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ANNUAL OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOLS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

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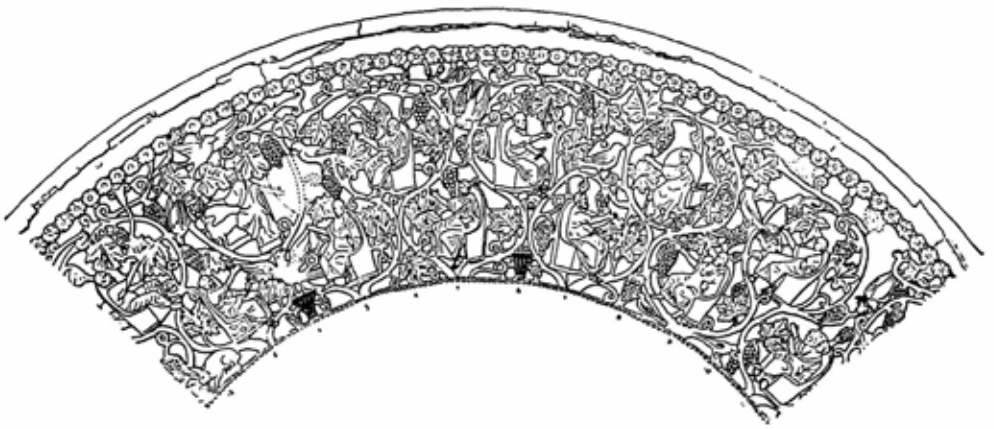
THE J. H. FURST COMPANY, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND



THE CHALICE OF ANTIOCH

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THE ANNUAL

OF THE

AMERICAN SCHOOLS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

VOL. V

FOR 1923-1924

4558

EDITED FOR THE MANAGING COMMITTEE BY

BENJAMIN W. BACON

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EAGLE AND BASKET ON THE ANTIOCH CHALICE

By the Editor

In a scholarly article which we take pleasure in presenting below to our readers, Professor Raymond P. Dougherty, Annual Professor of the Schools at Jerusalem and Bagdad, gives data from monumental sources to show the ancient oriental origin and religious application of the symbolism of the basket. Only incidentally does he mention its association with that of the eagle, and the bearing of both on the symbolism of the celebrated Antioch Chalice, a relic of earliest ecclesiastical art from the birthplace of Gentile Christianity. In the Editor's judgment this chalice surpasses, not only in artistic beauty but also in historical importance, every known specimen of early Christian art. The geographical location of the discovery, therefore, and the necessity of invoking for proper interpretation of its meaning the aid of archæologists and historians familiar with local conditions, and ideas current in Syria in the first centuries of our era, will justify us in presenting some preliminary discussion of its symbolism, with special reference to that of the Eagle and Basket (fig. 14).

The authenticity of the discovery scarcely needs defense. Even were the fabricators of 'antika's able to copy such exquisite craftsmanship, the most skillful metallurgist could not reproduce the crystalline structure of the friable metal, nor the oxide of silver coating millimeters thick over the carving, wherewith the metal was found encrusted. Supposing a forger able to accomplish this, he would still be obliged to supply other specimens of rare Byzantine art to be hidden along with the chalice in the cache near the site of the ancient cathedral church of Antioch, thence to be unearthed by ignorant native workmen and scattered, along with other elements of the treasure, by illicit sale from Beyrût to Bagdad. Against the supposition of spurious origin stands finally the high reputation of Messrs. Kouchakji Frères, the owners, who reassembled what remained of the treasure, seconded by that of A. André, the world-famous connoisseur of Paris, to whom they submitted the chalice for cleaning and repair. André in fact joins with many experts in pronouncing the chalice an example of the most exquisite art of the earliest Christian centuries.

The present writer feels convinced, moreover, that the chalice is of Christian origin; though so early that its symbolism, like that of the Roman catacomb designs, is separated from pagan prototypes by only the thinnest veneer of Christian adaptation. Its seated Christ, attended by the lamb at his right, needs only the lyre in his outstretched left (unfortunately lost) to reproduce

the Orpheus of contemporary pagan art. The ornamentation of vines, among whose branches doves and other living creatures (mostly recognized emblems of the renewal of life) disport themselves, reproduces the patterns so delicately wrought around the great portal of the temple of Dionysus at Baalbek, where festoons of the grape alternate with motifs from ears of wheat, while cupids pluck the clusters, and doves drink from a goblet.[1] No reference appears to have been made by the experts who attempt to date the chalice by technique and motif to this superb contemporary sculpture at Baalbek, nor even to the medallion portrait figures in groups of five which adorn the coffered roof-panels of the same temple. Yet its artists belonged to the same region as those who carved the Antioch Chalice, while their period is determinable with unusual accuracy, since the designs were left unfinished in the reign of Caracalla. Obviously in 211 A. D. Syrian artists had not lost their cunning, nor forgotten the immemorial symbolism of the oriental graver's art. In the third century A. D. Antioch must have been the world centre for experts in sculpture. It had long been the melting-pot where ancient oriental nature-cults met, and were blended with Greek poetry, art, and mythology. In the first Christian centuries, accordingly, we should expect Greek-Christian artists at Antioch to accomplish in more refined and artistic ways what their relatively uncultured fellow-Christians at Rome attempted in the catacombs. At Rome the figure of Orpheus and the lamb is a favorite to represent the Good Shepherd. In the Orient ancient symbolism assigns this part to Etana, the apotheosized shepherd. In A. D. 150-300 sun-worship was revived in northern Syria with unparalleled splendor. "Apollo" was the common name bestowed on the divinity. We should expect his symbols to appear in early Christian art at Antioch, just as eagle, lamb and star (or crescent and star), symbols of the apotheosis of Etana, appear in combination on contemporary Phrygian coins (figs. 5, 6, and 9).

If Dr. G. Eisen, author of the folios entitled *The Great Chalice of Antioch*, 1924, correctly describes the object toward which the right hand of the maturer Christ-figure of the chalice is out-stretched, the Christian origin of the work is established. The object appears to be a plate containing seven round articles, presumably loaves. On its border are two (?) fishes, one of these last being ill defined (cf. fig. 16). Besides the seven loaves close inspection of the contents of the plate reveals another problematic object. Dr. Eisen describes it as a palm-leaf (?) or ripened ear of wheat. Individual kernels

[1] The Baalbek designs may be best studied in the sumptuous drawings of Dawkins and Wood (*Palmyra and Balbec*, 1761), which fortunately precede the recent ravages of earthquake and vandalism. As S. J. Case reminds us in his *Evolution of Early Christianity* (p. 300): "The Orphic cult was only a variant form of the Dionysiac with a stronger emphasis on theological speculation."

of grain (?) are shown in the form of beads of metal united by a line apparently representing the beard of the wheat. The object should be compared with the Baalbek sculptures, because in the Dionysiac motif ears of wheat alternate with bunches of grapes, the branches of the vine enclosing figures of Erotes, doves, and the like. But primitive Christian literature is a better interpreter. Considering that we possess in the *Teaching of the Twelve* the liturgy of the North Syrian church in the age of Ignatius (100-115), it is strange that expositors of the Antioch Chalice should have apparently ignored its witness. If Dr. Eisen is correct in his description of the "beads" laid across the plate of loaves and fishes, the key to the symbolism will be found (where it should have been sought first of all) in the eucharistic prayer of the North Syrian church at the beginning of the second century:

As this broken bread was scattered on the mountains, and being gathered together became one, so may Thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into Thy Kingdom. Amen.[2]

In view of the fact that twelve intertwined vines form the outline for the entire composition of the chalice decoration, it may be well to quote further from the same ancient document the liturgy of Thanksgiving over the Cup, which in the *Teaching*, as in the authentic Luke, precedes the consecration of the bread:

We give Thee thanks, O our Father, for the holy vine of thy servant David, which thou madest known unto us through thy servant Jesus: Thine is the glory forever and ever.

It is a long step from the decision that the chalice is authentic and Christian

[2] Διδ. x. The "gathering together of the elect" is already a stereotyped expression in New Testament times (II *Thess.* 2: 1; *Mt.* 24: 31). It is taken over from the Synagogue; for the *Shemoneh Esreh* (Bened. X) expresses the hope of Israel in Isaian terms as follows: "Sound with the great trumpet to announce our release (*Is.* 27: 13; I *Cor.* 15: 52), and set up a standard to collect our captives (*Is.* 5: 26), and gather us together from the four corners of the earth." Response: "Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who gatherest the outcasts of thy people, Israel." In *Mk.* 14: 27 f. (cf. *Jn.* 16: 32) the "scattering" and "gathering" are applied to the Twelve. The blow to the Shepherd scatters them, Jesus' reappearance in Galilee gathers them again. In *Lk.* 22: 31 f. Satan effects the scattering "as wheat." The risen Lord gathers them through the agency of Peter, to whom he appears individually for the purpose (24: 34). The Syrian liturgy borrows the language of the *Shemoneh Esreh* ("from the ends of the earth"), using the loaf to symbolize the gathering of the scattered kernels of grain. So Ignatius (*ad Rom.* iv. 1) speaks of his body, ground by the teeth of the wild beasts, as "God's wheat," which is destined to become "a pure loaf." A faint reflection of the same figure is found in I *Pt.* 1: 1, 23-25; *Jas.* 1: 1 (11), 18. The elect are scattered as seed throughout the world; but the gospel seed is "incorruptible" and "abideth forever."

to the full interpretation of its symbolism. Especially difficult is the identification of the twelve seated figures, for whose portraits the intertwined branches of the vines, the baskets of loaves, doves and other examples of bird, insect and animal life, form the mere framework and background. There can indeed be no further doubt that the figure seated in the centre of the two groups represents Christ in each case. In the more youthful figure he is dispensing the new Law (symbolized by the opened scroll hanging from the left arm). In the maturer he is shown as Lord and Giver of life (symbolized in the sacramental elements extended toward the sheep waiting with upraised head, by the hovering dove and the star on high, and—as we shall see—by the eagle beneath, poised for flight and grasping in his talons the basket of loaves).[3]

[3] In the famous shrine of Antiochian Daphne the divinity was represented as Apollo, who is the ordinary equivalent in the oriental theocrasia for Orpheus. At least in this case at the great shrine of Antioch the statue, by an Athenian sculptor named Bryaxis, depicted a beardless Orpheus, holding the lyre and in the act of singing (ἐψκει ᾄδοντι μέλος). Primitive seal cylinders giving scenes from the myth of the apotheosis of Etana employ similar symbols, among which the sheep, the wattle gate of the sheepfold (the figure for which might sometimes be taken for a lyre), and the eagle on whose wings Etana is borne to heaven, are constant elements (fig. 9). At least Orpheus inherits the emblems of Etana. We are therefore justified in speaking of the figure of Christ on the Antioch chalice as "Orphic."

But the figure of the great statue of the shrine of Dionysus at Heliopolis-Baalbek is of at least equal importance for our enquiry, since the sculpture is practically contemporary. Fortunately Macrobius (*ca.* 400) has a description of this statue (*Saturn.* I. xvii) from those who had seen it, Macrobius himself interpreting the symbolism. This also was called a statue of "Apollo," which only means that here in "Heliopolis," as at Antioch, the religion was sun-worship. The worshippers are spoken of by Macrobius as "Assyrians" (=Syrians), and the divinity had the bearded figure of the primitive Gilgameš. The long beard, streaming earthward, symbolized (Macrobius tells us) the rays of the sun. He held in his right hand a spear terminating in a small figure of Victory. In his left he held the traditional emblem of life, a lotus flower with one unopened bud on each side. Over his shoulders was thrown a cloak embroidered on its border with "Gorgon" serpents. At his feet were eagles poised for flight. Beneath lay the body of a woman having at her right and left, like Laocoon in the famous group, two smaller female figures encircled by the coils of a dragon. Like the wing-footed, Gorgon-armed Perseus in the story of Andromeda, this sun-hero, victorious over the dragon of darkness, and having released the powers of earth (represented according to Macrobius by the prostrate figure of the woman), stands ready to be carried heavenward "on eagles' wings." On his head was "borne aloft" the golden *calathos* (basket), which according to Macrobius symbolized "the highest stratum of the aether, whence the substance of the sun is believed to be derived." This statue was carried in sacred procession by priests and important personages, who imitated in their stride the maddened rush of the Bacchic 'enthusiasts,' as 'dervishes' of today accompany Moslem processions with their whirling dance. We are reminded of the nickname "god-bearer" (θεοφόρος) borne by Ignatius. If a convert from paganism Ignatius will have brought over the epithet with him from his earlier career, giving it,

The two figures of Christ are in posture and face conventional, of the type which students of contemporary religious art call Orphic.[4] The gesture of the other seated figures toward it implies that divine honors are accorded to it (cf. fig. 9). Thus we have not a single scene only, but (as in the case of the Boscoreale cup) two scenes in the career of a single individual. It is worth while to note that in no other gospel representation save that of Luke, a native of Antioch according to very early tradition, is the story thus divided (*Acts* 1 : 1). Possibly the relative youthfulness of the Teacher-Christ on the chalice as compared with the Dispenser of the Spirit and Life, may be only the artist's device to indicate priority, just as Andrew (?), first called among the apostles, appears on the chalice as an old man. But again we note that Luke, and Luke alone of the evangelists, has a scene of Jesus as a boy among the doctors of the Law.

But how identify the five subordinate figures which in each scene surround the Christ in attitudes of reverence? They are seated in high-backed chairs, of design such as may have been in existence, but of which no examples are known earlier than 200 A. D., and in most cases hold scrolls in the left hand. The later graffiti, scratched on the chairs, tells us what was the traditional identification several centuries after the container was carved, but are of no great service for interpreting the mind of the artist himself. Perhaps among the five figures which surround Christ the Giver of the New Law we should identify four as our evangelists. Perhaps Peter and Paul should be central in the group which surrounds the Lord of Life. Portraiture seems to have been attempted here, but with what basis of fact or tradition it were vain to speculate. In this field proof cannot begin to keep pace with romance. The number five was probably dictated by considerations of symmetry, but who the five are intended to represent is still an open question. In only one case has the artist himself contributed a hint. One figure in the group surrounding the Lawgiver is distinguished from the rest by Greek features and dress. As Dr. Eisen surmises, this probably represents the evangelist Luke, a Gentile and a physician as we learn from *Col.* 4 : 14, "an Antiochian by race" as second-century tradition affirmed. One further detail of the carving corroborates this identification, and, since thus far but scant attention has been given it, we may pause for a moment to consider its possible significance. Directly in front

of course, a Christianized sense. If given him after his conversion it must have had reference to his participation in the Christian processions which he himself describes (*ad Eph.* i. 1; ix. 2). In these the eucharistic elements were borne as tokens of the gift of immortality.

[4] Etana (Ganymede) borne heavenward astride an eagle who holds in his talons the thunderbolts is one of the principal themes depicted on the coffered ceiling of the Dionysus temple at Baalbek. See Dawkins and Wood, Vol. II, plate XXIX, and cf. fig. 19, No. 4. For the myth of Etana see below.

of the figure in Gentile dress, suspended like the bunches of grapes in the midst of the vine foliage, is a cluster of three round objects considerably larger than the grapes. Dr. Eisen refers to these as "the three balls", and holds that "the emblem can be traced to the fruit of a sacred tree, whether the Tree of knowledge, the Tree of Life, or the life-giving fruit of a medicinal plant like the Silphium", the cure-all of antiquity. His reference to certain glass flasks of the third or fourth century, whose decorations represent Adam and Eve ejected from Paradise, is apposite. On the flasks the serpent crawls between two heaps of "balls," three of each being visible. These seem to represent the fruits of the two magic trees of Eden. The flask scenes, when compared with certain other features of immemorial oriental symbolism soon to be described, lend color to Eisen's interpretation. Something similar seems to be depicted on a seal from Knossos, whereon the serpent appears in connection with the same three "balls". The balls may here represent the fruit of the Silphium, as Eisen holds, but the student should not fail to compare other triplicate emblems of life such as the lotus flower with two companion buds in the left hand of the Heliopolitan Apollo, and the lotus-bud vine-tips on the chalice itself.

As is well known the three (more frequently six) balls constitute in medieval heraldry the device of the Florentine family of the Medici. Tradition interprets these as pills (!) used by former members of the family in their practice as physicians. The derivation of the family name is obvious enough. But the interpretation of the device is a guess no nearer the mark than the sheepfold gate of Etana regarded as a lyre. If, however, Dr. Eisen is right in supposing the three balls to represent the fruit of the tree of life, the plant of immortality, the device is ancient. It represents, together with the serpent often depicted with it, the power of restoration to life resident in the healing plant of ancient mythology. As such the symbol (like the caduceus) becomes the emblem of the healing art. The placing of it on the chalice directly in front of the filletted figure adds greatly to the probability that this latter is intended to represent the Antiochian evangelist, Luke "the beloved physician." The suggestion is offered only as a possibility subject to correction by others better versed in this field, but it leads over appropriately to the more specific contribution which we hope to make to Professor Dougherty's valuable interpretation of the symbolism of the basket, which in Syria becomes that of eagle and basket in association (figs. 13 and 15).

We cannot deprecate too strongly the attempt of a group of interpreters of the symbolism of the chalice (headed, alas, by Dr. Eisen) to see something suggestive of "the Roman Empire" in the eagle twice depicted on it. As well might the church-spire cock, which in Roman Catholic countries surmounts the trophies of the cross, and is conspicuous in the wall painting of the early

Christian tombs at Marissa, be pronounced a fighting cock. The Syrian eagle is millenniums older than the Roman Empire. Like the prophetic bird who salutes the morn, it becomes in early Christian art a symbol of the resurrection dawn. But this symbol too is an adaptation. In pre-Christian Syrian art the sun-bird is depicted with crest erect and wings spread for heavenward flight, facing the sunrise. Alone, or in conflict with the serpent, whose writhing form is grasped in beak or talons, holding caduceus or thunderbolts, or basket of loaves, carrying on his shoulders a human form destined for immortality, or lending it his wings, the Syrian eagle always stands for victory over death.

As Professor Dougherty has clearly recognized, this ancient Syrian eagle is he who in Hebrew poetry also "mounts up with wings" to meet the rising sun and gazes undazzled into its fierce light. Like the recurrent orb of day, whose representative he is, he "takes the wings of the morning, and dwells (at night-fall) in the uttermost parts of the sea" returning again with the new dawn over the mountains of the East. Like a bridegroom coming forth from his pavilion he rejoices to run his course. For, after plunging into the sea at the day's end the sun returns to his place of birth, renewing his youth at the hearthstone of primeval fire. His royal pedigree goes back to the earliest Assyrian monuments, whose kings are apotheosized against his wings as the woman seen in heaven by John is "clothed with the sun." It can be traced down in a long, almost unbroken succession to the times of the chalice itself, when Greek, and at last even Christian artists, borrow its symbolism.

According to Dr. Eisen the eagle of the chalice, perched on the basket of loaves, symbolizes "the Roman Empire partaking of Christianity." The incompatibility of the interpretation with a date such as Eisen assumes, within the lifetime of the apostles, has been pointed out by others. It is indeed an absurdity, but an absurdity of value because it shows how even an expert in ancient art can be at a loss to explain what to a Syrian Christian of 200-300 A. D. would need no explanation. Dr. Eisen writes:

> No artist, during the centuries which separate the origin of the chalice and the present day, has ever thought of placing the Roman eagle on a purely Christian work. The artist placed the eagle at the feet of Christ to show that Christ was Lord over the whole world. The eagle stood for the kingdom of the world which Rome ruled, and it must have been used before that power had become feared on account of its persecutions of the Christians.

In reality the Christian artist placed the eagles at the feet of Christ for the same reason that the sculptor of the "Apollo" of Heliopolis-Baalbek placed eagles at the feet of his statue, while the golden basket surmounted its head. For like reasons the ruder sculptor of the Nabatean tombs at Medâin Sâlih placed an eagle over the door and baskets (?) on either side and above (fig. 15). The eagle of the Antioch chalice never stood for any "kingdom of the world

which Rome ruled," but literally for the kingdom of the heavens. It has less to do with the "Roman" eagle than with the eagle which fed on the liver of Prometheus. Still, it is possibly true that after the period of Constantine, no Christian artist, even in Syria, would have thought of using the eagle as a symbol of resurrection. Certainly no modern forger would have entertained the thought. Hence on the main point, the pre-Constantinian date of the chalice, we are in agreement with Dr. Eisen, though our interpretation of its symbolism differs widely from his.

Dr. Eisen is again on the right track in recalling the great golden eagle of Herod's temple, which was placed over the chief entrance toward the east (the "golden gate") facing the rising sun. But he goes equally astray when he takes Herod's 'image' to have anything to do with Rome. The building of the temple was Herod's supreme effort to conciliate his intractable Jewish subjects. He took such pains in the undertaking to avoid wounding their extreme religious susceptibilities as to train an army of Levites in the builder's trade, so that none but consecrated hands might take part in the rearing of the sanctuary. To suppose that the chief adornment of the building, the golden eagle over its portal, was a token of subjection to Rome, is to make Herod not only contradict his own policy in the work, but to imagine him bent on stirring his fanatical subjects to a religious revolt.

Herod's golden eagle was anything but "Roman." In the attempt to interpret it the real parallels have been overlooked. It had the same significance as the eagles of Petra and of Nabatean tombs in Herod's native land (figs. 15, 16). It was the earlier counterpart of the great golden eagle over the portal of the temple of "Apollo" at Heliopolis-Baalbek, which many besides the writer will remember (fig. 20. No. 7). It meant the same as that over the portal of the "round" temple in the same locality (fig. 20. No. 1), and that over the portal of the great temple at Palmyra, which has practically the same design. In all these cases the eagle is so orientated as to face the rising sun. In its talons it grasps the thunderbolt or the caduceus, and once at least in its beak a writhing serpent (sometimes as in fig. 20. No. 2, replaced by the Greek 'Key-pattern' beneath). For its background it has the stars of heaven, as at Palmyra and on the coins (fig. 20. Nos. 2 and 4). For reasons presently to be explained the ancient oriental eagle symbolized victory over the powers of darkness and death. As the writer can testify, a Phoebus head was not objectionable to worshippers in the Jewish synagogue of 150-200 A. D. at Tell-Hum, and there is nothing in Josephus' story of the attempt of the disciples of Mattathias and Sepphoraios to cut down Herod's eagle, to indicate that any took offence at the 'image' save strict constructionists of the Law. The young devotees who attempted to hew it down did not see in it a symbol of subjection to Rome, but a violation of the second commandment. They sought immor-

tality, it is true, by their deed of self-devotion, but not after the manner of their fellow-countrymen whom Ezekiel saw (*Ez.* 8: 16) "at the door of the temple of Yahweh, between the porch and the altar, with their backs toward the temple of Yahweh and their faces toward the east, bowing down to the sun toward the east," nor after the manner of their Essene contemporaries, who continued the practice of "bowing down to the sun toward the east" (Jos. *B. J.* II., viii. 5). The objection of Mattathias and Sepphoraios to Herod's golden eagle was identical with that raised in Hezekiah's time to the brazen serpent which then occupied as nearly as possible the same spot, and which betokened substantially the same belief. To this, as we read in II *Kings* 18: 4 "the children of Israel burned incense" because of a belief in its power to restore health and life (*Nu.* 21: 6-9). Hezekiah, however, "brake in pieces the brazen serpent, and trusted in Yahweh, the God of Israel."

It is a commonplace of comparative religion that the gods of one people are the demons of their neighbors. Naturally the Antioch chalice has no room in its design for any representation of the great Adversary. But we are not ignorant of his existence, nature or form. The representations of "Apollo" at Baalbek and elsewhere in the composite character of Perseus delivering Andromeda from the coils of the sea-monster, in coat of mail and wearing the "Gorgon" mantle (*gorgoneum vestamentum*), soon like Ganymede to be transported to the sky on the shoulders of the eagle; and those of the eagle itself, which grasps the caduceus in its talons and a writhing serpent in its beak, depict this enmity. Other forms of the sun-hero triumphing over the powers of death and darkness, leave no room for doubt that to the ancient Syrian, as to his Christian successor, the "Adversary" was the "great dragon" seen in heaven by John the seer, "the old serpent, he that is called the Devil and Satan, the deceiver of the whole world." We should scarcely expect him to appear on the chalice. Nevertheless Old Testament story from the fable of Eden to the poetry of Isaiah, comparing Israel's deliverance at the Red Sea to a smiting of Rahab the sea-monster by the sword of Yahweh (*Is.* 27: 1; 51; 9 f.), constantly reflects this imagery, and the New Testament is more explicit still (*Rev.* 12). The story of Hezekiah's destruction of the Nehushtan (i. e. the caduceus, the image of the "fiery serpent," or dragon נָחָשׁ, coiled about the Tree of Life, fig. 18), to which the people offered incense, shows that we have to do with the symbol of a rival religion. The survival of the sect of "serpent-worshippers" (Ophites), or "dragon-worshippers" (Naassenes) down to early Christian times places this beyond dispute. Before we carry further our enquiry as to the symbolism of eagle and basket it will be needful to digress briefly to the connected symbolism of the serpent, with whom the eagle is represented as in conflict.

Next in intensity to the perennial struggle of the Syrian tiller of the soil for

life and sustenance against the darkness and cold of winter, wherein his ally is the sun, releasing the powers of mother Earth to fruit and flower, is the unceasing war waged by him against the nomad, or shepherd, from the eastern steppes. Each year at harvest time the pillaging Bedawi hordes swarm across the Ghor to rob the threshing-floors, leaving the unfortunate fellah to starve. No wonder that to the agriculturist of the Nile valley, subject to like depredations whenever the eastern frontier is left unguarded, shepherds were "an abomination" (*Gen.* 46:34). Doubtless the cultivator of the vast alluvial plain of the lower Euphrates looked with equal horror on the invading Assyrian hosts from the mountains of the north. This perennial warfare of nomad against tiller of the soil is reflected in the biblical story of Cain and Abel; only here the rôles are in part reversed. Yahweh accepts the sacrifice of Abel the shepherd, while rejecting that of Cain the agriculturist, later a builder of cities. Whether to shepherd or tiller of the soil the basket of loaves is the prize of conflict. It is a symbol of victory, won first against the hostile powers of nature, a second time in conflict with nomads from the steppe. At Beyrût (Berytus) on the Phoenician coast the Bay of St. George (= Γεωργός, "tiller of the soil") still testifies to the persistence of the ancient myth of which it was the site; for here the dragon was transfixed by the lance of the sun-hero. Jaffa, to the south, was the scene of the victory of Perseus, the winged deliverer of Andromeda. At Antioch it was Orpheus, the Good Shepherd of the Etana myth, borne aloft on eagles' wings, and after his precipitation from meridian flight to earth "brought again from the dead." But just as in the West rôles are sometimes reversed, making a sun-hero now of the shepherd, now of the tiller of the soil, so in the more ancient East it is not always the eagle who is worshipped as the winner of immortality, but his antagonist the serpent. Just as in the temple at Jerusalem we find the symbol of the "fiery flying serpent" in Hezekiah's time anticipating Herod's golden eagle, so ancient Babylonia, two thousand years before Herod, reveals to us in Gudea's libation vase, carved with the symbol of the caduceus, an emblem of life and immortality in which the winged dragon appears as victor. The Tree of Life is here not a lance transfixing the dragon, but a support for the twin serpents which twine about it (fig. 18). In Babylonia the power of life lay with the great dragon, the constellation *draco* to whom was assigned a dwelling among the stars. In ancient Babylonia emblems and effigies of the serpent adorn the resting places of the dead as symbols of resurrection (fig. 19).

If from this too brief survey of oriental symbolism we return to that of the Antioch chalice we shall recognize that its carving is "naturalistic" only as Graeco-Roman execution is more finished, more beautiful and true to nature, than that of the ruder times, with richer blending of detail. Symbolism is still supreme. For it is not in nature, but in symbolism, that vine-tips take the

form of lotus bud and flower, while rosettes mingle with stars. The flora and fauna of the chalice are symbolic, like the sculptured forms of the Syrian temples of the Antonines. Moreover the symbolic forms are of immemorial antiquity, however classic art may improve on earlier crudity. Finally the symbolism of the chalice is consistent. The motif throughout is the quest of life, appropriate indeed for a vessel meant to contain what Ignatius calls "the medicine of immortality." Its vines are vines of Dionysus-Dusares adapted to the number of the twelve tribes of the Israel of God (*Rev.* 7 : 4 ff.). Its doves are the love-birds of Ištar-Atargatis, whose cooing note betokened for the Hebrews also both the mating which gives birth to new life and the tender brooding of the Wisdom of God over a wayward race. Its butterfly (as the art critics rightly note) "has wings like those given to Psyche in antique representation" (Eisen, p. 22). Its grasshopper is the insect which emerges from the dead chrysalis for winged flight, peopling the air with its armies. Its hare (a favorite emblem of oriental monuments) is similarly prolific among animals according to ancient belief (*Ep. of Barnabas* x. 6). Even its star above the head of the sovereign Christ is perhaps not wholly inanimate. Like the star of the Christian seer (*Rev.* 9 : 1), or the star which leads the heavenly chorus in Ignatius (*ad Eph.* xix), it represents a living creature of the celestial order beckoning its *sic itur ad astra*.

For the grouping of eagle, doves, butterflies, and helix-shells is not unexampled. Only the combination is not formed for general purposes of decorative art. It is religious. The only exact parallel known is on a *cinerary urn* of the period of Augustus (Anderson Galleries, New York, Catalogue of Jan. 27, 1921, No. 414). The combination is due to the symbolism of Orphic and Dionysiac nature-worship in the later pre-Christian and earlier Christian centuries, which laid these emblems of generative and regenerative life ready to the hand of the Christian artist. As Burger writes in his *Letters from Rome* (p. 250) concerning the cruder decoration of the catacombs with its recurrent symbol of the vine:

> You are not certain if you look upon pagan or Christian work. . . . The same graceful curves, the same foliage, the same fruit, flowers and birds in both; only when some symbol is added [such as the eucharistic plate on the Antioch chalice] can we distinguish the one from the other.

It is useless, therefore, to consult nature as known to ourselves, depicted in our text-books of zoology, or even as employed in modern, or occidental art. The nature depicted on the Antioch chalice is nature seen with ancient, oriental eyes, and not only observed, but interpreted in terms of immemorial religious myth and poetry. Our text-books for this field should be the literature of Hellenistic nature-worship and the cults which mingled the mysticism of

East and West beside the waters of the Orontes. Few commentaries exist on this kind of zoology that can compare with the monumental *Hierozoicon* of Bochart.

The symbolism of the basket, which Professor Dougherty has so carefully traced up to its cuneiform sources, requires to be supplemented, as he himself has suggested, by that of the eagle; for (as Cumont points out) the eagle appears associated with this emblem "on Syrian sepulchral monuments" of the first to the third century A. D. (fig. 13). In much earlier times it is an eagle-figure holding a basket which is depicted as plucking the fruit of the Tree of Life, the basket itself being sometimes adorned with scenes from the Eden story (figs. 10 and 11).

Readers of Clement of Rome (96 A. D.) will recall how this primitive Christian writer appeals to "the marvellous sign which is seen in the parts about Arabia" as a God-given token of the resurrection (*ad Cor.* XXV):

> There is a bird which is named the phoenix. This, being the only one of its kind, liveth for five hundred years; and when it hath now reached the time of its dissolution that it should die, it maketh for itself a nest (σηκόν)[5] of frankincense and myrrh and the other spices, into which in the fulness of time it entereth, and so dieth. But as the flesh rotteth a certain worm is engendered, which is nurtured from the moisture of the dead creature and putteth forth wings.[6] Then, when it is grown lusty, it taketh up that nest where are the bones of its parents, and carrying them journeyeth from the country of Arabia even unto Egypt, to the place called the City of the Sun (Heliopolis); and in the day-time in the sight of all, flying to the altar of the sun, it layeth them thereupon; and this done, it setteth forth to return. So the priests examine the registers of the times, and they find that it hath come when the five-hundredth year is completed.

Clement is probably more familar with the ritual of sun-worship at Heliopolis, and with the myth of the "Phoenician" bird from "Arabia," as related in the ears of Herodotus by priests of the sun-temple, than with the actual habits of the great Arabian or "golden" eagle, which on Syrian monuments

[5] Literally 'wattle,' a 'basket'-work of interlaced twigs. Variant forms of the myth represent this σηκός as the bird's self-constructed funeral pyre. Hence its material of aromatic shrubs "frankincense and myrrh and the other spices." From the pyre leap up flames around the body of the bird in ordinary representations of the phoenix, which in the corresponding figures of the eagle become the thunderbolts of Jove grasped in its talons. Whether basket, or wattle, or nest with eggs, or flaming pyre, or thunderbolt, the position and attitude of the "phoenix" remain the same. Artists retain their figure, mythologians vary their interpretation of it.

[6] The winged 'worm' of Clement is an addition to Herodotus' version of the myth (see below, n. 8). Apparently it aims to bring in the "fiery flying serpent," who in other ancient representations is the winner of immortality.

takes the place of the Egyptian phoenix. But he is at least a contemporary witness that early Christians were not averse to the adaptation of this ancient religious emblem.

But we must pursue the remarkable habits of the Arabian "eagle" to still earlier times. Julian Morgenstern has followed up the subject with his usual perspicacity and learning in *Z. f. Assyr.*, XXIX (1914-15), in an article entitled "Gilgameš-Epic XI, 274-320. A contribution to the Study of the Rôle of the Serpent in Semitic Mythology." His statement of Rabbinic tradition as to the eagle is as follows (p. 293):

It is now generally agreed that the *hôl* of *Job* 29: 18, "And I thought, with my nest will I perish and like the *hôl* I will live for many days," is the phoenix, just as the ancient Hebrew commentators interpreted it (so Rashi, *ad loc.*)[7] Duhm, commenting upon the passage, quotes the Egyptian myth recorded by Herodotus (II, 73), that the phoenix was an Arabian bird, that lived for five hundred years, and was then brought by his son in an egg of myrrh,[8] and buried in the temple of the sun-god at Heliopolis in Egypt.

