

Lust," in the Arabah between Elim-Akabah and Mount Hor—Sinai, that in the map of the lower Arabah, prepared under the direction of Major Kitchener, a marsh with the name Taavah is placed about a day's march from the head of the gulf. On the western side of the marsh are the remains of a Bedawin cemetery. It would be curious to ascertain whether the Bedawin selected so strange a place for a burial ground in consequence of any ancient tradition still clinging to it. At all events the designation remains unchanged after 3,000 years—Kibroth-hat-Taavah, "the cemetery of Tavaah."

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### A PUZZLE IN JOSEPHUS: TWO GADARAS OR ONE?

EVER since I prepared my work on "Galilee in the time of Christ," which first appeared early in 1874, I have felt that there was a difficulty with regard to a certain passage in Josephus, and its solution which I subsequently arrived at may be useful to those who have not reached independently a similar result. These notes might have been published long ago, except that I hesitated to do so on the ground that I did not feel competent to criticize so celebrated an editor of Josephus as Dindorf. The difficulty to which I refer will be best represented by quoting two passages both of which are from the "History of the Jewish War."

1. "Vespasian having arrived before the city of Gadara, carried it on the first assault, having come upon it while it was destitute of an effective force. On entering the town he put to death without distinction all from youth upward, the Romans showing compassion to none of adult age, as well from hatred to the nation as in recollection of the outrages committed against Cestius. The city itself he reduced to ashes, all the hamlets and small towns around sharing its fate." (3 "Wars," vii, 1.)

2. Vespasian "broke up his encampment" at Cesarea-on-the-sea that he might proceed to Jerusalem and finish the war, but deemed it "necessary previously to reduce what remained in his way, that no external impediment might interfere with his operations. Accordingly he marched on Gadara, the capital of Perea, a place of some strength, which he entered on the 4th of the month Dystrus," corresponding to the 24th of February. No battle took place here, for by a preconceived plan that portion of the inhabitants who were disposed for peace opened the gates secretly and welcomed him to the city, while those who were for war fled, and their pursuit led at last to the engagement before Beth Eunnabrin, and to the slaughter on the east bank of the Jordan opposite Jericho. Vespasian merely placed a garrison in Gadara, and withdrew again with a large part of his army to Cesarea-on-the-sea. (4 "Wars," vii, 3, 4.)

It is commonly supposed that the Gadara referred to in these two

passages was one and the same place, namely, the town east of the Jordan well known at present as Um Keis. There are, however, good reasons for supposing that this cannot possibly be true.

It will be noticed that in the first passage, Gadara, which is called a "city," was reduced to ashes, and its inhabitants were slaughtered; the date of this event was the spring of the year A.D. 67.

The date of the event recorded in the second passage was the spring of the year A.D. 68; in fact, there was hardly an interval of twelve months between the two. In this passage Gadara is a strong city, with walls, and with a numerous population that was divided into two powerful factions bitterly opposed to each other.

There is thus a decided contrast between the circumstances of the place as stated in the first passage, when compared with those that are mentioned in the second passage, which leads to the conviction that two distinct places are meant.

By glancing at the events which led up to the taking of Gadara, as mentioned in the first passage quoted, we find that Vespasian, after having collected his forces at Ptolemais early in the spring of the year A.D. 67 (3 "Wars," vii, 1), moved forward with the purpose of invading Galilee (*ibid.*, vi, 2), and, apparently with his entire army, reached the frontiers of that province (*ibid.*, vi, 3). His position can be indicated approximately from the circumstance that a Jewish force encamped at a town called Garis, not far from Sepphoris, fled when they heard that the Romans were approaching and were "on the point of attacking them" (*ibid.*, vi, 3).

Vespasian's march must have been in an easterly or rather in a south-easterly direction from Ptolemais. Going in this direction he reached the frontiers of Galilee (3 "Wars," vi, 3). It was then and there, without any time having intervened, and without any further march having been made, that he carried the city of Gadara by assault (3 "Wars," vii, 1).

Hearing that Josephus and the Jews had rallied in Jotapata, Vespasian ordered a road to be made through the rough country lying between his camp (at Gadara) and that place, when he moved thither his whole force, the time occupied in making the march being an entire day, and, it is necessary to mention, no more than that (3 "Wars," vii, 3, 4).

Vespasian was in an enemy's country, and it was necessary for him to advance with the utmost caution. To have taken his army to Gadara east of the Jordan, would have been to have taken it through the heart of a hostile country several days' march from Ptolemais, his proper base of operations and supplies, past Tarichea, a powerful city of the enemy, and where subsequently to secure it a great battle was fought, and it is unreasonable to suppose that even to strike his foes with terror he would have attempted such a rash move as all this would imply.

When Vespasian captured Gadara east of the Jordan there is, in the record, no hint that the place had been captured by him before.

Neither is there in the record any hint that the place had been rebuilt, or that it had revolted, both of which must have been true had Vespasian captured it twice within the space of twelve months.

