

separate History of Egypt, in which all the most recent results will be taken into account.

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HIDING-PLACES IN CANAAN.

V. THE CAVE OF ADULLAM, OR OLAM, NOT NEAR ADULLAM, BUT AT KHUREITUN.

JOSEPHUS says this cave was near the city of Adullam, but William of Tyre identifies it with the well-known and often described cave of Khureitun, four miles south-south-east of Bethlehem.

I propose to show that, for once, mediæval credulity proves victorious over antiquity, ability, and the numerical superiority of its opponents. The explanation is simple enough: the Crusaders' rough practical knowledge of David's outlaw wants was a far more reliable guide than the subtler acumen of literary critics.

The cave is named in two Biblical episodes.

(1) "David departed thence (*i.e.*, from Gath) and escaped to the cave (of) Adullam" (1 Sam. xxii, 1).

(2) "Three of the thirty captains went *down to the rock* to David, into the cave of Adullam; and the host of the Philistines encamped in the valley of Rephaim. And David was then in *the hold*, and the Philistines' garrison was then at Bethlehem" (1 Chron. xi, 15, 16). In 2 Samuel xxiii, 13, a copyist's error gives "in the harvest time" for "to the rock."

Hence we learn that there was near the cave some conspicuous rock or eminence, as well as some hold or fortress.

It seems to me that this same hold is referred to in the following passages:—1 Samuel xxii, 4, 5; 1 Chronicles xii, 8, 16; 2 Samuel v, 17; and just possibly 1 Samuel xxiv, 22.

PART I.

Ten points have been named in favour of the cave having been near the city of Adullam (in the Sheplehah), identified by M. Ganneau with the ruins of Aid el Mieh, near Wâdy es Sur.

(a) The Bible speaks of the "Cave of Adullam," and mentions only *one* city of that name. But "the oak of Tabor" had nothing to do with Mount Tabor, and so it does not follow that the cave of Adullam had necessarily to do with the city of Adullam.

Further, as in (1) and (2) the precise words are "to the cave of (not at)

Adullam," it is not certain that "Adullam" means a place at all; it may only be a descriptive title.

(b) Josephus distinctly states that the cave was near the city of Adullam. But he is too inaccurate and inconsistent a writer to be any authority in this case. In fact, the balance of his opinion is adverse to those who quote him on this point. In a later statement he identifies the hold near the cave of Adullam with the citadel of Jerusalem, and the *later* statement should surely outweigh the earlier one, if a writer may alter at least his own mistakes. The fact is, his first identification was easily made because the cave of Adullam looked like the cave at Adullam, and then it was easily rejected because he took the *hold* in 2 Samuel v, 17, to be the *stronghold* of Zion, as (almost) the same Hebrew word is used for the two, while "went down" is altered into "went up," to make all square. A writer who can interchange such words at his own sweet will, and turn his back upon himself in a few pages, is a guide on whom I for one cannot rely. But if Josephus is to be believed, why quote the earlier statement which he himself discredits?

(c) "David is spoken of whilst in the hold of Adullam, as not being in the territory of Judah (1 Sam. xxii, 5). This agrees with the position of Adullam in the Shephelah beyond the mountains to which Judah was confined when the Philistines were too powerful for the Jews" (*Quarterly Statement*, 1880, p. 174). But as the cities which even Samuel recovered were those "from Ekron (1 Sam. vii, 14) to Gath," and as Shochoh in xvii, 1, is reckoned to Judah, it seems incredible that after the fall of Goliath Adullam could be considered as not being in the territory of Judah (see Josephus, "Ant.," VI, xii, 3). While, however, I admit that the hold (1 Sam. xxii, 4, 5) was near the cave of Adullam, I do not allow that "Get thee into the land of Judah" requires the hold not to have been within the tribe of Judah. The Sp. Com. observes that "1 Samuel, xxiii, 3, implies that Keilah was not in Judah, at least not in the hill country which was probably what they meant by the term." Exactly so. Keilah and Adullam were both in the *lowland* district, while the forest of Hareth was in the *hill* district, and the cave of Khureitûn is in the *desert* district. Thus David could be said to go into Judah whether he started from Adullam or Khureitûn. Therefore 1 Samuel xxii, 5, suits either site.

