

Fall Semester 1980-81

PURPOSE OF THE COURSE: To draw upon relevant information from the fields of geography, archaeology, philology and related disciplines in order to increase our understanding of biblical events and the historical and cultural context in which they took place.

CONDUCT OF THE COURSE: Lecture - discussion. Analysis of scriptures and material from scholarly and popular journals relevant to lecture topics; intensive map study to maintain a geographic frame of reference.

CLASS EXAMINATIONS: There will be three class examinations. Questions will involve the analysis of key scriptures, interpretation/completion of maps and charts, multiple-choice items, identification items, short discussion items and essays.

MAKE-UP EXAMINATIONS: A make-up examination will be given ONLY if all the following conditions are met:

1. A student has been absent for two class examinations.
2. Documentation of a valid excuse (serious personal illness, family emergency or institutional need) for BOTH absences was submitted by the student within three class sessions after his/her return to class.

Even if both conditions are fulfilled, a student may complete only ONE make-up examination.

FINAL EXAMINATION: The Final Examination will consist of questions involving the analysis of key scriptures, interpretation/completion of maps and charts, identification items and multiple-choice items.

All students will be expected to be present for the Final Examination at the time printed in the Schedule of Classes. Exceptions will be granted ONLY in cases of exam schedule conflicts, serious personal illness, family emergency or institutional need. ALL SUCH EXCEPTIONS MUST BE APPROVED BY THE DEAN OF STUDENTS.

Schedule of Lectures

Fall Semester 1980-81

- 1) August 25 Introduction
 - 2) August 27 Geography of the Holy Land I
 - 3) August 29 Geography of the Holy Land II
-

- September 1 LABOR DAY: NO CLASS
 - 4) September 3 Archaeology: Methods
 - 5) September 5 Archaeology: Chronology
-

- 6) September 8 Archaeology: Problems
 - 7) September 10 Historicity of the Patriarchs I
 - 8) September 12 Historicity of the Patriarchs II
-

- 9) September 15 Origins of the Patriarchs
 - 10) September 17 Patriarchal Life I
 - 11) September 19 Patriarchal Life II
-

AUTUMN RECESS: September 22 - October 7

- 12) October 8 Geography of the Exodus
 - 13) October 10 Chronology of the Exodus
-

- 14) October 13 EXAMINATION I
 - 15) October 15 Archaeology of the Israelite Conquest I
 - 16) October 17 Archaeology of the Israelite Conquest II
-

- 17) October 20 The Israelite Conquest: A Summary
 - 18) October 22 The Period of the Judges: An Overview
 - 19) October 24 The Period of the Judges: Tribal Life I
-

- 20) October 27 The Period of the Judges: Tribal Life II
 - 21) October 29 Ehud (Deborah)
 - 22) October 31 Deborah
-

- 23) November 3 Gideon, Jephthah
 - 24) November 5 EXAMINATION II
 - 25) November 7 The Philistines
-

Reading Assignments

Fall Semester 1980-81

LECTUREARTICLES

- 3) August 29 "Where is Biblical Debir?"

- 4) September 3 ✓ "Palestine - Known but Mostly Unknown"
"Yigael Yadin Finds a Bama at Beersheva"

- 5) September 5 ✓ "The Importance of Dating"
"Ancient Europe is Older Than We Thought"

- 6) September 8 ✓ "Nelson Glueck and King Solomon -
A Romance That Ended"
✓ "Megiddo Stables or Storehouses? -
I The Debate Continues"
"II In Defense of the Stables at Megiddo"
"MYSTERY ARTICLE I"
"MYSTERY ARTICLE II"

- 7) September 10 ✓ "Have Sodom and Gomorrah Been Found?"
"Sodom and Gomorrah Update"

- 31) November 21 "Has the U.S. Geological Survey Found
King Solomon's Gold Mines?"

- 39) December 12 ✓ "Part of the Ten Lost Tribes Located"

- 40) December 15 ✓ "The Meaning of Isaiah 7:14 ..."

- 41) December 19 ✓ "The Fall of Jerusalem in the Light of
Archaeology"

HIST 408

**ANCIENT ISRAEL:
PERSIAN, HELLENISTIC & ROMAN PERIODS**

Mr. Paige
2/17/86

The Hellenistic World
Political & Cultural Background

I. Importance

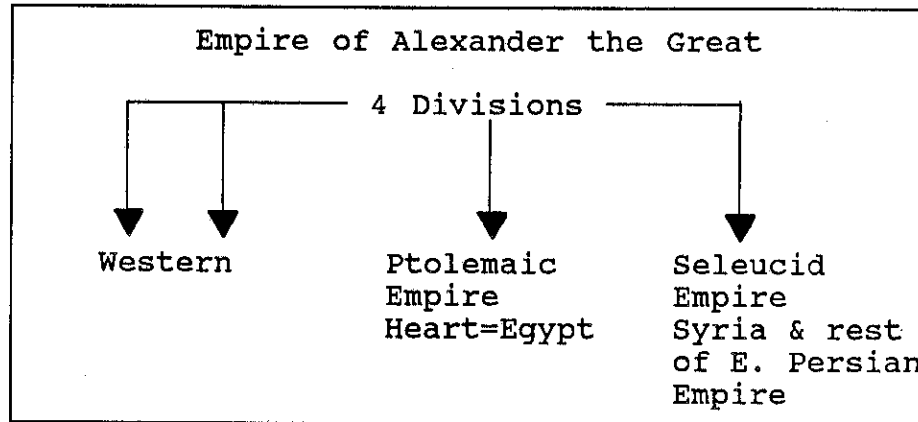
Hellenistic civilization represented the greatest challenge to the restored Jewish community.

II. Political Background

A. Alexander the Great

1. The speed and thoroughness of his conquest of the Persian Empire was unprecedented. (No wonder Daniel pictures Alexander as a leopard).
2. Division of the Empire after his death (323 B.C.)

Eventually, the Empire was organized into 4 divisions as prophesied by Daniel).



- B. Jews were ruled first by the Ptolemaic Empire and later by the Seleucid Empire.

III. Cultural Background

A. Nature of Hellenistic Culture

1. A fusion of pure Greek culture (Hellenic) with oriental (near eastern) elements.
2. This fusion of Greek and oriental culture was more important to the Seleucid Empire than Ptolemaic Empire. (Reason to be seen in succeeding lectures).
3. Predominantly (90%) Hellenic culture.

2/17/86

- B. Result of this cultural fusion was:
1. Creation of the first truly international culture. Throughout the Near East upper class and middle class residents of cities shared a common culture.
 - a. Common Language: Greek (koine)
 - b. Common Religion: Greek gods, especially Zeus (sky god) and/or Apollo (sun god)
 - c. Common Literary Heritage: Greek classics of drama, poetry and philosophy.
 - d. Common Political Institutions: Those of Greek "polis".
 - e. Common Architectural Style: especially Corinthian style.
 - f. Common Social Customs: Greek manner of dress, hairstyle, dietary habits.
 2. Establishment of legal and social equality between Conqueror and Conquered (upper and middle classes).
 - a. Unlike previous empires which admitted no foreigners to the privileged class (Assyrian) or which limited those admitted to a few naturalized foreigners (Babylonian) or those with unusual talents or abilities (Persian), the Hellenistic Kingdoms admitted all upper class and middle class residents to the privileged class.
 - b. One might have expected the Greeks to be the last to do this since:
 1. Greeks considered themselves superior to all other peoples (whom they called barbarians).
 2. Greeks during their "Golden Age" had severely limited the granting of citizenship to foreigners who were Greek (not barbarians).
 - c. This dramatic reversal of previous behavior is explained by necessity.

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1. Too few ethnic Greeks to control and run the cities of the Near East.
2. Too few Greek women, hence intermarriage with upper and middle class native women.
3. Thus, full equality had to be extended to upper and middle class natives.
- d. "Price-tag" for full equality was the adoption of Greek culture by the upper and middle class natives. (inevitable that some oriental elements would be retained; result:

a predominantly Hellenic--but not an exclusively Hellenic--culture.)

IV. Impact on the Jews

A. Orientation

As a result of Alexander's Conquest of the Near East and the creation of Hellenistic civilization, Jews became oriented to the West for the first time. This orientation became permanent.

B. Extension of the Diaspora (Communities outside Holy Land)

As a result of the unity of Hellenistic civilization, Jews spread to every major city in the Hellenistic world.

1. This adjustment (living as a cultural-religious minority in a non-Jewish majority culture) helped the Jews survive the later destruction of Jewish national life in Judea. (70 A.D. and 135 A.D.).
2. The dispersion of the Jews throughout the Hellenistic world helped pave the way for the spread of the Gospel in the 1st century A.D.
 - a. Greek-speaking Jews eventually required a Greek Translation of the Old Testament which was read in the synagogue.
 - b. Gentiles attracted to Judaism learned Old Testament promises of the Messiah since scriptures were read and expounded from a Greek text in the synagogue (Paul's first Gentile converts were frequently attendees of the synagogue).

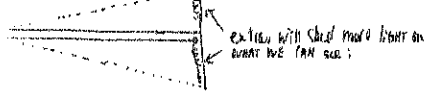
C. Increased Social Tensions between Jews and Gentiles.

1. In earlier periods, Jews were one of a multitude of different ethno-religious cultural groups in the Near East. Now, the only distinctive group left since the only ones to insist upon perpetuation of their distinctive religious values and practices. (Visibility greatly increased).
2. Jews would not participate in two major activities common to citizens of a Hellenistic city.
 - a. Sons barred from participation in athletics since circumcision was viewed of deliberate destruction of the perfection of beauty - the human body.
 - b. Could not participate in patriotic ceremonies since they were linked to pagan religious practices.

Fall Semester 1982-83

PURPOSE OF THE COURSE:

LINKS A LASER: DT. RECORDS
 & SHOWS US THE SURROUNDING DETAIL:



STUDY (ANATOMY)

To draw upon relevant information from the fields of geography, archaeology, philology and related disciplines in order to increase our understanding of biblical events and the historical and cultural context in which they took place.

CONDUCT OF THE COURSE:

HANDOUTS.....

Lecture - discussion. Analysis of scripture and material from scholarly and popular journals relevant to lecture topics; intensive map study to maintain a geographic frame of reference.

CLASS EXAMINATIONS:

* Short response - chart fill in - 1 or 2 essays.
 • & TAKE HOME TAKES 1 WEEK.

There will be four class examinations. Questions will involve the analysis of key scriptures, interpretation/completion of maps and charts, multiple-choice items, identification items, short discussion items and essays.

MAKE-UP EXAMINATIONS:

A make-up examination will be given ONLY if all the following conditions are met:

3 class exams count!

1. A student has been absent for two class examinations.
2. Documentation of a valid excuse (serious personal illness, family emergency or institutional need) for BOTH absences was submitted within three class sessions after return to class.

Final - multiple choice - all taken at period tests

Even if both conditions are fulfilled, a student may complete only ONE make-up examination.

FINAL EXAMINATION:

The Final Examination will consist of multiple-choice items.

All students will be expected to be present for the Final Examination at the time printed in the Schedule of Classes. Exceptions will be granted ONLY in cases of exam schedule conflicts, serious personal illness, family emergency or institutional need. ALL SUCH EXCEPTIONS MUST BE APPROVED BY THE DEAN OF STUDENTS.

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

Three highest class exam scores,

Final exam score,

Map manual score and

Class participation score will be divided by

TOTAL POSSIBLE POINTS *Highly subjective -- if close to next grade.*

MAP STUDY:

Purpose

The Land of Israel served as the "geographical stage" for almost all biblical events. Map exercises (including the study of relevant scriptures) are designed to help increase your understanding of the relationship of that "stage" to the biblical events.

Material

The following materials are required:

1. Bible
2. Student Map Manual - Historical Geography of the Bible Lands
3. The McMillan Bible Atlas
4. Colored Markers: yellow, blue, green, red, brown, etc. *Pencils don't bleed through the page. Pencils.*
5. A fine-point black pen

Use CONTRASTING COLORS:

Schedule of Lectures

Fall Semester 1982

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|--|--------------|--|
| 1. | August 30 | Introduction |
| 2. | September 1 | Geography of the Holy Land 4-3, 4-4 |
| 3. | September 3 | Archaeology: Methods I |
| | September 6 | LABOR DAY -- NO CLASS |
| 4. | September 8 | Archaeology: Methods II |
| 5. | September 10 | Archaeology: Chronology |
| 6. | September 13 | Archaeology: Problems |
| 7. | September 15 | Historicity of the Patriarchs I |
| 8. | September 17 | Historicity of the Patriarchs II |
| 9. | September 20 | Patriarchal Life I |
| 10. | September 22 | Patriarchal Life II |
| 11. | September 24 | EXAMINATION I |
| AUTUMN RECESS: September 25 - October 12 | | |
| 12. | October 13 | Geography of the Exodus |
| 13. | October 15 | Chronology of the Exodus |
| 14. | October 18 | Archaeology of the Israelite Conquest I |
| 15. | October 20 | Archaeology of the Israelite Conquest II |
| 16. | October 22 | Archaeology of the Israelite Conquest: A Summary |
| 17. | October 25 | The Period of the Judges: An Overview |
| 18. | October 27 | The Period of the Judges: Tribal Life I |
| 19. | October 29 | The Period of the Judges: Tribal Life II |

20. November 1 Ehud; Deborah
21. November 3 Gideon; Jephthah
22. November 5 EXAMINATION II
-
23. November 8 The Philistines
- November 10 FIELD TRIP
24. November 12 The Transitional Period: Samuel
-
25. November 15 Experiment with Kingship: Saul
26. November 17 The Kingdom of David: Internal Affairs
27. November 19 The Kingdom of David: Foreign Affairs
-
28. November 22 The Golden Age: Solomon
29. November 24 EXAMINATION III
- November 26 THANKSGIVING RECESS -- NO CLASS
-
30. November 29 The Division of the Kingdom
31. December 1 Israel and Judah: Nadab -Omri/Abijam-Asa
32. December 3 Israel and Judah: Omri-Ahab/Jehoshaphat
-
33. December 6 Israel and Judah: Ahaziah-Jeroboam II/
Jehoshaphat-Uzziah
34. December 8 Israel and the Arameans of Damascus
35. December 10 The Prophet Amos
-
36. December 13 The Decline and Fall of Israel
37. December 15 EXAMINATION IV
38. December 17 The Eclipse of Judah
-
39. December 20 Judah: Hezekiah
40. December 22 Judah: Josiah
41. December 24 The Last Kings of Judah

SUGGESTIONS FOR ADDITIONAL READING

Introduction and General:

- Archer, Gleason. A Survey of Old Testament Introduction. Chicago: Moody Press, 1964. (Conservative)
- Eissfeldt, Otto. The Old Testament, An Introduction. Trans. by P. R. Ackroyd. New York: Harper & Row, 1965. (Liberal)
- Miller, M. The Historian and the Old Testament. Fortress Press, 1974.
- Wright, G. E. The Old Testament Against Its Environment. London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1950.

Geography:

- Aharoni, Y. The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography. Eng. tr., London: Burns & Oates, Ltd.; Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1967.
- Aharoni, Y. and M. Avi-Yonah. The Macmillan Bible Atlas. London: Collier-Macmillan, Ltd.; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1968.
- Avi-Yonah, Michael. The Holy Land. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1966.
- Baly, D. The Geography of the Bible. Harper & Brothers, 1957.
- Gardiner, A. H. "The Geography of the Exodus, an answer to Professor Naville and others." Journal of Egyptian Archaeology 10 (1924): 87-96.
- Simons, J. The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1959. (Liberal)
- Wiseman, D. J. (ed.) The Peoples of the Old Testament. Oxford University Press, 1973.

History -- General Works:

- Albright, W. F. From the Stone Age to Christianity. 2d ed., Doubleday Anchor Book, 1957. (A work of fundamental importance)
- Albright, W. F. The Biblical Period from Abraham to Ezra. Rev. ed. Harper Torchbook, 1963. (A concise summary)
- Baron, Salo Wittmayer. A Social and Religious History of the Jews. New York: Columbia University Press, 1952.
- Bruce, F. F. Israel and the Nations. London: The Paternoster Press, 1963. (Conservative)

- DeVaux, Roland. Ancient Israel, Its Life and Institutions. Trans. by J. McHugh. New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1961.
- Eichrodt, Walther. Theology of the Old Testament. Trans. by J. A. Baker. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1961. (Liberal)
- Gordon, Cyrus H. The Ancient Near East. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1964.
- Harrison, R. K. A History of Old Testament Times. London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1957. (Conservative)
- Kitchen, K. A. Ancient Orient and Old Testament. Chicago: Inter-Varsity Press, 1966. (Conservative)
- Mazar, B. (ed.) The World History of the Jewish People. W. H. Allen/Rutgers University Press, 1971. (Vol. II, Patriarchs; Vol. III, Judges)
- Merrill, Eugene. An Historical Survey of the Old Testament. Nunley, N. J.: The Craig Press, 1966. (Conservative)
- Noth, Martin. The History of Israel. 2d ed. London: A. & C. Black, 1958. (Liberal)

History -- Specific Topics:

- Ackroyd, P. R. Israel under Babylon and Persia. Oxford University Press, 1970.
- Albright, W. F. "The Oracles of Balaam." Journal of Biblical Literature 63 (1944): 207-233
- Albright, W. F. "The Role of the Canaanites in the History of Civilization," The Bible and the Ancient Near East, pp. 328-62. Ed. by G. E. Wright. Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1961.
- Childs, B. S. Isaiah and the Assyrian Crisis. SCM Press, 1967.
- Cross, Frank M. "The Tabernacle." Biblical Archaeologist 10 (1947): 45-68.
- deWet, C. The Date and Route of the Exodus. London: Tyndale Press, 1960.
- Garstang, John. Joshua, Judges. London: Constable & Co., 1931. (Liberal)
- Gordon, C. H. "Biblical Customs and the Nuzu Tablets." The Biblical Archaeologist 3, no. 1 (1940).
- Gray, J. The Canaanites. London: Thames and Hudson, Ltd., 1964.
- Heathcote, A. W. From the Death of Solomon to the Captivity of Judah. London: James Clarke, 1959.

- Heaton, E. W. The Hebrew Kingdoms. The New Clarendon Bible. London: Oxford University Press, 1968.
- Hermann, S. Israel in Egypt. SCM Press, 1973.
- Hunt, Ignatius. The World of the Patriarchs. Prentice-Hall, 1967.
- Kaufmann, Yehezkel. The Biblical Account of the Conquest of Palestine. Trans. by M. Dagut. Jerusalem: Hebrew University Press, 1953. (Liberal)
- Lehman, Manfred R. "Abraham's Purchase of Machpelah and Hittite Law." Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, no. 129 (1953).
- Lindblom, J. Prophecy in Ancient Israel. Blackwell/Fortress Press, 1962.
- Maly, E. H. The World of David and Solomon. (Backgrounds to the Bible Series). Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966.
- Mayes, A. D. H. Israel in the Period of the Judges. SCM Press, 1974.
- Mendenhall, G. E. Law and Covenant in Israel and in the Ancient Near East. Pittsburg: The Biblical Colloquium, 1955.
- Mendenhall, G. E. "The Census Lists of Numbers 1 and 26." Journal of Biblical Literature 77 (1958): 52-66.
- Moore, G. F. Judaism. Harvard University Press, 3 vols., 1927-1930.
- Moscatti, S. The World of the Phoenicians. Eng. tr., London: George Weidenfeld & Nicolson, Ltd., Publishers, 1968.
- Mowinckel, S. The Psalms in Israel's Worship. Eng. tr., Oxford: Basil Blackwell & Mott, Ltd., 2 vols., 1962.
- McKay, J. W. Religion in Judah under the Assyrians. SCM Press, 1973.
- McKenzie, J. L. The World of the Judges. (Backgrounds to the Bible Series). Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966.
- Nicholson, E. W. Exodus and Sinai in History and Tradition. Blackwell, 1973.
- Noth, M. and D. Winton Thomas, eds. Wisdom in Israel and the Ancient Near East. VT, Suppl., Vol. III; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1955.
- Pattai, Raphael. Sex and Family in the Bible. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., 1959.
- Rowley, H. H. From Joseph to Joshua. London: Oxford University Press, 1950. (Liberal)
- Schwarz, Leo. (ed.) Great Ages and Ideas of the Jewish People. New York: Random House, 1956.

- Thiele, E. R. The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings. Revised ed. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1965. (Conservative)
- Thompson, T. L. The Historicity of the Patriarchal Narratives. De Gruyter, 1974.
- Unger, M. F. Israel and the Arameans of Damascus. London: James Clarke & Company, Ltd., Publishers, 1957.
- Weippert, M. The Settlement of the Israelite Tribes in Palestine. SCM Press, 1971.
- Whybray, R. N. The Succession Narrative. SCM Press, 1968.
- Yadin, Y. The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands. 2 vols., McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1963.

Archaeology:

- Albright, W. F. Archaeology and the Religion of Israel. 3d ed. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1953.
- Albright, W. F. "A Re-examination of the Lachish Letters." BASOR. no. 73 (1939): 16-21.
- Albright, W. F. "Exploring in Sinai." BASOR. no. 109 (1948): 5-20.
- Albright, W. F. The Archaeology of Palestine. Revised ed. Hammondsworth: Penguin Books, 1956.
- Albright, W. F. "The Lachish Letters After Five Years." BASOR. no. 82 (1941): 18-24.
- Albright, W. F. "The Oldest Hebrew Letters: The Lachish Ostraca." BASOR. no. 70 (1938): 11-17.
- Finegan, J. Light from the Ancient Past. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959.
- Free, J. P. Archaeology and Bible History. 8th ed. Wheaton: Scripture Press Publications, Inc., 1964. (Conservative)
- Freedman, David N. and Jonas C. Greenfield (eds.) New Directions in Biblical Archaeology. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1971.
- Freedman, David Noel. "The Babylonian Chronicle." The Biblical Archaeologist 14, no. 3, (September, 1956) 50-60.

- Gray, John. Archaeology and the Old Testament World. Santa Fe: Gannon, 1962.
- Harrison, R. K. The Archaeology of the Old Testament. New York: Harper Chapel Books, 1966.
- Kenyon, Kathleen. Archaeology in the Holy Land. New York: Praeger, 1970.
- Kenyon, Kathleen. Royal Cities of the Old Testament. Barrie and Jenkins/Schocken, 1971.
- Pritchard, J. B., (ed.) Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament. Princeton University Press, 1950.
- Pritchard, J. B. Archaeology and the Old Testament. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958.
- Rothenberg, Beno. God's Wilderness: Discoveries in Sinai. London: Thames & Hudson, 1961.
- Thomas, D. Winton. Archaeology and Old Testament Study. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1967.
- Thomas, D. Winton (ed.) Documents from Old Testament Times. Nelson, 1958/ Harper and Row, 1961.
- William, Walter G. Archaeology in Biblical Research. Nashville: Abingdon, 1965.
- Wright, G. Ernest. Biblical Archaeology. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1962.
- Wright, G. E. (ed.) The Bible and the Ancient Near East. Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1961.
- Wright, G. E. and David Noel Freedman. The Biblical Archaeologist Reader. New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1961.
- Freedman, David N. and Edward F. Campbell, Jr. (eds.) The Biblical Archaeologist Reader 2. New York: Scholars Press, 1964.
- Campbell, Edward F. and David N. Freedman (eds.) The Biblical Archaeologist Reader, 3. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1970.

