The Song of Deborah

Why Some Tribes Answered the Call and Others Did Not

LAWRENCE E. STAGER

The Song of Deborah (Judges 5) is one of the most powerful pieces of poetry in the entire Bible. A prose version repeats the same story, with many variations, in Judges 4. The account tells of the deliverer (Judge) Deborah and her reluctant general Barak, who do battle against an alliance of Canaanite kings. The story takes place after the Exodus from Egypt and before the institution of the monarchy, during the time we call the settlement period—in Biblical terms, the period of the Judges.

Mt. Tabor. *Neat rows of evergreens march up the mountain where, according to the Biblical account in Judges 4, Deborah's general Barak and 10,000 Israelites routed the Canaanite army.*

The stirring Song of Deborah in Judges 5 names six tribes who answered Deborah's call to arms; it also chastises four tribes who refused to fight the Canaanites. Why did Reuben, Gilead, Dan and Asher stay home? New archaeological evidence from hundreds of Iron Age sites in the Biblical hill country may provide a surprisingly modern answer: economic self-interest. The four tribes probably depended on non-Israelites, including the Canaanites, for their livelihoods.

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From the prose account in Judges 4, we learn that the kings of Canaan are led by Jabin, who is identified as the king of Hazor (Judges 4:2,18,12). Jabin's commander is a man named Sisera (Judges 4:2). The war leader Deborah, who lived and judged in Ephraim, summons Barak of the tribe of Naphtali to muster 10,000 men and engage Sisera in battle at Mt. Tabor. Barak replies that he will respect her summons only if Deborah goes with him. Deborah agrees, but declares that the glory of victory will be denied Barak personally—the enemy commander Sisera will be delivered not into Barak's hands, but into the hands of a woman (Judges 4:4-9). Barak musters 10,000 men of the tribes of Naphtali and Zebulun on Mt. Tabor, and Deborah goes there with him.

Seeing Barak's troops at Mt. Tabor, the Canaanite commander Sisera orders 900 chariots and all his men to the Wadi Kishon, which courses through the Plain of Megiddo (one of its sources begins near the base of Mt. Tabor). There the Canaanites prepare to meet the Israelites.

Deborah then gives the signal to Barak: "Up! This

is the day on which the Lord will deliver Sisera into your hands: The Lord is marching before you" (Judges 4:14, NJV*). Barak charges down Mt. Tabor and triumphs gloriously. Sisera alone escapes. "Sisera leaped from his chariot and fled on foot" (Judges 4:15, NJV).

Sisera arrives at the tent of Heber the Kenite, a friend of King Jabin's and begs for water. Heber's wife Yael (also translated Jael) does better and gives him milk. Sisera falls asleep, exhausted (Judges 4:17-19).

Yael then takes a tent peg and a mallet and, while Sisera sleeps, drives the tent peg through Sisera's temple, killing him (Judges 4:21). When Barak arrives in pursuit, he finds that Yael, a woman, has already slain Sisera (Judges 4:22).

The poetic version of the episode—in Judges 5—is much more cryptic and difficult to follow. It is an archaic poem, composed long before the prose version found in Judges 4. In the New Jewish Version translation of this poem an unusual footnote at the beginning of the poem informs the reader, "In many parts of this poem the meaning is uncertain." This is surely true. Few passages in the Bible have presented more grist for the scholarly mill. But the poem has many passages of soaring beauty and emotionally moving drama, as demonstrated by these excerpts:

"Hear, O kings! Give ear, O potentates!
I will sing, will sing to the Lord,
Will hymn the Lord, the God of Israel.

"O Lord, when You came forth from Seir,
Advanced from the country of Edom,
The earth trembled;
The heavens dripped,
Yea, the clouds dripped water,
The mountains quaked—
Before the Lord, Him of Sinai,
Before the Lord, God of Israel.

"In the days of Shamgar son of Anath,
In the days of Jael [Yael], caravans ceased,
And wayfarers went
By roundabout paths.
Deliverance ceased,
Ceased in Israel,
Till you arose, O Deborah,
Arose, O mother, in Israel!
. . .
Then did the people of the Lord
March down to the gates!
Awake, awake, O Deborah!
Awake, awake, strike up the chant!
Arise, O Barak;
Take you captives, O son of Abinoam!

"Then was the remnant made victor over the mighty,
The Lord's people won my victory over the warriors.
. . .
Then the kings came, they fought:
The kings of Canaan fought
At Taanach, by Megiddo's waters—
They got no spoil of silver.
The stars fought from heaven,
From their courses they fought against Sisera.
The torrent Kishon swept them away,
The raging torrent, the torrent Kishon.

"March on, my soul, with courage!

"Then the horses' hoofs pounded
As headlong galloped the steeds.
. . .
Most blessed of women be Jael [Yael],
Wife of Heber the Kenite,
Most blessed of women in tents.
He asked for water, she offered milk;
In a princely bowl she brought him curds.
Her [left] hand reached for the tent peg,
Her right for the workmen's hammer.
She struck Sisera, crushed his head,
Smashed and pierced his temple.
At her feet he sank, lay outstretched,
At her feet he sank, lay still;
Where he sank, there he lay—destroyed.

"Through the window peered Sisera's mother,
Behind the lattice she whined:
'Why is his chariot so long in coming?
Why so late the clatter of his wheels?'
The wisest of her ladies give answer;
She, too, replies to herself:
'They must be dividing the spoil they have found:
A damsel or two for each man,
Spoil of dyed cloths for Sisera,
Spoil of embroidered cloths,
A couple of embroidered cloths
Round every neck as spoil.'

"So may all Your enemies perish, O Lord!"
Judges 5:3-31 (NJV)

Scholars are agreed that this poetic version of the story is extremely old, one of the two or three oldest passages in the entire Bible. It was composed in the 12th century B.C.[1] George Foote Moore[2] considered it the "only contemporaneous monument of Hebrew history" before the Israelite monarchy.**

Concerning this poem and its prose counterpart, all

* NJV is the New Jewish Version, The Tanakh (1985), a translation of the Hebrew Bible (Old Testament) by the Jewish Publication Society of America. Translations of Bible excerpts in this article not attributed to a particular source are by the author, Lawrence E. Stager.

** While nearly every great Biblical scholar of this century and the last has pondered over the difficult language of this poem, a victory ode that ranks as one of the greatest poems in Semitic literature, no one has succeeded in understanding its overall meaning and significance for the social history of premonarchic Israel as well as George F. Moore (*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Judges*, 1895) and Max Weber (*Ancient Judaism*, 1917-1919, reprinted 1952). The legacy of both will be apparent throughout my discussion. Michael Coogan (endnote 1) has provided a very valuable stylistic analysis and felicitous translation of the Song.

kinds of intriguing questions can be and have been raised—textual questions, literary questions, historical questions, theological questions, moral questions, etc. But I would like to focus here on one specific aspect of the story: Scholars have long noticed that not all of the tribes of Israel answered Deborah's call. Indeed, only six tribes responded; four others stayed home.*

I propose to examine the social organization of the Israelites that permitted this response—and refusal to respond. In so doing, I believe we will better understand the social texture of Israelite society at the time of the Judges.

My synthesis will encompass a number of methodologies and sources of data, providing an example of what could be called the social archaeology of the Bible. This synthesis incorporates archaeological discoveries, ecological and sociological studies, as well as some textual analysis of the Biblical accounts.

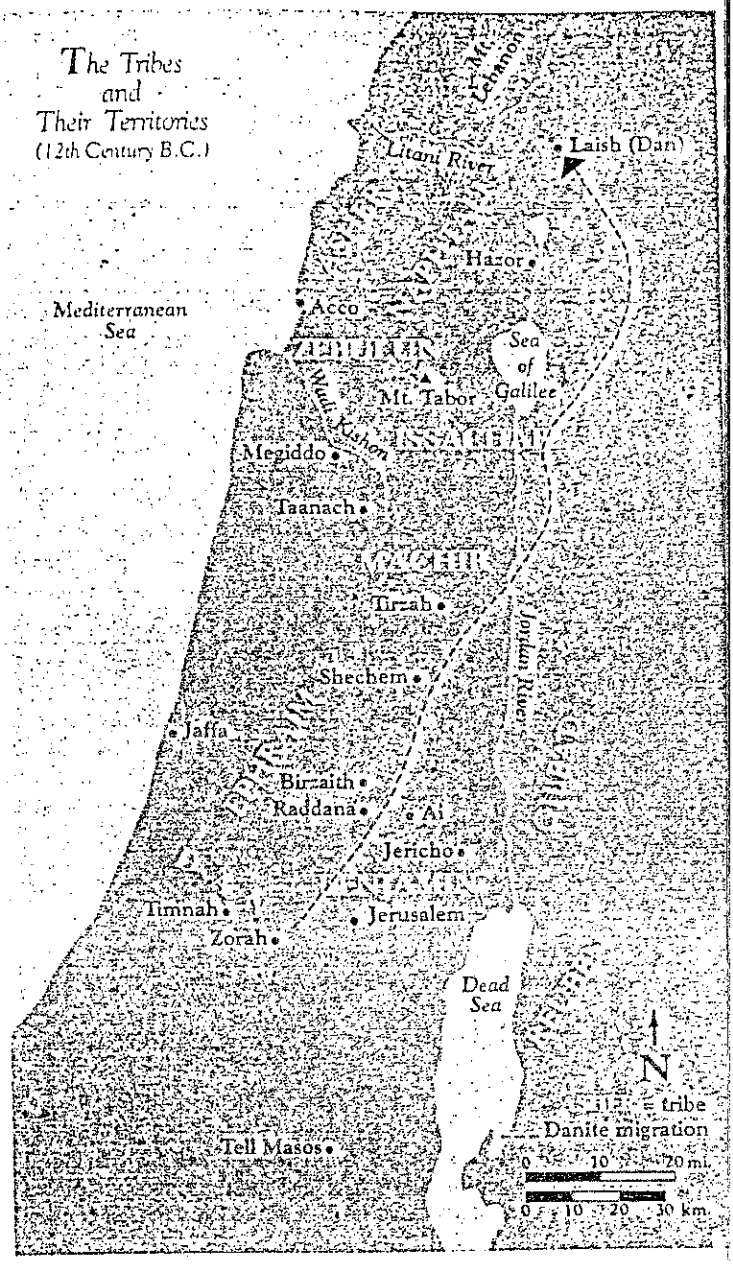
In the later-composed prose account (Judges 4), Barak musters his troops from his own tribe of Naphtali and from the tribe of Zebulun. None of the other tribes is mentioned, either as providing troops or as staying away. In the poetic account, however, the poem dramatically recalls both the tribes who answered the call and those who declined.

First are listed five tribes who responded affirmatively:

> "From *Ephraim* came they whose roots are in Amalek;
> After you, your kin *Benjamin*;
> From *Machir [Manasseh]* came down leaders,
> From *Zebulun* such as hold the marshal's staff.
> And Issachar's chiefs were with Deborah;
> As Barak, so was *Issachar*—
> Rushing after him into the valley."
>
> Judges 5:14-15 (NJV)

Then the poet describes four tribes who refused the call:

> "In the divisions of *Reuben*
> great were the searchings of heart.
> Why did you sit beside the hearths [or sheepfolds]
> listening to pipings for the flocks?
> In the divisions of Reuben
> great were the searchings of heart.
> *Gilead* remained camped beyond the Jordan.
> And *Dan*—why did he linger by the ships?
> *Asher* remained at the seacoast
> And tarried at his landings."
>
> Judges 5:15-17 (NJV)



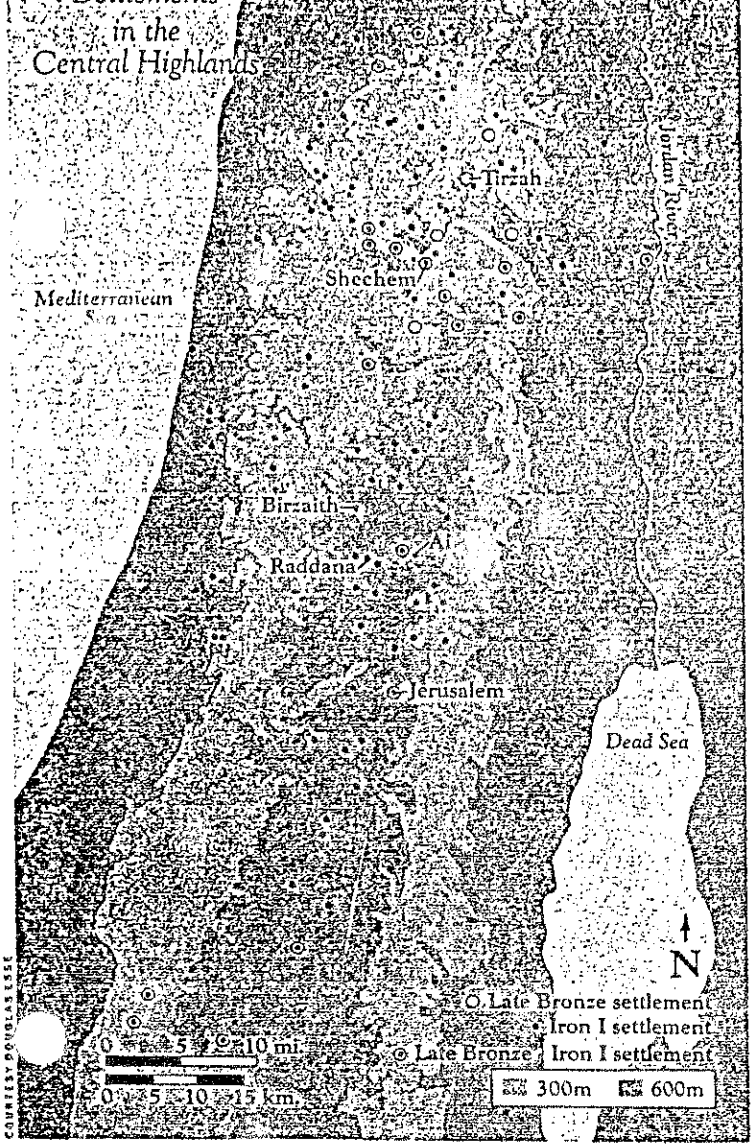
Then the poet mentions Zebulun again and specifically adds Barak's own tribe, Naphtali, bringing to six the number of tribes who responded affirmatively:**

> "*Zebulun* is a people that mocked at death,
> *Naphtali*—on the open heights."
>
> Judges 5:18 (NJV)

To what extent the story of this Canaanite-Israelite war is historical has been much debated. But whether or not it is historically accurate in every detail, the poet, in order to achieve verisimilitude, must have grounded the story in a setting and in circumstances that seemed

* The earliest tribal confederation of which we know may have included only ten tribes rather than the traditional twelve known from sources later than the Song of Deborah. If we assume that Gilead is related to or identical with Gad, and Machir to Manasseh, we still have three tribes missing in the song—Levi, Simeon and Judah. Levi is a special case; it was always a sacerdotal "tribe" similar to a religious order that males from lay tribes could join. Levi is sometimes omitted in later tribal lists. More conspicuous by their absence are Simeon and Judah, the latter especially so, since it is always included in the later tribal lists. It seems likely that "twelve" became the ideal number for the confederation of tribes, but that the number and composition of tribes fluctuated through time with changes in demography and geography. As fusion and fission occurred among clans, some rose to tribal status (perhaps Judah is an example after the 12th century B.C.) while others receded (e.g., Machir, which in later genealogical lists becomes a "son" of Manasseh, now elevated to full tribal status).

** This is in contrast to the account in Judges 4 where Zebulun and Naphtali provided all the Israelite troops.



Settlements in Canaan *proliferated in the early Iron Age, especially on terrain 600 meters or more above sea level. Since this map was drawn, archaeologists have discovered many more Iron I sites in the hill country.*

plausible to the contemporary audience for which the poem was intended. In other words, it must have been plausible to the listeners (assuming the poem was first recited orally) that Ephraim (Deborah's tribe), Benjamin, Machir (later called Manasseh), Zebulun, Issachar and Naphtali answered the call and participated in the Israelites settling in the highlands of Canaan.*

The contrast with the preceding archaeological period (the Late Bronze Age, 1550-1200 B.C.) is striking. Archaeological surveys and excavations have identified some 27 sites in the central hill-country during the Late Bronze Age. In this same area, which became known as the tribal territories of Ephraim and Manasseh, archaeologists Adam Zertal and Israel Finkelstein, as well as others, have found at last count 211 sites dating to Iron I, nearly an eightfold increase.[3]

Although fewer, the settlements in the Late Bronze Age were larger (and thus more urbanized). The Iron Age settlements, by contrast, were often small farming villages. The median size of the Late Bronze settlements was approximately 12 acres; the Iron I settlements, only a little over 2 acres. The difference is substantial.

Of the more than 200 Iron Age sites in Ephraim and Manasseh, 85 percent of them were newly founded settlements; that is, most early Israelite villages were established on previously unoccupied sites.

An overall eightfold increase (23 times in Ephraim; 4.4 times in Manasseh) of settlements in the central hills is such a dramatic increase that it can hardly be ascribed to natural growth within the highland zone itself. More in keeping with natural growth would be the doubling of the population in this same area from Iron I to Iron II. Obviously, a new population has moved into the central hill-country from about 1200 to 1100 B.C. This is entirely consistent with the Biblical record. In Joshua 17:16, the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh complain that they are confined to the highlands, while the Canaanites live in the lowlands. In 1 Kings 20:23, Arameans refer to the God of the Israelites as the "god(s) of the highlands" (*elohei hariym*).

The Israelites' habitation in the highlands is also reflected in the Song of Deborah itself, where the poet frequently refers to the Israelites going down against the Canaanites:

"There they recited the triumphs of Yahweh,
The triumphs of his village tribesmen [*przn*] in Israel.
Then the kindred [literally "people"] of Yahweh
went down against the gates...

* Because this same area becomes the heartland of Israel during the monarchy, with many of the Iron I settlements continuing into Iron II (1000-600 B.C.), it seems logical to conclude that many of the Iron I settlements were also Israelite. In other words, within the general field of survey (more than 550 square miles) many sites have to be Israelite; however, at present it is difficult, if not impossible, to point

Agricultural terraces *at Khirbet Raddana, about ten miles north of Jerusalem. Where Israelites once constructed hillside terraces, farmers today work the land and build terraces using similar methods: Dry-laid stone retaining walls are erected along the outer edge of natural limestone terraces. The walls hold soil in place to create a level area for farming.*

The Israelites settled in the hills because the Canaanites occupied the fertile lowlands. The technique of terracing transformed the economy of these struggling settlers; successful cultivation of the hillsides allowed the Israelites to become self-sufficient and independent.

at Pre-pottery Neolithic 'Ain Ghazal (7000-6000 B.C.) east of the Jordan River. But the important point is that lime plaster was not really necessary to waterproof most of these Iron Age cisterns in the hill country. That is because the bedrock of this region—Cenomanian limestone intercalated with chalks and marls—is impermeable. True, most residential compounds had one or more bell-shaped cisterns located beneath the floor of the house or courtyard, but by no means were they always lined with lime plaster. For example, none of the cisterns at Ai or Raddana was lined with lime plaster. At other sites, lime plaster was necessary as a "waterproofing cement," but local geological conditions must be considered before conclusions can be drawn about the need for waterproofing cisterns with plaster.

As for iron tools, iron did not come into common use in Palestine before the tenth century B.C. Even for this later period, most of the iron artifacts have been found at sites outside the hill country. Moreover, some of the early iron tools were inferior to bronze in hardness.

In short, slope terracing was the crucial technology for the highland villagers. Lime plaster and iron tools were not.

The standard house in the Iron I period was a small rectangular building with two to four rooms entered from an exterior courtyard. (This house plan became even more popular during the Israelite monarchy.) To the right or left of the doorway were piers, or pillars in a row, often with low, thin, curtain walls between them; some of these low walls had built-in mangers or troughs, where animals could feed (see illustrations, pp. 58, 60). The pillars, which carried an upper story, separated the main room from a narrower side room(s). A broad-room, running the width of the building, formed the back end of the house. In the so-called four-room house, the central room is usually depicted in modern drawings as an open courtyard, flanked on three sides by one or two stories of rooms. It seems clear, however, from the position of the rows of pillars and, in one instance, ceiling timbers found in the central room itself, that pillared houses (whether two, three or four rooms in plan) were designed to take a second story; thus a four-room house may, in fact, have had as many as eight rooms. It is, therefore, better to use the term "pillared," rather than the number of rooms (in ground plan) to designate this building type.

