

PALESTINE AND ISRAEL

# PALESTINE AND ISRAEL

HISTORICAL NOTES

BY

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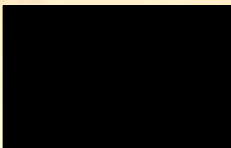
LONDON

SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING  
CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE  
NORTHUMBERLAND AVENUE, W.C. 2

*First published in 1934*



MADE IN GREAT BRITAIN



## FOREWORD

THE recent advances in our knowledge of the history of Palestine are here brought into relation with the well-known Biblical records. To those records this little volume may serve as a running commentary, without pretending to be a complete history. For the present purpose full references are given to Biblical passages, but the material facts are stated without references to the many volumes not in the hands of general readers, but sufficiently known to all students. The latest views of tribal explanation are those of Burney in *Schweich Lectures*, and Lods in his *Israel*. The physical facts are in my *Gerar*, *Beth-pelet*, and *Gaza* volumes, also in *Eurasia Septentrionalis*, viii.

FLINDERS PETRIE.

BEAUMONT HOUSE,  
JERUSALEM.

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## CHAPTER I

### PALESTINE BEFORE ABRAM

I. THE history of the peoples of Palestine, on whom the Israelites were planted, has now been traced far back. In every part of the country are found abundant remains of Palaeolithic man. The southern valley known as the Wady Ghazzeh abounds with massive flint picks and cutters, which are of exactly the same forms as those familiar in England and on the Continent. Some new forms appear, as the skew-handled borers (figs. 1-3), which were doubtless used like the heavier picks for grubbing up roots for food during the winter.

The emergence of Neolithic man has been traced in the successive deposits in the limestone caves of Mount Carmel. Settlements near Tell el Fara on the south frontier have provided a series of flint hoes, from the Mousterian with triangular outline to the latest Neolithic with parallel sides (figs. 4-6). This Neolithic Age produced much pottery, mostly rough; the more important historically

were the jars with wavy ledge handles (figs. 7, 8), which link with such forms in prehistoric Egypt.

There came a sudden end to all the beautifully formed flint work. Craftsmen had attained a mastery in striking flakes as large as the hand, with a single blow but perfect in form. These people who had reached such perfection were driven out, probably to the east of the Dead Sea, and a fresh race took their place.

2. The invading Copper users had none of the skill in flint work, and if they needed a flint it was only an old palaeolith that they used in their settlement. The first copper dagger (fig. 9) is simple in form and small; the metal was yet rare, and all sorts of green coppery rock were collected in search of metal. The pottery which had existed before was replaced by other forms with wide bases, and was larger and more regular (figs. 10, 11) at the close of the Copper Age. At that time the forms of the copper daggers were highly developed, with a prominent middle rib (figs. 12, 13). Beads of carnelian and hard limestone were cut, and drilled with flint borers. Straight and regular walls of houses are found at the beginning of the Copper Age.

At the close, the usual form of tomb was a small chamber just large enough to hold the contracted body laid on its side, and reached by a square shaft in the rock, three or four feet wide. For the connections with Egypt, see *Bethpelet*, ii. 15, and *Ancient Gaza*, ii. 2.

3. About 3200 B.C., toward the close of the VIth dynasty of Egypt, there came a sudden blast from the north, and the whole style of copper work and pottery was swept away by the invasion of Bronze workers. These new people were furnished with daggers and ornaments like those of the Caucasus region. They had doubtless come from the Caspian basin, they brought with them the art of large stone-work, and they built more substantially than any later occupants of the country. The foundations of their palace at Tell el Ajjul—ancient Gaza—were made of large facing slabs of stone, packed with blocks between, to support brick walls nearly 6 feet thick (fig. 16). Their peculiar daggers bear raised veins on the surface (fig. 14), which is highly polished. The toggle pins, to secure the cloak, have two forms of decoration; both of them, as well as the veined daggers, are specially from the Caspian side of the Caucasus. These people pressed con-

quering into Egypt, where they founded the VIIth and VIIIth dynasties of foreign kings (3127-2912 B.C.).

The palace of their frontier city of Gaza was burnt. The walls were mostly washed away by a long age of great rainfall which followed. When the Egyptians of the XIIth dynasty came in, they built on the site, much above the old foundations. Their work was ruined by the Hyksos of the XVth dynasty (2371-2111 B.C.). In these two immigrations of conquerors from the Caspian, founders of the VIIth and XVth dynasties, we see the source of the Canaanite people of written history, who drove the Copper Age Amorites into the hills.

The most interesting feature of the history between 3000 and 2000 B.C. is the wide extent of foreign trade which appears here, and illustrates the spread of fine handicraft in that age. It seems that there was much less ability and knowledge in the world after the coming of the Hyksos, a period of eclipse in dark ages which culminated in the break-up of Crete, and the wild invasions which crushed civilisation till about 600 B.C. This age of about 1,600 years, 2200-600 B.C., is paralleled by a later collapse. Considering the condition

of the former Roman Empire as a whole, the world did not regain its status of 250 A.D. until about 1850.

We find each year, at Gaza, gold-work from Ireland (fig. 21), dated from 2300 B.C. onward; gold-work covered with skilful granular patterns, probably from North Syria; painted pottery with spirited figures of animals (figs. 19, 20), from regions not yet explored; daggers from Luristan (fig. 15), and carved ivory work showing Persian trade. The dominant people, who imported these, habitually used ornaments and daggers from the Caspian region. The free use of gold, even adorning children, belongs to the age before all the stream deposits of the Old World were exhausted, the time when gold was as common as it has been at Klondyke in our time. We have at the capital city and port of Gaza burst into a range of civilisations which we are only now beginning to connect with their home lands.

4. Upon all this there came a fresh invasion of people from Central Asia, horse-riding shepherds, who went on to Egypt and "inflicted every kind of barbarity on the inhabitants," as the Egyptians record. These "shepherd kings" or Hyksos appear to be

portrayed by the pottery head of that age (fig. 22). The brick walls of their city are still standing, and resist the weather when they are dug out (fig. 17). It is still possible to walk through their doorways (fig. 18) and along their streets. A turning-point at the beginning of the Hyksos dynasty (XVth) is seen on the hemispherical bowls from an unknown source. Before then the painting is delicate, and often in red and black, on thin white ware (fig. 23); after the Hyksos conquest there is only a very coarse imitation of it (fig. 24) from Cyprus, lasting from 2300-1400 B.C.; this forms a useful criterion of age in excavation. These horsemen were usually 5 feet 2 inches, very short, like the Huns, and in the richer burials a horse was interred with them.

The horse was introduced into Palestine and Egypt by the Hyksos invasion, and was specially regarded by those people. On the founding of the palace of the XVIth dynasty (2nd Hyksos period), a pit was dug through the older buildings, and a horse was sacrificed in it; both the shoulders were removed for ceremonial purposes. On the surface beside the pit a feast was held; the bones of two horses lie scattered about, well picked, for

the lower jaws are separate from the skulls. Similarly, in the cemetery the full ritual consisted of the sacrifice of a horse (fig. 25), which was laid in a circular pit, with burials of the owner's family round the sides, on ledges or in loculi (fig. 26). The haunches and one fore-leg of the horse were removed, presumably for the funeral feast.

The outfit of a Hyksos queen was found in a cenotaph in the palace courtyard (figs. 28, 29). At the top is a pair of Syrian earrings, ribbed. Next, a pair of plain large earrings with a bolt of lazuli to pass through the ear. Below are two gold toggle-pins with ribbed ends, and two gold-mounted scarabs. At the base are the armlets, in two sets of five, each marked from 1 to 5.

The wealth reached in the Hyksos age is reflected in the amount of gold-work found in the tombs and metal hoards at Gaza. A flying falcon covered with granules of gold (fig. 27) was found where it had been dropped in a road. A trader's hoard of old metal, both gold and silver, had been collected all down Syria (fig. 30). At the right is a plaque of the mother goddess as Hathor, like one from Ras Shamra. In the middle is the Great Mother gold plaque, which suggests

in its expression the stern, imperious, productive force of Nature. At the left side is a Hittite head with fluted cap (fig. 31). Below are two large gold stars (fig. 32). Many fine earrings of granular gold-work were found with these.

The politics of the time are curiously reflected in two haematite cylinders. The upper (fig. 48) shows a lion ramping forward, but held in check by a pigtailed figure holding its tail, and presenting the emblem of the god of wisdom to a defenceless man seated on the ground. To protect him there comes forward a winged Horus, with falcon head and crown of Egypt. The sense seems to be Egypt defending Palestine from the northern lion, held in check by Hittites. The lower cylinder has the figures of a wolf and a lion contending over a calf, above which swoops a flying eagle.

The Hyksos were finally dispossessed by the Egyptians under Aohmes the Berber, first king of the XVIIIth dynasty, at the point where the bondage of the Israelites began under a king who knew not Joseph.

Such was the groundwork of successive races upon which the Israelite history arose.



## CHAPTER II

### THE PEOPLES OF PALESTINE

5. THE connection between archaeological and literary sources is difficult owing to the lack of inscriptions, and the long period of civilisation before contemporary records. We have to consider how the material evidence of changes of culture may be linked with the variety of ethnic names in the earliest records (see Plan 3, p. 95).

The Canaanites were spread over all South Syria from Sidon to Gerar by Gaza (Gen. x. 19). Almost as far again to the north is Laodicea, which on coins claimed to be a metropolis, a "mother city of Canaan." Further, at Byblos, bronze pins, rings, and collars, like those found in Russian Armenia, are accepted as proving intercourse. The Canaanites were skilled in great rock-cutting, as seen in the water tunnels at Gezer, Jerusalem, and Megiddo.

All of this points to a people pushing from north to south, possessed of large technical

skill; the conditions correspond with the movement of the people of palace I at Gaza, who had daggers and ornamental pins of the Caucasus, and who did large rock-cutting and tunnelling. This movement of the VIIth and VIIIth dynasties was repeated by a less skilful people bringing similar weapons and ornaments at the XVth dynasty, immediately after the interlude of Egyptian power in the XIIth dynasty (*Ancient Egypt*, 1931, 1).

The period of Canaanite invasion is indicated by the pushing of the earlier Amorite population up into the hills, and taking the fertile plain. The lists of Palestine peoples, written on pottery of the XIth dynasty, give Amur as only one among twenty-one names, so that they appear to have been already swept aside from supremacy. The beginning of the Canaanite domination seems, then, to precede the Hyksos XVth dynasty, and to agree with the time of the VIIth dynasty invasion by bronze-using people.

The Canaanites were particularly the city dwellers, building cities "walled up to heaven" (Deut. i. 28) like the hill cities of Gerar and Bethpelet (fig. 35). They also occupied the coast (Jos. v. 1). In all respects, therefore, they

resemble the VIIth dynasty invaders. As there does not seem to be any other people with all of these characteristics, we must accept the invaders of the VIIth dynasty (and probably those of the XVth) as being the ancestors of the Canaanites of Genesis.

6. The most definite grouping of ethnic names is that in the record of the raid of Chedorlaomer (Gen. xiv. 5-7). The places named are in the order of the movement: 1. Ashteroth Karnaim (see Plan 3) east of the sea of Galilee, held by the Rephaim or Giants. 2. Zuzym of Ham, perhaps Marj el Hamâm, 'Arak el Hamâm, and Khurbet el Hamâm, all together east of Jericho (see Deut. ii. 20). 3. Emim (Aymym) in Moab (Deut. ii. 10) and the valley of Kiriathaim east of Machairos. 4. Horites in Mount Seir (Petra). 5. El-Paran of the wilderness, the desert between Kadesh and Sinai. 6. Kadesh, or Kadesh Barnea, seventy miles west of Petra, " smiting the Amalekites." 7. Amorites in Hazazon Tamar (" gravel of palms ") or Engedi east of Hebron. This sweep down the east side of Jordan, crossing the Arabah at the watershed, and then coming north up the west of Jordan, is a consistent plan of campaign.

These names of the peoples begin vaguely

with Rephaim or "giants," Zuzym or "wild men" (*zyz*, wild beast), Aymym or "terrible men," and Horites or "mountaineers." Such names, instead of Bashan, Ammon, Moab, and Seir, belong to a time before the Israelite period, for the Israelites were familiar with the later names before they forced the Jordan at Jericho.

From this region the Israelites brought with them flint working which is exactly of the latest Neolithic form, as found at Bethpelet, where they left heaps of flint flakings over the ruin of the XIXth dynasty residency. The late Neolithic people, who were wholly driven out of the Wady Ghazzeah by the copper workers, are, then, to be recognised in the Aymym or terrible folk of the land later known as Moab.

The tall people or Rephaim were not only in Bashan, but in the country between Jerusalem and Gaza (shaded across in Plan 3), where the vale of Rephaim lies, S.W. of Jerusalem; they were also in Hebron, Anab, Debir, Gath, Ashdod, and Gaza, all held by the Anakims (Jos. xi. 21-22). The people of this race were probably considered tall by the later Hyksos. Measurements of the stature of the little horsemen in the cemetery of Ancient

Gaza show that the Hyksos themselves were only about 5 feet high, as we have seen.

