

TELL EN-NASBEH

EXCAVATED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF
THE LATE WILLIAM FREDERIC BADE

I

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL RESULTS



TELL EN-NAŞBEH FROM THE AIR: THE MOUND AND SURROUNDING AREA. THE COFFIN-SHAPED AREA IS APPROXIMATELY THAT ENCLOSED BY THE ANCIENT WALLS. THE CREST OF THE HILL RAN ALMOST NORTH AND SOUTH. THE ROOFS OF MALOUFIA SHOW TO THE SOUTHEAST. THE NORTH CEMETERY LAY HALF WAY TO THE EDGE OF THE PICTURE ALONG A LINE PARALLEL WITH THE ROAD. SEE FIGURE 3.

A Neil Richardson

TELL EN-NASBEH

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THE LATE WILLIAM FREDERIC BADE

I

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL RESULTS

CHESTER CHARLTON McCOWN

WITH CONTRIBUTIONS

BY

JAMES MUILENBURG

JOSEPH CARSON WAMPLER

DIETRICH VON BOTHMER

AND

MARGARET HARRISON

IN MEMORIAM

BY THE LATE

JOHN WRIGHT BUCKHAM

THE PALESTINE INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC SCHOOL OF RELIGION

AND

THE AMERICAN SCHOOLS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

BERKELEY AND NEW HAVEN

1947

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TO THE MEMORY
OF
JOHN WELLS MORSS

IN GRATEFUL APPRECIATION
OF HIS FRIENDSHIP, SYMPATHETIC INTEREST,
AND GENEROUS GIFTS

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PREFACE

THE PREPARATION of the Tell en-Naşbeh material for publication has not been an easy task. Complicated and tiresome enough in itself, it has been rendered doubly difficult and laborious by the loss of the one person who planned the excavations and followed them through from beginning to end. Innumerable entries in his diaries and the other records of the expedition which would have meant volumes to his capacious and retentive memory merely suggested to others questions which could be answered not at all, or only by long and tedious search for clues in the voluminous records which the expedition preserved.

The present writer could not well be absent from Pacific School of Religion at the same time as his Old Testament colleague. Therefore we met but once in Palestine, when I went out in 1929 as director of the American School of Oriental Research. Then it was possible for me to go to the mound nearly every day for all of two weeks while excavation was still in progress. To Tell en-Naşbeh I gave little attention because my archaeological interests and labors were devoted primarily to Hellenistic-Roman sites.

Only the fact that Mr. Wampler was a member of the expedition during its three most fruitful seasons, 1929, 1932, and 1935, has made possible an even passably satisfactory publication of the material. In 1929 Mr. Wampler also worked from July to November with Dr. C. S. Fisher and Dr. Elihu Grant at 'Ain Shems. At Tell en-Naşbeh he was in charge of the recording of the pottery and other artifacts, and the meticulous system which he elaborated under Dr. Badè's direction on the basis of that which Dr. Fisher had developed became one of the outstanding features of the expedition. Unfortunately he was not able to spend any considerable amount of time on the mound, but his knowledge of the whole enterprise has saved the report from many errors and uncertainties. His is the sole credit for the tedious and arduous labors which resulted in the painstaking classifications, drawings, and comparisons of Volume II. It was most unfortunate for the completion of the

task that Mr. Wampler was called into the Army at the beginning of October, 1942.

The contribution of Professor Muilenburg is of unusual value. The strange opinion has arisen that archaeology and literary criticism are at war. The uncritical use of the Bible by some archaeologists has supported this misconception. Dr. Muilenburg's careful appraisal of the literary evidence regarding Mizpah and other sites involved in the identification of Tell en-Naşbeh will be found, I believe, to clarify the problem and assist materially toward its solution.

Numerous archaeologists have given invaluable assistance. Père L. H. Vincent, O. P., of the Dominican École Biblique in Jerusalem was one of Dr. Badè's trusted counselors, as repeated references to him in the following text show. Professor John Garstang, director of the Department of Antiquities in 1926, and later other directors and their staffs extended repeated courtesies to Dr. Badè and the expedition. As the account of the various seasons' labors shows, the American School of Oriental Research through its director, Dr. W. F. Albright, gave the expedition essential technical assistance in its initial stages. Dr. C. S. Fisher, at the time director of the Oriental Institute expedition at Megiddo, and other members of his staff did the same. Members of the Friends' Mission at Rāmallāh were helpful in many ways. Various visiting scholars participated in the work for short periods. Too much cannot be said of the loyal efforts of the staff, most of them students of Pacific School of Religion, during the successive seasons. Their names are listed below.

In the preparation of the manuscript many persons have labored. Counsel and advice have been given most of all by Professor W. F. Albright, than whom no one in America is more competent and more willing and prompt in answering inquiries. Professor G. Ernest Wright also has given much time to the study of the records and to discussions with Mr. Wampler and myself. A report which he wrote on the pottery remains from one section of this mound was of great assistance. Special thanks are due to him and to the numerous scholars mentioned in the

text who have assisted in the interpretation of the scarabs and seals, of the stamped jar handles and other Hebrew inscriptions, and of the cuneiform inscription which came to light most unexpectedly when the task was nearly finished.

It was fortunate that Dr. Dietrich von Bothmer, a graduate of the University of California who had given special attention to Greek ceramics, could undertake the description and dating of the important fragments of Greek pottery under the supervision of Professor H. R. W. Smith of the Department of Classics in the University. He also is to be credited with the final form of the line drawings of pottery types in Volume II.

In a special sense the publication as well as the expedition has been an enterprise of Pacific School of Religion. Not only have the administration and the Board of Trustees heartily endorsed the plan, but many of the trustees and faculty have shown their personal interest in various ways. Successive generations of students under Dr. Badè and myself, in seminars on archaeological methods, have labored over the materials available in the Palestine Institute. Mrs. Elsie Culver, a graduate of Pacific School of Religion, prepared many of the photographic plates and brought together much of the material which appears in chapter XIX. Another graduate, Dr. Genevieve Jefferson, is to be credited with gathering and ordering the materials which are discussed in chapter XX and with a large part of the tedious labor of checking references and errors in the manuscript. In connection with the preparation of the manuscript for the press, mention should be made of two University students, Miss Vera Florcken, and Miss Sarah Shtoffer. The latter also prepared several of the plates.

The largest portion of the labor in preparing manuscript, photographic plates, and text figures as well as many of the plates of line drawings has fallen upon Miss Margaret Harrison, a student of both Dr. Badè and myself and a graduate of Pacific School of Religion, who since 1936 has been secretary and research assistant in the Palestine Institute. To her taste, skill, and carefulness a large proportion of whatever excellence the publication may have is due.

The expedition and the publication would not have been possible without a large amount of assistance of another kind, for archaeological expeditions

and publications are costly. Many friends of Pacific School of Religion and personal friends of Dr. and Mrs. Badè by their contributions made the successive expeditions possible. Dr. and Mrs. Badè themselves made far from modest contributions and many members of the staff bore a large part of their own expenses. Two individuals, friends of Dr. Badè, Major William C. Gotshall and Mr. John Wells Morss assisted liberally with the expenses of the expedition and left considerable sums to be used for publication and the housing of the Palestine Institute in adequate permanent quarters. This latter purpose was attained in November, 1941, when the William Frederic Badè Memorial Building was made available as a result of Mrs. Badè's generosity and careful planning.

In the present volumes one object of the enterprise which Dr. Badè undertook is brought measurably to completion. There still remain some materials to publish, such as the skeletal material, which could not now be presented because Dr. T. D. McCown, who had undertaken the task, was called into other activities on account of the war. However, the great bulk of the work has been done, and especially that portion which has to do with the Hebrew-Jewish city of 1200-450 B. C. Further study and excavation will doubtless alter some of the conclusions reached. It is hoped that sufficient original data have been presented to enable archaeologists to correct all important errors. A vast amount of detailed records and original materials preserved in the files and storerooms of the Palestine Institute is open to qualified persons for further study.

It is a great satisfaction that the Tell en-Naşbeh report can be sponsored by the American Schools of Oriental Research to which the writer owes so much and that, as it passed through the press, it has profited by the supervision of the editorial committee of the Schools, President Millar Burrows, Professor W. F. Albright, and Professor E. A. Speiser, who, however, are not responsible for the content of the volumes.

C. C. McCOWN,
Director, Palestine Institute

The quotations on pages 29 and 49 from *The Bible, An American Translation*, specifically by Alex. R. Gordon and Edgar J. Goodspeed, are used by permission of the University of Chicago Press.

LIST OF STAFF

William Frederic Badè, director, 1926-36

1926, March 30-June 7

C. S. Fisher, organizer

W. F. Albright, consultant

D. F. Higgins, surveyor (part of season)

Labib Sorial, mapper

1927, March 22-July 7

George P. Hedley, photographer and recorder

W. C. Gotshall, engineer and architect (absent)

Labib Sorial, mapper (part of season)

William Gad, mapper (part of season)

Elihu Grant, visiting scholar

C. S. Fisher, consultant (part of season)

Philip K. Swartz, draftsman and scribe (part of season)

J. Forrest Chapman, draftsman and scribe (part of season)

1929, March 15-July 3

Mrs. William Frederic Badè, manager

George P. Hedley, photographer and recorder

J. Carson Wampler, draftsman and scribe

Helen M. Perkins, analyst

Frances Darwin, analyst

Labib Sorial, surveyor

James M. Menzies, surveyor (part of season)

William Gad, assistant surveyor and field recorder

Boulos el-'Araj, assistant

1932, March 7-July 5

Mrs. William Frederic Badè, manager

J. Carson Wampler, recorder

Wesley A. Havermale, photographer

Clifford O. Simpson, scribe

Sterling Gorrill, draftsman

Labib Sorial, surveyor

William Gad, assistant surveyor and field recorder

Boulos el-'Araj, draftsman

1935, March 25-July 7

Mrs. William Frederic Badè, manager

J. Carson Wampler, recorder

J. Philmore Collins, scribe

Nicias P. Reckas, draftsman (part of season)

Robert Branstead, photographer

Labib Sorial, surveyor

Ode Jirius, field recorder

Boulos el-'Araj, draftsman

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JOSEPH CARSON WAMPLER

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

PUBLICATIONS

- | | | | |
|---------------------|--|----------------------------------|--|
| <i>AAS</i> | Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research | <i>L II</i> | Olga Tufnell, C. H. Inge, and L. Harding, Lachish II, The Fosse Temple, London, 1941 |
| <i>AJA</i> | American Journal of Archaeology | <i>LAA</i> | Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Liverpool |
| <i>APB</i> | W. F. Albright, Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible, New York, 1932, 3d ed., 1935 | <i>Manual</i> | W. F. Badè, Manual of Excavation in the Near East, Berkeley, 1934 |
| <i>APEF</i> | Annual of the Palestine Exploration Fund | <i>M I</i> | R. S. Lamon and G. M. Shipton, Megiddo I, Chicago, 1939 |
| <i>ARI</i> | W. F. Albright, Archaeology and the Religion of Israel, Baltimore, 1942 | <i>MJ</i> | Museum Journal, University of Pennsylvania |
| <i>AS</i> | Elihu Grant and G. E. Wright, 'Ain Shems Excavations, 5 vols., Haverford, 1931-1939 | <i>MMC</i> | F. J. Bliss, A Mound of Many Cities, Leipzig, 1898 |
| <i>BAS</i> | Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research | <i>MT</i> | P. L. O. Guy and R. M. Engberg, Megiddo Tombs, Chicago, 1938 |
| <i>BCH</i> | Bulletin de correspondance hellénique | <i>OIC</i> | Oriental Institute Communications |
| <i>BRL</i> | Kurt Galling, Biblisches Reallexikon, Tübingen, 1934-1937 | <i>OIP</i> | Oriental Institute Publications |
| <i>BS</i> | Elihu Grant, Beth Shemesh, Haverford, 1929 | <i>PEQ</i> | Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement, Palestine Exploration Quarterly |
| <i>B-S I</i> | Alan Rowe, Topography and History of Bethshan, Philadelphia, 1930 | <i>PJB</i> | Palästinajahrbuch |
| <i>B-S II i, ii</i> | Alan Rowe and G. M. FitzGerald, The Four Canaanite Temples of Bethshan, Philadelphia, 1940, 1930 | <i>PP</i> | G. E. Wright, Pottery of Palestine from the Earliest Times to the End of the Early Bronze Age, New Haven, 1937 |
| <i>B-S III</i> | G. M. FitzGerald, Bethshan Excavations, 1921-1923, Philadelphia, 1931 | <i>QDAP</i> | Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine |
| <i>BZ</i> | O. P. Sellers, Citadel of Beth-zur, Philadelphia, 1933 | <i>RB</i> | Revue biblique |
| <i>CC</i> | W. C. Graham and H. G. May, Culture and Conscience, Chicago, 1936 | <i>RGG</i> | Religion in Geschichte u. Gegenwart, 2d ed. |
| <i>CPP</i> | J. G. Duncan, Corpus of Dated Palestinian Pottery, London, 1930 | <i>S</i> | G. A. Reisner, C. S. Fisher, D. G. Lyon, Harvard Excavations at Samaria, 2 vols., Cambridge, 1924 |
| <i>CVA</i> | Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum | <i>SAOC</i> | Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization |
| <i>DP</i> | C. Watzinger, Denkmäler Palästinas, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1933, 1935 | <i>SCE</i> | Einar Gjerstad, Swedish Cyprus Expedition, 3 vols., Stockholm, 1934-1937 |
| <i>EP</i> | F. J. Bliss and R. A. S. Macalister, Excavations in Palestine, London, 1902 | <i>SWP</i> | Survey of Western Palestine |
| <i>Exc</i> | W. F. Badè, Excavations at Tell en-Naşbeh, 1926 and 1927, Berkeley, 1928 | <i>Syria</i> | Syria (periodical) |
| <i>G</i> | R. A. S. Macalister, The Excavation of Gezer, 1902-1905 and 1907-1909, 3 vols., London, 1912 | <i>TA</i> (i. e. Tell el-'Ajjûl) | W. M. F. Petrie, Ancient Gaza, 4 vols., London, 1931-1934 |
| <i>Gerar</i> | W. M. F. Petrie, Gerar, London, 1928 | <i>TF</i> (i. e. Tell el-Fâr'ah) | W. M. F. Petrie, Beth-Pelet, 2 vols., London, 1930, 1932 |
| <i>IDHL</i> | H. A. Kjaer, I Det Hellige Land, Kjøbenhavn, 1931 | <i>TH</i> | W. M. F. Petrie, Tell el-Heşy, London, 1891 |
| <i>J</i> | E. Sellin and C. Watzinger, Jericho, Leipzig, 1913 | <i>TM I</i> | G. Schumacher and C. Steuernagel, Tell el-Mutesellim, I, Leipzig, 1908 |
| <i>JBL</i> | Journal of Biblical Literature | <i>TM II</i> | C. Watzinger, Tell el-Mutesellim, II, Leipzig, 1929 |
| <i>JHS</i> | Journal of Hellenic Studies | <i>Tombs</i> | W. F. Badè, Some Tombs of Tell en-Naşbeh Discovered in 1929, Berkeley, 1931 |
| <i>JPOS</i> | Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society | <i>ZAW</i> | Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft |
| <i>JQR</i> | Jewish Quarterly Review | <i>ZDPV</i> | Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins |
| <i>L I</i> | H. Torczyner, Lachish I, The Lachish Letters, London, 1938 | | |

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CONVENTIONS

Ca	cave	mm.	millimeter(s)
<i>ca.</i>	<i>circa</i>	med	medium
cent.	century, centuries	NT	New Testament
chap., chaps.	chapter(s)	no., nos.	number(s)
Ci, Cis	cistern(s)	occ.	occasional
cm.	centimeter(s)	OT	Old Testament
comp.	comparative, by comparison	out.	outside
CR, CRs	cave room(s)	pl., pls.	plate(s)
CT, CTs	cave tomb(s)	Pt	Part
D.	diameter	R., Rs.	room(s)
dk	dark	S	serial number
<i>do.</i>	ditto	Si, Sis	silo(s)
dyn.	dynasty, dynasties	str.	stratum, strata
Fortr.	fortress(es)	T., Ts.	tomb(s)
H.	height	TN	Tell en-Naşbeh
imp.	impression(s)	W.	width
ins.	inside	X	debris
L.	length	x	object number
lt	light	Square brackets ([]) are frequently used to indicate the numbers of objects on plates.	
M	Museum number		
m.	meter(s)		

X refers to debris above level I; I and II are architectural levels;
sub-I and sub-II refer to debris below the floors of levels I and II.



WILLIAM FREDERIC BADÉ
1871-1936

WILLIAM FREDERIC BADE

In Memoriam

THE NARRATIVE of archaeological discovery contained in this volume is also a palimpsest of the character and personality of William Frederic Badè. Beneath the account of the enterprise and the record of its notable results may be detected the mind and character of the man himself, finer and worthier even than all that he accomplished in his fruitful life and work.

From the time when the farmer's boy in Minnesota (where he was born at Carver on January 22, 1871) began his eager pursuit of an education William Badè gave increasing evidence of exceptional gifts and application. His was markedly the scholarly and scientific mind inspired, refined and broadened by religious and aesthetic sensibility.

He was also quite as much the born and trained teacher as the scholar. A natural linguist, his early mastering of Greek and Latin was followed later by that of languages so diverse as Hebrew and Italian. The natural science that most fully awoke his enthusiasm was botany—to which he was attracted by the fascinating organic structure of plants and flowers as well as by their beauty. The Pennsylvania Chautauqua availed itself of his knowledge of this subject and his ability to interest others in it and secured his services as instructor in it for two years (1900-1902).

His religious upbringing and training in the Moravian Church, College, and Theological Seminary (from which he received the degree of Ph. D. in 1898) together with his native aptitude for language and literature led him to the choice of Old Testament and Hebrew as the field for his life vocation. In order to obtain a more thorough preparation to teach these subjects after graduating from the Moravian Seminary he studied for a year in Yale Divinity School, receiving the B. D. degree in 1895. He began teaching Old Testament Literature as professor at the Moravian Theological Seminary in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in 1898 and at once demonstrated his proficiency both as scholar and teacher.

When President McLean with keen discernment secured Dr. Badè as Professor of Old Testament Literature and Semitic Languages for Pacific School of Religion in 1902 a new era opened for the School. Here was one of those rare gifts of Heaven, a true teacher. The results were soon apparent. He used to say he could "hear the bark crack" in the minds of his students. The School at once began to attract more students and to establish itself more firmly as a center of theological study. Old Testament problems rapidly yielded to his sagacious search and soon a volume appeared, entitled *The Old Testament in the Light of Today*,¹ described in the Preface as "a reinterpretation-

¹ Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1915.

tion of Hebrew morals and religion in terms of development." Although this reinterpretation was already under way, it is doubtful if any book in English presented it so clearly and conclusively as did this.

Meanwhile Dr. Badè's love of nature led him to the High Sierra and into membership in the Sierra Club, of which he later became president (1919-22). In the conservation work of the Club he formed a close friendship with John Muir, and upon the latter's death he became his literary executor and author of the *Life and Letters of John Muir*, a discerning and successful biography of the beloved naturalist and mountain-lover.

We, his colleagues, felt that he had now established himself firmly in the work of teaching and authorship and would continue in it indefinitely and fruitfully without interruption. But there was another side of his nature that had not yet found entire fulfillment—his initiative, his love of scientific discovery and advance into new knowledge.

Scanning the horizon of biblical and archaeological scholarship his vision detected the singularly attractive opportunity that had opened after the first World War for excavation in Palestine. Visiting the Holy Land, he selected Tell en-Naşbeh as a promising site for excavation and undertook raising the necessary funds to equip an expedition made up chiefly of students of the School. To accomplish this and other like archaeological enterprises and to make the Holy Land better known to Bible students, Dr. Badè founded the Palestine Institute of Pacific School of Religion.

The Tell en-Naşbeh excavation was begun in 1926 and continued in four successive seasons—1927, 1929, 1932, and 1935. It was carried through with unflinching patience, perseverance and scientific thoroughness, as appears in this volume.

In 1934 Glasgow University, in recognition of his distinguished services in archaeology conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Theology. In 1935 he attended the Congress of Old Testament Scholars held at the University of Göttingen and gave an account of his completed field work. In accomplishing his exacting task he overtaxed his splendid mental and physical powers so that in a true sense he gave his life to its achievement.

The Palestine Institute will be continued in the recently erected William Frederic Badè Memorial Building, carrying forward the work which he inaugurated and to which he was so deeply attached, thus honoring its founder and perpetuating his life and ideals.

JOHN WRIGHT BUCKHAM.

PART I

THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE SITE

TABLE OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL PERIODS WITH ABBREVIATIONS

	<i>Albright</i>	<i>Wright</i>		<i>Albright</i>	<i>Wright</i>
Chalcolithic	4th millennium		Early Iron (Iron I)	1200-900	1225-900
EC	± first quarter		EI i (Ia)	1200	1225
MC	± second quarter		EI ii (Ib)	1150	1160
LC	± 3500	± 3500	EI iii (Ic)	1000	1000
Early Bronze	3000-2100	3300-2100	Middle Iron (Iron II)	900-530	900-500
EB ia	+ 3000	3300	MI i (IIa)	900	900
EB ib		3100	MI ii (IIb)	750	750
EB ii	+ 2800	3000	MI iii (IIc)	575	587
EB iii	2600	2700	Persian, or Late Iron	530-330	500-330
EB iv	2300	2300	LI	530	500
Middle Bronze	2100-1500	2100-1500	Hellenistic		330-100
MB i	2100	2100	Hellen.		330
MB iia	1900	1900	Hellenistic-Roman	B. C.	100-100 A. D.
MB iib	1750	1750	Hellen.-Rom.		100 B. C.
MB iic	1600	1625	Roman		100-400
Late Bronze	1500-1200	1500-1225	Rom.		100 A. D.
LB i	1500	1500	Byzantine		400-630
LB ii	1350	1350	Byz.		400

It is to be understood that all of the above dates are approximate, referring to centuries and parts of centuries rather than to specific years. Early Iron I, II, and III was the terminology adopted by the Dept. of Antiquities and the archaeological schools in Jerusalem in 1921. The terms Early, Middle, and Late Iron were suggested in 1923 by Dr. C. S. Fisher and are here used because of their convenience and their uniformity in pattern with those for the previous periods. Iron I, II, and III are now preferred

by both Albright and Wright. The terms Late Iron (LI) and Iron III are little used, despite their typographical convenience. Dr. Albright has recently revised his dates downward due to the discovery of the Khorsabad list of Assyrian kings; see Arno Poebel, *JNES* 1 (1942), July and October; cf. Albright, *BAS* 88 (1942), 28-36. The dates marked with a plus (+) are minimal dates. Wright's dates are given for convenience as used in his authoritative work on the earliest pottery (*PP*) and in *AS V*.

CHAPTER I

HISTORY OF THE TELL EN-NASBEH EXPEDITION

1926

ON THURSDAY, February 11, 1926, in the plain near Ludd "the rising sun of a rain-washed spring day"¹ brought Dr. Badè his first view of Palestine. A few hours later he was welcomed to the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem by Mrs. W. F. Albright, the director's wife, and established in one of "the neat rooms in the new School building." His journal clearly reflects the enthusiasm with which he entered upon this new enterprise in research.

The next morning at nine o'clock, in a hired Ford, he was on his way to Tell en-Naşbeh with Dr. Albright, the late Major W. C. Gotshall, the distinguished railroad engineer of New York City, who was a generous donor to the expedition, and Professor W. L. Jepson, botanist of the University of California, who had been Dr. Badè's companion on the outward journey. The appearance of the mound before excavation may be gathered from Dr. Badè's record of his first impressions:

The mound is plainly visible for a long distance for it is quite prominent on the landscape. The *fellahin* have sown all the ground around it, and to some extent on top, with wheat and barley. Everywhere on the terraces around the tell we found potsherds in great variety, some of them, according to Dr. Albright, dating from the Bronze Age. Lovely red anemones and pink cyclamens were blooming everywhere. The revetment of an ancient fortification wall was plainly visible on one side, and it is quite clear that it is the ruin of an ancient fortified city. On the southeast end there evidently was a citadel overlooking a spring. A cursory study of the ground would indicate that as the best point to begin the excavation.

In previous correspondence Dr. Albright had suggested Tell en-Naşbeh, among other sites, as an important mound with an interesting problem in view of differences of opinion as to its identification. Was it possibly the Mizpah of Samuel? Long tradition had identified that name with Nebī Samwīl, the

¹ Unless otherwise indicated, passages in quotation marks are from Dr. Badè's journal and reports, upon which this account is based. Mrs. Badè and Mr. Wampler have made valuable suggestions.

commanding hill topped by a picturesque Moslem shrine which dominates the landscape some six miles northwest of Jerusalem and five miles southwest of Tell en-Naşbeh. The promising remains discoverable on the surface of the tell and the interest of the problem, which Dr. Badè had already studied at length, were sufficient to settle the question as to where he should dig. He decided to undertake at least an exploratory expedition, hoping for discoveries which would confirm the importance of the site and arouse enough interest to secure funds for its continuance in subsequent years.

The next six weeks, while the weather was still unfavorable for digging, were spent in securing an acquaintance with the country and other expeditions, and in making preparations and purchasing equipment for the expedition. It was found that the greater part of the mound belonged to two Arabs in el-Bîreh, the village a mile and a half to the north. Negotiations, therefore, for the lease of the land for a three-months' period, that is compensation for the loss of crops, were comparatively easy, although inevitably tedious. The sum agreed upon was "£ 3 (about \$15) for the value of the crop and £ 2 for goodwill and good measure." The agreements in Arabic were signed before Mr. C. Lubbat, the district officer at Rāmallāh, on March 8, "the lessors doing so by thumbprint."

The official permit, No. 30, from the Department of Antiquities, had already been received on March 3. Later eighty piasters (\$4) had to be added as compensation for crops destroyed by the path which the workmen took from the road through the fields to the mound. The permit was issued to the Pacific School of Religion, since all such permissions must be granted to a responsible institution, never to an individual. The care with which permits are granted is further indicated by the fact that the late Dr. C. S. Fisher was named organizer, Dr. W. F. Albright as consultant, and Dr. Badè as the one to exercise direct supervision.

Dr. C. S. Fisher, then director of the Megiddo Expedition of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, was at the time in Jerusalem and living at the School. In the summer of 1925, shortly before accepting the directorship of the Megiddo Expedition, he had been elected professor of archaeology in the American Schools, and had evolved a far-seeing plan of co-operation between the Schools and American archaeological expeditions in the Near East. He proceeded to exemplify his plan.² One of the most experienced excavators in the Near East and justly famous for his systematic methods of excavating and recording results, he gave Dr. Badè much valuable advice and assistance. The meticulous system used at Tell en-Naşbeh was based on that of Dr. Fisher. Later Dr. Fisher temporarily loaned the services of his own surveyor at Megiddo, Mr. D. F. Higgins, formerly of the U. S. Geological Survey, for a preliminary survey, and eventually one of his Egyptian assistants, Labib Effendi Sorial, and four experienced Egyptian reises, or gang leaders, for the duration of the dig.

Dr. Albright and the staff at the American School of Oriental Research gave invaluable assistance in the negotiations with the owners and in the purchase of the working equipment, baskets, picks, mattocks, hoes, and other utensils, needed on the mound. The scientific equipment for surveying, planning, and recording the work as it progressed, had already been in good part provided by Major Gotshall. The remainder was purchased in Jerusalem with the assistance of Drs. Fisher and Albright.

The American School of Oriental Research thus served one of its purposes admirably. It provided a temporary home and expert advice and assistance from its director and professor of archaeology to an American expedition which was finding its way through the tangled maze of technical requirements and practical problems in a strange, oriental land. The personal interest shown by the Director of Antiquities, Professor John Garstang, and his then assistant, Mr. P. L. O. Guy, later director of the Megiddo expedition and then of the British School of Archaeology, deserves more than a passing remark. They and their successors at the Department of

Antiquities did everything in their power to further the enterprise.

After work began, the home of the expedition was at the Friends' Boys School at Rāmāllāh. Mr. and Mrs. Willard Jones and Mr. A. Edward Kelsey of the Friends Mission contributed greatly to the health and efficiency of the expedition. The working headquarters, as also in all subsequent expeditions, were at Maloufia, a stone house by the road at the foot of the tell, where two rooms were rented from the owner, Mrs. Dr. Phillip Malouf. The actual workers, boys and women for carrying the earth and men for the digging, came largely from the large Moslem village of el-Bīreh.

Dr. Badè had already studied methods of excavation in the American southwest, where often conditions approximate those of Palestine. He used every opportunity to consult with experienced excavators and archaeologists, such as Père L. H. Vincent of the Dominican École Biblique, Dr. Fisher, Dr. Albright, and Professor Garstang. Under the direction of Professor Garstang, he studied the small collection of pottery then available in the Palestine Museum and thus prepared himself for the practical tasks of field archaeology. Through long years of occupation with the Old Testament and the Semitic languages he had the invaluable historical and linguistic training which differentiates the properly equipped excavator from a mere business manager and engineer and enables him to become a reliable interpreter of results. The orderliness of a trained mind and the keenness of observation which made Dr. Badè an enthusiastic student of birds and flowers led him to develop a system of recording much more meticulous than is employed in the great majority of excavations. As he has already described his methods in detail, nothing more need be said about them here.³

The actual work began on March 30 with the preliminary survey by Mr. Higgins. The survey was completed and the section to be excavated staked out on the morning of Saturday, April 3. That morning Labib Effendi Sorial arrived from Megiddo with four Egyptians and that afternoon the work of excavation began. On March 1, Dr. Badè had written to Dr. Gustaf Dalman in Germany in the hope of securing an enlargement of an airplane photograph of Tell en-Naşbeh taken by the German air force during the

² Dr. Fisher, who remained in Palestine and was in charge of the American School of Oriental Research during 1940-41 passed away in Jerusalem in July, 1941.

³ See his *Manual*.

last war and published in Dr. Dalman's *Hundert Deutsche Fliegerbilder*.⁴ With commendable promptitude, Dr. Dalman sent it so that it arrived on April 2. The outlines visible from the air confirmed Dr. Badè's previous decision to begin work at the south-east corner. The wisdom of the choice was proved by the fact that the first afternoon's work of only three or four hours with four workmen uncovered a wall. On the following Monday, higher on the mound, the great city wall was found under only a meter and a half of earth.

From this time on numerous interesting discoveries were made. Pottery, which experts, such as Père Vincent, Dr. Fisher, Dr. Albright, and Professor Garstang, dated as covering all the periods from the Chalcolithic to the Byzantine Age, was found in abundance. The number of buildings excavated was not large. The chief discoveries of objects were made in tombs, grain pits, and cisterns which had been excavated in the limestone rock of the hill. One grain pit had at its bottom the capstone of another, a former cistern, thus concealed, perhaps, to escape the attention of the taxgatherer.

The most interesting, because the least known, pottery came from two cave tombs (CTs 5 and 6) whose contents immediately marked them as related to the earliest remains which Macalister had found at Gezer. These "pre-Semitic," or, as they are now called, EB i (3200-2900 B. C.) remains, included a large number of characteristic plain and painted vessels. They contained also a considerable number of unique double cups, which have caused much speculation. No other such collection of early pottery had up to that time been discovered, as competent archaeologists at the time declared.⁵ Other special finds were parts of Astarte figurines (one of which a Viennese reporter later christened a "*Bubikopf*," in English a "bobbed-haired Venus"), flint instruments, a fine dagger of hammered copper, a blue-stone mace-head, a bone carving, bits of jewelry, some of it gold, and various pieces of animal figurines.

However the feature which attracted the most attention was the great city wall. The southern section which was then excavated was not so massive

as other portions which were later uncovered, but, even so, it was far heavier and more imposing than any other which had up to that time been found in Palestine. It ranged from 14 to 19 feet in thickness, with an average width of 16 feet, and the height from bedrock to the topmost remaining courses was as great as 18 feet. Originally it must have been much higher.⁶

The first season of excavation at Tell en-Naşbeh closed with the division of the "spoils" on Monday, June 7. Mr. P. L. O. Guy, the assistant director of the Department of Antiquities, and Père Vincent represented the Department. Out of 125 numbers in the registry book they chose the skulls and bones from cave tomb 6, about two thirds of the pottery from that tomb group, the carving on bone, the Astarte head, two pieces of gold, and a few other small objects.

It has been a well-considered policy of the Department to take the whole of the pottery groups from selected tombs in the belief that such a representative group studied as a whole would be much more instructive than any selection of a portion of the objects found. To compensate for thus "plundering" him, Mr. Guy arranged to present to Dr. Badè an excellent series of terra cotta lamps covering the entire history of that type of vessel from its beginnings to the Byzantine period. A loan of all important objects was granted for a two-year period in order that they might be properly studied.

1927

On March 8, 1927, Dr. Badè arrived in Jerusalem for his second season of excavation. He again made his headquarters temporarily at the American School of Oriental Research and found Dr. Fisher living at the moment in a house near by. Professor Garstang had resigned as director of the Department of Antiquities and was at his permanent post in the University of Liverpool. Dr. Albright, the director of the American School, was on leave. They, therefore, were not available for consultation.

On the afternoon of March 10, he and Dr. Fisher visited the tell and decided that the excavation should be continued at the south end of the ancient city where the expedition had worked the previous year.

⁴ Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1925, no. 24. See the Frontispiece.

⁵ Père Vincent, quoted *Diary* 1926, 2, 121. See below, chap. VII, iii.

⁶ On the city walls see chap. XVII, iii; see also pls. 2:3, 4, 3:1, 2.

At that time it was assumed that a gate opening toward Jerusalem would be found at that end of the oval enclosure and one toward the north at the other end. It was planned to excavate there also, if possible.

The next few days were filled with the innumerable small details of preparation: setting up and adjusting the surveying instruments, getting hoes and mattocks sharpened and fitted with handles, presenting gifts to the two *mukhtars* of el-Bîreh, negotiating with the owners, measuring their plots of land, assembling the staff and hiring workmen. There were at least seven owners, and the police with difficulty rounded up four of them at the time set by Mr. C. Lubbat, the district governor of Rāmallāh, for a hearing. The four left the settlement of compensation in the hands of the governor, who eventually advised that all be paid at the scale of the previous year, and all seemed satisfied. The total cost was \$39.25.

When the permit was renewed the staff was listed thus: Professor Elihu Grant, Haverford College, Visiting Scholar, Dr. George P. Hedley, Photography and Recording, Major W. C. Gotshall, Engineering and Architecture, Labib Sorial, Mapper. Dr. Grant and Labib Effendi were already on the ground. Dr. Hedley arrived on April 8.

On April 19, after a trip to Jerusalem to meet an English relative and bring her to the mound, Dr. Badè was surprised to discover Dr. James H. Breasted, director of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, and Dr. C. S. Fisher waiting for him at the mound. Dr. Breasted took Dr. Badè aside and informed him that, owing partly to malaria, Dr. Fisher was broken in health and unable to continue the supervision of the great expedition at Megiddo. He was to continue as Advisory Director of the expedition and work on his monumental corpus of Palestinian pottery, but Mr. P. L. O. Guy, who had been acting director of the Department of Antiquities, was to become director at Megiddo. "A bomb shell!" Dr. Badè remarks. Dr. Breasted desired to have Labib Effendi Sorial for a time to assist Mr. Guy in taking over the directorship, as the Egyptian gang leaders at Megiddo were much upset by Dr. Fisher's leaving. Dr. Fisher, meantime, while recuperating in Rāmallāh's healthful climate, would take over the mapping and recording which Labib Effendi was doing. Labib Sorial came back again only for two

days to finish work he had begun, and Dr. Fisher was ill part of the time with malaria. Moreover Major Gotshall did not come. Thus, for a time, the staff was much reduced. However, Dr. Fisher's unique knowledge of archaeology was of the greatest value. Before the middle of May Labib Effendi returned and brought with him his cousin, William Gad. At the end of June, assistance came from Mr. Philip K. Swartz, son of President H. F. Swartz of the Pacific School of Religion, and a graduate of the School, and Mr. J. Forrest Chapman, both from the teaching staff of the American College at Salonika, Greece.

The period of digging, interrupted by rain for nearly a week at one time and a few days at others and by one Arab feast for some days, lasted until early in July. The division of the objects found with the Department of Antiquities was made on July 7 by Mr. Guy and Père Vincent.

Work was actually begun by the four Egyptian gang leaders on March 22, who started a cross-section trench under Dr. Grant's supervision. The next morning work started in earnest with eighteen workmen all told. The trench proved to pass through debris carrying Iron Age pottery in reverse order as it had been thrown out when a clearance was made. The latest seemed to come from about the middle of the Iron Age. As the wall was gradually cleared, its imposing height was again revealed. A thin inner wall also came to light.

One of the most exciting discoveries of the second season was a large building which almost exactly straddled the narrow inner wall. As it began to emerge toward the end of April, Dr. Fisher ventured to draw a plan of what would eventually appear should it prove to be a sanctuary. When cleared, it conformed exactly to his plan.⁷ On Friday, May 6, as Dr. Badè stood in the vestibule of the building, now open to the sky after over 2000 years, it came to him that the discovery and uncovering of such a sanctuary deserved some special ceremony of recognition. Accordingly he sent out an invitation to Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans to attend a service to be held on the following Sunday afternoon. That day a ceremony such as has probably never before been seen was attended by 200 or 300 people representing

⁷ But see below chap. XVIII, iii, 4.

all three faiths. Mr. A. Edward Kelsey of the Friends' Mission in Rāmallāh, Dr. Judah Magnes, President of the Hebrew University (in Hebrew), Mr. A. Willard Jones, headmaster of the Friends' Boys School (in English), Dr. Khalil Totah of the same school (in Arabic), and Dr. Badè carried out a program of worship closing with the Aaronic benediction, and, as the sun was setting, with the hymn, "Day is Dying in the West." "The next day," says Dr. Badè, "long lines of basket carriers covered from sight the traces at once of our meeting and of the sanctuary."⁸

Toward the north end of the tell on the east side where the levels of occupation appeared to be thicker, a wide trench was cut in order to determine more exactly the stratification of the mound (pl. 4). The result was rewarding, for, in the thirty feet of deposits, material appeared beginning with a Roman watch tower and running back through the Late, Middle, and Early Iron Ages. On the east side of the mound in a grotto evidently used for storing wine, the first example of one of the most important and most debated of the expedition's discoveries was made, a jar handle with three characters, stamped by a circular seal and reading, according to some epigraphists, *MṢP*, that is, Miṣpah, while others read *MṢH*.

The second expedition, therefore, corrected some erroneous impressions derived from the more scanty discoveries of the first. It showed plainly that the chief period of occupation was in Hebrew times, the "Iron Age." The great wall demonstrated clearly the military importance of the city. There seemed every reason to continue such a promising excavation in order that the nature of the culture revealed might be more fully studied. Moreover, various problems remained unsolved. Where was the great gate of the city? What occupation had there been before the Hebrew period? Nearly all visiting archaeologists agreed, wrongly as eventually became clear, that there was a great Middle Bronze Age wall and that much Middle and Late Bronze Age pottery was coming to light.⁹ If so, the archaeological history did not suit the literary allusions to the Mizpah of Samuel, which first appears in the Hebrew period. Could

further evidence be found regarding the identification of the site? Another expedition was demanded.

1929

For the third season's work Dr. and Mrs. Badè arrived in Jerusalem by way of the Pacific ocean on February 27. The expedition was housed in a rented villa in Rāmallāh with working headquarters at Maloufia. Dr. Hedley was reinforced by two other students of the Pacific School of Religion, Miss Helen Perkins and Miss Frances Darwin, and by Mr. J. C. Wampler, then a student in Anthropology at the University of California. During part of the season, Rev. James M. Menzies, who, as a missionary in China, had become familiar with the archaeology of that land and later was associated with the Royal Ontario Museum and the Department of Archaeology at the University of Toronto, assisted the expedition for some weeks. Boulos Effendi el-'Araj, a student of the Friends' Boys School at Rāmallāh, joined the staff, as did also Labib Effendi Sorial, who had spent the previous two years at the Pacific School of Religion, and Mr. William Gad as assistant. Six Egyptians acted as foremen. On this and the two subsequent expeditions Mrs. Badè most efficiently managed the problems of the commissariat, and assisted also at various tasks connected with the excavation.

The work began at six o'clock on a foggy morning, March 15. A hundred local men came seeking employment, out of whom only twenty-five could be set to work that first day. By noon rain began and the work was suspended at two thirty. However only the afternoon was lost. The north end of the city was attacked, by means of a large trench from the bottom of the slope, in the hope, which proved vain, that the city gate might be found there. It was found that faulty construction had been responsible for the collapse of a large section of wall in this area. Another trench run up from the northwest investigated the surface outside the wall and was carried on as a cut through the wall itself. The sections cut through the wall at these two points made the significant discovery that it contained Iron Age pottery and therefore must have been built during that period. Thus an initial error of the first magnitude, for which Dr. Badè's archaeological predecessors were responsible, was corrected.

One chief task was another trench twenty meters

⁸ *Exc.*, 38-41 and pl. XVII.

⁹ Albright, *JPOS* 11 (1931), 127, note 4; *APB*, 102; *AAS* 4, p. 20; *BAS* 35, p. 4; Hertzberg, *ZAW* 47 (1929), 162 f., 195 f.; Garstang, *Josua-Judges* (New York, 1931), 362 f.

wide which was run up the slope on the southeastern flank of the hill. Slight walls were found which seemed to establish the existence of suburbs on the flank of the hill, such as had been found on the southern side during the excavations of 1927. A large cave (Ca 193) which had been used at various periods appeared under the city wall. Within the walls the intermural area was again discovered to be the site of a considerable building which was regarded as another temple, perhaps dedicated to Astarte. Many more stamped jar handles came to light in various portions of the mound, and there was the usual enormous accumulation of pottery fragments.

During the latter part of the season Dr. Badè began to search for tombs and was eventually rewarded by the discovery of five (numbered 1 to 5), some of them with large accumulations of well-preserved pottery. Three lay on the westward slope of a low hill some distance north of the tell. A considerable section of the north end of the city was excavated. An underground cistern, approached by stone steps under a roof of stone slabs, discovered on the north end of the mound just at the end of the season, had to be left for complete excavation during the next season. The pottery found in the tombs constituted an unusual contribution to the ceramics of Palestine and assisted in rendering this an extremely fruitful campaign. Tomb 5 contributed one of the finest pottery groups of the Iron Age known at that time.

In the division of the "spoils" on July 3 the Department of Antiquities took so much that a mild protest was lodged by the writer as director of the American School¹⁰ and by Dr. Badè. A satisfactory adjustment was quickly made, and the expedition departed quite satisfied with the results of the third season's work. During the three and a half months 2922 baskets of pottery were examined, 2820 millimeter-card recordings of objects were made, and 768 museum objects listed. The results, especially in the promise of the tombs, were so encouraging that another expedition became a matter of course.

1932

In 1931-32 Dr. Badè took a year of sabbatical leave

¹⁰ The only direct contact which the writer had with the excavations of TN was during the last two weeks of this season.

and passed the autumn with Mrs. Badè in Europe. This made it possible for him, after some six weeks in Egypt, to arrive in Palestine on February 18. Work began in somewhat inclement weather a week earlier than any previous year. The rise in the exchange value of the dollar allowed more extensive operations than had been originally planned. The staff included two students of the Pacific School of Religion, Messrs. J. Wesley Havermale and Clifford O. Simpson, in addition to Mr. Wampler. Mr. Sterling Gorrill of Berkeley, sent through the efforts of Mr. Ansel Hall of Berkeley, served as draftsman. Five Egyptians were employed.

Dr. Badè summarized some of the outstanding results of the season's work as follows:

The excavation season of 1932 at Tell en-Naşbeh lasted four months during which a daily average of one hundred workmen found employment. The remaining sections of the city walls, inner and outer, were completely excavated and mapped. In two places the main wall had not been carried to bed-rock, but had been built over debris containing large numbers of potsherds which demonstrated beyond question that this wall was built not earlier than 900 B. C. As during previous seasons, new evidence was obtained that this Iron Age wall was built by a *corvée*.

Further excavation in the neighborhood of the "Astarte temple" discovered an interesting complex of buildings about it, and, north of it, between it and the city gate, the largest building on the mound was uncovered. The outstanding discovery was the city gate, which had been energetically sought through three seasons. It eventually came to light where least expected—on the northeast sector of the wall and facing north. Various problems of the date of its destruction and of possible rebuildings were carefully considered. It was, and still remains, the best preserved and one of the strongest city gates yet found by any expedition.

The chief city necropolis was eventually discovered on the eastern scarp of the hill west of the city, and a succession of tombs filled with funerary deposits ranging from Early Bronze to Late Byzantine times was uncovered. The late tombs, however, belong to a Byzantine site lying farther west, at Khirbet esh-Shuweikeh. The pottery and other objects recovered from the tombs again gave the season's labors great historical value. Nearly 800 objects were recorded from the richest tomb of all, no. 32. Among them were many scarabs. A find of outstanding interest (in T. 19) was a seal of one "Jaazaniah, servant of

the king," doubtless the officer associated with Gedaliah in 2 Kings 25. 23 and Jeremiah 40.8. When this discovery became known, it aroused so much interest that the constant succession of visitors, often several bus loads at a time, seriously interfered with the prosecution of the work.

The division with the Museum took place on July 5. Since objects from the numerous excavations of the previous ten years had been accumulating rapidly the Curator of the Museum, Mr. J. H. Iliffe, took only unique specimens such as the Jaazaniah seal, a few scarabs, and unusual pieces of pottery, leaving the expedition 85 per cent of the whole. Under Mr. Wampler's supervision the recording of pottery and other objects found was further systematized. The season's record was 3840 baskets of pottery; 7516 objects described on millimeter record cards, of which about 5000 were scale drawings; and 1000 museum objects listed.

In 1932 Dr. Badè commissioned Mr. Wampler to work out a more careful system of recording which should take into account the quantitative aspects of the discoveries of pottery, something not hitherto attempted in Palestine. The descriptions of pottery also were more fully standardized. The records, therefore, in the last two seasons can be trusted to give both qualitative and quantitative data. Since there were no sharp breaks in the city's history, it is possible to distinguish the periods one from another only by the gradual disappearance of some types and the slow increase of others. In the preceding seasons, especially in 1929, general descriptions of the character of the pottery were written out in no small detail, but, while they fully conformed, or even surpassed, usual practice, they were not so specific either as to types or as to numbers as to be of the same value as the voluminous millimeter cards of 1932 and 1935.¹¹

1935

For his fifth and last expedition, Dr. Badè sailed westward from San Francisco on December 28, 1934, with Mrs. Badè, their two children, and Mr. Wampler. After a strenuous period of lectures in Japan, of visits with Japanese alumni of the Pacific School of Religion, and lectures at other cities on the way,

they arrived in Jerusalem on March 5. Delayed by inclement weather, work began on March 25.

The staff included Mr. Wampler, who after a period of illness due to Palestinian amoebae, had meantime graduated from the University of California and had spent some time working on the pottery brought from TN, and two Pacific School of Religion students, Mr. J. Philmore Collins for the entire period and Mr. Nicias Reckas, for a part of the season. Mr. Robert Branstead of Berkeley, sent through Mr. Ansel Hall's efforts, acted as photographer. A former Arab school teacher, Ode Jirius of Jifnah, trained by Dr. W. F. Albright and others, took the place of William Gad, who had become an expert in lifting mosaics, and was employed at Jerash and Antioch in this capacity. Miss Elizabeth and Mr. William Badè worked at many tasks connected with the excavation. In the beginning a delay was threatened in getting official permission for entry of Labib Effendi Sorial and the Egyptian foremen. But Dr. Badè had fortunately gone to Egypt for a visit to the excavations carried on by Dr. Günther Roeder at Hermopolis and succeeded in solving the difficulty quickly.

The season's work was marked by the uncovering of a part of the ancient city which apparently had been occupied by prosperous classes and contained houses with spacious courtyards, basalt handmills, and often private cisterns. Inscribed weights, many stamped jar handles, and a large dye-plant were among the discoveries. One tomb (no. 54) almost equaled the large one of 1932 (no. 32) in the interest of its deposits. Cisterns sealed by walls built over them provided valuable chronological data. Cistern 370 attracted attention for many days. Further study of the city walls showed that the thin, inner rampart belonged to Early Iron ii, about the eleventh century, the great wall to the end of Early Iron iii, about 900 B. C., doubtless the time of Asa.

In a search for additional tombs Dr. Badè ran some trenches at Khirbet esh-Shuweikeh on the hill west of TN. Instead of tombs, however, he uncovered the mosaic floor of a church and, since he did not wish to go into material so late, he covered it up to preserve it. The presence of the Byzantine settlement, thus abundantly demonstrated, explains the Byzantine tombs which had been excavated.

On the mound in several rooms (nos. 410, 434,

¹¹ See Introduction to the volume on pottery (Vol. II).

et al.¹²), a second series of floors was found below the first accompanying slight evidence of rebuilding of the walls. Near the bottom of Cistern 370 a complete skeleton came to light. Probably someone fell into the water and the body was never discovered. After 2500 years came the explanation of a mysterious disappearance.

When finally the division took place on July 6, TN was the most completely excavated site in Palestine. The system of recording applied to the pottery found, as worked out by Dr. Badè and Mr. Wampler in the last three seasons, was most meticulous and allows a scientific, statistical evaluation of the ceramic materials which is not contingent upon subjective impressions, though of necessity still dependent upon typological comparisons with materials from other expeditions.

PROBLEMS AND RESULTS

The preceding history of the expedition has made clear the progress of the work and the evolution and alteration of opinions as it proceeded.¹³ To make the succeeding descriptions of the various results clear a preliminary summary of final conclusions may assist. The first item to be registered is that, during the ten-year period of Dr. Badè's labors at TN, the science of archaeology and especially of ceramic chronology in Palestine made tremendous strides. This necessarily involved great alterations in conclusions as to the dating of the materials found. During that period it was discovered that the dates ascribed to various periods at Jericho and Gezer, the two outstanding excavations of the prewar period, were wrong. This necessarily changed the basis for dating the building and the objects found at TN.

The conclusions of the older experts, upon which in the beginning Dr. Badè of necessity depended, proved entirely wrong. For example, when the International Congress of Archaeologists met at Jerusalem in the spring of 1926, it was agreed by all who visited the excavation that the great wall belonged to the Middle Bronze Age and that much of the pottery which was being found came from that period.¹⁴ Dr. Badè's reports during the first three seasons were

necessarily colored by this initial error of the "experts." Actually the mass of the materials found, except in certain caves under the mound and in some tombs in the adjacent slopes,¹⁵ is to be dated after the Hebrew settlement in Palestine. They belong to the period between 1100 and 400 B. C. Nothing came from the Late Bronze, almost nothing from the Middle Bronze Age. On the mound itself, as is to be expected, the greater part of the remains is from the latter part of the city's history, Middle Iron II to Early Persian (Late Iron).

One serious difficulty arose at Tell en-Nasbeh which has affected the archaeological chronology of other sites covering the period of the Hebrew monarchies. There was no clear stratification during a good part of the period covered because there was no complete destruction and rebuilding at any one time. Typology makes only small contributions to refinements of chronology because civilization was relatively stable. As yet no clear-cut ceramic stages have been discovered at any site in MI and LI. Over the greater part of the TN mound there were no layers of ashes and, partly also because the central portion of the tell had been denuded to the underlying rock, there were no extensive areas where successive floor levels gave a clear indication of rebuilding. Since, moreover, no clear stratification has elsewhere been found covering the period of the deposits here, even the somewhat unsatisfactory evidence of typology is indecisive or wanting.¹⁶ At best it is purely tentative.

However, just because the ceramic index of chronology is uncertain, Tell en-Nasbeh makes a most important contribution in an area of archaeological studies, that of the Hebrew monarchies and the Persian Age, which has been neglected for what are, historically speaking, less important periods, such as the "Bronze" Ages. It is now quite generally agreed by those to whom the materials discovered are well known that the ceramic and other remains testify to the continuation of a settlement on the site down into the fifth century, with only minor or sporadic occupation in the fourth and third centuries. While the uncertainties as to stratification preclude positive conclusions as to the dates of many areas and their associated remains, tentative conclusions can be reached which will make a basis for further progress

¹² See below, chap. XVI, iii, 2.

¹³ Some minor incidents have been introduced in order to make clear the nature of the practical problems in such an expedition.

¹⁴ See above, p. 7, note 9.

¹⁵ See below, chap. VIII.

¹⁶ Cf. W. F. Albright, *APB*, 3d ed., 113 f.

toward assured results as other sites are excavated and published. This is particularly true of the post-exilic period, for much more material is here available than has been found at any other sites, not even excepting Gezer and Samaria. Four large and well-filled tombs of Early Iron ii and iii have much to suggest regarding the culture of the eleventh to ninth centuries. Other tombs and several cisterns and silos render similar service for later periods.¹⁷

The numerous seal impressions on pottery which have been recovered make a particularly valuable contribution to epigraphy and ceramic chronology for the late Israelite and Persian periods, as well as to the fiscal history of Judea. A small number of closely datable Greek potsherds of the late sixth and the fifth century make another very valuable addition to the ceramic index,¹⁸ and, coming from a small, remote mountain city, they reinforce the evidence for the early penetration of Greek economic influence into Palestine.

The nature of the relations between the two Israelite kingdoms and the character of the fortifications which could be erected at a strategic point is

¹⁷ See *BAS* 80 (Dec., 1941), 13-16; 82 (Apr., 1941), 25-43. Cf. below on Ts. 54, 32, 5, and 29 and selected cisterns and silos, chaps. VIII-XII.

¹⁸ See *BAS* 83 (1941), 25-30; below, chap. XV.

well illustrated by the great wall. Whether the site is Mizpah or not, the date of this border fortress, which, on the evidence of the *lemelekh* jar-handle stamps, clearly belongs to the southern kingdom and marks its northern boundary, can only be set at about 900 B. C. As a doubtless royal enterprise carried out by a *corvée*, it stands in striking contrast to the thin wall of the earlier city. Of outstanding interest is the beautifully preserved city gate.

Other matters of interest are the several structures of considerable size, such as the two long-house buildings, one with very short pillars, the large building near the city gate and other houses; the various dye-plants; the oil and wine presses; the various cisterns and silos reflecting the problems of water and grain storage. The small objects found, plow points, sickles, knives, pins, needles, amulets, scarabs, and the jewelry have their various points of interest. The various Astarte figurines in clay have a special point of reference. The terra cotta animal figurines and the small clay models of tables and couches represent still another and somewhat puzzling facet of ancient mental activity. The pottery, both that recovered from tombs and that found in the ruins of the city, had its value as a witness to the cultural development and, often, like the scarabs, to the economic and political connections of the inhabitants.

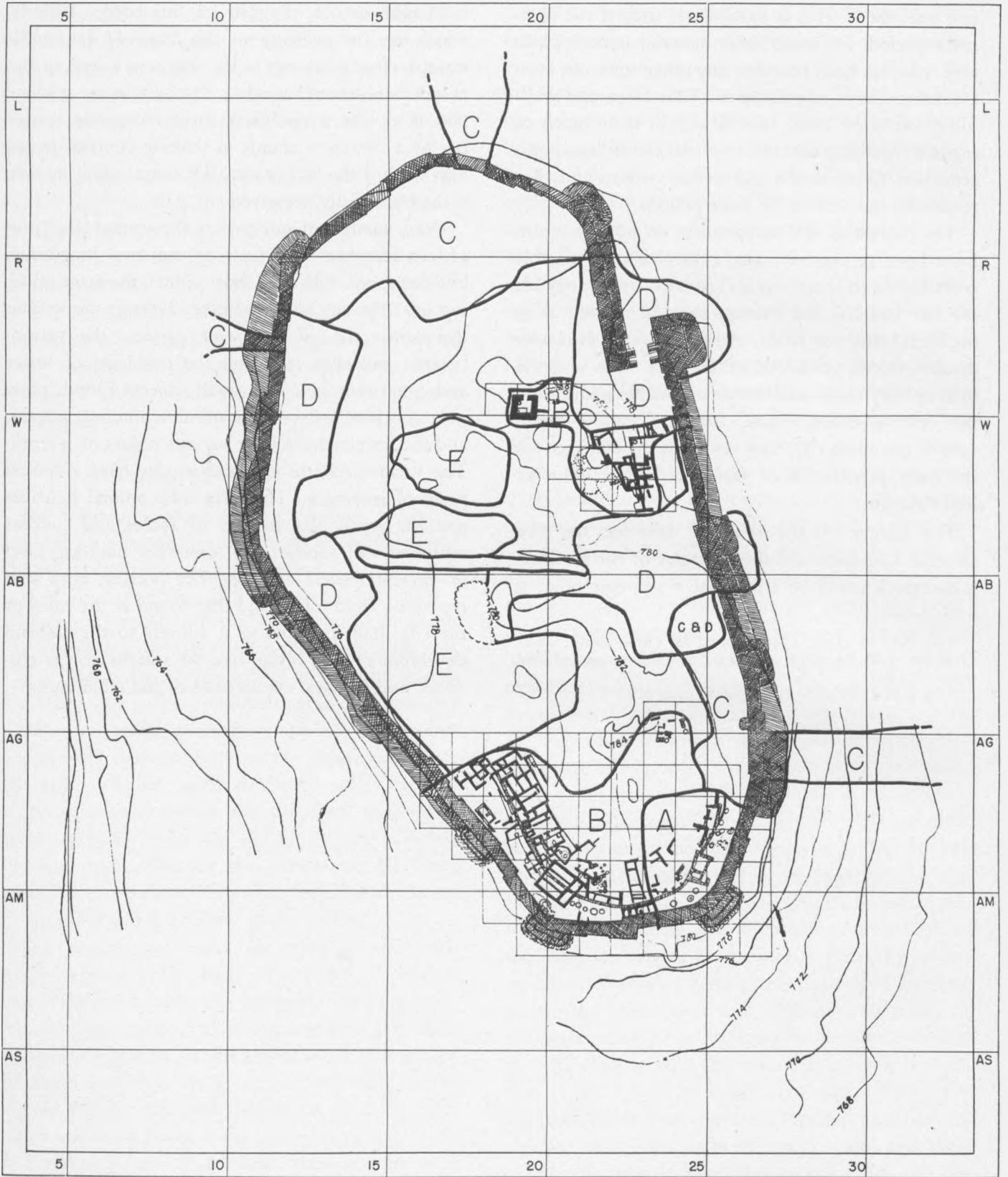


FIG. 1. PLAN OF TELL EN-NASBEH SHOWING THE PROGRESS OF THE EXCAVATIONS DURING THE FIVE SEASONS. A: 1926; B: 1927; C: 1929; D: 1932; E: 1935

CHAPTER II

SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE ON TELL EN-NASBEH

JAMES MUILENBURG

OUR TASK in the following pages is to review the literature of the past century bearing on the biblical site represented by the modern hill of Tell en-Naşbeh. It is by no means our purpose to examine the numerous localities that have been proposed at one time or another for Mizpah of Benjamin. After all, it is TN and not Mizpah that is our concern in this and the following chapter. At the same time it cannot be ignored that from the publication in 1897 of Raboisson's dissertation identifying Mizpah with TN, the identification of the latter has been considered chiefly in the light of the view of Raboisson, or at least by considerations raised by his discussion. Besides, the new lease of life which was given to the subject by the notable investigations of the Dalman school¹ has naturally placed Mizpah in the foreground. But finally and most important of all, Professor Badè himself was convinced that the site of his excavations was Mizpah of Benjamin. The writer of this chapter was not acquainted with Professor Badè at the time of his visit to Palestine in 1930, and indeed never came to know him personally. He has attempted to approach the subject as objectively as possible, and has never succeeded in reaching a great degree of certainty. At any rate, it is natural, in the light of the foregoing considerations, that the view that TN represents Mizpah should receive somewhat greater prominence than any other identification.

The history of the subject falls rather easily into four main periods: the first, from the epoch-making researches of Edward Robinson in 1838 to the publication of Abbé Raboisson's *Les Maspeh* in 1897; the second, from Raboisson's work to the fresh impetus given the subject by the studies of the Deutsche evangelische Institut für Altertumswissenschaft in Jerusalem in 1910; the third, from the appearance of Alt's article in the *Palästinajabrbuch*² to the

beginning of the excavations undertaken by Professor Badè in 1926; the last, from the start of the excavations to the present. Such classification has, of course, only general validity, as is shown, for example, by the fact that Robinson's identification of Mizpah with Nebi Samwil continues to be held by some of the foremost scholars of the present generation. Nor would it be fair to say that Raboisson's identification of TN with Mizpah was widely accepted during the second period. The third period is important because it was at this time that the participants in the conflict over the problem came to grips, most notably in the opposition of Professor W. F. Albright to the contentions of the Dalman school. Archaeological matters dominated the discussions of the fourth period with a somewhat natural recession of the biblical evidence. The general defect of most of the discussions throughout the past century is the comparative neglect of the results of the historical criticism of the Old Testament. In the present case, this neglect has been particularly serious, for higher criticism has affected the relevant passages for Mizpah more vitally than for almost any other Old Testament locality. As Professor Albright has emphasized repeatedly, the archaeological evidence must coincide with the biblical data, and it is essential that this biblical evidence be read scientifically and critically.

I. FIRST PERIOD

In the journals of his travels in Palestine in the year 1838 Professor Edward Robinson of Union Theological Seminary refers to the hill of TN (though not by name) under the date of Tuesday, May 15.³ After leaving the fountain southwest of el-Bîreh, he and his companion passed the low water-shed, which brought them to one of the minor heads of the Wādî Beit Haninah. "The path follows down this Wady," Robinson writes, "along a sort of hollow way, having on the West an isolated hill of considerable height." Robinson himself did not climb the hill, but his companion, Eli Smith, ascended it "in passing," and found only the foundations of a tower, "with heaps of unwrought stones, and fragments of pottery strowed about." Near the southern base of the hill they came upon some larger ruins, which were called 'Atâra (*sic*), a name which Robinson equates with the Hebrew Ataroth. But, despite the authority of Eusebius in the *Onomasticon* and of Jerome, he does not identify the spot with the two places of this name in the Bible (Joshua 16. 5, 7 and 18. 13) "since it lies too far within the territory of Benjamin." In the first edition of his

¹ These appeared for the most part in *PJB*.

² 6 (1910), 46-62.

³ *Biblical Researches* (1856) I, 575.

Biblical Researches Robinson⁴ speaks of Tell el-Fūl and Nebi Samwīl as two possible sites for the location of Mizpah. This part of his discussion is omitted from the third edition since he had come by that time to accept the true identification of Tell el-Fūl with Gibeah. But in both editions he expressed himself cautiously about Nebi Samwīl: "On these grounds, as well as from the traces of an ancient town upon it, I am inclined to regard Neby Samwīl as the probable site of Mizpah."⁵

Robinson's identification of Mizpah with Nebi Samwīl has had profound influence upon all subsequent discussions of the subject. In 1868 M. Victor Guérin published his *Judée*, a geographical, historical, and archaeological description of Palestine. In it he rejected the equation of Mizpah with Nebi Samwīl, and proposed in its stead the village of Sha'fāt chiefly on linguistic grounds, the root of Sha'fāt in Arabic being the same as the parallel root of Mizpah in Hebrew (מִצְפָּה).⁶ Nebi Samwīl he identified with Ramathaim, a view that seemed to receive great support from Christian and Mohammedan tradition.⁷ Despite the ingenuity of his discussion Guérin's views have commended themselves to few scholars. In 1893 A. Schlatter, at that time Professor of Theology in the University of Greifswald, published his book, *Zur Topographie und Geschichte Palästinas*.⁸ He devoted an important chapter to Nebi Samwīl, which is full of acute observation and ingenious argument. He observes that, according to the usual view, the three famous sanctuaries of Gibeon, Mizpah, and Nob are located in close proximity to each other,⁹ but that in all cases the towering height of Nebi Samwīl remains unoccupied (*leer*), in sharp contrast to such famous sanctuaries as Gilgal, Hebron, and Beersheba where the names are always attached. Moreover the events connected with each sanctuary exclude the others. Solomon sacrifices at Gibeon, but Mizpah, so celebrated in Samuel's time, is not once mentioned; Samuel sacrifices at Mizpah, but the ancient sanctuary of Gibeon is omitted; in the Saul stories Nob is a highly important sanctuary, but Gibeon and Mizpah are excluded. This peculiarity is enhanced by the fact that in the three great lists of names of places which lie on the elevated land between Bethel and Jerusalem (Isaiah 10. 28 ff.; Nehemiah 11. 31; Joshua 18. 26) Nob and Mizpah are never mentioned together, i. e. either Nob or Mizpah appear but not both. The explanation of these phenomena, Schlatter thinks, is that all three names refer to one and the same place. Schlatter also comments illuminatingly on the meanings of the names, and the fact that Mizpah, meaning "watch-tower," always appears with the definite article. He states that Mizpah occurs only in later passages, a most important observation, but unfortunately he is unwilling to make anything of this and only comments without elaboration that Mizpah's religious significance is not a discovery of later writers meant to anticipate the future importance of Jerusalem.¹⁰ In July of the year fol-

lowing the appearance of Schlatter's work Abbé Heidet suggested el-Bīreh as the true location of ancient Mizpah.¹¹

II. SECOND PERIOD

Our second period begins with the publication of Abbé Raboisson's *Les Maspeh*.¹² Raboisson begins by an evaluation of Heidet's article which he finds illogical. As for his own method, he says that when the biblical data agree with the evidence drawn from linguistic identity of the ancient and the modern name, the proof is conclusive. He applies these two principles of homotopology and homophony, as he calls them, to Mizpah, and reaches the conclusion that TN alone answers the requirements. He fortifies these conclusions by a study of the topography of TN. Père Vincent, who appears friendly to Raboisson's identification, nevertheless criticizes his linguistic remarks vigorously. So far as I am aware, Raboisson is the first to suggest the equation of Mizpah-Naşbeh, an equation which Vincent does not criticize here, but in later publications undertook to defend. Quite independently of Raboisson Lieut. Col. Conder published a brief article in the *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund of 1898* (p. 169) in which he makes the same identification. The biblical references appear to him to be best satisfied by TN, and the change from *M* to *N* he finds so common as to permit the equation with Mizpah.

The new view made comparatively little headway, however. Archaeologists like W. F. Birch and Clermont-Ganneau resisted it, while F. Buhl,¹³ Rudolf Kittel,¹⁴ and George Adam Smith,¹⁵ in successive editions of their famous works, added greatly to the prestige of Nebi Samwīl as the home of Mizpah. The one strong influence in the opposite direction was Gustaf Dalman, Director of the Deutsche evangelische Institut, who in a series of writings throughout many years opposed the theory honored by the great name of Edward Robinson and championed in its stead the TN theory of Raboisson.

An article by Franz Hagemeyer in the *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins* for 1909, bearing the title of "Gibeā, die Stadt Sauls," contained a short comment on the crucial passage in 1 Kings 15. 22.¹⁶ Hagemeyer proposes

¹¹ *RB* 3 (1894), 321-356. Unfortunately I have not been able to see this article. Albright, *AAS* 4 (1924), 91, note, characterizes it as uncritical, and gives several examples of carelessness and inaccuracy.

¹² Paris, 1897. Cf. also his more popular presentation in *Revue illustrée de la S. T.*, 1894. Our knowledge of Raboisson's work depends upon secondhand references, especially Vincent's review in the *RB* 8 (1899), 315-6.

¹³ *Geographie des alten Palästina*, Freiburg i. B. and Leipzig, 1896.

¹⁴ *Studien zur hebräischen Archäologie* (Leipzig, 1908), p. 138. "Aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach haben wir hier die altkanaanäische Höhe von Mispā vor uns." Kittel does not explain why Mizpah must be ancient Canaanite. Cf. his *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 7th ed., II (Stuttgart, 1925), 58. In his description of the elevated platform he says, "Es mag der Schlachtstein der alten Höhe von Mispā sein" (*Studien*, p. 137). Cf. also his *Geschichte*, II, 227.

¹⁵ *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, 20th ed. (London, New York, etc., n. d.), 120. The reference is exceedingly brief and gives no comment or defense of the position. In his commentary on Jeremiah (New York, 1923) Smith suggests either TN or Nebi Samwīl as the home of Mizpah.

¹⁶ *ZDPV* 32 (1909), 1-37. The relevant pages for our discussion are 28-30.

⁴ Boston, 1841, vol. II, 144.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1st ed., II, 144; 3d ed., I, 460.

⁶ Three volumes, Paris, 1868-1869. The reference here is to vol. I, 395 f.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 362-384.

⁸ Stuttgart, 1893.

⁹ Note also the relative proximity of Bethel.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, 66, note 2.

the emendation of *Geba* to *Gibeah*, which he believed to be required on grounds of strategy and geography, a position which Albright took some years later in his monograph on Gibeah.¹⁷ Hagemeyer makes few claims, though he does oppose the identification of Nebi Samwîl with Mizpah. He believes that the boundaries of the two kingdoms were defined by the time of Asa and Baasha, a view which, as we shall see, is not adequately supported by the biblical text. He sees that Mizpah is closely associated with the important road running from Shechem through Bethel to Jerusalem, and then points out that despite the marvelous height of Nebi Samwîl, the road is scarcely visible even from the top of the mosque but can be only faintly descried through the mountains. Finally, Caleb Hauser proposed Khirbet Baṭn es-Sa'îdeh as the site of Mizpah.¹⁸ This hill, impressive in its height, lay close to Qaryet el-'Enab, which he and others believed to be Kirjath-jearim.¹⁹ The chief difficulty with Hauser's view is that it rests on somewhat precarious identifications of the towns mentioned in 1 Samuel 7 (e. g. Ha-Shen, Ebenezer, and Beth-car).

III. THIRD PERIOD

Our third period begins with the publication of an article by Albrecht Alt,²⁰ a pupil of Dalman's and at that time an instructor in the University of Greifswald. It bore the title "Mizpa in Benjamin." This was the first really strong defense for placing Mizpah at TN, and, though Alt was later to change his own judgment on the matter, his discussion is still one of the most important in the history of the subject. After a brief recognition of the chief contributions to the problem, Alt examined *seriatim* the various biblical passages where Mizpah of Benjamin is mentioned. His discussion of the central passage in 1 Kings 15 is still unsurpassed. Jeremiah 41. 11 ff. occasions some difficulty, and the famous phrase in 1 Maccabees 3. 46 εἰς Μασσηφὰ κατέναντι Ἱερουσαλήμ constitutes for him a serious obstacle. If the latter expression means that Jerusalem was visible from Mizpah, it would prove "an insuperable difficulty, since from no point of the mountain range north of er-Râm is the Old City of Jerusalem visible."²¹ Alt also brings the references in Josephus and Eusebius to bear on the problem. One of the chief merits of his discussion is the clarity with which he defines the limits within which Mizpah must be found and the strategic elements involved in its location. The discussion ends with a recognition "that there are no decisive grounds for Tell en-Naşbeh and against el-Bîreh, but such decisive grounds will be realized by excavation." The chief criticism of Alt's treatment of the subject is his uncritical use of Judges 20-21 and 1 Samuel 7. Like all who follow him, he almost disregards the interesting reference to Samuel's circuit as itinerant justice in 1 Samuel 7. 16.

Another pupil of Dalman's, Eberhard Baumann, had already completed his article on the location of Mizpah at

the time of the appearance of Alt's article, but it was not published until some months later, revised and altered in the light of Alt's discussion.²² In its present form, Baumann's article forms a supplement to Alt's treatment of the subject. It opens with an admirable summary of the geographical requirements for Mizpah of Benjamin. Baumann points out that the larger number of passages suggest a locality in north Benjamin, but others, like 1 Maccabees 3. 46 imply a place on the southern boundary. He then turns to the phrase εἰς Μασσηφὰ κατέναντι Ἱερουσαλήμ and examines the meaning and usage of the preposition κατέναντι. He reaches the conclusion that no place lying on the main road north of Jerusalem can be described by the phrase κατέναντι Ἱερουσαλήμ which at the same time fits the requirements for Mizpah. The ordinary usage of the term clearly implies visibility, and Baumann makes no such claim for TN. But the context of 1 Maccabees permits another interpretation, according to Baumann. The appositional connection of κατέναντι Ἱερουσαλήμ with the preceding ἦλθοσαν εἰς Μασσηφὰ suggests the purpose of the gathering, which was to pray for the recovery of Jerusalem. With this interpretation the expression has no meaning for the location of Mizpah at all. Albright comments that this explanation is "syntactically forced in the extreme, but logically it is sound."²³ Baumann then undertakes to examine the biblical passages. On the basis of the narratives on the founding of the monarchy (1 Sam. 9. 1-10, 16) he concludes that Ramah must be located near Shiloh and north of Bethel, outside of the territory of Benjamin. Mizpah must be sought at the intersection of the mountains of Ephraim and Benjamin and the mountain ridge road, and to the south rather than to the north of this point. The article concludes with an attempt to derive Naşbeh from the Hebrew Mizpah. Baumann's treatment does not show the caution and restraint of Alt, but it does face the geographical difficulties involved in the folk tale of the lost asses and the beginnings of the kingdom. Historically, the discussion here suffers from a failure to recognize the conflict of Benjamite and Ephraimite traditions involved in the stories of Saul and Samuel. Both traditions as they are recorded cannot be historically reliable, and it is plain that the hero of Ephraim has overshadowed the hero of Benjamin as later the Judah tradition practically expunged Saul's contribution to Hebrew history from the record.

In the annual reports of the Deutsche evangelische Institut for the next two or three years Dalman refers to visits paid to TN. He speaks of it as the key to Jerusalem for any army coming from the north. "It was equally important both for attack and for defense of Jerusalem, and lay 'over against Jerusalem' so much the more because it belongs to the northern horizons of the city and is everywhere visible."²⁴ As to the expression "over against Jerusalem" Dalman cites the similar expression "over against Jericho" in Joshua 3. 16, and points out that Jericho is not at all visible from the point described. In the annual report of the Institute for 1912-13 Dalman describes the peculiarly strategic position of Geba (cf. 1 Kings 15. 22)

¹⁷ "Excavations and Results at Tell el-Fûl (Gibeah of Saul)," *AAS* 4 (1924).

¹⁸ *PEQ*, 1910, pp. 129-30.

¹⁹ Cf. *Onomasticon* (ed. Klostermann), 128 and Jerome, p. 129.

²⁰ *PJB* 6 (1910), 46-62.

²¹ *Op. cit.*, 54.

²² "Die Lage von Mizpa in Benjamin," *ZDPV* 34 (1911), 119-137.

²³ *AAS* 4 (1924), 98.

²⁴ *PJB* 7 (1911), 14 f.

and illustrates its importance from such passages as 1 Samuel 13 and Isaiah 10. 28 ff. In his account of the annual trip for 1914²⁵ he comments briefly on Ataroth Addar, the small village at the foot of the hill of TN, a situation unfavorable to the location of an ancient site. In the same passage he discusses the boundary line between Benjamin and Ephraim, and contends that TN falls within Benjamite territory.

An essay of the first importance by Paul Lohmann was published posthumously in 1918. It gives as thorough an archaeological description of Nebi Samwil as observation permitted at the time.²⁶ This was admirably supplemented and largely confirmed by the investigations of Vincent a few years later.²⁷ While it is not the province of the present discussion to report specifically archaeological investigations, it is well to observe that Nebi Samwil, the strongest competitor for Mizpah of Benjamin, has been studied and described by two competent archaeologists, one of them for many years the foremost in the field.

The *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* for 1923 contains two articles bearing on our subject. The first and briefer one of the two was written by Phythian-Adams and bore the unpretentious title, "The Mizpah of 1 Samuel 7: 5 etc." The treatment is fresh and suggestive, but unfortunately quite uncritical. Phythian-Adams' objection to Nebi Samwil as the location of Mizpah on the basis of the narrative of the Philistine attack recounted in 1 Samuel 7 is telling, however; the fact here seems to be that Nebi Samwil is far from being the likely objective of the Philistine advance. "What possible reason could the Philistines have for attacking Israel in so remote and difficult a region?" (p. 16). Albright's reply concerning the use of fire signals in antiquity is scarcely a sufficient answer. But Phythian-Adams has an additional argument to the effect that the word *bor*, usually rendered "pit" or "cistern," should actually be translated "moat." But, as Albright says,²⁸ there is a special word for "moat" in Hebrew, viz. *ħaris*, which appears in the Zakir Stele of 800 B. C. Yet the suggestion of Phythian-Adams, while unlikely, is not impossible, and the wording of the masoretic text of Jeremiah 41. 9 seems to permit it. The second article in the same issue of the *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* is a preliminary statement of Albright's position, which he later elaborated in his influential treatment in the *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* for 1924.²⁹ It is to this latter discussion that we now turn as the most trenchant and vigorous criticism of the theory which places Mizpah of Benjamin at TN.

Albright first gives a succinct but inclusive survey of previous discussions of the subject (pp. 90-91), and then examines the various biblical references to Mizpah of Benjamin which Alt, Baumann, and others adduced in support of their view. His discussion here is of the first

importance, and will occupy our attention in another chapter. He points out that TN has too limited a view to qualify for the name of Mizpah (watch-tower), and supports his judgment by giving the heights of neighboring hills. It would seem that Albright exaggerates this point because, beginning with Robinson, the comparative isolation and impressiveness of the hill has been noted by observers.³⁰ Besides, the name of a town is determined not by a people sitting in national conclave, nor by geographers schooled in the topography of the land, but rather by the untutored folk of the village, uncritically proud of their situation and view, who never thought once to compare the relative heights with neighboring competitors. In the case of TN such a possibility is especially open, for from the top of the hill and from the city walls the inhabitants caught a vista not of wide expanses, to be sure, but certainly of the important road leading to Jerusalem. In the most significant direction the view was practically unimpeded, and in other directions could be seen such places as Nebi Samwil, er-Râm, Tell el-Fûl, Hizmeh, ej-Jib, Biddû, and Beitûniâ. This does not prove at all, of course, that TN bore the name of Mizpah at any time; it does seem to leave the possibility open, however. At the same time no one can question for a moment that the lofty hill of Nebi Samwil is on purely topographical grounds a better candidate for the title.

One of the most interesting suggestions of Albright is the equation of Samuel's home Ramathaim with Rāmallah,³¹ a view which he later abandoned on philological and archaeological grounds.³² Strangely, he does not adduce the evidence of 1 Samuel 7. 16 f. describing the *circuit* of Samuel (cf. LXX 1 Samuel 7. 16 ἐκύκλον) which his view would explain.³³ After a brief treatment of the references in Eusebius and Epiphanius, Albright turns to the archaeological evidence, which he believes to confirm his view that Nebi Samwil represents Mizpah of Benjamin. For TN "the simplest solution is to place the pre-Roman town of Ataroth Archi on the tell," but on account of serious objections to it he proposes Beeroth, in many ways a most satisfactory suggestion. Because of the close proximity of the two towns most of the arguments for Mizpah would fit Beeroth fully as well, and some of them would fit Beeroth even better. Not too much can be made of the equation el-Bîreh = Beeroth, though the linguistic equivalence of the names must always be reckoned as an argument in favor of their identity. Moreover the biblical evidence, though scanty, cannot be said to contradict Beeroth. Solely on the basis of the biblical references Beeroth may be admitted to full candidacy for TN.

The first important recognition of Albright's views came from Père H. L. Vincent of the École Biblique of the

²⁵ *PJB* 10 (1914), 17 f.

²⁶ "Archäologisches von en-nebi-samwil," *ZDPV* 41 (1918), 117-157. See below, chap. V, iv.

²⁷ "Les vestiges archéologiques a Néby Samouïl," *RB* 31 (1922), 376-402. See below, chap. V, iv.

²⁸ *JPOS* 3 (1923), 119, note.

²⁹ The briefer statement is found in *JPOS* 3 (1923), 110-121. The more extensive and detailed presentation is found in Appendix I, "Mizpah and Beeroth," of *AAS* 4 (1924), 90-111.

³⁰ If TN bore the name of Ataroth Addar in biblical times as Albright came later to hold, then the force of his argument here and elsewhere is greatly qualified. See below, p. 30.

³¹ See esp. Appendix II of this same volume, pp. 112-123.

³² *JBL* 58, part II (1939), 185. This statement occurs in his review of Abel's *Géographie de la Palestine*, II, 429.

³³ Observe that the LXX uses Ἀραθαίμ and not Ramah here. With Albright's view should be compared Baumann's treatment of the same problem in *Theol. Studien und Kritiken* 81 (1908), 161-176, and *ZDPV* 34 (1911), 119-134, and especially the discussion of Harold M. Wiener, *JPOS* 7 (1927), 109-111, in which a strong case is made for Beit Rīmā. But against Wiener's theory see Alt, *PJB* 24 (1928), 70, and 25 (1929), 28.

Dominican Fathers in Jerusalem. His examination of Albright's position is based not on the full statement in the *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, but on the summary in the *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*.³⁴ Vincent contends that the archaeological data, of which he had himself made so careful and competent a study, are decisive against Nebi Samwîl.³⁵ Prolonged examination of the subsoil of the terrace did not reveal the slightest vestige of pre-Byzantine remains. The relatively small quantity of LB and EI potsherds is insufficient to establish the existence of an Israelite city. He argues forcibly, too, in behalf of the linguistic equation of Mizpah = Naşbeh, which Albright had pronounced "philologically impossible."³⁶

An intelligent judgment regarding the location of Mizpah demanded a rather more detailed statement of the topographical and strategic considerations involved in the problem than had thus far been given. The publication of Albright's monograph on Tell el-Fûl with its brochure on "Mizpah and Beeroth," together with Bruno's work on *Gibeon*,³⁷ inspired Gustaf Dalman to write at length on "Die Nordstrasse Jerusalems."³⁸ He contends that the present road essentially follows the ancient one, that Mizpah of Benjamin must be connected with this road, that TN alone satisfies the military-strategic requirements involved,³⁹ and that the biblical references far from contradicting strongly support the identification of TN with Mizpah. He rejects the identification of Ramathaim with Rāmallāh. There may well be a connection between Mizpah and Naşbeh, Dalman thinks. The term Tell en-Naşbeh seems to have been a name applied to the hill by the people from Rāmallāh. Dalman reports a man from Rāmallāh as thinking in connection with TN of an upright stone (*hajar manşûb*) which could at one time have stood there. The question arises whether the original name of the town was not derived from *maşsebah* as Wellhausen supposed.⁴⁰

The period which began with Alt's epoch-making defense of TN for the home of Mizpah ends, interestingly, with a sharp reversal of this point of view. In the annual report of the Deutsche evangelische Institut for 1925⁴¹ Alt

calls attention to the great uncertainty of all identifications for the towns on the Nāblus road, with the exceptions of er-Rām and Tell el-Fûl. He believes the usual association of ej-Jîb with Gibeon is especially precarious, both on linguistic and topographical grounds. The Old Testament references yield us nothing definite and decisive at all. So he turns to the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius and finds here a clue which forms the foundation for his new theory.⁴² In this passage Eusebius describes Gibeon as four Roman miles west of Bethel and near Ramah. This can only mean, according to Alt, in the direction of Ramah (i. e. er-Rām). This brings us to TN, which, as the sherds show, was occupied during the Roman and Byzantine periods. Sources outside of Eusebius neither confirm nor contradict his view. Procopius of Gaza in his commentary on Joshua merely copies Eusebius, and Jerome reproduces the *Onomasticon* in this passage without change. But, with the clue provided by Eusebius, Alt believes the Old Testament references can now be read with understanding. Albright's proposal of Beeroth for TN, to which Alt appeared hospitable in his earlier treatment of Mizpah⁴³ he now rejects, since the tradition nowhere brings Beeroth into connection with the road from Jerusalem to Bethel. With the rejection of the equation ej-Jîb = Gibeon, Alt naturally finds the way open for Beeroth, which he proceeds to identify with the former. El-Bîreh located so near to TN he identifies with Mizpah and calls attention to the various Old Testament references where Gibeon and Mizpah seem to be closely connected (e. g. Jer. 41 and Neh. 3. 7). Fortunately, there have been several important studies of the *Onomasticon*, so we are in a fairly good position to assess the value of Alt's new identification for TN. As in the case of his first discussion, so here Alt admits the hypothetical character of most of his identifications, but he believes there is a high measure of probability in his suggestions for ej-Jîb and TN.

In the same issue of the *Palästinajabrbuch* Dalman writes briefly on the tradition concerning Nebi Samwîl, Mizpah, and Gibeon. He cites 1 Maccabees 3. 46 as the last certain historical reference to Mizpah, though he does mention the reference to Simon of Mizpah from the time of the last Temple in Pea II. 6b and Yoma 14b. The citations from Eusebius have their difficulties, and Mizpah is not given in the Mādebā map. The pilgrims are generally silent on Mizpah. Alt's assignment of Gibeon to TN cannot be reconciled with Josephus (*BJ* II, 19. 1, 7). Paula saw Gibeon on the right of the road, and Epiphanius most likely was referring to Nebi Samwîl when he compared the height of Gibeon with the Mount of Olives. Finally, Dalman defends the philological propriety of identifying ej-Jîb with Gibeon. In the closing pages of the *Jabrbuch* Dalman adds an appendix to his previous articles in which he expands on his objections to Gibeon on the basis of Josephus, and argues that Josephus favors the identification with ej-Jîb.⁴⁴ Eusebius' geographical descriptions may well depend on the Tabula Peutingeriana, which was current in the fourth century after Christ, where Gibeon appears as a small place between Ramah and Jerusalem.

³⁴ *RB* 33 (1924), 637-638.

³⁵ Cf. above, notes 26 and 27. It must be emphasized here again that it is not the province of the present discussion to render judgment on purely archaeological matters.

³⁶ *JPOS* 3 (1923), 120 f.

³⁷ Arvid Bruno, *Gibeon*, Leipzig and Erlangen, 1923. Cf. also Sven Linder, *Sauls Gibeon*, Uppsala, 1922. The mention of the monographs of Albright and Bruno together does not imply any similarity in method or point of view. As Dalman points out (p. 72) the only point they share in common is the assignment of Ramathaim (Ramah) to Rāmallāh.

³⁸ *PJB* 21 (1925), 58-89.

³⁹ This part of Dalman's essay is of the greatest value. Its geographical and topographical observations are not only extremely clear but full of understanding for the strategic and historical forces involved. He points out, for example, that among the localities on the north road TN was peculiarly significant because it was in the position of blockading the narrow pass of the Wādî Jilyān (p. 61).

⁴⁰ Julius Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs* (Berlin, 1885), p. 44. Such a likelihood on the basis of this evidence alone seems farfetched, and the argument by itself more than tenuous.

⁴¹ *PJB* 22 (1926), 1-80. Pages 10-27, 33, 39-43 alone concern the problem of Mizpah directly or indirectly.

⁴² See esp. *Onom.* 66. 11 f. (ed. Klostermann).

⁴³ *PJB* 6 (1910).

⁴⁴ *PJB* 22 (1926), 140-142.

IV. FOURTH PERIOD

The excavation of TN by Professor Badè had already begun at the time Dalman wrote his last observations. In the *Palästinajabrbuch* for 1927 Alt describes his visit to TN and takes occasion to comment on the objections raised by Dalman, especially the reference to the march of Cestius recorded by Josephus.⁴⁵ In the *Revue Biblique* for the same year Vincent gives an excellent report of the early results of the excavations.⁴⁶ A short time later L. Heidet in a brief article in the *Dictionnaire de la Bible*⁴⁷ undertook to defend Ataroth-Archi or Addar as the proper identification for TN. The small ruin at the foot of the hill did not represent an ancient locality, and certainly the name 'Attārah, suggesting a powerful fortress "crowning" a hill and commanding the immediate countryside, would not apply to it. In Jerome's time there was a place *Ataroth juxta Rama*⁴⁸ suggesting a locality to the north of Ramah. Heidet concludes by deciding that the only biblical town which corresponds to TN is Ataroth-Archi or Addar. Neither Mizpah nor Beeroth satisfy the requirements.⁴⁹

A. Jirku then sought to meet Alt's thesis by a brief but trenchant criticism.⁵⁰ He discounts the importance of the Eusebius reference, reminding us that TN cannot by any legitimate use of language be described as lying *west* of Bethel when it is so plainly south, that the immediate context of the Gibeon reference shows how insecure this passage is as a support, and that the data as provided in the passage actually contradict each other. He maintains the linguistic identity of ej-Jīb and Gibeon, invoking the weighty authority of Kampfmeyer on his side.⁵¹ Alt is forced to an unnatural interpretation of the Josephus passage on Cestius; the most natural reading of the passage leads to ej-Jīb. And finally, the only two biblical passages that are anything more than colorless, Joshua 18. 11 ff. (cf. 21 ff.) and Judges 20. 31, militate against TN, for, according to Jirku, the boundary between Benjamin and Ephraim runs to the south, while Gibeon is explicitly said to be Benjamite.

Alt attacks the position of Heidet and Jirku in his account of the activities of the Institute for 1928.⁵² Khirbet 'Attārah in its present location cannot form the boundary, for it is not at all ancient. If the present name of the town derives from the biblical Ataroth Addar, then Heidet's view that the name originally applied to the crest of the hill is to be preferred. Alt is impressed with Heidet's reference to the large heap of stones which pilgrims of the

16th and 17th century saw between er-Rām and el-Bîreh, as reported in Haimendorf's *Itinerarium Aegypti*. This would seem to fortify the view that Ataroth Addar originally dominated the hill. But the location of the biblical Ataroth is far from assured, and may have lain far north of the present Khirbet 'Attārah. Assuming that Jirku's interpretation of the boundary line is correct, the most that can be said is that there is a contradiction between this description and the statement that Gibeon was in Benjamin. Alt refers to the excavations of Badè at this point, but points out that the archaeological periods (as interpreted at the time) and the biblical period of Mizpah are inconsistent with each other. The probable reading of the jar-handle is MOZA and not Mizpah. In a brief summary of the excavations Professor A. Barrois takes the same view regarding the letters (MŞH).⁵³

A fresh impetus was given to the discussion of the Mizpah problem at this time by H. W. Hertzberg, the pastor of the German Lutheran Church in Jerusalem, who sought to approach it from a somewhat different angle.⁵⁴ He emphasizes the indecisiveness of all investigations, and recognizes the difficulties surrounding both Nebī Samwīl and TN. The excavations at TN had up to that time shown no clear result. Hertzberg emphasizes what was then believed to be the case, that the walls at TN were ancient Canaanite in construction, though the city was obviously important in Israelite times also. On the other hand the Israelite remains at Nebī Samwīl are admittedly scanty.

The one thing that emerges for Hertzberg from the biblical references to Mizpah is that it was a great sanctuary, "in der ganzen israelitischen Zeit ein bekanntes und überaus wichtiges Heiligtum." His discussion here is suggestive, but it shows little or no recognition of higher criticism; passages demonstrably secondary are given equal weight with passages that are authentic and historical. If the issue were one of topography alone, there might be a defense for such a procedure, but when the point concerns history, the situation is quite otherwise. That the "house of God" to which the men of Shiloh, Samaria, and Shechem in Jeremiah 41 were going was a temple at Mizpah seems, despite the high authority of Giesebrecht,⁵⁵ a hazardous conjecture. Hertzberg next examines the sanctuary of Gibeon and adduces several striking passages from the Books of Chronicles⁵⁶ showing that the ancient *tent of meeting* was located there. It was only later, at the time of the Temple, that the two ancient mobile sanctuaries of the ark and the tent of meeting were combined into one cultus. The biblical references make it clear (e. g. Deuteronomy 33. 12) that this sanctuary lay within the borders of the tribe of Benjamin. But three such important sanctuaries as Gibeon, Mizpah, and Nob could not have existed so near to each other. Here Hertzberg's observation is much like Schlatter's, though it is argued in much less detail. Indeed, there is no indication that Hertzberg is familiar with the work of Schlatter. He argues that Gibeon, Mizpah, Nob, and also Gibeath Elohim represent one sanctuary, and that this sanctuary is Benjamite. TN cannot qualify for the location

⁴⁵ *PJB* 23 (1927), 20-25.

⁴⁶ *RB* 36 (1927), 414-418.

⁴⁷ D. B. Supplement, Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ane, 1928, vol. I, col. 664-666.

⁴⁸ *Onomasticon* (ed. Klostermann), 27.

⁴⁹ Regarding TN Heidet writes further: "Tell en-Naşbeh 'la colline de la borne' ou Tell-Naşbeh 'la colline-borne' est en tant que nom propre d'origine récente. Au XVI^e et XVII^e siècles les pèlerins indiquaient ici l'un des monceaux de pierres qui couvrent la colline ou la colline elle-même comme formant la 'borne' qui délimitait les tribus de Benjamin et d'Ephraïm, et plus tard les deux royaumes d'Israël et Juda." In this connection Heidet refers to the work of Christophe Furer d'Haimendorf (1565-1567) *Itinerarium Aegypti . . . Palaestinae . . .*, published at Nuremberg in 1621. Unfortunately I have not had access to this writing.

⁵⁰ "Wo lag Gibe'on?" *JPOS* 8 (1928), 187-190.

⁵¹ *ZDPV* 16 (1893), 26 f.

⁵² *PJB* 25 (1929), 12-16

⁵³ *RB* 38 (1929), 318 f.

⁵⁴ *ZAW* 47 (1929), 161-196.

⁵⁵ *Das Buch Jeremia übersetzt und erklärt*, 2d ed., 1907, *in loc.*

⁵⁶ 2 Chron 1. 3 ff.; 1 Chron 16. 37 ff.; 21. 29).

of this important spot because it is outside the tribe of Benjamin. For this assumption Hertzberg cites the authority of Albright and implicitly of Dalman, though he does not accept their views of the boundary.

The foregoing interpretation excludes el-Bîreh also. This leaves only Nebi Samwîl as a possibility. But the problem of the great road north of Jerusalem arises again, chiefly because of Bruno's attempt to force the road past ej-Jîb, the usual site for Gibeon. Hertzberg rejects this, and then turns to Alt's thesis that TN is to be equated with Gibeon. The evidence of the *Onomasticon* is examined. Hertzberg recognizes that the Eusebian passage has its special difficulties, so much so that its evidence cannot be employed in behalf of Gibeon (p. 188). While the evidence that Gibeon lay on the main road must be rejected, Dalman's quotations from the time of Eusebius, notably from Epiphanius, contradict Alt's position and make Nebi Samwîl a possibility for Gibeon. Finally, Hertzberg returns to his emphasis upon Mizpah as a sanctuary. Of all places that have been proposed for Mizpah, in fact of all places in the entire region, with the sole exception of Jerusalem, Nebi Samwîl alone continued in later times to have an important sanctuary. The Christian tradition carries forward the biblical.

There is much that is suggestive and ingenious in Hertzberg's treatment of the subject, especially if it is reinforced by Schlatter's presentation of the case. But a careful reading of the argument raises serious questions. The importance of Mizpah as a sanctuary seems grossly exaggerated, and is actually possible only by reading the biblical text uncritically.⁵⁷ Moreover, a critical reading of the text which recognizes late passages for what they are, especially when they flatly contradict other passages in a neighboring context, reveals a picture of religious development quite different from Hertzberg's. The weight of the argument falls here, according to Hertzberg's own words. The equation of Gibeon, Mizpah, Nob, and Gibeath Elohîm is alluring, but I believe the true explanation for the phenomena adduced by Schlatter and Hertzberg are best explained by historical considerations which the present condition of the biblical text tends to efface, but historical criticism places in a new light.

The *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* contains a brief summary of the problem of the biblical locality answering to the site of TN by Peter Thomsen.⁵⁸ The hill is described as "ein auf allen Seiten steil abfallender Hügel." Only to the north is it connected by a low-lying saddle with the other hills. By its situation it commands the entire com-

merce on the great road, also the road ascending over Beit 'Ur to the coastal plain. The three possibilities which present themselves for TN, Thomsen believes, are Mizpah, Beeroth, and Gibeon. The latter two were Canaanite towns. But Beeroth is nowhere in the Old Testament connected with the north road, according to Thomsen, and the post-exilic references to Beeroth⁵⁹ do not accord with the deposits revealed in the excavations. He thinks Dalman's objections to Gibeon are decisive.

In the same issue which carried Hertzberg's article appear two brief comments by Johannes Hempel, the editor of the *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*. In the first (p. 68) Hempel refers to the jar handles bearing the three letters, but thinks that the third letter looks more like a *yodh* than a *pê*. Since the photographer had retouched the copy, however, it was impossible for him to arrive at any decision. The remainder of the discussion is given to archaeological description and comment (pp. 68-70). The second notice (p. 150) attacks Jirku's article.⁶⁰ The identification of Ataroth Addar with Khirbet 'Attârah can not be supported, in view of Dalman's examination of the ruins;⁶¹ moreover a boundary between Khirbet 'Attârah and TN is a topographical impossibility. To this criticism Jirku replied in the course of a long article describing a journey through Palestine and Syria.⁶² Visiting the hill of TN and ej-Jîb, he was confirmed in his conclusion that Alt's identification of the former with Gibeon comported ill with Josephus' description of the march of Cestius, since it demanded too great a detour. So far as the boundary between Benjamin and Ephraim is concerned, Jirku replies that topographical considerations do not weigh too heavily in matters of this sort. He accepts the observations of Dalman concerning the archaeological deposit at Khirbet 'Attârah, and suggests, like others before and since, that the name may have wandered here from its original home in some neighboring town, possibly TN. Hempel replies to Jirku in the same issue.⁶³ He points out that Jirku's recognition that the ruins of Khirbet 'Attârah are late and that the name may have come from elsewhere (TN?) represents a change in his position, that Jirku's comparison of the Benjamin-Ephraim boundary with the Polish corridor is unconvincing and without ancient Eastern parallel, that the need for water at TN demands the extension of the town to the southern foot and thus complicates the boundary. Hempel then examines the various identifications current at the time of TN. The history of the town and its sanctuary (?) as described by Badé⁶⁴ would favor Mizpah, and this forces us to place the boundary farther north. Albright and Jirku suggest Ataroth Addar for TN.⁶⁵ Hertzberg combines the

⁵⁷ E. g., p. 192: "Die Heiligkeit des Ortes, die nicht von geographischen Erwägungen abhängig ist, sondern religiöse Gründe hat, erklärt auch, dass der Ort bedeutsam war, obwohl er nicht an der Hauptstrasse lag, so dass auch dieser immer gegen *en-nebi samwîl* geltend gemachte Grund nicht ernstlich ins Gewicht fällt." Throughout the article Hertzberg is unable to overcome for himself the difficulties of the connection of Mizpah with the north road. He finally seeks to resolve it at the very close of his discussion in this fashion. Cf. Hertzberg's brief statement in *RGG*, 2d ed., IV, 122 f. Here he says that as for the political role which Mizpah played, it is not its geographical location, but its significance as a sanctuary which is decisive. He adopts an interesting suggestion of Sellin's, that Gen 22 in its original form was the *hieros logos* for this famous sanctuary.

⁵⁸ Berlin, 1919, XIII, 248 ff.

⁵⁹ Ezra 2. 25; Nehemiah 7. 29.

⁶⁰ *JPOS* 8 (1928), 187-190.

⁶¹ *PJB* 21 (1925), 76.

⁶² "Durch Palästina und Syrien. Bericht über eine Forschungsreise im Frühjahr, 1929," *ZDPV* 53 (1931), 136-166. The relevant pages for our discussion are 138 f.

⁶³ "Atrot-Addar," *ZDPV* 53 (1930), 233-236.

⁶⁴ *Exc.* (1928), 14-40.

⁶⁵ In *BAS* 35 (Oct., 1929), 4, in the course of a longer article on "New Israelite and Pre-Israelite Sites: the Spring Trip of 1929," Professor Albright reflects this change in his point of view. Here he writes as follows: "In this connection it may be observed that the ancient name of Tell en-Nasbeh was almost certainly Ataroth, as maintained now by Dr. Hertzberg and the writer. . . . The

former view of Albright, that TN is Beeroth, with his latter view by making Ataroth the successor to Beeroth, which was destroyed (cf. 2 Samuel 4. 3). But Hempel points out that in the lists of the returned exiles in Ezra 2 and Nehemiah 7 Beeroth is still standing while there is no reference to Ataroth. He wisely refrains from coming to a final decision, but there is a brief comment toward the close of his article which is of the first importance for the relations of the excavations at TN to the problem as a whole. After calling attention to the remarkable absence of the Late Bronze period from TN, a phenomenon which Albright has observed for the whole southeast range of Ephraim, he remarks:

Sollte es sich bestätigen, dass die Besiedlung des *tell en-naşbe* eine Unterbrechung vor der Eisenzeit aufweist, so könnte man darin ein starkes Argument für Mizpa gewonnen sehen; lag der Ort beim Eindringen der Israeliten (im Gegensatz zu Gibeon) in Trümmern und wird er von Israel neu angelegt, so wusste man von seiner Geschichte in der Vergangenheit eben nichts mehr, sondern kennt ihn nur als eine israelitische Stadt. Doch ist die Frage nach dem Fehlen von Bronze III in der ganzen Gegend . . . zu ungeklärt und sind die Grabungen auf dem *tell* selbst zu wenig umfassend, als dass man heute schon urteilen könnte.⁶⁶

Hempel sees that the evidence of the *Onomasticon* must be more closely examined. To this subject a special investigation is devoted in the earlier pages of the same journal.⁶⁷ It will be recalled that the evidence of Eusebius was the foundation stone for Alt's assignment of TN to Gibeon, and that Hertzberg had used the *Onomasticon* to equate Mizpah with Nebi Samwil. Gibeon is said to lie near to (πλησίον) Bethel, but Beyer shows that this expression is used very generally by Eusebius to apply to places of some distance. In itself, therefore, the word might apply very well to Bethel, but Nebi Samwil, which Hertzberg identifies with Gibeon, is much closer to Jerusalem, and it would seem very strange for Eusebius to describe Gibeon in terms of Bethel under these circumstances.⁶⁸ We have already found the phrase "west of Bethel" applied to Gibeon difficult. Now Eusebius employs only the four main directions, and sometimes in the strangest ways so as to include not merely the entire quadrant (e. g. southwest to north-west) but some points outside (i. e. south-southwest or north-northwest). If Eusebius used maps, it is worth observing that the Ptolemaic geography shows aberrations also (e. g. the Nāblus road runs northeast-southwest). In brief Beyer seems to support the possibility of Alt's interpretations of the *Onomasticon* and Eusebius' methods, whereas

writer's former identification with Beeroth, which he considered the true name, Ataroth being an alternative one, is probably not correct, though where the former was now becomes very obscure." It is well to recall that already in 1924 (*AAS* 4, p. 103) Albright had been much attracted to this view.

⁶⁶ *ZDPV* 53, p. 235.

⁶⁷ G. Beyer, "Eusebius über Gibeon und Beeroth," *ZDPV* 53, pp. 199-211.

⁶⁸ The troublesome phrase πλησίον Ρερμα (or Ρερμων as Jerome and Procopius of Gaza have it) is explained by Albright as a displacement belonging with Γαιβε (Geba) in the next entry. Elsewhere the *Onomasticon* associates the two localities. Albright had already made the same point as Beyer in *AAS* 4 (1924), 101.

he generally disapproves of Hertzberg's understanding of the text (e. g. the comparative value of Codex Vaticanus and the Greek sources employed by Jerome) as well as his understanding of the methods of the great historian. Beyer's article is admirably documented, and while his judgment may not always be sound, he does give an excellent insight into the nature of the *Onomasticon*.

The foregoing survey of the fourth of our periods in the history of the investigation of our subject has omitted all reference to the reports issued by Professor Badè, recounting the progress of his excavations. The more important of these reports received widespread attention, but it is not our task to summarize discussions which are purely archaeological in character. In most of the reviews of Badè's work, reference is naturally made to the reading of the letters on the jar-handles. We have already observed the disposition on the part of several scholars to read MŞH rather than MŞP, as Badè was inclined to do for a large number of the specimens. Another instance of this response to the three letters appears in a review of Badè's report, *Excavations at Tell en-Naşbeh, 1926 and 1927*, by Professor A. Barrois, in which he favors MŞH as the more probable reading.⁶⁹

Professor Albright⁷⁰ had argued for the close proximity of Beeroth and Ataroth from certain Crusading records which bore the strange expression Atarabereth, which he quite naturally interpreted as referring to 'Atţārah and el-Bîreh.⁷¹ To this subject Père F. M. Abel of the École Biblique in Jerusalem directs his scrutiny in a brief article.⁷² The cartulary of Saint-Sépulchre contains a list of the gifts to this church by Godfrey of Bouillon at the beginning of the twelfth century. One finds there a list of villages or hamlets in the neighborhood of Rāmallāh. After a number of names which includes Birra (el-Bîreh, according to Abel) appear the words *Ataraberet, Uniet*. Returning to a proposal of Clermont-Ganneau's⁷³ Abel reads 'Atţārah and *Beitūniā*. The blunder in copying is very natural, and the geographical relationship is logical. The alternative explanation does not take sufficient account of the context of the word *Ataraberet*, both before and after.⁷⁴ In an act of the year 1160 'Atţārah appears as Aithara.⁷⁵ The order of Notre-Dame de Montjoye, founded in the year 1180 by a Spanish count named Rodriguez, possessed certain property north of Jerusalem. It is mentioned in a bull of Alexander III dated May 5, 1180, as follows:

locum ipsum Montis Gaudii, in quo jam dicta domus vestra sita est, extra muros civitatis Jherusalem, Canaşaba, cum terris quas dedit vobis rex Balduinus, etc.

It is the one word *Cannasaba* which interests us. Abel, as Röhrich long before him,⁷⁶ interprets it convincingly as Khān en-Naşbeh, which Abel believes to be the precursor

⁶⁹ *RB* 38 (1929), 317-319.

⁷⁰ *AAS* 4 (1924), 108.

⁷¹ Dalman, *PJB* 10 (1914), 17, had already referred to the Casale Atarabereth and interpreted it as meaning *Atara bei bire*. Cf. also Röhrich, *ZDPV* 10 (1887), 204.

⁷² *JPOS* 11 (1931), 141-143.

⁷³ *Recueil d'archéologie orientale* II, 92 f.

⁷⁴ It is interesting to observe that Robinson writes *Beit-Ūniā*.

⁷⁵ No. 55 in the Cartulary of Saint Sépulchre, 1160.

⁷⁶ *Regesta Regni Hierosol. Additum*, p. 37. The citation is Abel's.

of the Khân Abū Skandar located at the foot of the hill near to the road.⁷⁷

Most of the references to TN in the next few years are extremely brief. Alt merely comments that no new point of view has been expressed about the various problems involved.⁷⁸ He observes Böhl's support of Gibeon,⁷⁹ Garstang's theory favoring Beeroth,⁸⁰ and Albright's recent proposal of Ataroth.⁸¹ In none of these cases is the position of the writer developed at any length. In the account of the annual trip of the Institute for 1933 Alt refers to the excavations,⁸² but thinks that nothing decisive has emerged from them. Neither the jar-handles nor even the Jaazaniah seal prove anything.⁸³ In a review of Dalman's *Jerusalem und sein Gelände*, Albright takes occasion to express himself anew on the Mizpah controversy. He holds with Dalman to the identity of Gibeon and ej-Jīb (as against Alt). Ataroth Archi (cf. Joshua 16. 2, 5; 18. 13) on the boundary between Ephraim and Benjamin answers exactly to TN, and the persistence of the connection of the name with the hill of TN enhances the argument. "The excavations conducted by Badè have certainly yielded just as much evidence in favor of Ataroth as in support of Mizpah."⁸⁴ Elsewhere in the same review Albright makes the point that TN, like many other Palestinian places, had various names applied to it by different towns. At ej-Jīb it was called 'Attārah, at el-Bīreh, et-Tell, and of course at Rāmallāh it was called TN. Albright again defends the linguistic equivalence of ej-Jīb and Gibeon with an argument that seems unanswerable.

Galling's *Biblisches Reallexikon* contains no entry for Ataroth, but under Gibeon there appears an excellent summary statement.⁸⁵ Abel's support of Mizpah for TN⁸⁶ is opposed for the reason (now proved mistaken) that the MB walls revealed by the excavations run counter to the biblical picture of Mizpah, which does not portray it as a Canaanite town. The objection to Albright's support of Nebi Samwīl is the relative inconsequence of the remains. The *Onomasticon* and the archaeological data favor Gibeon, but the evidence from Josephus (Cestius' march) is decisive against it. The theory proposed by Hertzberg is most unlikely. The attempt of Jirku to have the boundary pass through TN (= Ataroth) is not convincing; such a line seems to Galling incredible. Moreover he argues that the archaeological evidence is against it. Albright's transfer of Ataroth to the top of the hill seems to him an unjustified simplification of the problem. Finally, the view of Alt seems to be favored as the most likely, especially since Gibeon and Beeroth are both assigned to LB mounds. Mizpah is placed at el-Bīreh where the ruins are scanty. This article appeared in the section of the *Reallexikon* pub-

lished in 1935, but two years later appeared another section in which Galling discusses Mizpah. By this time Badè had shown that the walls actually belonged to the Iron age, and the whole complexion of the problem was thereby changed. The reading of the jar handles is uncertain, but the Jaazaniah seal might well refer to the person of that name in 2 Kings 25. 23.

The second volume of P. F. M. Abel's great work, *Géographie de la Palestine*, made its appearance in 1938.⁸⁷ A large part of it was devoted to the identification of ancient towns. Abel inclines to view Kefr 'Aqab as the home for Ataroth Addar. He contends that the very minor importance of the biblical town does not correspond to the kind of city unearthed by the excavations at TN. The modern ruins at Khirbet 'Attārah are far enough from the top of the hill to permit an independent locality. It is necessary to distinguish between the two Ataroths to understand the biblical references.⁸⁸ Mizpah is located on TN. The phrase κατέναντι Ἱερουσαλήμ in 1 Maccabees 3. 46 does not necessarily imply visibility. Josephus employs ἀπέναντι for a distance of ca. 13 kilometers.⁸⁹ It is possible that the Arabic Naṣbeh has a linguistic attachment to the Hebrew *miṣpah*. Archaeology and the Bible confirm this equivalence. The way in which Eusebius confuses all three Mizpahs (Mizpah of Gilead, of Judah, and of Benjamin) strongly suggests that he was unfamiliar with the site of ancient Mizpah of Benjamin.

In a long review which evinces great appreciation of Abel's monumental work, Professor Albright allows many of the more significant identifications to pass under his careful scrutiny.⁹⁰ In the case of Ataroth Addar he holds to his position in favor of TN on the grounds both of the antiquity of the name and of the passages in Joshua which place Ataroth Addar exactly on the boundary line. In this review he makes no attempt to answer Abel's objections or to oppose Abel's own theory. It is impossible to enter here into Albright's linguistic details. There can be no question that his argument for the equation of Ataroth Addar with TN is telling, and such textual changes as his view demands cannot be called radical or drastic in any sense of the word. But Albright makes several important observations that must be recorded (p. 180):

Since it has become increasingly clear during the progress of the excavations carried on at Tell en-Naṣbeh by the late W. F. Badè . . . that this site, though occupied in Iron I and Iron II, was not inhabited during the Late Bronze, i. e. during the 15th-13th centuries, Tell en-Naṣbeh cannot well be identified with either Beeroth . . . or Gibeon . . . ,

⁸⁷ *Géographie politique: les villes.*

⁸⁸ "A prendre strictement Jos. xvi, 5, la ligne d'Ataroth Addar à Bethoron formerait la limite orientale d'Ephraïm contre la hernie benjamite de Jos. xviii, 22 s., et dans cette hypothèse le point de départ serait 'Attāra au nord de Birzeit, dominant au nord-est le W. 'Ain Dāra, et Addar aurait contaminé Jos. xviii, 13, identique à xvi, 2. En tout cas, dans ces deux derniers passages il s'agit d'Ataroth de l'Archite qui répond à Ataroth Debora du Targum de Jud. iv, 5, entre Rama et Béthel, à Ataroth juxta Rama de l'Onomasticon latin, p. 17, et l'Atara ou Aithara du moyen âge, aujourd'hui Kb. 'Attāra au pied de Tell en-Naṣbé vers le sud." *Op. cit.*, II, 256.

⁸⁹ *RB* 32 (1923), 506 f.

⁹⁰ *JBL* 58 (1939), 177-187.

⁷⁷ Cf. Albright, *AAS* 4 (1924), 103.

⁷⁸ *PJB* 28 (1932), 8 f.

⁷⁹ *Palestina in het licht der jongste opgravingen*, 1931, pp. 57 f.

⁸⁰ *Joshua-Judges*, 1931, pp. 164 f.

⁸¹ *The Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible*, 1932, p. 185, note 68.

⁸² *PJB* 30 (1934), 11.

⁸³ See Badè, "The Seal of Jaazaniah," *ZAW* 51 (1933), 150-156.

⁸⁴ *JQR* 22 (1932), 416, cf. pp. 409-416.

⁸⁵ In the *Handbuch zum Alten Testament* series (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr and Paul Siebeck, 1934-1937), cols. 193-97.

⁸⁶ "La question gabaonite," *RB* 43 (1934), 347-73.

both of which were fortified Canaanite towns in the time of Joshua, according to Israelite tradition.

Albright still holds to Nebi Samwil as the most likely location of ancient Mizpah of Benjamin, "though it cannot be called certain."

The foregoing sketch of the literature dealing with TN and problems in one way or another associated with TN has shown clearly that there is at the present time no conclusive result. No really decisive factor has at any point

emerged forcing us to one position over against all others. The issues have been sharpened, the plausible biblical sites for TN canvassed in considerable detail, linguistic considerations have been pressed in different contexts of the discussion, and finally the literary evidence has been read again and again, but nearly always with varying results. It is to this task of examining the literary evidence that we shall turn in the following chapter to see what light a critical examination of the literary evidence may yield.

CHAPTER III

THE LITERARY SOURCES BEARING ON THE QUESTION OF IDENTIFICATION

JAMES MUILENBURG

OUR GENERAL survey of the literature dealing with the site of TN and related matters has shown the imperative necessity of a scrutiny of the literary evidence. This evidence is found chiefly within the pages of the Old Testament, though by no means exclusively. Our aim in the following pages is to examine the relevant biblical passages as well as the extrabiblical material in the light of the methods and results of historical criticism. The towns to occupy our chief attention are Mizpah, Beeroth, Ataroth, and Gibeon.

I. MIZPAH

1. Joshua 18. 26

If we examine the Old Testament in its present arrangement, we encounter the first clear reference to Mizpah of Benjamin in Joshua 18. 26. It appears in the midst of a long list of "cities" belonging to the tribe of Benjamin (Josh 18. 21-28). Biblical lists of this kind have attracted the interest of biblical scholars during recent years, especially students of literary forms and types (*Gattungen*). The Alt-Jirku-Albright school especially has employed the methods of form criticism with great effect in its various geographical investigations. Professor Alt in particular has in successive publications cast a flood of light on the book of Joshua, and has gone far to restore it to a position of historical respectability. In an examination of the tribal boundaries described in Joshua,¹ he contends that such lists of "cities" as are given for the tribe of Benjamin are far older than the Priestly history in which they are now embedded, and that they contain much material of historical value though not necessarily for the time they profess to

describe.² He argues, for example, that the striking inclusion of Jerusalem within the boundaries of Benjamin is in accord with the early source of Judges 1, where the Jebusites of Jerusalem "live among the Benjamites even to this day" (Judges 1. 21 *contra* Joshua 15. 63), a view which the present writer has taken independently for several years.

Our own interest centers upon 18. 25 f. where the names Gibeon, Ramah, Beeroth, Mizpah, Chephirah appear. Strangely enough, Alt argues that this reference may not refer to Mizpah of Benjamin at all, and suggests, rather precariously, that it is another Mizpah, which may well be situated at Nebī Samwīl.³ Noth, who follows Alt extremely closely on many matters, comments similarly: "Mizpah wahrscheinlich verschieden von dem benjaminitischen מִצְפָּה (1 Kg 15. 22; 2 Kg 25. 23, 25), das—wenn = *el-bīre* . . . ,—vielleicht ausserhalb des in Frage stehenden Gaus lag, kann man auf Grund der Wortbedeutung des Namens mit dem hohem Gipfel von *en-nebi samwīl* identifizieren."⁴ The reason for Alt's embarrassment is plain. Having assigned Beeroth to ej-Jīb, Gibeon to TN, and Mizpah to el-Bīreh, and having rejected the equation of the Mizpah of Joshua 18. 26 with el-Bīreh, he can now find no place for the reference to Mizpah, though his previous researches had argued effectively for the general reliability of the lists, not least of all the list in question here. If the reference to Mizpah here is to Nebī Samwīl, it is hard to see why Alt cannot admit more of the claims of the Albright position. The dilemma Alt encounters here is real, for the assumption of two Mizpahs within Benjamin or of another Mizpah outside the tribe of Benjamin for Joshua 18. 26 is too violent for a scholar of the caution and restraint

¹ "Das System der Stammesgrenzen im Buche Josua," *Sellin-Festschrift* (Leipzig, 1927), 13-24. Cf. Alt's earlier publication in which he discusses the boundaries of the provinces of Judah under King Josiah, *PJB* 21 (1925), 100-116.

² Cf. also Martin Noth's commentary on Joshua in *Handbuch zum Alten Testament* (Tübingen, 1938), 83.

³ *PJB* 22 (1926), 26.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, 84.

of Alt. Albright comments on the Joshua passage that the location between Beeroth and Chephirah is quite correct if Beeroth is TN. But the location of Beeroth is today uncertain, Albright and others having long since given up the identification with TN. As a matter of fact, considering the present form of our Book of Joshua it is precarious to place any stress on the order in which towns are given. Probably the most that can safely be said here is that, despite the authority of Alt and Noth, the identity of the Mizpah of Joshua 18.26 with Mizpah of Benjamin must be maintained.

2. Judges 20-21

Our second biblical passage has its own critical peculiarities. It is found in the closing chapters of the Book of Judges which form an appendix to the earlier edition of Judges 1-16. The allusions to Mizpah occur in the tragic story of the crime of Gibeah (chaps. 19-21). From the time of Wellhausen the very late date of the present form of the narrative has been universally recognized. Wellhausen's critical acuteness shows itself at its best in his discussion of this section of Judges.⁵ He thinks it is a late Jewish midrash, and that the whole story is of one piece, belonging to the same age and stamped with the same genius. Since Wellhausen's day, scholars have been disposed to see in these chapters a composite work with an older narrative underlying the framework of the story as a whole. Rudolf Kittel follows Wellhausen in describing the whole of the narrative as late and midrashic, but detects the presence of sources and extensive editing by a redactor.⁶ A late midrash (M) comprises fully half of chapters 20-21, and the second source (N), only a little older than (M), includes most of the rest of the material. The same features as mark the Books of Chronicles including the extensive use of older Old Testament books mark the former source (M); bitter animosity toward the house of Saul as well as other late phenomena mark the latter. The allusions to Mizpah are distributed as follows: 20. 1, 3 (M); 21. 1 (N); 21.5 (N); 21. 8 (N¹). As to the constant shuttling back and forth between Miz-

pah and Bethel, Kittel thinks this is quite natural because the distance between the two is so very short, a surprising remark in almost any case for antiquity, not least for the distance from Beitin to Nebi Samwil.

Budde's commentary on Judges is marked by all the ingenuity and acumen associated with the author's name.⁷ His analysis yields three main sources, the first two (A and B) he seems to identify with JE, the third (C) with a late midrashic source. The reference to two sanctuaries, Mizpah and Bethel, furnishes the chief clue for the dissection into sources. By far the greater part of chap. 20 and a good part of chap. 21 belong to the late source C. The references to Mizpah in 20. 1, 3 and 21. 1, 8 are all AB, that is, relatively early. But the clue of the famous sanctuaries does not apply to 21. 5, since Mizpah appears where the late context demands Bethel, according to Budde's theory. So Budde is forced to insist that C originally had *Bethel* in this place. In 20. 1 he removes the phrase "to God at Mizpah" from the strongly C context and attaches it to the opening clause "and all the children of Israel went forth," a representation which does not seem at all like JE, but rather like the point of view of a later period. But Budde is still troubled by the verb *וַיֵּצֵא* in relation to the phrase "to God at Mizpah," possibly because it seems to say so clearly what the C context demands. So he emends the troublesome verb to *וַיִּצְקוּ* for which there is neither textual support nor logical induction from the context. Moreover the undergirding which Budde seeks to supply for the early reference to Mizpah here by saying that in 1 Samuel 7. 5 and 10. 17 Mizpah is also a holy place of assembly for Israel far from fortifying his argument greatly weakens it, as we shall see later. Finally, it may be questioned whether the emendation of the opening clause is at all necessary, for the stress of the sentence without the change falls precisely where the late writer probably meant it to fall: "all Israel went forth . . . as one man from Dan to Beersheba."⁸ If the closing phrase "to YHWH at Mizpah" is attached to this sentence, then the representation is much like the rest of the sentence though the emphasis of the sentence is then shifted. Finally, one is tempted to question an analy-

⁵ *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* (Edinburgh, 1885), 236-240.

⁶ *Die heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments*, I (3d ed.; Tübingen, 1909), 372-377.

⁷ *Das Buch der Richter* (Freiburg i. B., Leipzig and Tübingen, 1897), 132-140.

⁸ Even if the text here is composite it is hard to see how it can be assigned to JE.

sis which shows such unusual subtlety. G. F. Moore makes a real point of this in asserting that the extreme difficulty of the criticism, "in a case where we should expect it to be peculiarly easy, is itself a reason for doubting the correctness of the assumption that two sources have been united by an editor."⁹

In the Polychrome Bible G. F. Moore presents us with his own analysis of Judges 20-21. Considerably more than half of the narratives contained in the two chapters is given in yellow to denote its provenance from postexilic authors or editors.¹⁰ Out of the indubitably late setting of 20. 1-3 Moore, like Budde, rescues the words: "Then all the Israelites went out to war to the sanctuary of JHVH at Mizpah." This is far from being a literal translation, though it may represent the meaning accurately. The verb is really "went out" (יצא), and it is conceivable that the intended meaning was related to "assembled," as in the late source (קהל), especially in view of its association with the phrases "all the Israelites" (כל בני ישראל) and "to God at Mizpah," which Moore probably interprets correctly as "to the sanctuary of JHVH at Mizpah." The reference to Mizpah in the third verse is also assigned by Moore to the older stratum. In chap. 21, however, while Mizpah is assigned to the same source as in 20.1, in vs. 5 and 8 it appears in each of two late sources.

Finally C. F. Burney in his encyclopedic commentary offers a detailed treatment of the two chapters.¹¹ He is guided in his detection of sources by the constant recurrence of certain phrases which seem to characterize each section. He also recognizes the contradiction involved in the presence of sanctuaries at both Mizpah and Bethel. Yet in Source A Mizpah appears in 20. 1 and 3, while in Source B it occurs in 21. 1 and 8. Burney omits 21. 5 from both sources but gives no explanation for the omission.

The upshot of the foregoing discussion is that no analysis is completely successful. When one set of criteria is employed it seems to violate the evidence which might just as well be adduced from another set. Moreover, in every instance it will be observed that the sources are rather divided in their use of Mizpah. One cannot with consistency assign it to any single stratum of material. It is probably phe-

nomena of this sort which prompted Wellhausen to see in these chapters the work of one hand. Yet the evidences of compositeness are many and great. It may reward us, therefore, to confine our attention here to the actual phrases and clauses where Mizpah appears. We observe at once that they appear mostly at the beginnings of the narratives (e. g. 20. 1, 3a; 21. 1, 5), where the editor's hand is most characteristically and notoriously in evidence. The first instance appears in a context, every phrase of which is late. The prolixity of detail combined with the terminology suggests a writer of the mentality and point of view of the Priestly historian or the Chronicler: *all the children of Israel, the congregation assembled* (MT וְהָקְהַל הָעֵדָה cf. LXX ἐκκλησιάσθη πᾶσα ἡ συναγωγή), *as one man from Dan to Beersheba*. Then follows *to YHWH at Mizpah*. The phrase may be original, but it does sound as though it might have been attached, since without it the sentence is satisfactory and has the emphasis which the words themselves suggest. The next allusion (20. 3) appears in parenthesis in all versions. It is plainly awkward and has every mark of being an interpolation or gloss. Throughout the whole of the rest of chap. 20 Mizpah disappears completely, with not the remotest suggestion that Israel is gathered there, and where we should certainly expect it (as in v. 18) it is *Bethel* and not Mizpah which assumes the central place of prominence. Whatever the location of Mizpah, this circumstance is awkward. Chap. 21 opens laconically to the effect that the men of Israel swore in Mizpah. In 21. 5 appears a sentence, again *in parenthesis* as in 20. 3, referring back to the beginning of the chapter, but it is as obviously an interpolation as 20. 3, where the parenthesis performs precisely the same function as the parenthesis here: "For a solemn oath had been taken concerning him who did not come up to the Lord at Mizpah, as follows: He shall be put to death." It is little wonder that Burney omits it altogether from his main sources. One final reference (21. 8) seems at first sight to have greater support, but upon closer scrutiny it is clear that it is of the same cloth as the others. Phraseology as well as the conception of a united Israel suggest a late date. Moreover, the whole sentence in which Mizpah occurs may be omitted without any genuine loss of continuity.

Now the most obvious feature of the Mizpah pas-

⁹ *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Judges* (ICC), New York, 1901, p. 408.

¹⁰ *The Book of Judges* (SBOT), New York, 1898.

¹¹ *The Book of Judges*, London, 1920, p. 453.

sages is that they seem all to refer to Mizpah as a sanctuary. But their literary character subjects them to profound suspicion. First of all, they appear where the hand of the editor is usually to be found.¹² Two of the passages are so obviously interpolated that they require parentheses even in our modern translations to set them apart. All of them can be removed without any damage to the context or to the narrative. The possible exception to this is 20. 1, but as we have seen above its presence here creates as many difficulties as its absence. And not least of all, of course, is the flagrant way in which it contradicts the Bethel references. This is not to argue for the early date of Bethel in these narratives. Quite the contrary! But there is no valid argument for assigning the Mizpah references either to JE or to any time before the Exile.

There is one final argument for the editorial provenance of the Mizpah references which seems to us quite decisive. It grows easily out of the language of all the passages, as may be plainly seen by the following:

- 20.1 אליהוה המצפה "to YHWH at Mizpah"
 20.3 כירעלו בני ישראל המצפה Cf. LXX (GA)
 which inserts אליהוה (Cf. 20. 1) "that the
 Israelites had gone up to Mizpah"
 21.1 נשבע במצפה "had sworn in Mizpah"
 21.5 מי אשר לאיעלה . . . אליהוה . . . לאשר לאיעלה
 "who is there . . . that did
 not go up . . . to YHWH . . . concerning him
 who did not go up to YHWH at Mizpah."
 21.8 מי אחד משבטי ישראל אשר לאיעלה אליהוה
 המצפה "what one is there, of the tribes of
 Israel which did not come up to Yahweh at
 Mizpah"

The expression "to go up to Yahweh at Mizpah" certainly sounds ritualistic as may be illustrated by many Old Testament passages. The uniformity and character of the vocabulary suggest that one and the same hand is at work in all these passages. Albright

does not undertake to examine this passage closely, but he is perfectly right in saying that Mizpah is simply a stereotyped motif and clearly a secondary insertion.

But this does not complete our task. Though Mizpah is robbed of all historical significance for these passages, the question still remains what the topographical picture was in the minds of those who edited the stories. It is not unlikely that they were inserted without any recognition of the geographical and topographical factors involved. To be sure we are not given much light since the allusions are generally divorced from the main body of narrative. That our attention is directed to the Jerusalem-Shechem road seems certain from the account of the Levite's journey home, past Jerusalem to Gibeah (Tell el-Fûl) and if possible to Ramah (er-Râm) (Judges 19. 11-13). The gathering place for "all Israel" against Gibeah would naturally be a convenient center of mobilization, i. e., one that was far enough away so that the men of Israel would not be menaced in their preparations but near enough to launch an attack against the Benjamites. It would also most likely be situated on the main road, the leading avenue of communication of Israel with the Benjamite town. A hill from which Gibeah might easily be observed would constitute an admirable point of vantage. For the satisfaction of all these requirements TN would be the first place to suggest itself. Observe its strategic position on the road, standing guard over the narrow pass to the north and its proximity to the towns mentioned in the narrative, not least of all Bethel, which it contradicts from an historical point of view but supports geographically. In 20.31 there is a brief description of the tactics employed by the attacking forces. Mention is made of the roads "one of which runs to Bethel and the other to Gibeah." Most scholars have seen that the reading here should be *Gibeon* (גבענה). This gives us a convenient geographical datum which is employed by Baumann and others in behalf of TN. If it could be assumed that Mizpah was in the mind of either the original writer or even the major editor, we might have another clue in favor of TN, but our examination of the narratives has practically eliminated that possibility. It must be repeated here that the argument is based solely on what may have been the geographical picture of the editors responsible for the

¹² Burney makes the interesting but difficult comment that in the late source (Burney's C) "Bethel is doubtless regarded from the postexilic standpoint, as the single sanctuary for sacrifice at this time. . . . The writer accepts the allusion to Mizpah in the two older narratives as the *place of muster*, but does not recognize it as a *sanctuary* in spite of the fact that the expression 'unto Jahweh' and the allusion to the oath taken there seem to imply that it was such." Attempting to find a more secure place for Mizpah he conjectures that originally Mizpah appeared where Bethel now stands both in 20.26 and in 20. 23. While Burney does not use this argument, it may be admitted that the contents of these verses sound much like the references in 1 Samuel, but this is only a boomerang for the early date of the Mizpah references.

present allusions to Mizpah. The least that can be said is that the location of Mizpah at TN is a distinct possibility and that on grounds of strategy and geography it is superior to ej-Jib or el-Bîreh or Nebî Samwîl.

3. 1 Samuel 7 and 10. 17-27

Our third biblical mention of Mizpah is unembarrassed by the critical problems of Judges 20-21. It occurs in a well-recognized stratum of material in that part of 1 Samuel which is occupied with the founding of the monarchy. Together with chap. 8, chap. 10. 17-27, and chap. 12, it belongs to a markedly theocratic account of the monarchy in which Samuel emerges as the hero and Saul assumes a decidedly subordinate role. Samuel is the ruler of a united Israel (cf. the representation in Judges 20-21). All Israel gathers together to seek the Lord though we are not given the place of assembly. Samuel urges the people to put away "the foreign gods and Ashtarts" from their midst (cf. the Deuteronomic representation in Judges). So the children of Israel obey, and serve YHWH alone. At this they are ordered to assemble at Mizpah that Samuel may intercede with YHWH on their behalf. This section of the story ends with their cry, "We have sinned against YHWH." The comment then follows that Samuel judged the Israelites at Mizpah. The Philistines hear of the assembly of the people and proceed against them. The people in their terror appeal to Samuel to cry to YHWH for them, and Samuel heeds their request to the accompaniment of a whole burnt offering. YHWH thunders with a mighty voice against the Philistines and routs them with the help of the pursuing Israelites. So the Philistines are humbled and do not return to the territory of Israel.

The account is late and untrustworthy in its entirety. It is not only that it is incredible in itself, but that it completely contradicts and is at variance with other accounts in this part of 1 Samuel which have every claim to historical authenticity. So we are compelled to reject the historicity of chap. 7. But the related passage 1 Samuel 10. 17-27 belongs to exactly the same source as 7. 2-17. The phraseology is much the same as is shown by the introductory words (which also remind us strongly of Judges 20-21): "And Samuel summoned the people unto the Lord at Mizpah." The account is strongly theocratic.

Samuel completely dominates the scene. Saul is a puppet in the hands of this second Moses. Israel is one and united. This passage can no more be regarded as historical than its predecessor in the seventh chapter. It is at variance with all that we learn elsewhere from more trustworthy sources.

But here again we are brought face to face with another problem, for we are provided with geographical references which seem at first sight to offer some promise. In 1 Samuel 7 the Philistines are pursued until they are below Beth-car, while Samuel erects the pillar of stone between Mizpah and Shen (LXX Jeshana). Unfortunately, none of these places has been certainly identified. Beth-car would suggest Beth-horon first of all, but Albright feels that this requires too violent a change and ingeniously suggests Beth-cerem on the basis of Beth-haccerem (cf. Nehemiah 3. 14; Jeremiah 6. 1), the modern 'Ain Kârim, four miles to the southwest of Jerusalem.¹³ This is equated with Jerome's Bethacharma, which seems to have lain between Jerusalem and Tekoa, but Albright argues on the basis of the Jeremiah passage upon which Jerome comments that the prophet does not imply this at all. Nevertheless, it must be said, I think, that the learned Father does imply it. One may also question whether the distance of the retreat involved is not somewhat great, though of course by no means without parallel. Full weight must be given to Albright's suggestion here, and must be balanced by the alternative argument of a retreat by way of Beth-horon. The LXX identification of Shen with Jeshana is rejected by both Alt and Albright.¹⁴ Albright proposes very tentatively the possibility of Qaştal, a hilltop south of Nebî Samwîl; Alt makes no proposal here.¹⁵ Its location must for the present be regarded as uncertain.

The seventh chapter of Samuel has another reference, however, which would seem to offer real possibilities. In describing the annual circuit of the judge Samuel, it names in succession the well-known towns of Bethel, Gilgal, Mizpah, and Ramah. Three of these are fairly secure: Beitîn, Jiljûlieh (Gilgal), and er-Râm. But if this is correct it is hard to see how the masoretic text can speak of a *circuit* and the LXX can underline this idea (ἐκύκλου). The chief diffi-

¹³ *AAS* 4 (1924), 96.

¹⁴ *PJB* 6 (1910), 53; *AAS* (1924), 97.

¹⁵ Both Albright and Alt reject the identification of Shen with Kefer Siyân, proposed by Conder, *PEQ*, 1898, p. 169.

culty really seems to be with er-Râm (LXX *Ἀρραθαίμ*). If the home of Samuel could be placed at Rāmallāh, as Bruno and Albright (formerly) supposed, or with Beit Rîmā as suggested by Wiener, TN would fit very well, but today the site of the biblical Ramah is almost universally agreed upon as er-Râm, and it definitely violates the sense of this passage. The problem must for the present be left unsolved.

4. 1 Kings 15.16-22

We now come to the crucial reference in 1 Kings 15.16-22. Not much needs to be said about the higher criticism of this passage. It has every mark of authenticity and has not been questioned by anyone. If there is difficulty here, it is a difficulty which we encounter everywhere in the Books of Kings, viz. the extreme brevity of the narrative. Their own Deuteronomic evaluation is of greater interest to the writers than historical information. What is worse, it is frequently at precisely the points where we are in greatest need of information that we are most ungenerously served (e. g., the reigns of Omri and Jeroboam II). It is important to read the account of the reign of Asa in the light of the accounts of the reigns of kings preceding and succeeding him. This reveals at once that more often than not there is war between Judah and Israel "all their days" up to the time of Omri's dynasty. This brings up the much controverted problem as to the true nature of these conflicts. That they naturally grow out of the division brought about by Jeroboam I goes without saying. But it is not at all likely that they are motivated by an attempt on the part of Judah to bring Israel back under Jerusalem's control. This is suggested neither by the Old Testament nor by the inherent logic of background and situation of the two peoples. Perhaps our best clue is derived from Omri's attempt to meet the whole problem with which his little country was confronted throughout the decades since the division of the united monarchy. It would seem that his attempt is to gain greater security for Israel against the aggression and ambition of neighboring peoples. In other words, he is concerned to establish and secure boundaries for the northern kingdom. We cannot assume that these were unchallenged either by the Philistines or by Judah or, indeed, by other powers during these chaotic years. As a rela-

tively new kingdom without the prestige of a David and Solomon, or of the city of Jerusalem, or of a meteoric political coup of any proportions to buttress its cause, the northern kingdom found itself surrounded by foes of one sort or another. It needed to defend its existence as a nation in territory that was far from invulnerable. We may be sure, too, that the revolutionary propensities bequeathed by Jeroboam I and the movement which produced the revolution had not yet died down.

All of this suggests a suitable background against which we may read the account of the strong measures adopted by Baasha, king of Israel, against his neighbor to the south. Baasha goes up against Judah and builds Ramah with the design of blockading Jerusalem. As a counter measure Asa appeals to Ben-hadad, king of Syria, to come to his aid. The appeal is answered by the forces of Ben-hadad penetrating into northern territory and capturing certain towns together with all the land of Naphtali. Baasha is forced to raise the blockade and to return to Tîrzah his capital. "Thereupon King Asa made a proclamation—none were exempted—and they carried away the stones of Ramah and its timbers with which Baasha had built. Then King Asa built with them Geba of Benjamin and Mizpah." If we may take the narrative at its face value, there are still questions we may wish to raise, but the problem is not too difficult.

Since the purpose of Baasha's measures is to prevent intercourse with Jerusalem, "that he might not allow anyone to go out or to come in to Asa, king of Judah," the most obvious inference is that he is closing the usual channels of communication, which would certainly mean, above all, the main north road to Jerusalem. Baasha's fortification of Ramah (er-Râm) naturally supports this view. It is an easily fortified height with an elevation that commands an excellent view of the main roads in the area.¹⁶ Yet the hill lies in a topographically exposed position, for it is not separated by deep-cut valleys or ravines. If it were to serve any military purpose, it was essential that it be strengthened by a fortress. But Baasha surely had some ulterior purpose in preventing intercourse with Jerusalem. It is natural to assume that by these measures he is seeking to establish and settle the confines of his own kingdom, possibly even to

¹⁶ Cf. Alt, *PJB* 6 (1910), 48; Dalman, *PJB* 21 (1925), 58 ff.; 75 f.

secure and insure them by the erection of a fortress beyond the natural boundaries suggested by the lay of the land. If a strong fortress could be maintained at Ramah, the position of the northern kingdom would be relatively safe from southern incursions, while, on the other hand, the position of Jerusalem would be rendered extremely precarious by this constant threat. It is possible that Asa was quick to see the implications of such a thrust as Baasha's, and his resort to an appeal to Aram can, from this point of view, be readily understood.

Asa's measure produced the desired result, for Baasha was compelled to quit Ramah. The King of Judah, in turn, seeing himself greatly strengthened by the military forces of Syria and probably recalling the prestige of his kingdom under his recent predecessors David and Solomon, conscripted the labor of all Judah, "none were exempted," to fortify the towns of Geba and Mizpah. In all this we should like very much to know the time demanded for these measures, especially since Baasha and Asa were kings with long reigns. But the narrative denies us this information. At any rate, it is at this point that our question assumes its greatest interest. We may be certain that one of the two towns which Asa fortified was on the main road. This is granted by all scholars. If the reading of the text can be relied upon, then there is no question as to which of the towns must be meant. For Geba is identified with the modern Jeba' at a crucial point on the famous Michmash road. It is between Michmash and Geba that the upper course of the Wâdî eṣ-Ṣuweinîṭ forms the most dangerous place of the entire road, the so-called Pass of Michmash, which could easily hold back an army coming from the north at the south of the Pass, viz. Geba. The Old Testament gives eloquent confirmation to this remarkably strategic location of Geba. Isaiah of Jerusalem describes in unforgettable language the progress of the Assyrian army from the north to Jerusalem:

He has gone up from Pene Rimmon,
He has come to Aiath;
He has passed through Migron,
At Michmash he stores his baggage;
He has crossed the Pass,
Geba is his bivouac;
Panic stricken is Ramah,
Gibeah of Saul has fled.¹⁷

The story of Jonathan's famous exploit in 1 Samuel 14 admirably illustrates the same decisive position of Geba. The account describes "a sharp crag on one side and a sharp crag on the other side," and continues "The one crag was on the north in front of Michmash, and the other on the south in front of Geba." A third passage seems to imply that Geba was located on the northern boundary of Judah (Zechariah 14. 10).

The choice of Geba as a fortress could hardly be excelled on this particular road. That the route was important cannot be questioned in the light of the biblical evidence.¹⁸ But if Geba lies across from Michmash, then Mizpah must be sought somewhere on the Nâblus road, and north of Ramah. The most natural spot to suggest itself is our hill, TN. It closes the narrow pass to the north, it affords an admirable view of the road leading to the south, and for a fortress it is far superior in its location to Ramah. Assuming that Jerusalem is not plainly visible from the height of its walls, it does stand guard over the great road leading to the southern capital, and this would naturally be deemed not only by its inhabitants but also by the officials of the kingdom to constitute a decided strategic value. Nebī Samwīl would not qualify, above all because it is removed from the great road, indeed, if we may credit observers, the road cannot be clearly seen from its height. El-Bîreh would not be so likely a spot for Asa to fortify since it is farther north.

Plausible as the case for TN might appear, Albright has leveled strictures against it.¹⁹ Baasha's fortifying of Ramah was for offensive purposes, while Asa's coup was defensive, not offensive, as is reflected by the absence of military operations and the fact that Asa did not fortify Ramah, in the territory of Israel, against the north. Moreover, the removal of building materials into hostile country would have been both dangerous and futile. "Just as Baasha's obvious purpose was to threaten Jerusalem, and make Asa's position uncomfortable, if not untenable, . . . so Asa's intention was clearly to defend his capital from sudden attack, an ever-present contingency for a city

¹⁸ For an admirable description of the course of the road see Féderlin's illuminating discussion with accompanying map in *RB* 15 (1906), 266-273, and for the strategic elements involved, Dalman's discussion, "Der Pass von Michmas," *ZDPV* 27 (1904), 161-173.

¹⁹ *AAS* 4 (1924), 38.

¹⁷ Isa. 10. 27b-29.

situated only a few miles from enemy territory."²⁰ Both places are located on Jewish soil, "in positions of vantage commanding the northern approaches to the city." The argument for Geba Albright meets by emending to Gibeah, a procedure which seems to be demanded in the references to Gibeah in the latter chapters of Judges. The phrase "Geba of Benjamin" suggests that Gibeah is actually meant since the tribal reference is constantly given for the latter but never for the former. The textual change from Geba to Gibeah is of course extremely slight, and the Greek text supports the change, though Albright says that this is of no great significance here. If we follow Albright's proposal, the Nāblus road will have its fortress at Gibeah (Tell el-Fūl), and we may then look to the lofty hill of Nebī Samwīl as the second city. This would present us with an even superior strategic situation, for it would control three roads, including the route from Beitūnīa to Gibeon.

It must be granted that Albright argues cogently, and that he has made an attractive case for Nebī Samwīl. Yet his position is certainly not unassailable, as he would be the first to admit. The change of text is not in his favor, though the writer would not allow this objection to weigh too heavily if it stood by itself. But the case for Geba is buttressed by several impressive Old Testament accounts involving strategic military factors. It would seem unwise, therefore, to change the text unless the independent evidence were compelling. If this is admitted, the case for Nebī Samwīl is out, and the case for TN becomes impressive. Again, Albright's argument that Asa would not have undertaken offensive operations so far north as TN and Geba can be met by the explanation that Baasha was under terrific pressure from the north, and would not attempt to resist this threat, serious as it was, when the northern part of his kingdom was being laid waste by a foreign invader. Finally, the historical situation existing between the north and south as described above (p. 28) appears to the present writer to be at least as plausible as Albright's view. The chaotic conditions of the decades immediately following the division of the United Monarchy together with all that we know of the effect of such conditions in Palestine upon neighboring peoples seems to the writer to argue in his behalf. Nor must the strategic elements of TN

be minimized. Divorced from the historical-geographical context, Nebī Samwīl has probably a more legitimate claim to Mizpah, but in the context of the historical situation in which Mizpah appears in this chapter of 1 Kings, TN seems here, at least, to have the better case.

5. Jeremiah 40-41

Our final important Old Testament passage holds special interest for all students of Mizpah, for it concerns the tragic days immediately following the destruction of Jerusalem in the year 586 B. C. The political center of the kingdom of Judah, with four hundred years of stirring history behind it, has been shifted from Jerusalem to Mizpah. Here, certainly, is an event of major significance, which casts the spotlight of history directly upon the town of our major concern. One naturally raises many questions at this point. Why was Mizpah chosen? What factors would influence the Babylonians in their choice of a new locality as capital of the land? How wide a territory did the new capital control? With what places would the Babylonians be most likely to be acquainted? The major account of the period of the fall of Jerusalem and immediately after is preserved in Jeremiah 40-41. The historical reference in 2 Kings 25 is exceedingly brief and offers us practically nothing of interest or importance. The situation is quite otherwise with Jeremiah 40-41, and to it we must now direct our attention.

It is generally recognized by conservative and radical commentators alike that chap. 40. 1-5, which recounts Jeremiah's liberation from prison and his "return" to Gedaliah, cannot stand as it is but is in a high degree legendary. Chap. 40. 1 is obviously the work of an editor. While it opens with "the word of the Lord that came to Jeremiah from the Lord," there is not the slightest hint of such a prophetic word in chaps. 40-41. Yet the reason for the blunder is not far to seek. The lines immediately following the first verse upon superficial reading employ the language of a prophetic oracle. In the second place, as has been observed by Duhm, the phrase בַּקְהָתוֹ אֶתּוֹ of 40. 1 is awkward, since this is precisely the meaning of v. 2.²¹ Moreover, the language of this verse is comparable to many other introductory formulae.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 38 f.

²¹ *Das Buch Jeremia, Kurzer Hand-commentar zum Alten Testament* (Tübingen and Leipzig, 1901), 313.

Further, the function of this verse is to serve as a transition, as its contents plainly show. But when we turn back to examine chap. 39 new difficulties confront us. Verses 4-13 are completely absent from the LXX and are described by so careful a scholar as John Skinner as a late addition to the Hebrew text.²² The statement that Nebuchadrezzar, the Babylonian monarch, issued special orders to Nebuzaradan, the commander of the guard, regarding Jeremiah is rightly termed by Skinner as "undoubtedly apocryphal." The words tax the credulity of any sober reader: "Take him, and look well after him; do him no harm, but treat him as he tells you." That the LXX is without them but preserves v. 14 which gives the strong impression of authenticity makes the evidence almost decisive. In this connection it is worth observing that a close reading of v. 14 clearly reveals inconsistency with the preceding verses.

Let us proceed now to the verses immediately following the editorial heading of chap. 40. We have already remarked that v. 2 is more or less of a doublet to the phrase in 40. 1. But when we read the actual words of the commander of the guard (vs. 3-5), we find him engaging in a sermon "in which the heathen general instructs the prophet in the principles which the latter had inculcated all his life."²³ Duhm remarks satirically: "Offenbar kennt der Polizist der jüdische Eschatologie!" The writer is far from identifying himself with Duhm's methods of criticism, least of all in Jeremiah, nor would he wish to invoke the ubiquitous midrashic editor of Duhm, even here. But if we are to recover for ourselves the actual course of events, we shall have to recognize that 40. 1-5 can be employed with only the greatest reserve and that it must submit to the critical operation of the historian. The most that can be saved by such an operation is a historical nucleus. It is possible that the general representation is essentially correct, though even the central words relating to Jeremiah's liberation in Nebuzaradan's speech are suspiciously similar to the apocryphal version of 39. 11-13. At least we have no reason to deny credit to 40. 6 which is after all the essence of the various representations examined heretofore, viz. that Jeremiah came to Gedaliah, the son of Ahikam, at Mizpah, and stayed

with him among the people that were left in the land.²⁴

The remaining portion of chaps. 40-41 is generally recognized as coming from a single source and is probably the work of Baruch. Even Mowinckel, who denies the presence of any material for which Baruch is personally responsible, sees in our section and in neighboring chapters the work of a single hand.

Nowhere in the Old Testament does Mizpah assume so central a position in the history of Israel as in the tragic days immediately following the fall of the southern capital. It is well to ask ourselves what considerations would be involved in the selection of a new capital in the mind of a foreign conqueror. One would certainly be his own relative familiarity with the place. It may well be argued that Nebī Samwīl would certainly attract the attention of any foreigner, as indeed it does today of visitors to the Holy Land. But, on the other hand, the Babylonian army had certainly proceeded down the great road from the north and had actually passed by the hill of TN with its excellent view of the road. Easy communication with the Babylonian officials at Jerusalem would doubtless influence the choice. And not least of all would be the situation of a capital in relation to the rest of the land. In this respect TN has a great advantage over Nebī Samwīl. Located on or very near the boundary between the northern and the southern kingdom, it had a practical, politically-strategic position which Nebī Samwīl could scarcely command. No conqueror could afford to put the land in charge of a governor who had no chance of administering its affairs expeditiously. TN is a better place for a governor of the land to discharge effectively the duties required of him in such a case than any rival such as Nebī Samwīl or ej-Jīb.

Three events are recounted in connection with the days at Mizpah. The first is the release of Jeremiah

²⁴ Mowinckel has subjected the Book of Jeremiah to a searching analysis in his monograph, *Zur Komposition des Buches Jeremia* (Kristiania, 1914). His treatment of this section is very brief, however. He recognizes that 40. 1 is quite without meaning ("ganz sinnlos"), maintains, however, that it breaks the continuity of 39. 14 with v. 2, a view which Skinner refutes without difficulty (*Prophecy and Religion*, 274, note 1). An even more telling objection to Mowinckel's view at this point is the sharp contrast in the representations of 39. 14 and 40. 2 ff. As suggested above, 40. 2 ff. is much more like the legendary account of 39. 4-13; Duhm's view that 40. 6 continues 39. 14 has much more to commend it, and may provide the true solution to the critical problem. On the other hand, we may merely have two strands of tradition, as Skinner believes. It is even possible that several traditions have here been woven together: e. g. 39. 11-13, 39. 14 and 40. 6, 40. 1-5.

²² *Prophecy and Religion, Studies in the Life of Jeremiah* (Cambridge, 1922), 272, note 1.

²³ *Op. cit.*, 273.

from prison and his journey to Mizpah to rejoin his fellow countrymen. We have already observed that this event has been given us in at least two, and probably three versions. Little can be derived from 40. 1-5, yet we may grant with Skinner that the kernel of the narrative may be accepted. This really amounts to saying that what is authentic here is what is reported in the indubitably reliable passages 39. 14 and 40. 6. Be that as it may, Albright argues that 40. 1 and 5 imply that Jeremiah *returned* from Ramah to Mizpah. He takes this in a geographical sense, and thus maintains that this could not apply to TN at all, since there would be no *return* from Ramah to Mizpah. But the narrative does not imply a geographical meaning at all. Taking the words as they are in 40. 5, we read, "Go back, if you wish, to Gedaliah, the son of Ahikam, the son of Shaphan, whom the king of Babylon has appointed governor over the cities of Judah; or go wherever you please." The emphasis is surely upon Gedaliah and not upon the place. In other words, Jeremiah is invited to return to his own people, *to rejoin them* (to use the phrase that Albright himself employs in describing Jeremiah's return to Nebī Samwīl). The expression would apply equally well to any locality where the exiles from Jerusalem were stationed, to Nebī Samwīl as well as to ej-Jīb or TN.

The second event is of greater interest and importance. Gedaliah, as governor of the country under the Babylonian authorities, welcomes the various groups which come to him and seeks to reconcile them to the Babylonian sovereignty. He is warned of the danger from Ammonite intrigue by Johanan ben Kareah, one of the commanders of the forces in the field. Gedaliah refuses to entertain Johanan's dark suspicions however. A short time afterward he and his companions are murdered. The very next day, before the news had spread, Ishmael, the murderer, sees a procession of some eighty men from Shechem, Shiloh, and Samaria on the way to Jerusalem to present the offerings in the house of the Lord. He goes out to meet the men, and invites them to see Gedaliah. No sooner do they reach the middle of the city when he lays hands on them, and all except ten of the number perished.

Now there can be no question as to the main route that such a procession would follow: it would most certainly be the road from Shechem to Jerusa-

lem, the modern Nāblus road, to which our attention has been drawn in one way or another throughout the discussion. The report that Ishmael sees the procession approach answers admirably to the location of Mizpah at TN. As the pilgrims proceed from the hills behind el-Bîreh, they catch their first view of Jerusalem, which would naturally move them to grief for the fallen city. If Mizpah were located either at ej-Jīb or at Nebī Samwīl it would require a detour. But there is no suggestion of such a special detour in our passage. Albright argues that the pilgrims were obliged to see Gedaliah in order to secure permission from him to visit the ruined city. It would seem that the narrative would say so, if that were indeed the case. Moreover, if Ishmael saw the procession approaching Nebī Samwīl, he could be certain of their destination either because he had seen them turn from the main road or because he would readily recognize, on Albright's basis, that they had come on some official mission to Gedaliah. The inference of the present passage is that neither of these factors is present. He naturally expects them to proceed on their journey, and for this reason makes a special effort to induce them to "come to Gedaliah." Albright calls the visit to Gedaliah "a simple matter, requiring only a very slight detour." This certainly underestimates the actual situation, for Nebī Samwīl is well over four kilometers from the nearest point on the north road. That Ishmael saw the procession on the main road and lured it aside to Nebī Samwīl is even more incredible than the alternative supposition that the procession was already on the road to Nebī Samwīl and that he went out of his way to urge them to see Gedaliah when it was so obvious that they could have no other purpose. Moreover, the pilgrims are described as bearing offerings for the house of the Lord. Commentators have frequently stumbled over this situation which Jeremiah 41. 5 ff. describes, and have even resorted to the theory that Mizpah had its own "house of the Lord!"²⁵ Finally Albright maintains that the reference to the cistern built by Asa argues for Nebī Samwīl, while none is known at TN.²⁶ The excavations have rendered this last argument obsolete. It may be said parenthetically here that it is unnecessary to resort to Phythian-Adams'

²⁵ This is notably the view of Giesebrecht in his commentary on Jeremiah, *ad loc.*, but has been revived from time to time by others (e. g. Hertzberg, see above p. 18).

²⁶ *AAS* 4 (1924), 93.

interpretation of כּוֹר as a dry moat.²⁷ In summary, it is not too much to claim that we have here weighty support for the identification of TN with Mizpah. It is the most natural interpretation of the facts as they are given to us. All other hypotheses seem in comparison forced and strained.

If the foregoing passage (41. 4-8) is simple and clear in its picture of the procession from the north to the temple in Jerusalem, the third and last passage in Jeremiah (41. 9-15) presents us with difficulties. It appears that immediately after the circumstances just described Ishmael gathered together all the rest of the people who were at Mizpah and proceeded to carry them away as his captives to the land of Ammon. But in the meantime the report of what had happened reached the ears of Johanan and the commanders of all the forces that were with him. Immediately they started out with their troops to intercept Ishmael and his captives. They found him "by the great waters that are at Gibeon," and Ishmael was forced to flee with a handful of men to the Ammonites.

Now our first difficulty is that we do not know where Johanan and his men were at this time. Albright thinks it likely that they were near Jerusalem in order to keep guard over Ishmael, of whom they were so suspicious. This is a perfectly legitimate, even natural, suggestion, though of course by no means necessary. If Albright is right in his supposition here, it is not too much to add with him that under the circumstances it would have been the height of folly for Ishmael to have turned southward toward Johanan's base of operation. One might argue, on the other hand, that Johanan and his fellow officers with their troops had stationed themselves in the region just to the north where they might be in constant touch with the little community at Mizpah. Whether the Babylonians would countenance military forces so near Jerusalem as Albright suggests might be questioned. But if Ishmael was at all aware that there was a threat from Johanan from the north, he would naturally veer to the south in order to escape any encounter with him.

It must be admitted that we are not given any information one way or another in the narrative, but it is precisely the indefiniteness and incompleteness of the narrative at this point that forces us to make

the best kind of speculation we are able. The distance from the region just north of TN to ej-Jîb would not be too great for the pursuit of Johanan's forces. On the contrary, it is well within the bounds of likelihood and may present a good strategic military argument. On the other hand, the argument for Nebî Samwîl can also be pressed here. If Ishmael proceeded to the land of Ammon directly, then Nebî Samwîl is a better locality than TN because of its relative proximity, though it must be made clear that this route also involves some kind of detour. Yet even here the question may be raised whether the close proximity of Gibeon to Nebî Samwîl is not a disadvantage for the latter's identification with Mizpah, because then the distance that Ishmael had gained when the forces of Johanan overtook him is extremely short. Indeed, one must think of Ishmael as not only being in the immediate vicinity but also as having his forces in preparation at the time to move against their foe, a conjecture which seems hazardous to maintain.

There is an additional difficulty in the narrative, however. Ishmael is reported as being overtaken "by the great waters that are at Gibeon." Now Dalman maintains that there is nothing near Gibeon (i. e. ej-Jîb) which could rightly be described as "the great waters," least of all in the month Tishri, when the pool cannot have been filled with water.²⁸ He therefore appeals to another spot, en route to Ammon, 'Ain el-Fauwâr, which is a flowing brook, even in the autumn months. This source of water is near Geba, and so we must change the reading both here and in 2 Samuel 2. 24 to Geba.²⁹ Dalman presents an attractive case, but one must be wary of all attempts to change the text in order to substantiate a given point of view. Over against Dalman, must be set Albright's vigorous contention which he expresses in these words: "Now if Mizpah is Nebî Samwîl, and Ishmael was trying to flee toward Ammon from a foe whose base was in the neighborhood of Jerusalem, his only natural route would be by the valley east of Gibeon, the nearest practicable way to Ramah, from which an easy road led to Jeba' and the Wâdî eš-Şweiniţ, down which escape to the Jordan Valley and the fords was simple." This is a convincing

²⁸ *PJB* 21 (1925), 82. Dalman also calls attention to the fact that the region is in 2 Sam 2. 24 called the "desert of Gibeon," an impossible term, since Gibeon lies on this side of the desert.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 82 f. The text of 2 Sam 2. 24 is certainly insecure.

²⁷ *JPOS* 3 (1923), 18 f.

argument in the light of the words of the biblical text, and we do well to weigh it at its full worth. But we do not find it greatly at variance with the description of the position of the two main forces of Johanan and of Ishmael that we have been suggesting. Our conclusion at this point then, is that Nebī Samwīl is a good possibility, but that the arguments against TN far from being decisive rather present us with an alternative picture of the relative positions of the forces of Johanan and of Ishmael that is consistent and, from a military point of view, attractive.

6. Nehemiah 3. 7, 15-19

The view which finds in ej-Jīb the site of the ancient Gibeon and in Nebī Samwīl the site of Mizpah appears to receive some support from the account of the distribution of the work among the various towns in the Book of Nehemiah. Here we read (3. 7) of "Melatiah the Gibeonite and Jadon the Meronothite, the men of Gibeon and Mizpah belonging to the goldsmiths." The implication is that the two towns are in some way associated with each other. What is more natural than to suppose that they are in close geographical proximity? Yet the passage has not been above criticism, even before the present controversy over the location of Mizpah had assumed any proportions. It is to be observed that the verse is absent from the LXX. We should expect, moreover, that the names of the two men from Gibeon and Meron would be followed by the phrase "the men of Gibeon and Meron," whereas Mizpah appears in the latter case. Moreover there is a twofold reference to Mizpah a little farther on in the chapter (vs. 15 and 19) where there is not only no reference to Gibeon, but no suggestion that Mizpah has been previously named. The omission of the LXX seems thus to receive independent support from the context. Gustav Hölscher recognizes the difficulty of Nehemiah 3. 7,³⁰ and Dalman definitely proposes the emendation of Mizpah to Meron.³¹ But even if we accept the masoretic text and assume that it has been preserved flawlessly, it is still possible that the association of Gibeon and Mizpah may have been made on a basis other than that of geographical proximity

(e. g. similarity of aptitude or the organization of districts).

7. 1 Maccabees 3. 46

In the previous chapter (*supra*, chap. II, iii) we had occasion to refer to the peculiar difficulty attached to the mention of Mizpah in the First Book of Maccabees. The whole passage has its interest as a reflection of the archaizing style and manner of this historical book. Judas Maccabaeus is faced with the overwhelming superiority of the Syrian troops both in numbers and in equipment. The congregation (ἡ συναγωγή) is thereupon gathered together for battle and for prayer, that it might implore the divine mercy and compassion. Jerusalem is as a wilderness, the sanctuary is trodden down. "Joy was taken from Jacob, and the pipe and the harp ceased." It is at this point in the narrative that our verse appears: "Then they gathered together, and went to Mizpah, opposite Jerusalem (κατέναντι Ἱερουσαλήμ), for Israel formerly had a praying-place in Mizpah."³² The account continues that they fasted that day, and put on sackcloth, and put ashes on their heads, and rent their clothes, and laid open the book of the law.

One scarcely needs to be told how closely this account reflects the story in 1 Samuel 7. 1 Maccabees is notoriously archaizing, and we could hardly find anywhere a better illustration than our present passage. Now the crucial expression is the reference to Mizpah as lying "opposite" Jerusalem. As we have seen, Baumann has subjected the preposition and its congenerous terms to special examination, and he concludes that plain visibility is always implied if not demanded. Moreover, contrary to the testimony of most scholars, he denies that Jerusalem can be seen from the hill of TN. He therefore resorts to a different kind of explanation. When the Jews are reported as coming to Mizpah over against Jerusalem, it is the direction of their prayers toward the Holy City that is meant. As has been noted before, Albright considers this proposal syntactically forced but logically sound. "The word κατέναντι is used because the Jews selected a place facing Jerusalem from which to pray for the recovery of their holy city—another strong argument for Mizpah-Nebī Samwīl." It cannot be denied that on the basis of Baumann's argument, Albright's judgment is

³⁰ *Op. cit.* (above p. 24, note 6), II, 473.

³¹ *PJB* 21 (1925), 77, note. [In Aramaic characters of the fourth century three of the four letters in each name are much alike. Only the *reš* and *sādē* differ. C. C. M.]

³² 1 Macc 3. 42-54. Goodspeed's translation has been used.

thoroughly justified. Yet, as we shall see, Baumann's investigations, pointing to the importance of prayer in the account, have their value.

As we have had occasion to remark more than once, Dalman and others have repeatedly sought to meet the foregoing objection to the equation of TN with Mizpah based on 1 Maccabees by claiming that parts of the old city of Jerusalem can be clearly seen from the hilltop. This would seem sufficient, if this is indeed indubitably the case, but then Dalman goes on to assert that the expression "opposite" need not at all mean visibility.³³

But the writer believes another approach can be made to this expression. He would wish to emphasize, first of all, the importance of Baumann's investigations, and reinforce the argument by pointing out the strongly liturgical phrasing of the whole passage in which our *crux interpretum* appears. Prayer towards Jerusalem constituted a strong element in contemporary Judaism, we may be certain of that.³⁴ The venerability of Mizpah in the existing tradition of the time would certainly influence not merely the atmosphere of the account, which is very marked, but also the phraseology. Finally, and this is the point we wish to make, TN, connected with Jerusalem by the famous road, situated on an isolated hill precisely at the point of the narrow pass, overlooking the road to Jerusalem impressively, even if the view of Jerusalem is far from what one might desire, might conceivably be employed by persons with the particular frame of reference that we are attempting to describe. With Jerusalem uppermost in their minds and with the awareness that the road led to Jerusalem dominant in their consciousness, it can scarcely seem too much for them to speak of TN as lying "opposite Jerusalem." So far as the argument of distance is concerned, it must be remembered that Nebi Samwil is at least five miles from Jerusalem. Divorced from all other considerations, it would be Scopus that would have the best claim for Mizpah as "lying opposite Jerusalem." But, while this view has been proposed, it has never found any substantial support.

8. Josephus

An examination of the biblical passages where Mizpah of Benjamin is mentioned in Josephus'

Antiquities yields little that is of value. Josephus nowhere speaks of it as a place with which he is familiar. In telling the story of Samuel's "conquest" of the Philistines, he speaks of the people as gathering at Masphate (Μασφάτη), which in the Hebrew tongue signifies "espied." On the occasion of the election of Saul Samuel calls the people together at Masphatha (εἰς Μασφάθα). In connection with the important passage in 1 Kings 15, he describes Ramah (Armathon) as located about 40 stadia from Jerusalem, a good estimate for er-Râm (VIII. 12. 3), and Mizpah as lying in the same region. This is not of much help, of course, for it might apply to all the towns in question. Finally, after Jeremiah's release from confinement his sojourn is described "in a city called Masphatha" (X. 9. 1).

9. Eusebius

Our next source comes from the great church historian Eusebius of Caesarea (260-340 A. D.). In his *Onomasticon* we find several brief references to Mizpah (Klostermann, 128, 130). He mentions at least six localities bearing the name of Mizpah, all separate places according to him, though Jerome combines two of these. Eusebius' biblical citations are confusing and often mistaken. The only biblical reference given for Mizpah of Benjamin is Joshua 18. 26 (p. 130), and we are provided with no information whatsoever concerning it. On the other hand Mizpah in the tribe of Judah³⁵ is described as the place where Jephthah lived, near to Kirjath-jearim, where the ark rested and Samuel judged, and is mentioned in Jeremiah.³⁶ Joshua 11. 3 clearly refers to the Mizpah in the far north of Palestine and not to Judah. The reference to the home of Jephthah is an equally serious blunder. That this Mizpah is ascribed to the tribe of Judah is probably not surprising, but it is certainly the Mizpah of Gilead. The absence of any reference to Mizpah after Josephus, who seems not to have known Mizpah at all, suggests that by the time of the church fathers all living recollection of the place had long since disappeared. Moreover, not one of the significant biblical references for Mizpah of Benjamin is touched upon by Eusebius. In the

³³ Eusebius mentions at least two Mizpahs in Judah.

³⁶ The exact words of the *Onomasticon* read as follows: Μασσηφά. φυλῆς Ἰούδα, ἔνθα κατῴκει Ἰεφθαῖ, πλησίον τῆς Καριαθαρῆμ, ἐν ἣ καὶ ἡ κιβωτὸς ποτε κατέμεινεν, ἔνθα καὶ Σαμουὴλ ἔθικαζεν. κείται καὶ ἐν Ἱερεμιά.

³² See our discussion in the previous chapter, sec. iii.

³⁴ Cf. e. g. Dan 6. 9-10.

sentence concerning Mizpah of Judah, the phrase *near to Kirjath-jearim* (Klostermann, p. 128) is explained by Alt as a combination which seeks to equate the home of the ark (Kirjath-jearim) with the place of the assembly for all the people (cf. 1 Samuel 7), a view which is consistent not only with the carelessness of Eusebian biblical references here and elsewhere but also with the actual wording of the text of the *Onomasticon*.³⁷ But Albright says there are no *a priori* grounds for such a judgment.³⁸ He argues that the adjective *near* (πλησίον) would apply satisfactorily, though Kirjath-jearim is five Roman miles in a straight line from Nebī Samwīl and off the Roman road. Eusebius' use elsewhere confirms this judgment. On the other hand, if it were but a short distance from Jerusalem, it seems strange that no such datum is offered us. If it be contended that Eusebius is thinking in relation to the biblical passage, as seems quite apparent, then the former argument can be pressed that the whole sentence is extremely unreliable and confusing precisely at this point. We shall have occasion to return to the *Onomasticon* a little later. In the meantime, we conclude that in the section we have examined we are given very little that is of help for the location of Mizpah of Benjamin.

It is well at this point to turn our attention to the hill of Nebī Samwīl with its lofty height and remarkable view. How did the name of the ancient prophet Samuel come to be attached to this elevation? The most obvious answer is, of course, that it is the ancient Ramathaim, the home and probable burial place of the prophet. The famous mosaic map of Mādēbā seems to suggest this, and the pilgrim Theodosius refers to a place five miles north of Jerusalem as Ramatha, *ubi requiescit Samuhel*³⁹ which is, of course, in all likelihood our hill. Over against this Albright points out that Eusebius identified Ramathaim not with Nebī Samwīl at all, but Remphthis, "certainly the modern Rentis." Be that as it may, the researches of Lohmann⁴⁰ and Vincent⁴¹ agree that the extant remains go back as far as the time of Justinian (483-565 A. D.), and Albright says that it is certain that Justinian built part of the monastery

of Samuel on Nebī Samwīl. The archaeological evidence strikingly confirms the account of the chief public works of Justinian given by Procopius of Caesarea (*de aedificiis*) and his statement that Justinian built a well or cistern and a wall for the monastery of Samuel.⁴² Albright dismisses the possibility that Ramathaim is represented in the modern Nebī Samwīl, because he thinks Rāmallāh is the site for the former and that the weight of Eusebius' testimony is against it. But Albright himself rejects Eusebius' own identification with *Rentis*, and one might argue that if Eusebius is mistaken in locating Ramathaim at Rentis he might just as well be mistaken in not placing it at Nebī Samwīl. As a matter of fact, Albright later gave up his own assignment of Ramathaim to Rāmallāh.

The true reason for assigning Samuel's name to the hill of Nebī Samwīl Albright finds in the prophet's association with Mizpah, for the transition from the place where the prophet judged to the place where he was buried would be an easy one. This is, of course, quite possible. The real question is whether the evidence is strong enough for such a supposition. One would not wish to push fourth-century identifications with any insistence, but on the other hand one must reckon with the persistence of traditions as reflected in hundreds of place names throughout Palestine. This is not intended to be an argument for assigning Ramathaim to Nebī Samwīl. It is intended to point out that the primary interpretation of the tradition connected with Nebī Samwīl does not point to Mizpah, and that all attempts to locate Mizpah on Nebī Samwīl must deal with this circumstance together with all the other factors that have been adduced in the course of our discussion.

II. BEEROTH

One of the early identifications for Mizpah of Benjamin appeared in an article by the Abbé Heidet in the year 1894,⁴³ in which the attempt was made to place it at el-Bîreh. On the other hand, Albright in his study of the problem of TN, while not identifying himself in any way with Heidet, proposes for TN the biblical city of Beeroth.⁴⁴ The case is presented with the freshness that characterizes all of Albright's

³⁷ *PJB* 6 (1910), 55.

³⁸ *AAS* 4 (1924), 98.

³⁹ Quoted from Albright, *AAS* 4 (1924), 98.

⁴⁰ *ZDPV* 41 (1918), 117-157.

⁴¹ *RB* 31 (1922), 376-402.

⁴² Albright, *AAS* 4 (1924), 99.

⁴³ *RB* 3 (1894), 321-356. See also *supra*, chap. II, note 11.

⁴⁴ *AAS* 4 (1924), 103-10.

discussions, so we shall devote a brief discussion to this possibility, though Albright has abandoned this view in recent years for Ataroth Addar. Altogether there are eleven places in which Beeroth or its gentile occurs. The adjectival form "Beerothite" appears six times (2 Sam 4. 2, 3, 5, 9; 23. 37; 1 Chron 11. 39), most of these having no significance whatever for our discussion. The lists in Ezra 2 and Nehemiah 7 are obvious doublets, as recognized universally, and in all probability are derived from the Chronicler, as has been maintained for many years by Torrey and is now widely accepted by scholars. The one verse which demands our attention illuminatingly confirms Torrey's view.⁴⁵ Anyone familiar with the Chronicler's methods in matters of this sort will not wish to ascribe independent authority to his witness. There remain but three brief references, none of them of any historical consequence or importance: Joshua 9. 17, 18. 25, and 2 Samuel 4. 2.

The first passage describes the members of the Gibeonite tetrapolis as Gibeon, Chephirah, Beeroth, and Kirjath-jearim. In our later discussion of Gibeon, we shall have occasion to discuss Alt's proposal to place it at TN. But it may be stated at this point that all attempts to find any topographical or geographical logic in the order of the names have been unsuccessful. According to Albright's view the towns would be ej-Jîb, Kefîreh, TN, and Qaryet el-'Enab, or Abū Ghôsh. Concerning this order Albright comments as follows: "Since the others (besides Beeroth) follow in geographical order from northeast to southwest, it is clear that Beeroth is out of place. What its true place in the list was must be deduced from other passages." The verse with its context is from the late Priestly historian, as is recognized by nearly all scholars. It is possible that P made no attempt to arrange the towns in any significant order. Indeed, it might be questioned whether he knew Beeroth, since as our references indicate, there is no historical association with Beeroth that is at all late. Moreover the one historical reference concerning Beeroth containing any information at all suggests a wholesale desertion of the city (2 Samuel 4. 3). Alt would translate the succession of cities in Joshua 9. 17 to TN, Kefîreh, ej-Jîb, and Deir el-Azhar, which is even less successful than Albright's order.⁴⁶

The second Joshua passage (18. 25 f.) has already demanded our attention in connection with the discussion of Mizpah.⁴⁷ It appears in the midst of the list of Benjamite towns, which, as Alt seems to have shown, may have a greater degree of historicity than scholars have frequently been willing to grant. Yet the present passage has been preserved for us by the Priestly school, as even Alt would agree. The cities are given us in this order: Gibeon, Ramah, Beeroth, Mizpah, Chephirah. Albright comments very briefly on this passage: "Since the direction indicated by the first two names (ej-Jîb and er-Râm) is toward the northeast, and that of the last two (Nebî Samwîl and Kefîreh) is toward the west, one would instinctively look for the third town, Beeroth, along the northern line, that is at Qalândieh, Tell en-Naşbeh, or Beitûniâ."⁴⁸ It must be confessed that this comment appears to the writer singularly unilluminating. Indeed, it would seem to him that if one is to seek any intelligibility from the lists of the Priestly historian, he might be inclined to look for Beeroth in the direction suggested by the two contexts named by Albright. As a matter of fact, this may lead nowhere at all, but that the passage suggests Beeroth as lying on the northern border is hard to see.

Our third biblical reference (2 Samuel 4. 3 f.) reads as follows: "For Beeroth is reckoned to Benjamin, and the Beerothites fled to Gittaim and have been sojourners there until this day." The verse appears in a section which may be relatively early. Eissfeldt assigns it to his L source.⁴⁹ The historicity of the passage need not be questioned. Now the one clue we have here for our particular interest is the mention of the city of Gittaim. Albright infers that Gittaim must have been in Benjamin, not far from Beeroth, and probably nearer Kirjath-jearim and Chephirah, "a supposition which would help to explain why the inhabitants of Beeroth . . . are named with those of these towns."⁵⁰ After some discussion Albright suggests very tentatively that Gittaim is represented in the modern Qalândieh. He further

⁴⁷ *Supra*, i. 1.

⁴⁸ *AAS* 4 (1924), 105.

⁴⁹ *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr and Paul Siebeck, 1934), 311. R. H. Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1941), 352, suggests the omission of 4. 2b-3.

⁵⁰ *Loc. cit.*, obviously referring to the references in Joshua. But why doesn't this argue that Beeroth is nearer to Kefîreh and Qaryet el-'Enab than its location at TN would provide?

⁴⁵ For a full discussion see Loring W. Batten, *ICC*, *ad loc.*

⁴⁶ *PJB* 22 (1926), 18.

calls attention to the association of Ramah, Beeroth, and Gittaim in the lists and other biblical passages. But this kind of appeal is much stronger for the Mizpah point of view than it is for Beeroth.

The very nature and the extremely small number of the Old Testament references renders the argument for Beeroth difficult. But Alt has expressed a judgment concerning the theory which must naturally occur to all students of the evidence.⁵¹ The difficulty with the equation of TN with Beeroth is that Beeroth is never in the Old Testament connected with the road from Jerusalem to Bethel. It does not satisfy the legitimate historical expectations of a place like TN. We need not labor the point further, since whatever cogency the Beeroth view may have had has been taken away by the progress of the excavations.

III. ATAROTH ADDAR

The situation is quite otherwise with the proposal that TN is the biblical Ataroth Addar. Even before the modern stage of the discussion, Albright had seen in Ataroth Addar the simplest solution to the problem.⁵² He rejected it at the time, however, because of serious objections.⁵³ In an exceedingly brief comment in his important article on the Nāblus road, Dalman identifies Kh. 'Aṭṭārah with the biblical Ataroth Addar,⁵⁴ and, somewhat strangely, uses this as an argument for the correctness of his view which located Mizpah on the hill of TN about 500 m. to the north. Alt was quick to point out, however, that the archaeological remains at Kh. 'Aṭṭārah were late, in fact that they contained nothing from pre-Roman times.⁵⁵ Moreover, he saw what has been almost universally admitted since, that the proximity of 'Aṭṭārah to TN made it extremely unlikely that it had ever been an independent city. This insight naturally evoked considerable inquiry into what place originally bore the biblical name Ataroth and left its original home to settle at the foot of TN. Alt refers

to a suggestion that had been proposed for *Rāfāt*, but though the location is not remote it did not commend itself to him. He reminds us, as Robinson had done long before, that Eusebius refers to two different Ataroths. Moreover, the Targum to Judges 4. 5 names the residence of the prophetess Deborah "between Ramah and Bethel" as Ataroth Deborah. It is possible, according to Alt, that this latter Ataroth, distinguished from the other by tribal difference, was succeeded by the present Kh. 'Aṭṭārah.

Abbé Heidet devotes a brief article to Ataroth Addar in the *Dictionnaire de la Bible*.⁵⁶ He observes that Ataroth Addar appears in several different guises in the masoretic and LXX texts. He protests against the common identification with Kh. 'Aṭṭārah. He invokes the authority of Jerome (*Ataroth juxta Rama*). The latter has nothing ancient about it but its name. It is a very small ruin, of exclusively Arab character, which does not even resemble the period of the Crusades. It is open and without any wall, situated at the southern foot of TN. There is nothing about it which suggests its name, i. e. of a powerful citadel commanding the hills all about it. After a brief account of the excavations carried on up to the time of writing he concludes that the only biblical locality which can qualify satisfactorily for TN is Ataroth Addar (or Archi).

In the same year that Heidet's article appeared Jirku undertook to oppose Alt's theory which identified TN with ancient Gibeon.⁵⁷ He sought to place the boundary between TN and Kh. 'Aṭṭārah, thus locating the former outside the tribe of Benjamin. In Kh. 'Aṭṭārah he saw the biblical Ataroth Addar.⁵⁸ In a brief notice of Jirku's article Hempel rejected both of these observations of Jirku's on the basis that such a boundary could find no parallel in ordinary historical experience, and that the deposit at Kh. 'Aṭṭārah had been shown by Alt, Dalman, and others to be decidedly late. To these strictures Jirku replied briefly in a note to a longer article. Here he cited the instance of the boundary of the Polish corridor, a parallel which Hempel rejected with scorn because of the unusual circumstances surrounding it.⁵⁹ As to the remains, Jirku found himself forced to shift his position and to recognize that the name had obviously

⁵¹ *PJB* 22 (1926), 18 f.

⁵² *AAS* 4 (1924), 103.

⁵³ In the same volume Albright devotes a special appendix to the northern boundaries of the tribe of Benjamin. It is an attempt to bring into harmony the various relevant passages on the subject. It is characterized by caution in dealing with the text and great attractiveness of the emerging result. Albright is certainly right in his protest against the biblical commentaries that they give us little or no help on topographical matters. Fortunately the situation has improved somewhat since the date of this monograph.

⁵⁴ *PJB* 21 (1925), 76.

⁵⁵ *PJB* 22 (1926), 39, note 1.

⁵⁶ *Supplément*, Tome 1, Paris, 1929.

⁵⁷ *JPOS* 8 (1928), 187 ff., "Wo lag Gibe'on?"

⁵⁸ *ZAW* 47 (1929), 150.

⁵⁹ *ZDPV* 53 (1929), 139, Anm. 1.

wandered thither from some nearby locality, and he queried whether TN might not be that place. Hempel replied once more to Jirku's new statement of the case, and after a brief comment on the shift in Jirku's position, turned to the archaeological phases of the problem.

In the meantime H. W. Hertzberg had published his ingenious discussion of Mizpah of Benjamin.⁶⁰ As we have observed in a previous note, Hertzberg sought to reconcile the view which placed Beeroth upon TN with the more recent view which transferred the original name of Kh. 'Atṭārah to the top of the hill. This he did by a procedure which is in itself even more intriguing (and more probable) than his identification of Gibeon, Mizpah, Nob, and Gibeath-Elohim. He rightly observes that Beeroth was destroyed early in Hebrew history, and suggests that the old city was succeeded by another which bore the name of Ataroth Addar. As we have seen, Hempel rejected this solution because of the appearance of Beeroth in the Ezra-Nehemiah lists and the absence of Ataroth Addar there. Without committing ourselves to Hertzberg's position, which is not without great attractiveness, Hempel's criticism cannot stand for a moment in the light of our present knowledge of the source and character of these lists. That Beeroth was destroyed and never reoccupied is on the basis of the Old Testament evidence very possible.

By this time Albright had reached the conclusion that his initial surmise concerning TN was after all the correct one. In the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* for October, 1929 (p. 4), he definitely repudiated his view that TN is the ancient Beeroth and supported the equation with Ataroth Addar. Sometime later, in a review of Dalman's *Jerusalem und sein Gelände*, he reaffirmed his new position.⁶¹ "There can, in view of the fact that the situation of Tell en-Naṣbeh corresponds exactly to that required for Ataroth Arki on the boundary between Benjamin and Ephraim, and in view of the persistence of the name 'Atṭārah for Tell en-Naṣbeh, be no doubt, in our opinion, that all other identifications are wrong." It seems strange that Albright does not make something of the actual meaning of Ataroth

Addar for TN. One might suggest parenthetically, however, that a hill which could deserve the title Ataroth Addar might in all probability deserve the title *ham-miṣṣab*. Some years later, Albright again returned to the subject, this time in a long review of the second volume of Père Abel's epoch-making *Géographie de la Palestine*.⁶² Here the biblical references are adduced with appropriate text-critical comment, and the number of relevant passages is slightly increased by the discovery of corruptions which conceal Ataroth Addar. The identification with Mizpah encounters too grave difficulties to permit its acceptance, but this is equally true of the identification with Gibeon and Beeroth. For Mizpah Albright still clings to Nebī Samwīl, though "it cannot be called at all certain." The most important comment about TN appears in the closing sentence of the discussion of Ataroth Addar: "That the Mizpah which Asa fortified against Baasha of Israel should not have a gate opening southward toward Jerusalem is simply incredible." Another discussion will deal appropriately with this observation.

The arguments for Ataroth Addar reduce themselves to two: the assertion in Joshua that through it ran the boundary between Benjamin and Ephraim and the proximity of the present *kbirbeh* to the tell on the crest of the hill. They are much stronger arguments than those which supported Beeroth. Of course, we here again encounter the problem of relatively few and inconspicuous references, and these certainly not of great historical significance, and the complete absence of any connection of Ataroth Addar with the strategic north road. The argument against TN as the home of Mizpah on the grounds that Nebī Samwīl is so much more elevated and conspicuous, is robbed of much of its cogency by the appellation of Ataroth Addar which is at least equally pretentious in its claims. However one may evaluate the position championed by Heidet, Jirku, and Albright, it is essential that it be set over against the claims made in behalf of Mizpah of Benjamin. At the present stage of our discussion, neither can be decisively excluded. It remains to determine which, in view of all the considerations that have emerged in one way or other, has in general the best claims to our support.

⁶⁰ *ZAW* 47 (1929).

⁶¹ *JQR* 22 (1932), 409-416. Only pp. 412-416 are devoted to Dalman's book.

⁶² *JBL* 58 (1939), 177-187. See esp. 179 f.

IV. GIBEON

Our fourth and last competitor for the hill of TN is the famous and generously attested ancient sanctuary of Gibeon. Its frequent appearance in the Old Testament as well as the dramatic role it assumes from time to time would seem to render decision concerning its location comparatively easy. Yet this is by no means the case. It is true that it emerges several times in the history of the Conquest. It is to Gibeon that Solomon repairs on the occasion of his accession to the throne, and there receives a revelation from Yahweh. Hananiah, the bitter opponent of Jeremiah, hails from Gibeon. Besides, the town often appears in the casual manner which suggests its prominence among the cities of Palestine. But seldom do we arrive at any point where the geographical data are in any way compelling or even especially illuminating.

Alt's treatment of Gibeon⁰³ illustrates the paucity of passages with geographical significance. His thesis in support of Gibeon as the correct Old Testament locality to be assigned to TN rests chiefly upon the *Onomasticon*, as we have already had occasion to observe. But the Old Testament in reality receives extremely brief notice in Alt's discussion, and such passages as are commented upon receive none of the detailed and incisive treatment that characterizes Alt's other work, e. g. Mizpah of Benjamin in his initial study of TN. Thus the initiative assumed by Gibeon in Joshua 9 on the occasion of the Israelite penetration into Palestine is explained by the suggestion that the Gibeonites were of all the cities of the confederacy most threatened by the invasion *because of its geographical proximity to the invaders*. TN is therefore said to afford an excellent location for Gibeon in this passage. Assuming that the geographical interest is primary in the narrative, as Alt does, it is yet difficult to understand how TN would constitute a better site than ej-Jîb, which lies in the same general geographical context of at least two of the other members of the tetrapolis, i. e. Chephirah (Kefîreh) and Kirjath-jearim (Deir el-Azhar near the present site of Qaryet el-'Enab).⁰⁴ As we shall see later, the geographical and topographical situation implied in Joshua 9-10 certainly does not favor

TN over ej-Jîb. Similarly, Alt argues that the purpose of the attack of the king of Jerusalem and his allies against Gibeon is motivated by the attempt to separate it from the invading Israelites with whom the former had only recently entered into covenant relationship. The strategy described by Alt may be freely, even gladly, admitted, for it would seem to favor ej-Jîb fully as much as, indeed more than, TN. In the advance of the Israelite tribes from Gilgal to the Horite tetrapolis, Gibeon (i. e. ej-Jîb) would be the first of the cities to be encountered. The route taken by the king of Jerusalem would be determined by this consideration fully as much as by Alt's alternative suggestion that Gibeon (TN), representing the extreme northeastern member of the confederacy, would be the first of the members of the confederacy to be severed from the Israelites. The succession of towns, Gibeon, Chephirah, Beeroth, and Kirjath-jearim, is explained by Alt by the consideration that by his view the first and last towns would constitute a middle group. This is so academic as to prompt one to wonder whether the idea would ever occur either to the original writer or to the Priestly editor of the lists. In another list (Josh 18. 25 ff.) the succession Gibeon, Ramah, Beeroth, and Mizpah is somewhat more logically explained since it follows a general course, viz. TN, er-Râm, ej-Jîb (Alt's Beeroth), and Nebî Samwîl (Mizpah). But here Alt is forced to a most surprising *volte-face* in his assignment of this particular Mizpah to a town in Judah bearing that name. While it is not within our province to enter into any detail concerning Beeroth, it may be said here that its location is far from secure, least of all the proposal of ej-Jîb. The final passage adduced by Alt in support of his thesis is 2 Samuel 20. 4 ff. Here, on the occasion of Sheba's rebellion, Joab and the Cherethites and Pelethites are ordered by David to proceed against the rebels. In their pursuit they come to Gibeon. Alt argues that the most direct route would be the north road to TN and that ej-Jîb would be at a manifest disadvantage here since it is well off the main road. But this argument fails to take the central question of Sheba's whereabouts into consideration. As a leader of a revolt against David, it is possible that Sheba would be nearer to Judah and Jerusalem than to TN, at such a place, for example, as ej-Jîb. Moreover, we must not confine ourselves in all this discussion solely to geographical

⁰³ *PJB* 22 (1926), 11 ff.

⁰⁴ The present stage of the discussion regarding Beeroth makes any attempt at identification hazardous; see above, ii.

considerations. There is no inherent reason why Gibeon should be located on the main road; indeed, there is not a single passage in the whole Old Testament which suggests this, despite the researches of Bruno and the attempt of Alt in this particular case to employ Bruno's contention for his purposes.

It is strange that Alt should make no reference to other passages which are much more promising in their geographical suggestion. Joshua 10. 10-12 recounts the march of Joshua from Gilgal to Gibeon, where the Israelites inflicted a great slaughter upon Adoni-zedek and his allies, pursuing them in the direction of Beth-horon and harrying them "all the way to Azekah and Makkedah." Azekah is probably Tell Zakariyā while the identification of Makkedah is uncertain. The whole description here is perfectly clear and convincing if we identify Gilgal with Jiljūlieh and Gibeon with ej-Jīb. The alternative route from Gilgal to TN is of course possible, but not quite so natural. Moreover, the reference to Azekah (Tell Zakariyā) and possibly the valley of Aijalon lend their support to our view of the case. A second reference neglected by Alt is the famous passage in Jeremiah 41 which has already occupied our attention.⁶⁵ If Dalman is correct in suggesting that the reading here and in 2 Samuel 2. 24 should be changed to Geba, then the reference holds no interest for us here. But we have not been willing to insist on this emendation to support the Mizpah thesis. It is indeed possible that Dalman is right, especially in view of the reference to "the great waters" or "the pool" since these cannot be said to be conspicuous at ej-Jīb. Be that as it may, so far as Gibeon is concerned TN would certainly be no place to find either a pool or anything suggesting "great waters." Moreover, as we have shown, the strategy suggested by the passage is consistent with the placing of Gibeon at ej-Jīb and of Mizpah at TN.

We are now ready to turn to the *Onomasticon*. The complete reference in Eusebius reads as follows:⁶⁶ Γαβαών. ὅθεν ἐλθόντες οἱ Γαβαωνῖται ἰκέται γίνονται τοῦ Ἰησοῦ. ἦν δὲ αὕτη μητρόπολις μεγάλη καὶ βασιλικὴ τῶν Εὐδαίων, ἣ καὶ γέγονε κλήρον Βενιαμίν. καὶ ἔστι κώμη νῦν οὕτω καλουμένη πλησίον Βαιθῆλ πρὸς δυσμᾶς, ὡς ἀπὸ σημείων δ'. παράκειται δὲ τῇ Ῥαμᾶ, καὶ ἀφώριστο Λευίταις πλησίον Ῥεμμαά. ἐνταῦθα Σολο-

μὼν θύσας χρησμοῦ καταξιοῦνται. This may be translated as follows: "Gibeon, whence came the Gibeonites who sought aid of Joshua (Joshua 9. 9 ff.). It was a large and royal chief city (μητρόπολις) of the Hivites, which belonged to the tribe of Benjamin. There is even now a village so-named near to Bethel to the west about four miles. It lies near Ramah and was set apart for the Levites near to Remma. There Solomon when he sacrificed was deemed worthy of a divine oracle." Jerome follows Eusebius in his translation with but one significant exception.