Religion:

- Alt, A. Essays on Old Testament History and Religion. Eng. tr., Oxford:
Basil Blackwell & Mott, Ltd., 1966.
- Cross, F. M. Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic. Harvard University Press, 1973.
- Kaufman, Y. The Religion of Israel, from Its Beginnings to the Babylonian Exile. abr. Eng. tr., The University of Chicago Press, 1960.
- Noth, M. The Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Studies. Eng. tr., Edinburgh
and London: Oliver & Boyd, Ltd., 1966; Philadelphia: Fortress Press,
1967.
- Russell, D. S. The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic. OTL, 1964.
- Vawter, B. The Conscience of Israel: Pre-exilic Prophets and Prophecy.
London: Sheed & Ward, Ltd., 1961.
- von Rad, G. The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays. rev. ed., Oxford:
Basil Blackwell & Mott, Ltd., 1965

INTRODUCTION TO
THE STUDENT
MAP MANUAL

The Student Map Manual (SMM) is a workbook produced for the express purpose of allowing students to interact seriously with biblical and related history in its rich and enlightening geographical context. This short introduction will lead you through the various sections of the SMM (hopefully with Manual in hand) so that you will begin to feel at home in it before beginning your assignments. The educational value of the maps will be realized after you have properly marked them and read important related history.

INTRODUCTORY PAGES

- a. East Orientation - The reasons for this approach (which may give you some difficulty at first) are given on the back of the title page of the SMM.
- b. Contents - This important double page not only outlines the contents of the SMM, but also includes a cross-reference system which allows you to find the map on which particular biblical references can be studied. A quick glance at the contents shows that the major part of the SMM (Sections 3 - 13) is devoted to historical maps, shown inside the GRAY and TAN areas:

GRAY AREA: Sections 3 - 10
Patriarchal period - Persian period

TAN AREA: Sections 10 - 13
Persian period, intertestamental period,
New Testament period, Late Roman/Byzantine
periods

SECTION 1 REGIONAL MAPS (full color)

These 16 maps are preceded by a "key map" which shows the area covered by each regional map. Overlapping is intentional and allows you to see strategic sites and regions in relationship to a variety of other sites and regions. Only on these maps are modern roads shown. Built-up areas around modern cities are shown in gray with the name of the modern city given in many cases.

SECTION 2 ARCHAEOLOGY

Ten archaeological maps with a one-page introduction follow the full-color maps. Sites with important material remains appear on these ten maps according to archaeological periods. Dates used in Israel for these archaeological periods are listed in the introduction to these maps. These may be transferred to each map.

SECTIONS 3 THROUGH 13 (Historical Maps)

The section-map number is printed on the top left and on the bottom right of each map. It is helpful to compare the double-page of Contents with the various sections as you read.

- a. Section titles are events, persons or periods as can be seen by glancing down the Contents page (gray and tan areas). Individual map titles are listed under each section (3-1, 4-1, 4-2, 4-3, etc.). These have been omitted from each individual map to permit instructors or students to devise their own titles.
- b. Summary of Contents and Sources (SCS) has been prepared to aid in the study of that period of history. The main biblical references for that section appears at the top right corner of the first page of each SCS. Its omission for Section 3 indicates that there are no biblical references for this period.

The SCS for Section 4 shows the breakdown of the section into individual maps and the further breakdown of each map into various topics (4-3 a to g; 4-4 a to e, etc.). The column to the right of each topic is the primary source column. In it is listed the actual historical text (Biblical or secular) where the events of that topic are found. Any name in that text will appear on that particular map in red. All other names on the map are black and are drawn from the relevant archaeological period (Section 2 of the SMM). Glance through the maps of Section 4 noting the changing red names (according to the names found in the primary source listed for each map).

- c. The column to the right of the primary source column in each SCS lists any relevant full-color regional map (Section 1 of the SMM) which will aid you in grasping the full context of the region. Further to the right, the next column lists the relevant map and text from the Macmillan Bible Atlas. Space has been left on the far left to write in the dates of any events which are felt to be necessary for quick reference.
- d. In maps 3-1 through 11-12 natural communication links are printed on each map (red=international; grey=local). These will give you a general idea of the movement of commerce and armies. Maps 11-13 through 13-5 feature the Roman road system which linked important new centers. For details, see the Introduction page which follows the Contents page.

SECTION 14 ARCHAEOLOGY OF JERUSALEM

In this section, much new and valuable information on the exploration of Jerusalem is presented in a way which allows you to make your own personal investigation of the city.

SECTION 15 INDEXES

These are explained in an introductory page.

CHRONOLOGICAL CHART OF SIGNIFICANT EVENTS
IN BIBLICAL HISTORY
FROM ABRAHAM TO THE CAPTIVITY OF JUDAH



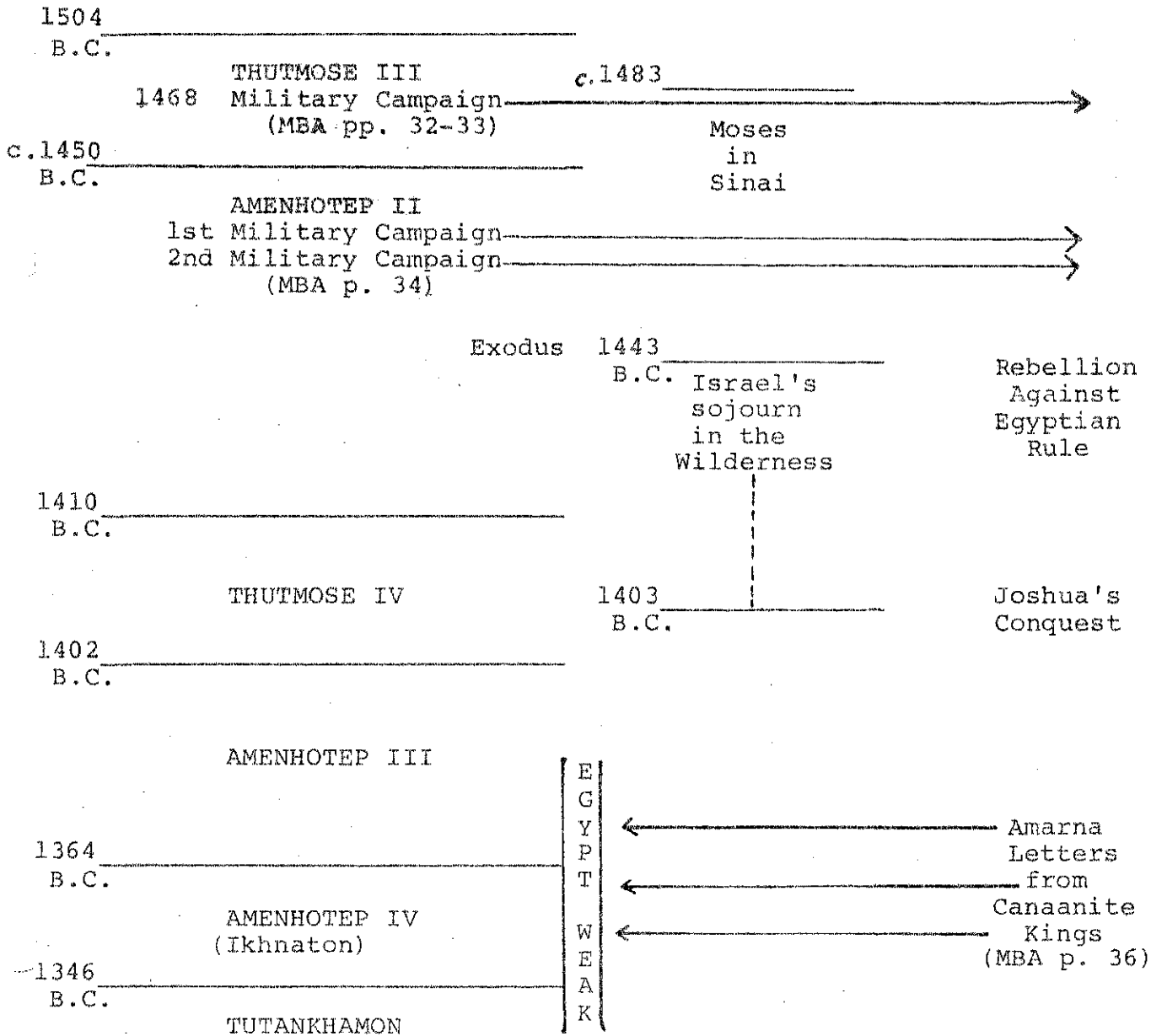
Dates Event

20th century/
19th century
B.C. Abraham & Isaac

19th century B.C. Jacob
Descent into Egypt

EGYPT

CANAAN



EGYPT

CANAAN

333
B.C.

HOREMHEB

1303
B.C.

Military campaign
(MBA p. 37)

SETI I

→ Monument of Seti I
at Bethshean
records victory over
Apiru at Mount Yarmuta
(biblical Jarmuth)
alloted to Issachar
(Joshua 19:21, 21:29)
(MBA p. 37)

1290
B.C.

1286 Military campaign
(MBA p. 38)

RAMESES II

→ Battle at Kedesh
against Hittites
? Othniel ?

c.1270 Papyrus Anastasi I

→ Mention of the
"Chief" of Asher
opposing travel
(MBA p. 39)

1223
B.C.

c.1220 Military campaign
(MBA p. 39)

MERNEPTAH

→ Victory poem:
"Israel is desolate"

1211
B.C.

c.1200 Deborah

c.1150 Gideon

c.1100 Jephthah &
Samson

c.1080 Samuel

c.1040-c.1007 B.C. Saul - King of Israel 1 Samuel 9 - 31

c.1007-c.1000 B.C. Ishbosheth - King of Israel 2 Samuel 2 - 4
David - King of Judah

c.1000-c.967 * B.C. David - King of Judah and Israel 2 Samuel 5

c.967-c.927 B.C. Solomon - King of Judah and Israel 1 Kings 1

c.927 B.C. Division of the Kingdoms 1 Kings 12

ISRAEL

JUDAH

late 900's B.C. Jeroboam I ← Invasion of Pharaoh Shishak c.922 → Rehoboam 1 Kings 14


late 900's B.C. Baasha ← Warfare & Final Settlement of Common Border → Asa 1 Kings 15

c.850 B.C. Ahab ← Mutual Alliance and Alliance with Tyre → Jehoshaphat 1 Kings 16-22

c.840 B.C. Jehu ← Vassal of Assyria → Athaliah 2 Kings 10-11

early 700's B.C. Jehoash ← Period of Revival → Amaziah 2 Kings 13-14

c.760 B.C. Jeroboam II ← Mutual Alliance and Alliance with Tyre → Azariah/Uzziah 2 Kings 14-15

 PERIODS OF EXCEPTIONAL WEALTH AND PROSPERITY

c. 745
B.C.

Menahem <

Vassal of Assyria

2 Kings 15

Pekah

Ahaz

734 B.C. Alliance with Rezin,
King of Damascus for
attack on Judah

2 Kings 15-17
2 Kings 16

732 B.C. Assyria seizes
Israelite territory
& deports population
of Galilee and Gilead

2 Kings 15:29

Hoshea

721 B.C. Assyria conquers Samaria
Most of remaining people
in Israel deported

2 Kings 17

END OF THE NATION OF ISRAEL

Hezekiah

714 B.C. Great Passover 2 Chr. 30

701 B.C. Invasion of Judah 2 Kings 18
by Assyrian King 2 Chron. 32
Sennacherib

Josiah

c.625 B.C. Book of the Law 2 Kings 22
found in Temple

609 B.C. Killed fighting 2 Kings 23
Pharaoh Neco at
Megiddo

Jehoahaz

Judah a
Vassal of
Egypt



609 B.C. Removed from throne by Pharaoh Neco 2 Kings 23

Jehoiakim

Judah a
Vassal of
Egypt



609 B.C. Appointed by Pharaoh Neco 2 Kings 23

Judah a
Vassal of
Babylon



604 B.C. Confirmed on throne by Nebuchadnezzar 2 Kings 23

c.601 B.C. Rebels against Nebuchadnezzar 2 Kings 24

Jehoiachin

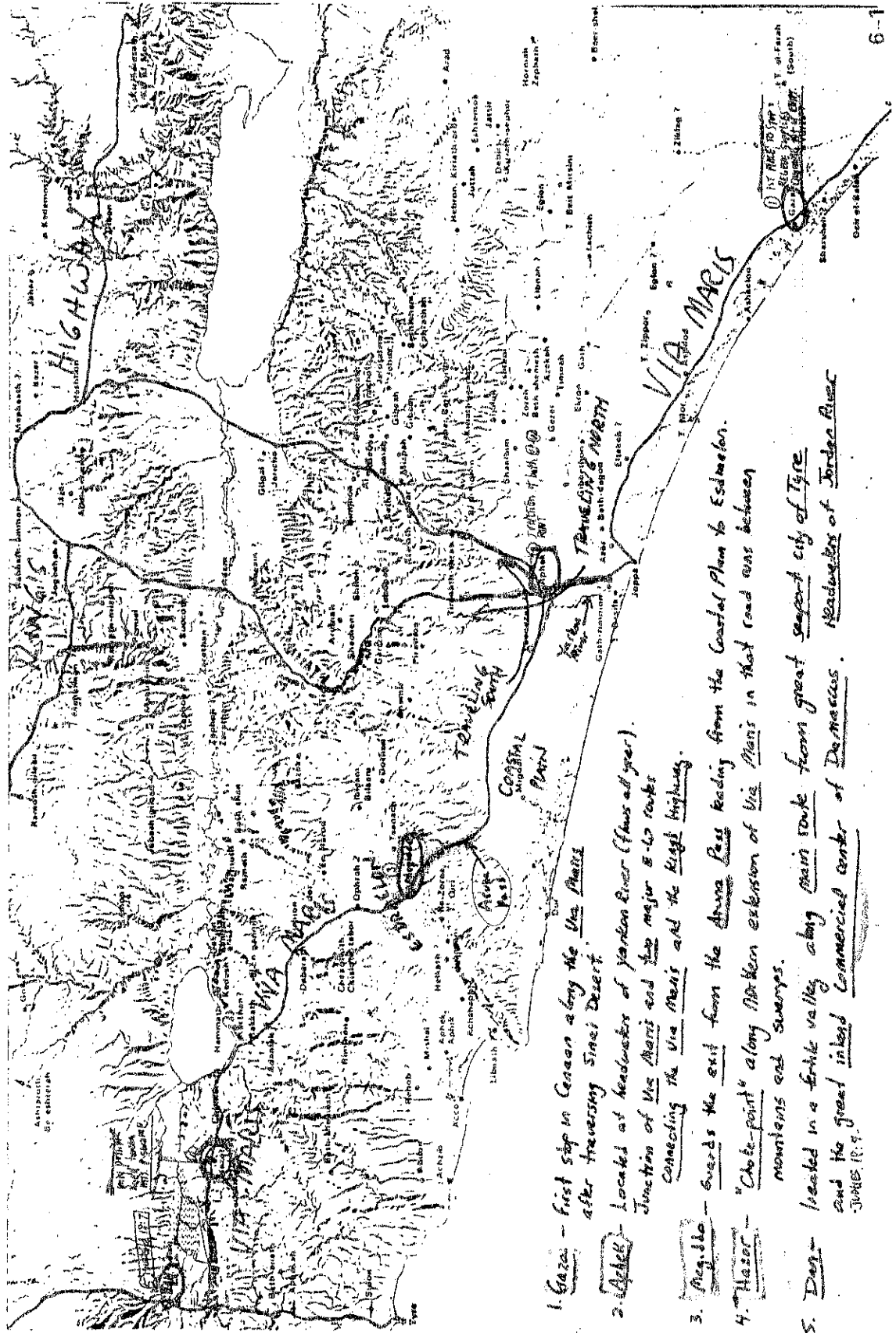
598-597 B.C. Taken into captivity in Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar 2 Kings 24

Zedekiah

586 B.C. Jerusalem destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar 2 Kings 24
2 Kings 25

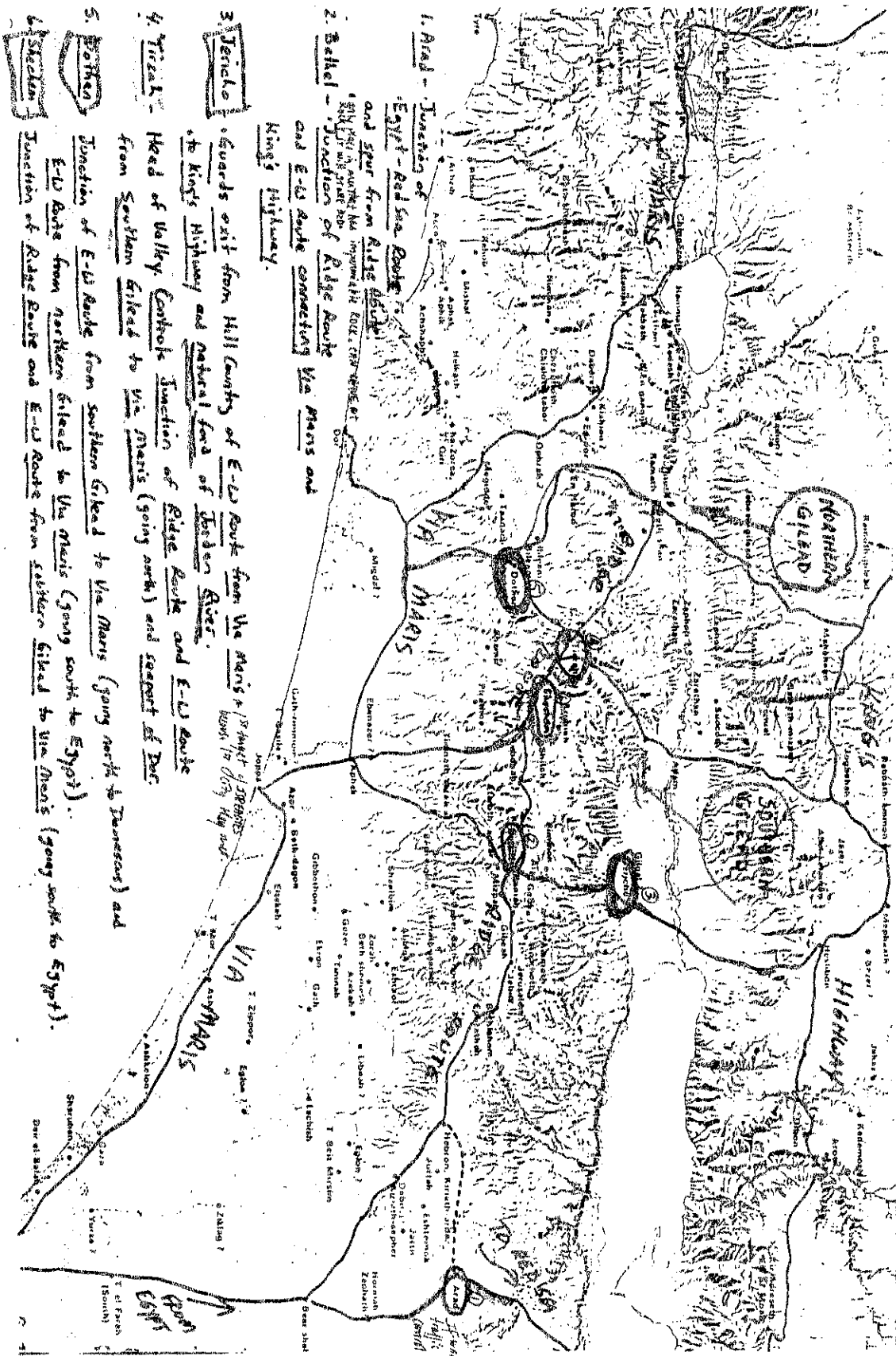
END OF THE NATION OF JUDAH
UNTIL RESTORED BY CYRUS

Bus



1. Gaza - first stop in Canaan along the Via Maris after traversing Sinai Desert.
2. Be'er Sheva - Located at headwaters of Jordan River (flowed year).
Junction of Via Maris and two major E-W routes
Connecting the Via Maris and the Highway.
3. Megiddo - Guards the exit from the Arava Pass leading from the Coastal Plain to Esdraelon.
4. Hazor - "Choke-point" along northern extension of Via Maris in that road was between mountains and swamps.
5. Dun - located in a fertile valley along main route from great segment city of Tyre and the great inland commercial center of Damascus. Headwaters of Jordan River.

JUNE 1949



1. Arad - Junction of Egypt - Red Sea Route and Spur from Ridge to King's Highway.

2. Beit-el - Junction of Ridge Route and E-W Route connecting Via Maris and King's Highway.

3. Jericho - Guards exit from Hill Country of E-W Route from Via Maris + Spur of Jordan to King's Highway and Natural ford of Jordan River.

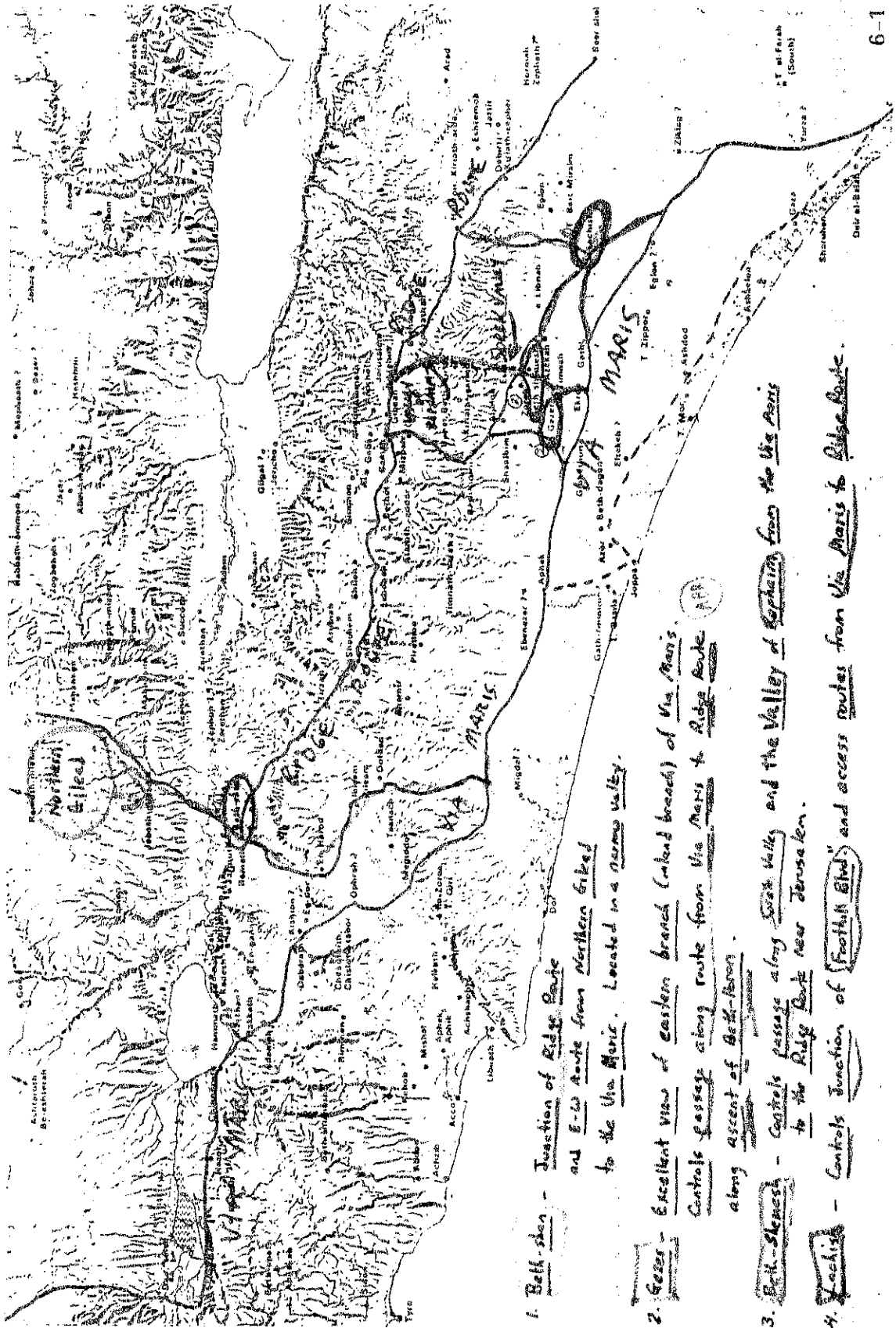
4. Tirzah - Head of Valley, Control Junction of Ridge Route and E-W Route from Southern Gilad to Via Maris (going north) and support at Dor.

