of Gamart, those of Cyrene and so many others are just the exact copy. The disposition of the tombs conforms to the prescriptions of Jewish law; often there are traces of seven-branched candlesticks and Hebrew characters'.

With the penetration of Islam, this type of tomb disappears definitively, to give way to the graves simple, dug in the earth and placed on a few stones, reminiscent of the tombs of the Arabs, with a peculiarity, however: as opposed to Muslims, who direct the heads of the dead towards the South-East, that is to say towards Mecca, African Jews are turned to the North-East, that is to say towards Jerusalem. This particularity allows us to distinguish Jewish cemeteries by means of Muslim age of those of antiquity-.

The Jewish necropolises of the Jerusalem-Gamart type, that is that is to say prior to Islam, are more numerous than would not believe it.

In Jebel Iffren, the last refuge of the Jews carhtones of Jebel Nefoussa, there are tombs carved into the rock with niches containing bones; the cellars meet precisely in the neighborhood even present-day Jewish cemeteries and near the Ancient synagogue, which will be discussed later.

1. M. Babelon (Carthage ^ p. 175-178) gives a detailed description of the necropolis. The Marquis de Vogué says, among other things: that the necropolis of Gamart is the cemetery of the Jewish colony of Carthage.

2. Cf. on this question the Jewish Encycl. art. Calacombs; Chwolson, Corp. Register Hebr. ; Delattre, Gamari, passim.

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In Djado, in Djebel Nefoussa, I noticed not far of the Hara or the Jewish city, currently abandoned, an underground synagogue, and, near it, vaults with mortuary niches, of which one bore the traces of a candlestick, but with five branches.

In TAures, the territory formerly occupied by the Djeroua, which extends from Djebel Mimitasa located in front of ruins of Bagaïa until Jebel Djaafa, I found three necropolises of the same type. The slopes of Jebel Djaafa, still have many Roman ruins, having to next to them are necropolises of vaults with niches. In each of them, a vestibule with several benches reminds the tombs of the Gamart family.

In Bagaïa itself, I also discovered a vast necro-analog pole. After visiting the two main hills blades, where, by dint of perseverance, Mr. Catalonia, the administrator of Khenchella, succeeded in clearing the foundations of a medieval mosque, a wall and a necropole from Roman times and, possibly, remains of the Punic period, I noticed that a third hill, not far from the other two, formed by a immense rock, must have been part of the ancient city.

I have been informed of the presence of a similar necropolis on the slope of Djebel Mimitasa, located opposite Bagaïa. There was a Jewish cemetery next to the necropolis carved into the rock. Such a cemetery is in the Djebel Choumer and on several other points of the Auvary. Necropolises of the same type are found in the region of Nedromah, center of the settlements of Mediouna. Perhaps the most interesting is that of

Taza, capital of the Rif. This last city, which dominates the region of the Rhiata, a tribe that once professed the Judaism, is considered by the Jews as one of the seven most ancient cities in Africa. The community Jewish woman of the place has very ancient traditions, and ARCHAEOLOGICAL TESTIMONIES 347 never been completely wiped out ^ Three years ago ^ the Sultan's Mehalla destroyed the city; most inhabitants Jews were forced to take refuge in Méhilla, where I met around a hundred families from Taza. The rabbi told me about the suffering inflicted on them the soldiery. "We especially regret, he said to me, to have been forced to abandon the tombs of our holy ancestors. Is not not in these caves that we used to im- to weep for divine grace in the event of public misfortunes? " The prayers made in the underground vaults do not remind they not the customs of Jewish Therapists and Berbers before Islam?

I must add that the Rif is rich in Jewish shrines, whether he has a tribe of Aaronides, or of speaking Jews the chleuh and attached to the soil.

I am assured that identical underground necropolises would also be found in the Sub, in particular at Taroudant ^.

B. - Sanctuaries.

Among African Synagogues, tradition attributes special importance to known sanctuaries under the name of Ghriba ^ . This term is translated by the words "Solitary, or miraculous", of which the first only would be to remember. There are in all six authentic "Ghriba" ticks in Africa, and their origin goes back remote. In no case could we breed a Ghriba,

1. In the sixteenth century, a Judeo-Berber chief still dominated the region (Slousch, El. sur VHUI. des Juifs au Maroc, p. IV, ch. VII).
2. The Jews and Muslims of this region have traditions very ancient biblical texts (cf. Is. Loeb, the Daggatoun). V. our appendice IL

3. The letter p in the Eastern Maghreb is pronounced like a German g mand. Hence the frequent confusion between kof, djim and ghaXn.

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Tantiquity alone having consecrated their origin. The veneration of the Berbers themselves for these shrines shows They could well have an pre-Islamic origin.

Other evidence supports this thesis.

The Ghriba of Jebel Iffren is an underground synagogue raine, which takes us back to the time when the religious service was done in the vaults. She's isolated, lonely ^ as the temple was at a time when laws on purity were still in effect. It is located opposite of a village which still bears the name of "Cohen", or town the age of priests, which will be discussed later.

The regime of which Djerba presents some survivals, singularly reminds that of the Therapists. We study we will say in a special appendix the evolution of this Jewish sect in Africa *. We will show with Tappui authorized by Harkawy and the Caribbean authors of the middle ages in the Arab period the sect had taken the name of Magharia " (those of the caves) to then become Maghrabia (or Jews of the Maghreb rite). It is the same way that had followed in its etymological evolution the name of Ghriba. Among the Phalacha, the word Meq'arab means Synagogue.

In Tunisia, it is the Kef, the rallying center for Jewish nomads from Kef and Derid, which owns a Griba.

Near the latter is a cemetery where the nomads from the surrounding Douars continue to provide their deaths. His lonely Synagogue and the cemetery existed, all soft, before the founding of the French city çaise du Kef. They therefore had to group the Jewish nomads from the country; which explains the word Ghriba "solitary". which ended up prevailing in the pronunciation of indi-Genoa.

The city of Bône also has a Ghriba -, in

1. Therapists of Maghrabia.

2. It is true that a local tradition attributes the origin of this synagogue at the time of the expulsion from Spain.

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subject of which the most surprising. Here again we met Jewish nomads, to the outskirts of town.

In Aurès, it's Biskra, another rallying point for the Bahuzim or Jewish nomads, who have the Ghriba. But decidedly it is the Ghriba of Djerba, which, by the fame it enjoys among the Jews in Africa, by the particular character of its traditions, holds the first place among all analogous sanctuaries of Africa.

The inhabitants of the two Jewish villages of the island of Djerba (the Hara K'bira and the Hara Z'ghira) consider themselves like an aristocracy; two elements contribute, moreover, to the high opinion that the Jews of Djerba have themselves: first of all comes the presence in Djerba of the famous Ghriba, the sanctuary of the Jews par excellence, and at the same time the existence of a famous clan of Aaronides, or Cohanim.

If the Hara K'bira is the center of the secular inhabitants, that is, Jews descended from tribes of Israel, the Hara Z'ghira, located opposite the Ghriba, has always been the seat of the Cohanim.

It feels like transported to the sanctuary of Jerusalem or of Léontopolis, under the pre-rabbinical regime, at the time where the sanctuary and the Cohanim who served there worship were to be isolated from the vulgar. The name of Ghriba, "the loner", to distinguish it from synagogues ordinary, would thus be explained. Local tradition moreover confirms this hypothesis. It relates the origins of the Jews of Djerba in the time of Ezra.

Moreover, the original name of Ghriba does not appear still forgotten; excluding all other sanctuaries analogues, the Ghriba has its particular name: that of Deghet mi.

This archaic word is used for the Hebrew word

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DeleU with permutation, very common in languages Berber, from the letter a to S.

After the destruction of the temple, tells the tradition local, a family descended from Ezra reportedly saved a of the gates of the temple of Jerusalem, by going to Djerba. She built the Deghel, or sanctuary of the Porte, which later became the Ghriba.

Even today the clan of priests is called "Qehal Deghet", the community of Deghet. Local prejudice is that a Levite could never tread the sacred soil of Djerba. It is claimed that this interdiction would result from a curse that Ezra would have thrown to the sons of Levi. If we took into account the persistence of such a tradition among the Jews of Yemen, and because the Levitical element is totally lacking among Judeo-African groups, it would be easy to bring out an overhang of primitive Judaism, the distinction clear between the Aaronides and the other sons of Levi not being due to the reform of Ezra, as established by the modern biblical text. The non-rabbinical elements of Judaism therefore continued to consider the Levites as competitors of the sons of Aaron. The clan of priests of Djerba does not, moreover, to trace its genealogy beyond the tenth century. I have at hand a genealogical list which contains a line of twenty-seven ancestors*.

However, the term "one who arrives from captivity", applied to the last of these names, would rather testify to the arrival of priests at a time when Rabbinism was not yet established in these areas, that is to say before the foundation of the Kaïrouan school, home of the Talmud in Africa.

However, according to information gathered by Mr. Abr. 1. I have published it in my Voyage d'Eludés juives en Afrique. ARCHAEOLOGICAL TESTIMONIES 351 Cahen, a group of Jewish warriors followed by a clan of Aaronides would have sought, as a result of the suheld by the Judeo-Berber tribes against Idris I", around at the end of the seventh century, a refuge in Djerba*. On the other hand, the persistence in the religious ritual and

in local traditions of uses contrary to the Talmud is invariably justified by the rabbis of Djerba, for the reason that their worship is prior to the construction of the second temple and, consequently, in the Talmud itself even 2.

Moreover, the existence in Africa of clans of priests Aaronides, who were to embrace early Judaism like the Kohanim of Jerusalem and the Oniads of Egypt, is not as isolated a fact as one might think First on board.

C. - Clans of Aaronides.

We know that the sons of Aaron, as long as the temple remained, formed a caste with a monopoly on the services of worship. The rabbis, who began by arguing with this hereditary aristocracy the priority, should not have reason that long after the destruction of the temple. In Arabia, wherever the service of primitive worship continued again, Aaronides came first. Everywhere the rabbi entered, it was the synagogue that took the place of the temple. In Africa, where Orthodox Judaism had put much time to penetrate and where the early Jews formed the majority, the Aaronid clans could predominate. The Ghriba or the "solitary sanctuary" would therefore not be than a small temple, which had Kohanim like the 1. // /. of the Jews of VAfr. sepientrion.y p. 76.

2. See our aforementioned study.

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temples of the Phalacha, and clans of priests like the prototype of the temple of Onias. .

This is where the key to the problem of (ghriba of Djerba and his priests. However, these Cohanim are not the only ones in Africa. This continent, whose particularity is to favor the division into tribes and in groupings, we have kept several other cases analogues.

The region of Gabès, and particularly Djerid, is claims as the homeland of a clan of original priests / adocite, that is to say of this same origin of which was Onias, the founder of the temple of Leontopolis. Now two facts agree to confirm this tradition: the region of the Djerid has many nomadic Jews, having exercised their warlike activity at the time of the invasion Arab. On the other hand, the author of the elegy which tells the persecution of the Almohads, qualifies Gabès as "the noble

original *".

It is true that it is precisely in the group remained the purest, that is to say among the Jews of Tripolitan Jebel, which the Aaronid element makes totally default. Even in Tripoli, the Cohanim are all immigrants. foreign tion.

However, it was not always to be the same.

In the Jebel IfTren, and in front of the Ghriba where the Jews relate the origin to the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, I met a whole village, located in the middle of the Jewish settlements, which continues to bear the name Cohen. It would therefore be a former establishment of the Aaronides like that of Djerba, then abandoned by its inhabitants so many.

I guess this fact must have happened around the tenth century, at the time when Rabbinism was beginning to penetrate 1. ncnV ^ n Cazès, Rei \ des El. Juives, l. XX.

TESTIMONIAL: ANCHEOLOGICAL S \$ 35 in Africa and to take away from the Aaronides their supremacy on the people. The remains of this struggle between the rabbis and the religious caste are found everywhere. AT Djerba, Rabbinism has not yet succeeded in having understood completely because of the Aaronic caste.

In Jebel Iffren, from where, except the village of Cohen, all trace of Cohanim was missing, Cohen's name has dant subsisted in an old patois that we publish elsewhere. And do we know what this means in this language a word once so revered in Israel? It is equivalent to the word "Corruption" or "concussion *".

What a picture of decadence the history of this word evokes-she would, if we wanted to give free rein to the imagination! However the antagonism between Cohanim and Israelites known at the time of the Talmud- continues, although under a less vivid form, to emerge in more than one place. By example in Tunis, where there is only one synagogue reserved for the Cohanim. In Debdou, near Taza, center of the Rhiata, who once professed Judaism and who still has a necropolis of the Gamart type, exists the Aaronides Saqali (Sicilians) clan. And the Aaronides ^ proud of their sanctuary, prevented the other Israelites from profane their temple by their presence. The Moroccan rabbi Edrehi recounts in his Book of miracles ^ (p. 193) very curious details on the life of the Aaronides of Debdou.

The clan counted at the beginning of the nineteenth century about seven hundred families, all of Aaronid origin, against two or three common Israelites. The Berbers continue to hold them in esteem. They prefer to kill twenty Muslims

resistance to Debdou from the prejudice that a Levite should not
can settle next to these Aaronides.

1. Tn ^ j.
2. See cf. J. Derenbourg, Essay on VHisl, and geogr. of the Palesline ^
ch. XXIII.

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If we add to these examples that of Cahena, - in
Phoenician "priestess" and in Hebrew "daughter of a Cohen", -
who dominated precisely the great warrior nation
of the Jewish religion of DJeroua, we may be able to
to issue a bold thesis, but which results from the whole
facts.

At the time of the Arab invasion, there was in Africa,
as in Leontopolis and in pre-Islamic Arabia,
number of Jewish shrines maintained by clans of
priests of Aaronid origin who dominated the early Jews
and the Berbers themselves.

The prototype of these temples is the temple of Elephan-
tine is that of Onias in Egypt. This last original offspring
had he not succeeded in founding a rival temple
in Egypt, to put himself at the head of the Jewish military colonies
of the same country and to be invested with the title
of Arabarch, or prince of the nomads of the desert and the sea
Red? Nothing is impossible that its descendants³ far-
some have inherited the title of Generalissimo and the supreme
on the region of Onion*.

We have seen, in fact, that similar military colonies
have always existed in Libya. Wouldn't it be
logic to assume that after the wars unleashed in
Africa by the Moorish Jews against the Romans, the
Jewish refugees from Cyrenaica, guided by the descendants
dants of Onias and even by other families of priests,
would have penetrated, with the help of the Judaized Himyarites, in
the mountain ranges of Africa?

We had supposed it, without being able to press in a way

1. Cf. the aforementioned passage from tr. Meguilla, 10a, concerning the func-
operation of the house of Onias in the fourth century; Tindication of Ibn
Khalidoun that "the Ojeroua provided kings to all the Berbers"
of the second race and traditions localized in Africa, we
put to suppose a great movement of Berbers-Himyarites gui-
dice by Aaronid princes of the Onias dynasty. Let us add that the
Aaronides of Djerid claim to have a Sadocite origin.

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scientific this original hypothesis. But the persistence

in Africa of monuments which are linked to eras
pre-Islamic, necropolises dug in the rock,
shrines or ghriba, fractions of nomadic Jews
several groups of which relate their origins to Bagaïa,
the capital of Kahina, and finally that of clans of Aaro-
nides which in Africa have played an important social role,
does not all this allow us to conclude that, already at
the pre-Islamic era, African Judaism recalled
that of Arabia?

D. - Linguistic data.

Local traditions among the Jews of Atlas, in particular
ment among the last groups of the Tripolitan Jebel and
of the Moroccan Atlas (Sous and Taroudant),

the origin of these Jews at a time before Christianity. The inhabitants of Djebel Iffren, on the slope East of Jebel Nefoussa, declare to have been established in this country as agricultural settlers by general Roman of Greek origin, Phanagora, the same Phanagora whose name appears in an ancient Midrash, next to that of Titus *. The rabbis of the place claim to have, thirty years ago, found a tumular stone dating from first century. What is certain is that there existed in at the same time as a ghriba, a Gamart-type necropolis, and that we find traditions on the predominantly political tick and religion of the Jews, of the customs and going back to a primitive Judaism, finally testimonies rabbis of the Middle Ages on practices still observed " véés, finally a Hebrew dialect of a very distant origin. annoyance. We have studied a lexicon and a gram-
1. RabbOf n3 ^> (I. In this text Phanagora Ūgure like the duke of Arabia.

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mayor of this language *, of which we have highlighted the Hebrew character. Its pronunciation brings it closer early of the Samaritan; but some words bear traces of a special evolution. Several are of Aramean, and their shape recalls the Palestinian dialect, no the Babylonian: we must rule out any hypothesis of fluency on the rabbinical side.

But the presence of Greek elements, while no trace no Latin is found there, is convincing to admit Hellenistic origin, at least part of the Jews of the African interior. Graetz and Frankel had already made the same observation, with regard to the dialect taught to the Jews of Kaïrouan by Taventurier Eldad the Danite in ninth century ^.

The word "Hara", spoken by some Hora Jews ^ belongs to the same vocabulary; it means m camp

entrenched ", or " the city par excellence "; it was only after evacuation of Christians, that the Hara becomes the "city Jewish ".

E. - Epigraphic evidence.

The Jewish epigraphy, has not yet given in Africa great result. Certainly, one should not expect to find during the Jewish Middle Ages a large number of epigraphic documents; research in this direction has not yet done and I'm sure you could have collect there sufficient documents to reconstitute at least part of the history of Jews in Africa. Myself, following the directions of Ibn Khaldoun, I found a certain group of inscriptions from an era old and whose interest has not escaped the notice of M. Ph. Ber-
1. Aforementioned study, cf. Hebrew dialect of the Sahara,
2. V. Graetz, *ibid.*, Ed. Hebr., III, notes.
3. These! again the meaning of this Icrme in the Mallais dialect.

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ger: these inscriptions, coming from the oases of the coast tripolitaine and Nefoussa, show us that wherever tradition instead of Judeo-Berbers, survivals written still exist.

The oldest of these inscriptions comes from Volubilis (Morocco) and the oasis of Zlitin. In the region around ronnante, certain geographical points, rivers and among others mausoleums of Roman construction, bear Jewish names. Ruins of ancient synagogues

meet there; Berber tribes of Jewish origin (the Oarchefana, the Beni-Brahami, the Beni-Ashaq) meet there content. On the other hand, we know that the Nefoussa had overflowed onto the coast under Byzantine rule'. It is at this time, that is to say between the fifth and the seventh century, that it is necessary to place the Hebrew tomb of name of Abed or Anan, whose writing denotes the origin ancient ^ and the two inscriptions from the ruins of Garthage. Moreover, in the Hara of Zliti I found vestiges of inscriptions in Greek language. These documents certainly belong to an earlier period. Islamic. The other entries I have collected are all from the Islamic period; but, by their origins and their dates, they are divided into two groups: 1 ° Judeo-group primitive Berber, dating back to the first centuries of Islam, at a time when the Jewish element of the Atlas had not yet been started by Orthodox Judaism, whose seat was from the tenth century, in Kaïrouan and Fez; and 2 ** on Rabbinical Judeo-Berber group, dating from the time when rabbinism infiltrated the Sahara, without however establish definitively.

For the first, the most important monument in historical point of view is the tumular stone that I have

1. Cf. FouRNEL, the Berber \$ y I, p. 109.
2. Et. Supra ^ n »3.

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found in my excavations at the cemetery of the ancient city Jewish of Djado: this cemetery is located on a slope of the hill, where the ruins of Tancienne are still

Hara, including an underground synagogue and necropolises. Already the left part had provided me with stones eleventh and twelfth century Hebrew tumulars.

But the right side, undoubtedly older, as shown by the thick layer of earth that hides the tombs, put me in the presence of a type of tombs news. These, although dug in the earth and not in the rock, form an artificial encavement other-sturdier than the ordinary type of graves

Jews of the Middle Ages: this is a tumor system transitory between the ancient necropolises carved into the rock and the poor pits of the Judeo-Arabs. In one from these graves I found a stone with an inscription in two languages, which in itself poses a problem: we first sees two lines in Kufic Arabic, bearing the following words: "This is the tomb of Hassana * ..." Then four large Hebrew characters, archaic in appearance, reproduce the name in Hebrew, while several other lowercase letters, which I have not yet reached to decipher, seem to indicate the date.

The archaic characters of the inscription mark seniority: in all cases, it must be very prior to the eleventh century, date of the inscriptions Hebrews found in the other half of the same graveyard. Orthodox and even Caribbean Jews having at all times reluctant to use Arabic for things of worship, this stone can hardly come from a very unorthodox background: before switching to Hebrew rabbinical, the Jews of the Atlas had therefore suffered, between the seventh and tenth century Arab influence, unless

1. Aforementioned study No. 0.

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to assume that Kufic script was introduced in

Africa by the primitive Himyarites and that the inscription in question predates the appearance of the Arabs. Arab onomastics, which soon spread everywhere, demonstrates enough. It is in this category that

relates to the inscription of the Kasr "Beni-Ashaq" (between Msellata and Girza), bearing the following names: "Isaaq ben Maleaq ben Yacoushti ben Isaac ^". This Isaac, to believe local Jewish traditions, would have been the chief of the tribe who was in possession of the Kasr in question. In Reheibat-es-Sabt, a city that has kept Jewish traditions, I was told the existence of a Jewish inscription in Arabic characters, where would be told the warlike exploits of Aroun ben Aroun, Jewish leader of Nefoussa. I have since been able to explore the interior of Cyrenaica, and local traditions have allowed to draw up a list of ancient Jewish settlements of this region. In Ain Chahat (Cyrene), in Garnis, in Messa, in El-Milouda, everywhere we find necropolises of Gamart type. In El-Milouda, I discovered an ins-archaic Jewish description dating from pre-Islamic times mique certain.

