

THE COPPER DOCUMENT FROM CAVE III OF QUMRAN TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

The two inscribed copper scrolls, which were found on March 20, 1952 in Cave III of Qumrân (3Q), actually form a single text of twelve columns. They were opened in 1955/56 by means of a simple, but very careful, method of cutting into sections by Professor H. Wright Baker of the College of Science and Technology at the University of Manchester⁽¹⁾. The strips, numbering twenty three, were sent back to Jordan at the beginning of April, 1956. At present they are exhibited in the Archaeological Museum of Amman, the capital of the country.

The three institutions which conducted the exploration of the cliffs of Qumrân from the 10th to the 29th of March, 1952: The American School of Oriental Research at Jerusalem, the Palestine Archaeological Museum, and the École Biblique et Archéologique Française à Jérusalem⁽²⁾, commissioned me to bring out the edition of this intriguing document. My provisional translation was sent out as a press-release and appeared simultaneously in Jordan, England, the United States, and in France, on June 1, 1956. It told of the opening of the scroll and gave the initial information concerning the text which was there engraved. I, myself, have spoken of this on many occasions⁽³⁾. After three years, despite other editorial work (Hebrew and Aramaic documents of Murabba'ât⁽⁴⁾, literary texts of Cave IV of Qumrân) the edition of the Copper Document is now ready and it will be in press when this article appears. With the kind permission of the Clarendon Press we publish here the translation of the entire document in English, as well as some notes dealing with the identification of the sites in 3Q 15⁽⁵⁾. The reproductions (photographs and facsimiles) and the complete transcription of the text, together with an extensive commentary, must be reserved for the editio princeps in *DJD* III. In the meantime, the elements furnished by the translation and by some of the transcriptions will offer material for useful discussions on topography of Roman Palestine⁽⁶⁾.

From the notes the reader will discern that we still hold to our first view, namely, that the bronze catalogue describes purely imaginary treasures belonging to Jewish folklore of the Roman period. As to the date of the document, further study of the complex and disparate data, discussed in detail in *DJD* III, makes us now lean towards the period between the two Jewish wars against the Romans, giving the year 100 as a round number. We have not found a single valid indication that would lead us to attribute the composition of this curious work

(1) See H. W. Baker, Notes on the Opening of the "Bronze" Scrolls from Qumrân, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, XXXIX, 1955-56, pp. 45-55.

(2) Cf. R. de Vaux, Exploration de la région de Qumrân, *Revue Biblique*, LX, 1953, pp. 540-61.

(3) *Biblical Archaeologist*, XIX, 1956, pp. 60-64; *Volume du Congrès de Strassbourg 1956* (Supplements to *Vetus Testamentum*, vol. 4), Leiden 1957, pp. 22s.; *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea* (Studies in Biblical Theology, No. 26), London 1959, pp. 45 and 42 s.

(4) *Grottes de Murabba'ât*, by P. Benoit, J. T. Milik and R. de Vaux, in the series *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* II (in press); abbreviated from now on: *DJD* II.

(5) This is the siglum that will be given to the copper scroll in the edition: *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* III.

(6) See also my two papers in the *Revue Biblique* of 1959, pp. 321-57 and 550-75.

to the members of the learned confraternity of Essenes, who disappeared from the region of Qumrân in the year 68 A.D.

In examining the place names of 3Q 15, as offered here, the reader should bear in mind:

1) that the orthography of this text shows some popular features similar to that of the ossuary graffiti: inconsistent use of *matres lectionis*, sometimes more defective than of the Bible texts, or of the Qumrân manuscripts; the feminine singular ending is habitually indicated by *aleph* and, on the other hand, the final *-e* is generally given as *he*;

2) that the script is of the semi-formal type (i. e. simplified formal hand with occasional cursive letters), the same that is found on the ossuaries up to the Second Jewish Revolt; *yod*, *waw*, sometimes *zain* and less frequently *resh* (cursive form) expressed by a simple vertical stroke; *beth*, *kaph*, sometimes *mem*, very much alike; *he* and *heth* of almost identical forms (also *taw*, if its left "foot" is not clear upon the plaque);

3) that its language is Mishnaic Hebrew, but representing a particular dialect (the speech of the Jews of the Jordan Valley, to be more exact?) which, for certain elements, is more developed than the Mishnaic dialect of the Murabba'ât documents (see *DJD* II) and more than that of the Mishna writings; e.g. the very frequent use of the periphrastic pronoun *shel*, while in other particularities it is closer to biblical Hebrew, e.g. the ordinal *shenit* and not *sheniyyah*;

4) that the vocabulary contains a relatively high number of *hapax legomena*, or at least, some new meanings for known common words, of which we do not pretend to give a definitive explanation;

5) that nominal sentences predominate and that the style is extremely concise, which leaves a certain margin of error when it is question of grouping the words in meaningful clauses.

N.B. Because of the printer's lack of diacritical signs, the Latin transcription of Semitic words is merely approximate. So for instance, *s* represents *samek*, *sade*, *sin*, and *shin*.

Translation (1)

Col. I

1) ¹ At Khorebbeh, situated in the valley of Achor, below ² the steps leading to the east, (dig) forty ³ cubits: a coffer (full) of money, the sum ⁴ of which is the weight of seventeen talents. KEN.

2) ⁵ In the funerary monument of *Ben Rabbah, of (Bet) Shalishah*: ⁶ 100 ingots of gold.

3) In the large cistern, situated in the ⁷ Court of the small Cloister — the one which is closed by means of a stone drilled clear through — in the deepest part of the bottom, ⁸ facing the upper opening: nine hundred talents.

4) ⁹ On the hill of Kohlit: vase(s) of aromatic spices, sandalwood, and sacred vestments; ¹⁰ the sum of the aromatic spices and of the treasure: seven and *one tenth* (of a talent). ¹¹ *Sight* from the entrance of the turning door the north side of the outlet of the canal, ¹² (and count off) six cubits in the direction of the crevice (used) for ritual baths. XAG.

5) ¹³ In a hole of the *mine* which is at Manos, go down to the left, ¹⁴ three cubits from the bottom: forty talents ¹⁵ of silver.

Col. II

6) ¹ In the filled up cistern, found at the lower part of the Steps: ² forty two talents. HN.

7) ³ In the grotto of the *old Bet ha - March*, in the third ⁴ recess: sixty five ingots of gold. OE.

8) ⁵ In the underground chamber of the Courtyard of the *wood-sheds*, in the middle ⁶ of which is a cistern; there are vases and silver: seventy talents.

9) ⁷ In the cistern in front of the Eastern Gate, at a ⁸ distance of fifteen cubits, there are vases.

10) ⁹ And in its canal: ten talents. AI.

11) ¹⁰ In the cistern, situated beneath the rampart on the eastern side, ¹¹ (dug) into the craggy rock: six bars of silver, ¹² at its entrance, (hidden) under the large threshold.

12) ¹³ In the pool, situated to the east of Kohlit, dig four cubits ¹⁴ at the north corner: ¹⁵ 22 talents.