For our purposes it might be as well to note the description of this bird, which according to Herodotus had plumage of red and *gold*,[9] and "most closely

[7] According to Rashi the mythical bird generally identified with the phoenix received the gift of eternal life as a reward for its refusal to join with the other animals in eating of the fruit of the tree of knowledge. Cf. *Phil.* 2: 6 f.

[8] More exactly "an egg-shaped basket." Herodotus describes the construction of this receptacle for the bones of the parent bird as follows: "First (the phoenix) fabricates an egg of myrrh as large as it can carry, then tests its own ability to carry it, and after the testing hollows out the egg and places its parent in it. Then with more myrrh it encloses this to the extent that it had hollowed out the egg to place its parent in it, so that when the parent bird is enclosed the egg has the same weight. Thus enclosed it carries the bones to Egypt, to the temple of the sun." The egg-shaped wattle of fragrant myrrh (to which Clement adds "frankincense and the other spices") constitutes a funeral pyre for the parent when kindled by the celestial flame.

[9] The mere costliness and beauty of the material was probably not all which led Herod to construct his decoration for the temple portal of gold. Bochart (*Hierozoicon*, p. 169) cites Aristotle (*Hist.* IX, 32) and Pliny (X. 3) to the effect that it was the great "golden" eagle (χρυσαίετος), so-called "from its shining like gold," which was also called "starry" (ἀστερίας) "because of its spots scattered like stars." According to Aelian (*Hist.* II, 39) the species of eagle called by some "golden" by others "starry" is seldom seen, and is believed to be the largest of the eagles. A different origin for the epithet "starry" is suggested by other representations. The great eagle over the temple portal at Palmyra has a background of stars. On the coins of Acmonia and Apameia (fig. 20, Nos. 2 and 4) the eagle appears in like relation to the stars, as in modern forms of the emblem. In *Prov.* 23: 5 riches take wings and disappear "like eagles that fly into heaven." In *Obadiah* 4 the eagle's nest is "set among the stars," while the king of Babylon in *Is.* 14: 13, assuming the rôle of sun-hero, boasts: "I will mount up into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God."

resembled in appearance the *eagle* both as to shape and size." Curiously enough Herodotus combines in the same paragraph with his description of the sacred bird of Heliopolis a further description of the equally marvellous winged serpent whose sepulchre was at Thebes. This animal was also a native of Arabia and sacred, but met a less hospitable reception in Egypt, where the ibis devoured it and for this reason was reverenced by the Egyptians.

But before passing to the serpent myth we must express our indebtedness to Morgenstern for certain further rabbinic expressions, which he rightly judges to be independent of *Job* and as pointing to "the existence of this tradition in Israel already at a comparatively early date, and in a form much more similar to what the original myth of the phoenix must have been, than the Egyptian story preserved by Herodotus."

According to *Midrash Bereshith Rabba* XIX (ed. Theodor 174 f.) the phoenix lives a thousand years; then a fire comes forth from its nest and consumes it until only so much as an egg is left of it; this puts forth new limbs and assumes new life. According to R. Judan, speaking in the name of R. Simon, this happens only at the end of two thousand years.

From the reference in *Job* 29:18 we must pass to rabbinic comment on *Ps.* 103:5 "Thy youth shall be renewed like the eagle's." Morgenstern here cites a tradition from Bar Hebraeus (Lagarde, *Praetermissorum libri duo,* Göttingen, 1879, p. 208) to the effect that "when the eagle grows old he casts off his feathers and clothes himself with new ones." Rashi, commenting on the same verse, says that from year to year the eagle casts off his old wings and feathers and puts on new, thereby renewing his youth constantly. The conception is clearly the same as in *Is.* 11:31 "They that wait upon Yahweh shall renew their strength, they shall put forth wings as eagles." Morgenstern further informs us:

In commenting upon both this verse and *Job* 29:18 Kimchi quotes the following tradition from Saadia: At the end of every ten years the eagle flies very high up, far above all other birds, and draws close to the elemental fire. Then, because of the heat it casts itself down into the sea, where its wings fall out. But it puts forth new wings and its youth is renewed. Thus it does every ten years until it reaches one hundred years. Then at last, when it seeks to repeat the usual process and casts itself into the sea, it dies there.

Time will not permit us to digress into the kindred field of Greek mythology, else we should surely compare Icarus, whose name no less than his story, paralleling that of Etana, betrays his Semitic origin. For "Icarus" is simply

the Hebrew for "tiller of the soil" אִכָּר, just as Γεωργός (St. "George") is "tiller of the soil" in Greek. Prometheus, the Greek hero of wondrous knowledge who thus provokes the anger of divinity, must also be compared; for he, too, like Andromeda, is chained to the rocks of Caucasus, where he expiates his theft of the elemental fire. In this form of the myth, however, the eagle is not a friend, but taking the place of Andromeda's sea-monster, he constantly devours Prometheus' liver (anciently regarded as the seat of life), the organ being periodically renewed. But from these later Greek ramifications of the myth of life and fire we must turn to the earlier Semitic sources.

In his *Hierozoicon,* Pt. II, Bk. II, Cap. I, pp. 166 f., Bochart cites a series of writers, beginning with *Mic.* 1:16, who speak of the eagle's "enlarging his baldness" in other words moulting his feathers, or shedding his coat. By this characteristic he is associated with the serpent, who "renews his youth" by a similar process. For the serpent was supposed to prolong its life by annually casting its skin, and similarly the eagle, after moulting, to "put forth wings" and thus to "renew its youth." Early Greek and Latin commentators connect this belief with the passage *Dan.* 4:33, where Nebuchadnezzer's hair is said to grow again "like eagles' feathers." *Ps.* 103:5 and *Is.* 40:31 are similarly explained. Thus Jerome, for one, is quite explicit in his comment on *Is.* 40:31: "We have often explained that the old age of eagles is restored to youth by the moulting of their feathers." Euthymius Zigabenus uses *Ps.* 103:5 for his exhortation to "put off that worn-out old age which diseases and sins have brought to decay, as the eagle puts off the old age (γῆρας) of its feathers." Finally the Syriac writer Damîrî describes the habits of the common black eagle of southern Arabia as follows:

> When its flight is retarded (by old age) and it becomes blind, its young take it up and carry it from place to place; and they seek out for it in India a pure spring on the top of a mountain, and dipping it in this they set it out in the rays of the sun. Then its feathers drop off and new feathers grow in their place, and the blindness of its eyes is dispelled. Whenever old age reappears it is dipped again in this same spring.

This is a curious mixture of the natural and the supernatural history of the eagle, mythical bird of the sun. But both are needful for our enquiry. Hence it is of interest that the same story is told again by Ps-Jerome in the *Ep. ad Presidium* and by Eustathius in the *Hexaemeron,* with the addition that during the eagle's flight (unsupported by its young) toward the spring its wings are "burned away by the sun." Others add that this burning of the eagle's wings by the sun and renewal after dipping in the spring takes place in its one-hundredth (var. five-hundredth) year. Ps-Epiphanius, repeating the story, explains further that the eagle is so called on account of its longevity

(ἀετός from *a* privative and ἔτος). Aristotle tells us further that men ascribe divinity to the eagle alone among birds; other Greek writers that it makes its abode in the bosom of Jove, taking his thunderbolts in its grasp. To Scripture writers also, as we have seen, it disappears into "heaven" (*Prov.* 23:5), and as messenger of Yahweh "mounts up and makes its nest on high" (*Job* 39:27). True, this is only poetry, but poetry is often only ancient mythology in literary form.

From the rich pages of Bochart, with their strange mixture of the natural and supernatural history of the eagle, we must return to Morgenstern, and his account of the primitive serpent-myth, borrowing an extract which he makes from Frazer (*The Belief in Immortality,* I, 69-72), because further light may be gained from primitive folk-lore, were its resemblances due to no more than mere coincidence, and "the rôle of the serpent in Semitic mythology" has much to do with that of the eagle. In fact eagle and serpent are rivals both of one another and of humanity in the quest for immortality. Such is the case, as we have seen, not only in ancient Semitic mythology, but also in the later blended forms of Syrian and Egyptian sun-worship as revived under the Antonines.

Frazer gives the following:

> Another type of stories told to explain the origin of death is the one which I have called the type of the Serpent and his Cast Skin. Some savages seem to think that serpents and all other animals, such as lizards, which periodically cast their skins, thereby renew their life and so never die. Hence they imagine that if a man also could only cast his old skin and put on a new one, he too would be immortal like a serpent. Thus the Melanesians, who inhabit the coast of the Gazelle Peninsula in New Britain, tell the following story of the origin of death. They say that To Kambinana, the Good Spirit, loved men and wished to make them immortal; but he hated the serpents and wished to kill them. So he called his brother, To Korvuvu, and said to him, "Go to men, and take them the secret of immortality. Tell them to cast their skin every year. So will they be protected from death, for their life will be constantly renewed. But tell the serpents that they must die." But To Korvuvu acquitted himself badly of his task; for he commanded men to die and betrayed to the serpents the secret of immortality. Since then all men have been mortal, but the serpents cast their skins every year and are immortal.

According to the Eden story the origin of death lies in man's vain aspiration to knowledge. But our oldest interpretation of it makes the envy of the serpent an ulterior cause. It is fully in accord with the implications of the ancient myth itself, as well as with the folk-loristic conception of the Good Spirit whose design of making man immortal was frustrated by the serpent's guile, when the writer of *Sap.* 1:13 f.; 2:23 f. informs us:

God made not death
Neither delighteth He when the living perish:
For He created all things that they might have being:
And the generative powers of the world are healthsome,
And there is no power of destruction in them:
Nor hath Hades royal dominion upon earth.

. . . . . .

For God created man for incorruption,
And made him an image of his own proper being;
But by the envy of the Devil death entered into the world.

From the point of view of comparative folklore it is in fact the very key to the Eden story that death comes in "through envy" of the serpent, who uses his superior knowledge (*Gen.* 3:1) to defraud man of that immortality which his Creator intended for him (II *Cor.* 5:5).

Another version of the folktale told in Annam brings out even more distinctly this feature of the serpent's guile.

The natives relate that Ngoc Hoang sent a message from heaven to men that when they had reached old age they should change their skins and live forever, but that when serpents grow old they must die. The messenger came down to earth and said, rightly enough, "When man is old, he shall cast his skin: but when serpents are old they shall die and be laid in coffins." So far, so good. But unfortunately there happened to be a brood of serpents within hearing, and when they heard the doom pronounced on their kind they fell into a fury and said to the messenger, "You must say it over again and just to the contrary, or we will bite you." That frightened the messenger, and he repeated his message changing the words thus: "When he is old the serpent shall cast his skin; but man, when he is old, shall die and be laid in the coffin." That is why all creatures are now subject to death, except the serpent, who, when he is old, casts his skin and lives forever.

Curiously enough a form of the myth in circulation among the natives of Vuatom, an island in the Bismark Archipelago, associates the heavenly gift of fire with that of immortality as in the Prometheus myth and that of the phoenix. They say that

a certain To Konokonomiange bade two lads fetch fire, promising that if they did so they should never die, but that if they refused their bodies would perish, though their shades or souls would survive. They would not hearken to him, so he cursed them, saying, "What! You should all have lived! Now you shall die, though your soul shall live. But the iguana and the lizard and the snake, they shall live. They shall cast their skin and shall live forevermore." When the lads

heard that they wept, for bitterly they rued their folly in not going to fetch the fire for To Konokonomiange.

These myths of the origin of death taken from savage races in all quarters of the earth prepare us to go back to the most ancient of all, the Babylonian Gilgameš epos, where we find further woven in the Eden themes of the change of clothing and the eating of the magic plant of immortality. In the epos the name of the plant is *šību iṣṣaḫir amēlu,* "as old, man becomes young." Lines 252-256 (Jensen's numbering) relate the return of Gilgameš from the isle of Ut-Napištim and the theft by the serpent of this magic plant, which the hero had brought up from the bottom of the sea. To do this, following the instructions of Ut-Napištim, he had "cast off his perishing skin(s), the adornment of his flesh, which was carried away by the sea." So the eagle also renews its youth in the Semitic myth. The Essene sun-worshippers likewise stripped themselves, while even so late as in early Christian times certain Egyptian (Ophite?) sects made the "trampling upon the garment of shame" the means of obtaining immortality (Clem. Al. XXX, *Strom.* III, ix.). Not without reason did the phrase "to be clothed upon" with a heavenly garment become in early Christian literature a stereotyped figure for transfiguration into the body of glory.

To return to the epos, Ut-Napištim, urged by his wife, reveals to Gilgameš the secret of that immortality which the hero has vainly sought in the remotest East, the host making this his parting gift. Thus instructed Gilgameš casts away his garments of skin, brings up the magic plant of restored youth from the bottom of the sea, carries it with him on his return journey across the ocean, and plans to eat of it himself and give of it to others also (l. 297). But just when the desired end is within his grasp, the serpent steals the plant and apparently eats of it, thus securing for the race of serpents the gift of ever-recurrent youth, while Gilgameš and his people are doomed to ultimate and certain death. Such is Morgenstern's reading of the epos, to which the eagle-figure holding the plant of life in the right hand, and in the left the basket adorned with scenes from the story of the tree of life gives vivid illustration (fig. 11). It should be added that the eagle-figure is normally placed confronting the Tree of Life.

Our study of the primitive myth of immortality has compelled us to consider that of the serpent as well as that of the eagle, because both rest on what Frazer calls the type of the Cast Skin. Gilgameš, stripped of his garments of skin, and plunging like the sun-hero of Semitic fable into the sea, whence he recovers the plant of life only to lose it through the guile of the serpent, brings us again to our starting point. For it is this eagle-figure, holding in his hand the food of immortality, from whom the eagle of the Antioch chalice descends. In fact McDaniels does not exaggerate in maintaining that this eagle whose

talons grasp the basket of loaves, while with outspread wings and uplifted head he aspires toward the region of the stars,[10] is the chief symbolic figure of the design.

We have seen this to be the eagle of religious use, the symbol of immortality, familiar even on Roman coins of apotheosis (*consecratio*), or in scenes such as Dio's (*Hist.* lvi) of an eagle mounting from Augustus' funeral pyre, bearing the emperor's soul to heaven. This eagle too may perhaps be called "Roman;" but only by adaptation from the East, whence the doctrine of apotheosis is itself derived. It is the eagle astride whose shoulders, as Artemidorus tells us (II, xx), the dead were commonly depicted in both graphic and plastic art.

The famous libation vase of Gudea (fig. 18) is the pagan counterpart of the Antioch chalice. Here the "fiery flying serpent" (*Is.* 14: 29), whose home is among the stars, symbolizes immortality. But in later Syrian art the eagle appears victorious over the serpent, as in Egypt the ibis. Such we have seen to be the meaning of the fable of the sun-hero in its varied forms. So it is set forth in the sculpture of the great Syrian sun temples at Palmyra and Baalbek. "Apollo"-Dionysus, whose statue occupied the shrine at Heliopolis-Baalbek, was represented as deliverer from the coils of the dragon. His right hand held what to moderns would be the lance of St. George, surmounted by the emblem of victory. His robe was embroidered with the pattern of (conquered) serpents. At his feet stood eagles, ready to bear him toward heaven. The theme was repeated on the coffered ceiling with the sculptured representation of Ganymede, while over the great portal an eagle with spread wings faced the rising sun, holding in its talons the caduceus, and in its beak a writhing serpent (fig. 20. No. 7). For what appears in the drawing of Dawkins and Wood as a meaningless ornament of floating ribbon, held in the eagle's beak along with the strings of the garlands, is more correctly reproduced in other drawings as a writhing serpent. The artist's intent is made clear by a Greek amphora of 550-500 B. C., whose design is reproduced by H. B. Walters in his *Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum,* and in color by Foster (*Some Feudal Coats of Arms,* p. xiv). The amphora depicts the combat of Herakles with Geryon. The latter bears on his shield a device which Foster describes in the language of heraldry as "an eagle volant sable, in its beak a serpent" (fig. 20. No. 6).

[10] Dr. Eisen correctly observes that the placing of the star on the chalice is by no means accidental (*Great Chalice of Antioch*, Vol. I, p. 19). It forms a unit in the band of rosettes (these also are symbolic of immortality and form a conspicuous feature in the Dionysiac ornamentation at Baalbek—see figs. 5 and 6). "It occupies the apex of a pentagon formed by the dove (the Holy Ghost) Christ and the lamb, the plate with loaves and fishes and the two seated figures of apostles, which with the eucharistic basket of bread form the base of the triangle."

The enmity between eagle and serpent may be due to the rivalry of ancient peoples whose totems were these, or it may originate in primitive folk-lore, or both may be true. In the Eden story it is placed between the serpent and the woman's seed. But we must go back for its earliest Semitic form to the ancient Etana myth, related in part by Ward (*SCWA*, Ch. XXII, "Etana and the Eagle"), and more recently from subsequently discovered fragments by A. T. Clay (*Yale Oriental Series*, II, p. 34 "Ancient Fragments of the Etana Legend"). Etana is the shepherd-hero exalted to the throne like David. In time of drought and distress, "when the sheep bore no young," Etana appealed to Shamash for aid. His supplication was seconded by the eagle. But the serpent complained to Shamash against the eagle, accusing him of having wickedly stolen and eaten the serpent's brood against the warning of the wise young eagle. Shamash gave audience to the serpent and bade him hide in the carcass of a wild bull. When the eagle approached to feed, the serpent seized it, plucked out its wings, and left it in a hole of the mountains to die. At this point Etana the shepherd comes to the rescue. He pleads with Shamash to show him the plant of generation, and is directed to the hole of the mountain where the wounded eagle had been cast to die. Armed with the plant of life Etana restores the eagle, mounts on his shoulders and soars to the heaven of the sun. He visits next the heaven of Ishtar (Venus), but after a further flight of six hours (from dawn to meridian) is precipitated from the sky. Whether he now plunges into the sea, like the setting sun, to return to the mountains of the East, reappearing with the new dawn, or whether this was the end of the legend, remains unknown until further fragments are recovered. The parallels with the Gilgameš epos are unmistakable, especially when account is taken of Aelian's story of the rescue of Gilgamos (*sic*) by the eagle who receives him on his back when precipitated from the tower (*de Nat. Animal.* XII, 21). Etana's name, according to Professor Clay, is "West-Semitic."

How the various strands of this solar myth are to be disentangled, bull and solar disc, serpent and ibis in Egypt, Tammuz "the great serpent," son of Nin-Giš-Zidda, whose emblem was the serpent in Babylonia, Gilgameš and Etana, eagle and sun-hero in Phoenicia, Prometheus, Perseus, Icarus—all this lies beyond our present task, if not beyond our powers. What concerns us here is only the detail (if such it appear) of the symbolism of eagle and basket. Macrobius tells us that the "Assyrians" of Hierapolis-Baalbek had "united in a single bearded figure (the Gilgameš of the seal cylinders?) all the attributes and virtues of the sun, calling it, Apollo." We may pass by the scene on the statue's plinth of the rescue of Andromeda, the dragon folds, the pallium with the serpent embroidery, and ask only why, besides the eagles at his feet this "Apollo" "bears aloft (on his head) the golden *calathos*," the basket of the tiller of the soil.

If Professor Dougherty be right the emblem is not only royal but divine. It is the crown of kings in the ancient East, the emblem of victory in the conflict for life. For with the kindly aid of the sun, releasing earth from its wintry bondage, the means of life and joy are restored. The Syrian tiller of the soil places these symbols on his tomb, combining a gospel of heavenly aid with a gospel of work, such as the rabbis find in the story of Eden. By the envy of the serpent man may be driven from Paradise. But God grants him a new lease of life, though not (as yet) the immortality of which he was beguiled. In the sweat of his brow he is to eat his bread, until the serpent's head is crushed at last under the heel of the woman's seed. The victory is potentially his when man becomes a tiller of the soil. The basket of loaves is its emblem.

On the Antioch chalice the ancient symbol of the *calathos* appears in Christian adaptation. The Christ above it is greater than Orpheus-Etana. He is that great Shepherd of the sheep who was brought again from the dead through the blood of the eternal covenant. The basket of loaves beneath the figure of the shepherd and the lamb undoubtedly recalls the Galilean scene of the feeding of the multitude. Possibly the fact that it appears again in another place on the chalice may indicate the duplicate appearance of the story in the Gospels. But its significance is eucharistic, as the nature of the vessel requires, and as the story is used in the Gospels themselves. Like the other symbols it appears here by adaptation.

Did our limits permit, much might be added from the symbolism of the Christian seer who in the Revelation depicts the woman delivered from the persecution of the great dragon cast down out of heaven, the woman whose flight is aided by "the two wings of the great eagle" and whose seed "keep the commandments of God and the testimony of Jesus" (*Rev.* 12:1-17). The elements of the myth which find no place on the chalice are largely to be found in this adapted symbolism of the apocalyptic seer. Strange that in this Christian symbolism the rescuing eagle should so nearly have lost his place. The great serpent is cast down out of heaven, but in the form of *seraphim* (the "fiery flying serpents" of *Is.* 14:29) his brood are still admitted to its highest courts. The eagle is scarcely a doorkeeper in Yahweh's house. He has much ado to keep his place as elevator boy. Perhaps he has done too much fighting.

Experts in technique have had their say as to the date of the Antioch chalice. Some pronounce it a first-century work, citing among other arguments its shape, which nevertheless is not its own, but dictated by the inner cup, a revered relic which we need not doubt may have been carried in the martyred hands of Ignatius himself. On questions of technique we willingly yield the floor. But for the interpretation of the symbolism primitive Christan literature of northern Syria, including the letters of Ignatius himself, must have

weight. And for the emblems whose history extends over millenniums of oriental art, but which received new adaptation to the composite religion of Syria in the first centuries of our era, we must study the designs of the great sun temples of Antioch and Baalbek. If here we find the Orphic Apollo apotheosized with the immemorial emblems of eagle and lamb and star, we must interpret these emblems on the chalice accordingly. And for the chief emblem of all, the mounting eagle and the basket of loaves, we must take account of the part played by it for millennia before the time of Christ in Syria, the meeting-place of ancient faiths. The symbolism of the chalice is the symbolism of the Syrian sun temples of the Antonines adapted to a Christian sense.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.—Since the above was in type Prof. M. I. Rostovtsev, now of Yale, has called the Editor's attention to the article of M. R. Dussaud of the Louvre Museum referred to below under Fig. 21. It discusses replicas, notably the Sursock bronze, of the Hadad-Zeus idol in the great temple at Heliopolis-Baalbek. The description above cited from Macrobius (based on Iamblichus) applies to a bearded statue of Apollo, perhaps that of the smaller (Dionysus) temple. However, the Hadad statue uses similar symbolism. It preserves the primitive form of the *xoanon* (cf. Heb. *ashera*, and Indian totem-pole) by clothing the figure with a tight-fitting sheath embroidered on the breast with the winged disk (emblematic of the coursing sun) and below with twin busts representing Helios and Selene, Athena and Hermes, Zeus and Hera, with Chronos beneath. On the back (21, B) the sun-disk has the twin serpents of the *uraeus*. Below appears a poised eagle. Older Baal-figures combine eagle and serpent in the headdress (Dussaud, fig. 3).

Morgenstern's study of "The Role of the Serpent in Semitic Mythology" should be complemented by F. Cumont's of "The Funerary Eagle of Hierapolis (Mabbug) and Apotheosis of Emperors" in his *Etudes Syriennes* (pp. 35-118). In lieu of a bibliography we may cite from this the article of S. Reinach on "Aetos-Prometheus" in *Cultes, Mythes et Religions* (III, p. 89 ff.); also Dussaud, who in his *Notes de Myth. Syr.*, p. 15 ff., "has adduced convincing proofs that in Syrian religious symbolism the eagle represents the sun." We note especially for the apposition of eagle and serpent Cumont's citation (p. 83, n. 1) from Diodorus XVII, 115, describing the funeral pyre prepared by Alexander for the deified Hephaestion. Its high torches, which had golden wreaths for handles, were decorated with eagles taking flight from beneath the flame, while serpents at their base looked up toward the eagles. At Alexander's own death the legend reported (Ausfeld, *Der Griech. Alexanderroman*, 1907, p. 120) that "a great fiery serpent plunged from the clouds of heaven into the sea, and with him an eagle, while the image of Zeus at Babylon was shaken. Then the serpent mounted again into the sky and the eagle followed bearing a radiant star; and when the star disappeared in the heavens Alexander expired."

CUNEIFORM PARALLELS TO SOLOMON'S PROVISIONING SYSTEM.

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The extent and organization of Solomon's kingdom are described in I *Kings* 4: 1-20; 5: 1-8, according to the Hebrew verse notation. Imbedded in the record are v. 7 of chapter 4 and vv. 2, 3, 7 and 8 of chapter 5, which state the manner in which Solomon's household was supplied with provisions.

The Hebrew text of these verses may be translated as follows: "And Solomon had twelve overseers over all Israel, and they provisioned the king and his household: it was the duty of each to make provision for a month in the year. And Solomon's provision for one day was thirty measures of fine meal and sixty measures of flour, ten fat oxen, and twenty oxen of the pasture, and a hundred sheep, besides stags, and antelopes, and deer, and fatted geese. And these overseers, each one in his month, furnished provisions for king Solomon and all that drew near the table of king Solomon; they let nothing be lacking. Barley also and straw for the horses and swift steeds they brought to the place where he was, each man according to his charge."

The names of the twelve overseers and the districts over which they presided are given in vv. 8-19 of chapter 4. Two of the overseers were sons-in-law of Solomon. The description of their duties indicates that they were commissaries of the king who gathered toll from field, pasture and forest for the maintenance of the royal establishment in Jerusalem, each being responsible for a certain month in the year. Dr. W. F. Albright, in *The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, Vol. V, No. 1, pp. 17-54, gives a detailed discussion of Solomon's administrative divisions.

It is not surprising that recently published cuneiform texts[1] disclose a

[1] These texts belong to the Yale Babylonian Collection, the Goucher College Babylonian Collection and the Nies Babylonian Collection. The following abbreviations are used in this article. *AENN* = Dougherty, *Archives from Erech, Time of Nebuchadrezzar and Nabonidus*; *AENP* = Dougherty, *Archives from Erech, Neo-Babylonian and Persian Periods* (In preparation); *AJSL* = *American Journal of Semitic Languages*; *Br* = Brünnow, *A Classified List of all Simple and Compound Ideographs*; *CD* = Muss-Arnoldt, *A Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language*; *GVG* = Brugmann, *Grundrisse der Vergleichenden Grammatik*; *HWB* = Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*; *HRETA* = Keiser, *Historical, Religious and Economic Texts and Antiquities*; *JAOS* = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*; *JBL* = *Journal of Biblical Literature*; *KAT*^{3} = Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 3te Aufl. 1903; *KB* = Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*; *LCE* = Keiser, *Letters and Con-*

similar system in Mesopotamia during the sixth century B. C. The texts which reveal this state of affairs during the reigns of Neo-Babylonian and Persian kings deal with the following Babylonian terms: 1. *quppu;* 2. *sellu;* 3. *bîtânu;* 4. *šuṣbuttum.*

I

The word *quppu,*[2] the primary meaning of which is "basket," has not been unknown in cuneiform inscriptions. An equation of importance is *SA-SIR-RA* [3] = *qu-up iṣṣurâti,* "basket of birds," or "bird-cage." Sennacherib states

tracts from Erech; MI = Clay, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian Collection; NLE* = Clay, *Neo-Babylonian Letters from Erech; REN* = Dougherty, *Records from Erech, Time of Nabonidus; SCWA* = Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia; StrCyr* = Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Cyrus; StrNbk* = Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Nabuchodonosor; StrNbn* = Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Nabonidus; VS* = *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler; ZA* = *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.*

[2] Professor Haupt connects English *coop* with Assyrian *quppu.* See *Modern Language Notes,* Vol. XXXIII, No. 7, p. 434. The possible connection of *κόφινος,* "basket," = English *coffin,* with *quppu* and cognate Semitic words should be noted. Attempts have been made to derive *κόφινος* from other Greek words. Cf. *Etymologicon Magnum ed. Sylburg,* Col. 484. Prellwitz, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Griechischen Sprache,* 2nd Ed., 1906, p. 240, derives it from "litanisch" *gabanà,* "Armvoll," or "altindisch" *gábhastis,* "Vorderarm." Krauss, *Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrash und Targum,* p. 516, connects קוּפָּא with *κύπη* = *cupa* = German *Kufe.* Fränkel, *Aramäische Fremdwörter im Arabischen,* p. 80, denies that there is any connection between קוּפָּא and *cupa.* Brun, *Dictionarium Syriaco-Latinum,* p. 582, connects قُفَّة = *κόφινος* with Arabic قُفَّة. This would indicate relationship with *quppu.* Cp. *συκάμινος* related to Hebrew שִׁקְמָה. Some Greek adjectives and nouns consist of root plus suffix *-νο-s.* Cf. *GVG* Vol. 2, Part 1, p. 134. It is interesting that Wyclif translated *κοφίνους cofyns* in Matt. 14: 20. *Coffin* and *coffer,* both originally meaning "basket," are from the same root. Compare this interchange of *n* and *r* with Latin *femur, feminis,* and Hittite *vādar, vedenas,* "water" (see *The Classical Weekly,* Vol. XVIII, No. 22, April 20, 1925, p. 172). The mummy of Joseph was placed in a *σορός* = אָרוֹן, not *κόφινος,* according to *LXX,* Gen. 50: 26. There are evidences of basket burial among primitive peoples on the Gold Coast, Africa, and in Australia (see Hastings, *Ency. of Rel. and Ethics,* Vol. 4, p. 425, and *Ency. Britannica,* Vol. 6, p. 650). The writer has seen the body of a native tribesman in Sierra Leone, West Africa, buried in a wrapping of reed matting. See brief note on *κόφινος* in *AJSL,* Vol. 39, p. 72.

[3] *Br* 1412. The primary meaning of *SA-SIR-RA* is "thick network," as is indicated by *SA* = "network," (*Br* 3083), and *SIR* = "thick," (*Br* 7541). The word *quppu* occurs generally without any determinative. However, in some cases *GI* = *qanû* = "reed" is used; e. g., *REN* 13: 2; 204: 13; *LCE* 150: 3. In other cases *GIŠ* = *iṣu* = "wood" is used; e. g., Thompson, *Late Babylonian Letters,* 165: 9; 169: 20. In one case *iṣquppu* occurs; *AENP* 86: 5. The determinative for "wood" used before *quppu* does not indicate that it was a wooden chest or box, as translated in *CD* p. 922, and *HWB* p. 589, but that it was an osier instead of reed basket.

that he shut up Hezekiah in Jerusalem *kîma iṣṣur quppi*,[4] "like a bird of a basket," i. e., "like a caged bird." Tiglathpileser III uses the same expression in one of his inscriptions.[5] In the Talmud קוּפָּא[6] is used in the sense of "alms box" or "receptacle where a merchant stores his wares." The corresponding Arabic word is *quffah*, "basket." This name is applied to the large water-tight basket which serves as a boat in Mesopotamia.[7]

In the cuneiform texts which form a parallel to Solomon's system for provisioning his household four men, viz., Liblut, Āigâshu, Marduk-bullit-anni and Silim-ilu, are mentioned as officials who were in charge of the *quppu* of the king at the city of Erech in the reigns of Nabonidus, Cyrus and Cambyses. The various titles ascribed to these officials are as follows:

1. *Amêlu ša muḫ-ḫi qu-up-pu ša šarri*, "The man who is in charge of the basket of the king." *REN* 78: 20. The literal meaning of *qu-up-pu ša šarri* is "the basket of the king," but derived meanings may be "the store of the king," "the treasury of the king," etc.

2. *amêlŠaqû šarri ša eli qu-up-pu*, "The chief officer of the king who is in charge of the basket." *REN* 64: 1; 67: 19; 77: 5. In the last reference *muḫ-ḫi* occurs in place of *eli*. In *LCE* 169: 2 and *HRETA* 115: 16 *amêlu* occurs before *ša*.

3. *amêlŠaqû šarri ša eli qu-up-pu ša šarri*, "The chief officer of the king who is in charge of the basket of the king." *REN* 206: 14, 15. In *REN* 204:

[4] *Die Sechsseitige Tonprisma Sanheribs*, Col. III, 20. Cf. Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke*, 5th Ed., p. 67; *KB* II, p. 94. See Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, Vol. IV, p. 23, for the Egyptian simile, "like wild fowl in the midst of the net, with legs struggling in the basket," a phrase used to describe the plight certain to come upon those that invade Egypt.

[5] See Rost, *Tiglathpileser III, Annals*, 203.

[6] Cf. *HWB* p. 589. Every Jewish community had a charity box called קוּפָּא or קֻרְבָּן The term קֻרְבָּן was used for the *offering* and the *box* which contained it. In Egyptian *ḥtp*, "offering," developed into a term for "basket." In a similar manner Latin *sportula*, "little basket," came to be used for the gift contained in the basket.

[7] For pictures of the *quffah* see Olmstead, *History of Assyria*, figs. 29, 135; *National Geographic Magazine*, Vol. XLIII, No. 5, p. 545; Louisa Jebb, *By Desert Ways to Bagdad*, p. 236; Candler, *The Long Road to Bagdad*, Vol. II, p. 106. Similar basket-boats were used in ancient times. See Olmstead, *History of Assyria*, figs. 47, 121, for examples of such boats among Assyrians and Babylonians. Cf. Price, *Boats and Ships in Early Babylonia*, *JAOS* Vol. 44, p. 173; *SCWA* figs. 102-110a, 293, 1222; King, *History of Babylon*, fig. 42; Egerton, *Ancient Egyptian Ships and Shipping*, *AJSL*, Vol. 39, pp. 109-135. In this connection it is interesting to note the course pursued by Sargon's mother at his birth, as described in the following passage from an inscription of Sargon: *Iš-kun-an-ni i-na qup-pi ša šu-ri i-na iddi bâbi-ia ip-ḫi id-dan-ni a-na nâri ša la iš-ša-an-ni*, "She placed me in a basket of reeds, closed my door with bitumen (and) placed me in the river which did not lift itself(?) above me;" *KB* III 1, p. 100; Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 208 f.