The inscriptions of the second group are more nom-breuses; moreover, they are part of Hebrew epigraphy. The oldest stones bear, almost all a legend which is general in the Sahara: they date from the zth to the fourteenth century. Several from the oases of the coast (notably Msellata and Tripoli ') are laughing at the great persecution of the Almohads, who had decimated Judaism in the Maghreb; several others are him posterior ". These registrations allow us to tater that, contrary to the assertion of certain chroni-queurs of the Middle Ages, the Judeo-Berbers of the Atlas and 1. Aforementioned study, n * 1.

2. N- 4 6.
3. N-7-8.

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oases on the Tripolitan coast have never been wiped out; moreover, the formulas that we meet on these stones are modeled on the texts of the Caribbean, the others on those of the Orthodox Jews; they denote among the Jews of the Sahara, like Mr. Israel Lévi to whom I communicated these texts, you have pointed out to me, a syncretistic religious tendency, tendency which is confirmed by contemporary documents and by uses still in force among the Judeo-Berbers. They corroborate the letter from Maïmonides, which declares that these Jews are neither Rabbanite Jews, neither Caraïtes Jews, but Berberized Jews. This are always Maghrabia, or Maghrabia which, even after the penetration of Rabbinism in these parts, hesitate between the two great Jewish sects; they stay especially faithful to their ancient traditions of Judeo-Ber-beers.

The stones of Nefoussa, from the fourteenth century, we

show the persistence of this eclectic faith. However, the stones of Msellata dating from the fifteenth century and a another stone that I collected in the lftren show us that, under the pressure of the Spanish fugitives (among whom there are great rabbinical authorities, like Duran,

Barfati, etc. *), the movement of rabbinization gained momentum. The "heretics" of Ouargla and the other Ksour reject their heresies, while the last fugitives from Nefoussa in the sixteenth century still appear to us on the coast Tripolitan, in a state of heresy. In this same century, Leon The African points out Jewish groups on the Moroccan Atlas devoted to agriculture and military art, which are or sectarian *.

Even today, the Jews of the HTren observe the laws of purity and other restrictions contrary to the

1 Cf. the Youhassin of Zacoulo; C \ hen, Hisl. of the Jews of CAfr. sepi, past m.

2, T. II, p. U i e l t IV. p. 137.

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Rabbinism ^ while the Bahouzim or the last fractions of nomadic Jews are also ignorant of the Law, as indifferent to the Jewish religious conception as Were their ancestors. It is even, with in addition a vague ethnic feeling, this cult of ancestors, whose tombs are venerated by the Judeo-Berbers in FAu-rès, in Nédroma and elsewhere, which constitutes their only link with Judaism; also, the progress of Islamization never stopped among these primitives until the conquest French.

It is therefore not simple hypotheses that we bring to the consolidation of our thesis on existence history of the Judeo-Berbers, but documents and facts, to which the Arab and Jewish authors, the archaeologist geography and epigraphy, linguistics and ethnography, four each make a contribution; so that the pro-bleme of the Judeo-Berbers, until now limited to the domain vague and adventurous of folklore, becomes a historical truth rique, which must henceforth take its place in the Annals of the people of Israel.

This point once acquired, we could not do better than to draw on the information that the Arab authors tell us about the historical destinies of this race.

These sources are of paramount importance, and afri-canists like Fournel and Basset ^ did not naked. But, before moving on to the Islamic era, let's try to carry out a historical reconstruction of destiny Jews surviving wars against the Romans.

1. We have devoted a special chapter to the customs of the Judeo-Ber-bers of Neroussa. Doctor Huguet devoted an excellent study to the customs of "the Jews of Mezab".

2. See above all his work: Nedromah and the Traras.

BOOK THIRD

ESSAY ON THE HISTORY OF THE JUDEO-BERBERS

THE ORIGINS OF THE JUDEO-BERBERS

Jewish tribes, all of whom have different conceptions munes and identical beliefs, have met since Himyarite Arabia to the Ocean. A first fraction has established itself firmly in the Semen, Ethiopia, favoring laughter speaks relief of these rugged regions. Judaism primitive more or less Hellenized had survived in this country to all vicissitudes. But its origins are per-tooth in the chaos that prevents us from discerning net-ment the consequences of the wars of H5-118. It is certain-ly, that the survivors of this insurrection were forced to take the southern path and pass by the gap between the Jebel Déminer in Libya and Taurès in Numidia. These two massifs at the gates of the desert

were not yet under Roman dependence.

Already the devastation of Cyrenaica by the Romans had caused a great movement of migration of Berber tribes towards the southwest ^ as well as that of the Aourir'i, whom Carette considers to be the ancient aborigines of Africa, dispersed by the Carthaginians after their emigration from eastern Libya.

1. For the issue of Berber migrations, I followed the data by iBN Khaldoun, 1, 170 et seq. : Carette, Scientific exploration and grations of the tribes of Algeria; Mercier, Histoire de r Afrique sept., I, 181; cf. FouRNEL, the Berbers, I.

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This presence of the Jews alone explains why they are of the Berbers, who have since harassed the Roman possessions ^ The first concern of Hadrian, after to have defeated the Jews, was to charge Martius Turbo to appease the troubles in Mauritania. Pausanias and more other authors put the two facts on the same plan. In 122, Hadrian personally fought the Moors and persecutes them violently. Under Antoninus, from 161 to 103, new revolt: the Berbers are driven back to the Atlas. However, we have shown that there was already at that time in the Atlas of the Jewish Colonies. Between 250 and 292, had

the great uprisings of the Qinquegentions, this federation which appears as the first organization of the Berbers. It is on her that M. Cagnat ^ sees the traces of a rather Christian influence, while the former stence of the Jews in the Atlas is established. Jewish refugees of Cyrenaica grouped themselves with the Himalayan Libyans rites, some fractions of which were already imbued with Jewish influence. They adapted to the life of the desert, sat down of Berber customs, and in turn formed two large tribes, which must have existed from the fourth century and of which Judaism is not in doubt. These were notably the Djeraoua, in which it is difficult not to see the Hebrew word "foreigner" or "exile", with the plural Arabic. Perhaps this is the Hebrew translation of word Phalacha. Indeed, an author indicates the presence among the Berbers, Jews who bore the name of Philistines. Even today Jewish merchants pretend that one of the races from Sudan is called Philisi and profess Judaism. As for the Aourir'i, altered form of the name of Aferi, who later became Aouraba, they rallied returned to the Nefoussa. Considered from this point of view, the problem of the successive migrations which preceded those 1. Cf. BAaNAG £, VII, p. 185; Ora8ius, vii, 3; Pacsaniits, VIII, 43, IS. S. The Roman Army of Africa, p. 53 and 58.

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Berber tribes belonging to Zenata towards the west, like that of the ill-defined origins of the Djeraoua and of the Nefoussa, explains himself ^ The establishment of the last two tribes in the Maghreb, before the Zenata and following the Louata and the Aourir'i, is confirmed by the scant information that we we have on the movements of the Berbers.

In the march towards the southwest, the fractions forward * cées of Aourir'i and Nefoussa and Djeroua settled first in southern Tripolitania and maintained there rent until 280-270, when the Zenata invasion pushed back to Aurès.

The avant-garde fractions of this movement went fail around Tlemcen and Agadir, in the

region of Nedromah and to the borders of the Atlas, where some of them were able to renew relations with his co-religionists of the coast after the Roman conquest
Maine.

1. Cf. our study Leg Hebr.-Phen, appendix V, from which we borrow here are some passages, without however venturing to repeat here the conclusions too hypothetical. Jacopo Groberg, in his Geografico êlatiêtico deW impero de Maroco Genevo, 1834, p. 25 and 88, speaks of Judeo-Berbers prior to Tislam and established among the Amazigh who are called Philistini; Movers (II, ibid., II, p. 434), after Graberg, states that the Jews who came among the Amazig gave each other the name by Philisins. This precious indication is confirmed by the name of

Phalacha that the Jews of Abyssinia continue to wear and by the term of Philisis that the Jews of the oases of Tripolitania attribute to the people Judicial associations that would be established in central Sudan. For us, it would always be the Himyarite root of tE ^ Ss (from which the name of the Philistines) which in Hebrew is translated by the root of 11JI. The Djeroua (the guerra or ghériens of pre-Islamic Arabia) could be the descendants or the African congeners of this war people laughter and trafficker from Arabia mentioned above. In addition, we would readily admit that the other two Berber tribes of Jewish religion the Mediouna and the Nefoussa would have been fractions of the ancient Midianites and Nefis-Nefous of the Bible. - MAP Martin, in his book on Saharan OasU "(p. 34-46) sheds new light on velles (drawn from indigenous sources) on "Jewish migrations" which, through Ethiopia were carried to the ksour of the Sahara at a time pre-Islamic. This author attributes to the period of Jewish domination lasting five centuries.

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In fact, in the middle of the third century, the Romans did are not yet firmly established in these S provinces. which explains the late penetration of Christianity into interior Mauritania and Tingitane. Later, driven back by the ever-rising tide of Zenata and Louata who seize the Algerian oases and Moroccan between 522 and 565, the Jewish tribes persent, split up, and taking advantage of the anarchy which reign in the country from the fourth century, they emerge from Roman domination. As an element relatively civilized, they then dominate the situation political until the Arab conquest. But on the other hand, same as the Kouraïza of Arabia, the Phalacha of Ethiopia and the Hellenizers of the Crimea, and under the influence of Hebrew Phoenicians that they find everywhere, these tribes definitely deviate from traditional Judaism and orthodox, disappearing for a long time from the Annals of Jewish history.

However, let us not anticipate events, especially more than we can cite in support of our thesis of texts concerning the interior of North Africa, and both directly to the events of 115-118 *.

It is indeed on the occasion of this revolt and its expansion towards the West, which Marcus Turbo began the invasion of Mauritania and the conquest of the Berbers, without however venturing to penetrate to the inside of the country and to reject the rebels as far as the Atlas. Moreover, we have already said that a local tradition, corroborated by a chronicle of the Middle Ages claims that less the Jebel Nefoussa already had agricultural colonies.

1. G. BoissiER, r Afrique Romaine, p. 124.

2. In order to better highlight the particular character specific to Judeo-berberes, we are forced to revisit the events that man | ue the origins of the formation of this Judaism ^ so different from that professed by the coastal Jews.

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Jewish colds from the second century ^ It was even with regard to Sirte and Lake Triton.

A passage from the Midrash, very old - since it considers derives Berberia and Mauritania as the extremities of world - tells us about the penetration of the Jews in these countries in the following terms:

(c Some of the Jews are exiled to Berberry; some others as far as Mauritania ^. "

However, it seems that the first impressions that did the inhabitants of Berberia over the fugitives were not going to be the most favorable. A talmudic text of the second century considers the Berbers and the Mauritians as the most barbaric populations; he applies to them the unflattering term of Su ^ ia "people foul "to which the Jews were delivered 3.

This testimony agrees with local traditions, about the vexations imposed on the Jews by the Berbers and the Moors; if we bring this text closer to-very old texts, it is confirmed by another passage of the Midrash, where people complain about the enmity of the Berbers in the following terms: u Others (for example

Romans) have grievances against the Jewish people; but what have we ever done wrong to the Berbers and the Scotts ^ (?); why then should these latter persecute Israel * ^? "

A Hebrew scholar, whose assertions carry weight here, Marcus Fischer, has devoted much of his life to search in old documents for anything reports to the Israelites implanted in the north of Africa from the destruction of the second temple to the establishment of Arab domination in Africa, and he published

1. Jewish Studies Trip to Africa; See above 1. II.

2. Midrash Rabba, Cant des Canl., Vers, mi Sip.

3. 4. Jebamot, f. 63b.

4. Here we read Gothes.

". Midrash Tehilim, § 109.

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the result of his research in a small inti-
tulé] Tw nnSin (printed in Krakow in 1817). The author take care to indicate to us, in his preface, once for all the sources from which he drew; and it overlooks these populations lations, on their institutions, their customs, etc., meetings very curious and generally probable information, although accepted by him, so to speak, en bloc and without no spirit of criticism. Many of the facts cited by this author are however confirmed by other documents. ments, which makes it presume to be correct.

The author begins by affirming what has been established more high, namely that, during the destruction of the temple of Jerusalem by Titus (AD 70), a very large many Jews were transported to the Pro-consular office of Africa, which the Romans wanted to pler * and in Mauritania ^. A very large number of new emigrant calves devoted themselves to agriculture, others in the breeding of cattle, some finally in the ma-nuals. But both kept in part

their statutes and genealogical traditions. Their self-nomie remained in the land of exile, and their organization tribes, so in conformity with the Semitic genius, received with the emigration a new consecration. Members of the same tribe were they all from the same family? This does not seem probable to us, and it is possible to doubt it. 11 seems more plausible to admit that the groups together by the chances of emigration, little by little agglomerated by taking the most powerful leader! most capable of them, under the name of Ethnarch. The Romans, who as a result of the penetration found themselves in contact with them, favored this constitution, because it facilitates

1. Note that this information is confirmed by an old source (Neubaeuer, *Mediavel Jew. Chron.*, not. cited) and by traditions of the Jews of Jebel Nefoussa).

al. M. Cazès. in his *Emoî tur VHUI, de * Juifs de la Tunisie* (p. 28 and 8.), took up this information.

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read tax collection. They were charging usualment of this treatment. The Romans, in fact, imposed pay a tax of two shekels per year to any individual valid, between sixteen and sixty years old.

The newcomers were not, initially received by the Jews previously settled in the country without a certain mistrust. While the latter had their temples in cities accessible to the masters of the country, of which they flattered often famous proper by Greek inscriptions or Romanesque places in the most prominent places, the first miers, on the contrary, were hardly tolerated, and obliged to celebrate their services in the fields, perhaps in secret.

However, the immigrants observed, like the ancient Jews of the country, very scrupulously the laws of Moses. The Sabbath rest was absolute, and the meat of pork strictly prohibited; the feast days were the same; in short, the fundamental principles of Jewish beliefs were common to both.

But there were notable differences between them. Some by the language of the country, the others Hebrew or a dialect himyarite; some had sympathies for the Romans and tried to attract their sympathy; others saw in them only the destroyers of their nation and of their temple, and mortally hated them. The same difference separated the practices of the ones and the others: the long-established Israelites did not know that the summary prescriptions of the Bible, the new arrivals, under the influence of the great movement which had been printed in the Judaic cult at the end of the second temple, had given to their beliefs and practices a character which, without being Talmudic, resembles it quite considerably ^

1. See our appendix Therapists and Maghribia, and our study: *Mœurs and Judeo-Berber beliefs* (Jewish Studies Trip to Africa).

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Thus, if the newcomers strictly observed on the prescribed days, they did not know the second days additional K During feast days, young people meet engaged in musical exercises, and used for this purpose wind, string or percussion instruments; young people girls lent their voices to these concerts.

They celebrated the feast of Hanouka (Machabées); But, like the Phalacha, they did not know or at least did not observe that of Purim (Esther).

They celebrated, with the Phalacha, after the feast of Weeks, a day of Libations-. They were going to move to desert, the first day of Easter, in commemoration of TExodus ^ . It is possible that some fractions celebrated with the Jews of Cyprus * and Kurdistan ^ and the sectarians Maghrabia on Saturday from "day to day". It would be a survival of solar cults of Hebrew-Phoenician origin.

They generally married very young, the men at 16 or 17, women at 13 or 14. Polygamy was not widespread, and among them - indicating the influence Hellenist - the woman was free ^ .

Like the Hellenists, they rigorously observed the rules of the purity of women. They weren't eating the last quarter of animals. The sacred candlestick served as a symbol. In memory of the mourning of destruction

of the temple, the bride, as soon as she entered the house husband, threw an egg against the wall to leave a stain.

They gave, contrary to the Talmud, the tithe and know the gleanings of the poor. Like therapists, they

1. nvSa hw ^ 3 «7 aiTD av. This is the case with the Falacha.

2. Cf. our elude cited and Doctor Huguet: the Jews of Mezab.

3. Idn Ezra, Exodus ^ III. Vestiges of this use still remain.

4. Benjamin de Tudela, Itinerary.

6. Benjamin II, SxW ^ ^ VDG.

6. See our study cited above.

7. The Berbers of Nefoussa today Islamized still practice several of these uses of which the Jewish origin is indisputable. A death latter relates directly to the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem.

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built underground synagogues, the Mequrabs,

in lonely places ^ Aaronic priests presiding worshiped and lived apart from the common people.

When a member of the tribe died, the close relatives mourned for seven days, and all relatives, friends or acquaintances of the deceased, mar- lie barefoot for three days, as a sign of grief and mourning. They did not bury each dead, but they had family vaults, where partitions or niches were reserved for coffins of each of its members; signs kept the names.

Each tribal chief, or ethnarch, administered justice between the members of the tribe of which he was the leader; when members of several tribes were involved, the chiefs of these tribes would come together and settle the case. to do in common.

Justice was served in the open air, in the presence of all the notables of the tribe. The testimony of all men who had reached their eighteenth year were received, and all witnesses, rich or poor, were equally listened to. Women were not admitted as witnesses.

These Israelites were very sober. The rare drunkards that we met among them, were relegated to the last company rank. A man found three times in good condition drunkenness was no longer admitted as evidence.

They were very careful of their person, dressed rather with luxury: they liked very much to adorn themselves with fine clothes and precious jewelry.

We have seen, from all that precedes, that the flow of new
new calves had quickly included in its bosom the
1. The Ghriba of modern times. Note that in Arabia itself
Puritan Jews lived in tunnels where they spent their lives in tears.
rant Jerusalem (Benjamin deTudèle, Itinerary; Graetz, i6ic /., IV, p. 313.)
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Israelite group who lived in the Maghreb before the destruction
tion of the second temple. After the arrival in Tunisia of
group of 30,000 prisoners of war from Tan 70, the
ancient Hebrew-Phoenicians or those of the Zabulonite group
had to feel the religious influence that the
newcomers had to exercise on their coreligion-
established in Africa for a long time.

However, we have tried to show that the Cohens
still played a preponderant role, despite the
rition of Rabbinitism and often even to the exclusion of
rabbis.

Outside the Roman and Christian country, we met,
Judaizing Berbers. Without daring to say it
more, however, we can say that these
Berbers practiced semi-Judaism. It is even this
primitive monotheism which prepared them for Islam. The vic-
the roof of the God of Israel prepared that of his priests. As well,
is it not surprising to see Jewish Cohen families at the
head of the Judaizing Berbers; to note the presence of
Jewish saints, men and women - the latter unknown
among the Arabs - like that of "Mequireb" sanctuaries
consecrated by the Berbers ^ "Which is certain," says M. Ga-
zès, is that since the events of 1 15-118, the power
Roman was odious to them. These primitives hated this
people, with all the ardor that their faith gave them
and remember their pain. They still saw
in him the hereditary enemy, the destroyer of the temple and
the nation of Israel, the master who had enslaved Jerusalem and
who had included in the triumphs of his emperors,
the sacred vessels of the temple of God, so they took part
to the council held by Boniface, governor of the province, in
the year 429, and were they not strangers to the decision taken
1. All the Jewish sanctuaries of TALLAS and the desert, as well as a large
number of Marabouts of Jews of both sexes are still revered by
Berber.

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to drive out the Romans and call for help from the pro-
vince the vandals of Spain, under the leadership of Gen-
seric. M. Gazes admits the fact of the participation of
Jewish tribes in the wars of the fifth century. Gette opi-
nion is confirmed by the role that the Jews have played since

in Africa, and by numerous historical indications
risks more or less conclusive. Forced conversion
of the Jews of Borion by Belisarius, the participation of
Judeo-Himyarite tribe of Mediouna in the wars against the
Byzantines, the role of the Gahena and the resistance against
Idris 1 * 'in Morocco, these are facts which are sufficient to
tify this way of seeing.

The period of Vandal rule was when the
Berber race became aware of itself and succeeded in
advance to the coast. The Sinta-Zenata tribes and
of the Judeo-Himyarites, no longer hampered by the troops
Roman, left their old encampments to
spread to the African West.

In Spain as in Africa, the vandal kings favored
laughed at the free exercise of Jewish worship and leaned

on non-Christian elements: old influences
 Phoenicians or Proto-Hebrews reappear, coming
 from the interior to the African coast, and a movement of
 judaization is spreading across Africa.
 Jewish sources elsewhere do not seem to ignore the
 role of the Vandals and the Berbers as destroyers
 of Roman power. A text from the Midrash notes
 not without a certain patriotic satisfaction:
 "The Edomites ^ (the Romans) especially fear sons
 of Berberia and Germania.
 As for the Jewish or Judaizing tribes, they remained
 like the Phalacha today, away from the Ro-
 hand in which they were held to be Philisites "foreigners, exiles".
 1. Midrash Genesis, Rabba,
 ARGH. MOROCCO. 24
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 They were above all subject to the political and religious ascendancy.
 jeux of nomads from Eritrea.
 And when several centuries later, after the conquest
 Arab, these populations resumed contact with Judaism
 rabbinical and orthodox, what happened to them
 to the descendants of the Hellenizers from the sea coasts
 Black, refractory to the discipline of the Talmud: they
 made the schism of the Caribbean, returned to pure Mosalsm
 during the eighth century, to organize outside the
 Talmudic Judaism, or else preferred to blend in
 their Berber neighbors who have become Muslims. And it is even
 there the main cause of the dissemination of the alleged
 Caribbean in the Maghreb, dissemination including Jewish historians ^
 speak to us amply.
 We do not see any other logical solution to the problem of

Judaism in Slavic and African countries, at the time of the
 Muslim invasions. The same phenomenon, which in
 Slavic countries gave birth to the formation of the empire
 of the Khazars, in Africa had resulted in that of the Cahena
 (and Sudan). In both, we are
 found in the presence of a Mosaic sect, that is to say
 removed from Talmudic discipline and more political than re-
 religious. This is the great merit of Harkavy ^, confirmed by
 Poznansky, for having established the direct relationship that exists between
 the ancient sect of Therapists, or Egj-ptian Essenes,
 and the Magharia of the origins of Islam, who later
 became the Maghrabia or heretical Jews of the Maghreb.
 Without insisting further here, let us just say that the
 Judaism, weakened on the coast by the successes of Christia-
 nism, on the other hand, was gaining ground among the Berbers.
 A vague pantheism brought them closer to monotheism
 no less vague professed by its Judeo-Hellenic neighbors ^
 1. In particular Fürst, *Gesch. des Karâerlums*,
 2. See our appendix. *El Maghrabia therapists*,
 3. Monceaux, // i " ". HIM. from VAfr. Christian., I, p. 34.
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 The effects of Jewish propaganda were all the more effective.
 caces, that the doctrines of Judaism professed by the
 raoua were most elementary.
 As regards the Libo-Phoenician * tribes, which
 lived north of the Atlas as far as Tlemcen, in the middle of a
 very large Punic population, whose language had
 survived Roman and Christian rule, no doubt
 that they did not speak the Hebrew-Phoenician language until
 the Arab invasion, while the coastal Jews spoke
 rather Latin. This is where we should look for the cause of

the rapid spread of the Arabic language among the Jews and the townspeople, while the Arab element did not penetrate the Maghreb than in the eleventh century 2.

