1933

Contributions of the archaeology of Palestine and the Near East to our knowledge of the religion of Israel

Ainslie, James
Boston University

https://archive.org/details/contributionsofa00ains

Boston University
BOSTON UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL

Thesis

CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF PALESTINE
AND THE NEAR EAST TO OUR KNOWLEDGE OF THE
RELIGION OF ISRAEL

by

James Ainslie

(Th.B. Gordon College 1929)

submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
1933

BOSTON UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
LIBRARY
## CONTENTS

### CHAPTER I

**PALESTINIAN ARCHAEOLOGY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present Status</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methods</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technique</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First phase of scientific exploration</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second phase</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Since the War</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map of sites excavated</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chronological scheme</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### CHAPTER II

**REVIEW OF SITES EXCAVATED**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gezer</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tell el-Hesy</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tell Beit Mirsim</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beisan</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samaria</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ras Shamra</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### CHAPTER III

**NATURE OF THE ENVIRONMENTAL CIVILIZATION OF ISRAEL AS DISCLOSED BY ARCHAEOLOGY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Neighboring civilizations</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conquest gradual</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Influence of Canaanites</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baalism</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High places</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blending of Canaanite and Hebrew religions</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER IV</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bearing on Recent Discovery on The History and Religion of The Hebrews</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tell el-Amarna letters</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elephantine Papyri</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code of Hammurabi</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER V</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ancient Cults, Sanctuaries, Ritual, Israel's Borrowings</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanctuaries</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Altars</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serpent worship</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel's Borrowings</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER VI</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literary Likenesses, Babylonian, Egyptian, Hebrew</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creation stories</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flood stories</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Babylonian Job</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resurrection myths</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preaching to spirits in prison</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word likenesses</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SUMMARY</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I

PALESTINIAN ARCHAEOLOGY

A new literature is arising on the background of Bible history which is throwing a welcome light upon the early period of the life of the Hebrew people. The source from which this arises is the science of archaeology. The spade of the archaeologist has brought to the light of day much data which - together with the increased and perfected knowledge of Oriental languages, and the improved technique of archaeology - illuminates that vast hinterland of the Old Testament, and widens our field of knowledge regarding these ancient peoples; so that no longer are they merely names to us, but they become individuals, of whose life and habits we know something fairly definite. We are also enabled to understand more correctly the great migrations of those early periods; and what is of more interest to us, we know more truly concerning the religious faiths and practices of those early ages. Such knowledge enables us to better perceive the background of the religion of Israel, its environment, its borrowings, its ethical development, its spiritual superiority.

For our knowledge of the ancient social, political, and religious history, our main documentary source has been the Bible. As we read the Old Testament, we are conscious of echoes of that which lies behind its pages. They are only echoes, however, mere passing references in the course of the O.T. narratives, for the main concern of the narrator is to unfold the story of Jehovah's dealings with Israel; therefore little is told us of the people supplanted by the Hebrews, of their civilization, and their religion.
When Abraham steps upon the page of history about (2067-25 B.C.), we now know that he came from a country possessing one of the oldest civilizations. When the nomadic tribes of Hebrews entered Canaan, they overcame a people possessing a more advanced civilization than their own. A people who lived in 'walled cities', who possessed a tolerable civilization, and a religious system of their own. The student of the O.T. desires to know with some degree of certainty, the extent to which the early Hebrews adopted the civilization, and especially the religion of these earlier inhabitants, or whether they sought to supplant it with the religion of Yahweh. It is upon this background that the science of archaeology throws a welcome and much needed light. Incidentally, should the archaeology of Palestine confirm the truth of O.T. history, it would thus invest it with a new and added authority. It is not surprising, therefore, that Palestinian archaeological research holds a vital interest for all Bible students.

PRESENT STATUS OF ARCHAEOLOGY

Within recent years the study of archaeology has received a new impetus. This is due, very largely, to the increased facilities which have been extended to exploration and excavation in Palestine by the British Government since Great Britain accepted the mandate of that land. Under Turkish rule archaeological undertakings were precarious and uncertain, because of the obstructions which the prevailing government put in its way. Under British rule a great change has transpired, and encouragement is given to properly accredited organizations. The free-lance work of former days has been eliminated by the Department of Antiquities which has been set up, and which is

I Woolley Ur of the Chaldees, p.19f.
supported by the International Archaeological Advisory Board. Another quickening factor of interest, is the munificent gift of two million dollars given by Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., for the establishment of a Palestine Museum of Archaeology in Jerusalem, and his financing of a very thorough excavation at Megiddo. And finally, the improved technique of archaeology, a more accurate chronology, together with a greatly increased knowledge of Oriental languages, assuring us of more definite and accurate results, have been other factors of importance.

HISTORY OF ARCHAEOLOGY

The discovery of ancient Palestine has come about by a two-fold process of exploration and excavation. The beginnings of exploration may be dated from 1838, and those of excavation from 1851. The first phase came to a close with the beginnings of scientific excavation in 1890. The second phase came to a close with the outbreak of the Great War in 1914; its results were not of great value because they were not dated nor classified with sufficient accuracy. The third phase of archaeology, entered upon since the war, has shown a marked improvement in scientific method. It has produced a vast amount of data which now yield important historical information. It may be said that the very best results in the field of archaeology have been due to the work of first class scholars like Robertson Smith, S.R. Driver, Eduard Meyer, H. Bauer, Clermont-Ganneau, C. Virolleaud, Père Dhorme, who have developed and applied critical methods of historical, philological, and linguistic studies. The labors of these and many other eminent scholars, have contributed to a remarkable advance in
linguistic study which now makes possible the reading of ancient scripts and languages, and the deciphering of practically all inscriptions found in Palestine.

METHODS

It may help in the understanding of operations on the field, if we describe the three methods which are usually followed in archaeological excavations. The earliest is that known as the trench method, which consists in cutting trenches through the site. It is easily seen that this might be a hit and miss method, though it should be said that this was the method pursued by Macalister at Gezer with surprising results. This method, however, is little followed today. Its chief recommendation is that of practical necessity and economy. The partial method is that which is most commonly used today, and it has yielded very satisfactory results. It consists in taking a section of a 'tell', and removing it stratum by stratum until the bottom is reached. The structure of buildings can be better perceived, and the likelihood of successful results is greatly increased. This is the method that has yielded remarkable results at Tell-el-Hesy, Beisan, Tell Beit Mirsim, etc.

The third method to be described is a new one, and has only recently been put into operation at Megiddo, where due to the interest of John D. Rockefeller, Jr. in the work here, and his financial support of it, the entire 'tell' has been purchased, and the mound is being systematically removed, stratum by stratum. Many excavators have regarded this as the ideal method, but it has only been possible to apply it at Megiddo without modification. The only draw-back to
this method is that it results in entire destruction, and the site is foreclosed to archaeologists coming at a later date with improved methods.

TECHNIQUE

The skill of the archaeologist has been developed to a great extent in the last few years, so that it emerges today with such a distinct technique as to put it in the class of a real science. One of the best descriptions of the archaeologists' technique of excavation is that given by C. Leonard Woolley. In this case he is describing the character of the work followed in the excavation of burial places; but its general principal is applied to every phase of archaeology, and will show the care and skill with which the work is done. "As soon as a grave is detected, the workman reports to the foreman, and is instructed how to proceed. The first objects to be exposed are usually clay pots, because these, if not crushed by the weight of earth, stand higher than the other objects in the pit's mouth. Next, the position of the body has to be ascertained, not always an easy matter, since the bones are often so decayed that only a difference in the color of the soil betrays their presence; and then the outline of the original grave shaft is traced, and the earth gradually removed from its whole area, only that around the head being left, as here if anywhere the more precious objects will be found. If anything of importance appears, gold or silver beads, the workman must again report, and then one of the staff takes over the work of excavation. Nothing must be disturbed until the grave has been
finally cleared, written up, drawn and photographed if necessary; beads, if there are any, have to be noted in such wise that they can be restrung in their original order, so as to reproduce the fashion of the time. The skull, should it chance to be unusually well preserved, has to be treated with hot paraffin wax, and removed for study at home. The position of the grave is recorded on the plan; and then when nothing of it is left, pick and shovel start again, and the work is carried down to a deeper level. Excavation of this sort is essentially a work of destruction; all the more care, therefore, must be taken to collect at once all the evidence that is afforded, even if its bearing be not immediately clear; for there is no going back later to repair commissions, and on the thoroughness of the note-taking more than on the importance of objects depends the ultimate value of the work."

In his recent book "The Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible" Dr. Albright in an excellent chapter, has reviewed the archaeological activities in Palestine from the beginnings to the present day. He has divided these into three phases, namely, The First Phase of Scientific Exploration, The Second Phase, and Excavations since the War. This appeals to us as a good division of the subject, and under these aspects we will sketch the development of Palestinian archaeology.

FIRST PHASE OF SCIENTIFIC EXPLORATION (1838-1890)

The scientific study of the localities and antiquities of Palestine was begun by an American, Prof. Edward Robinson, of Union Seminary, New York. In 1838 and 1852 he travelled through Palestine with Eli Ur of the Chaldees, pp.39-40
Smith, a missionary. Their simple equipment consisted of a compass, telescope, thermometer, and measuring tape. Robinson was the founder of the scientific topography. Nearly all the identifications of Biblical sites, and most of his topographical observations have stood the test of time. He was the first Biblical topographer to record the exact form of modern names, a method now regarded as indispensable.

Another American, Lieut. W.F. Lynch, of the United States Navy, stimulated interest in Palestine by his scientific exploration of the Dead Sea in 1848. He was the first to scientifically determine that the Dead Sea is 1300 feet below sea level. As a result of the interest created by Robinson, Lynch, and others, the Palestine Exploration Fund was organized in London in 1865. This organization was created to foster and direct an orderly, continuous, and scientific exploration of the Holy Land. A very thorough survey of Palestine was made by Lieut. Col. C. R. Conder and Capt. Kitchener (Lord Kitchener), under the direction of the Fund (1871 and 1874-7). The maps and volumes of descriptions which were published (1880) as a result of this survey, were of such a thorough character that they have provided the basis for all similar work. One of the brilliant young Oriental scholars was Charles Clermont-Ganneau, who at twenty-four years of age, gave us the Moabite Stone. He perceived its significance, and rescued it from the Arabs in 1870. Among other of his achievements was the identification of the site of Gezer. Little was known of the science of epigraphy in the first phase, and this led to serious mistakes in dating, as when Sir Charles Warren considered Arabic geometric pottery to be very ancient, and the drafted stone blocks of the Herodian retaining wall - actually dating from the decade
before the birth of Christ - were considered to be Solomonic.¹

SECOND PHASE OF SCIENTIFIC EXPLORATION (1890-1914)

In 1890 Sir Flinders Petrie began six weeks soundings in the mound of Tell el-Heesy in south-west Judea. He was succeeded by Dr. Frederick Jones Bliss, who conducted three campaigns (1891-3), with striking results, which we describe later.

GEZER. Prof. R.A.S. Macalister conducted five campaigns at the mound of Gezer (1902-9) which were very thorough, and of great importance.

TAANACH. Ernst Sellin, a German scholar, began excavations at Tell Ta'anek (Taanach) in 1901. The most interesting find here was a dozen cuneiform tablets, probably from the sixteenth century B.C., at least a century before the Amarna tablets. These tablets have yielded important information in regard to the political, ethnical, and cultural condition of contemporaneous Canaan.

MEGIDDO. Excavations were begun at Tell el-Mutesellim (Megiddo) under the direction of G. Schumacher (1901-3).

JERICHO. In 1907 Sellin began operations at Jericho, assisted by C. Watzinger, although Sellin's chronology was in error by some six to eight hundred years, yet his engineering treatment of the fortifications of the town are a model of completeness and precision, so that it forms the basis for the study of Canaanite art in building of city walls.²

SAMARIA. A group of Harvard men under the direction of Prof. George A. Reisner went forth to excavate the site of Samaria (1908-10). The thoroughly scientific methods employed by this group proved to be a turning point in the history of Palestinian archaeology. This

¹ Albright, Archaeology of Palestine and Bible, p. 23.
² Ibid. p. 51.
undertaking has been resumed in 1931 by Harvard University.

OPHEL. In 1909 an English expedition under the direction of Capt. Parker began work in the hill of Ophel, the site of the Canaanite Jerusalem, just south of the temple area. Parker cleared out rock-cut tunnels and caves, in which he made interesting discoveries of very early Canaanite pottery. The tunnels and shafts discovered by Parker provided Père Vincent with material for a complete reconstruction of the history of engineering undertakings by which the inhabitants of the ancient city secured a water supply from the Fountain of the Virgin, even in a time of siege.

ARCHAEOLOGY SINCE THE WAR (1914)

As already suggested, much encouragement has been given to archaeologists by the British Administration since the War, through the removal of many petty restrictions and limitations which obtained under the Ottoman Empire; and by providing easier facilities, and the granting of more generous terms whereby the excavators are assured of half the number of objects discovered. This generous treatment has attracted museums into the field, and has created a new spirit, thus stimulating archaeological activity. The friendly feeling and cooperation existing between leading archaeological groups at Jerusalem, such as the French Biblical School; the American School of Oriental Research; the Palestinian Oriental Society; the Hebrew University; the German School; the British School; the Pontifical School, has been a great asset to the cause of archaeology.

