



Endnotes for *The Tabernacle – A Bronze Age Artifact*

Spring 2020 *Bible and Spade*

Notes

¹ Abraham: 12:7; 13:4, 18; 22:2–14; Isaac: 26:25; Jacob: 33:20; 35:1–7.

² In the classic formulations of J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel*, 1885 (repr. New York, Meridian ed., 1957), p. 39.

³ A. Bentzen, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, II (Copenhagen, 1949), p. 34, some 60 years later.

⁴ F.M. Cross, *Biblical Archaeologist* 10 (1947), pp. 45–68, cf. p. 64. He had not advanced beyond this initial position as late as 1981; cf. F.M. Cross in A. Biran *et al.* (eds.), *Temples and High Places in Biblical Times* (Jerusalem, 1981), pp. 169–80.

⁵ Kitchen, *Tyndale (House) Bulletin* Nos. 5–6 (April 1960), pp. 7–13, etc.; cf. D.W. Gooding in J.D. Douglas, N. Hillyer *et al.* (eds.), *The Illustrated Bible Dictionary* III (Leicester, 1980), pp. 1506–11, with illustration p. 1509.

⁶ Cf. (e.g.) R. Rendtorff, *The Old Testament, An Introduction* (London, 1985), p. 19–end, simply following Schmitt (1977) and Fritz (1977) in turn copying others. An honorable exception is N. Sarna, *Exploring Exodus* (New York, 1977), pp. 196–200, who is at least prepared to listen to evidence.

⁷ Official publication, G.A. Reisner, W.S. Smith, *A History of the Giza Necropolis II: The Tomb of Hetep-heres* (Cambridge MA), 1955.

⁸ In W.B. Emery, *Great Tombs of the First Dynasty* I (Cairo, 1949), p. 58 Fig. 30.

⁹ For references see Reisner and Smith, *op. cit.* (n. 7), p. 14.

¹⁰ Basic discussion of these structures, b. Grdseloff, *Das Aegyptische Reinigungszelt*, Cairo, 1941, with E. Drioton, *Annals du Service des Antiquités de l’Egypte* 40 (1940), p. 1008. In scenes, (e.g.) A.M. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, V (London, 1952), Pls. 42–43.

¹¹ References, cf. Reisner and Smith, *op. cit.* (n. 7), p. 14 and Pl. 3.

¹² Pictures of some of these massive catafalques, C. Desroches-Noblecourt, *Tutankhamen* (London, 1963 & reprs.), pp. 260–65, Figs. 165–68, 170–71, and color-detail, Pl. XXVII.

¹³ Part of the pall, with a rosette, visible in Desroches-Noblecourt, *op. cit.* p. 72, Fig. 35; cf. Howard Carter, *The Tomb of Tutankhamen* (Sphere edition, 1972), p. 101.

¹⁴ Views, (e.g.) H. Lange, M. Hirmer, *Egypt: Architecture, Sculpture, Painting* (London, 1956), Pls. 137–39.

¹⁵ Full references, Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs & Paintings*, 2nd ed., I:1 (Oxford, 1960), p. 316, (6) III.

¹⁶ First published by L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahure*, II, Leipzig, 1913, Pl. 9; reproduced also by W. Stevenson Smith, *Interconnections in the Ancient Near East* (New Haven/London, 1965), Fig. 188 (cf. p. 150); other references, cf. Porter & Moss, ed. J. Malek,

Topographical Bibliography, op. cit. (n. 15), 2nd ed., III:1 (Oxford, 1974), p. 326, (1) I, Borchardt, Pl. 9.

¹⁷ E.g., in color in A. Lhote & Hassia, *La peinture égyptienne* (Paris, 1954), Pl. XVIII on p. 49.

¹⁸ The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu IV* (Chicago, 1940), Pl. 202 in color.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Pl. 212 (twice).