13 the same title occurs with *muḫ-ḫi* instead of *eli* and the use of the determinative *GI* = *qanû* = "reed" before *quppu*.

4. *amêlŠaqû šarri amêlu ša eli* (*muḫ-ḫi*) *qu-up-pu*(*pi*) *ša šarri*, "The chief officer of the king, the man who is in charge of the basket of the king." This title occurs with the variations indicated. *REN* 145: 16; 174: 11; 224: 2; *LCE* 120: 20. In *REN* 129: 14 this title occurs without the final *ša šarri*.

5. *amêlSaqû šarri amêlu ša muḫ-ḫi qu-up-pu ša šarri ša Ê-an-na*, "The chief officer of the king, the man who is in charge of the king's basket of Êanna."[8] *AENP* 102: 13.

These five official designations, while varying in form, convey the same meaning.[9] They imply that the persons bearing them were in charge of the basket of the king. The reference to Erech's great temple, Êanna, in the fifth title shows a connection between the basket of the king and the city's sanctuary.

The four men in charge of the basket of the king at Erech are mentioned in different years and in different months. Libluṭ, Âigâshu and Marduk-bulliṭ-anni are mentioned only in the reign of Nabonidus as follows: Libluṭ in Elul of the third year, in Shebaṭ of the fourth year, in Sivan of the eighth year and in Tammuz of the thirteenth year; Âigâshu in Adar of the fourth and twelfth years; Marduk-bulliṭ-anni in Tammuz of the fourth and eighth years and in Tishri of the twelfth year. Silim-ilu is mentioned in Adar of the fifteenth year of Nabonidus, in Elul of the first year of Cyrus, in Kislev of the second year of Cyrus and in Kislev of the accession year of Cambyses. The combined range of all these references is 552-529 B. C. There is no indication that these officials were held responsible for the king's basket during certain months of the year, although it must be noted that none of them is mentioned in more than one month of a particular year.

[8] Cp. *amêlu ša eli qu-up-pu ša Ê-babbar-ra*, "the man who is in charge of the basket of Êbabbara (temple at Sippar)"; *StrCyr* 271: 14. Also *iṣqu-up-pi ša makkur dZa-ba-ba-u dNin-ki*, "the basket (which is) the property of Zababa and Ninki (deities at Kish)"; *ZA* III p. 132. Of similar import is the following: *mdInnina-zêr-ušabši*(*-ši*) *apil-šu ša mṬûb-šar- dIštar ša eli qanûqu-up-pu ša amêlšatammi*, "Innina-zêr-ushabshi, the son of Ṭûb-shar-Ishtar, who is in charge of the basket of the (temple) administrator"; *LCE* 150: 1-4.

[9] Âigâshu is described twice by the shorter title *amêlšaqû šarri*, "the chief officer of the king"; *REN* 40: 23; 131: 2. Other ways of describing persons in charge of the basket are the following. *mBa-la-ṭu ša muḫ-ḫi qu-up-pu*, "Balâṭu, who is in charge of the basket"; *AENP* 130: 7, 8; *mAḫu-ú-tu ša ina eli qup-pu*, "Aḫûtu, who is in charge of the basket"; *StrNbn* 551: 2, 3; (Cf. *HRETA* 133: 19, 25); *mGab-bi-ina-qât-dŠamaš amêlma-aṣ-ṣar qu-up*, "Gabbi-ina-qât-Shamash, the guardian of the basket"; *StrCyr* 267: 11, 12; *mdŠamaš-pir'-aḫu ša qu-up-pu i-na-ṣa-ri*, "Shamash-pir'-aḫu, who guards the basket"; *StrNbn* 574: 8, 9. Cf. Thompson, *Late Babylonian Letters*, 165: 9. Note *StrNbn* 1099: 19.

A Babylonian text,[10] dated in the first year of Nabonidus, gives additional information concerning the basket of the king. It records commands with reference to temple practices in Erech and makes provision for the daily wants of the king and his daughter in the following manner:

šir Irta(GAB) ša immeri rabî(-i) ša še-e-ri a-na qu-up-pi ša šarri ú-su-uq,[11] "Apportion the breast of a large lamb of the morning[12] for the basket of the king." *REN* 10: 12, 13.

ŠE-BAR pap-pa-su ša ûmêmeš ša šarri ina Ê-an-na pu-uḫ-ḫi-ir, "Gather into Eanna the barley (which is) the daily[13] sustenance of the king." *REN* 10. 20.

Kurummatêzun ša mârat šarri a-na qu-up-pi ša šarri ú-su-uq, "Apportion the food of the daughter[14] of the king for the basket of the king." *REN* 10: 22.

[10] See *REN*, Introduction, p. 12, for discussion of this text which was written at Larsa although dealing with the temple in Erech.

[11] *Ú-su-uq* is from *esêqu*, "divide," "apportion." *Isqu(GIŠ-ŠUB-BA)* is a common term for a part of a sacrifice apportioned as food. See *HWB* p. 147. Line 19 of *REN* 10, the text under consideration, has the following passage: *Isqa-šu-nu a-na amêlrab banî-i pi-qid,* "Deliver their sacrificial portion to the *rab banî*." Cp. *LCE* 70: 13-19, which evidently refers to certain offerings made to the king. Cf. Clay, *Babylonian Records in the Library of J. P. Morgan*, Part II, p. 19 f.

[12] The word *še-e-ri*, "morning," may indicate that the breast of a large lamb was to be taken from the morning sacrifice. The priestly ritual of the Hebrews made provision for morning and evening sacrifices. See *Ex.* 29: 39; *Lev.* 6: 20; 9: 17; *Nu.* 28: 4, 23; II *Kings* 16: 15; I *Chron.* 16: 40; II *Chron.* 2: 4; 31: 3; *Ezra* 3: 3; *Ezek.* 46: 13. Hebrew law also prescribed that the breast of the sacrificial animal should belong to Aaron and his sons; *Ex.* 29: 26-28; *Lev.* 7: 31-34. It should be noted that *še-e-ri* can be read *tir-ri*, "forest." Cf. *CD* p. 1190.

[13] The literal translation of *pap-pa-su ša ûmêmeš ša šarri* is "the sustenance of the days of the king." The following passage is interesting for the sake of comparison: *½ gur šamaššammi ina pap-pa-su ša ûmêmeš ša šarri ša ul-tu lib-bi araḫAbu mdNabû-iq-ṣur apil mdNergal-šum-ibni it-ta-ši 1 gur šamaššammi ina ûmêmeš -šu ša araḫAyaru mNûr- dSin apil mdNabû-bâni-aḫi it-ta-ši,* "Four kors of sesame out of the daily sustenance of the king from the month Ab, which Nabû-iqṣur, the son of Nergal-shum-ibni, brought. One kor of sesame out of his daily (sustenance) of the month Iyyar Nûr-Sin, the son of Nabû-bâni-aḫi, brought"; *LCE* 137: 1-7. Cp. *ŠE-BAR ša mdNergal-šar-uṣur,* "the barley of Neriglissar"; *LCE* 60: 26. Of great interest is the following: *½ alpê bu-ḫal ina libbi 3 AZAGmeš amêlu ša eli qu-up-pi ina qât mIna-ṣilli- dNa-na-a amêlqal-la ša mdNabû-aḫ-iddin ki-i i-bu-ku ul iq-ba-an-na-a-šu a-na niqî šarri ip-ta-ra-as-su-nu-tu,* "When the man who is in charge of the basket brought four male oxen, among them three clean (pure) ones, from Ina-ṣilli-Nanâ, the slave of Nabû-aḫ-iddin, he did not tell us. He apportioned them for the offering of the king"; *NLE* 41: 23-28. Cf. *qup-pu ša šarri ina pâni-ka,* "the basket of the king is at thy disposal"; *LCE* 69: 6, 7.

[14] This daughter of Nabonidus may have been Bêl-shalṭi-Nannar, whom he dedicated as an *entu* to the temple of the moon-god in Ur (see *MI* No. 45, p. 66). Another

These commands indicate that it was the duty of temple officials in Erech to supply Nabonidus and his daughter with provisions. The first and third commands make definite provision for the basket of the king. The second command, although it does not refer to the basket of the king, nevertheless shows that the royal store was supplied with barley [15] through the agency of the temple.

An interesting question arises as to how provisions destined for the Babylonian king were delivered to him. Fortunately there are texts which supply this information. The following cuneiform record shows that the basket was taken to Babylon guarded by a company of bowmen.

1/2 ma-na kaspi ir-bi ša bâbi ul-tu qu-up-pu a-na ^{m}*Ardi-*^{d}*A-nu-ni-tum* ^{amêl}*rab qašti(GIŠ-BAN) na-din 5 šiqil kaspi ir-bi ul-tu qu-up-pu a-na qi-me 5 šiqil kaspi te-lit-tum a-na* ^{m}*Na-din ša it-ti qu-up-pu a-na Bâbili*^{ki} *il-li-ku nâdin,* "One-half mina of silver, income of the gate,[16] was given from the basket to Ardi-Anunitum, the chief bowman. Five shekels of silver, income, (were given) from the basket for flour. Five shekels of silver, impost, were given to Nâdin, who went to Babylon with the basket." *StrNbn* 1058: 1-11.

A portion of a Neo-Babylonian letter helps to complete the picture. *20 gur suluppi ina kurummatê*$^{zun\ me}$ *ša* ^{amêl}*ṣâbê*^{me} *-šu a-na* ^{m}*Si-lim-ilu amêlu ša ina*

daughter of Nabonidus was Ina-Ḫsagila-rîmat, through whom Belshazzar paid his tithe in the seventeenth year of the king's reign (see *StrNbn* 1043: 3, 4).

[15] According to I *Kings* 5: 8, barley and straw were brought for the stable of Solomon. With this may be compared lines 9-12 of *LCE* 7, a letter written by Nabû-aḫ-iddin to Nâdin. Nabû-aḫ-iddin was the chief officer of the king and the chief overseer of Ḫanna from the seventeenth year of Nabonidus to the fourth year of Cambyses (see *JAOS* Vol. 41, p. 467). Lines 9-12 are as follows: *Lu-ú ti-i-di amêlṣâbême ša bît alpêmeš ša šarri ti-ib-ni u ki-is-sat ul da-ag-gal,* "Verily thou knowest that the workmen of the ox stable of the king have not beheld straw and fodder."

[16] That the Babylonians used baskets for the collection of gate revenue is indicated by the following passages. *44 šiqil kaspi a-di 19 šiqlê maḫ-ru-ú ša ul-tu ûmu 10kam ša araḫUlûlu 2kam a-di ûmu 29kam ša araḫUlûlu 2kam a-na qu-up-pu ša bâbi i-ru-bu,* "Forty-four shekels of silver, including nineteen former shekels, which entered into the basket of the gate from the tenth of second Elul to the twenty-ninth of second Elul;" *AENN* 388: 1-4. Cf. *AENN* 356: 1-5; 360: 1-4; 383: 1-2. Another form of the record is as follows: *1/2 ma-na kaspi ir-bi ša qanûqu-up-pi šarri ša bâb ša-ni-tu, ûmu 9kam ša araḫAddaru a-di ûmu 24kam ša araḫAddaru,* "One-half mina of silver, the income of the basket of the king of the second gate, (from) the ninth of Adar to the twenty-fourth of Adar;" *REN* 13: 1-6. Still another form is the following: *12 1/2 šiqil kaspi ir-bi ša* ^{m}*Ki-na-a amêlašaridu ša ina* ^{âl}*Du-'-i-il* $^{m\hat{a}}$*Nabû-zêr-lîšir amêlmâr šipri-šu a-na iṣgu-up-pu it-ta-bul,* "Twelve and one-half shekels of silver, the income of Kinâ, the prince, which Nabû-zêr-lîshir, his messenger, brought for the basket in the city of Du'îl;" *AENP* 86: 1-6. Indefinite references to *quppu* are found in the following passagess: *StrNbn* 84: 11; 347: 4; 766: 11; *StrNbk* 265: 4, 5; *VS* VI 91: 6. For *irbi ša bâbi* see references in Tallqvist, *Die Sprache der Contracte Nabû-nâ'ids,* p. 50.

eli qu-pu i-din ina libbi 10 gur suluppi ina muḫ-ḫi nâr šarri in-na-aš-ši a-na Bâbilᵏⁱ il-la-ku, "Twenty kors of dates, out of the food supply of his soldiers, give to Silim-ilu, the man who is in charge of the basket. Of them twenty kors of dates shall be brought from the canal of the king. Unto Babylon they shall go." *LCE* 7: 18-24.

These two texts corroborate one another. In the first text it is indicated that a certain amount of gate income was taken from the basket which evidently contained toll revenue. This tax or revenue basket was taken to Babylon by Nâdin. However, part of the contents of the basket was expended to defray the cost of transportation. The chief bowman received one-half mina, or thirty shekels, of silver. No doubt this sum included his remuneration and that of the bowmen who served under him as protectors of the basket while it was being conveyed to Babylon.[17] Five shekels of silver were disbursed for flour to be used, we may surmise, as food on the journey and a similar amount was given as a stipend to Nâdin who superintended the expedition. In the second text there is a reference to Silim-ilu,[18] the man in charge of the basket. Silim-ilu was supplied with food for the military guardians of the basket in order that a journey might be made to Babylon. These two texts furnish sufficient evidence that the *quppu,* or basket, containing supplies of food or revenue, and well guarded, was taken to Babylon. It is natural to infer that Erech was not the only city which made such contributions to the king's support, but that all the cities of Babylonia did the same thing.[19] See figs. 1, 2, 3, 4 and 8 for different shapes of baskets and different methods of carrying them in ancient Mesopotamia.

II

Additional parallels to Solomon's method of securing provisions are furnished by interesting references to the Babylonian *sellu* (also *sillu*)=Hebrew סל = "basket." The following text gives valuable data.

1 gur suluppi kurummat-su-nu ša ul-tu ûmu 25ᵏᵃᵐ ša ᵃʳᵃᵇNisannu šattu 39ᵏᵃᵐ a-di ûmu 25ᵏᵃᵐ ša ᵃʳᵃᵇAyaru ᵐDan-nu- ᵈNergal ᵃᵐᵉˡka-ṣir[20] *ù mâru-šu ša ᵠᵃⁿᵘšil-li tab-ba-na-a-ta*[21] *a-na Bâbilᵏⁱ iš-šu-ú it-ta-šú-ú,* "One kor of dates,

[17] Another reference to bowmen in connection with the *quppu* is in *NLE* 171: 23, 24.

[18] Without doubt this is the same Silim-ilu already referred to as one of the four men in Erech in charge of the basket of the king.

[19] *REN* 134: 3, 4 shows that food was supplied to Nabonidus from Babylonia while he was in the land of Temâ in Arabia.

[20] It seems evident from this text that *ameˡlkâṣir* should be translated "collector," and not "binder" as in *AENN* p. 31, note 1 (see references under *kaṣâru, CD* p. 426 f.). Dannu-Nergal was a collector of royal revenue. Cp. *lâqit kurbanni,* "collector of alms." *HWB* p. 351.

[21] *Tab-ba-na-a-ta,* from *banû,* "build," has the same meaning as Hebrew תבנית,

their maintenance, which from the 25th day of Nisan, the 39th year, to the 25th day of Iyyar, Dannu-Nergal, the collector, and his son, who took the *tabbanâta* baskets to Babylon, received." *AENN* 206: 1-8. This text, which is dated in the 39th year of Nebuchadrezzar II, indicates that specially constructed baskets were taken to Babylon by Dannu-Nergal and his son. For this they received one kor of dates as their food for a month.

A Neo-Babylonian letter, *LCE* 25, containing an undated message from Marduk-bêl-shunu to several men, throws remarkable light upon the subject under discussion. It is fortunate that, although parts of the tablet are mutilated,[22] the following lines, as indicated in the transliteration, are legible. (12) *Šarru qi-ru-ub* [23] *mi-na-a* (13) *qanûsil-li tab-ni-ti ša šarri* (14) *tu-ša-aṭ-la arḫu šalšu(-šu)*[24] (15) *qanûsil-li tab-ni-ti a-na šarri* (16) *šú-bi-la-a-nu* . . . . . (25) . . . . . *mi-na-a immera ša ṣêri* (26) *a-na qanûsil-li tab-ni-ti* (27) *ša šarri tu-na-ak-ka-su* (28) *ù a-na ṣi-bu-ti-ku-nu* (29) *immera sa 1 1/2 šiqla-ám kaspi bi-ba-la* [25] (30) *a-na rebîtu(-tu)-ám kaspi a-na nu-bat-tum* [26] (31) *tu-na-ak-su ina eli gi-ni-e* (32) *ša ilâni*^{meš} *u qanûsil-li tab-ni-ti* (33) *ša šarri la ta-sil-li-ám* (34) *su-ud-dir-a-ma* [27] *maṣṣarta* (35) *ša ilâni*^{meš} *u šarri uṣ-ra-'* (36) *immera kab-ru-tam a-na* (37) *qanûsil-li tab-ni-tum ša šarri* (38) *nu-uk-ki-su.* "The king approaches. Why have ye neglected the *tabnîtu* basket of the king for the third month? Bring the *tabnîtu* basket to the king. . . . . Why have ye slaughtered a lamb of the plain (desert) for

"construction," "model," "form." It seems that the *qanûsilli tabbanâta* were specially constructed reed baskets, no doubt of unusual strength and durability, and possibly more artistic than ordinary baskets. Note *qanûsil-li tab-ni-ti, AENN* 179: 3, and *qanûsi-il(?) tab-na-a-ta* on a tablet belonging to Mr. H. T. Vaille of Denver, Colorado. Another reference is in the following passage: *qanûsil-li tab-ni-tu u ši-pir-ta-ka bêl lu-še-bi-lam-ma lud-da-aš-šu a-mur a-na Bâbiliki il-lak,* "The *tabnîtu* basket and thy message may my lord bring and give! Behold he shall go to Babylon;" *LCE* 51: 19-23.

[22] Line 6, the first line of the letter after the salutation, refers to *amêlṣâbême,* "soldiers," and line 7 refers to *bît ka-ri-e,* "granary."

[23] The form *qi-ru-ub* is evidently the permansive of the first stem of *qarâbu* (*qirêbu?*). The permansive of this verb which has occurred in inscriptions thus far is *qit-ru-bu.*

[24] The meaning is the same whether *arḫu šalšu(-šu)* is read with the preceding or following sentence.

[25] The form *bi-ba-la* is unusual. *Babâlu* means "carry," "bring." Hence *bi-ba-la* may express the idea that the lamb was worth one and one-half shekels of silver. Cp. English "How much did those sheep bring?" *Bi-ba-la* may be an unusual permansive form like *mi-sa-a* from *misû,* "wash," "cleanse" (see Delitzsch, *Assyrische Grammatik,* p. 269).

[26] The reading *nu-bat-tum* suits the context. The autographed text has *nu-bi-tum* with *bi* shaded to indicate doubtful reading.

[27] *Su-ud-dir-a-ma* is a new form, imperative of the second stem from *sadâru* = סדר "arrange," "put in order," with conjunction affixed. The same form occurs in line 24 of *LCE* 25.

the *tabnîtu* basket of the king and according to your wish slain a lamb worth 1 1/2 shekels of silver for 1/4 of a (shekel) of silver for the holiday? Do not delay with reference to the sacrifices[28] of the gods and the *tabnîtu* basket of the king. Put all things in order and keep the watch of the gods and the king. Slaughter a large lamb for the *tabnîtu* basket of the king."

The identity of the king referred to in this letter cannot be determined, since he is not mentioned by name. However, the implications of the message are unmistakable. There is a tone of urgency and reproach in the words of the writer. Certain men had neglected to supply the basket of the king with the necessary provisions for the third month. Upon the near approach of the king they were chided with this inattention to duty and commanded to send the basket to the king. Further evidence of their wrong-doing is indicated by the fact that they had slaughtered a poorly-nourished lamb for the basket of the king and at the same time had used a valuable lamb for their own enjoyment on a holiday. They were ordered to make amends for this act by providing a large animal for the basket of the king. Divine and royal offerings were not to be neglected and the watch of the gods and the king was to be kept. The reference to the basket of the king for the third month is interesting. There is at least a suggestion that the men to whom the letter was addressed were responsible for the king's provisions for the third month. If so, the parallel to Solomon's overseers, each responsible for a month of the year, is striking.

The intimation of the close relationship between the offerings of the gods and the basket of the king should not be overlooked. Babylonian deities and the reigning monarch were associated in various ways. Oaths were sworn in the name of the gods and the king.[29] The greatest crimes were those committed against the gods and the king.[30] Guardsmen were detailed to keep the watch of the gods and the king.[31] In harmony with these known Babylonian practices is the command that no delay shall occur with reference to

[28] Sacrificial materials were lacking at times, as is indicated by the following urgent message sent by Nâdinu-aḫu to two temple officials: *2 ú-di-e ša iṣkarâni a-na gi-ni-e ša dŠamaš bêlêmeš-ú-a lu-še-bi-la iṣkarâna a-na gi-ni-e ša dŠamaš bêlêmeš-ú-a lu-še-bi-lu-nu (iṣ)karânu a-gan-na ma-ḫu*, "May my lords send two vessels of wine for the sacrifice of Shamash! May my lords send wine for the sacrifice of Shamash! Wine is lacking here"; *LCE* 67: 7-17.

[29] E. g., *šum* (or *niš*) *ilânimeš ù šarri ina puḫri ta-az-ku-ur*, "she swore the oath of the gods and the king in the assembly"; *REN* 224: 19, 20.

[30] E. g., *ḫi-ṭu ša ilânimeš u šarri i-šad-da-ad*, "he will commit a crime against (literally, of) the gods and the king"; *REN* 147: 5, 6 (see Dougherty, *The Shirkûtu of Babylonian Deities*, *Yale Oriental Series*, Vol. V, Part II, p. 21 f., note 13).

[31] The best illustration of this is found in *LCE* 25: 34, 35, the text under consideration.

the offerings of the gods and the basket of the king. It is apparent from this that the basket of the king possessed a certain degree of religious sanctity.

The following passage in a tablet from Erech, dated in the eleventh year of Nabonidus, proves that the reed basket was used as a container of offerings in connection with Babylonian religious observances. *24 qa suluppi a-na mi-ir-su*[32] *a-na 26 gišsil-li-e a-na 1 UD-ÉŠ-ÉŠ*,[33] "Twenty-four *qa* of dates for *mirsu* for twenty-six baskets for one day of offerings." *REN* 170: 7. Thus there is evidence that the *sellu* was used in conveying sacred as well as royal offerings.[34]

All the Biblical references to סל, the corresponding Hebrew term, indicate that it was used for similar purposes. In both passages dealing with the consecration of priests a סל is mentioned as containing the unleavened bread, cakes and wafers.[35] In one instance it is described as סל המלאים,[36] "the basket of consecration." A סל contained the unleavened bread, cakes and wafers used in connection with the consecration of a Nazarite.[37] When Gideon presented an offering to the angel of Yahweh, he placed the flesh of a kid in a

[32] *Mi-ir-su* is derived from *marâsu*, "crush," "mash," "macerate" (cp. Syriac ܡܪܨ and Arabic مرس). *Mirsu* has been translated "must" which is a term describing the expressed juice of fruits before fermentation has taken place. The above text indicates that *mirsu* was made from dates. At the present time in Palestine *marissa* is made from crushed fruit mixed with water. This mixture is strained after it has fermented. Slatin, *Fire and Sword in the Sudan*, 1907, p. 15, refers to *marissa* as a form of beer common in the Sudan. In Thompson, *Late Babylonian Letters*, No. 38: 27-28, occurs a passage the pertinent part of which should be transliterated as follows: *mi-ri-is iṣkarâni . . . . . ṣa-ḫa-aṭ*, "the must of the wine . . . is pressed out." *Ṣa-ḫa-aṭ* should be connected with Hebrew שׂחט, used only in *Gen.* 40: 11 to describe the pressing of grapes into Pharaoh's cup. Cf. *HWB* p. 564 under צחר for what should be transliterated *ṣa-ḫi-iṭ karâni*, represented ideographically by *amêlGEŠTIN-SUR-RA* = "wine-presser." *GEŠTIN* = *karânu* = "wine"; *HWB* p. 354. *SUR-RA* = *mazû* = "press out"; *HWB* p. 396. Note *18 qa ḫi-me-tum a-na me-ir-su*, "eighteen *qa* of butter for *mirsu*"; *StrCyr* 327: 5, 6. This may refer to an act of barter, but cp. Hava, *Arabic English Dictionary*, p. 708, for a reference to the fact that *marissa* can consist of crushed dates soaked in water or milk.

[33] Cf. *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1904, p. 56, line 25, for *UD-ÉŠ-ÉŠ* = *ûmu eš-še-e-šu*. See Thureau-Dangin, *Les Cylindres de Goudéa*, Vol. 1, p. 8, line 23, for *ê-ba-gú-ka éš-éš ni-ag* = "Dans le temple *BA-GÁ* il fit des offrandes." Cf. *ZA*, Vol. 16, p. 353, note 4, for *ûm AB-AB* (*UD-ÉŠ-ÉŠ*) = "le jour des offrandes."

[34] It may be that the twenty-six baskets contained other articles which were offered with the *mirsu*. On the other hand, the *mirsu*, consisting of freshly crushed dates, might be contained in baskets before being mixed with water. A basket made water-tight with bitumen could be used as a container even of liquids.

[35] *Ex.* 29: 3, 23, 32; *Lev.* 8: 2, 26, 31.

[36] *Lev.* 8: 31.

[37] *Nu.* 6: 15, 17, 19.

סל.[38] These references suggest that the particular kind of basket called סל by the Hebrews had a special ritualistic rôle in the religious acts described, and seems, therefore, to have been endowed with a mystical significance.[39]

The remaining occurrences of סל in the Bible are found in *Gen.* 40: 17-18. This passage describes the chief baker's dream and Joseph's interpretation of it. In his vision the chief baker had three baskets containing white bread upon his head. In the uppermost basket was all manner of baked food for Pharaoh, literally, "food of Pharaoh, the work of a baker." The birds ate from the basket upon his head. Joseph interpreted the three baskets to mean three days. In this account food for the king of Egypt is mentioned as being carried in a סל, which completes the parallel between the uses of סל and *sellu*.

One naturally wishes to unveil the past more completely with regard to the rôle played by the basket in the worship of the gods. It is possible to do this with the sources of information at our command. Many Babylonian and Assyrian seal cylinders have preserved faithful pictures of the religious practices of antiquity. The scenes depicted upon them may be taken as accurate representations of ancient rites and ceremonies.

The clearest examples of the portraiture of baskets on seal cylinders are those shown in figs. 437 and 832 of Ward's *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*. In the former (see fig. 5 of this article) two persons attending a god and goddess are carrying baskets. The latter (see fig. 10 of this article) portrays two images of Gilgamesh with an accompanying figure carrying what is plainly a basket, although it is called a pail in the English description of the scene. In figs. 214 and 215, *ibid.*, (see fig. 6 of this article) the goddess Bau, or Gula, is seated with attendant worshippers, one carrying a goat and another a basket. There are other occurrences of this motif of two worshippers bearing gifts, one a goat and the other a basket of offerings, to a god or goddess, either seated or standing.[40] The basket also appears on cylinders of Etana and the eagle (see fig. 9 of this article). Etana is shown astride a flying eagle rising to the heavens of Anu, Êa and Bêl. Baskets and sheep are present in the scene.[41] In fig. 455, *ibid.*, the god Adad leads a bull followed by a worshipper carrying

[38] *Judges* 6: 19.

[39] The use of the basket as a container of *materia sacra* in religious rites was natural and probably at first without special significance, but the continued use of a special basket for such purposes would lead to its being regarded as a *cista mystica*.

[40] See *SCWA* figs. 261, 271, 301, 343, 403, 1244. See *Der Alte Orient*, 1910, p. 22, for the picture of an Assyrian worshipper carrying a goat. Cp. offering of a goat in Hittite scene; Olmstead, *History of Assyria*, fig. 97. For the rôle played by the goat in ancient life see *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Erster Band, 1924, Heft 1/2, pp. 145-148.

[41] See *SCWA* figs. 391, 392, 393, 394, 395.

a basket. See fig. 7 of this article for the statuette of a Sumerian priestess carrying a basket on her head,[42] which should be compared with figs. 4 and 8.

The sacred basket was accorded great prominence in the various cults of the Graeco-Roman world.[43] It figured largely in the rites of Dionysus, Demeter, Artemis, Athene Soteira, the Pythian Apollo and Zeus Basileus of Boeotia. The mysteries of Eleusis and those of Aphrodite of Cyprus, as well as the secret cult of Themis, made use of the mystical basket. It had a place in the ceremonies of Osiris, Isis, Serapis and Anubis after the cults of these deities had spread beyond Egypt.

Among the many Greek names for baskets, two, viz., *κανοῦν*[44] and *κάλαθος*,[45] were used as special designations of baskets which had a part in religious ceremonies. The feast of baskets of the Attic Demeter was called *τὰ κανᾶ* = "The Baskets." The term *κίστη* = *cista* was used of the basket which contained the *ἱερα μυστικά* = *sacra arcana*. *Κανᾶ* were used to carry the sacred barley, *οὐλαί*, which was a necessary part of animal sacrifices. The bearing of

[42] In the Yale Babylonian Museum are similar statuettes representing the ancient Sumerian practice of carrying baskets. The figures are those of Dungi, King of Ur, Ur-Ningirsu, Patesi of Lagash, and Gudea, Patesi of Lagash, all of the third millennium B. C. See plates 9-20 in Johns, *Ur-Engur, A Bronze of the Fourth Millennium in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan*. A canephorus bronze statuette of Ur-Nammu has been found in the recent excavations at Ur; see *Archiv für Keilschriftforschung*, 1924, Zweiter Band, Heft 1, page 89. Johns, *op. cit.*, p. 37, makes the following interesting statement: "M. de Sarzec pointed out that this (referring to the position of the basket in the Sumerian statuettes) is exactly the attitude of Oriental laborers today carrying on their heads the *cufa* (*quffah*) basket filled with earth. It has been suggested that the figures were talismanic, intended to act magically in protecting the building where they were deposited in the foundation. They would thus symbolize the construction of the building. Or they may represent the patesi or other builder himself, acting as a workman." As Johns also suggests, *ibid.*, p. 23 f., there is a striking parallel in the modern custom of having dignitaries officiate, when important buildings are begun, by digging a spadeful of earth or laying a foundation stone. See *SCWA* figs. 695, 705, 709, 758, 767 for representations of baskets on Assyrian sculptures. Cf. Jastrow, *Bilder zur Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, fig. 76, and *Der Alte Orient*, 1910, p. 36, for pictures of Assyrian kings carrying baskets upon their heads.

[43] See article on *Basket*, in Hastings, *Encyc. of Rel. and Ethics*. Cf. article on *Cista Mystica* in *Dict. des Antiquités*, Vol. II, p. 1205; Gruppe, *Griech. Myth.*, p. 163; Farnell, *Cults of Greek States*, Vol. III, pp. 47, 316; Elderkin, *Kantharos, Studies in Dionysiac and Kindred Cults*, pp. 26-28.

[44] The Greek words *κάννα*, *κάννη*, *κάνη*, and *κανοῦν*, pl. *κανᾶ*, and Latin *canna* are connected with Hebrew קָנֶה and Babylonian *qanû*. See Gesenius-Buhl[17], p. 717.

[45] Professor David M. Robinson has shown that the name of the basket, frequently carved on grave-stones, is *τάλαρος*, not *κάλαθος*. See *Anatolian Studies, Presented to Sir William Ramsay*, p. 352. *Ibid.*, p. 346, presents a Greek epitaph stating that the basket betokens "orderly Virtue." See *ibid.*, plate XI.

baskets in religious processions was common (see fig. 12). The basket-bearer, *καιηφόρος* = *canephorus*,[46] was usually at the head of the procession. The term *κιστοφόρος* = *cistifer* was used to designate a basket-bearer and a coin bearing the image of a sacred basket.[47] The baskets which were carried contained offerings dedicated to various deities. In the case of Demeter the offerings were flowers and fruits.[48]

Reverence for the sacred basket was shown in various ways. It was kept covered and the eyes that pried into it were regarded as committing sacrilege. In some cases the basket was touched as oaths were sworn. The *κάλαθος*, especially sacred to Demeter, was drawn in a car through the streets. Those outside the inner circle of a mystic cult were supposed to stand with downcast eyes as the *cista mystica* was carried by. Further light is thrown upon the meaning of the sacred basket by the following passage: *Calathus aureus surgens in altum monstrat aetheris summam, unde solis creditur esse substantia.*[49] This indicates that the sacred basket was thought of as related to the sun-god of the high heavens.

