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ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS AT 'AFFŪLA

E.L. SUKENIK

(JERUSALEM)

INTRODUCTION

'Affūla is situated in the centre of the Plain of Esdraelon, between Megiddo and Beth-Shan. To-day the place forms a centre of the new Jewish settlements of the Plain. My connection with the antiquities of this place goes back as far as the autumn of 1926. The new agricultural settlements of this region started to use the earth of the tell of 'Affūla, rich in organic matter, as manure for their fields. This activity brought to light the remains of an ancient building on the southern part of the tell, close to the Jerusalem-Nazareth road (see K on sketch-map, Fig. 1). The Department of Antiquities at once stopped any further digging for manure on the tell; the Executive Committee of the Zionist Organization, wishing to help the settlers, granted the Archaeological Department of the Hebrew University a certain sum in order to investigate the building and establish its character and limits. The sum granted to us for the purpose was very small and the Department of Antiquities gave its consent that the settlers should go on with their digging for manure under my supervision, and thus help us to clear the surroundings of the building. Although it was no easy matter to reconcile the interests of both parties, we finally succeeded in clearing the general outlines of the building and with the help of some two or three workmen I could establish the purpose of the building. The whole "excavation" lasted about three weeks.

The continuation of my interest in the antiquities of the site fell in the year 1931. At that time we were engaged in clearing some ancient Jewish tombs at Sepphoris; we were living at 'Affūla and drove daily to Sepphoris to supervise the excavations there. The community of 'Affūla was just erecting a tower for their water supply, NW of the tell. While digging the foundations for the

columns intended to carry the water-tank, a quantity of potsherds were found at a small depth below the surface of the ground.

When we learned of the discovery, we collected a number of the sherds and brought them to Jerusalem. They proved to belong to different periods; of particular interest for us were the sherds which we now call "gray-burnished ware" and for which G.E. Wright has coined the name "Esdraelon culture".¹ At that time this kind of pottery was not yet known and its period was not established. I refrained from publishing the material till some further research should reveal the character of the ware in question.²

Meanwhile the excavators of Megiddo and Beth-Shan published the results of their excavations in the earliest strata of the respective sites. They were able to assign to the gray-burnished ware its proper place in the sequence of Palestinian pottery. Since the gray-burnished sherds from 'Affūla contained a number of types not yet known from Megiddo and Beth-Shan, I thought it useful to publish the gray-burnished sherds of 'Affūla.³ I assigned this ware to the "Late Chalcolithic" period in order to distinguish it from the Teleilat Ghassul pottery, which belongs to the Early Chalcolithic period.

During the following years the population of 'Affūla increased and the inhabitants applied to the Government for permission to include the tell for building purposes within their town-plan. This seemed important because the tell is situated near the main north-south communication artery of Palestine and close to the railway station. After some negotiations, Mr. E.T. Richmond, then Director of the Department of Antiquities, complied with the request of the Local Council of 'Affūla—however, under condition that a part of the site should be explored archaeologically, in order to obtain some more historical data with regard to the site. The Local

¹ *The pottery of Palestine from the earliest times to the end of the Early Bronze Age*, pp. 42–51. The term is not appropriate, since gray-burnished ware was found outside the limits of the Esdraelon Plain as well.

² Dr. B. MAISLER published a number of gray-burnished sherds collected by him on the site and assigned them to the period of transition between the Early and Middle Bronze periods (*Bull. Jew. Pal. Expl. Soc.*, vol. I, No. 3, 1933, in Hebrew).

³ E. L. SUKENIK, "Late Chalcolithic Pottery from 'Affūleh", *PEF QSt*, 1936, pp. 150–154.

Council agreed to assign a certain sum for this purpose and a permit was granted to the Hebrew University to undertake the work. Following a visit together with the present Director of Antiquit-

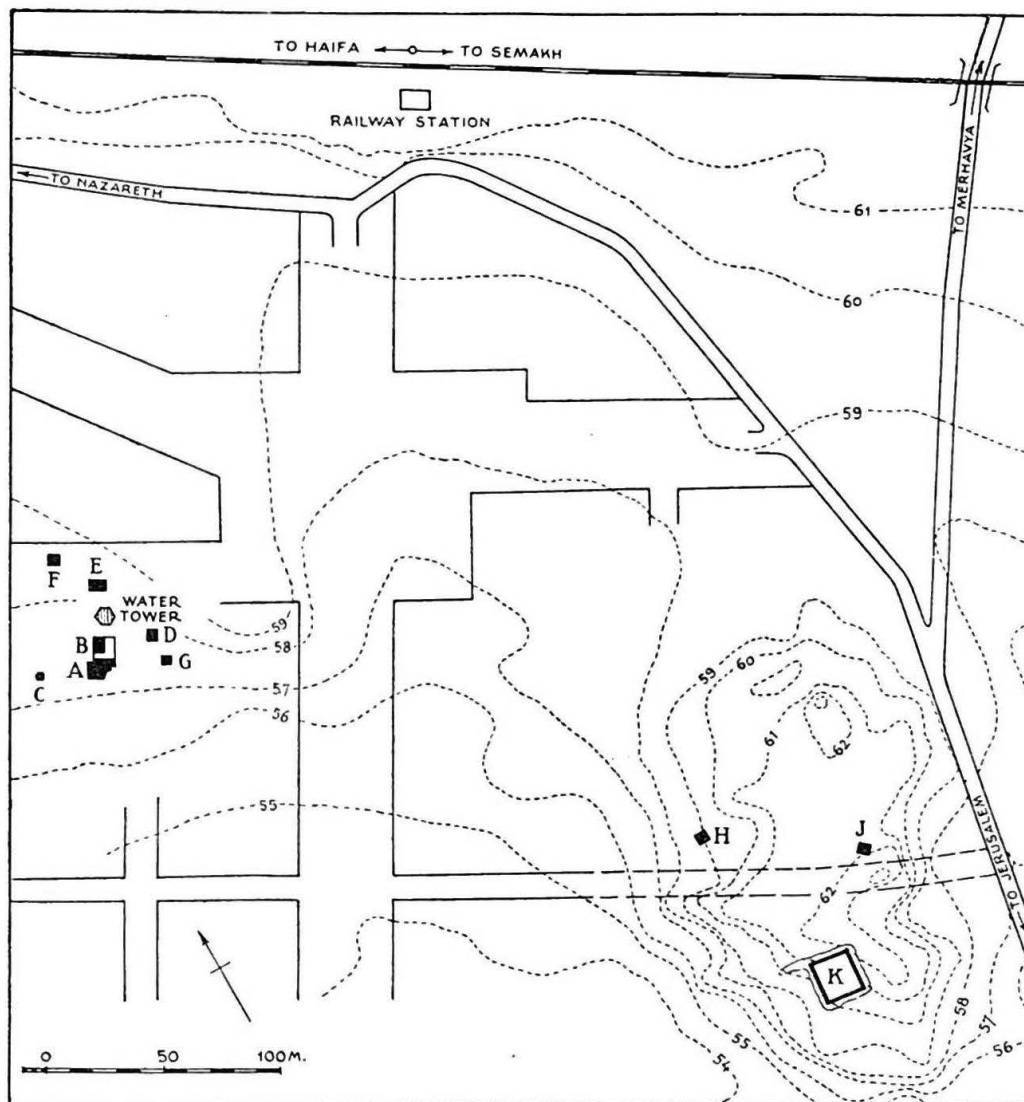


Fig. 1. Sketch-map of site.

A-J pits dug in 1937; K Arab block-house cleared in 1926.

ies, Mr. R.W. Hamilton, then Chief Inspector of this Department, we decided that the investigation should be made in the vicinity

of the Water-Tower where the earliest remains had come to light.

The work was carried out in March, 1937. This investigation, too, had its difficulties. Although we had this time a special team of workers for the excavation, we were obliged to work among built houses and partly constructed roads. We had therefore to carry out our investigation by means of a number of pits in the surroundings of the Water-Tower.

In the supervision of the work I was assisted by Mr. N. Avigad of the Museum of Jewish Antiquities. The presence of some students of our Archaeological Department, Miss Ruth Brandstetter, Mr. J. Brand, Mr. M. Engel, and Mr. Yigael Sukenik, was very welcome. The students gained archaeological experience and at the same time helped in the classification of the pottery and its mending. I take this opportunity of thanking the Department of Antiquities for help and for kind permission to publish the photographs reproduced in Pl. XXI. It is my pleasant duty to thank the Local Council of 'Affūla for their financial grant to carry out this investigation and for their manifold kindness in the course of our work. Mr. N. Avigad prepared all the drawings accompanying this report. To him and to Dr. Stella Ben-Dor I am indebted for valuable help in the preparation of this report. I am indebted to Joan Crowfoot (Mrs. Payne) for her analysis of the flint implements found during our investigation, and for her notes.

The bulk of this report was prepared a long time ago and was intended for publication in this Journal. Owing to the fact that the *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* ceased to appear during the war, the publication has been delayed till now. My thanks are due to the editors of the Journal for their readiness to publish it in the present issue.

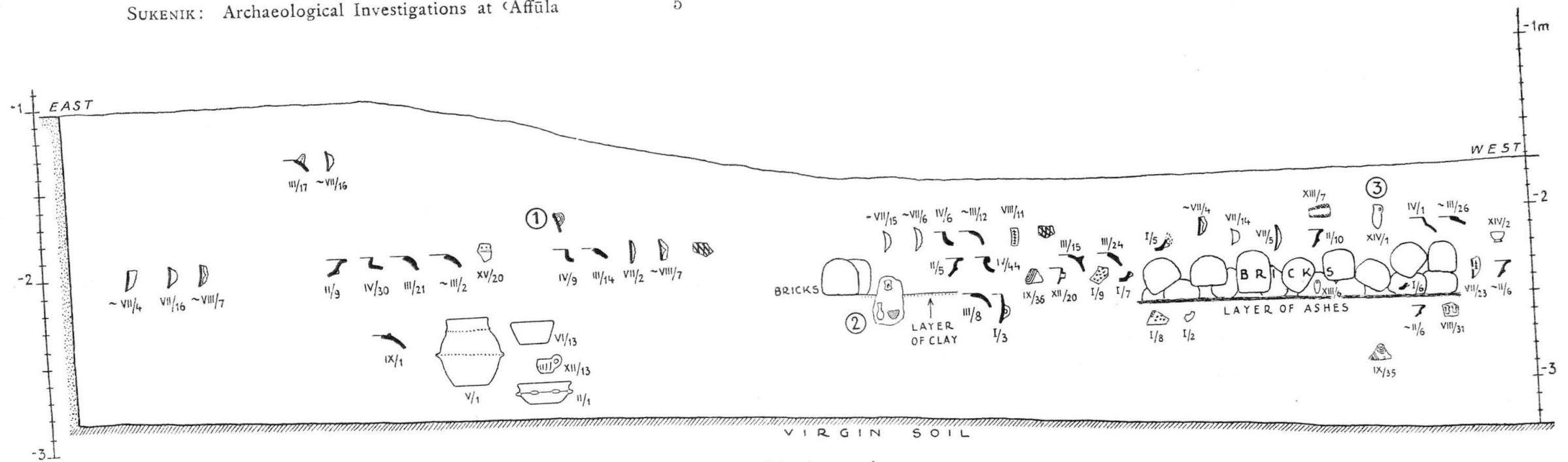


Fig. 2. Pit A, section.

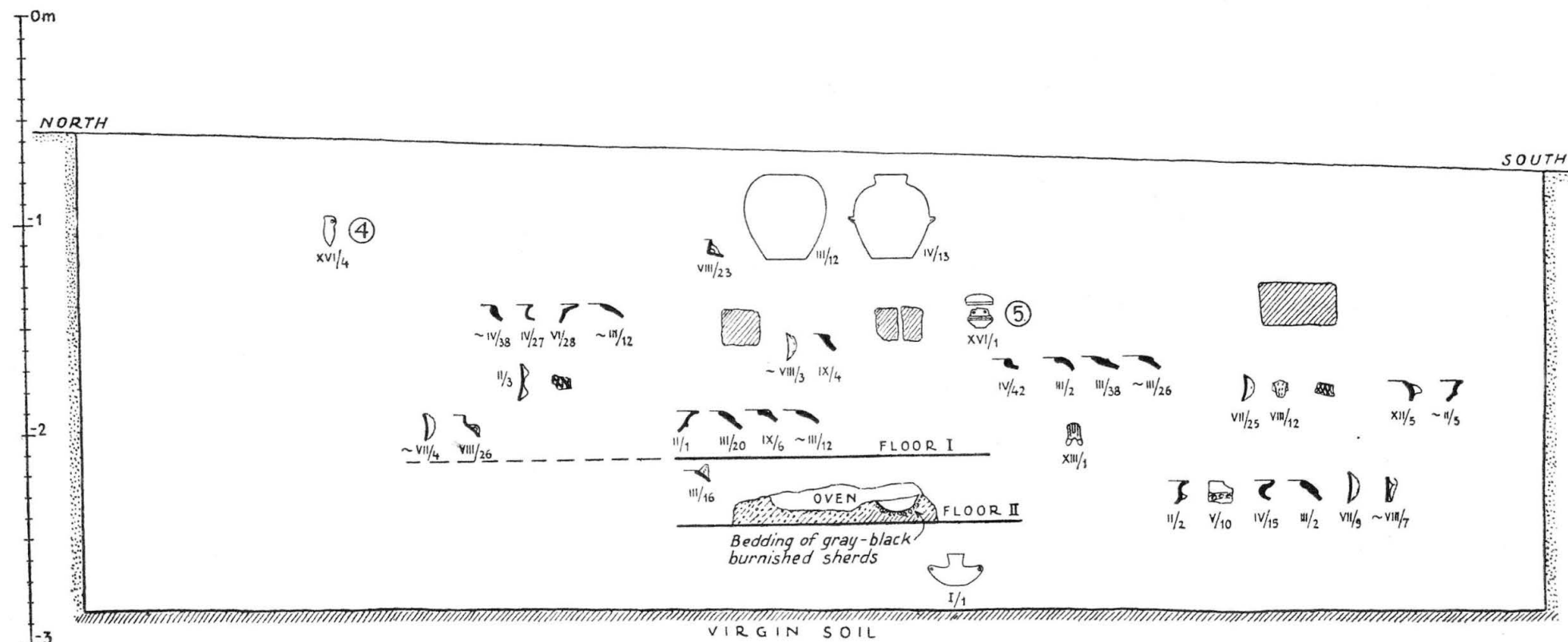


Fig. 3. Pit B, section.

I. EXCAVATION REPORT

In the following a description of pits A–J is given, some accompanied by drawings showing their section. In pits C, G and J very little pottery was found and therefore no sections have been drawn.¹

Pit A (Fig. 2)

This pit measures 9 m from N to S, and 6–11 m from E to W; its north side is about 14 m to the S of the Water-Tower. Virgin soil was reached at a depth of ca. 1.60 m. The upper layer contained a great quantity of Late Chalcolithic and Early Bronze pottery: gray-burnished sherds, band-slip, hole-mouth rims and different kinds of ledge handles. Middle Bronze and Late Bronze sherds were very scanty.

In contrast to the rest of the pit, its eastern part contained, at a depth of 1.50 m, a number of more or less complete vessels, which could be reconstructed. They are figured in Pls. II,1; V,1; VI,13; IX,1; XII,13.

In the same part was found *burial 1*, at a depth of 70 cm; this burial contained, besides human bones, a few Hellenistic-Roman fragments of pottery.

In the centre of the pit, at a depth of about 70 cm below the surface, a row of bricks, 3.60 m long, was found, running from NE to SW (Pl. XXII,1). A few bricks, about 3 m distant from the former, on the southern edge of the pit, may represent a continuation of the row. These bricks, although laid neither regularly nor in a straight line, seem to be *in situ*, since they rest near a thin beaten layer of clay forming a kind of floor along the row of bricks. The floor is made of the same clay as the bricks. Of this floor about two square metres were preserved.

¹ *Legend for sections of pits:* Number within circle = burial place; Roman numeral = Number of plate; Arabic numeral = Number of figure in plate, e.g. XIV/18 = object reproduced in Plate XIV, fig. 18; ~ III/4 = object similar to Plate III, fig. 4.

Burial 2 contained, besides human bones, some pottery, such as a Hellenistic-Roman bottle, a nozzle of a "Herodian" lamp and some ribbed sherds.

At a distance of 1.60 m to the W of the row of bricks and nearly at the same level, bricks were scattered over an area of about 6 sq.m. The bricks were found lying in a heap, some of them turned over, some lying on their side, in general no more than two bricks one on top of the other (Pl. XXII,2). Under the heap of bricks was a thin layer of dark-gray ashes. The pottery found under the bricks was mainly Late Chalcolithic.

Close to the surface and near the W end of the pit, *burial 3* was found containing the MB juglet Pl. XIV,1; the small bowl Pl. XIV,2, was found not far from it, but there were no remains of bones with it.

Pit B (Fig. 3)

This pit is situated close to the previous one, between it and the Water-Tower. It measures 3.50×7.50 m. At an average depth of about 2.20 m, virgin soil was reached. The pit contained a quantity of Late Chalcolithic and Early Bronze sherds, among them a considerable proportion of gray-burnished ware.

Near the surface of the northern edge of the pit was found *burial 4*, which contained a Late Bronze juglet within the fragment of a broken jar. Of the two jars figured in Pl. III,12 and Pl. IV,13 only parts were found and they have been reconstructed in the drawings.

At a depth of about 80 cm were found in two places a few undressed stones, lying close to each other. They may have some connection with *burial 5* discovered nearby. The burial contained the Late Bronze juglet figured in Pl. XVI,1 and was covered with the bowl in Pl. XVI,2.

In the middle of the pit, at a depth of 1.45 m, a portion of a floor made of hard, beaten clay was found, blackened apparently by fire. This floor (*floor 1*) could be traced for about three metres. The sherds above it were mostly of Late Chalcolithic and Early Bronze date. Below it a few early sherds were found without any later admixture; among them attention should be drawn to the unusual

angle at which the ledge handle (Pl. XIII,16), was attached near the rim of the vessel. The fragment of the zoomorphic vase Pl. XIII,1) was found at the level of this floor.

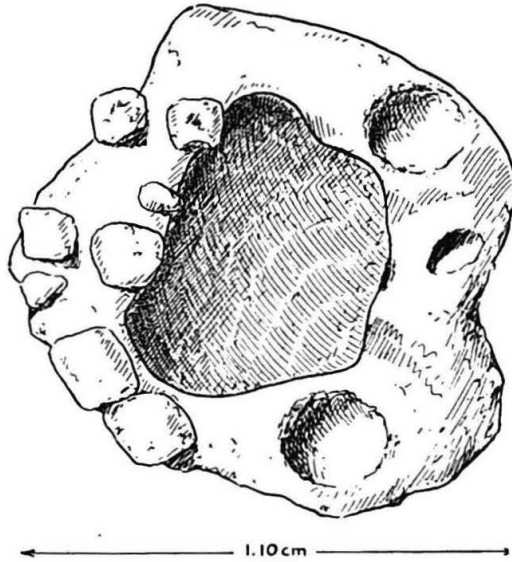


Fig. 4. Oven in pit B.

At a depth of 32 cm below floor I, a second similar floor was found (floor 2, Pl. XXII,3 and Fig. 4). On it we discovered an irregular, oval oven made of hard earth, measuring 110×115 cm. The oven contained in its centre a large shallow hollow and in its walls were two smaller hollows, each 23 cm in diameter, apparently intended to hold cooking pots. These two hollows were plastered with hard clay on a bedding of broken sherds, most of which were

of the gray-burnished type. Above one of the walls of the oven, fragments of bricks were lying, similar to those found in pit A.

Under floor II no sherds were found, except fragments of the "bird-vase" (Pl. I,1).

Pit C

This pit was found at a distance of 30 m SW of the Water-Tower and 19 m from pit A. It measures 2.50×3 m. The layer of debris was very thin and virgin soil appeared close to the surface. Only a few mixed sherds were found.

Pit D (Fig. 5)

Pit D is situated 12 m SE of the Water-Tower; it measures 4×5 m. Virgin soil was reached at a depth of about 2.70 m. In the upper part of the pit, to a depth of about 50 cm, foundations

of a modern Arab building were found. Under these foundations the pottery was mixed, Early Bronze sherds prevailing. The other parts of the pit contained great quantities of Late Chalcolithic and Early Bronze sherds, mostly gray-burnished and band-slip ware.

In four places burials were dug into the pit during the Late

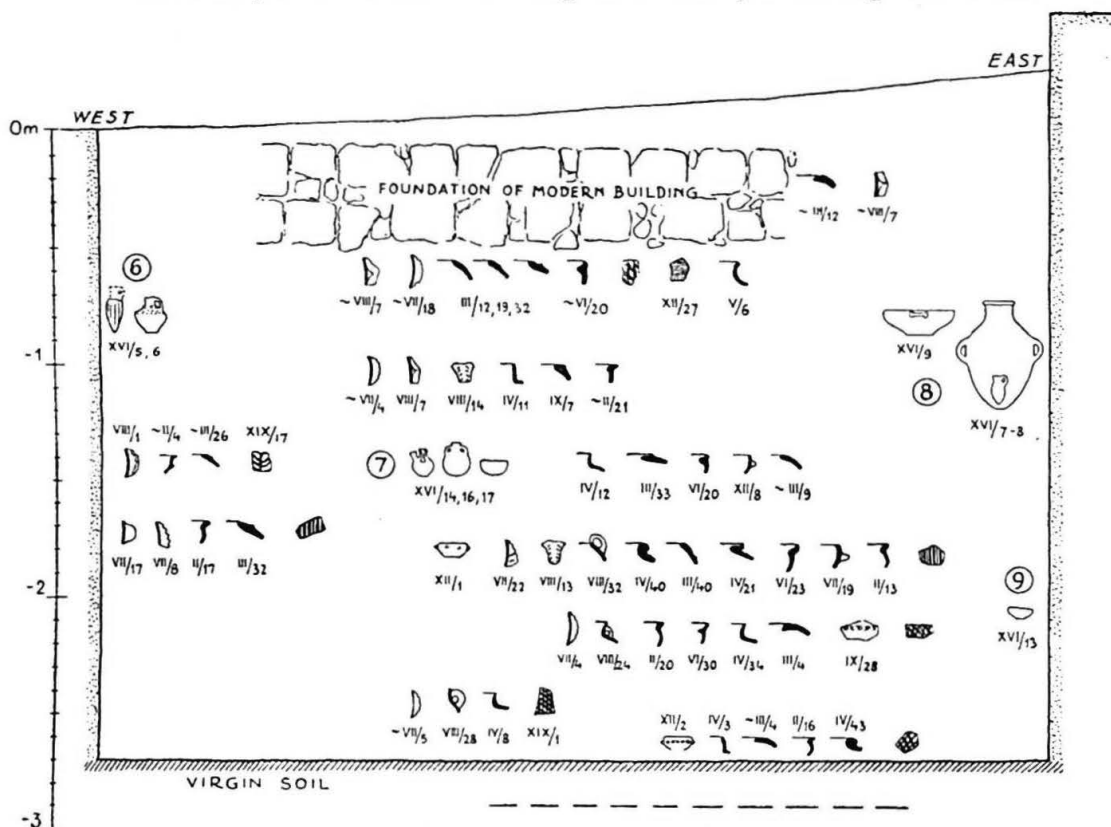


Fig. 5. Pit D, section.

Bronze period. *Burial 6* was found at the western end of the pit; it contained the juglets figured in Pl. XIV, 5 and 6.

Burial 7 was in the centre of the pit, at a depth of 1.50 m. Besides human bones there were with it the vessels in Pl. XVI, 14-17.

Burial 8 was found near the eastern edge of the pit, at a slightly higher level than the previous one. Besides the vessels in Pl. XVI, 7-12, there were found in this group a broken jar and a juglet similar to those shown in Pl. XVI, 7 and 8. The bowl in Pl. XVI, 9 originally covered the broken jar.

At the same side but more to the south, at a depth of 2 m, *burial 9* was found, containing a few human bones and the bowl in Pl. XVI,13.

At a depth of 2.50 m a thin layer of brownish-red earth was found, which did not yield any pottery. Under this thin layer, close to virgin soil, a number of early potsherds were found; among them were a fragment of a small bowl with conical projections (Pl. XII,2), fragments of gray-burnished ware, band-slip decoration, hole-mouth rims and a "bow-rim". (Pl. IV,3).

In this pit we went down into virgin soil for about 30 cm.

Pit E (Fig. 6)

This pit was dug 6 m to the north of the Water-Tower; its area is 4×7 m. The upper layer, to a depth of 40 cm, consisted of recent débris with mixed potsherds. Between this upper layer and virgin soil, which was reached at a depth of 2.30 m below the surface, was a layer of grayish earth. Although the bulk of the pottery consisted of early sherds, they did not turn up in such quantities as elsewhere.

Seven burials were found inside the pit. At the NW corner *burial 10* was found containing two Late Bronze vessels.

Burials 11-14, of the Middle Bronze Age, were found at different levels, as may be seen in the drawing of the section of the pit. *Burial 14* contained, besides the bowl shown in the section, fragments of two Middle Bronze juglets, one of them red burnished.

The Middle Bronze sherds in Pl. XIV,5 and 10, were not connected with any burial. A quantity of Middle Bronze sherds were scattered in other places in the pit.

Burial 15 was discovered close to the E edge of the pit, at a depth of 1.90 m. Together with human bones, some animal bones were found, and pieces of charcoal. All the pottery was of the Khirbet-Kerak ware type. The fragment of the jar (Pl. XI,9) contained a number of potsherds and bones; the fragment of a bowl (Pl. XI,8) also contained bones. The pot (Pl. X,1) was the only vessel of which nearly all the pieces were found. The vessels in Pl. X,10, 12, 13, 18 and Pl. XI,1, 4 equally belong to this group. Close to the burial, the flint scraper (Pl. XXIV) was found.

Burial 16 was found at the same level, close the western edge of the pit. It contained human bones and Khirbet-Kerak ware. Of the pot (Pl. X,2) not enough pieces were found to enable us to ascertain the number of conical projections and other ornaments in relief originally decorating it. The fragment of the large bowl (Pl. XI,2) enabled us to make out the outline of the whole vessel, but we are unable to tell whether it originally had one angular projection on the body or two, and whether it had any other ornaments. To this burial also belongs the fragment in Pl. X,4. A few sherds of Khirbet-Kerak ware were scattered throughout the lower part of the pit.

In the centre of the pit we went down into virgin soil for about 70 cm.

Pit F (Fig. 7)

This pit was situated about 25 m north of the Water-Tower

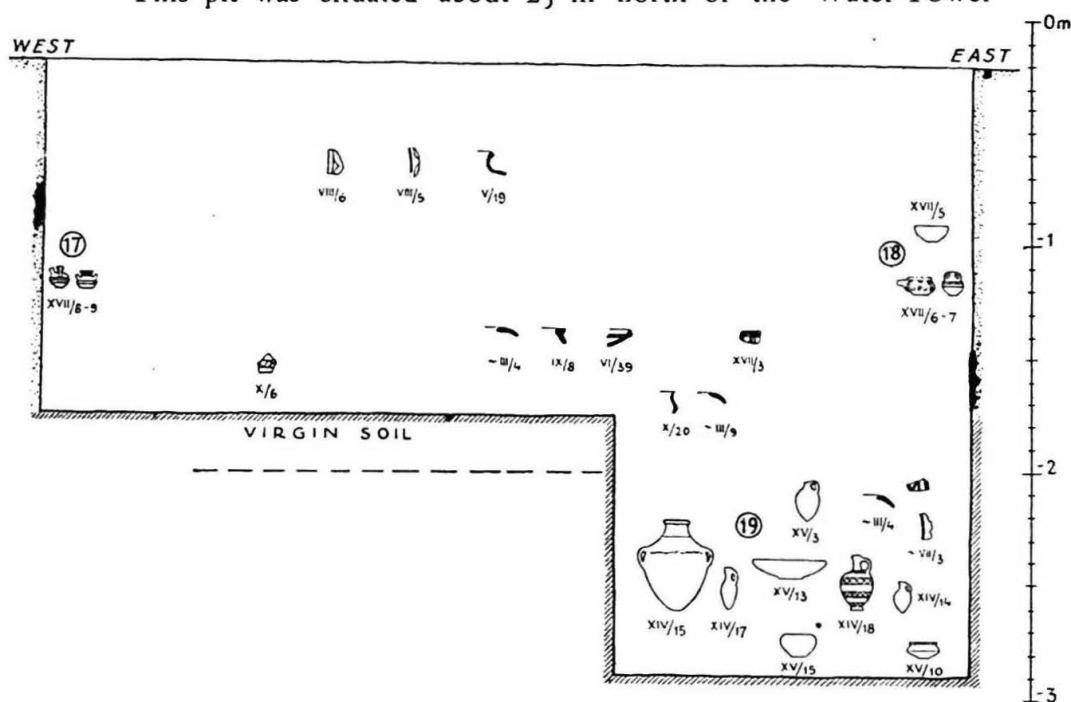


Fig. 7. Pit F, section.

and about 15 m NW of pit E; it measures 4×4 m. Virgin soil appeared at a depth of 1.60 m.

Only a few Khirbet-Kerak sherds were found, among them the sherd in Pl. X,5, which was stuck together from two pieces, one of which was found previously in pit E. The ledge handles were mostly of the "envelope" type.

At a depth of 1.20 m were discovered *burials* 17 and 18, the former at the SW edge of the pit, the latter at the SE edge. Both contained Late Bronze pottery.

In the Middle Bronze period *burial* 19 was dug into virgin soil to a depth of 1.10 m. This burial contained a quantity of Hyksos vessels, complete and broken (Fig. 8), and among them human and animal bones. Besides the vessels drawn in Pls. XIV and XV, fragments of four pyriform juglets were found and one elongated

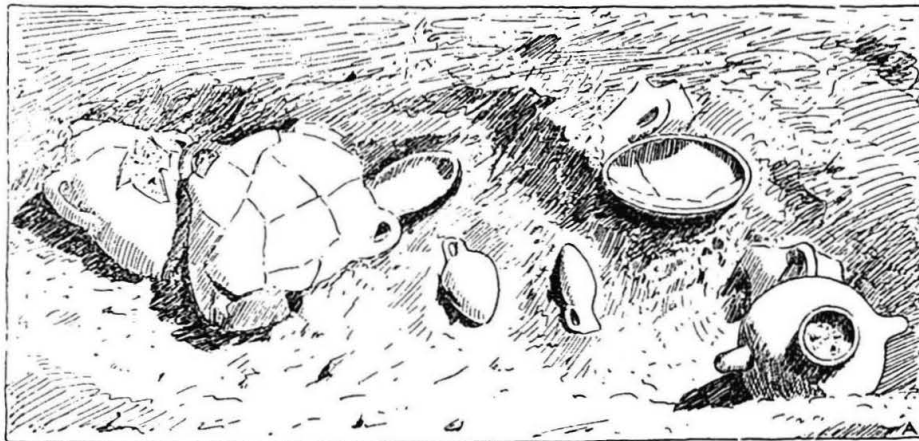


Fig. 8. Middle Bronze pottery *in situ* in pit F.

juglet, and fragments of five jars similar in shape to Pl. XIV,15. The juglets in Pl. XIV, 16 and 17, were found each inside such a jar. Besides pottery, two ostrich egg shells were found, one plain, the other decorated (Pl. XV,18).

Pit G

This pit is situated about 6 m south of pit D; it measures 4×4 m. It was dug to a depth of about 1.40 m below the surface; virgin soil was not reached. The number of potsherds found was by far smaller than in pits A, B, and D.

Among the early sherds mention should be made of some gray-burnished pottery, ledge handles of various types, and jar rims.

Vessels and potsherds of the Late Bronze period (Pl. XVII, 14-16) were found scattered throughout the pit, without any remains of a burial.

Pit H (Fig. 9)

Remains of a Byzantine olive-press.

The press was found on the western slope of the Tell, about 70 m north of the Arab block-house (see p. 69), and some

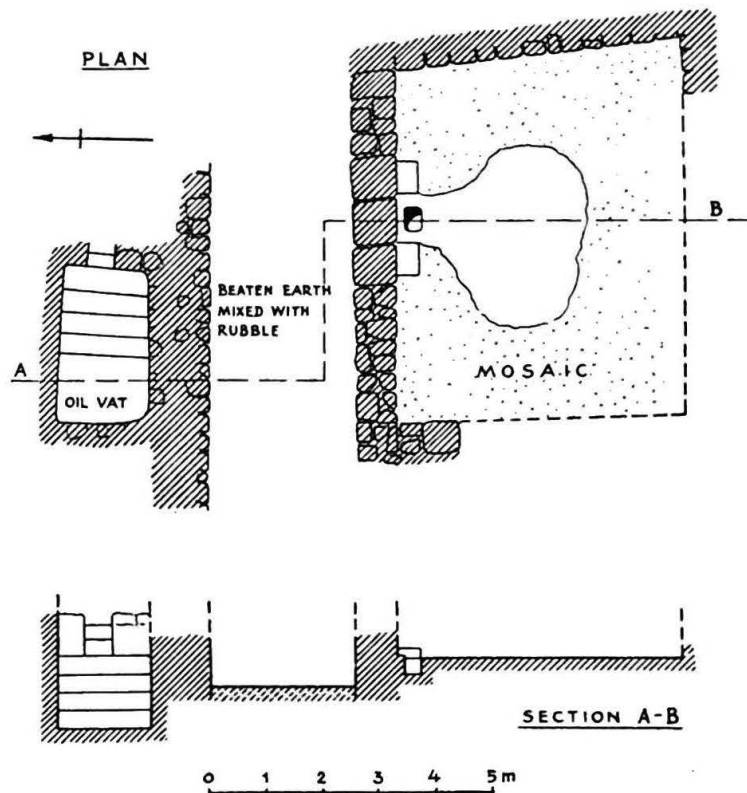


Fig. 9. Pit H, Byzantine olive-press.

270 m SE of the Water-Tower. The place was partly dug before our excavation, when the building of an inner road on this spot was started.

Foundations of a room were found, measuring 6.50×5 m;

the stones on the S and W were missing. The room had a plain mosaic pavement, sloping towards the north; its central part was damaged. The hollow close to the northern wall of the room and the two stones flanking it would indicate that the room was used as the olive-press proper.

North of this room a small vat was found measuring 2.80×1.60 m and 2.20 m deep, which could be reached by a flight of six steps. The walls of the vat were plastered and it is likely that it served as a reservoir for the oil which was produced in the southern room.

The vat and the room are divided by a corridor, 2.50 m wide; its walls were equally plastered and its floor consisted of beaten earth mixed with rubble.

The sherds found in this area were Byzantine with a small number of early Arab sherds.

A sounding underneath the mosaic floor brought to light solely Byzantine sherds. Under the floor of the corridor two fragments of "milk-bowls" were found.

Pit J

This pit is situated high up on the slope of the Tell, 50 m NE of the Arab block-house and at a distance of 50 m from the Jerusalem-Nazareth road. Early Arab sherds were found in the upper layer, and below were some Early Bronze fragments, such as hole-mouth rims, ledge handles and a fragment probably belonging to an Early Iron libation vase.

At a depth of 2.30 m we reached virgin soil and an additional sounding did not yield any pottery.

II. RESULTS OF THE EXCAVATION

The reason for the selection of the area near the Water-Tower for our investigation was that we expected to find some stratified remains of the Late Chalcolithic period at a small depth below the surface. We also cherished the hope that we might find beneath this stratum an earlier level, thus establishing the relation between the Late Chalcolithic and the earlier periods, whereas the excavations of Beth-Shan and Megiddo succeeded at that time in establishing the relation of gray-burnished ware to later cultures. These expectations were only partly fulfilled.

At the very beginning of our work, the excavation of pit A revealed to us the fact that the site served as a burial place in later periods, when the earlier settlement was abandoned. This proved true for nearly all the other pits which contained burials, altogether nineteen in number: two of them belong to the Early Bronze III period, six to the Middle Bronze II, nine to the Late Bronze and two to the Hellenistic-Roman age. Some Late Bronze sherds found during the building of the foundations of the Water-Tower¹ prove that at least one more Late Bronze tomb existed on the site. Such a number of later tombs must obviously have destroyed or disturbed all earlier building remains.

Fortunately some indication of earlier buildings was given by the bricks found in pit A. These bricks are of the earliest type found in Palestine, at Teleilat Ghassul² and at Beth-Shan in levels XVII and XVIII.³ The Affūla bricks are in their shape and size more like the Teleilat Ghassul bricks, whereas the bricks of Beth-Shan are, according to the description given by FITZGERALD, only 6 cm high. They are flat-bottomed with round or rounded top; only very few are roughly rectangular in shape. Their width

¹ E.L. SUKENIK, in *PEF QSt*, 1936, pp. 150-154.

² A. MALLON, R. KOEPEL, R. NEUVILLE, *Teleilat Ghassul*, I, 1934, pp. 34 ff. and Pl. 14.

³ G.M. FITZGERALD in *PEF QSt*, 1934, p. 125; *idem*, in *The Museum Journal*, Philadelphia, Vol. XXIV, No. 1, 1935, pp. 7-9.

varies from 18—21 cm, their length from 19—25 cm, and their height from 12—15 cm (Pl. XXIII, 1,2). Their colour is of various shades of buff and brown; the clay is well levigated with very few grits; for the production of the bricks straw seems to have been added, as shown by the small holes visible inside the bricks.

The finger impressions visible on many of them show that they were formed by hand without any mould and that they underwent a prolonged kneading. This treatment resulted in producing a compact and resistant building material. They were, of course, dried in the sun, although some of them show traces of firing, which may be due, however, to the conflagration we found.¹

We were more fortunate in our excavation of pit B, where two superimposed floors came to light (see pp. 8-9). The oven built on floor II contained hollows which were plastered on a bedding of gray-burnished sherds, and fragments of bricks similar to those of pit A were lying on one of its walls. These facts enable us to ascertain that the bricks are contemporary with the gray-burnished ware. More important for the sequence of Palestinian pottery was the discovery, under the second floor, of a "bird-vase" of the Teleilat Ghassul type, thus establishing for the first time that the gray-burnished culture appears later than that of Teleilat Ghassul.

For the history of the settlement near the Water-Tower, the occurrence of Early Bronze III burials (Khirbet-Kerak ware) proves that about the middle of the third millennium B.C. the site was no longer occupied. We do not know, however, whether a settlement existed there between the Late Chalcolithic period and the middle of the third millennium B.C. Quantities of sherds belonging to the first half of the Early Bronze period were found in many places, but they were connected neither with definite building remains nor with burials. It is noteworthy that very few sherds found belong to the Middle Bronze I Age.

¹ See Père MALLON's remarks on the subject, *Teleilat Ghassul*, I, p. 35.

III. CATALOGUE OF FINDS*

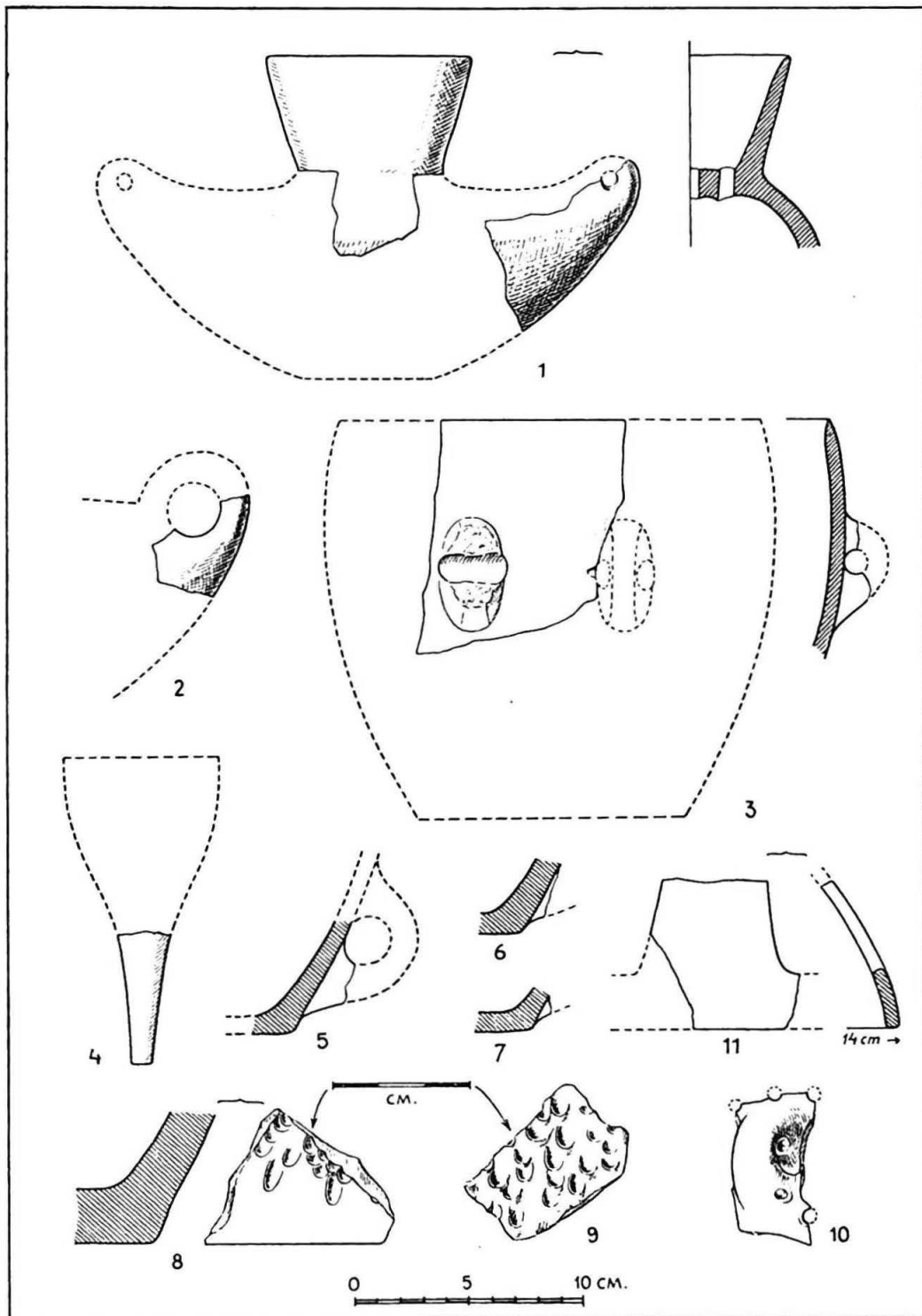
Plate I

SOME CHALCOLITHIC SHERDS

No.	Pit	Description	Reference
1	B, below floor	Frgs. of a "bird vase" with strainer inside neck. Grayish brown ware, well fired.	T.G.I, Pl. 50 (vase en forme d'oiseau).
2	A, below bricks	Frag. of handle, probably belong- ing to similar vessel, but of larger size. Buff, gritty ware.	"

* LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE DESCRIPTION OF PLATES

- A. = E.L. SUKENIK, "Late Chalcolithic Pottery from 'Affûleh",
PEF QSt, 1936, pp. 150 ff.
- B.M. = W.F. ALBRIGHT, *The Excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim, I*
(*AASSOR*, Vol. XII), New Haven, 1932.
- B.P. II = E. MACDONALD, J. L. STARKEY, L. HARDING, *Beth-Pelet II*,
London, 1932.
- B.Sh. = G.M. FITZGERALD, "The Earliest Pottery of Beth-Shan",
The Museum Journal, Philadelphia, Vol. XXIV,
1935, pp. 5 ff.
- H. = E.L. SUKENIK, "A Chalcolithic Necropolis at Hederah",
JPOS, Vol. XVII, 1937, pp. 15 ff.
- J. = J. GARSTANG, "Jericho: City and Necropolis, 5th report",
Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology, Liverpool,
Vol. XXII, 1935, pp. 143 ff.
- M. = R.M. ENGBERG and G.M. SHIPTON, *Notes on the Chalcolithic
and Early Bronze Pottery of Megiddo*, Chicago, 1934.
- M.Str. = G.M. SHIPTON, *Notes on the Megiddo Pottery of Strata
VI-XX*, Chicago, 1934.
- M.T. = P.L.O. GUY and R.M. ENGBERG, *Megiddo Tombs*, Chicago,
1938.
- T.G. I = A. MALLON, R. KOEPPPEL, R. NEUVILLE, *Teleilat Ghassûl I*,
Rome, 1934.
- T.G. II = R. KOEPPPEL and others, *Teleilat Ghassûl II*, Rome, 1940.



Some Chalcolithic sherds.

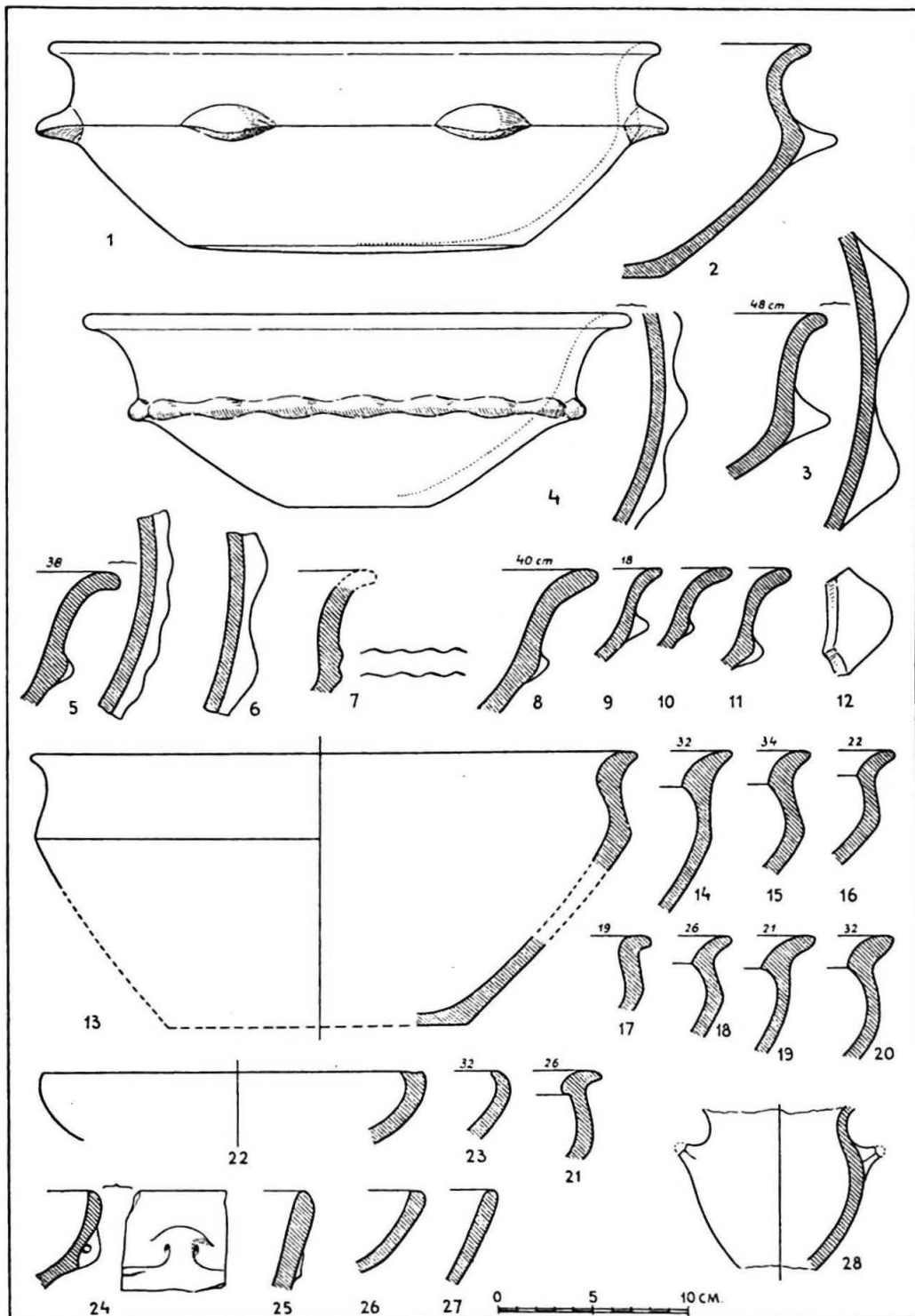
No.	Pit	Description	Reference
3	A, among bricks	Frag. of deep bowl with two vertical lug handles horizontally pierced. Brown ware.	T.G.I, Pl. 51: 99. T.G.II, Pl. 77: 3. B.P.II, Pl. XXX, site O.
4	Found before excavation	Base of horn-shaped vessel (cornet). Red ware.	T.G.I, Pls. 47, 48. M. Str. XIX-XX. B.P.II, Pl. XXXV, site O.
5	A, near bricks	Frag. of cup with handle near base. Reddish ware, light brown surface.	T.G.I, p. 111, 3. B.P.II, Pl. XXXVIII: 10, 11; Pl. XXIX: 4.
6	A, among bricks	Ditto. Light brown ware.	
7	A	Ditto. Brown ware.	
8	A, below bricks	Frag. of flat base; incised notches on body of vessel. Buff ware.	B.P.II, Pl. XXXII, site M.
9	A, near bricks	Frag. of vessel with similar decoration. Reddish ware.	
10	Found before excavation	Loop handle pierced in several places. Buff ware, full of grits.	For a somewhat similar handle cf. T.G.I, Pl. 40: 2.
11	F	Frag. of pedestal with openings. Light brown ware, dark red slip.	B.P.II, Pl. XXXV, site O. H., Pl. VI and Fig. 7.

Plate II

GRAY-BURNISHED WARE

No.	Pit	Description	Reference
1	A	Carinated bowl with six small plain ledge handles on carination line, two of which are missing. Grayish-buff ware, dark core; burnished inside and out. (Photo in Pl. XX,1).	B.Sh. XVI, Pl. III: 2.
2	B	Frag. of similar bowl.	
3	B	Frag. of similar bowl, with two knobs close together. The complete bowl seems to have had 14 such knobs (Photo in Pl. XIX,1).	
4	Found before excavation	Part of carinated bowl with projecting sinuous band. Gray ware, burnished inside and out. (Photo in Pl. XIX,2).	=A., Pl. I:1. B.Sh., XVI, Pl. III: 4.
5	A	Frag. of similar bowl. Dark brown ware; lustrous grayish-black burnish (Photo in Pl. XIX,3).	
6	D	Ditto. Brown ware; grayish-brown burnish.	
7	A	Frag. of similar bowl with double sinuous band. Gray ware, gray burnish (Photo in Pl. XIX,5).	
8	A	Frag. of bowl with projecting sinuous band. Dark brown ware, light gray core; burnish black on outside, light gray inside.	
9	A	Frag. of bowl with knob. Gray ware, black burnish.	
10	A	Frag. of bowl similar to no. 4. Lustrous grayish-black burnish, brown core (Photo in Pl. XIX,4).	

No.	Pit	Description	Reference
11	B	Ditto. Cream ware, lustrous buff burnish.	
12	E	Small ledge handle of bowl similar to no. 1. Buff burnish.	
13	D	Frag. of carinated bowl. Light gray ware, small black grits; burnished inside and out (Photo in Pl. XIX, 6).	M., IV-VII, Type 17. M. Str. XIX-XX.
14	G	Frag. of similar bowl.	
15	D	Ditto. Gray-black burnish.	
16	D	Ditto. Black burnish on outside, gray on inside.	
17	D	Ditto. Gray burnish.	
18	D	Ditto.	
19	G	Frag. of similar bowl with less sharp carination.	
20	D	Ditto.	
21	D	Ditto.	
22	B	Frag. of bowl. Light brown ware, gray core; black slip, burnished.	
23	B	Frag. of similar bowl.	
24	Found before excavation	Frag. of bowl with vertical lug-handle, pierced; the bowl had probably a projecting sinuous band. Gray ware.	=A, Pl. II: 34.
25	A	Rim of bowl with the beginning of a projection. Gray ware, burnished inside and out.	
26	B	Rim of bowl. Gray burnish.	
27	D	Ditto.	
28	E	Frag. of vase with two knobs(?). Dark brown ware, burnished.	