At Ai the ceiling beams were 5.2 feet above the

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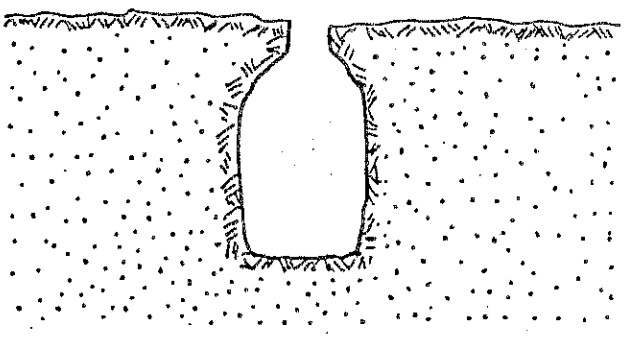

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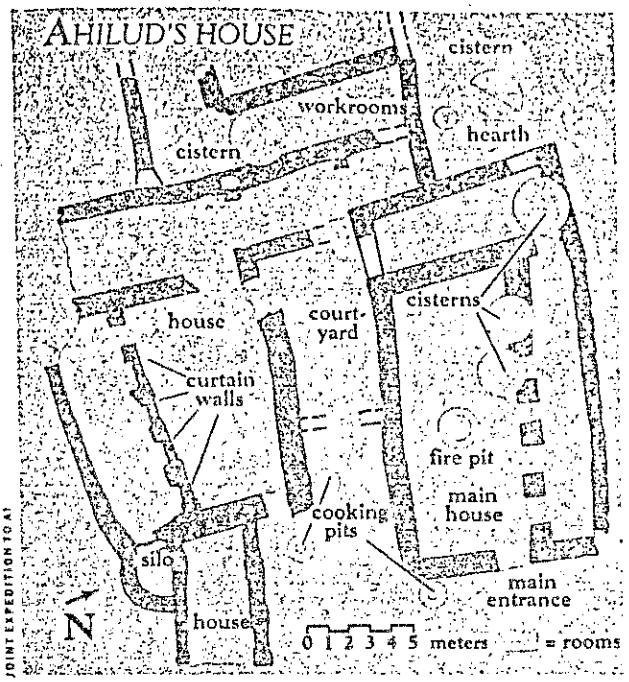
Household cistern. *Cap still in place, this cistern (top) set into the floor of an Iron Age I house at Ai remained undisturbed for nearly 3,000 years—until it was excavated by American archaeologist Joseph Callaway in the 1960s. Bell-shaped in design (drawing, above), this cistern was carved from bedrock. In the Ai region, bedrock is a combination of two types of impermeable stone, both of which are distinctly visible here: thin layers of hard Cenomanian limestone at the bottom of the cistern, and a thick layer of Senonian chalk at the top.*

Beneath two houses at Ai, a network of interconnected cisterns gave the extended family living there an abundant supply of stored rainwater (see plan, p. 58). The pioneering Israelites introduced cistern building to the area on a widespread basis, as they did agricultural terraces.



Home to an extended family. *This small cluster of rooms (opposite) at Khirbet Raddana, about four miles west of Ai, is really a multiple-family compound.*

Just behind the workman in the photo is the largest room of the main house, separated by a row of four pillars from a long narrow room, far right. Originally, these pillars supported a second story. To the left of the largest room is a courtyard. Sometime after this photo was taken, the areas to the left and in front of the main house and the mound of debris behind it were also excavated and a plan (left) of the complex was drawn.

The plan shows the locations of cisterns beneath the bedrock floors. In the narrow openings of these bell-shaped cisterns, large rocks set into the floors served as caps. Workrooms extend behind the three-house cluster. Here members of the family made tools from metal melted in the hearth in the far north workroom, upper right. Archaeologists discovered daggers, chisels, spearpoints and axe heads, which the household made for their own use and for other members of the community.

floor.* Such beams would have been a constant headache to inhabitants much over five feet, but human comfort was probably not a primary consideration in building these side rooms, since many of them were designed and used as domestic stables—for sheep and goats, donkeys and cattle, especially the "fatted," or "stall-fed" calf known from Old and New Testaments (for example, 1 Samuel 28:24; Psalms 50:9; Amos 6:4; and Luke 15:23-27)."**

At other sites—for example, Atar Haro'a in the Negev—ceiling heights were between 5.5 feet and 6.5 feet, far more compatible with human stature of the period, allowing for ample clearance.

These Iron I dwellings are so small that they could have housed only a nuclear family—a father, mother and children. However, these houses—for example, those at Raddana, Ai and Tell Masos†—were built in clusters. The clusters or compounds typically included two or three individual houses, each one either completely independent or linked to another unit by one or two common walls. Each house, nevertheless, had a separate entrance, usually approached through a shared open courtyard. The compounds themselves are separated from one another by streets, paths or stone enclosure walls. Each compound probably housed multiple or extended families.

Modern ethnography, although describing a family unit in a 20th-century Arab village, probably accurately describes the family relationships in an Israelite dwelling compound of the 12th century B.C. In the Arab village built at the site of ancient Bethel, an ethnographer described the *za'ila* or "joint family" as follows:

> "It consists of the father, mother, and unwed children as well as the wedded sons and their wives and children, unwed paternal aunts, and sometimes even unwed paternal uncles. In short this unit is composed of blood relatives plus women who were brought into the kinship through marriage. Large as it may be, this unit tends to occupy one dwelling or a compound of dwellings built close together or often attached to one another. It is an economic as well as a social unit and is governed by the grandfather or the eldest male. The joint family normally dissolves upon the death of the grandfather. The land, which until then had been held by the grandfather, is divided among the heirs, and the male children separate, each to become the nucleus of a new *za'ila*."[8]

Authority over the household resided with the *pater familias*, who in the case of a three-generation family would be the grandfather. Sometimes, even after their father's death, married brothers and their families would continue to live in the same compound as a single household working together cooperatively; in this case, the older brother would usually become the head of the household.

The architecture of the Iron I agricultural villages reflects the social structure referred to in the Bible. The individual male (*geber*) with his nuclear family lived in a single dwelling. The compound housed the extended household (*bayit*) or small patrilineage (*beit 'ab*), literally "house of one's father."

Several related lineages made up the *mishpakhah*—

* Joseph A. Callaway, "A Visit with Ahilud," BAR, September/October 1983.

** In contrast to the central room, the stable side-rooms never had hearths, ovens or cisterns. At Iron I settlements not built directly on bedrock, the floors of the central room were frequently plastered; the side rooms were usually paved with flagstones. At Ai the side rooms were sometimes entered through small, arched passageways no higher than 2.6 feet, suitable only for sheep, goats and smaller animals. For the criteria established for stables in both public and domestic contexts, see the definitive study by John S. Holladay, Jr., "The Stables of Ancient Israel: Functional Determinants of Stable Construction and the Interpretation of Pillared Building Remains of the Palestinian Iron Age," in *The Archaeology of Jordan and Other Studies* (Siegfried Horn Festschrift), eds. Lawrence T. Geraty and Lawrence Herr (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews Univ., 1986).

† Aharon Kempinski, "Israelite Conquest or Settlement? New Light from Tell Masos," BAR, September 1967.

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the much larger "family," or clan. A group of clans or *mishpakhot* composed a tribe (*shevet* or *matteh*).

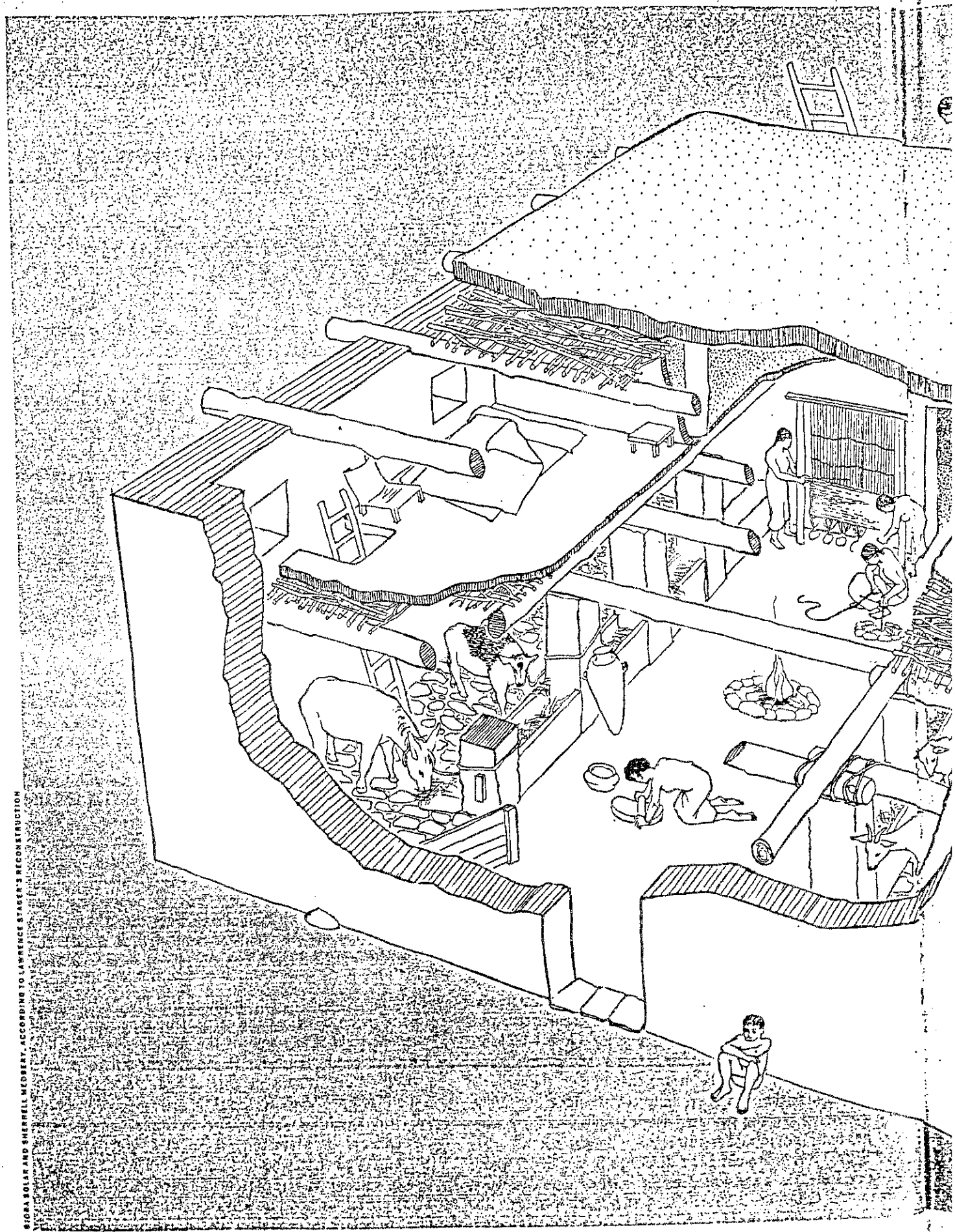
The most inclusive grouping was the *'am* or "people," more appropriately translated "kindred," which in the case of earliest Israel was known as the *'am Yhwh*, the "kindred of Yahweh" (Judges 5), and as the "tribes of Israel" (*shivtei Yisrael*) or "sons of Israel" (*benei-Yisrael*). The "sons of Israel" was simply the family writ large. In other words, Israelites considered themselves one very big family or kin group, whether there were actual blood ties or not. At the head of this "family" was God the father.

Kinship language provides the key to most major concepts not only in the Hebrew Bible but also in the New Testament. In one of the most often cited, but seldom understood, passages from the Gospel of John (14:2), Jesus says: "In my father's house are many mansions," by which he means that in God the father's household (the multiple family compound; *oikia* = *beit 'ab*/*'abba*) are many houses (single family dwellings): The heavenly household is patterned after the earthly one.

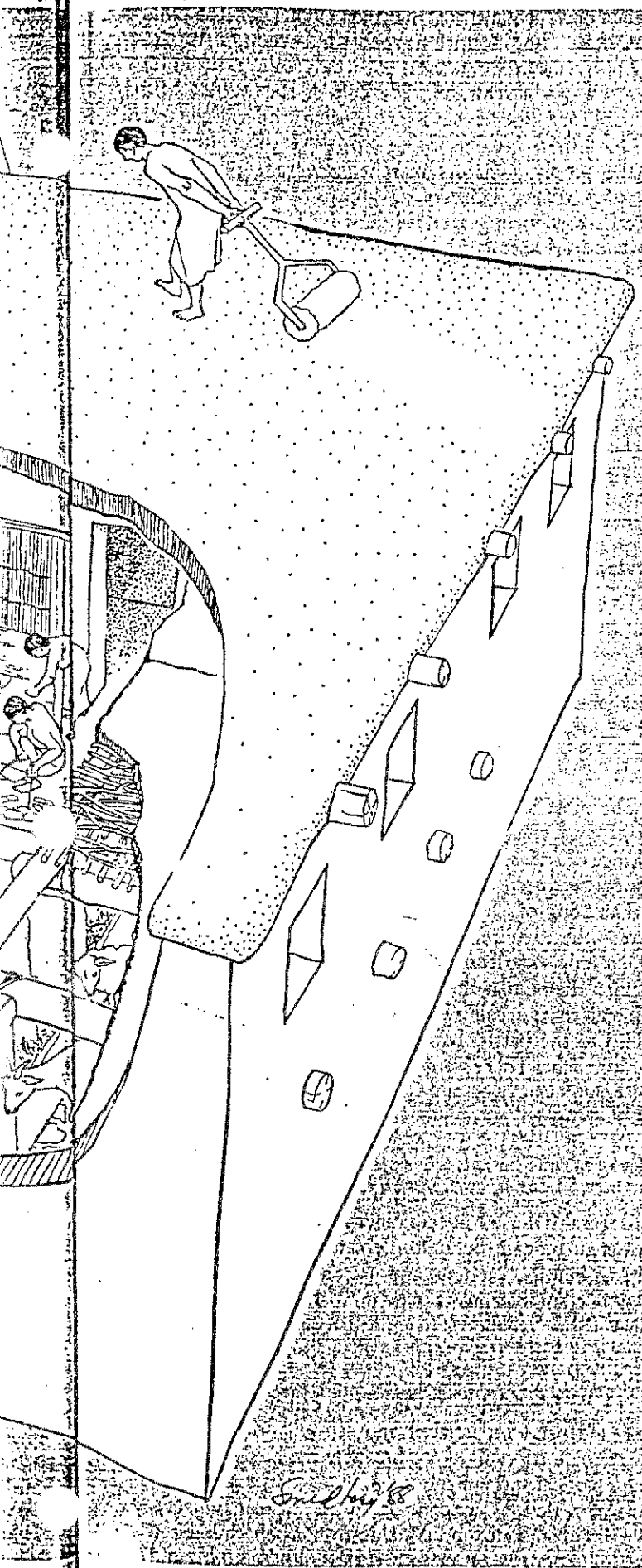
In the Israelite conquest described in the Bible, when the Israelites were unsuccessful in their initial assault on Ai (after their success at Jericho), they sought to identify—apparently by lot—the sinner who was responsible for their defeat at Ai. This process ultimately produced an individual, Achan, who was found to have violated the proscription against taking booty after the destruction of Jericho. To identify Achan, first the "tribe" (*shevet* or *matteh*) was chosen—Judah. Then the "clan" (*mishpakhah*)—Zerah. Then the "house" or lineage (*bayit*)—Zabdi. Finally, the "individual" (*geber*)—Achan! (Joshua 7).

The small Israelite village was no doubt organized along kinship lines. Compound names of early Israelite villages, such as the "Hill of Saul" (*gib'at shaul*), the "Diadem of the House of Joab" (*'atrot beit yo'ab*), or the "Enclosure of Addar" (*khatzar 'addar*), reveal something about the kin groups there: The first element in the name describes the settlement type; the second element yields the name of the founding families and later the leading lineage or lineages in the village.

Even more telling in this regard are genealogies, which often serve as social charters for kin-based societies such as Israel. For example, among the descendants of Manasseh was a great-great-grandson named Zelophehad who had no sons but five daughters, one of whom was Tirzah (see Numbers 26:29-34; Joshua 17:3). Tirzah is not just a person but also a place—in fact, a one-time capital of the northern kingdom of



SIORA SOLAR AND SHERRELL MEDBERY, ACCORDING TO LAWRENCE STAGER'S RECONSTRUCTION



Iron Age Pillared House

The typical Israelite house in the Iron I period (c. 1200-1000 B.C.), and in later Biblical times as well, was home to both people and animals. About 50 feet long and 30 feet wide, on the average, it was a small house, but designed for efficiency.

The flat roof, made of earth and chalk, could be tamped down with a roller, as demonstrated, after the rainy season.

In the central, main room, food was prepared, often using ingredients stored in the pantry, or broadroom, at the back of the house. Here, a woman grinds grain, using upper and lower rubbing stones, after having readied a fire on the hearth in the middle of the room. Water could be drawn from the cistern hewn into the bedrock below the tamped-earth floor. To the left of the entrance to the broadroom, another domestic chore, weaving, is performed on a vertical loom.

The ground-floor side rooms provided plenty of stable space for the family's livestock, which was probably brought into the house at night. In winter, warmth radiating from the animals up to the second floor, where the family ate and slept, would have provided an effective, if malodorous, heating system. Upstairs, a bedroll for sleeping has been prepared.

Paving stones in the side rooms allowed secure footing as urine seeped into the earth below and between the stones. On the left, between the front wall and the first stone pillar, the artist has drawn a wooden gate. Between the other stone pillars, which separated the central room from the side stables, low curtain walls kept the animals in their place. Some of these curtain walls had built-in mangers. With the discovery of these ground-floor stables and curtain-wall mangers, we have a new and vivid understanding of the Biblical references to the "fatted" or "stall-fed" calf.

In fact, Luke must have had these mangers in mind when he said that Mary "brought forth her firstborn son, and wrapped him in swaddling clothes, and laid him in a manger; because there was no room for them in the inn" (Luke 2:7). The first Christmas was very likely not located in a barn or cave, as creche scenes usually depict, but in a farmhouse in Bethlehem that may have looked a lot like this house.

Israel, now securely identified with Tell el-Farah (north) and excavated by Père Roland de Vaux.

Similarly with Birzaith, which appears among the "sons" of Asher in the genealogical list found in 1 Chronicles 7:31. This person-lineage-place name can be none other than the Iron Age settlement located beneath modern Bir ez-Zeit, about 15 miles north of Jerusalem. At some point, clans from the tribe of Asher, in territory near Acco, migrated south into the central hill-country and established themselves there, much as some of the Danites migrated to the north.

Shechem was a descendant of Manasseh, who lent his name to a town and district. In fact, the famous Samaria ostraca,* dated to the reign of Jeroboam II (786-746 B.C.) indicate that many of the "sons" and "daughters" (lineages and clans) of Manasseh still peopled the districts around Samaria in the eighth century B.C.

Each village probably had its own council of elders (*zeqeniym*). In 1 Samuel 16:4, for example, the "elders of Bethlehem" go out to meet Samuel. (See also 1 Samuel 11:3 and 30:26-31.) The council of elders was probably chosen from among the heads of household of the more prominent lineages of the village.

From these village councils of elders, the most prominent members were no doubt co-opted to serve on regional or clan councils, and so on up the segmentary ladder of representation.

As we have noted, the livestock in the villages consisted primarily of sheep and goats. The agricultural products were largely cereals—wheat and barley, although a few settlements engaged in vine and olive tree cultivation. The latter produced "cash crops"—wine and olive oil—which tend to propel the economy toward trade links with the outside world and toward dependency on interregional or even international exchange networks. But vine and olive tree cultivation was relatively rare in these Iron I villages.

The Israelites' mountain habitat as well as continued hostilities toward the peoples of the plains, whether Canaanites, Egyptians or Sea Peoples (including the Philistines), fostered what has been called an *économie locale*, or local small-scale economy.

