



Jesus Wealth





WORLD CENTRE FOR ENTREPRENEURIAL STUDIES

Jesus & Wealth

An examination of the gifts of the Maggi ('Magi') in Matthew 2

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Jesus and Wealth

For a number of years, we have been curious about the value of the gold, frankincense and myrrh that was given to Jesus after his birth by the wise men who travelled so far in following the star. The Bible speaks about the fantastic wealth of Abraham and Solomon and the blessings bestowed upon many other biblical characters and the promises of prosperity for those who were obedient to the principles of God. In an effort to gain some



insight into the event and the measurement of the gifts, it was decided we would finance respected theologians to investigate on our behalf, to find out:

1. Was there any reliable ancient historical evidence of the journey that was undertaken by those wise men seeking to find Jesus.
2. Approximately how many people took the journey and who were they.
3. To obtain some clarification as to the quantity and quality of the value of the merchandise. We were met at the beginning with comments such as 'What does it matter?', 'You would never find out!' and the more serious question 'Why hasn't somebody asked these questions in two thousand years'.
4. It was sometime before we could find two people whom we had complete confidence in. that had the capacity and the knowledge to investigate such a major undertaking and entrust them with a completely free hand and the finance to get the job done. The thought kept going over and over in our minds 'what would we find out. if anything and how long would it take to get some answers and would these two people give up as others had done before them'. Although not theologically trained, we are long term Christians and Bible students enthralled by the stories of the talents and the value of Jesus' garments that the soldiers cast lots for and the fact that there appears to be no evidence that Jesus took up a financial offering for Himself at any time. The extraordinary power of Jesus was beyond imagining as He stopped the wind. calmed the seas, walked on water, raised the dead. healed the sick and restored a severed hand. The Bible tells us that if He had stubbed His toe a legion of archangels would lie Him and He was resurrected after crucifixion. It has been easy and convenient to overlook the fact that Jesus was above and beyond wealth because He could turn water into wine and multiply the loaves and fishes and actually produce money from a fishes' mouth.

There are many definitions of wealth. A wealthy person has been defined as someone who has more than the one defining the term. In the international arena, many westerners are considered wealthy if they have a surplus of spending money, yet others measure the wealth of a nation in terms of how much "wastage" they display without it affecting the lifestyle of its citizens. On more than one occasion we have heard. in somewhat bragging terms. of a mans' wealth being measured by the extent to which he can borrow money!



Forbes rates the 400 richest Americans annually, comparing them to the benchmark of the remaining 300 million American citizens. But is this to be the essence and identity of wealth? Or maybe the 691 billionaires on our planet in 2005, with a net worth of 2.2 trillion, could be considered the pinnacle of the ultimate in wealth? Is it possible that there could be a further level beyond such wealth? Could anyone attain that position today or at any time in history? Or is it impossible to even imagine a status beyond such wealth as a billionaire? The definition of wealth that we prefer is "one who is able to obtain what is immediately required", no matter what that need may be, as such would have to be the ultimate luxury and put one well beyond wealth as we know it.

We invite you to entertain the thought for a few moments that there could possibly exist a level of wealth beyond our traditional definitions, and that such has been displayed and demonstrated by a man of Hebrew descent, Jesus. Although this paper primarily examines the question, "Whatever happened to the gold, frankincense and myrrh given to Jesus and what would it be worth today", in reality it goes beyond that question. In establishing an historical and biblical record raised by this question, one must surely be challenged by the power, wisdom, knowledge, asset base and influence of Jesus, that can only be explained in terms of the "beyond wealth status" and lifestyle of this incredible person who has become the central point of the western calendar.

The authors of this book believe the collective qualities found in this person clearly put Jesus not just in the category of wealthy, but beyond wealth. Further we submit that Jesus is the only person in history who has qualified for that status. Beyond wealth, because without the liability and obligations of managing a vineyard, or the need to own a winery, Jesus turns water into wine and wasn't even his water. And not just wine, but "the best wine" (John 2: 10) without even paying for it! He was able to obtain what was immediately required. He was beyond wealth.

Beyond wealth, because as an inside trader in the fishing industry, he had prior knowledge in respect to the location and volume of the catch that would make any futures trader on the NY stock exchange a millionaire in 30 days. (John 21:6) He was beyond wealth. Beyond wealth, because of the 12 businessmen He dined with on one occasion. Jesus could predict which ones could not be trusted, right down to the time the betrayal would take place (Matthew 26:21 & 46), and which of the twelve would deny him even after publicly



confirming a vote of confidence in favour of Jesus' leadership (Matthew 26:34). Any executive demonstrating such insight into people's character as Jesus possessed, could easily demand of any multinational conglomerate corporation, a "mega salary" to chair their board meetings and they would willingly pay. Jesus was beyond wealth. How often have you said, "if only I knew that was going to happen, I could have made a fortune?" That "knowing the future" was a normal experience for Jesus. He knew the headlines on tomorrow morning's newspaper, or next year's paper for that matter. He was beyond wealth. Beyond wealth, because when it came to paying taxation, he was able to extinguish his liability simply by having a fish pay the temple tax for him! (Matthew 17:27) Jesus even picked up the tab on his associates tax obligation courtesy of the same fish. He was able to obtain what was immediately required. He was beyond wealth. Beyond wealth, as there is no evidence that Jesus ever paid civil tax! The approach to collect tax from Jesus (Mark 12:14) by the civil government agents came to naught, as Jesus was able to negotiate a "nil tax liability" status with the state. How much wealthier would your family be today if you had no tax encumbrance on your family's assets or income? Jesus was beyond wealth. Beyond wealth, because He could heal the 'incurable' diseases of His day with just a touch (Luke 5:13). No need for years of laboratory research at the cost of millions ... just one touch. He was beyond wealth. Beyond wealth, because when He wanted to travel into town, without so much as a phone call. He had a donkey waiting that He never bred, never fed, never stabled, never trained, and He never had to worry about parking when He arrived at his destination! And He got a voluntary "red carpet" reception (Matthew 21:7). Jesus was beyond wealth.

If "knowledge is wealth", Jesus tops the list again as surely as His intellect was beyond any known measure of knowledge in the then known world. The intellectuals of His day in open debate marvelled at His knowledge (Luke 20:26. John 7:14, 15). His reservoir of knowledge clearly silenced His would-be critics and put Himself far beyond any wealth of knowledge they could muster! Beyond wealth, because His Father owns the largest cattle ranch on the planet ("he owns the cattle on a thousand hills" Psalm 50:10), and the mineral reserves beyond the biggest publicly listed mining company on Wall Street. (Psalm 24:1). Beyond wealth, because although many of the world's richest live in a mansion, Jesus' house contains many mansions (John 14:2), and the main street in His neighbourhood is not constructed of black bitumen or even stylish cobblestones, but GOLD! (Revelation 21:21).



Beyond wealth. Beyond wealth, because just a cursory glance at His miracles confirms that He was able to multiply assets exponentially! In the case of the feeding of the five thousand, if we concede that one person would have eaten a loaf of bread and one fish, then Jesus' "Food Fund" showed a capital growth rate of 50,000% per day (bread) and over 250,000% per day (fish)! (Mark 6:41). No capital growth fund in history can come close to that. At that rate of return, you could give Jesus \$1 on Friday night and over the weekend He would turn you into a multi-millionaire! He was clearly beyond wealth. But then to top it off, Jesus gave it all away, and it didn't diminish His asset base one bit!

Beyond wealth. Because Jesus was a unique dresser, as one discovers He wore the clothes of one who shopped at the top end of town. So much so that after His assassination, rather than cut up His coat and divide it four ways as a souvenir, the soldiers decided to "draw straws" for the trophy and keep this quality "seamless garment" entire, as such a masterpiece of tailoring demanded (John 19:23, 24). Beyond wealth, as His burial was that reserved for the very, very, rich. In this case, the mega rich tin merchant, Joseph from the town of Arimathea, donated the tomb that Jesus was buried in. Jesus didn't even have to pay a dime for the tomb! (Matthew 27:60). He had the ability to obtain that which was immediately required, even after He breathed His last!

Jesus was clearly beyond wealth. Beyond wealth, because "what shall it profit a man if he gains the whole world and loses his soul?" Jesus conquered death ... He has both. Beyond wealth, because you clearly can't give what you haven't got and you can't lead from behind. So when Jesus' Father promises to give wealth, He could only do so if He first possessed wealth (Eccl. 5:19), which He clearly does. You would therefore not be surprised to discover that this same Jesus is able to teach His wealth techniques and multiply wealth to the "apprentices" that follow Him (Deut 8:18). To our way of thinking, that's a God who personified in Jesus, was the only one who can claim the accolade as being beyond wealth. We trust you will enjoy this work, "Jesus and Wealth".

The information that you are about to read has not been touched by ourselves or anyone else and is exactly how we received it from those investigating the gifts. The contents may change your life and certainly will change your concept in regard to who Jesus Christ is.

Dr Peter J Daniels & Graham Daniels



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The Wise Men and their Escort

The historical evidence presented elsewhere suggests that Sept/Oct for 3/2 BC is as close as we can come to fixing the date for the Nativity. This also fixes the time for the events in the heavens that heralded Christ's Birth and the subsequent visit of the Wise Men. But who were these so-called Wise Men and where did they come from? Matthew's account says that they came "from the East" which means East of Judaea. To the West of Judaea was the sprawling Roman Empire. Judaea was part of a buffer state tentatively held by Rome. To the East lay the fabulous Persian Empire of the Parthian Dynasty. This Persian Empire stretched from the River Euphrates in the West to the Oxus River above India in the East. Eventually it claimed the Indus River valley as its own. It was from this Empire East of Judaea that the Wise Men came. This Persian Empire guarded and largely controlled the ancient Silk Route that brought highly prized items from India and China, half a world away. These Persians traded in precious metals, gems, rugs, spices, silks, and incense. The gifts presented to the infant Jesus were listed as gold, frankincense and myrrh. These presents from the Wise Men were the finest that world trade could offer.

And who were these "Wise Men"? Tradition has it that they were Magi. This is the root word from which we derive the words "magic" and "magician". Indeed, in Persia the Magian Priests of Mithras were practitioners of the occult arts and astrology. But by the Birth of Christ, the Mithras Sect had declined and Zoroastrianism was dominant. Interestingly, Magi is not the word translated Wise Men in the Bible. Matthew Chapter 2 uses the word "MAGO!", the root from which we derive our words "major", "magnify", or "majority". This word MAGO! literally means "Powerful" or "Great Ones". When this word is carried over into a Persian setting, an amazing fact emerges. The Persian Empire of the Parthian Dynasty was governed by the "Megistanes", roughly equivalent to our Houses of Parliament. The Lower House members were called the "Sophoi" or "Wise-Ones", while the Upper House members were called the "Magoi" or "Great Ones". These Magoi, the Great Ones, were the King Makers of their Empire. They were the ones who also sought the "King of the Jews", the Messiah, to worship Him. They were the Politicians of their Empire, not the astrologers.