Col. III

13) ¹ In the Cour[t of the *Peri]bolos*, under the sou²th corner, (at a depth of) nine cubits, silver and gold vases containing ³ aromatic spices, bowls, cups, basins, ⁴ pitchers; the total six hundred and nine (vases).

14) ⁵ Under the other corner, (the one) to the ea⁶st, dig sixteen cubits: forty talents ⁷ of silver. TP.

15) ⁸ In a pit, which is to the north of the Esplanade: ⁹ vase(s) with resin from the Aleppo pine; (the pit) whose entrance is ¹⁰ under the western corner (of the Court).

16) ¹¹ In the tomb which is found to the northeast ¹² of the Esplanade, three cubits under the ¹³ *body*: 13 talents.

(1) *Italics*: translation uncertain; parentheses (): words added in translation; brackets []: lacunae; < >: omission; ⁰⁰: letters not deciphered; . . . : approximative number of letters missing.

Col. IV

17) ¹In the large cistern, which is at [. . .]*qeh*, in the pillar,² to its north (side): [. . .] 14 talents. ⁰K.

18) ³In the canal, which le[ads towards . . .] . . . , proceeding⁴ fort[y on]e cubits: 55 talents⁵ of silver.

19) ⁶Between the two tamarisk trees, which are in the valley of Achon,⁷ dig three cubits in between them; ⁸ here are to be found two cooking pots full of silver.

20) ⁹In the Red Pit, situated at the outlet (of the spring) ha-¹⁰As¹⁰ la: two hundred talents of silver.

21) ¹¹In the East Pit, situated to the north of Koh¹² lit: seventy talents of silver.

22) ¹³In the tumulus, which is in the vale of ha-Sekaka, dig < . . . >¹⁴ cubits: 12 talents of silver.

Col. V

23) ¹At the beginning of the aqueduct which is [at]² Sekaka, on the north side, under the large³ [stone], dig [. . .] cubits: ⁴ 7 talents of silver.

24) ⁵In the cleft which is in Sekaka, to the eas[t]⁶ of Solomon's Pool: vases of⁷ aromatic spices.

25) And near there,⁸ from above the Canal of Solom⁹ on in the direction of the large block of stone¹⁰ (count off) sixty cubits, dig three¹¹ cubits: 23 talents of silver.

26) ¹²In the tomb situated in the torrent ha-Kippa,¹³ coming from Jericho to Sekaka,¹⁴ dig seven cubits: 32 talents.

Col. VI

27) ¹In the Cave of the Column, which has two² entrances (and) which faces the east,³ dig three cubits at the north entrance;⁴ there you will find a jar, (and)⁵ inside it a book, beneath it⁶ 42 talents.

28) ⁷In the Cave of the⁸ Rock Base, facing⁹ the east, dig¹⁰ nine cubits at the entrance: 21 talents.

29) ¹¹In the Abode of the Queen, on the western¹² side, dig twelve¹³ cubits: 27 talents.

30) ¹⁴In the tumulus which is found at the Ford of the High

Col. VII

¹ Priest dig nine² [cubits]: [. .] 22 talents.

31) ³In the aqueduct of Qe[. . . , at the . . .]⁴ of the reservoir to the nor[th, . .] . . . , count⁵ off twenty [fo]ur cubits⁶ from [its] four sides: ⁷ four hundred talents.

32) ⁸In the cave which is nearby, in the vi[cini]ty of ⁹Bet ha-Qos, dig six cubits: ¹⁰six bars of silver.

33) ¹¹At ha-Doq, dig seven cubits under the eastern corner¹² of the fortress: ¹³ 22 talents.

34) ¹By the outlet of the water channel, at ha-Kozi ¹⁵ba, (proceeding) towards the retaining wall, dig three cubits: ¹⁶60 talents (of silver), two talents of gold.

Col. VIII

35) ¹[In the aque]duct which (runs along) the road to the east of Bet ²Ahsor, situated to the east of *Ahsor*: ³vase(s) of aromatic spices and books. Do not *appropriate (them)*!

36) ⁴In the Outer Vale, in the middle of the *abrupt slope*, ⁵dig seventeen cubits near the stone; ⁶under it there is some silver ⁷and gold: 17 talents.

37) ⁸In the tumulus which is found at the entrance of the Gorge of ha-Qedro(n) ⁹dig three cubits: 4 talents.

38) ¹⁰In the dry land situated at ha-Sho', facing ¹¹towards the west, in the southern part, ¹²dig twenty four cubits in the grave orientated towards the north: ¹³66 talents.

39) ¹⁴In the irrigated land situated at ha-Sho', there, under the border-stone, dig ¹⁵eleven cubits: ¹⁶70 talents of silver.

Col. IX

40) ¹From the *crevice*, out of which flows (the spring of) ha-Natoph, count off thirteen cubits from its outlet; ²dig two (cubits) and upon seven smooth stones ³(you will find) *two* bars (of silver weighing) four *pounds*.

41) ⁴At *Tekelet ha-shani*, by the side of the grave turned ⁵towards the east, dig eight cubits: ⁶aromatic spices (called) *husa* (and) 23 $\frac{1}{2}$ talents.

42) ⁷Among the graves of (Bet) Horon, dig sixteen cubits ⁸into the *basin* of the one facing the Sea: ⁹22 talents.

43) ¹⁰At Qob'eh, a large quantity of silver has been stored.

44) ¹¹At the waterfall a short distance from Kephars Nebo, ¹²dig seven cubits near its outlet to the east: ¹³9 talents.

45) ¹⁴In the pit which is found at the entrance of the gorge of Bet ¹⁵Tamar in the *parched area (near) the bushy Cairn*: ¹⁶anathema.

46) ¹⁷In the *man-hole* (found) in the aque[duct] of ha-Masad,

Col. X

¹on the south side, at the second «storey», descending from ²above: 9 talents.

47) ³In the well for the irrigation ditches (fed) from the Great ⁴Torrent, at the bottom (of the well): 12 talents.

48) ⁵In the reservoir of Bet ha-Kerem, going down ⁶to the left, count off twelve *feet*: ⁷sixty two talents of silver.

49) ⁸In the pool of the vale of . . . , on the west side ⁹(there is found) a stone joined with two clamps; ¹⁰it is the door: three hundred talents ¹¹of gold and twenty vases coated with pitch.

50) ¹²Under the Hand of Absalom, on the west ¹³side (of the monument), dig ¹⁴twelve feet : ¹⁵80 talents.

51) ¹⁶In the pool of the Baths of Siloah, under ¹⁷the pipe : 17 talents.

52) ¹⁸[At . . .] eh, at the four

Col. XI

¹corners : *gold* and vase(s) of aromatic spices.

53) Just nearby, ²beneath the south corner of the Portico, ³at the tomb of Sadoq, under the pillar of the vestibule : ⁴a vase of resin from the Cilician pine, (a vase of) senna perfume.

54) And just nearby, ⁵in a family plot (situated) at the top of the rock facing west, ⁶in front of the courtyard (of the tomb) of Sadoq, under a large ⁷flat stone found near the water canal : anathema.