²⁰ Early ‘factory’ for slaughter and use of dugongs near Umm el-Qiwain (within 4769 to 3046 BC), see A. Priour & C. Guerin, *Arabian Archaeology & Epigraphy 2* (1991), pp. 72–83; at Umm an-Nar, ca. 2000 BC, E. Hoch in M. Taddei (ed.), *South Asian Archaeology 1977* (Naples, 1979), pp. 589–638, and (about same date) at Ras Ghanada, cf. H.P. Uerpmann, in P.M. Costa, M. Tosi (eds.), *Oman Studies* (Rome, 1989), p. 166; between these two dates (3046/2000), probably the remains at Al-Markh in Bahrain, M. Road, *Proceedings, Seminar for Arabian Studies 6* (1976), pp. 149, 151 Table 1 (later phase).

²¹ This can be seen in the Qadesh scenes of Ramesses II, e.g. in Y. Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands* (London, 1963), pp. 107–109, three figures. In the second of these (p. 108), two falcons symbolically face each other with extended wings to protect the king within (indicated by a large cartouche), just as on the cover of the Ark, two *cherubim* extend their wings over the “mercy-seat.”

²² There are clear differences in usage between the strictly contemporary language of letters and state documents of the 14th/13th centuries BC on the one hand, and the more archaic, stylized usage of the myths and epics on the other (originating in 18th–15th centuries BC?), as long since pointed out by Albright in H.H. Rowley (ed.), *The Old Testament & Modern Study* (Oxford, 1951), pp. 31–32; Albright, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 10 (1958), pp. 36, 38; and by M. Held, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 79 (1959), p. 171 n. 49, pp. 174–75 nn. 93–107.

²³ Cross has pointed out the significance of Ugaritic *qrš* several times, cf. Cross, *Biblical Archaeologist* 10 (1947), p. 62 n. 23 (following Albright); *idem*, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, Cambridge MA, 1973, pp. 36–37 with citations of the texts; *idem*, in Biran (ed.), *Temples and High Places...*, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 171. His suggestion (p. 169) that the so-called priestly description of the Tabernacle is “perhaps too complex and richly ornamented” betrays an inherited misconception sufficiently laid to rest for the Bronze Age by the data given above.

²⁴ Keret Text, Tablet A, line (III), 159 ff., *Keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit*, 1.14, 159 ff., pp. 40–41; *Corpus des tablettes en cunéiforme alphabétiques découvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit de 1929 à 1939*, p. 64; translations (e.g.) Ginsberg, in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, p. 14+4, for convenience.

²⁵ As pointed out (e.g.) by Sarna, *op. cit.* (n.6), p. 197, with references in nn. 35–36.

²⁶ Briefly in B. Rothenberg, *Timna, Valley of the Biblical Copper Mines* (London, 1972), pp. 150–52, fig. 44, p. 184; full report, Rothenberg *et al.*, *The Egyptian Mining Temple at Timna* (London, 1988).

²⁷ Cf. restoration, W. Andrae (ed. B. Hrouda), *Das wiedererstandene Assur*, 2nd ed. (Munich, 1977), pp. 153 ff., Fig. 29.

²⁸ See *ibid.*, pp. 232 ff., Fig. 214. Also, in Nebuchadrezzar II’s Babylon, there is no trace of any such cultic “tabernacular” feature, in or out of the temples known there. The term “tent” is used—just once!—of the burial-place (!) of the kings of Babylon; E. Unger, *Babylon*, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1970), pp. 161, 245.

²⁹ E.g. Cross, *op. cit.* (n. 23), p. 55 n. 17 (in 1947, cf. n. 22), influenced by Gressmann.

³⁰ See Yadin, *op. cit.* (n. 21), pp. 107–109, illustrations.

