

took away from the holy city "the golden altar, and the candlestick of light, and all the vessels thereof, and the table of the shewbread . . . and the veil (*τὸ καταπέτασμα*) . . ." This is confirmed by Josephus, according to whom Antiochus "did not spare even the veils made of fine linen and scarlet" ("Antiq. Jud.," xii. 5. 2).

Pausanias said that Antiochus dedicated (*ἀνέθηκεν*) his oriental veil in the Temple of Olympia.

It was the custom to adorn temples with similar trophies.

But there is more.

Pausanias minutely explains that the *καταπέτασμα*, or curtain of the sanctuary of Olympia, in place of rising up to the roof as, for instance, that of the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus, was dropped to the ground from above by means of ropes. He might have spared himself a good deal of trouble by stating at once that it was not a *καταπέτασμα*, but a *καταπέτασμα* (down-curtain), i. e., he might have used the word always employed by Josephus and in the texts of the Maccabees to designate the Jewish veil. St. Matthew also says that the veil (*καταπέτασμα*) was rent, *ἔσθθεν ἕως κάτω*.

Again, to whom did Antiochus dedicate the Temple of Jerusalem-plundered and defiled by him? To *Olympian Zeus* (2 Macc. vi. 2). We need not be astonished, therefore, if he hung up the veil of the Jewish Temple in that of the Olympian Zeus. Are not always the spoils of the conquered deities consecrated to the victorious deities? (Cf. the sacred utensils of Jehovah consecrated to Chemosh by Mesha, king of Moab.)

If the veil of the Olympian and that of the Jewish Temple are identical instead of being similar, the argument which I thought to draw from an analogy to establish an affinity must be set aside. On the other hand, we obtain a result important in quite another way. There are not two objects to be compared, but two deities placed side by side.

I think the foregoing reflections are of a kind to draw special attention to the excavations now being conducted at Olympia. Should, for instance, any discovery be made bearing upon Syrian rites, religions, and antiquities, I for one should not be surprised.

C. CLERMONT GANNEAU.

THE IDENTIFICATION OF SUCCOTH AND PENUEL.

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ANDOVER, MASS., U.S.

THESE places are mentioned in the Bible in connection with such men and events as to make their identification a matter of peculiar interest and importance. But before I give the facts which my recent researches have brought to light, it will be necessary to correct an error into which two Biblical scholars no less eminent than Mr. Grove in

England and Dr. Robinson in America have fallen. Burckhardt, in a passage which refers to the west bank of the Jordan, makes the statement,—“Near where we crossed, to the south, are the ruins of Sukkot.” This has been misunderstood as referring to some ruin on the east of the river. But it will be noticed that after Burckhardt had crossed the river, he gives the names of all wadies, ruins, or tombs between the crossing and the Zerka or Jabbok, and among them Sukkot is not mentioned. Burckhardt did not himself visit Sukkot. In the *Leisure Hour* for 1874, p. 599, Rev. W. Wright, formerly of Damascus, appears to take it for granted that Burckhardt’s Sukkot was on the east of the river. He says,—“Jerome places Succoth east of the Jordan, opposite Scythopolis, at the place where Burckhardt found its ruins.” Dr. Robinson and Mr. Van de Velde visited a place on the west of the river, about ten miles south of Beisan, which they call “Sakut.” This Dr. Robinson labours to identify with the Succoth of the Bible. Mr. Grove thinks this place is “entirely distinct both in name and position from that of Burckhardt,” while in my judgment they are identical. But independently of these writers I can testify that in the portion of the valley opposite Beisan there are no ruins, nor, further, are there anywhere on the eastern side of the river any ruins bearing the name of Succoth or any name that might correspond to it.