Moreover, the investment in permanent quarters and pioneered land in the hills promoted independence and isolation from surrounding complementary regions, especially the "bread baskets" of the coastal plains and broad valleys.

A modern anthropologist, William R. Polk, has described the independent villagers of Mt. Lebanon in language that is probably equally applicable to their ancient counterparts among the Israelite settlers in the hill country:

> "Throughout history, the natural barrier of the mountains defended the inhabitants. [Mt.] Lebanon became a refuge for such religious and ethnic minorities as the Druze and Maronites. The independent mountaineers stand in stark contrast to the humbled peasants of the Biqa Valley or the Nile Delta. The mountains provided men with the opportunity for freedom, and they realized it during much of their history. The cult of the warrior, the notion of independence of the clan, the village, and the district became integral parts of the culture of the people. Villagers marched to war under their village flags. Villagers as groups drove away tax collectors during extended periods of modern history. And perhaps most important, they were able to develop a permanence in habitation and mores which was impossible for the more exposed lowland peasant."[9]

The mountain areas are traditionally "the country of small peasant proprietors, poor but free, devoting their lives to producing all their needs from their land."[10]

The striking contrasts between the hills and the plains are highlighted continually by the archaeology of Palestine in the Iron I period, as the wealth of Canaanite and Sea Peoples material culture is compared with the poverty of the highland settlements of the Israelites.

Despite their independence and economic self-sufficiency (a condition scholars refer to as autarky), however, these highland villages forged significant bonds with one another, thereby creating larger and larger sociopolitical orders. The Song of Deborah itself requires us to assume tribal and even supratribal orders that extended not only to the highlands but even to their kin in the valleys and plains.

The most inclusive tribal grouping in premonarchic Israel was the confederation, a loosely structured alliance of tribes reinforced by religion and activated for mutual defense.

The Song of Deborah depicts a ten-tribe confederation—the "kindred (or people) of Yahweh"—out of which only six tribes actively participated in the battle against the Canaanites. Those tribes who failed to respond to the call suffered the scorn of those who rallied to the battle, but they could not be coerced to join the fight. There were times when "ethnic" bonding did not prevail over more compelling realities, such as those non-tribal economic and political alignments that, as we shall see, caused Dan, Asher, Reuben and Gilead/Gad to sit out the battle.

In short, I believe we can understand the responses to Deborah's muster in economic terms—the tribes who answered the call (Ephraim, Benjamin, Machir [Manasseh], Zebulun, Naphtali and Issachar) had far fewer economic entanglements with non-Israelites than those tribes whose livelihoods depended to a large extent on maritime trade (Dan and Asher) or on specialized pastoralism (Reuben and probably Gilead).

The six tribes who answered the call were economically independent, isolated and self-reliant. The areas where these tribes lived are precisely the areas in which archaeological surveys and, to some extent, excavations have revealed a concentration of Iron I villages. Ephraim, Benjamin and Machir (Manasseh) inhabited the hill country of central Palestine; Zebulun and

* Ostraca (singular, ostracon) are inscribed potsherds.

Naphtali, the hilly Galilee.

The location of the tribal territory of Issachar during the Iron I period is uncertain. Its traditional territory in Lower Galilee, between Mt. Tabor and the Sea of Galilee, was not densely occupied until about 1000 B.C., according to the survey of Zvi Gal.[11] Gal suggests that in the 12th-11th centuries B.C. Issachar may also have been part of the central hill-country population. This would accord well with the Song of Deborah:*

"Issachar's chiefs were with Deborah;
As Barak, so was Issachar—
Rushing after him into the valley."

Judges 5:15 (NJV)

A closer examination of the economic circumstances of the tribes of Reuben and Gilead/Gad will explain why they failed to follow Barak.

In contrast to the tribes who answered the call, who were for the most part small-village agriculturists, Reuben and Gilead/Gad, who sat out the battle, were pastoralists—large herders, specializing in sheep and goats. Both Reuben and Gilead/Gad were well known for their large herds, as Numbers 32:1 reflects:

"Now the Reubenites and the Gadites had a very large number of livestock, and they saw the land of Jazer and the land of Gilead, and behold, the place was cattle country [that is, a grazing range]."

The pastoralist vocation of Reuben and Gilead/Gad is also reflected in the Song of Deborah itself:

"In the divisions of Reuben
great were the searchings of heart.
Why did you sit beside the hearths [or sheep-folds],
listening to pipings for the flocks?
In the divisions of Reuben
great were the searchings of heart.
Gilead remained camped beyond the Jordan."

Judges 5:15-17

Why does it make a difference that the tribes who answered the call were village agriculturists, while Reuben and Gilead/Gad were herders? We have already analyzed the economic independence and self-reliance of the hill-country farmers. Can't the same be said for seminomadic pastoralists? The answer is no, as modern scholars are discovering (or perhaps I should say rediscovering).

The image of nomads and seminomads as self-sufficient, independent and solitary denizens of the desert or steppes is a mirage of 19th- and early 20th-century scholarship that has now been thoroughly refuted. Nomads and pastoralists are not autarkic; they are not economically self-sufficient. As Anatoly M. Khazanov has noted in his magisterial synthesis *Nomads and the Outside World*, their "specialized pastoral economy, in contrast to the economy of many comparable forms of agriculture, itself cannot provide even all of the immediate requirements of nomads."[12]

The limited division of labor within the pastoralist economy makes herders dependent on farmers and townspeople not only for many food products, but also for handicrafts and other items of their material culture. Trade is essential for any type of nomadism, and pastoralists are in much greater need of it than agriculturists.[13]

In this understanding of pastoral nomadism, late 20th-century scholars are in fact rediscovering what the great 14th-century Arab historian, and the first sociologist, Ibn Khaldûn understood very well. In his classic *Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, Ibn Khaldûn observed that:

"desert civilization is inferior to urban civilization, because not all the necessities of civilization are to be found among the people of the desert. They do have some agriculture at home but do not possess the materials that belong to it, most of which [depend on] crafts. They have . . . milk, wool, [camel's] hair, and hides, which the urban population needs and pays the Bedouins money for. However, while [the Bedouins] need the cities for their necessities of life, the urban population needs [the Bedouins] for conveniences and luxuries."[14]

Accordingly, the pastoralist economy of Reuben and Gilead/Gad was inextricably intertwined with sedentary populations, leaving these two tribes far less independent than their fellow tribesmen in the hills, whose mixed economy of farming and herding made them far more economically independent. The hill-country farmers had less to lose by going to battle than their pastoralist cousins did.

Dan and Asher, who also failed to respond to the muster, present different issues. According to the Song of Deborah, they were both seafaring tribes.

The verse about the Asherites, as we shall see, is clear-cut and presents few problems. Not so the verse about the Danites. Traditionally, this verse has been translated: "And Dan, why did he abide [*yagur*] with the ships?"

The word translated "abide" (*yagur*) is related to the word *ger*, commonly translated "sojourner," "stranger," "resident alien" or the like.

As W. Robertson Smith pointed out almost a century ago, *ger* has its origin in kinship terminology: "The *ger* was a man of another tribe or district who, coming to sojourn in a place where he was not strengthened by the presence of his own kin, put himself under the protection of a clan or a powerful chief."[15]

All scholars are agreed that the Danites never controlled the territory assigned to them in Joshua 19:40-48, which reached as far as Joppa on the Mediterranean coast. Ultimately, the Danites moved to the north, inland, where they conquered the Canaanite

* In the poetic account of Judges 5, the Israelite tribesmen descended upon the Canaanites from the highlands in general, not from Mt. Tabor in particular. Perhaps it was the specific mention of Mt. Tabor and the location of Barak's home in Kedesh-Naphtali in Judges 4, but not in the Song of Deborah (Judges 5), that led to the reduction of the tribes who participated in the battle to just two—the Galilean contingents of Zebulun and Naphtali, tribes already in the north.

city of Laish and renamed it Dan.* But before their move, the "Amorites pressed the Danites back into the hill country" (Judges 1:34, RSV). In this period, the Danites were *gerim*, a client-tribe under the patronage of the possessors of the land, without any landed patrimony (*nakhalah*). As we read in Judges 18:1: "In those days the tribe of Danites were seeking *nakhalah* [landed inheritance, tribal territory, patrimony] in which to settle, for to that day no *nakhalah* had fallen to them among the tribes of Israel."

In light of this background, I would translate the verse about Dan in the Song of Deborah as follows: "And Dan, why did he serve as a client on ships?"

In this translation, *yagur* has the meaning "to serve as a client," as a *ger*, rather than the traditional translation of *yagur* as "abide."

By "client," I mean an economic dependent attached to a patron, a kind of economic ward.

If this translation is correct, then we may conclude that at least enough Danites had been hired or pressed into service by the shipowners or shipping companies on the coast in the Jaffa region to inspire this saying about them. Who their patrons were we cannot be sure. If the saying dates to the period before the Sea Peoples had settled on the coast, then the shipowners were probably Canaanites. If this description applies to some time after 1175 B.C., then the Danite patrons were one of the Sea Peoples, probably the Philistines. Whatever the exact date, however, there would seem to be little doubt that the Danites were "clients on ships," presumably while still in the south.

As we know from Judges 1:31-32, Asher "dwelt among the Canaanites" in the Acco region on the Mediterranean coast. Nestled in the hills of western Galilee, in territory traditionally ascribed to Asher (Joshua 19:24-31), Rafi Frankel has recently located a number of small Iron I villages or hamlets, which he plausibly associates with the Asherites.[16] These villages in the hills overlook, and have easy access to, the rich maritime Plain of Acco. From their territorial homeland, tribesmen from Asher may have commuted to work as agricultural laborers on Canaanite estates in the plain or as seamen and dockworkers at the port of Acco. Whatever the case, these new discoveries give vivid meaning to the saying in the Song of Deborah: "Asher remained at the seacoast and over its inlets dwelt" (Judges 5:17).

The reluctance of Dan and Asher to join the highlanders in this war against the Canaanites seems more understandable in light of their economic dependence on non-Israelite groups in the maritime trade. Like Reuben and Gilead/Gad, Dan and Asher had ties to non-Israelites that proved stronger than those that bound them to their tribal confederation.

It is a tribute to the poet who composed the victory ode we call the Song of Deborah that he or she did not conceal the realities of the situation by portraying a united front against the enemy; but nevertheless the four reluctant tribes who failed to answer the call were only chided, not cursed.

The enigmatic and otherwise unknown group of Meroz is cursed for failing to join the Israelites in this battle:

> " 'Curse Meroz!' said the messenger of Yahweh,
> 'Bitterly curse its inhabitants,
> Because they came not to the aid of Yahweh,
> To the aid of Yahweh against the warriors.' "
>
> Judges 5:23

In contrast to Meroz, however, the Israelite tribes who declined to respond to the muster are only chided for remaining aloof from the fray with the Canaanites. Perhaps the poet recognized the ameliorating economic circumstances in the predicament of the Israelite tribes who sat out the battle.

(For further details, see Lawrence E. Stager, "The Archaeology of the Family in Ancient Israel," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 260 (1985) and "Archaeology, Ecology and Social History: Background Themes to the Song of Deborah," in *Vetus Testamentum* Supplement, vol. 40, ed. John A. Emerton (Leiden: Brill, 1988), pp. 221-234.

* See Hershel Shanks's interview, "Avraham Biran—Twenty Years of Digging at Tel Dan," BAR, July/August 1987; and John C. H. Laughlin, "The Remarkable Discoveries at Tel Dan," BAR, September/October 1981.

[1] William F. Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1968), p. 13; Roland de Vaux, *The Early History of Israel* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1978), pp. 794-796; Michael D. Coogan, "A Structural and Literary Analysis of the Song of Deborah," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 40 (1978), pp. 143-166, who suggests the 11th century B.C. as the latest possible date of the Song.

[2] George F. Moore, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Judges* (New York: Charles Scribner's, 1895), p. 133.

[3] For the most up-to-date survey statistics, see Israel Finkelstein, *The Archaeology of the Israelite Settlement* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1988), parts I-II or pp. 25-234.

[4] C.H.J. de Geus, "The Importance of Archaeological Research into the Palestinian Agricultural Terraces with an Excursus on the Hebrew Word *gbi*," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 107 (1975), pp. 65-74.

[5] Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine* (Baltimore, MD: Penguin, 1960), p. 113.

[6] John Bright, *A History of Israel* (Philadephia: Westminster, 2nd ed., 1974), p. 213; J. Maxwell Miller, "The Israelite Occupation of Canaan," in *Israelite and Judaean History*, ed. J.H. Hayes and Miller (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1977) pp. 255-257; Norman K. Gottwald, *The Tribes of Yahweh: A Sociology of the Religion of Liberated Israel 1250-1050 B.C.E.* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1979), pp. 655-656.

[7] de Geus, "The Importance of Archaeological Research," p. 69.

[8] Abdulla M. Lutfiyya, *Baytin, A Jordanian Village: A Study of Social Institutions and Social Change in a Folk Community* (The Hague, Netherlands: Mouton, 1966), pp. 142-143.

[9] William R. Polk, *The Opening of South Lebanon, 1788-1840: A Study of the Impact of the West on the Middle East* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1963), p. 8.

[10] Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, 2 vol. (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), pp. 74-75.

[11] Zvi Gal, "The Settlement of Issachar: Some New Observations," *Tel Aviv* 9 (1982), pp. 79-86.

[12] Anatoly M. Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World*, tr. J. Crookenden (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1984), p. 70.

[13] Khazanov, *Nomads*, pp. 202-205.

[14] Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, tr. F. Rosenthal; abridged and edited by N.J. Dawood (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 1967), p. 122.

[15] W. Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites* (New York: Appleton, 1889), pp. 75-76.

[16] Rafi Frankel's survey is cited in Finkelstein, *Archaeology of the Israelite Settlement*, p. 97 (see note 3 above).

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10 September 1990

To Increase Our Understanding

1. What was written
   The people it was written to understood; things were written in a manner that the audience understood. **Jonah 3:5** Understand this in the historical context, be aware of the cultural focus
2. We need to expand on the information in the Bible.
   Analogy - The Bible is like a laser, it has a very narrow focus on the history of Israel. We find out more information about other nations as it relates to Israel. **I Kings 20:31 v.32** Why ropes on head? pictured slaves, showing that they were servants to him **v.33** why chariot? on one level, one thought, treating him as equal **v.42** God brought punishment on Ahab. **I Kings 22:1** during the three years, outside secular history sources say that the Aramians and the Assyrians had a major battle. Secular history can help us to expand our understanding.

Four Different Fields of Study

1. Geography
   TRADE ROUTES, which are governed by geography. Whoever controlled these affected Israel. We cannot separate the Bible from its environs.
2. Archaeology
   Not an exact science, the results must be used carefully
3. Comparative Literature
   Amos 1:3 ie. the last one mentioned is the most important in comparative literature. Israel is listed 8th, therefore, it is the worse. <Today, the first one would be the worst>
4. Philology
   A study of the structure of the languages (1929 Ras Sharma, Ugaritic cuneiform tablets). **Deut 33:29** high places - banot (pl) bana (s) can also mean neck or back. **Joshua 10:22-24**

Geography

1. Plains
2. Shepelah -- name of hilly areas of Palestine (just out of planes)
   ie. Valley of Jeziron -- links the Sea to the Jordan Valley
3. Mountain regions -- by the Dead Sea and Sea of Galilee
4. Rift Valley
5. Negeb

12 September 1990

Trade Routes

Routes between Egypt and Mesopotamia were up the Coast of Canaan.
The Kings Highway was East of the Jordan River.
Via Maris (Latin - The Way of the Sea) was the Coastal Trade Route.

Kingdoms: Basham, Gilead, Ammon, Moab, Edom
Keep in mind the areas of the trade routes.

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Archaeology

As a discipline, archaeology has affected biblical studies, especially in the past 150 years. We have to appreciate the contributions and limitations. Archaeology states with a premise: "We think that this is here." Money is often a problem; they are always trying to convince the sponsors that they are accomplishing something. Archaeology is more an art than a science. The question arises how do you interpret the find. The Interpretation of a material recovered at a site is enormous. This is the real work of an Archaeologist.

Problems of Archaeology

1. Lack of written material. Written material is very scarce.
   a. Papyrus - rots, not very good, very remote chance of finding
   b. Clay Tablets - very good find
   c. Vellum/Parchment - have a limited life, fair
   d. Pottery
   e. Metal/Coinage - 6th century BC
   f. Stones

   Written material is very useful. It provides the values of a people and things of great importance.
2. Limited Amount of Evidence

   On a tell (a man-made hill, city 15 acres, outside 50 acres) only 1/10,000 is excavated. Only 4% of an excavation is intense. Toponym - a name for a place
3. Complications
   a. The arrangement of the tell is not like a layer cake. This can lead to erroneous conclusions.
   b. Original material can decay/decompose.
   c. Often stone is in short supply, therefore stones are re-used.
   d. Toponym do not always use the same methods, some are very exact, others are slap happy.
4. Pottery: Why Important, Assumptions, Problems

   There is an assumption that the same potter is used everywhere in the whole region. Pottery is a very common ingredient; invaders take the quality items. An identical design/pottery automatically assigns the date of the first one to the second one. ie. I.E. Lachish -- Judea, was the last city destroyed by Senacherib. Lachish II 587 BC destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, Lachish III destroyed by Senacherib in 701 BC. The problem of pottery types can come unstuck, avoid being too hasty.

Conclusions are rarely final.
Be fair to the evidence -- don't twist it.
Toponym often want to be accepted by their peers.

17 September 1990

Masoretic text - the Hebrew text used as the main base for English translations.

Chronology

Gen 11:32 Abraham, from Ur which is near the Persian Gulf, went to Haran (paused here for awhile) in Syria. Both of these cities were involved in moon worship. He then went to Canaan.

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Acts 7:2 Abraham was in Mesopotamia to Haran then to Canaan after his father died.

Gen 12:4 Abraham departed from Haran at the age of 75 when Terah died (at age of 205)
Gen 13:17 Hebrew brith word for covenant, occurs 14 times (2 X 7)
Gen 17:26 Emphasis on same day, Abraham made a covenant with God
Gal 3:16 v.17 law was given 430 years later, but it does not annul the covenant
Ex 12:40 sojourned 430 years, not all in Egypt, includes the time in Canaan. **v.41 Gen 17:26** "same day"

1443 BC Exodus
1873 BC Abraham circumcised
1972 BC Abraham born
1797 BC Abraham dies
1397 BC Israel inherits the land 400 years later **Gen 15:13**

Gen 12:6 Sichem later Neopolis built there [today Nablus]
Mt. Ebally Mt. Garzen can see a piece of each of the 12 tribal areas

ca 1890 BC Abraham goes to Egypt
1897 to 1878 BC Sesotiris II (Senwasent II) 12 dynasty, could be the Pharaoh in **Gen 12**

The luni-solar calendar is the Mesopotamia calendar

Joshua 24 Israel was reminded of what their origins were.
Gen 13:14 Abraham identifies (considers himself) himself as a Hebrew (which means to cross over a river), could be related to Eber also because also means crossed over a River. Abraham became a Jew.

Ur: the time of Abraham was the 3rd dynasty of Ur.
Samaritan renaissance
Other Akkadians

1900 BC Elamites destroy Ur, subdued it.

Lugal -- a Prince in charge of an area, but not absolute power, he ruled with a council.
Scribes -- very important men, in charge of the uniforms

Our calendar is very similar to the one in use at that time.

Ziggeuraut -- a mountain type temple, "the hill of heaven", a standard of every Mesopotamian City

Lunate earrings (shaped like moons) were found when excavated. **Gen 35:4** earrings were idolatry, possibly a charm or idol and had to be put away.

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Sesotris II was probably the Pharaoh when Abraham was in Egypt.

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Abraham came from Ur.

Ur
Ur Nammu was the ruler of Ur from 2007 to 1989 BC, prior to Abraham's birth. The city was on the decline when Abraham was born. The ziggeraut of Ur was dedicated to Sin, one of the names of the moon god.

Nahna -- god connected to the worship of Venus (Friday).