5. Dothan - Junction of E-W Route from Southern Gilad to Via Maris (going north to Jerusalem) and E-W Route from Northern Gilad to Via Maris (going south to Egypt).

6. Shechem - Junction of Ridge Route and E-W Route from Southern Gilad to Via Maris (going south to Egypt).

Handwritten note: "I think it would have to be this place."

Handwritten signature: "Bob Gardner"

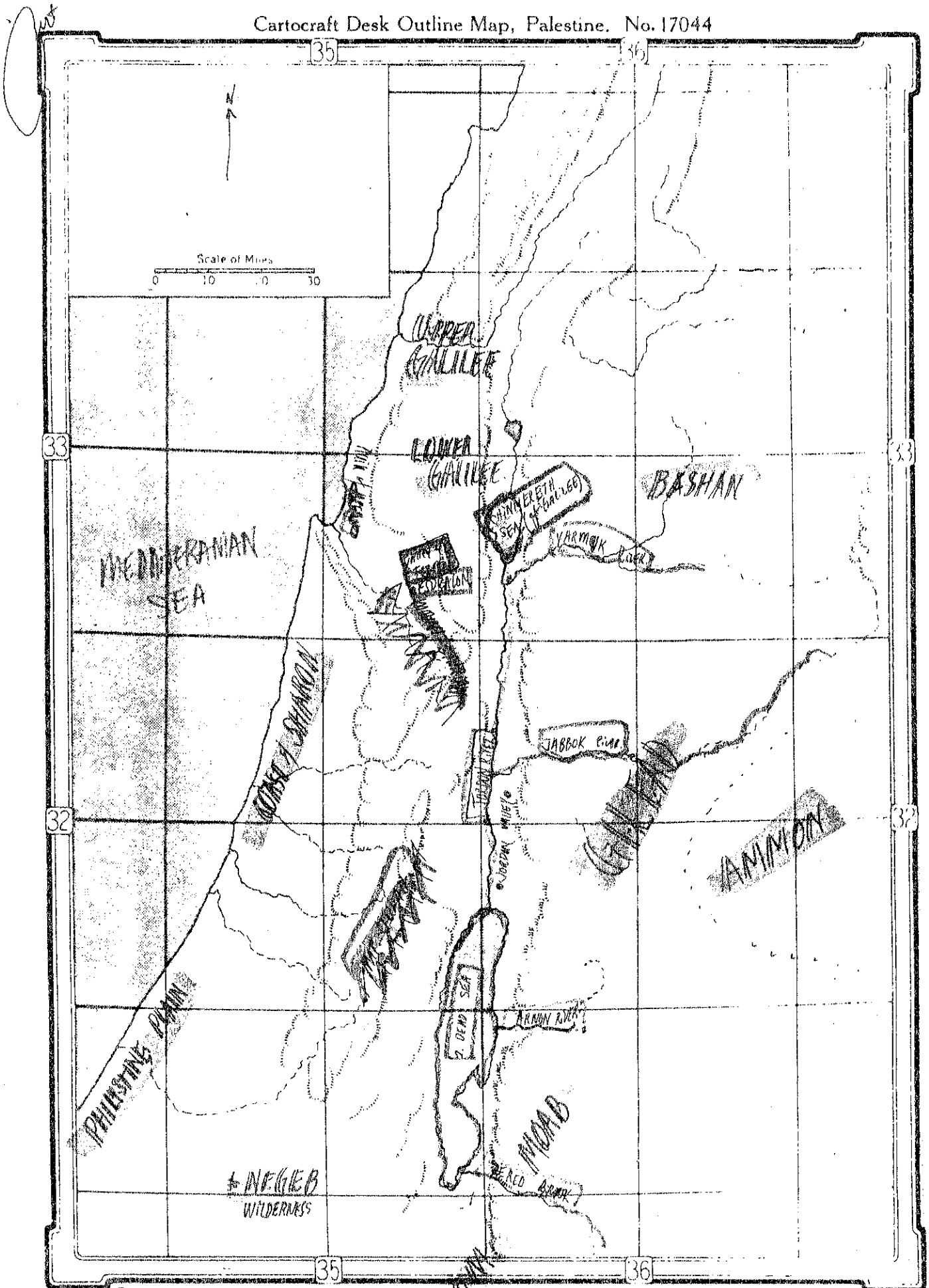


1. Beth-shan - Junction of Ridge Route and E-W Route from Northern Eilat to the Via Maris. Located in a narrow valley.
2. Gezer - Excellent view of eastern branch (inland branch) of Via Maris. Controls passage along route from Via Maris to Ridge Route along ascent of Beth-shan.
3. Beth-shanesh - Controls passage along West Valley and the Valley of Ephraim from the Via Maris to the Ridge Route near Jerusalem.
4. Yachin - Controls Junction of Foot of Eilat and access routes from Via Maris to Ridge Route.



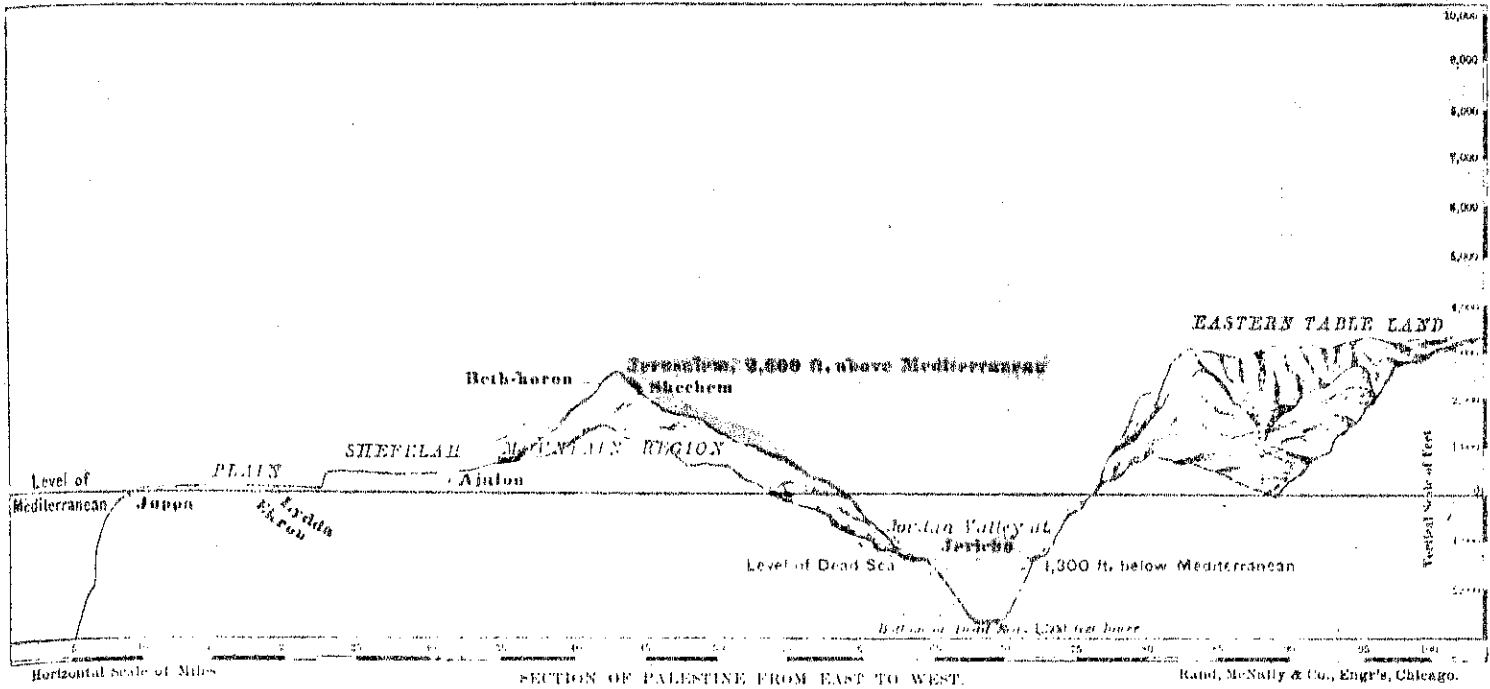
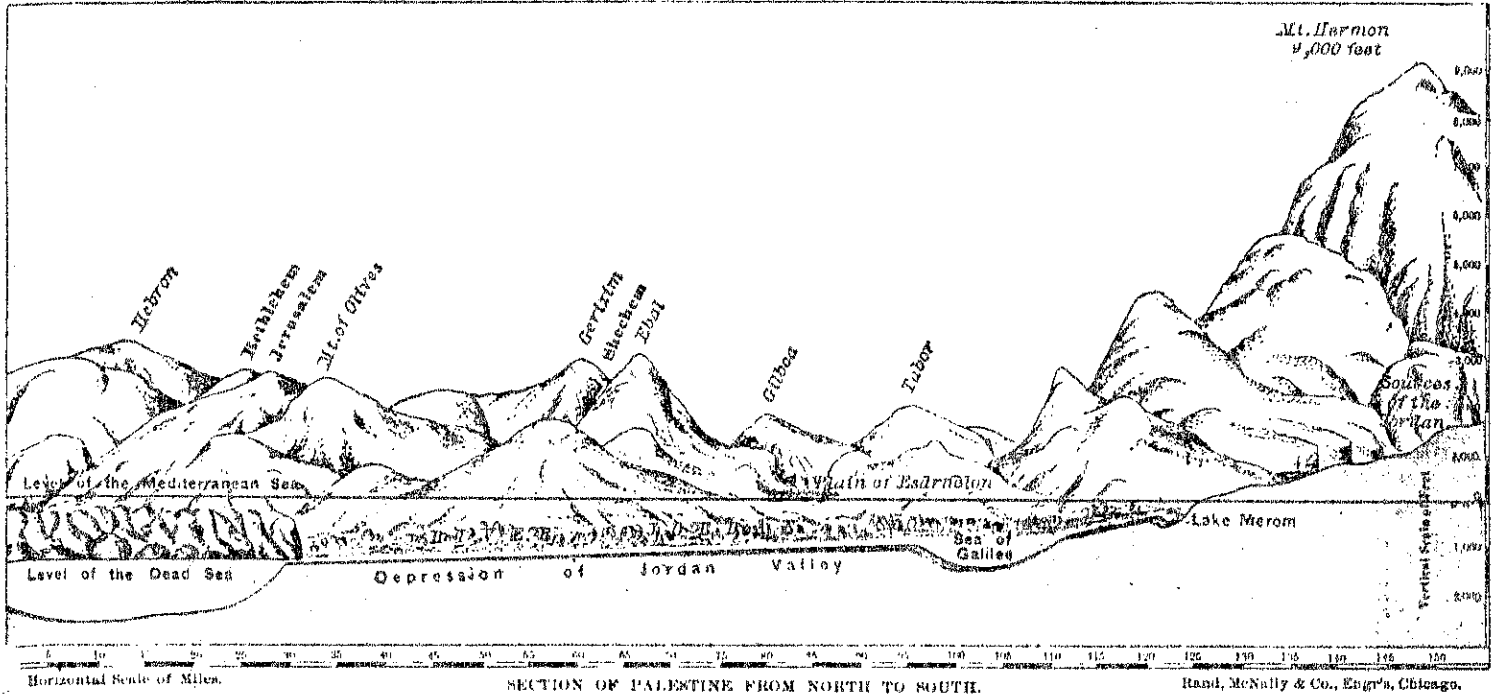
MAP

1. Sea of Galilee
2. Dead Sea
3. Rivers ✓
 - a. Jordan ✓
 - b. Yarmuk ✓
 - c. ~~J~~abbok ✓
 - d. Arnon ✓
 - e. Zered ✓
4. Trans-Jordanian Areas
 - a. Bashan ✓
 - b. Gilead ✓
 - c. Ammon ✓
 - d. Moab ✓
 - e. Edom ✓
5. West of Jordan ✓
 - a. Coastal Plain
 1. Philistine Plain
 2. Sharon Plain
 3. Akko Plain
 - b. Hill Country
 1. Mountains of Ephraim ✓
 2. Mountains of Judah ✓
6. The Valley of Jezreel (Esdraelon) ✓
7. Upper Galilee ✓
8. Lower Galilee ✓
9. Jordan Valley ✓
10. Negev *Negeb*



look up SHVI-LA

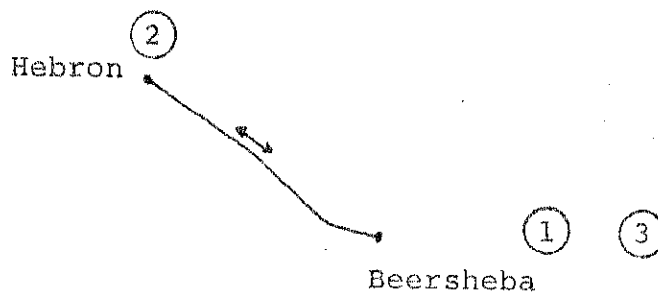
PHYSICAL RELIEF MAP OF PALESTINE



HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY
OF THE
HOLY LAND

- A. Read the scriptures describing the journeys of Abraham (listed on the SMM Assignment Sheet next to 4-3).
- B. As you read the scriptures above, write a "point-to-point" travel itinerary for these movements.
- C. Trace (with the eraser end of a pencil) these journeys on SMM Map 4-3 until you feel familiar with the places and the direction of movement.
- D. Compare what you have traced on your map to Map 26 in the MacMillian Bible Atlas (MBA).
- E. Repeat steps A-D for the journeys of Isaac.
- F. Repeat steps A-D for the journeys of Jacob and Joseph (using the scriptures listed on the SMM Assignment Sheet next to 4-4, SMM Map 4-4 and MBA maps 27 and 47).
- G. Consider ALL of the following suggestions carefully BEFORE MARKING YOUR SMM. You have spent a large sum of money to purchase the SMM and the MBA. Careful planning and work can transform the SMM into a valuable tool: A "VISUAL BIBLE" WHICH RECORDS THE HIGHLIGHTS OF OLD TESTAMENT HISTORY.
- H. Since you will record the travels of both Abraham and Isaac on the same map (and Jacob and Joseph on the same map) use strongly contrasting colors for each individual.
 1. If you were to make a separate line for each journey, your map would become quite cluttered and difficult to read. Therefore:
 - a. When an individual traveled in both directions along the same road, indicate this by using a pen to draw a small double-headed arrow on the side of the road.
 - b. In the best available location near the names of cities where a patriarch dwelt, place a number in a circle which corresponds to its position on the travel itinerary of the patriarch.

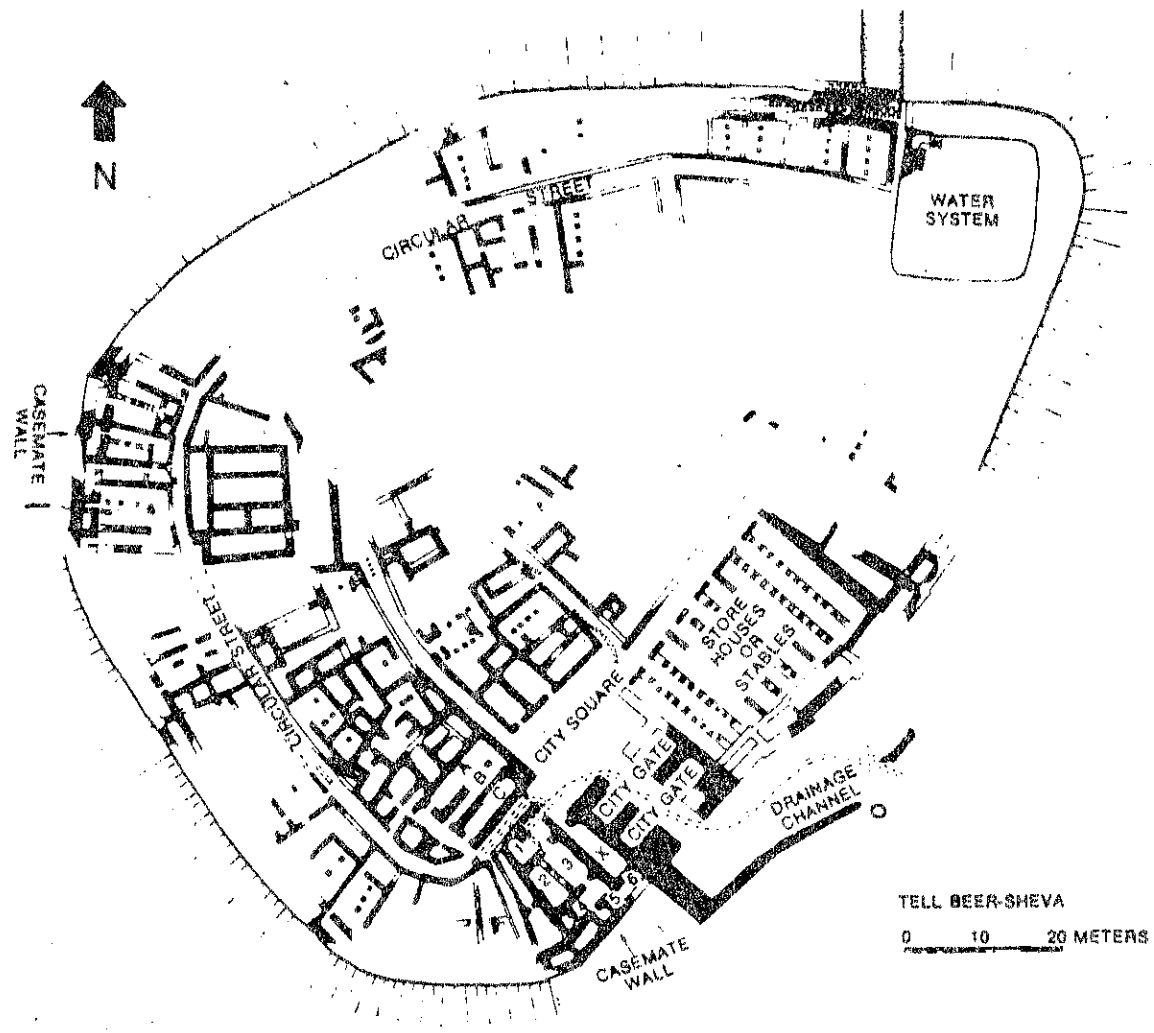
Example:



But

Yigael Yadin Finds A Bama at Beer-Sheva

By Hershel Shanks



Plan of the great Iron Age city of Beer-Sheva. The white areas are unexcavated. Only parts of the circular street and the casemate walls have been found, but their general pattern is easily seen. The city gate has four chambers, two on either side. Scholars are still arguing about whether the long rooms to the right of the city gate are storehouses or stables (see "Queries and Comments", page 43). The lettered and numbered rooms are referred to in the text.

On my last visit to Jerusalem, I stopped in to see Yigael Yadin — as I always do. It was a fascinating hour — as it always is.

This time, he told me how he found what he believes to be a *bama** destroyed by

* *Bama* is frequently translated *high place*. However, a more precise definition must await the explication of the term given later in this article.

King Josiah — and found it in someone else's dig.

I sat enthralled, listening to this great scholar — lean, crisp, precise and articulate, puffing his pipe, eyes dancing, jumping up to pull a book from the shelf to find a quotation or drive home a point.

His claim to have found the *bama* is sure

to be disputed by the Beer-Sheva team of excavators. But that is for a later issue of the BAR, not this one.

Yadin began by telling me about Josiah.

Josiah was the last great king of Judah. He reigned from about 640 to 609 B.C. The Bible tells us that "he did what was right in the eyes of the Lord and he walked in all the ways of David his father, swerving neither to the right nor to the left" (2 Kings 22:2; 2 Chronicles 34:2). Josiah surpassed those who went before him and those who went after, as we are told: "There was no king before him who had turned to the Lord with all his heart, and with all his soul, and with all his might as he did, according to all the laws of Moses; neither after him arose there any like him" (2 Kings 23:25).

His reign was accompanied not only by a territorial expansion, but also by a spiritual revival. He restored the temple (2 Kings 22:5; 2 Chronicles 34:8). He reinstated the Passover, whose observance had fallen into desuetude (2 Kings 23:21-23; 2 Chronicles 35:18). And he centralized worship in Jerusalem, suppressing cultic installations elsewhere and abolishing idolatry (2 Kings 23:4-20; 2 Chronicles 34:3-7).

While the Temple was being cleansed and repaired, a great law book was discovered (2 Kings 22:8; 2 Chronicles 34:14), which is generally considered by scholars to have been the book of Deuteronomy, written in the time of Josiah.

Yadin told me that one evening while studying the Biblical passages relating to this great king, he read a verse he had read many times before — but suddenly he read it in a new light. The verse was 2 Kings 23:8. He pulled his Bible from the shelf and read to me:

* { "He [Josiah] brought all the priests from the cities of Judah and destroyed the *bamot* where the priests had burnt sacrifices, from Geba to Beersheba, and dismantled the *bamot* of the gate that was in front of the gate of Joshua, the governor of the city, to the left of

* *Bamot* is the plural form and *bama* the singular form. However, the plural form (*bamot*) is sometimes used in the Bible for a singular referent (see Jeremiah 7:31; 32:35; Micah 1:5); in other words, *bamot* may mean a *bama* (i.e. singular). This is clearly the case in the second reference to *bamot* in the verse quoted above. See P. H. Vaughan, *The Meaning of 'Bama' in the Old Testament*, Cambridge University, 1974), pp. 14; 61, n. 41.



Yigael Yadin

the city gate as one enters."

This reference to a specific *bama** of the gate that was in front of the gate of Joshua, to the left of the city gate has unanimously been taken by scholars to be a *bama* in Jerusalem. The verses both before and after the verse Yadin read to me record Josiah's suppression of pagan practices in Jerusalem and its surroundings; so it is perfectly logical to assume that this particular *bama* to the left of the city gate refers to a *bama* in Jerusalem.

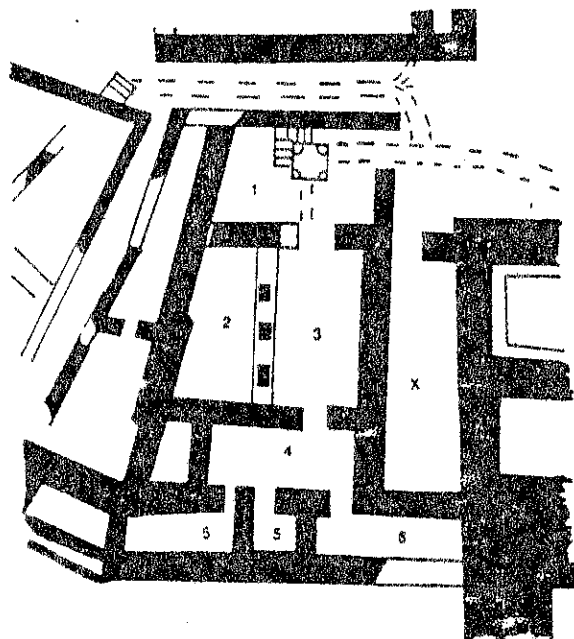
But, Yadin told me, as he studied the verse in isolation, it did *not* seem to him to refer to Jerusalem. The reference to this specific *bama* "in front of the gate of Joshua ... to the left of the city gate" followed immediately upon a statement about the many *bamot* where the priests had burnt sacrifices "from Geba to Beersheba." Could it be, Yadin wondered, that the specific *bama* described in this verse was the *bama* at Beer-Sheva, the city named immediately before the reference to the specific *bama*?