These Politicians from Persia. penetrated over 750 km into Roman territory to worship a contender for Herod's throne. and Herod had that throne given to him by Caesar Augustus himself. Consequently the Magoi dare not risk that journey without the protection of the best military units available. Because they had to travel a considerable distance. the Persian crack light cavalry units were ideally suited to the venture. These light horse-archers wore loose cloth tunics and trousers. rode small. agile mounts. and were armed with long-range bows and quivers of arrows, plus a short sword. Iron helmets protected their heads. These cavalry units were known as the "Cataphracti". and time and again had proved that they could pin down and win out against Roman forces. For example, in 53 BC. the Roman General Crassus crossed the Euphrates with more than 40.000 soldiers. The Parthian equestrians killed 20,000 and took 10,000 prisoners. One of the few who escaped was an officer called Cassius. who was to play a prominent role in the assassination of Julius Caesar. After Caesar's murder, Mark Antony made the mistake of leading an army of 100,000 towards the Parthian heartland in 36BC. He lost more than 35,000 men as well as all his supplies and equipment as the Parthians drove them back across the river. Mark Antony headed for Egypt and the soothing attentions of Queen Cleopatra.

What were the tactics used by the Cataphracti that were so successful? The Romans often used a phalanx formation as their strategy. This was a square block of troops that advanced as a single unit. They were armed with spears. javelins. swords and shields. In battle the Parthians used a close succession of waves of horse-archers that galloped to within 45 metres of the Roman lines firing arrows. At that distance. they were still out of range of all Roman weaponry. The Persians then made a 180 degree turn to the right. and released a deadly hail of arrows as the wave retreated. The next wave advanced immediately behind them. Though the waves of horse-archers advanced in unison. each member was individually responsible for the action he took. This resulted in a continuous rain of arrows that pinned the Romans down. The manoeuvre whereby the wave of Persian equestrians fired to the rear just after they had executed the 180 degree turn and were retreating, became known as "Parthian shots". This is the origin of the term "parting shot" that we use today. If the Roman troops advanced towards the horse-archers. they would melt away from before them and close in on the Romans flanks or rear. never coming closer than about 45 metres. Once the Roman ranks showed confusion. the Parthian heavy cavalry, called the



Clibanarii. moved in for the kill. They had chain-mail suits. a long lance, and huge armour-clad horses. This was the tactical skill that consistently won out against the Roman legions. So it was that the Persian Magoi with their cavalry units came to Jerusalem. This would be quite a large entourage. It is no wonder that Matthew 2:3 records that "Herod was troubled and all Jerusalem with him." He had what amounted to a small army from an almost invincible foreign power at the gates of his capital city. Herod vividly remembered how these same Persian forces had ousted him from the area in 39 BC. Now. for the second time, he was in no position to resist. Unfortunately for him. most of the Roman garrison that normally guarded Jerusalem was away helping to quell the Homonadensian revolt in Armenia. This was worrying enough for Herod, but worse still, these Persians had just announced there was a legitimate contender for Herod's throne that they intended to support. Here was one BORN to be king. not just appointed by Rome as he had been. Any resistance could have dire consequences. So Herod cunningly feigned cooperation, and got rid of these Persian Rulers and their army. He then murdered all the children under 2 years of age to protect his throne. However, the Christ Child escaped to Egypt.

Murray R Adamthwaite:

An Examination of the Gifts

Abbreviations:

AfO: Archiv fur Orientforschung

ANET: J.B. Pritchard. Ancient Near Eastern Texts. 3rd Ed .. Princeton. 1969.

BASOR: Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.

CAH: 1.E.S Edwards. et al (Eds). The Cambridge Ancient History. Jd Ed., Cambridge University Press. 1973.

ISBE: G.W. Bromiley (Gen. Ed.). International Standard Bible Encyclopaedia. Four Vols. 1979 1988.

JAOS: Journal of the American Oriental Society.



JESHO: Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient.

MANE: Monographs on the Ancient Near East.

TB: Tyndale Bulletin.

ZPEB: M.C. Tenney, The Zondervan Pictorial Encyclopedia of the Bible, 5 Vols. Grand Rapids. Zondervan. 1975.

Introduction

While much has been written on the episode of the Magi in Matthew 2: 1-12 in regard to their place of origin, their possible astrological beliefs, the identity of the "Star of Bethlehem", and the Magi's links, if any, with Zoroastrianism, very little has been written on the gifts of gold, frankincense and myrrh and even less on their subsequent fate. Commentators dwell on the homiletical and devotional aspects that gold was for a king, frankincense for his priesthood and myrrh for his burial, a thought tracing back to Origen in the third century. Even though some commentators regard this as simplistic, even anachronistic, the thought persists especially with those of the redaction-critical school who see the Gospels more as theological tractates than historical narratives.

The task of this essay is to explore the significance of the star, or stars, to the Magi which inspired their visit to the infant Christ and, correspondingly, inspired their costly gifts which they brought for him. What would the likely scale and value of these gifts have been? What happened to them afterwards? Could Mary and Joseph have traded or pawned them to spend the money on family maintenance, as commentators believe in so far as they discuss the point at all? The thesis of this essay is the gifts remained Jesus' royal property but that he never availed himself of them. "For our sakes He became poor" (2 Cor. 8:9) not only in respect of the Heavenly glory but also in respect of that earthly wealth which de jure belonged to Him.



Chapter 1: One greater than Solomon is here

Royal gifts in antiquity. The scenario of a royal figure, possibly even a royal infant, being the object of diplomatic largesse or courtesy from visiting dignitaries or royalty from foreign countries is, of course, not unique by any means in antiquity. The question here is what was considered a diplomatically proper gift to a king or royal personage, whether from another king, or from a lesser figure?

Evidence from some Mari Texts

To begin with, we turn to the texts from the early second millennium city of Mari (c. 1850-1760 B.C.). It was Zimri-Lim (c. 1780-1760 B.C.) who was in a large part responsible for the huge palaces of 260 chambers, courtyards and corridors, with bright frescoes, elaborate throne-rooms and sculptures in alabaster and marble. Clearly the king of Mari was a man of great wealth, which came from its strategic position in the network of Near Eastern trade. Likewise, when Zimri-Lim maintained ambassadors at foreign courts he sent and received diplomatic gifts of considerable size and value. Some of the inventories survive, which record a wealth of silver and ceremonial weapons likewise. Luxury foodstuffs also formed part of the fabulous wealth of Mari, plus farm animals: cattle, donkeys, sheep, originally obtained as booty from military expeditions. These, too at times, formed part of the diplomatic exchange.

Diplomacy in the Amarna age (mid-fourteenth century B.C.)

On one view of Israelite settlement the period in question lies after the conquest of Canaan whereas, on the later date model, the conquest post-dates this period. It is not our concern here to enter that debate, but merely to observe it in passing as a kind of chronological bearing. The diplomatic exchanges in that age between both the kinglets of Syria-Palestine and the great kings of Hittite Anatolia, Mitanni (northern Mesopotamia), Assyria, and the



Kassite kings of Babylonia are well-documented by these letters. They reveal prodigious quantities of gold, ebony and ivory. lapis-lazuli . garments and "sweet oil" being sent in each direction as part of diplomatic protocol. Thus, when Ashur-uballit seeks to open diplomatic relations with Egypt. he sends with his mission a state chariot with two horses and a lapis lazuli stone. The same king in the next exchange refers to both an Assyrian predecessor and the neighbouring king of Mitanni each sending gifts of 20 talents of gold. The talent was 3.600 shekels. and in modern equivalents 30.3 kg, thus 20 talents amounted to 606 kg! In the opposite direction, Amenhotep III sends to Kadashman-Enlil of Babylon ebony beds overlaid with gold and vine chairs likewise overlaid with gold plus footrests in ebony and ivory (number not preserved). all overlaid with gold. These. he informs. are "some furnishings" for the Babylonian king's new palace, then under construction 9. Another text is a long inventory of items sent by Amenhotep III to Burnaburiash of Babylon. The list of items in gold. either inlaid or solid is almost encyclopaedic: there are goblets. jewellery, perfume containers, boats. knives. figurines. gold-overlaid chariots. beds. thrones. The total weight of gold is given: 120 minas and X shekels (figure here un preserved). i.e. more than 20 talents. Then come items of silver and bronze. plus quantities of linen. cloth of finest quality. some made into garments. most as strips...1092 in all. In turn. come in excess of a thousand jars of various types (the references of the Akkadian terms are still unknown) filled with "sweet oil" . Finally, there are items of various types of stone. and of ivory.

While such a list is fairly typical of diplomacy for the period when Egypt enjoyed considerable power and influence in the western zone of the Near East, the other kingdoms in the north and east also had their spheres of influence and likewise sent their diplomatic presents to Egypt. Thus two other Amarna texts itemize gift-packages. this time from Tushratta of Mitanni to Egypt". While these are inventories of dowries on the occasion of the marriage of the daughter of Tushratta to the Pharaoh. at the same time the wife-to-be retained only some control over the dowry 12 • It was as much a gift to the Egyptian as a strict wedding gift. Even a summary of their content would be tedious, but one is replete with all manner of jewellery in gold, lapis-lazuli and various other semi-precious stones such as malachite and alabaster. Silver appears somewhat. but only ever in worked ornamentation. Silver "money" was not a prestige commodity in these arrangements. Thus it never intervenes. In Egypt, even gold "is like dirt to be gathered up", Assur-uballit



complains. the implication being that the Pharaoh should be generous with it. Such was the import and export of wealth in diplomatic gifts. The amounts are so prodigious that one could hardly put a value on them in modern times.

First Millennium evidence

If the diplomatic gifts of the Amarna age seem fabulous. when we come to the Solomonic period and later these amounts look positively prosaic. Thus Osorkon I (c. 924-889 B.c.) endowed the temples of all the major deities of Egypt: Re, Hathor, Thoth Amen-Re, Bast. Mut and Arsaphes'6 • For the gods at Heliopolis in the Delta. the total weight of gold, silver and lapis-lazuli was nearly 600 thousand deben (= 54 metric tons). while his largesse Amun, the major deity. was 43 million deben (= 391 metric tons) of gold and silver'. Much of all this was again in the form of vessels, statues and the like. If these figures seem utterly unbelievable, the records are not only extant but are detailed in a similar way to the Amarna texts cited above. Moreover, they make Solomon's imports of gold look almost ordinary, and quite credible, i.e. 666 talents in one (outstanding) year, plus his 300 gold, shields of 3 minas of gold each. The mention of Solomon raises the example of the famous visit of the queen of Sheba (1 Kings 10; 1- 10). She too came with a large camel train bearing spices and very much gold and precious stones: (10:2). Though figures are not recorded, if the Amarna letters are any guide, a total of 10-20 talents of gold, plus objets d'art., well exceeding one thousand, in lapis-lazuli. alabaster and malachite would certainly be eminently reasonable. Such was proper for a king of Solomon's status in the Near East at the time.

Greek References to the Persian Period

In the Persian period, according to Herodotus. the emperor Xerxes I (484-465 B.C.). en route through Asia Minor for his Greek campaign, encountered Pythius of Lydia, quite likely of the local nobility, and reportedly the wealthiest man in the world after Xerxes himself. He had given Darius. Xerxes' father, two golden trees as a gift, and now offered nearly four million gold darics and 2000 talents of silver to Xerxes to pay for his own effort against Greece, which he politely declined. Herodotus' account of the Persian campaign against Greece has been shown to be accurate time and again, since he records, what for him, was very recent history. Hence, there is every reason to credit his account here. Pythius' generous offer



would still come into the category of a diplomatic gesture. We will leave aside the story of his request to Xerxes which brought about the execution of his eldest son .