The Punic populations, driven back inland and who still disappeared before the Muslim invasion, after renouncing paganism, had to merge into the Jewish and Christian tribes.

At least, can we see here a cause of the persistence, among the maritime cities of the Maghreb and as far as Toledo, traditions that go back to the people who came with Solomon ^ . We know in fact that the legend of Solomon has known to the Tyrians of the time of Josephus, it serves basic to the genealogy of the Ethiopian dynasties; she was claimed by the only Jewish settlement, which survived until the sixth century, that of the Borions in the Sirte; it is in all cases prior to Islam: if it does not specify the origin of all these establishments

Jews, it at least allows us to go back to the highest antiquity their Jewish founders.

1. Morocco remained the last reHige of the Punic race. Until sixth century, a Phoenician idiom was still spoken in Mauritania (cf. MoMMSSEN, Hist. rom., ed. franc., II, p. 463).
2. FouRNEL, open. cited, II. In the ksour of the Sahara, Judaism does was still mining in the tenth century (Martin, Ouvr, cited, p. 84).
3. Graetz, *ibid.*, II, p. 75 and s. Ibn Khordadbeh (op. Cited, p. 118), con- these traditions are already being born.

II

LBS DJEROUA (v * -VII * S.).

In our work the Hebrews ^ Phoenicians we have devoted an appendix to the discussion of the problem of origins of the Djeroua. We may have assumed that the Dje-roua are the vanguard of Himyarite penetration Jews from Ethiopia. From the fifth century, they are found scattered throughout Africa; they are in besides dominated by a priestly aristocracy and war rière and form an organized agglomeration in Finlé- African laughter by clans of priests (the descendants of Onias?), and composed of Hebrew-Phoenicians or Judeo- Hellenes.

Their origin, which Ibn Khaldoun tells us ^ to be earlier to the Byzantine conquest, their religion and their customs all primitive, would not be explained, if we do not traced back to a Hebrew source, uncontaminated by the Orthodox Synagogue. M. Monceaux's thesis, which refers to the Greek period this Jewish penetration in the Berbers, is therefore questionable. Let's leave garlic- their word to Ibn Khaldoun, the only authority in third ":

1. HUL de »Berbères, III, p. 192.
2. Cf. above, II, ch. III. To solve our problem, these quotes are of utmost importance. We therefore prefer the resume straight away.

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"The great Jewish nation of Djeroua," he said, lived Tlfrikia and the Maghreb in an independence absolute. Long before the first appearance of rislam in Africa, the Djeroua were distinguished by their

power and number of their warriors. They showed

to the Franks established in the towns an apparent submission
rent, and, to remain in possession of the open country, they
lent them the support of their arms at each request.
sition ”.

Although widespread in the Maghreb, the Djeroua are
closed in TAures and appointed a king, on a date
which encompasses roughly the era of vandal rule
(indeed, the same author counts eight generations since
Guera, eponymous Pancêtre de la Cahena, until the end of
seventh century).

In a previous study on Morocco, I have already sup-
posed that Cahena's name was related to the daughter of a
Aaronides ^. On-site research enabled me to establish
blir the persistence in Africa of the Aaronic clans:
as the example of Arabia shows us, of Elephant
tine, of the Onion and partly also that of the Phalacha, fu-
rent the Aaronides before the penetration of rabbinism, the
religious leaders of African Judaism. Now, if we consider
derive from the warlike character of the Djeroua, their superior
moral and industrial rity, we will explain this
phenomenon by the survival of the family, priests
of rOnion; these, which were at the same time as
chief priests, could continue their
role among the Berbers ^. Haven't we seen the princes
fallen from the house of Herod to take root in Armenia
and in Georgia ^?

1.yp 314.

3. See above, 1. II, ch. III.

3. Cf. the chronicle of Moses of Khorene (cited by the Jtw, Bne, art
Caucasus and Armenia),

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According to a fourth century Talmudic source, we
continued at that time to make sacrifices in the
"House of Onias", or rather a by priests of the house
sound of Onias ”^ The Phalacha continued to apply the
settlement of sacrifices until the nineteenth century at
the Judeo-Berbers; at least the feast of Easter was celebrated
bred by the immolation of a lamb.

The more or less Hellenized character of the Djeroua is
not yet established with certainty ^.

Ibn Khaldoun tells us that the Djeroua were Jews
(in the broad sense of the word): this is what emerges from everything
above and this is supported by several proofs
new and accurate.

Greek historians point out some ber-
bers as praying in underground passages, or near

dead ^: such indication is confirmed by the existence
of necropolises of certain Jewish origin in the territory
Djeroua, and very old sanctuaries.

On the other hand, a fraction of Djeroua or of the primitive Jews
tif warriors and artisans have survived time, in
region of TAures. These are the Bahouzim * and the tribes
Islamized Jews, who are the direct descendants of
ancient Judeo-Berbers.

What we said about Djeroua can apply
also in Nefoussa. Ibn Khaldoun places, in this region,
Jewish tribes. A local tradition relates the origin
from the Jews to the captivity of Titus. The Berbers of this
region confirm this tradition ”*.

However, this tribe does not appear in the texts. that under the
Vandals: it occupies Libya to the coast.

1. Tr. Meguilla, f. 10 a.

2. Cf. however our and. / <“Hebr.-Phen., Append. V.
3. Cf. P'OURNEL, *ibid.*, I, p. 166.
4. The nomadic race of Bahouzim is Jewish of origin and religion. Of Judaism it observes only a few principles. See our note I. Suppl. oh. See above, 1. 11.

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In & 83, TÂurès declared himself independent. On the other hand, Jewish and Judaizing tribes go back to the coastal.

Indeed, in 6M, Christians are no longer mentioned, and it is the Nefoussa who go back to the oases of coast to oppose the Arabs ^ Jewish influences in the oases of Tripolitania, as well as their character political and syncretistic, is easy to see since Vandal era.

We see these influences springing up a bit later everywhere: between the second half of the fifth century and at the end of the seventh century, the Berbers became the masters of most parts of the coast. They supplanted the Romans and the Greeks. Only Jews know how to maintain in the Chôra or "Hara", Byzantine forts become the Jewish cities par excellence.

A little later, under the pressure of the migrations of Zenata, some fractions of Jewish and Christian tribes dissidents united with the Aourir'i spread to the Tell and the Atlas. However, Cyrenaica, devastated at the goal of the Christian era, is covered with important colonies more or less independent Jews, such as the city

of Borion cited by Procopius, the El-Yehoudia of the middle age, etc.

The Mediouna region, a Jewish tribe settled in the surroundings from Tlemcen, extends to the coast, and a precise index fixes us on the expansion of other Jewish tribes towards the Maghreb-el-Aqça and as far as Ocean 3. In the first mid-fifth century, Saint Augustine (died 431) has been to the town of Tigidis several times, including several his bishops are his friends: now, in none of his written, it does not mention a monument related to the

1, FOURNEL, *ifeW*, I, p. 109.

.2. De Mdifieiiis, VI, 2, Cf. above.

3. Ibn Khaldoun, no. cited; v. more loia.

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tradition of the Canaanites and the wars of Joshua, tradition that the Bishop of Hippo, as well as Saint Jerome S however knows very well and that he quotes in his works of biblical exegesis.

On the other hand, at the time of the conquest of Africa by the Byzantines, that is to say around 535, this tradition was already known on the coast and particularly in Tigidis. Procope tells us, in fact, that the Phoenicians built a fort at the place where the town of Tigidis had risen - probably to defend themselves against the Berbers - that they still spoke the Phoenician and that they had erected near a fountain two columns of white stones, with this inscription, in the Phoenician language: "We are those who were driven out of their land by Joshua the thief, son of Nun ^".

This inscription, the content of which is confirmed by theirs, almost from the same period ^, must relate to the invasion of the coast by the Judeo-Berber tribes of the territory, considered by Punic citizens of towns maritime as simple brigands, including Joshua, the rival

de Melqart became the persistent incarnation [^]. For our study, the Tigidis listing is of major interest: it coincides with the era of the expansion of the Berbères de l'Aurès to the coast, which it allows between 83 and 533. This last limit being natural- too remote, the final establishment of the tribes Jews in the Maghreb-el-Aqça and as far as the Ocean and that

1. Cf. Onomoéitea Sacra, by Ed. ZaganU, p. 187.
2. We come back to it at the risk of repeating ourselves.
3. PROGOPB, De btUo vandaL, II, 13, 17; cf. Marcus, Hisî, of the Vandals, p. 236.
4. Cf. Grabtz, y. I, p. 12.

6. Cf. Basset (Nedroma and the Trarae), If moreover one considers, our way of seeing, the migrations of Judaism in Africa, this legend seems the logical consequence of the evolution of the cult of Joshua through the earlier centuries of Islam. See our study: Melqari and Joshua {Hebrew-Phinitians, appendix).

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of the dynasty of Ghera, Tancêtre de la Cahena dates back to would thus at the time most favorable for the expansion of a half-Berber element, that is to say to that of the domination of the Vandals.

With the penetration of the tribes of the south, who go up towards the coast, the cult of Joshua, and probably also the stories of the Miraculous Fish, are established in Ceuta and in the vicinity [^] Punic still dominated in this maritime province and the etymological and my-ethic of the word noun [^] j or <c fish ", did not lack to strike the popular imagination.

All the time the Vandals held on in the land, the Jewish tribes first lived with them, settling in the cities and founding the Hàra who rent the center of commerce and industry: outside of Borion, of Ras-el-Yéhoud, the Ksour el-Jehoud and the Yehudias don't count. They are always ruins of vandal or Roman monuments, and as those reported by Mr. Gazés near Ghemtou (p. 41), like the necropolises, they predate Islam.

We see it everywhere; so that we are tempted to wonder if between the fifth and the seventh century, Judaism was not all powerful in Africa [^].

It is from this time that Benzert (Bizerte) is occupied by the Jews, and that Garthage herself is

1. Ceuta or Ceuta HT \ 1D is considered by the Jewish chroniclers of the Middle Ages as being built by Sera, son of Noah, in the same that Jafra and that certain ancient Phoenician cities prior to Christian and Muslim middle ages. As for the Sabbatical River TV131QD about which M. Basset is speaking, we will have the opportunity to come back to it.

2. The cult of] 1A1 *] 1J that we have studied in our book. city is found as far as the ksours of the Sahara. Thus in the Touat, group oasis where Judaism had predominated since the early centuries of Christianity, we found an idol with a fish head (M. Martin, Ouvr, cited [^] p. 34).

3. With regard to the groups of the Sahara the question is elucidated definitely by M. Martin, *ibid.*, p. 34-41.

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populated. The silence of rabbinical sources, very little

many elsewhere, only accentuates the character unorthodox syncretist of this Judaism. Bône ^ owes its ghriba at that time, although this town is, with Carthage and Cirta, the only towns where churches survived still smells. In the rest of Africa, the Christian influence yours is reduced to nothing. Throughout Nefoussa, where the sou-Jewish come dominate, I found only one trace of Christianity.

It is at this time that the necropolis should be placed de Gamart, of Judeo-Berber origin.

Father Delattre, to whom belongs the honor of having the first discovered the Jewish character of this cemetery, says with that insight that never gives up ^: "This cemetery, we can hardly trace it back beyond the fourth or fifth century AD. It is even probable that it should be assigned a date a lot less remote. "

However, the mixed character of this cemetery, where the Jews and so-called Christians lie together, cannot be explained hardly at that time. On the other hand, we cannot explain that the community of Carthage, so cultivated and so rich, did not leave more marked epigraphic traces. Besides, Christian persecutions have so well decimated this community, that no mention has reached us, relating to Talmudic Judaism, which nevertheless was so flourishing in Carthage ^ before the fourth century.

Moreover, the Cape of Gamart is too far from Carthage so that we can admit that it served as a necropolis to the Jews of this city. It would therefore be more admissible to give this necropolis a Judeo-Berber origin. A

Djeroua group would have occupied this point which dominates

1. See our Voyage (Jewish Tel. * In Africa.

2. Delattre, Gamart, p. 36-48.

3. V. nolrel. I.

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Carthage, as another had occupied Borion, a third Sième Bizerte *, others still Nedroma ^.

It's the ebb of old commerce and industry

Hebrew-Phoenician who, today Judaized, stops on the important points of the coast occupied by the Berbers 3.

The great resemblance of the tombs of Gamart with those of Palestine is corroborated by the presence of necropolises like Cyrene *. There, as in Gamart,

Christians and Jews rest together.

All these considerations lead us to fix the date of cemetery between 500 and 703, date coinciding with the occupation of the Arabs.

The push of the Judeo-Himyarites which, in Arabia, reached its peak towards the beginning of the sixth century is accentuated around the same time in the Maghreb; but here the Arabs allowed it to continue until the eighth century.

Our hypothesis is confirmed by the discovery of similar necropolises on the territory of Djeroua itself;

Bagaïa even has, next to a Roman cemetery, a big hill full of caves.

However, in 394, Bagaïa was still a Christian city, a Christian council even took place there. Registrations Roman figures dating from this period have been found there ^.

It was around the fifth century that a family of priests Aaronides regains ascendancy over the Berbers. The Djeroua, hunted down by the Byzantines with the other Berbers, lend

1. A Jew commanded Bizerte at the time of the Arab conquest (El-haXrouani, p. 42).
2. Cf. above, 1. I, chap. VIII.
3. V. Jew. Encyclop. art. Catacombs.
4. The discovery of several other similar necropolises on the points which dominate the military and merchant route of Cyrenaica will be treated, I hope, in a special study. In Rabat (island of Malta), I have just made the observation of the Jewish character of several catacombs which are in this ancient Phoenician city.
6. FOURNF.L, the Berbers, I, p. 166.

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effective support to the Vandals during their occupation of Africa. As we have already seen above, Taurès taking advantage of the weakening of the latter, declares independent in & 83: this is the time when a great movement of Judeo-Berber tribes goes north and there occupies all the important centers: the Djeroua themselves even, who have a privileged position on the col berbère, spread throughout Tlfrikia and the Maghreb. The recovery of Africa by Belisarius did not change the situation of the Djeroua: a wise policy of understanding between the latter and the Byzantines, to which the Djeroua brought were often their armed support ^ only accentuated the predominance of Judeo-Berbers.

Never since the fall of Carthage has the predominance of the Hebrew element was not more striking than at this time. Never have Christian priests been more jealous of a Judaism triumphing over the great majority of the rural relationship in Africa, at a time when the Official Judaism had pretty much disappeared from African soil K

1. Ibn Khaldoun, paê. cited.
2. Cf. above, 1. I, chap. IX.

III

THE TRIBES OF MAGHREB-BL-AQÇA {Le MarOC).

In 535, the Greeks made themselves masters of Africa, and their first care was to usher in an era of persecution religious against Jews and sects of all kinds, have become very numerous ^ These rigors, together with the horrors of war, were Africa so ravaged that we were surprised, said Procopius, to meet one man on a long journey, - all this contributed to throw among the Berbers massive montagneux and rOcéan 2, many refugees. Perhaps did this cause the formation of new Jewish tribes among the Berbers; however, as we have seen, it does should not believe, with certain authors, that Judaism disappeared, or almost, from the North African coast ^. Reading the decisions of the councils shows that no only Judaism remained, but the Jews enjoyed know in the country of a considerable influence, which carries even shamed the heads of the Church.

In Tingitane Mauritania, where Judaism seems to have particularly concentrated under vandal domination and where, even in Justinian's time, there was only strong few Christians, the fifth and sixth century seem

1. See above, 1. I, ch. IX.
2. Cf. Monceaux, Jewish Colonies in VAfr. Rom.
3. Cf. Leglercq, r Afrique chrillienne, II, p. S | 28.

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have singularly favored the development of Judaism in this country.

Even in the regions occupied by the Greeks, the persecutions had never disturbed, it seems, this last asylum of non-Catholic worship. On the contrary, the region occupied by present-day Morocco offered under the Byzantine nation a safe haven for the Jews expelled from Spain by the fanaticism of the Visigoths. If it is necessary believe some authors a part of African Jews would have followed the Vandals expelled to Spain ^.

During the reign of Theudis, the Jews of Spain and provinces of the African coast annexed to this country, enjoy a diet of full tolerance ^.

However, in 589, Morocco received a great number of Jewish refugees persecuted by the King of the Visigoths.

We will give in the following chapter the details of the persecution of Sisebute (612-613), when the Spanish Jews, ordered to convert, or to leave the countries, crossed part of the strait and settled en masse in Morocco.

These persecutions abolished under the reign of Swintla (621-631), were resumed in 636-642, when King Chintilla renewed the edicts of Sisebute *.

This last period coincides with the time of Tinva-Zion of the Maghreb by the Zenata who shook the Morocco, weakened Byzantine rule in the country,

1. Cazès, *ibidem*.

2. Leclercq, *open. cited*, p. 247.

3. Gbaetz. *ed. garlic.*, V, p. 72.

4. *Ibidem*.

6, According to several savans, the Zenata themselves professed Judaism and they would be none other than the Kenites ^ 2 ^ p. (Cf. ML MassIGNON, *Le Maroc* etc., p. 44). This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the inhabitants of the ksour of the Sahara continued, even after the establishment of the Zenata in these parts, to profess Judaism (Martin, *the Sahar Oases.*, p. 54).

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especially since 619, and put it in a state of anarchy ^

Taking advantage of these events and forced, under the push of the Zenata, to advance towards the West, some fractions of Djeroua and Mediouna, swelled by refugees from Spain and probably also runaways from others Byzantine provinces of Africa, settled definitively in Tingitane Mauritania. These Jews became quite numerous and powerful towards the end of the seventh century to hatch an insurrection against the Visigoths in 693

from Spain 2.

The mention of an insurrection of the Jews of Spain with help from the Jews and Moors of Africa, which closes the chapter on the Jews under Christian rule, brings us back to the question of the Jewish tribes of the Maghreb at the time of the Muslim invasion.

Christianity had continued to make considerable progress until Aurès, where the Zenata tribes established under Diocletian seem to have professed the religion, while the conversion of the Ration of the Aouraba took place during the reign of Diocletian. Around 619, Christianity gained ground in the south of Tlemcen, although with the exception of the coastal zone Christian influences were never felt towards the west 3.

Thanks to Ibn Khaldoun's data, we can pre-
more or less the distribution of Jews in Africa,
the second half of the seventh century.

At that time, most of the tribes of the Jewish religion
Djeroua, Nefoussa and Médiouna excepted,

had lived for a long time, or at least since
domination of the Vandals, the Maghreb-el-Aqça ^ notam-

1. On the wars supported by the Zenata factions arriving from
East under Diocletian, cf. Won, open. cited.

2. Cf. Basset, op. cited in the introduction.

3. Cf. Ibn Khaldoun, *ibidem*, I, 212; Leclercq, open. cited II, 296.

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the Behloulou ^, the Riata, the Fazas and the Fendeloua.

The fact that Berber genealogists are silent on their
origin, shows us that all these tribes, like

of the Djeroua, were Jewish refugees who ended up
form into tribes and by getting closer to the Berbers, without
however completely deviate from traditional Judaism

nel. These tribes, as indicated by the location of the

Jewish legends and information from historians

Arabs, were widespread in the plains of Tell and until

than in the Rif, while the Zenata and the Berghouata

the trays of current Morocco.

1. The name of Behloul is part of Arabic Tonomastic and suggests
a Judeo-Himyarite origin. It is not the same with regard to
the other three names.

IV

JEWES FROM SPAIN AND ARABIA

The period preceding the invasion of the Arabs is when
Berber expansion reached its peak. This is the point of
departure from the foundation of Berber towns, which supplanted
that of the Romans and Punicis *.

From now on, the Byzantine suzerainty over the province
African was purely nominal. Wherever the Berbers
went up the coast, they settled down as masters, everywhere
they overwhelmed the European colonies and maintained
are born in their place. Among these Berbers, there were
Christians, Pagans: but Judaism, a refractory religion
to keep to the official religion and represented by the last
survivors of the ancient Hebrews and Phoenicians, tended to
dominate among the Berbers.

This Jewish influence dates back to 574, a date that corresponds
to that of the definitive relaxation of Byzantine authority.

Thus, historians tell us that around this date
of 574, Gasmoul, king of Aurès, seized a large
part of the Maghreb and that, taking advantage of the weakness of
worse, he assigned the nomadic Berber tribes of the Maghreb ^
territories to stay there.