Historicity of the Patriarchs

Wellhausen (from Germany); at one time many believed that the scriptures were created by the writers.
K.A. Kitchen; as we keep digging, we find out more and more.
John Bright History of Israel; the story of the patriarchs fit the culture, history, the practice of the times.
William Albright; there is little doubt about their essential historicity

Particular Discoveries
City of Mari - eclipsed by Babylon by Hamurabi, when it was excavated the name of Abraham and Yacoub-el was found.
Kirkeke (p.58) in the area of Nuzu, 2,000 clay tablets were found, called the Nuzu tablets. The people represented were called Hureons. The practice of their lives parallels that of the patriarchs.

p.39 Essays of Patriarchal Heritages

Gen 15:2 it was standard practice of that day to adopt a servant for an heir; Abraham took Eliezer of Damascus as his heir
Gen 16:1 another common, practical way of dealing with the problem in their day; Hagar and Sarah
Gen 29:24 if the wife is barren, the maid can bear a child and it will be the heir.
Gen 30:3 "She shall bear a child on my knees..."
Gen 24: elder brother has a responsibility to find a husband for his sister

24 September 1990

Carl Heinrich Graf -- 1866 wrote on Documentary Approach to the OT
Julius WellHausen -- The Composition of the Hextatauch 1876, The Introduction to the History of Israel 1888

Documentary Hypothesis
Theory: Layers upon layers, not a continuous line of thought
Four Basic Layers --
1. J Documents -- written by people who referred to God as Yhwh (Yahwehist)
2. E Documents -- written by people who referred to God as Elohim (Eloist)
3. Deutronomist writer -- from the time of Josiah
4. Priestly (P) Documents -- priests who put the material in, a redactor.

Said that the scriptures were pieced together

This approach is called HIGHER CRITICISM. This approach was in its hey day before the archaeological finds.

Gen 24:3 Abraham wanted Isaac to have a wife that worshipped the same God. **v.31** Laban knew the God of Abraham

Jacob Fleeing From Laban

Gen 27:46 Jacob goes to the same family, like Isaac.
Jacob was in exile for 40 years. By marrying Laban's daughters, he became a heir of Laban's

Gen 29: Laban had no sons; it appears that Laban adopted a son (Isaac); **31:1** later sons are born
Gen 29:19 You will inherit from me **Gen 31:41, 38** 40 years all together.
Gen 31:50 Laban did not want other women coming in. He wanted his inheritance to remain undivided.
Gen 31:19 Images (Teraphim -- household gods); passed on in the family to the heir of the family, maybe ancestor worship.
Gen 35:2 ...get rid of your idols... Since they were no longer under Laban's supervision, Jacob could tell them to get rid of the idols; he could now exert his own control.

26 September 1990

Gen 19 Thinking is influenced by your environment/culture. ie Lot offered his daughters to sex perverts; his daughters later got him drunk and had sex with him
Gen 23 Hittites were not of Abraham; they now set the norm (what they did was norm); **v.4** Abraham was an outsider, therefore he was not a citizen of the land and did not have property rights and lived in tents.

Two routes through Israel: East Bank - King's Highway; West Coast - Via Maris; Ridge Route - between two mountain ranges, less travelled.
Abraham established Beersheba as a settlement at a point to turn off to the Ridge Route.

Gen 20: Abraham was a sojourner, outsider, but did live near populated areas.
Gen 23:2 v.2 Hebron - refers to the root word friend, companion; possible a reference of Abraham; **Gen 10:** Heth **15:20** includes Hittites. The Hittites are Canaanite, but had split off to the North. A small group came back to Canaan. They were outsiders. This may have been why Abraham tried to buy land from them. **v.11** the cave was wanted to bury the dead, Sarah; ?beginning of land for Israel? **v.17** a field was chosen **v.18** all big decisions were made at the gates. **v.13** Abraham offered money, he probably over paid (when Ephron realized that Abraham wanted to pay and would not take the land, he probably increase the price) **v.10** A Committee/council would have to approve a non-resident buying the land.

North Semitic Customs

Gen 13:2 Abraham was rich, wealthy **v.18** Abraham dwells near a city.
Gen 20:6 Abraham sent other sons away so there would not be a battle over the inheritance when he died. **Gen 31:11** God transcends regions, omnipresent. During that time, each region had its own god; God was showing that he is omnipresent.

NUZU TABLETS ILLUMINATE JACOB'S DEALINGS WITH LABAN

Jacob's dealings with Laban have been particularly illuminated by the Nuzu records. One tablet (G 51) is so important that we translate all of it except the names of the seven witnesses at the end:

> The adoption tablet of Nashwi son of Arshenni. He adopted Wullu son of Puhishenni. As long as Nashwi lives, Wullu shall give [him] food and clothing. When Nashwi dies, Wullu shall be the heir. Should Nashwi beget a son, [the latter] shall divide equally with Wullu but [only] Nashwi's son shall take Nashwi's gods. But if there be no son of Nashwi's then Wullu shall take Nashwi's gods. And [Nashwi] has given his daughter Nuhuya as wife to Wullu. And if Wullu takes another wife, he forfeits Nashwi's land and buildings. Whoever breaks the contract shall pay one mina of silver [and] one mina of gold.

To bring out the more clearly the bearing of this text on the Hebrew episode we summarize the tablet, substituting "Laban" for "Nashwi," and "Jacob" for "Wullu": "Laban," who has no son of his own, adopts "Jacob" and makes him heir. If "Laban" should beget a son in the future, that son and "Jacob" are to share the inheritance, but only the begotten son is to take "Laban's" gods. If "Laban" does not beget a son, then alone may "Jacob" take "Laban's" gods (compare N 89:10–12). As a condition, "Jacob" is to marry "Laban's" daughter. "Jacob" is forbidden to marry any other woman under the penalty of forfeiting "Laban's" property.

Let us now examine the biblical account to see if and to what extent it coincides with the tablet. There is no indication that Laban had sons when Jacob first appears on the scene (Gen. 29). Laban's sons were apparently born between that time and twenty years later (Gen. 31:41), when they are first mentioned (Gen. 31:1). Laban agrees to give a daughter in marriage to Jacob when he makes him a member of the household: "It is better that I give her to thee than that I give her to another man. Dwell with me!" (Gen. 29:19). Our thesis that Jacob's joining Laban's household approximates Wullu's adoption is borne out by other remarkable resemblances with the Nuzu document.

Laban's insistence that Jacob take no wife in addition to his daughters (Gen. 31:50) is interesting but without other evidence would prove nothing because the prohibition against the bridegroom's taking another wife is rather widespread (compare also N 435:10). More significant, though by itself inconclusive, is Laban's gift of a handmaid to each of his daughters upon their marriage to Jacob (Gen. 29:24, 29). This is done under similar circumstances according to another tablet (H V 67:35–36). Rachel's theft of Laban's gods (Gen. 31:19, 30–35), however, is unmistakably paralleled in the tablet translated above.[7] While they are called *teraphim* in verses 19, 34 and 35, they are called "gods" in verses 30 and 32, as in the Nuzu tablets. There is no doubt, therefore, that the *teraphim* were simply idols.[8] The possession of these gods was important for, along with their religious significance, they carried with them leadership of the family on the ancestral estate. Because Laban had begotten sons, none but the latter had any right to the gods and hence Laban's indignation is justified: "Why hast thou stolen my gods?" (Gen. 31:30). Jacob, on the other hand, had not bargained for so secondary a position. His hopes had been frustrated by the birth of Laban's sons.

The following words of Laban are quite intelligible if understood as being addressed to Jacob in the latter's capacity of Laban's adopted son (not son-in-law!): "The daughters are my daughters and the sons are my sons and the flocks are my flocks and whatever thou seest is mine" (Gen. 31:43). Laban was to exercise patriarchal authority over all his children and grandchildren as long as he lived. Jacob, as Laban's adopted son, and Jacob's wives, children and flocks belonged to Laban. Laban had every right to punish Jacob for running away and stealing members of Laban's household, but "the God of Jacob's father" had appeared to Laban in a dream and commanded him to deal gently with Jacob (Gen. 31:24, 29). Furthermore, even the heart of a crafty Aramean like Laban was not devoid of parental tenderness: "And as for my daughters, what can I do to them now—or to their children that they have borne" (Gen. 31:43).

That Rachel and Leah were not free to leave their father's household was not merely because they were his daughters (for under ordinary circumstances married women belonged to their husbands). They still belonged to Laban on account of their husband's status as an adopted son. They were as guilty as Jacob in agreeing to run off (Gen. 31:14–16).[9]

[7] S. Smith, *JTS*, XXXIII (1932), 33–36.

[8] [This fact should be kept in mind to offset some of the wild speculations concerning the teraphim. A good example is to be found in the *Religious Digest*, IX (1939), 19–22, where a writer indicates to his own satisfaction that the teraphim were the original tablets which Moses used when he composed the Pentateuch. (Editor's note—C. Ernest Wright.)]

[9] Gordon, *BASOR*, No. 66 (April 1937), pp. 25–27.

The Biblical Archaeologist Reader ed. Edward F. Campbell, Jr. and David Noel Freedman (Anchor Books Doubleday & Company, Inc., Garden City, New York) pp.24-26.

Gen 35:11 the same being appears
Gen 12:6-7 built an altar; God establishes a central place of worship. Later on God did not want trees, etc., to be planted.

Close relations were allowed to marry in patriarchal times. Later this was prohibited **Lev 18:18**

Rosh (Heb) - Fratriarch, Head Brother. This was a blessing that was passed on, but not necessarily to the First Born; Later the physical blessing had to go to the first born even if the leadership did not. **Deut 21:15** blessings to the first born whether he was to be the leader of the family or not; leadership could still go to other than the first born.
1 Sam 8:2 second -- secondary, an assistant
1 Sam 17:13 next to him -- probably in responsibility as well as chronologically
1 Chron 5:12, 26:10 Ruben violated his birthright; Joseph was given the birthright; **Gen 49:8** Judah receives the leadership.
Gen 27:29 Besides birthright, leadership in the family was also passed on.
Birthright and scepter.

15 October 1990

Nuzu -- many items were found that supported the book of Genesis.

Gen 23:1 cave for burial ground complies with Hittite tradition.
Gen 29:19 Why this expression "It is better that I give her to you...." Laban had no sons; he adopted Jacob; and if his daughters married Jacob, Laban would keep the inheritance undivided.
Gen 31:48-53 Laban did not want Jacob to dilute the inheritance with other wives. Laban wanted to adopt Jacob as a son as married sons lived with the father.
Gen 31:19 Jacob leaves furitively. Laban saw Jacob running with what was his. Laban legally owned everything as patriarch. The images indicated possession of inherited rights.
Gen 31:48-53 Importance -- a replacement of the missing gods.

Why handmaidens? A child born of a handmaiden was a legal heir. Laban was protecting himself.

<u>Patriarchal Lifestyle</u>
>Daughters moved to live with their husband's father
>A son could not move away without Patriarch's permission **Gen 25:5-6** There were no wills or last testament, only the most important documents were written, therefore division of what was the patriarch's was taken place before the patriarch's death.
>A patriarch decided what religion would be followed. **Gen 35:1-4** Jacob was not an independent patriarch; he had worshipped the same gods as Laban.
>There is evidence of shrines as a place of worship; sacred places, people worshipped there.

Gen 34:14 Brothers of Dinah were concerned because she was to become a part of Shechem's religion.

17 October 1990

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Gen 33:18-20 Patriarchs built their own alters. Jacob did not use pagan altars.

Three Major Differences between Patriarchs and Pagans

1. Patriarchs always had "EL".
   Patriarchs worshipped only one God. The Pagans worshipped Ba'al who was pictured as a child that forced El off the throne. They knew of El but did not worship Him. ie. Elohim, El Shaddai, Eldonai, Israel
2. Patriarchs worshipped the same God irrespective of where they were.
   They worshipped an omnipresent God; **Gen 17:1, Gen 25:3, Gen 35:11** -- three separate locations same God. Pagans had regional gods; they worshipped a god of the place. ie. Naaman -- could over come leprosy by going to Israel, Elijah said to wash in the river. He had to go to another area where there was a different god.
3. Patriarchs were not involved in the fertility rites as the Pagans were.

Social Customs

>Marrying siblings -- Abraham and Sarah. At the time of Abraham, God had not revealed this as being wrong, so it was not sin.

>Jacob married two sister who were his first cousins. It was not wrong then as the laws were codified after the Patriarchs.

God allowed many things, even though it was not His desire for mankind.

Prime Economic Activity

The Bible does not come right out and say. Many supposed that they were shepherds. This assumptions comes across many problems.

Refute that Patriarchs were shepherds and explain what they might have been.

*Why were they so close to cities? If they were shepherds, the city people would have sheep of their own and would not want interenent shepherds near their pasture. The Patriarchs were near cities so that they could trade their wares.

*Why did Abraham and Sarah attract the attention of the Pharoah? Egyptians hated shepherds. Abraham's wealth attracted them as well he probably traded with royalty.

*Why was Abraham able to arm 318 men and to go to war? A shepherd would not need this many men of the weaponry. A Merchant would need them for the protection of his possessions, to provide security for his products. These men probably were able to offer escorts in their area as well they could fight for the nation if needed; they were trained and near the border.

*Abraham came to mourn Sarah's death; he was in some place else when she died (again travelling)

*Abraham was called a prince by the Hebronites; why would they call a shepherd a prince? As a merchant he received many recognitions.

*Kadesh -- a strategic place for trading

Gen 37:12-17 Apparently they were on or near a trading route because Joseph was sold to traders.

*Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were primarily caravan merchants. This explains why they were treated so highly; probably involved in trading with royalty; provided mercenaries for escort/security services for various caravans.

24 October 1990

THE EXODUS

HIST 407 ANCIENT ISRAEL: ABRAHAM TO CAPTIVITY Mr. Paige

Approaches To The Chronology of Exodus

BIBLE NOT AN INSPIRED HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

↓

Need not look for correspondnece between Biblical account & archaeological record

↓

Not disturbed when chronological placement of a Biblical period reveals discrepancies between Biblical account & archaeological record

Willing to make chronological placement only in light of "objective" evidence (artifacts or inscriptions)

BIBLE IS AN INSPIRED HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

↓

Must look for correspondnece between Biblical account & archaeological record

↓

Disturbed when chronological placement of a Biblical period reveals discrepancies between Biblical account and archaeological record

↓

In light of such discrepancies, must seek a new chronological placement which demonstrates harmony between Biblical account and archaeological record

This must be done if no evidence outside the Bible justifies the new chronological placement

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Exodus (exiting) and Exodus (entering) -- the fact of this is not a disputed matter.

Two Areas to Look At:

1. Geography: There is great dissension on the route taken. Historians look for a way without God's intervention.
   A. Route
   B. Location of Cities

2. Date of Exodus:
   A. Normally accepted date of scholars: 1299-1200's BC, late date
   B. Alternatively: 1440-1450 BC, early date

Geography: Location of the Cities

Ex 1:11 Raamses and Pithom; treasure cities -- stone city (*mishkanot*) not literal as there were no stones. Also in **1 Kings 9:19** and **2 Chron 32:28; Ex 12:37** Raamses and Succoth Also store cities.

Location, consensus among scholars:

Ex 1:11 Scholars say that the Bible was back edited. Pithom -- equated with Per Atum (*the estate of a god*), god - Amon (Amon Re - sun god)
Raamses -- associated with ruler Raamses II (Raamses the Great). Raamses II ruled in the 13th century (1200's). As a city, it was not a store city; it was a royal capital, different purpose than **Ex 1:11**; It could have been a suburb that became Raamses - the royal city; >**Gen 14:14** Moses uses a later reference point (Dan) so it would be revellent to Israel. This could have been the case in **Ex 1:11**; **Gen 26:33** there was no city when dug the well, overlay - ie. that well was dug where Beer Sheba is today. Qantir - was the city later called Raamses. Tl Al Daba - remnant of a stone city from 16-17th century BC

Ex 12:37 Succoth -- **Gen 33:17** Jacob journeyed to Succoth and built booths. Tel Maskkuta -- Egyptian Cheku, in Hebrew - Succoth; it was a military outpost. It was 10 miles from Cheku to Pithom (written by Romans about 100 yrs later).

Ex 13:20 Etham -- where Israelites travelled to, where they moved to after Succoth (v.20); There is no archaeological evidence of where it is.

Ex 14:2 Baal Zephon -- sanctuary to a Canaanite god; those involved in maritime trade. Baal was normally worshipped on hills or mountains.

Ex 13:8 Sea of Reeds -- (not Sea of Red or Red Sea), Hebrew - *yam suf* -- Sea of Reeds

Three Theories of Routes Taken
1. Northern route
2. Central route
3. Southern route
   >Scholars try to do away with the necessity of miracles

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Northern Route

Lake Sibonis -- Raslel Kaiun (speculation that this is Ba'al Zephon), city on the head waters - in Greek times this was a place of worship of Zeus on the shores of Lake Sibonis; there was some form of pagan worship; Zeus is the Greek equivalent of Baal.

Migdol -- a Port of the Egyptian Sea, may relate to Sele

26 October 1990

Pros

Lake Sibonis -- shallow, no miracle needed, had reeds, referring to **Ex 14:3** had marshy land that would get the Egyptians

Cons

1. Distance between Baal Zephon and Migdol was 50 km, too far for one day's travel
2. Wrong way to get to Mt. Sinai, going straight to Canaan; **Ex 3:** God gave explicit instructions
3. God said not to go that way **Ex 13:17**
4. Explicit statement in tradition that they didn't go that way.
5. No mountains around Lake Sibonis

Central Route 65% accept this view

Pros

1. Bitter Lakes, north of Suez, reeds grew well.
2. Headed in southerly direction to Mt. Sinai.
3. Migdol, Baal Zephon, Pithom - placement could be justified.
4. The land hemmed them in **Ex 14:3**; apparently there was a canal, very wide, hard to cross, therefore wilderness

Cons

1. Baal Zephon -- why would there be a Canaanite or Phoenician that would be land locked.
2. Why not say canal instead of wilderness?
3. **Num 33:8-10, 7**; journeyed by a sea for a minimum of five days (**v.8-10**)
4. Made a major turn (**v.7**) -- a major change of direction.

Southern Route

Pros

1. Northern part of Gulf of Suez, topographically, geographically, fits nicely (Land south of Bitter Lakes considered wilderness)
   A. Mountain ranges stopped progress to the South. [When the Bible speaks specifically about geography, topography, etc., it is always substantiated.]
   B. God had a purpose **Ex 14:4**. This is the only area in which God's purpose could work out.
   C. They realized the extreme difficulty they were in; only a miracle could save them.
2. It is possible to walk down the coast for many days.
3. Locations -- logical place for Baal Zephon - Gulf of Suez, a major sea area and major area of shipping. Zephone means North, located at North end of the Gulf.

Cons
1. You have to have a miraculous intervention; scholars do not like this.
2. There are no reeds in the Red Sea. (Moses was hidden in Reeds as a baby.)
   A. **1 Kings 9:26** fleet of ships built at Aqaba, near Sea of Reeds, therefore, Gulf of Suez could be of the same name. Tyre helped Solomon build fleet; had expertise in seafaring, knew territory.
   B. **Jonah 2:5** Reeds is not limited to papyrus or bull rushes, weeds = reeds = *suf*
   C. **Isa 19:6** *sufeen* (pl) = reeds; *suf* does not have to be overgrown with reeds; Eastern Gulf -- Sea of Reeds.

An Adjacent Problem Where Is Mt. Sinai?

Where was Israel's final destination? Kadesh Barnea (where Joshua and Caleb were sent out).

Northern Route

Approximate distance to Mt. Sinai -- **I Kings 19** it took Elijah 40 days and 40 nights from Beer Sheba to Mt. Sinai; therefore it could not be the Northern Route. Jabal Halal too close to Canaan.

Central Route

Again, it would not have taken Elijah 40 days and 40 nights to reach Mt. Sinai from Beer Sheba. God also provided water at Mt. Sinai; central part does not have water resources.

Southern Route

Jabal Musa fits the Biblical comments. In Arabic Tradition, it is Mt. Sinai. It starts to be a reasonable 40 days and 40 nights journey. It has underground water resources. Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, was a Kinite, a desert dweller who were copper workers. The mountains in the South have source of copper; this is where Jethro was.

29 October 1990

There is a link between the Exodus and the conquest of Canaan.