That Greek basket symbolism had an Oriental origin has been surmised by C. H. W. Johns. In *Ur-Engur, A Bronze of the Fourth Millennium in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan*, p. 11, he says, "The origin of the ritual of the Canephoros was referred by the Greeks themselves to the earliest period of their history. Philochorus—who lived in the age of the Diadochoi—ascribed it to Erichthonius or Erechtheus, the mythical king to whom was assigned the institution of the Panathenaea itself (see the lexicographers Harpocration, Suidas and Photius on *καιηφόρος*). Tradition, therefore, speaks for its extreme age, and the association with Boeotia, Artemis, and Demeter may be quoted as consistent with an Eastern origin. The suggestion made by some etymologists (see L. Meyer's *Handbuch der griechischen Etymologie*) that *kanna*, "a reed," from which the name *kaneon* for the basket may be derived, comes

[46] Cf. Johns, *Ur-Engur, A Bronze of the Fourth Millennium in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan*, Plates 2-8, for representations of Greek basket carriers. See *Dict. des Antiquités*, Vol. II, p. 877, for discussion of *Canephorae*, who were generally young women. They carried baskets containing the offerings or utensils necessary in sacrifices. The Assyrian term for "basket carrier" is *nâš ṭṣu-us-su-ul-lu*. Cf. Clay, *A Hebrew Deluge Story in Cuneiform*, p. 75, line 68, and note. Compare Hebrew סלסלות *Jer.* 6: 9. Note should be made of the Caryatids with basket-like objects upon their heads. See *Art and Archaeology*, Vol. II, No. 1, July 1915, pp. 1-9.

[47] See *Dict. des Antiquités*, Vol. II, p. 1211, for discussion of *Cistophoroi*.

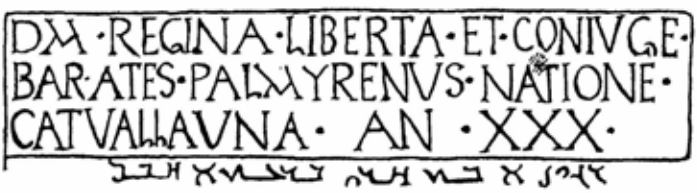
[48] Compare Egyptian *rnpw-t* = "fresh plants," "flowers," as offerings. See Erman and Grapow, *Aegyptisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 95. Note *ibid.*, p. 119, for *ḫtp-t*, "bundle of plants," "bouquet of flowers," in the sense of altar offerings.

[49] Quoted by Hyde in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. XXX, No. 1, p. 119, from Macrobius, I, 17, 66-70.

from a Semitic source, comparing the Hebrew *qāneh,* Babylonian *qanū,* may be regarded as a reason for thinking that the name came with the custom."

The basket appears as an emblem on Syrian sepulchral monuments [50] (see fig. 13). Associated with the basket on these sculptured objects is the eagle. Probably it is more than a coincidence that figures of the eagle and the basket are prominent on the beautiful silver holder of the Eucharistic chalice found at Antioch in Syria in 1910.[51] A basket filled with loaves of bread is surmounted by an eagle with outstretched wings (see fig. 14). Professor B. W. Bacon has called the writer's attention to the fact that the eagle probably

[50] See Cumont, *Études Syriennes,* pp. 41-49. These Syrian monuments have been ascribed to the first, second and third centuries A. D. Of great interest in this connection is a monument discovered at South Shields, England, in 1878. It is a gravestone about six feet long and two feet six inches wide. The sculptured part represents a seated woman with a basket of fruit or bread at her left side. At the base is the following bilingual inscription:



The ungrammatical Latin inscription indicates that the stone was erected to the memory of a woman named Regina, of the Catuallauni, who died at the age of thirty, the freedwoman and wife of Barates, a Palmyrene. There was a British tribe of the Catuvellauni. The cursive Palmyrene inscription may be transcribed into Hebrew letters as follows: רגינא בת חרי ברעתא חבל, "Regina, the freedwoman of Barata. Alas!" This monument has been ascribed to the end of the second or beginning of the third century A. D. It has been suggested that Barates was a Syrian trader who trafficked with the Roman soldiers in Britain. For a full discussion of this monument see *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology,* Vol. VI, pp. 436-440.

[51] See Eisen, *The Great Chalice of Antioch,* reviewed in *Art and Archaeology,* Vol. XVIII, August 1924, pp. 71-74. Also *American Jour. of Archaeology,* 1916, pp. 426-437; Newbold, *The Great Chalice of Antioch, Ladies Home Journal,* Nov. 1924, pp. 8 ff.; and *The Review of Reviews,* Dec. 1924, pp. 635 ff. Eisen and Newbold contend that the chalice belongs to the first century A. D., the latter holding with Eisen, in the references given, that the inner cup is the one used by Christ at the Last Supper. Some archaeologists are inclined to date the chalice not earlier than the third century A. D. A very recent discussion of the date of the chalice is that of W. B. McDaniel in *The Classical Weekly,* Vol. XVIII, No. 16, March 2, 1925. On page 126 he says, "Would a Greek Christian associate this bird (the eagle) with the founder of his religion as a symbol of the Roman Empire, the conversion of which was scarcely begun? Before answering yes or no, we should note the extraordinary frequency of this emblem on the reverse of imperial coins of Antioch. Or does the eagle represent the immortal soul of man ascending to heavenly life, as Dr. Newbold conjectures? Here the numismatists will, of course, think of the Roman coins of the *consecratio* type that picture an imperial

symbolized immortality like the mythical φοῖνιξ, and that this recognition of the eagle as the emblem of eternal life may survive in such Biblical expressions as "Thy youth is renewed like the eagle's"; *Ps.* 103: 5; and "But they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles"; *Isa.* 40: 31. The legend of Etana, which depicts the hero rising heavenward astride a flying eagle, seems to preserve a similar view of the mystic significance of the king of birds (see fig. 9). As to other ancient representations of apotheosis, Professor D. M. Robinson has given valuable suggestions to the writer, noting particularly the ascent of Titus to heaven on an eagle with outstretched wings, as depicted on the famous Arch of Titus (see Reinach, *Répertoire de Reliefs Grecs et Romains,* Tome I, p. 276, and Jeremias, *The Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient East,* Vol. II, p. 150). Reinach, *ibid.,* Tome II, p. 236, portrays the apotheosis of Germanicus as preserved on a Cameo in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Louvre. Comparison should be made with the apotheosis of Homer, a good reproduction of which may be seen in Cumont, *Études Syriennes,* p. 78, fig. 32. Cumont, *ibid.,* pp. 72-85, discusses "L'Apothéose des Empereurs" in a very interesting way. Jeremias, *op. cit.,* Vol. II, p. 150, fig. 158, portrays Ganymede borne by an eagle, reproduced from a Greek gem by Richter in *Phantasien des Altertums,* Tafel vii. It should also be noted that in the *Assumption of Moses,* x, 8, the same symbolism is presented in the following words: "Thou shalt be happy, Israel, and rise upon the necks (?) and wings of the eagle."

From an entirely different source comes further confirmation of the eagle's prominence in early religious symbolism. Charles M. Doughty, while explor-

apotheosis, when an eagle loosed from the summit of the funeral pile was supposed to bear the soul of the monarch skyward. But can we imagine that, in an age when symbols (like gestures) may be said to have spoken louder than words, a true believer would have represented the Ascension by an emblem which any heathen might at once interpret as implying that the Resurrection of Christ was of precisely the sort that changed an ordinary imperial *homo* or *mulier* into a DIVUS or DIVA, to be worshipped like any other man-made deity in the Roman hierarchy of Heaven? Verily that eagle is bound to prove more of a nuisance to our investigators than he has so far. Personally, I regard him as the chief determinant of the entire decoration. He is no dove of peace!" There is no doubt that the figure of the eagle on the Antioch chalice is an important factor in determining the date of this work of art. However, the eagle must not be isolated in the process. It is the combination of eagle and basket that is the "chief determinant in the entire decoration," as the eagle and basket symbolism on Syrian sepulchral monuments indicates. See the reference to Cumont, *Études Syriennes,* in the preceding note. Is it not highly improbable that an artist long after the second or third century A. D. would think of associating the basket and eagle for symbolical purposes? In addition it must be noted that the eagle was prominent in the symbolism of the Oriental world long before the Roman period. In fact the symbolical use of the eagle, particularly as typifying immortal life, is of great antiquity. See the presence of the eagle in figs. 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18 and 20.

ing in Arabia fifty years ago, studied the rock-cut tombs of Medáin Sâlih, seventy-five miles south of Teimâ, the Biblical תימא = cuneiform *Te-ma-a,* pronounced *Téyma* by the Bedouins today. In his *Travels in Arabia Deserta,* 1921 edition, pp. 104-174, Doughty mingles with his narrative considerable description of these tombs and presents interesting drawings of them (see especially pp. 104, 105, 107, 109, 111, 114, 116, 122, 159, 167 and 169). It is a striking fact that the figure of a bird occupies the central place in the ornamentation of the entrances of these sepulchres. In most cases only the bodies and out-stretched wings of the sculptured birds may now be seen. However, Doughty found one tomb with the head of the bird intact (see fig. 15 of this article). This well-preserved figure enables us to conclude that the symbolism used by the ancient sculptors of these tomb entrances was that of the eagle, emblem of immortal life. Doughty himself writes, *ibid.,* p. 168, "But what of the bird in those frontispieces of the sumptuous charnel houses? It is an ancient opinion of the idolatrous Arabs, that the departing spirit flitted from man's brain-pan as a wandering fowl, complaining thenceforward in deadly thirst her unavenged wrong; friends therefore to assuage the friend's soul-bird, poured upon the grave their pious libations of wine. The bird is called 'a green fowl;' it is named by others an owl or eagle. The eagle's life is a thousand years, in Semitic tradition. In Syria I have found Greek Christians who established it with the scripture, 'he shall renew his youth as an eagle.' Always the monumental bird is sculptured as rising to flight; her wings are in part or fully displayed." M. Ernest Renan published the Nabatean inscriptions found upon the monuments of Medáin Sâlih in *Documents Épigraphiques recueillis dans le nord de l'Arabie par M. Charles Doughty* (see Doughty, *op. cit.,* pp. 180-187 for Renan's translations). The script and contents of these epitaphs place most of them in the early part of the first century A. D. This determines the date of the tombs and furnishes additional evidence of the wide-spread use of eagle symbolism throughout the ancient Semitic world. The indications are that this symbolism did not originate in the Graeco-Roman world, but that it spread, like basket symbolism, from the east to the west. The fact that Greek Christians in Syria identify eagle symbolism with the Biblical sentiment quoted (see also Professor Bacon's suggestion above) is probably a survival of a similar identification in antiquity. If so, there need be no further speculation as to the origin of the eagle decoration on the Antioch Chalice.

It should also be noted that the eagle as a religious symbol has prominence in the ornamentation of the magnificent monuments at Petra. Votive niches, gables and side doors of sculptured structures, and the grave of Sextius Florentinus are adorned with the eagle. Fig. 16 gives a good example of eagle decoration at Petra. Dalman, *Petra und seine Felsheiligtümer,* Vol. I,

p. 115, describes this ornamentation as follows: "Er ist ganz unähnlich dem Adler der nabatäischen Münzen (see Dussaud, *Numismatique des Rois de Nabatène,* in *Journ. Asiat.,* 1904, pp. 189 ff.), der seinerseits an den Adler der Ptolemäer erinnert, und entspricht in Stellung und Haltung eher dem Adler auf dem Altar von Ǧebēl, den Merrill (see *East of the Jordan,* p. 526) abgezeichnet hat." See Dalman, *ibid.,* Vol. I, p. 75, and Vol. II, p. 75, for further notes on eagle symbolism at Petra. Cumont in *Études Syriennes,* pp. 35-72, discusses the wide-spread prevalence of *L'Aigle Funéraire* in such countries as Syria, Palestine and Arabia.

Further examples of the basket motif are to be found in the early symbolism of the Christian Eucharist [52] (see fig. 17), in the Byzantine basket capitals,[53] and in the stories of ancient heroes saved in basket-like boats. The story of Sargon who was saved by being placed in a reed basket, the door of which was closed with bitumen, has already been given.[54] With this should be compared the narrative of the saving of the infant Moses who was placed in a small bark of papyrus reeds which had been coated with bitumen and pitch; *Ex.* 2: 3. In the flood narrative of the Gilgamesh Epic the ship constructed by Ûm-napishtim was covered with bitumen within and without (see Clay, *A Hebrew Deluge Story in Cuneiform,* p. 75, lines 66, 67). Cf. Haupt, *Das Babylonische Nimrodepos,* p. 137, line 79, and note 21, for *gi-sa-ma-du-meš* = "reed" + "network" + "ship" + "structure" + "plural." This indicates that reed wickerwork entered into the construction of the ship (see *Johns Hopkins University Circular,* No. 325, p. 661 f.). The ship of Noah is described as תבת עצי-גפר, "an ark of gopher wood," covered within and without with pitch; *Gen.* 6: 14. Some attempt has been made to compare גפר with Assyrian *giparu* (see Gesenius-Buhl[17], p. 146, and *CD* p. 229). The term תבה, *LXX θίβη,* var. *θήβη,* is used to describe the ark into which Moses was placed. Noah's ark is also called תבה, *LXX κιβωτός.* Gruppe, *Griech. Myth.,* p. 1171, note 1, holds that the "heilige Kiste," prominent in the Eleusinian mysteries, originally belonged to the "Kabeirendienst," in which it was

[52] See *Early Symbols of the Eucharist, Cath. Ency.,* Vol. V, p. 590 f.; *Dict. of Christian Antiquities,* Vol. I, pp. 625 ff. Cf. Pfister, *Katacomben Malerei,* Vol. 1 of *Die Kunst des Mittelalters,* published 1924, Potsdam; Max Dvořák, *Kunstgeschichte als Geistesgeschichte,* published 1924, Munich, the first essay of which is devoted to the art of the Catacombs. The following from St. Jerome, *Ep. ad Rusticum,* 95, deserves quotation: *Nihil illo ditius qui corpus Domini in canistro vīmineo et sanguinem portat in vitro.*

[53] Cf. Lethaby, *Mediaeval Art,* p. 40 f., and Lethaby, *Architecture, Home University Library,* p. 140 f. The basket capital shows strong Egyptian influence. See Ebeling, *The Origin of the Corinthian Capital,* in *The Art Bulletin,* Vol. VI, No. 3, p. 75.

[54] See note 7 for the transliteration and translation of the important part of this story.

called θήβη = תבה. This is interesting in view of the fact that Sayce has advanced the theory that the *Kabeiroi,* who came from Asia Minor, originated from the *Ḫabiru* of the Tell el-Amarna Tablets (see *Expository Times,* Vol. XXXIII, No. 1, Oct. 1921, p. 43 f.). For more recent discussions of the *Ḫabiru* see Albright, *JBL,* Vol. XLIII, pp. 390-393, and Dhorme's article in the *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society,* Vol. IV, pp. 162-168. A legend concerning Osiris should not be overlooked. According to Plutarch, *Isis et Osiris,* Osiris was imprisoned in a chest, λάρναξ = *arca,* which was cast upon the Nile, whence it floated out to sea and finally reached Byblos (see Frazer, *The Golden Bough; Adonis, Attis, Osiris,* Vol. II, p. 7 f. Breasted in *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt,* p. 25, states that "there is no trace in the Egyptian sources of Plutarch's story of the chest into which the doomed Osiris was lured by the conspirators and then shut in to die." However, the papyrus boat was prominent in the Osiris cult. The papyrus reed was a symbol of Osiris, and the crown of Osiris was made of papyrus reeds. Byblos, a center of Osiris worship, took its name from βίβλος, var. βύβλος, the term applied to the outer coat of the papyrus reed (cf. *Tod und Auferstehung des Osiris,* in *Der Alte Orient,* Band 23, Heft 3, 1923, pp. 18, 36, 37).

The object of this excursus on the basket has been to lay stress upon the fact that there was an extensive basket symbolism in ancient religious cults. The presence of this symbolism in Graeco-Roman religions has long been known, but it cannot be regarded as indigenous to them. The evidence from seal cylinders and Biblical passages indicates that the basket had cryptic meaning, to some extent at least, among the Babylonians and Hebrews before it became a *cista mystica* in the classical world. Similarly, as has been shown, the eagle attained prominence as a religious symbol among early Semitic peoples and this symbolism, we may suppose, was passed on as a heritage from them to the Greeks and Romans. These facts concerning the existence of basket and eagle symbolism in the ancient Orient should not be overlooked, particularly in the attempt to date such a work of art as the Chalice of Antioch.

III

A short cuneiform text of the reign of Nabopolassar, containing a suggestion of Solomon's method of securing provisions for his palace, deals with the Babylonian word *bîtânu,* which has been equated with בִּיתָן = "palace," found only in *Esther* 1: 5; 7: 7, 8. Before discussing the Nabopolassar passage it will be helpful to consider an Esarhaddon text and two legal records of the reign of Cyrus.

The earliest occurrence of *bîtânu,* in the form *bit-tan-ni,* is in the following

passage from a building inscription of Esarhaddon.[55] *Ina arḫi šêmi ū-mu mit-ga-ri e-li tam-li-e šu-a-tu ekallâti rab-ba-a-ti a-na mu-šab be-lu-ti-ia ab-ta-ni ṣi-ru-us-su bit-tan-ni*[56] *sa 95 1/2 ammâti rabî-tim ariktu 31 1/2 ammâti rabî-tim rapaštu ša ina šarrâni a-lik maḫ-ri*[57] *abê-ia manma la e-pu-šu a-na-ku e-pu-uš,* "In an appropriate month, on a favorable day, I built upon that embankment mighty palaces for the dwelling-place of my lordship. I erected a palace 95 1/2 great cubits long and 31 1/2 great cubits wide, such as among the former kings, my fathers, no one had made."

StrCyr 311 and 312, legal records dated in the eighth year of Cyrus, contain interesting references to *bîtânu.*[58] The latter intimates clearly that *bîtânu* was a term used to describe the palace of the king. This is shown by comparing lines 3 and 4 with line 10. In lines 3 and 4 the court of the king is described in the following manner: *amêlrubêmeš šarri ù amêldaianêmeš ša mKu-ra-aš šar Bâbilki šar mâtâti,* "the princes of the king and the judges of Cyrus, king of Babylon, king of countries." In line 10 the same officials are referred to as follows: *amêlrubêmeš u daianêmeš*[59] *ša eli bît-a-ni,* "the princes and judges who are over (in charge of) the palace."

In lines 2, 6 and 7 of the same text, *StrCyr* 312, occurs the expression *amêlu ša eli bît-a-ni,* "the man who is in charge of the palace." Further evidence of the prominence of this official is indicated in *StrCyr* 311: 1-14, a record providing for the attestation of the marriage contract between Nabû-aḫê-bulliṭ and Dubuttum. Two men, one as a witness of the document and the other the writer of the document, became surety for the testimony of Mushêzib-Bêl, the slave of the man in charge of the palace. A full quotation of this text will not be out of place. (1) *Pu-ut mu-kin-nu-ú-tu ša mMu-še-zib-*

[55] *KB* II, p. 136, Col. V, lines 27-35, of the *Inscription of Prism A. and C.* Cf. Budge, *The History of Esarhaddon,* p. 81 f.

[56] Some read *bîtu dan-ni,* but *HWB* p. 172 and *CD* p. 206 read *bit-tan-ni* and connect with *bîtânu.* There is evidently some distinction between *ekallâti rab-ba-a-ti* and *bit-tan-ni.* The distinction can be illustrated by several terms used in the book of Esther. The personal palace of the king is called בית המלך, "the house of the king;" *Esth.* 2: 8. The central enclosed group of royal buildings, with court and garden, is called בירן = *bîtânu; Esth.* 1: 5; 7: 7, 8. Around the בירן was a fortified part of the city called שושן הבירה, "Shushan the fortress;" *Esth.* 1: 2, 5, etc. בירה = Assyrian *birtu* = "fortress." It is possible that part of the population of Shushan had dwellings outside the wall of the fortified section. The city as a whole is called שושן העיר, "the city of Shushan;" *Esth.* 3: 15; 8: 15. In the Esarhaddon text the *ekallâti rabbâti* may be regarded as the individual palatial structures of the *bîtânu* (*bit-tan-ni*), or royal enclosure.

[57] *A-lik maḫ-ri* has been translated "before me," but the 1st per. pronominal suffix *ia* is not present, and hence "former" seems a better translation.

[58] Both texts were written in Babylon.

[59] The usual determinative *amêl* is omitted before *daianê.*

^{d}Bêl (2) *^{amêl}qal-la ša amêlu ša eli bît-a-nu ša ina na-aš-pir-tum* (3) *ša amêlu ša eli bît-a-nu il-li-ku-ma iq-bu-ú um-ma* (4) *um-ma* [60] *amêlu ša eli bît-a-nu il-tap-ra-an-ni um-ma* (5) *duppu ša 'Du-bu-ut-tum ku-nu-uk-ma* [61] *a-na* (6) *aššatu-ú-tu a-na ^{md}Nabû-aḫêmeš -bul-liṭ apil-šu ša ^{m}Nar-gi-ia* (7) *i-din ^{md}Nabû-êṭir apil-šu ša ^{m}Ardi-^{d}Bêl apil ^{m}Ar-rab-tum* (8) *^{amêl}mu-kin-nu duppi ù ^{m}Ri-mut-^{d}Nabû mâri-šu* (9) *DUP-ŠAR ša-ṭir duppi na-šú-ú ina bît-a-nu* (10) *ú-kan-nu-ma a-na ^{m}Nar-gi-ia apil-šu ša* (11) *^{m}Ḫa-nu-nu i-nam-din-nu-' ki-i la i-nam-din-nu-'* (12) *1/2 bilat kaspi mi-ḫir-tum* (13) *ša duppi ^{m}Nar-gi-ia šak-na-tum . . . . . .* (14) *ú-šal-lam-'*. In the following translation the Babylonian order has been altered somewhat so as to produce better English: "Nabû-êṭir, the son of Ardi-Bêl, son of Arrabtum, a witness of the document, and Rîmût-Nabû, his son, the scribe who wrote the document, bear the responsibility of the testimony of Mushêzib-Bêl, the slave of the man who is in charge of the palace, who at the command of the man who is in charge of the palace went and said as follows: 'The man who is in charge of the palace sent me with the following message: *"Seal the document of Dubuttum and give (her) in marriage to Nabû-aḫê-bulliṭ, the son of Nargîa."*' In the palace they shall establish the testimony and give (it) to Nargîa, the son of Ḫanunu. If they do not give (it), they shall pay the one-half talent of silver which is fixed as the charge against the document of Nargîa . . ." (see *KB* IV, pp. 280-283).

With the meaning of *bîtânu* well-determined, we may turn to *AENP* 64, an itemized receipt for animals, dated in the seventh year of Nabopolassar. Lines 14-16 are of special interest, as the following transliteration and translation indicate. *Napḫâru 130 laḫrâti immerê^{zun} ir-bi ša ^{md}Nabû-ina-ka-si-ia amêlu ša eli bi-ta-a-nu ša ^{md}Nabû-apal-uṣur šar Bâbili^{ki}*, "Total, one hundred and thirty ewes, the income of Nabû-ina-kasîa, the man who is in charge of the palace of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon." The evident import of this statement is that Nabû-ina-kasîa was entrusted with the affairs of the palace of Nabopolassar and that he received sheep as food for the king's court.[62]

IV

In lines 5, 8 and 12 of *AENP* 120, a contract tablet of the second year of Cambyses written at Erech, a new Babylonian word, *šuṣbuttum*, occurs. The document provides that eighty sheep, belonging to the temple in Erech, which had been entrusted at the command of Gobryas to Zêrîa by Nabû-aḫ-iddin for

[60] Dittography.

[61] Strassmaier's transcription is *ku-zir-raš-ma*. Schrader indicates that *zir-raš* should be read *nu-uk* (see *KB* IV, p. 282, note 1).

[62] Cf. *ba-a-a-ta-nu*; *AENP* 371: 10. The tablet records a total of 16,278 sheep as the calculation of the impost with the shepherd of the sacrificial animals.

the *šuṣbuttum* of the king, shall be returned to the temple officials on a certain day for the *bît šuṣbuttum* of the king, extreme guilt to result in case of default. The document is of sufficient importance to be quoted in full.

(1) *80 immerê rabâti*^{meš} *makkur* ^{d}*Innina Uruk*^{ki} *u* ^{d}*Na-na-a* (2) *ša* ^{md}*Nabû-aḫ-iddin* ^{amêl}*šaqû šarri* ^{amêl}*bêl pi-qit-tum Ê-an-na* (3) *i-na ši-pir-tum ša* ^{m}*Gu-ba-ru* ^{amêl}*bêl paḫât Bâbili*^{ki} (4) *ù* ^{mât}*E-bir nâri ul-tu bît ú-ru-ú ša* ^{d}*Innina Uruk*^{ki} *i-bu-ku-ma* (5) *a-na šú-uṣ-bu-ut-tum ša šarri a-na* ^{m}*Zi-ri-ia* (6) *mâri-šu ša* ^{md}*Na-na-a-êreš ip-qi-du ûmu 17*^{kam} ^{araḫ}*Araḫsamnu* (7) *šattu 2*^{kam} ^{m}*Ka-am-bu-zi-ia šar Bâbili*^{ki} *šar mâtâti* (8) *ib-bak-(kam)-ma ina* ^{iti}*A-ma-nu a-na šú-uṣ-bu-ut-tum ša šarri* (9) *a-na* ^{md}*Nabû-mukîn-aplu* ^{amêl}*šatammu Ê-an-na ù* ^{md}*Nabû-aḫ-iddin* (10) ^{amêl}*šaqû šarri* ^{amêl}*bêl pi-qit-tum Ê-an-na i-nam-din* (11) *ki-i i-na a-dan-ni-šu* ^{m}*Zêri-ia immera-ám* (12) *80 a-na bît šú-uṣ-bu-ut-tum ša šarri* (13) *la i-tab-ku-ma a-na* ^{md}*Nabû-mukîn-aplu ù* (14) ^{md}*Nabû-aḫ-iddin la id-dan-na ḫi-ṭu ša* ^{m}*Gu-ba-ru* (15) ^{amêl}*paḫât Bâbili*^{ki} *ù* ^{mât}*E-bir nâri i-šad-dad.*

"(With reference to) the eighty large sheep, the property of Innina of Erech and Nanâ,[63] which Nabû-aḫ-iddin, the chief officer of the king, the chief overeser of Êanna, at the command of Gobryas,[64] the governor of Babylon and the Land beyond the River,[65] brought from the stable of Innina of Erech and entrusted to Zêrîa, the son of Nanâ-êresh, for the *šuṣbuttum* of the king, on the seventeenth day of Marchesvan, the second year of Cambyses, king of Babylon, king of countries, he (i. e., Zêrîa) shall bring (them) and in the city of Amanu shall give (them) for the *šuṣbuttum* of the king to Nabû-mukîn-aplu, the guardian of Êanna, and Nabû-aḫ-iddin, the chief officer of the king, the chief overseer of Êanna. If at the proper time Zêrîa does not bring the eighty sheep for the *bît šuṣbuttum* of the king and does not give (them) to Nabû-mukîn-aplu and Nabû-aḫ-iddin, he will commit a sin against Gobryas, the governor of Babylon and the Land beyond the River."

If the transliteration *šú-uṣ-bu-ut-tum* is correct, the word is a causative form from *ṣabâtu*, "take," "receive." With this derivation *šuṣbuttum*, or *bît šuṣbuttum* as it occurs in line 12, could be translated "receiving depot," or "supply depot."[66]

[63] Innina and Nanâ were appellations applied to the goddess Ishtar in Erech.

[64] For an exhaustive study of Gobryas see Schwenzner, *Gobryas*, in *Klio*, Vol. 18, pp. 41-58; 226-252.

[65] ^{mât}*E-bir nâri* = עבר הנהר. See discussion by Langdon in *Expository Times*, Vol. XXX, No. 10, July 1919, pp. 461-463. Cf. references in Gesenius-Buhl[17], p. 560. It is interesting that this geographical designation occurs in I *Kings* 5: 4, according to the Hebrew verse notation, as a part of the record dealing with Solomon's method of securing provisions.

[66] The form *šuṣbuttum*, from *ṣabâtu*, is paralleled by *šulputtu*, from *lapâtu*. The formation of the noun indicates a final *t*, *d* or *n*, or a final weak consonant in the root.

The reference to ^{āl}*A-ma-nu*, "the city of Amanu," in line 8 is interesting. It is natural to attempt to connect "the city of Amanu" with the region of Mt. Amanus. The usual Assyrian designation for Mt. Amanus is *Ḫa-ma-nu*,[67] with the determinative *šad* prefixed, but *A-ma-nu* is a possible variation.[68] Cambyses, whose reign began in 529 B. C., made early preparations for his campaign against Egypt. This materialized in 525 B. C. and it is not too much to believe that the text under discussion deals with a levy of sheep for the military rendezvous and supply camp of Cambyses in the district of Mt. Amanus.[69]

This supposition is strengthened by the statement of Herodotus, I, 188, that Cyrus, the father of Cambyses, always proceeded on his marches "well provided with food and flocks from home," (*σιτίοισι εὖ ἐσκευασμένος ἐξ οἴκου καὶ προβάτοισι*). That Babylonia contributed not a little in the way of food supplies to the Persian court and camp is indicated in the following description of the provisioning system of Cyrus furnished by Herodotus, I, 192: *βασιλέι τῷ μεγάλῳ ἐς τροφὴν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῆς στρατιῆς διαραίρηται, πάρεξ τοῦ φόρου, γῆ πᾶσα ὅσης ἄρχει· δυώδεκα ὧν μηνῶν ἐόντων ἐς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τοὺς τέσσερας μῆνας τρέφει μιν ἡ Βαβυλωνίη χώρη, τοὺς δὲ ὀκτὼ τῶν μηνῶν ἡ λοιπὴ πᾶσα Ἀσίη. οὕτω τριτημορίη ἡ Ἀσσυρίη χώρη τῇ δυνάμι τῆς ἄλλης Ἀσίης.* This statement shows that the Persian Empire was divided into districts in

This rules out derivation from *ezēbu*, "save" (in the causative stem), *asâpu*, "gather," and *eṣēpu*, "gather." The context does not warrant derivation from *sapâdu*, "mourn," *sapânu*, "cover," or *ṣapânu*, "set." The meaning of Hebrew זבר, "give," is more suitable. Of the verbs tertiae infirmae *sapû* (*sipû*), "pray," and *zabû* = זבח, "sacrifice," should be noted as possibilities. Assyrian *ṣâbu*, "man," "soldier," comes from the hypothetical root *ṣabû* =צבא, which in the Hiphil means "muster." See II *Kings* 25: 19; *Jer.* 52: 25. It is possible that *šuṣbuttum* comes from this root. If so, it would mean "mustering," and *bît šuṣbuttum* would mean "place of mustering," i. e., "concentration camp."

[67] See Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 101, 103.

[68] In Gudea's inscription describing the rebuilding of Eninnû, the temple of Ningirsu at Lagash, it is stated that cedar was brought "from Amanus, the mountain of cedar," *àm-a-num ḫar-sag erin-ta*. Cf. Thureau-Dangin, *Sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften*, p. 68, section 5, line 28. See *KAT*[3] p. 481, for *Ammurabi* as a variant of *Ḫammurabi*, and p. 485 for *Umba* as a variant of *Ḫumba*.

[69] Cambyses was unable to proceed against the Egyptians until he had succeeded in allying with himself the naval forces of the Phoenicians, Ionians and Cyprians. It is conceivable that he negotiated these alliances while concentrating his forces in the Amanus region. Cf. Prášek, *Geschichte der Meder und Perser*, p. 251 f., where it is stated that Cambyses concentrated his army in Syria. It should be noted that lines 8-10 of the text under consideration intimate that Nabû-mukîn-aplu, the guardian of Ḫanna, and Nabû-aḫ-iddin, the chief officer of the king, the chief overseer of Ḫanna, were in the city of Amanu. It is apparent that these men, as officials of the temple in Erech, performed certain duties for the king and that these duties made it necessary for them to be where the king had his court and army.

order to facilitate the securing of provisions for the Persian king and his army. Babylonia (var. Assyria) furnished food during four out of the twelve months of the year, which caused Herodotus to observe that its resources were one-third those of all Asia. These quotations from Herodotus afford interesting parallels to Solomon's method of securing supplies and throw considerable light upon the cuneiform passages which have been discussed.

V

Certain conclusions can be drawn from the foregoing data. They may be summarized as follows:

1. Neo-Babylonian and Persian kings, like Solomon, had a well-regulated system for the gathering of supplies.
2. Baskets were placed in Babylonian cities for the collection of various kinds of royal revenue.
3. The baskets were filled with portions of sacrificial animals, money gathered as toll, and possibly grain.
4. Persons of high official standing were placed in charge of these baskets and held accountable for them.
5. There is some intimation that certain persons were responsible for definite months of the year, as was the case with Solomon's overseers.[70]

[70] Dr. E. A. Speiser, of the University of Pennsylvania, has called the writer's attention to the fact that there are Sumerian parallels to the allotment of official responsibility to different persons for different months of the year. A good illustration is Text 15 in Chiera's *Legal and Administrative Documents from Nippur*, Vol. VIII, No. 1, *University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum, Publications of the Babylonian Section*. Chiera entitles the document "Purchase of a Temple-Office," transliterating and translating as follows (see *ibid.* p. 40 f.): (1) *nam šutug* ^{d}*nin-gir-gi-luk*^{i} (2) ^{d}*nin-*[*dŭ ù* ^{d}*pa*]*-BIL-sag* (3) *mu-a* [*itu-I-a-šù*] (4) *ù nam b*[*ur-šu-ma a-na-me-a-bi?*] (5) *ša ḫa-la-ba lu*[*gal-me-lam*] (6) *ki lugal-me-lam du*[*mu a-li-ia-ta*] (7) *mlù-*^{d}*nin-IB* [*šu-tug? d nin*]*-IB* (8) *dumu é-lù-ti*[*-ge*] (9) *in-ši-in-šé* (10) *šam-til-la-bi-šù* (11) *VII gìn kù-babbar* (12) *in-*(*na*)*-an-lá* (*l*) (13) *ù-kúr-šù lugal-me-lam*] (14) [*nam-šutug* ^{d}*nin-gir-gi-luk*^{i}] (15) ^{d}*nin-dŭ ù* ^{d}*pa*[*-BIL-sag-šù*] (16) *mu-a itu-I-a-šù* (17) *lù-* ^{d}*nin-IB-ra* (18) *KA-nu-um-mà-mà-a* (19) *mu lugal-bi in-pá;* "The office of the anointing-priest of the gods Nin-Girgilu, Nin-du and Pabilsag, for one month every year, and the office(s) of the *purshumu* (all of them) which are from the inherited property of Lugal-melam, from Lugal-melam, son of Alia, Lu-Ninib (anointing-priest of Ninib?) and son of Eluti, has bought. For their whole price he has paid seven shekels of silver. In the future Lugal-melam, for one month every year, shall make no claim against Lu-Ninib for the office of the anointing-priest of the gods Nin-Girgilu, Nin-du and Pabilsag. He has sworn by the king." See also Nos. 7, 36, 37 and 39 of Poebel's *Babylonian Legal and Business Documents from the Time of the First Dynasty of Babylon*, Series A, Vol. VI, Part 2, of *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*. Nos. 37 and 39, transliterated and translated *ibid.* pp. 15-17, refer to the office of temple "house superintendent" for certain months of the year, No. 39 also referring to the *riqqu* official, translated "caterer" by Poebel.