Hertzberg had attempted to adduce the witness of the *Onomasticon* for his identification of Gibeon (also Mizpah, Nob, Gibeath-Elohim) with Nebī Samwīl, but Beyer⁶⁷ showed Hertzberg's reading of the *Onomasticon* to be wanting in understanding of Eusebius' method, and tended to support the possibility of Alt's interpretation of the evidence. More recently Père Abel⁶⁸ has studied the problem afresh, and it is to his discussion that we now turn as a guide in our examination of Alt's position. Abel fixes upon the story in Joshua 9 which describes the curious stratagem whereby the inhabitants of Gibeon seek to make covenant with the new Israelite tribal community. The group of four towns belong to the Horites, a view long held by Eduard Meyer,⁶⁹ W. F. Albright,⁷⁰ and others. The corruption of יְרִי into יְרִי is of course exceedingly easy. The tetrapolis of the Horites constitutes both an ethnic and a geographical unity under the leadership of Gibeon, as the narrative clearly suggests, though this is rejected by Alt. Chephirah is unquestionably the modern Arabic Kefireh, and Kirjath-jearim, while for many years the center of vigorous contention, is in all likelihood Qaryet el-'Enab, more particularly the hill of Deir el-Azhar, a short distance beyond the present village in the general direction of Jaffa.⁷¹ Albright's suggestion which reads for the peculiar Remma the better Remmon or Rammūn (with Jerome and Procopius of Gaza) is adopted together with the further proposal that it is to be connected with Geba which appears in the following entry of the *Onomasticon*.

⁶⁷ ZDPV 53 (1930), 199-211.

⁶⁸ RB 43 (1934), 347-373, "La Question gabaonite et l'Onomasticon."

⁶⁹ Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme, 331.

⁷⁰ AAS 4 (1924), 104 and note 13.

⁷¹ Cf. Francis T. Cooke, "The Site of Kirjath-jearim." AAS 5 (1925), 105-116.

⁶⁵ See p. 33.

⁶⁶ Klostermann's edition 66. 11-16.

The allusion to Ramah is prompted by the Scriptural reference of Joshua 18. 25. Hertzberg's attempt to interpret the distance of four miles in relation to Jerusalem is rejected with Beyer. The real difficulty arises from the datum here given, but Abel thinks it not at all certain that the *Onomasticon* must be read in terms of a Roman road as is done by Alt to support the identification with TN. He then proceeds to test several passages of Eusebius, notably the account of the staying of the sun in Joshua 10, with the result that the confusion of Eusebius is demonstrated. If Eusebius is really influenced in his geographical comments by Scriptural accounts, then his confusion must be serious indeed. The latter has been denied by Alt, but Abel has shown as Thomsen before him⁷² that Eusebius has confused Gibeon with Gibeath-Elohim in 1 Samuel 10. 5. To be compared with this is the Gibeah of Saul of the masoretic text of 2 Samuel 21. 4-10 in contrast to the Septuagintal reading where Gibeon appears (so also Aquila and Symmachus). The same confusion of names appears elsewhere. This confusion is the sole explanation, according to Abel, of the geographical datum of the *Onomasticon* concerning Gibeon. The Gibeon of Eusebius is connected with a purely local topographical system employed by Eusebius, which was destined to be perpetuated for many centuries. This is perhaps the explanation of Albright's plaint that writers after Eusebius give us little that is new. Abel argues for the identity of Gibeath-Elohim and Rāmallāh (a literal translation of the Hebrew name). In this he has the support of Eusebius and Epiphanius.

As an addendum to the foregoing discussion of Gibeon we may refer to one more Old Testament passage where, in all likelihood, Gibeon should be read for the present masoretic text.⁷³ In Judges 20. 29 ff. we read of the Benjamites leaving their own city of Gibeah to sally forth against the army of the tribes of Israel. As they proceed they meet the enemy on the roads, "one of which runs to Bethel and the other to Gibeah." Now this gives us pure nonsense, for the road to Gibeah is the one along which they have been moving and it is continuous with the one leading to Bethel. There is, however, a branching of the road near to the spot described, and one road leads to Gibeon (i. e. ej-Jīb). So obvious is the

blunder here that the emendation from *Gibeah* to *Gibeon* has long been accepted by commentators.⁷⁴ But if this reading be accepted, and it is hard to see why it should not in view of the coincidence of two entirely different kinds of evidence, then the case for ej-Jīb can be said to acquire a strength approaching proof, and by the same token TN must be rejected.

There is a final objection to the attempt to locate Gibeon at TN which may outweigh all other considerations. It is the obvious equivalence suggested by ej-Jīb with Gibeon. This has been opposed by Alt in his presentation of his view, but has been upheld and defended with a force amounting to finality by Dalman,⁷⁵ Albright,⁷⁶ and others. Albright states the philological situation succinctly: "The modern name ed-Djīb, however, certainly goes back to a Hebrew *Gēb*, as maintained by Alt; this *Gēb* we consider as equivalent to *Gab* (both forms go back to **Gibb*, just as the name *Gat*, for *Gint*, appears in modern Arabic both as *Djett*, for *Djatt*, and as *Djīt*, for a Hebrew **Get*, etc.), from *gab*, "high-place," used by Ezekiel." This discussion might of course be extended to a discussion of the general phenomenon of "clipped" words. From the middle of the seventeenth century the identity of Gibeon with ej-Jīb has been recognized by scholars, indeed few identifications have had such consistent support as these two names.⁷⁷

We may briefly conclude our examination of the four proposals for TN. Not one of them yields absolute certainty. Each view has at least one or two points which lend plausibility to it. But the Mizpah theory outweighs the others both in the general strength of its arguments and in the large number of elements which contribute to it. This does not mean that it is unassailable. But the witness of Scripture alone is stronger for Mizpah than for any alternative suggestion. The very paucity of references for Beeroth and Ataroth Addar is against them. It is hard to believe that a site of the impressiveness and archaeological history of TN would leave no more than two or three minor passages of unquestioned authenticity or historical reliability within the pages

⁷⁴ See *inter alia* Kittel in the third edition of his text. Cf. also the map (fig. 2), and the photographs in pl. 7.

⁷⁵ *PJB* 22 (1926), 107 f.; *Jerusalem und sein Gelände* (Gütersloh, 1930), 218 ff.

⁷⁶ *JQR* 22 (1932), 415 f.

⁷⁷ Abel, *op. cit.*, 352 refers to Troilo in 1666 and Pococke in 1738 as strong supporters for the equivalence of ej-Jīb and Gibeon.

⁷² *Loca sancta*, 46.

⁷³ Cf. *supra*, p. 26.

of the Old Testament. By comparison the references to Mizpah are both abundant and revealing. They give us a historical substructure for the ancient tell which is commensurate with the kind of city and the period of history exposed to us by the excavator. From beginning to end the trails of our investigation have led more consistently to Mizpah of Benjamin than to any other biblical city. There is no argument that can be said to be decisive against it, and there is no difficulty in the way which cannot be surmounted. At the same time a critical history of the city reads far differently from that ordinarily recounted in the discussions of this much venerated spot. It will therefore reward us to turn to a historical sketch of Mizpah of Benjamin.

V. A NOTE ON THE LINGUISTIC RELATIONSHIP OF MIZPAH-NASBEH

The linguistic equivalence of Mišpah with Našbeh easily suggests itself. On the face of it the changes appear very simple, more so than many Arabic place names which demonstrably go back to Old Testament towns. But, unfortunately, the matter is not quite so simple. If the equation could be established, the evidence for the identification of the modern hill with Mizpah would be coercive in a degree that has been lacking thus far. Already in 1911 Baumann⁷⁸ urged the linguistic equation of the names, partly on the basis of his interpretation of the meaning of the word *našbeh* as "stele" or "idol" (cf. Arabic *nušb*, *nušub* meaning "statue" or "idol"; *nušbe* meaning "pillar" or "stele"), partly on the ground of legitimate sound change (i. e., *m* to *n*, *p* to *b*). Genesis 31. 44-54 might have been adduced by Baumann in behalf of the first of the two arguments, since in the Jacob-Laban episode the word for "pillar" (מַצְבֵּה) obviously plays upon Mizpah.⁷⁹ There is doubtless a strong aetiological motif in the story, as both forms of the duplicate account testify. Baumann points out rightly that the sound of the name is more commonly a factor in the change of names than the actual meaning of the word. Now Albright⁸⁰ contends that *našbeh* does not mean "stele" in modern Palestinian Arabic, but rather "lot" or "portion." If the meaning of the name is not a factor in the situation and if the inhabitants of Rāmallāh or their remote ancestors (cf. Abel's *Cannasaba*) were influenced solely by considerations of assonance, then the sense of the word *našbeh* need not deter us. As to sound changes, the matter is different. Albright⁸¹ says that Barth's law, the dissimilation of *m* to *n* before a labial in Assyrian, does not apply in Arabic.

He recognizes at another point,⁸² however, that *Mašpah might conceivably become Našfeh or Nušfeh by dissimilation,⁸³ but never Našbeh under any known law. It would appear from this, then, if I follow the argument correctly, that the chief difficulty lies in the shift from *p* (or *f*) to *b*. We should normally expect *p* to change to *f*, of course (e. g., Maspha). Albright insists throughout that we must follow the dictum of Kampfmeyer "that the relation between the form of Hebrew place names and their Arabic equivalents follows exact philological laws." These judgments of Albright's have been confirmed independently by Professor William Popper, of the University of California. Professor Martin Sprengling writes in a letter bearing on the subject of the two-fold change from initial *m* to initial *n* and from *p* to *b*: "Such a change as this could hardly be based on linguistic laws, if by that is meant the laws of phonetic change."

On the other hand, many scholars like Vincent, Abel, Dalman, Torrey, to mention only a small number, are convinced that the equivalence of the names is possible. Vincent argues that the question is not one of etymology, either popular or learned, but pure transliteration of sounds. This is probably true. But do the sound changes follow recognized laws? Vincent thinks they do. Kampfmeyer⁸⁴ adduces changes from *m* to *n*, but they are none of them initial letters, and of course this is precisely the point at issue. Vincent's comment that Kampfmeyer's treatment is not complete certainly does not add strength to his case, and he gives us no example of such changes himself. The change of *pē* to *beth* is also supported on the basis of Kampfmeyer's discussion,⁸⁵ "surtout en certaines articulations aramaïques du *phē* hébreu et spécialement quand la lettre est renforcée du *dages* ainsi que c'est le cas pour מַצְבֵּה." Zimmern (*Vergleichende Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, 30) comments on the change from Hebrew *p* to Arabic *b* as follows: "Auch zwischen *b* und *p* findet sich sporadischer Lautwandel und zwar gleichfalls meist kombinatorischen Characters, so dass *b* neben *k*, *t*; *s*, *š*, *š*, *ṣ* oder auch *q*, *ṭ*; *š*, *ḏ*, *z* und Gutteralen in *p*, und *p* neben *g*, *d*; *z*, *d* und Liquiden in *b* übergehen bzw. sich umgekehrt dissimilieren kann." The only example of possible interest to us is Arabic *burgūt*, Hebrew *par'ōš*, not a very good one, it must be said, since the Hebrew word (not in the Old Testament) looks suspiciously like a foreign importation. What seems to the writer of greater interest, though he would not stress its importance, is the Samaritan text of Genesis 31. 49 which reads וְהַמַּצְבֵּה! One thinks immediately of such changes as that from Neapolis to Nāblus, but here we have the complication of a mediating Greek speech. Other similar examples might be cited. In fact, this need not cause surprise, because, as a matter of fact the modern Arab finds it next to impossible to pronounce *p*. He characteristically pronounces *b* instead (e. g., *Bosta* for *Posta*). In other words, we can suggest hypothetically that there was a time when he might have said

⁷⁸ ZDPV 34, 136 f.

⁷⁹ See commentaries *ad loc.*, especially Gunkel, 3d edition, 350 f. My recollection is that Wellhausen was the first to make much of this point.

⁸⁰ AAS 4 (1924), 91.

⁸¹ JPOS 3 (1923), 121.

⁸² AAS 4 (1924), 91.

⁸³ Cf. Barth, *Zeitschr. für Assyriologie* 3, 57-61, and especially 4, 374-381.

⁸⁴ ZDPV 15 (1892), *passim*.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 73.

"Masbah," very much like the Samaritan text of Genesis 31.49. But Professor Torrey, in conversation with the writer, pointed out that two labials like *m* and *b* in the same word would be intolerable to the Arab, and the natural change would be from *m* to *n*, i. e. *Naşbeh*. Torrey sees no difficulty at all in the equivalence of the modern and ancient names.

At this point we may turn for a moment to the problem of the initial *m* and *n*. Zimmern⁸⁶ does not offer us much light, all his examples of change from *m* to *n* being either final or medial letters or coming under the rule of Barth's law. Professor I. A. Seidmann discusses "Substantives with Prefixed Nun" (*Tarbiz*, 10. 109-113).⁸⁷ Only a few sentences come within the area of our concern here. Hosea 9. 6 reads *Moph* for *Noph* as it appears elsewhere (e. g., Isaiah 19. 13; Jeremiah 2. 16; 44. 1; 46. 14, 19; Ezekiel 30. 13), but this is not from Hebrew into Arabic. The interchange of *Nabul* and *Mabul* is more relevant, since it represents a change from Hebrew to Aramaic.⁸⁸ Seidmann also refers to some examples given by Epstein (*Tarbiz* 1, 53) such as *Mabaz* to *Nabaz*. Finally may be noted the change within the Old Testament from תמוט to תנוט (Psalms 99. 1). Seidmann concludes that the shift from M to N at the beginning of Hebrew words is much wider than has been recognized. Professor Yalon, whom Seidmann quotes, says that Palestinian versions usually change *Mem* to *Nun*, but all the examples that are quoted are final letters, a phe-

nomenon which is after all, familiar to every student of Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic.

The question now arises as to how Mizpah could ever have become Naşbeh, if that is the case. That the regular sequence of phonetic change according to linguistic law applies here seems out of the question. But it is possible that the process was not regular. In reply to an inquiry on the subject, Professor Julian Obermann writes: "Nothing is easier to imagine than that a place name, which in Hebrew times had been referred to as Mizpah, should have come to be known among the Arabs as Naşbeh. Of course, the change need not have come about directly. Possibly between the ancient Hebrew name and the modern Arabic one there may have been one or more intermediate stages." He then comments interestingly on the probable worship of mountains in Semitic primitive religion and ends by saying that "except for the fact that we are dealing here with primitive religion, the suggested change would seem no more striking than one, say, from German *Kirche* to English *church*." In the light of the lines of evidence adduced in the foregoing chapter, the writer is inclined to identify the hill of TN with Mizpah of Benjamin. He is therefore more open to the theory of linguistic equivalence of the two names than he would otherwise have been. It must be admitted that we should need many more parallels (and better ones!) to the sound changes involved, to make the argument decisive and definitive. The evidence in this case as in all other cases must be closely examined, the degree of validity carefully evaluated, and the final results formulated in terms of the cumulative weight of evidence for one identification or another. The linguistic argument is not final or coercive in itself. It is one among many others.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 31.

⁸⁷ I am indebted to Mr. A. Spiro for a précis of this article, which I have also examined independently.

⁸⁸ Cf. Bereshith R. 7. 11 with the biblical form as in Midrash Agadah Gen 39. 11 (Buber's edition).

CHAPTER IV

THE HISTORY OF MIZPAH OF BENJAMIN

JAMES MUILENBURG

THE FOLLOWING sketch is based solely upon such literary sources as have passed the muster of historical criticism. No attempt is made to deal with the history that emerges from an examination of archaeological remains. In many ways the present historical survey forms a supplement to the previous chapter. A certain degree of overlapping is therefore perhaps inevitable. The general period covered by our relatively authentic historical sources extends from the time of the Conquest to the age of the Maccabees, roughly about a millennium. Later references to Mizpah occur, to be sure, but there is no certainty that they betray actual familiarity with the city. It is even problematical whether Josephus actually knew Mizpah of Benjamin firsthand. His observations sound literary.

I. BEFORE THE DIVISION OF THE KINGDOM

For the student of the Old Testament Mizpah has a special interest because of its association with the tribe of Benjamin. This "least of all the tribes" seldom receives its due in the Old Testament record. It was situated between the kingdoms of the north and south, and was subjected to the political and cultural pressures of both groups. This circumstance has reflected itself again and again in the form in which the literary materials of the Old Testament have been handed down to us. Benjamite traditions have all too often been overshadowed and edited in the interests either of the north, the tribe of Ephraim for example, or of the southern tribe of Judah. This has been vividly set forth in Alt's examination of the JE narratives in Joshua 1-12.¹ Antipathy to the house of Saul has stamped itself indelibly upon the books of Judges and Samuel. The rise of David and decline of Saul is recounted in language and literary form that betrays the deep-seated animus of the writers.

¹ *Werden und Wesen des Alten Testaments* (Berlin, 1936), 13-29.

The story of the crime at Gibeah is certainly colored by anti-Benjamite feeling. As a matter of fact, this hostility toward Benjamin and particularly to the house of Saul continues to a late date.

It is all the more desirable that the historian should seek to correct this manifest injustice. A critical reading of the JE accounts in Joshua 1-12 restores the tribe of Benjamin to a position of importance. Its sanctuary of Gilgal continued for many years to assume a significant place in the life of the Israelite community, as is shown, for example, by the coronation of its first king at this place. Benjamin could boast of other sanctuaries too: the ancient Horite sanctuary of Gibeon which the Israelites later took over, and possibly the high place of Mizpah, which however does not assume any great significance until the period after the destruction of Jerusalem. Benjamin bore the brunt of Philistine pressure as few other tribes, and the gallantry and military daring of her men rise out of the broken fragments of existing Old Testament tradition. It is possible that Hosea ben Beerli came from Benjamin, considering the large number of Benjamite names which appear in his book, and it is certain that Jeremiah was a proud and loyal member of this little tribe. In the New Testament Paul appears as an equally proud member of Benjamin. From a political point of view the geographical situation of Benjamin has strong interest for us, since the deep-rooted conflicts between Israel and Judah so frequently centered in the territory of this frontier tribe.

II. FROM THE DIVISION TO THE EXILE

Mizpah appears for the first time among the long list of twenty-six towns that are assigned to Benjamin in the lists preserved for us by the Priestly compiler of Joshua. Its true history begins, however, with the period in which the tribes of Israel were growing into nationhood by the slow and difficult process of

revolution within and warfare with neighboring peoples without. It is the period beginning with the revolution of the northern tribes under Jeroboam I and ending with the accession of Omri *ca.* 886 B. C. The absence of any great military genius and political strategist like David made the experience more trying than it otherwise might have been.² The task of Israel was to determine and then to hold her boundaries. These were threatened on all sides, a situation recurring again and again in the history of both north and south, and vividly portrayed throughout the period of the judges. The characteristic comment of the fifty years in which we are interested is that there was war between Judah and Israel throughout the reign of the king under discussion. Asa, the grandson of Rehoboam, sought to establish the power of Judah by a return to traditional Yahweh worship and by drastic action against the fertility religion of his mother and her supporters at court.³

In the north a certain Baasha of the tribe of Issachar challenged the power of Jeroboam's son Nadab and succeeded in wresting the throne from him. Eager to secure himself from invasion from the north, he entered into a treaty with Aram on terms that were doubtless of mutual advantage to both of the rising kingdoms, most likely the granting of access to the Mediterranean Sea to Aram and freedom from attack to Israel. In the aggressive mood of a revolutionist Baasha then proceeded against Judah and blocked the northern approach to Jerusalem by the erection of a fortress at Ramah. So serious a threat to an obvious life line for the south could not go unheeded. Asa therefore proceeded to resort to the ill-fated policy of appealing to Aram for military aid: "Make an alliance between me and you, as there was between my father and your father. See, I have sent you silver and gold; come, break your alliance with Baasha, king of Israel, that he may withdraw from me." Asa's move had the desired results. Benhadad, the king of Aram, invaded the northern tribes of Israel, with disastrous results for Israel, since the region to suffer from destruction included Dan, all the territory of Naphtali, all of Chinnereth, Ijon, and Abel of Beth-maacah. Baasha was of course compelled to raise what amounted to a siege of the

city of Jerusalem, and Asa exploited his embarrassment to the full. He countered by undoing Baasha's erection of a fortress at Ramah. All Judah was conscripted for the purpose, we are told, and there is every likelihood that the statement is not greatly exaggerated since the phrase "none were exempted" is added. With the timber and stone from Baasha's extensive fortifications Asa proceeded to fortify Geba and Mizpah. By so doing he succeeded in blocking the famous Michmash road as well as the still greater road leading from Shechem to Jerusalem. In this way he expected to ward off any future incursions from the north. The step which Baasha had undertaken had not proved far-sighted. The inactivity of Aram upon which he had counted for strengthening himself to the south proved unreliable. The attempt to close the road leading from Jerusalem to the north was of course bound to be opposed most vigorously, and the impulsive energies of a revolutionist from the tribe of Issachar were insufficient to meet the demands of the situation which called for political wisdom, sound military strategy, and a sense of the total situation with which the north was confronted. Israel first found such a ruler in Omri, but the ruin and chaos of the intervening years were so great that she was never to recover from the tragic errors of her interregnum rulers. Baasha's act was unsound because it pushed the boundary beyond the frontier suggested by nature. Asa's countermeasures, on the other hand, were in this respect sound and wise, for they placed his fortresses at the two crucial locations of Mizpah (TN) and Geba (Jeba').

III. MIZPAH AS GEDALIAH'S CAPITAL

When Jerusalem was destroyed by the Babylonians in 586 B. C., one of the immediate problems to confront the conquerors was the establishment of a suitable capital and competent regime for the administration of the resident population. The experience of Assyria through many decades, and doubtless the experience of Babylonia too, had shown only too clearly that conquered peoples were not to be trusted with too much power or freedom. Judah was made a province of the new Babylonian empire, and the political center was shifted from Jerusalem to Mizpah of Benjamin. Gedaliah, a grandson of the Shaphan who had figured so largely in the reign of Josiah and the Reformation of 621 B. C., was appointed gover-

² Cf. the discussion here with the treatment in chap. III, i, 4.

³ Cf. Julian Morgenstern, "Amos Studies" in *Hebrew Union College Annual* 15 (1940), 110 ff.; *Amos Studies* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1941), 234 ff.

nor of the new community. The repression of the account in the Book of Jeremiah and the practically complete silence of 2 Kings and 2 Chronicles speak only too eloquently of the bitter hardship of these days. Against this background the figure of Gedaliah looms up with peculiar attractiveness as a man of generous impulses, steadiness, and magnificent courage in the face of overwhelming tragedy and despair. No character in the entire history of Mizpah of Benjamin so kindles the imagination and respect of the historian as this man who was entrusted with holding together the scattered remnants of population which gathered about his leadership at Mizpah. His message to his weak band of followers on the hill of Mizpah may lack the glow of inspired utterance, but it reveals the eminent commonsense and sagacity of a man confronted with an impossible task:

Do not be afraid of the Chaldean officials. If you stay in the land, and serve the king of Babylon, all shall be well with you. As for myself, I intend to stay at Mizpah, to represent your interests before the Chaldeans who may visit us; but you may gather wine, fruit, and oil, store them in your vessels, and stay in the cities which you choose to occupy.

These words have the ring of Jeremiah's sage counsel in his letter to the exiles in Babylon (Jeremiah 29).

It is historically probable that the majority of the rest of the population returned to their accustomed places in the villages of Judah and even Jerusalem. For two brief months Gedaliah stood at the head of this poverty-stricken Jewish state. The destruction of Jerusalem was, as usual, the signal for neighboring peoples to exploit the situation. The first threat was to come from the Ammonites, whose desert character never failed to assert itself in times like these. Gedaliah was earnestly warned by Johanan ben Kareah of possible treachery, but to no avail. Johanan begged that he be allowed to deal with the Ammonite intrigue, but Gedaliah forbade him and continued to trust Ishmael, who was acting under Ammonite orders. Some time later Gedaliah, while dining with Ishmael and his subordinates, was suddenly attacked and murdered, like the members of a Maccabean family centuries later on a similar occasion. In order that the blow might be decisive, to the murder of Gedaliah was added—the account probably exaggerates—the murder of "all the Jews who were with

him at Mizpah as well as the Chaldean soldiers who happened to be there." It was a dismal tragedy placed in a setting of national disaster and deep humiliation.

The very next day eighty men from Shechem, Shiloh, and Samaria were proceeding from their homes in the north to the city of Jerusalem—"their beards shaved, their clothes rent, and their bodies gashed," laden with meal-offerings and frankincense to present to Yahweh in the house of Yahweh. Incidentally, this is an illuminating reference since it shows so clearly that the destruction of the temple did not mean the complete cessation of all worship, not even such sacrifices as are suggested by the offerings here. With characteristic deceit Ishmael went out to meet the procession and urged the men to come to Gedaliah, the governor of the city, under what pretence we are not told. No sooner had they reached the town's center when Ishmael and his men proceeded to dispatch these men as they had previously dispatched Gedaliah and the others. Certain of them succeeded in saving their lives by holding out the prospect of additional booty. The bodies of all the murdered men were cast into a great cistern "which King Asa had made as a means of defense against Baasha, king of Israel."

We must now turn back for a moment to another figure associated with the last days of Gedaliah at Mizpah. The reports concerning the prophet Jeremiah during these days are far from satisfactory, as we have already seen, but the central fact is clear enough. Jeremiah was taken from the guard-court and transferred by the Babylonian authorities to Gedaliah. Here the prophet remained among his own people. We are given no further information concerning Jeremiah until some time later. To this episode we shall now turn.

Ishmael's stroke at the community at Mizpah was a signal to Johanan ben Kareah and his forces to take decisive measures. They proceeded against Ishmael and his men, who were fleeing to Ammon together with many Jewish captives. Johanan overtook them "by the great waters that are at Gibeon." The Jewish captives were reclaimed, but Ishmael and eight of his ten men escaped with their lives. Johanan and his followers, including the captives, "men, women, and eunuchs," came to Chimham's Inn near Bethlehem planning to go to Egypt to escape the hardness

of their life in Palestine and the prospect of Babylonian reprisals against them for the death of Gedaliah. It is here that Jeremiah appears upon the scene again. The whole community is said to have approached him to request from Yahweh a favorable decision in regard to their plans to go to Egypt. Jeremiah replies that he will pray to Yahweh, and whatever the answer is he will report in full. The men then assure him that they will under all circumstances adhere to Yahweh's word. At the end of ten days Jeremiah receives a revelation from Yahweh, and the reply is clearly negative. The prophet transmits the long word which had been granted him, but his countrymen are infuriated at the message and deny its authenticity. "Baruch, the son of Neriah is egging you on against us," they say. They determine to go to Egypt despite Jeremiah's urgent warning, and take the prophet with them. Few more poignant scenes appear in the history of ancient Israel.

IV. AFTER GEDALIAH'S DEATH

What happened to Mizpah in the succeeding months and years we have no means of knowing. Kittel suggests that it continued to serve as an important city and that Cyrus followed the Babylonian policy in regard to it.⁴ But the record is by no means clear on this point. The next centuries are among the most obscure in Jewish history. Of the general development, however, we know a great deal. Among other things, it was strongly in the direction of the formation of an ecclesiastical community, to take the place of the political, an increasing veneration for the traditions of the past, and the rewriting of the nation's history in the light of the new ecclesiastical emphasis. Here we are no longer in the area of probabilities. The character of the emerging Judaism is clear enough. The editorial activity of the Jewish historians is an important aspect of the life of these times. It is not impossible that it may cast light upon the present place of Mizpah in the Old Testament.

In the narratives of Judges and 1 Samuel, Mizpah is represented as a national sanctuary of the first importance to which the united people ("congregation") repair in times of danger and threat of destruction. So prominent is this representation, in-

deed, that few scholars have been able to rid themselves of the force of its vivid impression. Even such a keen critical scholar as Karl Budde does not hesitate to invoke the narratives of 1 Samuel for the support of the historicity of the sanctuary of Mizpah in Judges 20-21. But if historical criticism means anything at all, it means that the picture of Mizpah in Judges and Samuel is late and unreliable. The verdict of language, of editorial method, of literary style, of representation, and most of all, of conflicting narratives which have every claim to priority in the immediate context, the verdict of all these criteria is against its authenticity. Where, then, did this strongly supernaturalistic, ecclesiastical emphasis find its source? How did such narratives find their place in the biblical record? The answer is clear. They are the product of the period of Judaism in which precisely these elements were most characteristic. It is probable that the pious imagination of a later age created the fiction of a great national sanctuary at Mizpah, the home of that forlorn and stricken group following the fall of Jerusalem. That the poetic and ritualistic proclivities of the community easily centered about the tragedy of the nation's fall is abundantly attested. Hymns, prayers, and liturgies were the natural outgrowth of the people's common sorrow. In a somewhat similar way the pious memory and imagination clustered devotedly about the hill of Mizpah, the home of the "remnant" when the Holy City with its Temple and its cultus was destroyed, and made of it a national sanctuary and a center of prayer. This latter emphasis upon prayer in itself suggests the piety of Judaism. If this seem too violent a proposal, let us repeat that one is faced with the alternative necessity of accounting for the lateness of the narratives which describe Mizpah as a sanctuary, the ritualistic language of the narratives, their exaggerated theocentricity, their sharp contradiction of other narratives. He is also faced with the realities of the piety of the Judaism which grew out of the nation's fall and the phenomena attendant upon the loss of national independence. Indeed, it is only by a clear recognition of both of the sets of factors just described that we first discover an adequate historical setting for the Mizpah of popular imagination.

The last historical period in which Mizpah figures of which we have any knowledge substantiates the

⁴ *Geschichte des Volkes Israels* (Stuttgart, 1925) III, 52.

view we have just taken.⁵ It clearly shows what has happened to Mizpah in the minds of the average pious Israelite of Maccabean times. This is all the more striking in the case of the author of 1 Maccabees because he ranks so high as an historian. But he is also an admirable witness to his own Judaism, indeed he is in the direct line of piety of Ezra-Nehemiah. The passage in which the reference to Mizpah occurs is couched in language of ecclesiastical devotion: prayer, hymn, and pious memory combine to make of Mizpah a hallowed spot in the mind of the Maccabean author. Goodspeed translates the relevant section as follows:

And the congregation gathered together to make ready
for war and to pray and ask for mercy and compassion.
Jerusalem was uninhabited like a wilderness,
There was not one of her children who came in or
went out,
The sanctuary was trodden down,

⁵ The Ezra-Nehemiah references are omitted from consideration since they are so obviously the work of the Chronicler.

The sons of aliens were in the citadel, it was a stopping-place for heathen.

Joy vanished from Jacob,

And the flute and harp ceased to play.

Then they gathered and went to Mizpah,⁶ opposite Jerusalem, for Israel formerly had a praying-place in Mizpah.⁷

Finally, we may summarize the story of Mizpah by dividing it into two main periods: the one, before the fall of Jerusalem when its importance is described by its location on the boundary between Israel and Judah and it was therefore in all likelihood a well-fortified city; the other, after the destruction of the Holy City when the official community was moved to Mizpah, the city of Gedaliah and his martyrdom, the city of the "remnant," afflicted and discouraged, the city which was destined to expand in the imagination of an archaizing Judaism and thus produce a sanctuary so that the assembled nation might "go up to Yahweh at Mizpah."

⁶ Compare how closely the phraseology follows Ju 20-21 and 1 Sam 7 and 10.

⁷ 1 Macc 3. 44-46.

CHAPTER V

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROBLEM

THE BASIC purpose of the excavation of Tell en-Naşbeh was the recovery of information regarding the history of Palestine. The immediate occasion for the selection of this site in preference to others was the problem of its identification. The archaeological history of the site was to be placed beside the literary history of Mizpah in order to determine whether the one was consistent with the other. If they were found to fit together, the identification would be rendered extremely probable, even if not absolutely certain. So far as it is humanly possible, the present chapter has been written with no intention either to prove or to disprove any thesis, for the writer found himself quite undecidedly "halting between two opinions," that of his long-time friend and very highly regarded colleague, Dr. Badè, and that of his almost equally long-time friend and very highly regarded colleague, Dr. W. F. Albright.

To arrive at results which might be considered objective, Mrs. Badè and the present writer decided to ask Professor Muilenburg, Dr. Badè's successor in the chair of Old Testament Literature and Semitic Languages at the Pacific School of Religion, to write a history of Mizpah on the basis of the Old Testament and other literary references. This he has done in the previous three chapters. Meantime the writer, with the assistance of Mr. Wampler, was to work out the archaeological history of the site. The topography of the site also must be considered. The present chapter presents the conclusions reached. The evidence will be submitted in later sections of the publication. As has been indicated in the preface, the chronological evidence of the pottery has been evaluated in consultation with many scholars, including especially Dr. Albright and Dr. G. Ernest Wright. They are not, indeed, to be blamed for our eventual conclusions, the more so as it has never been possible for them to see all of the materials, but only selected samples. Their assistance is gratefully acknowledged.

I. VISIBLE REMAINS AND TOPOGRAPHY

The first record by a modern explorer of the site now called Tell en-Naşbeh is found in Edward Robinson's *Biblical Researches*.¹ On a hilltop for which they could learn no name but which had "Suweikeh" to the west and 'Atâra (as he spells it) to the south, his companion, Dr. Eli Smith, found "merely the foundations of a tower with heaps of unwrought stones, and fragments of pottery strowed about." The "larger ruins" of 'Aṭṭarah made a much greater impression upon him. Guérin devotes two thirds of a page to Khirbet 'Aṭṭarah but does not even mention the hilltop. The PEF survey discovered the name, but mentions only the ruins of 'Aṭṭarah.² By the end of the century, however, as Dr. Muilenburg has indicated, the fact and something of the character of the ruins were well known and various identifications had been proposed.

Little, however, was done toward any archaeological investigation of the site. It was generally recognized that it held very much more than the tower and unhewn stones which Eli Smith saw and it was frequently discussed. But no scientific investigation on an assured basis was possible before 1926 for, although surface surveys using ceramic chronology were already being successfully prosecuted, that budding science was not yet in a position to make fine discriminations.³ The erroneous supposition, that the site was occupied in the MB and LB periods, based on a misreading of the ceramic and architectural evidence, greatly beclouded the discussion.⁴

Tell en-Naşbeh occupies the summit of a large, gently sloping limestone hill about eight miles (13 km.) north of the center of Old Jerusalem. Lying at an elevation of 784 m. (2587 ft.), it overtops the

¹ Vol. I (Boston, 1856), 575; May 15, 1838.

² *Memoirs*, III, pp. 82 f.

³ A record of the more important references to Tell en-Naşbeh is given above, chap. II.

⁴ See above, chap. I, note 9.

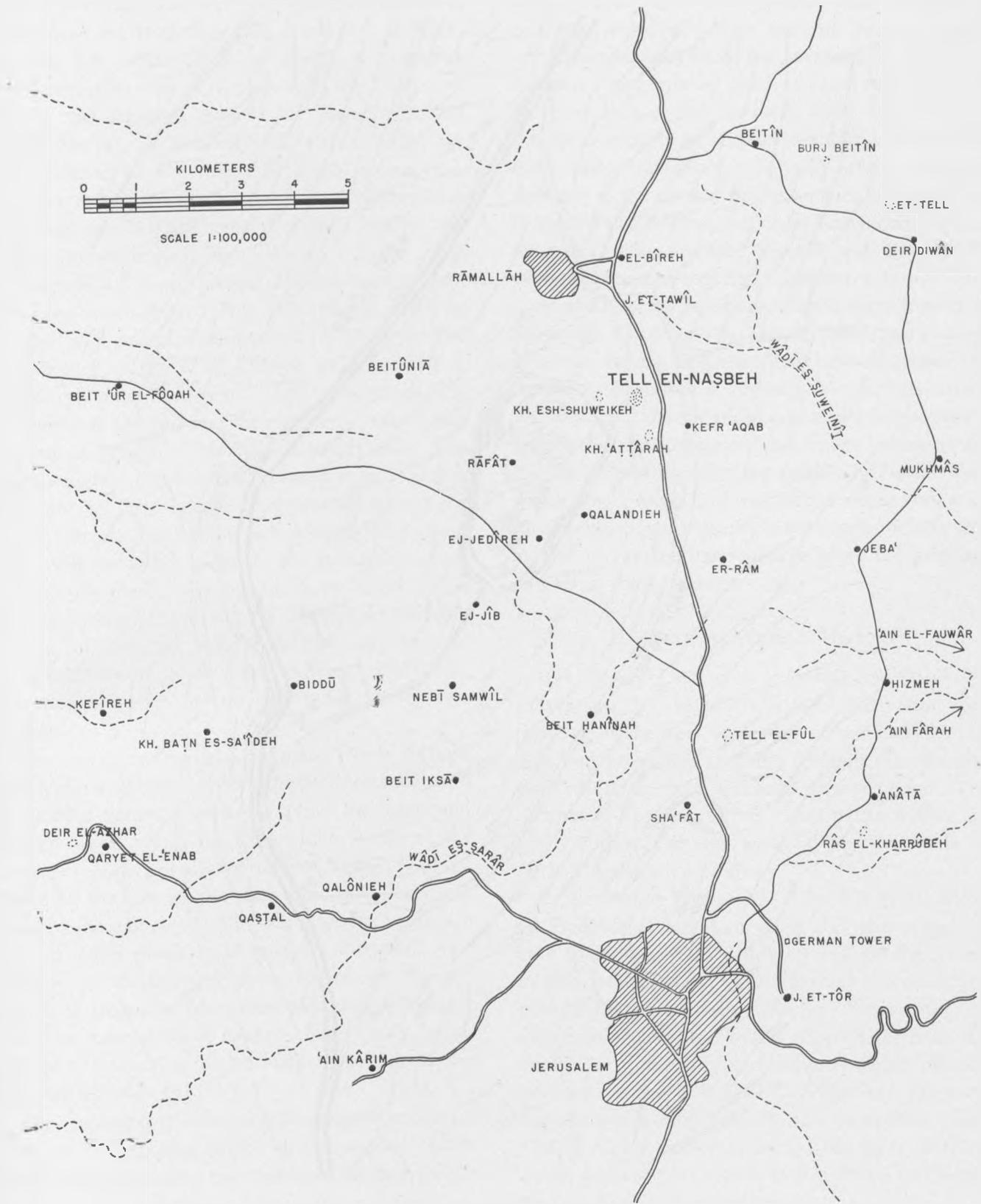


FIG. 2. PORTIONS OF TRIBAL AREAS OF BENJAMIN AND NORTHERN JUDAH



FIG. 3. IMMEDIATE ENVIRONS OF TELL EN-NAŞBEH: 1. TELL EN-NAŞBEH; APPROXIMATE POSITION OF: 2. 'AṬṬĀRAH, 3. MALOUFIA, 4. NORTH CEMETERY, 5. WEST CEMETERY

hills to the south and west and affords magnificent views over the land (see pls. 1 and 2). Er-Râm, Hizmeḥ, Râs el-Kharrûbeh by 'Anâtâ, the German and Russian towers on Scopus and the Mount of Olives, the northern suburbs of Jerusalem, Tell el-Fûl, Sha'fât, en-Nebî Samwîl, ej-Jîb, Biddû are all visible.⁵ This superiority of height is not true, however, toward the north, where the ridge on which Rāmallāh and el-Bîreh stand is slightly higher, and to the east where Kefr 'Aqab lies on a higher level.

It stands out as an isolated hill which might well serve as a watch tower.⁶ Past it on the east and west run two well-eroded water courses, Wādî Jilyân and its tributary, called Wādî Duweit, or, according to Dalman, Khallet el-Mâsiûn. They converge slightly just north of the hill and then curve outward again to meet at a considerable distance south of it. The large, roughly oval hill thus formed is surrounded, therefore, by deep ravines on every side except the north, where a low saddle runs toward the ridge a mile away on which el-Bîreh and Rāmallāh stand. Even on the north, however, the slope of the hill is far from negligible (pl. 11: 2). There is no similarly isolated hill offering natural defenses anywhere in the neighborhood. Kefr 'Aqab, el-Bîreh, and Rāmallāh, though higher, are on ridges, not on separate hilltops.

The one great north-south road, which follows closely the watershed between the Mediterranean and the Jordan valley in order to avoid the steep and difficult wadis which run down both flanks of the mountain range, has always run past Tell en-Naşbeh, either on the east or the west side, now for many years on the east side.⁷ On both sides the wadis are narrow defiles which could be easily defended. The fortress on the hill, therefore, commands the approach to Jerusalem from the north, unless an army took the more difficult eastern route which Isaiah (10. 28-32) describes in his brilliant picture of the Assyrian advance (pl. 11).

The ancient city was a coffin-shaped enclosure rising to an imposing height on the summit of the hill.⁸ The slopes below the wall were not exceedingly

steep; indeed they are so gradual that terracing in modern (and doubtless in ancient) times produces very considerable areas for cultivation. But they demand a long upward climb to reach the city which crowned the top, and the crest, when well fortified, became a fortress of unusual strength as well as an outstanding watchtower (*miṣṣab*) which could bar the road in the narrow defiles on each side and send its signals to a large section of ancient Judah. Within its region only en-Nebî Samwîl and Tell el-Fûl, everything considered, could compete with it.

A small spring on the southeast slope known to Rāmallāh Christians as 'Ain Naṣbeh, to el-Bîreh Moslems as 'Ain eḏ-Ḍahr,⁹ may have contributed to its attractiveness as a city site, but it fails in dry summers, and the site could not serve a large population until the discovery of lime plaster made possible the use of cisterns about the end of the Bronze Age. Fields north, south, and west of the tell, as well as on its slopes, offered sufficient sustenance. In the Iron Age it was an entirely suitable place for a village as well as for a fortress.

II. ARCHAEOLOGICAL HISTORY

It is, therefore, not at all surprising that Dr. Badè's excavations discovered evidence of occupation commencing at the very beginning of the Early Bronze Age and extending probably through the thousand years which are now reckoned to that period. This occupation appears only in caves partly within and partly without the later walls of the city. Some are in the ridge north of the city.¹⁰

In the Middle Bronze Age there is only the slightest evidence of any occupation and that in but one cave tomb (no. 69), which lay outside the mound in the north cemetery. Likewise there was no occupation of the mound during the Late Bronze Age; not even a tomb has been found which dates from that period and practically no potsherds which are characteristic of the age. The Cypriote and Mycenaean imports which might clearly date occupation before 1200 B. C. are entirely wanting. No walls of houses or city walls such as appear at 'Ain Shems and similar sites are found.

⁵ Cf. Dalman, *PJB* 6 (1910), 62, note 2. See fig. 2.

⁶ See pls. 7-9 and fig. 3.

⁷ See Dalman's defense of this route, *PJB* 21 (1925), 58-89, esp. 74-83; *ibid.* 22 (1926), 104-08.

⁸ See Frontispiece and fig. 3; *Exc.*, 11, pl. 4. Note the contour lines in fig. 1.

⁹ Alt and Dalman, *PJB* 6 (1910), 61, could never discover anyone using the name 'Ain Jādî given in the *SWP*, Sheet XVII, and *Memoirs*, III, 82.

¹⁰ Cave Tombs 5 and 6, Ts. 12, 52, 61, 63, 65, 66, 67, 78. See below, chap. VIII.

Sometime in the Early Iron I period, possibly before the Philistine invasion, a little settlement was founded on the hill. A small amount of fragmentary Philistine pottery (dating from 1150 to 1000 B. C.) appears. The place was doubtless then only a country village with neither economic nor strategic importance. Sometime during the EI period a thin and unpretentious wall, much like the earliest Israelite wall at Tell Beit Mirsim, was constructed.¹¹ How large an area it enclosed is not clear, for while its remains are evident at the southern end of the tell just a little inside the massive wall of the later period, it did not clearly appear on the north end of the hill and no traces of an intermediate cross wall were discovered.

As careful excavation through the walls and the examination of debris under portions of them demonstrated beyond all cavil, the early wall was erected in the Early Iron Age and the great wall of the city when the Iron Age was already well advanced, about the end of EI. The earlier dating of the great wall, in the Middle Bronze Age, suggested by many archaeologists at the beginning of the expedition, was entirely mistaken, as chronological conclusions based on general impressions from architectural features and masonry have so often proved to be in Palestine.

As already noted, except in limited areas it is difficult to discover any clear stratification over a sufficient area to allow discrimination between distinctive periods in the remaining history of the mound.¹² *Lemelekh* stamps on jar handles prove beyond the shadow of doubt that the place belonged to Judah during the pre-exilic period. *Yah* and *Yehûd* stamps and one with the five-pointed star and probably the consonants *y-r-š-l-m*, as well as the ceramic evidence in general, show that its allegiance was to the south also in the postexilic period. On the analogy of these stamps, the seal impression peculiar to Tell en-Naşbeh, which appears to read *m-š-b*,¹³ suggests a certain autonomy or fiscal importance for a brief period.

That the place was still occupied in some fashion down to the Maccabean period is indicated by the Greek pottery, and the Greek, Ptolemaic, and Seleu-

cid coins which appear. Allowance must of course be made for erosion. But the small amount of pottery and the small number of coins from these centuries, when compared with the large number found in much more restricted areas at such sites as Beth-zur and Bethel, show that there could have been only a very small village or quite unimportant military post on the hill after the fifth century. For occupation of the tell in the Roman and Byzantine periods there is no evidence. The tombs which contain collections of materials from these periods are doubtless connected with the Byzantine site at Khirbet esh-Shuweikeh, where the mosaic floor of a church was found but not excavated.

III. ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS AT KHIRBET 'AṬṬĀRAH

Since it has been suggested that the name Khirbet 'Aṭṭārah at the southern end of the hill locates, not Mizpah, but the Old Testament Ataroth here, that part of the site assumes great importance.¹⁴ Robinson visited it and although he thought 'Aṭṭārah to answer to the Hebrew Ataroth (Joshua 16. 5, 7; 18. 13), he rejected the identification on the ground that 'Aṭṭārah lay too far within the territory of Benjamin. It was, however, the Ataroth of the *Onomasticon*. Guérin mentions the two reservoirs, the ruined houses, and the spring, 'Ain 'Atārā, as he spells it.¹⁵ The walls appeared to him to be medieval. The Palestine Exploration Fund survey gives a few more details, which do not entirely agree with Guérin's description, but confirm his impression that the ruins were in part at least medieval, since the outlet of one of the reservoirs and some of the walls in the ruins had pointed arches. There is reference to caves, cisterns, and tombs, one with a façade having many niches for lamps. The spring is 'Ain Jādī, and appears to be near the tell on the hilltop.¹⁶

Dalman pointed out that the situation of 'Aṭṭārah was not propitious for an ancient village. Digging had recently recovered its ancient spring, but its double pool, a tomb with *kokim*, a "bell tomb" (*Glockengrab*), and a columbarium could not go back into Israelite times.¹⁷ The place, therefore, must

¹⁴ Josh 16. 2, 5; 18. 13; and 16. 7; *Onomasticon* (ed. Klostermann), 26. See above chap. II, iv, and below, chap. XI, iv.

¹⁵ *Description . . . de la Palestine: Judée 3* (1869), 6 f.

¹⁶ *SWP Memoirs*, III (1883), 82 f.

¹⁷ *PJB* 10 (1914), 17 f. It may be added that Dr. Badè investiga-

¹¹ See W. F. Albright, *APB*, 101 f.

¹² See below, chap. XVI.

¹³ See below, chap. XIV.

have borrowed its name from some other site. Dalman suggested that Ataroth belonged at Rāfāt, Abel prefers Kefr 'Aqab on the hill on the other side of Wādī Jilyân to the east.¹⁸ He points out that the ruins at 'Atṭārah are at a sufficient distance from Tell en-Naṣbeh to constitute an entirely separate settlement, but they are Roman-Byzantine in date.

Albrecht Alt saw in the ruins a medieval khan with barrel-vaulted rooms like the better preserved structure called Khân Kharāib er-Rām on the road farther south. He doubted whether the buildings are as old as the Crusades, and thought that the name may be due to a sixteenth or seventeenth century combination of guesses as to the identity of Tell en-Naṣbeh, and the location of the border between Benjamin and Ephraim.¹⁹ However, the tombs Dalman mentions, one or two of which Dr. Badè investigated, prove an earlier occupation, not in Israelite times indeed, but early enough to have made the identification in the *Onomasticon* of 'Atṭārah as Ataroth possible. Albright found "quantities of Roman and Byzantine corrugated and other sherds" there (1924).²⁰

It must, then, be admitted that Ataroth Addar could not have lain at 'Atṭārah, unless eventually older remains are found there, which is improbable. Its position at the foot of a hill does not commend it as a site for an Israelite city. This item, at any rate, favors the identification of the tell above it with Ataroth. Yet it by no means establishes the equation, for Ataroth in the Old Testament narrative is certainly not at all consonant with the impressive walls and gate on the tell, which represent one of the strongest fortresses in Palestine.

IV. THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS AT EN-NEBĪ SAMWĪL

The chief rival of Tell en-Naṣbeh as the site of Mizpah is en-Nebī Samwīl. Robinson made that identification in 1838 largely upon the basis of the phrase in the *Onomasticon* (ed. Klostermann, 128. 1), which located it near Kirjath-jearim, and the

Arab tradition, upon which he laid great weight, which located the burial place of Samuel there.²¹ Denying on excellent grounds that it could be the Ramah of Samuel, he felt it necessary to connect it in some way with Samuel, and the notice in the *Onomasticon* naturally suggested Mizpah. His only archaeological argument is the phrase, "traces of an ancient town," for which his brief paragraph of description offers no substantial basis. He describes the mosque as "once a Latin church built upon older foundations." Later discussions of en-Nebī Samwīl are usually lacking in any dependence upon the archaeological evidence, as was inevitable in a time when scientific archaeology had not yet begun. Arguments had of necessity to depend upon topography and tradition.²²

Dalman was one of the first to examine the evidences of pre-Christian occupation with a critical eye. He denied Kittel's identification of a rock terrace with certain circular depressions (cup marks) as an ancient place of worship, regarding it rather as the roof of a stable.²³ The great wall which encloses the area of the mosque, like the large cistern in that area, is to be referred to Justinian. With these conclusions nearly all archaeologists agree. Before 1914 Paul Lohmann, who had made certain plans to substantiate Kittel's theory, prepared a much more factual and much more extensive study of the remains, which was posthumously published. While avoiding phraseology which might prejudice the case in favor of Kittel's theory, he nevertheless showed his adherence to it,²⁴ but, Vincent intimates, only succeeds in proving that the terrace in question held a house and the accompanying court for the owner's flocks and herds. Lohmann preserves some details no longer visible, but nothing distinctly pre-Roman. He recog-

²¹ *Researches* (1867), I, 457-60.

²² See Guérin, *Judée* I (1868), 362-84, description, pp. 363-66 (argues for Ramathaim-Sophim). *SWP Memoirs* III, 149-53, describes only Christian remains. G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geogr. of the Holy Land* (eds. 4-20), 120, devotes a dozen words to the tower of its mosque and the identification with Mizpah. In his revised edition of 1931, p. 118, he removes the positive identification of en-Nebī Samwīl with Mizpah, but returns to it on p. 288, note 7, where he refers to recent discussions; cf. also p. 291. F. Buhl, *Geogr. des alten Pal.* (1896), 167 f. describes its situation and briefly the later remains.

²³ *PJB* 4 (1908), 45 f.; 8 (1913), 11 f. R. Kittel, *Studien zur hebr. archäol.* (Leipzig, 1908), 136 ff.

²⁴ Kittel in the *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume* (Leipzig, Chicago, etc., 1909), 247-52; Lohmann in *ZDPV* 41 (1918), 117-57, pls. 1-9 (with modifying notes by Dalman), discussed with delicious, but perhaps undue, sarcasm by Vincent, *RB* 31 (1922), 362 ff., cf. pp. 360-402.

tion of tombs near the site found only Roman materials and confirms this conclusion.

¹⁸ Abel, *Géogr.* II, 55.

¹⁹ *PJB* 6 (1910), 61 f., and pl. 2: 7, with picture of columbarium; 25 (1929), 13 f., note 1. L. Heidet, art. "Ataroth Addar," Vigoroux, *Dict. de la Bible, Supplement* 1 (1928), 664 ff., calls the ruins at 'Atṭārah purely Arab.

²⁰ *AAS* 4, 103.

nizes the fact that practically no pre-Christian remains are visible and argues that the small size of the hill and barrenness of its immediate neighborhood forbids its identification with Mizpah.

The most complete archaeological study of en-Nebī Samwīl is that just mentioned, published by Vincent in 1922. Carefully drawn plans and a full discussion come near to making an understanding of the complicated details possible. The conclusion of his long description of the architectural and archaeological remains is that there is nothing now visible which can be referred to ancient times either Israelite or pre-Israelite. He follows a suggestion which Père Lagrange, his highly respected teacher and superior, made as early as 1892, to the effect that en-Nebī Samwīl is the "high place of Gibeon,"²⁵ and believes the height to have been a cult site even before the Hivites of Gibeon made it their sanctuary. Subsequent building, especially that of Justinian, has greatly modified the ancient form of the hill,²⁶ and now nothing remains to prove its occupation in Israelite times except its height and its position, which assure its antiquity as a cult site but by no means its importance as a fortress.

Albright's long and learned discussion was the first to take account of the potsherds in the debris about en-Nebī Samwīl.²⁷ Examination of the fragments accessible on the surface discovered that on the eastern slope of the hill there were "enormous masses of débris . . . showing on examination a high potsherd content, the sherds being mainly Crusading, early Arab, and Byzantine."²⁸ On the upper terrace, where the mosque of en-Nebī Samwīl occupies the remains of the church built by Justinian, there is no room for a village, but only for a fort such as Asa may have built at Mizpah. On the lower terrace, however, "there is an abundance of room for an ancient Israelite town, and the rock is in many places hidden by masses of earth intermixed with potsherds, most of which prove on examination to be typically Jewish, and Israelite, Byzantine and Arab sherds being comparatively rare." He even countenances Kittel's idea that the stone platform on the summit is admirably adapted to serve as an ancient high place."²⁹

His examination of the surface potsherds at TN having convinced him that it was inhabited in Canaanite times, while en-Nebī Samwīl was not, the conclusion was inevitable that, not TN, but en-Nebī Samwīl was the site of the Mizpah of Samuel. Unfortunately no excavation is now possible at en-Nebī Samwīl to determine whether, at this much later date, the fuller material would not be evaluated to alter this conclusion. Since the excavations at TN and the development of archaeological knowledge have completely changed the verdict regarding the latter, it is only possible to postpone any final conclusion regarding en-Nebī Samwīl. If its early archaeological history should prove to be the same as that of TN—a purely Hebrew history—even so there would be no logical necessity for concluding that en-Nebī Samwīl is Mizpah. The final decision depends upon other grounds, upon the apparently contradictory, certainly obscure, topographical data.

V. OTHER IDENTIFICATIONS

Alt's attempt (in 1925) to identify TN with Gibeon, Beeroth with ej-Jīb, and Mizpah with el-Bîreh³⁰ was at first supported by the supposed discovery of Middle and Late Bronze remains at TN, but is now completely nullified by the certain conclusion that there was no city or even village on the hilltop when the Gibeonites tricked the invading Israelites into a treaty with them (Joshua 9. 3-27). The site of Gibeon is important in connection with the location of Mizpah because of the narrative in Jeremiah (41. 12-15) of Ishmael's flight, but that narrative also forbids identifying TN with Gibeon because the latter is a place of "great waters," which are distinctly lacking at TN. The archaeological history of el-Bîreh has not been sufficiently investigated, but no other topographically suitable place for Beeroth with a better claim has been discovered.

Of the three sites that come into consideration en-Nebī Samwīl, el-Bîreh, and TN, only TN has been excavated. What appears on the surface does not commend the other two as fulfilling the conditions for identification with Mizpah so well as the now well-known archaeology of TN does. It can hardly be denied that the archaeological remains at TN do completely fulfill the conditions.

²⁵ 2 Sam 21. 6 (LXX, Aquila, Sym.); 1 Kg 3. 4; 1 Chr 16. 39; 21. 29; 2 Chr 1. 2 f.

²⁶ Abel, *Géogr.* II, p. 336.

²⁷ *AAS* 4 (1924), 90-111.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 102.

²⁹ *Loc. cit.*

³⁰ *PJB* 22 (1926), 11-22, cf. esp. 16 f.; 40-43; cf. Dalman, *Jerusalem und sein Gelände* (Gütersloh, 1930), 218 ff., and Müllenburg above, chap. III, iv.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS AS TO THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE SITE¹

I. POSSIBLE OLD TESTAMENT NAMES FOR TELL EN-NAŞBEH

A BRIEF SUMMARY of the evidence will make the present status of the discussion clear. Men whose scholarship and judgment demand respect have found apparently strong reasons for identifying four Old Testament places with TN: Mizpah, Beeroth, Ataroth Addar, and Gibeon. Of these the arguments for Gibeon now seem the least impressive in view of the absence of Bronze Age pottery, of abundant water, and of any corresponding Arab name, in addition to the paucity of definite Old Testament references.² Beeroth and Ataroth Addar are difficult to locate because of the few Old Testament references to them. Neither could have been important cities in pre-exilic and postexilic times. In contrast to the other places, the Old Testament data regarding Mizpah, when critically evaluated, are well satisfied by TN.

The major argument for equating Ataroth Addar with TN is the presence of the Arabic name, 'Aṭṭārah, at the southern foot of the hill. In view of the frequent migration of names in Palestine, this fact cannot weigh heavily against other arguments, especially since some six places with the name Ataroth are mentioned in the Old Testament, and at least three 'Aṭṭārahs are now known. There are no strong arguments against putting Beeroth at el-Bîreh or its immediate neighborhood (with Abel). Ataroth may have been so unimportant as to have left no ceramic remains on the surface, and therefore it might have lain at 'Aṭṭārah, or it may be sought at Rāfāt, Kefr 'Aqab, or perhaps elsewhere.

There are no final and decisive arguments for the identification of any one of these three places with TN. Mizpah, therefore, remains as a distinct possi-

bility. If there were irrefutable arguments against placing Mizpah at TN, or for placing it elsewhere, then Ataroth would be a possibility, although improbable in view of its lack of importance in the Old Testament.

II. MIZPAH AND EN-NEBĪ SAMWĪL

Are there impressive arguments for identifying Mizpah with en-Nebī Samwīl? The presence of the name of Samuel was decisive with Edward Robinson, as the name 'Aṭṭārah was for Ataroth at the foot of the TN hill. In the case of en-Nebī Samwīl there is the further weight of early Christian tradition in the *Onomasticon* and Procopius, a tradition which was still strong when Islam took the site over. But, in the absence of archaeological evidence for an important city on the hill where the present shrine stands, the early Christian tradition, confused as it is in the *Onomasticon*, cannot weigh heavily in favor of identification with Mizpah, while the topographical problem, especially the distance of en-Nebī Samwīl from the main road, stands strongly against locating Mizpah there.

The argument here presented has two elements which have been lacking from nearly all previous discussions: (1) a critical evaluation of the biblical data and (2) full knowledge of the archaeological data. As to the first, it has been shown that the whole of 1 Samuel 7 (with the possible exception of v. 16) is late and undependable. The theory that Mizpah was a place of special sanctity is a late tradition of no great historical value. The fifth-century lists of names in Joshua 15-18 have topographical significance but do not represent the historical situation during the divided Hebrew monarchy.

What can be regarded as historically dependable are the passages in 1 Kings 15. 22 (cf. 2 Chron 16. 6), in 2 Kings 25. 23, 25, and in Jeremiah 40 and 41,

¹ Professor Muilenburg has expressed his agreement with this statement of conclusions.

² See above, chap. III, iv.

with its much fuller account. The order of the circuit in 1 Samuel 7. 16 (which is possibly historical), Bethel, Gilgal, Mizpah, Ramah, suits rather better the northern group, Jiljūlieh by Sinjil as Gilgal, and Ramah at Rentis or Beit Rîmā. But, in either case, Beitîn and TN can serve as Bethel and Mizpah. However the historical importance of Mizpah is due to its fortification by Asa and its selection by the Babylonians as the capital of Judah after the fall of Jerusalem. Asa would naturally select places which would guard the two chief entrances from the north into his territory. Jeba' (Geba) and TN admirably suit this requirement, while TN also looks out upon the road up the Beth-horon pass. It was the more important of the two and, since it also encroached on Baasha's territory, it needed and received exceptional fortification. The Babylonians selected this strongly fortified post to succeed Jerusalem as capital of the subjugated province. Just as there were various Gilgals and Ramahs, so there were various Mizpahs, and the late traditions of Joshua, Judges, and Samuel have made exact identification of many places impossible by confusing one with another, while the migration of names has brought confusion worse confounded both to the late editors and the Byzantine writers, as well as to moderns.

TN may well have been a place where Samuel judged. It may have been the place which the late writer of the traditions in Judges 20-21 had in mind as the gathering place of the tribes which nearly destroyed Benjamin. But its chief claim to fame is as the seat of Gedaliah's brief rule. With this conclusion the only discordant datum is the reference to Ishmael's departure toward Transjordan by way of "the great waters which were at Gibeon" (Jeremiah 41. 12). Such a detour, however, is not impossible if Johanan the son of Kareah came from the north, east, or southeast toward TN. Or, perhaps, the springs of 'Ain Fārah or 'Ain el-Fauwār beyond Geba (Jeba'), not Gibeon (ej-Jîb), were meant. To put it briefly, there are no serious difficulties in applying all of the historically respectable biblical data to the site of TN.

III. THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

There remains the second chief item, the archaeological evidence. That, it must be admitted, brilliantly supports the identification of Mizpah with

Tell en-Naşbeh. The city begins as a Hebrew village in the twelfth, or certainly the eleventh century. At a time which the archaeological evidence cannot fix within a century but which certainly may have been about 900 B. C., the time of Asa, one of the strongest walls yet found in Palestine was built around it. It is a legitimate cause of wonder that its gate opens to the north and not to the south, if Asa built it. But the ceramic evidence places it indisputably in the southern kingdom. This is particularly true of the *lemelekh* stamps on jar handles, of which a considerable number (86) have been found,³ whereas Bethel, only three miles away to the north, has disgorged not a single such stamp, as Dr. Albright has assured me. The fortification of the site was a most natural measure for Asa to take, whether it was Mizpah or not. While Baasha was diverted by Ben-hadad's attack from his effort to extend his border to the south, Asa took the opportunity to move his border to the north. In so doing he would have rendered his little nation and his successors a permanent service. It is reasonable, therefore to ascribe the building of the great wall to a corvée levied by Asa.

Whereas such sites as Tell Beit Mirsim and 'Ain Shems have practically no evidence of occupation during the postexilic period, there are abundant ceramic remains at TN which point to occupation during that dark age of Jewish history. Eventually, however, the signs of intensive occupation, such as suit the archaeological history of a site like Beth-zur to the literary data, disappear. The name and possibly some kind of settlement persisted into Maccabean times, as a few Seleucid, Ptolemaic, and Maccabean coins and some Hellenistic pottery suggest. To this remnant of the once strong border fortress, the Mizpah over against Jerusalem in 1 Maccabees (3. 46) may refer.

Until at least en-Nebî Samwîl, ej-Jîb, and er-Râm are excavated and their archaeological history determined and until the sites of places such as Beeroth and Gibeon are determined, there can be no final decision regarding the identification of TN. In fact, so many places are involved in the topographical notices that appear in Joshua and Judges that the topography of the whole area for ten miles in every direction, with innumerable names seeking a resting place, must be settled before an absolutely final

³ See below, chap. XIV, i, 1-3.

decision can be reached. However, it seems fair to claim that, unless the critical evaluation of the notices of Mizpah can be overthrown, TN has a strong claim to represent the site of the Mizpah of the Books of Kings and Jeremiah. It certainly was for centuries a border fortress of Judah defending Jerusalem and Judah against attack from the north, and it serves to provide extremely valuable data regarding the cultural history of the southern kingdom and the Persian province through a period of over six hundred years.

The *m-ṣ-b* seals raise a problem of no small historical importance. Since, with a single exception at Jericho, no such stamp has been discovered elsewhere, they indicate that the little city possessed a unique status at the time they were in use. If the third letter could be read as a *P*, this status is still more clear. But, in any case, the city must have had a peculiar fiscal status or a special sacred character, in the exilic

or postexilic period, possibly before the rehabilitation of Jerusalem and its temple.⁴ When the Priestly writers edited the biblical materials, the site had already acquired a unique legendary sanctity, according to the very attractive interpretation given above of the passages attributable to those writers, and that traditional sanctity still hallowed the site perhaps in Maccabean times. It may be supposed that the disturbances of the Jewish War and the subsequent dislocation of the Jewish population led to the mistaken ascription of the name to the site now known as en-Nebī Samwīl. Even if subsequently discovered evidence should by some unexpected chance prove that TN was not one of the most important of the many Mizpahs, the value of Dr. Badé's excavations, as the following discussion of its significance for the history of culture will show, is but slightly affected.

⁴ See below, chap. XIV, iv, 5.

CHAPTER VII

THE CULTURAL HISTORY OF THE SITE

1.

TO COMPLETE this phase of the study, a brief summary of the cultural history of the site may serve to exhibit more fully the probable combination of documentary and archaeological data.¹ For the periods preceding the EB Age, evidence of occupation has been found only in Cave Room 68.² It is probable that caves occupied in earlier times are to be found elsewhere in the neighborhood. It may be that criteria for distinguishing Neolithic and Chalcolithic remains amid some of that now classed as of the EB Age will eventually be found at such sites as Gezer and Jerusalem,³ as well as TN. Stone Age and Chalcolithic materials have been found in stratified contexts at Beth-shan, Megiddo, and Jericho. However, the evidence at present available indicates that the human occupation of Palestine before the EB Age was sparse and scattered, especially in the mountains. Even at Beth-shan and Megiddo it is far from abundant. It is probable, therefore, that before the end of the Chalcolithic period there was almost no occupation at TN.

In the Early Bronze Age, on the contrary there were inhabitants at TN who had already made no small progress in the arts of civilization. Subsequent settlers have destroyed almost all surface evidence of their presence. Only broken pottery made by hand remains above ground. But caves in the limestone rock below the surface have preserved pottery, tools, ornaments, and the skeletons of a few of these earlier inhabitants.

The evidences of occupation appear on the mound itself in a number of caves as well as on the surface, but chiefly in Cave Tombs 5 and 6, Cave 193, and Silo 315. In the low ridge of bare limestone rock a little north of the tell on the east side near the

road are the caves listed as Ts. 61 and 63; in the center are Ts. 12, 52, 62, 66, and 67. In the great Iron Age cemetery on the eastern slope of the ridge west of the tell, T. 32 has a definite EB Age deposit. Some of these (Ts. 63, 65) show no sign of burials. Some (Ts. 12, 66, Ca 193) have preserved signs of occupation by the dead as well as the living. Others have only skeletal remains and funerary deposits (CTs 5, 6, Ts. 52, 60-62).

That these EB Age people were dwelling in houses as the inhabitants of Jericho had long done cannot be proved. It seems probable, however, for the bodies discovered in CTs 5 and 6, and in T. 52, were not buried in or under a mass of debris of occupation, as were the skeletons of the Paleolithic and Mesolithic Ages at Mughâret el-Wâd, but with funerary deposits, some of which, the double cups for example, have the appearance of being small models made for offerings, not the vessels used in real life. Moreover there were no remains of charcoal or other evidence of hearths. Numerous fragments of EB pottery found on the mound make the inference practically certain. At the time the burials were made, therefore, these caves were not used as dwellings, and caves were not the inhabitants' only homes. Presumably the huts which they built were high on the hill which is now in many places bare even of the much later buildings which once stood there. The density of population must have been small, for only twenty odd caves with EB Age remains have survived to testify to a thousand years of unwritten history. However, the amount of EB remains in CTs 5 and 6 points to a considerable period of occupation.

2. There may be no great significance in the fact that after an occupation of some proportions in the Early Bronze Age, there is only the most meager evidence (Cave 69) of the presence of inhabitants in the Middle Bronze and Late Bronze periods. A small settlement may have existed somewhere else on the hill or in the neighborhood, near Kh. 'Aṭṭarah or Kefr 'Aqab, for example. But no evidence of it has

¹ The detailed documentation of the conclusions here expressed is to be found in the succeeding chapters of Pts. II and III, and vol. II.

² See below, chap. VIII, ii.

³ Some Chalcolithic material is recognized by Albright and Wright at Gezer; Wright, *PP*, 21 ff.

as yet been found. There may have been settlers on the mound who left no clear traces of their presence. Yet it is quite possible that the absence of occupation on the mound itself is evidence that the mountains in this region were not fully occupied between 1800 and 1200 B. C. and were heavily forested. In the time of the Hyksos and the ensuing Egyptian hegemony there were many large and prosperous cities in Palestine, but they lay for the most part in the plains or on the edge of the mountain regions. It is not, therefore, surprising that there was no occupation of Tell en-Naşbeh.

3. The occupation was poor and weak at the beginning of the Hebrew period just as it was elsewhere in central Palestine.⁴ The Philistines evidently never found it necessary to seize the place. The thin, poorly constructed wall of the EI Age, if it existed in the Philistine period, could hardly have been a deterrent. Possibly the older tombs, such as Ts. 32 and 54, were first used in that time, but there is no Philistine pottery in them, nor any other type so distinctive of EI i or ii as conclusively to prove this to be true. No tomb and no distinct area which belongs solely to that period has been found. This by no means proves that the site was not then occupied, for many of the pottery types found have been discovered in LB sites as well as in those of the EI Age. Enough Philistine pottery was found to prove the presence of some settlement in the eleventh century. This is to say that the settlement of Samuel's day was a very poor country town, possibly an unwalled village. On the eroded summit of the hill no "high place" was discoverable, and, indeed, no building which is positively proved to be a shrine was found. The same poverty may have prevailed even in the walled city which arose under Saul, David, or Solomon.

4. The four somewhat richly furnished tombs, nos. 54, 32, 5, and 29, seem to indicate that, in EI ii and iii, possibly in MI i, there was a decided increase in the prosperity and wealth of the city. Neither literary history nor archaeology can at present decide whether this is to be connected with the reign of Solomon or with a later period, that of the building of the great wall, but the ceramic evidence appears to favor the former. The great wall should surely be dated after the division of the kingdom, for there

would have been no point in erecting such defenses when there was no border to defend. Aside from the good quality and abundance of the funerary remains, the chief evidence of cultural advance to be seen in the deposits in these tombs is to be found in the "Cypro-Phoenician juglets" and the chalices. The dates at present assignable to these and the other pottery of the better sort which appears in the four tombs are not now definable by archaeological evidence within a century or two. There can, however, be no doubt that before or about 900 B. C. the city on the tell enjoyed a period of considerable prosperity.

5. The wall is no proof of this, for there is every reason to suppose that it was not a merely local enterprise. One of the chief reasons which led archaeologists at first to date it in the MB Age was its unusual size and strength. No subsequent discoveries have as yet removed its crown of pre-eminence. Even Megiddo presents nothing stronger, even though the area enclosed was much larger. The variations in the foundations and masonry point to building by different groups, somewhat as various sections of the walls of Jerusalem were assigned to clan or family or local groups under Nehemiah (Neh 3). The new importance of the place as a border city of great strategic value would inevitably lead to a decided increase in its prosperity.

6. Certain evidence, such as the presence of silos, grain pits, cisterns, and houses outside the walls, seems to suggest that, as time went on, the city expanded beyond its walls, as appears to have been true also at Tell Beit Mirsim.⁵ These extramural remains were very meager and there was no possibility of dating them closely. It seems unlikely that, during the time of the divided monarchy, grain or any other valuable produce could have been safely stored without the walls of any Israelite city or that residence outside would have been safe enough to be attractive. There was, however, a time when houses were built over portions of the wall of which the higher courses had been thrown down. Possibly these two periods coincided, and possibly both are post-exilic. It may not be necessary, therefore, to assume that at any time the population was too large for the area of the city. Unfortunately too much of the

⁴ See W. F. Albright, *APB*, 3d ed., 101 f.

⁵ See Badé in *PEQ* 1929, pp. 10 f., W. F. Albright, *APB*, 3d ed., 117, and above, chap. I, "1929." Cf. below, chap. XVIII, ix.

center of the hill is denuded of buildings for evidence to be available as to the density of the occupation.

7. Silos, or grain pits, are especially common within the intermural space, that between the old thin wall and the great new one. The number of cisterns and silos suggests that the city was prospering.⁶ Another means and evidence of enhanced wealth were the dye-plants which appear within the Hebrew city.⁷ The pastures must have been clothed with flocks and the valleys covered with grain (Ps 65. 13) during some part of the period of the Hebrew monarchies. Spinning whorls and loom weights tell of much industry, perhaps centered in the home.⁸ Wine and oil presses testify to the presence of these two eminent sources of wealth.⁹ Pottery kilns are not numerous, and there is no evidence of other trades or industries, such as iron smelting for example.

8. Thousands of beads of semiprecious stones, hundreds of eyelet pins, fibulae, bangles, and other pieces of metal jewelry, bronze and iron domestic and farming implements are further evidence on this point.¹⁰ Flint tools of various types appear, but chiefly the short pieces which would have served for sickle blades. The uncertain stratification offers no evidence as to the date when metal replaced them. But doubtless, here as elsewhere, iron came in during the EI Age to such an extent that both flint and copper tools and weapons disappeared. Both jewelry and eventually tools of iron appear in the tombs and on the mound in considerable profusion. All of this proves only a strictly limited and definitely rustic standard of living.

9. Another evidence of the cultural status and development of the place appears in the architecture of its houses. Three large four-room buildings of the long-house type, others which had many pillars and probably had rooms built around a court, and numerous houses of less imposing remains and size, along with drains and cisterns, testify to the provisions which were made for the living quarters and the comfort of rich and poor. Unfortunately the ceramic chronology of the Middle and Late Iron (Persian) Ages has not yet been differentiated into periods

clearly enough to establish dates for these buildings except in a general way. In some portions of the site one floor appears above another and there is abundant evidence of rebuilding.

The largest structures, especially the three or four long-house buildings with tripartite plan, were often found destroyed down to their foundations so that no thresholds or floors were recognizable. In other cases the walls stood to a height of several feet and remains of stairways proved the existence of second stories or of rooms on the roofs. Some walls were extremely heavy, as much as two meters thick. But none was built of carefully squared stones bonded together after the fashion of the palace walls of Samaria. The scheme used at Megiddo, where corners were of carefully cut ashlar and supporting sections of ashlar alternated with rubble, was not anywhere discovered. Instead, as a usual thing, the outside even of the heaviest walls consisted of irregular stones only very roughly coursed, or not at all, while within was a filling of smaller stones and small stones filled the chinks in the outside of the wall. TN was only a provincial city, a country place, with no pretensions to magnificence except in its great walls of defense, which, it may be assumed, it owed to royal undertakings and national assistance.

10. The amount of military equipment found was decidedly small. A very early (EB) spear or javelin head of beaten copper made a most interesting beginning.¹¹ A large number of round stone balls which were probably slingstones were found. Their number was not so great as to offer archaeological support to the biblical praise of Benjamin (Ju 20. 16) as pre-eminent in the use of that weapon. Every expedition finds many of them. Otherwise the only weapons found were arrowheads and spear or javelin heads. The absence of such remains, however, is far from indicating that TN was strategically unimportant. It implies, rather, that the site was gradually abandoned when its strategic value declined, and that the city never was destroyed by a violent enemy attack.

11. While no written documents of any length came to light, it is quite clear that the population of TN was far from illiterate. The number of stamped jar handles was large, some 80 or 90 which are pre-exilic, and over 60 which are postexilic. There were

⁶ See below, chap. XII.

⁷ See below, chap. XX, iii.

⁸ See below, chap. XX, iii, 2.

⁹ See below, chap. XX, iii.

¹⁰ See below, chaps. XX and XXI.

¹¹ Chap. XX, v.

eight graffiti scratched upon vessels before or after firing to indicate ownership. The oldest appears on paleographic evidence to go back to the tenth century. The last that can be given any date is still pre-exilic. The various graffiti cover nearly all of the pre-exilic period and with the seal impressions and inscribed weights indicate the constant use of writing by inhabitants of the little city.

The only artistic seal is that of Jaazaniah, and it, of course, originated elsewhere. One other piece of artistic carving is a considerable bone fragment, likewise an importation. The few fine pieces of imported pottery tell also of connections with the outside world and of some appreciation of its culture. However, it is to be noted that the fragments of Greek ware, which lend special interest to the close of the city's history, are all "second rate." The "Clazomenian" piece, thus far unique in Palestine, is "East Greek ware." All the remainder are Attic. In a small hill town, even if it was, or had been, the capital of the minute Persian province of Judah, the presence of such ware is significant, telling of close commercial relations between Attica and Palestine in the period of Athens' greatest glory. But the remains

from TN are largely of a practical character. Even the jewelry was probably valued as much for its apotropaic powers as for its decorative effects.

12. Since both documentary and archaeological sources for the history of the Persian period in Palestine are meager, there are few points of triangulation for the sketching of the history of TN toward the close of its existence. For some time at the end of its history it was a mere unwalled village. Apparently its population declined in the fifth century. It plays no part in the wars of the Maccabees, except in one somewhat lyrical passage which tells nothing of its actual condition. The archaeological evidence also points to very slight occupation in the period of Alexander's successors. People lived on the hill long after the gate had been walled up and the walls were thrown down. Perhaps a military watchtower crowned the hill even in Hellenistic-Roman times. A more precise paleographical chronology, which can date the postexilic *Yah* and *Yehûd* stamps, and a more precise ceramic chronology, to which TN makes an initial contribution, will eventually write this portion of the city's history more fully and more accurately.

PART II

CHRONOLOGICAL DATA AND PROBLEMS

IN PART II the greater proportion of the material which bears directly on problems of chronology is assembled. All of it, of course, is of importance for the cultural history of the site. In order not to divide similar material, such as the tombs, the cisterns and silos, and the seals and seal impressions, some of which have no direct chronological value, they are all included, so far as they seemed worth publishing. Much of the material in Part III, which is predominantly of cultural significance, has also chronological value. Volume II presents the pottery, which is of major chronological, as well as cultural, significance, but bulks so large as to demand a volume to itself.

CHAPTER VIII

THE EARLY TOMBS AND CAVES OF TELL EN-NASBEH

A VALUABLE SOURCE of chronological data is to be found in tombs. Funerary offerings usually include some objects of value, such as scarabs, seals, and coins, and some pottery of the better sort, not merely the common types which persist through generation after generation with little change. These objects offer opportunities for fairly precise dating. Moreover a group of artifacts in a tomb, even though it has been rifled, is more likely to be unmixed and restricted in its chronological scope than the objects found on a tell, where mixture is always possible due to the digging of foundations. Tomb groups, therefore, have a special chronological value. Several tombs excavated at TN have pronounced value in this respect, as well as in their contribution to the cultural history of the city. Special attention is given to these and others are summarily treated. Since it is difficult to distinguish between caves used solely as burial places and caves used partly or solely for other purposes, both types are here included.

I. THE DISCOVERY OF THE EARLY CAVES AND TOMBS

One of the earliest discoveries which proved the wisdom of the effort to excavate at TN was the uncovering of two large cave tombs (CTs 5 and 6). No similar discovery of funerary furniture was made on the mound until 1932, when Cave 193 came to light, and while other caves were found when the digging reached bedrock in various parts of the mound, no other was so prolific in pottery or other artifacts, or in skeletal remains. Tombs on the lower slopes of TN within the walls had been cleared long ago. If others remain, they are well hidden. There may still be others outside the walls. Many that had long ago been looted are to be seen.

The tombs and caves which contributed a large part of the whole or restorable pottery pieces, the

jewelry, and other interesting artifacts were found as the result of careful search in the neighboring slopes and not on the mound itself. Up until near the end of the 1929 season Dr. Badè had not prospected for tombs as the expedition was fully occupied with its work on the tell and, moreover, he did not wish to set the workmen on the hunt for loot. However, it was necessary to know what he could look forward to if he continued the excavations. Accordingly, toward the end of the season he began to seek for tombs in the hill slopes beyond the tell. One of the neighboring land owners showed him possible tomb sites on the slope of the hill to the west, southeast of the Byzantine ruin, Khirbet esh-Shuweikeh. Here two tombs (nos. 1 and 2) were explored on June 18 and 19. Three other much more rewarding tombs (nos. 3-5) were cleared on the rocky ridge north of the tell.

The low limestone ridge north of the tell where tombs were found in 1929 and a wide area on the eastern slopes and the top of the hill across Wādī Duweit west of the tell in the direction of Khirbet esh-Shuweikeh were discovered to contain a large number, and from them a rich harvest was eventually reaped.¹ The former was referred to as the north cemetery and its eastern extension was called the northeast cemetery, or necropolis.² The more productive area near the Byzantine ruin called Khirbet esh-Shuweikeh was named the west cemetery. On the mound itself were the caves already mentioned which had been used for burial in the EB Age. Caves in the northeast cemetery had also been used both for dwellings and for tombs in that period. No Middle or Late Bronze Age tombs were found, with one exception. No Iron Age tombs were found on the mound, but both the north and the west cemetery had been used in that period. What clear-

¹ See figs. 3, 19, and 20, and the frontispiece.

² See pls. 8: 3; 10: 1, and fig. 3.

ance of Bronze and earlier Iron Age tombs had taken place on the mound it is difficult to say. Doubtless, the construction of silos and cisterns accounted for many.

Search was made on the slopes of the hill east of Wādī Jilyān. Tomb 70 was found there.³ Further search on that hill disclosed nothing worth excavating. A considerable number of plundered tombs in which nothing remained was to be seen on the eastern slope of the TN hill, some quite near the road. In one of these one of the small decorated mortars, such as are supposed to have been used for *kubl*, or other face paints, was found. It suggests that the burials of the MI period, almost none of which were found, may have been made there. Other tombs of that period may have been placed on the western slope of the hill to the east. T. 70 suggests that at some period a different fashion in tombs prevailed from those found elsewhere.

In the following account, the caves and tombs which had sufficient deposits to make a contribution to the corpus of Palestinian pottery or to the history of the site are considered roughly in chronological order.⁴ Since some contain objects from widely separated periods it is not possible to adopt a rigidly chronological scheme. The remains belong first (one only, Cave Room 68) to the Chalcolithic period, several then to Early Bronze with a little Middle Bronze material in T. 69, then to the Iron Age where the mass of material falls, and finally to the Roman and Byzantine periods, with a very little in the Hellenistic Age.

II. THE CHALCOLITHIC PERIOD

Cave Room 68 in the North Cemetery (Plate 12: 1, 5, 6, 7, 8) preserved no whole or even partially complete piece of pottery. It contained base fragments of several flat-based jars (S 125, 126, 149) and of one with a conical base (S 184). Other fragments had outward-rolling rims (S 124, 153 f., 156-160). The neckless jars had expanded, squared rims (S 164-167). Several rims were worked into a rope or a beaded pattern (S 158, 159, 164, 165); other jars had an applied strip in these patterns (S 157, 158, 167). There were two incurved rim frag-

ments of small, thin bowls. The prominence of the rope design points to LC or EB i as the probable date, and nothing found contradicts this conclusion. The absence of typical EB i material suggests the earlier date. If this is correct, it is the earliest deposit found.

The stone mortar with ledge handles and the mace head of limestone are noteworthy (pl. 12: 5, 6). There was no evidence to suggest burials, but these objects and the numerous flints indicate that this cave was a dwelling. Legs of some kind of a pottery vessel and a bowl, or brazier, point in the same direction (pl. 12: 6, line 3: 1).

III. THE EARLY BRONZE AGE REMAINS

1. When the entire lack of houses of EB date is considered, the total amount of EB Age pottery found at TN is surprising. All of the vessels which were fairly complete were found in tombs (CTs 5, 6, Ts. 12, 52, 60-62, 65-67), or caves (193, 209, 210, 212, 214, 217, 242, 250, 251, 261, 262, 315). In a few tombs (32) and in some caves (193) it appeared only as the lowest layer or in a limited section. Many fragments were found on the mound and a number in the northeast cemetery region.

However, the first two tombs which Dr. Badè discovered (April 22, 23, 1926) proved to be solely of the EB Age, to be rich in deposits, and to preserve some skeletal material of interest.⁵ They fully bear out Wright's treatment of EB i and can doubtless be used to make his distinctions more precise.⁶

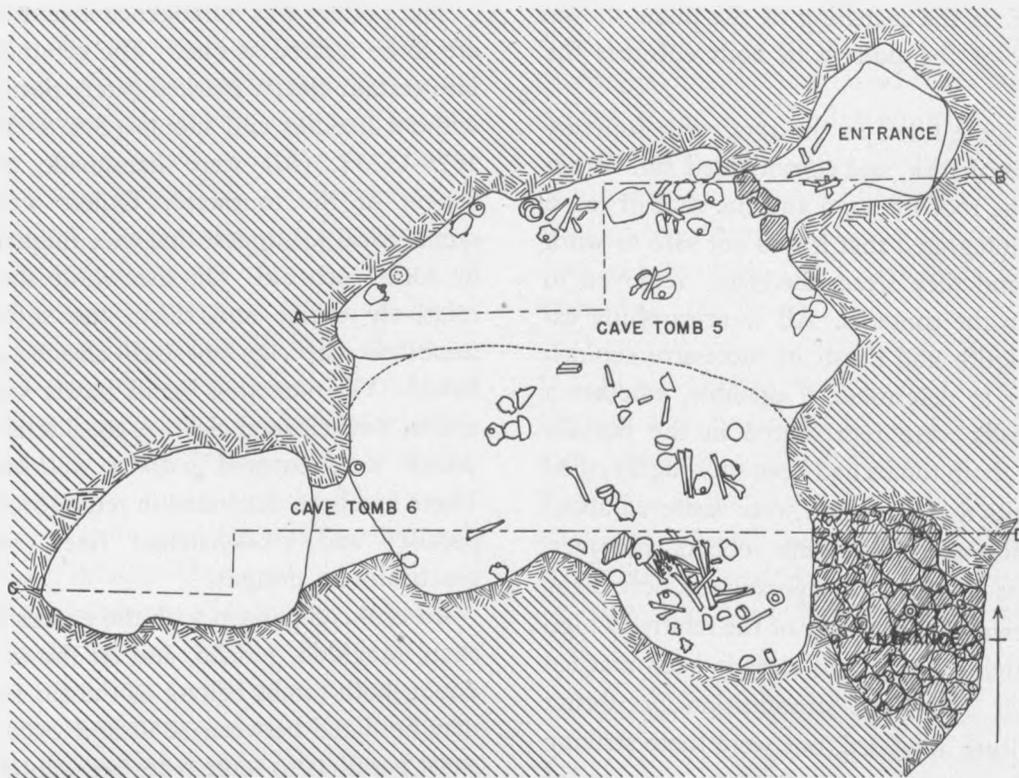
Cave tomb 5 (tomb I) was discovered on the mound when fragmentary human skeletal remains came to light at the bottom of silo no. 3 in square AK 26. The grain bin, dug during the Hebrew period, had penetrated the already deeply eroded rock roof of the cave. Search in the contiguous areas discovered the entrance. Warned by this discovery, Dr. Badè was on the lookout for other tombs and, as earth was being cleared away about three meters from no. 5, he caught sight of an irregular bedding of stones in front of a rock scarp which proved to

⁵ See plate 13, and plans in fig. 4. Cf. *Exc.*, 41-5. They were at first numbered I and II, but later, to suit a more comprehensive scheme of reference, were called caves, or cave tombs, 5 and 6. A discussion of the skeletal material is to be published later.

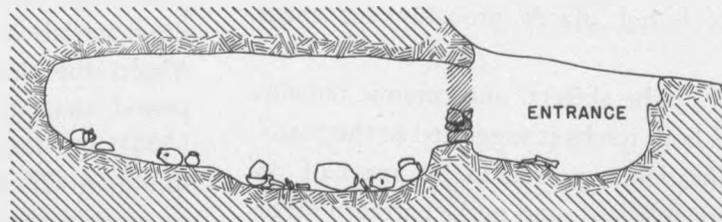
⁶ *PP*, 58-69. It is to be noted that EB ii is as yet poorly represented in Palestinian excavations (*l. c.*, chart B). Therefore it is difficult to be precise in dating objects as between EB i and ii.

³ See below, chap. X.

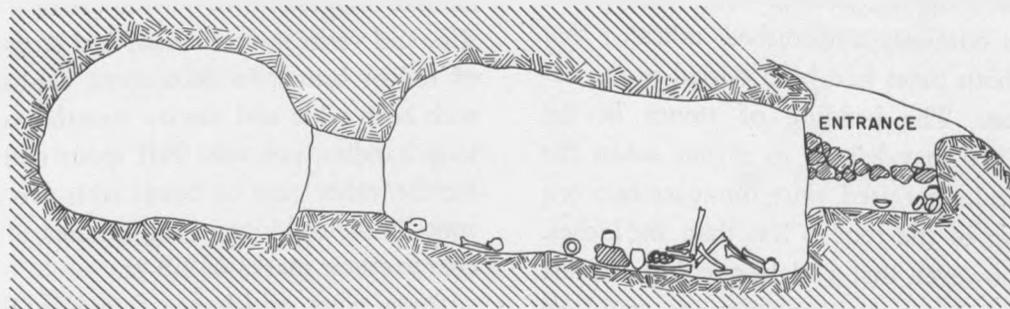
⁴ They are listed in numerical order in vol. II, Appendix B.



PLAN



SECTION CT 5



SECTION CT 6



FIG. 4. PLAN AND SECTIONS OF CAVE TOMBS 5 AND 6

cover the entrance to no. 6. When they were fully excavated and planned, it became evident that they were one cave, as the matching of the plans shows. The similarity of the pottery in both enforces the conclusion.

Both caves were filled to the roof with funerary remains, debris of rock, and consolidated silt. What remained of the roof of no. 5 and the roof of no. 6 had so far disintegrated that it was not safe to work under them, and they were, therefore, removed to allow access to the contents. All were carefully excavated with knife and brush in successive six-inch layers in order to determine, if possible, whether a series of periods were represented in the burials. Unfortunately, both tombs had been thoroughly rifled and the contents that remained were scattered about in complete disorder. The tomb robbers, however, being doubtless fearful and superstitious, left many evidences in jewelry and pottery of the relatively high standards of living which had already been reached by 3000 B. C. No clear stratification or abrupt changes of culture appeared, nor were there striking differences of pottery types. But the amount of skeletal and other remains indicated that the caves had served as burial places probably for many generations.

The position of the skeletal and ceramic remains on the floors of both tombs is suggested in the plans. No true stratification appeared in the mass of remains. Some bones were found in the entrance pit of CT 5 in front of a rude wall, partially preserved, which had closed off the interior. One skeleton in no. 6 that was relatively undisturbed indicated that the bodies in both caves had been buried in the extended position. The bedding of stones in the entrance to CT 6 may belong to a time when the entrance was no longer used, since the space between it and the scarp of the roof is less than six inches. It is possible, however, that a slight opening was left into which libations and other offerings could be made, for a cup of crude, EB type (S 887, M 5) was found lying inverted upon the stone pavement. Possibly no. 5 was used after the no. 6 entrance was closed, but it shows no striking difference in its pottery types. It has a higher percentage of LC and of EB ii, iii, and iv, types, and a lower percentage of EB i types than no. 6. But, considering all the uncer-

tainties of such computations, one cannot regard the argument as strong.

The pottery was homogeneous and the two tombs are to be treated as one.⁷ The ceramic remains fall into certain clearly marked categories: jars with and without handles and spouts (S 878-919); bowls (S 1078-1123). All were handmade, some without benefit of the tournette. Others were sufficiently symmetrical to suggest that they might have profited by some such aid. On the whole the pottery was relatively coarse and thick, the surface not well smoothed, the clay not well cleaned and not well baked. Yet numerous small bowls were quite thin and of well-cleaned clay. A considerable number of pieces were covered with a well-smoothed slip. These had been decorated in red or brown paint with parallel and cross-hatched lines which showed practically no designs.

Careful comparison with the earlier strata at Beth-shan, Megiddo, Jericho, and Ai shows that, without doubt, both tombs belong to the EB i period, which may be dated between 3250 and 2900 B. C. While exact parallels to some types are wanting, there is no mistaking the character of the pottery as a whole. Both shape and decoration prove its close affinity to the materials of that date found elsewhere. On the whole, the shapes fit better into Wright's EB ia period, than in EB ib.⁸ The little ladle⁹ (S 1804 [59]) and the flat-bottomed bowl (S 1080 [50]) found in CT 6 might be Ghassulian, but are not necessarily so early, although the spoon has parallels at Site D2 at T. el-Fâr'ah.¹⁰ Some pushed-up ledge handles suggest EB ii, but the use of a cream or buff slip, and vertical, horizontal, and cross-hatched lines of red or brown in decoration, ear-handled juglets with both wide and narrow mouths, cups with high loop handles, jars with bell spout and with divided handle, other cups or bowls with two vertical, horizontally pierced loop or lug handles, all these are the characteristic marks of EB ia.

Some types which are found in EB i strata at Beth-shan, Megiddo, and Jericho are almost entirely wanting. Pithoi, or storage jars (*zîrs*), are not

⁷ See pl. 24. Numbers in square brackets refer to items on the plates.

⁸ *PP*, 60.

⁹ See fragment from CT 163.

¹⁰ *PP*, 20, fig. 9 X; 21, fig. 10b. One example of S 1080 (M 101) also in CT 5. *TF* 2, pls. 22: 2, upper row, 28: 22; p. 56.

usually found in tombs, doubtless because they took too much room. Wide-mouthed (whole-mouth) jars likewise are wanting, perhaps for the same reason.

A few types found in one or the other tomb are without good parallels elsewhere because they were crudely or carelessly made. A very few were unique in design. The most unusual were the very crude double cups (S 878-85 [32-39]), a cup within a cup, found only in CT 6. The smaller inner vessel was attached to the rim of the outer one, or hung from it so that the two formed one piece. Both the inner and the outer cups varied greatly in shape. Some of the outer cups were low and rounded; others were tall with flat bottoms and almost perpendicular sides. The inner cups usually corresponded more or less to their outer counterparts. In some of the taller varieties the inner cup was long and so thin that a finger could not be thrust into the opening.

One of the first found was of this kind. A famous archaeologist suggested that the larger cup was intended for water, the inner one to hold the stem of a flower which was presented as a votive offering to some deity. The round shallow examples found later in earlier strata proved this suggestion wrong. The tall thin variety may represent a later, conventionalized form of the original design. Another archaeologist suggested that the two were funerary substitutes for a large water jar with a dipper hung over its edge.¹¹ The idea which Dr. Badè tentatively favored was that they were double libation cups intended to hold two kinds of liquid, wine and oil, for example.¹² They can have served no practical purpose and may be either small models made to represent in the tomb larger vessels which were of use in daily life, or they may have served some ritual practice.

The only comparable vessel found in Palestine is the much later "cup and saucer,"¹³ which may have been a lamp. Since in these the inner vessel rises from the center of the outer, there is no close resemblance to the TN form. In Rome in the Museo L. Pigorini (Musei Preistorico e Ethnographico, Room 40) I have seen a flat-based ovoid cup with a horizontal loop handle within which, attached above the

handle and projecting above the rim of the cup, was a shallow open cup shaped much like the base of a Roman lamp of the later imperial age (a long, almost pointed egg-shape). It was a gray ware, evidently handmade. The larger outer cup was cruder than the inner one. Both were more carefully made than the TN double cups. No indication of provenience was given. I judged the material was classified as belonging to the third millennium B. C. and possibly as from Minorca. I have been unable to learn more about the vessel.

The small troughs which occur in CT 6 (S 1805 [60]) are likewise without parallels. Since they also are without practical use, it would appear that they are a funerary surrogate for a larger object which was of practical value and represent what they resemble, a trough for watering sheep or goats. A handleless, pear-shaped, bell-mouthed bottle (S 1712) is unique, but it could represent the form

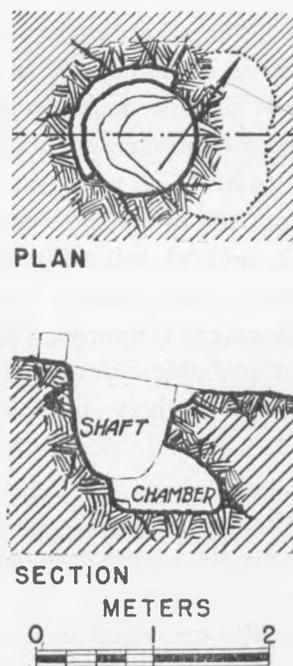


FIG. 5. PLAN AND SECTION OF CAVE TOMB 63

with two lug handles (S 206 or 218) on which the handles have been omitted. Both tombs have examples of rounded cups or bowls with two perforations close together near the rim (S 1088-91). They occur only on one side and were, therefore, not intended to suspend the vessel in a horizontal position.

A very few types found in CTs 5 and 6 seem to

¹¹ Both suggestions were made orally and it is now difficult or impossible to learn whether the two scholars would wish to have their names attached to chance remarks.

¹² Cf. *Exc.*, 49 f.

¹³ At Megiddo (*SAOC* 17) in str. vi (29), vii (46, 47).

occur elsewhere more frequently in periods slightly later than EB i. The incurved, or inverted, rim, which occurs rarely in CT 5 (S 1114, M 0137) and CT 6 (S 1114, M 0139; S 1117, M 43) is placed by Wright in EB i and ii. It occurs at Jericho in T. A (MB iii) and in T. 351, which Garstang puts in what corresponds to EB iv. Three closely related cup types (888-90) have their closest parallels in EB iii and iv material at Jericho.¹⁴ These very few aberrations are not sufficient to suggest a later date for the burials. Some may be later chance intrusions. Others represent simple types which would naturally persist or recur. Still others, perhaps, represent here the inception of tendencies developed later.

2. Other tombs and caves of the EB Age are not so easily or securely dated as are CTs 5 and 6 because they contain much less material. However they contribute a variety of new pottery types. Only CTs 5 and 6, which were virtually one tomb, show a large number of closely similar vessels. The variety of forms within a certain rather limited number of basic shapes and patterns is significant of the freedom which the ancient potters, doubtless the women of the group, allowed themselves. There was no mass production and probably no professional potters.

The largest amount of pottery came from T. 67 with Ts. 66, 12, and 52 following in diminishing order. T. 63 has a much smaller number and the others very little except fragments. They are taken up here in their probable chronological order, but with reference also to their chronological values: Ts. 67, 66, Ca 193, Ts. 52, 12, 60-62, Silo 315, Ts. 63, 65.

Tomb 67 in the north cemetery, excavated during May, 1935, was simply a large cave in the limestone rock with numerous deposits.¹⁵ The pottery and bones were carefully excavated in layers as may be seen in the illustrations. However, the deposits had been so disturbed that no evidence of stratification was discoverable and no clear typological differences appeared in the three layers (see plate).

The turned-up and pinched-down ledge (pinch-lapped) handles of S 124 may be EB iia.¹⁶ The plain handles and shapes of S 140 and 141 [20, 21] are much like types found at Ai in the EB i stratum. The

decorated types S 131-4 in CT 6 are better versions of the same order of vessel.

One example of a large, narrow-necked jar (S 202 [26]) and three of small bottles (S 207-2, S 211 [22, 23]) with two horizontally pierced ear handles occur. No exact parallels but many vessels of the same general order occur elsewhere at TN. Similar vessels are found at Ai, Beth-shemesh, and Jericho in EB i, ii, and iii.¹⁷ All of them may be early. The peculiar straight handles of S 207 [22] fitted into the angle of neck and body are unique. The bottle with two vertically pierced lug handles (S 220 [24]), if it were wheel-made or even fairly symmetrical, might be thought to belong to the vessels with two vertically pierced lug handles which are common in the Iron period. But there is no reason to argue that the vessel is intrusive. Vertically pierced lug handles were well known in the EB Age as the group of bowls, S 1097, 1099 [35], 1101, shows. S 1099 is found in T. 67.

Several very high or moderately high loop-handled cups¹⁸ with round bottoms have parallels at Ai and Jericho in EB i and ii. The numerous small round bowls¹⁹ are predominantly EB i in form, as is the one with a concave base and vertically pierced knob handle (1099). The more unusual form (S 1110), is parallel at Ai in EB i. A vessel, otherwise unique at TN, is the bowl (S 1124 [37]) with a series of knobs about the rim, one of which is vertically pierced. It is not an unusual vessel elsewhere, being paralleled at 'Affûleh in LC, at Beth-shan in EB i, and at Megiddo in EB i and ii. A heavy, shallow bowl, S 1128 [38], is paralleled at Megiddo in EB ii. The two bottles S 1712 (M 2736-7 [39, 40]) have a parallel in CT 6. In their fundamental lines, their rounded body and flaring rim, they are not different from S 720, a handleless cup, found in Ts. 12 and 52 and Cave 193, and they are like the S 204-18 group without the handles. The very unusual double bottle (M 1838 [41]), of which only half is preserved, has a fair parallel in EB i at Ai.²⁰ In that example the mouth is larger in proportion and there is a connec-

¹⁷ Wright, *PP*, charts A-G VI a, b. A Jericho example which, so far as preserved, is almost a duplicate of S 202 is probably to be dated earlier now than it was when it was excavated in 1931 (2500-2000 B. C.); *LAA* 19, p. 39, fig. 8: 1.

¹⁸ S 904, 905 (2), 906 (3) [27-29].

¹⁹ S 1079, 1083 (2), 1084 (6), 1085, 1086 (4), 1110 [30, 31, 33, 34, 36].

²⁰ *Syria* 16, pl. 58: 13.

¹⁴ *LAA* 19 (1932), pl. 3: 7; 22 (1935), pl. 29: 26, 27; pl. 31: 7.

¹⁵ Pls. 14: 5-8; 25: 20-41.

¹⁶ Wright, *PP*, 93, Form I d.

tion between the two parts which is lacking in the TN specimen.

The weight of the evidence points strongly to EB i as the chief period of the tomb but with a possible use also in the EB ii period. In addition to the numerous scattered bones, seven carnelian beads and a bone punch with a hooked end and a perforation complete the enumeration of finds.

3. Tomb 66, found on May 13, 1935, lay on the west slope of the ridge which contained the north cemetery.²¹ A large section of the overhanging rock had fallen and crushed a part of the contents. It produced, however, a fair list of vessels. There were a few worked flints, and a large number of chips or flakes. Apparently it had been used as a dwelling as well as a tomb.

at the new opening. The two walls may be seen in pl. 15: 2. A floor of pounded limestone above which was a variety of pottery remains covered a series of Early Bronze Age burials. The cave, therefore, seems to have been in use in at least the Early Bronze and the Iron Ages, extending possibly down into the Persian period for a *yôdh-hê* seal (M 878) impression appeared in the first basket of pottery. However, this handle was found so near the surface that it may be intrusive.

The number of even partially preserved EB shapes was small. The majority of the remains were mere fragments. A large jar (S 136, M 935 [25]) with flat, slightly concave base and everted rim had plain ledge handles (EB i-iii). A small quite irregular jar (S 143, M 947[16]) had a folded-over ledge handle.

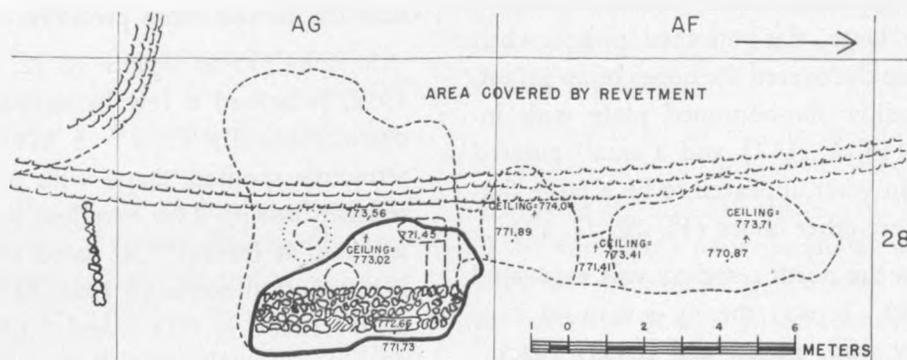


FIG. 6. PLAN OF CAVE 193

The evidence as to date within the EB Age is not clear. Many EB iii parallels appear, but also EB i and even LC (applied rope design). The number of parallels from the EB i period at Ai, Jericho, and Megiddo is double that of either EB ii or EB iii. Therefore on a statistical basis EB i with a continuation into EB ii and even iii is indicated.

4. Cave 193, which lay on the east slope of the mound (AG 28) under the city wall and opened without it, was, like CTs 5 and 6, a large irregular cavern with several bays, and holes or silos in its floor.²² It was excavated in April and May, 1929. At one time the roof of rock had extended farther than it now does. A wall had been erected at this outer point to close the cave off, doubtless for a dwelling. When the roof fell in another wall had been built

A few shapes were unique or so crude as to be classified with difficulty. But the great majority seem to fall in EB i and ii with a slight preponderance in EB i.

Several rim fragments had rims which were bent in at a sharp angle, a mark probably of later date. The burial deposits differ from those of CTs 5 and 6 and the EB Age tombs of the north cemetery in that only one fragmentary example of a bottle with two horizontally pierced lug handles was found (C, x42). One bowl fragment had a horizontally pierced bowed handle (S 1168). A crude cup or jug had three knobs irregularly placed about its waist (S 921, M 955). Judged from the chief criteria, such as ledge and loop handles all this material falls into the earlier part of the EB Age, and these differences do not invalidate the conclusion as to an EB i and ii date.²³

²¹ Pls. 12: 2-4; 25: 1-19.

²² See plan, fig. 6, and pls. 15; 27: 15-37. The bays were lettered, A, B, etc.

²³ The Iron Age use is discussed below, pp. 96, 262.

5. Tomb 52 on the east side of the north ridge—the northeast cemetery—was excavated July 17-19, 1932. It contained a considerable amount of EB Age pottery (pl. 28: 10-23). The vessels preserved consist largely of jars or bottles with two lug handles horizontally pierced (S 203, 205, 212-2, 213-2, 214-2, 215*, 216*-2, 217*), pitchers and round-bottomed cups with loop handles (S 616, 617, 619*, 904, 916, 919*), bottles, or handleless jars with flaring rims (S 177, 920*, 1713*), and two bowls with knob handles (S 1098*, 1100*). Similar vessels have been found in EB i-iii, or even iv. Perhaps the cave had been used for occasional burials in the three periods, EB i-iii. Two vessels (S 203, M 2372 and S 1713, M 2376) are described as having hematite slips, but both are handmade.

Three partly mineralized skulls were found and, in the bottom of a large, flat-bottomed pithos when cleaned, there were discovered the bones of an infant, along with a shallow flat-bottomed plate with incurved rim (S 1136 or 1137) and a small painted juglet (S 205). In what appeared to be a large flat-bottomed bowl were other bones (Pl. 28: 23, 19).

6. Tomb 12 in the north cemetery was excavated April 12-14, 1932. It was merely a natural cave filled with "very firm, moist, and mostly black" earth. The long bones of two adults, a man and a woman to judge from their length, and half of the mandible of a child which did not yet have its second teeth, were found. There were no vertebrae and only small fragments of the skulls. Bits of charcoal pointed possibly to cremation, but the bones showed no trace of fire.²⁴ Possibly the charcoal came from a hearth. A considerable number of flints and pottery fragments suggest that the place may have served as a dwelling, before it became a burial place.

The character of the cave and of the pottery is indicated in the plates.²⁵ While the vessels on the whole resemble those of CTs 5 and 6, there are various features which point to EB ii and iii. A ridged rim (S 993, x11) has passable parallels at Megiddo in stages iv and v, EB ib. Several of the ledge handles appear to be upturned or folded over. The flaring rims (S 125) and a long slender jug (S 615) have their more numerous parallels in EB ii and

iii. Several types appear which persist throughout the EB Age. Yet the EB i types are slightly more numerous than those of any other single period. EB ib and EB ii, possibly EB iii also, seem to represent the possible range of the material.

7. Tombs 60-62 in the northeast cemetery were found on April 8, 1935. They were merely caves used for burials. A single bead is recorded from T. 62, a high-loop-handled cup or jug (S 900) from T. 60. T. 61 had only fragmentary material, which for the most part was not distinctive of any period within the EB Age. The incised and rope decoration and the roll-rim fragments might be Chalcolithic or Early Bronze, a couple of thumb-indented ledge handles EB i-iii. Bulbous rims of neckless jars have an even longer life. It is, therefore, impossible to date the burials more precisely.

8. Silo 315 in Square X 12, excavated in May, 1932, preserved a few handmade pieces that were characteristically EB i.²⁶ S 1122 (M 1849) is an attractive spouted shape with a painted design in reddish brown. Two excellent parallels occur at Ai and two at Jericho,²⁷ all dated in EB i. Two small hemispherical bowls (S 1083, M 1848, 1850) are of a type found in CTs 5 and 6 (2), and Ts. 66 and 67 (2). They have parallels at Megiddo.²⁸ Another (S 1078) has its counterparts in CTs 5 and 6 (2) and Ts. 12 and 66 (2) with parallels also at Jericho and Megiddo,²⁹ in every case but one dated in EB i. A handmade bottle with two horizontal loop handles obliquely set on the shoulder is quite unusual. Since there is no reason otherwise to suspect the intrusion of so large an object, it must be added to the EB i corpus. A fragment of a rolled rim with incised decoration (S 151) and a flint sickle blade are fully in place in EB i, as is also a pottery fragment painted with horizontal and diagonal reddish brown stripes. Only a bronze ring (M 1852) seems possibly out of place.

9. On the basis of a comparison of individual types CT 6 is unique in that half of its vessels are not exactly matched elsewhere at TN, while no other

²⁶ See pl. 26: 2.

²⁷ *Syria* 16, pls. 58: 12; 57, row 4: 7; *LAA* 22, pl. 37: 13; 23, pl. 35: 17.

²⁸ *MT*, pls. 3: 11; 76: 9; cf. *SAOC* 10, fig. 6: 20 A top.

²⁹ *MT*, pl. 3: 2; 6: 20; cf. *SAOC* 10, chart 21c; *LAA* 22, pl. 36: 13; 27: 22 (dated EB ii); 23, pl. 36: 8.

²⁴ One pair of femurs measured 45.8 cm., the other 41.3 cm.

²⁵ Pls. 14: 1, 2; 26: 1.

EB locus except Cave 193 is as much as one-third singular. Among the EB loci the Bronze Age stratum of Ca 193 has its largest number of contacts with T. 67, and next with CT 6 and Ts. 52 and 66. In view of the number of objects in CT 6 this is not surprising. It is more significant in the case of T. 67 and especially of Ts. 52 and 66, which preserve a relatively small number of items. It is hardly significant that contacts are numerous between all of the loci which have preserved any considerable number of objects: CTs 5, 6, Ts. 66 and 67, Ca 193 and Si 315. The larger numbers give more numerous similar types. Neither is it strange that CTs 5 and 6 and Ca 193 have more numerous parallels than other similar loci in pottery found on the mound. They are themselves on the mound. It is significant, however, that these three and T. 67 have the most numerous parallels with pottery remains from Sub I and II, the strata nearest the ground. This is especially remarkable in the case of T. 67 which is in the north cemetery.

A small amount of EB Age pottery is found in T. 32,³⁰ a few pieces in T. 54, both discussed below. The other caves listed as Early Bronze (nos. 209, 210, 212, 214, 217, 242, 250, 251, 261, 262) contained only fragments of handmade pottery which were neither large nor numerous and add nothing to the picture of Early Bronze Age occupation, except to emphasize its importance. It is useless, therefore, to describe them.

In conclusion it may be pointed out that the material discussed seems to prove definitely an occupation only in EB i, with a probable continuation into EB ii or even iii, but with a less intensive occupation as the EB Age progressed. For example, the total number of resemblances to pottery in T. A at Jericho is relatively small.

The number of closely similar types appearing in different tombs is small except in vessels of undistinguished or ordinary shapes, such as the small hemispherical bowls (S 1078-87). These are most numerous in the closely related CTs 5 and 6, but occur also in Ts. 12, 63, 66 and 67, Ca 193, Si 315, and on the mound. Individual types which occur in more than two loci are not numerous.³¹

An enumeration of the types actually found in more than one locus fails to indicate the close relationship in general between the pottery shapes found in the various EB loci. It may also obscure the variety of the vessels of similar but not the same type. Some of the groups may differ from others because of difference of date, e. g., in the possibly later tombs 66, 67, 52, and 12. Other differences, probably the majority, are due to the idiosyncrasies of individual potters in an age when mass production was unknown. As already remarked, the potters were probably women (although it cannot be proved) and merely made vessels from time to time as household needs demanded. Their lack of professional skill would prevent the same woman from imitating herself. It is no wonder, therefore, that varieties are many. A somewhat full publication has been made because of the comparative scarcity of tomb groups of such EB material.

10. Tomb 69 in the northeast cemetery, which was cleared on May 22 and 23, 1935, shows a curious mixture of EB and MB forms (pl. 28: 1-9). Nearly all the vessels are poor specimens with no clear evidence of the use of the wheel. S 1084, a small hemispherical bowl is an excellent EB i shape found in CT 6, T. 63, and in five examples in T. 67. But the shape is so simple that it has little independent chronological value. S 1119* is a flat-bottomed bowl of a type which is reported from all phases of EB. At Megiddo the shape is assigned to EB ii and iii. The two loop-handled cups S 910 and 916* are good EB iii types. The bowls S 1129*, S 1130*, with low disk base and markedly everted lip seem to be common at Megiddo in MB i and ii. The pitchers with small flat base and handle falling short of the rim (S 551*, S 552*) cannot be exactly paralleled elsewhere but are possibly an EB, possibly a MB shape,³² while the juglet with conical base, S 756* and the fragmentary piriform Tell el-Yahudiyeh juglet, S 753*, are both excellent MB forms. The cave, therefore, must have been used in the latter part of the

S 892 (T. 52, T. 32, mound), S 897 (CT 5, Ts. 66, 32, mound), S 904 (CT 5, CT 6-2, T. 67), S 907 (Ts. 12, 63, Ca 193), S 910 (Ts. 52, 69, Ca 193 A), S 916 (Ts. 52, 67-2, 69*), S 917 (CT 6, T. 67, Ca 193 B), S 920 (Ts. 12, 52, Ca 193 C), S 1078 (CTs 5, 6*-2, Ts. 12, 66-2, Si 315), S 1082 (CT 6-4, CR 68, Ca 193 D), S 1083 (CT 5, CT 6*-9, Ts. 66, 67-2, Ca 193, Si 315-2, mound), S 1086 (CT 5-3, CT 6*-6, Ts. 32, 63, 67-4), S 1087 (CTs 5, 6, T. 12).

³² Mr. Wampler gives it a possible range of 1900-1300 B. C.

³⁰ See pl. 27: 1-13.

³¹ S 123 (CT 5, T. 54, and on the mound), S 124 (T. 67, CR 68, Ca 193 D, mound), S 210 (T. 66, Ca 193 C, mound),

EB Age and again in MB i, possibly even in MB ii. Yet the solitary Tell el-Yahudiyeh fragment only emphasizes the absence of other MB forms.

IV. OCCUPIED CAVES

1. The cave listed as Tomb 63 in the northeast cemetery, excavated on April 10, 1935, contained fragments of pottery, of a basalt metate, and of a grinding stone, a flint chip, and a limestone jar lid, along with a dozen fragments of asphalt. No bones are listed. The pottery belongs plainly in the EB Age, and probably EB i, but the remains are insufficient to determine its date precisely. It may not have been a tomb.³³

2. From T. 65, excavated on May 11, 1935, only three objects are listed, all distinctive in form (pl. 26: 13-15). S 922* (M 2679), a bottle-shaped vessel with an indented band applied around the middle, might be LC or EB i. S 1115* (M 2678), a large, heavy, flat-bottomed bowl, may range from LC to EB iii, while the high, flat-bottomed bowl with small, plain ledge handles, S 1118* (M 2676), has a possible range from LC to EB ii. This cave is also probably not a tomb, but testifies to occupation about the time of EB i.

What were called tombs 8-11 in the north cemetery

³³ See plan, fig. 5, and pl. 14: 3.

were cleared the second week of April, 1932. When they were finished Dr. Badè remarked that "nothing of importance was found so that this proves to be one of the expensive hazards of an archaeological enterprise." Only no. 8 was actually a tomb. It is described below, chapter IV.

3. "Tomb 9 had three floor levels, the upper of *nari*, the two lower ones of stones laid on earth pavement fashion." In the debris above the floor were "a lot of microlithic flints" and "a number of fireplaces. . . . Numerous chicken and cattle bones showed that feasts had been held there." Three pottery fragments, a pressure-chipped piece of flint, a coin, apparently of John Hyrcanus,³⁴ were found. Apparently the cave had not been used as a tomb but at intervals from Mesolithic to Roman or Byzantine times as a dwelling place.

4. Tomb 10 preserved a few more fragments of pottery than T. 9, with an almost equal range of dates. Tomb 11 again had still a little more, ranging from flints and ledge handles to Byzantine combed ware. A coin of Anastasius struck in Constantinople had no chronological value in so miscellaneous a collection.³⁵ Apparently none of these caves had been used as tombs, although the last may have been, since it contained a few bits of bronze.

³⁴ See Appendix C, List of Coins, no. 10 (M 1610).

³⁵ See Appendix C, List of Coins, no. 21 (M 1549).

CHAPTER IX

IRON AGE TOMBS

SEVERAL TOMBS discovered were in use during the Iron Age. Some (3, 7, 19, 53, 55) were of minor importance. But four (5, 29, 32, and 54) were extremely rich in contents and are therefore especially important for both the chronology and the cultural history of TN. Since they present the most complete data discovered on these subjects, they have been given special attention. They are here briefly described in the order of the abundance of their contents, and then discussed as to their chronology.

From T. 32, the millimeter cards carry 772 numbers, from T. 54 there are 433, from T. 5, 266, and from T. 29, 82.¹ This does not quite accurately represent the statistics, since T. 5 was excavated in 1929, the other three during later expeditions, when a fuller system of recording was adopted. The number of ceramic types and of pottery vessels in each tomb (see Table 2, sec. v, 2) was twice as large in T. 32 as in any other. Ts. 54 and 5 were more nearly equal in respect to specimens, but T. 54 was much richer in types, though poorer in specimens, while T. 29 was poorest, but still more abundant than any other tomb discovered.

I. TOMB 32

The largest and most instructive tomb at TN, that in the eastern section of the west cemetery numbered 32, was a great natural cave.² It lay, with Ts. 6, 29, and 31, nearer the tell than the bulk of those excavated. The enumeration below of the objects from it and the plates, both drawn and photographic, give sufficient evidence that it was the richest of all in the quantity of objects found. Its value was further enhanced by its numerous scarabs and seals, which give some assistance in dating it. Unfortunately no burials were found undisturbed and, moreover, the large

cavity had been used in three separate periods, EB, EI and MI, and Byz. These three were easily distinguished, for the objects from the early and the late periods were found by themselves and were quite distinct in type. For the mass of the material, which came from EI ii-MI i periods, no stratification or other segregation is possible, although the area was excavated in five different sections.

The tomb was excavated between May 16 and June 8. On May 18 Dr. Badè wrote that "T. 32, long collapsed, and showing like the pit of a crater, proves to have been a very old Iron Age tomb." At first it was feared that the collapsed roof had crushed the contents beyond salvage. But a little excavation around the edges showed their value. The great slabs of the roof were, therefore, removed, and the knife workers went systematically through the mass of vessels which had been fairly well preserved by the silt which had gathered about them. Dr. Badè wrote in his Bulletin No. 4, that tomb 32 "proved to be one of the great surprises of the season. It contained hundreds of juglets, lamps, bowls, . . . and pitchers, some of striking form and finish. Besides forty polished black juglets, there are a dozen dainty oil bottles imported from Cyprus more than a thousand years B. C. In one level of the tomb were found thirteen scarabs, several of which bear the cartouche of Thutmosis III. . . . Sixteen button seals with ancient heraldic animal devices are of great archaeological interest. One contains alphabetic or hieroglyphic symbols of an unknown kind. Fifty bronze bracelets, strings of beads, and other forms of jewelry illustrate the feminine love of ornament in ancient Canaan. Most of the beads are carnelian so admirably cut that any modern woman would be proud to wear them."

At the entrance to the tomb, which faced east, two blocks indicated that a door had been erected and some burials made above the older materials before the roof fell in (pl. 17: 1). First the relics of a Byzantine burial just under this entrance were re-

¹ Similar objects, such as beads, and fragments of lamps for example, were often collected under one number. The individual objects recovered, therefore, were many more than the numbers indicate.

² See plan, fig. 19: 1, and pls. 17, 27: 1-13; 29-34.

moved. The remainder of the area was divided into five sections or "strips," east, south, west, and north, around a central portion.³ In the east strip, that nearest the entrance, about 37 per cent of the pottery was found. The quantities diminished progressively in the south (30 per cent), north (15 per cent), and west (2 per cent) strips almost to negligibility. In the center about the same number (13 per cent) as in the north strip appeared. Jewelry, however, was scarce in the east strip, perhaps because most convenient to the entrance and consequent rifling. The actual depth of the deposits was not very great, and there was no noticeable difference between upper and lower layers, if one may speak of layers (see pl. 17: 1). Indeed everything was in complete confusion and no burial was *in situ* because the cave had been repeatedly reused and repeatedly plundered. When fresh burials were made, apparently previous interments were hastily brushed aside or scattered about and left in complete disorder. Plate 17 displays the disorder and something of the variety and richness of the contents. Plates 27 (1-13) and 29-34 illustrate the latter feature still better.

In the east strip and under the later Byzantine entrance a number of pieces of handmade pottery belonging to the EB age were found. Clearly the cave had first been used for a burial in that period, and these earliest tomb deposits had never been completely removed or widely scattered. The cave, then was left unoccupied or at least unused as a place of burial until the time when the Israelites settled the tell in the period of Samuel and Saul. When the tomb was finally cleared two shallow graves with covering stone slabs were found sunk in the floor, but no burials remained and the pottery was not distinctive. Altogether nearly 1000 objects, besides much broken pottery came from the tomb—a vast variety of vessels, jewelry, seals, and scarabs.

1. Early Bronze Age Ware

As to the date of the mass of materials which filled the greater part of the tomb there are various indicia. The evidence is clear that the great cave was used in three periods: EB, EI-MI, and Rom.-Byz. From the first period, there is a series of handmade jars, bowls, and cups.

As to the date of this EB material the two plain ledge handles are not significant.⁴ But the flat bottoms and other features immediately suggested EB i to both Albright and Wright. The latter thought some of the shapes might run into EB ii (e. g. S 1125, M 2189 [10]). The period would be that of the first dynasty in Egypt (EB ib). Our own comparisons reach the same conclusions. The handmade cup, S 892 (M 2187 [6]), is found also in T. 52. The cups with high loop handles (S 897, M 2183; S 903, M 2186 [7]; S 909, M 2184; S 918, M 2185 [8]) are typical EB i-ii vessels with parallels in CT 5, T. 66, and Ca 193. Bowl S 1093 (M 2190 [9]) is much like S 1092 of CT 5, but is more regular. The wide, low bowl, S 1107 (M 2191), is found also in T. 66; at Jericho it appears in the Chalcolithic Age, at Megiddo in EB i. The fragment numbered S 1112 (x561) is not a common EB shape but something similar appears occasionally from LC to EB iv. In spite of some inconsistencies, therefore, it is certain that the cave was used in the EB age, probably in EB ib, but whether as a tomb or a dwelling it is impossible to say.

Two peculiar objects appeared. One is a biconical vessel, a kind of double funnel like an hourglass, of which two fragmentary examples were found (S 1756, M 2195 and x569, pl. 27: 11). Its only decoration was an incised rope design about the waist. It would appear to be a stand for holding a vessel of some kind. Since it is open from top to bottom, it can hardly be a censer like that discovered in T. 5 (S 1804),⁵ but it may have been finished off with a provision of some kind for burning incense. The other (S 1126, M 2194, pl. 27: 13) was a rather shallow bowl set upon an attached stand which had four squarish holes in its sides. It would appear to have been an arrangement for heating something, perhaps incense, perhaps food, by a fire burning below. It has a close parallel in T. 69, which is partly EB, partly MB in date.

The greater part of the handmade objects was found under the late entrance (seen at lower right in pl. 17: 1) at its south end, though the "east strip" and the "north strip" of the tomb each had two and the "middle strip" one. That only means that some

⁴ See examples of EB ware, pl. 27: 1-13, where many of the serial numbers mentioned will be found.

⁵ *Tombs*, 56, pl. xx: 1; cf. below, chap. XIX, iv, 1.

³ Abbreviated as ES, SS, WS, NS, CS; see pl. 17: 1.

pieces become slightly separated from the original locus. The presence of only three flints with the handmade pottery may be deemed sufficient evidence to prove that the deposit is due to burial, not to the occupation of the cave as living quarters.

2. Roman and Byzantine Ware

The other material in the tomb which was chronologically incongruous was plainly late Roman and Byzantine. Fragments of ribbed ware, of glass, and of Arabic enameled and painted ware testified to some kind of use 3500 years after the first burials. This use probably coincided with the masonry entrance of which the lowest course remained at the northeast corner of the cave. Evidently it could not have continued for any considerable length of time since there were only fragments of these late wares and few at that.

3. Iron Age Material

Tomb 32 is instructive especially because, if these two small pottery groups are segregated, it is fairly homogeneous, it has numerous scarabs and seals as well as its mass of pottery, and it falls in the main between the EI ii and MI i periods. Can it be more closely dated? The scarabs would be expected to be the most important evidence.⁶ There were at least five which clearly carried the throne name of Thutmose III, Men-kheper-re (Re-men-kheper), (M 2324-6, 2329, 2331) and another of the 19th dyn. (M 2323). There were others (M 2317, 2325, 2330, 2331) which can fall as late as the 25th dyn. (712-663 B. C.). Unfortunately, therefore, they give no aid for precise dating, but rather cover the period from 1475 to 700 or 650 B. C. Since Thutmose III scarabs were made and used long after his death, they are no evidence that the tomb was used as early as his time. As several of the scarabs were in use from the 21st to the 25th dyn., that period (1090-663 B. C.) is indicated as the possible spread of the material, but it need not be later than the 8th cent. at the most. The seals, likewise, suit an EI or early MI date, but give no more precise chronological limits. Scarabs and seals distinguish T. 32 as the richest by far of all those excavated.

The eyelet pins (toggle-pins) found in the tomb

fit perfectly into the picture which Dr. Henschel-Simon has drawn on the basis of the eyelet pins in the Palestine Museum.⁷ The great part of the T. 32 pins (about 29 in all are clearly identifiable) have the eyelet near the point, the distance varying from a third to a sixth of the total length. Two have the eyelet nearer the center and may be early within the period. Several are highly decorated (M 2223, M 2235, x659, x670). As a whole, they come nearest to the "stake" and "baluster" classes, nos. 11 and 13, of Dr. Henschel-Simon's article, all of which are EI pins. The small number of fibulae (5) discovered in the tomb corresponds to the generally accepted conclusion that the latter displaced the eyelet pins about the end of EI.⁸

4. Cypro-Phoenician Juglets

Among the most beautiful of the vessels in T. 32 were six practically complete and four or five fragmentary imported "Cypro-Phoenician" black-on-red juglets, with neck ridges, flaring rims, and flat bases.⁹ Aside from fragments of three more whose exact provenience was not specified, all the examples found in T. 32 came from the larger and richer east strip of the tomb. The objects in this strip were (in the main) the same as in the other parts of the tomb except for the juglets, although it produced fewer scarabs and seals than the center and south strips. In other places on the mound and in cisterns, only one complete and two or three fragmentary specimens of similar wares were found.¹⁰ The date of juglets of this class is under dispute, as is also their place of origin. Those discovered in T. 32 conform to type with only slight variations.¹¹ All were decorated with horizontal bands and nearly all with concentric circles. None had the ladder pattern on the handle nor the swastika or lozenge on the bowl as have many that are reported from Cyprus.

In Cyprus this type of juglet, in Black-on-red I (III) and II (IV) ware, appears in contexts which

⁷ *QDAP* 6 (1938), 175; cf. below, chap. XXI.

⁸ See below, chap. XXI.

⁹ S 873, complete (pl. 32: 22); M 2026-30; x47, the last was preserved in many fragments; fragments: x100 (3 necks), x46 (bottom), a few unrelated pieces.

¹⁰ S 873: S 23, x52; Ci 231; S 874: Ci 368a (M 2479) (see chap. XII, xiii, and pl. 53: 12) complete, bands on neck only; R. 220 II x2; cf. S 876: Ci 370, x157 (frag.) which has a different shape and ware.

¹¹ See vol. II, Pt I, chap. II, § 63.

⁶ See below, chap. XIII.

Gjerstad and his colleagues date from Cypro-Geometric iii to Cypro-Archaic ii, that is (I judge) from the 9th to the 6th cent.¹² The bulk of them appear to come from the end of Cypro-Geometric and the beginning of Cypro-Archaic, or the 9th-8th cent. It is clear that the possibility of 7th-5th cent. limits, formerly allowed by Myres, must be abandoned and his suggested "Middle Iron" age date (1000-750 B. C.) preferred,¹³ possibly with a slight extension both ways.

In Palestine, until recently, such juglets had been found quite consistently with other materials which pointed to EI ii, iii, and MI i. Albright finds them in stratum B at Tell Beit Mirsim, dating the context of one specimen to 1150-920 B. C., of another to 1100-920 B. C.¹⁴ Wright, following Albright, placed the type in the 11th-9th cent., since it appears at Tell Abū Hawam in str. iii (1100-925?), at Tell el-Fār'ah in T. 383 (1050-850 B. C.) and several 200 tombs (11th-9th cent.), at Tell el-'Ajjūl in similar tombs (10th-9th cent.), and in str. B at Tell Beit Mirsim. At 'Ain Shems he finds them in str. iii or early ii. All of these belong in EI ii-iii and MI i.¹⁵ "Juglets of standard red imported Cypriote ware, decorated with concentric circles," are reported from Tell ed-Duweir in tomb 147, which was covered with undisturbed scree from the construction of the outer Jewish wall. I do not discover that the excavators have dated this wall, but it is connected with the "early Jewish kingdom," and is, I suppose, therefore, earlier than 700, possibly earlier than 900 B. C.¹⁶ In other words, from all of these sites the evidence places such juglets at the latest in the 8th cent. and probably in the 9th.

The only other complete TN example, S 874, comes from a cistern (368a) which has much late pottery and may run down into the 6th cent. But the

¹² Amathus, Ts. 7-11; Scylli, T. 17; Lapithos, Ts. 403, 422 (SCE vols. 1 and 2). This is the date for Black-on-red A ware adopted by Miss Taylor and Miss Seton-Williams, *Classification of Pottery in the Cyprus Museum*, 1938, p. 46. Albright makes Black-on-red I ca. 1075-950, II ca. 950-800; *AAS* 21-22 (1943), 7, note.

¹³ *Cesnola Col.* (1914), 107. Note nos. 826-33, "handle-ridge jugs" with swastika, not "eye" ornaments; at Amathus in T. 9, several, chiefly with the "eye," along with Saite and Naucratic materials which might bring them so low as the 6th cent.

¹⁴ *AAS* 12, pl. 51: 9, p. 72; pl. 31: 43, p. 69. See Sellin and Watzinger, *Jericho*, pl. 30, G2, 3, p. 146.

¹⁵ *AS* V, 133. Wright's earliest Cypriote parallel appears to be Red-Slip Painted ware, not Black-on-red.

¹⁶ *PEQ* 1934, p. 170; cf. p. 166 and *Lachish* II, 45.

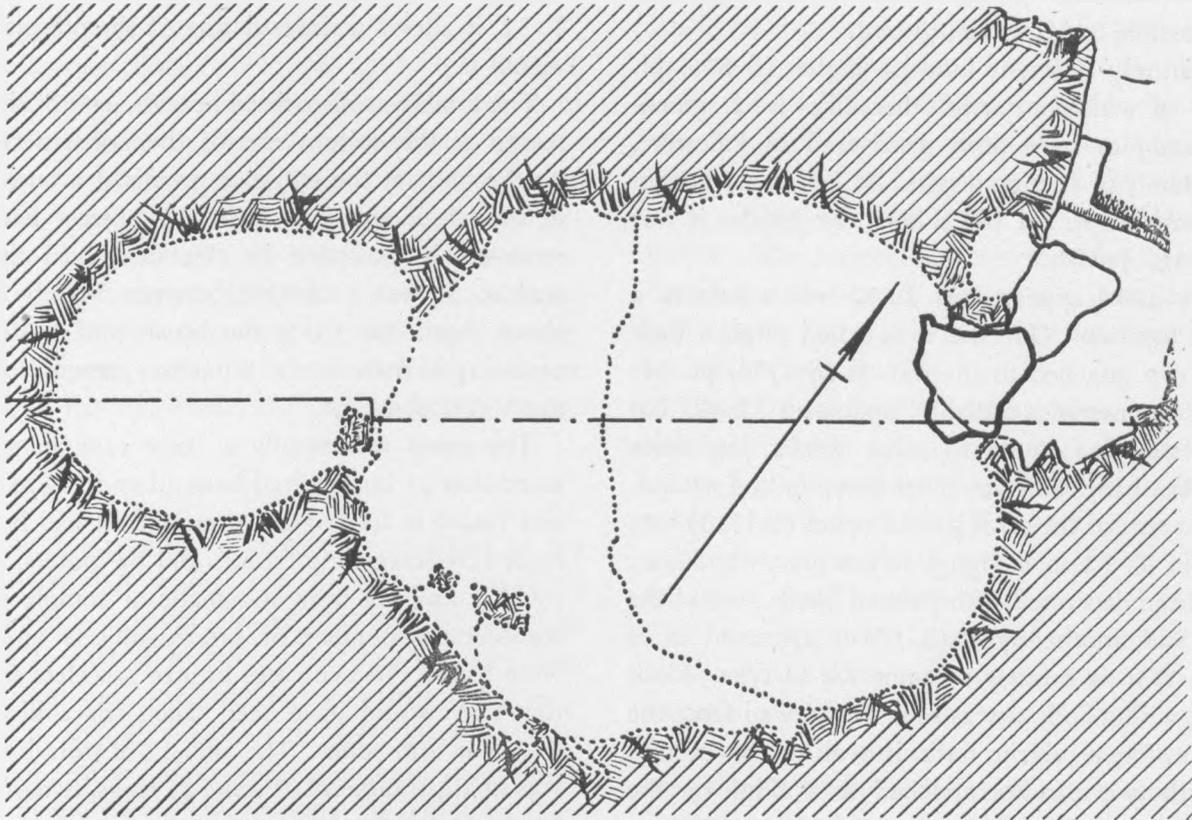
vessel in question lacks concentric circles on its body and may be of later date; moreover it was found near the bottom of the cistern and may well represent an 8th cent., or even earlier, use of the cistern. It might be a 6th-cent. importation, but this is doubtful. From two other sites comes evidence for a later date, Megiddo and 'Athlīt. In three loci in str. iii of Megiddo sherds were found and in one a coarse local imitation. Two specimens are reported from str. iv and six from str. v. Shipton suggests that "the evidence from Megiddo is not entirely conclusive in view of the comparatively few examples found," but believes that the 7th cent. is the latest possible date for Cypriote imports.¹⁷ At 'Athlīt a specimen of Bichrome IV ware was found in what was regarded as an 8th-7th cent. context.¹⁸ These two sites prove merely the possibility of a 7th-cent. date for such vessels. Since both are on the periphera of Hebrew occupation, there is a strong possibility that such importations from Phoenicia continued there after they had ceased to enter strictly Hebrew territory. If so, they indicate an important fact regarding Hebrew economic history.

The discrepancy between the Cypriote and Palestinian data may be explainable on the hypothesis, advanced by Albright, that the vessel may not have originated in Cyprus, or, at least, may not have been manufactured solely there. If they were first made on the mainland, in Phoenicia, for example, and then imported into Cyprus and favored there, while they ceased to be manufactured on the mainland, the difference is explained. Evidence on this phase of the problem is as yet uncertain. No original focus of dissemination has been found. It is significant that so few specimens should be found outside T. 32 at TN, none in tombs and but a few on the mound. Their presence in T. 32 may be due to a special period of close foreign commercial relations with Phoenicia (Solomon, Uzziāh?), or to unusual wealth in the family which used the tomb.

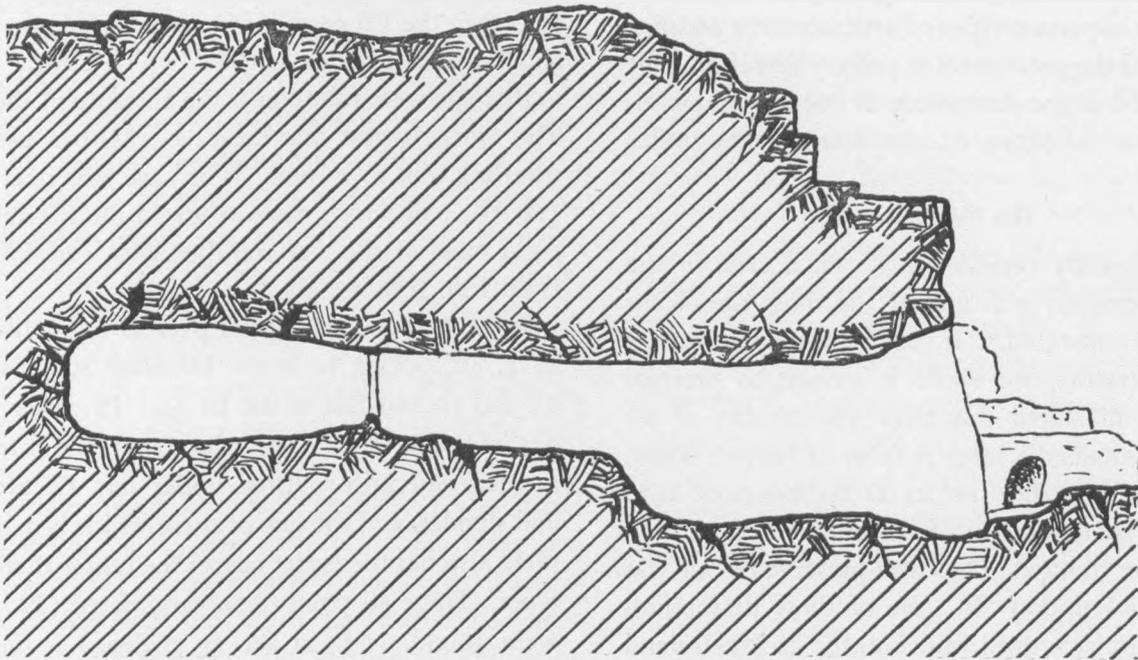
The only possible conclusion is that, while not furnishing a positive criterion, these juglets certainly do not favor a date for their loci in the MI period. They do not exclude such a date, but they point

¹⁷ *MI*, Jug 123, pls. 5, 46, p. 163, § 24, see p. 177 for specimens.

¹⁸ *QDAP* 6 (1938), 130, 142, fig. 6: 4, Bichrome IV ware is contemporary with Black-on-red II. The TN specimens do not exhibit the somewhat tenuous characteristics by which distinction between I and II (III, IV) are made.



PLAN



SECTION



FIG. [7. PLAN AND SECTION] OF TOMB 54

rather to the later phases of EI, to the 11th and 10th, possible to MI i, the 9th cent.

An entirely different kind of juglet (S 875, pl. 32: 23) of which only two other, likewise fragmentary, examples have been discovered in Palestine, was certainly of foreign origin. At Tell Abū Hawam it appeared in str. iii (EI ii-iii). At Jericho it was classed as "Jewish."

Three flasks appeared in T. 32 which deserve a passing mention. One was a so-called pilgrim flask with a cup attached to the mouth (S 1736, pl. 34: 22). It is sometimes called a "spoon-lip" flask. No such vessel was found in other tombs, but three examples of the same vessel appeared on the mound. Another type of the same sort of vessel (S 1738) was found in T. 32 in a highly fragmentary condition. It had been decorated with painted bands around the body. Still another type (S 1737) appeared in Si 116. S 1736 is a fairly common LB-EI type. Flask S 1739, with a body that is round as viewed from the side, but, like a pilgrim flask, is oval in cross section and with two handles attached to a ridge on the long neck, is a fine piece of ware (pl. 34: 23), for which no close parallel has been discovered. A fine bronze bowl (M 2196), one of the best bronze pieces found, came from the south strip in T. 32.

No other important types of artifacts were peculiar to T. 32, and the great mass of pottery therefore, will be considered in the discussions of the material common to two or more of the four tombs under discussion.

II. TOMB 54

Chronologically considered T. 54, a cave in the northeast cemetery was one of the most significant of all those excavated.¹⁹ It proved a disappointment to the excavators, for while it seemed to promise much, it contributed less than 400 objects of all kinds. It contained a large number of human bones, but unfortunately they had so far disintegrated as to be of little anatomical value. Mandibles of 54 individuals were counted. One well-preserved skull was saved for description. In spite of these disappointments, the tomb proved valuable, for its jewelry and the pottery illustrate well the life of the period to which the tomb belongs and allow a fairly definite and somewhat restricted date to be assigned to the

collection. Since it probably covered less time than T. 32, it allows a closer dating of the objects found within it.

The tomb was discovered near the end of the 1932 season at the eastern end of the north necropolis. As the finds at the entrance promised a large yield, it was decided, after some 25 objects had been removed, to postpone its clearance until the next season. It was excavated between March 26 and about April 26, 1935, the brush and knife work necessary to remove the numerous vessels requiring much care and time.

The tomb was simply a large cave in which a succession of burials had been placed. No skeleton was found in its original position; all had been disturbed by succeeding burials and by looters, but the robbing had not been systematic or complete, for a considerable number of bronze objects and beads were found. In two cases bronze bracelets so heavy that they would have been taken for anklets were found on arm bones. The amount of iron discovered was small, fragments of some 25 rings, two of arrowheads, and a nondescript rectangular piece. Bronze objects were much more numerous.

An unusually large number of flint artifacts, chiefly sickle blades, came to light. It is possible that they belong to the EB period, for some handmade pottery and pushed-up ledge handles which clearly belong to that age were found near the entrance of the tomb. The flints suggest that the cave was then used as a dwelling, not as a tomb. The cave was near others (60, 61, 63) which were in use in the EB age. The great mass of the material, however, certainly came from Iron Age burials.

In general the nine eyelet pins in T. 54, like those in T. 32, belong to Mme. Henschel-Simon's Types 11 and 13 and fall in the EI age. However, no. 42 has its eyelet much nearer the center, the three fragmentary specimens, listed under no. 41, are small and slender, and the one of these which is more complete also has the eyelet nearer the center than in late types. These all point to an early date.²⁰ No fibulae were found, and, so far as evidence *e silentio* is valuable, this also points to an early date. But no scarabs or scaraboids and only two very crude stamp seals were found, in contrast to the large numbers in

¹⁹ See plan, fig. 7, and pls. 18, 35.

²⁰ See below, chap. XXI.

T. 32. One worn cylinder seal is recorded, the only one found in the whole excavation.²¹

One unique piece (S 796, pl. 35: 12), a slender, long-necked jar with a strainer over the mouth is to be compared with the strainer types of jugs (S 620-22) discussed below, section vi, 1. But it is a very different vessel, paralleled only by a Jericho juglet classed as "Jewish."²²

Since the pottery types in T. 54 were much the same as in T. 32, where they are much more numerous, the greater part will be discussed below in the section on the four tombs and that on Ts. 32 and 54.

III. TOMB 5

Tomb 5 in the north cemetery, excavated at the end of the 1929 season, was not a mere cave filled with burials as were Ts. 32, 54, and 29, but was unique in that it had been cut into the rock and carefully shaped according to a standard, widely used plan.²³ It should, therefore, be later than the other three, but may merely represent more progressive ideas on the part of the owners. It has been fully described in Dr. Badè's publication,²⁴ and, therefore, can be dismissed summarily here.

It consisted of a small square entrance slightly below ground level, with a series of five steps which led down into a rectangular room, in the farther half of which was a ledge for bodies on each side and against the back wall. At the right end of the last a square opening like the entrance gave access to an almost cubical chamber, which was perfectly plain and probably served as a depository for the bones of older burials. Like all the tombs under discussion, it had been plundered and the contents thrown together into the large chamber. Fortunately much of the pottery was preserved practically, if not wholly, intact, but aside from a few earrings, no metal was found.

The date which Dr. Badè gave T. 5 was based partly upon the scarabs, of which there were two (M 1331, 1332),²⁵ but chiefly upon the comparison of the pottery with that which up to 1929 had been published. Unfortunately the two scarabs cannot be

exactly dated, but may belong in the EI Age. Dr. Badè made use also of a scarab (M 1200) found on the mound in connection with pottery similar to that of the tomb. This scarab was placed in the LB or EI Age by Dr. Ludlow Bull of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and Dr. Max Pieper of the Egyptian division of the State Museum in Berlin. The former suggests the 19th dyn. (1315-1200) for the scarab, the latter a date about 1000 B. C. Rowe places it in the 19th dyn., Engberg gives no definite opinion.²⁶

The chief recourse for dating, then, is the pottery, the major portion of which is paralleled in the other tombs and discussed below. Two pieces, however, were unique among the TN discoveries up to 1929, a "swan jar" and a "beehive jar," to neither of which Dr. Badè was able to discover a close parallel. The mass of pottery discovered and published since 1929 has now completely altered the situation so far as parallel material is concerned. The "swan jar" itself was later paralleled in T. 54 as well as at Megiddo and will be discussed below (sec. viii).

The vessel which resembles a beehive (S 1753, M 1308, pl. 37: 22) is still without close parallels and therefore of no definite chronological value. However very similar vessels appear at Megiddo in str. iv and continue to str. i. Two almost whole vessels of the four-handled type and innumerable handles and fragments were found on the TN mound in str. i. The vessels were ribbed both above and below (S 1754). The type with handles slightly resembles in general outline certain water bottles which apparently were made flat on one side and domed on the other so that they might be carried suspended against the side of a camel, or donkey, or person.²⁷ But the vessel in T. 5 had no handles for suspension. The spiral groove running about the domed side, which makes it look like a beehive made of coiled ropes of straw, and a sticky substance found inside the vessel in T. 5 suggest that it actually contained a funerary offering of honey.

²¹ See below, chap. XIII, i, and pl. 54: 57.

²² *M I* (1939), 171, § 73; flasks 1 and 2, pls. 36 and 64; but not Petrie, *Gerar*, pl. 60: 87 f. The T. 5 form is simpler than those at Megiddo, being without handles, but the Megiddo specimens have ribbing only on the flat bottom. An attempt to save a portion of the deposit miscarried. A flask domed on one side which was found at Kh. el-Mefjer with other Arabic pieces illustrates the wide chronological range of the form. See *QDAP* 10 (1942), 81, fig. 5, pl. 21: 1.

²³ See below, chap. XIII, ii.

²⁴ *Jericho*, pl. 35: A37.

²⁵ See fig. 8; pl. 16: 6-8; 36-37.

²⁶ *Tombs*, 18-33.

²⁷ See chap. XIII.

Another unique vessel (S 1814) is probably a censer or a brazier, a *ḥammân*. A similar vessel (S 1815) was found on the mound. No exact parallel has appeared elsewhere. It has, therefore, little chronological value.²⁸ Still another vessel (S 797, pl. 36: 11) is unusual in detail but far from unique in idea, a small juglet with a large trough-like pouring spout set at right angles to the handle over

cemetery, was a fairly large underground room approached by steps leading down to its small rectangular entrance.²⁹ It had no ledges for the bodies and, therefore, though the doorway seems late, its interior was less "advanced" than T. 5, but it resembled the latter in its contents except that much less was found. It was excavated on May 12-13, 1932. Very little metal came to light. Since

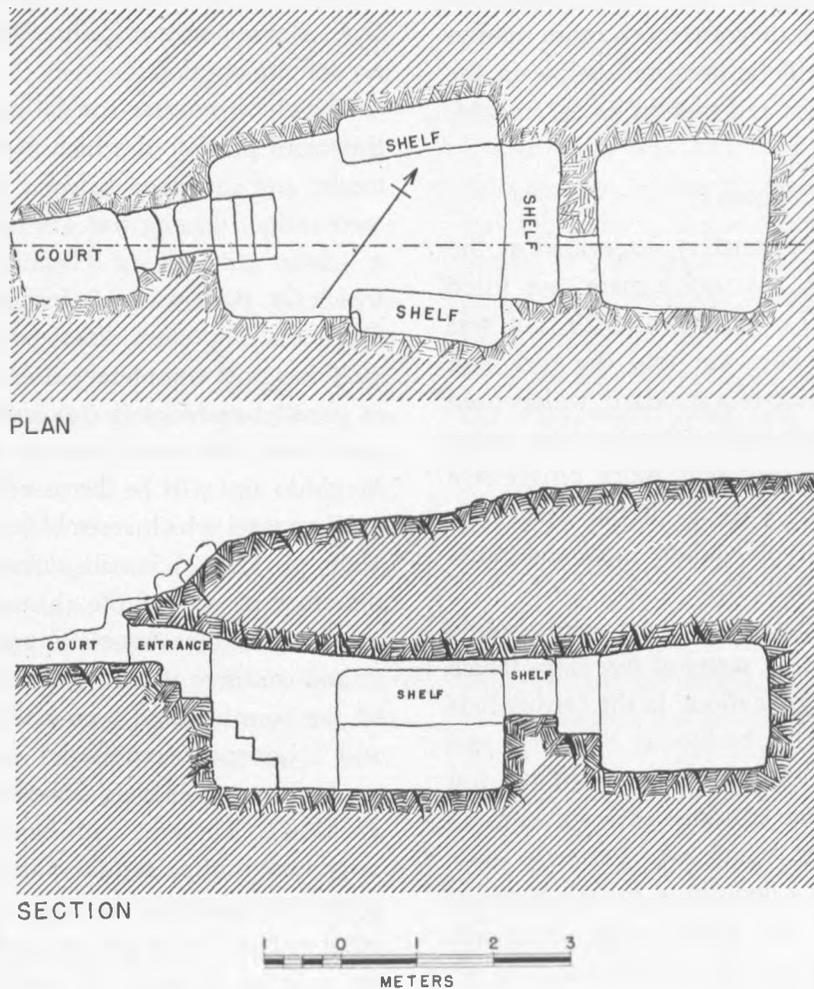


FIG. 8. PLAN AND SECTION OF TOMB 5

perforations in the vessel wall which serve as a strainer. It was so small and awkward that it could hardly have had a practical use, but may have been made for a funeral offering. Vessels with similar spouts are discussed below, section vi.

IV. TOMB 29

The last of the four outstanding Iron Age tombs, no. 29 a dozen meters from T. 32 in the west

nothing unique was found in it, its date must be fixed by comparison with the other tombs.

V. COMPARISON OF TOMBS 5, 29, 32, and 54

1. Procedure

In line with the effort to make archaeology as factual and "scientific" as possible, there has been recently a growing protest against the building of

²⁸ See chap. XIX, iv, 1.

²⁹ See plan, fig. 19: 1; pls. 16: 3, 4; 38: 1-18.

ceramic chronology upon "feeling" and "general impressions" on the one hand and upon the discussion of a very limited number of specimens on the other hand. Instead, statistics using a large number of types and specimens are demanded. The four TN tombs which stand out as representatives of the Iron Age, nos. 5, 29, 32, and 54, offer an opportunity for the application of statistical method, since they contain a large number of specimens. They are the only tombs with enough material to justify such a procedure, and T. 29 might be questioned.³⁰

In order to determine dates for them upon a statistical basis with as little interference as possible from subjective inclination, the parallel material which Mr. Wampler has gathered by a purely factual comparison of shapes was tabulated.³¹ The number of specimens of each shape was multiplied by the number of parallels discovered in order to give due weight to forms which were characteristic of each period. Computations were made for each archaeological period, for each century, and for each half century.³² Though the last differed but slightly from the other two and was of questionable accuracy, it has been included in the chart. At best all the results can only be regarded as giving preliminary suggestions as to date. Allowance must be made for the overlapping of forms into more than one period, since there never is a complete break in the civilization of Palestine. Allowance must also be made for the fact that the less characteristic forms give an illusory appearance of extension backward and forward, that the statistics available are comparatively meager, that the limits for the use of a type are frequently very uncertain, and that the shapes of the curves in the graph are due in part to the irregular and insufficient character of the material available for comparison. Allowance must be made also for indefiniteness as to ware. Form alone, in the main, is considered. Again allowance must be made for indefinite determinations of date in the material from

other sites and for insufficient publication.³³ Therefore the curves resulting from this tabulation can be regarded as significant only where they rise or fall decidedly with reference to the base line.

On a strictly statistical basis, the records of three tombs, nos. 5, 32, and 54, point apparently to use beginning sometime in the 14th or 13th cent., while T. 29 would appear to date from the 13th or 12th cent. T. 32 has so large a number of pottery specimens that some have probably illusory parallels in the LB ii period and also in the Persian period. The use of Ts. 32 and 54 reaches its peak in the 11th cent., EI ii, and continues into the 8th cent., ceasing surely at the beginning of the Exile. On the contrary, Ts. 5 and 29 reach their peak in EI iii. In this connection it is worth noting that the change of the dating of the eḏ-Dāherīyeh tomb from 1000 to 900 B. C. made a considerable change in the graph, moving the peak of use downward almost a century.³⁴ T. 5, like Ts. 32 and 54, surely ceased to be used at or before the Exile, but the horizontal lines some distance above the base in the T. 29 graph during the 6th and 5th cent. may indicate that it continued in use possibly almost until the abandonment of the site.³⁵

These results do not exactly conform to dates assigned to T. 32 by Albright and Wright, who cursorily examined the millimeter cards on which the pottery from this tomb was recorded. Albright put the time of use in the 10th and 9th cent., Wright inclined to lay more emphasis on the 10th. The dates used for the various loci taken into comparison were in every case those adopted by Albright and Wright and therefore it would seem that the results of the tabulation should have conformed to their conclusions. However, their examination of the cards was necessarily hasty and without any opportunity to see the artifacts.

Since no Philistine pottery appears in any of these tombs, it might be argued that they were not in use much before 1050 and 1000, and this factor doubtless

³⁰ See above, chap. I, "1932." At present the results hardly justify the labor because of a want of a similar treatment elsewhere.

³¹ See the use of statistical method by Garstang, in a graphic fashion in his Jericho reports, *LAA* 20 (1933), 6, 16, 26; by Gjerstad, *SCE passim*, and by Wampler, *BAS* 82 (1941), 25-43.

³² See fig. 9. The ordinates represent percentages based upon these computations; 1 mm. = 2 per cent. The curve for archaeological periods is the significant one. That for fifty-year periods was made merely as a check upon the others. Pottery in Palestine can rarely be clearly dated to a given century, to say nothing of a half century.

³³ Types which may have had a restricted range are often found in a locus which includes a long chronological series. The archaeologist can only specify the total chronological period of the locus.

³⁴ Grant and Wright, *AS V* (1933), 137, note 9; Albright, *AAS* 21-22 (1943), § 165.

³⁵ However, too little stratified material from the Persian period is available for conclusions to be anything but highly tentative. The parallel material is not closely or accurately datable, especially for this period.

influenced both Albright and Wright in their conclusions. Possibly that single fact is sufficient to prove their date correct. But so little Philistine pottery

Since these fragments were very few, it seems legitimate to argue that the inhabitants of TN perhaps had no commercial dealings with the Maritime Plain

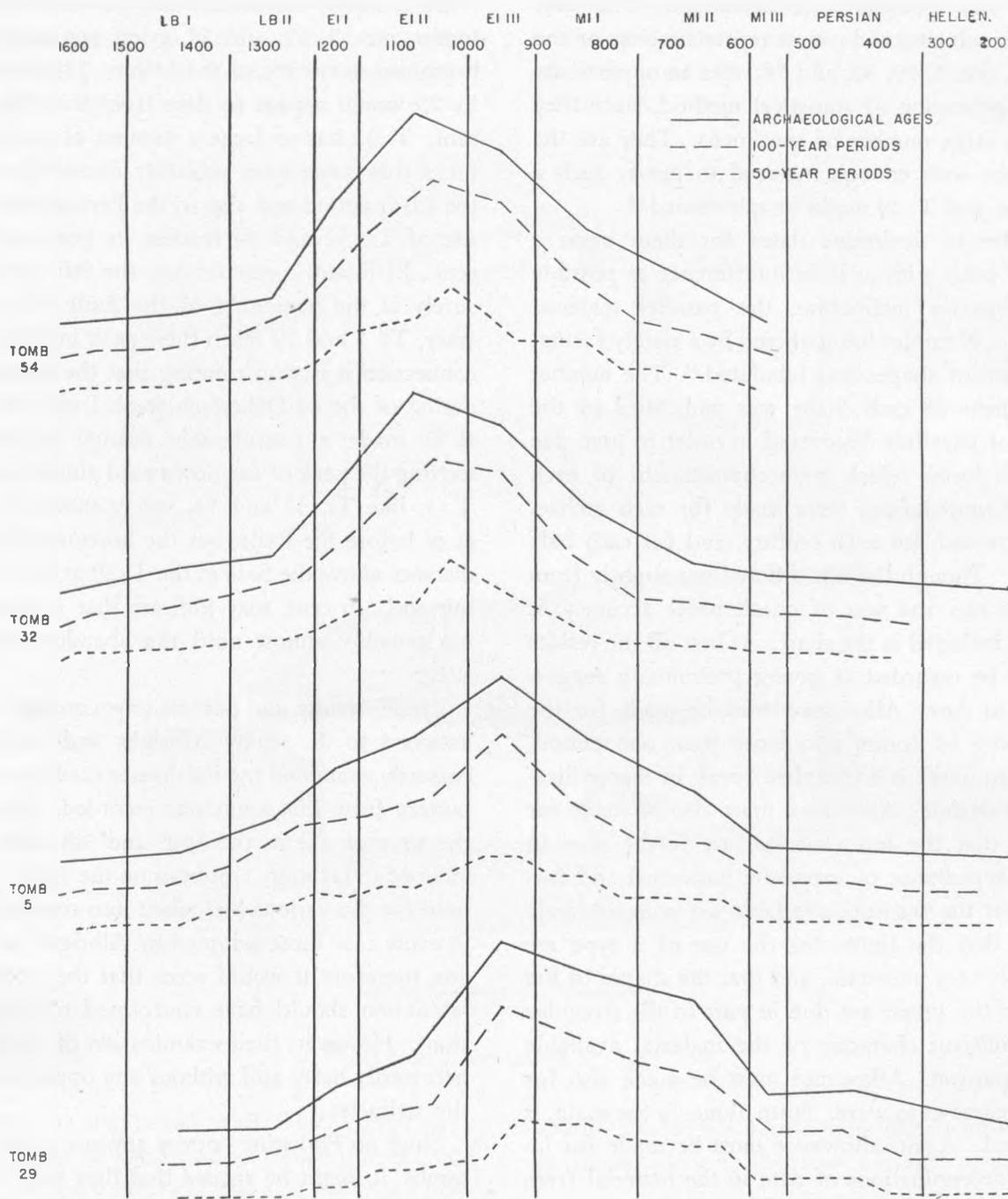


FIG. 9. GRAPH ILLUSTRATING OCCUPATION OF TOMBS 5, 29, 32, AND 54

appears at TN that one may doubt the decisiveness of this *e silentio* criterion. The site was certainly occupied in the 12th and 11th cent., for some fragments of Philistine pottery were found on the mound.

or were too poor to possess this finer ware in any quantity and did not use it as funerary deposits.

If due allowance is made for the many uncertainties of ceramic chronology and comparisons between

vessels, it is to be assumed, subject to specific investigation, that the smaller numbers of vessels which contribute the beginnings and ends of the curve are not significant. Ts. 54, 32, and 5 then would run at the outside from EI i to MI i and possibly only through EI i-iii, while T. 29 would have been used at the longest from EI ii into LI, possibly only from EI iii to MI ii. The chart, however, and the statistics on which it is based cannot be regarded as final, but only as suggestive. Some pottery types are much more significant chronologically than others. The detailed study of shapes which has preceded and

mon, either because they were not akin or because they were not contemporary. In most cases the types common to three or more tombs are the popular, widely used kind. Since the tombs cannot be far apart and must overlap chronologically, the reason for the variety of types may be in part laid to lack of kinship and diversity of cultural level. If pottery were a home industry, such variety would be normal. But this does not fully explain the facts.

The situation as to Ts. 54 and 32 is different. They have much in common, in all 47 types with 235 specimens of which 41 types with 213 specimens are

TABLE 1. TYPES COMMON AND SINGULAR IN TOMBS, 5, 29, 32, 54

<i>Common</i>	<i>Tp</i>	<i>Spec.</i>	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Tp</i>	<i>Spec.</i>
To all.	2	34	In 32 alone	153	244
To 5, 32, 29	2	12	In 54 alone	62	108
To 5, 32, 54	2	10	In 5 alone	46	118
To 29, 32, 54	2	6	In 29 alone	18	18
To 5, 29, 54	1	3	Total.	279	488
To 32, 54 only	41	213			
To 32, 5 only	11	69			
To 32, 29 only	8	51			
To 29, 5 only	5	29			
To 5, 54 only	1	7			
To 29, 54 only	3	6			
Total	78	440			
Singular	279	488			
Grand Total.	357	928			

<i>Common</i>	<i>Totals</i>
To 54, 29	8 24
To 32, 54	47 235
To 32, 5	17 101
To 32, 29	14 77
To 29, 5	10 62
To 5, 54	6 35

which follows confirms the statistical conclusions in general but modifies them in detail.

2. Types Common to Tombs 54, 32, 5, and 29

The four tombs under discussion have remarkable resemblances in the general character of their deposits, but not a large number of individual types are repeated in all of them. Indeed only Ts. 54 and 32 show any considerable number of close parallels. The relationship in this respect is best shown in table no. 1.

This table suggests that the four groups of people who owned the four tombs had very little in com-

mon, either because they were not akin or because they were not contemporary. In most cases the types common to three or more tombs are the popular, widely used kind. Since the tombs cannot be far apart and must overlap chronologically, the reason for the variety of types may be in part laid to lack of kinship and diversity of cultural level. If pottery were a home industry, such variety would be normal. But this does not fully explain the facts.

The situation as to Ts. 54 and 32 is different. They have much in common, in all 47 types with 235 specimens of which 41 types with 213 specimens are

more, it has seven times as many with T. 5 and thirteen times as many with T. 29.³⁶ There might, then, be a chronological difference, with T. 32 lying between T. 54 and Ts. 5 and 29 and overlapping both the earlier and the later. A study of groups of related types makes the relationships clearer.

There are certain outstanding classes of vessels whose appearance or absence in tombs has some significance.³⁷ The number of types and number of specimens is given for each tomb.

TABLE 2. CHIEF CLASSES OF POTTERY IN TOMBS 5, 29, 32 AND 54

<i>Ceramic Groups</i> ³⁸	<i>Serial Nos.</i>	<i>Tomb 5</i>		<i>Tomb 29</i>		<i>Tomb 32</i>		<i>Tomb 54</i>		<i>Totals</i>	
		<i>Tp</i>	<i>Sp</i>	<i>Tp</i>	<i>Sp</i>	<i>Tp</i>	<i>Sp</i>	<i>Tp</i>	<i>Sp</i>	<i>Tp</i>	<i>Sp</i>
Pitchers	541-605	3	9	3	3	21	46	5	5	32	63
Jugs	615-727	8	8	4	4	31	57	9	11	52	80
Juglets	751-872	13	68	10	20	35	128	30	76	88	292
Cypro-Phoen. juglets	873-876	—	—	—	—	2	10	—	—	2	10
One-handled cups	925-934	1	1	5	5	4	6	2	2	12	14
One-handled pots	954-978	5	17	—	—	12	35	1	1	18	53
Bowls	1131-1470	29	49	11	13	39	47	27	32	106	141
Craters	1471-1539	—	—	—	—	6	7	3	5	9	12
Chalices	1568-1592	1	1	—	—	8	9	5	8	14	18
Saucer lamps	1593-1625	8	62	3	14	18	58	10	33	39	167
Lug-handled bowls	1688-1711	—	—	—	—	18	24	7	11	25	35
Miscellaneous		1	3	4	4	26	27	8	9	39	43
Totals		69	218	40	63	220	454	107	193	436	928
										Counted twice	79
											357

Almost no zirs (pithoi, or storage jars), smaller jars, or cylindrical (whole-mouth) jars appeared in the tombs. Evidently it was not regarded as necessary to provide the soul of the departed with large amounts of food. A few rim and base fragments in both Ts. 54 and 32 and two almost complete jars of large size (S 237-238, *ca.* 370 mm. in height) show that originally a few such storage jars were placed in the two tombs. T. 5 has not a jar of this kind and T. 29 only one (S 281, M 1748), a specimen much like S 238. The three are possible EI or MI types. Conical jars appear only in Ts. 5 (S 441, 3 specimens) and 29 (S 438, 1), both EI or MI types. T. 32 has one fairly complete specimen (S 477) of a large double-handled jar with a low ring base. A

similar vessel at Bālū'ah has been dated in the EI Age. Fragments appeared in Ts. 54 and 32 of the striking EI-MI type of three-handled jar with a bell-shaped pouring spout in place of the fourth handle. The types found (S 523, 524, 526, 533), so far as known, may run from EI ii to MI ii. Decanters, cooking pots, plates, lids, bottles, and flasks are almost entirely wanting. Evidently custom as well as period decreed what should not be used in a tomb.³⁹

The numbers of certain classes of vessels, on the

other hand, were great. Tomb 5 preferred numbers to variety. It had only a few more types than T. 54 but more than three times as many specimens. In practically every group it had a much larger proportion of specimens to the number of types than the other three tombs had. It was especially prolific in black juglets (S 846-60), bowls (S 1157-93), and lamps (S 1602-21). T. 32 was fond of pitchers (S 542-605), having 73 per cent of the 63 specimens found in the four tombs. Since so small a number of specimens appears in the other tombs, conclusions as to relative age are uncertain. The large number in T. 32 must be due to personal preferences on the part of the owners of the tomb. On the whole the available chronological data on pitchers fits into and confirms the dates reached on other grounds. Types which have numerous representatives in T. 32 (S 543-4, 559, 561, 577, 580, 26 specimens in all) are

³⁶ See tables on pages preceding and following.

³⁷ Only the more significant Iron Age pottery is listed, not the total number.

³⁸ These classifications are explained in the volume on pottery. Uncertain fragments have been omitted from the statistics.

³⁹ The important Cypro-Phoenician juglets of T. 32 are discussed above under that tomb.

elsewhere found in EI, chiefly in EI ii-iii. The group S 579-82 (7 specimens) is not closely paralleled elsewhere. S 566, with 7 examples in T. 5 and one in T. 54 has appeared in EI iii and MI i. The other two examples in T. 5 (S 654, 570) have certain analogues in the 10th cent. ed-Dāherīyeh tomb. Only one other of the T. 54 specimens (S 558) has any dated parallels. Along with three examples from T. 32 it has some resemblance to a Tell Beit Mirsim type dated in MI i-ii,⁴⁰ a date which is not suitable for T. 54. It thus illustrates the uncertainty of such evidence unless based on large numbers. Among the jugs (S 606-732), a small group of "red-jugs," marked by a red hematite slip (S 606-614) was wanting in all four tombs. Since they have been found elsewhere chiefly in later phases of MI, their absence may have chronological significance, pointing to a date earlier than 700 B. C.⁴¹

In the 52 specimens of wheel-made jugs (S 620-732), no type is to be found in more than two tombs, but a little group (S 630-36 and 641) with a base ring, a long neck, a low neck ridge to which the handle is joined, and a slightly incurved rim has 5 specimens in T. 54, 1 in T. 29, and 19 in T. 32. S 649 and 650, a squat type with short neck and high handle but otherwise similar, has 2 specimens in T. 54 and 5 in T. 32. T. 5 has 6 types (643-48) all with short neck and high handle, one of which (S 648) appears also in T. 29. The first group is a type which is found in EI ii-iii and MI i, the second has been discovered at Tell Beit Mirsim in str. B₃, at 'Ain Shems in MI i and ii, and at 'Athlīt with cremated burials dated in the 7th cent. The last group (S 643-48) seems to be the latest. Thus again the evidence indicates that T. 5 falls later than Ts. 32 and 54.

3. Juglets in the Four Tombs

Three groups of somewhat similar juglets within the whole class (S 751-872) have numerous representatives in the four tombs. Table 3 below makes some of their relationships clear. Each group has a variety of shapes within the class but each has certain distinctive characteristics. Described by classes they are:

1. Brown, buff, or orange ware, often burnished; round or squat body; round mouth; button, disk, or round base, with handle falling short of the rim (S 798-817); like class 3 except in ware (ancestor of class 3⁴²); 36 specimens.

2. The same ware, often burnished, with round base; body oval or even cylindrical; with handle running from shoulder to rim; the mouth pinched, oval, or round (S 758-788); 99 specimens.

3. Black ware, usually burnished, with a pointed, button, or round base (rarely a disk), the body round, mouth round, the handle usually but not always falling short of the top (S 842-72); 148 specimens.

As the table shows, much the larger number of specimens is found in Ts. 54 and 32, simply because these two tombs were much more richly furnished, and T. 5 is only slightly behind them while T. 29 is relatively bare. The ratio of juglets in each tomb, it will be noted, nearly corresponds to the total number of vessels (table 3: 1, cols. 2, 4), but with a slight preponderance of juglets in Ts. 5 and 29.

The practically spherical juglets of class 1 are least numerous, making 13% of the total number of juglets, and they are proportionately much more numerous in Ts. 54 and 32. They are very uncommon on the mound. None appeared in other tombs beside the four which are here under discussion except in T. 7, which had 2. The elongated vessels of class 2 were much more in evidence, making up 35% of the juglets. They were also much more numerous in Ts. 54 and 32, and on the mound than either of the other two groups. The black polished juglets, class 3, were most numerous of all in the four tombs. They appeared more frequently in other tombs than did class 2⁴³ but they were very rare on the mound in the rooms and not frequent in the cisterns and silos. In other words, classes 1 and 3 were largely reserved for funerary offerings. It will be noted (see table 3: 2) that the black juglets are much more numerous proportionately in Ts. 5 and 29 than in the other tombs. On this showing Ts. 5 and 29 have a larger proportion of purely funerary types, while in Ts. 54 and 32 a larger proportion of vessels which were used in everyday life were buried with the dead.

⁴⁰ *AAS* 12, pl. 58: 3.

⁴¹ See vol. II, chap. II, 2

⁴² *AS* V, 131.

⁴³ T. 3 (4), T. 7 (2), T. 14, T. 55 (3), T. 107.

As to the date, the conclusions which Albright, Wright, and others have reached regarding the juglets coincide with the tentative dates of the tombs based upon the statistical summary. The specimens of class 1 (S 798-817), which were more numerous in Ts. 54 and 32 than in Ts. 5 and 29, are predominantly of an EI type if one may rely upon previous reports of the strata in which they have been found. At Beth-shemesh, Beth-shan, Beth-zur, Megiddo, and Tell el-Fâr'ah specimens have repeatedly appeared in EI i and ii contexts, only occasionally in later strata. Wright regards them, especially those like S 798-802, as the ancestor of the black juglet which I have called class 3.⁴⁴ At Megiddo Shipton discovered a useful distinction. A group of juglets with "a small knob, or button base and a long, straight, chimney-like neck" (his types 124-28) occurred only in str. v and iv (*ca.* 1060-800) with the majority of examples in str. v (1060-1000).⁴⁵ Similar vessels (S 803-07) are found at TN only in T. 54 (8), T. 32 (3 with 3 bases), and T. 5 (1?), besides one specimen of S 805 in R. 124 and 3 bases elsewhere. No good parallels are discoverable at other sites besides Megiddo except one at Tell-Fâr'ah in T. 201 which may be dated from the 11th to the 9th cent.

A shape with a small disk base and a handle attached some distance below the rim, which is reported only in str. v or earlier at Megiddo (jugs 129-33) and which Wright regards as belonging to EI i and ii, is paralleled by TN juglets S 798-802, all examples of which occur in T. 54 (5 and 4 bases) and T. 32 (4 and 1 base) except one in R. 566 and 5 bases elsewhere. The accurately reported and dated examples from other sites are all dated from LB to 1000 B. C., falling chiefly after 1200 B. C.

All of the specimens from other sites referred to in these paragraphs have low handles and the same is true of all the TN examples with the exception of one (S 807), in which it still falls below the rim, and three (S 801, 804) which are attached slightly above the middle of the neck. These types, then, emphasize the use of Ts. 54 and 32 in the 10th cent. as against the 9th and the 8th.

Class 2 (S 758-797), has rarely been found in EI

i contexts. It appears occasionally in EI ii and is reported as very common from EI iii to MI ii. Possibly its use extends into the hazy area of MI iii and LI (the Exile and the Persian period). Within this class, however, the earlier group (S 765-78) which Albright has differentiated by the presence of a pouring lip due to a pinching of the side of the neck opposite the handle, or by their having an oval or ovoid mouth, reinforces the conclusions already reached. It will be noted (table 3: 4) that T. 54 has a very small percentage of round mouths (S 779-92) and a large percentage of oval and pinched mouths. T. 32 also has a large proportion of the earlier types, chiefly of the pinched variety. Both tombs, therefore, should be early, 54 earlier than 32, or not in use at so late a period. The numbers in Ts. 5 and 29 are too small to make comparisons highly valuable. But, though arguments *e silentio* are precarious, their absence might be regarded as significant of an earlier cessation of the use of class 2 vessels than has usually been assumed.

Class 3 (S 842-72) is the most numerous of all, making 52 per cent of all the juglets found (table 3: 2). There must be significance in the sharp difference between the percentage in Ts. 54 and 32, and that in Ts. 5 and 29. The class is especially favored in T. 5. Within class 3, again, Albright distinguishes earlier from later specimens by the form of the handle. In the earlier the handle reaches only part way up the vessel's slender neck. In the later types it almost or quite reaches the rim. Here again the dates tentatively set for the tombs are vindicated. In T. 54 (see table 3: 5) as high as 96 per cent of the handles are low or are attached not much more than half way up from shoulder to rim. In T. 32, 68 per cent are of this early type and only one vessel has the handle at the rim. In T. 5, 83 per cent are high, while in T. 29 as much as 60 per cent are high and the remaining 40 per cent have the handle reaching the rim.

Of the black juglets with button base and with only moderately high handles (S 842-46), T. 54 has 8 and T. 32 has 18 (with six bases), while none appear elsewhere in tombs or on the mound. At Megiddo one such is in str. v, one in iv (jugs 124, 127) as already noted above. Elsewhere they have been dated between 1100 and 800 B. C. but the majority before 1000 B. C.

⁴⁴ AS V, 131.

⁴⁵ M I, 161, § 10, pls. 5, 46. One (127) was found only in str. iv. All the others were found in str. v, 125 and 126 also in iv.

Shipton interprets the evidence from str. i-iv at Megiddo adversely to Albright's distinction as to handles. Doubtless Albright would allow much

the low-handled class which Albright regards as early, the Megiddo evidence, unless eventually supported elsewhere, cannot be taken as entirely overturning

TABLE 3. VARIETIES OF JUGLETS ⁴⁸

1. Number of Juglets Compared with Total Number of Vessels

<i>Tomb No.</i>	<i>Number of Vessels</i>	<i>Ratio of Vessels</i>	<i>Number of Juglets</i>	<i>Ratio of Juglets</i>	<i>Ratio of Juglets to Other Vessels</i>
54	193	.24	69	.245	.36
32	454	.49	128	.45	.28
5	218	.21	66	.235	.30
29	63	.06	20	.07	.32
Totals....	928	1.00	283 ⁴⁸	1.00	

2. Juglets by Classes

<i>Class</i>	<i>All Tombs</i>		<i>T. 54</i>		<i>T. 32</i>		<i>T. 5</i>		<i>T. 29</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
1	36	.13	12	.18	17	.13	5	.076	2	.10
2	99	.35	32	.46	57	.45	7	.106	3	.15
3	148	.52	25	.36	54	.42	54	.818	15	.75
Totals.....	283	1.00	69	1.00	128	1.00	66	1.000	20	1.00

3. Distribution of Classes by Tombs

<i>Tomb No.</i>	<i>Class 1</i>		<i>Class 2</i>		<i>Class 3</i>		<i>All Vessels</i>
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
54	12	.33	32	.32	25	.17	.24
32	17	.47	57	.58	54	.365	.49
5	5	.14	7	.07	54	.365	.21
29	2	.06	3	.03	15	.10	.06
Totals..	36	1.00	99	1.00	148	1.000	1.00

4. Types of Mouths in Class 2

	<i>All Tombs</i>		<i>T. 54</i>		<i>T. 32</i>		<i>T. 5</i>		<i>T. 29</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
Round	19	.19	1	.03	13	.23	4	.57	1	.333
Uncertain	5	.05	3	.09	1	.015	..	..	1	.333
Oval	14	.14	11	.35	3	.055	..	..	..	..
Pinched	61	.62	17	.53	40	.70	3	.43	1	.333
Totals.....	99	1.00	32	1.00	57	1.000	7	1.00	3	1.000

5. Types of Handles in Class 3

	<i>All Tombs</i>		<i>T. 54</i>		<i>T. 32</i>		<i>T. 5</i>		<i>T. 29</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
Low	25	.17	7	.28	18	.33	..	..	..	..
Medium	45	.30	17	.68	19	.35	9	.17	..	..
High	71	.48	1	.04	16	.30	45	.83	9	.60
Rim	7	.05	..	..	1	.02	..	..	6	.40
Totals.....	148	1.00	25	1.00	54	1.00	54	1.00	15	1.00

overlapping, but since str. i to iv at Megiddo are not too clearly differentiated, and especially since there is no statistical evidence published in the Megiddo volume, and only one type (52) appears of

Albright's chronological distinction. In general the other evidence suits the TN data.

4. Lamps in the Four Tombs

Contrary to the assumptions of only a few years ago lamps do not offer precise chronological indicia.

⁴⁸ A few peculiar groups, e. g. the spouted type, S 793, 794, are here omitted as not belonging to these classes, and the totals therefore, are not the same as in Table 2.

Only when large numbers are found can the preponderance of one type over another be regarded as giving general evidence as to date. Round-based lamps continued in use long after disk-based and footed lamps came into fashion. A single or even several examples of a type proves nothing. In general, however, it is true that the lamps with disk and footed bases point to a later date than those with round bases.

One peculiarity is noted at TN. In the tombs excavated almost no disk-based or footed lamps are found, while few, indeed almost no, round-based lamps appear on the mound, either on the surface or in cisterns and silos. One or both of two factors might be responsible. (1) Since the tomb deposits are due to traditional beliefs, custom may have demanded the older type of lamp. (2) Again it is to be expected that older types of artifacts will disappear from the areas where men live and work but may be preserved in tombs. But since no high-footed lamps (with a single exception) are found in any

another (S 1621), 38 out of the total of 61. A mistaken dating of either type would determine the date of the group. Here one of the dangers of the statistical method appears.

According to the dated parallels discoverable in other sites (Table 4) T. 32 has a higher percentage of lamps that are found in the LB and EI i-ii Ages than the other tombs; altogether 77 per cent of its lamps could belong to these periods, against 58 per cent in T. 54 and 47 per cent in T. 5. This may seem a strong argument for making T. 32 the earliest of the four, but it is discounted by the uncertainty of the dates for lamps. All that had LB parallels (except S 1594, 1596, 1615) had parallels also in EI, and some even in MI.⁴⁷ The one high-footed lamp in T. 54 (S 1633) may be intrusive. The disk-base lamp in T. 5 (S 1626) is chronologically consistent. The fact that the percentages in the case of T. 5 are heavier in EI ii-MI ii and that those for T. 29 are practically equal from EI i to MI ii confirms the conclusions otherwise reached for these tombs. The

TABLE 4. SAUCER LAMPS

Tomb	Number of Types	Number of Lamps	Per cent of all Lamps	Per cent of all Vessels	LB	Percentage of Parallels				
						EIi	EIii	MIi	MIii	MIii
32	18	58	35	18	16	33	28	15	06	02 = 100
54	10	33	20	13	03	28	27	17	17	08 "
5	8	62	37	28	05	15	27	25	20	08 "
29	3	14	08	22	—	19.5	19.5	19.5	19.5	22 "
Total	27	167	100	Avg. 20	06	24	25	19	16	10 "

tomb, it must be concluded, either that the cemetery of the MI Age was not discovered or that round-bottomed lamps were preferred as tomb furniture.

The preferences exhibited in various tombs for certain objects appears in the lamps, but it is not the same as in the case of the juglets. Only T. 5 had nearly the same number of lamps as of juglets. In the others the juglets were much more numerous than the lamps. It is to be noted that T. 5 also has a slightly disproportionate number of lamps, and the two tombs, 5 and 32, have each more than one third of all the lamps in the four tombs, while Ts. 5 and 29 have a larger proportion of lamps compared to other vessels. If, then, the chronological evidence of lamps be given its numerical weight, it will affect the result in these two tombs decidedly. Moreover, T. 5 has 23 lamps of one type (S 1618) and 15 of

larger ratio of MI ii lamps in T. 54 as compared with T. 32 contradicts the other evidence and is to be reckoned as further evidence of the unsatisfactory character of chronological evidence from lamps.

5. Cups and Pots

A group of round-bottomed cups (S 925-34) and pots (S 955-78) with single loop handles and with similar shapes but differences in size offers no definite chronological data. They belong chiefly to MI i-ii, but some parallels are in loci which cover also EI iii, while one or two run into LI. Only two possible

⁴⁷ It is worth noting, as an indication of the valuelessness of an occasional lamp, or even several lamps, for dating, that 17 types had Late Bronze Age parallels at other sites, two of them (S 1594, 1596) only in LB i loci. Yet here they must have been used in the EI Age. T. 5 which is certainly later has one, S 1615, with only LB ii parallels.

parallels are confined to EI, and only one doubtful case to LI. The total number of fairly complete specimens at TN is 96 of which 65 are in the four tombs, 2 in other tombs (107, 53) and 27 in cisterns. Practically all of the cisterns in which they appear are also MI i-ii.

Because of their small numbers, it would be illogical to base important conclusions on the cups. However it would appear that the large number of pots in tombs 32 and 5, in contrast to Ts. 54 and 29 should have some meaning. Since the parallels from other sites abound in the period after 800 B. C. and are few in the previous centuries, an argument for a restriction of T. 54 to a period before 800 or even 900 B. C. seems valid, while Ts. 32 and 5 would have been after these dates. The cups are strangely numerous and the pots strangely lacking in T. 29. The only justifiable conclusion is that T. 54 must have been closed before these vessels became popular. An analagous conclusion that T. 29 was not used till after they went out of fashion is not justified, first because T. 29 has 5 cups, and, second, because it has so small a total number of vessels.

6. Bowls in the Four Tombs

The bowls found in the tombs are not so numerous as the juglets and the lamps. Being large and no doubt expensive, they were less fitted to serve as funerary offerings. Among the 340 bowl types which have been distinguished at TN, only one type (S 1255) was found in all four tombs. It is an extremely common type which appeared in great numbers on the tell, both in the rooms and in caves and cisterns. Strangely enough, close parallels from other places were not correspondingly numerous, but the form is one which appears from EI iii to MI ii.

One type (S 1236) was common to Ts. 54 (2), 32, and 5. Of it 7 specimens appeared on the tell. Good parallels from elsewhere were found only at Megiddo in str. v (EI ii). Two types (S 1177, 1219) were common to Ts. 54, 32, and 29. The first is a 10th-cent. type at Beth-shemesh, Beth-shan, Tell el-Fûl, and Tell Abû Hawam, but put also in the 9th cent. at Beth-shemesh and eḏ-Dāheriyeh. The second is an EI ii-iii type at Beth-shan and EI iii at Tell Jemmeh. One type (S 1178), not exactly paralleled elsewhere, appears in Ts. 54, 5, and 29.

Three types (S 1221, 1223, and 1239) are common to Ts. 54 and 32. S 1221, which has three specimens in T. 54 is an EI iii type at 'Ain Shems. It appears in the eḏ-Dāheriyeh tomb of the (10th or) 9th cent. S 1223 is elsewhere dated in LB ii and EI ii and iii, S 1239 in EI i and ii. S 1173 which appears in Ts. 54 and 29 and in Ca 193 (3) is a form which is placed in the 10th cent. at 'Ain Shems and Tell Jemmeh.

S 1175 common to Ts. 32, 5, 29, and 7 is a shape with many parallels ranging from EI iii to MI ii. S 1256 and 1257, found in Ts. 32 and 5 is a MI i-ii form at 'Ain Shems, Megiddo, Tell Beit Mirsim, Tell el-Fûl, and Tell Jemmeh. S 1258 found in Ts. 32, 5, and 11 is an EI iii-MI i type at Megiddo. S 1176 found in Ts. 5 and 29 appears in EI iii-MI ii contexts as S 1175 does. S 1241 which is common to the same two tombs is a less common MI i-ii type.

It cannot be entirely without significance that, with the exception of the widely used shape, S 1255, the types which are common to Ts. 54 and 32 (S 1177, 1219, 1221, 1223, 1236, 1239, 1379) are reported chiefly from EI contexts. Even S 1173, found in Ts. 54 and 29, is put in the 10th cent. at Tell Jemmeh and *ca.* 900 B. C. at 'Ain Shems. The chief discordant note is the tomb at eḏ-Dāheriyeh, which the excavator put about 1000 B. C., but which Wright would place a century later. The types in which T. 54 does not figure (S 1175, 1176, 1241, 1256-58) all have MI parallels and most of them are strongly or even purely MI forms.

A peculiar handle appears on certain large, shallow bowls in T. 32 (S 1378-79) and T. 54 (S 1379, 1381, 1389). It is like a long rod or bar, with a knob, or head, at each end, laid along the bowl under the rim. At Megiddo bowls with similar handles on not dissimilar bowls are put into str. iv-ii. At TBM, Tell el-Fûl, and 'Ain Shems they are placed chiefly in EI ii-MI i.

No such handles appear in Ts. 5 or 29, but T. 5 has two examples of large shallow bowls with a kind of lug or tab handle. The bowls have the burnishing of the transition from EI to MI. No exact parallel of this character with such handles has been discovered.

7. Burnishing

Various types of burnishing appear on the bowls of T. 32. The surfaces of the vessels had suffered

from damp and perhaps some chemical action which had softened them and impaired much of the surface. But in numerous cases, there still remained sufficient indications of the character of the finish to determine the chronology. Some carinated bowls (S 1309, 1307, 1255, 1321, 1378) had distinct indications of rather regular burnishing above the shoulder on the inside along with crisscross or chordal burnishing, sometimes both, on the lower part of the interior. Others had ring burnishing on top of the rim and within (S 1425, 1239, 1320, 1258 possibly also outside to shoulder), down to a point an inch or so below the carination. Another type had this extent of ring burnishing both outside and inside (S 1379, a bar-handled bowl). In general the burnishing straddles the transition between EI ii and MI i, but there is a preponderance of the later fashion.⁴⁸

The bowls of T. 54 are so badly weathered that whatever burnishing there may have been is too faint, except in rare cases to allow a distinction to be made between the narrow, even, spiral burnishing of the MI and the coarser hand-burnishing of the EI period. One considerable fragment (x149) shows close ring burnishing on the outside and within down to the shoulder, then possibly chordal burnishing on the lower portion. Others (x168, 170, 173, 176) seem to be ring burnished without and within. T. 5 has some beautiful examples of close ring burnishing, but it has also examples of chordal burnishing and of the various stages between the hand burnishing of EI ii and the delicate ring burnishing on a spinning wheel of MI i. Unfortunately the weathering of the surface renders definite determination impossible in so many cases that the weight of evidence cannot be determined. The few available specimens of T. 29 have spiral or ring burnishing, but its exact character and extent were not determinable.

VI. TYPES FOUND ONLY IN TOMBS 54, 32, and 5

1. Jugs with Spouts

Four vessels, one each in Ts. 54 and 5, two from T. 32, are distinguished by a spout on the side or shoulder and the perforation of the wall of the vessel so as to form a strainer. In S 622 from T. 54 there

seems to have been no handle. In S 620 and 621 from T. 32 and the miniature vessel S 797 from T. 5, the spout is at right angles with the handle. The spouts in all four are half cylinders forming open runnels. They are thus quite different from the jugs with drinking spout (S 793 f.) mentioned below.

Mackeprang (*AJA* 42, p. 554) has called attention to this type of vessel as occurring with striking frequency in Rhodes "along with Late Mycenaean pottery of LH IIIC type and also as appearing at Gezer with Philistine pottery." His dating is probably too early for LH IIIC,⁴⁹ but the decoration on the Rhodian vessel and one at Gezer prove the connection.⁵⁰ The unornamented jugs found at TN are almost certainly post-Philistine,⁵¹ but follow that tradition as to shape and may be supposed to fall not too long afterward.⁵² Similar vessels appear at Tell Jemmeh, Tell Beit Mirsim, and elsewhere, all datable in the early 9th cent.⁵³ It cannot be claimed that these vessels prove an early EI date for the three tombs in which they appear since they lack any trace of the characteristic ornamentation which belongs to LH IIIC and Philistine wares, but they fully suit an EI date.

