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A table of contents for *The Expository Times* can be found here:

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pdfs are named: [Volume]_[Issue]_[1st page of article].pdf

in Jn 6⁵¹ 7¹⁶⁻¹⁷ 15²⁷, Ac 3²⁴, 1 Jn 1⁸, 3 Jn 12, 2 P 1⁵.

It may be said, in conclusion, that δέ never loses its adversative force. Even when it is only transitional, it makes the *difference* between the subject concluded and that now introduced. This δέ transitional must sometimes be rendered as a

simple conjunction, but always with a loss of some fine shade of meaning due to the inferior sensitiveness of the English language. With what needless frequency the loss of adversativeness of this particle has been inflicted on the English reader, the few foregoing illustrations will suffice to show. They might be multiplied endlessly.

Recent Biblical and Oriental Archaeology.

BY PROFESSOR A. H. SAYCE, LL.D., OXFORD.

Discoveries in Palestine.

DR. SELLIN has just published his account of the excavations which he undertook for the Imperial Academy of Vienna at Tell Ta'annek, the ancient Taanach, and a very important monograph it is.¹ Begun in 1902 the work involved two campaigns, though the second, in 1903, had to be carried on at high pressure, as the German expedition was anxious to begin excavating at the neighbouring Tell el-Mutasellim, the site of the ancient Megiddo, and needed Dr. Sellin's workmen. Fortunately, Tell Ta'annek represented one of the smaller Canaanitish towns, and its area is consequently not large, so that the Austrian explorers were able to examine it thoroughly.

The English excavations in the south of Palestine have determined the main outlines of Palestinian archaeology and the chronological succession of the pottery. But the work at Tell Ta'annek, while receiving help from the results of English exploration, has confirmed and supplemented them, and shown that except in certain details the character and history of civilization in both southern and northern Canaan were the same. The ancient history of Taanach has been recovered in a way that would have seemed impossible but a few years ago, and we can now trace its fortunes from the time of the first foundation of the city to the day of its fall.

No remains of a 'prehistoric' age have been found such as have been discovered in Judah. The founders of the city were already acquainted with the use of metal, though the hundreds of

flint flakes and knives that have been met with, more especially near the walls of the buildings, show that the Neolithic age had not been long left behind. But a Babylonian seal-cylinder of about 2000 B.C., bearing the inscription, 'Atanakhili, son of Khabsim, servant of Nergal,' which was found along with geometric pottery in the ruins of the north-eastern tower, bears testimony to contact with Babylonia and Babylonian culture, while the Egyptian hieroglyphs, with which the cylinder is adorned, is further evidence that Babylonia and Egypt were at the time in friendly relations.

The earliest pottery is red, often decorated with incised lines, the vases being characterized by flat bottoms and 'wavy' handles. The incisions sometimes take the form of palm-leaf and rope patterns. I have found similar incised pottery in the prehistoric remains of Hierakonpolis, in Upper Egypt, and it is also met with in the earlier stratum of Melos. The incised pottery is followed by the painted 'geometric,' with yellowish-white or red slip and brown-red patterns, or red slip with black patterns, and vases with pointed feet now first occur. In what Dr. Sellin regards as the second city or 'layer of culture,' the Ægean 'ladder' ornament becomes frequent, painted in brown upon an olive-coloured ground, and the linear characters found on the early pottery of Judah and Egypt, as well as on the pre-Mykenæan pottery of Melos, make their appearance.²

¹ 'Tell Ta'annek,' in the *Denkschriften d. K. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, L. iv. (Vienna, 1904).

² So far, however, as I can judge from the uncoloured illustrations, this pottery of the second 'stratum' at Tell Ta'annek would correspond with the Mykenæan, or even Late Mykenæan of the Ægean area. Roughly speaking, the

Between these earlier strata and the third and last in the history of the Tell, there is a sharp difference. The pottery of the third stratum is Cypriote of the Phœniko-Greek age (1000-600 B.C.), and iron has begun to take the place of bronze. It is in this stratum that two remarkable terra-cotta altars were found, the more perfect of which is ornamented on each of the two sides with a row of 'cherubim,'—human-headed animals with wings alternating with lions,—while on the front is the tree of life with a leaping goat beside it, and on the left side is a boy or man grasping the neck of a snake and trampling upon its tail. The custom of burying infants in jars under the walls of a house, with a cup and dish at the side, of which Mr. Macalister has also found evidences at Gezer, seems to have ceased with the introduction of the new epoch of life and culture.