55) ⁸In the tomb which is beneath the Galleries : 40 talents.

56) ⁹In the tomb of the Sons of . . . of Yerah : ¹⁰there is a vase containing resin from the cedar, (a vase of) resin from the Cilician pine.

57) ¹¹Nearby, ¹²at Bet Eshdatain, in the reservoir ¹³where you enter into the small basin : ¹⁴a case of aloes wood (and a vase of) resin from the white pine.

58) ¹⁵ Just nearby, ¹⁶at the western entrance to the lodg[ing] of the triclinium (where is found) ¹⁷the platform for the portable stove, close by [. . .] : nine hundred [talents of silver],

Col. XII

¹five talents of gold.

59) Sixty talents : on circling around from the west side, ²beneath the black rock.

60) Nearby, under the threshold ³of the (stepped) cistern : 42 talents.

61) ⁴At Mount Garizin, beneath the steps of the upper pit : ⁵a coffer with its contents, as well as 60 talents of silver.

62) ⁶At the spout of the fountain of Bet-Shan : a silver and a gold ⁷vase containing aromatic spices; and the sum of the silver is six hundred talents.

63) ⁸In the large gutter of ha-Baruk, (going) towards Bet ha-Baruk : ⁹altogether it amounts to 71 talents (and) 20 minas.

64) ¹⁰At the tunnel in the Smooth Rock to the north of Kohlit, which opens towards the north ¹¹and which has tombs at its entrance : a copy of this document, ¹²with the explanations, measurements, and a detailed account ¹³of each (treasure).

Commentary

Before beginning the study of the place names contained in 3Q 15, it is necessary to give a summary of the difficulties inherent in a work such as this, as well as the hypothetical character of almost all the identifications which are proposed for the sites and monuments. First of all, it consists in a correct reading of the text, letter by letter, then of a grouping of the letters into words (since the engraver had chosen to employ the *scriptio continua*). Afterwards, it should be decided if the text treats of common names, or of place names, geographical points, or of monuments constructed by the hand of man. Once the possible place names have been disentangled, we are faced with a difficult task: namely, to try to pin them down to the map of Roman Palestine and Jerusalem. An important criterion — but never decisive — would be to use the sequence employed by the author himself. In any case, we have to be resigned to the laconic style of the author, who writes for himself alone or for the initiated, and who does not give in his *pro-memoria* known focal-points, as for instance, large cities, mountains, etc., with but few exceptions. We have to contend with the orthography and phonetics of the sources which have handed down to us the topographical material; and we have to contend with the variations according to different periods and languages; and again we have to contend with the sources themselves, which are astonishingly poor for the Roman Period, and with the sites, which are difficult to identify today either because there are so few remains left or because they have entirely disappeared in the course of these twenty centuries.

In beginning this study, the editor had no preconceived notions as to the extent of the "network" of treasures. He believes that he has arrived at results, which are, in the main, satisfying, and which will, broadly speaking, stand correct. The sites of the copper scroll are to be placed in that part of Roman Palestine where the Jewish population was mostly concentrated, and that since the end of the second millenium before Christ: the Judean plateau, the Jordan Valley (and the Peraea?), the national and religious center of which was always Jerusalem and its Temple, standing, or in ruins. Some of the more distant sites seem to have a connection with the holy mountains and the history of the Jewish religion. The one city, Scythopolis-Beisan, which was outside strictly Israelite territory, may have been the hometown of the author of the catalogue. However this may be, the editor is convinced that the place names of 3Q 15 will give us a new insight into the geography of the Ancient World. This is of the utmost importance, and will have a real and lasting value.

We have made much use of the following books, even though we have not at times cited them explicitly: F. M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, I - II, Paris 1933, and 1938; M. Avi-Yonah, "Map of Roman Palestine", *The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, V, 1936, pp. 139-93 (with the map, reprinted in 1939 and 1950); *idem*, *Historical Geography of Palestine from the Persian Period to the Arab Conquest* (in Hebrew), Jerusalem 1949 (with map).

Col. I.

L. 1.

"The Valleŕ of Achor": 'mq 'kwr (written 'mq 'kwn in IV 6 in memory of a biblical personage) is not the "Valley of Trouble" of the Iron Age, the modern el-Buqei'ah to the south-

west of Jericho, between W. Mukellik and W. en-Nār (M. Noth, *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins*, LXXI, 1955, pp. 42-55; F. M. Cross, Jr. and J. T. Milik, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 142, April 1956, pp. 5-17) but a valley which the Jewish and Christian traditions place to the northeast of Jericho. Josephus does not explicitly establish its locality, but the context of his account places us in the neighborhood of Old Jericho, Tell es-Sultân; *AJ* V §§ 33 and 42-4. According to Eusebius and Jerome, it is "to the north of Jericho" and "near Galgala"; *Onomasticon*, ed. Klostermann, p. 18, 17-20 and 84, 18-21. The name *'emeq Achor* was used by the natives (οὕτω εἰς ἔτι νῦν καλεῖται πρὸς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων; p. 18, 49 s.), the same that was known to the author of the catalogue three centuries earlier. The only place it can refer to is the broad Wadi Nuwei'imeh, northeast of Jericho. The continuity of the tradition with regard to the Valley of Achor is confirmed by the identification of Galgala: ten stadia (Josephus, *AJ* V § 20; cf. Tosephta Sotah VIII 6), or better, about two miles (*Onomasticon*, p. 66, 5 and 46, 18-20) to the northeast of Old Jericho (pilgrim accounts), hence in the vicinity of Kh. Mejjer, situated on the north bank of W. Nuwei'imeh; see J. Muilenburg, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 140, December 1955, pp. 11-19; A. Augustinovic, *Gerico e dintorni*, Jerusalem 1951, pp. 147-154; J. T. Milik, *Revue Biblique*, LXVI, 1959, p. 566.

"Khorebbeh": *Hrybh*, "which is in the Valley of Achor", etymologically "Small Ruin", had become a place name preserved even down to the Byzantine Period. A monastery in the region of Jericho mentioned by John Moschus is called τὸ κοινόβιον τοῦ Χωρεμβη: *Pratum Spirituale*, ch. 157, *Patrologia Graeca*, LXXXVII, col. 3025. With a high degree of certitude we can say that it is not a transcription of the biblical Bet 'Arabah, nor of the modern 'Ain el-Gharâbeh to the east of Jericho (Féderlin, *La Terre Sainte*, XX, 1903, pp. 232-4; Abel, *Géographie*, II, p. 267), since an 'ain or a ghain are never transcribed by a Greek *chi*. On the contrary, the *Hrybh* of the catalogue corresponds perfectly with *Chorembe*. Following the account of Moschus, this monastery is close to two others: Σουββα τῶν Σύρων and Σουββα τῶν Βέσων, but at some distance and not visible from them; whence it had been necessary for a dog to lead a Besian monk (a Georgian) from the monastery of the Syrians to see it. If this last was succeeded by a hermitage of the 9th century, which was decorated with a Syriac mosaic, later uncovered in the middle of the modern road from Jericho to the Allenby Bridge (*The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, IV, 1935, pp. 159-61), we would look for the monastery of Chorembe, and, consequently, our *Khorebbeh*, at one of the extremities of W. Nuwei'imeh, near its mouth (for the ruins see Féderlin, *l.c.*, XXI, 1904, pp. 9s.; Augustinovic, *l.c.*, pp. 159-61), or better, and with more probability, in the neighborhood of Kh. Mejjer, where there have been found many Iron Age sites, to the north and to the east of the Umayyad Palace, together with the remains of some buildings (J. Muilenburg, *l.c.*, pp. 17 and 20-27).