As he had thought about it, he told me, it seemed to him that the specific *bama* referred to could not be in Jerusalem: no Joshua gate is mentioned in connection with Jerusalem in any other source. It is unlikely that a Jerusalem gate would be named after a governor. It is unlikely that a *bama* would be located *inside* the city of Jerusalem; in fact, there is no other reference to a *bama* inside the holy city. Perhaps most compelling is the fact that the Biblical narrator finds it necessary to tell us that this *bama* is not only in front of the Joshua

gate, but also "to the left of the city gate as one enters." These are very specific directions. Certainly a *bama* for sacrifices inside Jerusalem would be well known; why would the Biblical narrator find it necessary to describe its location so exactly if it were in Jerusalem. For these reasons, Yadin told me, he concluded that the *bama* referred to in the Biblical text was not located in Jerusalem.

Verse 8 is obviously an interpolation in the general flow of the text — which deals with Josiah's activities in Jerusalem and its surrounding — so perhaps it is *proper* to look at the sentence in isolation, Yadin reasoned. The subject of the verse is the *bamot* from Geba to Beer-Sheva, the last place mentioned before reference to the specific *bama*. The location of the specific *bama*, "in front of the gate of Joshua, the governor of the city" may have indicated that the Governor's house in Beer-Sheva was located near the city gate, and that gate was therefore called after him; close by was the *bama*, located on the left hand side as one entered the city gate.

Whether or not this Biblical verse actually refers to the *bama* of Beer-Sheva, Yadin cannot be sure. It seems to him likely that it does. But whether or not this is so, it was this reading of the verse that



An enlarged plan of the building to the left of the city gate which Yadin claims is the *bama* destroyed by King Josiah. In room 1 are drawn the stairs and the original location of the horned altar, according to Yadin. The dotted lines are drainage channels.

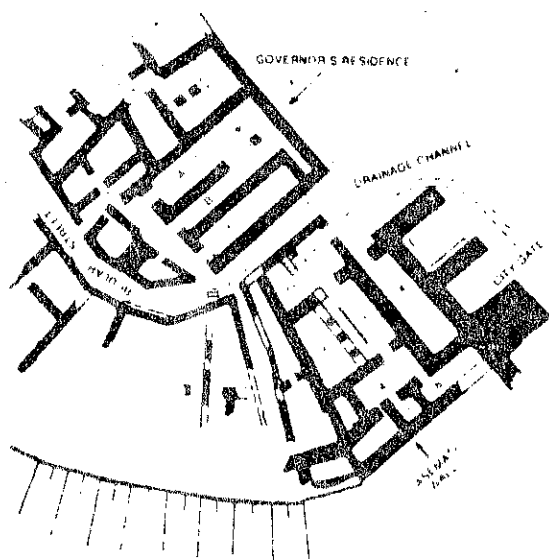
led him to discover — on independent archaeological grounds — what he believes to be the actual *bama* of Beer-Sheva which Josiah defiled.

When Yadin first read verse 8 as referring to the *bama* of Beer-Sheva, he immediately reexamined the Beer-Sheva excavation report*, turning to the plan of the great Iron Age II city, the last city to be built on the tell.

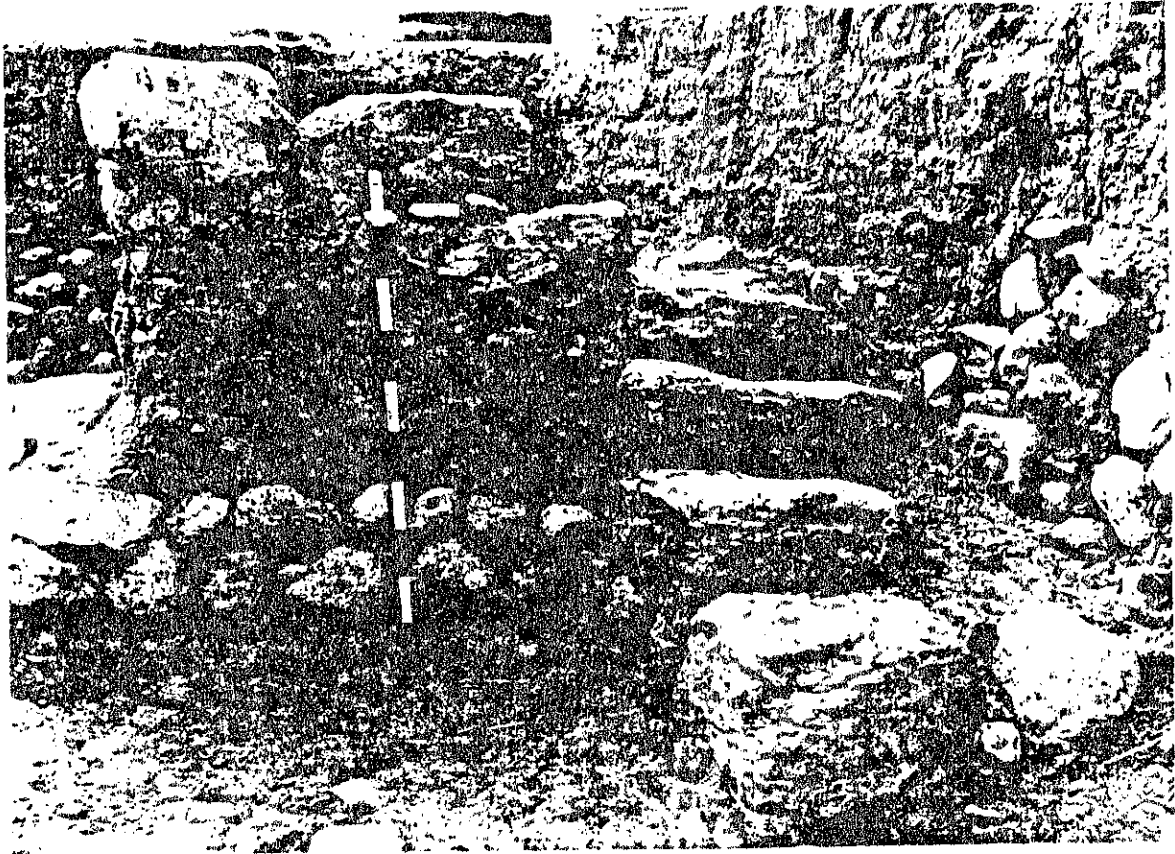
His eye followed the circular street which ran around the perimeter of the city, parallel to the casemate city wall** (see plan). Then he focused on the four-chambered city gate. In his mind he walked through the gate and arrived at the broad open area which the excavator Yohanan Aharoni refers to as the "city-square" (p. 14) and which Aharoni associates with the Biblical

* Yohanan Aharoni, ed. *Beer-Sheva I*, Excavations at Tel Beer-Sheba, 1969-1971 Seasons (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1973).

** A casemate wall consists of two parallel walls separated by casemates which thereby form rooms within the wall which can be used for living, storage, or the garrisoning of troops.



An enlargement of that part of Beer-Sheva containing the governor's residence and the building "to the left of the city gate as one enters" (2 Kings 23:8). The governor's residence consists not only of the three long rooms marked A, B, and C, but also of the adjacent complex of rooms shown in the plan.



A close-up of the mysterious stairs, with four steps up before the stairway takes a 90-degree, left-hand turn into the middle of the room.

rehav sh'ar ha'ir, the "street of the city gate" of 2 Chronicles 32:6.

After walking through the gate and crossing the square, one arrives on the left at a building "much larger than the ordinary building" (see plan). It measures 49 feet by 58 feet. This building, Aharoni tells us, "consists of three long halls [A, B and C] with a row of pillars flanked by living quarters. The western wall of the halls, with its three doors, is built of ashlar masonry creating a monumental facade" (p. 14). Professor Aharoni concluded — and Yadin agrees — that this building was "perhaps the residence of the city-ruler", or to use the Biblical term *sar ha'ir* (p. 14). If the Biblical passage in *Kings* does indeed refer to the *bama* of Beer-Sheva, this building must

◀

The wall in the upper right is the north wall of room 1. At the top of the picture is the stairway leading into the middle of the room.



A view of the stairs from above. According to Yadin the horned altar originally fit into the angle of the stairs in the area of the meter stick. Note how narrow the stairs are, making it very unlikely that they led all the way to the city wall.

have been the official residence of Joshua, governor of the city. (He is, of course, a different Joshua than the one who served with Moses and led the Israelite armies as described in the book of *Joshua*.)

But what really interested Yadin was the building opposite the governor's residence, "to the left of the city gate as one enters". That is where, if Yadin's reading of the Biblical text was right, the *bama* of Beer-Sheva was located when Josiah tore it down.

As Yadin is quick to point out, Aharoni says very little about this building in the one paragraph he devotes to it (p. 14). Apparently, says Yadin, the building presented something of a problem to Aharoni. The building itself consists of four rooms (1 through 4), with two additional rooms (5 and 6) in the adjacent casemate wall (see plan). The second and third rooms (as numbered in the plan) are separated from one another by a row of pillars rather than a wall. The particular room in this building which was of special interest to Yadin was the first room as one enters — or, as Yadin believes it to be, the courtyard. At the middle of the northern wall of this first room (or courtyard) is a low stairway installation. It consists of four steps beside the northern wall, the stairway then takes a 90-degree turn left into the middle of the room (see illustrations). According to Aharoni's excavation report, this "staircase, made of stone slabs, started in the middle of the first room, but unfortunately the rest of it was destroyed by a Hellenistic silo [which had been built above it at a later period]." The location of this staircase was difficult for Aharoni to explain:

"The location of a stairway in the middle of the room is unusual, and only makes sense were it to have continued beside the pillars [separating rooms 2 and 3] in the direction of this city [casemate] wall; it must, therefore have been a long staircase ascending to a considerable height. Apparently this was the principal staircase leading to the top of the casemate wall and from there to the roof of the gate-tower" (p. 14).

Yadin points out that Aharoni says not another word about this building critically located to the left of the main city gate and opposite the governor's house.

"If there is one thing certain," Yadin told me, "it is that the stairway found in this building *cannot* have followed the path suggested by Professor Aharoni. From the first step to the near side of the casemate city wall is about 50 feet. The stairs are only about 2½ feet wide. No side walls were found on the stairway to support or retain it [see illustration]. How could a freestanding staircase so narrow stretch for 50 feet and rise to a height of about 20 feet [the assumed height of the casemate city wall]? And why should a staircase to the top of the city wall be built in such an unusual way? Clearly the stairs must have led elsewhere and served a different function than that suggested by the excavator."

Yadin was to return to these stairs, but next he pointed out to me from his well-thumbed Beer-Sheva excavation report another feature of the city gate area, a "drain, leading towards the gate" (p. 14). Aharoni has described this drain:

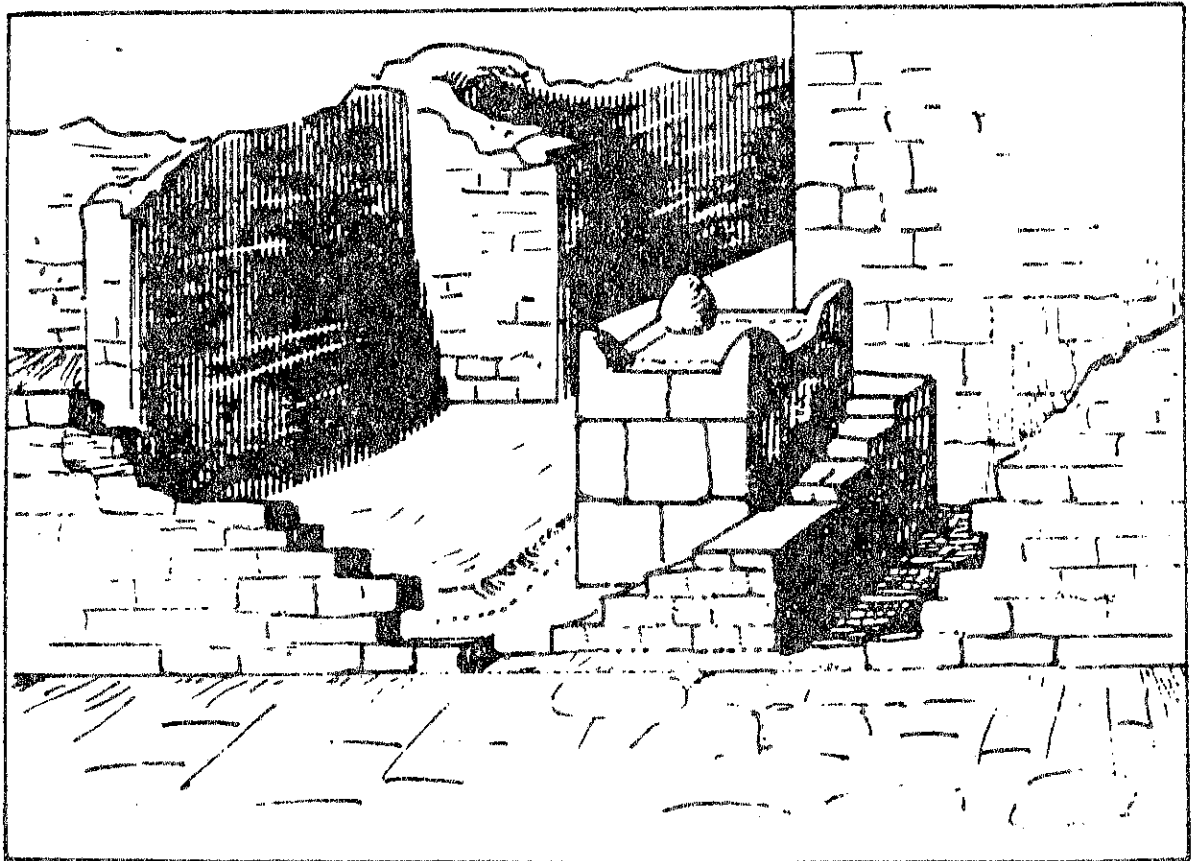
"One of the outstanding technological achievements of the city was discovered in the area of the gate: the central drainage canal leading toward the gate. Stone-built channels, covered by stone slabs, were found beneath the street surface; these were fed from plastered gutters in the walls of the houses. The channels became larger as they approached the gate."*

These channels can be seen on Aharoni's plans, indicated by dotted lines (see plan). "Strangely enough," says Yadin, "Aharoni does not comment on the fact that the main, large channel *comes out* of the building with the steps, the building to the left of the city gate."** Moreover, the large channel from this building does not lead from a plaster gutter in a wall [as Aharoni suggests in the quotation above], *but from the immediate vicinity of the steps.*"

"Why is a main drainage channel coming

* Y. Aharoni, "The Excavations at Arad and the Centralization of the Cult" in M. Hevav (ed.), *Reflections on the Bible: Selected Studies of the Bible Circle in Memory of Yishai Ron* (Tel Aviv: Am Oved 1974), p. 38.

** In the center of the room, the main channel narrows as it continues toward the innermost part of the building. During this past excavating season, as a result of Yadin's suggestion, this drainage system was re-explored. This reconfirmed that the narrow channel marked in previous plans led into the main larger channel; the latter starts near the stairs.



A reconstruction of the stairway with the horned altar in place.

from the middle of a room — and a strange room at that, one with a peculiar narrow set of stairs in the middle of it?" Yadin asked. He proceeded to answer his own question.

"The answer is obvious, is it not? The puzzling steps led not to the city wall, but to a *sacrificial altar*! The oversized drainage channel carried away the large amounts of blood and water connected with the ritual performed on and around the altar [see I Kings 18:32, 35]. This building was the *bama* of Beer-Sheva opposite the governor's house to the left of the city gate as one enters. It is this *bama* which King Josiah destroyed in the late 7th century, as described in the Bible."

Other evidence at Beer-Sheva is consistent with this conclusion, Yadin told me. Between the room with the stairs and the city gate is another room (room X on the plan), which "was found packed with straw to a height of 3 m," according to the excavation report (p. 14). This room may well have

been used to store wood and straw for the altar and even as a hayloft for the animals to be sacrificed, Yadin believes.

But the most dramatic support for Yadin's contention that the building to the left of the city gate was in fact the *bama* that Josiah destroyed comes, he said, from the most dramatic find in seven seasons of excavation at Tell Beer-Sheva: The large horned altar found in secondary use as part of a wall. (This impressive altar has already been described for BAR readers. (See BAR, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 1 (1975)). The well-dressed ashlar stones of the altar were found reused as part of a repaired wall in another area of the city. When reassembled, the stones formed an unusually large altar with horns on each of the four corners (see illustration). In Yadin's opinion, this altar originally stood in the right angle formed by the stairs in the building to the left of the city gate and was in fact the altar to the top of which the stairs led; that is, the altar was the *raison d'être* for the stairs.

How to be... *Handwritten note*

From Finkelstein... said by Yadin: to do for sacrificial animals - based on Bible - wanted it to be this way - looked for evidence to back the theory.

Words vs. pictures... *Handwritten note*

- How much is subjective or objective.
- What's interpretation -- what's hard facts
- Old evidence & conclusions can be overthrown by new evidence.

Beer-Sheva Excavator Blasts Yadin - No Bama at Beer-Sheva

By Anson F. Rainey

- Why not Yadin not build this as same size?
- Drainage channel into water supply - (HOLD)
- Severed between altar & oven.
- House built after altar dismantled. * under rampart.

This is in response to your article in the March 1977 issue about an alleged *bama* at Beer-sheva. ["Yigael Yadin Finds a Bama at Beer-Sheva"].

There is not one scrap of evidence, Biblical or archaeological, in favor of Yadin's theory.

The Biblical passage Yadin relies on speaks of a *bama* in Jerusalem and says that Josiah "broke down the high places of the gates" (2 Kings 23:8). The verse indicates that Josiah destroyed the *buildings* as well as the altars. But building 430 [the building at Beer-Sheva to the left of the city gate as one enters] was *not* destroyed until the entire city was burned by an enemy. Meanwhile, the altar had already been dismantled.

"There is not one scrap of evidence, Biblical or archaeological, in favor of Yadin's theory."

During the last season of excavation some additional stones of the altar were found outside the gate, buried in the newly laid rampart of stratum II. [Stratum II was the great Israelite city of the Divided Monarchy]. House 430 was built *during* the period of stratum II. The house was built *after* the altar was dismantled.

The gate in the Biblical passage is named after "Joshua the governor of the city," a practice that makes sense for a city with more than one gate; but Beer-sheva had only one gate!

However, the grossest *chutzpa* of Yadin's theory is his blatant emendation of the Biblical passage to make it refer to Beer-

Anson F. Rainey, who teaches at Tel Aviv University, was a member of the senior staff at Beer-sheva prior to the untimely death of excavation director Yohanan Aharoni. Rainey has spent the past year on a sabbatical at Harvard University.

sheva and not to Jerusalem as it clearly does.

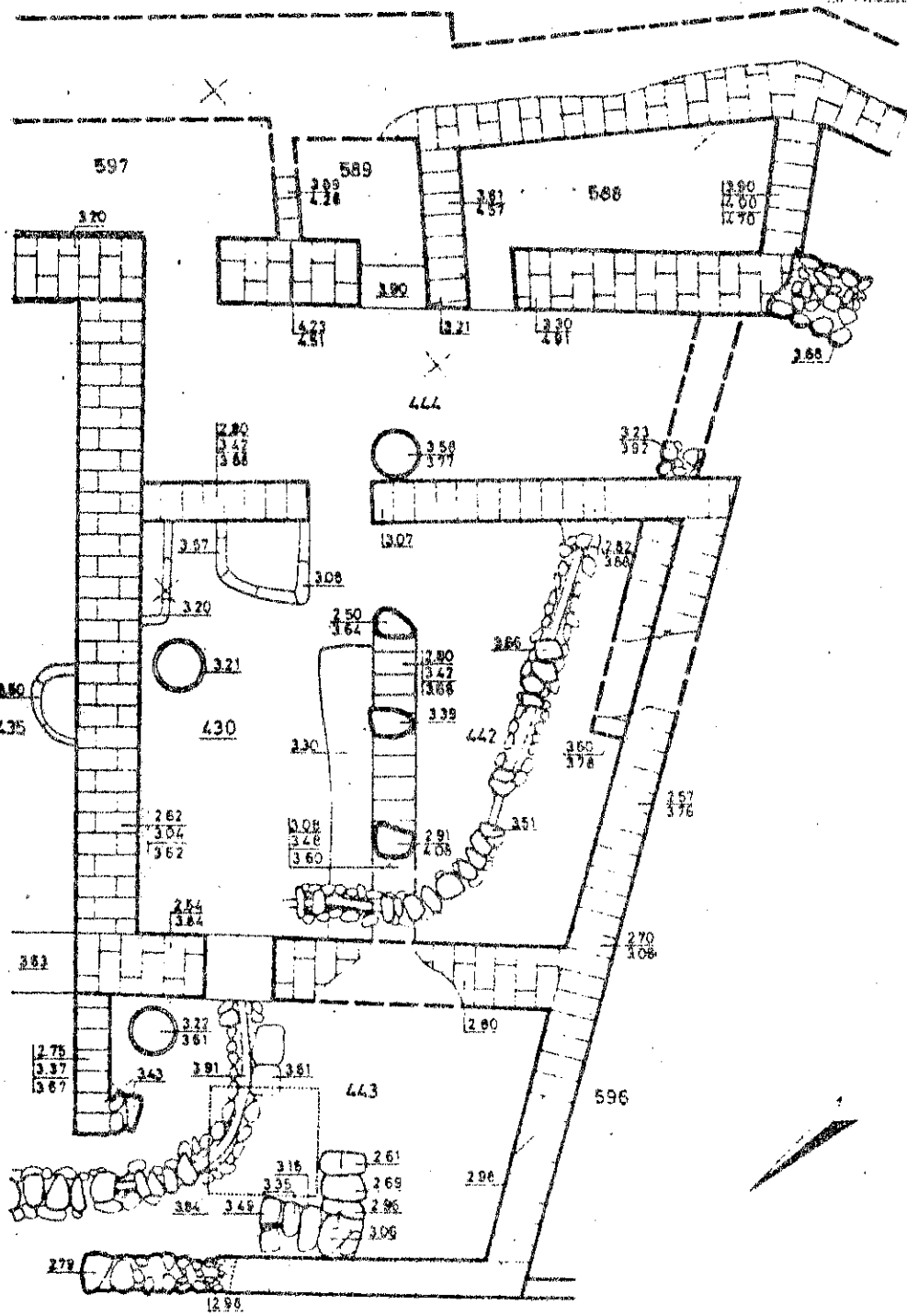
Many archaeological facts can be mustered to refute Yadin's contentions. The following are the most salient ones and any one of them would be conclusive.

- There is no logic in building a staircase around an altar; the narrow steps would require some clever acrobatics to wrestle a sacrificial animal up to the altar hearth. The stairs obviously were intended to go up to the roof of House 430 (this was my view when I excavated them in 1970 and I did not agree with Aharoni that the steps led to the top of the city wall).