Conclusions

To draw these varying threads together, it is clear that diplomatic gifts were of a size and value commensurate with the status of the recipient. Anything less than what we, in fact, have itemized in the Amarna texts, for example, would have been, indeed was, considered as a diplomatic snub. Thus Ashur-uballit complains that the present, which the Pharaoh has sent, neither expresses Egypt's wealth nor matches his own status: "Is such a present that of a Great King? Gold in your country is dirt .. .Why are you so sparing of it? I am engaged in building a new palace ... I am the equal of the king Hanigalbat (Mitanni) ... If your purpose is graciously one of friendship, send me much gold." While a reply like this seems precocious to us, the kings of that age knew the rules of the diplomatic game (as do politicians today!). Again, with Pythius it would not have been a mere calculation of the cost of Xerxes' campaign which prompted him to offer his entire and prodigious wealth; it was also what he considered appropriate to the Persian emperor, called officially "the Great King, King of Kings, King of all the Lands". Yet, these kings were but men. Solomon may have been arrayed in all the glory of his opulent wealth, but Christ Jesus proclaimed that One greater than Solomon is here. Was He accorded the gifts of diplomatic honour as befitted His Person and status? Indeed, He was, when the Magi visited Him in His infancy. To this episode we now turn.

Chapter 2: Astrologers from the East

The previous chapter serves to highlight the massive wealth in the possession not only of the great kings of antiquity but even some of the lesser ones. We now come to the visit of the Magi to the infant Christ at His temporary home in Bethlehem. Two immediate issues arise:

1. Who and what were the Magi?
2. What was so significant about the star as to move them to undertake the long journey to Jerusalem?



The Magi and Astrology

This caste was originally a Median tribe, but because they were priestly functionaries, the Persian word magush became synonymous with "priest", since a member of the caste always officiated at sacrifices. However, they also interpreted dreams and heavenly signs. Herodotus records how the Magi interpreted a solar eclipse in Xerxes' favour while he was en route to the Hellespont for his invasion of Greece. As divinatory priests the Magi also became inextricably involved with magic (our term ultimately derives from the Magi). Thus they interpreted a spontaneous fire in the Artemis temple at Ephesus as portending a great calamity for Asia, meaning the newly-born Alexander the Great. Knowledge of astronomy/astrology came about through the increasing association of the Magi with the Chaldeans, originally denoting the ethnic group kaldu or kaldayyu of southern Babylonia, but by neo-Babylonian times (605-539), a professional caste of astrologers. In this latter sense they are attested by the book of Daniel (Dan. 2:10; 4:7; 5:7, 11). This professional reference continued through the Persian period and more particularly into the Greek period, such that "Chaldean" and "astrologer" became convertible terms. During this same period the Magi, many of whom now lived in this area, also became so intimately associated with the Chaldeans that they too became synonymous with astrology.

The earlier Babylonian discovery of the constellations in the solar and planetary regions of the sky now gave rise to the corresponding Zodiac of twelve sectors of thirty degrees each with the twelve signs in each region, c. 420 B.C. On the basis of this development the Chaldeans and their Magi associates developed the Zodiac as a prediction device for the casting of horoscopes. The earliest known horoscope dates from about 400 B.C.

Southern Babylonia, the home of the Chaldeans and Magi, was now also regarded as the home of astronomy/astrology to where visitors, many of them Greeks, came to learn this craft. Thus, the Greeks absorbed the system and then made some modifications of their own and taught it seriously as a mainline discipline. Alexandria now became a centre for astronomical/astrological study.

This short summary is intended to point to Babylonia as the most likely place of origin for the Christmas Magi. It was there, not so much in Persia, that the magi became associated



with astrology, the obvious background of Matthew 2. Pingree points out that nothing is known of the astronomy and astrology of Iran in this period if it existed at all in any developed form. There is, after all, nothing about astrology in the Avesta, the sacred book of Old Persian Zoroastrianism. This entails that on a Babylonian origin our sources for Magian astrology are those of Babylon, on which we have a fair amount of information, whereas on a Magian origin further east our information is nil. On the latter hypothesis any reconstruction of the astrological background to the Christmas star is impossible. In the early Christian period Origen (third century), Jerome (fourth century), and Augustine (fifth century) believed in the Mesopotamian origin of the Magi. The testimony of the first two, both of whom lived in Palestine, is important.

The Magi and their Journey

The second question involves the *raison d'être* for the journey of the Magi who came in the first instance at the behest of a star which they saw in its rising in their home country in the East (Matt. 2:1 .2). Forests of paper have been expended for a long time on the identity of that star, a question which does impinge on our study to some extent, in respect of it being to these astrologers a herald of a king of extraordinary significance. C.J. Humphries has recently put forth a very plausible argument while the traditional identification of the star with Jupiter and Saturn in the constellation of Pisces in 7 B.C. is not irrelevant. The "star" itself was a comet in 5 B.C., on its way into and emerging from perihelion in the evening and morning sky respectively (thus in the east). At this time it would hardly have been noticeable to the common people, but, Humphries continues, as it sped away from the sun its tail became visible and prominent in the southern sky, which coincided with their arrival at Jerusalem and their journey to Bethlehem.

The significance of the 7 B.C. triple conjunction, according to both Humphries, and Ferrari D'Occhieppo writing earlier (1989), was that the birth of a Messiah-king in Israel was approaching. Though the latter writer holds the view that the Jupiter-Saturn conjunction was the "star", much of his reasoning still holds if we follow Humphries' view. On the traditional explanation, Ferrari- D'Occhieppo points out that the association of Saturn with the Jews, as seen in the *kiyyun* of Amos 5:26 (the Hebrew rendering of the Akkadian



kayyamanu, the name for Saturn), is an Assyrian-Babylonian superstition with a long pedigree, and would have become enmeshed in Mesopotamian astrology.

Meanwhile, the planet Jupiter represented Marduk, the patron deity of Babylon, thus a conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn could well have indicated at least a forthcoming happy event for the Jews. This combined with the fact that a similar conjunction in 126 B.C. coincided with the birth of Alexander Jannaeus, the first Jewish Hasmonean ruler of international renown, may well have portended to the Magi that the Jewish Messiah-king, known widely from Jewish prophecy, was about to appear. We should bear in mind here that there was a sizable Jewish community in Babylonia, and from that quarter knowledge of the Hebrew Scriptures were disseminated.

Another explanation is offered by Humphries: the eighth century A. D. Astronomer/astrologer Masha'allah composed an astrological world history based on the Babylonian theory that important religious and political changes were predicted by conjunctions of Jupiter and Saturn. Another mediaeval writer, Abarbanel the Jew in the fifteenth century, explained (i) that the constellation Pisces was a sign associated with Israel, and (ii) that Saturn was the divine father and Jupiter his son.

However, Abarbanel is late and the force of point (i) is blunted by Ptolemy's association of Aries, not Pisces, with the Jews. However, this second century AD assignation does not rule out an earlier (first century BC) association with Pisces.

The important point for our study, however, is that none of this reasoning so far explains why the Magi should have been motivated to leave their distant home and embark on the long and dangerous journey to Jerusalem, so confident in their endeavour that they packed and brought an array of rich gifts for the newborn king. Ferrari-D'Occhieppo feels the force of the problem, but it is Humphries who, I believe, has solved it: the triple conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in 7 B.C. set the scene, possibly together with the conjunction of Mars with Jupiter and Saturn the following year (his reasoning on this is rather weak). Only the comet of 5 B.C. Heralded to the Magi that the birth of this king was now imminent: it was time for them to pack their camels!



The constellation of Capricorn was the House of Saturn, the divine father. thus the comet in Capricorn (where it first appeared, according to Chinese records) announced the birth of a divine son. Other factors may well lie behind the Magi's precise question to Herod, "where is He who is born king of the Jews?" They may have, and probably did know the prophecy of Daniel, with its predictions of a Messiah-prince (9:26). and the symbolism of a horned goat (cf. Capricornus the goat. called Suhurmashu in Babylonian). 8:5. These together would explain their precise announcement, we have seen his star. But a discussion of this would take our inquiry too far afield; enough has been mentioned to give a plausible scenario.

One final matter remains in this section: the degree to which astrological beliefs had affected contemporary Judaism. This would explain the profound impact which the Magi's announcement had on Jerusalem according to Matt 2:3. Herod also showed deep concern about the star (2:7). probably reflecting his own belief in the craft. In shor: Dead Sea scrolls (first century BC) have yielded several astrological texts; the book of Enoch incorporates several astrological notions. but a recently published document. "The Treatise of Shem". composed around 30 BC. consistently advocates astrology but questioned whether it applied to Israel: " Israel had no star", but not all rabbis agreed.

The Magian Gifts

Christian tradition from early times has embellished the Magi story by specifying the number as three. giving them the title of "king", and attributing to each a name. Thus the famous sixth century mosaic in the St. Apollinaris Nuovo church at Ravenna depicts Gaspar beaming gold, Melchior with frankincense, and Balthazar holding a flask of myrrh. These developments took their cue from Psalm 72 and Isaiah 60:6. respectively. the kings of Sheba and Seba will present Him gifts; and, all those from Sheba will come. They will bring gold and frankincense. Then, in regard to the number: the three gifts meant three kings. Tradition persists, especially in the Christmas cards which so often depict three oriental kings, each respectively with a box of gold, a flask of frankincense and a vessel of myrrh. The reality was very different, as will be argued. First of all, as we have seen in the Amarna inventories, there were several types of gifts with many different artefacts in each of the categories. In the inventories of each category, e.g. gold, the items are first listed, then their total weight summed up at the end. Thus in the Egyptian inventory the total of one hundred



and ten entries is given as "12 00 minas. x shekels" (latter number unpreserved). Then follows the silver: thirty-five entries. "total 292 minas and 3 shekels". Following these are the bronze objects, then those in stone. and finally ebony and ivory. In each case the total weight is given. We should therefore envisage, in the case of the Magi. an entourage of camels. laden with a range of gifts in gold. a further range in frankincense (with various types of containers). and a range of flasks full of myrrh.

Gold

We now proceed to an analysis of the gifts. As to each type in turn, gold. of course, needs little commentary. only that like that in the Amarna letters, it would not have been in bullion but, more likely as worked ornamentation: bowls. flasks. jewellery. plates. figurines etc., i.e. objets d'art in gold'.

Frankincense

This aromatic substance is the resin of three species of the genus *Boswellia*. a tree bearing sawtooth-edged leaves, similar to the Mountain Ash, and pink star-shaped lowers with lemon-coloured centres. In February, the bark is cut and peeled, then in March, after a repetition of this process a deep cut is made and the resin exudes from the inner wood in amber-coloured drops. The drops then dry into a brittle, whitish mass or dust on the surface of the tree, hence the Hebrew term *lebanah*: "whiteness" (the Greek *libanos* has the same meaning. The resultant powder produces a highly aromatic smoke when burned. Thus it was a standard substance for religious use, as in Leviticus 2:15. 2; 24:7: Neh 13:5, 9. Not only was frankincense used for religious purposes, but the resin was highly valued also as the base for a perfume, as seen in the catalogues in Song of Songs 3:6: 4: 16, 14 and thus was in demand as a cosmetic. However, since the *Boswellia* tree grew only in India, south-west Arabia and in the horn of Africa, the merchants with their trading caravans made handsome profits from this highly valued resin which grew nowhere in the Near East. The traders plied the well -worn maritime "spice routes" across southern Arabia to inland centres and via Phoenician ships to many destinations in the Mediterranean (Ezek. 27: 19-22; Rev. 18: 13). Indeed, frankincense became a principal bartering commodity and the Arab merchants had an ultimate stranglehold on the trade.