Another form with a round spout and no strainer is the drinking juglet (S 793), which appeared twice in T. 32 (x339, 352, M 2019), twice in Si 195 B (supposedly in str. ii), and four times in upper strata on the mound. A similar rounder type, S 794, has four specimens in T. 54. Its size and its spout are so much like those of the little vessels out of which the modern Arab pours drinking water down his throat in a steady stream that its ancient use can almost surely be guessed. At Megiddo a somewhat similar form appears in str. iii-ii.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ Cf. J. F. Daniel, *AJA* 44, pp. 555 ff.; also Broneer, *Hesperia* 8 (1939), 303 (22), fig. 66 c.

⁵⁰ *Gezer* III, pl. 158: 15; cf. pls. 85: 1; 87: 2; 91: 11; II, 178. The tombs (59, 84, 85, 91) are EI. Strainer spouts are also found with what Macalister calls Hellenistic wares, *ibid.*, II, 216 f.

⁵¹ Cf. the decorated specimen at Megiddo, Shipton, *SAOC* 17, str. vii, 11, 60, str. vi, 5.

⁵² The highly decorated *Siebkanne* from Tumulus III at Gordion (ca. 700 B. C.) is perhaps another offshoot of the Rhodian vessel; G. and A. Körte, *Gordion* (*Jb. DAI, Ergänzungsheft V*) Berlin, 1904, pp. 62 ff., pls. 2-4. I owe this reference to Professor H. R. W. Smith.

⁵³ *AAS* 12, p. 87, pl. 70: 13 (MI technique); *Gerar*, pl. g, j, 1, dated ca. 1200, which is doubtless too early. Cf. Watzinger, *DP* I, pl. 19: 22. A somewhat different strainer spout is put in LB at 'Ain Shems, *AS* IV, pl. 57: 9.

⁵⁴ M I, jug 18, pls. 1 and 44 (780-600 B. C.).

⁴⁸ Cf. Albright, *AAS* 12, pp. 67 ff.; *AAS* 21-22 (1943), § 160; Wright, *AS* V, 136 f.

2. Chalice

The appearance of the large goblet-like vessel, sometimes likened to a champagne glass and more frequently called a chalice, in Ts. 32 and 54 shows their chronological and cultural affinities. Nine types and 16 specimens, plus three bases, are recorded. Several types, in all 18 with 32 specimens, some fragmentary, some doubtful, appeared on the mound and a base of one type (S 1573), which was common to the two tombs was also found in T. 5, along with a considerable fragment (S 1592). Otherwise T. 5 had none of these vessels, and there was not even a fragment in T. 29. Three types were common to Ts. 32 and 54 (S 1571, 1573, 1574) including 10 vessels out of the 16. Six of the 9 types were represented also on the mound, two of them (S 1571, 1580) in several specimens. The chalice, then, was not a vessel made even chiefly for funerary offerings but was in somewhat common use.

The TN chalices have certain features which do not appear elsewhere. The stems tend to be proportionately somewhat long and slender, especially S 1581 from T. 32 and a decorated fragment from T. 54 classed as S 1573. They show practically no inheritance from the LB period nor any tendencies toward the MI period as represented elsewhere.⁵⁵ The low, shallow champagne cup of LB is not represented. Several tend to be tall with a slender stem, like one at Jericho.⁵⁶ The cyma-recta profile, which at 'Ain Shems Wright regards as characteristic of EI i-ii, and which is wanting at Megiddo, appears in various more or less pronounced forms in the tombs at TN (S 1571, 1575, 1580, 1584). An approach to the long overhanging lip, which belongs to MI specimens at 'Ain Shems appears in one example at TN (S 1572). None but the fragment, S 1592 (T. 5), has the deeply furrowed stem which appeared in EI iii at 'Ain Shems, but which appeared in str. ii (MI ii) at Megiddo. The tall, deep, heavy-stemmed, often highly decorated goblets of str. ix, viii, iii, ii, and i at Megiddo and of LB at Tell ed-Duweir have no close analogues at TN, either within or without the tombs.⁵⁷ In general the TN types apparently

belong to a very different artistic tradition from those at Megiddo, although in the EI ii period (str. v) there are fairly close parallels. Relations with Tell el-Fâr'ah, Tell Beit Mirsim, 'Ain Shems, and Gezer are much closer.

However certain features of the Megiddo LB and MI chalices appear at TN. The horizontal bands which decorate examples from str. ix, viii, iv, and iii at Megiddo⁵⁸ appear in one example each from Ts. 32 and 54 at TN (S 1571, 1573). S 1581 of T. 32 has a checker pattern on the bowl, which might point to either LB or MI. In decoration and shape it resembles a Late Helladic goblet from Tell Abū Hawam.⁵⁹ The shapes forbid classifying these by their bowls as a whole with either the LB or MI examples. They find a much better analogue in the Tell el-Fâr'ah specimens which Sir Flinders Petrie put in the 19th dyn. and which are certainly not later than EI ii.⁶⁰ Other vessels in the four tombs have similar horizontal painted bands. They appear to be a poor reminiscence of the gorgeous decoration of LB and Philistine pottery and to be characteristic of EI ii and iii.

A carination just above the base appears in the two specimens of str. v (EI ii) at Megiddo which in general are close parallels to S 1571, 1572, but have shallow bowls, while the TN specimens have straighter and deeper sides, thus verging toward the type which prevails in str. iii and ii at Megiddo.⁶¹ From a purely typological point of view, the TN specimens fall between those of str. v and str. iii at Megiddo, many having a carination at the bottom of the bowl which is lacking in str. v but more pronounced in str. iii at Megiddo, while the carination, or ridge, on the foot near the base of the stem evolved in the other direction at Megiddo.

The asymmetrical specimen S 1573 (T. 32, possibly represented by fragments on the mound and in T. 54) is unique in detail. It is irregular in shape, has a decoration of horizontal bands outside and on the lip within, and shows a lip which projects inward but has an incipient cyma-recta profile outside. These peculiarities, doubtless due to a potter's idiosyncra-

⁵⁵ Only the types found in the three tombs are considered here, but this applies to all. See vol. II, chap. IV, 1. *AAS* 12, pl. 50: 4, § 52; but EI ii also, *M* I, pl. 33: 19.

⁵⁶ *Jericho*, pl. 35, A47a, p. 140.

⁵⁷ *SAOC* 17, str. ix, 29; viii, 46; *M* I, pl. 33: 3-5, 9-13; *Lachish* II, pl. 47; *AS* V, 126, 130, 135, 142.

⁵⁸ *SAOC* 17, str. ix, 29; viii, 46; also at Tell ed-Duweir, *Lachish* II, pl. 47 (LB).

⁵⁹ *QDAP* 4, p. 45, no. 280.

⁶⁰ *CPP* 17, E4 (erroneously called "braziers").

⁶¹ Cf. the tall, smooth stems and cup bowls at Ayia Irini, *SCE* II, 818, 624, pl. 187, of the 5th cent.

sies, do not forbid placing it in the same group with S 1572 and 1574, which are EI ii-iii in date.

The preponderance of the statistical evidence would put T. 54 slightly earlier than T. 32, but the figures are too low to be decisive. One small chalice in T. 32 (S 1569) has no discovered parallels. Its squat form and simple profile relate it to the low LB forms mentioned above, but it is a much heavier, thicker ware, it has four handles, and it is decorated with an unusual impressed design, all of which suggest a late date.

The two fragments from T. 5, one classified by itself as S 1592, the other with S 1573, have peculiarities of their own. S 1592 has the ridges which at 'Ain Shems are characteristic of MI i. The pedestal of the fragment classified as S 1573 is made in two pieces joined in the middle. It shows no painted bands and is long and almost cylindrical, more like 1581. The two pieces suit a later date than the specimens from Ts. 32 and 54. The tubular pedestal fragment from T. 54 classified on the basis of its horizontal bands as S 1573 also resembles more the stem of S 1581 in shape.

The complicated and ambiguous evidence seems to prove nothing as to the relative ages of Ts. 32 and 54. But it reinforces the dating in the EI ii-iii period for both. So far as two rather significant fragments have weight, T. 5 is later than the other two.

VII. TYPES FOUND ONLY IN TOMBS 54 and 32

1. Craters (S 1471-81)

Of the so-called craters eight types appear, six (8 specimens) in T. 32 (1471-75, 1478) and three (4 specimens) in T. 54 (1475-6, 1481). With one exception all of these types are dated elsewhere before 1000, most of them before 1100, and several before 1200 B.C. That is they are LB and EI i-ii types. The single exception is S 1478 (2 examples in T. 32), a type which appears in the same contexts as the others at 'Ain Shems, Beth-shan, Tell el-'Ajjûl, Tell el-Fâr'ah, and in Megiddo tombs, but on the Megiddo mound is reported from str. v-i. Since these types appear solely in the earlier two of the four tombs at TN and the vast majority of the evidence from other sites agrees as to their earlier dates, the evidence of the Megiddo mound must be regarded with suspicion. In any case it does not prove a date

later than EI ii. The presence of these twelve craters, therefore, must be regarded as additional evidence that Ts. 54 and 32 were in full use before 1000 B.C. Only one type, S 1475, is common to both tombs. The evidence from other sites puts the T. 32 specimens in general a century later than those of T. 54, but, in view of the small numbers, the difference is not sufficient to have great weight.

2. Lug-handled Vases or Bowls (S 1688-1711)

A small vessel with two handles appears sporadically on the mound and not at all in Ts. 5 and 29, but in 11 specimens in T. 54 and 24 in T. 32.⁶² All have two handles and all but one have round bases. Otherwise they vary greatly. Some (perhaps ¼ of the TN types) are very broad for their height and have been called "squat juglets," or "pyxes" (S 1688-93). In others the height is greater than the breadth, but none are tall and slender. Some are spherical, some oval, others angular. The mouths of the squat forms are usually wide, as in bowls, some very wide, partially justifying the name "pyxis."⁶³ Some tend to be narrow even for such small vessels, giving them the appearance of juglets. The two handles are applied on the horizontal plane, usually at the shoulder, at an angle varying from perpendicular to horizontal. They are pierced on the vertical plane. A few are loops, but so small and so closely attached that they are virtually lug handles.

The ware is moderately well levigated and well baked in most specimens, excellent in some. Of the 23 types and 35 specimens in the two tombs, 15 types and 24 specimens are in a light-brown or light-orange-brown ware, 8 types and 10 specimens are in a black ware like the small black juglets (S 842-72) already discussed; one globular specimen is gray-black (S 1704, T. 32). Nearly all were polished vertically or all over. In some cases weathering has removed the evidence on this point. None of the black-ware juglets is angular and squat like types S 1688-1691. Five of the types and six of the specimens in black are oval or round (S 1707-1711).

Since so many appear in Ts. 54 and 32 and none in Ts. 5 and 29, they should have distinct chronological value. The really squat specimens, S 1688,

⁶² All type specimens but one (S 1689) are from the two tombs.

⁶³ Classification and terminology are at their worst in Duncan, *CPP*, type 55, pp. 18 f.

1690, and 1691 (all from T. 32), are paralleled at 'Ain Shems (Ts. 10, 11), at Tell el-Fâr'ah in tombs of the 900 series, at Tell Beit Mirsim in str. C or B, at Megiddo in str. vi and v, and at Beth-shan in str. vi, preponderantly in LB, but also in EI i-ii. A similar type, S 1639 found in square AD 24, has its best parallel at Megiddo in str. vi (1170-1100 B. C.). All of these squat specimens are in light brown ware and incline to be angular. The mouths are wide, the necks short.

Another group (S 1694-97), taller and less angular, with smaller and longer necks, also in light brown ware, is decorated with horizontal bands in brown or reddish brown. Close parallels are rare. Somewhat similar vessels at 'Ain Shems and Tell Abū Hawam were dated in EI. Four (S 1194-6) were in T. 32, and one (S 1697) in T. 54. S 1698, which has two specimens in T. 32 and 3 in T. 54 has a similar shape but no decoration except burnishing. At Megiddo a somewhat similar shape appears in str. v (11th cent.). S 1699 (T. 32), with a ring base and no neck, has no good parallel elsewhere, but str. v at Megiddo has similar shapes with a thin disk base and high neck.⁶⁴

The various shapes included in S 1700 and 1701, all of which somewhat resemble a truncated cone with a neck and a rounded base, are paralleled by vessels from 'Ain Shems (T. 11), Megiddo, and Tell el-Fâr'ah which belong to LB and EI i-ii. All specimens of these types come from T. 32.

Shapes in black ware (S 1705-07) similar to the orange-and-brown-ware types S 1692-1700 are later at Megiddo (str. iv and iii), Tell Beit Mirsim, and 'Ain Shems (ca. 900). They likewise are all from T. 32.

Types which are globular or oval in brown-orange ware are but two, S 1702 and 1703. No good parallels to S 1702 have been discovered. The fragment classed as S 1703 (T. 54) may be compared with a Beth-zur shape (BZ, pl. 10: 10U) which is dated after 500 B. C., but either the resemblance is deceptive or the Beth-zur specimen is wrongly dated.

Type S 1704 (T. 32) in a gray ware is probably to be classed with the globular black-ware types. They (S 1709-10) are EI i-ii types at Tell Beit Mirsim, Gezer, and 'Ain Shems as is also the oval shape S

1711 at 'Ain Shems and Megiddo. However some specimens of similar shape and ware appear at Megiddo in str. iv and iii.⁶⁵

The specimens of this type of vessel, therefore, as they appear in the two tombs and also in their few fragments on the mound, almost unanimously point to the EI Age. Probably none was imported. The characteristic LB squat bowl which plainly imitates Cypro-Mycenaean vessels is absent. The TN vessels appear in some instances to be distant derivatives from that type. Probably the taller and the globular specimens are a new creation, a development parallel to a very much older type found here and there in the Near East which had a pierced lug handle.⁶⁶ The only mark of relationship covering the whole group is the pair of pierced, horizontally attached handles.

These vessels clearly prove that Ts. 32 and 54 are contemporaneous and earlier than Ts. 5 and 29. As to differences between T. 32 and T. 54 which might have chronological significance the answer must be uncertain. S 1688, 1690, and 1691 in T. 32 on typological grounds appear to be more closely related to the LB squat bowls. Over against these three more strictly typical specimens are S 1692 and 1693 in T. 54, two types but four specimens, which also may be early. Types S 1700-02, 1704-09 (13 examples) would prove T. 32 to continue later than T. 54, which has one specimen each of three such types (S 1702-03, 1710). This evidence appears to favor an earlier date for the beginning also of T. 32, unless the more nondescript types of T. 54 (S 1692-1693) and of T. 32 (S 1699) can be proved to offset the evidence of the early group in T. 32.

3. Painted Vessels in Tombs 32 and 54

Only one painted vessel, the "swan jar" (see below), appeared in T. 5 and none in T. 29. On the other hand Ts. 32 and 54 had several vessels, preserved whole or in part, which had been decorated, in almost all cases with horizontal bands of paint.

⁶⁴ Jars 35, 36, M I, pls. 9 and 49.

⁶⁵ For example, cf. Field Museum of Natural History, *Anthropological Memoirs I*, by Ernest Mackay, 1, Chicago, 1925, p. 35, pl. 16; 2, Ernest Mackay, Chicago, 1929, pp. 152 f., pl. 44; 3, Chicago, 1931, pp. 240 ff., pl. 64, Type B, figs. 1-15; Carl W. Blegen, *Zygouries*, Cambridge, 1928, fig. 73, p. 85; fig. 98, p. 110; Gjerstad, *Prehistoric Cyprus*, Uppsala, 1926, p. 186, bowl 6; p. 188; D. E. McCown, *Comparative Stratigraphy of Early Iran (SAOC 23)*, Chicago, 1942, fig. 11: 97, 113. The application of the term "pyxis" to these vessels implies a paternity which is questionable.

⁶⁴ M I, jars 97, 98, pls. 19, 55.

The Cypro-Phoenician juglets distinguish T. 32. In both tombs some of the chalices, the jugs, and the lug-handled bowls were thus decorated. In all 15 pieces in T. 54 and 30 in T. 32 had painted decoration. Red, brown, and black, singly or in bichrome combinations were used. This is another feature which shows a close relationship between Ts. 32 and 54.

VIII. SWAN JARS IN TOMBS 32 and 5 (S 623)

Among the jugs, a striking type distinguishes Ts. 5 and 32, a "swan jar," first published by Dr. Badè from T. 5.⁶⁷ Since then the second TN example, undecorated and more conventionalized, has come to light from T. 32. A similar vessel in str. iv at Megiddo assists in dating the type in EI iii or MI i.⁶⁸ Possibly all three examples are importations into Hebrew territory, from Phoenicia or Cyprus. They have somewhat the form of the *askos*.

The few parallels to the "swan jar" which Dr. Badè was able to discover in 1931 were not close or were fragmentary, with the exception of that which Dr. Fisher had published from Megiddo. It is now thought that Dr. Fisher's str. iii belongs to str. v and therefore, as Professor Hempel has pointed out, to EI. He was correct also in pointing out the resemblances and probable contemporaneity of 'Ain Shems T. 1, Megiddo str. v (iii), and TN T. 32.⁶⁹ Very similar vessels are found in Cyprus in Bichrome ware.⁷⁰ The same trefoil mouth and low ring base appear, but the handle falls far short of the mouth. The Cypriote form is somewhat more realistic and the painting more complicated. At about the same time other even more realistic bird forms appear in Cyprus,⁷¹ but none more so than the Megiddo examples of faience ducks which Watzinger dates before the 8th cent. and traces to Phoenicia.⁷² The presence of this type of vessel in Ts. 32 and 5 adds weight to the evidence for their contemporaneity and indicates that both cover EI iii -MI i.

⁶⁷ *Tombs*, 26 f. and pl. 20: 3. See pls. 30: 10, 36: 3.

⁶⁸ *M I*, 3, note; pl. 5: 117, p. 163, § 23, and notes; *Megiddo Cult*, pl. 38: 3015; *OIC* 4, pp. 67-71, fig. 45.

⁶⁹ *ZDPV* 55 (1932), 83 f. Cf. Fisher, *Exc. of Armageddon (OIC 4)*, Chicago, 1929, p. 67, fig. 45, xl; May, *Material Remains of the Megiddo Cult (OIP 26)*, Chicago, 1935, p. 34, pl. 38, 3015; *M I*, 163 § 23, pl. 5: 117; M. Mayer, *Jahrb. kais. deutsch. archäol. Inst.* 22 (1938), 207-35.

⁷⁰ For example, *CVA* 3: 2, *Great Britain II C C.* pl. 9: 4, 7.

⁷¹ *Op. cit.*; note the especially fine dove with a star on its breast

⁷² *TM II*, 31, 35 f.; *TM I*, fig. 131.

IX. SUMMARY OF DATA ON TOMBS 5, 29, 32, and 54

In comparing the four tombs and attempting to determine their chronological position, it is to be noted that Ts. 32 and 54 had a large variety of beads, bracelets, rings, and other jewelry, much more in proportion to the pottery than T. 5, while T. 29 almost entirely lacked such evidences of affluence. Only Ts. 32 and 54 had numerous painted vessels. Only Ts. 32 and 54 had eyelet pins, only T. 32 fibulae. Only Ts. 32, 54, and 5 had scarabs, and only Ts. 32 and 54 seals, T. 32 many more of both in proportion to its whole contents than T. 54. T. 29 can, indeed, be left out of account because it was so poor both in quality and quantity. But does T. 5 fall in a decidedly later period than the other two and for that reason lack the seals and painted pieces which appear in Ts. 32 and 54? According to Dr. Pieper both of its scarabs belong stylistically to 900 B. C. or later. Even if its scarabs were made in the 18th dyn., they might still appear in a much later tomb. In its carefully hewn form it is "later" (typologically speaking) than any of the other three. T. 32 overlaps it, of course, but perhaps after the objects indicating wealth, such as scarabs, had become less fashionable. It is strange that no fibulae were found in T. 5. Perhaps plundering, perhaps the frugality of relatives accounts for the absence of bronze. Negative evidence is always weak.

A review of the chronological data confirms broadly the results of the preliminary statistical investigation. It is clear that Ts. 32 and 54 cover much the same period and that they are earlier than the other two. All four tombs may have overlapped, but it is also possible that T. 29 was not used until after T. 54 and possibly after T. 32 had been closed. Certainly T. 32 overlaps the two (Ts. 5 and 54) and probably all three. It is likewise clear that T. 54 reached its maximum use at about the same time as T. 32 did but that it ceased to be used long before T. 32 was closed. The 25th dyn. scarabs, however, are a discordant note in T. 32, indicating use later than the pottery proves.

The evidence for the dates of their opening is ambiguous, since it depends upon the absence from one tomb of a very few LB-EI types which were in use before either tomb was opened and which continued in use after the LB Age. In some cases a difference of opinion may arise from a differing

evaluation of typological relationship. In general a typological succession posited upon theory and not upon stratification or definite chronological data seems to me precarious if not valueless. Mr. Wampler believes that T. 32 was in use before T. 54 and continued after it was closed. As to the last point there can be no question. I do not find the evidence (the squat two-lug-handled jars, the lamps, and a few other LB forms) so strong as he does, but admit the possibility.⁷³

The juglets and the lamps illustrate the contradictory character of the evidence. In what I have called class 2, the percentage with an oval mouth would stamp T. 54 as much earlier than T. 32, but the criterion of the pinched pouring lip would make T. 32 earlier. In class 3 its percentage of low handles would prove T. 32 earlier and its percentage of high handles would make it later than T. 54, for the latter tomb has a high percentage with medium attachment—a feature which strengthens Mr. Wampler's position that T. 32 is both earlier and later than T. 54. As to lamps, T. 32 has a relatively high percentage that have their best parallels elsewhere in LB and T. 54 a still higher percentage which are possibly MI. In T. 5 one type with 5 specimens seems to have only LB parallels. The latter two items contradict all of the other evidence, and, therefore, one may doubt also the first (as to T. 32), the more so as the evidence is clear that TN was not occupied in the LB Age. In other words lamps are poor evidence. The craters seem to place T. 54 a century earlier than T. 32. Whether the lug-handled jars reverse that verdict depends upon typological considerations.

One difficulty remains. The graph shown and discussed above,⁷⁴ even after the data from the ed-Dāheriyeh tomb were incorporated, still shows the peak of use for Ts. 32 and 54 in the 11th cent., in EI ii, although there are no Philistine sherds and although, also, general considerations, such as the probable history of the site and the probable wealth of the country, would point to a period, such as that of Solomon or Uzziah, when the country had had opportunity to recover from the Hebrew invasion and

⁷³ Père Vincent examined the pottery of T. 32 and found in it pieces which, on the basis of ware, he classed as LB or in the period of transition to EI. They were not evenly fired and had larger grits than those of EI. (Diary, June 1, 1932)

⁷⁴ Sec. v, 1.

was enjoying peace and prosperity. The eighth century seems too late for the bulk of the pottery and the Solomonic era, the 10th cent., therefore, more probable. If so, then the dates which have been given to the parallel material used in the graph run too high, and the "general impression" made upon Professors Albright and Wright, that T. 32 belongs predominantly to the tenth and ninth or to the tenth cent. was correct.

With T. 32 would go also T. 54, as centering still more exclusively in the 10th cent. Ts. 5 and 29 would appear to fall, then, in the main a century or more later and to continue down well into the 7th cent., T. 29 perhaps until the Exile, or even after it. On account of the late scarabs it must be allowed that T. 32 was in use down to *ca.* 700 B. C., an item which does not agree with the graph or the pottery evidence as considered in detail. Whether the dating of the scarabs is wrong, or the EI and MI pottery have been placed too early, only the future discoveries can definitely decide.

A hypothetical reconstruction of the history of the four tombs would rate T. 54 as containing the largest proportion of early material. T. 32 may have been opened earlier (that point seems to me undetermined), but it continued in use much longer and has a considerable proportion of late, possibly MI i, material. Its late scarabs are too uncertain in date to prove that it continued into MI ii, but if they are correctly dated, they constitute strong evidence for its occupation until near 700 B. C. T. 5 began to be used somewhat later than the other two, probably in the 10th possibly in the 9th cent., and continued in use perhaps through the 8th cent.⁷⁵ T. 29 is most puzzling of all. The small number of objects recovered may be due to the poverty of its owners. Its form, with a doorway and steps but no interior shape, if such typological considerations have weight, makes it later than Ts. 54 and 32, but earlier than T. 5. Its contents seem to cover a later period than any of the other three. Perhaps it was used through a long period by a family which deposited few and poor pieces of pottery with their dead.

The other three tombs show the extent of Egyptian influence in Palestine apparently through the whole of the period from Solomon to Hezekiah. They prove that TN was not a poor country village in-

⁷⁵ Dr. Albright (*AAS* 21-22 [1943], § 3), suggests 950-850.

habited only by poverty-stricken peasants. There must have been *gibborim* there, persons of wealth and doubtless of influence, who had their individual seals and who buried with their dead no small evidence of wealth and "culture." The two earlier tombs would seem to belong to the period of David and Solomon, because of the presence of Cypro-Phoenician juglets and eyelet pins as well as because of the total weight of evidence as seen in the graph based upon all the pottery. They may have continued in use after the great walls were built. If levies or mercenaries were sent to guard the city, they might have been responsible for some of the wealth shown in the tombs, but more probably they would return to their homes to be buried with their fathers. Influential families who belonged to the city would doubtless be its chief defense and they would remain, but the prosperity of the city would fall as apparently that of all Judah did in the Assyrian period. The graph of the tomb contents may follow roughly the rise and fall of the city's prosperity.

X. TOMB 7

Tomb 7 in the north cemetery excavated early in April, 1932, produced very little. The roof was half eroded away and robbing had left only fragments of pottery, a bronze bracelet, and two stone whorls, one incised. The date should be MI ii-iii, since there were two globular juglets, one drab, one black, with low handle attachment, and a brown oval juglet with pouring lip. A flat-bottomed lamp with narrow spout and wide lip around the bowl and a fragment of a bowl with horizontal burnishing and a bar handle agree but give no further precision to the dating.

XI. TOMB 53

Tomb 53 in the north cemetery, excavated late in June, 1932, was merely a cave, presumably used for burials but perhaps also as a shelter, for it contained bones and jewelry to mark the former use but some late pottery fragments to suggest subsequent entry. A rather crudely incised bone handle, perhaps for a knife, various pieces of bronze, including a *kupl* stick, a buckle (?), an angular fibula of intermediate date, a bracelet and some rings, a silver earring, pieces of iron, including an arrow head, and a few glass beads were doubtless from funerary deposits. A disk base of a saucer lamp, three representatives of a juglet which resembles a slender bag (S 788), possibly a poor imitation of a familiar Egyptian alabastron type, and a somewhat bulbous jar, all of MI ii type, approximately determined the date. A fragment of ribbed ware and a jar or bowl base which may be late are probably intrusive.

XII. TOMB 55

Tomb 55 in the northeast cemetery, excavated in May, 1935, was a natural cave (pl. 16: 1, 2). It had been used in the EB Age, for numerous fragments of handmade vessels, including a plain ledge handle, were found. It had been well plundered after the Iron Age burials, for a bronze ring and a bronze bracelet beside a bronze fragment or two were the only pieces of jewelry left, and the pottery was badly broken. A somewhat bulbous pitcher, fragments of black- and brown-ware juglets and two whole juglets, one of each kind, are not sufficient to determine whether it falls early in MI i or possibly in MI ii.⁷⁶ The earlier date seems to be indicated by the presence of S 772 and S 872.

⁷⁶ See pl. 38: 19-21.

CHAPTER X

TOMBS OF MIXED AND INDETERMINATE DATE

1. **TOMB 1.** The first tomb pointed out to Dr. Badè when he began his successful search for the necropolis of TN was a disappointment, since noth-

more primitive form than Ts. 2, 3, and 5 but, like T. 29, had been cut into the rock and provided with the typical small, slightly arched, rectangular en-

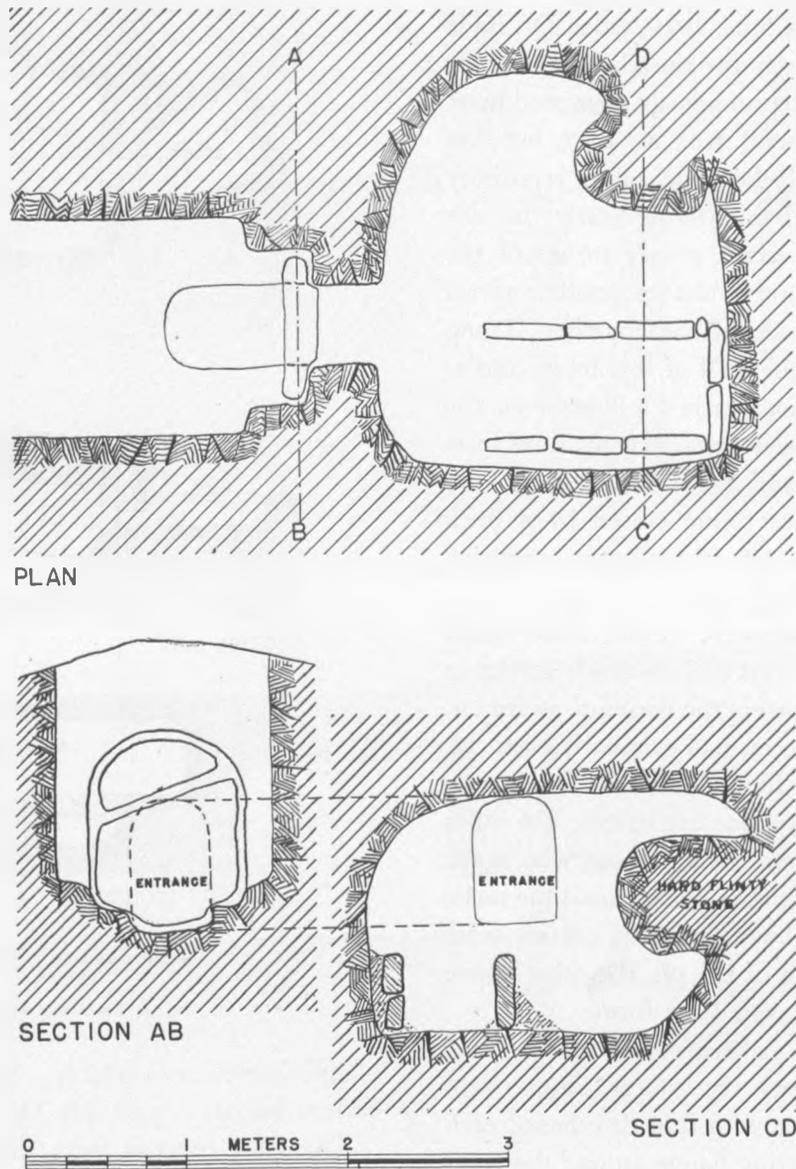


FIG. 10. PLAN AND SECTIONS OF TOMB 1

ing was found in it. It lay about one fourth of a mile west of the western wall of the tell near Ts. 2 and 3, which were found at the same time.¹ It had a

entrance, closed with a rabbeted stone slab. A section of hard, flinty rock at one side prevented the proper development of the chamber. Within were neither benches nor *kokim*, but there had been a cist grave

¹ See plan and section, fig. 10.

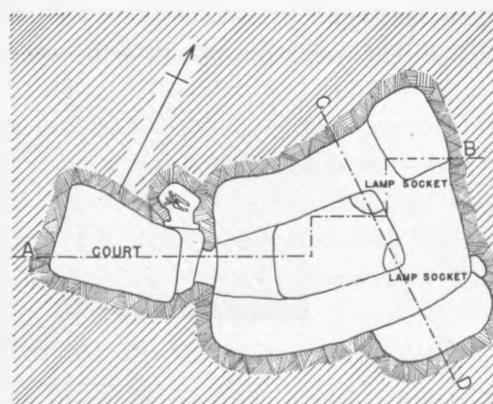
constructed of stone slabs at the right side. The idea of building a grave within a tomb but with heavier masonry and a complicated *kokim* plan appears in a Jerash tomb of Roman times.² This is much more like an attempt to build a sarcophagus, or perhaps the cist of a shaft tomb. However cist graves had been in use in Palestine at least a millennium before the Israelites founded a city at TN.

2. TOMB 3, Israelite and Hellenistic. Tomb 3, a quarter of a mile west of TN, one of the first discovered and excavated in June, 1929, when Dr. Badè began his thorough search for burials, has already been published and can be summarily dismissed here. It was of the same general type as T. 5, but less regular in shape.³ It lacked the large repository behind, but had a small one, more nearly the size of an ossuary, cut in a recess at one corner of the rear bench. Above the other corner another recess had been cut into the side of the chamber. Lamp sockets had been cut in the wall of this recess and at each corner of the rather shallow pit between the benches. The entrance was through a shallow fore-court cut in the rock and by a small, irregularly squared hole, which was found closed by a thick flat stone. Outside at its left was a recess, or niche, closed by a deeply rabbeted slab.

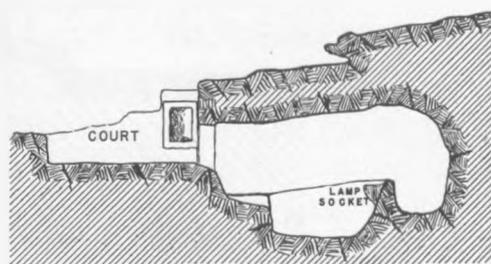
In the recess without were found some adult femora, for which the recess had evidently served as an ossuary. Below them were the bones of an infant, for whom perhaps the recess had originally been cut. Within no bones were found, but there were two burial periods in evidence, one Hellenistic, the other probably of the MI Age. Perhaps those who made the secondary burial or burials piously used the niche outside as an ossuary. Two groups of pottery were found, one at the bottom of the pit, the other above silt which had already covered the former.

The pottery does not make exact dating possible. From the lower deposits ten saucer lamps with rounded bottoms and five with thin disk bases, each with a fairly wide projecting flange around the bowl and with a narrow and deep nozzle, were found. Four black-ware juglets (S 853, 868), with handles reaching practically to the rim, point to a fairly late date, either MI i or ii. Four decanters of common

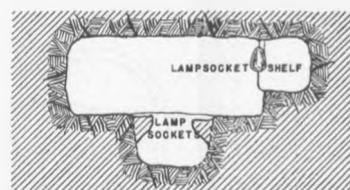
types (S 735, 740), and 4 bowls (S 1157, 1314, 1214) belong to MI, predominantly to MI ii. Certain discordant elements, a pitcher (S 583) and 2 bowls (S 1252 and 1284) which have their best parallels respectively in EI ii and LB, merely indicate the caution necessary in datings from comparisons based on form unless distinctive shapes or large numbers



PLAN



SECTION AB



SECTION CD



FIG. 11. PLAN AND SECTIONS OF TOMB 3

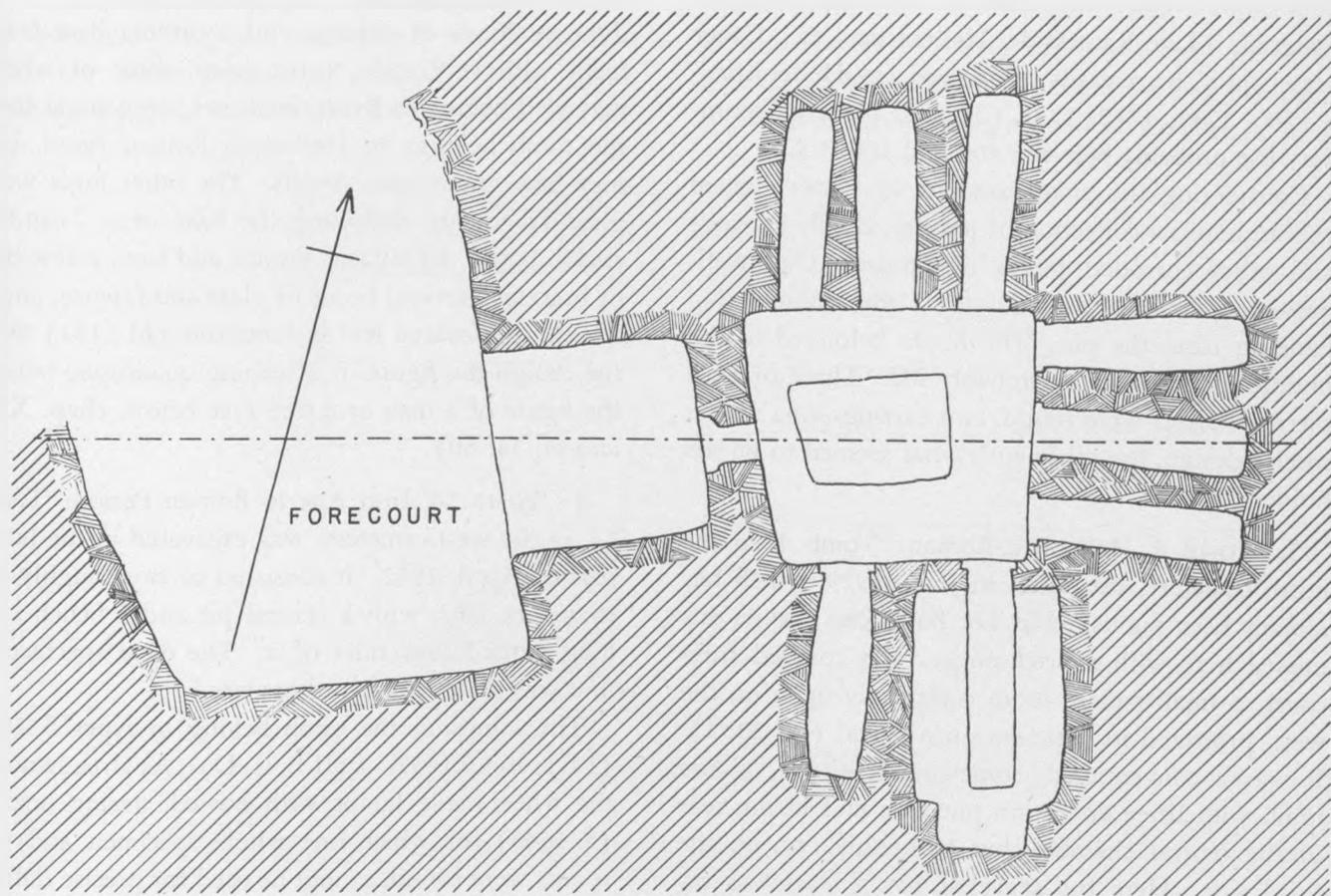
of specimens are available. The date, then, of the earliest burials is probably MI, apparently MI ii.⁴

The later remains were distinctly Hellenistic in character. The outstanding piece was a beautiful miniature bowl, made in imitation of a pomegranate. The low neck was notched to resemble the remains of the calyx and the attachment of the stem served as a sort of base. What appears from the drawing to

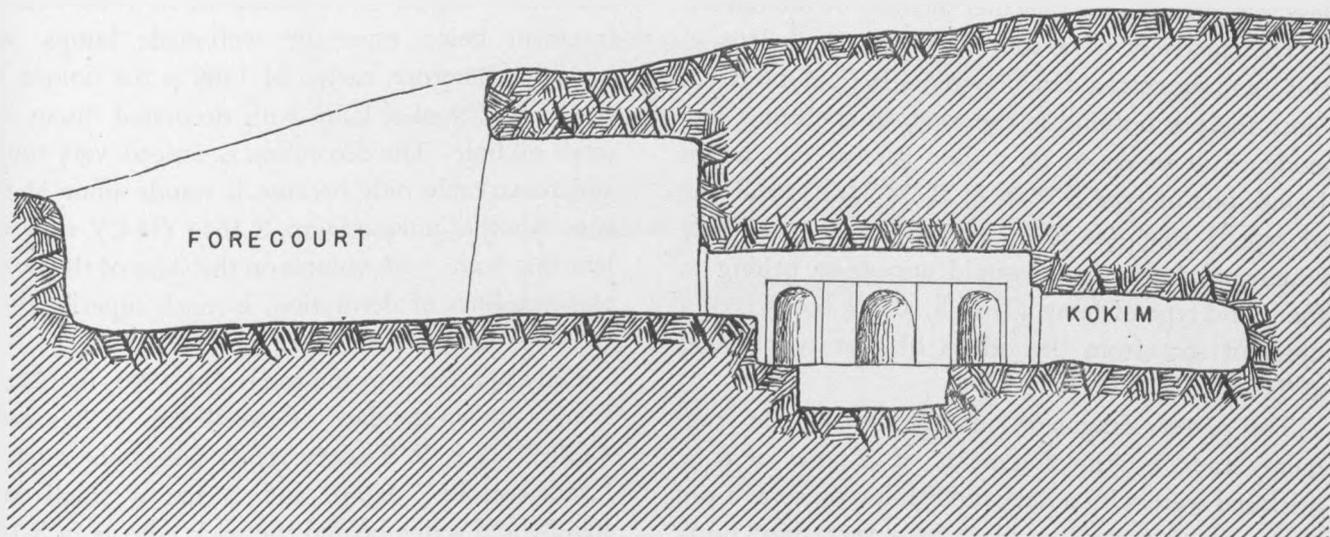
² C. C. McCown, *AAS* 11 (1931), 37; C. S. Fisher in C. H. Kraeling, ed., *Gerasa* (New Haven, 1938), 566 f.

³ See plan, fig. 11; pl. 19: 1-5; cf. Badè, *Tombs*, 6-13.

⁴ Cf. Badè, *op. cit.*, pls. 14, 15. Albright dates T. 3 in the "eighth (-seventh) century," *AAS* 21-22 (1943), § 152.



PLAN



SECTION



FIG. 12 PLAN AND SECTION OF TOMB 4

be a similar vessel was found at Beth-shan in mixed material, "Late Ramesside, Hellenistic," etc. Other vessels in T. 3 are easily recognized as "Hellenistic," S 1730, 1731, 1732, 1733 (2), and place its secondary use probably between 300 and 100 B. C.⁵

Considering the small amount of pottery, there was an unusual collection of jewelry, chiefly earrings and other corroded pieces of bronze. One well-preserved fibula appeared with a thin bronze ring hanging from the pin. The fibula belonged to the middle group in date, probably MI. Three or four pieces of silver were found, two earrings, one with a rosette design, the other with what seemed to be the holder for a set.

3. TOMB 4, Hellenistic-Roman. Tomb 4, in the north cemetery, excavated in June, 1929, which has already been published by Dr. Badè, can also be dismissed here with a brief notice.⁶ Its covered forecourt, a small square room completely open on the west, protected its little entrance portal (pl. 20: 1). It was a conventional, somewhat irregular, *kokim* tomb with three *kokim* on one side and in the rear of the central chamber, but with only two on the third side. Here the space of two *kokim* was occupied by a sunk grave with a shelf running all around it except at the outer end (fig. 12). It doubtless was intended for the chief member of the family.

The discovery of a coin of Herod Archelaus in this tomb suggests a date between 4 B. C. and 6 A. D. Since there is nothing in the tomb to contradict this evidence, it serves to fix a date for the two lamps found, one of type S 1648 (I B, M 1168), and one of type S 1656 (II D 3, M 1167). A small base fragment of fine paste would appear to belong to the round type of lamp (II B, S 1652), but it is of a different sort from the others of that type found at TN.

The pottery fragments include two handle fragments and two rim fragments of a bowl of soft, brick-red ware with a dark reddish-brown core, a rim fragment of a shallow plate in a very thin, fairly hard, pinkish ware, base fragments of other thin wares of excellent quality, but softer, a ring-base fragment of well-made buff ware, all wares that can unhesitatingly be classed as Hellenistic-Roman.

There were fragments of heavy vessels with four different kinds of ribbing, and a curving base fragment with very wide corrugations, some of which may well belong to Byzantine times. In general then the tomb belongs to Hellenistic-Roman times, but may have some later vessels. The other finds were glass fragments, including the base of a "candlestick" bottle, a fibula of bronze and iron, a few bits of bracelets, several beads of glass and faience, and a conical, perforated seal in limestone (M 1182) with the design the figure of a leaping quadruped before the figure of a man or a tree (see below, chap. XIII and pl. 54: 50).

4. TOMB 14, Iron Age to Roman Period. Tomb 14, in the west cemetery, was excavated in the latter part of April, 1932. It consisted of two roughly cut chambers, each with a central pit and a bench running around four sides of it. The most spectacular find was a well-preserved ossuary.⁷

The lamps in the tomb belong to types S 1648 (I B), and S 1652-54 (II B, C, D). As already noted the wheel-made lamps with bowed, flaring nozzles (S 1648), of which one whole specimen and two spouts were found, cannot be used for precise dating. The "round-type" lamps (S 1652) are presumably not later than the 3d cent. A. D. The three found in this tomb⁸ are all good examples, M 1589 and the fragment being especially well-made lamps, and possibly, therefore, early. M 1589 is the unique example at TN of a lamp with decorated discus and small oil hole. The decoration is, indeed, very simple and remarkable only because it stands alone at this site. Another unique lamp, S 1653 (II C), of excellent thin ware, with volutes on the sides of the nozzle and fine lines of decoration, is much superior to all the other lamps found at TN.

Only one lamp in the tomb (M 1590, fig. 21: 4) is of a lower standard of excellence. It has radial strokes (II E, F, S 1660, 1668) but is not a typical "radial-stroke" lamp, and it has a small knob handle and a line behind the wick hole as in S 1657 (II D). It would appear to throw the date of the last use of the tomb toward the end of the 3d cent. A. D. at the earliest, but this is quite uncertain, as the piece is not typical and it may be intrusive.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pl. 13.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, 33-37.

⁷ See figs. 13 and 21: 1-9; pl. 43; and below chap. XI, v.

⁸ Fig. 21: 1, 2 (M 1589), and a fragment x35.

On the supposition that the tomb group is homogeneous in date, the other pottery would be most puzzling. One piece was a small, black round-bottomed juglet, such as is common in EI and MI

pitchers elsewhere were found in EI. At TN other examples were found in the upper stratum, which belongs to MI. All the other pieces may belong to the Roman period; e. g., a small bottle neck of fairly

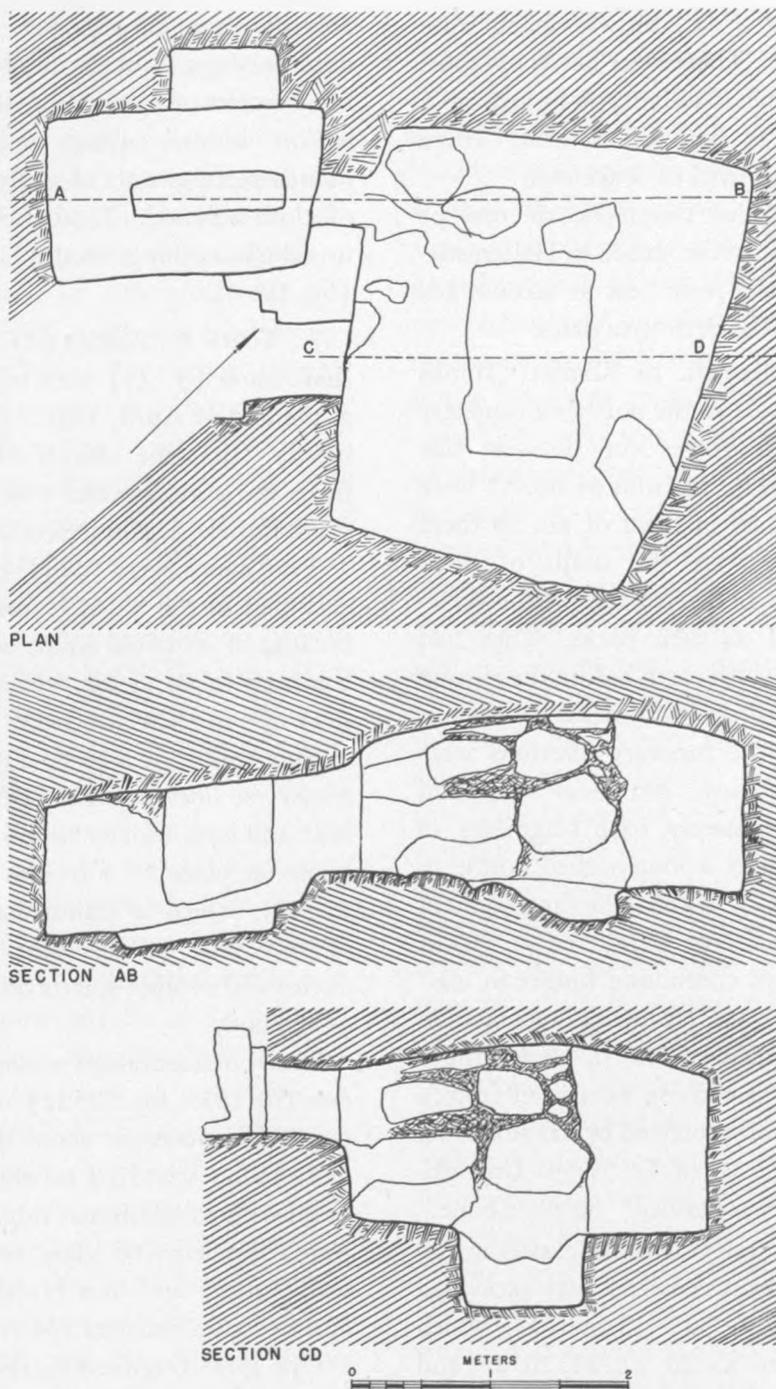


FIG. 13. PLAN AND SECTIONS OF TOMB 14

(1100-800). Quantities of similar juglets were found in tombs 32 and 5, which are to be dated in that period. Another piece was a small pitcher of hard, light-brown ware, wet smoothed. Similar

hard, light-brown ware of an excellent paste; a base fragment of a flat-bottomed bottle or juglet of similar ware but slightly heavier; a bowl-rim fragment, probably Roman, with clear-cut, cyma-reversa

profile, and a decoration below it of short, vertical strokes, in a hard red ware with faded hematite (?) slip, and with gray paint in the incisions and in a band on the rim; a typical Roman handle and rim fragment of a two-handled bowl in hard, brick-red ware; and fragments of a dark-brown ribbed ware with light-brown surface. There were beads of stone, carnelian, faience, and metal (silver), a bronze ring, and various fragments of bronze and iron. There were also numerous fragments of a skeleton.

Presumably the irregular chambers, or one of them, cut in the Iron Age, were reused in Hellenistic-Roman times. This would seem best to account for the presence of objects of such diverse dates.

5. Shelf Graves, Hellenistic or Roman. Tombs 57, 58, and 59 (pl. 21: 1-4) in the northeast cemetery appeared to have been graves cut sidewise like shelves into ledges of rock. In front of no. 57 were five upright slabs of stone, in front of no. 58 there were three. In no. 58 were the skulls of three children, nothing more. In Ts. 57 and 59 the skeletons lay fully extended on their backs. They had apparently been covered with earth before the closing slabs were placed in position, for sherds which can not have been part of the funerary offerings were mixed with the covering earth. No metal was found and almost no pottery, merely four fragments in T. 57 and one whole piece, a long-necked bottle, in T. 59. The last (S 1735), with a similar fragment in T. 57, is a Hellenistic type paralleled at 'Athlît and Samaria, but perhaps continuing longer in use.⁹ A fragment of ribbed ware (Roman) appeared in T. 57. The tombs numbered 71a, b, were similar simple graves cut into "an alcove excavated from a façaded rock surface" and protected by flat stones set up beside them as in the case of Ts. 57-59. Unfortunately, when opened they contained "hardly a bone."

6. Shaft Graves. A series of shaft graves in the western section of the west cemetery was excavated during April and May, 1932.¹⁰ Tomb 17, which contained a skeleton, and Ts. 20, 21, 24, 26, 27, and 28 had one, two, or three graves at the bottom of the shaft, the second and third being cut, one under each side of the shaft. Nearly all had some skeletal remains. Tomb 26, a shaft tomb with two graves

(pl. 22: 1), contained only one whole "round-type" lamp (M 1730, S 1652, II B), fragments of another with less prominent base ring, no oil-hole ring, and no decoration; a gold earring, and a flint fragment, gray, percussion flaked, and pressure chipped, probably the point of a graver. T. 27, like T. 26, had gold earrings, four in number. It contained also a fine bracelet of black glass, seven fragments of small hollow bronze tubing with tapering point, and numerous fragments of an iron chain to which shreds of cloth adhered. Tombs 38-46 were similar shafts in which nothing worthy of mention was found (fig. 19: 2).

7. Tomb 23, Roman (?). In the west cemetery a shaft tomb (T. 23) with two graves was excavated at the end of April, 1932.¹¹ It had been robbed, but hastily, for some objects of interest remained. A lamp and a glass vessel were at the right side of the south burial. The bracelets had been on the left arm.

Two lamps were found, both of which might be classified in the S 1657 group, but one (M 1680), because of its ovoid shape and its rayed decoration, has been taken as the type specimen of the S 1672 (H) group. On the neck is a degenerate double evolute spiral. It is to be noted that both types have transverse lines, straight or curved, back of the wick hole and both usually have rather prominent dots or knobs in place of a handle. The other lamp (fig. 22: 27), which is scaling badly, has a combination of very short strokes near the knob handle, with circles and evolute spirals on the neck and front part of the body.

The tomb contained a glass bowl (M 1682), like one (M 1825, fig. 22: 22) in tomb 31, especially in the oval depressions about the body but with a still more bulbous body, a broader neck and mouth, and a rim with an additional ridge at the rim base. There were fragments of glass bracelets and two whole ones, bronze and iron bracelet and ring fragments, and two gold earrings (M 1687).

One glass fragment carried blue and gold bands. A round bronze locket (M 1688), which was 26 mm. in diameter and 9 mm. thick, was decorated on one side with red and green inlay in segments of concentric zones. When its hinged back was opened the incrustated weave of a fine linen (?) fabric appeared.

⁹ *QDAP* 2 (1933), 78, fig. 47; 4 (1935), 168, pl. 80: 11; *Samaria* I, 302, fig. 179 a; II, pl. 67: 1.

¹⁰ See fig. 20.

¹¹ See fig. 20; and fig. 22: 27-29.

All of the above was in the south burial. In the north burial appeared only what may be a fragment of a little bronze bell with a clapper, and a bronze coin or amulet of which nothing could be made.

8. TOMB 18, Roman (?). Tomb 18 in the western section of the west cemetery,¹² another shaft tomb, excavated April 21-27, 1932, consisted simply of two parallel coffin-like excavations, sunk like a modern grave in bedrock and covered with flat stones. The skeletons were much disturbed and disintegrated. A skeleton with an arm band on the left upper arm was on the east side with the head toward the north. The armband was of dark glass. Near it was another smaller one of badly corroded metal. The skull was in a fair state of preservation, though crushed in on one side at the temple. It appeared to have belonged to a medium sized woman. Immediately behind the skull the fragments of a second appeared, but the bones belonging to it, possibly those of a child, had disappeared. When these remains had been cleared away another was found beneath it, oriented in the opposite direction, as was the skeleton in the parallel grave to the west. The picture in plate 20: 9 shows the position of the arms of the upper skeleton, bent at the elbows and with the hands meeting over the stomach. The succession of pictures will make the nature of the burials clear.

As to the objects found, there was little of note. Four bracelets of black glass, one of them with a corrugated outer surface, a blue and a light-green glass bead, a bronze bracelet and fragments of bronze and iron bracelets, a bronze spatula and fragments of another make up the list, aside from pottery fragments. The most distinctive of these was half of a round lamp of the S 1652 (I B) type, having a bottom ribbed in concentric circles. The ware was fairly hard, buff in color, with a greenish-gray paint on the outside. A cooking-pot handle of fairly soft red ware; a jar handle of very hard, brown, ribbed ware, and a bowl-rim fragment of a fairly soft gray ware with brown surface fit with the probable Roman date of the lamp.

9. TOMB 31, Roman or Byzantine. At a distance of eight or ten meters northeast of T. 32 and therefore not in any of the three western groups, a shaft tomb numbered 31 was found and excavated in the

middle of May, 1932. At the bottom of the shaft were three parallel graves covered with flat stones. Although they were apparently undisturbed, the booty was not extensive, but it was excellent in quality (fig. 22: 22-26).

One lamp (M 1822, S 1655, II D) of a rather soft red ware with a round body, chevron decorations, pyramidal handle knob, and a rounded voluted nozzle, had an ambitious design in relief upon its broad neck showing a rather intricate amphora with a bunch of grapes at each side of its base. A very similar lamp was found at Beisân. It has bunches of grapes on either side of the amphora, chevron decoration on the body, and dots, though a different pattern, on the pyramidal handle.¹³ Mr. FitzGerald dates it in the Byzantine period, doubtless with right.

In T. 31 there was a tall, slender two-handled vase of pale-green glass, a broken two-handled bowl of the same color, with appliqué on the body and handles of blue green, a green bowl with large, flaring mouth, oval depressions on the body, and pale-blue glass fastened on the outer part of the base center.¹⁴ There were a spatula, two bracelets, and a small band of bronze, several rim fragments, bracelets, nails, etc., a bone pin (?), and one coin. The coin is almost illegible, but the head apparently shows the horizontal roll of hair on top of the head and the coronet which Sabina affected. The reverse may have a seated city goddess. If the coin is Hadrianic, the tomb may belong in the second century, but such a date is quite uncertain. The remains otherwise seemed Byzantine.

10. TOMB 70, excavated in the hill across Wādī Jilyân east of Maloufia, was unusual (pl. 21: 6, 8). It was approached by a narrow passage cut in the rock and was closed with a large square stone block. It opened, not into the expected tomb chamber, but into what looked like a slightly enlarged *kok*, a "niche tomb," a cavity long enough to contain adult bodies, but not wide enough for many. Unfortunately it contained nothing but the bones of two adults. Other tombs in the neighborhood had been completely looted and cleared.

It is unfortunate that these very simple tombs, which must represent the burial places of the poor or people of very moderate wealth, cannot be more

¹² See figs. 20; 22: 1-4; and pl. 20: 8-13.

¹³ B-S III, pl. 36: 5; cf. G III, pl. 92: 17.

¹⁴ Fig. 22: 26, 25, 22.

precisely dated. Shaft tombs of somewhat similar construction abounded in the plain back of Tell el-Fâr'ah.¹⁵ They are to be seen in considerable numbers in other places of very much later date, at

¹⁵ See *TF* I, sec. 37; II, 22, pl. 45. I remember seeing a considerable number, which I do not recognize in the very concise publication.

Yajûz in Transjordan for example,¹⁶ where, to judge from the other observable remains, they may be either Roman or Byzantine, possibly earlier. Doubtless excavation somewhere will eventually discover coins or other means for a closer dating.

¹⁶ *BAS* 39 (1930), 14.

CHAPTER XI

ROMAN AND BYZANTINE TOMBS

I. TOMBS USED IN ROMAN TIMES

1. TOMB 8 in the north cemetery, excavated early in April, 1932, was very much of a disappointment, for it had been plundered only the previous winter.

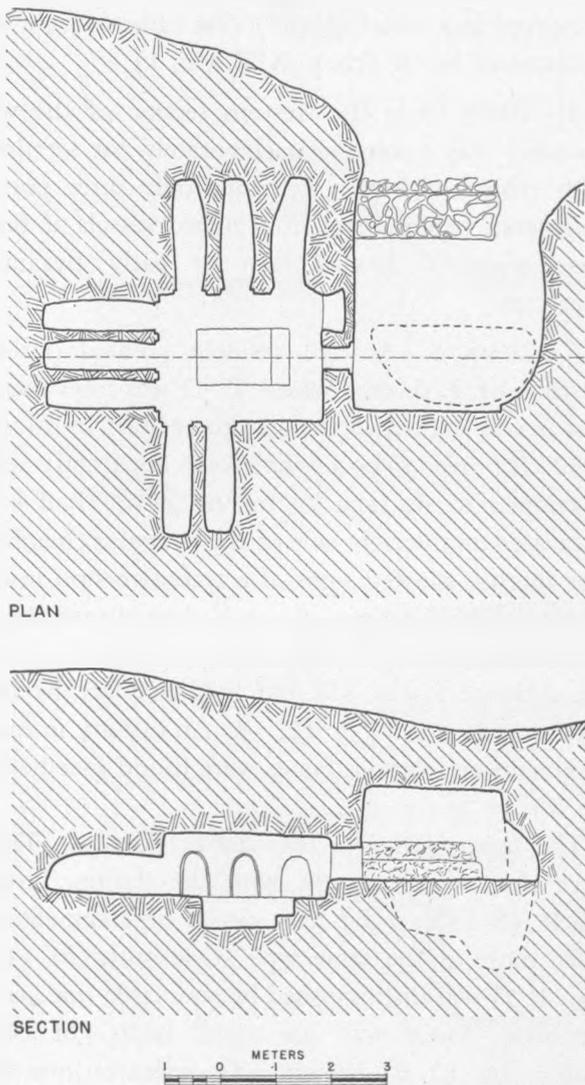


FIG. 14. PLAN AND SECTION OF TOMB 8

However its plan deserves description.¹ There had been a large chamber cut in the rock and approached probably by the steps built of stones which still lead

¹ See above, chap. I, and plan, fig. 14; pl. 20: 3, 5, 6; fig. 21: 10-16.

down into the area. When its roof had fallen in, it was cleared, a hole in the floor was filled with stones, and a new floor was made of pounded lime. A small square entrance rabbeted for the stone "stopper" had been dug in one side. This, then, gave entrance to a typical *kokim* tomb consisting of a chamber 1.8 m. high, 2.3 m. wide, and 3 m. long, with three *kokim* at the end and on one side, two on the other side, and a small recess in the wall at the right of the entrance. The rectangular well in the center was 1 m. wide and 1.3 m. long with a step 32 cm. wide leading down to it. The *kokim*, which were ca. .50 x .70 x 2. m., were arched and rabbeted to receive a closing slab.

Two of the characteristic flaring large-holed spouts of lamps of the I B (S 1648) type were all of that kind of furniture which remained. There were three cooking-pot handles of the characteristic thin, Roman, red, ribbed ware, two fragments each of two carinated bowls, a jug or decanter neck and handle, a jar-rim fragment, and several wall fragments of heavier ware with wide, flat ribbing. A couple of flint flakes and fragments of ordinary greenish, oxidized glass make up the tale of the remains of what might have been a significant find. There is nothing to give the tomb's date within any narrow limits, but the pottery found points to Roman rather than Byzantine times.

2. TOMB 71. At Khirbet esh-Sharait, half an hour's walk west of the tell, a *kokim* tomb was found and excavated early in June, 1935 (pl. 21: 5, 7). It contained one ossuary with conventional hexagonal decoration and fragments of another. There were an unidentifiable base fragment of a lamp with base ring and an almost complete wheel-made lamp (S 1648) in fairly soft, light-orange ware, exceptionally thin, light, and symmetrical. The other pottery consisted of a large jar, of which the neck and base were missing, in a fairly soft, orange, ribbed ware; and a large fragment of a ribbed cooking pot, fairly soft

and light orange-red in color (fig. 21: 23, 24). There were also fragments of greenish, oxidized glass bottles of the bulbous sort with narrow neck, and various glass beads, yellow, greenish, purple, blue, and black, two of them corrugated, one tetrahedral, others oval. In bronze there were fragments of earrings and a small bell; in iron the twisted fragments of a chain (?).

A single coin discovered had a bust in profile on one side and a galloping horse on the other. Of the legend only AUG appeared.² This as well as the other finds would appear to place the tomb in the Roman period.

3. TOMB 2, excavated the latter part of June, 1929, was about a quarter of a mile west of the tell, southeast of Khirbet esh-Shuweikeh. As the plan and section show, it was a *kokim* tomb of irregular construction.³ It was clearly a Roman-Byzantine tomb, having three lamps: one spout of the plain wheel-made S 1648 (I B) type, one complete lamp of the round S 1652 (II B) type with the small disk decoration around the rim, and one of the large S 1660 (II E 3) type, with sharply cut, rayed decoration and a triple ring around the oil hole. The lamps may, but do not necessarily, cover a considerable range in time, yet nothing Christian appears. One may suppose it a non-Christian tomb of the 3d or possibly 4th cent.

There is nothing chronologically distinctive in the other finds: a bowl of hard, sandy, light-red ware, the neck of a "candle-stick" bottle of glass, some glass beads, a large limestone button, and bronze fragments of bracelets. The only objects worthy of remark are the bowl of an ivory spoon with four pairs of depressed dots, and one large and four small bivalves, the latter perforated at their points.

4. TOMB 15 in the western section of the west cemetery, excavated during the week of April 18, 1932, was a chamber approached from a small entrance hall, by a couple of steps which led down into a rectangular pit with benches on three sides. All of the bones and other objects found were in a circular pit in the northeast corner of the tomb.⁴

Two wheel-made lamps with flaring, bowed noz-

zles (S 1648, I B) and an ovoid, rayed lamp with a crude cross fourchée or formée on the neck and a knob handle (S 1673, I) are dubious evidence as to its date. Fragments of a large ribbed jar of very hard brown ware might be as late as the 6th cent. A small coin proved to belong to Ptolemy II Philadelphus (271-240 B.C.). There was also a flint flake crudely pressure chipped. The tomb, therefore, must have been reused, perhaps several times, and it is impossible to date its poor materials, which include also some pottery and glass fragments. This is unfortunate, for a bone fragment inscribed and preserved in a metal (lead?) case came to light and is discussed below (chap. XIV, viii, 1).

5. TOMB 16 in the western section of the west cemetery was a somewhat elaborately cut sepulcher with *arcosolia*,⁵ but it contained only three pottery fragments, two of them from ribbed vessels of fairly good ware of late Roman or early Byzantine character.

6. TOMB 6. A local resident pointed out the position of T. 6, near which T. 32 was later found, and it was excavated the last three days of March, 1932. It proved to be a *kokim* tomb apparently never developed to its capacity for no *kokim* had been excavated on the right side of the irregular chamber.⁶ The interior showed signs of a reconstruction in one of the *kokim* at a time after it had partly weathered and broken down. A stone lintel had been put over the entrance to the *kok* and held in place by lime plaster and cement (pl. 22: 5). An ossuary in many fragments and various bones were found (see below, sec. v).

The lamps fall into two distinct groups. There were three whole lamps with the flaring, bowed nozzle (S 1648, I B) and spouts or fragments of seven more of the same type. One only (M 1472, fig. 22: 5) was distinguished by an incised line across the neck. There was one round lamp (M 1477, S 1652, fig. 22: 6) lacking a fragment on one side of the neck, of a fairly soft, red ware with brown surface and chevron decoration, the angles pointing toward the nozzle (contrary to the usual fashion). The neck ornament, reversed evolute spirals connected by a straight bar, is paralleled by three Gezer

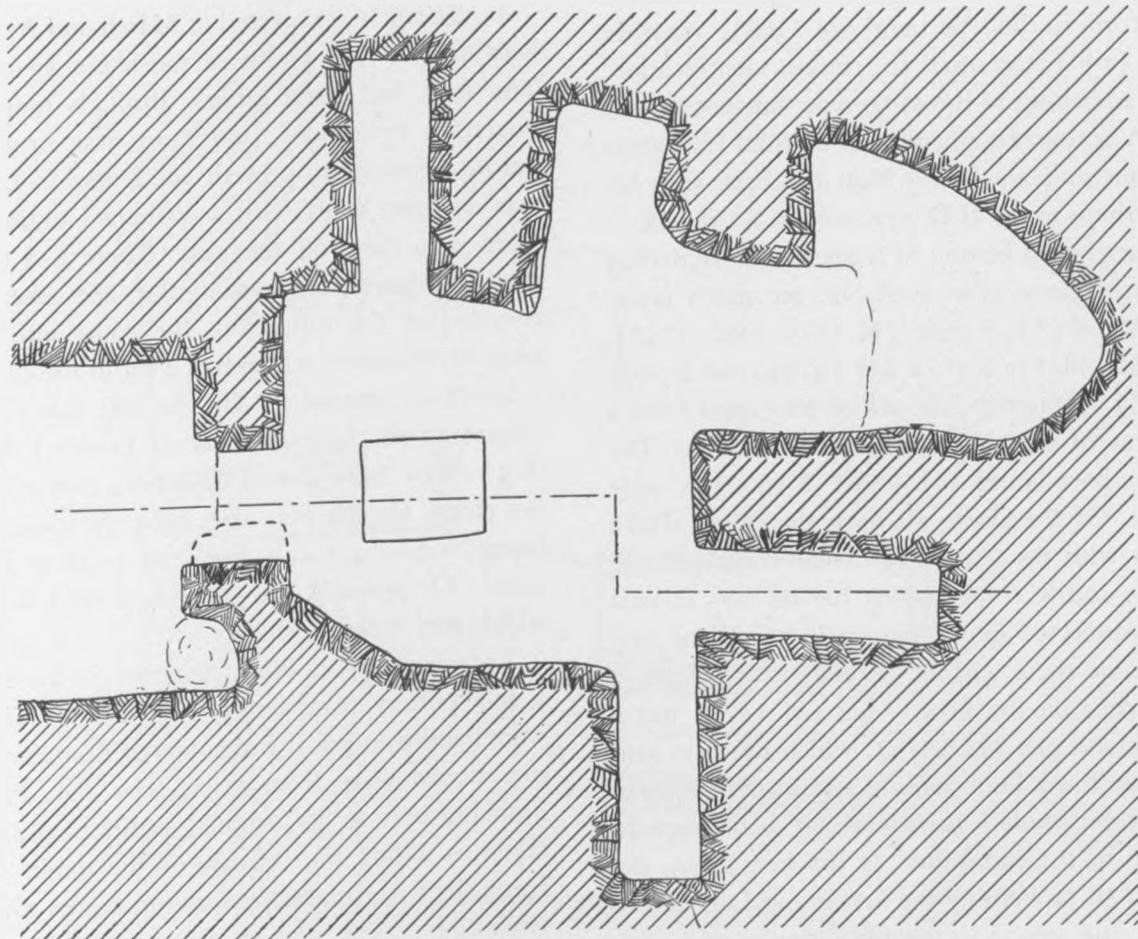
² Diary, June 5, 1935.

³ See fig. 15.

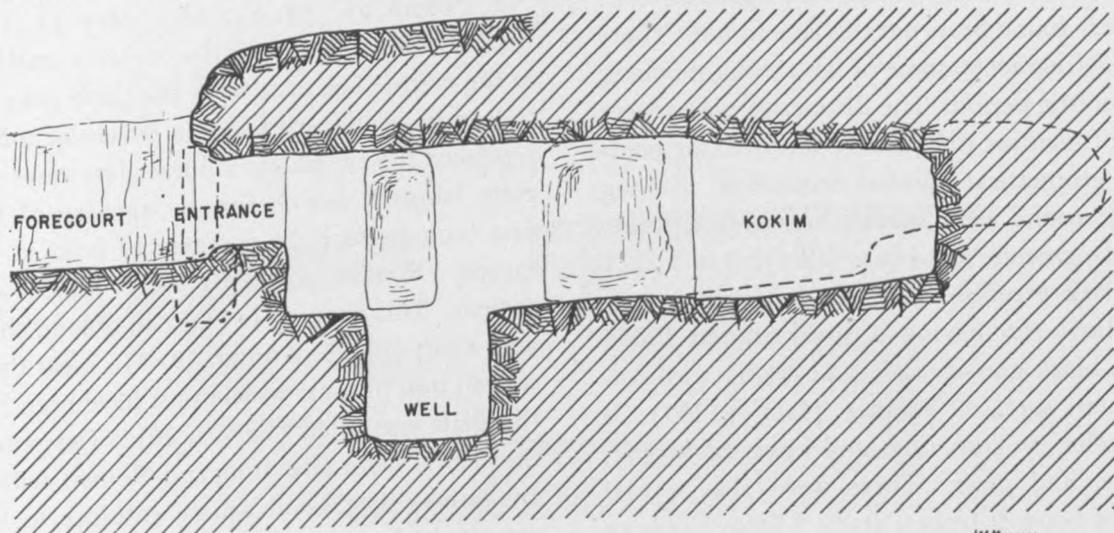
⁴ See figs. 20; 21: 17-22; pl. 20: 7.

⁵ See fig. 20.

⁶ See figs. 19; 22: 5-21; pl. 22: 3-6.



PLAN



SECTION



JM Monies .29

FIG. 15. PLAN AND SECTION OF TOMB 2

lamps (G III, pl. 98: 12; T. 23, pl. 72: 13, 14) with depressed and decorated discus. It appears in a degenerate form in the type lamp (M 1108). Another fragment (x40), too small for certain identification, appeared to belong to the same type, but possibly to S 1651. A bottom fragment with unusual transverse corrugations and a wheel within the base ring belonged perhaps to the II D type, seen in S 1654-58.

The other lamps belong to types which, according to all the evidence now available, are much later: S 1663 (M 1478*), S 1666 (M 1479, 1480, 1745), S 1671 (M 1481*), S 1672 (M 1475), and S 1676 (M 1482*), a fragment also which may come from a slipper lamp of a type similar to S 1676 (x38). The date of the boot lamps (M 1476*, S 1650) is quite uncertain.⁷ Of the above all have the radial stroke decoration with the exception of the fragment, the boot lamp, and M 1481, which has its rays in part bent and connected into a kind of herringbone pattern. Five of them (M 1479-1482, 1745) have a cross fourchée on the neck. One (M 1478) has a candlestick and one (M 1475), which has rays also on the neck, has a knob handle and transverse lines back of the wick hole.⁸ It is clear that such lamps do not belong to the same date as the first group described. In all probability the first group falls before 300 A. D., the second in the Byzantine period, connected with the reconstruction already mentioned.

The pottery found bears out this conclusion. There were various fragments, some of which might belong to the Hellenistic period. The distinctive pieces were Roman and Byzantine ribbed ware and two fragments with Arab geometrical painted decoration. Among other objects found were 7 small limestone tesserae; some glass fragments, one a base (like that in T. 22) of rather dark greenish blue, another with an expanded hollow rim having a silver-colored lining (x11); two black glass bracelets (1485-6) with corrugated outer surface, another plain (1489); a bronze bracelet, an iron ring, and beads of bronze, stone, paste, and glass. There were also several fragments of bone, 9 from a skull, 9 from hands or feet, and 3 teeth.

⁷ Vessels of which the M numbers are marked with asterisks are on the type plate.

⁸ See fig. 22: 5-12, lamps; 13-21, pottery and bracelets.

II. TOMBS PREDOMINANTLY BYZANTINE

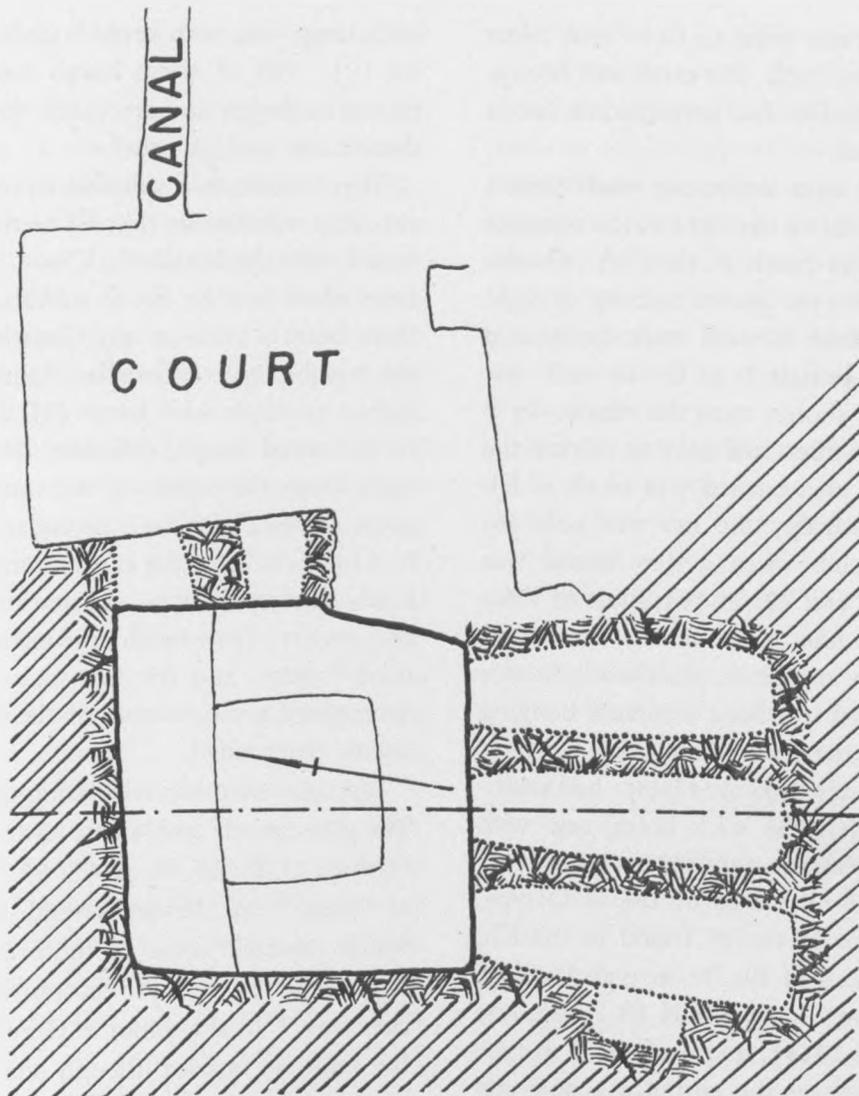
1. TOMB 56, excavated in March and April, 1935, was another that promised much but yielded little. The roof had been broken through long ago by quarrying operations, and more was broken away before clearance to prevent accidents. In front of it was an open court with a V-shaped drain running from it to carry off the rain. There had been two small entrances, one rectangular, the other slightly rounded at the top, from the court into the rectangular chamber, which had a pit in the center with a bench all around it. On the left side of the entrances three pigeonhole loculi (*kokim*) had been dug.⁹ Why there should have been two entrances is not clear. On the plan they have the appearance of being originally loculi, later cut away to form the court. Or possibly the court had held a tomb of which they were loculi.

Unfortunately, nothing remained in the tomb but a few pottery fragments. On the floor of the pit were handle and wall fragments of Roman or Byzantine ribbed ware from a large jar (pl. 23: 7). It probably was in its original position and may be taken as dating the last use of the tomb. Another fragment with combed decoration points toward the Byzantine period, perhaps the 4th or 5th cent.

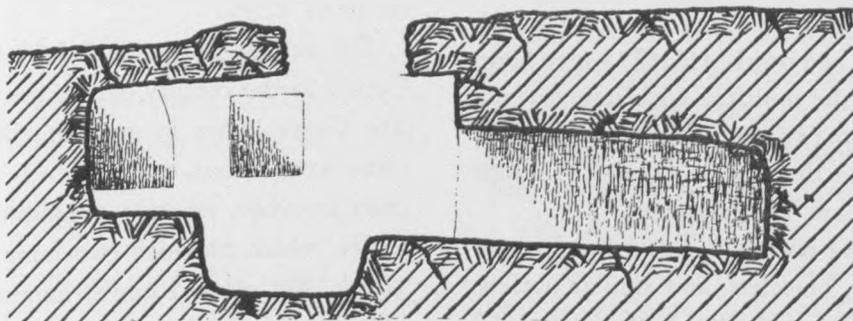
2. TOMB 33. On Saturday, May 14, 1932, Dr. Badè and Mr. Havermale discovered a small opening in the earth. The next week the tomb gang found it to lead to a collapsed *kok* in a Byzantine tomb which produced the expedition's finest glass vases and terra cotta lamps.¹⁰ Search for the opening of the tomb first brought to light a cemented hole in a rebuilt façade. Roman potsherds were mixed with the cement. This opening led into an oblong shaft filled with earth (pl. 23: 4-6; fig. 19: 2). Near the bottom was an iron pick-ax, which must have been left when the shaft was filled (fig. 23: 20). The potsherds in the debris were late Iron and Roman with a little Byzantine. The small square entrance to the tomb was at the bottom of the shaft at its north end and was closed with a stone "stopper" of peculiar shape

⁹ See plan, fig. 16; pl. 23: 7-9.

¹⁰ Unfortunately, many expedition films, including those of this tomb, were spoiled by poor washing due to want of water in Palestine and our request for photographs from the Palestine Museum must have gone astray. Therefore an adequate publication is impossible.



PLAN



SECTION



FIG. 16. PLAN AND SECTION OF TOMB 56

(pl. 23: 6). Special pains seem to have been taken to prevent access to the tomb, for earth and breccia containing Roman potsherds had been thrown into it just before it was closed.

The best glass and most numerous small objects came from an arcosolium on the right of the entrance with a grave sunk in its bench (Grave A). On the left side and the back were graves running at right angles to the wall, three to each wall, designated from right to left as burials B to G. In each case the middle grave was shorter than the others. In B and C there had been fires sufficient to calcine the bones. However, the area burned was small and it was suggested that possibly the fire was only for fumigation of the tomb when a new burial was made. Twenty lamps (pl. 42: 11-19), most of them well preserved, five fine glass vessels, numerous bronze rings, bracelets, and beads, glass beads, bronze and glass spatulas, and two bone pendants hanging on bronze rings indicate somewhat lavish funerary offerings. Four profusely decorated lamps had multiple nozzles, two with three wick holes, one with seven, the fourth too fragmentary for counting.¹¹

Tomb 33 contained 10 lamps of the II D type, seen in S 1654-58, out of the 18 found in the Kh. esh-Shuweikeh tombs, 4 of the 13 in type II G (S 1668-71), 3 out of the 5 in type II H (S 1672), one of the 3 of type I (S 1673), and 4 of the 5 in type L (S 1678). In debris at the entrance a perfectly preserved and rather fine specimen of type II D 4, decorated with evolute spirals (M 1856*, S 1657), was found. In the central pit were 2 of the II D lamps, also the 4 lamps of the G (S 1668-71) class, the 2 of the H (S 1672) type; the one I (S 1673) type lamp (M 1861); and one K (S 1677) type lamp (M 1859), and 2 of the multiple wick lamps (type L). One broken lamp (x8) possibly of the S 1658 type was also found in the center. Of the 13 lamps in the center of the tomb, 6 bore crosses.

Burials A and B had no lamps, but instead a profusion of glass beads, bracelets, and similar objects. Burial C had one lamp (M 1895) of the S 1657 (II D) type, burial E two related types (S 1655, 1657) and fragments of a multiple-wick lamp (II L). Burial F had 2 of type II D 1 (S 1654), and one of type II D 4 (S 1657), and the largest multiple-

wick lamp, one with seven wick holes (M 1901, pl. 42: 19). All of these lamps were unusually ambitious in design and several of them had their neck decorations in high relief.

They constitute a valuable exhibit of late Roman art. It is noteworthy that all of the fine lamps were found with the burials C, E, and F, with five exceptions which may be due to robbers, and that none of them bears a cross or any Christian emblem except the possibly crypto-Christian figure of a fish on the largest multiple-wick lamp (M 1901), whereas all of the rayed lamps, including the six with crosses, came from the center of the tomb. This seems to point unmistakably to a secondary use of the tomb by Christians after the earlier burials with their profusely decorated lamps and unusually beautiful glass and jewelry. How much time intervened between the non-Christian and the Christian burials cannot be determined until the date of the II D types is more closely determined.

No coins or other self-dating objects were found. The glass vessels and lamps, however, resemble some of those of Ts. 36, 40, 65-73, 99, 117, 124, and 134, at Gezer.¹² At Beisân several lamps were found which resemble some of those in T. 33 at TN in shape and in certain decorative details, such as chevrons.¹³ In the tombs at Gezer mentioned above, the multiple nozzles, though none with so many as seven, the pillars and arches on the neck of the lamps, the decorations of chevrons, amphoras, evolute spirals, guilloche designs, and interlaced bands, and the shapes also are very similar to those on the lamps of T. 33.

The similar lamps at Beisân are dated by Fitzgerald to the century before the Moslem invasions. The Gezer lamps in question, like some in T. 33, often have crosses, among which, at both places, the cross fourchée, tends to predominate. Tomb 124 at Gezer, which provided two lamps with crosses, one Greek, the other formée, another with a maker's inscription in Latin, and some late Roman and early Byzantine shapes of the round type with insignificant nozzles, also provided others that parallel some of T. 33. The evidence thus tends to throw these tombs

¹¹ S 1678; see fig. 23:10, 11; pl. 42: 18, 19.

¹² G III, pls. 77, 78, 86, 92-94, 101, 101(a); I, 316 ff., 333, 338 f., 346, 349.

¹³ B-S III, pl. 36.

at Gezer and T. 33 at TN into the early part of the Byzantine period.

One T. 33 lamp (M 1899, S 1655, fig. 23: 3) is almost a duplicate of one found at Beisân in a reservoir and therefore undatable. The guilloche design which decorates the neck of both lamps appears on the sides of two other elaborately decorated lamps with multiple wicks in T. 33 (M 1866, x17, fig. 23: 10-11) and of one with a single wick (M 1898*, S 1657). Elsewhere it does not appear on lamps from TN. But it appears on the necks of several earlier and much better-molded lamps at Beit Nettif in a cistern which was connected with a pottery evidently catering to Jewish trade and belonging to about the 3d cent.¹⁴

The similarity between T. 33 and one excavated at Beit Fajjâr by Mr. S. A. S. Husseini for the Department of Antiquities is astonishing.¹⁵ Both have the same kinds of funerary deposits, rings, bracelets, *kubl* spatulas, and, especially, similar glass vessels. Even more striking is the similarity of the lamps. Of what Iliffe calls "square-nozzled" lamps (S 1654, Beit Fajjâr nos. 6, 8, 13) T. 33 has three examples (M 1864*, x72, x75) with another slightly rounded (M 1899).¹⁶ The peculiar rayed decoration of Beit Fajjâr no. 10, running backward instead of forward, is like that of TN M 1865. In general shape Beit Fajjâr nos. 3-5, 9-12 are like TN lamps M 1859, 1863, and 1898* (pl. 42: 13, 15, 17; fig. 23: 8, 9). Beit Fajjâr nos. 1 and 2 are like TN M 1858, 1860, 1861, 1862, and 1900 (pl. 42: 14, 16; fig. 23: 6, 7). Beit Fajjâr no. 7 is probably a multiple-wick lamp like TN M 1866 and 1901 (pl. 42: 18, 19; fig. 23: 10, 11).

Mr. Iliffe has pointed out the striking similarity between T. 33, the Beit Fajjâr tomb, and Gezer tomb no. 99.¹⁷ The contents of T. 33 at TN do not, indeed,

resemble Gezer T. 99 so closely as they do the Beit Fajjâr tomb. Gezer T. 99 has several "square-nozzled" lamps (pl. 92: 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 17) with chevron or herringbone decoration, but all of the rest have the common rayed decoration or some combination of straight lines but with elaborate and unusual neck decorations. Gezer T. 99 has no multiple-wick lamps but Ts. 36, 65-73, and 134 have.¹⁸ These Gezer tombs are in some ways still more like TN T. 33 than Gezer T. 99. But none except T. 99 is precisely datable.

The 4th cent. should not be far wrong for the date of T. 33. Is it possible to fix the date more closely? Iliffe's discussion in the *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities* (4, pp. 177 f.) reaches the conclusion that the tomb excavated by the Department at Beit Fajjâr was of almost the same date as T. 99 at Gezer. He argues that both are somewhat earlier than the tomb excavated by the Department at el-Başşeh (which is dated by coins to about 396 A. D.), because the "outgoing square nozzle" (T. 33: pl. 42: 11; fig. 23: 1, 2; S 1654) occurs in much more numerous examples in the Gezer T. 99 and at Beit Fajjâr than at el-Başşeh. I had already equated Gezer T. 99 with TN T. 33 and the Beit Fajjâr tomb when I discovered that Mr. Iliffe adds: "A similar conclusion is to be drawn from the magnificent series of lamps from Tomb 33 at Tell en-Naşbeh" (*loc. cit.*). Since Gezer T. 99 has two coins of Constantine I, all three tombs are to be dated, Mr. Iliffe concludes, in the first third of the 4th cent. This date may be tentatively adopted. The pottery fragments found in the tomb do not serve to fix the date more precisely. In the entrance shaft were pieces of ribbed ware, a jar handle, bits of jar rims, and a jar base. The glass objects, which included a pitcher, a *kubl* tube, two unguentaria, and a two-handled bottle, at least suit the date tentatively determined.

The 'Ain Yebrûd tomb with its similar glass has only rayed lamps of the pear-shaped type and with neck decorations chiefly of the cross fourchée and the "candlestick," like some at Gezer and TN.¹⁹

¹⁴ *QDAP* 5 (1936), pls. 10-12; cf. pp. 6 ff.

¹⁵ *QDAP* 4 (1935), 175-78.

¹⁶ Fig. 23: 1-3.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, 177 f.; *G* III, pls. 92-94. The attempt of Miss Florence E. Day (*Berytus* 7 [1942], 74, 79, received after my discussion was written) to prove the el-Başşeh tomb much later than 400 A. D. seems to me to go too far, especially if one infer from her language (p. 77, but cf. p. 79) that the lamp of the Jerash type found at el-Başşeh is to be dated *ca.* 700 A. D. A careful rereading of the report of the 1930 Jerash expedition (*AAS* 11 [1931], 10-22, 42), when nearly 200 of the "Jerash-type lamps" were found, re-enforces my original conclusion that that type of lamp may begin in the 4th or, more probably, the 5th cent. It is most unfortunate that Dr. Fisher never prepared a full account of the Gerasene pottery. The account in the *Annual* mentioned above was prepared from his notes (and my own

observations) and, so far as I could discover, met with his approval. His account in *Gerasa* (1938), 281-94, especially, p. 287 f. (N. B. "lamps with handles of animal heads") places the "Jerash-type lamp" between "the late 4th and late 6th cent." Mr. Iliffe hardly means that the Beit Fajjâr tomb was never entered after 396 A. D.

¹⁸ *G* III, pls. 77, 86, 101 (a).

¹⁹ *QDAP* 6 (1938), 54 f.; 3 (1934), 81-91 (el-Başşeh).

Crosses appear on two lamps in Gezer T. 99, on two lamps and a glass bowl at el-Başşeh, on six lamps at 'Ain Yebrûd, and on five lamps in T. 33, TN. All of these tombs, therefore, are definitely Christian, but the multiple-wick lamps and associated materials are probably earlier. It is historically important to discover these Christian burials at such widely separated points in western Palestine and to note how the heathen and Jewish custom of funerary offerings continues. It would appear that Christian burials followed Jewish and heathen, or crypto-Christian, burials with practically no change except the addition of a cross to the neck of the lamps.

3. Tomb 30, excavated in the middle of May, 1932, contained three coins to give it a date, but, unfortunately, when cleaned, only one of them was legible and that only partially. However, a double cornucopia, filleted, with a poppy head between the horns, on the obverse, and a laurel wreath tied at the bottom on the reverse, with a portion of a Hebrew inscription between, point to Judas Aristobulos (104-103 B. C.) or Alexander Janneus (103-76 B. C.), probably the latter, if one may judge from the few legible characters.

The tomb contained only one lamp and no other pottery. The lamp (M 1797) is of an entirely different ware and shape from any other found at TN. It is a thin, soft ware, unique also in its orange-brown color. The design is almost eroded away but, for the most part, can be easily restored from evident traces which do not appear in the photograph. According to the evidence now available such a shape and such a design, a "candlestick" on the neck and a herringbone pattern on the body, belongs in a much later period than the coin. Of TN lamps, M 1481 (T. 6, S 1671, pl. 42: 3), a lamp of the same shape, bearing a well-made cross fourchée, shows a somewhat similar pattern; M 1623* (S 1661, pl. 41: 7) of T. 19 has a stylized herringbone pattern, and M 1863 (T. 33, pl. 42: 15; fig. 23: 8), has a different shape and a slightly different type of herringbone pattern. At Beisân two pointed ovoid lamps have a herringbone pattern which is bordered on both sides, making, rather, a palm leaf (*B-S* III, pl. 36: 20, 22). On Ophel a lamp with a much more nearly comparable pattern and apparently a similar shape to the TN M 1481 and 1797 was found with a neck decoration

which the excavators thought a deterioration of the candlestick into a plant and classed tentatively as Byzantine. At Gezer the herringbone pattern appears again and again in Roman and Byzantine lamps, but not with the peculiar fillet-net pattern.²⁰

The only conclusion possible on the present evidence is that the coin represents an earlier use of the tomb, the lamp a later reuse. It does not seem possible to place the lamp back in the Hellenistic-Roman period. The other objects found in the tomb, a ring, a spatula, four bracelets, and some fragments of bronze, a ring and some fragments of iron, three beads of dark-blue glass, and three of dark-brown, blue, and green glass, tell nothing further as to date.

III. TOMBS CHARACTERIZED BY "RAYED" LAMPS (22, 13, 19)

Three tombs, nos. 22, 13, and 19, all in the western section of the west cemetery (fig. 20), are distinguished by the fact that they contained the vast majority of the "rayed," or "radial-stroke" lamps found and far more of these than of other types. T. 22 has 16 of the large type (II E 1-5, S 1659-60) and 7 of the small, narrow type (II F 1-6, S 1663-7). T. 13 has 10 of the former and 4 of the latter type. T. 19 has 8 of the former and 17 of the latter. T. 13 has one II G 1 lamp (S 1668, M 1566), T. 22 has 4 of the II G 1, 2 (S 1668-9) type, and T. 19 has one of the II G 2 (S 1669) type (M 1625*) and three of the II G 3 type (S 1670; M 1614*, 1630, x16e). They thus account for a total of 34 out of 35 large radial-stroke lamps (II E), 26 out of 30 small lamps of that kind (II F), and 9 out of 14 of the small, broad radial-stroke lamps (II G). As will be noted below, they have few lamps of other classes. If it were possible to date the types narrowly with any certainty, the tombs would be dated, and, vice-versa, if the tombs could be dated, the types would be fairly well fixed as to date. Unfortunately, no material appears at TN to settle either question, and I have not discovered it elsewhere. Probably such lamps were in use for two or three centuries.

1. TOMB 22, excavated in the latter part of April, 1932, was a chamber with three crypts, or arcosolia, opening from it, that on the right of the entrance

²⁰ *Corinth* IV, ii, 118, records the same conclusion as to the herringbone pattern.

having one sunk grave, the other two each having three (fig. 20). It thus almost exactly resembles T. 33. To close the entrance, "the tomb originally had a stone in a slot, or rabbeted frame. The stone had as a finish at the top something resembling a cross. During the latest burials, the somewhat decayed entrance had been provided with a large flat stone as a lintel." The skeletons had been much disturbed and were so badly decayed that little was left even of the skulls.

If T. 22 was similar in plan to T. 33, there was a striking difference in the lamps, of which it contained a larger number of well-preserved specimens than any other tomb (pl. 40). T. 33 had no rayed lamps of II E, F types S 1659-67, though one each of S 1668-71 (II G), while T. 22 had no multiple-wick lamps, only three of the II D 4 (S 1657) type, and four falling among types II G-K (S 1668-77), but it had 23 falling among types II E and F (S 1659-67). These differences may mean no difference of date, but only of taste or economic status. Yet when lamps of this period are more exactly dated, it may be feasible to show chronological priority in one type or the other. In any case there is a striking difference between T. 22 and T. 33 in the types of lamps placed in them.

Certain peculiarities in the lamps of T. 22 may have significance and should be noted. The presence of three lamps of the II D 4 type (S 1657, M 1658; 1659 [1]; x29 + 30), all of which are profusely decorated, is noteworthy.²¹ A fragmentary specimen (x29 + 30) has a rayed decoration on the small preserved portion of the bottom below the handle which probably points to the same type as a corrugated bottom fragment in T. 6 (fig. 22: 7). The latter shows a similar but heavier ware. The tomb has two lamps (M 1647, 1648 [16, 17]) in which the rays cover the neck as well as the body. One of the large rayed lamps (M 1656 [3]) has a peculiar development of the "candlestick"; the stem is connected with the outer oil-hole ring and also the wick-hole ring and the two lower of the eight branches droop almost as if they were bracing the stem. Another (M 1646) has the sharp central ridge, or stem, of the "candlestick," but the "rays," two only on each side, spring from its base. M 1660 and 1657

[18, 19] have original, or at least different, but ugly neck ornaments. M 1661* [8], S 1662 (E 10), which is intermediate between the S 1659-61 group and the S 1663-67 group, being too small for the former and too large for the latter, is one of the most attractive in the collection because of the smoothness of the paste and the simplicity and clearness of its decoration. One of the rare specimens with a loop handle appears in this tomb (M 1666 [20], II K, S 1677).

The cross fourchée appears on four examples (M 1661*, 1664*, 1665, 1663 [8, 9, 11, 15]); two have merely the four angles without the connecting cross lines (M 1662, 1666 [14, 20]); two have four unconnected triangles (M 1667, 1668 [12, 13]), making thus eight lamps which presumably are Christian. Whether the modification of the cross is due to an attempt to conceal it, or the result of deterioration due to long usage, or caused by the inexperience of the maker of the mold with a new, unfamiliar design cannot be determined. In any case "deterioration" should not be used as a blanket reason for giving the tomb a late date (see T. 13 below).

The few fragments of pottery in T. 22 are not closely datable. A zîr handle might belong to Iron I. A fragment of heavily ribbed ware, brown, fairly hard, with light brown surface, from the shoulder of a large bowl, with wide low ribs which "break" at one side like an incoming wave, is Roman or Byzantine. Another peculiar fragment, of fairly soft, light-brown ware with darker surface, has deep channels incised in a chevron, or herringbone, pattern that suggests later Byzantine taste.

The glass discovered included a fine, perfectly preserved bowl which is almost identical in shape with one found in Chamber J on Karm esh-Sheikh along with a coin of the end of the 3d cent. A. D. Similar shapes, with some differences in detail, were found at 'Ain Yebrûd and at Beit Fajjâr in the 4th-cent. tombs.²² One appears also in T. 31 (fig. 22: 25). A glass neck fragment in pale green, oxidized glass, with slightly tapering sides to a neck which is somewhat constricted at its base, lies between the el-Başşeh bottle (ca. 396 A. D.) and the decidedly bulbous type found in the "Y. M. C. A. cemeteries" at Jeru-

²¹ Numbers in square brackets refer to the plate (40) of photographs.

²² *QDAP* 1 (1932), pl. 15: 6; 6 (1938), pl. 5; 4 (1935), pl. 85: 6, 8.

saalem (5th-7th cent. A. D.).²³ Other discoveries in the tomb were fragments of two bracelets, a small cup, a ring, an earring, and a spatula of bronze, a pendant (?), two rings, and some bracelet fragments of iron, a carnelian bead, and three glass beads.

2. TOMB 13, excavated about the middle of April, 1932, was a roughly squared chamber, with arcosolia and sunk bench graves on three sides. It was entered through a shallow rectangular pit which had three steps leading down into it (see figs. 17, 20; pl. 23: 1-3). The small, slightly arched entrance (*ca.* 50 x 60 cm.) was closed by a rolling stone, which, when the tomb was to be entered, was rolled back into a slot carefully cut into the rock forming the side of the entrance pit. Five steps led down from the entrance to the floor of the chamber. The skeletal material was fragmentary. Three small coins discovered were illegible. They may be five-nummia pieces such as were coined under Anastasius and other Byzantine emperors. The presence of two bronze crosses in the remains and of crosses on six lamps indicates that the occupation was probably Byzantine. As in the case of T. 22, the fact that in some cases the cross fourchée had almost or quite deteriorated into a group of four angles might be supposed to suggest, either that the tomb was late, or that the cross was in some sense concealed. However, there is another possibility. One fragment has, instead of rays, an extremely crude specimen of a garbled inscription on the body of the lamp. It has a triple ring about the filling hole and a double base ring. What inscription was originally intended cannot now be determined. Such a garbled inscription indicates ignorance on the part of the maker of the mold, and this specimen shows carelessness on the part of the potter, but not necessarily a late date, for a Christian motto in Greek would probably be better understood in the 6th than in the 4th cent. Likewise there is no reason to suppose that the cross would be more poorly made in the later century than in the earlier.

In proportion, the tomb had more than its share of unique lamps (pl. 42: 6-10). One of the most remarkable is a very small and simple multiple-wick lamp (x11 + 71*, II K, S 1678) which is of a very

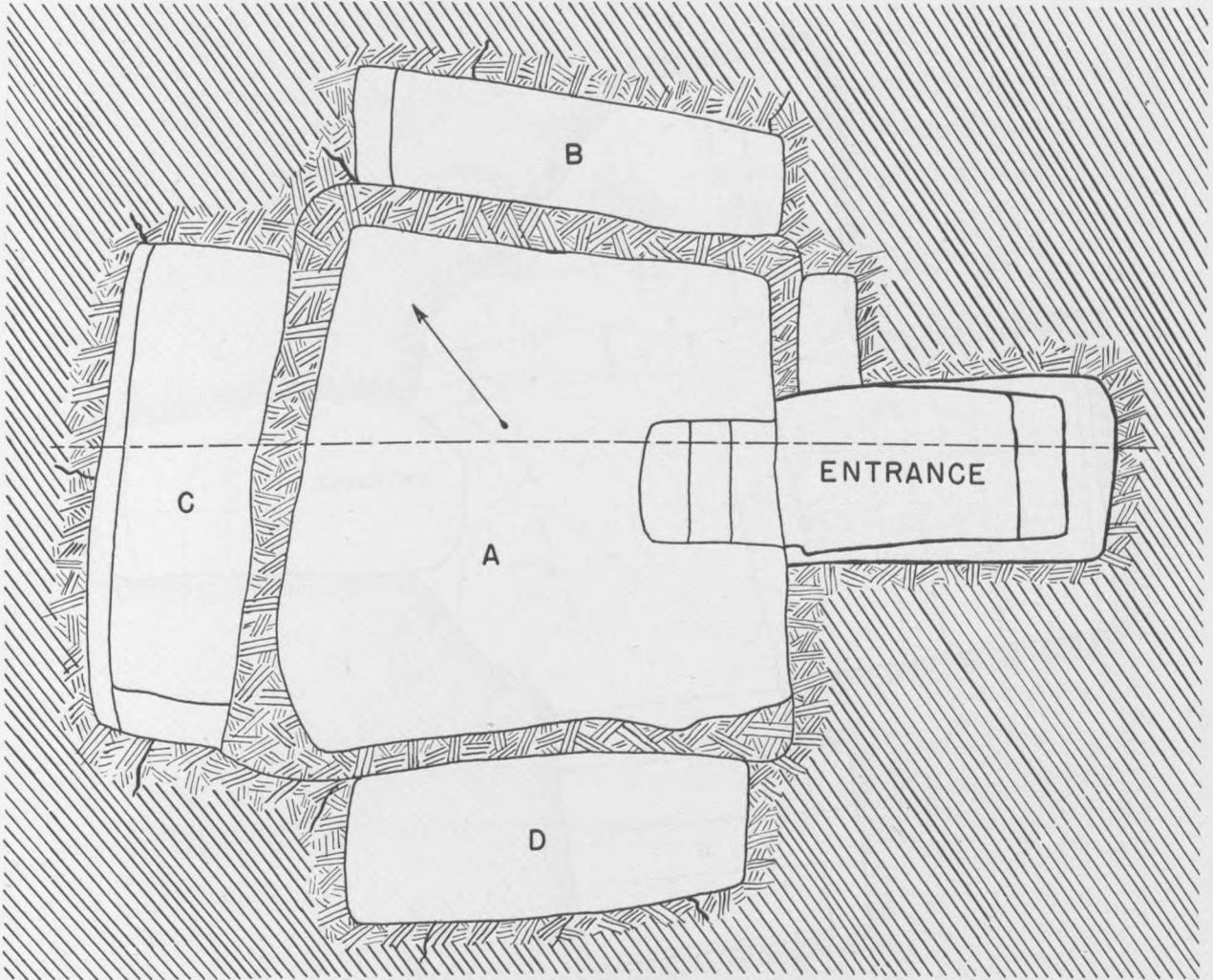
different sort from the elaborately decorated specimens in T. 33. Another unique lamp (M 1565*, S 1677, [10]) is small, flat, almost triangular in shape, and has a high loop handle somewhat like that of the multiple-wick lamps. Its radial strokes hang from an outer, second ring about the oil hole. The neck decoration of transverse lines is also unique.²⁴ A nozzle fragment has a boxed cross fourchée (cf. M 1481, pl. 42: 3). A low, flat lamp (M 1566*, S 1668, [9]) has an interesting variant of the candlestick, one with eight branches and with no base or stem below, but, instead, with a ring at the top, as if, possibly, for suspension. A single lamp of type II D 4 (S 1657), from which much of the neck ornament has disappeared through scaling (x17), has a wheel with dots between the seven spokes within the base ring. Another lamp (M 1568*, II F 3, S 1665, [8]), with an excellent herringbone pattern on the body, has on the neck transverse lines connected into long rectangles, somewhat resembling M 1565* (K, S 1677, [10]), although the two have no resemblance in shape. Within the base ring it has a plain Greek cross.

3. TOMB 19, excavated in the latter part of April, 1932, proved to be one of the most notable of all. On a red-letter day, April 22, the seal of Jaazaniah and a lamp with a badly corrupted version of the "light of Christ" inscription were found, proving at once the use of the tomb in periods that were nearly a thousand years apart.

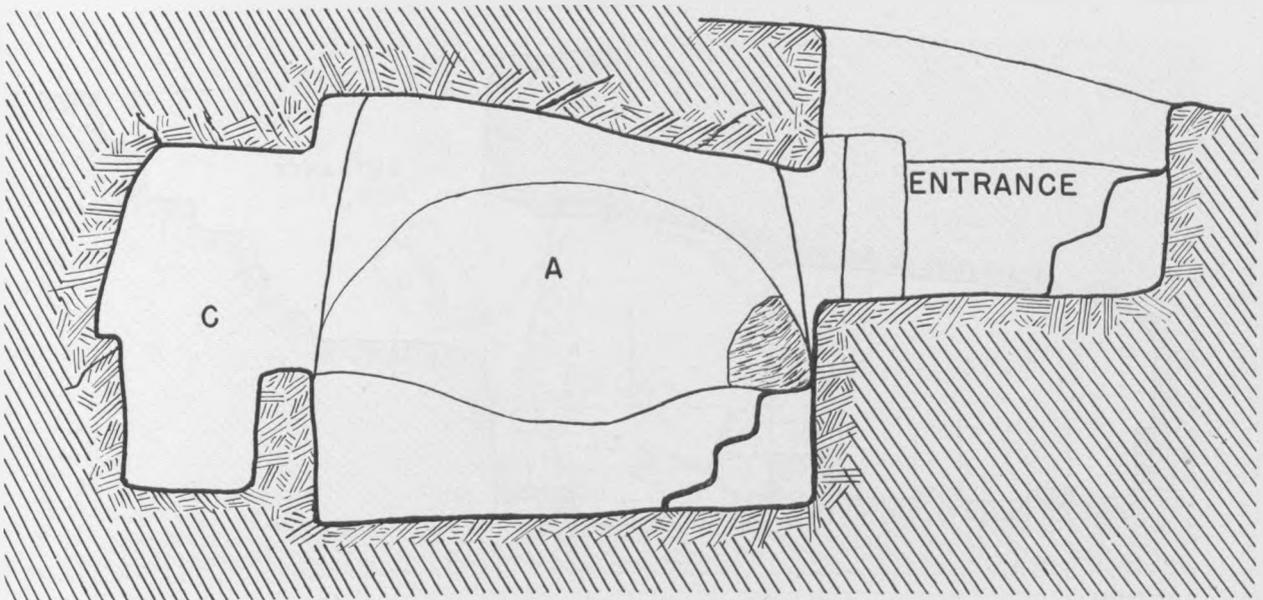
In its present form the tomb consists of a central chamber which was reached by a series of steps in a rudely cut passage leading to a large rounded hole. The recesses containing the sunk graves were barrel vaulted. On the right, there was an approximation to the plans of Ts. 33 and 22, where a single sunk grave was placed. In this case, as the plan (fig. 18) and photographs (pl. 19: 6-8) show, the pattern was varied so as to provide three graves on that side also. So far as I am aware, no *kokim* tombs or others of an elaborate kind, such as T. 19, have been found to contain MI or Persian materials. It seems probable, therefore, that T. 19 with its barrel vaults was originally a simple chamber, perhaps with benches like Ts. 5, 14, and 15, and had been enlarged in the

²³ *Loc. cit.*, 3 (1934), 89, fig. 26; 4 (1935), 73, fig. 2 b; cf. 6 (1938), pl. 42, from near St. Stephen's Gate, later Roman.

²⁴ Cf. M 1863, S 1672, fig. 23: 8, pl. 42: 15; M 1859, pl. 42: 17 (both T. 33), and M 1666 (T. 22), pl. 40: 20.



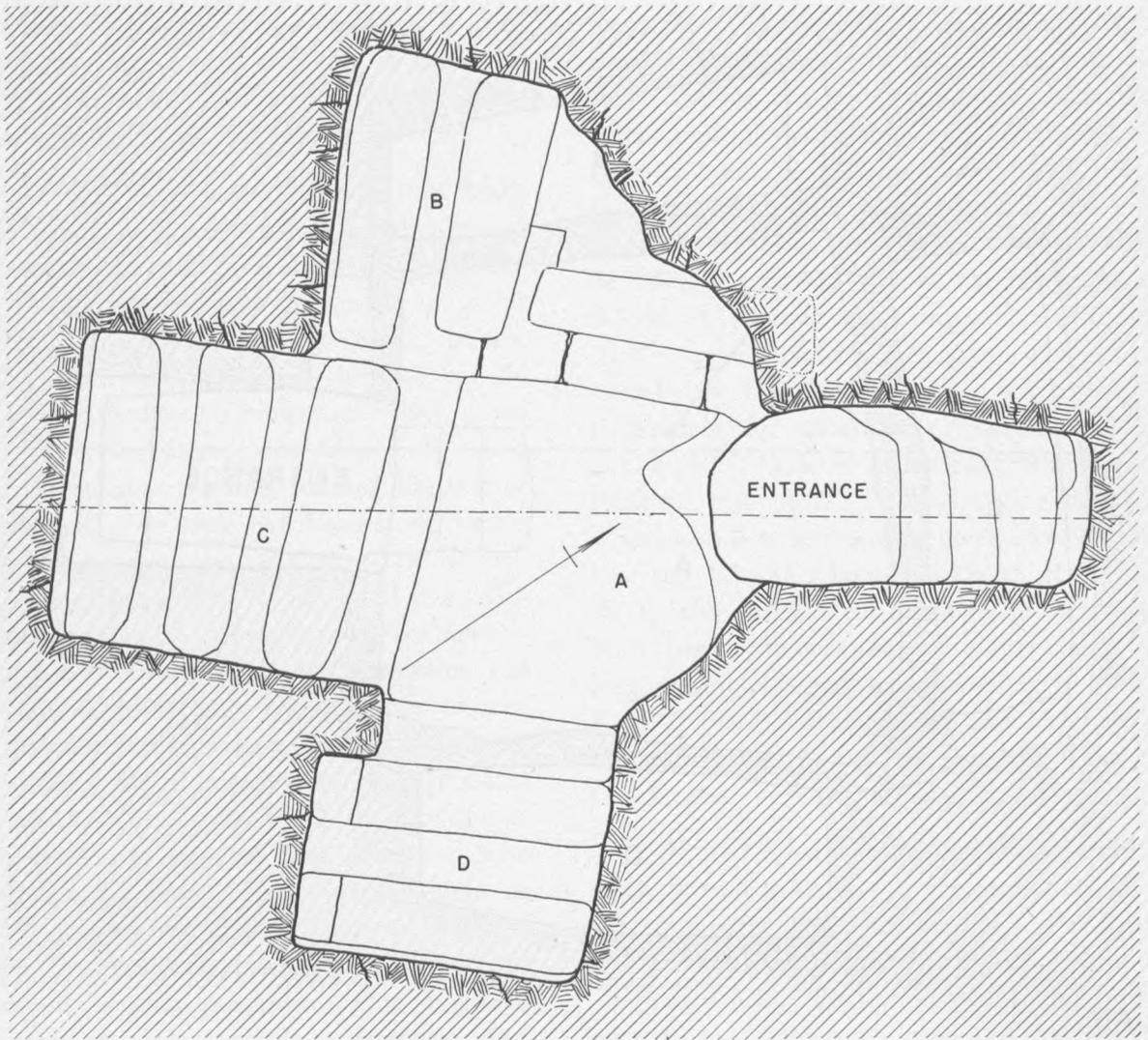
PLAN



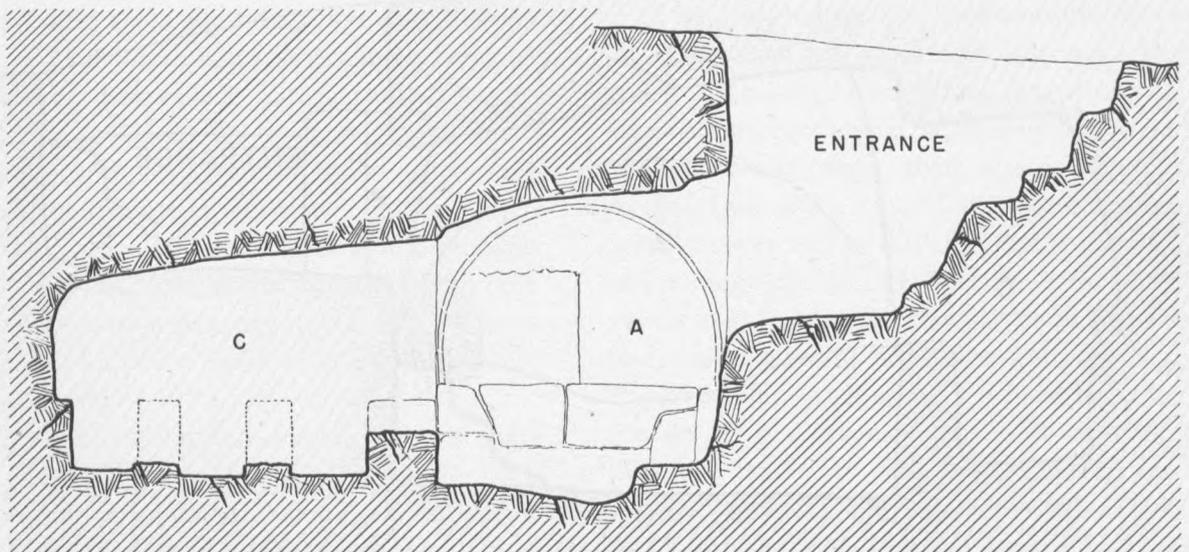
SECTION



FIG. 17. PLAN AND SECTION OF TOMB 13



PLAN



SECTION



FIG. 18. PLAN AND SECTION OF TOMB 19

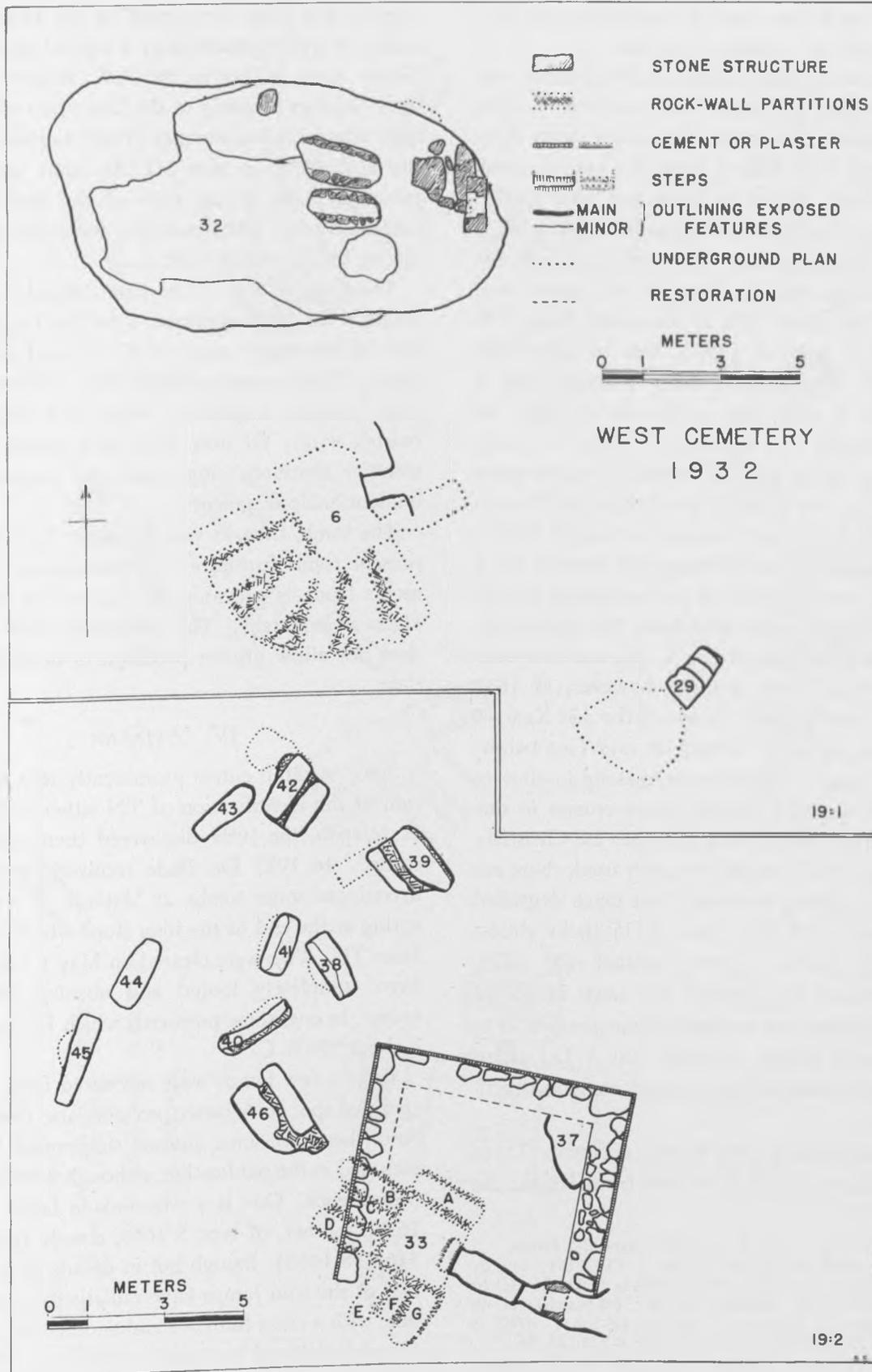


FIG. 19:1 EASTERN SECTION OF WEST CEMETERY; 19:2 SOUTHEASTERN SECTION OF WEST CEMETERY

Hellenistic or Roman period. Miraculously the seal of Jaazaniah and four pottery fragments were preserved to testify to a much earlier use.

The lamps found in the tomb, of which there were 35 or more (some fragments being uncertain), were all of the rayed, or radial-stroke variety, with three exceptions (pl. 41). One of these is a crude, round, wheel-made type, unique in shape and ware (x42*, I C, S 1649). Another is a channeled lamp (x41*, II J 2, S 1675) of which there remained only the fragmentary top bearing a variety of geometrical designs.²⁵ The third, also a channeled lamp (M 1615*, II J 1, S 1674, [19]), was of a familiar variety which is found in many places²⁶ and is very common at such sites as Ehnasya in Egypt, at Corinth, Antioch, and elsewhere.²⁷ The TN lamp has very short radial strokes, whereas the type more frequently has some form of spiral or curved lines as decoration. A lamp with unusual decoration (x17), which has suffered from breakage and erosion, has a small Greek cross in place of the customary handle dot. Three lamps in this tomb have the triple ridge about the oil hole, like two in T. 22, and one each in Ts. 13 and 2. One of these, however, M 1631 (E 6, [5]), has a garbled version of the *φῶς Χριστοῦ* inscription on its body, instead of rays (see below, chap. XIV, viii, 2). Eleven more, making in all over one third of the total number, have crosses in one form or another, thus proving that they are Christian. The cross fourchée is most frequently used; there are eight in all, including two which are much degraded and disguised. One (M 1628, [11]) looks almost like an eight-pointed rosette; another (M 1627, [10]) consists of four angles, like some in Ts. 22 and 13. The lamps are unusually homogeneous as to date. All could belong to about 400 A. D., or, so far as present evidence goes, could come two centuries later.

The case as to the pottery is very different. Three fragments recorded which are not from lamps, the

only ones sufficiently characteristic to allow dating, might come from the period of the Hebrew monarchy. A type represented by a juglet fragment has a history down at least to 350 B. C. A bowl-rim fragment belongs properly to the latter part of MI.²⁸ A bowl fragment horizontally (ring) burnished on the rim and within is also MI. In other words three pieces go back to the time of the Exile and the Jaazaniah seal. The remainder, including the lamps, belong to the 4th-6th cent. A. D.

The glass belongs to the latter period: three fragments with green appliqué, a handle fragment like that of the glass vessel in T. 33, and some glass beads. There is one carnelian bead. Of bronze there were bracelet fragments, rings, and straight and twisted wires. Of iron there were whole and fragmentary bracelets, rings and thin fragments, and unidentifiable fragments.

The tomb, then, is very definitely Christian in its present tomb furniture, but preserves a few fragments from its previous use back as far as the late Hebrew monarchy. The knowledge now available does not allow greater precision in determining the date.

IV. 'AṭṭĀRAH

Since 'AṭṭĀrah enters prominently into the discussion of the identification of TN either with Ataroth or Mizpah, the little discovered there must be recorded. In 1927 Dr. Badè received permission to investigate some tombs at 'AṭṭĀrah, a site with a spring at the end of the long slope which runs south from TN. Two were cleared on May 1, but they had been completely looted and nothing was found except, in one, some potsherds which Dr. Badè dated "about 500 B. C."

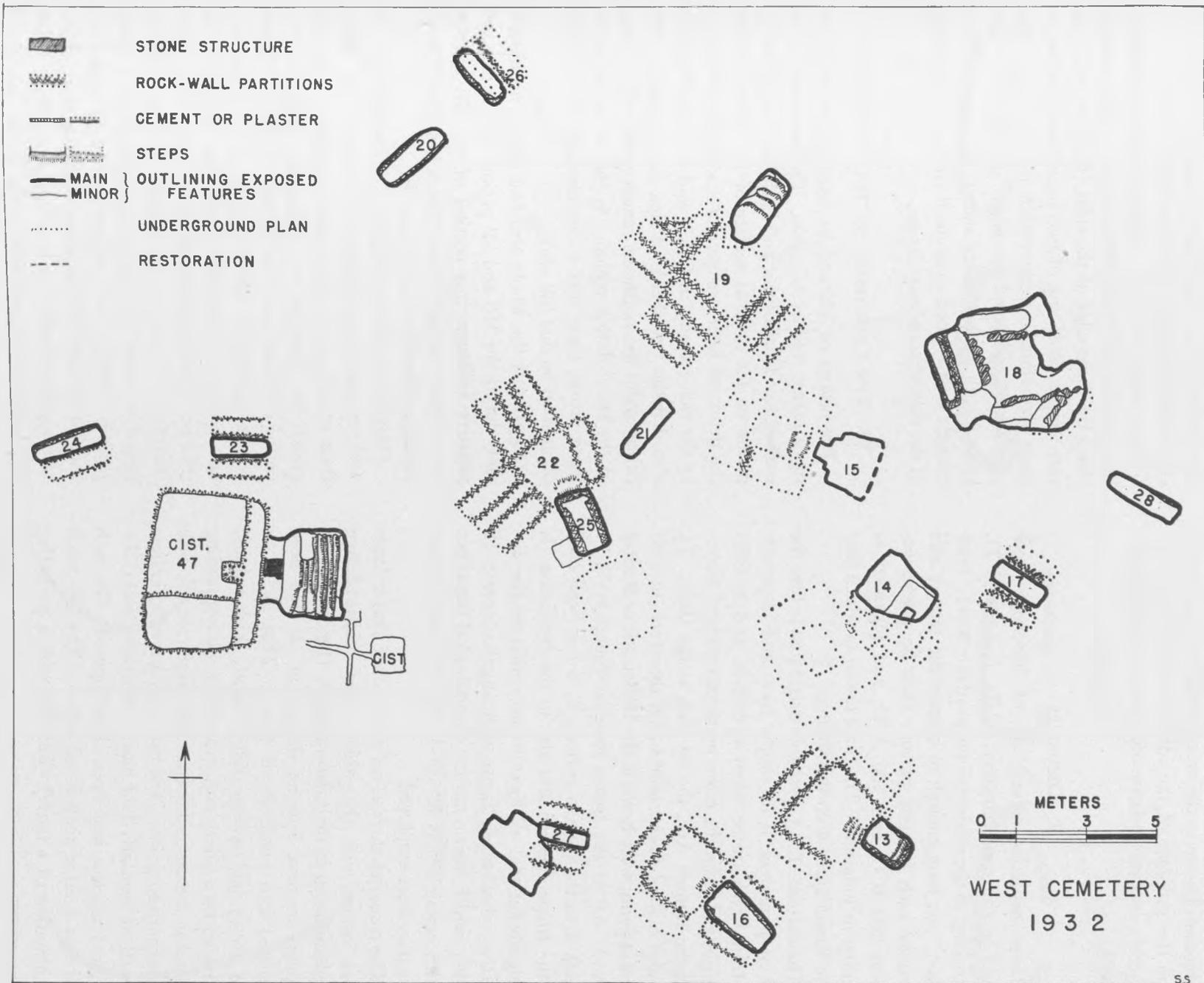
Later a few lamps were recovered from some unspecified spot at 'AṭṭĀrah, probably also from a tomb. Since they have some unusual shapes they have been included in the publication, although without definite provenience. One is a wheel-made lamp of type S 1647; another, of type S 1656, closely resembles M 1167 (S 1656), though not in details of decoration; two of the four lamps have radial-stroke decoration; one, with a cross fourchée and another with the cross fourchée debased to angles, or chevrons, without con-

²⁵ See *Samaria* II, pl. 81 bb, for a similar shape and design.

²⁶ *G* III, pl. 105: 26 (T. 147); 108: 4 (T. 156); 111: 8; 112: 5 (T. 160); 118: 13 (T. 196); *Samaria* I, 324 f.; *QDAP* 3 (1934), pl. 12: 2 (Kh. 'Asidah); pp. 86 f. (el-Baṣṣeh); pl. 40 ('Ain Hanniyeh); 8 (1938), pl. 30: 1a (ej-Jish); *APEF* 5 (1927), pl. 17 (Jerusalem, Byzantine Street); *B-S* III, pl. 36.

²⁷ Petrie, *Rom. Ehnasya* (London, 1904), pls. 61, 62; *Corinth* IV, ii, pls. 21 f.; *Antioch* I, pl. 12; see also a possible parallel, Loeschcke, *Lampen aus Vindonissa*, pl. I, X; Gallings, *ZDPV* 46 (1923), pl. 2, no. 16 f., type a.

²⁸ Cf. *QDAP* 4 (1935), 14, fig. 2 ("Graeco-Persian"); *TH*, 48, pl. 9: 219.



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FIG. 20. WESTERN SECTION OF WEST CEMETERY

nection, belong to type S 1664. This very brief and incomplete "exhibit" may be regarded as making a slight contribution to the archaeological data bearing upon the problem of the identification of the site. It merely does not indicate occupation in the Hebrew period.

V. OSSUARIES

Three ossuaries carved out of limestone were found in the west cemetery, in Ts. 6, 14, and 71. According to the evidence now available these "bone boxes," just long enough to contain the femora and intended each for one person, must be placed between 200 B. C. and 200 A. D. and regarded as peculiar to Judaism.²⁹ The three tombs in which they were found agree with this dating.³⁰

The earliest, T. 14, probably originated before the fall of Jerusalem, if its simple form and fragments of Iron Age ware be taken as criteria, and its chief use, judged from the more numerous pottery pieces, was the Roman Age, the 3d cent. at the latest. Ts. 71 and 6 were *kokim* tombs and, therefore, in their present form, were hewn in the Hellenistic or Roman period. All of the sparse material found in T. 71 places it in the Roman period. T. 6 had been used in the Roman period and also in the Byzantine. It is significant that all three tombs contained the distinctive wheel-made lamp with angular nozzle (S 1648), which has no narrow chronological limits but which certainly was in use during the period when ossuaries were employed.

The ossuaries themselves were rather simple limestone boxes, with the widely used rosette design predominating in their decoration.³¹ The one in T. 6 appears to have had no decoration. It had been smashed into hundreds of pieces. That in T. 14 (M 1601) had on one side a short, thick voluted pillar set on a plinth and ending in a wide-spreading capital in the center between two large rosettes, each with fourteen points. The back was carved to imitate a wall of regularly laid blocks, but three plain, six-pointed rosettes had been superimposed. On each end was a large six-pointed rosette. The lid, made in imitation of a barrel vault, but with a projecting

beveled edge, fitted into a slight rabbet on the inner edge of the sides. Its decoration was much simpler, merely two large, six-pointed rosettes with small circles between the points on one side.

The ossuary in T. 71, which was well preserved, had a gabled lid which fitted into the rabbet running along the inner edge of the sides. Its decoration was very simple, consisting of two panels each holding a large six-pointed rosette within triple circles. The points were connected by chords and by arcs of the same length as their sides and in the center of the triangle thus formed were small circles. At the ends of the side was a zigzag design.

VI. THE CEMETERIES OF TELL EN-NAŞBEH

The history of TN and its neighborhood is to no small extent told in its tombs. The evidence of the remnants of Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age occupation on the original surface of the mound under the debris of later occupation is strongly reinforced by the rich remains in CTs 5 and 6. But it is clear also that the few sherds of that early period in the debris about the northeast cemetery tell only a part of the story of that region. As the caves excavated there prove, there was a considerable LC and EB occupation on that hill also.

Apparently the whole area had almost no inhabitants during the MB and LB period. If one may use negative evidence, this portion of the hill country was as empty as Dr. Nelson Glueck has found Transjordan to have been in that age.³²

Only the EI and the beginning of the MI Ages are well represented in the tombs (5, 29, 32, 54). With their scarabs, seals, and imported pottery, they add greatly to appreciation of Israelite culture in the period of David, and a little later, Solomon. Tombs belonging solely to the MI and LI period are notably unimportant. It is possible that the necropolis of that period lay elsewhere. But it is more probable that Ts. 3, 14, and 19 are typical of what had happened to many burials in the sepulchers of those periods. Being fairly respectable hewn chambers, they could easily be made over into the more elaborate sepulchers which a later age demanded. Other MI burials were probably made in the plundered tombs on the eastern slopes of the TN hill.

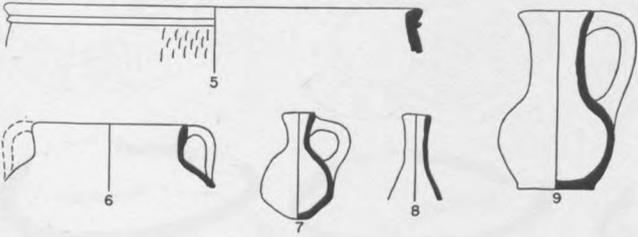
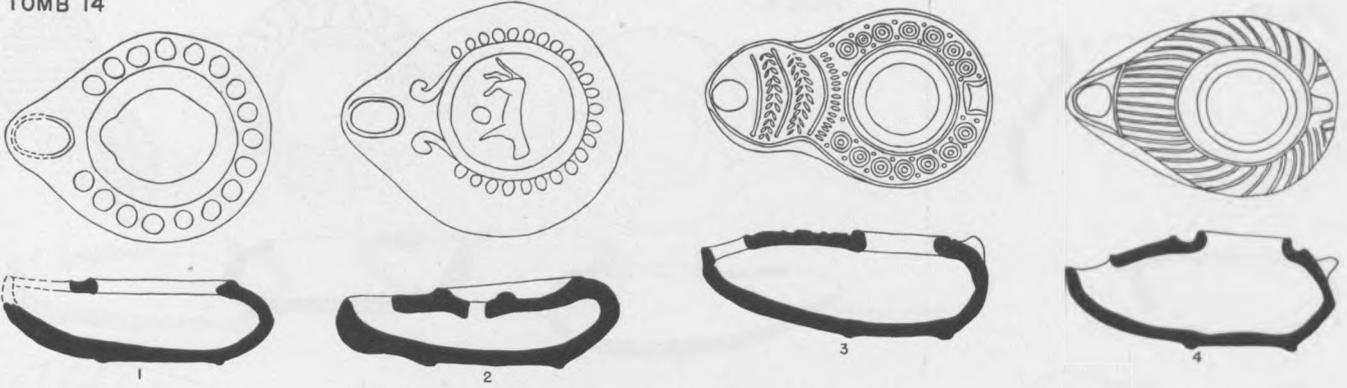
²⁹ Watzinger, *DP* II, 74 ff., Vincent, *RB* 43 (1934), 564-67; Gallinger, *BRL*, 404-07.

³⁰ See above, chaps. X, 4; XI, i, 2, 6; pls. 20: 2; 21: 5, 7; 22: 3-6.

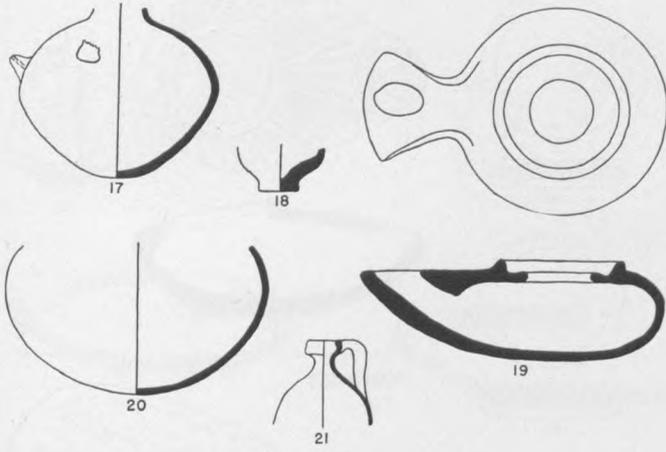
³¹ See pl. 43, and cf. *G* I, 399.

³² *BAS* 68 (1937), 21; *AAS* 14 (1934), 82; 18-19 (1939), 181; *The Other Side of the Jordan* (New Haven, 1940), 68 f., 114.

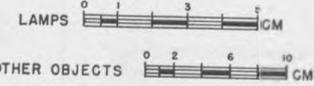
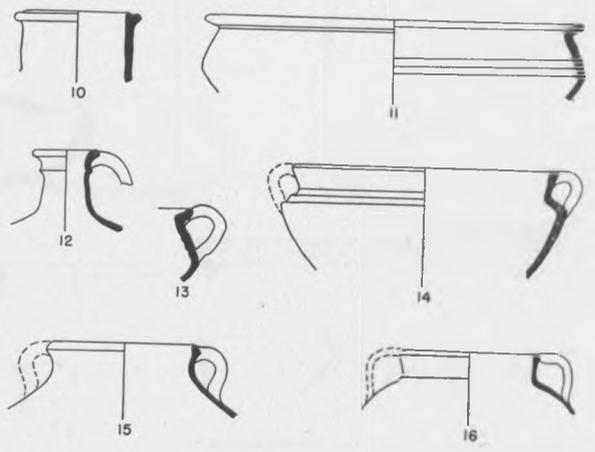
TOMB 14



TOMB 15



TOMB 8



TOMB 71

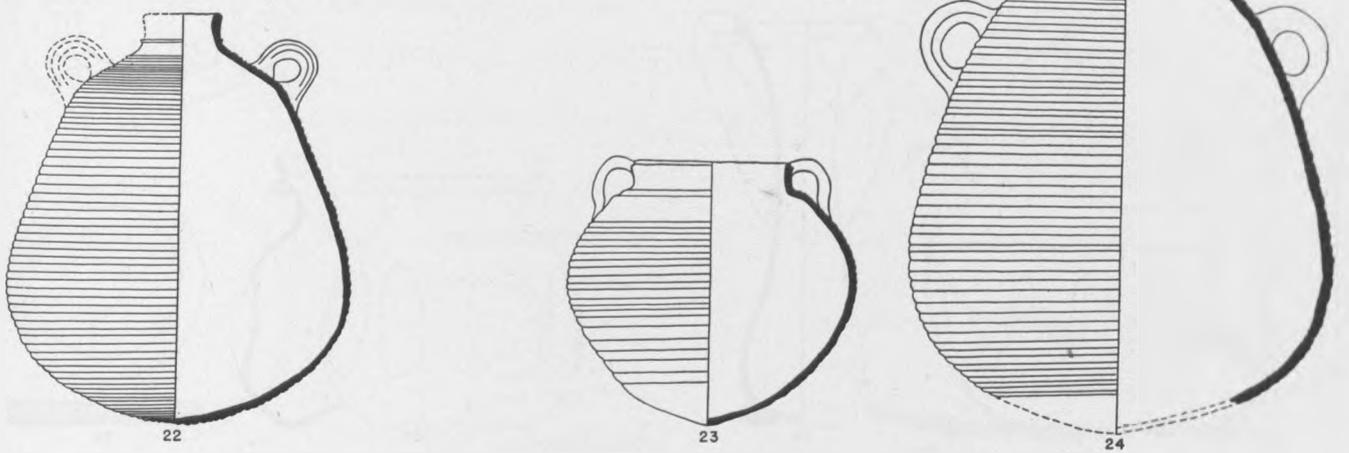
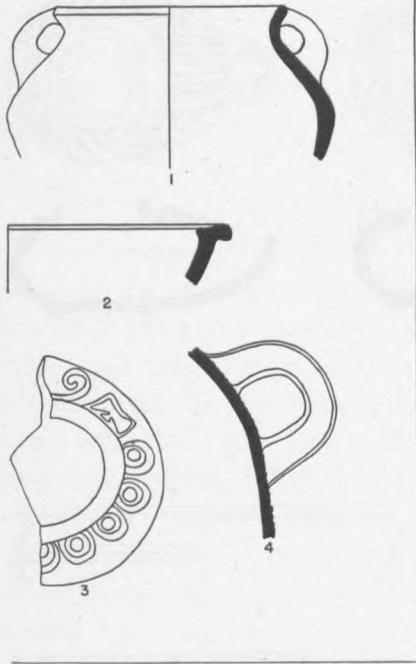
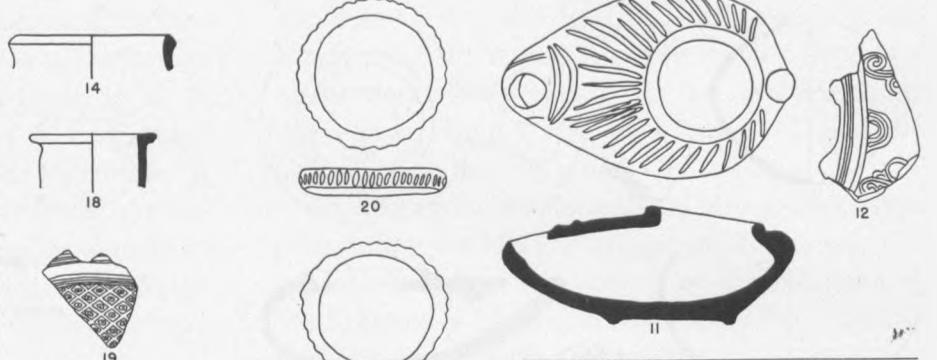
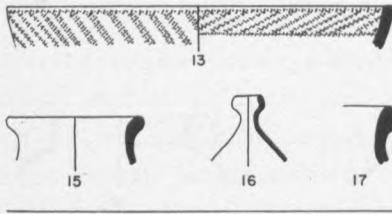
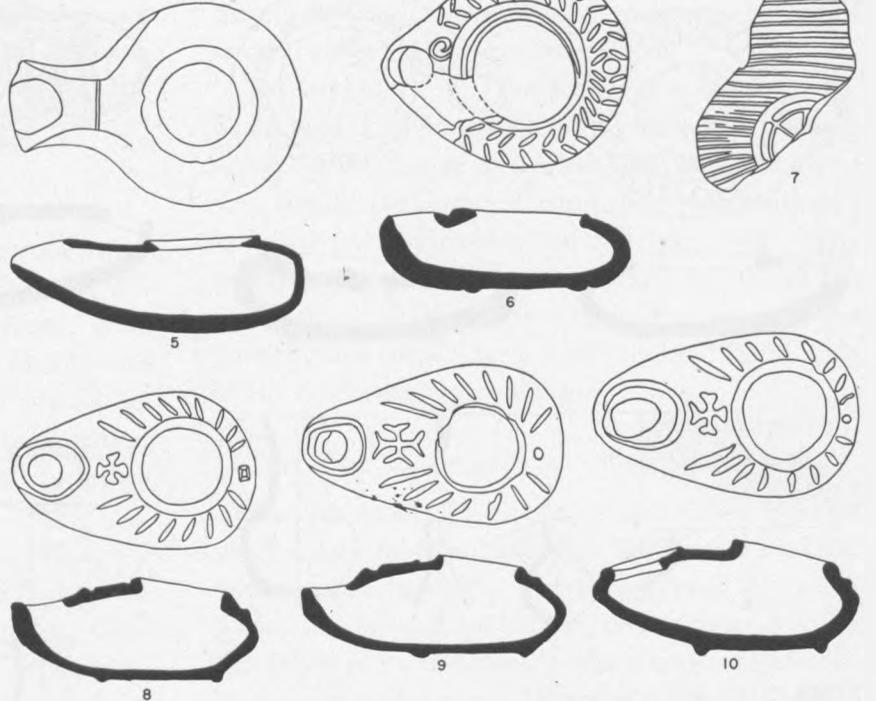


FIG. 21. VESSELS FROM TOMBS 8, 14, 15, AND 71

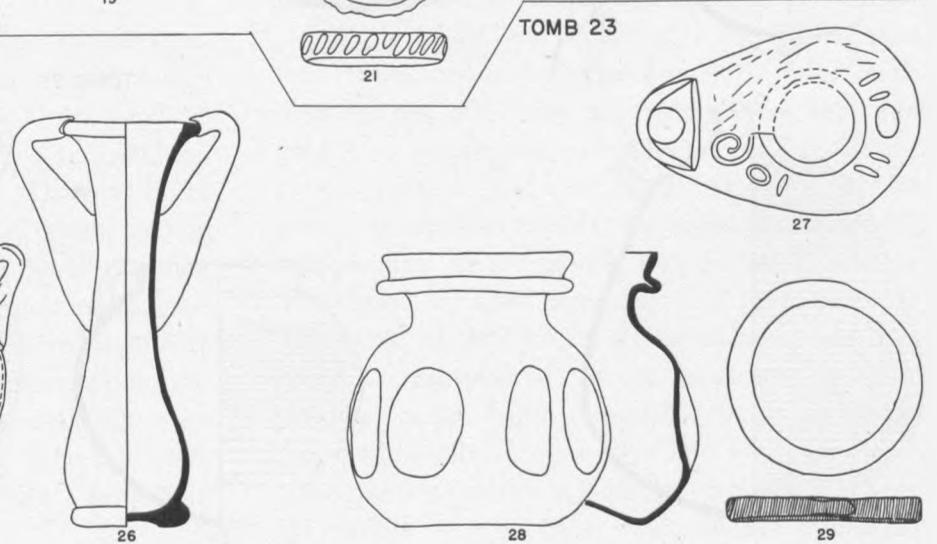
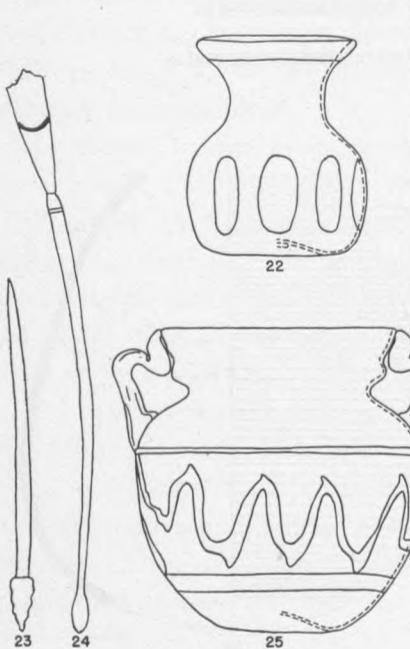
TOMB 18



TOMB 6



TOMB 31



TOMB 23

OBJECTS 1, 2, 4, 13-19



OBJECTS 3, 5-12, 20-29



FIG. 22. ARTIFACTS FROM TOMBS 6, 18, 23, AND 31

TOMB 33

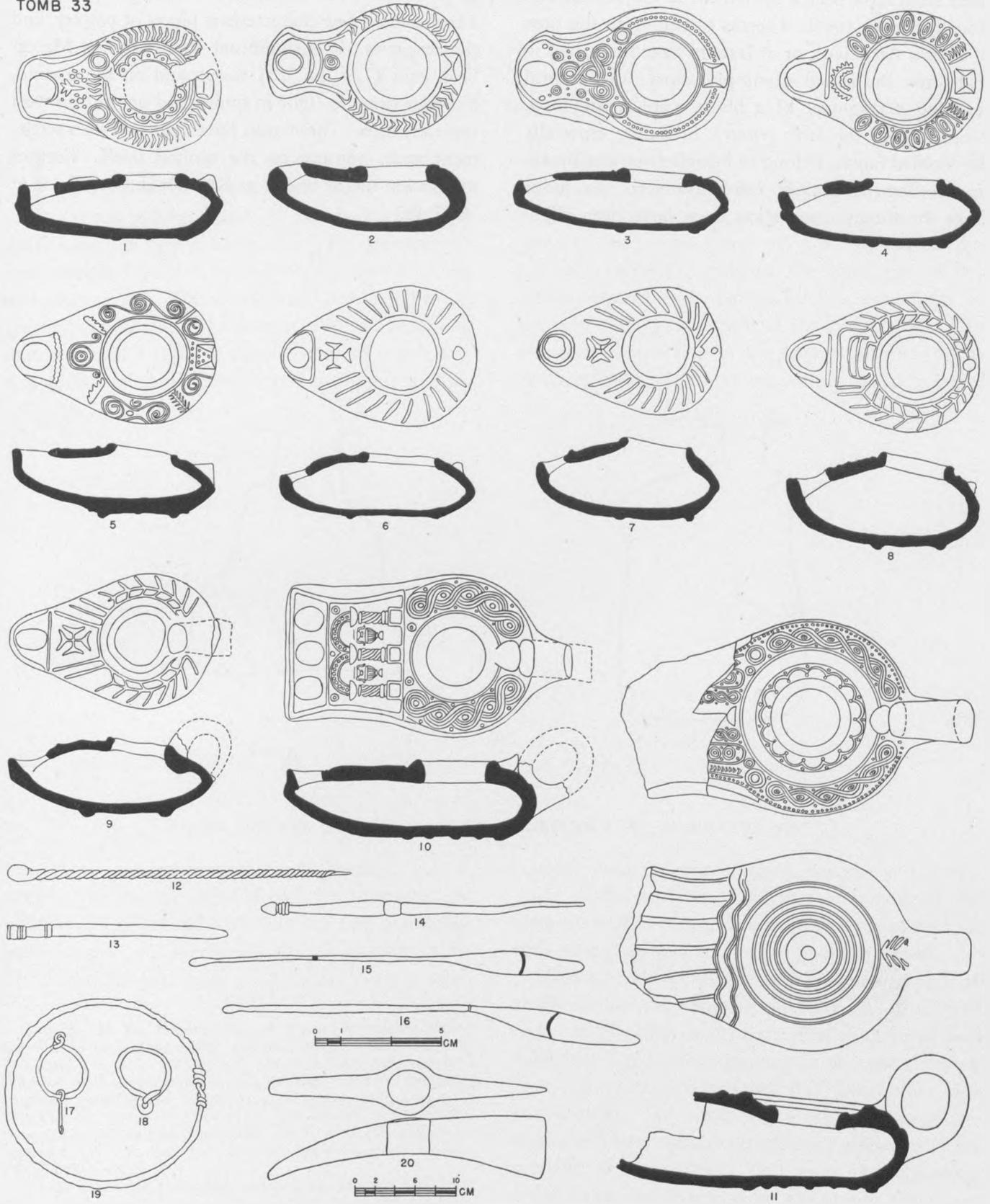


FIG. 23. ARTIFACTS FROM TOMB 33

Somewhere in the not-too-distant neighborhood there must have been a settlement in the Hellenistic-Roman period, for T. 4 seems to belong to the time of Herod Archelaus, or at least to have been used in that time. But it had a long prehistory, for a conical seal and a fragment of a fibula were found in it. Nearly all of the later pottery, including especially the molded lamps, belong to burials from the Byzantine settlement of Kh. esh-Shuweikeh. To judge from the tombs, occupation must have been slight

from the 5th or 4th cent. B. C. to the 3d or 4th cent. A. D. That it was not entirely wanting is proved by a few coins, a few characteristic pieces of pottery, and the ossuaries. It is significant that only one Maccabean coin (List, no. 12) was found on the mound, but four came to light in tombs and one in the west cemetery area. There must have been a Jewish settlement near, but not on the mound itself. Further excavation might find it at Kh. esh-Shuweikeh or at 'Atţarah.

CHAPTER XII

SOME CISTERNS AND SILOS

J. CARSON WAMPLER

TELL EN-NASBEH is truly a place of cisterns. Fifty-three were recorded. They are structures hollowed out of the bedrock. They differ from TN silos in having the walls covered with one or more layers of water-proofing cement. Sizes and shapes vary. The smallest is 1.5 m. x 2.5 m. in greatest dimensions. The deepest is 8.5 m., including masonry shaft, but 6.5 m. is in bedrock, of which 3 m. was additional shaft. The largest is roughly a cylin-

to be variations of these two types. Cis 364 and 368 are double, or joined, bottle-shaped types.

The cisterns were excavated in such manner as to preserve the approximate order of the objects discovered. Generally speaking the objects in the top debris were of later deposit but not necessarily of later chronology than those of the lower debris. The sequential numbering of the baskets into which the artifacts were placed as excavated would preserve

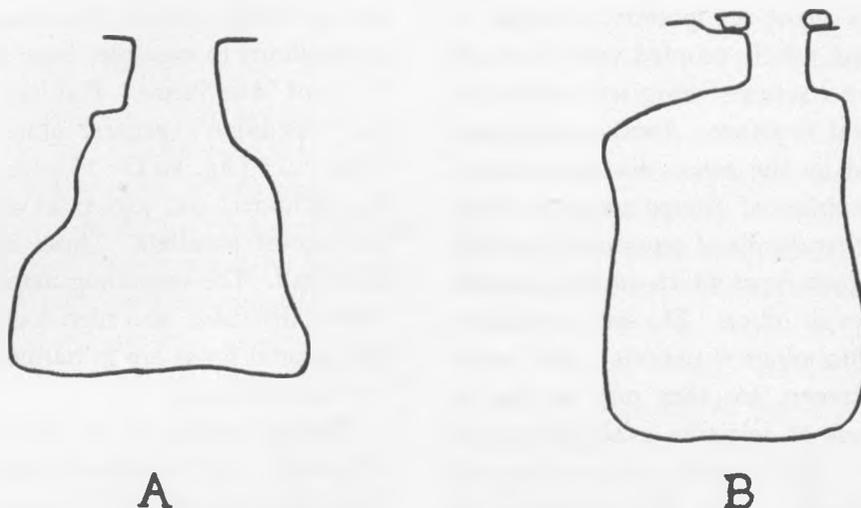


FIG. 24. TYPICAL CISTERN SHAPES. A: CISTERN 304; B: CISTERN 370

der whose greatest measurements average 3 m. x 5.5 m. The two principal shapes are illustrated by outlines of Cis 304 and 370. The first (A) is roughly bottle-shaped and the second (B) is roughly cylindrical as to the main cavity.¹ All other cisterns seem

¹ See fig. 24. The following are of A type, or roughly bottle-shaped: Cis 146, 155(?), 156, 159, 163, 165(?), 166, 173, 183, 216, 220, 276, 304, 354(?) 356, 357, 359, 361, 369, and 371 (planned in cross section; those with question marks are unusually irregular); and 33, 34, 49, 78, 119, 128, 174, 177, 178, 180, 188, 191, 302, 316, 317, 325, 326(?) 351, and 358 as is probably from outlines on the horizontal plans. The B or roughly cylindrical types are: 171, 231, 285, 363, and 370, the most irregular being 171 and 231.

[Of the cisterns and silos here recorded, no. 166 was excavated in 1927, and nos. 176, 183, and 191 in 1929, when less complete records of pottery were made; nos. 285, 295, 304, 320, 325, 348 were excavated in 1932; and nos. 361, 363, 368, 369, and 370 in 1935. C. C. M.]

roughly, then, the chronological sequence and significance of the artifacts. Examples of mixing of the elements within cisterns do occur, and methods other than stratigraphical are needed to resolve them.

Since many of the cisterns had important groups of artifacts, they were studied carefully. As usual pottery was plentiful, and much parallel material was collected. The chronological range of types as drawn from information on parallels at TN and other sites was plotted. The time of the overlapping of the earlier and later elements is often a pronounced characteristic of such a chart. This range of overlapping indicates the major period for the group. Or it may indicate a major phase, if the cistern material is not homogeneous. Groups that are the result of mixing

over a considerable time do not show pronounced characteristics of overlapping when charted. Charts of chronological spread of pottery types are reproduced for Cis 304, 361, and 370.² Working charts were made for all the cisterns and silos which are treated in detail below; however, they are not reproduced. They were made for all similar groups large enough to warrant such treatment, although it is only the conclusion which shows in the Inventory of Dated Architectural Structures.

Some of the cistern and silo groups of artifacts were important for other reasons than that they included large and homogeneous collections of pottery. Objects of more precise dating significance such as seal impressions, coins, and inscriptions were found. From those that had dating material or a large, homogeneous group of pottery, or both, a number were selected, which, coupled with the tomb groups of TN, make a series of long and fairly consecutive chronological sequence. Another important value is emphasized by the series discussed below. It is noticed that a number of groups are given about the same range but that details of representation vary. One cistern lacks certain types which are the common or principal varieties in others. Do such conditions indicate different chronological periods? Not necessarily, as is well known, for they may be due to accident or variations of selection exhibited by the users of the cisterns. But it needs to be emphasized that the proper evaluation of the differences in these and similar groups is dependent upon study of a considerable series, so that similarities and dissimilarities may be more accurately weighted. Thus, these cistern and silo groups have added value in being part of a considerable series of architectural units whose contents were fully recorded.

I. CISTERN 166, AG 20—PLATE 48, FIGURE 30

Cistern 166, excavated at the end of June, 1927, was found in the southwestern part of the site near the edge of the rock outcrop, about 27 m. inside the large city wall. A point near the mouth reads 779.58 m. above sea level. Greatest measurements are 4.3 m. x 3.1 m.

A seal impression of the single *lemelekh* type (x31, M 549) is of dating significance. The same

handle fragment also has the circles-and-dot impression. The fragment of a flat bronze circlet with the stamped or incised cuneiform characters (x11, M 534) is independently dated on paleographical grounds between 800 and 650 and thus can overlap the upper chronological range of the pottery group.³

Nineteen pottery types were plotted; one is represented by 2 examples, and another by 3. Nine types are of complete shapes. Fourteen are confirmed by TN and other parallel material as having chronological extension within the period suggested by the seal impression. Three others have such confirmation from TN sources alone, and 2 more are represented by the types only. However, one of these belongs to the decanter category which is well known in MI. So the group appears quite homogeneous and of the late pre-exilic period. However, several types have close affinity to examples from the 6th cent. group of T. 14 of 'Ain Shems.⁴ Flat-base lamps mentioned in the expedition's general notes on the cistern, decanter x23 [fig. 30 D: 5] with suggestion of rounding shoulder, and juglets x1 and x2 [D: 8, 7] are the closest parallels. These introduce a somewhat later pull. The remaining items such as the *zîr* fragments, disk-base, and high-foot lamps referred to in the general notes are in harmony with a date in the 7th and 6th cent.

Handle sections are: 4 round to ellipsoidal, 1 flat ellipsoidal with up-turned edges, and the *lemelekh* impression handle with a wide, low, central ridge. The only elongated juglet drawn has a round mouth but it is of the alabastron body type. It is possible that this evidence has some pull into the 6th cent. Finish is as follows: burnishing—10 ring inside and on rim, 1 ring inside, 1 horizontal (jug), and 1 vertical; impressed short vertical lines on the cup; slip—1 red-jug drawn and others noted. The evidence of finish is in harmony with a 7th and 6th cent. date.

Detailed notes of the hardness and levigating of the ware are not available. Light reds and reds predominate with one example each of buff, brown, and black. The previous dating suggestion could apply here.

The evidence from finish, ware, and miscellaneous objects is rather sketchy, but in keeping with a 7th

² Figs. 31-33.

³ See chap. XIII, iii.

⁴ See AS IV, pls. 48: 5, 9, 11; 68: 3, 4.

and 6th cent. date for this cistern. Although the pottery forms do not comprise a completely representative group, it is in the main quite homogeneous. It was noted that some transitional types which have some significant parallels exert a later pull. Taking into account these parallels, the *lemelekh* impression, form, finish, and ware, this appears to be a cistern that can be dated *ca.* 625-550 B. C. This is to put the seal impression within its lower dating range which is consistent with the main body of the pottery, while some of the later elements among the forms are best accounted for by lowering the range of the cistern a few years. As mentioned before, the cuneiform inscription could overlap the early period for the group, if it can be as late as the latter part of the 7th cent. Otherwise it is probably intrusive.

II. CISTERN 176, N 17—PLATES 49, 50, FIGURE 25

Cistern 176 is situated about 9 m. inside the large city wall at the north end. The opening is in a rather isolated structure which consists of two small rooms and the cistern shaft. From the photographs, this masonry appears to be a little over a meter below the top of the mound. A point near the top of the cistern shaft was 778.78 m. above sea level, another near the base was 776.19 m. A plan was not made for Ci 176.

Pottery and other artifacts recovered totaled 139 baskets. A *lemelekh* seal impression (x21, M 1019) came from basket 14, near the top of the cistern. A coin (x83, M 1043) was placed in a basket of group 84-86. Since it is late (Byzantine or Arabic), one might suspect that it was planted by a workman to get bakshîsh. Two sherds (x92 and x11, M 1013) have some inscribed marks or characters whose dating significance is at present not clear.⁵ Among the objects in Ci 176 are a number which have dating significance of a limiting quality. They are: TN red-jugs; an Astarte head; handles with circles-and-dot impressions; and a sherd with part of an incised star.

The chronological spread of 43 pottery types was plotted. Eight of the 43 were represented from two to six times. Fragments did not predominate in the records, and only one recording was of a base fragment. Chronological extension in the latter part of MI was as follows: 19 types on the basis of parallels from TN and other sites; 8 additional had parallels

from TN but those for other sites were questionable; 13 had parallels from TN only; and 3 were represented by the type alone. However, about half of these last two categories were rather closely related to types found in the late MI. Thus, the majority of the evidence on pottery types is found to be favorable to a late MI date for this cistern.

In addition to the drawings of the more unusual shapes, many cards of pottery notes were studied. From them one can gather that zîrs, jars, cylindrical jars, pitchers, cooking pots, and bowls, especially large ring-burnished bowls, were common. Some of the cooking pots were of the late, thin-ware, rilled-rim types. Seven additional recordings of TN red-jugs were estimated, and apparently there were 8 or 10 elongated juglets and a half-dozen or so small juglets, some of black ware. Also there were notes on 12 high-foot lamps, 3 disk-base, and 5 of indeterminate saucer varieties. The portion of this evidence which can be visualized with reasonable exactness is not out of harmony with a late MI date.

Of the 26 handles, 20 were smooth-oval to round, about 6 of them being nearly round. Two probably were of the two-ribbed type, although one is not clear cut. One is to be classed as having an incipient rib if not as one-ribbed. Then there were 2 bar handles, 1 tab, 1 right-angled type from the body of a ribbed flask, and 1 having a number of ribs on top. The latter is probably late. This evidence might be read as indicating a date towards the latter part of MI but not at its very end.

Only one elongated juglet was drawn, and this one lacked a mouth.

This cistern had 27 examples of burnishing: of horizontal 3 were general, 9 were inside and over rim, and 1 was outside; of ring there were 2 recorded examples inside and rim, one indeterminate, and frequent mention in the notes; of vertical 7 examples; and of polishing 2, one of which was confined to the inside and rim. Recorded examples of red slip were 3, of cream slip 1, and of white wash 2. Recordings of painted decoration were: 3 of brown lines, 1 of black, 2 of red and brown, 1 of red, and 3 with white lines. From the notes come other references to red slip, which in part was likely associated with TN red-jugs. Two incised fragments were from baking plates, and a ribbed fragment was from a

⁵ See below, chap. XIV, v, 7, and pl. 50: 1.

flask. The evidence of finish is in keeping with a date in the latter part of MI.

The firing of the pottery was quite good, as the big majority of the objects were quite hard. Of the remainder, very hard and fairly hard or soft pieces were about equally represented. Light reds, buffs, orange-reds, and drabs were most numerous, with browns, reds, red-browns, and brown-reds fairly well represented. There were a few black-ware examples. The levigating was not so good as for Cis 361 and 304, or even for 370. The size of grits varied about equally between fine, small, and medium, and some fragments had large ones. The texture of a number of fragments was sandy in quality. As compared with the above mentioned cisterns, the ware of Ci 176 shows a noticeable inferiority. The evidence of the ware suggests a date in the last half of MI but not at the very end of the period.

In summarizing the information on this cistern, a few objects which came from the very top and are probably late need have no weight when evaluating the main body of material. The single *lemelekh* seal impression (dated by Albright *ca.* 700-586 B. C.) came from basket 14, or near the top, since 139 baskets were recorded. Theoretically 9/10 of the artifacts, at least in bulk, were found below it. This fact suggests a long use before the impression was deposited. The pottery types, although not a series completely representative for this cistern, are in keeping with a date during the last half of MI. Other considerations, aside from those just mentioned, do not seem quite in keeping with a date at the very end of MI. One is the proportion of 3 disk-base to 12 high-foot lamps. In comparison with other cisterns, another is the amount and variety of painted decoration. Also the handles seem to exert a slightly earlier pull, and the same might be said of the ware. So the various pulls mentioned appear to be best balanced by a date *ca.* 750-650 B. C., with the qualification that extension is possible on either end, but more likely on the later.

III. CISTERN 183, P 18—PLATE 51, FIGURE 25

This cistern is located in the north central section of the site about 25 m. inside the large city wall. Here there is a narrow section running east and west for 30 or 40 m. which the plans show to have been

given over to cisterns and silos. On each side of this strip, the house floors of str. i are on about the same level or a trifle below the rock which rims the cisterns. Such being the case, Ci 183 occupied a position suitable for use in connection with houses of str. i or for a later occupation. However, most of the architectural remains of a later occupation have been destroyed, although some remnants have been indicated on the plans for this general region. So it might well be that the buildings associated with the last use of this cistern have been completely destroyed.

A point near the mouth is 777.18 m. above sea level. Greatest measurements are 3.80 m. x 4.75 m.

Fifty-three baskets of artifacts were recorded in consecutive order. A single *lemelekh* seal impression apparently came from debris near the bottom. A Seleucid coin (x6) possibly of Antiochus III, was found near the top.⁶ The dating significance, if any, of a fragment with portions of two incised lines or characters (x52), is not yet apparent.

The pottery drawings for Ci 183 are mainly of the unusual and later items. The chronological range of 16 types was plotted; 4 were of base fragments, and 1 of a spout. The covered lamp, x3 [fig. 25 C: 3], was represented by 8 more fragments, and the jug, x5 [C: 12], by 4 more. Chronological extension within LI was indicated as follows: 7 were confirmed by TN and other parallels, and probably 2 more should be put with this group; 4 were supported by TN parallels; and 3 were represented by the type alone.

Notes were made on the more usual types of pottery which came, mainly, from the lower part of the cistern. These included zîrs, jars, cooking pots, ring-burnished bowls, shallow bowls, flat-base saucer lamp, and roll rims. Much of this material has connections with the late MI. But some is later, as are most of the types drawn.⁷

Five handles were drawn; four were ellipsoidal in section, and one had a single rib. The handle with the *lemelekh* impression is described as having a wide, flattened ridge. The evidence on handles is limited and mixed.

Most of the pottery was probably wet smoothed.

⁶ See below, chaps. XIV, and XX, List of Coins, no. 7.

⁷ For parallels see the following: *AS* IV, pls. 48, 68; *S* I, figs. 168, 169, 171, 183; *BZ*, pls. 5, 7, 10, 12, 13, figs. 36-38, 42; *QDAP* 2 (1932), pls. 29, 31, 32, 36; *QDAP* 3 (1933), pl. 23: 5, 11, 15; 4 (1934), figs. 4, 5; *G* III, pls. 97, 179, 180-183.

One example of vertical burnishing is mentioned. Ring burnishing is common in the lower part of the cistern. The nine covered lamps have red slip. Impressed design is represented by one example of triangular type, one of triangular and circular, and one of concentric circles, all of which appear on rim and neck-shoulder fragments of craters. Thus, the evidence of finish indicates a mixed chronological group.

The majority of the ware recorded was buff in color with about half of this quantity burning to light red. About 1/10 burned red, and only a few brown-red. However, many of the cooking pot fragments must have been variations of brown and red. The majority of the vessels were quite well fired. Levigating was better than average. But it must be remembered that most of the earlier ware was not described in detail. So the evidence of ware is best regarded as mixed.

The conclusion is plain that two major groups of pottery can be distinguished. The earlier is composed of much of the pottery mentioned in the general notes, a slight amount of over-lapping material recorded on the cards of drawings, and the *lemelekh* impression. The latter part of MI, *ca.* 650-586 B. C., seems a suitable date for this group. The later group, of which the main types are illustrated, offers a more complex problem. Some of the best parallels come from T. 14 of 'Ain Shems, now known to have an earlier (6th cent.) and a later phase. Other parallels come from the "Hellenistic" phase of Beth-zur. Samaria offered connections which had a date span *ca.* 700-650 B. C., according to their scheme of dating. 'Athlît had a few less parallels, but its material was also less numerous. This was dated 5th and 4th cent. B. C. Tell Abū Hawam also had less material with which to compare. Three connections were noted. The Hawam pottery is dated late 6th to early 4th cent. B. C. Gezer had one of the larger groups of parallels drawn in the main from its "Hellenistic" period.

Now we have a span of four or five hundred years to take into account. This is too long to allow for the last period of use of Ci 183. But how can it be condensed? At the outset it can be pointed out that the last word has not been said about any of the above groups. Mention has already been made of the change in dating of 'Ain Shems T. 14. At Beth-zur

"Hellenistic" refers to pottery from postexilic to Roman period.⁸ Perhaps Samaria Ci 7 Strip 1 group falls within a shorter period. 'Athlît and Tell Abū Hawam at present seem to have the least questionable groups; perhaps this is in part because they are median. The median position becomes more attractive when it is recalled that the coin from Ci 183 comes from near the top. It has been dated tentatively as Hellenistic. On the basis of these considerations, a date *ca.* 450-200 B. C. is suggested for the last phase of this cistern.

IV. CISTERN 191, AG 25—FIGURE 25

Cistern 191 is in the southeastern section of the site about 15 m. inside the large city wall. This is an area where the bedrock either protrudes through the surface or is very patchily covered with soil. The nearest fragments of masonry are 5-10 m. away. A point near its rim is 782.06 m. above sea level. Greatest measurements are 3.95 m. x 3.10 m.

The clearing was carried out during three days, but most of the objects were recovered during the last day. One half to two thirds of the filling was comparatively sterile debris, indicating this debris accumulated after the cistern had gone out of use. Fourteen baskets of artifacts were recovered, mainly from the lowest third.

A two-ribbed handle fragment with single *lemelekh* and 2 circles-and-dot impressions was found. Another faint seal impression (x33) on a wall fragment seems to be star shaped. Several painted sherds which are possibly "Philistine" were found, also two more of about the same period. Some other artifacts have limiting chronological significance.

The chronological range of 13 types was plotted; one of these was a base fragment. Eight types supported by parallels from TN and other sites showed chronological extension in MI-LI, and 3 others had parallels at TN only, but overlapped MI-LI. The remaining two were represented by the types only. Most of the types, then, can be harmonized with a MI-LI date. The same can be said of the general notes on pottery, which mention, in addition to the drawings, fragments of zîrs, cooking pots, ring-burnished bowls, elongated juglets, and at least one more high-foot lamp.

⁸ BZ, p. 41.

Handle sections are: 3 ellipsoidal, 1 wide-ribbon type with upturned edges, and 1 two-ribbed. One knob handle on a bowl and a horizontally-pierced squat-vase handle were noted. No elongated juglets were drawn.

Burnishing is represented as follows: 2 horizontal, 1 horizontal inside and outside, 1 horizontal inside and rim, 1 vertical, and a number of ring. One fragment has some incised horizontal lines, and another has a raised band with vertical incisions. An intrusive piece of Byzantine incised ware is noted. Two examples with cream slip, 2 with red slip, and 2 with white wash are mentioned. Of the painted examples, 3 have designs in black, 1 in red, and another in red-white-red. Some of these are possibly "Philistine." Otherwise the evidence of finish harmonizes with a MI-LI date.

The ware was well fired, and mostly it burned to light red, red, orange-red, and buff with some representation of brown-red, brown, and drab. One piece of black ware was recorded. Grits vary between fine, small, and medium with the medium being most frequent. Thus the levigating was not of the best. But in the main a late MI date is suitable for the ware.

The "Philistine" sherds, a few other painted fragments and miscellaneous items are probably to be regarded as residue of earlier use left in the cistern when almost completely cleared out sometime in the 7th cent. The *lemelekh* seal impression is not necessarily earlier than ca. 625 B. C. The major evidence of the pottery as to form, finish, ware, secondary features, and miscellaneous items is best read as subsequent to this date. A longer period of the common phase of types represented by x9, x21, x23, x124, and x129 [fig. 25 D: 9; C: 2, 24; D: 6] would likely be subsequent to ca. 625 B. C. And if the faint seal impression proves to be one of the late types it has a later pull. As a balance between these forces a date ca. 625-500 B. C. is suggested for the major amount of material recovered from this cistern. A further qualification is suggested by the immediate surroundings and location in high bedrock coupled with the condition of the debris filling the cistern. Possibly these are marks of the dwindling importance of this community. A shrinking town would not use to full advantage the facilities of one in full power. So, Ci 191, being used sporadically towards the end

of its useful period, does not exhibit clear evidence of its termination.

V. CISTERN 285, P 22, PLATE 44, FIGURES 25, 26

Cistern 285 opens into the floor of Cave 285 which is in the northeastern part of the site just inside the large city wall. This wall is built over a large area of the cave, and the stairway-shaft leading into the cave is bounded on the east by the wall. The top step is 777.41 m. above sea level. The greatest measurements are 4 m. x 6.5 m.

Ninety-four baskets of artifacts, mostly pottery, were recovered. Sixty-six types were plotted; 10 types were represented by 2 examples, 2 by 3, 1 by 4, and 1 by 5. Eleven of the types were represented by base fragments only, and 2 by handles only. The charting of the chronological spread of the types suggests a late MI date for the group: 45 types had support for this period from parallels at TN and other sites, although 9 of the latter were questionable; 19 were supported by TN parallels alone; and 2 were represented in this cistern only.

Thirty-four handle sections were drawn: 29 are ellipsoidal, a number especially from one-handled pots being flat-ellipsoidal; 2 are almost round; 2 are triangular, being nearly flat underneath; 1 might be a one-rib type, although it is quite irregular. Two elongated juglets were drawn, and the indications are that they had round mouths.

The big majority of the pottery objects were wet smoothed. Burnishing is as follows: 1 horizontally inside; 1 horizontally inside and ring outside; 1 horizontally inside and rim; 1 ring inside and rim; 2 ring inside; 2 polished inside; and 3 vertically outside. A base fragment of a bowl had triangular pits inside.

The major portion of the ware is about equally divided between light red brown, light brown, red brown, and brown. Also, there are a few examples of light orange brown, buff, gray, black, and light red. Mainly, the ware was hard fired, but some was soft and some very hard. Grits were very fine, fine (most frequent), small, and medium, with some occurrence of large ones.

This cistern has some elements that might well be earlier and some that might be later than the date to be suggested. However, most of the types and the evidence of finish, ware, and miscellaneous items could belong in a group dated ca. 750-586 B. C.

VI. SILO 295, V 13, II—FIGURE 26

This structure is on the west side of the site about 13 m. inside the large city wall. It is a complex of three silos that have separate openings but which are connected underground. The connection might be an accident of excavation. Elevations near the openings read 776.35 m. and 776.20 m. above sea level. Greatest measurements are: A 1.09 m. x 1.6 m.; B 1.78 m. x 1.6 m.; C 2.32 m. x 2.40 m. Some walls from Rs. 352-354 of str. i pass over the openings.

Twenty-four types were plotted, 4 of which were represented by 2 examples. Five types are base fragments, and 2 are handles. The evidence from the charting is not clear-cut. Some is EI and some MI. The indication is that the sections are not of the same period, and some further support for this is found among the other materials listed.

Handle sections are: 6 ellipsoidal and 2 round. A horizontal loop handle is on the baking plate. The evidence of the elongated juglets is indeterminate.

Most of the pottery was wet smoothed. One piece has buff slip, 2 have red and black painted bands, and 1 has a red band. Burnishing is represented as follows: 2 of irregular, 1 of horizontal inside, 1 of horizontal inside and rim, 4 of vertical, and 1 of ring inside and rim.

The ware is about equally represented by red brown, brown, light red brown, and black. Most of it is hard fired, and some is very hard. The size of grits varies between very fine and medium, fine and medium being most common.

Taken as a group, the evidence of pottery form, finish, and ware, secondary features, and miscellaneous items is rather general. Considered as to sections, it is more significant. Section A is probably EI. A period *ca.* 1000-800 B. C. would harmonize all the elements of Section B. After making due allowance for the house walls and materials above, there is no apparent reason for dating Section C earlier than 7th cent. B. C.

VII. CISTERN 304, AB 19—FIGURES 26, 31

This centrally located cistern has already been fully discussed elsewhere.⁹ The evidence of pottery form (see chart, fig. 31 for chronological range), finish, and ware, secondary features, and miscel-

laneous items is found to be in keeping with those objects having dating significance. The Clazomenian neck amphora (x22, M 1836) has been dated by Dr. Dietrich von Bothmer *ca.* 540-530 B. C.,¹⁰ and a wall and handle fragment of an offset-lip Greek kylix (x55) he has referred to the period 490-420 B. C. Since Professor Albright regards the unusually interesting inscribed fragment (x40, M 1835) as probably belonging to the seventh century and thus antedating the main group,¹¹ there is further reason for adopting with him the first suggestion for the date. So *ca.* 600-450 B. C. is put forward as the period most consistent with the pottery and duration of use.

VIII. CISTERN 320, AB 15—PLATE 52, FIGURE 27

The mouth of this cistern was greatly enlarged due to weathering. Consequently it was difficult to be certain whether or not it was in use at the same time as R. 390. At the time of excavating it was regarded as earlier, and there is pottery evidence to support this view. But there is other pottery which would be in harmony with the earlier material from R. 390.

Fifty-three types were plotted; 5 were represented by 2 examples, 2 by 3, and 1 by 4. Eight types are base fragments. Thirty-four types as shown by parallels at TN and other sites have chronological extension in late MI, although 4 are questionable; 19 are supported by TN parallels as having such extension, and at least 10 of these are closely related to types that are known in this period. Some other pottery items were also found.

Twenty-one handles have sections drawn; 17 are ellipsoidal, 2 with incipient rib, 1 with one rib, and a right-angled handle from a ribbed flask. The one remaining rim of elongated juglets is round. This evidence is in harmony with the late MI.

A large majority of the examples are wet smoothed. Other types of finish are as follows: 2 examples with white wash (*figurines*); 4 with buff slip and 4 with red; 1 with red brown painted band; 1 horizontally burnished inside and out; 5 horizontally burnished inside; 5 vertically burnished; 2 ring burnished inside; 2 ribbed (right-angle-handled flask fragments?) This evidence is not out of harmony with the late MI.

⁹ BAS 82, pp. 31-36.

¹⁰ BAS 83, p. 27; see chap. XV, 1.

¹¹ BAS 82, p. 36, editor's note. See chap. XIV, v. 4.

A large amount of the ware is red brown and light brown. Brown and light red brown are well represented. Two examples of buff and 1 of black are noted. The big majority was hard fired. About equal amounts are very hard and soft. Levigating was good, although small and medium grits are fairly common. The evidence of ware is indeterminate.

The dating information offered by the artifacts, especially pottery, and stratigraphical considerations is not clear-cut. Two phases of use might be indicated. To the later could belong such objects as x3, x12, x13, x14, x15, x17, x29, and x30, [fig. 27 A: 6, B: 3, A: 21, B: 17, A: 20, B: 1] and to the earlier x42, x49, x57, x59, x63, x74, x78, and x79 [fig. A: 10, 12, 19, B: 9, 4, 18, 22, 21]. Many of the remainder might belong to either. These factors are acknowledged but not resolved by dating Ci 320 8th and 7th cent. B. C.

IX. CISTERN 325, AA 14, II—FIGURE 27

Cistern 325 was discovered about 25 m. inside the large city wall on the west side. It was near one of the central rubble heaps, so the immediate surroundings were not completely excavated. Debris was not thick in this area. However, Ci 325 is marked as of str. ii. Then it probably was so in relationship with one of the later phases of str. i.

The recovery of the artifacts falls into three major phases. Among the objects recovered in the earliest phase was a single *lemelekh* seal impression.

The chronological range of 38 types was plotted; 4 were represented more than one time. Twenty-two are supported by parallels from TN and other sites as having extension in late MI; 4 more are questionable as to parallels from other sites; 11 have parallels at TN only; and 1 is represented in this cistern only. Additional pottery as well as other material was found.

Nine handles have sections drawn: 5 are ellipsoidal; 2 are wide-ribbon with turned-up edges; 2 have incipient or very low single ridge; and the *lemelekh* impression handle has 2 ribs. One round-mouth elongated juglet is noted.

Finish is as follows: wet smoothing much the most common; 3 horizontally burnished inside; 5 ring burnished inside and rim; 1 vertically burnished; 3 with buff slip; and 1 painted red-gray-red.

The firing of the ware was good, varying between fairly hard and very hard. Red brown, browns, light browns predominate, while a few are of light orange brown, light red-brown, gray, buff, and brown gray. Among a large majority of examples size of grits varies between small and very fine. However, medium and even large grits are noted. Ware and finish seem consistent with a late MI date.

It was noted that the single *lemelekh* seal impression was found near the bottom of the cistern. There is no apparent reason for dating it to the earlier phase for such impressions, and the pottery series offers evidence for not doing so. The evidence of the pottery form, finish, and ware, secondary features, miscellaneous items, and the seal impression seems reasonably well harmonized by a date *ca.* 650-550 B. C.

X. SILO 348, W 13, II—FIGURES 27, 28

It was located on the west side of the site about 12 m. inside the large city wall. R. 345 of str. i was over the opening. An elevation point near its mouth reads 776.12 m. above sea level. Greatest depth is 2.05 m. Apparently the general plan is roughly oval.

Forty-five types were plotted; 1 type is represented by 2 examples, and 6 are base fragments only. All types show chronological extension within the MI. Twenty-three types are supported by parallels from TN and other sites as having such extension, although 5 are questionable as to parallels from other sites; 21 are supported by TN parallels only; and 1 is from Si 348 only. In addition to the pottery drawn some other pottery items were found.

Fifteen handle sections were recorded: 12 are ellipsoidal, 1 almost round, 1 flat ellipsoidal, and 1 single rib. A bowl rim, x34 [fig. 28 A: 24], has a tab handle. Three elongated juglets show: 1 pinched rim, 1 uncertain, and 1 lacking rim. This evidence is not out of harmony with middle MI but possibly has some earlier pull.

Finish is as follows: burnishing—4 vertical, 3 horizontal inside and rim, 2 ring inside, and 1 criss-cross; painted—3 with red lines, 2 with brown, 1 with black, and 1 with black and red; 3 with white wash, two of which have red painted diagonal trellis pattern; and the remainder wet smoothed. MI or slightly earlier suits this evidence.

The ware burned mostly to brown, red brown,

light brown, and light orange brown, but a few examples of black, orange brown, and greenish cream are represented. Mostly it was hard fired, but some pieces are very hard and others soft. Levigating was not of the best; grits are about equally divided between fine, small, and medium. Ware is suitable to MI.

The implications of pottery form (with due regard for the superior chronological value of certain types), finish, and ware, secondary features, and miscellaneous items are reasonably adjusted by a date *ca.* 850-700 B. C. for Si 348. However, some of the material might be interpreted as representing a slightly earlier phase.

XI. CISTERN 361, AC 16—FIGURES 28, 32

Since Cistern 361 has been fully discussed elsewhere,¹² it will not be repeated here. However, the drawings and chart of chronological spread of types are shown.¹³ Dating was dependent upon a shoulder fragment of a black-figured oinochoe (x103) of *ca.* 500 B. C.,¹⁴ a characteristic TN seal impression (x18, M 2816), a four-letter seal impression (x83, M 2830) both of the Persian period, the chronological spread of the pottery types, and the evidence of finish, ware, secondary features, and miscellaneous items. A few of the pottery types proved of considerable value in establishing the general period of the group. Since no new information is available for consideration, the former dating conclusion is repeated. Use during the 5th cent. B. C. with some continuation in the 4th is indicated by the evidence, which characterizes this as a well marked group for the period. In an editor's footnote commenting on this date Dr. Albright is inclined to date the actual use in the 4th cent.

XII. CISTERN 363, AB 16—PLATES 45, 52, FIGURES 28, 29

This cistern was located on the west side of the site about 23 m. inside the large city wall. The cover stones were found in place, and a large part of the drain still remained intact. The floor level drain connected with a stone which had a channel through its

center. This was probably one section of the down-drain, which, from its position at the base of a foundation wall, might have been part of a drainage system for R. 605. In any case the floor-level drain offers a reasonably accurate means of determining the floor level of R. 617. Furthermore, the level of this room is almost the same as that of the adjoining R. 605, which has a paved floor. So the indication is that these three structures are of substantially the same period.

A point near the mouth reads 776.23 m. above sea level. A shaft of masonry to the depth of 1.2 m. surrounds this mouth. Greatest measurements are 4.5 m. x 3.4 m.

Sixty-three types were plotted; 5 are represented by 2 examples, 1 by 3, and 1 by 5. The charting of the chronological extension of pottery types indicates a late MI date for the cistern. Forty-seven types are supported by parallels from TN and other sites as of late MI, although 7 are questionable as regards parallels from other sites. Fifteen types have such support from TN parallels alone, and 1 is represented by the cistern example only. This late MI evidence is further supported by other pottery objects and artifacts.

Twenty-three handles are as follows: 1 two-rib, 3 incipient ribs, 3 one-rib, 3 incipient rib, 7 ellipsoidal, 3 flat ellipsoidal, 1 wide-ribbon with up-turned edges, 1 round, and 1 bar. This evidence is mainly late MI.

Finish is as follows: mostly wet smoothed; slip—6 of red one being inside, 2 light greenish-cream, 1 light orange; 1 white wash (figurine); burnishing—3 horizontal inside, 2 horizontal tending to ring inside and 1 outside, 4 vertical, 4 ring inside, 4 ring inside and rim, 1 inside and outside, and 1 outside. A late MI date is suitable for the finish.

The ware was hard or medium hard fired. It burned to light brown, light orange brown, medium orange, medium red orange, light orange, light red orange, and buff. A small number of pieces are lighter or darker variations of these. Then, there is 1 example of black ware and 1 of green. The clay was rather well levigated. Very fine grits are most frequent, with fine and small sizes next in frequency. The ware is suitable to late MI or possibly MI-LI.

The evidence of pottery form, finish, and ware, secondary features, and miscellaneous items points to a date *ca.* 700-586 or 550 B. C. for this cistern. It is

¹² *BAS* 82, pp. 36-43.

¹³ See figs. 28, 32.

¹⁴ *BAS* 83, p. 26.

possible that a few elements are too early and a few too late for this period, but they are not to be regarded as representative.

XIII. CISTERN 368, AG 19—PLATE 45, FIGURE 29

It was located in the southwestern part of the site *ca.* 22 m. inside the large city wall. It has two openings, one in R. 441 and the other in R. 447, and a masonry dividing wall in the bottom. Apparently two roughly bottle-shaped cistern plans were joined as an accident of construction. Elevations near the respective mouths are 778.72 m. and 778.85 m. above sea level. The greatest measurements are 4 m. x 3.6 m. From the standpoint of structure and of artifacts, Ci 368 is to be regarded as a unit.

Thirty-three types were plotted; 3 are represented by 2 examples, 2 by 3, and 1 by 5. Their chronological spread indicates the cistern to be mainly late MI. Twenty-four types are supported by parallels from TN and other sites as having such extension; 8 are supported by TN parallels only, however, all but 2 are closely related to types well known for the period. The remaining type lacks parallels. This evidence favors a late MI date as does much of the material listed.

Handles are: 1 two-rib, 1 incipient rib, 3 flat ellipsoidal, and 6 ellipsoidal. No elongated juglet evidence is available.

Finish is as follows: burnishing—2 ring inside and rim, 1 ring outside, 3 vertical, 3 horizontal inside, 3 horizontal outside, and 1 polished; slip—3 light orange, and 6 red, 5 of these being TN red-jugs; 4 white wash (figurines), 1 being red painted over the wash; and "Cypriote" juglet with black painted horizontal lines and concentric circles.

The ware was medium hard and hard fired. The colors are mostly light orange, medium brown, light red brown, light brown, light red orange, and light orange brown. A few examples of light brown drab, buff, and light orange red are noted. Very fine grits are found in about twice as many pieces as fine, small, and large. Thus the levigating is medium in quality.

Most of the dating information comes from a study of the forms, although the evidence of finish, ware, secondary features, and miscellaneous items is of some value. Much of this information points to

the 7th cent. B. C. However, a number of types seem to have their common phase at TN *ca.* 700-500 B. C. But conical jars such as x44 appear to have their common phase, if not their major history, after 600 B. C. A reasonable compromise of the various dating factors of this cistern is a period *ca.* 650-550 B. C.

XIV. CISTERN 369, AF 20—FIGURE 29

This cistern was found near Ci 370 in the southwestern part of the site not far from the central bedrock area. It opens into R. 446. A few stones of masonry remain near the mouth. A point on one reads 779.49 m. above sea level. Greatest measurements are 2.7 m x 2.7 m.

Fifty-four pottery types were plotted; 8 are represented by 2 examples, and 2 by 5. Thirty-four types are supported by parallels from TN and other sites as having chronological extension in late MI. Nineteen receive such support from TN parallels only, but 16 of them are closely related to types which are reasonably well known for the period. Other material favorable to a late MI date was found.

Handle sections are: 8 ellipsoidal, 1 flat ellipsoidal, 1 ellipsoidal with one rib, 2 round with one rib, and 3 with incipient rib. Not enough of the rims of the elongated juglets remained to determine whether or not they were pinched. However, the juglets are of slender body form, so approach the alabastron shape. It is possible that this evidence has some pull into the 6th cent. B. C.

Finish is as follows: wet-smoothing is most common; slip—8 red, two of them being TN red-jugs, 2 greenish-cream; burnishing—3 vertical, 3 horizontal, 5 horizontal tending to ring, 3 horizontal inside, 4 horizontal inside and rim, 1 horizontal inside and irregular outside, 2 ring inside, 1 ring inside and rim, 2 ring outside, 1 polished inside and rim; painted—1 red and brown lines, 1 brown; 1 (x74 [fig. 29 C: 17]) glazed outside, probably an example of faience.

The ware was medium hard or hard fired. The colors in order of frequency of occurrence are light brown, light red orange, light orange brown, medium brown, light brown drab, and light red brown. Also noted are some examples of medium gray drab, light orange, light greenish yellow, buff, and 1 example of black. Mostly, the grits are very fine, although grits of small, fine, and large sizes are not uncommon.

A large share of the evidence of pottery form,

finish, and ware, secondary features, and miscellaneous items points to late MI. A painted fragment has been dated as early, and x33 [fig. 29 D: 18] is also probably early and intrusive. Uncertain elements are x31 and x79 [D: 16, C: 22]. There is considerable similarity between the forms of Ci 369 and Ci 370, which is to be expected when their positions are considered. Perhaps Ci 369 has a somewhat larger amount of later material and not quite so much of the earlier. The handle sections and elongated juglets are in mind when thinking of the former. Therefore, in consideration of these and some uncertain elements a date *ca.* 650-550 B. C. is suggested.

XV. CISTERN 370, AF 20—PLATE 53, FIGURES
30, 33

Cistern 370 has been fully discussed elsewhere.¹⁵

¹⁵ *BAS* 82 (1941), 25-31. See also chap. XVI, iv.

The drawings and chart of chronological spread of pottery types are shown in figures 30, 33. Two single *lemelekh* seal impressions were found in Ci 370; one (x57, M 2545) came from near the top and the other (x125) from near the middle. An inscribed weight (x121, M 2552) of about the same period also was found near the middle. The evidence of pottery form, finish, and ware, secondary features, and miscellaneous items is in large part in agreement with the dating implications of the seal impressions and the inscribed weight. Consequently, a date *ca.* 700-586 B. C. was suggested for this cistern. Since all expressed opinions of archaeologists are in agreement with this date, and since no new information to the contrary has come to notice, it is allowed to stand.¹⁶

¹⁶ [Albright notes a juglet (x22) with a slightly oval mouth as out of place in a seventh-century context, but believes the slightly oval shape may be due to malformation, not intention, *AAS* 21-22 (1943), § 153, note 2. See also the discussion of certain forms § 157, note 4. C. C. M.]