As to Dr. Robinson’s view, that the Biblical Succoth was on the west of the river, all the facts seem to prove the opposite. In the division of the country under Joshua, Succoth was allotted to the tribe of Gad, and hence must certainly have been on the east of the river. Jerome seems to know of a town named Succoth which was “beyond the Jordan.” The Talmud in its physical divisions of Perea adopts those of the Bible, namely, “Beth Haram, Beth Nimrah, Succoth, and Zaphom,” which makes Succoth a district as well as a town, and fixes it on the east of the river. Again, in Gideon’s pursuit of Zebah and Zalmunna, it was *after* he had crossed the Jordan, going south and east, that he came to Succoth. Mr. Grove is right in saying that the “Sakut” of Robinson is too far north, and entirely out of the way of any route leading from the Jabbok to Shechem. This writer’s conclusion, derived from Genesis xxxii. 30 and xxxiii. 18, that Succoth lay between Penuel (on the Jabbok) and Shechem, is correct and important, and must be borne in mind in discussing this question.

It is necessary also to remember the physical divisions which the Bible makes of the valley east of the river, and which are repeated, as I have said, in the Talmud, namely, “Beth Haram, Beth Nimrah, and Succoth.” Beth Haram is the vast oasis of the Shittim plain at the north end of the Dead Sea. Beth Nimrah is the vast oasis immediately north of the Shittim plain, and which appears to be really a part of it when looked at from the neighbouring hills. From Wady Nimrah northward to the Jabbok there are no fountains or streams, and that portion of the valley is entirely desolate and barren, except during the rainy season. About the mouth of the Jabbok there is a plain of great

extent and fertility, and this is the Succoth region of the Talmud, and here, if anywhere, we are to seek for the Succoth of Jacob, and Gideon, and Jerome.

But have we any clue as to the precise locality which bore the name of Succoth? I think we have, and, further, I think that this interesting Biblical site can be identified beyond any reasonable dispute. The Talmud states definitely that in its time Succoth was called "Ter'alah," and in the great plain north of the Jabbok, about one mile from the stream, and about three miles from where the river leaves the hills, there is a large mound or tell, which bears the name of Der'ala. The letters correspond to those of the Hebrew word, except that *t* in Hebrew becomes *d* in Arabic, a change of very frequent occurrence. There are places in other sections of the country bearing the name of Der'ala, but in this case the fact of its being found in this particular locality, considered in connection with the testimony of the Talmud, is more than a coincidence. Adjoining this tell is a smaller one, a kind of shoulder, on which there are at present some ruins, with a few columns. The principal mound is so thickly covered with broken pottery that it could be raked into heaps. I picked up as I passed over the tell as many as twenty specimens of different kinds and qualities of pottery. On one side of the tell some animal had burrowed, which enabled me to examine the soil for at least four feet below the surface, and I was surprised to find that the broken pottery extended all through it. I was anxious to make some cuttings into the mound, but had neither time nor means to do so. The Bedawin living in that region have a tradition that a city existed upon that mound in ancient times. This I mention incidentally, attaching to it no special weight. Among the facts brought to light in this region during my researches is that of a ford or crossing of the Jabbok, some distance to the east of Tel Der'ala, but before the hills are reached, which bears the name of "Mashra'a Canaan," *i.e.*, Canaan's Crossing. Canaan may here be a man's name, or the name of the country, and the words may mean "the crossing which leads to Canaan." But either way this discovery is very interesting and important, because, as I shall soon show, the course of the Jabbok is the only feasible route by which the caravans of commerce and the swarms of Midianites from the east and south could reach the country of the Hebrews on the west of the Jordan.

If we examine the account of Gideon's pursuit of the Midianites, we may get some hints as to where we should look for Penuel. After their terrible midnight rout in the valley of Jezreel, a remnant escaped amounting to about 15,000 men. These were pursued by Gideon, who crossed the Jordan, and came first to Succoth and afterwards "went up thence to Penuel," asking at both places for assistance, and being each time refused. (Judges viii.) Gideon threatened to punish the men of Succoth, and with regard to Penuel he says, "I will break down this tower." These "children of the east" keep to the lowlands, plains, and the good roads. They come from the deserts of Arabia, they follow the