(d) "David here (at Aid el Ma) encamped between the Philistines and the Jews, covered the line of advance on the cornfields of Keilah" ("Tent Work," p. 278). But much more he ought to have hindered their advance on Bethlehem, if [see (j)] the exploit of the three captains took place at that time. The time, however, of the Philistine foray doubtless depended on the state of the corn, and not on David's absence.

(e) "At Adullam the sides of the valley are lined with rows of caves, and on the hill is a separate cave" ("Tent Work"), which in *Quarterly Statement*, 1881, p. 44, is, with a touch of humour, described "as sufficiently large to have been the habitation of David while his band was garrisoning the hold or fortress." But that any of these caves would make a good hiding-place is not a suggestion that I should like to have made to David.

As for the explanation that his men garrisoned the hold or fortress, *i.e.*, the city of Adullam, it must be pointed out that a fortified town was the very *worst* place of refuge David could have. When Saul heard that David had come to Keilah, he said, "He is shut in by entering into a town that hath gates and bars." After escaping through a window at Gibeah, it is incredible that David or his men, or both, would seek safety *within* Adullam. Besides, Saul never heard of David while he was at the cave of Adullam. Were then all the Adullamites friends to David, and only the Keilites traitors? It is impossible that David could take refuge close to a well-known town, and be joined by 400 men, and Saul not hear a word about it.

(f) "There is no great cavern at the ruin in question (at Adullam). This is precisely why the site seems most probable. The dampness and the feverish character of the atmosphere . . . seem to prevent the large caves from being ever used as habitations" (1875, p. 148). But according to the Bible the cave seems to have been the abode alike of David and his men, amounting to 400. It speaks not of *caves*, but of one only, and that must have been a large one. If there is no large cave at Aid el Ma, then the site is herein unsuitable for the cave of Adullam. Further, it is a complete mistake to suppose, in general, that the large caves in Palestine are never used as habitations, and in particular that the cave of Khureitûn is either damp or feverish. (See below, 14, 16, 17, 19.)

(g) "It follows, from the expression 'Brake through the host or camp,' that the way from Adullam to Bethlehem lay through or across the valley of Rephaim" (Sp. Com. on 2 Sam. xxiii). Gesenius's Dictionary gives "brake *into*," which removes the difficulty at once. Any possible position, however, for Adullam is such that the captains on their way from it to Bethlehem would not have to pass through or across the valley named.

(h) "The hill at Adullam is the strongest site to be found in the neighbourhood of the rich corn lands of Judah" (1875, p. 149).

(i) I make the Adullamites a present of this jot. In the neighbourhood of the cave of Adullam was *the rock* [see (2)] or (Hebrew) *Tzur*, and the valley near Aid el Ma is called Wâdy es Sur, *i.e.*, the valley of the rock. The name Sur also occurs twice more in the same valley. Now I admit that these two—(h) and (i)—are remarkable coincidences, but there were other strong positions beside that of Adullam. Of Herodium it is said ("Tent Work," p. 152): "In the scenery south of Jerusalem, and in views of the country round Bethlehem, this mountain (Jebel Fureidis) forms a most remarkable feature." Thus both the rival sites seem to have a prominent hill close at hand. Possibly Wâdy es Sur got its name from Beth-zur, as one of its tributary valleys comes down from that place. If Adullam meant the well-known city of that name, it would seem superfluous to mention *the rock* along with "unto the cave of Adullam" in 2 Samuel xxiii, 13.

(j) "The journey from Ed el Miye to Bethlehem and back, about twelve leagues, would be nothing for the light-footed mountaineers who surrounded David. Those who consider the distance too much have only to remember

that it is related as an exploit, and that the fatigue has to be added to the risk (M. Ganneau, 1875, p. 177). This incident seems to me the crucial point on which the false claims of Adullam to be the site of David's cave are hopelessly shivered to pieces.

First let it be settled on what known occasions David was or may have been at the cave of Adullam.

I. He was there after leaving Gath (1 Sam. xxii, 1, 4, 5), and after his return from Moab, if (as I believe) *the hold* meant that near the cave of Adullam.

II. Just possibly after sparing Saul's life at En-gedi (xxiv, 22), if 'the hold means that near the above cave.

III. After he was anointed king over Israel (2 Sam. v, 17), for then on the invasion of *all* the Philistines, David went *down* to the hold, if (as I believe must be the case) this hold means that near the above cave.