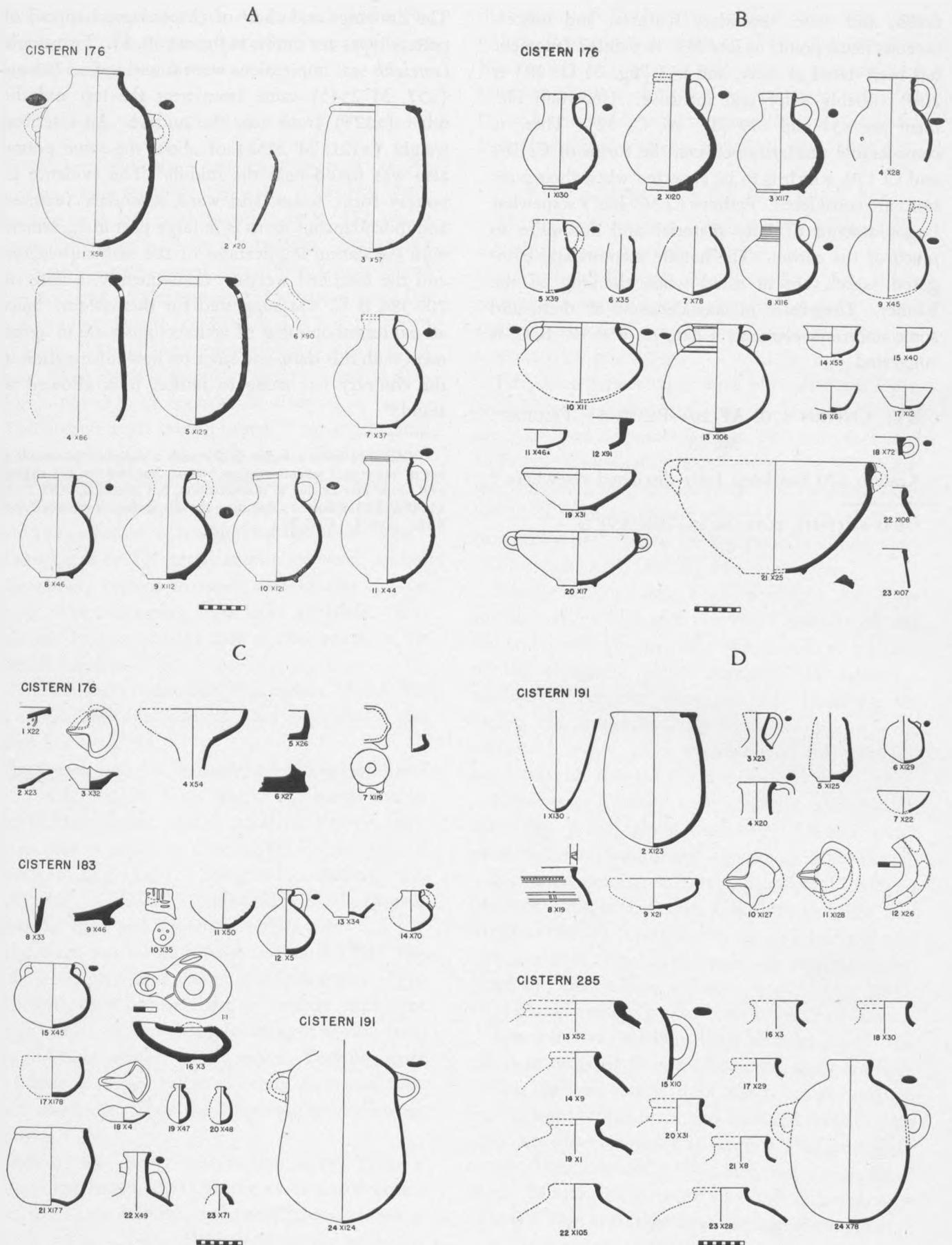


FIG. 25

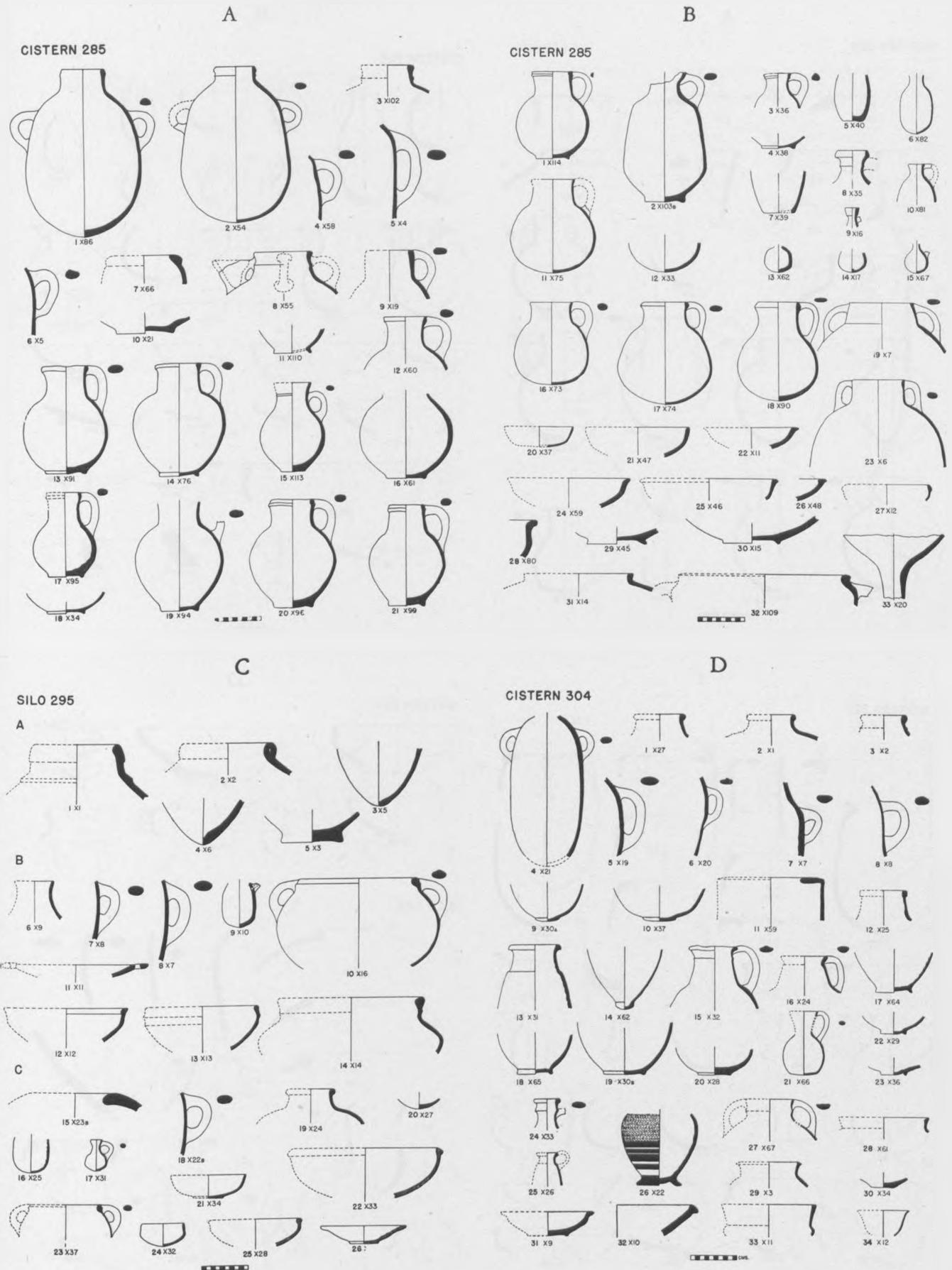
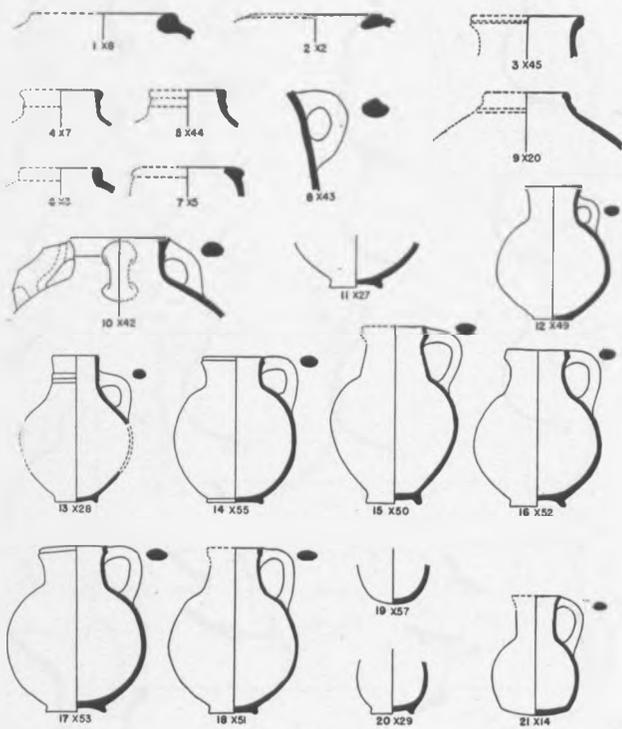


FIG. 26

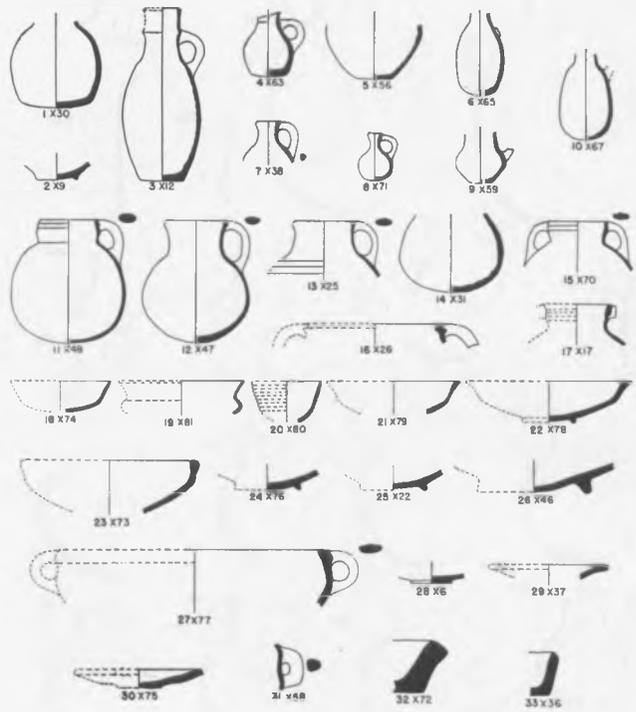
A

CISTERN 320



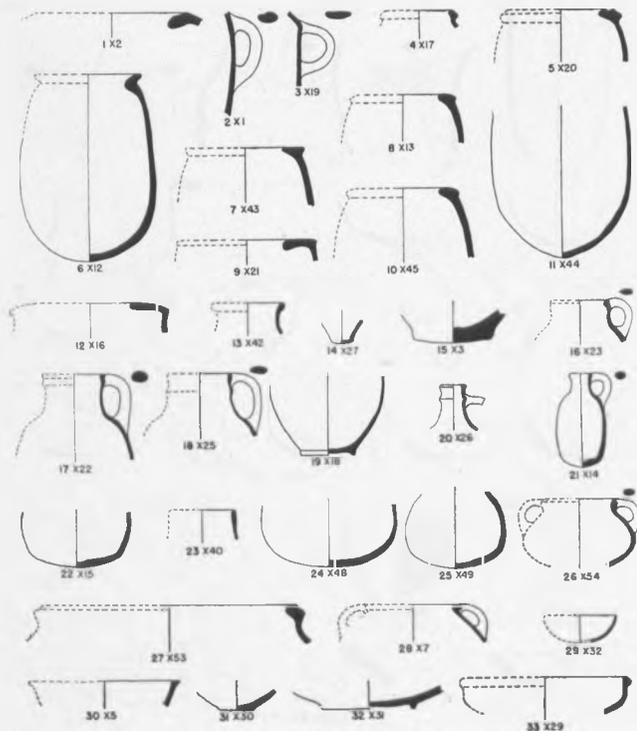
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CISTERN 320



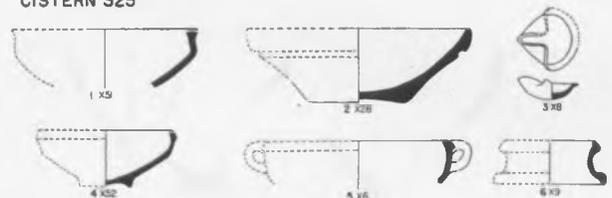
C

CISTERN 325



D

CISTERN 325



SIL0 348

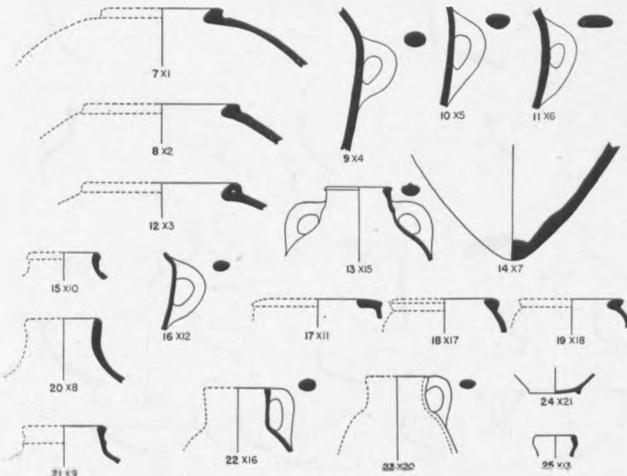


FIG. 27

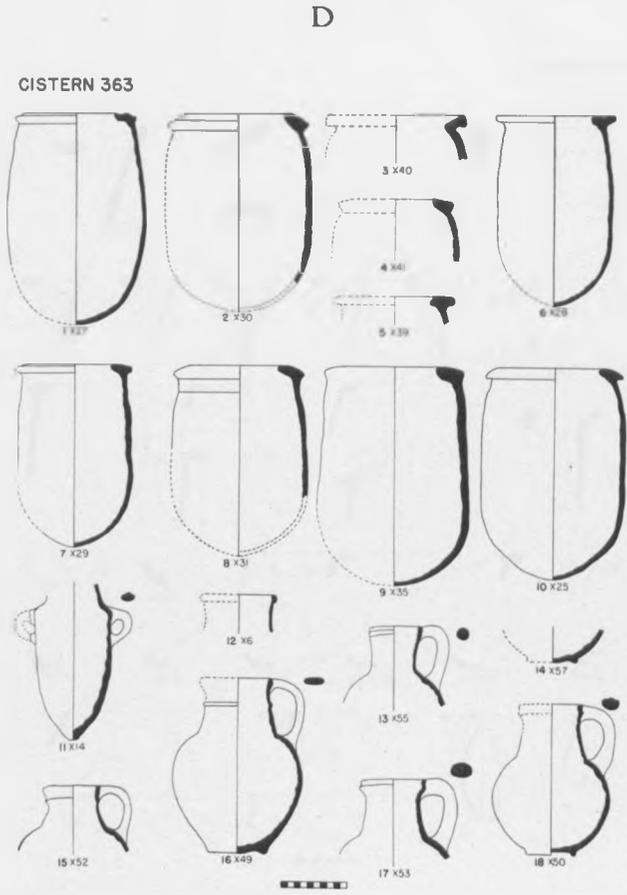
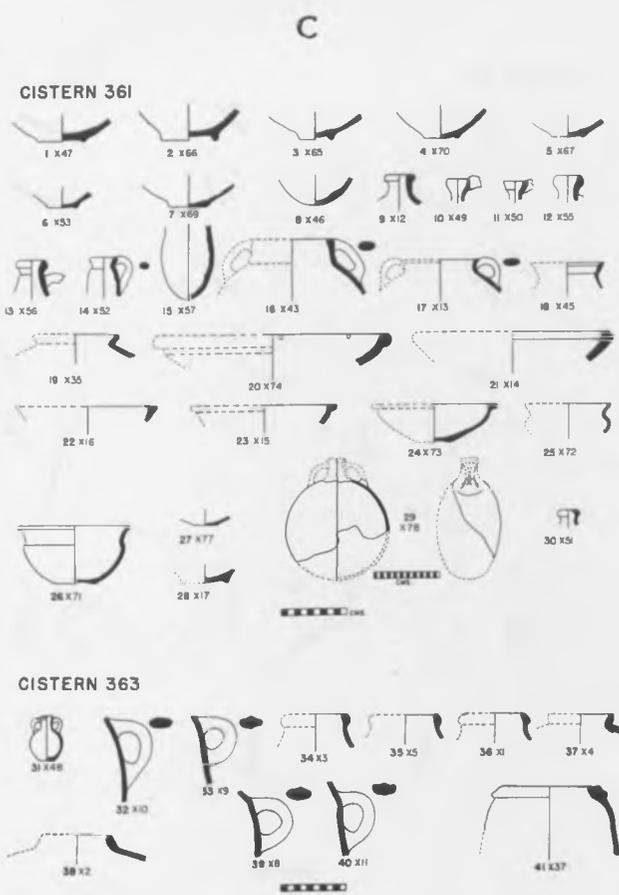
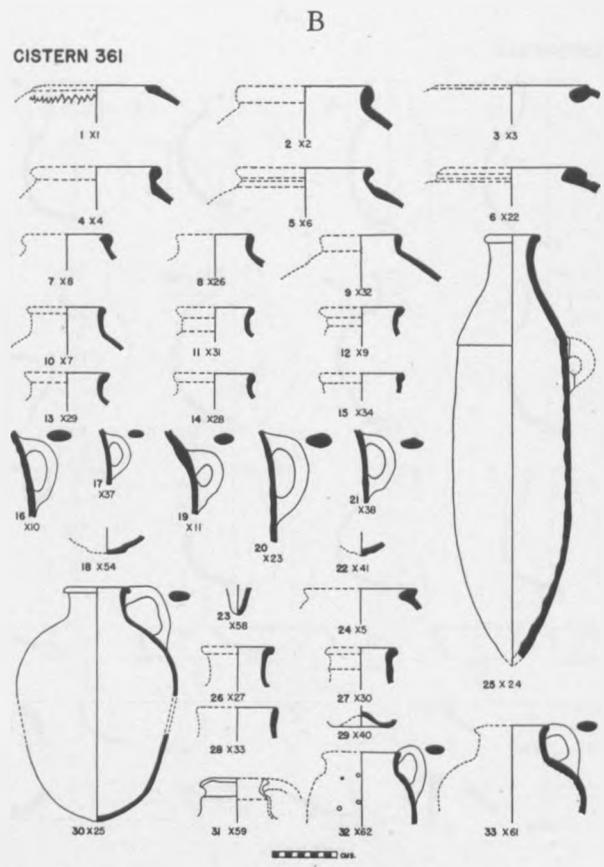
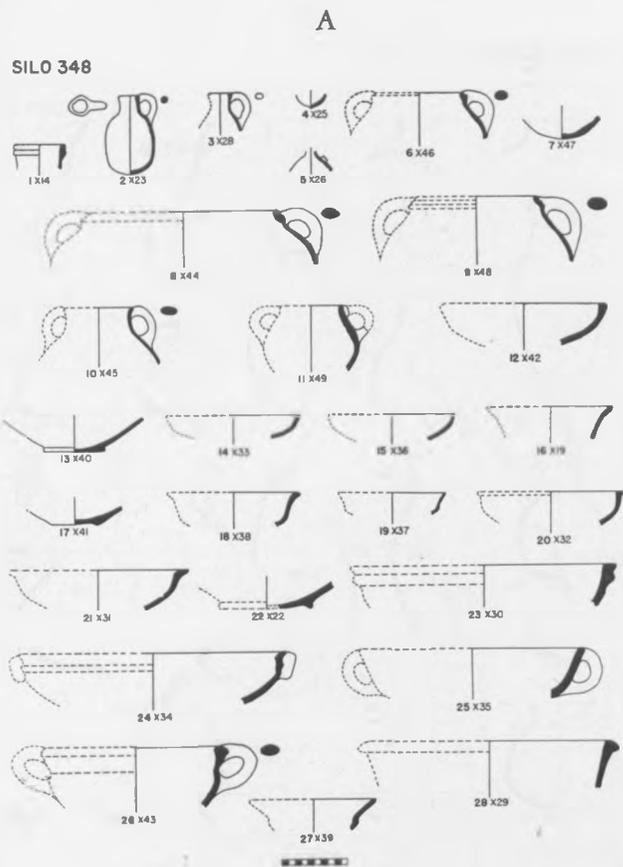


FIG. 28

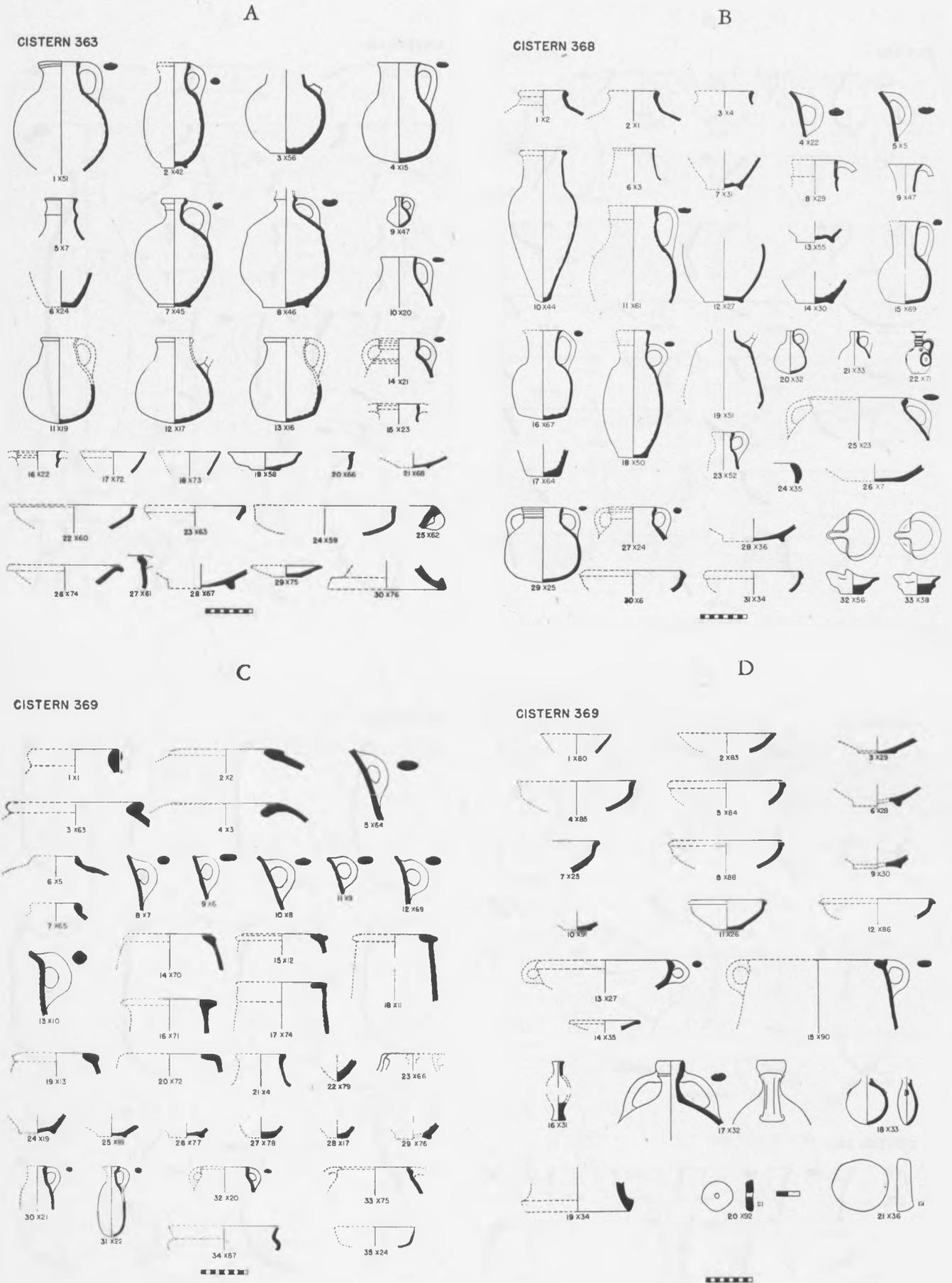


FIG. 29

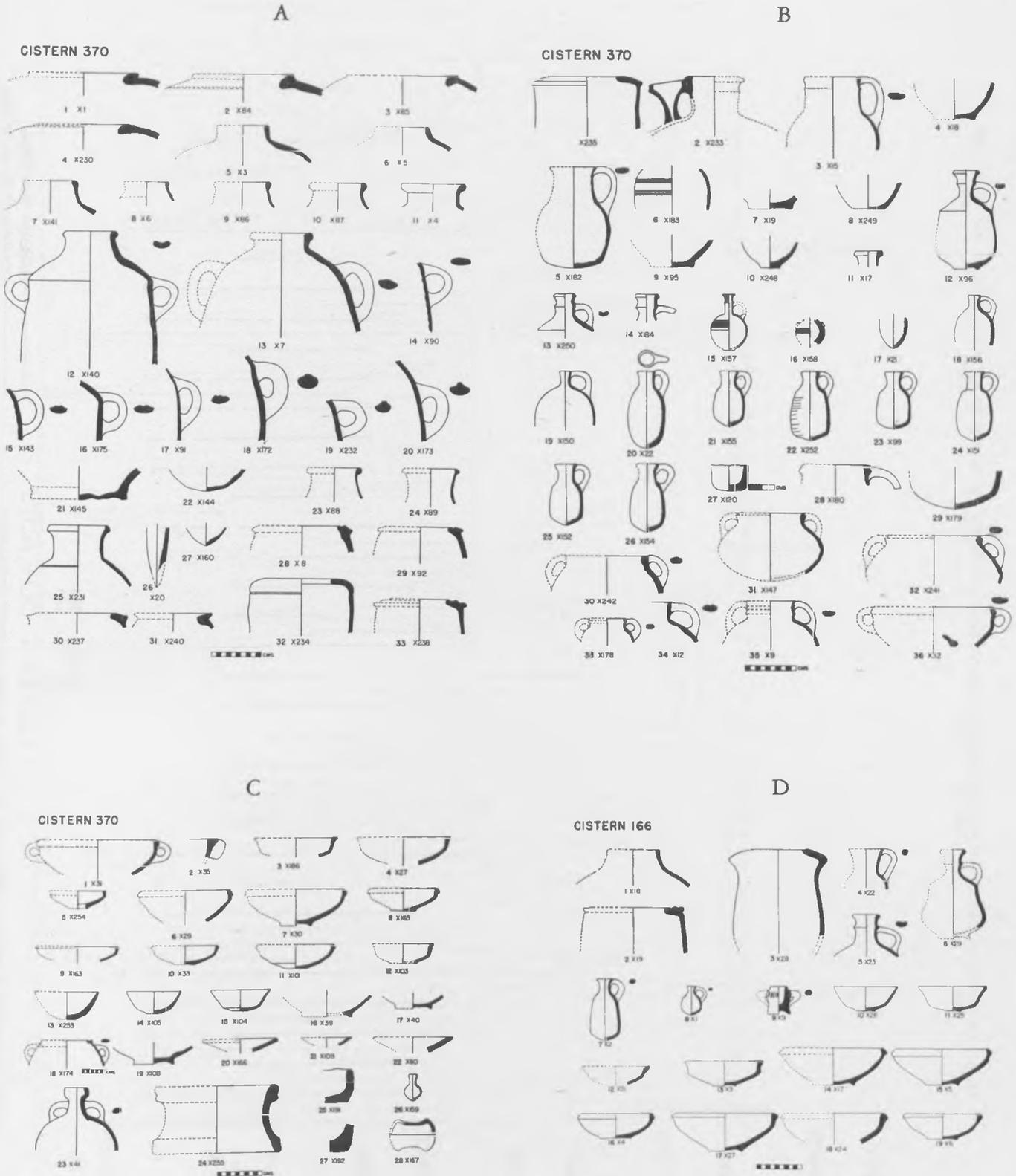


FIG. 30

X1 X2 X7 X8 X19 X20 X21 X27 X30 X37 X57 X25 X31 X62 X24 X28 X30 X32 X64 X65 X29 X33 X36 X66 X3 X67 X34 X9 X10 X11 X12 X60 X22 X26
 X56 X59 X58 X63 X35? X68 X61

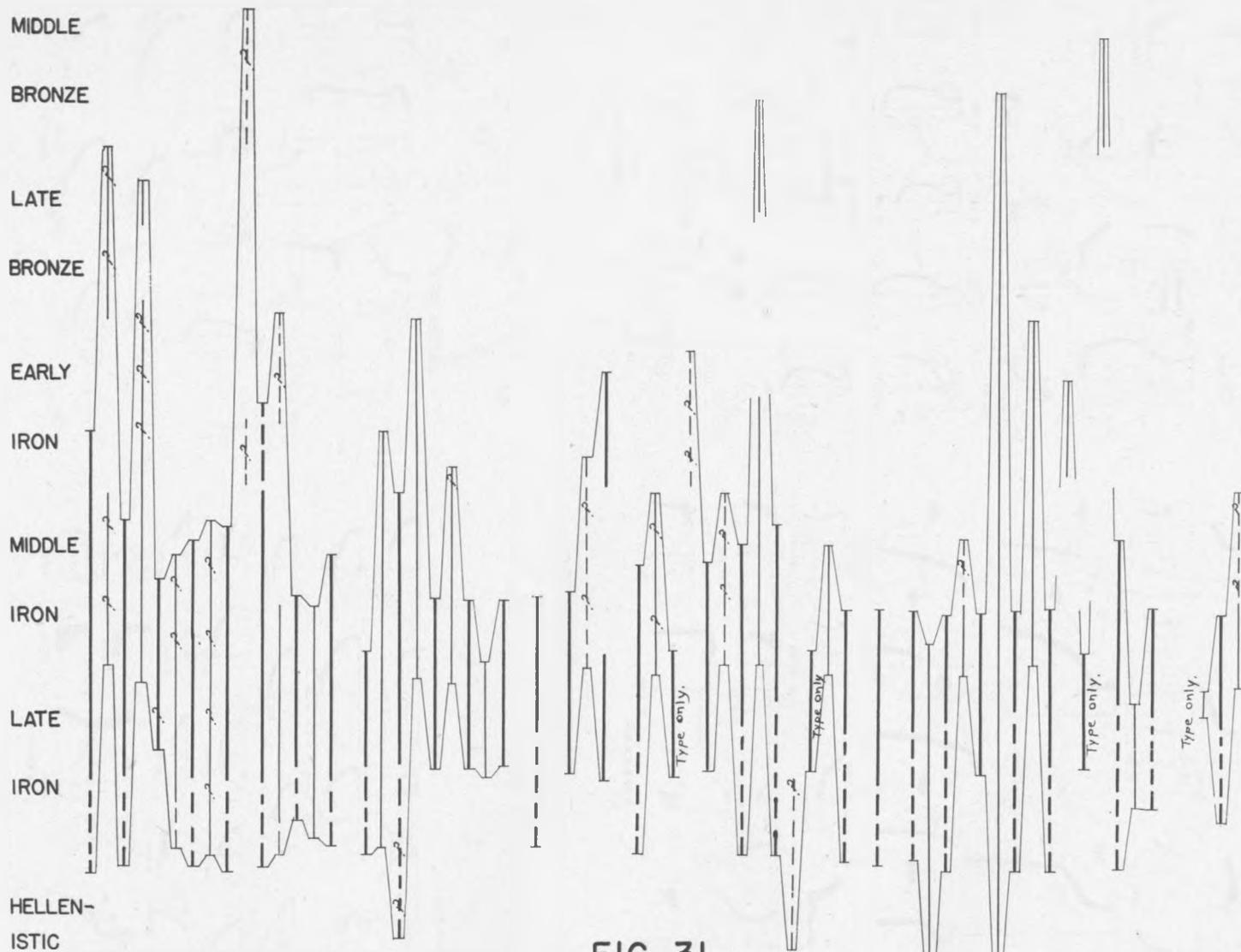


FIG. 31
 CISTERN 304, AB19

CHART OF CHRONOLOGICAL SPREAD OF POTTERY FORMS; IN PART ESTIMATED.
 THE TYPING OF CERTAIN X-NUMBERS WAS QUESTIONABLE AS WAS ALSO SOME NASBEH AND OTHER COMPARATIVE MATERIAL.

————— NASBEH MATERIAL
 - - - - - COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

X1 X2 X3 X4 X22 X7 X8 X9 X10 X11 X23 X24 X26 X28 X29 X31 X32 X34 X38 X41 X54 X5 X27 X30 X58 X25 X40 X33 X58 X61 X62 X66 X67 X70 X12 X46 X47 X48 X49 X50 X52 X55 X56 X69 X53 X57 X13 X35 X42 X45 X14 X15 X16 X17 X71 X72 X73 X74 X77 X51 X78
 X67 X36 X39 X37 X60 X63 X64 X68 X56 X44 X43

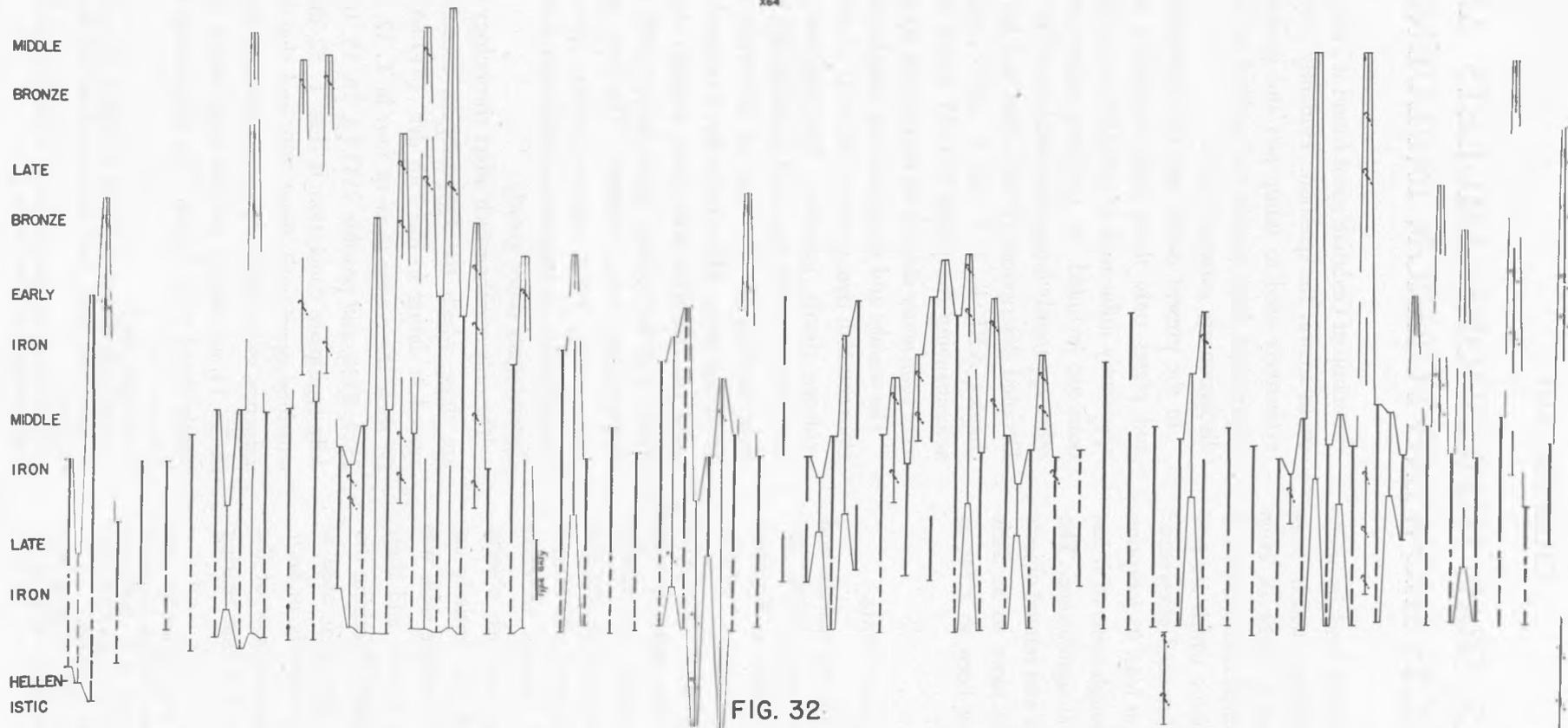


FIG. 32
 CISTERN 361, AC16

CHART OF CHRONOLOGICAL SPREAD OF POTTERY FORMS; IN PART ESTIMATED. ———— NASBEH MATERIAL ———— COMPARATIVE MATERIAL
 THE TYPING OF CERTAIN X-NUMBERS WAS QUESTIONABLE AS WAS ALSO SOME NASBEH AND OTHER COMPARATIVE MATERIAL.

X4 X5 X6 X7 X8 X9 X10 X11 X12 X13 X14 X15 X16 X17 X18 X19 X20 X21 X22 X23 X24 X25 X26 X27 X28 X29 X30 X31 X32 X33 X34 X35 X36 X37 X38 X39 X40 X41 X42 X43 X44 X45 X46 X47 X48 X49 X50 X51 X52 X53 X54 X55 X56 X57 X58 X59 X60 X61 X62 X63 X64 X65 X66 X67 X68 X69 X70 X71 X72 X73 X74 X75 X76 X77 X78 X79 X80 X81 X82 X83 X84 X85 X86 X87 X88 X89 X90 X91 X92 X93 X94 X95 X96 X97 X98 X99 X100 X101 X102 X103 X104 X105 X106 X107 X108 X109 X110 X111 X112 X113 X114 X115 X116 X117 X118 X119 X120 X121 X122 X123 X124 X125 X126 X127 X128 X129 X130 X131 X132 X133 X134 X135 X136 X137 X138 X139 X140 X141 X142 X143 X144 X145 X146 X147 X148 X149 X150 X151 X152 X153 X154 X155 X156 X157 X158 X159 X160 X161 X162 X163 X164 X165 X166 X167 X168 X169 X170 X171 X172 X173 X174 X175 X176 X177 X178 X179 X180 X181 X182 X183 X184 X185 X186 X187 X188 X189 X190 X191 X192 X193 X194 X195 X196 X197 X198 X199 X200 X201 X202 X203 X204 X205 X206 X207 X208 X209 X210 X211 X212 X213 X214 X215 X216 X217 X218 X219 X220 X221 X222 X223 X224 X225 X226 X227 X228 X229 X230 X231 X232 X233 X234 X235 X236 X237 X238 X239 X240 X241 X242 X243 X244 X245 X246 X247 X248 X249 X250 X251 X252 X253 X254 X255 X256 X257 X258 X259 X260 X261 X262 X263 X264 X265 X266 X267 X268 X269 X270 X271 X272 X273 X274 X275 X276 X277 X278 X279 X280 X281 X282 X283 X284 X285 X286 X287 X288 X289 X290 X291 X292 X293 X294 X295 X296 X297 X298 X299 X300 X301 X302 X303 X304 X305 X306 X307 X308 X309 X310 X311 X312 X313 X314 X315 X316 X317 X318 X319 X320 X321 X322 X323 X324 X325 X326 X327 X328 X329 X330 X331 X332 X333 X334 X335 X336 X337 X338 X339 X340 X341 X342 X343 X344 X345 X346 X347 X348 X349 X350 X351 X352 X353 X354 X355 X356 X357 X358 X359 X360 X361 X362 X363 X364 X365 X366 X367 X368 X369 X370 X371 X372 X373 X374 X375 X376 X377 X378 X379 X380 X381 X382 X383 X384 X385 X386 X387 X388 X389 X390 X391 X392 X393 X394 X395 X396 X397 X398 X399 X400 X401 X402 X403 X404 X405 X406 X407 X408 X409 X410 X411 X412 X413 X414 X415 X416 X417 X418 X419 X420 X421 X422 X423 X424 X425 X426 X427 X428 X429 X430 X431 X432 X433 X434 X435 X436 X437 X438 X439 X440 X441 X442 X443 X444 X445 X446 X447 X448 X449 X450 X451 X452 X453 X454 X455 X456 X457 X458 X459 X460 X461 X462 X463 X464 X465 X466 X467 X468 X469 X470 X471 X472 X473 X474 X475 X476 X477 X478 X479 X480 X481 X482 X483 X484 X485 X486 X487 X488 X489 X490 X491 X492 X493 X494 X495 X496 X497 X498 X499 X500 X501 X502 X503 X504 X505 X506 X507 X508 X509 X510 X511 X512 X513 X514 X515 X516 X517 X518 X519 X520 X521 X522 X523 X524 X525 X526 X527 X528 X529 X530 X531 X532 X533 X534 X535 X536 X537 X538 X539 X540 X541 X542 X543 X544 X545 X546 X547 X548 X549 X550 X551 X552 X553 X554 X555 X556 X557 X558 X559 X560 X561 X562 X563 X564 X565 X566 X567 X568 X569 X570 X571 X572 X573 X574 X575 X576 X577 X578 X579 X580 X581 X582 X583 X584 X585 X586 X587 X588 X589 X590 X591 X592 X593 X594 X595 X596 X597 X598 X599 X600 X601 X602 X603 X604 X605 X606 X607 X608 X609 X610 X611 X612 X613 X614 X615 X616 X617 X618 X619 X620 X621 X622 X623 X624 X625 X626 X627 X628 X629 X630 X631 X632 X633 X634 X635 X636 X637 X638 X639 X640 X641 X642 X643 X644 X645 X646 X647 X648 X649 X650 X651 X652 X653 X654 X655 X656 X657 X658 X659 X660 X661 X662 X663 X664 X665 X666 X667 X668 X669 X670 X671 X672 X673 X674 X675 X676 X677 X678 X679 X680 X681 X682 X683 X684 X685 X686 X687 X688 X689 X690 X691 X692 X693 X694 X695 X696 X697 X698 X699 X700 X701 X702 X703 X704 X705 X706 X707 X708 X709 X710 X711 X712 X713 X714 X715 X716 X717 X718 X719 X720 X721 X722 X723 X724 X725 X726 X727 X728 X729 X730 X731 X732 X733 X734 X735 X736 X737 X738 X739 X740 X741 X742 X743 X744 X745 X746 X747 X748 X749 X750 X751 X752 X753 X754 X755 X756 X757 X758 X759 X760 X761 X762 X763 X764 X765 X766 X767 X768 X769 X770 X771 X772 X773 X774 X775 X776 X777 X778 X779 X780 X781 X782 X783 X784 X785 X786 X787 X788 X789 X790 X791 X792 X793 X794 X795 X796 X797 X798 X799 X800 X801 X802 X803 X804 X805 X806 X807 X808 X809 X810 X811 X812 X813 X814 X815 X816 X817 X818 X819 X820 X821 X822 X823 X824 X825 X826 X827 X828 X829 X830 X831 X832 X833 X834 X835 X836 X837 X838 X839 X840 X841 X842 X843 X844 X845 X846 X847 X848 X849 X850 X851 X852 X853 X854 X855 X856 X857 X858 X859 X860 X861 X862 X863 X864 X865 X866 X867 X868 X869 X870 X871 X872 X873 X874 X875 X876 X877 X878 X879 X880 X881 X882 X883 X884 X885 X886 X887 X888 X889 X890 X891 X892 X893 X894 X895 X896 X897 X898 X899 X900 X901 X902 X903 X904 X905 X906 X907 X908 X909 X910 X911 X912 X913 X914 X915 X916 X917 X918 X919 X920 X921 X922 X923 X924 X925 X926 X927 X928 X929 X930 X931 X932 X933 X934 X935 X936 X937 X938 X939 X940 X941 X942 X943 X944 X945 X946 X947 X948 X949 X950 X951 X952 X953 X954 X955 X956 X957 X958 X959 X960 X961 X962 X963 X964 X965 X966 X967 X968 X969 X970 X971 X972 X973 X974 X975 X976 X977 X978 X979 X980 X981 X982 X983 X984 X985 X986 X987 X988 X989 X990 X991 X992 X993 X994 X995 X996 X997 X998 X999 X1000

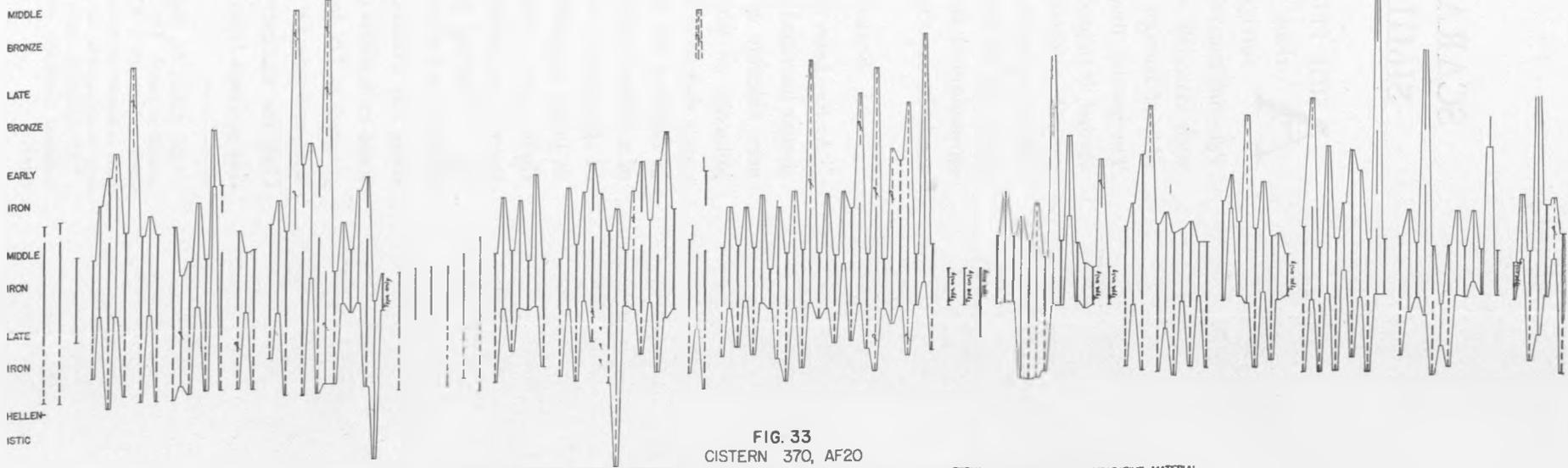


FIG. 33
 CISTERN 370, AF20

CHART OF CHRONOLOGICAL SPREAD OF POTTERY FORMS; IN PART ESTIMATED. ———— NASBEH MATERIAL ———— COMPARATIVE MATERIAL
 THE TYPING OF CERTAIN X-NUMBERS WAS QUESTIONABLE AS WAS ALSO SOME NASBEH AND OTHER COMPARATIVE MATERIAL.

CHAPTER XIII

SCARABS, SEALS, SEAL IMPRESSIONS, AMULETS AND SIMILAR OBJECTS SHOWING FOREIGN INFLUENCE¹

ASIDE FROM imported pottery and its imitations, a variety of objects which show foreign influence come to light in every Palestine excavation. Rigid and final classification of such materials is not possible. Some which are possibly of foreign derivation are discussed elsewhere.² The jewelry, much of which has at least its inception abroad, is treated in Part III although some of it has not only cultural but chronological significance. The cultural significance of the scarabs and related objects must also be borne in mind, the more so as their chronological significance has not been so great as would be expected.

I. SCARABS, SCARABOIDS, AND SEALS

As has been indicated elsewhere, the scarabs and similar inscribed seals and amulets found at TN have been valuable as indicating the extent of Egyptian influence on provincial Hebrew culture. Unfortunately they have not proved to be of great importance in defining the chronology since the majority were of a debased sort probably locally made. The number of specimens which were blank surely indicates that in Judea, probably in Jerusalem, if not in TN itself, there were artisans who would attempt to carve legends or symbols of some kind on such objects. One in faience (no. 60, M 1469) was entirely unmarked on base and back. Only from the sides was there any evidence that it was a scarab, and there some indications of the legs appeared. Nothing discovered at TN indicates how far they were used as seals and how far they were purely amulets, or both. Only the discovery of papyrus documents or of the clay sealings from such documents, like that bearing

the stamp of Gedaliah's seal found at Tell ed-Duweir, could answer the question. Evidently they were not extensively used to stamp jars and jar handles, for impressions from scarabs and seals of the kind under discussion are extremely rare.³

In the present notice and the corresponding lists and plates only those seals or objects which are apparently influenced by non-Hebrew cultural traditions are included. In the later section on jewelry other apparently indigenous amulets will be included. Detailed descriptions of the latter will be found in chapter XXI, ii, 1, 8; iii, 3, and of the former accompanying the plates (54,55) where those that were sufficiently clear to be reproduced are pictured.⁴

The scarabs and scaraboids are unanimously dated from the 18th dyn. or later. Since, as all the ceramic evidence clearly indicates, TN was not occupied until after the 19th dyn., and since scarabs, especially those bearing the cartouche of Thutmose III, with his throne name, Men-kheper-Re, were used and imitated for centuries after their original date, those which may have been made before 1200 have no chronological value whatever. The exact dating of such scarabs, which depends solely upon stylistic considerations, is a matter of uncertainty, upon which Egyptologists differ greatly.

The only scarabs which affect chronology seriously are those which the Egyptologists consulted have agreed in dating in the 25th dyn. (712-663 B. C.). Of these there were three or four in T. 32, M 2317, 2325, 2330, and possibly 2331 [3, 10, 15, 16].⁵ The only legitimate conclusion is that T. 32 must have remained open until about 700, and that Egyptian influence must have continued down to that time. In T. 54 no objects of this kind which could be closely dated were found. The two scarabs of T. 5

¹ Dr. Robert M. Engberg prepared the study upon which this account is based. Dr. Ludlow Bull has gone through the manuscript and Professor K. C. Seele through part of it. Both have made valuable corrections and suggestions. None of the three however, is responsible for the final form of the discussion.

² All alphabetic material is placed in chap. XIV, including some enigmatic characters and Greek inscriptions (chap. XIV, v, 7; vii-ix).

³ See below, sec. v.

⁴ In the lists those marked with an asterisk are reproduced in the plates and, aside from exceptions noted, in the indicated succession.

⁵ Figures in square brackets refer to the serial numbers in the list in the description of plates 54 and 55.

(M 1331, 1332 [42, 43]), which were among the finest discovered, are variously judged but the dates given do not contradict the other evidence. On the mound only one was found to which a date has been ventured. M 1200 [57] is placed in the 19th dyn. or later, possibly *ca.* 1000.

It will be noted that the workmanship on the artifacts varies greatly. In practically not one case are the hieroglyphs correctly written. On a very few of the scarabs the carving is exquisite, but the number of this kind is very small. The rounded or conical stamp seals, on the other hand, present the crudest figures possible with no single case to redeem them except possibly the indistinct figure on the probably late seal (no. 49) from T. 3. Unfortunately it is too lightly cut to allow definite judgment as to the artisan's skill.

Two unique pieces deserve notice. One found on the tell (M 724, [53]) is a scaraboid with a well-cut negro's head on the back, a well-known Egyptian type. The base, by way of contrast, has one of the crudest and most unintelligible designs of any. It is further evidence that such objects were imported in blank for a local inscription. Another unusual piece comes from T. 32 (M. 2306 [34]). It is well shaped, like a stela with rounded top. The figure on the back in relief has been elaborately but inartistically carved to represent possibly a bearded goat. On the other side, incised in clear, bold, but crude strokes, is a kneeling or reclining animal with enormous ears and with a human figure standing on its back. The contrast between the techniques employed on the two sides is striking. At the other extreme are such seals as M 2305 (T. 32 [33]) and M 2842 (Mound [61]). The first is a small button seal of stone with a more or less central dot sur-

rounded by eight more in an irregular circle, all lightly incised. The second is a great truncated pyramid of limestone with a crude and deeply cut rectangular grid on the base. Another peculiar piece is the irregular bit of bone (M 2307 [35]) from T. 32 with hitherto unidentified characters carved on one side. The Hebraist thinks the Egyptologist should interpret it; the Egyptologist believes the characters to be Hebrew. Turned vertically the large central character could be the hieroglyphic *men*, horizontally Hebrew *hē*. A jar stopper with characters that are in part similar appeared at Gezer (*Gezer* II, 221, III, pl. 191: 19). On the Samaria ostraca a similar L-shaped character is usually interpreted as the number "5."

The carving on the scarabs has no artistic interest, but as illustrating Hebrew culture and cultural connections, deserves a brief notice.⁶ Distinct carving on the sides to represent the legs (Rowe's Sides 26, 27) appears on 6 specimens out of the 21 available. The blank, M 1469 [60], approaches this type (Side 24?). In 4 more (Sides 7, 23, 31) there is some effort to display the legs. Seven have two lines running around the oval (Sides 39, 40, 42). One has one line (M 2319 [5]), and one (M 2322 [7]) has none (Side 44).

As to the elytra (E) and prothorax (P), two have no markings (EP 1), three have very simple markings at the "shoulder" (EP 3, 5, 16). One of these, M 2320 [6], has only two short and delicate spirals running in the opposite direction from those in Rowe's EP 16 (like EP 76). The remainder have stylized forms of little complexity. The head and clypeus are almost naturalistic in M 2312 ([1] EP 10?). M 2313 [2], at the opposite extreme, represents the height of stylization. A mere triangle stands

⁶ See the accompanying list for the various types in Rowe's classification. HC stands for head and clypeus types, EP for elytra and prothorax. See p. 294.

List Number	Museum Number	Rowe's Number	HC	EP	Side	List Number	Museum Number	Rowe's Number	HC	EP	Side
1	2312		10(?)	109	26/27	13	2328		14	53	40
2	2313		71/72	1	40	14	2329		50	110	26/27
3	2317	876	5	25	39	15	2330	878	14	32	27
4	2318		25	3	40	16	2331	879	11	27	26
5	2319		17/66	27	?	42	1331		6	35	26
6	2320		25	16?	23	43	1332		71(?)	45	40
7	2322	853	79	128	44	44	2639 in Pal. Mus.; not in Rowe				
8	2323	701	66	1	31	55	828		71(?)	27	40
9	2324	503	51	35	7	57	1200	783	11	43	22
10	2325	877	9	27	31	60	1469 base, back, and head uncut				24(?)
11	2326		17	114	42	66	1206		?	?	?
12	2327		34	5	26/27	74	606 in Pal Mus.; not in Rowe				

for the head and no clypeus appears. The rudely and deeply carved specimen, M 2319 [5], shows the same characteristics in all its parts.

M 1206 [66], a beautiful oval of hematite, fits into none of Rowe's classifications. However, an attempt has been made to represent the back of a scarab by various lines boldly and evenly cut, and two lines run around the sides as in such side types as 39-42, but they are widely separated.⁷ The use of the drill on the base produced a unique piece [66]. Dr. Engberg has noted this technique on a part of one other piece, a scaraboid (M 733) also found on the mound [52].

A comparison of the items included in this discussion from the standpoint of the loci of their discovery discloses some interesting contrasts. By far the

steatite with hieroglyphics on both sides. M 1200, one of the finest scarabs found, has simple but effective carving.

II. CYLINDER SEAL

The one cylinder seal (M 2647, pl. 55: 48) found at TN came from T. 54, which, otherwise, had almost no such items. The two stamp seals, or beads, in the tomb, were of a very different character. One had two or three puzzling marks, the other two extremely crude figures, one with two arms and two legs, the other a horned creature with three legs (pl. 54: 47). The cylinder seal is artistically better than many which have been found in Palestine and elsewhere. It measures *ca.* 29 mm. in length and 13 mm. in diameter and carries a series of eight almost identical

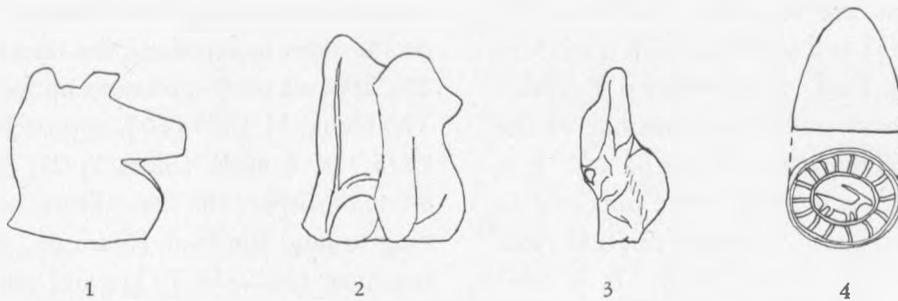


FIG. 34. EGYPTIAN AMULETS AND SEAL

largest number (41) came from T. 32, but two of the most delicate specimens appeared in T. 5. In T. 54 were 5 items, but none were of value except the cylinder seal, which renders that tomb unique, for no other was found by the expedition. One each came from Ts. 3 and 4, making a total of 50 out of 79 which were found in tombs.

The loci of discovery of the 29 found on the mound are well scattered throughout the area where dwellings or silos remained. None, however, seem to have come from the largest buildings where, presumably, the rich resided. Seven were found in bins, silos, caves, or cisterns. Only M 724, 828, 1200, 1746, and 606 [53, 55, 57, 65, and 74] have interest, and M 606 and 828 are not unusual. M 724 is the scaraboid with the negro head which has been mentioned above. M 1746 is a rectangular piece of

bearded figures, facing left, the arms apparently raised in prayer.

The conical cap with a falling flap or cowl behind is something like that on figures 329 and 333 in the Newell collection, and that on the second and fourth figures standing before the king on the Aḥiram sarcophagus. The small globe, or ball, may be only "fill motive."⁸

III. A CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTION

One of the most interesting—and most puzzling—discoveries of the expedition was made in Berkeley by Mr. William Badè in August, 1942, when cleaning some supposedly unimportant metal fragments in the work rooms of the Palestine Institute. A portion of a heavily encrusted circlet (?) of bronze,

⁷ The classification of the specimens in Berkeley has been tentatively made by the writer.

⁸ H. H. von der Osten, *Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mr. Edward T. Newell* (Chicago, 1934), 134, 148, pl. 23. P. Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte* (Paris, 1928), 230, pls. 130, 132.

after a hot bath in caustic soda and zinc, came out clean with a remarkably clear-cut cuneiform inscription. Practically no corrosion remained.

The fragment is a flat piece of bronze 1-1.5 mm. thick, and 11 mm. wide, curving on an outside diameter of 15.5-16 cm.⁹ Almost exactly one third of a complete circle is preserved. It is broken at each end in the midst of a cuneiform character. It shows no sign or means of attachment to anything else. The edges are perfectly smooth and there are no holes or dowels. Any means of attachment must have been by another part of the piece or perhaps by sewing.

As soon as photographs could be taken, they were sent to W. F. Albright, George Cameron, and A. Sachs. Their initial studies, made without consultation among themselves, were then shared among them and they have since had mutual correspondence. Their first readings were much the same as their later conclusions which, because of the inscription's unique character, are herewith summarized at some length. However, it should be remembered that all of the opinions given were hastily and informally written and represent tentative rather than final opinions.

W. F. Albright:

I should reconstruct the entire text *provisionally* thus: [ana¹ . . . bēli-šu^m]A-ia-da-a-ra šar kiššati ana balāt napišti (ŠI = ZI in EME-SAL)-šu [u] [napišti iqīš] = ['To god , his lord,] Ayadāra king of the world, for the preservation of his life and [the life of vowed (this)'].¹⁰ This reconstruction would allow for about 30-35 characters. It is by no means impossible that we do not have the beginning of the name.

The whole thing is very strange indeed. The script is good lapidary Neo-Babylonian, but might date almost anywhere from the tenth century to the sixth. The title *šar kiššati* is written in exactly the same way in scores of Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions from the ninth to the seventh century (as well as earlier). Several Cossaeon kings of Babylonia used the title in their *kudurru* inscriptions, though with a different ideographic writing, but other kings of Babylonia do not seem to have used the title, although it recurs as a title of Cyrus in the famous cylinder. There is no reason why it may not have been assumed by a very minor ruler if he wished. The name and script point to

⁹ See pl. 55: 80. Dr. A. Sachs suggests that it may have been a half or otherwise incomplete circle and may have been used as an inlay on a statue.

¹⁰ For the formula cf. especially Langdon, *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften*, p. 202 f., No. 38, a and c (votive inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar II).

Media, since *dāra* is common at the end of early Iranian names in the sense "possessing" (Justi, p. 491) and since we already have more than one Median inscription in the same script. The best illustration is furnished by a cuneiform patent on bronze, issued by a Median prince, king of Abdadana in southwestern Media, about the ninth century B. C.¹¹ One wonders whether the circlet was not made in Luristan, ancient southwestern Media, where so many peculiar bronzes of the same general age have been found. Curiously enough, my tentative reconstruction allows for just three times as many characters (guessed, of course) as are on the circlet. A date about the tenth or ninth century is perhaps as possible as one in the eighth or seventh; lower I should not care to go I shall not be particularly surprised if my rendering is wrong, since the second half of the extant text is ambiguous (e. g., at my first glance I read *ra-man-šu*, 'himself,' in the middle, a reading which cannot be disproved except by the context). The following upright wedge could be the name-determinative, followed by a name such as *Tin* (*TIN* = *balātu* and *tin*)-*ši-šu*, but such a name is almost incredible.

George Cameron:

After mentioning the variety of possible readings, both phonetically and ideographically, Dr. Cameron decides for the ideographic alternatives and continues:

The preserved signs on your bronze are perfectly clear and belong without much question to the *Neo-Babylonian* period. The forms of the *ia*, *da*, and *ra* are visible proof, but this is the only conclusion which can at present be safely made. For, without additional context, it is now impossible to tell where the inscription began and—quite literally—where almost any one word began or ended.

In the center is the probably correct *šarri-šu* 'his king,' or (less probably, if the inscription was actually composed in Palestine,) *šar kiššati* 'king of totality,' followed by *ana balāti* 'for the life of.' The most natural assumption is that we have here a dedicatory inscription either to X 'his king' or to X 'the king of totality for the life of Y,' the dedicator. Whatever precedes *šarru*, 'king,' should then be a royal name or a part of it. But what name ends in *ia-da-a-ra*? The sign before *ia* could be a complete *a*, so that we would have, as the (last?) part of the name, *a-ia-da-a-ra*—i. e. 𐎶 or 𐎶𐎵 or 𐎶𐎵𐎶 (in the Neo-Babylonian period final vowels are admissible). But, what comes after *ana balāti* 'for the life of'? I think we should read '[To . . .]-a?-ia-da-a-ra, his king, for the life of'; usually the name of the dedicator would follow, but this would be preceded by the personal name determinative, which is not, however, on the bronze.

¹¹ Herzfeld, *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 9 (1938), 159 ff.; the photo on pl. 1 after p. 177 shows striking resemblance in the way wedges are made, and two or three characters have essentially identical aberrant forms, though the script as a whole is different.

A. Sachs:

Dr. Sachs made a careful comparison of the signs of the TN inscription with Babylonian forms in C. Fossey, *Manuel d'Assyriologie* II (Paris, 1926). Taking the "two critical signs" DA, the third, and RA, the fifth from the left, he found DA paralleled in Fossey, no. 22,135 (668-648 B. C.) and RA in Fossey no. 20,626 (722-711 B. C.), no. 20, 635 (722-706 B. C.), nos. 20,636, 20,641, 20,644 (681-669 B. C.), and no. 20,650 (668-648 B. C.). He continues:

The above evidence accordingly points to an approximate date between the end of the 8th and the middle of the 7th century B. C., with a higher probability for the latter estimate. Although I am personally rather impressed with the above-given paleographical evidence, I think it should be strongly emphasized that the TN inscription is probably of provincial origin and should therefore be approached with caution; it should also be admitted that our knowledge of Mesopotamian glyptic writing as reflected in the current reference books is quite spotty. If the archeological evidence is in any way encouraging to the approximate date which I have ventured to offer above, I should consider the date certain. Incidentally, note that all the sign-forms which have been compared with those of the TN inscription are from inscriptions written in Babylonian, not Assyrian.

The fact that the preserved portion of the TN inscription is so short makes me feel fairly discouraged with the proposals for interpretation which I offer below. Indeed, I should not be very surprised if I had missed the main point altogether. Be that as it may, here are the various interpretations which occur to me:] *a-ia-da-a-ra šarri-šú ana balāt napīšti-šú*. [. This could be part of an inscription which originally read something like: '[To . . .] aia-dāra, his king, for his life, [So-and-so has dedicated this object.]' This at present looks like the best analysis of all those which occur to me. The alternative readings are based on the following different readings. The first preserved sign, which I have read *a*, can theoretically also be read [ka]r; this strikes me as not at all likely. I have no doubt at all about the reading of the next four signs, although *ia* theoretically also has the values *ii*, *ie*, and *iu*; and *da* can also be read *ta*. The next two signs can also be read *nīš-šú* or *man-šú*; if so, they must be joined to the preceding signs. The possibility that the two signs are to be read *šarri kiššati*, 'king of totality,' is in my opinion excluded by the fact that no king of the period indicated by the paleographical evidence cited above¹² who would have dared to bear this title had a name which could be read into the preceding signs. The next sign, which consists of a single vertical wedge, could theoretically indicate that the following signs form a personal name; but I do not see what the name could be. The sign which follows it I have taken to be the sign TIN with the reading *balāt*; the

sign could conceivably be *HI*, but I do not think that is very likely. The sign after TIN is attested¹³ with the value *napīštu*, and this permits the reading *balāt napīšti*, which is very common in dedicatory inscriptions. The usual sign for *napīštu* in this context is, it must be admitted, ZI—but this fact need not have much weight. There is no doubt about the reading of the next sign, *šú*. I cannot make out the exact number of wedges in the preserved part of the last sign of the inscription and therefore feel hesitant in hazarding a guess as to the reading. For the somewhat peculiar heads of the wedges in the TN inscription, I can refer you to several parallels, all from glyptic inscriptions.¹⁴

Later, after learning of the opinions of the other scholars, Dr. Cameron wrote:

I feel called upon to modify my earlier attribution of your inscription to the Neo-Babylonian period. It is very probable, it seems to me, that the dating on the basis of script alone would be between, let us say, the 10th and the 5th centuries B. C. The signs are almost identical with those found by Schmidt at Persepolis on eye stones, beads and the like—objects made either for royal or for private use in *Babylonia* and carried to Persepolis by one or the other Achaemenid—in which the phraseology also is quite similar. Nearly all date from the 6th-7th century.

In my opinion *-a-ia-da-a-ra* must be merely the end of the name; but I can cite no parallel (except that the king of Dor in Wenamon's time was *Beder*). The two immediately following signs can be read *šar kiššati*, 'king of totality,' though *šarri-šú*, 'his king' is in my opinion preferable. Albright's suggested value of ŠI as EME-SAL for ZI, 'life,' seems to me unlikely—not that the value itself is unlikely, but that in *this text* I would regard it as extremely so.

Later Dr. Albright wrote:

I agree entirely with the views of my colleagues about the date of the script. Dr. Sachs is inclined to attribute it to the late 8th or early 7th century. At present, after going over the data again, I incline toward his view, with extreme dates *ca.* 800-600 B. C.

If the inscription belongs to the 8th or 7th century the use of ŠI = *napīštu* is quite possible, since EME-SAL forms came into use again as learned embellishments. E. g., in the bilingual of Shamash-shum-ukîn king of Babylon (brother of Aššur-bân-apli), which dates from *ca.* 600 B. C., we have quite a number of EME-SAL forms, particularly *dim-me-er*, 'god,' *i-de*, 'eye,' and *ze-eb*, 'good' (for *dingir*, *igi* and *dug*, respectively). Our inscription certainly imitates Babylonian models—probably from the period 800-650 B. C.

¹³ Cf. A. Deimel, *Sumerisches Lexikon*, II, Band 3, p. 858, no. 449, 18.

¹⁴ Messerschmidt, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts* I ("Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft," XI, Leipzig, 1911), nos. 31 (pearl), 32 (pearl), 33 (pearl), 35 (pearl), 36 (pearl), 53 (lapis-lazuli), 54 (onyx); cf. also Meščaninov and Weidner, *Archiv für Orientforschung* VII (1932), 266 f.

¹² Cf., however, the contrasting view of Albright, but the similar view of Cameron.

The informal statements recorded above show general agreement as to date. All who have seen the photographs practically agree as to what the characters are, and that the inscription is a dedication or votive offering to some person or deity on behalf of some person whose name is lost.

In view of the fragmentary character of the inscription and of the fact that it was found in a land foreign to the language and to the script, in a most uncertain and completely unrelated archaeological context, it is not at all strange that unanimity of interpretation is wanting. Three possible readings are suggested:

- [To . . .] aiadāra, his king, for his life [So-and-so has dedicated this].
- [To . . .] aiadāra, his king for the life of Y [this has been presented].
- [To god . . . , his lord,] Ayadāra, king of the world, for (the preservation of) his life and [the life of . . . vowed this].

The first two renderings differ but slightly, as to the reading of the final sign, and as to length. To carry them, the piece would not necessarily have been a complete circlet but perhaps a half circle. The last would have demanded a complete circle. If either the first or the second is adopted, it would seem at least possible that the inscription was written in Palestine to honor some local potentate. If the more pretentious title is read, then it seems more probable that some Mesopotamian or even Persian ruler is intended and that the piece has by some chance been carried to Palestine from abroad.

At the time when they first determined the date, none of the Assyriologists was informed as to the archaeological context in which the circlet was found.¹⁵ The cistern, no. 166, had already been dated by Mr. Wampler in the late seventh century and later.¹⁶ There is, therefore, hardly sufficient discrepancy to force the conclusion that the bronze fragment is chronologically unrelated to the other contents even though it apparently was found near the top of the debris. The ceramic chronology in this period is far from dependable.

As all of the scholars who have so generously contributed to the discussion have said, the discovery of

such an inscription at Tell en-Naṣbeh, whatever the interpretation, is most remarkable. In particular, the expression, *šar kiššati*, "king of the world," on a bronze fragment in a cistern on a Palestinian hilltop that carried a small border fortress, is astonishing beyond expression. Is the piece part of a ceremonial garment or was it a votive offering placed in a sanctuary? Did some Babylonian emissary bring it to Palestine?

There was intercourse enough between the Tigris-Euphrates valley in the 8th, 7th, and 6th centuries. The visit of Babylonian ambassadors to Hezekiah (2 Kg 20. 12-21) is suggestive. If the inscription could be dated as late as the end of the 7th century or the beginning of the 6th, there would be no problem in the presence of a Neo-Babylonian inscription in Palestine. If it were as late as the end of the 6th century, the Median or Persian relationships which Dr. Cameron and Dr. Albright discover would be easily explained. However, we know too little of vast areas of ancient history to say dogmatically that Babylonian or even Median or Persian contacts with Palestine were not much more common than the preserved records indicate. In view of the date of the remains at TN it is hardly possible that a king of the first half of the second millennium could have left a relic there. The later the date, the more easily is the presence of such a piece explained. A date in the Persian period would be attractive. One about the middle of the 7th century, in the reign of the Assyrianizing Manasseh, or even in the 8th century when Ahaz brought the model of an altar from Damascus (2 Kg 16. 10-14) would be possible.

The extravagant title *šar kiššati*, "king of totality," or "king of the universe," still remains a stumbling block. If it is to be so read, it seems best explained on the basis of Dr. Albright's view that a minor potentate might use a phrase which by long use had lost its full significance. In that case the piece may have belonged to some prince who was leading a contingent of his own subjects in an Assyrian or Babylonian army. It is useless to try to imagine what accident could have left such a memento at TN.

IV. A SYRO-HITTITE STAMP

A conical impression made by some kind of seal on a rim fragment (M 1833) found in Silo 306B II in 1932 is unique (pl. 55: 81). The stamp resembles

¹⁵ Dr. Albright, of course, knew, as the others did not, the probable chronological limits, ca. 1200-400 B. C.

¹⁶ See chap. XII, i.

in outline and perhaps reproduces a very slender stela. It shows a human figure standing above an animal, probably a lion, which is striking over putative mountain tops. The figure's left hand holds something which falls toward the ground in two parts.¹⁷ The resemblance to a famous Hittite sculpture is striking and doubtless this is to be called a Syro-Hittite seal impression. It is probably a Palestinian imitation.¹⁸ As elsewhere in Palestine, there are thus some suggestions of Hittite influence in the TN stamps. The upturned ends of the wings in the

comparison with the scarabs and seals which have animal figures upon them. All are imperfectly impressed, so much so that photographs are impracticable. The drawings in fig. 35 are given for what they are worth. There were numerous other quite indistinct seal impressions some of which may have had animal figures. In view of the number of scarabs and seals found, it seems strange that there were not more impressions.

As to chronology little can be determined. The impression M 999 (no. 1) came from what was re-

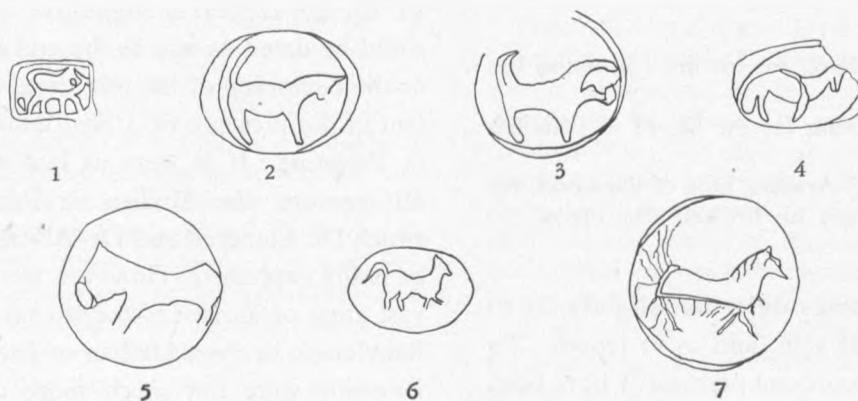


FIG. 35. ANIMAL SEAL IMPRESSIONS

sun disk stamps possibly indicate similar influence. The zigzag lines under the animal's feet distinguished this from Egyptian representations of Kadesh. Some such deity is doubtless intended.

V. SEAL IMPRESSIONS OF ANIMAL FIGURES

The seal impressions here included have little or no chronological value at the present time.¹⁹ Possibly, with the increase of precision in Palestinian chronology which should ensue upon further excavation and the more careful study of the materials now available, they will come to have dating value. They are included here, however, not so much for their possible future value, but rather for convenience of

garded as debris below str. i in square Q 18. With it were found a beetle *lemelekh* impression, scaraboid no. 56, and a fragment of Philistine ware (x48). These would give a date between 1050 and 700 at the least. R. 483, where M 2514 (no. 2) was found, belonged, according to the accompanying material, to the latter part of MI ii. M 1726 (no. 6) was found in the same square with the black-glazed Greek fragment no. 21 which dates near 400 B. C., a chance and possibly distant collocation which proves nothing at all. T. 167, in X 22 where no. 7 was found, may not have been a tomb at all, but rather a cave dwelling. Since it contained a mixture of pottery of various dates, it provides nothing of chronological value. The other fragments were found in undatable debris.

It is significant that the closest parallels to these animal stamps have been found at Jerusalem. None resembling nos. 6 and 7 are reproduced by Macalister, Duncan, or Crowfoot, but nos. 2 and 3 are of the same general appearance as some of the "lion

¹⁷ Cf. W. H. Ward, *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia* (Washington, 1910), 259 f., fig. 776; Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte u. Bilder* II, 2d ed. (Berlin and Leipzig, 1927), pls. 114: 270; 115: 271 f.; 116: 276; 132: 331; 137 f.: 337 f.; 125: 307, "Phoenician mountain god."

¹⁸ This is a suggestion of Dr. I. J. Gelb, given to me orally.

¹⁹ See fig. 35.

stamps" found by Macalister and Duncan.²⁰ Duncan hazards no date, since they were found in debris. He is inclined to regard the animal as the "lion of the tribe of Judah."

VI. RELIEFS

Certain fragments which are carved in relief, some apparently under the inspiration of foreign art, might have been included with jewelry and artistic products rather than with the scarabs, seals, and other sculptured objects. The purposes for which they were used is uncertain. Very probably they were cult objects, wands or scepters perhaps. They are placed here for comparison with other examples of carving

highest portion of the hill on the southeast. The pottery in the cistern seems to place it in MI ii.

2. The other comparable piece is a limestone rod with a quite indescribable combination of incised lines which make a strange medley of thoroughly "modernistic" patterns.²² It may be a fragment of a magician's wand. Its length is 79 mm. Since one end is carved, the other, which is broken off, probably was decorated also. It was found in R. 379 in square Y 23, along with a bronze bracelet, a fibula, a high-footed lamp, and other pottery which suggest a mixture of early and late materials, with a preponderance of pottery of the 6th cent.

As to the dates suggested for the greater part of

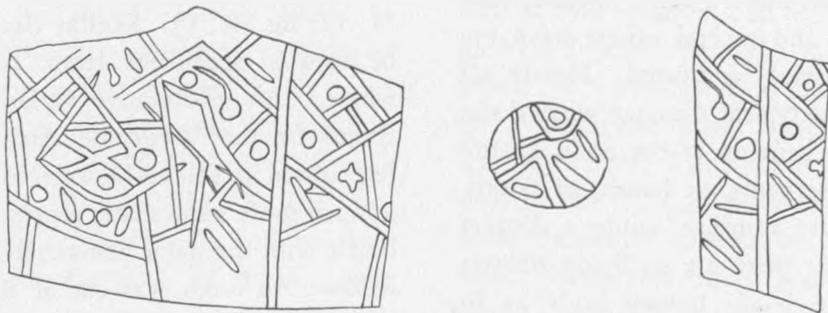


FIG. 36. LIMESTONE ROD WITH INCISED DECORATION

and because they (at least no. 1) suggest foreign influence.

1. The most striking is a broken piece of a large bone, cylindrical in shape, 97 mm. long and with a chord of *ca.* 43 mm., which preserved a really excellent bit of carving, as the photograph shows.²¹ The lifelike position of the tail and the hind limbs of the charging bull reveals an artist, even though his rendition is not perfect. The circular knobs projecting in the lower register suggest the lotus leaves of the cult objects discussed below, in Part III. The ovoid object under the bull and the fragment of another behind, both decorated with lozenges, may also have some sacred significance.

It was found in a cistern (Ci 36, AJ 24) near the

²⁰ Cf. Duncan, *Digging Up Biblical History II* (London, 1931), 142 f., pl. facing p. 140.

²¹ Pl. 55: 82 reproduces it practically full size.

the objects discussed in this chapter, a final caveat needs to be entered. The objects found in any locus except tombs are naturally those of the last occupation as a usual thing. This will be true even of tombs which have been wholly or partially cleared and re-used. Therefore the dates given for a structure on the basis of pottery or other artifacts discovered in it are as a rule the latest possible dates. Not all of the objects found in any locus will be of the late date. It is a *terminus ad quem*, sometimes a very indefinite one. Another reservation must also be explicitly mentioned: the dates given are in almost no case definitely determinable within 50 or 100 years, and in the nature of the case cannot be until much more excavation has been carried on, possibly not even then.

²² See pl. 55: 83 and fig. 36.

CHAPTER XIV

INSCRIBED MATERIAL INCLUDING COINS

I. LEMELEKH STAMPS

1. For a small city Tell en-Naşbeh produced a remarkable collection of the familiar *lemelekh* stamps on jar handles. Seventy-one with the much-debated winged sun disk, sometimes called a flying scroll, came to light, and sixteen with the double-winged scarabeus. Drawings in fig. 38: 1, 2 will show the best defined types of figures. As to the winged sun disk, eleven have a fairly distinct disk at the center.¹ These and several others have the feathers of the tail clearly indicated. Nearly all differ markedly from the typical Assyrian winged sun disk in that the wings turn up at the ends, Hittite fashion, and the two serpents, or hands, or talons, which project below are wanting, while a distinct head appears above, but there are no flying ribbons at either side.² There is no human body as in Assyrian and Persian examples.³ The head, so far as I can see, is by no means a lion's, or a man-lion's head, but a bird with a beak, usually turned left with a top-knot on the right. It is much like the cap on the deity's head on some Persian seals.

In the two-winged creature Dr. Albright and others have seen a winged scroll, the central cross piece being a cylinder bulging at both ends like a roll.⁴ The reproductions of impressions found at TN on fig. 38: 2 and pl. 56: 1-9 make it perfectly clear, I think, that the figure is descended from the winged sun disk of Egypt and Assyria, with either Hittite influence or mere naturalism contributing the up-turned tips to the wings.⁵ The head above and the tail below the central circle are so distinct in several

examples that there can be no doubt as to the intention of the artist. The Palestinian seal-maker must have thought that he was making a bird of some kind, although his original inspiration may have been Assyrian.

As to the four-winged type, the flying scarab, or beetle, in several instances the various parts of the body are clearly indicated. There should be no question, therefore, as to what it represents (pl. 56: 11, 12; fig. 38: 1). Similar clearly cut designs may be seen in specimens from 'Ain Shems and elsewhere.⁶ An informative variant appears on a seal found by the Wellcome Archaeological Research Expedition at Tell ed-Duweir. An oval scaraboid had a much more naturalistic representation of a winged beetle with the name Semakhel (son of) Ahimelekh below. An ankh was cut at the edge of the seal between the ends of the wing, on both sides doubtless (though one is partly lost). This would seem to be a transitional form from an Egyptian design to the stylized and formal representation on the usual Hebrew seal impressions.⁷

2. At Tell ed-Duweir a larger number (172) of these seal impressions has been found and recorded than in any other expedition. Upon this fine basis Dr. Diringier has pointed out a distinction between a more and a less stylized type of beetle impressions with accompanying epigraphic differences, the former showing an archaic type of script, the latter the more conventional ancient Hebrew script of pre-exilic times. The distinction cannot be carried through with confidence as applied to the TN stamps; partly because many are badly worn, partly because many have been smoothed down with the fingers in such a way as to give both symbols and letters a somewhat crude appearance.⁸ Two which

¹ M 730, 1019, 1543, 1838, 2339, 2834, 2848; R 22, x3; R 24, x27; Dp AA, AB 26, xl; AB 16, x67; see pl. 56: 4, 5.

² See pl. 56: 1, 4, 5.

³ Gressmann, *Altor. Texte u. Bilder* II, pls. 52, 125, 127, 132 f., 139, 209, 218, 223, 226, and discussion of each, especially p. 88; cf. Diringier, *Iscr.*, 220 f., pl. 21: 1, Gressmann, *op. cit.*, fig. 594.

⁴ *APB*, 203, note 138.

⁵ Cf. Albright, *JPOS* 5 (1925), 45-53; Alt, *PJB* 25 (1929), 86 f.; 24 (1928), 26 f.; Mamsath = Mampsis (Kurnub?); Ziph = Tell es-Ziph, Sôkhoh = Kh. 'Abbâd, near Beit Nettif; Dhorme, *RB* 39 (1930), 70 f.; Diringier, *Iscrizioni*, 260. Lizbarski, *Ephe-meris*, 3, pp. 67 f., reproduces a fine example in an Aramaic seal purchased by Clermont-Ganneau in Cairo (*CR*, 1909, 333-37).

⁶ Pointed out to me in the Haverford collection by Professor John W. Flight. Note the designs in Bliss and Macalister, *EP*, pl. 56, and in *PEQ* 1941, pl. 6.

⁷ See brief art. by S. H. Hooke in *PEQ* 1935, 196 f. and Diringier, *ibid.*, 1941, p. 102, pl. 8: 2.

⁸ *PEQ* 1941, pp. 91-101; pl. 6: 12, 14, 16; cf. fig. 38: 7, 8; cf. Albright, *AAS* 21-22 (1943), § 43.

are reproduced (pl. 56: 6, 14) illustrate the two types as well as any found at TN. Nos. 11 and 12 show something of the outline of the parts of the body. In nos. 10 and 14, less clearly in no. 13, the triangular head illustrates the complete stylization of the figure. Even the smoothing-off process is not entirely responsible for the heaviness of the characters in no. 14 as compared with no. 12.

Do these differences have chronological significance? Dr. Diringier seems to prefer the theory that they do but does not find the evidence by any means conclusive. Apparently the two beetle and the sun-disk types all came from the same stratum. However, Dr. Albright not only accepts Diringier's suggestion as to types but also, partly on paleographical grounds, partly because five two-winged stamps found at Gibeah came from the fortress which was destroyed toward the end of the Judean monarchy, he posits chronological differences and dates the three groups as follows: (1) beetle i, 714-686 (Hezekiah's time); (2) beetle ii, 686-641 (Manasseh); (3) the two-winged type (iii), 639-589 (Josiah and his successors). Unfortunately the dates of the findspots at TN give no assistance in dating the three groups. With two exceptions, one of the second class, and one of the third, all of the *lemelekh* stamps at TN came from what appeared to be the upper stratum, although it need not therefore be concluded that they belong to the latest period of occupation.

The exception among the beetle stamps (M 998) came from an area (Q 18) where all of the rooms showed predominantly MI pottery, with some earlier material, a Philistine sherd for example. There was no evidence of postexilic occupation, as there is on the greater part of the mound. The exception among the stamps with a winged sun-disk came from a room (R. 546, AF 18; see chap. XVI, iii, 2, and fig. 42, and chap. XVIII, vii) in which the pottery belonged chiefly to EI and over which an entirely new series of MI iii-Persian houses had been erected. It must, therefore, be intrusive. These two handles, therefore, make no clear contribution to the solution of the problem of date.

The other more or less circumscribed loci in which beetle stamps were found give some slight support to Dr. Albright's hypothesis as to date, although some of the data are discordant. R. 445 preserved both a beetle stamp of type i and a sun-disk stamp. R. 522

contained a type i beetle stamp and a *m s b* stamp. Ci 49, R. 467, and R. 625 fit very well into the 7th cent. The more numerous sun-disk stamps came from loci the dates of which in no wise contradict Albright's hypothesis. On the basis of the other material found with them there is no reason for either denying or affirming a chronological difference. A better stratification than has yet appeared anywhere will be necessary to establish it. Meanwhile it is a valuable working hypothesis. It is possible that differences in artistic care, or skill, or taste account for the variety. The discovery and excavation of the potteries from which the vessels came is a prime desideratum.

A comparison of some of the 'Ain Shems *lemelekh* stamps with those of Tell en-Naşbeh seems to me to indicate a noticeable difference in the ductus of the letters. It is not such as to suggest difference of date, but a somewhat bolder hand and more clear-cut or less-worn seals. Exactly the same difference may be seen in the Lachish impressions. There is also the same distinction to be drawn between types as in the case of the beetle group. Some are partially stylized, others completely so. But in their fragmentary state, they can hardly be reduced to a statistical exhibit. The varieties of letter forms discovered at TN appear in fig. 38.

The shapes of the cross sections of the handles are not always certain.⁹ Apparently some ten handles had a single narrow central ridge—the postexilic

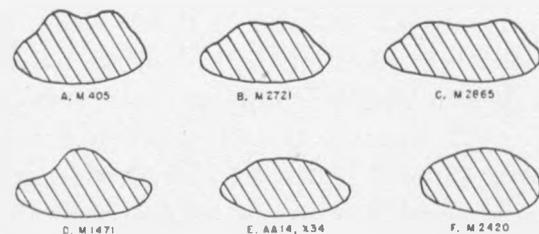


FIG. 37. Handle Shapes: A. marked double ridge; B. shallow central depression; C. wide, low central depression; D. marked single ridge; E. wide, flattened ridge; F. oval.

type, so it is said. As many more have a rather wide, almost level, central ridge; while a great majority have two ridges separated by a central depression, which is taken as the pre-exilic fashion. Since a considerable number of handles are present, this criterion can be employed.¹⁰

⁹ See accompanying table (no. 5) and text fig. 37. On this question the Tell ed-Duweir publications as yet give no aid.

¹⁰ Albright's statement that "all royal jar-handles and related

Seventeen jar-handles with *lemelekh* stamps have also the familiar mark of a series of concentric circles about a dot which had served as the center from which the circles were incised. One of these had the central dot and a single circle; one a single circle and sector of another. On five the place name was not to be found. On two and possibly three the place name was Memšath. One had *z pb* clearly written in the upper right-hand sector. On two others the *záyin* was unmistakable in the lower right-hand quadrant (pl. 56: 2). On two more the two parallel,

Of the seventy-one winged-sun-disk stamps found at TN, ten that were very poorly impressed or broken showed no sign of inscription. One or two others are uncertain. One of the Memšath stamps is curiously blundered, a *nūn* or the beginning of a *mēm* having slipped in (pl. 56: 4; fig. 38: 2). In some thirty other cases, although the stamp was sufficiently impressed, no trace of a name appears in the lower register of the sun-disk stamps. In two cases the city name (one Ziph, one Memšath) was in the upper register, the lower being a blank.

TABLE 5 HANDLE CROSS SECTIONS

	Flying beetle	Winged sun-disk	Two-line	Yehūd	MŠH
I Double Ridge					
Marked ridges (a).....	3	14	..	..	2
Shallow depression (b).....	8	26	1	1	..
Wide, low central depression (c).....	2	1	..	1	..
II Single Ridge					
Marked ridge (d).....	1	10	4	7	22
Wide, flattened ridge (e).....	..	10	..	1	..
III Oval (f).....	..	1	..	3	..
IV Three and four ridges.....	..	2	..	..	..
V Uncertain	1	7	..	5	5
	15	71	5	18	29

horizontal lines may represent the remains of a *záyin* (pl. 56: 3). Still another of these stamps (M 785), the one which has only a single line at the edge of the off-struck lower register, has a dot and single circle with the beginning of another. Only one with concentric circles (R. 546, x17) has apparently the Hebron stamp. None of the "beetle" stamps have this addition.¹¹ Here again no chronological results as yet are discernible.

3. Certain statistics deserve to be recorded for future use. It is most unfortunate that not all expeditions have kept careful statistics of the *lemelekh* stamps found, as Bliss and Macalister did in their Shephelah excavations. If this had been done systematically, it might eventually have been possible to reach more certain explanations of their significance.¹² Much valuable evidence has been lost.

types are of this [presumably the two-ridge] class" seems to be contradicted by the TN evidence, which shows one out of seven with the single ridge. Cf. *APB*, 124; *AAS* 12 (1932), 80.

¹¹ See the discussion of "potters' marks," probably owners' marks, below, chap. XX, i, 6, fig. 64. Diringier refers to this feature but gives no statistics.

¹² Bliss and Macalister, *EP*, 106-18; Cook in *PEQ* 1924, 180 f.;

Of the fifteen beetle stamps, all but one are impressed upon handles of the double-ribbed variety, and are, therefore, inclined to be illegible in the central depression.¹³ Seven show no traces in the lower register and four, none in the upper. Two were broken, one of them lacking the lower half, the other the upper. All of the eight which show an inscription below are Hebron stamps, making a possible total of thirteen Hebron stamps at TN.

The table (no. 6) presented herewith gives the statistics for the TN stamps and others which are available. Fortunately Dr. David Diringier has discussed and tabulated quite fully the large number found at Tell ed-Duweir. Only TN approaches Tell ed-Duweir in the number saved and recorded. Comparison is fruitful.¹⁴ To note only a few points, TN

Watzinger, *DP*, I, 116; Alt, *PJB*, 25 (1929), 36; Albright, *APB*, 124 f.; Wright, *AS*, V, 78-84. Discussion and bibliography up to 1934 in Diringier, *Iscrizioni*, 11-18, 155 ff., pl. 18; see now *PEQ* 1941, pp. 91-101, pls. 6 and 7.

¹³ The one exception has a clear *lemelekh* above, but it is one with the bottom broken away, M 998, pl. 56: 14.

¹⁴ See *PEQ* 1941, pp. 91-101. Dr. Albright called my attention to an error in the entry of percentages in Dr. Diringier's article which I have corrected. I have also omitted surface finds. For the

has recorded by far the largest number of illegible stamps. Like Tell ed-Duweir and 'Ain Shems, it has more stamps from Hebron (pl. 56: 8, 10, 12, 13) than from any other place and next in numerical order come Memšath stamps (pl. 56: 4-7) of which Tell ed-Duweir has the fewest and the Shephelah tells the most. It has fewest from Sôkhoh (pl. 56: 9), which stands first at the Shephelah tells and second at Tell ed-Duweir, and which, with Ziph, is wanting at 'Ain Shems.

4. Certain tentative historical conclusions may be drawn from these statistics. Before Dr. Diringer's publication of the Tell ed-Duweir seals the only recent report of statistics on the stamps was from 'Ain Shems.¹⁵ Albright has hazarded the remark that the beetle stamps are fewer in proportion in cities that existed down to the Chaldean invasion. That is to say, they were less or not at all used during the period just before the Exile. Does the prevalence of scarab stamps at 'Ain Shems argue a destruction before the Chaldean invasion? That is hardly possible, for a stamp from the seal of Eliakim, the steward of Joiachin, who may be supposed to have been acting as steward between the two invasions of Nebuchadrezzar, was found at 'Ain Shems.¹⁶ At only one other site, Tell eš-Şâfi, has so large a proportion of beetle impressions been found as at 'Ain Shems—15 out of 19.¹⁷ This seems hardly to bear out Albright's statement, which, however, suits TN admirably if it is Mizpah. I had hoped for full statistics of these stamps from Lachish (Tell ed-Duweir). Dr. Diringer's article showing a great preponderance (81 per cent) of "beetle" stamps at Lachish apparently disposes of this criterion.

At Tell ed-Duweir also nothing in the strata where they were discovered allowed any more definite chronological conclusions. As to date no distinctions are possible at either TN or Tell ed-Duweir between less and more highly stylized types or between beetle and sun-disk types. Also whether they may possibly

have come into use before 700 B. C. is still an open question so far as the sites listed have given evidence.

A historical point of no small importance seems to be settled by the discovery of the 86 *lemelekh* seal impressions at TN. It seems hardly possible that so large a number would find their way across the border to TN, if it belonged to the northern kingdom, but none to Bethel, so I understand. Whether the name of the ancient fortress city was Mizpah or not, it must have belonged to the southern, not to the northern kingdom or to the Assyrian province of Samaria. The boundary, it may be supposed, ran between TN and Bethel.¹⁸ There is, of course, a bare possibility that it fell to Judah after the Assyrian capture of Samaria.

II. TWO-LINE SEALS AND SEAL IMPRESSIONS

1. Shebhnath Shaḥar.—The common oval seal, divided lengthwise by double lines and bearing a line of inscription above and another below is not so frequent at TN as at richer sites, but it is not wanting. The most interesting example is an impression which appears in triplicate, apparently, though not certainly, from two different seals (M 1701, 2430 = 2432). A comparison of the three impressions¹⁹ leaves no doubt as to what the characters are: *l š b n t / š ḥ r* is the only possible reading. The word-divider after *tāw* is perfectly clear in every impression. A somewhat similar seal was excavated at Tell ed-Duweir at the same time as these at TN and Dr. Badè on a visit to Tell ed-Duweir was able to compare them. The reading was *lešebhnâ aḥābh*, and it is dated in pre-exilic times.²⁰

The chief peculiarity of the TN seal is the fact that the name of the owner may be a feminine. One stamp (M 2432, no. 12) leaves no doubt that the first letter in the lower line is a *tāw*. Shebhnâ and Shebhanyāh(û) are well attested in the Old Testament, the latter especially in the postexilic period; both are numerous on stamps and seals. Shebhnath may be related to them as Shem'ath to Shem'a, Shem'āh, Shim'ī, and Shima'yāh(û), or as Shimrîth to Shemer, Shômēr, Shimrī, Shimriyāh(û). Whether

Shephelah cities see Bliss and Macalister, *EP*, 107, for 'Ain Shems, *AS*, V, 84. The classification into partly and fully stylized is difficult and uncertain.

¹⁵ *AS*, V, 84. See accompanying table 6: 3.

¹⁶ *APB*, 124, 125; cf. *AS*, V, 79, 80, fig. 10a: 2.

¹⁷ Bliss and Macalister, *EP*, 107. See table 6: 5a. Many more would doubtless be found by further excavation. They have been picked up by American School students on the surface at these sites. Actually the small number at Tell eš-Şâfi vitiates its evidence.

¹⁸ See above, chap. VI, iii. On this conclusion Dr. Albright has expressed dissent. See below sec. v, 4, note 56, and *AAS* 21-22 (1943), § 43.

¹⁹ See pl. 57: 9, 11, 12. Note: *taw* falls in line 2.

²⁰ S. H. Hooke in *PEQ* 1934, pp. 97 f.; D. Diringer, *Iscrizioni*, 214, no. 57.

TABLE 6. DISTRIBUTION OF *LEMELEKH* STAMPS

	Hebron	Ziph	Sôkhoh	Memšath	Uncertain	Total
1. Tell ed-Duweir						
Beetle: i archaic; partly stylized.....	26	2	..	..	2	30
ii ancient; fully stylized.....	72	3	17	1	12	105
i or ii.....	..	..	..	..	2	2
Totals.....	98	5	17	1	16	137
Sun Disk (iii).....	8	7	8	5	4	32
Grand Total....	106	12	25	6	20	169
2. Shephelah Tells						
Tell Zakarîyâ: Beetle.....	3	2	5	1	2	13
Sun Disk.....	1	1	..	..	2	4
Tell eš-Šâfi: Beetle.....	..	..	2	..	4	6
Sun Disk.....	..	..	..	..	..	0
Tell ej-Judeideh: Beetle.....	2	2	2	..	5	11
Sun Disk.....	3	2	5	6	10	26
Tell Sandahannah: Beetle.....	3	..	2	..	1	6
Sun Disk.....	..	2	4	3	2	11
Totals: Beetle.....	8	4	11	1	12	36
Sun Disk.....	4	5	9	9	14	41
Grand Total....	12	9	20	10	26	77
3. 'Ain Shems: Beetle.....						
Sun Disk.....	11	..	..	..	4	15
Sun Disk.....	1	..	..	1	2	4
Grand Total....	12	..	..	1	6	19
4. Tell en-Naşbeh						
Beetle: i (as above, no. 1).....	3	..	..	..	3	6
ii (as above, no. 1).....	5	..	..	..	2	7
Doubtful.....	..	..	..	..	2	2
Totals.....	8	..	..	..	7	15
Sun Disk (iii).....	2	..	4	7	43	56
In upper register.....	..	1	..	1	..	2
Záyin only, lower right.....	..	3	..	..	..	3
Two parallel lines.....	..	4	..	..	..	4
Uncertain.....	3	1	..	2	..	6
Totals.....	5	9	4	10	43	71
Totals of both (TN).....	13	9	4	10	50	86
With concentric circles (TN).....	1	6	..	3	7	17
Totals of all sites.....	143	30	49	27	102	351
5. Percentages in Comparison						
		(1) Of all discovered		(2) Of legible specimens		
a. By type		Beetle	Sun Disk	i	ii	iii
Tell ed-Duweir.....	81.06	18.94		18.8	62.4	18.8
Shephelah Tells.....	46.75	53.25			47.	53.
'Ain Shems.....	78.92	21.08			15.4	84.6
Tell en-Naşbeh.....	17.44	82.56		08.33	13.89	77.78
b. By place		Hebron	Ziph	Sôkhoh	Memšath	Uncertain
Tell ed-Duweir.....	62.72	7.10	14.79	3.55		11.84
Shephelah Tells.....	15.58	11.69	25.98	12.99		33.76
'Ain Shems.....	63.16	.....	.....	5.26		31.58
Tell en-Naşbeh.....	15.11	10.47	4.65	11.63		58.14
Per cent of Totals.....	40.74	8.55	13.96	7.69		29.06
c. Legible		Hebron	Ziph	Sôkhoh	Memšath	
Tell ed-Duweir.....	71.1	8.3	16.8	4.0		
Shephelah Tells.....	23.5	17.6	39.3	19.6		
'Ain Shems.....	92.3	.....	.....	7.7		
Tell en-Naşbeh.....	36.1	25.0	11.1	27.8		
Per cent of Totals.....	57.4	12.1	19.7	10.8		

it is a feminine or not depends upon whether it is analagous to the above names and to Basemath and Mahalath, or to 'Aswath ('Ashwath), Shimrath, and other hypocoristic names which are given to "sons" in the biblical genealogies.²¹

Feminine names, of both daughters and wives, appear on seals, marked either by *bath* or *'ēšetb*. One is 'Immādhīyāhû bath Shebhanyāhû.²² It is not, therefore, impossible for a woman to have a seal. Names which have nothing to mark them as feminine in Hebrew frequently are such, like 'Immādhīyāhû. Yaḥmōl in the Elephantine papyri is feminine; therefore Yaḥmolyāhû on a seal in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris may also be feminine.²³

The second word on the TN seal is, doubtless, not the title of an office, but a personal name. The root *šḥr*, "dawn," which appears in Aḥīšaḥar and Šeḥaryāh(û), may well appear in abbreviated form as Shebhnah and Shem'a do.²⁴ The reading is, therefore, "Shebhnath (son, or daughter, of) Shaḥar." The two occurrences in the Bible are in postexilic names, as are several of the feminines cited as parallels to Shebhnath. The two-barred *ḥēth* is apparently both pre-exilic and postexilic. It is not found solely on seals, for two examples appear in Lachish ostraka (I 3, VI 12).

The handles on which the three Shebhnath stamps occur are all uncertain in their classification. Two had a faintly marked double ridge, one was nondescript. None is clearly of the single-ridge variety. They may well be pre-exilic.²⁵ But the two handles with similar stamps were found in close proximity to two single-ridged handles of the *m š b* variety, which clearly are postexilic.²⁶

The above account has now to be considered in the light of Dr. David Diringer's publication of addi-

tional Tell ed-Duweir seals and stamps, among which are others bearing the name Shebhnâ or Shebhanyāhû. He now connects into a series eleven such inscriptions, of which six were found at Tell ed-Duweir, one on Ophel, two at Tell ej-Judeideh, and two at Tell Sandaḥannah.²⁷ To these the three from TN are to be added in view of the fact that one of the heretofore unpublished Tell ed-Duweir stamps is probably to be read Shebhnâ Sha[ḥar].²⁸ The word divider in the TN stamp clearly confirms Dr. Diringer's decision to read it thus instead of Shebhen Ašḥur. It is strange that no word divider appears in any of the Tell ed-Duweir stamps.

Whether Shebhnath is another hypocoristic of Shebhanyāhû must be left undecided. Likewise uncertain is Dr. Diringer's ingenious attempt to construct out of these seals and seal impressions a long dynasty of potters stemming from the Shebhanyāhû of the Ophel scaraboid.²⁹ That such stamps are potters' marks is not demonstrated. Possibly they are, but, if so, one would expect a still larger number. Possibly they are marks of an owner whose slaves, or women, made his pottery for him. How it happens that so many seals and seal impressions should bear some name based on *š b n* still remains to be explained, the more so as the root itself is obsolete and uncertain of meaning.

2. Ahaziah (son of) Mattaniah. A second seal impression (pl. 57: 10) shows a clear-cut two-line inscription, but, unfortunately, it was broken above and at the left end. The letters seem to read *'a b z y h [û] m t n y h [û]*, which gives Ahazyāh(û) (son of) Mattanyāh(û). It will be noted that the *ḥē* at the end of both lines has practically disappeared, the *wāw* entirely so, and that the *zāyin* is inferred from a single long line showing below a break. The *āleph* at the beginning of the first line appears to be turned around but it may be one of the type in which the cross lines do not meet at the left. The letter at the beginning of the second line is also doubtful. Torrey suggested *mēm*, making Mattanyāh(û), Albright *nūn*, making Nethanyāh(û), Bowman *yôdh*, making Yathnī'el or, more probably, Yathnīyāh(û). It seems to me to be a poorly impressed *mēm*.

²⁷ Still others bear the name, Shebhanyāhû, Diringer, *Iscrizioni*, 175, 218, 223.

²⁸ *PEQ* 1941, pp. 46 f., pl. 4: 1; cf. pp. 89 f.

²⁹ Diringer, *Iscrizioni*, 179 f., no. 20.

²¹ Cf. M. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung* (Stuttgart, 1928), Index svv. The *-ath* ending according to Noth (p. 38) is specially favored in Arab names. It appears in a Hittite woman, two daughters of Ishmael, a Moabitess, and an Ammonitess; Gen 26. 34; 28. 9; 36. 3; 2 Chr 24. 26.

²² Diringer, *Iscrizioni*, 218, no. 61. He lists three daughters and three wives, pp. 216-21.

²³ Diringer, *op. cit.*, 208, no. 51. As an illustration see the list of women's names in the Elephantine papyrus from which the name Yaḥmōl comes, Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century* (Oxford, 1923), 72, Papyrus 22, especially cols. V-VI.

²⁴ 1 Chr 7. 10; 8. 26. Note also the Tell ed-Duweir seal, below note 28.

²⁵ See above, sec. i, 2, and note 9.

²⁶ See below, sec. iv, 5.

There are at least ten individuals with the name Mattaniah in the Old Testament, beginning with Zedekiah (2 Kg 24. 17). All belong to Exilic or postexilic times. There are also four Nethaniahs, all of the same period, including the father of Ishmael, the murderer of Gedaliah. Yathniel, which would be a variant of Yathniyāhū, is the eponym of a Levitical family (1 Chr 26.2). Ahaziah is a Hebrew royal name of earlier times, and there is nothing to prevent this Ahaziah from being a son of Zedekiah, for one son may have survived the Babylonian purge (2 Kg 25. 7), but nothing to prove that this is so. The ware of the vessel resembles that of the *lemelekh* handles. The handle is definitely of the two-ridge variety and, therefore, presumably pre-exilic.

3. Stamp of Uncertain Reading.—A third seal was so poorly impressed (M 491) that nothing can be made of the inscription except the two median lines and a possible *yôdh*, or *dāleth*, and *wāw*, or *zāyin*, in the lower line as read from the jar mouth. The handle has a double ridge and is, therefore, to be assigned tentatively to the pre-exilic period.

4. Jaazaniah.—The one beautiful seal found at TN, that of Ya'azanyāhū, has already been published by Dr. Badè³⁰ and may be briefly treated here. Its reading makes no problems of any kind for it is unbroken and perfectly clear:

le-Ya'azanyāhū 'ebhedh ha(m)-melekh
(לְיָאָזָנְיָאֲהוּ עֶבֶד הַמֶּלֶךְ)

"Ya'azanyāhū, slave (officer) of the king." Tomb 19, in which it was found, had been entirely cleared of articles contemporary with the Exile and reused in the Christian period, 400-600 A. D. Only two pottery fragments and the seal seem to have survived from the Hebrew or postexilic period.³¹

The cock on the seal raises interesting problems. Cocks rarely appear on seals before perhaps the 7th cent. but seem to have been known in Egypt and Mycenae at a much earlier period, perhaps as early as the time of Thutmose III. They are mentioned in Proverbs 30.31 according to the Septuagint. The fine lapidary skill and the unusual emblem of the

seal are clear evidence of the extent of foreign connections and of foreign influence in 7th cent. Judah.

To the four Jaazaniahs mentioned in the Old Testament (Jer 35. 3; Ezek 8. 11; 11. 1; 2 Kg 25. 23, and Jer 40. 8; 42. 1) must now be added one whose son appears in the Tell ed-Duweir ostrakon I: 3, Ḥagab ben Ya'azanyāhū.³² He has, indeed, no connection with the royal officer of the seal, but it is interesting to compare the ductus of the letters in these two contemporary documents, one from a lapidary, the other from a scribe. There is practically no difference except that, as is to be expected, some of the strokes on the ostrakon are slightly curved, the long upper stroke of the *yôdh* for example, whereas on the seal they are straight. So far as paleography is concerned, there can be no question as to the date of the seal. It clearly belongs in the time of the monarchy.³³

As to the identification of the individual, while positive proof is wanting, there is every probability that the Jaazaniah (Ya'azanyāh) of 2 Kings 25. 23, and the Jezaniah (Yezanyāhū) of Jeremiah 40. 8, both of whom are sons "of the Maacathite," and royal officials, and the Ya'azanyāhū of the seal, who is a royal officer, are one and the same individual. Difficulty arises because in the Masoretic text of Jeremiah 42. 1 a Yezanyāh, son of Hōš'ayāh, appears in a similar list. But the Septuagint inserts instead 'Azaryāh, who appears in Jeremiah 43. 2. The conclusion, therefore, is that there is a copyist's error in 42. 1.

There is, then, no obstacle to supposing that Ya'azanyāhū died at TN (Mizpah?) and was buried in the tomb where his seal was found. Was he possibly a victim of Ishmael? The discovery of Gedaliah's seal at TN would have settled the question of the site. This one does not, but it is suggestive. The fact that a seal impression of "Gedaliah who was over the house" was found at Tell ed-Duweir of course proves nothing since it was on the lump of clay which sealed a letter or other document which, no doubt, Gedaliah had sent.

III. INSCRIPTIONS ON WEIGHTS

Three weights carry inscriptions (pl. 57: 6-8; fig.

³⁰ ZAW 51 (N. F. 10, 1933), 150-56; *Manual*, 75 ff., fig. 13; see pl. 57: 4, 5 and fig. 38: 10.

³¹ See above, chap. XI, iii, 3.

³² *Lachish* I, 23, 26.

³³ A comparison with the name as written in the Elephantine papyri is instructive but hardly necessary to make the point.

38: 9). Two, nos. 2512 (R. 475) and 2552 (Ci 370 = 331), are clearly marked *neṣef*; and one, *pîm* (M 223, AK 21). It is unfortunate that the paleography of inscriptions on gems and weights has not been worked out more definitely. It would appear that the *ṣādê* of *neṣef* in M 2552 [6] is of an (archaistic) Hasmonean type. It is clearly not the *ṣādê* of the Siloam inscription, but is a *ṣîn* with an added downward stroke at the right. The *nûn*, and *pê* of M 2552 might be classed with the Siloam inscription, because of the free, regular, sweeping curve of the lower end of the long downward stroke. Indeed the *pê* of the three weights is definitely of the Siloam type. The *ṣādê* of M 2512 [8] is of an earlier type, found on seals and gems and on the Lachish ostraka, and it has a striking likeness to that of the Siloam inscription. The *mêm* in the *pîm* weight is perhaps pre-exilic.

All of this gives no sure dating for the weights. Few of the weights published have been found in datable archaeological contexts. Those at TN come from the topmost level (M 2512), from debris (M 223), and from a cistern (Ci 370; M 2552). This cistern, the richest in contents of all those excavated here, is probably pre-exilic, falling in the period from 700-600 B. C.³⁴ and, at least tentatively, places that weight and its inscription in the MI ii period. The conclusion would seem to follow that the three weights are pre-exilic; probably MI ii, in date.

IV. POSTEXILIC SEAL IMPRESSIONS

1. Five-letter Stamps.—Only one of the infrequent stamps bearing the five-pointed star with a letter in each point and now read as *Y r ṣ l m* was found (AC 15, x43), and that one is too indistinct to permit reading its characters with certainty or to allow reproduction. The *ṣîn* and the *mêm* are fairly certain. It would appear to have read clockwise.³⁵

2. Four-letter Stamps.—Two impressions of circular stamps carry four letters. How they are to be read is most uncertain. They are surely identical inscriptions, probably from the same stamp (M 1795, 2830, pl. 57: 15-16). The letters, read clockwise, are possibly *yôdh* (or *āleph*), *ṣādê*, *hē* (or *nûn*), and

gimel. *Yôdh*, *ṣādê*, *hē*, and *gimel* seem to me the most probable readings, but I have not been able to make a word out of them. Both are on hard, thin, light-brown ware with very fine white grits. The context, especially of M 2830 (Ci 361, pl. 57: 15), as well as the ware, suggests a postexilic date.

3. Two letter (*YH*) Inscriptions.—Eighteen jar-handles or fragments have round, oval, or rectangular stamps of the type formerly read *y h*, or *y h u*, but now, according to Professor Sukenik, to be read, *Yehûd*, meaning "Judah" (pl. 57: 1-3, 13, 14, 17, 18; fig. 38: 6, 12). With a few exceptions,³⁶ they are on handles with a single central ridge, which belong predominantly to the postexilic period.³⁷

Eight impressions have two letters only. As to the characters on seven of these there can be little or no doubt. Six have the two letters, *yôdh*, *hē*, within either an oval (1) or circular (6) border. The *yôdh* has a fairly constant character. The *hē*, on the other hand, varies decidedly. (1) In three instances it is much like the leftward-leaning final letter in the much discussed TN stamp with three letters (*m ṣ h*), to be considered below. (2) In four cases the stem leans strongly to the right, and in some it is shortened until the upper diagonal stroke has three almost equal pendants.³⁸ In one case (M 2712) the *dāleth* was inserted lightly as an after-thought between and below the *yôdh* and *hē*, thus showing that the two-letter seals were actually an abbreviation. An eighth stamp (AG 29, x5), which was either oval or rectangular, begins with a fairly clear *yôdh*, but the second letter seems to be *nûn*, or possibly *dāleth*. However, a letter may be lost at either side of the central ridge of the handle. The impression is too indistinct to bear reproduction.

4. Three-letter (*YHD*) Inscriptions.—Six impressions are clearly of the three-letter type which Professor Sukenik reads *Yehûd* ("Judah").³⁹ On

³⁴ Nos. 680, 2420, 2468, 2504, all otherwise of a doubtful or peculiar character. See pl. 57: 19.

³⁵ Cf. Sukenik, *JPOS* 14 (1934), 178-84; 15 (1935), 341 ff.; Diring, *Iscrizioni*, 128 ff., 132-37, pls. xiv-xvi; W. F. Albright, *APB*, 173-76.

³⁶ (1) M 799, 2335 (pl. 57: 14), 2717; (2) M 878, 2468, 2494, 2712 (with a *dāleth* added); see pl. 57: 17 and fig. 38: 6. On M 2335 see below, sec. 4. The resemblance between the stamps found at Jerusalem and TN is striking. See *PEQ* 1925, pl. IV (opp. p. 91).

³⁷ M 876; 1433; AF 20 x39; 2847; 2856; three varieties to be seen in pl. 57: 1-3. One (in AG 28, Ca 193N, x8) has a clear

³⁴ See above chap. XII, xv.

³⁵ Cf. Diring, *Iscrizioni*, 131 f., pl. xvi; W. F. Albright, *APB*, 174 f.

five the *hē* is clear. They fall into two groups.⁴⁰ (1) In three cases, it has a perpendicular stem and at right angles, to the left, a long arm from which two short lines drop. (2) In three others, as in some two-letter seals, the long bar leans to the right at an angle of 45 degrees and two branches of equal length fall from it to the right. One (M 2420, pl. 57: 19) appears to have a three-barred Hebrew *hē*.

The third character in these stamps might be thought subject to doubt in spite of Professor Suke-nik's arguments. Its straight stem at the right is practically perpendicular. The head is either circular (4) or angular (2), but is always open, never closed as in Hebrew seals. Indeed, it is a *dāleth* such as is unknown in pre-exilic Hebrew and much more like a *wāw* than a *dāleth*. But it may be seen in Aramaic seals from the 8th cent. to the 3d and in Egyptian Aramaic papyri beginning with the 5th cent. It is, therefore, to be taken as an Aramaic *dāleth*, not a Hebrew *wāw*.

The seventh three-letter stamp (pl. 57: 19; M 2420) is much less certain, for the bottoms of the first and third letters were not impressed. The first appears to show only the top of a peculiar *yōdh*. The third letter might have had a perpendicular stem at the left where it is off-struck, thus making an Aramaic *dāleth*, which was merely reversed in the cutting of the seal. It might be a circular *'ayin* open at the top; there are possible remains of the beginning of the perpendicular stem below just at its center, where also the stamp is off-struck. However, it resembles a Jerusalem stamp which is perfectly legible and the probable reading is *y h d*.⁴¹

Three or four are problematical. One has been included in the three-letter series and already mentioned (M 2533, pl. 57: 18) because it seems to have a third letter, a *wāw* or an angular *dāleth* with stem on the left, which is turned and laid on its side below the *yōdh*. Another (M 2335, pl. 57: 14), listed above as a *y h* stamp, had a probable *yōdh*, a clear *hē*, and, below it, a straight line which might be the remains of a *dāleth*. Still another (M 2504,

pl. 57: 13) has a fairly clear *yōdh* followed by a large but uncertain character, apparently a *hē* upside down, with a small upright *dāleth* or *wāw*, turned to the right in the center below. Still another (680) has three characters which are too indistinct for reading. In the great majority of the cases the *y h d* reading is the probable one and the vessels are postexilic.

5. The Characteristic Tell en-Naṣbeh Stamp.—Twenty-eight examples (pl. 56: 15-28, fig. 38: 5, 11) were found of a stamp which as yet has appeared exclusively at TN, with a single exception. One example was found at Jericho,⁴² where several *y h* and *y h d* stamp impressions came to light that closely resemble those of TN and Jerusalem. The letters have been variously read as *m ṣ p*, *m ṣ h*, or *m' a h*. The handles on which they were found are of the type with a single central ridge, and they would tentatively be dated, therefore, in the postexilic period.

As to the first of the three letters, there is no question. It is a perfectly good *mēm* of the Hebrew type like those on the *lemelekh* impressions and many Hebrew seals of individuals, except that the lower angles are rounded, not square, and the horizontal stroke curves and slopes down from left to right. That is, the horizontal line always tips up a little to the left, and the middle upright stroke (except in M 797 and its Jericho parallel) never goes down through it as it does on the Siloam inscription, on many seals, and on most ostraka. The best parallels are found in Aramaic inscriptions.

The second letter has almost universally been read as a *ṣādē* of a type common in Phoenicia in the 4th cent. B. C. Dr. R. A. Bowman called attention to the striking resemblance of some of the middle letters to the Aramaic *āleph*, in the Elephantine papyri for instance, but an examination of a large number of examples convinced him that *ṣādē* was intended.

Controversy has arisen chiefly over the third character. It might be a *hē*, but not one impression shows the upright type that appears in the *y h d* seals, with a perpendicular stem at the right and two downward projections from the bar (see above). Three fairly distinct types may be seen: (1) There is one (M 797, pl. 56: 26) in which, as in its Jericho parallel, the right-hand upright stem is shortened and on the

final *dāleth*, but no second letter shows and the first is blurred. It seems to have been rectangular.

⁴⁰ (1) M 1433, 2847 (pl. 57: 2), AF 20 I x39; the only parallel comes from Jerusalem, *APEF* 4 (1926), 189, fig. 203: 2; *QS*, 1924, pl. 5 (opp. p. 184). (2) M 2856, 876, 2533 (pl. 57: 1, 3, 18). See below, sec. vi.

⁴¹ *PEQ* 1925, pl. 4: 16.

⁴² Sellin and Watzinger, *Jericho*, 1913, p. 158, pl. 42: k.

left the single downward stroke from the bar lengthened to make it resemble a modern *ḥēth*. M 2874, [27], which is even less clear, may have been impressed from the same seal. (2) Four others (M 1463 [17], 1471 [15], 2431, 2530) shorten the stem in the direction of the Aramaic square form of *hē*, but they still lean decidedly to the left and thus approximate the form which droops to the left like a wilting flower, the kind which is in a majority in the *yh* type.⁴³ (3) Eighteen (M 582 [23], 1503, 1522, 1699, 2439, 2448, 2449, 2455, 2466 [21], 2521, 2530, 2534, 2584, 2716 [20], 2720 [16], 2816 [19], 2871, 2876) are of the latter type. With their split end at the left, they appear to be excellent examples of a transition toward the modern final *pē*, and examples of that sort of *pē* may occasionally be found, but only at a much later time, in the 1st or 2d cent. of the Christian era.

Five impressions remain. M 798 (pl. 56: 25) shows what at first glance appears to be a *pē*, but examination proves it to be defective due to a flaking of the clay. M 1448 [18], 2490, and AF 18 x33 are offstruck or poorly impressed. M 1463 [17] is offstruck so as to appear like a *pē*, but enough remains to allow its classification in group (2). M 798 possibly belongs to group (2) also. Another (M 2713, pl. 56: 28) is counted here with every reserve, for while it shows a *mēm*, the letter and the shape of the seal are of an entirely different sort.

There are, then, the two possible readings: *m š h* and *m š p*. W. F. Albright, H. L. Ginzberg, Cyrus Gordon, and R. A. Bowman regard the first as probable. C. C. Torrey still holds the second to be the best reading of those which have the drooping final letter. He agrees that all of these stamps must have the same three letters. Some cannot be read *m š h*, others *m š p*. He argues that the third character is *pē* on the following grounds. It is significant that the modern final forms of *pē* closely resemble some of those found at TN. It appears that the little strokes at the left are natural ways of ornamenting the bare loop which, in ancient Hebrew, stood for *pē*. He instances ornamental forms of *záyin*, *yôdh*, and *šādē* in the Siloam inscription to prove the early tendency to ornamentation. Among our scanty materials are 1st and 2d cent. post-Christian inscriptions

which have forms of *pē* which closely approximate the TN forms.⁴⁴ Dr. Torrey argues further that the rounded *pē* at TN is the significant form, since *hē* is never rounded but always angular, while *pē* normally shows curved lines and rounded forms. The basic character of both letters is fairly constant. The line of the shaft in *pē* is always curved, as never happens with the shaft of *hē*. If there were numerous clear and indisputable examples of the *hē* in the impressions, then the argument would be reversed. However in photographs of sixteen stamps submitted to him, Dr. Torrey finds only three (M 2720 [16], 797 [26], 1471 [15]) with characters which might stand for *hē*, with two more (M 2449, 2871 [22]) which resemble M 2720, but tend more to the *pē* form and thus indicate that the first three represent *pē*. The following he finds to have clearly the *pē*: M 2816, 2716 [20], 2466 [21], 1444, 2455, 1699, 1463 [17], 1503; one indistinct: 1448 [18]. He regards the TN *pē* as the natural preparation for the *pē* of the square alphabet which comes into use a little later.⁴⁵

The reading *m š p* would be vocalized as *Miṣpah* and has appeared to many the strongest argument for the identification of TN with Mizpah. If we may suppose vessels with this stamp to have been manufactured during the short period when Mizpah was the exilic capital, 586 to ca. 530 B. C., the small spread of such vessels is explained.

Those who argue that the critical final letter is a *hē* see the stamp in a different light. Starting from the character as it appears in at least fifteen specimens,⁴⁶ forms all of which have an angle at the upper right-hand corner and all of which can be found as *hē* in Aramaic inscriptions and papyri of the 8th to 4th centuries, the inevitable conclusion is that the remainder also stand for *hē*. It is perfectly true that *hē* is usually angular, and not all of the stamps show such an angle, but numerous forms can be found in the Assuan papyri, especially in the signature of witnesses, which show an inclination to round off the upper right-hand corner, in spite of the natural

⁴³ M 799; 2385; 2494 (pl. 57: 17), 2717; see above. See also below, sec. vi.

⁴⁴ He refers to the table by Euting in Chwolson, *Corpus Inscriptionum Hebraicarum*.

⁴⁵ Taken, somewhat abbreviated, from a letter of Oct. 22, 1941, with Dr. Torrey's permission.

⁴⁶ M 797 [26], 1448 [18], 1463 [17], 1471 [15], 2431, 2449, 2455, 2466 [21], 2521, 2530, 2534, 2584, 2716, 2720 [16], 2874 [27].

tendency of the reed pen to make a right, or even acute, angle there.

The best argument for reading the character as a *hē* is found in the *yh* stamps. Several of these (M 799, 2335, 2494, pl. 57: 14, 17), as already noted, have the leaning type (3) which is predominant in the stamps under discussion. Indeed, it almost seems to be a final letter form. Four of them tend to replace the sharp angle with curves.⁴⁷ A comparison of the *hē* on plate 56; 15-19, 22 with that on plate 57: 17 will serve to show the character of the angular, leaning form. One can hardly avoid the conclusion that it is the *hē* of the Aramaic papyri. M 799 gives an excellent example in the *yh* stamp of the leaning, rounded *hē* exactly like one from Jerusalem,⁴⁸ while M 2717 shows a beautifully rounded form of *hē* which does not lean. Since the stamp under discussion shows excellent examples of the typical *hē*, the angular leftward-leaning type along with the rounded form and almost insensible gradations between the three types, there seems to be good reason to read it as *hē*.

The *msh* reading has never been satisfactorily interpreted, for any relation to *maṣṣah* or *maṣṣoth* is difficult to understand. It has been explained as marking a vessel intended to hold wine for the feast of unleavened (*maṣṣah*) bread, but that seems a remote possibility.⁴⁹ Why should such vessels be found only here? There is no evidence that TN or Mizpah ever was famous for fastidiousness in observing the feast of unleavened bread.

The suggestion made long ago by Lidzbarski⁵⁰ and adopted by Sellin and Watzinger regarding the Jericho example, that it came from the Benjaminite Moṣah (Josh 18. 26; ham-Moṣah, LXX *Αμωσα*), seems improbable since the word has three syllables in both Hebrew and Greek. If the Hebrew article be disregarded, it might be the mark of a pottery factory at TN; but then why no such handles in Jerusalem?

One is driven back, then, to a seeming impasse. The only reading yet suggested that makes sense,

mšp, is paleographically unsatisfactory, and can be accepted only on the supposition that some Hebrew engraver in the 6th or 5th cent. anticipated a form of *pē* which is elsewhere unknown until centuries later. Even if that conclusion were temporarily adopted, it is tentative and cannot serve as a strong support to the identification of TN with Mizpah, although it would point in that direction. On the other hand this uncertain conclusion is no argument against that identification.

V. GRAFFITI

Under the title of graffiti have been classed several inscriptions on potsherds, which in practically every case were scratched on the pottery after it was baked, but not after it was broken. In other words, with one exception (no. 6), they are not on ostraka, potsherds used as writing material, but are the remains of marks of possession on whole vessels. In a few cases (e. g. M 1835, pl. 57: 23) it is clear that the letters were scratched in the clay while it was wet.⁵¹

1. The earliest (M 116, pl. 57: 26) is a fragment of a jar or bowl on which two large, angular characters have been incised with a drill run in double lines. It was recognized by the late Dr. R. P. Dougherty, who picked it up from debris of the upper stratum of Ci 33. The characters can hardly be anything but *lamedh bēth* in forms which Dr. Albright assigns to the 10th cent. or earlier, *ca.* 1000 B. C. It is idle to speculate on the remainder of a name beginning with *bēth*.

2. On a practically plain strap handle of which a piece 48 mm. long remains (M 968, pl. 57: 22) an inscription was carefully incised apparently after firing. It is a well-baked, pinkish ware with very numerous fine white grits. Only the third and still more the sixth character (from the right) are uncertain. Dr. Albright reads [לנת]ניו ולסמכן יו:

[Belonging to Netha]niah and belonging to Semakh[iah].

The first preserved letter would be a *bēth* if the graffito were late, but approximates the *nūn* in the Siloam inscription and on seals of the 8th cent. The third character shows clearly only a long straight

⁴⁷ M 799, 878, 2504 [pl. 57: 13], in which the *hē* is upside down, 2717; see above sec. iv, 3.

⁴⁸ *PEQ* 1925, pl. 4: 9. Both M 799 and 2717 are in Jerusalem and the order for photographs went astray. The TN photographs in this case are sufficient for study purposes, but not for reproduction.

⁴⁹ See W. F. Albright, letter of Oct. 3, 1928, quoted by Dr. Badè, *ZAW* (1932), 89.

⁵⁰ *Ephemeris für semit. Epigraphie*, 3, p. 45; *Jericho*, 158.

⁵¹ In the following I have followed suggestions of Dr. W. F. Albright kindly sent in a letter of May 4, 1940. I have consulted Dr. C. C. Torrey and Dr. R. A. Bowman on many points.

stroke, and is read *wāw* by Dr. Albright. I read it as a *hē*, especially since there is abundant room at its left for the cross-strokes. The reading then would be . . . *nyāhū*, l. . . ., "[Belonging to . . .] *nayāhū*, belonging to" Following the *lāmedh* I would see a word divider, a *pē*, or a *nūn* but the difficulty of constructing the names with such elements leads to Dr. Albright's conclusion that the curved line is part of the *sāmekh* which follows. Dr. Albright points out a parallel in Harding's table (col. 13) in *Lachish* I. I see an approximation also in letter VI. As Dr. Albright adds, the name Semakhiah appears in the Bible (1 Chr 26.7), the Lachish letters, and (abbreviated) at Elephantine, and the root *s m k* in still earlier names.

As to date he says: "Since the forms of the letters are intermediate between Samaria (ca. 800 B. C., and between 833 and 775) and Siloam (ca. 700), I should date this sherd about the middle of the 8th cent."

3. Another handle fragment (M 1035, pl. 57: 21) has a rudely but deeply scratched name, of which the first letter, a *nūn*, or *bēth*, begins just at the junction with the vessel. What follows might be a *pē*, or a defective *nūn*, but it seems to be partially connected with what follows, making a *qōph*. The third letter is either a *mēm* or a *nūn*. The tips of strokes belonging to a fourth letter, such as *āleph* or *yōdh* appear. Dr. Albright suggests [ב]ז קנ[י], "[X so]n of Qena[yau]," and refers to the name on seals, and קנייה in the Elephantine papyri.

The Palestine Museum photograph from which the reproduction on plate 57 is made (and which Dr. Albright did not see) seems to negate the possibility of any letters before the first visible character. Dr. Albright notes that the first character may be a *bēth*. It seems to me possible, then, to read [ב]ז קנ[י] "son of Qena[yau]" (dividing the second character into *nūn* and *qōph* and supposing the uppermost vertical stroke of the *nūn* to have been broken off), or [ב]ז קנ[י] "son of 'Ana[yau]" (supposing the diagonal downward stroke to be a word divider). The photograph, however, does not fully justify the intrusion of a *nūn*.

Dr. Albright dates this graffito also in the 8th cent.

4. With regard to the next item (M 1835, pl. 57: 23), a fragment with inscription incised before

firing, Dr. Albright writes: "It is a pleasure to study this sherd, since every character is clear and certain—which is doubly welcome in view of the exotic name." He reads:

[.] [ב]ז קנ[י] [?]
 "[X so]n of Mār-šarri-zēra-[ukîn?],"

and refers to such names as *Mār-šarri-bēl-abhē*, "The Crown-prince is Lord of the Brethren," and *Mār-šarri-iliya*, "The Crown-prince is my god," and, from the time of Nebuchadnezzar, *Mār-šarri-ilu-u-a*, whose father's name, *Arbail-a-a*, "Man of Arbela," proves him an Assyrian. The TN name would mean "The Crown-prince (has established) Posterity," and would have been pronounced Marsarzērukīn. According to Tallqvist, *Mār-šarri* reflects a divine appellation.⁵² The transcription of Assyrian (not Babylonian) *š* by *sāmekh* was a common practice of Hebrew and Aramaic scribes in this period.⁵³ "One of the best epigraphic and phonetic parallels . . . is the Aramaic seal published by Sprengling.⁵⁴ . . . which reads פנאסר מר סרסי סרגן 'Pān--Aššūr, chief of the eunuchs of Sargon,' and must date from between 721 and 705 B. C. Its script is a little more archaic . . .—partly perhaps because it is lapidary whereas yours is a graffito."⁵⁵

As to the date and significance of the fragment Dr. Albright writes: "The script is unusually stilted and the letters are written without regard to their customary stance (the *rēš* normally slopes to the right in this period), so precise dating is difficult. However, in view of the *mēm* and the *zāyin* I should prefer a date in the 7th cent. This sherd ranks with the cuneiform tablets from Gezer and Samaria as an attestation of Assyrian provincial rule. It may be added that its presence here, together with North-Israelite forms of names (e. g., *-nyau* in no. 968), rather suggests that TN was located in the Northern Kingdom and in the Assyrian province, not in Judah."⁵⁶ Whether this is true or not, the inscrip-

⁵² See his *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch* (Helsingfors, 1905), and *Assyrian Personal Names* (Helsingfors, 1914), to which Dr. Albright refers for the above parallels.

⁵³ See Dr. Albright's note in *BAS* 79 (1940), 28 f.

⁵⁴ *AJSL* 49 (1932-3), 53-55.

⁵⁵ Letter of Dr. Albright of July 22, 1940.

⁵⁶ Letter of May 4, 1940. Cf. Dr. Albright's remarks *JBL* 58 (1939), 179 f., on behalf of the theory that TN is Ataroth. If the *lemelekh* stamps belong to the 7th cent., they appear to negate this conclusion; see above, sec. i, 4. See above (2) on the graffito, M 968.

tion testifies to Assyrian influence such as might be expected in the reign of Manasseh.

He wrote later: "A renewed study of the known forms of *mēm* inclines me to believe that the sherd may go back to the end of the 8th cent., though there is nothing to disprove a date in the 7th."

5. A heavy wall fragment (M 2341, pl. 57: 24), about 11 mm. thick, is entirely lacking in any shaping to indicate from what part of the vessel it came. It is well-baked, pinkish ware with a gray core and many fine white grits. The letters are written horizontally on a line with the interior marks of the potter's shaping tool. The three large characters (8-22 mm. in height) were incised, apparently with a drill. A certain amount of chipping where parallel lines ran close together, especially in the second letter, creates some doubt at first sight as to what was intended, but the middle letter is an excellent *dāleth* and the characters doubtless make the name ידו, Yiddo (1 Chr 27. 21; Ezra 10. 43, Kethibh), and belong in the 8th or 7th cent.⁵⁷

6. Another fragment (M 850, pl. 57: 27) is unusual in that the letters, incised in the sherd after firing, are on the inside of the vessel. Apparently, therefore, it is a portion of an ostrakon, a sherd inscribed after the vessel was broken. Dr. Albright reads portions of two names:

Šādōq (??)	Zadok?
Hō[nai (??)	O[nias]?

The only parallels which he suggests are Beth-zur graffiti which he prepared for the publication,⁵⁸ but which he regards as most uncertain of interpretation because of their brevity and fragmentary condition. The *šādē* in this graffito is extremely archaic, if it is that letter, "going back to the lapidary forms of the 5th cent. or earlier for its inspiration," but "Palmyrene, Nabatean, and Estrangela all suggest that a similar form underlies their *šādē*." As to date he prefers the 3d cent. in view of the resemblance of the Beth-zur examples of *šādē* and *qôph*. "The suggested names are quite at home in that century."

7. A cooking pot (M 1013, pl. 50: 1) of which considerable fragments were found in Ci 176 bore

characters like an angular *psi*, incised with a drill just below the rim on each side of one of the two handles.⁵⁹ On the left side the long vertical stroke seems to have been connected with a second character that looks like a round-headed *bēth* or *dāleth* lying on its back. The connection between the two, however, is missing and this entire character, if it existed, is lost on the right side of the handle. Possibly *kaph* and *dāleth*, or *bēth*, is to be read, but speculation as to the further letters is useless.

The vessel is of hard, dark-brownish-red ware, with the ridged rim of the MI variety. The cistern itself appears to belong to the century 750-650, perhaps 800-600, and this vessel is one of the latest found in it.

VI. CONCLUSIONS AS TO THE HEBREW AND ARAMAIC INSCRIPTIONS

As to the dating of these various bits of inscription, the evidence is sometimes clear, sometimes contradictory. Tentative conclusions may be suggested. Nothing found at TN contradicts the conclusion that the *lemelekh* stamps of both kinds belong before the Exile. However it needs to be said that the criteria of the double ridge and single ridge on the handle do not distinguish the periods with absolute certainty. Some double-ridge handles may be postexilic, some single-ridge handles seem to be pre-exilic. Where numerous examples of either kind appear, conclusions may be taken as certain. The evidence clearly favors a pre-exilic date for the *lemelekh* stamps.

The 'Ain Shems and Tell ed-Duweir examples of the double-winged, or "beetle," impressions suggest doubts as to the greater antiquity of these stamps. On this point TN agrees with Dr. Albright's hypothesis that they are older than the sun-disk variety. Statistics from more sites may be thought necessary to establish the theory; it is merely a working hypothesis. Paleographical differences between the two types are not decisive because of the dearth of material.

The two-line seal impressions and the Ya'azanyāhū seal all have the same distinctly Hebrew—as opposed to Aramaic—type of lettering, and the impressions were made on double-ridged handles, which should belong to the earlier period. There can, therefore,

⁵⁷ The middle letter looks like *bē* in the photograph because of the shadows.

⁵⁸ Sellers, *Beth-zur*, 60.

⁵⁹ See Ci 176, chap. XII, ii, pl. 50: 1. Cf. *AAS* 12 (1932), § 98; 21-22 (1943), § 17.

be little doubt that the two-line seals belong to pre-Persian period, or its earliest phase, the time before Aramaic had become the colloquial language of Judea. At the same time the character of the names, which find their parallels chiefly in Chronicles and in exilic or postexilic times, and in some cases seem to have a non-Hebrew tinge,⁶⁰ makes it clear that they are late. This, of course, suits precisely the identification of Ya'azanyāhū with the biblical character, Jaazaniah.

The handles with impressions of from two to five letters seem all to belong to the postexilic period. They usually have the single-ridge section which predominates in that period, and, while that criterion cannot be applied with absolute rigidity to individual cases, it is safe to use it as applied to these groups of stamped handles. The paleography of their inscriptions points with equal decisiveness to the same conclusion. The letters all are possible in the post-exilic period and the majority of them are clearly of a different character from those of pre-exilic times. The clearest examples are the *hē* and the *ṣādē*, as is easily seen by comparing these characters on fig. 38. The *neṣef* weights have the characteristic Hebrew *ṣādē*, the *m ṣ h* impressions the Aramaic form. The two-line impressions, the Ya'azanyāhū seal, and the *lemelekh* stamps (*Sôkhob*) have the Hebrew *hē* (𐤀); the *Yehūd* and *m ṣ h* impressions never show that form but always an Aramaic type. The one exception, a *Yehūd* stamp (M 2420, pl. 57: 19), as noted below, is paralleled at Jerusalem in a single handle, of which the provenience is not given. The Jerusalem stamps which parallel those from TN are, however, all dated by the excavators in the Persian period, as are also the similar stamps found in Jericho ("jüdisch").

Within the postexilic period it should be possible eventually to make chronological distinctions on the basis of paleography. The four-letter and five-letter impressions are too few to be of chronological value for the paleographical evidence. In the two-letter and three-letter impressions, some of the letters fall into definite categories. The *yôdh* remains too constant to offer chronological data except that none of the small-angled type seen in the Elephantine papyri appear. But in this letter there is no apparent differ-

ence between pre-exilic and postexilic fashion in Judean inscriptions.

As to the last letter in the *y h d* stamps, it must be taken as Aramaic if it is to be read as a *dāleth*. If it were a Hebrew letter, it would necessarily be a *wāw*.

The *mēm* on the *m ṣ h* impressions has a character of its own, as already noticed. There is one exception, the one TN specimen which is most like that found at Jericho (M 797, pl. 56: 26). Unfortunately it has been smeared so that certainty is not possible, but it appears that the central stroke passes through the horizontal and also that the horizontal slopes very little. This is one of the two examples which have the modern *hēth* type of *hē*. The other (M 2874, pl. 56: 27) has a still more uncertain *mēm*, but it may be of the same type. These three examples, the two from TN and the one from Jericho, possibly come from the same atelier, which is not that from which the others come. That the differing types are chronologically different cannot now be proved, but may eventually be demonstrated when more specimens have been accumulated. The similar *hē* in a *y h* impression is to be noted (pl. 57: 14).

The *ṣādē* which appears on the *m ṣ h* impressions is of various types. It appears to me that the Elephantine papyri are fairly unanimous in indicating an evolution of the letter and that the TN type is nearer that of the earlier documents. It bears no resemblance to the *ṣādē* on the *neṣef* weights and on two-line seals.

One letter, the *hē*, however, offers a criterion for the differentiation of types because it appears in nearly all of the inscribed material and because, along with some which are intermediate and difficult to classify, it has six clearly different forms:

(1) the Hebrew *hē* with three strokes to the left (𐤀), seen in M 2420 (*y h d*, pl. 57: 19) with a Jerusalem parallel;

(2) three perpendicular specimens (𐤀), unique except for parallels at Jerusalem, seen in M 1433, 2847 (pl. 57: 2), AF 20 I x 39 (*y h d*);

(3) the leftward drooping type (𐤀𐤀𐤀𐤀) seen in M 799, 2335, 2494 (*y h*, pl. 57: 14, 17), and in the majority of the *m ṣ h* stamps, but not in *y h d* stamps; a form closely related to that of 5th and 4th cent. papyri;

⁶⁰ See above, sec. ii, 1, and note 21.

(4) the type with two strokes which leans and opens to the right (𐤊), seen in M 2468, 2712 (*y b*), 876, 2533, 2856 (*y b d*, pl. 57: 1, 3), and in Jerusalem and Jericho stamps (*y b d*, *y b*) but not in *m ṣ b* stamps;

(5) a type which opens almost directly downward (𐤋) much like a common Elephantine form, seen in M 878 (*y b*, fig. 38: 6), but in no other;

(6) the type which resembles the square *hêth* (𐤌), perhaps derived from (3) and (4) by being set erect with the downward strokes given the same length; seen in M 797, 2874 (pl. 56: 26, 27), in that from Jericho (*m ṣ b*), and in M 2717 (*y b*).

On the basis of present knowledge it seems to me unsafe to make positive distinctions of date within the Persian period. Group 1 is either early or archaic. Group 3 appears to have more parallels at Elephantine in the earlier papyri. Group 5 appears more common in the later papyri. The same is true of Group 6, which appears in the 'Araq el-Emîr inscription and the square character.⁶¹ Groups 2 and 4 are without dated parallels.

In general, making allowance for the small amount of material, I am impressed with the resemblance of the characters in these inscriptions to the earlier Phoenician and Aramaic forms, as at the North Syrian sites. The Teima inscriptions also offer parallels. Until much more abundant materials both in Judea and elsewhere are available, the direct ancestry of the Judean script must remain a tantalizing puzzle and the dating within the Persian period uncertain. However, there are no reasons for dating the Aramaic seal impressions later than the 5th cent.

It is remarkable that all of the graffiti, with one exception (6), belong to the pre-exilic period. The Hebrew character of the letters is unmistakable. The first in the list (M 116) is distinctly early in appearance, but too much dependence cannot be placed upon two characters of evidently unskilled workmanship. The cistern from which it comes (Ci 33, excavated in 1926) has pottery that points to the MI period. All of the other fragments come from the highest stratum of occupation on the mound, with the single exception of M 850 (6) which pale-

⁶¹ This is not to suggest that the seal impressions are as late as the papyrological evidence. Little pertinent evidence is available for the 6th and early 5th cents.

ographically is Persian or Hellenistic, but which was found in debris along with fragments of ledge handles. The only possible conclusion is that it is intrusive. This is not, however, merely an *ad hoc* subterfuge. On other grounds Mr. Wampler had already reached the conclusion that this area, in which the deposits of debris above the rock were thin, was one where there was very considerable mixture of early and late materials.

It is unfortunate, as already remarked, that more care has not been taken in recording the numbers of seal impressions found in various excavations. It would be a useful undertaking to gather all the information available from excavation reports. Mr. Duncan has reported on 100 stamped jar handles found in the excavations at Jerusalem supervised by Professor Macalister and himself. They came from the north end of their area, from debris which was chiefly postexilic since only 8 *lemelekh* impressions appeared. Of the five-letter pentagram stamp 23 were found as compared with 1 at TN, and 22 of the four-character kind as against 2 at TN. Of the *Yehûd* stamps TN had 6 against 4 at Jerusalem,⁶² and TN had 8 with *y b* as compared with 13 at Jerusalem, but none with *yôdh* only, as against 3 at Jerusalem. Six stamps bearing simply a lion were among those found at Jerusalem, but only one doubtful case at TN.⁶³

It is clear that the *lemelekh* stamps were used throughout the whole territory of the pre-exilic southern kingdom. The *m ṣ b* stamps, on the other hand, are peculiar to TN, while the pentagram and the four-letter stamps are confined mostly to Jerusalem, although two of each were found as far away as Gezer.⁶⁴ But the three-letter *Yehûd* and the two-letter *y b* stamps belong to a little province which includes Jerusalem and TN. At no time, however, was Bethel or Beth-zur included if present information is borne out by more extensive excavation later. Jericho, on the other hand, certainly belonged to it, for 10 *y b* and 3 *y b d* stamps were found there by Sellin and others are reported from Garstang's excavations.⁶⁵ A possible explanation of the narrow

⁶² Two more of those at Jerusalem had three letters not yet certainly identified.

⁶³ Duncan, *Digging Up Biblical History* II (London, 1931), 139-46. On the lion stamps see above, chap. XIII, v.

⁶⁴ G II, 209, 224 f., figs. 359, 375, 376. Possibly one *Yehûd* stamp, *ibid.*, fig. 377.

⁶⁵ Sellin and Watzinger, *Jericho* (Leipzig, 1913), 159, pl. 42.

range of the *mšb* stamps is that they were used at Tell en-Naşbeh = Mizpah during the Exile and were displaced when Jerusalem was rehabilitated, either at the beginning of the Return (538-516) or in Nehemiah's time, probably in the former era.

VII. UNDECIPHERED IMPRESSIONS AND GRAFFITI

There are several very faint seal impressions on handles and wall fragments, some too faint to reward study or description. A few seem worth recording, since the discovery of a clear impression might reveal their character.

1. One peculiar graffito has defied interpretation. The specimen (M 1500, pl. 57: 25) consists of peculiar scribblings on the fragmentary neck of a jar. They are so crabbed and strange that no one has attempted a reading. Dr. Albright regards them as "a freak of nature." It seems to me they are a freak of human nature, some person's scribblings. They are reproduced in the hope that some one may discover a meaning, if there is any.

2. A seal impression on a wall fragment (M 397) from a large, thin-walled bowl is reproduced on plate 57: 20. The inscription, if it is such and not mere decoration, appears to run in a circle around the margin of the stamp and would be read from the center. The character at the top, as the stamp appears on the plate, might be a *mēm*. I discover no convincing reading of the characters as a whole, and they may not be alphabetic.

3. An enigmatic character, a single letter followed by a straight mark (R. 616, x47) both scratched into the shoulder of a jar before firing, is so excellent a representation of a Coptic *b* that I cannot refrain from reproducing it (pl. 55: 84) and noting the resemblance in spite of the lack of confirmatory evidence and the probability that such an identification is wrong. The vessel, to judge from the flatness of the small sherd, on which a very short portion of the upcurving neck shows, must have been a large one. Indeed, estimated from the largest circular line on the inside surface of the sherd, it should have been more than 30 cm. in diameter. It was well-baked, pinkish ware, 9-12 mm. thick, with a multitude of very fine and a very few large white grits.

The character was incised by a not-too-practiced hand parallel to the curve of the neck and shoulder, not vertically on the vessel. The mark below and beside it looks like a word divider. There is free space below and on both sides indicating that there could have been no continuation in those directions. But the break above is so close that there may well have been characters vertically preceding the one preserved.

It is possible that the character is an Aramaic, or "square," *qōph*, although the rounded head is unusual in that letter. A *qōph* with a round head appears in Lachish Letter VI and on the Samaria ostraka,⁶⁶ but in none of these cases is the tail of the *qōph* curved, and I can discover none of any date which closely resembles the character on the potsherd. A similar character is reproduced by Diringier among mason's marks.⁶⁷

From the limited material found with it, R. 616, its locus, should date in the MI or Persian period, which is, of course, impossibly early for Coptic. The enigma remains for someone to explain.

4. Seal impressions on jar handles in two instances carry a somewhat similar character, but made in an entirely different fashion. The graffito just discussed is made by adding a half circle at the left of the top of a reversed *S*. On these seal impressions (M 1, 2292) the character looks like a *P* with the stem at the bottom bent sharply to the right. It might represent a Hebrew *bēth* which had been carved directly on the seal and thus was reversed on the impression.

VIII. GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

It is, of course, not at all surprising that few Greek inscriptions should have been found at a site which was almost exclusively pre-Hellenistic. That not a single Rhodian jar handle appeared may be due to the poverty of the people, but more probably to the absence of inhabitants on the mound. One specimen of Greek was on an amulet of bone, the other two on lamps. They came exclusively from tombs none of which belonged to a single period, but all of which spanned a long extent of time. Unfortunately, therefore, none can be accurately dated from the character of the other objects in the tomb, but the

Diringier, *Iscrizioni*, 128 and notes; Albright, *APB*, 1st ed., p. 223, note 125.

⁶⁶ See the table in *Lachish I*.

⁶⁷ *Iscrizioni*, pl. 25: 16; cf. p. 293.

and no knowledge of the Greek alphabet. In view of the vagaries of such inscriptions, it needs no argument to prove that this stands for $\phi\omega\varsigma \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$, $\phi\epsilon\acute{\nu}$ $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota \epsilon[\nu]$ $\omicron\kappa\hat{\omega}$. Instead of $\epsilon\nu$, the *epsilon* has been laid on its back, and the second syllable of $\omicron\kappa\hat{\omega}$ has been lost. This is a new variety of corruption to add to those Macalister registered from Gezer.⁷²

b. A lamp fragment with a completely corrupted inscription came from T. 13. The fragment represents about two-thirds of the lamp including all of a double-ring base and about three-fourths of a triple-ring oil hole, and it, therefore, allows space for the greater part of an inscription. But the inscription



FIG. 39 "LIGHT OF CHRIST" INSCRIPTION

suffers from complete deterioration in the very crude mold and from a very poor impression at that. What remains may be seen in fig. 40. A comparison with the varieties of corruption which Macalister lists (*loc. cit.*) shows that the "inscription" belongs in the same series.



FIG. 40. GARBLED LAMP INSCRIPTION

IX. COINS

The coins found at TN need not consume any considerable amount of space or time, since they were not numerous nor, for the most part, significant to numismatists. Unfortunately also they were not of great assistance in determining chronology. They will be described more fully in the list in Appendix C.

The most interesting of all was the oldest, a worn but clearly recognizable imitation of the early Attic bronze tetradrachm (M 1497). It was retained in Palestine. Only the outline of the Athena head with helmet on the obverse is discernible. But, in spite of chisel marks, the owl and the letters *alpha*, *theta*, to right, and the olive spray with crescent to left are discoverable on the reverse.⁷³ Its distinctive features point to the copper coinage of 406-393 B. C. It was found in R. 324 in the first stratum along with a coin

of Ptolemy II Philadelphus from the mint of Tyre (M 1498, no. 4). In the same square, AA 29, a fragment of Greek pottery of the 5th or 4th cent. was found.

Four Ptolemaic and three or four Seleucid coins, five of Alexander Janneus or John Hyrcanus, one of Herod Archelaus, one each of procurators under Augustus, Tiberius, and Claudius, one of Trebonianus Gallus, one of the western aspirant to the purple, Flavius Victor, one of Theodosius I who killed him, one of Anastasius, and three indeterminate Roman coins may be taken as representing chance campers or temporary squatters on the mound.

When compared with the 279 coins found at Bethzur in a single campaign, the 19 pre-Arabic coins found on TN in five seasons which covered practically the whole of the mound and a large surrounding area prove conclusively that shortly after the beginning of Ptolemaic times the mound must have been practically abandoned. One Ptolemaic and four Hasmonean coins, the one of Archelaus, and the one of Anastasius came from tombs which cannot be certainly connected with the occupation of the mound. Unfortunately the great majority of those found on the mound were too near the surface to be of any real stratigraphical value, and no sufficient number was found in any tomb to determine clearly its date, while some of the certainly recognizable were found in almost empty tombs and thus do not assist in dating pottery or other objects.

The general conclusions drawn from the datable material found by the expedition have been given above in chap. VII. The chief evidence discussed in this chapter, which is found in the stamped jar handles, has been discussed above (sec. vi). The TN discoveries in this field assist in filling in the chronological outlines of the period from about 700 down to 400, perhaps slightly earlier in both cases. The value of these discoveries for the cultural history of Palestine, summarized already, will be discussed more fully in Pt. III. Meantime, the important and difficult subject of stratification on the mound is considered by Mr. Wampler in chap. XVI.

⁷² G II, 228.

⁷³ Identified by Prof. W. F. Albright and Dr. Watson Boyce. It is much like Gardner, *Hist. Anc. Coinage* (1918), pl. 10: 8. Dr. Bellinger regards it as an imitation, possibly silvered.

CHAPTER XV

GREEK POTTERY

DIETRICH VON BOTHMER

Plate 59.

EAST GREEK WARE

1. Fragmentary panel amphora (Cistern 304, x22 S 1839). The vase is in the Palestine Archaeological Museum; I have not seen it. A photograph and a profile drawing, however, give some idea of the shape and decoration. The preserved height of the amphora is 0.155 m. Missing are most of the shoulder and the handles and all of the neck and mouth. The main decoration consists of a reserved panel on either side, on which a scale pattern with inserted white dots is painted. On the lower part of the body four stripes of unequal breadth are reserved. The foot is of the so-called echinus type. The color of the clay is described as light brown.

The scale pattern which appears to be the principal decoration is not confined to any particular period or place. It makes its debut in the Mycenaean period and can be found down to the 4th cent. B. C.¹ The closest parallels to the design on the TN vase are among 6th cent. East Greek vases, some of which show an almost identical pattern. I know of three complete, or almost complete amphorae, Berlin inv. 2979,² Lausanne 4281,³ and Leningrad 20269,⁴ and several fragments, Bonn,⁵ Cairo,⁶ London,⁷ Lindos,⁸ Oxford.⁹ The white design within the individual scale is at times a star¹⁰ but more often a dot as on

¹ Cf. especially Casimir Bulas in *BCH*, 56 (1932), 388 ff.

² From Rhodes. Watzinger, *Griechische Holz sarcophage aus der Zeit Alexander des Grossen* (Leipzig, 1905), 9, fig. 17. H. 0.295 m.

³ From Rhodes. S. G. Zervos, *Rhodes. Capitale du Dodécanèse* (Paris, 1920), 122, fig. 272. H. 0.28 m.

⁴ From Olbia. *Gosudarstvennaia akademiia istorii materil'noi kultury*. *Izvestiia*, V (1927), pl. XI, 2. H. 0.194 m.

⁵ 2002.3-4. From Abusir. Watzinger, *op. cit.*, 8.

⁶ 26.149. From Naucratis. C. C. Edgar, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire, Greek Vases* (1911), pl. iii.

⁷ B 108. From Tell Defenneh. W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Tanis II* (London, 1888), pl. 30, 2. *Jdl* 10 (1896), 43, fig. 6.

⁸ From Rhodes. Blinkenberg, *Lindos I*, pl. 48, no. 1058.

⁹ G 129.4. From Memphis. *CVA Oxford II*, pl. 401, 14.

¹⁰ On the fragment in Oxford.

the TN amphora. The fragment in Cairo has the outline of each scale doubled and those in the British Museum show a central black dot in the white. The fragment in Oxford has been pronounced Clazomenian by Miss E. Price, whose classification of East Greek Pottery¹¹ is still the most comprehensive study of the group. "Clazomenian" origin is asserted for the Cairo and London fragments by C. C. Edgar,¹² while the Berlin amphora still goes under the name 'Ionic.'¹³ One of the reasons why some of these vases have been called Clazomenian is their rather close relationship with the 'Clazomenian' sarcophagi, which were perhaps executed in or near Clazomenae. Now, the scale pattern is the most common pattern on the 'Clazomenian' vases, therefore a further link is secured by the fact that it is also found on Clazomenian sarcophagi.¹⁴ Whether or not 'Clazomenian' vases were produced at Clazomenae proper, the TN amphora belongs to the group of neck amphorae, which, as we have seen, are called Clazomenian for the greater part.

The question as to the date is more involved. The most weighty of Sir Flinders Petrie's reasons¹⁵ for dating the Greek pottery from Tell Defenneh prior to 565 B. C. no longer holds ground.¹⁶ A. Rumpf is inclined to date it in the second half of the sixth century,¹⁷ while Miss Price takes 540 to be the lower limit.¹⁸ The Oxford fragment from Memphis she assigns to the first half of the sixth century.¹⁹ The

¹¹ Union Académique Internationale, *Classification des céramiques antiques* 13 (1927).

¹² *Loc. cit.*, p. 10. The quotation marks are his.

¹³ K. A. Neugebauer, *Führer durch das Antiquarium* (Berlin, 1932), 36. Cf., however, C. Bulas, *BCH* 56 (1932), 398.

¹⁴ E.g. *BCH* 19 (1895), pl. i (Louvre). Berlin inv. 3145 (*Antike Denkmäler herausgegeben vom Deutschen archäologischen Institut I*, fasc. iv, pl. 44).

¹⁵ *Tanis II*, p. 62.

¹⁶ A. Rumpf, *Gnomon* 1 (1925), 330; R. M. Cook, *JHS* 57 (1937), 229.

¹⁷ *Jdl* 48 (1933), 60.

¹⁸ *Classification des céramiques antiques* 13, p. 23.

¹⁹ See note 9.

TN amphora, however, shows in its shape already certain signs of Attic influence and thus dates within the latest phase of the group to which it belongs. A date between 540 and 530 seems not unlikely.

It is worth mentioning that the TN amphora is to my knowledge the only 'Clazomenian' vase found in Palestine so far.

ATTIC BLACK FIGURE

2. Wall and handle fragment of a skyphos (Room 502, x21, x28). Estimated diameter of the bowl 0.167 m. Slightly offset lip. The interior and the lower part of the exterior are painted black. The outside of the lip in almost its total height is black, too, with but a narrow reserved line on the very rim. The handle is black with the inside reserved. The exterior shows a fragmentary figure decoration in black-figured technique. The figure on the extreme left can be made out as female. From similar, though more complete, representations²⁰ we are able to identify her as a sphinx, facing right, of which just the head and the breast are preserved. The scrawl on the right is a rather carelessly done palmette. The top frond has a purple patch, purple also appears on the sphinx's shoulder and in the hair, where it is meant to be a fillet. The palmette is incised at its core.

The draftsmanship is coarse. Some of the white on the face and breast of the sphinx is applied directly on the clay ground. The black is uneven and has faded partly. The color of the clay is reddish buff. There are fingerprints at the handle-stub and on its underside.

Date: about 500 B. C., perhaps slightly earlier.

3. Shoulder fragment of an oinochoe (Cistern 361, x103). Estimated diameter of the shoulder: 0.128 m. Thickness of wall: 3.5 mm. The interior is unpainted; the black glaze on the exterior has come off to a great extent. The color of the clay is a greenish yellow. On the right end of the fragment the rest of a panel decoration in black-figured technique can be made out, though only part of the border and the end of a vine or ivy branch remains. That suffices, however, to assign the fragment to its

class: there are numerous examples of these second-rate late black-figured oinochoai.²¹

Date: about 500 B. C.

ATTIC RED FIGURE

4. Stem and bowl fragment of a cup (Test Trench in X 22, M 523a). Greatest dimension 0.074 m. Thickness of wall between 4 and 8 mm. Diameter of stem: 0.025 m. The stem shows two rather hastily incised lines, which serve as a base fillet.²² Its interior is hollow.

Part of the figure decoration of the inside is preserved. It represents a reclining man, seen from behind, who wears an Oriental cap.²³ Execution and choice of subject show that the cup belongs to the so-called Pithos group, a group of some 30 late-sixth-century cups of surprisingly bad workmanship, which was assembled by J. D. Beazley.²⁴ Apart from the TN fragment a cup in Washington²⁵ can be added to his list.

Relief line is used throughout except for the contour of the hair. Though not much of the exterior is preserved, one can assume that there was no figure decoration on it, since that is a characteristic of the group. What was the shape of the cup? Of the 31 cups and cup fragments of the Pithos group, 19 are too fragmentary to permit a conclusion, six of the unpublished I have not seen. The remaining six all are offset lip cups, Beazley's type III.²⁶ Their measurements show an almost negligible difference, which never exceeds 1.5 cm. Was the offset lip cup therefore the Pithos group's favorite shape? Its stock pattern is a reclining youth, seen from behind. When he is most fully equipped he wears an Oriental cap and has a huge black drinking horn. Sometimes the tiara is omitted, and sometimes the drinking horn: our piece shows the cap, but not enough re-

²¹ Compare especially E. Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg* (Munich, 1932), pl. 104, nos. 351-352.

²² Cf. J. D. Beazley, *JHS* 49 (1939), 2 on no. 5.

²³ For symposiasts wearing tiaras cf. P. Jacobsthal, *Göttinger Vasen*, 61 (*Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse, Neue Folge*, Band XIV, No. 1, Berlin 1912), and J. D. Beazley's comment on P. Jacobsthal's conclusion in *JHS* 49 (1939), 3-4.

²⁴ *Campana Fragments in Florence* (Oxford, 1933), 27 on pl. 20, no. 19 and p. 30 on pl. D no. 4; *JHS* 49 (1939), 2 ff., nos. 6-14.

²⁵ U. S. National Museum 197.245. Lent by Mrs. E. A. H. Magruder. Said to be from Italy.

²⁶ *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* (Tübingen, 1925), 4, 'Randschale.'

²⁰ Corinth 1077a, *Hesperia* 7 (1938), 573, fig. 7, 12; G. Libertini, *Il Museo Biscari*, pl. lxix, nos. 655-656.

mains to be sure about the horn. At any rate the closest parallel to our piece is a cup found in Rhodes.²⁷

Date: the rather homogeneous group has been dated to the last quarter of the sixth century.²⁸

5. Cup fragment (Dump, N, P, Q, 13, 14, 15, x12). Greatest dimension 0.033 m. Thickness of wall between 2.5 and 3 mm.

Black glaze on the inside. Remainder of a red figure decoration outside.

Fifth century?

ATTIC BLACK WITH STAMPED DESIGN

6. Foot and bottom fragment of a stemless cup or plate (Silo 157). Approximate diameter of foot: 0.092 m. Thickness of bottom 7 mm., near center 9 mm. The fragment is painted black except for the underside of the foot and a reserved line all the way round at the junction of foot and bowl. The impressed design in the interior shows five concentric circles consisting of small notched points.

Second half of the fifth century.

Plate 60.

ATTIC BLACK

7. Offset-lip cup (M 127 + 783, Silo 62 and AG 28, I). Found in fragments. The missing parts with the exception of the handles are now restored in plaster. Diameter of bowl: 0.128 m., diameter of foot: 0.074 m., height: 0.08-0.085 m., height of lip: 0.02 m.

Glazed everywhere except for the side and resting surface of the foot, the inside of the handles, and the reserved patches under them. Two incised lines on the stem serve as substitute for a base filet.²⁹ Owing to faulty firing the glaze has turned into a brilliant brownish red with the original or intended black preserved in but a few places. There are also signs of a greenish deposit on the outside. In the interior one notices at ca. 0.035 m. distance from the center a circle around it in a somewhat lighter hue. This

²⁷ 13.386. Published in *Clara Rhodos* 4, 202, fig. 212, and republished in *CVA Italy* X, pl. 502, 2, but the reproduction in *Clara Rhodos* is preferable.

²⁸ Cf. J. D. Beazley, *JHS*, *loc. cit.*, "these cups may be somewhat later than they look, but probably ceased before the end of the sixth century."

²⁹ See note 22.

may have been caused by the foot of another pot, which stood in our cup during the process of firing.

Date: the shape of the cup and the foot in particular suggest that it belongs to the period between 520 and 490 B. C. A red-figured cup in Boston,³⁰ which has almost identical measurements and proportions, has been dated on stylistic grounds around 500 B. C.³¹

FRAGMENTS

The following fragments are all Attic and date in all probability for the most part from the fifth century. They show too little, however, to prove, whether they belong to Attic Red Figure or Attic Black. The arrangement is according to shapes and within the shape roughly chronological.

HANDLES OF CUPS

8. Handle fragment with generous portion of adjoining wall of an offset lip cup (Test Trench in X 22, M 523c). Diameter of bowl may have been 0.18 m. Grayish black glaze on inside of wall; outside turned to rusty reddish brown. Black retained only in a few isolated spots such as underside of handle. Glaze entirely gone from almost all of outside of handle and exposed clay turned to pale green; no reserved patch on wall under handle. Thickness of wall on lip: 0.002 m., near handle stub: 0.003 m. Diameter of handle at fracture: 0.009.

9. Handle fragment of offset lip cup (Cistern 304, x55). Greatest dimension 0.053 m. Glaze on inside of adjoining wall portion a lustrous black; on handle proper a greenish black. Inside of handle reserved, though not regularly. Color of clay: yellow buff. Fingermarks.

10. Handle fragment of offset cup (Test Trench). Greatest dimension 0.065 m. Lustrous black glaze, slightly diluted on underside of handle. Clay: reddish buff. Shape and execution of best quality.

11. Handle fragment of offset lip cup (Room 494, x11). Greatest dimension 0.05 m. Uneven green-black glaze on handle; deep black glaze on inside of cup. Clay: pale light-brown.

³⁰ 00.336. Cf. Caskey, *Geometry of Greek Vases* (Boston, 1922), 180-181, no. 135.

³¹ A fragment of a similar cup was found in Cistern 304, cf. J. C. Wampler, *BAS* 82 (1941), 32, and below no. 9. Cf. also chap. XVIII, i, 2.

12. Handle fragment of cup (Test Trench in X 21, 22). Greatest dimension 0.05 m. Glaze grayish black on handle, black on inside of adjoining wall. Clay: pale buff.

13. Handle fragment of cup (Room 383, x6). Greatest dimension 0.048. Glaze on inside of same dull black as on outside in those places where not gone entirely. Clay: light yellow buff.

14. Handle fragment of cup(?) (Room 568, x25). Greatest dimension 0.038 m. Grayish black glaze. Clay: pale buff. Fingermarks.

15. Handle stub and wall fragment of cup (AD 19, x46). Greatest dimension 0.047 m.; thickness of wall 0.0045 m.; distance between handle stubs 0.016 m. Reserved patch under handle. Grayish-black glaze. Clay: yellow-brown. Fingermarks.

WALL FRAGMENTS FROM CUPS

16. Rim fragment of offset lip cup (Dump, V 22, x3). Approximate diameter of bowl 0.18.; thickness of wall 0.0035 m. Greatest dimension 0.036 m. Even and very glossy black glaze. Clay: reddish-brown.

17. Rim fragment of offset lip cup (Dump, V 22, x3). Approximate diameter of bowl 0.18 m.; thickness of wall 0.0035 m.; greatest dimension 0.03 m. Even and very glossy black glaze. Clay: reddish-brown.³²

18. Rim fragment of offset lip cup (AE19, x26). Approximate diameter 0.16 m.; thickness of wall 0.0035 m.; greatest dimension 0.03 m. Rather dull and thin black glaze. Clay: light yellow-brown.

19. Rim fragment of cup with inturned rim (Room 597, x9). Approximate diameter of cup 0.22 m.; thickness of wall 0.006 m. Reserved line along the edge of the rim. Even and lustrous black glaze with very slight greenish-gray tint. Clay: reddish ocher.

20. Wall fragment of cup (Dump, V 22, x3). Thickness of wall 0.003 m.; greatest measurement 0.025 m. Glaze and clay as nos. 16 and 17; may belong to either of them.

21. Wall fragment of cup (T 25, x7). Greatest dimension 0.028 m.; thickness of wall 0.0032 m.

Even and lustrous black glaze with slightly grayish tint. Clay: grayish red.

22. Wall fragment of cup (no exact provenance recorded). Greatest dimension 0.033 m.; thickness of wall 0.0065 m. From near center. Lustrous, but not very heavy black glaze. Clay: brick-red.

BASE FRAGMENTS OF CUPS

23. Fragment of torus base (V 22, x18). Diameter 0.08 m.; height 0.013. Remnants of black glaze on inside and upper outside of base now dull gray. Clay: pale yellow. Probably not later than 480 B. C.

24. Wall and base fragment of stemless cup (Test Trench, M 393 + 523b). Diameter of base 0.044 m.; thickness of wall 0.008-0.005 m. Under-side of bowl reserved. Glaze on inside, a not very lustrous black with slight grayish tint, on outside, bad and irregular; pale green brush strokes on brown background. Clay: dull grayish-red.

25. Base fragment of stemless cup (Dump, AA 24, x5). Diameter of base 0.10 m. Black lustrous glaze everywhere, except for reserved red line at junction of foot and bowl in inside of base. Clay: light brick-red.

BASE FRAGMENT OF SMALL SKYPHOS

26. (Dump, T25, V24, 25, x1). Diameter of base 0.083 m. Lustrous black glaze on inner and outer surfaces. Resting surface of foot is reserved. Clay: pale reddish-yellow.

BASE FRAGMENTS OF LEKYTHOI

27. (Rooms 409, 413, x11). Diameter of foot 0.073 m.; height 0.012 m. Rather shiny, greenish gray glaze. Clay: yellow ocher.

28. (Room 597, x9). Diameter 0.034 m.; height 0.0095 m. Grayish black glaze. Clay: brick-red.

NONDESCRIPT FRAGMENT

29. (AF20, x35). Splinter from pot, perhaps cup. Shiny black glaze. Clay: grayish-red.

[After returning from service in the United States army, Dr. von Bothmer made certain additions to be found on p. 304.]

³² This fragment may belong to the same cup as fragment no. 16.

CHAPTER XVI

THE STRATIFICATION OF TELL EN-NASBEH

J. CARSON WAMPLER

I. CONDITIONS AND METHODS

1. The stratification of TN is probably the most confused and uncertain of any site yet excavated in Palestine. Consequently, the inductive rather than deductive method was most useful in clarifying the general situation. The contents of each room, cistern, bin, silo, or recording unit were carefully studied and dated; dating was dependent on comparative study and a limited number of objects of dating significance. However, the relative positions and types of walls frequently supplied important dating qualifications even though substantial claims cannot be made for the value of this evidence in the separation of levels or phases over considerable areas. Nevertheless, a combination of these methods, as applied to units, makes it possible to assemble certain of them into groups which help to proportion the archaeological history of the site. The results follow in detail.

2. First it is necessary to have in mind the physical characteristics of the site. It is a hill top surrounded by a large wall. Roughly in the center is a large area now covered by rubble piles where the bedrock protrudes through the surface or is very near it. Adjoining this area, the debris covering the rock is not thick, and this condition prevails to within a few meters of the city wall, except for a few areas. At about the line of the earlier wall the bedrock falls away rather sharply, and between it and the large wall the debris is deepest. However, this dropping away of the bedrock contour is not so sharp at the north end and in some areas on the east and west sides. Those at the north end and some on the west side were excavated to bedrock, and they furnished the best evidence for the separation of the earlier from the later structures. Here there was limited opportunity for the formation of layers. At the center, where the bedrock was at or near the sur-

face, each new building phase made its own or swept clear an earlier phase, just as the latest phase in this region has been wiped out by subsequent farming operations. Between these two areas lies a third zone where stratification cannot be distinguished but where phases are apparent. Here, a number of building operations took place within about the same horizontal band of elevation. The various phases often have some distinguishing characteristics by reason of variation in plans or slight differences in elevation, even though there are factors of overlapping, destruction, combination, and reuse to consider.¹ So at TN, we are considering a site having comparatively shallow accumulation of debris and confused and uncertain stratification.

3. Then, the determination of the time sequence in the culture of this site must draw heavily upon the evidence of the artifacts to support and fill out the evidence of the structures. Consequently, some repetition of the general history is necessary but only so much as is required to explain the structures or their lack.

II. THE EARLIEST OCCUPATION

1. Evidence for the earliest occupation of the hill top is drawn from CTs 5 and 6, Ca 193, several silos, and a number of pockets in the bedrock.² In addition, early artifacts were found in debris near the bedrock throughout the site as well as scattered through the higher debris, or even on the surface. Remains from caves or tombs without the walls supplemented this evidence. The earliest now seems to be LC or EB i, and it is in some quantity until EB iii. However, there were no house structures found that can be identified with this early occupation, but CR 68 has a rubble masonry cross wall

¹ See pl. 61: 1-4 for illustrations of the features discussed.

² See above, chap. VIII.

which is slight evidence to suggest that the early inhabitants were cave dwellers.

2. A small amount of pottery was found which belongs to the latter part of EB. MB i is represented by some fragments of the typical cooking pot rims without holes,³ and MB ii by a small group from T. 69 (chap. VIII, iii, 10). No building on the site can be associated with the MB period.

3. The next evidence is to be identified with the LB-EI period. Fragments of a wishbone-handle bowl, several bilbils, some painted sherds, and a more numerous representation of local pottery are to be assigned to this general period. The nature of the evidence and present knowledge of ceramics for LB-EI does not warrant a more precise determination. Neither is it possible to date any of the architectural fragments to this period, although it could not be said that none were so early.

III. EARLIEST STRUCTURES

1. The earliest architectural structures which can be dated with any confidence are the inner city wall and the towers.⁴ An 11th cent. date is not too early for these. In close association with the wall are some rooms which probably were built about the same time. These are part of a series of structures assigned to str. ii, which is separated from str. i by an intervening layer of debris labeled Sub i. The two most important areas for str. ii are at the north end and on the west side.⁵

2. Stratum ii, like str. i, is to be regarded as a well-marked structural layer. In the region near the large wall it is distinctly separate from str. i, but the two become less easy to distinguish as the center of the site is approached. But where they are distinct, each represents a complex of more than one building phase. Of the rooms on the west side, 549 (AF 18), 550 (AG 18), and 552 (AF 17) show by their contents that they belong to the earlier part of the period covered by str. ii, which apparently extends from about the 11th to the 7th cent. Rs. 545, 546, 551, 553, 554, (AF 17, 18), and 556 (AE 18) have

³ *AAS* 12: 11, 15, 24.

⁴ In squares Z-AM 13-23, AC-AM 24-26; Q 14, and Z 12. See discussion below, chap. XVII, i, ii.

⁵ See map of north end str. ii and one of west side including AE, AF, AG 17, 18, figs. 41, 42, also pl. 61: 5-7.

a longer history; Rs. 555 (AG 18), 559, 560, and 561 (AE 18) belong to the latter phase of str. ii; and Rs. 543 (AF 18), 544, 547 (AF 17), and 557 (AE 17) overlap the period of str. i on the basis of contents as they seem to on the basis of structure.⁶ At the north end Rs. 213, 214 (P 15), 215 (N 15), and 243 (Q 14) have a mixture of EB, EI, and MI materials. Just what rooms are to be associated with the same building phase as that for the large city wall⁷ of the early 9th cent. is not clear. The room contents indicate historical phases which are not necessarily correlated with separate building phases, as has already been indicated, due to the physical characteristics of the site and the factors of reuse and remodeling.

3. Evidence for the phases of the str. ii period was found also in a study of the contents of other structures covered by walls or flag-stone floors of str. i.⁸ Si 244 was EB i, Sis 254 and 309 belong to the earlier part of str. ii and the remainder to the latter part. An even larger series of structures was covered in part by str. i walls, as for example walls over silo openings.⁹ Their contents include EB, EI, and MI material. That of a limited number overlaps the earlier part of the period for str. i which suggests the covering walls belong to a later phase of str. i. Such was true of Cis 317(?), 357, 358, and 359, but they varied in date within the period *ca.* 900-586 B. C. These supply the major evidence for the phases of str. ii.

4. The evidence for the chronological period covered rests primarily on comparative study of pottery and artifacts. The discussion of the walls and towers considered special aspects of it.¹⁰ To ascribe the beginning of str. ii to the 11th cent. is to put a conservative interpretation on the dating significance of 47 Philistine sherds plus about a dozen more which might be Philistine; for extension into the 12th cent. is a reasonable possibility. This possibility is

⁶ For these and following structures and areas see major plan. See also chap. XVIII, vii, 2, and the accompanying figure.

⁷ For discussion see chap. XVII, iii.

⁸ Such are: Silos 94, 142, 212, 219, 244, 246, 247, 254, 256, 258, 269, 271, 309, 313, and 338.

⁹ Such are: Silos 100, 105, 116, 141, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207A, 209, 210, 211, 214, 217, 218, 220, 221, 223, 249, 252, 253, 257, 259, 263, 265, 268, 270, 272, 274, 291, 293, 294, 298, 299, 300, 307, 308, 310, 314, 316, and Ci 351.

¹⁰ See discussion, chap. XVII.

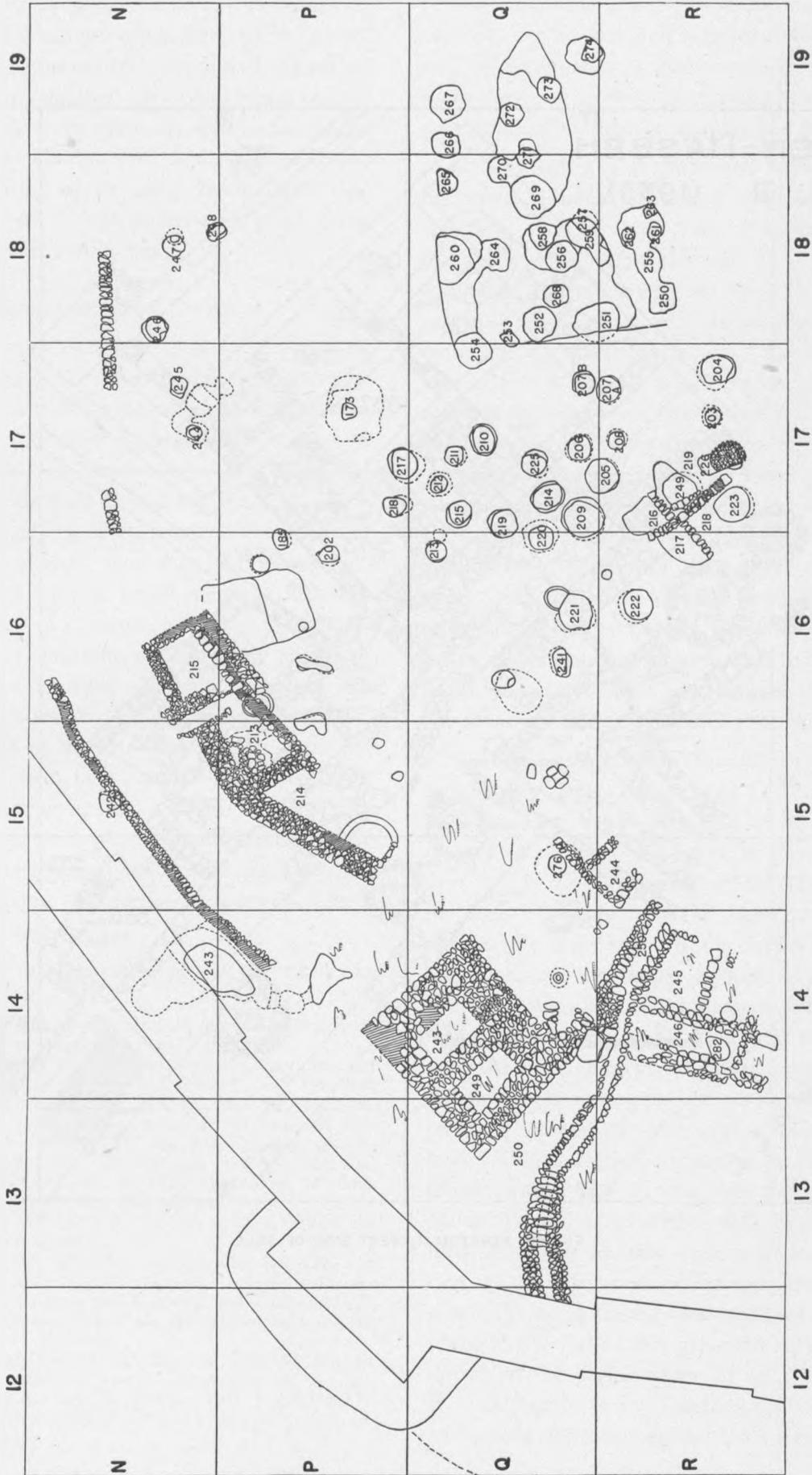


FIG. 41. STRATUM II. NORTH END OF TELL.

further supported by fairly numerous examples of early EI types of cooking pots, craters, flasks, lamps, jars, and collared-rims of zirs. The end of the period covering str. ii is suggested by a comparison of pottery types, especially on the basis of new and fuller information from TN, but it is mainly limited by the more precise dating of structures belonging to the earliest phase of str. i. The evidence for subdividing and dating is now traced in detail.

IV. SUBDIVISIONS OF STRATUM I

1. Cistern groups were important for subdividing the phases of str. i. A number of rooms also contained dating material,¹¹ especially seal impressions, and these were important supplementary sources of information. Since a number of rooms had flag-stone floors or were built on bedrock, there was much less chance of mixing their contents with earlier material.¹² The cisterns (see chap. XII) furnished more valuable as well as larger series of artifacts.

2. On the basis of structure, overlapping of plans, and variations in elevation, at least three phases of str. i can be distinguished. In some areas overlapping is quite apparent.¹³ Certain structures which in the main belong to the late phase of str. i do not appear on the main city plan.¹⁴ Other structures appear to be late by reason of their location with respect to the major city plan.¹⁵ Most of these can be placed in the late phase of str. i on the basis of their contents, but mixing with earlier elements does occur in a number of cases.

3. Although three building phases for str. i can

be noticed in some places (and there might be more), only two can be indicated with any confidence. These will be designated as earlier and later. In a few areas these are reasonably distinct, but for the most part evidence on them is sporadic and uncertain.

4. The earlier is characterized by house walls of one-stone thickness, a kind of crude "header" construction, if such terms can be applied to rubble masonry. However, these walls do show a different technique; larger stones were used; they were more carefully laid and usually across the line of the wall; and the walls are thinner. The best examples are shown on fig. 43, which represents an attempt to separate these walls from other walls of str. i on the main plan. The reasonableness of the separation is very apparent when the two plans are compared. There are few examples, however, of what might be a complete or nearly complete house plan in the thin walls. The best possibilities appear to be in AD, AE 17, 18. Even here some modification of the technique is to be noted. Elsewhere, the thinner walls are variously combined with thicker walls. It seems moderately clear that a number of these are combinations of earlier and later techniques.

5. As to date of the thin-wall phase, the most important evidence comes from Ci 370, R. 514, and associated structures. Ci 370 is to be ascribed with reasonable certainty to a house of the thin-wall type (pl. 62:3). Ci 370 was dated *ca.* 700-586 B. C. on the basis of single *lemelekh* impressions and comparison of pottery types. Room or street 514 received a similar date for similar reasons, and it is mainly associated with thin wall structures (pl. 62:4). The contents of a number of other thin-wall rooms are assigned to the same period on comparative evidence. Other associated cisterns are similarly dated. Level readings indicate the buildings of thicker walls are later. This is further supported by the fact that a thicker wall in AE 20 was built in front of a door sill in R. 464. The thicker wall being higher was likely later. In addition there is important information on the separation of the thin and thicker wall phases to be gathered from pottery found in the room walls. All of this gives strong support to the dating of the earlier phase of str. i to *ca.* 700-586 B. C. or slightly later. The dating of this phase with reasonable confidence establishes a *terminus ad quem*

¹¹ Note that structures having objects of dating significance are listed in the Inventory (Appendix B of Volume II).

¹² See pl. 62: 12. The following had flag-stone floors, although a few were fragmentary: Rs. 136, 164, 172, 175, 192, 198, 199, 232, 242, 244, 259, 326, 331, 334, 376, 381, 386, 388, 402, 460, 467, 477, 529, 538 541, 599, 605, 614, 634, 641, 661, and 664. Those on bed-rock are: Rs. 335, 336, 432, 436, 437, 438, 441(?), 442, 443, 444, 450, 452, 453, 455, 457, 458, 459, 461, 462, 464, 467(?), 470, 471, 476(?), 480, 488, 519(?), 520(?), 562, 565, 615, 619(?), 625, 638, 653, 655, 657, and 669.

¹³ E. g. AA 23-25, AB 23-25, AC 24, AD 20-21, AE 19-20, AF 17-20, AK 20-21, and AL 20-23.

¹⁴ They are: Rs. 103, 108, 111, 112, 222, 223, 228, 229, 270, 271, 272, 274, 275, 277, 319, 373, 374, and 377, house walls over city wall in X 25, and some wall fragments and a kiln in N, P, Q 22, 23, and 24. Some of these are discussed in chap. XVIII; see figs. 41-3.

¹⁵ They are: Rs. 89, 91, 185, 222, 223, 228, 229, 254, 256-259, 270-277, masonry fragments around entrance to Ca 285 and probably to be associated with its latest use, 294(?), 295, 298(?), 299-303, 306-310, 319, 363-374, 377, 401, 402, 421, 422, and 533 and Bins 311-312.

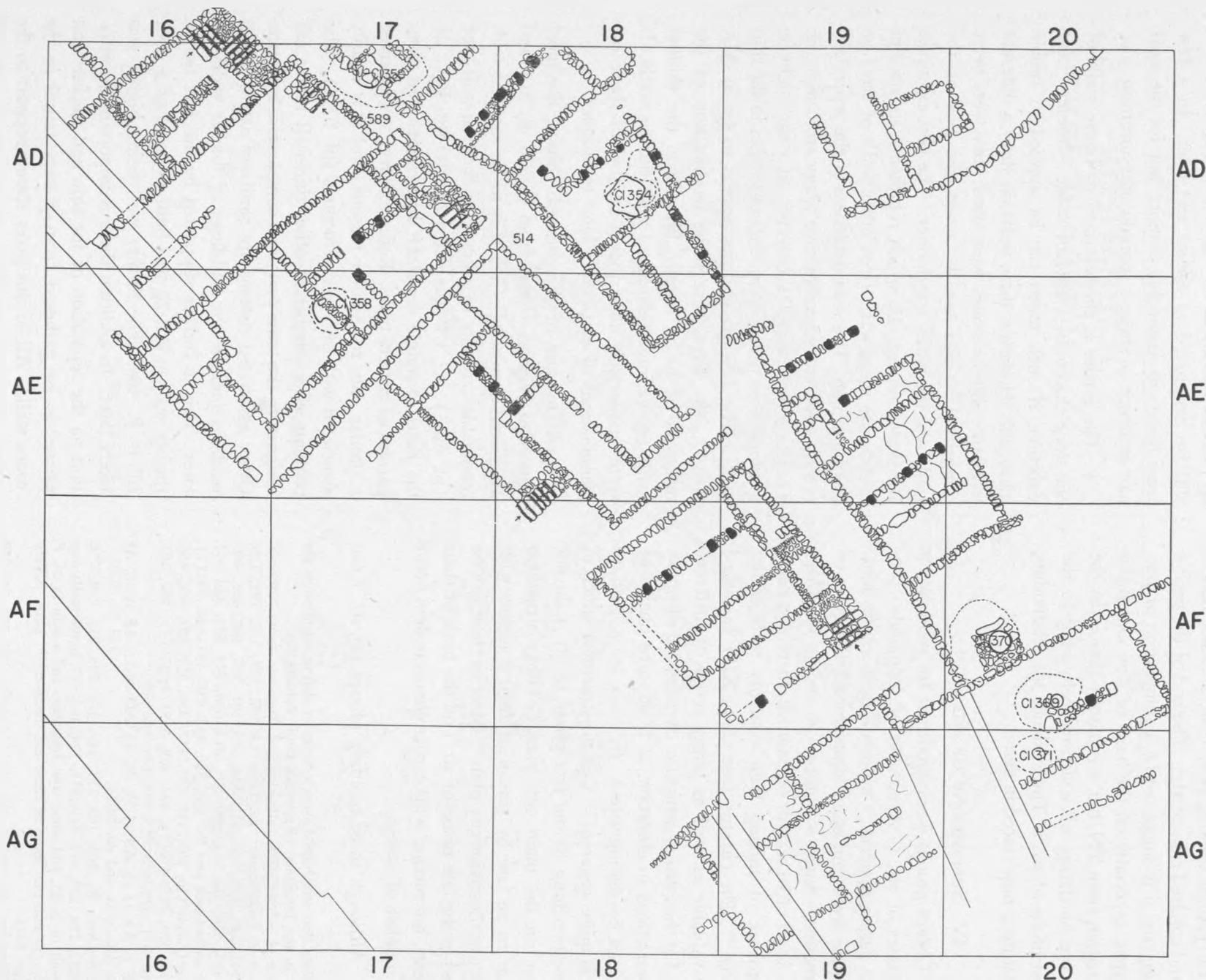


FIG. 43. EXAMPLES OF STRUCTURES, EARLY PHASE OF STRATUM I.

for the latest phase of str. ii, a terminus which the pottery suggests could be placed in the 8th cent.

V. LATER PHASE OF STRATUM I

1. The best evidence for the later phase of str. i comes from the following sources: rooms built over the city wall such as 299, 302, 303, and Rs. 270, 271, and 272, which do not show on the main plan, as well as wall fragments in X 25; drains in M 18, N 15, Y 11, 12, AD 14, and AG 16, 17; a small wall on the outer edge of the large city wall (apparently a modification of the city's defenses which took place after the destruction of the large wall) as can be seen in N 14, 15 and X, Y, Z 11; and low foundation walls of houses found near the surface here and there over the site.¹⁶ The position of these leaves no doubt as to their belonging to a later phase.

2. Now to identify associated but less clearly marked remains and to suggest a date. Here we rely upon the evidence of technique, artifacts, plan, and elevation. The walls built over the large city wall are thicker than the walls just discussed. They are usually of two lines of stone which frequently have a filler of small stones. Even the outside or facing stones are not so large as those of the crude "header" construction.

3. Looking over the main city plan, it is possible to pick out a number of walls similar to those just discussed. Further it is noticed that these walls frequently cross or overlap the ground plan of a thinner wall construction. Level readings often confirm this implication of later and earlier.¹⁷ A study of the artifacts adds valuable information respecting this separation.¹⁸ Potsherds taken from the walls add weighty evidence for the identification and dating of these walls.

4. The date for the building of the walls under discussion cannot well be earlier than the 6th cent. B. C. on the basis of the potsherds found in them. Moreover, they would favor an advanced date in the 6th cent. When it comes to dating the approximate period of use the problem is complicated. Here

¹⁶ Pls. 62: 5, 6; 63: 1, 3.

¹⁷ See above, sec. iii, 1 and 2 for lists of rooms that have bearings on these points.

¹⁸ Here, due to mixing, a small series might be confusing, but our large series shows a significant grouping.

we are concerned with the last major occupation of the site, which is to be associated with the later phase of str. i.