course of the Jabbok to the Jordan, they move up the Jordan valley till nearly opposite Beisan, and then cross and spread themselves, "like grasshoppers for multitude," over the great Esdraelon plain. After the rout just referred to they retrace their steps, hotly pursued by one of the heroes of Hebrew history. Gideon crosses the Jordan by one of the fords near Beisan, hurries down the Jordan valley as far as Succoth, and halts there to rest and refresh his weary but resolute band. The men of Succoth reason with themselves: "We live on the great army route between Canaan and the east, and it will not do for us to show a decided friendship for Gideon; for if we do, and he is unsuccessful, we shall bring upon our heads the terrible vengeance of the Midianites. Our own safety demands that we be strictly neutral. The men of Penuel, living on the same great thoroughfare, were actuated by similar motives, and likewise refused to assist Gideon.

It will be noticed from the eighth verse of the chapter just referred to that Gideon *goes up* from Succoth, evidently leaving the Jordan and turning into the mountains to the east. But we know with absolute certainty from the account of Jacob's return (Gen. xxxii.) that Penuel was somewhere on the line of the Jabbok, and hence we are justified in concluding that Gideon on this occasion followed the course of that stream.

The impression that I get from reading this eighth chapter of Judges is that Penuel was at no great distance from Succoth, although there are no certain hints to prove this beyond dispute. The points that have been hitherto established with certainty are, 1, that Penuel is on the line of the Jabbok, and 2, that below Penuel, near where the stream leaves the hills, there is a ford called "Canaan's Crossing." It is also established beyond any reasonable doubt that Succoth is situated a little to the west of this crossing and north of the Jabbok. So far everything seems to corroborate Mr. Grove's conclusion noticed above, that Succoth must be somewhere between Penuel and Shechem. If Succoth is where I have placed it, it will be on the direct route between the Jabbok and Nablûs or Shechem by way of the Damia ford. But we have still an interesting hint with regard to Penuel in the life of Jeroboam. After the division of the kingdom "Jeroboam built Shechem in Mount Ephraim and dwelt therein; and went out from thence, and built Penuel" (1 Kings xii. 25). It will be remembered that Gideon in his threat to the men of Penuel says, "I will break down this tower," as if a tower or fortress were a principal feature of the place. This leads to the suggestion, which is confirmed by all the circumstances connected with the case, that Penuel was a frontier fortress, built on the great thoroughfare from the east for the purpose of repelling invasions from that quarter. When Jeroboam comes into possession of his kingdom he feels the need of a defence on that side, and hence one of his first acts is "to go out" and rebuild Penuel, which lay almost directly east from his capital; otherwise invading bands or hosts might pour down the valley of the Jabbok, cross the Jordan by the Damia ford, and

sweep up what is now called Wady Fari'a, and attack him in his royal residence. The rebuilding of Penuel was evidently of such importance to the nation as to demand the personal attention of the king, and such as to receive special mention in the annals of his reign.

In the account of Jacob's journey after he had parted with Esau it is said: "And Jacob came to Succoth, and built him an house, and made booths for his cattle" (Gen. xxxiii. 17). Even to this day the fertile fields along the mouth of the Jabbok are the favourite resort of the powerful tribes which occupy the eastern plains, for here they find abundant pasture for their numerous flocks and herds. They could not go south of the Jabbok, and very seldom do they go very far north of it; but if they desire to find pasture for their cattle they go directly to the Succoth region. The same physical conditions exist now that existed in Jacob's time, and coming from the east with his sheep, and cattle, and camels, he went at once to Succoth, where he abode perhaps for a considerable period.