7. The Amorites, who were named as dwelling at Engedi, are described as occupying the hill country bounded by the Ascent of Akrabbim (or Scorpion steps), and on to Gath, Ajalon, and Jerusalem (Jud. i. 35-6). The federation of five kings of the Amorites (Jos. x. 5) covers the central region. They were also east of Jordan in Heshbon (Jos. xiii. 21) the capital of Sihon, king of the Amorites; also in Bashan (Jos. ii., x). Sety I. conquered them at Qedesh, north-west of Lake Merom. As we have already noticed, they were the copper users driven out from the plain by the Canaanites.

8. The 'Avvim have a name which is without any root in Hebrew, and it must be derived from some foreign source. As they were on the southern border we look, then, to Egyptian, where 'Aua means "to rob," and 'Auyu would mean "robbers," a likely enough name in that desert between Egypt and Palestine where later pilgrims were robbed when not in strong parties. They were near Gaza (Deut. ii. 23; Jos. xiii. 3), and were displaced by the Caphtorim from Caphtor. This name marks the account as being an earlier version of the

Pelesheth (Philistines), which was the term used in Genesis and Judges.

The Hivites were the "campers" in tents, *havoth*. They were at Hermon (Jos. xi. 3), near Tyre (2 Sam. xxiv. 7), in Lebanon (Jud. iii. 3), at Shechem (Gen. xxiv. 2), and at Gibeon (Jos. ix. 7, xi. 19). This wide distribution shows that the term refers to a mode of life, and not to a single people.

The Perizzites were the people of the plain, living in unwallled villages.

The Kenazzites were of the tribe of Caleb in Kadesh Barnea, who afterwards conquered Hebron (Jos. xiv. 6, 14). The Calebites probably occupied the Wady Ghazze, and many little clay figures of dogs (*kelb*) are found in early periods there.

The Kenites lived far south near Amalek (Num. xxiv. 20, 21; 1 Sam. xv. 6), and advanced with Judah to Jericho (Jud. i. 10). Later, they were still far south (1 Sam. xxvii. 10).

9. The Amalekites were entirely in the south beyond Judah, at Kadesh Barnea (Gen. xiv. 7). They were ancestors of Edomites (Gen. xxxvi. 12), allies of Ammon and Moab (Jud. vii. 13), and raided up to the valley of Jezreel (Jud. vi. 4, 33; 1 Sam. xxx. 1). They ex-

tended far south in Sinai to Rephidim (Ex. xvii. 8), probably the Wady Firan. They seem to have been quite unsettled, and ready to join in any raid that offered.

The Jebusites are best known in Jerusalem (Jos. xv. 63), but extended northward (Jos. xv. 8).

Kedemoth means "easterners," specially applied to a city of Reuben, east of the Dead Sea.

Girgashites are not identified in Palestine, and are omitted in Ex. iii. and Jos. ix., xiii., while included in Gen. x., xv., Jos. iii., xxiv., Deut. vii. This may perhaps give an indication of the relative age of documents.

10. The Hittites are stated in Gen. xxiii. to have been in possession at Hebron in the time of Abram, and to have married Edomites (Gen. xxvi. 34). The whole of Syria is called "the land of the Hittites" (Jos. i. 4); and the land of the Hittites (2 Sam. xxiv. 6, in LXX) is at Kadesh Naphtali, between Lake Merom and Tyre. This wide extension of Hittite influence at the Israelite conquest has been called "clearly an exaggeration" (Lods, 52). Happily a scarab (fig. 37), recovered almost worn out from the necklace of a Bedawy, has shown that the Hyksos kings of Egypt and Palestine were vassals of the Hittite overlords

(fig. 37; *Ancient Egypt*, 1933, 37). The phrase "land of the Hittites" is like the "land of



Fig. 37.—Hyksos King before Hittite Suzerain.

the Turks" for Syria and Iraq. Hittite silver rings (fig. 38) were found at Bethpelet, bearing



Fig. 38.—Hittite Silver Rings.

Hittite signs and winged sphinxes (*Bethpelet*, II. lxxiii. 58, 65).



## CHAPTER III

### THE FAMILY HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS

II. Now that we have the Biblical documents brought into touch with the archaeological facts of the civilisation, we can begin to form a clearer idea of the general conditions. The Hyksos Canaanites were, in Egypt, the patrons of learning; the largest works on medicine and arithmetic date from their reigns; the names of nearly all the rulers are preserved on the scarab amulets which were worn in both Egypt and Palestine by their subjects. The flow of foreign imports into Gaza, as indicated by the painted pottery and gold-work from the north, was in full force from 3,000 to 2,000 B.C. From Persia and Ireland foreign products were coming in. We must accept the view of a well-organized and civilised East at that period, though not dominated by either Egypt or Babylonia.

It was with this background that the record of the raid of Chedorlaomer was drawn up. It was evidently written west of Jordan, as the tribes on the east are vaguely described.

In the time of the Israelites those regions were well known as the kingdoms of Bashan, of Amorites, of Moabites. This early document is just a leaf of the Canaanite record treasured by Hebrews as showing the power of Abraham. No writer after Joshua would ever have described in vague terms places so well known to Israel.

It was, then, in a documentary age in Palestine that the Abramic period began, hedged on east and west by documentary civilisations already rich with the experience of a couple of thousand years. The Egyptians with their passion for exactitude, and their careful registration, placed dates on private monuments in the XIIth dynasty, and Egypt had then held Palestine for a few centuries before the patriarchal age. Since that, the Canaanite Hyksos kings had ruled Egypt in a unified system of government in both lands under a single "great treasurer."

The Hittites were overlords of Palestine. This is shown by the scene of a Hyksos Egyptian king who is figured in submission to a Hittite king (fig. 37), and Hittite objects were found, moreover, far on the southern frontier. The Hittite records of kings go back to the time of Naram-sin in 2600 B.C., so they

formed a third literary influence bearing on Palestine.

Such was the aspect of affairs when Abram came in as a powerful nomad chieftain; to regard this as an illiterate age is only a token of our limitation of the past by our own ignorance. That inscriptions have rarely been preserved is due to the fact of inscribing on plastered stone (Deut. xxvii. 2, 8) instead of carving. The habit of writing is often referred to, as in Ex. xxxiv. 1, 27, xxxix. 30; Num. xvii. 2; Deut. xxxi. 19; Jos. i. 8, viii. 31; Jud. v. 14.

12. To hear before you condemn is the first principle of justice, and it applies to all documents. Before setting aside any record, the details should be tested as to their consistency one with another, and with collateral evidence. The aim should be to reach back to an original form which is consistent with the least assumption of change. We have first to ascertain what we can trace as the original form of a document, before resorting to the facile treatment of it as tradition or folklore, or assuming a vague struggle of tribes personified by the names of their ancestors.

13. In the history of the family of Jacob

there is good ground for critical examination. There are vital data of about twenty persons, connected together, and linked by many precise statements of age, and this record is scattered in twenty-one chapters of Genesis. If this were not an exact narrative, there would be plenty of openings for inconsistency and error in detail.

We will now proceed to build together these statements as forming a related whole, and see if they show contradictions. The diagram in Plan 1 (see p. 93) charts all the periods, and must be studied in reading the following pages.

The history of Jacob contains some basic discrepancy. His total age is stated at 147 years (Gen. xlvii. 28), and seventeen years before his death he entered Egypt. This was after two years of famine (xlv. 6) following seven years of plenty (xli. 47); before that, the thirty years of Joseph's life (xli. 46), and twenty years' service of Laban (xxxi. 41). These periods total to seventy-six years, and this deducted from the age of 147 years would give Jacob's age at his betrothal as seventy-one. Yet his father hurried him away to Laban for fear he should marry a Hittite (Gen. xxvii. 46; xxviii. 1-5). Clearly there is some error of transmission.

The most important point of his life was his independence and the bringing of his whole family into Palestine. This is represented as being at the age of ninety-one. Now, in the alphabetic numerals of Maccabaeian time, ninety-one is much like forty-one (see the figures at the left side of Plan 1). The letters *tzaddi* and *mim* are liable to be confused, so such a mistake in reading would be a likely corruption. If we take this into consideration, and adopt it as a clue, the age of Jacob at sending him to Laban was twenty-one, and his age at death ninety-seven. Such ages accord so well with the possibilities of the case that we may provisionally accept them. The summary of his age in Gen. xlvii. 28 we must regard as having been made later, on the strength of a defective reading of these similar numerals. But, if so, it shows that there were direct statements of age which we have not got (the age of leaving Laban), and that our present document has been rewritten and edited from material in another form, and wrong deductions made in its reckoning.

With this elucidation, we start with Jacob going to Laban at twenty-one, and his serving seven years till twenty-eight before his marriage (xxix. 20). The four sons of Leah were

born when she was aged about seventeen to twenty-three, and Jacob's age would be twenty-nine to thirty-five. Rachel, in despair at seeing such a succession without any child of her own, gave Bilhah, her maid, to be her surrogate (like Sarah and Hagar), and Dan and Naphtali would have been born when Jacob was thirty-five and thirty-seven. Leah followed the example, and Zilpah, her maid, had Gad and Asher when Jacob might be thirty-seven and thirty-nine. Leah again bore children when Jacob's age would be thirty-nine and forty-one. The series would thus fill the time till leaving Laban, twenty years in all—*i.e.*, fourteen years' service for obtaining Leah and Rachel, and six years for the cattle (xxx. 41). The cattle-breeding experiments of Jacob need not have extended beyond one season, and so would all come in the final season of the six years.

Dinah, who is named last, was born after Jacob left Laban, as she is not in the list of those who left Padan-Aram (xxxv. 26). Of Joseph, there is a longer and more detailed life-history. He was sold into Egypt at seventeen (xxxvii. 2), and was there till he "stood before Pharaoh" at thirty (xli. 46). There followed seven years of plenty (marked

+ in Plan 1) and two years of famine (marked -; xli. 47, xlv. 6). This brings his age to thirty-nine at the entry of Jacob and his family into Egypt. Jacob was then eighty, and seventeen years later the patriarch died.

14. There are other details to be considered. Dinah was the last-born of all the family in Palestine. If Leah had Reuben at eighteen, and she is not likely to have had Dinah later than forty, that puts Dinah's birth to the nineteenth year of Simeon. There is no proof of her age when she was visiting alone among the Shechemites (xxxiv. 1), but that implies that she was acting independently and was therefore perhaps about twenty-five. Simeon then would be forty-four, and probably several of his sons were active young men. He also would have an establishment of his own, as well as Levi, with many household retainers and herdsmen. Therefore we must not picture the vengeance on Shechem as "two men effecting without extraneous aid the massacre of all the males of one of the most famous cities of ancient Canaan" (Burney, 37), but we must view it as a following of perhaps fifty or more of family and retainers; moreover—true to Bedu ways—so soon as they had made

the surprise attack on Hamor, "the sons of Jacob came upon the slain and spoiled the city"; in fact, the whole clan of Jacob swarmed up, to clear the place.

The use of the city name Shechem for the chief of the city is just like the usage now, in England and Scotland, of great landowners being commonly addressed by their territorial names. There is no need whatever for the useless hypothesis that a tribal history is concealed under eponymous names; the whole account falls naturally into place in the family history as it is recorded. The only exception to the strict order of the family narrative is that chapters xxxiv. and xxxv. of Genesis have been transposed, so as to place the Shechem episode before the summary of chapter xxxv.

15. We will now turn back and look at the earlier generations. We see a discrepancy in the length of life of Isaac. He married at forty (xxv. 20), but there was a delay (verse 21), so probably Jacob was born when he was about forty-four, and Jacob therefore went to Laban when Isaac was about sixty-five or seventy. By that time Isaac's eyes were dim (xxvii. 1) and he was unable to distinguish his sons. He could not have survived 110 years after this infirmity, nor is the



age of 180 possible. Moreover he was not in the family when they went down into Egypt 124 years after he was born. Some rectification of this discrepancy is necessary. There is no leading event during his life, so we must examine the total of his age. In the writing of the fifth century B.C. as seen in the Aramaic of the Aswan papyri, the two letters *beth* and *pe* are of degraded forms which closely resemble each other (see figures at left of Plan 1). This would lead to a confusion of the numbers 2 and 80. If these were mistaken one for the other, the age of Isaac when he died would be 102; hence his death was just before the sale of Joseph, and it is so placed in the order of the narrative.

The length of life of Abraham, stated at 175 years (xxv. 7), seems also to be due to a confusion of numeral letters. The key date of his age would seem to have been at the Covenant, stated as ninety-nine (xvii. 1); this number is closely like forty-nine (see Plan 1), and, if that were the original, his total age would have been 125. Thus the birth of Isaac would be when he was fifty, and when Sarah was forty. Sarah's length of life being seventy-seven years, she died before Isaac sent for Rebekah (xxiii., xxiv); this again

would fix her age at about forty when Isaac was born.

16. We have now a definite result from this searching examination of all the details of personal life of a numerous family during the course of a century and a half. Taking the points strictly in the order of the narrative, they form a closely packed consistent whole in which a variation of only a few years in any of the lines involved would have made contradictions. The only assumption has been that the inconsistent statements of the great length of life of the three patriarchs is entirely explained, and reconciled with the other details, by the view that three numeral letters were—in about the fifth century B.C.—confounded with three other numerals which at that time nearly resembled them. After this, there is no other inconsistency in the regular narrative order of the details of Jacob's family, and therefore we must allow this full and complex narrative to state its own exactitude. There is no ground for an assumption that the personages are merely names for a body of confused tribes. In this recital we learn how the great events—the covenant with Abram, the death of Isaac, and the entry of Jacob's family into Palestine—

were the recorded data of age, and any other references to age were editorially connected with those by the recorded intervals. The whole narrative has been written up from a correct historical register of events, reckoning out ages and details from material in a different form to that of the final editing, and only confused by the ambiguity of the current writing at the time.