5. The most satisfactory date for this period to my mind is to give it a possible extension of *ca.* 586-400 B. C. but with more emphasis on *ca.* 575-450 B. C. The most important reason for this is that a great amount of the TN pottery has close affinities with MI ceramics.¹⁹ Conversely, there is a limited amount of pottery at TN to be compared with LI types such as were found at 'Athlît and Tell Abū Hawam. A more precise lower limit is suggested by the Greek ware. About 30 fragments have been dated within the range *ca.* 540-420 B. C.²⁰ Now a number of seal impressions have been ascribed to the postexilic period.²¹ The suggested dates for these would probably demand a somewhat later general range than has been proposed, inasmuch as certain varieties are sufficiently numerous to be associated with an important occupation of the site.²² However, the possibility of the impressions being earlier was mentioned. Since there is greater relative certainty regarding the mass of MI pottery and its close affinities and the Greek pottery than for the seal impressions, it is reasonable to accept tentatively the implications of the former. Therefore, until more information is available on LI pottery and postexilic epigraphy, the dates suggested for the later phase of str. i seem a conservative estimate.

6. With this we have considered the latest important occupation of the site which can be traced in the structural remains. Later structures there were, as we surmise from the artifacts, although the importance of the site greatly diminished. Coins and pottery are among the evidences of the Hellenistic period. As to structures, the evidence for this period comes from caves—Caves 167, 168, and reuse of 193

¹⁹ Professor Albright has used a similar type of argument when attempting to establish the approximate close of Megiddo Stratum I; *AJA* 44 (1940), 549.

²⁰ See chap. XV.

²¹ See chap. XIV, iv.

²² [Quite the contrary! Mr. Wampler must have misunderstood my conclusions. This and the statements following are not clear to me. I do not at all agree, if I understand Mr. Wampler's meaning, as to a late date for numerous seal impressions. The ceramic chronology for MI and LI seems to me quite uncertain. But the tentative conclusions suggested in chap. XIV, vi seem to me to agree with Mr. Wampler's reading of the ceramic evidence. Unfortunately, I noticed this discrepancy after he was called into the service of the United States. C. C. M.]

and of 285.²³ Structures that can definitely be attributed to Roman or Byzantine times were not found on top of the hill, although artifacts for these periods are of scattered occurrence. By this time life on the hill top had ceased in favor of small communities established on the neighboring slopes.

VI. A SPECIAL STUDY OF ONE AREA

1. At our request, Dr. G. Ernest Wright very kindly made a careful and detailed examination of some of the pottery and of the records for str. i and ii on the west side.²⁴ This was a limited area, but one of the best sections for studying the stratification of the site. The results he achieved approximate very closely the conclusions based on a careful consideration of every architectural unit and its contents. Although I examined his study thoroughly when it was received two years ago, my analysis as now made may be taken as being almost entirely independent. Consequently, the close similarity of results is significant.

2. His conclusions are as follows:

"Schematically, then, we may outline the situ-

²³ Pl. 63: 4, 5.

²⁴ See plan of AE, AF, AG 16-19 in fig. 42, and chap. XVIII, vii, 5.

ation as follows, keeping in mind that our conclusions as to phases need checking with other loci on the mound:

Level II, *ca.* 1100-700 B. C.

Phase 1—11th-10th centuries.

Subsequent phases or phase—9th, 8th centuries.

Level I, *ca.* 700-350 (?) B. C.

Phase 1—*ca.* 7th-early 6th centuries.

Subsequent phase or phases—6th-4th centuries."

3. His caution as to the conclusions based on the area which he studied is natural, since considerable mixing and overlapping occurred here. This factor was brought out in the above discussion. One of the contributions of the broader study was to achieve greater certainty about the strata and phases.

4. Differences between the conclusions are slight. Phases of level ii do not appear to me sufficiently well marked to set apart. And the dates for the last substantial occupation of the site do not correspond. Wright's date is later, although it is possible that he relies on the artifactual rather than the architectural evidence. If so, we are in close agreement.

PART III

MATERIALS OF CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE

THIS SECTION of the report attempts to present a portion of the results which constitute the ultimate and essential purpose of archaeology, those which represent the cultural achievements of the people and interpret their life. Much of the material in this category has already been discussed in Part II. What appears here has also in part chronological value but its chief interest is the light it throws on Hebrew-Jewish life in the pre-exilic and early postexilic periods.

CHAPTER XVII

THE DEFENSES OF TELL EN-NASBEH

TWO CITY WALLS came to light in the excavation of the tell. The first to be discovered was the great wall which turned the hilltop into one of the strongest Hebrew fortresses in Palestine, certainly the strongest of its size that has yet been found. However, it was not the first city wall. Excavation had not gone far into the interior of the city at the southern end until sparse remains of another wall, of a very different and markedly inferior kind, were discovered. The history of the fortification of the site was further complicated by the discovery of two very strongly built two-room structures which, to judge from the thickness of their walls, must have been defensive towers, but which were not structurally or, it would seem, strategically related to either wall. They have the characteristics of a small *migdal*.

I. TWO ANCIENT TOWERS

1. One of the two towers was found practically filling the space between the two walls in Z, AA 12. The two rooms enclosed, nos. 304 and 305, were *ca.* 5.75 m. long. R. 304 was a rectangle 1.50 m. wide. R. 305 was 1.50 m. wide at the eastern and 1.75 m. at the western end. The tower was 8.40 m. wide and, therefore, the exterior gives no excuse for the irregularity of R. 305. Its full length is uncertain because the west end was destroyed to make place for the great wall. The north side remains to a length of 10.20 m., the south to 9.50 m. The eastern end wall was 2.20 m. thick, the north wall 2.00 m., and the south wall 1.75 m. thick. The structure was thus fairly regular in plan and strong in construction. The walls were founded on bedrock and correspond in solidity to those of fortresses I and II at Tell el-Fûl, but in construction they appear to be equal, if not superior. They are superior, or, if not, certainly they are equal to the great city wall, for

they were made of large partially squared blocks laid almost in regular courses.¹

The means for determining the date of the structure from finds in the interior are slight. In R. 304 three vessel fragments were found which, judged from one or two parallels in each case, might belong to LB and EI ii-iii. In R. 305 five pottery fragments and a flint are recorded. One base belongs to a hand-made jar of EB date, the other fragments to LB and EI, the last predominating. As will be shown below, the date was eventually determined along with that of the inner wall as falling in EI i.²

2. The second "tower" is quite different from the first, in shape, in plan, and in construction. It lies about 5 m. from the great wall, chiefly in square Q 14. No walls that indubitably belonged to the thin inner wall are to be found in this portion of the tell, but one which might represent such remains comes up from the south and joins an eastward extension of the south wall of the tower. The extension very strangely narrows and runs out into nothing some 9 m. southeast of the corner of the tower. That connection with another wall differentiates this tower from the other. The northern tower's irregularity of plan and construction is another striking difference. Its length on the northwest is over 9 m., on the southwest *ca.* 8.50. Its width varies from 7 to 7.50 m. Its walls vary from 1.60 to 2.50 m. in thickness. One room, 243, is fairly regular, measuring *ca.* 1.70 x 3.10 m. The other, R. 249, is 3 m. long, but 1.20 m. wide at one end and 2 m. at the other.³

It is even more difficult to date satisfactorily than the other tower, because of the character of the recorded finds. Ring burnishing on small bowls might indicate MI, but the fragments found were so small

¹ Pl. 64. Cf. *AAS* 4 (1924), figs. 5-8. Possibly I have underestimated Tell el-Fûl, Fortress II.

² See below, ii, 3.

³ See pl. 65: 1.

that more precise definition is impossible. That the tower was in use in MI is no evidence that it did not originate in EI. Possibly, of course, it was not in use in MI, but the sherds found are from debris which accumulated within its walls after it fell into disuse.

II. THE INNER WALL

1. The inner wall (pls. 64: 5; 65: 2-4), so far as it could be traced, averaged about a meter in width. It was usually only two stones thick but in places small stones were laid in the outside courses and the intervening space filled in with other still smaller stones. At times it expanded into a respectable wall, e. g. in square AD 25, 26 it reached a width of from 1.60 to 2 m., and in AG, AH 26 it appears to have achieved an extreme thickness of from 1.75 to 2.50 m. Here, however, it is difficult to distinguish it from house walls built against it.

It was a rubble wall, built of stones of moderate size and laid in clay mortar. It was thus far from being so strong as that of the same date at Tell Beit Mirsim, which averaged about 1.50 m. in thickness and was strengthened by casemates constructed between it and a still thinner inner wall.⁴ There is no clear evidence of casemates and such an additional wall at TN, but a few rooms against the wall in AG, AH 26 and in S-V 13, 14 might be casemates. It is entirely possible that these were houses and were built against the wall from the beginning. But the rooms for which the inner wall formed one side may belong to the time of the great wall, after the inner wall had ceased to have strategic value, and the evidence, therefore is dubious.

2. The extent of the inner wall is impossible to determine. It clearly runs around the southern end of the tell. North of AB 24 on the east side and of Z 13 on the west it cannot be followed, but a series of walls which might form its continuation appears in W 13 on the west and, with frequent long interruptions, can be followed around the north end to P 20. However, what appears as a somewhat discontinuous circumvallation may be only a series of house walls conforming to the contours of the hill. Badè's examination of the walls at the north end convinced him that the thin inner wall never was built about that end of the little city. It is to be noted that the

thin wall turns northwestward in square AE 26, following roughly the 782 m. contour line. It might have curved northward and westward across the tell to the tower in Z 12 or slightly north of it. This, indeed, cannot be positively demonstrated, for the center of the tell was denuded to such an extent that whatever occupation had been there had left no trace. In any case, the gate may have been in the lost northern portion of the wall for no natural place and no evidence for it appears in the southern portion of the tell.

If the earliest city wall did not originally include the north end, it does not follow that there was no occupation there. Neither does it necessarily follow that the "tower" in the northwest area belonged to a late period. The connection of the two towers with the inner wall is most uncertain. Both may belong to any earlier period in the Hebrew settlement. That in Z 12 certainly was not erected as a part of the system of fortification to which the inner wall belonged, else it would have been bonded into that wall and provision made for passing from within the city into the tower. Any such connection is wanting. Moreover the space between wall and tower is so slight that no one could pass between. The natural conclusion is that the two were not contemporaneous, although, if the tower had been first built, the enclosing wall might have been built later. In spite of the peculiar extension of its south side, the same can be said almost as emphatically of the tower in Q 14.

3. The date of the inner wall was as uncertain in the beginning as that of the ancient city as a whole, and various theories were suggested to account for what appeared to be three systems of fortification. Eventually in May, 1932, the question of date was settled. One of the Egyptians was set to work to dig out potsherds from under the west tower and the inner wall. Dr. Badè recognized them as belonging to EI and a few days later Père Vincent carefully examined the two baskets which had been accumulated and pronounced them, by the criterion of ware, to belong to the 12th cent. or earlier in a few cases. Thus the date of both was fixed as belonging to EI i; or early in EI ii.⁵ The numerous house walls built

⁴ *AAS* 21-22 (1943), § 6.

⁵ This marked a complete change from Père Vincent's opinion of a month before, when he had held the tower to belong to the Bronze Age, perhaps even MB. "Diary," April 28, May 24, 31,

over the inner wall are additional proof that it was early and the almost complete lack of LB material on the mound and in the tombs strengthens the argument for an EI i or ii date.

It had been clear from the beginning that the tower in Z 12 had not only been rendered useless but partially destroyed by the building of the great wall. Especially its western end was evidently plundered by the builders of the great wall, for it had suffered more than the east end. Of course the inner wall ceased to function at the same time.

III. THE GREAT WALL

1. The great wall of the city, according to Dr. Badè's calculations, measured in its entire circumference about 660 meters, or 150 yards less than half a mile. It enclosed some 32,000 sq. m., or slightly less than 8 acres. The greatest length of the city, measured from the outside of the walls, was about 265 m., the greatest width about 160 m.⁶ The wall followed contours which ranged mainly between 774 m. and 780 m. above sea level. The lowest spot was on the west side (AA, AB 11), where the base touches 770 m.; the highest at the south end (AM 24, 25), where it reaches 782 m. The highest spot on the mound is about 60 m. north of this point in the wall. There the height was just over 784 m.

2. The construction of the wall deserves particular attention. Dr. Badè says of the southern portion, "The bottom foundation of the wall consisted of a platform of immense rocks, a yard or more in thickness and projecting a foot or two beyond its face. The vertical crevices between them had been left unfilled as if to provide drainage. The wall throughout was built of limestone rocks laid in clay mortar."⁷ The largest, many of which were so heavy that three or four workmen could not move them, were ranged along the two outside surfaces of the wall, the smaller ones within. The crevices were filled with small stones. To a height of fifteen or eighteen feet above the foundation layer, the wall was overlaid with a thick coating of hard, yellow plaster, which was evidently intended to make scaling difficult.

At the northern end a different foundation appeared. After the 1929 expedition Dr. Badè wrote:

Operations were begun on March 15 by cutting a wide trench through the extramural debris along a line at right angles to the clearly marked edge of the city wall. On reaching the outer face of the wall I found, to my great surprise, that it was leaning outward at so sharp an angle that it was impossible, even after shoring it up, to remove all the debris without endangering the lives of the workmen. At one point the talus of rock leaning against the wall showed unmistakably that it had resulted from the outward collapse of an upper section of the wall. Not far from its base were the remains of a retaining wall and beyond it a moat excavated in the limestone bedrock. . . . The attack upon the Tell from the north end has had the advantage of revealing the fact that the city's defenses have had a more complicated history of construction than appeared from the earlier excavations at the south end. For instance, the inner and older city wall was not found at the north end, and hence no intramural area, filled in its upper level with grain bins. The main wall itself showed striking differences of construction. The builders had first excavated a wide trench, carried to bedrock, and this they filled to a height of 2 meters with loose rocks, mostly small. Upon this bed of rock fill the wall was built with courses of large stones, laid with clay mortar. The steady and increasing pressure of accumulating debris against the inner face of the city wall had gradually pushed it out so that, in spite of its great thickness, it began to lean outward more and more. This action was facilitated by the loose foundations and the absence of all counter pressure against the outer face of the wall, which coincided with the edge of the sharply descending rock slope of the hill. Ultimately it became necessary to save the wall from total collapse by building a buttress wall along the outside.⁸

The upper part of the wall, as in all such ancient cities, had disappeared. Whether it was of mud brick, as at Megiddo or was wholly of stone could not be conclusively determined. However, no mud-brick remains were discovered, and in many places great masses of stones, quite evidently from the wall, lay on the slopes below it. The conclusion seems legitimate that, in a country such as Judea, where earth is scarce and stone superabundant, the entire height was of stone.

The wall was not constructed on a methodical plan, as has already been indicated, but showed many differences also in thickness and in the character of the masonry, some of the variations pointing to differences of method, others to accidental causes. The wall, therefore, like that at Jerusalem under

1932; reinforced by another two baskets, "Diary," June 20, 1935. See pl. 65: 4.

⁶ "Diary," March 11, 1932.

⁷ *Exc.*, 19; see pls. 64: 3, 4; 66-69 for examples of masonry.

⁸ *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution*, 1930 (Washington, 1931), 484-6; *PEQ*, 1930, pp. 8-10. See pl. 67: 1-3 for the north wall. See fig. 55, below, chap. XVII, vi, 3.

Nehemiah, may well have been built by groups with different building traditions or varying skills. In other cases apparent weaknesses may have led to the addition of another thickness, of a buttressing bastion, or of a glacis, or revetment. These variations appear in the further description of features of the wall.

At the southern end a peculiar offset occurs, as if, after a section had been built, it had been determined to change direction. The result was an approximation to a tower (AM, AN 23). Minor offsets and slight projections occur here and there, not infrequently coinciding with slight changes of direction. Whatever structural or military value these offsets of a foot or two may have had, they apparently were the accepted method for making a turn in the wall, for no sharp corners and almost no curves appear.

3. Nine or ten rectangular towers were constructed as part of the wall; two or three or four were added after it was completed, i. e., they were not bonded into the wall. This is perfectly clear as to the two most southerly. It is not so with regard to the tower in AK 18, on the southwest, but it seems probable. Whether these additional towers were constructed at the same time as the wall or were later additions could not be determined with certainty, but they seemed to have been practically contemporaneous.⁹ Towers were put in long straight stretches as well as at turns in the wall. No such towers appear to have been constructed for a distance of nearly 100 m. at the north end, strangely enough, for this end of the city was easily approached, and, moreover, the wall here was weak. The outcome was the buckling and eventually the collapse of the wall at this point (pl. 67: 3). However, the mass of debris made excavation so difficult that the base of the wall was not fully exposed at the north end of the tell.

The bases of the towers in every part that could be fully excavated were protected by extensive glacis, and the walls, from the two towers on the northwest and northeast down to the two on the southwest and southeast, were similarly protected.¹⁰ At one point (Z-AB 26, 27) on the east side, the glacis itself was strengthened by a solid retaining wall built below it. But for some reason which is not obvious, the two

ends of the city appear to have been left also without glacis, yet the north end had a retaining wall at its base. When the two towers were added at the south end, they each received a rather narrow glacis, but it was not extended between them or back to the original towers to the north on each side. There seem to have been two heavier and more extensive systems of glacis. One ran from the most southerly of the eastern towers northward to the next tower but one. The other ran from the northwest tower south to the next large, original tower. Thus the two ends of the little fortress city seem to have been left exposed, while the eastern and western sides were carefully protected.

4. In thickness the wall varies greatly and quite irregularly; it seems to follow no plan whatever. In general it ran to a little over 4 m. The least width, 3.50 to 3.70 m., often occurs at some distance from the great towers, while the greatest width is given by the towers themselves. The towers also vary in thickness (including the wall) from 6 m. to 9 m., but fall usually between 6.50 and 7 m. The gate tower was 9.40 m. thick.¹¹ Their length is much more uniform, measuring 9.80 m. to 10 m. in 9 instances. Two added towers in AM 26 and AK 18, measured 9.50 m. The other added tower, in AN 20, 21, was smallest of all, measuring 8.50 m. in length and varying from 5.80 to 7 m. in thickness, a variation due to the wall behind it.

5. The height of the wall is difficult to estimate with accuracy. Calculations are based partly upon the size and batter of the walls, partly upon the slope of the remaining portions of glacis. Above the point where the revetments would have reached the wall there must, of course, have been a considerable height. Dr. Badè estimated that it would have amounted to 40 ft. or more at the tower in the southwest corner (AN 20, 21).¹² Doubtless the absolute and the relative height varied greatly according to the nature of the terrain. Near the southern limit of square AG 27 Mr. Menzies calculated that the slope of the revetment would have brought it to the face of the wall 6 m. above bedrock. At a moderate estimate, the wall would have risen 6 or 8 m. above the top of the revetment.¹³ This would have placed it

⁹ *Exc.*, 19 f.

¹⁰ See pls. 66: 2, 3; 68: 1, 4; 69; 72: 3.

¹¹ See below sec. iv.

¹² *Exc.*, 23.

¹³ See fig. 44.

8 or 10 m. above street level inside the wall at this point, and 12 to 14 m. above bedrock.

6. A close inspection of the wall plans reveals certain other peculiarities of construction that deserve notice. The difference between the north end and other sections has already been mentioned. At several points an offset in the walls seems to accompany what appears almost like a failure to bond two sections of wall together, e. g. in N, P 14, on the west side, in Z 25, and on both sides of the tower in AD, AE 27. In rubble masonry appearances may be deceptive, but such points suit the assumption that the wall was

accordance with a systematic plan carried out under unified supervision is finally given by the discovery that, at one point, a section of it had been built on bedrock and a succeeding section on debris of earth and stones ("Diary," Mar. 19, 1932).¹⁴ This conclusion, supported as it is by the numerous other peculiarities already mentioned, can hardly be questioned. For example, the varying thickness of the wall and its reinforcement at irregular intervals by towers and revetments are surely strong evidence that while it was not the enterprise merely of a small border city, on the other hand, it was not the work

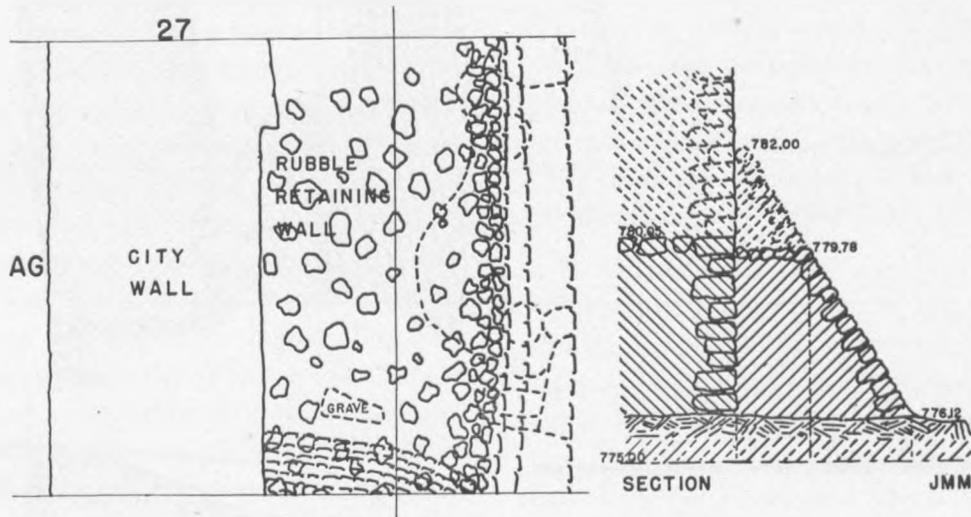


FIG. 44. HEIGHT OF WALL

built by corvée levied upon village or tribal groups which worked in part independently, in part as rivals.

On the west side, from W down to AC, it appears as if the partially finished wall had been widened and refaced by added building on the outside. In X 11 it would appear as if more than one afterthought has occurred. On the east side in squares Z, AA 25, 26 it would seem that the width of the wall has been almost doubled by an addition on the outside of the tower and then a second glacis built, but here and in other places where the wall as now seen in the plans and the photographs gives this appearance, a study of the revetment slope shows that it is merely the upper, visible horizontal area of the partially destroyed glacis which looks like a second wall. The top of the wall and of the glacis at the point where they were cut off was so wide that they were thought to be a rough pavement when, in the initial season, the workmen first cleared a section of them.

Conclusive evidence that the wall was not built in

of a rich royal builder. Comparison with the walls of Samaria is enough to make that point clear.

7. One other feature in the defense system deserves particular mention. At three places, one at the north end, one on the east side (AG 28), and one on the west (S 11), a fosse was discovered beyond and below the revetment which protected the base of the wall.¹⁵ That on the west, which was cleared to a length of about 11 m., was 2 m. wide and ranged from 1 m. to 1.50 m. lower than the ground outside it. That on the east, which was cleared through 10 m., was 5 m. wide at one end and 3.50 m. at the other. It was from .50 to 1.50 m. lower than most of the terrain on either side, but it lay some 5 or 6 m. from the beginning of the glacis and, as the ground sloped up rapidly, at bottom was 5 m. lower. How

¹⁴ See pl. 67: 5.

¹⁵ For the fosse on the west see fig. 45 and pl. 66: 4; for that on the southeast, chap. XVIII, ix, fig. 59 and pl. 66: 5, for that on the north see pl. 67: 1-3.

extensive the moat was could not be determined because the slopes of the hill outside the tell could not be completely cleared. But no evidence of its existence at the southern end of the city was discovered by the extramural excavations there.

the new data which each TN expedition added piled up evidence that TN was an Iron Age site. Early in the expedition a small fragment of a wishbone handle appeared. It was immediately and quite naturally taken as evidence that the site had been

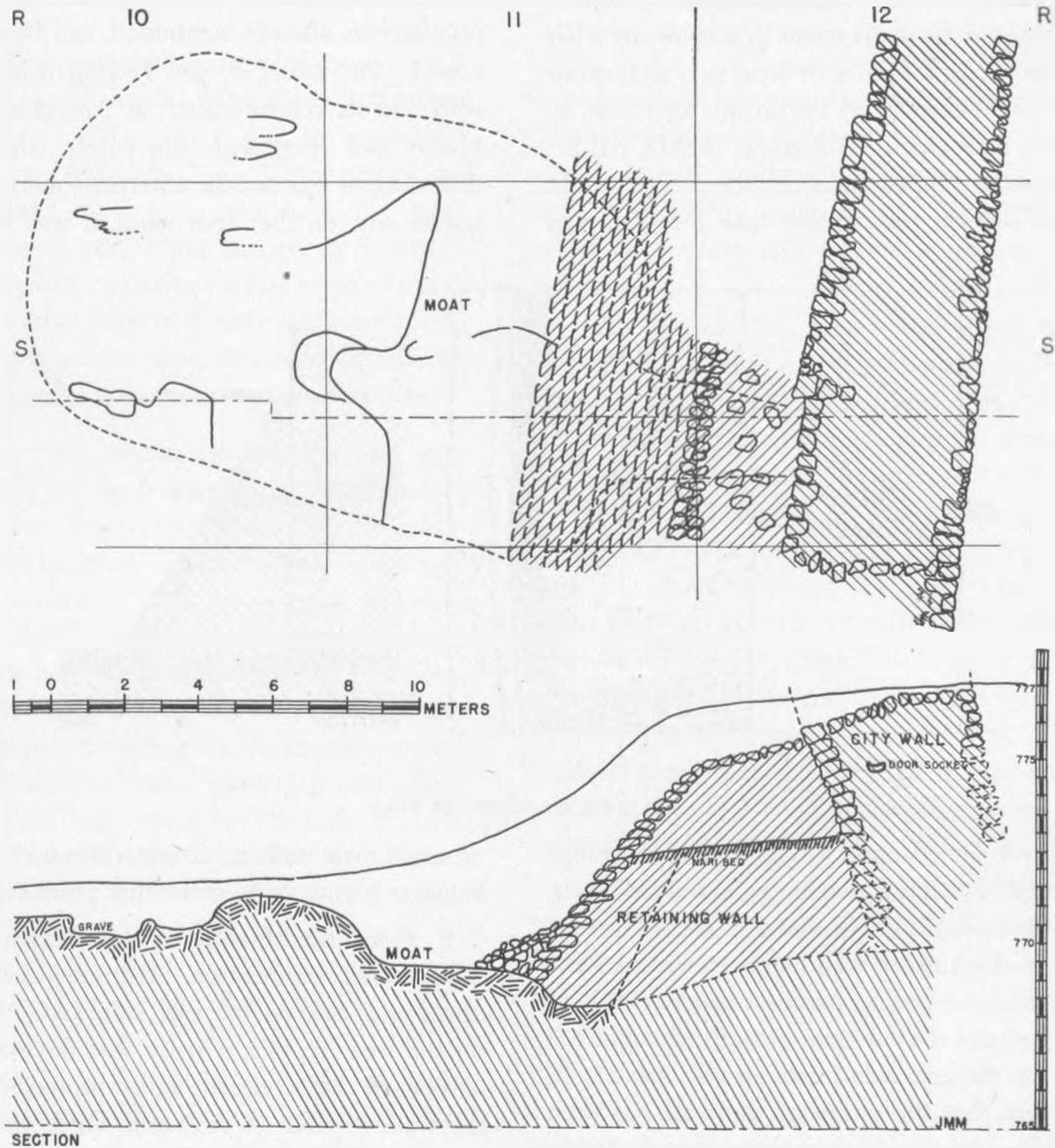


FIG. 45. EXTRAMURAL TRENCH, WEST SIDE (S 11)

8. Opinion as to the date of the great wall has passed through various vicissitudes. In the beginning all of the archaeological experts agreed that it had been built in the Bronze Age, perhaps in the MB Age. But as time went on, the consensus of opinion gradually shifted, for two reasons: first, because, during the decade from 1926 to 1935, a great deal was learned about the archaeological history of Palestine and especially its pottery, and, second, because

occupied in the LB Age. Other sherds appeared which might belong to that age. But as time went on, almost nothing was discovered which could as well or better be assigned to the Iron Age, except ledge handles, and other remains of the EB Age, which, of course, do not have any connection with the wall.¹⁶

¹⁶ See above, chap. IX, ix, the discussion of the dates of the four principal tombs, which may be taken as determining the date

Eventually, during the later expeditions, in several places the debris at the foot of the wall and under it was carefully examined by such experts as Père Vincent. In certain places the wall itself was cut through and the sherds in the clay mortar examined. At no point in the debris thrown against the inside of the great wall were MB or LB sherds found.

Two sections were cut through the wall at the north end. The potsherds found were in small part of the EB Age, but mainly of the Iron Age. There could be no doubt, therefore, as to the age of the wall. Since there was no evidence of rebuilding, it must belong to the time of the latest potsherds.¹⁷ In the extramural trench dug on the southeast sector a dump of debris evidently thrown out when a clearance was made within the city showed at the bottom EI iii pottery, with older material above. This, of course, points to the end of the EI period as the date of the building of the wall.¹⁸ Cuts through the great wall at other places gave similar results. Iron Age pottery was always found in the clay mortar. In the determination of the date of the pottery, Dr. Badè consulted especially with Père Vincent. The conclusion was reached without dissent on the part of anyone, so far as I know, that the great wall in its entirety was built in the Iron Age and apparently near the close of the Early Iron Age. The dates of the earlier wall, of the gates, and of other buildings, which, of course, also enter into the discussion, serve to confirm this conclusion.¹⁹ The date of the destruction of the wall is an even more difficult problem, and can be best considered below in connection with the problem of the history of the gate and of the houses of the city.

IV. THE CITY GATE

1. The expedition was repeatedly disappointed in its search for the city gate. It was expected that, if the site were Mizpah, the chief gate would open toward the south, and the probability of this assumption was heightened by the fact that the only spring on the hill bubbles out southeast of the tell. Arab tradition was also misleading in this case. A land-

of the early Hebrew occupation of the site, and chap. VIII, the EB Age remains.

¹⁷ *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1930* (Washington, 1931), 486 f.

¹⁸ See below, chap. XVIII, ix.

¹⁹ See above, secs. i and ii, and below, secs. iv and v; for further material, also chap. XVIII, especially secs. vi, vii, and x.

owner told Dr. Badè that a spot on the south where a tower protruded slightly was called Bâb el-Quds, the "Jerusalem Gate." Actually no decisive evidence of the existence of any gate in the entire southern circuit of the walls was ever found. When this assumption was thus falsified, it was thought that the main gate should appear on the west side, where the approach was easy and where an ancient road once ran. But this also proved a mistaken inference.

As successive strips of the tell's area were cleared during the first three seasons, there was always the hope that the gate might eventually come to light. Perhaps its situation might have been inferred from the airplane photograph if the gate had not been disguised—and distinguished—by a hitherto-unknown plan. It was eventually found far to the north, on the east side of the tell. Here was what can now be recognized as a suspiciously broad space marked by peculiar humps of earth.²⁰

2. On this open, fairly level area the wall coming up from the south ran out to the east beyond that coming down from the north and, where they overlapped, the gate was placed between the two at right angles to them (fig. 47). This allowed the construction of an unusually strong defensive system. The end of the outer wall, that which came up from the south, was developed into a tremendous tower protected by an extensive, well-constructed revetment on three sides. The wall which came down from the north ran so far to the south that the two overlapped for a distance of 10 m. The gate was placed at the extreme southern end of the space between the two, leaving 4.50 m. outside it which could be enfiladed from both sides. The defenders on the inner wall had the enemy exposed on the right side where they could not carry their shields.

3. The gate structure in itself was not so complicated as the northwest gate at Balâṭah or the Megiddo gate or the "earlier gate" to be discussed below. It had only two pairs of door jambs, the one behind the other, and thus it resembled the east gate at Balâṭah and gate no. 2 at Megiddo, and the East Gate of A₁ at Tell Beit Mirsim.²¹ The space outside the gate

²⁰ See the frontispiece.

²¹ *Megiddo* I, 75. Cf. the various gate plans in A. G. Barrois, *Manuel d'archéologie biblique* (Paris: Picard, 1939), 134-95; Watzinger, *Denkmäler Palästinas* I (Leipzig, 1933), pl. 8, figs. 19, 20; *AAS* 21-22 (1943), § 8.

was not defended by another gate, as was that at Megiddo, but it exposed the right sides of the attackers as the approach at Megiddo did not. It was built of much smaller stones than the northwest gate at Balāṭah and it had no need of passageways into the walls on either side. But, again, the half-enclosed space, which put the enemy at a peculiar disadvantage, gave the TN plan a unique value.

4. Measurements made by Dr. Badè himself of the various elements of the structure will give some idea of its massive character:

Gate tower within the revetment	9.99 x 9.40 m.
Gate tower: base of revetment E-W	13.35 m.
Gate tower: base of revetment N-S	13.20 m.
Width of entrance court	9.15 m.
Width of gate entrances	4.25 m.
Width of tower rooms	2.30 m.
Width of jambs (walls)	1.55-1.50 m.
Width between city walls inside of gate . . .	11.70 m.
Width between city walls in entrance court	12.10 m.
Height of jambs as found	2.20 m. ²²

5. Accompanying drawings and photographs are intended to make clear the construction of the gate, its towers, and its jambs.²³ Greater care was taken in their construction than in that of the wall. The stones were squared to some extent and laid in courses, but with considerable irregularities, and both between stones and between courses there were in some parts wide spaces filled with mud mortar and small stones. The revetment built up against the great tower and the size of the tower itself, the strongest in the whole defense system, are sufficient evidence of the care lavished upon this vulnerable point. Its strength is attested by the height of the remains, which reached 2.20 m., over 7 ft.

6. Interesting accessories still preserved are the long slot running into the east tower into which the bar of the gate was thrust back when the gate was open, and the lock hole on the inner jamb into which its end was thrust when the gate was closed. By each of the outer jambs were the sockets on which the pivots of the two leaves of the gate turned and the gate stop against which they pressed when closed still rose a little above the low line of stones which made the threshold. There was, as usual elsewhere, no inner gate.

7. One of the most interesting features was the series of stone benches still in place along the walls in the extramural space and in the two "guard rooms" lying between the two pairs of jambs. Remains of stone slabs at the foot of the benches on the east side indicate that the whole area had been paved. A drain beginning a little outside the gate assured its usefulness even in the rainy season.²⁴ No other discovery made recently in Palestine has so vividly illustrated the use of "the gate" of the Hebrew city as a place of concourse for marketing, for business of all kinds, for legal gatherings, and for social intercourse. Here the prophets could always find an audience. Many biblical passages have a new meaning when read in the light of this discovery. It calls attention also to the fact that, perhaps during a considerable period, life was comparatively safe outside a city's walls, else such enduring provision for comfort outside the gate would have been useless.

8. How the gate and the walls were finished above can be determined only by inference from the few pictures of Palestinian cities left by the Egyptians and the Assyrians. The bronze panels of Shalmaneser III from the gates of Tell Balāwāt and other Assyrian reliefs almost invariably show gates with arched or rounded tops and with an architrave above, apparently supporting the weight of the upper portion of the wall.²⁵ Many of the gates are represented with two leaves, some with one. The battlements are usually "crenelated" with triangular projections. The towers are sometimes thus represented when the walls are not. Nothing was found in the debris of the gate or the walls at TN to indicate what kind of restoration should be made. Whether the Hebrews at the end of the 10th cent. were able to raise and place a stone lintel or architrave over a space of 4.25 m (14 ft.) may be questioned. A stone of sufficient size would be a serious engineering problem. Probably, therefore, the gateway was arched in stone. Wood cannot be excluded, but seems unlikely. The towers on either side would be sufficient buttresses for a stone arch.

9. The leaves of the gate must certainly have been of wood. Charred remnants of cypress and pine

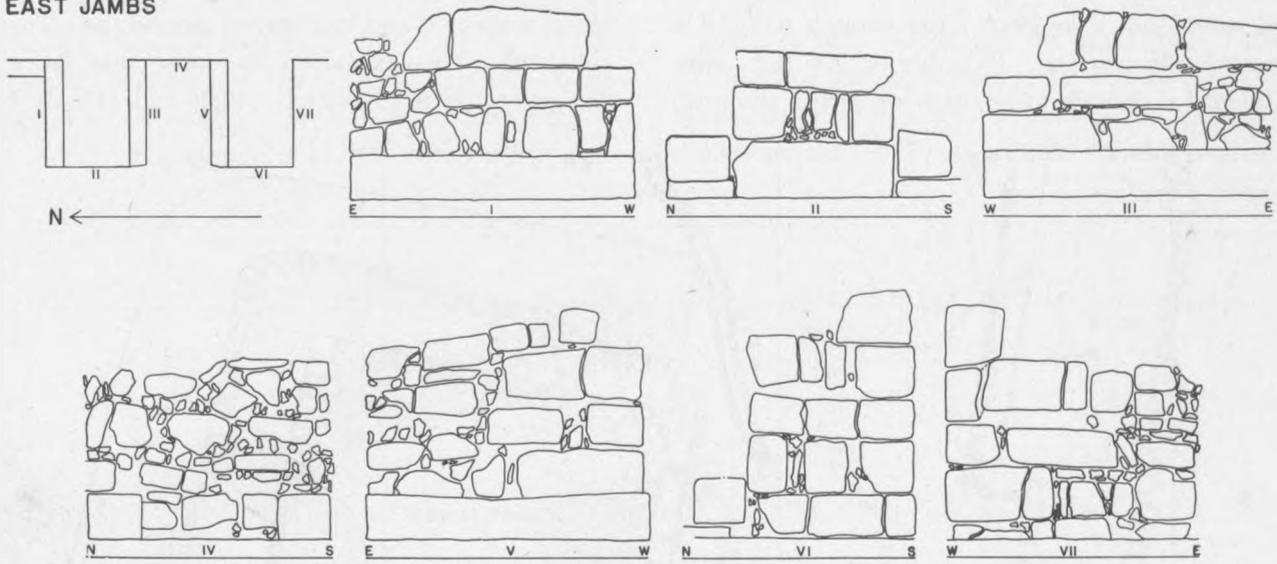
²² "Diary," May 27, 1932.

²³ See pls. 70-72 and figs. 46, 47. The city plan gives the outline of the gate in sufficient detail.

²⁴ Pl. 71: 4.

²⁵ See, for example, Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, 2d ed., Berlin and Leipzig, 1927, II, pls. 56: 126; 58: 133.

EAST JAMBS



WEST JAMBS

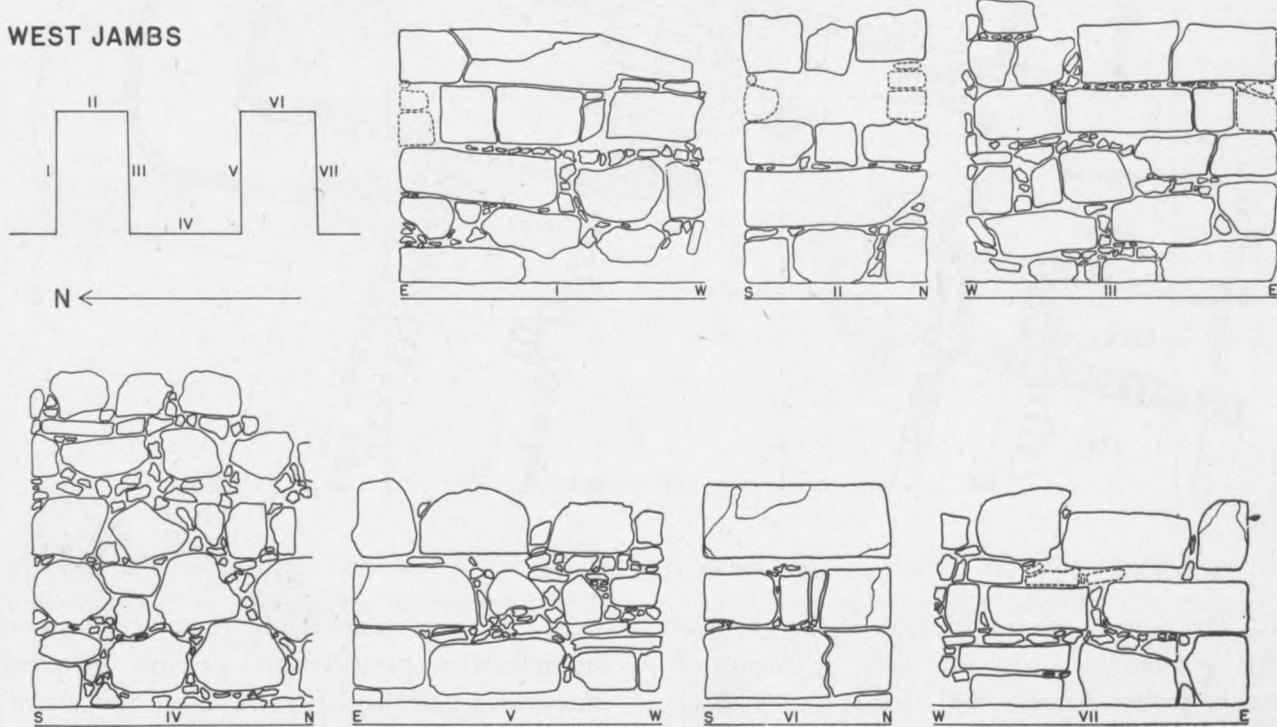


FIG. 46. CONSTRUCTION OF GATE JAMBS

were preserved in the ashes of Saul's Gibeah and such trees had surely not disappeared when the walls of TN were built a century later. But the gate bar must have been of metal, for the slot into which it fitted would not have been large enough to hold a timber of sufficient size. Probably by 900 B. C. iron was plentiful enough to be used for such a purpose.

inner gate jamb in the west side (fig. 46: vi), Dr. Badè discovered that it had been erected on a fan of clay and gravel from 45 to 60 cm. deep which had washed down from the sloping, or possibly stepped, street west of it and had spread around the corner of the jamb. This explained the loose foundation of the extension of the jamb which had already been

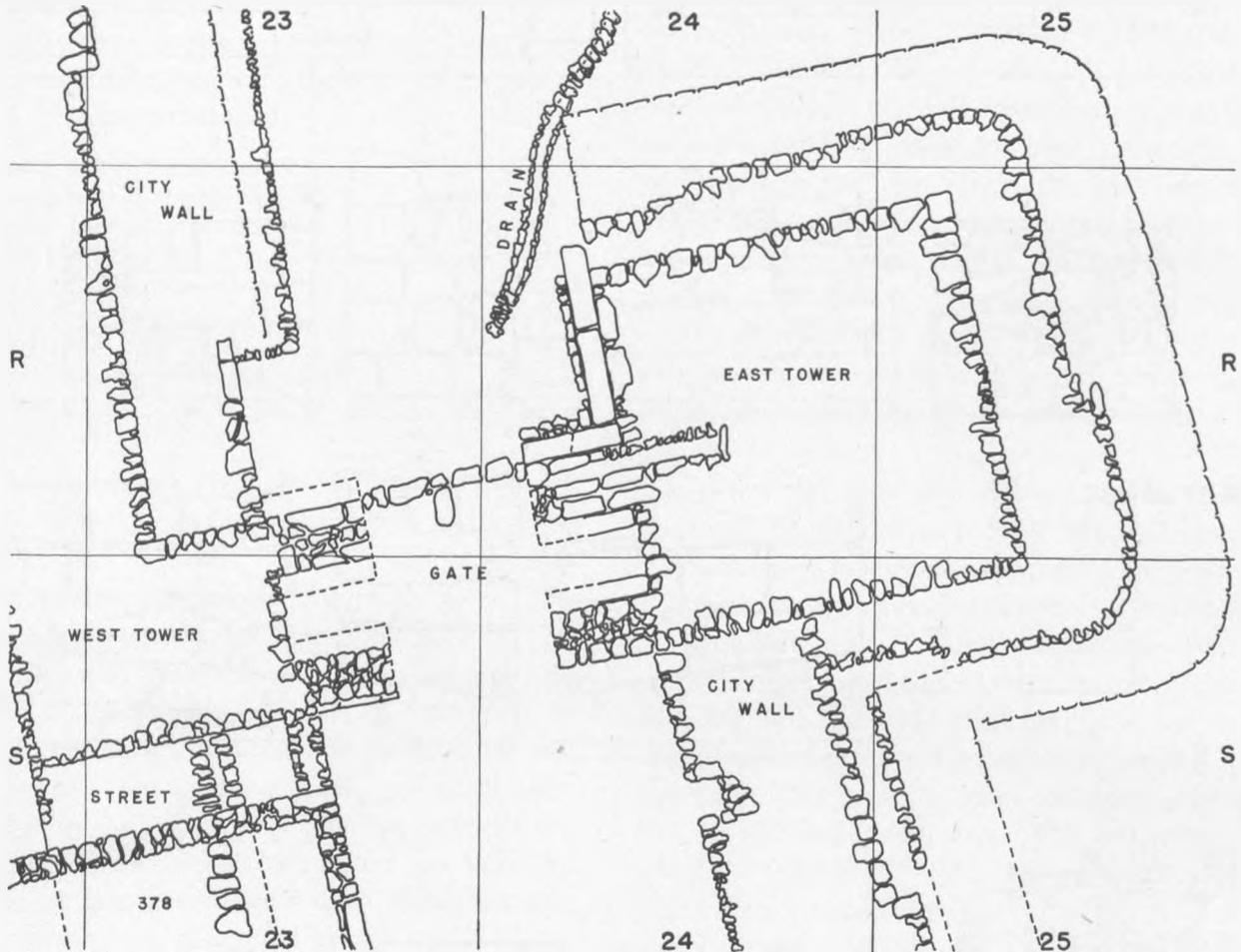


FIG. 47. PLAN OF GATE

10. The date of the construction of the gate can hardly be determined with exactness. It cannot, of course, be earlier than the wall, that is *ca.* 900 B. C. It might be slightly later as the discussion in the next section will suggest. The time of its destruction is even more uncertain. At some time when an enemy was approaching, according to Dr. Badè's theory, the western half, indeed more than half of the gateway, was blocked up by extending the jamb.²⁶ Later the other portion also was partially blocked up.

When removing the blockage which extended the

noted.²⁷ It emphasizes the haste and carelessness of the defensive operations and perhaps the previous improvidence of the defenders. Since the gate, when excavated, was still blocked, there can be no question but that the city was entered by an enemy at some other point, perhaps at the north end where the whole wall was in a markedly ruinous condition.²⁸

²⁷ "Diary," June 10, 1932. It serves to explain also the complete covering of city and house walls by the earth and debris washed down from the hill. It does not, however, prove that a long period of carelessness or comparative indifference had preceded. A foot or two of debris could wash down in a single night of heavy rain.

²⁸ See above sec. iii, 2, and pl. 67: 1-3.

²⁶ See fig. 49 and pls. 70-72.

It has been suggested that the gate had been destroyed and later rebuilt, and the evidence for rebuilding has been sought in the great mud-filled interstices in the walls of the jambs. However, the spaces are not greater than between stones elsewhere in the city walls. Moreover, as the architect, Mr. H. Glunckler, pointed out, the uniform dressing of the stones in all of the parts preserved indicates even if it does not demonstrate a unified construction (pl.

the city wall. Two similar walls which are *ca.* 3.80 m. long lie over against them with an opening of *ca.* 4.10 m. between. Together they have exactly the same plan as the two pairs of jambs of the city gate, differing only in that the walls are heavier, the "guard rooms" wider, but the passageway between the ends of the jambs somewhat narrower. A third wall, obviously of the same heavy construction, runs out from the city wall parallel to the others and

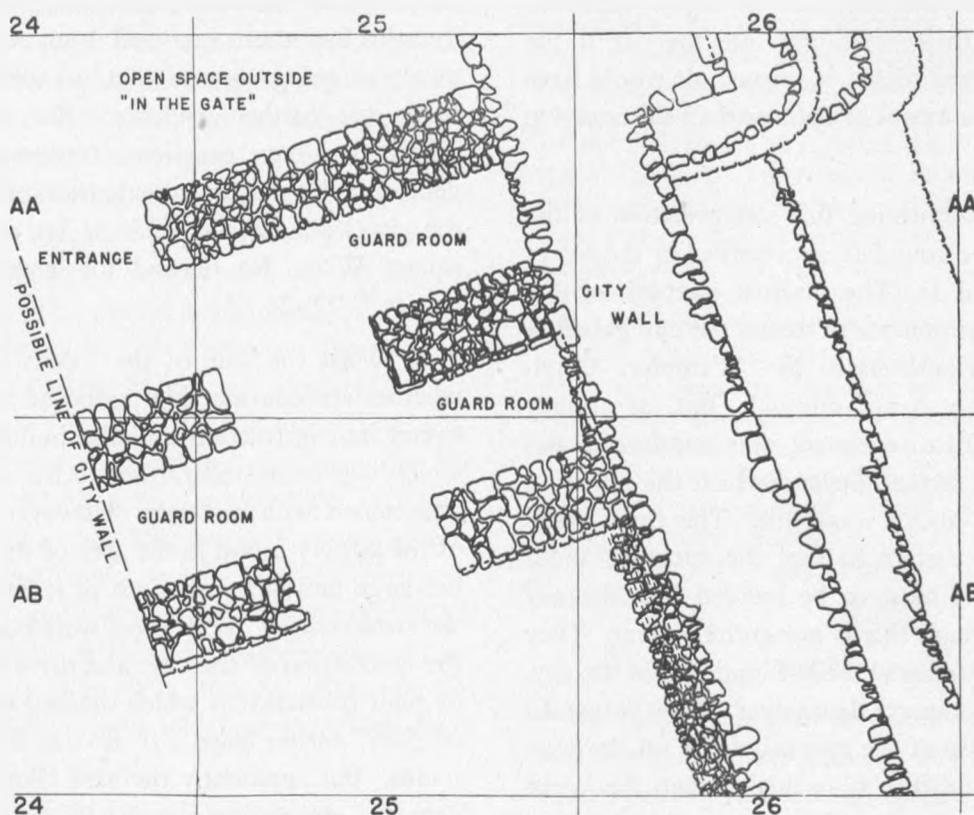


FIG. 48. THE HYPOTHETICAL EARLY GATE

72). The date of its final destruction can be determined only in relation to the history of the city and will be discussed later.

V. A POSSIBLE EARLIER GATE

1. A puzzling structure in squares AA, AB 24, 25 has a plan which, so far as I can discover, is elsewhere unparalleled. Its extremely heavy walls, the ends of which are built against the city wall, enclose an area of *ca.* 12 x 14 m.²⁹ Two walls which are 2.20 m. thick and 2.60 m. apart extend *ca.* 4.20 m. out from

2.60 m. farther north. Its length is *ca.* 9 m., and it thus covers the passage between the ends of the other walls and very slightly overlaps the eastern end of the western pair. The wall which forms the western side of this structure as it now stands is narrow and irregular in width and direction, and it appears not to be bonded into any of the heavier walls. A wall of still a different character, for the most part only one stone in thickness and belonging to a building which lies to the north on a lower level, now fills in the space between the end of the heavy northern wall and the western wall.

2. Mr. Wampler has suggested that this peculiar

²⁹ See fig. 48 and pl. 73. The "maşşebāb" and the pier on which it stands are secondary.

structure would have made an excellent gate. In its main features it resembles the great northwest gate at Balāṭah and gates 1 and 3 at Megiddo,³⁰ but it embodies also a peculiar device which has pleased gate builders in the Near East at least from the Middle Iron Age down to Islamic times.³¹ Because the outside entry way was at the (northwest) corner, not the center of the gate structure, it was necessary to make two right-angled turns, first to left and then to right, to enter the city, and no arrow could be shot or javelin thrown straight into the city if the doors were battered down or burned. It would have offered a stronger means of defense than the northern gate.

3. Evidence confirming this interpretation of the structure is to be found in its relation to the tower and wall east of it. The unusual strength of the tower and its resemblance to that at the city gate first suggested the hypothesis to Mr. Wampler. Originally the tower was not unusual. But, as already mentioned, its first revetment was reinforced and covered up by a second, beyond which the retaining wall mentioned above was built. The three walls which form the eastern half of the structure under discussion seem almost to be bonded into the city wall itself, although this is not entirely clear. They were by far the strongest walls found within the city, aside from the ramparts themselves. They surpassed in regularity those of the two *migdalim* on the west and northwest and they were thicker than the jambs of the city gate.

The point at which the gate structure, if it was such, was placed was excellently chosen, for it almost exactly coincides with the 780 m. contour line, and, therefore, falls directly east of the north line of the original, thin wall, if, as is possible, that wall crossed the center of the hill to reach the *migdal* on the west side.³² Before the gate the ground dropped away 2 m. in the space of 1.70 m. and then dropped off to the right 2 m. more in 2.50 m. The terrain was neither too difficult for peaceful approach nor too easy for attack. The great tower would have overlapped the extraportal space for over 7 m. and the actual entrance would have been immediately under

the wall which came down from the north to form the west side of the gate structure.

Another suggestive item is to be seen in the fact that the wall north of the "gate tower" is not bonded into the tower, but starts off at a slightly different angle. One of the strongest confirmatory items which Mr. Wampler suggests is the fact that, for some distance below the south end of the west wall of the present gate, traces of the footing and indeed of the wall itself continue.³³ It is unfortunate that this hypothesis occurred to no one while excavation was going on and that no special search was made for further evidence. But excavators, like others, may have excellent afterthoughts. The evidence for the southward extension of this portion of the city wall actually went as far as the center of square W 23, far beyond the great "palace" of square V 22, 23.

4. What the date of the "early gate" was and whether any considerable period of time elapsed between its construction and the building of the one which was excavated farther to the north cannot be determined with certainty. However, practically all of the pottery found in the area of the later gate and the large building just south of it has been dated in the sixth century. Both areas were occupied down to the destruction of the city, and there were thin walls of poor construction which divided the great spaces of the "earlier gate," if it was such, into small rooms. But apparently the area about the great city gate was not occupied in the EI Age, and there was very slight evidence of MI occupation there.³⁴

The absence of such evidence is by no means conclusive, for such an area would be kept free from the accumulation of debris, if any part of the city was. Moreover, the deep debris against the city wall just south of the gate was not fully excavated. It may contain EI and MI pottery. Nevertheless the possibility remains open that the original gate of the city as it was fortified at the end of the EI Age was at the great tower in Z, AA 24-26, and that the gate farther north was built at a later time, well along in the MI Age. In the absence of conclusive evidence for this

³⁰ See above, sec. iv, 2, note 21.

³¹ Albright, *APB*, 118 f.

³² See above, sec. ii, 2.

³³ Indicated by dotted lines in the plan; see below, chap. XVIII, vii, 1, and accompanying fig. 57.

³⁴ However, in order not to destroy the gate and adjacent buildings, no deep cut was made here such as was made by the "early gate."

hypothesis, it is possible to believe that the more southern entrance was never completed and that the present plan represents the original fortifications of the city in about 900 B. C. The evidence found in the 1927 "northeast test trench" that the wall once ran from the north all of the way down to the "earlier gate"³⁵ tips the scale strongly in favor of the other hypothesis, but does not determine the date.

In the walls themselves no evidence appears to have been discovered. The city wall north of the "early gate" was much the same as that south of it. It was not, however, so thick as the destroyed wall which ran to the early gate, and the north gate was not so strong as the "early gate." That may appear to point in the direction of a later date for the gate and wall which defended the city toward the end of its history. Only the discovery of large amounts of pottery of the MI i period could establish the use of the putative early gate down to the time of Sennacherib. Actually EI pottery appeared at the outside entrance (R. 323) and before it (Rs. 318, 321). Such pottery, if found in the debris under the entrance level would suit a construction *ca.* 900.³⁶ Rs. 221, 222, 223, 228, 230, and 231 are apparently built over the wall level and in part over the walls of the "gate," and the date of the pottery, MI-LI, suits a destruction at the time of Sennacherib's invasion, but does not prove it, since Mr. Wampler did not recognize below their level pottery which could be definitely dated in MI i.

All of the loci over the "earlier wall," with three exceptions,³⁷ are dated *ca.* 600-450. That, of course, does not mean that the wall was destroyed *ca.* 600 B. C. The date is only a *terminus ad quem*. Inside the line of the "earlier wall" the situation is exactly the same except that one locus (R. 337) had EB as well as EI pottery. Outside its line, between it and the great city wall the dozen loci recorded include three with EI material. This may be interpreted in two ways. It may mean that the great wall was built at the end of EI, or that when it was built EI debris from the hillside was thrown against it to raise the level. Thus, while the evidence available is incon-

clusive, yet it seems to me entirely possible that the "earlier gate" and the wall which connected it with the northern part of the city may have been in use for as much as two centuries, that is down to the invasion of Sennacherib.³⁸

Mr. Wampler, who does not agree with this hypothesis as to date, adds the following:

One point about the physical conditions has an important bearing on the hypothesis mentioned, and that is the large expanse of rather flat bedrock in the vicinity of the preserved gate. In fact the gate tower is built on this rock, which modifies to an unusual degree the general gate area. My point is that when it came to light during the wall construction, it was recognized as a peculiarly suitable place for the gate, having in mind all the varied functions associated with gates. Let us say the situation is one of *corvée* labor and the wall has gone up in sections. However, there was a central plan and authority co-ordinating, in a somewhat rough way, this activity. According to this plan the site for the gate had been selected on the east side and much of the structure had been completed, although under about the most unfavorable engineering conditions for the whole site. Sufficient difficulties for completion remained which, when coupled with the superior advantages of the newly discovered site, caused the central authority to abandon the old plan already nearing completion. Then, the present gate was built. But all could have happened within the limited period required for the fortification of such a site with no intervening chronological gap of consequence.³⁹

VI. THE UPPER TOWER

On one of the higher portions of the mound a little southwest of the city gate (W 20) an approximately square tower (7.50 x 8 m.) of excellent construction was a conspicuous feature.⁴⁰ It stood in the midst of rubble heaps, based on the rock of the hill at *ca.* 732 m. above sea level. Its walls were *ca.* 1.80 m. thick, built of two rows of stones that were fairly large and somewhat carefully faced on the outer surfaces, but quite irregular in size and filled in with rubble. Opposite the clearly marked entrance on the north was a stone foundation, possibly for a stairway, against the south wall.

Unfortunately the paucity of datable objects in and around the building makes it impossible to determine the date of the tower. At one time Dr. Badè was inclined to date it in the Roman period,⁴¹ but whether

³⁵ See below, chap. XVIII, vii, 1.

³⁶ Unfortunately its level is not indicated.

³⁷ Rs. 378, 379, 97, 98, 106, 99, 104, 330, 328, 324, listed from the north downward. R. 104 is dated 700-500; R. 106, LI (?); R. 97, 530-330.

³⁸ See below, sec. vii, 4.

³⁹ [Actually I see no great advantage in the northern over the southern site. C. C. M.]

⁴⁰ See pl. 74.

⁴¹ *Exc.*, 52.

he continued to hold that opinion is not clear. Since masonry, chisel marks, and stone dressing are notoriously inconclusive indicia and the only evidence was in surface debris, it is safer not to attempt to give the tower a date.

VII. DATE OF THE DEFENSES

1. In conclusion the history of the city's defenses may be briefly and hypothetically summarized. It seems probable that the two early towers were not contemporaneous with the construction of the thin inner wall. They may have been earlier or later. The thin inner wall, which probably included only the southern part of the tell, belongs to a very early period in the Hebrew occupation of central Palestine, perhaps the 11th cent. Because of their heavier character I should be inclined to place the two towers later than the inner wall and regard them as defenses added, perhaps, in the time of Jeroboam, when the population may have increased and spread beyond the thin inner wall. The northern tower, however, may be later and have some other purpose than defense. According to the data now available the great wall is to be regarded as the construction of Asa, but with evidence of changes of plan, additions, and reconstruction (in connection with the "early gate" and elsewhere) which cannot be dated.

2. In the postexilic as in the pre-exilic period the center of business as indicated by stamped jar handles was on the southwestern slopes of the mound.⁴² But if, as seems probable, the *msh* stamps belong to the exilic era before Jerusalem was rehabilitated, then the gate area would appear to have been practically abandoned at that time, although the Greek pottery found in squares, T, V, X 22-25 indicates its reoccupation between 500 and 450. Only one *msh* stamp was found in this area, while a half dozen were found farther south. The *yh* and *yhd* stamps were found largely on the western side of the hill, none in the gate area. When these stamps were in use, sometime in the exilic and postexilic period, the gate area had little or no occupation, except possibly by pottery kilns.⁴³

3. As to the date of the destruction of the wall the evidence is not clear. Pottery and *lemelekh*

stamps indicate its use down to the Exile. There seems to be no clear evidence of a reconstruction of the gate after a destruction. But it is perfectly clear that, at some period before the city was abandoned, the wall had been destroyed and the gate as such with the area in front of it had ceased to function as it did in pre-exilic times, for walls were built across the extraportal area, over the revetments of the eastern tower and the wall, and over a portion of the wall itself (fig. 49). Walls also appear in the stepped street and the area just inside the gate, while, in the center of the approach to the gate, a pottery kiln was built.

At several places thin walls were found extending over remains of the great city wall on the western side of the tell.⁴⁴ In AD 14 a house wall runs along upon the inner edge of the remains of the city wall and apparently a channel was cut into the top of these remains to a depth of 75 or 80 cm. in order to drain the area back of them. The house walls extend out upon the city wall still farther in square AC 13. Unfortunately the rooms in this area can be dated only approximately, but occupation during the Persian period is clearly indicated.

Farther north in V, W 12 and again in Y 12 there are similar thin house walls built out over the great wall. Going northward one discovers no more such walls until past the extreme northern point in the wall in M 18 where apparently there was another drain. From its height it might have served the pre-exilic city, but it was regarded as postexilic because of the nature of its construction: it was not an original part of the wall. Again in M 19, 20 and in N 21 a thin wall extends out over the remains of the city wall, while in P 22 is a cave and beneath it a cistern under the inside edge of the city wall. It was reached by a stairway which ran down beside the wall. A folded-over lamp found in the cistern, indicates postexilic usage, although the mass of the pottery was pre-exilic. Some traces of walls upon the remnant of the city wall above also suggest postexilic occupation in this area.

The evidence then points clearly to a destruction of the city wall late in the MI period. Whether the walls and gate were destroyed by the Assyrians, the Babylonians, or by the Persians at some indeterminate later time is a question to which the answer will

⁴² See below, chap. XVIII, i.

⁴³ See below, chap. XX, iii, 4.

⁴⁴ See chap. XVI, v, and cf. pl. 74: 4, 6.

depend largely on general considerations. How thorough was the destruction wrought by Assyrian armies in Sennacherib's time? Would the conquerors in 586 leave the governor they had appointed in a defenseless town? Or would they fear to leave any walled city behind them because of the danger of revolt? In view of the paucity of postexilic remains I incline to answer the last question in the affirmative and conclude that the wall and the gate were demolished by the Babylonians; yet there is no conclusive evidence on the point.

there is every reason to believe that the gate and with it the walls were in full use down to the time of the Babylonian conquest. For any one of several imaginable reasons, TN might have escaped any serious destruction in 701. Neither the biblical nor Assyrian chronicles set footnotes to their accounts to list exceptions to their sweeping statements.

An attractive hypothesis is that the "early gate" discussed above (sec. v) was destroyed by Sennacherib, and that the northern gate, with the extended east wall, was built thereafter. Any earlier pottery

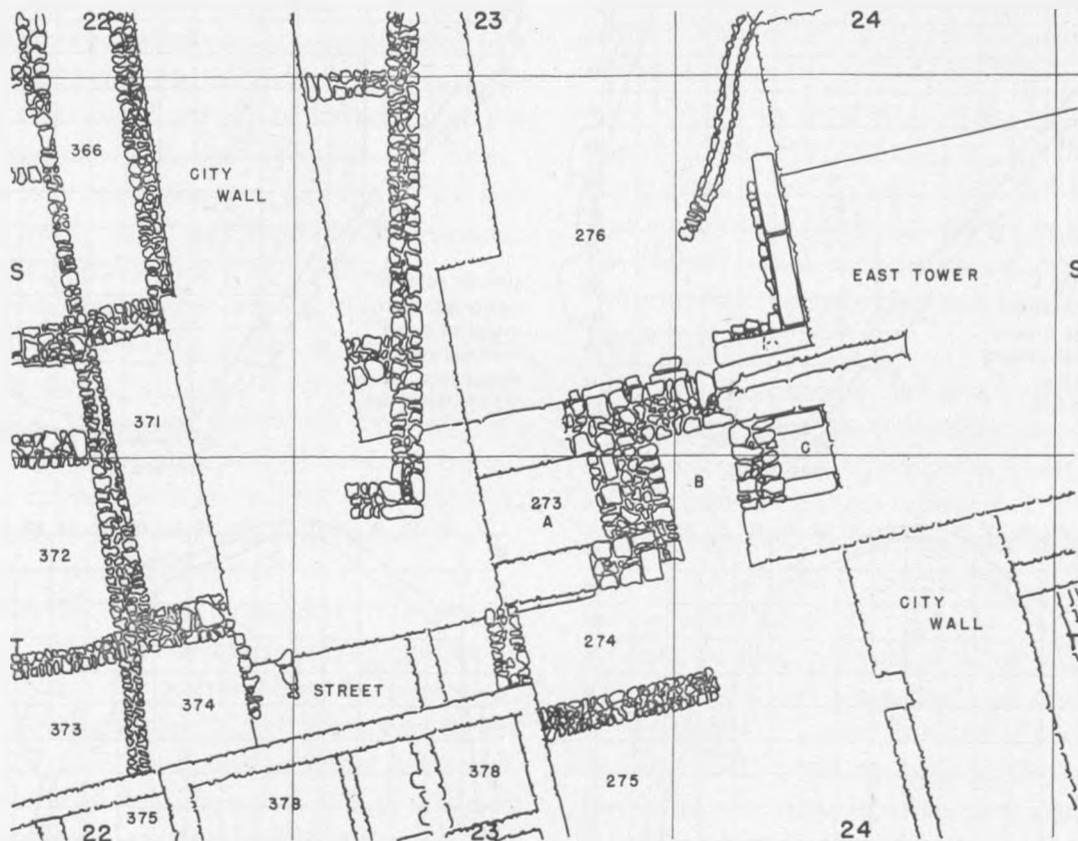


FIG. 49. GATE AREA AFTER DESTRUCTION OF GATE

4. It would seem, on a priori grounds, that the city should have been visited with destruction during the invasion of Sennacherib in 701 B. C. when, according to the biblical and Assyrian records all the fortified cities of Judah except Jerusalem were destroyed.⁴⁵ The numerous *lemelekh* seal impressions found on the mound, along with other contemporary materials, show that the city was in full occupation during the seventh century. If, therefore, the *lemelekh* stamps belong chiefly to that century,

found in the area thus added to the city could be explained as the result of erosion from the hillside to the west, as seems to be demanded in the area of the later gate.⁴⁶ If, however, the "early gate" was never finished and the other gate was built at once, as Mr. Wampler prefers to think, the Babylonian conquest is the more plausible, although a later date for their destruction is possible, sometime early in the Persian period, when Jerusalem became the all-important center of Judaism.

⁴⁵ 2 Kg 18. 13. The Assyrian data were conveniently assembled and fully discussed by R. P. Dougherty, *JBL* 49 (1930), 160-71.

⁴⁶ See chap. XVIII, x, 3 f.

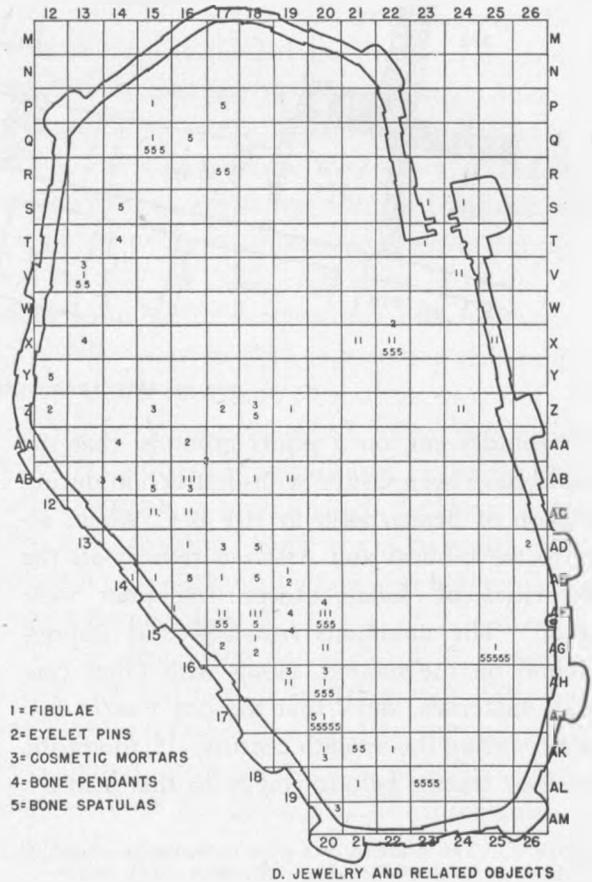
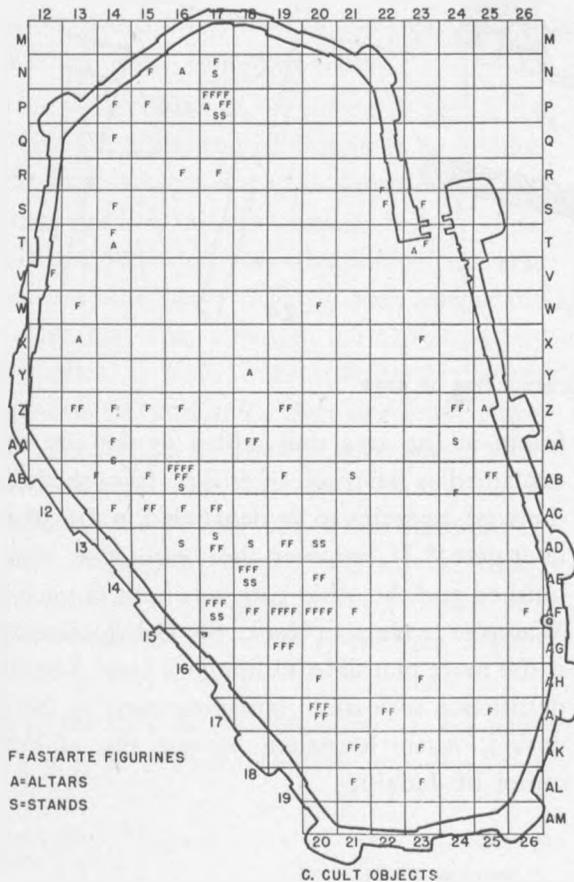
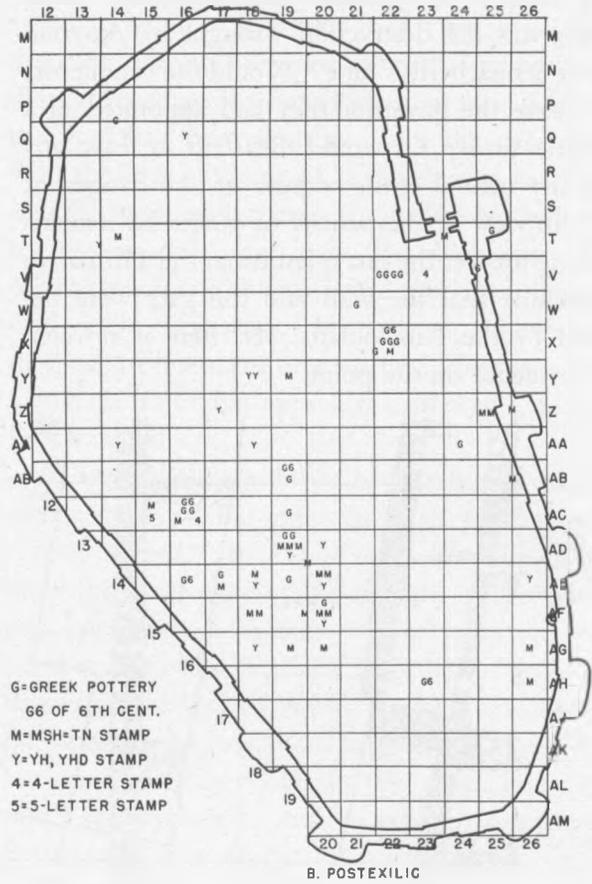
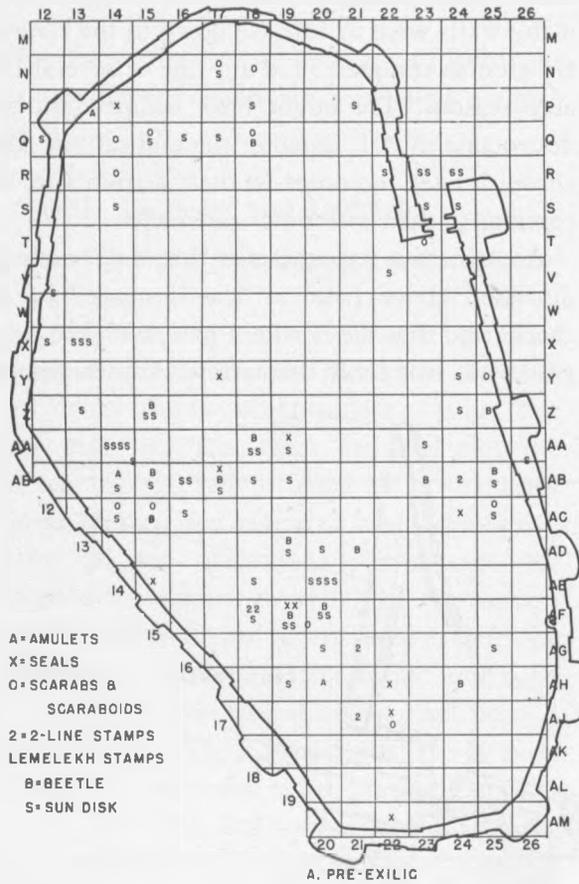


FIG. 30. AREAS OF OCCUPATION

CHAPTER XVIII

THE BUILDINGS OF TELL EN-NASBEH

I. AREAS OF OCCUPATION

1. Important areas of occupation in pre-exilic TN are marked by the stamped jar handles found in the debris.¹ With some lacunae, the circumference of the mound would appear to have been well occupied, with special concentration on the southwest side (a) in AD-AF 18-21 and (b) in Z-AC 14-19. Another important area would appear to have lain in the northwest sector, (c) P, Q 14-18, while two appear on the east side, one at the gate, (d) R-T 22-24, and one at the "early gate," (e) Z-AC 23-26. A minor concentration appears on the west side (f) in X 12, 13. This gives an almost continuous ring of occupation in MI ii around the whole of the tell. The scattering of single items in other areas proves that the tell must have been completely covered with houses, including doubtless also the central portion, now denuded, where no such evidence was preserved.

The scarabs and other similar evidences of foreign influence—and probably wealth—fall into almost the same areas as the stamped jar handles. The proportion is large in the northwest area (c), the portion of the mound where the best buildings frequently are found on Palestinian mounds, but where they do not appear at TN. There is a goodly number in the west (b) and southwest (a) areas, only one by the gate (d), and three—a satisfactory proportion—in the southeast (e) area. Four appear in AH-AM, 20-22, where few indigenous seal impressions were found.

It is strange that almost no seal impressions were found on the extreme southern point of the city. A peculiar blank area occurs also in the southeastern sector of the hill. It is perhaps equally remarkable that the western portion of the hill from the north to the south (to AF 18-20) shows more occupation than the eastern section near the two gates. Is this to be explained on the assumption that the latter area was less occupied by the working people of TN, the cultivators of the fields? If the vessels with *lemelekh*

stamps were used for the collection of taxes, one would expect to find their remains near one of the large houses by the city gate where, it might be thought, the "governor" would reside. If they were used for household storage, then they would be more numerous where the city was most crowded. Actually the areas where they were found in greatest numbers were those with the most crowded houses. Possibly household use is the explanation. The more crowded occupation of the western half of the hill coincides with the portion which receives the fine winds from the Mediterranean during the long, hot dry season. Unfortunately we can only guess how important this factor may have been.

2. The occupation of the area in postexilic times, as indicated by closely datable objects, such as stamped jar handles, Greek pottery, and coins makes a fairly coherent pattern, although it is not without certain anomalies. In part the chief areas of occupation are the same as is indicated by *lemelekh* stamps for pre-exilic times.

Greek pottery, practically all of which is dated with some degree of certainty to a century or less, *ca.* 510-420 B. C.,² coincides with *msh* stamps (1) in the area Z-AB 24-26, the area by the "early gate." Here also the Attic drachma was found.³ Greek pottery, and *msh*, *yh*, and *yhd* stamps are remarkably concentrated (2) in AD 19, 20, AE 16-20, AF 16-20, and AG 18-20, with more Greek pottery in AB, AC 19. A few *msh* and five- or four-letter stamps fall with three pieces of Greek pottery (3) into AC 15, 16. (4) In X 22, 23, five pieces of Greek pottery and an *msh* stamp appeared. Four Greek fragments, a four-letter stamp, and a *msh* stamp appeared (5) in T, V 22-25. There were a few items in these categories on other parts of the mound, so few as to be negligible. But the four *yh* and *yhd* stamps in X-AA 17, 18, and the four in AG 28, 29 are worth noting.

¹ See fig. 50. On the occupation by buildings see the plan and figs. 41-43.

² See chap. XV.

³ See chap. XIV, ix.

The Greek coins are not numerous enough to prove more than occasional campaigning on the mound by soldiers or travelers, or, at most, occupation in a few houses only, possibly a military post. However, except for three in P, Q 15-18 and three other single items, they came to light in areas where Greek pottery and postexilic stamped handles were found. Do they perhaps indicate merely the use of half-ruined, abandoned houses by visitors who spent a night or two on the mound? In other words was the place merely a *khirbeh* in the modern Arabic sense?

It is noticeable also that the two areas where postexilic stamped handles and Greek pottery were chiefly concentrated, (1) and (2) above, were also areas where many pre-exilic stamped handles appeared (a, e). However, other areas where *lemelekh* stamps were numerous (b, c) showed few of the postexilic types. It would appear that postexilic occupation was centered in an area running south from near the gate to the "early gate" (areas 1, 4, 5 above), and in the other area (2) a little to the southwest. It is freely admitted that the evidence is slight and that such relatively small objects as potsherds and stamped jar handles occasionally migrate. One small fragment of the Greek cup with offset lip (chap. XV, no. 7) was found in AG 28, whereas the chief fragments were discovered in Si 62 (AH 23), 40 m. distant. Still, in the absence of contradictory evidence, even three or four pieces of Greek ware along with stamped jar handles of contemporary date are evidence of occupation, although their absence, of course, does not demonstrate that other areas were unoccupied.

II. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF TELL EN-NASBEH BUILDINGS

The houses and other buildings on the mound represent a considerable variety of structure, yet they fall into a very few fairly well-defined classes and can, therefore, be represented by a study of typical examples. None of them represents high architectural skill or achievement. While they vary not a little, they are as a rule poorer in their masonry than those of the smallest and poorest Arab villages of today, and none even approximates the better Arab houses of the present. While in some cases walls

were standing to a considerable height, none reached ceiling level and there is no means of determining with certainty how they were roofed. Since no stones shaped for arches or domes came to light, it is safe to assume, what other excavations also suggest, that roofs were flat, made of mud resting upon a mat of branches, twigs, and thorn bushes, supported by wooden beams, like some still found in modern Arab villages.

The plans of a very large proportion of the houses and their rooms fall into no class or type. They are simply enclosures with stone walls which were built in order to secure protection from the elements with the least possible effort. Often existing walls or foundations were reused. Stones from earlier buildings were doubtless eagerly sought as they are today. Spaces that had once been streets or courtyards or large rooms were cut up by thin, poorly constructed cross walls with no attention to symmetry, sanitation, or public convenience. The planning and the architecture were as poor as the masonry. Doubtless for many a Hebrew peasant it was a question of survival, and artistic considerations had no weight.

In a large number of instances the foundations only of the walls remained. It was not possible in many cases, therefore, to determine where the doors to rooms and entrances to houses had lain. Since much the same technique of construction had prevailed throughout the city's history, since there never was any complete destruction which left burnt or destroyed levels or layers of ashes over any considerable areas, and since rebuilding appears often to have taken place without change of floor level, it is frequently impossible to determine to what complex a particular room belonged amid the maze of intersecting walls or to what period buildings belonged.

III. FOUR-ROOM BUILDINGS

1. Their character and the problem of their use.—Certain structures, however, which showed attention to plan and symmetry could be clearly isolated. True ashlar masonry like that of Samaria was not used, but the walls in these few buildings were more carefully constructed and it is apparent that ancient oriental architectural tradition played its part. Three buildings followed the widely known tripartite, or four-room, pattern. In each, three long rooms of

much the same size lay side by side forming an almost perfect square, while another of approximately the same size ran across their ends.⁴ The buildings were all, therefore, rectangular, and they were of almost the same size, 10 x 12 or 13 m. None, indeed, was exactly regular. The parallel rooms varied in size, one end was sometimes wider than the other, and one side or end of the whole structure was sometimes out of proportion. The central room was always largest, *ca.* 3 m. wide, the *liwân* next, *ca.* 2.5 m. in width, and one of the side rooms was *ca.* 2 m., the other 1.50, or a little more, in width.

The masonry of the three buildings, judged in the main somewhat uncertainly from the foundations, conformed to one pattern. Two rows of stones which were very crudely and roughly shaped on the outside, with a filling of mud and small stones in the slight space between, formed the walls, which on the average were 60 cm. thick, but sometimes ran to as much as a meter. The inner walls were sometimes thicker than those on the exterior. Sometimes a single large stone made the whole width of an inner wall. No system as to the use of larger or partially shaped stones is discoverable, except that in almost every case the corners were built of large roughly shaped stones. The ends, also, of the walls which divided the long end room from the ends of the three parallel rooms were made of larger stones in buildings 1 and 3, giving them almost the appearance of being later additions to the three-room, square structure with which they were combined.

The three buildings belong to the late EI or early MI Age for they all lie outside the thin wall of the EI Age. The first discovered, lying on the south-western edge of the tell, almost exactly straddled the earlier wall, extending well into the intermural area. The second, which lies just south of the "early gate" and its big supporting tower, was placed entirely within the intermural area, completely ignored the inner wall, which it touched at one corner, and was

⁴ See figs. 51, 52. Since usage varies sharply as to the designation to be applied to these buildings, whether *liwân* or *hillani*, I have used an awkward and inadequate, but purely descriptive term. See below notes 6, 7, and 10. Another structure on the mound exhibits an arrangement of three parallel rooms with a cross room at one end, e. g. one in AF 18, 19 containing Rs. 430, 432, and an unnumbered room, northwest of R. 430 (see fig. 43), but it is a poor structure compared to the three here discussed for the walls consist of a single thickness of stones and the plan is quite irregular. See now *BAS* 98 (Apr., 1945), 2-15.

oriented along the great wall with a passage *ca.* 1.20 m. wide between. The third, just south of the city gate, was oriented with the line of the east wall and the gate, abutting to the north on a stepped street 2 m. wide that ran westward from the gate into the city, and bordering to the east on a "plaza" *ca.* 9 m. wide between it and the city wall.

When the first of these three buildings was discovered in 1927, it was widely held that such a plan undoubtedly indicated a temple, and it attracted much attention as an early Hebrew sanctuary.⁵ It became almost the text for an article by Hermann Thiersch of Göttingen, who attempted to prove that it represented "an ancient Mediterranean type of temple."⁶ It was what Andrae, in his fundamental study of ancient sanctuaries, had called the "long-house temple."⁷ It seemed possible to claim the tripartite sanctuaries of Palestine as well as the three-aisled basilica and its modern descendants as ultimately offspring of an ancient triple-roomed structure. Thiersch found the ancestor in the eastern Mediterranean area, in Cretan and related civilizations.

Critics, however, arose immediately to question his far-reaching conclusions. Galling at once expressed his dissent and his doubts as to the interpretation of the first two buildings at TN as sanctuaries.⁸ A truly vast material can now be brought together to show how varied were the temple plans in the ancient orient, and also that in many instances the tripartite plan, which had been known in the orient long before any evidence is available in the Aegean area, had nothing to do with a sanctuary.⁹ Those who have recently studied the question have unanimously abandoned Thiersch's idea, and with it the attribution of a sacred character to the TN buildings.¹⁰

⁵ *Exc.*, 30-38; see above chap. I, year 1927.

⁶ *ZAW* 50 (1932), 73-86; cf. H. G. May, *Material Remains of the Megiddo Cult* (Chicago, 1935), 4 ff., pl. I.

⁷ W. Andrae, *Das Gotteshaus und die Urformen des Bauens im alten Orient* (Berlin, 1930), 24.

⁸ *ZDPV* 55 (1932), 245-50. See now Albright, *AAS* 21-22 (1943), §§ 10, 35.

⁹ See Franz Oelmann, "Hilani and Liwanhaus," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 127 (1922), 189-236, and the very important article by Valentin Müller, "Types of Mesopotamian Houses," *JAOS* 60 (1940), 151-180; especially p. 162, and *AJA* 36 (1932), 415 ff. Müller thinks the tripartite sanctuaries in the Aegean area were due to oriental influences, not vice versa.

¹⁰ Watzinger, *DP* I, 101 f.; Grant and Wright, *AS* V, 68 f.; Albright, *ARI*, 65; Millar Burrows, *What Means These Stones?* (New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1941), 118, 128 f.

Since the plan of these structures has no necessary connection with sacred edifices, what evidence is there to suggest that they were temples? Actually, when once the primary assumption, that the tripartite plan, with porch or entry hall, is sacred, is abandoned, an assumption which the expedition owed to reputable archaeologists of long experience, there is very little on which to base any argument. Accompanying installations, such as supposed cup holes in the neigh-

question, since sacred buildings almost always were placed where predecessors have been.

In the building first discovered (no. 1 below) a large flat stone resting on the old inner city wall near the center of the central room was thought to be the base for a cult image or altar, but it might easily have had some other use—the base of a roof support, for example. Moreover the cult image or object should have stood in a niche at the back. In the debris near

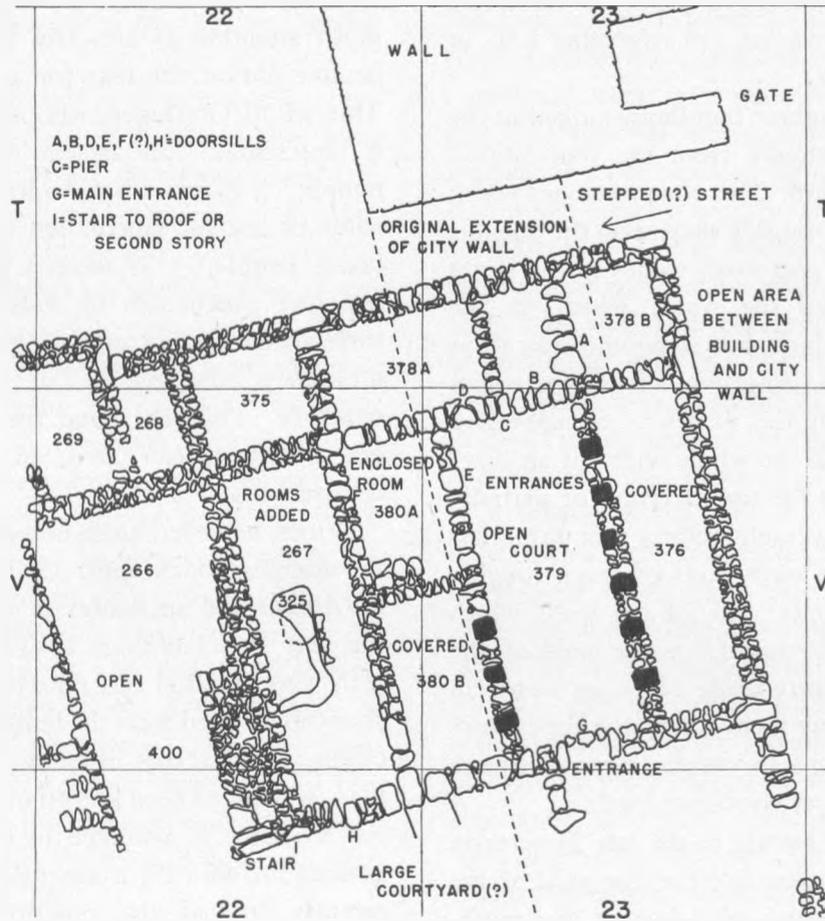


FIG. 51. FOUR-ROOM BUILDING, NO. 3

boring rock (pl. 76: 6), are no evidence unless the sacred nature of the area is first established. Such cup holes and small caverns appeared also elsewhere on the tell. Votive offerings and cult objects, any suggestion of a *bema*, or altar, all definite evidence of this kind was wanting. There was in no case anything that could be called a *favissa*; there was no deposit of bones from sacrifices. On the contrary, both buildings were erected in the intermural area which had formerly been devoted to "profane" uses, especially to grain bins. This in itself is a strong argument against the sanctity of the buildings in

the second building (no. 2 below) a small lamp set among three branches of a very small tree or bush which was broken off short, all of pottery, was the only object which might have had cultic significance. In the center of the south wall of the building was a peculiar arrangement of stones which might possibly have been the bottom of a very narrow shallow niche. Such a niche is the strongest available evidence for the sacred character of the building. But while it was too far destroyed for its nature to be perfectly clear, it seemed much more like a door. For what, then, were these buildings intended? The discussion

can best begin with the best preserved of the three, the last to be discovered, and therefore here numbered 3.

2. Four-room building no. 3—The "profane" character of the third building (pl. 75, fig. 51) was never in doubt. Two of its rooms (nos. 376, 380) had on their floors masses of broken pottery from great wine vessels which were probably *in situ*. Therefore, it seems reasonable to conclude that, when they were destroyed, the rooms were in use for storage.¹¹ Nothing was found in the other two rooms to determine their character. The western room was divided by a wall which is contemporary with the construction of the building it would seem, for, while the long wall between the central and the eastern room was all of it strengthened by monolithic pillars, only the southern half of the wall between the central and the western room was so built. The slightly smaller, northern portion of the west room had no pillars in any of its walls.

Additions had been built on the west side of the structure forming another long room (267) and a small square room (375) and still other rooms farther to the west at the north end of the building appear to belong to these added structures. At the southwest corner of R. 267 a stairway, about 1.20 m. wide, of which three steps and the foundations of the whole flight remain, apparently led to the roof. It appears, however, not to have been built as a part of the wall against which it lies. The stairway indicates R. 400 to be an unroofed area and a part of the larger court which doubtless lay south of the building, bounded by walls, portions of which still remain. On the west side it is impossible to determine boundaries because of a large group of silos in the rock, which is bare at this point. Rubble heaps, resting for the most part on rock outcrop, lie beyond the silos and come down to the probable western wall of the court.

Building no. 3 was well built and was more accurately planned than either of the other two. At some time in its history it may have had a second story which, judged by the steps and the foundation wall for the stairway at the southwest corner, would have been some 9 or 12 ft. above the floor level of the lower story. But this stairway belongs to a room

(267) which was not a part of the original structure. The courtyard and the lower floor might have served, in part at least, as stable, granary, storeroom, and wine cellar, if the upper part served as living quarters. Whether this was so from the beginning it is impossible to determine, but it seems doubtful.

The wall at the north still stands a little higher than the street, while the floors of the rooms are lower, although higher than the level of the city gate (pls. 75: 7; 81: 3, 4). Entrance from the north was impossible. There is clear evidence for an entrance from the large court at the south into the central room (379). From it again there were two entrances, separated by a rectangular pier, into the long cross room (378) which, one may surmise, at one time had been a long *liwān* and was later divided by cross walls into one long and one small room or even three small cubicles. However, both Rs. 378B and 380A have the appearance of belonging to the original plan. Low walls were found between the monoliths on both sides of the central room, but it was impossible to determine whether they were remains of walls which had originally reached the ceiling or not, or whether they were a part of the original structure at all. No other doorways could be clearly distinguished, except one from the south into R. 267. In this added room was a peculiar channel in the rock beneath the floor and under a portion of the rock a small cistern (325), which, probably, was dug before the room was added.

To the south and west of the building there seems to have been a large courtyard. Vestiges of walls parallel to the walls of the building at least suggest such a conclusion. But portions of the walls were unexcavated between the "test trench" (sec. vii, 1) of 1927 and the excavation of 1932, and there is an intrusive structure at the southwestern corner, but whether it is spatially or chronologically intrusive could not be determined. Apparently it is the latter.

3. Four-room building no. 2.—The second of these three buildings to be discovered (pl. 76: 1-3, fig. 52 A), the one lying in AB, AC 25, 26, is the least regular of the three in shape. One room (225) is far from rectangular and the whole structure is nearly a meter wider at the north end than the south. The walls also vary greatly in the use of single stones and two stones for their width. It was oriented along

¹¹ Dr. Albright has concluded that similar long narrow rooms at Tell Beit Mirsim were used for storage. *AAS* 21-22 (1943), § 10.

the city wall just outside the early thin wall. As in no. 3 one entrance was from the south end into the central room (226). The long cross room in both cases was not a porch, but was entered only from within. A stone bowl (or possibly a roof support) and a silo (283) appeared in the central room, both of them off center. The building had been well cleared of all debris when it was abandoned and its walls had been denuded, doubtless for other struc-



FIG. 52A. FOUR-ROOM BUILDING, NO. 2

tures. Pottery by which to date it was limited and mixed. Its destruction might have fallen late in the MI period.

Although its relations are not clear, the building belongs to an exceedingly interesting complex. Just north of it is what, as Mr. Wampler has suggested, might have been an earlier gate (chap. XVII, v). By the building of houses across the corner entrance, it was turned into an enclosed structure with a door to the south opening into a long, narrow unoccupied space between it and the four-room building. But it is impossible to determine whether the "gate" had already been turned into a dwelling, or what not, at an early date after its original use was abandoned. At some period, probably in postexilic times, thin walls enclosing small, irregular rooms (222, 223,

228) were built through it at various angles. Quite clearly that occurred after the great wall itself was in ruins and not merely when the heavy walls of the "early gate" no longer served their original purpose. It would seem probable that between the period of the "early gate" and that of this latest use of the area, there was a time when the "early gate" was rebuilt as a dwelling or storehouse on its original floor level. This would be the period of the divided monarchy. The evidence for this in pottery is slight, but earlier pottery, even of EI iii date was found in Rs. 317-319.

In the unoccupied space between the "early gate" and the four-room building the expedition made a deep cut to bedrock. From the top of the wall at the northeast corner of the four-room building to bedrock was 5.55 m., and from the top of the remains of the city wall to bedrock was the same distance. The average height of the remains of the house walls was a meter. In the debris about 2 m. below the supposed floor level of the four-room building and the "early gate" traces of a drain and of another wall with an entirely different orientation were found.¹² Thus there were at least three strata of walls at this point: one (the traces just mentioned) at about 776 m. above sea level, another, the "early gate" based at 778 to 778.80 m. and the building at ca. 779 to 780 m., and the third (the last thin walls) built over the thick walls of the "early gate" at between 779 and 780 m. above sea level. Unfortunately no pavements and no clearly marked floors were found. Paved floors were found in a series of rooms northwest of the "gate" structure about a meter lower than the probable floor level in the "early gate" area. In the last building monolithic pillars were found (between Rs. 331, 326 and Rs. 322, 327) and it is clear from the photographs that the columns in the wall between R. 317 and locus 221 belong to the latest walls.¹³

In the ten-meter square west of four-room building no. 2 there was a confused jumble of walls within what is regarded as the older, inner wall. Beyond them is a long, straight, well-built wall which runs

¹² Pl. 73: 7. Seen just beyond the steps cut in the ground for the workmen. The measurements recorded in the "Diary" (Apr. 26, 1932) are: from top of wall to NE corner, 5.55 m.; from top of wall to drain, 4.40 m.; from top of city wall inside, 5.55 m.

¹³ The *maššēbāb* at the entrance to R. 317 (pl. 73: 2, 3) does not appear in all of the photographs. Why it appears in pl. 73: 3 I do not know.

on a line slightly west of north for 25 m. and then turns at a right angle westward. It must have enclosed structures which stood higher on the hill where now rubble heaps cover bare rock. Since it cuts straight across the line of the inner wall and the walls inside it, this long wall must be later than any of them although the preserved remains of some of these walls are as high as the long straight wall. The stairway going down into the paved area northwest of the "early gate" is built against the long wall and therefore must be later or roughly contemporary, although the paved floors are lower. The rise of the hill accounts for these anomalies in level, but does not make the discovery of stratification easier.

4. Four-room building no. 1.—So far as appears, the first of these buildings to be discovered was not in any way connected with other structures (pl. 76: 4-6; fig. 52 B). Practically no walls in its neighborhood seem to have any relationship to it. It is opposite an angle in the city wall and is parallel to neither

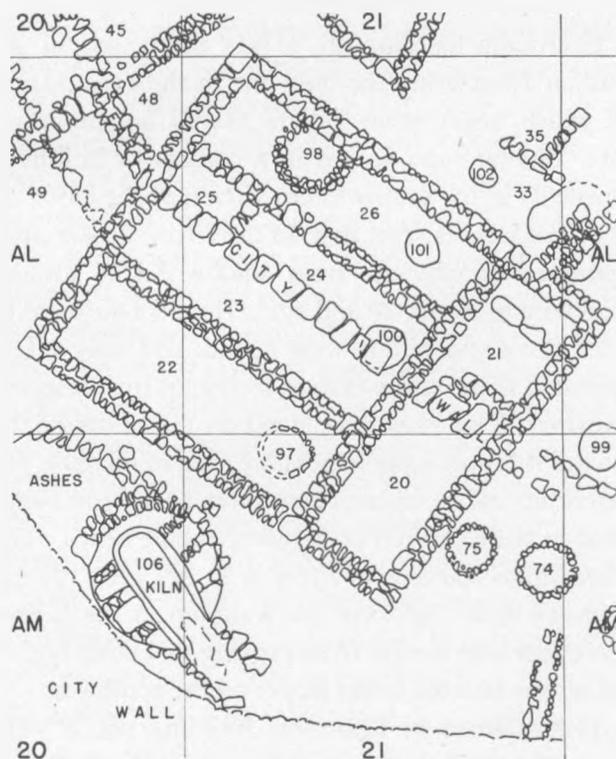


FIG. 52 B. FOUR-ROOM BUILDING, NO. 1

wall of the angle. Its only relationship is with the old inner wall and, seemingly, for some reason not now apparent, that wall determined its orientation. It protrudes on the plan as an erratic block nearly

filling the intermural space, flanked on the southwest by a pottery kiln and an ash heap, and on the other sides, at various angles, by silos and walls, many of which are now so far demolished as to show no complete structural plans (fig. 52 B).¹⁴ It had been destroyed below the floor level with the result that no doorways or entrance sills remained. It was founded on the rock of the hillside and strongly, if not elegantly, constructed. Since, however, the superstructure has disappeared, it may have made a better appearance than the foundations suggest.

5. The use of the four-room buildings.—Because of their similar spatial relations to the two gates, buildings 2 and 3 might be thought to be official in some sense. Does the evidence suggest that such buildings may have been intended for storage purposes? The wine jars found in two of the rooms in building no. 3 support that hypothesis. The silos found in the floors of the other two might have continued in use after the buildings were erected or may have been constructed in the building for grain storage. On this hypothesis, buildings 2 and 3 might have been used for the storage of taxes paid in kind. The fact that, if the four rooms were fully roofed, there would be no provision for lighting suggests storage space. One fact might be thought to militate against this hypothesis. The number of stamped jar handles in the areas about the two gates is not nearly so large as in other sections of the mound where there were more numerous houses.¹⁵ This is an argument only against the theory that these were official storehouses and only if the jars with *lemelekh* and similar stamps were intended primarily for official use. On the other hand, the regularity and somewhat better construction of the buildings might be due to their official character.

However, building no. 1 had no stamped handles near it and it is not near any known gate. Indeed it is as far away as possible within the fortified area. Doubt, therefore, is cast upon the foregoing argument, unless building no. 1 was abandoned before no. 2 or no. 3 were erected. But there is always danger in consistently imposing a single pattern upon anything human and insisting that even close resemblances prove uniformity. This is especially true

¹⁴ See *Exc.*, 30-41, and cf. above, sec. iii, 1.

¹⁵ See above, sec. i, 1.

of the ancient Orient. Is it not safer to assume that the same type of building might have had different uses? Building no. 1 is at the side of the mound where the best breezes of summer blow. It may have been the home of a rich Israelite. Buildings 2 and 3 may likewise have been the dwellings of *gibborim* whose official position led them to wish to oversee the gate and collect taxes. I find it somewhat difficult to believe that such well-constructed buildings were nothing more than storehouses. No. 1 and no. 2 might have been sanctuaries, although that is less probable. Since there is no slightest trace of a stairway, they were probably of one story only. So far as the evidence goes they may have been either storehouses or dwellings.

6. The date of the four-room buildings.—The data by which to determine when these buildings were erected and how long they were used are in general clear enough. They all belong to the MI Age. But within that age it is difficult to be precise.

The date of the building of the great wall gives a clear *post quem* limit at about 900 B. C. The fact that, as elsewhere on the mound, the intermural area near buildings 1 and 2 was at some time occupied by many silos or grain bins enforces this conclusion but pushes the date somewhat later. The first four-room building had covered two bins, one within and one without the inner wall. Building no. 2 had covered one only, but many lay south and west of it. A bin in a room used for storage would be in place. None such was found in four-room building no. 3. This might be taken to mean that neither no. 1 nor no. 2 was erected until some years after the outer wall was built and there had been time for numerous peasants to arrange for the storage of their grain in the unoccupied intermural space. Building no. 3 does not neutralize this argument, since it lay where there was no early inner wall. All three buildings would thus appear to belong to a building phase somewhat later than the erection of the great wall.

From building no. 1 no dating material of any significance was found and its relations to other structures give no assistance. The dates of the two eastern groups of buildings, that by the great city gate and that by the "earlier gate," likewise cannot be determined with accuracy. As already indicated in the discussion of the "early gate" (chap. XVII, v, 4),

much of the pottery in the fourfold building and about the "later" gate was MI ii or later, while that by the "early gate" and its four-room building ranged from EI to the Persian period. The southern structures surely date after the building of the great wall and what is regarded as EI pottery must be from the end of the period or from the debris of occupation within the earlier wall, used to level up the space between the walls. One might surmise that building no. 2 was approximately contemporary with the "early gate" and served the same purpose as building no. 3, just as it had much the same relation to that gate as no. 3 to the preserved gate.

All three, then, probably belong to MI i, certainly to MI ii. Whether they were destroyed by the Babylonians is uncertain, but seems to me not entirely probable. They may have continued in existence into the Persian period. However, this is largely speculation based on general considerations which are to be discussed later.

IV. PILLARED BUILDINGS

Four-room building no. 3 (see above, sec. iii, 2) was far from being the only one in the construction of which heavy stone pillars played an important role. Similar rows appear in a number of buildings especially in the southwestern section of the city.¹⁰ It is a most singular fact that, in the circuit of the city's preserved occupation, from square AA 24 around clockwise to AJ 19, 20 and again from S 14 around to S 22 almost no pillars were found, and only a few appeared in the entire eastern section of the preserved remains. What may have stood on the center of the mound it is now quite impossible even to imagine, for practically all vestiges of structures have been swept away or were covered by immense rubble heaps. The three pillars standing in a row in R. 289 (AB 19) are evidence that they were not wanting on the higher levels, but they are far from proving that other higher areas were like the lower slopes on the southwest.

The columns in four-room building no. 3 were monolithic pillars, as were those in the building north of the "early gate." In other parts of the mound, in Rs. 389 and 390, for example, the columns

¹⁰ Z-AG, 14-20; two rows appear in S, T 14; two in S 22; two rows in "no. 3 building" (V 23); one in AA 24; two in AB 23; one in AB 19, and a very few single, scattered examples elsewhere. On the plans they are shown as heavy black dots.

were constructed of large rudely rounded blocks which were used like the column drums in Greek and Hellenistic colonnades. Several of this kind appeared on the west side of the tell. No exact census is possible, but it would appear that the numbers of the two kinds of pillar, monolithic and drum, were approximately the same. There seem to be no drum columns in the rooms immediately north and south of the city gate. But on the west side of the tell both kinds appear, with a slight preponderance, in that area, of drum columns. The latter exhibited a great variety, thick and thin, rudely rounded and carefully squared. Not a few single columns were found, of both kinds, but with monoliths in the majority. In some cases it was clear that they had served as door-posts. An excellent example in R. 326 (Z 23) was cylindrical (pl. 78: 4). R. 435 (AE 18) had a fine square door post (pl. 78: 5).¹⁷

In the vast majority of cases the pillars stood in single rows, not in two parallel series as in four-room building no. 3. The only other clear example of associated rows is in square S 22, where a building which was only partly preserved shows at least three parallel rooms, one of which lies against the city wall east of it and one of which is lost at the edge of the rock outcrop and rubble piles to the west. Since the city wall is, as a rule, clear of buildings that date before its destruction, this is probably a late structure.

In some instances rows of columns with architraves, or lintels still resting upon them were found. One of the most striking lay between Rs. 389 and 390 (AA, AB 14).¹⁸ At first sight it appears as if built so that R. 389 served as an open court before Rs. 390 and 391. But this is impossible since the columns are only about 1.10 m. high, far from enough for an adult to stand erect under the structure. It seems, therefore, safe to assume that the room was a "basement" shelter for asses, sheep, and goats. The wall behind R. 389, between it and locus 388 is solid. The present level of locus 388 is only 40 cm. below the top of this wall and would thus easily provide access to the floor above R. 389 and its colonnade. The little walls built halfway up the columns in the end intercolumniations are to be noticed as emphasizing the lack of walls elsewhere along the "colon-

nade." As the preserved walls stand, the entrance to R. 390 and to R. 389 may have been at either end.

As to the date of the colonnade and the structures connected with it, there are certain fairly clear indicia. As Dr. Badè observed, Ci 320 and Sis 317 and 321 must have been closed before the colonnade and associated walls were built. The latest artifacts found in these cavities are pre-exilic. In the rooms themselves were pre-exilic and postexilic materials. The buildings, therefore, must have been erected in the MI ii period. However, all of the buildings in this

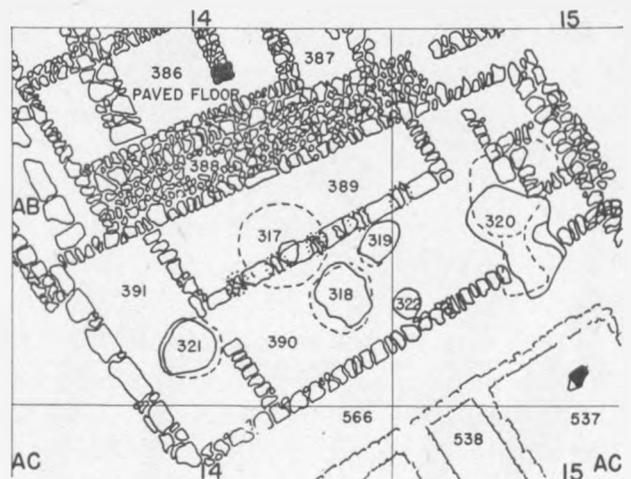


FIG. 53A. PILLARED BUILDING

area follow the orientation established by the old inner wall which extends some distance northwestward beyond them. It is entirely probable, therefore, that some of the walls date back into the 10th or even 11th cent.

V. STAIRWAYS AND SECOND STORIES

Another interesting complex of buildings appears in squares AC, AD, AE 15, 16, 17. Above all, the stairway starting upward from R. 594 attracts attention.¹⁹ There are nine steps, rising from a floor level of about 776 m. (above sea level) to 777.56. The "risers" vary most irregularly between 9 and 31 cm.²⁰ Whether all of the steps are preserved seems not to have been clear, but possibly there was another one, or two, since the wall beside the stair is 25 cm. higher than the last step. In this case the stair does not absolutely vouch for the existence of a second story

¹⁷ Cf. also pls. 75; 77: 2-5; 78: 2, 3.

¹⁸ Pl. 77: 2, 3; fig. 53a.

¹⁹ Pl. 78: 1. See the stairways shown in fig. 43, AD 16, 17 (2); AE, AF 18; AF 19.

²⁰ They are 11, 26, 9, 31, 17, 12, 11, 22 cm.

since a street lies just northeast along the side of the stair. The remnants of other stairs appear in the next room to the southeast (R. 590), and a little farther on in R. 583, in every case beside the wall which borders the street. Still another stair appears on about the same line beyond R. 598 in square AC 16. It is barely conceivable that all of these stairs led down from the street, which is on the upper side of the buildings toward the hill, into rooms which lay below the street. However, the house walls bordering the street seem to be much higher than the street

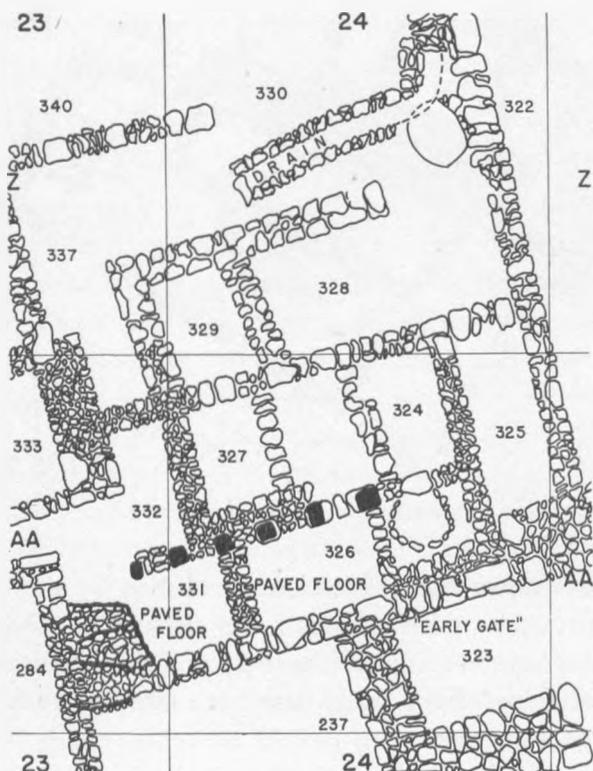


FIG. 53B. PILLARED BUILDING WITH STAIR

level; no doorsills are discoverable, and, therefore, the stairways seem to be sufficient evidence of the use of second stories in this part of the city.

In other instances stairs serve specific purposes of another kind. The series of steps that apparently led up from the city gate to the higher areas on the hill has already been noted. In square AC 16 are two stairways. One in R. 604 appears to lead down to Ci 361, which was unusually deep. The other leads up from R. 598, which may have connected with R. 604 and have given access to both Ci 361 and Bin 362, to R. 541, which possibly was a street.²¹

²¹ See pl. 80: 3, 4. It is to be noted that "room" is used as a general designation for any circumscribed locus.

One building on the east side (331) had both pillars and a stairway. It lies just north of the hypothetical "early gate," in squares AA 23, 24, and would appear to have included the area of Rs. 324, 326, 327, 331, and 332, possibly also Rs. 328, 329, and 337. Thus it lies in what would have been "the gate," if the "early gate" hypothesis is correct.²² The three walls which run parallel, roughly east-west, may be taken as belonging to the original structure, Rs. 327, 326. The center wall is marked by six monoliths which themselves range between .90 and 1.25 m. in height. They are placed on rude bases and their tops are *ca.* 1.50 or 1.60 m. above the paved floor which lies beside them. They did not stand entirely free, but, as found, the walls between filled only the lower part of the intercolumniations. All of the walls are but one stone in thickness and are thus distinguished from what are presumably later walls built across and between them to form enclosures.

If Mr. Wampler is correct in his tentative theory that the MI Age was characterized by a period when walls of one stone thickness were in fashion, then this structure is to be placed in that period.²³ It lies in the intermural area and it dates after the time when the "early gate" ceased to be in use, for its south wall closes the outside entrance to that gate; but it was built doubtless before the destruction of the city walls. In some respects it resembles the four-room building just south of it, and, since the walls of that building are in part one stone in thickness and in part have two stones with rubble filling, it is not necessary to rule out all of the north-south cross walls which appear in the area. However, the only one which seems to have been bonded into an east-west wall is that between Rs. 324 and 325.

The long wall which runs from AC 24 into AA 23 and forms the side of the stairway in R. 331 is of the supposedly later, double type of construction and therefore the stairway may also belong much later than the period of the pillars, although it is not necessary to suppose that all walls built with facings of small stones are postexilic.

Unfortunately the artifacts found in the various rooms within the walls under discussion were limited in number and give no positive dates. Nothing which points to a date before 700 was found in any of the rooms. The greater part of the material seems to

²² Fig. 53 b, pl. 78: 2-4; see above chap. XVII, v.

²³ Chap. XVI, iv, 3, 4.

point to the sixth and later centuries. This means only that the buildings were still in use after the Exile. It appears that the paved floor and the walls parallel to the row of columns remained in use for a long period of time. At some time the area east of the long wall was filled to a higher level and the rather rudely constructed stairway was built in order to provide access from the level of Rs. 331 and 326 to that of the area to the south which was *ca.* 1.50 m. higher. In this case, the stairway may have no connection with a second story.

VI. CISTERNS, BINS, AND HOUSES

1. Certain features of the city's planlessness and of the relations of its structures deserve notice. Silos, or bins, and cisterns have been so often mentioned that no extended discussion is demanded. However, their importance and their relations to houses and streets should be indicated.

Since it was exclusively an Iron Age city, TN had no elaborate tunnel running down from within the walls to an underground spring, such as has been found at Jerusalem, Gezer, Megiddo, and many other places in Palestine and the Near East dating from Middle or Late Bronze Age contexts. Since the use of lime plaster had already been discovered before it was founded, the plastered cistern was its only intramural source of water supply and, since its spring was not abundant, many cisterns were necessary.

As in every Hebrew city, storage for grain was demanded. So far as preserved remains can indicate, such storage was provided by bins dug partially or wholly into the earth or the rock and where necessary lined with walls of small stones. The intermural space at the southern end of the tell was popular, because here the piled-up debris back of the wall provided a considerable depth without the strenuous labor of excavating in rock. Caves in the limestone rock often served also in the Hebrew period for storage, possibly also as dwellings, as they still do for the very poor in some parts of Palestine and Transjordan.

2. Illustrations will serve to visualize Hebrew custom in this type of construction. A group of rather poorly built Hebrew houses excavated in 1927 were chosen by Dr. Badè for this purpose. From the meager pottery record it would appear that they

belong to the MI period. The figure (no. 54) and photographs (pl. 79: 1, 2) take the place of a voluminous description. The mortars standing near one of the three monolithic pillars (R. 60) are to be noted. Unfortunately, the plan gives no indication of the area from which the rainfall was gathered nor of the channels by which it was conducted to the cisterns. Streets, courtyards, and ultimately roofs were the usual sources in ancient, as they are in modern, Palestine. Channels running along the ground, often through settling basins, are found. An example of such a channel, but with no settling basin, and in this case with no discovered evidence of the surface from which the water was gathered, was found in the north portion of square AK 22, Ci 119.²⁴

The old, or inner, wall of the city seems to have been completely ignored in the area of figure 54. No walls stand upon it and the house walls run on a slightly different orientation. Apparently it still rose about a meter above bedrock and formed a portion of the floors of the rooms which were over it. Its top appears to have been from 50 cm. to a meter below the sill of the door between Rs. 72 and 74. It is noteworthy that walls, monolithic pillars, basins, and mortars in the rooms to the east of the old wall often, perhaps usually, rest upon bedrock.²⁵ Nothing had been built either below or above the structure.²⁶ In this section of the little city, rock outcrop covered by rubble lies just to the northeast of the few houses preserved. However the wall beyond the narrow street probably belongs to buildings which have vanished.

Because of the cisterns it may be assumed that Rs. 60, 61, and possibly 79 are courtyards. It is not improbable that Rs. 60 and 65 were originally a single large court, since the wall forming R. 65 is not bonded into the other walls. For the same reason R. 80 appears to be secondary. But since doorways were not discoverable, the relations and uses of Rs. 76, 78-81 are not apparent. The number of cisterns and the amount of courtyard space assumed would not be excessive in a pastoral region when flocks had to be

²⁴ See pl. 79: 3, 4. See also pl. 45: 1, Ci 363; cf. also pl. 44.

²⁵ See especially section EF, fig. 54. One pillar has been inserted high up in a wall according to section AB. It seems to be a pillar just to the right of the doorway to R. 61. However, see pl. 83: 3.

²⁶ Two low walls of which only short ends remain apparently ran out from the city wall eastward near the north end of R. 74 and between the two doorways into R. 60, but the latter should perhaps close R. 72.

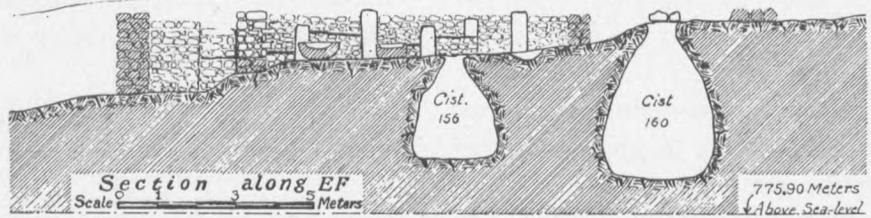
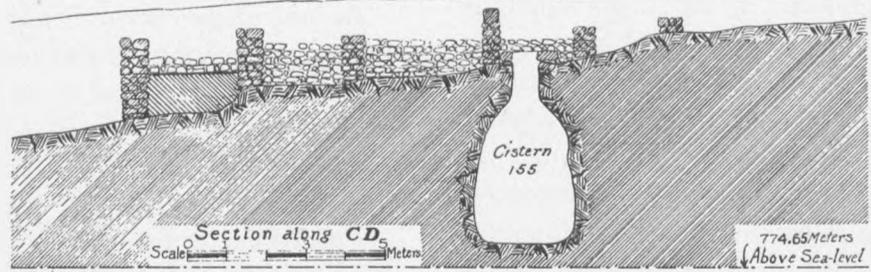
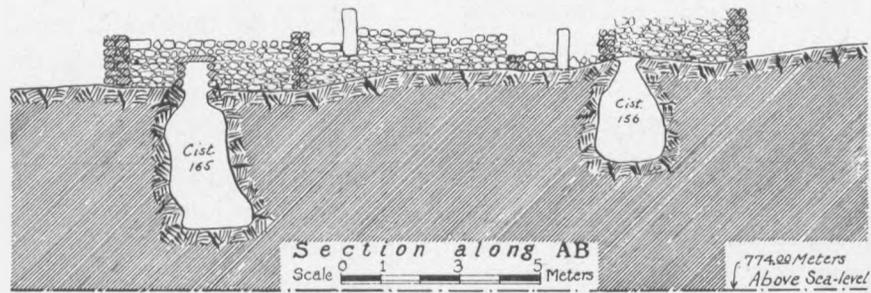
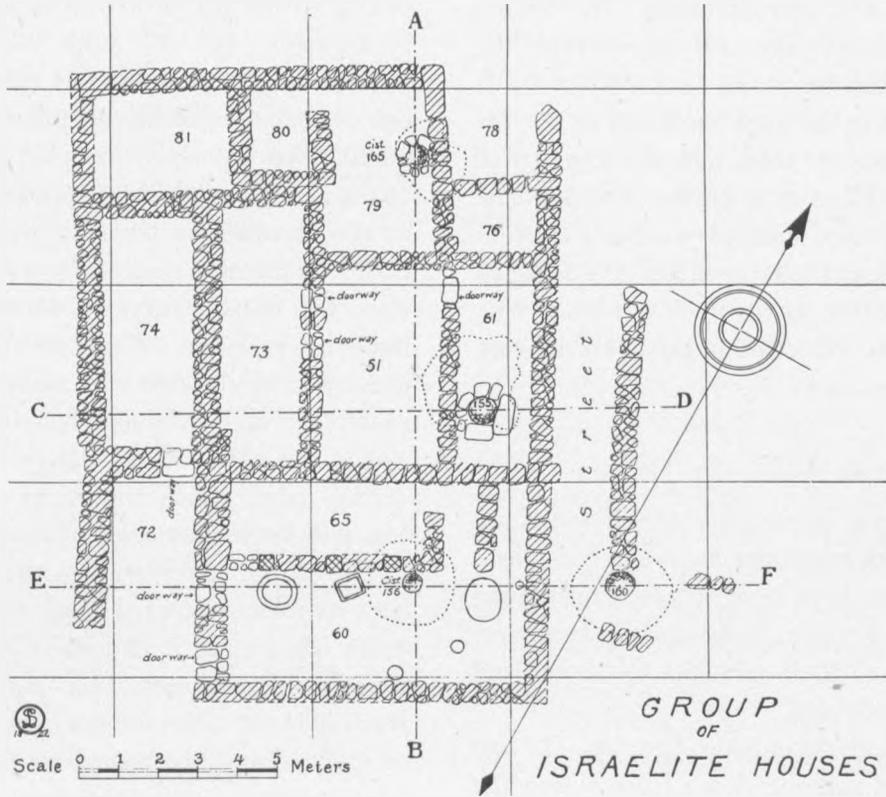


FIG. 54. HOUSES WITH CISTERNS IN AH-AJ 18-20

brought within the owner's protection during the night. However, cistern mouths may be found within rooms which are roofed.

3. In one place a bin, or cistern, below a bin was discovered in 1926 and, at someone's suggestion, it was acclaimed as the cistern in which the body of Gedaliah and his fellow victims were cast by Ishmael.²⁷ It is self-evident that a cistern which measures *ca.* 2.25 by 2.50 m. would hardly hold all of the victims mentioned in the account, if one may take a brief and possibly legendary account seriously, nor is this pit sufficiently imposing in size to deserve special mention as a royal construction.²⁸ One may, I think, regard the idea that the cistern was abandoned because dead bodies had defiled it as possible but not demonstrable.

The section drawn and Dr. Badé's description²⁹ indicate that, when the bin (Si 9) was constructed, the cistern was more than 1.50 m. below the level of occupation. Various explanations are possible. The cistern may have been abandoned simply because it was below the level of the neighboring streets or houses. But the carefully placed cover stones suggest that it may also have been used as a bin in which to store grain in order that it might escape the tax collector's eye. His measuring stick, thrust through the grain, would apparently reach bottom when it struck the cover stones of the cistern. The cone of debris in the cistern, however, points to its latest use as a cistern. If the cistern had been abandoned for some time, while the intermural area was gradually filling up, the bin which is above it may have hit upon it merely by chance, as bin 3 broke into cave tomb 5. Further speculation is useless.

The two sections appearing in figure 55 illustrate the nature of the terrain at the southern end of the tell and the relationships of the great city wall, the inner wall, and the various structures. Section AA shows that all walls, except the short broad pile at the upper end went down to bedrock. The same is true in section BB except for the inner side of the

great city wall itself which, it will be noted, was laid on gravel.

4. Cistern 231, which lies under the inside edge of the great wall in squares AF, AG 26, 27 was certainly in use when the wall was built,³⁰ since a niche was left in the wall over its opening and, apparently, the wall was then or later extended around it. The pottery found in the cistern bears out this conclusion, for some of it belongs to the 10th cent., antedating the probable time of the construction of the wall.

5. Another cave and cistern (285) under the wall appear in P 22.³¹ Their chronological data have been discussed above by Mr. Wampler (chap. XII, v). In this case the limited dating materials indicate occupation only after *ca.* 700. The construction, however, of a wall below the surface level through part of the opening seems to indicate that this cistern also was open when the wall was built. Cisterns were doubtless cleaned from time to time, and, therefore, the materials found do not give a *terminus post quem*, but rather *ad quem*.

Both cisterns, 231 and 285, therefore point to the use of areas outside of the thin inner wall before the great wall was built. The three walls with peculiar orientation in the trench of W 22-24³² and likewise Ca 193, although less emphatically, point in the same direction. A portion of an early wall was found also, it may be remembered, between the "early gate" and four-room building no. 2. Possibly, then, there were "suburbs" also in the EI Age before the great wall was built; that is to say, the thin inner wall no longer contained all of the houses, caves, and cisterns which were in use at the time the great wall was built.

In summary it may be said that domestic architecture, to use too lofty a term, varied greatly from time to time and from area to area, as has already been noted. Not enough of height in any wall remained to determine whether windows were used. Stairs are the only evidence as to second stories or roof-top rooms, and many of them like those leading to Ci 361 (pl. 80: 3, 4), served other purposes. Doorways frequently at least had monoliths as doorposts, and enough sockets were found to suggest that the

²⁷ Jer 41. 7 ff. Ci 31 below Bin 9; fig. 55; pl. 79: 5.

²⁸ If TN is Mizpah, the pit (*bôr*) to which reference is made has not been found, unless it is one of the tombs, for *bôr* has that meaning; but why Asa should make a tomb for fear of Baasha is hardly clear. Probably it was a large pit hastily constructed to provide a water supply in case Baasha should lay siege to the place before cisterns could be dug, and was later neglected and abandoned.

²⁹ Fig. 55; cf. *Exc.*, 25.

³⁰ See below, sec. ix, and the accompanying figure, no. 59.

³¹ See fig. 56 and pl. 44: 6.

³² See below, sec. vii, 1.

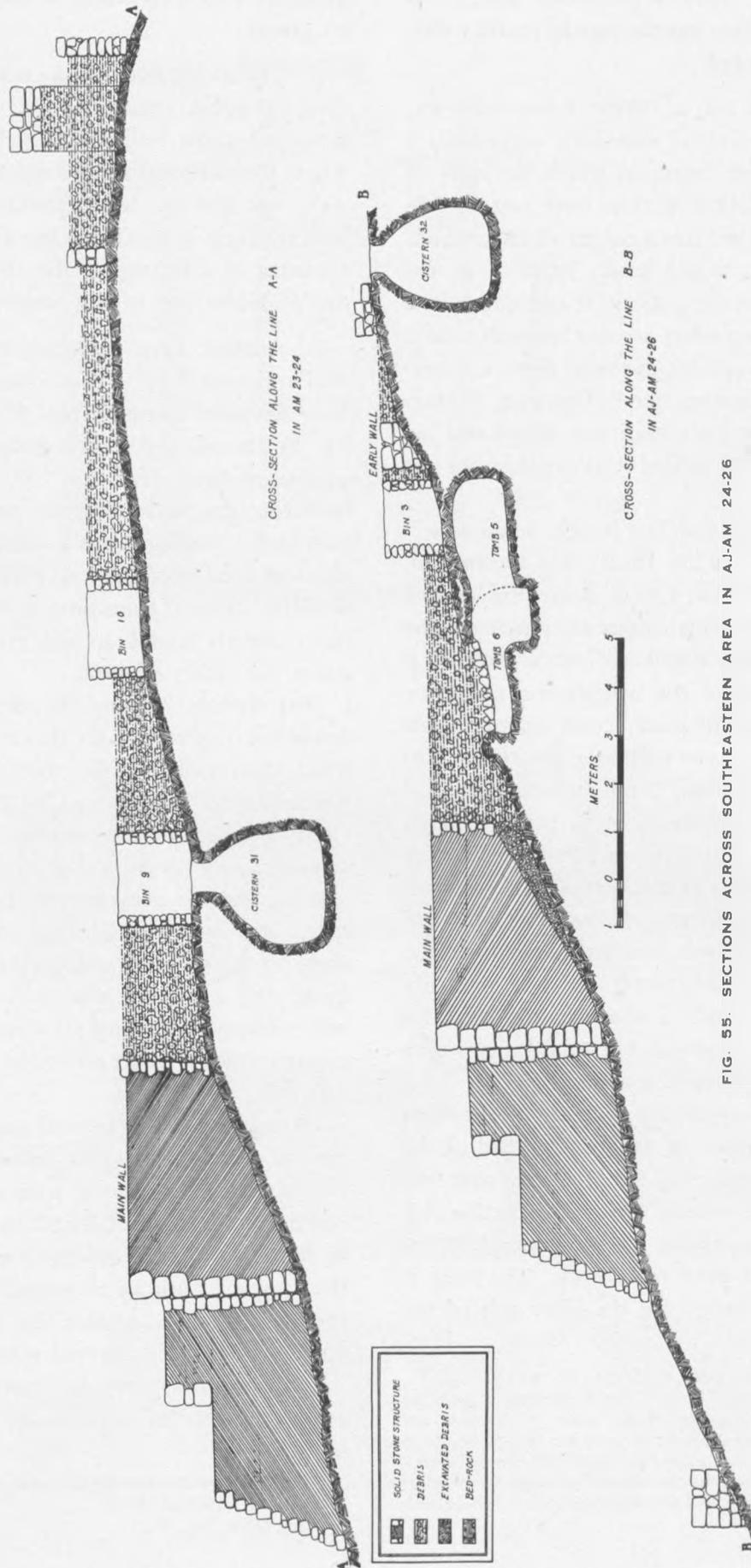


FIG. 55. SECTIONS ACROSS SOUTHEASTERN AREA IN AJ-AM 24-26

door usually turned on pivots, like the great city gates. Bins were constructed out of small stones laid in mud mortar and probably plastered with mud (pl. 80: 2). Bins were usually round (pl. 76: 3; 82: 5), but sometimes square or rectangular (pl. 83: 5). Houses were usually without any floor but the earth, but were sometimes built directly on the rock, sometimes rudely paved with stones (pl. 80: 5), and once at least a room had a lime floor (pl. 82: 3).

been unknown although the trench came within a few feet of the building. However, this remark is only incidental. The trench served its limited purpose admirably. But no further excavation to bedrock was made in this area, and the extent of the CCC walls is not known.

One wall of particular importance is that lettered A, which is the continuation of the city wall from the west side of the city gate southward toward the

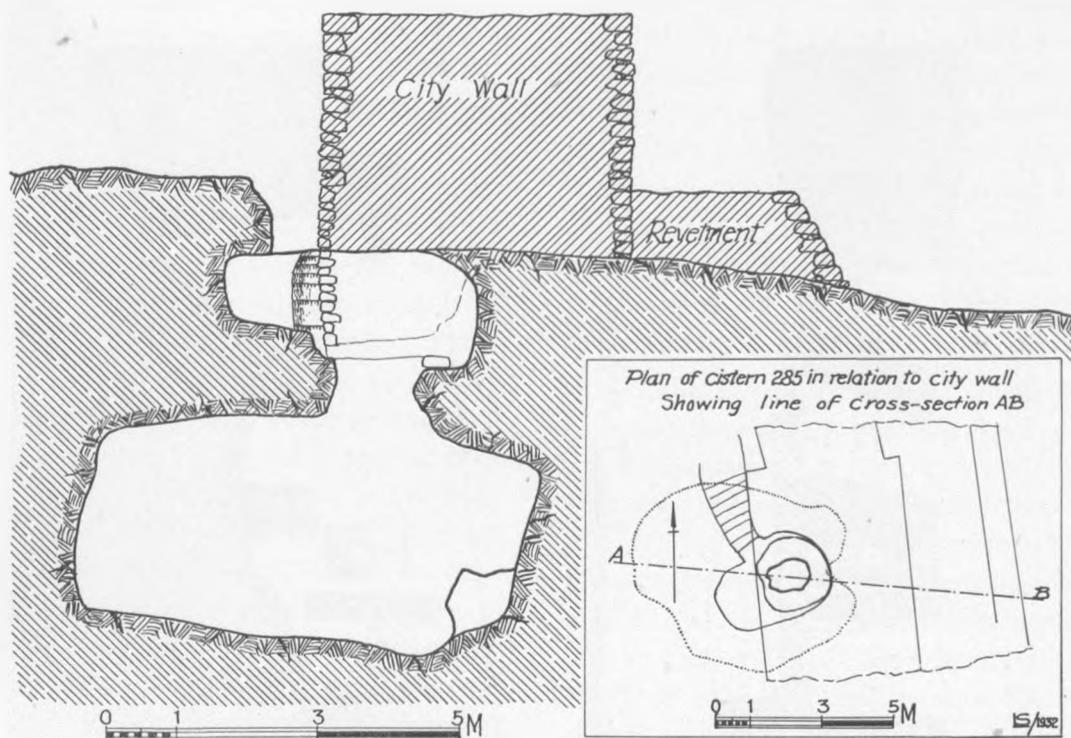


FIG. 56. CISTERN 285 IN P 22

VII. OTHER SIGNIFICANT GROUPS AND AREAS

1. What was called the "north-end, or northeast, test trench" in 1927 (in W 22-25) offers a particularly instructive picture of strata and the position of walls and buildings on the sloping terrain of the original hill.³³ It is likewise a speaking illustration of the dangers of the trench system of excavation, if carried no farther. It was intended only as an exploratory trench and its discoveries, as such, were valuable. But, if it had not been followed up by more complete excavation of the area, the city gate and the large four-room building (no. 3) would have

³³ See fig. 57 and note its position in the large plan; see pl. 81: 1, 2. It was not connected up with the later excavations north and south of it, and therefore there remain two slight lacunae in the plans.

hypothetical "early gate," as already noticed above.³⁴ It rose between 1.20 and 1.60 m. above bedrock, and was 4.50 to 5 m. wide, thus equaling, or surpassing the wall north of the city gate. This wall, it will be noted, although higher on the hill, was regarded as belonging to the same stratum as the city wall (B).

The three thinner walls marked CCC run parallel, in a direction which is not that of either city wall, yet they have been partially cleared off, the two lower CC walls to the level of the main wall, the thin C wall higher up to that of the inner, or earlier, city wall. It is tempting to regard the CCC walls as earlier than the great fortifications, but direct evidence is lacking, and want of direction parallel to the

³⁴ Chap. XVII, v, 3.

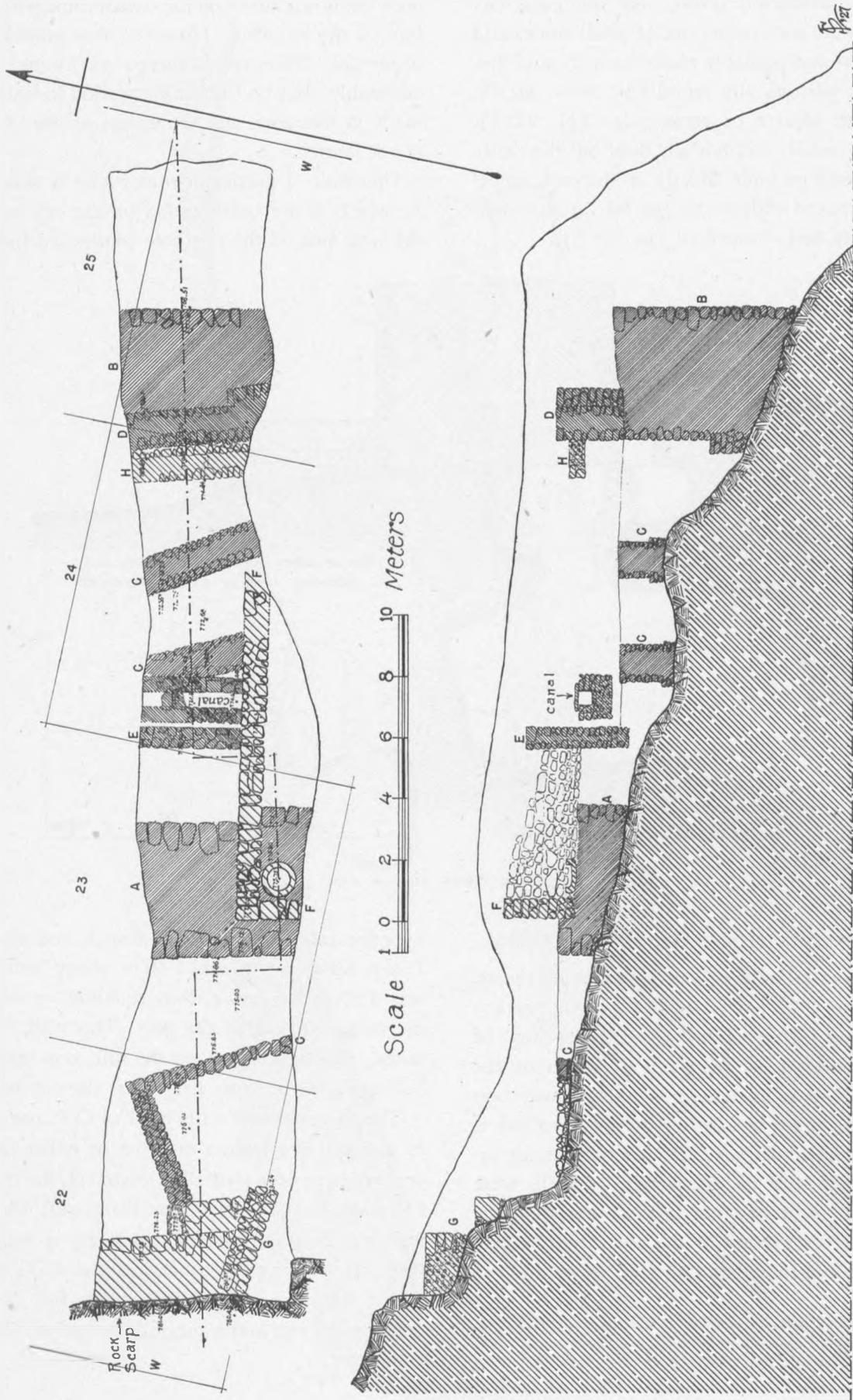


FIG. 57. PLAN AND CROSS SECTION OF NORTHEAST TRENCH

city wall is inconclusive. Above these and belonging to a period when both great city wall as well as walls CCC were already buried, lie the walls DE and the canal. The walls F, G, and H may possibly belong to a still later period, although F may belong to the same period as wall E and was so understood when the large plan of the city was made. Thus E and F were taken as boundary walls of the courtyard of four-room building no. 3.³⁵ Against this assumption is the southward turn of wall F at the western end, its higher level, and the stone bowl in the corner, which should be inside, not outside, an enclosure. If F belonged with E, it should have reached the same depth between E and A.

It is possible, therefore, to distinguish four strata: (1) the CCC walls; (2) city walls A and B, of which A would be earlier than B; (3) walls DE and the canal; (4) walls FHG. It is evident, however, that the G walls cannot be definitely dated and that F may belong to either 3 or 4, while the first group (CCC) may be of the same date as the second (B). There can, nevertheless, be no doubt that at least three distinct building periods are here in evidence. It is unfortunate that here, as in the southwestern section already discussed (chap. XVI, iii), no clear differences in ceramic types can be determined.³⁶

However, there can be no doubt that wall H, probably with F, belongs to the latest use of the area. The canal may belong to that period or to that of DE. If the city gate was destroyed by the Babylonians, walls DE represent the time of the Exile and the early postexilic community, HF the Middle Persian or early Hellenistic Age. The city wall B and the thin CCC walls belong to the later pre-exilic period and were destroyed in 597, 586, or a little later, while A stems from the 9th cent., and may have stood until the end of the 8th cent., the time of Sennacherib.³⁷ Wall D may represent an attempt to rebuild the city wall in postexilic times. It has a character all of its own, showing very long thin blocks alternating with small rubble.³⁸ However, the absence of similar walls elsewhere, either upon the

city wall or standing free, may be thought to negative the conclusion that it was a city wall. It is perhaps rather a hasty house wall of postexilic times, the early 5th cent.

There is another possible alternative: the three CCC walls may represent the earliest walls of Israelite times and come from buildings which antedated the thin inner wall or which belong to contemporary buildings crowded outside that wall. The chronological order of the other walls would follow the alphabetical order except that wall E and even F might precede D, belonging to the pre-exilic period, which otherwise is left without representation. This is the date presupposed in the city plan and in the restoration of the four-room building no. 3.³⁹ The only possible solution of the problem would appear to be the excavation of the untouched areas north and south of the test trench, where decisive pottery evidence might, on a long chance, be found.

2. Other interesting series of superimposed groups of houses have already been discussed as illustrations of stratification.⁴⁰ A comparison of figures 41-43 with the same area in the plan of the city indicates that, for the most part, a complete rebuilding took place at the end of the str. ii period, at least in the area AD-AG 16-18. For example, the walls of Rs. 405 and 411 (AF 17) are built over bins 384 and 385 (fig. 42). The wall between Rs. 508 and 510 is built over Ci 358, proving that the cistern was dug before the thin-wall phase of str. i, which Mr. Wampler dates at about 700 B. C.⁴¹ The old inner city wall, which runs diagonally through the area, is entirely ignored in str. i. The drain which runs from AF 17 through AG 17 to and through the city wall must belong to the time of the building of the later wall. Therefore, judged from its present form, it indicates that originally the paved room no. 402 may belong either to the same period as the wall or later, but not, of course, to the period of the inner wall.⁴²

However, it would appear from the sketch of str. ii (fig. 42) that the drain originally functioned, probably from R. 552, at the time when Rs. 547-8 and 551-2 were in use. If so, that portion of str. ii belongs to the period when the wall was built. It cannot well

³⁵ As already noted, we do not know what lay in W 23 between the test trench and four-room building no. 3 (Rs. 376, 379, 380).

³⁶ The recorded pottery, which shows occupation from the EI to the Persian period (Attic ware), comes from the hillside in X 21 and 22, and not from the part of the trench which is under discussion.

³⁷ See above, chap. XVII, vii, 4.

³⁸ See pl. 74: 4.

³⁹ See pl. 75: 6, and the city plan.

⁴⁰ See above, chap. XVI, iii, 2-4, and figs. 41-43; also XVI, vi.

⁴¹ See pl. 82: 4, and above chap. XVI, iv, 4, 5.

⁴² See the city plan and fig. 42.

be earlier for it is outside the old wall. R. 402 then belongs to a later period. The pottery found above the pavement belongs to the end of MI ii. Some found in the walls between Rs. 402 and 406 seems to belong to MI. Therefore, since some pottery found under the pavement belongs to MI ii, while other sherds go back to EI iii, it seems probable that Rs. 401, 402, and other related structures were built in the MI ii period and continued in use down to the Exilic and perhaps later. Since the floors of Rs. 548 and 552, for example, were above level 777.32-777.36, and the paved floor of R. 402 was at 778.69-778.89, above sea level, the level of occupation had risen but little in the intervening period, probably only slightly over a meter.

3. In str. ii, Rs. 551 and 552, which lie just outside the old, inner wall and at the head of the drain which goes through the wall, should belong to EI and MI i according to the pottery found in them.⁴³ Probably, therefore, they were built in the 9th cent. The rooms above them (403-6) as in part noted below, differ in details. On the whole these rooms have much the same pottery types and, on the pottery evidence alone, would not be thought appreciably later than the rooms below them. Rs. 405 and 406 have more pottery which belongs to the 7th cent., and this may be their latest period.⁴⁴ The walls in this stratum must have been built in MI i or ii. There is no appreciable difference between the pottery above and below the floors. Doubtless the difficulty in arriving at more definite dates is due to the similarity of the pottery throughout the MI period.

Rs. 544, 545, 546, 549, and 550 just inside the inner wall might be casemates built against the early city wall (AF, AG 17, 18, pl. 83: 2). The pottery in these five rooms falls in the main between 1100 and 600, but it appears as if it is better EI iii and MI i than MI ii ware.⁴⁵ Very few bowl fragments showing

burnishing appeared. The three or four recorded seem to represent late EI iii or early MI i burnishing. One high-footed lamp fragment appeared.

Beside these rooms to the northeast lie Rs. 543, 554, 553, and 558. The smaller number of fragments found in them does not allow so positive a conclusion, and the period indicated is MI i-ii. However, there is no single piece which has been found elsewhere only in an MI ii context, although nearly every piece has some parallels from that period.⁴⁶ No burnishing on bowls was observed. One saucer lamp fragment appeared. These rooms, therefore, may be of the same date as their neighbors on the southwest, or, possibly, occupied a little longer.

4. At first glance the rooms which were found over the groups inside the wall (403, 404, 409, 413, 426-29, 425 with bin 328) present almost the same ceramic pattern as the rooms below them. Reference to the list of parallels which Mr. Wampler selected (vol. II) will show some which point back to MB and LB (S 232, 233, 237, 258) or EI (S 272, 279, 329). A few are paralleled, chiefly at Tell el-Fûl, in postexilic times.⁴⁷ So far as I can see, aside from one piece (S 1508), all of the others may be pre-exilic.⁴⁸ In general the parallels give little aid in dating the material, as reference to volume II will show, for they scatter over all of the centuries from the 20th to the 4th. R. 405 appears to belong to MI, R. 406 to EI and MI, and the others in this group likewise show a decided preference for late EI and MI. Rarely is there material distinctive of the Persian period. Of course the lack of postexilic parallels may be due to the fact that little excavation has been done in

⁴³ R. 551: S 56, 433, 476, 713, 989, 1230, 1508; R. 552: S 307, 462, 477, 989, 1322.

⁴⁴ R. 405: S 1, 258, 283, 291, 326, 368, 588, 649, 1185, 1315, 1323, 1438, 1467, 1566; R. 406: S 64, 69, 232, 272, 279, 323, 329, 416, 444, 649, 676, 833, 1013, 1031, 1233, 1281, 1763. See below, note 48, for Rs. 403, 404. Nothing was found in R. 548 and in R. 547 only a single bowl fragment which differed from the type specimen (S 1207) in having no indented groove about the shoulder.

⁴⁵ R. 544: S 66, 284, 319, 365, 385, 1308, 1754; R. 545: S 7, 1175, 1273, 1352; R. 546: S 3, 7 (collared?), 14, 68, 233, 239, 311, 417, 492, 533, 636, 1307, 1515 (no decoration); R. 549: S 47, 284, 572, 639, 655, 985, 1235; R. 550: S 46, 47, 233. All are rim, handle, and base fragments.

⁴⁶ R. 543: S 71, 251, 356, 1010, 1157, 1207, 1323, 1352, 1427; R. 554: S 52, 524, 530, 778, 1436; R. 553: S 73, 239, 245, 316 (3), 394, 439, 480, 523, 1001, 1004, 1025, 1270, 1427, 1431, 1439; R. 558: no material.

⁴⁷ It is disconcerting to find some fragments which have early parallels elsewhere finding late company at Tell el-Fûl; e. g. S 232, 233, 237. Probably these jar fragments are not typical.

⁴⁸ R. 403: S 233, 254, 265; R. 404: S 234, 451, 1508; R. 409: S 29, 240, 254, 262, 269, 275, 356, 431 (2), 432, 697, 1233, 1237, 1358, 1379, 1402, 1409, 1429; R. 413: S 250, 259, 357, 378, 383, 1230, 1257, 1291; R. 425: S 234, 255, 266, 447, 454, 1031, 1296, 1308, 1309, 1311, 1429, 1510, 1530, 1538, 1685, 1718; R. 426: S 76, 100, 255, 258, 260, 279, 316, 411, 417, 418, 433, 439, 585, 680, 1031, 1143, 1192, 1254, 1352 (burnishing outside and within on last two); R. 427: S 38, 39, 68, 80, 247, 303, 312, 421, 549, 583, 586, 1013, 1322, 1427 (MI ii burnishing on last three); R. 428: S 232, 254, 564, 679, 683, 697, 1309, 1344, high-footed lamp; R. 429: S 234, 240, 254, 262, 283, 531, 666, 1054, 1296.

material which was known to belong to that period,⁴⁹ yet that can hardly be the only reason.

The walls of the later, first-stratum rooms were carefully dismantled and the pottery mixed in with the clay mortar was recorded. Likewise the pottery discovered just below the floor levels of these rooms was recorded separately from that just above the second stratum floors. Unfortunately this care seems to have been wasted.⁵⁰ In some cases the pottery in the walls and in the sub-floor debris seemed later, in others much earlier than that even in the rooms below. This may have been due to the digging of clay from an area where debris from very early occupation had been dumped. Some later material is to be found (S 1053, 1508), which seems possibly even Hellenistic.⁵¹ But this would prove too much, since much of the pottery is even pre-exilic. The buildings must have been erected and the floors established late in MI ii, but rebuilding may easily have allowed later pottery to intrude.

R. 409 is a puzzling structure. The pottery found in it need not be later than the 8th cent., and the room has no clear evidence of postexilic occupation. But its floor is a meter higher than the rooms to the west, north, and east of it (410, 506, 435) which have "single-stone" walls. However, it rests upon heavy walls of "two-stone" (90 cm.) thickness, across which one of its "two-stone" (*ca.* 55 cm.) walls runs, and under its floor was a 5th cent. Greek potsherd. I call attention to the confusion of walls in this area without attempting any solution of the problem.⁵²

5. In view of the significance of this area, where there was clearly marked rebuilding over earlier walls, I am adding a summary of Professor G. Ernest Wright's independent study of the record cards and of a portion of the pottery fragments from the region. His general conclusions have been given already.⁵³ A fuller account of his reasons with his analysis

of the pottery is called for, especially since clear stratification in this period has not yet been found (or at least published) at any Palestinian site, not even at Tell Beit Mirsim, although Dr. Albright's forth-coming publication (see now *AAS* 21-22) of which he has kindly sent proofs to Professor Wright and myself, greatly clarifies the picture. Professor Wright emphasizes the difficulty of arriving at definite conclusions due to the fragmentary character of the pottery and the mixing of pottery from different ages in the two strata, since both continued over several centuries and each represents more than one phase.

(a) Stratum ii is made up of several phases, the earliest perhaps marked by the broad wall running NW-SE through squares AG 18 and AF 17 (pl. 83: 3). This thin inner wall, against which the material lay, was built not earlier than the 11th cent., if we are to date it according to the earliest sherds found in the rooms.⁵⁴ He suggests that the inner wall was built in Philistine times, as we had already concluded.

Wright dates str. ii between the 11th and 8th cent. (*ca.* 1100-700 in round numbers). He suggests that a possible earlier phase of str. ii is to be seen in the sub-i pottery of Rs. 414-416 (AG 18) which he regards as homogeneous and as belonging to the 11-10th cent., with emphasis on the 11th, especially in R. 414.⁵⁵

In the pottery of str. ii, found in what was recorded as from "Level II" or "Level Sub-I," Dr. Wright singles out typical specimens as follows:

(1) Cooking-pot rims of Early Iron: Sub R. 414, S 982, 984; Sub R. 418, S 985; R. 549, S 979; etc. These develop out of LB tradition and seem to cease *ca.* 900 or shortly thereafter.

(2) Collared-rim types known in Gibeah I, Shiloh, and Bethel, EI i-iii; Sub-R. 506, S 19, 97; R. 546, S 14; R. 554, S 52; cf. *AS* IV, pl. 61: 1-3; V, 129

⁴⁹ When the postexilic materials from the recent excavations at Samaria and Lachish are published, this want should be supplied.

⁵⁰ This is no argument against such careful recording. In another case it might prove very useful.

⁵¹ See S I, 303, fig. 183.

⁵² Cf. fig. 42 and the area in the city plan. See above note 48.

⁵³ See above, chap. XVI, vi. Unfortunately, Mr. Wampler had to write his conclusions regarding stratification in haste just before going into the army. What follows is from Professor Wright unless bracketed or otherwise indicated. Selected pottery types appear in fig. 58. Cf. Mr. Wampler's room dates, Vol. II, App. B.

⁵⁴ S 14, S 3 in R. 546; a fragment too small to classify as to shape, having three circular bands in red on the inner surface, in R. 549; and S 233 in R. 550 he places in the 11th cent.; S 985 in R. 549 is an EI cooking pot not later than 900. See above para. 3.

⁵⁵ Under floor; R. 414: S 16, 115, 238, 363, 477, 558, 982, 984, 994; R. 415: S 1244, 1344, 1425, 1445; two base fragments of high-footed lamps are out of place here and led Mr. Wampler to give a later date; Rs. 416, 423, 424; S 3, 19, 259, 471, 486 (2), 946, 1175, 1481, one base fragment of high-footed lamp. [It appears to me that such lamps are possible from *ca.* 900 on. C. C. M.]

for references; *BZ*, fig. 30 (upper right-hand corner); *M I*, pl. 17: 85, 86 (cf. Albright's statement, *AJA* 44 [1940], 548). They are not later than 1000.

(3) A fairly certain Philistine piece is a horizontal handle, R. 414, S 363*, in a good EI locus. The piece is well formed and can hardly be dated later than 1000. A bowl fragment in R. 549, which is described as having a light-orange surface over a light-drab core with a light-drab, slip-smoothed outer surface and with three circular bands in red paint on the inner surface, could well be a Philistine bowl of the type illustrated in *AS*, IV, pl. 59: 24, 25, 29-32.

(4) EI carinated bowl; Sub-R. 426, S 1154; cf. *AS* IV, pls. 59: 13, 14, 20; 60: 9, 11; 62: 15; *AAS* 12 (1932), pls. 50: 5; 47: 7. The types run from the 13th to the 11th cent.

(5) Gibeah II jar rim, 10th-8th cent.; Sub-R. 430, S 88, etc., cf. *AAS* 4, pl. 28: 22; *AS* IV, pls. 46: 1-2; 65: 4, 9; see *AS* V, 143 f.

(6) Dipper juglet with pinched lip: Sub-R. 410, S 775; period like that of no. 4, it disappears about 900; cf. *AS* V, pls. 64: 42; 44: 19; 49: 5, and *AS* V, 138 f.

(7) Juglet which may be EI, or at least transitional; Sub-R. 506, S 816; cf. *AAS* 12, § 94.

(8) Various painted pieces (not reproduced).

(9) Jar rim of 'Ain Shems III-IIa type; R. 546, S 7; R. 556, S 284; cf. *AS* IV, pls. 61: 4-7; 62: 39-43; *AS* V, 129, 134; *M I*, pls. 20: 119, 21: 126 (str. v).

(10) Bowl; Sub-R. 435, S 1427. Since the sherd is burnished on the rim and interior only, it probably belongs to the 9th-8th cent., but the form begins in the 11th-10th cent., where it is usually burnished on the outside down to the shoulder. *AS* IV, pl. 64: 1-18. Since this type [either with or without exterior burnish?] is not found in the late MI contexts, it probably dies out in the 8th cent. Bin 385, x3 (S 1438) is perhaps 10th-9th cent. (or perhaps a little earlier) since it shows irregular burnishing on the outside.

(11) Jug necks with handles; R. 546, S 636; Sub-Rs. 416, 423, 424, S 471; type and ware are all EI. Sub-R. 415, S 1, is a large handle with smooth oval section characteristic of EI.

(12) Chalice fragments; Sub-R. 429, S 1576; Sub-R. 418, S 1573; Bin 384, S 1583. The chalice

begins about MB ii and continues through LB and EI, but does not survive much later than ca. 700, though evidence is inconclusive; cf. *AS* V, 142.

(13) "Grain dipper," probably ca. 10th-8th cent.; Sub-R. 435, S 1415 (inaccurately restored); Bin 384, S 1546; for ware and form cf. *AS* IV, pls. 47: 10-13; 66: 18 ff., and *AS* V, 137 (on Tell el-Fâr'ah example).

(14) Small amphora; Sub-R. 432, S 440, 659; common MI type.

(15) Plate with horizontal handles; Sub-R. 418, S 1542; cf. *M I*, pl. 24: 26 (str. ii). From the context this may belong in str. i, and, if the Megiddo stratification is correct, it is probably 7th-6th cent., but we do not know the history of this type.

(16) Water decanter (mouth and strap handle); Sub-R. 432, S 750, which could belong to str. i or ii. The form appears in str. i (R. 418, S 738), but it probably appears in str. ii also. Sub-R. 434, S 639 is an example which from its rounded form might be earlier than that in R. 418, but, on the other hand, it might be merely a variation from the standard form.

"For the chronology of this type see *AAS* 12 (1932), § 111; *AS* V, 140 f., where I thought the form rare before the 8th cent. *M I*, 163, 21, Shipton remarks that this form is rare in Megiddo iv and i, while it appeared in profusion in iii. Thus, if my observations are correct, we should not expect to find many in str. ii at TN, since the form is more characteristic of the latter half of MI. So far as I can see, there is no sherd of the type which from the context must be str. ii. When sherds appear 'under the floor' (Sub-), we cannot be sure whether they have come down from above, or whether the only floor preserved belonged to one of the upper phases of str. i, and not to the earliest phase, of which R. 418 (see below) seems to be typical."

(17) Sherds from large bowls; Bin 384, S 1437; Bin 385, S 1439; R. 544, S 1308; large bowls with wide mouths, somewhat carinated in form, which first appear in EI and continue into the early part of MI (probably not later than the 8th cent.). See *AAS* 12, pl. 50: 7 f.; *M I*, pl. 28: 88-91.

"The above, it seems to me, is the outline of the material which is datable within limits, and which indicates a date ca. 11th-8th cent. for Level II. That

little of the material is much earlier than the 11th cent. is difficult to prove, but it is an impression left from the whole group."

(b) R. 418 (AG 18), which, like Rs. 549 and 550, lay just inside the early wall and which preserved a fair collection of pottery fragments (41 specimens), has its largest number of parallels in the 7th cent., but a considerable number also in the 6th. Mr. Wampler dates it in the early 6th cent. Dr. Wright regards it as preserving a homogeneous group which may possibly be regarded as typical of the earliest phase of str. i beginning in the 7th cent. and ending early in the 6th. As specially typical pieces he selects a two-ribbed handle fragment (S 355), a shouldered decanter fragment with strap handle and horizontal burnishing (S 738), which may also be found in str. ii, and two small bowls (S 1214, 1267), the second with ring burnishing, both of which he believes to belong before about 586. He suggests that further evidence might show that the earliest phase of str. i ended at the time of Gedaliah.⁵⁶ [Under the floor of R. 418, fourteen fragmentary specimens appeared, but no structures are recorded. While there was some MI material, especially of the 7th cent., there were more reminiscences of EI, if one may decide, somewhat mechanically, by the parallels from other sites.] A chalice base fragment (S 1573) Dr. Wright regards as belonging before ca. 700, a cooking-pot rim (S 985) is EI. The wall between R. 417 and R. 418 has pottery of the 8th and 7th cent.⁵⁷ [It would appear that the str. i building was erected on a spot where little debris had accumulated since the EI period.]

(c) From the str. i loci discussed Professor Wright selects certain specimens which he regards as typical of a period later than 600. Since this period is as yet not well represented in publications, a portion of his list is given herewith.

(1) Jar handles: (a) heavy, round-to-oval handle with a single central rib or with a tendency thereto [the kind frequently referred to in the discussion of the postexilic seal impressions⁵⁸]; from R. 402, S

⁵⁶ S 67, 75, 79, 90, 91, 245, 312, 317, 354 (2), 355, 400, 421, 444, 446, 632, 655, 674, 738, 1002, 1021, 1067, 1214, 1250, 1256, 1267, 1311 (2), 1314, 1331, 1425, 1432, 1487, 1513, 1518, 1782. Note pl. 83: 3.

⁵⁷ S 1, 10, 45, 51, 233, 281, 303, 407, 479, 798, 985, 1005, 1542, 1573.

⁵⁸ See above, chap. XIV and fig. 37.

238, 295; R. 405, S 355; wall of Rs. 405-6, S 238;⁵⁹ (b) handle oval or tending to flat, probably smoothed by thumb outside and finger inside, with striations of smoothing running vertically: from R. 402, S 240; walls of Rs. 403-8, S 355;⁶⁰ walls of Rs. 413-27, S 233, 357.⁶¹

(2) Jar or jug rims; judged from thin section and hard ware to be probably Persian: R. 414, S 1585; wall, Rs. 414-22, S 1585; R. 430, S 1064;⁶² no others as yet published; fig. 58: 1.

(3) "Hole-mouth rim" with inner ledge according to Wright: ware like no. 2; classified as crater: wall, Rs. 409-10, R. 412 (2), R. 418, all S 1487; found at Bethel; unpublished; fig. 58: 2.

(4) Jar rims of three types all marked by a ridge around the neck; (a) R. 401, S 310; (b) R. 424, S 307; (c) R. 426, S 304. The type appears to begin in str. ii, but becomes common in str. i and, therefore, in the Persian period. It appears at Bethel and at Megiddo in str. iv-i.⁶³ It appears to range from the 8th to the 5th cent.; fig. 58: 3 a, b, c.

(5) Flaring jar or jug rim, perhaps related to nos. 1 and 3 a; probably exclusively in Persian period, as both form and ware suggested; R. 402; fig. 58: 4.

(6) Small-jug rim; well formed with unusually thin section; R. 423; fig. 58: 5.

(7) Jug rim; the best are burnished spirally on exterior and interior of rim. The all-over burnish on the outside is possibly a survival of MI technique used somewhat differently. The type probably begins in MI; R. 417; fig. 58: 6.

(8) Small-jar rims; differ from MI in both form and ware; Rs. 426-27; fig. 58: 7.

(9) Juglet with mouth too wide for MI forms and with good analogies in Persian period; R. 417; fig. 58: 8.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ If typically postexilic, this cannot be the same handle as on S 238 from T. 32.

⁶⁰ Mr. Wampler put the two handles, one from R. 405, the other from the walls between Rs. 403 and 408, in the same class; they practically meet between oval and flat.

⁶¹ Cf. Sellers, *BZ*, figs. 34, 37, 38, 45.

⁶² R. 430 should be early; see pl. 77: 4; this cooking-pot fragment apparently came from high in the filling of the room.

⁶³ *M I*, pl. 15: 75, 77, Lamon, *Megiddo Water System*, pl. 2: 1.

⁶⁴ Cf. *S I*, 285, form I 6a, from a locus dated in the first half of 5th cent. by Greek pottery; 290, form IV 6a, from a cistern containing Aramaic ostraca, and apparently belonging to 5th-4th cent., *G III*, pl. 187: 3, 4th cent.; Tell Abū Hawam, *QDAP* 4 (1934). 15, no. 9.

(10) A bottle of the 7th-5th cent.;⁶⁵ T. 3; fig. 58: 9. Similar sherds in Rs. 406 and 415.

(11) Ribbed bowl; probably 6th-4th cent.; wall Rs. 413-27; examples approaching this in Rs. 409, 410, 414, 426; fig. 58: 10 a, b.⁶⁶

(12) Ribbed juglet; cf. 14 below; R. 428;⁶⁷ fig. 58: 11. Three pieces, nos. 12-14 raise the question as to when ribbing on the exterior as a common characteristic of pottery making begins. It appears from

to the bronze and silver bowls of the Persian period?⁷⁰

(16) Miscellaneous: compare the following:

(i) S 1508, 1509 (Rs. 410, 426, in wall Rs. 405-6) with S I, 291: 10-13.

(ii) S 246, 255, 446, 454, in Rs. 409, 412, 415, 425 with S I, 291: 5.

(iii) Bowls in Rs. 425 and 429 like S 1296 in

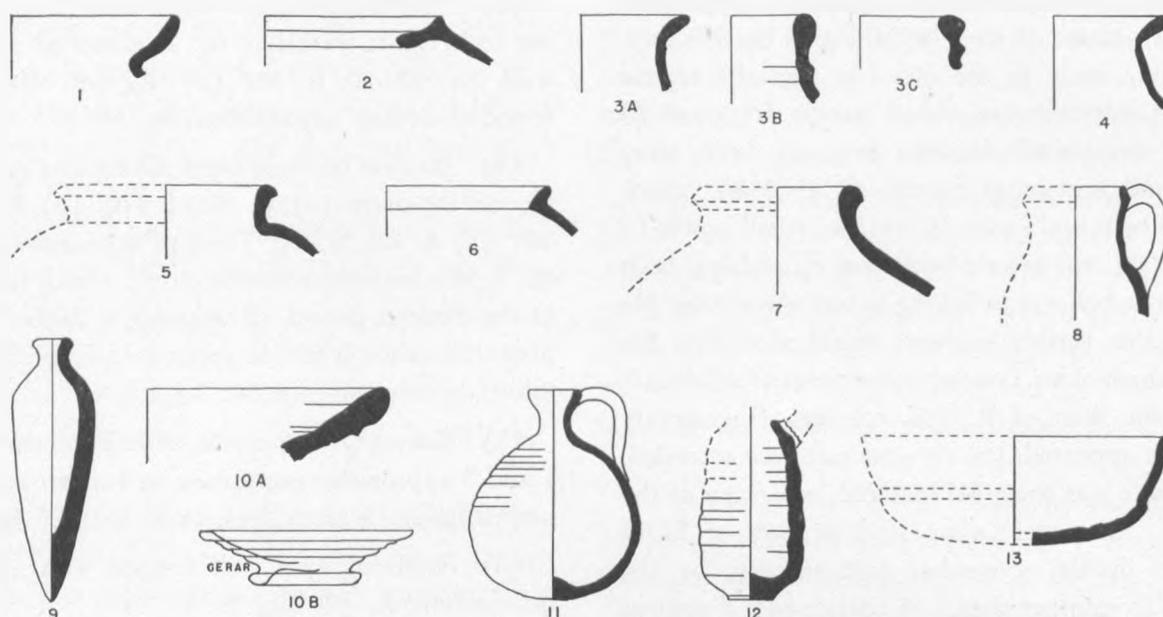


FIG. 58. POTTERY TYPES IN STRATIFIED AREA

time to time when the potter, having built up his pot by rolls of clay while it was turning, failed to smooth off the outside. But from the 5th-4th cent. on it seems to have become quite common.⁶⁸

(13) Small juglet with disk base, slight tendency to ribbing on exterior; R. 410; fig. 58: 12.

(14) Ribbed fragment of jar.⁶⁹

(15) Bowl with rounded bottom and groove on the side: R. 410, S 1207 (fig. 58: 13). Is it related

shape but with slight external ribbing, somewhat like no. 11 above; with S I, 292, forms 17.

(iv) S 103 in R. 506 with S I, 291: 9c.

(17) S 520 (R. 410) is a spout of some sort of "stirrup vase." Dr. Wright regards its black, fine ware as probably not native; neither he nor Mr. Wampler discovered a parallel.

(18) Various "rail-rim" hole-mouth fragments may be taken as characteristic, but they are not well represented in publications; e. g. S 95, 323 in R. 435; one like S 80 or S 77 in R. 506; S 71, 72, 77, 78 in R. 432 *et al.*⁷¹

⁶⁵ S I, 286, no. III 4a; *TA* II, pl. 34: 66B; *BZ*, pl. V: 17, 18, wrongly dated MB; *M I*, pl. 9: 1, 4-7.

⁶⁶ Cf. *Gerar*, pl. 48: 8K (*CPP*, 8K) [cf. no. 10b]; *G* III, pl. 187: 13 (Ci IV, ii), ca. 5th-4th cent.; pl. 44: 13 (?) intrusive in LB tomb; S I, 292, fig. 169: 15a (Ci 7), 5th-4th cent.; Tell Abū Hawam, *QDAP* 4 (1934), 4, fig. 4; *M I*, pl. 23: 15, 16.

⁶⁷ *G* III, pl. 187: 5; *BZ*, pl. 12: 3-6, fig. 36; S I, 291, fig. 167: 8a; p. 303, fig. 183: 25 a, b.

⁶⁸ S I, 299, fig. 176; p. 291, fig. 168: 14a.

⁶⁹ Cf. *G* III, pl. 186: 1.

⁷⁰ *Gerar*, pl. 65; cf. *AS* V, 78, and note 12.

⁷¹ [It will be noted that Mr. Wampler's classification (with my full approval) has done away with the "hole-mouth," or "whole-mouth" group throwing the majority into the "cylindrical" class

(19) The impressed and cut-out ware, already treated by Mr. Wampler, *BAS* 80 (1940), 13-16, Dr. Wright would put as late as the 4th-2d cent. [On the basis of the other TN materials, with which Dr. Wright was not familiar, the ware appears to Mr. Wampler to begin between 600 and 500. The vessels with impressed design were in the main large jars or craters (S 1495-98, 1510 f., 1514 f., 1520 f.). Only a single fragment R. 410, S 1515, appeared in the area under discussion.]

(20) A small limestone stand in the wall of Rs. 405-6 Dr. Wright relates to the 6th-5th cent. altars at Gerar (*Gerar*, pl. 40 and 41) and Gezer (*G* II, 442 ff.). A fragment of a pottery stand with triangular vents (R. 406) is in a different class.⁷² Dr. Wright places the first stand in between the late MI and the Hellenistic period, and, judging from Gerar, in the Persian period.

(21) The presence of Greek pottery of the 5th [and late 6th] cent., but lack of the incised and white painted Attic ware which is so common after *ca.* 300, are significant, yet Dr. Wright hesitates to estimate the lag between the Attic date and the arrival of the pottery in Palestine.⁷³

From the typical specimens listed above Dr. Wright reaches the conclusion that the collection of pottery sent to him comes down as late as the 5th-4th cent., while MI sherds, especially those of locus 418, indicate that str. *i* extends back into the 7th cent. in all probability. T. 3 [if it was reused by occupants of TN] points to some Hellenistic occupation; note the "tear bottle" (*Tombs*, 43: 7, M 1134), while the other pottery from that tomb (*ibid.*, nos. 1, 2, 4, 6; 5 being uncertain) he would date in the 6th-4th cent. [End of Dr. Wright's contribution.]

For the occupation of this area it is significant that only one fragment with incised or impressed design and only one Greek fragment survived. The latter, which was found under the floor level of Rs. 409 and 413 and over Rs. 543 and 544, where there was a peculiar medley of stone walls, cannot be dated exactly since not enough is preserved to determine

(383-437), while others which simply had wide mouths are put among zirs (1-122) and craters (1471-1539); see vol. II. Whether this is an improvement I leave to others. C. C. M.]

⁷² See chap. XIX, i, 9, and ii, 5.

⁷³ Cf. Thompson, *Hesperia* 3 (1934), 445.

whether it is Attic Red or Attic Black Figure ware. It belongs, however, to the 5th cent., and since R. 409 is one of the latest in the area, it serves merely to demonstrate that rebuilding occurred during that century. However the absence of the two types of ware indicates that there could have been little occupation of this portion of the site toward the end of the city's history.

6. Certain rooms with closely datable objects deserve further discussion, since they serve to illustrate the stratification. R. 445 in AF 20 is not a complete room. Apparently the walls belong to more than one period. A partially preserved wall two stones (90 cm.) thick, which forms the end of a long narrow room (Rs. 468, 463, 569), is continued at a slightly different angle by a 50 cm. wall also two stones thick, which, after 2.50 m. turns at a right angle and after 3 m. comes to an end. An isolated pillar 96 cm. high stands about halfway between the two ends of the angle. If this wall were eliminated Rs. 445 and 439 would form an irregular oblong enclosure too long for a room. At one side of it is a dye plant.⁷⁴ An unusual number of figurine fragments, Astarte and animal, appeared. In R. 439 is Ci 370,⁷⁵ which belongs to MI ii. R. 439 would appear to belong to the same period, while material of EI ii-MI ii was found below it.

The beetle seal impression found in the area is of the earlier type (*i*), which Albright dates in Hezekiah's time (714-686), the winged-sun-disk impression belongs at the end of MI ii. The pottery in R. 445 does not seem to me so homogeneous as that in R. 625 and probably represents more than one period, as the walls and the two seal impressions would lead one to expect. However, by far the largest portion of it belongs to the period from 1000 or 950 to 600, and especially to MI ii. Some may be even earlier.⁷⁶ Fragments of ten high-footed lamps as compared with one round-based lamp point to the MI period. One bowl fragment (S. 1252) was burnished both within and without. The remainder⁷⁷ were hori-

⁷⁴ See below, chap. XX, iii, 1.

⁷⁵ See above, chap. XII, xv; chap. XVI, iv, 5; and *BAS* 82 (1941), 25-31.

⁷⁶ R. 445: S 79, 232, 255, 260, 355, 436, 564, 584, 666, 739, 1067, 1202, 1249, 1252, 1309, 1427, 1428, 1724, 1761; R. 625: S 79, 240, 268, 283, 311, 354, 417, 418, 432, 527, 543, 564, 584, 649, 871, 987, 1181, 1252, 1291, 1309, 1427, 1442, 1760.

⁷⁷ S 1249, 1253, 1311, 1314 (2), 1317, 1331, 1381 (with a bar handle), 1439.

zontally burnished on rim and interior, in rather coarse and widely separated but regular rings. A neck fragment with triangular impressed design and two other pieces, the mouth of a juglet (S 834) and a cooking-pot fragment, may be of later (Persian) date.

R. 522 lies in the southeastern end of a long room which includes also Rs. 572 and 573, which are separated by irregular, poorly built, secondary walls.⁷⁸ Its pottery contents are chiefly MI ii. Some fragments (S 232, 233) might better be placed in MB or LB. Others (S 11, 14, 245, 1034) seem to belong to EI. One, a small fragment which has triangular impressions, might be postexilic. Others (S 240, 254, 311, 1004) have parallels in both pre-exilic and postexilic times. Some four or five bowl fragments show good MI ii ring burnishing. There is one animal-head spout. The peculiar fact is that, in a locus so predominantly MI or earlier, there should be a beetle stamp of type i (M 2721) and an *mšb* impression (M 2720). There can be no doubt that the bulk of the material belongs to the earlier period and that a small amount from later times is mixed in with it.

In Ci 49 a beetle seal impression of the second type was discovered (M 405). The cistern has pottery of the MI i-ii period.⁷⁹ None of it need be so late as the 7th cent., except possibly the decanter (S 749). A high-footed lamp suits the conclusion that the 7th cent. is the probable date. The cistern held an iron plow point (M 398; L. 137 mm.), and animal and human figurine fragments (M 399-401). A few ledge handles testified to much earlier occupation. Several cooking-pot handles had marks, some made before, some after firing (M 401-11). In the area where the cistern was found (AH 24) all traces of buildings had disappeared.

A very considerable mass of pottery evidence in R. 467 where a beetle stamp of type ii appeared points unanimously to MI.⁸⁰ The room was probably abandoned at the Exile.

R. 625 in AB 17 has various claims to interest. It preserved a beetle seal impression of class ii (M

2827) on a double-ridge handle, the type which Dr. Albright suggests may be dated to about the time of Manasseh's reign (686-641). One pinched-faced figurine was found. In a small storeroom or closet at one corner (R. 625A) along with several pottery fragments, it preserved the largest plowpoint recovered (L. 357 mm.) and three smaller ones, all of iron,⁸¹ fragments of two iron sickles, and a long iron hook. According to the parallels which Mr. Wampler has gathered the date seems to me to fall in MI i or ii, since the largest number of similar types appears between the 9th and 7th cent. Inside ring burnishing on bowl fragments points to MI i and ii (900-575); high-footed lamps (none with round bases) point to the latter part of MI. Nothing distinctive of MI i nor anything necessarily later than 600 appears.

Bin 366, which lies at the edge of the area, not far from R. 625A, contained fragments of several vessels which clearly belonged to the MI ii period or earlier.⁸² None need be later. It is clear, therefore, that the major occupation in this area belongs to the MI ii period.

7. The southwestern section of the city from AA down to AH and from meridian 20 or 21 westward to within a short distance of the wall was the most populous portion. It is often impossible to determine whether, on the plans, walls of more than one period may not have been combined to give an illusory appearance of crowding. It is possible also that the preserved remains are in many instances basement stories, like R. 389, used as storage rooms or shelters for flocks. However, there can be no doubt that the rooms were normally narrow, from a meter to 2.50 m. wide, and often only a couple of meters long. Long narrow rooms were the order of the day in the better houses, as the four-room buildings, the "Israelite house" and many more show. Not a few rooms are so long and narrow that it is difficult to imagine their use, except, as Dr. Albright has suggested, for storage.⁸³ An example is R. 512 in AE 18 and the unnumbered room parallel to it. Since, however, the dividing wall may belong to a different period, Rs. 504, 509, 505, and 591, none of which is four feet wide, may serve as illustrations.

This region, if one may judge by the number of

⁷⁸ See above, para. 3, and pl. 83: 4.

⁷⁹ S 675, 749, 827, 1745, 1808.

⁸⁰ S 91, 234, 239, 313, 321, 464, 565, 610, 678, 737, 826, 1021, 1202, 1239, 1311, 1321, 1323, 1324, 1329, 1358, 1436, 1484, 1487, 1760.

⁸¹ See below, chap. XX, ii, 1.

⁸² S 38, 237, 316, 414, 493, 1254, 1255, 1427, 1439, 1442.

⁸³ *AAS* 21-22 (1943), § 10.

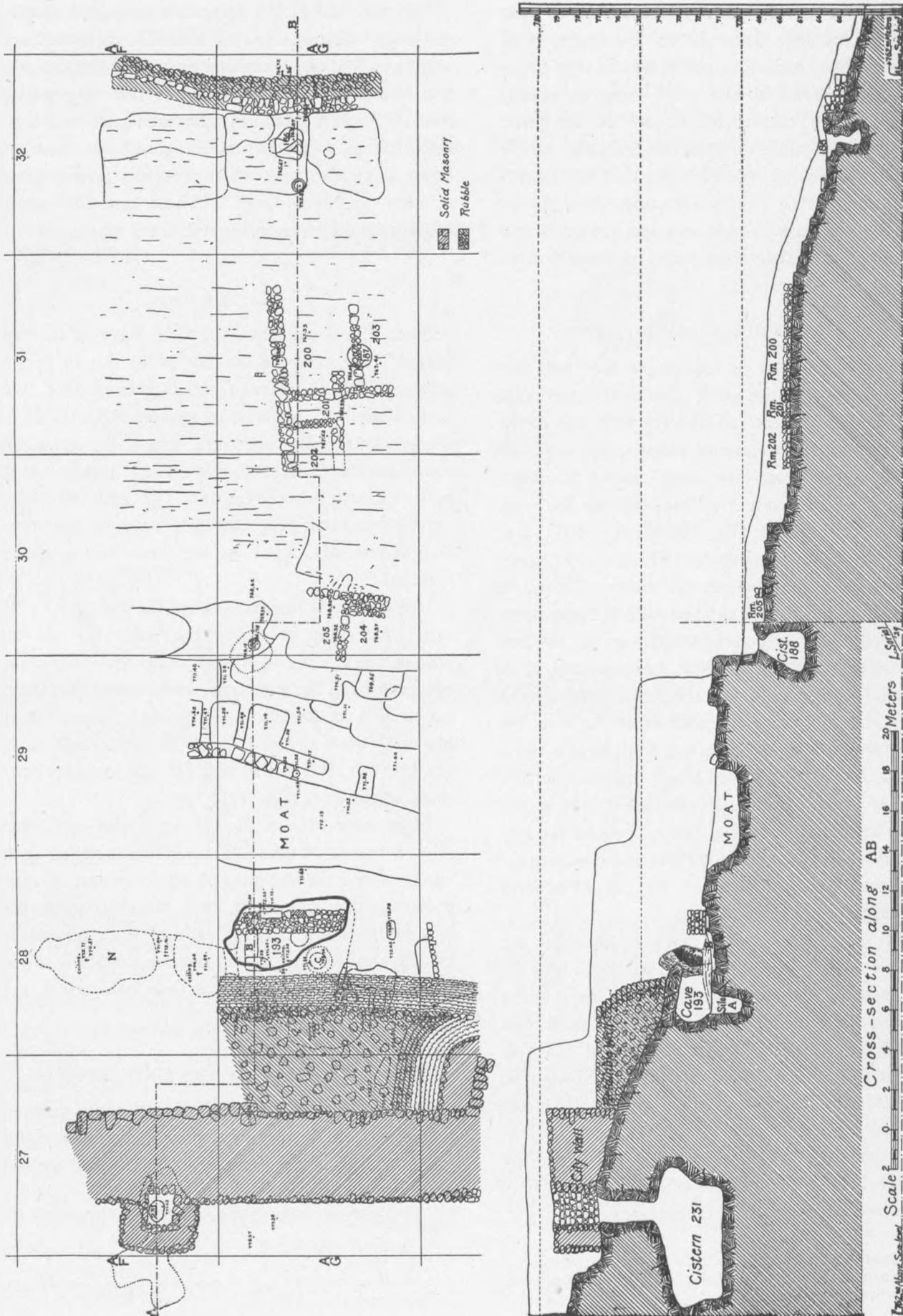


FIG. 59. PLAN AND CROSS SECTION OF SOUTHEAST TRENCH IN AF, AG 27-32

stamped jar handles found, must have been as busy as it was crowded. Here better buildings, with pillars, stairways, numerous cisterns and large courtyards were crowded by the much more numerous small and poorly constructed houses of the poor. Where it was possible to excavate amid the rubble piles higher up on the mound in X, Y, Z 17, 18, 19, the small and often irregularly constructed rooms continued. The eastern side was less crowded and the buildings preserved were better in construction.

VIII. STREETS AND COMMUNICATION

One impressive fact is that there was but one entrance to the city, the great gate in the northeast sector. From it a street ran directly west, but could not be followed far because of rubble piles and bare rock.⁸⁴ At some time, how early cannot be determined, a series of rooms was built against the wall just north of the gate (Rs. 363-68, fig. 60). But elsewhere there was almost everywhere a clear space between the wall and the nearest houses. The walls which on the plan appear to contradict this statement are late, postexilic structures which, so far as they can be dated, were built when the wall had been destroyed.⁸⁵ Presumably then the rooms north of the city gate also belong to the time after the wall lay waste. Just south of the gate is a considerable open space, which may have served along with that outside the gate as a market place. In any case it gave ample access to the empty area that ran all around the city near the wall and facilitated defense and communication between different parts of the city all around its circumference.

Certain other streets may easily be seen on the plan. One is that which runs east of the "Israelite house" already discussed (AH 20). One may be seen running from "R. 603," possibly from R. 600 (AC 16), southeastward through 589 and 514 (pl. 81: 5) to R. 521 (AE 19), continuing through R. 447 in AG 20, and eventually reaching the street already mentioned by the "Israelite house." Presumably the walls which seem to bar passage along this route belong to a phase of occupation where there were other ways through the area.

⁸⁴ See pl. 81: 3-5; cf. pl. 75: 7.

⁸⁵ The tower in Z, AA 12 is almost certainly earlier and was destroyed when the wall was built.

"R. 566" in AC 14 suggests a passage through to the inner "Circular Road." Probably there was some way from "R. 603," perhaps by way of 602, 600, 617, 345, and 613 to R. 566 and to the long passage marked R. 627 (AB 17). By such narrow alleys a meter or so wide the ancient could get from one house to another and, when need fell, could squeeze a laden donkey through.⁸⁶ These few discoverable passages must serve to suggest many more.

IX. SUBURBS

Since the "suburbs" of TN have been mentioned,⁸⁷ the evidence on that point should be presented. In 1929 a trench was dug from over 50 m. east of the wall up to it in squares AF, AG 27-32. The various walls that were found, the moat, and four cisterns (186, 187, 188, 193) appear on the plan.⁸⁸ Unfortunately Cis 186, 187, and 188 had no datable material. Rs. 200-205 could be tentatively assigned to MI or LI on the basis of the limited material.⁸⁹

Unfortunately, again, neither Ca 193 nor Ci 231 assist materially in dating the wall. Ca 193 was beyond the glacis and was more or less continuously occupied from the 10th cent. down to the 5th; the pit called Si A in the 10th and 9th cent., locus B in the 8th and 7th, C in the 10th to the 8th, and N in the 6th and 5th. All but N had EB Age remains below those of the Iron Age.⁹⁰

From some time in the EB Age down to EI there is no evidence of occupation. When it began again, whether with the incoming of the Israelites, or, as the pottery seems to suggest, only after the great wall was built, is not entirely certain, since absence of evidence is not conclusive, but reoccupation toward the end of the EI Age, i. e. a little before 900, is to be assumed as probable.

X. THE USE OF THE GATE AREA

The date of the destruction of the city gate and the subsequent history of that area present a significant but difficult problem. It is clear that there were

⁸⁶ The camel was probably not in use when these streets were "laid out."

⁸⁷ See above, chap. VII, 6.

⁸⁸ Fig. 59; see pl. 4.

⁸⁹ See above, chap. XVII, iii, 8, regarding confusion in the debris.

⁹⁰ See above, chap. VIII, iii, 4.

various stages in the use of the gate and adjacent areas. Four-room building no. 3 and the gate may be supposed to be contemporary, and the passage westward between the building and the end of the city wall would naturally be kept open, one would suppose, when the gate was in use and the buildings west and northwest of it were occupied.

2. In the area outside of the gate, evidence of late occupation, after the gate ceased to function, is abundant. Two pottery kilns, built on much the same plan, were found.⁹² Unfortunately no dating evidence was preserved in them. Numerous walls were found running over the revetments and even over the remains of the walls themselves. In R. 270 meager

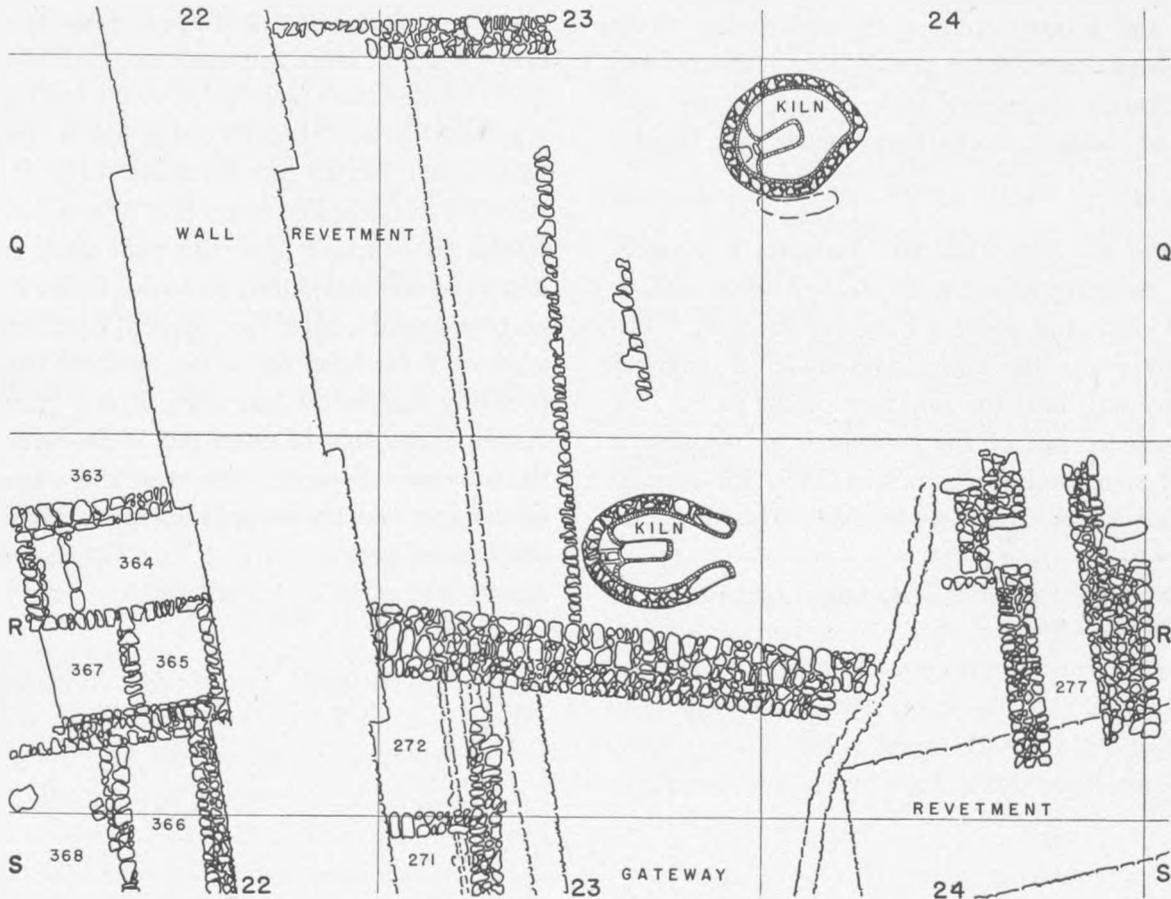


FIG. 60. LATE USE OF GATE AREA

At some time, not definitely determinable on the archaeological evidence, the gate was partially blocked up and later wholly so.⁹¹ So far as evidence is available, it would appear that the wall was breached and the city entered elsewhere, perhaps at the north where the wall was found in a highly ruinous condition. Thereafter the gate seems not to have been reopened. Presumably the loci numbered 273, 274, 373, 374, 377 were enclosed and roofed after the gate ceased to function. Whether the rooms built against the city wall west of the gate (Rs. 363-372, fig. 60) were built at this time or earlier is not determinable.

ceramic evidence agrees with a postexilic date but gives no definite determination within three centuries or more, 500-150.

3. No conclusive evidence was found in the gate area of postexilic occupation. One *msh* seal impression in the open area just south of the gate and Greek pottery of the 5th cent., one fragment outside and three in V 22 and 24, are the clearest evidence discovered. A dozen fragments of vessels with impressed design, triangular or circular,⁹³ appeared within the same general area. At this time all of the

⁹¹ See above chap. XVII, iv, 10.

⁹² See fig. 60; cf. pls. 70; 71: 4; 100: 3, 4; chap. XX, iii, 4.

⁹³ See J. C. Wampler in *BAS* 80 (1940), 13-16, and vol. II, chap. IV, 11.

upper part of the city wall had disappeared, for the late walls had been built over their remains and in a very few instances artifacts were found upon them. A layer which showed evidences of fire came to light just south of the gate and of the end of the city wall, in V 24 (pl. 70: 1). Unfortunately it aided little in reaching an absolute chronology, for ring-burnished ware appeared both below and above it, as did also fibulae and saucer lamps with high bases, while round-based lamps were found above the burned layer. Pottery fragments with various incised and impressed designs were found above the burned layer.

4. Over the gate itself the fire level ran nearly a meter above the ruined walls and just below a black layer of earth and above a thin clay stratum. "Immediately under the burnt level under a diagonal secondary wall near the forecourt of the gate," in a room quarried out of the revetment of the gate a Seleucid coin, probably struck at Tyre, the expedition's only silver coin, was found.⁹⁴ This does not

⁹⁴R. 271, S 23; "Diary," May 20, June 11, 1932; cf. list of coins, Appendix C, no. 6.

conclusively prove that these structures belong to Hellenistic times; the coin may be intrusive; but it does suggest that they were still in use in the 2d cent. The burned level may testify to wars between the Seleucids and the Ptolemies or to Maccabean battles.