In the Roman period the Tell appears to have been deserted, a new town springing up, as elsewhere, on the plain below it. Here in a cistern Dr. Sellin discovered a number of fragments of what he rightly regards as Byzantine pottery. Towards the tenth century, however, an Arab fortress was erected on the highest point of the old city, which, after existing for a century or two, was probably destroyed in the time of the Crusades. Some interesting pieces of mediæval Arab ware were disinterred from its ruins.

To myself the most interesting discovery made by Dr. Sellin is naturally that of four cuneiform tablets which were found in the remains of a fortified building on the north side of the hill. Under the fort was an elaborate underground series of chambers, partly excavated in the rock, with stairs and cistern, which was evidently intended as a place of refuge for the women and children in time of siege. In one of the rooms of the fort a broken terra-cotta coffer was discovered, with its lid lying beside it, and at the bottom of it the

succession of pottery found by the Austrian explorers answers fairly well to that of the Ægean, if we omit the polychrome 'Kamares' or 'Minoan' pottery of Krete: We begin with the incised ware called Amorite by Petrie, who met with it in the oldest strata of Lachish; this is followed by early geometric, this again by Mykenæan, and this by Cypriote. In 1500-1400 B.C., the age of the cuneiform tablets, the pottery of the place was still the early incised. The population that used this incised ware was the Dolichocephalic people of short stature, whose remains are met with in the oldest graves of Krete, Melos, etc., and who represent the Mediterranean race of Sergi.

fragments of two cuneiform tablets. At a little distance from it two other tablets were found. The latter were perfect, and turned out to be letters, the fragmentary tablets being official lists. It was clear that the coffer was the place in which the records of the archive-chamber were kept; it was, in fact, the library of Taanach, which must have been broken and plundered of its contents on some occasion when the Canaanitish fortress was taken by storm. The clay tablets containing official lists discovered by Dr. A. J. Evans in the palace of Knossos were kept in similar receptacles.

The tablets were associated with the earliest pottery of Tell Ta'annek,—that with incised patterns,—as well as with a bronze knife, an Egyptian amulet of the New Empire, and two alabaster vases, one of eighteenth, the other of tenth, dynasty shape. Dr. Sellin assumes that the tablets belong to the Tel el-Amarna epoch: but this is by no means necessarily the case. There is nothing in their contents which points to Egyptian supremacy, and they may therefore be either earlier or later than the age of Khu-n-aten. The introduction of Babylonian culture and writing into Canaan goes back at least as early as the time of Khammu-rabi. At the same time the Egyptian objects found in the fortress point to the age of the eighteenth dynasty.

The tablets have been edited by Dr. Hrozný, with the help of Professor Zimmern. His translation of the first letter is as follows:—'To Istarwasur (or Istar-yisur) thus says Guli-Addi (Hadad). Live happily! May the gods welcome thee, thy house and thy sons! Thou hast written to me in regard to the silver, . . . and now I will give fifty pieces of silver, since it has not been done (before). Again, why hast thou (anew?) sent me here thy salutation, for everything which thou hast heard from that place I know through the hand of Bel-ram. Again, if the finger (omen) of Asirat (Asherah) shows itself, may they learn and observe (it)! And the sign and the result thou shall tell me. As to thy daughter, we know (her) who is in Rubutê (Rabbah), namely, Salmisa, and if she grows up thou wilt give her to be queen; she verily is for a lord.'