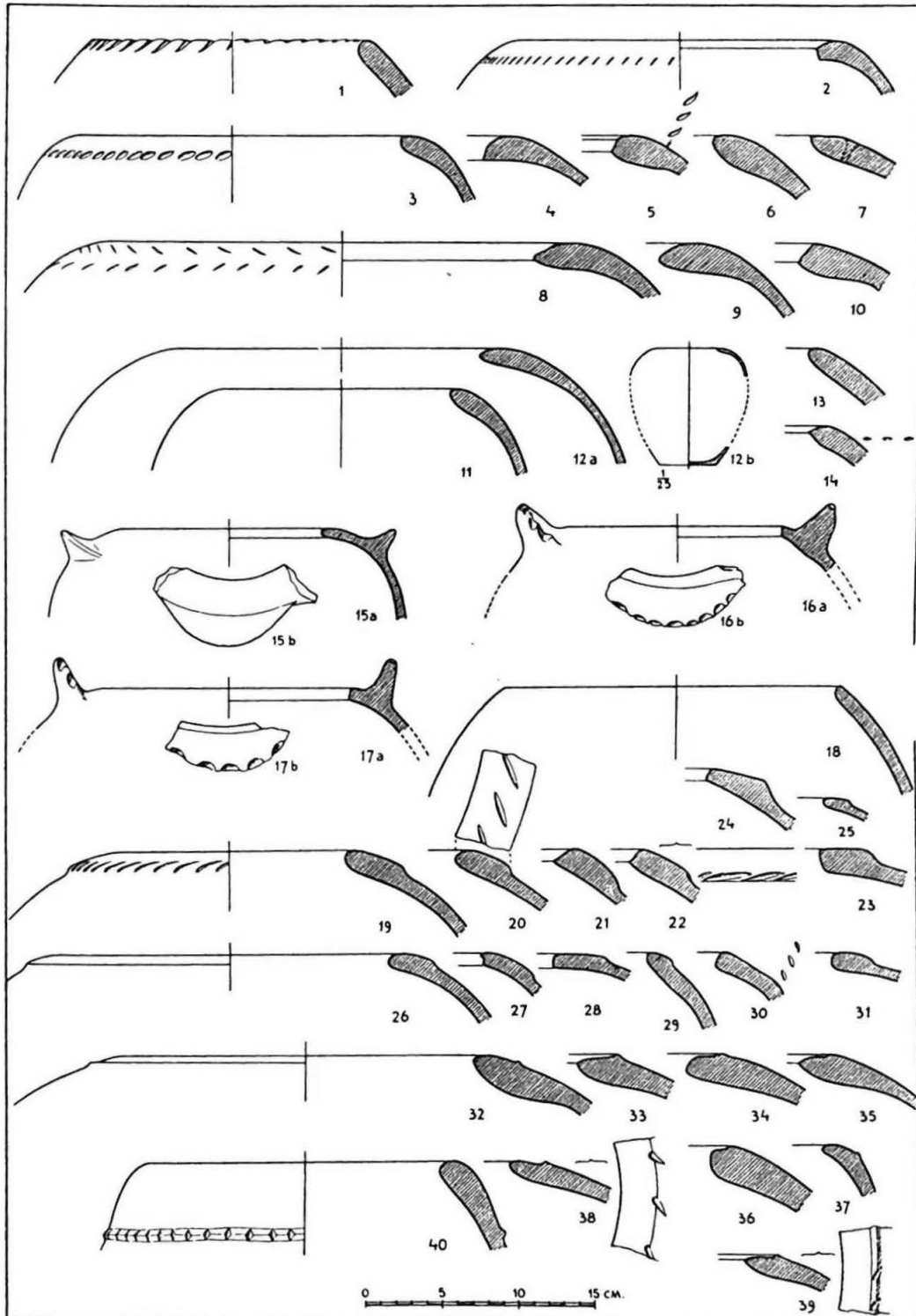


Gray-burnished ware.

Plate III

RIMS OF HOLE-MOUTH JARS

No.	Pit	Description	Reference
<i>Plain rims</i>			
1	A	Deep incisions on rim. Coarse, gritty ware, light brown.	B.P.II, Pl. XL:68.
2	B	Incisions below rim. Brick-red, gritty ware; red slip outside and over rim.	For nos. 2-14 see B.Sh., XIV. M.III-VII, type
3	E	Row of notches below rim. Brown ware, brown slip.	12, D,E,N.
4	D	Brown, gritty ware; brown wash.	
5	D	Row of notches below rim. Light brown ware, light brown wash.	
6	A	Chocolate-brown, coarse ware.	
7	A-B, surface	Mending hole below rim. Brown ware, gray core.	
8	A	Herring-bone incisions. Reddish ware.	
9	B	Brick-red ware.	
10	D	Light brown ware, gray core; traces of red slip.	
11	D	Dark brown to black ware, coarse.	
12a	B	Reddish-brown ware, red wash.	
12b		Reconstructed drawing of a jar from 12a and frags. of a flat base found with it.	
13	A	Reddish ware, black core; red to brown wash.	
14	A	Row of oblong notches below rim. Light brown ware; reddish-gray wash.	
15a,b	A	Plain ledge handle near rim. Gritty reddish ware; red wash.	



Rims of hole-mouth jars.

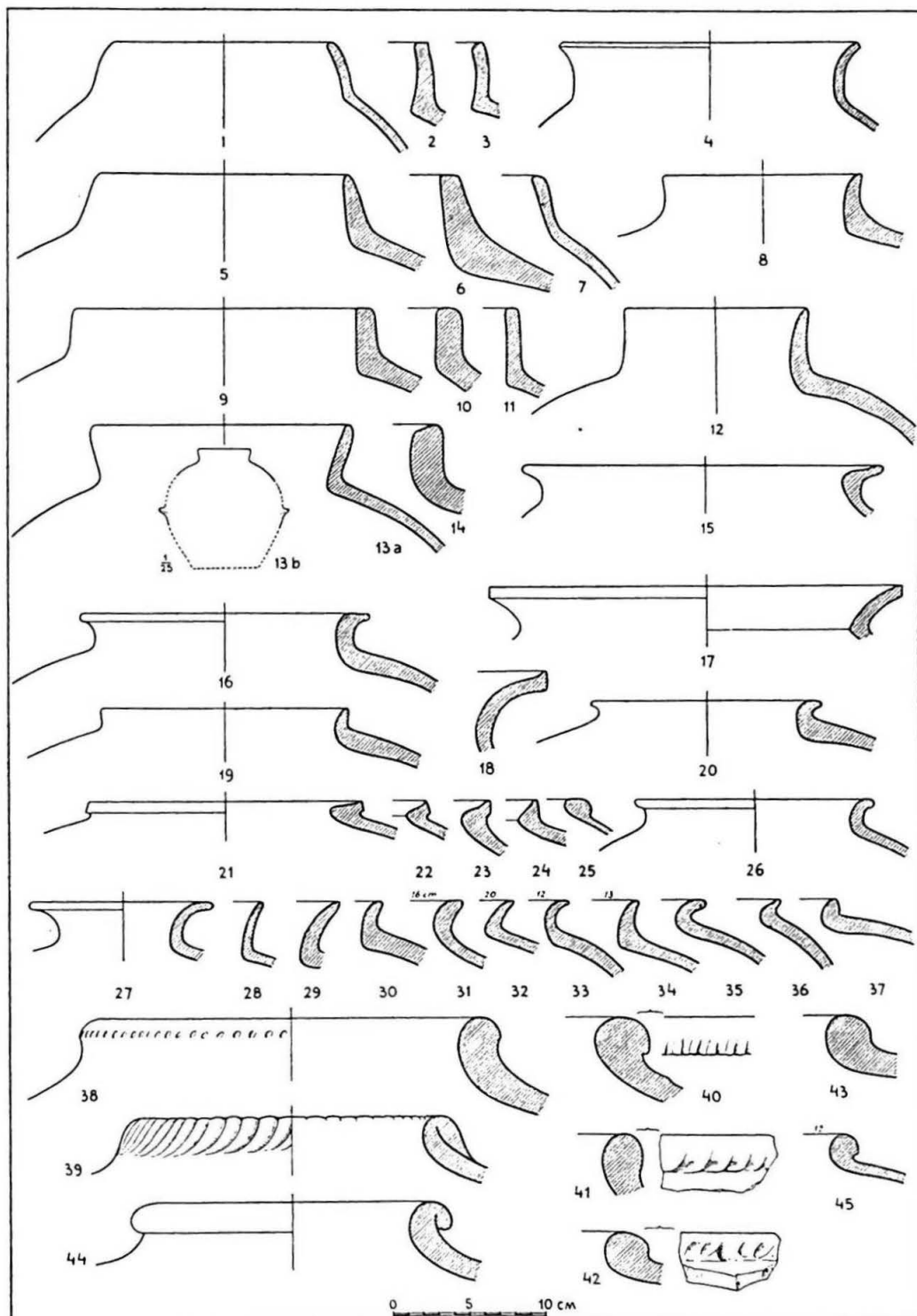
No.	Pit	Description	Reference
16a,b	A, under floor	Indented ledge handle rising above rim of vessel. Reddish-brown ware, gray core; red wash.	
17a,b	A	Indented ledge handle rising above rim of vessel. Yellowish ware, gray core.	
18	A	Buff ware.	
		<i>Rims thickened to form a collar</i>	
19	A	Row of oblique incisions on edge of collar. Brown ware; reddish-brown wash.	For nos. 19-28 see B.Sh., XVI, Pl. I: 1,2.
20	B	Row of oblique incisions on top of collar. Light brown ware, streaky brown wash.	
21	A	Light brown ware, black core; red wash on outside and over rim.	
22	B	Slightly oblique elongated incisions on edge of collar. Gray ware.	
23	B	Pinkish ware.	
24	A	Pinkish ware; brownish-red wash.	
25	D	Pinkish ware; light red wash.	
26	A	Buff ware; red wash.	
27	A—B, surface	Reddish ware, brown core; reddish slip.	
28	A—B, surface	Small notches on edge of collar. Gritty gray ware; red slip.	
29	D	Light buff ware, gray core; dark red slip outside and over rim, black on top of rim.	
30	D	Row of notches on edge of collar. Light brown ware; brown slip.	

No.	Pit	Description	Reference
31	D	Pinkish ware with many grits; red to dark brown streaky wash.	
<i>Rims with ridge below rim</i>			
32	D	Red ware, gray core.	For nos. 32—39
33	D	Ditto.	see B.Sh., XIV.
34	A—B, surface	Ditto.	M.IV—V, type 12, H,J,K.
35	A—B, surface	Pinkish ware.	
36	A—B, surface	Ditto, coarse ware.	
37	D	Light brown ware; dark red slip outside and over rim.	
38	B	Notches on ridge. Reddish brown ware, gray core.	
39	A	Notches on ridge. Chocolate- brown ware.	
40	D	Notches on ridge. Light grayish- buff ware, gritty.	B.Sh., XIV—XV, Pl. IV : 1, 7.

Plate IV

Rims and necks of jars

No.	Pit	Description	Reference
1	A	"Bow-rim". Light brown hard ware; brown to gray wash on outside, red inside of neck.	M. V-VII, type 16, Q. J. 1936, Pl. XXXII: 1.
2	E	Ditto. Brown ware; red slip.	as above.
3	D	Ditto. Light brown ware; red to brown slip.	as above.
4	D	Hard brown ware; red slip.	
5	A	Light buff gritty ware; traces of red slip.	
6	A	Pinkish ware, gray core; traces of red slip.	
7	G	Light buff ware; red slip.	
8	D	Light buff ware; red slip.	
9	A	Light buff ware; brown to red slip.	M. IV-VII, type 12 P.
10	E	Reddish ware; traces of red slip.	as above.
11	D	Pinkish ware; traces of red slip.	as above.
12	B	Buff ware; red slip.	as above.
13a		Buff ware; red slip.	as above.
13b		Reconstructed drawing of a jar from rim 13a and indented ledge handle found with it. For the drawing of this ledge handle see Pl. VII: 6.	
14	B	Light brown ware.	M. IV-VI, type 16 L.
15	B	Light buff ware; red slip.	B. Sh. XV.
16	A	Light brown ware; traces of red slip.	
17	A	Light brown ware; traces of red slip.	M. VI-VII, type 16 J.



Rims and necks of jars.

No.	Pit	Description	Reference
18	A	Light brown ware; purplish slip outside, red inside.	as above.
19	D	Brown ware.	
20	A	Light brown ware; streaky brown wash.	B.Sh. XIV. M.IV-VI, type 12 G.
21	D	Pinkish-brown ware; red to black, streaky wash.	
22	D	Light buff ware; red band-slip.	as above.
23	A	Pinkish ware, black grits; streaky red wash.	as above.
24	A	Light brown ware; dark brown band-slip.	as above.
25	D	Reddish ware; red slip.	
26	B	Light brown ware; red slip.	M.I-III, type 12 C.
27	B	Light brown ware; red slip.	
28	A—B, surface	Light brown ware; red slip.	
29	A	Reddish ware; brown core; red slip.	
30	A	Light buff ware, gray core; reddish brown slip.	
31	E	Reddish brown ware.	
32	G	Pinkish ware, gray core; red slip.	
33	D	Light brown ware with large grits.	
34	D	Light buff, gritty ware; red slip.	
35	B	Light brown ware; streaky red wash.	
36	G	Brown, gritty ware; red slip.	
37	A	Light brown ware; brown slip.	
38	A—B, surface	Small notches on outside of rim. Light brown, gritty ware; dark red slip.	B.Sh.XIV.

No.	Pit	Description	Reference
39	D	Oblique furrows on rim. Coarse light brown ware, gray core; brownish-red slip.	
40	D	Shallow impressions on outside of rim. Gritty, brown ware; red slip.	M.IV-V, type 16 E,F.
41	A	Oblique shallow impressions on outside of rim. Coarse brown ware; reddish-brown slip.	as above.
42	B	Impressions on outside of rim. Pinkish ware, gray core; traces of red slip.	as above.
43	D	Light brown ware, grayish-brown core; black to red slip.	as above.
44	D	Light brown ware, grayish-brown core; black to red slip.	"
45	B	Light brown ware with black grits: traces of black slip.	"

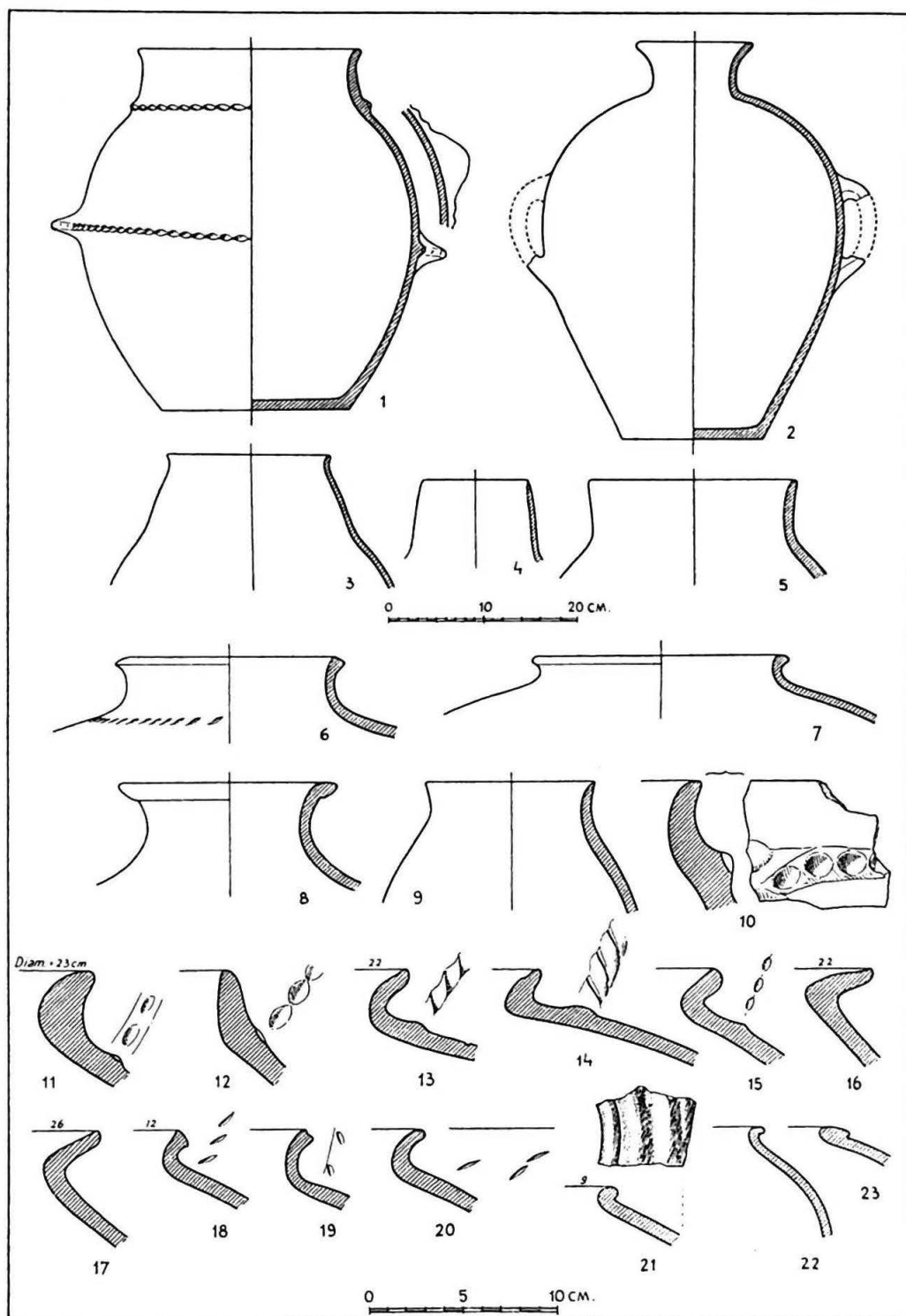
Plate V

JARS

No.	Pit	Description	Reference
1	B	Jar with ledge handles, fragmentary. Two plastic bands with impressed decoration. Light brown ware, gray core; brown wash (Photo in Pl. XX,2).	M.IV-VII, type 12P (without plastic bands). B.Sh.XVIII(?).
2	E	Jar with loop handles. fragmentary. Pinkish buff ware, gritty; red band-slip.	M.III-VII, type 12Q. For complete shape see type 11 C.

Necks and rims of jars

3	A	Reddish ware.	B.P.II, Pl. XXXIX: 19, site O.
4	A	Light brown ware.	
5	A	Reddish-brown ware; red wash.	
6	D	Band of elongated notches. Hard, light buff ware, gray core.	M I-IV, type 10A.
7	B	Hard, reddish ware; red wash.	
8	E	Light buff ware, reddish core; light brown wash.	
9	E	Light buff ware, reddish core; black grits.	
10	B	Plastic band with finger impressions. Light brown, coarse ware; traces of red slip.	B.Sh.XVI-XVII.
11	G	Plastic band with finger impressions. Buff ware, gray core; dark brown slip.	as above.
12	E	Row of finger impressions. Light brown to pinkish ware, gray core.	"



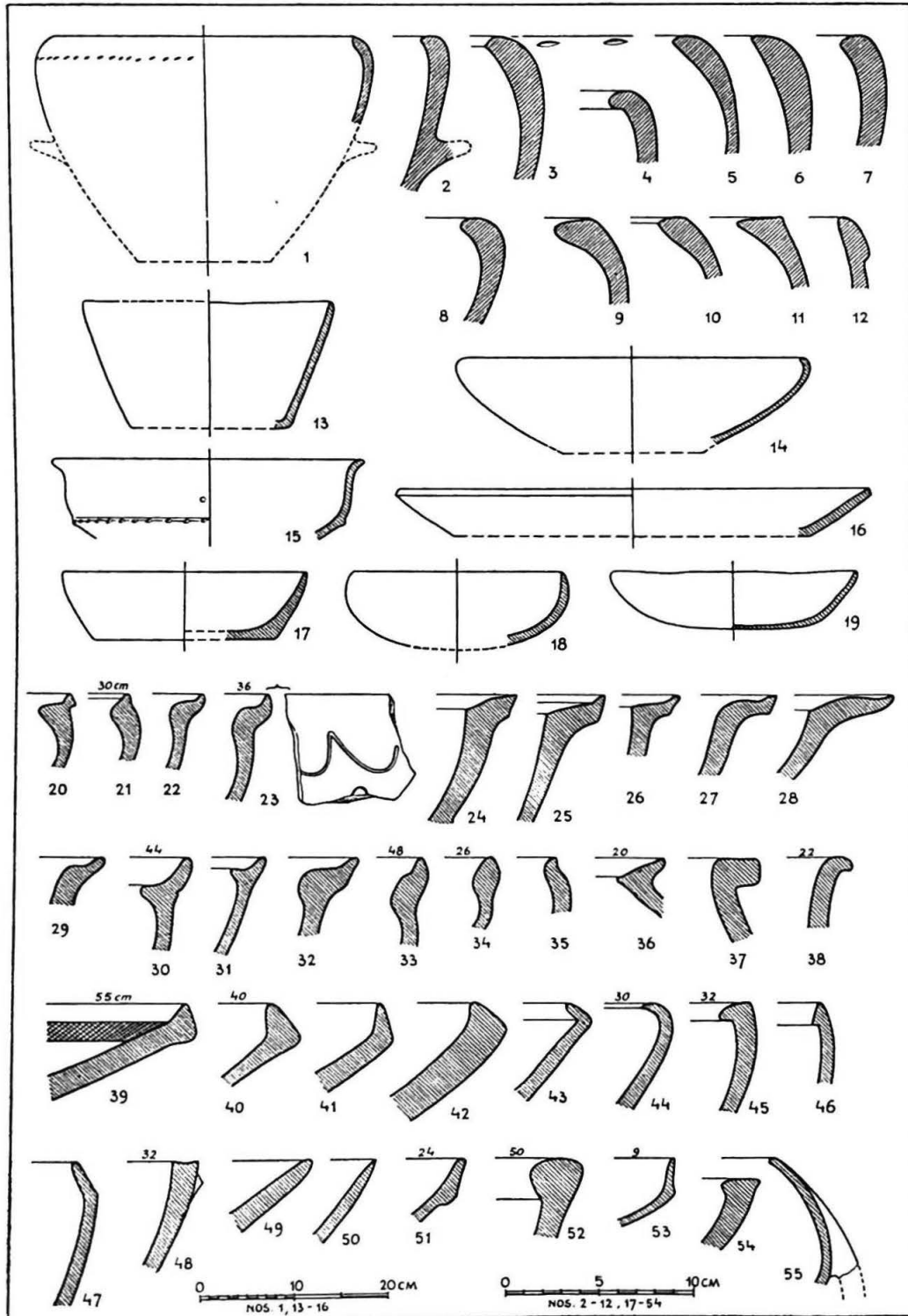
Jars.

No.	Pit	Description	Reference
13	A	Plastic band with rope design. Brown ware.	B. Sh. XV.
14	A	Plastic band with rope design. Reddish brown ware.	as above.
15	A-B, surface	Plastic band with row of impressions. Chocolate-brown ware.	as above.
16	B	Brown ware.	
17	E	Reddish ware; red to brown slip.	
18	F	Row of notches. Creamy ware.	M.I-IV, type 10 A.
19	F	Row of elongated notches. Creamy ware.	as above.
20	D	Elongated incisions. Light brown ware.	
21	D	Light buff ware; brown band-slip.	
22	D	Light buff ware; dark brown slip; irregular, horizontal burnish.	M.IV-VII, type 23 A (?).
23	D	Brown ware, white grits; red slip, burnished.	

Plate VI

FRAGMENTS OF BOWLS

No.	Pit	Description	Reference
<i>Hole-mouth bowls</i>			
1	B	Row of notches below rim. Buff ware, traces of red slip.	M.IV-VII, type 13.
2	D	Coarse, light brown ware; streaky brown to red wash.	
3	D	Row of notches near rim. Light brown ware, gray core; reddish-brown slip	
4	A—B, surface	Light brown ware; red slip.	
5	A	Light brown ware; brownish-red slip.	
6	A—B, surface	Coarse, light buff ware, gritty; red wash.	
7	A—B, surface	Light brown, gritty ware.	
8	B	Light buff ware; red slip.	
9	E	Light brown ware; red slip.	
10	D	Buff ware; thick red slip.	
11	B	Light buff ware; red to brown slip.	
12	A	Light brown ware; red wash.	
<i>Miscellaneous bowls</i>			
13	A	Part of hand-made bowl. Coarse, pinkish ware.	
14	B	Part of bowl. Brown ware; red slip on outside; purple on inside.	



Fragments of bowls.

No.	Pit	Description	Reference
15	A	Part of carinated bowl, reminiscent in shape of the gray-burnished bowls like Pl. II:4. Plastic band with shallow impressions. Grayish-brown ware; red slip burnished inside and out. Mending hole.	
16	E	Part of large shallow bowl. Gritty, light brown ware; red slip.	
17	G	Light brown ware; red slip.	
18	A	Light brown ware; * traces of red wash. Charred rim.	M.IV-VII, type 20.
19	A	Part of hand-made bowl. Thin, light brown ware; red slip. Rim partly charred.	
20	D	Rim of bowl with inner ledge and outer ridge. Brown ware; red slip.	M.IV-VII, type 19.
21	D	Brown ware, gray core; red slip.	as above.
22	B	Brown ware; brown wash.	as above.
23	B	Incised wavy line below rim. Light brown ware; brown wash.	"
24	A	Brown ware; brown wash.	
25	G	Gritty, pinkish-brown ware; streaky brown wash.	
26	E	Gritty, brown ware; dark red slip.	
27	E	Ditto, red wash.	
28	B	Ditto, gray core.	
29	A	Ditto, yellowish-brown wash.	
30	D	Incised line below rim. Brown ware, gray core; reddish-brown wash.	J. Pl. XLII:8. Pl. XLII:8.

No.	Pit	Description	Reference
31	A	Light brown ware; reddish-brown wash.	
32	G	Brown ware, gray core; reddish-brown slip.	
33	G	Buff ware; reddish-brown wash. Dark brown bands on outside of rim.	
34	E	Light brown ware; reddish slip.	
35	D	Brown ware; dark red slip.	
36	G	Light brown ware, gray core; red wash. Black bands on rim.	
37	B	Light brown ware, gray core; red wash.	
38	D	Gritty, light gray ware; streaky brown wash.	
39	F	Brown ware; burnished red slip inside and over rim. Band of net-burnish.	B.Sh.XII. M.II-IV, type 22 A,B. B.M., level J.
40	E	Pinkish ware; traces of dark red slip.	as above.
41	D	Light brown ware, gray core; traces of red burnished slip.	"
42	A	Light buff ware, gray core: traces of red slip.	
43	A	Brown ware; brown to black slip. Pronounced wheel marks.	
44	D	Gray ware, gritty; traces of black slip.	
45	D	Coarse, light buff ware; gritty dark red slip.	
46	D	Brown ware; red slip.	
47	A-B, surface	Shallow impressions on ridge below rim. Light buff ware, brown core; traces of brown slip.	

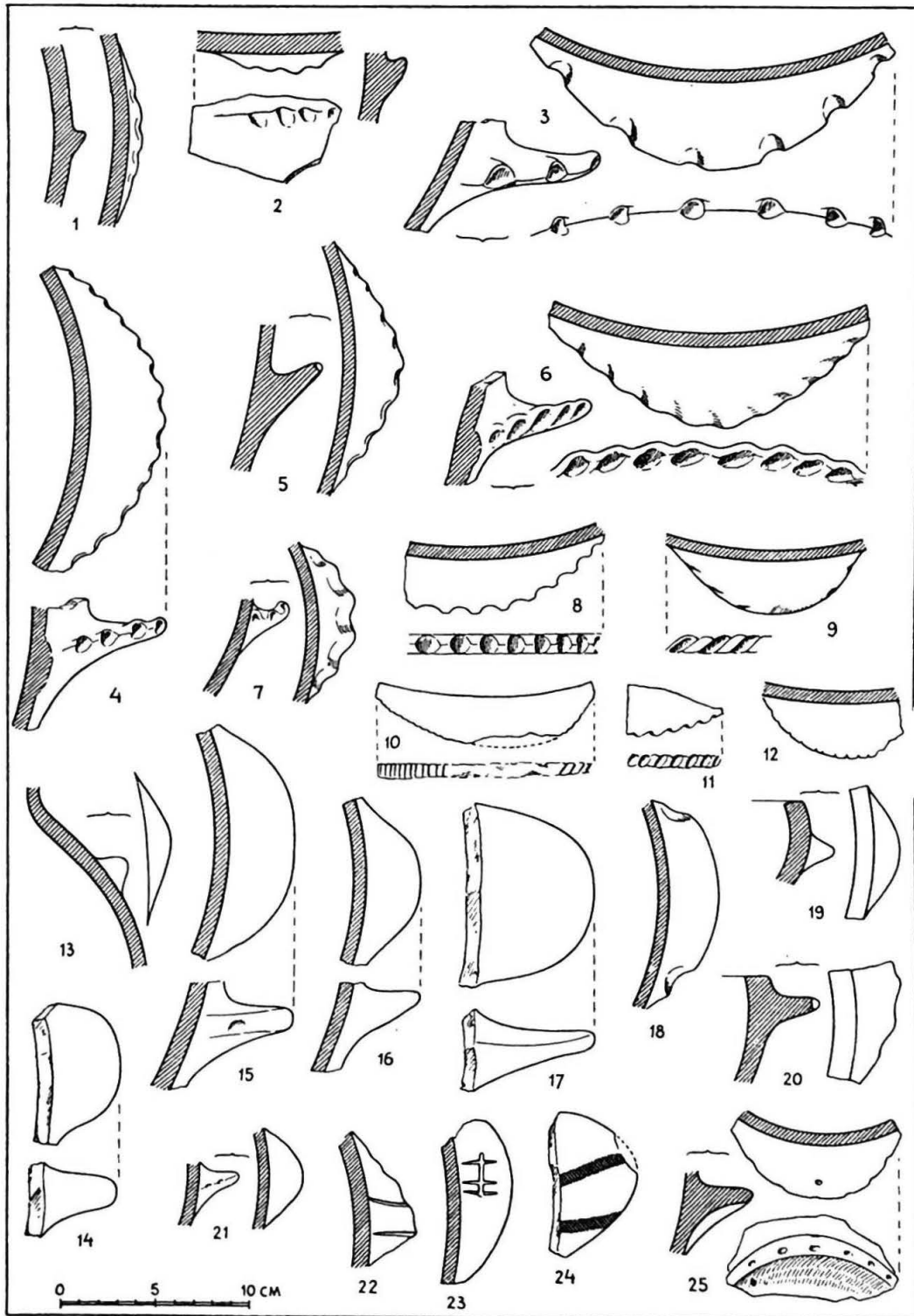
No.	Pit	Description	Reference
48	A	Beginning of some projection below rim. Light brown ware.	
49	B	Coarse, brown ware, gray core. Hand-made.	
50	B	Brown ware. Mending hole near rim.	
51	F	Brown ware; red wash inside and over rim.	
52	E	Coarse, gray ware.	
53	B	Pinkish ware; red slip.	
54	A	Brown ware; dark red slip outside; highly burnished inside and out.	
55	D	Upper part of a vessel with the beginning of a loop handle. Light brown ware; brownish-red slip, burnished.	

Plate VII

LEDGE HANDLES

No.	Pit	Description	Reference
1	G	Very narrow ledge handle with small finger impressions. Buff ware; brown band-slip.	B.Sh., Pl.II: 13.
2	A	Ditto. Grayish-brown ware; brown wash.	
3	Found before excavation	Scalloped. Light brown ware; red slip.	=A, Pl.II: 29. M.IV-VII, type 14 G. B.Sh.XIV-XV. B.Sh.XVI.
4	D	Scalloped. Brown ware; brown wash.	
5	A	Ditto. Light brown, gritty ware; reddish-brown slip (a similar handle with black slip was also found; not drawn).	as above.
6	B	Wavy* ledge handle. Buff ware; red slip.	M.IV-VII, type 14 H.
7	A—B, surface	Scalloped. Light brown, gritty ware; red slip.	B.Sh.XVI.
8	D	Impressions probably made with the help of a rounded stick or tool. Buff, gritty ware, gray core; brownish-red wash.	
9	B	Oblique impressions. Pinkish, coarse ware; brown wash.	
10	D	Narrow, teeth-like impressions. Red ware; gray core.	
11	A—B, surface	Narrow, vertical impressions. Red ware.	

* The term *wavy* is used here with the same meaning as in ENGBERG-SHIPTON, *Notes on the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age pottery of Megiddo*.



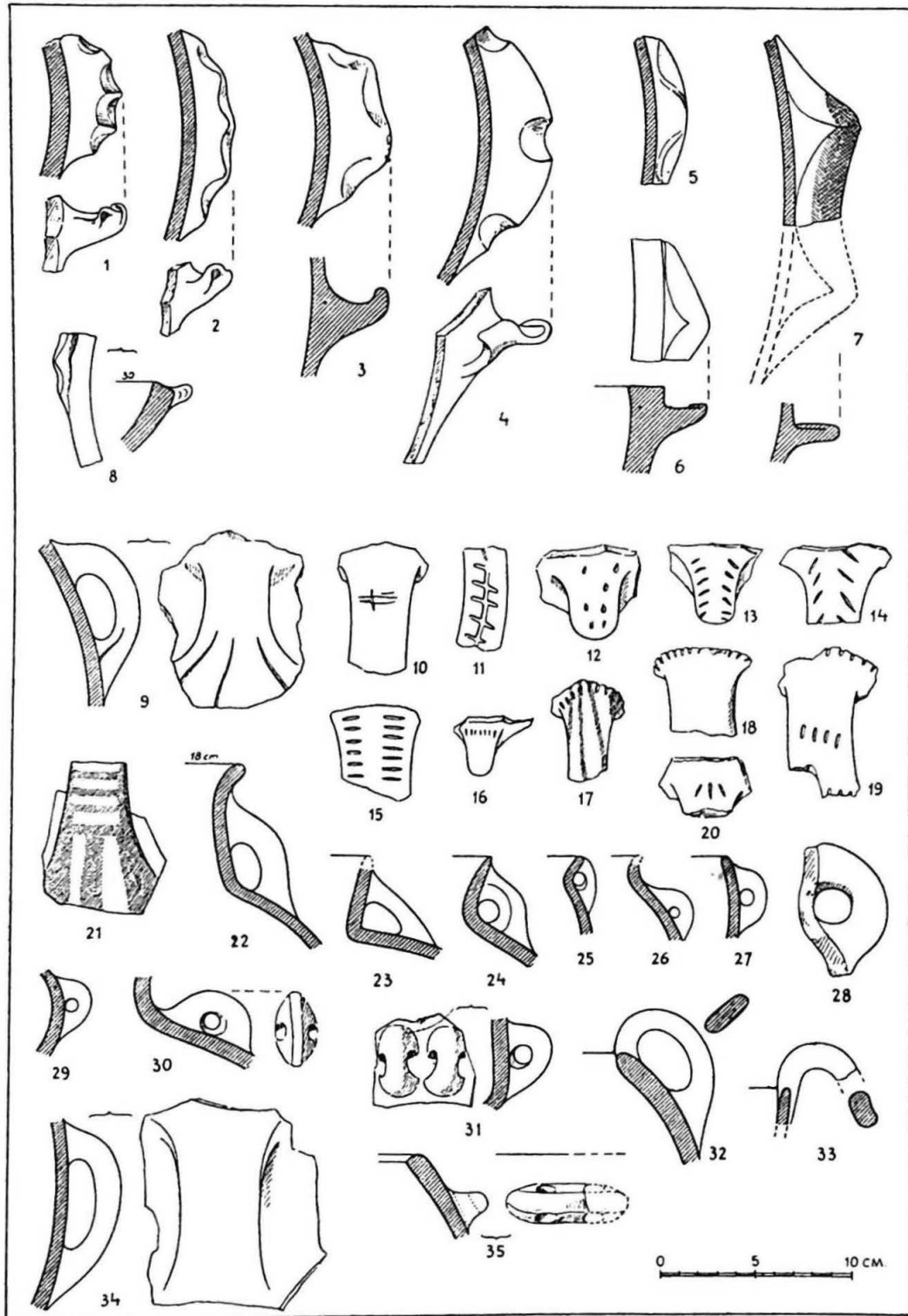
Ledge handles.

No	Pit	Description	Reference
12	D	Vertical incisions. Red ware, gray core.	
13	G	Plain, narrow. Pinkish ware; red slip.	B.Sh. XVIII.
14	A	Plain. Gray, coarse ware.	M.III-V, type 14 D.
15	A—B, surface	Ditto. Light brown ware, gray core; red slip.	M.III-V, type 14 E. B.Sh.XIII.
16	A	Ditto. Gritty, brown ware; dark brown, streaky wash.	as above.
17	D	Ditto. Pinkish-buff ware; red slip.	B.Sh. XIV-XV.
18	E	Two finger impressions, pushed up. Brown to red ware.	B.Sh. XIII.
19	D	Plain ledge handle near rim of bowl. Coarse, light brown ware; red slip on outside.	B.Sh. XII.
20	F	Ledge handle with finger impressions near rim of bowl. Light buff ware.	
21	D	Very small ledge handle, with shallow impressions. Light brown ware; brown wash.	
22	D	Finger impressions on edge; two incised lines on top of handle. Coarse, brown ware; brown wash.	
23	A	Finger impressions on edge of handle, incised lines on top. Reddish ware; red slip.	
24	A	Plain. Pinkish ware; bands in red colour.	
25	B	Very small impressions; circular depressions on top of handle. Reddish ware; brown wash.	

Plate VIII

HANDLES

No.	Pit	Description	Reference
<i>Ledge handles</i>			
1	D	Pushed-up, scalloped. Light brown, gritty ware.	M.I-IV, type 14 B.
2	E	Ditto, brown ware.	
3	E	Pushed-up. Buff ware; red slip.	M.I-IV, type 14 B.
4	E	Ledge with three fold-overs. Hard, gray to brown ware.	B.Sh.XII.
5	F	Folded. Light brown ware.	as above.
6	F	Ditto, near rim of bowl. Light brown ware.	"
7	D	Ditto; decoration in reddish-brown paint. Thin yellowish ware.	"
8	A—B, surface	Ledge on rim of bowl, finger impressions. Brown ware.	
<i>Loop and lug handles</i>			
9	G	Three incised lines. Light brown ware; brownish-red slip.	
10	D	Scratches on top of handle. Light brown ware, gray core.	
11	A	Deeply incised decoration. Reddish ware, gray core; traces of red slip.	
12	B	Notches. Light brown ware; red slip.	
13	D	Two rows of notches. Gritty, buff ware; traces of dark red slip.	M.VII, type 15 G.
14	D	Incised herring-bone pattern. Light brown ware.	B.Sh.XVIII.

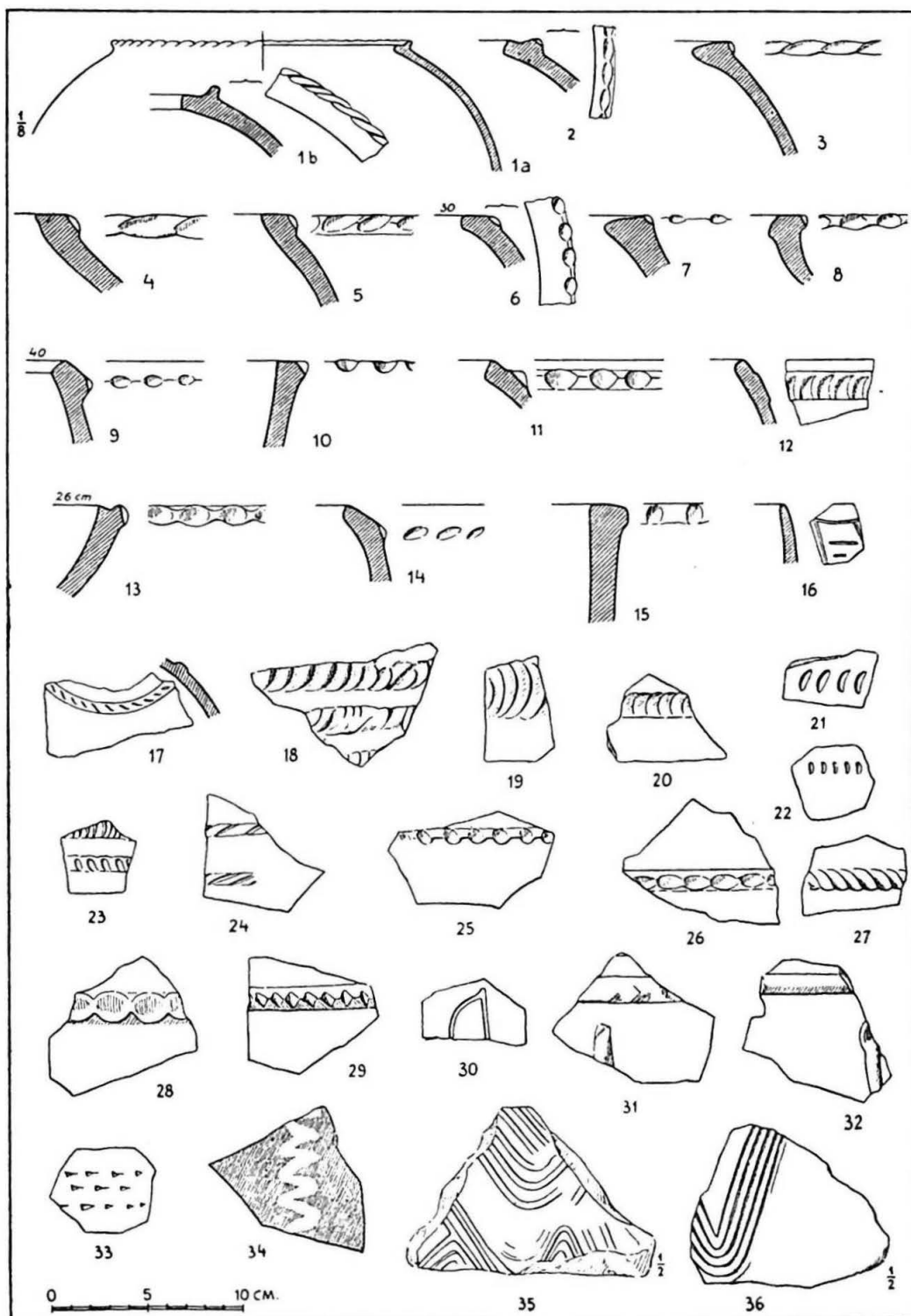


Handles.

No.	Pit	Description	Reference
15	D	Two rows of horizontal incisions. Grayish-brown ware; streaky brown wash.	
16	D	Notches on top of handle. Brown ware; traces of red slip, burnished.	
17	E	Notches on top of handle. Buff ware; bands of red paint.	
18	D	Notches on top of handle. Light brown ware; red wash.	
19	Found before excavation	Three rows of notches. Buff ware, black grits.	= A, Pl.II: 28. M.V, type 9F (Fig. 9).
20	D	Three notches on top of handle. Grayish-brown ware.	
21	D	Decoration in reddish-brown paint. Light brown, gritty ware.	
22	A	Pinkish ware, gray core.	
23	B	Handle of "gourd-jar". Brown ware; red slip outside and over rim.	M.IV-VII, type 26.
24	D	Ditto. Brown ware; brown wash.	as above.
25	D	Light brown ware; red slip.	
26	B	Lug handle. Buff ware; red slip, burnished.	
27	F	Brown ware.	
28	D	Light brown ware, gritty.	
29	A	Lug handle. Buff ware.	
30	F	Ditto. Light brown ware.	
31	A	Pair of handles. Buff ware.	Similar to B.Sh. XVII, Pl. II: 11.
32	D	Light brown ware; red slip.	
33	G	Light brown ware; red slip.	
34	E	Light brown ware; gray core.	
35	E	Horizontal lug handle, twice pierced. Buff ware.	Similar to T.G.II, Pl.93:10.

Plate IX
DECORATED SHERDS

No.	Pit	Description	Reference
1a,b	A	Frag. of hole-mouth jar with rope decoration on plastic band. Reddish ware; brown wash.	B.P.II, site H, Pl.XL:68.
2	G	Ditto. Buff ware, gray core.	For nos. 2-10 and 13-15, see T.G.I, Fig. 41: 10-11, 13-14.
3	B	Rim with rope decoration, Buff ware, gritty.	
4	B	Ditto. Buff to gray ware.	
5	A	Ditto. Buff ware; streaky brown wash.	B.P.II, site O.
6	B	Ditto. Pinkish ware; red wash.	
7	D	Ditto. Light brown ware; red slip.	
8	F	Ditto. Reddish-brown ware.	
9	B	Ditto. Light brown ware; red slip.	
10	A	Rim of bowl with finger impressions. Brown ware; red wash.	
11	D	Rim with finger impressions on plastic band. Buff ware.	
12	D	Rim; plastic band with half-moon shaped impressions. Light brown ware.	J. Pl.XXVIII: 24-26.
13	A—B, surface	Rim of bowl with finger impressions. Buff ware.	
14	B	Rim; elongated impressions. Light brown ware; reddish-brown wash.	
15	A	Rim of bowl; shallow impressions. Brown ware; reddish wash.	
16	A	Rim of bowl; decoration of incised lines. Light buff ware.	
17	F	Frag. of jug; plastic band with rope design. Light brown ware; red slip, burnished.	

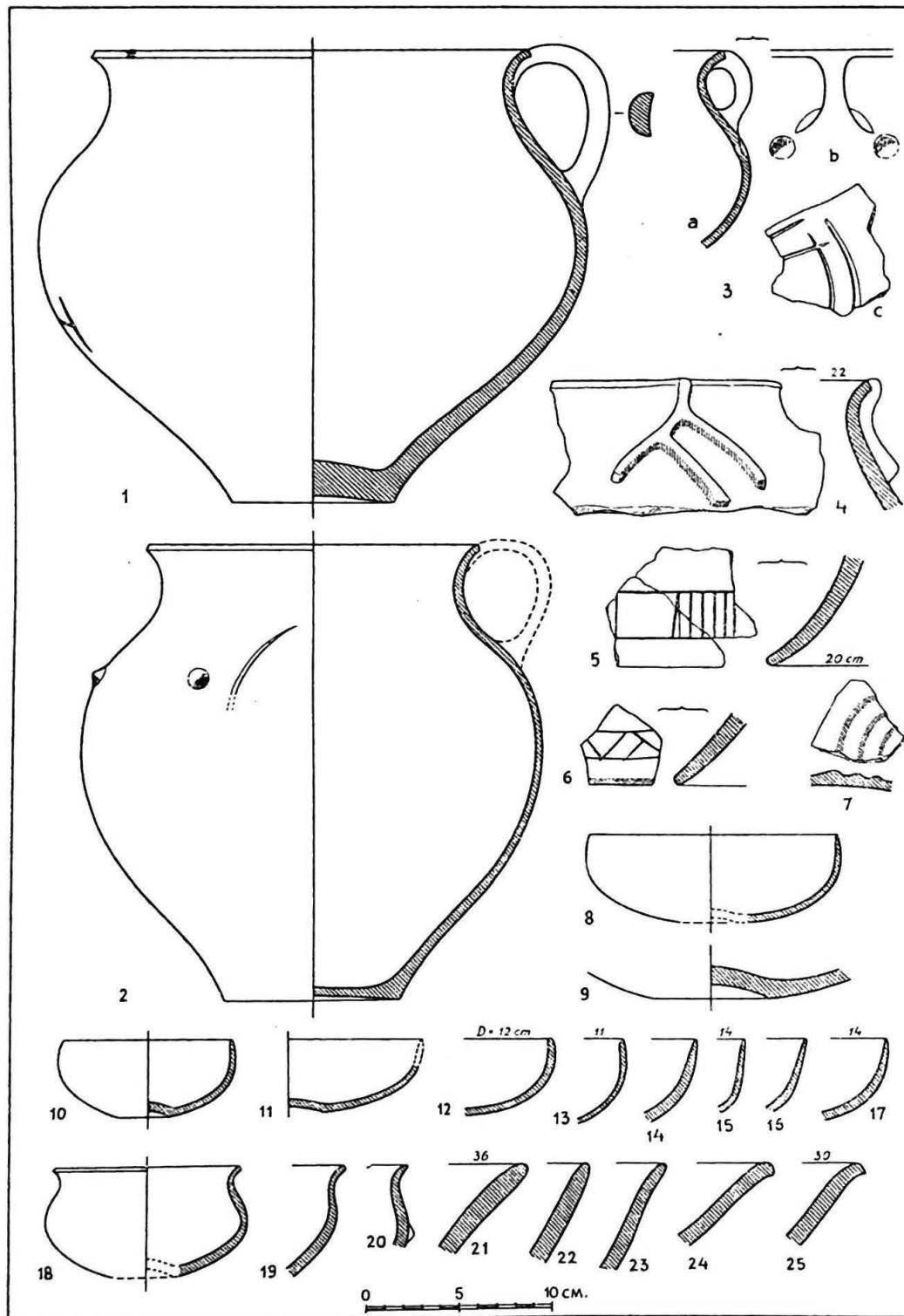


No.	Pit	Description	Reference
18	A	Frag. of jar; plastic bands with impressions. Red to black, coarse ware.	
19	E	Deep, half-moon shaped incisions. Reddish-brown ware, gray core.	
20	B	Plastic band with half-moon shaped impressions. Light brown ware; red wash.	
21	A	Half-moon shaped impressions. Light brown ware.	
22	G	Ditto. Red slip.	
23	F	Plastic bands with impressions. Red to brown ware.	
24	E	Plastic bands with rope design. Light brown ware; red slip.	
25	D	Plastic band with impressions. Reddish ware.	
26	A	Ditto. Light brown ware; brown wash.	
27	B	Rope design. Hard red ware.	
28	B	Plastic band with finger impressions. Buff ware, gray core; reddish-brown slip.	B.Sh. XVI-XVIII.
29	D	Plastic band with impressions. Hard, reddish ware.	
30	D	Incised decoration. Brown ware.	
31	A—B, surface	Plastic bands. Light brown ware.	
32	Found before excavation	Plastic bands. Brown ware; gray core.	=A, Pl. II: 37.
33	D	Rows of notches. Light brown ware.	
34	E	Light brown ware, thin red slip; wavy band in white paint.	
35	A, below bricks	Yellow sherd, pink and brown core; combed decoration.	
36	A	Brown sherd, pinkish slip; combed decoration.	

Plate X

KHIRBET-KERAK WARE

No.	Pit	Description	Reference
1	E	Pot; fluted decoration below handle and on opposite side of vessel. Lustrous black slip outside, red inside and over rim (Photo in Pl. XXI).	B.Sh.XI-XII.
2	E	Frgs. of similar vessel; remainder of decoration consisting of two knobs and a plastic curved line. Lustrous black slip outside, brown near rim, red inside.	as above.
3	E	Frgs. of smaller vessel; two circular impressions below handle; part of fluted decoration. Lustrous black slip outside, red inside and over rim.	"
4	E	Rim of crude, hand-made pot with plastic decoration. Brown ware, white grits; black to brown outside, reddish-brown inside; burnished.	
5	E	Lower fragment of hollow stand with incised decoration. Burnished reddish-brown slip inside and out.	B.Sh.XI.
6	F	Fragment similar to no. 5. Brown ware, black core; burnished reddish-brown slip inside and out; lower part blackened.	
7	F	Deep curved fluting. Burnished brown slip inside and out.	
8	E	Frgs. of bowl; reddish-brown surface; continuous horizontal burnish; gray core.	