17. Regarding the descent of other lines from Abraham, not only from Ishmael and Esau but from numerous other wives and concubines (xxx. 1-16), there was a masterful succession from the potent chief in the 174 years from his birth to the entry of Jacob's family into Egypt. The average number of sons recorded to the twelve sons of Jacob is 3.8. The generations of the Jewish kings average twenty-one years each. If we allow twenty-five years as a middle generation, there were seven generations by the date of the entry into Egypt, and a progeny of over 10,000 male Abramites at that time. Long before the Exodus there would have been many millions, quite enough to account for all the Midianites, Moabites, and others of the Abram clan, who had supplanted the "giants" and "wild men" occupying the east of Jordan in Abram's time.

## CHAPTER IV

### STRUCTURAL QUESTIONS

18. WE have now seen that in the fullest test case there is the aspect of a connected and consistent history, edited later in detail, but not confused or falsified. We need next to look at various other matters bearing on this, which have been woven by modern critics into their tribal view of the history.

The local occurrence of names of patriarchs has been of much interest, and interpreted in various ways. Places have been observed in Egyptian lists named Jacob-el ("Jacob is God") and Joseph-el, implying that there were local divinities of those names. Asher, the name of another patriarch, is the masculine of the female Asherah or sacred tree. A personal name Addu-dani appears, derived from Dan, the divine judge, and Gad is the deity of fortune. All of this shows how strong was the influence of the local worships. Rachel, who stole the teraphim figures, and sat on them when she required heathen protectors for her journey, was the mother who gave the name

Joseph. Asher, Gad, and Dan were sons of maid-servants; it was the non-Israelite influence which used these names of local divinities, who were worshipped in Palestine long before the lives of the patriarchs, and it was a reverence for heathen gods which led the mothers to give such names to their sons. After they had been some time in Palestine, Jacob tried to clear away their paganism, and took all their "strange gods which were in their hand, and all the earrings," doubtless with figures of gods, and buried them (xxxv. 4). This shows how even the family of Jacob were polytheists.

19. It has been strongly urged (Lods, 328) that Judges i. to ii. 5 gives a truer account of a piecemeal subjugation of Palestine than the account in Joshua, which it professes to supplement. Let us examine this in each supposed evidence: (1) First it is assumed that Adonizedek of Jerusalem is the same as Adonibezek of Bezek. This is a wanton assertion; neither the place, nor the name, nor the people, nor the fate of the ruler, is the same. Adon (lord) is the natural title for the ruler of a city. Adonizedek, like Melchi-zedek ("king of Zedek") is the lord or king of Zedek, which seems to have been a name of Jerusalem as the "righteous"

city, like the present name El Quds, the "holy" city. Bezek, the modern Bezkeh, is a village near Gezer at the foot of the Judean hills, where the Canaanites of the plain were attacked and the lord of Bezek captured. Such an advance from the hills into the Canaanite plain was the natural sequel of the hill conquest by Joshua, and would not be an early episode of the conquest. (2) Hebron was won by Caleb and Joshua, and the account in Jos. xiv. is equivalent to that in Jud. i.; there is therefore no priority. (3) The attack on Arad (Jud. i. 16, 17) is a duplicate of that in Num. xxi. 1, from the time before crossing Jordan; it has no relation to this west Jordan conquest. (4) The house of Joseph capturing Bethel is necessarily supplementary to the Joshua capture of Ai and Gibeon, and cannot have preceded that advance. (5) Manasseh could not capture Bethshean, Taanach, and Megiddo, and none of them were taken by Joshua. Similarly other places were not captured. Thus there is no pre-Joshua account among the scrappy notes about various ventures, except the pre-Jericho attack on Arad. It is a list of enterprises strung together to supplement the Joshua narrative, and cannot be the prior account.

Another reason given (Lods, 392) for regarding the tribes as not formed at the time of the invasion is that they are stated as being named after the district which they occupied. The examples are Gilead, which is not a tribe; Benjamin, which has a good history in the firm structure of the Jacob family, and was not a place name; and Ephraim, which is part of the Joseph history. None of these support the idea of indigenous names taken up later by a tribe.

20. It should be noted that the Phoenicians were not Canaanites (see Lods, 390). The name does not appear at all in the Old Testament, and the supposed references are only to Zidon, which was a mainland city. The typical Phoenician settlement was always an island, such as Tyre, and that place does not appear till the time of Hiram, and the late list of boundaries in Jos. xix. The Canaanite, as we have seen, was the Caspian invader, intruded upon by Phoenicians of the Punic stock which came up the Red Sea, and also by the Philistine from Caphtor.

21. A vexed question has been the name of the 'Apuiru in Egypt, foreign people who were largely employed in the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties, from Tehutmes III to Ramessu IV,

and supposed by some to have been Hebrews. The later date is after any possible time of the Exodus; the only supposition may be that some other descendants of "Abram the Hebrew" (Gen. xiv. 13) were in Egypt, and did not leave with the sons of Israel.

A similar but wider question is that of the Khabiru who are often mentioned in the Amarna letters, but never with names found in the Israelite history. They were known in the time of Khammurabi and his predecessor, before Abram; also they appear in Anatolia, and their conquests were much further north in Syria than the Hebrew movements. The utmost possibility seems to be that the term meaning "outsiders" or "condottieri," and "Hebrew," was much the same, as being usually applied by non-Israelites; thus it was a generic name applicable to different races. As an example of the contrasted use of the two names at the time of Saul we read: "The Hebrews that were with the Philistines before that time (which went up with them into the camp) round about, even they also turned to be with the Israelites that were with Saul and Jonathan" (I Sam. xiv. 21).

22. The numbers of the Israelites are recorded in two census lists of tribes, in Num. i. and xxvi.,



before and after the wanderings. The total, stated as over 600,000, will not accord with the occupation of the area of Goshen, nor with Moses judging all disputes, nor with the service of only two midwives, nor with the fighting on an equality with the Amalekites of the Sinai peninsula. Some misunderstanding of the census lists is obvious. That such lists were contemporary is probable, from the native *shoterim* (officers), who must have kept the long tallies required by Egyptians in public works, and would naturally tally the host. From the peculiar grouping of the hundreds in the lists, these appear to be independent of the thousands, and the solution seems to be that the thousands (*aleph*) were mistakenly read from the tent groups or families (*aleph*). Thus, 46,500 should be read: 46 families, 500 men (Num. i.). The detail of this subject will be found set out in my *Egypt and Israel*, 42-6. The net result is that there were 5,700 men coming into Palestine, who increased by birth, and association with other tribes, to 40,000 at Jericho, further to 426,000 late in the age of Judges (Jud. xx. 15, 17), and amounted to 1,300,000 in the time of David.

The position of the tribe of Levi is peculiar. Genealogically it stands like all the tribes,

yet it had no territory, but was scattered in cities throughout the other tribes—a separation which was started at the beginning. The best clue to its formal separation as a caste is the record of numbers as 22,000, which suggests twenty-two families, as in the long census. This number would arise in a couple of generations after entering Egypt, and the clan was recognised before the Exodus (Ex. ii. 1).

23. A curious prejudice exists among critics, that no kind of event can occur twice, that each kind of circumstance is unique, and bars repetition. The similar narrative of Abram and Jacob going into Egypt, of the loose tie which allowed wives of patriarchs to pass on to potentates, of Abram and Isaac each digging a well at Beersheba, even of the marriages with family heiresses from Padan-Aram—all of these are assumed as necessarily unique, and the second narrative is claimed to be treated as erroneous or fabulous. The critics even go so far as to assume that the word “proved,” used about the crossing of the Red Sea, identifies the narrative with that of Massah at Kedesh, 140 miles distant. But similar circumstances will naturally result in similar actions. Looking at the well-known Roman history, Caesar twice invaded Britain, and each

time his fleet was wrecked by storms; Marcellus is duplicated by Caius and Lucius; Germanicus was father of Caligula, as Aurelius was of Commodus; Nero was succeeded by Galba, as Domitian was by Nerva—the sixth and twelfth emperor, a tyrant, followed by an obscure ruler of a year. In the best-known histories parallel actions are found throughout, but do not afford a basis for reducing such history to fabulous repetitions.

## CHAPTER V

### GEOGRAPHICAL QUESTIONS

24. It is very necessary to consider the practical possibilities of travel before dealing with recorded geography, and to note all the indications involved. It is generally agreed that the Wady Tumilat is the position of Goshen, and that Tell el Maskhuta, where Atmu was worshipped, is the position of Pa-atmu or Pithom, the only Roman town in the valley. The other city named Raamses (Ex. i. 11) was also in Goshen (Gen. xlvii. 6, 11); and it was at Tell Retabeh, where a temple of Rameses II was built, that a tablet states that he was "building in cities upon which his name is to eternity" (*Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, p. 31). This conclusively shows that there were several cities called Rameses, of which this was one. That Tanis (San) was a great city of Rameses II makes it likely that it was also called after his name, but that has nothing to do with the land of Goshen. There has also been a confusion, in some writers, between San (Tanis) and fifty miles distant Sin (Pelusium) (Lods, 174).

25. It has even been argued that the Israelites on leaving Egypt went east to Kadesh Barnea and not south to Sinai (see Plan 2, p. 94). It is expressly stated that they went "three days in the wilderness" till they came to Marah and immediately after to find supplies of water at Elim. This exactly accords with the route thirty miles from Suez southward, but the distance to Kadesh is 140 miles, which would not be travelled with cattle under ten days, and is without water on the road. It is impossible (and not "most probable," as critics have said) that the Israelites went straight to Kadesh. Of course any route may be proposed if we merely romance, and throw aside the account that we have. The business-like list of removals in Num. xxxiii places Kadesh late in the journeys, next to Mount Hor. Then the fears of Arad the Canaanite are stirred, and soon Moab is reached. This may appear to favour Kadesh being at Petra, as Conder thought, but the description of the boundary of Judah leaves no question that Kadesh Barnea was south of Gaza (Num. xxxiv. 4; Jos. xv. 1-4).

## CHAPTER VI

### RELIGION IN PALESTINE

26. FRESH light has been thrown on the Israelite worship from recent discoveries, which have not yet penetrated to the literary critics. The system of a sanctuary is found in its simplest form at the south border of Palestine in Old Gaza (Tell el Ajjul), before 1600 B.C. and probably about 2000 B.C. There we unearthed single small rooms, isolated from other buildings, entirely plastered and whitewashed, without any decoration or colour, nor image nor place for an image.

Marking the purpose of such rooms, there is outside the door a raised bench about a foot high, the top of which, a yard square, is covered with white sea shells, embedded; it slopes to a drain in the middle, or at the side (fig. 36). Such a place is obviously for washing the feet before entering the shrine, and from the bench the worshipper could step on to the white plastered floor of the shrine. Three such places of ablution were found (*Ancient Gaza*, i. 6).

27. Much more elaborate conditions were provided in 1500 B.C. or earlier, at the temple of Serabit el Khadem (fig. 39). There, a square tank of stone stood outside the door. In the square court (fig. 40) there was a circular basin of stone, surrounded by four pillars which carried a roof over it. A third tank was in a further court, also surrounded by four pillars. Here is the prototype of the Brazen Sea in the court of the Jewish temple, and of the Hana-fiyeh tank in the court of an Islamic mosque.

None of these provisions for ablution belong to any Egyptian temples, nor to temples or shrines north of Gaza; this is an Arabian system which has survived for 4,000 years or more, without any images or sculpture, as puritan as a Wahhābi could wish.

Further, in the Serabit temple there were innumerable burnt offerings from which a deep layer of ashes was thrown out; but no bones were with these, so the ashes were from sacrifices consumed by the worshippers, and not from whole burnt offerings.

28. In the shrines at Serabit three incense altars were found, short columns of sandstone, circular, with remains of burning on the top and far too heavy to be moved about (fig. 46)

Thus it is fruitless to try to delimit the

beginning of ablutions or altars of incense in the Jewish system, for the cognate Arab tribes were using them before the Exodus. Contradictions of the account of incense altars of Solomon, or of the Tabernacle before that, are mere waste paper; the system of worship with ablutions and incense is much earlier.

29. The ark of a deity was obviously an idea gathered in Egypt. Each god had a shrine or ark, which was carried about at festivals by priests bearing long poles, as with the Jewish ark (fig. 44). The cherubim, one at each end, covering the ark with their wings, are similar to the personifications of Truth, Maat, who covered the Egyptian ark with their wings.

What could be done with an ark by a people who had no image? Certainly the North Arabian-Jewish-Islamic worship was without images. The laws or commandments of the deity were obviously the best representative—of the mind, though not of the body. It was in the ark that the tablets of the commandments were carried (Ex. xxv. 21; 1 Kings viii. 9). This result is the inevitable logic from the conditions, and is reflected by the ark used for the sacred rolls in early synagogues.

The prototype in the North Arabian shrines removes any need of debate as to when Israel



renounced images for worship; they were never in that system, though readily adopted later from Canaanite customs. In each particular the Israelite system is but the later adaptation of a mode of worship which long preceded it.