To which of these are we to apply 2 Samuel xxiii, 13? If to I, then we have to believe that not long after the sore defeat at Ephes-Dammim the Philistines actually penetrated to the heart of Saul's kingdom, and that while their host was encamped in the valley of Rephaim, and their garrison was at Bethlehem, the three captains indeed showed heroic courage, but that neither Saul at Gibeah nor David at Adullam stirred a finger to interfere with them, although the latter was down at once upon the enemy when they robbed the threshing-floors at Keilah. Such inaction would be equally inconsistent with the activity of Saul and the patriotism of David.

It seems to me, therefore, utterly incredible that the exploit took place on occasion I.

If we refer it to II, then we have to believe the same impossibilities even when David's men had increased to 600. This also must be rejected.

Only III remains, and it may be observed that Josephus joins together 2 Samuel v, 17, and xxiii, 13, in "Ant.," VII, xii, 4. David must have been driven to the very last extremity when he withdrew from the impregnable fortress of Zion, and went down to *the hold*. But here again it is incredible that a genius of David's intelligence and military capacity, when all the Philistines came up against him, should have made a flank march to Adullam, close to the enemies' country (like an ostrich putting his head into a small cave), instead of retiring on the wilderness of Judah, the constant rallying place of the Jews when they were hard pressed by their enemies. Besides, if David at this time fell back on the city of Adullam, why should he further dwell there in a cave and not in a house? This incident seems to me to crush to atoms the popular notion that the cave of Adullam was near the city of Adullam. I now claim that destructive criticism has annihilated this error, and shown where the cave was not. It remains to show where it was.

PART II.

In disposing of the above ten points, I claim to have proved that the cave of Adullam was not near the city of Adullam. I will now give

twenty points proving that it was the present cave of Khureitûn, and invite the Adullamites to show how my argument fails.

1. *The cave was in the desert of Judah.*—The desert on the eastern side of the watershed was always a favourite refuge of the Jews in time of danger—*e.g.*, Rock Rimmon, Masada, 1 Maccab. ii, 31. Hunted out of Gibeah, pursued to Ramah, only extricating himself from Gath by a clever artifice, David must have been a madman indeed to seek safety close to any city. Nothing remained for him but to escape to the wilderness—the scene of his future wanderings.

2. *It was not far from Bethlehem.*—Hence he could communicate with his friends, get food and also notice of Saul's movements. Yet at the same time he would be in perfect concealment, and as a matter of fact Saul remained in complete ignorance of David's whereabouts during his stay at the cave. Treachery alone could have helped Saul, and on one occasion David seems to have suspected it in (1 Chron. xii, 17) the case of Amasai. The cave cannot have been far from Bethlehem, as David while in "the hold" must still have been watching the Philistines in the valley of Rephaim (2 Sam. v, 17).

3. David's parents would easily and naturally go *down* to the cave of Khureitûn.

4. Thence Moab was an obvious and accessible place of refuge.

5. This position of the cave suits the expression "into the hold to the wilderness" (1 Chron. xii, 8).

6. From this cave in the wilderness, David might rightly be said to go into the land of Judah (see (c) *supra*).

7. If Samuel's Ramah was (as I believe) near Bethlehem, then it would be easy for Gad, if he belonged to the school of the prophets at Naioth, to join David at this cave.

8. As Jebel Fureidis, or the Frank Mountain (Herodium), may be passed on the way to the cave from Bethlehem or Jerusalem, and as it is the most prominent eminence in this part of the desert from Judah, it exactly answers to *the rock* in 1 Chron. xi, 15. The relative position of the places suits Kennicott's rendering: "The three captains went down *over the rock* to David into the cave of Adullam."

9. The hold was apparently some strong position near or just above the cave. Bethlehem must be visible from some point close to the cave of Khureitûn, so that the exploit of the three heroes (Jashobeam, Eleazar, and Shammah, according to Kennicott) doubtless took place under the very eye of David.

10. *The cave of Khureitûn must have been known to David.*—As he formerly fed sheep in this wilderness, he must at some time have observed the open mouth of the cave across the yawning ravine, and youthful curiosity would lead him to explore its hidden depths. Probably, however (see 20), the cave had attained fame long before David was born.

11. *But it was not known to Saul*—who, though well acquainted with Benjamin's great cave (1879, p. 125), would have had much trouble in finding Judah's more famous hiding-place. Sheikh Abou Dok'n, in 1864,

after wandering with a companion perseveringly for five hours, had to give up his search in despair ("Land of Israel," p. 402).

12. The cave of Adullam was a *large* one, and "the cave at Khureitûn is the most remarkable cavern in the country" ("Tent Work," 152).