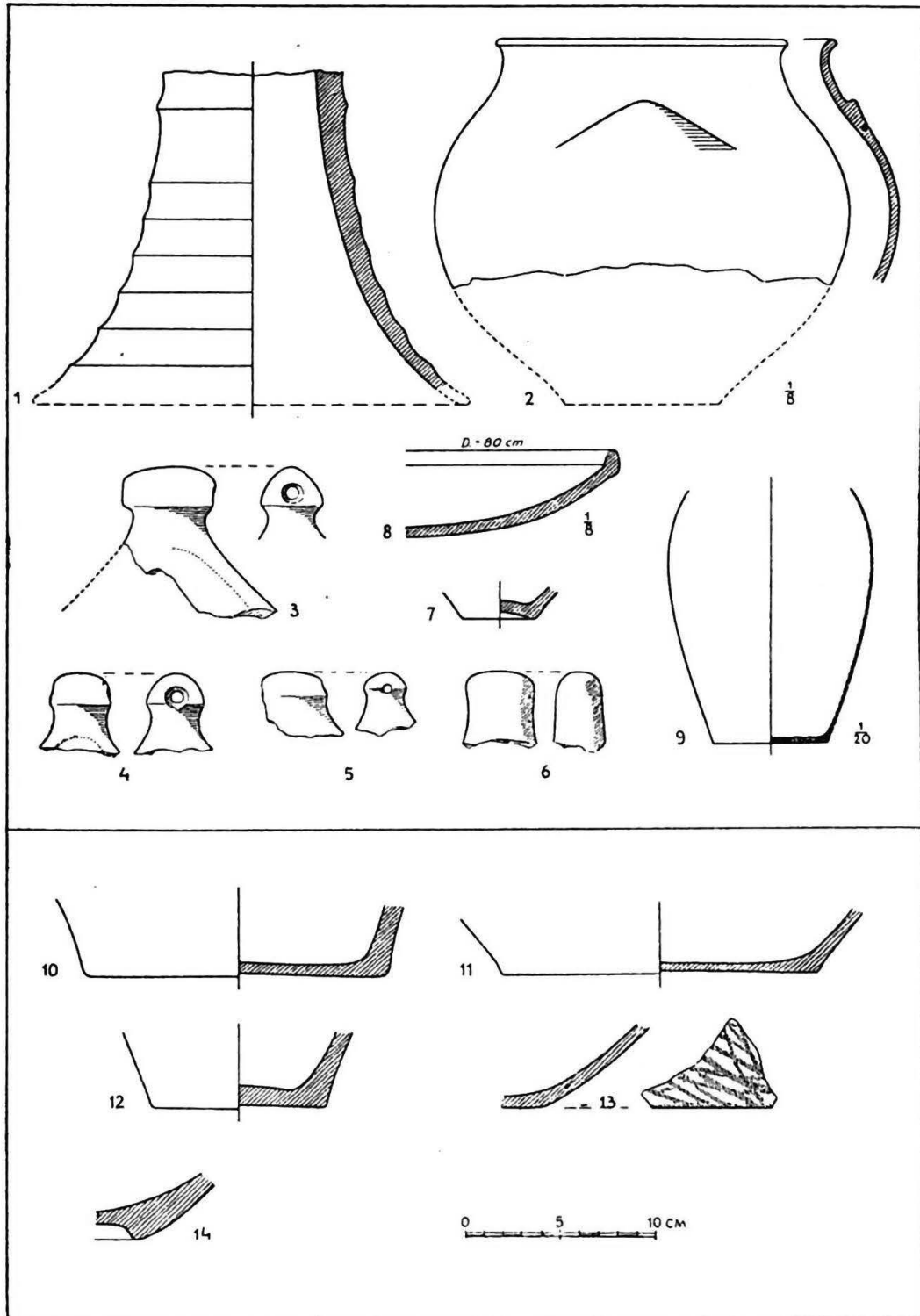
Khirbet-Kerak ware.

No.	Pit	Description	Reference
9	E	Concave base. Brown surface, burnished; black to brown break; coarse.	
10	E	Bowl with omphalos base. Light brown burnished surface, gray core.	B.Sh.XI-XII.
11	E	Part of similar bowl. Brown to red, burnished surface; gray core.	as above.
12	E	Ditto. Brownish-red, burnished surface, black core.	"
13	E	Ditto. Red surface, highly burnished, gray core.	"
14	F	Ditto. Highly burnished black to red slip outside, red inside.	"
15	E	Ditto. Burnished, creamy slip outside, reddish inside, gray core.	"
16	F	Ditto. Burnished, brown slip inside and out.	"
17	E	Ditto. Burnished red slip, gray core. Blackened rim.	"
18	E	Part of bowl. Highly burnished black slip on outside, brown near rim, red inside.	"
19	F	Ditto.	"
20	F	Ditto, with knob.	"
21	E	Rim of heavy bowl. Burnished reddish-brown surface; black core.	
22	D	Ditto. Light brown core.	
23	E	Ditto. Black gritty core.	
24	E	Ditto.	
25	E	Ditto. Blackened rim.	

Plate XI

No.	Pit	Description	Reference
<i>Khirbet-Kerak Ware (Nos. 1-7)</i>			
1	E	Burnished brown slip outside, red inside; gray core.	B.Sh. XII.
2	E	Part of large pot; angular projection on body. Burnished black outside, red inside and over rim. Brown, gritty ware, partly black at break.	
3	E	Upper part of lid with pierced knob. Burnished brown slip; coarse ware, black at break.	B.Sh. XII.
4	E	Similar knob.	
5	E	Ditto. Reddish brown ware.	
6	E	Unpierced knob on lid. Ware similar to that of no. 3.	
7	E	Base of small vessel. Burnished brown slip.	
8	E	Part of large bowl. Buff ware; traces of red slip inside and over rim, probably burnished.	B.Sh. XII.
9	E	Frgs. of pithos; interior full of shallow depressions, made probably with the finger; wheel-marks very pronounced on inside of base. Hard red ware.*	
<i>Miscellaneous bases</i>			
10	E	Gritty, reddish ware, poorly baked.	
11	D	Brown ware; red slip.	
12	B	Light brown, gritty ware; red to brown wash.	
13	D	Light brown ware, gray core; dark red band-slip.	
14	B	Coarse, brown ware, gray at break.	

* Many fragments of Khirbet-Kerak ware were found inside vessels nos. 8, 9.

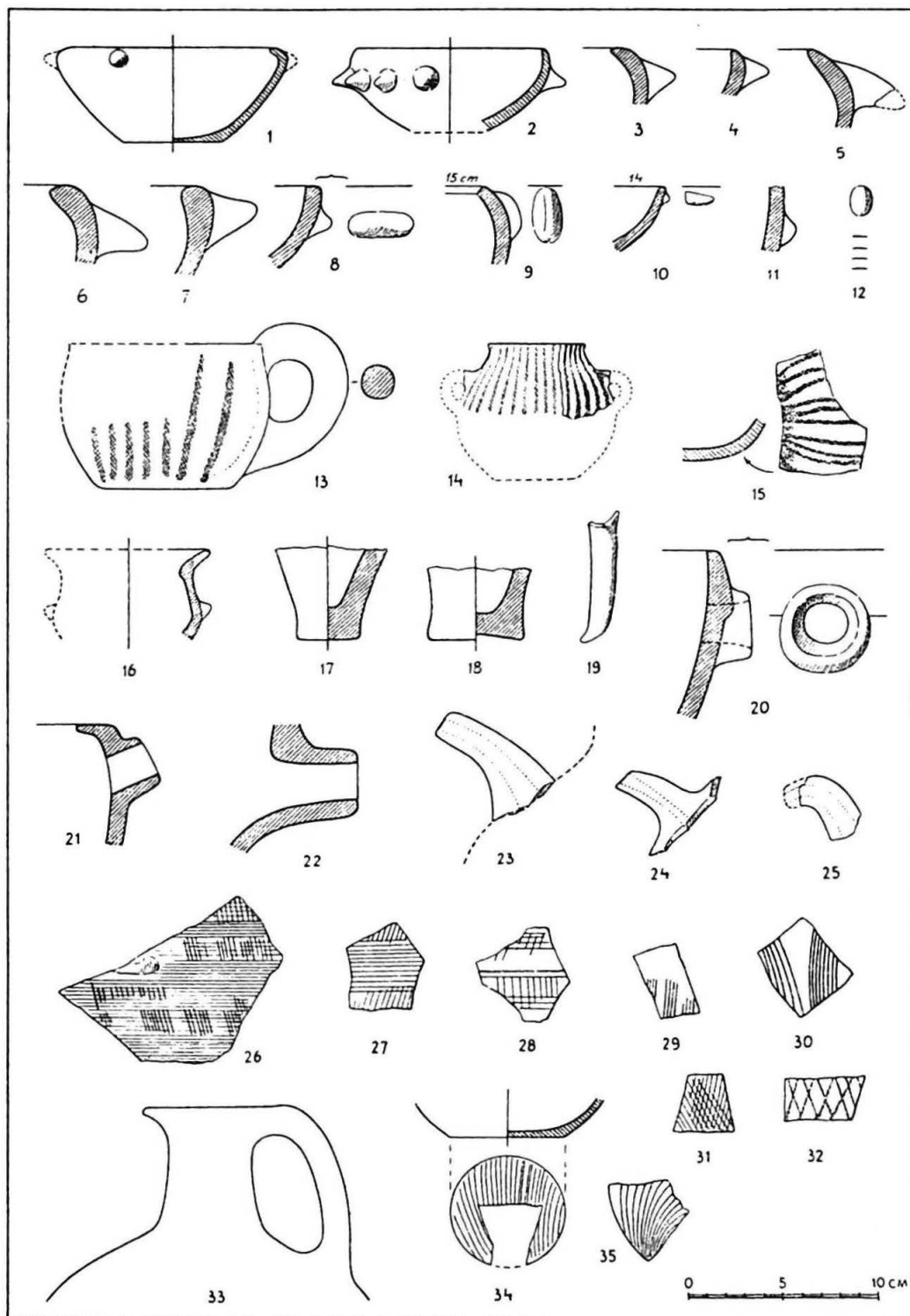


Khirbet-Kerak ware (continued). Miscellaneous bases.

Plate XII

MISCELLANEOUS SHERDS

No.	Pit	Description	Reference
<i>Bowls with knobs</i> (nos. 1—10).			
1	D	Frag. with one knob. Brown ware, dark reddish-brown slip inside and out.	M.IV-VII, type 18A. B.Sh.XV.
2	D	Frag. with three conoid knobs. Light brown ware; brown slip inside and out.	as above.
3	B	Conoid knob near rim. Light brown ware; dark brown slip outside.	"
4	D	Ditto. Red slip inside and out.	"
5	B	Ditto. Reddish-brown slip on outside.	"
6	E	Ditto. Brown ware, reddish-brown slip outside and inside.	"
7	E	Ditto.	"
8	D	Frag. with elongated, horizontal knob. Light buff, gritty ware, gray core; traces of red slip.	Probably M. Fig. 6, type 18 B, with one elongated and one conoid knob alternately.
9	D	Frag. with elongated vertical knob. Light brown ware; brown slip outside, red inside.	
10	A	Frag. of very crude, hand-made bowl; small lump of clay stuck on to it. Black ware.	



Miscellaneous sherds.

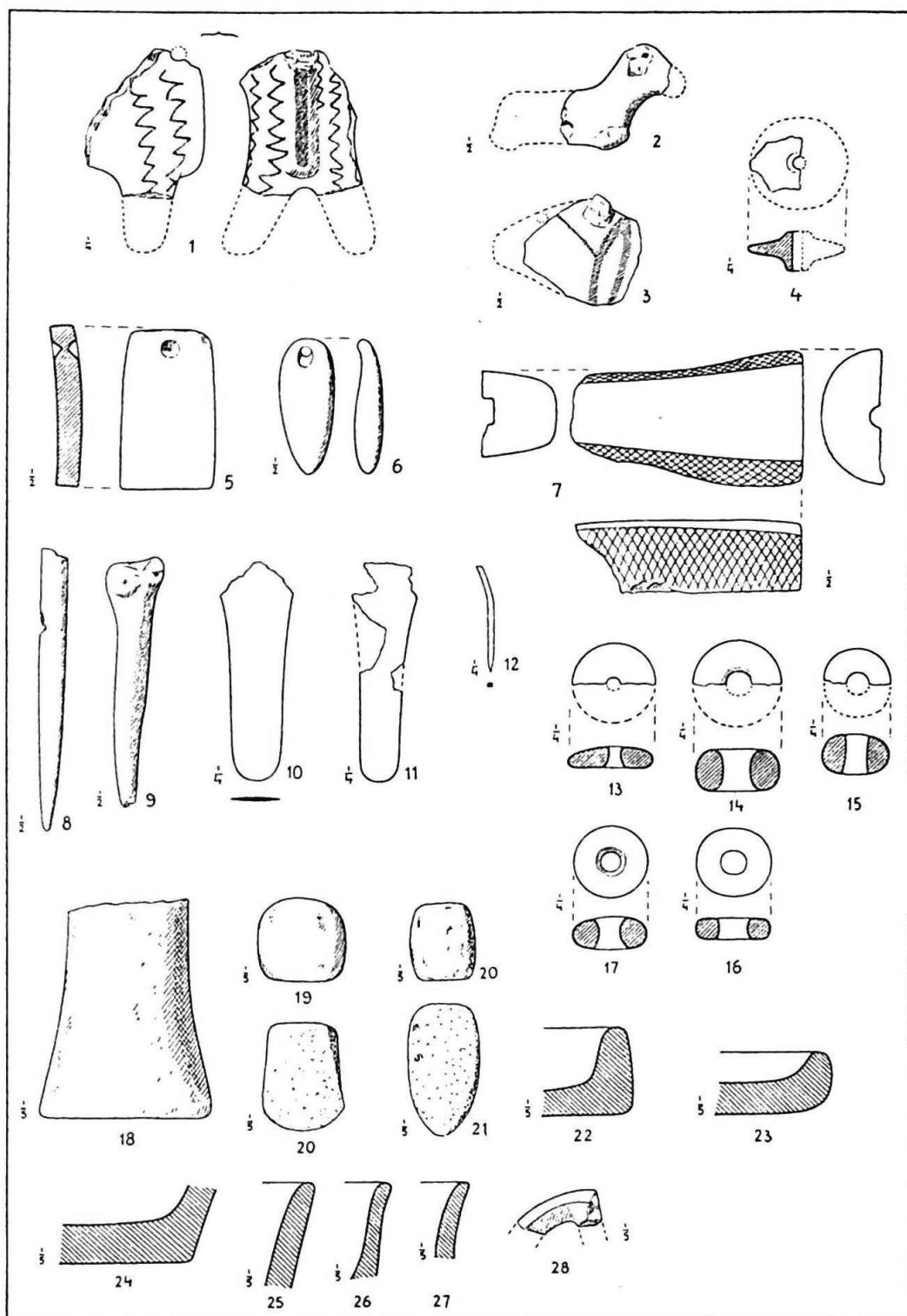
No.	Pit	Description	Reference
<i>Miscellaneous</i>			
11	A	Frag. with knob. Brown ware; brown slip.	
12	D	Frag. of jar with knob and incised lines below it. Thin brown ware with white grits.	
13	A	Frag. of crude, hand-made cup. Soft, light buff ware; decoration in brown paint.	
14	E	Frag. of small jar. Buff ware; decoration in red paint.	J. Pl. XXXVI: 2.
15	G	Frag. of base. Buff ware, gray core; painted red lines on exterior; traces of red paint on interior.	
16	B	Frag. of small vessel. Light brown ware; reddish wash inside and out.	
17	E	Stump base. Brown ware; traces of red slip.	
18	E	Ditto. Dark brown ware; red slip, probably burnished.	
19	D	Handle(?). Well levigated, buff ware; red slip, highly burnished.	
20	A	Frag. of deep bowl with short spout. Light brown ware; reddish-brown wash outside and over rim.	B.Sh.XIV. M.III-VI, type 27.
21	E	Ditto. Gritty, brown ware; traces of red wash.	B.Sh.XIII.
22	B	Spout. Light brown ware; red slip.	
23	D	Spout. Light brown ware; red slip.	B.Sh.XIV.
24	A	Spout. Buff ware.	

No.	Pit	Description	Reference
25	D	Spout. Buff ware; red slip.	M.IV-VII, type 23 A.
26—31	D—F	Sherds with pattern-combing. Brown to reddish ware.	M.I-IV, Fig. 8, A-E.
32	F	Red ware; net-burnished.	
33	D	Neck of jug. Buff ware; reddish wash.	
34	D	Base of jug. Buff ware; dark red slip. Curved lines on bottom, probably due to string-cutting while the vessel was still rotating.	
35	D	Frag. of similar base.	

Plate XIII

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS

No.	Pit	Description	Reference
1	B	Part of animal figurine with hollow body. Buff ware; thick creamy slip; decoration in reddish-brown paint. Small perforation on top of tail.	
2	E	Part of crude animal figurine. Reddish ware; black core.	B.Sh. XII. M., Fig. 15.
3	D	Frag. of hollow animal head. Buff ware; decoration in red paint.	
4	E	Part of small wheel. Brownish-gray ware.	
5	E	Pendant(?) made of potsherd cut into rectangular shape. Suspension hole unfinished. Red ware; burnished.	
6	A, among bricks	Pendant. Gray stone, polished.	T.G.I., Pl.37:1.
7	A	Part of handle(?). Greenish bone(?). Decorated with incised net pattern.	
8	A—B, surface	Bone pin or needle.	
9	A—B, surface	Bone pin.	
10—11	E	Dagger blades. Bronze.	Similar to M.T., Fig. 171, 9—10.
12	E	Bronze nail.	
13	A	Spindle-whorl. Soft limestone.	
14—16	A	Ditto. Basalt.	
17		Ditto. Limestone.	
18—22		Basalt implements.	
23—29		Frag. of basalt vessels.	

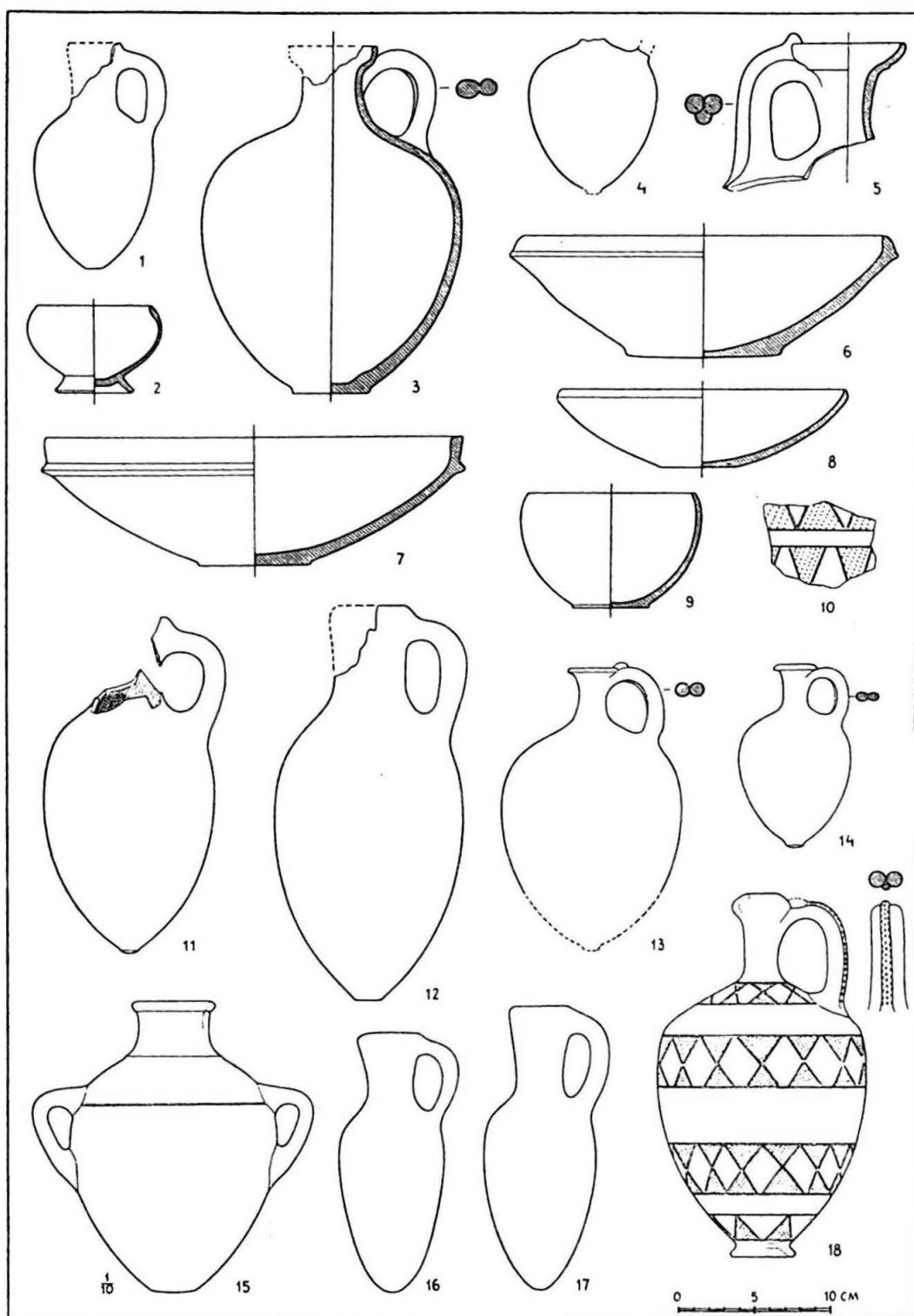


Miscellaneous objects.

Plate XIV

MIDDLE BRONZE POTTERY

No.	Pit, Tomb	Description
1	A, 3	Juglet. Light brown ware; traces of red slip.
2	A	Bowl. Reddish-brown ware; ring-burnished on outside.
3	E, 11	Jug. Light brown ware; red slip.
4	"	Part of juglet. Reddish ware.
5	E	Neck of jug with triple handle. Light buff ware; red slip, burnished.
6	E, 12	Bowl, fragmentary. Reddish ware.
7	E, 14	Bowl. Light buff ware.
8	E, 12	Bowl, fragmentary. Reddish ware.
9	"	Bowl, fragmentary. Light brown ware; traces of red slip.
10	E	Frag. of Tell el-Yehudiyeh juglet. Black ware; dotted ornament filled in with white paste; traces of burnish.
11	E, 12	Juglet, fragmentary. Buff ware; red slip, burnished vertically.
12	E, 13	Juglet. Light buff ware; traces of red slip.
13	F, 19	Juglet, fragmentary. Light buff ware; traces of red slip.
14	"	Juglet. Light buff ware; red slip, highly burnished.
15	"	Jar. Yellowish ware; incised lines on shoulder.
16	"	Juglet, fragmentary. Light buff ware.
17	"	Ditto.
18	"	Tell el-Yehudiyeh juglet, broken into many pieces. Triple handle; the third strand of it may represent a snake the head of which is missing. Dark gray ware; dotted ornament filled in with white paste; traces of brown burnished slip.

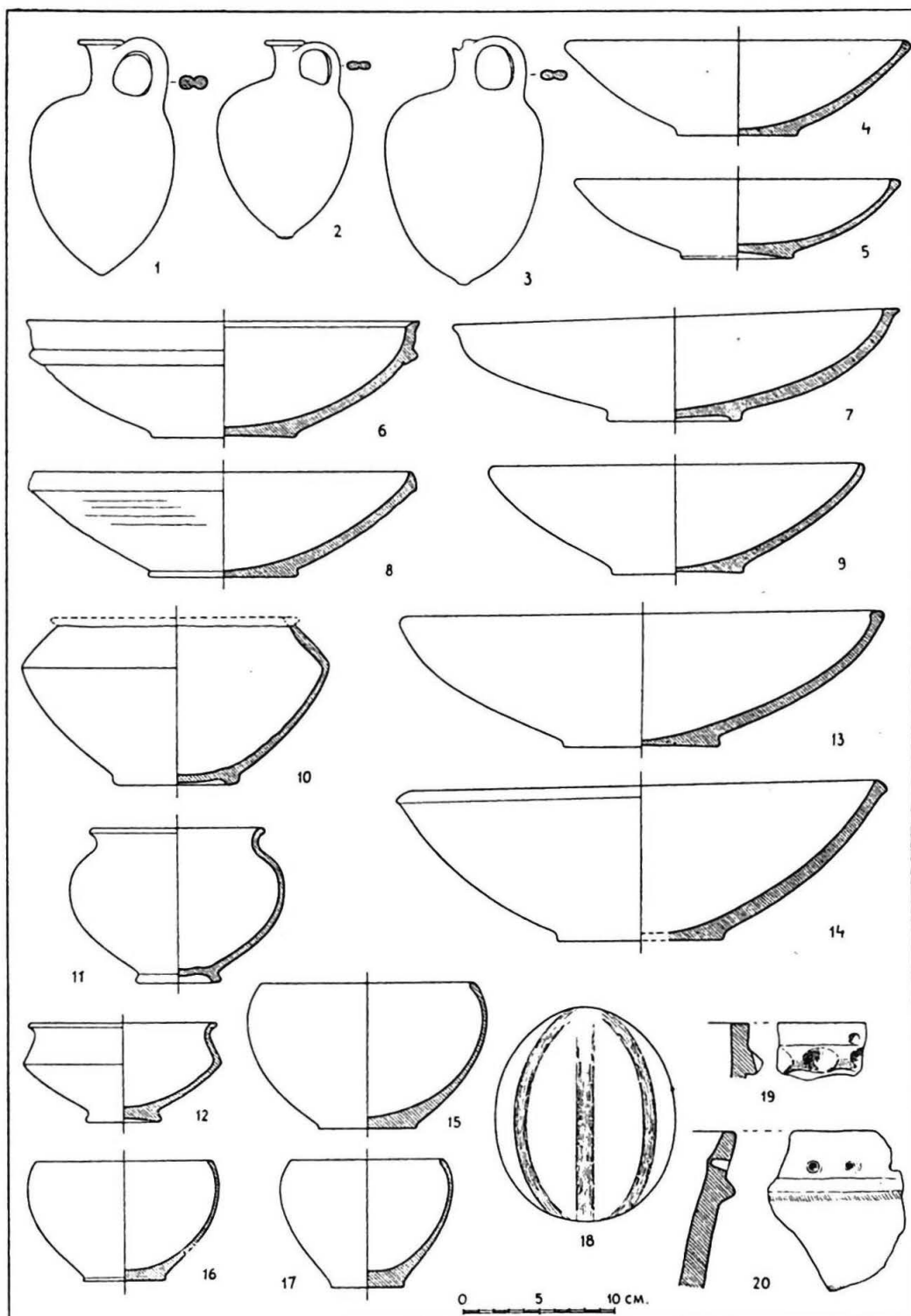


Middle Bronze pottery.

Plate XV

MIDDLE BRONZE POTTERY

No.	Pit, Tomb	Description	Reference
1	F, 19	Juglet. Light brown ware; red slip, burnished.	
2	"	Juglet. Pinkish ware.	
3	"	Juglet. Light brown ware.	
4	"	Bowl. Light brown ware.	
5	"	Bowl. Pinkish ware.	
6	"	Bowl. Pinkish ware, gray core; traces of red paint on outside.	
7	"	Bowl. Light buff to reddish ware.	
8	"	Bowl. Light brown to pinkish ware.	
9	"	Bowl. Light brown ware.	
10	"	Carinated bowl (rim missing). Reddish brown ware.	
11	"	Bowl, fragmentary. Light buff ware.	
12	"	Carinated bowl. Light buff ware.	
13	"	Bowl. Reddish ware.	
14	"	Bowl. Light buff ware; traces of red slip on inside.	
15	"	Bowl, fragmentary. Light buff ware.	
16	"	Bowl. Light buff ware; traces of red paint on rim.	
17	"	Ditto.	
18	"	Ostrich egg-shell, broken into many pieces. Yellow surface; decorated with incised bands, partly covered with darker paint.	B.P.II, Pl. XLII: 1021.
19	A	Rim of cooking pot; plastic band with finger impressions; hole partly perforated. Reddish ware.	B.M., level G.
20	A	Rim of cooking pot; plastic band; two holes, partly perforated. Reddish-brown, coarse ware.	B.M., level H.

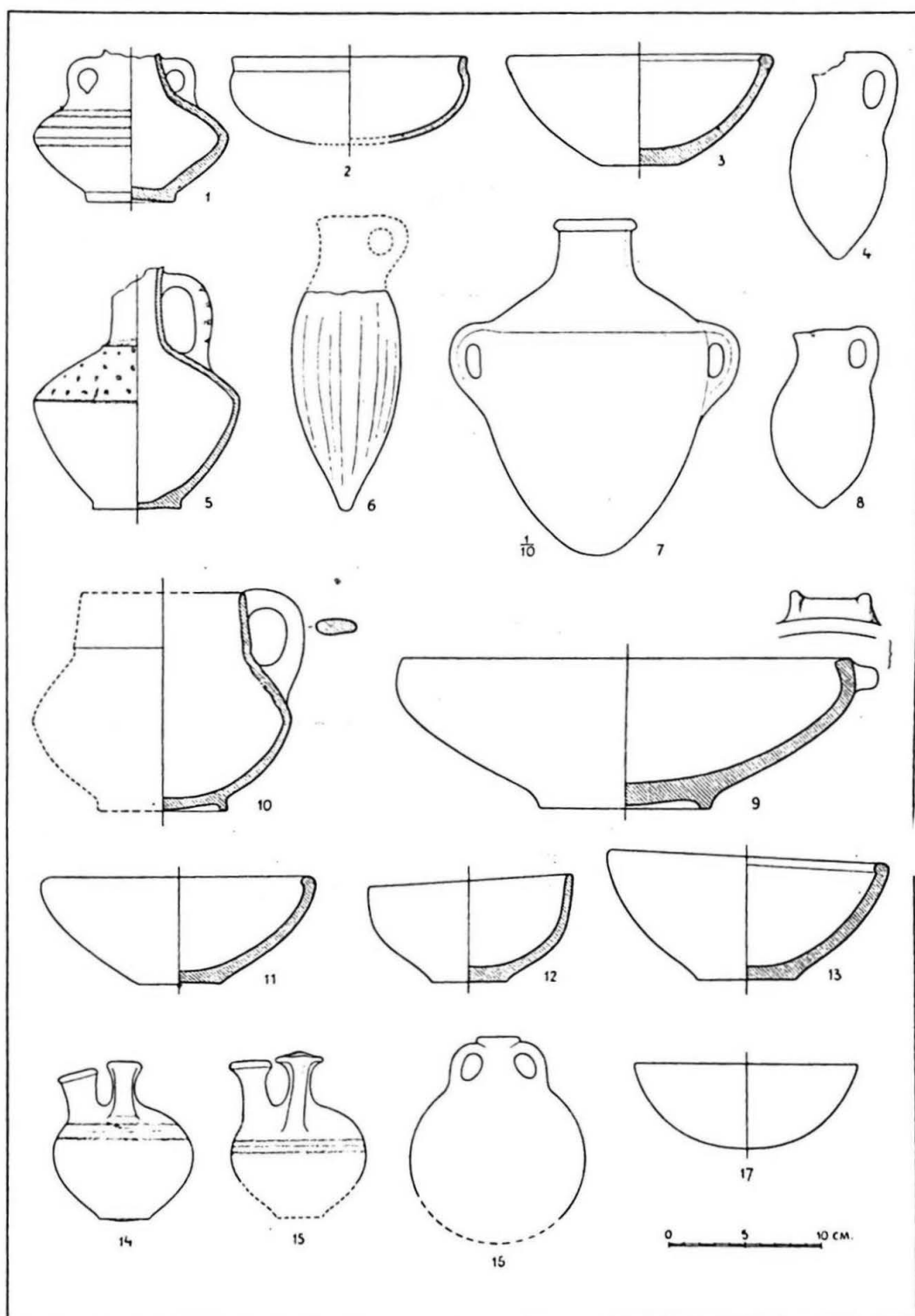


Middle Bronze pottery.

Plate XVI

LATE BRONZE POTTERY

No.	Pit, Tomb	Description
1	B, 5	Vase. Brown ware; traces of light buff slip. Decoration in red paint.
2	"	Bowl, fragmentary, skew. Red ware (found covering no. 1).
3	A—B, surface	Bowl, fragmentary. Brown ware.
4	B, 4	Juglet. Reddish ware.
5	D, 6	Jug. Reddish ware; decoration in red paint.
6	"	Knife-pared juglet, fragmentary. Yellowish ware.
7	D, 8	Jar. Yellowish to red surface.
8	"	Juglet with trefoil mouth. Pinkish ware (found inside no. 7).
9	"	Bowl with bar-handle. Buff to reddish ware.
10	"	Jug, fragmentary. Red ware, buff surface.
11	"	Bowl, fragmentary. Reddish ware.
12	"	Bowl. Reddish ware.
13	D, 9	Bowl. Buff to reddish ware.
14	D, 7	Stirrup vase; poor local imitation. Reddish ware, bands in red paint.
15	"	Ditto, fragmentary.
16	"	Frgs. of pilgrim flask. Reddish ware.
17	"	Bronze bowl.

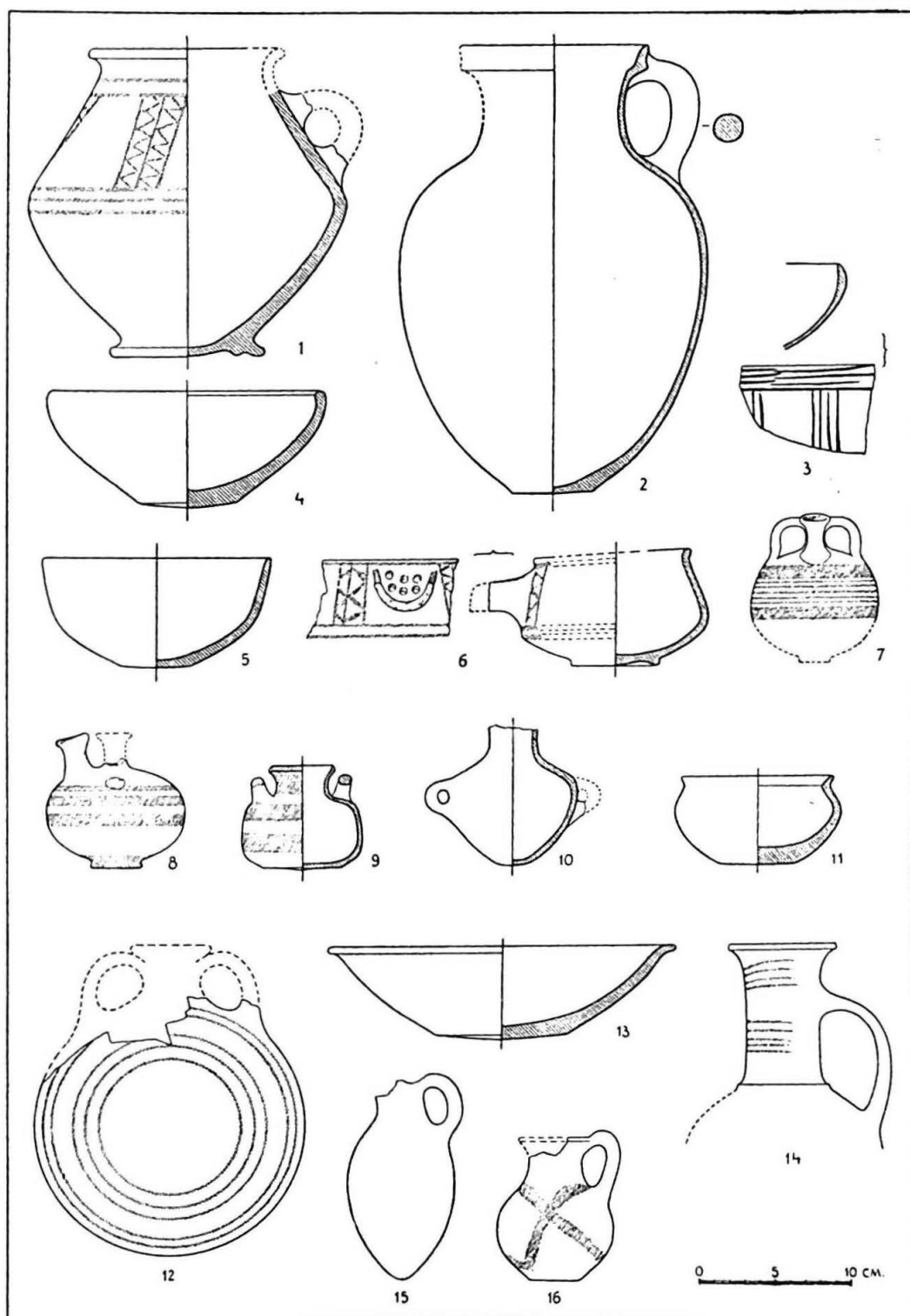


Late Bronze pottery.

Plate XVII

LATE BRONZE POTTERY

No.	Pit, Tomb	Description
1	E, 10	Jug. Light buff ware; decoration in red paint.
2	"	Jug. Brick-red ware.
3	F	Frag. of "milk-bowl".
4	F, 18	Bowl. Reddish ware.
5	"	Ditto.
6	"	Frag. of bowl with strainer spout. Decoration in red paint on pale buff background.
7	"	Part of stirrup vase. Dark brown to black decoration on pale buff background.
8	F, 17	Stirrup vase. Red decoration on pale buff background.
9	"	Pyxis. Red bands on pale buff background.
Nos. 6—9 are probably good local imitations of imported Mycenaean vases.		
10	F, 17	Juglet. Reddish ware.
11	"	Bowl. Reddish ware.
12	"	Frag. of pilgrim flask. Reddish ware, decoration in red paint.
13	"	Bowl, fragmentary. Reddish ware.
14	G	Neck of "bilbil". Black ware; white paint.
15	"	Juglet. Reddish ware.
16	"	Juglet. Dark buff ware; decoration in red paint.



Late Bronze pottery.

Plate XVIII

BAND-SLIP SHERDS

No.	Pit	Description	Reference
1	D	Buff ware, black to red decoration on pale buff background.	M.IV-VII, Figs. 8, 9.
2		Grayish buff ware, brown decoration on buff background.	as above.
3		Grayish ware, gritty, brown-red decoration on yellowish background.	"
4		Red ware, gray core, red decoration on yellowish buff background.	"
5		Gray ware, pink core, black decoration on pale buff background.	"
6		Grayish ware, brown-red decoration on yellowish background.	"
7		Buff ware, dark brown decoration on red background.	"
8		Reddish hard ware, brown-red decoration on buff background.	"
9		Reddish coarse ware, black to brown decoration on dark buff background.	"
10		Grayish buff ware with grits, black decoration on pale buff background.	"
11		Coarse buff ware, black decoration on pale buff background.	"
12		Buff ware, dark brown decoration on buff background.	"
13	D	Buff to reddish ware, dark brown decoration on buff background.	"
14		Red hard ware, brown core, red to brown decoration on buff background.	M., Figs. 8, 9.
15		Buff ware with grits, brown decoration.	"
16		Brown ware, pinkish surface, dark red decoration.	"
17		Reddish ware, dark brown decoration on pale buff background.	"

IV. ARAB BLOCK-HOUSE

(Fig. 10)

The Arab block-house is situated on the top of the tell (K on sketch-map, Fig. 1). It is nearly rectangular in shape, measuring 19×18.60 m. Two of its walls, the eastern (Pl. XXV,1 and Fig.

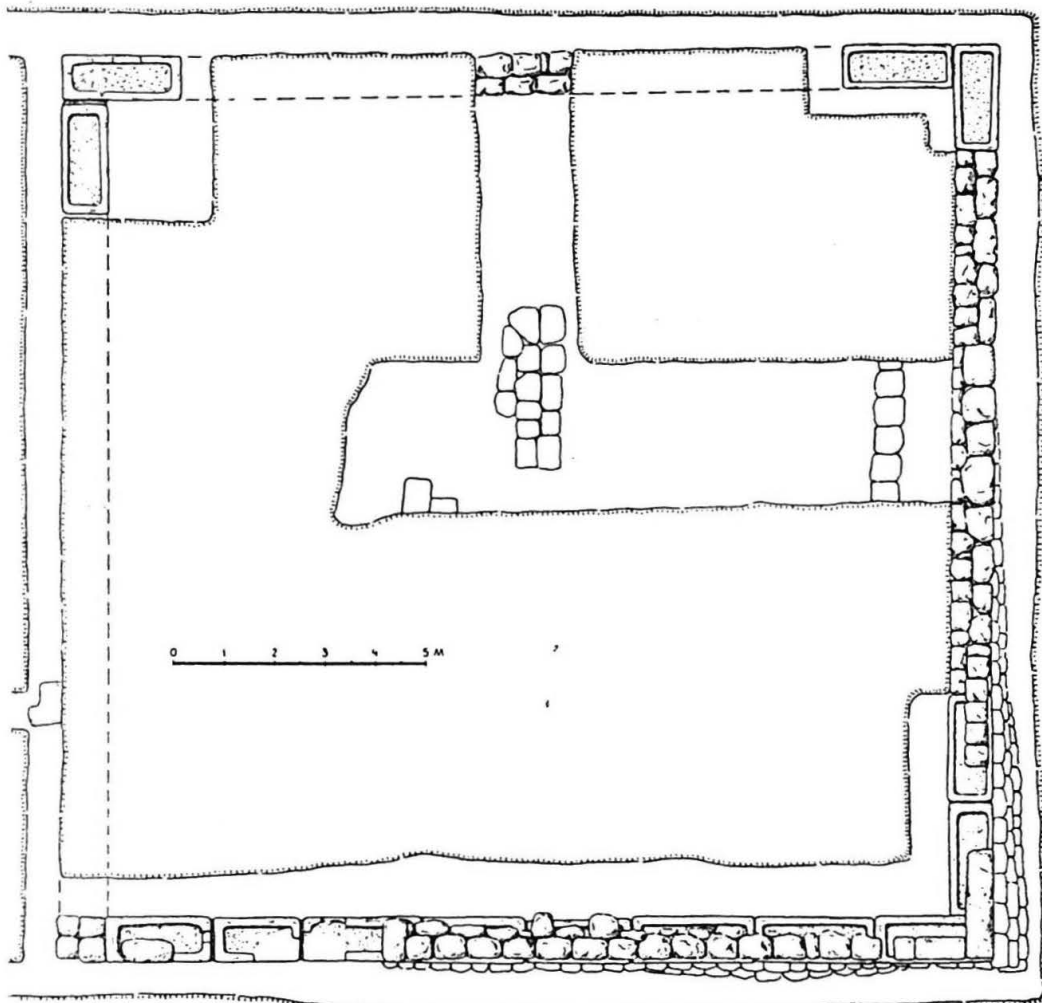


Fig. 10. Arab block-house, plan.

11) and southern (Pl. XXV,2 and Fig. 12) were preserved to a height of about 5.50 m; their width is ca. 1 m. The walls are

built of stones laid in more or less regular courses; they are not dressed, but only hammered into shape. The spaces between the stones are often filled in with rubble. The foundations are laid in offsets; the two lowest courses protrude for some 60 cm.

At a height of about 3.80 m above the lowest foundation course, a number of sarcophagi were inserted into the wall; they occupy the height of two courses of stones. The inside of each sarcophagus was filled in with mortar and rubble, thus forming a suitable support for the courses above. The same re-use of sarcophagi as building material is found in the castle at Sepphoris.

The entrance to the block-house was either in its western or northern wall, but all traces of it have disappeared. Remains of a thick wall in the middle of the structure, running in a north-south direction, may have served as a support for vaults.

Arab painted pottery found on the spot would indicate that the block-house belongs to the post-Crusader period.

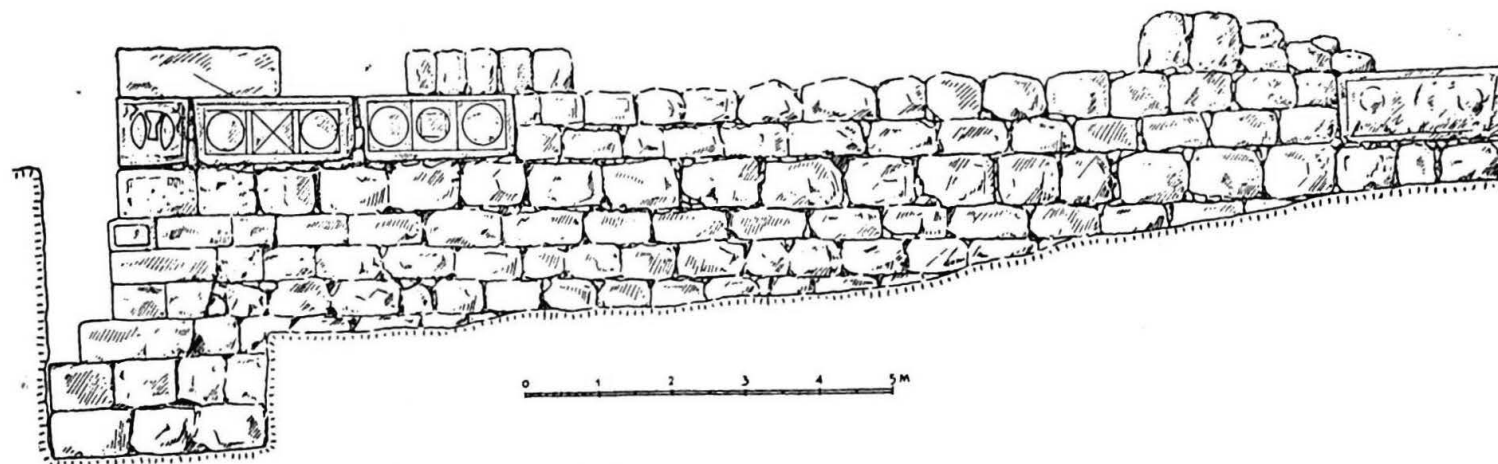


Fig. 11. Arab block-house, elevation of eastern wall.

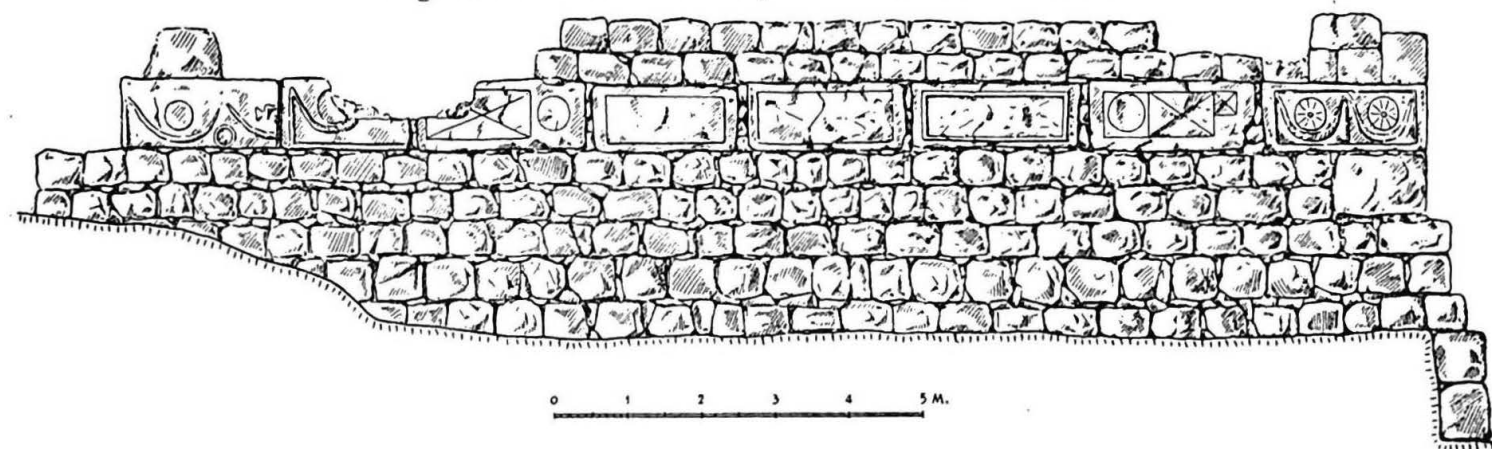


Fig. 12. Arab block-house, elevation of southern wall.

V. SOME FLINT IMPLEMENTS FROM 'AFFŪLA
(Pl. XXVI)

by JOAN CROWFOOT (Mrs. PAYNE)

A number of flint implements were found during the recent excavations at 'Affūla, but unfortunately, as most of the area had been disturbed by later tombs, the flints were not stratified, and in consequence it is not possible to be very definite about the industries present. All the flints fall within the broad limits of Chalcolithic to Early Bronze, and they probably belong to at least two industries. The various cultures of this period all have many types in common, so that it is not possible to divide the flints, on typological grounds, into the industries which may be distinguished. I will therefore describe all the types present, and then discuss the cultures to which they may belong.

Sickle-blades (nos. 1-10)

Sickle-blades showing a well-marked lustre along one edge or along both are much the commonest tools found at 'Affūla. They may be divided into four main classes:

(a) Small sickle-blades, made on irregularly-shaped blade sections, with some blunting retouch along the back or the ends, and fine denticulation along the cutting edge (nos. 7-10). These are quite numerous; the neater specimens are steeply retouched along the back and across both ends, while others, more irregular in shape, are retouched along the back and across one end, along the back only, across both ends only, or across one end only. All the specimens have some of this blunting retouch, which is made by retouch on either the upper surface or the bulbar face, but generally on the upper surface; two unusually thick specimens are retouched along the backs from both surfaces. The denticulation along the cutting edge may be made by retouch on either surface; it is quite fine, and much more regular in some specimens than in others. The average measurements of this class are 4.0 cm. in length, 1.5 cm. in width, and 0.5 cm. thick.

(b) Small sickle-blades, made on small thick blade sections, with blunting retouch along the back and ends, and coarse denticulation

along the cutting edge (nos. 5 and 6). There are only four specimens of this type of blade, of which two are very thick, and have steep retouch made from both surfaces along the back and across both ends; the other two, which are thinner, have neat retouch made on the upper surface along the back and across the ends. The coarse denticulation along the cutting edge is made by retouch on both surfaces, and is neat in the two thin specimens, but rougher in the thicker blades. The largest of these blades measures $3.4 \times 1.5 \times 0.6$ cm., the smallest $2.5 \times 1.3 \times 0.4$ cm.

(c) Fairly small sickle-blades, made on sections from Cananean blades¹; this class is the most numerous of all (nos. 1-4). The sections come from quite typical blades of the Cananean type, small and parallel-sided. All the specimens have fine denticulation along the cutting edge; the denticulation may be made by retouch on either surface, and in some specimens is very neat, though on the whole it is less regular than that on the blades of class (a). About one-third of the total number have been utilised along both sides; that is, first one side was used, and when it became too blunt, the blade was reversed in the haft, and the second side used. Of the specimens used along one side only, the majority have steep retouch along the back and ends, along the back only, or across the ends only. The average measurements of this class are 4.5 cm. in length, 1.75 cm. in width, and 0.4 cm. thick.

(d) Large sickle-blades, made on sections of large Cananean blades; this type is not very numerous. The blades are much broader than those used in class (c). Out of a total of twelve specimens, seven have rather irregular fine denticulation along one edge, while five have no retouch along the working edge. Three have a little blunting retouch along part of the back, and two across one end. The largest specimen measures $9.2 \times 2.5 \times 0.5$ cm., the smallest $6.0 \times 2.2 \times 0.6$ cm.

Arrowheads (no. 11)

There are only two specimens, both broken at the tip, and both with fairly small tangs, separated from the head by small notches.

¹ A Cananean blade is characterised by the removal of the central ridge on the upper surface, before the core is struck, a deep negative bulb of percussion remaining on the upper surface of the blade at the bulbar end.

In one specimen, neat flat retouch covers both surfaces of the tang. The other is much rougher, and is made on the bulbar section of a Cananean blade; steep retouch outlines the tang on the upper surface only.

Scraper

There is one very fine fan-scraper, made of tabular flint, the cortex being left over the upper surface; the striking platform is large, and the bulb of percussion is very prominent (Pl. XXIV). There is neat flat retouch on the upper surface along most of the side opposite to the bulb; the rest of the circumference of the scraper, including the striking platform, has been ground and polished to make it blunt and smooth to hold in the hand. The cortex on the upper surface is scored with lines, caused by use, and mostly running parallel to the retouched edge. The tool measures $17.5 \times 11.8 \times 1.8$ cm.

One small scraper, measuring $3.8 \times 3.2 \times 0.7$ cm., is also made on tabular flint, and has neat flat retouch more or less all round; there are several fragments of similar small scrapers.

End-scrapers

There are only two end-scrapers. One is made on a blade section, and has neat retouch round the end radiating out from the ridge on the upper surface of the blade. The other is on a large thick blade, with rough steep retouch round the end.

Borers (nos. 12-15)

There are seven borers. One of these (no. 12), on a pointed blade section, is particularly well-made, with nibbling retouch along both sides near the tip on the upper surface; the other end is a neat end-scraper. One other borer, on a small triangular flake, has fine nibbling retouch making the point; in this specimen the retouch is along one side on each surface.

Two borers, also on small flakes, have steep retouch along both sides on the upper surface. Three specimens, on irregularly shaped flakes, have points that are triangular in cross-section and roughly trimmed along all three ridges.

Celt (no. 16)

There is one celt, made of buff chert, with slightly curved sides, and a roughly oval cross-section. Both surfaces are trimmed all over; the one has flakes removed at right angles to the sides, while over the other surface flakes have been removed along both sides at right angles to them, and a few large flakes have been removed at right angles to the cutting edge. The working edge, which is slightly convex, is ground and polished on both surfaces, and the butt is trimmed to a rough edge. The celt measures $10.3 \times 4.2 \times 2.2$ cm.

Chisel (no. 17)

There is only one chisel; it is made of brown chert, and has crust left over both surfaces. The sides are slightly curved, and the cross-section is roughly semi-circular. There is secondary retouch along both sides, flakes having been removed at right angles to the sides on both surfaces. Both ends are worked to a rather irregular edge, the broader by retouch, the narrower by grinding and polishing. The chisel measures $8.7 \times 2.5 \times 1.6$ cm.

Blades

Blades of the Cananean type, nearly all broken, are quite common. Some are small and neat, like those used for sickle-blades of class (c), others are much larger, and correspond to the sickle-blades of class (d). A few blades are smaller and more irregular in shape; they have plain striking platforms, and in general show signs of battering at the bulbar end on the upper surface. Most of the blades have been utilised.