BEISAN. One of the most important undertakings since the war is the work of the University of Pennsylvania Museum at Beisan (Bethshan)
under the successive direction of C.S.Fisher (1921-3), Alan Rowe (1925-3), and G.M.Fitzgerald (1930).

MEGIDDO. The excavation undertaken at Megiddo is easily the second most important archaeological enterprise undertaken in Palestine since the war. This work is organized by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, under the direction of C.S.Fisher (1925-6), followed by P.L.O.Guy (1927). The whole mound has been purchased, and is being removed stratum by stratum. The work here represents the high-water mark of comprehensive and efficient organization in Palestinian excavation, declares Dr. Albright. Preparations have been made to continue the work for sixteen years. Work on such a scale as this at Megiddo, is necessarily slow, and few discoveries of note have yet come through. One very remarkable discovery, however, has been made here, in the form of well built stone stables of the age of Solomon, together with hitching posts or pillars. It is estimated that these stables would accommodate three hundred horses, and there was also space for chariots and grooms. This tends to confirm the traditional splendor of Solomon's reign, which many had come to regard as exaggerations.

The extent of the archaeological operations in Palestine is quite widespread. This will be seen in the map on the following page, which shows all the sites excavated, with the exception of six sites on the north-west side of Lake Galilee.
CHRONOLOGICAL SYSTEM.

Any chronological system that may be submitted represents only the general succession of periods of civilization; accordingly the possibilities of error are great, amounting in the earlier periods perhaps to several centuries. The particular Age to which objects belong is usually determined by the nature of the pottery found in the same stratum, though even here perfect accuracy cannot be reached. Leading archaeologists, however, have worked out this problem with such care, that the Age to which such potsherds belong can now be ascertained with a remarkable degree of precision. The honor of putting the science of archaeology on a secure chronological basis, belongs to Sir Flinders Petrie, who in 1890 discovered the significance of potsherds as a reliable means of dating the various civilizations. Stanley A. Cook says, "Archaeological research was set upon a scientific basis in 1890 through the discovery of Sir Flinders Petrie at Tell el-Hesy, or Lachish, in southern Palestine, that apparently valueless pottery sherds were the surest criteria for determining the relative age of strata. A knowledge of pottery is really the essential key to all archaeological research."

The following chronological scheme may be given as an accepted framework for Palestine, and will help in dating events.

I STONE AGE
   I Paleolithic
      II Neolithic

II BRONZE AGE
   I Early Bronze, 2600-2000 B.C.
   II Middle Bronze 2000-1600 B.C.
   III Late Bronze 1600-1200 B.C.

III IRON AGE
   I Early Iron 1200-600 B.C.
   II Middle Iron 600-100 B.C.
   III Late Iron 100 B.C.-636 A.D.
Map of the Principal Excavated Sites.

Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly, Oct. 1932
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF CHIEF SITES EXCAVATED IN PALESTINE

The following accounts of the chief sites excavated in Palestine will enable us to understand the character, the detail and care with which excavations are undertaken, and their contributions to an understanding of former civilizations. These sites have been selected because of their importance and variety, and taken as a whole, they give us a good cross section view of Palestinian archaeology.

EXCAVATIONS AT GEZER

The excavations conducted at Gezer by Dr. R. A. S. Macalister, are among the most interesting and important yet made in Palestine. Especially is this so, when we remember that Macalister worked there before the war (1902-1905, 1907-1909), when facilities did not so readily obtain, nor was the technique of archaeology so well developed; and for reasons of economy he had to work largely single-handed, using the trench system. No other single site has been so well written up. The results of this excavation were given to the public in three large volumes in 1912, two of text, and one of illustrations. Macalister is careful to remind us that a complete picture cannot be drawn from the illustrations alone, and very many of the articles of daily life have crumbled into dust and forever disappeared.

SITE AND HISTORY OF GEZER

The ruins of the city are about 750 feet above sea-level, and about 200 to 300 feet above the level of the plain. The height is not uni-
form, for at each end, especially the western, it rises in a knoll. These knolls are distinguished as 'western hill' and 'eastern hill,' and the saddle between is called 'central valley.' The summit is a long oval area about a half mile in length, and about four hundred and fifty to six hundred feet in breadth. To a primitive race in search of a home, this site would offer many attractions. The limestone of which it is composed is honeycombed with caves, some of which were ready to serve as dwellings, while others needed but little alterations to adapt them for that purpose; an easy matter even with primitive tools, owing to the softness of the rock.

Macalister finds no evidence for the occupation of the hill of Gezer before the Neolithic period. "It cannot have been much later than 3000 B.C. when the primitive race, which in these pages we will call Troglo dytes, took possession of the caves which abound in the rocky core of the hill." He considers that it was not until the first invasion of the Semites (c.2500 B.C.) that Gezer ceased to be a mere settlement of savages. Evidence has been found that trade between this city and Egypt was actually carried on under Sesostris I (c.2100 B.C.), and during the Hyksos dynasty; and that a number of Egyptians were actually resident within the city.

The first mention that we have of Gezer comes from the time of Thothmes III (1501-1447 B.C.). The tribes in Palestine were in rebellion, and Thothmes conducted an important campaign to quell the rebels. He besieged the Syrians at Megiddo. A list of the places captured is engraved on the wall of the temple at Karnak. In the list referring to southern Palestine, Maspero recognized the name of Gezer. We do not hear of Gezer again until the time of

1 Gezer, vol. I, p. 6
2 Ibid., p. 7
Amenophis III and IV. It is from the Amarna letters of this period that we receive most of our information.

In the Old Testament we have an early mention of Gezer; "And Ephraim drive not out the Canaanites that dwelt in Gezer, but the Canaanites dwelt in Gezer among them" (Jdg. I:9), see also (Josh. I6:10; I0:31-33). Why did the king of Gezer send help to Lachish which was two days journey distant? It is considered that there was a tribal connection between them. History and archaeology conclude that there was not a universal slaughter at Gezer, notwithstanding Joshua I0:31-33, that Joshua smote Horma, king of Gezer, and his people 'until he had left none remaining.' Gezer remained a Canaanite stronghold until the time of Solomon, when it was conquered by his father-in-law and given to him. After the capture of the city by the Egyptians in the time of Solomon, we hear nothing of Gezer in the Old Testament. Shortly after the fall of Israel, we find evidence in some tablets that Gezer was in the hands of the Assyrians, and carrying on business according to Assyrian procedure.

CAVES

The most important cave discovered by Macalister was No. 28, a description of which is found in 'Gezer', vol. I, p. III. Cave 28 was the most elaborate excavation of its kind on the mound. It shows every indication of having been a natural cave artificially enlarged. Entrance is by an irregular hole cut in the rock, and is five feet, six inches broad, and four feet high. It leads, by a drop of two feet, into the first chamber which is an irregular oval, twenty one feet by fourteen, the maximum height is five feet eleven inches.
The chief interest in the chamber is the remarkable system of cup marks which form three concentric ovals, which are open like a horse shoe at the south side. The inner ring contains nine cups, the middle ring fifteen, and the outer ring eighteen. The purpose of these rings is quite puzzling. It has been suggested that they were for holding jars containing oil or grain. Macalister thinks that they had some connection with sacrifice and offering. He thinks it is possible that the whole floor of this chamber is a gigantic table of offerings. A description of the rock-cut 'Place of Sacrifice' is given by Macalister. An orifice opens into the roof of the cave, the channels in connection with it, show that the orifice is for the passage of fluids into the cave, and that it was not a mere catchment channel for the collecting of rain water. It is considered that the orifice was the channel whereby blood and other fluid offerings were passed to the divinities in the cave.

THE HIGH PLACE

Macalister thinks that the cave is probably the earliest part of the high place, and possibly its existence determined the site chosen for the sanctuary. No relics of worship were found in the cave. Two underground chambers were associated with this high place; originally these had been separate cave dwellings, occupied by Neolithic cave dwellers. When this high place was made, the caves were connected by a narrow passage. One chamber is forty feet in diameter, and could hold a good number of people, the other is about eight feet at its widest. It has been suggested that this small cave was the place of the oracle. A narrow crooked passage joins the two caves.

1 Gezer, vol. I, p. 139
2 Gezer, vol. 2, p. 377
3 Duncan, Digging Up Biblical History, vol. 2, p. 65
4 Ibid. p. 68
together, it is so made that the voice of one speaking, even whispering, in the smaller cave, can be easily heard at the end of the passage in the larger cave, while the speaker remains unseen. It has, therefore been suggested that the smaller cave was the secret recess, the adyton, the holy of holies, which the congregation was not permitted to enter, and from which the oracles were delivered by a confederate. Robertson Smith has suggested that the 'megaron' of Greek temples may not be the Greek word for 'hall', but may be the Hebrew word for 'cave'.¹ I Kings 6:19; Jeremiah 37:17; 49:14; Obadiah 1:1 have been quoted as indicating clearly that the messages came to the prophets from the inner sanctum, or holy of holies, and which may be just another instance of Canaanite ritual surviving, and used in the worship of Jehovah; and the crooked passages in Cave 28, II, and Cave 30, IV, at Gezer and in certain Shephelah caves, may be instances of a similar practice.²

STONE OF SACRIFICE

On the floor of the larger cave was a rough undressed stone about eighteen inches square, on which was stretched the skeleton of an infant. Two feet of debris were found in the cave, but this stone lay on the top, and would represent the last sacrifice made in the cave. If this was an infant sacrifice, the cave must have been the place of sacrifice. It is considered that we have here an early Amorite altar.³

¹ I, Religion of the Semites, p.200
² Duncan, Digging Up Bib. Hist., vol.2, p.68
³ Ibid., p.67
THE STANDING STONES

A row of ten pillars, or standing stones were found at Gezer. Macalister thinks that the alignment of stones is one of the most important things about the high place. These stones are undressed, and stand in almost a straight line, running north to south, on the high place at Gezer. They are so placed that the line covers a distance of 55 feet. All, except one, are of local limestone. The highest pillar was 129 inches, the lowest 65 inches. The breadth varied from 60 to 14 inches, and in thickness from 30 to 15 inches. The seventh stone is the one that is of special interest. It is of different formation from the others, and is clearly imported from somewhere. A curved shallow line in it is thought to be for holding a rope for dragging purposes. It is thought that this is a trophy of war taken from the high place of some captured town. Macalister thinks that it was perhaps Jerusalem, as the rock is of the same formation. The Gezerites in taking the stone, took also the protecting deity with them. Just as the Philistines took the ark from the defeated Israelites (I Sam. 4:3), because it was the tangible symbol of the deity, and its possession meant the transfer of his favor and blessing.

BURIAL CUSTOMS

One cave at Gezer (Cave 2, I) is regarded as a cave-dweller crematorium. Though it was later used as a burial place, it would appear from its earlier stratum that the cave dweller employed cremation as well as ordinary burial. Three forms of disposal of the dead are represented in the caves. (I) The buring of human bodies.
(2) The full length and enclosure burial. (3) The contracted burial, where the body is doubled up, which may have been due to a careless throwing in of the body. The first two are Neolithic, and early Amorite. The third belongs to the Early Bronze Age (c. 2500-2000 B.C.).

EXCAVATION OF TELL EL-HESY

Tell el-Hesy is a large hill three miles south-west of Jerusalem, and fourteen miles from the sea coast, on the stream called Wady el-Hesy. Some two thousand years before Christ, the Amorites built a city of sun-dried bricks, on a bluff sixty feet above the Wady el-Hesy. As these bricks were really blocks of mud held together by chopped straw, such material was very perishable, and in the course of time such houses would fall to pieces, and a city built of this kind of material would be in ruins. This is what actually happened again and again, and streets and rooms were filled with the remains of fallen walls. These were levelled over and new houses were built on top of the old. Another means of raising the level of the city was the accumulation of refuse on the streets. When a city was rebuilt on its former site, it naturally stood some feet above the old city. This process might be repeated many times. The excavations at Tell el-Hesy show that the city had been rebuilt no less than ten times, so that the 'tell' was literally what it has been described by Dr. Bliss as "a mound of many cities". The original height of the hill above the stream was some fifty or sixty feet, and by the accumulation of debris, as one city succeeded another, the height of the
'tell' rose to 120 feet. Tell el-Hesy is like Bethshan in the matter of city levels. It has a number that have been clearly distinguished, and thus it proves to be an ideal place for the excavator. Also the different levels reveal pottery of the Canaanite, Phoenician, Jewish, and Greek periods, and thus provide a valuable key to the chronology of these periods.

Work was first begun at Tell el-Hesy by Prof. Flinders Petrie in the year 1890. In 1891 Dr. F. J. Bliss took charge of excavations here, and he conducted three campaigns (1891-3). Clearing one third of the mound to bed-rock, Bliss distinguished eleven successive phases of occupation, or 'cities'. Following Petrie he distributed these over a period of about thirteen centuries, from about 1700 to about 400 B.C.

Dr Bliss in describing the city begins with the lowest level, which is also the earliest, and which naturally was uncovered last. The first settlement was found to spread over an area of nearly a quarter of a square mile. This he calls City sub I, and City I. Their dates he places about 1700 and 1600 B.C. respectively. Remains of a tower 56 x 28 feet were found here, with rooms enclosed by walls 9 and 10 feet thick; various bronze implements and pottery of the Amorite or Canaanite type were also found. Bliss informs us that by Amorite pottery, he means the well marked types of pre-Israelitish ware, the earliest use of which we cannot fix, but it was a prevailing type in the sixteenth century B.C.