³¹ In ninth century BC, e.g. G. Contenau, *Everyday Life in Babylon & Assyria* (London, 1954), p. 147, Pl. XVII (after Layard, *Monuments of Ninevah*, I, Pl. 30); in eighth century (Tiglath-Pileser III), see R.D. Barnett, M. Falkner, *The Sculptures of... Tiglath-Pileser III... Nimrud* (London, 1961), pp. 18f., 24, Pls 60, 63 (oval camps). Into seventh century BC under Sennacherib, cf. A. Paterson, *Assyrian Sculpture, Palace of Sinacherib* (The Hague [n.d.]), Pls. 8 (= Layard, *Monuments*, I, 77), 38 (= LM, II, 50), 76 (at Lachish), 85 (= LM, I, 36), and 94 (= Layard, *Nineveh & its Remains*, II, 469). By contrast, the one rectangular structure shown (Pl. 49 = Layard, *Ninevah & Babylon*, 231) is not a camp but a proper stone or brick-built fort behind a fortified river-bank and tree-lined channel.

³² Translation, Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated & Annotated*, VI (Oxford, 1982), p. 15; at present, in Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, IV (Chicago, 1906), p. 227, 467; text, Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, VI (Oxford, 1969 ff.), p. 14:10. The word recurs in a war-context on another Year 3 stela (most probably of Ramesses IV), *op. cit.* p. 63:[15], 16.

³³ Cf. paper by A.J. Peden, in *Chronique d'Égypte*, in press,

³⁴ J. Milgrom, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 90 (1970), pp. 204–209.

³⁵ Text, W. Helck, *Urkunden d. 18. Dynastie*, Fasc. 22 (Berlin, 1958), pp. 2140–62; for convenience, old translation, Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, III, pp. 22–23, 45–67.

³⁶ Text, Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, I (Oxford, 1971), pp. 51–58, esp. pp. 55, 58; old translations, F. LI. Griffith, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 13 (1927), pp. 193–206 *passim*; W.F. Edgerton, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 6 (1947), pp. 219–30 *passim*; now, Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated & Annotated*, I (Oxford, 1993), *Translations*, pp. 44–50, esp. 47f., 50.

³⁷ The latter one, in I.E.S. Edwards, *Treasures of Tutankhamun (British Museum Exhibition)* (London, 1972), Catalogue Section, No. 45. Another possible gilded copper trumpet is to be found in the Louvre; C. Ziegler, *Musée du Louvre... Catalogue des instruments de musique égyptiens* (Paris, 1979), p. 97 (N 909 = IDM 117), questions whether this specimen is not an incomplete incense-burner; more dogmatic, L. Manniche, *Music and Musicians in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1991), p. 75.

³⁸ See H. Hickmann, *La trompette dans l'Égypte ancienne* (Cairo, 1946), Fig. 4, 15, 21 (14th, 12th and probably 15th/14th centuries BC, respectively).

³⁹ *Ibid.*, Figs. 13–14, p. 11, after Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* I, Pls. 15–16, II, Pl. 62.

⁴⁰ As at the Battle of Qadesh, 1275 BC (Hickman, *op. cit.* n. 38, p. 9 f., Figs. 10–11).

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 3–4, Fig. 1, at Deir el-Bahri, where several examples exist.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 10, Fig. 12.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 62–63 and references.

⁴⁴ See M. Metzger, *Königsthron und Gottesthron...* (Alter Orient and Altes Testament, 15/1–2), Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1985, pp. 352–65, 367, esp. 359 ff.

⁴⁵ For this box, see conveniently, Edwards, *op. cit.* (n. 37), Catalogue, under Item 14.

⁴⁶ Cf. discussion and references, Metzger, *op. cit.* (n. 44), pp. 352–65.

⁴⁷ As seen for the Temple of Solomon with admirable clarity long ago, by Brown, Driver and Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford, 1907 & reprs.), p. 500. Exactly the same may have obtained in the case of the *cherubim* on the Ark's gold lid.

⁴⁸ Copious references, Metzger, *op. cit.* (n. 44), pp. 332, nn. 4–7, 353 nn. 1–2.