Two Approaches to Biblical Chronology:
1. The Bible is NOT an inspired Historical Account.
2. The Bible is inspired
   A. It is inspired in that it has great spiritual lessons, but no historical value.
   B. It is also an inspired historical account.

Toponym and people in general often talk about the same thing but have different ideas.

All evidence is not equal. In the final evidence, biblical evidence will be the most reliable.

Two Viewpoints

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1. Agreement between the Bible and History
2. Disagreement between the Bible and History

Egyptian History is divided into dynasties (not centuries).
Time of Exodus: 1443 BC = 15th century BC = 18th dynasty = Late Bronze I (LBI)

Biblical
1 Kings 6:1 A historical fact - 480 years after Israel left Egypt, Solomon began building the temple. Ca. 963 BC, during 4th year of Solomon's reign; historians do not dispute this; therefore Exodus 1443 BC

Egyptian
Hatshepsut -- publicly shown as male (because of male dominant society); Hatshepsut disappeared in 1483 BC. This correlates to the time Moses fled Egypt **Ex 2:15**
Ex 2:23 King of Egypt died -- Thutmose III

Heb 11:24 Moses refused to be called "son of Pharoah's daughter"; he could have possible been 'throne bound' if he had married a throne princess.

Disagreement

Num 21:1-3, 21, 30 v.21 Amorites posing problems.

Does the evidence of Jordan and Canaan (discovered in the 1930's) correlate with the 15th dynasty?

31 October 1990

Judges 11:17 Jephthah. **v.17** Jephthah was made leader; **v.26** Israel has been East of the Jordan for 300 years. The accepted date (historical and archaeological record) for Jephthah is 1100 BC.

1100 BC Jephthah
300 yrs East of Jordan River
1400
40 yrs wandering
1440 ca. Exodus

Critics say a redactor did this, but how would he have known to use 300?

[Israel was commanded to go around Edom and Moab **Num 20:14-16, Deut**]
Ex 11:1 where scholars take offense.

Archaeological Evidence
Names:
1. Kathleen Kenyon -- "patron saint" of biblical archaeology
2. Nelson Glueck -- in the area of Moab and Edom; concluded that there was no settlement in Edom, Moab, and Ammon from 1900 to 1200 BC. Based findings on a cursory surface search.

Cities of the Conquest
Aran (**Num 21:1**); Harman; Hesbon; Dibon; Jericho; Ai; Gideon; Lachish (1240-1220 destroyed); Hazor;

Debir; Hebron

Israel overthrew these cities during the Conquest. Does record agree with this?

Glueck said that only Lachish and Hebron were destroyed. Many of the cities were uninhabited, nothing to destroy.
Glueck changed his mind in 2nd edition; he had only done a surface examination.

Names cont.
3. William Foxton Albright -- a 13th century advocate

Ai, the twin city of Bethel, was destructed ca 1290-1250 BC.

The majority of Academicians support the 13th century conquest.

Albright said that Ai/Bethel was destroyed ca 1290-1250 BC; Lachish ca 1240-1220 BC (others say from 1290-1140 BC); Hazor destroyed ca 1225 BC

Joshua 11:13 Only Hazor was burned. In the 13th century, all cities in the North were burned.

Judges 4:2 Jabin reigned in Hazor

How do they (scholars) overcome these problems? They don't twist the Bible; their opinion is greater than the Bible. They also make new theories.

Our premise is to accept what the Bible says.

Scholars
George Mendenhall and Gottwald had a new theory for the Exodus. First there was a small amount of Israelites that left Egypt. Their arrival in Canaan was closely followed by an uprising of the Canaanite peasants, which caused mass destruction of socio-economic structure. The Israelities brought the Yhwh culture. The two groups merged into Israel (peasants and Israelites). They needed people to serve each month so therefore 12 tribes. >This is a widely held view of people.

Another view: there were two Exoduses, the first one was small.

2 November 1990

The profile of Hazor does match the Bible.

The Israelites came across the Jordan River at Jericho, a hilly area.
*15th century cities were in _____ 13th century cities were in the hills.

?Sites destroyed in the late 13th century do not match the book of **Joshua**. In the 13th century, all the cities were burned. **Joshua** only Hazor was burned. Also the Perpetrators did not leave records. These events happened after Israel had been in the land. It was a cleaning process. The

Philistines were beginning to move in in 1200 BC. There was nothing to stop Israel going in. The cities Joshua fought against were in the hills, plains, or valley, (which is needed for control for trade) NOT in the Shepelah. These conquests in 13th century were 150 years after moving into the land.

Shiloh The tabernacle was here, very important.

?**Judges 8:11** Life of the Israelites; went by of tent dwellers; still partly nomadic existence.

*The location of a city changes.

Problems with 13th Century Date

Dibon: Beginnings 1100 BC (archeaology); 1470 BC Thutmose III destroyed Dibon (history); 1200's Raamses destroyed Dibon.

Arad: **Num 21** Battle between Arad and Israel; Destroyed in 2200 BC. Archeology says there was no occupation from 2200 BC to the time of Solomon. Solomon built a fortress in Arad. Pharoah Shishak (who played an important part in Josiah's reign) 7th century BC; Pharoah Shishak (different than previous) led campaign against Reaboam (Judah's king) at Arad. Inscribed that he defeated Arad the Greater (not rebuilt until time of Solomon) and Arad the Lesser (1400 BC - conquered at 1400 BC - archeaology records.)

Jericho: Findings of Kathleen Kenyon -- that Jericho was destroyed (or became uninhabited) in 1550 BC. Why? Because of an absence of a form of pottery, *bichrome ware* (a pottery of two colors). Bichrome ware was only found after 1550 BC. Therefore since Jericho had none, it had to be before 1550 BC. Bichrome ware was located in coastal and trade route cities, it probably had not penetrated to Jericho yet. The Pottery of Jericho (1400's) does agree with pottery of other cities at that time.

>Thought: The Bible must conform to our evidence.

Gideon: Another site in which no town was found, but tombs that have been found are pre 13th century.

There is nothing that disputes a 15th century Exodus and Conquest.

5 November 1990

Handout: Attempts to Discredit a 15th Century Date

p.1 #1 re: **1 Kings 6:1** 4th year (965 BC) of Solomon was 480 years after the Exodus, therefore Exodus would have been ca. 1445 BC. What basis for 25 years equals a generation? In geneaologies, sometimes kings were left out **1 Chron 6:4-9** (12 generations) **1 Chron 6:33-37** (19 generations). <19 X 25 = 475; date would be ca 1440 BC>

Purposes of Chronicles:
1. Establish Jerusalem as God's city
2. Kingship

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3. Priesthood

Handout: Attempts to Discredit a 15th Century Date

p.2 #2 Jephthah (see previous notes); it is impossible to compress events of Judges

p.2 #3 Moses' Adoption; Since Thutmose III defaced all the inscriptions of Hatshepsut, should we expect to find any records of her having adopted Moses?

p.3 #4 Read pp 102-108 in Merrill, Kingdom...

IKNATHON Pharoah (Thutmose III) moved capital to El Amarna in 1400-1350 BC. Complained of unrest in Canaan; it was also a time of upheaval in Egypt.

Merneptah, a successor Pharoah. 1225-1200 invaded Israel. In 13th Century, said, "Israel's seed is no more." -Merneptah Stele/Israel Stele. If Israel was just arriving, this would not have been appropriate. ?More appropriate to be said when Israel left Egypt. To make this comment, Israel had to be in Canaan longer. Israel was there but they were no longer a threat.

7 November 1990

Given time, the evidence in the Bible will be proved.

Handout: Analysis of Solutions posed by Conservative Scholars; 13th Century Date

p.1 #1 a) Store city: a military, provisions for priesthood, relgious. b) Raamses II could not be both the Pharoah of the Oppression (this one died) and Pharoah of the Exodus; c) Merneptah kept to the trade routes, not to the hills, and Judges is not a military record -- reasons why Merneptah is not mentioned in the Bible. Merneptah records that he found Israel already in Canaan.

p.1 #2 Gleuck only did a surface survey when he proved that Edom and Moab did not have any settlements and would have been too weak to resist Israel. Evidence did later reveal settled occupation. **Deut 2:4-5, 8-9** Israel turned because God commanded Israel to turn not because they were too powerful.

p.2 #3 Look at handout

>People make decisions without considering all the evidence.

TEST on Exodus to Conquest
- o Route of the Exodus, geographic landmarks.
- o Location of Mt. Sinai - Jabal Musa?
- o Chronology of Exodus and Conquest, Scriptures.
- o Explain various scriptures, findings, individuals; things that need to be considered PROS/CONS
- o Jericho o Personages in 13th and 15th century o Maps related to topic.

JUDGES TO UNITED KINGDOM

Read Joshua 1-11

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Conquest summed up in Ch 12; Ch 13 Joshua grows old, tribes assigned a certain area

The book of Joshua portrays Israel not as a nation but as tribes (very tribalistic)

Tribal Aspect of Life
Judges 1:1 Where do we go to conquer Canaanites? [In times of Joshua, had hilly area from Dead Sea to Shechem] Following the death of Joshua, they went out to receive the inheritance of their land according to tribes.

Phases of settling a land
Judges -- a record of Israel, of what happened to them when they forgot God -- everyone did has he pleased.

Judges 21:25 No king in Israel, everyone did has he pleased, consequence: trouble (Prov 14:12, 16:25)

Date of book:

Laws God provided for the land.

9 November 1990

Cities of Refuge
Num 35:9 Six cities set up for refuge cities [tabernacle established at Shiloh]. Three were one the Eastern Bank and three were on the Western Bank. v.15 if killed a man unintentionally, could flee there. v.25 the assembly protects [not a rite of refuge, only if ACCIDENTAL, not for those who murdered.

Insight to Justice System
oAvenger of Blood or Redeemer
Lev 25:25 redeemer was a next of kin, someone close to the individual who suffered. Did not become a blood fued -- could not lay in wait for the person who was the unintentional murderer. v.19 it had to be an encounter v.26-27 redeemer could kill manslayer if he/she left the protection of the city.
The avenger of blood acted as a servant of the community; he acted without animosity, had to be free of personal feelings; God wanted to avoid blood fueds.
The only person that could be targetted was the 'murderer'; there was only one avenger; the family of the murdere could not be hassled.
Reason freed when priest died -- God places the family very high.

Marriage
Levirate Marriage -- if a man dies, his brother would marry his wife to bear a son who would inherit the dead man's name, etc. Definition of Levirate -- to mark the next kin.
Deut 25:5 something done to keep the family together; God intended that a name be carried on. In essence, the brother became the trustee for the estate until the son was old enough to do it. If the brother would not, he would become disreputed.

12 November 1990

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Inheritance Laws
Inheritance was passed to children (sons) and not to the wife because she could remarry outside of the tribe.
First-born -- birthright -- with it came various obligations; they were given a double portion so that they could handle the extra obligations
Obligations: looked after mother, until remarriage or death; looked after sisters, provided dowry, involved in husband chosen; took care of the rest of the family; took care of servants.
Num 27:1-11 inheritance to daughters; passing on of inheritance.
Num 36:1 v.6 daughters had to marry within the tribe to receive the inheritance.

[Jacob and Esau -- Jacob took the birthright and the blessing (cov't blessings)]

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

Wise Men: Deut 1:10-18 Moses delagates v.13 Establishment of wise men, judges; then to Moses then to God through the Uim and Thumen (part of the breastplate with 12 stones, one for each of the tribes; a means by which God communicated with the people)
City Gate: Ruth 4:1 Ruth was not entitled to inherit as a wife, Naomi was the nearest kinsman. Obed was the heir of Ruth's first husband. Why was the CITY GATE so important? Important people live within the city, elders gathered there to discuss matters. Prov 31
Elders: Judges 11:1 v.10 Elders had the authority to make the decision; Jephthah was a son of a prostitute; he was driven out (a problem) v.5-6
Priesthood: Deut 17:8 v.9 Priests = Levites; sometimes God called judges, the office of judge is not heriditary; priests were given judgment. What was important about priesthood? impartial because they had no inheritance in the land, therefore, choosing between the tribes was not affected by possible inheritances.
Third Tithe: Deut 14
Produce:

Administration of Social Welfare
- Third Tithe
- Do not reap corners of field Lev 23:22
- Could not glean Lev 23:22; if things fell to the ground, they were to stay there.
- Trees -- could not harvest or pick them the second time around Lev 25
  This was left for the fatherless and widows; they had to do some work -- glean, etc. That is their right. i.e. Ruth

GOD'S APPROACH TO CRIME
God treats the Cause!!

THREE WAYS GOD TREAT THE CAUSE
1. By retribution -- direct penalty to pay, fine, would have to restore, could be beatings, even death.
Result: people stop and count the cost before acting. a) restitution b) paying over that c) beatings d) death. Ex 21:12 murderer put to death v.14 put to death, does not have a place of safety. v.16 kidnapper put to death Why? Eccl 8:11 to get at the cause of the problem.

2. By deterrents -- building a mentality that avoids those actions. Deut 13:10-11 God wants all to hear and to be afaid. Deut 17:12-13 An example has to be made once in awhile to teach all people Deut 19:18-20 False witness v.20 shall hear and fear.
3. By penalties -- Stoning: all were involved, people saw the anguish and agony, it was unpleasant. The people start to abhor the sin that caused the punishment. **God wanted the people to see the unpleasant consequences of sin.** Swiftness: no appealing. Small villages: everyone knew everyone.

God went straight to the cause of the crime. Today, poverty causes much of the crime. God took care of the widow, fatherless, and poor Ex 22; could enter vineyard and eat Lev 19:9; no usury extracted of the people Lev 25:35-37; Slaves set free, remission of debts, jubilee year Deut 15:12-15.

19 November 1990

Slaves were not to be let go without money; they needed money to start a new life and to avoid the poverty trap; to be able to move back into society and be productive.

1. Retribution
2.
3. Rehabilitation -- Israelites remained in the community and were restored their dignity (They never lost their human dignity). The unsuccessful learned from the successful (slaves, etc).

OVERVIEW OF PERIOD OF THE JUDGES

Israel lived as twelve tribes; Judges rarely had control over more than one tribe, tended to be localized. There were even tribal jealousies within the tribes. Israel lacked a national territory, therefore, it lacked ingredients for a national identity.

Characteristics
1. They were a hill country people (in Gilead) Judges 2:1 Incomplete conquest of Territory v.2 They did not obey v.3 because of their disobedience
2. Israel made covenants, leagues with the inhabitants of the land Josh 24
3. Israel joined themselves to the idols of the land. Judges 2:2-3 Why? localizationn of gods -- what you do on the earthly plane will force the gods to do something on the cosmic plane WRONG THOUGHT: You can force the gods to do something.

EARTHLY PLANE	COSMIC PLANE
Male Worshippers	Ba'al, god of rain
Female priestess (prostitute)	Astarte
Conception	Good rains, germination of crops

Four S's of Book of Judges (Constant Cycles)
1. Sin 2:13,17
2. Servitude 2:14
3. Supplication
4. Salvation 2:16

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Chieftains, Magistrates
Judges 2:16 Office and nature of a judge: 1) mediator (between God and man); 2) military role; 3) administrative leader (Judges 10:1-5 11:8) 4) deliverer (less common function)

Calling of a judge (similar to calling of a prophet): 1) confirmed by God's Holy Spirit (Judges 3:10); 2) NOT a hereditary position, i.e. Jephthah-an outcast, Gideon-oneof the least of his family (Judges 6:11-12,15), God chose whom He would, the calling is backed by the Holy Spirit.

Area/Influence of a Judge -- over a single tribe until the time of Samuel.
Many of the Judges were contemporary - not successive.

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Oppression

Judges 3:8 King Chusanrishathaium (thaium - had to do with a river, Kingship had something to do with river Euphrates) Syrian - Armenian; v12 Moabites v13 city of palms - Jericho, it held a key position in holding the area of the Lower Jordan Valley; not a city, but a strategic location in controlling the two fords of the Jordan River; provided control over Kings's Highway (East) and Via Maris (West coast). v.15 notice proximity of the tribe of Benjamin to Jericho; champion, the one who delivered from Eglon (name: Ehud) was left handed; this is an oddity, considered less than normal and considered not trained to fight; v.21 Ehud kils Eglon v27 a certain amount was pre-planned v28 took fords v.30 peace for 80 years

Moabites were afflicting Benjaminite areas and Ephraimite areas

Judges 4:1-5 events in Northern Part of Country; ch4 prose account ch5 poetry, put the two together to provide a full picture. Deborah and Barak (meaning lightening) against Jabin (Have to have an early date for the Exodus for this to work) 5:19 Kings - plural

[Hazor - 225 acres]

Geopolitically, Egypt grew very inward, almost a collapse in their control of Canaan

Northern Tribes fell back into their previous alliances

Judges 4:1 v.8 Barak would not without Deborah, possibly Deborah represented the god of this land

Mount Tabor Why?
1. Controls many passes -- it stands out, controls the lands of Megiddo Valley
2. Going against Charioteers - height was an advantage

[Until the early 20th century, the area was a malaria infested swamp.]
God sent a flash flood on a land with a tendency to swamp which caused the wheels to sink.

God saved Israel 4:22-24 victory -- release from oppression 5:14 tribes affected (5): Ephraim, Benjamin, Zebulun, Issachar, Naphtali v.16 some of the tribes would not get involved. Reuben's territory was east of the Jordan and was not affected.

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Problems with Midianites and Amalekites
Came from East, came in raiding parties.
Judges 6:1-6 Nomadic, migratory people -- they would wait for crops to be ready and then they would attack. Israel went to live in caves, this is how they sought relief; they had no spirit of resistance and no leadership. Valley of Jezreel - where God dealt with Midianites and broke the problem; v.7-10 cause of the problem: Israel was worshipping another god - amorite God. Why were they worshipping? they ended up worshipping the local diety.

Child sacrifices were part of the magic of the process. The firstborn son was the most valuable thing you have. Because you give up the most valuable thing you have, your god whould give you what you want.

2 Kings 3:26-27 King of Moab, firstborn son offered on the wall as a burnt offering so that Israel see it. Israel left because they thought that the King's god could answer them. Israel still had the mental outlook of if you do something for your god he will do what you ask.

Judges 6 v.11 Abezerite, family clan from Manesseh; Midianites would not look in the wine press because it was not wine season v.12 not a valiant man v.13 did not lose contact with God v.15 How can I do it? I am a nobody, Gideon was not an established judge or similar high position Gideon bartered with God 6:14 Lord = Logos = JC, not just an angel

Midianites did not like to go into the mountains or hills
Judges 7:16 Strategy v.19 middle watch = midnight
Judges 8 Driven all the way back v.15 took right hands of princes Why right hands? power is in the right hand.
Judges 9-10 wanted a kingdom, Abimelech - problem with son
Judges 8:28 Peace for 40 years

Oppression: TWO simultaneous from East and West
1. EAST, from Gilead, a geographic area which was part of Gad and Manesseh, affected only part of the land. Judges 10:6 Israel offended God; v.17 Ammonites Judges 10:18 The top official in an area was in charge; Head = Rosh (head of the year); offering a reward to be the head.
2. WEST

Judges 11 v.16 Jephthah, *Nagid* = captain, offered him this position; not the head because he was the son of a prostitute; v.11 people became desperate; Jephthah became the head; v.29 went into battle v.30 vowed a vow (pagan concept) - if you do something for me, I'll do something for you. v.31 VOW v.34-35 Could not retract his vow. He would expect a servant to come out first as a messenger was sent ahead to tell when the king would arrive home. Upon his arrival, a slave would be sent out first to let him know that all was prepared. Jephthah's vow backfired. The scriptures intend that the vow was carried out.

30 November 1990

PHILISTINES
The Philistines were the most dangerous threat to Israel.

Origin of the Philistines

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The Philistines were related to Caphtor Amos 9:7 Philistines from Caphtor (Kaptara) Jer 47:4 Caphtor.
The Philistines were related to Cherethites 1 Sam 30:14, Zeph 2:6
Caphtor, Kaptara -- island of Crete; we do not know if it was the home of the Philistines or not, it could be where they were before they went to Canaan. Modern scholars believe that the Philistines arrived in Canaan in 1200 BC. Abraham (ca 2000 BC) met with Philistines - Abimlech; scholars dismiss this as an anchronism. Even Albright was amazed at the speed of Philistine aculturation, the way they fit into the land. From 1900's to 1200's they had outposts

Archaeology
Middle Bronze II -- 20th century, 1900's; Coastal plane architecture has been found that reflect a pronounced Aegean (Greece) culture.