Flakes

Some are large and rough, and have been utilised, while others are merely small chips. The striking platforms are plain, and there is battering at the bulbar end like that on the smaller blades.

"Lames de dégagement"

There are only two specimens, both small, with battering along one side of the mid-rib.

Core

The only core is a chunk of chert, from which flakes have been removed more or less all over.

Various

One small blade, measuring $2.7 \times 1.1 \times 0.3$ cm., is made of dark grey obsidian.

One very small blade has nibbling retouch along the back and across one end.

A flake has steep retouch near its tip, along one side on each surface, making a very strong tip, too blunt to be used as a borer.

Four blade sections have some flat retouch along one side.

Two blades have rough steep retouch across one end.

One flake has a shallow notch made in one side.

Two flakes have squamous flaking along one side.

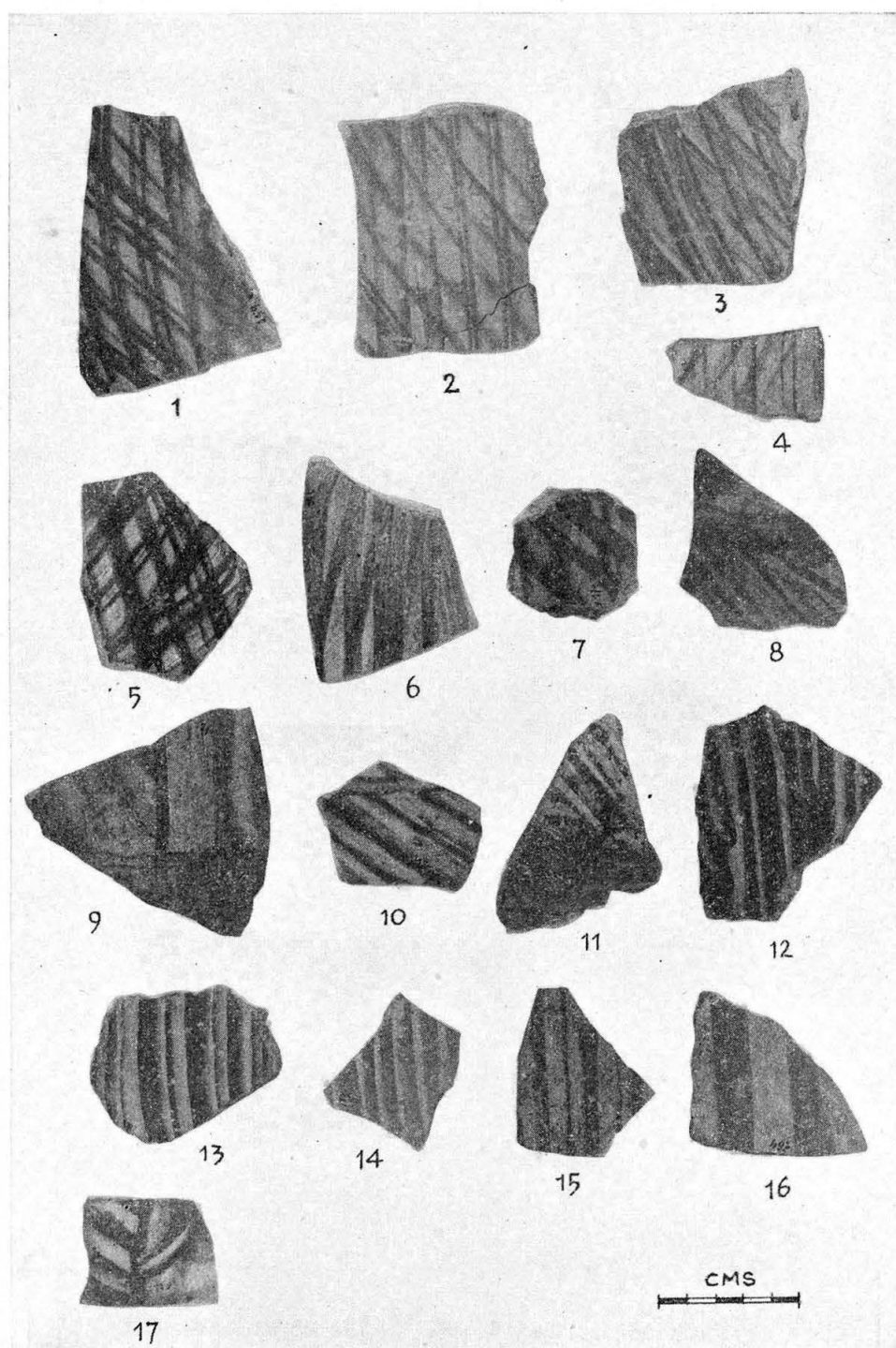
The flint implements described above probably come from two industries, one belonging to the Cananean culture,¹ and the other pre-Cananean.

The sickle-blades of classes (c) and (d) are undoubtedly Cananean; those of class (c) probably belong to an early stage of this culture, at the beginning of the Early Bronze age, for they are made on sections from small blades, and show more retouch along the edges than is usually found in a developed Cananean industry. The roughest of the arrow-heads is made on a Cananean blade, and so must be placed with the sickle-blades of class (c). Industries of about the same stage of development as this are found at Megiddo (stages I-VII)² and at Beisan (levels XVI and XVII).³ At both these sites, the Cananean sickle-blades are accompanied by a small proportion of sickle-blades of an earlier type, a survival of the

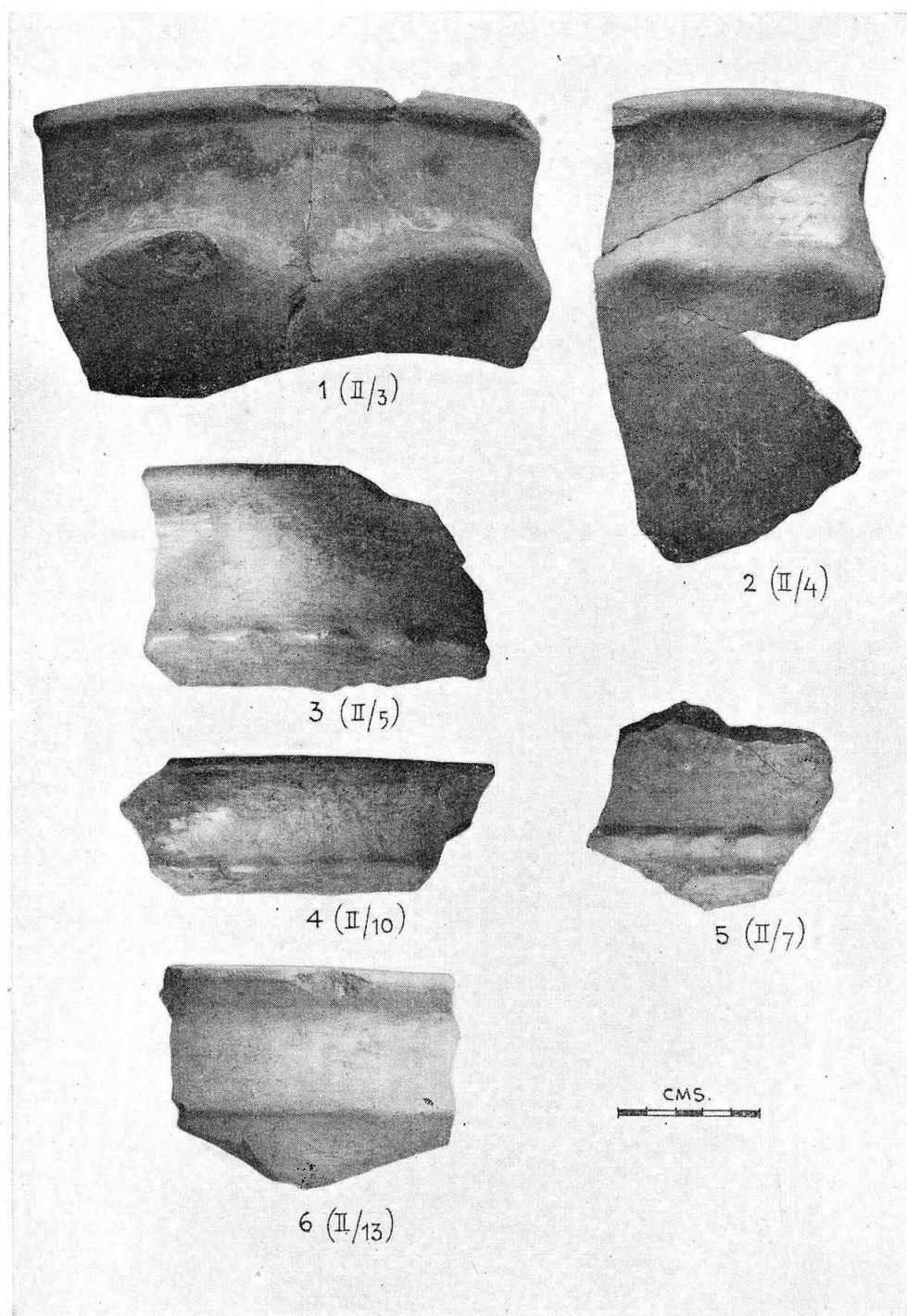
¹ R. NEUVILLE, "Notes de Préhistoire Palestinienne", in *J.P.O.S.*, X, 1930, pp. 205—210; and "Le Préhistorique de Palestine", in *Revue Biblique*, April 1934, p. 257.

² D.A.E. GARROD, "Notes on the Flint Implements", in R.M. ENGBERG and G.M. SHIPTON, *Notes on the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Pottery of Megiddo*, Appendix II, pp. 78—91.

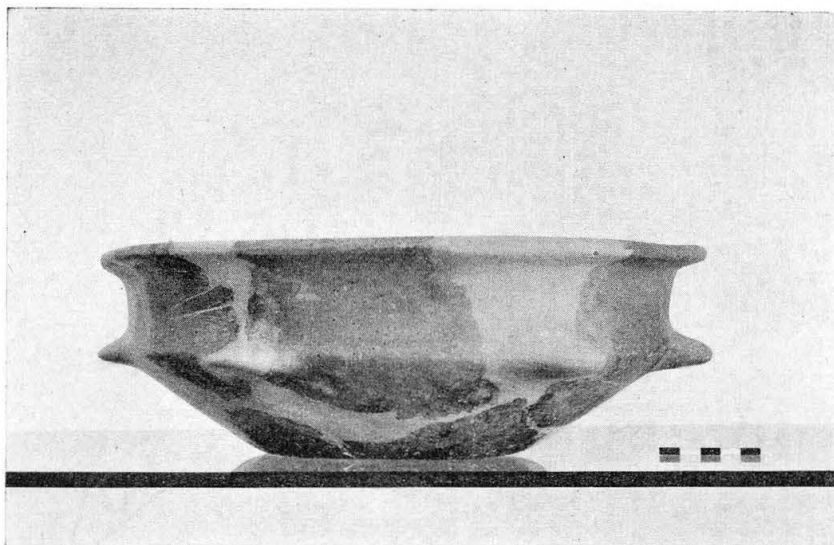
³ G.M. FITZGERALD, "Excavations at Beth-Shan in 1933", in *P.E.F. Q.St.*, July 1934; JOAN CROWFOOT, "Notes on the Flint Implements of Jericho" in *L.A.A.*, XXIV, nos. 1—2, p. 45.



Band-slip sherds.



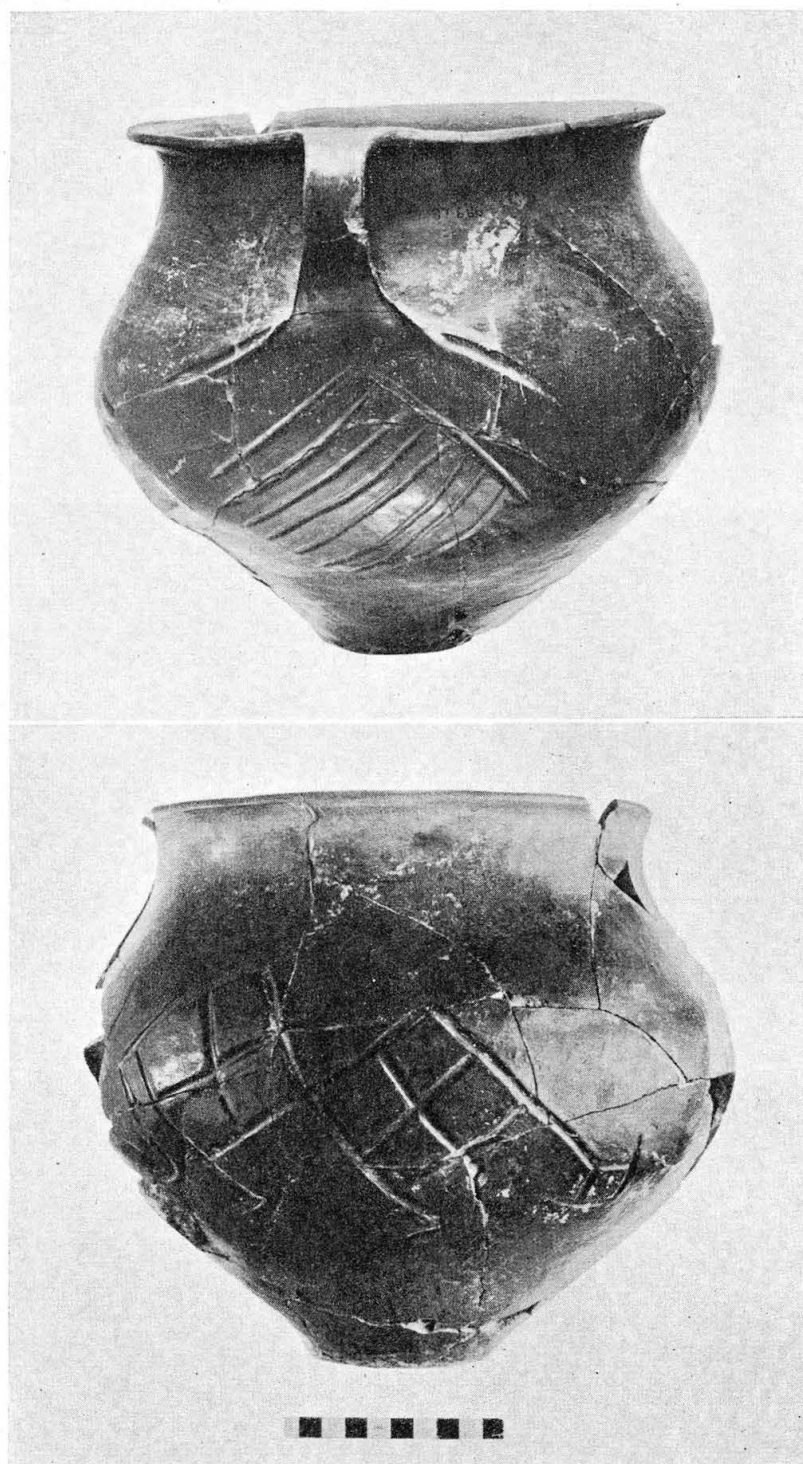
Gray-burnished sherds (for drawings see Pl. II).



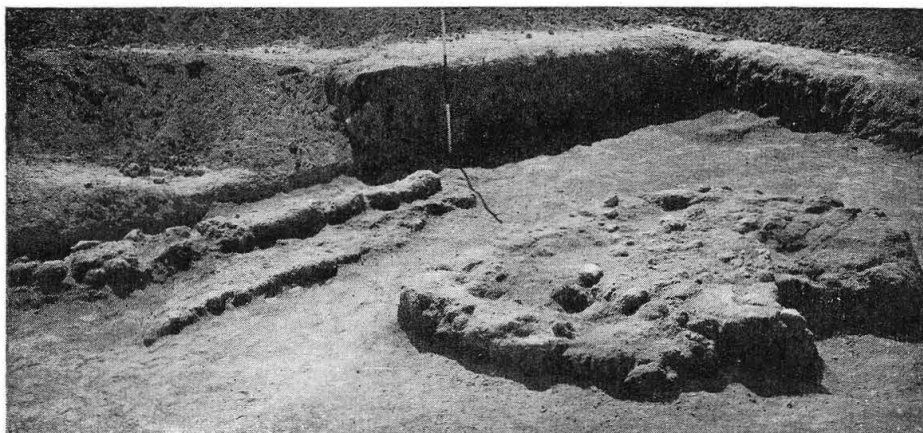
1. Gray-burnished bowl (for drawing see Pl. II,1).



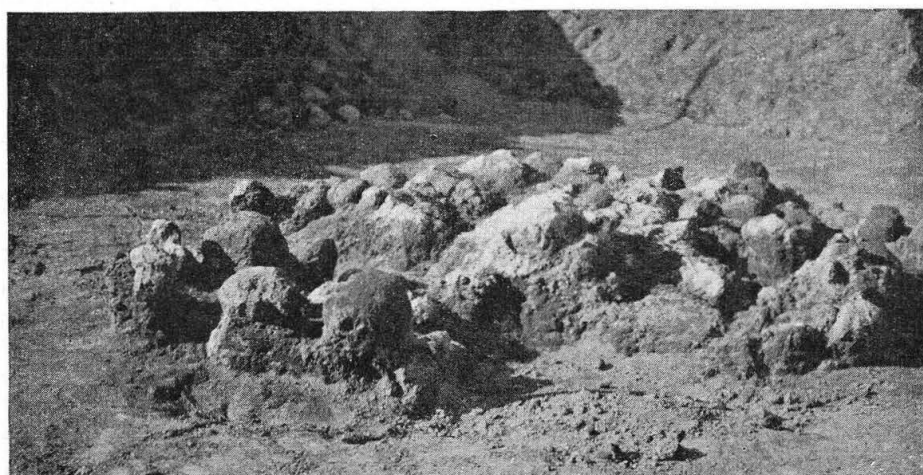
2. Jar (for drawing see Pl. V,1).



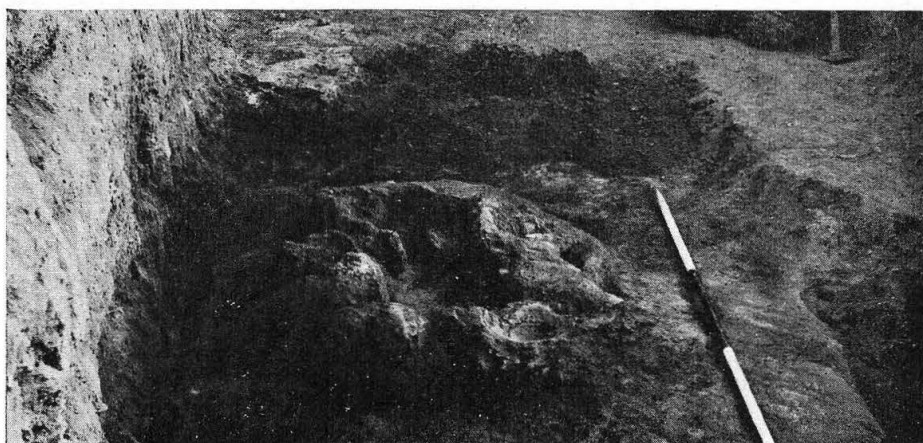
Pot of "Khirbet-Kerak" ware. By courtesy of the
Director, Department of Antiquities (for drawing see Pl. X,1).



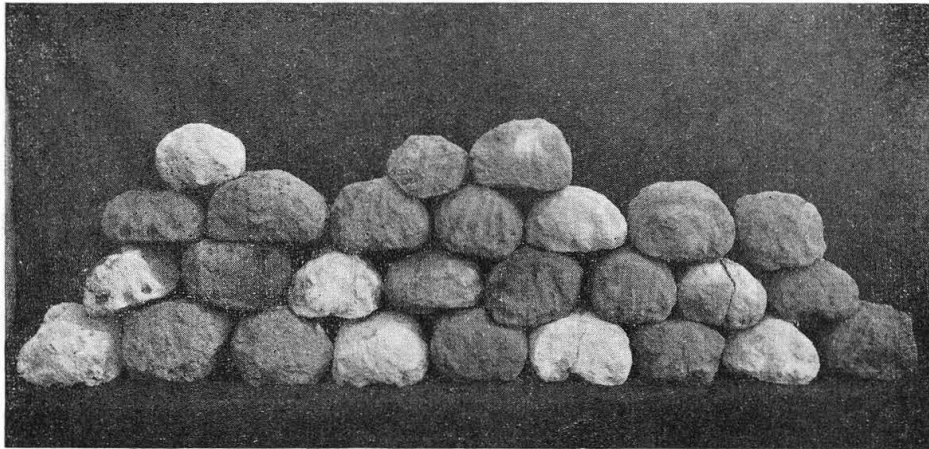
1. Row and heap of bricks in pit A.



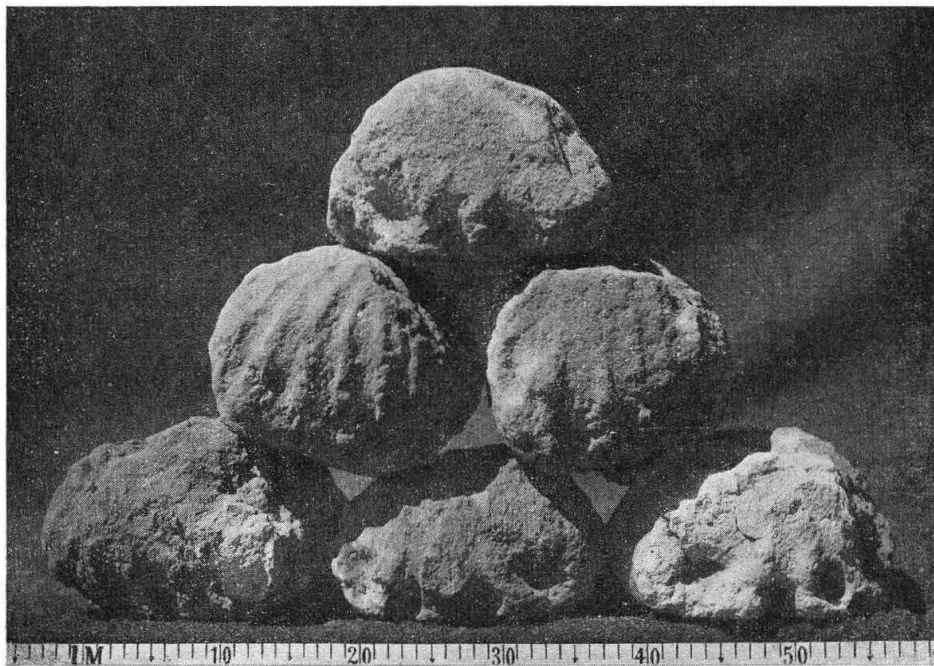
2. Heap of bricks in pit A.



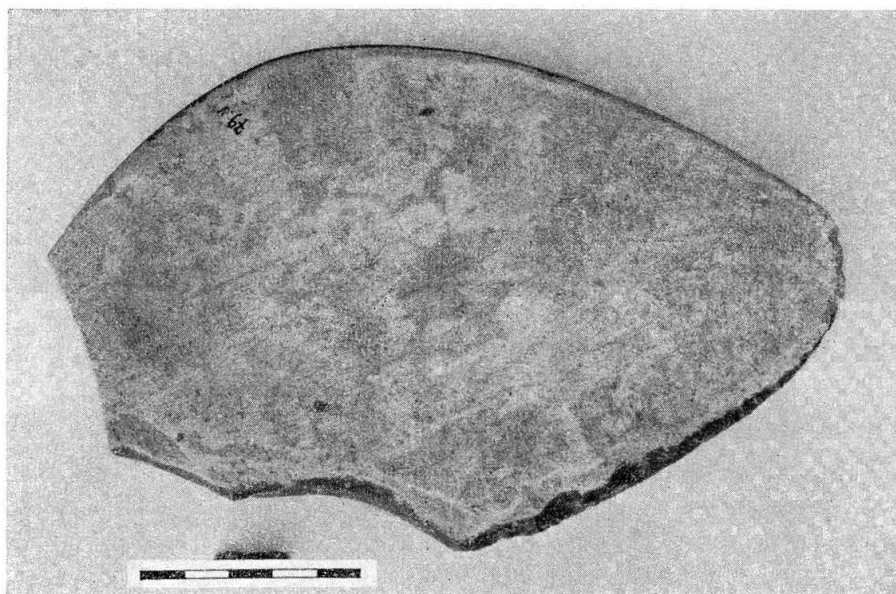
3. Oven in pit B (for drawing see Fig. 4).



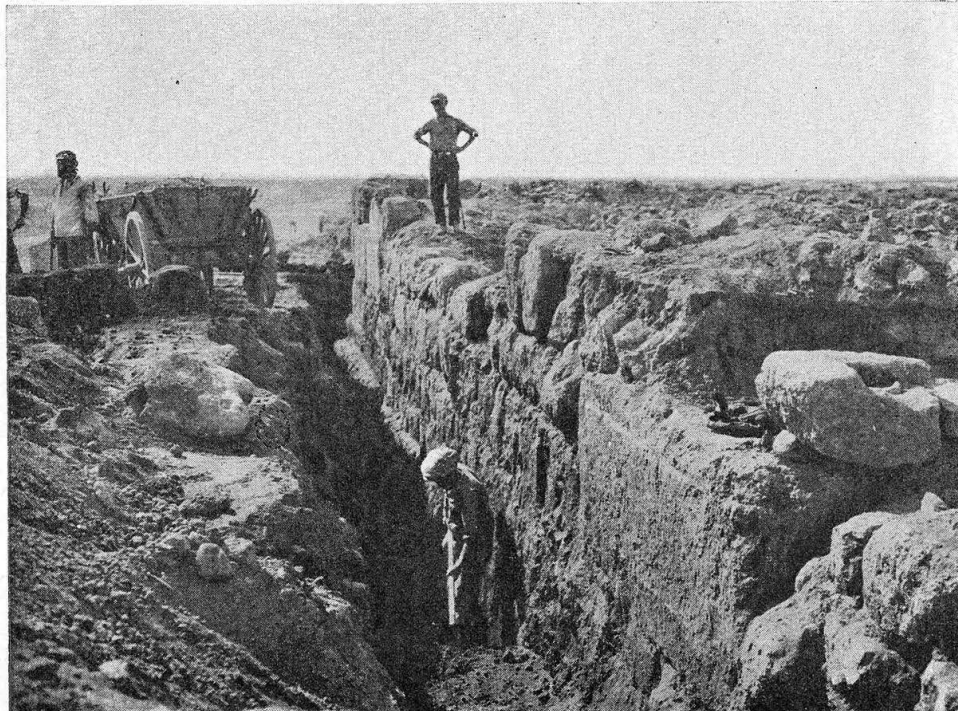
1. Bricks from pit A.



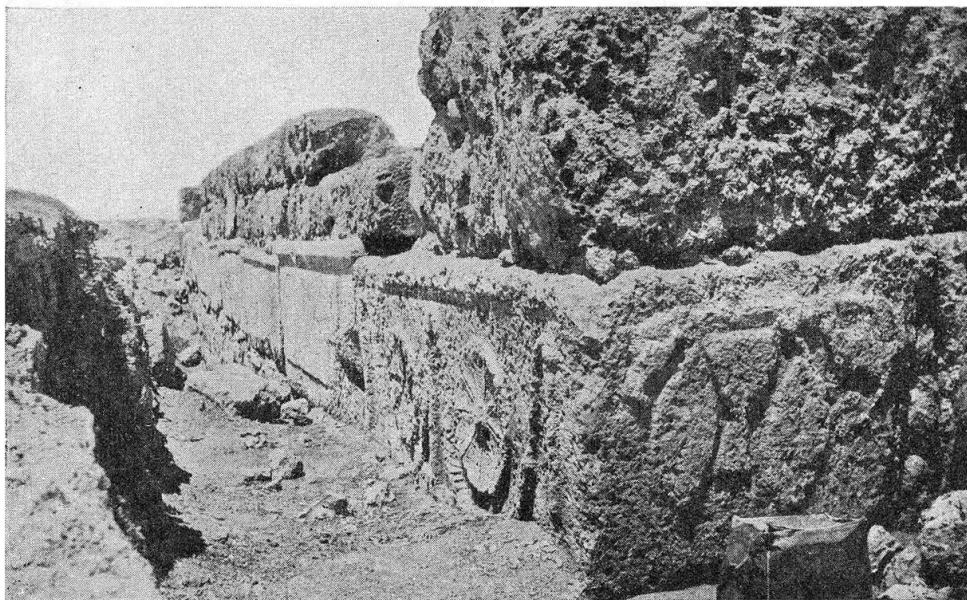
2. Some bricks from pit A showing finger impressions.



Flint-scraper.



1. Arab block-house, eastern wall.



2. Arab block-house, southern wall.

preceding Chalcolithic industries of the sites; at Megiddo, the earliest type of sickle-blade had coarse denticulation along the working edge, and steep retouch along the back and ends, as in the case of the blades of class (b) of 'Affūla, and at Beisan the earliest type had fine denticulation along the cutting edge, and retouch along the back and ends, like class (a) of 'Affūla. It is possible, therefore, that some, or all, of the sickle-blades of classes (a) and (b) of 'Affūla belong to the early Cananean industry. But survivals of earlier types into a Cananean industry are usually not very numerous, and it is more likely that the blades of class (b), only four in number, belong to this industry, in which case it would very closely resemble that found in stages I-VII of Megiddo.

The sickle-blades of class (d), which are much larger than those of class (c), may be unusually large specimens of the early stage of Cananean, or they represent a later phase of the industry; typologically they would fit best in a definitely later period of the Early Bronze age.

Sickle-blades of class (a) are found at several sites, particularly at Teleilat Ghassul,¹ in the Wady Ghazzeh (sites E and O),² at Jericho (level VIII),³ and at Beisan (level XVIII), though the specimens from the first three sites are generally longer. The fan-scraper, the celt, the chisel, and the borers are all typically Ghassulian, of the stage found at Teleilat Ghassul rather than of that from the Wady Ghazzeh. These tools are not so characteristic of the Jerichoan industry (of Jericho VIII), and other types which are common at Jericho are not represented at 'Affūla, whereas all the commonest types of Teleilat Ghassul are present. It therefore seems probable that there exists at 'Affūla an industry belonging to the Ghassulian culture, very similar to that of Teleilat Ghassul itself.

The earliest industry at this site may therefore be Ghassulian, of the Teleilat Ghassul stage, succeeded by an early stage of Cananean, very similar to that of Megiddo, stages I-VII, possibly with a later stage of Cananean following. But as the various flint cultures of this period resemble each other in many ways and the

¹ R. NEUVILLE, "L'Outillage en Silex", *Teleilat Ghassul*, I, pp. 55-65.

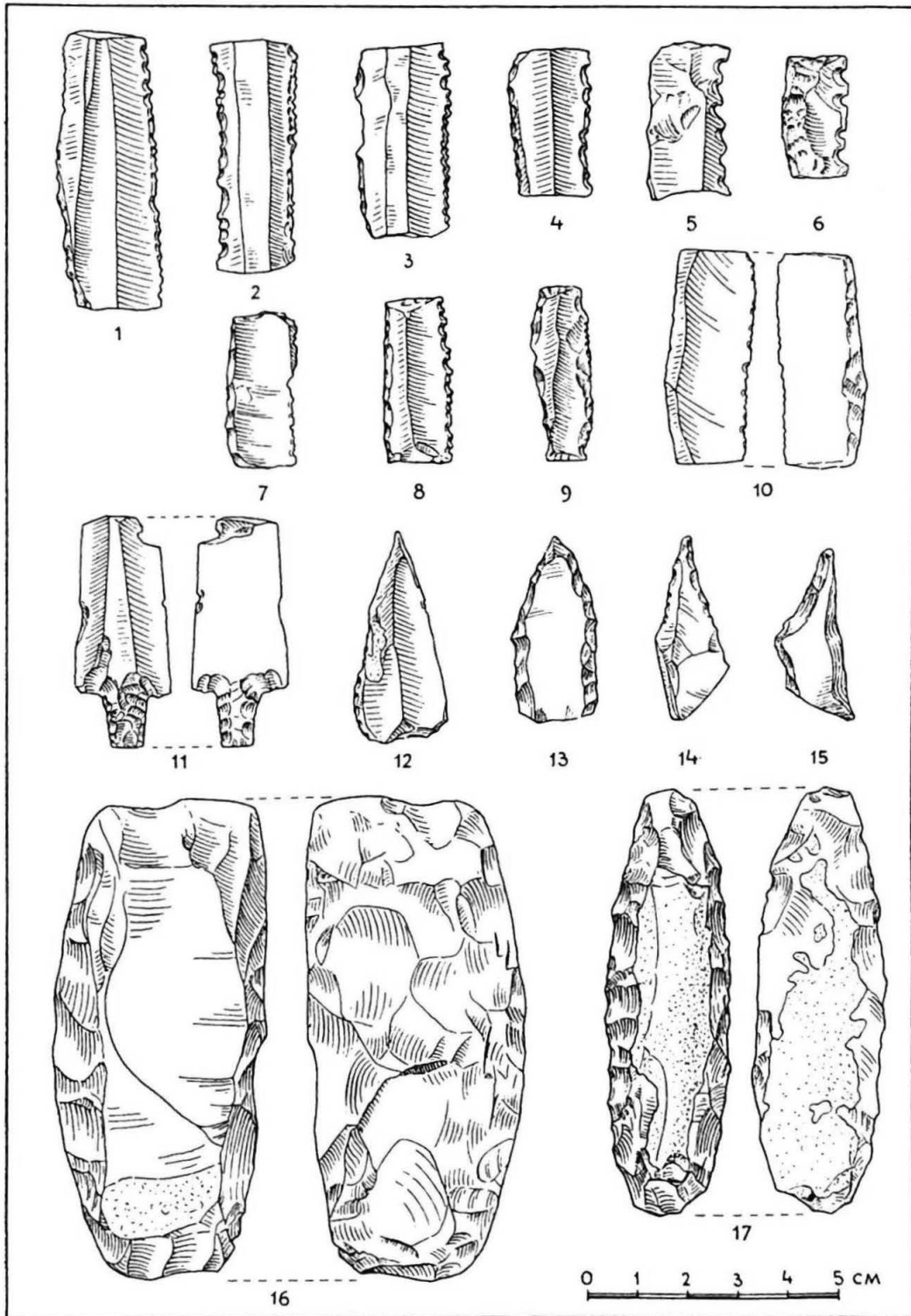
² EANN MACDONALD, "Prehistoric Fara", in *Beth Pelet II*, pp. 6-8.

³ JOAN CROWFOOT, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-46.

same cultures in different sites may vary considerably, the true sequence at 'Affūla may be quite different, and only further excavation in a less disturbed part of the site can reveal it.

INVENTORY

Sickle blades	
class (a)	24
(b)	4
(c)	39
(d)	12
Arrowheads	2
Scrapers	8
End-Scrapers	2
Borers	7
Celt	1
Chisel	1
Blades	13
Blade sections	53
Flakes	44
Lames de dégagement	2
Core	1
Various	12
Total	<u>225</u>



Flint implements.

REPHAIM-BAQ'A: A PALAEOLITHIC STATION IN THE VICINITY OF JERUSALEM

M. STEKELIS

(JERUSALEM)

The traditional name of the plain situated south of Jerusalem is "Valley of Rephaim (giants)." The Arab of to-day calls it al-Baq'a. Here the Old Stone Age Man settled and lived in open-air camps, manufacturing flint tools for his daily life.

The first to find important remains there was the late Assumptionist Father J. GERMER-DURAND, Prior of the Hospice of Notre-Dame de France in Jerusalem and one of the pioneers of Palestinian prehistory. In 1897 beautiful blades, cores, and bifaces of different shapes and forms were picked up by him, arranged and exhibited at the Museum of the Hospice of Notre-Dame de France in Jerusalem. His account of his discoveries was read before the Eleventh International Congress of Orientalists at Paris in 1897.^{1*}

Since then the place has been searched over and over again and many flint implements found. Some of these are on exhibit in the British Museum in London, and in French, German and Italian museums.

An important collection from the Rephaim plain was arranged by the late H.E. CLARK, American Consul at Beirut, and is now on exhibit at the Y.M.C.A. in Jerusalem.

Flint implements from this station have been described by Prof. R.A.S. MACALISTER², R.P.H. VINCENT³, Prof. P. KARGE⁴ and Dr. N. SHALEM⁵.

The flint implements of the Rephaim plain are among the most important remains of human culture hitherto found in the vicinity of Jerusalem. Unfortunately, however, all studies of the Rephaim palaeolithic station have been based exclusively on material gathered from the surface; no effort has been made to dig and uncover flint implements in their original position.

* This and similar figures refer to the Bibliography at the end.

According to GERMER-DURAND the area where flint implements were gathered was bounded on the north by the road near the Leper Hospital (alt. 760 m), on the south by the cairns called Seba Rujum (alt. 730 m), on the west by the slopes of St. Simeon's Monastery in Qatamon, and on the east by the Convent of the Sisters of St. Claire and Jebel Abu Tor (alt. 780 m).

Between the above-mentioned points there is a kind of depression

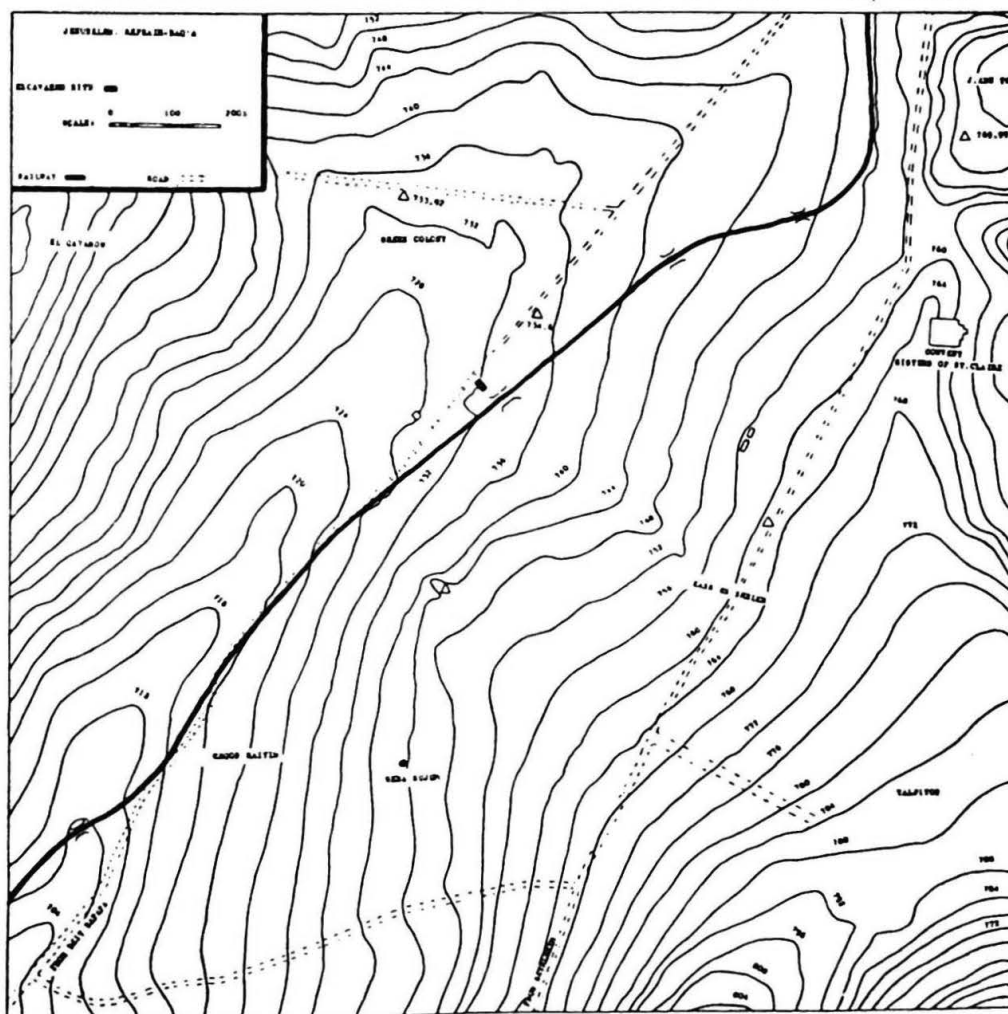


Fig. 1.

which runs from north to south, the altitude on the west and east slopes being about 780 m and the bed from 740 to 720 m (Fig. 1).

THE EXCAVATIONS*

In Pleistocene times temporary water-courses formed by heavy rains deposited gravel and clay in that depression. This sediment is now in the bed of the depression and is covered by alluvium 2 metres thick. The winter rains more recently have cut deep gullies in the alluvium, uncovering bed materials and moving them from one place to another; in many places the rain-water has washed out the sediment down to the native rock, and many sections can be observed in the plain. Where it has been denuded thus, it has been possible to gather numerous flint implements.

Successful discoveries made recently in the field of Palestinian prehistory by various expeditions have brought much new and important material to light. But all these excavations were conducted in caves only. No open-air stations have so far been excavated.

In May 1933 Abbé HENRI BREUIL, Professor of the Collège de France, during a visit to Palestine, examined the Rephaim station and discovered a site where implements had just been found in a pit dug for a rain-water cistern. After studying the locality Abbé BREUIL came to the conclusion that it would be of interest to make a sounding pit in the neighbourhood of the cistern in order to study the flint implements *in situ*.

The carrying out of this sounding was made possible by Abbé BREUIL, who contributed personally towards the expenditure. I am deeply indebted to him for his generosity. Mr. R. NEUVILLE took part in the excavations and kindly prepared the photos and the sections from the excavated pit.

A pit 8 metres in length (E-W) and 5 metres in breadth (N-S) was dug, parallel to a small temporary water course. Under a level of vegetable soil a level of clay was unearthed. Some potsherds of various ages were recognised but none earlier than the Middle Bronze. Together with these ceramic remains about 60 bifaces of a palaeolithic type were gathered. The bifaces had been manufactured from brecciated flint and were all heavily rolled, abraded and patinated with a dark, chocolate-brown patina. The palaeolithic bifaces had obviously been carried by heavy rains from the vicinity, where man was living and manufacturing his tools. They had changed

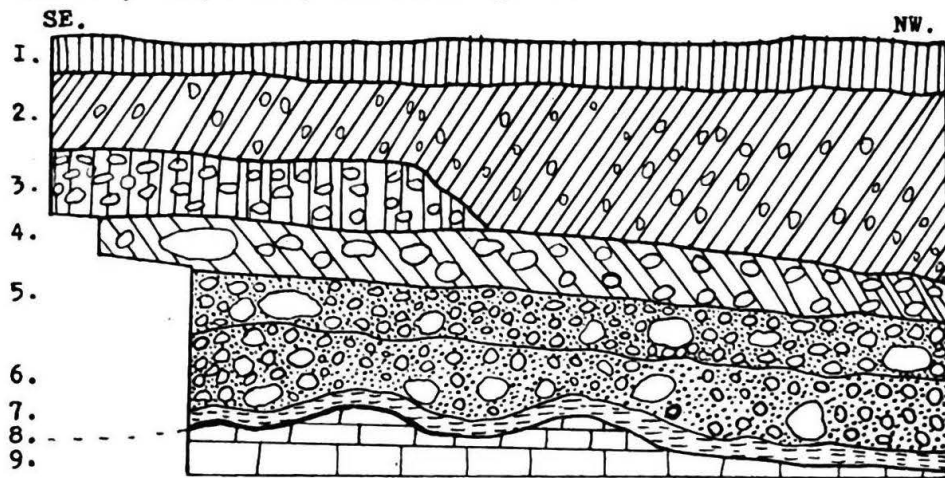
* Preliminary report: *The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*. Vol. III, p. 177.

place in historic times, and had been transported to this level, probably during the Middle Bronze age. The next underlying level consisted of a hard-packed gravel bed. The gravel mixed with clay formed a compact mass very difficult to excavate. Some rudely worked implements of an indeterminate culture were found there. The next level consisted of clay mixed with gravel, without traces of any worked tools. Only the last two levels contained implements; these were made of flint and imbedded in the gravel. In these two levels I discovered about five thousand worked tools. The flint implements had suffered for the most part from abrasion and transport by water.

STRATIGRAPHY OF THE EXCAVATED PIT *

(Fig. 2; Fig. 3 and Pl. XXVII)

1. 0 m. 45-0 m. 70. Black vegetable soil.
2. 0 m. 70-1 m. 65. Greasy clay of greyish colour, probably of stagnate origin. Sherds not earlier than Middle Bronze, and many bifaces of Abbevillian technique, all patinated with a dark-brown patina, rolled, abraded and glazed.



Scale. 1:50

Fig. 2.

3. 1 m. 55-2 m. 25. Gravel bed of flint and angular blocks mixed with brown-yellowish clay. Some rudely worked flint implements.

* Petrographical determination made by P. SOLOMONICA.

4. 2 m. 25-2 m. 60. Dark brown clay with gravel and large flint blocks. No worked flints were discovered there.

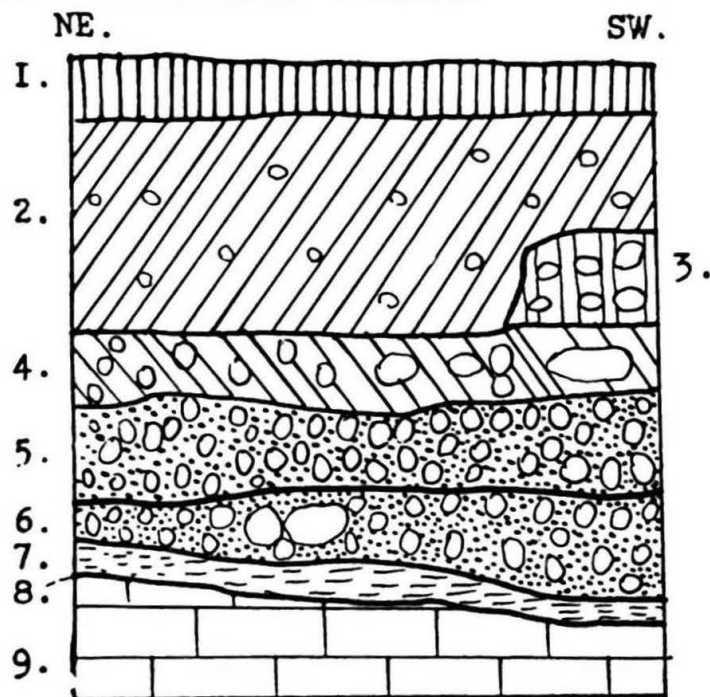
5. 2 m. 60-3 m. 10. Gravel mixed with very greasy red-brown clay and large blocks of flint and calcareous incrustations. Worked flint implements very abundant.

6. 3 m. 10-3 m. 70. Flint gravel bed with calcareous incrustations, some water-worn with yellowish-green clay. Worked flint implement very abundant.

7. 3 m. 70-3 m. 85. Red clay. Sterile.

8. 3 m. 85-4 m. 05. Decomposed limestone with reddish clay (Nari).

9. White hard limestone. Turonian?.



Scale. I:50.

Fig. 3.

No remains of fossils were discovered in the excavated pit.

I am dividing the industry discovered into nine groups, according to the physical condition and state of preservation of the tools. In type and technique of manufacture they are equivalent to well-

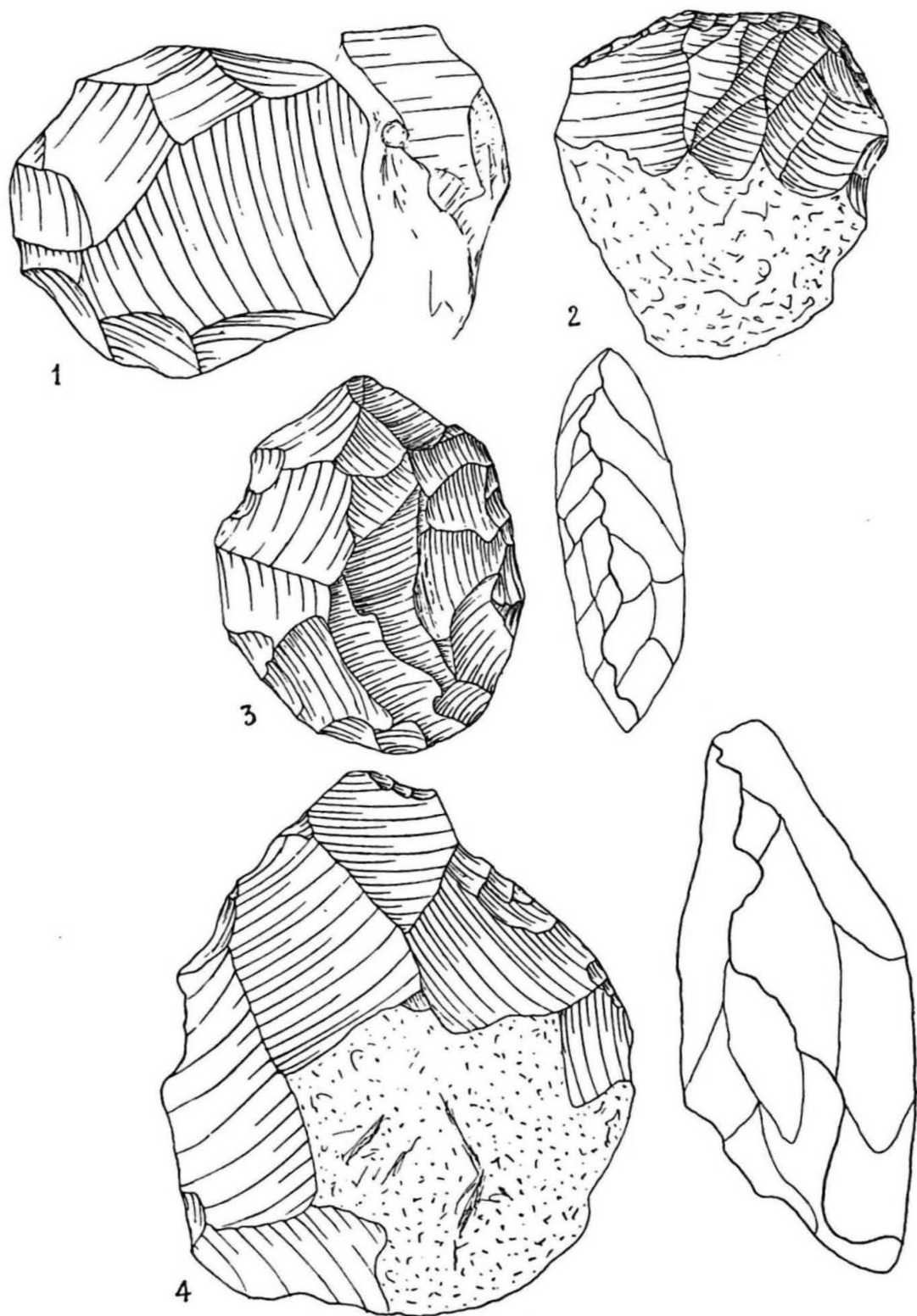


Fig. 4. ($\frac{1}{2}$)

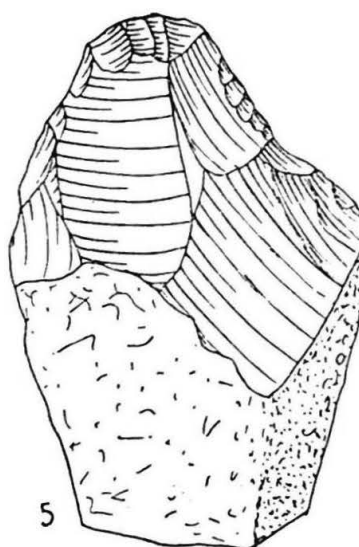
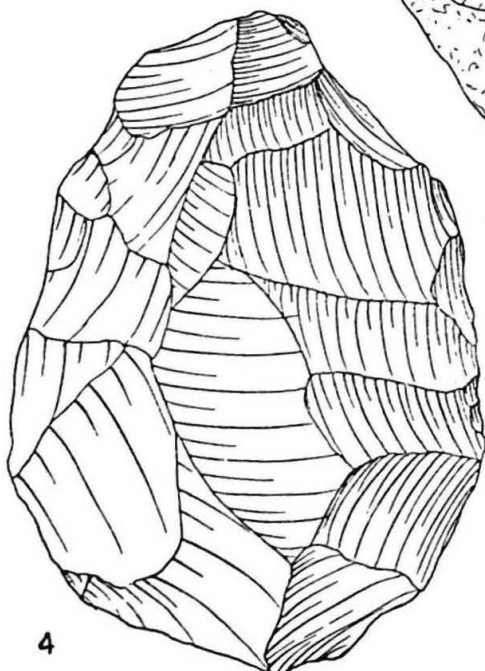
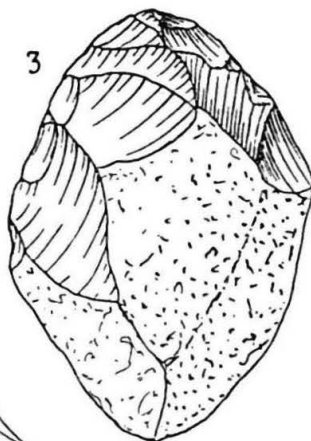
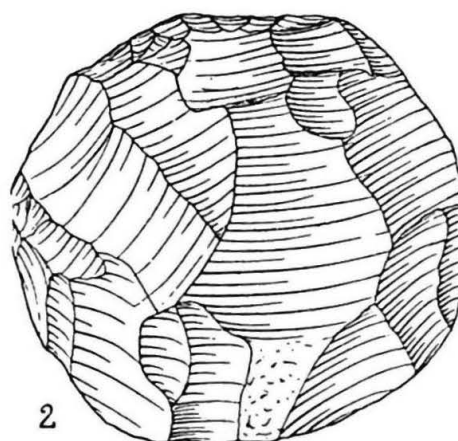
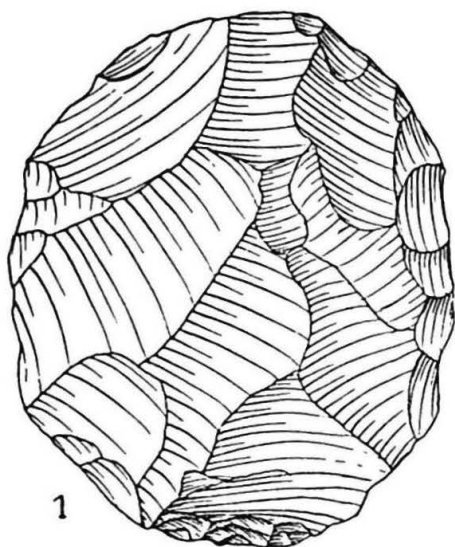


Fig. 5. ($1/2$)

known European cultures. Almost all of the tools were manufactured from a brecciated flint.