Myrrh

The other gift mentioned in Matt 2: 11 is myrrh (Hebrew *mor*; Greek *Smyrna*). This again is an aromatic resin from a number of related trees, the most likely being the *commiphora myrrha*, a low, thorny tree with a paper-textured bark, and with clusters of small leaves growing from the wood. While the gum exudes naturally, it flows more profusely when the bark is cut, and hardens to a reddish mass on exposure to the air. The resultant gum has a very pleasant odour and was thus much in demand as perfume, medicine or embalming oil throughout the ancient world". As a perfume it would be mixed. e.g. with fat and placed on the head. As the fat melted the aroma would anoint the body and fill the room. Otherwise, it would be mixed with a plain oil to make a perfume (Esther 2: 12). or kept in sticks or pellets in a pouch to hang around the neck (Song of Songs 1: 13). Its most famous use was as a constituent of the burial perfume (to extinguish the smell of decay) for Christ's burial (John 19:39), a use also attested among the Egyptians. Like frankincense, the myrrh tree grows in southern Arabia and the horn of Africa. Thus the two went in conjunction with each other as precious substances in a lucrative trade throughout the ancient world. Moreover, since the queen of Sheba came from southern Arabia, there is every likelihood that the "spices" she brought included considerable quantities of frankincense and myrrh. While it is difficult to ascertain the financial value in ancient commerce of, say, a flask of myrrh, we can at least draw a comparison with nard, a costly perfume from India and sold in sealed boxes: three hundred denarii. i.e. a year's wages, according to John 12:3.547. While more abundant and thus less costly, myrrh was still valuable. Note that it appears in the inventory of Tushratta. Its modern value is trifling. With the latter in mind, we can now draw the threads together. Largesse of this kind was part of a diplomatic protocol, even if the donors were not themselves rulers. cf. Pythias of Lydia above. For what it is worth, if the Magi saw the newborn ruler as a divine figure (as suggested above), the donations of Osorkon I to his various deities or, for that matter, Solomon himself with all the massive amounts of gold and cedar in his temple to the LORD (I Kings 6: 18. 20-22 et passim), are equally significant. As Hagner comments in a masterful understatement, "the offering of gold and precious spices ... does suggest that the Magi who could give these gifts were of some wealth."



Magian Visits in Antiquity

This comment raises the question of Magian visits elsewhere in antiquity. We know of at least one, when Tiridates, king of Armenia, himself a Magus, came with an entourage of Magi to pay homage to Nero. According to Pliny the Younger, Tiridates and his party had also come to initiate Nero into their arts, but he failed to acquire the magic art. However, the money and gifts flowed on that occasion. The ancient writers do not tell us what gifts Tiridates brought (it is not their purpose) though it would have been considerable, especially if Nero's return favours are any indication. Suetonius relates that Nero spent 800 thousand sesterces each day of that visit, with a parting gift of 100 million sesterces, not to mention the diadem as the crown of Armenia in place of the former turban. These sums are difficult to translate into modern equivalents, but some idea can be ascertained by bearing in mind that a denarius (a silver coin) was the day's wage for a common labourer (Matt 20:2). and a sestertius (a bronze coin) was a quarter of a denarius. Thus did the money flow on that occasion.

We need not speculate that the Magi who visited the infant Messiah were endowed with the wealth of a Nero, or an Amarna Pharaoh, or a queen of Sheba, but both their rank and their financial status would nevertheless have been considerable to make the impact on Herod and Jerusalem that it clearly did. Equally, we should divest ourselves of the "Christmas card" image of the Magi, each with a small container of their respective gifts. It was an Eastern occasion. and a traditional Eastern display of a large assortment of objects in the respective categories, laid out on a carpet, is much more in keeping with the setting. Carpets? Indeed, carpet weaving goes back at least to middle Assyrian times (late second millennium B.C.) and depicted in Assyrian palace reliefs, while, in Roman times, carpet from the east were highly valued. However, Matt 2:11 does not mention carpets. I only make this suggestion for a backdrop to the gift categories which are mentioned. In summary, there is every reason to conclude that the gift catalogue would have been extensive, and its monetary value, at the very least, a considerable fortune. [Added by PJD : Suggested figure \$U.S. 400 million.]



Chapter 3: An ordinance for the sons of Israel

The final premise to the argument concerns the laws on inheritance rights in Judaism. In so far as the issue is discussed at all by commentaries, there is often the glib speculation that the gifts were spent during the sojourn in Egypt. Herein it will be contended that such could not have been the case.

The Law of the Firstborn

Primogeniture was fundamental in Jewish inheritance law, that is the firstborn son received a double share of the inheritance. This is clearly based on Deut 2 1:17. where not even in a polygamous situation can a firstborn forfeit his right, if he is the son of an unloved wife. Lest the case of Joseph vis-a-vis Reuben, the firstborn of the unloved Leah (Gen 29:3 1 -32), be cited as a contradiction, the comment in 1 Chron. 5: 1-2 is revealing: Reuben forfeited his birthright because of his incest with Bilhah (Gen. 35:2 2).

However, all this involves the passage of property from father to son, whereas, in the case of Christ and gifts from the Magi, the latter were given directly to Him. Notwithstanding the virtual near-uniqueness of the situation, some principles apply. Since a father could not deprive a son of his inheritance right, but was obliged to preserve it until the son came into full possession, it would have been the utmost profligacy for the father to spend it! Notice how, in the Christian scheme, the believer's inheritance is "kept" in Heaven until he acquires full possession. This is based squarely on the concepts of Old Testament law.

Later Jewish Thought

Rabbinic commentary discussed many aspects of inheritance law, and the case of Joseph formed a focus for that part of the discussion. Thus. in their attention to 1 Chron. 5:1 a question is raised as to why Jacob took away Reuben's birthright and gave it to Joseph. The



rabbi posed a parable: “a host brought up an orphan in his house. After a time, the orphan became rich and declared, 'I would let the host have some benefit from my wealth" . The reply, however, is: "had not Reuben sinned, (Jacob) would not have bestowed upon Joseph any benefit at all.” That is. any benefit from Joseph to Jacob had nothing to do with the inheritance issue, nor could Jacob lay claim to benefit in Egypt because Joseph was his son. Once Joseph was acknowledged as having the birthright, the inheritance was inviolate.

Rights and Duties Pertaining to the Treasure

Turning to Christ's position as the recipient of the Magi's rich gifts, we note that Lenski is one of few commentators who emphasize the significance of the "to Him" of Matt. 2:11. He observes: "Not to the child and to Mary but to the child alone they offer their worship and their gifts." He likewise rejects the view that the gifts financed the flight to Egypt of the holy family. Regrettably, he does not explore the issue further. The reality is that, since the gifts were given to him alone, and the parents' duty was to keep it in trust, they had no right to lay a finger on any of it. Furthermore, since any decision to endow Mary or Joseph had to be Jesus' and his alone (cf. The Rabbinic discussion of Joseph above), as a minor he was, of course, in no position to do this. The treasure was analogous to a dowry. In the Eastern marriage system, a dowry was inviolate and became the subject of inheritance like all other household items. This was a general custom in the ancient Near East at large, even if probably not among the Jews. The dowry is used here only as an illustration.

Chapter 4: He who was rich...became poor

Proposition: Jesus was de Jure wealthy but renounced the wealth which was rightfully His for the sake of His mission.

His attitude to wealth as revealed in the Gospels



His own status. His carpenter's trade in youth (Matt. 13: 55: Mark 6:3) is no guide to His own status vis-a-vis His family. Since He was aware of His Person and mission from an early age (Luke 2:49), part of that mission was to share our hardships, as implicit in His incarnation (Heb . 2: 14). Though He had guaranteed rights to property under Jewish law and as the "One born King of the Jews". He relinquished those rights to choose the path of the suffering Servant (Isaiah 42: 49: 50: 53). This incidentally, puts a new light on one of His temptations: the Devil showed Him "all the kingdoms of the world in a moment of time" (Luke 4:5). Since He had had to work through this problem already, He was at once both equipped for the temptation. and vulnerable, since now the whole issue was forcefully brought to Him again. During His ministry He was as He describes in Luke 9:58 – "nowhere to lay His head". Hence the call to the disciples to "forsake all" (Mark 1: 16-18) has added poignancy: Jesus knew from His own experience what that meant.

Support during his Ministry

We gain some idea of the sources of financial support for Jesus' ministry from Luke 8:3 and 23:55- 6. However, was this the whole story? At the outset, His Messianic mission called him to be an itinerant preacher which was very much the burden of His early days, see Matt. 4:23; Mark 1: 14- 15. This was when He called the disciples and before He knew these women, and, for that matter. had called all the disciples, cf. Matt. 10:2-4 : Mark 3: 16- 19: Luke 6: 12- 16. Sometime after this took place, arrangements were made for the financial support of the whole company: Judas looked after the money box as we learn from John 12:6: 13:29. However, this was as much to provide alms for the poor as for their own needs (cf. John 1 3: 29). It is here suggested that Jesus provided for His own needs in His early days, but deliberately renounced that source once the disciple band was together.

Teaching Concerning Wealth – Three Parables

The Rich Fool

Luke 12: 1 7-34.

Here the lesson is to avoid covetousness, cf. 1 Tim. 6:17. Note that neither the rich fool nor those that are rich in this world are condemned for possessing wealth. but warned about



the deceitfulness of wealth in diverting their attention to this world rather than to the world to come.

The Menaced Manager

Luke 16: 1-15

The lesson here is to make good use of money while it lasts, for the sake of His Kingdom. The corrupt manager is commended for his shrewdness, not of course for his shyster-like behaviour in "cooking the books".

The Rich Man and Lazaus

Luke 16: 19-31

The main point here, apart from teaching on the life beyond, is to avoid use of wealth for oppression and self-aggrandisement. The rich man goes to hell not because he was rich per se, but because he ignored the poor man at his gate. All of these parables show how wealth has a special snare to divert attention from the Kingdom of God, Matt. 6:33.

One encounter: The Rich Young Ruler

The story illustrates how love of money kept him out of the kingdom. To give up wealth is not a universal commandment, cf. Zacchaeus who promised to give half (Luke 19:8), but it was applicable to this man in his circumstances.

Teaching

The Sermon on the Mount, in particular Matt. 6: 19-21 and 6:33. Jesus knew the snares of wealth. and the anxieties it would bring if allowed to consume one's passion. Greatness. Luke 9:48. If Jesus was in principle wealth, it explains the other side of His teaching. The Parables of the Talents and Pounds show that fair trading with money, and legitimate increase, is rewarded. That the talents in these parables denote money and substance is seen clearly by the trade in which each recipient engages, Matt. 25: 1-6: Luke 19: 1-3. Moreover, it is a nonsense to interpret the talents of Matt. 25: 1-5. along current popular



lines. as "abilities". This would involve a tautology, that "they traded with the abilities. each according to his ability" (cf. Matt. 25: 15 & 16). The talent was in fact the largest unit of money, in Old Testament times a unit of weight. approx 30 kg. In Roman times it remained a very large unit of weight. but was officially valued at 240 aurei in the financial reforms of Julius Caesar in 49 B.C. An aureus in turn was 25 denarii. the basic Roman coin .

The mina of Luke 19: 13 was again a unit from Old Testament times. rated at 60 shekels. in modern equivalent. about 0.5 kg. In Roman times the Greek mna, equivalent to the Babylonian mina, was still circulating, and was rated at 100 drachmas (the denarius). and 6000 to the talent.

Paul's Observations

Phil 2:5-8 and 2 Cor 8:9 in the light of our discussion need to be reinterpreted. In the first of these passages Christ's incarnation was a divesting of His eternal glory which He had in Heaven (John 17:5). However the further humbling came when He was found in fashion as a man. Phil. 2:6. which involved both renunciation of the wealth given Him in his infancy, which remained His by right. and then facing the humiliating death of the cross. In 2 Cor. 8:9 Paul informs us that though He was rich. yet for your sake He became poor. When was He rich? In Heaven. of course, but also on earth in younger days!