The sense of the second letter has not been always understood by the editor, whose translation of it accordingly must be amended. My own rendering is: 'To Istar-yisur thus says Akh-yami: May the lord of the gods protect thy life; a

brother art thou, and love is deeply in thee (*literally*, in the entrails) and in thy heart. When I was entering Gurra (see 2 K 9²⁷), a workman gave me two knives (?), a shield and two sheaths (?) for nothing, and if the shield which he has made is complete, I will forward it by the hand of Buridiyi. Again, there is lamentation to thy city, but, in fact, they have committed their deed against me, each one who has committed it against the cities. Now, behold and see that I have acted well towards thee. Again, if I show my face (?), they will be put to shame, and the plague will be strong (on them). Again, let Ilurabi go down to the city of Rakhabi (Rehob), and then he will send my agent to thee, and they (*or* he) will make a defensive league.' On the edge of the tablet seems to be a request for the speedy departure of the messenger: 'Let (him) go, let (him) go!'

The two official lists, or inventories, are still more interesting, as they show that in Canaan, as in Babylonia, business accounts and official records were kept in the language and script of the Babylonians. Like the letters, they are a proof of the wide extent to which the cuneiform system of writing was known in the country, even the sheikhs of third-rate towns corresponding in it with one another and using it for business purposes. It is significant that in Krete, though the clay tablet was borrowed from Babylonia, native systems of script were employed. Canaan had once been a province of the Babylonian empire, while Krete was only distantly affected by Babylonian literary culture.

One of the lists gives the number of men the persons enumerated in it were required to furnish for the militia; among them are Zirayi, 'the Bedâwi,' and Yimi-banda, 'the king,' who, however, could not have exercised much royal authority, as he was expected to furnish only one man. The editor has misunderstood the fragmentary words at the end of the list; they really form part of a date, and read: 'the first day' of such and such a month, 'the beginning' of the reign of such and such a king. In the second list mention is made of the gods Addu or Hadad and Amon, whose name is written Yimuna.

For Palestinian archæology, two facts disclosed by the excavations at Tell Ta'annek stand out with special importance. One is the association of the cuneiform tablets with the oldest pottery of

the mound, the other the Cypriote-Greek influence which comes in with the Israelitish occupation of the place. Traces of the same influence, though to a far less extent, have been met with by the English excavators in the south of Palestine. Here, on the other hand, the period of geometric pottery reaches back to a considerably earlier date than would seem to have been the case at Taanach. This geometric pottery was, in the first instance, either imported from abroad or else imitated from foreign models, and, wherever it was introduced, soon succeeded in superseding the wretched native pottery of the country. While belonging to the pre-Mykenæan class of pottery that was once predominant throughout the whole of the Ægean area, it must have come to Canaan from some other region than the Ægean itself. Not only does it differ in details from the Ægean 'geometric,' but there is no trace of the beaked jugs which were characteristic of the Ægean region, much less of the 'Kamâres' or 'Minoan' pottery of Krete.¹ On the other hand, Mr. Welch has indicated points of contact between it and the earlier pottery of Cyprus (*Annual of the British School at Athens*, No. vi. pp. 117 *sqq.*), but its nearest analogies are to be found in the geometric pottery of Boghaz Keui, the Hittite stronghold in northern Cappadocia (see Chantre, *Mission en Cappadoce*, pl. iii.). What makes the similarity the more striking is that at Kara Eyuk, a little to the north-east of Kaisariyeh, from which a number of cuneiform tablets have come, showing that an Assyrian colony was established there in the Tel el-Amarna age or earlier, the types of pottery are different, the geometric ware being more specifically 'Ægean,' while the beaked jug was common. M. Chantre also found Naukratite pottery at Kara Eyuk as well as Mykenæan, which last is picked up on ancient sites throughout Asia Minor, as Professor Ramsay has assured me.

From the evidence of the pottery we may, there-

¹ The polychrome pottery of Lachish and Gezer, in contradistinction to the Shephelah tells, can have been only indirectly influenced, if at all, by that of Krete, designs and ceramic forms displaying no very close resemblance in the two cases. The polychrome birds and fish of this Lachish-Gezer pottery, however, are noticeable, more especially the fish which point to the origin of the ware amongst a maritime population. Compare, for instance, the fish in P.E.F. *Quarterly Statement* for October 1902, pl. 4, No. 7, with those from Knossos in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xxiii. p. 198.

fore, conclude (1) that the pre-Mykenæan geometric was introduced into southern Palestine at an earlier date than into the north, or, at all events, into Taanach, and (2) that it was brought southward from the Hittite area in Asia Minor.