Group I belongs to an archaic industry: rolled and abraded flint implements of a dark brown patina. The tools are in the same stage of preservation as the gravel from which they were uncovered. The implements of this group include bifaces and rude used flakes; some flakes have the typical oblique striking plane and pronounced percussion bulb of Clacton type. All specimens of this group are slightly glazed.

Group II has fewer rolled and abraded implements than Group I. It includes only bifaces and a few thick flakes with straight striking plane. The tools have a "café au lait" patina and are mostly slightly glazed.

Group III includes slightly rolled implements of the same type and patina as Group II. The implements of the three groups are manufactured from flint nodules flaked by stone, and of late Abbevillian (Group I) and of early Acheulean technique (Group II-III).

Group IV comprises less archaic, medium rolled and abraded tools. They have a fair patina. Bifaces, thick and large rude flakes with marked traces of utilisation, and rude cores of old Levallois technique are represented. The specimens are mostly slightly glazed.

In Group V medium rolled implements, bifaces, cores, and flakes of Acheulean technique are represented. They all have a yellow patina. Some of them have a double-patina, which shows a kind of transition between Groups IV and V, when tools from Group IV were retouched anew and utilised by men of Group V.

Implements of the same technique as Group V are in Group VI. They have a pale yellow patina and are archaic in aspect.

Group VII represents a more advanced Acheulean technique: bifaces, cores, retouched and utilised flakes and blades. They have all light yellow patina, sometimes a light orange colour. They are unrolled, with fresh edges.

Group VIII includes the same implements, same technique and same state of preservation as Group VII, but the tools have a white patina. Lastly, Group IX, although of the same technique, includes unpatinated tools with edges quite fresh.

It is a difficult problem to place the above-described industry in the chronology of the Stone Age of Palestine. Without doubt these

tools of primitive aspect, manufactured by a primitive technique of flaking, belong to a palaeolithic culture. I have unfortunately not found any remains of animal bones, which would facilitate the problem. No clear stratigraphic succession of cultures can be recognised, because as mentioned above, the flint implements were mixed with gravel. For this reason only a typological study of the morphology of the flint tools was possible.

The oldest remains of human culture discovered at the base-levels of Palestinian palaeolithic caves such as Umm-Qatafa⁶ and at-Tabun⁷ are not comparable with these of Rephaim, because of obvious morphological differences. The cave cultures show an advanced technique of flaking and progress in forms and types. Taking this into account the Rephaim industry seems to me older.

The single palaeolithic station available for purposes of comparative study is Jisr Banat Ya'qub in Galilee. At Jisr Banat Ya'qub in the bed gravel of the Jordan River, remains of a lower palaeolithic culture were excavated for the Hebrew University in 1935 and 1936.⁸ Rudely worked basalt bifaces were embedded together with remains of Pleistocene animal bones, especially bones and molars of elephants. (The excavations are not yet completed, and therefore no full reports have so far been published.) The implements of level 3 of Jisr Banat Ya'qub are similar in shape, form and technique to those of Rephaim (Group I-III); they differ only in material (Jisr Banat Ya'qub - basalt; Rephaim - flint.) Both industries show a late Abbevillian or early Acheulean technique. In any case, with our present knowledge of Early Stone Age culture in Palestine, the Rephaim sounding and the Jisr Banat Ya'qub show that a palaeolithic culture existed in this country probably before the cultures known to us from the lower levels of the palaeolithic caves. Further investigations in this field will doubtless throw new light on the dawn of human culture in the Holy Land.

DESCRIPTION OF THE FLINT IMPLEMENTS.

1. Thick flake with large oblique straight striking plane of Clactonian type and a prominent percussion bulb. Rolled and abraded, chocolate patina, glazed. Maximum length - 86 mm, maximum width - 85 mm. Group I. Fig. 4, 1.

2. Subtriangular biface, rolled and abraded, dark-brown patina. 150 mm, \times 125 mm. Group I. Fig. 4, 4.

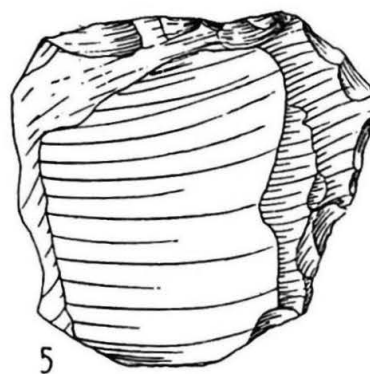
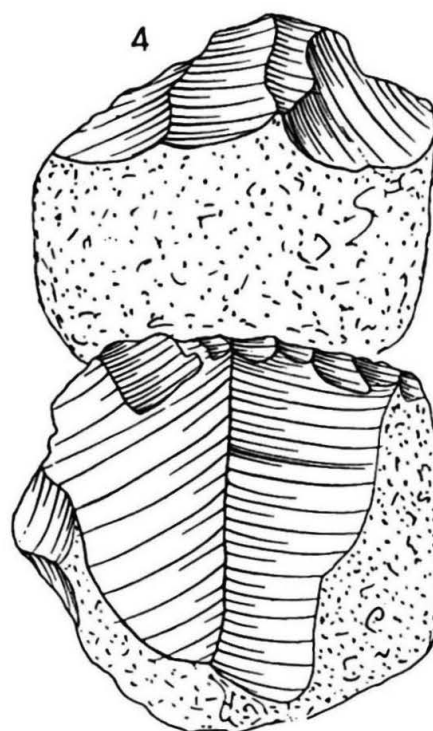
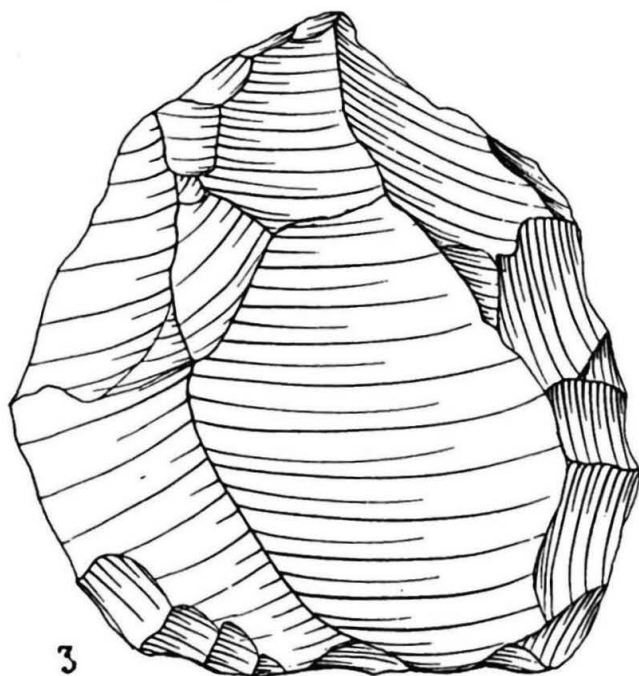
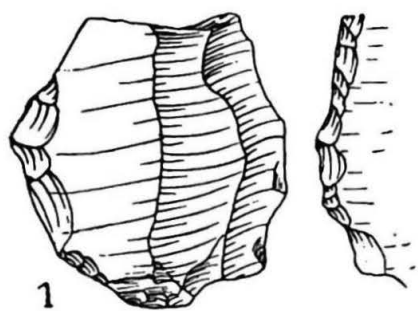


Fig. 6. (1 2)

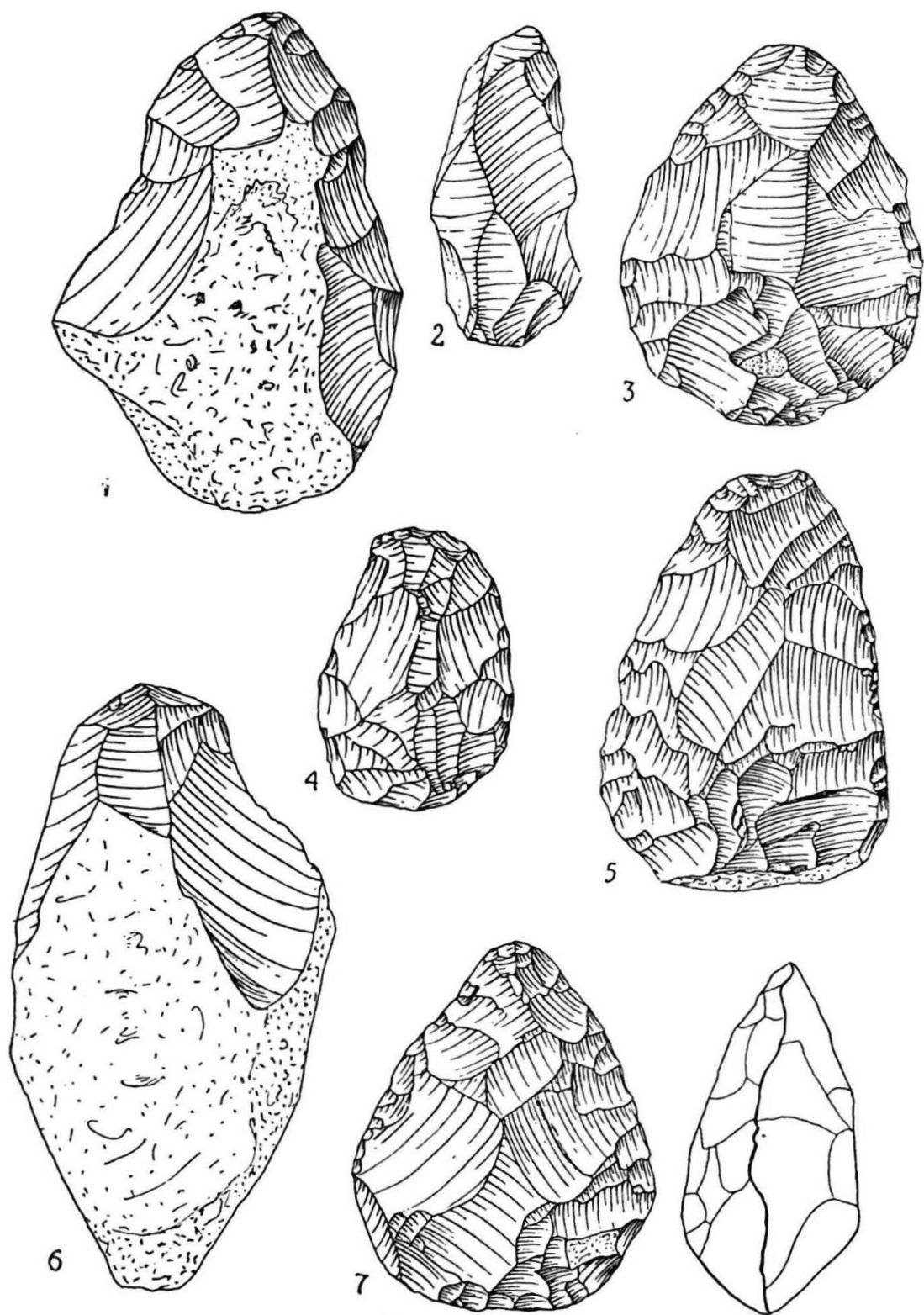


Fig. 7. ($\frac{1}{2}$)

3. Ovoidal biface skilfully manufactured. Rolled, glazed, "café au lait" patina. 98 mm × 78 mm. Group II. Fig. 4, 3.
4. Rolled nodule of flint flaked from both faces like biface. Rolled, abraded, "café au lait" patina. 88 mm × 82 mm. Group II. Fig. 4, 2.
5. Disk flaked on both faces slightly rolled, abraded, glazed. Flaking of two periods (double patina). Diameter — 97 mm. Group III-IV. Fig. 5, 2.
6. Small biface made of flint nodule. Not rolled; greenish-yellow patina. 95 mm × 61 mm. Group III. Fig. 3, 5.
7. Biface of a square rolled, flint nodule. "Café au lait" patina. 130 mm × 85 mm. Group III. Fig. 5, 5.
8. Ovoidal flat biface slightly rolled, light yellow patina. 120 mm × 95 mm. Group IV. Fig. 5, 1.
9. Oval biface made of large flakes, slightly abraded on both surfaces. No patina. 150 mm × 96 mm. Group IV. Fig. 5, 4.
10. Small thick blade with straight striking plane, retouched on one side. Retouch in two periods (double patina), light brown and yellow. The edges are slightly rolled. 62 mm × 54 mm. Group V. Fig. 6, 1.
11. Flat biface made of large flakes, medium rolled and abraded, glazed yellowish patina. 113 mm × 86 mm. Group V. Fig. 6, 2.
12. Core, from which a flake implement has been struck. Levallois type rolled and abraded slightly, light-yellow patina. 145 mm × 130 mm. Group V. Fig. 6, 3.
13. Core, utilised. 85 mm × 98 mm. Group V. Fig. 6, 4.
14. Rude thick blade with straight striking plane. Yellow patina. 75 mm × 75 mm. Group V. Fig. 6, 5.
15. Small biface made of large flakes, slightly rolled, yellowish patina. 75 mm. × 46 mm. Group V. Fig. 6, 6.
16. Rude pointed biface. Around the base the original skin of flint nodule has been conserved. Medium rolled, slightly glazed, yellow patina. 133 mm × 90 mm. Group VI. Fig. 7, 1.
17. Oval biface, rolled and glazed; yellow patina. 100 mm × 76 mm. Group VI. Fig. 7, 3.
18. Blade with straight striking plane. Light yellow patina. 87 mm × 39 mm. Group VI. Fig. 7, 2.
19. Small biface made of middle flakes somewhat abraded but with slightly rolled edges. Yellowish patina. 74 mm × 51 mm. Group VI. Fig. 7, 4.
20. Biface of advanced technique. At the base the cortex of the flint nodule has been conserved. Yellowish patina, medium rolled. 110 mm × 74 mm. Group VI. Fig. 7, 5.

21. Rudely made "chopper" of rolled flint nodule. Yellow patina. 160 mm \times 75 mm. Group VI. Fig. 7, 6.
22. Subtriangular biface skilfully manufactured, slightly rolled on surfaces and edges; yellowish patina, slightly glazed. 96 mm \times 77 mm. Group VI. Fig. 7, 7.
23. A flat biface made of large flakes, with part of cortex on the base. Yellowish patina. The edges are slightly rolled, both surfaces are slightly glazed. 125 mm \times 105 mm. Group VI. Fig. 8, 5.
24. Ovoidal biface made of large flakes. The cortex of the nodule is well preserved on one of the surfaces. Yellowish patina, slightly rolled, glazed. 110 mm \times 90 mm. Group VI. Fig. 8, 6.
25. Ovoidal biface well manufactured; the edges are quite fresh; light yellow patina. 105 mm \times 79 mm. Group VII. Fig. 8, 1.
26. Biface with an edge *à biseau*, rudely made from few large flakes. At the base the cortex has been well conserved. Yellowish patina, not rolled, slightly glazed. 130 mm \times 88 mm. Group VII. Fig. 8, 2.
27. Large blade with faceted striking plane; light yellow patina, with very fresh edges. 88 mm \times 83 mm. Group VII. Fig. 8, 3.
28. Small thick blade, one side retouched, notched. Light yellow patina. 54 mm \times 56 mm. Group VII. Fig. 8, 4.
29. Large blade with straight striking plane. One side is retouched. Yellowish patina, unglazed. 96 mm \times 59 mm. Group VII. Fig. 9, 1.
30. Retouched blade with straight plane. Flaking of two periods, quite unabraded, yellowish patina. 92 mm \times 54 mm. Group VII-VIII. Fig. 9, 2.
31. Pointed oval biface. The cortex has been conserved at the base. Slightly glazed and quite unabraded. Yellowish patina. Fresh edges. 105 mm \times 80 mm. Group VII. Fig. 9, 3.
32. Blade with straight striking plane apparently not retouched. 72 mm \times 31 mm. No patina. Group IX. Fig. 9, 4.
33. Small disk made of large flakes on both faces, slightly abraded, with fresh edges and slightly glazed surfaces; white patina. 70 mm \times 66 mm. Group VIII. Fig. 9, 5.
34. Large pointed blade, one side retouched with straight striking plane. Retouched edge on the other face. Yellow patina, slightly glazed. 91 mm. \times 76 mm. Group VII. Fig. 9, 6.
35. Big rudely flaked biface, slightly rolled, abraded and glazed; yellow patina, fresh edges. 180 mm \times 150 mm. Group VIII. Fig. 9, 7.
36. Heart-shaped biface skilfully manufactured; slightly rolled, white patina slightly glazed. 104 mm \times 98 mm. Group VIII. Fig. 9, 8.

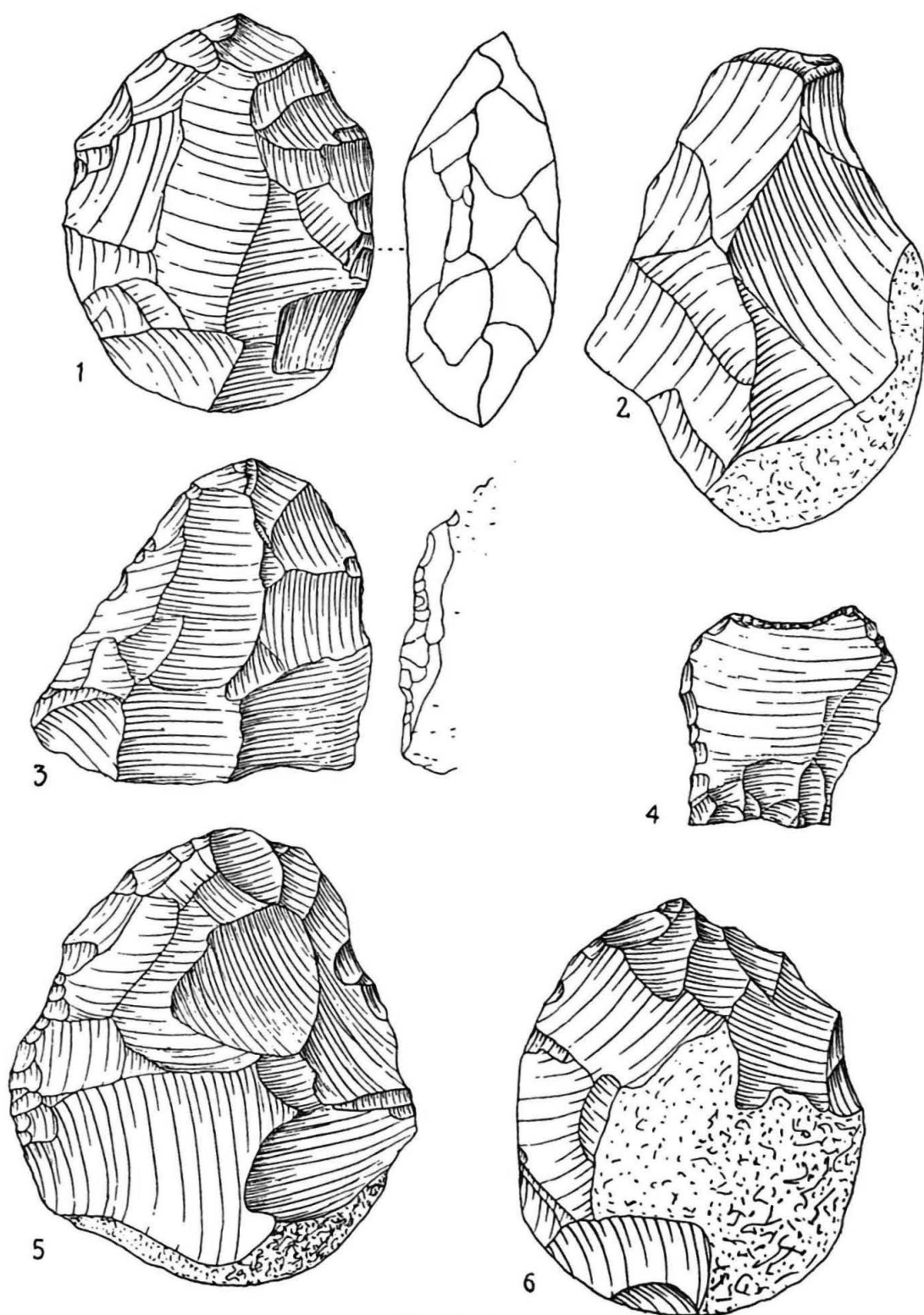


Fig. 8. (1/2)

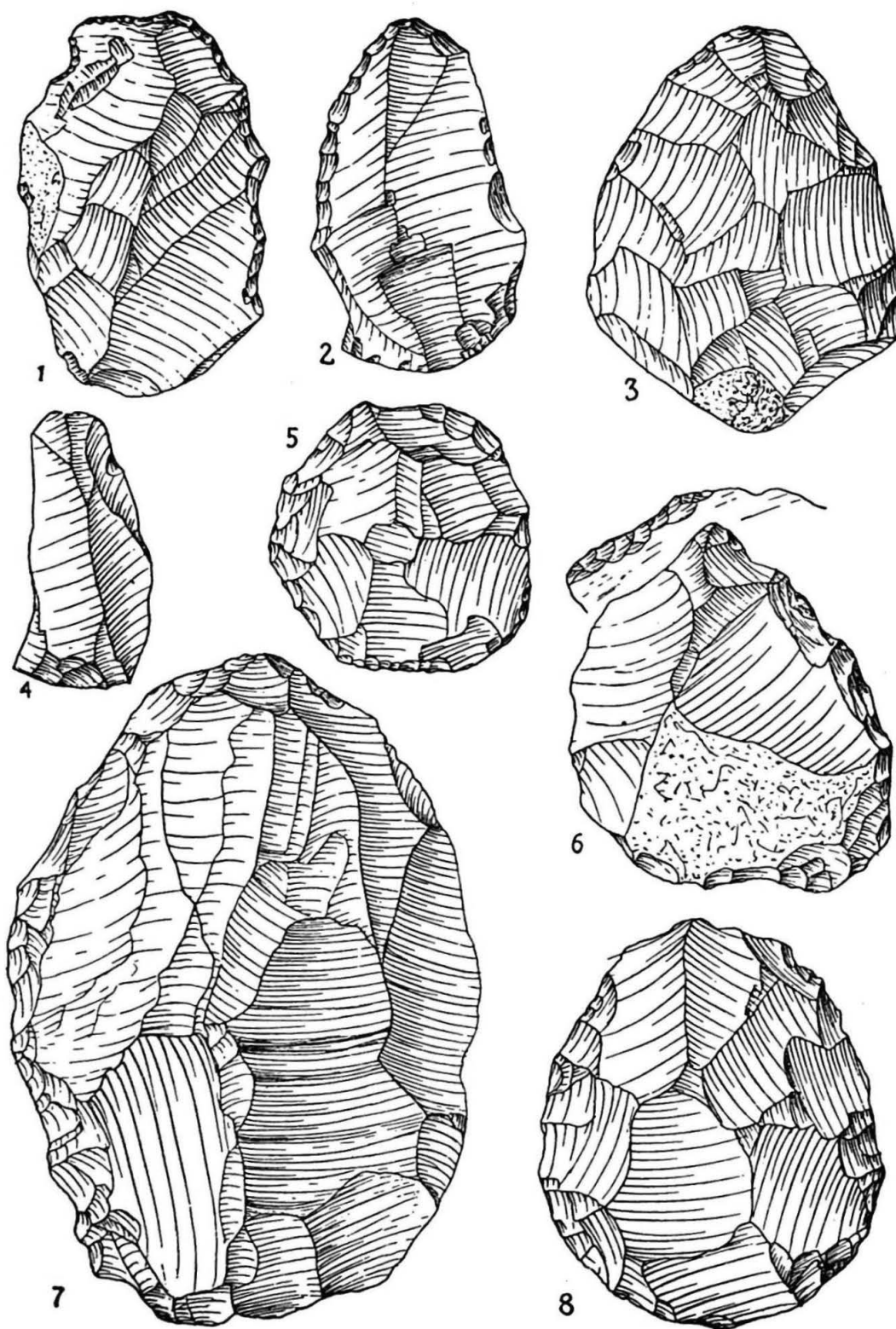


Fig. 9. ($1/4$)

37. Small oval biface made of large flakes slightly rolled. White patina, 76 mm \times 57 mm. Group VIII. Fig. 10, 1.
38. Small blade with oblique striking plane, quite unretouched on one face but retouched on the second face. Unpatinated. 47 mm \times 33 mm. Group IX. Fig. 10, 2.
39. Biface with cortex at the base. Fresh edged, white patina. 88 mm \times 69 mm. Group VIII. Fig. 10, 3.
40. Pointed biface made of large flakes. Around the base the original skin of flint nodule has been conserved. The surfaces are without patina and slightly glazed. 102 mm \times 67 mm. Group IX. Fig. 10, 4.
41. Double-face retouched point made from a rude flake. Yellowish patina, slightly glazed. 104 mm \times 55 mm. Group VIII. Fig. 10, 5.
42. A rude blade with curved back, retouched on one side. Yellowish patina. Traces of cortex on one surface have been conserved. 92 mm \times 56 mm. Group VIII. Fig. 10, 6.
43. Biface made of large flakes. Not rolled, slightly glazed with fresh edges; no patina. 130 mm \times 90 mm. Group IX. Fig. 10, 7.
44. Tortoise-core from which a flake implement has been struck. No patina. 68 mm \times 77 mm Group IX. Fig. 10, 8.

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Jerusalem 1939.

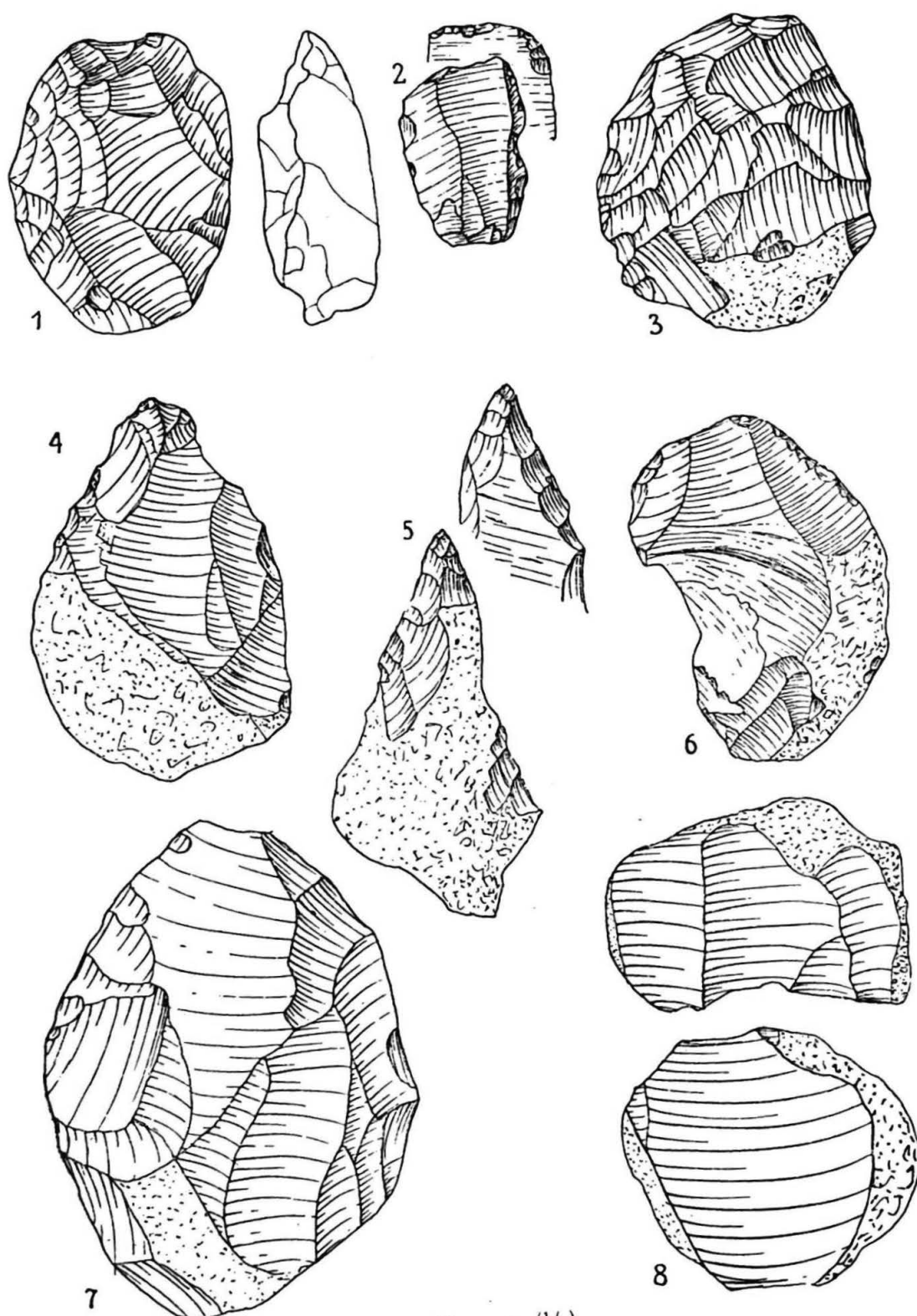


Fig. 10. (1/2)

APPENDIX

SOME STRATIGRAPHICAL INFERENCES

P. SOLOMONICA

The stratigraphical resemblance between the excavation site of Baq'a and the recently discovered Pleistocene beds at Bethlehem¹ seems to me very conspicuous.

In both deposits follows above the cretaceous underground rock a Nari-like crust with irregular surface, in both sites characteristically veined with red clay, but only in Bethlehem of great thickness. The rock itself is formed in Baq'a of hard white limestone, probably of Turonian age, whereas in Bethlehem, where the Nari has not penetrated to the mother rock, one may assume it to be Senonian chalk.

In Baq'a a bed of red clay, 20 cm thick, overlies this old surface and is the base of a gravel layer about 2 m thick with a stiff clay matrix, the main layer of abundant flint tools. In Bethlehem no such red clay bed has been found thus far, but Miss GARDNER reports that the clay matrix of the gravel bed—which here follows the Nari surface—shows reddening as the substratum is approached. The gravelly clay in Bethlehem is much thicker than the clay at the Baq'a excavations. But in the former the barely worn and angular blocks of its two deposits consist principally of flint, whereas in the latter they are exclusively of flint. In both sites the size of the blocks is up to half a meter.

If we do not pay attention to the smaller differences in the stratigraphical sequence as well as the varying thickness of the single layers, we will find that there exists a true correspondence between the Baq'a and the Bethlehem deposits.

It is only reasonable to assume that other similar deposits may be concealed under the alluvial cover between the Baq'a plain and Bethlehem; further investigations in this connection should therefore be very desirable.

Jerusalem, 16. 7. 1939.

¹ GARDNER, E.W, AND BATE, D. "The Bone-bearing Beds of Bethlehem. Their Fauna and Industry." *Nature*, 1937, p. 431-432.

THE EXCAVATIONS AT ALA SAFAT, TRANSJORDAN

J. WAECHTER

(JERUSALEM)

This site, which is about 7 Kms east of Jisr Damiya police station, Transjordan, was excavated by M. STEKELIS towards the latter end of the war (1943), and I am here publishing the material at his request.

Although the material is scanty, the importance of the site lies in the fact that it is the first time any Natufian material has been found *in situ* in Transjordan; so far the only other material is from the surface site in the Wadi Hesban and is now in the Museum of Notre Dame de France in Jerusalem.

In Palestine the Natufian is well represented, and in some caves, for example M. el-Wad¹ and Kebareh,² it is extremely rich. In these two caves there was not only an abundance of flint implements, but also a magnificent collection of objects sculptured in bone, which show that the Natufian craftsmen had reached not only a high degree of skill in the handling of their material but also a highly developed aesthetic sense. The importance of the Natufians lies not only in their art objects, but also in the fact that they represent the transition between the great Upper Palaeolithic cultures, and the beginnings of the settled communities which are the forerunners of the great village and town settlements, the remains of which are so well known in Palestine.

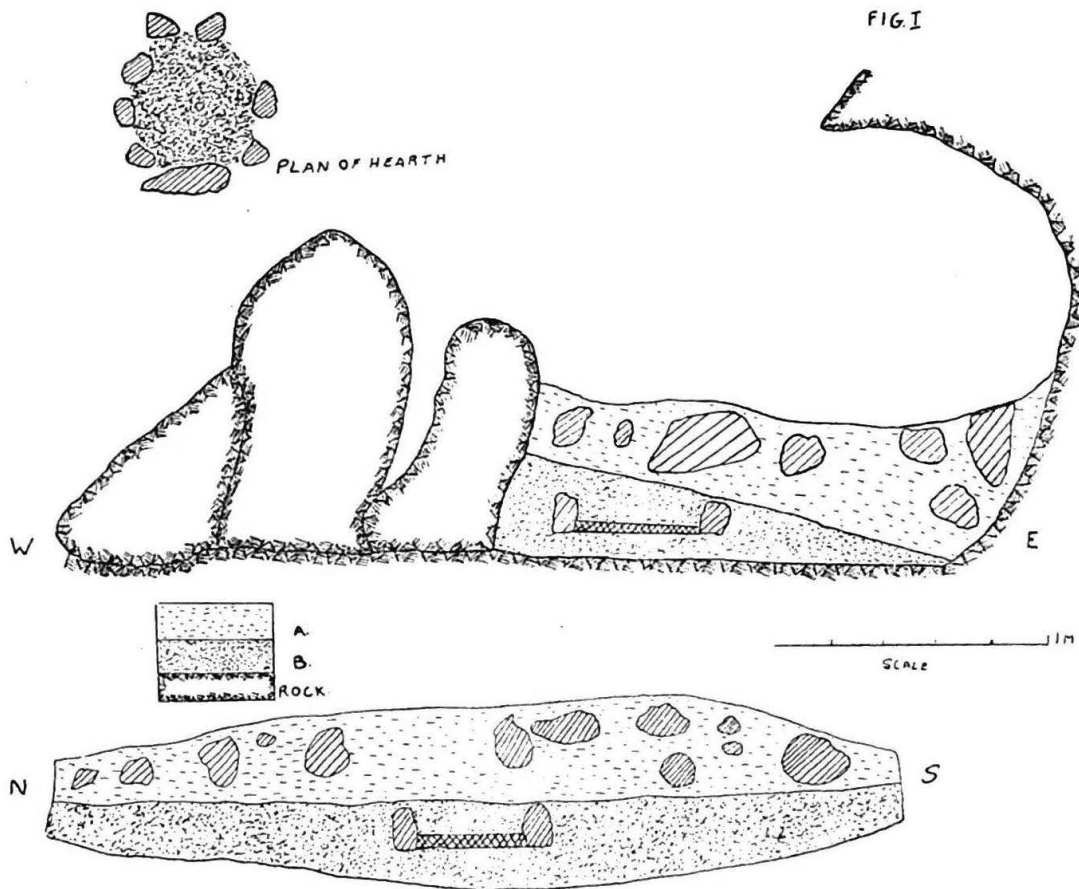
The origin of the Natufians cannot be established with certainty, and whether they are local or intrusive is a question which cannot as yet be answered, but our knowledge of them is gradually increasing, and their industries have been found over a wider area both in Palestine and Syria: it is for this reason that the material from Ala Safat is of importance.

¹ GARROD and BATE, *The Stone Age of Mount Carmel*, Oxford, 1937.

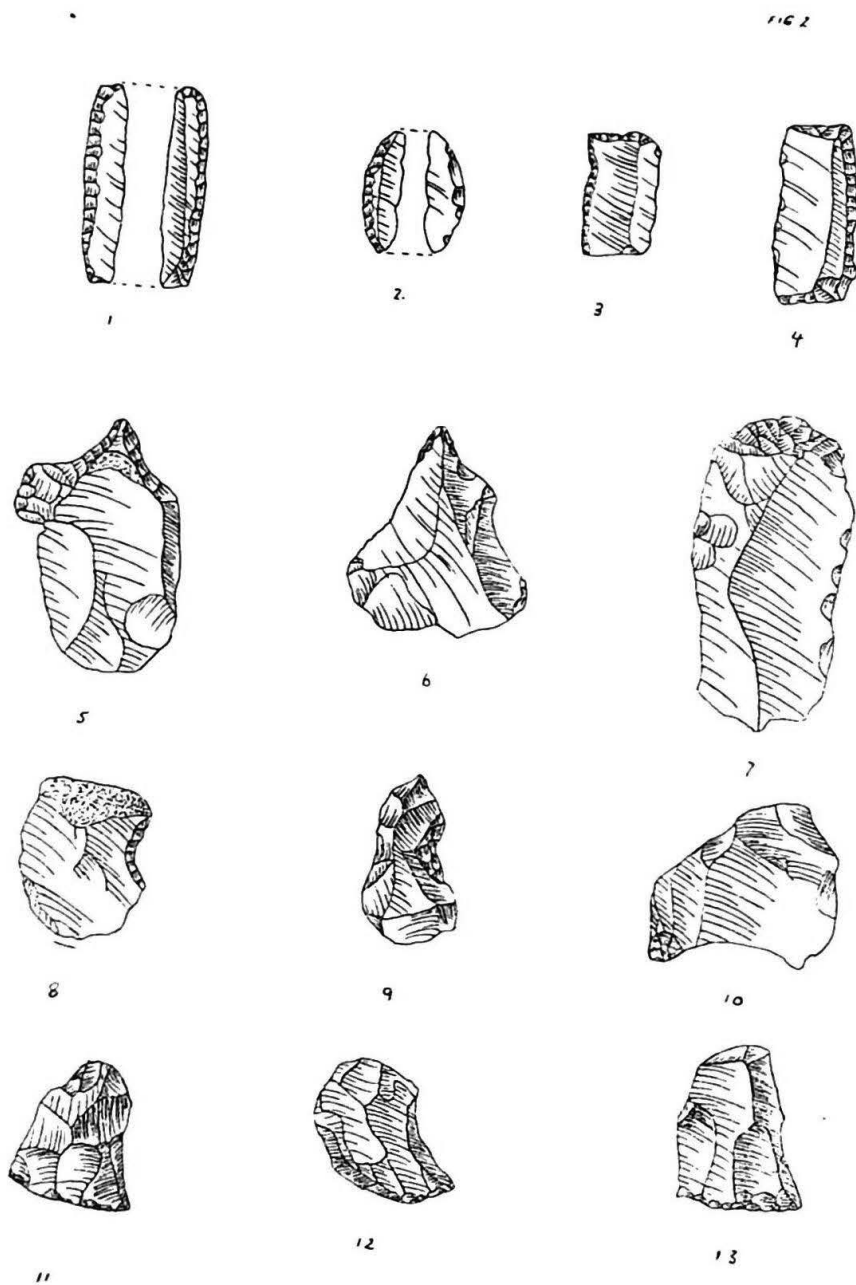
² TURVILLE-PETRE, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LXII (1932).

The rock shelter is situated on the side of a hill, with the entrance facing west. In front of the entrance are three stone blocks which have fallen from the roof; since the deposits are banked against these blocks they must have fallen prior to the Natufian occupation.

The space between the fallen blocks and the back wall of the shelter is about 1 m 60 cms, and the depth of the deposit averaged about 60 cms.



Two levels were found. The first (A), approximately 25 cms in depth, consisted of black earth with small blocks of stone from the roof. It was, except for modern animal bones, sterile. The second level (B) sloped from the front of the shelter to the back and was 36-40 cms in depth. It was composed of red earth, rather coarse



Reduced $\frac{1}{3}$

and compact, and contained the Natufian implements. In B, towards the deeper end, was a hearth, ringed with eight stones (Fig. 1). The deposits were removed down to bed rock.

Archaeological Material. The material used was wadi pebbles of various colours, some of it flint and some a fine grained chert. Several of the pieces showed signs of having been in contact with fire.

Lunates. 1. (Fig. 2, no. 2.) A small lunate with Heluan retouch on the back.

Backed blades. 12. (Fig. 2, no. 1.) Only one of these is complete (no. 1). It is 3.5 cms long and .5 cms wide, with Heluan retouch on the back and over the ends; the remainder are small fragments; two have the backing on the bulbar face only; one (Fig. 2, no. 3) has the end squared; and the others have a retouch varying from a rebattu to a flat retouch.

Sickle-blades. 1. (Fig. 2, no. 4.) A neat blade, backed and squared at both ends and with lustre on the cutting edge, 3 cms long and 1 cm wide.

End-scrapers. 3. (Fig. 2, no. 7.) These are rather rough and two are merely flakes with scraper retouch at one end.

Steep-scrapers. 6. Rough flakes with a steep retouch on the end. One specimen is made on the thickness of a flake and is almost a polyhedral burin, but it is obviously intended as a scraper. (Fig. 2, no. 10.)

Core-scrapers. 8. (Fig. 2, nos. 11, 12, 13.) These are quite a good group. They are mostly made on unifacial cores. Six are of this type, and the remainder are made on the edge of core fragments.

Burins. 9. This is a very rough group. Four are single-blow, made on broad flakes; four are single-faceted ordinary; one is a plane burin. In the case of the single-faceted variety the first facet is generally well made, but the second is a clumsy attempt at resharpening.

Borers. 4. (Fig. 2, nos. 5, 6.) Three are made on broad flakes, with the tip well defined; the fourth, on a thin flake, has a broken tip.

Scraper-flakes. 3. These are odd flakes with a scraper retouch on some part of the edge.

Notched flakes. 8. (Fig. 2, nos. 8, 9.) A group of flakes with one or more notches. One has the notch occupying the whole of one side, and is not unlike a hollow-scraper (no. 9). The remainder have the notches rather at random. There is no indication that the micro-burin technique was used.

Cores. 13. Two are on wadi pebbles with the original surface remaining on the back; the remainder have been worked down so much that they are now almost shapeless, but, judging from the core-scrapers, they were most likely of the oblique, straight-fronted type.

Blade sections. 4. These are parallel-sided and are snapped across one or both ends; on one specimen there has been an attempt to square the end.

Blade flakes. 7. A group of miscellaneous narrow flakes without retouch or signs of utilization.

Retouched flakes. 19. A group of flakes with slight retouch or signs of use.

In addition to the above there was a large number of waste flakes, running into several hundred.

Objects other than flint. There is one small quartz wadi pebble used as a hammer stone.

Fauna. No animal bones were identified from the deposits. The three snail shells found were of modern species inhabiting the region to-day.

Inventory. Crescents 1, Backed blades 12, Sickle-blades 1, End-scrapers 3, Steep-scrapers 6, Burins 9, Borers 4, Scraper-flakes 3, Notched-flakes 8, Cores 13, Blade-sections 4, Blade-flakes 7, Retouched flakes 19: Total 90.

To fit the industry of Ala Safat into the four-fold division which is in use for the Natufian of Palestine¹ is not easy; the scarcity of finished implements and the large number of waste flakes suggest that the shelter was a factory site rather than a dwelling, in spite of the presence of the hearth. What there is, however, does suggest that some attempt at dating is possible. The presence of the Heluan retouch, which seems to disappear in the third stage in Pales-

¹ RENÉ NEUVILLE, "Le préhistorique de Palestine" (*Revue Biblique*, XLIII (1934), 237-259).

tine, suggests that it belongs to the earlier half, and the lack of the micro-burin suggests that it should be placed in the Natufian I, where this implement was absent. Although negative evidence is dangerous, particularly where there is so little material available, it must be remembered that this is obviously a factory site, and the micro-burin is a waste product from the making of microlithic tools, so that if the technique was in use at all, it is in a factory site that it is most likely to be found. Therefore its absence is significant.

PHILOLOGICAL NOTES

A.D. SINGER

(JERUSALEM)

I. ON AN UGARITIC CRUX (II AB 5:70—71)

In a recent article, GINSBERG has devoted a full-page foot-note¹ to a brilliant but admittedly inconclusive discussion of a passage of the Ugaritic Baal epic and its possible relationship to "a well-known crux" in Job 37:3. Leaving for others to decide whether or not such relationship actually exists, I would submit here what I believe to be a more correct interpretation of the Ugaritic passage involved.

The relevant verse (II AB 5:70—71) reads:—

wtn . qlh . b'rpt
(71) *šrh . larš . brqm*

The first word *wt*n (no doubt some form of *ytn*, the Ugaritic verb for "to give") has been emended by all editors—from VIROLLEAUD'S *editio princeps* to GORDON'S "The Poetic Literature of Ugarit"—into *w(y)tn*. This emendation, however, is rendered superfluous by GINSBERG'S observation that *wld*, occurring four times in the Keret epic, is nothing else than a contraction of **wa + yalâdu* and represents an infinitive consecutive.² I can see no reason why this observation should not apply to another Ugaritic verb *primae yôd*, viz. our *ytn*.³

¹ *JBL* 62 (1943): 109, n. 1 (continued on p. 110).

² GINSBERG, *Keret* (1946), p. 40 (*ad* I K: 152).

³ I doubt whether, on the strength of these occurrences of *wld* (4 times) and *wtn* (once), we are permitted to lay down the rule that in infinitives of verbs *primae yôd* the *y* is elided after *wa*-. But if we are, a useful criterion might be found to distinguish between some verbal forms according to the presence or absence of *y*: thus *wysq* (*baph*), occurring several times in the two hippiatric texts, would represent *wayûšaq* (so alternatively ROSENTHAL, *Orientalia* N.S. 11 [1942]: 175) rather than *wayašdqu* (as implied by GORDON, *Grammar* § 8.24), and GINSBERG'S hesitation between "then let Keret descend" and "and descend, Keret" as alternative renderings of *wyrd Krt* (I K: 79-80; see his commentary *ad locum*) would also have to be decided in favour of the former.

Obviously, our stich consists of two parallel hemistichs, which may be schematized as a-b-c // b'-d-c'. That *šrh* is the "ballast variant" of (and consequently synonymous with) *qlh* seems to require no special proof.⁴ As regards the parallel pair *b'ṛpt* // *brqm*, I believe they will receive their best grammatical interpretation if taken as equivalents of adverbial phrases and analyzed as *b-ṛpt* and *brq-m* respectively. Both *ṛpt* "cloud" and *brq* "lightning" are thus singular substantives (formally at least), the former being preceded by the preposition *b-* and the latter having the adverbial ending *-m*. The adverbial function of Ugaritic *-m*,⁵ and hence the equivalence of 'substantive + *-m*' and 'preposition + substantive', seem to have been admitted by many competent Ugaritologists.⁶ The use of these two equivalent syntactical patterns as parallel pairs is, therefore, only too natural; and it is, indeed, actually attested in Ugaritic poetry.⁷

The rendering of our stich will accordingly run as follows:—

"And let him give forth his voice in the cloud(s)

(71) His clamour⁸ unto the earth—in the lightning".⁹

⁴ The identification of *ql* and *šr* with Hebrew קל and שׁר respectively has been suggested by VIROLLEAUD as early as 1932.—The Ugaritic verb *š-r* "to sing" occurs, e.g., in V AB 1:20 (to *!b ql* in that line cf. יָשָׁה קוֹל Ezek. 33:32) for which passage *vide* CASSUTO's exegesis in *BJPES* 10 (1942-3):51.

⁵ *BJPES* 10 (1942-3):54-62. I hope to revert to Ugaritic *-m* in a more detailed English study.

⁶ E.g. DE VAUX, *RB* 54 (1947):284; GINSBERG, *Keret*, p. 33 bottom.

⁷ Cf., for the time being, *BJPES* 10 (1942-3):57; GINSBERG, *Keret*, p. 33 bottom.

⁸ Rather than "song", which would be inapposite in connection with thunder and lightning.

⁹ I would not suppress an alternative grammatical interpretation of our stich, immaterial as it is to the sense proper. Ugaritic (and biblical Hebrew) poetry tends to omit one or more words in the second hemistich of a parallelism, leaving them to be understood from the first one (cf. GINSBERG's acute remarks in his commentary *ad* II K [=KRT C] 3:10). In view of this elliptical tendency, it is quite possible that both *b'ṛpt* and *brqm* are intended as plurals, the adverbial meaning being expressed in the first hemistich only (*b-ṛpt*), while in the second hemistich the particle ("in") has to be supplied. (As regards the omission of an expression in the second half of the verse, see now SEGAL, *Tarbiz*, XVIII, pp. 139-142.—U.C.)

II. ON TWO BIBLICAL HEBREW VERBS

The Israelites would not acquiesce in the divine sentence inflicting upon them forty years' wandering in the wilderness. Fancying they could take their fate in their own hands and disregarding Moses' severe warning that their undertaking was against the will of the Lord, they "went up and fought" with the highlanders. Three of the salient passages of this story—told in Numbers chap. 14 and re-told in Deuteronomy chap. 1—are the following:—

וַיַּעֲבֹדוּ לַעֲלֹת אֶל־רֹאשׁ הָהָר (Num. 14:44)

וַתִּהְיֶינּוּ לַעֲלֹת הָהָרָה (Deut. 1:41)

וַתִּזְדָּרְוּ וַתַּעֲלֶה הָהָרָה (Deut. 1:43)

Of the three principal verbs, only one, viz. וַתִּזְדָּרְוּ, is of comparatively frequent occurrence, whereas the remaining two are to be regarded as ἀπαξ εἰρημμένα; it is no wonder, therefore, that both of them have baffled all translators and commentators, ancient and modern. The general sense of the relevant verses has been grasped, but the exact meaning of the two crucial verbs was bound to remain within the slippery domain of contextual and/or etymological speculations.¹

In such circumstances, biblical philology cannot but applaud M.M.BRAVMAN's admirable essay, entitled "On the Spiritual Background of Early Islām and the History of Its Basic Concepts"² and mainly consisting of a penetrating and amply documented

¹ For good summaries, see GRAY's and DRIVER's respective commentaries to Numbers (ICC series, 1903) and Deuteronomy (ICC, 1906), *ad locos*. As will be seen, some of the alternative suggestions there listed are on the right track to the solution presented in the text.—(In this connection, especial credit is apparently due to L. DE DIEU; unfortunately, however, I cannot ascertain the actual extent of his contribution, since the works of older scholars like L. DE DIEU, A. SCHULTENS, and J.D. MICHAELIS are inaccessible to me, and their views, accordingly, known to me only so far as they are cited by such 19th century handbooks as GESENIUS's *Thesaurus* and DILLMANN's *Commentary to Num.-Joshua*).