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1. Zoroastrianism is the ancient religion of the Persians, which follows the teaching of Zarathushtra in the sixth century B.C. Their main sacred book is the Avesta. There has been much speculation as to whether the Magi were Zoroastrians but since the Babylonian Magi were astrologers. and the Zoroastrians were for the most part opposed to this outlook. any equation of the two should for this and other reasons be discounted . See E.M. Yamauchi. *Persia and the Bible*. Grand Rapids. Baker. 1990. ch. 12. and pp 468-9 (cited hereafter as Yamauchi, *Persia*).



2. Origen. *Against Celsus*. I. 60. as in A Roberts & J. Donaldson (Eds.). *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*. 1885. Repr. Grand Rapids. Eerdmans. 1972. p. 423.
3. J.R. Kupper. in CAH. 11.1, pp. 11- 12.
4. Ibid. p. 11
5. G. Dossin. "Les archives économiques du palais de Mari" , Syria. XX (1939) . p. 104
6. As in W.L. Moran. *The Amarna Letters*. Baltimore. Johns Hopkins University. 1992 . Letters hereafter cited as EA. plus a catalogue no.
7. EA.15:lines 7- 15.
8. EA. 16: 19-25.
9. EA. 5: 13-33.
10. EA. 14. See copy of this letter in documents at the end of the manuscript.
11. EA. 22 & 25.
12. See Moran 's discussion in n.47 to EA. 25. Mora n. EA. p.83f.
13. Note here Tushratta's announcement on the same occasion in EA. 21: 33-41. " ... and I send 1 maninnu-necklace of genuine lapis-lazuli and gold as a greeting gift."
14. M. Liverani. " 'Irrational ' Elements in the Amarna Trade" . in idem, *Three Amama Essays* MANE. Malibu, 1979. p. 28. 29.
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17. The deben was about 91 grams. *ibid*, n. 328.
18. J. H. Breasted. Ancient Records of Egypt. 1906-7. SS 729-737.
19. I Kings 10:14-17.
20. Herodotus. VII. 29.
21. Yamauchi, Persia. pp. 190-1.
22. Herodotus. VII. 37-41.
23. EA. 16: 13-34.
24. Standard titulary. See ANET, p. 316: Yamauchi. Persia. p.89 .
25. Herodotus. VII. 38.
- 26 . Noted in Yamauchi . Persia. p. 472.
27. *Ibid*. p. 473 .
28. B.L. Van der Waerden. ""History of the Zodiac ", AfO. 16 (1953) . pp. 216-224: Yamauchi. Persia, p. 474 .
29. Plato, Republic. S 529.
30. Quoted in Yamauchi. Persia, p. 481. n. 82.



31. Here a technical astronomical expression. Differing from the plural expression in Matt. 2: 1. meaning there "from the east". See L.L. Morris. *The Gospel According to Matthew*, Grand Rapids/Leicester. IVP. 1992. p. 36 & n. 7; W.F. Albright 7 C.S. Mann. *Matthew. the Anchor Bible*. New York. Doubleday. 1971. p. 12.
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- 34 . *Ibid*, p. 44f. See also the discussion of this point in D.A. Hubbard. *Joe/ and Amos*. Leicester. IVP. 1989. p. 185.
35. *Ibid*.p.47.
36. Humphries, art. cit. (n. 32). p. 44f
- 37 . G.R. Stone, "The Magi and the Bethlehem Star". *Buried History*. 29 .4 (1993), p. 108.
38. Humphries. art. cit. (n. 32). pp. 44-47.
39. Yamauchi, *Persia*. pp. 478-9.
40. As reproduced in Yamauchi. *Persia*. p. 487. The wrong caption has been attributed to this mosaic.
41. As pointed out in the Amarna case by D.O. Edzard. " Die Beziehungen Babyloniens und Ägyptens in der mittel babylonischen Zeit und das Gold", *JESHO*. 3 (1960), p. 50.



42. See the relevant entries in M. Zohary. *Plants of the Bible*. Cambridge University Press, 1982, p. 197; W. Walker. *All the Plants of the Bible*. New York. Doubleday. 1979. p. 78; R.K. Harrison in *15BE*. Vol. 2. p. 360; W.E. Shewell-Cooper in *ZPEB*. Vol. 2. P. 606.
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44. See entries in wo rks cited. n. 42. respectively, p. 200: p. 122: Vol. 3. p. 450: Vol.3, p. 326.
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The Amarna Letters

[... wi]th its cup, of gold. ¹⁵

[... wash-basin for hands. w]ith their cups, of silver. ¹⁶

10 [... wash-basin for feet, of silver.

[... spr] inkling-vessels of silver. ¹¹

[... J ... of silver.

[...] ... of silver.

[...] of bronze.

15 [... brazi]er of bronze.¹⁸



- [... ch]est, with their lamp(s?). of bronze.⁹
[... e]wer of bronze.
[... t]allu-jar of bronze.²⁰
[... ta]llu-jar of bronze.
20 [... ke]ttle of copper.²¹
[...] ... of bronze.
[...]salinnu of bronze.
[...]angurinnu of bronze.
[...]wash -basin for hands, with their cups, of br[onze].
25 [...]wash-basin for feet. [(...)of bronze].⁵⁶
[...] lapis lazuli [...].
[.. .fl]ask of dusu-stone, mounting of gold.²²
[.. .fl]ask of lapis lazuli, mounting of gold.

Notes

- 1 This inventory, from Babylonia, is apparently the dowry of a Babylonian princess, probably a daughter of Burna-Burias. The absence of identifying notation at either the beginning or the end of the tablet suggests that this was one of two or more tablets.
- 2 U]-hi nu (cf. EA 15; 13).
- 3 Perhaps be-ra. "in between" (Gordon): also lines 6 and 19.
- 4 A type of chalcedony; see Limet. MARI 4. p. 511. n. 7.
- 5 Durand, ARMT 21, pp. 224ff., identifies mussar(r)u as onyx and coisonne . The mus-sa-li of emar 6/4. p. 127, Annexe V 6', between dusustone and pappardilu-stone. is pertinent.
- 6 Sikkatu. a jar for oil. or an ornament so shaped (AHw. p . 1234): see also D. Charpin, AEM 1/2, 294. note a.
- 7 Gordon proposed na4ta - r]a-am -ma-n. comparing tarammanu in PBS 2/2. 120:53 (cf. Tarammu I, AHw, p. 1325); also lines 10, 13 , 15. 18.
- 8 Perhaps [... tu-di-it]-tu (Gordon); see EA 14, n.11.
- 9 GU.TUR = kakku. "lentil" (or the like)? See also EA 14 i 13.
- 10 Written na4MUS.GIR.TAB (von Soden. p.433): a variety of mussar(r)u -stone?



- 11 [... KU.Gl]tu-tu-ur-ru: see Ahw. p. 1375: Landsberger, RA 62 91968) p. 127. n. 108. Durand, ARMT 21, pp. 321f.. argues for "granulated."
- 12 napadu, perhaps a type of handle: see Durand, MARI 5. p. 186.
- 13 p[a-ru] -ti.
- 14 Reading in lines 1-6: I ... ka]m-m[u-sa-ak-ku] 2 [gisa-ma-r]a-a-tu x [...] 3 [...kam-m] usa-ak-ku x[xx(x)]x KU. BABBAR 4 [... gi]sa-ma-ra-[tu a-di su-up]-ri 5 [...] ZUR.MES kam-m]u-sa]-ak-ku 6[...] x in-di u x (10?) r, su-up-ri KU. BABBAR. Gordon recognized kammussakku (the double m is otherwise unattested).
- 15 GU.ZI = kasu: also rev. lines 9. 24. In view of the feminine suffix (ina kasi-sa) and lines 9 and 24. restore probably [NIG.SU.JUH.HA = namsitu] .
- 16 For the restoration of this line and the following one. cf. lines 24-25 below : see also EA 22 ii 51, iv 22: 25 ii 53, iv 60. For syllabic writing. see EA 14 ii 36: 22 iv 27; 120: 12. Unless the plural of namsu (nemsu) is namsatu (> namsitu), at least there and in line 24 the reading of the logogram is namsitu. not namsu (against CAD, N/1, p. 2450. as the feminine suffix (ina kasi-sina) makes clear: note, too. the syllabic writings.
- 17[... mu-s]a- li-ha-tu (Ahw. p. 1013; CAD, M/2. p. 231).
- 18 [...hu-lu-up-pa]-aq-qu (also Gordon): cf. EA 22 iv 15.
- 19 [...al-ta]-pi -pu i-na IZI. GAR (nuri)-su-nu: cf. EA 22iii 22.
- 20 dugtallu (also line 19).
- 21 [...(urudu)S]EN = ruqqu (Gordon); see also Durand. MARI 2, pp. 133f.
- 22 [... mu]-sa-lu (Landsberger in Gordon): for the meaning of musalu. see Durand. ARMT 21. PP. 356f .. and W Farber. in Francesca Rochberg-Halton. ed., Language. Literature. and History: Philological and Historical Studies Presented to Erica Reiner. American Oriental Series 67 (New Haven. 1987). pp. 94f. On dusu, "agate" (banded chalcedony), see P.Steinkeller, ZA 72 (1982) pp. 249ff.

EA 14

Inventory of Egyptian gifts

Text: VAT 1651 + 2711 (+) Ash. 1891.1 41 (415. not collated) . COPIES: WA 28 + WA 209: VS 12. 198; (+) Sayce, *Tell el Amarna*. no. 8.



[These things Naphuru]rea, Great King, [king of Egypt. s]ent [to his brother, Burna]-Buriyas. [Great King, king of Karaduniyas.]

5-7 [...]... [...] strung with 2 [...] [...]

10 [...]..., Of gold, of the princes. 3 [..., of g]l]ass. 4 [..., in]laid. [..., of g]old, (with) "lentil" (stones) 5 inlaid. [... for the n]eck, 6 of gold, (called) masuya.

15 [...], set with 7 stones, (called) wizza [..., for the n]eck, of gold. set with stones [..., o]f gold [...], of gold [...], of gold. inlaid.

20 [...] their [...] [..., of go]ld, inlaid.

(22-31, broken) [x kukkubu-containers, of gold], 8 filled with "[sw]eet- [oil]," 9 (called) namsa. [...], of gold, inlaid, (called) kubu. [... of go]ld. inlaid, (called)...

35 [..., of gold], inlaid. [... of] gold. inlaid, (called) anabu. [...], of copper. [...], for the hand, of gold, inlaid, (called) suzuta. [... of go]ld, inlaid: in their center, silver and gold.

40 [...], of gold, and 1 small kukku[bu]-container. [... a pa]il. 10 of gold. [... togg]le pins 11 [...]. [...]..., large, (called) nassi. [...], of gold.

45 [... of go]ld, and 1 small one. [..., o]f gold. (called) rahda. [...]... [...] fo]r bathing. [... o]f gold [and of sil]ver, set with gold, (called) da [s]i. [x goblets of sil]ver (and) go[ld...], their [...] inlaid, (called) haragabas. 12

50-54 [...] ... 13.

55 2 female figurines... [...], inlaid, which ... [...]. 15 containers of oil, [of gold], inlaid. 1 "cucumber" [that is] an oil-container, 14 of gold, inlaid. 1 hubunnu-container [...]. of gold (with) a female figurine [...] ... , silver, standing.