1. Cf. FouRNEL, *the Berbers*, I; Mercier, *Hist. de FAfr. sepl*., I, *passim*,

2. Mercier, *ibid.*, I, p. 176; Leclercq, *tAfr. chréi.* ^ II, p. 272.

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However, at that time, the Zenata had not yet

left their encampments in Tlfrikia to enter

Maghreb ; the tribes that we found fixed in

the Moroccan provinces, at the time of the Arab invasion,

had therefore been staying there for at least 57 ^.

The Médiouna S, for example, continued for a long time *

time still to occupy the North-East of Tlemcen next

the Beni-lfren, the founders of the latter city;

while the Moroccan tribes of Fazaz ^, Fende-

loua and Rhiata, formed before that date, established

definitely in the regions that bore their name since then, names sometimes kept long after the disappearance of the populations themselves. Like all these places, in the very (Berber edition and Jewish, are attached to the Jews, as the memory of Hara remains everywhere, as on the other hand the devastation

of the coastal regions had ended up decimating, not by annihilating the Greco-Romans, now the Berbers were in the presence of the Jewish element, who, incorporated into the tribe dominating the mountain, remained master of the situation.

Moreover, we will point out the presence of the last pagans and Christians alongside the Jews, in these same regions.

Certain tribes, such as the Fendeloua and the Rhiata, driven back by the Berghouata who dominated the open country in the Byzantine period and who, too, betrayed a Jewish influence, entrenched themselves in the mountains.

On the other hand, Morocco's trade relations with 1. The Moors of M idanos or Ifédenas (alias Mèdeon) are frequent at Procope ^ De Bello Vandalico).

9. read KRALDocfi bets "tribes" of Fazaz and not tribes, which would indicate their sedentary character. These populations likewise that the Fendeloua ^ name composed of Fend or Fendz and Loua) are of a certain ancient origin. As for the Behloul, judging from their name, they should be attributed a probable Arab origin.

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Spain at that time, as well as archaeological data aforementioned historical and historical evidence of the presence Jews in the Diaspora, not only in the towns of coast, but also up to Oualili or Volubilis ^ and the region of present-day Fez, in the very vicinity of Fazaz, Behloul and the Fendelaoua, with whom they could enter into relationships and that should not stay away of traditional Judaism.

The number of these Jews of European origin increased particularly since 612-613, the date when the religious persecutions in Spain.

It is not without interest to specify these events and to recall in a few words the character of these persecutions.

During the reign of the Visigothic king Sisebode, the Spanish clergy gnoI, afraid of the progress of the religious propaganda of the Jews in the Peninsula, determined to get rid of days of these troublesome rivals, gave them only a year. to renounce their religion and convert to Christianity; this time expired, if the Jews persevered in their beliefs, they were to be exiled, after having received a hundred lashes and their belongings were to be taxed. Ninety thousand Jews would thus have received Baptism ; but, according to the very decisions of the

ciles, the converted Jews continued to practice secret-their religion 2.

A large number also preferred to emigrate, some beyond the Pyrenees, the others on the other side of the strait.

1. V, above, I, ch. VII.

2. Gbaetz, HM. Juiv € t ch. garlic., V, p. 67-70; Movebs. die Phôniier ^ H, II, p. 675. Doctor D. Francisco Fernandez y Gonzalez brought together in his

book titled *Instituciones jurídicas del Pueblo de Israel*, etc. I (Madrid, 1881) all official documents which deal with the history of these customs and that of the Arab conquest. These first testimonials source no longer leave any doubts about the authenticity of events in question.

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in the Maghreb-el-Aqça, next to their many cores
ligionnaires who lived in this country.

From this time on we see the Spanish Jews
gnols cross the strait several times to look for
a refuge in Mauritania. Protected by the nobility,
some of them, however, remained in Spain,
as neo-Christians; in 6[^]2, they were even authorized
to return to Judaism. But ten years later they were
persecuted and expelled again, and had to leave the
Peninsula in 652, to return there in 672.

In 681, the last great persecution aroused
by the progress of Judaism in Spain, judging from
the diatribes of Tévèque Julien of Seville. Tenacity in
religious matter, which the newcomers had made
proof through the multiple persecutions of the Visigoths,
contrasts sharply with the attitude of most
Judaizing Berber tribes, who did not always resist
days to the shock of Islamism. She shows us how much
these Spanish refugees were attached to Judaism; the per-
The execution had only stimulated their zeal. Thanks to them,
Moroccan Judaism has seen itself regenerated and fanatic. The
number of its followers has grown considerably too,
since the figure of ninety thousand conversions,
for the year 612 alone, represents the minority who ac-
cepta to stay in Spain and to comply with the requirements
Christians.

What were the way of life and the conditions
social and economic relations of these former farmers,
artisans and merchants, stranded in such a wild country
that western Mauritania had remained, continual-
torn apart by infighting and devastated by
nomads ? It must be assumed that the Spanish refugees
brought with them civilization and culture, if not the
language, of the Latin world, and that after the disappearance of the

punically, it was they who monopolized Tin-
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industry and commerce of the country. Established among the Ber-
bers and the semi-nomadic Jews, they represented at the
tar of their descendants, expelled from Spain a thousand years
later, the nascent middle class. Adapting to
conditions of the primitive social life of the country, they had to
to organize themselves in tribes, or rather to mingle with
surrounding tribes, without ceasing for that to remain a
sedentary element, organized as a religious community
and national.

However, these refugees from a civilized country do not appear
not easily adapted to the rough and adventurous life
that they had to lead; they constantly aspired ^
to return to their former residence, and were aiming for nothing
less than breaking the power of Christian Spain.

From this point of view, their daring project to seize,
with the help of their Judeo-Himyarite neighbors, of a
as well organized politically and as broad as
Tait Spain, is very significant.

An indication of ibn Khaldoun ^ allows us to inter-
see, although rather vaguely, the situation of these Jews

refugees with their Berber neighbors in the interior from Morocco. This author relates that in 807 the ground, on which Idris II founded the city of Fez, belonged to the Beni Bor * ghos and the Beni Khair. Among the Beni Borghos are Were Magi, Jews and Christians ... Both tribes were among themselves in a state of incessant war. This information helps us understand the role of the Jews in the tribes, because he shows them as doing by- tie of a Berber tribe and not as forming a distinct tribe or civilized urban community. Like the Jews of the interior Rif and the extreme south Moroccan nowadays, they must have already devoted themselves to in- ^ industry, agriculture and commerce. As for the name l. Ibid., III, p. 646.

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Borghos or Bourgos, it carries too much gnole so that we are not tempted to see in them an- former inhabitants of the Peninsula, Jews, Pagans or Christians sectarians expelled by the fanaticism of the Visigoths. Berber Jews and Palestinian-Spanish Jews therefore ended by meeting and by consulting in Morocco, to em- adorn the rich peninsula.

However, from the seventh century especially, at these two heterogeneous elements of Jewish origin came together join, before the invasion of Islam, some fractions of Arabized Jewish tribes of Yemen or Ethiopia, who thus preceded the appearance of Muslim Arabs. The Kitâb eUAdouani ^ echoes the traditions that relate to an emigration of Arab Jews before the conquest for Africa by Muslims.

In 628, Muhammad seized the territory of the Jews of Khaïbar, in Yemen, and summoned its inhabitants to leave Arabia; some of these former compatriots of the prophet went to Syria and Iraq, the others crossed the Red Sea, from where, driven back by the flood all growing days of the Tuaregs and Lemtouna, they returned to the oases of the Sahara, where they left traces deep before finally failing in the south of Maghreb-el-Aqça.

Ibn Khaldoun, for his part, attests that the Sanhadja, the Lemtouna and the Tuaregs had come from Ethiopia, if not from Arabia. However, the chronicle cited tells us precisely sure that the people of the Sahara linked their origins to Adjadj ben Tiklan, leader of the Jews who lived in Khaï- bar. It even seems that this was also the origin of the Jews Beni-abd-en-Dar of the Ksour of Western Sahara, including the wealth consisted in the horses brought from Arabia.

Written and oral traditions reported by M. Mar- 1. Trad. by Féroud, p. 167; MA Cahen, *ibid.* ^ P. 24-26 .; v. note I, 8upp.

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tin, speak of a strong immigration which, from the beginning of the sixth century, went from Khaïbar (in Arabia) to the Ksour of the Sahara.

Jews of Arab descent can be divided into two groups: some who, like the Yemeni Jews today, S nites stood for the descendants of Simeon, whose it is mentioned above; the others who were related to Beni Khaïbar, lived in northern Arabia, and formed an agglomeration of tribes whose religion was marked by an accentuated asceticism. They were getting closer on- everything from Essenes and Therapists. Already in Arabia pre-Islamic one distinguished the Nadirs or "Ascetics" from

Cahen or Cohen 3. Similar division of the clergy in Aar-
nides existed in Africa. It is contrary to the spirit
rabbinical. So these Judeo-Arabs, who, chased by
Mahomet, went to settle in Syria, in Iraq,
their dissident Judaism, the starting point of many
pseudo-messianic movements, and ca-
raits. Graetz, who notes this fact, did not yet know
that a strong migration from Beni Khaibar, driven back by the

Muslims, had reached, from the seventh century, in
Africa, and that the Judeo-Arabs had encountered in
Ethiopia and in the Sahara of the early Judeo-Berbers,
to whom they gave their religious conceptions more
high, their language and their manners ^ . I could see that
until the eighteenth century, there existed among the Jews of
Sahara and those of Yemen have direct relations ^ .

M. Le Chatelier ^ arrives at the same conclusions ^ when
that after seeing a Jewish influence in Africa

1. Open. cited, p. 46.
2. J. SapirI ^ SD P ”.
3. See above *
4. Hisi, Jewish, vol. IH, ed. Hebrew, where we find very edi-
fiantes of Harkavy.
5. Summer travel. j. in Africa: The Poetry of the Troglodytes.
6. Islam in West Africa, p. 124 and 174.

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Western, he attributes its origin to the Jewish tribes and
Himyarites who arrived from Arabia at a remote time,
as far as Niger and the ocean coast. El-Kalrouani says
as the first king who reigned in the land of the Tuaregs,
in the desert, was the son of Tiklan Bouloutan.

This information on the first organization of the
Sahara by the Jews are confirmed by the passages cited
El-Kaïrouani and Karlas ^ .

We will come back to this in a special study.

The introduction of the Arabic language and customs among
the Jews of the Sahara and the Atlas thus began a certain
some time before the conquest of the country by the Muslims
and by the arrival of the Asiatic Jews after them; these refu-
gies of Arabia fleeing the sword of the prophet had to bring
with them the spirit of independence in political matters and
religious, outraged individualism as well as hatred of
Islam.

It was the same with the notions that the Arab Jews
had preserved about their authentic genealogy
tick or alleged, which attributed the primary origin of
Arab semi-nomadic Jews to the twelve tribes of Israel; we
let us see, in fact, this belief be accredited among
Moroccan tribes.

1. P. 888; y. note I, suppL

THE ARAB INVASION. - LA CAHENA

The struggles between Arabs and Berbers for supremacy
in North Africa occupied the entire second month
seventh century; they almost caused ruin
of the Barbary coast, from Tripolitania to
than in Tangier.

The Roman Jews who had survived saw themselves in the
need to leave Africa. In contrast, a large
number of Jews of Egyptian and Asian origin, or

Yemeni, had followed the armies of the Arab conquerors and successively occupied the cities deserted by their Greek or Roman inhabitants ^

Most of these newcomers from Africa were already strongly Arabized and were both influenced by Arab culture and the discipline of the Babylonian Synagogue. It was they who had generally served as link between the native Jews and all the rest of the Jewish Diaspora, between the populations of Africa and the Arab conquerors.

Thus, from the beginnings of the appearance of Islam in Africa, local Judaism is enriched by a double current of Jewish immigration: primitive Jews of Yemeni origin and 1. Gratz, III. Barges and Goldberg: Introduction to the Rissala dlbn KoreJch; Slousch, Arch, Morocco. , 1, VI.

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Asian city-dwellers, also familiar with the language and Arab mores.

To better emphasize the importance of this fact, it suffices to specify the successive dates of the conquest of Africa by the Arabs. In 668, Okba ben Nâfe invaded Tripolitania. In 669, he seized Ifrikia, where, after the defeat of the Greeks, the Jews of the fortress of Benzert - the current Bizerte - oppose it a resistance of garlic-their useless. In that same year, Okba built the city of Kaïrouan intended to supplant the Carthage of Chréwell, and he brings there a thousand Coptic and Jewish families from rEgypt *: two elements considered by the winner as valuable factors of Arab penetration. In Indeed, Kaïrouan soon after became the capital of Judaism and Jewish Tortodoxy in Africa, as Carthage had once been.

However, the warrior tribes of TAures, faithful to their commitments with the Greeks, or rather concerned of their independence, revolt and seize, by resounding victories, from all over Tfrikia and even from

new capital, Kaïrouan.

In 681, Okba began a new campaign against TAures and inflicts on Kocêila, king of the Berber populations united, a decisive defeat; he passes the mountain aurhis to enter the Maghreb-el-Aqça.

After taking the fortified towns of Taherl, Tlemcen and from Ceuta, he obtains the submission of Count Julien, the Byzantine Governor of Tangier. It penetrates the heart of TAtlas passing through Oualili, where he defeated the ber-beers, take many of their wives

known for their beauty and makes conversions in mass among Berbers of all religions. Islam

1. From Slane, according to Iba Nowairi (appendix to V. I, "le fJTÎs / . Des Berh. d ^ IBN Khali> ovn '.

THE ARAB INVASION. LA CAHENA iOI becomes a new element of discord between the Berbers prone to internal struggles and rivalries. From converted, we must believe that there was a fraction of Médiouna and another of the Rhiata, since we find these latter among the Berbers who then recognized The authority of Idris V.

However, it does not appear that the Jewish tribes of Morocco were noticeably tested by this first shock of rislain against Morocco.

However, Okba learns of the revolt of Taurès and the gold-military organization of its populations united under the

conduct of Kocēila, who abjured his new religion. he marches against the Berber army, suffers a decisive defeat in the city of Tahouda, where the conqueror of Africa succumbs himself (683).

The consequence of this victory was the second occupation of Ifrikiya by Kocēila, king of the first Berber, who made Kairouan his capital and reigned over the Berbers and on the Greeks, as Nowāiri attests, "with equity and justice", until 688, which suggests that the Coast Jews had no complaints about his attitude towards them*.

In 688, the Caliph sent his general Zobeir against the Berbers, to whom a bloody defeat is inflicted.

Kairouan is taken over by the Arabs and Kocēila himself perished on the battlefield, while his tribe, the Aoureba, is almost destroyed; the debris sought a refuge in the Maghreb-el-Aqça, under the pressure of Zenata which invaded Aurès.

However, the Djeroua seem to have suffered little

consequences of this defeat, since in the events

Later events we see them in the foreground. Profoundly much of the internal weakening of the authority of the Caliphate,

1. From Slane, open. cited, I, append.

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the Berbers take for queen a woman, the famous

Dahīa, or Damia, the queen of Djeraoua 'known as Cahena.

whose genealogy Ibn Khaldoun knows; He did it

go back to the time of vandal domination:

Diha or Dahīa, daughter of Tabeta, son of Nicin, son of

Baoura, son of Meskeri ^ son of Alfred, son of Usila, son of

Guera2.

Like all great characters in history, this

African heroine is surrounded by a legendary heroic cycle

say. However Fournel allows us to reconstitute

the true story of this mysterious queen.

"Kocēila was successor El Cahena, queen of

TAures; all the Roms of Ifrikiya dreaded her; all

the Berbers obeyed him. The unanimous testimony of

Arab historians should have kept Lebeau on the alert against

his strange appreciation of this woman remarkable,

whose very existence he almost doubts.

Beladzori, El-Bekri, Ibn-el Athir, Ibn-Adzari, El-Tedjani,

El-Kāira, Moulay Ahmed, etc., geographical names and

a whole folklore, the survival of Jewish nomads and finally

all of the above are more than enough to confirm

his existence.

The name El Cahena is of Jewish or Phoenician origin

certain. En-Nowāiri said: this woman predicted the future,

and all that she announced never failed to happen. In

the Hebrew Cohen predicted the future: the Bible, the Cohen

ran, Josephus and pre-Islamic Arabia bear witness to this.

Obviously the Cahena, as a woman, could not

perform the ritual of sacrifices, but he still had

days the ability to predict the future. Procopius says that at

the Berbers the faculty of prophesying was a privilege

1.13Da is a very frequent name in Punic Toponymastics.

2. The name of Usila is explained by Thebrew Sn ^ TIST. As for that of

Guera Nia, we should see an eponymous.

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of women ^ It is the same role as with the Jews, rem ^

folding Debora, Hulda, the "Nebia", etc.

“Even today we find in Berber countries Qoubba consecrated to holy women, whose populations honor and perpetuate memory, due to of the beneficent influence they have exerted, which would be impossible among Arabs 2. I myself have found, in the Nefoussa, a Qoubba dedicated to a certain Oumra-el-Ghrib, the Mother of the Waters, who is of Jewish 3. In Sirte and Gharian, people still speak of a Jewish queen named Fanana who would be the ancestor of the Ourichfana tribe. We will see that among the Jews dissidents of Spain, of Berber origin, a woman played the role of a saint or Maa'lima ^ . Even today the condition of women among the Judeo-Berbers (who by parenthesis practice monogamy), is greater than this that it is among the Arab or Spanish Jews of the coast. As for the proper name of Cahena, some write Dahia (the cunning); others Damia (Doumia), others still Dina; for me, I dwell on the lesson of Dahia, can that one meets elsewhere the Berber name composed of Ifès-Dahia.

La Cahena, known as FourneP, was in command in Aurès; her family was part of the Djeroua, a Jewish tribe who provided knows kings and chiefs to all Berbers from El-Abter. His Jewish origin once established, it is not difficult to see in this Cahena, the descendant of one of these families of Aaronides who since Onias, as in Samaria and Judea were both military leaders and religious of Jewish populations and others. In the region

1. De Btlo Vandalico, H, 7. 1.

2. FouRNEL, open. cited, I, p. 127.

3. A Jewish trip to Africa.

4. Ibn Daoud, Chronicle ^ end.

5. Open cited, I, p. 213 and s. One will find in this author the testimonies

Arab authors who deal with these events. . .

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from Gabès, where traditions abound on the Cahena, a Aaronide family attributed a direct Zadocite origin, hence wrinkled - possible after all - that it would be a descendants of Onias, who settled in Fures. Follow-before the Arab stories, when Hassan Ibn-en-No'man had driven out the Greeks, he stayed for some time in Kaïrouan to give rest to his troops. Having asked the inhabitants what a powerful chief still remained in Ifrikia, he was answered that the Cahena exercised such a power, that, if it managed to defeat this woman, he would be "absolute master from all over the Maghreb ". So he started walking towards TAuverny. On hearing of this threat, the Cahena descended from

his mountains at the head of an innumerable army posed of Berbers and Greeks, preceded the Arab general in Baggaiã, from where she expelled the Roum who were there again and destroyed the city, in the thought that Hassan might be able to fortify himself there

The latter halted near a small river that En-Nowari named Oud-Nini, and the queen immediately stepped forward to rejoin ; but given the late hour of the day, Hassan did not accept the battle: the two armies spent the night in the saddle. At dawn, they rushed with fury against each other, the melee was frightful and the Berbers remained victorious. Hassan and his Muslims, put

in complete rout despite wonders of valor,
were chased with the sword in the kidneys until they
would have gone beyond the territory of Gabès. According to El-Bekri,
"The meeting would have taken place on the territory of Gabès",
and the vanguard of the Cahena army would have been com-
summoned by one of Kocefla's former generals; finally the
Hassan's cavalry leader was reportedly killed.

The Arab general hastened to transmit to Damascus the
1. Cf. El-KAÎROUANI; Baïan; Al Bekri, EnNowari, Bolbeni, E / Maçali'i
Rihla, by Et Tedjani; Ibn Khaldoun, ibid., I, 213-4; III, p. 193; Ez-ZUnU
etc.

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sad news of his defeat, portraying the Maghreb
like a huge anthill of fighters without
cease reborn; then he continued on his way to the east,
walking in small days to leave the fugitives
time to join him. He had just entered the lands of
government of Barca and reach a point of the coast
of the Great Syrte, where there was a well of wild water.
mother, named "Bachada" drinker ^ when he received the
response from Abd-el-Méliq who ordered him to stop there,
where his despatch would reach him and to wait.
So he stopped and built the castles known as
the name of Ksour-el-Hassan.

The little river that had witnessed the defeat of
Arabs, was called the river of "the Virgin".
Eighty noble companions of Hassan were
remained in the hands of the Cahena; she sent them all away,
with the exception of Khalid ibn Yezid El Kaisi. " I have never
seen, she said to him one day, of a more handsome and braver man
that you: I want to breastfeed you (which was the sign of the adopt-
tion), so that you become the brother of my two sons ”.

The generosity shown by the prophetess to her
prisoners, allied herself at home with the
gerie. Convinced that the Arabs coveted Ifrikia in
because of its lush vegetation and to seize
her riches, she thought to prevent their return forever,

saying to the Berbers: "Foreigners do not want to
our country that the cities, the gold and the silver which they contain,
while to us, pastures, fields to sow
are sufficient; if we destroy what they're looking for, they don't
will come more until the end of time.)> Then come together
wreaked terrible devastation by his orders.
The cities were sacked, the countryside and the gardens
devastated, cut trees, diverted waters, everything
which could incite the Arabs to a new dis-
appeared.

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La Cahena thus remained mistress of the Berber country.
The revolutions which shook the Caliphate between 639 and
700 diverted the attention of Caliph Abd-el-Melik from
Africa.