² *Tarbiz* 18 (1946—7): 65—88. I understand that an enlarged English version is in preparation; it is only to be hoped that it will be available to Arabists abroad before long.

semantical inquiry into certain ancient Arabic terms and expressions, whose results not only open up new vistas in the study of Islamic origins but also happen to furnish the clue to the correct interpretation of both Hebrew verbs mentioned above. In his essay, BRAVMAN treats, *inter alia*, of the Arabic verbs *ʿaslama*, *ʿahāna*, *ṣarā*, *ḡāda*, and *badala*. When used absolutely, these verbs primarily had basic meanings quite different from one another, viz. "to give up", "to scorn", "to sell", "to squander", etc. However, as soon as these verbs came to be augmented by the complement "one's soul" (or "one's life"), they acquired a new, common meaning: each of the phrases *ʿaslama nafsahū*, *ʿahāna nafsahū*, *ṣarā nafsahū*, *ḡāda binafsihī*, and *badala nafsahū* now signified something like "to defy death (in battle)" — a concept of tremendous importance in ancient Arab life. So characteristic became this special, phraseological meaning of these verbs, that eventually some of them were capable of being used elliptically (i.e. WITHOUT the complement *nafsahū*), the elliptical phrase retaining the full semantic value of the original, complete one.³

In connection with the Arabic expression *ʿahāna nafsahū* — properly "to scorn one's soul", hence "to stake one's life", "to defy death" — BRAVMAN rightly remarks⁴ that it is analogous to Hebrew *הָרַק נַפְשׁוֹ* (Judges 5:18), both idioms having undergone a similar semantic shift. A much closer parallel to Arabic *ʿahāna nafsahū*, however, is to be found in biblical Hebrew, to wit *וַתִּהְיֶינָה*. Obviously, we have to do here with the Hif'il theme of a roof *הוּן**⁵ — exactly like *ʿahāna*, which is the causative (*ʿafʿala*) theme of the root *hwn* ("to be light or easy"); it is used elliptically instead of original *וַתִּהְיֶינָה נַפְשׁוֹ** — just like some of the synonymous Arabic phrases cited above; and it means "to stake one's life", "to defy death" — just like its Arabic counterpart.⁶ Valorous raids were one

³ *L.c.*, 69–79. For details I have to refer the reader to BRAVMANN's article; cf., however, my foot-notes 6 and 8.

⁴ *L.c.*, 76, n. 25 (end).

⁵ The Hif'il perfect, *וַתִּהְיֶינָה**, is not attested so far. In Lachish Letter 6:14, TORCZYNER hesitatingly suggests the reading *hhn* (= **hēhīn*), cf. his *The Lachish Ostraca* (Jerusalem, 1940), *ad locum*, and the Glossary thereto, *s.v. hwn*; the last three lines of Letter 6, however, cannot be read with reasonable certainty.

⁶ For the meaning of *ʿahāna nafsahū*, cf., e.g., *nuhīnu nnufūsa wahawnu*

of the salient features of primitive tribal society, and it is to this background that both the Hebrew and the Arabic expressions clearly belong.

The case of *יִתְפַּחֵר* is very similar to that of *יִתְהַיַּיֵּשׁ*. BRAVMAN has shown⁷ that the Arabic verb *ġafala* (*u*) "to be forgetful, careless"—generally used with a negative, derogatory connotation—sometimes unmistakably expresses a positive, laudable quality, viz. "heedlessness of danger or injuries".⁸ This is the appropriate sense of *יִתְפַּחֵר* too; it implies not forgetfulness or carelessness, but heedlessness of danger expressive of courage and intrepidity. Needless to say, the etymon of *יִתְפַּחֵר* is then nothing else than the above-mentioned Arabic *ġfl*.⁹

An additional word on the morphology of *יִתְפַּחֵר* is in order. As far as I can see, this form has always been taken to belong to the Hif'il theme,¹⁰ so that there would be a point of divergency between Arabic *ġafala* and its proposed Hebrew equivalent—a point of divergency which could not, of course, invalidate their equation, because Hebrew Qal and Hif'il are sometimes used side by side without any substantial difference of meaning, especially in the case of verbs expressing quality or state. Nevertheless, I am inclined to regard *יִתְפַּחֵר* as Qal, viz. as an additional petrified instance of the vestigial Hebrew Qal *i*-imperfect discovered by

nnufūsi yawma lkarīhali ʿawqā (var. *ʿabqā*) *lahā* "We are scorning the souls and the scorning of souls on the day of battle protects them" (Ḥamāsa 63:1; cf. *Diwān al-Ḥansāʾ* 74:3), and *yuhīnu nnaḥsa walmālā* "he stakes (his) life and (his) property" i.e. "he is bold and generous" (Ibn Hišām 44:12; see BRAVMAN, *l.c.*, 76 and n. 25).

⁷ *L.c.*, 83.

⁸ Cf. especially the Quranic *alġāfilāti lmuʾmināti* Sūra 24:23, also occurring in a poem by Saʿid b. ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān (Ṭabari II/2, 746:3–6), which BRAVMAN takes to mean "the trusting (protected) women who do not heed (the blows of Fate)", and *alġawāfil* "the heedless ones" in a poem by Ḥassān b. Ṭābit (*Diwān*, No. 112:2).

⁹ Accordingly, biblical Hebrew has at least two distinct roots עפח: I עפח < **ʿpl*, II עפח < **ġpl*; so already rightly BROWN-DRIVER-BRIGGS. For an interesting discovery of Hebrew homonyms, cf. ORLINSKY, *JAOS* 59 (1939): 22–37.

¹⁰ In Modern Hebrew, too, this solitary biblical verb survives in the form *יִתְפַּחֵר*, whence also the derivatives and *יִתְפַּחֵר* and *יִתְפַּחֵר*.

BARTH¹¹; for (1) וַיִּקְרָא is written defectively, and (2) its exact Arabic counterpart (both phonologically and semantically) is a basic theme verb. Neither of these independent indications—based on internal and external evidence respectively—can claim to be decisive in itself, but their cumulative force seems to create at least a strong presumption in favour of this hypothetical view of the verbal form in question.

¹¹ *ZDMG* 43 (1889): 177–191. BARTH's law concerning the vowels of the imperfect (*ZDMG* 48 [1894]: 4–6), and hence indirectly also his above-mentioned discovery of the *i*-imperfect in Hebrew and Aramaic, are now confirmed by the most ancient known West Semitic language, viz. Ugaritic, as brilliantly demonstrated by GINSBERG, *Tarbiz* 4 (1932–3): 382; *Orientalia* N.S. 8 (1939): 318ff.; cf. also GORDON, *Grammar*, § 8.6, and GOETZE, *Language* 17 (1941): 132, n. 46 (last sentence).

NOTE

Mr. SINGER's untimely death has brought an abrupt close to a career bright with promise. Notwithstanding the brevity of his life, his uncommon gifts and admirable scholarship were abundantly evident. The Editors extend their sympathy to those who have suffered a personal loss in his death.

"LET THE YOUNG MEN, I PRAY THEE,
ARISE AND PLAY BEFORE US."¹

YIGAEI SUKENIK

(JERUSALEM)

"And Abner said to Joab, Let the young men, I pray thee, arise and play before us, and Joab said, Let them arise. Then they arose and went over by number twelve for Benjamin, and for Ish-Boshet the son of Saul, and twelve of the servants of David. And they caught every one his fellow by the head, and thrust his sword in his fellow's side; so they fell down together. Wherefore that place was called Helkath-Hazzurim, which is in Gibeon. And the battle was very sore that day" (II Sam. 2: 14ff.).

I

The above short but beautiful description of one of the battles between the Houses of Saul and David has been—because of a strange combination of facts—severely attacked by the commentators, and has been given various interpretations.

In 1906, L.W. BATTEN² suggested a new interpretation, in which the element of imagination superseded all interpretations hitherto given. At the beginning of his article he gives a summary of the commentators' opinions up to his time, and since this summary shows clearly the direction of opinions concerning the subject I wish to discuss, I should like to repeat it here: "This passage has always proved a hard problem for the interpreter, for it is *obscure*, the text is more or less corrupt or deficient, and its extreme brevity renders it difficult to make any very clear sense. On account of

¹ יקומו נא הנערים וישחקו לפנינו.

² L.W. BATTEN, "Helkath Hazzurim. 2 Sam 2: 12-16", *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, XXVI (1906), pp. 90ff.

SUKENIK: "Let the young men, I pray thee, arise and play before us." 111

the place name explained as derived from the incident which happened there, it has become quite common to regard the story as an etymological saga, a view held by such competent scholars as BUDDE, KITTEL, NOWACK and STADE."¹

BATTEN, who met with the same problems experienced by his predecessors, after analyzing the various opinions, suggested an interpretation which I should like to discuss somewhat at length, since it follows the original direction the other interpretations have taken. In his opinion, what happened was the following: Abner "proposed that some of the soldiers should amuse the opposing armies by some sort of athletic contest... The sport was supposed to be without arms and so harmless." But the Benjaminites who were *left-handed* (!), had swords concealed on their right sides (as Ehud did), and at the beginning of the contest—marked by each laying his hand on his opponent's head—they drew these swords and stabbed the opponents in their sides. The opponents fell together (יחדו). BATTEN thinks that the fact that the opponents' sides are mentioned strengthens his theory, since only an assassin stabs his enemy in the side. That is why the place was named "the field of the treacherous (הַצָּרִים) fellows".

What has caused the above "detective story" explanation and the struggle of interpreters before and after BATTEN?² The answer is simple enough: The combined expressions "ישחקו לפנינו", "הנערים", "איש בראש רעהו", "חרבו בצד רעהו", and "ויפלו יחדו" caused some commentators to see in the above story a description of an athletic contest between young men which turned—for various reasons—into a bloody one.

In the present article I wish to prove — basing my theory on a relief from Tell Halaf and various passages in the Bible — that the above "sport" was from the very beginning intended as a real fight, and the נערים are not just young men or "Burschen"³ or "Jünglinge",⁴ and that ישחקו here does not mean "play" or "spassen"³ or

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 90.

² On the opinion of others, see below.

³ So, for example, in the German translation by TORCZYNER and many others.

⁴ So, for example, in the translation by KAUTSZSCH (1922) or in that of K.A. LEIMBACH (Bonn, 1936).

"turnieren",¹ and ויחזיקו איש בראש רעהו is not corrupt², and that the fight between נערים was intended to decide the course of the battle as a whole.

II

Let us begin with the method of fighting as described in the Book of Samuel. "And they caught every one his fellow by the head and thrust his sword in his fellow's side". In order to understand that description we have to find out whether this method of fighting was due to the "peculiar" circumstances of the event or whether it was the usual way in a "life-and-death" struggle in the ancient East.³

Amongst the numerous reliefs discovered by MAX VON OPPENHEIM in Tell Halaf (Gozan) — describing, *inter alia*, various battle subjects such as mounted soldiers, infantry, etc. — relief no. 182B (see Figure 1)⁴ is significant for the comprehension of our case. A glance at the relief shows us immediately the surprising similarity between the scene shown there and that described in the Book of Samuel. The relief shows two bearded fighters standing opposite each other in the last stage of their fight. Each catches his opponent by the head, while thrusting his sword in his opponent's side. The sword of the fighter on the left is already thrust deep inside, while the sword of the fighter on the right only starts penetrating.

¹ W. NOWACK 1902. See also "דרד שחוק יחגרו אלה עם אלה בהרבורם": רד"ק or KAHANE, following others: "It seems that Abner did not wish to fight David's men, but only intended to display the strength of his men against those of David; but the play turned against his will", etc.

² CASPARI had omitted the word ראש altogether and translated: "Jeder packte seinen Gegner indem seine Klinge seitlich seines Gegenübers (hing?)" (W. CASPARI, *Die Samuelbücher*, 1926).

³ The misunderstanding of this phrase has often led to strange expressions in Biblical literature. S. BERNFELD, for example, in his מנחם לכתבי הקדש. Vol. II, p. 77, writes: "The war between the two houses of Israel was sometimes 'a war in peace' as it was like a 'game'." (The quotation marks are by BERNFELD)

⁴ MAX VON OPPENHEIM, *Der Tell Halaf*, Leipzig, 1931, Taf. 36b. and the English edition translated by G. WHEELER, Pl. XXXVI B. VON OPPENHEIM thinks that the two fighters were Gilgamesh and Enkidu. This suggestion has not been fully discussed, and for its clarification we shall have to wait for the detailed publication of the reliefs.

This scene, which obviously represents a "life-and-death" struggle, proves that one of the common ways of fighting was to get hold first of the opponent's head and thus deprive him of freedom of movement, and then—since the fighters clung to each other—stab the exposed side of the opponent.

The fact that this relief is dated between the 11th and 9th centuries B.C.¹ (the very same period as the battle of Gibeon) adds to its importance to our subject: various cylinder-seals from Mesopotamia depicting fighters using the same methods, strengthen the above argument.²



Figure 1.

¹ There is still a difference of opinion about the exact date of the reliefs, but the opinion of VON OPPENHEIM and HERZFELD that they belong to the 3rd Millennium B.C., has now been discarded. The main opinions now current are as follows: G. CONTENAU in the *Manuel d'Archéologie Orientale*, III, 1931, p. 1156, dates them in the 11th century B.C.; BOWMAN and BRAIDWOOD consider them not earlier than the 9th century B.C. (R.A. BOWMAN, "The Old Aramaic Alphabet at Tell Halaf", *AJS*, LVIII, pp. 359ff, 364ff). LANGDON dates them in the 10th Century B.C. (*apud* BOWMAN). See also the review by R. DUSSAUD on "Die Inschriften von Tell Halaf 1941", *Syria*, XXIII (1942-3). ALBRIGHT now dates them in the 10th century. See: *The Excavations of Tell-Beit Mirsim*. Vol. III: "The Iron Age", *AASOR*, XXI-XXII (1941-3), p. 17, n. 4. and *BASOR*, 105 (1947) p. 14.

² See for example: W.H. WARD. *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, 1910. Chapter IX: The God Attacking an Enemy.

III

Having seen that the scene described in the book of Samuel does not show a sportive event but rather one of true fighting, let us deal with the next expression used, i.e. הנערים. This word, having been interpreted as "Jünglinge", "young men", etc., did its share in causing many to regard the fight mentioned as a sportive event of youngsters (cf. Midrash Tanhuma: לפי שעשה אבנר דם "לפי שעשה אבנר דם שחוק נענש ונפל בחרב", as quoted by Abarbanel in his Commentary); but this word finds different meanings in the Bible, ranging from mere "boy" to high officials in the royal court. ALBRIGHT has shown in two detailed articles¹ that the word נערים in its military sense equals "picked warriors" (a fact to be found also in other languages: the Arabic *ṣubīān*; or the Mitannian *Mariannu* — a derivative of the Sanskrit *Marya* meaning "youth", "young man" — which was the name of the aristocracy's chariot warriors). This word appears also as a loan word in Egyptian *na-a-ru-na*, equivalent to the Canaanite expression *na'arôn*; in Pap. Anastasi 1 17,3 the Syrian rebels are called by this name. As a rule the word is employed of a body of troops, probably of Canaanite origin, in the Egyptian army.

This goes to show that the fight described in the Book of Samuel was between the *picked* warriors of the two armies.

And now to the actual event which describes one of the popular ways of warfare current before, during and after that period. The opposing armies used to delegate picked warriors to represent them in a "life-and-death" struggle. Typical is the case of David and Goliath.² The outcome of such a struggle decided the course

¹ W.F. ALBRIGHT, "Mitannian maryannu 'Chariot-Warrior' and the Canaanite and Egyptian Equivalents", *Archiv für Orientforschung*, VI (1930-31), p. 220. *Idem*, "The Seal of Eliakim", etc., *Journal of Biblical Literature*, LI (1932), pp. 82ff.

² The story of II Sam. 21 about the exploits of David's heroes should, I think, be understood, not as commonplace heroic actions, but as the victories in fightings of "picked warriors" in which they represented David's army. Cf. II Sam. 21:19: "And there was again a battle in Gob with the Philistines, where Elhanan the son of Jaare-(Oregim) a Bethlehemite, slew the brother of Goliath the Gittite," and the similar exploits in the following passages: II Sam. 21: 20, 21.

of the battle as a whole, as will presently be shown. It is important to note, though, that such a mode of warfare was not the regular practice, as the consent of both opposing armies had to be obtained first; such consent involved bearing the consequences of the struggle of the picked warriors. Thus we find Goliath saying to the hosts of Israel: "... why are ye come out to set your battle in array? Am not I a Philistine and ye servants of Saul? Choose you a man for you and let him come down to me" (I Sam. 17: 8). And only after Israel *consented*, was the duel carried out. That is how the dialogue between Abner and Joab is to be understood: Abner did not suggest to Joab an amusing sportive event, but arranged the battle conditions with him, when he said, "Let the נערים, I pray thee, arise and 'play' before us, i.e." "I suggest, as a mode of war, a duel between picked warriors", and only after Joab's consent, who said, "Let them arise", "they arose and went over", etc.

Let us now discuss the peculiar observation "they fell down together". Why is this fact mentioned at all? How is it relevant to the comprehension of what happened? In order to understand this, it is necessary further to examine the rules employed at such duels and their purpose. These fights between picked warriors were not supposed to be a cruel entertainment *before* the battle, but were meant to come *instead of* the battle. Their object was not to increase, but to decrease casualties, and one of the main rules, it seems, was that their result decided the course of the whole battle, i.e. the army whose picked warriors were defeated was considered defeated as a whole. Goliath said to Israel: "Why are ye come out to set your battle in array? If he be able to fight with me and kill me then will we be your servants; but if I prevail against him and kill him then shall ye be our servants and serve us" (I Sam. 17: 9). The same thing appears also in the famous story of Sinuhe; in the passage describing the fight between Sinuhe and the Canaanite chief, after the latter was killed, Sinuhe plundered and conquered his tribe without further battle. In the light of the above facts, the phrases "they fell down together" and "and the battle was very sore that day" hold a new meaning, i.e. the fight between the picked warriors was left indecisive—the warriors from both sides fell together—and there was no alternative but for the main armies to fight it out.

The word וישחקו is used here to describe this way of fighting, which outwardly resembles a sport or amusement, inasmuch as only a *few* people are involved and the rest act as spectators (cf. Judges 16: 25, 27: כשדשת אלפים איש ואשה הרואים בשחוק שכשון¹).

In summing up, the event as a whole seems to me to have happened as follows: The armies of Joab and Abner met by the pool of Gibeon in order to fight each other. Abner suggested to Joab a fight between the picked warriors only, instead of a battle involving both armies. Joab consented. The picked warriors from both sides fought in the customary manner, but for some reason all were killed. Then, and only then, did the main armies fight each other. "And the battle was very sore that day."

¹ As for the place-name חֶלְקֵת הַצִּירִים, I intend to discuss it in a separate article in the near future, since it is outside the scope of the subject discussed above.

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE SAMARIA OSTRACA

B. MAISLER

(JERUSALEM)

The group of ostraca found in the area of one of the buildings at Samaria (the "Ostraca House") by the Harvard expedition of 1908/10 and published in 1924¹ has justly attracted considerable attention among scholars. This epigraphical source consists of 63 Hebrew documents, some complete and some fragmentary, besides a quantity of insignificant sherds. They represent invoices sent with jars of oil and wine, a tax in kind, to the court of the kings of Israel. The many problems connected with this discovery have naturally produced a rich controversial literature.² These problems include the administrative division of the kingdom of Israel, the system of taxing the rural population, and the topography of the Samaria region, besides linguistic and palaeographic questions. However, the actual historical background of this source, and especially the problem of the date of the sherds, does not appear to have been dealt with hitherto in an entirely satisfactory manner. The excavators considered the ostraca to date from the days of Ahab (first half of the ninth century B.C.). Most of the other scholars followed their opinion. Lately however, ALBRIGHT has—on palaeographical and historical grounds—proposed to assign them to the time of Jeroboam II (eight century B.C.).³ J.W. CROWFOOT, the director of the Samaria expedition from 1931 to 1935, is now of the same opinion, on

¹ G.A. REISNER, C.S. FISHER, D.G. LYON, *Harvard Excavations at Samaria, 1908-1910* (1924), I, pp. 227ff. (henceforward quoted as *HES*).

² D. DIRINGER, *Le iscrizioni antico-ebraiche palestinesi* (1934), pp. 21-74 (bibliogr., pp. 66-8, 339); F.M. ABEL, *Géographie de la Palestine*, II (1938), pp. 95-98; S. YEIVIN, *History of the Hebrew Script*, (1939) (in Hebrew), pp. 127ff.

³ W.F. ALBRIGHT, *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (1940), p. 314, n.17; *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (1942), pp. 41, 122, 141, 160, 214, n. 41; 220, n. 110; *ASOR XXI-XXII* (1943), p. 59.

palaeographic grounds and also in consideration of the ware of the sherds.⁴

In considering the chronological problem, we should first of all pay attention to the "Ostraca House" itself.⁵ The remains of this construction were found inside the acropolis of Samaria, within the casemate wall, near its south-western corner. The house and its courtyard are separated by a wall (running from North to South) from the enclosure of the royal palace. The "Ostraca House" included apparently three rows of rooms, entered from the West. Each row is cut into two by a lengthwise corridor. Small square rooms open out into this corridor, three on the right and three on the left. Behind these groups of rooms, eastwards, are two long rectangular rooms; they measure not less than 21 m. in length and barely 3 m. in width; there is another smaller room across their width. No traces of a door have been found, connecting the three groups of square rooms with the rectangular long rooms, and one cannot tell for certain whether they were connected, although it is clear that they were erected at the same time and are part of the same building-plan. While there is still some doubt as regards the purpose of the three groups of square rooms, there can be none as regards the three long and narrow rooms. It becomes clearer and clearer that they served for the storing of the oil and wine received at the royal palace in Samaria, in short that they were *government store houses* of the type occurring in various Israelite cities.⁶ As regards the ostraca, these were found only in the two long rectangular rooms and in the part of the courtyard nearest to them; according to REISNER they were found in "the lowest part of the debris of occupation"⁷ of the "Ostraca House". It appears therefore (a) that the ostraca were collected in storehouses, perhaps together with the wine and oil jars; and (b) that they belong to the earliest period of the building, before the changes and repairs, e.g. the dividing walls in the long rectangular rooms.

As regards the architectural character of the "Ostraca House"

⁴ J. W. CROWFOOT, K. M. KENYON, E. L. SUKENIK, *The Buildings at Samaria* (Samaria-Sebaste Reports I), 1942, p. 8 (henceforward: *BS*).

⁵ FISHER, *HES*, I, pp. 114ff. and Fig. 42-43.

⁶ These buildings, mostly of the 10th century, are discussed by ALBRIGHT, *AASOR*, XXI-XXII, pp. 22ff. ⁷ REISNER, *HES*, I, pp. 227.

it is worthwhile to recall the words of FISHER:⁸ "the masonry was of totally different character from that of any of the preceding or following periods, and, so far as the excavations have been carried, was peculiar to this building". It seems, therefore, that, as far as the character of the construction is concerned, there is no possibility of assigning the "Ostraca House" to the Omrite period; but at the same time we may not date it in the late period of the Israelite monarchy. It seems that—following CROWFOOT⁹—we should place it in Period IV. The joint Samaria expedition distinguished six periods (I–VI) which comprise the whole time during which Samaria was the capital of Israel, from its foundation by Omri to its capture by Sargon II (viz. 880–721 B.C.).¹⁰ Unfortunately the third volume of the excavation report (dealing with the pottery) has not yet been published, so that we do not have all the material for the establishment of the stratigraphic sequence. However, even the material already published enables us to agree with the excavators' opinion; they assign Periods I–II to the dynasty of Omri, III—as it seems—to the time of Jehu, and VI to the end of the Israelite monarchy. In fact the uncertainty exists only as regards Periods IV and V.

The excavators assign them—together with VI—to the eighth century, till the capture of the city by the Assyrians. Various considerations enable us, however, to establish with a fair degree of certainty a more exact synchronism between the history of Samaria, as known from literary and epigraphical sources, and the archaeological finds made by the Joint Expedition. First of all, a quite clear distinction may be made between the "fine masonry" of Periods I–II and the masonry of III–IV; in the words of the excavators, "the new constructions which date from periods III–VI are built in a very different style". This difference may be explained by the cessation of Phoenician influence with the end of the Omrite dynasty and the beginning of a new period — Period III — with the accession of Jehu.¹¹ As regards Period IV we should remember that, according to Miss KENYON, "from the pottery the most important break would appear to be between Periods III and IV, but it is difficult to say whether this coincides with an important political event or not".¹² It appears therefore that the transition from III to IV

⁸ HES, I, p. 116.

⁹ CROWFOOT, BS, p. 8.

¹⁰ BS, pp. 8, 93ff.

¹¹ BS, pp. 8–9.

¹² BS, p. 105.

	<i>Byblos</i> 10-9 th cent	<i>Mesha</i> ci. 840	<i>Samaria</i> ci. 800	<i>Cyprus</i> ci. 740	<i>Siloah</i> ci. 700
א	כ כ	כ	כ	כ	כ
ב	ג	ג	ג	ג	ג
ג	ד	ד	ד	ד	ד
ד	ה	ה	ה	ה	ה
ה	ו	ו	ו	ו	ו
ו	ז	ז	ז	ז	ז
ז	ח	ח	ח	ח	ח
ח	ט	ט	ט	ט	ט
ט	י	י	י	י	י
י	כ	כ	כ	כ	כ
כ	ל	ל	ל	ל	ל
ל	מ	מ	מ	מ	מ
מ	נ	נ	נ	נ	נ
נ	ס	ס	ס	ס	ס
ס	ע	ע	ע	ע	ע
ע	פ	פ	פ	פ	פ
פ	צ	צ	צ	צ	צ
צ	ק	ק	ק	ק	ק
ק	ר	ר	ר	ר	ר
ר	ש	ש	ש	ש	ש
ש	ת	ת	ת	ת	ת
ת	ך	ך	ך	ך	ך

Fig. 1. Comparative table illustrating the epigraphic chronology of the Samaria Ostraca.

is connected with some great crisis in the life of Samaria. This would agree well with the time of Jehoahaz, beginning with the great campaign of conquest in Palestine undertaken by Hazael in 814/3, when the country suffered greatly from the Aramaean invaders and the troops of Assyria appeared for the first time on its soil (806). It was a period of decline in the history of the Israelite kingdom, to be followed by a revival in the days of Jehoash (early eighth century B.C.). This view agrees well with Miss KENYON's opinion as regards the pottery of Period IV: "a date of about 800 B.C. would suit . . .".¹³ This is also the period in which various repairs were made in the casemate wall¹⁴ in order to strengthen the defenses of the city, which during the period under consideration was certainly besieged more than once. On the occasion (see below) of one of these repairs, the "Ostraca House" was constructed in one of the empty corners within the walled circuit. From these considerations it follows that we may assign the Periods IV (and IVa) to the reigns of Jehoahaz and Jehoash. Period V is marked *inter alia* by "a fairly complete reconstruction of the buildings on the north of the courtyard"¹⁵. Apparently this was a period of renewed prosperity, such as fits well the time of Jeroboam II.

Yet, although the archaeological data discussed serve to fix with a fair degree of certainty the date of the "Ostraca House" (and in consequence that of the ostraca themselves) at the end of the ninth century B.C., nevertheless we can arrive at a certain dating only through an examination of the ostraca themselves, and in particular of their contents. As mentioned above, both ALBRIGHT and CROWFOOT based their datings of the ostraca in the reign of Jeroboam II on the script. However, the palaeographic examination has met with many difficulties, if only because the texts are written in a flowing script and in ink, whereas the comparative material in our possession consists, on the whole, of monumental writing either cut or engraved. The comparison of the ostraca with the Mesha stele (ca. 845) is of special interest (Fig. 1). It shows clearly that the "Mesha stone" has

¹³ BS, p. 105.

¹⁴ BS, pp. 99f., 103.

¹⁵ BS, p. 106. ff.

a more archaic type of script—even if we discount the monumental character of the inscription; it is considerably nearer the classical Phoenician of the inscriptions from Byblos, Cyprus and Sardinia from the 10th–9th centuries B.C. It suffices to compare the letters *Vav*, *Samekh*, *Šade* and *Qof*, in order to note the great difference between the Mesha stele and the ostraca. On the other hand, the ostraca script appears in the following period in Israel and Judah, as is shown, *inter alia*, by the flowing script of the Siloam inscription, which is very much later (ca. 700). This fact may be accounted for in the following ways: (a) There is a difference in time between the Mesha stele and the ostraca, although we are not able to define the difference. (b) From the times of David and Solomon till the end of the Omri dynasty the classical Phoenician script was used in Israel and we should attribute this fact to the Sidonian-Phoenician influences which did not cease to operate throughout this period. And whereas Moab formed a part of the Israelite monarchy till the death of Ahab, there is nothing astonishing in the fact that this script was employed in the Mesha stele, which was cut a short time after the liberation of Moab from Omride rule. (c) It is by no means impossible that the flowing script which we find in Israel and Judah in the 8th and 7th centuries was first developed by the Israelite scribes after the cessation of the Phoenician influence, although even in that period the classical Phoenician script was not forgotten, but was employed mainly in monumental inscriptions.

It follows from the above, that the script cannot serve as a firm basis for the dating of the Samaria ostraca; it shows only that on palaeographic grounds also we should not assign them to the period of the dynasty of Omri, and especially not to the period of Ahab, which preceded the Mesha stele.

When the attribution of the ostraca to the time of Ahab is thus definitely discarded, there remain only three possible reigns to which they can be assigned, viz. those of Jehu, Jehoahaz the son of Jehu, and Jeroboam II. The reason for this are the regnal years mentioned in the ostraca themselves. Usually the receipts begin with a dating formula, thus: "In the ninth year from Šptn to Ba'alzemer a skin of old wine" (Bš.t.št.t/mšptn lb'l/zmr. nbl yn/yšn). Of the whole ostraca at least 8 date from the ninth year, 14 from the tenth year, 26 from the fifteenth year and 1 from the seven-

teenth year.¹⁶ As undoubtedly all the ostraca belong to the reign of one and the same Israelite king (despite slight changes in the formulae), the king can be only either Jehu, who reigned 28 years (II Kings x,36), or Jehoahaz, who reigned 17 years (*ib.* xiii,1), or Jeroboam II, who reigned 41 years (*ib.* xiv,23). No other Israelite king following Ahab reigned 17 years or more.

If we come to consider who of the three kings mentioned above is the most likely candidate, we come to the conclusion that it is Jehoahaz the son of Jehu. For, besides the archaeological data stated above, which point to the reign of this king, we must also consider that among the ostraca there is not a single one which dates from before the 9th or after the 17th year. As for the terminal date, this is especially decisive as regards Jeroboam II, who reigned 41 years, but hardly less so in the case of Jehu, who ruled for 28. It does not affect the case of Jehoahaz, who was king for 17 years. The considerable number of ostraca (63, of which 48 are dated certainly) shows that these limits of dating are not accidental. If the ostraca had been written in the days of Jeroboam, we should expect at least a few dated from the 18th to the 41st regnal year.

It seems that on the basis of the historical information available in the Assyrian inscriptions and the Bible we are able to explain not only the fact that the last date mentioned in the ostraca is the year 17, but even why the earliest is the year 9. In other words: the "Ostraca House"—or, more exactly, the three long rooms—were first used as royal store houses in the 9th year of Jehoahaz and they ceased to be so used in the last year of this king. Jehoahaz began to reign after the death of his father Jehu in the 23rd year of Joash king of Judah (II Kings xiii,1). This was a year of crisis in the history of the Israelite kingdom. Hazael, the king of Damascus, who had succeeded in conquering the whole of Gilead (II Kings x,33), crossed in that year over into Western Palestine, defeated the Israelite army and invaded the land of the Philistines. He captured,

¹⁶ On the year 17 in ostrakon 63 see REISNER, *ibid.*, 243; DIRINGER *ibid.* pp. 57f.; ALBRIGHT, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, p. 220, n. 110. TORCZYNER, *Lachish Letters* (Hebrew ed.), p. 203ff. Although the sign for 5 in this ostrakon is different from the usual one, the above scholars were obviously right in their identification, as there is no other number between 1 and 10, besides 5, for which a special sign is used.

among other cities, Gath (ʿIrâq el-Manshiya) and prepared to attack Jerusalem, when the city was saved through the payment of a heavy tribute by Joash king of Judah (II Kings xii,18-19). The story told in chapter xii of II Kings makes it quite clear that it refers to the 23rd year of Joash, the year in which Jehu died, and it is by no means impossible that the death of Jehu is connected with these historical events. According to the most probable dating, that of THIELE,¹⁷ these events must be fixed between Tishri 814 and Nisan 813; according to other calculations they took place in 815-814.¹⁸ The first years of the rule of Jehoahaz were a time of decline and abasement in Israel: "But Hazael king of Aram oppressed Israel all the days of Jehoahaz" (II Kings xiii,22). The general situation is well reflected in the prophecy uttered by the prophet Elisha to Hazael in II Kings viii,12. As long as Hazael was alive, and for some time in the reign of his son Ben-Hadad, the hand of Aram was heavy upon Israel: "Neither did he, the king of Aram, leave of the people to Jehoahaz but fifty horsemen and ten chariots and ten thousand (?) footmen; for the king of Aram had destroyed them and had made them like the dust by threshing" (II Kings xiii,7). We should undoubtedly assign to this period many of the stories of the Elisha cycle, such as the story of Naaman, which points clearly to the subjection of the king of Israel to the king of Aram (II Kings v,1-7); further, the story of Dothan, which goes to show that at this time Aramean rule extended as far as this city in the Northern part of the mountains of Samaria (*ib.* vi,7-20) and the siege of Samaria itself (*ib.* vi,24-vii,20).¹⁹ Unquestionably

¹⁷ JNES III (1944), pp. 152, 184.

¹⁸ MORGENSTERN, *Amos Studies* (1941), p. 382: 814-798; ALBRIGHT, *BASOR* 100 (1945), p. 21: 815-801.

¹⁹ These stories cannot by any means be attributed to the time of the Omrite dynasty, as for instance to the days of Jehoram, because till the death of this king, i.e. till the end of the dynasty, the area of Râmôt-Gileʿad was still the boundary between Israel and Aram, and there is no mention of any expansion of Aram in Western Palestine. As regards the reign of Jehu, it is clear that the catastrophe came only with the end of his reign. It should also be noted that the friendly relations between Elisha and the king of Israel in these stories belong rather to the time of Jehu and his dynasty. The only reign which fits this context is, therefore, that of Jehoahaz. Cf. J. MORGENSTERN, *Amos Studies*, I (1941), p. 368, n. 269. It appears also that the ruin of

the Israelite kingdom was reduced during this period to very narrow boundaries, practically to the district of Samaria alone, the neighbourhood of the capital. However, as early as the reign of Jehoahaz there came an improvement in the position of Israel: "And Jehoahaz besought the Lord...and the Lord gave Israel a saviour so that they went out from under the hand of Aram..." (II Kings xiii,4-5); this favourable turn lasted till the end of the rule of Jehoahaz, when there came again a change for the worse in the history of Israel and Judah. For, according to II Chron. xxiv,23ff., a great historical event took place during the reign of Joash king of Judah: the army of Aram invaded Judah and approached Jerusalem "and destroyed all the princes of the people from among the people and sent all the spoil of them unto the king of Damascus... and when they were departed from him (i.e. Joash) (for they left him in great diseases) his own servants conspired against him... and slew him on his bed and he died". There is no reason for denying the authenticity of this story or for regarding it as another version of the events in the 23rd year of Joash. For the story in II Chron. xxiv refers expressly to the end of the reign of Joash, and it gives the background of the revolt, as a consequence of which Joash perished and his son Amaziah began to reign in his stead. It seems that Joash died in 797/6, while the death of Jehoahaz occurred in 798.²⁰ In any case the interval between the deaths of Jehoahaz and Joash was not a long one, as according to II Kings xiv,1 Amaziah the son of Joash, king of Judah, began to reign in the second year of Joash son of Jehoahaz, king of Israel. In my opinion there exists a close connection between the invasion of Ben-Hadad, as told in II Chron. xxiv, and the death of Jehoahaz. We may attempt to reconstruct the events as follows: At an opportune moment, when the Assyrian campaigns in the West had ceased for a long time, Ben-Hadad attacked the kingdom of Israel and Jehoahaz perished in this war or as a consequence of it. The army of Aram continued southwards, invaded Judah,

Megiddo IV should be assigned to the great campaign of Hazael in the years 814/3; cf. ALBRIGHT, *AASOR XXI-XXII* (:943), p. 2, n. 1.

²⁰ For the chronological problems of this period cf. THIELE, *ibid*, pp. 152f. The author hopes to deal with these problems in detail in a special study and to discuss these dates in particular.

and perpetrated a great massacre in Jerusalem and Judah. This caused a revolt in Jerusalem, and Joash perished during this revolt about a year after the Aramaean invasion. The facts told in II Kings xiii, 24-25 are in accordance with what has been stated above: "So Hazael king of Aram died and Ben-Hadad his son reigned in his stead. And Jehoash the son of Jehoahaz took again out of the hand of Ben-Hadad the cities which he had taken out of the hand of Jehoahaz his father by war". It appears that Jehoash restored to Israel the cities which had been captured by Ben-Hadad from Jehoahaz apparently in the course of the Aramaean campaign of 798, which led to a change of kings at Samaria.

Information derived from the Assyrian sources from the time of Adadnirari III agrees very well with what we have just told on the basis of the Biblical history. Adadnirari began to reign in 810.²¹ According to the Saba'a stele he invaded Palaštu in his fifth year, viz. in 806/5. This invasion of the Philistine region on the coast of Southern Palestine is connected with his first campaign against Damascus, his siege of the city and the imposition of a heavy tribute.²² And as regards the campaign of Ben-Hadad in 798, which after some time was followed by a counter-offensive of Jehoash king of Israel, it is possible that the campaign of Adadnirari in his 14th year (797) falls between these two events. This campaign was undertaken by Adadnirari after a fairly long interval, and was directed westwards, or, according to the list of eponyms, against Manšuate,²³ the province of Damascus in the southern part of the Bâqa'. This campaign was certainly undertaken to restrain the king of Damascus, and it was the principal cause which enabled Israel again to make headway against the enemy in the north and to throw off entirely the yoke of Damascus. It seems that the inscription of Zakûr, the king of Ḥamât and Lu'aš, belongs

²¹ A. POEBEL, *JNES* II 1943, p. 78 for the chronological problems involved.

²² LUCKENBILL, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, I, p. 261, §§ 734-5. The stele was published by UNGER, "Re'iefselle Adadniraris III aus Saba'a", *Phom* II, 1 (1914).

On the other hand in the list of eponyms there appears in this year a campaign against Arpad; it seems, however, that the same campaign is meant in both cases; its first step was Arpad, and its last Philistia.

²³ LUCKENBILL, *ibid.* II, p. 433, § 1198.

to the same time; it describes how Zakûr succeeded in throwing off the allegiance of Ben-Hadad king of Aram.²⁴

These facts enable us to understand the historical background of the Samaria ostraca. We have already seen that the archaeological data cause us to fix their date near the end of the 9th century B.C. There is a surprising coincidence between the ninth year of the ostraca — in our opinion the ninth year of Jehoahaz, viz. 806/5 — and the year in which Adadnirari undertook his great campaign against Philistia and Damascus (806/5). This is the year in which appeared a *saviour* of Israel (II Kings xiii, 5). This is quite clearly Adadnirari, who saved Israel from the heavy yoke of the kings of Damascus. It seems that as soon as matters improved in this year Jehoahaz hurried to reorganize the method of collecting taxes in his kingdom; tax-collection had obviously been neglected in the years in which the troops of the king of Damascus were despoiling the countryside. For this purpose he erected in an empty space in the citadel of Samaria a storage house for the keeping of the oil and wine received from the villages. It is by no means impossible that with the last year of Jehoahaz, i.e. the 17th year of his reign, the magazines ceased to be used because of the renewed invasion from Damascus. Such is our explanation of the fact that no ostraca were found in them dating from the reigns of other kings, and that considerable reconstructions were made in them.

We pass now to a discussion of the extent of the area from which the taxes in kind were collected, and its political and territorial significance. Most scholars consider that the "Ostraca House" served only a definite province of the Israelite kingdom, that is the territorial and administrative unit of the Manassites. We should however consider the possibility that the ostraca refer to the whole of the kingdom of Israel in its reduced state in the days of Jehoahaz, and not to one of its districts alone. Moreover, it is possible that between the 9th and the 15th–16th years of Jehoahaz there was an increase of territory. The ostraca from the years 9 and 10 mention the following places from which taxes were collected in kind²⁵:

²⁴ NORTH, *ZDPV*, 52 (1929), pp. 124 ff. deals with this inscription.

²⁵ On the topographical material in the Samaria ostraca see the literature

ʾĀzah—apparently Kh. Zawāta, 5 kms SE of Samaria.

ʾAz[n]ōt Parʾān, which has not yet been identified.²⁶

Geba—now Jaba, 9 kms. N of Samaria.

Haṣerōt—apparently to be identified with ʿAṣīret el-Ḥatab, 7½ kms. SE of Samaria.

Yaṣīt—now Yaṣīd, 8 kms. NEE of Samaria (Abel).

Šāq—according to Abel Bīr es-Sāq near Sānū, ca. 10 kms. NNE of Samaria; the identification seems, however, very doubtful.

Pōraim—perhaps Kh. Kafr ʿEin Fārāt, 2½ kms. SE of Samaria (Maisler).²⁷

Qōṣō—Qūṣīn, S of Samaria (Abel, Albright).²⁸

Šftn—perhaps Šūfa, 9 kms. W of Samaria (Abel).

Ttl—identification unknown.²⁹

Equally unidentified are the Kerem Hattel and the Kerem Yeḥawʿeli, two "vineyards", apparently private estates in the Samaria district. In the tenth year appear also two territorial units: Šemyeda (šemīda) and Abiʿezer, viz. the territories of two great clans which belonged to the tribe of Manasseh.

This survey of the area points to a very small territory around the city of Samaria (Fig. 2), or, more exactly, the district of the Israelite capital proper. On the other hand we find a considerable

quoted in n. 2 above, which also contains a detailed bibliography; see especially ALBRIGHT, *JPOS*, XI (1931), pp. 241ff; NOTH, *PJB*, XXVIII (1932), pp. 54ff.; MAISLER, *JPOS*, XIV (1934), pp. 96 ff.

²⁶ REISNER had already proposed to read in ostrakon 14, 11.1—2 ʾz/t Prʿn, while other scholars proposed ʾt prʿn or ʾ[1]/t prʿn (Noth, Albright). Some identified the place with Farʿūn south of Tūl Karm (Dussaud) or Kh. Beit Fārʿah (Albright). I consider the version of Reisner the correct one, but the name must be completed to ʾaz[n]. ʾAznōt Parʾān may be explained as a place-name, as e.g. Aznoth Thabor; then Parʾān would be the extended form of pr "wild ass".

²⁷ The common reading Beʾrim is mistaken, and in consequence the identification with Burin near Farʿāta (Abel) should be discarded. Pʾrym (Pōraim) can be perhaps explained as derived from pōrah "branch", although this word has accidentally been preserved only in its female gender. The suggested identification is purely hypothetical.

²⁸ ALBRIGHT, *JBL*, LVIII (1939), p. 185.

²⁹ Perhaps we should assume TTL<TLTL. (Cant. v, 11 Taltalim LXX ἑλάται "schwanke Palmenzweige"; S. Ges.-B., p. 880 a).

increase of territory in the year 15. In the ostraca of this year we find mentioned, besides the above, the following localities:

²⁹*Almatôn*—Immâtîn, WSW of Nablus (Albright).

Hattel—perhaps Kh. et-Tell, S of the above (Avi-Yonah).

Yâšib—Kh. Kafr Sib near Šuweika (Albright).

³⁰*šrt*³⁰—probably Bîr ‘Ašayir near the above (Alt).

Šekem—*Shechem*,—the great centre of Mount Ephraim, now Tell Balâta.

Šôrêq—perhaps Tûl Karm (Maisler).

We find also the name of one person designated as *Ba'al Me'ôni* (ostracon 27), i.e. that he came from a place called Ba'al Ma'ôn,³¹ and another person designated as *Hyhd[y]*, i.e. "the Judaeon" (ostracon 51).

As regards the clan territories mentioned in this group of ostraca, we find besides Abi'ezer and Šemida' also Hōglah, Hēleq, No'ah, all clans of Manasseh, and perhaps also Shechem and Šôrêq, which we may understand either as territorial or as place names. The area, therefore, which was taxed in the year 15, extends from Sânu'r (or at least from Geba') in the north to the neighbourhood of Tapuah, if we can identify this locality with Tell Abû Zarad (Abel) in the south, and to the vicinity of Šuweika and Tûl-Karm along the line of the *Via maris* in the west. The eastern boundary alone cannot be defined. In comparison with the administrative division of Solomon we note that this area comprises not only the northern part of District I (Mount Ephraim, I Kings iv,8), but also part of District III (*Ib.* 10).

As stated above, there arises the question whether the ostraca do not happen to reflect a political situation in which the kingdom of Israel was reduced to the area surrounding the city of Samaria. The ostraca from the years 9—10 would then indicate roughly its boundaries in one stage, and those of the year 15 in another. We should take into account what has been said above of the political decline of the kingdom in the time of Jehoahaz, especially

³⁰ The name is obscure; perhaps it is connected with Ugaritic *šrt*; cf. GINSBERG, *The Legend of King Keret*, 1946, p. 45.

³¹ S. KLEIN, *Studies in the Genealogical Chapters of the Chronicles* (1930) (in Hebrew), pp. 10—11, thinks that this is a reference to a man from Ba'al Me'ôn beyond the Jordan, but this need not be so.

just before the invasion of Palestine by Adadnirari, and of the smallness of the army left to the king (II Kings xiii,7). If the explanation of II Kings vi,13 given above is the correct one, then even the city of Dothan, which is situated only 6 kms. N' of Sânu'r, was in Aramaean hands. And as regards the southern part of Mount Ephraim, we may assume that the king of Judah profited from the weakness of Israel and annexed most of it, as happened in other times, when the kingdom of Israel was on the decline (cf. II Chron. xiii,19; xv,8-9). This would also explain the attitude of Amaziah as regards Jehoash the son of Jehoahaz and this attempt to extend his rule over the whole of Israel (II Kings xiv,9). Moreover it seems to me that there is a clear hint of the expansion of the kingdom of Judah northwards in II Chron. xxv, in the story of the Ephraimite troops hired by Amaziah in his war against Edom, but which he sent back before the war had begun. There it is written (verse 13): "But the soldiers of the army which Amaziah sent back fell upon the cities of Judah (LXX: ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις Ἰούδα), from Samaria even unto Beth-Horon". This can refer only to the cities of the kingdom of Judah in the area from Beth-Horon in the south to the boundaries of the territory of Samaria in the north, viz. the former territory of the tribe of Ephraim (cf. Joshua xv,5-8). Only after the war between Jehoash and Amaziah was all this area returned to the kingdom of Israel. We may also conclude from this, that the political-territorial meaning of *Samaria* refers to the restricted area round the capital of the Israelite kingdom; this we found as early as the time of the dynasty of Jehu (cf. e.g. Amos iii,9: "the mountains of Samaria"; Hosea xiv,1: "Samaria"). The identification of this Samaria with the kingdom of Israel dates from the days of decline in the time of Jehoahaz (cf. also "the cities of Samaria", I Kings xiii,32). The creation of the district of Samaria as a territorial-administrative unit belongs to the Assyrian period in the time of the provincial reorganization of Sargon II.

It appears therefore that the ostraca reveal to us a political situation which corresponds closely to the reign of Jehoahaz at the end of the 9th century, when the extent of the kingdom of Israel did not exceed the boundaries of the district of the capital proper, i.e. the mountain (or land) of Samaria. Accordingly, the storehouses

in which the ostraca were found, served for the collection of the wine and oil taxes from the whole kingdom, which expanded from the year 9, when Jehoahaz threw off the yoke of Damascus, till the year 17. Indeed, as regards the territorial extent, there is some justification for the common view that the taxes referred to were collected from the territory of Manasseh alone, because the territory of Samaria did not then extend beyond the area occupied by the families of this tribe.³²

The onomasticon of the private names mentioned in the ostraca is also of considerable importance for the establishment of their date. It is well known that in the Samaria ostraca there is quite a considerable number of names compounded with the theophoric *-ba'al*, side by side with others compounded with *-yau*.³³ ALBRIGHT has already discussed this problem.³⁴ He pointed out that the proportion of the names formed with *-ba'al* to those formed with *-yau* is roughly 11:7. As he, however, dated the ostraca in the time of Jeroboam II, he had to explain how in the second half of the 8th century, a long time after the revolution of Jehu (841), when the cult of Baal had been rooted out of Samaria, there were still so many people having their names combined with that of the fallen deity. According to him "...Yahwism had, indeed, triumphed politically in the Northern Kingdom with Jehu's victory, but it was apparently unable to command the adhesion, even nominally, of over two-thirds of the population". This assumption, however, involves several difficulties. First of all, there is no hint in our sources that the cult of Baal continued in Israel after the revolution of Jehu; even Amos does not mention the existence of this cult in the time of Jeroboam II. Secondly, in the seals and

³² As regards the idea of NOTH (*ZDPV*, L, 1927, pp. 219-244; *PJB*, XXVIII, 1932, pp. 54-68), that the ostraca are memoranda of shipments of oil and wine from *crown properties* to the court of the Israelite King, see. ALBRIGHT, *JPOS*, XI (1931), p. 249. There is no foundation for NOTH's theory in the documents under consideration.

³³ The shortened form *-yau* for *-yahu* in theophoric names occurs, besides in the Samaria ostraca, also in some seals of the 8th and 7th centuries, especially from Judah, such as l'byw 'bd 'zyw and lšbnyw 'bd 'zyw (DIRINGER, *ibid.*, pp. 221, 223)—both officials of Uzziah, king of Judah. Cf. also REIFENBERG, *PEQ*, 1938, pp. 114-5.

³⁴ *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, pp. 160-161.

inscriptions preserved from Judah and Israel and dating from the 8th century, there do not occur any personal names compounded with Baal. Thirdly, the fact is noteworthy that among the six officials engaged in collecting the taxes in the years 9 to 10, there are two, whose names are compounded with *-ba'al* (Ba'alā and Ba'alzemer), while among the eleven (or at least ten) officials of the year 15 there is not even one.³⁵ It seems, therefore that the number of people who bore names compounded with *-ba'al*, especially among government officials, declined from the 10th to the 15th year. All these details agree very well with the assumption that these people lived in the time of Jehoahaz, because between the revolution of Jehu and the year 9 of Jehoahaz there were only 35 years, and obviously there were many still alive who had been born and had received their names before that revolution; as time passed, however, their numbers diminished, especially among the government officials. From this point of view also there are good grounds to assume that the ostraca belong to the reign of Jehoahaz king of Israel.

³⁵ On the other hand, the father of one of the officials Hanan (ben) Ba'ra (ostraca 45-47), has a shortened name which contains apparently the element *ba'al* (NORTH, *Isr. Personenamen*, p. 40).

A NEWLY DISCOVERED HEBREW INSCRIPTION OF THE PRE-EXILIC PERIOD

A. REIFENBERG

(JERUSALEM)

Palestine is remarkably poor in lapidary inscriptions of the pre-exilic period. Apart from the Siloam-tunnel inscription and some letters on a stele in Samaria, the only Hebrew inscriptions of this period have been found in the village of Siloam. As far back as 1870 CLERMONT-GANNEAU found here two funerary inscriptions, which were removed and taken to the British Museum.¹ One of these inscriptions shows possibly the remains of a name, and on the other inscription CLERMONT-GANNEAU and CASSUTO² think that possibly the words *asher 'al ha-bayit* may be made out. In 1884 CLERMONT-GANNEAU found the remains of two Hebrew letters on the Siloam monolith.³ In the spring of 1946 I found a new inscription, likewise in the village of Siloam.

The inscription is over the entrance to a tomb in the house of Abu Adnan in Upper Siloam about 65 m south-west of the monolith-tomb and next to (north of) the tombs from which CLERMONT-GANNEAU had taken his inscriptions. The tomb entrance is walled up and the tomb is used as a cistern. The inscription consists of three lines and is badly mutilated, so that only ten letters can be made out with certainty. The length of the inscription was approximately 45 cm and the height of the three lines 19 cm. The inscription is about 19 cm above the tomb entrance (Plate XXVIII).

The first line starts with the word *qvurat*, followed by a word-separating sign. Since there does not seem to be enough space

¹ CH. CLERMONT-GANNEAU: *Archaeological Researches in Palestine*, Vol. I, pp. 305 et seq. (1899).

² D. DIRINGER: *Le Iscrizioni Antico-Ebraiche Palestinesi* (Firenze, 1934), pp. 105 et seq., where further references may be found.

³ D. DIRINGER: op. cit., pp. 102 et seq.

between this sign and the following clear letter, it seems that the next word starts with this letter (n). Only the lower part of the next letter, which might have been a י, an נ or a פ, is preserved. The space between these two letters is badly damaged but seems again not to be large enough to allow for another letter. At the end of the line are the remains of another letter.