30. The continual references to *asherah*

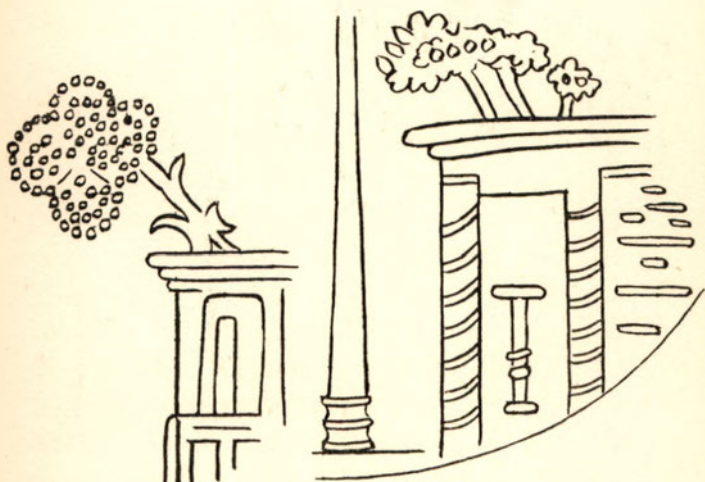


Fig. 41.—Sacred Tree in Shrine with Pillar: Crete.

trees and *mazzeboth* pillars have not been illustrated by discoveries in Palestine. The supposed sacred pillars in a row are now believed to be remains of large stables, like those at Megiddo. The system of tree and pillar worship is represented on early gems in Crete (fig. 41), and its fullest appearance is on the

stucco reliefs and wall paintings (fig. 42) of the early imperial age in Rome; these are numerous in the subterranean chapel outside

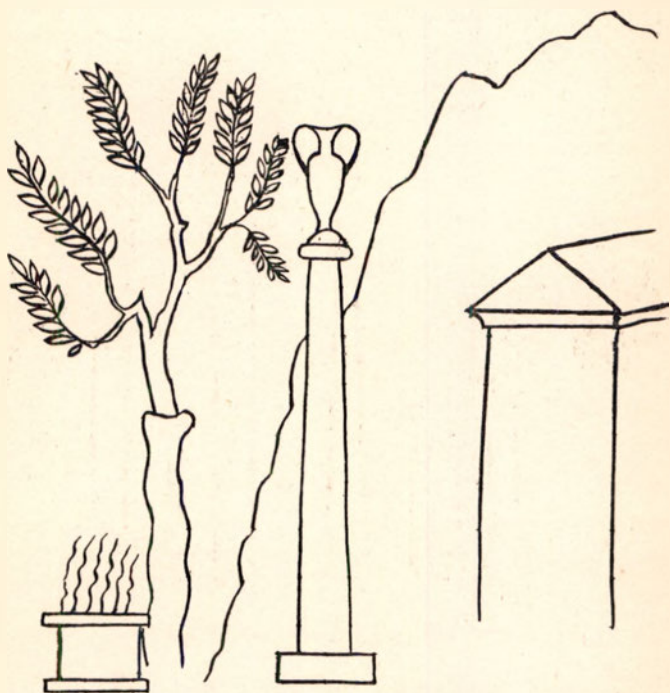


Fig. 42.—Offering Altar under Tree with Pillar.

the Porta Maggiore (fig. 43), which was evidently a centre of the cult (see *Ancient Egypt*, 1928, 40). In modern times, villages in Palestine often have a sacred tree near by, in which

a guardian spirit is supposed to dwell, and on which offerings of rag are tied.

31. The subject of the expiatory destruction of Achan and all his possessions, as described in Jos. vii., though unique among Hebrews,

is now found to have been customary in Canaan a thousand years earlier. In the lower cemetery of Gaza we have found three such deposits, where all the stonework and pottery was smashed on the spot, the gold and silver work torn to scraps and then melted in the fire, which consumed both animals and a

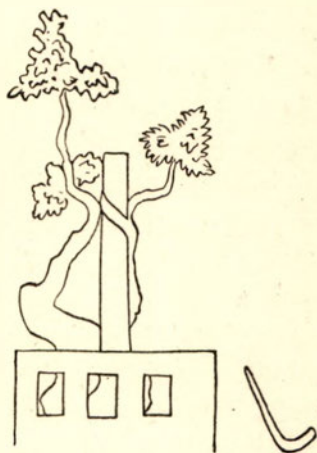


Fig. 43.—Sacred Tree and Pillar in Shrine.

great amount of clothing. It seems plain that all this property was *tabu*, and could not be appropriated by any person, but had to be destroyed in order to purify the community.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE EXODUS

32. THERE have been so many views of the Exodus period that a summary of the limiting facts is desirable. There are two current views of the historical position, subject to minor variations: (1) an early date in the reign of Amenhotep II, about 1440, and (2) a late date after Rameses II, about 1220 B.C. The support of the early view is the 480 years stated from the Exodus to the building of the temple (1 Kings vi. 1); this is usually supposed to have been deduced from twelve generations of forty years, but the regular period for generations in Jewish history is twenty-two years, and this would yield 264 years for the interval. Another matter brought into the question has been the supposed connection of Abram with Khammurabi under the name of Amraphel (Gen. xiv.), but this is now generally abandoned. The list of Judges, if taken continuously, amounts to 534 years, but no judge ruled over more than a third of the land. Recently Professor Garstang observed a burnt

layer in the ruins of Jericho without any foreign pottery dateable as late as 1400 B.C.; there is, however, another later burnt layer after 1300 B.C. So the two burnings might be due to the revolt of Syria about 1370, and the Israelite attack in 1187 B.C. There is, then, no matter which decisively demands the earlier date of 1440 B.C.

33. The main support of the later date is (a) the entire absence of any allusion in Joshua or Judges to the conquest of Palestine in 1317 B.C. by Sety I: he went up to Hebron, as he captured Bethshur, four miles north of Hebron, and marched on to Bethshean and Pahil or Pella, eighteen miles south of the Sea of Galilee, so passing through the whole of the most distinctively Israelite land. Again (b), the store cities of Pithom and Raamses (Ex. i. 11) imply that the Israelites built the city at Retabeh in the Wady Tumilat, which is there stated to be one of the cities called after Rameses. (It cannot be Pithom, as that was a Roman town later.) Again (c), in 1224 B.C. Israel is named on the great stele of Merneptah as a people, but not a "foreign place" like others there listed. Again (d), there is the obvious strength of the continuous Egyptian hold on Palestine down to the

revolt in 1375, and no hint of trouble in Syria till after the accession of Akhenaten in the Amarna letters. Joshua did not find any such Egyptian hold during his conquest. The connections with Egyptian history therefore seem entirely to negative the presence of Israel in Palestine till after the Syrian war in the eighth year of Rameses III, 1188 B.C.

34. There are other limitations beside the Egyptian history. (*e*) The frequent references to iron being used in the time of Joshua, especially the 900 iron chariots at Hazor, are impossible before 1400 B.C., when iron never appears; not till 1350 was iron in use even for special purposes, and it was not common till 1200 B.C., or rather later. This is compatible with the entry into Palestine at 1180 B.C.

Again (*f*), there are references to the "land of the Philistines," and the "sea of the Philistines," and "all the borders of the Philistines," at the Exodus. But the Philistines were not present in force under Rameses II (1290), and are only shown on monuments of Rameses III (1190 B.C.). If the entry was before 1400, all of these geographical definitions are anachronisms. This limitation of the Philistines does not apply to the scanty trading centres of earlier days, as far back as the time

of Abram in 1800 B.C. Lastly (*g*), a chief city now being excavated shows no occupation between the VIth and the XXth dynasties; and Bethel shows continuous native occupation until the break after 1200 B.C. due to Israelite conquest. Albright concludes from these that "no earlier date is possible."

Two Biblical periods also should be named. There is the statement (*h*) in Gen. xv. 13 of oppression during four centuries. This oppression evidently began with the expulsion of the Hyksos, and Egyptian domination over Asiatics, at 1583 B.C., so it would end at 1183, and could not possibly apply to an exodus in 1440. Further (*i*), there is the period of 430 years of sojourn in Egypt (Ex. xii. 40), and this number not being a multiple of forty years is generally agreed to have a full value. Thus the date of the entry into Egypt would be at 1656 B.C., or about seventy years before the expulsion of the Hyksos. According to the table of family history, described above, this will place the entry of Abram into Canaan at 1805 B.C. This falls in the confused period shortly before the Kassite dynasty, when migrations were stirring in Mesopotamia.

The date of the Exodus is closely limited by the defeat of the people of Israel, in the

abortive attack on the south of Palestine before the date of the Merneptah stele of the fifth year, 1225 B.C., say in 1226. This would bring the entry into Palestine to 1186, and it could not be till after the last war of the Egyptians there by Rameses III, 1186 B.C. Thus the question fines down to merely the position of the events in the single years named. There is no free play of uncertainty left.



## CHAPTER VIII

### THE COURSE OF HISTORY

35. HAVING now reviewed some basic questions, we may turn to incorporate them as a narrative, following out the course of Abraham's family. In this we are not to assume any dogmatic attitude, either for the personal historical view or the tribal mythical view of the documents. We should simply credit each statement unless we find impossibilities; when such appear (as in the ages of the patriarchs) we should seek for possible sources of corruption or misunderstanding, before resorting to the easy assumption of editorial mistakes in compiling the present narrative, or the introduction of incompatible traditions or misplacements. That a large rewriting of the material which the editors used has taken place is seen in the impossible total ages, due to dead reckoning from some central point in each life, which had suffered a numerical misreading. That at least skeleton outlines of the history were recorded and faithfully

followed, we see as the basis of the long family recital in twenty chapters of Genesis. There all the scattered details of age are consistent in a way which no haphazard writing could produce. Such records were likely at the time, in accord with the strongly historical view of Egyptians and Babylonians; and that some Israelites were accustomed to record is seen by their being directed by officers (*shatar*, lit. scribes) of their own, under the Egyptian *sarmas*, "captains of tribute." Anyone in charge of the account of a labour corps under Egyptians must have been able to produce daily registers of work done and men employed. That the Israelites did take up Egyptian education is seen from the name of a sculptor, Yehu-naam ("Yehu speaks"), on a large tablet (*Sedment 27, lxxiii.*). We have no reason to doubt their capacity for records during the sojourn in Egypt.

36. Regarding the source of the Abram family, it is stated to have been Ur of the Chaldeans—*i.e.*, Mugheyr (recently explored by Dr. Woolley); nevertheless the love of emendation has led to its being identified with a Persian fort of the fourth century A.D. between Hatra and Nisibis, about 120 miles east of Haran. There seems no reason to

reject the plain statement of Ur being distinguished as being in Chaldea. Laban was afterwards in Haran (Gen. xxvii. 43), but there is nothing to show that he did not follow in Abram's migration. The expression of "coming forth from Ur so that they reached Haran" seems a laboured description for a pastoral people if it only meant shifting a hundred miles. The passage as it stands agrees with the fact of general disruption preceding the Kassite invasion and conquest of Babylonia.

37. There does not appear to be anything incongruous in the narrative of sojourn in Palestine and Egypt. The raid from the east (Gen. xiv.) will also fall in a likely period along with the Kassite movements. The absence of Moabites and Ammonites east of Jordan, where only savage tribes then dwelt, accords with the spread of Abram's descendants later. The extreme ages of Abram and Sarai seem due to misreading of a numeral about his age at his covenant (Gen. xvii. 1), from which other ages were reckoned.

Regarding the account of the destruction of Sodom, it is an error to say that the Dead Sea was then formed. There is no mention of that, but only of fire from heaven—lightning

—causing a suffocating conflagration of the asphalt, and perhaps naphtha associated, which produced great clouds of smoke (Gen. xix. 28).

The presence of Hittites at Hebron (Gen. xxiii. 10) is likely, as the Hittite king was overlord of the Hyksos king of Palestine (fig. 37), and Hittite silver rings were found south of Hebron (fig. 38).

The appearance of a Philistine chief, son of a king, as ruling at Gerar (Gen. xxvi. 8) is long before the mass immigration of the Philistines into Palestine. It may probably be due to Philistine corn-factors collecting grain for export to Crete (a rocky country not self-supporting), like the export from Egypt to Greece in classical times. The resentment at great flocks being brought to Gerar accords with the need of corn for export.

It is hard to see any inconsistency or vague tradition in the simple and natural course of the lives of Abram, Isaac, and Jacob, stated in the terms which were natural at that time and under those conditions. The Egyptian chapters (Gen. xlii.-xlvii.) are completely in accord with what we know of Egyptian life and ceremony. The linguistic detail has been ably treated by Dr. Yahuda.

38. When we come to the Book of Exodus the whole air of narrative is different. The original documents are near at hand, and less depends on traditional details. The record of the Egyptian sojourn of Israel has perished, but that is not sufficient reason to question the length of time stated. There was precise history recorded in Egypt, and links which are now lost doubtless gave by Egyptian reckoning the duration of the stay there. Similarly, my own family tradition in the present day only extends to persons over a couple of centuries, but it links on to records over four times that length.

The Israelites, a semi-desert people, were conscripted for *corvée* in public works, to their disgust, in the hope of wearing them down while making them fortify the frontier. The store city of Pithom, Per-atmu, is certainly Tell el Maskhuta, where the temple of Atmu has been found; and at the other city, Raamses (Retabeh), a figure of Rameses is shown slaying a Semite before Atmu, lord of Thuku (Succoth), and a tablet states that the king's name is given to the city.