I have alluded to the valley of the Jabbok as being the main thoroughfare from the eastern plains to the Land of Canaan. There is more evidence for this than perhaps would occur to the casual reader. When Gideon pursued the Midianites from Succoth up through the eastern hills on to the plains beyond, he "went up," it is said, "by the way of them that dwelt in tents"—*i.e.*, went up by the route which such people usually took; as if they were confined to one route, or had at least a favourite route by which to approach the country on the west of the Jordan. The apparently incidental circumstance which the words just quoted record did not assume in my mind the importance which it now has until I had been backwards and forwards over all that region several times, and followed the whole course of the Jabbok from its source to where it enters the Jordan. North of the Jabbok there is no other possible route until the valley of the 'Ajlûn is reached, and this is altogether out of the question is considered as a thoroughfare for the "children of the east" on their way to Canaan. South of the Jabbok again, as far as the line of the Dead Sea and Hasban, while there are difficult paths, there is no feasible route by which large caravans or any invading "host" could pass down into the Jordan valley on its way to Canaan. For various reasons I judge that the phrase "the way of those dwelling in tents" refers to a well-known route that has been followed for ages. It was not once, but often, that the swarms of Midianites and Amalekites invaded Western Palestine, and caused terrible distress in all that region.

With regard to their route it may be said: 1. That such people as are here under consideration do not, when they move in large masses with their flocks and herds, go over difficult hills if there is a better road, even if this should be somewhat longer. 2. From a thorough personal examination of the country, I think I can say with truth that neither to the north nor to the south of the Jabbok is there any other feasible route by which to enter Canaan from the plains and deserts of Arabia. 3. Along

the course of the Jabbok these people were sure of a good and easy road for themselves and their camels. 4. Here they would always be sure of grass for their flocks. 5. Here they would always be sure of abundance of water.

It is on this great thoroughfare that I suppose Penuel, a frontier tower or fortress, to have been built in the earliest times in order to repel invasions from the east. Jeroboam, as we have seen, felt the need of defence on that side, and therefore he rebuilt Penuel. This frontier fortress may have played a more important part in the history of those troublous times than we at present have any conception of. How many times the garrison was successful in repelling invasions, or how many times they must yield to superior numbers, and allow the desert hosts to sweep on to plunder their fatherland, we cannot even guess.

But can Penuel itself be located with any certainty? In my judgment the possible places that can represent Penuel are reduced to a single locality, which I will proceed to describe.

About one hour and twenty minutes, or say four miles, above Canaan's Ford or Crossing, following the course of the stream, there is one of the most singular formations in Syria. At this point the valley is quite narrow, and its walls are precipitous. In a line with the valley, the course of which is from east to west, there spring from its lowest level and rise to a height of two hundred and fifty feet *two conical hills*. One of these sugar-loaf hills is on one side of the stream, and the other is on the other side, and the stream winds about them in a peculiar manner which can only be described by a chart. The sides of these mounds are steep, and it took me fifteen minutes to reach the summit of one of them. These hills are called at present Tulul edh-Dhahab, or "Hills of Gold." The inhabitants of the region can give no account of the origin of the name. They speak of a place on the side of one of the tells from which a strong current of air issues at times, but I did not remain there long enough to investigate the matter. The prevailing stone or rock upon the tells is a yellow sandstone which one might fancy to resemble gold, and the name may have arisen from this fact. On both these tells there are extensive and ancient ruins. The one to the west is larger than the other, and has upon it more ruins; but the ruins upon the one to the east are remarkable. They consist of the ruins of buildings on the summit, and of a long wall of massive stones which runs from the summit to the foot of the mound on the south-west side. The hill at this side is so steep that it is a marvel to me how the wall could have been built. In addition to this wall there is, about half way up the mound or a little less, a great platform running along the side of the hill for several hundred feet, which is supported by a wall of great strength and solidity. In some places this wall is fifteen and twenty feet in height, and one portion of it is still quite perfect for a distance of over one hundred feet. The walls which remain have a substantial appearance, and the platform referred to was probably the foundation of a castle or fortress. Whatever the nature

of the structures once standing here may have been, they could have been built, considering the nature of the ground and the size of the stones, only at enormous expense. The work is certainly not Moslem, nor does it appear to be Roman; while the great unhewn stones would seem to classify it more properly with the ancient cyclopean work which still exists in a very few places, perhaps half a dozen, in the country east of the Jordan. This, if anywhere on the Jabbok, would be the most suitable place for a frontier fortress, and such we have reason to believe was Penuel. A fact which seems to indicate that this may have been Penuel is, that on the whole line of this great thoroughfare which followed the Jabbok there are no ruins, except ruined mills here and there, until Kalat Zerka is reached, fifty or sixty miles from the mouth of the river. At this point the Haj road touches the Zerka, and this castle was built for the protection and convenience of the pilgrims to Mecca.