L. 4.

KEN: I can not explain what the Greek letters mean, here and further on.

L. 5.

"Ben-Rabbah of (Bet) Shalishah": the reading of the patronymic and gentile are extremely uncertain; the first could be read *dkwr* etc., the second *h'dsy*, etc. In any case, the last letter of the patronymic is certainly not a final *kaph*.

The biblical place Ba'al Shalishah (II Kings 4 : 42) was called in the Roman period Baith Sarisah and located 15 miles to the north of Lydda-Diospolis (*Onomasticon*, p. 56, 21 - 3), probably the modern Khirbet Sirisiah 22 km to the north of Lydda.

L. 6.

"400 (ingots)": the numbers spelled out in the text are spelled out in the translation; those indicated by the Arabic numerals are in the text represented by special signs attested elsewhere in this period.

L. 7.

In the original text the phrase "the one which... clear through" comes after "in the deepest part of the bottom".

"The small Cloister": *hsr hprstlyn* is probably not the "Cloister Court" — semitic plural of *περίστυλον* — but rather the simple transcription of *περίστυλιον*, (pronounced also in Greek *peristūlin*) "small cloister". In our case, this would be the popular name of the wall — set in with columns — of the upper (inner) court of the Temple.

A considerable treasure — nine hundred talents (of gold and silver) — is hidden in a large cistern, closed by means of a rectangular stone which has a round hole drilled through it, ll. 6 - 8. This mouth of the cistern (Hebrew *hly'*) recalls the *lapis pertusus* of the Pilgrim from Bordeaux, which in the 4th century served the same purpose for the Jews as the wailing wall of later times: ed. *Geyer*, p. 22, 5 - 7. We are told of a similar cache — and quite close by — from the time of Julian the Apostate. When stones were removed from the old Temple foundations, there appeared an opening to a rectangular pit filled with water; at the top of the central pillar (*στήλη*) the hands of the worker had reached a book wrapped in fine and pure linen, and in a perfect state of preservation: it was the gospel of St. John; *Patrologia Graeca*, LXV, col. 552.

L. 13.

"Mine": *hm'b'*.

"Manos": *mns*, possibly the common name *manos* 'refuge' which became a place name, but not attested in the literary sources.

Col. II.

L. 1.

"The Steps": the *m'lot* are identified with the *αναβαθμοί* of the *Pascal Chronicle* (*Patrologia Graeca*, XCII, col. 613) in the Tyropoeon Valley, to which succeeded the *δωδεκάπυλον* of Aelia Capitolina. The Herodian level of this stepped street has been uncovered by modern excavations; C. N. Jones, "Jerusalem: Ancient Street levels in the Tyropoeon Valley within the Walls", *The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, I, 1931, pp. 97 - 100 and 105 - 110. These steps of the Roman Period continue the *mā'alot* of Neh 3 : 15 and 12 : 37.

L. 7.

"The Eastern Gate": *hs'r hmzrhy* designates the only eastern exit from the Peribolos of the Temple — the Golden Gate — rather than either the Corinthian Gate by which one enters onto the inner court, or the eastern gate of the city wall.

Col. III.

L. 1.

"The Court of the Peribolos": *hs[r.]y't*. The second (incomplete) word is probably of Greek origin. The identification with the Peribolos, outer colonnade of the Temple, is suggested by the context; see note to the l. 8.

L. 8 (and 12).

"The Esplanade": *hmlh*, whatever may be its vocalization (*ha-maleh* "the Full, the Filled-in area"?), must correspond to the biblical *millô*. It names, then, the great retaining walls and the inner fill-in, which go to make up the artificial terrace of the imposing Esplanade of the Herodian Temple; cf. Vincent, *Jérusalem de l'Ancien Testament*, p. 440. It is especially the eastern wall which had caused admiration ("300 cubits high", *BJ* V § 187; "400 cubits high", *AJ* VIII § 97; "of an almost infinite height", *AJ* XV § 397) and excited the imagination of the people of Jerusalem (attributed to Solomon: Josephus and the New Testament; treasures: 3Q 15).

Col. IV.

L. 6.

"The valley of Achon": see note to I 1.

L. 13.

"Sekaka": *skk'*, which is mentioned four times in the text (see V 2, 5, 13), is a biblical place name. One of the six villages of the desert district, *Jos* 15: 61s., is called Sekakah. It has recently been identified with Kh. Samra, the central ruin of el-Buqei'ah; see Cross and Milik, *BASOR*, 142, April 1956, pp. 15s.; Milik, *Ten Years*, p. 51, note 1. This is the most important site of the valley, just as the Wadi Qumrân is the valley's largest torrent. Actually Samra is situated near a northern tributary of W. Qumrân, but it is never easy to determine which of the tributaries near the beginning of a torrent is the principal one. For our author, as is the case of the modern name for the same torrent, Sekaka was the name for the torrent throughout its entire course, from the beginning to its mouth, where it leads into the Dead Sea. If the biblical name of el-Buqei'ah, the valley of Achor, had been moved to a place closer to Jericho or, at least, had been used of two different sites for any number of reasons: exegesis of that time, "tourist" needs, etc., still other names of places as equally central as Sekaka would have remained attached to the same places until the Roman period. At any rate, we do not try to identify the biblical Sekaka with W. Dakâkin, a tributary of W. Mukellik; this name comes from a cave which the Arabs likened to a shop (*dukân*, pl. *dakâkin*).

Moreover, I have never heard any name other than Wadi Dukkân used for this latter tributary.

"The vale of ha-Sekaka": the Wadi Qumrân between the cliff and the Dead Sea.

The number of cubits is omitted by distraction.

Col. V.

Ll. 1 - 2.

"The aqueduct of Sekaka": the aqueduct of Qumrân (for Sekaka = Wadi Qumrân see note to IV 13) is well preserved, even today; see R. de Vaux, *Revue Biblique* LXIII, 1956, p. 538; Milik, *Gen Years*, pp. 48 and 50s.

Ll. 5 - 7.

"Vases of aromatic spices in a crevice to the east of Solomon's Pool". The term *'ashiah*, designating a large, rectangular reservoir, refers undoubtedly to the cistern southeast of the ruins. This is the only one that remained visible after the destruction of 68 A.D.; cf. R. de Vaux, *Revue Biblique*, LX, 1953, p. 89; LXIII, 1956, p. 539.

Ll. 7 - 11.

