

| <u>Universal Terms</u> <i>around the world</i> | | <u>Palestinian Terms</u> | |
|---|------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Iron II (A,B) | 1000 - 586 B.C. | Israelite II | <i>Solomon & David's Ki.</i> |
| Iron I (A,B,C) | 1200 - 1000 B.C. | Israelite I | <i>Saul & David</i> |
| Late Bronze (I, IIA, IIB) | 1550 - 1200 B.C. | Late Canaanite | <i>Judges</i> |
| Middle Bronze (I, IIA, IIB, IIC) | 2050 - 1550 B.C. | Middle Canaanite | |
| * Early Bronze (I, II, III, IV) | 3200 - 2050 B.C. | Early Canaanite | |
| Chalcolithic | 4300 - 3200 B.C. | Chalcolithic | <i>PRE FLOOD</i> |

FLOOD - c 2324
Patruarchs - c 1900

Kenyon
Interm EB-MB
MBI

* Kathleen Kenyon suggests that:

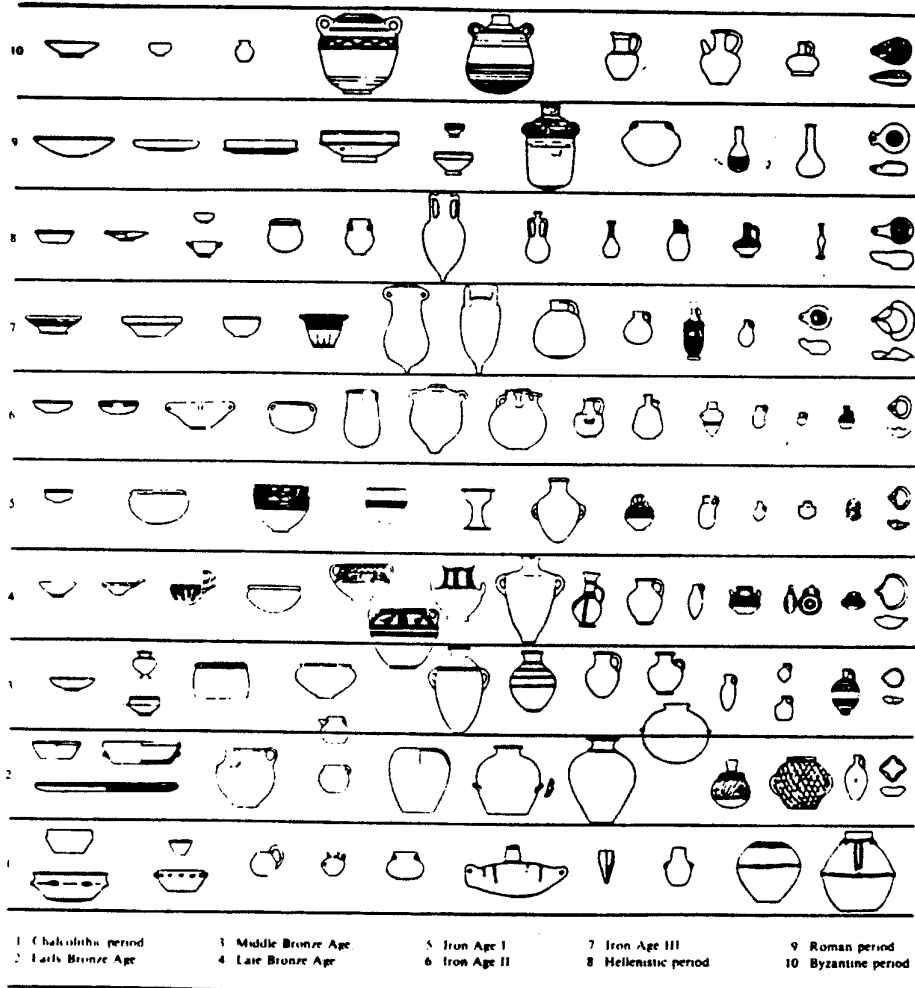
EBIV - MBI should be called Intermediate EB - MB (c.2300-1900)

Kenyon says here → in clear bronze

- MBIIA would then be MBI (1900 - 1750 B.C.)
- MBIIB would be MBIIA (1750 - 1650 B.C.)
- MBIIC would be MBIIB (1650 - 1550 B.C.)