60 1 hubunnu-container [...] of gold. 1 small cont[ain]er (of aromatics), of gold, (with 1 ibe[x] lying in its center. 15 8 goblets [...] ..., of gold, (called) haragabas. [and] 1 s[mall one].

16

65 [...] ..., of gold, and 1 small one. [x] pails, of gold, and 1 small one. [...], of silver and gold, entirely: nam[s]a is its name. [...] which is studded 17 with gold and copper in its middle: zimi is its name. [1] small kukkubu-container, for bath[ing]. of gold.

70 [1] small tallu-jar; of gold. [1 con]tainer for eye-paint. 18 of gold. inlaid: daba 'uhi is its name. [x] large finger-rings, of gold. [x] finger-rings with gold plating. 19 [x] hand-bracelets, of gold. with inlays: puati is its name. 20



75 19 gold rings for the finger. 3 (pairs of) gold sandals. 2110 very wide hand-bracelets that are strung with stones: mahda is their name. 3 pairs of foot-bracelets, of gold, strung with stones. [x] razors, of gold.

80 [x] razors, of bronze: their handles, of silver and gold.

II

13 gold bowls:22 zillahta is its name. 9 necklance-plaques. of gold and ... -stone. 7 gold tubes.23 full of eye-paint and 3 tubes with gold plating.

5 1 gold box of sippar(r)atu-cosmetics. 1 tube for eye-paint, 24 with kibbu-ornaments of polished gold, (called) kitini. 6 knives, 25 of gold, with pomegranates on their top. 1 small container (of aromatics), of gold and a stopper of lapis lazuli in the middle.

10 4 ladles with claws, of gold. 26 1 large statuette that is overlaid with gold, of the king, 27 and its pedestal 28 is overlaid with silver. 1 female figurine. overlaid with gold, of the king's wife. 1 female figurine. overlaid with gold, of the king 's daughter.

15 2 chariots. of sussugu-wood, 29 overlaid with gold. 2 chariots. of sussugu-wood. overlaid with gold. 1 ship. of cedar, overlaid with gold. along with all its gear. and 6 small ships that one tows, 30 1 bed. overlaid with gold; female figurines for its feet.

20 1 bed. overlaid with gold. 1 headrest, overlaid with gold. 5 thrones. overlaid with gold. 1 throne. overlaid with gold and sahpu. 2 chairs. overlaid with gold. 1 chair ... [...].

25 [...] [...] ... of Canaan. [x hand-bracelets]. their[...], of gold: puati is its name [...] overlaid with gold .

30 [...] [...] overlaid with gold, delicate work.32 [...] [To]ta[l of all the gold] : 1200 ni[nas. x] shekels of gold.

35 1 [large] measuring ves[sel. of silver], 3 [large] washing-bowls. of s[ilver]. 1 [large] mabru , [o]f silver.33 1 (vessel called) .. large,"o]f silver]. its [han]dles o[f ...] .34 10 goblets. of sil[ver ...] ... [...].

40 1 lar[ge] pot. [o]f silver.1 kukkubu-container. For [.... o]f silver. [al]ong with its cover. 3 s[mal]l measuring vessels of silver: bumer is its name. 1 haragabas. o[f silv]er. 1 pail of silver.



45 1 sieve, of silver. 1 small tallu-jar. of silver, for a brazier. 1 "pomegranate" ... of silver. 1 (female) monkey, with its daughter on its lap, of silver. 35 1 oblong pot. for a brazier, of silver.

50 23 kukkubu-containers of silver, full of "sweet-oil": namsa is its name. 6 hubunnu-containers. [and] 1 large hubunnu-container. also of silver. 1 upright chest, of silver, inlaid. 1 ladle of silver, for an oil-container: wadha is its name. 11 bowls. of silver. zillahta (is its name).

55 29 ladles. of silver, handles of boxwood and ebony with which one curls the hair. 36 1 box. of pure silver. 37 3 (pairs of) sandals. of silver. 1 kukkubu-container. of silver; its spout, of gold.

60 [1 box of s]ippar(r)atu-cosmetics. overlaid with silver and gold. [x ladd]es. for a barber, of silver. [...] of silver and gold. 3 b[eds, of pure silver]: 1 headre[st], of pure silver. 1 [throne]. overlaid [with silver and gold].

65 1 mi[rr]o[r. of silver], set with [ston]es. 38 1 mi [rr]o[r], of silver and g[ol]d. 18 st[ones ...], their [m]outh, of gold an[d ...]. 39 1 small con [tainer (of aromatics). of silver].

70 and a st[opper in the cen]ter. of s[ilver]. The to[ta]l of all the silver: 292 [minas]. and 3 shekels [of silver]. The tota[l] of all the silver and g[old]: 1 500 (+ x) minas and 461 /2 shekels.

75 20 mi[rr]ors. of bronze. 2 large mi [rr]ors. of bronze. The to[ta]l: [3]2 mirrors. 80 mi[rrors ...]. 90 m[irrors o]f bronze.

80 5 ... [...] hand [...]; nassa is its name, 5 [... o]f bronze. 3 ... [...] of bronze; hunima is its name. 5 very long ... [...] 40 of bronze. 3 [lar]ge oblong p[ots], o[f bronze . fo]r a brazier.

85 2 tall p[ots], [o]f bronze. 3 small ... [...]. for bathing. of bronze. 2 [...] for a brazier. of bronze.: kuldu is its name. 20 [...]. of bronze. fo[r ...].

III

2 ... [...]. 6 p[ots o]f bronze [...]. 12 ... [...] ... mouth. horses. 16 ra[zors of bronze]; their [hand]les, of silver.



5 57 razo[rs, o]fbron[ze]. 41 ladles. for a bar[ber]. of bronze. 51 ladles, of bronze; their [han]dles, of ebony. The t[ot]al of the [ob]jects of [bron]ze, all together: 300 [(+ x)] objects.

The weight of the bronze:

10 8[60 m]imas. 20 sh[eke]ls, 1 double-sized (piece of) [fine] linen cloth for a festive-garment, bysson (quality).41 20 (pieces of) [fi] ne linen cloth: bysson (quality), 20 [s]ma[ll] (pieces of) [fine] linen cloth, bysson (quality), 40 [large] (pieces of) [fine] linen cloth, by[ssos] (quality).

15 35 thin ma[n]tles, bys[sos] (quality). 3 (pieces of) fine linen cloth, idru (quality), in size (equal to) 6 (pieces of) [fine] li[n]en cloth. 1 (piece of) fine linen cloth, idru (quality), in size (equal to) 2 (pieces of) [fine] linen [cloth].15 thin mantles. idru (quality). 100 large (pieces of) [fine] linen cloth, (for) shawl(s).

20 150 (pieces of) fine l[in]en cloth, [adaha] (quality). 100 small (pieces of) fine linen cloth, adaha (quality). 250 thin mantles, (adaha) (quality), 250 thin girdles, (adaha) 9quality).42 12[ot]unzu-cloaks. 43

25 5 large [tu] uzu-cloaks. for the king's bed. [1] linen cloth. for the front of the body, decorated with borders.44 [...] ... of a robe, tabarru-red, not ami-red. 45 [go] ld. all set with stones, [x] (pieces of) fine linen cloth, for the front of the body, decorated with borders, colored ami-red.46

30 6 (pieces of) fine linen cloth, taburru-red, 6 1/2 half ullu-cloths (?), of linen cloth, for their length (wise strips?), ta burru-red, paqa (quality).47 The total of the linen cloth: 1092, and 6 1/2 half [ul] lu-cloths(?): 1 stone hutt u-jar, fu ll of "sweet oil." (called) azida.

35 19 stone jars, full of "sweet oil", kubu is its name. 20 stone jars, (called) akunu, which are full of "sweet oil." 9 kukkubu-containers, of stone, full of "sweet oil"; namsa is its name. 1 "cucumber." of stone. full of "sweet oil." 6 large stone vessels, full of "sweet oil."

40 [x] kukkubu -containers, of stone, full of "sweet oil"; maziqta is its name. [x] jugs, of stone, full of "sweet oil": kuba is its name. [x] kukkubu-containers, of stone, full of "sweet oil "; kuba-puwanah is its name. [x] kukkubu -contain ers. of stone, full of "sweet oil": kuihku is its name. [x j]ars 48 full of "sweet oil "; assa is its name.

45 [The t]otal of the stone vessels full of "sweet oil": [x]000 and 7 vessels [x] em[pty] boxes, of stone.[...]. [1] ku kku bu-container; of stone: nassa is its name, [and] 1 small one just li[ke i]t . [x] onagers. of stone. [and] 1 sm[all one] just like it.



50 [x] galdu , of stone : ... is its name. [... and 1 sm]all ones just like them: 35 haragabas, of stone. A lar[ge ...] ... , of stone: ... is its name [and x smal]l ones, of stone: vessels ... and 2 ...[ll along with] their stands; sabnaku is its name.⁴⁹

55 [...]: kuihku is its name. [.... o]f stone [...]; ... is its name, and 1 sma[ll one] ju[st like it].
21 female figurines, of stone ... [...]

60 1 cripple, of stone ,with a jar in his hand.⁵⁰ 1 kukku bu-container. of stone; suibta is its name.⁵¹ 3 jars. of stone: 2 large goblets, of hina-stone. 3 pails, of stone; 1 sieve, of stone. 1 tall kanduru-vessel, of stone. 2 agannu -bowls, of stone: 38 isqillatu-vessels, of stone. 1 container of oil: wadha is its name. 3 kukkubu-containers, of stone: namsa is its name. 2 headrests, of stone. 1 headrests, of dusu-stone.

70 1 bowl, of white stone: zilahta is its name. 9 containers of oil, of white stone: wad ha is its name. The total of empty stone-vessels: 160 and 3, 117 whetstones, for a barber.

75 9 boxes. of ebony and ivory, delicate work.⁵² 2 boxes, of ebony and ivory, delicate work (called) za.⁵³

IV

[...] ... , of ebony and ivory. delicate work.

6 (pairs of) animal paws, of stained ivory.

9 plants. of stained ivory.[...] ...

10 plants. various sorts, of stained ivory.

5 29 "cucumbers." containers of oil, of stained ivory.

44 containers of oil. decorated with apples.

pomegranates . dates, 54 (and) kurumanu. of stained ivory. 375 containers of oil, of stained ivory.[...]

(called) [z]a 19 corn bs, 5 5 of stained ivory.

10 19 toggle pins. of stained ivory. 13 boxes of stained ivory. (called) upta .⁵⁶

3 headrests of stained ivory. 3 kukkubu-containers . of stained ivory: kuba is its name. 3 oxen, containers of oil. of stained ivory.

15 3 ibexes,⁵⁷ containers of oil. of stained ivory. 1 small container (of aromatics). of stained ivory.