"Twenty three talents of silver located thirty meters from the Canal of Solomon", which is close to Solomon's Pool. The term *hrys* of V 8, does not mean "moat" (*harus* Dan 9:25; Accadian *ḫharisu*), but any kind of "canal, drain, or ditch", as is found in the Mishnaic writings; for example, Kilaim V 3 says that there is seen in a vineyard a *be-haris*, ten palms deep and four wide. In our case, the word refers to the main canal of the ruins, which used to distribute the water to the various cisterns, and ended with the reservoir mentioned in the preceding note; R. de Vaux, *Revue Biblique*, LXIII, 1956, pp. 538s.

If our translation of *'ashiah Shelomo* and *heharis shel Shelomo* is exact, then at the time when the catalogue was composed legend had already attached the memory of Solomon to the buildings at Kh. Qumrân, meaning that they were already lying in ruin. For this we would need at least a generation, bringing us to about the year 100 A.D. We have seen that folklore placed enormous treasures very close to the ruins. The hoards discovered by the excavators in the ruins amount to a mere several hundred bronze coins, a dozen silver coins, and three large hoards of silver tetradrachms from Tyre, which filled three small pots and numbered, respectively, 223, 185, and slightly more than 150; R. de Vaux, *Revue Biblique*, LXI, 1954, p. 230; LXIII, 1956, pp. 565 - 9.

Col. VI.

L. 1.

"The Cave of the Column". Continuing along in the direction given in V 13, from Jericho to Sekaka (Qumrân), we find two caves facing east (ll. 2 and 8/9), and which are most certainly located in the cliff of Qumrân. The first one is called the Cave of the Column, for a reason which the author leaves understood: it has two entrances; at the north entrance there is a hidden treasure, a jar with a book and 42 talents of precious metal, VI 1 - 6. A large double cave between the W. Jaufat Zabin and Cave XI is one of the most striking landmarks in the side of the cliff.

Antiquity, just as in our own time, had known of the discovery of books in this region. To the examples lined up in *DJD* I, p. 88, note 4, and in *Gen Years*, p. 19, note 2, we should add with J. Coppens, *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*, XXXIII, 1957, p. 509, a legendary

notice about the discovery of the Quinta at Jericho, "hidden in small bronze jars", handed down in the *Libellus Memorialis* of Joseppus, c. CXXII, *Patrologia Graeca*, CVI, col. 126, which comes from a Palestinian writer living circa 380; J. Moreau, *Byzantion*, XXV - XXVII, 1955-7, pp. 241 - 276. But these treasures are still not to be counted in terms of talents.

L. 11.

"The Abode of the Queen": *mskn hmlk'*, probably a mausoleum in the region of Jericho, rather than the tomb of the Queen Helen of Adiabene (Qubur Muluk), to the north of Jerusalem.

Col. VII.

Ll. 8 - 9.

A cave with a treasure is to be found in the vicinity of *Bet ha-Qos*, which, for us, is the residence of the Benê ha-Qos, who were a priestly family and who held the important functions of the Temple during the Persian and Greco-Roman Periods. For the identification of their place of origin we turn to Neh ch. 3, which treats of the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem. The first group of the sons of ha-Qos are found not far from the people of Jericho, and next to the *benê ha-Sena'ah* (vv. 2-4), whose residence was called in the 4th century *Μαγδασεινα*, located eight miles north of Jericho; *Onomasticon*, p. 154, 16s. The second group of the same family was beside a group of priests *'anshê ha-kikkar* that is to say, the members of the other priestly families who dwelt in the district of the Jordan; Neh 3; 21s.

At the issue of W. el-Qelt out of modern Jericho, there is found today along the north bank a hill called Tell el-Qos (Tell el-Kos of the *Survey*); Augustinovic, *Gerico e dintorni*, pp. 89 - 92. Despite the uncertainty of the exact pronunciation, it is there that we place Bet ha-Qos of 3Q 15. It is not to be marvelled at that popular belief had sought in the residence of the Temple treasurers a treasure: six bars of silver.

L. 11.

"Ha-Doq": *hdwq* is the ancient name of Jebel Qarantal, northwest of Jericho, of which the flat summit, Tahunet el-Hawwa, measures a mere 100 m. long and 40 m. wide. It had been crowned by a Hasmonean fortress, the Δοκ of I Mac 16: 15, replaced by the monastery of Δουκα in the 4th century; G. Garitte, "La Vie pré-métaphrastique de S. Chariton", *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome*, XXI, 1941, p. 32, 1. The Byzantine, Mediaeval, and modern churches and constructions have wiped out all traces of the fortress, except for a few architectural elements nearby.

The legend could have come from the single important historical event which happened at Doq, eclipsed as early as Alexander Jannaeus by the fortress at the Alexandrion, located more to the north: namely, the murder of Simon Maccabeus in 134, together with his wife and two sons, by Ptolemy, son of Aboubos, the *stratêgos* of the plain of Jericho and son-in-law of Simon. According to I Mac 16: 11, Ptolemy "had plenty of gold and silver". Folklore may have elaborated the story by saying that, when he fled to Amman (*AJ* XIII § 245), he hid "22 talents (of precious metal) under the eastern corner of the fortress".

Ll. 14 - 15.

“Ha-Koziba”: this treasure is found near the spring of *hkwb'*, which we should look for not in southern Judea (*Kozeba'* of I Chr 4: 22; cf. Gen 38: 5; Jos 15: 44; Mich 1: 14), but 4 km. southwest of the Mount of Temptation where, in the wild gorge of the W. el-Qelt, there existed the monastery of *Xoζιβα* from the beginning of the 5th century; see *Analecta Bollandiana*, VII, 1888, p. 98; A. M. Schneider, “Das Kloster der Theotokos zu Choziba im Wadi el-Kelt”, *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1931, pp. 297 - 332. The name undoubtedly signified that part of the W. el-Qelt which runs from 'Ain el-Qelt to Roman Jericho, just where it enters the valley. The rather rare words *yesi'at ha-magim* and *ha-tur*, would seem to refer to some sort of complicated water system. Despite the crude reconstructions of Byzantine and Mediaeval times, the system of aqueducts still admired today must preserve, for the most part, the general plan of the Herodian installations. The aqueduct from 'Ain el-Qelt forms first of all a single canal which later, after Jisr ed-Deir, branches off into three channels; for maintaining the desired level, retaining walls had been built: the *twr* of our text; see *The Survey of Western Palestine. Memoirs*, London 1881 - 8, pp. 205 - 6, 222, 227 - 9.

There is, perhaps, in the cache of Choziba — “60 talents of silver and two talents of gold”, VII 16 — a connection with tales about robbers. In the same torrent, but closer to its source at 'Ain Fârah, Simon bar-Giora, chief of the Zealots, prepared some caves for hiding his treasures and his stolen goods during the winter of 69; *BJ* IV §§ 503 - 513 (Abel, *Géographie*, I, p. 437, and *Histoire*, II, p. 78, prefers the region of Ma'in to the south of the Judean desert, which hardly seems probable). Christian legend tells about the Old Church, previously a cave of brigands, whose riches had come into the possession of St. Chariton, in the monastery of Phara; Garitte, *l.c.* [note to l. 11], ch. 9 to 12; S. Vailhé, *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, IV, 1904, p. 336.