6. The baskets, filled with supplies, were taken to Babylon under a heavy guard to insure their delivery to the king.

7. It is likely that the baskets were afterwards returned to Babylonian cities for further contributions.

8. The flocks of pasture lands were levied to procure supplies for the palace and camp of the king.

9. This gathering of royal revenue was attended to as a part of the routine of Babylonian temples.

10. It may be that some religious significance was attached to the baskets which conveyed the offerings of Babylonians to their king.

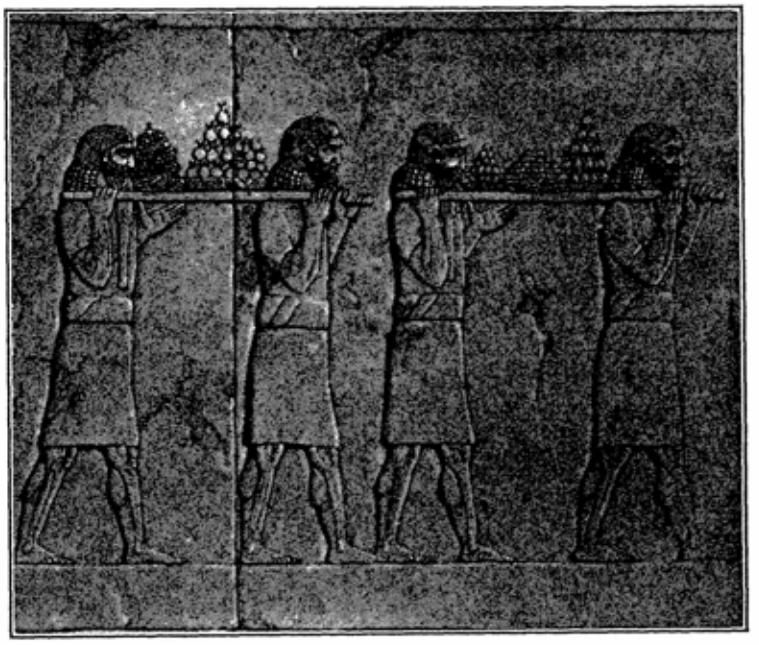


Fig. 1. Assyrians carrying Tray-like Baskets containing Offerings

Reproduced from Paterson's *Assyrian Sculptures, Palace of Sinacherib*, Plate 88. It may be that the *quppu* and *sellu* were transported to the king in Babylon in this fashion, or as in Fig. 2.

Fig. 2. Assyrian Soldiers carrying Baskets

Reproduced from Paterson's *Assyrian Sculptures, Palace of Sinacherib*, Plate 34-35.

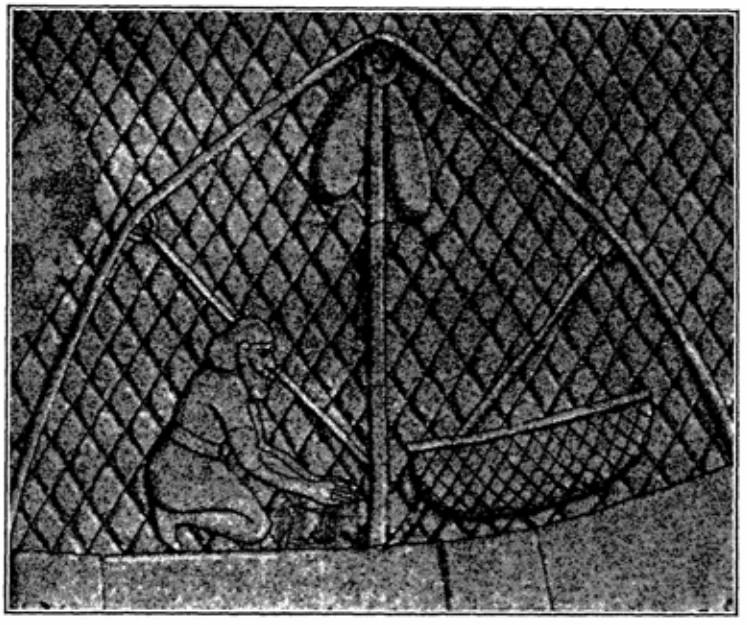


Fig. 3. Basket in Assyrian Tent

Reproduced from Paterson's *Assyrian Sculptures, Palace of Sinacherib*, Plate 85.

Fig. 4. Ur-Ninā (c. 3000 B. C.) carrying a Basket

One of the figures on an ancient votive stone commemorating the building of the temple of Ningirsu in Lagash. Reproduced from Jastrow's *Bildermappe zur Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, Fig. 74.

Fig. 5. Early Seal Cylinder

Offerings in baskets are borne by two attendants to the deity in the center of the scene. Reproduced from Ward's *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, Fig. 437.

Fig. 6. Ancient Seal Cylinder

The seated figure is the goddess Bau or Gula. A male worshipper carries a goat and pours a libation upon the altar. The two female worshippers bring offerings, one of them carrying a basket shaped like the altar. Reproduced from Ward's *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, Fig. 215.

4558

Fig. 7. Figure of a Sumerian Priestess carrying a Basket

Reproduced from Jeremias' *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur*, Abb. 191.

Fig. 8. King Ashurbanipal carrying a Basket

This Assyrian monument commemorates Ashurbanipal's part in the building of the temples Ēsagila and Ēkarsagina at Babylon. Reproduced from Jastrow's *Bildermappe zur Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, Fig. 76.

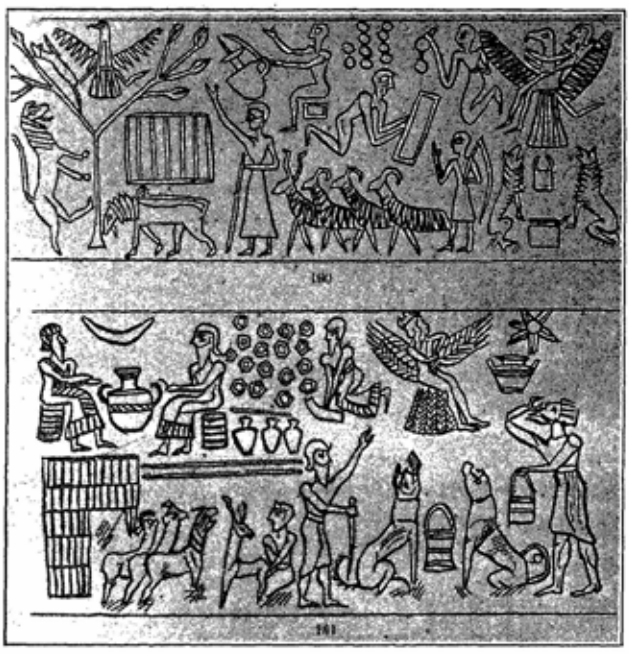


Fig. 9. Etana Seal Cylinders

Representing Etana rising towards heaven upon an eagle. The baskets are especially prominent in the lower scene. Reproduced from Jastrow's *Bildermappe zur Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, Figs. 160 and 161.

Fig. 10. Syro-Hittite Seal Cylinder

The duplicate figures are of Gilgamesh. Of special interest is the bird-headed and winged figure carrying a basket in one hand and a branch in the other. Reproduced from Ward's *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, Fig. 832.

Fig. 11. Winged Eagle-headed Figure carrying a Basket

Reproduced from Jastrow's *Bildermappe zur Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, Fig. 60. Jastrow's description is as follows: "Götterartige Mischgestalt mit der gepflückten Frucht des Lebensbaumes in der rechten und dem mit der Lebensbaumszene geschmückten Korb in der linken Hand."

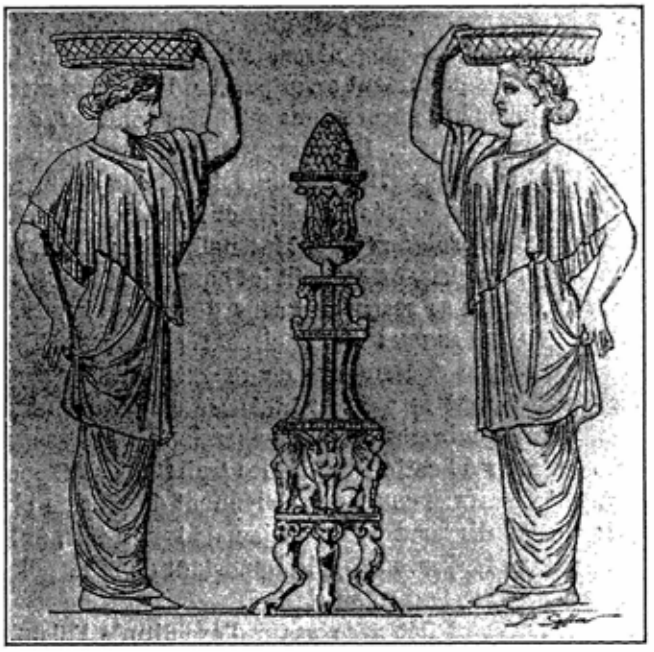


Fig. 12. Greek Basket Bearers

Reproduced from *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, Vol. 2, page 877.

Fig. 13. Syrian Sepulchral Monument

A clear example of basket and eagle symbolism. Reproduced from Cumont's *Études Syriennes*, Fig. 24.

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Fig. 14. Portion of the Great Chalice of Antioch

Showing the eagle and basket design. Reproduced by special permission of Kouchakji Frères.

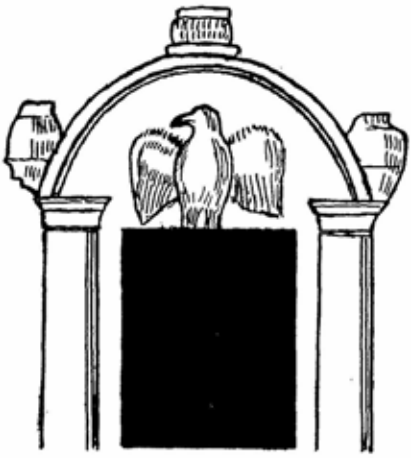


Fig. 15. Entrance to Nabatean Tomb at Medâin Sâlih

Reproduced from Doughty's *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Plate I, facing page 107.

Fig. 16. Eagle Decoration in Niche at Petra

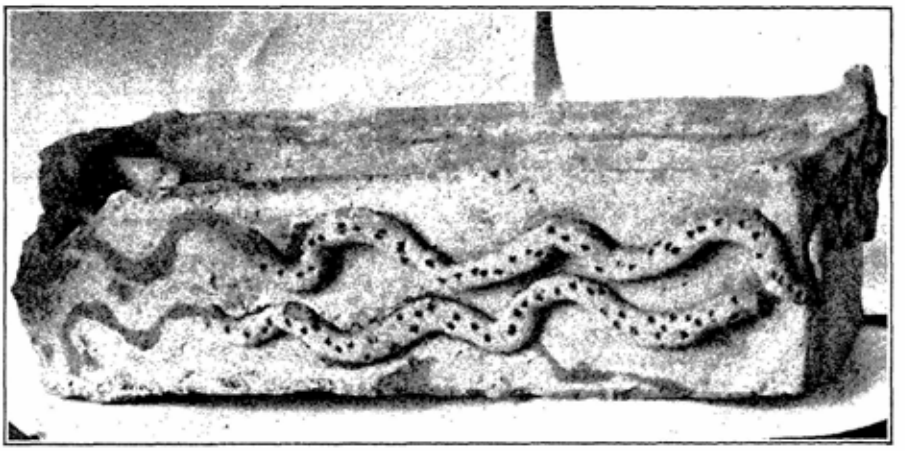
Reproduced from Dalman, *Petra und seine Felsheiligtümer*, p. 117.

Fig. 17. Early Christian Eucharistic Symbolism

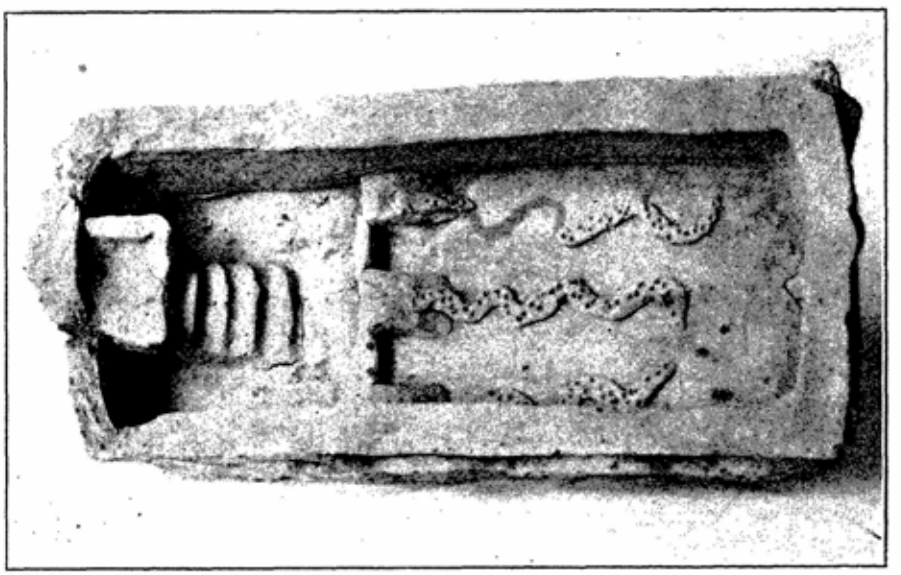
A painting in the Crypt of Lucina, Catacomb of St. Callistus. Reproduced from *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. V, page 592.

Fig. 18. Libation vase of Gudea (B. C. 2500)

From DeSarzec, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, Plate 44. A, front; B, profile; C, back view.



A



B

Fig. 19. Unknown object (model for triple tomb?) in Yale Babylonian Museum

Dimensions: 13½ in. length x 6¾ in. width. A, side view; B, interior. Published by permission of A. T. Clay.

Fig. 20. Oriental eagles. Drawings by R. H. Bainton, Yale Divinity School

No. 1: Design of Relief on soffit of portal, temple of Aphrodite, Baalbek. From Wiegand, *Baalbek*, Vol. II, Plate 66-67. No. 2: From a coin of Apameia. No. 3: From Antioch Chalice. No. 4: From coin of Acmoneia. No. 5: From Pompeian wall-painting (Roux). No. 6: Device on shield of Geryon in combat with Herakles, amphora of 550-500 B. C. From Foster, *Some Feudal Coats of Arms*, p. xiv. No. 7: Relief on soffit of portal, temple of Dionysus, Baalbek. From Dawkins and Wood, *Palmyra and Balbec*, Vol. II, Plate XXXIV.

A B

Fig. 21. The *Balanion* (Baal-image) of Heliopolis-Baalbek

From *Syria*, Vol. I (1920). Plates I and IV of the article "Jupiter Heliopolitain" by R. Dussaud. A and B show respectively front and back of a bronze found at Baalbek, now in the collection of Charles Sursock. It is a replica, some 15 inches high, of the famous local idol, representing the Syrian deity Hadad, the *calathos* on his head, a whip (to guide the coursers of the sun) in his right, stalks of wheat in his left hand. The statue follows the conventional type of the *xoanon*.

BAHURIM

By Edwin E. Voigt

Yale University

The most important data for determining the site of Bahurim are found in connection with the narrative of Absalom's attempt to usurp his father's throne.[1] It appears that when Absalom proclaimed himself king in Hebron, the news was forwarded to David, who thereupon fled from Jerusalem to the Jordan with a band of loyal adherents. His route was across the Kidron, up the Mount of Olives, and past a place where it was customary to offer sacrifice to Yahweh. Some distance beyond he came to, or passed along beside the town of Bahurim, out of which came a certain Shimei, a clansman of the house of Saul, who keeping on the hillside above king David and his party, went along cursing and throwing down stones.

From this account certain facts seem to be clear: 1) that David did not flee eastward over the present Jericho road, for had he followed the modern road he would not have had to climb the Mount of Olives as the narrative states, and as a result his route must be sought on a road north of what is now the road to Jericho; 2) that the road passed along the side of a hill, for Shimei threw down stones, an act which made one of David's followers say, "Let me go up, I pray thee, and take off his head"[2]; and 3) that the village in which Shimei lived was evidently not a great distance from the Mount of Olives.

Further evidence that it was in the immediate neighborhood of the Mount of Olives is found later in the narrative, when the adventures of David's spies, Jonathan and Ahimaaz, are described. They hid in the well En-rogel in order to carry out their espionage, but upon being discovered were forced to flee. They apparently fled over the same route David had taken, for when they came to Bahurim they observed that they were followed, and turning aside into the village they secreted themselves in a well in the courtyard of one of the men of Bahurim. Absalom's men came to this very courtyard and asked the woman what had become of the spies. Now, it seems strange that the pursuers should have come with such directness to the exact courtyard in which the two youths were hid. However, as Kasteren points out,[3] from the Mount of Olives one had an excellent view of the neighborhood to the east, so that probably the young men turned into Bahurim after seeing their pursuers on the Mount of Olives, while the latter, from their height, were able to look down into Bahurim and note where the young men had

[1] II *Samuel*, chapters 15-17.

[2] *Ibid.* 16: 9.

[3] *ZDPV*, 1890, p. 102.

taken refuge. Such an interpretation, rather than doing violence to the narrative, really makes it more intelligible, and under such circumstances one should expect to find the village within a fairly clear range of vision of the Mount of Olives.

Evidence of a different kind appears in the account dealing with Michal's return to David at Hebron.[4] David, after gaining the throne, made it one of the conditions of peace with Ishbosheth that Michal, whom Saul had given to Phaltiel of Gallim, should be returned to him. The duty of conducting her from her home, which was no doubt in Gallim since her husband is called Phaltiel of Gallim,[5] fell upon Abner, who allowed Phaltiel to accompany them as far as Bahurim on the journey to David at Hebron. Bahurim, therefore, is on the road that leads from Gallim to Hebron. Dalman's identification of Gallim with Ḫirbet Ka'kûl [6] is unquestionably correct, since it is a fine site, covered with Early Israelite potsherds and well situated, a short distance west of 'Anâtā and east of Saul's home at Gibeah. Gallim, then, lay sufficiently to the east of Jerusalem for this road to pass to the east of the Mount of Olives. Consequently, it would seem that Bahurim could easily be located, as having been on, or near, the point where this road intersects the road to Jericho. However, the difficulty comes from the fact that the road from the north is by no means certain, for the country northeast of Jerusalem is broken, and the exact pass is difficult to ascertain. Still, an ancient road must have run somewhere through this region, because in modern times the *fellāḥîn* have made several paths over which they travel in a north-south direction east of the Mount of Olives. It is very likely, also, that Abner's route with Michal was east of the Mount of Olives, for at this time Jerusalem was still controlled by the Jebusites. The friendship of these for David, who later captured their fortress, must have been very uncertain, and Abner may have purposely chosen the eastern route, rather than the one leading along beneath the Jebusite stronghold.

The evidence in the Samuel narratives seems to show, then, that Bahurim was just east of the Mount of Olives, and that it was located somewhere near the intersection of two roads, the one leading to the Jordan, and the other from Gallim southward.

Now, it has been this uncertainty concerning roads, that has been one of the greatest difficulties in the way of those who have attempted to locate Bahurim in the past. Schubert placed it at Abū Dîs.[7] But it is quite apparent that either he misread his sources and placed David's flight over the present Jericho road; or else he did not know of the existence of an

[4] II *Sam.* 3: 16.
[5] Cf. I *Sam.* 25: 44; II *Sam.* 3: 16.
[6] Dalman, *PJB*, 1916, p. 53.
[7] Schubert, *Reise*, vol. 3, p. 90.

ancient road which leads to Jericho over a more northerly route than the present one. The Palestine Exploration Fund Survey[8] locates a Roman road running in a northeasterly direction from the Mount of Olives past Ḫirbet Buqei' Ḍân down the Wâdī Rawâbī; at Qaṣr 'Alī it turns eastward, the south road joining it a short distance beyond 'Arâq Ibrāhîm; and thence in an easterly and northeasterly direction it skirts the Wâdī Qelt and comes to Jericho. Further Pater Mader, in 1911, while passing along this route and coming to a point in the road below Râs ez-Zyânbeh, found seven large fragments of stone, which he judged to belong to Roman milestones, perhaps three or four in number.[9] The fact that Roman milestones were located on this route testifies to its having been used in Roman times, which in turn is good evidence that it was an older route, for the Romans generally employed the roads already in use. Also, this road is the most direct to Jericho, a route which David would be most likely to take in his haste. Consequently, Abū Dîs, which is over a mile south of it and separated by two rows of hills, cannot possibly have been Bahurim.

Again, Clermont-Ganneau in a brief reference attempted to place Bahurim on an eminence which he calls Aheil't Fakhoury,[10] but which the people of Eṭ-Ṭûr, the modern village on the Mount of Olives, seem no longer to know. He states that it is in the region enclosed by the Mount of Olives, Siloam, Bethany and Abū Dîs. It is probably the place shown on the map as Râs el Akûba,[11] which lies westnorthwest of Abū Dîs. However, the same reasons that would lead one to reject Abū Dîs would suffice for rejection of this identification also.

Furthermore, Rabbi Schwartz on the authority of the Targum Jonathan, II *Samuel* 16: 5, identifies Bahurim with Almon, modern 'Almît.[12] Stenning[13] accepts this identification, as do also Marti and Schick,[14] who make an elaborate itinerary for David past 'Anâtā and 'Almît, and thence down the Wâdī Fârah. Kasteren has shown the impossibility of this identification by pointing out that no one hurrying to the Jordan would take such a circuitous route, that the natural road does not go by the way of the Wâdī Fârah, and finally that it would be incomprehensible why Abner, in conducting Michal to Hebron, should pass through 'Almît, northeast of Gallim, when his direction should be southerly.[15]

[8] P. E. F. Maps—Sheets XVII and XVIII.
[9] Mader, Article in *ZDPV*, vol. XXXVII, note p. 34.
[10] Clermont-Ganneau, *PEFQ*, 1871, pp. 106 f.
[11] Cf. P. E. F. Maps, Sheet XVII. This is Râs el-'Aqûbah.
[12] Rabbi Schwartz, *Das Heilige Land*, pp. 98 f.
[13] J. F. Stenning, in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*.
[14] Marti-Schick, *ZDPV* III, 8 ff. [15] Kasteren, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

Finally, Kasteren himself seeks to locate Bahurim at Bîr ez-Znâqeh, which is on the saddle connecting Ḍahret el-Izwâr with the range to the east.[16] His grounds for so doing are practically the same as those pointed out at the beginning of this paper—that David must have passed over the ancient road leading northeast from the Mount of Olives, that the place should be within view of this hill, and that it is approximately where one would look for the road going southward from Gallim. Cheyne accepts this identification,[17] while Linder, apparently on the oral authority of Dalman, places it on Râs ez-Zyânbeh, or in the vicinity.[18] For practically the same reasons Barclay says that it was at Ḫirbet Buqei' Ḍân.[19]

Kasteren's argument that the village should be within sight of the Mount of Olives is weakened by the fact that Bîr ez-Znâqeh, lying on the saddle to the east of Ḍahret el-Izwar, is invisible from Olivet. Râs en-Zyânbeh is clearly visible, but the distance is more than a mile, and consequently one would have some difficulty in seeing what was taking place there. Ḫirbet Buqei' Ḍân would be better situated, perhaps, in this respect. However, this matter has not as much weight as the fact that there are no remains on any of these places indicating that they might be Israelite villages. At Bîr ez-Znâqeh and Râs ez-Zyânbeh a few pieces of broken pottery of an early date are lying around, but not enough to warrant the location of a settlement here; while at Ḫirbet Buqei' Ḍân there are no potsherds earlier than the Seleucid period.

Now, on the southwest slope of a hill, Râs et-Tmîm, located westward of Ḫirbet Buqei' Ḍân and northeast of the Mount of Olives, there is a site which is covered with remains of much greater antiquity. The hillside is strewn with fragments of pottery belonging to Early Israelite, Seleucid, and Roman times, so that a town must have stood there from the beginning of Israelite history; while in the hillside are three rock cuttings,[20] one that was last used as a columbarium, and the other two large-size cisterns that were last put into order in the Roman period, as shown by the very hard Roman cement still clinging to their walls. The columbarium has the appearance of a converted tomb; the cisterns might once have been tombs, later con-

[16] Kasteren, *loc. cit.*

[17] T. K. Cheyne, in *Encyclopaedia Biblica.*

[18] Linder, *Sauls Gibea*, p. 34.

[19] Barclay, in *Smith's Dictionary of the Bible.*

[20] Sections of the cisterns appear in figures I and II; the columbarium is 300 cm. deep, 170 cm. wide, and 150 cm. high above the debris, and has a slightly vaulted ceiling. The niches in the rock are very badly broken, testifying to its age; in the rear their number is five across and four above the debris, on the sides they are arranged in two groups, the back groups on both sides having six across and four above the debris, and the front groups having four across while the number of the vertical niches is unknown.

verted and enlarged, or they more probably were the source of water for the town in earlier times. These ancient remains lend a plausibility to Râs et-Tmîm that the other sites do not have.

At the same time Râs et-Tmîm satisfies as well, or better, the other conditions for Bahurim. It would be much more clearly within view of the pursuers than the sites proposed farther to the east, for as soon as they had passed around the shoulder of the hill on which the present Government House [21] stands, the village would be in full view a few hundred yards away. As regards the road coming down from the north, it has already been pointed out that its exact location cannot be determined. It might have been as far eastward as Ḫirbet Buqei' Ḍân or Bîr ez-Znâqeh and Râz ez-Zyânbeh; but the *fellāḥîn* at the present time use a path which runs directly under Râs et-Tmîm when they pass from El-'Îsāwîyeh to El-'Âzirîyeh and the country to the south of it. El-'Isāwîyeh, again, is connected with the district further north, in which Ḫirbet Ka'kûl lies, so that in ancient times a path somewhere near the present one would very probably have been used. Moreover, although this site does not lie on the Roman road to Jericho, it is within a short distance of it, and provides an excellent setting for the remark in Josephus that when the spies saw that they were pursued they "left the road" and went into Bahurim.[22] And finally, it admirably fits the conditions relating to the story of Shimei's following along the hillside and throwing down stones upon David. For to the east of Râs et-Tmîm is a hill of about the same size, Šeiḫ 'Anbar. The road passes close to the south foot of this hill, so that Shimei, seeing the fugitive king coming down from the Mount of Olives, could have left his village, and for some distance could have followed on the side of Šeiḫ 'Anbar, remaining above the king's party and hurling down curses and stones as the narrative states.

This site on the southwestern slope of Râs et-Tmîm satisfies all the literary sources, and in addition has early remains unmistakably showing that it was a site occupied in the Early Israelite period. In this last respect, especially, it has a great advantage over the other identifications that have been suggested to the northeast of the Mount of Olives. It is probable, therefore, that Bahurim once stood on the southwest slope of the modern hill Râs et-Tmîm.

[The identification of Bethany with *'Ananyah* proposed by Director W. F. Albright in Vol. IV, p. 158 ff. makes it worth while to consider whether the anecdote of the weeping husband of Michal driven back to Gallim by Abner from Bahurim (II Sam. 3: 16) may not embody a play upon the name. According to E. Nestle in *ZNW* VII (1906), p. 185 Βηθανία = בֵּית עֲנִיָּה = House of one who bewails himself (das Haus einer sich Plagenden).—Editor.]

[21] The former Augusta Viktoria Stiftung of the German Evangelical Church.

[22] Josephus, *Antiquities*, VII: 9: 7.

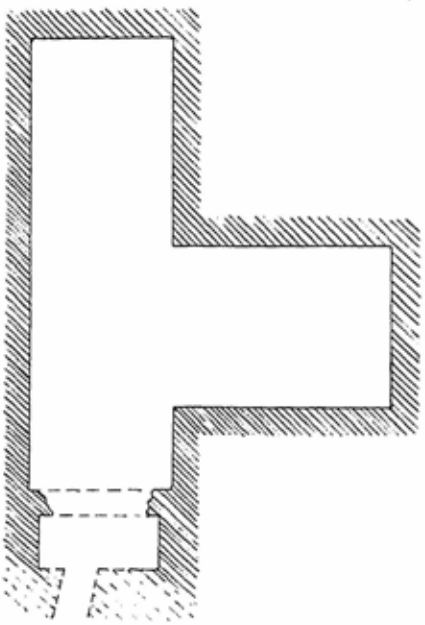


Fig. I

Scale: 1 m. = 1 mm.
Plan of one of the cisterns in Râs et-Tmîm

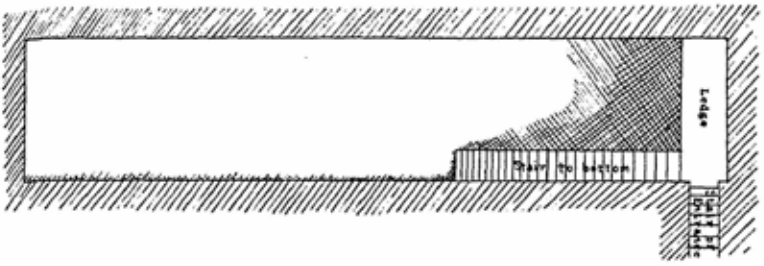
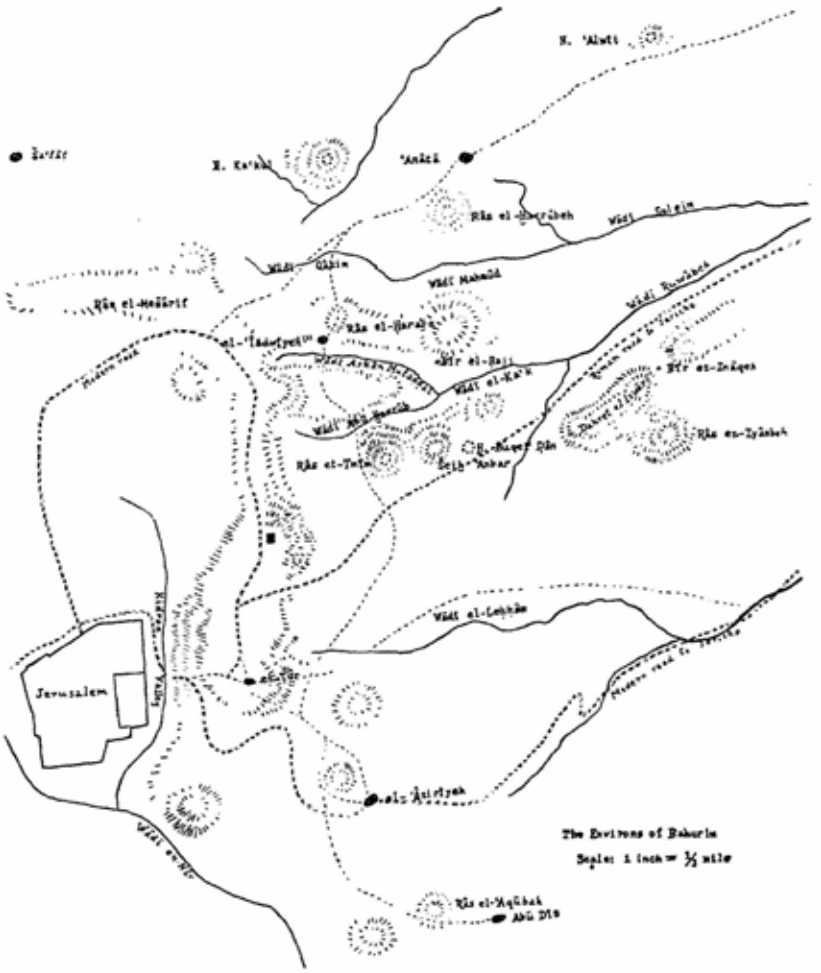
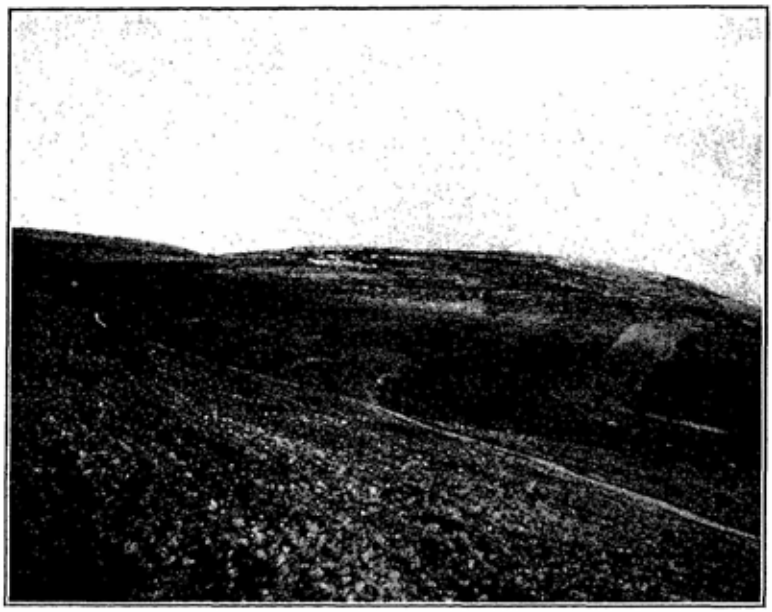


Fig. II

Scale: 1 m. = 5 mm.
Plan of the second cistern in Râs et-Tmîm

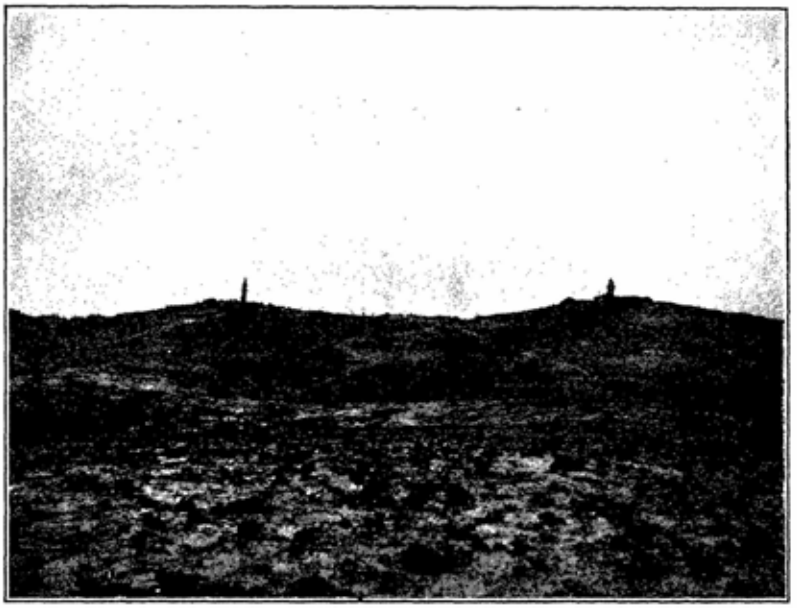


The Environs of Bahurim



Rûs et-Tmîm

The picture was taken facing the north. On the south side, that is the near side, of this grey hill is probably where Bahurim stood. The path which the fellāḥîn use at the present time can be seen passing close to the west of the hill.