About 17 feet above the base of City sub I, were found the foundations of City II; it is here that we have the first appearance of Phoenician pottery. Going beyond this to City III, which is three

I Mound of Many Cities, p. 41
feet higher, there was found a small Assyrian tablet $2 \frac{3}{4} \times 2$ inches, which is of great interest. Upon examination this was not only found to resemble those found at Tell el-Amarna, but to belong to the same series. The forms of the cuneiform characters which appear on it, are those we now know to have been used in southern Canaan about 1400 B.C. The formulae and grammatical forms on this tablet are identical with those of the Amarna tablets. The tablet makes mention of one Zimrida, this adds to the interest because we already know of one Zimrida or Zimride, as he is called. He was governor of Lachish in the reign of Khu-n-Aten, and a letter from the king of Jerusalem to the Egyptian Pharaoh, informs us that he was murdered at Lachish by the servants of the Egyptian Pharaoh. A transliteration and translation of this letter by Prof. Sayce is given by Bliss.1

Above City III there was found to be a layer of ashes varying from three to seven feet in depth. Prof. Petrie ascribes the ashes to alkali burners who plied their trade on the deserted hill. Bliss thinks that they were the ashes of furnaces similar to the one found in City II2. Prof. Sayce regards them as "left by charcoal burners who squatted on the site before it was rebuilt".3 These ashes Sayce considers to have been wind-borne and dropped by the breeze. In any case it was not such a long desolation that reigned here, for the pottery found above and below the ashes was of the same type.

Above the layer of ashes are the remains of City IV, with scarabs of the XVIIIth dynasty, and at the top are found those of the XIXth dynasty, pointing to the thirteenth century B.C., the probable period of the Hebrew conquest. At the top of City IV, iron objects first

1 Mound of Many Cities, p. 165-7
2 Ibid., p. 65
3 Archaeology of the Cuneiform Inscriptions, p. 158
appear; previous to this only bronze had been found. A large symmetrical building, 56 feet square was found here. The average thickness of the outer walls was 5 feet 6 inches. The building contained many rooms; Bliss found five door-ways, which led him to believe that it had been a public building. Numerous scarabs, bronze knives, and other objects, together with lamps and articles of Phoenician pottery, were also found.

In City V, a large building was excavated, and oit-ovens were found near it, such as are used in Syria today. Iron implements continue by the side of bronze. The characteristic pottery of Cities V-VIII was Jewish, that is, coarse copies of the older Phoenician types, although it begins to make its appearance at the top of City VI. In the debris between City VI and City VII was found a limestone stand for a lamp, with a work consisting of seven rude Greek letters inscribed upon it, suggesting a date of about 500 B.C. In City VII fire-burnt brick had taken the place of sun-burnt brick, and in City VIII numerous pit-ovens were found, which resembled those of City V. In both Cities VII and VIII specimens appeared of the polished red and black Greek pottery, with Greek figures painted upon them. The black figures on the red are the earliest type, the red on black did not come in before 480 B.C. The presence of this ware would prove that the dates must have been about 500 B.C. to 400 B.C. respectively.

This rapid review will probably suffice to give some conception of the structure of this remarkable mound, and of the manner in which it was built up, layer upon layer, as a new city rested on the ruins of the old. All this being scientifically determined by excavation,

I Mound of Many Cities, p. 77
2 Ibid., p. 97
3 Ibid., p. 137
and the dates being approximately fixed by the pottery and other objects found in them. The 65 feet, the rise of the mound above the top of the natural hill, contains the remains of not less than eleven cities, ranging in date (Petrie and Bliss) from about 1700 to 400 B.C. In all probability Tell el-Hesy is the site of ancient Lachish, although the identity is questioned. I The situation would suit, for we know that Lachish was a fortress, and the mention of Zimrida, who we know was governor of Lachish, on the tablet found at Tell el-Hesy, increases the probability that it is Lachish.

The first mention of Lachish in the Old Testament, is in Joshua. In Joshua 12:11 we find its king in the list of 'smitten kings', and in Josh.15:39, the city is given to Judah. It is next mentioned (2 Chron.9:9) as a place fortified by Rehoboam. When Sennacherib invaded Judah in 701, Lachish was one of the many fortified cities in Judah which he took (2 Kings 18:13-14).

Recent archaeologists would push back the date of the first city of Lachish. J.Garrow Duncan considers that the bricks used in the building of the earliest walls in the mound of Tell el-Hesy, measuring roughly 23x13x4 inches thick, suggest Babylonian influence. The presence of these bricks would suggest that this is one of the very earliest Amorite forts, and belongs to the Early Bronze Age, prior to 2000 B.C.. Duncan considers that Petri and Bliss erred on the safe side in assigning the beginnings of this fort to about 1700 B.C.. Albright likewise thinks that the dating should be pushed back to an earlier period. He regards the dating as substantially correct back to the end of the third city. He holds that the date of the

I Garstang, Joshua and Judges, pp.173,373
2 Digging Up Biblical History, vol.1, p.131
first occupation must be pushed back, with our present knowledge of the chronology of pottery, to before 2300 B.C.\(^1\)

CHRONOLOGY

The following chronology is submitted by Duncan.\(^2\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>550-450 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>650 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>950 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>1100 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>1400 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub IV</td>
<td>1500 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>1600 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>1700 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub II</td>
<td>1800 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>1950 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub I</td>
<td>2000 B.C.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible, p. 25
EXCAVATION OF TELL BEIT MIRSIM (Kiriath-sepher)

Three joint campaigns have been undertaken at this site. The first was from March to June, 1926, and was conducted as a joint expedition of Zenia Theological Seminary and the American School of Oriental research in Jerusalem. The second under the same auspices, was from April to June, 1928; while the third, and most important campaign, was a joint excavation of the Pittsburg - Zenia Theological Seminary, and the American School in Jerusalem. Dr. Melvin Groves Kyle, was President of the staff, and Dr. W. F. Albright, Director of the work from June to August, 1930. Our review here will be mostly concerned with the third campaign, which was the best organized, and the most important one.

Excavations near the East Gate have yielded stratification data of the first importance. As the excavators dug carefully, level by level, new layers of ashes covering new foundations of walls were uncovered, until there has been revealed no less than ten quite distinct strata, which have been designated by letters A to J. A represents the uppermost or latest period, and J, the lowest or earliest period of history. C has been subdivided into CI and C2, because it has been discovered that there has been a more or less continuous destruction in the middle of the period, necessitating a further division; so that, while we at present have ten strata - A to J - in reality we have eleven levels.

The third campaign greatly extended our knowledge of chronology. The principal results are given by Albright as follows.
(1) Establishing a chronology of the Late Canaanite period, stratum C.
(2) The confirmation of the division of B, the first Israelite period, into three phases, pre-Israelite, Philistine, post-Philistine.
(3) The ascription of the destruction of B to Shishak.
(4) A more exact differentiation between the successive phases of A, and the conclusive proof that the latest Jewish town on the site was destroyed by the Chaldeans at the time of the last invasion of Judah, 588-7 B.C.

Tell Beit Mirsim has been identified with the Biblical Debir, or Kiriath-sepher (Albright).¹ Kiriath-sepher was the most important of a group of eleven towns listed in Joshua 15. It was a Canaanite royal city, after the conquest of the Israelites, it became the residence of Othniel, the first judge of Israel, and it continued to be inhabited down to pre-exilic times, since it figures in the list of Jewish towns of the monarchy (Josh. 15) The name originally meant 'scribe town'. It was a town of importance in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. It was destroyed most completely in a conflagration so intense that in some places there is a layer of ashes three feet in thickness. Immediately after the destruction a new town was built; the foundations of the new city were in part laid in the ashes of the preceding destruction. There appears to have been a complete change in the character of the culture, which can only be explained by the settlement of a new people. Albright thinks that this accords with the capture and destruction of the town by Othniel (Josh. 10:38; 15:13).² The site continued to be occupied down to the Babylonian exile. It suffered destruction at the hands of Shishak, along with

¹ Archaeology of Palestine & the Bible, p. 81
² Ibid. p. 80
other Judean towns. Since its destruction by the Chaldeans in 588-7 B.C., it was never occupied again. Its name was so far forgotten that it was replaced by an Arabic name in the Roman period.

EARLIEST STRATA J - F

The cultural history is revealed in the potsherds and scarabs found in the different strata. J is the lowest stratum at present, and represents the earliest culture which goes back probably to 2200 B.C.. Strata I - D are all from the Middle Bronze Age, extending from 2000 - 1550 B.C.. Levels I - H are very similar, and represent the transition from Early to Middle Bronze. Egyptian Middle Empire types of pottery are found here mingled with survivals from the Early Bronze of Canaan. A type of vessel making its appearance at this time and lasting for some centuries, is a somewhat cylindrical looking pot, with flat bottom, made of very coarse ware. Little except pottery has come from this period, which may be dated from about 2000-1850 B.C..

G gives a better preserved stratum. Here we come upon a house plan, the outside entrance of which was well preserved, and seems to be furnished with a solid wooden door, judging by the large stone door socket. The pottery of G level was abundant and diversified. It showed a striking resemblance to that found by Macalister at Gezer in tomb 28. Both Père Vincent, and Dr. Fisher judge it as belonging to about 1800 B.C.. F level shows a culture similar to G.

E - D, THE STRATA OF THE HYKSOS AGE

An abrupt change in the history of the town is indicated by stratum E, which is rather thin. The next level D shows a restoration
on the same foundation, and for practical purposes these levels may be regarded as representing a single historical period. From numerous scarabs discovered in the houses of D, we learn that E-D belong to the Hyksos period, which was a time of turmoil and unsettledness. Fortifications erected by the E people were essentially the same as those of Jericho, and date from about 1700 B.C. They consist of a city wall of stone below, and adobe brick above, with the stone superstructure generally sloping outward, forming a revetment as well as a superstructure for the brick wall.

The chief discovery was a large well built house, dignified by the term 'palace', its walls were about four feet thick. On the ground floor it contained five rooms, with two stories above. A number of objects were discovered in the house, the chief of which was a stela bearing a representation of the serpent goddess in relief. This is the first representation of the serpent goddess to be found in Palestine. It is also unique as an illustration of the appearance of Canaanite idols. Since this discovery, two more of these Canaanite goddesses have been found, one by Grant at Bethshemesh, and the other by Miss Garrod in a cave at Athlit. Only the lower portion of the divinity found at Beit-Mirsim is preserved, together with waist and elbow. If we had the head-dress preserved, it would have been valuable, as this was one of the most characteristic features of an ancient Oriental deity. The serpent is completely preserved; it is a large snake like a python.

Another interesting discovery, found at the opposite end of this house, was a set of playing pieces, including five blue faience cones,

I Archaeology of Palestine & the Bible, p. 88
five little three-cornered pyramids, and an ivory teetotum or dice, on each of the four sides of which are round holes from one to four in number. (See Bulletin 39, A.S.O.R., p. 9, for a good picture of this set). The cones are a familiar type of Egyptian pieces, but the pyramids are unique. The gaming board itself has not been found. In the large house, and in a number of smaller ones were found a number of steatite and paste scarabs, all of characteristically Hyksos type. Albright considers that D level represents a culture which ceased to exist before the fifteenth century. He connects the destruction of D with the events which accompanied the Egyptian conquest of southern Palestine, after the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt, which occurred during the reign of Amosis I (c. 1580-1555 B.C.). He concludes that the fall of Beit Mirsim occurred about 1560-1550 B.C. and that it was accompanied by a terrific conflagration.

C - LATE BRONZE AGE

Probably some decades following the fall of D a new town was built on the same site. Excavations in the third campaign have led to the conclusion that C level represents two occupations. A burnt layer which runs more or less throughout C leads to the conclusion that it should be divided into CI and C2. CI was destroyed more or less completely in the fifteenth century, a century or more after the destruction of D. The discovery of a steatite scarab of Amenophis III (c. 1431-1375) under the burned layer of C2, proves conclusively that the layer of ashes over C2 is later than 1400 B.C., and indicates that C2 was occupied about 1375. All the potsherds found in C belong to the Late Bronze Age. In C2 appears the first Mycenaean
pottery imported into Egypt and Palestine from the second half of the fifteenth century, to the latter half of the thirteenth. The fall of CI may be placed before 1400, and the close of C2 would occur after 1250 B.C. The most remarkable discoveries in City C were made in the third campaign, and consisted of a stone lion, and a stone table of offerings, with three lions in relief round the rim. It is considered to be the product of Canaanite art of a very provincial character. It is thought to have been thrown out of a Canaanite temple - as it was found standing on end in the debris of a vacant lot - at the destruction of C2 about 1250 B.C., the temple itself, however, has not been found.

The inhabitants of Beit Mirsim in the Late Bronze Age, were a typically 'Canaanite' group, differing in no tangible respect from occupants of other towns in Palestine. There appears to have been a decline in the nobility in this period, which was probably due to the grinding taxation imposed upon the nobles by the Egyptian rulers. An increase in craftsmanship and commerce is manifest, and commercial relations between Egypt and Asia were increased.

The table of offerings noted above, is dated from about 1400; an additional interest attaches to it, as it is the first stone lion of pre-Roman date to be found in Palestine proper.