- The water channel begins inside the building and definitely had a channel leading from the roof to collect the rain water and to carry it under the cobbled court out to the outer vestibule where the steps were and on out to the street. The cobbled court, which Yadin wants to roof over, was obviously open to the sky. The drainage channel, like all the channels in the streets and courtyards of Beer-sheva, was for collecting rain water from the winter cloudbursts and directing it to the well outside the city gate. A similar roof drain was found in the building across the street from House 430. To drain the refuse from an altar, as Yadin suggests, into the city's drinking system would be absurd.

* WATER CHANNEL R. UNDER ALTAR & IN TOWARD THE WATER SUPPLY.

- Perhaps the most important point of all is the size of the altar. Yadin has, whether intentionally or not, been guilty of a gross distortion in dimensions. The altar as presently reconstructed is 1.55 meters square, i.e. three Biblical cubits. It is also three cubits high. The plan of the House 430 (see drawing) shows how the three-cubit square altar would fill the courtyard by the steps. With the oven in the opposite corner, there would be no way one could get in and out of the building. A comparison of Yadin's reconstruction of the altar in the angle of the steps (see illustration) with our photograph made last summer (see illustration) shows how deceptive Yadin's drawing really is. In our photograph we have placed the small meter stick just where the corner of the



The excavator's plan of House 430 (the building to the left of the city gate as one enters). The stones of the mysterious steps may be seen at the bottom center of the picture, inside Room 443 and adjacent to the northern wall of House 430. In the angle of the steps is a square of dots representing the area which the altar would occupy if it were only 3 cubits square, barely leaving enough room to pass between the altar and the oven or tannar (represented by a circle) in the upper left hand corner of the room.

The plan also depicts the drainage channel, which would run under the altar if the altar were placed as Yadin suggests. The drainage channel passes into the next room (Room 442) and stops at the wall, where presumably a gutter brought the water from the roof. The drainage canal not only does not begin at Yadin's supposed location of the altar, but, as shown on the plan, the drainage channel does not even enlarge at the point where it leaves the supposed location of the altar to drain outside the house.

The plan also depicts the three columns which divide Room 442 from Room 430. Three rooms in the casemate city wall (Rooms 597, 589 and 588) may also be seen at the top of the picture, completing the plan of House 430.

altar would go according to Yadin. The two meter sticks are placed to indicate the three-cubit measurement. The difference is obvious. Furthermore, one must remember that the altar may have been bigger than even that size!

We have a reasonable theory of where the Beer-sheva altar did stand. This theory cannot be proven, but that does not in any way add credence to Yadin's theory.

All Biblical precedents, that is, the tabernacle, the temple of Solomon, and the Ezekiel temple, indicate that the sacrificial altar stood in a courtyard on the eastern side of a building facing the rising sun. Archaeological precedent also points to the same situation, that is, the temples at Arad and Lachish and Beer-sheva (the latter two being Hellenistic in date) are on the eastern side of a building, facing the sun. A glance at the city plan of Beer-sheva reveals that there is only one place on the mound where a building faces due east. That is building 32, the Basement Building. We have demonstrated that the Basement Building was built just when the altar was dismantled and that its construction effectively obliterated the building that had been there before. The wood of the previous building may have been reused to build the Basement Building; only from this place did we obtain any olive wood! So we believe that the temple associated with the altar was destroyed to its foundations and that the Basement Building took its place. Those who cannot digest such a daring theory will have to find something better than a private house like our House 430 if they want to place the altar elsewhere.

Permit me to add a few remarks about the storehouses at Beer-sheva and Megiddo. The aisles in the Beer-sheva storehouses are certainly too narrow for horses to stand, and the fact that no individual horse could be taken out without taking out all the others should have been conclusive. But once archaeologists begin to play around

with the Bible, nothing can stop them (see Yadin's article in the September 1976 BAR). Horse experts have shown me that in these buildings, the cobble stones would be murder for the horses' legs; there was no way to drain the aisles, much less clean them; and there was no way to adequately ventilate them; there would be no way to save the horses in case of fire. Chariot horses were usually stallions, and to tie them together in those narrow aisles would have been an invitation to sudden death. Yadin's examples of stables from Ugarit and Amarna show only that a stable for the king's team of horses could be *part of a palace*. They do not depict buildings like those at Megiddo and Beer-sheva. The contrast with the Megiddo and Beer-sheva buildings is conclusive. The latter cannot be stables for military units. It is high time we recognized that this unstable theory is nothing but the vain imagining of some archaeologists.

"Biblical archaeology has for too long been simply a branch of theology . . . Archaeological truth is most often just the subjective idea of some powerful personality."

In conclusion, I wish to raise another issue that pertains to Biblical archaeology as a whole and to the BAR in particular. Biblical archaeology has for too long been simply a branch of theology; by that I mean that it depends not on observed facts but on the opinions of "authority figures." Archaeological truth is most often just the subjective idea of some powerful personality. It is time we emancipated ourselves from this "Authority Figure Syndrome."

The altar at Beer-sheva and the storehouses (would-be-stables) are only two cases in point. Not one rational piece of evidence supports either theory. But the prestige of popular individuals too often outweighs the facts. The same has been true of the date of Level III at Lachish, upon which our dating of Beer-sheva Level II depends.

continued on page 56

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continued from page 21

All the "authorities" from W. F. Albright to Kathleen Kenyon and G. Ernest Wright, *et al.* have been against Olga Tufnell (the associate director of the Lachish excavations of the 1930's and author of the Lachish excavation report on the Israelite Iron Age city). They said Lachish III was destroyed in 597 B.C. [by the Babylonians]. She said it was destroyed in 701 B.C. [by Sennacherib]

Now the recent excavations by David Ussishkin have thoroughly vindicated Tufnell's view (which was strongly supported by Aharoni). Scholars who have seen

Ussishkin's new evidence with their own eyes are returning from Israel convinced that Lachish III was Hezekiah's city destroyed by Sennacherib. The tide of opinion is finally turning. Not that we need a majority to establish truth. But this means that the altar at Beer-sheva was really dismantled before 701 B.C., most likely by Hezekiah; and, therefore, could not possibly be associated with Josiah and the Biblical verse emended by Yadin.

Theories by "authority figures," especially by the forensic champion in the field, may make good copy for the BAR. But I wonder if it is really fair to the subject of Biblical archaeology to continue along as if archaeological truth were the sole possession of the cleverest debator? ■

Sept. 3rd, 82
[Handwritten signature]

The Importance of Dating

By Paul W. Lapp

Contacts with history in high school or college have left most of us with something of a distaste for chronology. At least those in the over-thirty generation can hardly have escaped history courses where the instructor concentrated almost exclusively on chronological structure, key events and persons of the period; and the study of history boiled down to memorizing a chronological framework, the dates of kings, and dynastic charts. Does it really matter whether Columbus discovered America in 1392, 1492, or 1592?

From one perspective, precise chronology is not essential to historical appreciation and understanding. To one without a clear perception of the course of events of the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries, misdating the discovery of America by a century hardly distracts from whatever significance the event has for him.

On the other hand, if a historian were to take such a cavalier attitude toward chronology, he might easily conclude that the discovery of America was the result of the creative forces unleashed by the Reformation or an attempt to test the theory of Copernicus. It is important for the historian to reckon with the fact that Copernicus was nineteen when America was discovered. A historian can do little with persons or events which cannot be fitted into a rather precise chronological framework.

For this reason, if archaeological material is to be of maximum historical value, it must be as precisely dated as possible. For example, an archaeologist discovers a major destruction of a Palestinian town and concludes that the evidence points to a date be-

tween 1250 and 1150 B.C. Without further evidence or a more precise dating, it would be impossible to decide whether the destruction was the result of internecine warfare between Canaanite towns, an Egyptian campaign, Israelite tribal conquest, or an attack by a Sea People.

Is archaeology able to provide datings precise enough to be of historical value?

Scholars disagree on an answer to this question. Sober replies vary from "Sometimes" to "Almost never." One competent scholar concludes that the evidence points to an identification of certain ruins with Saul's fortress as the best hypothesis. Another insists that the evidence is too meager to justify such a postulation. Such positions tend to become overpolarized when the weaknesses and tentativeness of the best hypothesis are not emphasized or when the "best" hypothesis is ignored as one among several interpretive options. What is a desirable *modus operandi*? It seems clear that when the "best" hypothesis seems improbable or unconvincing, it might well be dismissed and the material left a conundrum. In other cases it seems desirable to define the best interpretation of the evidence, even if it is necessary to stress the speculative nature of the postulation.

I tend to feel that archaeological material is sometimes susceptible of sufficient chronological precision to be of historical importance. After all, the evidence of ancient history is so limited that very few statements approach the indubitable. To illustrate, Ahab was killed in a battle near Ramoth-gilead about 850 B.C. The probable site of Ramoth-gilead suffered a major destruction about the middle of the ninth century B.C. The identification of the site is not unquestionable. The destruction could have occurred a few years before Ahab's death when a cow kicked over a lamp or a few years thereafter when an enemy set his neighbor's grain heap ablaze. Yet, the best hypothesis based on the extant evidence would connect the destruction with the battle in which Ahab was killed.

Where is the line to be drawn between such hypotheses and the objectionable prac-

*Paul W. Lapp served as Director of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem. At the time of his tragic death in a drowning accident in 1970, he was a professor at the Pittsburgh Theological Seminary. This article has been adapted from a volume of his posthumously published papers entitled *The Tale of the Tell*, edited by Nancy L. Lapp, copyright 1975 by the Pickwick Press.*

even though scientific when
it came to interpretation - it
is not a science.

tice of overcorrelation of Biblical and archaeological material? It takes well-balanced judgment to draw that line appropriately, and no two historians would draw it at exactly the same point. It may be observed that advances in archaeological precision make connections more and more viable. It is now frequently possible to date archaeological groups within a quarter- or half-century. Correlations with such material are certainly more convincing than material dated no more closely than within a century or two — as is the case with the vast majority of archaeological finds in Palestine to date.

Imagine that the world's first excavation was about to take place in Palestine and you were the archaeologist. You proceeded to dig, carefully separating the artifacts from each layer. In post-dig analysis you observed that frequently succeeding layers seemed to contain a very similar repertory of forms, sometimes new forms appeared alongside those of the preceding layer, and occasionally there were complete typal breaks between successive strata. You were led to conclude that the groups separated by major breaks in typology represented important chronological periods and that new forms in basically similar groups represented innovations within the major periods.

This illustrates, in a simplified way, the two disciplines that must be successfully employed if archaeological material is to be closely dated — *stratigraphy* and *typology*. If layers are mixed or if a pit is missed in digging, the typological analysis will prove faulty. If the typological analysis does not concentrate on features distinguished by successive layers, it will not be of chronological significance.

Archaeologists operate with *relative* and *absolute* dating. The succession of groups of artifacts by layer from the first excavation in Palestine, suggested above, is in fact a relative chronology. It provides evidence of forms which emerge, change, and disappear at specific points in a sequence of layers representing human habitation. In 1901 Sir Flinders Petrie, Palestine's first scientific excavator, introduced the principle of sequence dating. He attempted to reduce a mass of Egyptian tomb material to fifty successive stages. Material from early Palestinian

digs was related to this relative Egyptian sequence by Petrie and others.

How can relative chronology be converted into an absolute B.C. or A.D. date? Suppose that in your first Palestinian excavation you had discovered three Ptolemaic coins of the early third century B.C. on a floor. This would provide a good indication that all groups of artifacts from layers below the floor predated the coins and all subsequent layers postdated them. Nearly every excavation adds a few such links with absolute chronology. When the sequences from all excavations in Palestine are combined, there are enough links with absolute chronology in most periods to provide quite close absolute dates. As evidence from new digs comes to light, the process of refining chronology continues.

From this perspective it might be expected that in its early history Palestinian archaeology was geared to relative chronology, and, as new evidence appeared, gradually more accurate absolute dates were assigned to the successive phases. In fact the actual progress toward precise absolute chronology in Palestinian archaeology took a much more confusing course. Progress followed a circuitous route for many reasons.

Probably the chief block to orderly progress was the lack of much careful, stratigraphic excavation throughout the history of Palestinian archaeology. Despite lack of precise stratigraphic excavation methods, early excavators made progress in understanding the evolution of forms of artifacts. But these results were thrown into confusion by the seemingly reliable results of subsequent digs which were in fact not very reliable. Finally, in the 1930's more careful digging and publication began introducing the sequential structure which still stands today.

Another difficulty was the fact that from the start Palestinian excavators tied their finds to the epochs and events of Near Eastern history and archaeology. Once such relationships were made, it became difficult to gain general assent for new proposals, even when they were based on much stronger evidence. Palestinian excavators come out of a strong Western tradition of independent research that often makes *prima donnas* of leading scholars. The failure of archaeologists to consider the material of their colleagues, particularly those of

another nationality, before proposing or proclaiming their correlations is by itself an important factor in the lack of steady progress toward chronological precision.

A third deterrent, particularly for the third and second millennia B.C., was the lack of consensus on the chronologies of Palestine's neighbors. Often the links between relative and absolute chronology consisted of imported artifacts from neighboring countries, where they were tied to the reign of a particular pharaoh or assigned a quite precise temporal span. Following Egyptian scholars, who plump for a high, a middle, or a low chronology for the early pharaohs, Palestinian scholars debate most often not the merits of each case, but which chronology best fits the material from Palestine. Such *ad hoc* arguments hardly contribute to advances in chronological precision.

A fourth obstacle to systematic development of chronological precision was the neglect of detailed, critical pottery studies. Most scholars were content with knowledge of general lines of ceramic development based on oral tradition. These oral traditions were set down in the excavator's publications of his pottery. Newer pottery publications then cited or catalogued the previous examples of a particular pot along with proposed datings. Often no distinction was made between dates proposed for unstratified examples and for specimens from a context with good links to absolute chronology. This chorus of uncritical datings had the unfortunate result of gaining for the datings an undeserved confidence. If a dozen archaeologists cite a similar date for a certain form, it must be correct. Unfortunately, in many cases the dozen archaeologists were all merely repeating what was originally an uncritical oral tradition. Advances in chronological precision come when an archaeologist with a rigorously critical approach publishes a detailed study of the stratigraphic changes in ceramic forms and the evidence for their absolute dates.

By far the most common finds on Palestinian tells are potsherds. Broken pieces of jars, jugs, bowls, and lamps litter virtually every layer of the mound from about 5000 B.C., when pottery first appeared in Palestine, down to modern times. In fact, many

The Relevance Of Biblical Archaeology

"The relevance of what we do must be conceived of in general terms. We are seeking answers to ultimate questions: Who is man? What is man? Why is man? And what can man become? However dimly or clearly man has perceived these concerns in the past, human intellect over the centuries has groped for the answers to these ultimate concerns in generation after generation. The story of the search is written in the dusty remains which we excavate and in the written records which we decipher. It is our task to perceive the relationships between what we do and the ongoing quest for answers to these ultimate concerns."

Keith N. Schoville, Department of Hebrew and Semitic Studies, University of Wisconsin, from "The Problem of Relevancy", Newsletter of The American Schools of Oriental Research, July-August 1976

of the layers in the comparatively poor tells of Palestine contain nothing but sherds. If changes in pottery take place at a fairly rapid pace and can be identified, pottery can serve as the archaeologist's best chronological tool.

Pottery has many variable characteristics. Preparation of the clay includes levigating it to a coarser or smoother consistency and adding inclusions. The inclusions vary in fineness and consist of straw or grit of various kinds to stone or sand. The clay is formed into vessels by hand, on a slow or fast wheel, or in a mold, or a combination of these. The vessel may be shaved, decorated with incision or puncturing, surfaced with slip, paint, or glaze, and burnished or polished. It may be fired high or low in a kiln with or without reduction or stacking. Further decorative wash, burnishing, or incision may be executed after firing.

Nearly all of these features are of at least potential chronological significance. Pottery from one era of a town's history may have used different clay beds than their predecessors, used different inclusions, preferred incision to painted decoration, fired their kilns higher, and the like. Some fea-

tures offer rather precise chronological indications. For instance, pattern burnishing was in vogue only for a few brief periods of Palestine's history, and overfiring of pots was common in the later Late Bronze age and the Early Hellenistic period. Spectrographic analysis and careful attention to inclusions would provide helpful results for chronology, but the analysis is expensive and time-consuming and will be of little significance until such analysis is consistently reported by a number of excavations.

While these characteristics offer chronological data, only rarely do they reach the level of chronological precision required if archaeological material is to be of historical value. The same clay beds, potters' wheels, and painted traditions often lasted for centuries. There is only one feature of ceramic vessels that undergoes a continuous process of change that can be observed at intervals of a quarter- or half-century. That feature is shape.

The most common categories of ancient ceramic vessels are jars, jugs, juglets, craters, bowls, cups, platters, cooking pots, and lamps. In the Early Bronze age, for example, there may be several jar types but perhaps only one jug type. Some jar types continue through the Early Bronze age; others may be introduced at an early stage and disappear at a late stage within the Early Bronze age. These are chronological facts of significance, but what is of importance for precise chronology is the change that takes place in the shape of a particular jar type during the course of the Early Bronze age. Bases may become more pointed, rounded, flattened, or elongated. Handles may shift their point of attachment, change their manner of attachment, or develop from round to oval to flat. Most often rims are the best chronological indicators. Possible rim shapes are almost infinite, and a particular rim shape tends to develop persistently and rapidly. Such changes in shape are perhaps the closest counterparts to the modern phenomenon of annual model changes for cars and appliances.

To leave the impression that all pots change shape regularly and rapidly would be incorrect. Some shapes tend to change much more rapidly than others. Jar rims tend to be much more precise chronological indicators than lamps. Some forms seem to



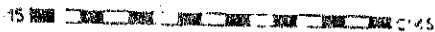
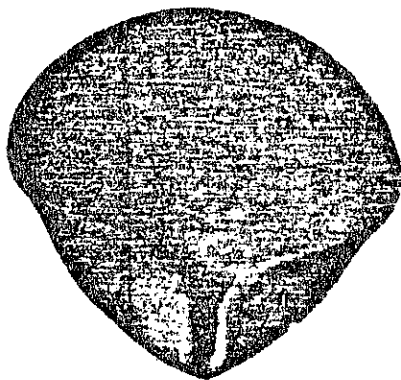
The first in a series of olive oil lamps which illustrate the development of pottery forms. This is a Middle Bronze Age lamp — hardly more than a simple bowl with a pinch in the rim for the wick.

persist for centuries with little or no change, while other types disappear after flourishing for only a few years or decades. A few simple types tend to persist or recur century after century. Some exotic shapes have a very short life and can be immediately identified and closely dated even by a novice.

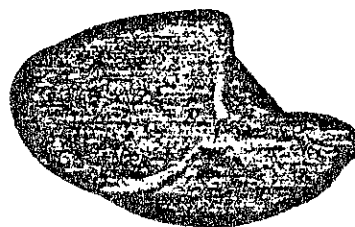
For those schooled in an "evolutionary mentality," it should be noted that the formal trend of Palestinian — and indeed all ancient pottery — is commonly downward. Finely made examples of a new and pleasing shape appear. Soon a decline in quality becomes apparent and the shape begins to sag or bulge. Since it is virtually impossible to accurately publish subtle changes in quality even by verbal description, a refined understanding of the dating of pots requires extensive experience in going over basket after basket of pottery as it comes from layer after layer in the field.

The knowledge of pottery chronology grew as leading excavators such as Sir Flinders Petrie, Pere L.-H. Vincent, and Clarence Fisher shared their field observations. The digging of W. F. Albright at Tell Beit Mirsim in southern Judea resulted in a critical examination of this oral tradition. In the final reports of that excavation, published between 1932 and 1943, Albright was able to provide a fairly complete picture of the changes in pottery shapes from the late third millennium down to the early sixth century B.C.*¹ Pottery chronology

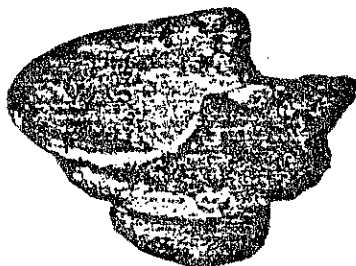
* Numbered footnotes are to be found at the end of this article on Page 22.



This Late Bronze Age lamp resembles a saucer with the sides folded over to form a pronounced space for the wick.



Almost half of the bowl of this Iron Age I lamp is used to form the wick holder which is nearly pinched closed. The bowl has a formed rim and a round base.



This Iron Age II lamp has a high-footed base, a wide rim and is deeply sculpted.



By the Hellenistic period the top of the lamp is closed and a separate hole houses the wick. The oil was poured in through the center hole. Hellenistic lamps are much smaller than in previous periods. This typical example is molded instead of formed on a wheel.

for the periods preceding Tell Beit Mirsim was systematized in a dissertation under Albright's direction by G. Ernest Wright in 1937.² Systematization of our knowledge of pottery chronology for later periods has been slow to appear. The writer's dissertation, published in 1961, attempted to systematize the ceramic chronology for the period from 200 B.C. to 70 A.D.³ Well-dated material for the late fourth and third centuries B.C. has been recently published by Fawzi Zayadine and Nancy Lapp,⁴ and the first published attempt to define the formal changes of the Persian period is found in my contribution to the Kurt Galling *Festschrift*, issued in 1970.⁵ Knowledge of pottery development in the periods after 70 A.D. is still confined largely to a quite imprecise oral tradition.⁶

The constant stream of newly published material has made possible considerable refinement of the chronologies of Wright and Albright. Among the most notable of these are Basil Hennessy's study of the Early Bronze age, Kathleen Kenyon's analysis of the Bronze age tombs at Jericho, and the

publication of the Iron age pottery of Samaria by Kenyon and of Tell Deir 'Alla by H. K. Franken. In our present state of refinement, and with few exceptions, we are able to date larger ceramic groups from the late fourth millennium B.C. through the first century A.D. within a century. In many instances in the last two millennia B.C. it is possible to date groups within fifty years, and on occasion within a quarter-century.

It should be apparent that an expert in ceramic chronology is indispensable for any dig dealing with post-5000 B.C. material in Palestine. In most cases pottery provides the crucial and exclusive evidence for dating the dig's discoveries. If this evidence is not controlled, the finds of a dig are of little more significance than those purchased in an antique shop. In fact, if an excavator does not have a thorough knowledge of ceramic chronology, he would be favoring historians if he were to stop digging and purchase his artifacts from an antiquities dealer.