But by organizing the devastation of his empire, the Cahena
had been ill-inspired; because it irritated the populations, among
who were sedentary Jews and Christians;
moreover, she did not ward off the plague she feared.
Ibn Khaldoun quotes an author after whom she would have
lived one hundred and twenty-seven years and reigned sixty-five. But
Fournel is certainly right when he says that after
five years of peace, Hassan received the order (703-70Â) to
return with reinforcements and money to Ifrikia.
A betrayal of Khaled, Cahena's adopted son, seems

have determined the end of the campaign. She sent her two sons to the Arab general, recommending them to him, and made them accompany by the traitor Khaled, to whom precisely it granted freedom.

Before leaving, her sons begged her to abandon the country to the Muslims and flee, since she knew her loss assured. "The flight," replied this heroic woman, "would be a shame for my people; the one who ordered the Berbers, Arabs and Roums must know how to die in Queen ! "" The carnage was such, says Nowairi, that all Muslims expected to be exterminated; but god having come to their aid, the Berbers were put in rout, after suffering enormous losses. "

The queen, on the run, was killed in the Aurès, near a well that, in the time of ibn Khaldoun, we still called Bir-el-Cahena, and the head of this fearless woman was sent to Abd-el-Méliq.

After this decisive victory, Hassan returned in 70ft to Kairouan.

The ifrikia was finally conquered. The ancient priestly race de l'Aurès as well.

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The Berbers of Aurès, of whom 100,000 had been killed sacred, asked the Aman; almost all convert-return to Islam, among others, the sons of the Cahena who ordered 12,000 Djeroua; they received the mission of carry, with the sword, Tlslam in the Maghreb.

Jews and Christians were saved, but were subject to the Kharadj \ or statutory tax.

Now, what was the attitude of the Palestinian-Roman Jews established during all these revolutions, in the cities? 11 is very difficult to answer this question; the devastation tion of Roman cities was bound to experience these townspeople.

Let's just say that for Orthodox Jews, or even civilized people of the coast, the appearance of the Berbers, in as allies of their centuries-old enemies, the Byzantines, who, moreover, brought with them the ruin of the country, could only be seen as a disaster.

Strangely enough, even those who had not stopped hope in the discovery of the ten tribes, which appear are milking at a critical time to deliver Israel, and whose presence had been vaguely designated in Africa, refused, from the first real appearance of these warrior and primitive tribes, to recognize brothers far away in these barbarians emerging from the desert Everything about them, the warrior character, the domination of a priestess, the harshness of manners, the hatred against Arabs, who nevertheless were their own liberators, Jews civilized, everything should shock these peaceful townspeople, given to the meticulous practices of the Talmud, everything, just than the worship of Joshua who reminded them of the enemy race 1. The silence of Jewish sources on all these episodes proves nothing. The rabbis ignore the Jewish tribes of Arabia, as they ignore said the early Judaisms of Central Asia. Arab authors pre-cities are at least as trustworthy as the Kitab-tl-Aghani is ^ which serves as the main source for the History of the Jews of Arabia.

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of the Samaritans; these in fact also ignored traditions after Moses and Joshua, but they brought with them war, death and ruin in this

The Djeroua were, for the Jews imbued with the Talmud of the seventh century, what the Egyptian rabbis were from the sixteenth century, the first Phalacha of Abyssinia, who came to Egypt; they saw in them more only sectarians, half-pagans ^

The heroic Cahena, allied to the "Philistines", to the Berbers, and "in Edom"> ^, Byzantine Rome, with this spirit warrior, fierce, who did not hesitate to devastate an entire kingdom for the reason of state, "priestess" and queen at the times, refractory to notions of feminine modesty pro-spanked by the Talmud, as historians attest Arabs, was to be considered by the Jews of the coast, if cruelly tried, like a tyrant and an ungodly being. And this is one of the cruelest ironies in history Jewish.

Popular poetry in Judeo-Arabic, collected by Mr. Cazès, indeed treats this Berber heroine as one of the cruelest tyrants Judaism has ever known: she compares her to the destroyers of Judea, to the Chaldeans and to Hadrian- ^.

Moreover, we will find this antagonism between Berber Jews and Asian Jews, result of the clash of two civilizations professing the same fundamental beliefs tales, but diametrically opposed to each other in their applications and in their social conceptions, and

1. Cf. r. David Ber Zemera, n ^ IVCn, IV.
2. Ibn Daoud [Chronicle, fn] indicates the Ma ^ alima of the eleventh century (See p. 396) of the Epilhete the Cursed. Djebel Nefoussa still retains the memory of a holy Jewish woman the Umm-el-Ghrib. See our trip of Jewish Studies in Africa.

3. Cazès, Essay on VHist, des Juifs de Tunisie, p. 45-46. See our study "Up rHist. of the Jews in Morocco, II, p. 14 {Arch. Morocco, t. VI).

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we will see it take shape from the ninth century.

At a time when religious life will have succeeded life political, it will manifest itself in the form of religious schisms. jeux and reactions against the Talmud.

This antagonism is perhaps one of the reasons for which we do not find any trace of participation of the Jewish tribes of Morocco to the wars of Cahena, the latter having been influenced by the civilized Jews of Spain: on the contrary, isolated and free; enjoying without doubt of the domination of Africa by a coreligion-albeit distant, the Jews of Maghre ^ b el-Aqça meditate on the conquest of the Peninsula.

It is indeed with the help of their fellow believers berbers and not Muslims, as some believe some authors, that the Jews of Spain, pushed to extremes, plan around 694 a general uprising of the Jews of country, in an attempt to deliver it to their brothers in the Mauritanie tingitane, "where several tribes professed the Judaism and where the Jews exiled from Spain found a refuge ^".

The revolt was to break out publicly over several points at a time, by the time the Jews of Africa would be landed on the coasts of Spain, But before the moment set for the execution of this project, the government was

warned of the plot.

King Egica immediately took the measures ordered by the necessity; having convened a council in Toledo, he decided announced to the clergy, who had the upper hand over political life. tick, the culprits Jews and invited him to punish severely this cursed race. After hearing the depositions

1. (If. DozY, Hisf. Des Musulmans d'Espagne, t. II, p. 27-28; Mouliérab, open cited, II, p. 675; Müller, Der Islam im Morgenlande und Abendlande, I, p. 424; FouRNEL, ibid., I, p. 368; Sacro-sancta Concilia, ed. by Slud. Phi-the bone. Labbsei; Concilia Tolitana, XVII, t. VII, col. 1361; Marsden, Hist. cry de Espagna, II, I, XXV, t. V, p. 217; Ramey, Hist. d'Esp., II, p. 223-224; doctor Gonzalez, open, quoted.

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of some Jews, from which it resulted that the plot did not nothing less than making Spain a Jewish state, the bishops gathered at the Seventeenth Council of Toledo, damned all Jews to the loss of their property and their freedom: their property was confiscated and their sonnes sold as slaves to Christian inhabitants ^

The consequences of these reprisals were not made wait: in order to escape your slavery, those of the Jews Spaniards who could afford it, fled to

Africa, where they waited for the day of revenge.

The new push of Zenata who, helpless by the rout of the Cahena, had fled and invaded

Aurès, had brought to its height anarchy where for a long time time had been plunged all over the Maghreb ^.

It is to this thrust that we must above all attribute settlement, in the Maghreb-el-Âqça, of Judeo-Ber-beers. The genealogy of Tarif shows us an origin Yemeni more or less obvious.

El-Kaïrouani, in agreement with Ibn Khaldoun, says that the armies of Mouça, general of the Caliph, having penetrated in Aurès, there massacred a hundred thousand inhabitants; that in addition to the two sons of La Cahena, after their conversion to rislam, accompanied the Arabs with twelve thousand

riers Djeroua each, in their campaigns in Morocco and in Spain. Later, the domination of Djeroua was completely destroyed in Aurès; the remains of this people incorporated themselves into the other Berber tribes, and it is only in Morocco that we will find their multiple traces, as separate fractions, or as as assimilated to the urban population of the towns of Maghreb-el-Aqça '.

1. Cf. Ibn Khaldoun, En NowaXri and Mercier, ib. ^ I.

2. Carette, ibid. ^ P. 153, notes that the migrations of the Zenata An-chora began only after the defeat of Cahena.

3. Ibn Khaldoun, II, p. 192; El-Kaïrouani, p. 555.

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However, the conversion to Islamism of leaders and noble families of Djeroua did not lead to the conversion integral of this last tribe.

The Djeroua, said Ibn Khaldoun, disappeared from TAures; we must understand: as a distinct nation, because some fractions could be maintained until modern times without renouncing the Jewish religion. We find in fact, in the "Monographie sur l'Aurès", by the lieutenant Colonel de Lartigue, the following data concerning Jewish warriors of Aurès. In 1637, the Oulad Sidi Yahya were still dependent on the Jews of Tilatan, whom the author considers to be the descendants of the Jews of Cyre-born. These Jewish warriors were however massacred

later by the Oulad Fedhala tribe. In the sixteenth century another Jewish tribe, known as Oulad Aziz, was powerful and dominated the valley of the Oued Abdi, by supporting lasting wars with their neighbors Muslims. Several fractions of this tribe which has preserved the notion of its origin have subsisted until our days *.

The definitive conquest of Africa by the Arabs, far to weaken Judaism, so rather helped to attract in the land of Jews emigrated from Yemen, etc., and to throw all in the Maghreb-el-Aqça populations Jews, driven back by the Zenata.

It will now be the latter who for a long time support the struggles for the occupation of Morocco and Spain by the Arabs.

1. Monograph on rAurès, p. 316 and 328. My personal research done on site, partially confirms the information provided by this author.

VI

THE JUDEO-BERBERS IN SPAIN AND MOROCCO

Barely seventeen years had passed since Tavor-of their invasion of Spain, which the Jews took their revenge by the conquest of the Peninsula by the Muslims.

The latter, after having consolidated their domination over pacified Morocco, easily understood what support the Jews expelled from Spain, who were only waiting for an opportunity to return to their homeland, could lend to a army of invaders *.

General Mouça organized an army composed Arabs and Berbers, Muslims and Jews, and sent to test title the Berber leader Tarif at the head of a troop of four hundred warriors, to carry out a first raid, which was successful in Algeciras. This fact cannot be explained. quer than by the presence of Jewish accomplices in this city.

It is very interesting to note that Tarif considered itself himself as of Jewish origin, and in particular as authentic descendant of the Chimoun tribe (Siméon, with the letter ^ chin) ben Jacob. This indication ^ given by El-Bekri is most valuable for our study.

1. Graetz, ed. German, V, p. 38. This author speaks of an alliance con> due between Tarif and the Jews. Mercier, I, p. 228; El-Bekri, p. 301; Foor-NEL, ibid., 1.

2. See further, p. 24.

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The name of another Berber chief who had participated in this struggle, Kaulan El-Yehoudi, is confirmed to us by a other source.

It remains established that during the conquest of Spain by Tariff, many Jews of Moroccan and Spanish origin ^ ole took part in the war and crossed the strait to populate the cities, which the Christians ^ abandoned and which were often delivered by surviving co-religionists brags of the latest persecution, the most cruel of all.

As the Muslims seized a

Spanish city, they entrusted the guard to their allies Jews, who settled there solidly. This was the case with capitals like Cordoba, Toledo, Malaga, Elvira, etc.

Alongside the survivors, few in number, of the last persecution of Egica ^ came to settle the elders refugees who had resided for a long time in Morocco and, more importantly, many Judeo-warriors

Berbers who settled in the Spanish countryside where they devoted themselves to agriculture: so we find, during all the middle ages, Jewish farmers and planters in Spain.

We have seen that twelve thousand Djeroua followed their leaders to conquer Morocco and Spain, and that the Berghouata ordered by Tarif had suffered a Jewish influence; their neighbors, like the peoples of Fazaz and the Behloulou, had to follow them in the conquest from Spain.

However, in the latter country even more than in Morocco, Jews, even among them who had once been forced to embrace Islamism, no longer had any reason to declare Muslims. As soon as they are settled in the country, they melted into the bulk of the Jewish population and their number suddenly increased in a surprising way,

1. Cf. Fournel, I, p. 160; Müller, oavr, ciié, I, p. 424.

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M. Moulieras ^ in his study on "Unknown Morocco", rightly alleges that after 69 & he hardly stayed Jews in Spain, and their appearance in large numbers since 711 can only be explained by the influx of large number of Moroccan Jews.

To judge the importance of the Jewish movement through the strait and its Berber character, it suffices to note that only seven years after the conquest of Spain by the Arabs, the Jews could conceive the project of chasing the victors themselves.

This last fact deserves our attention.

The conquered Spain was subjected to the same fiscal regime than the other provinces of the Caliphate: the Jews and Christians had to pay the special tax, the Djezia ^ or capitation.

But hardly were the Jews established in their new calf stay, that the vexations began for these former allies of Mouça. Instead of a single tax, the Jews Spaniards had to pay four, apart from Djezia; they had to pay a poll tax to Abd-el-Aziz, son and successor of Mouça; another, to the Governor General of Africa, to which Spain was subject, outside a special tax reserved for the Caliph's fund. The gou-local verneurs especially, notably Abd-el-Aziz and his successor Ayyoub, exploited them terribly. Pressu-resentful and exasperated, the Spanish Jews, remembering the precious course they had lent to their allies of yesterday and masters of today, evoked their dream again secular conquest by them and for them of the Peninsula sule. And the insurrection of 718 broke out.

At the head of the movement is a Berber leader of religion Jewish ^ Kaulan El-Yahoudi, around whom a

1. The Unknown Morocco ^ p. 676.

2. Graetz, V, p. 166-186.

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large number of Jewish warriors. He knew how to maintain himself: for some time in the mountains of Castile and of Tarragon. But eventually, defeated by the troops of Caliph, he was executed on the orders of the government and its dispersed supporters.

So it's no wonder that newcomers vaguely aware of their Judaism and despairing of free themselves by arms, have thrown themselves en masse into the anti-Talmudic heresy movement aroused in 721 by the false messiah Serenus from Syria. The latter, who denied that at the foundations of Orthodox Judaism, had indeed rallied around him many Yemeni Jews and Berbero-Spaniards, who abandoned their country to follow the false prophet in distant Syria ^

Graetz establishes that the movement provoked by Serenus mainly trained Jews from Yemen and refractory in the Talmud. Now another false messiah, Judah Emsfahani, had expected the help of the same peoples to break the yoke of the Arabs. A contemporary Midrash gives us an exact idea of this state of mind of the Jews, who believed the time has come to fight the Arabs still badly strengthened. One of the episodes of this movement seems to have been the siege of Tiro by the insurgents, with the help of the Jews from Cyprus and Egypt -. The information that we have on the Judeo-Berbers in Spain throw a new light on these events. The Judeo-Arabs and Judeo-Berbers who followed the troops Arabs sought to take advantage of the murky state of affairs to regain their own independence.

Spain had, for a long time yet, to do part of the empire of the Caliphate, and this circumstance aided

1. Graetz, no. quoted, according to the Arab authors corroborated by several many Jewish texts.
2. Cf. the Midrash iKnii " | 1" | iyr3 "y ui mijnDj.

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to the rapprochement of the Jews of this country with their coreligion- of the Orient: she continued to submit nauetés of the Peninsula under the regime of Orthodox Judaism, of which it soon became one of the most ardent centers.

On the other hand, Morocco, detached early from Temworst of the Caliphate, open to all schisms and all interior divisions, having received a very few colony many Arab Muslims and Jews from the East, continued to remain on his own and to follow his destinies religious and political origins.

In 717, the Christians of the Maghreb-el-Aqça were persecuted cut by Khalid *, the governor of the Caliph; this event ment - if we compare it to what we have seen for Spain - supposes an unfortunate change in the state Jews.

In 739, the Maghreb-el-Aqça regains its independence although the governors of the Maghreb continued to exercise nominal authority over the open country. The army of the Caliph, directed in 741 against the rebel Berbers, only succeeds in ruining the civilized centers of the country which was abandoned by the many Jewish and Christian populations your civilized: these sought refuge in Spain pacified.

This state of affairs lasted until 789; during this time the rivalry between the Berber tribes themselves favored the outbreak of schisms, which did not generally only to disperse the tribes. However, it seems that, in the Rif and as far as the Ocean, the Berghouata rallied around Salih ben Tarif, promoter of a schism very daring, have been very successful; they probably dominated the province of Têmesna, where we will find a predominantly Jewish population -.

1. Mercier, *ibid.*, p. 22 ^.

2. Ibn Khaldoun, *ibid.*, H, p. 175; Raudb el-Kartas, p. 171; L. Massig: <on, Morocco in the sixteenth century.

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The Berghouata schism proves that Judaism had left deep roots in Africa. The Berghouta inhabited the western Atlas and the plains of the ocean, completely Punic and Hebrew country. It is among these populations that a Yemeni adventurer had managed to arouse a Judaizing schism. The example is not isolated: such Abdallah ibn Sabbah, who had founded a sect in Egypt and Salam ibn Abdallah ^ - Muhammad's friend - who called himself desdirect descendant of Patriarch Joseph.

Moreover, several sects of Yemeni Jewish origin are do not meet either among the Jews or among the popula-

tions of Africa and Syria. That of the Berghouata is however the most interesting to record here. It was in 726 that Salih ben Tarif, the descendant of Simeon ben Yacoub, nicknamed Malich in Syrian and Roubia in Hebrew, gives the populations of central Morocco a Koran and a Law which he attributes to Moses himself. Writers Arabs call him a "scoundrel of the Jewish race", descendant of Chimoun, who came from Spain to Morocco. His grand-son Younas ben Elias is the true founder of the empire ^ of the Berghouata. Among the precepts that characterize the cult of Berghouata we will point out: the prayer made five times a day, nodding your head like the Jews, the rigors of Ramadan eased; the payment of the tithe to the clergy; roosters are not sacrificed; the suras of the Younas Koran all bear Jewish names: Adam, Noah, Moses, Aaron, the twelve tribes, the Blessed Israel, Iblis, etc. What especially characterizes this sect is that every prayer, every meal even, is preceded by the formule of "Youche". However, M. de Motylinski demonstrated that survivals of this formula are found in

1. JewUh Encyclopedia, v. these names.
2. Onomastics is Hebrew. El-Bekri, Ibn 'Kiialdoun are certain not warned against this sect. More impartial is the account of AL-Batani al-Maghred (tr. Fagnan, p. 325).

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all Berber schismatics ^ wherever an influence Jewish manifested!

The Miknaça, schismatics driven back to the South, founded however on the edge of the desert, the city and the kingdom of Sidjilmâsa, where we will find two of the oldest Jewish communities in Morocco, that of Sidjilmâsa and that of Tafélat, whose traditions go back to a time Ancient.

In 761, the Rostemid dynasty, strengthened in Téharef or Tahort, another city that had a strong Jewish population old ^ . In 771, we see a fraction of the Mediouna, tribe that seems to have resisted Tislam little, retreat to the desert and concentrate in the Zab, where a number of its members continues to profess Judaism, as it appears from later data. Another fraction appears to have continued to practice Judaism in the city of Médiouna, in the north, conquered by Idris l ". other remains of these tribes seem to have, however embraced Islamism.

In Tlemcen, the Béni Iffren settled down, driven back to their tour by the Maghraoua. In this last town we let's find one of the most flourishing communities

from the Maghreb; and it is in its surroundings that we place the tradition of Joshua ^ and that of Joab, the general of David; this last tradition, prior to the invasion of the Mul-

Sulmans, had been perpetuated since the first centuries of the Hegira. As the Libo-Punics were considered Derived Canaanites, the Berbers became Philistines; their hero is Djalout, or rather mSs, a name which means simple: "exile", expulsion, while the ethnic name

1. Afric Review, 1896, II; Youche or Youcha is the God or the saint who dominates the rains; he exactly fulfills the role of the angel Sanbat at the Pbalacha.

2. Mercier, ihid., I, p. 250.

3. Basset, A> dromaÂ and the »Traras; we studied the legend of Joshua in our study Melqarl and Joshua.

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of Zenata Amazeg gives the ethnic name pSo ^ r, Amalek, the so-called secular enemy of Israel ^

In summary, the first century of the Arab invasion, without bring about profound ethnic changes in the Maghreb-el-Aqça, however, had consequences for Jewish history in the Maghreb. LesNefoussa, although strong-imbued with an Arab influence, knew how to their own individuality; the tribes of the central Maghreb were almost wiped out or displaced, those of the Maghreb-el-Aqça, on the contrary, remained almost intact; good moreover, their population grew with numerous refugees. The conquest of Spain was the cause of a decrease of the Jewish population of Morocco, a decrease which had a significant impact on the urban population.

Religious fanaticism, hitherto unknown to these populations primitive relationships and little inclined to metaphysics, comes throw division among the Berbers, hence the need to the Jews, as with the Christians and the last Gentiles, to retreat to the south, or to occupy the mountains; we will find them, in fact, entrenched in forts and castles, such as the Rhiata of Behloulou, the Fazaz and some ques others.

The Berbers between Tripoli and Tangier had, in seventy years, apostasy twelve times. Those of them who had once professed Judaism ended up forming a sect apart. In Nefoussa, in Djerba, in the Ksour, in the Rif and the Atlas, the Ibadites jealously guard their Jewish customs and traditions.

The occupation of the open country will not remain possible for them, indeed, only in regions where non-Muslim telement

formed the majority of the population; such was the case with the

1. Cf. Ibn Daoud; Graetz, VI, p. 89. Such traditions circulate in Africa and Spain throughout the Middle Ages. Almost all are older than Tlslam's penetration. Ibn Khordecba, author of

beginning of the ninth century, already knows them.

2. Ibn Khaldoun, ibid., II, p. 175.

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Tamesna plain and the ocean coast from Salé to Azemmour and Asfi.