The Mount of Olives from the east. The tower to the left is of the Russian convent on the Mount of Olives, and the one to the right is the tower of the Government house. The road on the right, skirting the hill on which the Government house stands, is probably coincident with the Roman road. Râs et-Tmîm is off the picture, just to the right.

Looking eastward from the foot of Râs et-Tmîm, showing the slopes of Šeiḫ 'Anbar on the south side, and the path near its foot, no doubt coincident with the old Roman road. One can see here how Phaltiel left Bahurim at Râs et-Tmîm and passing along the side of Šeiḫ 'Anbar cast down stones and curses on David and his associates.

BITTÎR AND ITS ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS

W. D. Carroll

Scholars in the past have not been sufficiently interested in the ruins of the *khirbeh* at Bittîr to make a complete investigation of the site. There may be a reason. In this land of tells and tales, there are so many famous names and places that an innocent-looking name like Bittîr can have little hope of receiving attention. Nor have the pages of history given proper credit for the rôle it played. A few scholars, however, have given the place more than a passing interest—chief among them Clermont-Ganneau,[1] Guérin,[2] and Zickermann.[3] And it is an interesting fact that those who have most closely examined the place and its ruins are most certain that they represent the stronghold which figured so prominently in the Jews' last great effort for national independence—the Bethêr of the Bar-Kokhba revolt.

Robinson stopped there in 1852, and after a visit of an hour and forty minutes, (including lunch at the spring), was able to declare: "We saw one or two squared stones on the southwest side. Otherwise there is no trace of ruins; except upon the highest point, towards the northeast, where are the remains of what was once apparently a square tower, of perhaps forty feet on each side. . . . There is no water nearer than the fountain at the village below. Nor is there any trace of cisterns. . . . The only remains of masonry which can be regarded as having belonged to a fortification are those of the square tower on the highest point already described. It was built of small stones roughly broken if broken at all, and was of the rudest construction. Hence it bears much more the appearance of having been built as the stronghold of some Arab robber chief."[4]

Some years ago E. Zickermann made a more thorough examination of the *khirbeh,* and was convinced that it must be the site of Bar-Kokhba's stronghold.[5]

The modern village of Bittîr is located seven miles (11 km.) southwest of Jerusalem, being the first station on the railroad from Jerusalem to Jaffa. The railway here winds about the curves of the Wâdī es-Sikkeh, and the village remains out of sight until one is almost upon it. The village itself

[1] *Archaeological Researches in Palestine,* 1873-1874, pp. 463-70.

[2] *Description de la Palestine, Judée,* Vol. II, pp. 387-95.

[3] "Chirbet el-jehud," *ZDPV,* XXIX (1906), pp. 51-72.

[4] *Biblical Researches in Palestine,* Vol. III, pp. 266-71.

[5] *ZDPV,* XXIX ('06), pp. 51-72. His description of the tombs and certain other remains is the best that has thus far been produced.

occupies the middle of the northern slope of a hill a short distance southwest of the railway station. The first detail which attracts the eye is the luxuriance of the terraced gardens below the settlement. An abundant spring flows from a rock-cut channel at the northwest corner of the village, adding to the health-building mountain air the blessing of a rich supply of pure water, and irrigating the well-kept gardens which furnish the chief sustenance of the villagers.

About four hundred meters west-northwest of the village is a hill completely cut off from its neighbors on three sides by deep wâdīs, and by a dry moat on the other (south) side (Phots. 1 and 2). This hill is without doubt the site of the older settlement from which the modern village has inherited its name. It is a typical Israelite or Jewish site—an isolated hill near a good spring, with an ancient rock-cut road leading up from the latter. The hill is oblong, sloping toward the northwest. Its top is divided about midway into two natural sections, the northwestern part being on a plane about fifteen meters lower than the southeastern section and sloping slightly to the north. Each comprises an area of about two and a half acres.

The whole southeastern, or higher part, is the *khirbeh* proper. It bears the name of Khirbet el-Yehûd ("ruin of the Jews"). How far this name goes back is not known, but the Arabs seem to have a tradition (perhaps of modern origin) of a siege against the Jews at the place, and so jealous are they lest the Jews again gain possession of the *khirbeh* that they suspect the interested student of being their agent. They minutely questioned the writer's motives in spending so much time on the site, and only allowed him to work unmolested when they were satisfied that he was from the American School and only desired *ṣuwar* (photographs) and a *khariṭah* (map) for a *kitâb* (book).

The correct spelling of the name of Bar-Kokhba's stronghold has not been satisfactorily determined. The Talmud usually spells it ביתר, which is transliterated in a number of different ways—*Bether, Bethar, Betthar, Beth-ter, Beth-tar,* etc. Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* IV: 6) spells it Βίθθηρα (var. Βεθθήρ, Βηθήρ), which seems to show that it was pronounced with a double *tau,* and should be transliterated *Better* or *Bettar.* The etymology of the name is obscure. In view of the mountainous location of the place, I venture the suggestion that the name was originally בית־חַר (*Bêth-har*), pronounced *Bêttâr,* by regressive assimilation, and later *Bêttêr* or *Bethêr,* and written בֵּיתֵר.[6] That there is no philological difficulty in equating ביתר and *Bittîr* or *Bettîr,* as now pronounced, is generally agreed. The simple transliteration *Bethêr* will be used for the older name throughout this paper.

Scholars are pretty well agreed that Bittîr is the site of the Bethêr (cor-

[6] *Canticles* 2: 17 mentions the "Mountains of Bether."

rupted to *Thethêr*) of the Septuagint. The verse containing the name has dropped out of the Hebrew text.[7] Jerome, in his commentary on the prophet Micah, quotes the passage and reads *Baether,* which is no doubt correct.

The mention of the "mountains of Bether" in Cant. 2: 17 probably also refers to this region: "Until the day be cool, and the shadows flee away, turn, my beloved and be thou like a roe or a young hart upon the mountains of Bether" (R. V.).

That Bittîr, or rather Khirbet el-Yehûd, is also the site of the Bethêr of the Jewish sources—the stronghold of the Bar-Kokhba revolt—is our conviction. This famous Bethêr has been variously located by scholars all over western Palestine: in the coastal plain; in Galilee; in the vicinity of Tyre; in the Shephelah; north or southwest of Jerusalem; and north of Hebron. There are several reasons for this confusion. The name was not a well-known one and was not brought into the public eye until the second century of the Christian era when it figured in the Jewish revolt in the reign of Hadrian. The older Hebrew sources had not had occasion to mention the definite location of the place, and the later Jewish writers either neglected to do so, or perhaps the actual site was forgotten in the years of close surveillance and repression which the remnant of Jews reaped from their rebellion. Conflicting reports arose and the Talmudic writers were unable to give any exact information regarding the site. Also, the name itself was a hindrance to the identification of the place. There are so many place-names in Palestine with "Beth" as their first element, which a slight mistake of a scribe might change to *Bethêr,* that the name of such an obscure place as Bethêr is easily dissolved into the name of a better known place. Furthermore, there seem to have been towns with the same name or similar names scattered about Palestine. For example, there seems to have been a Bethar or Betarum on the road from Caesarea to Antipatris and Diospolis (Lydda). There is a Yethîr near Tyre, and a Bethar is mentioned by the Bordeaux pilgrim thirteen miles from Jersualem on the road between Jerusalem and Neapolis.[8] It is thus easy to picture the confusion that would naturally result from complications of this sort.

Thus Reland identified the Rabbinic Bether with the Bethar mentioned in the Itinerary of Antoninus and the Bordeaux pilgrim as sixteen or eighteen Roman miles from Caesarea and ten miles from Antipatris.[9] Conder, from the same data, identified it with eṭ-Ṭîreh, on the road from Râs el-'Ain to Caesarea.[10] The Babylonian Talmud states that Bethêr was a thousand

[7] After *Joshua* 15: 59.

[8] Cf. *Itin. Hieros.*, pp. 588 f. This is probably a mistake for "Bethel."

[9] *Palestine,* Vol. II, pp. 639-640.

[10] *PEFQS* 1876, p. 12.

Roman paces from the sea, and the Midrash says it was four Roman miles.[11] The chief difficulties with such a location are: first, that the place is flat and would not lend itself to defense against Roman armies for the length of the Jewish revolt; and second, that the Jews would scarcely have pinned their last hopes of success to a place only a few miles from the Roman capital of Palestine, and far from Jewish centres.

Robinson held the view that "Bether" was a mistake for "Bethel," and, following Jerome (who seems to have had the same idea), linked Bethel with the Bar-Kokhba revolt.[12] Neubauer[13] identified Bethêr with Beth-Shemesh; Lebrecht (in a monograph on Beth-ter quoted by Zickermann) set forth the hypothesis that by Beth-ter is meant Sepphoris in Galilee. Neither of these locations exactly suits the specifications of the literary sources, be they right or wrong. Rappoport considered "Bethar" to be a corruption of "Beth-ṣur" and identified it with Bêt-ṣûr north of Hebron—a town fortified by Simon the Maccabee against the Idumeans.[14] Cellarius (*Not. Orbis,* II, p. 450) combined Bethêr with Beth-horon; Baronius with Bethlehem; and Goldhor with Yethîr near Tyre, the latter being justly ridiculed by S. Raffaeli[15] for playing outside the arena.

Among those who identify the site of Bethêr with Bittîr are: Guérin (*Judée,* Vol. II, p. 387 f.); Clermont-Ganneau (*Archaeol. Res. in Pal.* 1873-4, pp. 463-470); Zickermann (*ZDPV* XXIX ('06), pp. 51-72); Schürer (*Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes,* pp. 693 ff.); Dérenbourg (*Histoire de la Palestine,* p. 431); Vigouroux (*Dictionnaire de la Bible,* Vol. II, p. 1681 ff.); Raffaeli (*loc. cit.*); and others.[16]

The history of the Jewish war under Hadrian is still more or less obscure. But new light is now being shed upon the period and in a few years it will perhaps be much clearer.

[11] The following are the main references in the Talmud, bearing on the subject:

Mishnah Ta'anît IV: 6	Tosef. Yeb. 122a
Yer. Ta'anît 69a	Sanh. 17b
Bablî Ta'anît 26b; 29a	R. H. 18b
Lam. R. II: 2; IV: 8	T. Yer. Ta'anît IV: 8
Yer. Ber. 3d.	

Additional references may now be found in Horowitz, ארץ ישראל ושכנותיה (*Palestine and the Adjacent Countries*), Vienna, 1923, pp. 158 ff. [W. F. A.]

[12] Cf. Robinson, *Bib. Res. in Pal.*, 1852, Vol. III, pp. 270-271; Jerome, *Comm. Zach.* 8: 19; Guérin, *Judée,* Vol. II, p. 392.

[13] *Géographie du Talmud,* pp. 103 ff.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 109.

[15] "ביתר ויתריה," *Doar Ha-yóm,* March 19, 1923.

[16] Cf. Zickermann, Guérin, Luncz, ירושלם, 1917-1918 and Horowitz, ארץ ישראל, for references and reviews of the different theories.

When Hadrian mounted the imperial throne in 117 A. D., affairs in the near East were in a bad state of confusion. The Emperor Trajan had for the last few years been occupied in suppressing a Jewish revolt in Mesopotamia. The Jews of Palestine were no doubt in some way implicated in this revolt, or else Trajan recognized Palestine as the center of Jewish hostility to Rome, for at the close of the war he placed his favorite general, Lucius Quietus, in charge of the country as legate. It was he who had conducted the campaign in Mesopotamia, and he was recognized by the Jews of Palestine as the enemy and oppressor of their people.

One of Hadrian's first moves as emperor was to give up the idea of expansion beyond the Euphrates. Mesopotamia and Assyria were given back to the Parthians, and the Armenians were allowed a king of their own. He also removed Quietus from Palestine and later had him executed. The downfall and death of Quietus made the Jews jubilant. Hope leaped high in their hearts—hope that was baseless, for Hadrian relinquished the territory beyond the Euphrates only to govern the lands nearer home more vigorously, and got rid of Quietus only because he was his personal enemy. Nevertheless, the Jews began to dream of a restoration, and national feeling, so long in repression, soared beyond the bounds of reason.

Some authorities maintain that Hadrian gave a deputation of Jews, headed by Joshua ben Hananiah, permission to rebuild the temple. From their request Hadrian may have conceived the idea which he later carried into effect—that of rebuilding Jerusalem as a Roman colony and erecting a temple to Jupiter on the site of the old Jewish temple, hoping thus to kill the germ of Jewish intrigues.

Authorities differ as to the date of the founding of the colony of Aelia Capitolina. Dion Cassius states that it was the *cause* of the war;[17] Eusebius says it was the *result*.[18] With such conflicting testimonies, it is reasonable to suppose some such sequence of events as is proposed by Professor Gray.[19] The account of Dion Cassius even admits of such a sequence and is better explained by it:—

"Hadrian after these things came through Judaea to Egypt, offered libations to Pompey . . . and restored his tomb, which had been destroyed.

"When at Jerusalem, in place of that which had been destroyed, he founded his own city which he named Aelia Capitolina, and in place of the temple of the god erected another to Jupiter, a war neither small nor of brief duration resulted. The Jews, though deeming it intolerable that those of another race

[17] Epitome of Dion Cassius by Xiliphon, LXIX, 12.

[18] *Hist. Eccl.*, IV: 6.

[19] "The Founding of Aelia Capitolina and the Chronology of the Jewish war under Hadrian," *AJSL* 1923, 248-256.

should be established in their city and a strange cult installed, kept quiet while Hadrian was in Egypt and later in Syria, except insofar as the weapons levied from them were made purposely of inferior quality, in order that they should be rejected and they might use them themselves. But when Hadrian went away they openly revolted.

"Yet they did not dare to fight the Romans in open battle, but seized the most favorable positions of the country and strengthened them with underground passages and with walls, in order to find refuge if they should be overpowered and to assure themselves of secret underground communication. . . .

"At first the Romans did not pay the least attention to them. But when all Judaea was in revolt and the Jews in all parts of the world began to organize for revolt, and committed many outrages against the Romans, both secretly and openly, and many others of other nationalities, inspired by hope of gain, made common cause with them, so that this entire part of the world, so to speak, was in turmoil, then Hadrian sent the best of his generals against them, chief of whom was Julius Severus, whom he called from Britain to conduct the campaign against the Jews.

"The latter avoided attacking them in open battle because of their number and desperate resistance, but engaged them separately, depending on the number of his soldiers and lieutenants, and, cutting off their food and shutting them up, weakened them slowly but surely until he was able to exhaust them and exterminate them.

"Fifty of their best fortresses, nine hundred and eighty-five of their most important towns, were razed; five hundred and eighty thousand men perished in the sorties and combats; as for those who succumbed to hunger, disease and fire, the number is incalculable. All Judaea, small as it was, became a desert as had been predicted to them before the war; for the tomb of Solomon which was held in great esteem by them, crumbled away of its own accord; wolves and hyenas in great numbers entered howling into their towns.

"During this war, however, many of the Romans themselves perished. Wherefore Hadrian, writing to the senate, did not employ the usual preamble of the emperors: 'If you and your children are well, I and my troops are well.' Thus ended the war of Judaea." [20]

The account implies that a considerable time elapsed after the beginning of the building of Aelia Capitolina before it could be said that the Jews were in open rebellion. During this time the Jews indulged in local outbreaks and became more and more troublesome, until Titus Annius Rufus, Hadrian's legate in Judaea, was unable to cope with the situation.

[20] Dion Cassius, XLIX, 11-15. Cf. Théodore Reinach, *Textes d'auteurs grecs et romains relatifs au judaisme*, pp. 179-183, for Greek text and French translation.

It was at this point that Simon Bar-Kozeba was proclaimed by Rabbi Akiba and a host of followers as the messiah and given the messianic title *Bar-Kokhba* ("son of the star"). Nothing is known of Bar-Kokhba before this time, but he was probably a popular Jewish hero who had distinguished himself in championing the national cause during the years of disquiet preceding the actual outbreak of war. That he had military ability is well attested.

The Jews now had an able leader, and local disturbances took on the dimensions of organized revolt (132 A. D.). Bar-Kokhba was declared king of the Jews, established his capital (?) at Bethêr, and restruck coins for his government in his own name.

Thus it became necessary for Hadrian to take vigorous measures, and he was not a man who did things by halves. He summoned his best general, Julius Severus, from Britain to put down the revolt of the Jews in Palestine. As Dion Cassius tells us, this general set out deliberately to starve the Jews in order that they might be so weakened or terrorized that they would lay down their arms and surrender unconditionally. His campaign lasted three and a half years, and ended successfully with the fall of Bethêr.

The Talmud gives a ghastly tale of the massacre of the inhabitants by the Romans after the fall of the fortress. The Talmudic sources declare that eighty thousand myriads of persons were slain here; that the horses waded up to their noses in blood; that the torrent of blood was so great as to sweep away huge boulders; that the brains of three hundred infants were found dashed out upon one rock; that the dead bodies were used to make a hedge (as high as a man and as broad as a man could reach with open arms) about one of Hadrian's immense gardens, and were left to decay without burial. Aside from the gross exaggeration, which might be expected, the Talmudic writers seem to have estimated liberally the total of all the synagogues, teachers and pupils in the whole land, to have taken the numbers that were said to have perished in the whole war, and to have lumped everything in Bethêr.

The siege of Bethêr is said to have lasted two and a half years. How intense the operations of the Romans were during that time is not indicated. Suffice it to say that Khirbet el-Yehûd furnishes all the requirements of a position which may have been held for a considerable length of time against a Roman army by a strong garrison of Jews fighting with desperation. Even Robinson admitted that as a military position his Bethel could not compare with it.[21]

Apart from its strong position and name, Bittîr also suits the sources admirably as the location of the old Bethêr. It is true that the Babylonian Talmud and Midrash locate Bethêr near the sea, but the Jerusalem Talmud places it forty Roman miles (c. 38 Eng. miles) from it. Bittîr is about thirty-two English miles from the sea in a straight line. Moreover Eusebius

[21] *Bib. Res.*, Vol. III, p. 271.

tells us that "Bithera," where the war came to an end, was situated not far distant from Jerusalem.[22] Also we are told by Jerome that the many captives taken at the fall of Bethêr were first offered for sale at the Terebinth of Abraham near Hebron; then at Gaza; while the rest were transported to Egypt.[23] Bittîr is but four and a half miles from Bethlehem and sixteen miles north of Hebron. Captives to be sent south from Bittîr would have to be taken to Bethlehem and thence southward over the watershed road.

Here then we have in Bittîr a name and a site which fulfils admirably the requirements of the Bethêr of the Bar-Kokhba revolt. It has satisfactory strategic advantages and its location suits the sources best of all the proposed sites. Are the archaeological indications in accord? To answer this question satisfactorily the writer has made eight visits to the site and spent some thirty-eight hours in actual examination and recording of the remains on the *khirbeh* itself, besides making two excursions for observation of the surrounding hills, which included a walk from Bittîr to Bethlehem.

A few meters to the south of the place where the waters of the spring gush from the rock, and just at the foot of the rock-cut road from the *khirbeh,* is a vertical groove in the rock with old water-channels leading from it (Phot. 3). This is no doubt where the waters of the spring emerged in ancient times. On either side of this groove a rectangular space has been smoothed in the rock, as if for an inscription. If there was once an inscription on the southernmost one, it is now entirely obliterated. The one on the northern side, the larger of the two, is now so badly weathered that only a few letters of the inscription are to be seen. The inscription was in Latin and was published fifty years ago by Clermont-Ganneau.[24] It mentions the Fifth and Eleventh Legions. Since these two legions were stationed in Dacia shortly before the Bar-Kokhba war, in the reign of Trajan, Clermont-Ganneau inferred that troops from these two legions were among those brought in to help put down this revolt and stationed as a garrison in the fortress after it was wrested from the Jews. He therefore dates the inscription shortly after the end of the war under Hadrian.[25]

[22] *Hist. Eccl.*, IV: 6.

[23] *Comm. Zach.* 11: 4.

[24] *Archaeol. Res. in Pal.*, 1873-74. pp. 463-70. His copy and reading are as follows:

. . . . SVM	
. . MARII V	
ETVICTOR	. . et victor,
CENTVR < VEXILL	centur(iones) vexill(ationum)
LEG. V̄. MAC. ET XI CL	leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae) et XI Cl(audiae).

[25] Of the activities of the two legions concerned previous to the reign of Hadrian he says: "The Vth Legion (Macedonica), together with the IVth (Scythica), was sta-

That these two legions should be mentioned together in an inscription at Bittîr, when they are known to have been serving together in Dacia a few years before the Bar-Kokhba war, seems significant. That the Romans did keep a strong garrison at this stronghold after the supppression of the revolt is most probable, and as we shall see, is in harmony with the remains of the fortifications on the *khirbeh*.

The rock-cut road (Phot. 4) previously mentioned is about two meters wide, and leads up from the spring toward the southeast corner of the *khirbeh* until it is interrupted by the dry moat. The present path goes round the east end of the moat, partly over débris. Before the moat is reached, we pass, on the west of the path and south of the *khirbeh*, a flat field of rock, at present used for threshing floors. On the northern side of this rock platform are found three or four small cup-marks connected by channels—apparently the remains of an old olive press. The platform seems to represent the natural surface of the rock between the *khirbeh* and the hill to the south, and is some fifteen meters lower than the tops of both hills.

Between this and the *khirbeh* the rock has been artificially cut away to a width of about ten meters, making a dry moat (Phot. 5) which must have been originally at least five meters deep, for there is enough soil in the bottom to support a grove of fig trees.

The path leads along the east side of the *khirbeh* about ten meters from the top. Following this until directly east of the southeast corner of the *khirbeh*, there appears to the right (east) of the path the top of a small Arabic *welī*. Upon investigation it proved to be a rock-cut Israelite bench-tomb, with the modern *welī* forming an antechamber to it. The *welī* contained Arabic lamps and the usual paraphernalia of such a shrine, but there were no lamps inside the tomb itself. The rock-cut entrance to the tomb is .40 m. wide by .50 m. high. The interior is almost rectangular, the front being 3 m. with the entrance .10 m. to the left of the middle. The back is 3.40 m.; the width is 2.60 m.; and the diagonal 3.90 m. A bench or *maṣṭabah* (divan) .85-.95 m. in width extends along the two sides and back. The height of the ceiling above the divan is .90-1.00 m. The center is filled almost to the level of the divan with débris. In the left-hand far corner is a hole .65 m. by .75 m. depressed .40 m. below the surface of the divan.

About two meters north of the *welī*, and a meter higher up, there is a cutting

tioned in the East at the beginning of the Empire; Agrippa brought it to Syria from Spain and established its veterans as colonists at Beyrouth. About the year 64, 65 of our era the two legions in Syria were the Vth (Macedonica) and the Xth (Fretensis). In A. D. 66, under the command of Vespasian and Titus, they joined in the war against the Jews. The Vth took a very active part in the storming of Gerizim and the siege of Jerusalem. Titus sent it to Moesia. When Dacia became a Roman province, in the reign of Trajan, it was garrisoned by the Vth Legion together with the XIth (Claudia)."

on the face of the rock indicating a tomb, but débris covers the entrance if there is one.

One meter north of this is a cave with a circular opening to the east .80 m. in diameter. The interior is 3.20 m. by 3.40 m. and has a height of 1.25 m. There is no opening in the top, and it has a circular depression in the bottom, which seems to indicate that it has been used as a storehouse for grain.

Eight meters further north is a group of niches cut in and about a small cave, which most scholars suppose to be an ancient columbarium or dove-cote (Phot. 6). The cave is 3 m. across the face, and extends 2 m. back into the rock. The depth (to débris) is 1.80 m. The niches in the cave are in five irregular rows and there are also several of these niches in the rock around the front of the cave, so that the whole columbarium has an extent of 4.35 m. More than a hundred of the small niches are to be counted.

A few meters below and a little to the south of the columbarium is a small circular cave 3 m. in diameter and 1.70 m. high, with an ample opening to the east. It has evidently been enlarged from a small natural cave and would serve very well as the shelter of a hermit.

Returning now to the path, about a hundred meters north of the *welī* is a large four-chambered tomb, typical of the Jewish tombs of the last few centuries B. C. Entrance is by means of a flight of rock-cut steps sunk in the rock outside the tomb. This approach is 3 m. long by 1 m. wide. It and the doorway have been broken away and considerably damaged, for this tomb no doubt originally had an entrance similar to that of its neighbor, which will be described in the next paragraph. The doorway must have been originally about 1 m. square, but it is now 1 m. by 1.60 m. Inside, running the full length of the front is the vestibule, 16 m. long and 3.50 m. wide. Six meters from either end are the two entrances, each originally about 1 m. square. The first has already been mentioned, and the second (the southernmost) is closed up and not visible from the outside. To the north of the open entrance, halfway between the door and the end of the corridor is a lamp niche .27 x .31 x .20 m. A similar niche is located at the end of the vestibule next to this, and measures .23 x .47 x .20 m. Extending from the vestibule, at right angles to it, are four rectangular chambers each 3 m. long and 2.50 m. wide. The rock between them averages 2 m. thick. Three of the chambers end in small caves, which at first suggest passages, but appear upon examination to be purely natural and to have eroded after the cutting of the tomb. A part of the rock between chambers one and two (numbering from the open entrance) has been broken off, but the plan of the tomb is still quite plain. The average height of the ceiling above the débris is now 1.60 m. and the tomb is no doubt as much deeper again under the accumulation. There is a rectangular cutting in the ceiling of the vestibule, two meters in front of the

open entrance. This cutting runs parallel to the front of the tomb and is 1 m. by 2 m. and .50 m. deep. In the southern end of this a circular opening has been made (now closed up) suggesting that the tomb had been later used as a cistern, or possibly a dwelling. There are irregular holes through the tops of the two southernmost chambers, evidently broken through the roof.

About fifteen meters north of this tomb is another with a similar entrance, except that this one is better preserved. There is a rock-cut approach by a shaft 2.85 m. long, 1.05 m. wide, and 1.80 m. deep at the bottom, with steps leading downward. The doorway to the tomb is .85 m. square outside, and 1 m. square inside. The tomb is rectangular and consists of a single chamber, measuring 8 m. by 3.50 m. The height above débris is 1.60 m.

Twenty meters further along the path there appears at the edge of a terrace wall, and mostly covered by it, a cup-mark on a flat rock. Two steps are cut in the edge of the rock and are seen again on the south side of the fig tree which partly conceals the rock. The cup-mark has a diameter of .40 m. and a depth of .25 m. It probably represents an old olive press.

Half way down the hillside on the east and directly below the big four-chambered tomb described above are two of the curious cup-marks that are found at nearly all ancient sites in Palestine. The largest of these is .50 m. in diameter and .20 m. deep and is cut in the top of a rock which stands out from the hillside and forms a sort of natural altar, facing the rising sun (Phot. 7). The second is .40 m. in diameter and .20 m. in depth, and is about a meter back from the first. Who knows but that some pious worshiper was wont to offer libations here to his god for safe-keeping during the day?

Proceeding now to the northern end of the hill, there is found, about the center of the field, a large rock about two and a half meters across protruding a meter above the surface. This has been described by Zickermann, who suggests that it bears some resemblance to the sacred rock under the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem. In the N. W. and S. W. corners of this rock are two rather regular cavities about .75 m. in diameter and depth. They look as though they had been cut for repositories of some sort—perhaps ossuaries.

To the west of this rock, and at the edge of the hill-top, is a large and very interesting wine-press (Phot. 8). A rectangular platform 6.10 m. by 4.10 m. has been cut in the rock, leaving a vertical back 1.50 m. high. In the middle of this is a lamp niche .42 m. by .75 m. and .30 m. deep. Cut in the rock above the north end of the platform is a reservoir .80 m. long, .65 m. wide, and .10 m. deep, with a channel leading to the platform. About a meter north of the center of the platform is a circular cup-mark .35 m. in diameter. A meter and a half from the southeastern corner of the platform there is sunk into it a rectangular cutting .85 m. by .35 m. and .30 m. deep, with a rectangular cut .10 m. deep in the bottom. In the north side of this vat or

reservoir is a round hole about .10 m. in diameter and depth, apparently a socket for a lever, as though a flat stone were worked up and down in the reservoir with a pole, as a leverage press. The eastern side of the reservoir is broken. Half a meter beyond the southeastern corner of the platform, and connected with the platform by a channel draining into it, is a larger vat .90 m. square and 1. m. deep. Its eastern side is broken. This is, of course, the vat into which the juice of the grapes drained. The other two vats are presumably hand-presses.

A few meters below the southwest corner of the fortress are two cup-marks in the rock, corresponding strikingly to those on the opposite side of the hill—though all cup-marks look more or less alike. Their dimensions are .50 m. diam. by .40 m. depth, and .40 m. diam. by .20 m. depth, respectively.

The rock threshing-floor on the southern side of the *khirbeh,* previously mentioned, ends on its western side in a scarp about three meters high. In this scarp is a cavity with a mouth .75 m. square and a meter deep. It appears to have been cut as a repository—perhaps a small tomb or a niche for an ossuary.

A few odds and ends were noted on top of the *khirbeh* near the northeastern wall: One small stone measure (Phot. 9a) about .30 m. square with cavity .20 m. in diameter and .10 m. in depth; a larger measure (Phot. 9b) also of stone, with nicely smoothed cavity .50 m. in diameter and .40 m. deep; and three small pieces of columns (Phot. 10), now used by the *fellāḥîn* to support a branch of a fig tree (Cf. photographs).

Some mill stones, and pieces of the same, were also noticed at various places in the terrace walls, etc. Two were whole and are typical of all. They are rectangular, about .25 m. by .40 m. and .08 m. thick. The lower stone is grooved in a most effective way by a series of corrugated triangles. The upper stone is grooved to match the lower but has an oblong hole through its center. They are typical of the Roman period.

On the hill SSE of the *khirbeh,* about two-fifths of a mile away, is a hewn stone which has the appearance of being the lower end of a monument (Phot. 11). The base is .90 m. square and .20 m. to the edge of a bevel. The bevel is .20 m. long. From the upper edge of the bevel, the stone is .60 m. square and .70 m. long to the broken end. This stone is mentioned by both Clermont-Ganneau [26] and Hanauer [27] as being connected with a legend of the Arabs which states that it marks the spot from which the "*nebî*" or "el-Melek ez-Zâher" "cannonaded" the Jews. It is called by the *fellāḥîn ḥajr el-menjalîḳ,* "the stone of the mangonel or catapult." This was verified by showing a native a photograph of the stone. He immediately said, "That is

[26] *Archaeol. Res. in Pal.* [27] *PEFQS,* 1894, p. 149.

not on the *khirbeh,* but is on the hill yonder. It is *ḥajr el-menjaliḳ.*" However, one would scarcely want to rely upon the authenticity of this legend.

A word must here be said with reference to the coins which have been found on the *khirbeh.* Archdeacon Dowling of Haifa, writing in the *PEFQS,* 1907, (p. 279) gives us this interesting piece of information with reference to Bittîr: "In February last, three native Moslem families who own the land near the ancient castle grounds, began to clear the stones for the cultivation of the soil. This occupied about four months. During this period, undisturbed by the government, they unearthed one perfect flint spear-head, many broken specimens of spears, one large brass vessel, iron spear-heads, iron door-rings, stone balls, a quantity of pottery, a large cistern, and another cistern full of wheat. The most interesting discoveries however, have been the extraordinary number of beautiful silver and copper specimens of Jewish coins. Several of these were current during the First and Second Jewish revolts. Some of these types are derived from connection with the Temple and its services; e. g. the Temple, and noticeably the star above the Temple, trumpets, lyres, sacrificial vases, the palm tree, vine leaf, wheat, grapes, are also represented. Many of the samples found within the last five months at Bittîr are now exceedingly rare, and have not been purchasable in Jerusalem of late years. Curiously, only one shekel of the first year has been dug up." [28]

S. Raffaeli estimates that ninety per cent. of the latest Hebrew coins struck—i. e. in the time of Bar-Kokhba—so far found, have come from Bittîr.[29] This in itself is not without considerable weight as an argument for the identification of the site of the old Bethêr.