It must, indeed, be recorded that in the earth above the burned layer were "five reddish ring-burnished bowls, a small lamp with a slight base, another with high base, and hematite-slipped water jars," while below it were "large and small ring-burnished bowls, rims of hole-mouth jars, lamps with a low base, water jugs with dark-red hematite slip, and a cooking pot with a star [as a] potter's mark (?)." ⁹⁵ Having recorded this, I hasten to say that it would be entirely wrong to conclude that the wall and gate were destroyed and abandoned sometime in MI i. The MI pottery found above the burned layer must have washed down from the slopes west of the gate, as probably that below did also. It is a phenomenon visible at the foot of every tell in Palestine. All of the area showed occupation near the original level of the gate and adjoining buildings in MI ii, iii, and the Persian period.

⁹⁵"Diary," May 21, 1932.

CHAPTER XIX

CULT REMAINS

AS IN ALL Palestinian excavations, various more or less enigmatic fragments, many of which may be parts of cult objects, were discovered at TN. The terra cotta human and animal figurines will be discussed below in sections vii-ix. In sections i-vi various pieces that may have come from incense altars, offering stands, and other non-ionic cult objects are described. None was found intact, and, indeed, no sufficient fragments appeared to allow even a plausible reconstruction.

I. CYLINDRICAL POTTERY STANDS WITH VENTS

Two fragments of cylindrical pottery stands (S 1756) found in T. 32 with EB Age material have already been mentioned and need not be described here (see chap. IX, i, 1). There is nothing to indicate their use, whether sacred, aesthetic, or purely utilitarian.

1. Fragments were found from at least seven finely shaped and decorated cylindrical stands with triangular vents like many found elsewhere in the Near East, and from others too small to characterize.¹ Ci 176 in square N 17 (chap. XII, ii) had preserved four pieces which are probably from the same vessel, one from the rim, the others from the wall. While they do not fit together, they are of exactly the same ware. The pieces are from 7 to 9 mm. thick, of a well-levigated clay with a few small white grits, well baked, hard, but with a brownish to black core showing flakes of carbonized matter. On the outside the vessel was irregularly hand burnished, horizontally on the horizontal moldings, vertically on the plane surface. The rim was collared. To judge from the horizontal wheel marks, the pieces are from vertical walls. The diameter of the stand in the parts preserved would have been 19 or 20 cm. Remains of two rows of triangular vents are preserved, one row

with bases on a centimeter-wide band of four incised lines and with points on a convex molding, the other, of which the bases were lost, with the points on the band of incised lines. The vent which is best preserved has a base of 55 or 60 mm., perpendicular of 22 to 25 mm., but the angles preserved from other vents are by no means the same, and the sizes apparently varied. The cutting out of the vents was done after the incised lines and, of course, the molding had been formed, but the burnishing was done later and in some places, not in all, the edges of the triangles were smoothed down. The red lines of the burnishing are an effective decoration against the grayish pink of the unpolished surface.

2. The base of a similar stand (M 2818, S 1774; pl. 84: 2) of much the same ware and decoration, but smaller in diameter (15 cm. at the flaring base) and having vents with a higher perpendicular, was found in R. 616 in AB 16. The ware was hard, with an orange surface vertically burnished and brownish-drab core containing many minute white grits. The fragment, which extended just beyond one row of vents was 16 cm. high.

3. A small wall fragment of almost exactly the same ware, but unburnished, *ca.* 18 mm. thick, and with a few larger grits, came from str. i in R. 406 (AF 17; pl. 84: 3). It was from a wall inclined at an angle of some 45°. The triangular vents were *ca.* 35 mm. wide at the base. The perpendicular was much greater than in the previous example, but cannot be exactly determined. The vents were arranged close together (*ca.* 2 cm.), base and vertex alternating. The small fragment (45 mm. high by 85 mm. long) indicates a diameter of *ca.* 18 cm. of the part from which it came. The date of the locus is discussed above, chap. XVIII, vii, 5 (c), (20).

4. A fourth wall fragment (from R. 576, x37, AD 18; pl. 84: 4) is of an entirely different ware, 25-27 mm. thick, light brown, with very many minute grits and a few small ones. It is wet smoothed and

¹ See pl. 84: 1 a, b; May, *Material Remains*, pls. 19: P 2368; 20: P 6055a; Tufnell, *Lachish II*, pl. 53: 321, 322, 327; *Syria* 17 (1936), 109, fig. 3 (Ugarit), among many publications which might be mentioned.

highly but irregularly polished. Triangular vents of equilateral triangles which measure *ca.* 23 mm. on a side appear between two series of three narrow painted dark-brown bands separated by faint whitish bands. Each series is *ca.* 15 mm. wide and the two are 40 mm. apart. The irregular fragment, which is 80 mm. high and 65 mm. wide, seems to come from a wall which sloped in about 5° from the vertical and from a section which would have had a diameter of 13 or 14 cm.

5. Another fragment (pl. 84: 5) of the same ware as the last, from a vertical wall, is 28-29 mm. thick and has a decoration consisting of a dark-brown band 27 mm. wide, bordered on each side by a white and brown band, both narrow, and then by a slightly depressed runnel which touches the vertices of the triangular vents (of which only the vertices are preserved). The width of the band from runnel to runnel is 52 mm. The similarity in ware and in the colors used in the decoration suggests that this fragment may have come from another part of the same stand as the last, especially as the diameter is approximately the same and the difference in thickness may be regarded as negligible. This piece came from R. 590 (AD 17), some 15 or 16 m. west of R. 576—not an insuperable obstacle to identity.²

6. Still another stand (pl. 84: 6) is represented by a very small fragment which came from near the bottom of Ci 216 (x66) in P 17. Enough remains to show that two series of small equilateral triangles which seem to have alternated base and vertex were separated by a solid section 32 mm. wide between two runnels on which were painted brown bands *ca.* 4 mm. wide and 3 mm. apart. The pottery section between the vents, which was about 25 mm. wide, had been burnished in lines parallel with the sides of the triangles. The ware was hard, sandy, light red, well baked, and had very many minute grits; it was *ca.* 22 mm. thick.

7. The classification of a seventh fragment, found in debris in square AD 20, str. i (pl. 84: 7a), at first sight seemed questionable, since only 15 mm. of the side of one vent is preserved, although the vessel would seem to have been a large and striking piece. But the edges of this small surface bear such plain

marks of incision, rather than shaping, that there is no reasonable doubt. A part of the same vessel marked by similar moldings, though without trace of vents was found in R. 462, in AE 20 (pl. 84: 7b), some 8 m. or more away.

The ware is hard, baked throughout to a light reddish orange color and contains many minute and some small white grits. It was wet smoothed and was carefully and boldly molded, showing some bands of very shallow lines, or grooves, three or four together and two carinations together, one slightly rounded, one sharp. At the moldings the diameter was *ca.* 15 cm. Below these moldings the cylinder was constricted to a diameter of *ca.* 10 cm. and then flared out sharply. Above the moldings the wall was probably perpendicular and the diameter was *ca.* 13.5 cm. The vent was 5 cm. above the molding with its base parallel. The wall is *ca.* 1 cm. thick, thus being thinner than no. 3 and thicker than no. 1, which most closely resembles it as to ware.

8. Four other fragments from cylindrical objects, but without vents, are probably to be regarded as coming from pottery stands of the kind under discussion.

(a) One found in AD 16 (pl. 84: 8), was of heavy, well-baked ware, about 16 mm. thick, and would have been 6-7 cm. in diameter. The light-orange surface had been burnished horizontally with a very narrow tool (*ca.* 1 mm.) at intervals of *ca.* 7 mm. Three narrow, brown painted bands (*ca.* 3-6 mm. wide) are separated by similar white bands, covering together some 21 mm.

(b) The second fragment, from a somewhat uncertain locus in AA 13, 14, AB 14 (pl. 84: 9), is of a slightly different color, showing a little more pink, and is not quite so thick, but is of about the same quality and diameter. Its burnishing is almost the same except that the line is heavier and less clear cut. No paint appears on the small fragment. There is every reason to suppose that it comes from a different vessel but one similar to that just described.

Neither was found in a context which can be closely dated. However, they were not found with any distinctly late material. Dr. Wright places the first with its narrow painted bands between the 10th and the 8th cent. The burnishing would appear to point to the 9th or 8th cent.

² Note the scattering of the Greek offset-lip cup (chaps. XV, 7, 9; XVIII, i, 2), of which the pieces were 40 m. apart.

(c) Still a third fragment of a cylinder (pl. 84: 10) is of an entirely different type. It is of a heavy reddish-orange ware, with a gray core. It is well shaped, but its thickness varies from 1 to 2 cm. Its diameter must have been *ca.* 11 cm. Its only decoration consists of two pair of narrow grooves, covering about 8 mm., and 5 cm. apart, one pair poorly done. Whether it can belong to the same group as the others is uncertain. It was found in R. 562 (AD 20) which seems to be a clear MI locus, occupied down to the time of the Exile.³

(d) A fourth cylindrical fragment (pl. 84: 11) found in Si 301 (AB 21) is of a decidedly different ware from the others which have been described in this section. It is of a rather soft, pinkish-brown (almost the Megiddo "brown-ocher") ware, with many gray and white grits, small to medium in size, not very well baked and with a gray core. The walls are *ca.* 1 cm. thick and the inside diameter 6-7 cm. It was well molded on a wheel with two well-marked, single carinations about 55 mm. apart. Each carination was incised diagonally to give the appearance of a rope.⁴ Mr. Wampler dates Si 301 in MI ii-iii.

9. The stand fragments showing vents are scattered over two rather restricted areas on the tell. Two appear in cisterns which lie 12 or 13 m. apart in the extreme northern section (N 17 and P 17). The other five were found in the debris of rooms in the southwestern section where population was heavy (AB 16, AD 17, 18, 20, AF 17).

The dates independently assigned to the loci from which the fragments came vary. Ci 176, which has a great variety of objects, can be more certainly fixed than the rest, which have only a few pottery fragments each. Near the top of its cone of debris was a jar handle with sun-disk *lemelekh* stamp. The cistern would seem to fall in MI ii (*ca.* 650-587), and the two fragments of the stand, which were well toward the bottom of the debris, should, therefore, belong to the 8th cent., or the 7th at the latest. Professor G. E. Wright, to whom several of these

³ The pottery included the following, all fragmentary: S 1, 15, 60, 79, 91, 110, 233, 252, 256, 316, 428, 439, 477, 680, 1026 (2), 1063, 1065, 1163, 1255 (2), 1261 (2), 1266, 1389, 1425. The burnishing on the bowls is all on the rim and interior with the exception of S 1389, a black-ware bowl with a bar, or nail, handle and irregular ring burnishing on both surfaces.

⁴ Cf. *M I*, pl. 34: 13 (str. iv), with vent and no carination; *ibid.*, jar 125, pls. 21 and 57, a vessel of similar ware of str. v.

fragments were sent, places this in either str. ii or str. i, i. e. EI or MI.

R. 616, where the second fragment was found, contained several interesting objects aside from pottery fragments: the wall fragment with the *qoph* or "Coptic" *b* (chap. XIV, vii, 3), an excellent *kuhl* mortar, two specimens of the pinched-faced, or bird-like, Astarte figurine,⁵ and also several fragments of high-footed lamps. The last, with the other pottery, suggest an MI date, probably late in the period, or possibly the Persian Age, for beneath the floor was pottery which seemed to belong in the MI period.

R. 406, where the fragment of the third stand was found, has been dated in the late MI and Persian periods.⁶ A bronze fibula of the ordinary bowed kind might be earlier. The next two fragments (nos. 4, 5) come from rooms of which one (576) is placed in MI ii and the other (590) in MI and LI. Ci 216, in which no. 6 was found, can be dated only in a general way, although a considerable mass of debris was found in it. "Red jugs," elongated juglets with round mouths, and other features point to MI ii. An unusual proportion of Astarte and other figurines and also of painted fragments was found in it. A small pottery stand (M 884; see below, sec. ii, 1) looking like a chalice with extremely shallow cup appeared near the top of the pile of debris. R. 576 had the base of a rather tall chalice (S 1574). Wright places the last three in the 10th-8th cent., like no. 8a.

Square AD 20, where the seventh fragment was found, had a variety of small objects, a *lemelekh* and a *yh* stamp, a pin from a fibula, the base of a high-footed lamp. The pottery is likewise mixed, and the debris seems to combine MI ii and LI material.

10. Similar stands have been found by many expeditions. At Megiddo the two specimens with triangular vents are assigned to str. vi (EI i-ii). At Tell ed-Duweir, two are assigned to the latest, one to the second temple (LB ii). At Râs esh-Shamrah one is dated in the same period. Stands with round apertures, which appeared in temple 1 and also in 3 at Tell ed-Duweir and those with rectangular vents

⁵ See below, sec. vii, and chap. XXI.

⁶ Professor Wright thinks a Persian date possible; see below, sec. ii, 5.

appear to be earlier.⁷ At Beth-shan, a large collection of cult objects, including pottery stands, was found. Cylinders with triangular apertures appeared first in the "Ramses III Southern Temple," which is to be dated in the 12th and 11th cent.⁸ None of those shown in the publication exactly resemble the TN specimens, but it seems reasonable to conclude that the fashion of using triangular vents belongs to EI i and ii, while the round apertures and the rectangular vents are more fashionable in the LB Age.⁹ It may be that the TN stands are earlier than the accompanying pottery.

The cylindrical stands at TN can, therefore, be best explained as belonging to the earliest period of the little city's existence. Apparently the sacred buildings to which they belonged, if they were cult objects, were razed and their furniture so completely destroyed that only meager fragments remained. It must be added that the presence of fragments in the two cisterns in the northern area suggests that this portion of the hill was also occupied in the period before Asa, although such small pieces do not prove that the structures where they were found, either cisterns or rooms, were themselves of such an early date. The fragments may be provisionally explained as from EI debris which has been preserved in later loci.

May has discussed such stands at some length, with many references to the pertinent literature. Rowe has made a very useful compilation of references to vessels of this kind. In general his material confirms the above conclusions as to date. None of the TN stands exhibits any signs of fire or smoke such as would prove them incense stands or altars. Various representations on seals and reliefs suggest that the purpose of such vessels was to serve as a receptacle for libations. At the present time they are so interpreted by the majority of excavators.¹⁰ Numerous monuments record the use of such slender cylindrical stands from Mesopotamia to Egypt in all periods

from predynastic Egypt and ancient Sumer down to Bithnanaia at Dura-Europos.¹¹ The triangular vents and the decoration of burnishing and painting are the chief characteristics which distinguished the vessels found at TN.

II. FLAT-TOPPED STANDS

1. As already noted, a pottery stand of a very different kind (S 1817, M 884, pl. 84: 12) was found at the top of the debris in Ci 216 in square P 17, the locus of no. 6 above. It has somewhat the shape of a small chalice but, instead of a bowl, shows a slightly concave plate. It seems to have been hand-made and, while of fairly good ware, is clearly a local product. It is small, 76 mm. high, and *ca.* 85 mm. across the "plate," and would, therefore, have been quite inconspicuous and useful only for very slight offerings. No close parallels were found and, therefore, the hypothesis that it was a piece of cult furniture rests only upon its form and upon the wash of white on its surface, a decoration often applied to cult objects such as Astarte figurines.

2. Other fragments which may belong to similar stands were found. The most complete (AE 18, R. 513, x52) stood only 32 mm. high. The base was about 46 mm. in diameter, the "plate" or top, which was scalloped on the edges, had a diameter of 65-70 mm. In the center was a depression which was *ca.* 35 mm. in diameter.¹²

3. A small pottery disk (AA 24, R. 324, x27; pl. 84: 13), of which less than half was preserved, appears to have had three thick pottery legs. The diameter of the top was more than 60 mm.

4. There are several bases which closely resemble those of no. 1 above. However, it is extremely difficult to distinguish them from the bases of the Astarte herm. The only difference is that the Astarte pillar is not so sharply shaped in above the base. A fragmentary base from R. 517 (x29) almost certainly belongs here.

5. A small limestone fragment found in the wall between Rs. 405 and 406 (AF 17) belongs in the

⁷ See note 1 above.

⁸ Rowe, *B-S II*, i, 53; pls. 14-17.

⁹ Many stands with triangular openings have been found from still earlier periods; cf. H. Frankfort, *Studies in Early Pottery of the Near East*, I (London, 1924), 127-30, fig. 13, a pioneer study. I am here suggesting merely that triangular vents are popular in EI.

¹⁰ May, *Material Remains*, 20 ff., pls. 19, 20; Rowe, *op. cit.*, 46-49, 55 (fig. 11); cf. Watzinger, *TM II*, 37, fig. 36; Albright, *ARI*, 145 f.

¹¹ J. H. Breasted, *Oriental Forerunners of Byzantine Painting* (Chicago, 1924), pls. 8, 9, 11, 21; F. Cumont in *Syria* 3 (1922), pls. 38, 39.

¹² A fragmentary specimen (X 13, R. 349, x9) which may belong here has been classed with the altars.

category of stands as well as anywhere else, if apparent uselessness for practical purposes is a criterion.¹³ It stood *ca.* 7 cm. high and the fragment, which came from an end or side, is *ca.* 10 cm. long by 47 cm. wide. It is rectangular and may have come from either a rectangular or square stand. Each corner has four engaged legs and four feet, and each of the three preserved sides was cut into a kind of arch. The drawing and photograph make its appearance clearer than many lines of description. The top had been hollowed out into a rectangular, flat-bottomed

decoration on the TN specimen points to a different (earlier?) date or a different use remains uncertain.

6. There is nothing in these objects which points to their classification as cult furniture except their uselessness for practical purposes and the white wash which is found on most of them (not on nos. 2 and 5 above). From the viewpoint of ceramic art they are the antithesis of the cylindrical stands. They are all handmade, of fairly well-cleaned, smooth clay, and are well baked, but they are small, irregular, and

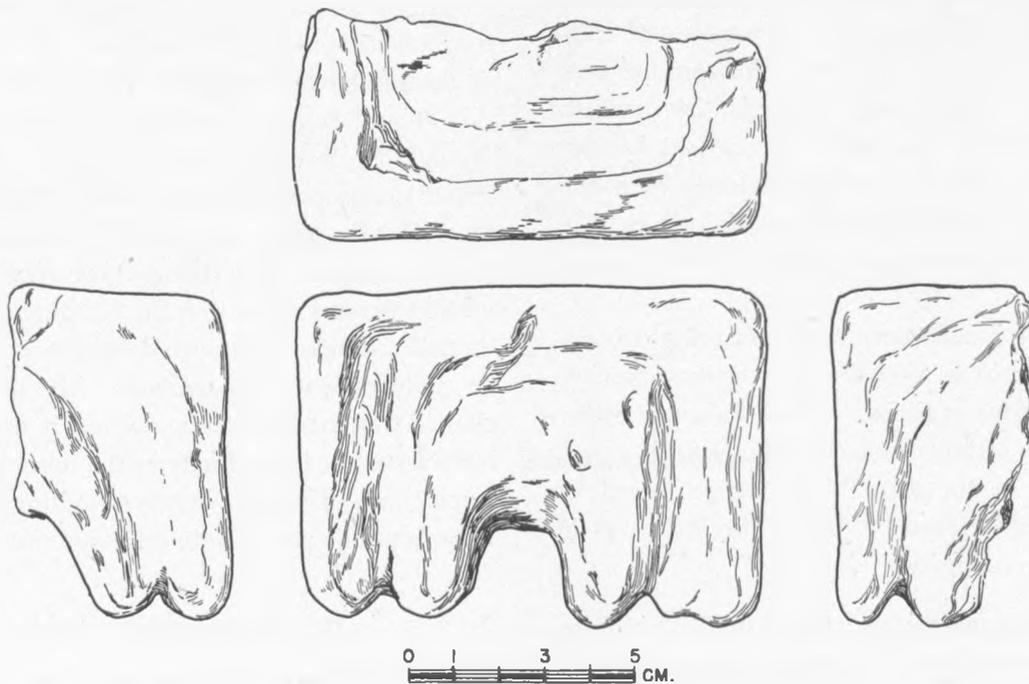


FIG. 61A. LIMESTONE OFFERING STAND

basin which is *ca.* 12 mm. deep and 7 cm. long. From the size of the feet I am inclined to think that the preserved portion is the side and the width would have been a centimeter or two less than 10 cm. There are no decorations to mark the object as sacred, but four legs at each corner and the "arch" give it a certain distinction.

Professor Wright recalls "the 6-5th cent. altars at Gerar and similar objects from the 'Hellenistic' period at Gezer" and suggests a date between the late MI and Hellenistic, possibly, to judge from Gerar, in the Persian period.¹⁴ Whether the lack of

poorly shaped. Only nos. 1 and 2 came from a region where there were other cult objects. The cistern in square P 17 had eight Astarte figurines and two cylindrical stands with triangular vents. Square AE 18, where no. 2 was found, had seven such figurine fragments in various rooms. The probable date for the loci of the fragments of pottery stands is in all cases MI ii, and there is no reason to date them otherwise. The limestone fragment from the wall of Rs. 405-6 may be later.

III. CHALICES

The "chalice" has only a most superficial resemblance to the stands which have just been discussed. The stands are small, crude affairs made by

¹³ Pl. 84: 14; fig. 61 a. See a similar end of a limestone "table," G II, 255, pl. 196: 13. Cf. above chap. XVIII, vii, 5 (c), (20).

¹⁴ He refers to *Gerar*, pls. 40 and 41; G II, 442 f. Cf. above, sec. i, 3.

hand and not on the wheel and they have no beauty or grace of form, decoration, or ware. The chalice is often one of the most shapely and striking vessels found in Palestinian excavations.

The use of the "chalices" which have been found in numerous Near Eastern sites is uncertain. They are not numerous at any place, neither are they so few that they could have been highly specialized pieces of strictly temple furniture. Against this assumption is the fact that at TN the majority of the best preserved, of course, came from tombs, especially Ts. 32 and 54.¹⁵ Those in the tombs seem to belong to the 11th and 10th cent. Altogether 52 vessels and fragments were classified as chalices. Thirteen and possibly fourteen chalices were painted. Two, which are described below, had other decorations besides the usual moldings, but on the majority even the moldings were relatively simple, and there was little to prove that any was made especially for religious uses.

Chalices have usually been taken as having connections with worship in some form, or at least serving a religious function at times. At Tell Ta'annek Sellin found what he termed an incense bowl with a rectangular vent in the stem.¹⁶ A chalice found at Megiddo was discolored by fire on the inside, as if used as a lamp or brazier.¹⁷

1. One specimen (S 1569) found in T. 32 is quite superficially connected with pottery stands and censers by 2 series of long, thin, ovals incised in its thick stem between the flaring foot and the bowl. Since the stem is solid and the incisions are merely superficial and decorative, there is nothing to mark this small two-handled vessel (H. 73 mm., D. 90 mm.) as an offering stand, but it may have served for libations.

2. A very heavy, crude specimen (S 1570) found on the mound (R. 450) has about the bowl downward-projecting half-ovals resembling what May calls conventionalized lotus leaves. A somewhat similar vessel was found at Megiddo in str. v (*ca.* 1050-

950).¹⁸ It is a much finer piece, yellow and decorated in black and dark red.

3. On the tell, as already noted,¹⁹ the chalice fragments, which number 35, are well scattered over the entire inhabited area,²⁰ except in the extreme southern portion. They are not sufficiently concentrated in any one spot to suggest the presence of a sanctuary. They are not more numerous where many Astarte figurines or pottery stands were found than elsewhere.²¹ Although not entirely absent from the area around the four-room building (no. 2) in AC 25, 26 which, when uncovered, was regarded as a sanctuary, they are conspicuously absent from the neighborhood of the similar building (no. 1) discovered earlier in AL 21 and from the interior of both. It might be argued that chalices found in Rs. 220²² and 221 (AB 25, 26), also possibly those in Rs. 228 and 278 (AB 28, AC 24), were cult vessels in debris which had been thrown out from the sanctuary, if it could otherwise be proved either that the building was sacred or that the chalices were sacred furniture. Neither can be independently established. If, therefore, the chalice was used in religious rites, it would seem to have served at least chiefly in the home or in private ceremonies, of which we know nothing, but possibly in both public and private religious rites.

IV. CENSERS AND ALTARS

Four fragments belong to varieties of terra cotta objects supposed to be incense altars, or *hammânîm*, of which examples have appeared at various places excavated.²³ It is possible that they were merely braziers, and, indeed, since but one of the fragments shows signs of fire and that only after it was broken (no. 6 below), those found at TN may have been used for still other purposes.

1. Before discussing the fragmentary and debatable pieces, it is perhaps in order to refer to an

¹⁵ See chap. IX, vi, 2 and vol. II, chap. IV; S 1569, 1571-75, 1580-82, 1584, in Ts. 32 and 54; S 1592, a stem fragment in T. 5, which has also a base fragment of S 1573.

¹⁶ *Tell Ta'annek* ("Denkschr. k. Akad. der Wissenschaften, Wien," 1904), 66, fig. 81 (upside down). He regarded a chalice found as a *Libationsschale*, p. 67, fig. 84.

¹⁷ May, *Material Remains*, 23, pl. 19: P 5824.

¹⁸ *Material Remains*, 21, pls. 19 and 20; M I, chalice 17, pls. 33 and 63.

¹⁹ Above, chap. XVIII, i.

²⁰ P 16, Q 18, 19, S 14 (2), T 13, W 13, X 13, Z 18, AA 17, AB 12, AC 14, 17, AD 18, AE 17, 20 (3), AF 17, 18 (3), 19, AG 18 (3), 19, 20, AB 25-6, 26, 28, AC 24, AD 26, AH 23, 26. The fragments of tubular stems, listed below, sec. iv, 8, 9, may be chalice stems.

²¹ See below, sec. iv, and above, sec. 1, and fig. 50: C.

²² The fragment found in R. 220 is doubtful; probably from a bowl.

²³ See most recently Albright, *ARI*, 144 ff., 215 f., notes 51-59.

indubitable censer which was found in T. 5 intact (S 1814) and to a similar fragment (S 1815) found on the mound below the floor of R. 430 (AF 18).²⁴ Several other fragments were found which might have belonged to similar vessels. No exact parallels were discovered elsewhere. There is nothing to indicate that this vessel had any religious significance. Its purpose may have been purely utilitarian, but evidence for either assumption is lacking.

slightly flaring top was more nearly circular. The base within was practically a circle. Without, the lower end of the applied corner pointed outward so as to emphasize the square shape in contrast to the more nearly circular top. The preserved fragment is in itself not quite symmetrical and exact measurements are impossible. However, it would appear that the exterior of the base of the bowl could have been inscribed within a circle with a diameter of about

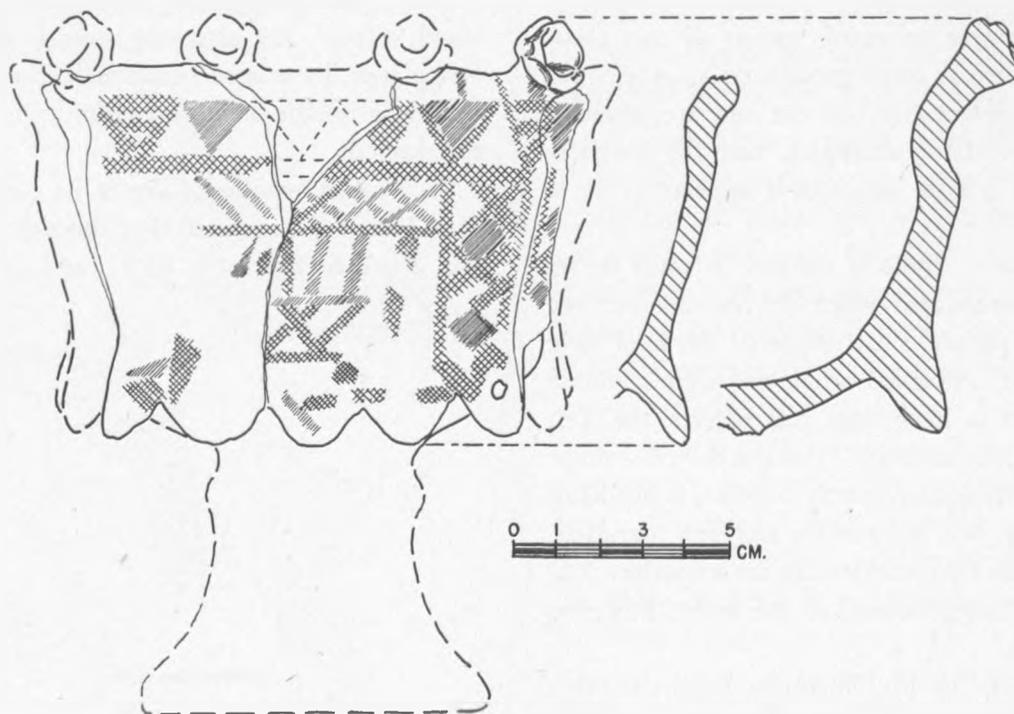


FIG. 61B. PAINTED OFFERING BOWL

2. Of the vessels which may belong to this class, the most delicate and highly decorated was a slightly flaring four-sided bowl which had stood on a round stem (R. 353, V 13), and which has decided affinities to the chalice. How the pedestal was shaped cannot be discovered, for only the mark of the attachment remains. The bowl has a complicated shape which is difficult to describe (see fig. 61b, pl. 84: 15). One side and 1 to 3 cm. of the two adjacent sides remain. Consequently there can be little doubt as to its form. Apparently corners had been applied to a round bowl at intervals of 90 degrees, and the wall spaces between had been pressed in so as to make each sector a flattened curve. Near the top, above the applied corners, the bowl has been shaped in, so that the

13 or 14 cm. The diameter of the rim would have been 15 or 16 cm. Above each corner on the circular rim was a small ornament which seems to have resembled the little roses used to hold candles on a birthday cake. Only the central part of one remains but five petals or leaves have been broken away from around it. Breaks on the rim indicate that if they were evenly spaced, there were originally three of these "flowers" between the corners; i. e. they were about 3 cm. apart. On the outside of the bottom of the bowl was a series of downward projecting half ovals, one on the extension of each corner and three between corresponding to the "roses" above. Those at the corners had been perforated horizontally, evidently in order that something might be suspended from them.

The sides of the bowl on the outside and all of

²⁴ See the description and discussion in vol. II under the appropriate serial numbers.

the interior had received a rather thick, white wash, over which, on the outside, a pattern of crossed bands and lozenges in red and brown had been painted. The ware is brown, fairly hard, with a gray or drab core and with very many minute white grits and some large ones. In its thinnest portions it is about 4 mm. thick and except where thickened at the corners, the walls run but little over this.

Exact parallels to this peculiar vessel are unknown to me. What I have called "downward projecting half ovals" appear on many vessels of this class. May regards them as conventionalized lotus leaves.²⁵ But the little flower cups on the rim are unusual, although not without analogies, and the partially rounded shape is rare, although it appears in no. 6 below.

The vessel as a whole is unique. It must be regarded as an experiment which did not suit the taste of its age and people, since others of the kind have not been found. Attached ornaments were common in what appear to have been cult objects, the Tell Ta'annek altar, for example. But the use of a shape which was partly square, partly circular, is not artistically pleasing and apparently has few parallels, while the attached decorations are not attractive. The ingenuity and independence of the artist, however, are noteworthy.

R. 353 is dated by Mr. Wampler from the other pottery found in it to the 6th-5th cent., or slightly earlier. Dr. Wright regards the ware of the specimen under discussion, which he would class as an offering stand, as belonging to EI, the 12th-11th cent., basing his judgment on the polychrome paint on a chalky slip. But he regards this conclusion as uncertain. However, the pottery, as I see it, may easily be much earlier than Mr. Wampler allows.²⁶ Other fragments (rims S 47, 89, base S 773) do not appear to demand a late date. In view of its ware, the earlier date appears preferable, whatever the date of the fragment's locus.

3. Horned altars, of types now well known to Palestinian archaeology, have left but a few fragments at TN. Near the city wall on the east side (Z 25) a large "horn" was found (pl. 84: 16 a, b).

It was heavy, the thinnest walls 15 mm. thick, and was of well-baked and unusually well-washed pinkish ware, burned almost buff on the surface, over which there was a thick coat of white wash and a few traces of dark-red (hematite?) paint. There was no sign of smoke blackening. The circular bowl within would have had a diameter of *ca.* 18 or 20 cm. The "horn" was *ca.* 10 cm. long above the curve of the bowl.

The angle between the two exterior sides of the "horn" was 120 degrees. If, therefore, the "horn" stood vertical, the altar top would, so it seems at first glance, have been hexagonal. But such a shape would be unique and the possibility is hardly to be entertained.

Two other hypotheses are to be considered. (1) Miss Harrison suggested that the sides curved as in nos. 2 and 6 (figs. 61 b, 62 b), and as illustrated in

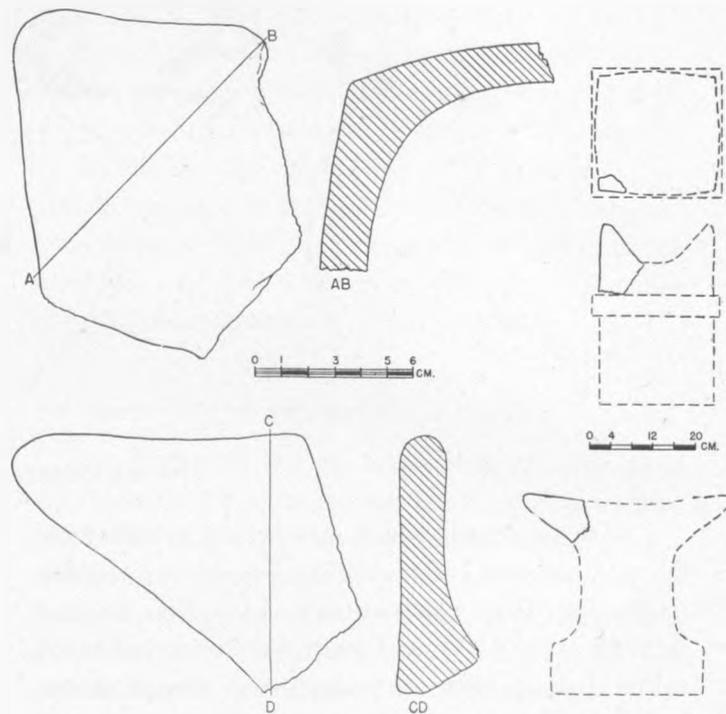


FIG. 62 A

the upper restoration in fig. 62 a. I find some difficulty in visualizing the curve which would give such a shape in view of the width of the exterior angle (120°). (2) There is a suggestion of an outward curve at the base of the outer angle of the fragment. This may point only to a molding around the base of the bowl. However, if the horn projected outward, as in the next two specimens, it would represent the curve at the junction of bowl and base. In either

²⁵ *Material Remains*, 21, pls. 19 and 20; *M I*, pls. 33: 15, 17; 38, unclassified 1, 3; 63: 15, 17.

²⁶ See his parallels to S 265, 284, 1270, 1436 (all rim fragments) and to the base fragment S 1425.

case, as the next two examples suggest, it could have stood on a round pedestal with a trumpet-shaped foot similar to that of a chalice, but necessarily much larger. But it probably would have had a square base as altars usually do. The interior of the bowl shows the curving lines of a wheel-made vessel, but the chords of the curves are not at right angles with the line made by the sides of the horn. Therefore, the vessel was not quite symmetrical. But the bowl, if the horn lay at the angle suggested, would have measured over 30 cm. in diameter.

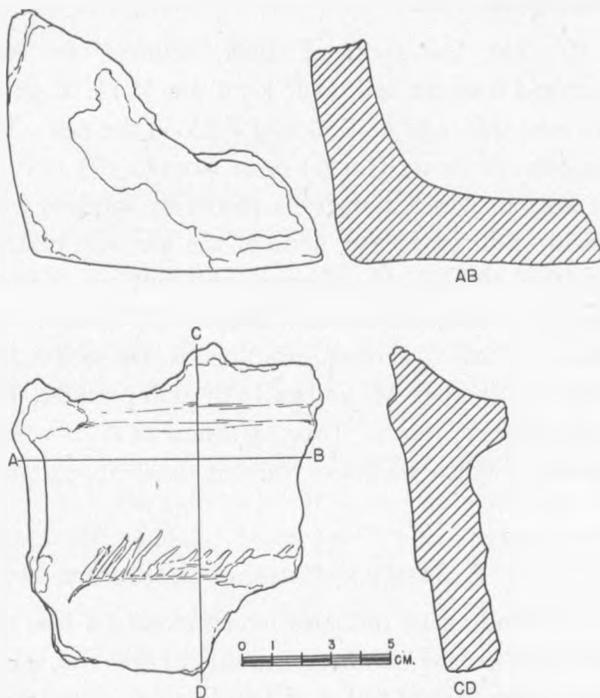


FIG. 62 B

4. Fortunately a small, crude, handmade object of somewhat the same shape was discovered in R. 360 (T 14; pl. 84: 17). It has a base much like the pillared Astarte and the crude "table stands" described above. The square top is only very slightly concave. At each corner a horn projected both laterally and vertically. How much they were originally higher than the center of the top cannot be determined, since all are broken off.²⁷ It is of a ware similar to that of the stands and also shows the white remains of the wash which had covered and "decorated" the surface. It stood about 7 cm. high and the irregular horns would have made the length of the

sides 65 or 70 mm. each, while across the center it measured only *ca.* 45 mm.

5. Another much better-shaped example of the same peculiar type was found in R. 349 (X 13; pl. 84: 18). I had at first regarded it as a table stand of the kind described above until I discovered that there was one slight remainder of an incurving side, although the "horns" and the margins of the sides elsewhere were completely broken away. With these two specimens of the type to illustrate its character, the restoration of the large example (no. 3) seems fairly well established, at least as an approximation.

6. Another heavy fragment (M 864, Ci 173, P 17; pl. 84: 19) comes from the corner of a stand which was cylindrical within with a diameter of *ca.* 14 cm. and which had a round bowl above with a diameter of *ca.* 16 cm. The exterior angle preserved is *ca.* 110 degrees. The sides are flattened curves as in no. 2, and it is easy to see how they could have been shaped to give the exterior four angles. A convex molding on the outside marks the level of the bottom of the bowl and 5 cm. lower down is another which has been "decorated" with diagonal slashings. The fairly hard, well-baked, pinkish ware has a few white and brownish grits. It is heavy, *ca.* 16 mm. thick at the thinnest places. It shows signs of smoke blackening, but just as much on the breaks as elsewhere. There is, therefore, no evidence that it was used for burning incense (fig. 62 b).

Apparently the corners had horns which stood perpendicular, or almost so. That on the corner preserved has been completely broken away, but the thickness of the broken surface as compared with the thin wall preserved at the side of the bowl beyond the corner makes a horn a necessity. The character of the pedestal and base cannot be determined.

7. A much smaller, lighter fragment, from R. 378 (T 23; pl. 84: 20), has enough of the corner preserved, with a pronounced molding, to show that it had the same shape as the preceding. However, the bowl was deep and the horn must have risen 8 or 9 cm. above the bottom of the bowl, while the side walls between corners were no more than 4 or 5 cm. high, possibly less. To judge from the small portion remaining of the curve of the bowl, the bottom would have had a diameter of little more than 5 cm. while the flaring sides would have allowed a diagonal from

²⁷ A square limestone altar at Gezer (G II, 424) had similar knobs at its corners.

tip to tip of the horns reaching perhaps to 14 cm. Below the molding, which ran around the outside *ca.* 2 cm. above the base of the bowl, a series of attached ornaments, doubtless knobs of some kind, one at the corner and others a couple of centimeters apart, are now to be recognized only by the break in the surface from which they have disappeared. Nothing remains by which to determine the character of the pedestal, whether square or round.

The ware in this case is hard, drab in color, with many white grits of various sizes, and it is only superficially fired to pink. An orange-red slip or decoration appears in one area. The walls of the bowl are normally 10-12 mm. thick.

8. A fragment (pl. 84: 21) of the tubular standard, or stem, from a stand is distinguished by molded ridges to which are attached horizontal projections from which half ovals, like conventional lotus leaves, depend. In this it resembles no. 2 and chalice no. 2. The piece preserved is *ca.* 7 cm. high; the outside diameter of the projections, *ca.* 8 cm. The ware is much like that of cylindrical stands nos. 1-3; the normal thickness is 6-7 mm. The projections and "leaves" are irregularly but highly burnished. It is a fair piece of ceramic workmanship. Two ridges with projections, which are set at an interval of 25 mm., and the mark left by the breaking away of the third projection, 20 mm. lower down, are preserved. Apparently above the top ridge the standard narrowed in sharply and something stood above on a rather thin neck. Above the line of breakage nothing of what was supported is preserved and it is impossible to determine whether a chalice bowl, a "table," or a small altar top was originally set upon the stem. I have included the piece among the altars since it might have carried a small top like no. 2. It was found in R. 477 (Y 18), which, along with high-footed and covered lamps and other objects, preserved a *yh* stamp (M 2494). It might, therefore, belong to the exilic or postexilic period, although the ware and burnishing indicate an earlier time.

9. Another fragment (M 654; pl. 84: 22) found in N 16 in str. i is too badly broken and weathered to be accurately described. It was tubular and of about the same size as no. 8. Ridges which project sharply downward seem to have been finished off

with scallops or possibly "lotus-leaves." The ware is heavier and coarser than that of no. 8. There can be little doubt that it was a tubular stem for some kind of small altar or offering stand;²⁸ or else of a chalice. The last possibility is seriously to be considered for both nos. 8 and 9.²⁹

Professor Wright remarks that nos. 6 and 7 may be the tops of small altars, the *ḥammānim* of the Old Testament,³⁰ but he thinks it more likely that they are the tops of clay boxes such as were found at Megiddo.³¹ No. 8 he regards as from str. ii or possibly str. i.

10. The find spots of these "altars" are well scattered over the tell, in P 17, T 14, V 13, X 13 on the west side, and in T 23 and Z 25 on the east. The large heavy corner (no. 6) came from Ci 173 in P 17, an area in which numerous pieces of interest were found. But, otherwise, none of the loci was marked by other unusual discoveries. All but no. 3 were found in rooms or cisterns and on the basis of the other artifacts discovered, the loci, so far as datable, belong to the late MI and early Persian periods. The large pottery "horn" (no. 3) found in Z 25 was in debris in which sherds of various dates appeared.

V. A POSSIBLE *Maṣṣēbāh* OR BAETYL

1. Standing by the path which crossed a low terrace wall on the southeastern side of the city was a large cigar-shaped pillar of limestone (*ca.* 80 cm. in height) which had been roughly chipped into its present shape (pl. 84: 23). It differs totally from the monolithic pillars found in various buildings³² since it is round, which none of them are, and is not flat topped, which all of them are. It bears no resemblance to the pillars in stables which at Megiddo, Ta'annek, and elsewhere were at first supposed to be *maṣṣēbōth*, nor to the "rolling stones" used at 'Ain Shems to hold the "stoppers" in tomb entrances. How it could well serve in the construction of any building is not apparent.

Unfortunately the fact that it was standing on the surface and not closely connected with any ancient

²⁸ Cf. M I, pl. 38, unclassified no. 3 from str. v.

²⁹ Cf. M I, nos. 2, 5 on pls. 33 and 63; pl. 38: 3 (unclassified).

³⁰ See *Biblical Archaeologist* 1 (1938), 2.

³¹ May, *Material Remains*, pl. 15.

³² See above, chap. XVIII, iv, and pl. 77 f. Cf. the 'Ain Shems baetyl, or *maṣṣēbāh*, AS I, 15, 55; BS, 45, 51, 108.

building destroys its evidential value. Doubtless it was set up in its discovered position as a *naṣīb*, *ṣāhid*, or *meṣhad*, a "witness" to a vow or prayer,³³ by good Moslems. It appears to have been found near four-room building no. 2 but apparently the expedition connected it with what has been called the "early gate," and set it up on the pier which had been built in the center of the southern opening in that structure.³⁴ If four-room building no. 2 could be proved to have been a sanctuary, it would be appropriate to connect the pillar with it and to consider it a true *maṣṣēbāh*. But the only verdict possible on the evidence is "not proven."³⁵

VI. VOTIVE OFFERINGS

1. Among the objects which may have served as votive offerings was a fragment of a "kernos ring" found in debris in square Y 25.³⁶ A very thin external layer of the ware was baked to a brick red but within was a dark gray core with gray and white grits. The outer and bottom wall of the tube was *ca.* 7-8 mm. thick, the upper inside, 15 mm. The exterior was burnished lengthwise in steady strokes 8 mm. wide. In section the tube was oval, *ca.* 38 x 48 mm. in dimensions. Judged from the 10 cm. length preserved, the interior diameter of the ring would have been *ca.* 30 cm. Only one fragment of the attached objects remains and only enough of that to show that it flared out rapidly from a base around an oval orifice.

Nothing in the accompanying sherds serves to date the fragment. If the burnishing were found on a bowl, it would date it in the 10th cent., but it is not decisive for an object of so different a form. At Megiddo fragments and a fairly complete specimen with closely burnished surface were found in str. vi (*ca.* 1140-1090). Other examples have been found at Beisān and Gezer, and vessels of a similar character are known from Egypt and especially Cyprus.³⁷ Cypriote influence may be responsible for the fact

that in Palestine the vessel is most common in the LB and EI i-ii periods. Only two or three fragments found have been from MI contexts. The comparative excellence of the TN specimen would perhaps suit the culture of the Solomonic period, but crudity or elegance in pottery does not unquestionably determine its date. The MI Age potter could produce both excellent and coarse ware.

2. A fragment 7 cm. long of a hollow tube from the rim of a vessel was found in R. 84 (AG 19; pl. 89: 22). The ware is red, with very many minute white grits, well baked, and fairly hard. The oval rim measures *ca.* 2 x 3 cm., with a heart-shaped hole that measures *ca.* 10 x 12 mm. The exterior diameter of the vessel was *ca.* 22 cm. In one end of the portion preserved there is a vertical perforation about 7 mm. in diameter into the hollow rim and a layer of clay has been torn away around it indicating the loss of some attached object which has left no other trace.

The vessel, then, was probably like the one found at 'Ain Shems, which showed a calf's head serving as a spout at one side, while facing the same way another head drank out of the center of the vessel, and conducted the liquid through a long neck to the hollow rim at the side of the vessel opposite the spout, and thence to the spout to form a unique bowl for libations, so it is said.³⁸ A head of exactly this sort along with the oval rim was found in R. 392 (AA 14). It came from a vessel similar to that found in R. 84, but was of somewhat better, harder ware and showed signs of hand burnishing and of crude painting in dark red (pl. 89: 16). A much smaller and cruder head (pl. 89: 12) seems to have been similarly used.

The 'Ain Shems vessel was brightly painted and, in that feature, quite different from the poorly decorated TN fragment. It is reported as found below str. iii, that is in LB debris, and therefore as belonging to str. iv, a date with which its decoration agrees. Another, cruder piece was found in str. iii (EI i-ii) at 'Ain Shems. The TN bowls, both found in MI contexts, may have been EI imitations of the finer pieces of an earlier date.

³³ Cf. *AAS* 2-3 (1923), 66 ff.

³⁴ See above, chap. XVIII, iii, 3, and pl. 73: 2, 3.

³⁵ On two niches which might possibly have been household shrines, but were probably used as cupboards, see below, chap. XX, i, 12.

³⁶ Pl. 89: 21. It is incorrectly classified with lamps, S 1646.

³⁷ May, *Material Remains*, 17 f., pl. 16; *TM* I, fig. 204a; II, fig. 77; cf. *AS* V, 157; IV, pl. 45: 34; cf. also Graham and May, *CC*, 97 ff.

³⁸ *AS* I, pl. 11; II, 28 (1516); III, fig. 2A, pl. B; fig. 4: 1931, no. 26; V, 156 f., no. 1516. I do not understand the hydraulics involved.

3. A particularly interesting fragment is a miniature lamp (S 1645, M 891) set on a thick stem from which three short branches project to form a holder for the lamp (pl. 84: 24). In its pinched nozzle and its profile the lamp approaches the shape of the footed lamp, S 1629 or 1634, but it has no flaring rim around the bowl and the base, whatever it was, is not distinguished from the stem on which it rests. The ware is fairly soft, colored a brown-green with a clear tinge of pink, and has a few medium-sized grits. It is baked thoroughly, with only a very small drab core in the center of the thick stem. It had received a thick wash of white and there remain a few spots of red in crevices.

The very small size of the lamp, the unusual stand, the white wash, the red paint, and the fact that it had never been used suggest very properly that it was intended as a votive offering. It was found in R. 224, the long "narthex" of four-room building no. 2 (see above chap. XVIII, iii, 3) and was one of the chief arguments for regarding this building as a sanctuary. If there were other cult remains in or near the building or other clear evidence of its sacred character, this little lamp could well serve as corroboration, for it seems best understood as an *ex voto*.

4. Several fragments and one practically complete specimen (S 1802) of small pottery couches came to light in the course of the excavations.³⁹ They are by no means unusual discoveries in Palestine excavations. Some show evidence of the attachment of a figure to the seat.⁴⁰ In view of the ancient and modern parallels pointed out by S. A. Cook and the importance of enthronement rituals at New Year in Assyria, Babylonia, and Israel, these inconspicuous and inartistic pieces of handmade pottery may be considered as possibly having a unique value in suggesting the vows or prayers of individuals who in some fashion memorialized the deity and invited his presence in the interest of their individual or family health and prosperity at the time of the New Year.⁴¹

³⁹ Ca 193; AA 14; Q 18; R. 398, Z 14; see pl. 84: 25-28. Other fragments were found in Z 14; Z 16; R. 393, AA 14; R. 593, AD 16; AG 28.

⁴⁰ AS IV, pl. 51: 9; cf. V, 156; III, 78, pl. 23: c; APEF 2, pl. 22: 13 and pl. 23.

⁴¹ *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the Light of Archaeology* (London, 1930), 21 ff.; cf. S. Mowinkel, *Psalmstudien* II (Kristiania, 1922); art. "Drama," *Religion in Geschichte u. Gegenwart*, 2d ed., I (1927), 2001, 2003; O. Eissfeldt, art. "Feste

It is unfortunate that there is no means of determining whether they celebrated the enthronement of Yahweh or of Baal.

5. Of the small pottery wheels and boxes which quite clearly were models of chariots, only the most meager fragments are recorded from TN. Nothing was found which was recognized as the car of a chariot and only one certain and two other possible chariot wheels. The one somewhat broken piece which can quite safely be identified as a wheel (S 1813, pl. 84: 29) and which was found in R. 603 (AC 16) has a diameter of 95-100 mm. The hole in the center is 17 mm. in diameter and the thickness of the piece is 13-16 mm.⁴² Unlike those found by Sir Flinders Petrie at Gerar and a few discovered at Megiddo, the TN example has no hub and no projections, or notches, at least in so far as the broken rim allows the question to be answered. However, on the outer side near the rim of the wheel, there appears a series of round knobs which look like decorative metal ends to nails or bolts which hold the parts of the wheel together.⁴³

The ware, fairly hard and well baked, with traces of an orange-red slip on a pink surface, but a darker red underneath, with multitudes of fine white grits and some larger ones and a gray core, suits an EI or MI date. The room where it was found is dated by the other artifacts to late MI and LI.

Many pottery disks, some with a single central hole, others with two, were found at TN, as at other Palestinian sites. Some were cut out of the walls of vessels, others were made *ad hoc*. Three of the last might have been chariot wheels. One, found in R. 433 is recorded as S 1812. Similar pieces were found in Ci 369 (AF 20), and in debris in X 12. Nothing in ware or shape distinguishes these pieces, and their use can only be guessed.⁴⁴ The dates of the loci are MI ii and MI ii-LI.

That the small chariot models were cult objects can not be actually demonstrated. The less satisfactory alternative is to suppose that they were playthings. If cult objects, they are plausibly regarded

II," *ibid.*, II (1928), 556 f.; H. Gressmann, *Der Messias* (Göttingen, 1929), 212-20, *et pas*.

⁴² The drawing in vol. II, pl. 78 was made under a misapprehension.

⁴³ Cf. *Gerar*, 18, pl. 39: 12-14; May, *Material Remains*, 23 ff. (with references to other literature), pl. 21.

⁴⁴ See below, no. 6.

as connected with sun worship.⁴⁵ The chief reason for hesitation in the case of the TN examples of wheels is that there is no trace of a white wash or of red paint such as are found on the Astarte figurines (to be discussed below), on the altars, and on other objects which are supposed for one reason or another to be connected with the cultus.

6. At TN, as at many other sites, small round or oval disks of pottery appeared in various contexts (pl. 90: 15-21). At Megiddo they were regarded as possibly intended to serve as lids for vessels. There are two excuses for discussing them among cult objects. At Beth-shan a "votive offering in the shape of a spherical loaf of bread" which was repeatedly stamped with the hieroglyph for "daily" was found in the "Seti I" stratum (13th cent.). Furthermore certain Astarte figurines, although none at TN, show the goddess pressing to her breast a plain disk which has been supposed to represent the "cakes stamped with her image" mentioned in Jeremiah 44.19.⁴⁶

That all clay disks represent such votive offerings can by no means be assumed. Some might be "chariot wheels." Vessels have been found elsewhere which had oval or spherical pieces cut from their sides before they were baked. Such were sometimes used as holders for fires, or heated coals, and, certainly in later times, served as censers, in which case the piece cut out would be replaced after the fire was lighted. There are various reasons which may have led to the baking of such disks. The use as votive offerings is only one possibility.

VII. ASTARTE FIGURINES⁴⁷

Only one form of human figurine was found at TN, except for certain riders on animals, which will be discussed below. They are of the herm, or "pillar type," commonly called "Astarte figurines," and are usually from 10 to 16 cm. high. The head, in one type, was made in a carefully prepared mold. The base, as one epithet indicates, is a pillar, usually solid, slightly concave and flared at the bottom so that it stands alone, and rather crudely handmade. It probably represents a late tendency to conventionalize the

figure of the goddess into a more abstract symbol.⁴⁸ This tendency is carried still further in the "pinched-faced" type which is not molded but in which the features themselves are shaped with the fingers and are highly conventionalized. As representing Astarte or a *dea nutrix*, the breasts are usually prominent, the arms crudely indicated by strips of clay which flatten into hands and often merge into the body below the breasts. The hands in the TN examples are so completely conventionalized that they seldom "support" or "offer" the breasts, whatever may have been the original intention of such figures.

The gaudy coloring which adorned these figurines is at once evidence of their sacred, or magical, status and of the fact that the pinched-faced figures were by no means a poor man's substitute for the figure with molded head, but a distinct type and not necessarily an earlier one.⁴⁹ The wide distribution of figurine heads of various types throughout the city area seems to indicate that they were distinctly household icons, or amulets, to be used quite apart from, possibly even as a substitute for, the religious festivities of any sanctuary which may have existed.⁵⁰

Out of a total of about 120, only one complete figurine was found. Another could be almost completely reconstructed from its fragments. It is significant that they all seem to be broken at the neck with an inevitability suggesting deliberation. That the joint by which the molded head was attached to the base was not strong enough to stand any strain is a good argument, but does not apply to the pinched-faced figures, which, though made in one piece, are also almost always found broken squarely across the neck. The possible use of the figures in burial ritual, as substitutes for the sacrifice of concubines or wives, seems ruled out by the fact that none have been found in tombs at TN.⁵¹

Most of the figurines listed (see Appendix A), unless otherwise noted, are light-brown or orange-brown ware, with gray core. Many show that they

⁴⁵ But cf. the three pillar figures, five to six inches tall, from Iraq, 2000 B. C., H. Frankfort, "Two Iraq Sites over 5000 Years Old," *ILN*, Sept. 14, 1935, p. 432. Grant and Wright think the pillar figurines were introduced into southern Palestine by the 10th cent. (?) and rapidly became the most popular type. *AS V*, 155; *APEF* 2, pls. 22, 23.

⁴⁶ Cf. Cook, *op. cit.* (n. 41), 123-127. Crudeness is no criterion, of itself, as to dating.

⁴⁹ See fig. 50: C for their distribution.

⁵¹ Cook, *ibid.*, thinks that iconoclasm would have been more thorough. They would surely have smashed the head.

⁴⁵ Graham and May, *CC*, 242 f. figs. 43, 44.

⁴⁶ Rowe, *B-S II*, i, 90, pl. 53A: 7; *M I*, pl. 103; cf. art. by H. G. May in *AJSL* 48 (1932), 92 f.

⁴⁷ Mrs. Elsie Culver prepared the material in secs. vii-ix and Appendix A for publication and wrote the discussion in part.

were completely covered (including the base) with white wash. A number bear traces of red, yellow, and black paint. Molded heads average 35-45 mm. wide, pinched heads, 18-30 mm. The materials have been placed in four classes.

1. Heads with molded faces (pl. 85). These faces have obviously been fashioned in molds, which also supplied a row or two of curls framing the face. In some the pick mark made in removing the face from the mold can be seen. The back of the head was put on by hand, the hair worked over to suit the maker's fancy and the style of the times. No. 5 was either never finished or so carelessly done that the face fell off the head: it perhaps shows the amount of clay originally pressed into the mold.⁵² The back of the head called for little care. Some necks (nos. 11, 12) show a mortise and tenon joint for attachment to the handmade body. All but no. 19 are from str. i. Thirty of these were recorded.

2. Heads with "pinched" faces (pls. 86: 1-11, 14, 15; 87: 2). Instead of regular features, made in a mold, the head is molded by hand as part of the body, and pinched to form large eye surfaces and a prominent nose. The head is often peaked or knobby in the back. The maker's fingerprints are frequently evident.

These figures fall into two groups: (1) those about whose head there is (or was before it fell off) a band of clay indicating a turban. On some, hair is indicated below the turban.⁵³ A very few have oddly shaped hats of varying shapes. (2) Heads on which no headdress or hair is indicated; App. A, 2 (2); pl. 86: 10, 11. Probably all came from pedestal figures.

Both types seem frequently to have been covered with a white wash and some show signs of gaudy decoration. Huge eyes, indicated as filling the whole "pinched" surface, were outlined with a heavy black ring and also showed a black pupil. Several wore decorative collars, painted across the front of their necks (the back does not seem to have mattered) in red, orange, and black geometric designs.

Two of these pinched-faced heads which were attached to pedestal bases are described under the

body listings. With one exception all are broken at the neck. Fifteen with "turban" were recorded, all but no. 33 from str. i. Nineteen without headdress were found.

3. Figurines with human bodies (pl. 86: 12-17, 19-22; 87: 2). These are all of the pedestal base type, more or less crudely made by hand. A few are hollowed; some have a depression at the neck into which the head fitted.

4. Bases only, below breast section. Since the base fragments cannot be classified according to the criteria used above, they are listed separately. They are solid and flaring at the bottom, which is slightly concave. Usually they show white wash. The listing cannot be conclusive or complete owing to the fragmentary character of the remains. Some may be bases of pottery stands.

The fact that no figurines of strictly LB or EI types were found is notable. In this TN conforms to the pattern of Bethel, Gibeah, and Shiloh. It lacks the EI plaques and also the figurines of women in childbirth.⁵⁴ All those discovered are of types which were found in str. A at Tell Beit Mirsim, that is in MI i-ii. Those found at TN were, with only a very few, chronologically insignificant exceptions, from str. i, which ranges usually between 700 and 450 B. C. The figurines, then, confirm the conclusion reached on other grounds that the chief importance of TN falls after the EI Age.

VIII. A MOLD FOR A FIGURINE

A mold for a human figurine, the only one found, was entirely different from the mother-goddess type.⁵⁵ Apparently it represents a male, with the limbs fully rendered, but with no emphasis on sex. Only the portion from just below the breast to the feet was recovered. One elbow, the left, and the edge of the other remained. They were so placed that in a female figurine they would bring the hands below the breasts in the familiar *dea nutrix* posture. Probably in this figure the hands were brought together on the breast. Just below the navel there are two deep grooves in the figure made from the mold as if a double coil of rope that had been tightly bound about the abdomen were removed. Two ropes also

⁵² Grant describes a mold from EI ii for making these faces; *AS* III, 67. See also, Petrie, *Gerar*, pl. 36: 6.

⁵³ The fact that the head above the band is colored differently from that below, seems to indicate it is part of the hat, rather than hair.

⁵⁴ Albright, *ARI*, 114; *Mélanges Dussaud* I (1939), 120.

⁵⁵ M 219, found in AP 22, some 10 m. outside the wall; see pl. 87: 3.

bind each ankle. On the preserved remains of the elbows there are serrations which may represent ropes wound about the arms.⁵⁶ In the absence of parallels the only explanation of the figure which occurs to me is that it represents an enemy bound by sympathetic magic.⁵⁷

IX. ANIMAL AND SERPENT FIGURINES

The significance of the animal figurine has been often discussed. There is no clear evidence that it was a plaything; perhaps no evidence is possible. The use of figures of horses with riders, of pack animals, and of various types of cattle, small and large, in apotropaic and fertility magic is easily understood and seems a reasonable explanation of the large numbers of such figurines found in Palestinian sites.⁵⁸

In view of the wide distribution of the serpent cult in Palestine it is strange that more evidence of it was not found at TN. Only two meager fragments of pottery serpents (pl. 90: 10, 11) were found,⁵⁹ one still attached to a potsherd, and one, a somewhat peculiar looking but not uncertain blob of clay, which had been attached to a vessel. It would appear either that the serpent cult was less popular at TN than at Beth-shan and Beth-shemesh, or that the serpent plaques and vessels with serpent decoration at these sites belong to a different date from the mass of TN remains. Actually a difference of date seems to be the chief explanation, but with cultural differences also playing their part.

Practically all of the materials in question from other sites belong to the LB Age and EI i-ii, predominantly the former. A thin, flat bronze serpent was found at Gezer in a pile of fragments from "cyma-shaped bowls with wishbone handle." It was a "cobra," according to Macalister, and was repre-

sented as stretched out at length with slight undulations as if moving, not partially coiled as in the TN example (note 59 above). If it is to be dated from the bowls with wishbone handles found with it, it belongs to the LB Age. A plaque found at Tell Beit Mirsim with what Albright regards as a serpent twining about the legs of a goddess belongs to the same period. The greater part of the numerous Beth-shan pieces with serpent decoration came from the Rameses III stratum (1200-1000).⁶⁰ Since TN, in all probability, was a new, completely Israelite, settlement, while Beth-shan surely was not, and Beth-shemesh, where serpent remains are less abundant than at Beth-shan, was doubtless a mixture of Canaanite and Israelite cultures, the very slight remains of the serpent cult at TN is to be understood as reflecting the very moderate penetration of this type of worship into strictly Israelite communities. Since, however, TN has preserved so much less of EI i-ii material and practically nothing from the LB Age, sweeping general conclusions are not in order.

The bird figures may be in part suggestive of Astarte worship or some similar fertility cult. Such can hardly have been the connection in which the "swan jars" of Ts. 5 and 32 were used.⁶¹ Whether they had any peculiar significance is not apparent. One small figurine of which the head is preserved appears to represent a dove, and two more, of which only the bodies remain, may have been made with the same intention (pl. 90: 1, 2, 5). These ambiguous representations are a poor foundation upon which to build any large structure of Astarte veneration.

X. RATTLES, AMULETS, AND TOOLS OF MAGIC

There is debate as to the use of the rattles⁶² found in nearly every Palestinian site. Like the animal figurines, they have been regarded as playthings. However, as Macalister long ago remarked, the rattle is usually too large for a baby hand. May finds that Megiddo rattles made enough noise to have served as a very modest substitute for a tambourine, a sistrum, or a drum in a ritual dance.

One piece which, for want of any other suitable

⁵⁶ Why the ropes (or possibly anklets and bracelets) about the arms and ankles show in relief, as they should, but those about the abdomen have the opposite effect, I do not understand unless an actual string was placed about the body in the two grooves.

⁵⁷ Cf. the plaque of a female figure with double belt (or rolls of fat) from Tell Beit Mirsim; W. F. Albright in *Mélanges Dussaud* I, 119, pl. B (p. 113): 7; *AAS* 21-22 (1943), § 12; 17 (1938), pl. 25: 7; 28: 7. It is to be noted that the "belt" is above the navel, not below as in the TN plaque.

⁵⁸ Cf. May, *Material Remains*, 28; see Macalister, *G* II, Index, under "Animal Figures." See pl. 88.

⁵⁹ A bronze piece bears a remarkable resemblance to modern brass serpents I have seen made in India as candlestick bases intended for the tourist trade. This one was probably a buckle, see below, chap. XXI. The similarity emphasizes the possibility of parallel developments in widely separated cultures, especially in forms which are naturalistic.

⁶⁰ Cf. *G* II, 399; Rowe, *B-S* II, i, pls. 14, 16 f., 19-21, 35, 44A, 45A, and Index, *s. v.* "Serpent"; Grant, *BS*, 143, 145; Cook, *Religion of Ancient Palestine*, 98 f.; Albright, *APB*, 87 ff. Galling, *BRL* 459 (art. "Schlange") suggests that the "serpent" on the Tell Beit Mirsim plaque is a twining fold of a garment.

⁶¹ Cf. chap. IX, viii.

⁶² Cf. May, *Material Remains*, 25; Macalister, *G* II, 306. Pl. 90: 12-14.

classification, has been described as a magician's wand has already been discussed as possibly representing foreign influence. The use of scarabs, scaraboids, and seals as amulets has been mentioned. Practically all belong to the Hebrew period, but one amulet of Byzantine times also appeared.⁶³ How far the jewelry worn by primitive and ancient peoples was purely for adornment and how far it served magical ends of prophylaxis is a question which need not be discussed. But undoubtedly the latter element was prominent. The jewelry described in chap. XXI is also to be remembered in this connection.

Two other objects which are of uncertain use may be described here. One is of bone, a scapula fragment found in square S 23 (pl. 90: 23). Its largest dimensions are 8 x 9 cm. Around the edge of the bone is a row of incised circles, set at somewhat irregular intervals. In each case there are two concentric circles close together with a very well-marked center. How it could have been used in divination is not clear.

An oval piece, measuring 60 x 77 mm., cut from a large shell and bearing a much more elaborate design of concentric circles combined into a guilloche may have been suspended on the breast or forehead or sewed to a garment since two holes appear at one end and three at the other (pl. 90: 22). It came from Si 91 in AL 23, in which nothing else of significance was found but a horse-and-rider figurine, a horse head made as a spout and a couple of thin bone spatulas.

Both the scapula and the shell were decorated by means of a compass of very small size. The second demanded also a larger compass and showed some ingenuity in its combinations of circles to produce the guilloche effect. The result is so highly decorative that one may suspect it to have been valued more for that reason than for any magical value it may have been supposed to have.

XI. CONCLUSIONS FROM CULT REMAINS

It must perforce be granted—with regrets—that TN, a strictly Hebrew settlement, has preserved too little material which can be used with confidence to illuminate the history of Hebrew religious practices

and beliefs. Surely no one will question the assumption that there must have been a sanctuary of some kind in a city of its size. If it was a "high place," it should have stood on the now denuded crown of the hill. The fact that none was discovered proves nothing. But for the absence of a sanctuary one would be inclined to hold up TN as evidence of a ruthless and thorough reformation in Josiah's time. However, apart from this negative conclusion, the fact that postexilic Judaism was probably iconoclastic must be borne in mind. At that time surely the central sanctuary at Jerusalem would tend to eliminate competition. The fact that, nevertheless, so many Astarte figurines and other evidences of superstition were found agrees remarkably with the denunciations by the prophets, the accounts in Jeremiah of Astarte worship, and the known superstitions in postexilic Judaism which seem to have found shelter under a theoretically monotheistic Yahwism.

The extent to which magic ruled the minds of the ancients is emphasized by the votive offerings perhaps more than any others of the cult objects. The crudity of the handmade objects, figurines, offering tables, thrones and couches, and animal figures, their small size, their cheapness, all go to show that a token was supposed by some magic of faith and ritual to take the place of the real object in religion. Pretense rises to its apotheosis in the earthen cakes which took the place of real offerings of bread, thus saving expense, time, and effort.

One characteristic of the cult objects is worthy of note: the crudity of a large portion of them. The large stands, especially those with vents, are excellent examples of ceramic skill. The small fragments of altars likewise exhibit a modicum of technical proficiency and artistic ingenuity, or even originality. The kernos ring and the bowls with hollow rim are not the work of amateurs. But the ruck of votive objects are either conventional mass products, in the case of the Astarte heads, or the crude extemporizations of artless and unskilled fingers, as seen in the bird-faced figurines and the small stands. Does this lead to the conclusion that like modern Arab, Jewish, and Christian worship at unofficial saints' shrines in Palestine, local worship in ancient Hebrew cities was largely the work of the uninstructed, perhaps chiefly of the women?

⁶³ Chaps. XIII, i, vi, 2; XIV, viii, 1.

CHAPTER XX

UTENSILS, IMPLEMENTS, AND INSTALLATIONS

I. DOMESTIC

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE to classify according to use many of the vast and varied assortment of small objects and larger utensils found in a Palestinian mound. The rough classification with brief descriptions in this and the succeeding chapter is intended to give some idea of the variety and the character of the city's culture in its practical and related aesthetic aspects. In this chapter the articles

remembers that stone was the one material of which there was an unlimited abundance and that it required little skill, though great patience, to manufacture such articles as are found. Limestone and flint were easily available nearly everywhere. Basalt, which, because of its hardness and roughness, had its special uses, could be found in numerous more restricted but easily accessible areas. Although none is found in the mountains of Judea, it is not at all surprising that it was much used at TN.

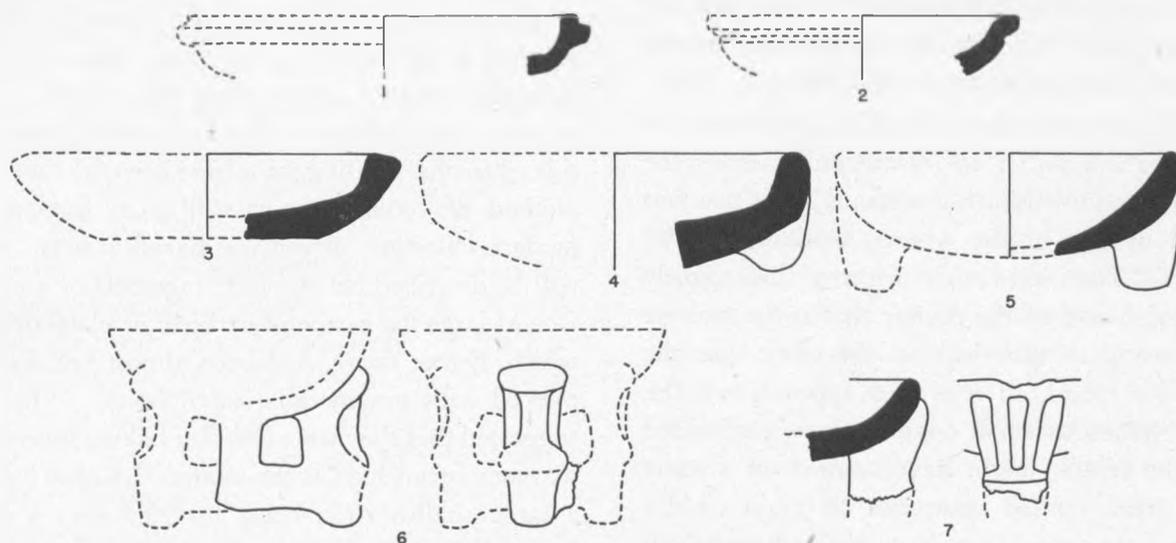


FIG. 63. MORTARS (SCALE 1:5)

mentioned are drawn chiefly from the mound itself and from the Hebrew-Jewish period of its history. Many more illustrations might have been given.

1. Mortars, Bowls, Grinding Stones, and other Stone Utensils. In many regards Hebrew Palestine was still in the Stone Age. Metals, chiefly bronze and iron, were in use for finer tools only. Probably the discoveries of metal by an expedition bulk less than such implements did in actual use, for broken utensils could be melted down and the material used again, as pottery and stone objects could not. But the vast number of stone implements is astonishing until one

The number of flint artifacts recovered was considerable. In view of the difficulties of identification, classification, and dating, no attempt has been made to discuss or publish them. Perhaps that can be done at a later time by an expert. There can be no doubt that some of those found, like some of the pottery, came from the Chalcolithic or EB Age at the latest. No doubt other pieces were in use in the LB or even EI Age. A few examples of early specimens are to be seen on pl. 14: 2 (from T. 12), others on pl. 98.

Some 40 specimens which are plausibly classed as pestles were found, by far the largest proportion

(25-30) of basalt (pl. 91: 3). The number of vessels that could be clearly classed as mortars was not large.¹ But a considerable number of basalt bowls which might have served as mortars were found. Unfortunately the material out of which mortars and bowls were made is frequently recorded only as stone, and, as nearly all were fragmentary and not worth transportation, no further information on that subject is available. However, it is clear that the larger number were of basalt. Shapes vary greatly; a few had the legs which are common in ancient and modern stone bowls and braziers.² Usually stone mortars and bowls have the simplest possible outlines, but occasionally care and labor were spent on austere ornamentation. It seems strange that well-preserved specimens were not more numerous. They must have stood in every kitchen or court.³ Evidently the city was not abandoned suddenly, but gradually deteriorated until the last few inhabitants moved away, taking their possessions with them.

The customary utensils for grinding grain were the saddle quern and muller, the *metate* and *mano* in the parlance of Spanish North America. Their use was illustrated by one of the women working for the expedition.⁴ The well-known form of the slightly curving quern and of the muller that is flat on one side and ovoid or elliptical on the other was the kind usually found, so it would appear from the records. Numerous small round stones, perforated through the center, might have worked on a stone pivot to grind limited quantities of grain or dry spices.⁵ But they would not have been efficient. No pivot-like lower stones were found. Round millstones, one turning upon the other, were a later invention. The muller, or *mano*, was sometimes rectangular in section both lengthwise and crosswise, with slightly rounded edges.

There was a large number of rubbing and smoothing stones, so classified often only because they were worn smooth by long use. In many cases their specific

use is not apparent. Some may have been used as whetstones. A considerable number are shaped somewhat like a brush with a handle along the back.⁶ Often they are of rough, porous basalt and are supposed to have been used to rub the thick and sometimes painful callouses from the soles of the peasant's feet. Highly polished pebbles may have been used in burnishing pottery.⁷

Limestone rollers, doubtless used like their modern duplicates for smoothing down flat mud roofs, were found along with a great variety of platters and basins. The long use of the last as mortars is shown by some which were worn until the bottom broke through.⁸

2. Kitchen utensils in pottery in addition to stone bowls, mortars, and saddle querns, with their appropriate pestles and mullers, were neither remarkably numerous nor attractive in shape nor highly developed as to function. Yet there was a very considerable variety. The cooking pot, usually a deep, rounded bowl with two handles is ubiquitous—outside of tombs. Boiling must have been the commonest method of cooking, as it still is in England and modern Palestine. Bread was baked in ovens, which will be described below. But fragments of a peculiar type of large flat earthenware bowl or plate are found which, before firing, had been almost but not quite pierced with innumerable small holes. It has been suggested that they were used for baking sheets of unleavened bread such as the modern *fellâbah* bakes on a large shallow iron basin inverted over a fire of thorns. The holes reaching almost through the fairly thick pottery are supposed to conduct the heat quickly to the thin sheet of dough (pl. 93: 2). Plates and pans, it will be noted, were not numerous.⁹

Almost the whole of volume II and its accompanying plates may serve to present illustrations of household utensils. Aside from large zîrs and jars, which would have served also for the storage of grain, olives, oil, and wine for commercial purposes, practically all of the vessels described would have served the kitchen and the house for purely domestic

¹ See pl. 91: 1, 2. The small "medicinal" mortars, which were probably used for mixing *kubl*, are discussed below along with toilet articles, chap. XXI; see pl. 106.

² See fig. 63. See *AAS* 21-22 (1943), pls. 57: 3; 64: 12, 13.

³ See the "Israelite house" described above, chap. XVIII, vi, 2; pl. 79: 1, 2.

⁴ See pl. 91: 4.

⁵ See A. G. Barrois, *Manuel d'archéologie biblique* I (Paris, 1939), 318. Such stone utensils are here taken to be loom weights; see below, sec. iii, 2, pl. 98.

⁶ See pls. 91: 3; 98: 4.

⁷ Other stone tools are mentioned below under Industrial Installations; see pls. 91; 92: 1, 3, 4; 98.

⁸ Pl. 91 illustrates various shapes of mortars and other stone vessels, rubbing stones, slingstones, and rollers.

⁹ See vol. II, chaps. III, 5; IV, 9, and the corresponding descriptions and plates.

purposes. Pitchers, jugs, squat two-handled vases, various amphorae, bottles, and flasks show a variety of forms. Small juglets of various types held perfumes and condiments. Small vessels with a side spout perhaps enabled the ancient Hebrew, like the modern Arab, to drink without touching his lips to the vessel. Chalices served for libations or for important convivial occasions, perhaps for both. Large jars with a strainer spout on the side provided a stream of liquid which was at least pure in appearance.

3. In an economy where each family was largely self sufficient, storage was a serious problem. Evidently bowls were much in use for holding both liquids and dry foods. Jars of various sizes and shapes served the same purpose for food in greater bulk. Bins and silos dug into the ground and lined with stones, sometimes, perhaps usually, plastered with clay or lime mortar, held supplies of grain. A favorite place was the intermural space where the earth fill made digging easy, but many were found in the rock.¹⁰ Cisterns for water storage have been sufficiently discussed above.¹¹

The modern Arab sometimes builds up a large clay cupboard for storage purposes. It may stand as high as a man's head. Puzzling fragments of what may have been such a storage box—of smaller proportions—were found in R. 79 (pl. 92: 2). It was thought to be an ossuary or sarcophagus, but such an object on the mound is hardly possible. Its use for some kind of storage is much more probable.

Numerous collar-like rings of well-baked clay served as stands for round-bottomed or conical storage jars. Doubtless the pottery cups found served for ladles as well as drinking purposes. Pottery lids for jars and small bowls seem to have been available.¹² Spoons could not have been widely used for eating since practically no such utensils in either metal or clay but only a few in bone were found.¹³ Knives were too little differentiated to allow distinction between domestic and other types.¹⁴

¹⁰ See pls. 80: 2, 82: 5.

¹¹ Chaps. XII; XVIII, vi.

¹² Pl. 92: 5; see also, vol. II, chaps. IV, 7; II, 7; IV, 3.

¹³ Chap. VIII, iii; pl. 24: 59; S 1804. One appeared in a Roman tomb, T. 2, chap. XI, i, 3.

¹⁴ Bronze forks, which look like tweezers, were found in R. 243 (P 14). See pl. 105: 34, 35.

4. Judged by the preserved remains, lamps formed a very important item in domestic economy, but were best preserved as tomb furniture. For the Hellenistic and Hellenistic-Roman periods (300 B. C.-100 A. D.) the expedition has little to show. For the EI and MI Ages the material is abundant. Some indeed go back to earlier, or at least more primitive customs; e. g. bowls in which a wick or a series of wicks were laid against the edge, with no pinched groove to hold them in place. The bowl with seven little spouts pinched in its sides represents, apparently, a not too successful experiment, since only a few are found. The mixing of types is such that no clear chronological series is discoverable, although it is doubtless true that footed lamps are more fashionable in MI than in EI. A few lamps in which the sides are folded over to form a kind of spout and a partial covering for the oil basin seem to represent a later type which prepared for the covered lamp¹⁵ or, possibly represent the first reaction to imported covered lamps.

5. Modern Arab ovens are of two main types: a large domed masonry structure (*tabûn*) with a door at one side, and a smaller type (*tannûr*) made of thick walls of clay, or of a large pottery vessel which is plastered over with mud and potsherds. The remains of several large specimens of *tannûr* were found. Only the bottom was preserved in each case. However, enough remains to show that at TN, as elsewhere, in some cases at least, the ancients used in construction almost exactly the same technique as the modern Palestinians. In shape they were like a miniature *tabûn*.

Dr. Badè describes one *tannûr* (in R. 602) as being not quite round (pl. 97: 4). It was 76 or 77 cm. in diameter outside, 70 and 71 inside. Its sides were slightly concave inside on a vertical line so that the greatest diameter was at mid-height. On one side the entire height was preserved and proved to be 34-35 cm. inside and 36 cm. outside. No hole for draft could be discovered except at the top. Four inches of ashes showed that fire had been kindled within. When the oven with its thick walls had been heated, probably a lid was put over the top.¹⁶ This oven was found in a "room" of which one wall had been rebuilt using an excellent dye vat set up on

¹⁵ Pl. 39. See vol. II, chaps. IV, § 20; V. For Roman and Byzantine lamps see above, chap. XI and vol. II, chap. V.

¹⁶ "Diary," June 4-6, 1935.

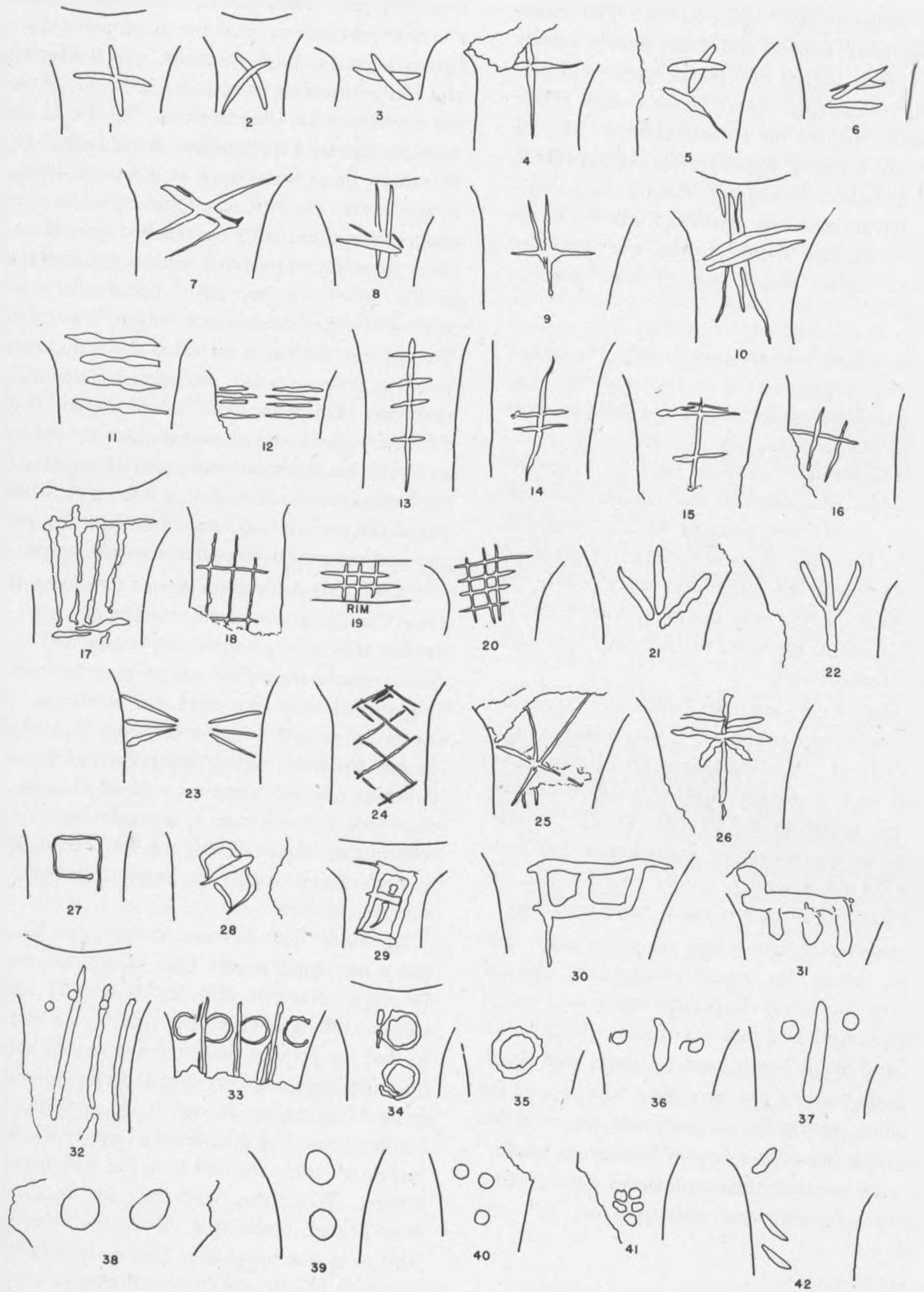


FIG. 64. POTTERS' MARKS (SCALE 1:2)

edge. This would seem to mean that the room as found was postexilic. The pottery under the floor contained material that could be MI and LI and thus confirms the late date.¹⁷

An oven found in 1927 (called no. 118) is also an excellent illustration of the use of potsherds to strengthen, or thicken, the walls. Another (number 126) as found preserved only the lower part of the clay walls.¹⁸

6. Marks scratched on pottery, which appear in great variety especially on handles, must have served

cannot be dated, were thin and very simple in outline. The vase (M 2893), which is very thin and has an equally simple but not inelegant shape, came from Ci 363 (AB 16) which may be placed in MI ii. There may be a question as to whether two little bronze bells with clappers belong among household effects or to personal ornaments. Both came from tombs of uncertain, but possibly Roman, date.¹⁹ A flat piece of bronze with many holes, which must have been a sieve or strainer, was found in a street (R. 321) in AA 25.

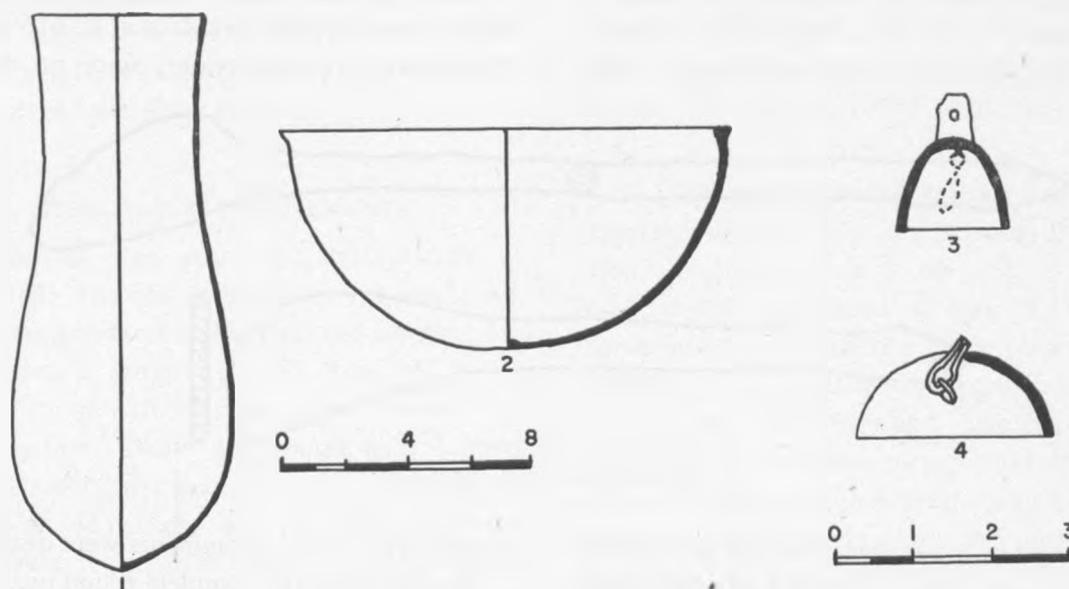


FIG. 65. BRONZE OBJECTS

as signs of ownership. Their forms are partially illustrated in the accompanying figure (no. 64). It has seemed to various archaeologists that they should have some chronological value, but at TN, in any case, no evidence appears which would serve to apportion any to definite chronological periods.

7. Of metal utensils which belonged to the house rather than to agriculture or industry there were several bronze bowls and one bronze vase. One bowl (M 2196), which came from T. 32 and, therefore, probably belongs to EI iii or MI i, was fairly heavy and somewhat elaborately shaped. Two more (M 803, 804; pl. 93: 1), both from R. 209 (AH 26), which unfortunately had so little material that it

8. Many needles and pins, chiefly of bronze, pieces of wire, hooks, and unidentified fragments, also in the main of bronze, show how extensively that metal continued to be used for all the finer kind of metal articles. The pins range from 36 to 84 mm. in length, the greater part falling between 60 and 80 mm. The listed needles fall between 40 and 142 mm. in length. Out of *ca.* 40 specimens, 8 range between 103 and 126 mm. in length, 13 between 72 and 95, 13 between 56 and 69 mm., the remainder under 47 mm. Usually the needles have a slightly flattened head with a hole through it. In some specimens the end was curved into a small loop and it is difficult to know whether they served as needles or as pins.²⁰

¹⁷ It is a room which should have served as a street when the mound was fully occupied. See above, chap. XVIII, viii.

¹⁸ See pl. 93: 3. Another oven of which no more than a clay ring remained was found in the north end and still another in R. 469, AD 21.

¹⁹ Fig. 65. T. 23 (x16) and T. 71 (x7) preserved the bells. T. 23 had a fine locket (x15), for which see below, chap. XXI, fig. 73.

²⁰ See pls. 105: 22-25; 111: 42.

Two metal pieces which had somewhat the shape of scalpels were found in debris. One was of bronze and 135 mm. long (N 17, debris str. ii). The other was of iron and 96 mm. long (AG 17 west wall, str. i).²¹ Doubtless many of the knives recorded below were used in the house as well as in the field.

9. Bone implements of many kinds have been used throughout human history. The uses of many of the pieces found are difficult to determine. Both ivory and bone appear at TN. Spoons, picks, slender rods, spindles, stoppers for bottles, handles for instruments, bobbins, buttons, and ornaments are some of the possible uses. In Ci 370 a collection of dorsal spines from fish of various sizes was found. They

As noted already, it would appear that many of the long, narrow, and probably windowless rooms were used for storage.²² A broken water jar not infrequently found in the corner of a room testifies to another effort to meet practical needs (pl. 95: 3). The mortars found on the floor of many courtyards not only assisted the excavator in determining the levels of the floors, but also suggested how large a part of the household work was carried on out of doors.²³

11. Along with one of these was a gruesome memento of some ancient tragedy, a skull lying on the floor near a small fireplace in R. 616 (pl. 95: 2). The mystery is the greater, since no other bones

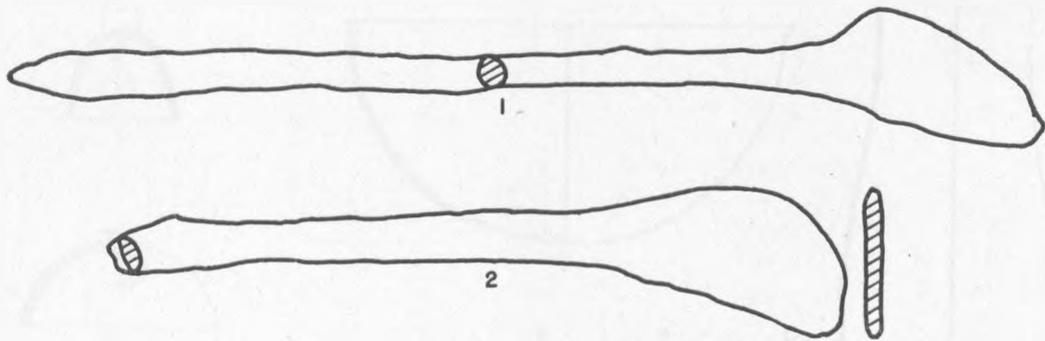


FIG. 66. SCALPELS (SCALE 1:1)

might be thought to have been preserved by accident but for the fact that a heavier bone had been sharpened into much the same shape (M 962). They were doubtless used as awls and punches. A small oblong piece of bone or ivory was perforated with holes 4 or 5 mm. apart, perhaps to form the back of some kind of comb (M 1445). In some places similar pieces are used as "beams" for balances, the different holes serving to give a variety of ratios. A piece of shell was being used for the manufacture of buttons and V-shaped perforations on one side only had been made to allow invisible attachment.

10. Various vessels and features of everyday life may be mentioned in order to give a more adequate picture of the culture of the ancient city. The adaptation of vessels for special purposes is illustrated by the "bee-hive" and lentoid flasks which were found (pl. 94). The numerous smashed storage vessels and the rooms in which they were found illustrate an important problem and one method of its solution.

except a few charred fragments were discovered with it. A skeleton nearly complete found near the bottom of the debris in Ci 370 (AF 20) tells a clear story of accident or murder, but the unconnected skull out in the open is a different matter, about which speculation is fruitless. The skeleton found in a cistern emphasizes one feature that appeared repeatedly. Great care seems to have been exercised in keeping cisterns covered. No census is possible. Not a few were found with no covering but a very large number had been protected in order that neither man nor beast might accidentally meet an untimely end (cf. pl. 95: 4).

Of a very different sort is the little system of squares scratched into the smooth rock near the ruined tower in the northwest quarter of the city (Q 13, 14; pl. 95: 5). No chessmen were found near it. Quite possibly pebbles were used. However the game was played, it testifies to the universality of the love of competitive play.

²¹ See fig. 66.

²² See pls. 75: 4; 95: 1.

²³ See pls. 75, 76, 93, 95.

12. To complete the record, attention must be called to a niche flanked by monoliths which appears in R. 326 in AA 24 (fig. 53b, pl. 95: 6). There is nothing in its character to prove that the room in which it was found was sacred or that the niche itself was a household shrine, although this is possible. As the room was paved and, with its row of monolithic pillars and the neighboring stairway in R. 331, showed other signs of more than usual enterprise, the niche is noteworthy. Possibly it is evidence of attention to needs for storage. In nearly every modern Arab house, niches are left in the thick stone walls to serve as "cupboards" and "linen closets." Bedding, for example, is piled in them by day. Perhaps this niche served the same purpose.

II. AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS

1. One bronze plow point and at least eight of iron are listed. The one of bronze is 193 mm. long. All were found in rooms. They ranged chiefly from 169 to 205 mm. in length (pl. 96). One (M 2836) measured 357 mm. All the points were flattened and square in section. None was found in a context which was clearly older than 700 B. C., according to Mr. Wampler. However, four, including the large specimen, were found in R. 625 A, along with an iron hook, a fragmentary sickle, a large jar of the kind which has three handles and a spout in place of the fourth (S 527) and other pottery which may belong to the 8th cent. The bronze point was found in a room in which the pottery appeared to belong mainly after 600. It is, therefore, a rather disquieting discovery, since it seems hardly possible that bronze would have been used for such a purpose at so late a date.²⁴ Was bronze used for practical purposes much longer than has been supposed, or is the object not a plow point, or is the pottery dating wrong? It would be a peculiar heirloom, and it seems too large to have escaped notice.

2. There could be little doubt as to the classification of the plow points. Somewhat similar pointed objects ranging in size from 80 to 137 mm. may be the points of ox-goads.²⁵ Knives, chisels, and sickles,

especially borderline cases and corroded or fragmentary specimens, were much more difficult to identify.²⁶ Many specimens, both in bronze and iron, were recovered. In some cases the rivets which would hold a wooden, or possibly bone, handle of knife or sickle in place were preserved. In other cases only the rivet holes remained. Over 50 knifelike tools, of which a dozen or more may have been sickles, were of iron. Only 5 of bronze are recorded. Sickles as found were almost universally narrow at the point and broad at the haft. Probably they were made so, although repeated sharpening would enhance the contrast (pl. 96: 8?, 12-16). Three knives with broad, square blades are to be regarded as skinning knives, or scrapers, rather than spatulas (pl. 104: 2-4).

3. Various fragments appeared of metal wire, especially bronze, of plates, of rods, of nails (chiefly iron), and other objects, of which the precise use could not be determined. In none of the tombs were there found any metal corners or plates such as have elsewhere been regarded as used to fasten the planks of wooden coffins together. The bronze plates, of which quite a number were found on the mound, often had two or more holes through them and must, therefore have served to hold together or strengthen some kind of wooden furniture or tools.

4. Two well-preserved iron tools are good representatives of the mattock (which is universally used in Palestine excavations). That is, one cutting edge is perpendicular to the line of the handle. The other end is not a pick in either case, but a very narrow ax blade (coinciding with the line of the handle). The one (M 2509) shown in the plate (96: 17) is small, only 178 mm. in length. It came from a room (476, V 18) which may be as late as the Exile. The other (M 1857), which was 275 mm. long, was found in the earth filling the entrance to T. 33 and belongs, therefore, to Byzantine times at the earliest.

III. INDUSTRIAL TOOLS AND INSTALLATIONS

There may easily be differences of opinion as to what is domestic, what agricultural, and what industrial in an economy in which industry centered largely in the family. It is even more difficult, in

²⁴ Cf. Albright, *AAS* 21-22 (1943), § 20.

²⁵ M 398, AH 24, Ci 49, L. 137 mm.; AC 14X, x29, L. 117 mm.; AC 18, R. 416, L. 80 mm. Cf. Albright, *ibid.*; Petrie, *TF* I, pl. 26: 661. See pl. 96: 6.

²⁶ Pl. 96: 7-16.

the fragmentary remains of a small country town, such as TN has preserved, to distinguish what tools belong to any one class. The classifications adopted here are merely for convenience.

1. Dyeing plants are a marked feature of MI cities in Palestine.²⁷ Since there were six or seven in the portion of Tell Beit Mirsim which has been cleared, about one-fifth of the city, Dr. Albright estimates the total at from 20 to 40.²⁸ Not nearly so

All contained the typical dye vat, a great round, hollowed-out block of limestone, with a small mouth and, between the mouth and the outer edge, a runnel connected with the cavity inside. The obvious purpose of the runnel was to catch and save the precious dye which would drip from the cloth that had been immersed in the vat. Near the covered dye vat were one, sometimes two, open vats in which some fixing fluid may have been kept.²⁹ The variety of vats used

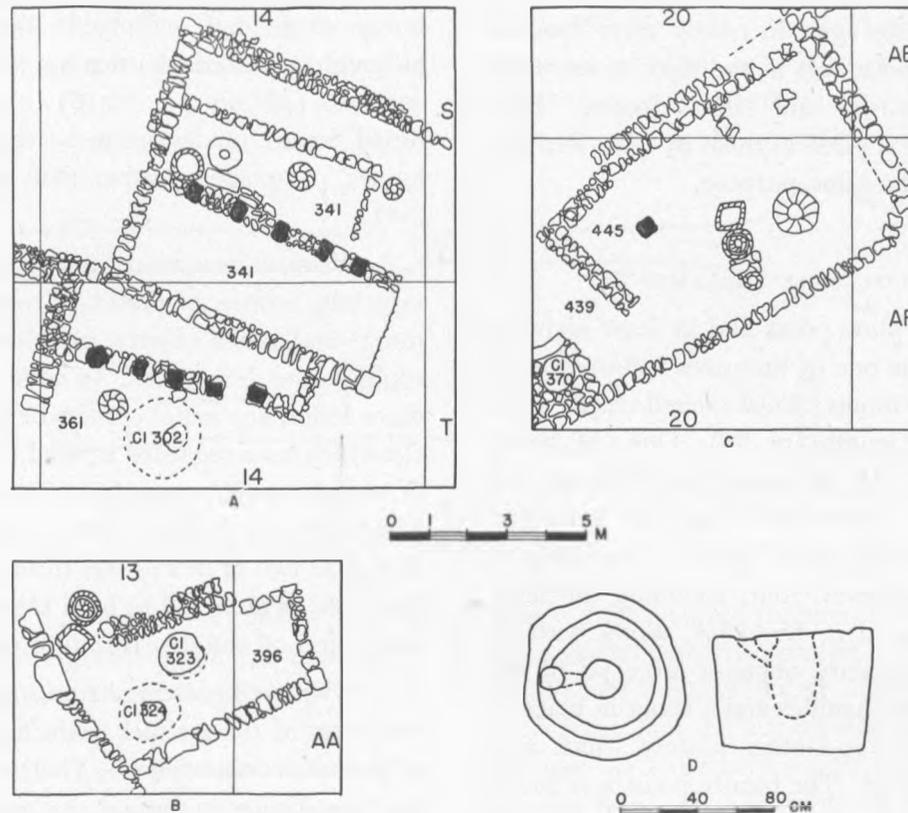


FIG. 67. DYE VATS

many appeared at TN, only four, or possibly five. Others may have stood on the now barren, rubble-covered hilltop, but the number could not have been large, else more of the great stone dye vats would probably have appeared in the ruins. If these inferences are correct, dyeing was not an important industry at TN, but was economically far from negligible. All of the plants found lay on the west and southwest side, one discovered in Rs. 341 and 361 (S, T 14), a second in R. 396 (AA 13), a third in R. 445 (AF 20), a fourth in R. 662 (Z 16) and remains in Rs. 600 and 602 (AC 16).

may be seen in the plate (97). In R. 341 it would appear that the tops of the vats were on the level of the floor, if the flat stones seen between the vats and the pillars represent a pavement. However, so inconvenient an arrangement seems improbable. The vats should stand upon the floor.

In Rs. 600 and 602 (AC 16) were a covered dye vat and an open vat, both turned on edge and reused in the walls.³⁰ Evidently a dyeing plant had been destroyed, probably when the city had suffered a catastrophe. When should this have happened?

²⁷ Cf. Albright, *APB*, 119 ff.; *AS* IV, pls. XVIII-XXI; V, 73, 75.
²⁸ *AAS* 21-22 (1943), § 36.

²⁹ See fig. 67, where a drawing and section of the dye vat may be seen, and pl. 97.

³⁰ See above, sec. i, 5; cf. *AS* IV, pl. 20: 3.

Rs. 341 and 361 stand on quite different levels, the latter being apparently about a meter lower than the former. According to the pottery R. 361 may have been in use in the MI and Persian periods, R. 341 in MI iii and the Persian period. Rs. 396 and 445 belong to MI and possibly LI, Rs. 600 and 602 seem to belong after the fall of Jerusalem. The data seem to be explained if the dyeing plants were chiefly in use before the Babylonian conquest and some of them possibly after it. The vats in the walls of Rs. 600 and 602 apparently represent postexilic reconstruction.

3. In square W 21 just east of the square tower of W 20³² a wine press (A) was uncovered in 1927. It consisted of a shallow, almost square pressing basin, *ca.* 2.70 m. across, and a small but deep wine vat, *ca.* 1 m. square and 60 cm. deep, but *ca.* 90 cm. below the level of the press. A very shallow channel ran across the press to the vat. The depression of *ca.* 61 cm. at the back of the press must be accidental. The use of the additional small flat area beside the vat, a basin so shallow as to be hardly more than a level platform, is not clear.

In March, 1929, another press (B) was found in

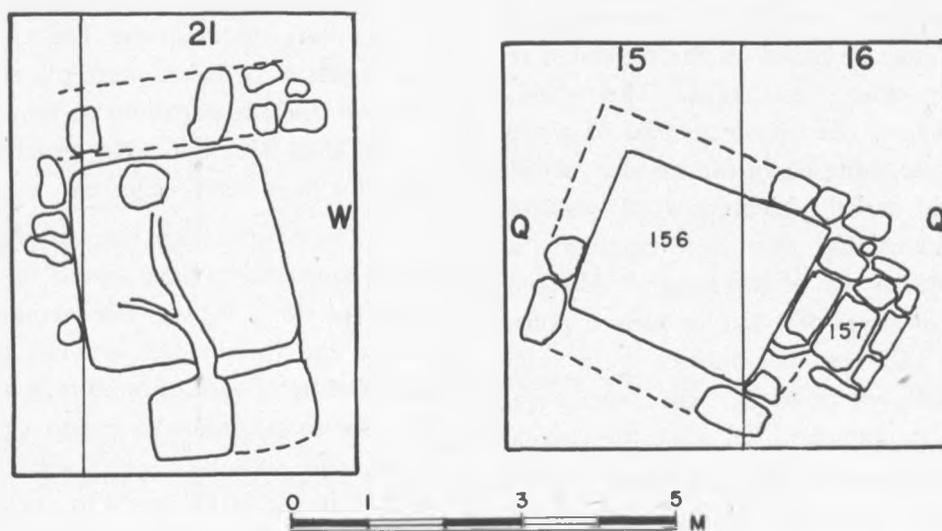


FIG. 68. WINE PRESSES

2. As in every excavation in Hebrew cities numerous stones (over 100) were found which are interpreted as spindle whorls and loom weights (pl. 98). The number of the latter which were recognized was small. Indeed it is difficult to distinguish the one from the other. Shapes and sizes vary. Eight or ten only were pierced so far at one side or end as surely to be loom weights. Probably the more regularly shaped specimens would have served as spindle whorls. A common shape is almost a hemisphere with a central hole.³¹ Some are flattened to disks, others lengthened to cones. Rarely one is almost spherical. Materials vary, limestone and basalt being most common, with serpentine and other stones appearing occasionally on the lists. A few are of pottery. Various fragmentary bone rods which may have been portions of spindles were found.

³¹ At the other extreme from loom weights as to size are what seem like buttons.

square Q 15, 16. It measured *ca.* 2 x 2.50 m. At one end a narrow channel ran into a very shallow vat. Both press and vat seem to have been surrounded by masonry walls, of which one course remains.³³

The date of wine press A cannot be determined from any recorded artifacts. Material in the square in which it was found ranged from the EB to the Persian period. A small amount of material found in press B and the accompanying vat places it presumably in the MI ii period.

A very small basin which may have served to express olive oil was found apparently not *in situ*. As the photograph shows (pl. 91: 2), it consisted of a round depression some 35-40 cm. in diameter cut in

³² See above, chap. XVII, vi, and pl. 99: 3, 4.

³³ See fig. 68 and pl. 99: 2. No descriptions of either press can be found and the plans on the plane-table maps (reproduced in the figure) and the photographs are the only records, except for a small amount of pottery found in the second. The photograph of the second seems to have been taken before the vat was uncovered.

a limestone block with a narrow channel leading off at one side. It would have served even domestic needs quite inefficiently, but others of its kind are known.³⁴ What seems to be a large weight such as was used to hang on the end of the beam used in the large type of oil press was discovered (pl. 91: 2), but no certain evidence as to where such a press had stood. The contrast between the olive-oil production in the Shephelah and the hill country is indicated by the difference between TN and 'Ain Shems as well as Tell Beit Mirsim in the number of oil presses.

4. The manufacture of its ubiquitous pottery could hardly have been carried on to any extent at TN if judgment may be based on the recovered remains of pottery wheels and kilns. The wheels, doubtless, would have been made in part of wood, but stone pivots, or stone bases for wooden wheels might be expected and the Hebrew word *'obnayim* (Jer 18. 3) indicates that they were originally at least, and probably usually, of two stones.³⁵ No complete "wheels" of stone of a size to serve a potter were recorded. The best possibilities were large "whorls" of basalt, one perhaps 15 cm., one 12 cm., another 10.5 cm. in diameter. On some the circular marks due to innumerable revolutions are visible. They are too small to serve as bases for shaping a vessel and the large hole also precludes such use. They might, however, have served as bases for a wooden platform of suitable size.³⁶ That all the well-shaped pottery was made on a wheel is not to be assumed. If a modern Rāmallāh woman could make vessels as shapely as those shown on plate 100: 5, there is no reason to suppose that ancient Hebrew women could not do the same. However, the circular horizontal lines on a large proportion of the vessels prove the almost universal use of the wheel.

Three pottery kilns were found, one in the inter-mural area near the first four-room building and two outside the great gate.³⁷ In each case only the lower part of the structure appeared, the dome having so

entirely disappeared that no flues remained. However, the characteristic U shape in those by the gate is unmistakable. They are exactly like kilns found at Megiddo and elsewhere with partly baked pottery in them.³⁸

The kiln found at the southern end of the city differed from the two outside the gate in that it had three transverse partitions running from the outside wall to the central U which, however, was not walled, but seems from the drawing and photographs to have been a depression, perhaps a channel. It would appear that this must have served as a central firebox, and that the side walls served the same purpose as the standing stones in the Tell el-'Ajjûl kiln, while the vessels to be baked were placed in the openings between the side partitions as they were in the arms of the U at Megiddo. No detailed descriptions of the kilns have been preserved.

5. There was a large number of metal instruments which appeared to have served as awls, punches, or drills (pl. 96: 7, 9-11). The pieces so registered were almost equally divided between bronze and iron; some twenty of each. Round rods, long square pieces of metal shaped more or less to a point were found, some with sockets³⁹ some with remains of rivet holes⁴⁰ in the larger end. In one case a small iron "punch," or "awl," had a round handle of bone.⁴¹ A few tools, some five of bronze and eight of iron, were flattened at one end almost to a cutting edge, apparently to serve as chisels.⁴² One small bronze piece (pl. 105: 36) has quite clearly the shape which we should call calipers. One complete arm is preserved, and a fragment of the other at the point where they were hinged. For use with drills, which were probably worked by a small bow, there were many smooth stones of varying sizes in which holes had been worn by the upper end of the drill (pl. 91: 3).

6. One of the most important industrial techniques in any mountain village in Palestine has always

³⁴ See Albright, *AAS* 21-22 (1943), § 9 and note 8, and cf. the large oil press described in § 38; *AS* V, 75 f.

³⁵ Egyptian representations indicate their character. Brown-Driver-Briggs suggests they were so named because of their resemblance to millstones, but no millstones of that sort from Jeremiah's time are known.

³⁶ See pl. 100: 6. On pottery techniques see the Tell Beit Mirsim report in *AAS* 21-22 (1943), chap. IV by Professors Kelso and Thorley, which arrived too late to be used.

³⁷ Figs. 52b and 60, and pl. 100.

³⁸ See C. S. Fisher, *Excavation of Armageddon* (OIC 4), 48 ff.; *MT*, 75-78; *TA* I, 6, pls. 6: 5; 52: 1 (cf. 10, potter's turntable). Cf. Barrois, *Manuel*, 408 f., with a better description of the TA kiln, which differs decidedly from the Megiddo and TN types.

³⁹ AC 14X, x29; R. 416 (AG 18X), x23.

⁴⁰ Q 14, str. ii, x31.

⁴¹ M 0149 (Si 47, AK 24, x1).

⁴² R. 668 (Z 15), x11; Ci 176 (N 17), x18; Ci 370 (AF 18), x119. The thin, narrow top of the last was folded over to make a sort of "eye" as in some needles.

been that of the mason. Yet, if one may judge by the buildings found, it never became a truly skilled trade. In cities such as Samaria and Megiddo, buildings of the Hebrew period show careful and exact stone cutting as well as masonry well laid and carefully coursed. Almost the only well-cut stones found at TN were in the revetment around the gate tower (pl. 72: 3). Not even the gate jambs show true skill and care. Even the best buildings, although some have roughly squared stones at their corners, do not exhibit the alternation of ashlar with rubble which the excellent buildings at Megiddo, such as the

IV. BUSINESS AND COMMERCE

1. The coins found at TN, with one exception, have little bearing upon the history of the ancient city which stood upon it. The one exception is the Athenian bronze coin already discussed above (chap. XIV, ix). If it is an imitation of an Attic coin, it gives no indication of commercial connections with Greece, but merely adds to the extensive evidence already known of the influence of Greece upon Syria and Palestine in the 5th and 4th centuries. The other coins found were almost entirely of eastern mints.

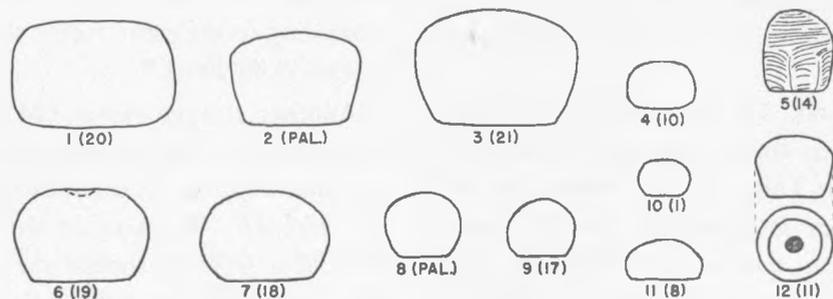


FIG. 69. SHAPES OF WEIGHTS (SCALE 1:2)

“stratum IV B palace” (building 1723) and building 338, display.⁴³ Even the Megiddo stables are more carefully constructed.⁴⁴ No mason marks were discovered at TN. Illustrations of the character of the TN masonry appear on plate after plate and incidental allusions in the text, which are numerous, need not be recapitulated here.⁴⁵

Certain tentative conclusions should, however, be recalled. The two supposedly early defense towers were massively built. The “early gate” was stronger and apparently more easily defensible than the gate which was partially preserved. The great city wall was so poorly constructed, especially as to its foundations, that a long stretch on the north and another on the west seem to have fallen outward due to the pressure of the interior fill.⁴⁶ It is also significant that a period of building in which house walls were of a single stone in thickness appears to have fallen between two periods when double stone walls, often with a rubble filling, were in fashion.

Those of the Ptolemies and Seleucids were struck at Tyre or, in the case of two Seleucid coins, at Antioch. It is possibly significant that the four of the Ptolemies were all Tyrian coins of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (271-240). Whether any of these coins testify to more than a passing occupation of the tell by travelers or soldiers is doubtful in view of the small number found. A partial list will be found in Appendix C (see pl. 102).

2. Numerous small pebbles and pieces of stone have shapes which mark them probably as weights. On three the name of the weight was inscribed; two marked *nešef*, and one marked *pîm*. One very nicely shaped and well-preserved iron weight (no. 17) was found, and another (no. 15) somewhat irregular in shape, is listed as iron ore. The accompanying list includes all found which had the appearance of weights.⁴⁷

One *nešef* weighs only 9.324 gr., while the other reaches 9.935 gr. The lighter one had evidently failed originally to reach the standard by much more, for a small globule of metal had been inserted in its

⁴³ M I, 17-24; 47-59.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 39 ff.

⁴⁵ Some features such as door sockets and door posts, as well as types of masonry, are further illustrated in pl. 101. Cf., among others, pls. 64-74.

⁴⁶ See pl. 67: 2, 3, and fig. 45.

⁴⁷ See pl. 98 and fig. 69 for examples; cf. chap. XIV, iii; pl. 57: 6-8; fig. 38: 9. See Appendix D.

base. Two other pieces which had the shapes of weights had small holes, one in the top (no. 19, M 2846), the other in the bottom (no. 10, Ci 369 x44). In either case or both the blemish might be accidental, but it is in such a position as to render this improbable.

It is remarkable that few of these weights agree with the value usually assigned to the shekel, *ca.* 11.50 gr. No. 1 is too light to be a quarter shekel, no. 2 too heavy. Only one (no. 7) equals approximately a half shekel, or *beqa'*, and none, except a pebble which looks like a burnishing stone and weighed 11.68 gr., fell between 10.50 and 12.10 gr. The weight of the pebble is probably a fortuitous coincidence.

The *pîm* weight (no. 9) is much heavier than others which have been found (average 7.543 gr.). The two *neşef* weights (nos. 11, 12) come close to the average (9.8401 or 10.0668 gr.). No. 1 is not far from the Ashmolean quarter *neşef* (2.54 gr. x 4 = 16.16 gr.). A few of the larger weights (nos. 17, 18, 21), as units or multiples, coincide approximately with discovered weights which bear the supposed shekel mark.⁴⁸ The TN weights give little assistance toward the discovery of a standard system, which, apparently, did not exist.

3. It would be a time-consuming but rewarding project to calculate the capacities of all of the restorable vessels found at TN, for out of a mass of such calculations the Hebrew measures of capacity must eventually be determined. Up to the present it has been possible to do this with but two vessels.

In 1927 the expedition was so fortunate as to find a broken but practically complete *zîr* (M 396, S 357) with all of its four stamped handles. On fig. 70 it is shown as tentatively restored. On pl. 103 is a photograph of the vessel before any restorations were made and as it has been put together. Its largest diameter is 405 mm. Without base and neck it measures 493 mm. in height, as restored *ca.* 700 mm. It should, therefore, have been only a little larger than a four-handled *zîr* found at Tell Beit Mirsim.⁴⁹ No handle bears a complete inscription. Traces of the word

lemelekh appear on three of them. None shows the slightest trace of a name in the lower register. The only conclusion possible is that this stamp bore no place name and, as already noted, this conclusion is borne out by the absence of a place name on other stamps both at TN and elsewhere. The capacity of the restored vessel, determined by Professor Leonard B. Loeb of the Department of Physics in the University of California, to whom hearty thanks are due, was 40.7 liters (fig. 70). If this vessel held a *bath*, that measure was the equivalent of nearly 10.75 American, or 8.95 English gallons. The number of liters in a *bath* according to Benzinger was 36.44. According to the more recent study of Dr. A. Barrois it was 39.38 liters.⁵⁰

Another storage vessel (M 2877, fig. 70) which was complete was calculated by Professor Loeb to contain 204 liters. It can hardly be wrong to consider it a *lethekh*. The size of the *bath*, which is one-fifth of a *lethekh*, should therefore be 40.08 liters. The figure agrees sufficiently with the calculated size of the restored *lemelekh* vessel and differs but little from Dr. Barrois' calculation. The latter was based upon equivalents given by Josephus, who doubtless represented the assimilation of Hebrew metrology to Graeco-Roman, and not mathematical accuracy. The calculation of the capacities of a large number of vessels should eventually clear up the somewhat obscure subject of Hebrew measures of capacity.⁵¹ No one or two vessels can be expected to be so accurately made as to give the theoretically correct figure.

All of the stamped jar handles bearing the *lemelekh* seal came from relatively large vessels, as the thickness of the jar walls (5 to 9 mm.) which still remain attached to many of them testify. One was about 3 mm. in thickness, the majority 5 to 7 mm. However, not all of the handles are of the same shape, length, or thickness and, therefore, it cannot be argued that all of the vessels with the *lemelekh* stamp were of the size of M 396, nor that all were four-handled jars. Other measures, e. g. the *šeah* and the *hin*, may also have been similarly standardized.

⁴⁸ Cf. Barrois in *RB* 41 (1932), 64, 67, 68 (note the typographical error in the *unité théorique* of no. 30, on p. 67) and Galling, *BRL*, s. v., "Gewicht."

⁴⁹ *AAS* 12, pl. 32: 4; this is *ca.* 392 x 600 mm. Nos. 10 and 11, *ibid.*, pl. 52, are also a little smaller.

⁵⁰ *RB* 40 (1931), 212; according to Galling, *BRL* s. v. "Masse," 39. 31 l.

⁵¹ I. Benzinger, *Hebr. Archäol.* (3d ed., 1927), 192-95; Barrois, in art., "La métrologie dans la Bible," *RB* 40 (1931), 198-213. See Albright, *APB*, 123 f.

"*Lemelekh*" might stand for "*šeāh lemelekh*" or for "*hîn lemelekh*" as well as for "*bath lemelekh*."⁵² On the other hand, not all vessels of the same capacity would have been of the same quality and thickness of ware.

In 1937 Tell ed-Duweir disgorged the upper part of a jar bearing on the shoulder clearly incised the legend, *bath lemelekh*. It was found in a house which was burned when the Babylonians captured the city in 597 B. C. Mr. Inge, who makes the report, estimates the jar to have been of the same size as

be taken as giving the actual content of the measure, but that all such jars were accurately measured according to modern standards cannot be assured without further evidence.

The article on Tell ed-Duweir already mentioned, with its addendum by Mr. Inge,⁵⁵ unfortunately does not confirm my optimism as to the possibility of definitely determining the size of the *bath*. Two complete vessels, one stamped *lemelekh Hebron*, the other with a private stamp, contain respectively 45.33 liters and 46.667 liters. They are thus practically the

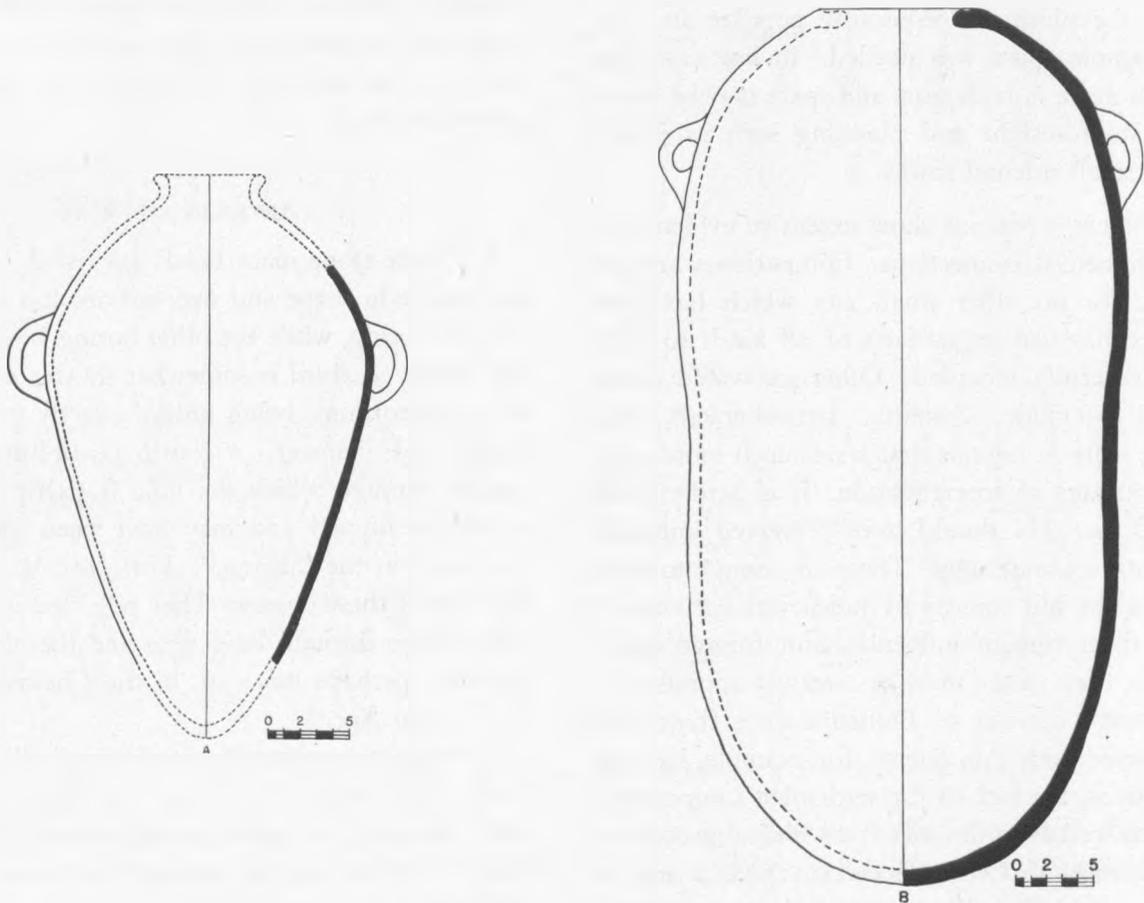


FIG. 70. STORAGE VESSELS

those which bear the handles with the *lemelekh* stamp.⁵³ At Tell Beit Mirsim, Albright found a jar fragment with the letters *b th* upon it. His assumption that they stood for *bath* and indicated a standard measure is thus beautifully confirmed by the Tell ed-Duweir discovery.⁵⁴ The TN jar is probably to

same, but they differ too greatly from the TN vessel and from former estimates for any final conclusion to be possible. The shapes of the Lachish vessels and that from TN are practically the same and no reasonable restoration of the latter would account for five or six more liters. A possible hypothesis is that different standards prevailed at the four standard centers, as they did in Turkish Palestine. It is unfortunate that

⁵² Cf. Inge, *PEQ* 1941, pp. 108 f.

⁵³ *PEQ* 1938, pp. 248 (fig. 2), 253. Many four-handled jars are reported from Tell ed-Duweir, *op. cit.*, 1936, p. 188; now also *op. cit.*, 1941, 106 ff., pl. 9.

⁵⁴ *APB*, 123 f., *AAS* 12, p. 78.

⁵⁵ *PEQ* 1941, pp. 106-09.

the stamps on the TN vessel do not give the name of the center.

4. Such ample provision as at TN for the conduct of business of all kinds "in the gate" has not as yet been found elsewhere in Palestine.⁵⁶ The size of the level space both inside and outside and the seats against the walls are sufficient evidence that extensive activities were anticipated and doubtless eventuated. Wares from neighboring villages or traveling merchants could be displayed for the citizens to see and the citizens could display whatever they had for sale to visitors and to one another. As a border city, possibly the place was especially popular and unusually ample space was needed. In any case, the provision made in both seats and space may be taken to indicate foresight and planning such as is not usual in small oriental towns.

5. The city's remains show extensive evidence of wide commercial connections. Comparisons are not possible, for no other small city which has been excavated has had its artifacts of all kinds so fully and so carefully recorded. Other excavated cities, such as Megiddo, Samaria, Beth-shemesh, and Lachish, were in regions that were much more open to the currents of foreign trade. It is hardly to be expected that TN should have preserved imported objects to the same extent. There are enough to show that even the hill country of Judea was not entirely cut off from foreign influences and foreign trade. However, their extent must be carefully appraised.

The small number of Philistine-ware fragments, as compared with 'Ain Shems, for example, has two explanations, the lack of the settlement's importance in EI ii as well as its distance from Philistine country. The presence of Cypro-Phoenician juglets and of Egyptian scarabs is evidence of outside connections in the succeeding periods. The Syro-Hittite stamp on the neck of a large jar would appear to stand for immigration or importation, but perhaps only for the coming of "Hittite" mercenaries in small numbers. The cylinder seal in T. 54 likewise may represent only an individual. The more numerous scarabs, scaraboids, and seal impressions which betoken foreign artistic tradition stand for external contacts of a more general and more pervasive kind.

The absence of any considerable number of pottery vessels imported from abroad and the small size of those found are significant. It is to be noted that the peculiar squat jars, or bowls, with vertically pierced lug handles, even if they are to be traced to foreign prototypes, are all locally made and point back to LB contacts. Only a very few vessels, all presumably of the EI ii-iii or MI i period, show any considerable ingenuity or originality in shape, and almost none has any but the simplest decoration either plastic or painted. As time goes on, the clay used is finer; baking is more even and thorough. Symmetry improves; the wheel spins faster and ring burnishing becomes even and regular, but attention seems to be centered on production rather than artistic creation.

V. ARTICLES OF WAR

1. Three stone mace heads are listed.⁵⁷ Two are much alike in shape and size, but one has a perfectly straight boring, while the other boring is narrower at the center. A third is somewhat shorter and thicker in its proportions, being indeed exactly the same in height and diameter. A fourth possibility is a flint nodule through which the hole is partly bored but which is chipped and may have been spoiled and discarded in the making.⁵⁸ Little can be said as to the date of these objects. They persisted in much the same shape through long ages and therefore are as possible, perhaps more so, in the Chalcolithic than in the Iron Age.⁵⁹

Very large numbers of round stone balls appear in every Palestinian city which has been excavated. They are usually regarded as slingstones. TN had its share, so many that no attempt was made to count them.⁶⁰

2. Arrow-, javelin-, and spearheads are impossible to distinguish in border-line cases except by an arbi-

⁵⁷ Two similarly shaped pottery objects must have served some other purpose, possibly as spindle whorls, possibly, indeed, as votive offerings. Those of limestone are supposed to have served for ceremonial use.

⁵⁸ (1) Provenience unknown: "Gray-black stone," H. 59 mm., D. 50 mm., Pal. Mus.; (2) M 2682, CR 68, LC Age, limestone, H. 62.5 mm., D. 55 mm., pl. 12: 6, Pal. Mus.; (3) M 2444, AF 19, R. 437, str. i, MI-LI (?), limestone, H. 55 mm., D. 55 mm.; (4) AC 24, debris.

⁵⁹ Cf. Mallon, *Teleilat et-Ghassâl* I, pl. 35; *TF* II, pls. 27: 78; 28: 9; Macalister, *G* II, 370 f.

⁶⁰ See pl. 91: 1.

⁵⁶ See above, chap. XVII, iv, 7.

trary definition on the basis of size. Here no strenuous effort at classification or at complete enumeration has been undertaken for no remarkable discoveries were made. Two flint fragments were found which were regarded as possibly arrow- or spearheads. All the others were either bronze (*ca.* 20) or iron (*ca.* 70).⁶¹ By far the larger number were flat; one small iron arrowhead was quadrangular in section; five of bronze were triangular. None had barbs.

long when found. When cleaned it was 45 mm. long, less than 5 mm. at its greatest width and 1 mm. at its greatest thickness (pl. 104: 12). Another (R. 414, x16), which was a long, slender uneven rhomboid, measured when cleaned 55 mm. in length, *ca.* 7 mm. in width, and 2 mm. in thickness.⁶² These, like all but one of the flat specimens, had long pointed spines for insertion into the wooden shafts. Those which were triangular were short, (L. 30-

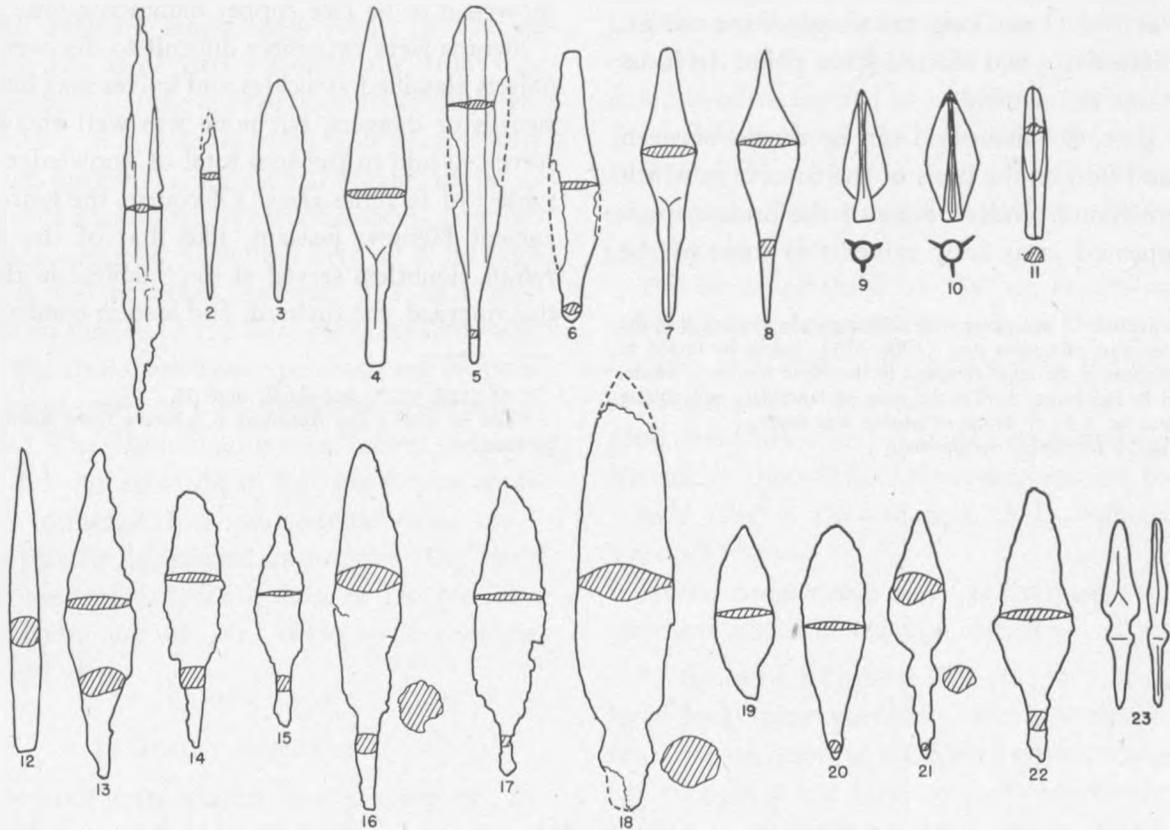


FIG. 71. ARROW- AND SPEARHEADS: 1-11 BRONZE; 12-23 IRON (SCALE 1:2)

As to size and shape the variety is great. Their fragmentary and corroded condition renders classification as well as measurements, so far as they apply to the originals, uncertain. However, as to bronze, the longest found (M 471) reached 105 mm., but was originally longer. It was flat and narrow, at the widest *ca.* 1 cm., and very thin, hardly more than 1 mm., except at the center where apparently a "wire," a very slender rod, of harder material formed a rib which is perhaps 2 mm.+ thick (pl. 104: 20). The smallest (M 900), a slender piece, was 55 mm.

40 mm.) and had a socket into which the haft was inserted.⁶³ One rather large flat specimen (M 655) also was socketed.

The iron arrowheads were nearly all flat and usually pointed ovals, although a few specimens were broad near the tip, and others at the base. In general bronze and iron specimens show much the same varieties of shapes. Since they often resemble leaves, they may be in part most easily described in botanical terms. The largest number of the iron specimens are

⁶¹ This appears to contradict Gallings's statement that the latter are rare in pre-Roman times, *BRL*, 419. Yet some of those found might be of Roman date.

⁶² See pl. 104: 13. Such small arrowheads could only have served for hunting birds or very small animals.

⁶³ In bronze 5 measured 30-40 mm. in length; 4, 40-60 mm.; 5, 60-80 mm.; 5, 80-100 mm.; and 1 reached 105 mm.

plain lanceolate or elliptical, that is long and narrow or somewhat broader, with the greatest breadth near the center. A few are almost linear. Next in number are the oblong-lanceolate or ovate, with the greatest breadth at the base.⁶⁴ The other types are comparatively rare. The bronze specimens are divided more evenly among oblong, lanceolate, oblong-lanceolate, rhomboidal, and triangular, but none may be described as broad. Good rhomboid specimens are wanting in iron.⁶⁵ One in iron (fig. 71: 18) which was over 11 cm. long and weighted over 43 gr. (it was defective), was surely a spear point. Its locus (Si 91) was not datable.

As to date, no distinction can be drawn between bronze and iron on the basis of the context in which they were found. Indeed none of the bronze specimens appeared in as early contexts as some of the

⁶⁴ TN statistics do not agree with Gallings's observation that the latter is the most numerous type (*BRL*, 418), unless he means to say that the first is the most common in the Near East as a whole, the second in Palestine. At TN the ratio of lanceolate and oblong to ovate was *ca.* 5 to 1. None of bronze was ovate.

⁶⁵ See fig. 71 for typical specimens.

iron. One iron specimen (fig. 71: 19) was found in T. 53 which contained materials of mixed date. Only two of iron were found along with Hellenistic materials, both in T. 3, which, like T. 53, is either Israelite or Hellenistic or, more probably, both.⁶⁶

3. One excellent copper dagger was found in 1926 in CT 7 just within the city wall. The limited material found with it gave an EB date for it and an analysis made at the University of California showed it to be free copper hammered into shape.⁶⁷

Swords were extremely difficult to discover. Some objects classified as sickles and knives may have been swords or daggers, but none was well enough preserved to add to the sum total of knowledge on the subject of Israelite arms. Of course, the knife of the ancient Hebrew peasant, like that of the modern *fellāḥ*, doubtless served at the "table," in the field, the vineyard, the orchard, and also in combat.

⁶⁶ M 1226, 1227. See above, note 61.

⁶⁷ See pl. 104: 1 and Appendix E, where a fuller discussion will be found.

CHAPTER XXI

TOILET ARTICLES, JEWELRY, AND OTHER ARTISTIC PRODUCTS

MARGARET HARRISON

THE TOILET articles and jewelry of TN are for the most part characteristic Iron Age products but the later periods are represented. Aside from a few gold earrings and fragmentary iron fibulae, the metal objects are of bronze; the beads are usually of glass or stone, carnelian being popular. T. 32 made a large contribution here as it did with pottery. It will be noted, however, that this tomb contained no fibulae of the later types and no toilet articles. The club-shaped bone pendants are included here although perhaps they should be with objects of magic. The bone spatulas are noted because, although I do not subscribe to their use for the application of cosmetics, I can suggest no other use—they can scarcely be classed as artistic. The dates given for the various loci are those of Dr. McCown for the tombs and of Mr. Wampler for rooms, cisterns, and silos.

I. TOILET ARTICLES

1. Seventeen complete or nearly complete, so-called *kubl* spatulas (15 bronze, 2 glass) were found in various parts of the tell.¹ The bronze specimens vary in length from 130 to 176 mm.; one with the spatulate end broken (M 2790) was probably shorter. The rods are 2 to 3 mm. in diameter thickening slightly at the handle end. The spatulate ends are usually rounded or shovel-shaped, although one forms a wide angle; they vary in width from 3 to 7 mm., and are 5.5 to 11 mm. in length. Five have incised spirals at the head of the spatula. Some of them were bent in such a way that, in conforming to the hand, the spatula was in position for use.

The two of glass, one dark blue (M 1877; L.

135 mm.) and one a greenish-white with the spatulate end broken (M 1878; L. 128 mm.+), have spirally fluted handles tapered to a point. They come from T. 33 (late Roman) which contained the only double *kubl* tube (M 1870) found at TN.² It is of greenish glass and has lost its handles; a black residue in one tube may be *kubl*.

The bronze spatulas at TN are earlier than the glass, coming from loci dating from 750 to 250. At Beth-zur and Gezer³ they were classed as Hellenistic; at Megiddo they were found in str. i-iii, v (1050-1000, 800-350);⁴ and at Idalion in Period 6, Cypro-Archaic II (600-475).⁵ However, one was found in a *kubl* tube in the 4th cent. A. D. tomb at 'Ain Yebrūd.⁶

Several bronze rods with carefully shaped ends⁷ may have served in a similar capacity.

2. Cosmetic spoons of TN (pl. 105: 10-12) suffered badly from corrosion. None is complete but four that are nearly so establish the type, while a fifth has enough of the bowl to show conformity. The bowl is an oval, shaped lengthwise at a wide angle and measuring about a third of the entire length; the handle a slender rod with a knobbed end. Three were found in T. 33 (late Roman) and one each in Ts. 18 and 23 (both Roman?).⁸

¹ Pl. 105: 1; see chap. XI, ii, 2. Cf. G III, pl. CVIII: 7, the TN specimen is more graceful. Those found at other sites seem to have had appliqué decoration.

² BZ, fig. 57; G II, 116, fig. 291.

³ M I, pl. 85: 15-20.

⁴ SCE II, 615, 625, pl. CLXXVI: 19.

⁵ QDAP 6 (1938), pl. VI: 6 a.

⁶ See pl. 105: 8, 9.

⁷ T. 33: M 1875, 1879, x37; T. 18: M 1740; T. 23: M 1686. Similar spoons are found at other sites, cf. the "spatula with folded oval spoon" found in T. 139 at Gezer (G I, 352, III, pl. CII: 11); two "pigment spoons" (one incomplete) found, apparently, in Arabic debris at Samaria (S I, 26 c 15, 16; II, pl. 90: d. 4, 5); one, probably of Roman date, found at Gaza (TA II, pl. XVIII: 262); and one almost exactly like the TN specimens from Grave 44 at Karm esh-Sheikh, Jerusalem (QDAP 1 [1932], pl. IX: 9).

¹ Rs. 534 (2), 431, 497; St. 321; Cis 183, 285; Ts. 33 (2), 53, 64; squares Q 23, AC 13, 16, 17, Dump refill AE-AG 19, 20. See pl. 105: 2-7.

3. Four pairs of tweezers (2 complete, 2 fragmentary) are recorded. Three were made of a single piece of metal bent into position,⁹ the fourth was apparently more carefully made. The three simple examples come from loci dated in the 6th-5th cent.,¹⁰ the fourth specimen comes from T. 64 (x7) to which Dr. McCown has assigned no date. Similar speci-

5. Seven whole and 3 fragmentary cosmetic mortars were found during the excavations¹⁴ and one was picked up in a tomb at the base of the hill by an Arab who turned it over to Dr. McCown (no. 3). They vary in measurements, being 75 to 88 mm. in diameter and 15 to 39 mm. in height; the width of rim runs from 16 to 26 mm. Six have a common

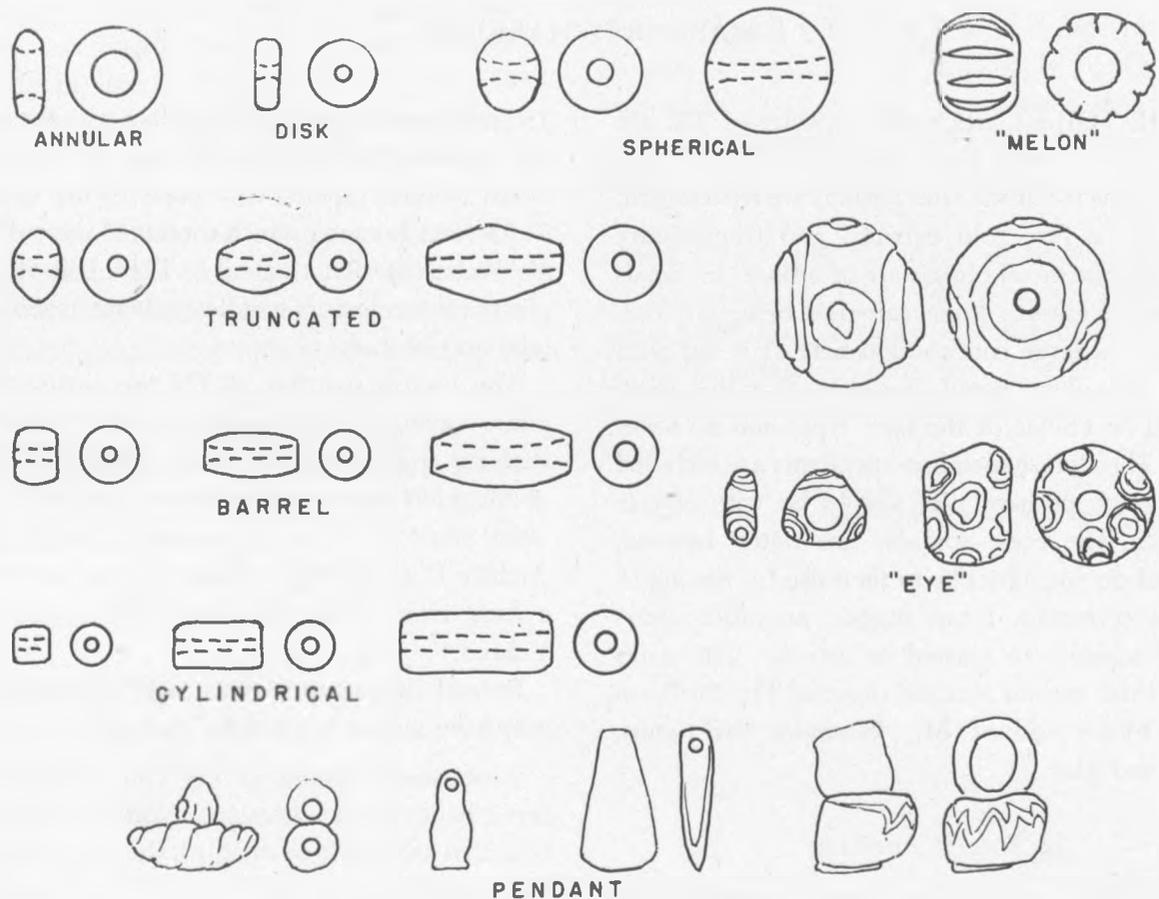


FIG. 72. TYPES OF BEADS (SCALE 1:1)

mens elsewhere were found mainly in Bronze Age contexts.¹¹

4. Apparently only one mirror was found at TN, in the square tower in W 20.¹² It is recorded as a "thin, flat, disk (mirror?), bronze, W. 102 mm." The handle seems to have been a bronze ring instead of the usual tang for the attachment of a bone or ivory handle.¹³

incised geometric design¹⁵ (two of these have double rim handles, one has a single handle), one has the rim divided into six uneven sections by ring and dot incisions;¹⁶ the rest are plain. Seven are marble, the others limestone. One limestone specimen (M 1811; no. 5) is a deep rose red due to a wash of clay and iron oxide. The 7 found in datable structures come from the 7th-6th cent.¹⁷ At other sites the dates run from the 12th to the 4th cent.¹⁸

⁹ See pl. 105: 13, 14.

¹⁰ R. 329, M 1516; R. 515, x30; Ci 304, M 1834.

¹¹ Cf. *M I*, pl. 84: 21, from str. V; *SCE I*, Lapithos, pls. XVI: 26, T. 302 B; XXIV: 6, T. 313 C-D; XXXV: 5, 34, T. 322 A; all Early Cypriote III; and *TA III*, 9, pl. XXIV: 130, 131, 134, from the XVIII and XII-XV dyn.

¹² See chap. XVII, vi; pl. 74: 5. It is in the Palestine Museum.

¹³ Cf. 'Athlît, *QDAP* 2 (1933), pls. XXIII: 551 (T. L 21,

Hellen.), XXVII: 712 (T. 23); Gezer, *G I*, fig. 155; and Gaza, *TA III*, pl. IX: 23.

¹⁴ See pl. 106 and fig. 50: D.

¹⁵ Cf. *G III*, pl. CCXIII: 6; *M I*, pls. 108: 7, 109: 13.

¹⁶ Cf. *G II*, fig. 419; III, pl. CCXIII: 3.

¹⁷ Ci 295, 7th cent.; Rs. 65 and 73, 700-500; Rs. 42, 586, 616, and 640, dated 650-550.

¹⁸ Megiddo, str. i-iii (*M I*, opposite pl. 108); Samaria, 8th

II. JEWELRY

1. About 70 per cent of the 2681 beads found in the course of excavations were available for study. It seems safe to assume that these are characteristic of the whole. A tabulation yielded the following information: the greatest number were glass, 755; the next largest group were carnelian, 512. Some 500 stone beads were examined and identified by Mr. J. B. Cathcart of the University of California.¹⁹ There

"melon" bead was popular in faience and was also represented in glass. Two shapes found in carnelian are not represented in other material, the "ax," a wedge-shaped pendant bead with the perforation through the thick end,²⁰ and the "lotus seed-vessel."²¹ There are 7 of the former and 4 (and a fragment) of the latter in the Palestine Institute.

One other type should be mentioned, the "eye" bead, which probably had apotropaic value. These,

TABLE 7
CLASSIFICATION OF BEADS IN THE PALESTINE INSTITUTE

	cylinder			disk			truncated bicone			spherical		barrel			"melon"	"eye"	misc.	total
	short	medium	long	regular	wafer	annular	short	medium	long	regular	flattened	short	medium	long				
bone				1														1
bronze	1					1											31	33
faience	4	9	5	6			3	2		9	22	1	13	9	32	1	4	120
glass	18	78	17	72		1	24	14	12	37	232	79	29	6	14	9	113	755
carnelian	21	9	4	18		2	165	23	30	14	159	11	5	12			39	512
basalt							2	1		1		1		3	1		3	12
chalcedony	1			6			1	1		3	3		2	1				18
chert		3		2	1		22	7	2	3							1	41
chert, opaline		1		24	3		38	4			3	1						74
claystone	4	7	1	57	3	1	5	7	4	15	38	4	13	8			2	169
dacite						1												1
limestone										3							2	5
marl		1																1
opal							1	1			1							3
pumice											1	1						2
quartz		2					4	1		3	3						1	14
sandstone										1				1				2
serpentine				1							1			2				4
tuff						1				1								2
talc																	1	1
volcanic glass				3						1	140							144
volcanic rock	1						1	2		1		2						7
metallic stone												1						1
stone, unidentified				5			2		1		4						2	14
	50	27	110	195	7	7	268	63	49	92	607	101	62	42	47	10	199	

were also 33 badly corroded bronze beads, and one bone bead.

For the most part the beads fall within five main groups: disk, cylinder, barrel, truncated bicone, and spherical. To define the shapes more closely divisions were made within these groups as will be noted in Table 7 (see fig. 72). The spherical and the truncated bicone were by far the most usual shapes. The

of which there are 10, were found in faience, glass, and stone. Most of them have three "eyes" of the ring and dot variety, the incised ring usually being filled with a contrasting color. A variation of this is a light blue bead almost triangular in shape with "eyes" painted at the angles with a dark blue ring and dot on a white ground. The ring is not incised.

²⁰ Cf. *TA* II, pl. XXV: 102-3, T. 1152, early XVIII dyn.

²¹ See Horace C. Beck, "Classification and Nomenclature of Beads and Pendants," *Archaeologia* 77 (1927), 28 f., fig. 24, group xxvi, family B. 3. d., XVIII dyn.; *TF* II, pl. LXXII: 11, 12, 14, XX dyn.; 24, XIX dyn.

cent. (*Discovery* 13 [1932], 378, this reference taken from *M* I); Gezer, the so-called 4th Semitic period (*G* II, 272 f.); Beth-zur in EI ii context (*BZ*, 60, fig. 53: 5).

¹⁹ See Table 7 and pl. 107.

Another glass head which probably should be included with this group has a number of blue and white "eyes" scattered irregularly over a darker surface, a fine reddish-brown line outlining the white.²² The white spots seem to be inlaid with the blue dots and brown lines applied afterward. Some of the central dots have disappeared and the bead is broken on one side at the core.²³

Half of the total beads found came from T. 32,²⁴ T. 13 had 486, T. 54, 287, while Ts. 33 and 19 had 95 and 74 respectively. Nearly every tomb had a few, while less than 200 came from cisterns, rooms, and other loci on the tell. A check of eight tombs (Nos. 4, 5, 13, 19, 32, 33, 54, 64) showed a preponderance of spherical beads in six, T. 5 had more truncated bicones, and T. 19 more cylindrical beads. Second in number in Ts. 32, 54, and 64 were truncated bicones, in Ts. 5 and 19, spherical, and in T. 33, cylindrical beads. As T. 33 was late Roman and T. 19 had some Byzantine material it seems possible that cylindrical beads were late in achieving popularity at TN. However they were represented by a small percentage in the earlier tombs.

Two possible bead-spacers (M 300, 2269) are of bone, flat rectangular beads, the wide surfaces slightly convex, with two lengthwise perforations. They are decorated with incised rings and dots, M 300 with four rows of five each, M 2269 with two rows of three each.

2. Of the so-called toggle- or eyelet pins there were 44 complete or nearly complete (i. e. showing at least part of the eyelet) and 21 recognizable fragments (pl. 108). These latter do not necessarily represent that number of pins, of course, as it is impossible to tell in their corroded condition whether or not some are parts of the same pin. All are of bronze. Of the 44 all but 8 were found in two early tombs, 27 in T. 32, 9 in T. 54.²⁵ Of the other 8, 3 were found in sub-I levels, while one was from a test trench. The find spots thus bear out the generally accepted fact of an early date for this style of clothing pin, although the TN specimens are dated chiefly

to EI iii which is the end of the period allotted to them by Dr. Henschel-Simon.²⁶

Dr. Henschel-Simon lists TN pins in three classes,²⁷ Type 11, "stake," Type 13, "baluster," and Type 14, "particular shapes" (no. 40 in App. F). This last is referred to as being similar to Type 8 C β , "nail with flat head, ribbed with rhythmical change," a slender pin with a large eyelet and point that is more than half the entire length. It seems to me much more like the "baluster" type, although the beads are definitely compressed. I have listed it as a variation. Of the 44 TN specimens 32 are of the "stake" type. Twenty-three were found in T. 32 and 7 in T. 54. Of the 7 "baluster" examples 2 were found in each of these tombs.²⁸ Both of these types are assigned to Early Iron (Iron I). Possibly they may have been in use in MI i as T. 32 is dated 10th-8th cent. Two "stake" eyelet pins found at Gezer were assigned to the 4th Semitic period.²⁹

A fourth type, no. 3 "without head, plain," may possibly be represented at TN by two specimens from Sub-I loci.³⁰ Dr. Henschel-Simon places the Palestine Museum examples in MB ii, but Mr. Wampler makes 1050 the *terminus a quo* for the loci of the TN eyelet pins. One TN specimen seems to have no parallel in the Palestine Museum. It is a plain squared shaft without a head.³¹ Although the eyelet is broken there is enough remaining to show that it was a diagonal slash through the center of the shaft, spread very slightly toward the center. Petrie records a similar one and describes it rather ambiguously as being of "the latest form of toggle-pin."³²

3. The TN fibulae are of three main types: (I) the one-piece fibula, (II) the two-piece spring fibula,

²⁶ E. Henschel-Simon, "The 'Toggle-pins' in the Palestine Archaeological Museum," *QDAP* 6 (1938), 172.

²⁷ Two minor errors should be noted: the excavation number of Tp. 136 should be 2655 not 2654; Tp. 128 (M 2215) is correctly classified and described in the Catalogue but confused with Tp. 135 in the text, p. 128, and accompanying fig. 12c.

²⁸ "Stake" type: App. F, 1-32; pl. 108: 3-12; "baluster" type: App. F, 33-39; pl. 108: 13-17.

²⁹ *G* III, pl. XC: 9, 10.

³⁰ App. F, 42, 43; pl. 108: 1, 2. See *TA* I, pls. 19: 44, 20: 75; II, pl. 18: 203-4; III, pl. 24: 160; IV, pl. 33: 485-8, 492; *TF* I, pls. 6: 35, 37; 9: 49, 61; II, pl. 44: 41, 56-7. One very like the Tell el-'Ajjul specimen was found at Gerar and dated 700-550 (*Gerar*, pl. 24: 2).

³¹ Sub-R. 414, x13; App. F, no. 44; pl. 108: 18. Mr. Wampler dates the room ca. 1050-900.

³² *TF* I, 15, pl. XLVIII: 552.

²² See fig. 72 ("eye").

²³ See *QDAP* 2 (1933), 52, common in Graeco-Roman period; 4 (1935), pl. XXXIV: 40, 41, Tell Abū Hawam, str. II, late 6th-early 4th cent.

²⁴ See chap. IX, i.

²⁵ See Appendix F and fig. 50: D.

and (III) the two-piece riveted fibula.³³ Of type I, in which the bow, spring, and pin are all in one, there are four fragmentary specimens; type III, in which the ends of the bow and pin were flattened and riveted together, is represented by four bow fragments and a few pins (unlisted). The rest of the 65 specimens fall in type II, a fibula in which the pin and spring are in one piece, the spring being inserted in one end of the bow and pinched in place.

The type I fragments all came from T. 32 (10th-8th cent.) which contained 27 eyelet pins but no fibulae of the later types II and III. Specimens similar to no. 2 (App. G) were found at Cyprus and dated mainly to Cypro-Geometric II (950-850)³⁴ though there were examples in earlier and later periods.³⁵ No. 3 may have been like one from str. iii

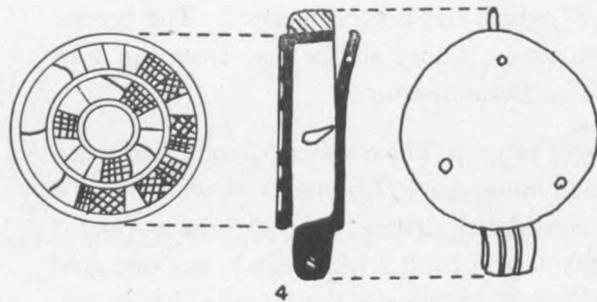
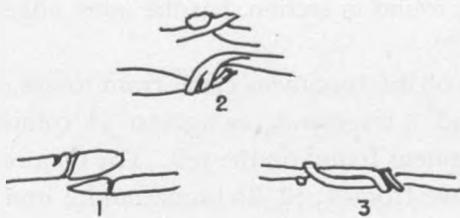


FIG. 73. 1-3 BRACELET CLASPS; 4 BRONZE LOCKET (SCALE 1:1)

at Megiddo (*ca.* 780-650).³⁶ Fibulae of type II, especially the angular ones (D, E), are common at most Iron Age sites. The datable loci for the TN specimens are mainly in the 7th and 6th cent. extending in a few cases into the 5th cent. Of the riveted fibulae (III) two bows came from rooms which Mr. Wampler has dated 600-450, and one from a cistern which he dated 5th-4th cent. This type was found at Megiddo in str. i (600-350).³⁷ As can be seen on fig. 50: D the fibulae were scattered over

the occupied sections of the tell. Very few came from tombs.

4. There is nothing in the records to show how the classification of anklets and bracelets was made.³⁸ To a certain extent it seems to have been governed by diameter and weight, but there are bangles listed as bracelets which are heavier and bigger than some recorded as anklets. Apparently they were found in position in only two cases: two heavy bronze specimens on a leg bone in T. 54, and a glass one high on the upper arm of a skeleton in tomb 18.³⁹ Accepting this original classification the tabulation is: anklets, 52 bronze;⁴⁰ bracelets (complete), 46 bronze, 13 iron, 10 glass; bracelets (fragmentary), 55 bronze, 85 iron, 4 glass. The diameters vary considerably.

³³ Type I: Appendix G, 1-4; pl. 109: 1-4; Type II: App. G, 5-61; pls. 109-111: 5-38; Type III: App. G, 62-65; pl. 111: 39-41.

³⁴ SCE I, Lapithos, T. 408, pl. XLVI: 51a; T. 409, pl. XLVII: 13b, 15; T. 411, pl. XLVIII: 24; T. 425, pl. LV: 19; SCE II, Amathus, T. 8, pl. XIV: 128; T. 23, pl. XXIX: 63.

³⁵ SCE I, Lapithos, T. 406, pl. XLVI: 15a, 16, 17a, 102; T. 603, pl. LVIII: 4 (9), dated to early Cypro-Geometric I (1050-950); SCE II, Amathus, T. 7, pl. IX: 190, T. 11, pl. XVII: 91, dated to Cypro-Geometric III and Cypro-Archaic I (850-600). One found at Tell Abū Hawam is characterized as a "normal Early Iron Age type" (*QDAP* 4 [1935], 26, pl. XXXIII: 119).

³⁶ *M* I, pl. 79: 15.

³⁷ *M* I, pl. 78: 1, 2, 6.

Possibly some of the small ones were not bracelets at all. The measurements of the bronze are inclined to be misleading as some of the small ones have overlapping ends and some are spread wide apart, while with the large ones the ends are usually brought to within a few millimeters of each other. The glass are complete circlets. Minimum and maximum diameters are as follows:

Bracelets		Anklets	
Bronze	30-89 mm.	Bronze	64-110 mm.
Iron	47-69 mm.		
Glass	41.5-77 mm.		

In section they vary from flat to round; from slim bangles 2 or 3 mm. wide and less through, to massive anklets 10 mm. through. In weight they vary from less than half an ounce to nearly half a pound.

³⁸ Pl. 112: 1-16.

³⁹ See pl. 20: 12.

⁴⁰ This includes 3 recorded as copper-bronze.

Simple clasps were formed on two of the bracelets (M 1798, 1800; fig. 73) by bending the ends one over the other. Another, made of twisted bronze wires, and possibly modern, has a "hook and eye" fastening. M 1584 has the ends flattened and spread; M 1801 has knobs slightly angled to a point, possibly a conventionalized flower bud; see also M 1799 (fig. 73).⁴¹ Most of the bronze bracelets are without decoration. Some of the glass ones⁴² have incisions either straight or diagonally across the outer side.⁴³

As was to be expected, most of the bracelets (46 bronze, 11 iron, and the 10 complete glass), and all but five of the anklets, were found in tombs. T. 32, of course, had the greatest number, 8 bronze and 10 iron. Six of the glass bracelets came from tombs tentatively dated in the Roman period (Ts. 18 and 23), three came from T. 6 (Hellen.-Byz.), and one from T. 27 which has not been dated. The bronze came from tombs dating all the way from the 10th cent. B. C. to Byzantine times.

5. Finger rings at TN number 57 complete specimens beside innumerable fragments of which only 8 are here considered. There were 45 bronze (and 5 fragments), 9 iron (and 2 fragments), and one gold (M 0151 from CT 6, now in the Palestine Museum). The others did not have the material recorded. The most common type is the flat band with the ends just meeting or tapered for a close overlap. These run from 1.5 to 9 mm. in width. Some are simple coiled bands. The diameters range from 15 to 24 mm. with the majority falling between 18 and 23 mm.

One flat band (M 833, Ci 193) has two incised lines suggesting a three-strand ring, the ends tapering, then broadening to form what may be conventionalized serpent heads. M 2242 (T. 32) has a single incised line coming to an end as the ring widens to a flat oval. Three, two complete bronze

(M 325, 1521) and one iron fragment (M 1891), were shaped like seal rings. The seal surface of M 325 is so corroded that it is impossible to tell what, if any, design there was. The decoration of M 1521 consists of an arrangement of the ring and dot design. From T. 13 (x42) came a half ring with an almost round disk, or seal, with a deeply cut conventional spray design. A slender iron ring (M 890) has a knob which might have been the setting for a stone, but is too badly corroded for definite determination. A fragment of a bronze ring from T. 32 has a shaped knob, possibly it is an earring not a finger ring. M 1897 (2 fragments from T. 33) is of slender wire the ends fastened by twisting in hook and eye fashion. M 268 is a thin, narrow band, slightly fluted outside, with the ends widening in a sort of diamond shape. The ends are spread now but probably originally came together. M 970, a small irregular ring, round in section, has the outer edge slightly notched.⁴⁴

Most of the specimens came from tombs, 44 complete and 7 fragments, as against 13 complete and one fragment found on the tell. The majority of the rings came from T. 32, 25 bronze and 2 iron, besides 5 fragments. The others came from tombs 3, 6, 30, 33, 53, and 54, and CT 6. Ci 193 and 370 each had one, and the others were scattered over the tell.

6. Of a total of 81 complete or nearly complete earrings (besides a quantity of fragmentary ones) found at TN, there were available for study 51 complete specimens. Because of the simplicity of the basic design the fragments were not considered. Of the 51, 30 are of bronze, 16 of silver, and 5 of gold. They are chiefly of the common single loop type, one end slender and sometimes pointed to facilitate insertion in the ear, the other end thickened in a sort of crescent.⁴⁵ Very few show any fastening, they seem to have been held in place by the overlapping of the ends. The loop varies in shape, in a few the thickened part seems to have been worn at the front of the ear lobe, but on most it seems to have come over the edge of the lobe or to have dropped away pendant

⁴¹ A flat, decorated band was found in T. 4, see *Tombs*, pl. XII (M 1169).

⁴² Two specimens examined by Professor George D. Louderback of the University of California were identified as artificial glass, "the surface of the rings matte and not glassy lustered probably chiefly from the effects of time." One now in Kansas City is described as being made of "coiled small strands" of a "dark, brownish purple"; those in the Institute are a dull black. See pl. 112: 11-16.

⁴³ Cf., among others, the plain and fluted bracelets from the el-Bašsch tomb of ca. 396 A. D. (*QDAP* 3 [1934], pl. XXIV); one from a 4th-5th cent. tomb at ej-Jish (*QDAP* 8, pl. XXXII:

2e); and those from the cemetery at Karm esh-Sheikh (*QDAP* 1, pls. VI and XII).

⁴⁴ *SCE* II, pl. LV: 38, Marion, T. 41.

⁴⁵ Examples are found at many sites. Cf. *M* I, pl. 86: 16, 37; *Gerar*, pl. XX: 40-44, 46, 47; *TA* II, pl. XVIII: 251; *TF* I, pls. XXXIII, XXXVI, XLII: 309, 332; *TF* II, pls. L: 83, 84; *LI* See pl. 112: 18-28.

fashion. A few have a little decorative knob at the lower point (pl. 112: 23).⁴⁶

Of the five gold specimens only one (M 1731) is not a single loop. It has the lower edge split into two thin bands giving a double ring effect. A tiny ring (M 2652) of pale gold has no fastening; two are fastened with a loop and hook (M 2349, 1731), and two (M 1687) found together in a burial in T. 23 were safely fastened with the piercing end twisted tightly twice around the fastening loop.⁴⁷ The silver earrings are all very small and dainty. All are plain with the exception of one (M 2653) which has a knob on the lower edge of the crescent.

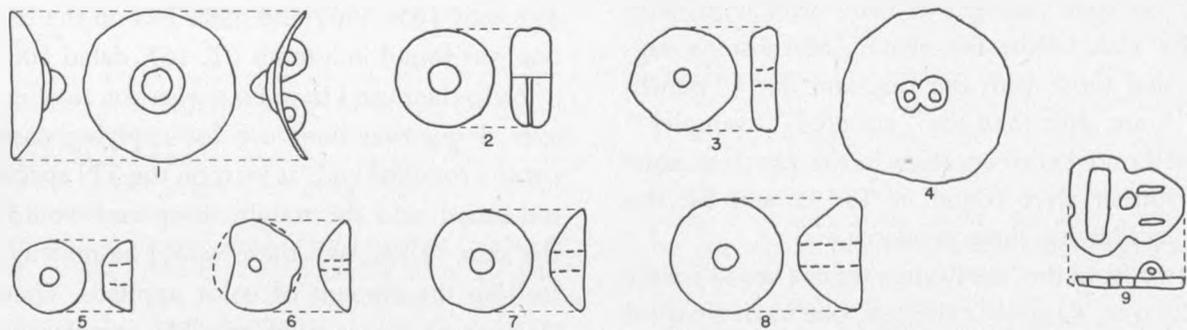


FIG. 74. 1-8 BUTTONS: 1 BRONZE; 2 SHELL; 3,4 POTTERY; 5-8 BASALT. 9 BRONZE BUCKLE. (SCALE 1:2)

One find of especial interest (M 865, Ci 220) was a cluster of 7 bronze rings suspended from a eighth. The rings, which are circular or elliptical in shape vary in diameter from 15 to 19 mm., the crescent taking about a third of the circumference and the rest of the ring being very slender.

Of the 81 complete earrings recorded all but 9 were found in tombs.⁴⁸ Five were found on the tell, one in a room, one in a cistern, and 2 in the dump. Most of the fragments recorded were also found in tombs, although some were found on the tell.

7. The south burial of T. 23 (Rom. ?) yielded an interesting bronze locket (M 1688; fig. 73: 4) with green and red inlay. Unfortunately it is not available for study.

8. Two bronze pendant crosses were found in the Byzantine tomb, no. 13. The larger one (x38; pl. 111: 43) is 38 mm. (+ 8 mm. suspension loop) long

and 31 mm. wide through the arms which widen slightly at the tips. At the center is a setting (D. 6.5 mm.) from which the stone has disappeared.⁴⁹ The second, M 1581, is 19 mm. (+ 6 mm. loop) long and 15 mm. wide. The decoration consists of a raised ring with depressed center at the end of each arm and in the center.⁵⁰

Apparently in association with the second cross were 12 circular or oval pendants and one with a notched edge suggesting a conventionalized hand (pl. 111: 45). Probably these are part of a necklace, as suggested by the recorder, although they may be earrings as similar objects at Tarshihā have been so

identified.⁵¹ It seems that there would have been some indication as to the method of attachment if they were worn as earrings.

III. MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS

1. One bronze button (M 2450; pl. 105: 21) was recorded as found in AG 20; one of clay in Ci 369; and one of shell in Ci 370. Several stone objects were recorded as "whorls or buttons," but while their use as whorls is doubtful, I fail to see how they could be used more successfully as buttons.⁵²

2. Three bronze buckles were found. One (M 1585, T. 13; pl. 105: 20) is very modern looking with a loosely attached tongue. One very like it was found in Hellenistic debris at Samaria.⁵³ It is not clear how the other two (T. 13, x36; T. 11, M 1548) were

⁴⁶ Cf. M I, pl. 86: 21; TF I, pl. XLII: 310; TA II, pl. XVIII: 243.

⁴⁷ Pl. 112: 18-22. Cf. QDAP 1 (1932), pls. VII: 2, 7, 10 (2, 3); XIII: 7, 8; XIV: 7; VI: 7.

⁴⁸ Ts. 3 (10), 5 (7), 22 (1), 23 (2), 26 (1), 27 (4), 32 (30), 49 (1), 53 (3), 54 (13).

⁴⁹ Cf. Gezar, T. 40, "early Christian period," G III, pl. LXXVIII: 25.

⁵⁰ Pl. 111: 44. Cf. cross from Tarshihā tomb, dated late 4th cent., QDAP 3 (1934), pl. VIII: 5.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pl. VIII: 6, p. 15, no. 5.

⁵² See fig. 74.

⁵³ S I, 357, fig. 229: 2b.

fastened (see fig. 74 and pl. 105: 19). The shape of M 1548 suggests a snake.⁵⁴

3. Of the 12 complete and 4 nearly complete bone pendants found, 12 are club-shaped, one is sharpened to a point, one is cylindrical, and 2 are flattened cylinders. The lengths vary from 47 to 71 mm. Three are decorated with incised ring and dot design, 6 with incised lines in groups and with crossed diagonals, the rest are unornamented (pl. 112: 29-36). Eight came from tombs, T. 32 (4), T. 54 (2), T. 33 (2); 3 were found in cisterns (Cis 302, 306A, 370; 8th-6th cent.); one in a silo; 4 in rooms (Rs. 390, 394, 436, 438; 650-550 B. C.). All except the two from T. 33 have parallels at many sites with dates from the 12th to the 6th cent.⁵⁵ Macalister's suggestion that those with the ring and dot ("punch-marks") are later than the "collared" examples⁵⁶ may find limited corroboration in the fact that none of the former were found in Ts. 32 and 54, the earliest loci having these pendants.

The two from the late Roman tomb (no. 33) were badly decayed, flattened cylinders, one having carved extensions on each side of the suspension hole. Both have corroded bronze rings in place in the holes. These, even more than the others, suggest a value

beyond mere decoration, although their shape is not so obviously symbolic of strength.

4. As at other sites bone spatulas were numerous though a large proportion were fragmentary. They vary in length from 53 to 118 mm.; in width they run from 17 to 40 mm. with a majority between 22 and 27 mm. The angles range from 17° to 90° with an angle of 50 to 60 degrees common. Most of them are polished, or at least smoothed, though a few have one rough side. Some are a mottled brown but a large proportion are of a whitish-yellow color. More than half of them were found in cisterns (dating for the most part between 700 and 550 or 500), the rest in rooms (650-550) and other loci on the tell. Only one was found in a tomb (T. 167, dated 500-400).⁵⁷

As to their use I have no suggestion to offer. However, I question their use for applying cosmetics,⁵⁸ for the rounded end, at least on the TN specimens, is too broad, and the rough, sharp end would scratch the skin. Then, too, there would be no way of controlling the amount of color applied. There is no staining at the ends of the TN spatulas as would almost certainly be the case if they had been so used. It seems to me that the bronze spatulas would be far more satisfactory.⁵⁹

⁵⁴ See chap. XIX, note 59.

⁵⁵ Cf. *M I*, pl. 97: 1-34, and see references to other sites on page opposite plate. At Beth-zur two are classed as EI ii or earlier (*BZ* 65, fig. 61). One was found in str. ii (late 6th-early 4th cent.) at Tell Abū Hawam (*QDAP* 4 [1935], pl. XXXII: 32).

⁵⁶ *G II*, 452; III, pl. CCXXVI: 35, 41-56, 61, 62.

⁵⁷ At Beth-zur they were found in a Hellenistic context; at Megiddo in str. i-iv; at Gezer from the 2d Semitic period on.

⁵⁸ See *M I*, note opposite pl. 95; *BZ* 62 f. For other suggestions as to their probable use see *Gerar*, 17; *G II*, 274; *S I*, 372.

⁵⁹ For types of bone spatulas see pl. 105: 26-32.

APPENDIX A

LIST OF POSSIBLE CULT OBJECTS

1. Astarte heads with molded faces; see pl. 85 where all are shown except a fragment found in AK 21.

2. Pinched-faced heads:

(1) with headdress; see pl. 86: 1-9; four others, damaged;

(2) without hair or headdress; pl. 86: 10, 11, 23(?). Seventeen other specimens differing only in minor details were found.

3. Human torsos, pedestal bases; pl. 86: 12-22; 87: 2. Two complete and 39 fragmentary specimens, fairly whole but for the missing head, 29 of chest only. Some of the last might, hypothetically, have had molded limbs. That on pl. 87: 2 is the largest. All except two were probably smaller than that shown on pl. 86: 14. One (pl. 86: 16) is 90 mm. high as it stands and a breast fragment (pl. 86: 19) measures 75 mm. The first was probably about the height of the one on pl. 87: 2. If the second were in the same proportion as the complete specimen, it should have stood over 20 cm. high.

Three, of which two are shown, had the left arm raised, but its posture is uncertain, since only a stump remains. In one (not shown on plate) the fragment leaves the matter in doubt. In one (pl. 86: 13) both arms may have been raised. There can be little question as to the third (pl. 86: 12). The upraised right arm is frequent in similar material. Figures with both arms raised are less frequent. Figures with the left arm raised have not been discovered in the limited material consulted (see Valentin Müller, *Frühe Plastik in Griechenland und Vorderasien*, Augsburg, 1929, pls. 12: 228; 16: 250, 254; 17: 257; 23: 292; *et al.*; W. F. Albright in *Mélanges Dussaud I*, 107-120; *AS IV*, pl. LI; *B-S II*, i, pl. XLV A: 5; *S II*, pl. 75: e, f; *May, Material Remains*, pls. XXIII-XXVI; *G II*, 417, fig. 502; *III*, pl. CCXXI; *Gerar*, pls. XXXV, XXXVI; *APEF 2*, pl. XLII; 4, figs. 197, 198) unless (possibly) *May, Material Remains*, pl. 27: M 810, represents such a posture.

4. Fifteen base fragments were too imperfect to permit further classification. Some may have belonged to the breast fragments.

5. Animal figurines; no attempt at realistic accuracy.

(1) With riders:

(a) Slender figures riding high on the neck of the mount, body, legs, and hands merging into the animal, which is also slender with long neck, a long broad muzzle and a stubby tail; 10 specimens, see pl. 88: 1, 2, 4, 6.

(b) Torso of animal with broad flat body, drooping tail, fragmentary remains of riders; 8 specimens, see pls. 88: 5, 87: 1.

(c) Fragments of riders; arms and legs missing; 12 specimens, see pl. 88: 3.

(2) Animal bodies, none even fairly complete; 92 specimens, of which 19 are legs, many bodies broad and flat (pl. 88: 7), others slender. One (pl. 88: 9, cf. 20) may represent a *seluki*, the Near Eastern ancestor of the greyhound, since it has a long slender muzzle and body (see Starkey in *PEQ* 1937, p. 233; McCown, *Ladder of Progress in Palestine*, New York: Harper, 1943, p. 136). Others are more like a terrier or an Airedale (cf. pl. 88: 6, 15, 16, 17, 22, 23). The greater part cannot be identified.

(3) Animal heads; 60 specimens, pls. 88: 15-33, 89: 23. Difficult to identify except no. 29, which has distinctly marked ram's horns and no. 31, marked by its trappings as equine. Some might have been grotesques, e. g. the goat's head (no. 27), which had a large projection on each side of the muzzle. The face in pl. 89: 23, which is part of a handle, is in a different class from the other examples on pls. 88 and 89. The side view of no. 32, even more than the front view, gives the impression that a bear was intended.

6. Animal heads and spouts and zoöomorphic vessels, pls. 87: 1, 89: 1-20. Many heads may come from zoöomorphic vessels, since a break at the neck allows no conclusion as to attachment. Aside from the horse (pl. 87: 1) some ten vessels are listed as probably theriomorphic, but identification as such is difficult, since some may have been made hollow but not intended for vessels. The two shown (nos. 19, 20) both have only a small round hole in the middle of the back (note left end in no. 19), and both, especially no. 20, are too small to hold any quantity of liquid. The horse (pl. 87: 1) likewise seems hardly intended as a receptacle. Only one (Ci 176, x119) is clearly such. Of 30 spout heads, 11 appear to be equine. None suggests a camel. Some fragments listed as spout heads are too fragmentary for certain classification as such.

7. Bird figurines (pl. 90: 1-9); 14 specimens listed as such, of which 6 are heads only. Of 9 bodies at least 6 have pedestal bases, i. e. no legs. For a bird amulet in faience see pl. 55: 79; for "swan jars," chap. IX, viii.

8. Serpents; only two specimens found, pl. 90: 10, 11. For bronze serpent as buckle see pl. 105: 19.

9. Rattles; pl. 90: 12-14; 13 specimens, all fragmentary except no. 12, which had been broken.

10. Disks, round and oval; 16 specimens, pl. 90: 15-21.

The dates given in the description of the plates are those of the loci as determined by Mr. Wampler. In all cases they are tentative and approximate.

APPENDIX B

REPORT ON IRON OBJECT

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Head, Division of Electrochemistry, Columbia University

Introduction. The small figurine was submitted to us by Dr. C. C. McCown, Director of the Palestine Institute of the Pacific School of Religion at Berkeley, California. Quoting from Dr. McCown's letter: "The object is evidently of gilded iron, apparently a figurine of some kind. It is extremely irregular and badly rusted. The gilt, of which only a little remains, adheres on some parts by the edges of the preserved flakes. On other portions it seems to be covered by clay and lime incrustation."

As to the origin of the figurine Dr. McCown writes: "It was found in a tomb in which the objects are all of Byzantine times, probably about 400 A. D. There were bronze crosses and crosses on the lamps."

Approach. In the case of objects made of the base metals such as iron, corrosion is rapid and very irregular. This applies in particular to those very locations where noble metal objects corrode very slowly, even over a period of centuries. The iron articles submitted to us heretofore have usually been in a very bad state of decay and decomposition and on that account have required special methods of approach.

The figurine submitted to us belongs to this class of "bad state of decay and decomposition." Accordingly, preliminary experiments carried out on similar badly disintegrated iron articles convinced us that the reduction of the oxide or rust back to metal using gaseous hydrogen as reducing agent was the only available practical method.

Before submitting the figurine to this reducing treatment by hydrogen it was weighed (40.417 grams) "as such," without attempting to eliminate the imbedded clay and other soil particles for fear of injuring the very brittle figurine.

The over-all length of the figurine before hydrogen treatment was 75 mm.

Procedure. The figurine was placed in a shallow elongated iron crucible partly filled with powdered magnesium oxide. The figurine was imbedded in this oxide (melting point

2200° Centigrade) in such a way as to avoid intimate contact between figurine and crucible. Furthermore the magnesium oxide powder served as a protection against "granulation" which usually occurs when rusted iron objects are hydrogen reduced without the protection of packing material.

The crucible was carefully inserted into a cold quartz tube electric resistor furnace and after displacing the air in the tube with hydrogen the switch was closed and the tube gradually heated. The heat must be applied very slowly in order to avoid "steam explosions" and consequent breaking up of the object due to moisture chemically and/or mechanically held within the body of the object.

The figurine was treated in hydrogen for a total of 24 hours, the maximum furnace temperature being 890° Centigrade.

Results. After reduction in hydrogen the figurine weighed 27.723 grams and was in three more or less well defined parts. The loss in weight ($40.417 - 27.723 = 12.694$ grams) corresponds very closely to the original assumption that the object was composed primarily of iron oxide, Fe_2O_3 . Upon reducing this oxide to iron metal the loss in weight is close to 30%. And 30% of 40.417 is 12.125 grams. The excess loss that we found may be attributed to the presence of hydrated iron oxides.

As was to be expected the badly and irregularly corroded iron did not reveal the true original shape of the figurine after reduction. The gold leaf particles deeply imbedded in the iron after reduction are proof of the fact that corrosion products passed outside of the applied gold leaf during the centuries the figurine lay in the tomb 13 (x59). Another factor to be borne in mind is that during the process of corrosion the iron oxides lifted the gold leaf out of place and carried it along so that any attempt that might be made to remove the iron on the outside of the gold leaf would be futile as it would not reveal the true original shape and outline of the figurine.

APPENDIX C

PARTIAL LIST OF COINS

Among the coins found, all of which were copper except no. 6, were those listed below. I am greatly in debt to Dr. A. R. Bellinger for assistance in identifying the coins listed. Since he had only photographs and some specimens are in Palestine, final decisions were not always possible.

1. Types of Athenian coin: worn, chisel marks; Athena head with helmet r.; rev.: owl r., head facing, unusually erect; to r. *alpha, theta*; to l., olive spray, crescent close to neck of owl. 25 mm. R. 324 (AA 24 I), M 1497 (Pal. Mus.). Dr. Bellinger thinks it possibly a plated imitation of the Attic tetradrachm of the 5th or 4th cent. The chisel marks were made to test its genuineness. Cf. Brit. Mus., *Cat. of Greek Coins, Attica* (1888), pl. 4: 1, 2.
2. Ptolemy II Philadelphus: struck at Cyprus between 285 and 266; countermarked at r. of eagle's legs with imperfect trident probably by Antigonus Gonatas of Macedon. 25-26 mm. Surface R. 101 (X 23), M 598.
3. Ptolemy II Philadelphus: struck at Tyre between 271 and 240. 24 mm. T. 15, M 1611 (Pal. Mus.).
4. Ptolemy II Philadelphus: struck at Tyre between 271 and 240. 19 mm. R. 324 (AA 24 I), M 1498.
5. Ptolemy II Philadelphus: struck at Tyre between 271 and 240. 20 mm. AE 19 X, M 2536 (near surface).
6. Types of Seleucid silver struck at Tyre (e. g. Brit. Mus., *Cat. of Greek Coins, Seleucid Kings of Syria*, Pl. 21: 1, 2; cf. p. 76). Silver, 2d cent. B. C. 21 mm. An unusual type; date illegible on photo, possibly Demetrius II, 130-125 B. C. See E. Rogers, *The Second and Third Seleucid Coinage of Tyre: Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. 34, pp. 26-28, Nos. 94-120. Sub-R. 271 in revetment (S 23), M 1844 (Pal. Mus.).
7. Antiochus III: struck at Antioch between 223 and 200. 10 mm. Ci 183 (P 18), x6.
8. Antiochus IV: struck at Antioch between 175 and 164. (Similar to Brit. Mus., *Cat. of Greek Coins, Seleucid Kings of Syria*, p. 38, no. 41; pl. 12: 10, but not identical with published types.) 13-14 mm. R. 122 (N 16), M 658.
9. John Hyrcanus (?): types and inscription like Brit. Mus., *Cat. of Greek Coins, Palestine*, p. 192, no. 31, but different style of characters. 13-14 mm. W. Cem. N. of T. 35, M 2370.
10. John Hyrcanus (?): same types; badly worn. 12-14 mm. (oval). T. 9 (N. Cem.), M 1610.
11. John Hyrcanus, Judas Aristobulos, or Alexander Janneus: same types; badly worn. 12-13 mm. T. 30, x3.
12. Alexander Janneus: *ibid.*, 207, no. 64. 14-15 mm. X 13, I, M 1541.
13. Alexander Janneus: Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, p. 98, no. 7. 13-15 mm. W. Cem. debris, M 1676.
14. Herod Archelaus: Brit. Mus., *op. cit.*, pp. 233 f., nos. 27-36. 14 mm. T. 4, M 1181.
15. Procurator, 5-11 A. D.: cf. *ibid.*, pp. 248 ff. 16-19 mm. Debris AH 19, M 594.
16. Procurator, reign of Tiberius: cf. *ibid.*, 259, no. 70. 13-14 mm. Debris AH 19, M 594.
17. Procurator under Nero and Britannicus Caesar in 54 A. D.: *ibid.*, pp. 264, no. 26. 16 mm. R. 123 (P 15 I), M 656.
18. Sestertius of Trebonianus Gallus: struck at Rome between 251 and 254 A. D. 28 mm. Surface, M 591.
19. Flavius Victor (383-388 A. D.): stray coin from a western mint. 13 mm. AB 23 X, I, M 1820.
20. Theodosius I: uncertain mint, struck between 379 and 384 A. D. 13 mm. Z 25, I, M 1461.
21. Follis of Anastasius I: struck at Constantinople, 491-518 A. D. 35 mm. T. 11, M 1549.

APPENDIX D

LIST OF WEIGHTS

No.	Grams	Provenience	M. No.	Size in mm.	Material
1.	2.62	Ci 260 x37	1076	H. 10; D. 14	black stone
2.	3.71	R. 440 x42		19x7x6	brown stone
3.	3.75	R. 47 x5	238	D. 16	brown pebble
4.	3.95	AH 20	358		red pebble
5.	4.73	unknown			hematite
6.	4.76	T. 32 x740	2298		black (seal?)
7.	6.58	Q 16 x14	682		limestone
8.	7.65	Ci 128 x1	208	D. 21	black and white marble
9.	8.591	AK 21X x6	223	D. 19	red limestone; inscribed
10.	9.32	Ci 369 x44			black stone (plug lost)
11.	9.324	R. 475 x23	2512	H. 16; W. 20	limestone with metal plug; inscribed
12.	9.935	Ci 370 x121	2552	H. 17; W. 20	limestone; inscribed
13.	10.50	R. 568 x24		D. 23	gray stone
14.	12.10	AJ 24 x1	173	H. 19	black and white glass
15.	13.30	R. 528 x11		20x20x16	iron ore
16.	13.30	AH 19X x2	417	D. 21	reddish stone
17.	22.55	V 13X	1537		iron
18.	45.70	R. 48 x1	218	D. 34	limestone
19.	48.42	Bin 366 x12	2846	H. 24, D. 35	limestone (plug lost)
20.	81.05	AG 17 x7		H. 28, D. 40	marble
21.	89.06	Ci 159 x39	478	D. 42	limestone
22.	162.20	Si 92 x9	183	D. 59	limestone

APPENDIX E

A BRONZE DAGGER

FRANK H. PROBERT

Late Dean, College of Mining, University of California

Dr. William F. Badè, returning from an expedition to Palestine, brought to me a dagger found with many other significant relics in the fertile land near Jerusalem. Thinking it might offer a clue to the arts and activities of man in the dim past, he asked that it be analyzed and a statement made based upon findings of fact.

The weapon, of which the blade alone remains, is 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches (26.2 cm.) long, one inch (2.7 cm.) wide at the handle tapering to a sharp point. It is $\frac{3}{16}$ inch (4 mm.) thick in the middle fading to a double keen edge. It weighs 3.98 oz. (Avoir.) or 112.8 grams. Long years have tarnished and corroded the metal: it is a bronze green color, coated all over with a thin skin of copper oxides and carbonates.

My first impression on looking at the dagger was that the art of fashioning implements of war was well advanced at the time the weapon was made (3000-2500 B. C. is the date tentatively assigned by Dr. Badè). The handle has gone but I was struck by the fact that the blade was tightly attached to the handle by four rivets, arranged in rectangular fashion, spaced $\frac{3}{8}$ and $\frac{3}{16}$ inches apart in the two directions, indicating knowledge of the strains to which the dagger would be subjected when used in combat. Moreover the rivets are roughly square in cross section, not round, thereby giving added rigidity. To say that such placement of the metal pegs fastening handle to blade was fortuitous even though we have but the one specimen, is to beg the question and deny the facts. I claim that it was deliberate and was based on experience, but whether empirical or scientific I cannot say. Between the rivets there is a spongy incrustation, evidently the remnant of the handle. Qualitative chemical tests gave a strong phosphorous reaction suggesting either bone or horn as original substance.

The chemical analyses were made by Mr. C. G. Maier and Mr. C. T. Anderson of the research experiment station of the U. S. Bureau of Mines at Berkeley. The blade was carefully drilled at four points equally spaced along the rib, the drillings being mixed together for the sample to be analyzed. I present the full report of Mr. Maier.

United States
Department of Commerce
Bureau of Mines

August 15, 1930

Memo. for Dean Probert:

Subject: Archaeological Dagger

A complete series of qualitative tests, and such quantitative determinations as were possible upon the limited samples which could be taken from the dagger which you recently requested me to analyze without damage to one side of the same, have been made. It was possible to obtain two samples, one of about $\frac{1}{2}$ gm. from the pegs and the other of approximately 2 gms. from the drillings.

The results of the analyses are as follows:

	Drillings	Pegs
Cu	97.2	97.8
Sb	.14	.14
Fe	.83	
Insoluble	.05	
Oxygen	.04	
Sn	Not detectable	
Pb	"	
Zn	"	
Ag	"	
Au	Trace	

You will note from the above that the total sums up to slightly over 98%, leaving not quite 2% unaccounted for. It was possible to secure double determinations upon the copper, which checked very well. A complete series of qualitative tests failed to show the presence of other heavy metals in the copper. One is therefore forced to conclude that the remainder consists of non-metallic materials of some sort.

Tests were made for phosphorous upon the incrustated material between the pegs, and upon the clean material from the drillings.

The incrustated material between the pegs showed a strong test for phosphorous, indicating that the handle was originally of bone or horn. Of the other non-metallic elements possible in the metal itself, I am strongly inclined to suspect the presence of carbon, which in this scheme of analysis would disappear completely as a gas. The high iron trend of the metal indicates contamination other than the materials which would normally be expected to be present in native copper. This, combined with the fact that a casual microscopic examination of the metal seemed to indicate a fair number of minute inclusions, leads one to suspect that iron and probably carbon are dispersed throughout the metal and were present as a mechanical contaminant. It is probable that the hardness obtained was secured by the combination of cold work and the dispersion hardening by iron or other included materials.

To check up upon this supposition would involve taking so large a sample of the specimen as to practically destroy it, and this hardly seems justifiable. If a number of specimens of identical antiquity could be examined, interesting data might be obtained concerning the possibilities that the ancients were at least empirically cognizant of the possibilities of dispersion hardening and hardening by cold working.

One factor of interest was noted in the microscopic examination. Upon scraping off the green hydrated coating, there appeared first a layer of black cupric oxide, and further, beneath this and contiguous to the copper itself, a layer of red cuprous oxide. Inasmuch as the hydrolytic oxidation of copper would lead entirely to hydrated forms of oxide, and in view of the sequence of these layers, one may conclude with considerable certainty that at some period remote from the present this dagger was subjected to the action of fire. Cuprous oxide is itself not stable when copper is oxidized at ordinary temperatures, but is formed as an intermediate coating by the oxidation of copper at red heat or beyond.