Further south, in the region of Oulad-en-

Noun, part of the population of whom is of Jewish origin, the tradition of Joshua seems to have been preserved until our days: these are the Béni Haïssa. Leon the African pointed out there

villages entirely populated by Jews *; the city of Dra'a seems to have given these people from the region of the ocean. However, Dra 'a is considered one of the centers of Caraité schism ^.

If we add the Jewish populations and their allies natural, however less numerous, the Pagans and the Christians residing in the maritime cities, we have a rough picture of what Judaism was Moroccan towards the end of the eighth century when appears the first organizer of the Sherifian empire, rimam Idris the * '.

All in all, until 788, the Jews did not seem to have been severely persecuted; they kept most of their old positions and we know next to nothing of their religious and intellectual life, they are among the happy who have no history. At a time when the Asiatic Judaism was beginning to wake up and where religious movements broke out on all sides, the Jews of the Maghreb stood aside, absorbed in their interests. political rests and their local rivalries.

This state of affairs began to change when the appearance of Idris in Mauritania. The latter, as descen- before Ali, had the ambition to oppose a new empire Orthodox, an independent and rival Caliphate, in the dynasty from Baghdad; so he brought about a radical change in the situation of the Jews.

From his arrival in the region of Volubilis, the ambitious

1. Chénier, Hisl. of Maurit., I, p. 148.

2. LÉON the African, II, p. 144 and IV, p. 137.

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Imam found himself in a country where ele- non-Muslim elements, Tingitane Mauritania. However danty on the initiative of the Emir of the Âouréba, a certain number of Berber tribes resistant to Khalifat, or

dissatisfied with the prosperous situation of their non- Muslims, hastened to recognize in the descent dant of Ali, the only sovereign, the Imam par excellence. Among these tribes we even find a fraction of Rhiata, the one who lived in the province of Volubilis and who seems to have embraced Islamism at an earlier time higher. On the other hand, all the other Jewish tribes and not Muslim women in general did not want to submit to the domination of a master, who put religious fanaticism gieux at the service of his personal ambitions: so strong and quite numerous in the country, these elements elements hostile to Islam sought to hinder the realization sation of the designs of Prince Alide.

The very brief and very summary accounts that the authors Muslims, and in particular those of Baudh-el'Kartas, Ibn Khaldoun and El-Bekri ^, allow us to accept, no without reservation, it is true, the detailed and dramatic account tick of wars between the Jews and the troops of Idris.

We find this account in the book by Marcus Fischer, Hebrew author whose claims are often subject to on deposit 2.

It is not worth bringing decisive proof of authenticity to the account of this author, we will only reproduce here the testimonies earnings from the most authoritative Arab authors. Here is this what does Randh-el-Karlas ^ say about this campaign from Idris:

“When Idris had established his domination in the Maghreb,

1. Ibn Khaldoun, *ibid.*, ^ II, p. 483; El-Bekri, p. 268; Mercier, *ibid.* ^ I, p. 229.
2. mS3 ^ nnSin 'DV our Elude on VHisl. of the Jews of Morocco, p. 2. Cf. above, III, ch.

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- he marched against the Berbers of this country, who professed, either Magism, Judaism, or the Christian religion yours. Such were the Fendelaoua tribes of Behloulou, of Médiouna, and the peoples of the territory of Fazaz ", who were, as we have seen, Jews.

The first campaign of ^ Idris against the ber- tribes bères appears to have been directed against the neighboring territory of Ouaiili, that of Tadla. "In that place," said the Raadh-el'Karlas ^ there were only a few Muslims; Christians and Jews were very numerous there. Idris, continues this author, forced them all to kiss rislamism ^ "

The historians we have just cited are sober details of this last campaign; however, the conversion of the pagans having been easier than that of Jews, rimam did not dare to attack the Jews until he

definitively strengthened its power, and it was not, in all case, only in the last year of his reign.

This last fact is in accordance with the indications of Raudh " el'KarlaSj who affirms that after his first campaigns, Idris returned to Ouaiili to undertake new expeditions against the Berbers. As for the attitude of non-Muslims, it is very similar to that of the Jews Independents of Yemen against Mohammed.

"These non-Muslim populations, continues the Randh * el'KariaSy were entrenched and fortified on the mountains mountains and in inaccessible castles; However, the Imam did not stop attacking and fighting them until which they would have all, willingly or by force, embraced Islamism. He seized their lands and entrenchments, he killed most of those who did not want to remember put to rislam, and deprived others of their families and stripped them of their property. He ravaged the country, destroyed

1. Raadh-tl-KarlQSy trad. fr., p. 16.

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the fortresses of Béni Louata, Médiouna, Behloulou and the citadels of Rhiata and Fez. Then he came back to Oualili, in that same year, which was the last of his life. "

The brevity of the sources indicated, far from excluding them, rather confirms Fischer's views.

Ibn Khaldoun further said, "that Idris, in his loincloth against non-Muslim tribes, seized Témesna, of the city of Chella, and obliged their inhabitants, the majority of whom were Jews, Magi and Christians. want to embrace Islamism. After ruining their strongholds, he marched on Tlemcen in 789 ".

The submission of the weakened Jews of the center and North of the Maghreb was thus definitive. But then how began, for the latter, cruel vexations and the miseries to which a mino-

arity that was once still powerful and suddenly reduced to a state of political submission and social inferiority:

for example, Jewish farmers were now attached to the soil as serfs *.

However, the death of Tlmam Idris, - poisoned on Twist of Caliph Haroun Ar-Rachid, in his residence

of Oualili by the Jewish physician Suleyman, after a reign three and a half years, or five years, according to some authors (793-791), - was a relief for the populations Jews from Morocco: most of them were however massacred, or driven back to the confines of Africa. The age-old strength of the ancient warriors of the Cyrenaica was thus definitively annihilated.

After the death of Idris I **, the Jewish or Judai tribes health are disappearing from the political scene of the Maghreb-el-Aqça, and a religious Judaism is established, subject to 1. There are still a large number of these Jewish serfs in the Atlas. They speak Chleuh, a Berber language which keeps multiple traces of One of the ancient Phoenician or Hebrew idioms. ARCH. MOROCCO. 27 424 MOROCCAN ARCHIVES same fate as all the rest of the Jews settled among the Muslims. Weakened and decimated, the Jews no longer dared to defend openly their politics, nor propagate Judaism among their neighbors, all converts to Islam. Some vestiges of the descendants of the ancient riers of Arabia and Cyrenafca held their own, throughout the Middle Ages, as enslaved warriors, defended sisters of the cause of Arab or Berber owners. The others, seeing themselves exposed to all dangers, preferred to settle in the cities, to constitute in the Maghreb, as everywhere else, the middle class of the population: all distinction disappeared, in this economic situation and social equivalent, between Palestino-Roman Jews and Berbers. In the Nefoussa, the little tested Jews maintained themselves a long time yet ^ . A fairly large group, guided by a clan of priests, fled to Djerba ^ . Others, more daring and constantly harassed by Muslims, after having held time in the South, in the regions of Sous, Ouaden-Noun and the Ksour of the Sahara, no longer able to advance towards the West, preferred to take the path of the desert, where they found fellow believers from Arabic language, also unorthodox, also warriors and refractory to Islam than they were themselves. The example of the Daggatoun ^ , a tribe of Judeo-Berber, found on the road to Timbuktu, is certainly not unique. A fraction of Jews from Djerba l. LEON the African fpas. cited ^ . 8. The Jews of Tripolitania are the direct descendants of the anciens Judeo-Berbers of Nefouça. It is the same for what encompasses most Tunisian Jews. See the list of original names of Jews of Tunisia that we "taste in our note II, supplement. S. Caiikn and Cazès, op. cited.

4. Cf. Is. LoBB, / es Daggaioun, JUDEO-BERBERS IN SPAIN AND MOROCCO ^ 25 and Gharian ascribes the same Maghrebian origin. The Tripolitania especially is rich in Judeo-Berbers. Once again, Judaism cornered in North Africa cain proper, driven from the countryside of Tell and Rif, after having entered the Dra'a and the Sous, could have

his revenge in the Ksour of the Sahara and in Sudan, where we meet for a few centuries, until TAdrar and beyond, traces of considerable Jewish influence.

In these parts, annals and folklore turn to turn of a "Jewish Age", which would have lasted until the end of the first millennium of the vulgar era.

Almost all the towns and oases ^ located near rOcéan, as far as Timbuktu, bear vestiges of this Jewish influence; the large number of marabouts Jews and local traditions testifying to a predominance Jewish nance in the Sahara is becoming more and more sible from the Arab invasion until the period from ninth to eleventh century, as will be shown in a special study.

Sedentary Jews or Berber Jews from these regions distant women agree that in time elders corresponding to the first centuries of Islam, they came from the north-west, driven back by the Muslims triumphant.

We can indicate, with regard to Morocco, on the other hand, the points of the southern border joined later to the Sherif Empire, where the Jewish element predominated undermined, or at least exerted some influence during from the first centuries of the Hegira.

The town of Eidtenct, whose inhabitants were conyertis later to Islamism, still consider themselves today

1. M. Martin, Lm Oaiiê Sahar,y p. 34 and s. : ch. Jewish VEnoque, V. our note 1, supplement.

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as descendants of David's army, which means that they participated in the wars against the Philistines-Berbers; the town of Demensera which preserves traditional analogous terms; the surrounding villages were still, in the time of Leon the African, populated by Jewish warriors of the Caralte rite; the towns of Sidjilmâssa,

Taroudant, Tafilet, Damnât, Tebelbet and Tematit, where the Jewish prehistory preceded Muslim history ^

The Ksour of the Sahara particularly keep the come from a Jewish era 2.

To the desert finally, and to the region of Dra'a near the Ocean, where the traces of a vast Jewish colonization are especially many, Jews and Chellas say that they had come here from the north of Salé and Chella; Jews and Muslims speak a particularly strong dialect from Libo-Phoenician or Himyarite. One and the other know how to tell of the exploits of Djalout, "expelled" by excellence, beaten by the Jews of David 3.

The city of Dra'a itself was one of the centers of Caribbean. However, we keep repeating that before the penetration of the religious movement of Asia, Judaism Moroccan had known neither Rabbinism, nor Caribbean. Moïse Dra'i, the karite scholar and poet of the eleventh or twelfth century, in fact brings up the list of its cestors until the eighth century, that is to say at a time where the Caribbean had not been able to enter the country.

The heroic cycle is definitely over for the Jews of Africa: the cult of Joshua, this last survival

1. Cf. LEON the African, i6icf; Loeb> Seror, let Daggaloun; Dourré, Bulletin of the Committee of M / r. franc., 1902; CnéNiER, our. cited, I, p. 91.

2. This is not the slightest astonishment for the upstart French after so many centuries in the depths of the land of TIslam, than to hear today, the Tuatians, speaking of the past, use this expression

sion: In the time of the Jews, or in • the Jewish period • (Martin, tes Ooëis Sahar., P. 40).

3. The folklore of Ghadanmes (the ancient Cydanmes) is haunted by this tradition (V. Slousgh, Aeroë's Unknown Jewith Afria, Jtwiëfi World ^ 1907).

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of the ancient Hebrew-Phoenician cults \ repressed until desert, which we will see it suddenly appear near a century later, has become, for the populations converts from Islam, a simple superstition to a marabout; he recoiled before the triumphant march of Islam and Orthodox Judaism.

The kingdom of Fez, organized and pacified, begins to to rank among the nations subject to civilization

Arab station; its commercial and intellectual relations with the civilized world require a sedentary element, able to take an interest in social and scientific problems.

Cities are melting together, and everywhere

Yesterday's Jewish warriors suffer, not without trying to react, the influence of co-religionists who came from all

shares; they come together to form the middle class of Tempire ^.

This time again, victorious and civilized Asia brings civilization, organization and faith based on discipline from the Synagogue to the communities of the northern Maghreb trional, which thus lose their primitive simplicity and their distinct personality, to mingle with the mass of Judaism.

Religious and ethnic fermentation will certainly last ment for a few more generations; how much weak and hesitant elements will detach themselves from the Synagogue, until the day when the great masses have assimilated the Palestino-Babylonian culture, a complicated and weighing down long centuries of religious education and discipline gious.

In the second half of the tenth century, Judaism

African is already forming an organization in Arab cities

1. V. our and. The Hebréo.-Phin ,, append. I.

2. Mr. Cahbn {Hisl. of the Jews of PAfr. seven,}; M. Cazès {Essay on VHist, Jews from Tunisia}; Graetz, ed. garlic., t. V-VI, studied at length This-roof of the rabbinical and Caribbean communities of North Africa.

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ethnic and religious, little distinct from Jewish groups from other Muslim countries. Aboriginal Jews and Immigrant Jews will compete in zeal for faith and for commerce.

Both will play their part in the rebirth letters and sciences in the Middle Ages.

VII

RELIGIOUS EVOLUTION OF THE JUDEO-BERBERS

In Africa, as everywhere, Jews are subject to the in-fluency of circles at the same time as the Berbers Islamize and accept the new faith, while retaining before their autonomy; the Judeo-Berbers in contact with the Judaism of the Diaspora do not decide to break a single blow with their old religious eclecticism. We studied dies in a special note the evolution of Therapists, who under the influence of Islam turn into Maghra-bia, but without undergoing any alteration, and we observed among these sectarians the following peculiarities: service worship taking place in underground passages, asceticism, puritanism and a whole particular folklore. Only the

Phalacha removed from the influence of the Orthodox Synagogue dox and including Judaism, as well as Mr. Joseph Halévy established it, only suffered a few Yemeni influences. nites, have kept their former autonomy purer Hellenist. It had to be the same for all these vague populations of the Sahara, known as the Had-Danites, Danites or Philisi, among which we finds Jewish uses, apart from a Hebrew dialect which betrays a Hebrew-Phoenician influence and especially the ancient warrior character of the Hebrews. A profound change had taken place from the 430 MOROCCAN ARCHIVES tenth century, at least in the social situation of the Jews established in the Atlas and in the Tell. The foundation of schools rabbinicals from Kafrouan and Fez, the penetration of Talmudic Judaism as far as Sidjilmassa ^ in the Sahara, had brought about a renaissance among African Jews religious and literary *. Trade with their coreli-managers of the Mediterranean and Tlrak had ended up to inculcate in Judaism of the coast a rabbi physiognomy marked nique: in the ninth century and at the beginning of the tenth century, the Jews of African civilized centers still retain a certain independence. Tendencies secular and rationalist of Jehuda ben Corefch of Fez, of Israéli and Dunash, of Kaïrouan and of so many others, their way of treating texts is so distinct that several scientists have come to doubt their orthodoxia ^. Here, as in the countries of the sea basin Black, where a primitive Judaism had subsisted until fifteenth century, some Jewish historians remain hesitant. In the presence of rites or beliefs deriving from the rule Orthodox, we wanted to see, in all the Jews who do not meet the accredited idea of what should be the Orthodox Judaism, the Caribbean or Jews affiliated with the anti-rabbinic sect, founded by Anan (eighth century). Moreover, the works of Harkawy, Poznansky ^ and ourselves in our Study of the History of the Jews in Morocco ^ among others, have already demonstrated all that there is little grounded in this tendency to reduce to the Caralt schism all that deviates from the rule of Talmudic Judaism. In reality, the Caribbean is a reaction against the Talmudisme, and it supposes a rabbinical culture prior to schism. However, it existed in Arabia, in Central Asia and in Africa, primitive Judaisms, whose formation is J. See our Elude on VHUt. of the Jews in Morocco ^ I, p. S. S. Ibidem. S. Ibid., 1. II and III. .

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prior to the writing of the Babylonian Talmud ^ and which, therefore, never knew the Talmud or the caraTsm. We have established that in the Maghreb of less, no trace of the Caribbean is found that is prior to the tenth century Gn. On the other hand, we can now say with certainty that with the penetration of Egyptian scholars in the Maghreb, the ancient sect of Karai'a and that of Maghrabia are localized * feels in the interior Maghreb. Under the pressure of Rabbinsine, the Judeo-Berbers end up professing a religious syncretism. Indeed, a lot of darkness and loopholes lending

endlessly confusions disappear, if we hold account of the existence prior to the penetration of the Talmudism and the Caribbean both of the proto-Jewish populations, stayed away from religious movements that had agitated civilized Judaism.

The Judeo-Berber populations of which we have studied political history and which, in the minds of Jewish historians (of those even who suspect their existence), disappeared suddenly disappear as if by a miracle, continued indeed to keep their own religious peculiarities: the more they stayed away from major centers Jews, the more they were faithful, if not to their beliefs, at least according to their particular customs.

Moreover, the intellectual factor played a very little role important in the further development of these Judeo Berbers, as a result of the penchant for struggles and theism that distinguishes indigenous populations from Belad-es-Siba and interior Africa.

In order to better specify this historical fact, we have not besides that to examine in a summary way the data following narrated by the authors of the Middle Ages:

1. Deja FOrst (Gesch, deê Karaertumê, II, p. 120).

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threaten by noting that, from the seventh century, we let us see the Judeo-Berbers allied to the conquerors of Es-loincloth, grouped around their sect, to reconquer Spain over the Muslims.

In this same century, the Jews "Maghrabia" are stunned by Asian Jews as a population heretical and dissident Jew ^ This spirit refractory to orthodoxy manifests itself many times in controversies religious, between African communities and princes of the S} ^ agogue, from the ninth century.

It was at this time that the Berghouta schism spreads and that the Falacha themselves begin to play a political role.

That same century saw an attempted schism made by the famous Eldad, an attempt singularly in accordance with The spirit of the indigenous Jews of the Maghreb.

The first scholar of the Maghreb, Ibn Koreïch ^ (c. 760), takes little account in the rabbinical egesis of the concepts religious concerns and hold of Eldad. His way of citing the Talmud even singularly recalls that of the Caraïtes.

The Rodanites or Danites are mysterious traders laughs who speak Hebrew and who own "a Jewish country" in the African interior. They enter the scene in Spain and in Berber country, and it is to them that we owe the hatching of a literature whose fragments attributed to Eldad and Elhanan the merchant, serve as an example. Registrations and memories of Jewish influence have multiplied since the Cyrenaica to the Sudan; they will last until twelfth century.

In Spain we see the parents of the lexicographer Ménahem ben Sarouq accused of heresy and heresy more serious than the schism of the Caribbean, since everything 1. Therapist "and Maghrabia.

8. The author of the Bi8 \$ ala ^ published by Barges and Goldberg.

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like the Berghouata, its members seem to have eaten the flesh of the pig: which implies the existence of extreme sects at that time, among the Spanish Jews gnols ^

The eleventh century is crucial for religious history African Jews. At this time the Talmud took a large extension in all important cities, it ends by imposing its discipline on the great masses, until then indifferent to religious questions. However, the first precise information that is reached the existence of the Caribbean, in Morocco as in Spain, date from the eleventh century. A careful examination of the sources, as well as the events political elements intimately linked with the first rition of the Caribbean in this country, will allow us to undermine the primary origin, as well as the proper character non-Orthodox Jewish populations, which we find in Morocco, as in Spain, from that time. We have already seen that Muslim domination

had gone hand in hand with the expansion of rabbi authority and that, consequently, the certain adhesion of African Judaism in the Orthodox rite had become fatal. However, apart from Sidjilmâssa, the only rabbi city known in the south, there were large populations Jewish relations among the barely Islamized Berbers themselves the same Jews who had preserved their pro- near, and whose political conditions and social primitive had been refractory to the spirit of the Talmud. The invasion of the Almoravids, who came from the desert, had deeply stirred their Jewish neighbors: populations Jewish warriors from Sudan and the Sahara came, following conquerors, settle in Moroccan cities and Spanish.

1. Cf. our study cited, 1. II.

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The first mention of the appearance of Jewish sectarians in Spain corresponds, in fact, to the wars of the Almoravides. The indication of the chronicler Ibn Daoud [^] is so precise that it leaves no room for doubt. This the author also relates that the sectarians who came to Spain in the eleventh century had occupied there reses.

However, we know from other sources that the Jewish people had been so numerous in the army of Tachfin, during his campaign against Alfonso, that this prince asked for an armistice of three successive days; on Friday, in order to give leave to Muslim soldiers; on Saturdays, to allow Jews not to work the Sabbath day, and Sunday to give the truce to his Christian adversaries. This indication shows us that the figure of 40,000 Jewish warriors, given by some some historians as having participated in this war, is not excessive [^].

The fact reported by Ibn Daoud that the heretics (0 [^]: 1 [^]) occupied towards the end of the eleventh century strong- reses in Spain, can therefore be considered as a direct consequence of the victories of the Almoravids; these last, from the desert, like the first conquered rants of Spain, were able to entrust the guardianship of the tified to their Jewish auxiliaries [^]. The latter makes us also explains why the adversaries of the Almoravids and the Christian king Alfonso Raimondo, in the following century, had twice allowed their senior officials Jews to humiliate and persecute the Caraites. It was for them, probably, to get rid of an element foreign warrior allied to the Almoravids. Indeed, the first

1. Tyh: ! ^: ^ "Iso, end.
2. Baudh-el-Kartas, p. 218.

3. The nomadic and fellah Jews of Tures, Jerid, Gharian, Nefoussa and de TAtlas have kept their work until recently. warlike editions.

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The first persecution against the Caraists of Spain dates from 1132 and emanates from an adversary prince of the Almoravids. In any case, for a long time to come, the heroes ticks of Spain and Morocco, showed little taste for scientific and intellectual occupations tual, which was not the case with the Caraïtes d'Orient; their Rabbanite adversaries do not spare them, in this regard, their criticisms and their taunts. The caraitic and probably the very name of this sect had remained unknown to these desert warriors. But in the presence of the literary and religious flowering among the Jews of Spain, as well as the rigors of rabbinism that they refused to undergo, one of theirs, Ibn El-Taras, surrendered in Jerusalem in 1090; there he studied the law and was initiated into principles of Caraïte worship under the guidance of the scholar Joshua ibn Farad j. Back in Spain, he managed to impose official Caraism to sectarians and even to propaganda among the rest of the Jewish population of this country*.