The pottery remains on the *khirbeh* are most interesting and tell a story of their own. No sherds belonging to the Bronze Age were found by us. But beginning with the first phase of the Iron Age there is a continuous record down to Roman times.[30]

The first phase of the Iron Age (12th-10th centuries B. C.) is represented in the pot-sherd collection by:—(1) A few smooth handles with oval section, specked with white particles of quartz and limestone. (2) Two handles of two-handled cooking pots, one of medium size and the other smaller than usual. The ware is dark reddish brown, full of flint and limestone particles. There is a finger impression on the top of each handle about a centimeter from the rim. (3) Parts of bottoms of medium sized bowls with base rings. The ware is identical with (1) and (2) respectively. (4) One smooth heavy rim of a wide-mouthed pot. The ware is rather coarse and full of limestone par-

[28] "Interesting Coins of Pella and Bittir," *PEFQS* 1907, p. 297.

[29] בֵּיתַר־בֵּיתְתִיר. See above for reference.

[30] The classification of pottery here presented is based on the suggestions of Dr. Albright, for whose advice and collaboration I am much indebted.

ticles. (5) One piece of rim of a thin-rimmed irregularly or semi-continuously burnished bowl—good ware with fine limestone particles and dark red surface. (6) A section of a bar handle on a piece of rim of a medium-sized bowl, with semi-continuous ring-burnishing. The ware is homogeneous and filled with fine limestone particles.

From the second phase of the Iron Age (9th-7th centuries B. C.) there are: (1) Several handles of large and medium-sized jars, slightly ribbed and oval in section, some of them poorly executed (2nd and 3rd phases). (2) Several pieces of rims of the typical thick-rimmed ring-burnished bowls, so characteristic of this period. (3) One piece of rim of a heavy carinated bowl. (4) A ribbed handle of the "royal stamped jar-handle" type, without stamp. There is also a smaller handle of the same type. (5) A part of the thick base of an early Jewish lamp.

The third phase of the Iron Age (Persian and Early Hellenistic) (6th-2nd centuries B. C.): (1) Some rims of thick-rimmed bowls degenerated from the ring-burnished bowls of the pre-exilic period. (2) A few specimens of rims of heavy pots, with thick inturned rims. (3) Quantities of rims of thin-walled metallic-rimmed pots of the Persian-Seleucidan period. The ware is mud-colored to orange. (4) Rims of collared jugs.

The Seleucid and Roman periods furnish: (1) One head of a Seleucid water decanter, with smooth rounded rim. (2) Quantities of Seleucid and early Roman pottery—both the thin, hard, smooth ware, and the thin, hard, closely-ribbed ware.

The thicker walled, wide-ribbed, Roman-Byzantine and Arabic pottery was very scarce, and not a single piece of Early Arabic geometric or faïence was seen.

One round limestone sling-shot ball, five centimeters in diameter, was picked up, and it is understood that these as well as larger ballista balls used to be often found there, but visitors to the place have carried them away and now they are only occasionally picked up.

Most of the specimens of early pottery were found on the sides of the hill, especially near the rock-cut tombs. On top of the *khirbeh* little not of Persian-Seleucidan-Roman type was found. Care was taken to make the collection of pot-sherds representative, and it is believed that the evidence from them is accurately presented. The pottery remains are just what one might expect to find on the site of old Bethêr: in the Early Israelite period, several specimens showing occupation but nothing very extensive; from that time until the exile perhaps a small town; during the Persian, Seleucid and Roman periods, a more flourishing town. After the Early Roman period the *khirbeh* was deserted. This is the story of the Bittîr pot-sherds, and it will be seen that it strongly supports the identification of Bittîr with the old Bethêr of the Septuagint passage and of the Bar-Kokhba revolt.

So far as the writer is aware, there has never been a previous attempt to plan the fortress walls of Khirbet el-Yehûd. At first the task seemed hopeless, but after taking time to work out the puzzles that most ruins present, it all became quite clear—except for two sections on the east side of the *khirbeh*, where our reconstruction cannot be far wrong, since the contour of the hill and the known sections of wall determine the course of the unknown sections.

Beginning for convenience at the North Tower (T1), we see the fortifications very clearly defined. A ruined rectangular tower (Phots. 12 and 13), 8.20 m. *en face*, and 9.30 m. deep (outside measurements) faces ten degrees west of north toward the end of the flat top of the northern end of the hill. This northern end of the hill, as has already been stated, is some fifteen meters lower than the top of the *khirbeh*. There is a steep ascent to the fortification walls, suggesting that there may be a natural scarp of the rock under the débris, though not so high nor steep as that on the southwest of the *khirbeh*.

The walls of the tower are 1.20 m. thick, and at the northwestern corner stand exposed to a height of three meters. The whole eastern side stands in four courses to a height of 2.50 m. The walls of the four sides are clearly defined and are constructed of roughly-squared stones .60 m. by .60 m. by (.60 to 1.20 m.). The stones are laid in courses, there being five courses visible at the highest corner. Some of the long stones are laid as runners and others as binders. The interstices are filled in with smaller stone fragments, making a rough but strong structure. The tower stands entirely inside the walls, which joined its northeast and northwest corners.

Three meters north of the middle of the face of the tower is the remnant of a revetment wall running east parallel to the face of the tower for about 1.25 m. A right angle (AR1) is here formed, and the wall continues north for 1.25 m., when it again turns east and there appears for four meters a fine glacis (Phot. 14) still standing over two meters high.

This glacis (R1) is constructed in the usual way, being faced with stones roughly squared, averaging .20 x .20 x .30 m. and laid in courses. The exposed corners are made of somewhat larger stones (.20 x .20 x .50 m.) for additional strength. The section running closest to the face of the tower and parallel to it suggests that the revetment originally extended in front of the whole face of the tower, though the rest of it has been destroyed. Whether or not the whole fortress wall was protected by a revetment I am unable to say with certainty, but it would seem that only the corners, towers, and certain bastions were thus reinforced.

Running straight west from the northwest corner of the tower, is a modern terrace wall (a-b) which no doubt follows the line of the old fortification wall. For 19 m. from the tower there is a small bit of the old wall (b-c) in three courses. The same roughly-squared stones of the same dimensions are used

as in the tower. This section of the wall runs NNE-SSW for two meters and evidently represents the remains of a corner.

Following the same general direction (NNE-SSW) for 32 m. is a modern terrace wall (c-d) containing here and there single stones from the original fortification wall. Then appears again 5 m. of the wall (d-e), with two to three courses *in situ* incorporated in the terrace wall.

Five meters beyond this point there are again 8 m. of the wall (f-g) in four courses, turning in an irregular curve to the southwest.

Directly opposite the southwest end of this piece of wall, 8.50 m. northwest and running parallel (that is, NE-SW), is a beautiful retaining wall 26.50 m. long (R2). It stands over two meters in height. The corner at its northeastern end is clearly defined in the modern terrace (Phot. 15). The southwestern corner is broken but the angle is clearly seen, for the wall here turns at right angles, and 3 m. of the NW-SE wall are visible.

Continuing the main wall again, 8 m. from where we left it (at g), we come to another tower (T2) built against the wall inside. It is rectangular and measures 8.50 m. by 6.50 m. (outside). It is not constructed like the first tower of large stones, but is built of stones similar to those of the revetment walls, laid in courses without mortar. It has at first sight the appearance of being a later addition but on close examination of its construction, together with the system of revetment walls, which is without question a part of the original work, it seems that the tower also formed a part of the original fortifications. Being of smaller stones, the walls are necessarily thicker, averaging over a meter and a half in width, so that the inside measurements of the tower are only 4.75 m. by 3.50 m.

Two meters NW of the NW corner of the tower is an angle of supplementary retaining wall, the sides of which run at right angles to the walls of the main retaining wall and on a plane about 3 m. higher. There is evidence of a similar angle at the SE corner of the tower also. With the aid of these a continuous glacis was built from the top of the main retaining wall to the face of the tower. This glacis is still partially preserved, but an Arab watch-tower has been built over the upper portion.

The main wall evidently continued from the SW corner of the tower. Its exact course for a short distance is somewhat obscure, but we find it again 29 m. farther on, at a corner, so it must have continued in a NE-SW direction to this point (i-j). Here a well-defined corner of the main wall projects, flanked on either side by its protecting revetment. The corner of the revetment is broken away, disclosing the uninjured corner of the main wall (j) (Phot. 16). Six courses are here visible, though the stones are not as large as those used on the north end of the *khirbeh*, being only .30 x .30 x (.30-.60) m. The wall makes a turn of 80° and now runs 10° N of NW—10° S of SE.

The revetment appears for 6 m. NW of the corner (R3), and 2 m. on the SW (R4), to a height of a meter.

From this corner the wall follows the direction indicated above for 27 m. Its course is quite plain, though the wall itself does not appear (j-k). It turns here and proceeds for 24 m. N-S (k-l). The wall itself appears in two places in this section—three courses—and we find again the large rough stones, not even so carefully cut as in the north tower, and strongly suggesting a hasty construction. There is a major angle at this point (l), and there appears what I at first thought to be a gate-tower. But perceiving what is unquestionably the remains of a gate just a short distance farther on, and seeing but a single bastion here, I began to look for a better explanation. When the angle at this point became clear the purpose of the bastion became obvious. It is simply a semicircular construction 8 m. in diameter, placed against the wall on the outside for protection and support of the corner. Most likely its main purpose was to keep the wall from falling down the hill, as this section seems to be the most carelessly (or hastily) built. It has served its purpose well, for through the centuries it has kept the wall standing higher here than usual—five courses being *in situ*.

Fifteen meters further on (NW-SE) we come to a façade of drafted stones (D1) four meters from the face of the wall and not quite parallel to it (Phot. 17). There is one whole course and part of a second *in situ*, laid on a carefully constructed foundation of rough stones, two courses of the latter being exposed. The courses of drafted stones are .60 m. in height. The drafted margin is 7 to 8 cm. wide. We have here the remains of a rectangular tower (T3) 6.30 m. by 4 m., with walls about a meter thick. It is placed outside of the walls and this fact alone would seem to indicate that the tower was not a part of the original fortification. The stones are about the size of those of the north tower, and there is no reason why the Jews may not have cut drafted stones to build this when they had leisure. But the presence of other sections in the wall built of drafted stones, from this point on to the southeastern side where breaches were most likely made, seems to point rather to later repair. Since it is quite certain, from the inscription found at the spring, that the Romans stationed a garrison here after the capture of the stronghold, we may reasonably attribute this tower to the Romans. It was certainly to their interest to keep such a proven stronghold from ever again becoming a Jewish refuge.

The wall now makes a slight turn and continues NNW-SSE (n-o), when it is again flanked by a semicircular bastion (B2) like the previous one, 8 m. in diameter. Another bastion (B3) of the same size is found ten meters beyond this one. Both are on a straight section of the wall. The wall appears between in three courses of the older construction as described above. Below

this, and a meter outside of it appears the face of one course of the drafted stones (D2). This place may have represented a large gateway, later blocked up by the Romans with stones from the ruined bastions, and faced with drafted stones, but I am of the opinion that the wall was particularly weak here, and that the bastions were placed for support. Afterwards the Romans built a wall of their own outside the Jewish wall, between the bastions, to buttress the section additionally.

Continuing fifteen meters (r-s), we come to another pair of bastions (B4 and B5), this time unquestionably flanking a gateway. The bastions are not as large as the others, being but 6.50 m. on the side against the wall and extending outward 2.70 m. A portion of revetment (R5) is visible three meters to the NW, flanking the first of these bastions (Phot. 18), with six courses standing to a height of more than two meters. The first bastion is the same in height. The gateway (G1) (Phot. 19) is 4.20 m. wide and has been blocked up, perhaps by the Romans. Both door sockets are visible in stones later used to block up the entrance. This section reaches a height of 2.50 m.

The course of the wall now continues NW-SE for 33 m. (v-w), the wall itself showing in several places and being plainly marked for the whole distance. At this point (w) the wall turns to 10° S of E–10° N of W. There is no tower at this corner, and no necessity for one in view of a high scarp running along the whole south side of the *khirbeh* and around this corner to within about ten meters of the old gateway. The wall is not placed directly upon the edge of the scarp but eight or ten meters back of and above it.

For the next forty meters in a straight line (w-x) the wall has fallen down and been removed, but the débris that had collected against the wall inside stand almost as perpendicularly as the wall itself.

We now come to the most beautifully preserved section of the whole wall (x-y). For a length of 20 m. the wall stands three meters high. It is reinforced by another bastion (B6) at the angle where it turns directly E-W. This bastion (Phot. 20) is 7 m. in diameter and extends from the wall 3.50 m. It still stands over two meters high.

The wall continues fifteen meters E-W (y-z) to another corner, completing the south side of the *khirbeh*. The wall here is still standing in part, but it is not so well preserved as the preceding section. The corner has been completely cut off by the *fellāḥîn* for construction of their terraces.

At this corner of the *khirbeh* the wall turns to 10° E of N–10° W of S. For twelve and a half meters it has been completely removed and then we come to the well-known piece of wall (D3) constructed of large drafted stones (Phot. 21). The height of the courses and the width of the draft are the same as in the western tower (T3)—course .60 m., draft 7 cm. The stones

however are longer, some of them being a meter to a meter and a quarter in length. They are laid in mortar. Three courses are exposed.[31]

Just about a meter back of this wall is a section of the old "Jewish" wall (aa-bb) extending the full length of the section of wall of drafted stones and going in the same direction. It is crooked and poorly constructed. Evidently the Romans, not satisfied with the much battered defenses at this point (the walls were doubtless restored again and again in weak and exposed sections during the siege), built a good substantial wall of their own in front of the other one, on this corner of the hill.

From this section the wall is lost for a distance, because the *fellāḥîn* have removed it and planted a fig orchard across its course. But it must have continued in a straight line (bb-cc), for 40 m. farther on we again strike it where it turns slightly and runs directly N-S for 30 m. (cc-dd). One would hardly recognize our old friend here, so badly has it been thrown out of plumb by the wear and tear of ages and the terrace building of the *fellāḥîn*, to say nothing of the destructive work of archaeologists climbing over the terraces. But at one place, where the *fellāḥîn* have dug for some purpose or other beside the wall, a straight course of neatly-laid stones is revealed, which leaves no doubt about the position of the old wall here.

We now lose our quarry again. For the next 90 m. it is impossible to make out the exact line of the old wall, but the contour of the top of hill requires a northerly course, turning slightly to the northwest (dd-ee).

After the 90 m. we come to five meters of standing wall, which can scarcely be anything but the inside face of the rear wall of a tower (T4) placed at this corner. It was impossible to ascertain its exact dimensions without digging, but it is reasonably certain that there was a tower there, probably a small one about 7 m. by 6 m.

For 21 m. (ee-ff) the line runs NW-SE to another section of the wall (ff-gg). This section changes direction to NNW-SSE. It is a meter and a half high and 5.50 m. long. The course of the wall runs 16.50 m. farther in the same direction and turns to 10° E of SE–10° W of NW. Twenty meters on this line (hh-ii) brings us to the remains of an old gateway (G2). The gate has been blocked up, but both door sockets are visible. That both the gates we have seen have been blocked up seems peculiar, for it leaves us no open entrance to the fortress. It may be supposed then that there was another gate somewhere along the eastern side in the sections which are entirely destroyed. Perhaps the fine piece of wall D3 led to a gateway, for at about this point would be the most natural entrance for a garrison stationed there and using the spring for their water supply.

[31] The *fellāḥîn* have dug away the earth and exposed the wall to a greater depth since the accompanying photograph was taken.

Whether or not the gateway (G2) was originally flanked by bastions is difficult to say, though probable. The wall all along this side is so badly ruined that little more than its course can be made out. The gateway is 9 m. wide.

For the next 36 m. (jj-kk) the course of the wall is clear. It runs NNW-SSE. Two and sometimes three courses project here and there from the modern terrace wall. This has brought us within nine meters NE of the NE corner of the big tower (T1) to which the wall must have joined, but a large pile of stones in the corner prevents observation of the exact line.

The whole fortification gives the impression of having been put up under stress, and in more or less of a hurry. Care has been taken rather for defense than for aesthetic appearance. Moreover, the fortifications show repair and restoration, as if a conqueror's hand had been at work. All of these circumstances fit our supposition that this was the scene of the Jews' desperate stand for national liberty under Bar-Kokhba, and the station of a Roman garrison after its capture.

The only other remains noted are those of a small *birkeh* west of the village in the gardens, and of a house or tower upon the *khirbeh*. The *birkeh* is a small reservoir of masonry for the surplus water from the spring. It is about 20 m. square and 2.50 m. deep. It is probably of early Arab construction and must be considered in connection with the modern village of Bittîr, not with the *khirbeh*.

The house (H), on account of the similarity of its construction to that of the fortification walls, has been left to the end of the description. It seems to belong to the system of fortifications, or at least to the same period. It stands inside 55 m. east of the first bastion (B1) of the wall. Its walls (Phots. 23 and 24) run NW-SE and SW-NE, and are 10.25 m. and 8.70 m. in length respectively. The same construction is used as in the north tower, but the work is a little better. The courses are .60 m. high and two, three and four courses are standing. There is indication of a doorway in the SE side, but the wall is so badly ruined here that the dimensions could not be made out. This may have been an arsenal or, more likely, the military headquarters of the commander-in-chief.

With regard to cisterns, and the emergency water supply necessary for a besieged fortress such as we have assumed existed on the *khirbeh*, there are reasons for believing that the water supply was insured by a sufficient number of cisterns which are now covered up. The reasons for believing that such cisterns exist are as follows:—(1) The holes in the tops of the large four-chambered tomb-cistern, described above, are all closed up by the Arabs, who cultivate the ground over them. (2) There is an abundance of soil and débris on the top of the *khirbeh* and the land is farmed, a fact which prevents the

close examination of the rock surface. In this respect the place is not like many of the *khirbehs* of Palestine, which are bare and their cistern-mouths open. (3) The Arabs here have no concern for keeping cisterns open, if found. In many places old cisterns are valued for the water they furnish, but the copious spring at Bittîr serves all the natives' needs. The space for a fig tree or cucumber vine is worth more to them than an open cistern. (4) Archdeacon Dowling, quoted above, speaks of a large cistern having been discovered here in 1907. It is not now visible. (5) An Arab standing by, interestedly watching the process of sketching and recording of the ruins, said he knew where there was much water on the *khirbeh* and asked if I wanted to write it down. He led me to a place a short distance northwest of the house last described and said that under the ground for a considerable distance was much water. From this and from his gestures it was to be inferred that he meant that a large cistern is known to be there. It is no doubt the one to which Archdeacon Dowling referred.

Our conclusion is, therefore, that the archaeological remains at Bittîr do substantiate the theory that Khirbet el-Yehûd is the site of the Bethêr of the O. T. (LXX version), and the scene of the final episode of the Jewish war under Hadrian. Name, location, strategic advantages, and archaeological remains — rock-cuttings, coins, pottery, and fortifications — give cumulative evidence of the correctness of the identification.

1. Khirbet el-Yehûd from east

2. The Khirbeh from west

3. Inscription near spring

4. Rock-cut road to Khirbeh

5. Dry moat

6. Columbarium

7. Looking east from altar

8. Wine-press

9. Stone measures

10. Column fragments

11. Ḥajr el-Menjalīḳ

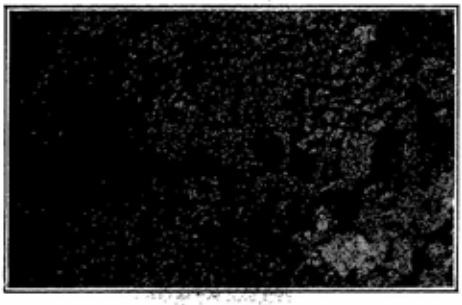
12. North wall of north tower

13. West wall of north tower (T1)

14. Revetment at north tower

15. Retaining wall (R2) in terrace

16. Corner at j

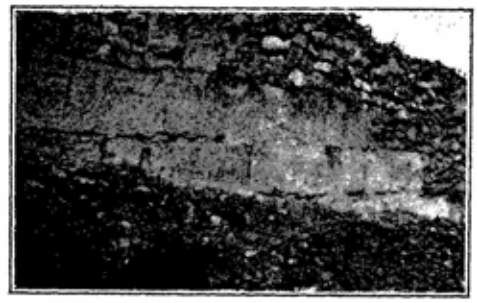


17. Face of west tower, D1

18. Bastion and revetment at gate, G1

19. Blocked-up west gate, G1

20. Bastion, B6, of south wall

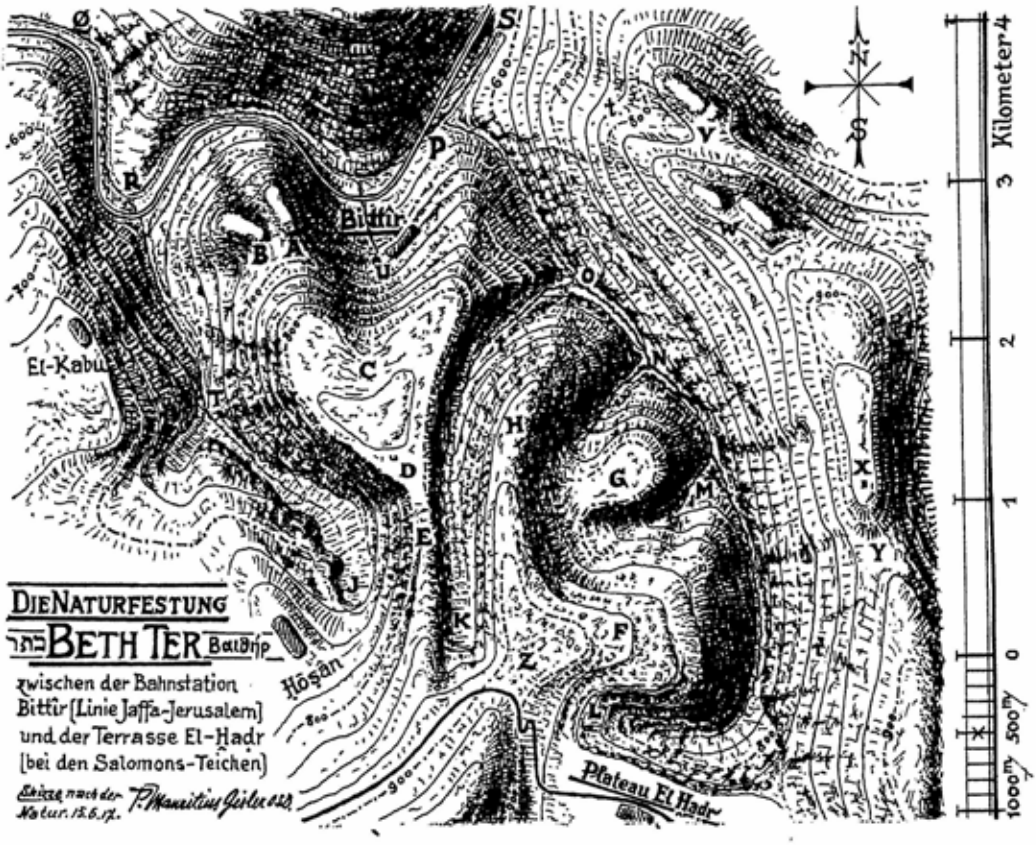


21. Section with large dr. stones, D3

22. The Khirbeh, showing terraces

23. Wall of arsenal or house (H)

24. Another wall of same



The plan of the environs of Bittîr, reproduced herewith, was made in 1917 by Pater Mauritius (Gisler). It was given by him to Père Mallon, Director of the Pontifical School of Biblical Archaeology in Jerusalem, who has kindly placed it at our disposal. The letters A-B refer to the fortress of Khirbet el-Yehûd.

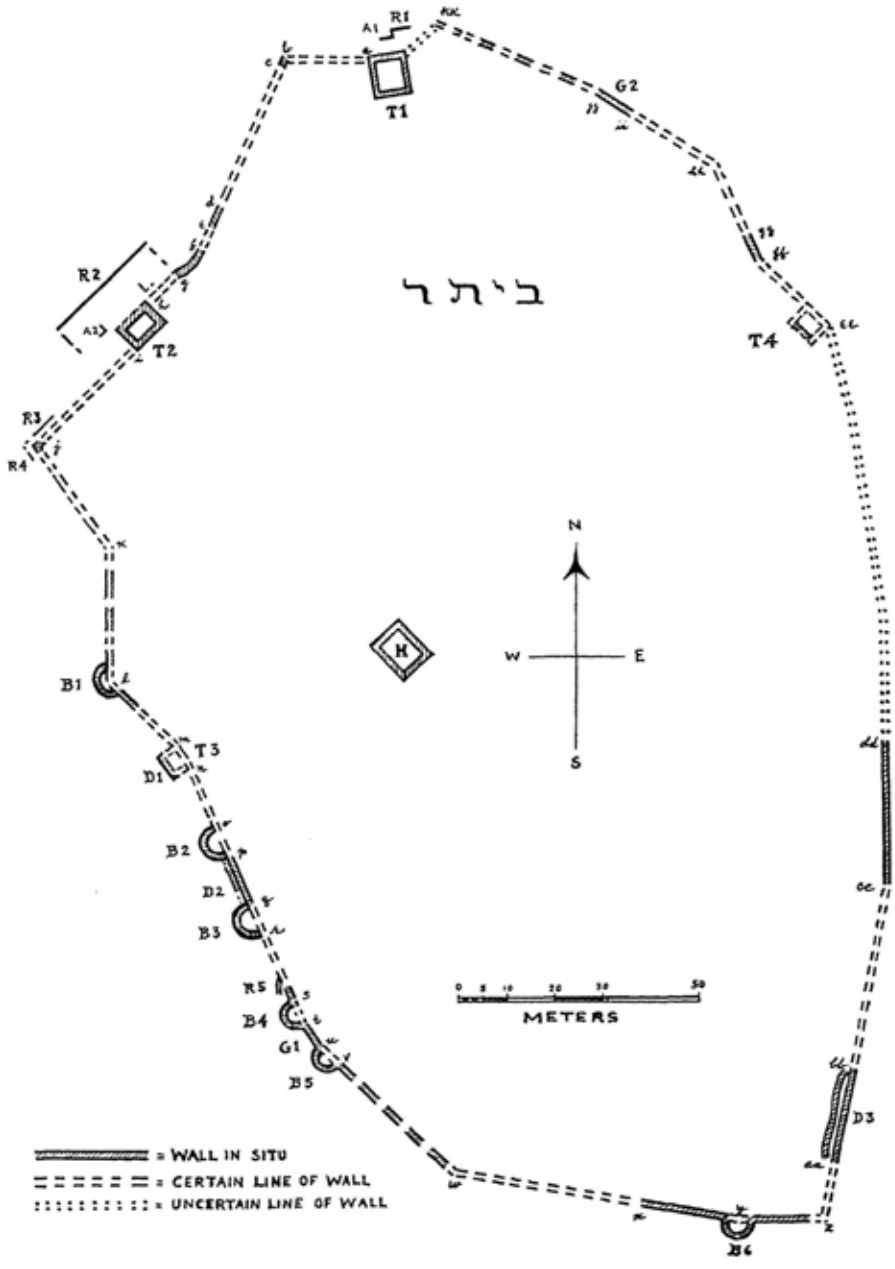


Diagram of the Wall

THE SITE OF KIRJATH-JEARIM

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Kirjath-jearim has been identified with various sites. Henderson and Conder [1] placed it at Ḫirbet 'Erma, 2¼ miles south of Keslā, and four miles from Beth-shemesh. Henderson thought at first that the name might be preserved in *'Ain Kârim*,[2] a suggestion that may be dismissed as groundless.[3] When he read Conder's description of Ḫirbet 'Erma, he accepted the place as a favourable site for the ancient town. Conder, who had previously maintained with Chaplin that Ṣôbā was the site,[4] considered Henderson's choice. After revisiting Ḫirbet 'Erma, he was convinced that Kirjeath-jearim had stood upon that hill. Williams [5] sought it at Deir el-Hâwa, south-southwest of Ḫirbet 'Erma. Thomsen [6] has named Beit 'Anân, northwest of el-Qubeibeh, and Guthe [7] el-Qubeibeh itself. Beit 'Anân is too far north, while Guthe has overlooked the evidence pointing to a Roman road which followed approximately the Qaryet el-'Inab section of the Jaffa road. Moreover, there are no ancient remains of importance at el-Qubeibeh. The first modern scholar to suggest Qaryet el-'Inab was Robinson [8]; a number of scholars have since agreed with him, although some, including George Adam Smith, have been hesitant in their endorsement. That Kirjath-jearim was near the present site of Qaryet el-'Inab, and more particularly on Deir el-Azhar, slightly beyond the village and on the other side of the road in the direction of Jaffa, is the thesis which we maintain.

Let us first study the Old Testament passages referring to the ancient town. In *Jos.* 9: 17 the towns of Gibeon, Chephirah, Beeroth and Kirjath-jearim are mentioned together. In the parallel lists of Ezra (2: 25) and Nehemiah (7: 29) Kirjath-jearim is also associated with Chephirah and Beeroth. The border of Judah (*Jos.* 15) was drawn from the top of the hill west of the valley of Hinnom to the "fountain of the water of Nephtoah"

[1] *QS*, 1878, 19, 196 ff. *The Survey of Western Palestine, Memoirs*, III, pp. 43 ff.

[2] *QS* 1878, 197 f.

[3] *R* is the only common stem consonant. There is no *k* in *ye'ārim*, and no *'a* in *kârim*. The *y* is absent in *kârim*, and the *m* is a stem consonant. Moreover, *'Ain Kârim* may represent a very old name. See Albright's comment on *Beth-car*, in his article on *Mizpah and Beeroth* in this *Annual* (Vol. IV, p. 96).

[4] *QS* 1875, 189.

[5] Tobler, *Topographie von Jerusalem*, Vol. II, p. 751, note 4.

[6] *Loca Sancta*, p. 78.

[7] *ZDPV* 1913, 81 ff.

[8] *Palestine* II, p. 334. *Later Biblical Researches*, p. 156.

and to the "cities of mount Ephron" (LXX εἰς τὸ ὄρος Ἐφρών), and on to "Baalah, which is Kirjeath-jearim." From there the line was extended to "mount Seir, and passed along unto the side of mount Jearim, which is Chesalon, on the north side, and went down to Beth Shemesh, and passed on to Timnah." The boundary of Benjamin (*Jos.* 17: 15, 16) included a line from Kirjath-jearim to the "well of waters of Nephtoah," and from there to the hill west of the valley of Hinnom. In three passages (*Jos.* 15: 60; *Jud.* 18: 12; I *Chron.* 13: 6), Kirjath-jearim belongs to Judah; while if *Jos.* 18: 28 refers to the place, as the LXX indicates, it is also listed among the towns of Benjamin. The foregoing passages suggest two conditions for the site of Kirjath-jearim: (1) that it be strategically located in relation to Gibeon, Chephirah and Beeroth; (2) that it lie on the common boundary of Judah and Benjamin.

The Hivite (better, to follow Eduard Meyer's suggestion, the Horite [9]) confederacy, with Gibeon at its head, plays an important part in the Book of Joshua; and the association of three of the towns persists down to the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. When the inhabitants of Gibeon hear of the destruction of Jericho and Ai at the hands of Joshua, they approach the Israelite leader with a proposal of peace. Deceived by the claim of the visitors that they come from a far country, Joshua makes a league with them. When the Israelites learn that the people of the four towns live in the immediate neighbourhood, since they cannot violate their oath, sworn in the name of the Lord God of Israel, Joshua spares the lives of the Horites, but makes them "hewers of wood and drawers of water for the congregation." In *Jos.* 9, as we have seen, the men of Gibeon are described as acting for the people of Chephirah, Beeroth and Kirjath-jearim. In the next chapter

[9] *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, p. 331. In *Gen.* 34: 2 and *Jos.* 9: 7, Meyer substitutes for חוי the LXX reading χορραῖος (חרי). The Horites are to be identified with the *Hurri*, a non-Semitic people which is found in the third and second millenniums in Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia. Texts in the language of the *Hurri*, practically identical with the language of the basic population of Mitanni, also called *Hurri*, have been found at Boghazköi. Cf. Ungnad, *Die ältesten Völkerwanderungen Vorderasiens*, pp. 7 f. Hurrian proper names are found in the Amarna period in both Syria and Palestine. For the language, see *Furrer*, *ZDMG* 1922, 224-228. A small terra cotta head unearthed at Deir el-Azhar (Germer-Durand, *RB* 1906, 286) has typical Horite facial features. Conspicuous among these features are the brachycephalic skull, the retreating forehead and the projecting nose. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* I[3], p. 377, describes the skull of a distinct stratum of population in Asia Minor and Armenia as hyperbrachycephalic, and stresses the flat back of the head, following Luschan, who has demonstrated the anthropological type of the hyperbrachycephalic race of Asia Minor and Armenia. Albright says, however, that the type of skull is brachycephalic, and notes that the hyperbrachycephalic skull and the flat back of the head have been shown to be largely due to swaddling.

Gibeon is called "a great city, as one of the royal cities."[10] The kings of Jerusalem and its allies war against Gibeon because of the town's covenant with Israel. The Gibeonites appeal to Joshua for aid, and the kings are defeated.