From the scenes of foreigners at work in Egypt we can quite see how the Egyptians "made the children of Israel to serve with

rigour: and they made their lives bitter with hard bondage, in mortar, and in brick," all hateful to a desert man. The scale of such works is seen in the great wall at Tanis, which contained twenty million bricks, each double the dimensions of a modern brick. The statement of the straw needed for making bricks does not refer to straw mixed with the bricks, for that would increase the labour, but to straw-dust as now employed to cover the lump of clay and prevent it sticking to the mould and to the hands.

A fundamental difficulty about the Exodus has been in the numbers assigned to the Israelites; but this, as we have noticed, is due to a misunderstanding of the ancient tally list.

The long succession of plagues is in the order of natural events in the year, from June low Nile to the fall of the Nile in April.

39. The course of the Exodus under Mernep-tah began by the Israelites assembling at Succoth, in the east end of the Wady Tumulât. Succoth, Thuku of the Egyptians, means "booths." Thence they went to the edge of the wilderness, where they turned south to Pi-ha-hiroth, the Egyptian Paqeheret, where was a shrine of Osiris, the Serapeum of later times, nine miles south of Ismailiya. The

Egyptians looked on them as trapped, "the wilderness hath shut them in," because they had not crossed the Wady Tumulāt before going south. They were now between Migdal, an Egyptian fortress, and the sea, for the Gulf of Suez came up to nine miles east of Tell el Maskhuta. Here the crossing took place, with a strong south-east wind blowing the water off the shallows. From here (see Plan 2) the next stage named is Marah, the bitter water, which is the Wady Amara now; this was the "three days' journey in the wilderness" by forced marches to flee from the Egyptians, at nearly twenty miles a day. Thirteen miles beyond that they reached the streams and palms of Elim (Wady Gharandel), a delightful refreshment to the desert traveller. Beyond that the next stage is to the sea, as the hills come close down to the coast. The description exactly fits this region, and cannot fit any of the other routes that have been proposed. Rephidim, the place of "spreading out," or refreshing, was doubtless the Wady Feiran, the fine oasis of the peninsula, stoutly defended by the Amalekites; from that name of Paran the wilderness east and north of it was called the wilderness of Paran.

The further course of the wanderings recited

in Num. xxxiii. cannot be exactly traced, as very few places have known names in this region. Before the long wanderings, the spies with Joshua were sent up to examine the land, and saw the fortresses "great and walled up to heaven" (fig. 35). The result was terrifying, and direct entry was deferred. Some part of the people presumed to try, but were completely defeated by Canaanites and Amalekites at Hormah (Num. xiv. 45). This name, which means "devoted" or "accursed," was a natural name for a place of defeat. It is used of other places destroyed by the Israelites. Hence it should be regarded more as a description than a proper name, and it is therefore misleading to unify all sites named Hormah. After the Hormah (1) of Num. xiv. 45, at the beginning of the wandering, there is another (2) at the end (Num. xxi. 3), where Arad was smitten by Israel; yet another (3) is named where an attack on the Amorites near Kadesh was repelled (Deut. i. 44). Hormah (2) was the place which was later a city of Judah (Jos. xii. 14, xv. 70, xix. 4; Jud. i. 17; 1 Sam. xxx. 30).

40. A defeat of the "people of Israel" is named on the great stele of Merneptah which was found in my excavation at Thebes. This



seems to refer to the defeat at Hormah (I), after the spies had returned. The Canaanite subjects of Merneptah repelled the attack in the second year after the Exodus, or fourth year of Merneptah, and this was therefore prominently in view when this monument was inscribed a year later. The much discussed phrase that "their crops are not," or "they have no seed," can now be seen to have been literally the case; in place of their occupying the agricultural land, they were driven back on to the desert to live on their flocks as nomads. There is no need of the various metaphorical interpretations that have been proposed.

The number who died by the plagues (24,000, Num. xxv. 9) would have been twenty-four families, on the principle of the other total numbers of tribes.

41. The general disposition of the conquest by Joshua has been so thoroughly worked over on the ground, and illustrated, by Professor Garstang in *Joshua and Judges*, that it would be needless to go over it here. The topographical detail is abundant, and testifies to the solidity of the narrative. There is, however, no proved connection with the history of the XVIIIth dynasty, nor is it useful to quote

the Khabiru, while yet protesting that they have no proved link with Israel.

42. The dark period of the Judges was apparently one of degradation, and loss of what civilisation had been brought from Egypt. The detailed writing in the Exodus history was not maintained, but only vague general accounts which may have floated down verbally in the century and a half which elapsed, much as at present I have a view of the Nelson period from an eye-witness who was then twenty. The falling-off is naturally due to the loss of zest of conquest, and the isolation in scattered holdings, out of touch with what others knew. A large community can have diversity of ability in it, while a wide-spread peasantry is limited to what one man knows apart. In Egypt no doubt the Israelites had some bronze tools, and perhaps iron, but later when they went into Moab they were glad to pick up the old Neolithic art from the people there, and brought flint working with them into Palestine. A regular late Neolithic hoe and piles of flint chips were found over the ruins of the XIXth dynasty residence at Bethpelet. During the period of the Judges, agricultural implements had to be taken to the Philistines to be sharpened (1 Sam. xiii. 20), and

neither sword nor spear was in use (xiii. 22). This decay of arts is reflected in the patchwork details of the Book of Judges.

One potent cause of decay near the end of the Judges period was an outbreak of bubonic plague. How terribly that may affect a simple civilisation we know from the break in English society and economics at the Black Death. The plague broke out on the coast at Ashdod with bubonic swellings ("emerods") and mice (or rats) acted as plague carriers (1 Sam. v. 1). On sending away the ark to Ekron, at the mouth of the vale of Sorek, the plague continued (v. 10). Sending it up the vale to Beth Shemesh (vi. 19), the plague still followed: it stopped only on reaching the high table-land at Kiriath-yearim (vii. 2), so it may not have affected the settlement on the heights.

That the events in the Book of Judges were partly contemporary is obvious, for the total of time named much exceeds any possible duration between the Exodus and the Monarchy, and no Judge is said to rule over more than one of the three sections, north in Galilee, east of Jordan, and south in Samaria and Judea. When we separate these sections they appear equal; the northern occupy 118 years, the eastern 122, western 121 years—as nearly

equal as the vague items of forty years allow. Objection has been made because Shamgar is omitted, but he was a passing hero and not a Judge; the same of Samson. Eli the priest (1 Sam. i. 9) was only a legal judge and not a ruler of affairs (see margin, 1 Sam. iv. 18).

There is another check on the period by the priestly genealogies, which are likely to have been correctly registered through the dark age. In 1 Chron. vi., these lists start with Aaron, Korah, Shimei and Mahli, all fourth in descent from Levi and contemporaries at the Exodus, and they come down to Zadok, Heman, Asaph, and Ethan, all heads of families in early years of David (1 Chron. xv. 17). These lines are of ten generations, or eleven to Asaph: they were eldest son generations, which are of twenty-one years in the kings of Judah, and therefore covered about 210 or 231 years, from the Exodus to David. The date of David's reign being 1028 to 988 B.C., we may take the Exodus as occurring at 1220 or 1241 B.C. according to different lines of descent. This agrees as nearly with 1226 as the reckoning by generations may allow (see more fully in *Egypt and Israel*, 56).

The recorded numbers of the increase of the Israelites present no difficulty, especially

when we note how they accreted women of a conquered people, "to every man a damsel or two," and from thirty to seventy sons are credited to different judges; polygamy with other tribes was general. David had seventeen sons.

43. The frequent references to iron in the Exodus period have sometimes been regarded as later insertions; but with the later date for the Exodus they are quite in harmony. Iron was among the spoil from the Midianites (Num. xxxi. 22); the bedstead of Og of Bashan was of iron; Israel is promised a land whose stones are iron; iron was among the metals at Jericho (Jos. vi. 19); the Canaanites had chariots of iron, nine hundred at Hazor. All of this is incompatible with 1400 B.C. for the entry into Canaan, but is quite in order by 1180 B.C. The earliest iron—or rather steel—that has been found in Palestine is the broken steel dagger with cast bronze handle (*Bethpelet*, grave 542; xxi. 90; xxv.); this was with a group of burials dating about 1320 B.C., but it belonged to the earliest, as it was on the low level, and pushed far back to make room for the other bodies, so about 1350 B.C. would be the probable date. The earliest iron dagger in Egypt is that of Tut-ankh-amen, also about

1350. After 1290, Rameses II was asking for an iron dagger from the north, as a valuable royal present. Evidently it was then as costly as aluminium was in A.D. 1850.

The abundant use of iron was well established a century later, by 1200 B.C.; for the iron furnaces of Gerar begin about 1190 with one 11 by 6 feet, evidently for large-scale production (*Gerar*, 24, vi.). About the same date were large iron tools, found by the side of the furnace at a slightly lower level—a heavy pick of 6 or 7 lbs., 14 inches long, and large square hoes 13 inches long and 5 inches wide. Iron therefore was as common by 1200 B.C. as it is today. This fully accords with the references quoted above.

## CHAPTER IX

### THE MONARCHY

44. ON reaching the age of the Monarchy we welcome the brilliant biography of David, probably written by Nathan. This is the oldest known work of psychological insight in history. It overflows with indications of the motives of action in each person, and there is nothing so full of individual character in classical writing. It is like a biography of the modern school, and was written with far greater detail than was given in subsequent times. Such an account is obviously by an eye-witness.

The history of this period reacts upon a vague point in Egyptian history. The succession cannot well be lengthened to any serious amount, and it stands thus:

<i>Years.</i>		<i>B.C.</i>
	Entry into Palestine	1186
25	Joshua's settlement to	1161
120	Period of Judges to	1041
13?	Reign of Saul to	1028
40	Reign of David to	988
		950 Shishak begins.

<i>Years.</i>		<i>B.C.</i>
40	Reign of Solomon to	948
5	Rehoboam to invasion	943 Shishak in Judea.
12	Rehoboam afterwards to	931
3	Abijah to	928
		919 Zerakh begins.
11	Asa to invasion	917 Zerakh in Judea.

Shishak was reigning at least two years before the death of Solomon (1 Kings xi. 40). Zerakh, commanding southern troops, cannot be otherwise than Usarken I., and he did not begin to reign till 919, so his invasion of Judea must have been at the beginning of his reign.

The vague point in the records of Egypt is that we do not know how long Pasebkhanu reigned after his twelfth year, nor when Shishak began to reign. It appears, above, that we must accept Pasebkanu as reigning twenty-six years and Shishak thirty-one years. The only fixed point in the Jewish Monarchy is the fall of Samaria in 722 B.C.

45. The history of David has been illustrated by the identification of Bethpelet as the home of the Peletite guard. The great strength of the fortification and its position on the southern frontier show the strategic value of such a guard. Moreover, the chief of the Peletite guard was Benaiah, son of Jehoiada (2 Sam. viii. 18), who was the great man of



Kabzeel (2 Sam. xxiii. 20), which place headed the cities of the south (Jos. xv. 21). David, living at Ziklag, established his guard some twenty-five miles north-west on the frontier of the Wady Ghazzeah, to protect himself from Saul. Benaiah, the great man of the district, headed the guard and became indispensable as a valiant and trusty helper in the time of small things; he was quite independent of the party of Saul, and of all the intrigues of the north. David took his Peletite pretorians with him when he was accepted by "all Israel" (2 Sam. v. 1), and Benaiah was set over David's guard (2 Sam. xxiii. 23). In the insurrection of Absalom these guards were faithful to the king (2 Sam. xx. 18). Now the south border was strongly devoted to El and not to Yahveh; in short, they were Arabs rather than Israelites. (See the names Kabze-El, El-tulad, and Bizyoth-yah.) Hence there was continual friction during David's reign between this old Arab guard and the Israelite host. "The sons of Zeruah are too hard for me," as David said (2 Sam. iii. 39). The revolt of Absalom, half Geshurite, was crushed by Joab.

The Jewish anti-Arab feeling, always headed by Joab, the captain of the Hebrew host, was bitter against Solomon, as a Hittite connection.

On David's reaching old age, when the question of a successor was urgent, Adonijah, the son of Haggith, a Hebronite, was set up, and supported by Joab and the army as being a true heir of Jewish blood (1 Kings i. 7). But Benaiah and the mighty men of David's guard would not join in the intrigue. It was, in short, the struggle of the army against the guard, and carried out by David's own kindred. Yet the priest Zadok and prophet Nathan were against the pretender, and urged David, through Bathsheba, to proclaim Solomon. This was done, with the support of Benaiah and the guard. These pretorians on the spot, in command of the capital, could defy Joab and the army, and with the authority of David proclaimed Solomon before his father's death.

This proved popular (1 Kings i. 40), and the party of Adonijah melted away. The guard won the day. When Solomon acceded, no wonder that the great day of the triumph of the guard arrived and Benaiah was ordered to go and slay Joab, even in sanctuary at the horns of the altar (1 Kings ii. 34). Benaiah the Kabzeelite from the Negeb won, after his forty years of fidelity as captain of the old guard, and the jealousy and continual interference

of Joab were avenged. But this doubtless laid deeper foundation for the antipathy of Israel, when the Arab guard was chosen as the protector. It burst out finally on the death of Solomon, as it had long before under David, with the cry, "We have no part in David. Every man to his tents, O Israel!" The whole history of David's reign, and the revolt of Israel, was the bitter fruit of David's exile in the south. But for that, the country might have held together. This insight on the moving forces in that age has been reached by finding the position and importance of the home of the Peletites, at Bethpelet (Tell el Fara).