B - EARLY ISRAELITE OCCUPATION

A major break occurs between C and D. One of the most striking changes is seen in the construction of the city wall. In the Bronze Age the walls varied from eight to fifteen feet in thickness; in the Israelite period they were only five feet in thickness. Grain pits
or silos, were another feature that made their appearance at this time. Three phases are seen in B, the pre-Philistine, BI; Philistine, B2; post-Philistine, B3. BI represents the first period of Israelite occupation. B2 is characterized by an absence of Philistine pottery, while in B3 there is an abundance of imported Philistine pottery. In B3 we have a transition from Early Iron Age I to Early Iron Age 2. Philistine influence ended with the reigns of Saul and David (1000-960 B.C.). The first iron tools and weapons appear in B level, and consisted of iron sickles, ploughshares etc. The B city was destroyed by the army of Shishak of Egypt.

A - PERIOD OF JEWISH MONARCHY

The period of time covered by A is about 350 years. The buildings during this period were of a very poor character, and houses were closely crowded together, and streets were narrow, seldom more than seven feet wide. The entire population (by estimating 4 adults and 6 children to a house) is estimated to have been from 2500 to 5000. No cattle appears to have been kept within the city. The chief industry was that of spinning, weaving and dyeing. There must have been a loom in almost every house. The A level produced a good crop of Astarte figurines, many cosmetic palettes, which were evidently used to prepare the mineral substances contained in face-paints, manganese, malachite, and haematite clay (red ochre) (2 Kings 9:30; Isa. 3:18-23).

Miet Mirsim is one of the most important sites excavated, in that it has the best stratification of any site, and is therefore of the utmost importance in helping to fix an accurate chronological scheme.
EXCAVATION OF BEISAN (Beth-shan, or Tell el-Husn)

Work at Beisan has been carried on by the University of Pennsylvania Museum under the successive direction of C.S. Fisher (1921-3), Alan Rowe (1925-8), and G.M. Fitzgerald (1930-). The length of the tell base, from north east to south west, is about 900 feet. Excavation has been carried on on city levels V, VI, VII, VIII, IX. The latter stratum, which is the lowest stratum so far studied at Beisan, may be definitely assigned to the reign of Thutmose III (c. 1500-1450 B.C.); this is due to the finding of many scarabs bearing his name. It was on this level that Rowe made a number of very remarkable discoveries in the campaigns of '27 and '28. Two Canaanite temples were almost completely uncovered here. Both were made of brick with stone foundations. A broken limestone stele found in the southern temple proves that it belonged to the god Mekal, who according to the inscriptions, is said to be the 'god of Beisan.' The name Mekal is synonymous with the better known Rashap (Resheph), the Canaanite god of the underworld, who was both the god of fertility, and the god of pestilence and destruction; these opposing characteristics of creation and destruction were attributed to these underworld gods. It may be remarked that we do not again find the name of Mekal on any inscrip-

I G.A. Cooke, A Text-Book of North Semitic Inscriptions, p. 402
S.A. Cook, The Religion of Ancient Palestine in Light of Archaeology, p. 112
Albright, Archaeology of Palestine & Bible, pp. 95, 196
seen in the level of Ramses II, where a large southern temple was found dedicated to the god Resheph, and a small northern temple dedicated to the goddess Antit-Ashtoreth.

NORTHERN TEMPLE OF THUTMOSE III

Nothing of importance has come from this temple itself, but in a room to the south-west of it was found a pottery bowl with a serpent in high relief on its exterior. This serpent bowl is of the utmost importance, as it indicates that serpent worship, so prevalent in Beisan during the reigns of all later Egyptian kings who ruled the town, was already practised there in the time of Thutmose III. The question has been raised as to whether the name of Beth-shan, or 'house of Shan' suggests a distant connection with the old Mesopotamian serpent deity named 'Shakkan', 'Shakan', or 'Shakhan'. The University Museum of Penn., possesses a cylinder seal (c. 1900 B.C.) showing in male form the figure of this deity, who is called 'Shakhan', son of Shemesh (i.e. sun-god). Elsewhere this deity appears in both male and female form. Various figurines of serpents with breasts of a woman on them, found at Beisan, incline to the view that the serpent deity of the town was a female one. It may be safely assumed that the goddess worshipped in the northern temple of Thutmose III, was in serpent form. Was her original name 'Shakhan'?

SOUTHERN TEMPLE

The southern temple of Thutmose III is about 138 feet in length, north to south, some debris remains to be removed before its width can be determined.
INNER SANCTUARY

This has an internal measurement from north to south of 46 feet. It contains two altars, one of brick, and one of stone. Upon the former, which has a flight of three steps leading up to it, as well as a stone libation basin on its eastern side for blood offerings to the deity, were originally placed the various sacred objects, jewellery, beads, etc. The best preserved object is a libation cup or chalice, decorated with dark purple designs on a red background, and about ten feet high. Near the cup was a two-handled cylindrical stand for the purpose of holding flowers or fruit placed there at festivals associated with vegetation. Upon the stone altar in front of the brick altar was placed the various meat offerings. From the southern part of the sanctuary came an Egyptian green glazed bowl, bearing a few hieroglyphics on it forming part of the name of some god, perhaps that of 'Beth-shan'. Other objects near the brick altar consisted of a pottery figurine of Ashtoreth, a beautiful amethyst scarab of Seosistris I of the twelfth dynasty (1970-1935 B.C.), Canaanite lamps of pottery, and a Hittite dagger.

South of the inner sanctuary is an altar room containing a great sacrificial altar of brick built in its north wall. It has two steps leading up to it. In the top of it is a channel for conveying the blood of the sacrificial animals to an outlet on the east side of the altar.

MAZZEBAH

The mazzebah consists of a cone shaped piece of basalt resting on a base of unhewn stones. About five feet south-west of the mazzebah is a basalt libation bowl designed to convey libations which
drained off the column. There are four stone bases near the mazzebah, upon three of which were doubtless set up various sacred objects. The fourth base was perhaps the pedestal upon which the stela showing the figurine Mekal, the god of the temple, was placed. The mazzebah, according to Canaanite custom, sufficed for the people of Beisan as the emblem of their deity.

HIGH PLACE

An old Canaanite high place was often a crudely walled sanctuary open to the sky, with a sacred column in it. The whole of the southern temple of Thutmose III really formed a combination of a 'high place' and a temple, with altars etc. In this high place were to be found the mazzebah and the libation bowl, this was perhaps the original part, and the rooms with altars etc., were perhaps added later. Rowe suggests that the mazzebah itself was perhaps brought up from a high place in an earlier tell; it was probably used over and over again since time immemorial. After the Thutmose III level comes one from the second half of the fifteenth century, followed by a level belonging to the reign of Amenophis III (I4II-I375 B.C.). This is succeeded by a stratum from the time of Sethos I of the Nineteenth Dynasty, which is divided into two successive building levels. A thick level which now follows extends from the reign of Ramses the Great (I292-I225 B.C.) to the destruction of Beth-shan by the Israelites, which took place at the hands of David shortly after 1000 B.C..

In the stratum of the Ramesses period were found two very interesting basalte stelae, one belonging to the first year of Sethos I (c. I3I5), the second to the ninth year of Ramesses II (c. I284 B.C.).
The former contains an important announcement of a military campaign in which the Pharaoh suppressed an incipient revolt in the Beisan area; this town is mentioned twice in the text. The great monument of Ramesses II, nine feet high, contains a long and boastful inscription. In this stratum was also found a statue of Ramesses III, the last Pharaoh to maintain a hold over the Asiatic provinces of Egypt. The statue is a poor piece of workmanship, and suggests the decline of that once powerful empire of the Nile. In this reign the Philistines invaded Palestine, and settled in the coastal plain about 1170 B.C.

EXCAVATION OF SAMARIA

The ancient city of Samaria lies directly west of the modern village of Sebustieh (Greek, Sebaste) which is the new name given the place by Herod the Great when he rebuilt it in honor of Augustus (B.C. 27). Samaria is unlike most other sites in this respect, that we know definitely when the city was built, and who it was that built it. Omri having reigned at Tirzah, the ancient capital, for six years, bought the hill for two talents of silver, and built thereon, and called the name of the place Samaria (I Kgs. 16:24). It is not to be expected that anything of importance is to be found there beyond the ninth century B.C. It is almost certain that it was unoccupied previous to the purchase by Omri. The only evidence of occupation beyond the Iron Age, is the presence of a number of caves in the soft limestone. From 880 B.C. the kings of Israel made their capital here, and resided in the palace. The palace was built by Omri, and enlarged and beautified by his son Ahab. The site was well chosen, as it is on a hill
rising from three to four hundred feet above the valley.

Excavations on this site were begun by Drs. George A. Reisner, and Clarance S. Fisher of Harvard University, in 1908-10. A very thorough piece of work was done by this expedition which has thrown much light on ancient Israel. After the lapse of more than twenty years, another campaign was undertaken in 1931, by Mr. J. W. Crowfoot, only partial reports of which we have yet received.

Due to the reconstruction of buildings, and the alterations of older strata thereby, and also to the removal of materials to Sebus-tieh for the erection of buildings there, it was no easy task to distinguish the different strata of Arabic, Roman, Seleucid, Babylonian, and Israelite from each other. Much light has been thrown upon the early period of Israel by the accomplishments of the Harvard group, and especially upon the administration of the kingdom. Ahab, who has popularly been supposed to have been a rather weak and pliable man under the influence of a strong and masterful wife, Jezebel, comes out of this investigation with an enhanced reputation. We are enabled to see that Ahab was really a strong and masterful man, a capable ruler, and a brave and successful military commander; he begins to assume the proportions of a statesman, and is seen as a soldier of force and courage.

BUILDINGS

Only one gate into the town is mentioned in the Old Testament, and thus far only one gate has been found, and that on the west, with a fortification consisting of a square tower, 57 feet by 44 of solid well built masonry. The defensive wall of the town - thought to be Omri's or Ahab's - has only been unearthed at two places, and has been
found to be ten feet thick, but no estimate has been made of its height. What is thought to be Omri's palace, lies on the summit of the hill. It was built with heavy blocks of yellow limestone, the edges of which were carefully finished, reflecting a higher type of workmanship. Ahab is thought to have built his 'ivory palaces' (I Kgs. 22:39) immediately west of this building, and on the basis of Omri's structure. The palace is composed of three parts; first, the palace proper, then an outer court one hundred and four yards long, enclosed by a heavy retaining wall over six feet thick. Around this was a series of small rooms, probably used for officers, chariot houses, and stables, and lastly a strong rectangular tower 41 x 52 feet, outside the court at the south-west corner, which probably guarded the entrance to the palace. The term 'ivory palace' may refer to the light colored limestone, whose dressed surface reflected the light, or perhaps the whitewash with which it was covered; or it may only refer to furnishings of some of the rooms of the palace. Ivory was very plentiful, and many articles of furniture were made of it, and perhaps some panelling.

ART AND CRAFT

The Israelites were not noted for their art. Their country in its physical aspects possessed little of it, and they were forbidden to make things in imitation of living forms (Ex. 20:4). This would tend to retard artistic skill. It is but natural that such remains of Israelite pottery that has been found, is far inferior to the Egyptian pottery. Most specimens of Israelite pottery found comprise vessels used in daily life for cooking, eating, drinking. A few specimens of saucer lamps have been found, in all of which the wick passed through the spout. Almost all articles were of a domestic character. The only metal objects found in the Israelite ground were some iron saw heads.
POTSHERDS

Much interest is centred in the potsherds, or ostraka, which have been found, sixty three of which contain fairly legible Hebrew. These ostraka do not appear to contain messages of any importance. The writing on most of them is concerned with accounts of wine and oil for the palace. Their importance lies in the fact that they are the earliest specimens of Hebrew writing which have yet been found, and reveal to us the nature and character of the alphabet of the time of Ahab, which is quite different from the later Hebrew in which the Bible was written. About sixty of these ostraka have yielded satisfactory results, and throw light on the administrative system of Solomon. They are similar to a way-bill, and were sent with the merchandise. It was Solomon who first introduced an organized system of royal stewards, who were really purveyors for the royal household; other kings seem to have continued or copied this system (I Kgs. 4: 7-19). Confirmation of this is found in the ostraka. These stewards acted as district chiefs, and gradually replaced tribal chiefs.

EXpedition of 1931

As stated above, little of the results of the 1931 expedition have come through yet. A few things have been released by Mr. Crowfoot which we summarize here.

He considers the masonry uncovered in the 1931 expedition to be the finest of the period to be found in Palestine, and only that at Megiddo is at all to be compared with it. Five cisterns have been found, some of them very large. One is 9 feet long by 29 feet high, and 7 feet wide, with thirty steps leading down to it; a second one almost as large has been found.
An entirely new type of vessel has been found in some of the tombs - a large oval foot-bath made of coarse red burnished ware, with a flat foot-rest raised on two pillars in the middle. It much resembles similar ones made in a native pottery at Singil, about twenty miles away; and since the latter are made for ritual washings, it is probable that the Samaria examples were used for the same purpose.

Animals, figurines, and inscribed weights, beads, circular cosmetic jars of stone, and a large quantity of broken Israelite pottery, from which he hopes to restore several new types of vessels, have also been found. Among other valuable objects found by Mr. Crowfoot, are some carved ivories, most of which bear representations of Egyptian gods, while two represent winged cherubim. One pictures a bull being mauled by a lion; others have decorative patterns, bands of lotus flowers and buds. These were found in a stratum full of Israelite potsherds of the eighth and ninth centuries B.C.