(Signed) CHAS. G. MAIER.

Two questions immediately confront us in any investigation of this sort. Are we dealing with native, melted or smelted metal? How were the desired physical properties imparted to the metal? Chemical and metallographic studies

guide our groping to the solution of the riddle, which however will probably always remain enigmatical. Many archaeologists, and not a few metallurgists have written learnedly on the early use of metals and the development of so-called metal-cultural periods. The few elemental metals that occur as such in nature are fairly resistant to change: they have properties that appeal to our primitive aesthetic instincts which being excited may soon lead to utilitarian adaptation. Gold and copper are the most common: they have distinctive attractive color, are soft and can therefore be readily shaped into any desired form by most simple processes, they do not tarnish. Indeed the symbol for copper, the everlasting metal, adopted by the alchemists bears a striking resemblance to the early Egyptian hieroglyphic character the *ankh*, the *crux ansata* symbolic of enduring life. From Sinai or Cyprus native copper may have been obtained to serve the earlier civilizations of the eastern Aegean. The mineral oxides of copper, readily reducible by charcoal at comparatively low temperature, are either red or black, the latter the most common. Its pigment would not quickly attract attention. The other common oxidized minerals, the carbonates, are bright green or blue. They were prized for their beauty and as pretty stones found wide range of usefulness. All of these copper minerals are singularly free from impurities such as are associated with primary sulphide ores. The extraction of metals from sulphide ores, as by smelting, connotes advanced scientific knowledge. Wherein do these facts assist in unraveling the mystery surrounding this dagger? The analysis shows oxygen content .04%. Melting means liquification, a process resorted to the better to mould or cast metal into desired shapes. Copper melts at 1083° Centigrade. When molten, gases are readily absorbed, and cuprous oxide quickly forms. In modern practice, when the melted bath of copper is fire refined, the metal is frequently saturated with the red oxide, so-called 'set' copper containing about 6% of the oxide. This metal is brittle, anything above 1% affecting seriously the malleability. The low oxygen content reported by Mr. Maier fairly conclusively points to the fact that the original substance from which the dagger was fashioned, was native copper. Had it been formed by the reduction of the mineral oxides, cuprite or tenorite, we might expect a higher oxygen content, and if from smelting sulphides, either simple or complex, we could anticipate sulphur, arsenic, perhaps zinc, lead or other base metal to be present.

A dagger, to serve its purpose, must have a sharp cutting edge, it must be hardened or tempered to resist the dulling influence of repeated use. How was the weapon wrought? Native copper is soft and malleable, its form is readily changed by stone or metal implement, even by a wooden mallet. It required manual dexterity to shape the piece of native metal, but the hardening of the blade is another matter. What inferences may we draw by applying the ancient deductive methods of Zadig or the more substantial evidence of chemical and microscopical tests? I take it for granted that the analysis presented dispels all doubt as to the intentional desire to improve the physical properties of the metal by the development of an alloy, but this does not serve as a reliable index as to the age of the weapon, even assuming—as I am inclined to doubt—that a chalcolithic period antedated a bronze age. To digress for but a moment, I would emphasize the importance of a correlative study of the geography of ore deposits with these newly born archaeo-metallurgical enquiries. We know that maritime commerce between tribes or nations was definitely restricted by the capacity of slave propelled galleys or the caprice of changeful winds. There is still

much doubt as to the source of the Gold of Ophir. Our progenitors, whose industrial development may have been limited by available raw materials within the definite horizons of their travel rather than intellectual capacity, made intelligent use of what they had—even as we do in this twentieth century enlightenment. During the [first] World War we modified our methods of steel manufacture because of the impossibility of securing from foreign fields the high grade manganese ores or ferro manganese alloys most desired. We know that the character of ore deposits has not changed since man first appeared upon the earth, hence if we correctly map the economic geology within the radius of accessibility of these fascinating remnants of older civilizations we have a positive clue to the perplexing puzzle of ancient metallurgy. I cannot subscribe to the theory that the nickel present in the copper artifacts of Sumeria came from the smelting of complex ores from recently recognized Rhodesian deposits; rather I would incline toward the wild theory that the contamination came from working copper with an implement of meteoric iron.

The absence of alloying metals in the dagger does not conclusively prove that it antedates a knowledge of bronze, it rather supports the theory that native copper was the material most ready at hand with which to make the needed weapons of warfare.

Hardening of copper, as practiced a few millennia back, is thought by many to be a lost art, nevertheless modern procedure does not depart radically from what we cannot help but surmise were the methods of the ancients, cold working or alloying with or without subsequent hammering. The pure metal may be made so hard by continued percussion that it becomes brittle, but to a certain point hammering will impart to the copper properties which are not possessed by the unwrought metal. A rearrangement of the copper particles takes place, the crystal grains are comminuted under the influence of repeated blows: the reorientation of the particles and slip interference hardening the metal so that it takes a cutting edge. The presence of impurities, fortuitously present or deliberately added, enhances this property, thus iron, zinc, tin, nickel or other metal in such small amounts as not to constitute distinct alloys, even occluded gases or carbon, will greatly add to the hardness of copper. We note the presence of .83% iron in the sample taken from the dagger and carbon is indicated both by the discrepancy between the returned percentages and 100, as well as by the microscopic examination of a polished surface. All of the native copper deposits with which I am familiar are remarkably free from iron, certainly from carbon. Dr. Desch, of the University, Sheffield, England, claims that Sumerian relics, such as the bulls of Tell-al-Ubaid, could not have been made from native metal because of their great purity, whereas the analyses reported in the account of the Hall, Woolley expedition to Ur show iron from 0.24 to 1.14 per cent, all with some nickel.

Major Marples in discussing T. A. Rickard's paper "The Early Use of Metals" given before the Institute of Metals, March 1930, challenges the statement that the tools excavated from a deep layer of the Tell Susa in Hither Asia were made of native metal: they contain a trace of nickel but are iron free. He attributes the metal to the product of smelted malachite. I am of the opinion that the dagger from Tell en-Naşbeh was fashioned from native metal, that in order to facilitate shaping it, it was first made softer by being heated in a fire, hammered, reheated, hammered again until the double flattened edge was obtained. The deliberate object of forging was to develop the two edged blade but

in so doing other things happened which contributed to the final result of a durable dagger. Copper becomes softer when heated to 500 or 600° Centigrade, temperatures readily obtainable in an open fire with or without forced draft. The charcoal dust of the fire would adhere to the hot blade and in the forging become intimately mixed with the metal substance. Again in the coals or ashes of the fire ferruginous material is likely to be present in oxide form and such oxides in the presence of a reducing agent such as charcoal at the temperature of the forge far below the melting point of copper would form metallic iron, which would stick to, be absorbed by or even dissolved as a solid solution in the hot copper. The oft repeated process of heating and hammering would account for the dispersion of iron either mechanically or chemically mixed throughout the red metal. I cannot sustain an argument that such treatment was followed with knowledge that while forging was in progress, the basis of ultimate hardening was well laid, but whether empirical or scientific the fact remains that both carbon and iron were taken up. Finally cold working was resorted to, to give the desired temper to the keen cutting edge. The hardening of copper in this, and probably in many other similar relics, was in all likelihood due to hammering and dispersion. There may be much of conjecture in this theory, but I think it a feasible and reasonable explanation.

A small area of the dagger surface was cleaned and polished to permit of metallographic study. No metallic iron

was visible, hence we are forced to the conclusion that it was present as a solid solution. Numerous small black specks of carbon could be seen. The polished surface permitted us to make accurate hardness tests, using the Rockwell instrument. The average of five determinations taken on either side of the center of the ridge showed hardness B 28 which converted to the Brinell scale is 73. Native copper from the Lake Superior district tested at the same time gave Rockwell B 60 (Brinell 108) and cast copper Rockwell B 84 (Brinell 162). The dagger was softer than native metal! Has my scientific romancing been useless? No, for Mr. Maier has pointed out the significance of the coating of red cuprous oxide next to the metal. This, coupled with the hardness tests opens up other vistas of the life history of this weapon of war and again fancy takes flight in vain imaginings. What were the funeral ceremonies accorded the warriors? Was the battlefield ravaged by fire, or has a later conflagration in the obliteration of some evidence of sequential events left a few obscure signs which he who runs may read? Of this we are sure, the dagger has since it was discarded passed through fire, a hot fire at that, for cuprous oxide forms by the oxidation of the metal at a red heat or beyond. The metal has been annealed and softened, the sharpness of the blade has gone. It has lain buried in the land of Mizpah these thousands of years and we who so casually handle it today can but surmise its significance in metallurgic art or human institutions.

APPENDIX F

LIST OF EYELET PINS (pl. 108)¹

I STAKE TYPE

1. Test Trench, W. end, M 589 (9). L. 96 mm. point missing; slightly corroded; incised chevrons, rings.
2. T. 32 E, M 2207 (5). L. 124 mm., point missing; corroded; plain.
3. T. 32 E, M 2215. L. 108 mm., point missing, broken; corroded; "apparently ring incisions"; Pal. Mus. no. 32.2610, H-S, Tp. 128.
4. T. 32 N, x604. Total L. (2 frags.) 115 mm., point missing; corroded; plain.
5. T. 32 E, M 2223 (11). L. 89 mm., point missing; corroded; ring incisions.
6. T. 32 S, M 2226 (6). L. 117 mm., point broken off near eyelet; corroded; irregular ring incisions just above eyelet.
7. T. 32 S, x612.² Total L. (2 frags.) 76 mm., L. of point 28 mm.; badly corroded; shorter and more slender than others from this tomb; plain.
8. T. 32 S, M 2231. L. 122 mm., point broken; plain.
9. T. 32 S, x619. L. 119 mm.; badly corroded; small oval eyelet; incised chevrons, rings.
10. T. 32, x620. L. 83 mm., broken off at eyelet; badly corroded; incised chevrons, rings.
11. T. 32 S, M 2234 (7). L. 112 mm., point missing; badly corroded; plain.
12. T. 32, x629. L. 110 mm., point missing; badly corroded; plain.
13. T. 32, x630a. L. 86 mm., broken at eyelet; badly corroded; incised chevrons and rings.
14. T. 32, x630b. Total L. (2 frags.) 108 mm., point missing; badly corroded; incised rings.
15. T. 32 W, M 2235. L. 96 mm., broken off at eyelet; some corrosion; ring incisions in groups of three.
16. T. 32 N, M 2244. L. 127 mm.; small round eyelet; chevron and ring incisions at head.
17. T. 32 N, M 2245. L. 134 mm., point missing; groups of ring incisions; Pal. Mus. no. 32.2618, H-S, Tp. 129.
18. T. 32 N, x644. L. 116 mm., broken at eyelet; incised chevrons and rings.
19. T. 32 N, M 2246 (3). L. 119 mm., point missing; tapers very slightly toward head, eyelet close to center; plain.
20. T. 32 N, M 2247 (10). L. 115 mm., point missing; corroded; ring incisions.
21. T. 32, x647. L. 88 mm., point missing; badly corroded; ring incisions.
22. T. 32, x660. L. 78 mm., point missing; slender; corroded; plain.
23. T. 32 S, x667. L. 89 mm., broken at eyelet; corroded; incised chevrons.
24. T. 32 C, x672. Total L. (2 frags.) 121 mm.; corroded; plain.
25. T. 54, M 2656 (12). L. 80 mm., point missing; incised rings in groups of three.

26. T. 54, M 2658. L. 118 mm.; corroded; incised chevrons and rings; Pal. Mus. no. 35.3146, H-S, Tp. 127.
27. T. 54, M 2659. L. 122 mm.; corroded; incised chevrons and rings.
28. T. 54, x303a (8). L. 97 mm., broken off at eyelet; corroded; traces of incised chevrons and rings.
29. T. 54, x303b (4). Total L. (2 frags.) 93 mm., tip of point missing; corroded; traces of incised chevrons and rings.
30. T. 54, x303c. L. 66 mm., broken off at eyelet; corroded; traces of incised chevrons and rings.
31. T. 54, M 2660. L. 145 mm., point missing; oval eyelet 53 mm. from point; corroded; incised chevrons and rings; Pal. Mus. no. 35.3147, H-S, Tp. 126.
32. Provenience not recorded. L. 87 mm., point missing; badly corroded; plain.

II. BALUSTER TYPE

33. Z 12, x4 (13). L. 121 mm., tip of point missing; corroded; flattened head, 4 beads separated by groups of 3 or 4 rings.
34. Dump refill AA, AB 16, 17, M 2880. L. 125 mm., point missing; flattened head, 4 beads separated by double rings; Pal. Mus. no. 35.3227, H-S, Tp. 137.
35. T. 32 S, x612. L. 53 mm., broken off just below round-bored eyelet; badly corroded; 4 beads separated by double rings.
36. T. 32, x659 (16). L. 85 mm., broken off just below eyelet; badly corroded; mushroom head, 4 beads separated by double rings.
37. T. 32, x670 (15). L. 80 mm., broken off just below rounded eyelet; badly corroded; flattened head, 4 beads separated by double rings.
38. T. 54, M 2655. L. 102 mm., point missing; corroded; round eyelet; 4 beads separated by groups of 3 rings; Pal. Mus. no. 35.3147, H-S, Tp. 136.
39. T. 54, M 2657 (14). L. 99 mm.; slightly corroded; rounded head, 4 beads separated by double rings.

IIA. VARIATIONS OF BALUSTER TYPE

40. T. 32 S, M 2232. L. 68 mm., point missing; knob head, flattened beads separated by ring incisions widely spaced; irregular round eyelet; Pal. Mus. no. 32.2617, H-S, Tp. 140, type 14 "particular shapes," fig. 12a.
41. R. 666, AA 16 I, M 2866 (17). L. 66 mm., tip of point missing; slightly corroded near eyelet; 3 beads with cross incisions separated by double rings, flattened head separated by 3 rings.³

III. SLENDER, BLUNT-ENDED TYPE

42. Sub-R. 521, AE 19, x16 (2). L. 77 mm.; very slightly tapered; plain.
43. Dump, Sub-Rs. 401, 402, x1 (1). L. 77, one end missing; plain.

IV. UNCLASSIFIED

44. Sub-R. 414, AG 18, x13 (18). L. 65 mm., broken off at eyelet; square shaft, eyelet cut diagonally; undecorated.

¹ Number of object on plate is given in parentheses following M(useum) or x number. H-S = Henschel-Simon, *QDAP* 6. Only present length of specimen is given.

² Ten fragments; only two pins of recognizable type, see no. 35 (baluster).

³ Cf. *TF* I, pl. XLII: 336, XXII dyn.

APPENDIX G

LIST OF FIBULAE (pls. 109-111)¹

I. ONE-PIECE FIBULAE

1. T. 32, x597 (1). Major fragment, clasp and most of spring missing (probably large single loop); W. 70 mm.; badly corroded; no decoration visible.

2. T. 32, x667 (3). Bow fragment, clasp and pin missing, spring formed by two loops; W. 41 mm.; lightly incised lines at spring end, deep cut bead with cross incisions above clasp.

3. T. 32, x624 (2). Bow fragment, clasp and spring missing, curve straightens at clasp end; W. 44 mm.; undecorated.

4. T. 32, x636 (4). Iron fragment of bow and two-coil spring; badly corroded. May not belong in this class.

II. TWO-PIECE FIBULAE (bow with pin and spring separate)

A. Heavy curved bow with deep cut beads

5. R. 506, AE 17, M 2539 (6). Complete except for clasp, pin flattened and double coiled to form spring; W. 38 mm.; incised cross-hatching on two of center beads, crossed lines on fragment of clasp.²

6. Ci 370, AF 20, x117. Spring and pin missing; W. 45 mm.; rectangular end beads, wedge-shape center ones with incised cross-hatching; short, broad clasp with incised lines on curve.

7. AC 15, x64 (7). Pin missing; W. 34 mm.; light cross-hatching on center bead; incised lines on curve of clasp, deeply cut cross on back.

8. AE 15, x2. Pin missing, stub of spring in place; W. 30 mm.; light cross-hatching on center bead; incised lines on curve of clasp, cross on back.

9. S 24, x12 (5). Clasp and pin missing, stub of spring in place; W. 57 mm.; corroded; rectangular end beads decorated with five circular indentations, lightly cut lines around beads between.

10. AF 15, 16, x1. Bow fragment, stub of spring in place; rectangular end bead decorated with five circular indentations.

B. Sharply angled bow with deep-cut beads

11. S 23, x48 (8). Most of pin missing; W. 48 mm.; deep incisions on curve of clasp, cross on back.

12. R. 492, SW extramural, x15. Bow fragment, spring end missing; incisions on curve of clasp, cross on back. Similar to no. 11.

13. R. 329, Z 24, x4 (9). Bow fragment, spring end missing; corroded; incisions on curve of clasp.

C. Rounded bow with plain center, beads at ends

14. R. 638, Z 19, x10 (10). Pin missing, part of spring in place; W. 62 mm.; corroded; traces of incised lines on clasp.

15. AB 15, x27. Pin, spring, and part of clasp missing; W. 38 mm.; incised cross on both sides of clasp.

16. Ci 159, AJ 20, M 473 (11). Pin, spring, and curve of clasp missing; W. 35 mm.; incised cross on both sides of clasp.

17. R. 22, AL 21, M 171 (12). Pin missing, stub of spring in place; W. 70 mm.; long narrow clasp, cross on back.

18. Provenience not recorded (13). Pin and curve of clasp missing, stub of spring in place; W. 45 mm.

19. V 24, x26 (14). Pin and part of clasp missing; W. 46 mm.

Variations

20. AD 16, x28 (36). Complete except for slight break in clasp; heavy bow thickening at middle, ends straighten slightly to beads carved in conventionalized faces.³

21. Ci 370, AF 20, x209. Pin and spring missing; W. 38 mm.; bow of uniform thickness straightens at ends; shallow cut lines instead of beads at ends.

22. T. 4, M 1188 (37). Pin missing, iron spring corroded in socket of bronze bow; W. ca. 55 mm.; thick center tapers on each side to collared bead; clasp long and slightly curved.⁴

D. Angular bow with plain center, incised decoration at ends

23. AG 20, x21. Pin missing; W. 56, angle 95°; corroded; long wide clasp, traces of incisions on curve.

24. AH 19, M 502. Pin and spring missing; W. 62 mm., angle 100°; incisions on curve of clasp.

25. R. 40, AK 20, M 222 (16). Part of pin missing; W. 65 mm., angle 101°; long wide clasp, traces of incisions on curve.

26. R. 239, Q 15, x1. Pin and spring missing; W. 55 mm., angle 100°; large wide clasp, incisions on curve.

27. R. 447, AG 20, x25. Pin missing, stub of spring in place; W. 62 mm., angle 94°; wide clasp with incisions on curve.

28. Ci 370, AF 20, x112 (15). Pin missing; W. 61 mm., angle 99°; large wide clasp with incisions on curve.

29. R. 426, AF 18, x27 (17). Pin and most of spring missing; W. 58 mm., angle 112°; large wide clasp; bow slender at center, incised spirals on thickened ends.

30. R. 429, AF 18, x13 (18). Bow fragment broken at both ends; W. 41 mm., angle 62°; corroded; slender at center, incised spirals on thickened ends.

31. X 22, M 394 (19). Pin missing; W. 42, angle 81°; corroded; long narrow clasp; bow slender at center, incised lines at thickened ends.

32. T. 3, M 1118. Complete; W. 37 mm., angle 94°; long narrow clasp.⁵ When found bronze ring was fastened into it.

33. Ci 192, AG 25, M 796 (21). Pin missing, stub of

¹ Number of object on plate is given in parentheses following M(useum) or x number. Material is bronze if not otherwise specified. Width given is that of bow, spring sometimes extends farther.

² Cf. *Megiddo Water System*, pl. VII: 19.

³ Cf. *Syria* 16 (1935), 150, fig. 7, Rās esh-Shamrah, dated 600-500.

⁴ Cf. *M I*, pl. 88: 11, surface find.

⁵ Cf. *SCE II*, pl. CCXLI: 10 (2705), Ajia Irini; *EP*, pl. 80: 92.

spring in place; W. 64 mm., angle 97°; large clasp, incisions on curve; incised rings with cross incisions at ends.⁶

34. Sub-R. 426, AF 18, x7. Pin missing, stub of spring in place; W. 53 mm., angle 99°; large clasp broken but traces of incisions on curve; incised rings with cross incisions.

35. T. 53, x14 (20). Bronze bow with corroded iron pin and spring, part of pin missing; W. 64 mm., angle 98°; lightly incised rings and cross lines; incisions on clasp.

E. Angular bow with plain center, bead decoration at ends

36. V 24, x37. Pin missing; W. 54 mm., angle 102°; large clasp, incisions on curve; wide bead between narrow beads.

37. X 22, N. Test Trench, M 360 (24). Complete; W. 68 mm., angle 107°; incisions on curve of clasp; wide bead with little incised circles between disk beads with cross incisions.⁷

38. Ci 304, AB 19, x44 (22). Pin broken off at point; W. 44 mm., angle 98°; incisions on curve of clasp; wide bead between cross incised disk beads.

39. Test Trench, X 21, M 607 (23). Complete except for break where spring was inserted; W. 66 mm., angle 90°; two wide beads between cross incised disk beads.

40. Dump refill AB 17, 18, x1. Pin and spring missing; W. 53 mm., angle 103°; large clasp; wide bead between cross incised disk beads.

41. AG 29, M 767 (26). Pin and spring missing; W. 47 mm., angle 88°; large clasp, incisions on curve; wide bead between cross incised disk beads.

42. X 25, x14. Pin and spring missing; W. 43 mm., angle 89°; large clasp, incisions on curve; wide bead between cross incised disk beads.

43. X 21, M 364 (25). Pin missing, stub of spring in place; W. 57 mm., angle 105°; large clasp with incisions on curve; two cross incised beads separated by disk beads.

44. T. 167, M 508. Pin and spring missing, clasp broken; W. 60 mm., angle 104°; two wide beads separated by disk beads.

45. Ci 304, AB 19, x43. Part of pin missing; badly corroded; W. 51 mm., angle 81°; large clasp; two wide beads separated by disk beads.

46. Dump V 13, 14, x6 (29). Pin and spring missing, clasp broken; W. 70 mm.; angle 89°; heavy wide beads separated by flat, cross incised beads.⁸

47. AK 22, M 211 (27). Pin missing; W. 82 mm., angle 100°; three wide beads separated by cross incised disk beads.

48. Debris Sec. 73, M 976 (28). Pin missing; W. 77 mm., angle 101°; wide clasp; irregular sized beads; angle nearer spring end.

Variations

49. Ci 165, AH 20, M 546 (34). Pin and spring missing; W. 35 mm., angle 101°; very large clasp with incisions on curve; socket wide and flat; two collared beads on each side of angle.

50. AC 15, x34 (32). Pin missing, stub of spring in place; W. 29 mm.; angle 87°; rectangular beads (7 mm. long above clasp, 9 mm. above socket) with incised cross-hatching, meet on inner angle; long clasp with incised lines on curve.

51. AE 14, x3 (33). Pin and spring missing; W. 40 mm., angle 86°; deeply grooved rectangular beads; small clasp; socket hole bored at an angle.

52. R. 132, P 15, M 684 (35). Pin and spring missing; W. 50 mm., angle 100°; collared beads with irregularly incised lines suggesting petals of flower.⁹

53. Provenience not given. Fragment similar to no. 52.

F. Undecorated bow

54. AG 18, x47 (30). Complete; W. 66 mm., angle 104°; bow, square in section, widening toward spring end; small clasp; corroded.¹⁰

55. X 25, x15 (31). Pin missing; W. 77 mm.; rounded bow straightening at ends; large clasp with incisions on curve.

G. Unclassified

56. AP 22, M 220. Pin and spring missing; W. 58 mm., angle 66°; massive sharply-angled bow with alternating beads with incised lines.¹¹

57. R. 330, Z 24, x20 (38). Fragment of bow; curved center section, collared bead, large shovel-shaped clasp; traces of incised decoration on back of clasp.

58. R. 403, AF 17, x4. Missing. Bow fragment, may belong to class D.

59. R. 519, AE 19, x19. Missing. Bow fragment; drawing on millimeter card shows five double collared beads on a slender curved bow; clasp angled slightly in.¹²

60, 61. AB 16, x42, x50. Iron bow fragments; badly corroded; angular; x50 has stub of spring in place.

III. RIVETED FIBULAE

62. R. 406, AF 17, x37 (40). Pin missing; total width including extension for rivet 75 mm.; large wide clasp with incisions on curve.

63. R. 377, T 23, x9 (39). Pin missing, broken at rivet hole; W. 91 mm. +

64. Ci 361, AC 16, x79 (41). (Two frags.) pin missing; W. ca. 70 mm.

65. AC 16, x23. Bow fragment, broad short clasp.

⁹ Cf. *M I*, pl. 78: 19, str. iii, ca. 780-650.

¹⁰ Cf. *Gerar*, 11, pl. XVIII: 3, "plain sharp knee . . . begins at 800 B. C."

¹¹ In *Pal. Mus.*; no satisfactory photograph available.

¹² Possibly like one at Megiddo, *M I*, pl. 79: 13.

⁶ Cf. *Syria* 13 (1932), pl. XXXVII: 74.

⁷ Cf. *TF II*, pl. LXII: 12.

⁸ Cf. *G III*, pl. LV: 9, I, 292, "Philistine" burial.

DESCRIPTION OF ARTIFACTS SHOWN IN FIGURES

Figure 21. Vessels from tombs 8, 14, 15, 71

1. T. 14: M 1588, S 1652; lamp, II B1. Lt brown, reddish-brown slip; L. 77 mm.
2. T. 14: M 1589, S 1652; lamp, II B3. Dull reddish brown. Only example of decorated discus found by TN expedition.
3. T. 14: M 1592, S 1655; lamp, II D2. Buff, reddish-brown slip; L. 82 mm.
4. T. 14: M 1590, S 1668-9, lamp, II G6. Lt reddish brown; L. 77 mm.
5. T. 14: x14, S 1373; bowl rim frag. Reddish brown; incised surface; dk gray paint in incisions; faded hematite(?) slip inside; D. ca. 300 mm.
6. T. 14: x3, S 1071; cooking pot rim and handle. Reddish brown, surface dk reddish brown, wet smoothed; D. ca. 100 mm.
7. T. 14: x4, S 854; blk-ware juglet. H. 77 mm.; D. 54 mm.
8. T. 14: x2, S 1735, bottle neck. Lt brown, wet smoothed, fine paste.
9. T. 14: x1, S 693, M 1586; jug. Lt brown, wet smoothed; H. 131 mm., D. 82 mm. Above ware fairly hard; well baked
10. T. 8: x1, S 458; jar. Faded lt reddish brown; very soft; brown core; D. ca. 70 mm.
11. T. 8: x4, S 1074; cooking pot rim frag. Dk brown, surface brown, wet smoothed; D. ca. 270 mm.
12. T. 8: x2, S 687; jug. Orange brown, wet smoothed, fine paste; D. 60 mm.
13. T. 8: x5, S 1074; cooking-pot handle. See no 11.
14. T. 8: x3, S 1077; cooking-pot rim and handle.
15. T. 8: x6, S 1072; cooking pot, rim and handle frag. Reddish brown, wet smoothed; good paste; D. ca. 100 mm.
16. T. 8: x7, S 1071; cooking pot, rim and handle frag. Ribbed; reddish brown, fairly soft, dk reddish-brown core; D. ca. 90 mm.
17. T. 15: x3, S 682; jug with drinking spout. Lt reddish brown; wet smoothed; D. 143 mm.
18. T. 15: x5, S 809; juglet base. Hard, brown, lt brown surface; wet smoothed; D. 25 mm.
19. T. 15: M 1605, S 1648; lamp, I B. Orange brown; L. 87 mm.
20. T. 15: x2, S 966; one-handed pitcher(?). Reddish brown; wet smoothed; fairly soft; fire blackened; D. 186 mm.
21. T. 15: x4, S 835; juglet top, handle crude. Lt brown; fairly soft; wet smoothed; D. 16 mm.
22. T. 15: x1, S 352; jar. Ribbed; very hard; brown; H. ca. 600 mm., D. ca. 500 mm.
23. T. 71: x2, S 1070; cooking pot. Ribbed; lt orange red; wet smoothed; H. ca. 190 mm., D ca. 205 mm.
24. T. 71: x1, S 360; jar. Ribbed; orange; wet smoothed; H. of frag. 310 mm.

All the above fairly hard and well baked except as noted

Figure 22. Vessels from tombs 6, 18, 23, 31¹

1. Above T. 18: x6, S 1032; cooking pot, rim and handle frag. Reddish brown, fairly soft; D. ca. 160 mm.
2. Above T. 18: x5, S 1294; bowl rim. Brown; wet smoothed; gray ware; fairly soft; D. 320 mm.
3. T. 18: x1, S 1652; lamp, II B4. Yellowish brown with touch of green; disk base; ribbed bottom; base with impressed design; W. 66 mm.
4. Above T. 18: x7, S 352; jar handle. Brown ribbed ware; lt gray core; very hard
5. T. 6: M 1472, S 1648; lamp I B. Lt orange brown; wet smoothed; incised line across neck; L. 84 mm.
6. T. 6: M 1477, S 1652; lamp II B1. Pl. 42: 1
7. T. 6: x37, S 1657; lamp II D4. Brown; hard; ribbed
8. T. 6: M 1480, S 1666; lamp II F5. Lt brown; L. 71 mm.
9. T. 6: M 1745, S 1666; lamp II F5. Lt orange brown; L. 75 mm.
10. T. 6: M 1479, S 1666; lamp II F5. Lt brown; L. 76 mm.
11. T. 6: M 1475, S 1672; lamp II H1. Pl. 42: 4
12. T. 6: x38, S 1676; lamp II J3(?). Lt reddish brown
13. T. 6: x20, S 1353; bowl rim frag. Brown fairly hard, crumbling; design in reddish brown; D. ca. 280 mm.
14. T. 6: x21, S 977; one-handed pitcher. Reddish brown, wet smoothed; D. ca. 280 mm.
15. T. 6: x3, S 233; jar rim. Lt brown; wet smoothed; good paste; drag core; D. ca. 100 mm.
16. T. 6: x4, S 835; juglet mouth. Buff; good paste; soft; D. 20 mm.
17. T. 6: x1, S 235; jar rim. Lt brown; wet smoothed; very hard
18. T. 6: x22, S 458; jar rim. Lt orange brown; wet smoothed; lt-brown core; D. ca. 90 mm.
19. T. 6: x42; painted bowl frag. Greenish buff; gray core; lt reddish-brown interior; reddish-brown design, circles in squares in center
- 20, 21. T. 6: M 1485, 1486; black glass bracelets
22. T. 31: M 1825; glass jar. Pale green, pale blue appliqué
23. T. 31: M 1826; bone pin
24. T. 31: x6; bronze spatula
25. T. 31: M 1824; glass jar (broken). Green glass appliqué; bluish-green handles
26. T. 31: M 1823; glass vase. Pale green
27. T. 23: x2, S 1656; lamp II D3. Brown; fairly soft; scaling; L. 81 mm.
28. T. 23: M 1682; glass jar. Pale green iridescent; H. 79 mm.
29. T. 23: M 1684; glass bracelet

¹ Descriptions not given for lamps in figs. 22 and 23 will be found under plate references.

Figure 71. Arrow- and spearheads: 1-11 bronze; 12-23 iron

1. Ci 159, M 471. Ensiform or linear. *Ca.* 750-586(?)
2. N 15, III, M 900. Ensiform or linear
3. P 16, II, M 817. Lanceolate
4. R. 2, M 2. Oblong-lanceolate
5. R. 452, M 2463. Oblanceolate. Late MI
6. R. 90, M 564. Trapezoidal
7. AA 12, M 1449. Rhomboidal
8. AB 25, II, M 1464. Rhomboidal
9. Test trench, west end, M 590. Triangular section
10. AG 19, M 2440. Triangular section
11. Ci 363, x79. Quadrangular section. *Ca.* 700-586 or 550
12. Ci 370, x44. Ensiform or linear. *Ca.* 700-586
13. AK 21, M 204. Ensiform or linear
14. R. 436, M 2560. Lanceolate. *Ca.* 650-550
15. R. 204, M 765. Lanceolate. Mainly MI+
16. Ca 193, M 881. Oblong-lanceolate. *Ca.* 3200-2500, 950-400
17. R. 499, M 2528. Oblong. *Ca.* 1000-500
18. Si 91, M 573. Oblong
19. T. 53, x13. Elliptical. MI ii
20. R. 324, x32. Obovate (spatulate). *Ca.* 600-450
21. AB 16, M 2817. Ovate
22. R. 607, M 2809. Trapezoidal. *Ca.* 650-550
23. AA 16, M 2861. Quadrangular section

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES

Frontispiece. Tell en-Naşbeh from the Air: the Mound and Surrounding Area. The coffin-shaped area is approximately that enclosed by the ancient walls. The crest of the hill ran almost north and south. The roofs of Maloufia show to the southeast. The north cemetery lay half way to the edge of the picture along a line parallel with the road. See figure 3.

PART I

Plate 1. Before Excavation Began

1. Summit of Tell en-Naşbeh, stone heaps and grain
2. North area: fields, rubble heaps, and outcropping rock

Plate 2. Progress of Excavation in Rocky Terrain

1. Beginning a cross-section trench
2. Excavating in sections AL and AM 24
3. Working along face of wall, AN 21, 22
4. Face of south wall, after cutting through plaster
5. Tentative reconstruction of city on Tell en-Naşbeh on basis of 1926 excavations

Plate 3. City Wall under Excavation

1. Top of wall at south
2. Uncovering southern wall

Plate 4. An Exploratory Trench in 1929

1. Looking up east trench toward wall
2. Looking down east trench toward base of tell

Plate 5. Seeking Ancient City under Modern Fields, 1932

1. Northwest strip, unbroken ground, from south outcrop of rocks
2. Entire gang at work, removing first layer of soil

Plate 6. A Major Task: Preparing Pottery for Study

1. Boys washing pottery at Maloufia
2. Egyptian workman mending pottery from a single cistern (176)

Plate 7. Views Looking Southeast, South, and Southwest from Tell en-Naşbeh

1. Over Kefr 'Aqab toward mountains of Moab
2. Toward Jerusalem: German and Russian towers on Mount of Olives and northern Jerusalem on skyline; er-Râm at left; airport and Jewish colony, Kulundia, in center.
3. Toward southwest: Nebi Samwîl on horizon, ej-Jîb at right

Plate 8. Tell en-Naşbeh and Views from It

1. Rāmallāh and el-Bîreh from Tell en-Naşbeh
2. Tell en-Naşbeh from south, trees on slope marking 'Aţţārah
3. Tell en-Naşbeh from north (Northeast Cemetery)

Plate 9. Tell en-Naşbeh from East

1. Tell en-Naşbeh from southeast across Wādî Jilyān; Maloufia and 'Ain Naşbeh at left
2. Tell en-Naşbeh from northeast

Plate 10. Tell en-Naşbeh from North

1. Tell en-Naşbeh from Friends' Boys School in Rāmallāh: showing how it blocks valley leading toward Jerusalem, towers of which appear on horizon
2. Northern slopes of Tell en-Naşbeh from near at hand

PART II

Plate 11. Tell en-Naşbeh and Vicinity

1. Panorama: north cemetery and Tell en-Naşbeh from west cemetery across Wādî Duweit
2. Tell en-Naşbeh from west
3. Tell en-Naşbeh from road south
4. Tell en-Naşbeh from south-southwest over Wādî Jilyān
5. Road along Wādî Jilyān, north of Maloufia
6. Jebel Ṭawîl looking northeast from Tell en-Naşbeh
7. Looking north over 'Anātā, Hizmeh, and Jeba' (alternative route from north)

Plate 12. Cave Room 68 (LC) and Tomb 66 (EB)

1. Entrance to tombs
2. Objects in mouth of T. 66
3. T. 66, second layer of objects
4. T. 66, third layer of objects
5. Ledge-handled mortar from CR 68
6. Pottery fragments, flints, and mace head, CR 68
7. Pottery fragments, CR 68
8. CR 68, looking out from pit

Plate 13. Cave Tombs 5 and 6 (EB)

1. CT 5 and 6 after clearing, sifting for small objects
2. CT 5, stones covering entrance
3. CT 5, human remains as found
4. CT 6, entrance
5. CT 6 after removal of roof
- 6, 7. CT 6, human and pottery remains as found

Plate 14. Tombs 12, 63, 65, 67 (EB)

1. T. 12 from without
2. Sherds and flints from T. 12
3. T. 63, vertical shaft
4. T. 65, objects as found
5. T. 67, entrance
6. T. 67, objects as found, I
7. T. 67, objects as found, II
8. T. 67, objects as found, III

Plate 15. Cave 193 (EB)

1. Entrance uncovered under debris from fallen wall with revetment showing above
2. Two walls which closed entrance
3. Cave opened
4. Floor of EI dwelling showing as white streak

Plate 16. Tombs 5, 29, 55, 69 (EB, MB, EI-MI)

1. T. 55, entrance (EB, EI)
2. T. 55, center of interior

3. T. 29, door opened
4. T. 29, pottery as found (EI-MI)
5. T. 69, pottery as found (EI-MI)
6. T. 5, entrance (EI-MI)
- 7, 8. T. 5, pottery as found (EI-MI)

Plate 17. Tomb 32 (EI-MI)

1. General view showing four strips cleared, central strip and path untouched; late entrance at lower right
2. East strip, pottery as found
- 3, 4. North strip, pottery as found
- 5-8. South strip, pottery as found

Plate 18. Tomb 54 (EI-MI)

1. Possible auxiliary entrance, EB Age sherds here
2. SE end strata I and II, confusion of remains as found
3. Mouth of cave cleared
4. SE end stratum III, remains as found
5. SE end stratum IV, remains as found
6. Detail from no. 4; two bracelets on forearm
7. SE end stratum V, remains as found

Plate 19. Tombs 3 and 19

1. T. 3, vestibule with niche and entrance at right, closing stones in place
2. T. 3, vestibule, closing stones removed
3. T. 3, closer view of niche and entrance
4. T. 3, niche; adult bones above, infant bones below
5. T. 3, pottery as found
6. T. 19, south compartment
7. T. 19, floor of central section where seal was found in debris
8. T. 19, entrance

Plate 20. Tombs 2, 4, 8, 14, 15, and 18

1. T. 4, vestibule and entrance
2. T. 14, interior
3. T. 8, staircase and antechamber
4. T. 2, entrance
5. T. 8, *kokim*, west side of tomb
6. T. 8, antechamber and entrance
7. T. 15, entrance, roof removed
8. T. 18, tomb opened
9. T. 18, skeletons *in situ*
10. T. 18, skeleton on right was below that on left in no. 9.
11. T. 18, tomb partially covered
12. T. 18, skeleton with glass armlet; another skull behind
13. T. 18, eastern extension discovered later

Plate 21. Tombs 57, 58, 59, 70, and 71

1. Entrances to Ts. 59, 57, 58 (left to right)
2. Skeleton as found in T. 57 after clearing
3. Skulls as found in T. 58 after clearing
4. Skeletons as found in T. 59 after clearing
5. Entrance to T. 71 at extreme left, closing stone at right
6. T. 70, skeletal remains as found
7. T. 71, ossuary as found
8. T. 70, entrance

Plate 22. Tombs 6, 23, 26, and 31

1. T. 26, entrance after opening
2. T. 31, cover stones in place
3. T. 6, exterior, with pile of ossuary fragments

4. T. 6, interior, squared and arched *kokim*, bones, and ossuary fragments

5. T. 6, *kokim* with reconstruction on southwest side
6. T. 6, *kokim*, arched and squared
7. T. 23, cover stones in place
8. T. 23, cover stones removed
9. T. 23, deposit as found

Plate 23. Tombs 13, 33, and 56

1. T. 13, opening
2. T. 13, rolling door stone and slot for its removal
3. T. 13, rolling door stone in place
4. T. 33, door unopened
5. T. 33, arcosolium with grave
6. T. 33, closing stone of door
7. T. 56, pit with *kokim* and broken jar *in situ*.
8. Breaking in roof of T. 56
9. T. 56, forecourt, entrance, and drain

Plate 24. Vessels in Early Bronze Age Cave Tombs 5 and 6¹

CAVE TOMB 5

1. M 77*	S 123	6. M 87*	S 190	11. M 0141*	S 1091
2. M 79*	S 126	7. M 89*	S 193	12. M 0135*	S 1094
3. M 81*	S 146	8. M 86*	S 195	13. M 98*	S 206
4. M 91*	S 176	9. M 78*	S 196	14. M 100	S 904
5. M 92*	S 188	10. M 97	S 198	15. M 88	S 1113

10. Pot with two handles; handmade; surface rough; buff; black on one side; H. 77 mm.

14. Cup with high loop handle; handmade; surface rough; buff; H. 68 mm.

CAVE TOMB 6

16. M 4*	S 129	31. M 40*	S 219	46. M 20	S 914
17. M 62*	S 130	32. M 0126*	S 878	47. M 39*	S 915
18. M 10*	S 135	33. M 119*	S 879	48. M 9	S 917
19. M 18*	S 131	34. M 118*	S 880	49. M 12	S 919
20. M 36*	S 132	35. M 14*	S 881	50. M 72	S 1080
21. M 54	S 133	36. M 74*	S 882	51. M 65	S 1083
22. M 27*	S 134	37. M 71*	S 883	52. M 67	S 1086
23. M 52*	S 137	38. M 24*	S 884	53. M 64*	S 1089
24. M 61*	S 138	39. M 34*	S 885	54. M 0131*	S 1090
25. M 51*	S 147	40. M 5*	S 887	55. M 53*	S 1095
26. M 15*	S 145	41. M 80*	S 888	56. M 43*	S 1117
27. M 8*	S 198	42. M 33*	S 891	57. M 48*	S 1123
28. M 3*	S 187	43. M 31*	S 896	58. M 60*	S 1712
29. M 29*	S 189	44. M 32*	S 899	59. M 58	S 1804
30. M 66*	S 204	45. M 6*	S 901	60. M 38	S 1805

41. From CT 5.

46. Cup; handmade; buff; surface rough; loop handle missing; H. 119 mm.

48. Cup; handmade; reddish; surface rough; loop handle missing; H. 145 mm.

49. Cup; handmade; mottled buff and lt orange brown; surface rough; loop handle; H. 82 mm.

50. Bowl; buff; H. 63 mm.

51. Bowl; buff; gray core; H. 66 mm.

52. Bowl; reddish; H. 64 mm.

59. Spoon; reddish; L. 68 mm.

60. Trough; buff; H. 30 mm.

¹ For descriptions of objects used as type specimens, which are marked with an asterisk, see the S(erial) number under the "Description of Pottery Types" in vol. II. Objects not appearing there, where they differ appreciably from the type specimen, will be described following the list for each tomb.

Plate 25. Vessels from Tombs 66 and 67 (EB)

TOMB 66

1. M 2685* S 139	8. M 2686* S 616	15. M 2701* S 1106
2. M 2696* S 208	9. M 2687* S 617	16. M 2704* S 1107
3. M 2695* S 209	10. M 2690* S 897	17. M 2705* S 1108
4. M 2694* S 210	11. M 2689* S 917	18. M 2698* S 1109
5. M 2692* S 212	12. M 2688* S 923	19. M 2706* S 1111
6. M 2693* S 213	13. M 2702 S 1078	
7. M 2691* S 218	14. M 2697 S 1105	

13. Bowl; tournette made; outside lt orange and lt yellowish brown; inside lt brownish drab merging with core; wet smoothed; D. ca. 145 mm.

14. Bowl; handmade; outside mottled med gray and lt brownish drab; inside lt yellowish brown merging with core; wet smoothed.

TOMB 67

20. M 2724* S 140	28. M 2729* S 905	36. M 2754* S 1110
21. M 2723* S 141	29. M 2728* S 906	37. M 2739* S 1124
22. M 2732* S 207	30. M 2751 S 1083	38. M 2755* S 1128
23. M 2734* S 211	31. M 2747 S 1084	39. M 2736 S 1712
24. M 2735* S 220	32. M 2741 S 1085	40. M 2737 S 1712
25. M 2726* S 540	33. M 2750 S 1086	41. M 2738* S 1838
26. M 2725* S 202	34. M 2752 S 1086	
27. M 2730 S 904	35. M 2740* S 1099	

27. Tournette-made juglet; lt orange brown; occasional white grits of various sizes; medium hard; wet smoothed; outside red (hematite); slip smoothed; H. 75 mm.

30. Handmade bowl; lt yellowish orange; very many white grits of various sizes; medium hard; wet smoothed; outside at rim slightly smoke blackened; D. ca. 90 mm.

31. Tournette-made bowl; lt orange and lt yellowish brown outside; inside lt brown drab; medium hard; wet smoothed; D. ca. 110 mm.

32. Handmade bowl; mottled, lt yellowish brown, buff, and medium gray; medium hard; wet smoothed; D. ca. 140 mm.

33. Handmade bowl; lt yellowish brown and lt orange brown; medium hard; wet smoothed; D. ca. 85 mm.

34. Handmade bowl; lt yellowish brown, core grayish drab; D. ca. 85 mm.

39. Tournette-made juglet; lt yellowish brown; medium hard; H. 110 mm.

40. *Do.*; lt brownish drab; medium hard; H. 112.5 mm.

Plate 26. Characteristic Vessels from Tomb 12, Silo 315, Tomb 65 (EB)

TOMB 12

SILO 315

TOMB 65

1. M 1553* S 125	8. M 1849* S 1122	13. M 2676* S 1118
2. M 1554* S 127	9. M 1847* S 223	14. M 2677* S 922
3. M 1559* S 128	10. M 1848 S 1083	15. M 2678* S 1115
4. M 1555* S 615	11. M 1850 S 1083	
5. M 1558* S 1101	12. M 1851 S 1078	
6. M 1556 S 920		
7. M 1557 S 907		

6. Handmade cup; red brown; very soft; small white grits; wet smoothed; H. 92 mm.

7. Handmade cup, handle and part of rim missing; light brown; medium red brown grits; soft; wet smoothed; H. 68 mm.

10. Handmade bowl; light orange brown; small white grits; fairly soft; wet smoothed; D. 97 mm.

11. Handmade bowl; light orange brown; small gray grits; fairly soft; wet smoothed; D. 97 mm.

12. *Do.*; red brown; light orange brown interior; fairly soft; wet smoothed; D. 95 mm.

Plate 27. Early Bronze Age Vessels of Tomb 32 and Cave 193

TOMB 32

1. M 2180* S 199	6. M 2187* S 892	11. x569 S 1756
2. M 2181* S 222	7. M 2186* S 903	12. M 2179* S 225
3. M 2100* S 221	8. M 2185* S 918	13. M 2194* S 1126
4. M 2182* S 224	9. M 2190* S 1093	
5. M 2021* S 757	10. M 2189* S 1125	

11. Pottery stand; light brown; fairly hard; wet smoothed; incised rope design at waist; H. 212 mm.

TOMB 60; CAVE 193

14. M 2458* S 900	22. M 950* S 1103	30. x53* S 1135
15. M 941* S 898	23. M 952* S 1102	31. x51* S 1136
16. M 947* S 143	24. M 942* S 908	32. x23(D)* S 1138
17. M 936* S 907	25. M 935* S 136	33. x18(D)* S 1139
18. M 955* S 921	26. x48* S 1131	34. x52* S 1137
19. M 940 S 1083	27. x47* S 1132	35. x22(D)* S 1140
20. M 951 S 1082	28. x50* S 1133	36. x24(D)* S 1141
21. M 937* S 1104	29. x13(B)* S 1134	37. x17(D)* S 1142

19. Bowl; lt orange; gray to black core; D. 95 mm.

20. Bowl; buff; blackened inside; coarse; D. 90 mm.

Plate 28. Vessels of Tombs 52 and 69

TOMB 69

1. M 2772* S 551	4. M 2774* S 756	7. M 2778* S 1120
2. M 2773* S 552	5. M 2775* S 916	8. x14* S 1129
3. M 2776* S 753	6. M 2779* S 1119	9. M 2781* S 1130

TOMB 52

10. M 2373* S 215	15. M 2391* S 920	21. M 2372* S 203
11. M 2377* S 216	16. M 2392* S 1098	22. M 2379* S 214
12. M 2374* S 217	17. M 2393* S 1100	23. x30 S 206
13. M 2390* S 619	18. M 2376* S 1713	
14. M 2388* S 919	19-20a, b. x26	

19-20. Bowl fragments; lt orange brown; dk gray core; medium, fine, brown and white grits; soft; wet smoothed; D. ca. 330 mm. Skeletal remains embedded.

23. Bowl base; dk brown; inner half dark gray; large, fine, white grits; soft; wet smoothed; D. 214 mm. Within: lug-handled ampulla; shallow, flat-bottomed bowl; embedded skeletal remains.

Plate 29. Vessels of Tomb 32

1. M 1902* S 238	5. M 1960* S 553	9. M 1940* S 561
2. M 1903* S 524	6. M 1943* S 558	10. M 1962* S 572
3. M 1961* S 542	7. M 1945* S 559	11. M 1950* S 573
4. M 1957 S 543	8. M 1964* S 571	

4. Pitcher; red brown; many very fine white grits; soft; wet smoothed; H. 160 mm.

Plate 30. Vessels of Tomb 32

1. M 1953* S 574	5. M 1937* S 580	9. M 1926* S 621
2. M 1949* S 575	6. M 1936* S 581	10. M 1909 S 623
3. M 1958* S 577	7. M 1935* S 582	11. M 1908* S 624
4. M 1939* S 579	8. M 1930* S 620	12. M 1922* S 625

10. Swan jug; light brown; soft; wet smoothed; H. 200 mm.

Plate 31. Vessels of Tomb 32

1. M 1916* S 626	5. M 1911 S 632	9. M 1910* S 637
2. M 1915* S 629	6. M 1917* S 634	10. M 1914* S 638
3. M 1918 S 630	7. M 1919* S 635	11. M 1921* S 639
4. M 1923* S 631	8. M 1920* S 636	12. M 1904* S 640

3. Jug; light brown; dark gray and red-brown painted bands; fine gray, very fine white grits; soft; wet smoothed; H. 240 mm.

5. Jug; dull red brown; light brown surface; painted gray and red brown bands; large, fine, white grits; fairly hard; wet smoothed; H. 278 mm.

Plate 32. Vessels of Tomb 32

1. M 1925* S 642	12. M 2036* S 799	23. M 2025* S 875
2. M 1934* S 641	13. M 2034* S 801	24. M 1979* S 927
3. M 1924* S 653	14. M 2031 S 803	25. M 1981* S 933
4. M 2022 S 758	15. M 2033* S 812	26. M 1971* S 955
5. M 2023* S 759	16. M 2040 S 813	27. M 1970* S 957
6. M 1998 S 768	17. x382* S 815	28. M 1975* S 958
7. M 1988 S 771	18. M 2042* S 816	29. M 1968* S 959
8. M 2015* S 774	19. M 2057* S 842	30. M 1967* S 969
9. M 2011 S 780	20. M 2072 S 848	31. M 1969* S 973
10. M 2019* S 793	21. M 2082 S 855	
11. M 2044* S 798	22. M 2026* S 873	

4. Juglet; light red brown; large, fine, small gray, grits; fairly soft; wet smoothed; H. 115 mm.

6. Juglet; light red brown; medium fine white grits; fairly hard; remains of vertical burnishing; H. 115 mm.

7. Juglet with pouring rim; light brown; very fine, occasional medium white grits; part of body vertically burnished; H. 125 mm.

9. Juglet; light brown; fine white and gray grits; fairly hard; vertical burnishing; H. 120 mm.

14. Juglet; light brown; painted gray and brown alternating bands; few, medium and small, white grits; fairly hard; vertically burnished; H. 125 mm.

16. Juglet; light brown; gray core; small and fine white grits; fairly hard; diagonally burnished; H. 85 mm.

20. Blackware juglet; burnishing; H. 75 mm.

21. Blackware juglet; burnishing; H. 94 mm.

Plate 33. Vessels of Tomb 32

1. M 2119* S 1169	7. M 2108 S 1284	13. M 2109* S 1379
2. M 2125* S 1223	8. M 2123* S 1307	14. M 2118* S 1380
3. M 2113* S 1228	9. M 2122* S 1309	15. M 2128* S 1434
4. M 2116* S 1235	10. M 2111* S 1320	16. M 2129* S 1473
5. M 2107* S 1237	11. M 2117 S 1221	17. M 2130* S 1474
6. M 2110* S 1239	12. M 2126* S 1378	

7. Bowl; red brown; small and fine white grits; fairly soft; wet smoothed; horizontally burnished rim and interior; D. 200 mm.

11. Bowl; light brown; small and fine white grits; soft; wet smoothed; suggestion of chordal and horizontal burnishing inside apparently wet smoothed afterward.

Plate 34. Vessels of Tomb 32

1. x6* S 1569	9. M 2096* S 1691	17. M 2085* S 1706
2. x356* S 1571	10. M 2104* S 1695	18. M 2090* S 1707
3. M 2172* S 1572	11. M 2103* S 1696	19. M 2091* S 1708
4. M 2173* S 1574	12. M 2106* S 1699	20. M 2088* S 1709
5. M 2175* S 1575	13. x463* S 1700	21. M 2086* S 1711
6. x544* S 1584	14. M 2093* S 1701	22. M 2178* S 1736
7. M 2101* S 1688	15. M 2097* S 1702	23. M 2177* S 1739
8. M 2095* S 1690	16. M 2092* S 1704	

Plate 35. Vessels of Tomb 54

1. M 2614* S 605	12. M 2410* S 796	23. M 2611* S 850
2. M 2586* S 649	13. M 2601* S 800	24. M 2607* S 851
3. M 2585* S 650	14. M 2606* S 802	25. M 2629* S 925
4. M 2589* S 761	15. M 2602* S 803	26. M 2615* S 1243
5. M 2597* S 762	16. M 2604* S 804	27. M 2616* S 1206
6. M 2595* S 765	17. M 2603* S 805	28. M 2632* S 1692
7. M 2588* S 766	18. M 2605* S 806	29. x227* S 1697
8. M 2594* S 767	19. M 2610* S 843	30. M 2630* S 1698
9. M 2590* S 769	20. M 2608* S 844	31. M 2633* S 1710
10. M 2592* S 770	21. M 2609* S 845	
11. M 2600* S 795	22. M 2613* S 849	

Plate 36. Vessels of Tomb 5

1. M 1386* S 554	10. M 1411* S 782	19. M 1260 S 858
2. M 1391* S 570	11. M 1410* S 797	20. M 1262* S 860
3. M 1307* S 623	12. M 1409* S 807	21. M 1404* S 934
4. M 1380* S 643	13. M 1406* S 810	22. M 1405* S 965
5. M 1385* S 644	14. M 1407* S 814	23. M 1401* S 970
6. M 1383* S 645	15. M 1408* S 817	24. M 1403* S 971
7. M 1382* S 646	16. M 1257 S 852	25. M 1393 S 978
8. M 1381* S 647	17. M 1245* S 854	26. M 1399* S 976
9. M 1415* S 778	18. M 1240 S 857	

16. Juglet; black; many very small white grits; hard; vertically burnished; H. 85 mm.

18. Juglet; black; many very small white grits; hard; vertically burnished; H. 100 mm.

19. Juglet; black; many very small white grits; hard; vertically burnished; H. 94 mm.

25. One-handled pot; weathered; orange red; spiral ribbing inside; H. 165 mm.

Plate 37. Vessels of Tomb 5

1. M 1369* S 1175	9. M 1366 S 1257	17. M 1379* S 1285
2. M 1356* S 1185	10. M 1365* S 1258	18. M 1367* S 1286
3. M 1377* S 1224	11. M 1364* S 1259	19. M 1361* S 1328
4. M 1362* S 1242	12. M 1363* S 1260	20. M 1354* S 1392
5. M 1360* S 1244	13. M 1353* S 1267	21. M 1355* S 1393
6. M 1359* S 1253	14. M 1376* S 1268	22. M 1308* S 1753
7. M 1370* S 1255	15. M 1357* S 1282	
8. M 1378* S 1256	16. M 1358* S 1283	

9. Bowl; orange red; few medium white grits; softened and faded from weathering; inner surface and top of rim covered with red slip and then burnished horizontally; D. 212 mm.

Plate 38. Vessels of Tombs 29 and 55

Tomb 29

1. M 1766* S 563	7. x2 —	13. M 1770* S 932
2. M 1767* S 576	8. M 1759* S 866	14. M 1752* S 939
3. M 1757* S 859	9. M 1760* S 869	15. M 1771* S 1174
4. M 1758* S 861	10. M 1769* S 928	16. M 1776* S 1176
5. M 1761* S 863	11. x34* S 929	17. M 1772* S 1219
6. M 1748* S 281	12. M 1768* S 930	18. M 1773* S 1333

Tomb 55

19. M 2768* S 772	20. M 2769* S 872	21. M 2767* S 972
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Plate 39. Hebrew Lamps and Transitional Specimens (nos. 1-10 from T. 32)

1. M 2167* S 1594 Round base
2. M 2137 S 1595 Round base; light brown; small gray, fine white grits; soft; wet smoothed; L. 59 mm.
3. M 2134 S 1598 Round base; brown, weathered to light brown; small dark gray, fine white grits; fairly soft; wet smoothed L. 120 mm.
4. M 2157 S 1600 Round base; brown; fine white grits; fairly soft; wet smoothed; L. 153 mm.
5. M 2147 S 1602 Round base; red brown, light orange-brown surface; many very fine white grits; fairly soft; wet smoothed; L. 150 mm.
6. M 2155 S 1605 Round base; light brown; small, fine, white grits; soft; wet smoothed; L. 137 mm.
7. M 2170 S 1608 Round base; light brown, light orange-brown surface; small white grits; fairly soft; wet smoothed; L. 142 mm.

8. M 2153* S 1609 Round base
9. M 2159* S 1610 Round base
10. M 2163 S 1611 Round base; light brown; small, very fine, white grits; soft; wet smoothed; L. 135 mm.
11. M 2795* S 1625 Ci 354; 7 spouted; round base
12. M 1695* S 1628 S 23, I; disk base
13. M 834* S 1632 Ci 183; disk base
14. M 1208 S 1644 Ca 285; folded, round base; light drab; hard; W. 54 mm.
15. M 2515* S 1643 R. 488; folded, disk base
16. M 2796* S 1629 Ci 354; disk base
17. M 315* S 1631 R. 64; disk base
18. M 2474* S 1635 Ci 368; high foot
19. Found in debris
20. S 1647 Found at Kh. 'Attarah. Wheel made; conical spout
21. CT 6 (bowl with wick marks)

Plate 40. Lamps of Tomb 22²

1. M 1659 S 1657 II D4 Red-brown; wheel design with six spokes in base; L. 95 mm.
2. M 1652 S 1659 II E1 Light brown; L. 100 mm.
3. M 1656 S 1659 II E1 Light brown; L. 101 mm.
4. M 1643 S 1660 II E2 Light orange brown; L. 96 mm.
5. M 1640 S 1660^v II E3 Light brown; L. 105 mm.
6. M 1651 S 1659^v II E4 Gray; L. 82 mm.
7. M 1654 S 1659^v II E5 L. 83 mm.
8. M 1661* S 1662 II E10 Light brown; pale-green tint; H. 35, W. 59, L. 83 mm.
9. M 1664* S 1664 II F2 Reddish brown; L. 72 mm.
10. M 1655 S 1666 II F4 Brown; L. 75 mm.
11. M 1665 S 1664^v II F5 Brown; L. 71 mm.
12. M 1667* S 1667 II F6 Light orange brown; L. 80 mm.
13. M 1668 S 1667 II F6 Gray; L. 78 mm.
14. M 1662 S 1669 II G2 Brown; L. 75 mm.
15. M 1663 S 1669 II G2 Reddish brown; L. 80 mm.
16. M 1647 S 1668-9 II G6 Brown, reddish brown spots; L. 74 mm.
17. M 1648 S 1668-9 II G6 Brown; L. 75 mm.
18. M 1660 S 1672 II H1 Reddish brown; L. 82 mm.
19. M 1657 S 1673 II I Brown and reddish brown; L. 95 mm.
20. M 1666 S 1677 II K Brown; L. 88 mm.

Plate 41. Lamps of Tomb 19

1. M 1613 S 1652^v II B5 Reddish brown; L. 80 mm.
2. M 1618 S 1660 II E2 Light reddish brown; L. 97 mm.
3. M 1616 S 1660^v II E3 Brown, fairly soft; L. 103 mm.
4. M 1617 S 1660^v II E3 Gray brown; L. 102 mm.
5. M 1631 S 1660^v II E6 Light brown, soft; L. 101 mm.
6. M 1624 S 1659^v II E7 Light brown; L. 98 mm.

² The lamps on pls. 40-42 are fairly hard, well-baked ware unless otherwise indicated.

A superior ^v indicates a subtype, showing some variation from the type specimen.

Those marked with an asterisk are type lamps appearing in vol. II, pls. 72, 73.

7. M 1623* S 1661 II E8 Light orange brown; L. 99 mm.
8. M 1619 S 1663 II F1 Light brown; L. 74 mm.
9. M 1622 S 1663 II F1 Reddish brown; L. 71 mm.
10. M 1627 S 1664 II F2 Orange brown; L. 72 mm.
11. M 1628 S 1664 II F2 Light brown; L. 72 mm.
12. M 1620* S 1666 II F4 Light brown; L. 76 mm.
13. M 1621 S 1666 II F4 Light brown; L. 77 mm.
14. M 1626 S 1666^v II F5 Orange brown; L. 77 mm.
15. M 1629 S 1666^v II F5 Light brown; L. 75 mm.
16. M 1625* S 1669 II G2 Brown; L. 78 mm.
17. M 1614* S 1670 II G3 Orange brown; L. 73 mm.
18. M 1630 S 1670^v II G4 Light reddish brown; L. 72 mm.
19. M 1615* S 1674 II J1 Brown; L. 97 mm.

Plate 42. Lamps of Tombs 6, 13, and 33

Tomb 6

1. M 1477 S 1652 II B1 Light red brown; fairly soft; L. 71 mm. (fig. 22: 6)
2. M 1478* S 1663 II F1 Brown; L. 73 mm.
3. M 1481 S 1671 II G5 Red brown; soft; L. 74 mm.
4. M 1475 S 1672 II H1 Light orange brown; L. 84 mm. (fig. 22: 11)
5. M 1482* S 1676 II J3 Red brown; L. 98 mm.

Tomb 13

6. M 1564* S 1659 II E1 Light brown; fairly soft; L. 104 mm.
7. M 1567 S 1664 II F2 Light orange brown; L. 76 mm.
8. M 1568* S 1665 II F3 Light brown; L. 75 mm.
9. M 1566* S 1668 II G1 Red brown; fairly soft; L. 79 mm.
10. M 1565* S 1677 II K Light brown; fairly soft; L. 78 mm.

Tomb 33

11. M 1864* S 1654 II D1 Brown; L. 79 mm.
12. M 1899 S 1655^v II D2 Light brown; soft; red brown slip; L. 85 mm. (fig. 23: 3)
13. M 1898* S 1657 II D4 Light orange; soft; L. 86 mm.
14. M 1862 S 1668 II G1 Brown; fairly soft; L. 79 mm.
15. M 1863 S 1672^v II H1 Light brown; fairly soft; L. 76 mm. (fig. 23: 8)
16. M 1861 S 1673 II I Light brown; fairly soft; L. 80 mm.
17. M 1859 S 1677^v II K Gray; soft; L. 83 mm. (fig. 23: 9)
18. M 1866 S 1678^v II L1 Light brown; red brown slip; L. 112 mm. (fig. 23: 10)
19. M 1901 S 1678 II L1 Light brown; red brown slip; soft; L. 143 mm.

Plate 43. Ossuary from Tomb 14

1. Front view
2. Back view
3. Interior of ossuary and lid

Plate 44. Cisterns 33, 165, and 285

1. Detail from wall of Ci 33 showing how plaster was keyed to wall.
2. Design, or figure, in plaster covering interior of Ci 33.
3. View of Ci 33 showing how pottery and artifacts are distributed in interior of much-used cisterns.

4. Another interior view of Ci 33 showing distribution of pottery.

5. Outside view of Ci 165 showing rubble-masonry shaft surrounding opening and flat cover stone on top.

6. Stairway entrance to Cave 285 and Ci 285 just inside large city wall in P 22

Plate 45. Cisterns 159, 363, and 368

1. Rubble-shaft, cover-stones, floor-drain, and down-drain of Ci 363.

2. Detail of wall of Ci 159 showing two or three layers of plaster which probably indicate separate phases of building and repair and, consequently, of use.

3. Two openings to double cistern, No. 368

Plate 46. Artifacts from Cisterns 78, 119, and 127

Ci 78

- | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|
| 1. M 147 S 444 | 5. M 143 S 1067 |
| 2. M 145* S 445 | 6. M 146 figurine |
| 3. M 142* S 674 | 7. M 197 pestle |
| 4. M 144* S 736 | |

Ci 119

- | | |
|------------------|------------------|
| 8. M 152* S 447 | 12. M 150 S 1215 |
| 9. M 154* S 584 | 13. M 156 S 1322 |
| 10. M 153 S 1068 | 14. M 155* S 231 |
| 11. M 151 S 1214 | |

Ci 127

- | | |
|-------------------|------------------|
| 15. M 250 S 282 | 22. M 252 S 586 |
| 16. M 248 S 585 | 23. M 262* S 588 |
| 17. M 249* S 585 | 24. M 244 S 673 |
| 18. M 251 S 585 | 25. M 245 S 673 |
| 19. M 258* S 1189 | 26. M 254 S 679 |
| 20. M 259 S 1818 | 27. M 255 S 679 |
| 21. M 247 S 607 | 28. M 256* S 679 |

Plate 47. Artifacts from Cistern 159

1. M 484* S 661
2. M 482* S 708
3. M 461 S 775
4. M 483 S 781
5. M 462 S 930
6. M 481 S 1542
7. M 479 S 1284
8. M 458 animal figurine, fragment
9. M 480* S 1439
10. M 460 figurine, head fragment
11. M 463 figurine, pedestal fragment
12. M 459 figurine, torso fragment
13. M 464 figurine, torso fragment
14. M 468 animal figurine, 2 fragments
15. M 466 animal figurine, fragment
16. M 467 animal figurine, fragment
17. M 469 animal figurine, fragment
18. M 465 figurine
19. M 470 pottery disk
20. M 476 weight(?)
21. M 478 weight
22. M 475 rubbing stone
23. M 474 flint
24. M 473 bronze fibula, bow fragment
25. M 477 beads, 1 carnelian, 1 paste
26. M 471 bronze arrowhead
27. M 452 bone spatula
28. M 453 bone spatula, fragment

29. M 454 bone spatula, fragment
30. M 455 bone spatula, fragment
31. M 456 bone spatula, fragment
32. M 457 bone spatula, fragment
33. M 472 iron knife

Plate 48. Artifacts from Cisterns 163, 166

Ci 163

1. M 517 S 613
2. M 513* S 1250
3. M 514* S 1287
4. M 516 S 1314
5. M 519 animal figurine, fragment
6. M 520 animal figurine, fragment
7. M 518* S 1530
8. M 515* S 1559
9. M 512* S 1769

Ci 166

10. M 525* S 783
11. M 524 S 871
12. M 532* S 936
13. M 526 S 1287
14. M 529* S 1325
15. M 528 S 1314
16. M 527 S 1321
17. M 530 S 1325
18. M 536 animal figurine, fragment
19. M 538 animal head spout, fragment
20. M 539 animal figurine, fragment
21. M 537 animal head spout, fragment
22. M 531 shell
23. M 535 iron implement
24. M 533 iron arrowhead
25. M 534 bronze fragment with cuneiform inscription

Plate 49. Vessels from Cistern 176

- | | |
|------------------|-------------------|
| 1. M 1032* S 291 | 7. M 1026 S 564 |
| 2. M 1025 S 544 | 8. M 1027* S 564 |
| 3. M 1029* S 548 | 9. M 1050 S 564 |
| 4. M 1052* S 550 | 10. M 1031* S 388 |
| 5. M 1039 S 559 | 11. M 1048* S 393 |
| 6. M 1058 S 559 | 12. M 1059* S 400 |

Plate 50. Artifacts from Cistern 176

1. M 1013* S 990
2. M 1056 S 564
3. M 1054* S 966
4. M 1053 S 564
5. M 1060 S 566
6. M 1057 S 567
7. M 1055* S 569
8. M 1028 S 977
9. M 1051 S 1051
10. M 1030* S 1200
11. M 1040 S 1215
12. M 1024 S 1309
13. M 1033 figurine, head fragment
14. M 1043 bronze coin
15. M 1016* S 1429
16. M 1042 carnelian bead
17. M 1041 shell, pierced
18. M 1049 bronze needle(?)
19. M 1014 polishing stone
20. M 1017 iron chisel

21. M 1018 iron punch
22. M 1019 stamped jar handle
23. M 1012 rubbing stone(?)

Plate 51. Artifacts from Cisterns 183, 231

Ci 183

- | | |
|------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. M 835 S 683 | 7. M 841-6 beads |
| 2. M 838* S 1035 | 8. M 839* S 1724 |
| 3. M 909* S 1460 | 9. M 840 bronze pin(?) |
| 4. M 834* S 1632 | with hooked end |
| 5. M 833* S 1651 | 10. M 836 bronze <i>kubl</i> stick |
| 6. M 837 iron fragment | |

Ci 231

- | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------|
| 11. M 959* S 1050 | 15. M 957 flint |
| 12. M 966* S 1425 | 16. M 969* S 1624 |
| 13. M 967* S 1284 | 17. M 958* S 1432 |
| 14. M 960 bronze bracelet | |

Plate 52. Artifacts from Cisterns 320 and 363

Ci 320

- | | |
|------------------|-------------------|
| 1. M 2359* S 556 | 7. M 2361 S 567 |
| 2. M 2364 S 560 | 8. M 2356 S 612 |
| 3. M 2365* S 560 | 9. M 2358* S 967 |
| 4. M 2362 S 564 | 10. M 2357* S 977 |
| 5. M 2360* S 565 | 11. M 2355* S 672 |
| 6. M 2363 S 566 | |

Ci 363

- | | |
|-------------------|-------------------|
| 12. M 2891* S 230 | 15. M 2884* S 387 |
| 13. M 2882* S 421 | 16. M 2885* S 410 |
| 14. M 2883 S 387 | 17. M 2886* S 413 |

Plate 53. Artifacts from Cisterns 363 (cont.), 368, 370

Ci 363 (cont.)

- | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. M 2887* S 583 | 5. M 2889* S 738 |
| 2. M 2892* S 586 | 6. M 2890* S 865 |
| 3. M 2881* S 612 | 7. M 2893 bronze vase |
| 4. M 2888* S 651 | |

Ci 368

8. M 2478* S 606
9. M 2477 S 613
10. M 2473* S 673
11. M 2470* S 823
12. M 2479* S 874
13. M 2469* S 1067
14. M 2472* S 452
15. M 2474* S 1635
16. M 2471* S 1637
17. M 2476 bone
18. M 2480 figurine, head fragment
19. M 2481 animal figurine, fragment
20. M 2475 amulet(?)

Ci 370

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 21. M 2553* S 784 | 30. M 2543, 2556, 2557, beads |
| 22. M 2541* S 789 | 31. M 2552 inscribed weight |
| 23. M 2546* S 791 | 32. M 2544 figurine, fragment |
| 24. M 2559* S 792 | 33. M 2558 bone pendant |
| 25. M 2551* S 949 | 34. M 2542 bone spoon(?) |
| 26. M 2548* S 1214 | 35. M 2555 bronze ring |
| 27. M 2547* S 1215 | 36. M 2550 bone spatula |
| 28. M 2554* S 1840 | 37. M 2549 bone spatula |
| 29. M 2545 stamped jar handle | |

Plates 54 and 55. Scarabs, Seals, Seal Impressions, and Miscellaneous Inscribed and Carved Objects with List of Scarabs, Scaraboids, Seals, Amulets, and Seal Impressions of Animal Figures (chap. XIII)

The list of Egyptian objects and imitations is based upon a study made by Dr. R. M. Engberg and suggestions from Professor Keith C. Seele and Dr. Ludlow Bull, with a report from Dr. Max Pieper on M 1200, 1331, 1332 (nos. 57, 42, 43) made to Dr. Badè. For objects in the Palestine Museum, which are marked "Pal.," reference is made to Alan Rowe, *A Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, Scaraboids, Seals and Amulets in the Palestine Archaeological Museum*, Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1936. Dr. Engberg prepared a careful description of a large majority of the objects and Professor Seele made extensive notes upon several. Dr. Bull has seen only a few, but has gone through the manuscript. Credit is given to each for his contributions under the various items on the list and hearty thanks are hereby expressed for their invaluable assistance.³

Scarabs, Scaraboids, and Seals in Tomb 32

E, W, N, S, C, stand for the various "strips" in T. 32. See above, chap. IX, i.

Plate 54

SCARABS

- *1. M 2312; E. Blue composition. Engberg: base inscribed with beetle (*kheper*) above vulture with wings outspread.
- *2. M 2313; E. Steatite, white. Engberg: inside the border line are three S-shaped scrolls lying on their sides.
- *3. M 2317; E; Pal. Steatite, yellowish. Rowe, no. 876: to right *Rā-men-kheper*, followed by *meny*, and *neb*, "lord." Perhaps "the ruler *Rā-men-kheper*, *Rā-meny*." Date: 25th dyn. Engberg agrees as to reading and date. Seele: at right *Mn-hpr-R'* at top *n*; beneath at left *mny*, at bottom *nb*, or space filler; date perhaps as late as 25th dyn.
- *4. M 2318; N. Steatite, light gray, traces of bluish paint. Engberg: geometric pattern enclosing two *ankh* signs.
- *5. M 2319; N. Steatite, light brown; very deeply and crudely incised. Engberg: figure of the god Thoth standing before a reed leaf; or (Bull) of a hawk-headed divinity ("O Har-akhty," "O Thōt"); "a divine name preceded by a vocative particle."
- *6. M 2320; S. Steatite, white. Engberg: inscriptional field filled mainly with *nefer* signs, some inverted. At lower left and right crowns of lower Egypt.
- *7. M 2322; S; Pal. Rowe, no. 853: scarab, oval; wood(?); dark brown; badly weathered; man or god with ostrich. Date: ca. 20th dyn. or later.
- *8. M 2323; S; Pal. Steatite, light gray. Rowe, no. 701: above, solar disk with wings and pendant uraei; below, to right, falcon-headed deity with corrupt *ankh* ("life" sign) in left hand and scepter in right, on his head the sun disk; before him, in adoration, a king wearing the blue crown with uraeus and a kilt; badly made *ankh* in right hand, left reaches toward scepter. Date: ca. 19th dyn. Engberg agrees. Seele:

³ "B" indicates comments by Dr. Bull, "Mc" by McCown. I have attempted to retain the transliteration of each scholar, even if peculiar. (Engberg followed Rowe.) The asterisk (*) marks objects which appear on pls. 54 and 55.

king not in posture of worship; scepter uncertain, *ankh* possible; 19th dyn. or later.

- *9. M 2324; N; Pal. Rowe, no. 503: steatite, white; *nesew bit*, *Rā-men-kheper*, *Imen mery*, "the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Thutmose III, beloved of Amen." Seele: *nsw.t-bi.t*, *Mn-hpr-R'*, *mry Imn*. Date 18th dyn. or later.
- *10. M 2325; S; Pal. Rowe, no. 877: broken; steatite, whitish yellow. *Rā-men-kheper*, *Rā-meny*; to right and doubtless originally to left *Rā-maāt*, "Rā is true"; below is *neb*, "lord." Engberg: *Men-Kheper-Rā*, i. e. Thutmose III; *Rā-meny* possible. Seele: *Mn-hpr-R'*; possibly (very doubtful) combine *R' m3 .t* (which may be read on either side) and *nb* making *Nb-m3 .t-R'*, i. e. Amenhotep III. Date: Rowe, 25th dyn.; Engberg, 18th or later; Seele, much later than 18th dyn.
- *11. M 2326; S. Engberg: steatite, white, traces of glaze. *Neter*, *Men-Kheper-Rā*, "the god, Men-Kheper-Rā (Thutmose III)." Bull: perhaps *Mn-hpr-R' ntry*, "M. is divine." Date: 18th dyn. or later.
- *12. M 2327; S. Steatite, light brown, traces of pink glaze. Engberg: above, winged griffins facing two indistinct objects [winged cobra(?) B], below bird (vulture?) with outstretched wings.
- *13. M 2328; C. Engberg: steatite, yellowish. Conventionalized crowns of Lower Egypt (one lost) enclosing obscure signs—a quadruped with raised tail over a stroke, and, reversed, a bird(?). Bull: *neb* and *men* signs over a hawk with the so-called flail on his back(?).
- *14. M 2329; C. Engberg: steatite, white, traces of glaze; winged sun disk above *Men-Kheper-Rā* (Thutmose III) in cartouche; below, double uraeus; to left (on impression) *nefer neter*, *neb tawy*, "the good god, lord of the two lands," to right, *dī ankh det*, "given life for ever." Date: 18th dyn., or later.
- *15. M 2330; M; Pal. Rowe, no. 878: steatite, white; blundered text. *Rā-men*; ram; crown of Lower Egypt; Amen-Rā, i. e. *Rā-men-kheper*, *Rā-meny*. Engberg: third character possibly a sphinx with sun disk surmounting a hawk's head; read (doubtfully) *Rāmen*. Seele: *Mn-hpr(?) -R' (štp, or mry) . . n Imn-R'*, "Men-kheper-Rē, ("chosen," or "beloved") of Amon-Re" (??). Date: Rowe, 25th dyn.
- *16. M 2331; C; Pal. Rowe, no. 879: steatite, yellowish, *Rā-men-kheper* (perhaps add *Rā-meny*); at one side the *ma'at* feather, at the other two strokes which may be corrupt for the reed leaf, part of *Rā-meny*. Engberg: *Men-Kheper-Rā*, i. e. Thutmose III. The other two characters uncertain. Seele: *Mn-hpr-R'*. Combining the other two with *men* read *s3 Imn*, "son of Amon" (??). Date: Rowe, 25th dyn.; Engberg: 18th dyn. or after; Dr. J. A. Wilson: 1400-500.

SCARABOIDS

- *17. M 2293; N. Engberg: steatite, dark brown; man and horned quadruped facing each other. [Otherwise plain.]
- *18. M 2294; N. Engberg: steatite, dark brown; at left, human figure, both arms raised, and seated on a chair. At right, a standing human figure with left arm at side. Both figures grasp an object that resembles a stylized tree.
- *19. M 2296; N. Engberg: scorpion above horned quadruped which is suckling young.

- *20. M 2311; M. Carnelian set in gold band; broken; L. ca. 14 mm.; blank.
- *21. M 2314; E. Stone, greenish black; L. 17 mm.; blank.
- *22. M 2315; E. Engberg: steatite(?), dark brown; two horned quadrupeds facing each other.
- *23. M 2321; S. Bone, yellowish. Engberg: human figure between two birds (ostriches). Circled dot above one bird.

SEALS

- *24. M 2295; N. Engberg: faience [whitish; conical; H. 15 mm.; two incised circumscribed lines near base. (Mc)]; tall vessel between uraei. Bull: tall *bs* vessel between uraei, wearing crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt, "May the goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt be favorable."
- *25. M 2297; S. Engberg: material(?); conical; H. 14 mm.; horned quadruped with an indistinct object before and another above.
26. M 2298. Stone, black; H. 15 mm.; blank.
27. M 2299. Carnelian; rounded; L. 14 mm.; blank.
- *28. M 2300. Engberg: sandstone(?), [brown; conical; H. 19 mm.]; scorpion(?) above horned quadruped.
- *29. M 2301; N. Engberg: steatite [brown; conical; H. 12 mm.]; scorpion above quadruped.
- *30. M 2302; N. Engberg: steatite [brown; truncated cone; H. 14 mm.]; man with dagger in belt; vertical stroke behind; before crude *ankh*(?) without cross bar.
31. M 2303; M. Stone, black; truncated cone, oval cross section; H. 11 mm., L. 14 mm.; unfinished; small incised circle.
32. M 2304; M. Stone(?), brownish gray; conical; L. 15 mm., H. 16 mm.; horned quadruped in oval surrounded by geometrical design (Mc). See fig. 34: 4.
- *33. M 2305. Stone(?), dark brown; oval, rounded back; L. 15 mm.; nine dots irregularly spaced (Mc).
- *34. M 2306; N. Steatite, white; flat, thickness 7 mm. Engberg: on one side incised, standing human figure above or on back of donkey [or hare, B]; on other, raised, bearded goat(?).
- *35. M 2307; S. Bone; irregular, twice perforated at side; L. 27 mm. Engberg: Hebrew inscription. [Old Hebrew *hē* and *lamedh* possible, but the other characters not Hebrew—three *lamedhs*! See no. 65, M 1746 and no. 10, M 2325 and chap. XIII, i (Mc)]
- *36. M 2308; M. Engberg: bone; light brown; [oval, badly broken; L. 16 mm.]; quadruped with other elements.
- *37. M 2309; M. Bone; round, broken; D. 10 mm.; indistinct (Mc).
- *38. M 2316; E. Engberg: bone, flat, rounded; two human figures, *à tête bêche*, left arms hanging at sides, right arms raised.
39. M 2280. Engberg: faience, white, trace of greenish glaze; *wd3t* eye (eye of Horus). See fig. 34: 2.
- *40. M 2281. Engberg: faience; aegis of Bastet(?); cf. Petrie, *Amulets*, pl. 35: 195b. See fig. 34: 3.
41. M 2310; E; Pal. Faience(?). Engberg: aegis of Bastet, cf. no. 40, M 2281 and fig. 34: 3. Seele: date, 22d to 26th dyn.

SCARABS IN TOMB 5

- *42. M 1331. Faience, white. Pieper: below the crocodile (the god Sobk), disordered signs reading possibly, *Sbk pw šnfr k3*, "Sobk it is who makes the Ka Beauti-

ful." Engberg: Possibly "united" instead of "beautiful," middle sign at bottom *sm*; instead of *nfr*. Bull agrees with Pieper in reading *šnfr*. Date: Pieper, ca. 900; Bull, 18th dyn. See Badè, *Tombs*, 28-33, pl. 10.

- *43. M 1332. Faience, white. Pieper: characters corrupt. Possibly intended: above, *ntr nfr nb ʔwy*: "The good god, Lord of the two lands"; below, *Men-kheper-Rā* (badly corrupted) and crown of Lower Egypt, standing perhaps for *tyt Imn*, "portion of Amon." Engberg: above as Pieper; below, royal name, possibly as Pieper. Date: Pieper, 900 or later; Bull, 18th dyn. See Badè, *ibid*.

SCARABS AND SEALS, TOMB 54

44. M 2639; Pal. Scarab; composition; light yellowish green over red; broken; indistinct. Not in Rowe, *Catalogue*.
45. M 2648. Seal; carnelian; flat; L. 14 mm.; blank.
- *46. M 2649; Pal. Seal; stone, medium brown; flat; L. 21 mm.; indistinct.
- *47. M 2650. Seal; stone, medium brown; conical; H. 15 mm.; human figure and horned quadruped with bodies parallel.
- *48. M 2647; Pal. Cylinder seal; faience, human figure in prayer; L. 30 mm., D. 14 mm. See chap. XIII, ii.

SEALS, TOMBS 3 AND 4

- *49. Tomb 3, x1. Seal; steatite(?), brown; flat, oval; L. 13 mm.; flower with long tendrils curving out and down on both sides. Hellenistic?
- *50. Tomb 4, M 1182. Seal; steatite(?), brownish gray; conical; L. 14 mm.; Engberg: leaping, horned quadruped before indistinct (human?) figure; cf. no. 17, M 2293, T. 32.

SCARABS, SCARABOIDS, AND SEALS ON MOUND

- *51. N, P, Q 13-15, debris, I, M 683. Seal; faience, green over black; heartshaped; L. 13 mm.; horned quadruped, hatched body, curled tail.
- *52. N 17, R. 174, M 733. Scaraboid; steatite(?), black; L. 19 mm.; Engberg: upper register, hawk with flagellum before *ankh*, i. e. "the hawk lives" (?); lower register, lion (drill technique on head and tail). Bull: "Long live Horus" (i. e. the king); lion also represents the king.
- *53. N 18 I, M 724. Mc: scaraboid; faience(?), green glaze, pitted; L. 20 mm.; crudely cut quadruped below. [Bull: "probably not quadruped" and not "below."] Above, three unintelligible signs; back, well-cut negro's head; cf. Hall, *Cat. of Egyptian Scarabs*, etc. in the *British Mus.* I (London, 1913), no. 1240 (19th dyn.).
54. Q 14 I, M 1082. Scaraboid; material?; bright red; L. 16 mm.; Engberg: base badly worn; human figure only distinguishable.
- *55. Q 15 I, M 828. Scarab; Engberg: steatite, yellowish; [L. 16 mm.]; crown of Lower Egypt on either side of panel with unintelligible hieroglyphs: *mri nb* (upside down) *n nfrw*. Bull: *nb mri* at one side of center, *nfrw* on the other.
- *56. Q 18 II, M 1002, Pal. Scaraboid; stone, black; L. 16 mm.; crudely cut; bird with extended wings (fighting cock?); back, triple lines crossed, single diagonals. See sec. v, no. 1, below.

- *57. R 14, R. 250 II, M 1200, Pal. Scarab; Rowe, no. 783: steatite, white; from top to bottom, fish, lion, scorpion; signs: *was mery neb*, i. e. (probably) "all welfare and love." Cf. Newberry, *Scarabs* (London, 1906), pl. 39: 28, 29; cf. below, AJ22, Si 170, no. 606. Date, Rowe and Bull, 19th dyn.; Pieper, 12th cent. possible, but style points to ca. 1000. See Badè, *Tombs*, 28-33; cf. no. 74 below.

Plate 55.

- *58. T 23, R. 274 I, M 1694. Scaraboid, steatite, covered with green glaze; Engberg: symmetrical pattern, oval center piece surrounded by nine figures (flowers?).
- *59. Y 17 near Si 333, M 2511, Pal. Seal, limestone(?); conical; H. 15 mm.; horned quadruped suckling young; above it another horned quadruped.
60. Y 25X, M 1469. Scarab; blue composition; L. 13 mm.; base and back uncut.
- *61. AA 19 I, M 2842. Seal, limestone; large rectilinear; H. 38 mm.; base incised in rectangular grid.
- *62. AB 17 I, M 2823, Pal. Seal, limestone; irregular rectilinear; H. 32 mm.; base incised lengthwise in parallel lines within rectangle.
- *63. AC 14, R. 532 I, M 2578. Engberg: scaraboid, material? [pinkish stone]; two skirted figures, one on each side of stylized palm tree [figures crosshatched].
- *64. AC 15 I, M 2576. Engberg: scaraboid, blue composition; galloping horned quadruped [ibex, B].
- *65. AC 24, R. 278 I, M 1746, Pal. Rowe, S. 66: seal, steatite, white; oblong; on one side: Amen-Rā; below *neb*, "lord," and conventional flying scarab. Engberg: *ʔmntt nb*; intended is Amon-Re(?), or possibly Amonet. [It in *ʔmntt* intended for sun disk and stroke(?) B]. On other side, Rowe: two falcon-headed solar gods in human form, one with solar disk [solar disk and horns or crescent moon, B] above him, the other with *men* (short for Amen), or even a triple plumed crown. Date: Rowe: ca. 19th dyn.
- *66. AC 25, bin 283, M 1206. Engberg: scarab, hematite; two quadrupeds facing each other; drill technique.
- *67. AE 15 I, M 1442, Pal. Seal, limestone; conical; D. 19 mm.; two quadrupeds nursing(?) young.
68. AE-AG 19-20, M 2873. Scaraboid, carnelian; L. 14 mm.; blank.
69. AF 19X, M 2438. Seal, limestone; flat, round; D. 13 mm.; blank.
70. AF 19, R. 442 I, M 2446. Seal, limestone; crude, irregular; D. 35 mm.; unfinished, indistinct.
71. AH 22, M 597. Seal, opalescent glass, iridescent; conical; H. 14 mm., base oval 10 x 12 mm.; indistinct.
72. Debris, June 30, 1932. Seal, yellowish translucent glass; conical; H. 15 mm., base rounded, D. ca. 12 mm.; indistinct.
- *73. AJ 22, Si 151, M 413. Seal, bone; flat; Seele: two gods such as Horus and Seth.
- *74. AJ 22, Si 170, M 606, Pal. Scarab or scaraboid; stone(?); lion, with three characters filling free spaces: *was, neb*, (or *mr*), *ankh*; cf. no. 57, M 1200, above. Not in Rowe, *Catalogue*.
- *75. AM 22, near surface, M 2671 Pal. Seal, stone(?); conical; H. 35 mm.; four animal figures, crudely cut.
- *76. AB 14, Si 318 II, M 2347. Faience, greenish blue glaze; miniature seated sphinx(?) highly conventionalized, (slight resemblance to Graeco-Roman type); head and wings (or body and head?) missing.

- *77. AH 20, Ci 165, M 540. Faience; H. 28 mm.+ Figure alike on both sides. Seele: Bes figure (head missing); cf. Petrie, *Lahun II*, pl. 68: 10. Date: probably not earlier than the 22d dyn. "This is a mere guess."
 78. AG 28, Cave 193c, M 904. Seele: porphyry; *wḏt* eye ("eye of Horus"). Fig. 34: 1.
 *79. P 13 II-III, M 974. Engberg: yellowish green composition, upper portion lost, bottom apparently double-hawk figurine.

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS ON PL. 55

- *80. Cuneiform inscription, chap. XIII, iii
 *81. Hittite seal impression, chap. XIII, iv
 *82. Carved bone, chap. XIII, vi, 1
 *83. Incised limestone rod, chap. XIII, vi, 2
 *84. An uncertain character, chap. XIV, vii, 3

Plate 56. Inscribed Jar Handles: *Lemelekk* and
MŠH Stamps. Chapter XIV

SUN DISK STAMPS

1. Ci 370, M 2545, sec. i, 1
2. AD 13, M 1441, sec. i, 1, 2
3. Ci 166, M 549, sec. i, 1, 2
4. R. 393, M 2339, sec. i, 1, 3
5. AB 18, I, M 2834, sec. i, 1, 3
6. R. 464, M 2488, sec. i, 1, 2, 3
7. S 24, I, M 1697, sec. i, 1, 3
8. S 11, x3, sec. i, 1, 3
9. Debris, Sec. 73, I, M 696, sec. i, 1, 3

BEETLE STAMPS

10. Z 15, I, M 2865, sec. i, 2, 3
11. R. 445, M 2452, sec. i, 1, 2
12. AG 28, I, M 829, sec. i, 1, 2, 3
13. R. 625, M 2827, sec. i, 2, 3
14. Q 18, II, M 998, sec. i, 2, 3

MŠH STAMPS

15. Z 25, III, M 1471, sec. iv, 5
16. R. 522, M 2720, sec. iv, 5
17. Dump Z 25, 26, I, M 1463, sec. iv, 5
18. Dump AB 25, 26, I, M 1448, sec. iv, 5
19. Ci 361, M 2816, sec. iv, 5
20. AD 19, I, M 2716, sec. iv, 5
21. AE 20, I, M 2466, sec. iv, 5
22. Dump AE, AF, AG 19, 20, I, M 2871, sec. iv, 5
23. T. 168, M 582, sec. iv, 5
24. R. 569, M 2876, sec. iv, 5
25. AH 26, I, M 798, sec. iv, 5
26. AG 26, I, M 797, sec. iv, 5; vi, 6
27. Dump refill AE, AD 19, 20, M 2874, sec. iv, 5; vi, 6
28. R. 462, M 2713, sec. iv, 5

Plate 57. Inscribed Handles, Weights, Graffiti. Chapter XIV

1. Z 17, I, M 2856, *YHD* stamp, sec. iv, 3, 4; vi, 4
2. AA 18, I, M 2847, *YHD* stamp, sec. iv, 3, 4; vi, 2
3. AE 26, I, M 876, *YHD* stamp, sec. iv, 3, 4; vi, 4
- 4-5. T. 19, M 1638, Jaazaniah seal, sec. ii, 3
6. Ci 370, M 2552, weight, sec. iii
7. AK 21, M 223, weight, sec. iii
8. R. 475, M 2512, weight, sec. iii
9. AB 24, I, M 1701, two-line stamp, sec. ii, 1
10. Dump AG 21, I, M 2462, two-line stamp, sec. ii, 2
11. AF 18, I, M 2430, two-line stamp, sec. ii, 1

12. AF 18, I, M 2432, two-line stamp, sec. ii, 1
13. Dump V 18, I, M 2504, two-letter stamp, sec. iv, 3, 4
14. R. 394, M 2335, two-letter stamp, sec. iv, 3, 4; vi, 3
15. Ci 361, M 2830, four-letter stamp, sec. iv, 2
16. V 23, I, M 1795, four-letter stamp, sec. iv, 2
17. R. 477, M 2494, two-letter stamp, sec. iv, 3, 5; vi, 3
18. R. 435, M 2533, two-letter stamp, sec. iv, 3, 4
19. AG 18, I, M 2400, three-letter stamp, sec. iv, 3, 4; vi, 1
20. AJ 24, M 397, undeciphered stamp, sec. vii, 2

GRAFFITI

21. Q 14, I, M 1035, sec. v, 3
22. R. 236, M 968, sec. v, 2, 4
23. Ci 304, M 1835, sec. v, 4
24. AB 15, I, M 2341, sec. v, 5
25. Z 24, I, M 1500, sec. vii, 1
26. Ci 3, M 116, sec. v, 1
27. Q 16, II, M 850, sec. v, 6

Plate 58. Objects from Tomb 15

- 1 A-F. Inscribed bone
- 2-4. Lamps
- 5 A, B. Coin of Ptolemy II Philadelphus

Plates 59, 60. Greek Ware

1. Clazomenian vase
- 2-6. Attic black- and red-figure ware
7. Offset-lip cup
- 8-22. Handle, rim, and wall fragments
- 23-29. Base fragments

Plate 61. Physical Characteristics of Site and Relationships of Walls and Structures of Stratum II

1. Bedrock contour and city walls at south end
2. Bedrock contour and thickness of debris at north end
3. Bedrock contour and thickness of debris on east side
4. From center of site looking west over AF, AG 17
5. Looking northwest in AE, AF 17
6. Stratum ii remains at north end in N, P 15, 16
7. Room 549, AF 18 of stratum ii

Plate 62. Floors and Phases of Stratum I

1. Bedrock and floor of room 638, Z 19
2. Flagstone floor in room 641, Z 18
3. Opening of cistern 370 and its association with single-stone walls
4. Narrow street belonging to earlier phase of stratum i
5. Earlier and later phases of stratum i
6. Walls of later phase of stratum i and large city wall, some laid on remains of city wall. Looking south from T 12

Plate 63. Phases of Stratum I

1. Narrow wall superimposed on large city wall
2. Overlapping of stratum i structural plans
3. Phases of stratum i indicated by drains
4. Interior of cave 167
5. Entrance to cave 167 and rock scarp

PART III

Plate 64. Western Defense Tower

1. The two rooms in the western defense tower
2. Detail of room showing rude construction
3. Side of tower (right) abutting on west wall

4. Junction side wall of tower with city wall
5. North end of inner wall showing relation to east end of defense tower

Plate 65. Northern Defense Tower and Inner Wall

1. Northern defense tower seen from southeast (Rs. 243, 249); city wall in background
2. Base of inner wall on bedrock
3. The inner wall seen from without
4. The inner wall broken to discover chronological evidence

Plate 66. City Wall, Towers, Fosse, and Revetment

1. South wall, a meter of foundation, three meters plastered, two meters remaining above
2. South wall in 1932 (excavated in 1929)
3. Exterior of wall with revetment built against it
4. Fosse in Square S 11
5. Fosse in Square AG 28

Plate 67. Details of Wall Construction

1. Trench leading to north wall
2. Exterior of north wall (shored up) with retaining wall below
3. Base of north wall, showing how it was forced out and collapsed
4. Interior of east wall showing shelf made by wide foundation
5. Debris under foundation of west wall; note small stones in wall

Plate 68. Masonry in Revetment and Wall

1. Upper and lower masonry
2. Wall west of revetment
3. Wall above revetment
4. Lower masonry of revetment

Plate 69. Revetment and Tower by "Early Gate"

1. Revetment slope and retaining wall from north
2. Retaining wall, revetment, city wall and tower beside "early gate," marked by pillars at upper right
3. Face of revetment, partially excavated (see also pl. 73)
4. Revetment and added revetment with wall above
5. Revetment partly denuded, wall at left, corner of tower at back (from south)

Plate 70. City Gate under Excavation

1. Top of wall with gate jambs at right; burned strip showing in debris beyond; from north
2. Gate under excavation; city wall at right; late wall in left foreground; in middle distance right inner jamb and addition to left inner jamb; beyond these, outer jambs with blockage between
3. Corner of tower with seats; pillar at left shows depth of debris
4. Gate from without with blockage of west half
5. Detail: joint between jamb and blockage in no. 4
6. Gate from within with blockage of west half
7. Detail: joint between jamb and blockage in no. 6

Plate 71. Details of City Gate

1. Gate unopened; blockage before west "guard room"
2. East and west "guard rooms" cleared
3. East "guard room"

4. Gate fully cleared, with benches, remains of pavement(?), and drain showing; revetment of city wall on right; late kiln in foreground
5. Bolt groove in east jamb; lock stone at foot of west jamb

Plate 72. Masonry of City Gate

1. West jambs
2. East jambs
3. Revetment of east tower; seat and remains of pavement at right
4. Split gate socket

Plate 73. The "Early Gate"

1. The tower in the east wall beside the "early gate," looking south; extension northward at new angle at left; north wall of gate running to right at center
2. "Early gate" under excavation; from south (note absence of *maşşebāh*)
3. "Early gate" cleared of late walls except at lower right; *maşşebāh* set up on late dividing wall in center of passage
4. Central piers, showing width of walls and character of construction
5. Looking south through left half of gateway; wall of four-room building no. 2 shown resting on sloping debris
6. Cut between the two buildings showing character of city wall (lower face cleaned) and shelf in it; ancient drain at extreme lower margin
7. View similar to no. 6; basket on ancient drain, lower face of city wall not yet cleaned; wall of four-room building no. 2 at right

Plate 74. The Upper Tower; Other Late Structures

1. Tower as found
2. Interior of tower
3. Tower under excavation
4. Thin wall on destroyed city wall (W 25)
5. Objects found in tower debris: 416, Astarte figurine; 492, animal head (dog?); 493, animal body; 494, Greek ware (see chap. XV); 363, mirror(?); 364, part of fibula; 365, bronze fragment; 366, flint
6. Lowest course of late wall built on debris and running out over city wall from southeast; R. 301 in W 12

Plate 75. Four-room Building no. 3

1. Central room, or court, from south
2. From southwest; note base of stairway in foreground; next long added room (267), then R. 380 (walls and doors of R. 380 A visible); *liwān* room with two doors separated by pier, and beyond at right the jambs of the gateway.
3. View slightly more to east than no. 2, showing front wall and entrance
4. Broken pottery as found in R. 376
5. Doorway from R. 378 B into R. 378 A, with pier and two doorways into R. 379
6. Tentative restoration, incomplete in front to display construction of wooden beams
7. Stepped street north of building, looking east

Plate 76. Four-room Buildings nos. 2 and 1

1. No. 2: looking south; *liwān* in foreground; entrance at south end of central room, mortar on pillar of earth in center; rooms cleared far below floor level
2. Detail: mortar and wall of bin 283

3. Looking north; bin 283; walls of *liwān*, "early gate" beyond

4. No. 1 from southeast; inner city wall in center, *liwān* in foreground; bin 98 in room at right

5. No. 1 from northeast; *liwān* at left; pedestal at right of center; outer wall on bedrock at left

6. Rock caverns at northeast corner of no. 1; looking southeast along wall

Plate 77. Columns and Pillars

1. Doorway (arched?) with lintel
2. R. 390; columns of drums with lintels
3. Detail of no. 2
4. R. 430 in AF 18; columns at right; notable difference of levels
5. Low monolithic pillars

Plate 78. Stairs, Pillars, Doorways

1. R. 594 (AD 16), looking east
2. R. 331 (AA 23, 24); door and stairway
3. Rs. 331-326 (AA 23, 24); row of monoliths
4. R. 326, cylindrical doorpost
5. Door of R. 435 (AE 18), looking southeast; Odeh Jirius

Plate 79. Houses and Cisterns

1. Houses with cisterns, AH-AJ 18-20; looking west
2. The same looking north
3. Canal with covering, Ci 119
4. Canal and opening, Ci 119
5. Ci 31 with false bottom of Si 9 covering Ci 31 removed

Plate 80. Houses, Bins, and Cisterns

1. R. 583 with steps leading probably to roof of R. 587
2. Bin 386 under R. 423 showing construction (cf. pl. 83: 3)
3. Steps from R. 604 to Ci 361
4. Steps from R. 598 to Ci 361 (AC 16)
5. R. 641 (Z 18) with paving

Plate 81. The Northeast Test Trench; a Stepped Street

1. Looking east down northeast trench; walls C and F in foreground, C and D at lower end of trench
2. Northeast trench: canal and wall E
3. Stepped street from northeast area leading west between end of wall and four-room building no. 3 as found
4. Steps leading up to street restored
5. Street on west side (R. 589)
6. Drain outside city gate

Plate 82. Stratified Areas

1. Two drains, on different levels in AF, AG 17; looking west
2. The same looking east, away from city wall
3. Remains of a floor of yellow lime beside northern drain, west of R. 548
4. Ci 358 between Rs. 510 and 508 (AE 17); boy stands where wall covering cistern was removed
5. Upper stratum in AE 16, from west; bins 335-37 in foreground

Plate 83. Stratified Areas

1. R. 543 (AF 18) from southwest, showing lower level
2. Rs. 543, 582, 511, with Rs. 546, 545, and 544 to the left running parallel; taken from southeast
3. Rs. 418, 417, 423 (Dr. Badè standing against debris

which carries a late wall), inner city wall running from right foreground (AF 18) toward northwest (cf. pl. 80: 2)

4. R. 522 (AD 19), from southeast; note irregular secondary walls

5. Square bin, no. 340, off R. 422

Plate 84. Pottery Stands, Altars, and Votive Offerings

1-11. Cylindrical stands (fragmentary): 1. Ci 176, x74, 108; 2. R. 616, M 2818; 3. R. 406, x3; 4. R. 576, x37; 5. R. 590, x11; 6. Ci 216, x66; 7. AD 20, x30, R. 462, x21; 8. AD 16, x36; 9. Dump AA 13, 14, AB 14, x6; 10. R. 562, x30; 11. Si 301, x3

12. Ci 216, M 884. Flat-topped stand

13. R. 324, x27. Three-legged stand

14. R. 405-6, x15. Flat-topped limestone stand

15. R. 353, x9. Censer or altar

16-20. Horned altars (fragmentary): 16. Z 25, x19;

17. R. 360, x29; 18. R. 349, x9; 19. Ci 173, M 864; 20. R. 378, x41

21, 22. Tubular stems: R. 477, x20; N 16, M 654

23. *Maṣṣēbāb* (?)

24. R. 224, M 891. Miniature lamp

25-28. Couches: 25. Ca 193, M 938; 26. AA 14, x40;

27. Q 18, x12; 28. R. 398, x13

29. R. 603, x15. Wheel

Plate 85. Astarte Heads with Molded Faces (see chap. XIX, vii)

1. Ci 176, M 1033. Peaked head; chin-length, straight hair, pointed veil holder and band just above eyes; traces of red paint on face. 750-650

2. R. 665, M 2868. Head with flattened back, lower left face missing; smoke blackened; high headdress falling wide at sides, five horizontal rows of curls above forehead; traces of orange paint on curls and headdress, faint trace of red paint on face. Egyptian influence. Ca. 650-550

3. R. 273, M 1698. Chin-length hair or veil (?), pointed veil holder on forehead; wide, flat neck; traces of orange paint. Egyptian cast to features. 600-450

4. AD 19, M 2759. Large (L. 62 mm.), right side damaged; slanting almond-shaped eyes, pleasant expression; four rows of tiny curls across forehead, curls or braids on sides

5. AF 19, M 2437. Face only; smoke blackened; hairdress similar to no. 4, but stubbier, less attractive features, pursed mouth

6. R. 633, M 2845. Hairdress and features similar to no. 5, possibly from same mold; traces of red paint. Ca. 600-450

7. Dump AF 17, M 2419. Hairdress and features similar to nos. 5 and 6, possibly from same mold; weathered

8. Ci 216, M 994. Small (L. 50 mm.); pleasing features; two rows of small curls across forehead, curls or braids on sides; trace of red paint on face, orange on neck. Ca. 700-586

9. R. 438, M 2445. Large (L. 68 mm.), heavy neck, prominent features, protruding eyes; two rows of large curls across forehead and around sides of head, chin-length curls or braids on each side of face. Late pre-exilic

10. AB 16, M 2815. Similar to no. 9

11. R. 670, M 2870. Similar to no. 9 but smaller; long neck with dowel(?); traces of red paint on face, eyes outlined in black. Ca. 700-500

12. R. 398, M 2350. Similar to no. 9, hair short in back; long neck with dowel. Ca. 700-500

13. Ci 159, M 460. Similar to no. 9, hair less carefully rendered on sides; back of head very flat. *Ca.* 750-586

14. Dump AB, AC 24, M 1454. Similar to no. 13; badly weathered

15. Si 92, M 221. Small curls in vertical rows over forehead, possibly on sides; prominent features, thick-lipped smiling mouth. *Ca.* 650-550(?)

16. R. 161, M 690. Small; single horizontal row of curls across forehead, short, heavy lock of straight hair (or veil?) on sides; well-shaped neck; weathered. *Ca.* 700-500

17. AG 28 before Ca 193, M 816. Very small; similar to no. 16 except chignon in back; traces of red paint on face.

18. P 14, II, M 1195. Back of head very flat, long flat neck; three rows of horizontal curls across forehead, possibly on sides; traces of red paint; weathered

19. R. 642, M 2851. Slightly peaked head, heavy neck; hair like no. 16; pleasant, well-defined features; traces of red paint. *Ca.* 650-550

20. Surface debris near Ci 2, M 120. Similar to no. 13; remains of dowel(?). Pal. Mus.

21. R. 435, M 2535. Recorded as having peaked cap; red paint on face. Pal. Mus. *Ca.* 600-450

22. Debris Sec. 74, M 1072. Peaked headdress, curls across forehead. Pal. Mus.

23. AC 17, M 2808. Rows of curls across forehead, side curls seem to curve under chin. Pal. Mus.

24. R. 361, M 1550. Top of head broken at left; apparently similar to nos. 9-12. Pal. Mus. *Ca.* 650-550

25. R. 132, M 666. Possibly similar to no. 13. Kansas City. MI

26. Before Ca 193, M 814. Kansas City. 3200-2500, 950-400

27. R. 464, M 2489. Curls across forehead and on sides; hole pierced through neck(?), Pal. Mus. Mainly late pre-illitic

28. Ci 370, M 2544. Face only, cf. no. 5. Pal. Mus. *Ca.* 700-586

29. R. 445, M 2454. Long broad neck; prominent features. Pal. Mus. 7th-6th cent.

All of the above except 5, 7, 10, 11, 14, 16, 26, 29 show traces of white wash.

Plate 86. Pinched-faced Heads; Body Fragments
(see chap. XIX, vii)

1. R. 239, x4. Well-preserved head encircled by heavy orange-colored roll; shoulder-length tuft of black hair on each side, large eye surfaces with black outlines and pupils; face painted red; high choker collar of black with red and orange geometric design. *Ca.* 700-500

2. R. 393, M 2338. Similar to no. 1; roll and crown of head painted orange, face red; high red collar with orange design. 650-550

3. Ci 216, M 988. High peaked cap; eye surfaces apparently cut not pinched, pupil of right eye incised. *Ca.* 700-586

4. R. 221, M 907. Similar to no. 1 but cruder, broken at right; hair made of strip of clay, clubbed at ends, under turban roll; traces of red paint. *Ca.* 650-550

5. R. 566, x12. Roll high on head, no side locks; right side damaged; traces of red paint. Mainly 650-550

6. Ci 216, M 885. Remains of roll low on forehead, no side locks; beard (or duck bill?) below eye surfaces. *Ca.* 700-586

7. AA 18, x35. Badly damaged; high turban slanting back from head; long neck

8. AB 16, M 2814. Similar to no. 7, in better condition. Pal. Mus.

9. Ci 216, M 886. Similar to no. 1, broken on right; no color recorded; some smoke blackening. Pal. Mus. *Ca.* 700-586

10. W 13, x31. Part of right shoulder preserved; traces of red and orange paint; collar across front of neck. Cf. no. 2

11. R. 586, x26. Similar to no. 10 but smaller; no trace of color. *Ca.* 650-550

12. AH 23, M 175. Torso fragment

13. R. 639, x35. Torso fragment. *Ca.* 650-550

14. R. 369, M 1608. Complete, head and body molded together, H. 125 mm.; pillar base slightly concave. Mainly 6th cent.

15. AH 20, M 577. Similar to no. 14, but broken at waist; incised pupils in eye surfaces

16. R. 23, x12. Head missing; slightly concave base. Latter half of MI

17. R. 77, M 416. Head missing; concave base. 500-300

18. Ci 1. Fragment of hollow animal figurine; wheel made

19. Z 24, x48. Torso fragment; fingers indicated with buff paint; choker collar of geometric design in orange paint

20. Si 145, M 333. Torso fragment; red line across base of neck. Possibly 1000-800

21. Debris Sec. 74, M 775. Torso fragment

22. AF 26, M 870. Torso fragment

23. R. 551, M 2680. Crude figure, possibly bird. Pal. Mus. 1100-600

All the above except 7, 9, 12, 18, and 23, show traces of white wash.

Plate 87. Figurines (see chap. XIX, vii-ix)

1. T. 54, M 2628. Hollow model of horse; remains of trappings; L. 180 mm. Pal. Mus. 10th-9th cent.

2. Ci 78, M 146. Practically complete pinched-faced figurine; H. 160 mm. Similar to pl. 86: 14

3. AP 22 debris outside wall, M 219. a. Mold for male figure. b. Impression

Plate 88. Animal Figurines (fragmentary): 1-6 animal and rider; 7-14 bodies; 15-33 heads. (See chap. XIX, ix)

1. Si 91, M 195. Head, neck, and shoulders of short-nosed animal, headless rider; white slip

2. AJ 20, M 395. Head and neck of animal, body of rider close against neck with arms merged into animal's head; white slip; traces of red, yellow and black paint on rider

3. Ci 370, x217. White slip, remains of red band around neck. 700-586

4. N 17, M 751. Animal head, protruding right eye; hand of rider just below eye(?); white slip

5. R. 513, x71. Flat body, drooping tail, right foot of rider, indication of draperies. 700-586

6. Ci 31. Head and body of animal, remains of rider's hands below animal's ears; white wash

7. R. 83, M 489. Head and body; white wash; remains of red paint on top of head and back

8. R. 23, x11. End of animal body; four wide red stripes across back; traces of orange paint. Possibly latter half of MI

9. Q 18, M 1044. Possibly seluki; traces of white wash, red on tail(?)

10. Ci 156 debris, M 431. Forepart of body, head broken off, two stumps illustrate common type of legs. 625-550

11. Ci 163, M 520. Back of animal; traces of red band just above tail, possibly along sides; remains of red bordered geometric design on back suggests blanket. *Ca.* 650-550

12. CT 5. Crude, badly weathered; applied eyes and trappings(?); two small holes in front and one in rear of body (for attachment?). EB i, ii, iii?

13. R. 562, x27. Bull(?), badly weathered; rear smoke blackened; left eye an applied round of clay. Latter half of MI+

14. Crude; probably unfinished

15. Z 16, x42. Smallest of heads found

16. R. 661, x25. 600-450

17. Ci 370, x212. 700-586

18. W 13, x34

19. Surface debris near Ci 128, M 225. 600-500(?)

20. Ci 159, M 458. Small; white wash; orange paint on top of head, two wide red bands across back of neck; traces of black painted left eye. 750-586(?)

21. Dump S 14, T 13, 14, x5. Left side of head with long upturned nose, pointed ear, depressed eye

22. X 21, M 492.

23. Ci 368, M 2481. *Ca.* 650-550

24. SE debris pits. Single horn from top of head; traces of white wash

25. R. 430, x29. White wash. *Ca.* 650-550

26. Q 14, M 1034. Goat's head, incised nostrils, whiskers below chin; badly weathered

27. AB 13, x6. Head, neck, shoulders, part of right foreleg of goat; white wash; red and yellow paint around head, red bands around neck (see App. A)

28. AD 16, x38. Head and neck of sheep; incised right eye(?)

29. R. 534, M 2582. Goat head, originally attached to slightly rounded object; mouth and nostrils incised, eyes applied disks with incised pupils; remains of horns show two rows of deep horizontal incisions. 600-450

30. AB 22, M 1819. Possibly ram's head, originally attached to wheel-made vessel; incised eyes; incised marks around neck indicate wool(?)

31. Trench outside city wall, east slope, M 1696. Head, apparently complete; raised ridge for mane, incised nostrils, teeth indicated; incised trappings, blinders for eyes; cream slip

32. Y 12, x33. Bear(?); black clay; weathered

33. AD 16. Tiny head, wide open mouth, large eyes indicated by applied circles of clay with deep centers

Plate 89. Animal Heads as Spouts of Vessels; Kernos Ring; Hollow Rim. (See chap. XIX, ix)

1. R. 473, M 2506. Head and neck. Pal. Mus. *Ca.* 600-450

2. AD 26, M 895. Probably pierced spout although not so recorded. Pal. Mus.

3. R. 181, M 821. Eyes and pupils indicated with clay circles. Mainly MI+

4. AJ 22, M 501. Erect mane, left eye missing; blinders (or rider's hand?)

5. R. 17, M 977. Applied circles of clay for eyes; bridle indicated by pierced strips of clay; blinders(?)

6. R. 522, M 2719. Applied clay disks for eyes; blinders(?); incised lines for bridle and collar; decoration under neck; eyes and incised lines painted brown. *Ca.* 700-450

7. R. 55, M 288. Prominent eyes with incised centers; incised lines across nose and from back of eyes up onto ears

8. R. 291, x16. Similar to no. 7; incised collar; badly weathered. *Ca.* 700-500

9. Dump AA 13, 14, AB 14, x9. Similar to no. 6; evidence of applied bridle on sides of head; button-like decoration on top of head between ears; brown painted mane, brown and orange decorations on back of neck

10. R. 298, x31. Incised eyes; evidence of applied harness below ears. *Ca.* 700-500

11. T. 54, x256. Similar to nos. 7 and 9; remains of applied harness at base of ears. EI

12. P 13, II, III, M 973. Eyes indicated by deep line incisions; applied trappings broken away; brown paint across top of head and ears and forming a collar around neck. Possibly attached to hollow rim of vessel. (See chap. XIX, vi, 2)

13. Ci 162. Eyes indicated by brown painted incised circles; brown trappings broken away; collar of red and brown stripes; button between ears (cf. no. 9) broken off. MI+

14. Si 191, M 196. Applied disks for eyes; no trappings. *Ca.* 625-500

15. AA 19, x34. Dabs of clay for eyes; no trappings

16. R. 392, x9. Head attached to hollow rim of bowl; protruding eyes; knob between ears (cf. nos. 9, 13); reddish brown paint on eyes, mane, collar. *Ca.* 650-550. (See chap. XIX, vi, 2)

17. Ci 320, II, x34. 8th-7th cent.

18. R. 512, x12. *Ca.* 600-500.

19. T. 107, M 176. Front portion of hollow body with hole in center of back and neck opening for spout. Possibly 1000-800

20. R. 523, x11. Back portion of hollow body with hole in center of back, one leg and long curving tail. *Ca.* 700-500

21. Y 25, x8. Section of kernos ring (see chap. XIX, vi, 1)

22. Fragment of hollow rim of bowl. *Ca.* 700-500. (See chap. XIX, vi, 2)

23. N 18, M 1015. Base of handle of large vessel, forehead shapes into handle; eyes are applied clay circles; incised nostrils and mouth.

Plate 90. Bird and Snake Figurines; Rattles; Disks; Magical Objects (?). (See chap. XIX, vi, ix, x)

1. Ci 320, x66. Bird, full breasted, broad flat tail (two lobed?); traces of white wash. 8th-7th cent.

2. R. 237, M 912. Similar to no. 1 but flatter breast, narrower tail; traces of white wash. *Ca.* 700-500

3. Si 143, M 381. Short fat body, rudimentary wings, possibly duckling; white wash

4. R. 556, x10. Bird, flat squarish body, rudiments of wings (?); white wash. MI

5. Z 12, x69. Probably dove; drooping wings and long pointed tail indicated by incised lines; incised eyes. Probably originally attached to vessel

6. Ci 159, M 465. Small bird (head missing) on pedestal base; short two-lobed tail. *Ca.* 750-586 (?)

7. Dump AA 18, x3. Duck (?); tail slightly upturned; may have had breasts now broken off; white wash.

8. Ci 49, M 401. Bird head. 7th cent.

9. AD 19, x47. Bird head

10. Dump W 13, x3. Serpent applied to vessel wall, possibly was coiled around rim. (See chap. XIX, ix)

11. Ci 370, x60. Head and part of body of serpent; eyes are applied rounds of clay with incised centers

12-14. Clay rattles: 12. Ci 127, M 259 (ca. 600-500); 13. R. 445, x52 (7th-6th cent.); 14. Ci 370, x167 (ca. 700-586). (See chap. XIX, x)

15-21. Clay disks: 15. R. 42, M 164 (ca. 650-550); 16. Provenience not recorded; 17. Ci 159, M 470 (ca. 750-586?); 18. Z 17, x11; 19. Ci 369, x41 (ca. 650-550); 20. R. 341, x38 (ca. 600-450); 21. R. 430, x34 (ca. 650-550). (See chap. XIX, vi, 6)

22. Si 91, M 191. Incised shell (see chap. XIX, x)

23. S 23, M 1704. Scapula fragment, decorated (see chap. XIX, x)

Plate 91. Utensils of Stone

1. Bowls, mortars, door sockets, rollers, slingstones
2. Rubbing stones, mortars, sockets, weight for large olive press, basin of small olive press
3. Pestles, rubbing stones, drill sockets
4. Arab woman illustrating use of saddle quern and muller

Plate 92. Household Utensils of Stone and Clay

1. Socket for pivot of door
2. Possibly a clay storage vessel
3. Limestone (?) mortar (debris Si 303, M 1523), D. 75 mm.
4. Limestone mortar (Si 303, M 1843), D. 134 mm.
5. Pottery ring stand for bowls and jars with round or pointed bases
6. Impressions of woven fabric
7. Foot bath

Plate 93. Cooking Utensils

1. Bronze bowl (M 803)
2. Fragments of cooking plates
- 3, 4. Specimens of the *tannûr*

Plate 94. The Pilgrim Flask

1. "Beehive" flask *in situ* (R. 578, M 2765)
2. "Beehive" flask
3. Lentoid flask (M 128)
4. "Beehive" flask (left) compared with modern Arab "canteen"

Plate 95. Various Remains

1. Remains of broken zîrs as found
2. Skull in R. 616, AB 16
3. Water jar in corner of R. 618, AB 16
4. Stones covering Ci 356
5. A "chessboard" in the "living rock" beside tower in Q 13, 14
6. Niche in corner of R. 326

Plate 96. Plow Points, Sickles, Knives (see chap. XX, ii)

- 1-5. Plow points: 1-3. R. 625, M 2836-8 (ca. 700-586); 4. R. 407, M 2426 (ca. 600-450); 5. R. 587, M 2794 (ca. 650-550)
6. AC 14, x29. Oxgoad
7. Y 25, x8
8. AG 17, x21. Sickle (?)
9. R. 608, x23. Ca. 650-550
10. V 14, x1
11. Ci 176, M 1017. Ca. 750-650
- 12-16. Sickles: 12. AD 13, M 1440; 13. R. 386, x21

(ca. 650-550); 14. R. 625, M 2841 (ca. 700-586); 15. Sub-R. 430, x18 (ca. 700-586); 16. R. 297, x28 (ca. 600-450)

17. R. 476, M 2509. Mattock. Ca. 600-450

Plate 97. Dyeing Plants

1. Dyeing plant in R. 445
2. Dyeing plant in R. 396
3. Two large stone vessels in R. 396
4. Dye vat in R. 602 reused, with *tannûr*
5. Mortar for dye pigments

Plate 98. Whorls; Weights; Flints; Footscraper

1. Whorls or buttons (?)
2. Weights (see also fig. 69)
3. Flints
4. R. 60, M 324. Foot scraper. Latter part of MI

Plate 99. Wine and Olive Presses

1. Smooth stone and bowl, possibly press, AG 26
2. Wine press B
3. Wine press A from south with vat and shallow press at right
4. Wine press A from north

Plate 100. Kilns and the Making of Pottery

1. Kiln 106 from side
2. Kiln 106 from above
- 3, 4. Pottery kiln outside city gate
5. Modern pottery in process; made without wheel
6. Stone bases for pottery wheels (Ci 119, M 159; R. 224, M 1224)

Plate 101. Masonry

1. West wall: rubble foundation
2. Northwest tower (Q 14)
3. Chiseling on stone in gate jamb
4. Masonry in neck of Ci 176, ca. 750-650
5. Niche in city wall near gate

Plate 102. Coins (see Appendix C)

Plate 103. Measures of Capacity

1. R. 74, M 396, S 357. Vessel with four stamped handles, possibly a *bath*; fragments found assembled
2. No. 1 partially restored
3. R. 643, M 2877, S 89. Vessel which possibly is a *lethekb*
4. AJ 19, M 510, S 2. Another example of a large storage vessel

Plate 104. Dagger, Skinning Knives, Arrow- and Spearheads

1. CT 7. Copper dagger. EB (?)
- 2-4. Skinning knives (?): 2. R. 235, x1 (ca. 700-500); 3. AB 17, M 2821; 4. T. 14, II, M 1817
5. Q 14, II, M 1198. Awl or punch
- 6, 7. Arrowheads (bronze): R. 442 under floor, M 2566 (8th-7th cent.); R. 226, M 1204 (ca. 700-500)
- 8-11. Triangular arrowheads (bronze): 8. V 13, M 1534; 9. AG 19, M 2440; 10. Test trench, W. end, M 590; 11. AA 24, M 1744
- 12-18. Flat arrow- or spearheads (bronze): 12. N 15, III, M 900; 13. R. 414, x16 (ca. 600-450); 14. provenience not recorded; 15. Dump AD, AE 19, 20, x1; 16. AB 25,

II, M 1464; 17. R. 220, II, M 1211 (late MI); 18. (?) R. 361, x28 (ca. 650-550)

19, 20. Ribbed arrow- or spearheads (bronze): R. 452, M 2463 (late MI); Ci 159, M 471 (ca. 750-586?)

21. AA 16, M 2861. Quadrangular arrowhead (iron)
22-26. Flat arrow or javelin heads (iron): 22. R. 463, M 2563 (ca. 600-450); 23. T. 3, M 1227 (MI ii, Hellen.); 24. R. 436, M 2560 (ca. 650-550); 25. R. 499, M 2528 (ca. 1000-500); 26. T. 3, M 1226 (MI ii, Hellen.)

Plate 105. Toilet Articles; Needles; Forks; Bone Spatulas

1. T. 33, M 1870. Double *kupl* tube. Late Rom.
2. T. 33, M 1878. Glass spatula. Late Rom.
3-7. Bronze spatulas: 3. Ci 183, M 836 (ca. 450-250?); 4. R. 534, M 2581 (600-450); 5. Street 321, M 1496 (ca. 600-450); 6. Q 23, M 1604; 7. Dump AG 18, M 2421
8, 9. Rods (bronze): R. 394, M 2333 (650-550+); R. 402 under floor, M 2579 (ca. 600-450)

10-12. Cosmetic spoons (bronze): 10, 11. T. 33, M 1879, 1875 (late Rom.); 12. T. 18, M 1740 (Rom.?)

13, 14. Tweezers (bronze): Ci 304, M 1834 (600-450); R. 329, M 1516 (ca. 600-450)

15, 16. Bronze pins(?): R. 379, M 2351 (ca. 6th cent.); AB 17, x25

17, 18. Bone pins(?): T. 31, M 1826 (Rom. or Byz.); T. 33, M 1876 (late Rom.)

19, 20. Buckles (bronze): T. 11, M 1548 (Byz.); T. 13, M 1585 (Byz.)

21. AG 20, M 2450. Bronze button

22-25. Needles (bronze): 22. AC 15, M 2573; 23. R. 409, M 2427 (ca. 600-450); 24. debris Sec. 74, I, M 1071; 25. AK 20, M 203

26-32. Bone spatulas: 26. AD 18, M 2760; 27. R. 502, M 2532 (mainly ca. 600 or 550-450); 28. Ci 191, M 809 (ca. 625-500); 29. Ci 159, M 452 (ca. 750-586?); 30. Ci 276, M 1190 (ca. 700-500); 31. R. 406, M 2516 (latter part 600-450); 32. X 22, trench, M 418

33. T. 33, M 1874. Late Rom.

34, 35. R. 243, M 1079, 1080. EB, EI-MI

36. R. 432, x45. Fragment of calipers(?). Ca. 650-550

Plate 106. Cosmetic Mortars

1. R. 73, M 352. Ca. 700-500

2. R. 65, M 339. Ca. 700-500

3. No exact provenience

4. AM 20, M 200. Fragment

5. Si 295, M 1811. 7th cent.

6. R. 616, M 2819. Ca. 650-550

7. R. 586, M 2797. Ca. 650-550

8. R. 640, M 2853. 650-550

Plate 107. Beads

1. Glass
2. Faience
3. Miscellaneous stone and clay
4. Miscellaneous stone
5. Carnelian

Plate 108. Eyelet Pins (see Appendix F, numbers in parentheses)

Plates 109, 110. Fibulae (see Appendix G, numbers in parentheses)

Plate 111. Fibulae, Pin, Crosses, and Pendants

30-41. Fibulae (see Appendix G, numbers in parentheses)

42. T. 32, S, x626. Bronze pin with coiled head. 10th-8th cent.

43, 44. T. 13, x38, M 1581. Bronze crosses. Byz.

45. T. 13, M 1580. Pendants. Byz.

Plate 112. Bracelets and Anklets; Bone Handle; Earrings; Bone Pendants

1-10. Bronze bracelets and anklets: 1, 2. T. 32, E, M 2205, 2210e (10th-8th cent.); 3. T. 13, M 1583 (Byz.); 4. T. 32, M 2210c (10th-8th cent.); 5. Z 25, M 2345; 6. R. 429, M 2675 (latter part 600-450); 7. T. 19, M 1632 (MI ii, iii; Byz.); 8. T. 64, M 2668; 9. T. 53, M 2404 (MI ii); 10. T. 30, M 1798 (Rom.; Byz.)

11-16. Glass bracelets: 11, 13, 15. T. 6, M 1486, 1489, 1485 (Hellen.; Byz.); 12. T. 27, M 1736; 14, 16. T. 18, M 1737, 1738 (Rom.?)

17. T. 53, M 2396. Incised bone handle; L. 105 mm. MI ii

18-22. Gold earrings: 18. T. 54, M 2652 (10th-9th cent.); 19. T. 49, M 2349; 20, 21. T. 23, M 1687 (Rom.); 22. T. 26, M 1731 (Rom.?)

23-28. Bronze earrings: 23. Dump Z 17, x2; 24. AG 20, M 506; 25. AD 16, x22; 26-28. T. 3, M 1232, 1231, 1230 (MI ii; Hellen.)

29-34. Bone pendants: 29. R. 394, M 2334 (ca. 650-550+); 30. Ci 302, M 1832 (ca. 8th cent.); 31, 32. T. 32, M 2265, 2266 (10th-8th cent.); 33. R. 390, M 2336 (ca. 650-550); 34. provenience not recorded

35, 36. T. 33, x27, x28. Bone pendants with bronze rings. Late Rom.

ADDENDA

CHAPTER XV

GREEK POTTERY

1. Fragmentary panel amphora (p. 175): to my list of East Greek fragments decorated with this pattern are to be added the fragments from Tell Defenneh and Naucratis in Philadelphia (University Museum E 147) and another fragment from Naucratis in Boston (Museum of Fine Arts 86.555), which has been published by A. Fairbanks (*Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan Vases*, 1928, pl. 37, no. 338). The (unpublished) Philadelphia fragments are of the same type as the Tell Defenneh piece in London: they share the central brown dot painted on the white "filling" of each scale, whereas the Boston

fragment goes with the plainer style of our amphora and the fragments in Bonn and Lindos. Fairbanks (*op. cit.*, p. 120) lists the Boston fragment as Clazomenian and draws attention to the scale pattern of the Cairo and London fragments.

4. Stem and bowl fragment of a cup (p. 176). Beazley (*Attic Red-Figured Vase-Painters*, p. 952) confirms my attribution of the TN fragment to the Pithos painter and lists it next to the Rhodes cup with which I have compared it, erroneously stating, however, that the TN fragment is in Jerusalem.

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PLATES



1. SUMMIT OF TELL EN-NAŞBEH



2. NORTH AREA

BEFORE EXCAVATION BEGAN



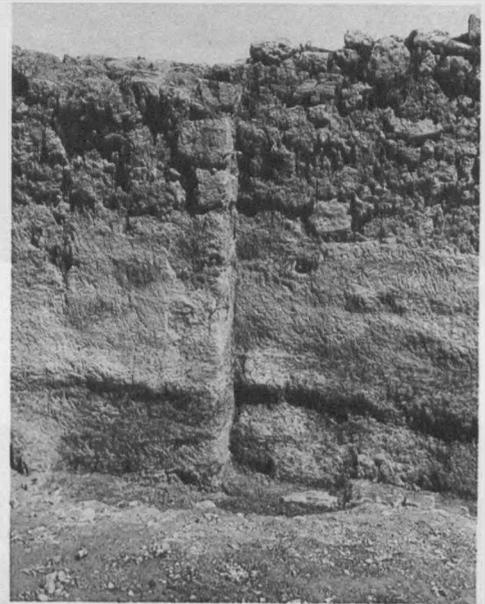
1. BEGINNING A CROSS-SECTION TRENCH



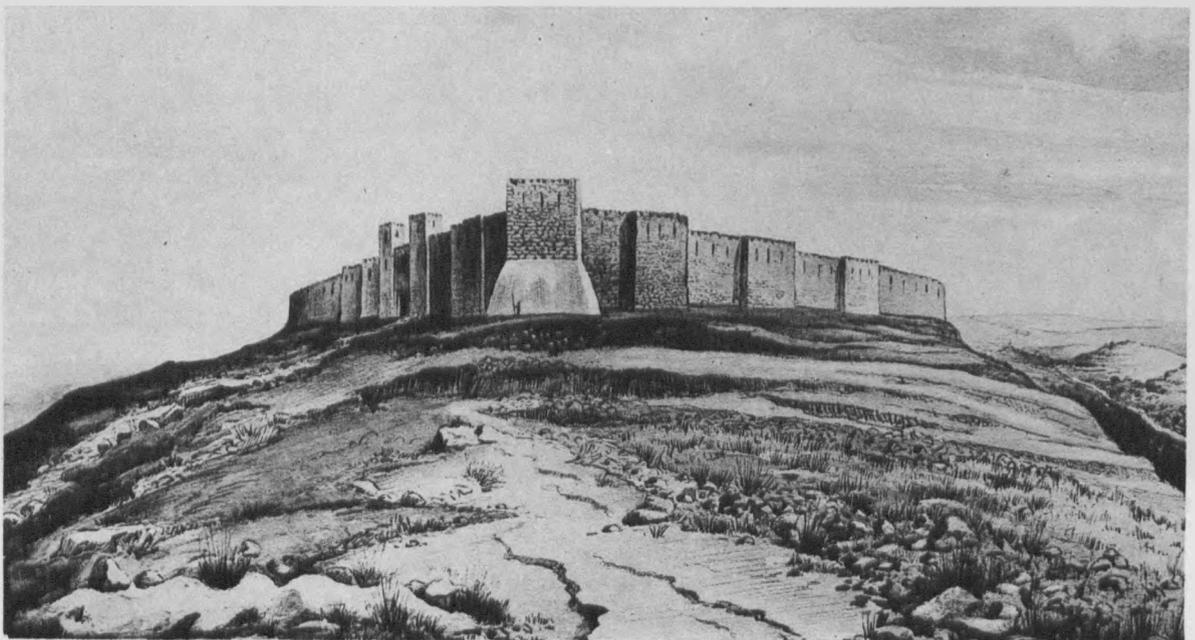
3. WORKING ALONG FACE OF WALL, AN 21, 22



2. EXCAVATING IN SECTIONS AL AND AM 24



4. FACE OF SOUTH WALL



5. TENTATIVE RECONSTRUCTION OF CITY



1. TOP OF WALL AT SOUTH



2. UNCOVERING SOUTHERN WALL

CITY WALL UNDER EXCAVATION



1. LOOKING UP EAST TRENCH



2. LOOKING DOWN EAST TRENCH



1. NORTHWEST STRIP, UNBROKEN GROUND



2. ENTIRE GANG AT WORK



1. BOYS WASHING POTTERY



2. PIECING POTTERY TOGETHER



1. OVER KEFR 'AQAB



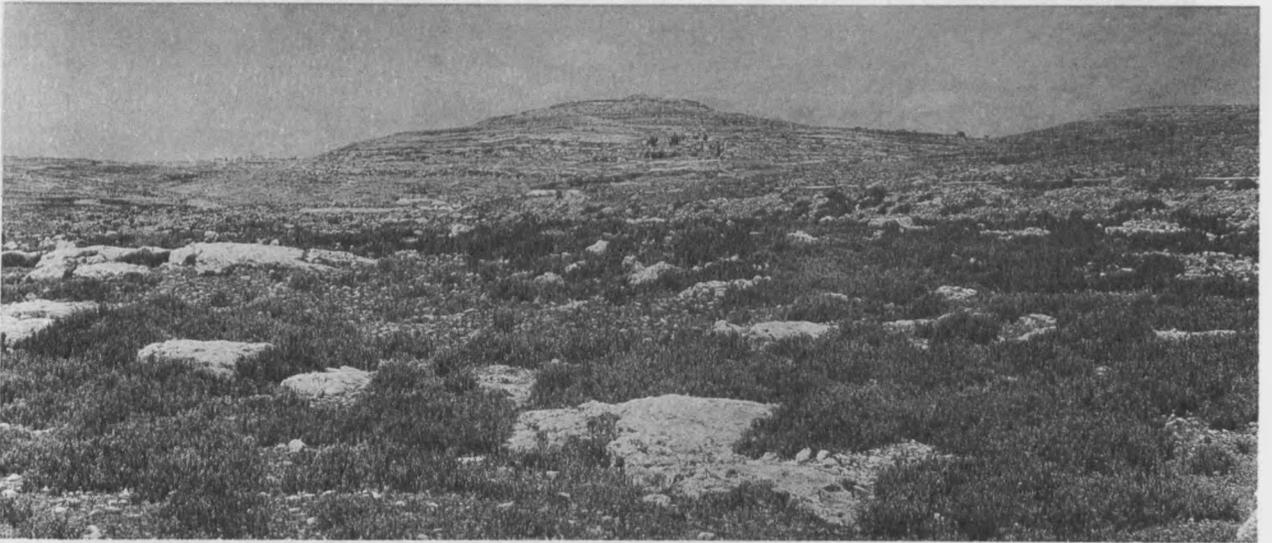
2. TOWARD JERUSALEM



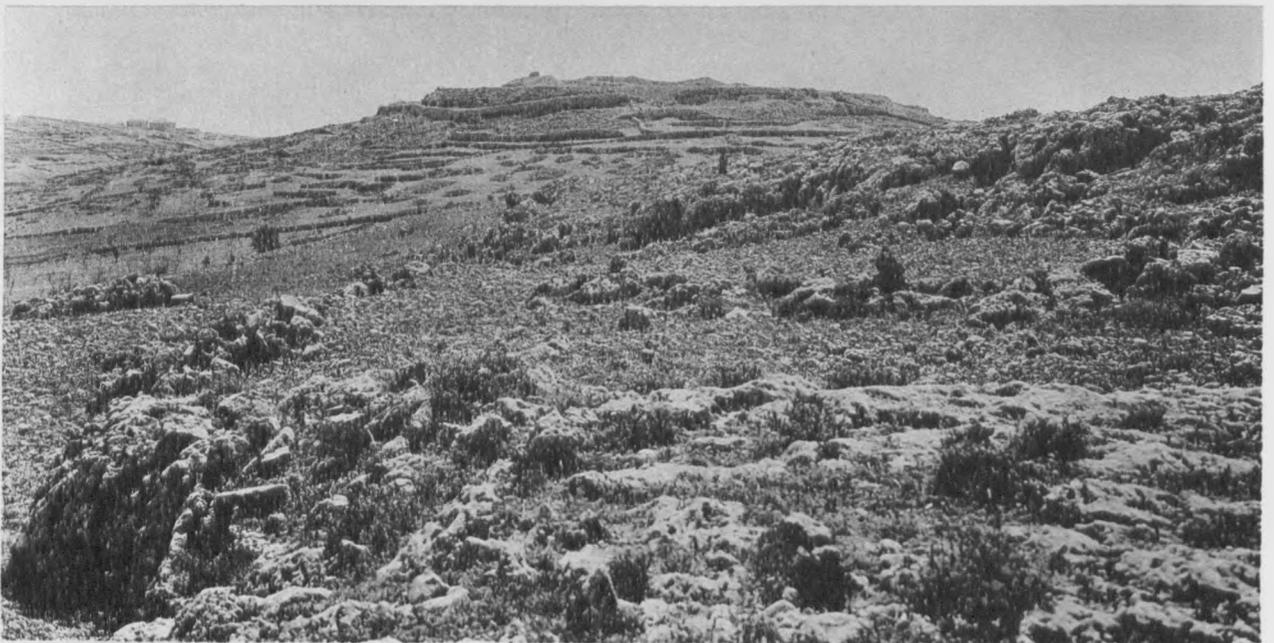
3. TOWARD SOUTHWEST



1. RĀMALLĀH AND EL-BÎREH



2. TELL EN-NASBEH FROM SOUTH



3. TELL EN-NASBEH FROM NORTH



1. TELL EN-NASBEH FROM SOUTHEAST

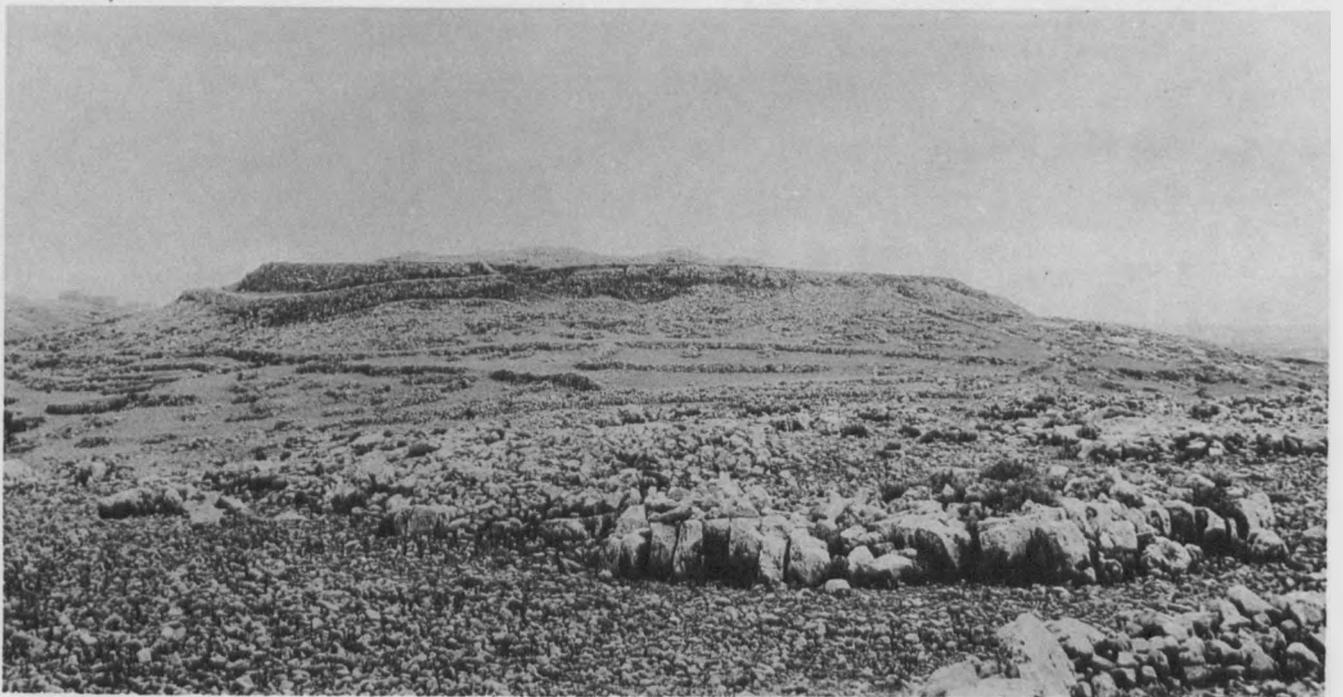


2. TELL EN-NASBEH FROM NORTHEAST

TELL EN-NASBEH FROM EAST



1. TELL EN-NAŞBEH FROM RĀMALLĀH



2. NORTHERN SLOPES OF TELL EN-NAŞBEH

TELL EN-NAŞBEH FROM NORTH



1. PANORAMA: NORTH CEMETERY AND TELL EN-NAŞBEH



2. TELL EN-NAŞBEH FROM WEST



3. TELL EN-NAŞBEH FROM ROAD SOUTH



4. TELL EN-NAŞBEH FROM SOUTH SOUTHWEST



5. ROAD ALONG WÂDĪ JILYÂN



6. JEBEL ʾAWĪL FROM TELL EN-NAŞBEH



7. LOOKING NORTH OVER 'ANĀTĀ, HIZMEH AND JEBA'

TELL EN-NAŞBEH AND VICINITY



1. ENTRANCE TO TOMBS



2. OBJECTS IN MOUTH OF TOMB 66



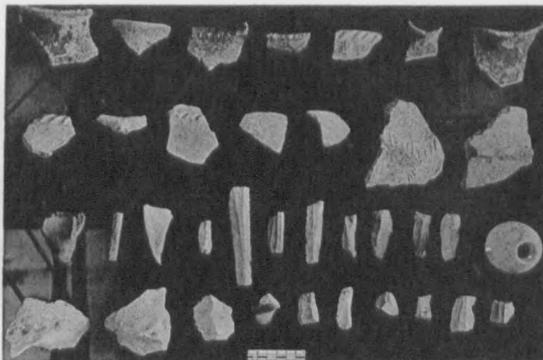
3. T. 66, SECOND LAYER OF OBJECTS



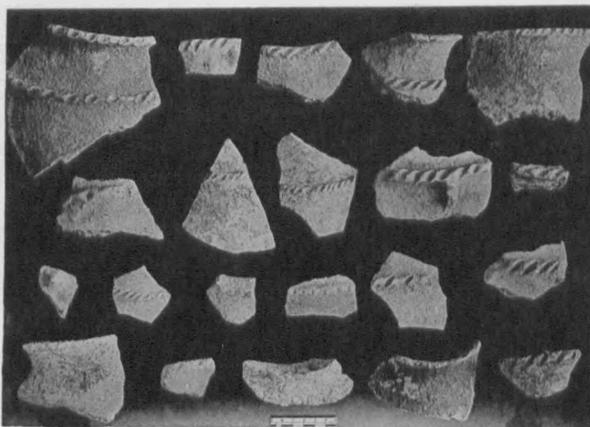
5. LEDGE-HANDLED MORTAR FROM CAVE ROOM 68



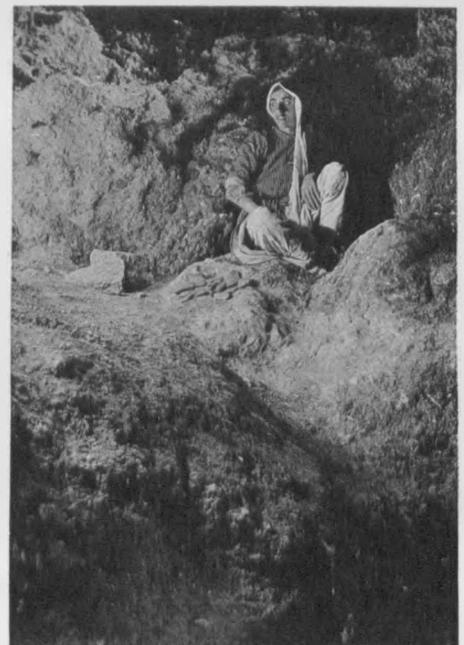
4. T. 66, THIRD LAYER OF OBJECTS



6. POTTERY FRAGMENTS, FLINTS, AND MACE HEAD, CR 68



7. POTTERY FRAGMENTS, CR 68



8. CR 68, LOOKING OUT FROM PIT



1. CAVE TOMBS 5 AND 6 AFTER CLEARING, SIFTING FOR SMALL OBJECTS



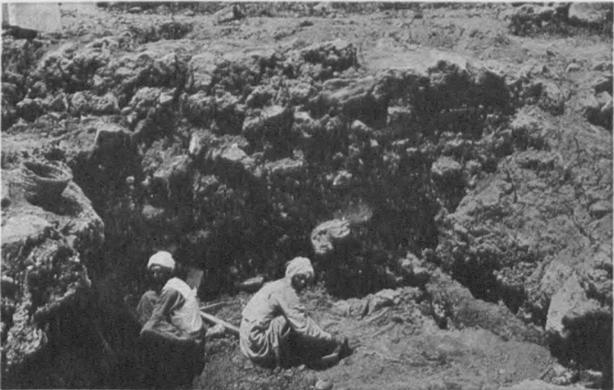
2. CT 5, STONES COVERING ENTRANCE



3. CT 5, HUMAN REMAINS AS FOUND



4. CT 6, ENTRANCE



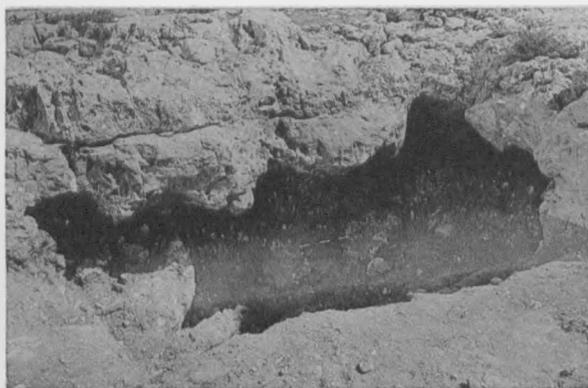
5. CT 6, AFTER REMOVAL OF ROOF



7. CT 6, HUMAN AND POTTERY REMAINS AS FOUND



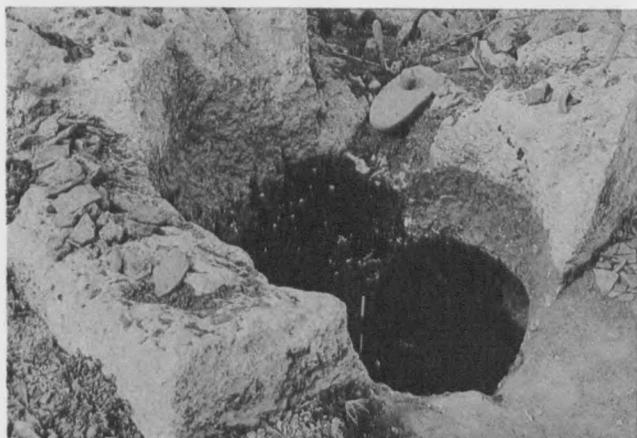
6. CT 6, HUMAN AND POTTERY REMAINS AS FOUND



1. TOMB 12 FROM WITHOUT



2. SHERDS AND FLINTS FROM T. 12



3. TOMB 63, VERTICAL SHAFT



4. TOMB 65, OBJECTS AS FOUND



5. TOMB 67, ENTRANCE



6. T. 67, OBJECTS AS FOUND, I



7. T. 67, OBJECTS AS FOUND, II



8. T. 67, OBJECTS AS FOUND, III



1. ENTRANCE WITH REVETMENT SHOWING ABOVE



2. TWO WALLS WHICH CLOSED
ENTRANCE



3. CAVE OPENED



4. FLOOR OF EI DWELLING SHOW-
ING AS WHITE STREAK



1. TOMB 55, ENTRANCE, (EB, EI)



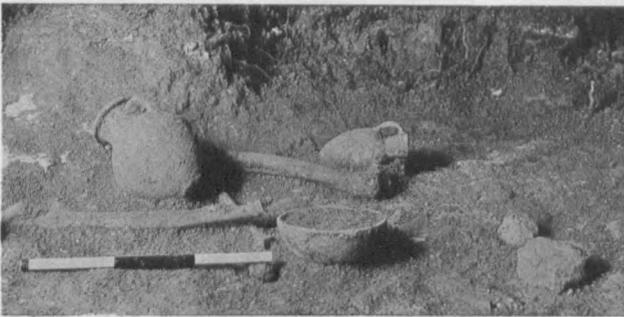
2. T.55, CENTER OF INTERIOR



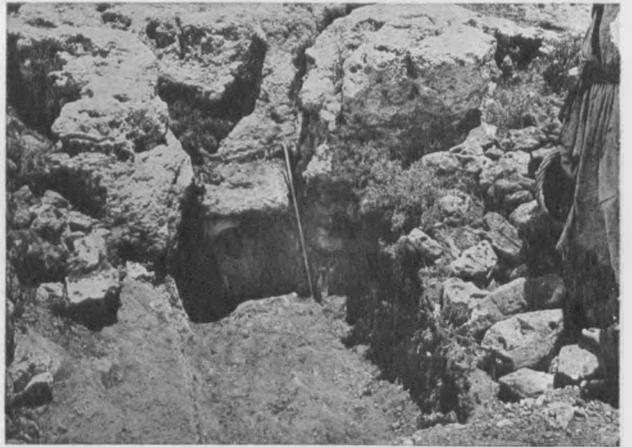
3. TOMB 29, DOOR OPENED



4. T.29, POTTERY AS FOUND (EI-MI)



5. TOMB 69, POTTERY AS FOUND (EI-MI)



6. TOMB 5, ENTRANCE (EI-MI)



7. T.5, POTTERY AS FOUND (EI-MI)



8. T.5, POTTERY AS FOUND (EI-MI)



1. GENERAL VIEW SHOWING FOUR STRIPS CLEARED, CENTRAL STRIP AND PATH UNTOUCHED; LATE ENTRANCE AT LOWER RIGHT



2. EAST STRIP, POTTERY AS FOUND



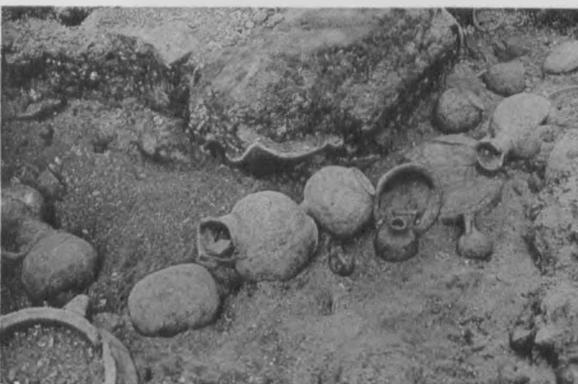
3. NORTH STRIP, POTTERY AS FOUND



4. NORTH STRIP, POTTERY AS FOUND



5. SOUTH STRIP, POTTERY AS FOUND



6. SOUTH STRIP, POTTERY AS FOUND



7. SOUTH STRIP, POTTERY AS FOUND



8. SOUTH STRIP, POTTERY AS FOUND



1. POSSIBLE AUXILIARY ENTRANCE, EB AGE SHERDS HERE



2. SOUTHEAST END STRATA I & II, CONFUSION OF REMAINS AS FOUND



3. MOUTH OF CAVE CLEARED



4. SOUTHEAST END STRATUM III, REMAINS AS FOUND



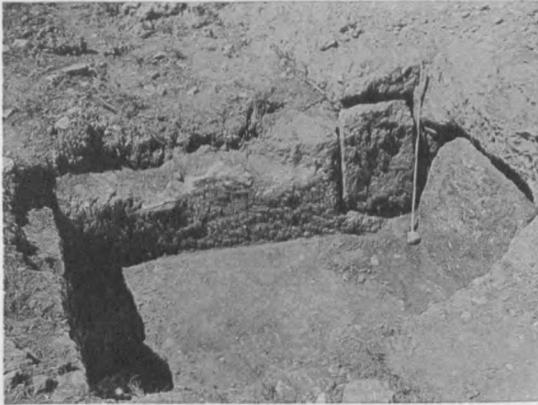
5. SOUTHEAST END STRATUM IV, REMAINS AS FOUND



6. DETAIL FROM NO. 4; TWO BRACELETS ON FOREARM



7. SOUTHEAST END STRATUM V, REMAINS AS FOUND



1. TOMB 3, VESTIBULE WITH NICHE AND ENTRANCE AT RIGHT; CLOSING STONES IN PLACE



2. T.3, VESTIBULE, CLOSING STONES REMOVED



3. T.3, CLOSER VIEW OF NICHE & ENTRANCE



4. T.3, NICHE; ADULT BONES ABOVE, INFANT BONES BELOW



6. TOMB 19, SOUTH COMPARTMENT



7. T.19, FLOOR OF CENTRAL SECTION WHERE SEAL WAS FOUND IN DEBRIS



5. T.3, POTTERY AS FOUND



8. T.19, ENTRANCE



1. TOMB 4, VESTIBULE AND ENTRANCE



2. TOMB 14, INTERIOR



3. TOMB 8, STAIRCASE AND ANTECHAMBER



4. TOMB 2, ENTRANCE



5. T.8, KOKIM, WEST SIDE OF TOMB



6. T.8, ANTECHAMBER AND ENTRANCE



7. TOMB 15, ENTRANCE, ROOF REMOVED



8. TOMB 18, TOMB OPENED



9. T.18, SKELETONS *IN SITU*



10. T.18, SKELETON ON RIGHT WAS BELOW THAT ON LEFT IN NO. 9



11. T.18, TOMB PARTIALLY COVERED



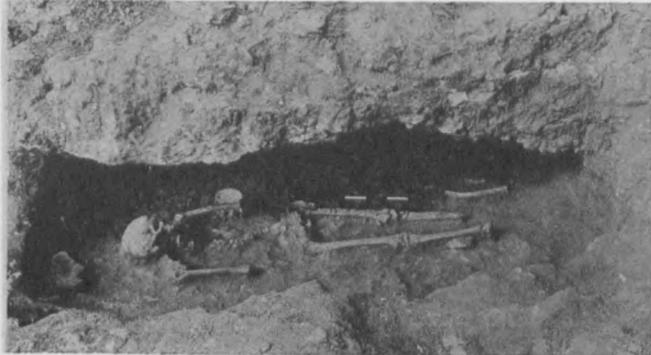
12. T.18, SKELETON WITH GLASS ARMLET; ANOTHER SKULL BEHIND



13. T.18, EASTERN EXTENSION DISCOVERED LATER



1. ENTRANCES TO TOMBS 59, 57, 58 (LEFT TO RIGHT)



2. SKELETON AS FOUND IN T.57 AFTER CLEARING



3. SKULLS AS FOUND IN T.58 AFTER CLEARING



4. SKELETONS AS FOUND IN T.59 AFTER CLEARING



5. ENTRANCE TO TOMB 71 AT EXTREME LEFT, CLOSING STONE AT RIGHT



6. TOMB 70, SKELETAL REMAINS AS FOUND



7. T.71, OSSUARY AS FOUND



8. T.70, ENTRANCE



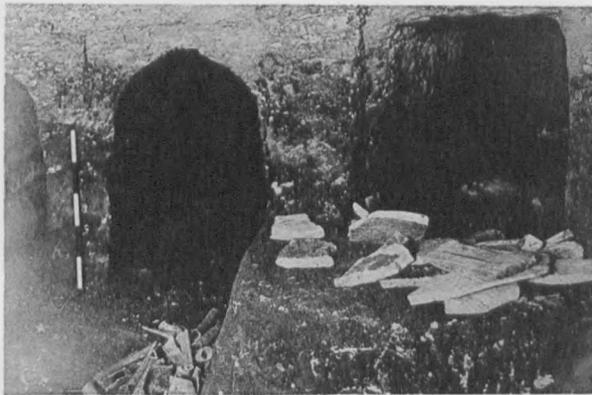
1. TOMB 26, ENTRANCE AFTER OPENING



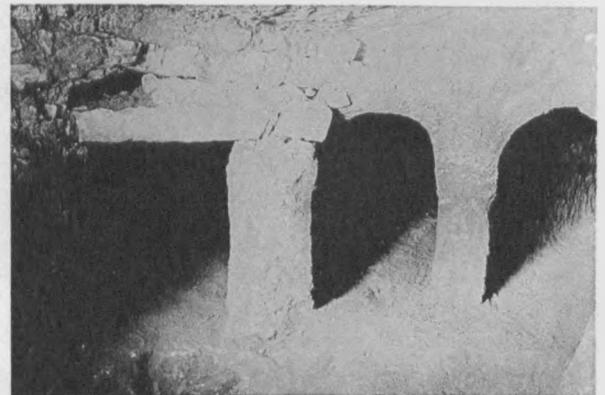
2. TOMB 31, COVER STONES IN PLACE



3. TOMB 6, EXTERIOR, WITH PILE OF OSSUARY FRAGMENTS



4. T.6, INTERIOR, SQUARED AND ARCHED *KOKIM*, BONES, AND OSSUARY FRAGMENTS



5. T.6, *KOKIM* WITH RECONSTRUCTION ON SOUTHWEST SIDE



7. TOMB 23, COVER STONES IN PLACE



8. T.23, COVER STONES REMOVED



6. T.6, *KOKIM*, ARCHED AND SQUARED

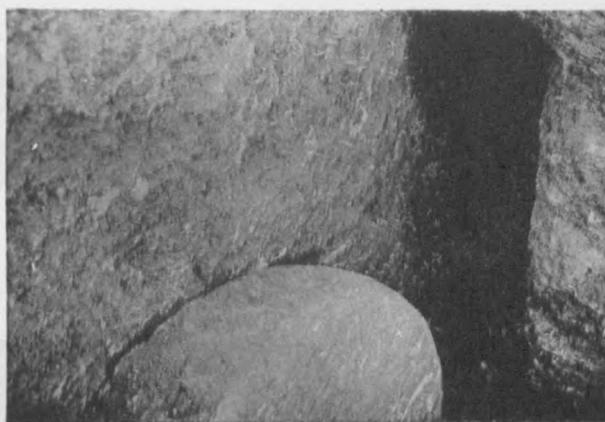


9. T.23, DEPOSIT AS FOUND

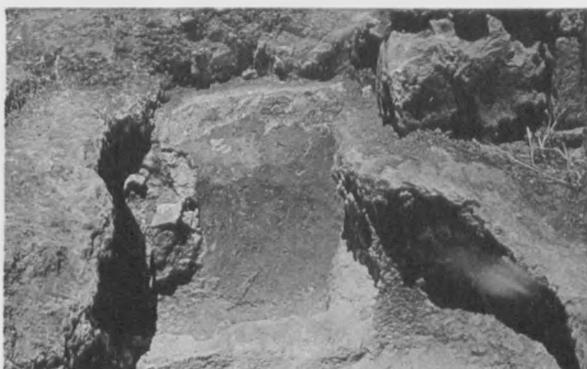
TOMBS 6, 23, 26, AND 31



1. TOMB 13, OPENING



2. T.13, ROLLING DOOR STONE AND SLOT FOR ITS REMOVAL



4. TOMB 33, DOOR UNOPENED



3. T.13, ROLLING DOOR STONE IN PLACE



5. T.33, ARCOSOLIUM WITH GRAVE



7. TOMB 56, PIT WITH *KOKIM* AND BROKEN JAR *IN SITU*



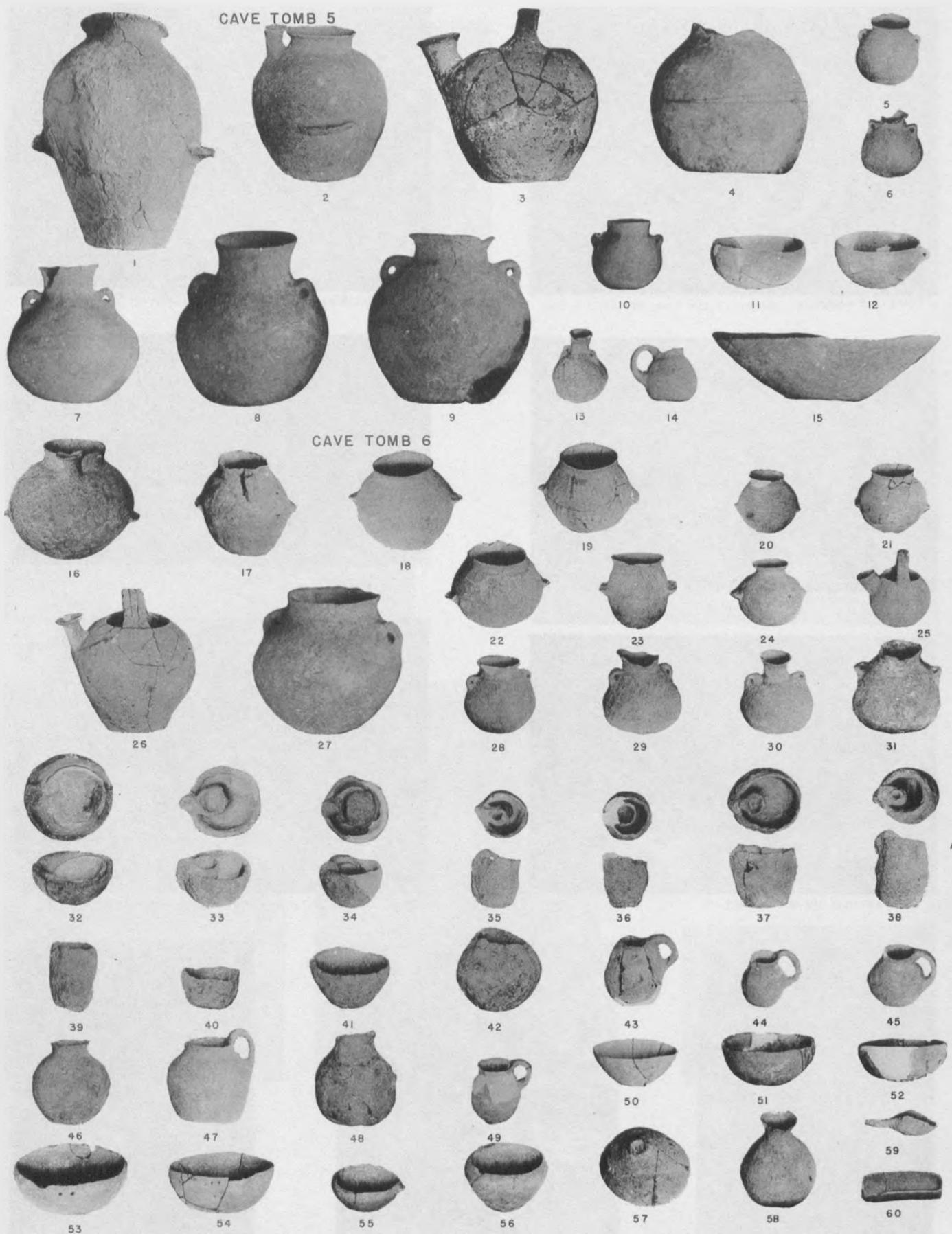
6. T.33, CLOSING STONE OF DOOR



8. BREAKING IN ROOF OF T.56

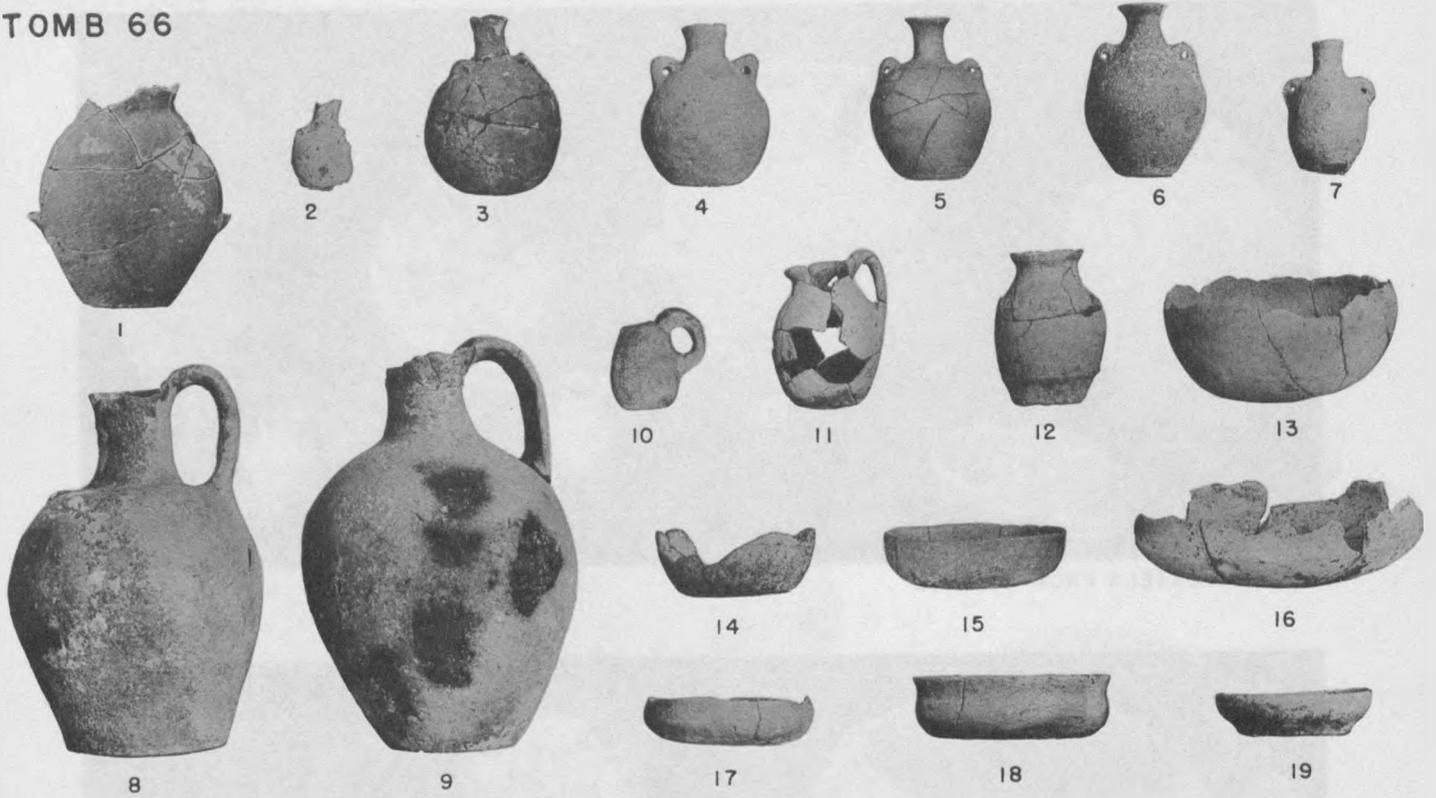


9. T.56, FORECOURT, ENTRANCE, AND DRAIN

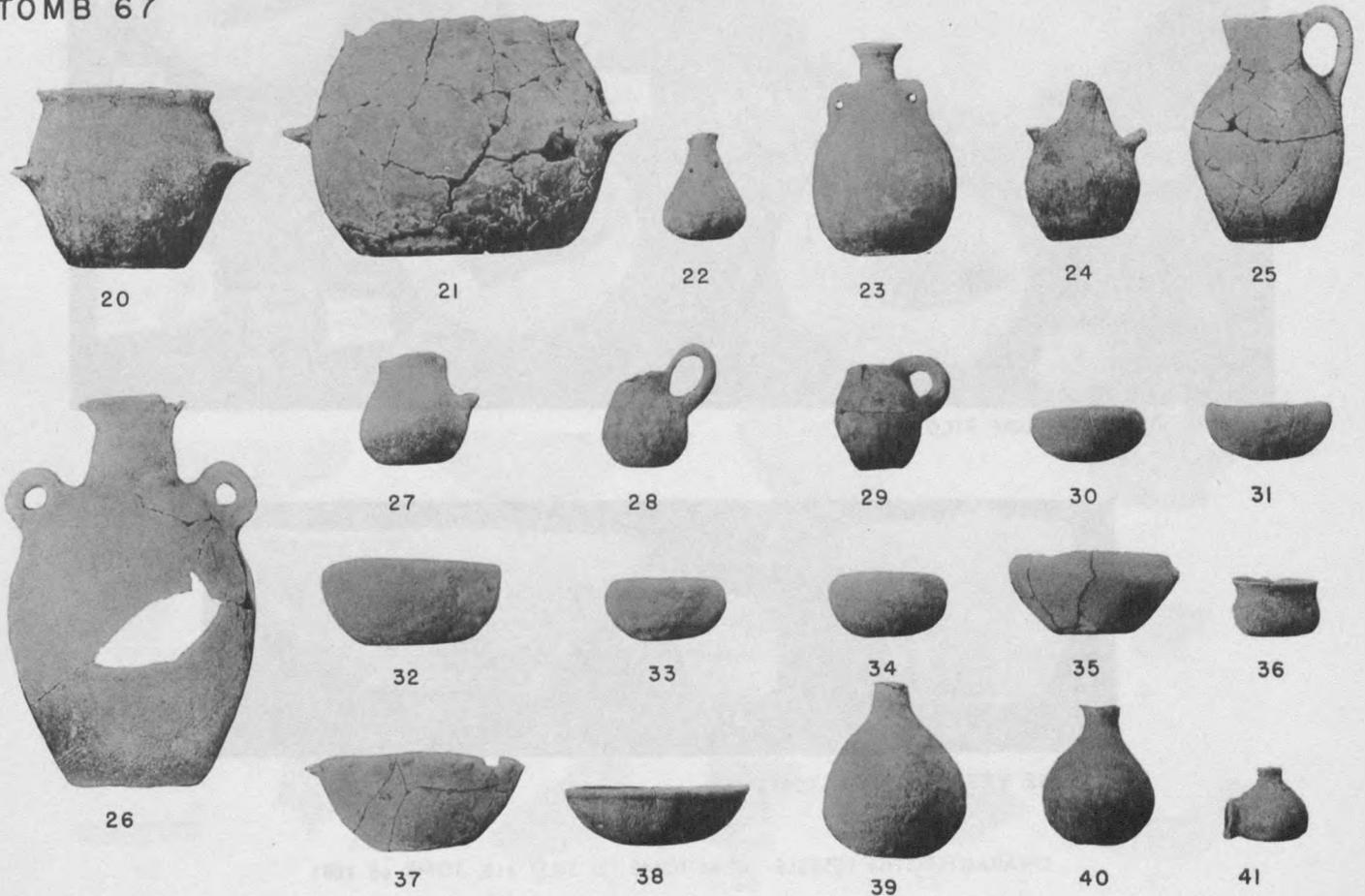


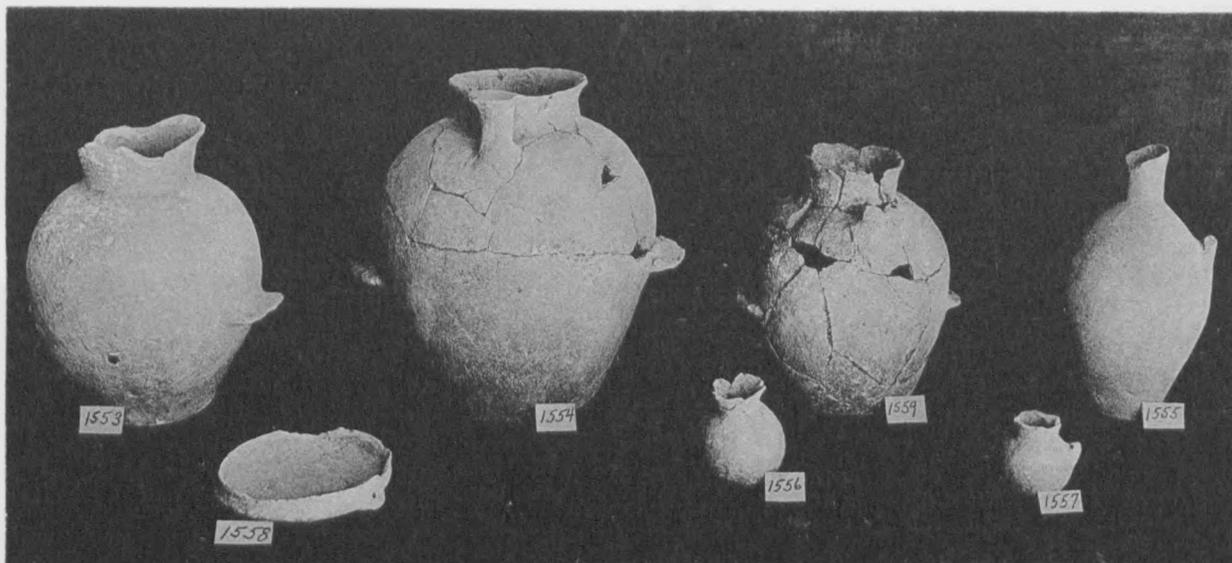
VESSELS FROM CAVE TOMBS 5 AND 6 (EB)

TOMB 66

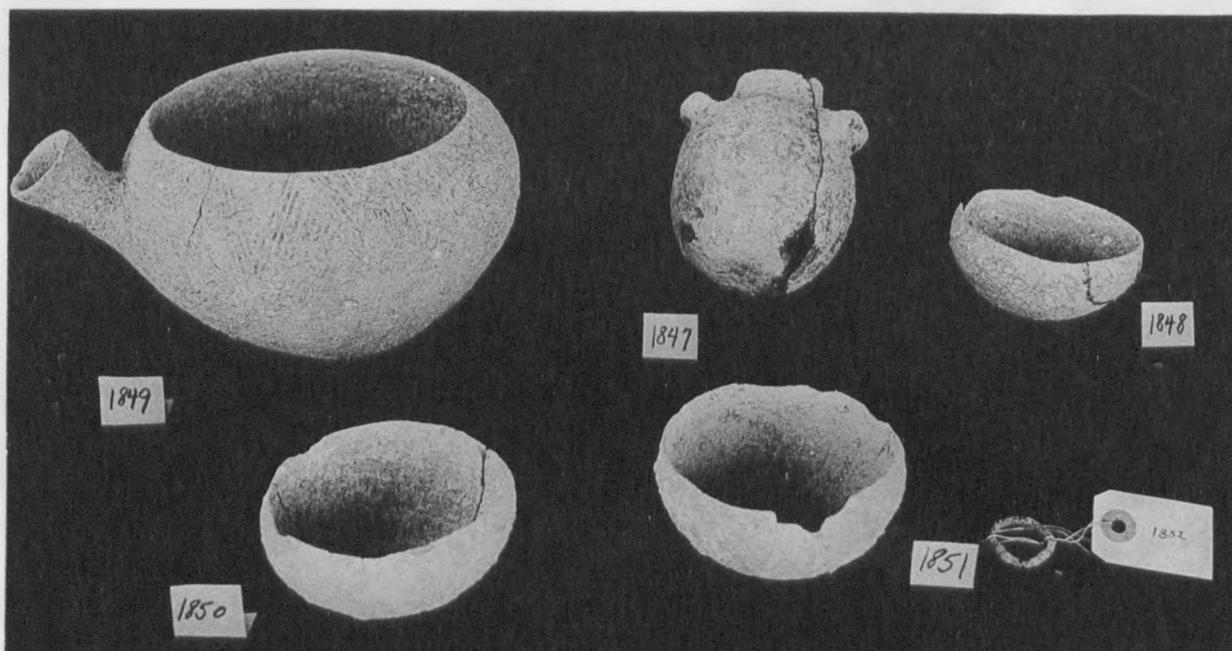


TOMB 67





1. SOME VESSELS FROM TOMB 12



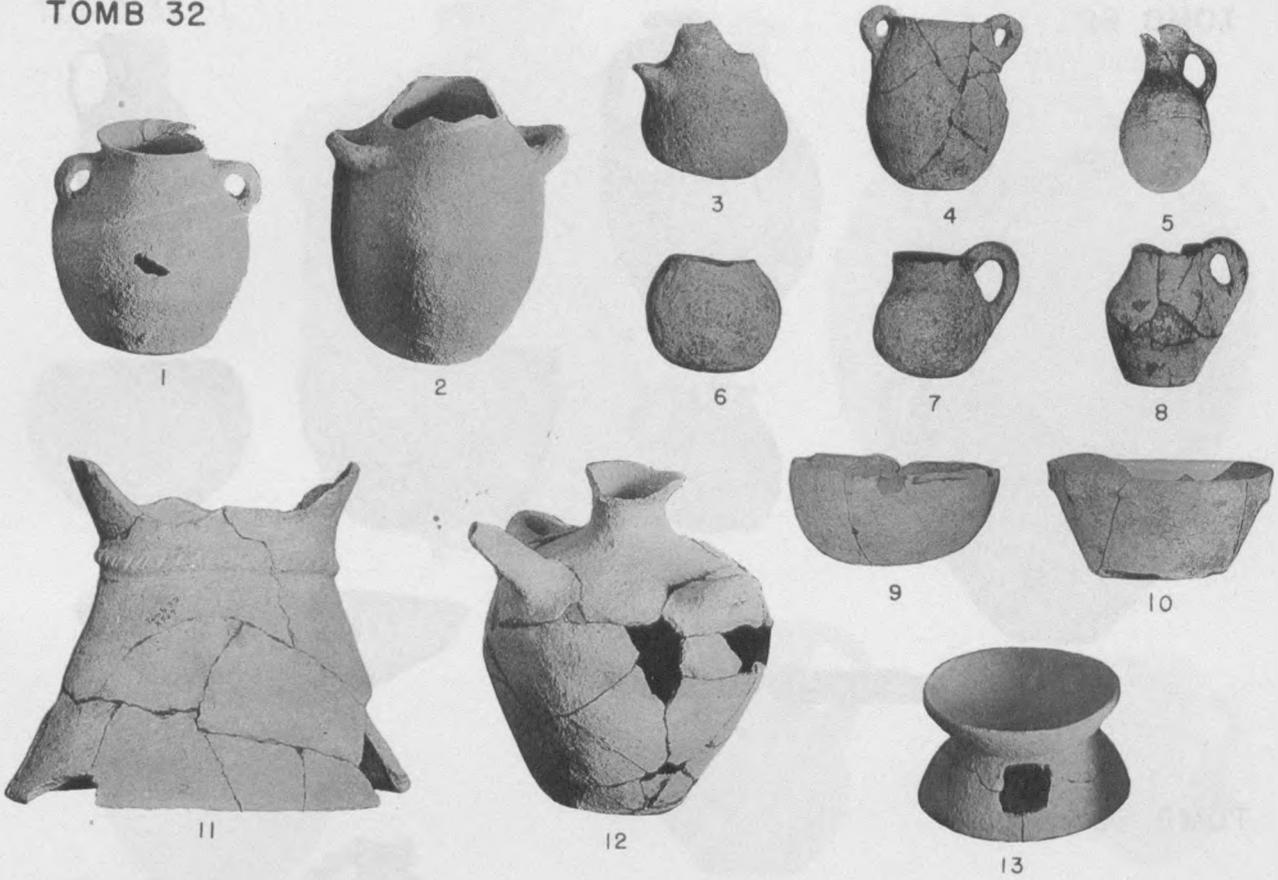
2. SOME VESSELS FROM SILO 315



3. SOME VESSELS FROM TOMB 65

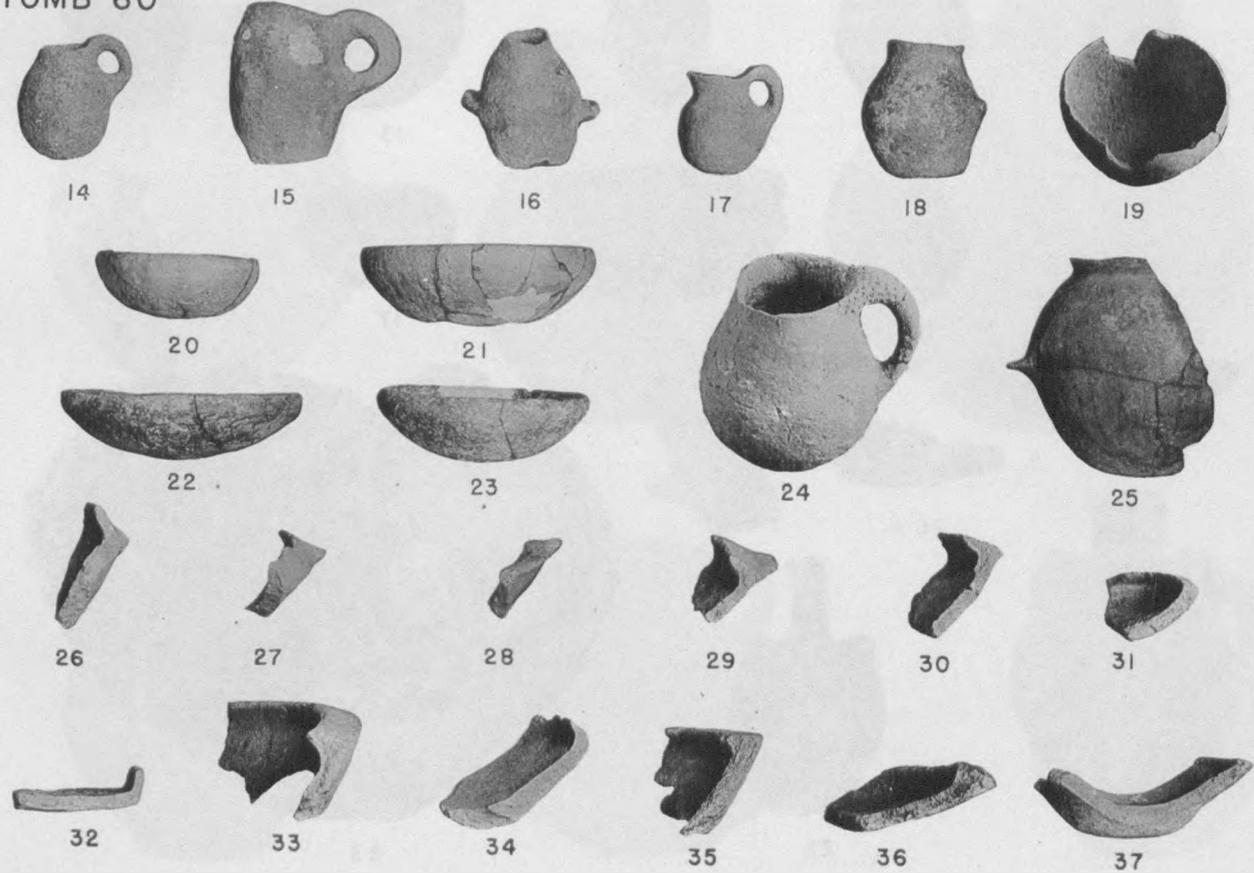
CHARACTERISTIC VESSELS FROM TOMB 12, SILO 315, TOMB 65 (EB)