13. *No other large cave* (to my knowledge) *exists both in the wilderness and near Bethlehem*. If any such, however, is known, this is a point on which Captain Conder must have information. Curiously enough, a cave actually named "David's cave" is marked on the map three and a half miles east of Bethlehem, but it is not thought worthy of particular notice in the "Memoirs."

14. Large caves in Palestine have frequently been inhabited in times of danger, *e.g.*, Mugharet el Jai (1879, p. 119).

15. *This cave is habitable*.—Mr. Drake reported (*Quarterly Statement*, 1874, p. 25); "The main objection urged against this (*i.e.*, Khureitûn) being David's lair is its position, which is said to be too far eastward (for it to be near the city of Adullam); but in all other respects it is most admirably suited for an outlaw's hiding-place." Stronger testimony could not be desired.

16, 17. "This cave is *dry* and *airy*; the air of the cave was dry and pure" (Drake). "The air is dry and good" ("Memoirs"). There seems therefore, to have been some unnecessary alarm about David's taking fever or rheumatism. My visit to the cave of Khureitûn with H. B. was on April 3rd, 1875. Heavy rain had fallen the previous day, and during March the rainfall had reached 10½ inches. Within the cave water was dropping in two places. In 1877 less than 1 inch was registered (1883, 22) in the same month, so that if David had a fine season he must have found the cave as dry as tinder.

18. *This cave is well provided with water*.—"Two other openings beside the door fully command the path to 'Ain el Natuf (the dripping spring or well), which consequently could not be used by an attacking party, while, owing to the overhanging rocks, a besieged party might draw their water with impunity" (Drake).

19. This cave has not only been actually inhabited at times, but must have been *much resorted to*, as proved (1) by history. A thousand refugees in *b.c.* 166 hid themselves (so Prideaux, Jahn, Milner, rightly I believe) in *one* cave in the wilderness near Jerusalem.

On being betrayed they refused to come out of their hiding-place, and as they offered no resistance on the Sabbath, either by casting stones or stopping the *openings* (N.B.—plural) of the cave, they were suffocated by smoke, at the command of Philip (rightly named) the Phrygian. Khureitûn may well have been the scene of this massacre.

St. Chariton probably started housekeeping in this cave when he was building his Laura, called Suka. Beyond question the Tekoites took refuge here in *A.D.* 1138 (Robinson's "Bib. Res.")

(2), By excavation. Colonel Warren, after digging, reports ("Letters," p. 84): "In the second chamber, after working through a loose, brown *loam* *abounding in pottery*, a stalagmite floor, 3 inches thick, was reached, at

4 feet 6 inches," and "in the first cave the stalagmite floor was reached at a depth of 7 feet, the white dust between it and the rock having a depth of 15 inches; *the 7 feet of loam was full of broken pottery.*" As the shards do not seem to have been *Moabite*, they may be taken to be conclusive evidence that the cave was once a popular resort.

20. But how did this great cave near Bethlehem come to be entitled the cave of Adullam? for, of course, there was no second city of that name close to it. It is also called at the present time Mugharet M'asa. My conjecture that this word was got from the Hebrew *Masa* (a refuge) was rejected by Captain Conder, whose own explanation, that it means "the intricate cave," was in turn set aside by Professor Palmer, who translated it "the cave of the rebellion." Can this have any reference to David's outlaw band?

No reasonable explanation seems to have been given of the meaning of "Adullam." Jerome's attempts are only fanciful. R. J. Simonis says it means "the cave of retirement," apparently referring to David's hiding there. Hebrew scholars on this point seem unable to give us any real help. Bearing in mind the extraordinary character of the cave, its great length (reported by the Arabs to reach to Tekoa and even to Hebron), its numerous chambers, and its endless windings, it seems to me that a cavern so remarkable would certainly acquire a special name marking its unique character. Can "Adullam" then be a corrupt reading for some other word? The only satisfactory conclusion I can come to is this. The meaningless title "Maarath Adullam" becomes a very striking one by the slight alteration of \daleth (daleth) into ε (vau). I believe, then, that the original name of the cave was "Maarath Olam," or the Cave of Eternity, *i.e.*, "the Old Cave" (as in Prov. xxii, 28; xxiii, 10, *old landmark*). Just as the Kishon seems to have been called the ancient river, *i.e.*, most ancient in the memory of man, so it seems to me that the cave of Adullam is a corruption for "the old cave," whose fame had been handed down from generations past. But how came the alteration to be made in *three* passages in the Bible?