In the 20th century, Crete was at the peak of its maritime power.

In Egyptian records there is possibly a mention of the Philistines in the area of Canaan. A particular group is referred to as the people of the sea invaiding Egypt, could have been the Philistines as there was one segment called the Pelishtin (in Egyptian records). Why was Egypt concerned? Sea People were on the trade route.
In 1200's (Iron Age), there was obvious Philistine establishments; had already been a wave of settlement in 1500-1400, even an early settlement 1900's
Why on the coast in the time of Abraham? on trade routes (Via Maris) also trade routes, coming though Gilead, etc. Strategic area of trade routes.
The major invasion was in the 1200's. Why such a large migration? In the 1200's Crete civilization collapsed. Therefore, they migrated to other places. Since there was family in Canaan, they went there. A quick expansion because they were already established

Five Principal Philistine Cities: Gaza, Ashdod, Eskalon, Ekron, and Gath PENTAPOLIS; Each city was a city- state and had its own king. OT - lords of Philistines = leading people of cities

1286 BC Major Battle at Kedesh Egyptians v. Hiitites. Both sides record using the Philistines as Mercenaries. *A THOUGHT* -- Egyptians settled Philistines on the trade routes to have 'preferential' treatment. (Probably 1900's) or earlier to establish a sea port, trading relationship

What were the Philistines like?
1. Highly civilized, well developed in art and pottery
2. High level of material culture ie. yuppies
3. We don't know what their role in Crete was. Possibly that of mercenaries

Philistines stayed in the coastal plains until 1050 BC at which time they began to move northward to Megiddo, to control more trade routes, they needed more "elbow" room. As they moved the came into competition with the Phonecians, Syrians, Egyptians, and Israel
*[From time of Exodus to Solomon, there is no contact with Egypt. Egypt was very introspective, that is why Philistines became a power to be reckoned with.]

ISRAEL AND THE PHILISTINES FIVE PHASES

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Phase 1 and Early Expansion and Oppression. The first tribe confronted was Dan. He was on the Coast, normally associated with the North. The tribal inheritance was south. Why did this tribe move from the south to the north? They needed more food and room, therefore they migrated. [Samson was from the tribe of Dan]. The Philistines were oppressing Dan and Judah (Simeon was absorbed into Judah), only the cities of the West were affected. They wasnted to secure the southern Via Maris and the surrounding area. Philistine and Israel were both growing, towards each other. [God used Philistia to bring Israel to repentance]

Phase 2 Peak of Philistine Power. Philistia extended into the central area. Benjamin and Ephraim were under attck. The ark was lost. Shiloh was destroyed? This was an extended phase of occupation despite Samuel's victory at Mizpeh (1 Sam 7). This was during the time of Eli and Samuel. The Philistines were moving into Ephraim and Benjamin so that they could control the Jordan, they moved northwards to control Megiddo. Israel has in the high ground and had natural advantage over the Philistines. Philistia controled Israel by keepin the iron. Isreal had no smiths. Philistia did not want Israel making weapons 1 Sam Philistia had all the implements of war. Although Israel had the tactical advantage, Philistia had the advantage of weapons. They controlled the metallurgy (sp?). It was a time of population growth of both nations. Samuel becomes Deliver and Judge.

3 December 1990

Three references to Philistines at time of Abraham and Isaac:
Gen 20:1-2 Abimlech, Philistines Gen 26:1; 21:32

Samuel
1 Sam 1-3 life of Samuel ch.4 great defeat for Israel 4:1 Aphek -- Israel tried to kep Philistines out of the hill country. v.4 brought out the ark of the covenant, playing upon the localized god theory again. v.11 the ark was captured by Philistines.
1 Sam 5:1 the ark went to Ashdod; they put the ark in the temple because the God of Israel was 'subject' to Dagon v.3 Dagon doing obeisance to the ark. v.4 hands - symbol of power v.10 "You move the ark to slay us" - Ekronites v.11 "Send it back"
1 Sam 6 v.3 must pay an indemnity v.9 made a test, to see if God had caused the trouble. v.12 the cows went the road to Bethsemesh, towards Israel. Philistines learned that God was God irrespective of where He was. The Philistines got away with improperly carring the ark as they were ignorant.
1 Sam 7:5 Israel to assemble at Mizpeh. Samuel reinforces the proper ways. Samuel openly taught all. v.14 towns restored to Israel. Samuel brought about peace.

Destruction of Shiloh -- Bible is quiet about this. Jer 7:4 God said that He destroyed Shiloh; destroyed by army. attitude of Jer 7:4 was probably existent in the time of Eli

Despite the victory for Israel, Philistia still maintained garrisons in Israel. There was no longer the aspect of *corvee* - forced labor. But the Philistines could keep coming.

Phase 3 Struggle to overthrow Philistines. This was the phase in which Israel was trying to get free of Philistine control. This covers the Battle of Michmash (1 Sam 14) and David v. Goliath (1 Sam 17), during the time of Saul and David.
Israel wanted a king; they wanted a leader. NOT the leader, vacuum, leader vacuum syndrome.

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1 Sam 8 Israel was warned of the cost v.11 Are you prepared to pay the cost of gaining a royal accroument. Their situation was not improved; their solution was not improved. They wanted a physical leader like other nations. They wanted a physical leader to pay for their well-being.

KINGSHIP

God set up a Constitutional Monarchy: the king had to do what God's law said, God's law provided the monarchy. Separate Church and State (separate tribes). Heriditary. Constitution (Deut 17) was God's law. The king was subject to the censure of God's servants (prophets) ie. "go tell the king this..."

Transition Period from Tribunal Rule to Monarchy

Samuel lived through this.

1. Last of judges
2. First of literary prophets, foreteller of future, historian
   a. foreteller b. forthteller
3. Levite, fulfilled office of priest
4. Founder of Monarchy: annointed the king, annointed his successor (David), provided for succession.

1 Sam 10 Saul was annointed *Nagid* -- captain, viceroy ie. governor general who acts as instructed by the monarch (God)

5 December 1990

Why was Saul not annointed *Rosh* = Head? Because it would have taken the focus off of God. God is the HEAD. Saul's holding of the office was subject to God's dismissal. Saul ruled in God's name.

Significance of annointing - authority comes from God; re-inforced relationship between God and Saul, reminded Saul of his position, under GOD

Saul was swayed by the people; he did not respect his relationship with God. He was a people pleaser, not a God pleaser. People got what they asked for -- physical appearance.

1 Sam 10:2 Saul needed signs v.14-16 Did not tell Uncle v.24-25 low self esteem

1 Sam 11: Facing the Ammonites v.5 Saul was not leading v.6 God had to put a backbone in him v.14 To Gilgal to inaugerate the monarchy

1 Sam 12: Samuel retires from leadership v.23-25 If king does not follow God, he will be swept away.

1 Sam 10:5 Battle with Philistines garrison = outpost of Philistines at Geba

1 Sam 13:3 v.1 Saul was X number of years old when he began to reign. v.3 start of opposition v.4 Saul is leader, gathered at Gilgall v.6 weak kneed, afraid v.9 People scattered; Saul presented offering v.10 Samuel arrives

1 Sam 14 Jonathan was victorious

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1 Sam 15 Saul's demise Saul was concerned about his image (v.30), false conversion. [Am I right in the sight of God?] v.28 Kingship is torn away from Saul. First priority has to be the mind of God. v.35 God regretted his choice.

1 Sam 16 Samuel had to learn something v.12-13 David was annointed

1 Sam 17 Philistines and Goliath. Aegean custom was for two people to fight, and the winner takes all. Saul becomes afraid of David at this time (paranoia); Jonathan does not want to be king. Philistines are driven out.

1 Sam 20 David flees to desert

David realizes that it is God's authority to remove Saul, not his and therefore does not kill Saul. God will take care of it. David has the great quality of patience. Remember that he that lives by the sword will die by the sword.

1 Sam 25 Samuel dies

Fled to land of Philistine. Why? "Divide and conquer". So Israel would be weakened and Philistines can try to defeat all of Israel. May the Philistines can re-establish control.

7 December 1990

Phase 4 Philistines attempt to re-establish control. Saul and his sons die. 1 Sam 21 Gath; 1 Sam 28, the last battle 1 Sam 31; Mount Gilboa borders on the Valley of Jexreel (south); the Philistines were working to control the Jordan Valley if not the trade routes. Saul dies at Battle at Mt Gilboa (1 Sam 31). v.8-9 brutality of Philistines - took Saul's head. v.10 armor; hung out the body of Saul to maximize on the fear of the Israelites. v.13 The Israelites removed the bodies and gave a honorable burial. Why head and not hands? possibly a change in the approach. We don't know.

2 Sam 1 v.17 David laments, a song of death. David did not rejoice in Saul's death.

Political Problems
- o other son of Saul's
- o Under Philistines again, especially the Jezreel Valley

2 Sam 2: Daivd, King over Judah, his tribe. a division of the kingdom. v.8 Abner makes Isbosheth king of Northern part of the nation for two years.

The Philistines did nothing. They let Israel ruin themselves.

Phase 5: Final Philistine attempt to subdue Hill Country. 2 Sam 4 Ishbosheth was assassinated as well as Abner v.8-12 David cut off hands of assassins; David was upset. 2 Sam 5 The North asks David to be King over them too. He agrees, therefore King over all Israel. v.17 Philistia realized they had to act fast before Israel consolidated. v.18 Valley of Rephaim, an extension of the Kidron Valley. Why? Valley of Rephaim was the border of Judah and the Northern Tribes.

Philistia wanted to divide the two. He was trying to isolate the North so that they could not come to David's aid; the North had no leader (a power vacuum). 2 Sam 23:13 a Philistine garrison, were throughout the land. v.19 Ba'al Perazin v.25 Philistines were chased out of the hill country with God's help.

The Philistines ceased to be a major problem for Israel.

Know for TEST on Dec 17th
- o Opening and closing events of the Five Phases
- o Tribal Inheritances (MAP)
- o Merrill to page 238 or 239

DAVID'S KINGDOM: NATURE OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL

The capital was moved to Jerusalem. Why was the good? It was moved to high ground. The capital was moved out of Judah.

David chose a site that was not an Israelite possession. Jerusalem was under the Jebusites. It had never been conquered by any of the tribes. The capital was put in a neutral territory so that no tribe felt "We have the King."

This was a unifying force because Jerusalem was not original territory, not a tribal possession. It also reconciled Benjaminites with Judah.

10 December 1990

Two kingdoms: N = Israel, S = Judah
Gen 48:16

The whole nation of Israel was involved in the decision of having a king. **1 Sam 10:20** Saul was re-affirmed as king. Saul united the people against the Amorites.
After Saul's death, the nation was divided. Saul and his sons died at the Battle on Mt Gilboa.

Judah acted unilaterally appointing David as King over Judah (Hebron was the capital of Judah). Abner (Saul's cousin) appointed Ish-Bosheth as the figurehead of the Northern Kingdom where he reigned for two years until David moved from Hebron to Jerusalem.

2 Sam 3:1 relations between the two houses. Warfare weakened the north. **v.6** Abner supported the House of Saul **v.12** (politics involved); There was iniative to bring the two nations together. Abner probably felt that he could not get any where without being on David's side. He was murdered by Joab, who probably saw him as a threat to his military position.

2 Sam 5:1 David annointed king over all, over Israel (12 tribes); this was an act by all 12 tribes.

This created a dual monarchy. (ie. James VI of Scotland and James II of England -- ruled two thrones at one time; in Biblical times, the Medes and Persians) David ruled over Judah and Israel. 2 Sam 24:1 Two distinct entities; two separate tallies for the census. This concept continued under Solomon.

2 Kings 1:34 Solomon appointed over Israel and Judah.

2 Sam 19:1 Absalom killed by Joab. **v.9** all of the tribes were at odds. There were arguments; a political crisis. David had fled. **v.43** the tribes were vying for control of King David.

2 Sam 20:1 David had a tenuous control of the nation. There were many grievances.

SOLOMON'S RULE

1 Kings 4:7,20,27 v.7-19 various prefects set up by Solomon. Notice their locations: outside of Judah. Solomon did not treat the whole land the same. Judah was not required to pay the taxes or do it's share of duties. These grievances came to a head under Rehoboam.

REHOBOAM

1 Kings 12:1 Rehoboam went to Shechem to be annointed. Shechem was in the Tribe of Ephraim. v.2-11 Rehoboam failed to recognize how the people felt, turned away the older men's advice and took the young men's advice and made the people's yoke heavier.

1 Kng 12:16 v.14 Rehoboam's attitude was not very conciliatory; it was very autocratic "You thought it was bad then, WAIT AND SEE!!" **v.16** The end result: the nation became divided once again. v.21,22 Rehoboam listened to the word of God and did not fight against Israel.

As a result, the two kingdoms were established side by side. ? A long period of corrusion resulted (starting with the death of Saul and ending with the reign of Rehoboam?) There was "peace"; the internal grievances were glossed over as happens often.

There was not equal administration to all.

Why did God bring about division? It began with Solomon. **1 Kings 11:1-11**

INTERNAL AFFAIRS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

Saul: There was no sense of internal administration recorded. ?**2 Sam 2:8** Ishbosheth v.12 Gibeon why? There was bad blood between Joab and Abner. **2 Sam 5** weaknesses found.

David: 2 Sam 8:15-18 Summary of David's reign, organization chart, structure of Israel.

12 December 1990

2 Sam 8:17 Two lines of priests: Zadok and Abiathar, son of Ahimlech (descendant of Eli, Aaronic line of Ithamar). Abithar retired from the priestly line (**1 Kings 1:27**). The Zadok line was removed at the time of Antichus Epiphanes. [Sadducees - root word is Zadok] **v.17** scribe = secretary of state **v.18** Cherethites = personal body guards

1 Kings 1:22-27 very obvious absences from coronation of Solomon.

INFRASTRUCTURE **1 Chron 27:25, 32-33** various offices held and by whom

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RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS/ADMINISTRATION

Jerusalem was the Administrative and Religious Capital. Shiloh was the religious capital until the ark was taken into captivity when the city was over taken by the Philistines.

2 Sam 6 ?"Curiagerm" Uzziah died because was not carrying the ark properly **v.12** ark inside tent

David brought the religious and administrative focus together at one city. David was able to collect wealth for the temple.

*David brought order to the priesthood. **1 Chron 15:4, 11-12** [Example of order in ?Lk 12 - Zechariah] **1 Chron 15:11** Zadok and Abiathar both had a job to do. **16:39** Zadok chosen to be high priest (171 BC removed by Selucid.)
*David executed true justice. **2 Sam 8:15 v.15** Judgment = Mizpat. Justice = Tzedakah (root), same root word as righteousness (**Gen 18:19**). Judgment was obtained by enforcing the letter of the law. Justice was obtained by enforcing the spirit of the law. David introduced the spirit of the law.

14 December 1990

Mishphat = Judgment *Tzedakah* = Justice

2 Sam 12:1+ Parable of rich and poor man. Context: David, Bathsheba, and Uriah. **v.5** Why brought to the king? Because it was referred to the king. Why? the rich man had everything and took the only one that the poor man had. To repay would not have been true justice because the rich man would not have even "felt" the punishment. Four sheep meant nothing to the rich man; where as the one sheep was probably like a pet, very loved and cherished by the poor man. Justice was needed - something more than four sheep **(Ex 22:1)**. **2 Sam 12** The spirit of the law was meant to come back and hit hard when necessary. David lost four of his sons to untimely deaths: baby, Absalom, Amnon, and Adajanijah (sp?). David was prepared to take God's judgment.

2 Sam 13:1 Amnon raped Tamar; Absalom kills Amnon. **v.28** Absalom flees to Geshur
2 Sam 14:1 widow woman of Tekoah presents a hypothetical situation. **v.18** David smells a "rat".

Amnon's avenger of blood should have been David, but Joab ended up being the avenger of blood when he killed Absalom.

What was the penalty for rape? Stoning. Amnon was supposed to be killed, but he was not killed in the proper way. Why wasn't justice executed immediately? Absalom waited two years to kill Amnon. There is a possibility that David did not take care of the problem as he should have as he felt he could not as a result of his adulteros relationship with Bethsheba.

The judgment of the law did not fully address the problem. If David killed Absalom, the heir to the throne would be killed.

Solomon used Justice *Tzedakah* **1 Kings** 2 women and 1 baby.

David was never able to completely remove the divisions in the Kingdom. **2 Sam 20:1** Revolt of Sheba.

2 Sam 15 How Absalom "got into the hearts" of the people. He asked them what town they were from. **v.3** People didn't get to address the king. Absalom said, "The King won't see you. (meaning he's too busy to see you). Absalom sought to subvert the people by playing upon the division of the kingdom.

1 Kings 12:4 Solomon was accused of putting a heavy yoke on. **1 Kings 9:10** Solomon didn't really execute true justice.

19 December 1990

After David's reign, the kingdom was divided. N = Jeroboam S = Rehoboam

Once again, Egypt began to chip away at Israel's promise land.

When Solomon began to view Jeroboam as a threat, Jeroboam fled to Egypt (**1 Kings 11:48**).

God allowed Egypt to punish Israel for the sins of Solomon.

Sins Develops in Judah

1 Kings 14:22 They went back to the Canaanite promises. Why? The concept of regional gods. **v.26** Egypt carried off treasures. The temple was like a state deposit box. They took the treasure as tribute, although probably did not take the ark or holy items.

King Shishak = Shoshank of the 20th dynasty in Egypt. Recorded on stele (engraved monument, edifice that recounts victory, etc.) and archeaology that he invaded Beersheba, Arad, Tamah. The areas of trade routes. The stele was found at Megiddo. Megiddo controlled the valley - a "choke" point. Shoshank had already re-established with the Edomites. They wanted a East-West trade route. He was getting the strategic points for trade.

JEROBOAM NORTHERN KINGDOM

1. Establish a national identity. Established a capital. There was a strong distrust of national government. **1 Kings 12:25** Jeroboam fortified Shechem and Penuel (unsure whether they were royal cities or just fortified). Why Shechem? It had substantial historical association. It was the place where Joshua brought the nation to enter into the Covenant. Abraham sacrificed here. It was probably where Joseph was sold by his brothers (trade route)
   Why Penuel? a move which brings eastern tribes into the "group". An endeavor to incorporate them into the nation. The place where Jacob wrestled with the angel of God
2. Established a Religious Identity. **1 Kings 12:26 v.28** This is your god.
   A. Set up temples in Dan and Bethel. Why? Dan was a place of convenience. It already had a history of idolatry **Judges 18**. Bethel (meaning House of God) was a place of worship for the patriarchs; therefore, a place the people could have some identity with already.
   B. Made Priests of the basest of people (Levitical priesthood moved south to Jerusalem). This was so Jeroboam would have control over them. The Levitical priesthood was hereditary - it was set by God and the leader was very limited in the control he had over them. Why were the basest people chosen? So the leader could manipulate them. They had no or

very little foundation in God's law; had no foundation for teaching, judging the people. Therefore, the king becomes the critical man in the nation. There is also no more teaching of the people.

C. Feast times were changed. **1 Kings 12:33**

1 Kings 11:29-29 There is no record of Jeroboam asking God what to do. He did not seek God. God does not tell us what to do; He wants to see what is in our hearts.

21 December 1990

INTER KINGDOM RELATIONSHIP

Why was the Northern Kingdom called Israel? Ephraim and Manasseh inherited the name of Israel **Gen 48**

After the split, there was war.

1 Kings 15:9 v.16 war **v.17** Ramah was just north of Geba; it was fortified against Judah. **v.18-21** Ben-Haddad (Armenian) goes against Israel (Baasha - king) **v.22** Asa fortifies Geba and Mizpah. What was Ben-haddad's underlying motive? He wanted to economically subjugate them by throughly cutting off their trade routes. Ramah was a very important cross road. It was an East-West link, and it was also on the North-South ridge route. Baasha wanted to cut Judah off from all directions.

2 Chron 11:5 Rehaboam fortified other parts. A large part of Benjamin became Southern Kingdom.

2 Chron 16: Asa defeated the Cushites because (**2 Chron 15**) relied on God. **v.7** Asa did not rely on God and therefore lost battles.