And [...] in its center, and 1 ox on top [...] of stained ivory[.... of e]bony, called mahan.(20-62 scattered signs and phrases)



Notes

1. For the restoration. see VAB 2/2, p. 1586 : Kuhne p. 70. n. 342: *ibid.* .. p. 71. n. 347 (line 4: "when he (Burna-Buriyas) gave his daughter to him"). The inventory of EA 14 is characterized by the frequent addition of the Egyptian names of the various objects. for which see especially T. Lambdin, *Or n.s.* 22 (1953) pp. 362ff.: Edel Brief: *idem.* *Studien zur Altagyptischen Kultur I* (1974) pp. 105ff.; 295; Heick. *Beziehungen*, esp. pp. 370ff.
2. *sukkukat*.
3. Cf. ii II.
4. [... *naeh-LJi -pa-ak-ki*. a kind of glass: see Oppenheim, *JAOS* 93 (1973) pp. 259ff.
5. See EA 13:9.
6. [... *sa ti-i*]k-ki; also i 16. Cf. li sand *sa tilli* "necklance" (Edel. Brief. p. 142).
7. Here and *passim*. *sum-mu-hy* (Ahw, p. 1017; CAD, S, p. 109): cf. EA 22 iii 3 5.
8. [x *ku-ku-bu sa KU.GI*] DU]g: cf. li 50.
9. "Sweet oil" (1 DUG, *samnu tabu* cf. EA 26:65. I *ta-a-ba*). in recipes of the Old Babylonian period, contained no oil, but rather the best beer plus a wide range of aromatics. dates. figs. and other substances; see Robert M. Whiting, Jr.. *OldBabylonian Letters from Tell Asmar. AS 22* (Chicago, 1987). pp. l 07-8. On Heb. *Sementob*, see L. Stager. *JSS* 28 91983) p. 245.
10. Perhaps the designation of a container according to its form (Gordon).
11. [... *du-ti-n*] *ji-du* (*tudinetu*: cf. iv 10. On the *tudittu*. see H. Klein, *ZA* 73 (1983) pp. 255ff.: Farber. in Rochberg-Halton. ed., *Language, literature and History* (see EA 13. n. 22). pp.96ff.
12. Cf. i 63.
13. In line 53, perhaps Canaan is mentioned; cf. li 26.
14. I *qi-is-su-u* [*sa El* (Gordon): cf. lii 38. iv 5.
15. I *du-ra-h*[*u i-n*]aq[*a*]-*ab-la-t*[*u-u*]s-su: cf. li 9.
16. In EA, GAL is probably to be read *kasu*. "cup, goblet. .. though this is not absolutely certain: see CAD. K. p. 256b. For the reading and meaning elsewhere. see K. Deller. *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 16 (1985) pp. 327ff.; J. M. Durand. *ARMT* 21. p. 351: *idem.* *AEM* 1/1, pp. 421-22: H. Limet. *ARM* 25. p. 159; *MARI*. 4. pp.518 - 19; W. Mayer. *Or n.s.* 58 (1989) p. 274.
17. It is assumed the *mihhus* = *muhhus*: cf. CAD. M/2. p. 83b.



18. meqitu.
19. tatbiku.
20. The pwt and pu-wa-ti found at Ugarit, probably "madder," are not relevant here: see Huehnergard. Ugaritic Vocabulary. p. 166.
21. According to CAD, M/2, p 38. here and in ii 58, mesenu (sa sepi) is a buckle, not the sandal itself.
22. Sahharu: also ii 54. iii 70. iv 1 8. Cf. Si-ha-ru. ARMT 25. 818 passim and note. p. 289.
23. qanu.
24. [E] mi-qf-ti: cf. li 3 and note E in previous line.
25. quppu rather quppu . "chest"; cf. Ahw, p. 928b.
26. nalpattu, a small (metal) bowl or ladle. Used with an oil-container (ii 53) and by a barber (ii 55-56, 61; iii 6-7). Here, rather than "with claws" (CAD. N/I. p. 202), Ahw, p. 724. sees the Nalpattu used "for fingernails."
27. sa sarri, and sa assat sarri and sa marti sarri in ii 13-14, respectively, hardly means "for the king," " for the wife/daughter of the king, .. since everything is for the king, and additional small presents for the king's wife and daughter would not be listed here; cf. Kuhne, p. 69, n. 341. Note . too. the shift in ii 13-14 to lamassu or lamassatu, a female figurine. when the gift is "of the king's wife/daughter"; cf. Also EA 24 25(end); 27: 1 9ff.
28. Following an unpublished proposal of CAD.
29. Sussugu = sassugu. with G. Wilhem. AOAT 9. p. 31. n. 5; see also K. Veenhof. BiOr 25 (1964) p. 197a.
30. I gis MA sa gis EREN ... 6 gis MA. HI. A ru-ku-bu with Ahw. pp. 199. 994. and CAD. E. p. 276; see also Edel. Brief. p. 127. n. I. CAD's "which children can pull" does not translate the text, assuming sa sehheruti ... instead of the text's sehheruti sa ...

EA21

A necklace for 100,000 years

TEXT:VAT190. COPIES:WA21;VS11. 10. TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Adler. pp. 144 47.



Say to Nimmu reya. Great King, king of Egypt. My brother, my son-in-law, whom I love and who loves me: Thus Tusratta. Great King, the king of Mittani, your brother, your father-in-law, and one who loves you. For me all goes well. For my brother and my son-in-law, may all go well. For your household. For your wives, for your sons, for your men, for your chariots, for your horses, for your country. and for whatever else belongs to you. may all go very well.

13-23 I have given him my daughter to be the wife of my brother, whom I love. May Simige and Sauskago before her. May they m[ake he]r the image of my brother's desire. May my brother rejoice on t[hat] day. May Simige and Sau[ska] grant my brother a gre[at] blessing. exquiti[te] joy. M[ay they bless him] and may you, my brother. I [ve] forever. 1

24-32 Mane. [my brother's] messenger. And Hane. my brother's interpre[ter]. I have ex[alted] like gods. I have given [them] many presents and treated them very kindly, for their report was excellent. In everything about them. I have never seen men with such an appearance. May my gods and the gods of my brother protect them.

33-41 I herewith dispatch to my brother Nahramassi to carry out ... ,2 and I send 1 maninnu necklace of genuine lapis lazuli and gold as the greeting-gift of my brother. May it rest on the neck of my brother for 100,000 years.

Notes

1. 21 ... l[ik-ru-bu-su] 22 ... lu-u bal-t[a-ta].

2. 34 sa ta am ra: Kuhne. p. 31, n. 143, amended the text to read ta-as-pu-ra [(a-na) x-x] ana epsi. "whom you have sent to me. I have sent to my brother to do [xx]." Did the jargon of diplomacy develop in the periphery a word satamru. "personal report. " from frequently used (introductory) sa atamru. "what I saw (was ...)?" Cf. The use of amaru in EA 15. Edel. JNES 7 (1948) p. 24. has questioned the personal name; rather "I nahra (made of) massi."

EA22

Inventory of gifts from Tusratta

TEXTVAT395. COPIES:WA26;VS12, 199. TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Adler. pp. 148 69.



I

4 beautiful horses that run (swiftly).

2-3 1 chariot. its tulemus. it thongs. Its covering, all of gold.¹ It is 320 shekels of gold that have been used on it (the chariot) .

4-6 1 whip of pisais. overlaid with gold; its parattitinu. of genuine hulalu-stone; 1 seal of genuine hulalu-stone is strung on it. 5 shekels of gold have been used on it.

7-8 2 sa burhi. overlaid with gold. 6 shekels of gold and 4 shekels of silver have been used on it.

9-11 2 (leather) uhatati. overlaid with gold and silver: their center is made of lap is lazuli. 10 shekels of gold and 20 shekels of silver have been used on them.

12-14 2 maninnu-necklaces. for horses; genuine hulalu-stone mounted on gold; 88 (stones) per string. It is 44 shekels that have been used on them.

15-20 1 set of bridles; their bl[ink]ers, 2 of gilamu-ivory; their "thorns."³ of go[ld: ...] and ... [... o]f alabaster; [...] ... their kustappanni; [...] ... [...] of gilamu-ivory: and their[...]. of gold with a reddish tinge.

21-22 2 leather nattullu.⁴ which are variegated like a wild dove.

23 1 set of torques, of bronze.

24-30 1 (set of) reins: its base and straps, overlaid with silver: the tasli,⁵ of gold with a reddish tinge; its entire upper part is a gold figure [...] ... : the opening ... its surface ... [...]; it is studded with dardarah-ornaments of gold; and the 'house' ... is studded with dardarah-ornaments. also of gold. 60 shekels (of gold) were used on it. [x] good, sharp 6 arrows.

32-35 [1] dagger. the blade of which is of i[r]on;? its guard.⁸ of gold. with design: its haft. 9 of ebony with calf figurines; overlaid with gold: its [pomm]el isof. .. -stone; its[...] ... , overlaid with gold with designs. 6 shekels of go[ld] have been used on it.

36-37 [1] bow.¹⁰ of the apisamus-type [...], overlaid with gold. It is 4 shekels of silver that have been used on it.

38 1 mace. of iron, overlaid with gold. 15 shekels of gold have been used on it.



39-40 1 zallewe-knife, of bronze; its [ha]ft. overlaid with gold. 3 shekels of gold have been used on it.

41 1 addu-throwstick, of pisais overlaid with gold. 2 shekels of gold have been used on it.

42-43 1 tilpanu-bow, of zamiri: 11 4 times overlaid with gold. 6 shekels of gold have been used on it.

44 2 multicolored shirts. 12

45 1 set of snaffles, of silver: [5]0 shekels in weight.

46 1 pair of gloves that are trimmed with red wool.13

47 1 shield ... of silver, 10 shekels in weight.

48-54 1 leather halter. its "flint-blade"l 4 of genuine hulau-stone; its inlay, of genuine lap is lazuli: the tasli, (with) inlay of genuine lapis lazuli. Its centerpiece is set with hiliba-stone, and (this) centerpiece o[f hili]b[a-stone] is mounted on genuine lapis lazuli. 2 genuine hulalu-stones, mounted [on gol]d, which are strung on its straps. 1 seal of genuine lapis lazul. mounted on gold. 1 hulalu-stone, a counterweight, which is strung on its rear. 10 shekels of gold have been used on it.

55-57 1 bottle , horse-shaped. of amutu-metal . with eagles of gold as inlay: and (also) its inlay, genuine lapis lazuli, 300 shekels in weight.

58-59 1 fly whisk, of gold, along with its linen cloth. 3 shekels in weight.

60 [1] counterweight, 10 shekels in weight.

61 [1 si]eve.15 of gold, 20 shekels in weight.

62-66 [..]. of stone; its top. of mus[saru]-stone; [...] its haft, overlaid with gold, 2 times [...]; its [...] . . . , of pendu-stonel 6 [...]: [...]. of gold [... x] shekels of gold have been [used] on it.

II

1-2 1 ha[nd-rac]elet. ofi[ro]n. [overlaid with gol]d: its mesukku-birds (have) an inlay of genuine lapis lazuli. 6 shekels of gold have been used on it.

3-4 1 hand-bracelet. of iron, overlaid with gold: its messukku-birds (have) an inlay of genuine lapis lazul. 5 shekels of gold have been used on it.

5 1 foot -bracelet. of gold. inlaid. 5 shekels of gold have been used on it.



6-8 1 maninnu-necklace. cut from 35 genuine lapis lazuli stones. 35 hiliba-stones; in the center, a genuine hulalu-stone, mounted on gold with a reddish tinge.

9-10 1 set for the hand. beads of genuine lapis lazuli. 6 per string, mounted on gold. 6 shekels of gold have been used on it.

11 1 set of karatnannu. of gold. 2 shekels in weight.

12-13 1 head-binding. of gold. twisted like a torque. 14 shekels in weight.

14-15 1 set of arapsanna. 6 iduzzarra. of gold with a reddish tinge. 12 shekels in weight.

16-19 1 dagger, the blade of which is iron: the haft has an inlay of ... -st[one]. overlaid with gold: its pommel. of ... -stone: its mounted on gold: its matru. (with) variegated trim of blue-purple wool. 2 times overlaid with gold. 14 shekels have been used on it.