A considerable cause of David's troubles was the size and variousness of his harem. In the seven years in Hebron he had five wives, beside Michal who was taken from him. They came from Carmel above Engedi, Jezreel, Geshur north of Bashan (2 Sam. xv. 8), and two were probably Hebronites. Absalom naturally ranked high as grandson of the king of Geshur. After that, in Jerusalem there were four sons of Bathsheba, and nine other sons, "beside the sons of the concubines" (1 Chron. iii. 1-9). The usual Oriental troubles of polygamy naturally followed.

46. The general expansion over his neighbours was remarkable. He had seen the utter national defeat on Gilboa; yet he conquered Edom, Moab and Ammon up to Geshur on the east, humbled Damascus and Hamath, and recovered his border at the Euphrates, beside subduing the Philistines on the west. The curious statement about "measuring with a line" in the war on Moab (2 Sam. viii. 2) refers to a "cord," especially a measuring line for land; this suggests that owners of large lands were killed, and only peasant cultivators left. The northern limit of David's conquests was the garrisoning of Hamath and Damascus (2 Sam. viii. 4) when "he went to recover his border at the river Euphrates" (2 Sam. viii. 3; see Gen. xx. 18) and smote the son of the king of Zobah. This border is more explicitly stated to have been at Tiphseh (1 Kings iv. 24) or Thapsacus opposite to Hamah. Holding a check there on the Euphrates and at Ezion Geber on the Red Sea, it was possible for Solomon to tap both the trade routes to the East; his wealth flowed from that monopoly, as well as from trading horses and linen with Egypt.

From the Davidic organization for public services—the civil service—a seal (fig. 49)

of "Shimeah son of Mikloth" of the second course (1 Chron. viii. 32, xxvii. 4) was found at the level of the XXII<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty at Gerar (*Gerar*, xliii. 1). The signs are properly

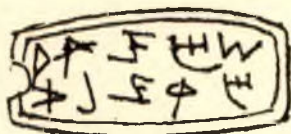


Fig. 49.—Seal of "Shemya, Son of Meqyla."

reversed on the seal, but their order, or direction of writing, is not reversed, hence our delay in reading it properly. It is the oldest Hebrew inscription known, about 950 B.C.

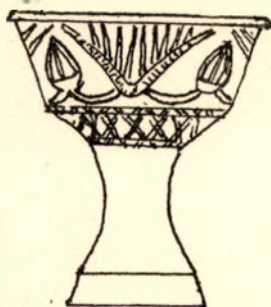


Fig. 50.—Brazier with Lotus: Period of Solomon.

47. The reign of Solomon is marked by the obvious wealth of the country. The finest necklaces of polished sard and carnelian are

from the cemetery of his age at Bethpelet (p. 10, xxxvi.-xxxvii.); those earlier with Ramesside scarabs (902,552) are only scrap lots. No Egyptian or Babylonian ornaments of the populace were then as fine as the Solomonic necklaces. In the making of stone beads there is a blank after the Israelite conquest of Palestine, until about the beginning of Solomon's reign (see *Gerar*, xxii, also v.). Pottery braziers (fig. 50) began to be painted with patterns and flower groups (*Gerar*, xxxviii.-xl.). This greater luxury, even in remote places, all agrees with the accounts of wealth. Of this little can be found owing to the country being so completely stripped by Shishak (1 Kings xiv. 26) for Benhadad (2 Chron. xvi. 2), by Jehoash (2 Kings xiv. 14) under Hezekiah (2 Kings xviii. 14-16), by Nebuchadrezzar (2 Kings xxiv. 13), and finally in 588 B.C. (2 Kings xxv. 9-17).

The marriage of Solomon to "Pharaoh's daughter" leaves the descent unfixed. At 978, which seems to have been the date of marriage, Pinezem II was still reigning, but Pasebkhanu succeeded him in 976, so when the history was written it would be his daughter who became queen. There is unhappily a vagueness in the dating at this period on both

the Jewish and Egyptian sides, so that really nothing is fixed within a few years. In any case this connection produced a near relationship to Shishak. They were probably brothers-in-law.

So soon as Solomon was dead, the old dissensions revived, and the separation of Israel from Judah so weakened the kingdom that it seems to have been no effective bar to the looting conquest by Shishak (Sheshenq). The name of this conqueror is obviously foreign to Egypt, and is exactly Sheshenqu, "He of Susa," a great god with the Persians. In accord with this source, I found at the floor level of Sheshenq, at Gerar, pottery chariot models, box-shaped, with a figure seated inside. At the same level were pottery wheels for such models, some smooth, others knobbed round to move over sand more readily. Similar models are found in Assyria, at Anau in Turkestan, and in the Treasure of the Oxus. There can be no doubt of the invasion from the Caspian region, and this was a repetition of the Caspian invasions of the VIIth and XVth dynasties, and similar model wheels are found of the VIIth dynasty at Old Gaza. These three invasions followed on two less-known earlier ones, and were in turn followed by that

of the Kurd Salah-ed-Din with his Turkoman troops.

48. Shishak has been much underrated. The senseless negation of Cheyne even led him to deny the existence of Shishak. Of course, no one who knew his great Theban triumph scene could question the reality of his invasion, but it was minimised, and the names of places were supposed to be copies of earlier monuments. Now we begin to see his strength in Palestine. He set up a great stele of triumph at Megiddo; he built immense walls of fine yellow brick, 22 feet thick, around Bethpelet; and, though the city walls of Gerar have perished by denudation, he built the finest walls known in the city with foundations two to six courses deep, laid in clean yellow sand, the best building of any age there. He had brought with him from Asia the traditions of massive and accurate building. He must have continued to hold south Palestine for some years, as a long time would be needed to make millions of large bricks out of clay brought from a distance. The invasion therefore was no mere raid, but a revival of Egyptian rule in Palestine. At this time Shishak probably held the Wady Ghazzeah as a bridge-head for continued intercourse.



His son Usarken (Zerakh) made an attempt to repeat the plundering; but he was defeated at the entry to the hill country near Beit Jibrin, and was chased some thirty miles down to Gerar on the road to Egypt (2 Chron. xiv. 9).

At Gerar most of the buildings of Shishak were already ruined when, a hundred and thirty years later, Amaziah smote Edom, and probably at this time, about 810 B.C., rebuilt Gerar (*Gerar*, x., xii.). There was no further Jewish building there.

In later history the name of "So, king of Egypt," appears in Jewish alliance (2 Kings xvii. 4). This is Shua in the Hebrew, equivalent to Shaba, and refers to The Shaba, or Shabaka, the Ethiopian king of Egypt. This name and that of his successor Taharka both appear in Hebrew history while they were in Egypt as viceroys. Such was the usual course for the heirs of the Ethiopian kings who could not manage Egypt from distant Napata. As rulers of Egypt, the viceroys were naturally called kings of Egypt by the Jews.

49. Several objects of daily life have been dated in the towns of Gerar and Bethpelet. A diary board with thirty peg-holes, divided into three rows of ten, a system borrowed from

Egypt, belongs to the Shishak period. Later in date, a tally on stone, of rows of fourteen strokes repeated, evidently shows the seven-day week at about 700 B.C. (figs. 51, 52).

Pottery figures of humped cattle, probably from the east, belong mainly to the Shishak period. The Hathor or Mother-goddess figures

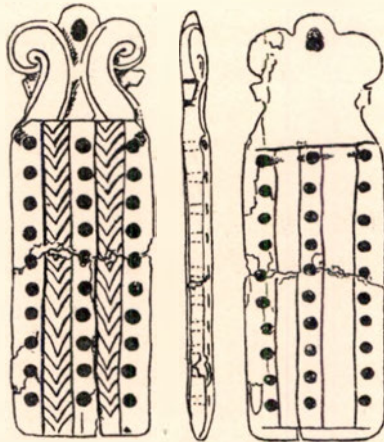


Fig. 51.—Tally Board for Thirty-day Month.

in pottery continue from 1400 to 600 B.C. (*Gerar*, xxv.-xxix.); while the gold plaques of the Great Mother were before 2000 B.C. (*Gaza*, iv.).

The bronze fibulae show a sequence of styles. One with angular bend begins in 1200 B.C. with deeply cut bands chased in the solid.

Next, by 900 B.C., a heavy fibula was cast with groups of three rope rings around it. From that point on to 500 B.C. this is usual in a degraded form. At about 500 B.C. a curved bow form becomes usual as the latest type. All through the series the type differs from the western and northern by having a stub-

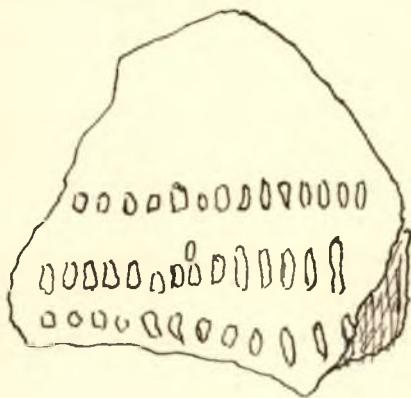


Fig. 52.—Tally of Seven-day Weeks.

end of the spring of the pin fitted into a hole at the end of the bow, the other end of the bow being shaped as a hand to catch the pin. In the latest bow fibulae there is no spring to the pin, which simply swivels sideways on a rivet (*Gerar*, xviii.).

A curious class of cubical altars of soft limestone, about 3 inches across, engraved with

figures of animals, trees, or geometrical designs, begins about 700 B.C. with triangles which degrade till about 550 B.C.; animal figures were cut about 600 B.C. Altars such as these, but with other designs, were found at Gezer. These altars—like the fibulae—seem unconnected with any source that we know, and it is a problem what new influences may account for them. All belong distinctively to the Jewish period, and cease later.

50. The break-up of Jewish dominion began with the fall of Samaria. From there 27,290 captives were deported by Sargon. In the first capture of Jerusalem it suffered the loss of 3,023 captives probably of the ruling classes (Jer. lii. 28), 1,000 craftsmen, and 7,000 "men of might," so 11,000 were removed in 598 B.C. In 588 the final wreck of the city took place, when even the brass-work was removed, and 832 more persons were taken. Lastly, in 584 B.C. there were 745 persons captive. The prisoners transported were over 12,000 from Judah, thus making about 40,000 removed from Palestine. These were probably the numbers of the men; how many women and children went with them cannot be estimated, but the total would be between 50,000 and 100,000. The total population in A.D. 1871

was about 540,000; now it is near the 1,300,000 of the time of David. When diminished by war and famine there may have been no more than 400,000, so the transported people would be about a fifth of the whole population, leaving the bulk of the peasantry behind.

This population was only partly of Israelite origin, because a large number of Canaanites, Amorites, and Philistines had been incorporated during the Monarchy. The Jewish element in later times was increased by about 50,000 returning under Nehemiah, which would give a Jewish preponderance over the aboriginal stocks for the people in Hellenistic times.

Such seems to have been the population which spread so largely in Egypt, beginning at Aswan, where there was a considerable colony in the fifth century B.C., and doubtless also in the nearer regions of Memphis and the Delta. By the time of the Ptolemies they dominated the eastern side of the Delta, so that after Antiochus Epiphanes had desecrated Jerusalem, a new Jerusalem was laid out by Oniah, copying the form of that which was lost. The whole eastern Delta was so strongly occupied that Caesar had to ask permission for his army to pass from Pelusium to Alexandria. At Alexandria the Jews had a large share in the

first settlement, and were, ever after, a leading part of the population.

The greatest blow fell at the destruction of Jerusalem under Titus. This war was intended to be a crushing defeat of the race, for at Bethpelet (which is on the road from Jerusalem to Egypt) Vespasian had strongly fortified the hill, and put up an enormous massive break-water along the stream to ensure the permanence of the fort. Such a strong post, not on the usual Roman road, shows a determination not to let the Jews slip out to Egypt, but to hold them until they were crushed.

Some fragments of Hebrew hymns on papyrus, that I found at Oxyrhynchos, date about 210 A.D. These are in the square character, and are the earliest such manuscripts known (fig. 53).

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51. It may be asked how it is that no reference has been made to the documentary theory of different origins of documents, depending on various divine names being used—the Elohist (E), the Yahvist (J), and the Priestly (P). The attribution of alternating paragraphs, or sections of verses, according to the use of different names, is often accepted

as a fundamental principle before we can use the narrative.

That there were different sources utilised may be true enough, but the reason that the principle of this partition by names has not been followed here is that it rests on a fallacy—the well-known reasoning that if every dog is an animal therefore every animal is a dog. So if a duplicate recital is shown to use a different divine name, it does not prove that every instance of a different name must come from a different source. To take a modern and practical example—in a Unitarian hymn book we shall not find a Trinitarian hymn, but that does not prove that the usual Anglican hymn books are to be analysed into different sources because they include hymns on the Unity as well as on the Trinity. A strange history of theology and of documentary sources would result from applying the theories about the Pentateuch to this living example; hymns would be sprinkled with U and T all down the margins in alternate verses or lines. You might prove that different origins led to different names being used, but that would never prove that no writer used various names within the same orthodox writings.