Col VIII.

L. 2.

The readings *'hsr* and *'hxr* are very uncertain. Are these names a phonetic spelling of *Hs(w)r*, the mount of Hazor in the northern Judaea, modern el-'Asûr?

L. 8.

“The Gorge of the Qedron”. Following the course of the Torrent Cedron (mentioned perhaps in the l. 4 by a special name “the Outer Vale”), we arrive at the Gorge of the Cedron, *swq hqdrwh* (peculiar spelling of *Qdrwn?*), a little before the present-day monastery of St. Sabas. This *swq* of the Cedron is probably to be identified with the *swq* of Yoma VI 4 - 6, the place where the scape-goat was brought, passing by Bet Harodon, Kh. Haredhan, half way between Jerusalem and the gorge; for Bet Harodon, see Mur 20 1, note, *DJD* II, p. 111 (the distance of “three miles” given by Yoma VI 8 must be corrected). The Rabbis had gauged the distance from Jerusalem to *Swq* at twelve miles, Yoma VI 4, which is too much: 12 Roman miles are equal to 17½ km., as against the actual distance of between 13 and 14 km. The calculation given in walking time is more satisfactory: 1 mile requires 18 minutes to walk, 12 miles 3½ hours. Now, from Jerusalem to Mar Saba, “following the Cedron Valley, the distance is covered in 3 hours and 15 minutes”; *Les Guides bleus. Syrie-Palestine*, 1932, p. 598. Our *swq* is referred to, perhaps, in Mur 8 5, for the same period (*DJD* II, p. 89). In any

case, it is not permissible to associate the *swq* of the Talmud with *Σουκα*, which is in the W. Khareitun; cf. Abel, *Géographie*, II, p. 471; Avi-Yonah, *The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, V, 1936, p. 150. This last site represents *shuqa* and *siq*, as is abundantly attested to in the Syriac and Arabic christian writings; nevertheless, the last words have a similar meaning, "a narrow passage", "a monastery found in such a place", therefore "a laura".

Ll. 10 and 14.

Ha-Sho': *hsw'* is found, under its fuller form, in Josephus. In describing the western side of the first wall, he gives as the extreme points the Hippicus Tower to the north and the Essene Gate to the south, adding that the ramparts crossed the region called Βηθσω (variants: Βησου, *Betiso*), *BJ* V § 145; cf. Vincent, *Jérusalem de l'Ancien Testament*, I, pp. 51ss. Therefore, the form found in 3Q 15 has to be vocalized *ha-sho'*, and that of Josephus *bet-sho'*. This site has to do with a cemetery and has to be identified with 'mq *swh* and 'mq *hmlk* of Gen 14:17. It is precisely the existence of this place name around Jerusalem — plus the natural tendency of drawing biblical memories to the Holy City — which enabled the revisers of the Torah after the Exile to identify 'mq *swh* of the meeting between Melchisedeq and Abraham with the Royal Valley. Later the author of the "Genesis Apocryphon" identified this place with the valley of Bet Karma (cited in the note to X 5: note the writing *sw'* in that passage, as compared to *swh hqrywt* of XXI 29, which is the equivalent of *swh qrytym* of Gen 14:5). This cemetery, southwest of Jerusalem, is the modern Baqâ'ah.

In this same cemetery — southwest of Jerusalem — the Jews of the Roman Period looked for the Hand of Absalom, X 12 (according to II Sam 18:18, in the Royal Valley). Josephus saw it as "a stele of marble", two stadia from Jerusalem; *AJ* VII § 243.

Col. IX.

L. 1.

"Ha-Natoph": *hntp* is the same as 'Ain en-Natuf in the Wady Khareitun, which gave its name to the biblical village of Netophah to the west, and to the desert of *Natoupha* to the east; Schwartz, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis*, pp. 227s. and 235. The spring comes out of the craggy hillside near the cave of St. Chariton. The author of the catalogue seems to suppose that the source of the spring is in the cave itself, just as the monks, who had built their monastery nearby, did later. They attributed the origin of the spring to the prayers of their founder, when he had used the cave for a hermitage; Garitte, *l.c.* [note to VII 11], ch. 24, p. 34.

L. 7.

"Ha-Horon": perhaps the biblical Bet Horon, Beit 'Ur of our days.

L. 10.

"Qob'eh": village el-Qabû to the southwest of Jerusalem?

L. 11.

"Kephâr Nebo": *kpr nbw*, if this is a *vera lectio*, would give us a Transjordan place name of the catalogue; the importance of Nebo in Jewish religion does not have to be emphasized.

We thought to identify this site with the *Nebô* of Esr 2:29 and Neh 7:33, which is the modern Nûba, 13 km. east of Beit Jibrin; but the presence of the term *kpr*, village, may offer some difficulty. Reading it as *kpr nby* "Village of Prophet" we are not warranted in thinking of the *vicus prophetarum* (or *prophetæ*), the name which is used for Teqoa in pilgrims' accounts and charters; this name has its origin in mediaeval times, and was in use only among Europeans. We prefer the village of Nebo, situated on the southern slope of Jebel en-Neba (Siyâghah), the village which is mentioned by Peter the Iberian under the name of *nbw qryt'*; R. Raabe, *Petrus der Iberer*, Leipzig 1895, the Syriac text, p. 88, 3. The excavations of the Byzantine village have also shown some traces of the Roman occupation; S. J. Saller and B. Bagati, *The Town of Nebo*, Jerusalem 1949, pp. 13 (presses), 15 (coins), 29s. (pottery). Concerning the Jewish and Christian traditions attached to the mountain and its environs, see S. J. Saller, *The Memorial of Moses on Mount Nebo*, Jerusalem 1941, pp. 330ss. (and the two volumes, *passim*); Abel, *Géographie*, I, pp. 379ss, and 460.

We should call attention to the fact that the cache is not in the village itself, but at a certain distance from it. If our translation of *qwl hmy*m as "the waterfall" is exact, we could easily identify this point with the two springs and the cascade of 'Ayun Musa, north of the mountain and village. These springs were rich in Christian traditions; Saller, *The Memorial*, pp. 7ss. The treasure of nine talents, IX 11-13, is to be found very close to the cave where Jeremiah was said to have hid the tabernacle, the ark, and the altar of incense, II Mac 2:4-8; see further Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, IV, pp. 305 and 320s., VI, p. 410 note 59.

Ll. 14 - 15.

"Bet Tamar": *byt tmr* is easily identifiable with Βηθθαμαρ of the *Onomasticon*, (Klostermann, p. 56, 1-3), a *viculus* (Jerome) in the vicinity of Gaba'ah, the Tell el-Fûl of today. The biblical name of the same village was Ba'al Tamar, Jud 20:33. It would seem quite unlikely that it should be associated with *kpr tmrt' sbyhw*dh or with *kwr* (read *bw*?) *tmrh*, which are mentioned in the Talmudic writings; cited by S. Klein, *Sepher ha-Yishub*, I, Jerusalem 1939, pp. 97 and 173. Perhaps Bet Tamar is to be looked for at Râs et-Tawil, the summit northeast of Tell el-Fûl where were found some caves with ancient pottery, and a Byzantine farm; Abel, *Géographie*, II, p. 260.