Why did Asa not rely on God in battle with Israel? Asa asked himself "Who's God is He?" Can I really rely on God to help me as he is also their God. {remember this "If this is the Eternal's will}

Northern Kingdom: Domestic Affairs

There was a prevalence of Ba'al worship. **1 Kings 18** Elijah brought a drought on Israel **1 Kings 17:1+** in response to this prediction. **1 Kings 18** Elijah was not a prophet that just appeared; he was well known, even other nations knew him. **1 Kings 19:4** Elijah felt his job was too much.

Elijah confronted Ba'al worship. **1 Kings 18:2** How bad was Ba'al worship? They vascillated between two opinions. The problem was that they no longer had priests because the King had replaced them. **v.21** They were an unstable nation because they were double minded. **v.39** The people responded: Eternal is God.

Advantages Elijah gave Ba'al Worshippers

1. Elijah gave the Ba'al worshippers the "home court" advantage.
2. The people assembled at Mount Carmel; it was a high place. Ba'al was associated with mountains.
3. Elijah gave the avantage of number; 450 prophets of Ba'al and 450 priests of groves versus one

prophet of God.
4. They had time: Elijah gave them this advantage - very sarcastically.
5. Elijah gave the advantage in response that was called for. Ba'al was the god of thuner, fire from heaven. (The people wanted thunder because that meant rain would accompany it).
At the same time Elijah was pointing out the differences between Ba'al and YHWH. Elijah shows that his God is great; gave them rain. Elijah even drenched his offering with water. The end results were so dramatic that they destroyed the prophets of Ba'al.

1 Kings 18:41 **v.44** Why would the rain stop Ahab? The Kishron Valley would turn into a quagmire because of the rain.

1 Kings 21:1 Vineyard of Naboth **v.3** Naboth spoke very strongly saying that the property was in his family, an inheritance and that Ahan could not have it. **v.7** Jezebel (Ahab's wife, a Phonecian princess) came from a kingdom that thought "You're the King, take it!!" Absolute Monarchy. Kings of Israel still realized that they were not the last authority - prophets would speak to them for God -- a Constitutional Monarchy. **v.13** People who lied against Naboth God told Ahab -- you are NOT guiltless

26 December 1990

Foreign Affairs of the Northern Kingdom

AHAB: Decision that had a fundamental impact on foreign affairs: He married Jezebel, the daughter of the King of Tyre; taking a foreign wife was a matter of diplomacy (Solomon married an Egyptian princess); he had a responsibility to make his wife comfortable in her new land - Jezebel brought her own gods into the land and eventually got everyone to worship them.

Why relationship with Tyre?
It was a merchant center, a major port. It gave Israel some interest in trade and trade routes.

Three Major Periods of Prosperity of Israel and Judah in which had a relationship with Tyre
1. David and Solomon
2. Ahab and Jehosaphat
3. Jeroboam and Uzziah

Ahab paid the price for foreign liaisons.

ARAMEANS -- SYRIANS

Damascus: one of the focal points of the trade routes; a caravan point; one of the oldest cities.

Benhaddad - Haddad = Aramean god, therfore son of a god.

1 Kings 20 Ben Haddad had the ability to trim Ahab's wings. **v.3** Why were wives and children to become a part of Ben Haddad's house? It cuts off the lineage. It was also a matter of humility. Ben-Haddad was showing that he was the one in authority. Ancient kings were often surrounded by royal children of subjugated kingdoms. **v.4** Ahab complies - Ben Haddad takes it as a sign of weakness. **v.10** If you try any games on me, Samaria will be dust.

v.11 "Don't count your chickens before they hatch." **v.13** God intervenes **v.14** Start the battle and God will deliver. **v.23, 28** Addressing the concept of localized gods; Damascus was on the plains, therefore, their god was of the plains. **v.42** Because he let Ben-Haddad go, Ahab was to die.

Why did Ahab call Ben-haddad his brother, etc.? Ahab wanted a buffer zone between Israel and Assyria.
Ahab did not learn that God would deliver. He tried to keep the coalition with Ben-Haddad.
Ahab loses his life, Jehu takes his place. When he sins, the Arameans flourish.

ASSYRIAN CONQUEST OF ISRAEL 8th century BC

[It is easy to have an idea of what God says, but many have a difficult time believing]

Four Misconceptions
1. Assyrians didn't come out of the blue to destroy.
2. They should have seen the approach.
3. All Israel wasn't taken captive.
4. Problems of captivity -- Sins were not particular to Israel

Bible Records: Assyrian Danger
1. There were not easy to see in advance
2. 745 BC Assyria began a new phase
    a. Employed professional soldiers
    b. Developed military warfare techniques
    c. Became very cruel; they scared people into submission

Assyrians established the first of the Great Middle Eastern Empires.
1. They introduced administrative plans for ruling and conquering territories.
2. They established techniques for ruling and punishing subjects.
    a. Stage One: Established vassal kings who had to pay an annual tribute. They were held under the threat of sever punishment.
    b. Stage Two: Replace the vassal king; penalize by taking a part of the territory and placing it under direct Assyrian control
    c. Stage Three: Removed all independence from the area and replace

Divide and Conquer Principle

Not slavery, but resettlement.

2 Kings 15-17 How this was applied to Israel.

HISTORICAL COMMENTARY ON DANIEL 11

by

Wilbur A. Berg

This chapter prophesied in great detail the events which shaped the Persian, Seleucid, and Ptolemaic Empires down to the time of Christ (verses 1-32). It is an outstanding example of the historicity of the Bible and of fulfilled prophecy.

The following lists of kings are given so that the interaction between these nations can be better understood. This historical commentary covers only verses 1 through 32 as the remainder of the chapter deals largely with prophecies which are yet to be fulfilled.

Rulers of the Persian Empire (Some dates are controversial)

Cyrus the Great	558 - 529 B.C.
Cambyses	529 - 522 B.C.
Pseudo-Smerdis (Gomates, the Magian) 7 Months.	522 - 521 B.C.
Darius I, Hystaspes	521 - 486 B.C.
Xerxes I, (Ahasuerus)	486 - 465 B.C.
Artaxerxes I, Longimanus	465 - 425 B.C.
Xerxes II	425 B.C.
Sogdianus	425 B.C.
Darius II, Ochos (also Nothos)	424 - 405 B.C.
Artaxerxes II, Mnemon	405 - 359 B.C.
Artaxerxes III, Ochos	359 - 338 B.C.
Arses	338 - 336 B.C.
Darius III, Codomannus	336 - 331 B.C.

[Completely overthrown by Alexander the Great at Arbella in 331 B.C.]

There were four major divisions of Alexander's Empire after the battle of Ipsus (301 B.C.). The Seleucid and Ptolemaic Kingdoms ultimately engulfed the other two and became the prototype of the king of the north and the king of the south. Because of the Bible story flow, the following dynasties are listed only through the era of Antiochus IV, Ephiphanes. Some of these dates are also controversial.

I. Cassander

Greece and Macedonia

II. Lysimachus

Asia Minor

III. Kings of the North
(Seleucid Dynasty)

--Seleucus I, Nicator
301 - 281 B.C. Most of Syria, all of Babylonia and areas east of India.

--Antiochus I, Soter
280 - 261 B.C.

--Antiochus II, Theos
261 - 246 B.C.

--Seleucus II, Callinicus
246 - 226 B.C.

--Seleucus III, Ceraunus
226 - 223 B.C.

--Antiochus III, "The Great"
223 - 187 B.C.

--Seleucus IV, Philopator
187 - 175 B.C.

--Antiochus IV, Epiphanes
175 - 164 B.C.

IV. Kings of the South
(Ptolemaic Dynasty)

--Ptolemy II, Philadelphus
285 - 247 B.C.

--Ptolemy III, Euergetes
247 - 222 B.C.

--Ptolemy IV, Philopator
222 - 205 B.C.

--Ptolemy V, Epiphanes
205 - 181 B.C.

--Ptolemy VI, Philomator
181 - 145 B.C.

--Ptolemy VII, Eupator Called either Eupator, Philopator or Euergetes II, (Physcon)

--Ptolemy I, Soter
Egypt, Palestine, part of Syria.

The following books are the major sources from which this commentary was compiled. The abbreviated symbols are used instead of the full titles.

L - William L. Langer. An Encyclopedia of World History.
M - J. P. Mahaffy. The Empire of the Ptolemies, 1895 edition.
DRM - Dorothy Ruth Miller. A Handbook of Ancient History in Bible Light.
R - George Rawlinson. A Manual of Ancient History, 1871 edition.

(In addition, the Adam Clarke Commentary and the Critical and Experimental Commentary are both good supplementary sources of information.)

Daniel :1 The first year of Darius the Mede was 538-537. (The first year of Cyrus, 536-535, followed a two year reign of Darius.) Notice that the entire prophecy from 10:20 through 12:4 was continuously spoken by the angel. The Jewish Publication Society translation makes this plain.

:2 DRM, p. 127, gives the above list of rulers of the Persian Empire. As Cyrus was already ruling jointly with his uncle Darius the Mede (10:1), the four Persian kings would appear to be those following him: Cambyses, Pseudo-Smerdis (after the murder of Smerdis by Cambyses), Darius I and Xerxes. However, if Pseudo-Smerdis is not considered a legitimate claimant to the throne, Cyrus would be the first of the four kings as only Xerxes fulfills the requirements of the fourth. R, p. 114, tells of Xerxes enriching himself with the plunder of Babylonian temples, then turning his attention to the invasion of Greece. An excellent description of the history of these Persian kings is found in Rawlinson, The Seven Great Monarchies, Vol. 2, 1885 edition, pp. 447-465, 474-490 ("Stir up all")-502. See also R, p. 102 ff. and p. 112, which shows that Darius was defeated in his attempts to conquer Greece. The latter part of Daniel 11:2 can therefore only apply to Xerxes. See also Esther 1:1-3 which refers to Ahasuerus or Xerxes and gives some background information regarding the preparation for his strike against Greece.

:3 The "mighty king" is Alexander the Great who defeated the Persians under Darius III at the battles of Ipsus (333 B.C.) and Arbella (331 B.C.). R, pp. 233-238, gives a good summary of his reign. L, pp. 65-66, shows how he fostered a belief in his own divinity and how he sought to amalgamate his conquered nations through intermarriage. The Seven Great Monarchies by Rawlinson, Vol. 2, pp. 538-550, gives excellent detailed information about these major battles, showing that everything that Darius did was of no avail--God had prophesied his downfall. Also, pp. 543 and 544 give a good example of how Alexander did "according to his will."

:4 The term "four winds" can be best understood in relation to Palestine. R, pp. 238-250, shows the scramble for power which ultimately reached an apex at the battle of Ipsus (301 B.C.) in Phrygia. At that time Ptolemy (Soter) ruled Egypt, Palestine, and part of Syria. Seleucus (Nicator) ruled most of Syria, all of Babylonia and the area east to India. Lysimachus ruled Asia Minor and Cassander ruled Greece and Macedonia. Mahaffy's, Alexander's Empire (1898 edition), pp. 43-65-70, also describes this same battle for power. DRM, pp. 200-203, outlines the same period and shows that the kingdoms of the Seleucidae (Syria) and the Ptolemies (Egypt), kings of the north and south, ultimately became the strongest and wealthiest of the kingdoms carved from Alexander's empire (p. 203). See also L, p. 78, who records this major division of spoils, and R, p. 264, for more description of Ptolemy's holdings. M, pp. 36, 61, 63, and 65, also describes this division and M, p. 49, shows that every possible legitimate claimant to Alexander's succession was swept away which made possible the creation of the independent sovereignties.

:5 Mahaffy's, Alexander's Empire, p. 69, shows how Seleucus I, Nicator, became stronger than Ptolemy (king of the south) through the seizure of most of Syria in 301 B.C. See also R, p. 264. DRM, p. 202, shows that Seleucus also obtained Asia Minor after Lysimachus was killed in 281. See L, p. 81 and R, p. 250 for additional proof of this. Also, M, pp. 65, 66, and 69. Pages 101, 102, and 106 show how the king of the south became strong (first part of verse 5).

:6 The phrase "in the end of years" does not appear to mean at the time of the end. See verses 13, 27, 35, and 40 which seem to show that this is a continuous prophecy extending from the Persian Empire to the time of the end (v. 40). Antiochus II of Syria married Bernice, daughter of Ptolemy II (Philadelphus) king of the south. Antiochus' first wife (Laodice) had Bernice, her infant son (not her father as KJ implies--see KJ margin) and the Egyptians who attended her, murdered and Antiochus poisoned. See R, pp. 251 (bottom), 252; DRM, pp. 205, 210, 211; L, p. 81; M, pp. 171, 172, 196, and 198.

:7 Ptolemy III (Euergetes), brother of Bernice, invaded and conquered Syria and Asia (246-241 B.C.). Height of Ptolemaic power. Seleucus II (Callinicus) was King of Syria (north) at that time. See R, pp. 252, 272; L, pp. 81, 84; DRM, pp. 205, 211; and M, p. 196.

:8 DRM, p. 205, mentions the plundering of Syria and Palestine by Ptolemy III. R, pp. 273, 274, mentions the restoration of the religions idols which were recovered in Ptolemy's eastern expedition and the peace which was made with Seleucus in 225 B.C. (Seleucus died in a fall from his horse in 226 B.C., R, p. 252. Ptolemy III outlived his rival, not dying until 221 B.C.) See also M, p. 197, which mentions Ptolemy gathering the reserve treasure of the Syrians, and pp. 200, 205, which describe the recovery of all the Egyptian gods which had been carried away by the Persians as spoil.

:9 Summation of verses 7 and 8. R, pp. 252, 273, and DRM, p. 205, show that Ptolemy III had to return to Egypt after the Syrian and Eastern invasions because of a revolt back home.

:10 The sons of Seleucus II were Seleucus III who reigned for only three years, and Antiochus III, the Great, who restored the Seleucid Kingdom to its former extent. Seleucia, the port of Antioch, was retained on the Syrian coast despite losses after initial success (L, p. 81). DRM, pp. 205, 206, mentions Antiochus III making war on Ptolemy IV, Philopater, of Egypt.

The stronghold or fortress was Raphia, near Gaza, on the border of Egypt, which Antiochus attacked in 217 B.C. R, pp. 252, 253, covers this era as does M, pp. 220 and 250.

:11 The king of the north, Antiochus III, the Great, was defeated at Raphia by the king of the south, Ptolemy IV, Philopator. See L, p. 84; R, pp. 253, 275; DRM, p. 206; and M, pp. 253, 256, and 261.

:12 The King James translation is the clearest. After Raphia, a treaty was made and Palestine, part of Syria and Phoenicia were ceded to Egypt. Ptolemy IV's heart was lifted up in the city of Jerusalem on his return trip to Egypt where he tried to enter the Holy of Holies. God miraculously prevented him and he sought to revenge himself on the Jews living in Alexandria when he came back to that city (DRM, p. 206; R, p. 350). His wretched character is described by R, p. 274.

:13 Fourteen years after Raphia (203 B.C.), the king of the north was still Antiochus III who assembled a great army for the Egyptian campaign and allied himself with Philip V of Macedonia against Ptolemy V, Epiphanes, who was a weak king (DRM, p. 206; R, pp. 254, 276; L, pp. 81, 84; and M, pp. 291, 292).

:14 The above-mentioned alliance of Antiochus III and Philip V of Macedon against Ptolemy V, Epiphanes, king of the south. Many wealthy Jews emigrated to Egypt rather than subject themselves to the Syrians under Antiochus III after he had made himself master of Palestine (DRM, p. 206 and M, pp. 292-294). Adam Clarke comments that they thought the Jews and Egyptians should become one people and that they hoped to build a temple like that of Jerusalem in Egypt and thus fulfill the prediction in Isaiah 30:18-25. However, they rebelled against the Egyptians, joined Antiochus, and suffered when Ptolemy's army momentarily subdued the Jews around Palestine.

:15 The king of the north is Antiochus III who defeated Scopas (Egyptian ally) at Paneas (Panium) in Syria in 198 B.C. Palestine came into possession of the Seleucid Dynasty (DRM, p. 206). Scopas fled to Sidon (a strongly "fenced city") where he was forced to surrender (Critical and Experimental Commentary, notes on Dan. 11:15) See also R, p. 254, and M, p. 292.

:16 All of Palestine was subjugated to Syrian rule under Antiochus III. (References under verse 15 apply to this verse as well.)

:17 Roman intervention prevented a further Syrian expedition against Egypt. A scheming treaty was then made in which Antiochus III's daughter, Cleopatra (not the one in Egypt at 31 B.C.), was given in marriage to Ptolemy V, Epiphanes, in the year 193 B.C. This plan to conquer Egypt failed when Cleopatra aided her husband against her father (DRM, pp. 206, 207; R, pp. 254, 277; M, pp. 298, 305, 306).

:18 Antiochus III invaded Asia Minor, Greece and took the Aegean Islands. He did not heed Rome's warning to get out of her European Territory and he was defeated by the Roman General L. Cornelius Scipio in the battle of Magnesia near Smyrna in 190 B.C. (L, pp. 81, 88, 89; R, pp. 254, 445, 446; DRM, p. 207; M, pp. 307, 310).

:19 Because he was greatly in need of money, Antiochus attempted to plunder the Temple of Baal at Elymais in Armenia of its gold and silver treasure and was stoned to death by the people of the city (DRM, p. 207; R, p. 254).

:20 Seleucus IV, Philopator, needed tribute money to pay Rome and sent Heliodorus to Jerusalem to rob the temple of its wealth. God miraculously stopped him. Seleucus was murdered by Heliodorus (DRM, p. 207; R, pp. 255, 351; M, pp. 310, 332).

:21 Antiochus IV, Epiphanes, succeeded his brother Seleucus IV. He usurped the throne from his nephew, Demetrius, who was the son of Seleucus IV (DRM, p. 212; R, p. 255; M, p. 332).

:22 Heliodorus seized the throne after the death of Seleucus IV. However, Antiochus IV, with the help of the Pergamene King, Eumenes, drove Heliodorus from the throne (R, p. 255; DRM, p. 212). Antiochus IV deprived Onias of the high priesthood and sold it to the Hellenized Jesus or Jason who in turn sold it to his brother Menelaus (R, pp. 351, 352; DRM, p. 213).

:23 Antiochus IV dealt deceitfully with both the Romans and Egyptians after agreements had been made with them. His deceit is also illustrated by the above-mentioned transferral of the Jewish high priest's office (R, pp. 255, 256, 351).

:24 The great extravagance of Antiochus IV in Palestine is well illustrated by DRM, p. 213. Extensive hellinization occurred during this period. See also R, p. 351.

:25 The king of the south was Ptolemy VI, Philometer. Antiochus VI, Epiphanes, reduced Egypt in four campaigns. Egypt was so defeated that she asked Rome for help (R, p. 256; DRM, p. 213; M, p. 333).

:26 Ptolemy Philometer was taken prisoner by Antiochus Epiphanes (Antiochus was the uncle of Ptolemy) and Antiochus was crowned King of Egypt at Memphis. Alexandria then revolted and chose Ptolemy Philometor's brother (Ptolemy Physcon) and king (R, p. 278; DRM, p. 213; M, p. 333).

:27 Antiochus Epiphanes left Ptolemy Philometer as King of Egypt at Memphis where he then refused to continue as Antiochus' tool. Also, the joint reign of the two brothers (Ptolemy VI, Philometer, and Physcon, Ptolemy VII) was quarrelsome and deceitful during this period (R, pp. 278, 279).

:28 Antiochus IV, Epiphanes, returned to Jerusalem (where a civil war was taking place between the rival claimants of the high priesthood) and severely persecuted the Jews (R, p. 351; M, pp. 337, 495).

:29 Antiochus Epiphanes invaded Egypt a second time but was stopped by the Roman naval commander and Ambassador, C. Popilius Laenas, who commanded his immediate withdrawal from Egypt (L, pp. 82, 89; R, p. 278; DRM, p. 214; M, p. 337).

:30 The first part of the verse is explained in the notes on verse 29. Antiochus Epiphanes retreated a second time through Palestine and again vented his rage on Jerusalem with the assistance of renegade Jews under Menelaus (R, pp. 256, 351; DRM, p. 214; notes of Critical and Experimental Commentary on this verse; M, pp. 339, 340).