Practically nothing has been found as yet, to throw additional light upon the tense religious situation which existed at that period headed by those Titans, Elijah the prophet of Yahweh, and Jezebel the propagandist of Baalism. Since the Biblical account is written from the priestly point of view, we naturally get a one-sided account of Baalism, and all other neighboring religions. If we should find something extra-Biblical coming from this period which would throw further light upon the character and influence of the Tyrian Baal, it would be of the utmost interest to the religious situation of those times.
EXCAVATIONS AT TELL RAS SHAMRA

Ras Shamra (Cape Fennel) is the southern horn of the bay of Minet el-Baida (White Haven) on the far north of the syrian coast, above the port of Latakia. In 1928 a peasant ploughing struck his plough against a stone slab. This being dug up proved to have covered a hollow with steps leading down to the door of a tomb. This led to an archaeological mission under F.A. Schaeffer, and George Chenet of the Strasbourg Museum, who began work here in April, 1929. Finds have been made here that promise to throw new light on Early Canaanite language. These discoveries are considered to be of the utmost importance, not so much for what they are in themselves, as in what they indicate, and the promise they give that we may discover still more complete literary remains of the Canaanites. Until a very few years ago it was thought that the ancient literature of the Phoenicians, or Canaanites, was completely lost. Documents on papyrus or parchment could not survive the moisture of Syria and Palestine. We have had parallels with Babylonian, Egyptian, and other literatures, but the absence of any literature of the Canaanites prevented us from properly evaluating the Biblical literature in the light of its early environment. Albright points out that the Canaanites formed a bridge between Mesopotamia and Egypt, between Semites and Anatolians, between the ancient Oriental civilization, and the Aegean region; and the absence of literary data was an insuperable obstacle to an organic reconstruction of ancient history.

The mound of Ras Shamra is perhaps the largest unoccupied mound of the Bronze Age yet known to exist in Palestine and Syria.
It is nearly ten times the extent of Megiddo. Excavations at this mound have already yielded bronze tools and weapons, especially adzes, bearing inscriptions in a hitherto unknown script. Soundings on the mound in May, 1929, yielded over fifty cuneiform tablets and fragments, nearly all inscribed in the same unknown script. The tablets were published by Virolleaud in the spring of 1930, and work on their decipherment was immediately undertaken by Prof. H. Bauer of Halle and Père Dhorme of the Dominican School, St. Etienne in Jerusalem just then. Bauer deciphered the script and discovered that the new characters represent the Phoenician, but the dialect differed from that of the Phoenician inscriptions previously discovered at Byblos, Tyre and Sidon, further to the south. Dussaud, editor of "Syria" considers that the problem has been solved by Bauer, and that the alphabetical script of Ras Shamra was created in the twelfth century B.C. following the plan of that which is called the Phoenician alphabet.

The difficulty confronting Bauer and Dhorme will be seen when we recall that in the case of the Rosetta Stone the inscription was bilingual, and as Dr. Naish has pointed out, in the case of the Behistun and Persepolis inscriptions, there is no parallel version, known or unknown. The characters here were composed of a few wedges each, in several instances, of only one or two. They seldom bear even a remote resemblance to the pen and ink writing of Aramaic papyri, or to the alphabet employed in inscriptions on Punic and Phoenician stiles and bronzes. The number of characters were found
to be 27. The number of characters in a word, and the nature of the grammatical forms showed clearly that the language must be Semitic, a kind of Hebrew-Canaanite dialect. A most interesting description of the method adopted by Dr. Bauer in building up an alphabet, and forming a word list, is to be found in the PEFQS, July, 1932, pp. 158, from the pen of Dr. J. P. Naish. The cuneiform tablets found at Ras Shamra may have been part of the library of either a palace or a temple.

NATURE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TEXTS

It is considered that at Ras Shamra we have to do with a city and civilization contemporary with, and culturally allied to those of Gebal and Beth Shan. The name of the city was supposed to be Sapuna, since that word occurs on a relief which pictures a worshipper adoring the "Lord of Sapuna". Virolleaud and Albright have suggested the identity of the site with Ugarit. It is considered to have been a place of great importance in the Late Bronze Age, which is that of the maximum Egyptian influence in Syria and Palestine. The culture here seems to accord with that at Byblus, and Beth Shan, and Jericho. In all these places is to be found a syncretism of Egyptian, Mycenaean, Hittite and Babylonian elements with the typical Syrian and Palestinian features. The period is that in which the Israelite invasions are usually placed, from about 1250 to 1100 B.C.

Between 1400 and 1100 B.C. a chain of settlements existed on the Syrian coast from Dor under Mt. Carmel to the Sapuna (Ugarit) in the
north west corner. With the coming of David's empire definite commercial, financial, and perhaps religious connections were entered into with these settlements. David's friendship with Hiram of Tyre, and Solomon's employment of Phoenician craftsmen are familiar examples. If we could recover the cultural atmosphere and the ideas respecting religion and worship of these settlements, which we have reason to believe to have been like that of inland sites like Beth Shan and Jericho, we would be in a better position to understand the religion of Syria and Palestine at that period, than we would be if left to Biblical sources alone, as these writers viewed all nature culture patterns of their neighbors as outright heathenism. It is perhaps some such consideration as this that is behind the recent communication of Prof. A. T. Olmstead to Dr. Naish, in which he said, "The Ras Shamra inscriptions are, in my opinion, the most important find since the Amarna Letters, and I am not sure that they may not be placed even higher". Prof. Eissfeliit of Halle, on the other hand, is not so enthusiastic about these inscriptions. Writing to Dr. Naish, he says, "Before all the mythological texts shall have been published, we shall be well advised to be very wary about proposing identifications for the deities of Ras Shamra. It may well be that identification of Alein-Adonis may then turn out to be justified, but in the meantime nothing more certain can be said".

CONTENTS

The Ras Shamra inscriptions consist of forty eight short texts relating to sacrificial ritual, and five fragments of a six column tablet containing the much discussed Alein myth (as it would seem) of the resurreccted vegetation god.
According to Dhorme's translation, the first group of documents gave the following translation:

Text No. 1. Sacrifices were offered to El, Elohim, Skhm (the white haired?) Ba'äl, Asherat, Besheph, Ba'äl of the years and seasons, Elät of the tower and of the enclosures, Anat of Gebal, Ba'älat of the cattle.

Text No. 2. Apollo (?) worshippers, Horites, Hittites, and Greeks (?) are to be expelled from the precincts.

In Text No. 9, various offerings are prescribed for different deities. There are also references to peace offerings, to blood and life, to the wine of the city, etc., the whole being introduced by an expression apparently meaning health or pardon of the soul.

Text No. 12 mentions a number of measures or commodities. The words used for these have a striking resemblance to certain well known Hebrew expressions, such as pot, jug, homer. The variety of produce mentioned includes barley, oil of myrrh, raisins, figs, and flowers. Further investigation may yield something like a more or less complete body of information regarding the Syrian pantheon at this period, and the sacrificial rites then customary in northern Syria. These rites are always mixed up with such myth, and great care will have to be taken in the investigation of such matters, if we are to arrive at a dependable conception of these ancient religions, and religious practices.

The great interest aroused in connection with these inscriptions is that regarding the death of Alein and his resurrection. It is the myth of Alein, son of Ba'äl, who dies and lives again and of his
enemy Mot (death) son of 'El, and of the virgin 'Anat, known from various contemporary inscriptions in the hieroglyphic character, and also from the later Elephantine papyri. Attempts have already been made to connect these fragments with the Adonis myth related by Philo Byblius in the second century A.D., and others have suggested a parallel with the cedar god in the D'Orbiney papyrus.

Perhaps this is sufficient to show the interest aroused in these inscriptions, and the hope that further discoveries from this source will throw much light upon the contemporary religions of that period. Translations of these texts are given by Dr. Naish in the PEFQ for July, 1932, and in the Bulletin of ASOR, for April, 1932, by Dr. Albright.
CHAPTER III

THE NATURE OF THE ENVIRONMENTAL CIVILIZATION OF ISRAEL
AS DISCLOSED BY ARCHAEOLOGY

All evidence points to the fact that Canaan was inhabited by a heterogeneous population, and became a meeting place of various cultures. The civilizations that have been most effective in Palestine, and have influenced Israel the most, have been the Canaanite, Babylonian, Hittite, Egyptian, Philistine, Phoenician. The civilization most intimately affecting the life of Israel would be that of the Canaanites among whom the Israelites lived. Duncan uses the term 'Amorite' to describe the people occupying Canaan prior to 2000-1000 B.C.; these he regards as being an amalgamation of Amorites and Hittites.  

CONQUEST GRADUAL

The history of Israel really commences from the time that they left Egypt under the command of Moses. From the narrative of Joshua we have a glowing account of their crossing the Jordan under Joshua, and capturing the cities of Jericho and Ai; the confederacy of kings is defeated, and the whole land is conquered and divided among the tribes. The picture presented gives the impression that the conquest was national, Israel acting as a whole under Joshua, that the land was subdued within a single generation; and that this was due to the brilliant military accomplishment of the Israelites under Joshua. The Book of Judges gives us another, and a different

1 Digging Up Biblical History, vol. I, p. 89
picture (Judg.1:2:5). Here we see that the country was not subdued as a whole. Jerusalem was not captured until the time of David (Jdg. 19:12; I Sam.5:6-9). The Canaanites were not driven out of Gezer until the time of Solomon (Jdg.1:29; I Kgs.9:16), and Bethlehem remained in the hands of the Philistines until the time of David (Jdg.1:27; I Sam.31:10). A picture is presented to us in Judges 1:27-33, which makes clear beyond doubt that the invasion of the land was accomplished by attrition and absorption. The fact that the Israelites were forbidden to associate with the Canaanites, would indicate that they were living peacefully in the same community, (Judg.3:16; I Kgs.9:20f.; Dt.7:1-5).

Judges is the J account, and therefore older, and it better accords with historical probability, and with the findings of archaeology. If Canaan had been so completely annihilated by Joshua, how did it rise again so quickly? The Joshua account is from the hand of D, who has seen the baneful effects of the commingling of Canaanites and Israelites, resulting in the Canaanizing of Israel's religion, and he writes in the light of things as he considers they should be for the good of Israel.

From Judges and other sources we gather that the conquest was tribal; one or two tribes together gain a territory. It was gradual, extending over many generations. It was mainly peaceful, and was furthered by treaties, intermarriage, and amalgamation; but it was many generations before possession was complete. The tribes were divided (Josh.21), and the divided tribes were surrounded by their enemies. In the south were Amalekites and Ishmaelites; on the west, over against Judah and Benjamin, were Philistines; north of them, up to Tyre
and Sidon, were Phoenicians; on the east in the desert, were Amorites and Midianites, and south of them were Moab and Edom. A great part of the central portion of the country remained in the hands of the Canaanites.

**INFLUENCE OF CANAANITES**

We now know that the Canaanites, among whom the Israelites settled, had reached a comparatively high state of civilization, and the Israelites learned much from them of agriculture, and the simple arts. The Amorites and Canaanites were builders; they built cities and fortified them. An extended account of their building operations is given by Duncan. Evidence of their workmanship is found at Gezer, Tanaach, Megiddo, and elsewhere. It was they who had the cities 'walled up to heaven' which struck terror into the hearts of the sojers (Dt. 1:28).

It was inevitable that the Israelites, who were a nomadic people from the wilderness, should have been deeply influenced by the more advanced civilization of their neighbors, the Canaanites. They had much to learn from them of agriculture and art. Everything points to the fact that they also were strongly influenced by the Canaanite religion. Discoveries at Gezer, Beisan, Tell Beit Mirsim, and elsewhere, go to prove that the Canaanites had a quite highly developed system of religion, with high-places or sanctuaries, altars, sacrifices and burnt offerings. The Canaanites, and all Oriental peoples were polytheists, while the Hebrews were decidedly monotheistic. It is quite apparent, however, from the O.T. record that the Hebrews were deeply affected by the religion and religious practices of the Canaanites, among whom they lived. Indeed this is the burden of the early religious leaders of Israel; and their chief effort seems to be to call

I Digging Up Biblical History, vol. I, pp. 89-161
the people back from following Baal, to the simpler ways of Yahweh.

BAALISM

The Canaanite conception of Baal as 'lord' of the land, and dispenser of fertility and productivity, was taken over by the Israelites, this is seen in the names they bear, such as 'Jerubbal' (Jdg. 7:1). The name 'baal' means lord or owner, and Baalism in its origin centred in the belief that every spot of fertile ground owed its fertility to the fact that a supernatural being dwelt there, and made it what it was. Just as there were many owners of land, so there were many 'baals', each presiding over his own spot. The ownership of the 'baal' of the locality was acknowledged by prefixing this word to the name of the place, e.g., Baal-Meon (Ezek. 25:9; Baal-Peor (Num. 25:3); Baal-hermon (Jdg. 3:3).