It seems to me that in 1 Samuel xxii, 1, *Adullam* was substituted for *Olam* either by a copyist's error or emendation because he knew that Adullam was not far from Gath, and therefore thought it probable that David went from one to the other. Afterwards the other passages were to agree with 1 Samuel xxii.

It will be observed that I have assumed (1) that David's visit to the cave of Adullam (2 Sam. xxiii, 13) must be one noticed elsewhere in his history, and (2) that no other larger or more suitable cave now exists (known or unknown), or ever did exist, near Bethlehem.

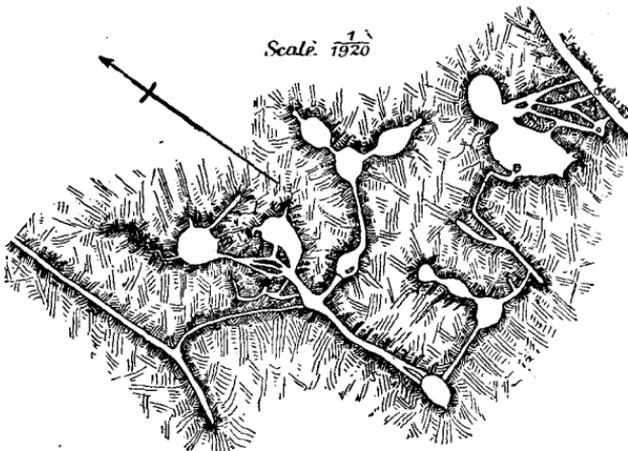
If any one think these assumptions are unsafe, let him, like Goliath, challenge them.

I claim now that after four years (1880, p. 173) I have made out a complete case, and proved that David did not escape to a cave at Adullam, but to the cave of Olam near Jebel Fureidis, *i.e.*, to the cave of Khureitun, or M'asa.

Still, if Horam (*roi de Guézer*), or any champion of the Adullamites (a most powerful tribe, I admit), desires before parting with the cave which they have usurped for years, to see me face to face in these pages, be it so. I would, however, add one warning: Be content with smiting Moabite pottery, and spoiling Shapira's supple skins; for why shouldst thou meddle with David in his cave? Remember you have far less chance of success than had the son of Kish. You cannot with Saul, threaten, coax, or starve him out; neither can you with Herod hook him, nor with Philip roast him out. As a second Benaiah you must go boldly in and try to drag out Bethlehem's lion by sheer force of argument, at the imminent risk of being yourself thrown headlong into "the dripping well"; for so numerous are the cross passages (1-20) that, in the words of Mr. Drake, "any invader who had succeeded in penetrating the entrance passage would be entirely at the mercy of the defenders."

The cave is thus described by Captain Conder ("Memoirs," Vol. III, p. 375):—

"A ledge of rock, some 6 to 8 feet wide, leads above the Ain in Nâttf to the entrance of the cave, in front of which are two large blocks of rock, some 7 feet high. The cave has three narrow entrances, with two cross passages, and these lead to a chamber 55 feet diameter and 30 to 40 feet high. The walls are smooth, and seem to have been possibly worn out by water action. It does not appear that any of the excavation is artificial. A very narrow passage leads in irregularly for about 100 feet to a second small chamber, about 10 feet diameter, whence a rude passage runs out for about 25 feet. There is again a passage at a level a few feet higher, leading westwards from the second chamber for 25 feet to a third round chamber, reached by a drop of about 14 feet. Out of the first chamber a passage leads north at a level of some 4 feet above the bottom, and runs about 100 feet north to a large chamber, some 18 feet diameter, from which very narrow passages run out and terminate in the plan. There is a fifth



chamber to the south-east of the fourth, and several ramifying passages. An important branch gallery runs away eastward from the main passage, terminating in three chambers about 10 to 15 feet diameter. Another passage, narrower and at a level higher than that of the main passage, runs north-west for 50 feet, and leads to a gallery running north and south 250 feet long. The greatest length of this curious cavern is 550 feet; the passages are 6 to 10 feet high; the air is dry and good, but the place is full of bats, and the floor entirely covered with thin dung."

See also Warren's account (*Quarterly Statement*, 1869, Letter XXXV, p. 83) :—

"We went in search of the passage described by Dr. Tobler, in which he found some sarcophagi and Phœnician inscriptions. Sergeant Birtles and six fellâhs were also of the party, to excavate and examine the bottoms of the large caves.