Before the introduction of pottery about

A PALESTINIAN CHRONOLOGY		
ca. 2 million years ago		PALEOLITHIC "Old Stone Age" (Pleistocene)
ca. 10,000 B.C.		MESOLITHIC "Middle Stone Age" (Natufian)
ca. 8,000-4300	8000 7000 6000	NEOLITHIC "New Stone Age" Pre-pottery (Tahunian) Pottery
ca. 4300-3600	4300 3600	CHALCOLITHIC "Copper Age" Early (Yarmukian) Late (Ghassulian)
ca. 3200-2050	3200 2850 2550 2300	EARLY BRONZE I A = Kenyon's Proto-Urban A I B = Kenyon's Proto-Urban B I C = Kenyon's EB I II III IV = Intermediate Bronze I
ca. 2050-1650	2050 1900 1750 1650	MIDDLE BRONZE I = Intermediate Bronze II II A = Kenyon's MB I II B II C
		} Kenyon's Intermediate EB-MB
ca. 1550-1200	1550 1400 1300	LATE BRONZE I II A II B
ca. 1200-918	1200 1150 1000	IRON I A B C
ca. 918-587	918 722	IRON II A B
587-539		EXILIC
539-332	539 480	PERSIAN Early Late

332-63	332 198 167	HELLENISTIC Early (Ptolemaic) Late (Seleucid) (Hasmonean)
63 B.C.-324 A.D.	63 135 A.D.	ROMAN Early (Herodian 37-4 B.C.) (Fall of Jerusalem 70 A.D.) Late (Second Jewish Revolt 135 A.D.)
324-630 A.D.	324 491	BYZANTINE Early (Constantine I 324-337) Late (Justinian I 527-565)
630-1516	1250 661 750 969 1174	ARABIC/ISLAMIC (Muhammed 630) Mamluk Umayyad Abbasid Fatimid (Crusades 1099-1291) Ayyubid
1516-1918		TURKISH/OTTOMAN
1918-1948		MANDATE
1948-present		ISRAEL/JORDAN

5000 B.C., the most ubiquitous stratified finds are flints. While they provide the best evidence available, they do not provide as precise chronological indications as pottery. Once introduced, a flint type tends to persist longer than a pottery type, but without any developments comparable to those of pot rims, handles, and bases. This means that our chronological knowledge is much less precise, and, in fact, the farther into the past we penetrate, the longer are the periods we are able to identify.

The resulting picture is usually interpreted as an indication that the farther back we go, the slower was the pace of change and development. This interpretation should be accepted with some skepticism, for the picture is actually the result of a lack of materials for delimiting shorter periods of time. Time and again new evi-

dence from pre-history has astounded even the specialists with its sophistication. The third millennium B.C. is still commonly called the horizon of Palestine's earliest towns, but the Jericho excavations have brought to light a massively fortified town of the seventh millennium B.C. The sophistication of its houses is sufficient to emphasize that periods of creative development were heavily interspersed with eras of stagnation. Some earlier ages may have changed as rapidly as those where pottery makes the changes perceptible.

Technically speaking recorded history begins about 3200 B.C., the date of the Sumerian documents bearing man's earliest known writing. By the early third millennium B.C. the archaeological materials of Palestine can be linked with the absolute dates derived from the early documents of

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her neighbors. Until recently, prehistoric material was largely confined to sequence dating. Archaeologists may have rather arbitrarily estimated how long certain changes took or relied on the extremely broad datings of palaeontologists, among whom disagreements over periods of five million years are not uncommon.

Much greater precision has been achieved in prehistoric chronology through Carbon 14 dating. Carbon 14 is a radioactive isotope of carbon with a half life adjusted in 1962 to 5730 ± 40 years. Most available dates were figured from previously accepted half life of 5568 ± 30 years. Others have operated with a half life of 5800 years.

This range of over 200 years in half life determination is already an indication of the relative precision of Carbon 14 dates. To be added to this is a \pm factor, usually

expressed as a 1 value. With a 1 value the chances are one in three that the actual date lies beyond the proposed date range. It would seem preferable to work with a 2 tolerance in which chances are 21 in 22 of the date falling within the proposed range. This would put dates about 3000 B.C. in a ± 250 year range, 6000 B.C. dates in a ± 500 year range, and earlier dates with a correspondingly larger tolerance factor. Carbon 14 dating is still in process of refinement. Its dates will perhaps require additional slight adjustments, but it has already introduced considerable clarity into the chronology of the later prehistoric periods. Its chief limitations are the necessity of a relatively large sample of carbonized material for destruction and the cost of \$100 to \$250 per test.

It is a common misconception that Carbon 14 has also made important contributions to chronological precision in the historical period. From the third millennium B.C. on Carbon 14 dates can do no more than corroborate in a very general way the datings derived from the study of pottery and other artifacts. If pottery from a certain stratum points to a date in the first half of the sixteenth century B.C., it is reassuring to have a 2 Carbon 14 date of 1720 ± 175 B.C. On the other hand, if the Carbon 14 date came out 1257 ± 160 B.C., it should more than likely be dismissed as a contaminated sample. *Carbon 14 dating is not precise enough to contribute to chronological precision in the historical period.*

Compared with pots most other kinds of artifacts are relatively poor chronological indicators. They do not occur frequently enough in stratum after stratum to provide the constant chronological indication needed by the field archaeologist. Their sparsity has also meant a lack of sufficient stratified evidence to define rapid typological changes that might exist in certain kinds of artifacts.

Stone vessels and implements are notoriously conservative. Millstones and grinding bowls persist for centuries and millennia with no apparent change of form. Occasional groups, such as the Hyksos alabasters, can be associated with a particular period, but even in such cases I know of no uninscribed stone vessels that can be dated to any single century with confidence. Fashions in metal tools and weapons

changed more rapidly, but no particular specimen can be dated within a century. Blown glass, first appearing in the Early Roman period, is limited by its technique to a fairly small typological repertory and is of limited chronological value.

Finds of clothing fasteners and jewelry of all kinds are still less common, so that characteristics only of broader periods may be identified. Jewelry confronts us with other chronological complications inherent in individual taste, international style, and especially the heirloom factor. Jewelry may be preserved in royal and aristocratic families for centuries. Figurines, including the relatively common fertility goddesses, have similar chronological limitations, enforced by the conservative tendencies of superstition.

Scarabs can on occasion serve as links with absolute chronology when they bear the symbols of one of the pharaohs. Unfortunately carving of scarabs bearing a pharaoh's name often continued long after his death. As a result, the manner in which the carver portrayed the beetle is often of more chronological importance than the symbols carved on its belly. Recent publications of groups of hundreds of scarabs, such as those from the Jericho tombs, are disappointing from a chronological perspective.

Seals, too, on occasion serve as links with absolute chronology when they bear the name of a known ruler or official. Even when they bear unknown names, their script can often be quite closely dated. Seals belong to artistic styles which can at times be dated within a century. If seals were as common as potsherds on Palestinian mounds, our chronological framework would be much more precise. Unfortunately they are rather rare finds in the poor mounds of Palestine.

Coins first appear in Palestine about 500 B.C. and become common after the fourth century B.C. Since most coins can be attributed to a particular ruler and often indicate a specific year of his reign, they are of considerable importance as chronological indicators and as links with absolute chronology. Perhaps the main reason for the comparative neglect of pottery chronology after the sixth century B.C. is the assumption that coins can replace potsherds as chronological indicators in the later periods. This premise is wrong for a number

of reasons. While coins are rather common finds, they are far less ubiquitous than potsherds. Many later layers of Palestinian mounds contain no coins. Since coins are small, they often present stratigraphic problems. Has this coin slipped through a crack into a lower layer? Was this coin on the floor or in the fill immediately above? Even hoards of coins may present stratigraphic difficulties for they are frequently hidden in cracks and crevices. Most important is the heirloom factor. Coins remained in circulation in antiquity longer than they do at present with the popularity of coin collecting. When a single coin is found on a floor, it is impossible to tell for sure whether it was minted a few years, several decades, or even a century before it was lost.

Where ceramic chronology has not been precisely worked out, numismatic evidence often provides the best chronological data. But where groups of pots can be dated within a quarter- or half-century, coin evidence often provides no more than general corroboration of the ceramic dating. The endurance of common crockery for a half century or more would be quite exceptional, but quite common for coins. It is strange but true that uninscribed sherds can often serve as better chronological indicators than dated coins.

As already noted, shorter inscriptions are often found on scarabs, seals, and coins. Occasionally a pot will be incised with the name of its owner or potter. Monumental inscriptions are found on standing stones or stelae, on statue bases, and on the walls and floors of buildings. All such written material may be classed as incised because its letters are ordinarily carved. Related are the clay tablets inscribed in the cuneiform characters of the Mesopotamians by a wedge-headed stylus. Documents written in ink are less often preserved, but such recent discoveries as the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Samaria Papyri, and the Arad ostraca are spectacular examples of the preservation of such documents in Palestine. Most of the Dead Sea Scrolls are parchments, written on specially treated animal skins prepared in long rolls. Papyrus sheets are prepared by weaving strips of the papyrus reed. An ostrakon is a potsherd which served as a piece of scratch paper, for short messages, receipts, bills of lading, and the like.

Written finds are even more infrequent in Palestine than in neighboring lands, and documents bearing a date are rare among written finds. Not a single specific date is mentioned in the Dead Sea Scrolls, but each of the Samaria papyri bore the day, month, and year of writing. The writers, of course, were not aware of how many years before Christ they lived, but the years of the reign of a particular Persian king are easily converted into B.C. dates.

Even when documents bear no dates, they are usually of considerable chronological help. This is because handwriting changes about as rapidly as the shapes of pots, and can be closely dated. Even though the Dead Sea Scrolls bear no dates, the evolution of the script of the first centuries B.C. and A.D. makes possible the dating of individual documents to a quarter- or half-century. It should be emphasized that just as the inscriptions on contemporary buildings differ from our handwriting, so it is necessary to distinguish between the development of ancient incised and cursive scripts. Cursive writing tends to change much more rapidly.

For the last three millennia B.C. the most common finds providing links with absolute chronology are imports, mostly pottery. Often the pots imported into Palestine from Egypt, Cyprus, Greece, Phoenicia, Syria, Anatolia, Mesopotamia, and even farther abroad can be assigned quite precise absolute dates in their countries of manufacture. Discounting a short time lag for shipment, these dates may be accepted as manufacturing dates for the examples found in Palestine.

It should be emphasized that the date indicated by the imported pot is its date of manufacture, and the date indicated by a script is the date the document was written or the artifact was inscribed. This does not mean that these dates can automatically be applied to the strata in which they are found. If they indicate a date in agreement with that provided by the local potsherds with which they are found, they corroborate that date. They may well date earlier than the ceramic horizon with which they were found. Dead Sea Scrolls from a single cave may be dated from the late third century B.C. to the middle of the first century A.D. Imported pots may have been used rarely and been preserved much longer than local

kitchen ware, just as our "good china" is often much older than our "everyday dishes". Written documents and imports, like coins, are often subject to the heirloom factor. On the other hand, if the date provided by the import or written material postdates the ceramic horizon of the layer, something is wrong with the dating of the pot in its country of origin, the dating of the script, the local ceramic chronology, or, most commonly, the stratigraphic excavation or analysis.

A very rare link with absolute chronology is provided when constructions specifically described in historical texts can be located. The most dramatic example of this for Palestine is a discovery of Yigael Yadin. After excavating a gateway from the time of Solomon at Hazor, he noted gateways with virtually identical plan and dimension at Megiddo and Gezer (see September 1975 BAR, p. 14). That all three were in fact planned by Solomon's architect is confirmed by the Biblical account, "This is an account of the forced labor King Solomon levied for the building of . . . the wall of Jerusalem, Hazor, Megiddo, and Gezer" (1 Kings 9:15). This means that the pottery contemporary with the construction of these defenses may be assigned with considerable confidence to the reign of Solomon. Even such discoveries contribute less to the refinement of ceramic chronology than might be expected. Unfortunately, none of the three gateways have been excavated according to the best stratigraphic methods.

¹ W. F. Albright, "The Excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim." Vols. I, IA, II, III. *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, XII, XIII, XVII, XXI, XXII (New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1932-1943).

² G. E. Wright, *The Pottery of Palestine from the Earliest Times to the End of the Early Bronze Age* (New Haven: ASOR, 1957).

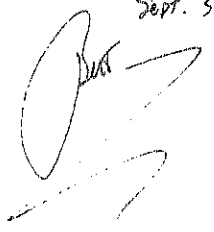
³ P. W. Lapp, *Palestinian Ceramic Chronology, 200 B.C. - A.D. 70* (New Haven: ASOR, 1961).

⁴ F. Zayadine, "Early Hellenistic Pottery," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*, XI (1966), pp. 53-64; N. Lapp, "Pottery from Some Hellenistic Loci at Balatah (Shechem)," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 175 (1964), pp. 14-26.

⁵ P. W. Lapp, "The Pottery of Palestine in the Persian Period," in *Archaeologie und Altes Testament. Festschrift für Kurt Galling*, ed. A. Kutschke and E. Kutsch (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1970), pp. 179-197.

⁶ See now, especially the Heshbon studies of J. Sauer, *Heshbon Pottery 1971* (Berrien Springs, Michigan: Andrews University Press, 1973).

Sept. 3rd 82



ON THE SMALL Mediterranean island of Malta there stand some ruined temples, built of huge stones, that have long been a mystery.

Certainly they were built before the time of the ancient Greeks and Romans. But archeologists have found these enigmatic structures with their great courtyards difficult to date. There is nothing like them anywhere else, and the artifacts found in them, including some rather attractive statues of very fat ladies (left), don't help much.

Like everyone who has seen them, I was greatly impressed by these strange ruined buildings when I first went to Malta as a student in 1959. And charmed by those stone sculptures with curves worthy of Matisse or Modigliani. One of the figures was larger than life size. I did not then imagine that this might actually be the world's oldest larger-than-life statue. Or that these Maltese structures might be the earliest temples still standing anywhere on earth.

We now know, through radiocarbon dating, that such temples were under construction in Malta before 3000 B.C., before the Pyramids of Egypt. And in just the past few years it has become clear that the great stone tombs dotting Western Europe are even older. Some, built around 4000 B.C., are quite simply the oldest buildings in existence:

We now know, too, that three thousand years before the Greeks, the Romans, or the Celts, European farmers had discovered the principles of copper metallurgy and were using gold to make precious objects.

All this contradicts long-accepted theories which held that the earliest stone tombs and temples and the practice of metallurgy began in the great cultures of ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia, the traditional "cradle of civilization." Europe, one still reads in textbooks, was something of a barbarian fringe.

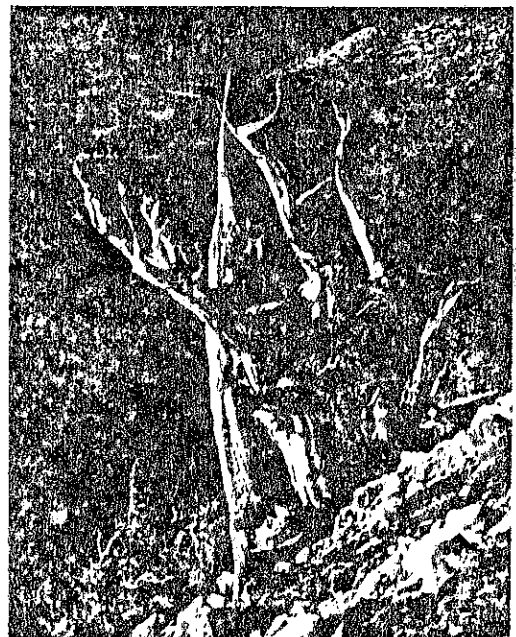
From the Near Eastern homelands of civilization, the theory went, new ideas were carried north and west by colonists and traders until they gradually diffused throughout Europe. This "diffusion theory" has been described as "the irradiation of European barbarism by Oriental civilization."

Now this framework for European history has collapsed, and the study of prehistory is in crisis. Not lightly have some archeologists spoken of a "radiocarbon revolution."

Ancient Europe Is Older Than We Thought

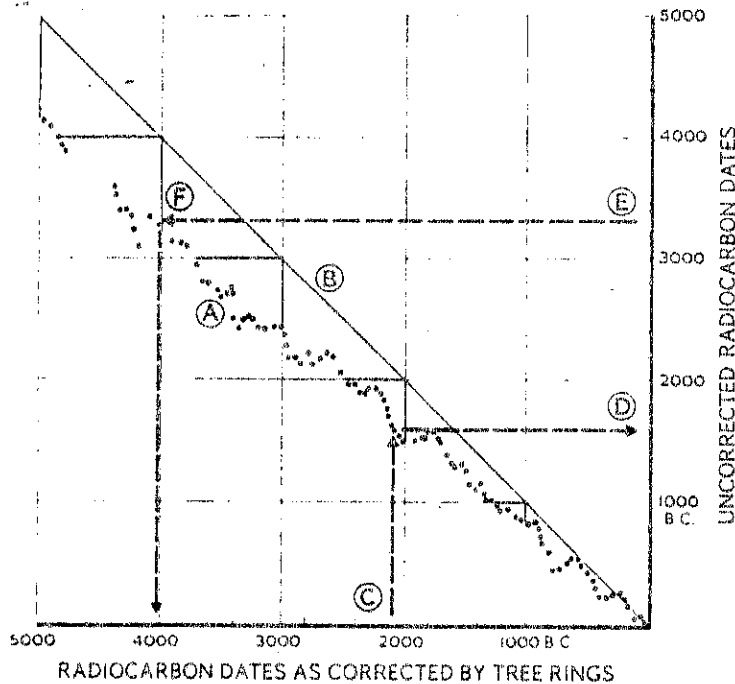
By COLIN RENFREW, Sc.D.

Photographs by
ADAM WOOLFITT



FIGURE, FACING PAGE, IS IN "FALL," COURTESY NATIONAL MUSEUM OF MALTA, DAVID MURPHY, EDITOR

Her age revealed, a headless "fat lady" from Malta (facing page) was once linked with Greece's Mycenaean civilization of 1500 B.C. Now, by matching radiocarbon dates with growth rings of the world's oldest living things—bristlecone pines (above)—archeologists date the lady at 3100 B.C.



when scientists measured carbon 14 in bristlecone pine rings of known ages, they found startling discrepancies. Dr. Hans E. Suess of the University of California at San Diego plotted radiocarbon dates for hundreds of years (A) and saw that beyond 1000 B.C. the dates tended to fall increasingly short of the actual ages (line B). A tree ring known to date from 2100 B.C., for example (point C), yielded a radiocarbon date of only 1600 B.C. (point D)—500 years too young. Conclusion: Carbon 14 has, in fact, fluctuated, and radiocarbon dating has to be revised.

Using the chart, other radiocarbon dates can be calibrated, although such corrections are limited by the length of the bristlecone pine ring sequence, presently to 6270 B.C. By plotting an uncorrected date from Brittany (3300 B.C.) at point E, for instance, the extension intercepts the plot of a pine sample dated from 4000 B.C. (point F). Brittany's megalithic sites are 700 years older than we thought.

While original radiocarbon dates had already cast doubts on theories of Europe's chronology (map, right), the new dates make them untenable.

Tree rings alter radiocarbon dating

ALL LIVING CELLS contain radioactive carbon 14 in proportion to the amount in the atmosphere. When cells cease to absorb radiocarbon, the quantity trapped within them begins

to dwindle at a known rate through radioactive decay. Thus bone, wood, and other organic material can be dated by measuring the carbon 14 that remains.

When radiocarbon dating was developed in the 1940's, it was assumed that the proportion of carbon 14 in the atmosphere, and hence in all living things, had remained constant. But

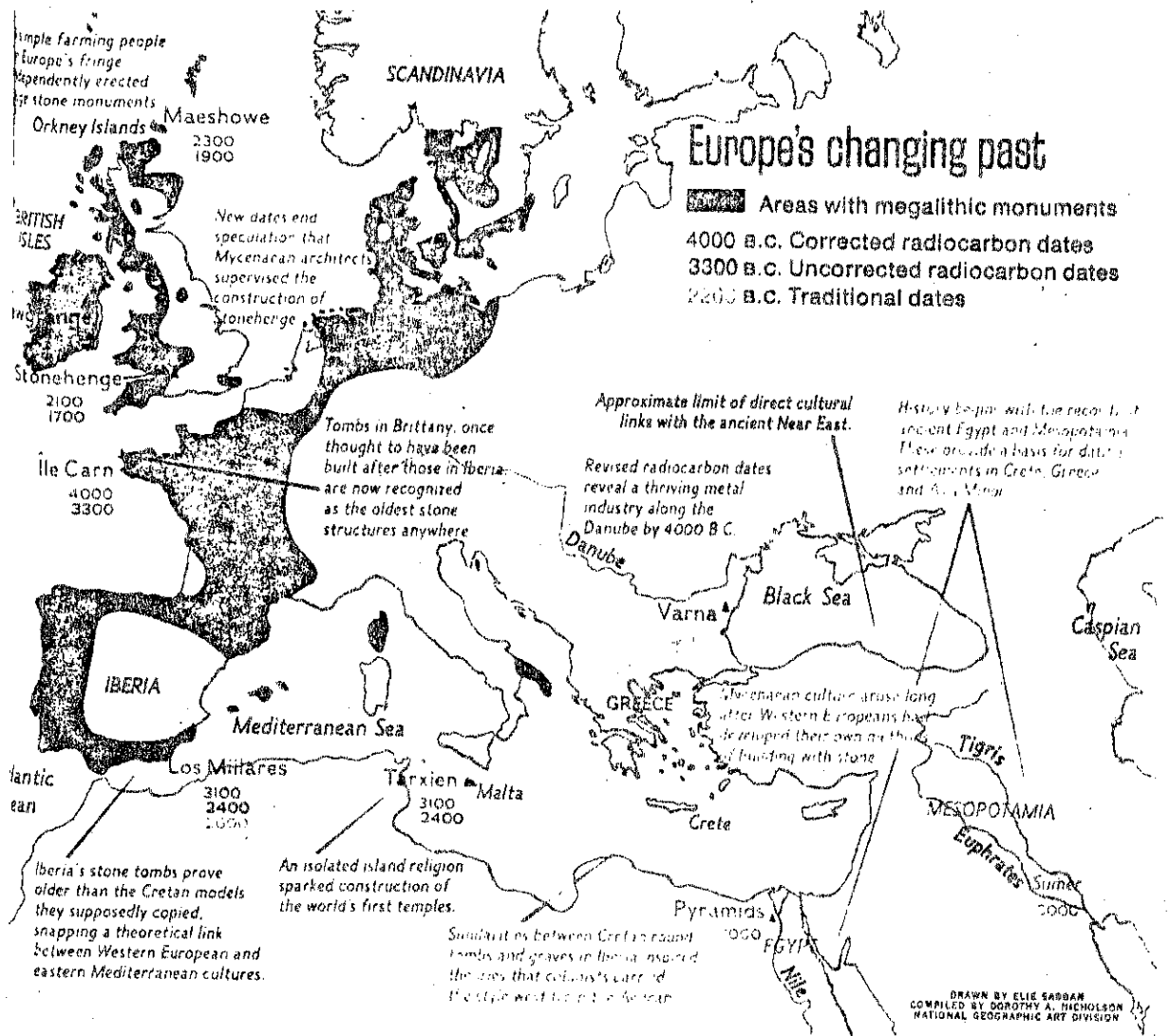
At the time of that first visit to Malta two decades ago, the traditional dating for its puzzling temples—about 1800 B.C.—was still unchallenged. Radiocarbon dating, pioneered in the 1940's by Dr. Willard F. Libby, had not yet been systematically applied there, and before it was developed, there was no valid scientific method of dating such structures. The only reliably dated early cultures were those of Egypt and of Sumer in Mesopotamia, which had written records, including lists of kings and the lengths of their reigns. It was possible to work out their chronologies, based on the records, back to nearly 3000 B.C.

But for Malta and prehistoric Europe, the only feasible way to get a sound date was by comparison. So generations of archeologists studied all the detectable similarities between the undated cultures of Europe and their possible contemporaries in the Near East.

For instance, the largest of the Maltese temples, at Tarxien, contained a number of stone slabs decorated with a design of running spirals. A closely similar design decorates grave slabs at the important Bronze Age site of Mycenae in Greece (page 619). The Mycenae spirals could be dated to around 1600 B.C. by means of several close links with Egypt (which are still accepted today). It seemed reasonable to suggest that the slabs at Tarxien might have been carved around 1500 B.C., and so the temples themselves could hardly date before 2000 B.C.