TOMB 32

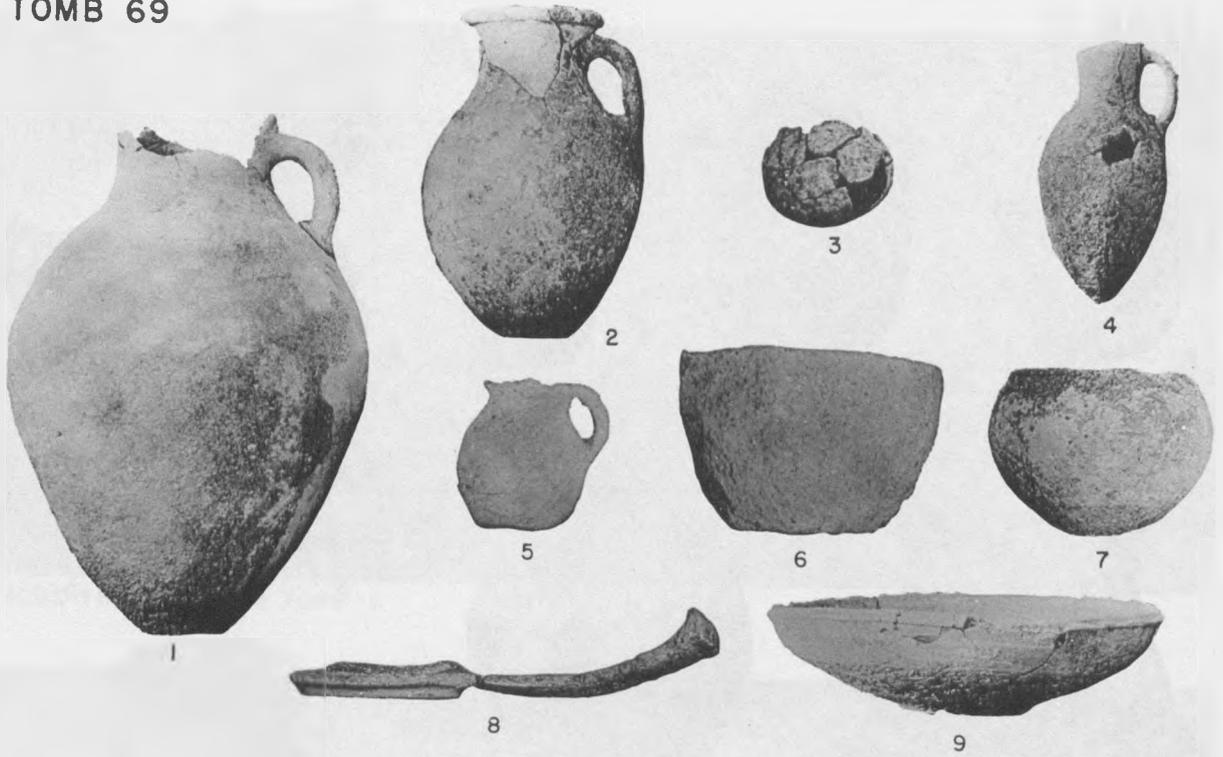


TOMB 60

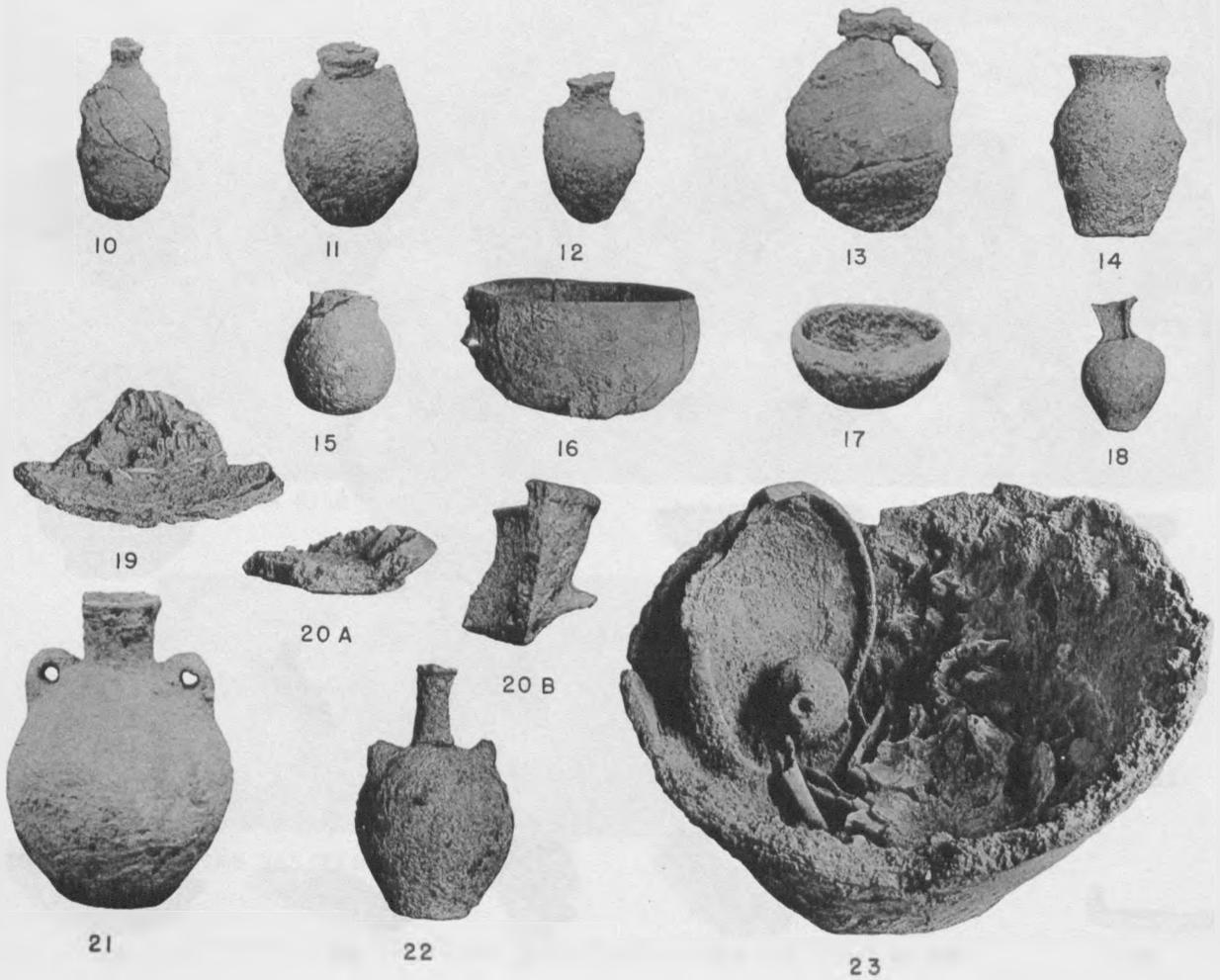
CAVE 193



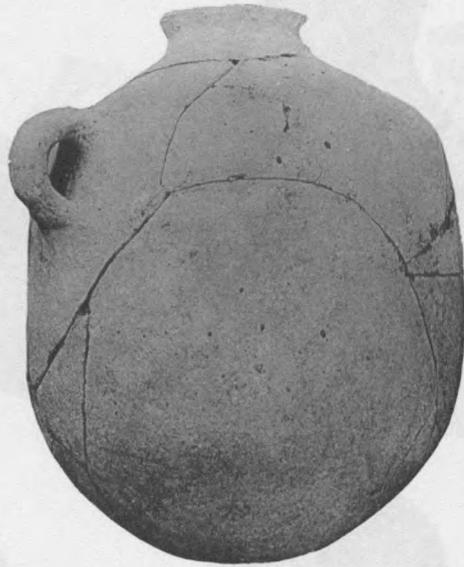
TOMB 69



TOMB 52



TOMB 32-1



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



10



11

TOMB 32 - 2



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



10



11



12

TOMB 32-3



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



10



11



12

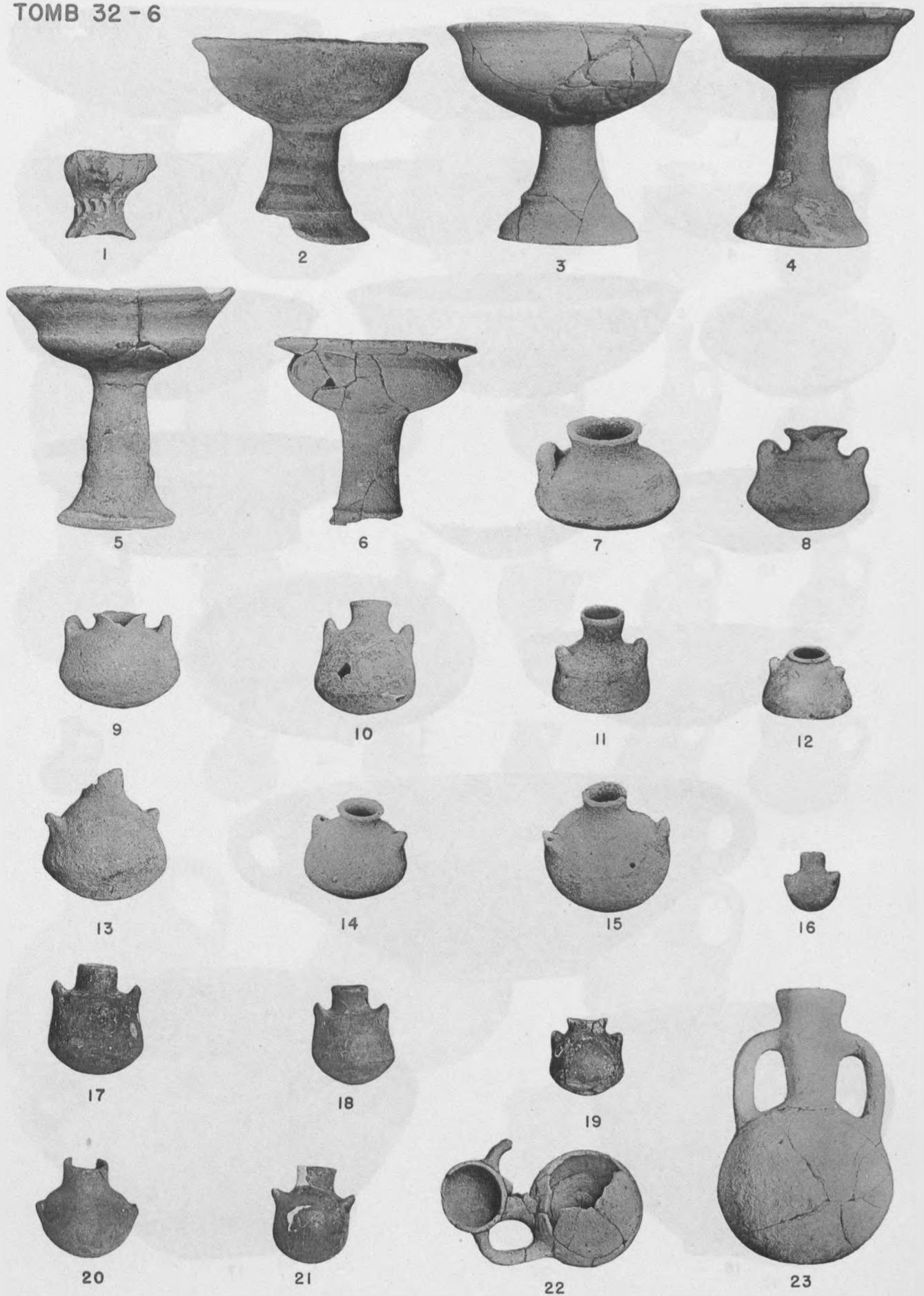
TOMB 32 - 4



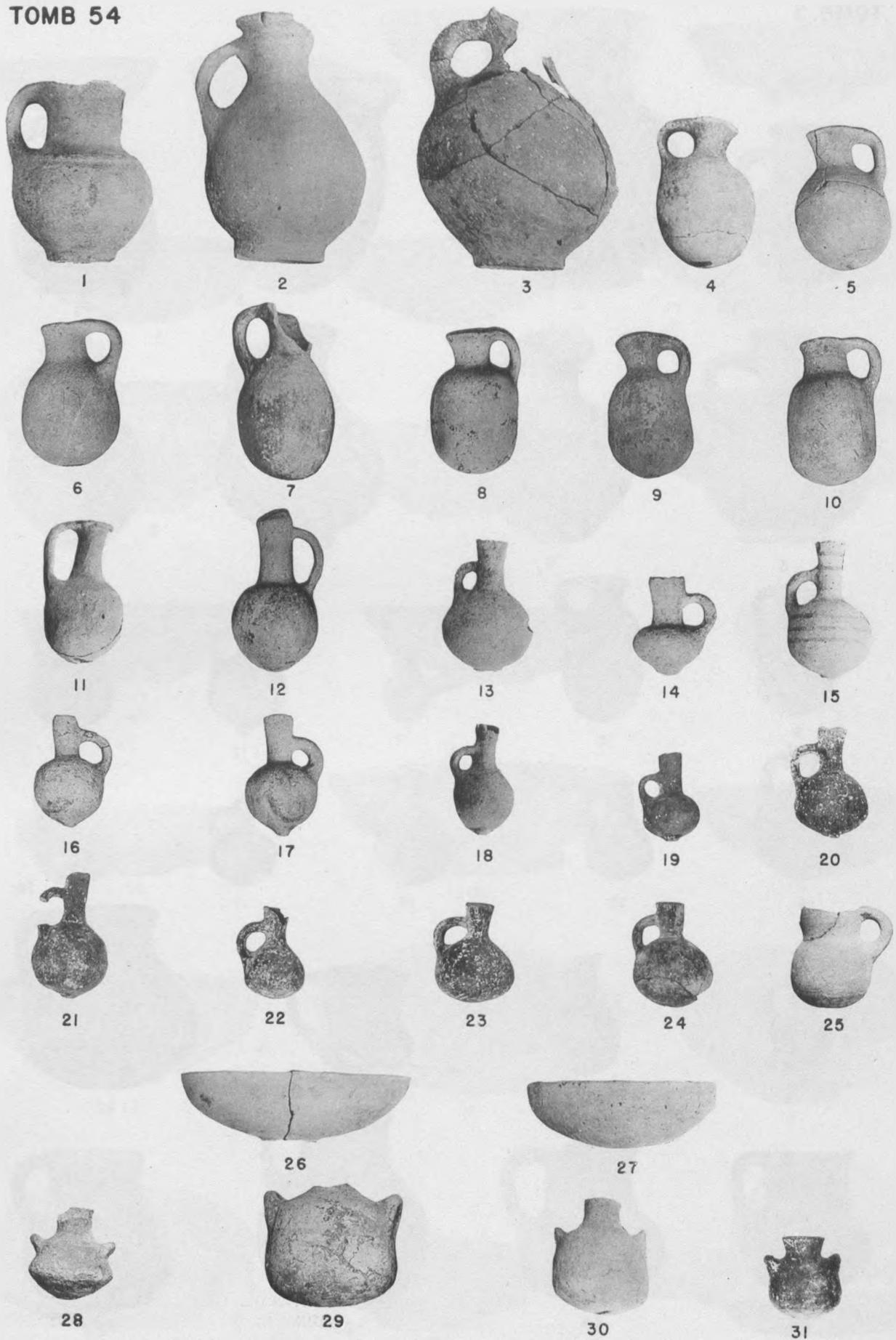
TOMB 32-5



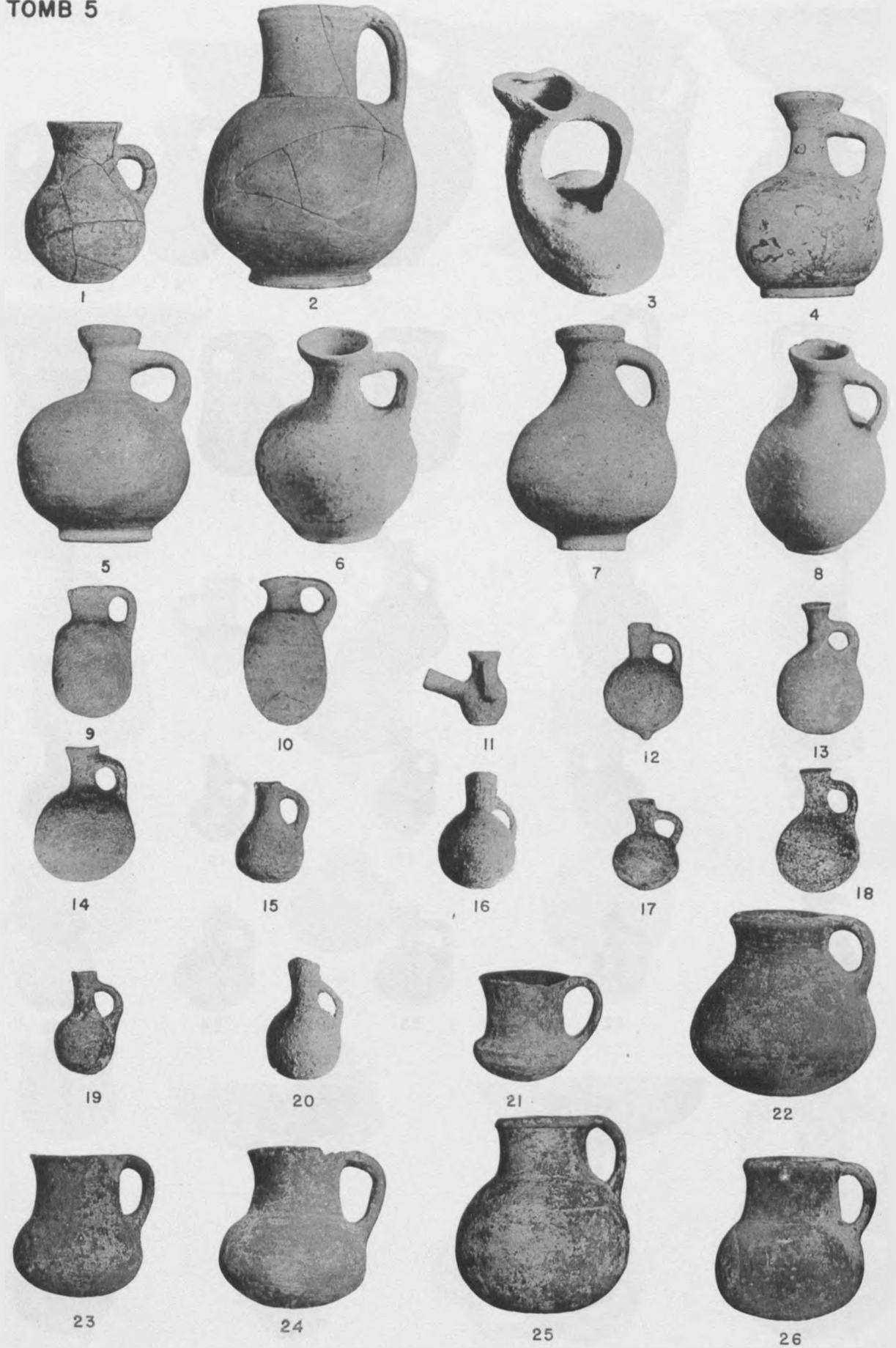
TOMB 32 - 6



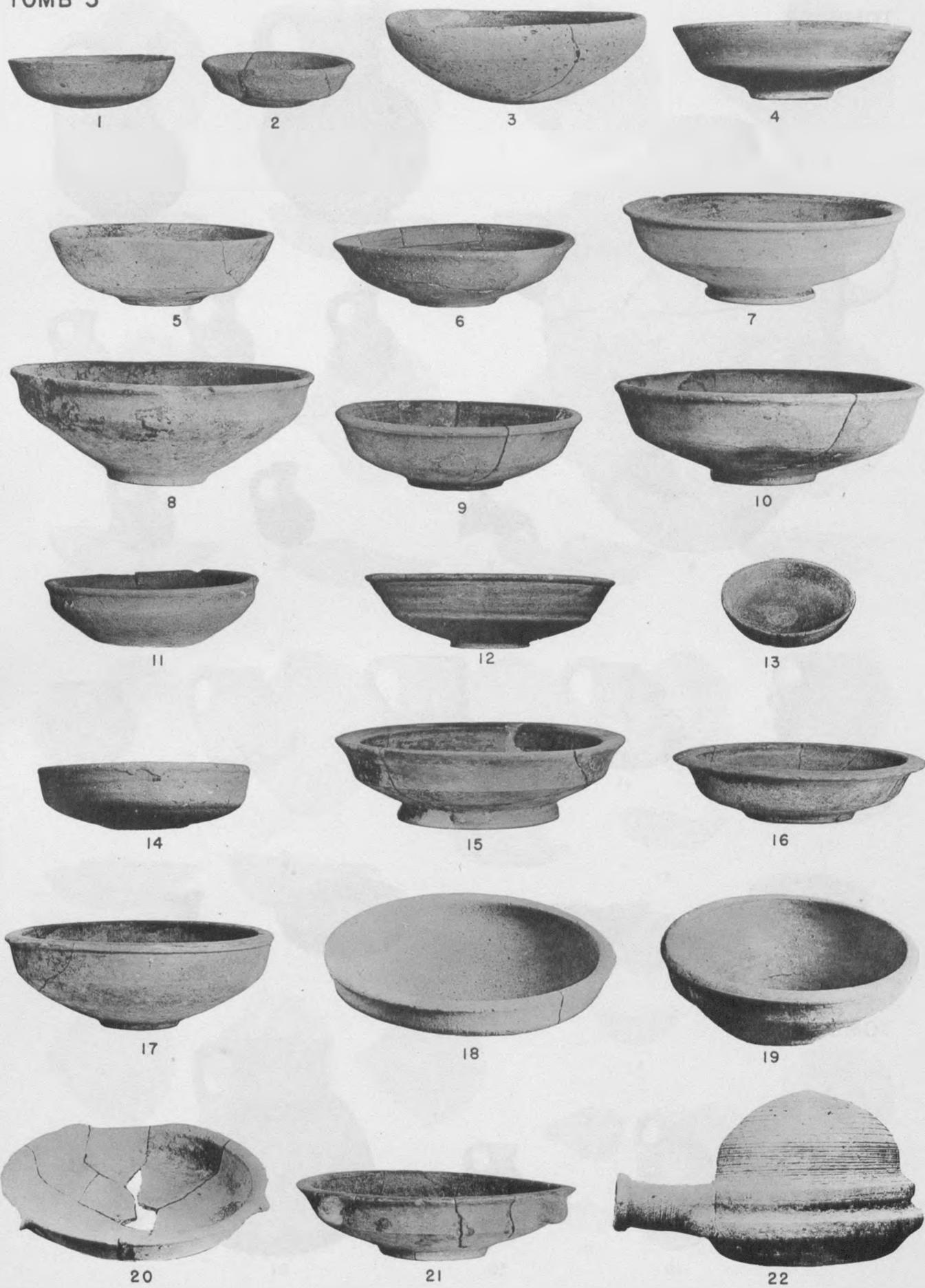
TOMB 54



TOMB 5



TOMB 5



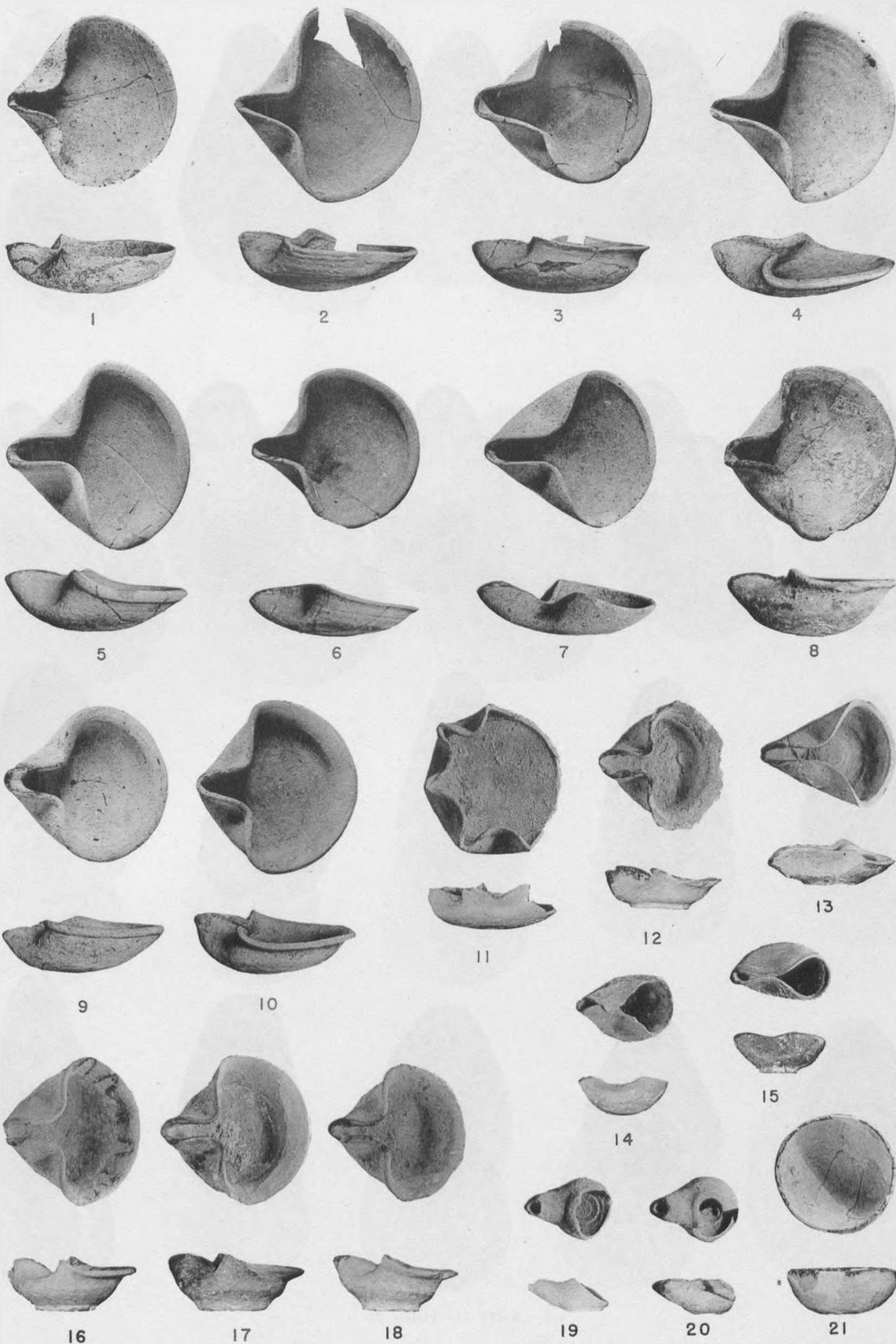
VESSELS OF TOMB 5

TOMB 29

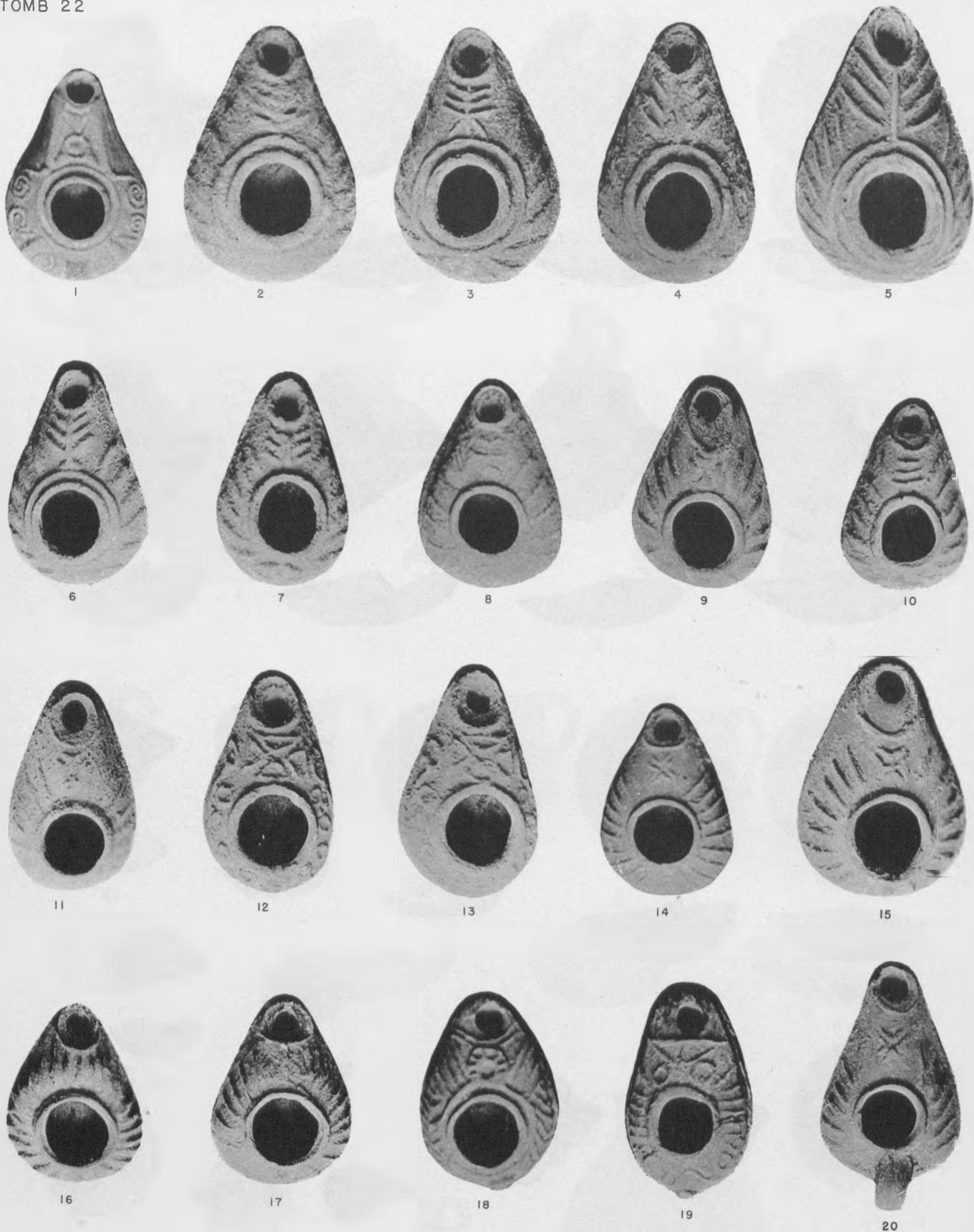


TOMB 55



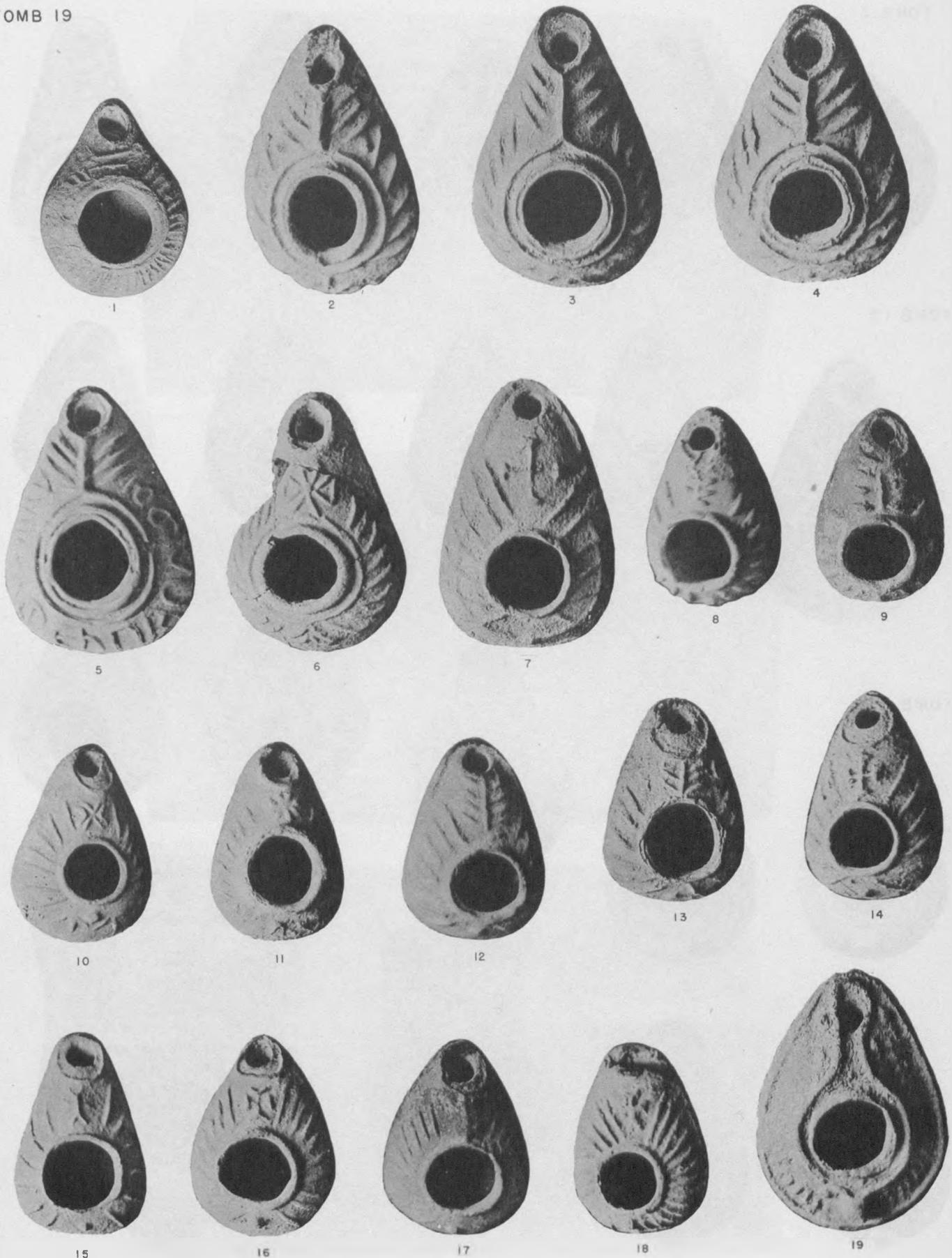


HEBREW LAMPS AND TRANSITIONAL SPECIMENS



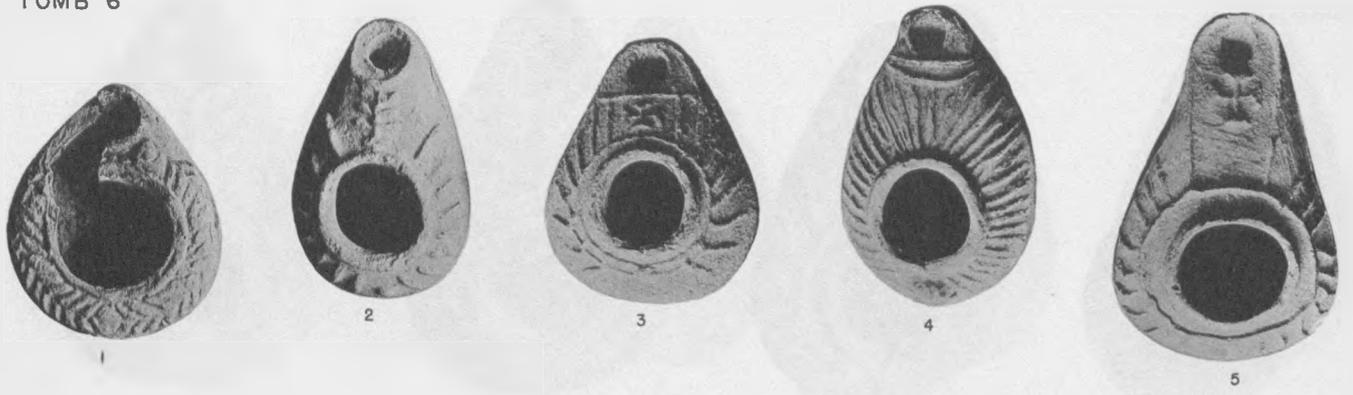
LAMPS OF TOMB 22

TOMB 19



LAMPS OF TOMB 19

TOMB 6

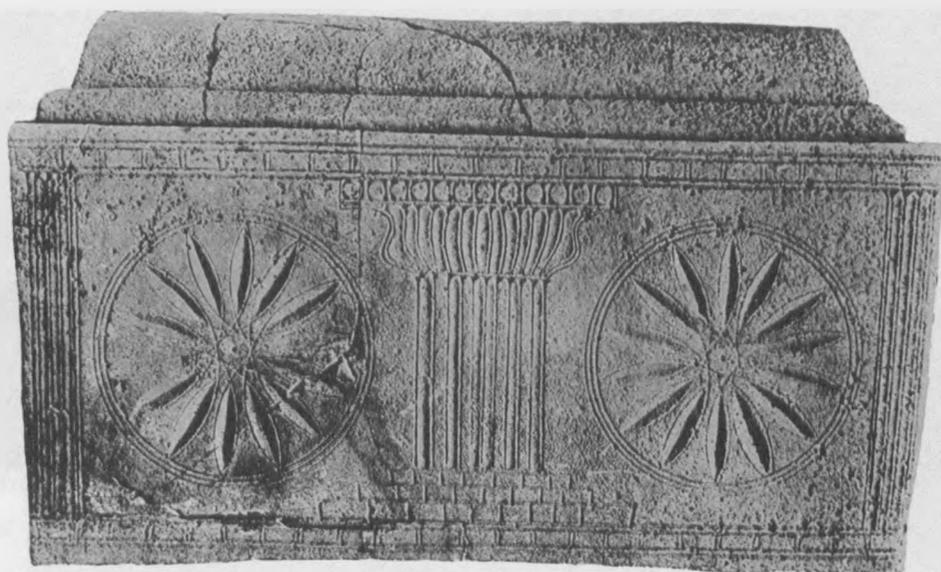


TOMB 13

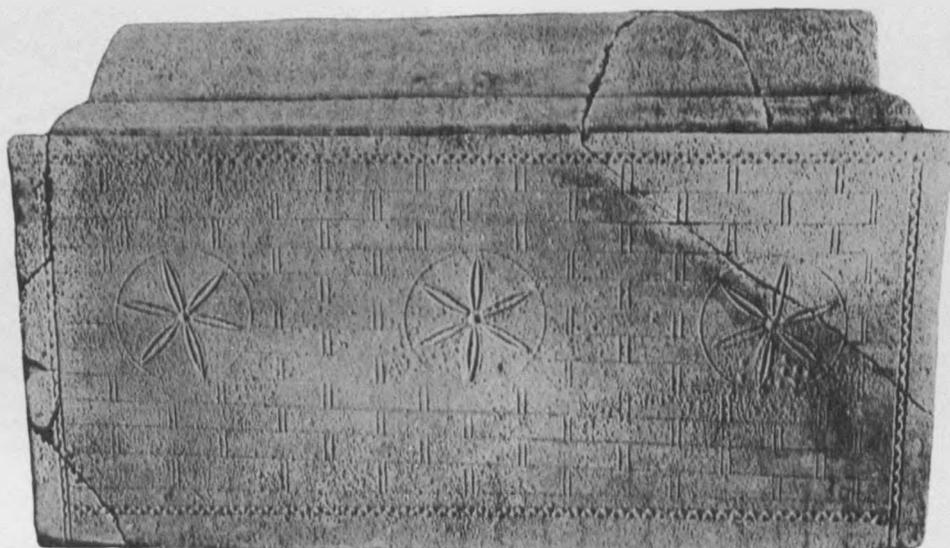


TOMB 33

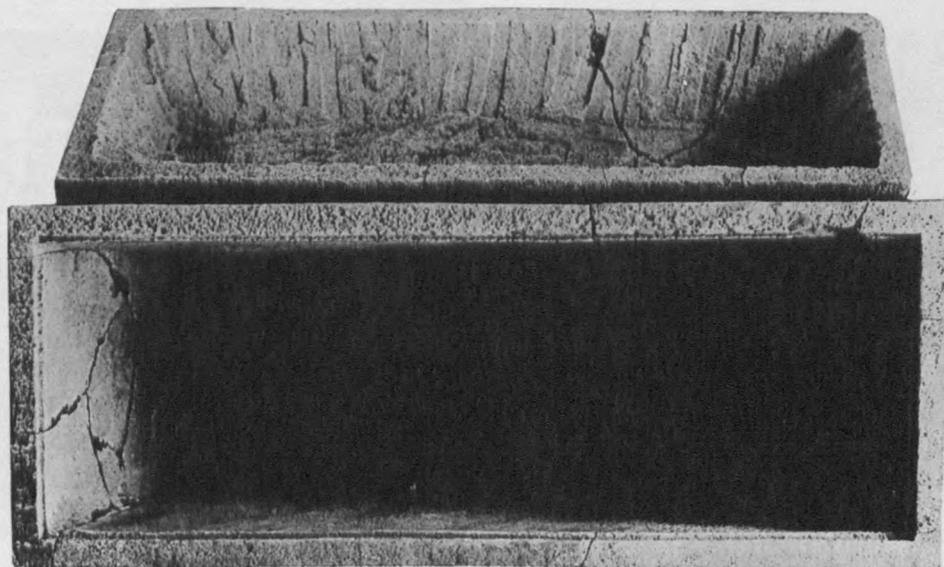




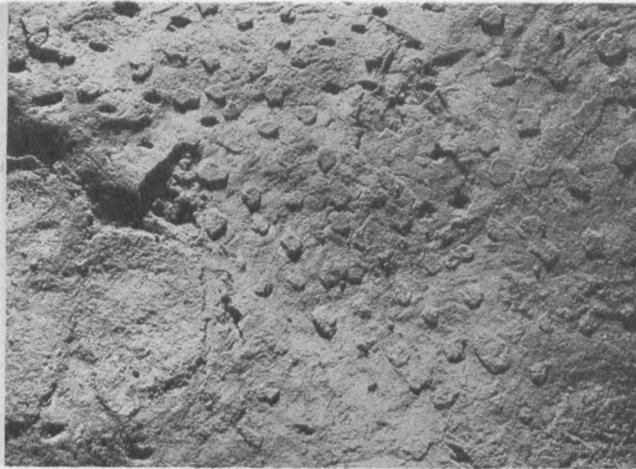
1. FRONT VIEW



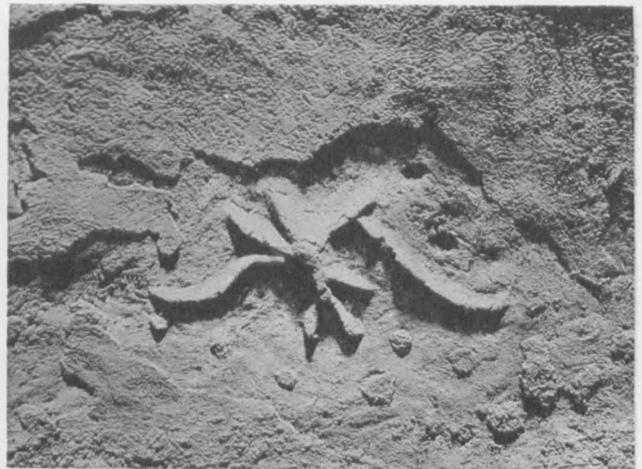
2. BACK VIEW



3. INTERIOR OF OSSUARY AND LID



1. DETAIL FROM WALL OF CISTERN 33 SHOWING HOW PLASTER WAS KEYED TO WALL



2. DESIGN, OR FIGURE, IN PLASTER COVERING INTERIOR OF CI 33



3. VIEW OF CI 33 SHOWING HOW POTTERY AND ARTIFACTS ARE DISTRIBUTED IN INTERIOR OF MUCH-USED CISTERNS



4. ANOTHER INTERIOR VIEW OF CI 33 SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF POTTERY



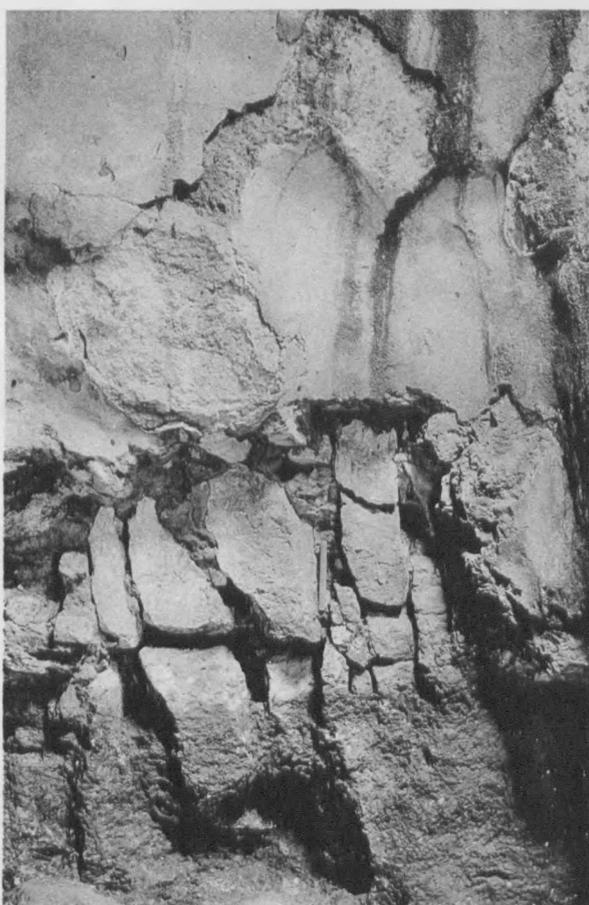
5. OUTSIDE VIEW OF CI 165 SHOWING RUBBLE-MASONRY SHAFT SURROUNDING OPENING AND FLAT COVER STONE ON TOP



6. STAIRWAY ENTRANCE TO CAVE 285 AND CISTERN 285 JUST INSIDE LARGE CITY WALL IN R 22



1. RUBBLE-SHAFT, COVER-STONES, FLOOR-DRAIN, AND DOWN-DRAIN OF CISTERN 363

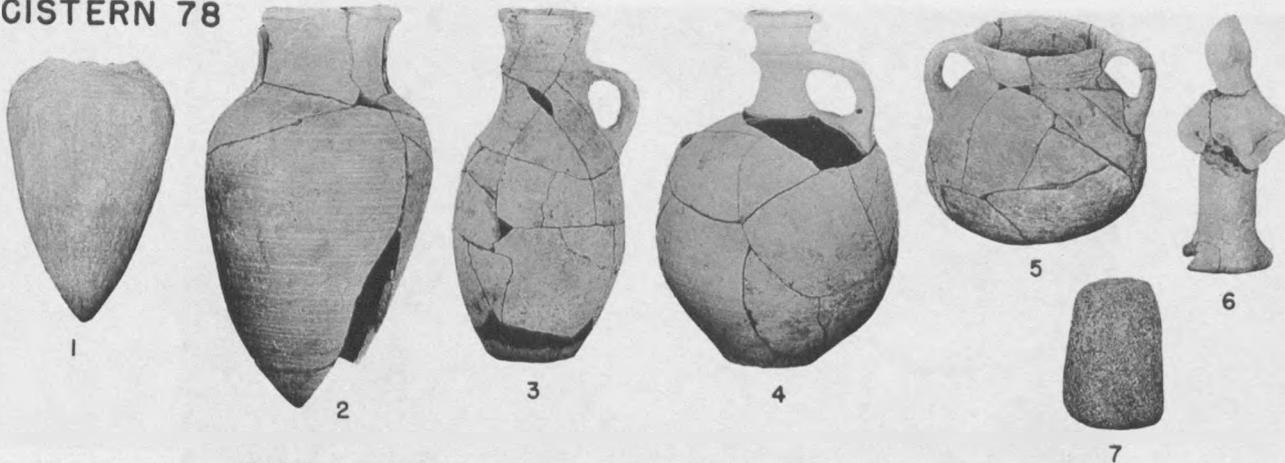


2. DETAIL OF WALL OF CISTERN 159 SHOWING TWO OR THREE LAYERS OF PLASTER WHICH PROBABLY INDICATE SEPARATE PHASES OF BUILDING AND REPAIR AND, CONSEQUENTLY, OF USE



3. TWO OPENINGS TO DOUBLE CISTERN, NO.368

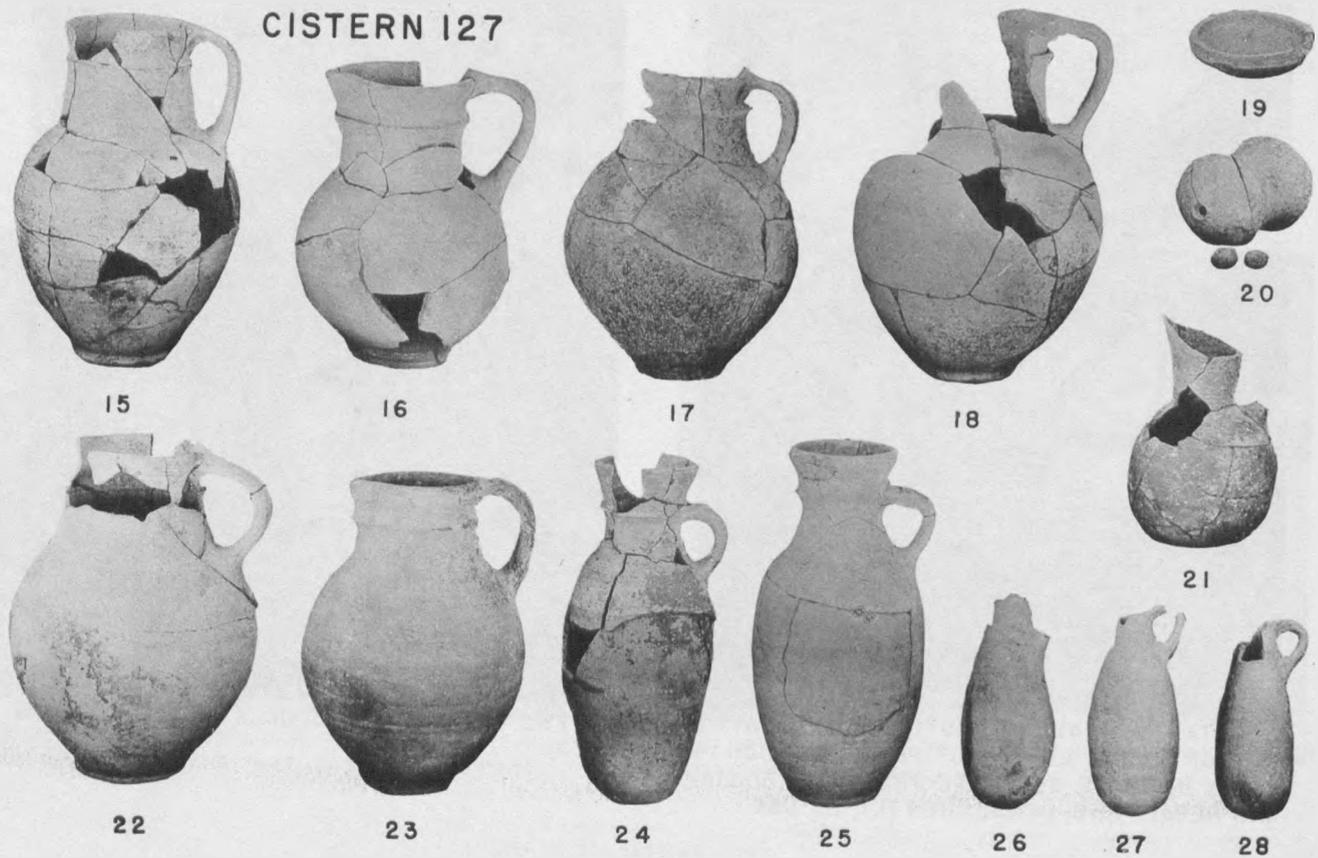
CISTERN 78



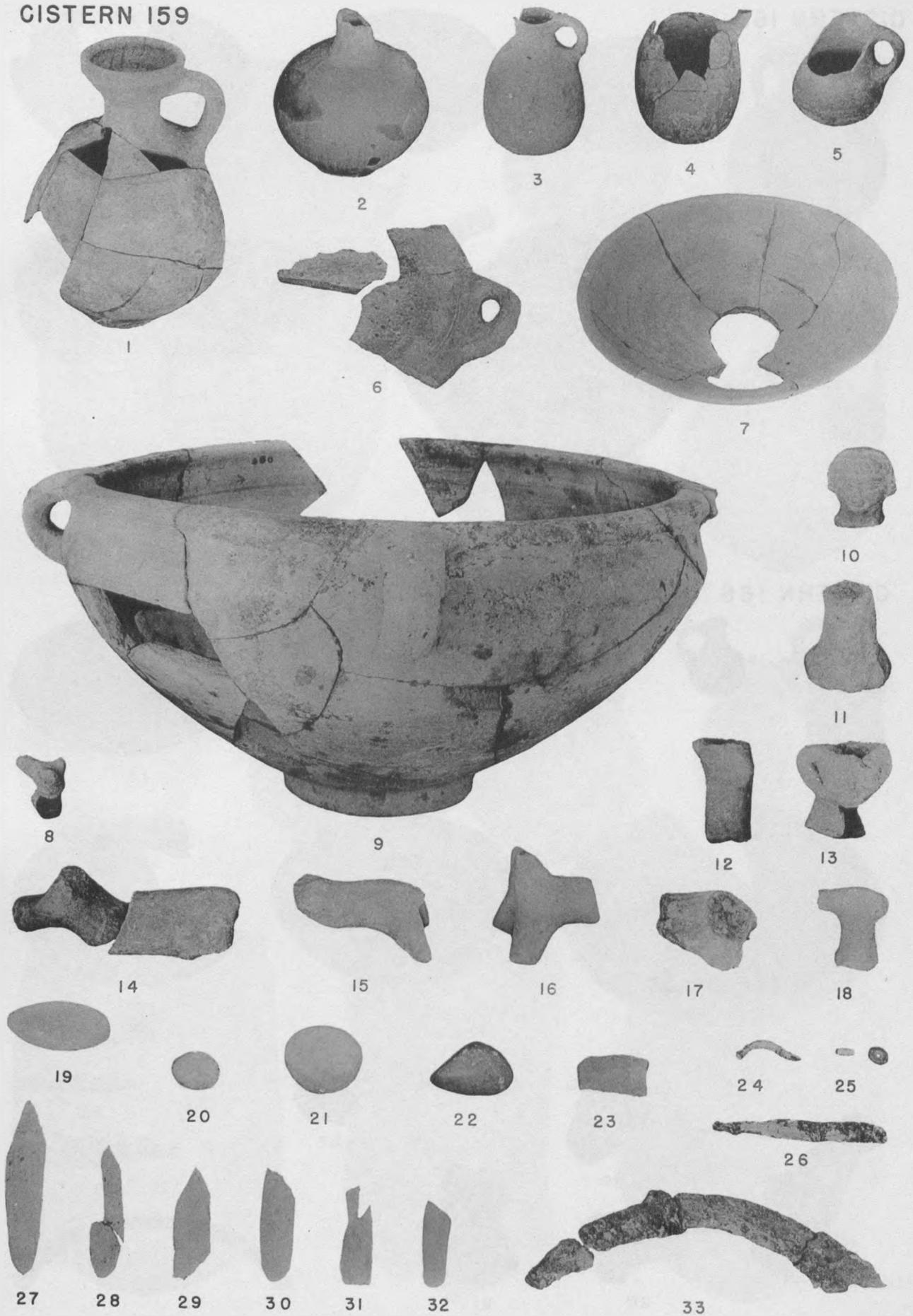
CISTERN 119



CISTERN 127



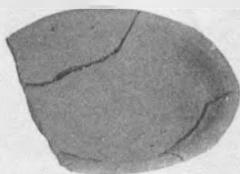
CISTERN 159



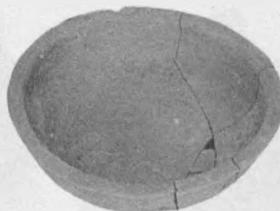
CISTERN 163



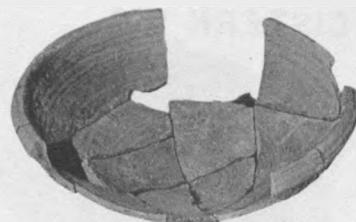
1



2



3



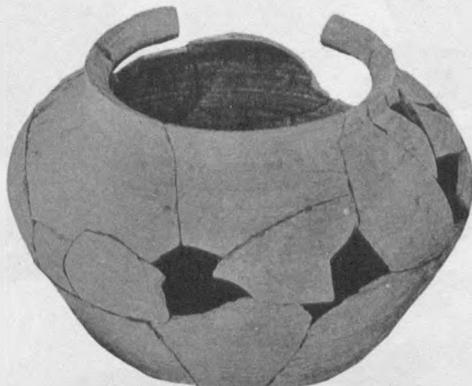
4



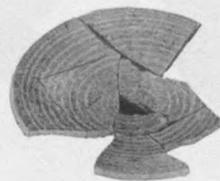
5



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CISTERN 166



10



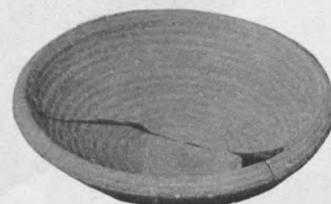
11



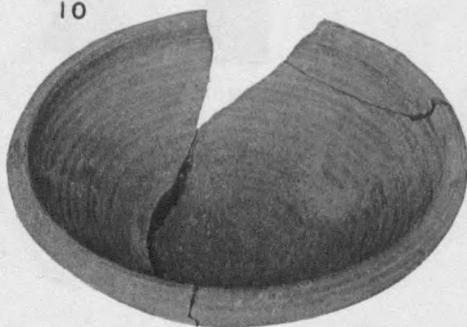
12



13



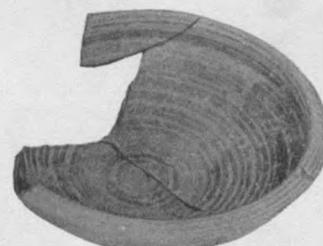
14



15



16



17



18



19



20



21



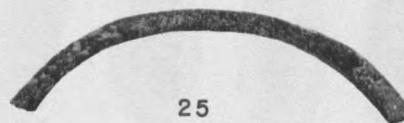
22



23



24



25

CISTERN 176



1



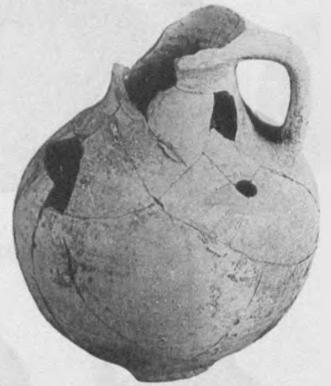
2



3



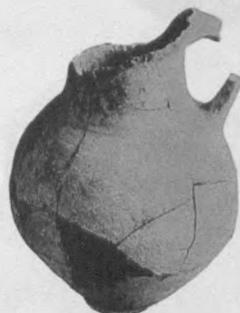
4



5



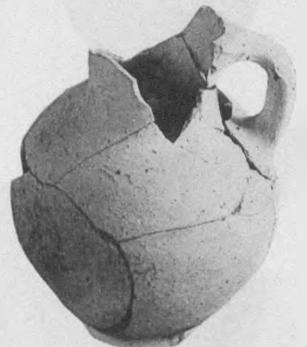
6



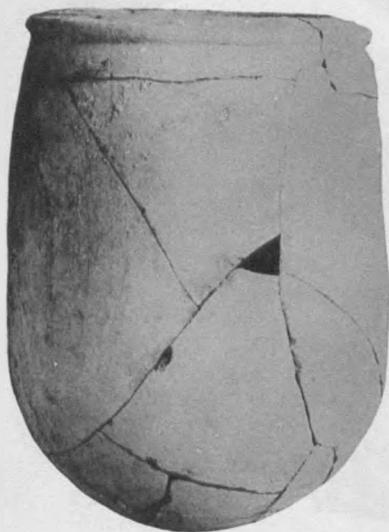
7



8



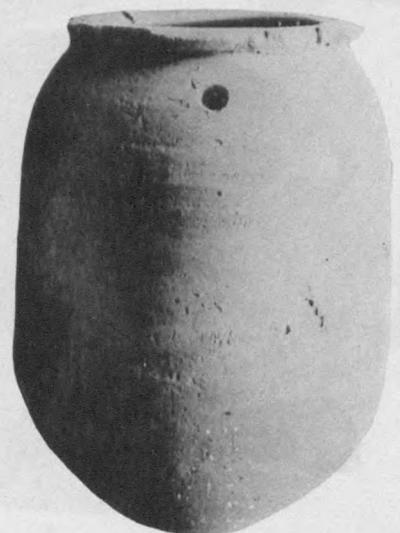
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10

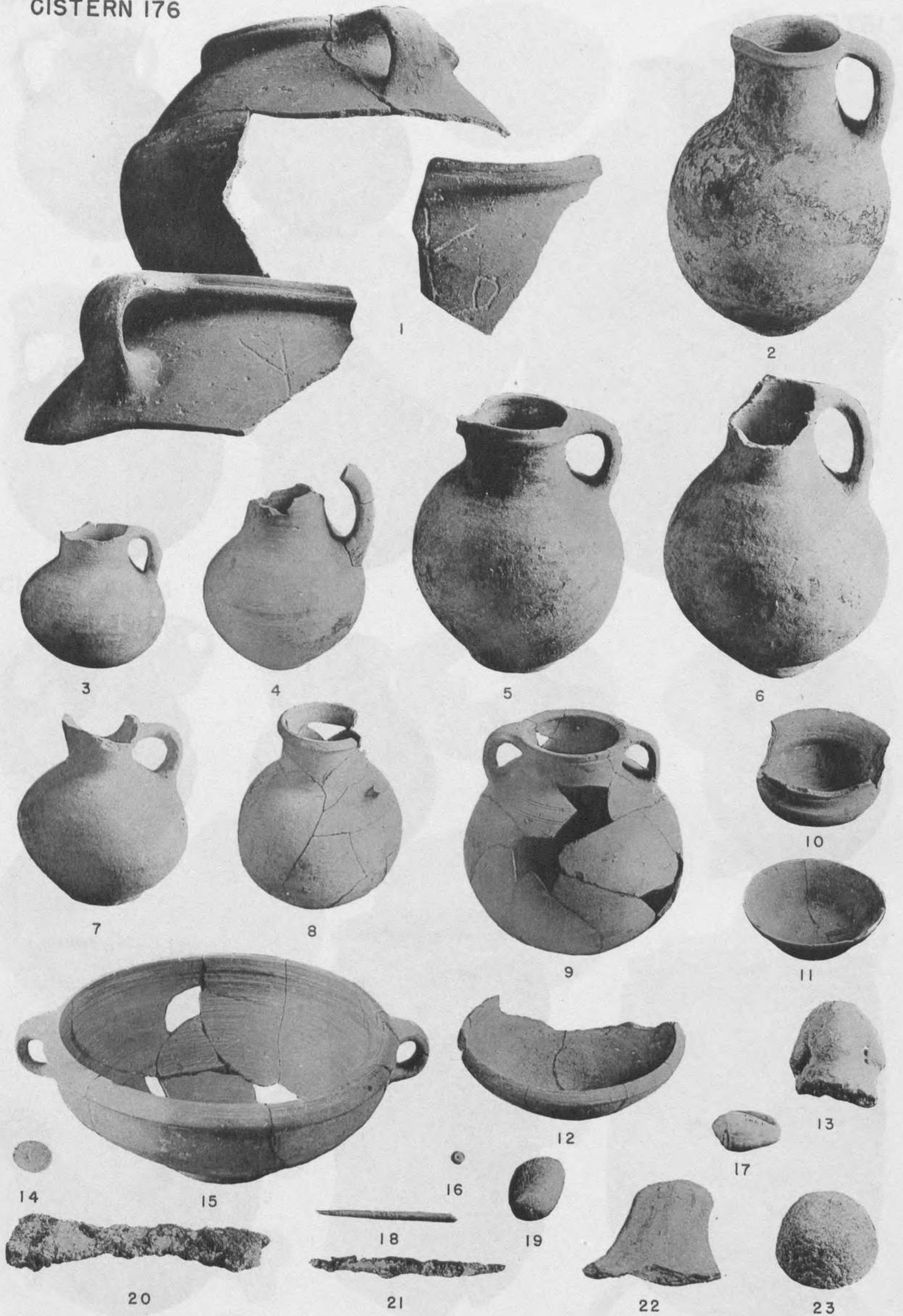


11



12

CISTERN 176

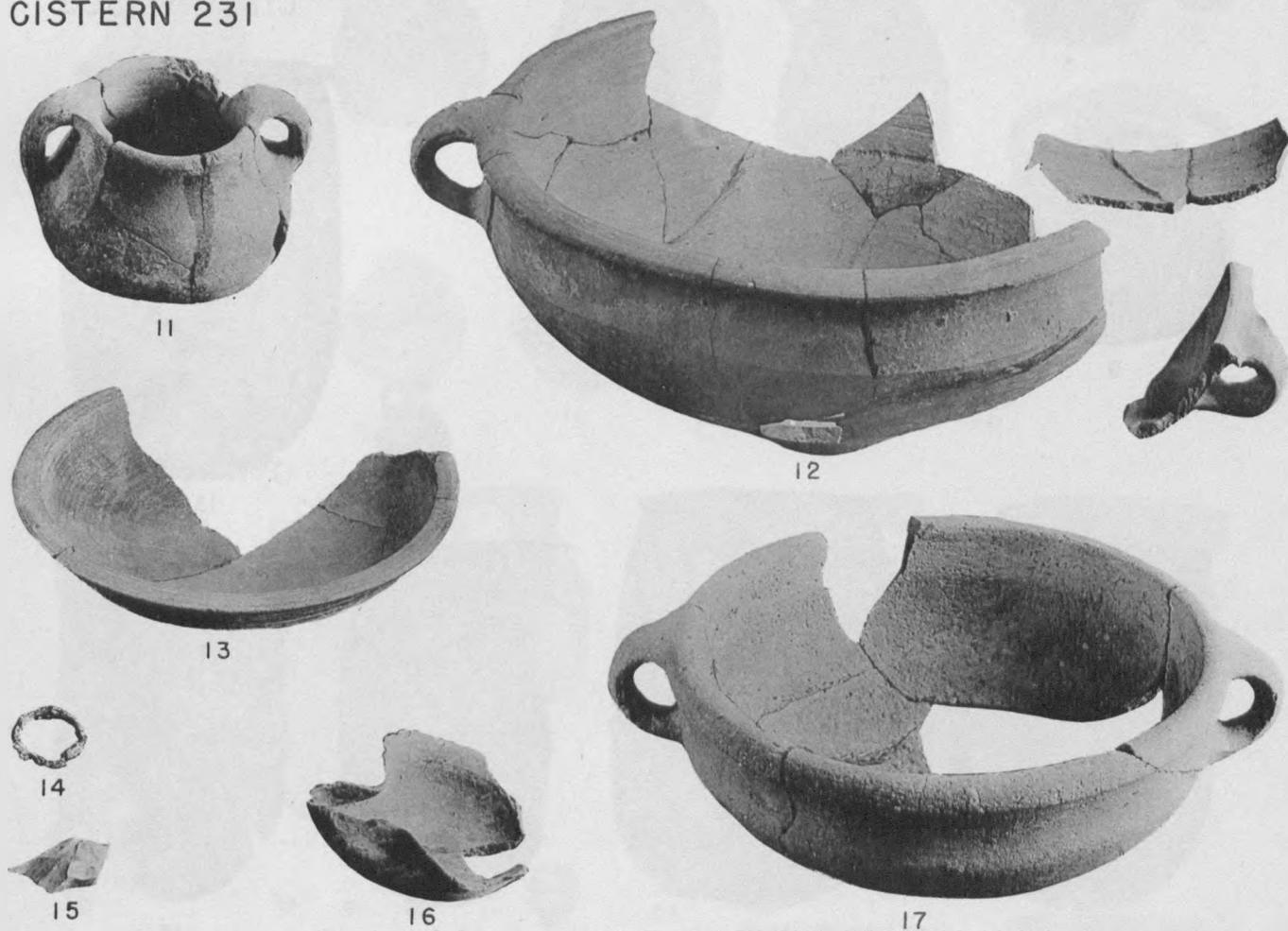


ARTIFACTS FROM CISTERN 176

CISTERN 183



CISTERN 231



CISTERN 320



1



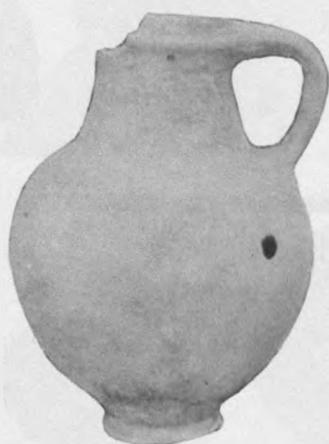
2



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CISTERN 363



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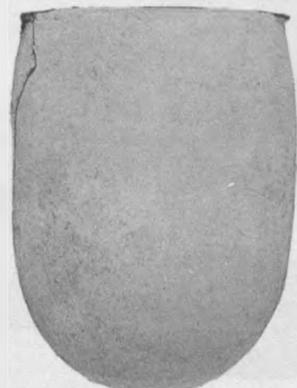
11



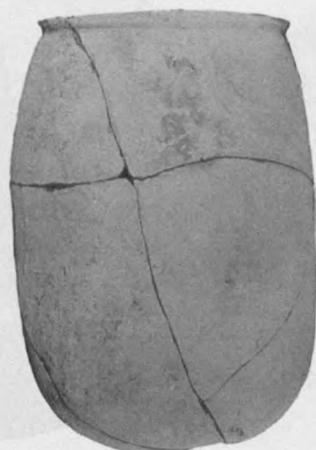
12



13



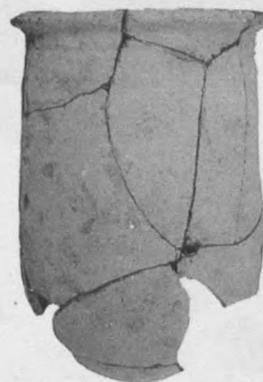
14



15



16

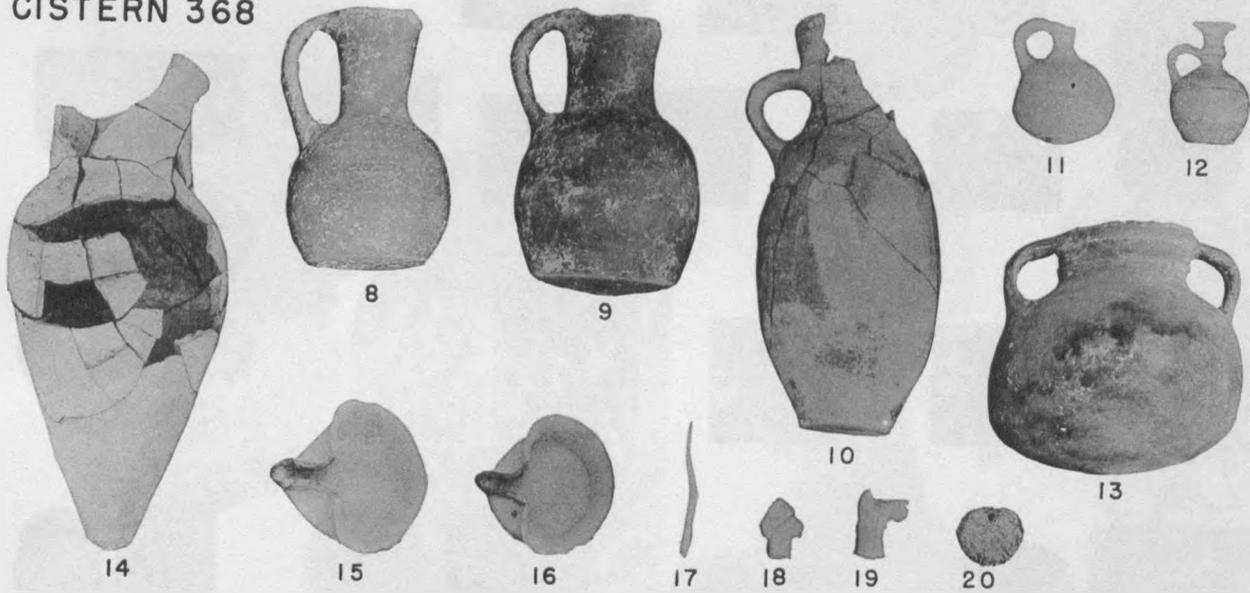


17

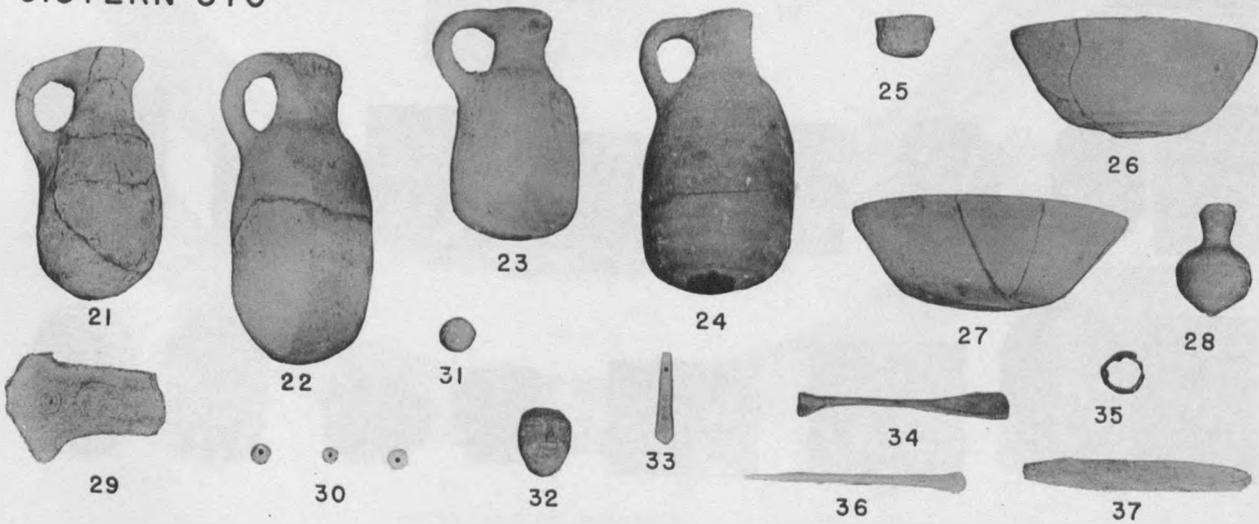
CISTERN 363



CISTERN 368



CISTERN 370



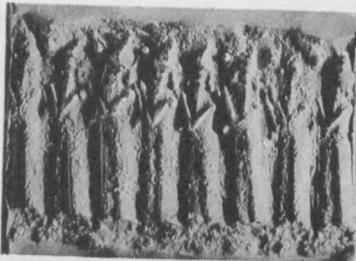




40



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64



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66



82



73



67



74



75



83



76



79



77



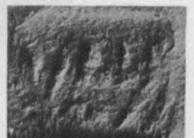
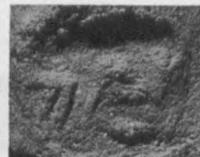
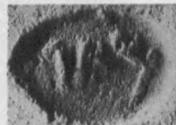
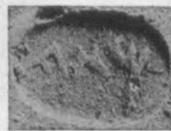
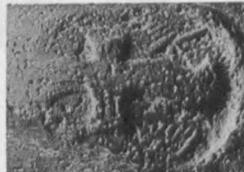
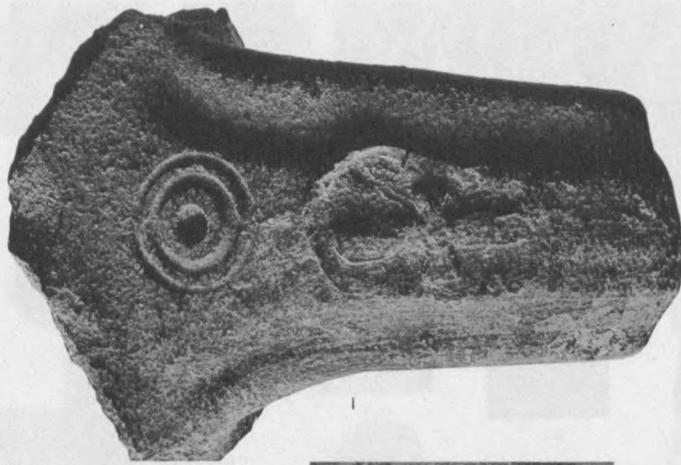
80



81



84



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27

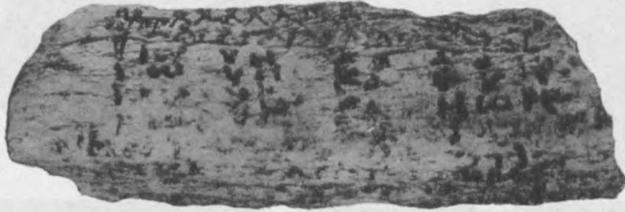
28



INSCRIBED JAR HANDLES, WEIGHTS, GRAFFITI — 1-3 *YHD* IMPRESSIONS; 4-5 JAAZANIAH SEAL; 6-8 WEIGHTS; IMPRESSIONS: 9-12 TWO-LINE, 13-14 *YH*, 15-16 FOUR-LETTER, 17-18 *YH*, 19 *YHD*, 20 UNDECIPHERED; 21-27 GRAFFITI



1A



1B



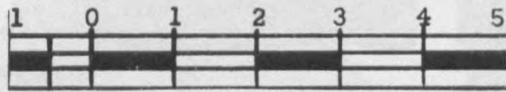
1C



1D



1E



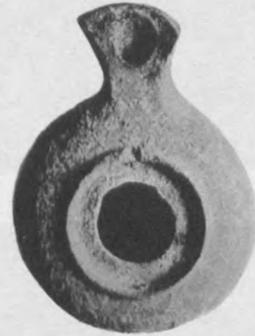
1F



2



3



4



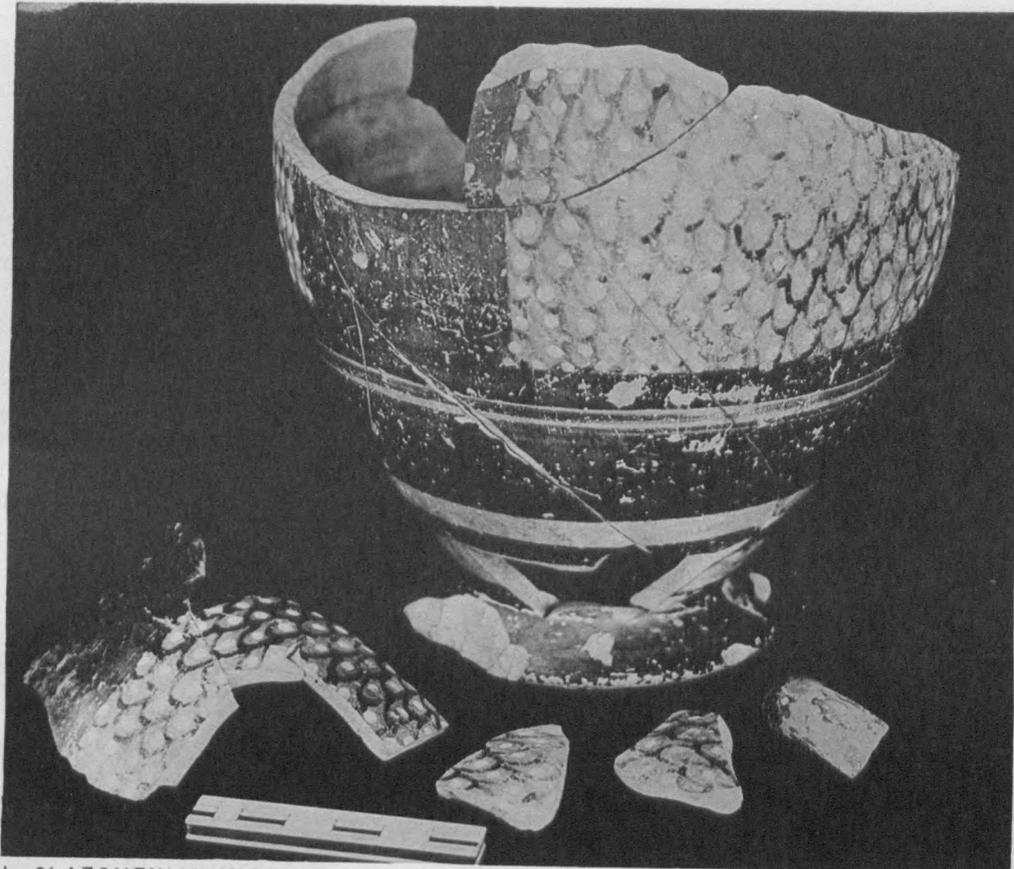
5A



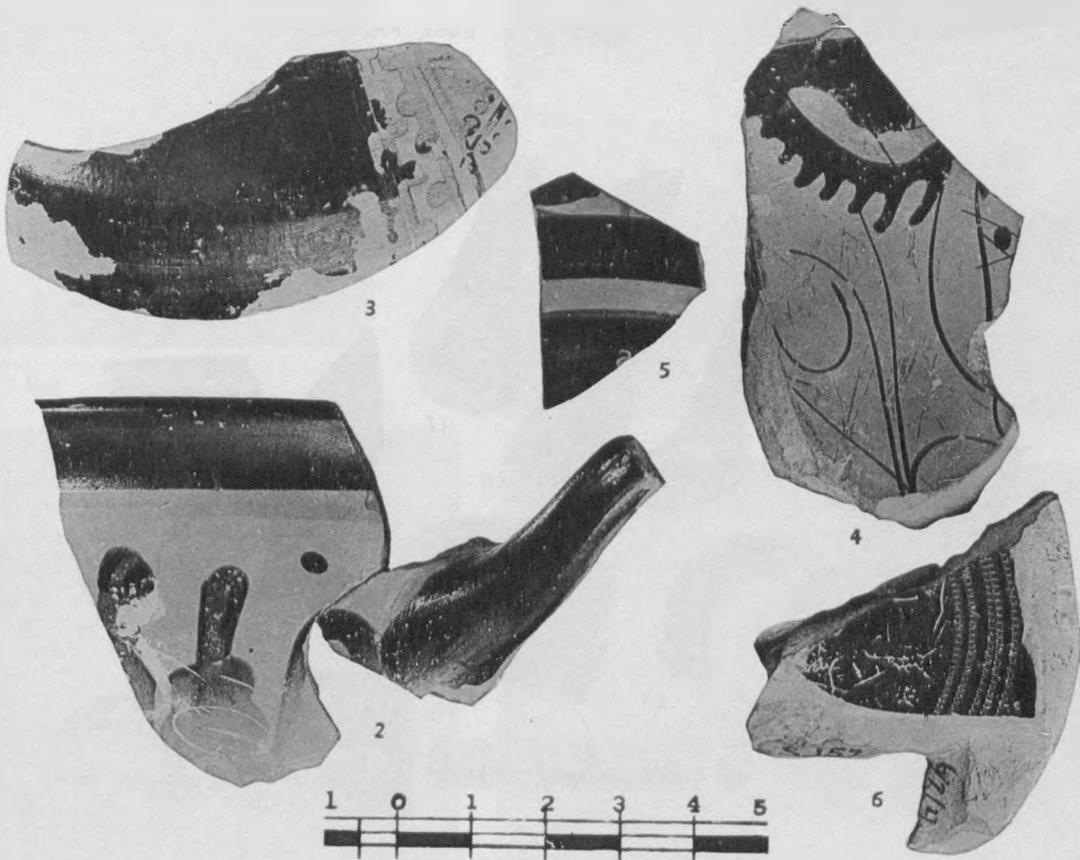
5B



OBJECTS FROM TOMB 15: 1 A-F INSCRIBED BONE; 2-4 LAMPS;
5 COIN OF PTOLEMY II PHILADELPHUS



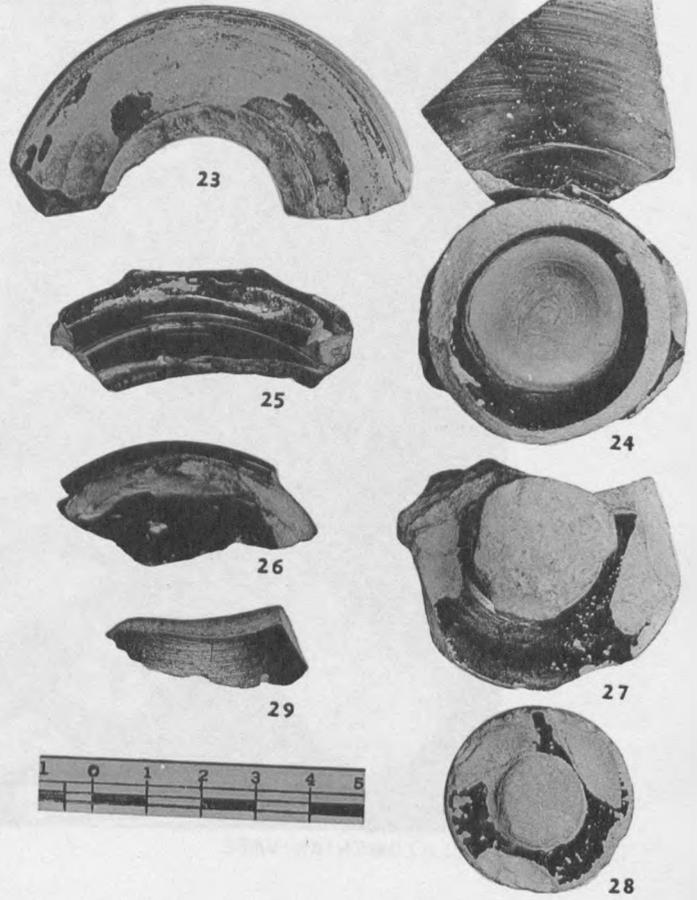
1. GLAZOMENIAN VASE



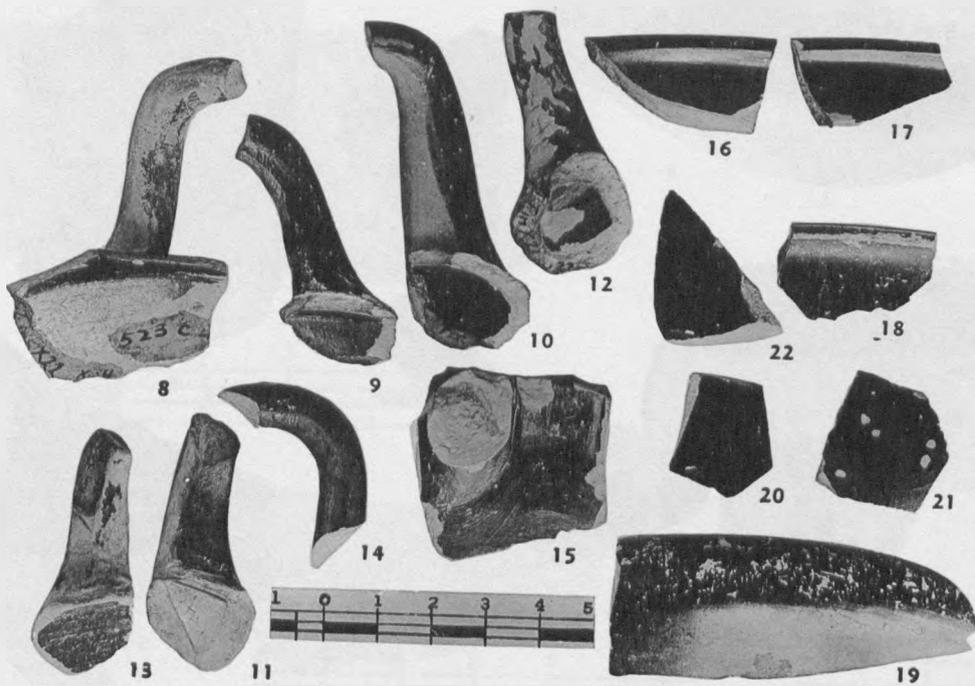
2-6. ATTIC BLACK-AND RED-FIGURE WARE



7. OFFSET-LIP CUP



23-29. BASE FRAGMENTS



8-22. HANDLE, RIM, AND WALL FRAGMENTS

GREEK WARE



1. BEDROCK CONTOUR AND CITY WALLS AT SOUTH END



2. BEDROCK CONTOUR AND THICKNESS OF DEBRIS AT NORTH END



3. BEDROCK CONTOUR AND THICKNESS OF DEBRIS ON EAST SIDE



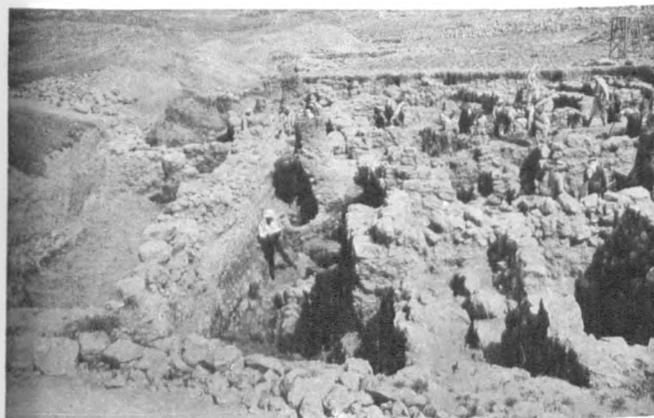
4. FROM CENTER OF SITE LOOKING WEST OVER AF, AG I7



5. LOOKING NORTHWEST IN AE, AF I7



6. STRATUM II REMAINS AT NORTH END IN N, P I5, I6



7. ROOM 549, AF I8 OF STRATUM II



1. BEDROCK AND FLOOR OF ROOM 638, Z 19



2. FLAGSTONE FLOOR IN ROOM 641, Z 18



3. OPENING OF CISTERN 370 AND ITS ASSOCIATION WITH SINGLE-STONE WALLS



4. NARROW STREET IN EARLIER PHASE OF STRATUM I



5. EARLIER AND LATER PHASES OF STRATUM I



6. WALLS OF LATER PHASE OF STRATUM I AND LARGE CITY WALL, SOME LAID ON REMAINS OF CITY WALL. LOOKING SOUTH FROM T 12



1. NARROW WALL SUPERIMPOSED ON LARGE CITY WALL



3. PHASES OF STRATUM I INDICATED BY DRAINS



2. OVERLAPPING OF STRATUM I STRUCTURAL PLANS



4. INTERIOR OF CAVE 167



5. ENTRANCE TO CAVE 167 AND ROCK SCARP



1. TWO ROOMS IN WESTERN DEFENSE TOWER



2. DETAIL SHOWING RUDE CONSTRUCTION



4. JUNCTION SIDE WALL WITH CITY WALL



3. SIDE OF TOWER (RIGHT) ABUTTING ON WEST WALL



5. NORTH END OF INNER WALL SHOWING RELATION TO EAST END OF DEFENSE TOWER



1. TOWER FROM SOUTHEAST (RS. 243, 249); CITY WALL IN BACKGROUND



2. BASE OF INNER WALL ON BEDROCK



3. INNER WALL SEEN FROM WITHOUT



4. INNER WALL BROKEN TO DISCOVER CHRONOLOGICAL EVIDENCE



1. SOUTH WALL, A METER OF FOUNDATION, 3 M. PLASTERED, 2 M. REMAINING ABOVE



2. SOUTH WALL IN 1932 (EXCAVATED IN 1929)



3. EXTERIOR OF WALL WITH REVETMENT BUILT AGAINST IT



4. FOSSE IN SQUARE S II



5. FOSSE IN SQUARE AG 28



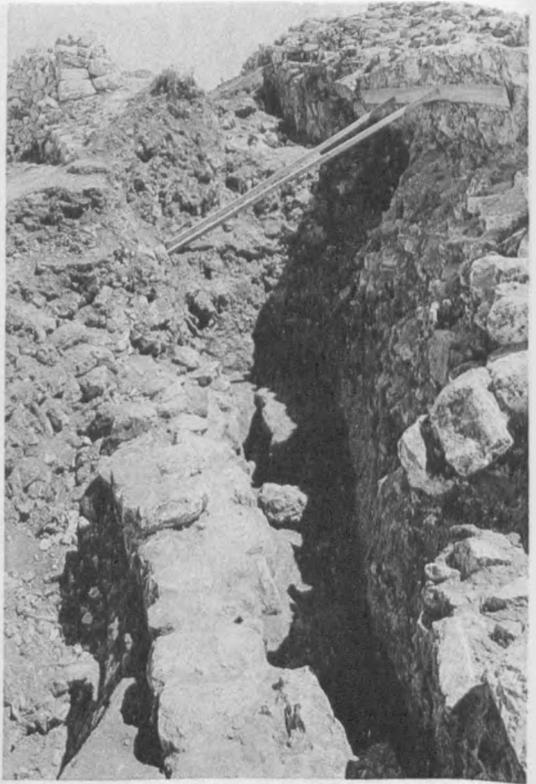
1. TRENCH LEADING TO NORTH WALL



3. BASE OF NORTH WALL FORCED OUT AND COLLAPSED



5. DEBRIS UNDER FOUNDATION OF WEST WALL; NOTE SMALL STONES IN WALL



2. EXTERIOR OF NORTH WALL (SHORED UP) WITH RETAINING WALL BELOW



4. INTERIOR OF EAST WALL SHOWING SHELF MADE BY WIDE FOUNDATION

DETAILS OF WALL CONSTRUCTION



1. UPPER AND LOWER MASONRY



2. WALL WEST OF REVETMENT



3. WALL ABOVE REVETMENT



4. LOWER MASONRY OF REVETMENT

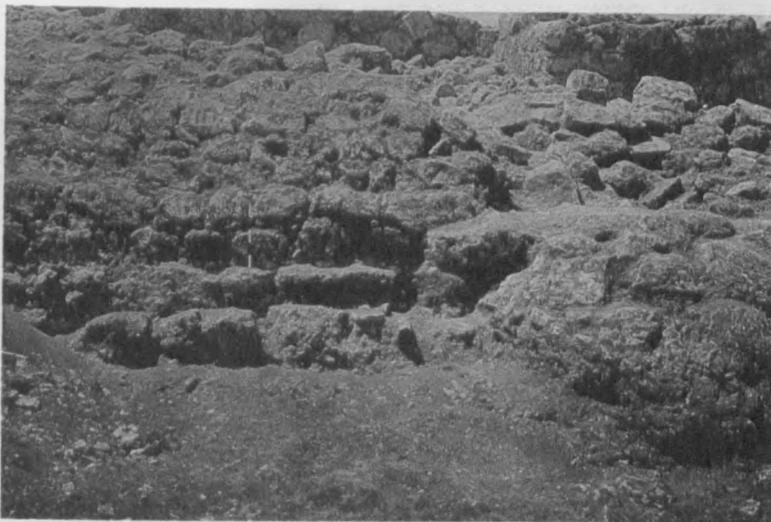
MASONRY IN REVETMENT AND WALL



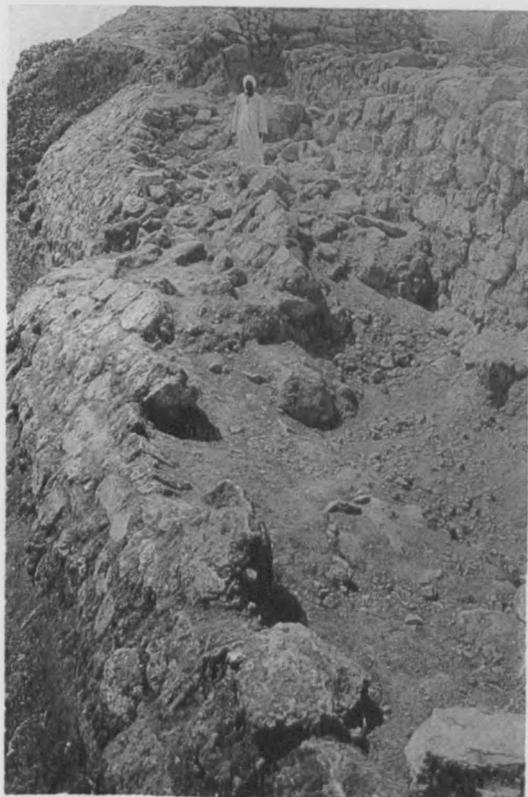
1. REVETMENT SLOPE AND RETAINING WALL



2. RETAINING WALL, REVETMENT, CITY WALL, AND TOWER



3. FACE OF REVETMENT, PARTIALLY EXCAVATED



4. REVETMENT AND ADDED REVETMENT WITH WALL ABOVE

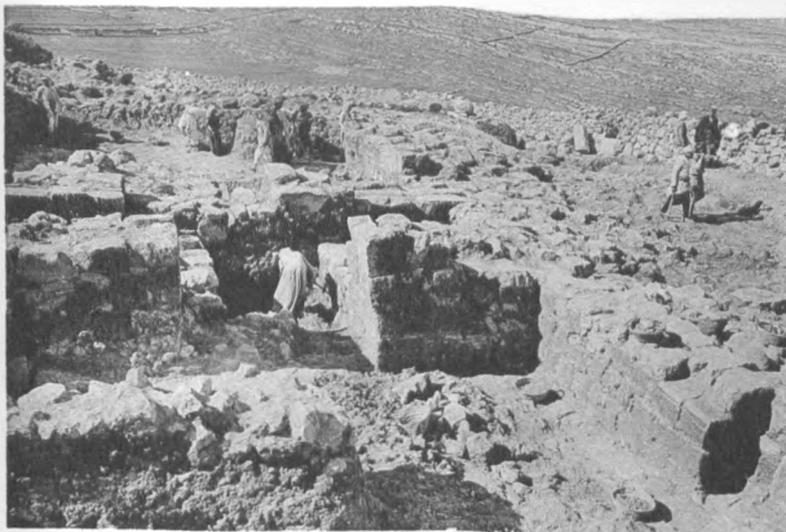


5. REVETMENT PARTLY DENUDED, WALL AT LEFT, CORNER OF TOWER AT BACK (FROM SOUTH)

REVTMENT AND TOWER BY "EARLY GATE"



1. TOP OF WALL; GATE JAMBS; BURNED STRIP IN DEBRIS



2. CITY WALL RIGHT; LATE WALL FOREGROUND; BLOCKAGE BETWEEN OUTER JAMBS



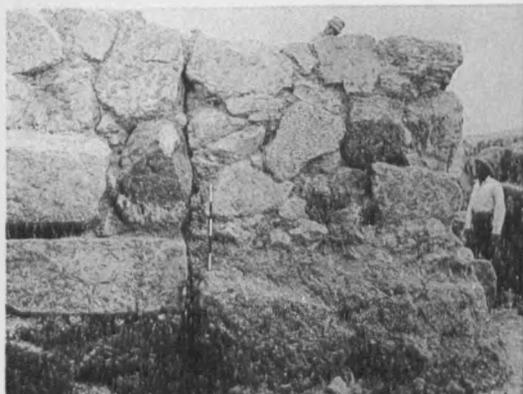
3. CORNER OF TOWER WITH SEATS



4. GATE FROM WITHOUT WITH BLOCKAGE OF WEST HALF



5. JOINT BETWEEN JAMB AND BLOCKAGE, NO. 4



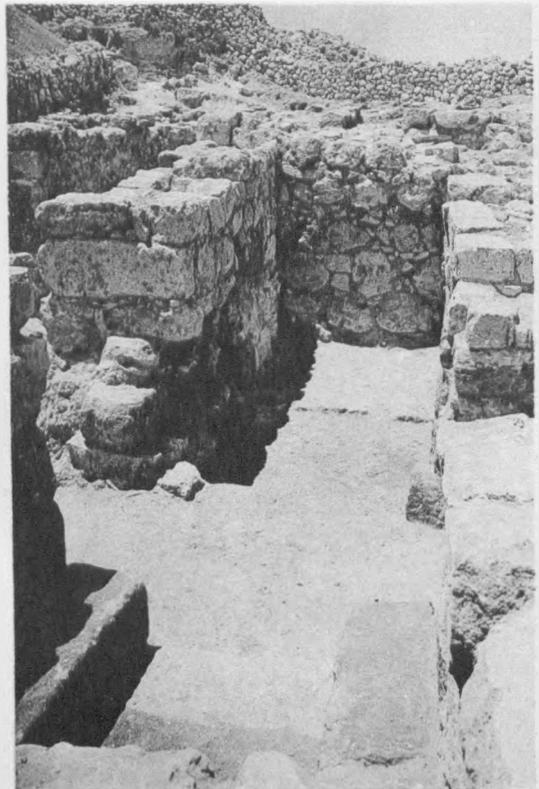
7. JOINT BETWEEN JAMB AND BLOCKAGE, NO. 6



6. GATE FROM WITHIN WITH BLOCKAGE OF WEST HALF



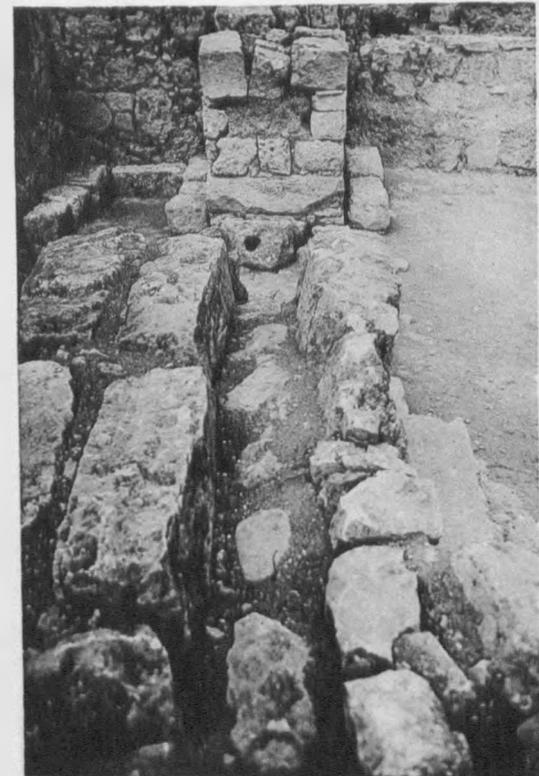
1. GATE UNOPENED; BLOCKAGE BEFORE WEST "GUARD ROOM"



2. EAST AND WEST "GUARD ROOMS" CLEARED



3. EAST "GUARD ROOM"



5. BOLT GROOVE IN EAST JAMB; LOCK STONE AT FOOT OF WEST JAMB



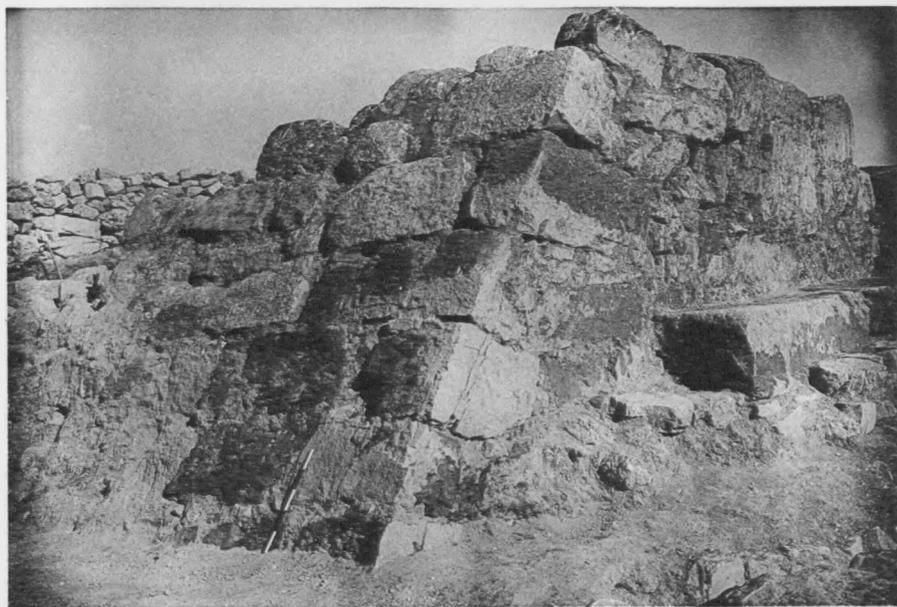
4. GATE FULLY CLEARED; BENCHES; PAVEMENT (?); DRAIN; REVETMENT ON RIGHT; LATE KILN IN FOREGROUND



1. WEST JAMBS



2. EAST JAMBS



3. EAST TOWER; SEAT AND REMAINS OF PAVEMENT AT RIGHT



4. SPLIT GATE SOCKET



1. TOWER BESIDE "EARLY GATE," LOOKING SOUTH



2. "EARLY GATE" UNDER EXCAVATION; FROM SOUTH (NOTE ABSENCE OF *MAŞŞEBÄH*)



3. "EARLY GATE" CLEARED; *MAŞŞEBÄH* SET ON LATE DIVIDING WALL



4. CENTRAL PIERS, SHOWING WIDTH AND CONSTRUCTION OF WALLS



5. LOOKING SOUTH THROUGH GATEWAY; WALL OF 4-ROOM BLDG. NO.2 ON SLOPING DEBRIS



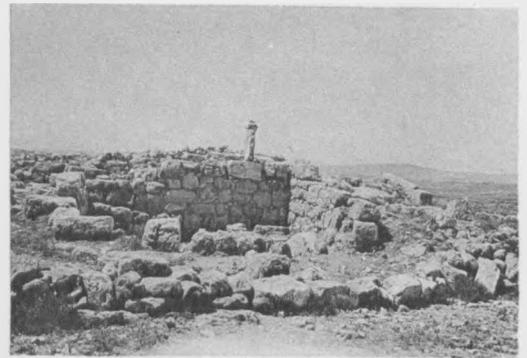
6. CUT BETWEEN BUILDINGS SHOWING CHARACTER OF CITY WALL AND SHELF; ANCIENT DRAIN AT EXTREME LOWER MARGIN



7. AS IN NO.6; BASKET ON ANCIENT DRAIN; WALL OF 4-ROOM BLDG. NO.2 AT RIGHT



1. TOWER AS FOUND



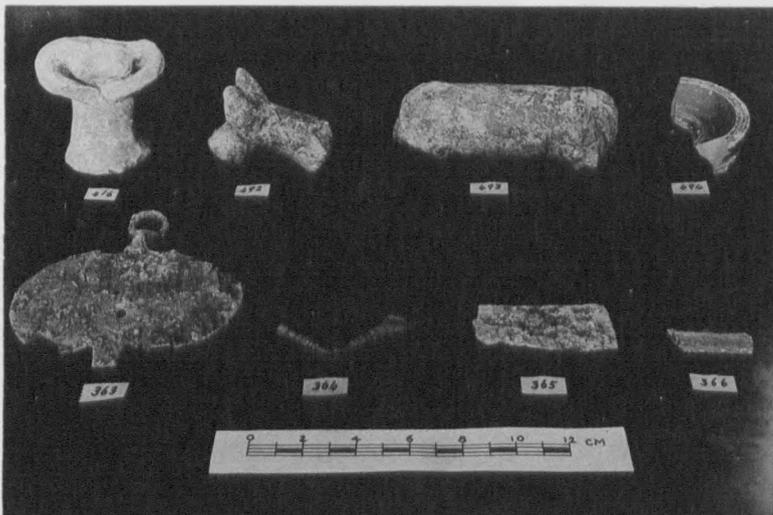
2. INTERIOR OF TOWER



3. TOWER UNDER EXCAVATION



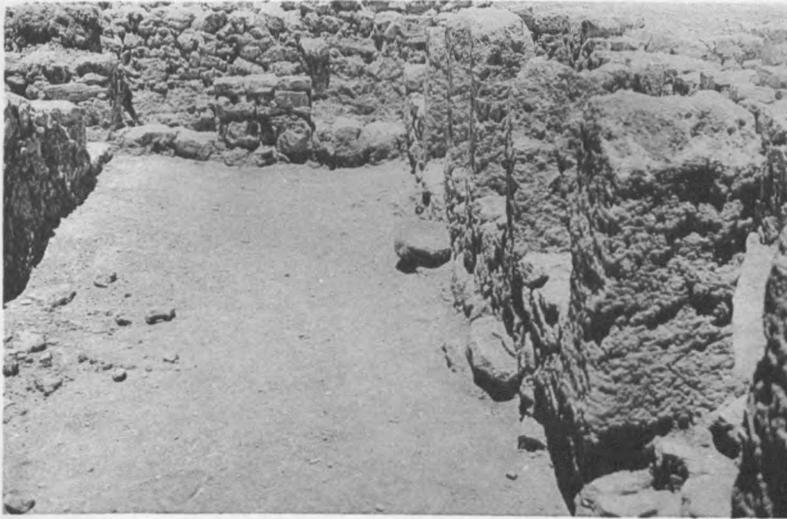
4. THIN WALL ON DESTROYED CITY WALL



5. OBJECTS FOUND IN TOWER DEBRIS



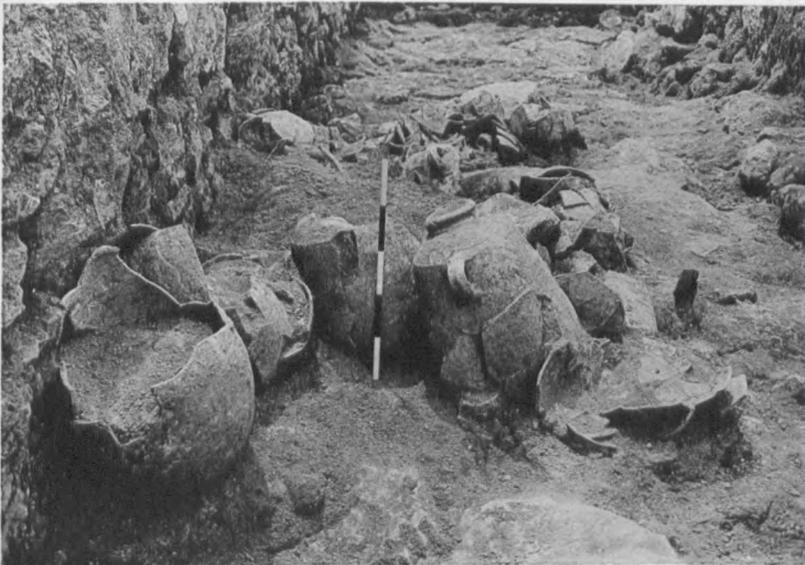
6. LATE WALL BUILT ON DEBRIS AND RUNNING OVER CITY WALL; R. 301 IN W 12



1. CENTRAL ROOM, OR COURT, FROM SOUTH



2. FROM SOUTHWEST; NOTE BASE OF STAIRWAY



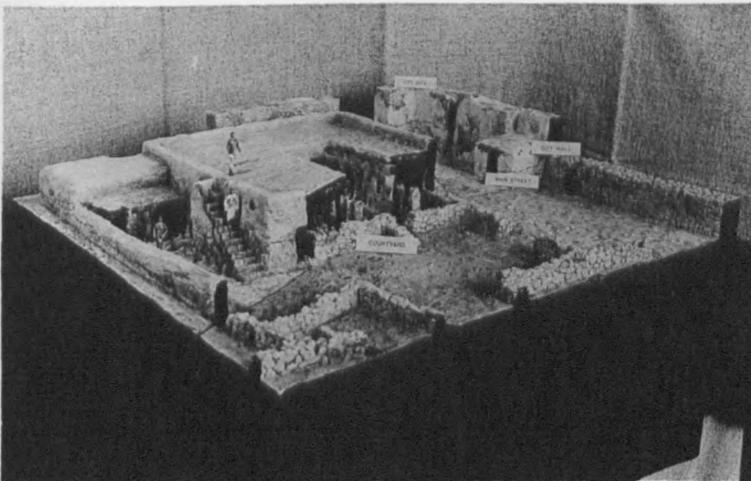
4. BROKEN POTTERY AS FOUND IN R. 376



3. FRONT WALL AND ENTRANCE



5. FROM R. 378B INTO 378A, PIER AND DOORWAYS TO R. 379



6. TENTATIVE RESTORATION, INCOMPLETE IN FRONT TO DISPLAY CONSTRUCTION OF WOODEN BEAMS



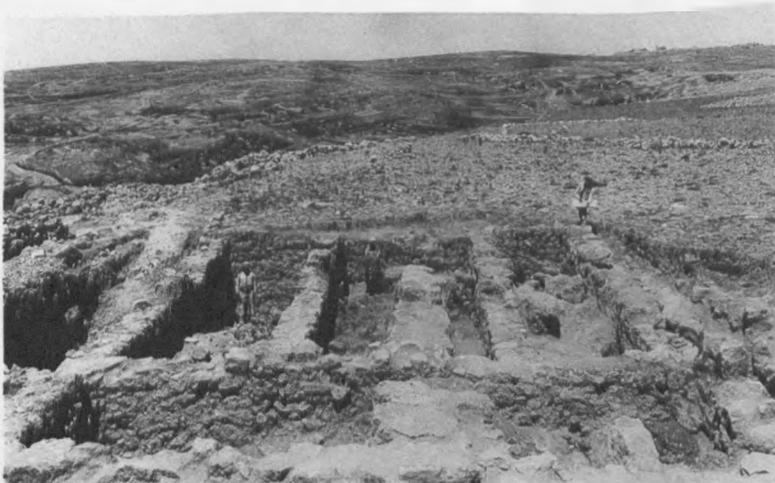
7. STEPPED STREET NORTH OF BUILDING, LOOKING EAST



1. NO. 2, LOOKING SOUTH: *LĪWĀN* IN FOREGROUND; ENTRANCE AT SOUTH CENTER, MORTAR ON PILLAR OF EARTH IN CENTER



2. DETAIL: MORTAR AND WALL OF BIN 283



4. NO. 1 FROM SOUTHEAST; INNER CITY WALL IN CENTER, *LĪWĀN* IN FOREGROUND; BIN 98 IN ROOM AT RIGHT



3. LOOKING NORTH: WALLS OF *LĪWĀN*, "EARLY GATE" BEYOND; BIN 283



5. NO. 1 FROM NORTHEAST; *LĪWĀN* AT LEFT; PEDESTAL AT RIGHT OF CENTER; OUTER WALL ON BEDROCK AT LEFT



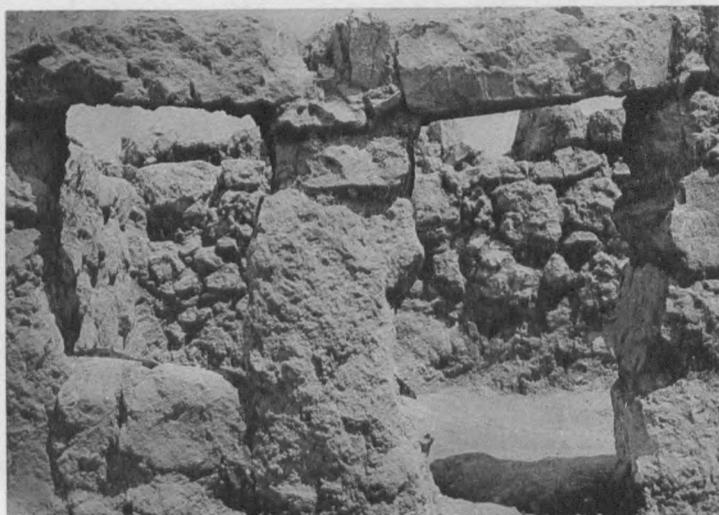
6. ROCK CAVERNS AT NORTHEAST CORNER OF NO. 1; LOOKING SOUTHEAST ALONG WALL



1. DOORWAY (ARCHED?) WITH LINTEL



2. ROOM 390: COLUMNS OF DRUMS WITH LINTELS



3. DETAIL FROM NO. 2



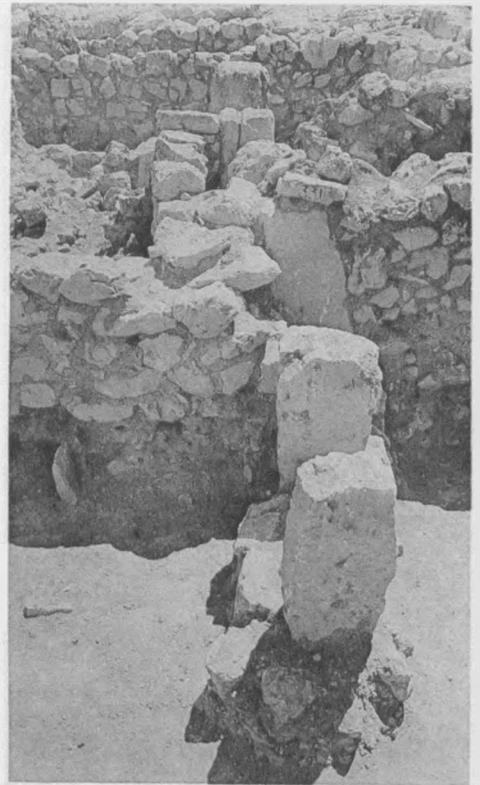
4. ROOM 430 IN F19; COLUMNS AT RIGHT; NOTABLE DIFFERENCE OF LEVELS



5. LOW MONOLITHIC PILLARS



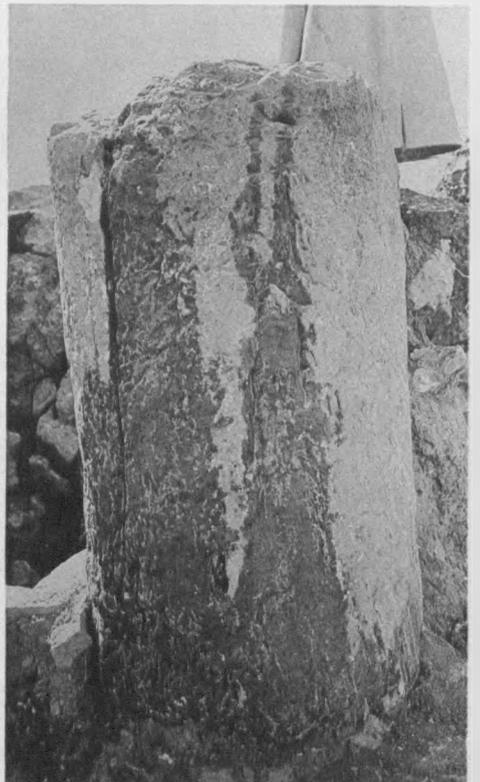
1. ROOM 594, LOOKING EAST



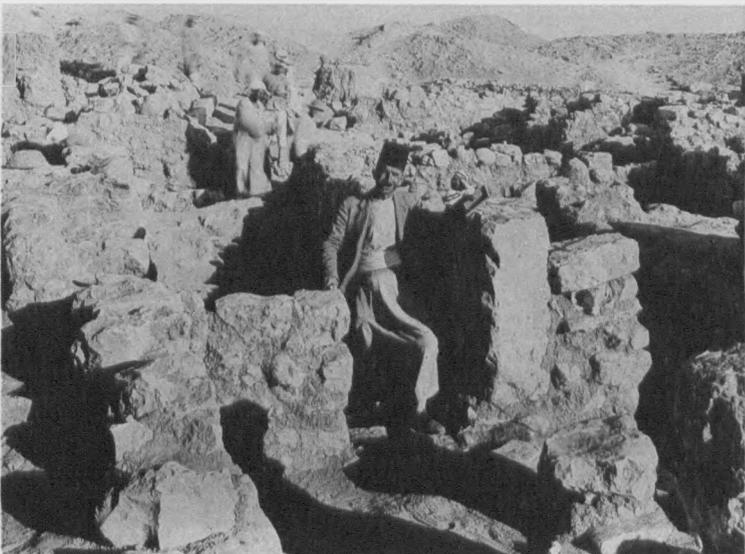
3. ROOMS 331-326; ROW OF MONOLITHS



2. ROOM 331; DOOR AND STAIRWAY



4. ROOM 326; CYLINDRICAL DOORPOST



5. DOOR OF ROOM 435, LOOKING SOUTHEAST; ODEH JIRIUS



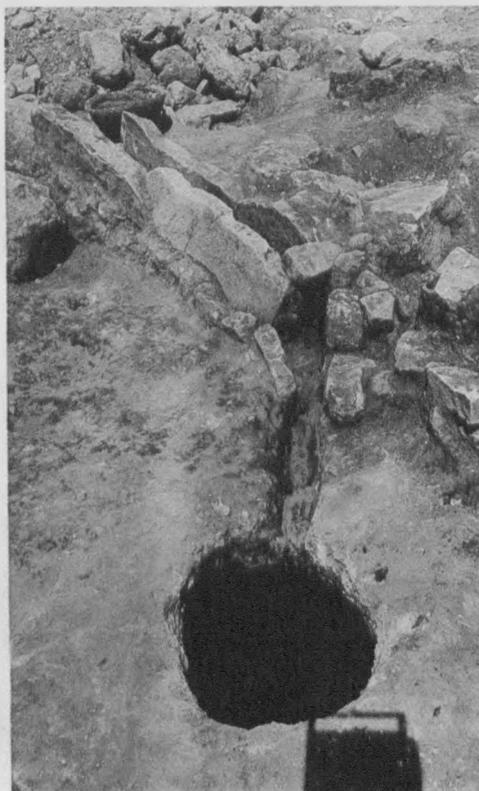
1. HOUSES WITH CISTERNS, AH-AJ 18-20, LOOKING WEST



3. CANAL WITH COVERING, CISTERN 119



2. THE SAME LOOKING NORTH



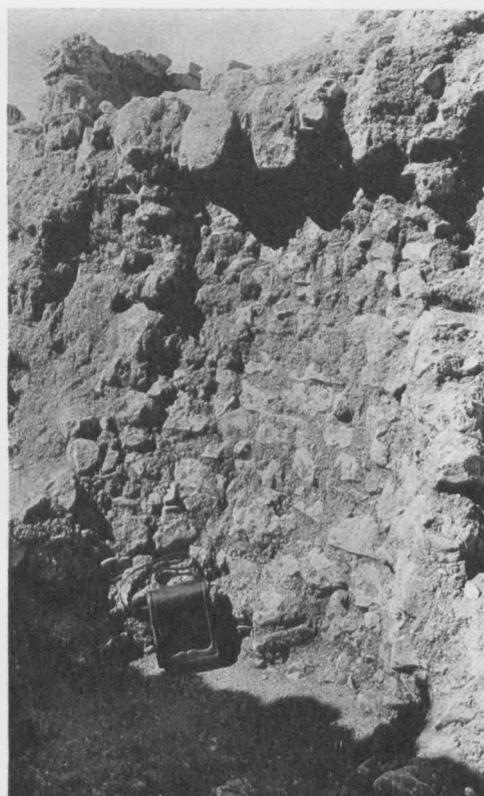
4. CANAL AND OPENING, CISTERN 119



5. CISTERN 31 WITH FALSE BOTTOM OF SILO 9 COVERING CI 31 REMOVED



1. ROOM 583 WITH STEPS LEADING PROBABLY TO ROOF OF ROOM 587



2. BIN 386 UNDER ROOM 423 SHOWING CONSTRUCTION (CF. PL. 83:3)



3. STEPS FROM ROOM 604 TO CISTERN 361



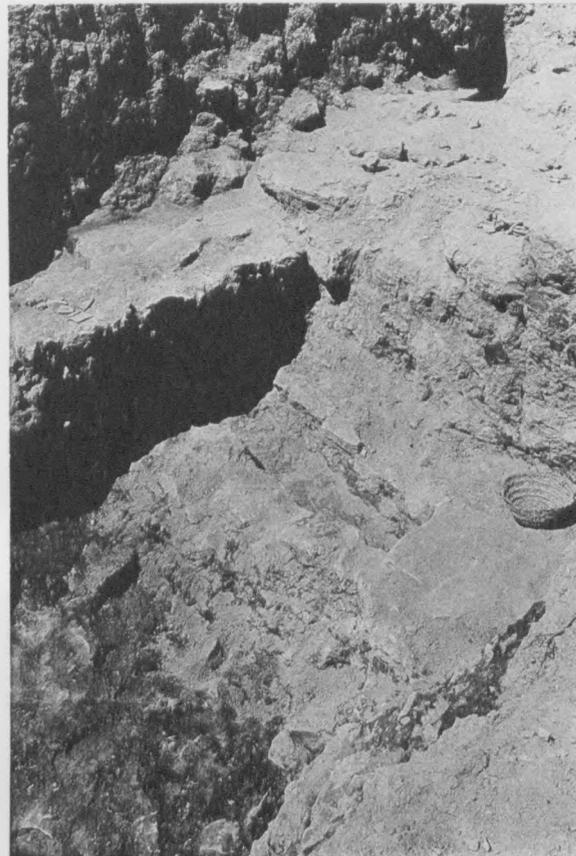
5. ROOM 641 WITH PAVING



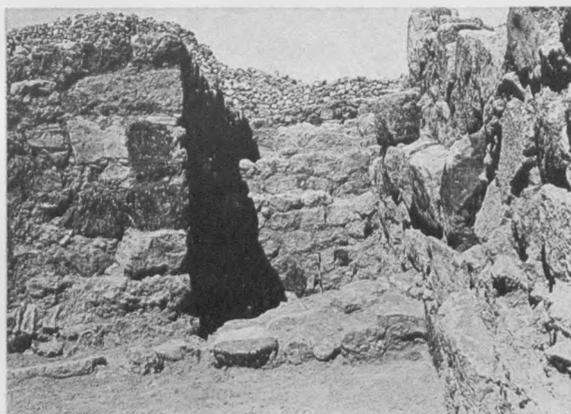
4. STEPS FROM ROOM 598 TO CISTERN 361 (AC 16)



1. LOOKING EAST DOWN TRENCH



2. NORTHEAST TRENCH: CANAL AND WALL E



3. STEPPED STREET FROM NORTHEAST AS FOUND



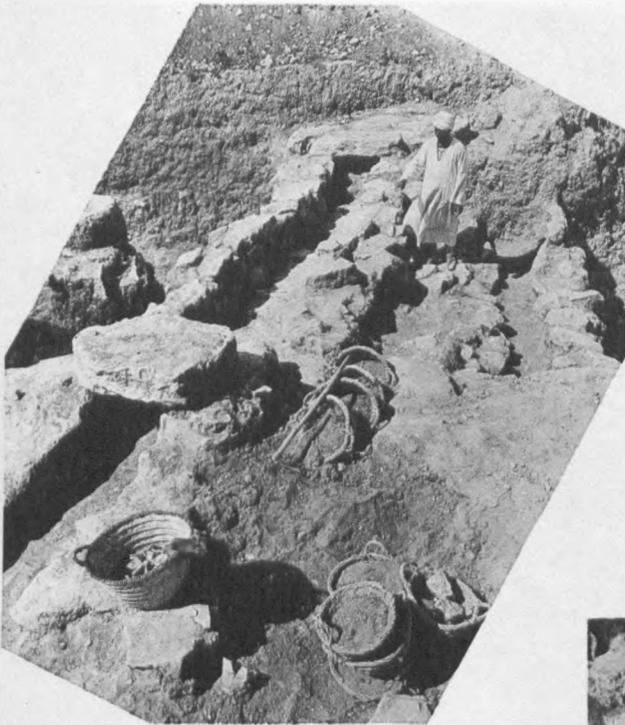
4. STEPS LEADING UP TO STREET RESTORED



5. STREET ON WEST SIDE (ROOM 589)



6. DRAIN OUTSIDE CITY GATE



1. TWO DRAINS ON DIFFERENT LEVELS IN AF, AG 17; LOOKING WEST



2. THE SAME LOOKING EAST, AWAY FROM CITY WALL



3. REMAINS OF LIME FLOOR BESIDE DRAIN, WEST OF ROOM 548

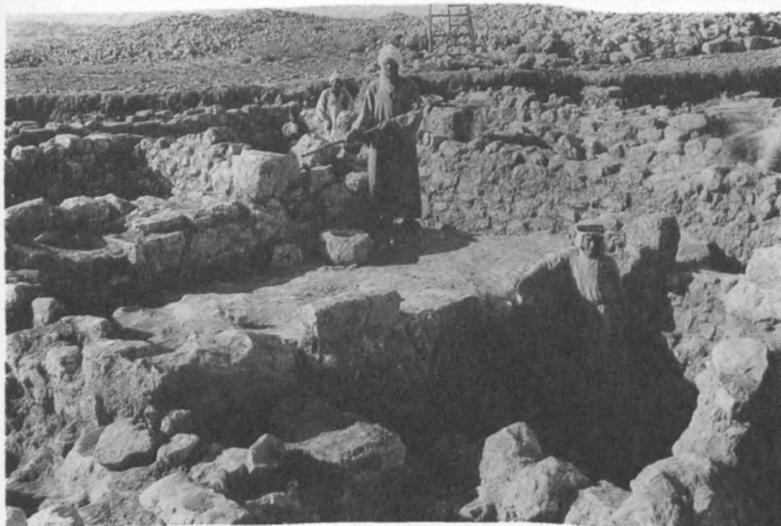


4. CISTERN 358 BETWEEN ROOMS 510 AND 508; BOY STANDS WHERE WALL COVERING CISTERN WAS REMOVED



5. UPPER STRATUM IN AE 16, FROM WEST; BINS 335-337 IN FOREGROUND

STRATIFIED AREAS



1. ROOM 543 FROM SOUTHWEST, SHOWING LOWER LEVEL



2. ROOMS 543, 582, 511, WITH ROOMS 546, 545, AND 544 TO LEFT; FROM SOUTHEAST



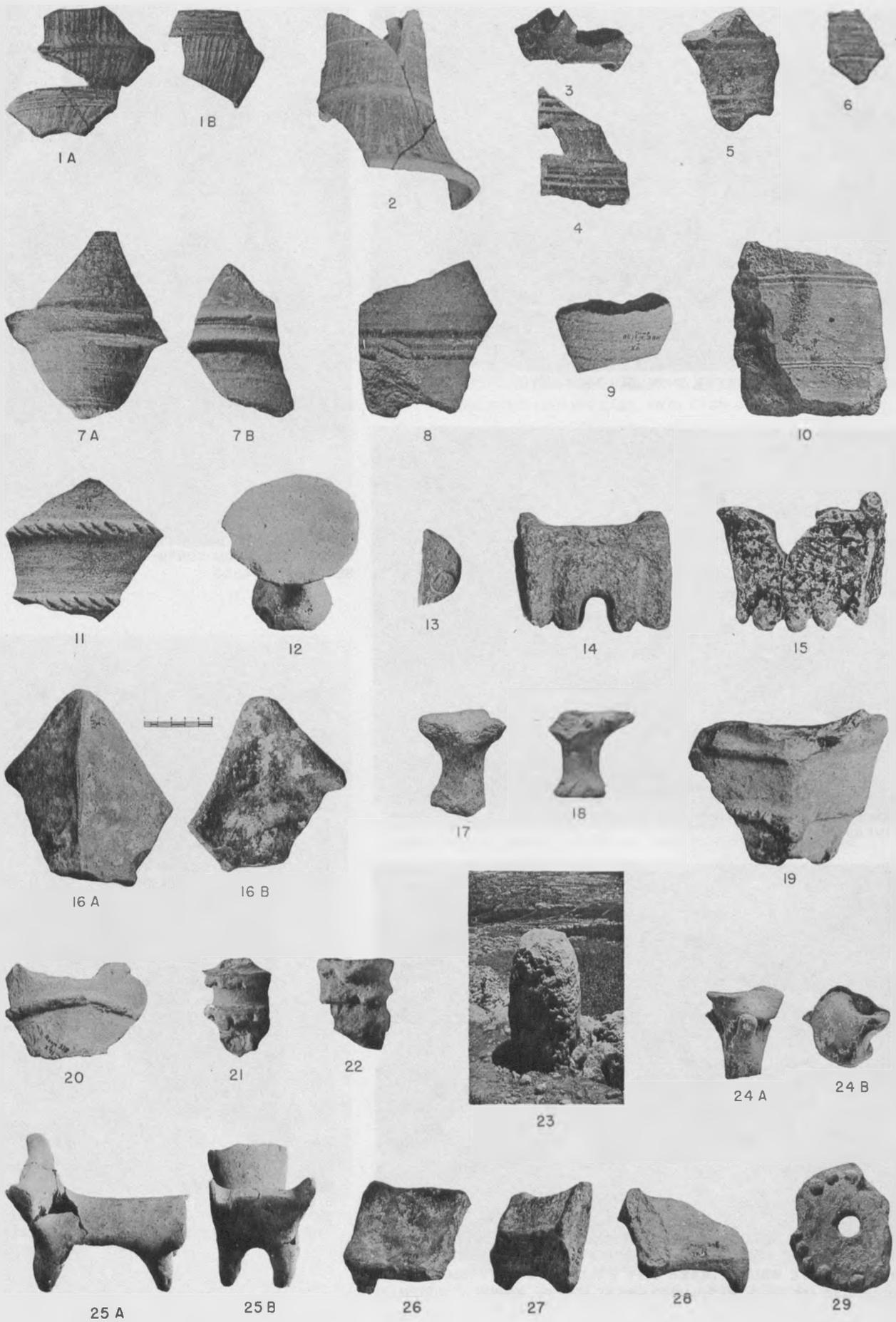
3. ROOMS 418, 417, 423 (DR. BADÉ STANDING AGAINST DEBRIS WHICH CARRIES A LATE WALL); INNER CITY WALL RUNNING FROM RIGHT FOREGROUND (AF 18) TOWARD NORTHWEST (CF. PL. 80:2)



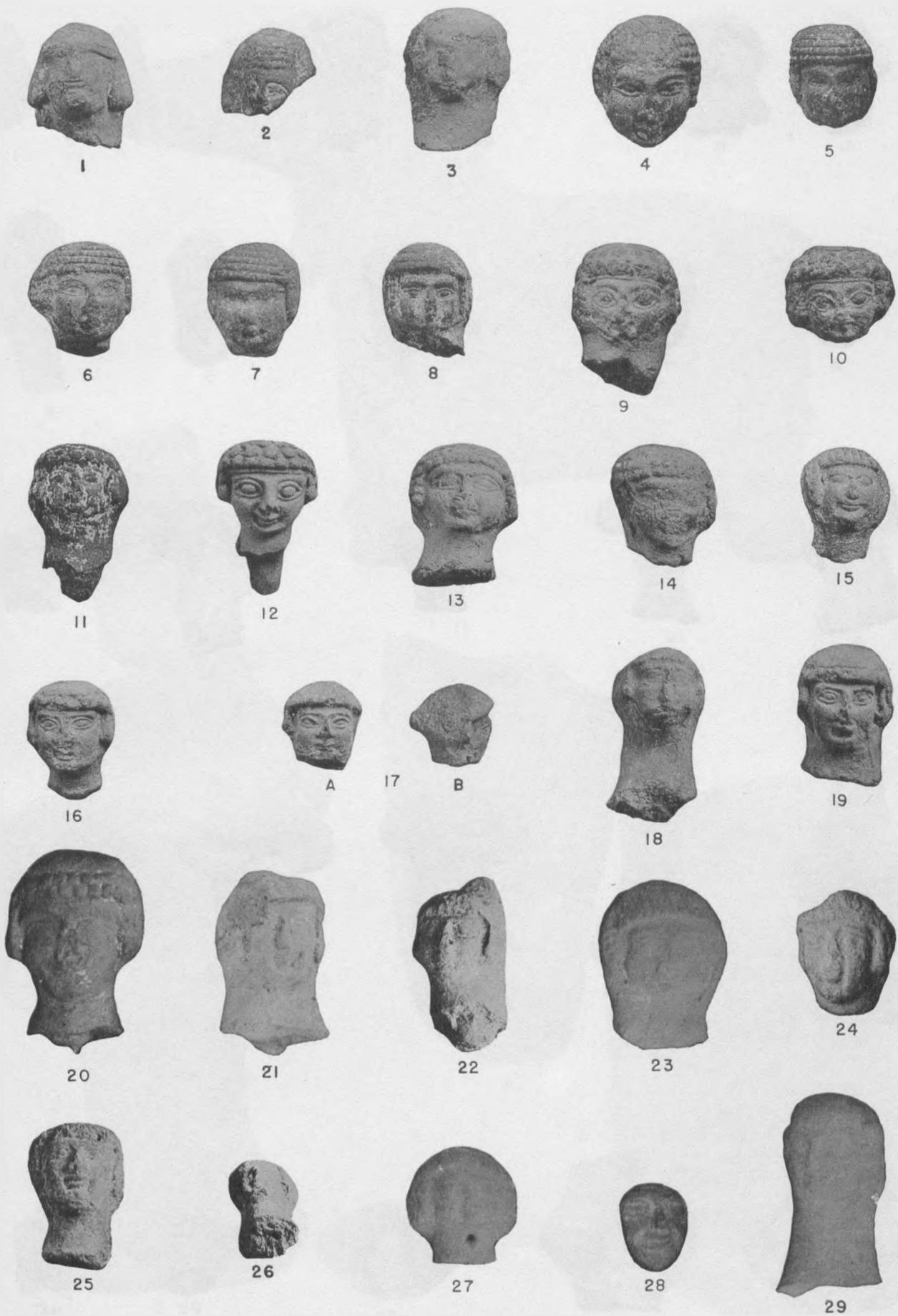
4. ROOM 522, FROM NORTH; NOTE IRREGULAR SECONDARY WALLS



5. SQUARE BIN, NO. 340, OFF ROOM 422



POTTERY STANDS, ALTARS, AND VOTIVE OFFERINGS



MOLDED ASTARTE HEADS. SCALE APPROXIMATELY 2:5



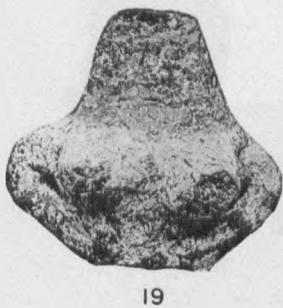
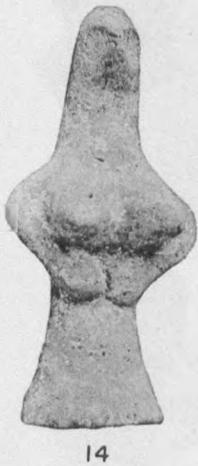
1



2

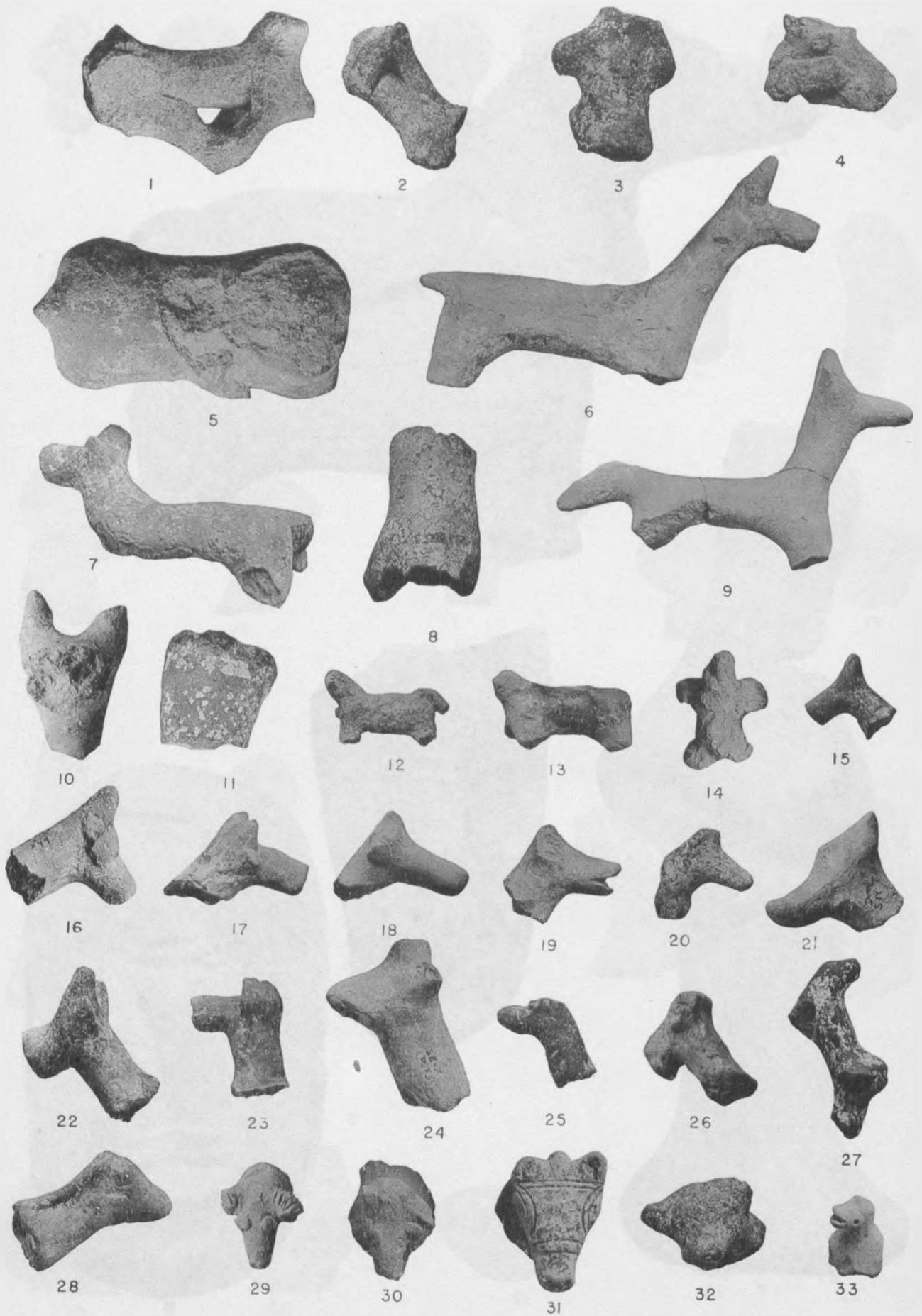


3





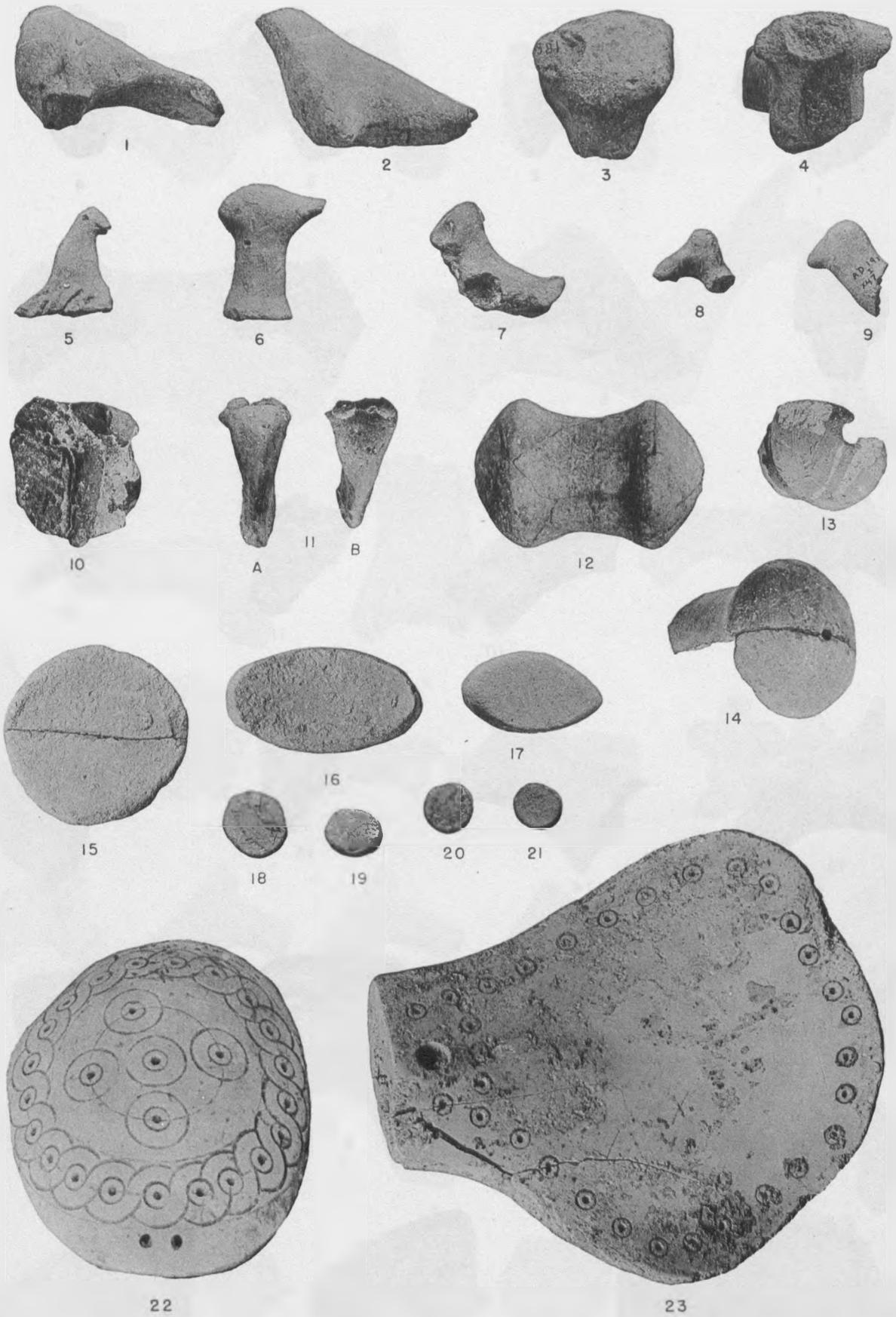
FIGURINES. SCALE 1:1



ANIMAL FIGURINES



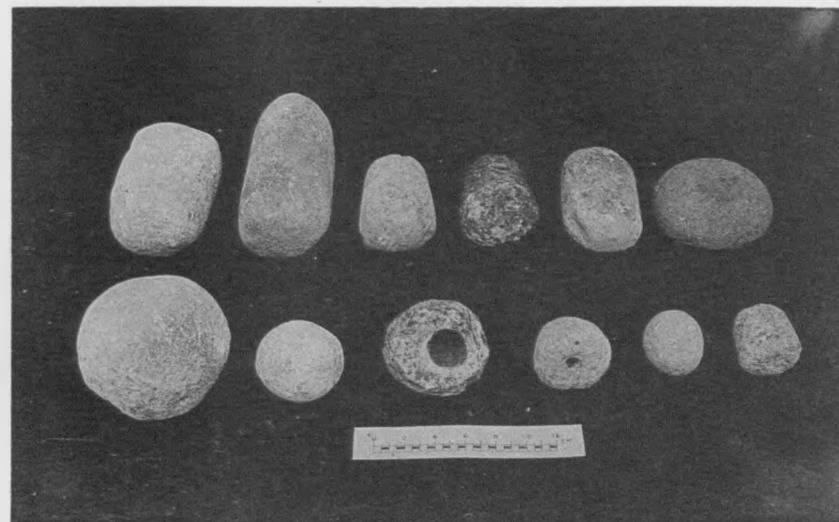
ANIMAL-HEAD SPOUTS; KERNOS RING; HOLLOW RIM. SCALE APPROXIMATELY 2:5



BIRD AND SNAKE FIGURINES; RATTLES; DISKS; MAGICAL OBJECTS (?)
SCALE: NOS. 1-21, APPROXIMATELY 2:5; NOS. 22, 23, 1:1



1. BOWLS, MORTARS, DOOR SOCKETS, ROLLERS, SLINGSTONES



3. PESTLES, RUBBING STONES, DRILL SOCKETS



2. RUBBING STONES, MORTARS, SOCKETS, WEIGHT FOR LARGE OLIVE PRESS, BASIN OF SMALL PRESS



4. ARAB WOMAN ILLUSTRATING USE OF SADDLE QUERN AND MULLER



1. SOCKET FOR PIVOT OF DOOR



2. POSSIBLY A CLAY STORAGE VESSEL



3. MORTAR



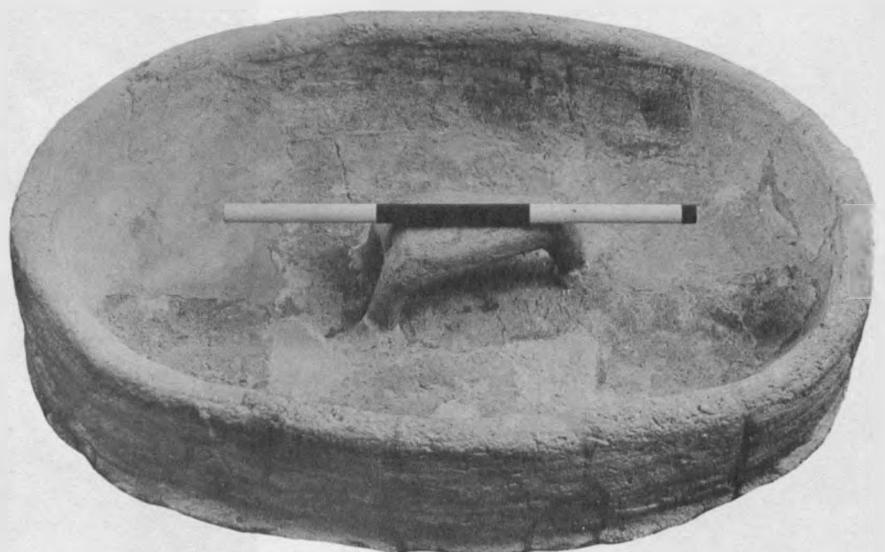
4. LIMESTONE MORTAR



5. POTTERY RING STAND



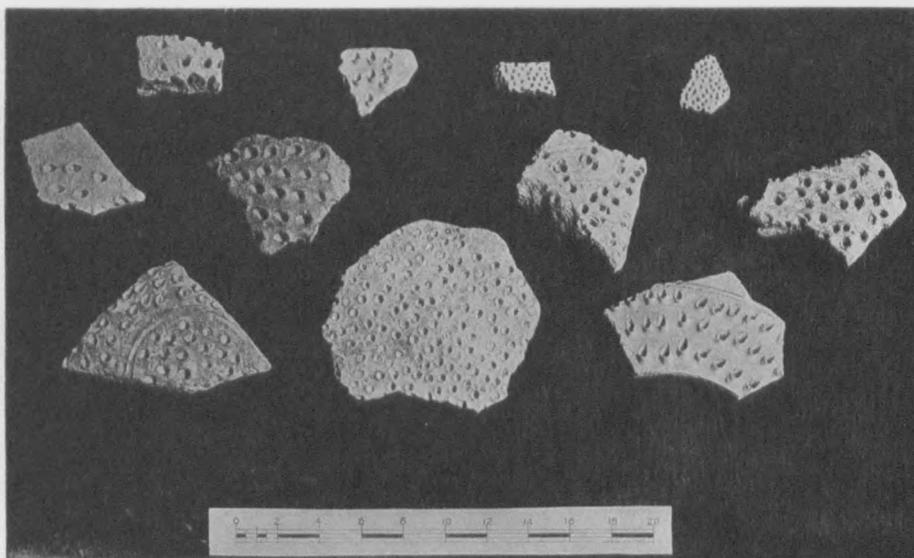
6. IMPRESSIONS OF WOVEN FABRIC



7. FOOT BATH



I. BRONZE BOWL



2, FRAGMENTS OF COOKING PLATES

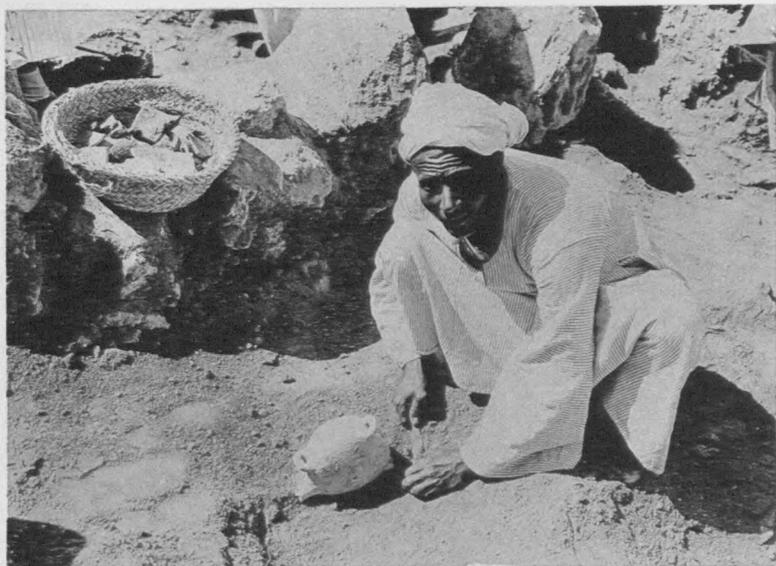


3.

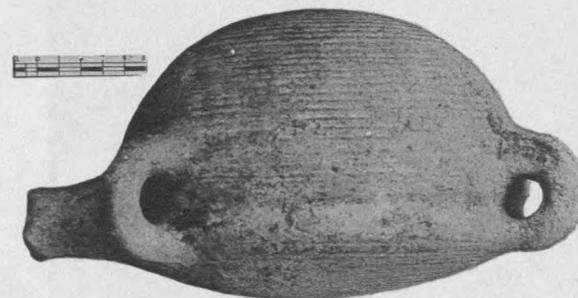


4.

SPECIMENS OF THE *TANNÛR*



1. "BEEHIVE" FLASK IN SITU



2. "BEEHIVE" FLASK



3. LENTOID FLASK



4. "BEEHIVE" FLASK (LEFT) COMPARED WITH MODERN ARAB "CANTEEN"



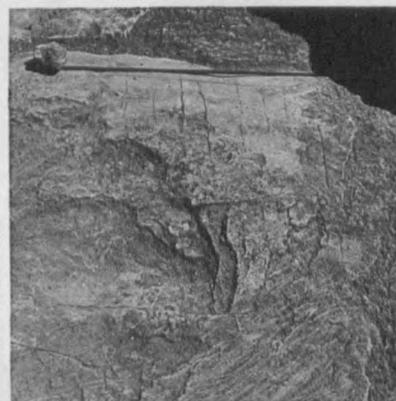
1. REMAINS OF BROKEN ZÎRS AS FOUND



4. STONES COVERING CISTERN 356



2. SKULL IN ROOM 616



5. "CHESSBOARD"



3. WATER JAR IN CORNER OF ROOM 618



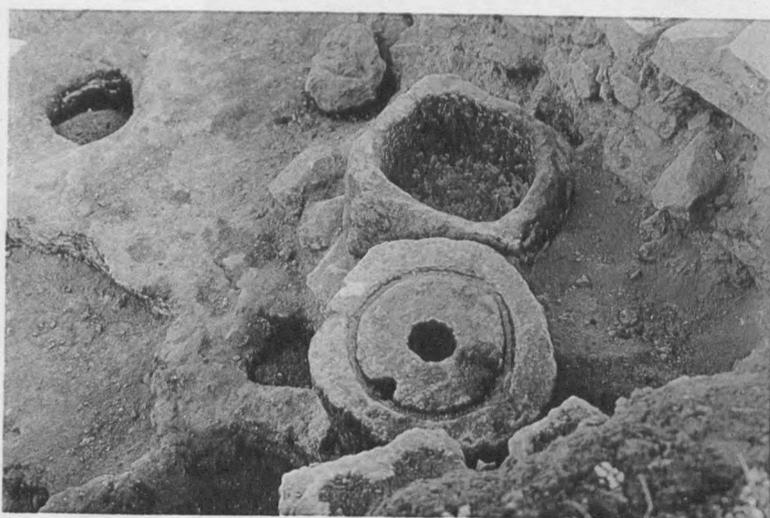
6. NICHE IN CORNER OF ROOM 326



PLOW POINTS, SICKLES, KNIVES



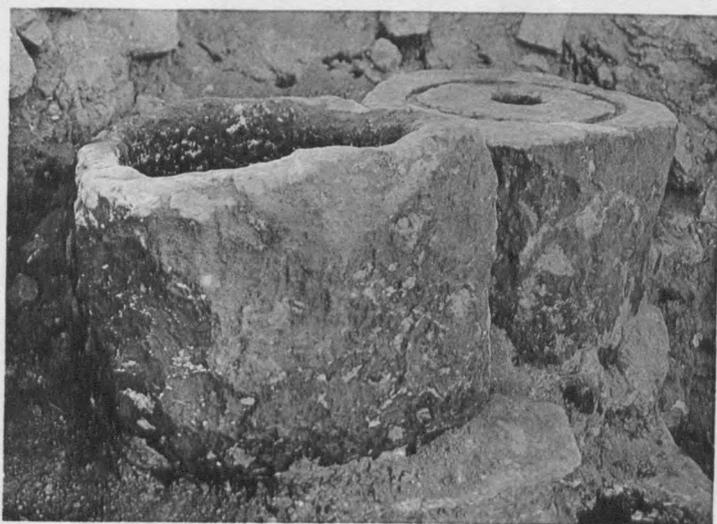
1. DYEING PLANT IN ROOM 445



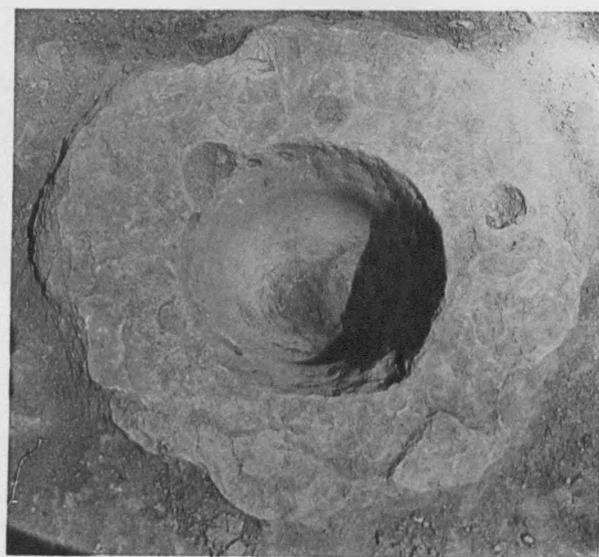
2. DYEING PLANT IN ROOM 396



4. DYE VAT IN ROOM 602 REUSED, WITH *TANNŪR*

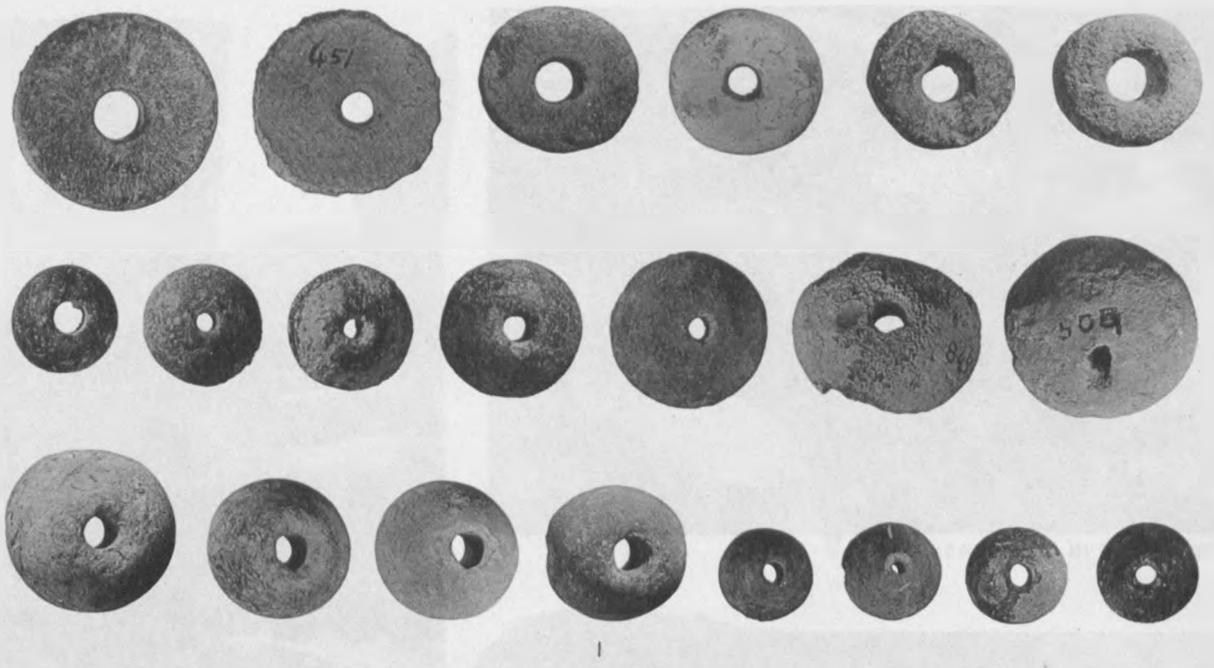


3. TWO LARGE STONE VESSELS IN ROOM 396

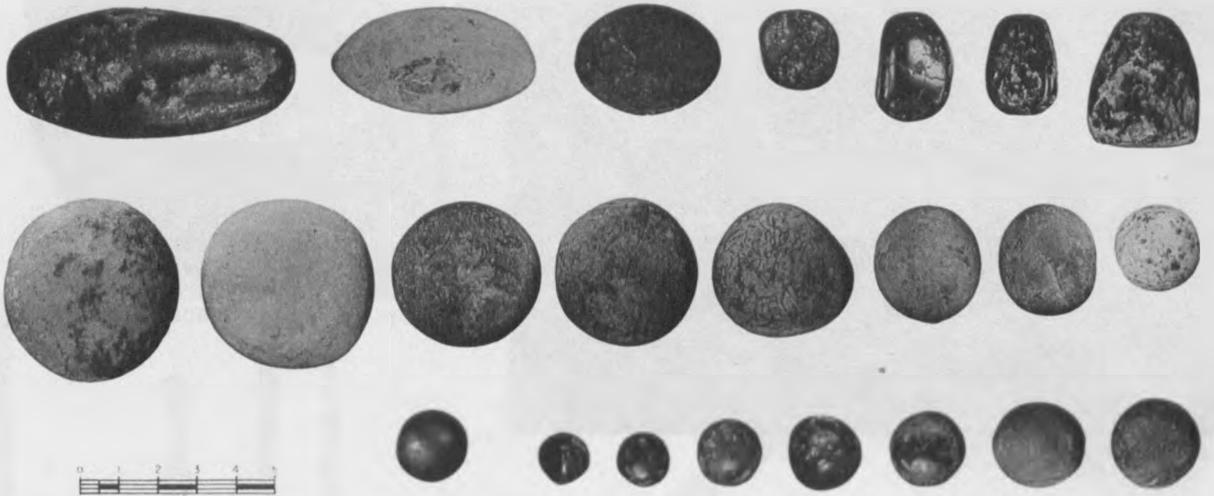


5. MORTAR FOR DYE PIGMENTS

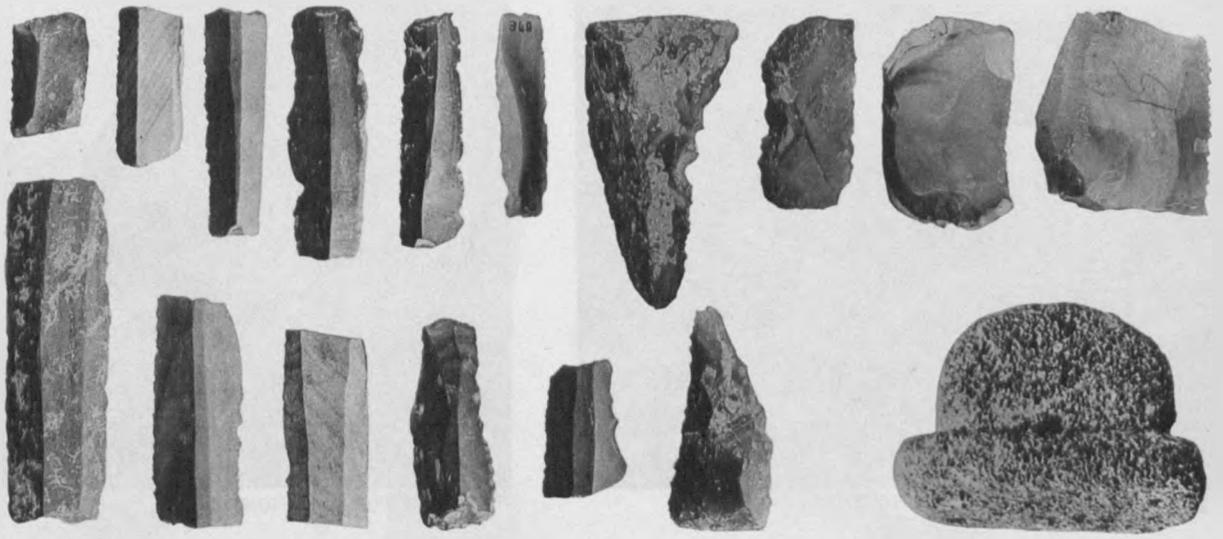
DYEING PLANTS



1



2



3



4

I. WHORLS; 2. WEIGHTS; 3. FLINTS; 4. FOOT SCRAPER



1. SMOOTH STONE AND BOWL, POSSIBLY PRESS



2, WINE PRESS B



3. WINE PRESS A FROM SOUTH



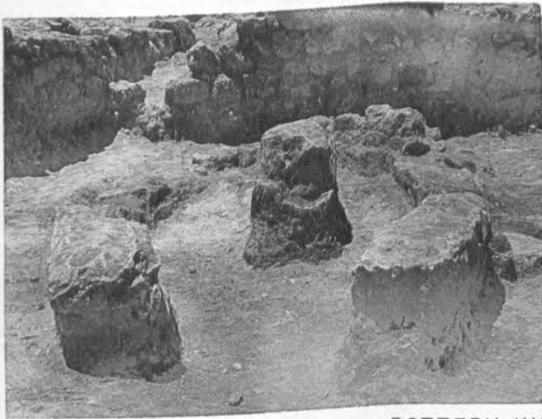
4. WINE PRESS A FROM NORTH



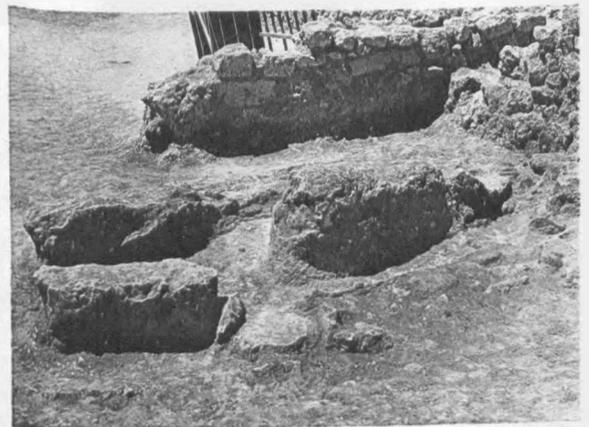
1. KILN 106 FROM SIDE



2. KILN 106 FROM ABOVE



3.



4.

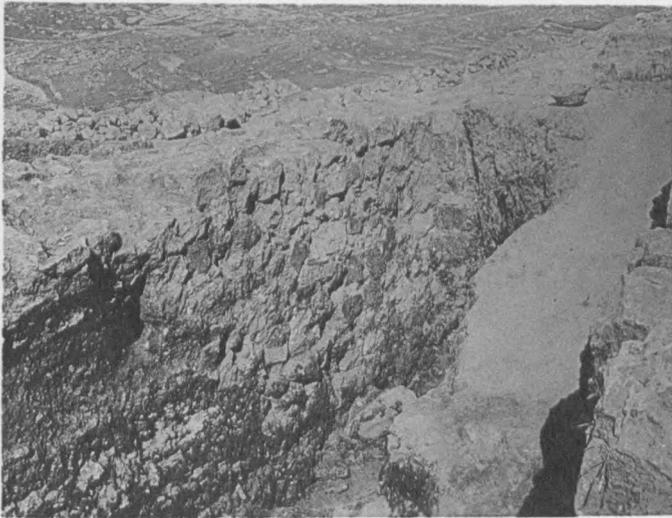
POTTERY KILN OUTSIDE CITY GATE



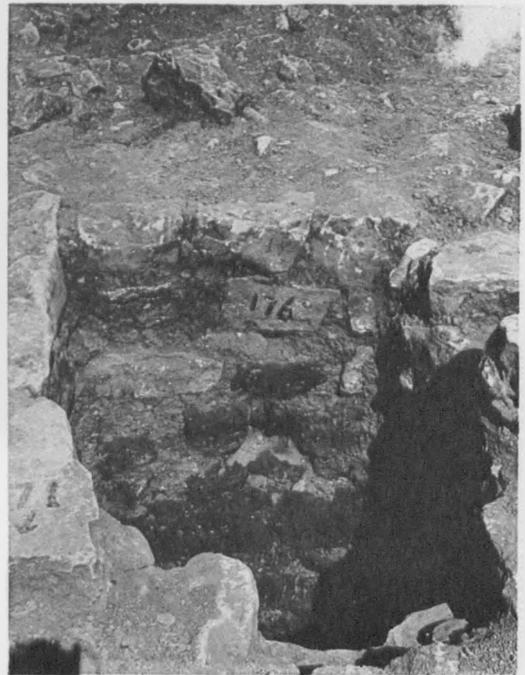
5. MODERN POTTERY IN PROCESS; MADE WITHOUT WHEEL



6. STONE BASES FOR POTTERY WHEELS



1. WEST WALL: RUBBLE FOUNDATION



4. MASONRY IN NECK OF, CISTERN 176



2. NORTHWEST TOWER



5. NICHE IN CITY WALL NEAR GATE



3. CHISELING ON STONE IN GATE JAMB

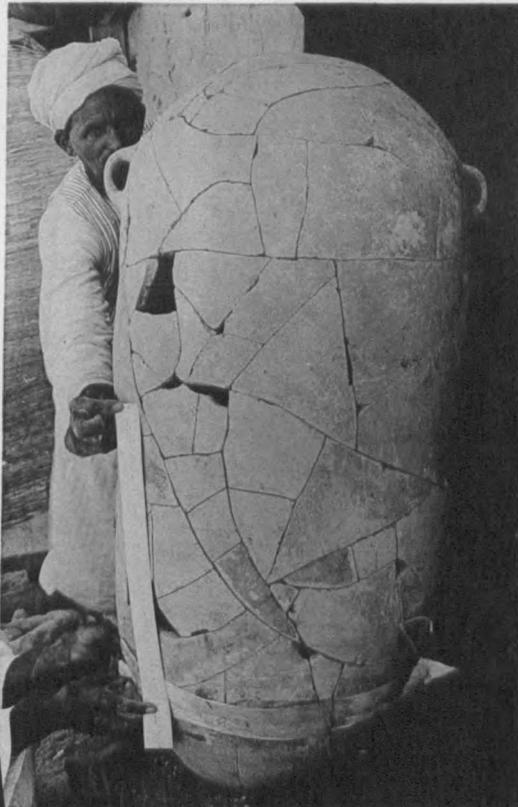




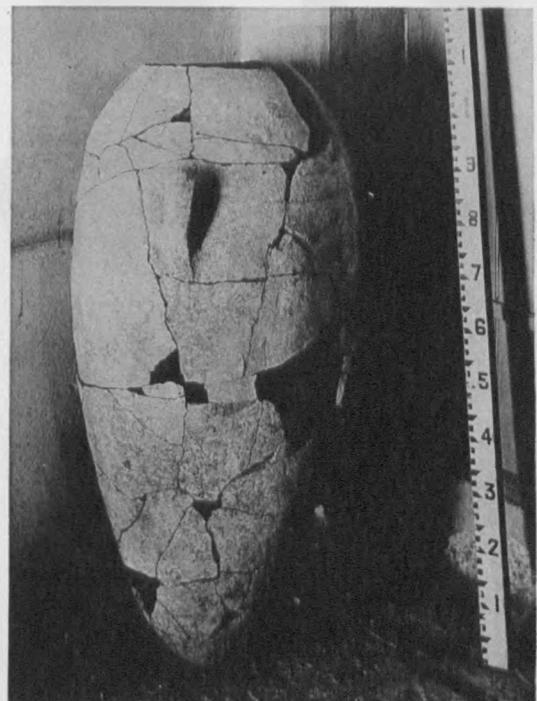
1. *BATH* (?) WITH FOUR STAMPED HANDLES



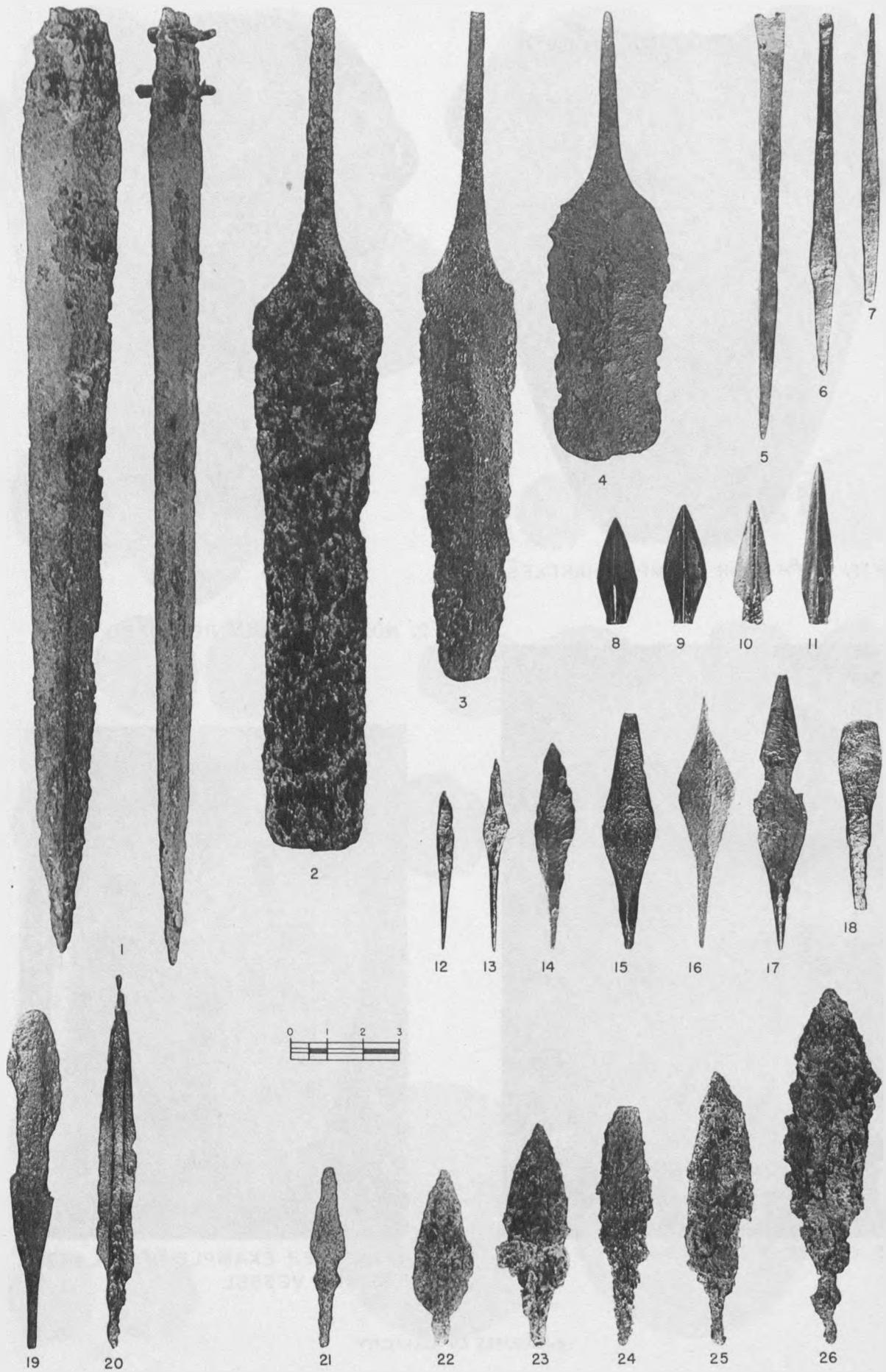
2. NO. 1 PARTIALLY RESTORED



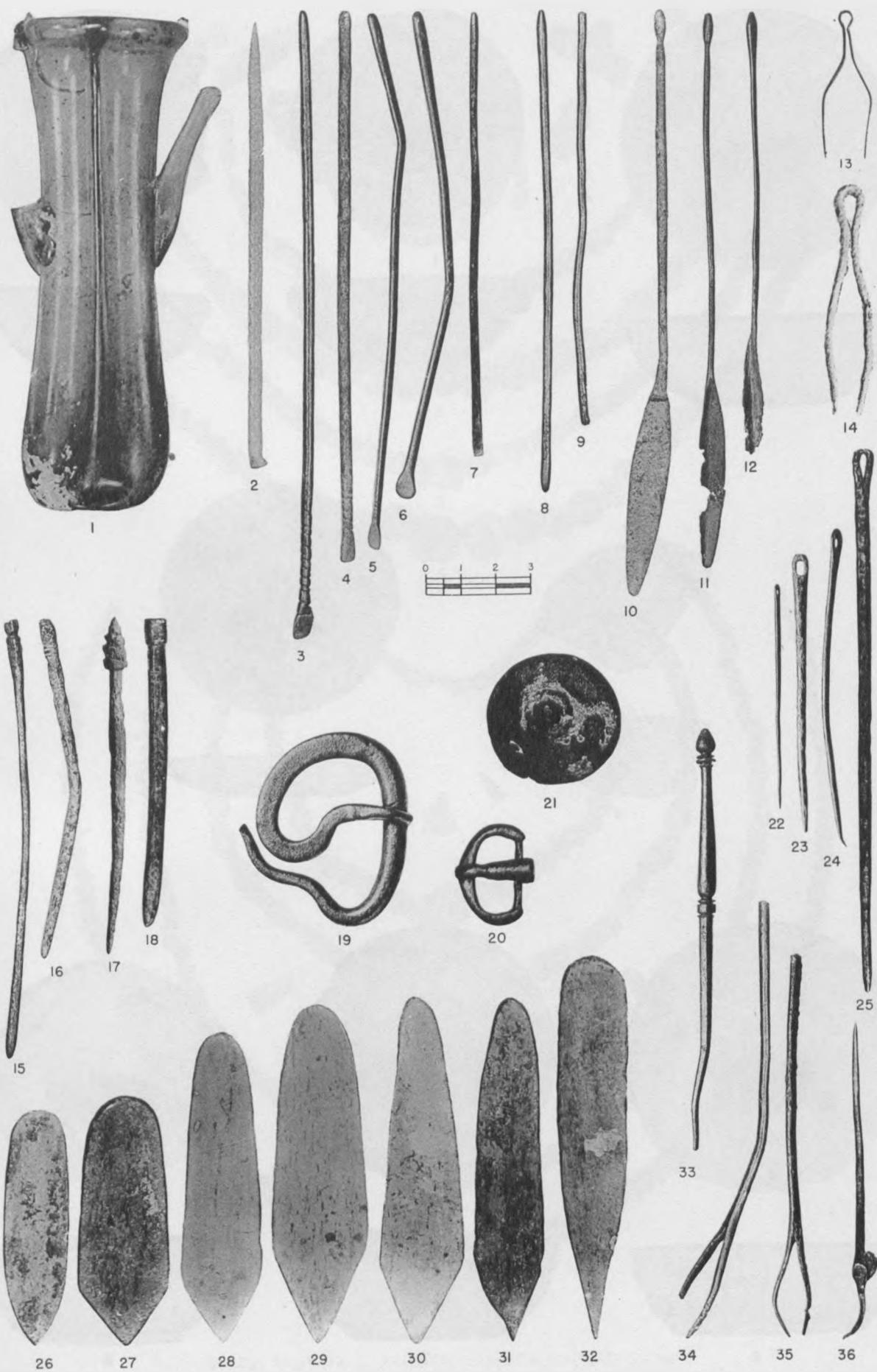
3. POSSIBLY A *LETHEKH*



4. ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF A LARGE STORAGE VESSEL



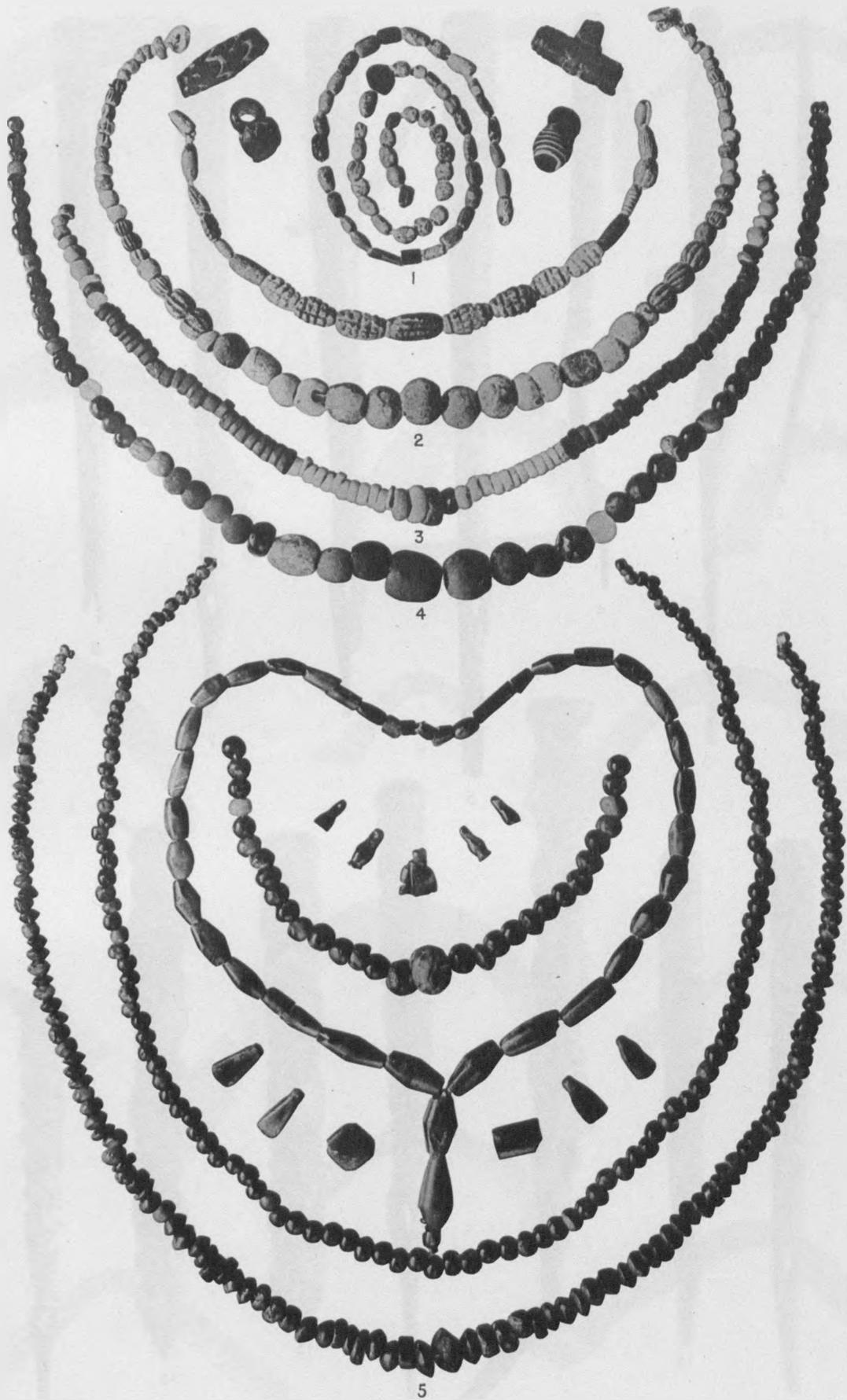
DAGGER, SKINNING KNIVES, ARROW-AND SPEARHEADS



TOILET ARTICLES, NEEDLES, FORKS, BONE SPATULAS



COSMETIC MORTARS



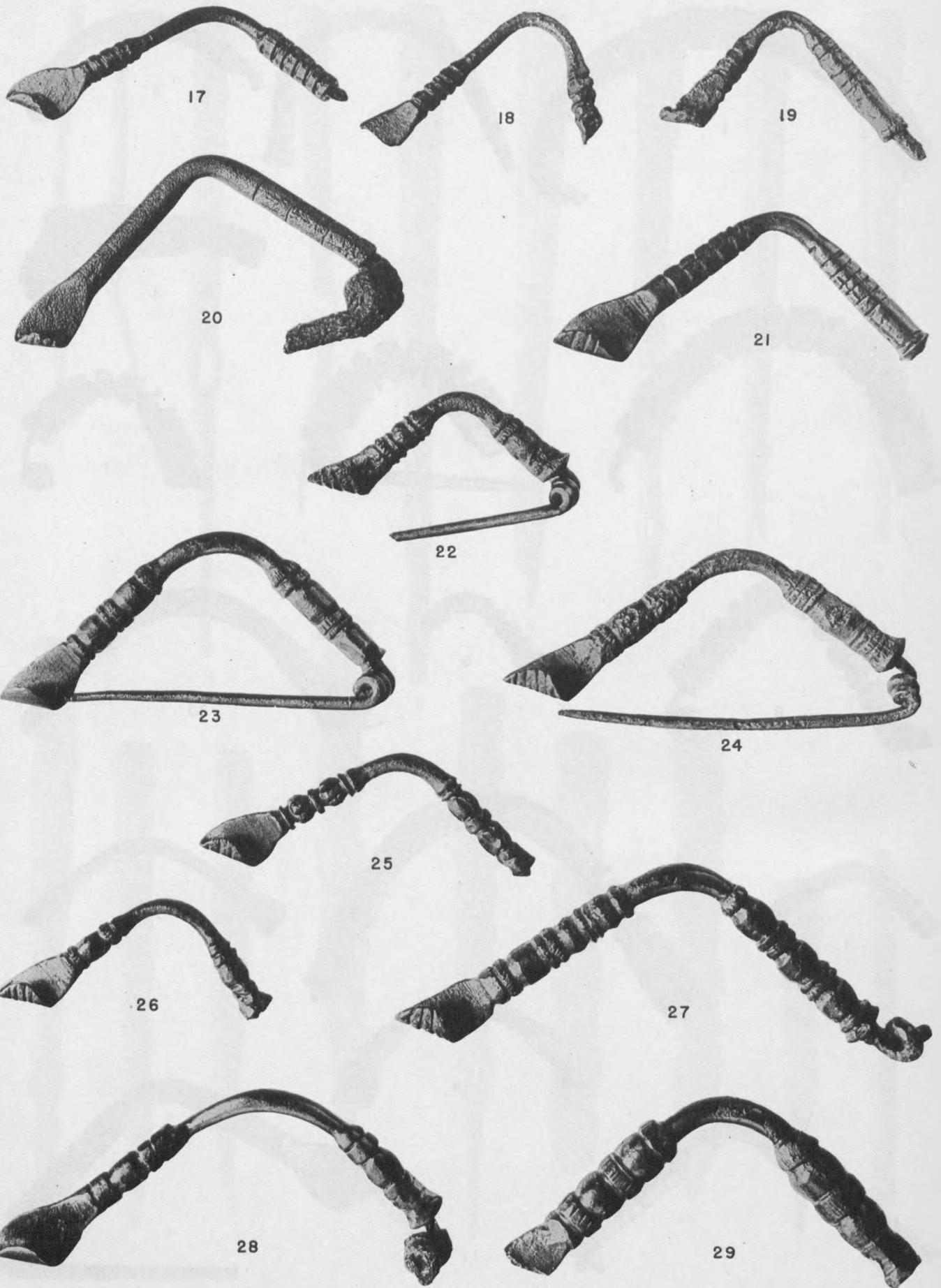
BEADS: 1. GLASS; 2. FAIENCE; 3. MISCELLANEOUS STONE
AND CLAY; 4. MISCELLANEOUS STONE; 5. CARNELIAN



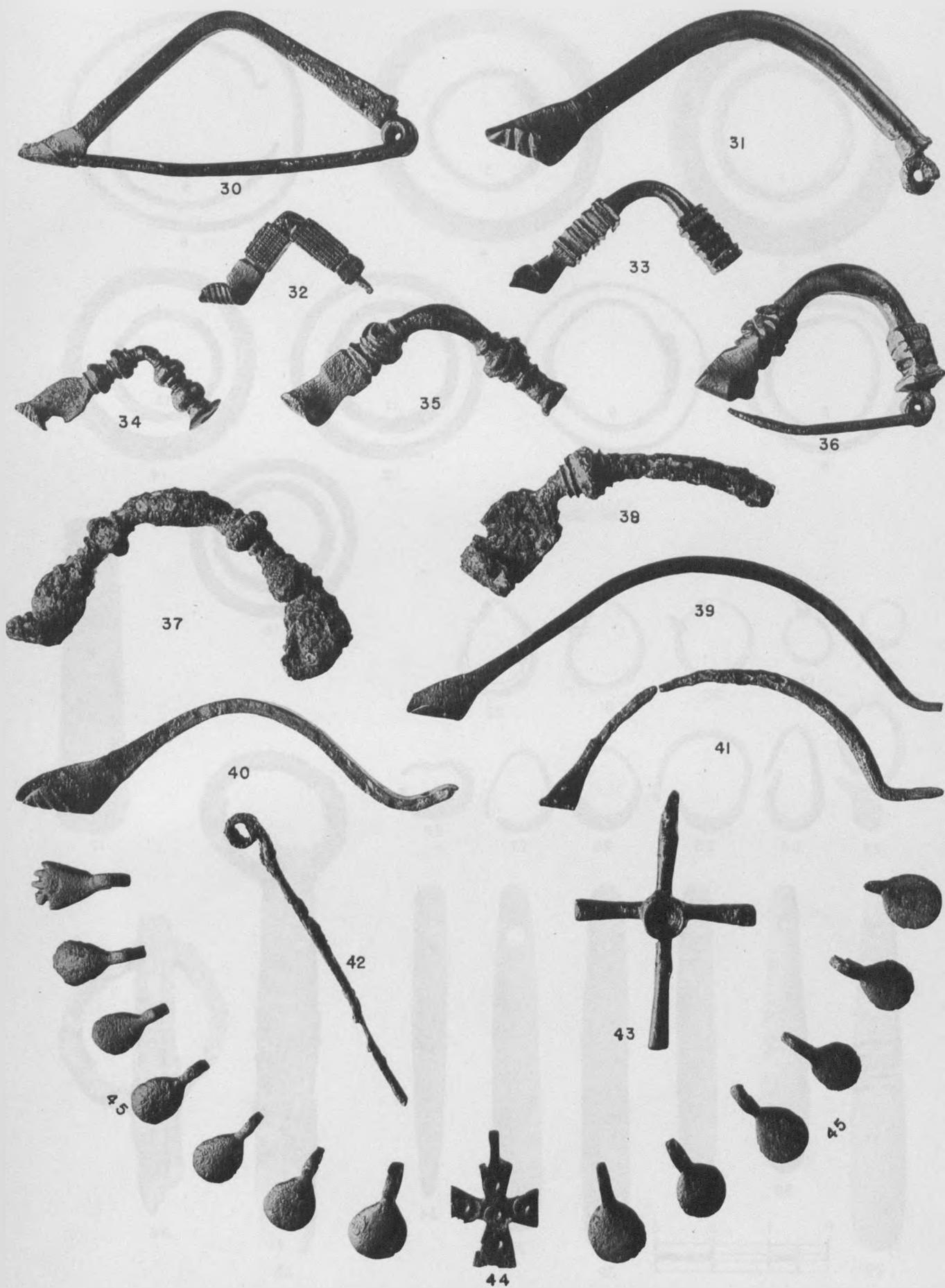
EYELET PINS



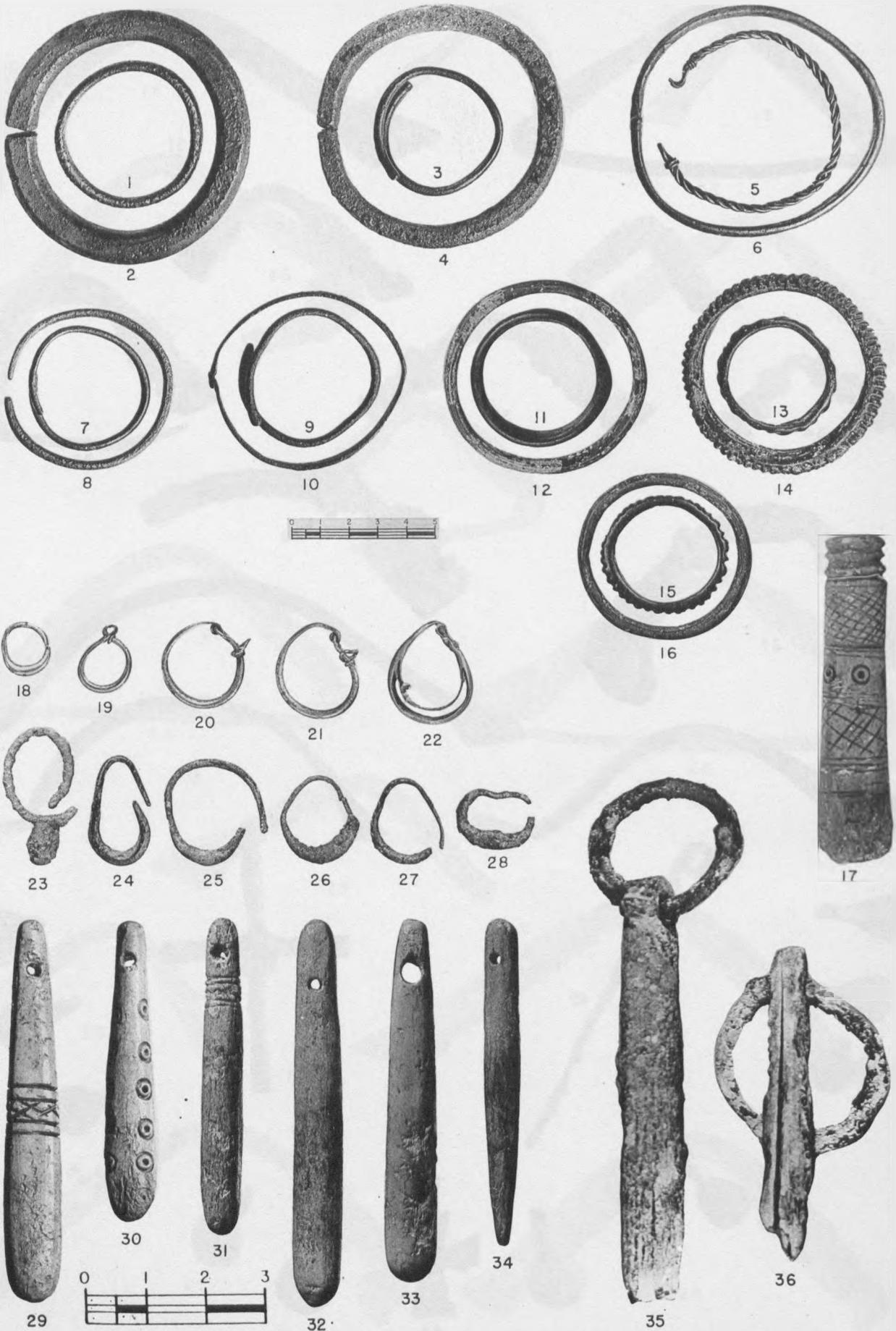
FIBULAE



FIBULAE



FIBULAE, PIN, CROSSES, AND PENDANTS



BRACELETS AND ANKLETS; BONE HANDLE; EARRINGS; BONE PENDANTS