"We arrived at the cave at 10 A.M.; the Ta'amireh at first objected to our digging, but were soon quieted.

"We went through to the last cave spoken of in Murray's Handbook, whence Tobler's description of the passage begins. On our way we found a passage to the left, half filled with the refuse of bats. After crawling for about 200 feet on our elbows and knees we came to a shaft leading upwards, about 15 feet high; climbing up this we found ourselves in a passage, about 6 feet high, leading north and south: to the north we went perhaps 200 feet, when the passage ends in a cave, from which, after passing a small hole, are many other passages leading in all directions. To the south we went about 100 feet and found some broken stones which had been hewn. Over a little passage to the east we saw a Jerusalem Cross smoked on the wall. Finding the time was passing quickly we returned and followed into the last cave spoken of by Murray. Here in the north-west corner is a small opening, and over it written "No outlet here," and it was in this, as far as we could understand the description, that Tobler had found an outlet. Crawling up this passage we found to be most difficult, and only to be passed in one place by lying on the side and wriggling through. After this there is a small passage for about 30 feet, and then it opens into a passage running north and south, which proved to be the passage we had been in before when we had found the Jerusalem Cross. It will be thus easy at some future period to go up the first passage we explored, and thus miss the very difficult pass from the last cave; but to explore the cavern properly (if it be worth the trouble) people should encamp near the cave for a day or two. Although we got in such a little way we were at work over five hours in the caves.

"There are four large caves; in the fourth and last no excavation was made.

"In the third the rock was found at 2 feet 6 inches. No pottery.

"In the second, after working through a loose brown loam abounding in pottery, a stalagmite floor 3 inches thick was reached, at 4 feet 6 inches; below it for 18 inches was a white dust and then hard rock (melekeh). No bones.

"In the first cave the stalagmite floor was reached at a depth of 7 feet, the white dust between it and the rock having a depth of 15 inches, the 7 feet of loam was full of broken pottery. No bones."

W. F. B.

NOTES ON PRÆ-EXILIC JERUSALEM.

WELCOME to Professor Sayce as a fresh gladiator in the arena of Zionie controversy! Equipped with the latest and best weapons from the East, and unimpeded by old prejudices from the West, he has over already battered antagonists every advantage save one. He can hardly know the ground so well as those who have learnt the slippery places by humiliating falls. Time only can show what success he will have with his strange theories, and whether a ferule can avail against Professor Robertson Smith's new net (*i.e.*, his theory that præ-exilic Jerusalem never occupied the south-western hill) and Mr. Sayce's trident, whose three sharp prongs are (1) that the Siloam Tunnel was made by Solomon, (2) that "the upper pool" was the Pool of Siloam, and (3) that a valley or depression formerly ran from the Tyropœon to the Kidron valley, entering the latter a little above the Virgin's Spring, and that the Temple-hill was the city of Jebus.

I will endeavour to break first the prongs and then the net.

1. (*a*) Professor Sayce thinks (1883, p. 211) that the words in the Siloam Inscription "from the spring to *the* pool" show that at the time this was the only pool existing at Jerusalem. He concludes, therefore, that the tunnel must be earlier than the time of Ahaz, as in his reign there existed an *upper* pool (Isa. vii, 3), which implies that there was also a lower one. I answered that in 2 Kings xx, 20, Hezekiah is said to have made *the* pool, although the upper pool existed in the previous reign. There is no reason why a *the* should imply more when engraved on a *rock* than when written on a *roll*. Professor Sayce, however, maintains that my objection has no force, as "there is all the difference in the world" between the two cases.

I find that scholars from four universities decline to endorse his opinion, and one states that he "does not see in the words 'from the spring to the pool' anything to show that this was the only pool in Jerusalem. As far as the words go, they seem to imply only the spring and the pool with which they were occupied."

Thus the inscription cannot be put in as evidence that the tunnel existed before the time of Hezekiah.

(*b*) Professor Sayce also argues that the tunnel cannot have been made by Hezekiah, because "the waters of Shiloah" (*i.e.*, the conduit) are mentioned previously.

If it has *really* been ascertained that the newly-found aqueduct (1883, pp. 106, 211) does not lead from the Virgin's Fount, then I the more cheerfully own my error, as I can make a better point. I conjecture, with the utmost