After the death of El-Taras, his wife, nicknamed the Maallimay continued his religious activity, and it was from this time that the Caraïte sect gained a foothold in the two neighboring countries, thus replacing all previous heresies. Besides, during Ali's reign ben Tachfin, they even seem to have regained their these privileges.

The religious revolution accomplished by El-Taras in Spain, had an impact on dissident elements teeth of Moroccan Jews; in the towns of Draa 'and Fez, where the number of Jews from the desert arrived as a result 1. Ibn Daoud. The expression DHO 0 ^ 31 n3n2ni hardly applies to Rabbinites as Pinsker believed, nVSiaip ^ IpS, but to the Jews dissidents who end up embracing Caraism. The inscriptions that I discovered in the Sahara and which date from the twelfth century bear there are still traces of the religious syncretism which characterizes the desert mittens

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of the Almoravids should be particularly considered rable, Caribbean communities were formed, which gave soon born a whole school of scholars. he It is not certain, moreover, that these two towns have not previously already had a Caraïte nucleus.

As for the native Jews of the oases and of the interior, ignorance in religious and scientific matters should have keep away from divisions for a long time scholars of the Jews of the major centers; even in places where certain Orthodox customs and traditions had managed to penetrate little by little, their inhabitants indigenous people did not cease to remain <(Maghrabia ", Berberized Jews. Reli- giousness of these Jews is confirmed by the customs which still exist in the Jebel, by the inscriptions that

we have reported and which show that these Jews continued to undergo both the influence of the rabbis and that Carafes.

We have already had the opportunity to quote the passage from Maimonides concerning the Berber Jews of the center, whom this doctor hardly considers orthodox.

In the will addressed to his son, it is said between other stuff * :

a Be especially careful of certain people who live in the Maghreb a country called El-Djerba, and which are naives of Berberia. These men have a lot of hair. strength and heaviness of character. "

We must remember what we said about the origins Moroccan and Berber gines of the Jewish inhabitants of File from Djerba, who were only descendants of the ancients Jewish warriors of Morocco.

Later, in this same letter, Maimonides continues:

"In general, always beware of men who
1.aain miiK Berlin, 1757.

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remain in Africa, from Tunis to Alexandria, and those who inhabit the mountains of Berberia. They are, in my opinion, more ignorant than the rest of men, although they are well attached to the belief of God. The Heaven is my witness that I do not compare them to the Caribbean who themselves deny the oral law. They don't show any clarity in their studies of the Torah, the Bible and the Talmud, although there are a few of them that be rabbis-judges (Dayanim). "

So neither Caribbean nor Orthodox Rabbinites, but quite simply "Maghrebian" Jews having their beliefs, customs and distinct personalities, specific to them, and this after several centuries of influence rabbanite and Asian. A fortiori, this particular the fear of the Jews of the interior Maghreb was to manifest during the first centuries of Arab rule and the primary organization of Jewish communities.

This is how we found a passage from Ibn Ezra which tells us about the Jews residing in Ouargla, in the twelfth century ^ These desert Jews had practice the use, localized in them and unknown to the Caraites, to commemorate the Exodus from Egypt, with a in the countryside, on the first day of the feast of Easter.

We must note that a roughly analogous use is practiced today even by the Jews of Mزاب ^; however, as we will demonstrate, the inhabitants of oases of Ouargla, Nefoussa and Mزاب alone have escaped the massacre of the Jews by the Almohads. At the end of the fourteenth century, Rabbi Simon Duran still mentions the heretics of Ouargla as for-keeping a separate Jewish sect, while Zacouto us 1. P. 318.

8. Doctor Hugué, the Jews of Mزاب,

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relates that in the sixteenth century they ended up embracing the orthodox rite *.

After the persecution of 1146, nothing seems to have survived in Morocco from the independence of the native Jews; however, whatever the Jewish chronicler Zacouto may say on the total disappearance of heretics from Africa, we have certain proof, that the remains of the tribes

Judeo-Berber had partly survived the massacre and to the general conversion of Islamism, due to the Almo-Hades.

We have already mentioned the Jewish tribes of Aurès, who had maintained a state of independence until seventeenth century.

An indication from Leon the African shows us that, even in the Atlas, the Jews, although reduced to the state of vage, had been able to maintain itself until the seventeenth century.

Here are the words of this writer:

the Atlas Mountains, there are no villages, but only towns and villages, which form the property of gentlemen. There are many Jews who go so far as to expose their person to the two fights and to take for themselves the quarrel of their masters, who are the inhabitants of this mountain. But they are considered heretics by other Jews in Africa, who call them Carraum (Garaïm) ^ ”.

We have already seen how the term "Caribbean" is wave. Let us only add that these Caribbean existed still in the Atlas in 1768.

But apart from the Jewish farmers of the Atlas and Ri, who speak chleuh and who must be considered as the true descendants of the ancient Indian Jews genes from the north, apart from these populations still

1. Cf. le yonv de Zacouto, ed. Philipovsky.
2. See above, p. 218.

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breuses, it exists, particularly in the regions of the Ocean and the Ksour, Judeo-Berber populations which generally constitute distinct fractions of Arab or Berber tribes, speaking their language and fighting both in their ranks. Barges provides us with information precious information on the Judaism of Tuat and Soudan in the sixteenth century ^ A tumular stone published by M. Berger 2 confirms this existence of the Judeo-Berbers in Touat. Although having a special Jewish sheikh, these fractions believe they are obliged to defend above all the interests of the tribe to which they belong.

Despite the slow but irresistible change of manners rabbinical, following the tours of the Palestinian "missi" niens and frequent crowds, after all the cutions, city Jews, these populations remained until nowadays also ignorant and indifferent in my nun, that their ancestors were by means of age. Of Judaism, they generally know only certain traditions and practices; they know, in besides, a few short prayers which they recite without moire ^. Even in areas where these last man- celebrations of Judaism are ignored, and where certain constancies led the Jewish tribes to embrace Islamism, they continue to retain notions accurate on their Jewish origin, and the example of the Daggatoun desert and Mehagrïn du Touat *, is not unique in his genre. Ignorance itself and the simplicity of manners keep this memory of a distant Jewish origin in populations whose entire social life, the reason to be itself, are based on genealogical divisions.

1. The dynaëlie des Béni Zianê ^ de Tlemcen, suppl. Mr. Martin brings impoïlant contributions (Ouvr. Cité, Passim),
2. V. our Summer Travel. Jews in Afr., inscrip. n * 3.
8. Rabbi Netter, Graetz Monalschrifly v. I.

4. Is. LoEfi, the Daggatoun.

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very ancient gic and ethnic ^ as well as on the
ity between tribes and families.

More than once in medieval Maghreb history
until modern times, we will find Tin-
fluence of these close ties between tribes with an ori-
common Jewish gine. This is probably where it is needed
look for the main cause of the survival of Telement
Jewish | despite the terrible persecutions, and even from Tap-
appear from time to time in Africa of influential Jews,
especially in troubled times.

VIII

THE DECADENCE OF A RACE

Africa, at all times, had been inhospitable to
white populations. The fate reserved for the Judeo-Berbers
was no different from the others: Hebrew-Phoenicians, Israel-
lites, Jews, Judeo-Hellenes, Judeo-Romans, all races
which disappeared one after the other. The Jews of the time
Almoravids had to pay dearly for the few centuries
moral and political prosperity. The reaction of the Berbers
of the mountain against the people of the desert had to turn
ner also in his fury of extermination against the Jews:
communities, sects, political and religious schools, everything,
until the very existence of the communities, was swept away by
one of those great sudden and unforeseen catastrophes
which Africa seems to have kept a secret, and that
Jewish annals call "the sword of Ibn Toumert".
The conquest of the Maghreb by the Almohads, the dates
and related events, form as many
obscure points *. Arab historians who, in general, do not
take care of the Jews as they pass, keep silent
absolute on the annihilation of Judaism in the Maghreb. The
Jewish chroniclers of the time who relate this capital fact
1. The movements of the Almohads are told by Ibn Khaldoun
[ibid., I, p. 252 and s. II, p. 160 and s.); by the Raudh el Kartas (p. 271 and
8.); by Mercier, ouvr, cited, L II, p. 75 el s. ; finally by Fournel, ibid. ^
t. II.

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of Jewish history, in addition to the confusion of dates that
among them, have a clear tendency to exaggerate
consequences of the persecution, possibly not
not denounce the survivors, forced to conceal their
loyalty to Judaism.

Let us try, by an examination of sources and texts,
to put a little more light in the presentation of
events that characterized the victory of the Almohads.
In the first half of the twelfth century., Abdallah
îbn Toumert, student of the famous El-Ghazali, taking advantage of
the anarchy that had taken hold of the Maghreb and its rivalry
between the Zenata and the Lemtouna, founded a religious sect
of great austerity of manners, which took the name
of El-Mowahhedîn (Almohades) "the Oneness". The founda-
teur himself pretended to be the Mahdi; the Nou-
this sect soon took a considerable extension among
the populations of the Rif, hostile to the invaders
of the desert. Like all the great African conquests

caines, the religious uprising, sparked by the Almohads, hid political undertones and racial rivalries. In this war, the religious fanaticism of the Almohads equaled their cruelty: each victory brought general extermination of the Almoravids and their the Jews, both of the desert and of the towns. In 1132, the general of the Almohads Abd El-Moumen, seized the city of Dra'a, as well as the whole province from Under. The elegy written by Abraham ben Ezra says all the extent of the persecution, specify the names of the major destroyed communities and the chronological order of destruction of affected communities ^ About the taking of Dra'a, the poet laments

so :
1. Poems by BN EzRA, edited by D. Cahana, Ahia \$\$ af, Warsaw, t. II; See our Study on VHUU of Jews in Morocco, 1. IV. THE DECADENCE OF A RACE 443
"I tear my coat (niD can allude to the whole province of Sous), about Dra'a, conquered the first: it was a Saturday day; men and women saw their blood shed like water. "
In 1142 died the great protector of the Jews in Morocco as in Spain, Ali ben Tachfin; his son Tachfin was proclaimed Caliph in Spain, while the insurgents came from the south to conquer the north.

In these latter campaigns, the indigenous Jewish element very numerous in the south and having still preserved its warlike traditions, seems to have particularly suffered: the annihilation of large agglomerations was almost full.

It is this period that should be assigned as the date the mass conversion of the many scattered tribes into Africa which had preserved the memory of their origins and their Jewish customs.

In the absence of precise information - because historians Jews care very little for the fate of these non Orthodox - we will draw some details from the works writers of the time and we will try to catch a glimpse the disastrous consequences of the drama of the extermination in the south ^

Arab historians tell us that only the Ouar-gla and the Mzab still survived after the invasion of H42.

However, Ibn Daoud - and Ibn Ezra ^ testify to the existence heretical and non-Caribbean Jews in Ouargla. As to Mzab, the customs and customs proper to the Jews of this oases, until today, confirm their indigenous origin

1. Information on these events can be found in the authors following Hebrews: Ibn Daoud, Chronique, fln; Zagouto, ^^ DHV; J. HACHEN, H22T \ poy, p. 20; Verga, HTin ^ "0210, p. 60; Graetz, ibid., Ed. Garlic. VI, p. 131 and s.

2. Ouv., Cited, fln.

3. Commentary, Exodus, XII.

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and very old. Apart from these centers, all these once so numerous populations, fractions and debris of tribes only survived the terrible disaster.

In 1145, Sultan Tachfin succumbed to the defeat of his troops near Oran. The last empty Al mora held again in Tlemcen. During the siege of this city, Abd El-Moumen received the submission of the inhabitants of Sidjilmassa.

The latter rushed on the Jews, who were massacred or forced to embrace Islamism.
About the ruin of this famous community, Ibn Ezra expresses himself thus: "I call mourning on the Municipality of Sidjilmassa, city of superb scholars and wise; she saw her light covered by darkness; the columns of the Talmud collapsed; the edifice of the law was wiped out, and the Mishnah was trampled down. "

Indeed, the ruin of Sidjilmassa was for Judaism the destruction of the only center of Jewish science in the extreme south of Morocco.
The city of Tlemcen was taken in 11A6. The Jews of this city were exterminated: "The majesty of the community the community of Tlemcen, says the same author, fainted and his glory disappeared definitively ".
At the same time, the city of Marrakech was taken after a fierce resistance of eleven months. This city, which had gathered within its walls refugees from all over the province, suffered particularly from the cruelty of the conquerors: when it was taken, a hundred thousand inhabitants were massacred. Only traders and artisans were spared, between others, probably, the Jews who embraced Islamism *.
On this subject Ibn Ezra tells us: "The royal residence, the noble city of Marrakech, saw his precious sons trans-
1. Raudh-el-Karta8, pa \$. cited.
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pierced by the sword, the cruel eye of the enemy has not spared ".
Fez, the old capital, suffers the same fate: this Alas! said Ibn Ezra, also annihilated the community of Fez, the day where his (they were left to ruin. "
Ceuta and Méquinez, as Ibn Ezra confirms, were also witnesses to the destruction of their communities Jewish (in 1148).
The conquest of Morocco by the Almohads was consummated around 11 & 6; but some Jewish chroniclers attribute to beginning of the persecution, the date of 11A2, this last year coincides with the movement to invade north, inaugurated by Abd El-Moumen.
The chronological dates are thus more or less precise and despite the assertion of Graetz and certain other nothing, the indication of Ibn Daoud, that the year 11A2 beginning of religious persecution on the part of the Almohads, does not come up against any contradiction.
The invasion of the interior provinces by the Almohades, begun in 1138 and followed by the "sword of Ibn Toumert ", had to enter again, before the conquest capitals, in a new phase no less terrible.
After the partial massacre of the Almoravids and the Jews, summons to convert to Islamism, on pain of dead, had been made to those who remained.
This fact alone explains the assertion of the Kartas which tells

that after the conquest of Marrakech, traders and artisans had been left alive: they were probably the Jews forced to convert to Islamism.
Abd El-Moumen, become master of the situation, resumed

the attitude of Yousouf ben Tachfin towards the Jews. he reminded them, too, of the supposed promise to vertir, made by their ancestors to Muhammad if, after five centuries, their Messiah had not arrived. He told them 446 MOROCCAN ARCHIVES

that he no longer wanted to tolerate them in their error, nor prelevy no tax on infidels, which only the Islamism could save them, and he left them the choice between these two alternatives: Islam or death. .

The truth was probably the Almohads. who had not wanted to let the war elements subsist Jewish people from the south, essentially devoted to the Almoravid, had no reason to completely exterminate peaceful Jewish residents whose role as traders çants and artisans was very important in large northern towns; they were content to satisfy their religious zeal.

Between 11 & 6 and 1150, the central Maghreb was invaded: the towns in Tunisia were almost all destroyed; today, we still consider the inhabitants of Hamama and other Tunisian centers such as the descendants of Converted Jews. The Nefoussa does not seem to have suffered many of the effects of this invasion -. On the contrary in the oases of the coast, Hama and Gafsa were ruined; Gabes ^ also. In Tripolitania, Tripoli, Msellata, Zarman, and Dachman ^ suffered a cruel fate: Mesrata saw his communities decimated ^ although the inscriptions tumu-

1. BN Ezra's Elegy contains an addition which deals with the destruction of the communities of the Eastern Maghreb. M. Cazès published one version which differs a little from that of M. Cahana {Rev. d. And. Y., T. XX}.

2. The inscriptions which I have brought back from Nefoussa range from the eleventh to fifteenth century. They confirm the persistence of Jewish telement in the Sahara as well as its little rabbinic character. The registration of Touat serves as their counterpart (see our Voyage cTétude * juioes en Afrique and append. II).

3.ncm ^ dl D ^ 32 probable allusion to the Aaronides clan of the lineage of Zadoc who were staying in this city.

4. I found the ruins of these last views in two localities located near El-Zaoula. They still bear the name of "Tell El-Yehou-dia. "

5. The inscription n * 4 which comes from Difnia and dated 1160 shows us the fugitives from Mesrata seeking refuge with the Beni-Abrahama,

Berber tribe of Jewish origin. The inscriptions n * 6 and n * 6, which date from the end of the twelfth century, confirm the reconstitution of the communities from Toasis de Mesrata.

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lares show us the reconstituted community. Handsome-coup de Jews disappeared "we do not know where. Others, including probably a clan of priests, took refuge in Djerba. In Indeed, Tripolitania will no longer have Aaronides and it is Djerba which remains the center of this family *. Their situation, according to the poet, should not be enviable. However, the epigraphic evidence that we have cited show the fate of the Judeo-Berbers as less precarious than that of the Judeo-Arabs of coast: the latter, decimated and assimilated by converted to Muslims, tend to disappear from maritime towns. Indeed, it is only with the infiltration of Judeo-Berbers than most native Jews, those of Berber language like those of Arabic language, must their origin, outside the Spanish colonies, which established on the Moroccan and Algerian coast in 1391 and

in 1492.

1. It is in this persecution that the point of loss should be sought of the history of the Cohen of Djerba.

IX

CONCLUSION

In a special study devoted to the Hebrew-Phoenicians, we have sought to establish that alongside the Phoenicians of Tiro, a primitive Judaism, hardly monotheistic, but quite clearly aware of his ethnic entity, had swarmed in the regions of the Mediterranean; what in Africa especially, center of Lyrian colonization, that influence of a Hebrew colonization is evident, and that traces are apparent until our days.

It is a subsequent revolution of these Hebrews, constantly enlarged and modified by the affluence in Africa of the Jewish elements, which we come to study.

In the first part reserved for The History of the Jews of North African coast, we have summarized the data that Jewish literature and classical antiquity have left us; we have seen that all seem to establish reality Jewish migrations from the coast to the interior. We see how Fun after another disappeared from the Hebrco-

Phoenicians who share the fate of the Punic, the Judeo-Aramaean who are absorbed by the Judeo-Hellenes, the Finally, Judeo-Romans, of which no trace remains after tin of these cataclysms of which Africa has kept the secret, cl reappear on the historical scene in front of the incursions news from the Berbers to the north.

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It has been observed that, at all times, the Jews figure side of the Berbers, sometimes like their masters and their religious educators, sometimes as their allies or as their vassals, sometimes even as their serfs and their comrades in arms. These Jews, as African folklore associated with the destinies of the Berber race for the most antiquity, continue to this day, and they are found among the Fellah of the Atlas and among the nomads of desert, among the troglodytes of Gharian, as in the often Islamized tribes of Tell and Ksour of the Sahara. By their physical and moral characteristics, by their syncretistic beliefs, which also bear traces of all the primitive or dissident Judaisms who disappeared, they mirror the Berber race itself, which it also is the result of a mixture of conquering races, sedentary or nomadic, who passed to several ses, from the shores of Eritrea to the west and north African.

One after another, Carthage and Egypt, Cyrenaica and Libya, the Roman Mediterranean and Judeo-Syria Aramaic, Hymyarite Arabia and Ethiopia, had made their contributions to the ethnic makeup and nun of this Jewish group. Also the Judeo-Berber does it have all these origins at the same time; he is the resulting multiple crosses between all civilized elements or barbarians who fought over Africa, and folklore, this primitive literature, shows in the later groups of this race, survivals of all these civilizations. The mythological traditions of the Hebrew-Phoenicians are found among the Judeo-Berbers, even they are common with the Berbers and, given the charac-pre-Islamic era of these survivals, what other proof

would know better how to confirm the religious role than the ancestors of these Jews had played among the Berbers?
The organization of the Judeo-Hellenes, their professions, 460 MOROCCAN ARCHIVES
their particular religious practices, even their language special, continue to exert an influence on the municipal station, industrial and commercial activity of these primitive Jews, among whom we recognize the ashes of a superior race.

Today, and especially since the exiled Jews of Spain in 1391 and 1492, came to settle en masse on the dark continent, it would be difficult to draw a line of rigorous demarcation allowing to distinguish how much Judeo-Berber elements still exist in the cities of the coast. However, in the Moroccan and Algerian Atlas and in the Ksour of the Sahara, throughout Tripolitania and Djerba, the Judeo-Berber element has remained relatively unharmed: in Tunis itself, in this great city yet open to all infiltrations from outside, where there is a Judeo-Italian community, the Judeo-Berber element continue to predominate
But it is in the Blad-es-Siba, in the Ksour alge-nothings and tripolitans, so far remained inaccessible to European infiltration, that we can find the Judeo-Berber in a condition roughly similar to that of Maghrabia as we represent them in literatures Jewish and Arab of the Middle Ages.
The very conquest of Africa by the Arabs did not succeeded in depriving these groups of their ancient physiognomy clean.
Despite all the vicissitudes of history, despite the incessant wars of extermination, we still meet on several points of Africa, Jewish tribes nomads, especially in Djerin, and the Tunisian Drid, in the hilly region, between Kef and Constantine and as far as Kabylia, all countries where the traditional tion of the warlike exploits of the past.
1. Cf. the list of geDeric names that we publish in note 2, extra cost.

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City Jews hold down the remains of this race of Bahouzim, whose folklore seems to still live around Aurès and Djeroua. Following the example of the elders Jews of Arabia, those primitives, who of Judaism do not know are born almost nothing, are all farmers and goldsmiths. And, we meet entire tribes who once professed know Judaism. Now, this perpetuation of the nomades in an embryonic religious state, is it not most certain proof of the authenticity of the data the Arab authors bring us on the role of this Judaism, during the Arab conquest?
Regarding the Djebel-Nefoussa, I was able to control on the spot the affirmations of Ibn Khaldoun: the documents I have gathered leave no doubt about the filia-direct ion of the last remaining Jewish groups still in the Iffren and the Gharian, and of the old Nefoussa of Jewish religion *: and even it is the Nefoussa, with Djerba and the Moroccan Atlas, which is home to most

Jews from maritime oases and Tunisia.