Since the fertility of the land was the work of the supernatural, it was assumed that anything that the land brought forth in consequence of such fertility as he imparted to it, belonged to him. Here undoubtedly is the basis for the offerings to Yahweh of the first-fruits, and fatlings of the flock. The first-fruit offerings consisted of a small, but choice portion of the produce of the soil, which was placed before the altar. The high-place of worship and sacrifice was called a 'bamah' or high-place. This was an elevated spot, and appears to have been synonymous with hill (Num. 21:28; Dt. 32:13). Samuel was going up to the 'high-place' when he was met by Saul (1 Sam. 9). In later times the high-place was not necessarily an elevated spot, for the word came to be used of a sanctuary generally (Amos 7:9; Hosea 4:13).
HIGH-PLACES

Several high-places have been discovered. The first to be discovered was on the hills above Petra, in ancient Edom. This high-place had an altar 9 feet long, 6 feet wide, and 3 feet high, cut out of the rock. Macalister found a high-place at Gazer, though no altar was found there. Mazzebahs or 'standing stones' were probably conceived to be the abode of the deity; but in the O.T. they are the distinguishing mark of a holy place; and are often erected beside the altar, especially in Canaanite sanctuaries (Ex. 23:24; Dt. 7:5; 12:23; 2 Kgs. 10:26).

ASHERAH

The high-place was not the only type of sanctuary, for the terebinth, or green tree, was sacred, and the ground where it stood became a sanctuary. Green trees were supposed to be the abode of these fertility deities, whose presence in them made them sanctuaries. As the sanctuaries multiplied, they could not always be under green trees, in such cases a pole was erected near the altar, in place of a green tree. It was a mark of the presence of deity; this pole was called 'Asherah', from a root meaning 'to set up'. This word was used in two senses in the O.T.; as the goddess Asherah (Jdg. 3:7; 1 Kgs. 15:13; 18:19); and as the sacred pole representing her (Dt. 7:5; 12:3; 16:21) where command is given to burn them. The name of a goddess, Asherah, occurs in the Amarna letters, as well as on an inscription found at Taanach. Dr. Oesterley avers that Asherah is merely another form of Astarte, originally Ashtart.

1 G.L.Robinson in Biblical World, Jan. 1901, pp. 6-16
2 Sellin, Tell Ta'anek, p. 113
3 Hebrew Religion, p. 124n.
BLENDING OF HEBREW AND NEIGHBORING RELIGIONS

The Hebrews appear to have adapted themselves to the envir-
oning civilization into which they came, and which was higher than
their own, except in religion. They copied the customs of their
neighbors, and appropriated their art, for they seem to have possessed
little artistic skill of their own; they developed no artistic forms
of their own, and they copied the neighboring art very poorly, as spec-
imens which have been recovered reveal. They only excelled in the
realm of literature, as revealed in their scriptures. But one cannot
read the O.T. without being conscious that the burden of Israel's
leaders was to deliver Israel from the blight and contamination of
the Canaanitish religion. We shall later show that even the writings
of the Israelites were affected to some extent by the prevailing
concepts of their neighbors; and there are to be found close parallels
between the early literature of Israel and that of the Babylonians.

Israel could not fail of being influenced to a great extent
by the two great civilizations; that of Babylonia, active, enterpris-
ing, and full of life from earliest times; and that of Egypt, hardly
less remarkable, though more self-contained, and exercising less in-
fluence on foreign countries. In later times the strong arm of Assyria
was felt in Palestine, and possibly influenced Israel to a greater
extent than the Biblical records imply. Care should be exercised in
estimating these influences, so that they are neither exaggerated, nor
yet discounted. Our belief is, that the daily life and religion of the
Israelites were more deeply influenced by the Canaanites than by
any other people, for the reasons stated above.
CHAPTER IV

THE BEARING OF RECENT DISCOVERIES ON THE HISTORY
AND RELIGION OF THE HEBREWS

Recent discoveries have been made which throw a good deal of
light upon certain periods of Hebrew history, concerning which the
Biblical record is silent. We shall consider some of the most impor-
tant of these.

TELL EL-AMARNA LETTERS

A new and surprising light has been thrown upon the condition
of Canaan before the Hebrew invasion, by the discovery made at Tell
el-Amarna, of what is known as the Amarna letters.

Tell el-Amarna is situated about 70 miles south of Cairo.
Amenhotep IV (Ikhnaton) of the Eighteenth Dynasty, built a new capital
here for the worship of the sun-god, whom he revered as the source
of all life, power and force in the universe. An Arab digging here in
1887, found several hundred of clay tablets, inscribed with the famil-
lar characters of Babylonia. Their value was not realized at first,
and they were carried in sacks to Luxor, and peddled around among
dealers; many were broken in this way. About 290 of them were event-
ually bought up by museums or individuals. Upon examination they
proved to be part of the official archives of Amenhotep III (1414-
1383), and Amenhotep IV (1383-1365), and to consist chiefly of letters
and reports addressed to these kings by their officials, and by for-
egn potenlates having relations with Egypt. The latter, about forty
in number, are principally from kings of Alashia (Cyprus); the Hittites,
north of Palestine; the Mittani north-west of Mesopotamia, Babylonia, and Assyria. These letters reveal the extent and character of diplomatic communications at this early date. The bulk of the correspondence is principally from governors stationed by the Egyptian kings at various places in Palestine, Phoenicia, and Syria.

From the Amarna correspondence we learn that about 1400 B.C., Palestine and neighboring countries formed an Egyptian province, under the rule of the Egyptian governors stationed in the principal towns. A fact of great importance revealed by these letters is, that the Egyptian governors in the various towns communicated with the Egyptian king in the Babylonian language; even letters written in Palestine and addressed to other than the Egyptian kings, are likewise in Babylonian. The standing use of the Babylonian script can only be explained by the fact that Canaan and neighboring countries had long been under the influence of Babylonia. When this influence began we do not know, but at all events, Canaan had remained under it so long, that at least for official purposes, it continued to prevail even after Canaan had become a province of the Egyptian Empire.

The influence was undoubtedly primarily political, but it would naturally carry with it other elements of civilization, such as arts and sciences, mythology and religious belief; among the letters there do appear fragments of Babylonian mythological tales. It may be that coming through the Canaanites we have the Babylonian traditions and beliefs, echoes of which are found in the early chapters of Genesis.

The letters are of great importance, indeed they are one of the great finds of archaeology. They supply information which we get from
no other source, and give us a picture which greatly illuminates prevailing conditions in Palestine and Phoenicia.

From the letters of Ebed-Hepa, the governor of Jerusalem, we learn that the situation is critical, and that the Egyptians are losing their hold on Palestine and Syria. There are intrigues and rivalries amongst the Egyptians themselves, and Ebed-Hepa has been misrepresented to Pharaoh. He assures the king of his loyalty, but pleads and implores Amenhotep IV to send him help. He informs him that "lost are the lands of the king, my lord," and that unless he sends help immediately "there are no lands left to the king, my lord".

The people who are pressing Jerusalem hard, are known as the 'Habiru'. "The Habiru are capturing the fortresses of the king". We know from Egyptian sources that Amenhotep IV was too much interested in religious reforms to turn aside to campaigns in Palestine. The needed troops were not sent, apparently Ebed-Hepa was overcome, for his letters now cease. A similar condition prevailed in Phoenicia as revealed in the letters of Rib-Adda of Gebal. 2

Two or three things remain to be said about these letters aside from the mention of the Habiru. The picture given of Palestine is that of a period some two hundred years before the Hebrew invasion. Palestine is a province of Egypt, in which the ruling class made use of the language of Babylonia as the official language. This had not been suspected before. From Judges 19:10,11, and I Chronicles II:4,5, we infer that the original name of Jerusalem was 'Jebus', called after the tribe of Jebusites who held it; but from the Amarna letters

1 Barton, Archaeology and the Bible, pp.403-6 gives a translation of several of the letters.
2 Barton, pp.402-3
we learn that the name of the city was 'Urusalim' (Jerusalerm) from the first, and that the name of Jebus was falsely inferred from the name of the tribe who held it.

From the Amarna letters we also get a different conception of the territory of the Amorites. According to Hebrew tradition, they are represented as partly occupying a region east of Jordan, northeast of the Dead Sea, ruled by Sihon, and partly occupying territory west of the Jordan; but in the Amarna letters they appear to be limited to a particular area in northern Palestine, behind Phoenicia, and stretching eastward across the great Syrian desert to the border of Babylonia.

Another suggestive feature of the letters is the light they throw upon the native population of Canaan. While the letters are written in Babylonian, yet Canaanite words appear in them from time to time. There may have been used independently, or for the purpose of explaining a Babylonian expression in the more familiar dialect of the scribe who was writing, suggests Dr. Driver. The letters show that the pre-Israelite inhabitants of Canaan were already closely akin to the Hebrews, and that they spoke substantially the same language. Driver considers that though divided religiously, the Hebrews and Canaanites were closely allied in language and civilization.

HABIRU

The question that arises most pertinently out of the Amarna correspondence is, Who were the Habiru? Are they to be identified with the Hebrews, who are considered to have been in Egypt at this time, since the Exodus is commonly supposed to have taken place under

1 Modern Research as Illustrating the Bible, p. 37
2 Ibid.
Merneptah about 1220 B.C.? Are the Habiru attacking Jerusalem to be identified with the Hebrews who have returned from Egypt, or are they some tribes who did not go down into Egypt? The Biblical account is entirely silent about such a conquest as is here spoken of.

Dr. North has pointed out that the O.T. does preserve another tradition of the date of the Exodus apart from that in the Book of Exodus. In I Kgs. 6:1, it is said that Solomon began to build the Temple in the four hundred and eighth year after the Exodus. The date of Solomon's reign is about 977 B.C., which would give us about 1450 B.C. for the Exodus, or two centuries earlier than the time of Merneptah, and fifty years before the Amarna letters. North would equate the Habiru with the Hebrews. Lods also says that "from the linguistic point of view the equation of the Hebrew, 'ibri, and the word Habiru is unassailable." Later discoveries have only brought increased perplexities in regard to these names; there are suggestions that they were Kassites. A text deciphered by P. Scheil bears witness to the presence of Habiru officers at Larsa in Lower Babylonia, in the employ of king Rim Sin, six centuries before the Amarna age. Lods raises the question whether we must not conclude from these facts that the word was not originally a proper name, but a general appellative, meaning 'those beyond', i.e., beyond the frontier, or beyond the desert, and connoting nomads of any race. Lods is referring to the same idea which has been worked in much more detail by Dr. Langdon, in which he shows that the Habiru had a Sumerian title, SA-GAZ, meaning mercenary soldier.

1 O.T. and Archaeology, Abingdon Comm., p. 117
2 Israel, p. 48
3 Ibid., p. 49
ELEPHANTINE PAPYRI

In the spring of 1904 some Aramaic papyri was found at Elephantine, an island at the First Cataract of the Nile. These prove to be of great importance, for they reveal the presence of a Jewish colony there, and what had not been suspected as existing outside of Jerusalem, a temple to Jehovah. All the documents are interesting; some of them are legal documents belonging mostly to successive generations of a Jewish family settled at Elephantine, and throw a good deal of light upon the business methods of that day.

One Mahseiah, son of Jedoniah, owns land in Elephantine, which he holds by deed of conveyance from its former owner, Dargman. On the marriage of his daughter, Mibtahiah, to a neighbor, Jezoniah, in 459 B.C., he assigns her this land as her marriage portion to herself, and her heirs forever, at the same time giving to her husband Dargman's deed of conveyance. One of the striking things about these deeds and contracts is the legal precision with which they are executed. The property is exactly described, and its situation carefully given, as also the the precise phraseology in which a claim is renounced, or a right conferred. A similar precision is found here in the framing of deeds and contracts, to that which obtained in Babylonia in the time of Hammurabi. Dr. Driver declares, "The technical terms used in these papyri are in some cases those of Babylonian law, which no doubt reached Egypt through the Persians."

The papyrus that is of most interest from a religious point of view, is the petition from a Jewish colony at Elephantine to Bagohi-

I Modern Research as Illustrating the Bible, p. 29
the Bagoas of Josephus - the Persian governor of Judah, imploring his intervention and help. During the temporary absence of the Persian governor of Egypt, the priests of the Egyptian god Khnub had bribed Waidrang, the commander of the garrison in Elephantine, to destroy the temple of the god Yahu (Yahweh), and they entreat Bagohi for permission to rebuild their temple. In this letter which was written by Jedoniah and his associates, they give some interesting information about the temple at Yeb. It had been built for more than 120 years, and it had been respected by Cambyses when he conquered Egypt, and made it a Persian province in 525 B.C. They also wrote Deliah and Shelemiah, the sons of Sanballat, the governor of Samaria, entreating them to use their influence to obtain permission for them to rebuild. A translation of the letter is given by Barton. I

The temple appears to have been a substantial building, with pillars of stone, and seven stone gates. It was not merely a synagogue; it had an altar, upon which burnt-offerings, meal-offerings, and frankincense were regularly offered. It possessed vessels of gold and silver similar to those used at Jerusalem.

The petitioners deplore the ruin of their sanctuary, they declare that since it happened they have put on sackcloth, and fasted and prayed; neither have they anointed themselves with oil, nor have they drunk wine. They promise that if Bagohi will grant their petition, they will, when the temple is rebuilt, remember him in their prayers, and offer sacrifices in his name. Happily the papyrus has been found in which, in a short memorandum, Bagohi and Delaiah grant the request for permission to rebuild the temple.

I Archaeology and the Bible, pp. 447-8
The significant and unexpected thing, is the existence of a Jewish temple with an altar, and with sacrifices offered upon it, outside of Jerusalem. These papyri bring us into post-exilic times; they were written only fifty years after Ezra brought back a second company of exiles from Babylon to Judea, and only twenty-four years after Nehemiah's second visit to Jerusalem in 432 B.C. All these papyri are dated between the years 494 and 400 B.C.