Immediately after flood expect things to be very similar to pre-flood - cultural diff start w/ diffusion

Characteristic pottery types from Chalcolithic to the Byzantine periods



Piety and Patriotism — Secularism and Skepticism: The Dual Problem of Archaeological Bias

By J. Edward Barrett

IT WAS THE DAY before the excavation was scheduled to end. Heinrich Schliemann, the German archaeologist who discovered the site of Troy, had his crew of 80 workmen furiously digging through the tel's various strata in quest of museum-worthy artifacts from the Homeric city (which he thought was at the bottom of the tel). Then, on June 14, 1873 an incomparable treasure of gold was found. That evening, after adorning his young Greek wife with the ancient jewelry, he reportedly told her: "You are wearing the treasure of Helen of Troy." Today, scholars are agreed that Schliemann, in his enthusiasm to find a city worthy of Priam, had cut right through the city known to Homer's heroes, and the gold he found belonged to a city 1000 years earlier.

Three years later Schliemann turned his attention to the ruins of Mycenae—where the expedition against Troy originated. Within a month he found royal graves, with the features of the dead exquisitely preserved on golden face-masks. Incurably romantic, Schliemann wired the King of Greece: "I have gazed on the face of Agamemnon." Modern scholarship judges that he was again wrong, though this time by only 400 years.

These two instances illustrate the influence that a romantic interest in the ancient world can have on the judgment of an archaeologist—the temptation to identify what we find with what we want to find. Perhaps the problem is intensified for the Biblical archaeologist, whose piety and patriotism often nurture and renew the romantic interest which first moved him or her to become an archaeologist.

In 1929 Sir Leonard Woolley, who should have known better, cabled the press from Mesopotamia: "I have found the flood." Evidence of a flood, or the bed of a shifted river, was indeed found by Woolley. But reference to the flood (of Noah) was an undisciplined, impulsive, and outrageous claim — perhaps better calculated to win financial support for the dig than to serve the causes of either truth or piety.

In 327 A.D. the site of the Holy Sepulcher was "discovered" by no less a credentialed archaeologist than Helena, the mother of Emperor Constantine. The drama of its identification can be seen only through mists of legend. Helena, guided by both a vision and a local bishop, believed she located the tomb of Jesus beneath a pagan temple, and remnants of the true cross in a nearby cistern. Eusebius, an historian in the service of the Emperor, reports the tomb's discovery in obsequious tones' — though he conspicuously does not mention Helena's discovery of the site of Calvary. Within a generation, however, legend supplied what Eusebius had omitted, and the discovery of Golgotha, the tomb, and the cross itself were attributed to Helena. There is in the story no evidence whatsoever to help us distinguish authenticity from wish-fulfillment. Yet, no less a distinguished archaeologist than Kathleen Kenyon blithely and uncritically assumes "it is not unreasonable to believe that she must have been given some convincing evidence"² — which is a fine instance of piety substituting for proof.

However much subsequent devotion has hallowed the site, there is not the slightest reason to believe that anyone in 327 A.D., after two major destructions of Jerusalem and centuries of Christian longing not for the old world but for a new heaven and a new earth, knew where Jesus had been buried. Later references to Hadrian's motives in 135 A.D. for building a pagan temple on the site (to defile a Christian holy place) are clearly an anachronism which Hadrian is not available to correct.

A visitor to the southwestern spur of Jerusalem can today see the "tomb of David." It is an impressive site, hallowed by piety, patriotism, and centuries of Jewish suffering. The fact is, however, that this southwestern spur (today called Mount Zion) was not the "Mount Zion" on which the City of David was situated, and where David was buried (Ophel, the eastern spur was).³ In a strange and complicated "adjustment" of geography, the nomadic name "Mount Zion" has wandered from the

eastern City of David (later extended to include the Temple Mount) to the western spur — partly because of Byzantine ignorance, and partly to accommodate the realities of piety and politics.