⁴⁹ For these examples, see E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, IV, n.d., Pls. 88, 89, 91 (carried on poles like the Ark).

⁵⁰ Full edition, H. Kronasser, *Die Umsiedlung der schwarzen Gottheit* (Vienna, 1963); he also noted (pp. 57–58) comparisons with Exodus, including use of a tent alongside the new shrine, as in Exodus 33:7–11.

⁵¹ Texts 369 and 370–72, in D. Arnaud, *Emar VI:3* (Paris, 1986), pp. 326–37, 338–49.

⁵² E.g., B.A. Levine, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 17 (1963), pp. 105–11; *idem*, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 85 (1965), pp. 307–18; *idem*, in C.L. Meyers, M. O'Connor (eds.) *The Word of the Lord Shall go Forth (Essays... D.N. Freedman)* (Philadelphia, 1983), pp. 467–75; J.M. de Tarragon, *Le Culte à Ugarit* (Paris, 1980); P. Xella, *I Testi Rituali di Ugarit*, I (Rome, 1981); J.C. de Moor, *An Anthology of Religious Texts from Ugarit [Nisaba 16]* (Leiden, 1987), pp. 117 ff., and esp. pp. 157 ff.; J.M. de Tarragon, in A. Caquot and *idem*, *Textes Ougaritiques*, II (Paris, 1989), pp. 125–238; Milgrom, see below.

⁵³ One-quarter *hin*, an Egyptian measure (not Neo-Babylonian!). Precisely this amount (but expressed as the *pega* vessel) for honey, etc., in offerings comes in Egyptian offering-lists (e.g., to the Nile-flood, Kitchen, *Ramesside Texts Translated & Annotated*, I (1993), 77; II, 4–5, and *Notes thereto*) in the 13th century BC.

⁵⁴ Details, A.R. David, *Religious Ritual at Abydos* (Warminster, 1973), pp. 93–94, 136–37, 140–43.

⁵⁵ Especially the Medinet Habu calendar; all feasts, Egypt, cf. S. Schott, *Altägyptische Festdaten* (Mainz, 1950); Hittite festivals, cf. listings in E. Laroche, *Catalogue des Textes Hittites* (Paris, 1971), pp. 103–27 *passim*.

⁵⁶ E.g., J. Milgrom, *Studies in Levitical Terminology* (Berkeley, 1970); *idem*, *Cult and Conscience...* (Leiden, 1976); *idem*, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 96 (1976), pp. 236–47, 575–76; *idem*, *Studies in Cultic Theology & Terminology* (Leiden, 1983).

⁵⁷ Cf. the review by Milgrom *Studies in Cultic Theology...*, ix–xi, and the works by A. Hurwitz, *Revue Biblique* 81 (1974), pp. 49–53, more fully, *idem*, *Linguistic Study of the relationship between the Priestly Source and the Book of Ezekiel* (Paris, 1981).

⁵⁸ Cf. essays by Milgrom, now reprinted in his *Studies in Cultic Theology...* pp. 133–58 (136, Fig. 1, the type of Egyptian scene concerned).

⁵⁹ See the rituals of Uhamuwa and Ashkhella (as in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, 347b), and the fuller study by D.P. Wright, *The Disposal of Impurity* (Atlanta, 1987), pp. 15–74; other rites studied by him (esp. Mesopotamian ones) are rather different.

⁶⁰ Mentions, A. Goetz, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 6 (1952), p. 101; H. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7 (1961), p. 152.

⁶¹ Text cited in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, pp. 207–10, esp. 7, 19; exclusion of foreigners, Leviticus 22:25, *ibid.*, 308 § 6.

⁶² See my paper, “New Directions in Biblical Archaeology,” in J. Amitai *et al.* (eds.), *Proceedings of the IInd International Congress of Biblical Archaeology, Jerusalem 1990*.

⁶³ In Meyers, O'Connor, *op. cit.* (n. 52), p. 303.