The significance of this temple is variously interpreted. The conservative wing is opposed to the date which the more critical school assigns to Deuteronomy, viz. 621 B.C., because, had the law against more than one altar been introduced, the Jews would not have so soon violated it by building this shrine. On the other hand, critics hold that it fits well with their views, since they believe that Deuteronomy was accepted by the Jews only gradually, and after a considerable struggle. At the time that this temple was overthrown, the Jews in Jerusalem looked with disfavor upon it. Dr. Barton suggests that this disfavor was due to the fact that two other deities were worshipped along with Jehovah, as shown by one of the papyrus.

This colony of Jews did not keep the Passover and Feast of Unleavened Bread until 419 B.C., when they were ordered to do so by one "brother Hananiah." Who this Hananiah was is uncertain, but he appears to have come to Egypt on a mission similar to that of Ezra and Nehemiah to Jerusalem, for the purpose of enforcing a stricter obedience to law. In another papyrus complaint is made that since the coming of Hananiah things have gone ill with them, and when the

1 Accepting the early date of 458 B.C. for Ezra
2 Archaeology and the Bible, p. 449
orthodox party in Jerusalem failed them, they appealed to the civil authority, and the Samaritan faction.

The existence of the temple has an interesting bearing on Isaiah 19:19. Some scholars have held that this reference to a temple of Jehovah in the land of Egypt is late, and must refer to the temple built by Onias III, about 170 B.C. In view of this discovery, it is possible to suppose that the reference may have been to this hitherto unsuspected temple at Elephantine.

THE CODE OF HAMMURABI AND THE PENTATEUCH

A remarkable code of laws were inscribed by order of Hammurabi, of the first dynasty of Babylon (2104-2061), on a block of black diorite nearly eight feet high. This was set up in the temple of Marduk, in Babylon, that the people might become acquainted with the laws governing them. At some later time, an Elamite conqueror, who was over-running Babylonia, carried this pillar away as a trophy. In course of time it was broken into three parts, these, however, were found by J. de Morgan, director of a French expedition excavating at Sousa in December 1901, and January 1902. It has a bas-relief representing Hammurabi receiving a code of laws from Shamash, the sun-god. It is inscribed on front and back, and contains the longest cuneiform inscription yet discovered. About one eighth of the code has been erased; the rest includes 248 separate enactments, on a great variety of subjects - laws relating to property, social grades, to tenure, rent, cultivation of land, trade, commerce, family life (including rights of wife, children, divorce, inheritance, adoption), criminal law, including penalties for
various kinds of assault, laws fixing the rates for the hire of various kinds of articles, and the rates of wages in different kinds of employment, laws relating to slavery. The extent and the detail of the code is the best testimony to the advanced state of civilization of this people. It presupposes a wonderfully developed commerce, agriculture, and industry, the intricacies of which it seeks to regulate. This code has received much attention, as it is the oldest code of laws known to us. It is quite remarkable that the provisions of this law are never of a ritual or ceremonial character, they relate to civil and criminal law.

Because of its likeness to the code of Moses found in the Pentateuch, this code has received much attention. Barton has given a translation of 282 of the laws, with some comparison of the Mosaic laws found in Exodus and Deuteronomy.¹ A translation of this code and a very adequate treatment of it is given by C. H. M. Johns.² Hammurabi's code is more diversified than the Hebrew code; still there are enough striking resemblances in the two codes, especially in Exodus and Deuteronomy, to suggest that the two codes do stand in some relationship to each other. The question naturally arises, since the Babylonian code is about a thousand years older than the Hebrew code, did the Hebrews borrow from the Babylonians? The positive view has been vigorously stated by Prof. C. Johnston, "The Babylonian and Mosaic Codes are conceived in the same literary form; they contain a considerable number of practically identical laws; they present not a few cases of actual verbal agreement, and both are designed for the regulation of a civilized community. The parallels are too close to be explained upon a somewhat vague theory of common tradition ....

¹ Archaeology and the Bible, p. 340f.
It has been shown that in Palestine, Israel learned and appropriated the ancient Babylonian myths. Why should they not learn Babylonian law as well? ⋅⋅⋅ The foundation of the Babylonian law was the Code of Hammurabi, and thus the enactments of the old Babylonian kind, formulated about 2250 B.C. passed more than a thousand years later into the Book of the Covenant, and so became the heritage of Israel, and the world.¹ Dr. Johns states that the coexisting likenesses and differences argue for an independent recension of ancient custom deeply influenced by Babylonian law.² It is possible that a knowledge of these laws may have reached the Hebrews through the Canaanites, since the influence of Babylonia has been felt in Canaan from very early times, as witnessed by the use of the cuneiform script; or again, both codes may have been codifications from some common, but early source, each taking what was appropriate to their time and circumstances.

Hammurabi has been identified with Amraphel of Genesis 14:1. This is interesting and probable, and if it could be proved, it would be a strong argument for the interdependence of these codes.
CHAPTER V

ANCIENT CULTS, SANCTUARIES, RITUAL: ISRAEL'S BORROWINGS

Palestinian archaeology has furnished abundant proof as to the presence of ancient cults, and the uncovering of sanctuaries has presented us with a fairly definite knowledge of their objects of worship and ritual, so that we are now provided with a good basis for the comparison of these early cults with that of Israel.

SANCTUARIES

The oldest sanctuary which has yet been discovered in Palestine is in one of the caves at Gezer. The cave is 32 ft. long, 20 ft. broad, and 7 ft. 11 inches in height. It had two entrances, one on the east, and one on the west. On the surface of the rock, which is the roof of the cave, and which is 3 ft. 6 inches thick, there were a number of cup marks similar to those found at other ancient sacred places; there was also an opening in the roof. Macalister thinks that the worshippers killed the victims on the surface of the rock above, and let the blood run through the opening in the roof down into the cave beneath where the deity was supposed to dwell.

HIGH-PLACES

We have frequent mention of 'high-places' in the O.T. as places of worship (2 Sam. 9:12f.; I Kgs. 3:2; 2 Kgs. 23:5,8). From 2 Kgs. 23:14, we learn that these high-places contained 'pillars' and 'asherim.' These pillars were made of stone, and the asherim of wood. A number
of these high-places have been discovered, and naturally these discoveries throw light on the O.T. record. The first high-place was discovered at Tell es-Sâfî, by Bliss and Macalister. The high-place was enclosed by walls within which stood three monoliths or 'pillars.'

Another high-place was discovered at Gezer which proves to be one of the most interesting of high-places discovered in Palestine. It is here that we have ten monoliths, none of them bearing the mark, though one of them was worn smooth, which is thought to be due to the hands of worshippers; this is considered to be the sacred stone. The area of this high-place is 150 ft. x 120 ft. A great number of infant bones were found in this high-place, which led to the conclusion that child sacrifice was practised, as this was not a cemetery, but a sanctuary. The echoes of human sacrifice are heard in the O.T., as with Abraham and Isaac. The first-born of the Hebrews was redeemed by the sacrifice of a lamb (Ex. 34:20). In the time of Manasseh, child sacrifice seems to have been revived, and "children passed through fire" (2 Kgs. 21:6; 23:10; Jer. 7:31; 32:35).

The high-place at Taanach is thought to have been in use from 1500-900 B.C.; that is, it was originally Canaanite, and was later adopted by the Hebrews. From Hosea 3:4 we learn that the 'pillar' or mazzebah, had been adopted into the worship of Jehovah. The Hebrews were great imitators; they seem to have adopted the whole paraphernalia of Canaanite worship, and the religion as well. Deut. 16:21-22 forbids the use of Asheroth, or groves, or standing stones in the worship of Jehovah; this was probably because of the tendency of the Hebrews to take over not only Canaanite symbols, but Canaanite religion as well.

1 Excavations in Palestine, p. 31f.
2 Gezer I, p. 51, 105-7. II, p. 381-404
ALTARS

Various kinds of altars have been found. The supposed altar of the high-place at Ophel is one that is a fixture, being cut in the surface of the rock. At Megiddo, the altar is a slab of stone fixed into the wall. At Gezer, the stone of sacrifice, or altar, is an ordinary undressed stone. The Ophel and Gezer altars are early examples of the Canaanite period, and that of Megiddo is one of the Hebrew period. A fine basalt panelled altar with the Cretan cross carved on its surface, was found at Beth-shan; this is thought to belong to the time of the Philistine occupation, about the twelfth century B.C. Small portable altars, about three inches square, appear as early as 2000 B.C., and are found in every stratum until the Hellenistic period.

INCENSE

Portable incense burners were found at Gezer and Gerar. They appear to have been in use among the Canaanites from about 1800, and continued throughout the Hebrew occupation. For use of incense in the O.T., see Ezekiel 8:II; 2 Kings 23:5.

ASTARTE

Terra-cotta figures of an undraped female deity, which are regarded as figurines of the mother goddess, Astarte, are to be found in every excavation. The figurines are thought to have been brought into Palestine by the Amorites, as the earliest examples date from 2000 B.C., and the Hebrews to some extent adopted them. These figurines are regarded as the 'teraphim' or household gods of the O.T. (Gen.31:30,34), and also as image of the Queen of Heaven, whose worship is defended by the women in the time of Jeremiah (Jer.44:15-19).

1 Gezer, vol. II, p. 425
2 Duncan, Digging Up Biblical History, vol. II, p. 95
There were three forms of these figurines - plaques, busts on pedestals, and statuettes.

SERPENT - GODDESS

Serpent worship seems to have flourished about the fifteenth century. The north temple at Beth-shan, of the time of Thotmes III period (c.1500-1450), was dedicated to the serpent goddess. Altogether about fifteen of these serpents were found here; some of them have human breasts. In the O.T. we find a reference to the serpent, and it leaves no doubt but at that time it was a baneful influence in Israel, for Hezekiah considered it necessary to destroy the brazen serpent that Moses had made (2 Kgs.18:4).

From these various objects of cultic practice we see a development, and a multiplication of symbols. The early cave-dweller had a decided form of worship, with its ritualistic expressions, including the sacrifice of animals, and the offering of blood and wine. The Amorites introduced new features into the worship, such as the pillar or mazzebah; the worship of Astarte in the form of small figurines, and later the serpent worship; sun-worship also seems to be indicated by the presence of the circle of pillars, as at Gath and Gezer.

It is possible that the Hebrews in adopting the symbols of Canaanite worship, were seeking to superimpose the religion of Jehovah upon that of Canaan, by consecrating their symbols to the worship of Jehovah. This is always a questionable procedure, and certainly it did not work very well in the case of the Hebrews, for they appear to have taken on the religion of the Canaanites as well as their symbols; and this led to the purging process at the hands of Hezekiah...
(2 Kgs. 18:4). And thus "excavation amply attests the fact, so constantly reiterated in the O.T., that the greatest obstacle to Hebrew progress, was their fatal gift of imitation, and the greatest hindrance to the advance of their own religion, was the presence of the Canaanite in their midst."
CHAPTER VI

LITERARY LIKENESSES: BABYLONIAN, EGYPTIAN, HEBREW

Various types of literature in the O.T. are paralleled in that of other nations. Not only are there Babylonian stories of the creation and the flood paralleling those of the O.T., but there are Babylonian and Egyptian psalms and hymns, and parallels to the books of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, and Egyptian parallels to the Song of Songs.

CREATION EPIC

An epic of the Creation which circulated in Babylonia and Syria in the seventh century B.C. is given by Barton. It is thought to have taken form in the city of Babylon; it is therefore natural that Marduk should be the central figure. There are certain similarities between the Babylonian and Genesis account. In both, the primeval chaos consisted in a mass of waters. The heaven and earth were created in both accounts by the division of this primeval ocean by a firmament which held up a part of the water, so that the earth could be formed below. They both make use of the series of seven. The Babylonian account climaxes in the praise of Marduk by all the gods. The Hebrew account culminates with the institution of the Sabbath. There are differences in the accounts, as well as likenesses. The features of the two narratives which have convinced some scholars

1 Barton, Archaeology and the Bible, p. 45ff.
2 Ibid. p. 467
3 Ibid. p. 473
4 Ibid. p. 25ff.
that there is a real kinship between the two accounts, are their agreements concerning the nature of the primeval chaos, and the division of the primeval ocean by a firmament for the creation of the heavens and the earth; the objective conceptions are common to both. While there is an undoubted parallelism between the two accounts, there are also marked differences, which are seen especially in the religious conceptions. The Babylonian poem is mythological and polytheistic; its gods love and hate, scheme and plot, fight and destroy. Marduk, the champion only conquers after a severe struggle.

In the Genesis account we have an exalted monotheism, where God is thoroughly master of all the elements, so that they all instantly obey his command. The Genesis account when compared with the Babylonian, bespeaks an inspiration which easily evokes reverence and worship toward the Creator, and this is entirely wanting in the Babylonian account.

FLOOD STORIES

There are two Babylonian accounts of the Flood story which have come to light. One is a fragmentary account, and is from a tablet written at Nippur before 2000 B.C. The other is a fuller account, known as the Gilgamesh Epic, and is from a tablet written at Nineveh in the seventh century B.C.