The sites of two of the towns are well known. Gibeon is the modern ej-Jîb, north of Nebī Samwîl; while Ḫirbet Kefîreh, north of and looming high above Qaṭanneh, marks the site of the ancient Chephirah. The site of Beeroth is not certain. It has been identified with Ḫirbet 'Îd,[11] half a mile northwest of el-Jîb; "Ḫirbet Lattātîn,"[12] a mile northwest of Ḫirbet 'Îd; and with Biddū,[13] el-Bîreh[14] and Tell en-Naṣbeh.[15] The first three sites are very insignificant, and comparatively modern. We must seek Beeroth on or near the boundary of Benjamin (II *Sam.* 4: 2). It is mentioned with Ramah (*Jos.* 18: 25; *Ezra* 2: 25 = *Neh.* 7: 29), and with Gittaim (II *Sam.* 4: 3); while in another passage (*Neh.* 11: 33) Gittaim and Ramah are mentioned together. The name, meaning "wells," not "cisterns" (*bôrôt*) would lead us to look for ground water. The other three Horite cities have a good water supply from springs, and all exhibit tells. El-Bîreh and Tell en-Naṣbeh are the only ancient places north and west of Ramah that have ground water. Either site is a vantage point, and is near ej-Jîb; though el-Bîreh has no tell, and is rather too far from the other Horite towns of the tetrapolis.

The strategic importance of ej-Jîb is evident. It lies on the ancient road from Gezer, by way of Beth-horon, to the plain of the Jordan. It controls the natural road through the Wâdī Ḡurâb to Qaryet el-'Inab and Biddū. Lauffs, in discussing the location of the Horite towns, describes Jerusalem as a center to be protected.[16] He says that the control of the Gibeon-Chephirah line is necessary to the protection of Jerusalem on the west, and continues: "A Jerusalem threatened by the enemy on the north, east and south can continue to hold out, as long as its connection with the sea is not interrupted." But we cannot consider the Horite tetrapolis as a chain of

[10] This description reflects the Old Testament tradition of the *awîlu*, the hereditary resident prince of the large, comparatively autonomous cities of Palestine and Syria. There was an *awîlu* in Jerusalem, Megiddo, Accho, Hazor, Gezer and Lachish, etc. Like the city-kings of the Canaanites in Joshua, they were local princes under Egyptian suzerainty.

[11] Thomsen, *Loca Sancta*, p. 43.

[12] Guthe, *MNDPV* 1912, 1-9. The name is a mistake for Ḫirbet el-Atātîn, "ruin of the lime-kilns."

[13] Dalman, *PJB* 1912, 18 ff.

[14] Robinson, *Biblical Researches* II, p. 347.

[15] Albright (Vol. IV of the *Annual*, p. 90).

[16] *ZDPV* 1915, 259.

fortresses constructed to guard the Jebusite city. The league was composed of neighbouring towns of similar interests and little less importance than Jebusite Jerusalem. One of the purposes of the league probably was to defend itself against Jerusalem and the other "Amorite" cities (*Jos.* 10). Moreover, we must use great caution in estimating the strategic value of ancient sites by the course of modern roads. The two roads, mentioned above as controlled by Gibeon, were ancient; but the road from Biddū southeast to Jerusalem was built in Roman times, to connect Nicopolis with Jerusalem.

The results of the study of the boundaries of Judah and Benjamin cannot be quite satisfactory, as not all the places mentioned have been identified. The boundary of Judah runs from the top of the hill west of the valley of Hinnom to the "fountain of the water of Nephtoah." Nephtoah is almost certainly to be identified with Liftā.[17] The philological modifications do not oppose the identification,[18] and there is a fine spring south of Liftā. The "villages of mount Ephron" are unknown. The line continues to "Baalah, which is Kirjath-jearim." If the identification of Nephtoah is correct, the location of Kirjath-jearim at Qaryet el-'Inab fits perfectly into the scheme. "Mount Seir," the next point, is also unknown, but Chesalon is the modern Keslā. From here the line continues to Beth-shemesh. Timnah is the modern Tibneh, west-southwest of 'Ain Šems. The southern boundary of Benjamin also included a line from Kirjath-jearim through Nephtoah to the hill west of the valley of Hinnom. Qaryet el-'Inab is thus close to the old Judah-Benjamin border, and is in an important position in relation to the other towns of the Gibeonite league.

In *Judges* 18, 600 Danites, still without an inheritance in which to dwell—that is, forced out of their first home in the lowlands of northern Judaea and southern Ephraim—"go up" from Zorah and Eshtaol, en route to the highlands of Ephraim. They pitch in "Kirjath-jearim, in Judah." Conder claims that the site must be east of the camp of Dan, between Zorah and Eshtaol. But, according to **M**, *Jud.* 13: 25 refers to the Danites

[17] Guérin, *Judée*, I, pp. 252 f., and Calice, *OLZ* 1903, 224. Calice thinks that the combination מעין מי in a place name is suspicious, and identifies the "fountain of the waters of Nephtoah" (מעין מי נפתוח) with the "Fountain of Meyneptaḥ" (= מעין מינפתח), mentioned as situated in the hill-country of Palestine by the Egyptian texts of the Nineteenth Dynasty (cf. Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, I, p. 249. [But cf. Montgomery, *JAOS* 43, 50 f.—W. F. A.]

[18] The initial *n* has been replaced by *l*, just as in modern *Sâlem* for *Sânem*. The final ח has been dropped, as in *Eštemô* for *Eštemô'*, because of the long *ô* in the final syllable, which caused the conformation of the form to a common type (Šîlô, Megiddô, etc.). The change of Hebrew *ô* to Arabic *â* in place names by back-formation is common.

before they march north. The verse reads, "And the spirit of the Lord began to move him (Samson) at times in the camp of Dan between Zorah and Eshtaol" (the modern Sar'ah and Eśû'). Qaryet el-'Inab is northeast of Zorah and Eshtaol, and its position satisfies the conditions of the march of the Danites. The most natural route north would be through the Wâdîs Ġurâb and Ḥmâr to Qaryet el-'Inab, and from there to the hill country.

According to I *Sam.* 4: 4-6, the ark of the covenant was brought from Shiloh to the Israelite camp. Israel, however, was defeated with great slaughter, and the ark was captured by the Philistines and taken to Ashdod. First the god of the Philistines and then the Philistines themselves were smitten. Plague also decimated the people at Gath and at Ekron. The Philistines then decided to dispose of the ark, and placed it upon an ox-cart, which, allowed to follow its course, took the road to Beth-shemesh; but the people of the latter place were smitten because they looked into the ark. The men of Beth-shemesh said to the men of Kirjath-jearim, "The Philistines have brought back the ark of the Lord; come down and fetch it up to you." The ark was brought into the house of Abinadab, "on the hill." Conder states that the site must be near Beth-shemesh. But if it lay too near Beth-shemesh, it is too far from the other members of the league. Moreover, the Old Testament nowhere states that the two places were very near each other. The men of Beth-shemesh had to send messengers to notify the inhabitants of Kirjath-jearim that the Philistines had returned the ark. It seems reasonable that the people of Beth-shemesh should desire the interposition of several miles between themselves and the ark which had caused so much disaster. Josephus says that Kirjath-jearim was near Beth-shemesh[19]; but he also describes Hebron as a city "not far from Jerusalem."

Chapter 7 states that the children of Israel put away the Baalim and Ashtaroth, and confessed that they had sinned against the Lord. The Philistines attacked the Israelites at Mizpah while Samuel was offering the burnt offering, but the enemy were routed. "And the cities which the Philistines had taken away from Israel were restored to Israel, from Ekron unto Gath (7: 14)." The ark remained in Kirjath-jearim twenty years (I *Sam.* 7: 2). II *Sam.* 6: 1, 2 states that David went with 30,000 chosen men of Israel to bring the ark from Baalah (so!) of Judah. Uzzah and Ahio, the sons of Abinadab, drove the cart with the ark thereon from the hill. Uzzah touched the ark, and the Lord punished him with death. David did not take the ark directly to Jerusalem, but carried it aside into the house of Obed-edom the Gittite. The Lord blessed Obed-edom, and at the end of three months David took the ark to the city of David.

[19] *Ant.* VI, 1, 4,

There are several points in the narrative that deserve attention. The loss of the ark caused a great shock in Shiloh; Eli and his daughter-in-law succumbed to the news. Yet there is little or no enthusiasm when the sacred object is brought to Beth-shemesh and again to Kirjath-jearim. The Philistines are defeated (I *Sam.* 7: 10), but the reason alleged in our source is that the people under Samuel had forsaken their idols, and turned to follow the true God. The Lord brings death for two stereotyped offenses, looking into and touching the ark, as set forth in *Num.* 4: 15, 20. In I *Chron.* 13 Yahweh smites Uzzah, and 15: 13 explains that the disaster took place because a non-Levite had touched the ark. David's army of 30,000 chosen men is imposing, and suggests a show of force unless, with Budde, we put II *Sam.* 6: 1 after 5: 5, immediately preceding the attack against the Jebusites. In I *Chron.* (14: 16) the narrative describing the defeat of the Philistines "from Gibeon even unto Gezer" is in another chronological order, coming after Uzzah's death and the placing of the ark in the house of Obed-edom. In both II *Sam.* and I *Chron.* the conquest of the Philistines and the story of David and the ark are closely connected. The reason given why David did not bring the ark to the city of David is, "for fear of the Lord." The ark was placed in the house of Obed-edom the Gittite. H. P. Smith says of this Philistine, "Of course, as a follower of David and a resident in the land of Israel, he was a worshipper of Yahweh." This is probably true. When we consider all the circumstances, however, it may seem appropriate that the ark was put into the house of a Philistine with a heathen name (meaning "worshipper of the god Edom"), and that David collected a large army to gain possession of the ark. It is possible that the Gibeonite league still preserved a semblance of organization. II *Sam.* 21: 1, 2 tells how Saul had slain the Gibeonites, "in his zeal to the children of Israel and Judah." "Now the Gibeonites were not of the children of Israel, but of the remnant of the Amorites; and the children of Israel had sworn unto them" (v. 2). 4: 3 reads, "And the Beerothites fled to Gittaim, and were sojourners there until this day." David slays the sons of Rimmon the Beerothite for their murder of Saul's son. These two incidents, and the facts mentioned with regard to Kirjath-jearim and the ark, may indicate that the Horite tetrapolis still had a spirit of hostility to Israel. David defeats the Philistines and brings the ark to his city, while Solomon offers sacrifices at Gibeon—the leading town of the league is thus a sacred place for Solomon! A memory of the old alliance is still preserved in Ezra and Nehemiah. Among those returning from the Babylonian captivity are "the children (men) of Kirjath-arim (-jearim), Chephirah, and Beeroth, seven hundred and forty and three."

"Shobal the father of Kirjath-jearim" and "the families of Kirjath-

jearim" are mentioned in the genealogies of I *Chron.* 2.[20] In *Jer.* 26: 20 Urijah the son of Shemaiah of Kirjath-jearim prophesies against Jerusalem, and is killed by King Jehoiakin. The reference in *Psalm* 132 to "Ephratah" and "the fields of the wood" is obscure. This psalm is probably the post-exilic revision of a much earlier psalm. It contains archaic material, as shown by the expression אביר יעקוב, "the strong one (either 'hero' or 'bull') of Jacob," parallel to יהוה. The metre of the psalm is 3 + 3, so we should probably read 132: 6 as follows:

הנה שמענוה באפרתה מצאנוה בשדי יערים

Behold, we heard of it in Ephrath (David's home at Bethlehem)
We found it in the fields of Jearim (= Kirjath-jearim).

This applies clearly to the ark. When we take this in connection with the הר יערים of *Jos.* 15: 10, it appears that יערים was originally the name of the district around Kirjath-jearim.

Eusebius makes two statements about the location of Kirjath-jearim, placing it both nine and ten Roman miles from Jerusalem, on the road to Diospolis (Ludd).[21] Procopius of Gaza attests the figure of nine miles.[22] The following passage is found in Theodosius: "From Jerusalem to Shiloh, where the ark of the covenant of the Lord was, nine miles. From Shiloh to Emmaus, which is now called Nicopolis, nine miles. . . . From Emmaus to Diospolis, twelve miles."[23] Abel thinks that Theodosius writes Shiloh for Kirjath-jearim, just as he confuses Bethsaida and Bethel.[24] The error would be natural, since both places are associated closely with the history of the ark. Peter the Deacon says: "A church was constructed at the ninth mile from Jerusalem in a place which is called Cariathiarim, where the ark of the Lord was."[25] Abel and Lauffs agree that Peter the Deacon is here using one of his older and better sources.[26] Eutychius of Alexandria identifies Kirjath-jearim with Qaryet el-'Inab, using the modern name.[27]

In connection with the Eusebian distance of nine miles, the question has been raised as to whether there was an old precursor of the Jerusalem-Qaryet

[20] Curtis (*Chronicles* in *ICC* p. 97), in speaking of Shobal, Salma and Horeph, says: "These three, sons of Hur, are either the postexilic founders of the three towns mentioned, or an adoption of the reputed founders of those places by the late Calebite settlers." See also Meyer, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, p. 340.

[21] *Onomastica Sacra*, Lagarde (1887) 234, 94 (103, 25); 271, 40 (109, 27); *Eusebii Onomastikon*, Klostermann (1904) 48 f., 114 f.

[22] Migne, *Patrologia graeca* LXXX 1, p. 1023.

[23] *Corp. script. eccles. lat.* XXXIX, p. 139.

[24] *Oriens Christianus*, 1911, p. 82. See also Lauffs, pp. 280 f.

[25] *Corp. script. eccles. lat.* XXXIX, p. 110.

[26] Abel, p. 82; Lauffs, p. 281.

[27] Migne, *Patrologia graeca*, 111, p. 939.

el-'Inab portion of the modern Jaffa road. Guthe declares that this section does not follow the course of an old Roman road.[28] The discovery, however, of a Roman milestone[29] north of the present Jaffa road, between Qaryet el-'Inab and Beit Nakûba, indicates that the Jerusalem-Qaryet el-'Inab line was a part of the Roman road system. Furthermore, certain peculiarities of the church at Qaryet el-'Inab point to the former presence of a Roman structure on the site. De Vogüé dates the church in the twelfth century. Robinson correctly says, "The church presents a singular mixture of architecture." In neither the upper nor the lower churches are the apses visible from the exterior, but are hidden in the thick wall. The west wall is two feet shorter than the east wall. Lauffs notes that the west wall is nearly intact, and that it is evidently a part of a structure older than the other walls. The structure about the spring in the crypt is oriented toward the east, and the building itself toward the southeast. There are marks on some of the stones characteristic of the Crusading period. Some bossed stones, to be found in various parts of the walls, bear a close resemblance to similar stones in the ruin of what was probably a Roman structure near the Jaffa road at Qalônieh.[30] A large drafted stone at the end of the front wall of the church measures 175 by 70 by 70 cm. The average length of the bossed stones at the ruin at Qalônieh is from 135 to 150 cm., and the width 65 cm. At both Qaryet el-'Inab and Qalônieh the margin, ranging from twelve to twenty-five cm. in width, is depressed from three to five cm. The Crusaders probably built the church from old materials which they found near the spring, and upon the remains of another structure. An inscription discovered in a wall of the church reads as follows: VEXILLATIO LEG(IONIS) X FRET-(ENSIS).[31] Josephus gives us scant aid when he says: "Titus permitted the tenth legion to stay as a guard at Jerusalem";[32] and also: "Caesar assigned a place for 800 men only, whom he had dismissed from his army, which he gave them for their habitation; it is called 'Αμμαοῦς and is distant from Jerusalem threescore furlongs."[33] The Latin reads "Amassada" for 'Αμμαοῦς.[34] The duty of Roman soldiers at Qaryet el-'Inab would be to protect the road to Biddû, as well as the approach to Jerusalem. There is no proof, however, that the church building was originally a castellum. Vincent suggests that a nymphaeum was built over the spring, in honour of the

[28] *ZDPV* 1913, p. 83 f.

[29] Benzinger, *MNDPV* 1905, 26; Lauffs, pp. 261 f. But cf. Vincent, *RB* 1905, 9 f.

[30] Lauffs, p. 293.

[31] *RB* 1902, 431.

[32] *Wars* VII, i, 3.

[33] *Wars* VII, vi, 6.

[34] Dalman (*Orte und Wege Jesu*, p. 199) very plausibly suggests that the original may have been *ham-Môṣah* (המוצה). See also *ibid.* p. 200, note 2.

divinity of the water.[35] At any rate, we have seen that the Qaryet el-'Inab-Jerusalem road is old, and that in all probability a Roman structure was situated at the site of the present church.

There is strong evidence that Qaryet el-'Inab appears on the Madeba Mosaic. Near Jerusalem we find the words, TO TETARTON and TO ENNA(TON). Abel believes that Qaryet el-'Inab is the Roman *mutatio ad nonum,* the nine mile mark or station on the road from Jerusalem. He offers as a parallel the system of mutations having Alexandria as the starting point.[36] Lauffs agrees that TO ENNA(TON) refers to Qaryet el-'Inab.[37] TO TETARTON, then, should probably be found at the Roman ruin at Qalônieh, mentioned above. This evidence seems to support two points: the Eusebian reference to the location of Kirjath-jearim, and the antiquity of the Jerusalem-Qalônieh-Qaryet el-'Inab road.

According to several mediaeval maps, Qaryet el-'Inab was confused with the site of the Lucan Emmaus. The error was evidently caused by an effort to make Eusebius's Emmaus (Nicopolis), coincide with the distance named in the Gospel, sixty stadia from Jerusalem. The map of Marino Sanuto Torcelli[38] (c. 1310 A. D.) places Emmaus at el-Qubeibeh, and identifies Nicopolis with Qaryet el-'Inab, on the border of Benjamin. Cariatyrym is represented as in the midst of the tribe. On the Florentine map[39] (also c. 1300) Emmaus is at Qaryet el-'Inab. A road leads to Cariathiarim, which is on the other side of the main road. Cariathiarim is again in the midst of Benjamin, while Emmaus is on the border. On the so-called third Florentine map,[40] Nicopolis is at Qaryet el-'Inab, but is explained as a later name for Cariathiarim. In the *Rudimentum Noviciorum* and the *Prologus Arminensis*[41] Kirjath-jearim seems to be in its right place. Nicopolis, that is, 'Amwâs, is about 160 stadia from Jerusalem, while the distance of Qaryet el-'Inab from the Holy City is in accord with the Lucan tradition.

The town has several names, the most common of which is *Kirjath-jearim* (קרית יערים). Conder, in proposing Ḫirbet 'Erma as the site, says that the element *jearim* should be preserved. *Ye'arîm,* however, seems to bear no relation to *'Erma* (or *'Orma,* as it is pronounced by the *fellāḥîn,* according to Hanauer), meaning "heap." In *'Erma,* if it is derived from *jearim* (יערים), the plural ending has become a stem-consonant, while a feminine ending has been added, contrary to the usual rule; moreover, the long *i* has completely disappeared. The name *Kirjath-jearim* (קרית־יערים) seems to have been abbreviated in the mouth of the people to *Kirjath* (קריה); just as, for example, the common name of Qaryet el-'Inab is simply *el-Qaryeh,* "the

[35] *RB* 1907, p. 420.
[36] *Oriens Christianus,* 1911, p. 77 ff.
[37] Lauffs, pp. 282 ff.
[38] *ZDPV* XXI, plate II.
[39] *ZDPV* XIV, plate I.
[40] *ZDPV* XXI, plate VI.
[41] *ZDPV* XXI, plates IX and XI.

village." The town is also called *Kirjath-baal* (קרית־בעל, *Jos.* 15: 60; 18: 14), and *Baalah* (בעלה, *Jos.* 15: 9, 10; II *Sam.* 6: 2; I *Chron.* 13: 6). The latter reminds us of *Baalath* (בעלת) of Dan, and Neubauer suggests that the two are confused in a Talmudic passage.[42] The modern name *Qaryet el-'Inab* is also ancient. In the Papyrus Anastasi I there is the name *Qrt-'nb* (קרת ענב).[43] Daressy finds the same reading in a list of foreign names at Abydos,[44] and Max Müller read the name in a palimpsest list at Karnak.[45] *Bt-Spr* (בת ספר) follows *Qrt-'nb* in the Papyrus Anastasi I. The names *Kirjath-sannah* and *'Anab* occur in *Jos.* 15: 49, 50. The LXX reads πόλις γραμμάτων for *Kirjath-sannah*,[45a] evidently referring to Kirjath-sepher, elsewhere mentioned with 'Anab (*Jos.* 11: 21), both towns in southern Judah. Although Müller proposed to interchange *Qrt* and *Spr* in the Papyrus Anastasi I, "there can be little doubt that the same places are meant as are referred to in the passage of Joshua."[46] Ḫirbet 'Anab lies between Hebron and Beersheba. Kirjath-sepher, or Debir, is probably to be identified with Ḍâherîyeh, or a neighbouring tell. The name *Ḫinianabi* (עין־ענב), in the land of Gari, is found in the Amarna tablets.[47]

In determining a possible oldest form, we may recognize that the element *jearim* (יערים) is late.[48] The names *Baalah* (בעלה, *Jos.* 15: 9) and *Kirjath baal* (קרית בעל, *Jos.* 15: 60, 18: 14) occur with the explanation, "which is Kirjath-jearim (קרית־יערים)." After בית ("house of") and קרית ("town of") proper names, especially divine names, are usual. Both elements are, however, often omitted, for the sake of abbreviating a ponderous name. For example, we have *Beth-baal-meon* (בית בעל מעון, *Jos.* 13: 17), which is abbreviated both to *Beth-meon* (בית מעון, *Jer.* 48: 23) and to *Baal-meon* (בעל מעון, *Num.* 32: 38; *Ez.* 25: 9; I *Chron.* 5: 8). We have also *Baal-tamar* (בעל תמר, *Jud.* 20: 23) and *Beth-tamar* (Eus. Onom. 238: 75), both clearly for *Beth-Baal-tamar* ("house of the lord of the palm"). So further we have *Beth-peor* (בית פעור, *Deut.* 3: 29) and *Baal-peor* (בעל פעור, *Num.* 25: 3, 5), etc. *Kirjath-baal* (קרית־בעל) and

[42] *Topographie du Talmud*, p. 99.

[43] Gardiner, *Egyptian Hieratic Texts*, Papyrus Anastasi I, 22, 4 f.

[44] *Rec. de Trav.* 21, 2. See also Gardiner, *op. cit.* p. 24, note 7.

[45] *Researches*, I, 57, 14.

[45a] [The orthography of **M** קריה סנה is due to scribal repetition of the last consonants of the preceding name רנה (**G** Φενννα), a very common phenomenon. (W. F. A.)]

[46] Gardiner, *op. cit.* p. 24.

[47] Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*, p. 1320. New Amarna tablets, published by Thureau-Dangin, show that the group of towns to which Ḫinianabi belonged was in Galilee or northern Transjordania.

[48] This element belongs originally, it would seem (see above), to the district. For Clauss's impossible identification of the name *Kirjath-jearim* with *ia-ra-mi*, see Knudtzon, p. 1355.

Baalah (בעלה) may be explicable on the analogy of these forms. Since *Baal* alone is not a complete divine name, we may suppose that the original name was *Qiryat-baʿal-ʿanab,* like the Egyptian *Qart-ʿanab* (see above), and perhaps meaning "city of the lord of the vine."

Qaryet el-ʿInab is on the Jaffa road, just beyond the fourteenth kilometer stone from Jerusalem. It is now called Abū Ḡôš, after the sheikh who terrorized the country during the early part of the nineteenth century. In the words of Robinson, the village "is situated in a basin, on the north side of a spur jutting out from the western hill." The place is fairly large and prosperous. The district around was once occupied by thickets or forests (*yeʿārîm*). Inhabitants of the place remember a time when it was more densely wooded than now. Early writers speak of the luxuriant growth that the district enjoyed.[49] At present there are olive trees on both sides of the road, and almond trees on the hillside, and viticulture is an important occupation. According to the natives, the village was formerly situated across the road, on Deir eš-Šeiḫ, a low terraced hill, now cultivated all over. Byzantine and Arabic pottery is strewn over the hill. There are no pre-Byzantine potsherds. There are two open cisterns on the summit, and crude tesserae are scattered about.

Kirjath-jearim was not at the modern site of Abū Ḡôš. The hill on whose side it lies shows no potsherds or other vestiges of ancient remains. Vincent suggested in 1907[50] that the Old Testament town was on Deir el-Azhar, a commanding hill just beyond and west of Abū Ḡôš, on the other side of the road, but this suggestion was unwisely rejected by Lauffs.[51] The ruins, as examined by the writer at various times, clearly reflect several periods of occupation. The slopes of the hill are strewn with pottery, most of it dating partly from the Late Bronze Age, and some from the Early Iron. Its abundance indicates the presence of an important Israelite town. From the west the *tell* formation is unmistakable. There are many tombs near Deir el-Azhar, including three bench tombs, probably from the Early Iron Age, at the foot of the hill.[52] A Hellenistic-Roman tomb with arcosolia lies a short distance away, in the valley to the north.[53] To the south there are two

[49] Tobler, *Topographie von Jerusalem.* II, p. 745.

[50] *RB* 1907, 417.

[51] *ZDPV* 1915, 269.

[52] There are two adjoining bench-tombs at the foot of the east slope of Deir el-Azhar. The measurements of these tombs, the north and south respectively, are: length, 350 cm., 300 cm.; width, 280, 300; width of benches, 70, 90; height above benches, 80, 60. There is a hold in each tomb for the disposal of bones. The rock is broken away, so that the two tombs are connected. The measurements of the third bench-tomb are: length, 290; width, 250; width of benches, 80; height above benches, 120.

[53] Its length is 280 cm., and its width 270. The width of the benches is 58, and

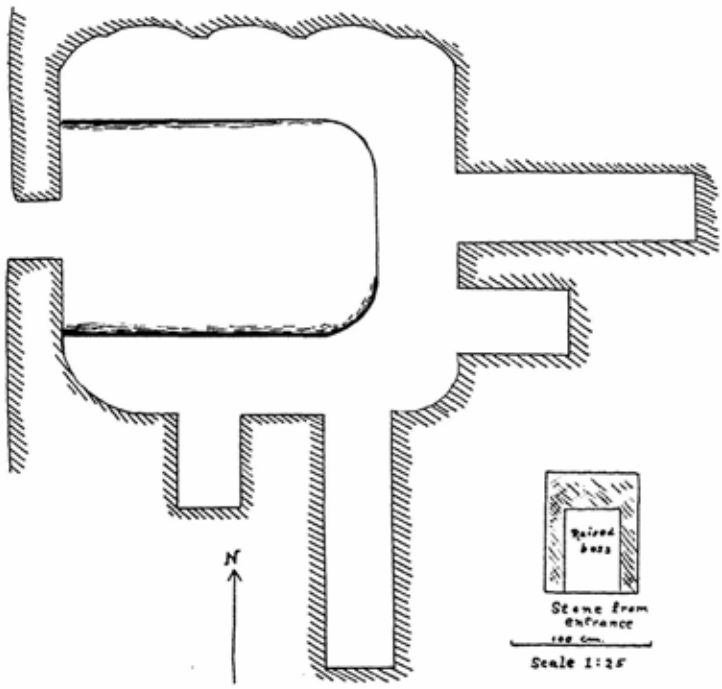
others from the same period, with outer chambers.[54] A Roman-Byzantine tomb, with steps leading down to it, is on the summit. The Benedictine Fathers at the church at Abū Ḡôš say that some tombs have been filled in on Deir eš-Šeiḫ, and that others are uncovered from time to time. On Deir el-Azhar there has been found the ruin of a large Byzantine basilica, measuring about thirty by twenty meters. The basilica had a wide central nave, flanked by two rows of pillars, and a deep apse. A crude mosaic has been found, and it has been said that a synagogue preceded the church. Vincent, however, can find no traces of the alleged earlier structure. He thinks that there was originally a Roman building, either a castellum or a shrine, at the place. A church is being built by the Sisters of St. Joseph after the model and on the site of the old basilica. In order to preserve the old ground-plan uninjured, it is two meters wider, and its length is four meters greater. There are broken columns near the site, including a Corinthian capital. A fragmentary inscription has been discovered (IMP CAE...IMP ...SEX LV).[55] On the summit the total depth of débris is about four meters, with a very superficial Byzantine and Arab stratum.

There is a fine spring in a courtyard of Abū Ḡôš, a fact which suggests why the village may have descended from the hill. A similar process has taken place at Qaṭanneh. Chephirah was located on a high and steep hill. The modern town is in the deep valley below the old acropolis, where there gushes forth a perennial stream. The former position of the cities on the hills and their removal to the vicinity of their water sources, recall their relation to each other more than three thousand years ago. It is at Deir el-Azhar, a hill admirably situated for defence and for observation of the surrounding country, that we must, without doubt, look for the ancient Kirjath-jearim.

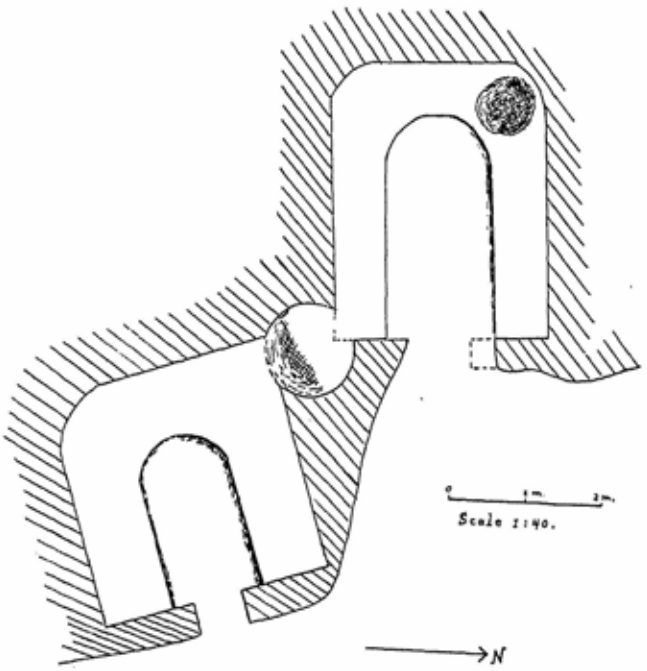
the height above the benches is 90. The longest receptacle measures 180. Near by is a stone which fits into the mouth, with a length of 85 cm., a width of 65, and a thickness of 40. The margin is depressed about 6 cm.

[54] One of these tombs is large, and well cut. The outer chamber is 265 cm. long, and 250 wide. Its height is 265. Arches are represented in relief on three sides, formed by cutting away the rock beneath. The inner chamber or tomb proper measures 230 by 220 cm. There are arcosolia and benches for bones.

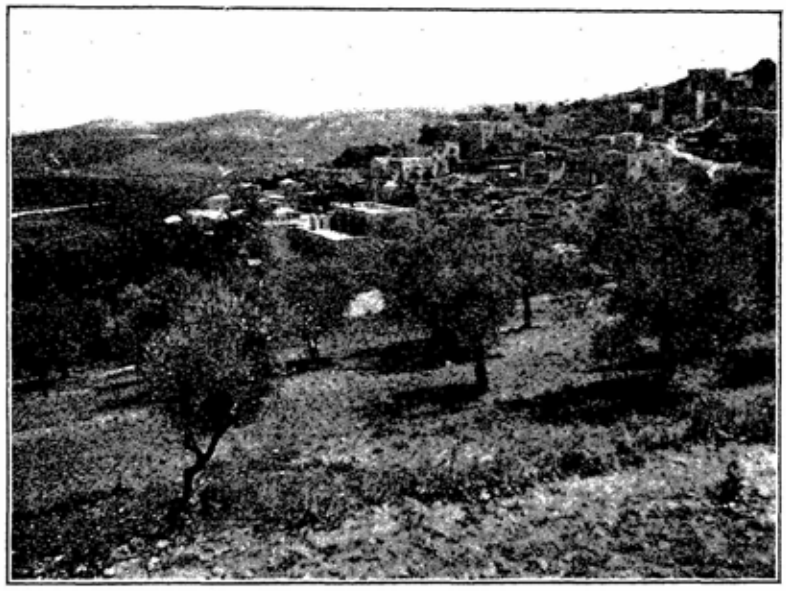
[55] *RB* 907, 417.



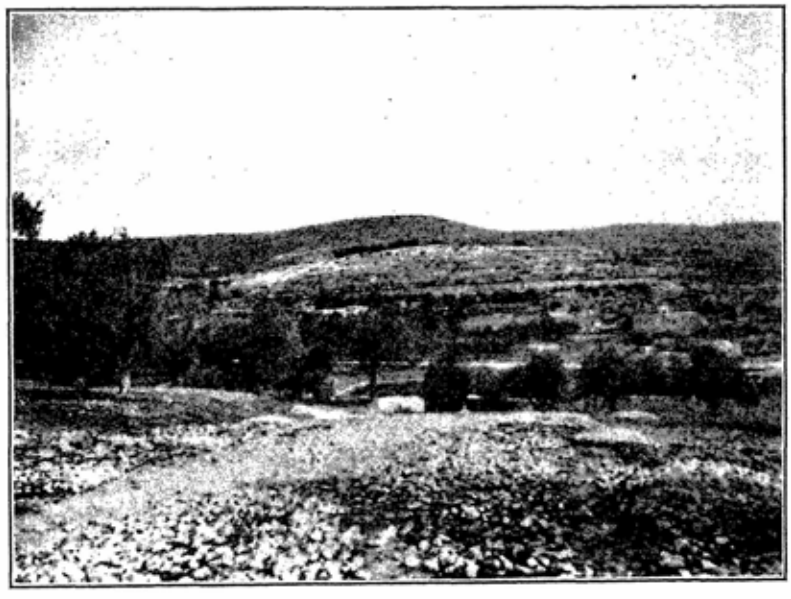
Arcosolia Tomb, north of Deir el-Azhar



Bench-tombs, east of Deir el-Azhar



Qaryet el-'Inab



Deir eš-Šeiḫ from Deir el-Azhar

Deir el-Azhar (Kirjath-jearim)

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