L. 17.

"Ha-Masad": *hmsd* is almost certainly Masada, southwest of the Dead Sea. The Aramaic form *msd'*, which is that used by Josephus, we see again in the two documents of Murabba'ât: 19 1 and 72 1 10. The description of 3Q 15 seems to indicate twin aqueducts, which can be seen on the northwest slope of the rock of Sebbeh; see *Israel Exploration Journal*, VII, 1957, pp. 54-8.

The treasure amounts to 9 talents (of gold and silver), IX 17-X 2. The memory of the Hasmonean and Herodian Kings and of the Zealots who "carried their riches there during the insecurities of the war", BJ IV § 399, should allow for even greater expectations.

Col. X.

L. 5.

"Bet ha-Kerem": *byt hkrm* is a biblical place name, Jos 15:59 (LXX - κερεμ), Jer 6:1, Neh 3:14. Mentioned again in the *Genesis Apocryphon*, XXII 13-14 ('mq sw' whw' 'mq mlk' bq't byt krm')

and in Rabbinical writings (Middot III 4; Niddah II 7), it has been recently identified, and plausibly so, with Ramat Rahel, half-way between Jerusalem and Bethlehem; Y. Aharoni, *Israel Exploration Journal*, VI, 1956, 137s. and 152 - 156. From the 2nd century (Protoevangelium of James), Christians have attached to this site the remembrance of Our Lady's Rest.

L. 12.

"The Hand of Absalom": see note to VIII 10.

L. 15.

"The Baths of Siloah": *slwhy* is an adjective from the word *slwh*, which is used here to qualify the "thermae", *bet hammim*. For the history of the Pool of Siloah, see H. Vincent and F. M. Abel, *Jérusalem Nouvelle*, I, Paris 1914, pp. 6ss. and 34; IV, 1926, pp. 880ss. Reputed for its ritual use and its medicinal qualities, as well for the common people of Jerusalem (John 9) as for the Rabbis ("even if he were to bathe at Siloah or in the primeval waters...", *yTa'anit* II 65a), the baths may have been the center of many popular legends.

Col. XI.

L. 2.

"The Portico": the colonnade which crowned the eastern wall of the Esplanade had been called by the people "the Portico of Solomon", *ἡ στοὰ τοῦ Σολομῶνος*, John 10:23, Act 3:11 and 5:12. The *h'st'n* of our text can refer only to the same colonnade and not to the "great porticoes" of *BJ* I § 401 encompassing the whole of the Peribolos, which already has another name (see III 1). Otherwise, in the hypothesis that they are synonyms, we cannot understand why the south corner of the *Stoa* would in actual fact be the southeast corner of the Precinct, while the south corner of *hsr..y't* would be the southwest corner of the Peribolos, and at the same time the southeast corner of the Peribolos would have to be called the east corner.

L. 3.

"The tomb of Sadoq": *qbr sdwq* is situated "under the southern corner of the Portico", which is to say, at the southeast corner of the Temple Precinct, "which dominates the unfathomable ravine", *AJ* XX § 221. It is here that the Jewish Christians used to point to *ἡ στήλη παρὰ τῷ ναῷ* as the place of martyrdom and burial of St. James up to the war of Bar-Kochba; Hegesippus in Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, II, 23, 18. It should be pointed out that the Sadoq of this grave bears no family nor tribal name. Therefore, he must be the head of the line of high-priests who were buried there together with him, their ancestor. Now, the Jewish tradition — represented by the *Lives of the Prophets* — knew of the *τάφος τῶν ἱερέων* which we interpret as "the tomb of the High-Priests", situated in the Cedron Valley; Jeremias, *Heiligengräber in Jesu Umwelt*, pp. 62-64. The interesting datum of 3Q 15 permits us to locate it on the west bank of the torrent, opposite the three monuments which are still standing; there is nothing which would warrant identifying it with these other monuments, as Jeremias would wish to do.

L. 7.

"Anathema": *herem*.

L. 8.

"The Galleries" : *hsbyn*, which does not seem to be attested elsewhere (cf., however, Tosephta Kelim Baba Mesia II 8), recalls the Mishnaic *swbb* "a sort of gallery around the altar", Middot III 1, and the latter in its turn recalls the Greek term *περύγιον*, used when speaking of an altar or some other construction. It would be permitted, then, to make a connection between our *hsbyn* — which we translate approximatively by "galleries" — and to *περύγιον* τοῦ ἱεροῦ of Mat 4:5 and Luc 4:9. The two expressions are best applied to the Royal Basilica — that is, the double portico on the southern colonnade of the Peribolos — or more exactly, to its outer elements and to its terraces; cf. Vincent, *Jérusalem de l'Ancien Testament*, II, pp.441-6. The restriction of the semantic use of a word which is in itself capable of a broader meaning has its parallel in the "portico" discussed in the note to the l. 2.

"The tomb which is beneath the Galleries" : *hqbr stht hsbyn* should be looked for inside the city, if our identification of *hsbyn* with the southern colonnade of the Peribolos is correct. The two south gates of the Temple Precinct are called the Gates of Hulda by the Rabbis, on account of the tomb of the prophetess, the only one permitted in these quarters; Jeremias, *l.c.*, pp. 51-53. It would seem, therefore, that the tomb of the catalogue is that of Hulda, being adequately indicated by the mention of the Royal Basilica, and in perfect harmony with the repeated affirmation of the Rabbis that no other burial was permitted in this quarter of the Holy City.

L. 9.

"Of Yerah" : *hyrhy*, possibly the gentilic of the talmudic Bet Yerah, modern Khirbet Kerak at the southern end of the Sea of Galilee.

L. 12.

"Bet Eshdatain" : *byt 'sdtyn* (reading somewhat uncertain) is essentially a large rectangular reservoir (*h'syh*), and evidently a double construction, if we are to judge by the ending of the principal word. Despite the curious inflection of the ending, we can easily recognize the same place name in the following :

- 1) Βηθεσδα of John 5:2 : *byt 'sdh*; the second element is in the singular; the variant *Bethsaida* is due to the influence of the name of the village in Galilee;
- 2) *byt 'sdtyn* of 3Q 15; the second word is in the dual form; another place name of the same quarter which also expresses twofold notion is Χαφενεθα (*haphelâtâ*) of I Mac 12:37;
- 3) Βεζαθα of Josephus (*BJ* II §§ 325 and 530; V §§ 149, 151, 246; variants : Βεζεθα Αβισσαθη) and Βηζαθα of Eusebius (*Onomasticon*, p. 58, 21-6; variants of John : Βηθσαθα, *bethzel(h)a*) : *bet eshdâtâ*, the second element in the Aramaic emphatic plural, shortened to *be-zdata* and transcribed as Βηζαθα, where the *z* corresponds to *zd*, as in Αζωτος, which comes from *azdôd*. We must recall that for Josephus this is the name for the entire quarter — called, therefore, after its most famous monument — which had replaced the place name for that quarter, cited above (I Mac 12:37).