20-22 1 zallulu, its rettu overlaid with hiliba stones and genuine lapis lazuli: the handle. the figure of a woman. of alabaster: the inlay. of genuine lapis lazuli.

23-26 1 pair of shoes, of dusu-color (leather), and studded with dardarah-ornaments of gold; their buttons, of hiliba-stone: with karat-nannalla ornaments. of genuine lapis lazuli.

set here and [there]. 13 shekels of gold have been used on them. 1 pair of leggings. o[f shaggy wool]. 17 27-28 1 pair of betatu-shoes, richly provided with dardarah-ornaments of gold. 6 shekels of gold have been used on them.

29-32 1 pair of shoes. of blue-purple wool: their ... [...] 18 and their ... [...]. of gold; their buttons, of hiliba-stone: the center. an inlay genuine lapis lazuli. 4 shekels of gold have been used on them. 1 pair of leggings, of shaggy [wool].

33-34 1 pair of shoes, of colored linen, which have iduzzarri, 1 pair of leggings. of shaggy wool.

35 1 pair of shoes, of colored linen, 1 pair of leggings, of shaggy wool.

36 1 garment of blue-purple wool. 1 pair of shirts. Hurrian-style, [for] the city. 19

37-38 1 city-shirt, Tukris-style, 20 1 pair of s[as]hes, of red wool, adorned. 21

39-40 1 linen garment. assianni-type. 1 pair of shirts. Hur[rian]-style, of linen, 1 city-shirt, of linen. 1 robe, 22 of linen.

41-42 1 garment, Hazor-style, 1 pair of shirts, Hurrian-style, of linen, 1 pair of city-shirts. 1 robe and 1 cap. of blue-purple wool.

43-47 1 fly-whisk. 23 Its rettu (has) an in[lay] of genuine lapis lazuli ... hiliba-stone. [Its] haft, [overlaid with go]ld. 3 times; its inlay. of genuine lapis lazuli: its base, of [genuine



l]apis lazuli. Its cloth streamers (held by) wire [...] 25 shekels of gold have been used on it.

48-50 A mumerritu-scraper. of ... ,24 and it is studded [with dardarah-ornaments] of gold. Its haft. of ebony [..] 6 shekels of gold have been used] on it.

51 wash-basin. of silver, 140 shekels in weight.

52 stone-.... (with) gilamu-ivory. 70 shekels in weight.

53 1 silver tube. (with) gilamu-ivory, 77 1/2 shekels in weight.

54-56 2 bows ... ,25 their astragal-ornaments overlaid with gold, and on 1 of them is the gold overlay double. 10 shekels of gold have been used on them.

57-58 1 spear. of bronze, with a double overlay of gold. 6 shekels of gold have been used on it.

59-60 1 makkasu-axe,26 of bronze, its handle 2 times overlaid with gold. 3 shekels of silver have been used on it.

61 10 large combs of (various) stones.

62-64 1 bottle. of stone. 1 helmet-container:27

of alabaster. (with) an inlay of genuine lapis lazuli, the rim of which is overlaid with gold. 3 shekels of gold have been used on it.

65-66 1 helmet-container. of malachite, overlaid with gold. 4 [shekels] of gold have been used on it.

67-68 [...] of marhallu-stone. 1 kuninnu-bowl, of marhallu-stone, [...]. of hulalu -stone. 1 counterweight. of stone.

69-73 [...], of ebony; its center and [its] rungs,28 [overlaid with gold: above and below [...] [...], and ivory [mounted on] gold ...].

III

1 [...]

2-4 ... [...] their rungs [overlaid with] gold, [above and] below 29 overlaid with silver. 60 shekels of gold, 40 shekels of silver, have been used on them.

5-6 1 plazue with winged disks and Deluge monster(s), of ebony, overlaid with gold. 30 30 shekels of gold have been used on it.



- 7-9 1 dagger, the blade, of iron: its guard, of gold, with design: its haft, of ... : an inly of genuine lapis lazul: its pommel, of hiliba-stone, 5 shekels of gold have been used on it.
- 10 1 set of salt (containers, in the form) of bull-calves and lions, of hiliba-stone.
- 11 1 tr[a]y, 31 overlaid with silver, 60 shekels of silver have been used on it.
- 12 1 small trough, 32 overlaid with silver. 40 shekels of silver have been used on it.
- 13-15 1 bowl of gold, 10 shekels in weight. 10 bowls, of gold; 1 bowl, of silver, 10 shekels in weight. 1 small trough of silver, 10 shekels in weight.
- 16-17 1 bread shovel; its rettu, of ... -stone; its hilt. overlaid with gold, its pommel, a mesukku-bird, of ... -stone. 2 shekels of gold have been used on it.
- 18 1 bread shovel, of gold, 5 shekels in weight. 1 bread shovel, of silver. [x sh]ekels in weight.
- 19-20 1 bread shovel, of ebony, 1 bread shovel, of ivory, 1 bread shovel, of boxwood. 1 awatamulushe, of ivory .
- 21 1 brazier of silver. 66 shekels in weight.
- 22-23 1 chest, without a cover, of ebony, with a winged disk, overlaid with gold and silver. It is 2 shekels of gold, 40 shekels of silver, that have been used on it.
- 24-25 10 bright garments; 10 pairs of shirts, Hurriaqn-style; 10 pairs of city shirts, 10 robes, 10 pairs of boots.
- 26 10 pairs of leggings; 10 pairs of betatushoes.
- 27 1 loincloth, of colored material. 1 susuppu-cloth, of linen. trimmed with colored cloth. 33
- 28 1 susuppu-cloth, trimmed with colored cloth.
- 29-35 1 scent container. with myrrh-scented oil, 1 scent container with sikil-oil, 34 1 scent container with iaruttu-oil, 1 scent container with myrtle oil, 1 scent container with kanatku-oil, 1 scent container with elder-oil, 1 scent container with styrax-oil.
- 35 1 scent container with persanti-oil, 1 scent container ... 1 scent container with a mixture (of various oils).
- 36 10 kirru-pots, full of "sweet oil. ...
- 37-41 1 cuirass set of bronze. 1 helmet, of bronze. [f]or a man. 1 cuirass set, of leather, 1 helmet, [of br]onze. for the sarku-solkiers.
- 36 1 cuirass set, of leather, for horses, set with ri[ng]s of bronze.
- 37 2 helmets, of bronze, f[or ho]rses.
- 42-43 1 shield, its urukmannu overlaid with silver, 10 shekels of silver have been used on it.



- 44 9 shields, their urukmannu, of bronze.
45-46 100 bows, of the apisamus-type, of gold... [...]
47 1000 arrow. sharp. 2000 arrows[...].
48 3000 arrows [...].
49 10 javelins, with ir[on] tips.
50 10 javelins, with [bro]nze tips .
51 20 arrows ... [...].38
52 20 arrows, with "thor[ns" ...].39
53 20 arrows. suku [du-type].40
54 20 arrows (to be shot) flaming, 20 arrows... [...].
55 10 maces of [...]
56 10 zallewe-knives, of b[ronze].
57-59 10 "bull-toes," bound together, 41 of br[onze. and 1 bo]w 2 times overlaid with silver.
It is 2 shekels of silver that have been used on it.
60 10 spears[...].

IV

1. [...]of ... [...].
- 2-3 [x] small[...] o[f...] ... [...].
- 4-5 [... fo]r a man; its erattinnu of gold[...] ... 8 shekels in weight .
- 6 1 spoon, of elammakku-wood, 1 sumbiru.of jasper.
- 7-8 1 set of telannu, of alabaster, 5 dogs, of gold, 5 shekels in weight.
- 9 5 dogs. of silver, 5 shekels in weight.
- 10 6 sarra, of alabaster.
- 11 1 (fabric) with cording above and below.42
- 12 3 large lankets. 43
- 13 1 long spread, 44 for beds.
- 14 1 short spread, of which the trimmings are many-colored, 45 for a bed.
- 15 1 blanket, for the head. 1 blanket, for the foot.
- 16 1 bronze helmet as a brazier, 1 set of ... , of wood. 46
- 17 1 ewer, together with its cover of bronze.



- 18 1 kettle, of bronze, 1 water-dipper, of bronze.
19 10 jars of bronze, 10 stands of bronze.
20 1 brazier, of bronze, 10 wutru, of bronze. 10 "spears," 47 of bronze, 10 bowls, of bronze.
22 10 10 washbasins, of bronze, 10 braziers,
of bronze.
23 2 bolt, of bronze, 30 sakku. 48 of bronze.
24 10 kettles. 49 of bronze. 10 sets of angurinnu, of bronze.
25 [...], of bronze. 10 appanannu, of bronze.
26 [x] of bronze, 5 sprinklers, of bronze.
27 1 washing-bowl, of bronze, 1 pullustu, 50 of bronze.
28 [...] ... -vessels. of bronze, along with a
brazier, of bronze.
29 [...] ... -vessels. of bronze, 1 incense bowl.
30 [...] ... -vessels, of bronze, 1 pot-stand, of
bronze.
31 [...] ... -vessels. of bronze. 1 chest, of bronze.
32 10 [...] . of bronze, 6 gungubu, overlaid with bronze.
33 For 10 teams: [x] coverings of a chariot. 51
34 4 small troughs of elammakku-wood, small trough of boxwood.
35 5 spoons. 52 500 large gunte memetu.
36 5000 small gunte memetu fr[om the tr]easury.
37 10 chariot-poles. 10 chariot-frames. 53
38 [x y]okes 54 [for a ch] ariot. ... the chariot platform. 55
39 along with their[...]. 12 yokes[(...)].
40 10 teams [...] ... [...].
41 10 teams ... [...] of kiskanu-wood.
42 400 [(...)] ... [...].
43-49 It is all of these wedding-gifts, 56 of every sort that Tusratta, the king of Mittani, gave to Nimmureya, the king of Egypt. his brother and his son-in-law. He gave them at the same time that he gave Tadu-Heba. his daughter, to Egypt and to Nimmureya to be his wife.



Notes

1. On sihpu as "cover(ing)," see CAD, 5. p. 239.
2. 2. 1 SU kusKA.TAB.ANSE (katappu) nap-la sa-[a]-ti-su-nu. The reading of the logogram. The standard form at Boghazkoy and attested in an Old Babylonian forerunner to HAR-ra (CAD. K, p. 303a), follows Ahw. p. 465. and CAD. G. p. 71. The reading kusKA.TAB KU [NGI] (CAD. K. p. 303, followed by Adler), "bridles for mules," must assume an unparalleled kusKA.TAB and at least one, probably two, mistakes in the writing of KUNGI: (SU) + NAB (rather than MUI.). If my reading is correct, it would suggest that the blinkers were in some way attached to the bridle, or perhaps the meaning here is an extended one. applied to a part of the bridle.
3. pu-uq-da-a-ti-su-nu (Ahw. p. 880).
4. Perhaps related to the na-tu-la-te in a letter found at Kumidu: see G. Wilhe Im. ZA 63 (1973) p. 19, line 19; see also M. Gorg. ZA 76 (1986) p. 303.
5. on a possible earlier form of tasli (ti-sa-la). see M. Civil. in L. Cagni. ed .. Ebia. 1975-1985 (Naples. 1987). p. 156.
6. sarmu. "cut." but probably to be understood of sharpening the tips.
7. On habalkinnu, see M. Hoffner, JCS 22 (1968) pp. 42-43; J. Postgate. BSOAS 4 (1971) pp. 13ff. In EA 22 and 25. AN.BAR is perhaps to be read habalkinnu, not parzillu.