:31 Climax of horror. Cp. Dan. 8:11-14. The daily sacrifice was abolished, an idol of Jupiter Olympus was set up in the Holy of Holies, and an altar for sacrifices to Jupiter Olympus was set up in the temple upon the place of the Jewish sacrifices. The Jews were forbidden to observe any of God's laws (R, pp. 255, 351; DRM, pp. 214-216; L, p. 32; M, pp. 340, 341).

:32 Many Jews rejected God's covenant. This verse describes the era of the Maccabean revolt to the time of Christ (R, p. 352; DRM, p. 216, 217; L, p. 32).

ANCIENT ISRAEL II (THL 408)
COURSE OUTLINE

Spring semester 1991

Instructor: Mr. Peter Nathan

PURPOSE: To draw upon relevant information from the fields of geography, archaeology, philology and related disciplines in order to increase our understanding of events of the Intertestamental and the early New Testament Periods. A special focus of the course is the attempt to better understand the religious teachings of Jesus and the early church in the light of the political, religious and social setting of Roman Empire especially the area of Judaea.

METHODS: Lecture discussion is encouraged and welcomed. Analysis of scripture and material from scholarly and popular journals relevant to lecture topics. Class participation.

TEXTBOOKS:

Required:
The Holy Bible
The New Testament Era by Bo Reicke
Fortress Press

Recommended:
The Macmillan Bible Atlas (Revised Edition) by Yohanan Aharoni and Michael Avi-Yonah
Kingdom of Priests by Eugene H. Merrill
Chronological & Background Charts of the New Testament by H. Wayne House

REQUIRED READING: See attached Additional Reading Schedule

CLASS EXAMS: **Three** class exams plus a final are scheduled. Questions will involve analysis of key scriptures; identification and short discussion items; and completion of charts.

EXCUSED ABSENCE PROCEDURES:

Illness:
Any student who misses class due to illness and wishes to receive an excused absence, must obtain approval from a designated health professional at the Health Center. One copy of the **Notice of Excused Absence** form will be given to the student and one copy forwarded to the Dean of Faculty.

Official College Activities:
Any student who misses class due to an official college activity must obtain prior approval from the Dean of Faculty. One copy of the **Notice of Excused Absence** form will be given to the student and one to the Dean of Faculty.

All Other Absences:
In the case of any other unavoidable absences a student who would like an excused absence must obtain approval from the Dean of Faculty. One copy of the **Notice of Excused Absence** form will be given to the student.

Specific *A Priori* Unexcused Absences:

1. Early departure and/or late arrivals from official college recess periods are unexcused absences. Some individual exceptions may be made by the Dean of Faculty for international students having difficult travel arrangements.

2. Classes missed due to work, are unexcused absences.

3. If a student schedules a counseling appointment during class, that is an unexcused absence. However, a student may receive an excused absence for administrator-initiated counseling or when a scheduled appointment is unavoidably delayed. (Xerox a copy to the Dean of Faculty.)

Student Responsibility:
Upon returning to class the student must show the **Notice of Excused Absence** form to the faculty member for each class missed. It is the student's responsibility to make up any tests, class work, and other assignments.
(Note: the Dean of Faculty will not send out lists of excused absences). Unexcused Absences will lead to a lowering of your grade and a dropping from the class.

MAKE-UP EXAMS:

A "make-up" examination will be given only if both the following conditions are met:

1. A student has been absent from a prior class examination.
2. Documentation of a valid excuse (serious personal illness, family emergency, or institutional need) for both absences was submitted with in the limit specified by college regulation.

Even if both conditions are fulfilled, a student can complete only one "make-up" examination.

No "make-up" examination will be provided in lieu of a normally scheduled final examine unless approval is given by the Academic Dean. Students anticipating the need to have a final exam rescheduled should complete the required procedures well in advance of the end of the Semester.

COURSE GRADE: The semester grade will be determined in the following manner:

$$\frac{\text{(2 best Class Exam scores + Final Exam score)}}{\text{(Total Possible Points)}}$$

* Grades can be improved by class participation. Get involved!

SCHEDULE OF LECTURES

Spring Semester 1991

Lecture 1.	Jan. 28	Mon	Introduction The Return of Judea The Judean Community: Early Problems
Lecture 2.	Feb. 4	Mon	The Judean Community: Chronology of Ezra 4 The Return to Judea: A Chronological Reconstruction Ezra: The Spiritual Reconstruction of Judea
Lecture 3.	Feb. 11	Mon	The Nature and Role of the Oral Law Ezra: His Spiritual Legacy Nehemiah: The Physical Reconstruction of Judea
Lecture 4.	Feb. 25	Mon	Ezra & Nehemiah: Chronological Problems A Chronological Reconstruction The Hellenistic Background
Lecture 5.	Mar. 4	Mon	**EXAMINATION #1** Judaea Under the Ptolemies The Transition from Ptolemaic to Seleucid Rule
Lecture 6.	Mar. 11	Mon	The Hellenistic Movement in Judaea The Seleucid Persecution The Book of Daniel: Criticisms

Lecture 7.	Mar. 25	Mon	The Book of Daniel: Rebuttal of Modern- Critical Views Traditional Views The Identity of Darius the Mede
Lecture 8.	April 1	Mon	The Hasmonaean State: Institutions & Policies Political Conflict & Civil War
Lecture 9.	April 8	Mon	The Decline of the Hasmonaean State Herod the Great Judaea from Herod to Jesus
Lecture 10.	April 15	Mon	**EXAMINATION #2** Judaea in the Time of Jesus: Political Conditions Sects & Parties
Lecture 11.	April 22	Mon	Messianic Expectations Jesus and the Religious Teachings of His Age
Lecture 12.	April 29	Mon	The Arrest and Trial of Jesus Messianic Movements/ Apocraphyll Literature
Lecture 13.	May 6	Mon	**EXAMINATION #3** The Jews and the Spread of the Gospel End of the Jewish State

FINAL EXAMINATION

READING ASSIGNMENTS

Spring Semester 1991

*Pages Numbers relate to textbook "The New Testament Era", Bo Rieke. These pages need to be read by the lecture.

LECTURE	PAGES & Handouts	SCRIPTURES
Lecture # 1 Jan 28	8 - 13 Between the Testaments (THL408.025) Map (THL408.028)	Ezra 1 - 6
Lecture # 2 Feb 4		Ezra 7 - 10 Nehemiah 8 - 10
Lecture # 3 Feb 11	Study Questions: Oral Law (THL408.026) 18 - 23	Nehemiah 1 - 7, 11, 13
Lecture # 4 Feb 25	13 - 18 Ezra & Nehemiah - Who Came First (THL408.029) Hellenistic World: Political and Cultural Background (THL408.002)	
Lecture # 5 Mar 4	35-49 Annals of Taxation (THL408.019)	
Lecture # 6 Mar 11	49 - 62 The Hasmonean Revolt (THL408.007) Maccabees (* I Maccabees 1:1 - 4:61 & * II Maccabees 3:1 - 10:8) (THL408.040)	

Lecture # 7 Mar 25	The 70 Weeks Prophecy (THL407.032) Historical Commentary on Daniel 11 (THL408.015)	Daniel 2:31-45 Daniel 7:3-11, 17-27 Daniel 8:3-25 Daniel 7:13-14 Daniel 9:24-27
Lecture # 8 April 1	63 - 74 The Hasmenean Jewish Kingdom (THL408.041)	
Lecture # 9 April 8	74 - 75; 77 - 105 Decline of the Hasmonean State (THL408.041) Judaea After Herod the Great (THL408.009)	
Lecture # 10 April 15	109 - 116; 124 - 127; 131 - 151 Influential Jewish Groups in the Time of Jesus (THL408.010) Pharisees & Sadducees: Origins & Teachings, Origins of the Sadducees During Ezra's Period (THL408.020) Judaism Sectarian Split (THL408.013)	Bring Harmony of Gospel for next 3 lectures
Lecture # 11 April 22	152 - 174 24 - 26	
Lecture # 12 April 29	174 - 176; 184 - 188 27, 29	
May 6	188 - 194; 200 - 201; 210 - 223 30, 31	

SUGGESTIONS FOR ADDITIONAL READING

Material Relating to the Hellenistic Period:

Bentwich, Norman. Hellenism.

Bevan, E. A History of Egypt Under the Ptolemaic Dynasty

____. The House of Selecus. Vol. 2.

Bruce, F.F. New Testament History.

Eddy. The King Is Dead: Studies in the Near Eastern Resistance to Hellenism, 334-331 B.C. Chapters 8-9: "The Jews".

Hadas. Hellenistic Culture: Fusion and Diffusion.

Hoenig, Sidney B. The Great Sanhedrin. Vol. 1.

Lieberman, Saul. Hellenism in Jewish Palestine.

Marcus, Ralph, "The Hellenistic Age," in Great Ages and Ideas of the Jewish People by Salo W. Baron.

Pfeiffer, R.H. History of New Testament Times with an Introduction to the apocrypha.

Radin, Max. The Jews Among the Greeks and the Romans.

Russel, D.S. The Jews from Alexander to Herod.

Tcherikover, V. Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews.

Zeitlin, Solomon. The Rise of the Judean State.

Development of Judaism in the Hellenistic Period:

Barret, C.K. The New Testament Background.

Bentwich, Norman Philo Judaeus of Alexandria.

Charles, R.H. Eschatology: The Doctrine of A Future Life in Israel, Judaism and Christianity.

____. Religious Development Between the Old and the New Testament.

Finkelstein, Louis. "Hellenistic Jewish Literature," in The Jews: Their Religion and Culture.

____. The Pharisees.

Goodenough, Erwin R. Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period. 3 vol.

Goodspeed, Julius. The Messiah Idea in Jewish History.

Guignebert, Charles. The Jewish World in the Time of Jesus.

Herford, R. Travers. The Pharisees.

Hoenig, Sidney B. The Great Sanhedrin.

Klausner, Joseph. The Messianic Idea in Israel.

Lauterbach, J.Z. "The Pharisees and Their Teachings," in Rabbinic Essays.

Lewy, Hans. Philo.

Marcus, Ralph. "The Hellenistic Age," in Great Ages and Ideas of the Jewish People by Salo W. Baron.

Metzger, Bruce M. An Introduction to the Apocrypha.

Oesterley, W.O.E. Jews and Judaism During the Greek Period.

Pfeiffer, R.H. History of New Testament Times with an Introduction to the apocrypha.

Russell, D.S. Between the Testaments.

____. The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic.

Sandmel, Samuel. Philo's Place in Judaism.

Tcherikover, V. Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews.

Wolfson, H.A. Philo: Foundations of Religious Philosophy in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.

Zeitlin, Solomon, "The Origin of the Idea of Messiah," in Essays Silver (1963), pp. 447-459.

_____. The Rise and Fall of the Judean State. Vol. I.

Material Relating to the Maccabean (Hasmonean) Period:

I Maccabees.

II Maccabees.

Riggs, J.S. A History of the Jewish People During the Maccabean and Roman Periods.

Russell, D.S. The Jews From Alexander to Herod.

Tcherikover, V. Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews.

Zeitlin, Solomon. The Rise and Fall of the Judean State. Vol. I.

Material Relating to the Roman Period:

Bonsirven, Joseph. Palestinian Judaism in the Time of Christ.

Furneaux, Rupert. The Roman Siege of Jerusalem.

Grant, Michael. The Jews in the Roman World.

Guignebert, Charles. The Jewish World in the Time of Jesus.

Heohner, Harold W. Herod Antipas, A Contemporary of Jesus Christ.

Hoenig, Sidney, B. The Great Sanhedrin. Vol. I.

Jeremias, J. Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus.

Jones, A.H.M. The Herods of Judea.

Klausner, Joseph. From Jesus to Paul.

____. Jesus of Nazareth.

Maccoby, Hayam. Revolution in Judaea. Jesus and the Jewish Resistance.

MacGregor, G.H.C. Jew and Greek: Tutors Unto Christ.

Mackowski, Richard M. Jerusalem, City of Jesus.

Minkin, Jacob S. Herod.

Neusner, Jacob. First Century Judaism in Crisis.

____. From Politics to Piety. The Emergence of Pharisaic Judaism.

____. Judaism in the Beginning of Christianity.

Oesterley, W.O.E. The Gospel Parables in the Light of Their Jewish Background.

Parks, James. The Foundation of Judaism and Christianity.

____. Jesus, Paul and the Jews.

Perowne, Stewart. The Later Herods.

Safrai, S. and M. Stern, eds. The Jewish People in the First Century. Vol. I.

Sandmel. Herod: Profile of a Tyrant.

Wilkinson, John. Jerusalem as Jesus Knew it.

Zeitlin, Solomon. The Rise and Fall of the Judean State. Vol. I, II.

____. Who Crucified Jesus?

BETWEEN THE TESTAMENTS

A BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF HISTORICAL PERIODS IN PALESTINE

Persian	539 B.C. - 333 B.C.
Hellenistic	333 B.C. - 63 B.C.
Roman	63 B.C. - 324 A.D.
Byzantine	324 A.D. - 636 A.D.
Arabic	636 A.D. - 1516 A.D.
Turkish	1516 A.D. - 1917 A.D.

CHRONOLOGY OF POSTEXILIC PERIOD

Restoration from Captivity

B.C.	
539	Fall of Babylon to Cyrus (October, Cyrus accession year)
538/37	Decree for return of Jews (Cyrus' 1rst year)
536	Return of Jews under Zerubbael (probable: 70 years, inclusive, from 1st phase of captivity in 605)
520/19	Temple Building resumed (in 2nd year of Darius I)
520-518	Ministry of Haggai and Zechariah Completion of Temple (in spring of 6th year of Darius)
479/78	Esther made queen (7th year of Xerxes)
473	Jesus delivered from death
457	Return of Ezra to Jerusalem, spring and summer
444	Return of Nehemiah, spring; building of wall of Jerusalem
432	End of Nehemiah's first term as governor

Kings of Persia

	B.C.
Cyrus	539-530
Cambyses	530-522
Smerdis	522
Darius I (the Great)	522-486
Xerxes	486-465
Artaxerxes	465-423
Darius II	423-405/04
Artaxerxes II	405/04-359/58
Artaxerxes III	359/58-338/37
Darius III	336/35-331
Alexander the Great (from his recognition in Babylonia)	331-323

INTERTESTAMENTAL PERIOD - IMPORTANT DATES

B.C.	
334-323	Alexander's conquest of Persian Empire (Asia Minor to borders of India)
331	Battle of Arbela (Gaugamela); decisive defeat of Persia
323	Alexander's death at Babylon
301	Division of Alexander's Empire into 4 parts (after Battle of Ipsus)
281	Four divisions reduced to 3 (Lysimachus conquered by Selecus I)
200	Palestine transferred from Ptolemics to Seleucids (after Battle of Panium)
168	Antiochus Epiphanes persecutes Jews, desecrates Temple
165	Maccabees restore Temple after 3 years profanation
143-63	Jesus independent under Maccabean rulers
63	Syria (Seleucid Kingdom) and Palestine annexed by Rome
40	Herod appointed King of Judea in Rome
37	Herod takes Jerusalem from last Maccabean king

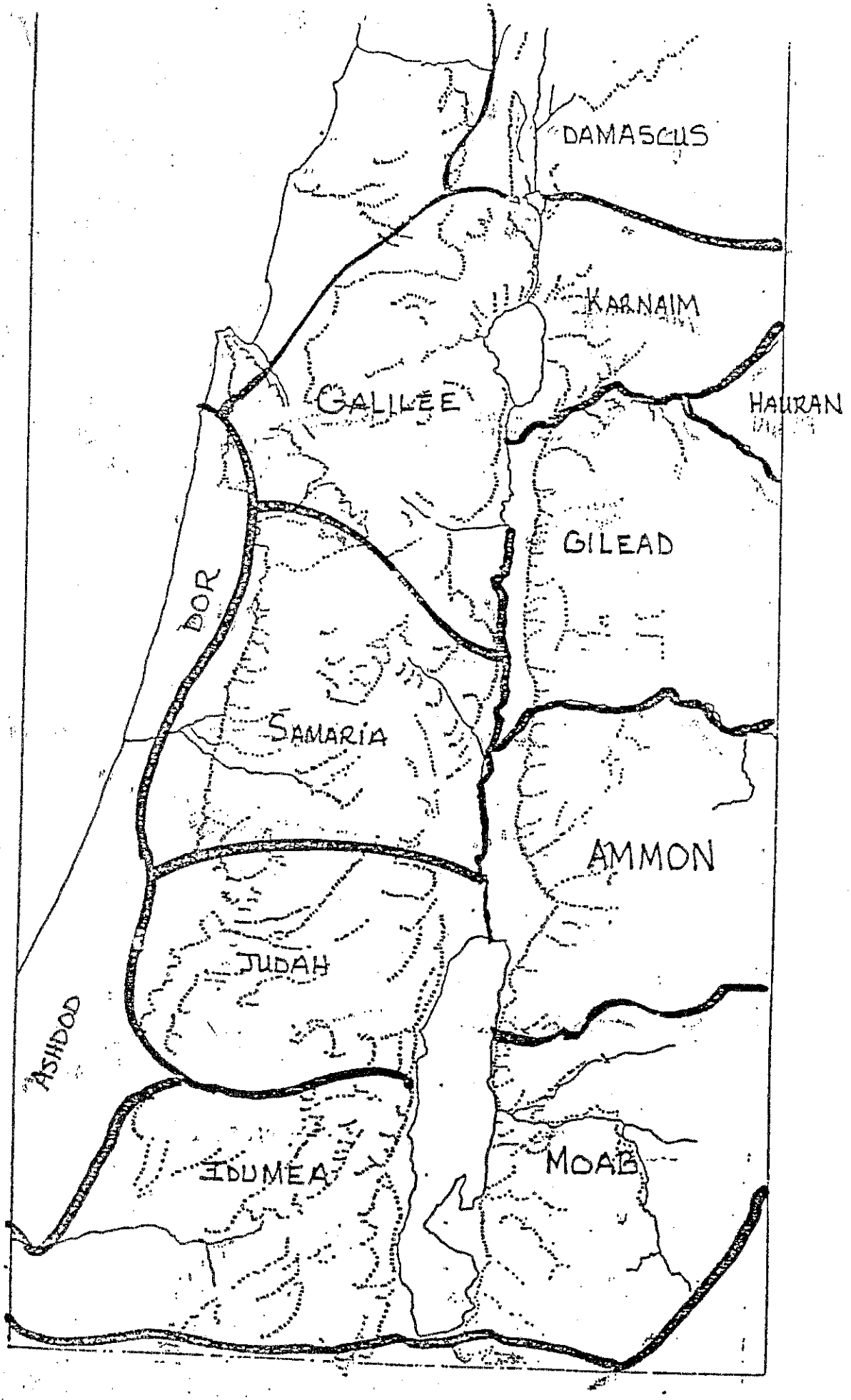
PERIOD OF THE MACCABEES (HASMONAEANS)

	B.C.
Revolt of Palestine against Syria	167
Judas Maccabeaus	166-160
Jonathan	160
Simon	142-134
John Hyrcanus	134-104
Aristobulus I	104-103
Alexander Jannaeus	103-76
Alexandra	76-67
Aristobulus II	66-63
Pompey established Roman control of Palestine	63

Note: Mariamne, wife of Herod the Great (37-34), was a Maccabee.

SOME RULERS OF PALESTINE IN THE TIME OF CHRIST AND PAUL

Caesar Augustus, Roman Emperor	27 B.C. - A.D. 14
Tiberius, Emperor	A.D. 14 - 37
Herod the Great, Idumaean King of Judea under the Romans	37 - 4 B.C.
Herod Antipas, Tetrarch Galilee and Peraea	4 B.C. - A.D. 39
Herod Aprippa II	A.D. 50-93
Roman Procurators ruling Palestine for the Romans:	
Pontius Pilate	A.D. 27 - 37
Felix	A.D. 52 - 60
Festus	A.D. 60 - 62


DAMASCUS
KARNAIM
GALILEE
HAURAN
GILEAD
DOR
SAMARIA
AMMON
JUDAH
ASHDOD
IDUMEA
MOAB

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