Next to these we find in the regions mountainous regions of the Atlas, Nefoussa, Gharian and Rif mainly, Jewish peasants, who are like formerly the Jews of Ifren, attached to the soil and who speak Chleuh, Berber dialect mixed with Arabic. Those are also descendants of ancient warriors, which mingled, in more or less considerable numbers, refugees from the Byzantine or Spanish coast. Before the Arab invasion, these peasants had been the owners of the land they continue to cultivate. But reduced to serfdom by the Muslims, they subsisted however in part thanks to the military aid they had given to their masters and thanks to the protection

1. and. The dupariion of the Jews of Nefoussa {Voyages d ^ Eludes Juives en Afr , , notes).

2. Cf. The Annual Bulletin of the Israelite Alliance, 1908 and 1905.

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sée of their "syed", or Berber and Arab protectors. The material and religious state of these Jewish serfs is deplored. In the Middle Ages, Orthodox Jews confused them with the Caribbean, or sectarian Jews in general, so little did they know and practice Judaism orthodox.

What distinguishes them among all is the cult of the marabouts, frequent among Moroccan Jews and which dominates the religious life of Jews in mountainous regions. We can almost say that wherever we find Ibadi Berbers and Judeo-Muslim marabouts prior to Islamism, we also find the representatives of these ancient populations of the Atlas. The cult of ancestors, which is common to them with their Muslim neighbors, saved them so to speak from annihilation full.

The Jewish fellah thus form a distinct group of those who speak Chleuh. The ones and the others »Judeo-Berbers established as farmers or artisans among the tribes and peasant Jews, Bahouzim or Bedouin Jews. Your meeting all over the Sahara, present a major ethnographic and social interest. Their story is only the quintessence of the history of Berbers; his study allows the Africanist to visit account of the exact course of Berber history in its together.

We are currently witnessing an admirable movement for the renovation of African historical science. Since the second half of the last century, a plethora of scholars,

both in France and Algeria, made unappeared efforts to wrest from the dark continent the secrets it guard on his past. In turn were studied by a phalanx of eminent masters, whose works have guided: Free-Phoenician and Punic Africa; Greek and Roman; Byzantine and Vandal Africa; CONCLUSION 463

Berber and Sudanese Africa, while the study of Arab Africa owes its development to the School of Algeria. Coastal Jewish Africa itself has given rise to several their monographs. It still remained to elucidate the problem of Jewish origins and influences, which we saw especially in the surroundings withdrawn from the old Greco-Roman penetration. Brought by the chance of my studies to be occupied, as a Hebrew student, with history

Jews in Morocco under the hospices of the Mission scientifique du Maroc ^ I saw the considerable importance of this problem, not only for the history of the Jews, but also for that of the origin of the white races in Africa. This is taking into account the conclusions to which completed General African Studies and after having completed two study trips to Africa, which I grouped together testimonies, historical or otherwise, relating to our problem and likely to establish coexistence, alongside Berbers, of a Judeo-Berber race. However, the origin of this last is lost in the prehistoric unknown where the inter-African laugh is still immersed; in the absence of documents written, the explorer is very often reduced to appealing data from folklore, ethnography and conjectures that are sometimes difficult to scientifically verify is lying. But I hope I have provided a useful contribution and fruitful for the history of the Jews and Judaism in Africa, by giving some indications which will to deepen the importance of Jewish influences, indicating arising during our work.

What we especially wanted to demonstrate is the direct descent, almost three thousand years old, that found among the three Hebrew races on African soil Cain; it is the persistence of these races coming so from Eritrea than from the Mediterranean; it is their role civilizer in the northern countries, as in the Berbers, whom we claim to establish. Canaanites, -454 MOROCCAN ARCHIVES Hebrew-Phoenicians, Hebrews, Judeo-Aramaean, Judeo-Hellenes, Judeo-Romans, Judaeans, Judeo-Berbers, Judeo-Arabs, this is the genealogical list that was used basic to our study: this amalgamated population, reached its peak with the Cahena, which sums up to it only the epic of the African homeland, is the most

tochtone, the most African of all.

The history, three thousand years old, of this race with amazing times, deserves to arrest our attention, and M. Fournel, the eminent historian of the Berbers, exclaims with just right:

"The Jews whom the East overflowed on the West find in Africa, as in Spain with their tance that centuries cannot shake, with their role of victims in the great and bloody sacrifice that was condition of the mixture of peoples, and with their kind of privilege of prophetic intervention in what touches to the progress of the human race. "

APPENDIX I

THERAPISTS AND MAGHRABIA

Among the African sects which by their character and antiquity were to have an influence on the evolution of Judaism, that of the Therapists is particularly feeling. Not only this group, dear to Philo, had known to be maintained until an advanced time; but we find even very late we see direct traces of its influence.

Already J. Salvador *, with the intuition that characterizes him, has very well understood the importance that this sect must have in the evolution of Jewish and Christian theology.

We have seen that Hebrew emigrations, including that of Jeremiah, went to Egypt. Our study on the Hebrew Phoenicians showed the eclectic character of religion among these immigrants. About two centuries before the founding of Alexandria, these Jewish settlements would

their incense to the divinity who played the capital role in mysteries of Egypt, as in those of Phoenicia and of the Syrian coast. This deity, said Salvador 2, shows already the effect of this religious eclecticism based on inter-mixed claims specific to the Gospels and whose figure of Jesus is like a living summary; her name was Queen of Heaven. In her embodied human form, she 1; J sM'Chrisl and his doctrine.
2. Open. cited, I, p. 182.
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appeared alternately as wife and

mother of a God, who, to resuscitate with more splendor, fell victim to a black treason.

It was to this Hebrew-Phoenician group that Salvador reported rightly stain the Therapists ^ It is true that given moment we wanted to see in the treaty {De Vila contemplativa} j that Philo dedicates to this sect, a thesis novel, instead of the simple description of life of a sect that really existed. But the outraged criticism is belied by the facts, which the Alexandrian author reports relates to them and by the co-existence of the Essenes and other ascetic groups of analogous origin; as well was it definitely destroyed by the learned article by M. Poznansky titled: "Philo in the Ancient History Judeo-Arabic 2".

Groups of former Nazarenes from Carmel and Judah, such as the Rechabites who remained in Jerusalem until the of the city by Nebuchadnezzar, passed into the desert: will find them again under the name of Ess ens near the Sinai; of Nahir or Yehud Khaibar in Arabia, and under that of Therapists in Egypt. In Philo's time they were already very old: their teaching, which bears the character Eastern era and whose method alone has been modified by the Greek genius dates back to ancient authors. In addition, their allegorical interpretations of the texts rested on the Hebrew language ^ and not on Greek *.

1. The Danite group which disappeared early from Palestine in the Would he have preceded the colony that came with Jeremiah? (Dan's term as deity seems to identify with the serpent. Aesculape-Baal Marp  or the God healer (cf. Movers, *ibid*., I, L p. 533).

2. Revue des Etudes juiveSy t. READ.

3. The Rechabites = 331 ^ 22 are a clan of the Q iiites, former Cadm ens puritans. See the role played by the Rechabites in the Israeli Revolution. lite from Carmel against Baal and Izabel (II, RoiSy X, 15 and 23). J r mie (ch. XXXV) gives us an exact picture of the life of these Puritans.

4.i ^ DK or Essen en is (just like therapist in Greek) the HBVi he-bre. It is always about the healer of Soul.

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A fraction of these "Nazirs", in Greek times, took the name of Therapists or Healers, and sank into the Arabian and African desert ^

The fear of the punishments of God, the misfortunes that had struck Judea and the example of the ascetics of Egypt, the melancholy of the place, everything combined to imprint their souls a new direction. In the first century BC, their communities were widespread in several provinces of Arabia, Egypt and Libya.

They had a central establishment near the lake Maréotis. Fraternity, equality and chastity were their rule of conduct. In the study of sacred books, they brought gave their own explanations, and not those of the Hellenists; they relied on the traditional tions of Palestine, and the allegories were based over the Hebrew text. They personified the work of God, creation, the universe of which they made by thought a being animated, one Adam, one man. Their homes rose on the slope of the hills. For six days they went out in isolation: on the Sabbath day, they met know in common. The women participated in the festivals. All in all, the Therapists had managed to rule out anthropomorphism, and all that is connected with the Divinity, they attributed to his intermediary, to an angel, the Logos. A clue from a later period shows us that they kept their sacred books in the caves.

But the story of this sect does not end there: the information that the Caribbean authors of the first centuries of Islam give us on the dissident Jews

1. Very ancient legends attribute the reestablishment of these Hebrews both in Arabia and Africa at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar (cf. Movers, *ibid.* II, III, p. 309 and 305; Rapoport, *C^n n^n* 1131, 1824, p. 59; Otto Weber, *Arabien vordem Islam*). The Yehoud Khaibar, the Kouraiza and Nadher of the time of Muhammad are of this origin. These primitive Hebrews did not know the Talmud (cf. Graetz, *Hebrew translation III*, p. 75).

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of Africa and Arabia, allow us to find its traces until the Middle Ages. A direct parentage can be seen between the ancient sects of Egypt and some groups of African Jews, who perpetuate the rites of this sect ^

Sharastāni says that a sect existed in its time which was called Al-Magharīa or al-Maghraba.

His Gdeles believed that God spoke to the prophets through an angel who was their overseer.

Anything in the Bible that concerns physical attributes *ques de Dieu*, relates to this angel. It is said that Arius, founder of Arianism, had borrowed certain ideas to this sect which predates it by four centuries.

As Arius died in 336, it was therefore a sect contemporary to Philo, like that of the Therapists or some other identical, as concludes not without reason Harkawy. The fact that these sectarians bear the name of Magharīa ^ or cave-dwellers' agrees with the custom of Therapists living in the desert to keep their books in the caves.

El Kirkisani places the Magharīa among the Sadducees and Christians; the author Caroīte has very well grasped the character eclectic era of this sect, which admitted an intermediary diary between Divinity and nature. It is always the 7V \ ri'i "JmSq" the intermediary "or the Logos which returns.

To this sect is attached the fraction of Al-Kariah. El

Kirkisani says that this sect would have received this name from Johanan ben Careah who came with Jeremiah to Egypt 2. The same explanation is provided by the cararte lexicographer

1. Cesl to the learned doctor Harkawy who belongs to the honor of having the Creamer recognized in the Magharīa of Therapists. V. mnsn ninip) irW ^ 2 supplement to III "vol. by Téd. Hebrew of PHigl, Jewess of Graetz. mr. Poznansky (passage cilé) accepts this opinion which is also ours. Until the twelfth century the Jewish Ascetics of Arabia inhabited

were caves (cf. Graetz, IV, p. 313).

2. Jeremiah, ch. XLI. See above, ch. I.

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David Al-Fasi ^ It is said that these sectarians observed Saturday and Sunday, which would attest to an influence solar ^ . They lived in a place on the banks of the Nile, twenty miles from Postât. David ben Merwan, in his treatise Kilab Al'Zarah, asserts that Christianity had made loans from this sect.

The Magharia or "those of the caves" were in possession of two treaties, one of which is attributed to Jadua and the other at Al-Escandron (Philo, according to M. Poznansky). The Magharia were very fond of angelology and inter-said laughter and amusement.

But before continuing with the study of subsequent evolution of the Magharia, we will say a few words about Phalacha, these last survivors of early Judaism.

The Phalacha, which we have already had the opportunity to occupy us, are the Jews of Abyssinia: they exist Still in our days. We have seen that the relations between Judea and Ethiopia had existed since the kings of Jerusalem *. Be that as it may, it is certain that Greek Jews nists of Alexandria brought Jewish worship to Abyssinia as they practiced it at home ^ .

Representatives of this sect admit the presence of an angel intermediate between Man and God. Their synagogue, they continue to call him by the name Mequrab, while which themselves call themselves Qaran. Remember, that the leaders of the pre-Islamic Himyarites themselves wore the

1. Cf. PiNSKKR, nviDTp • naipS, p. ise.

2. Benjamin de Tudèle (twelfth century) met on the Tile of Cyprus Jewish sectarians who celebrated on Saturday since Saturday morning and until only on Sunday morning. It was the same in Central Asia (cf. thirteenth century Petahia tour) and probably also in the Nefoussa (Libya; see our dCet. J. Voyage).

3. Cf. Poznansky, art. city and Friedlanoer, Anan and his sect {Rev, El. Jews, XLIV, p. 176).

4. Cf. Slousch, the Hebrew-Phoenicians ^ ch. Xlil; cf. the letter of the priests by Élépentine.

5. Cf. M. Ganter (Chronicles of Jehramiel, introd.).

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name of Meqarib. It is always the root nip which is found in that of p ^ y and which is equivalent to the word "Sacred is lying* " .

Now it happens that in places where the existence of the Jews before Tislam appears more particularly clear, there is a series of underground synagogues that bear again the name of "Ghriba ^".

On the other hand, Makrizi identifies the sect of Magharia with the Maghrabia, which De Saulcy defines as "Magrebins or Jews Africa ". We wanted to correct this word in Mag'raba, but Harkawy quotes the Arab writer Al-Birouni ^ , who in the "Athar al-Bakia" (transl. Sachau, p. 278), mentions in name of Abou-Issi el-Louraq a Jewish sect which carried the name of El-Maghriba.

Other evidence found in Part II of our study confirms our opinion.

It emerges from this note, cited during our study, that there is a direct relationship between the Therapists and the Maghrabia, the Magharia of the Middle Ages; in the same way the Phalacha form the southern branch of this mu-theologically, the Maghrabia form its

Maghreb dances *. The dissident Jews of the Atlas and of the Ksour of the Sahara, before becoming rabbanites under the influence of the Kaïrouan school in the tenth century or under the pressure of the Spanish rabbis of the fifteenth century, perhaps even under that of the propaganda rite, formed a separate sect in Judaism.

1. Qaraba in Sabaeen is equivalent to "p3 in Hebrew. The religious leader and temporal of the Himyarites was called Mequrab (Otto Weber, Arabien uor dem Islam).

2. V. our and. above. The p and the 2 merge in the pronunciation of the Maghrebians.

.3. Arab Chrestomaly. See Harkawy and Poznansky, not, cited.

4. Until the name of Phalacha who recognizes himself in the form of Philistines as the Jews who resided among the Berbers were called (cf. *MovERS*, II, II, p. 431). Philisi is the name of which the Jews of Tripoli refer to the Judaic tribes of the Sudan.

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But even after the penetration of Rabbinism, the insular descriptions of the Sahara, the persistence of Greek, among the Judeo-Berbers of the underground sanctuaries, the rigors of the ritual on purity and witness-generation of rabbinical writers show us that he this is a tendency that is more syncretistic than orthodox. Like the Jews of pre-Islamic Arabia, the Judeo-Berbers belong to an ancient strain Jewish, whose origins are at least prior to the formation of Talmudic Judaism.

APPENDIX II

EPIGRAPHIC TESTIMONIES

The epigraphic science which continues to enrich all other areas of African history has not yet given a lot, with regard to the history of Jews. However, the two trips we made across North Africa, prove to us that the of Jewish origin would not be as rare as believe it.

In this short overview, we omit the original data. Judeo-Hellenic and Judeo-Roman genius, which we have collected in the text of this work, to give here a brief summary of the results of our research. This research focuses on documents confirming the direct descent between the Jews of antiquity and the Judeo-Berbers ^

I. - Greco-Roman period.

Apart from the epigraphic data which appear in the text, we draw the reader's attention to the following facts. vants which relate to pre-Islamic antiquity.

We saw what role the Jewish military colonies played

1. Cf. our memoir entitled: A Journey of Jewish scholars in Africa.

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in the history of Greek and Roman Africa. However, so far, no archaeological trace has been found in the vicinity of Cyrenaica.

However, the journey that I have just accomplished through the teau of Cyrenaica has not failed to convince me that the memory of the Jews is still alive in the interior. laughter of this country. Thus the Bedouins designate the localities abandoned of Ein-Shahat, of El Milouda, of Messa, of

Garnis, Midiouna, Kasr Beni-Qedem, etc., as having served as military forts for the Jewish garrisons. Indeed, the ruins of these various towns conceal traces of a Jewish stay. In Ein Shahat and Messa I visited several necropolises where we find tombs of the Gamart. Several of these provided me, in addition, Greek inscriptions with the figure of seven branch candlestick.

In addition, in Milouda I was able to read on the wall of a cave Hebrew characters of a special archaic type which provide us with the name of Snitdz; or] 1TOT27. Now two of these characters have a surprising resemblance to those which appear on the inscription of Djado (see more far).

In Benghazi itself, the excavations that I undertook in Jewish cemetery provided me with fragments of stones which bear vague characters reminiscent of the Samaritan.

The oasis of Zlitan provided me with a fragment of stone written in Greek and an archaic Hebrew inscription, where we read either the name of ^: y or that of tm.

The ruins of Carthage provide many traces of Jewish documents that Father Delattre collects with that admirable zeal that scientists know him.

One of his unique discoveries is a fragment of a list of numbers, written in archaic Hebrew. The

1. Cf. Delattre, Gamart.

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last discovery of this scientist is an original stone Jewish woman who bears, apart from D'ho's word, the drawing of following objects that are part of Jewish worship: a) Chan-sacred binding; 6) the Palm tree; c) ISW horn; d) citron; and e) possibly a myrtle.

The island of Malta which has always been a dependency of the Semitic and African world has so far provided nothing

point of view of Jewish archeology. However, in the month of last July, Mr. Zammit the learned director of the Museum, and Mr. Bellanti, a zealous archaeologist, showed me around the ancient necropolises of Rabbat, ancient Punic center.

Now, next to the caves of pagan origin, I was able to distinguish war of the caves of the Gamart type, of Judeo-Hel-Lenic or Hebrew-Phoenician certain. Indeed, the absence of any animal figure and the presence of the Candlestick sacred confirm definitively the Jewish origin of these necropolises.

II. - Berber period.

If Cyrenaica and the Tripolitan coastline provide us-feels traditions and inscriptions that touch on Berber period, Mesrata and especially the Djebel Nefoussa, a centers of Judaism according to Ibn Khaldoun, we have provide decisive evidence on the persistence in these surroundings of descendants of the Judeo-Berbers.

A tumular stone which must be before the eleventh century bears the following caption in kufic characters: H2Dn i3pS »v KiMn = This is Harsana's grave. This last deny name and several lowercase characters are besides reproduced in archaic Hebrew letters which recall still peel the type of Jewish writing that we find in Roman Carthage, in Morocco, etc.

Registration belongs to this same category.

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Judeo-Berber from Girza and which bears the following legend:
^ nn' "p TWi" ^ p pK3? SD p pra "" - Issac son of Maleak, son of

of Yacoushti, son of Yahoudi.

So there was a time in Africa (and in Trak, as Your learned Moses Schwab very well showed) where under the pressure of Judeo-Hymiarites, the Kufic script tended to supplant Greek and Latin in the inscriptions Jewish tions.

Only with the penetration of rabbinical Judaism of Babylonian origin, Thebrew takes revenge on all the other languages which hitherto disputed the Judaism. Now, all tumor inscriptions that we meet in Africa, will be written invariably in the Hebrew language. As such, we sign- Let the reader see the collection of inscriptions Saharan women that we brought back from Tripoli stains. All these inscriptions date from the eleventh to the fifteenth. zth century, they all predate the arrival of Judeo-Spanish and all come from a self- chtone. However, the particular onomastics and the eclectic of the formulas that we encounter in these inscriptions, testify to us and this in accordance with the

testimonies of the rabbis that we quoted above, fMaimonides, Ibn Ezra, Zacouto, etc.), the persistence of the Judeo-Berber element in Africa.

If the oldest rabbinical stone found in Tripoli which dates from the year 963, bears a certain rabbinical character, the inscriptions of Saharan origin have important legends pregnant with non-rabbinical Judaisms. So almost all of them bear the formula borrowed from the ritual carait:

Dipnx Sw mns yav dv ipSn wno'f pmn, May the Mercy-gods melter his part (of the deceased) next to the seven categories of the righteous.

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Several stones have, in addition, the following formulas:

a) pian uvt 'said [with the residents of Hebron), ^ that is to say the patriarchs who are buried in Hebron; 6) uizn ^ oy D ^ yiaj {with plant residents) ^ this is obscure text which comes under the metaphysics of Therapists and their emulated; c) nn (initials of innjn mn ^ nil = that V spirit of Jehooa relies on him. However, several rabbi formulas nics which appear in these same texts bear witness to a slow but sure infiltration of rabbinical influences.

Moreover the tumular stone, found in Rehe'ibet, ^ in we translate the full text here, will give us a exact idea of onomastics and eclectic character which characterize the Judeo-Berbers until the fourteenth century, that is to say on the eve of the arrival of the Spanish exiles. gnols, of which the .rabbins will end up rabbinizing most of the Judeo-Berbers.

Here is the content of this inscription:

"How precious is your grace, O God ...

The Rabbi Rabbi liebron ^, son of the sieur Marzouk ... died in the month of Sivan year 5152 (= 1392) of (Caput). He gave life to all Israel. May the Mercy-gods put his share with Moses and Aaron and the residents of Hebron and with the seven categories of righteous in Parasy. May his death be an atonement for his sins, Soul! ... "

We are convinced that the ancient necropolises

1. As the learned proessor Mr. Lods points out to me, this formula is found in a funerary text from Spain of the tenth century. (M. Schwab, Report on the Hebrew inscriptions of Spain, p. 14).

2. Former center of Jewish settlements in Nefoussa. The region abounds in cemeteries, and sanctuaries. We can see the survival of mores and customs of Jewish origin.

3. The name of Hebron, which is that of the known city, does not appear part elsewhere in Jewish Tonomastics.

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