Before I leave Dr. Sellin and his discoveries, there are three other points to which attention should be directed. He has found no jar-handles with Hebrew inscriptions. At Gezer also, where jar-handles with scarab stamps occur pretty plentifully in the Amorite stratum, those with Hebrew inscriptions are almost entirely absent. We must accordingly regard them not only as distinctively Jewish—a fact which we knew before, but also as comparatively late. Support is thus given to my theory that they emanated from the 'royal' potteries to which reference is made in 1 Ch 4^{22, 23}. Then secondly, an unusually large number of terra-cotta figures of Ashtoreth have been disinterred, from which (coupled with the absence of figures of Baal) Dr. Sellin infers that the population of Taanach was specially devoted to the worship of the goddess. Similar figures have been found by Mr. Macalister in the fourth stratum at Gezer. Thirdly, very few scarabs have been met with by the Austrian explorers. This is strikingly in contrast with what is the case in the tells of southern Palestine where scarabs are numerous, more particularly at Gezer. Here, indeed, they belong, for the most part, to the Amorite period represented by the fourth stratum, though many have also been found in the third and fifth strata, and the greater number of them are of the Hyksos age, testifying to close intercourse at that time between Egypt and southern Palestine. It was in the fourth stratum that the megalithic temple at Gezer was completed in which an Egyptian stela of the twelfth dynasty was found.¹

¹ For those who have not read Mr. Macalister's Reports, it is as well to state that the third stratum at Gezer follows immediately upon the Neolithic period, and corresponds with the earlier stratum at Lachish; it is the period of the incised pottery, and of the introduction of bronze. The fourth stratum represents the age of Amorite supremacy, and is

I must, however, reserve any discussion of the excavations of the Palestine Exploration Fund at Gezer until they are brought to a conclusion, since each of Mr. Macalister's Reports throws new light upon the problems of Canaanitish history, and sometimes modifies the provisional inferences he had previously drawn. It is to be hoped that the Committee will have no difficulty in procuring funds for a work which has already had important and unexpected results, and has done more to clear up disputed questions of Old Testament archaeology than volumes of learned controversy. Meanwhile, I cannot pass over in silence the broken cuneiform tablet which turned up this spring in the Jewish stratum. It belongs to the age of the Second Assyrian Empire, and records the sale of houses and other property. The names of the vendors, as well as those of some of the witnesses, are Assyrian, but the names of other witnesses are North Syrian, not Canaanite. The deed is dated the 17th of Sivan in the eponymy following that of Assur-dur-utsur, 649 B.C. according to Mr. George Smith, at a time when Manasseh was on the throne of Judah and Palestine was an Assyrian province.²

characterized by Egyptian scarabs and other objects of the Middle Empire and Hyksos age. In the fifth stratum, in which iron first begins to be used, we have Israelitish pottery, including the 'lamps and bowls' which first occur at Lachish in the fourth stratum above the great layer of ashes proved by Petrie to be a memorial of the destruction of the city by the Israelites. The polychrome pottery of the Shephelah tells, in which the outlines are not filled in as in the Gezer-Lachish pre-Israelitish ware, Mr. Macalister now believes to be subsequent to the Israelitish conquest.

² Since the above was written Mr. J. L. Myres has published an important article on 'The Early Pot-Fabrics of Asia Minor' in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiii. pp. 367-400, in which he shows that the polychrome (or more strictly trichrome) pottery of Palestine and the Egyptian Delta, which he calls 'Syro-Cappadocian,' came from the neighbourhood of the Hittite capital at Boghaz Keui, north of the Halys, where the red pigment characterizing it was still found in classical days. He thus arrives by a different road at the same conclusion as myself.