We have seen in the previous pages how

entirely consistent the historical details of years are throughout the history of Jacob's family, and how the separate items are kept in their consecutive order. What hypothesis of writing will account for this? Here are twenty-seven consistent and orderly entries. There must have been some unifying cause for such a phenomenon extending over twenty-one chapters of varied narrative, where scarcely any two of the details of number are superficially linked together. Is this connection due to following original trustworthy documents, or to a foreseeing scheme of tabulated narration?

How does the German analytic theory appear in this test? It labels the supposed sources of this consistent narrative as 6 of E, 5 of E+J, 9 of J, 6 of P, and 1 of the Redactor. Yet all of these supposed sources must have been based on a single concordant history. Theorists are welcome to as many sources as they like to label if, after all, the whole of them are derived from a single historical recital, and are supposed to have been successfully restored.

Moreover, the order of the narrative is part of the scheme, including the births of the heads of tribes, and can we suppose an editor picking



out details from all the sources and putting them into the right order? If he were handling—according to modern theory—the names of a quantity of diverse tribes of different places and connections, and furnishing each with an eponymous ancestor, how did he arrive at a birth history of precisely concordant though fabulous origin?

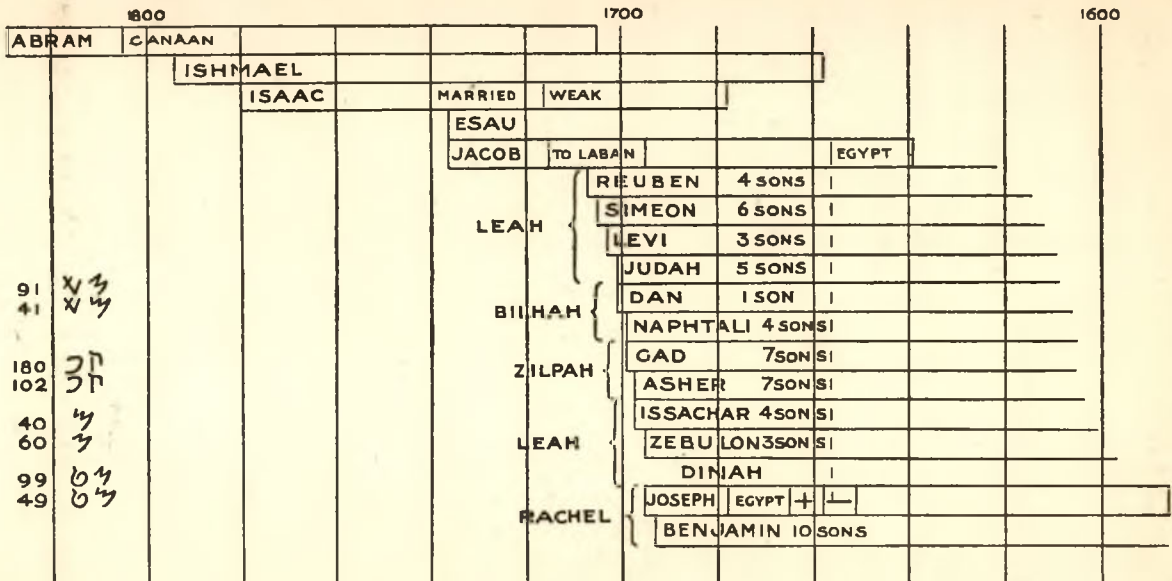
When we look at the supposed sources of the parts, they are as follows (see Kautsch, *Das Alte Testament*, 1922): the ancestry of eight patriarchs from J, four from E, the thirty years of Joseph from P, his seventeen years of youth from PE, and other details from all kinds of sources. Yet the whole of it forms a coherent unity in minute detail. Is it credible that such consistency would result from a patch-work picked out of a rag-bag of scattered legends? I can only say with Augustus in the *Apocolocyntosis*, "Gentlemen, words fail me; there are none can rise to the height of my indignation." I cannot believe in any such treatment of consistent historical documents.

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As a genealogical diagram may not be to some a familiar way of reading history, the results are here added in years B.C. The key point

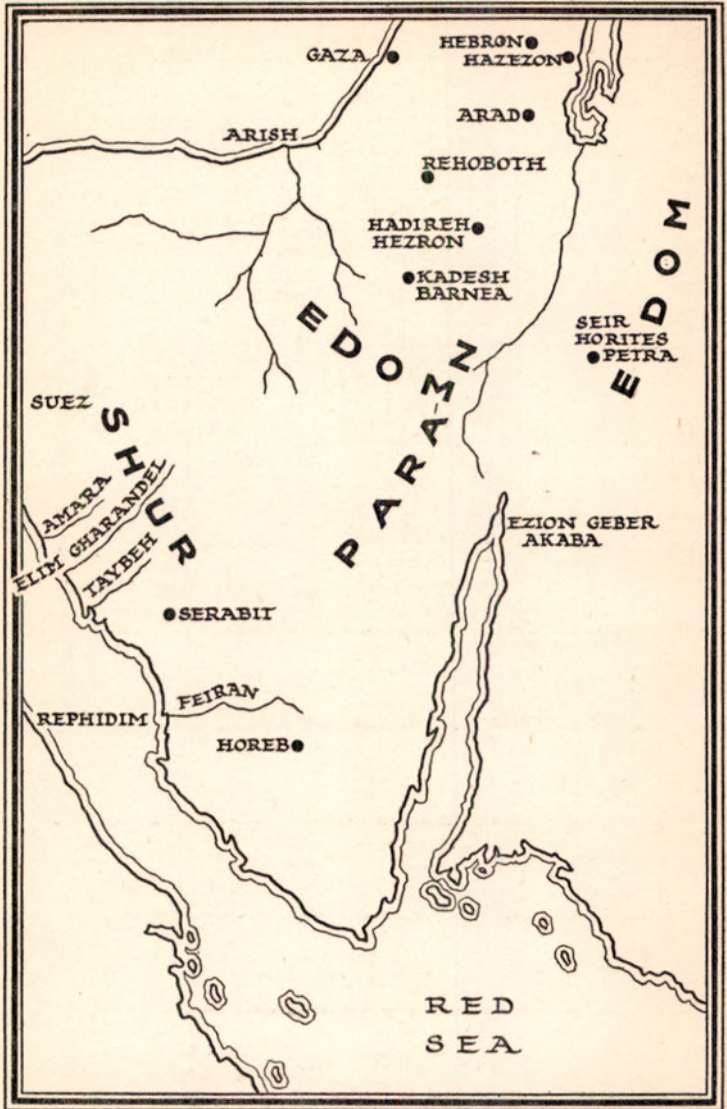
for the dating is the 430 years in Egypt, which from the date of 1227 for the Exodus places the entry into Egypt at 1656. That point is, by Joseph's history, fixed in the Jacob family record. The following dates result, with uncertainties for two or three years owing to parts of a year not being taken into account.

	B.C.		B.C.
Abram born ..	1830	Jacob left Laban ..	1695
Abram in Canaan..	1805	Benjamin born ..	1693
Ishmael born ..	1794	Joseph sold ..	1678
Isaac born ..	1780	Death of Isaac ..	1678
Ishmael married ..	1740	Joseph in power ..	1665
Jacob born ..	1736	Plenty in Egypt till	1658
Jacob goes to Laban	1715	Entry into Egypt..	1656
Jacob married ..	1708	Death of Jacob ..	1639
Reuben born ..	1707	Death of Joseph ..	1585
Simeon born ..	1705	Expulsion of Hyk-	
Levi born ..	1703	sos .. ..	1583
Judah born ..	1701	Oppression in Egypt.	
Dan born ..	1701	Exodus .. ..	1227
Naphtali born ..	1699	Defeat in South	
Gad born ..	1699	Palestine ..	1225
Asher born ..	1697	Stele of Merneptah	1225
Issachar born ..	1697	Entry into Canaan	1186
Zebulon born ..	1695	David's reign ..	{ 1028
Joseph born ..	1695		{ 988

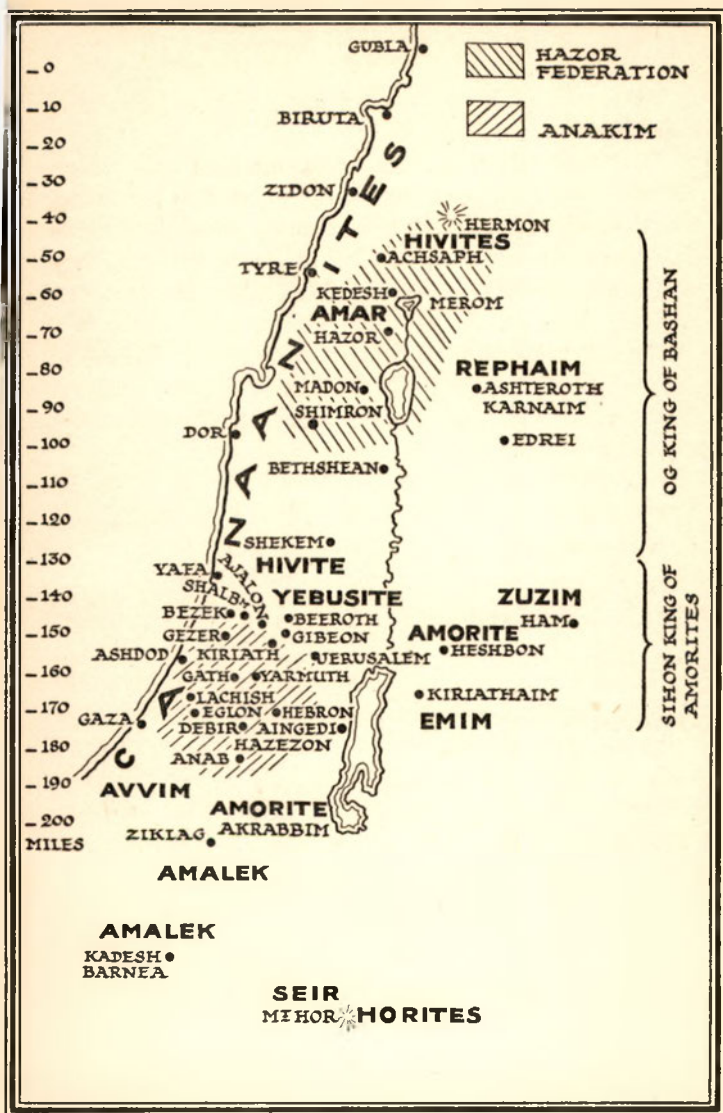


GENEALOGY OF JACOB

Plan 1.—The Genealogy of Jacob.



Plan 2.—The Geography of the Wanderings.



Plan 3.—The Peoples before Abram or Joshua.

While this is in the press I have observed two new links in early history.

The Canaanite migration from the Caucasus which founded the VIIth dynasty of Egypt at 3127 B.C. must have produced a heavy disruption of the Amorite rule in pushing through North Syria about 3150 B.C. This displaced Amorites down the Euphrates, to form the dynasty of Akkad, dated about 3100 B.C.

Similarly, the Hyksos migration which founded the XVth dynasty at 2375 B.C. must have driven Amorites from Syria about 2400 B.C., to form the dynasty of Ur, dated about 2400 B.C.

Thus the movements of peoples in the North and in Egypt are now joined on to the history of the Semitic dynasties of Iraq.

---

The new results given in this volume were mostly obtained by digging in Palestine for the British School of Egyptian Archæology. We are now trekking through Syria to search for the Amorites. Please aid the continuance of our work by sending a donation, large or small, to—

LADY PETRIE,  
BIBLICAL RESEARCH ACCOUNT,  
BEAUMONT HOUSE,  
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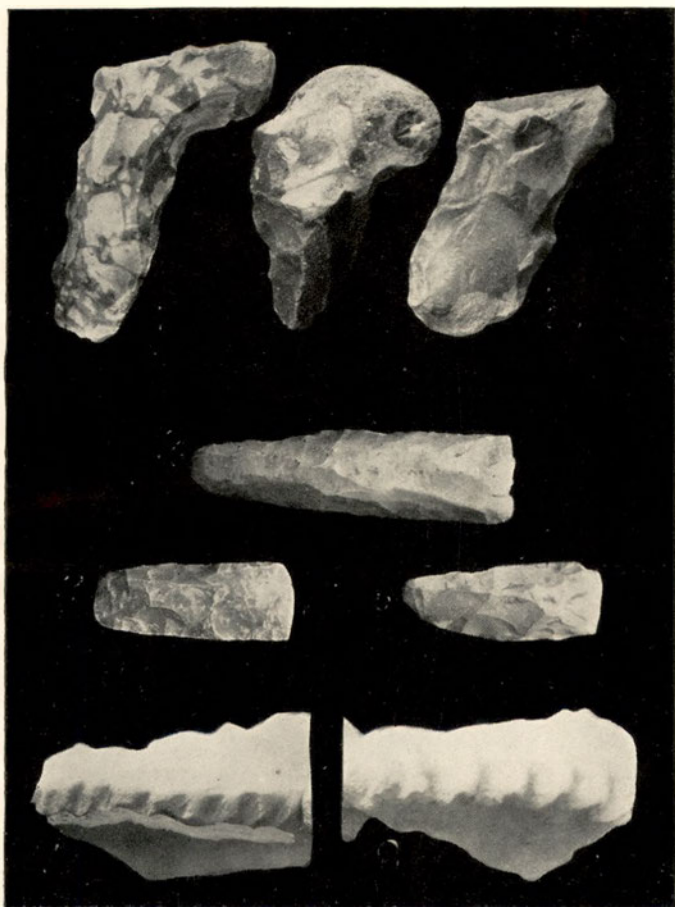
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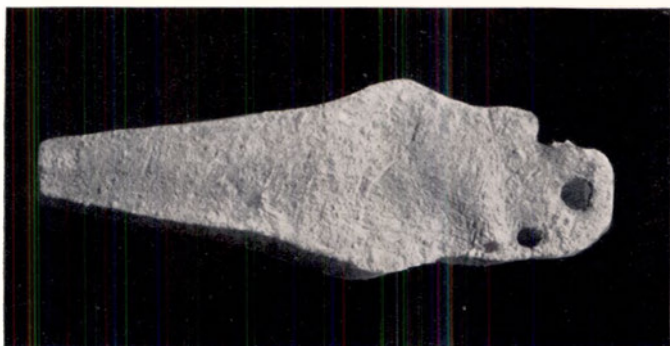


1-3.—SKEW HANDLED PALAEOoliths.