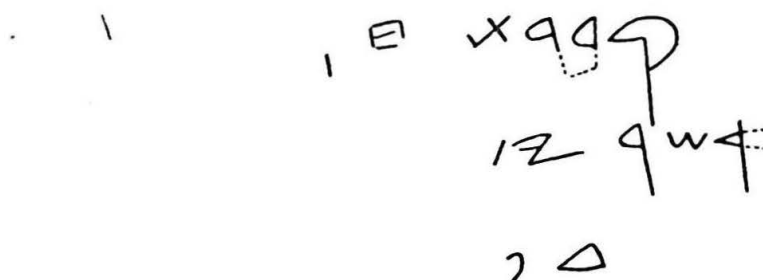


Fig. 1

In the second line the word *asher* can be read, although the נ is badly weathered. The next word starts with a י, and the following letter is again badly damaged; it may have been a ז, a ב, or more probably a ב.

In the third line only the letter ת can be made out with certainty, and it is apparently followed by an ו.

The word *qvura* in the sense of "burial place" is well known from the Bible. It occurs in Gen. 47:30 and Dt. 34:6, but is mainly used in connection with the burial of the kings of Judah (Ahaziah, II Kgs. 9:28; Amon, II Kgs. 21:26; Josiah, II Kgs. 23:30; Uzziah, II Chron. 26:23). It is here used in the status constructus and since the next word seems not to start with a n it is safe to assume that we have before us a name starting with n. Because of the various possibilities with regard to the following letter (י, פ, נ) I do not dare to offer a suggestion for the time being. The word *asher* "who" in the second line is clear. The following word starts with a י. Because of the mutilated condition of the next letter I refrain again from making a suggestion for the time being.

Perhaps once the stone has been cleaned something more definite may be said.

We can be more certain as to the period of the inscription. The

form of the \daleth (resembling the Greek delta) cannot be later than the 9th or 8th century, since at later times the right stroke of this letter is prolonged downwards. The ρ and indeed all the other letters resemble the writing of the Siloam inscription and cannot be earlier than the 8th century. This brings our inscription to the 8th century, possibly the beginning of it.

In any case we have before us the burial place of a high-ranking personage of the Judaeen kingdom and the inscription illustrates the use of the word *qvura*, hitherto known only from the Bible.

But possibly the finding of this inscription has still farther significance. The village of Siloam is honeycombed with tombs, which are rather different from other tombs in the surroundings of Jerusalem. In the words of CLERMONT-GANNEAU these tombs are "distinguished by their individual character". They are not family tombs, since they have no more room than for one, two or three persons at the most.

CLERMONT-GANNEAU describes them in the following terms: "My first impression on entering [these sepulchral chambers] was a feeling of astonishment and admiration on seeing the unusual shape of their ceilings, the novelty of their funerary arrangements, the harmony of their proportions, the minute care with which all the surface had been tooled, the exclusive use of the straight line, and the idea of grandeur which they conveyed in spite of their small size. In order to find anything which can compare with them, on a larger scale, we must go to the cemeteries of Egypt and some of those in Asia Minor."

We may agree with this description, especially with regard to the Siloam monolith.

The fact that four inscriptions of the time of the Judaeen kingdom have already been found here brings me to the following conclusion: Undoubtedly there was a necropolis of the Judaeen kingdom at Siloam and there is no doubt that men of high rank were buried here. Is it therefore too much to suggest that the kings of Judah were buried in this region? The statement that the kings of Judah were buried in the "City of David" seems to be no valid reason against this assumption, since the distance to the Davidic city is only about a hundred and fifty metres, just across the Kidron

Valley. It is moreover not likely that the kings were buried within the city walls.

If we consider the relevant statements in the Bible this theory finds further support. We read in Neh. 3:15,16: "But the gate of the fountain repaired Shallun... and the wall of the pool of Siloah by the king's garden, and unto the stairs that go down from the City of David. After him repaired Nehemiah... unto the place over against the sepulchres of David, and to the pool that was made, and unto the house of the mighty." It follows from this passage that the sepulchre of David was north of the Siloam pool. From Neh. 3:26 it follows that it was south of the "water gate", i.e. a localisation within 250 metres. Since it is stated that the localities mentioned were opposite the sepulchre, the latter was probably on the other side of the Kidron, i.e. in Siloam. Furthermore, it is said in II Chron. 32:33: "And Hezekiah slept with his fathers, and they buried him in the ascent to the sepulchres of the sons of David". There is an ascent to the tombs of Siloam, i.e. a flight of rock-hewn steps about 60 metres to the south of our tomb.¹ This ascent is still used by the women of Siloam to carry water from the Gihon. Its age can of course not be determined. But the fact that these rock-cut steps have a deviation to a now empty rock-cut tomb-chamber makes it quite plausible that they date from the same period as the tombs.

In any case I should like to conclude my paper with the following words of CLERMONT-GANNEAU written fifty years ago: "I do not hesitate to express my own opinion, that this almost unknown necropolis is one of the most ancient of all those of Jerusalem, I earnestly beg future achaeologists to take it as the subject of their researches. I think that I can prophesy that it contains finds which will fully repay them for all their trouble and expense."

¹ This rock with its steps has, to my mind erroneously, been identified by CLERMONT-GANNEAU with the Stone Zoheleth of I Kgs. 1:9 (*SWP*, Vol. III, p.53).

AN EIGHTH-CENTURY CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTION AT
EL-QUWEISME, NEAR AMMAN, TRANS-JORDAN

FR. S.J. SALLER, O.F.M.

(JERUSALEM)

In going from Jerusalem to Mount Nebo I invariably travelled via Amman and Madaba. Between these last-mentioned towns there are several roads, but the one which is most commonly used today passes el-Yadude, Umm el-ʿAmed and Menja.¹ At some distance from this road both to the right and to the left a number of other villages can be seen; the first to the left of the road on leaving Amman is el-Quweisme. After crossing the stream which flows through Amman one must register at a police station near the Latin Church. Two kilometers from this police post one sees near the left side of the road an inscribed Roman milestone which commemorates repairs carried out in 129 A.D. on the road constructed in 114 A.D.² Standing near this milestone and looking to the southeast one sees beyond the railroad some low hills one or two kilometers away. On the western slopes of the hills two of the ribs are covered with houses which form the village known today as el-Quweisme.

From the same point of view, near the milestone mentioned above, the traveller on the way from Amman to Madaba can recognize on the plain below the hills and to the right of the village a single outstanding building which is a fine tomb tower,

¹ This road and the places mentioned are indicated on the map compiled and drawn by the Department of Lands and Surveys, Trans-Jordan, scale 1:250,000, Amman sheet, 1937. The names are written as on that map.

² SCHULZE, *PJB*, 28 (1932), pp. 68-80. According to SCHULZE the place is called Maḳtal Abu ʿl-Felāṭ. The milestone, which is the 2nd or 3rd from Amman, should be inserted between nos. 112-113 of THOMSEN, *ZDPV*, 40 (1917), p. 47. ALT traced the Roman road for some distance to the northeast of this milestone, but was not able to ascertain where it entered Amman (*PJB*, 29 (1933), p. 27).

known as "Qaṣr es-Seb'ah", "house of the lion". This Roman mausoleum has been frequently visited and described; for example by WILSON,³ CONDER,⁴ BRUENNOW-DOMASZEWSKI,⁵ JAUSSEN and SAVIGNAC.⁶ CONDER,⁷ who visited the monument on October 6th and 8th, 1881, assigns it to the Antonine age (2nd, possibly 3rd century A.D.), and this view is accepted by others.⁸ This well-preserved monument seems to have monopolized nearly all the attention of explorers, whereas the shapeless ruins of the nearby village received little or no attention.

CONDER⁹ seems to be the only explorer who has given us a description of the village of el-Quweisme. He visited the site on October 10th, 1881, and as a result of that visit he was able to inform us that "four ruins are included under this name, being remains of a small town. Foundations of houses and of small towers, some built of limestone, some of flint, were found with rock-cut cisterns. The remains of 'Arāk Abu 'Āīsheh belong probably to the same site, which appears to be of the Roman period." CONDER makes no reference to an inhabited village at his time at that spot. When the present village was built I do not know, nor do I know precisely when the mosaic pavement with the inscription under consideration was discovered. All that I could learn was that the existence of the mosaic pavement with its inscription was known for a long time.

Before going into detail regarding the inscription I would like to say a word about the name of the place. CONDER¹⁰ calls the place "el-Jūeismeh" and observes that "this appears to be the Kawāssimeh of Sir C. WARREN."¹¹ "Possibly," he adds, "Sir C. WARREN's pronunciation is the more correct, the Arabs often pronouncing the guttural K as J. In this case the ruin is connected

³ QS, 1870, p. 294.

⁴ SEP, pp. 174/5.

⁵ PA II, pp. 207-211.

⁶ *Mission archéologique en Arabie*, Paris, 1909, pp. 29f.

⁷ SEP, pp. 174/5.

⁸ WATZINGER, DP, II, p. 99.

⁹ SEP, p. 112.

¹⁰ SEP, p. 112.

¹¹ QS, 1870, p. 294; under the name Kawāssimeh he describes the mausoleum; as regards the inhabitants he says: "The people are a tribe of the Schūr Bedouins, friendly, but not connected with the Adwān, and they objected to our using the dark tent, as they said we were charming the treasure away. They were anxious to stone corporal Phillips as a magician, and we had some difficulty in restraining them."

by name with Kāsim, a common Arab name." WARREN'S pronunciation was adopted by most other scholars¹² and on the most recent map¹³ and since this seems to represent the official spelling it was adopted by me. WARREN, however, spelled the name with K, whereas on the map Q is used. CONDER'S spelling is used on the well-known map of Bartholomew, and it should be observed that the name is still pronounced Jūeismeh by the Arabs.

Regarding the history of this place we learn something from the mosaic inscription in the house of the local sheikh. The inscription was copied in 1935 by IBRAHIM Effendi ABU JABER, Inspector of the Department of Antiquities in Amman, Trans-Jordan. He showed it to me on July 21st, 1935, at Mount Nebo. It proved to be complete in every respect and its contents were interesting. What interested me most of all was the era used and the date. As far as I could ascertain, the inscription had never been published, and I informed the Director of Antiquities at Amman of this fact. He entrusted me with the publication of the same and for this privilege I hereby thank him most sincerely.

Text (according to the copy of IBRAHIM Effendi ABU JABER):—

- 1 ΘΥΠΡΟΝΟΙΑΣ ΠΟΥΔΗΚΑΙ ΕΠΙΜΕΛΙΑΤΟΥ¹⁴ ΟΒΕΟΥΤΟ
ΥΟCΙΩΠΡ
- 2 ΚΑΙ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΥ ΑΝΕΝΕΩΘΗΤΟ ΠΑΝΚΤΗΣ ΜΑΕΚΘΕ
ΜΕΝΩΝ
- 3 ΤΗΣ ΑΓΙΩΤΑΥΤΗΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ ΕΨΗΦΩΘΗΝ ΠΕΡCΩ
ΤΗΡΙΑCΑΥΤΟΥ¹⁵ ΚΝΜΑΚΕΔΩΝΙΟΥ Κς
- 4 ΑΒΒΙΒΟΥ Κς ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΑΔΕΝΦΩΝΕΝ ΧΡΙ
- 5 ΠΡΩΤΗΣΙΝΑΙΤΟΥ ΕΤΟΥC ΠΨ

Transcription of the text (Solution of abbreviations is indicated by (); corrections by []):—

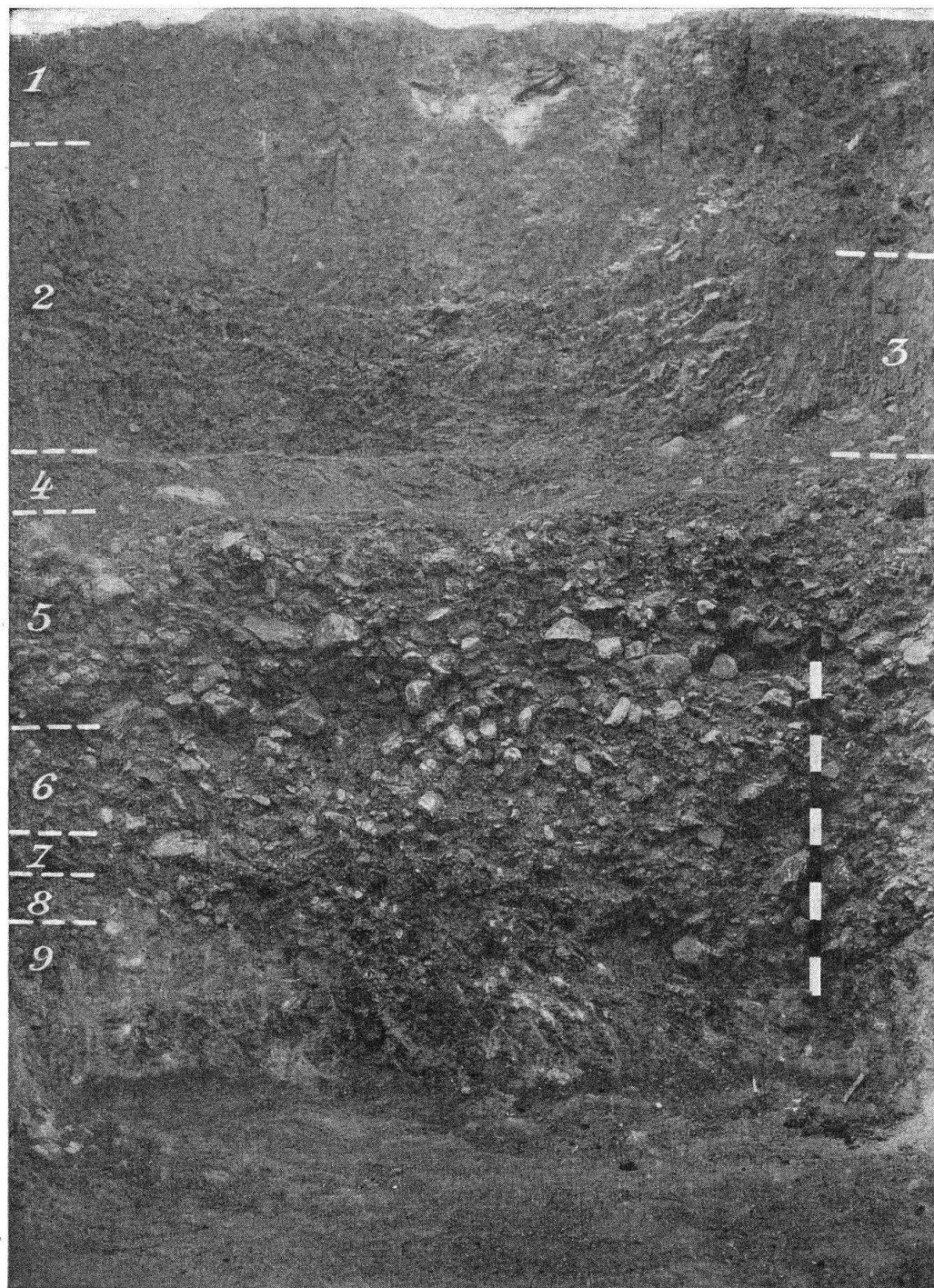
- 1 Θ(εο)ῦ προνοία, σπουδῇ καὶ ἐπιμελ[ε]ία τ(οῦ) Ὁβέου τοῦ δσιω
(τάτου) πρ(εσβυτέρου)
- 2 καὶ οἰκονόμου ἀνεεώθη τὸ πᾶν κτ[ί]σμα ἐκ θεμε(λί)ων

¹² BRUENNOW-DOMASZEWSKI, JAUSSEN and SAVIGNAC; see notes 5 and 6.

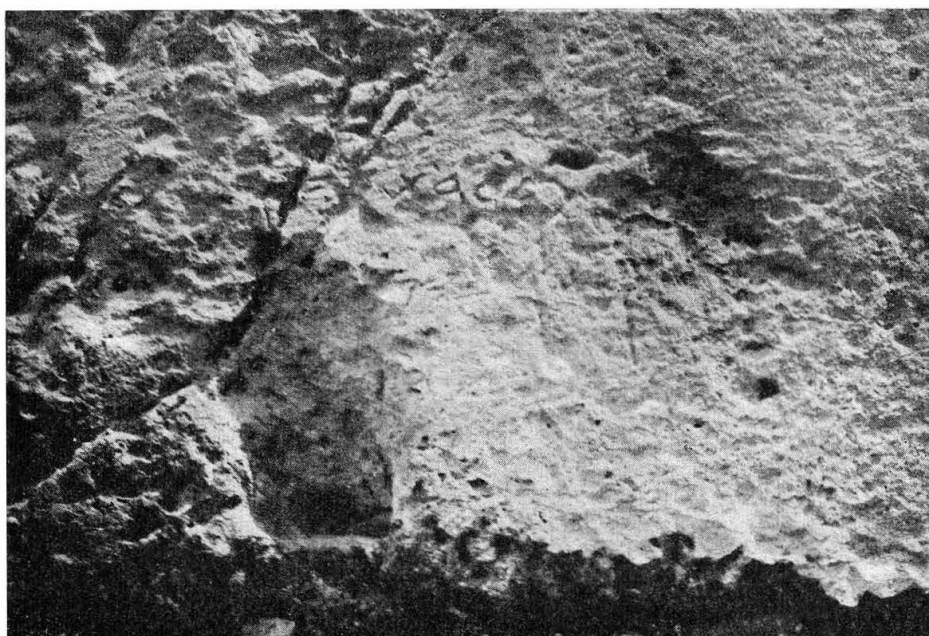
¹³ See note 1.

¹⁴ Original has an interesting and unusual ligature for OY. Reproduction impossible for technical reasons.

¹⁵ Ligature in original different from that employed in line 1.

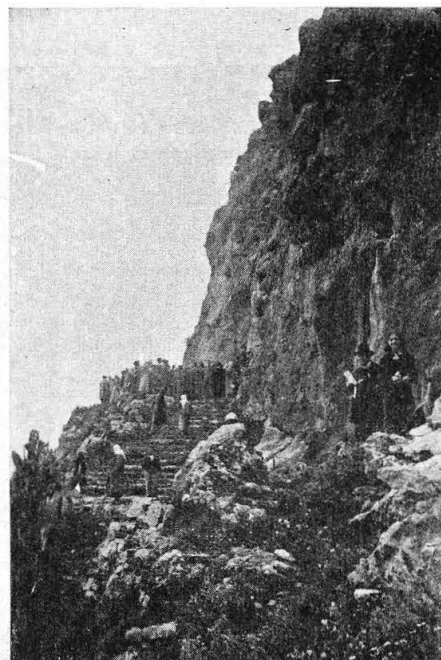


Cliche: R. Neuville.

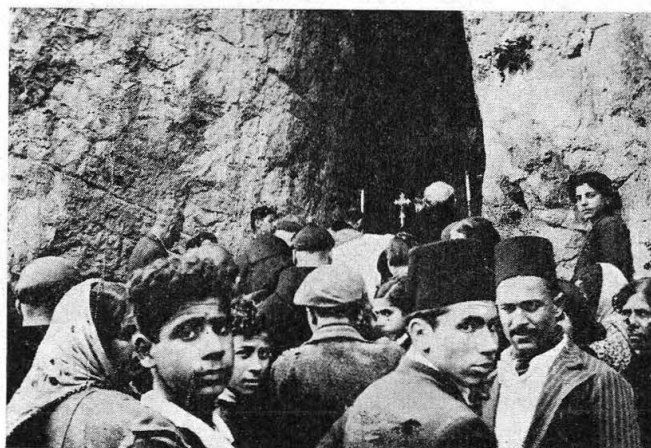




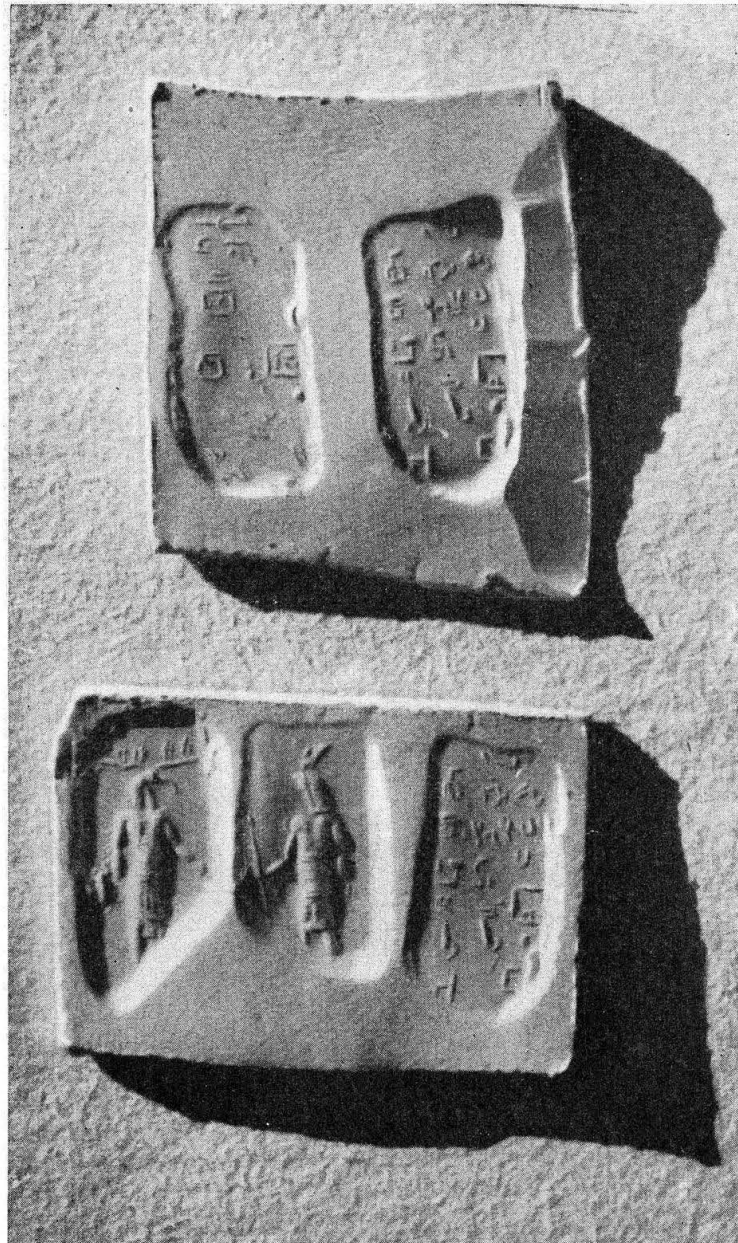
Dschebel el-Kafze, gesehen vom Absturz-
berg der Franziskaner.



Der Absturzberg der Franziskaner.



Die Höhle und Absturzk lippe der Franziskaner.



- 3 τῆς ἀγιωτά[-]της ἐκκ[λ]ησία[ς] καὶ ἐψηφώθη ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας
 αὐτοῦ καὶ [α/ι] Μακεδ[ο]νίου καὶ
 4 Ἀββιβου καὶ Ἰωάννου αὐτοῦ ἀδε[λ]φῶν ἐν Χρ(στῷ)
 5 πρώτης ἡνδι(κτιῶνος) τοῦ ἔτους πψ.

Critical observations. The transcription calls attention to a number of abbreviations with and without the sign of abbreviation, mutation of letters common in the Byzantine period, and a few peculiar mistakes, as, for example, in line 3, where *E* occurs for *C*, *A* for *A*, *N* for *AI*, and in line 4 *N* for *A*.

Translation:—

Line 1: By the providence of God, by the zeal and diligence of Obeos, the most holy priest

Line 2: and oeconomos, there was renewed from the foundations the entire fabric

Line 3: of the most holy church, and it was paved with mosaics for the welfare of himself and Macedonius and

Line 4: Abbibas and John, his brethren in Christ,

Line 5: during the first indiction of the year 780.

Here we will limit ourselves to a few observations on the contents of the inscription, its bearing on the era of Pompey and its significance for the history of Christianity in Arabia in the 8th century of the Christian era.

The inscription informs us that in the village known today as el-Quweisme a Christian church was restored from its very foundations and its floor was paved with mosaics. The work was carried out by a certain Obeos who is both priest and oeconomos. The impelling motive, as given by the inscription, was to promote his own welfare and that of his brethren in Christ: Macedonius, Abbibas and John. The inscription is dated according to the era of Pompey; the year 780 of the same corresponds to the year 717/8 of the Christian era. This is the first certain case of the use of this era on a monument within the territory of the ancient Philadelphia, the modern Amman, and this is by far the latest monument on which that era is known to occur in the entire region. Moreover it belongs to the very small group of only three, possibly four, dated inscriptions which throw light on Christianity in these regions during the 8th century of the Christian era.

The era used in the inscription is that of Pompey. In 717 A.D.

another era had already been introduced into these regions; it was the Mohammedan era instituted by the Khalifa 'Omar (634-644 A.D.), which reckoned time from 15th July, 622 A.D. But we do not find that era used in any early Christian monuments.¹⁶ The Christians, even after the Mohammedans had conquered these regions, continued to reckon time according to the older eras in use in these regions. This does not surprise us who live here in the east, where several calendars are still used simultaneously. El-Quweisme is within the territorial limits of Philadelphia, the former name of Amman. Philadelphia belonged to the Roman province of Arabia as early as 138 A.D., and doubtless from the constitution of the province in 106 A.D.¹⁷ Before its incorporation into the Roman province of Arabia, Philadelphia used its own era, and it continued to use that era even after it had become a part of the Arabian province. This we know from the *Chronicon Paschale* and from the testimony of coins. According to the *Chronicon Paschale*¹⁸ the era of the city began in the second year of the 179th Olympiad, that is 63/2 B.C. In other words Philadelphia, which was a member of the Decapolis, used the era in vogue in those cities. This era derives its name from the Roman general Pompey, who restored to the cities of the Decapolis the freedom of which they had been deprived by the Maccabean princes. Most of the evidence for this era is derived from the inscribed monuments of Gerasa. These show that the year 1 of that era corresponds to the year 63 B.C., and that the city's New Year began in the fall, but the month with which it began remains unknown.¹⁹

Both Gerasa and Philadelphia, as already stated, were incorporated into the Roman province of Arabia most probably at its

¹⁶ See *HPT*, p. 356: "The Hejra, or flight of Mohammed from Mecca to Medina, is reckoned to have taken place on the night of the 20th of June, 622 A.D. The Mohammedan era, instituted seventeen years later by the Khalifa 'Omar, dates from the first day of the first lunar month, Muharram (Thursday, 15th July, 622 A.D.)." In Egypt Greek-Christian inscriptions of the 9th and 10th centuries at times combine a date according to the era of Diocletian with a date according to the Hejra. (KAUFMANN, *Handbuch der alchristlichen Epigraphik*, Freiburg in Br., 1917, p. 50.)

¹⁷ *PA*, III, pp. 264ff. (287, 312); ABEL, *Géog.*, II, p. 424.

¹⁸ MIGNE, *PG*, 90, p. 454, cf. ALT, *ZDPV*, 55 (1932), p. 132.

¹⁹ *PA*, III, pp. 303ff.; *ZDPV*, 55 (1932), p. 132; *Gerasa*, p. 358.

foundation, but both continued to use their own eras even *after* that. For Gerasa this is certain from inscriptions extending down to the 7th century of the Christian era, namely 611 A.D.²⁰ *A pari* we might expect the same at Philadelphia. As a matter of fact coins demonstrate that the era of Pompey was employed here at least as late as 164/5 A.D.²¹ But how much longer after that date did this era continue in use at Philadelphia? Epigraphic evidence seemed to be missing completely.²² In 1932, however, Prof. ALT called attention to the fact that the inscription in the mosaic pavement found at el-Yadude in 1903 might have been dated according to the era of Pompey.²³ The date in the inscription is defective, since the number indicating the century is missing. To find a year in which the two remaining numbers, namely .65, would correspond to the 11th indiction, the editor, P. SAVIGNAC, proposed to supply 9, and according to the era of the Seleucidae he obtained a date which was not improbable, namely (965-312 =) 653 A.D.²⁴ There is a slight difficulty with the employment of this era which caused BRUENNOW to suggest a date according to the era of Bosra, commonly used in the province to which el-Yadude belonged. But his suggestion also is open to serious objections.²⁵ The correct solution seemed to have been found when it had been pointed out that el-Yadude was within the limits of the territory of Philadelphia and that consequently the era of Pompey had been used in the inscription.²⁶ But neither the premise nor the conclusion drawn from it has been accepted by all.²⁷ So it

²⁰ *Gerasa*, p. 358; p. 615: Index N: Dated Texts.

²¹ G.F. HILL, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Arabia, etc.*, London, 1922, pp. XXXIXff., 37ff. ²² *PA*, III, 304. ²³ *ZDPV*, 55 (1932), pp. 132-4.

²⁴ *RB*, 12 (1903), pp. 434ff.; see previous note.

²⁵ *PA*, II, 336; III, 340; see note 23.

²⁶ SCHULZE, *PJB*, 28 (1932), pp. 76ff.; ALT, *PJB*, 28 (1932), p. 92, note 2.

²⁷ ABEL, *Géog.*, II, 185, fixes the southern limits of the territory of Philadelphia north of el-Yadude; this last-mentioned place he assigns to the territory of Esbous (p. 186). In note 4 on p. 185 he still maintains the Seleucid era and the date 653 A.D. for the mosaic pavement at el-Yadude, and endeavors to solve a difficulty which results. P. DE VAUX, *RB*, 47 (1938), p. 256, retains the views of PP. SAVIGNAC and ABEL. — In this connection it may be well to recall that the discovery of mosaic inscriptions at Siyagha (Mt. Nebo), which show that Siyagha formed part of the diocese of Madaba at the end of the 6th

still remained doubtful whether there existed any epigraphic evidence for the use of the era of Pompey in the territory of Philadelphia after the year 164/5 A.D. This evidence has now been supplied by the inscription from el-Quweisme. This village was definitely within the territorial limits of Philadelphia, even according to the opinion of those who would exclude el-Yadude, which is 12 km. south of Amman, whereas el-Quweisme is not more than 4/5 km. south of that city. If that city still used its ancient era we would on *a priori* grounds expect that that era would be used in this village; and that such was the case is clearly proved by the indication, for the year 780 of the era of Pompey corresponds to the first year of one of those cycles of 15 years which we call indictions. And to stress this fact we may add that the year 780 of no other era in use in this region corresponds to the first year of an indiction, as is required by our inscription. Here then we have the first undisputed epigraphic evidence for the use of the era of Pompey in the territory of ancient Philadelphia, modern Amman; as such it is a monument of great importance for the history of the modern capital of Trans-Jordan, and should be properly protected and preserved.

The el-Quweisme inscription is also the latest inscription dated according to the era of Pompey, not only in Amman, but in the entire region. Thus, for example, at Gerasa the latest inscription dated according to the era of Pompey belongs to the beginning of the 7th century, 611 A.D.,²⁸ whereas at el-Quweisme we have evidence that there the era of Pompey continued to be used as late as the 8th century of the Christian era. This late date gives added significance to the entire inscription; for we possess only three, possibly four, dated inscriptions from the 8th century of the Christian era. Taken in chronological order, this one from el-Quweisme is the earliest of the four (717/8 A.D.); next comes the inscription in the mosaic pavement at Ma'in discovered by the

and the beginning of the 7th century, has forced scholars to modify their views somewhat on the territorial divisions which were formerly based exclusively on the data supplied by EUSEBIUS. See BEYER, *ZDPV*, 58 (1935), p. 153. Other discoveries, such as the inscription in the mosaic at el-Yadude, may give further clues to the solution of geographical and chronological problems.

²⁸ *Gerasa*, p. 615

Dominican Fathers in 1937 (it belongs to the year 719/20 A.D.);²⁹ third in order is the inscription found in a wall at el-Kafr, in the Hauran, which has been assigned to 735 A.D.;³⁰ finally we must mention also the inscription of a chapel at el-Mukhazzaq between Tafilé and Shobek in southern Trans-Jordan which some assign to the year 785/6 of the Christian era, whereas others assign it to the year 607 A.D. According to the latter view the inscription would not have to be considered here; but according to the former view it would be the latest dated inscription of the 8th century which we possess.³¹ This remains true even if eventually it should be necessary to assign to the 8th century four other inscriptions found at Sbaita³² and 'Auja Hafir.³³

At Sbaita two marble grave inscriptions, if dated according to the era of Bosra commonly used there, would have to be assigned to the years 711 A.D. and 725-734 A.D. respectively. At 'Auja Hafir was found the Pap. Colt Inv. No. 24, which contains two dates; according to the era of Bosra they are equivalent to 20. April 768 A.D. and 22 March-20 April 767 A.D. The indictional years agree. But the indiction fits equally well if the era of Gaza is used and for special reasons pointed out by KIRK³⁴ it seems that in the case of these dates the era of Gaza was actually used. If this is true all the four dates must be reduced by 165 years, and they do not enter into our consideration.

Of the eight inscriptions, therefore, which might possibly belong to the 8th century four are eliminated on good grounds, a fifth remains doubtful, and of the remaining three the one found at Ma'in is very defective, and the one found at el-Kafr has the date written in such a way that EWING assigned it to the year 720 A.D.,³⁵ whereas most other scholars assign it to the year 735 A.D.³⁶ The el-Quweisme inscription is free from all these defects and as such ranks first among all the dated inscriptions of the 8th century of the Christian era.³⁷

²⁹ *RB*, 1938, pp. 238ff.

³⁰ *PA*, III, p. 360.

³¹ *JPOS*, 18 (1938), pp. 161f.

³² *JPOS*, 17 (1937), pp. 211ff., nos. 2-3

³³ *JPOS*, 17 (1937), pp. 216f.

³⁴ See notes 32 and 33.

³⁵ *QS*, 1895, p. 275, no. 150.

³⁶ See note 30.

³⁷ In the *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities*

The date 717/8, at which this church at el-Quweisme was restored, is interesting for a number of other reasons. It confirms conclusions reached on other grounds at Gerasa; and sheds new light on the "Covenant" of 'Omar II, the first Khalīfa and only Omayyad ruler to place restrictions on the Christians.

At Gerasa the last new church to be built is dated 611 A.D.³⁸ No later inscriptions speak of restorations, but on the evidence of coins and the like CROWFOOT reached the conclusion that the churches at Gerasa continued in use at least until the middle of the 8th century. The damage sustained by the churches was repaired in many cases. Thus, for example, CROWFOOT thought that the S. John Baptist's group survived until about 717, when an earthquake caused severe damage, after which repairs were indeed made, but only in one part of the group, namely in S. George's.³⁹ In this connection it is interesting to note that it was precisely in 717 A.D. that the church in el-Quweisme was in such condition that it had to be completely restored from the very foundations. The cause of the damage is not indicated, but it may have been an earthquake. The Christian community at el-Quweisme was still in existence and sufficiently well organized, wealthy and free to be able to rebuild the church and pave it with mosaics. The same was the case at Ma'in two years later, 719/20. The same may well have been the case at Gerasa. Our dated inscriptions thus confirm conclusions reached on other evidence at Gerasa.

The year 717/8 is also the first year of the reign of the Khalīfa 'Omar II (Oct. 717-Feb. 720 A.D.). He issued the famous "Covenant", which, among other things, forbade the Christians to build churches.⁴⁰ It is significant that during the first year of his reign the church at el-Quweisme was restored from the foundations, and before the end of his reign also the church at Ma'in was restored. These facts shed new light on the "Covenant" and its interpretation. They show that the Christians were at least free

in *Palestine*, 12 (1945), pp. 20-30, SCHWABE published some Greek graffiti from Kh. Mafjar, near Jericho, which also have been assigned to the eighth century A.D., namely to the time of the Khalīfa Hishām (724-43 A.D.).

³⁸ *Gerasa* (p. 615), p. 172.

³⁹ *Gerasa*, p. 248.

⁴⁰ HITTI, *History of the Arabs*, London, 1937, p. 234.

to restore their churches. There are still numerous unexplored churches all over the country which could throw more light on these problems.

To sum up, the inscription in the mosaic pavement at el-Quweisme is significant for the following facts: firstly, it is the only certain epigraphic evidence for the use of the era of Pompey in the territory of Philadelphia; secondly, it is by far the latest monument dated according to the era of Pompey in the entire former territory of the Decapolis; finally, it is one of the very few dated monuments which throw light on the history of Christianity in Arabia in the 8th century of the Christian era.

ABBREVIATIONS

- DP*: Denkmäler Palästinas, I-II, C. WATZINGER, Leipzig, 1933-1935.
Géog.: Géographie de la Palestine, I-II, F.-M. ABEL, Paris, 1933-1938.
Gerasa: C.H. KRAELING, New Haven, Conn., 1938.
HPT: The Handbook of Palestine and Trans-Jordan, H. LUKE & E. KEITH-ROACH, 3rd. edition, London, 1934.
JPOS: Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society.
PA: Die Provincia Arabia, I-III, R. BRUENNOW & A. VON DOMASZEWSKI, Leipzig, 1904-9.
PG: Patrologia Graeca.
PJB: Palästinajahrbuch.
QS: Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement.
RB: Revue Biblique.
SEP: The Survey of Eastern Palestine, C.R. CONDER, London, 1889.
ZDPV: Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästinavereins.

BEITRÄGE ZUR GESCHICHTE NAZARETHS

CLEMENS KOPP

(KARMEL)

VI. DER ABSTURZBERG.

Lk. 4,29: „Sie erhoben sich, stießen ihn zur Stadt hinaus und führten ihn an den Rand (auf die Höhe) des Berges, auf (an) dem ihre Stadt erbaut war, um ihn hinabzustürzen. Aber Jesus schritt mitten durch ihre Reihen.“ Der erste Eindruck beim Lesen ist, daß die Juden den Heiland durch einen Sturz in schwindelnde Tiefen zerschmettern wollten. So wurde der Text auch von den Christen aufgefaßt, daher die alte Lokalisierung am Dschebel el-Kafze, das Absuchen des Geländes nach andern passenden Absturzstellen in neuerer Zeit.¹ Aber ist der Fragepunkt nicht von vornherein falsch? Das jüdische Gesetz, das die orthodoxen Nazarethaner doch wohl befolgten, kannte keine Todesstrafe durch bloßes Zerschmettern in einen Abgrund,² es verlangte für Gotteslästerer vielmehr die Steinigung, zu der das Herabstürzen nur den schauerlichen Vortakt bildete. Daß der Heiland sich als Messias bekannte, war aber Gotteslästerung. Stephanus wurde darum gesteinigt, als er sich zum Messias bekannte, den er zur Rechten Gottes sitzen sah. (Apg. 7,55–58). Maßgebend war Moses III,

¹ Durch E. ROBINSON (*Biblical Researches*, Boston 1841. III, 187) ist die Klippe hinter der Maronitenkirche populär geworden, obwohl dieser Vorschlag von ihm nur ein anregender Gedanke war. Aber der Trieb zum Lokalisieren ist unausrottbar. Auch die Entwicklung bleibt immer die gleiche, aus einem „Vielleicht“, „Möglich“ wird schnell ein „Wahrscheinlich“, der nächste Schritt streift dann schon den Gewißheitsgrad. Dieser Felsen scheidet aber völlig aus der Diskussion aus, weil niemals das jüdische Nazareth an oder auf dem umliegenden Gelände erbaut war. Spuren der Besiedelung fehlen, dazu sprechen die Gräber ihr ablehnendes Wort.

² Vier Todesarten waren anerkannt: Steinigung, Verbrennung, Enthauptung und Erdrosselung. (Vgl. *Die Mischna. Sanhedrin, Makkot*. Herausg. v. S. KRAUSS. Giessen, 1933. VII, 1. S. 206).

24,16: „Wer des Herrn Namen lästert, der soll des Todes sterben, die ganze Gemeinde soll ihn steinigen.“ Nach der Beschreibung des Talmud wurde der Sünder rücklings von einer Höhe — zwei Manneshöhen hoch¹ — vom ersten Zeugen herabgestoßen. „Stirbt er daran, hat er der Pflicht genügt, wo nicht, nimmt er den Stein und gibt ihn auf sein Herz.“² Es folgten dann die Steinwürfe des Volkes, falls noch nötig. Mithin liegt die Annahme am nächsten, daß der Evangelist hier nur summarisch den Vortakt, das Herabstürzen, bei Stephanus dagegen ebenso summarisch nur den Schlußakt, die Steinigung, anführt. Aber eine historische Studie muß versuchen, das Gewordene auf seinem Werdegang zu verstehen, nicht, in welche Bahnen es bei richtiger Orientierung hätte einlaufen sollen.

1. DER NEBI SA'IN.

Keine Frage, daß der Nebi Sa'in — der Name hat geschwankt³ — der Berg ist, auf dem Nazareth erbaut ist. Seine Höhen umklammern nach Norden, Westen und Osten das Gelände um die Quelle. Seine Zunge, die er von Norden nach Süden aussendet, endet erst hinter der Verkündigungskirche in der Talsohle. Auch der südliche Abhang ist noch sein Kind, darum liegt auch heute noch Nazareth auf oder an ihm. Der biblische Bericht sagt bestimmt aus, daß die Juden Christus hinaufführten, auf der Höhe selbst oder nahe an seinem Rande muß darum die Stelle des Absturzes bzw. der Steinigung sein. Vielleicht war das eine ähnlich bekannte Hinrichtungsstätte wie Golgotha. Der Höhenkamm ist breit,

¹ Nach einer andern Version 3 Manneshöhen. *Ebd.* VI, 4. S. 191.

² *Ebd.*

³ MARITI (II, 188) hat 1767 schon die heutige Form, er nennt ihn „Monte Sein“, freilich wendet er die Bezeichnung irrtümlich auf den bekannten Absturzberg an. ROBINSON (*a.a.O.* III, 187) schreibt „Neby Isma'il“, er hat aber auch „Neby Said“ gel.ört. (*Neuere biblische Forschungen in Palästina*, Berlin 1857. S. 136). SEPP gebraucht „Wely Ismael“ und „Wely Esmuni“ „was sich auf einen christlichen Simon zurückführen ließe.“ (*Jerusalem und das hl. Land*. Schaffhausen 1863, S. 88). Tatsächlich hörte ich, daß die Moslems heute im Nebi Sa'in — der Name ist nur noch allein gebräuchlich — den Simeon verehren, der bei der Darstellung im Tempel den Heiland auf seinen Armen trug. Der Name Dschebel es-Sich wird öfters gebraucht, er ist die geographische Bezeichnung, haftet an sich an seiner östlichen Fortsetzung. (DALMAN, S. 58).

er rundet sich weich ab, ein jäher Absturz in grausige Tiefen ist nirgends und war nirgends. Dagegen werden nahe am Kamm Stellen sichtbar,¹ die der im Talmud vorausgesetzten Höhe entsprechen; je weiter der Berg sich nach unten senkt, umso mehr neigt er zur Bildung von Steilhängen, viele Häuser kleben wie Nester an ihm. Jedes Suchen ist aber müßig. Die Häuser, welche durch die neuste Entwicklung der Stadt an ihm emporgeklettert sind, veränderten die natürliche Form stark,² dazu wandelten die herabflutenden Regenmassen mit ihrem Schlamm in 1900 Jahren die schroffen Linien in sanftere um.

Die christlichen Pilger übergehen diesen Berg, der doch die Jugend des Heilandes getragen hat, mit völligem Schweigen. Dagegen hat er unter den Moslims eine eigenartige Verehrung genossen. 1173 hält ihn 'Ali el-Herewy — er nennt ihn Sair — für den biblischen Berg Se'ir in Edom. Er zitiert Deut. 33,2: „Und Moses sprach: Der Herr ist vom Sinai gekommen und ist ihnen aufgegangen von Se'ir.“ Diesen Vers legt er nun so aus: „Gott ist vom Sinai gekommen, und er hat durch Moses auf dem Berg Sinai verherrlicht sein wollen. Es ist auch gesagt: Er hat ein auffallendes Zeichen auf Sair erscheinen lassen, dadurch ankündigend, daß Jesus in dem geheiligten Nazareth erscheinen würde. Das sind die Worte des Pentateuch.“³ Die Schriftauslegung ist barock, sie verdient kein Wort der Entgegnung, der Berg Se'ir bleibt im Lande Edom. CH. CLERMONT-GANNEAU möchte aber aus der Exegese dieses arabischen Schriftstellers den Schluß ziehen, daß die Aufmerksamkeit der Moslims auf den Berg gezogen wurde „durch die frühere Existenz einer alten christlichen Tradition, die hier die Erinnerung des Absturzes lokalisierte, bevor man sie gegen alle Wahrscheinlichkeit zum Dschebel el-Kafze übertrug.“⁴ Aber liegt hier wirklich ein Nachklang christlicher

¹ Wenn die Zeichnung von SEPP (*a.a.O.*) korrekt ist, war dort, wo heute die Salesianer ihren ausgedehnten Besitz haben, eine steile, bedeutende Erhebung.

² Vor 60 Jahren sah VICTOR GUÉRIN (*Description géographique, historique et archéologique de la Palestine*. Paris 1880. I, 93) hier noch „an mehreren Orten natürliche, steile Böschungen“, die für einen tödlichen Absturz sehr geeignet waren.

³ Französ. Übersetzung des Textes von CH. SCHEFER in *AOL* I (1889) S. 596.

⁴ *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*. Paris 1888. I, 340.

Verehrung des Nebi Sa'în als Absturzstätte vor? Der Namensgleichklang der Berge, die Verehrung der Moslims für den „Propheten“ Jesus, dazu ungenügende Schriftkenntnis reichen völlig zur Erklärung aus.

Um 1300 gibt DIMASHKI die gleiche falsche Exegese, er schreibt sogar den Satz nieder: „Die Stadt Nazareth ist im Hebräischen Sa'îr genannt.“¹ Nichts deutet darauf hin, daß die Moslims mit ihrer Verehrung des Berges in ein christliches Erbe eintraten, sie strahlt im eigenen Licht.

2. DER DSCHEBEL EL-KAFZE.

Der Name bedeutet „Berg des Sprunges.“ Er liegt 2¹/₂ km südöstlich von Nazareth am Ende des Wadi, dessen winterliche Wassermassen die Bergwand zersägten und eine Schlucht schufen, die steil zur Esdraelonebene herunterstürzt. Gleichwohl wurde dieser schwierige, natürliche Weg die Verkehrsstraße, die Nazareth mit dem Süden verband. Auf ihr schlugen die Herzen der Pilger erwartungsvoll der Heimat des Erlösers entgegen. Noch 1767 war sie die „gewöhnliche Straße.“² Heute fast verlassen, bleibt sie verehrungswürdig als der einzige biblische Weg Nazareths, den kein Schutt verdeckt und keine Menschenkunst in seiner Naturlinie änderte. Er sah die Wanderung nach Bethlehem, die Rückkehr von Ägypten, die erste Pilgerfahrt des Zwölfjährigen nach Jerusalem. Lokalisiert wurde der Absturz auf dem Ostberg, 392 m hoch. Er hebt sich also um 60 m über das Niveau Nazareths, liegt aber um fast 100 m tiefer als der Nebi Sa'în (488 m). Der Name „Berg des Sprunges“ haftet so fest an ihm, daß viele gar nicht einmal den Wechsel der Tradition bemerken. Seit mehr als 300 Jahren weisen nämlich die abendländischen Pilger nahezu geschlossen auf eine Klippe am Abhang des niedrigeren Westberges als die Stätte des Absturzes hin.³ Die Griechen zeigen aber un-

¹ Vgl. die französ. Übersetzung von A.F. MEHREN, *Manuel de la Cosmographie du Moyen Age*. Copenhague 1874. S. 290 und 373.— Engl. Übersetzung (verkürzt) bei GUY LE STRANGE, S. 302. ² MARITI, II, 187.

³ Weil man dann auch ihre Zeugnisse noch auf den Ostberg bezieht, entsteht der Eindruck eines heillosen Durcheinanders. Darum schließt TOBLER (*Nazareth*, S. 298) den Abschnitt über den Absturzberg klagend ab: „Ich kann nicht genug mich beschweren, wie peinlich für mich diese Darstellung bei Abgang der Autopsie und klarerer, ausführlicherer Berichte war.“

verändert ihren Gläubigen den Ostberg als die historische Stätte.¹

Die erste Erwähnung des Absturzberges enthält 808 das *Commemoratorium de casis Dei*. „Eine Meile von Nazareth, wo die Juden den Herrn Jesus herabstürzen wollten, ist ein Kloster und eine Kirche zu Ehren der hl. Maria erbaut, acht Mönche.“² Wenn für ganz Nazareth nur zwölf Mönche genannt werden,³ so deutet das günstige Verhältnis auf eine hohe Wertschätzung dieses Heiligtums hin. Wo lag es? Der Wortlaut scheint auf den Gipfel selbst hinzuweisen. Aber oben ist nur rauhe Feldwildnis, nicht einmal eine Zisterne ist zu sehen, die elementarste Lebensbedingung.⁴ Das „ubi“ muß darum den Westberg mit einschließen, an dessen Hang, unterhalb der späteren Absturzklippe, noch heute die Ruinen eines Klosters sich nicht ganz verloren haben. Die Felsen des Dschebel el-Kafze stürzen zum Wadi hin schauerlich senkrecht ab, nach der Esdraelonebene viel sanfter, in Form einer Nase. Dramatisierte man die biblische Erzählung, so mußte man den Sturz an die Seite des Wadi verlegen, die Ruinen des Klosters, west-nördlich gegenüber, boten dann den besten Platz, um sich die Szene zu vergegenwärtigen.

In *De situ urbis Jerusalem* ist der Berg 1130 „der Absturz“ (*precipitium*) genannt.⁵ Auch JOHANNES VON WÜRZBURG nennt ihn 1165 so, gebraucht aber auch zum ersten Mal den Ausdruck „Sprung des Herrn“,⁶ der in der arabischen Bezeichnung Dschebel el-Kafze weiterlebt.

Der Absturzberg gleitet in welligen Kämmen ab bis fast vor die Tore Nazareths. Die Pilger müssen diesen bequemen Weg benutzt haben, ein Aufstieg aus dem tiefen Wadi ist unnütz und anstrengend.

¹ Nach A. MANSUR, *taʿrich*, S. 141 führten die Griechen die russischen Pilger auf diesen Berg.

² „Uno millario a Nazareth, ubi Christum Dominum Judei precipitare voluerunt, constructum monasterium et ecclesia in honore sancte Marie, monachi VIII.“ (TOBLER-MOLINIER, S. 303). ³ *Ebd.*

⁴ Auch A. MANSUR fand trotz öfteren Absuchen des Geländes nichts. (*A.a.O.* S. 146).

⁵ VOGÜÉ, S. 423.—Auch FRETILLUS (1145); „principium“ ist ein Schreibfehler. (*PL* 155, 1044).—„Praecipitium“ wieder bei THEODERICH in 1172. (ed. TOBLER, S. 106).

⁶ „Saltus Domini“ (TOBLER, *Descriptiones* S. 111).—Der gleiche Ausdruck 1187 in *La Citez de Jerusalem*. (VOGÜÉ, S. 449).

Dadurch charakterisiert aber 1177 PHOCAS den Ostberg als die Absturzstätte, da er ihn erreicht auf „einem Bergkamm, von mehreren Hügeln gebildet.“¹ THIETMAR macht 1217 die wichtige Bemerkung: „Man sagt, er sei von jenem Berge in das Tal gesprungen.“² Die Esdraelonebene ist kein Tal, die Richtung des Sprunges kann also nur der Westberg gegenüber gewesen sein. Das bestätigt 1231 ERNOUL: „An der Seite dieses Berges gibt es eine steile Klippe,“ wo die Nazarethaner die zum Tode Verurteilten herunterstürzten. Damit ist die jähe Felswand, die gleich unter dem Gipfel des Berges nach der Talseite einsetzt, gemeint. E. fährt fort: „Und als er dort ankam, verschwand er vor ihnen und setzte sich auf einen Stein, der noch dort ist,“³ sodaß sie ihn nicht sehen und finden konnten. E. setzt durch den Namen des Berges (Le Saut=der Sprung) voraus, daß dieses Verschwinden durch ein Wegspringen geschah. Mithin kann der Stein nur auf dem Westberge sein. Daß der Ostberg als der Berg des Absprunges, der Westberg als Berg des Hinsprunges verehrt wurde, wird völlig klar durch einen Text aus 1265: „Der Berg, wo, wie man sagt, unser Herr von dem einen auf den andern sprang.“⁴ Eine Bestätigung, aber zugleich einen neuen Zug, bringt 1283 BURCHARD: „Der Sprung des Herrn, wo sie Jesus herabstürzen wollten, aber er entging ihren Händen und befand sich plötzlich, wie dort gezeigt wird, an der Flanke des Berges gegenüber, auf eines Bogenschusses Weite. Und dort sieht man eingedrückt die Umrisse seines Körpers und seiner Kleider.“⁵

Die Tradition, wie sie die Kreuzfahrer aufzeichneten, bleibt in den nächsten Jahrhunderten fast unver-

¹ "ζυγός ἐπὶ διαφόρων βουνῶν συμπληρούμενος" PG 133. 936.