The people of the place which Vespasian took were hostile to him, and hence they were destroyed; while in Gadara east of the Jordan there was such a large party in his favour that he was admitted without a struggle.

If Gadara east of the Jordan is meant, Vespasian on his return must have marched his army in one day from this point to Jotapata, a thing which is simply impossible.

We conclude that whatever place may be referred to in the passage quoted from 3 "Wars," vii, 1 it is certain that Gadara, now known as Um Keis, cannot be meant; on the contrary, that place was on or near the frontiers of Galilee at a point east or south-east of Ptolemais, and at a distance of an ordinary day's march from Jotapata, now known as *Jefat*, situated half-way between Ptolemais and Tiberias.

#### GADARA OR GABARA?

We come now to consider what should be the proper reading in the text of Josephus in 3 "Wars," vii, 1.

In the "Life of Josephus" we find a city in Galilee named Gabara frequently mentioned as playing an important part in the events of those times, but which is never once spoken of in the history of the war; notice must be taken of some of the passages where this name occurs.

Gabara, Tiberias, and Sepphoris are referred to as "the three largest cities in Galilee" (1 "Life," xxv), and that they were so is confirmed by the fact that they were called upon equally to furnish their respective complements of troops (chap. xl). Gabara was friendly to John of Gischala, and joined his party; hence it was inimical to Josephus and desired his destruction (chaps. xxv, xlv).

While Josephus was at Chabolo watching the Romans under Placidus, Jonathan, accompanied by others, arrived from Jerusalem and summoned him to appear before them at Xaloth (chap. xlv). This Josephus refused to do on the plea that he could not leave Chabolo defenceless. Jonathan wrote again and demanded that Josephus come to him at Gobaroth, which is called a "village" (chap. xlv), while he himself, accompanied by his party, goes thence to Japha, Sepphoris, Asochis, and at last reaches Gabara. Meantime Josephus went to Jotapata, "forty furlongs distant" from Chabolo, or from his camp near that place. In his reply to Jonathan, Josephus declines to go either to Gabara or to Gichala, but to any other of the two hundred and four cities and villages of Galilee he was willing to go; and hence it is clear, both from this statement and from his subsequent conduct, that he did not decline to go to Gobaroth.

Having placed guards on the road leading from Gabara to Galilee he repaired to Gobaroth, which he reached in the fifth hour of the day, having left Jotapata in the morning. I give these details respecting distances because I consider them valuable helps in our efforts to identify the localities mentioned (chaps. xlvi, xlvii). In front of Gobaroth, which is again called a "village," was a plain where the party of Josephus were assembled. After some deliberation Josephus determines to advance

“against the deputies,” meaning Jonathan and his friends. The latter heard of his approach, and withdrew to a kind of citadel, where they hoped to entrap Josephus upon his arrival.

From details given in chap. xlviii it is certain that Gabara and Gabaroth were two distinct places, one being always called a “city,” and the other never called a city but a “village”—situated, however, in close proximity to each other, and which have been considered as one and the same place.

Omitting the details of what happened at Gabaroth, Josephus in the end, to avoid a conflict, mounted his horse, and directing his party to follow him, rode to Sogana, distant twenty furlongs from Gabara (chap. li).

We have said enough to show that in the very region where we should expect to find the “city” Gadara mentioned in 3 “Wars,” vii, 1, we find the “city” Gabara brought forward in the record in the most conspicuous manner, and we do not hesitate, therefore, to change the reading in this passage from Gadara to Gabara.

As Gabara, Tiberias, and Sepphoris are mentioned together in chap. xxv, and again in chap. xl, it is probable that the same group is meant in chap. xv, where Josephus says, “I took Sepphoris twice, Tiberias four times, and Gadara once.” The reading Gadara here must be changed to Gabara.

To sum up what I have said it appears—

1. That the place referred to in 3 “Wars,” vii, 1, as Gadara cannot be the place now known as Um Keis ;
2. That the reading in this passage should be Gabara, and not Gadara ;
3. And that Gabara and Gabaroth were two distinct places.

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#### NOTES FROM THE APRIL QUARTERLY STATEMENT.

MR. OLIPHANT'S interesting paper has, unfortunately, suffered by his absence from England, which leads to many misprints remaining uncorrected. Of these the most important are Mukkraka for Mahrakah (“place of burning”), Tsjin for Ijzim, Dahlieh for Dâlieh, and an error of the omission of the 'Ain in the Arabic word Kal'ah. The remains described by Mr. Oliphant are similar to the various Byzantine fragments which occur again and again in the “Memoirs,” but he has been able to confirm in a very remarkable manner my discovery of a synagogue at Semmâka by the recovery of the seven-branched candlestick over a tomb door which I missed in 1873.

I am also glad to be supported by Mr. Tomkins with respect to Kanana. As to the ruin Râbûd to which he refers (p. 58), the suggestion