4-6.—HOES OF FLINT, NEOLITHIC.

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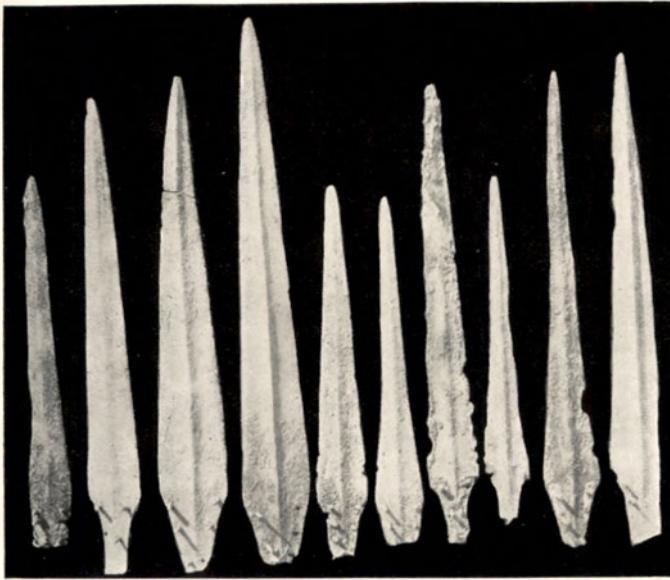
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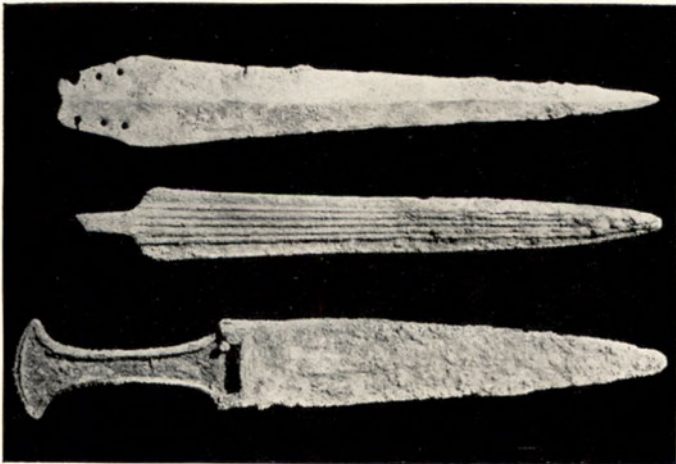
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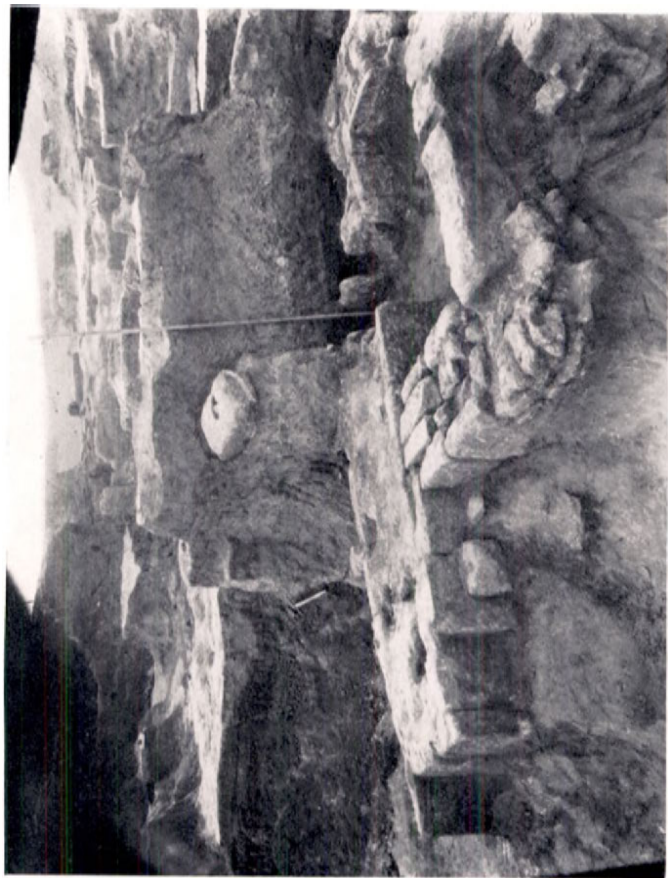
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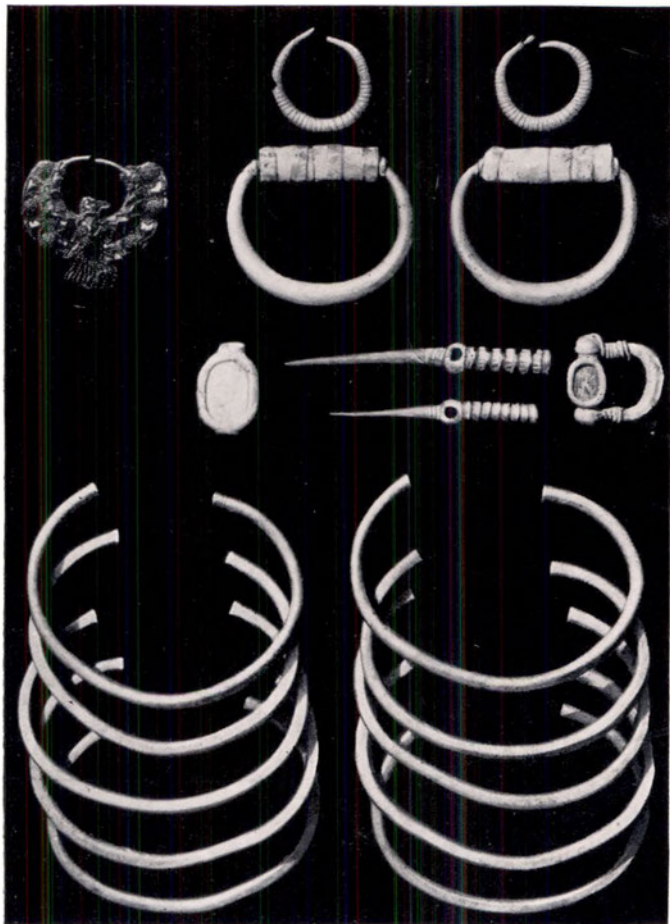


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26.—HYKSOS BURIAL IN LOCULUS.

PLATE X



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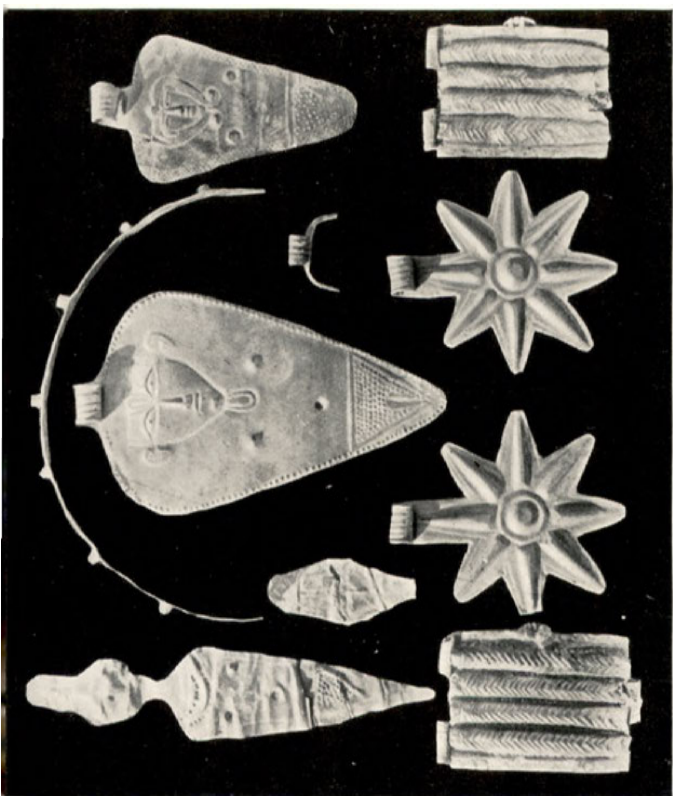
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 33.—TWO SECTIONS OF A BELT. 34.—GOLD CRESCENT.

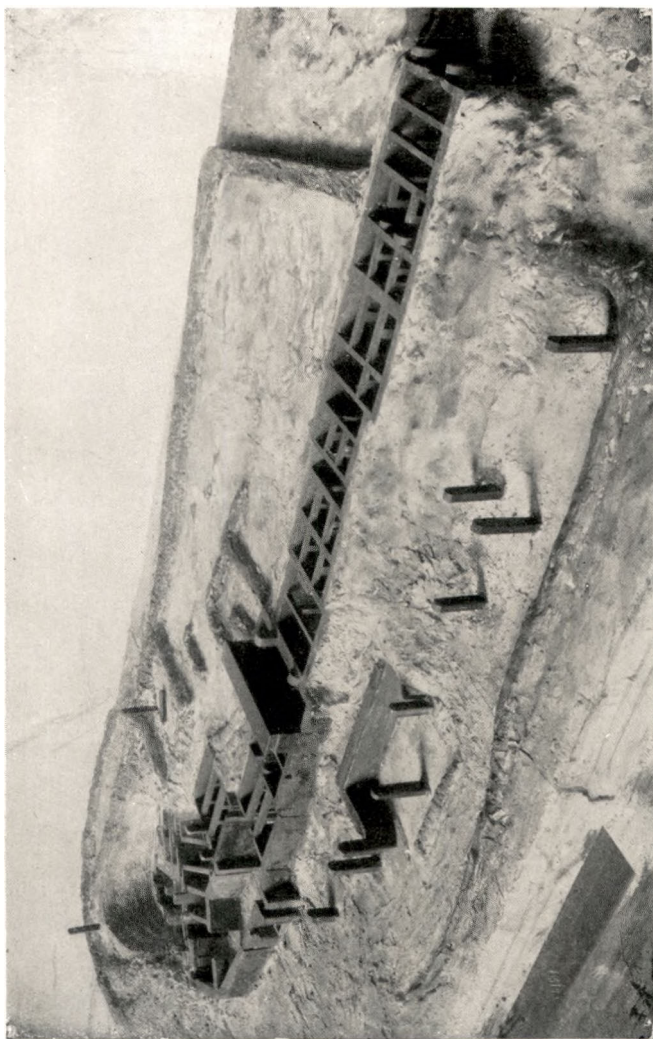
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40.—HATHOR HEAD PILLARS AROUND ABLUTION BASIN,  
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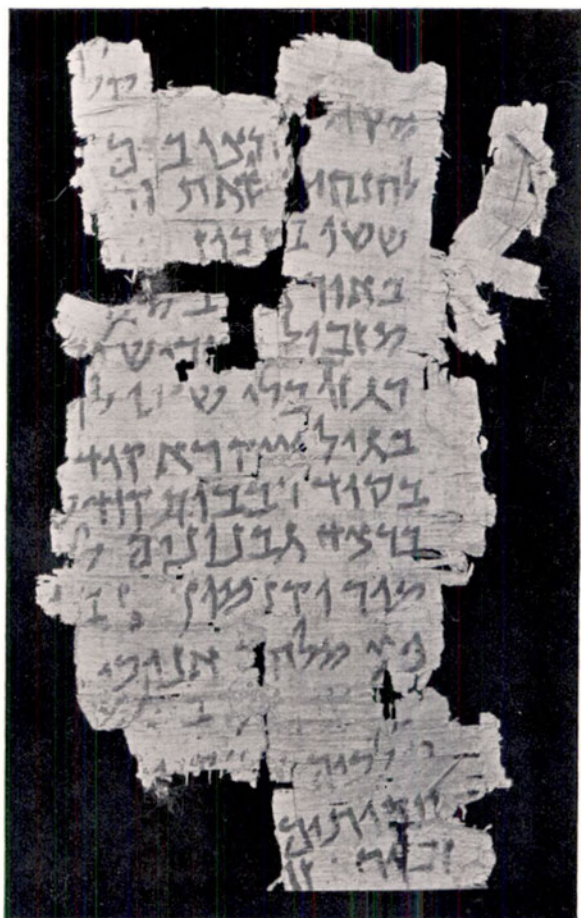
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