Whatever may be the true etymology of the second component of the name, *'sdtyn* (twin slopes?), nevertheless the Aramaic-speaking Christians of Jerusalem attached it to the Aramaic root *'sd* "to pour out (water, blood)", since they filled one section of the pool with rain water and colored the other with the blood flowing from the victims; Eusebius, *l.c.*, 11,

23-5. The dual form of *Eshdatain* has its echo in λίμναι δίδυμοι of the κολυμβήθρα ('*ashiah* of XI 12) in Eusebius and in the *piscinae gemellares* of the Pilgrim from Bordeaux. Eusebius makes use of the same term "lake" as the author of the catalogue; but this latter is more precise, because he seems to make a distinction between the larger reservoir - the one to the south - and *ymwmyt* (diminutive of *ym*) XI 13, "the small(er) basin" - the one to the north. See Vincent - Abel, *Jérusalem Nouvelle*, IV, pp. 669ss.; J. Jeremias, *Die Wiederentdeckung von Bethesda* (*Ioh*, 5:2), Göttingen 1949.

L. 16.

The next monument, *dy . . byt hmskb*, is most certainly to be found near the preceding (XI 15), but it is not easy to determine its nature. The first of the expression can, perhaps, be restored in this way: *dy[rt]*, "a lodging, a room" in a building that was not destined for habitation; Ben Iehuda, II, p. 932. On the other hand, *bet ha-miskab* can in no way be referred to a "tomb", since that would call for *miskab* alone, as it is found in the only inscription from the Roman Period bearing this word: *zh mskb sl Hsdyh*; Vincent, *Jérusalem de l'Ancien Testament*, I, pp. 362s. Moreover, no biblical or Mishnaic usage of the word *mskb* seems to fit in our context.

We propose here a suggestion that is inspired by the single occurrence of this word in a Nabataean inscription of Hegrah which reads as follows: *dnh mskb' dy 'hd 'nmw 'srtg' br dmmps* "this is the seat which was reserved for 'Animo, the stratêgos, son of Demasippos" (concerning this personage, see J. Starcky, *Revue Biblique*, 1957, pp. 202-4). The use of this word in any connection with a place of burial is excluded by "the total absence of a burial place" in this neighborhood, that is, Jebel Ethlib, the sacred mountain of Hegrah. The inscription is engraved above a rather primitive sort of a seat which had been cut into a rock situated on an esplanade, which had been raised up several meters; CIS II, 234; Jaussen and Savignac, *Mission archéologique en Arabie*, I, p. 206 no. 40 and p. 409 (plan). It is supposed, then, that it was upon this esplanade that the feasts and cult meetings were held, together with the sacred banquets. The simple pilgrims (who have left their names on the rock in the back) were herded into the area, while the most important person of the region had his own place reserved, κλινή; the seat in relief is nothing more than the symbol of his office. In conclusion, the *bet ha-miskab* of 3Q 15 designates the building in which were held the religious meetings consisting principally of a ritual banquet, that is to say, a triclinium. This hypothesis is confirmed by the mention of the "platform" (*typ*) in the lodging of this house.

L. 17.

The *tiph* of the Talmudic texts (Ben Iehuda, IV, p. 1874) is the "base", a small platform, set into the pavement upon which is placed a small, portable stove, *kirah* (or *kiraim*) of the Rabbis, *môqadeh* of the Arabs; cf. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, IV, Gütersloh 1935, pp. 40 and 45. This fire-place is found in an annex to the triclinium, and the only thing this annex can be is the kitchen.

Col. XII.

L. 4.

"Mount Garizim": *hr gryzyn*, a holy mountain of the Bible and of Samaritan tradition, called today et-Tur, south of Nablus. In 36 A.D. some Samaritans believed that they were

about to uncover on this mountain a cache of "sacred vessels hidden by Moses, who brought them here to store away", *AJ* XVIII § 85. At a later date, Merqa, a Samaritan poet, spoke of an ark in a cave; J. A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans*, Philadelphia 1907, p. 239; for other legends, see Ginzberg, *l.c.*, IV, pp. 22 - 24; Montgomery, pp. 36s. and 234-239.

If the phrase "the steps of the upper pit" - in itself a little baffling - can be understood as "the stairway close to the upper pit", we would be willing to suppose that this stairway represented a former phase of the famous steps which ascended from the Portico at the bottom up the side of the mountain to the esplanade of the temple of Zeus Hypsistos - Serapis, built by Hadrian on the ruins of the Samaritan temple; Abel, *Géographie* I, pp. 360 - 9.

"Bet-sham": *byt sm* is almost certainly to be identified with the modern Beisân, to the north of the Jordan Valley, *Byt s'n* and *Byt sn* according to the Jewish sources, Βαιθσαν and Βεθσαν in the Greek writings. In the Greco-Roman Period the city of Bethsan-Scythopolis was pagan, and it later became Christian; however, it always did retain a Jewish minority of some importance; see F. M. Abel, *Revue Biblique*, IX, 1912, pp. 415 - 417; A. Rowe, *The Topography and History of Beth-Shan*, Philadelphia 1930, pp. 2 - 5 and 43 - 49; N. Zori, *Bulletin of the Department of Antiquities of the State of Israel*, V-VI, 1957, pp. 16 - 19; (cf. the same, *Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society*, XVIII, 1954, pp. 78 - 90).

The consonants [n] and [m] may interchange at the end of proper names, e.g. *Bet-Haran* and *Bet-Haram* in the Bible. Cf. on this phonetic phenomenon: E. Y. Kutscher, *Tarbiz*, XXIII, 1952, pp. 38ss., and *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, IV, 1957, pp. 23s.; B. Bagatti and J. T. Milik, *Gli scavi del "Dominus Flevit"*, I, Jerusalem 1958, p. 90.

L. 8.

"Ha-Baruk": *hbrk*, if this is a *vera lectio* (I suppose that the third letter, a simple stroke, is a cursive *resh*), is seen again in Mur 43 5 with exactly the same spelling; there we identify it with Kaphar Baricha of the ancients, Bani Na'im of today. The epithet "Blessed" refers to Abraham. The catalogue speaks of a large gutter belonging to the village, which must have been renowned for its water systems, since even today they are greatly admired: "... die Zisternenanlagen mit riesigen Randsteinen, wie ich sie in solcher Menge (auf der Westseite des Dorfes allein zählte ich über 50) und Grösse nirgends mehr gesehen habe", A. E. Mader, *Altchristliche Basiliken und Lokaltraditionen in Südjudaä*, Paderborn 1918, p. 158.

If this identification is correct, the next place name, i.e. Bet ha-Baruk ("The House of the Blessed One") may be a popular name of Hebron, anticipating the later Arabic name: (Madinat) el-Khalil, "The Town of the (God's) Friend".

Jerusalem, August 1959.

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