The Babylonian account resembles the Genesis account (6:9-9:19). In each case there is a divine revelation to the hero of the deluge that a catastrophe is coming. Both accounts tell of the building of a vessel, the spreading it within and without with pitch; their being shut in with their family and various kinds of animals, while other people are destroyed; the resting of the ark on a mountain; the sending

I Archaeology and the Bible, p. 299f.
out of the birds, the sacrifice, and the promise that the deluge shall not be repeated. The most striking differences between the accounts is seen in the fact that the Babylonian flood is local, while the Genesis flood is general; and there is a marked difference in the character of the deities, as seen in the Creation story.

THE BABYLONIAN JOB

A fragment of a Babylonian poem has been discovered which bears a close resemblance to the canonical book of Job. Dr. Langdon has called it "the Babylonian Job." One Tabu-utul-Bel was an official of Nippur in Babylonia. Like Job, he had been a just and devout man. He claims virtues like those of Job, and like him he has a sore disease. To him providence is inexplicable, and like Job he charges God with injustice. The parallel between this poem and the Book of Job ends here; for while Job obtained relief by a vision and knowledge of God, Tabu-utul-Bel found relief through a magician. A translation of this poem will be found in Barton. It is thought by some that this work lies behind our Book of Job; but should this prove to be true, the religious significance of the Biblical Job is as superior to this as real religion is to magic, or black art.

RESURRECTION MYTHS

We have already indicated the significance of the Canaanite tablets found at Ras Shamra. In the epic poems (Mot and Alein), we have a resurrection myth telling how Alein, son of Ba'al dies and lives again. Certain striking expressions are found here, such as, "the Father of Years," equal to "the Ancient of Days" (Dan. 7:2). Again, "I know that Alein the lord lives, and that Zebul the lord of the earth

I Archaeology and the Bible, p. 452f.
exists." This is suggestive of Job's declaration, "I know that my Vindicator lives, and that he shall stand up at last upon the earth." (Job 19:25).

A very remarkable Babylonian text from the library of Assur was found a few years ago. This was reviewed by Dr. Sayce. It is of great interest because it is a miracle play of death and resurrection, which was performed in the temple of Bel-Merodach at Babylon every New Year's Day. Bel was bound and brought before the tribunal which awaits mankind at the river of death. After being 'wounded', he was condemned and led away to execution. Along with him was a malefactor who was executed, while a second malefactor was released in accordance, it would seem, with custom. After a descent of the god into the prison house of death, his clothes were laid before Ishtar, and the city of Babylon was plunged into confusion and darkness. Then a goddess washed away the blood which had flowed from a wound in the side of the dead god. His tomb was now watched by a 'son of Assur,' while his priests lamented for him, and a goddess sought his grave. Eventually he rose again from the dead, and so became the saviour who 'raises the dead to life.'

Dr. Sayce, in the same article, draws attention to a fragmentary text from Nineveh, which has been published by Dr. Pinches in the 'Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology' (1908). In that text we are told how Bel-Merodach 'descended into hell', and there the spirits who were in prison 'rejoiced to see him', while he preached to the rulers of Hades. Dr. Sayce concludes that "this is the Babylonian original of the apocryphal writing quoted in I Peter 3:19, which appears to have been a literal rendering of its prototype."

WORD LIKENESSES

The research of recent years has brought to us increasing evidence of the close resemblances, often-times, between Israel and neighboring nations, not only of literary thought and form, but of words themselves, which in some cases seem to have been borrowed. Dr. Sayce has pointed out to us some of these similarities, which he believes lends support to the idea that Israel borrowed or appropriated from her neighbors words or idioms which served her purpose. He maintains that words like 'kohen', priest, were borrowed from the Hittites, and that the name given to the Jebusite Hittite Araunah, is the Hittite 'arauanis', a nobleman, which explains the gloss in 2 Sam. 24:23.1

Sayce even contends that the name of Yahveh can no longer be confined to the Israelites. "It is found among the Amorite settlers in Babylonia in the Abrahamic age and earlier, and its origin and meaning had already been forgotten. Strictly speaking, Yahveh, written Yāwa in the cuneiform, was the feminine of Yahu, Yau; when the feminine deity was absorbed by the masculine, the masculine form survived only in proper names."2

Likewise the names of Abram, Jacob and Joseph, are now known to be far older than the time of the Patriarchs. They were current in Babylonia at a very early date. Barton informs us that three different men in the time of the Hammurabi dynasty bore the name of Yakub-ilu or Jacoben (Jacob); one man in that period gave his father's name as Yakub, or Jacob.3 And what is still more interesting, a Babylonian

1 Latest Results of O.T. Archaeology, Exp. Times, Oct. 1921, p. 38
2 Ibid.
3 Archaeology and the Bible, p. 325
seal cylinder, purchased from a peasant near Mosul, was found to bear the name of 'Israel, son of Rishzuni', and it is dated from about 2800 to 2600 B.C.¹ This is a matter of great interest, as the only occurrence of the name Israel, outside the Bible, is in the inscription of Merneptah of Egypt, where it designated Israel the nation.

On the religious side, the asyla, or 'cities of refuge', were an old institution of Asia Minor, closely connected with the Asianic forms of religion; and it is possible that the original conception of the scape-goat belongs to Asia Minor, rather than to Babylonia, declares Dr. Sayce.²
SUMMARY

One of the outstanding results of archaeology, and the studies and research which it has produced, has been to take the Hebrews out of the isolated, and almost insulated position which they were popularly supposed to hold as Jehovah's favored people, and demonstrate their affinity with, and often their dependence upon, other civilizations by which they were surrounded. Tribes more or less akin to themselves in both language and race, were their neighbors on the north, east and south. Flanking them on the north and south, were two of the most formidable of ancient civilizations. The influence of Babylonia over the ancient world was greater than was once supposed. Her highly developed civilization enabled her to exert an unmeasured influence in every phase of life. The civilization of Egypt was only little less influential than that of Babylonia. Palestine itself, as the Amarna letters reveal, must have been for some centuries before it fell under the power of Egypt (c. 1500 B.C) a province of Babylonia, in which the language and cuneiform script was used, at least officially.

Through the study of archaeology we understand that the Hebrews had more in common with their neighbors than was suspected. Their beliefs about the origin of the world, their social usages, their codes of civil and religious law, and even their religious institutions can no longer be viewed, as once they were, as differing in kind from those of other nations, and determined in every detail as a revelation from heaven.
SPECIAL VALUE

The special value of archaeology consists in the fact that it affords us contemporary evidence, and hence illustrates, confirms, or corrects statements or representations contained in the Bible. Along with documentary criticism, it helps us to distinguish narratives in the Old Testament which are contemporary with the events recorded, from those of a later date, thereby enabling us to view the different parts in a true historical perspective. This was the weakness of much of the structure of 'higher criticism' in the past, it lacked a factual concrete basis; there was no objective source by which it could be checked. This led Kittel to make the following observation of Wellhausenism. "The structure lacked a foundation, and the builders were without measuring rods." One of the chief values of archaeology is that it provides a measuring rod to check the foundation of our belief.

HELPS AND CONFIRMATIONS

City levels such as those of Tell el-Hesay and Tell Beit Mirsim furnish a good key to chronology which enables us to check with tolerable accuracy, the culture and development of the period. The destruction of Tell Beit Mirsim and the new culture which followed, is considered to accord with the capture and destruction of the town by Othniel.

Recent excavations at Megiddo revealing the extensive stone stables of Solomon, confirm the traditional splendor of Solomon's reign, which many had come to regard as exaggerations.

The ostraka found at Samaria has enabled us to understand how comprehensive was Ahab's administration of the kingdom; and he emerges with an enhanced reputation, limned against this background, he stands

I Z.A.W. 1921, 86
Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible, p. 205
forth as a strong and capable administrator and ruler.

Archaeology has proved the correctness of the Judges' account of the conquest and occupation of Canaan, rather than the Joshua account; and confirms the view that the occupation was gradual and more peaceful, rather than a process of annihilation, such as Joshua records.

We now know that the Joshua account is from the hand of D, who had seen the baneful effects of the commingling of Canaanites and Israelites, resulting in the Canaanizing of Israel's religion.

The Elephantine papyri have incidentally settled the date of Sanballat; and have shown that the laws relating to the institution of the Passover must go back to the pre-Exilic period.

The Amarna letters correct the impression of (Judg. 19:10-11) and we learn that Jerusalem (Urusalim) was the ancient name of the city. The use of Babylonian script in the Amarna letters argues for the long-prevailing influence of Babylonia over Palestine.

The Amarna letters sets the Pentateuchal problem in a new light. They prove the antiquity of the literary use of writing, as well as the wide-spread character of education, and the means of inter-communication in the pre-Mosaic period.

RELIGION

Discoveries at Gezer, Beisan, Tell el-'Ajrud, and elsewhere, go to prove that the Canaanites had a quite highly developed system of religion, with sanctuaries, high-places, altars, sacrifices and burnt-offerings. That the Israelites borrowed from the Canaanites, cultic practices which they modified and adopted to the worship of Jehovah, there is little doubt. This is seen in the high-place, and asherim. Hosea 3:4 reveals that a pillar or mazzebah of the Canaanites was used in the worship of Jehovah.
The disclosures at Beisan reveal the practice of serpent worship. That the serpent symbol was appropriated by the Hebrews in their worship is indicated in the serpent made by Moses; which was considered a baneful influence, and was destroyed by Hezekiah (2 K.18:4).

That Israel was deeply affected by the Canaanite Baal worship there is no reason to doubt. This is seen in the names which prevailed (Baal-Meon, Baal-Peor, Baal-hermon). Since the fertility of the soil was due to the favor of Baal, probably this idea is the source of the offering of first-fruits, practised by the Israelites.

The seventh stone of the monoliths at Gezer is considered to have been a sacred stone, and to have been brought from somewhere; because in taking it the Gezerites believed that they were also taking the favor and protection of the deity that it represented. That this belief in the symbol as signifying the presence and protection of the deity was shared by the Israelites, is seen in the ark which the Israelites carried into battle.

We have pointed out the literary likenesses and parallels in the writings of the Babylonians and the Israelites, suggesting a borrowing, or a common source for the accounts. The difference between the two peoples is nowhere better seen than in the use that the Hebrews made of their material. The distinctive and marvellous thing about the religion of Israel is, its clear cut monotheism which emerges with Moses, and its high ethical and spiritual tone; which is not fore-shadowed in the enviroring religions which have preceded, nor surpassed in those which have followed.
Outside of Israel, there is no evidence that religious institutions and practices were made the vehicle and exponent of spiritual truths. Thus while archaeology may reveal to us that the religion of Israel was built very largely upon the same foundation as that of other Semitic peoples; it remains to be said, that though built upon the same material foundation, the religion of Israel rose immeasurably above all other religions; and in the hands of its inspired teachers, it became the expression of great spiritual realities such as have no parallel in any other nation on earth.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED

AE... Ancient Egypt (Periodical).
BASOR... Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.
JAOS... Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JPOS... Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society.
PEFQS... Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly statement.

GENERAL

Palestine Map of the principal excavated sites. Compiled by the Palestine Exploration Fund, in PEFQS, Oct., 1932, opposite p.20
W.F. Albright: The Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible, Revell Co., N.Y., 1932
W.F. Albright: "The Archaeology of Western Asia at the Leyden Congress" BASOR. No. 43, Oct., 1931
Millar Burrows: "Palestinian and Syrian Archaeology in 1931, BASOR. No. 47, Oct. 1932
W.M. Flinders Petrie: Seventy Years in Archaeology Low, Marston and Co., London, 1931
S.R. Driver: Modern Research as Illustrating the Bible Oxford Univ. Press, London, 1909
Johs Pedersen: Israel, Its life and Culture, Henry Holt, N.Y., 1913
Adolphe Lods: Israel, from its Beginning to the Middle of the Eighth Century, Alfred Knopf, N.Y., 1932

GEZER

R.A. S. Macalister: Bible Side Lights from the Mound of Gezer,

TELL EL-HESY (Lachish)

W.M. Flinders Petrie: Tell el-Hesy, London, 1890
Frederick J. Bliss: A Mound of Many Cities, London, 1894
W.F. Albright: in BASOR, No. 17, p. 7f.
Bibliography

TELL BEIT MIRSIM (Debir - Kirjath Sepher)

W.F. Albright: The Second Campaign at Tell Beit Mirsim, in BASOR, No. 31, Oct., 1928
W.F. Albright: in BASOR, No. 33, 1929, p. 4f.


W.F. Albright: The Fourth Joint Campaign of Excavation at Tell Beit Mirsim, in BASOR, No. 47, Oct., 1932, pp. 3-17


TELL EL HUSH (Beisan - Beth Shan)

Alan Rowe: "The Discoveries at Beth Shan during the 1926 Season" Museum Journal, Vol. 17, 1927, pp. 2-45
Alan Rowe: "Excavations at Beisan during the 1927 Season. The Two Temples of Thutmes III". PEFQS, April 1928.

G.L. Fitzgerald: "Excavations at Beth Shan in 1931", in PEFQS, July, 1932, pp. 138-142

TELL RAS SHAMRA


J.P. Naish: "The Ras Esh-Shamra Tablets". in PEFQS, July, 1932, pp. 154-163

SAMARIA

J.W. Jack: Samaria in Ahab's Time, Charles Scribner's Sons, N.Y. 1927
ARTICLES

R.A.S. Macalister: "Thirty Years of Palestine Exploration". Exp. Times, Nov. 1921, pp. 87-92