Similar Tombs From Spain to Scotland

After Malta I went to Spain to see its remarkable stone-built tombs, often called "megalithic" (from the Greek *me-gas*, large, and *lithos*, stone). Stone Age tombs somewhat resembling these are found along the Atlantic



coast from Spain and Portugal to France, to the British Isles, right up to the Orkneys off the tip of Scotland, and to Scandinavia.

The Spanish ones were particularly important to the traditional theory of the tombs' origin. There are round tombs in Crete probably once roofed in the same way as the Spanish tombs, which could reliably be dated back to 2600 B.C. through their Egyptian connections. It was thought, therefore, that the Spanish tombs were the work of colonists from the eastern Mediterranean, who might have arrived in Spain a little after 2600 B.C.

The theory held that the tombs of France could be modifications of those of Spain and Portugal, and the British and Irish ones would have followed the French ones, beginning around 2000 B.C. The great tomb of Maeshowe on Orkney, on the fringe of Europe, would come last, around 1700 B.C.

But there was a problem here. The theory was clear and simple, and the evidence at times persuasive; those spirals at the temple of Tarxien on Malta *did* resemble the spirals on the grave slabs at Mycenae. But the Spanish tombs did not resemble their supposed predecessors in Crete all that closely.

Further, when I really studied the artifacts of the Aegean early Bronze Age, of around 2600 B.C., I would find only very superficial resemblances to objects from the tombs in Spain. And a growing and disturbing number of radiocarbon dates indicated that many of the European structures were built not long after their supposed predecessors in the Near East, shrinking the time gap in which diffusion could have occurred.

I began to wonder if the theory of an independent invention of the European tombs might not be

(Continued on page 621)

right after all. Could the tombs of Spain, and of France and Britain, have been developed and built by local craftsmen, quite independently of whatever might be happening in the Near East or the Aegean? And if so, being independent, might they not be even earlier than the tombs of Crete?

At this point radiocarbon dating stepped in again, together with the aid of a strange tree, the bristlecone pine.

These gnarled trees, which grow high in the White Mountains of California, are earth's oldest living things. Tree-ring counts show some are actually more than 4,000 years old.

By matching the annual growth rings of both dead and living specimens of these ancient trees, Dr. C. W. Ferguson of the University of Arizona patiently built up a continuous tree-ring sequence back to 6270 B.C. This is extremely useful: Wood from each ring of a very ancient tree, whose age has been determined, can be analyzed in a laboratory to measure the radiocarbon present. In theory, the radiocarbon dates should be the same as the tree-ring dates. But they aren't.

As soon as bristlecone wood was measured in the lab, it became clear that for any time before 1000 B.C. the tree-ring dates were older than the radiocarbon dates. As a result, some assumptions of the radiocarbon method have been shaken. Happily, the tree-ring dates also provide an invaluable scale for correcting radiocarbon dates.

New Dates Sever Cultural Links

In 1967 Professor Hans E. Suess of the University of California at San Diego produced the first tree-ring calibration chart, converting radiocarbon dates to calendar dates.

The bristlecone pine calibration at once set the dates of some European temples and tombs back 800 years. In a single breathtaking sweep across Europe the traditional links between the early civilizations of Crete and Mycenae and the cultures of early prehistoric Europe were severed:

The Spanish tombs, for example, now dated from 3100 B.C., centuries earlier than the tombs in Crete from which they were supposed to derive! Tombs in Brittany suddenly went back to an astonishing 4000 B.C.

On Malta, buildings whose spiral decorations supposedly derived from Mycenae in Greece about 1600 B.C. acquired corrected

Ancient Europe Is Older Than We Thought

radiocarbon dates putting their origin before 3000 B.C. In Eastern Europe we know that copper tools—which had been cross-dated with Greek finds to 2300 B.C.—were being made in what is now Romania, Bulgaria, and Hungary as early as 4500 B.C.

Apparently metallurgy was independently invented in southeast Europe, not many years after its first appearance in the Near East, and may have evolved independently again in Spain not long after.

Recent finds from a prehistoric cemetery at Varna in Bulgaria brilliantly illustrate the vitality and originality of the European smiths. There, from graves dating from around 3500 B.C., rich finds of gold as well as of copper have been made—in fact, the earliest golden treasures so far found anywhere in the world (preceding page). The craftsmanship is naturally simple, but that is not surprising since it carries our knowledge of goldsmiths' work back nearly another thousand years.

What does this new dating and the eclipse of the diffusionist view really mean? Of course it is exciting that the Malta temples are older than the Pyramids, and that gold metallurgy was so early in the Balkans.

But what really matters is that we no longer seek to explain European prehistory by reference to the early civilizations of the eastern Mediterranean. In the right conditions, prehistoric men anywhere in the world were capable of ingenious inventions and impressive achievements. It should be the archeologist's job to study in just what economic and social conditions such things occurred.

Thus when I excavated recently on the Orkney Islands, it was not to find out where their monument builders had come from. It was to learn something of their way of life and their society.

Excavations in the ditch surrounding the great tomb at Maeshowe produced radiocarbon samples now dated to 2300 B.C. So there, at the far north of Europe, the inhabitants of these remote islands were capable of the most skillful work in stone, entirely without the use of metal tools, just about the time the Pyramids were being built. Only a little later they were setting up stones and cutting a deep circular ditch in the rock to form the Ring of Brogar (above), still today, after 4,300 years, one of the most evocative and romantic of religious monuments.

There on Orkney the stones are still upright, and in some of the tombs the dead sleep on. The radiocarbon revolution shows us that they rank among the world's earliest architects, and their handiwork still stands. They have earned that rest. □

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 tones¹ — 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 Gamla⁴ 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.

⁴See “Gamla: The Masada of the North” in *BAR*, January/February, 1979, p. 12.

⁵See “Megiddo Stables or Storehouses?” in *BAR*, September, 1976.

the writer for the old Exodus manuscript from Cave Four, Qumrân (ca. 250 B.C.) and the archaic Samuel manuscript (ca. 225 B.C.) now appear to be minimal, and it is clear in turn that the so-called Hasmonean hands of Qumrân cannot be reduced in date.²⁶

Tatters of historical data also will be dredged from the papyri. For example, it may become possible to reconstruct from the papyri the sequence of the governors of Samaria:

- Sanballat I
- Delaiah, son of Sanballat
- Sanballat II
- Hananiah, son of Sanballat II
- Sanballat III



Fig. 5. Papyrus 4 (above) and 2 (below) before unrolling. Photo: Palestine Archaeological Museum.

Sanballat I was governor of Samaria and probably at least forty years of age in 445 when Nehemiah came to Jerusalem. Reckoning twenty-five years to a generation, full long in antiquity, his son Delaiah would have been born ca. 460. By the beginning of the last decade of the century Delaiah and his brother had taken over Sanballat's powers, as we know from Letters 30 and 32 from Elephantine. Delaiah then would have been in his early forties. Sanballat II was the father of Hananiah, who was governor in 354 B.C. Following the sequence of 25 year generations, Sanballat II, son

26. F. M. Cross, "The Development of the Jewish Scripts", *The Bible and the Ancient Near East*, ed. G. E. Wright (New York, 1961), pp. 133-202.

of Delaiah or Shelemiah would have been born around 435. Hananiah his son, born around 410, in 354 would have been 56. Sanballat III²⁷ son of Hananiah, born around 385, would have been at least 51 when appointed governor by Darius III,²⁸ and in his early fifties when he gave away his daughter Nikasô in marriage to a Jewish noble of high-priestly family.²⁹

This reconstruction is, of course, merely hypothetical. However, certain facts are clear. The Sanballat of the Samaria papyri cannot be either the Sanballat of the fifth century, or the Sanballat of Josephus. It is certain also that the governorship continued in the family of Sanballat, a common practice in the Persian Empire. Once a sequence of Sanballats appears, we no longer need be troubled, as historians have been, by the appearance of another Sanballat, in the time of Darius III and Alexander. Of course Josephus confused Sanballat I and III, just as he confused Jaddua, high priest under Darius II (Neh. 12:22) and Jaddua, high priest in the time of Darius III.³⁰ Such confusion is readily explained, however, when it is recognized that the practice of papyronymy (naming grandson after grandfather) operated in these families. We have much evidence of the popularity of papyronymy in this period. One need only refer to its systematic practice in the Oniad and Tobiad families. On the other hand there is good reason to believe that the succession in the Sanballat dynasty was more complex than our scheme suggests. For example, it may be that we shall have to insert into the list the name of Yesû' bar Sanballat, perhaps an older or younger brother of Hananiah.

The new papyri will provide important new data for the description of social institutions in Persian Palestine, for studies in the history of law, and for the description of the linguistic and orthographic evolution of Aramaic in the west. But discussion of these topics must wait for another occasion.

27. See above, n. 19. Previously I have shared the scepticism of those who have thought that this Sanballat was a creature of Josephus. The appearance of Sanballat II, admittedly enough, puts the question of the Sanballat of Josephus in quite a new light.

28. *Antiquities* XI, 302.

29. *Antiquities* XI, 302-303.

30. *Antiquities* XI, 302; cf. Neh. 13:28. The intermarriage between the noble families of Jerusalem and Samaria is not especially surprising. Moreover, the new evidence that the main Samaritan schism belongs to Hasmonean times further eases difficulties.

Palestine: Known But Mostly Unknown

PAUL W. LAPP

The American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem, Jordan

Palestine (West Bank Jordan and Israel today) is perhaps the most excavated land in the world. Certainly the archaeological history of no country is better known. Since the beginning of archaeological work in Palestine at Tell el-Hesi in 1890 there have been few periods when there were not several expeditions in the field. The most complete survey of current arch-

aeological work in Palestine is the "Chronique" of the *Revue Biblique*. The 1962 "Chronique" mentions nearly fifty sites at which archaeological discoveries were reported, mainly in 1960 and 1961. More than half these sites have been subjected to substantial excavation.

How Much Do We Know?

With some knowledge of the scope of archaeological activity in Palestine visitors in Jerusalem frequently ask: Are there still new sites to dig? Are there still exciting finds to be made in Palestine? One might go on to ask: Isn't our knowledge of biblical times fairly complete? Don't we have a picture of daily life at the time of Jesus which can be modified only in detail by future discoveries? The confidence with which archaeological conclusions are frequently drawn and the long books devoted to daily life in Palestine at the time of Jesus might suggest an affirmative answer.

My viewpoint here is that such a tiny fraction of the archaeological material has been excavated, and such a small fraction of that satisfactorily published, that even the most assured archaeological conclusions must still be considered far from final. This does not mean that all archaeological conclusions must be basically vague and noncommittal. Our knowledge of Palestinian archaeology has been built step by step, from the best hypothesis explaining evidence available at an early stage of exploration to the best hypothesis to explain evidence currently at hand. Without the discipline of continuous updating of hypotheses as new evidence comes to light chaos would prevail. The nonspecialist would find it much more difficult to judge among interpretations than is now the case. All that is stressed here is that in view of the vast amount of unknown material, archaeologists will be forced to modify or reformulate many, if not all, their hypotheses regarding the development of Palestine as the flood of new evidence continues to grow. Palestinian archaeology may be past infancy but has hardly gotten beyond childhood.

There are some 5,000 recorded antiquities sites and monuments in Palestine and Transjordan. Supplement No. 2 to the *Palestine Gazetteer* (ordinary No. 1375 of 24 November, 1944) listed some 3,500 spots as coming under the provisions of the then effective Antiquities Ordinance. Nelson Glueck has dealt with well over a thousand sites in Transjordan, and this study was not entirely comprehensive.¹ If the new sites among the 400 in the Negeb examined by Glueck,² and other sites more recently discovered, are added, a total of approximately 5,000 sites is reached.

1. Nelson Glueck, "Explorations in Eastern Palestine, IV," *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, XXV-XXVIII, Part 1 (1951), pp. xviii-xix. Only about three quarters of the sites in North Gilead were included and some sites near the mouth of the Yarmuk had not been examined. To these some sites in an area between Amman and the Jordan River as well as a few not easily accessible on the east bank of the Dead Sea may now be added.

2. Nelson Glueck, *Rivers in the Desert* (1959), p. x.

Even this number will be steadily, though not rapidly, increased from year to year. This year, for example, the American School in Jerusalem has just excavated in two cemeteries north of 'Ain Sâmiyeh. Neither of these had been listed as archaeological sites, and at least three other unrecorded cemeteries have been noted in the vicinity. The cave in the Wâdi ed-Dâliyeh from which the Samaria Papyri were recovered and the nearby cave inhabited in the Middle Bronze I period had not been previously noted (see Dr. Cross' article in this issue). The annual topographical studies by members of the German Evangelical Institute usually bring to light yet unrecorded sites, and this year was no exception.

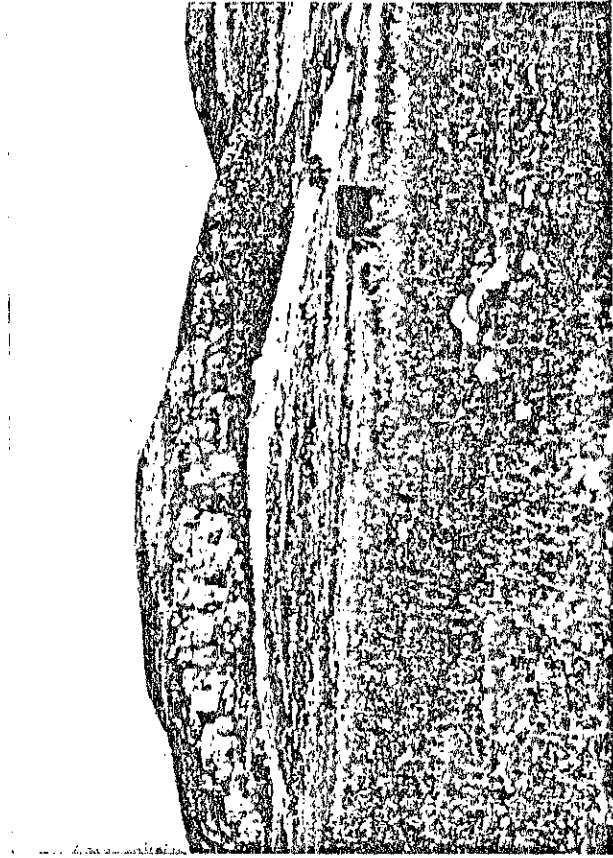


Fig. 6. The double wall Tell Abû Kharaz with the low mound of Tell el-Mogberah in front of it. Identified by Nelson Glueck with biblical Lohesh-gilead. Photo by Nelson Glueck.

Scientific excavations, including small soundings and clearances, have taken place at some 150 sites, or about three in a hundred. The *Westminster Historical Atlas to the Bible* (1956), plate 18, records nearly a hundred excavated sites, and the total recorded in the *Oxford Bible Atlas*, page 96 (to 1958), is some forty higher. Of these, the *Westminster Atlas* records major excavations at 26 sites, the *Oxford Atlas* at fifteen. This means that roughly one site in 300 has been the scene of major archaeological work. To be sure, many of the sites on record would not merit extensive excavation, but if only one in four were promising, major excavations have till now been carried out at only two per cent of the potential sites.

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More or less adequate records of surface finds and extant monuments exist for the recorded sites mentioned here, especially those in Transjordan and the Negeb studied by Nelson Glueck. Substantial historical conclusions may be drawn from this mass of evidence from surface exploration, but arguments from silence are always dangerous when dealing with this material, even when minor excavation has been carried out. At 'Araq el-Emir, for example, surface exploration failed to recover any evidence of Iron I occupation, and yet excavation exposed impressive remnants of an Iron I fort. In a first campaign two five-meter squares were excavated to bedrock, but it was not until the second season that any evidence of occupation in the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze periods came to light. Even after three campaigns only a few sherds and coins purchased from the villagers suggest that Persian and Early Hellenistic stratification, the excavator's main concern, may yet appear in a future campaign.

As the home of Amos, Tekoa has attracted many visitors in Palestine with biblical interests. The visitor will hardly forget the barren, rocky mound with hardly enough dirt covering it to justify much of an excavation. Today convincing evidence of Middle Bronze II tombs appeared. Yesterday beautiful Middle Bronze I pots from there were offered for sale in Jerusalem. Two weeks ago I visited the site to record the tomb from which a beautiful seventh century B.C. tomb group was taken, and while there Architect David Voelter was able to plan an Early Roman tomb just discovered during the building of a new house (by Ta'Amireh bedouin with money they earned from manuscript purchases). Obviously this site is ripe for a major tomb search and excavation project. Tekoa and 'Araq el-Emir are just two current examples of the wealth of material which might be awaiting the excavator at any one of 5,000 sites—of which there may be no hint in surface exploration records. [Dr. Lapp wrote this paragraph on September 25, 1963.—Ed.]

True, one may think, but certainly the chief biblical sites and the richest and most promising areas have already been excavated. This is true only to a small degree. A number of important biblical sites are still untouched: Jabesh-gilead (Figure 6), Ramah, and Hebron, for instance, though excavation at the last site may commence next year. Two of the host of untouched spots with minor biblical connections may be noted in Figure 10. Many ancient cities and villages have been disturbed only slightly by excavations. Bethlathem, Bethel, and Bethany are among these. Especially to be emphasized is the fact that at every site of a major excavation much more remains for the future than has been so far unearthed. The area dug during the three current seasons at Jerusalem added to that disturbed by almost countless past expeditions together accounts for only a tiny fraction of the surface of historical Jerusalem. Even Jericho, one of the most fully excavated

sites in Palestine, could still keep a large expedition busy for many years. In fact, Miss Kenyon has planned her excavations so that substantial portions of the tell will remain available for future excavations when archaeological methodology has been improved and new techniques and analyses developed and refined. Only at Megiddo was there an attempt to strip a tell layer by layer, and there the plan was soon abandoned.

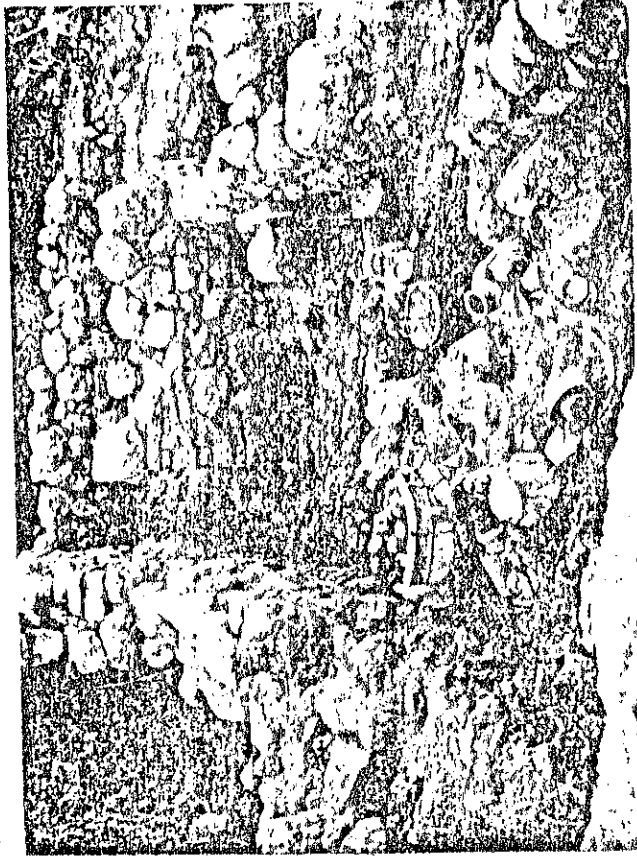


Fig. 7. A portion of the several hundred artifacts unearthed in a cult area at Tell Ta'annek during the summer of 1963 illustrating the flood of new evidence constantly pressing upon the Palestinian archaeologist for synthesis and interpretation. Photo Lois Glock.

There need be little fear that the constant flood of new and interesting artifacts coming to light through excavation and appearing in antiquity shops will begin to ebb in the foreseeable future. "Flood" is hardly an exaggeration. In the past two months on the Jordan side of Palestine, besides the Tekoa finds, the Jerusalem excavation has turned up enough inscribed Hebrew weights to double our evidence on the subject; the Taanach expedition has unearthed several hundred artifacts in a cult context (Figure 7) including a unique Astarte figurine mold, plus a Canaanite cuneiform tablet providing the best evidence yet on writing in twelfth century B.C. Palestine; Roman tombs in Jerusalem have produced spectacular jewelry and one of the finest collections of bone pins known; the richest Late Bronze burials yet discovered in Palestine have been excavated at Pella; some 35 Middle Bronze I tomb plans have been recorded at Dhahr Murzbaneh, several with large

intact tomb groups, important structures and ostraca of the first and second century A.D. are reported from Herodium; important finds in a sounding at Shiloh have led to plans for resuming major work there; topographical work has led to a number of cogent new identifications of biblical and historical sites; and, as usual, more ancient documents are appearing on the market. News reports indicate that comparable discoveries have been taking place in Israel within the same period.

A Coordinated Strategy?

The last paragraph might give the impression that the flood of evidence pouring in is rather spontaneous and quite uncontrolled. Such an impression is perfectly correct. Apart from the practically complete lack of contact between archaeologists working in Israel and those digging in Jordan, there is practically no coordination of excavation aims or plans between and among the separate expeditions. The Departments of Antiquities have no schedules of the ten most crucial sites in need of excavation. Responsible expeditions are free to select a site of their choice, and, unless there are other claims on the site, a license can usually be obtained without difficulty. In Jordan competent American expeditions usually seek association with the American Schools of Oriental Research, but expeditions failing to meet its standards have little difficulty obtaining excavation permits. Indeed, recently royal patronage has been secured for such projects as the quest for the treasures mentioned in the Copper Scroll from Qumran Cave 3, diving for the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah under the Dead Sea, and a search for the body of Moses.³

Interested persons with an orderly frame of mind have often asked how a more systematic program of excavation could be introduced, and archaeologist colleagues have discussed coordination of the activities of the Departments of Antiquities and the various archaeological schools at work in Palestine. Some countries such as Turkey are quite strict about granting permits and the choice of sites is quite limited in terms of the resources and plans of the expedition and the long term plans for its archaeological sites by the Department of Antiquities. To be sure, permission to excavate in Palestine should be based on such conditions as demonstration of a competent staff, evidence of resources adequate to carry on an excavation in keeping with the nature of the site, and assurance of high standard scholarly publication. Certainly no excavation should be licensed without a carefully trained and experienced archaeologist. Beyond this is a long range or coordinated program of excavation possible or desirable?

Underlying an answer to this question is the observation that it is impossible to provide satisfactory solutions to most of the problems of archaeology.

3. Icar Lissner, "The Tomb of Moses Is Still Undiscovered," *EA* XXVI 3 (1963), pp. 106-108.

logists concerned with history either by excavating according to the principle of random sample or by a calculated study of surface and literary evidence.

If you were an archaeologist interested in gathering evidence on cult practices in the Early Bronze age, you might wish to put the names of sites at which Early Bronze sherds occur in a hat and select three at random. Chances are good that one of the sites is covered with masses of Byzantine and Roman debris, another is the site of a modern village, and the third is located where there is not an adequate labor force or water supply. In any case, excavators are not usually in a position to consider work at more than one site at a time, and if they have funds in hand for the next season, they consider themselves fortunate.

If, on the other hand, you studied each Early Bronze tell with care, were well acquainted with all pertinent material excavated in Palestine and neighboring lands, and came to the conclusion that precisely this spot on this mound is the most promising in Palestine for recovering Early Bronze cult material, most experienced Palestinian archaeologists would probably offer generous odds against your finding what you were looking for. Perhaps what you seek will remain hidden a few feet from your excavation; perhaps cult remains had been entirely razed in the later occupational history of the tell; perhaps this site had no special cult area. Even if you were to discover clear cult remains, could these be considered a representative find or could they represent a unique pilgrimage center or the seat of a wizard with his own ideas? In this instance, as in many similar problems, there is hardly enough comparative material to decide what could be considered typical or representative.