The temptation to identify sites that accommodate piety is not limited to the ancients. Anyone who has been on a dig in Israel, attended professional meetings, or read preliminary reports, knows the inordinate enthusiasm surrounding the possible identification of a Late Bronze Age or (better) Iron Age wall, gate, building, or object. I am aware of one dig where a "bench of the elders" just inside the city gate (where judgment was held) turned out in a final report to be only another nondescript section of a public building.

Piety and patriotism seek holy and national shrines. This search was an overt motivating force in the work of early archaeologists, and it is just below the surface today.

* Antithetically, there is another force operative in the judgment of modern archaeologists. Compared with what we have been examining, it is a mirror image — the inclination to debunk the piety, patriotism, or accepted wisdom of (usually older) colleagues.

For example, this attitude is reflected in the view that the synagogue at Capernaum cannot possibly be the one in which Jesus taught, since Christian piety obviously wants it that way. This is not, of course, the way the argument is stated, but it is the way the evidence is handled. The usual reasoning is that the synagogue's architectural style belongs to the second or third centuries A.D. The fact (recently discovered) that an almost identical structure was destroyed by the Romans at Gamla* in 67 A.D. does not apparently move most modern archaeologists to rethink the criterion, but only to allow for an exception.

Interestingly enough, the recent finding of hoards of late fourth and fifth century coins beneath the floor of the Capernaum synagogue has led many scholars — prominent Americans among them — to plug for a fifth century date for the building. Several Israeli archaeologists, on the other hand, contend the coins were placed there after the synagogue was built. But no one seems to be reconsidering the possibility, based on the assured dating of the Gamla building, that the Capernaum synagogue is in fact the one in which Jesus preached. After all, no more likely candidate has been uncovered.

Since the 1930s, textbooks in archaeology have shown the "stables of Solomon" at Megiddo to be one of the few remaining monuments from the time of the united monarchy. Now we are told that they are neither Solomonic nor stables. That they belong to the time of Ahab does today seem unquestionable: That they are not stables strains the imagination.⁵

There is a strange kind of self-righteousness (not to mention sadistic glee) among those who assure us they are not pious. And, iconoclastic debate points are often * counted, by those seeking to be intellectually respectable, as though they had double weight. The student of modern archaeology should be aware of these professional, in-house games of one-upmanship.

Biblical archaeology's search for truth is more like a process than a proof, sometimes achieving tentative consensus, but seldom if ever achieving unquestionable knowledge. Data that is reviewed by one mind suggests an interpretation that is often different when reviewed by another. These differences in perspective actually * contribute to the process as theories are proposed, debated, and revised. Of course, piety, patriotism, ideology, training, and the opposite expressions of these, influence the * archaeologist's judgment, just as they do the historian's. In candid moments, every professional archaeologist knows this — the best scholars know it about themselves; * others only know it about their colleagues.

Probably most readers of *BAR* understand these matters. But it is good to be reminded, because the reader * needs to be free from the tyranny of expecting scientifically certain "proof," in order to enjoy the excitement of the process that is modern archaeological scholarship.

¹Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, Vol. 3, pp. 25-40.

²Kathleen M. Kenyon, *The Bible And Recent Archaeology*, John Knox Press, Atlanta, 1978, p. 96.

³Kathleen M. Kenyon, *Jerusalem: Excavating 3000 Years of History*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1967, Chapter II. Kenyon, *Digging Up Jerusalem*, Praeger Publishers, New York, 1974, Chapter 5. Hershel Shanks, *The City of David*, Bazak Publishers Ltd., Tel Aviv, 1973, pp. 15-22 and 99-108. See also: II Samuel 5:7; I Kings 2:10; Psalm 48.

*See "Gamla: The Masada of the North" in *BAR*, January/February, 1979, p. 12.

*See "Megiddo Stables or Storehouses?" in *BAR*, September, 1976.

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

⁷ S. Smith, *JTS*, XXXIII (1932), 33-36.

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

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—G. 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.