If this is Penuel, the ruins are certainly such as would justify Jero-boam in recording in his public annals the fact of his having rebuilt the place.

What I have called the "Succoth region" answers very appropriately to the "valley of Succoth" in Ps. lx. (repeated in cviii.) This psalm appears to refer to some victory, or to the wresting of some portions of the fatherland out of the hands of their enemies. Putting Succoth where there are valid reasons for locating it, the order of places is very natural—namely, "Shechem, the valley of Succoth [in the direct line towards Gilead], Gilead, and Manasseh."

With regard to the name Penuel or Peniel I am pretty well convinced, since I have been over the ground and examined the strange physical conformation there existing, that it is connected in its origin with that remarkable phenomenon. Mr. Grove has already anticipated me in referring to a similar fact occurring in another section of the country:—"The promontory of Ras es Shukah, on the coast of Syria above Beirût, was formerly called 'Theouprosopon,' *face of God*, probably a translation of Peniel, or its Phœnician equivalent" (Smith's "Bible Dictionary," article *Peniel*). An Oriental people would easily persuade themselves that such a place as the Hills of Gold marked the site of some special manifestation of Deity, and would give it a name accordingly. And as the same name is frequently given a second time to one and the same place, the foregoing remarks can be made without invalidating or obscuring in the slightest degree the truth and beauty of that incident in the life of Jacob where the process of giving this particular name was a second time repeated.

From the ruins and summits of these strange tells, as my eye followed the course of the valley east and west, I felt that I was looking down upon the very route along which the ancient "sons of the east" passed with their camels, a wild throng from the desert, on their way to the land of Canaan, or by which they returned, either laden with plunder gathered from the Hebrews on the west of the Jordan, or, as

sometimes happened, a fugitive rabble,—the mere wreck of a host, beaten and ruined by the bravery of some Old Testament hero. Succoth and Penuel are interesting places in the geography of Palestine from their connection with Gideon, but especially because they are associated with the life of Jacob. Here at Penuel the patriarch wrestled all night with a strange messenger, and at sunrise he passed on to meet his brother. Esau came from the south along this very road, and somewhere, not far from this spot, probably, was the scene of the famous meeting and reconciliation between them. It was at Succoth that Jacob rested for a season on his way to Canaan, after his injured father-in-law and brother had been appeased, and the offending one had by them been forgiven.

SELAH MERRILL.

THE MOABITE POTTERY.

THE controversy on the genuineness of these collections has been carried on vigorously during the last quarter in the pages of the *Athenæum*. From the letters which have appeared we make, by permission of the Proprietors of the *Athenæum*, the following extracts, in the endeavour to present everything that is urged on either side as fairly as possible; but without the repetitions which have naturally found their way into the long letters written from either point of view.

I.—LETTER FROM MR. SHAPIRA.

The main arguments against the genuineness of the Moabite pottery are four, as follows:—

First, many false inscribed stones and squeezes of inscriptions had been forged in Jerusalem and Nablus, some of which came into my possession; why then should the pottery also not be forged, especially as Selim, my agent, is certainly a great rogue? For this reason I myself doubted the character of the pottery; hearing of thieves makes a man cautious, yet it does not follow every man he meets is a thief; but Prof. Koch has shown in his well-known pamphlet that the forgers of the stones could have had no hand in the pottery.

The principal forger of inscribed stones was Martin Bulus, who appears to have learned imperfectly the alphabet of the Mesa stone and some of the names found on that monument. He is an ingenious stone-cutter, but an ignorant man. In his forgeries the words Jehovah, Israel, Melek, Mesa, Moab, Chemosh, recur suspiciously, often with Abraham and all the patriarchs. In one case all the twelve tribes are named; in another, he brought me the squeeze of a large stone, with the words "the holy shekel" on it, in Hebrew, evidently from some coin; and in