Under these circumstances most larger excavations in Palestine approach a mound with a series of aims and objectives and are open to the responsibilities of careful excavation and publication of whatever the pick brings up. These aims are such that only one or a few mounds may be considered completely satisfactory for a given expedition. An expedition digging for the first time in Jordan this summer was interested in a large tell with fairly continuous occupation in the Bronze and Iron ages and as little later debris as possible. The group wanted a site with biblical connections, one offering possibilities of epigraphic finds, one with potentialities for several campaigns, and one which could be excavated during the summer. The last requirement eliminated sites in the Jordan valley, and there was one tell which held out far more promise than any other, Ta'annek. In fact, after Ta'annek the next most promising sites were in Syria.

Many of the minor excavations in Palestine have been prompted by chance discoveries, some by a scholarly concern with a particular problem, others are salvage operations. The clearance of the Wafî ed-Dâliyah caves

was prompted by the discovery of the Samaria Papyrus there. (This find incidentally, provides some justification for the Jordan government's close eye policy on some of the illegal digging for antiquities by bedouin. These documents would certainly never have been discovered by an archaeologist.) The excavation at 'Araq el-Emir was undertaken primarily to secure stratified remains of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. A sounding was undertaken at Tell er-Rumeith to gather evidence on its identification with Ramath-gilead and to see if it offered promise for a large excavation (Figure 3).



Fig. 3. Looking west at the soundings made at Tell er-Rumeith (identified with Biblical Ramath-gilead by Nelson Glueck) in the spring of 1962. Note the four "squares" excavation site on a secondary knoll to the east, one near the base of the mound, one on the steepest part of the slope where the fort wall was discovered, and one at the center of the mound (at the spot where Prof. Chas. Kraft is standing on the horizon). These soundings supported the biblical identification and indicated that a larger excavation would be desirable. Photo Paul Lapp.

One of the aims of the Jerusalem excavation is to "salvage" the remains from open areas of Jerusalem which are about to be covered with modern structures, and a dig is proposed for Gibeah (Tell el-Ful) next spring to glean information from its antiquities before the proposed palace for King Hussein is built there.

What all this suggests is that it is quite unlikely under present circumstances that any imposed program of excavation could improve upon the present flexible situation, in which expeditions are free to select sites in terms of their interests and qualifications while at the same time competent

groups are available to handle urgent archaeological projects. With such vast amounts of material to be dug and such immense gaps in our knowledge, any competent person willing to devote time toward filling in the gaps should be welcomed and encouraged by all interested in Palestine's past.

The factors discussed above are important elements in the perspective with which any reader should want to approach reports on archaeological work in Palestine. Interpretations and conclusions about excavated material are commonly based on a tiny fraction of the potential evidence, and the representative character of this is often impossible to determine. As archaeological methodology is refined and digging tends to become more and more meticulous, the extent of an excavation will tend to decrease in proportion to the size of the staff and amount of technical equipment required. As a result the body of material on Palestine will probably not grow at a much faster pace in the near future than it is at present. Palestine will remain mostly unknown for many years to come unless some modern device such as the magnetometer is perfected to the point that a clear picture of the contents of a mound can be secured without the tedious processes of excavation.

← Interpreting and Reporting

In view of the above discussion, specifying limitations in archaeological reporting is especially crucial. In the social and physical sciences, comparable human or laboratory circumstances may be repeated to test a given hypothesis, but an archaeologist cannot easily make another slice through his mound to test his hypothesis about, let us say, an unusual Late Bronze building. An ideal final archaeological report should make it possible for the reader to reconstruct the layers and associated structures and artifacts as they existed before excavation, but up to now this goal has not been approached even by the best archaeological publications. No one is in as advantageous a position as the archaeologist himself to understand the limitations of his evidence, and it is crucial that he report them. *for final reports - H. H. H. H. H.*

The treatment of the Sacred Area in the preliminary report of the latest campaign at Shechem (a model of prompt and detailed reporting) may prove instructive at this point.⁴ The chief hypothesis is that the structure under the Fortress Temple forecourt, previously designated a palace, is now to be interpreted as a courtyard temple like Temples I and II at Bogazköy. From a table summarizing the history of the Sacred Area the conclusion might be drawn that the sacred character of the courtyard phase is as assured as that of the Fortress Temple. Such a conclusion would seem dubious, since the

4. L. E. Toombs and G. E. Wright, *BASOR*, No. 169 (Feb. 1963), esp. pp. 17-18; cf. Wright, *Illustrations*, *London News*, Aug. 10, 1963, pp. 204-208.

Fortress Temple lies completely exposed for all to see while important parts of the courtyard phase, not specified clearly on the plans, remain unexcavated. As is common in a preliminary report, the hypothesis seems to be set forth in the most favorable light. The Bogazköy parallels are considered remarkable, but differences such as the separation of the chief cult room from the central court are not specified. Possible objections to the hypothesis such as the lack of cult objects and installations, the occurrence of domestic jar burials and ovens in the temple, and the presence of a noncultic structure within the sacred temenos are not considered. ~~Minority shared reports.~~

The archaeologist is constantly tempted or forced to expand theories upon a small evidential base. He builds his hypotheses on the small excavated portion of a building complex or installation or on tatters of buildings disturbed by later occupation. He frequently uses arguments from silence based upon the absence of certain phenomena or artifacts when he has excavated only a tiny fraction of a mound or merely from surface finds. He has to describe nearly all structures without benefit of literary evidence or epigraphic finds. Sometimes whole building complexes leave little hint of their function.

There comes to mind immediately the well-known story of the archaeologist who related evidence of a large silt layer covering the area he was excavating to the great flood, only to discover later on that the "great flood" had destroyed only a small part of his mound. Even more distressing is the way in which his original announcement of finding the flood has been perpetuated in the popular volumes which report archaeological finds to the public. In digging a Middle Bronze I cemetery this past month the first week was occupied with clearing some ten tombs in cemeteries with evidence of comparatively large sample we could have concluded that all the tombs were either rubbed or their contents covered with heavy roof fall, but, happily, results of the second week belied that conclusion.

The shaded portion of the general plan of the Tainach excavations (Figure 9) illustrates what a small part of that tell was investigated in the 1963 campaign with a comparatively large staff and labor force, and only a small part of the shaded areas was actually excavated at bedrock. The other excavated areas shown on the plan are the work of three campaigns carried out by the German scholar E. Sellin in 1902-1904. With the less rigorous methods of digging in vogue at the beginning of this century nearly a fifth of the mound was excavated. Even these extensive operations did not provide sufficient evidence for Sellin's conclusions that there were no more important structures to be found on the site and that the city had never been surrounded by a fortification wall, for both were found in this season's excavation.

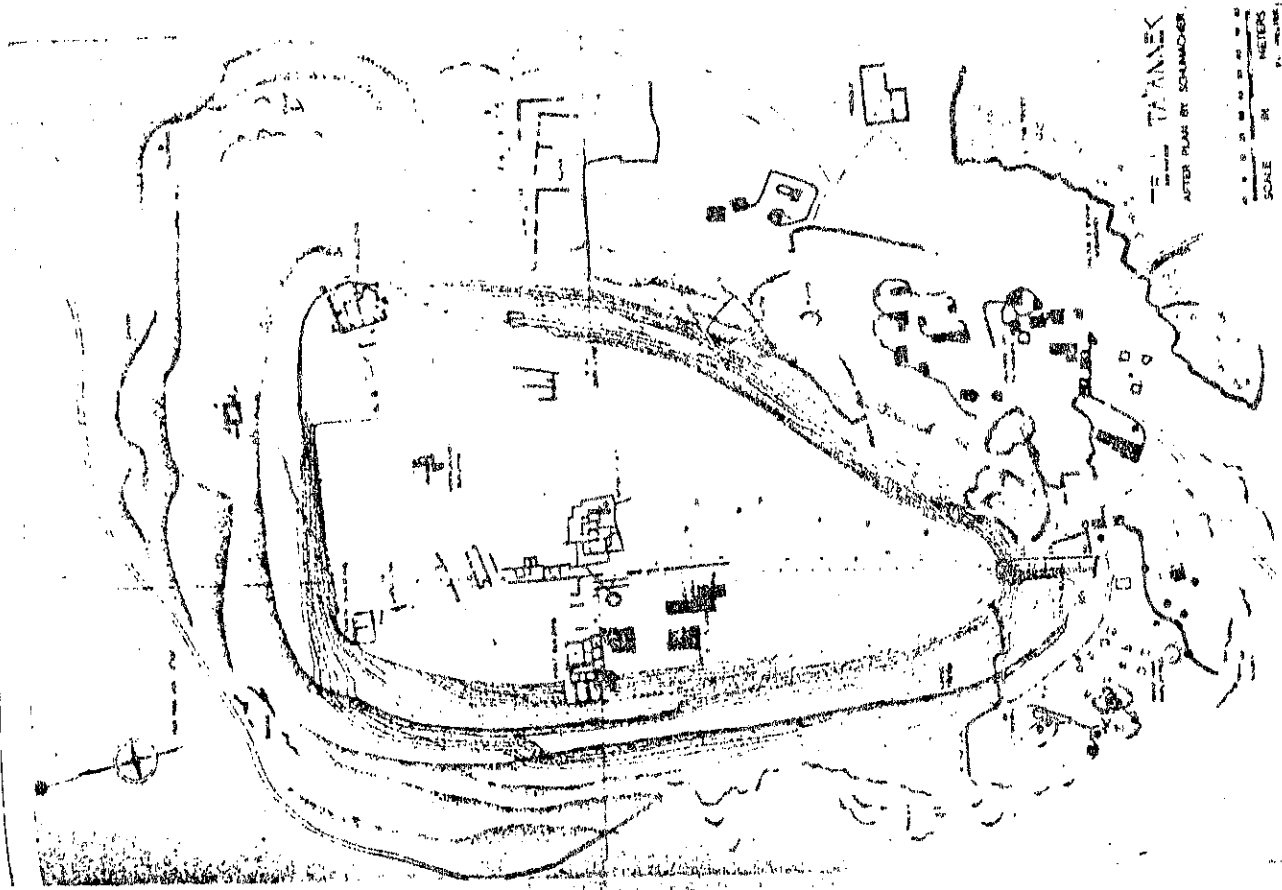


Fig. 9. Plan of Tell Ta'annek showing extent of early German excavations and the current Con- cordia-American Schools excavations (shaded). Plan by David L. Voelker.

The wall fragments in the "Cult Area" of the Taanach plan point to the problem of interpretation involved when only portions of buildings are preserved. The excavator would like to be able to propose a reconstruction for the building and indicate how the inhabitants under Jeroboam I (922-901 B.C.) were using the building before it was violently destroyed in the late tenth century, possibly by Pharaoh Shishak in 918 B.C. Important for the interpretation are the finds from the destruction layer inside the building (Figure 7). They include objects of a cultic nature such as over a hundred pig ankle bones and an Astarte figurine mold, as well as noncultic objects including many large jars, some containing grain, over fifty large loom weights, about a dozen iron weapons and implements, and several weights. A detailed study of comparable material has not yet been made, but any attempt to complete the lines of the wall fragments along lines of what might be a similar cult structure should be undertaken with extreme caution. In fact, to be at all convincing the attribution of the function of the building will have to account for the noncultic as well as the cultic artifacts. It has been suggested that these remains provide background for the cultic and commercial activities of an enterprising group of priests who combined the sale of grain and loom weights with that of amulets and figurines, but this merely represents one of several possibilities. Perhaps this was the residence of the local medium or witch and perhaps the materials were not for sale at all but part of a sanctuary store.

The Late Bronze I complex at Taanach is a well-preserved series of rooms covering a fairly large area. It illustrates the problem of interpretation facing the archaeologist even when his evidence is left fairly undisturbed by later occupation. The complex so far excavated consisted of six rooms and an open court with a tramped earth floor. Five of the rooms had plastered floors and the floor of the sixth consisted of two large slabs of soft limestone. Two of the rooms were only four by four feet. Besides the usual masses of sherds, only a few nearly intact bowls and jugslets, a broken water pipe, three fragments of a new type of plaque Astarte figurine, and a curious stone-lined circular pit plastered with a red clayey mortar were left by the ancient inhabitants to offer clues as to the function of the building. Even considering the poverty of comparative material from fifteenth century B.C. Palestine, the preliminary conclusion that this complex served "some industrial or storage purpose" is far from satisfying.

There is another aspect in the background of archaeological reporting, which is too delicate to attempt to illustrate but is nevertheless an important factor for the reader of archaeological accounts to consider. It involves the pressures which commonly face archaeologists when they write their reports—pressures toward glossing over the limitations of the evidence and the weak

points in hypotheses and toward inflating the importance of finds and maximizing interpretations. With a disappointing campaign the morale of the expedition staff might disintegrate; patrons might be less inclined to future generosity; colleagues might accord the expedition reduced prestige. When space is limited, what archaeologist, having reached bedrock at the end of an exhausting campaign, would not stress the exciting finds thirty feet down rather than that only three square yards of bedrock were uncovered? Pressed for an immediate report or news release at the end of a dig, it is difficult for an archaeologist to avoid piecing together creditable hypotheses, unsubstantiated interpretations, and experienced guesses into a "story" in which the reader frequently is at pains to distinguish a substantial hypothesis from a guess. An archaeologist would be as foolish to deny that such pressures exist as to claim that such pressures have had no influence on his reporting.

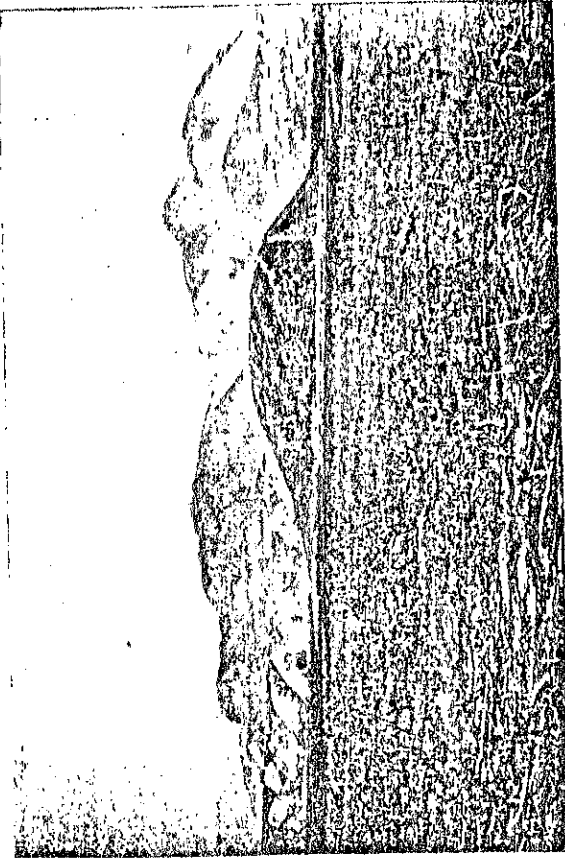


Fig. 10. Tell ed Damiyah (Biblical Adamah connected with the blocking of the Jordan River when Joshua and his people entered Palestine) on the east bank of the Jordan, with Qarn Sarrabeh (Heracl the Great's Alexandria) towering in the background over the west bank of the Jordan. Photo by Nelson Glueck.

While we must content ourselves with interpretations of archaeological material which are for the most part far from satisfying, the flood of new evidence, bringing with it new and developing hypotheses and emerging pictures of ancient Palestine, makes Palestinian archaeology an attractive and challenging discipline for archaeologists and biblical scholars alike. Another

writer on the scene dealing with the archaeological potential of Palestine would have used other illustrations, but the dominating impression could hardly be changed: Palestinian archaeology is in its childhood with a wide open, promising future.

The Second Season At Ancient Ashdod

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The second season of excavations at ancient Ashdod commenced on June 2, 1963, after several weeks of preliminary work at the site. Full-scale operations continued for two months, while the staff, assisted by a skeleton crew, carried on specialized activities until termination of work at the tell in the middle of August. The Ashdod Project is sponsored by two American institutions in cooperation with the Israeli Department of Antiquities. Professor David N. Freedman of Pittsburgh Theological Seminary is the Director of the Ashdod Project, while Dr. James L. Swauger of the Carnegie Museum is the Associate Director. Dr. Moshe Dothan of the Department of Antiquities is the Director of the Excavation.

The Philistines played a major role in the early history of Israel, and are well known to us from the vivid stories in the books of Judges and Samuel. Nevertheless, they remain an enigmatic and elusive people, whose perennial fascination for scholar and layman alike is enhanced by the mystery surrounding their origins, their language and culture, their sudden appearance on the Palestinian littoral, and their successful domination of the country and its inhabitants. Until the present undertaking at Ashdod, however, none of the famous cities of the Philistine Pentapolis (Ashdod, Ashkelon, Gaza, Gath, and Ekron) had been excavated on a large scale. During the first season of digging (1962, see BA XXVI [1963], 30-32), which was mainly of an exploratory nature, it was possible to determine the general stratigraphy of the site, and to gain an impression of its great size. The current campaign has provided much more extensive and detailed information, confirming and correcting earlier views. By means of a series of trenches, it has been possible to determine the extent of the tell, and the range of occupied levels at Ashdod. The acropolis or upper city occupied an area of approximately 70 dunams (a dunam is 1,000 sq. meters, roughly a quarter of an acre); it was surrounded by a series of massive walls, varying in thickness from about eight to thirteen feet. The lower city included several large populated areas, likewise surrounded by thick walls. One section of the lower city has proved to be a densely populated industrial quarter, bearing witness to

the commercial importance of Ashdod in the Iron Age. In addition a number of suburban areas outside the walls must be reckoned to the city-state of Ashdod, making the total extent of the city several hundred dunams.

Approximately twenty levels of occupation have been identified at various points on the tell. The following provisional list may be given: 1. Byzantine; 2. Roman (2nd to 4th century A.D.); 3. Herodian (1st century B.C. and A.D.); 4. Hellenistic (4th to 2nd century B.C.); 5. Persian (from the second half of the 6th to the first half of the 4th century B.C.); 6. - 9. Iron II (10th to 6th century B.C.); 10. - 14. Iron I (12th - 11th centuries B.C.); and 15. - 19. Late Bronze age (16th to 13th century B.C.).

We may safely date the beginnings of Ashdod as a great commercial and military center to the earliest phase of the Late Bronze age. The discovery of a few sherds of the Early Bronze age (ca. 3000 - 2100 B.C.) during the last week of digging suggests that there may have been much earlier settlements at the site. Further excavation will be required to determine the nature and extent of this occupation, however. The discovery of a cylinder seal inscribed with Old Babylonian cuneiform signs (to be dated in the first half of the 2nd millennium B.C.) may bear upon the question of a Middle Bronze occupation of the site (21st to 16th century B.C.). The context in which the seal was found suggests rather that an ancient heirloom was brought to Ashdod in much later times.

The founders of Ashdod in the Late Bronze age also established a seaport for the city at Tell Mor on the Nahal Lachish (the Wady Suqreir, a perennial stream until it was drained a few years ago, which passes close to Tell Ashdod on its way to the sea). Thus goods could be carried by water from Ashdod to the port, and then trans-shipped along the Mediterranean coast to the trading centers of the world. The modern city of Ashdod, planned as the largest seaport in Israel, is rising at the same location (about 4 miles from ancient Ashdod), and will encompass three ancient sites, all of which served as ports for the old city at different times in its history. In addition to Tell Mor, they are Minat Isliud, the Ashdod-yan of Israelite and Assyrian times, and Nebi Yunis, named after the prophet Jonah, and dating from the same general period).

The establishment of the Ashdod complex of settlements as a great commercial and military center may be credited to the vigorous monarchs of the 18th dynasty of Egypt (from about 1580 to 1350 B.C.). They expelled the Hyksos at the beginning of the 16th century, pursued them through Palestine and Syria, and regained possession of the Asiatic provinces of the empire. Crucial to the success of the Egyptian armies was control over the great maritime highway which ran along the Palestinian coast from Egypt, and then crossed eastward to Syria and Mesopotamia. The cities

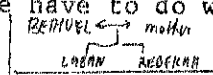
Hebrew Customs 20th Cent. BC

Paige

HISTORICITY OF THE PATRIARCHS I

Genesis 23

- v. 4 - What does the first part of the verse have to do with the second? *AD wanted all his life... had no land of his own. FATHERS MESSIAH IN ABRAHAM.*
- v. 9 - What specific thing did Abraham want to buy? *CAVE of Machpelah. SYMBOLIC OF ABRAHAM - A MORMON? ALIEN.*
- v. 11 - What did Ephron offer to Abraham? *FIELD & CAVE*
- v. 10-16 - Evaluate what was going on in these verses. *CONVINCING OWN A PRICE.*



①
 • IS THE PROPOSER RESPONSIBLE TO NEGOTIATE THE MARRIAGE HIS SISTER.
 • BROTHER GIVES BRIDE PRICE.

WED NOT BUY LAND IF STRANGER IS TO JOUENAL.
 STRANGER COULD NOT FIELD

Genesis 24:29-59

Keeping in mind that Bethuel was Rebekah's father and Laban her brother, CONSIDER:

- v. 50 - the individual who receives the greater precedence. *LABAN. SPEAKING MARRIED.*
- v. 53 - the individuals who receive gifts from Eliezer. *MAKING GIFTS TO REB - SON TO BROTHER & MOTHER..*

Genesis 15:2 - 3

Before he had children, who was Abraham's heir?
ELIEZER of Damascus - HIS MAIN SERVANT - SLAVE / WIVES IGNORED... BUT WHAT ABOUT LOT? HE WAS BORN IN AB. HOUSEHOLD.

②
 If a man's children & his child servant - custom to adopt individual no heir - HAD to QUALIFY... COULD NOT BE DAUGHTER IN IT - HAD to be BORN IN THE FAMILY IN SOCIAL SENSE. (CASH)

Genesis 16:1 - 3 SARAH - went AB. INTO HARAM. ③

What is your opinion of the credibility of this action? Why?
She was barren & thought that God wanted her to work it out w/o waiting - lacked faith. TAKE SOME ACTION ON HERSELF.

Genesis 25:29 - 33

What is your opinion of the credibility of this action? Why?
*have every man wine for bowl of soup. * JACOB'S Blessings. Jacob knew he was to get the birth right but felt it on himself to get it by negotiation.*

④
 Law of first: deception doesn't matter what took place. oral transfer of birthright... no treatment - bidding and waiting... once or

Genesis 27:1 - 37

Doesn't this passage cast a shadow on the credibility of the passage referred to above? Why or why not?

HISTORICITY OF THE PATRIARCHS IIGenesis 29 - 31

1. How would you describe Laban's reception of Jacob?
2. When Jacob asked to marry Rachel, what did Laban reply?
(NOTE THE EXACT WORDS)
3. Unlike Rebekah, who took her nurse with her, Leah and Rachel were each given _____

AFTER A CAREFUL CONSIDERATION, WHAT ITEMS STRIKE YOU AS "ODD" IN THE FOLLOWING SCRIPTURAL PASSAGES?

Gen. 31:22 - 23 when read with verses 30 and 32.

Laban's statements in Gen. 31:43 when considered in the light of Jacob's statements in verse 41.

The purpose of the covenant Laban proposed to Jacob in Gen. 31:44 and verses 51 and 52.