² "Dicunt eum saltasse de monte illo in vallem." (T. TOBLER, *Magistri Thetmari lter ad Terram Sanctam anno 1217*. St. Galli et Bernae. 1851. S. 3).

³ "En le costiére de cest mont a une falise.—Et quant il vint là, si s'esvanui d'aus, et s'asist sour une piére qui encore i est." (MICHELAN-T-RAYNAUD, S. 61).

⁴ "Mons où l'om dist ke Nostre Sire sailli de l'un à l'autre." (*Les Chemins de la Terre Sainte*. MICHELAN-T-RAYNAUD, S. 198).

⁵ "Saltus Domini, ubi volebant Jhesum precipitare, sed exivit de manibus eorum et subito, ut ibidem ostenditur, inventus est in latere montis oppositi ad jactum arcus. Et videntur ibidem liniamenta corporis et vestiuni lapidi impressa." (LAURENT, S. 46).

ändert,¹ Ausmalung und Einzelzüge ändern sich öfters. Der katalanische Pilgerbericht von 1323 bestätigt durch den Satz: „Dort, nahe unterhalb des Sprunges, ist das Kleid von Jesus Christus,“² die Mitteilung von BURCHARD, daß die Abdrücke auf dem Westberg gezeigt wurden. An die Talsohle ist niemals gedacht, das lehrt noch einmal klar JAKOB VON VERONA (1335): „Sofort sprang er mit einem Sprung auf einen andern Berg, der mit einer Wurfmachine zwei große Schußweit entfernt liegt, in der Mitte ist ein Tal.“³ Eine Vergrößerung der Szene zeichnet 1345 NICOLÒ DA POGGIBONSI auf. Christus „flüchtet“ wie ein gehetztes Wild vor seinen Mitbürgern. „Als er auf dem Gipfel des Berges war, hielt er an, der Fels des Berges öffnete sich für seine heiligen Füße und so sind dort noch diese seine heiligen Fußstapfen. Und als die Juden dort waren, verloren sie das Gesicht, sodaß sie nicht sehen konnten.“⁴ Poesielos ist eine atemlose Flucht angenommen, nicht ein dramatischer Sprung rettet, sondern die Erblindung⁵ der Verfolger. Fußspuren Christi im Felsen hatte schon RICOLDUS gesehen.⁶

Das XV. Jahrh. ist in seinen Zeugnissen sehr dürftig.⁷ 1423

¹ Den Ost- und Westberg bezeugen: 1322 BROCARDUS, *Locorum Terrae Sanctae exactissima descriptio*. (Enthalten in: B. UGOLINO, *Thesaurus Antiquitatum*. Venetiis 1746. VI, 1038), um 1336 MAUNDEVILLE (*Reyssbuch*, S. 405), 1384 FRESCOBALDI (GARGIOLLI, S. 128). — ANTONIUS DE CREMONA nennt 1327/30 nur den Ortsnamen „Saltus.“ (Herausg. v. R. RÖHRICHT, *ZDPV* XIII (1890) S. 155). Ähnlich dürftig spricht 1332 WILHELM V. BOLDENSELE „von dem Gipfel des Berges.“ (S. 280).

² „Aqui prop de jus lo Salt es la estola de Jhesucrist.“ (S. 378).

³ „Statim saltavit uno saltu super alium montem, qui distat duos jactus magnos baliste, et est vallis in medio.“ (S. 275).

⁴ „Como fu in cima del monte, si si fermò e'l sasso del monte gli fece luogo ai suoi sante pedate; e c' si vi sono ancora le dette sante pedate. Et i Judei, come furono ivi, si perderano il vedere, che niente il potero vedere.“ I, 268.

⁵ COLA, der um 1500 ihn fast ganz abschreibt, sagt klarer: „Alle erblindeten sie.“ (Tutti se acciecarono). S. 104.

⁶ LAURENT, S. 107. — Die Fußstapfen auf dem Ostberg meint auch die engl. Ausgabe von MAUNDEVILLE, sie sind sichtbar „in dem Felsen, wo er absprang.“ (in the rock, where he alighted). WRIGHT, S. 184. Dagegen sagt die deutsche Übersetzung (*a.a.O.*): „Die Fußstapfen stehen noch in beiden Bergen.“

⁷ „Fußspuren wie in Wachs“ sieht 1409/11 FR. FREDERICO. (*ZDPV* XIV—1891, S. 123):— 1483 gibt BREITENBACH (*Reyssbuch*, S. 68), um 1488 der ANONYMUS LUBICENSIS (Kapitel über Nazareth) fast wörtlich den Text des BURCHARD wieder.

schreibt ARIOSTUS: „Nicht weit von Nazareth ist der Berg, auf den der Herr von den Juden geführt wurde, der durch ihre Mitte ging, da er sich durch seine Göttlichkeit unsichtbar machte. Und darum wird dieser Berg Sprung des Herrn genannt.“¹ Der Name des Berges stellt uns auf den traditionellen Ostberg. Wenn das „darum“ keine völlige Unlogik sein soll, so ist der Sprung noch da, entbehrt aber schon des dramatischen Interesses, da er unsichtbar bleibt, also nichts als ein Verschwinden ist. 1470 erzählt ULRICH BRUNNER, daß „sich der berck auffdet und der herre dordurch ging.“² Eine neue Bereicherung bringt eine niederrheinische Pilgerschrift aus 1472: „Es steht dort noch die Spur (Merkmal), als er sich an den Berg hielt.“³ Das ängstliche Anklammern am Felsen, das Schreiten durch das sich öffnende Gestein, das unsichtbare Verschwinden—das sind alles Elemente, die später die Absturzklippe am Westberg ausschmücken.

Im XVI. Jahrh. steht zunächst die Überlieferung in ihrer ursprünglichen Form fest. Ihr Kern ist der Sprung vom Ost- zum Westberg, klar bezeugt 1506 VON GUYLFORDE. Die Juden führen den Heiland zum „Saltus Domini.“ „Und bald danach wurde er gefunden an dem Fuße eines andern Berges in der Nähe, wo man noch die Eindrücke seiner hl. Schritte sieht.“⁴ Ihm verwandt ist Anselmus 1508: „Er sprang auf einen andern Felsen, in dem die Spuren seiner Füße gezeigt werden.“⁵ Diese Fußspuren früherer Jahrhunderte sind also noch nicht verschwunden, man fand sie offenbar an der Stelle des Westberges, wo Christus

Als unabhängige Zeugen müssen sie darum ausscheiden.—HARFF spricht 1498 zu allgemein von dem „gar hoigen steynachtigen berch“, und daß Christus hier ihren „henden verloren“ ging. Er bezeugt dort einen Ablaß von 7 Jahren und 7 Quarenen. (S. 194).

¹ „A Nazareth haud procul est mons, super quem a Judaeis ductus est Dominus, qui transiens per medium illorum ibat, quoniam se sua divinitate reddebat invisibilem.“

² Seine Pilgerfahrt herausg. v. R. RÖHRICHT, ZDPV XXIX (1906) S. 47.

³ „So steyt daer noch dat licseiden daer he jm anden berch hielt.“ (L. CONRADY, *Vier Rheinische Palästina-Pilgerschriften des XIV., XV. und XVI. Jahrh.* Wiesbaden 1882. S. 162).

⁴ „And soone after he was founden at the fote of an other Mountayne therby where yet the prynte of his holy stappes are sene.“ (S. 51).

⁵ „In rupem aliam prosiliit, in qua monstrantur vestigia pedum ejus.“ (S. 1300).

nach dem Absturz aufsprang. BONIFACIUS¹ (um 1564) und COTOVICUS² 1596 erwähnen beide, daß „neben“ (iuxta) der Absturzhöhe eine Kirche steht. Da ihre Ruinen gerade am Fuße der Absturzklippe des Westberges liegen, so könnte sie hier dem Wortlaute nach zum ersten Male bezeugt sein. Da aber C. ausdrücklich den Absturzberg „Saltus Domini“ nennt, so ist der traditionelle Ostberg gemeint, „neben“ dem er den „halb zerstörten Tempel“ (templum semidirutum) sieht. Auch GIOVANNI FRANCESCO ALCAROTTI muß wohl 1588 noch an den Dschebel el-Kafze denken, da er den Absturz „auf der Höhe“ (sopra cima) lokalisiert. Aber seine Aufmerksamkeit gilt doch sichtlich mehr dem Westberg, ein alter Bestandteil der Tradition taucht wieder auf. „In demselben Felsen gibt es eine Höhle, in deren sehr harter Oberfläche man noch eingedrückt sieht die Stapfen seiner heiligsten Füße und die Umrisse des Kleides hinter den Schultern, weil der Felsen an dieser Stelle sich öffnete, um ihn von selbst drinnen aufzunehmen.“³ Daß es eine Höhle ist, die dem Springenden sich öffnet, ist ein neuer Zug, der aber sehr alt sein kann. 1600 verschwimmt CASTELA in Unklarheit über die genaue Lage des Absturzberges. Christus entschwand nach ihm durch ein Wunder seinen Feinden, „dort“ bauten die Christen eine Kirche, die aber nunmehr ganz verfallen ist.⁴ Nach allem steht der Saltus Domini als Berg des Absturzes noch fest, aber die ausmalende Phantasie wendet ihre Liebe mehr dem Westberg, dem Hinsprung, zu.

¹ S. 262.

² S. 349.—BARTHL. DE SALIGNIACO um 1518 muß ausscheiden, da sein Text zu stark von BURCHARD abhängig ist.—AFFAGART spricht 1533 von einem Verschwinden („ne trouvèrent rien“), eine Lokalisierung des Absturzberges ist nach seinen dehnbaren Worten nicht möglich. (Vgl. S. 233).

³ „V'è una caua nel medesimo sasso, nella cui durissima superficie si vedono impresse l'orme de' suoi Santissimi piede e i liniamenti della veste dietro le spalle, il qual sasso in quel punto s'apri per riceverlo dentro di se stesso.“ (Del viaggio di Terra Santa. Novara 1596. S. 76).—Ihn schreibt wörtlich ab: AQUILANTE ROCCHETTA, *Peregrinatione di Terra Santa*. Palermo 1630. S. 115.

⁴ Vgl. S. 481.

3. DIE FELSWAND AM WESTBERG

a. DAS KLOSTER

QUARESMIUS ist auch hier der Pionier. Er fragt sich, wo die Grotte ist, in der Christus sich vor seinen Feinden verbarg. „Unterhalb am Gipfel (des Saltus Domini) gibt es einen Felsen, geformt in Art einer Vorhalle. Dann gibt es in dem Felsen selbst eine Nische und eine kleine ausgehauene Kapelle, die nach oben hin spitz zuläuft, mit Kalk überstrichen und ehemals mit Figuren geschmückt, wie die Überreste beweisen. Sie hat ungefähr eine Länge von 7 Handbreiten, man kann dort leicht die Messe lesen.“¹ Er gewahrt, wie Mauerreste sich noch jenseits des Wadi erstrecken, wie weiter Zisternen und Mosaikwürfel eine nicht unbedeutende Anlage verraten. Die Nazarethaner erzählen ihm, daß hier „vor alters“ ein Kloster war.

Der Weg läuft von Nazareth aus erst durch die Ebene, dann treten die Berge nahe heran, das Wadi verengt sich. Es geht nun steil nach unten, die Senkung mag 150 m betragen, dann steigt man mit einer scharfen Wendung nach rechts auf 18 Stufen zur Terrasse hinauf. Sie ist etwa 8 m lang, künstlich aufgeschüttet, um als „vestibulum“ Zugang zur Felsenkapelle zu geben. Zwei Stufen führen in die „Nische“, die nach 2 m in der „Kapelle“ endet. Ihr Boden liegt etwa 1,50 m höher, er diente als Altarplatte. Ihre Form ist oval, sie verengert sich nach oben. Die Maße sind bescheiden, etwa 3 m in Höhe, Breite und Tiefe.

Sie ist eingebettet in eine breite, steile Felswand, die ungefähr 30 m hoch aufsteigt. Gerade über der kleinen Höhle endet sie in einem kleinen Plateau, etwa 10 m lang, 6 m breit. Beim Kratzen im Boden stößt man bald auf Keramik und Mosaikwürfelchen. Ost-westlich, am Nordende des Felsens beginnend, liegen zudem noch fünf Steine *in situ*. Mithin stand einmal auch auf dieser Plattform ein Bau, sicher ein Teil der Einsiedelei, die, wie auch heute

¹ „Intra ergo supercilium est rupes excavata ad modum vestibuli; postea in rupe ipsa fornix et capellula excisa in acutum se elevans, calce incrustata, et olim figuris exornata, ut illarum reliquiae demonstrant: ejus latitudo est palmorum septem circiter; ibique commode missa celebrari potest.“ (II, 633f.).

noch spärliche Mauerreste beweisen, in den Tagen der Blüte sich bis über das Wadi ausdehnte. Über der kleinen Höhle, am Felsenrande, liegt ein Stein, 1,50 m lang, je 1 m breit und hoch. Durch Regen und Verwitterung zeigt er Eindrücke, die man bei gutem Willen und mit etwas Phantasie als Spuren von Fingern oder Zehen ansehen kann. An diesem Stein wird die Geschichte des Absturzes lebendige Gegenwart. Gegenüber — das Wadi läuft schon nach 200 m in die Esdraelonebene — droht finster die schauerlich steile Felswand des Saltus Domini, oben an seinem Rande stand Christus, umbrandet von Haß. Dann springt er hinüber und sitzt nach der ältesten Nachricht auf diesem Stein. Andere sehen hier die Spuren seiner Füße, die bei naiver Vorstellung nach dem gewaltigen Sprunge sich leicht eindrücken konnten, später wird bei Weiterwucherung der Legende die Ausdeutung auf die Finger bevorzugt

Das kleine Plateau lud zum Hinsprung ein, etwas tiefer bot die Höhle weiteren Schutz vor den Feinden an. 1938 sprachen am Feste des Absturzes (Montag nach dem dritten Fastensonntag)¹ die Nazarethaner noch immer von den Eindrücken des Körpers Christi, die einst ihre Wand zierten. Sehr alte und zähe Traditionen umweben also diese Höhle. Sie muß schon das Herz des Klosters gewesen sein, das 808 erwähnt wird.² Aber war sie ursprünglich die Höhle Christi? KLAMETH wundert sich, daß nicht dem Gedächtnis Christi, sondern dem seiner Mutter das Kloster geweiht war, er vermutet darum, daß hier am Westberg ursprünglich die Stätte der Marienangst war.³

Den wichtigsten Text gibt uns 1345 NICOLÒ DA POGGIBONSI. „Als das Volk vom Berge herabstieg, geriet die Jungfrau Maria ganz in Schrecken vor Angst um ihren geliebten Sohn, sodaß sie sich, als sie das Volk beim Heruntersteigen nach unten sah, ermatet und voll Furcht an eine Grotte des Berges anlehnte, die ihr so viel Raum machte, daß sie sich dort versteckte. Das Volk ging geraden Weges hier vorüber, ohne daß sie von jemanden gesehen wurde. Man sieht noch den Ort, d.h. ihre Form, die der Felsen ihr gab. Dort gibt es ein schönes Kloster und

¹ Das Bild „die Höhle und Absturzklippe der Franziskaner“ wurde an diesem Tage während des Gottesdienstes aufgenommen. (Pl. XXIX, 3).

² Vgl. S. 152.

³ S. 22.

drinnen eine Kirche, die St. Maria vom Schrecken genannt wird, dort sind schwarze Christen aus Nubien.“¹ Maria eilt also durch das Wadi, um dem Absturz zuzuschauen. Das Herz stockt ihr, als sie die Juden schon beim Abstieg sieht. Sie ist zu spät gekommen, ihr Sohn liegt zerschmettert im Wadi, das gleiche Geschick hängt über ihr. Da öffnet sich mitleidig die Höhle,² nimmt sie auf und bewahrt andächtig die Form ihres Körpers. Daß ihr Sohn oberhalb der Höhle auf der Plattform saß und die Sekunden der Angst in die Freude des Wiedersehens übergangen, hat die Legende wohl farbenfroh weiterausgemalt. Wo war diese Stätte der Marienangst? Sie kann ursprünglich nicht auf der heutigen Stelle, auf dem Hügel Mariae Timoris, gewesen sein.

Von ihm läßt sich der Absturz gar nicht beobachten. Auch war Maria dort in Sicherheit, sie brauchte nicht zu befürchten, daß die Juden den geraden Weg verlassen würden, um über diesen Hügel heimzukehren. Ferner ist auf ihm nie eine Höhle erwähnt, die sie schirmend aufnahm und ihren Körper wie Wachs abdrückte. Zum Überfluß ist dort noch 1335 eine „Synagoge“ erwähnt, bedient von griechischen Mönchen.³ Einen völligen Wechsel im Charakter des Heiligtums, einen Übergang aus den Händen von „calogeri greci“ in die von „neri Nubbini“ anzunehmen, übersteigt die Leistungskraft von zehn Jahren. Die hl. Höhle auf dem Westberg wird dagegen den Anforderungen des Textes durchaus gerecht. Sie war wohl ursprünglich die Fluchtstätte Mariens, ihr war das Kloster von 808 geweiht, für ein Stabat Mater Dolorosa war es der beste Platz, um sich ihre Stelle bei dem göttlichen Drama zu

¹ „Discendendo per lo monte il populo, e la Virgine Maria venia, tutta sbigotita della paura del suo dulcissimo Figliuolo Jesù Cristo; sì che quando ella vidde la gente, che discendea per lo monte giù, e ella, affaticata tanto, piena di paura, ad una grotta della montagna s'appoggiò, e la montagna le fece luogo tanto, che visi nascose; e 'l populo passò per me' ivi ritto e non vi fu veduta da persona: a ancora vi si vede il luogo, cioè la forma sua, che 'l sasso le diè. E ivi si è uno bello munistero, e dentro si è una Chiesa e chiamasi Santa Maria della Paura, e stannoci Christiani neri Nubbini.“ (I, 269) FR. FREDERICO (*a. a. O.*) ergänzt: „Nubini monachi de Sancto Machario.“

² Vielleicht ist dieses Höhlenmotiv nachgebildet der Erzählung des Prot evgl., nach der Elisabeth mit Johannes vor den Schergen des Herodes durch das Sichspalten des Berges gerettet wurde. (Vgl. HENNECKE, cp. 22, 3. S. 62.).

³ Vgl. JPOS XX (1946) S. 30 f.

vergegenwärtigen; da, wo der Altar stand, hatte sich der Felsen wie ein Mantel um sie geschlagen. Später wird sie die Fluchtstätte Christi. Schon BURCHARD muß sie 1283 im Auge haben, da Abdrücke eines Körpers immer nur in ihr verehrt wurden. Nicolò gibt dann aber die erste Form der Tradition wieder, die in diesen Jahrhunderten allein logisch ist. Denn Christus war schon durch seinen Sprung in Sicherheit. Er bedurfte erst dieser Höhle, als der Absturz auf die Klippe des Westberges gerückt war. Seine Feinde blieben nach dem kurzen senkrechten Saltus von 30 m noch immer bedrohlich in seiner Nähe, sodaß der Schutz des Felsens willkommen sein mußte. Dann folgt nur noch die spärliche Notiz von BONIFACIUS (um 1564), daß hier eine Kirche zu Ehren der hl. Anna stand,¹ und die ergänzende Nachricht von COTOVICUS (1596), daß diese Kirche halb zerstört ist.² Es befremdet, daß die hl. Anna die Patronin an dieser Stelle gewesen sein soll. Hat BONIFACIUS den Namen recht verstanden? Wußten die Eingeborenen selbst nichts mehr Sicheres? Nach den Kreuzfahrern schrumpfte das Christentum schnell in Palästina ein, dazu bedrohte Anarchie und Plünderungsgier die verlassenen Einsiedler.³ So mag das Kloster schon bald nach 1345 in Ruinen gesunken sein. Das Gedächtnis an die Marienangst war aber so fest in das Christenherz gesenkt, daß es nicht mit ausstarb, sondern näher nach Nazareth wanderte auf den Hügel, der ihm noch heute geweiht ist.⁴

b. DIE ABSTURZKLIPPE

QUARESMIUS weiß noch, daß „auf der Höhe des Berges der Ort gefunden wird, der, wie seit alters, so in unsern Tagen von Aus-

¹ S. 262.

² S. 349.

³ Die Ruinen deuten weniger auf eine einheitliche Klosteranlage hin als auf eine kleinere Gruppe von sehr bescheidenen Bauten. Richtig äußert sich ZWINNER (1658): „Ich bin der Vermutung, daß allda vor Zeiten Einsiedler gewohnt haben.“ (S. 501). Sicherlich wohnten andere Einsiedler in Nachbarhöhlen, gegenüber der Felsenkapelle liegt z.B. die Höhle, die durch die Funde von urzeitlichen Menschen berühmt wurde.

⁴ Schon QUARESMIUS regte an, wenn auch mit einem Fragezeichen, diese St. Annenkirche auf dem Hügel Maria Timoris zu lokalisieren. (II, 633). Aber der St. Annenname ist auch hier sonst nicht bezeugt. Richtiger und sicherer bezieht man darum den Text des BONIFACIUS auf das Wadi am Saltus Domini.

wärtigen und Einheimischen Sprung oder Absturz des Herrn genannt wird, in Arabisch caphze.“¹ Der Berg hat bis heute seinen Namen nicht gewechselt, jeder weist auf Befragen mit dem Finger auf ihn, selbst wenn er den Absturz auf dem Westberg sieht.² Auch YVES DE LILLE (1624/26) schließt den Saltus Domini noch nicht aus, die Absturzklippe nimmt aber allein noch seine Aufmerksamkeit gefangen. „Christus ... zog sich zurück und man sagt, daß der Felsen, indem er sich erweichte, ihm den Weg frei machte, um herabzusteigen. Daher sah man dort noch die Spuren seiner Füße und den Umriß seines Gewandes.“³ Weich wie Wachs geworden, läßt der Felsen den Körper des Herrn herabgleiten, wieder sich härtend, behält er oben die Spuren von den Füßen, im Innern die des Gewandes Christi. Aber diese Eindrücke sind nicht mehr sichtbar, QUARESMIUS fragt sich, ob sie durch die fromme Neugier der Pilger zerstört wurden.⁴ ANTONIO muß 1627 noch den Dschebel el-Kafze als Absturz meinen, da er ihn charakterisiert als „einen sehr hohen Berg, der einen sehr großen Abgrund hat.“⁵ Der Herr macht sich unsichtbar vor seinen Feinden; da, wo die Abdrücke seines Körpers und seiner Kleider sind, „kommt man von Nazareth, um die Messe zu sagen.“⁶ Von einem andern Franziskaner, FRANCESCO, erfahren wir um 1630,⁷ wie sehr diese Stätte das erste

¹ „Invenitur locus, in supercilio montis, qui saltus sive praecipitium Domini, ut antiquitus, ita nostris temporibus ab exteris et terrigenis appellatur, Arabice caphze.“ (II, 633).

² MEISTERMANN (S. 498) überträgt den historischen Namen auf diese Absturzklippe.

³ „Christus ... se retira et on dit, que la pierre se mollissant luy fraya le passage pour descendre d'où lon y voioit les vestiges de ses pieds et lineament de son habit.“ Itinéraires aux Lieux Saints. Herausg. v. F.M. ABEL. Études Franciscaines. 1933. S. 219).

⁴ II, 634. Auch FRANCESCO (S. 205) und gleichzeitig STOCHOVE bezeugen, daß nichts mehr von dem Abdruck Christi zu sehen ist. Wenn ANTONIO ihn darum noch 1627 „sehr klar und deutlich“ gesehen haben will, so ist das eine Lesefrucht aus früheren Jahrhunderten. Dasselbe gilt von der gleichen Behauptung des unzuverlässigen LAFFI aus 1679. (S. 135).

⁵ und ⁶ „Un monte muy alto, y que ay un grandissimo despenadero... Aquí se va á decir Missa desde Nazareth.“ (S. 321).

⁷ RÖHRICHT (*Bibliotheca Geographica Palestinae*. Berlin 1890. S. 254), versetzt irrig die Pilgerreise des Francesco da Secli in 1639. Aber die Druckerlaubnis ist 1635 gegeben, S. 204 erwähnt, daß die Franziskaner zehn Jahre in Nazareth sind, mithin ergibt sich ungefähr das Jahr 1630.

Geschlecht anzog. „Wir gingen fast jeden Abend dorthin mit den *Fratres* aus Andacht und zur Erholung.“¹ In diesen Kreisen muß gegen 1630 die Überzeugung entstanden sein, daß die Klippe über der Kapelle des Absturzfelsen sei. Die Romantik des verfallenen Klosters, die geheimnisvolle, kleine Höhle, nach einer Starre von Jahrhunderten wieder durch die Feier der Liturgie belebt, schienen nicht umzublicken nach dem *Dschebel el-Kafze*, sondern sich hinzuordnen auf die Felsklippe. An ihrem Rande stand Christus, wie die Fußspuren bewiesen, ihr Schoß nahm ihn schützend auf; die Tradition, welche von dem Abdruck seines Körpers berichtete, war sicher. Mußte man nicht schließen, daß hinter ihm auf dem kleinen Plateau seine mordgierigen Feinde standen, deren Pläne der mitleidige Felsen durchkreuzte? Der erste sichere Zeuge für diese Klippe als Absturzberg ist Francesco, obwohl ihn die Frage quält, daß „dieser Berg des Absturzes so tief liegt.“² Auch ROGER spricht um 1631 von „dem Ort des Absturzes“, den die hl. Helena durch eine Kirche ehrte, zu der Stufen im Felsen emporführen, seine Ordensbrüder aus Nazareth lesen hier die hl. Messe.³ NEITZSCHITZ besucht 1636 unter Führung der *Patres* den Absturz. Der *Saltus Domini* wird nicht mehr erwähnt, aber er fällt ihm auf. „Gegenüber war ein sehr böses, abhängendes, steinigtes Tal.“ Man führte Christus auf die Absturzklippe, aber der Felsen öffnete sich, und „nahm den Herrn Jesum als ein armes gescheuchtes Täublein auf.“⁴ ROZEL sieht 1644 die Absturzstelle „zwischen zwei Bergen.“⁵ Die Pilger dieser Jahrzehnte stehen alle gläubig an dieser Absturzstelle,⁶ nur

¹ „Ogni sera quasi e per la divotione e per reccratione vi andammo con li Fratri.“ (S. 205).

² „... questo luogo del precipio è tanto basso...“ (S. 208).

³ Vgl. S. 64.—1631 bezeugt auch STOCHEVE (S. 345) die neue Absturzstätte und das Lesen der hl. Messe in der Grotte. ⁴ S. 223.

⁵ S. 31 „entre deux montagnes“.

⁶ SURIUS (1644/47) gebraucht für den neuen Absturz auch den alten Namen „il precipio.“ (S. 311).—DOUBDAN gibt 1652 eine anschauliche Schilderung: „Er ließ sich am Felsen entlang gleiten, der gerade wie eine Mauer ist... er erweichte sich wie Wadis und nahm ihn in eine Nische auf, die sich wunderbarerweise öffnete.“ (S 492). Ähnlich MORONE 1652/58. (I, 354). GONZALES zeichnet 1665/68 Christus genau über der Nische oben am Felssrande, umgeben von den Juden. Andere schweigen von dem Wunder des sich öffnenden Felsen, sie begnügen

D'ARVIEUX mißfällt die Rettung durch die Höhle. Nüchtern bemerkt er: „Diese Tradition tut dem Texte des Evangeliums Gewalt an, das uns versichert, daß unser Herr durch ihre Mitte ging und sich zurückzog.“¹

Beim Wandel der Tradition wandelt sich der Stein oben am Felsrande mit um. NAU erzählt um 1665/74: „Man sagt, daß er sich von selbst erhob, als unser Herr den Händen der Nazarener entschwand, wie um den Ort ihres Verbrechens festzuhalten.“² 1697 berichtet MORISON eine andere Version. Der Stein kam schon vorher herangeflogen, um die Exekution zu verhindern. Man sagt, „daß es dieses Wunder war, das die Nazarethaner so erstaunen ließ, daß sie ihm die Freiheit gaben, aus ihrer Mitte wegzugehen.“³ Der dramatische Rettungsakt der Höhle fällt weg, sie wird nun eine Art Warteraum, bis sich die Feinde verlaufen haben. Wieder anders berichtet aus dem gleichen Jahr MAUNDRELL. Der Stein lag schon vor dem Absturz dort, man erklärt ihm die berühmten Eindrücke. „Diese sind, wenn die Mönche die Wahrheit erzählen, die Eindrücke von Christi Fingern, die in dem harten Stein entstanden, während er der Gewalt widerstand, die man ihm antun wollte.“⁴ Das Unwürdige in der Vorstellung, daß der Heiland sich heftig wehrt und krampfhaft sich an den Stein klammert, scheint die naiv schaffende Volksphantasie nicht empfunden zu haben. POCOCKE sieht 1738 „an der Ecke des Felsens zwei hohe Steine, welche einer Brustwehr an einem Walle gleichen, und man will ferner die Merkmale von Christi Händen und Füßen zeigen, als er

sich mit der Feststellung, daß sich Christus in der Nische verbarg. So THÉVENOT 1658, (I, 425), CORNEILLE LE BRUN 1681, (S. 319). Wenn BEAUGRAND 1699 schreibt: „On a creusé un Autel dans le rocher,“ (S. 18), so scheint er überhört zu haben, daß diese Nische durch ein Wunder entstand.

¹ „Cette tradition fait violence au Texte de l'Évangile, qui assure que Notre Seigneur passa au milieu d'eux et se retira.“ (II, 273).

² „On dit qu'elle se leva d'elle-même, lorsque Notre-Seigneur disparut d'entre les mains des Nazaréens, comme pour marquer le lieu de leur crime.“ (S. 628).

³ „...que ce fût ce prodige qui ayant étonné les Nazaréens, ils lui donnerent la liberté de passer au milieu d'eux.“ (S. 187).

⁴ „These, if the friars say truth, are the impresses of Christ's fingers, made in the hard stone, while he resisted the violence that was offered to him.“ (WRIGHT, S. 48of.).

sich der wider ihn gebrauchten Gewalttätigkeit widersetzte.“¹ Dagegen erzählt 1770 PLESCHTSCHJEEW, daß es die Finger der Juden waren, die „an den daselbst stehenden Steinen wunderbarlich zurückgehalten wurden.“² Auch GUÉRIN sieht 1875 — um die ermüdenden Wiederholungen und gleichgültigen Variationen zu überspringen — „zwei sehr große Felsenblöcke,“ auch zeigt ihm der begleitende Mönch „mit aller Reserve“ noch einige undeutliche Spuren „der Hände unseres Herrn.“³ Da er aus den Quellen weiß, daß der Saltus Domini zwei Berge verlangt, so nimmt er an, daß Christus von der niedrigen Klippe des Westberges auf den Dschebel el-Kafze heraufsprang.

Heute liegen sich der griechische und lateinische Absturzberg wie zwei feindliche Brüder gegenüber. Und doch waren sie einst ein Zwillingsspaar — Absprung und Hinsprung. Die geschichtliche Entwicklung hat nicht nur diese Einheit zerschnitten, sie wurde auch poesieloser und gedankenärmer. Der gewaltige Sprung über den Abgrund mit seiner dramatischen Anschaulichkeit verlor sich fast in ein Verkriechen. Einst hatte sodann Maria ihren Platz am Absturz wie später unter dem Kreuze. Als die Stätte der Marienangst von hier wegrückte, verließ ein weiteres Stück religiöser Weihe den Absturz.

¹ II, 92.

² S. 70.

³ Description *a.a.O.* I, 95f.—Nur ein Steinblock ist heute zu sehen, nur von einem erzählte die frühere Überlieferung. Es muß wohl ein zweites Felsstück von der Höhe gerollt sein, am Felsrand lange gelegen haben, bis es ins Tal rollte. MEISTERMANN (S. 498) spricht ebenfalls von „two large blocks of rock“, doch ist er wohl kein Zeuge für die neueste Zeit, da sein Text stark von GUÉRIN abhängt.

BOOK REVIEWS

M. DUNAND, *Byblia Grammata, documents et recherches sur le développement de l'écriture en Phénicie*, Beyrouth, 1945. Pp. XIX + 195, 54 figs. & XVI pls.

M. DUNAND has made another valuable contribution to the study of the culture of the ancient Near East, this time in the field of Phoenician epigraphy and palaeography. This volume puts the learned world in the debt of the author by putting at its disposal the extremely important and interesting epigraphic material unearthed by the author at Byblos, ancient Gebal, in the course of his excavations of the site.

The variety of this material is not only astonishing, but it compels us to review and revise many of the accepted theories concerning the origin and history of alphabetic writing. Viewed from this aspect Dunand's study is most refreshing and stimulating, though the reviewer finds himself unable to agree with the major part of the conclusions drawn by the author.

The volume easily falls into three parts: (a) introductory (chapters I–III); (b) pseudo-hieroglyphic documents (ch. IV); (c) the origin of the alphabet and the date of its discovery (ch. V).

It would be perhaps advisable to start with the last part, since the conclusions drawn there are used by the author throughout his book as a foundation on which he builds almost all his theories. This part of the author's work has formed the subject of a recent analysis by Maisler in his excellent study in *Leshônênu*.¹ It seems to the reviewer that Maisler has definitely demonstrated the impossibility of assigning the Shafatbaal inscription and the Abda ostrakon such a high date as has been done by D. After a very careful and detailed palaeographic, archaeological and historical analysis Maisler has successfully proved that the Shafatbaal in question reigned in the IXth cent. B.C.E.² And since both D. and Maisler agree that the Abda ostrakon cannot be divorced, chronologically speaking, from the inscription of Shafatbaal, it follows that this ostrakon, too, is to be dated in the IX cent. B.C.E.

One might suggest that the protuberance under the rim of the vessel, of which the Abda ostrakon formed part, that seems to puzzle both D. and Maisler,³ is to be compared with the protruding bar-handles so common in Iron II bowls in Palestine.⁴

¹ B. MAISLER, "The Phoenician Inscriptions from Gebal and the Chain of Development of the Phoenician-Hebrew Writing" *Leshônênu*, XIV (1945-1946), pp. 166–81 (Hebrew). ² *Idem*, *op. cit.*, p. 179 (§ b).

³ DUNAND, *Byblia Grammata*, p. 154; MAISLER, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

⁴ See e.g., ALBRIGHT, *TBM*, I, *AASOR*, XII, pl. 25, figs. 1, 7, 19; and p. 73, where this type is said to be at home also in Syria (in EI context), while the *TBM* examples belong to layer B, i.e. mainly Iron II.

Coming to the archaeological context in which the two inscriptions were found, it is quite obvious that since the Shafatbaal stele was not found *in situ*, the logical argumentation of D. as to its probable original position, by no means quite so decisive in itself and hedged about by numerous "donc", "à peu près" and "ne peut", cannot withstand the massed evidence adduced by Maisler. As to the context in which the Abda sherd had been found, we are told that "ce fragment fut recueilli dans la couche et à côté des dépôts d'offrandes mis au jour au sud du temple aux *masseboth*. . . ces dépôts sont de la fin du Moyen Empire ou du début du temps des Hyksos",⁵ and are referred to the 2nd volume of *Fouilles de Byblos*, which has not appeared. However, of the objects pictured⁶ the first two occur in a wide range of periods, whereas the exact assignment of the cup cannot be discussed without further information of a more detailed character.⁷

There remains one more piece of evidence to be dealt with in this connection. Among the finds published in the volume under review there is a small bronze statuette of Egyptianising character. Though such figurines are common in the Middle Kingdom, they are not by any means unknown in the New Kingdom. And what is more, some of the characteristics of the Byblos figurine agree with a New Kingdom rather than with a Middle Kingdom date. Such, e.g., are the markings on the loincloth of the figurine and the wig worn by it.⁸ Until the publication of volume II of *Fouilles de Byblos* one cannot say anything about the dagger and the axe with which this figurine was found in a deposit belonging to the "temple aux *masseboth*". However, even if the date of the figurine can be definitely established as M.K., there can never be any decisive proof that the few signs engraved on it must be contemporaneous with the figurine. It is quite conceivable that they were incised on it at a much later date; and finally, they bear no evidence on the date of the alphabet, for the simple reason that they are not alphabetic. The first sign on the right in l. 2 is clearly the pseudo-hieroglyphic sign classed by D. as E 6, which it resembles much more closely than any "x";⁹ the following sign again resembles the pseudo-hieroglyph classed by D. as I 1 more closely than any known alphabetic Hebrew "נ".¹⁰ As to l. 1 of this incised inscription, it is true that the pseudo-hieroglyphic signary of Byblos does not contain anything similar to the first sign on the r., but it is equally true that it can be likened to a "5" only by doing it great violence, though it is quite true that it resembles

⁵ DUNAND, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

⁶ IDEM, *op. cit.*, fig. 50 on p. 155.

⁷ It should also be mentioned that D.'s stratification, very exact and accurate as it certainly is, can not always be reduced to a common archaeological denominator; see BRAIDWOOD, *AJSL*, LXIII (1941), pp. 254 foll.

⁸ See, e.g., the figurine of an officer (N. K.) reproduced in H. FECHHEIMER, *Kleinplastik der Ägypter*, Taf. 71. For the wigs and loincloth markings of the M.K. figurines cf., e.g., *op. cit.*, Taf. 44 and 47.

⁹ Cf. e.g. spatula "b", on both obv. and rev. (p. 74, fig. 27).

¹⁰ Cf., e.g., spatula "i" (l. 8) (p. 83, fig. 34).

"plus à un *lamed* qu'à n'importe quelle autre lettre de l'alphabet phénicien" (p. 144). This, however, is no argument. The second sign is a separator (?) stroke, while the third sign could be just as well the pseudo-hieroglyph C 1, though in this case the resemblance to an "N" is greater. Quite apart from all this, the interpretation of D. is hardly likely, for the figurine, as far as one can see from the slightly indistinct reproduction on pl. XIV, represents an ape rather than a man (cf., e.g., the exceptionally long arms), and neither headdress nor any other feature suggests the god Amon.

We are, therefore, back where we started. One of the oldest known definitely alphabetic inscriptions is that on the sarcophagus of Ahiram. In this connection it is extremely important to note D.'s latest conclusions in his supplementary post-scriptum to the volume (dated April 1946). A re-examination of the archaeological evidence partly left *in situ* in the shaft going down to the tomb leads D. to agree that the Ahiram inscription is to be dated round 1000 B.C.E. He, therefore, now agrees with the date assigned by the majority of scholars to that document, on palaeographic grounds.

On the whole the reviewer is inclined to agree with D. against Maisler that the Azarbaal spatula is to be placed before Ahiram, though the pronounced angularity of the characters, which gives them such an archaic aspect, may be due to the material on which it is engraved (bronze) rather than to their more advanced age. In any case, the Azarbaal spatula need not be assigned a date higher than the first half of the XIth cent. B.C.E., which would agree well also with the archaic and peculiarly clipped syntax of the language, whether we accept Torczyner's interpretation of the text or not; the latter seems the most satisfactory of such as have been offered so far.¹¹

The next point is whether the pseudo-hieroglyphic script was in use contemporaneously with the alphabetic writing. The only evidence in support of such an assumption is the fact that on the back of the Azarbaal spatula are to be seen remains of what appear to have been four lines of an inscription, consisting of signs the large majority of which are similar to the pseudo-hieroglyphic signary. Without having actually seen the spatula it is very difficult to form a definite opinion on the subject, but it seems to the reviewer that an attempt has been made to obliterate this writing, and in the r. half of lines 2 and 3 there seem to be definite vertical and slightly oblique lines (scratches) cutting across the pseudo-hieroglyphs. Be it as it may, the presence of pseudo-hieroglyphs on the oldest alphabetic document would merely suggest—in the reviewer's opinion—the fact that the alphabet soon put the more cumbersome signary out of business, for it is rather difficult to imagine that the two were used side by side at Byblos for some 300 years, if we accept D.'s datings (pp. 151, 157), as well as his surmise that the alphabet derives from the pseudo-hieroglyphic writing (pp. 174 foll.).

We next come to the question of the origin of the alphabet.¹² Once the

¹¹ H. TORCZYNER, *Leshônénû*, XIV (1945-1946), pp. 158-165.

¹² DUNAND, *Byblia Grammata*, pp. 171 foll.

early date assigned by D. to the beginning of alphabetic writing is obviated, the statement that "cette condition exclut du débat toutes les écritures autres que les hiéroglyphes égyptiens et le cunéiforme" (p. 174) cannot be maintained. This, however, does not help us much, except that it reintroduces into the discussion the Proto-Sinaitic signary and the various fragmentary documents of the 2nd millennium B.C.E. found in Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia.¹³ In this light it seems rather doubtful whether we can concede D.'s argument (pp. 174 foll.) that the inventors of the alphabet have been inspired by the forms of the pseudo-hieroglyphic signary, in spite of the very impressive fig. 54 (on p. 185). One might, and the reviewer actually did compose a table showing not only not less, and possibly more, impressive similarities of shape with the Proto-Sinaitic-Palestino-Syrian signary, but *there* it would also be possible to show a system of chronological development of the signs.¹⁴

There is one more argument which rather militates against the development of the Phoenician-Hebrew alphabet from the pseudo-hieroglyphic script of Byblos. The reviewer has tried to prove elsewhere, and it seems to him with a certain modicum of success, that the ideographic-syllabic scripts led to a blind alley, from which no alphabetic script could possibly result in the natural course of development. The invention, a sudden illuminating flash made possible only by the peculiar structure of the Semitic languages, necessitated a complete break with the ideas underlying syllabic writings.¹⁵ It seems,

¹³ It may not be amiss to give here a supplementary list of these, since D. does mention many of them, but seems to have missed some (pp. 127-131). An almost complete list was given by TH. GASTER in his long article in *PEQ*, 1935, pp. 128 foll.; 1937, pp. 43 foll., and most of these were discussed again by D. DIRINGER, in *Antiquity*, 1943, pp. 77 foll. To these should be added the Megiddo ring [R. BOWMAN in P.L.O. GUV, *Megiddo Tombs*, pp. 173-176 and fig. 177, with amendments by S. YEIVIN, *Qedem*, II, pp. 34-35 (Hebrew); probably the second half of the XIIIth cent. B.C. E.]; a haematite seal in the Louvre Museum, acquired in Syria (?) [see L. DELAPORTE, *Catalogue des cylindres, cachets. . .*, Paris, 1923, pl. 95, 6 (A 878)]; the reviewer hopes to discuss this object in greater detail in the near future; so far it seems to have escaped the notice of scholars who dealt with these scripts]; possibly also a stone stele from Kurnub, reused (?) in the Byzantine period (G.E. KIRK, *PEQ*, 1938, fig. 4 on p. 222), which, however, is more likely to turn out in the end a Safaitic inscription, though some scholars whom I have consulted would not confirm it as a Safaitic document.

¹⁴ YEIVIN, *BJPES*, V (1937-1938), fig. 5 on p. 7 (Hebrew). This table is incomplete, and would be much more impressive, filling up several lacunae, if it were to be redrawn now and brought up to date.

¹⁵ IDEM, *History of the Jewish Script*, Jerusalem, 1939, p. 9 foll.; 14 foll.; 74-75 (Hebrew); and partly also in *Ar. Or.*, 1932, pp. 71 foll. — There was no question of "voluntarily renouncing" the indication of vowels (D., p. 185);

therefore, unlikely that the idea of an alphabetic script would be evolved in a place where a local syllabic writing was traditionally rooted, as seems to be the case in Byblos. What is not only possible, but even likely, is that at Byblos, just as at Ugarit, an attempt was made to create a local alphabet modelled on an alphabetic prototype which reached Byblos in the course of the second half of the 2nd millennium B.C.E. It is possible that we actually possess such a document in the shape of the fragmentary stone stele reproduced by D. as fig. 47 (p. 136) and on pl. XIV.¹⁶

As to the date of the pseudo-hieroglyphic inscriptions, it is rather difficult to place their beginning as early as the end of the 3rd millennium (pp. 131-132), which date the author fixes mainly, it seems, as a result of the necessity of placing them earlier than the introduction of the alphabet, which he dates in the XVIIth cent. B.C.E. Once the latter date is obviated, there seems to be no absolutely unavoidable necessity to assign such an early date to the pseudo-hieroglyphic documents. In a recent paper read to the World Conference of Jewish Studies convened in Jerusalem in July 1947 the reviewer suggested a date between the XVIIth and XVth centuries B.C.E.¹⁷ This suggestion received there and then unexpected support in a paper read later to the same Congress by Dr. J. Leibovitch of Cairo,¹⁸ who pointed out that signs similar to the pseudo-hieroglyphic characters from Byblos appear on ostraca found in a settlement of foreign workmen, engaged in building operations performed by Amenophis III in Thebes, and published several years ago by Daressy. They date, therefore, in the XV-XIV cent. B.C.E.¹⁹

The main subject of the book, the two most important conclusions of which

the organic development of the alphabetic script and the subsequent repeated attempts to indicate vowels are discussed at some length in the reviewer's above-mentioned little volume, pp. 12-13; 78 foll.

¹⁶ For MAISLER's proposal to supplement ALBRIGHT's reading of l. 3 see YEIVIN, *History of the Jewish Script*, fig. 13 on p. 64.

¹⁷ This paper will be available soon in the Proceedings of the Congress to be published in the course of the next few months.

¹⁸ To be published in the above-mentioned Proceedings.

¹⁹ It may be interesting to mention that several years ago a square prismatic seal of Egyptianising style appeared on the market in Jerusalem, two sides of which showed rather strange characters of an unknown script. Dr. REIFENBERG has kindly given the reviewer a photograph of an impression of the seal taken with the permission of the dealer. At the time, the reviewer was inclined to consider this seal as a possible forgery, prompted by the comparatively large number of proto-alphabetic fragmentary documents which came to light about that time. It now seems definitely plausible that the signs belong to the pseudo-hieroglyphic signary of Byblos, even adding some characters which do not appear on the documents published by D. It is just possible that this seal, too, found its way to Jerusalem from Byblos. This photograph of the impression is now published here (see Pl. XXX) with the consent of Dr. REIFENBERG.

have been discussed above, is prefaced by one chapter giving the historical background and two further chapters dealing with seal-impressions on pottery, in which the author sees the beginning of the endeavour to pass on to distant contemporaries or future generations a message from the impressors.

In his historical introduction, which brings us down to, and includes, the conquest of Palestine and Syria by the Pharaohs of the XVIIIth dynasty, there is a slightly unhappy mixture of archaeological and historical terminology. Of course, so far, we are not in a position to tack on historical appellations to the periods preceding the Hyksos invasion in Palestine and Syria, and are compelled to use archaeological terms. For the sake of uniformity, therefore, the archaeological designation of MB II would have been more appropriate in the case of the Hyksos period as well. One is also somewhat surprised by the dating of EB 3200-2200 B.C.E. and the MB (obviously MB I) 2200-1750 B.C.E. (p. 10). The transitional phase, which is dated as a rule in the XXIInd-XIXth centuries B.C.E. is usually marked as the last stage of EB (EB IV) rather than the beginning of the MB, which does not become characteristically pronounced before the middle of the XIXth cent. approximately, at least in Palestine.

It is still an open question whether the Cassites were Indo-Europeans (p. 16), and it seems to the reviewer that the weight of the evidence as far as it is available at present, points rather to the opposite conclusion. It is, however, still more surprising to find a statement claiming a close relationship — based on linguistic evidence, of all things — between the Indo-European element which founded the Kingdom of Mitanni and the Hurrians (p. 16).

The author apparently does not agree with Albright's suggestion that the prince of Byblos known as YNTN in the Egyptian hieroglyphic inscriptions found in the city is to be identified with the *Yantinhamu* mentioned about the same time in documents from Mari, and wishes to insert a Hurrite dynasty consisting of two kings Antena and Rayana, which are both perfectly good Semitic names (ינאן and ריאן from V^{רן}). Such, by the way, is also the Egyptian Khiyan, whom D. apparently makes a Hurrian (p. 20).

The appearance of the Arabs (p. 23) at such an early date seems rather bewildering, until one realises that what D. calls Arab, without any justification, is really W. Semitic-Amorite (cf. again p. 186), basing himself on the widely current theory of successive Semitic eruptions from the Desert of Arabia, a theory which in spite of its very wide and protracted vogue has little to support it and much to contradict it. This review, however, is not the proper place for an extensive exposition of the pros and contras of this theory.

In the enumeration of the so-called Canaanite dialects (p. 22) one misses Edomean, Ammonite and more particularly Ugaritic, which is certainly attested by a larger collection of documents than the Moabite with the single Mesha stele and some seals.

It seems rather too sweeping a statement to say that except the Ras-Shamra texts none of the other epigraphic material preceding the definitely alphabetic

texts from Palestine and Syria has been deciphered. This is true, in the case of the Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions and the Balua Stele, but the Gezer Ostrakon (XVIIth-XVIth cents. B.C.E.), the inscription on the Lachish Dagger (ca. XVIth cent. B.C.E.), the Tell el-Ḥeṣi ostrakon (XIVth cent.), the dedicatory inscription on the Lachish Ewer (ca. the middle of the XIIIth cent.) can be taken as more or less satisfactorily deciphered.²⁰ If similarly satisfactory results have not been achieved in the case of the other material (the Sichem Stele — XVIth cent.; the Lachish bowl — late XIIIth cent.; the Megiddo Ring — second half of XIIIth cent.²¹; the Beth-Shemesh ostrakon — early XII cent. in the opinion of the reviewer) it is because of their bad state of preservation and partial obliteration. It is, however, worthy of mention that as far as the well preserved parts of the Lachish Bowl and the Beth-Shemesh Ostrakon are concerned, practically all scholars who dealt with them are agreed on one and the same reading (בִּשְׁרֵשֶׁת—in the case of the former, and הָנֶן-גִּבְעֹן in the case of the rev. of the latter). It is, therefore, not quite so easy to decide that "de là à penser que ces écritures recouvrent quelque idiome des envahisseurs nordiques il n'y a qu'un pas" (p. 24).

We now come to the two chapters dealing with seal impressions on pottery. There is a very detailed discussion of the various motives, animal, floral and geometric, with reference to decorative designs on pottery in other regions of Hither Asia. A detailed criticism of these is impossible in a comparatively short review of this kind, but as a general principle two points may be raised. First, the author tends to make too much of rather casual and distant similarities, the most extreme example of which is his rather tentatively suggested connection between a chalcolithic impression on pottery from Byblos and an incised decoration on a bone of a reindeer from a mesolithic station in Belgium (p. 43). Secondly, he does not seem to allow sufficiently for the difference between the purely decorative, on the one hand, and iconography with a message to tell, on the other. He has an exceedingly well presented paragraph on the pictographic origin of writing (pp. 48 foll.; esp. p. 52), but omits to point out that the decoration on the handle from Jebel 'Araq has a definite message to tell, while that on the Byblos impressions fails to suggest any narrative or even symbolism, and seems to be purely ornamental. A pictograph must make some sort of sense, however much it might be read and interpreted in different ways. Such is the Nar-Mer palette cited by D.; such is even the fragment of the mace-head of King Scorpion, which is more of a picture and less of a writing; but the Byblos impressions quoted by D. (p. 55) however long we gaze at them do not impress us as having any message to deliver, in spite of all D.'s explanations, most of which seem to be based on a desire to see something rather than on its actual presence there.

It is easy to say, "Il a dû exister des pictogrammes plus expressifs, plus voisins

²⁰ YEIVIN, *PEQ.* 1937, pp. 180 foll. and *BJPES*, V (1937-1938), pp. 1 foll. (Hebrew); cf. *Lachish*, II, pp. 47 foll. All these contributions are not mentioned by D.

²¹ See above, note 13.

des objets réels et partant des origines du système", but there is no proof of this, at least not in the material published by D.

Finally, it is difficult to correlate the Chalcolithic of Byblos with the seal impressions found in Palestine, as these are definitely EB II, i.e. at least some 600-700 years later, while the apsidal and round houses at Beth-Shean, Jericho, Megiddo, now also Beth-Yerah, are all EB II, with possible extensions at both ends, into the very end of EB I and the beginning of EB III. The same is true of Tepe-Gawra in Northern Mesopotamia.

Very problematic, too, is the attempt to connect the early migrations, traces of which can be observed throughout Hither Asia at the beginning of the Bronze Age, with a hypothetic eruption of Indo-Europeans (p. 58; 68-70). Though the theory has lately had several protagonists, none of them advanced any tangible proofs. To attribute to them the urban organisation is somewhat audacious; for the beginnings of such in Palestine go back to a much earlier time, e.g. at Jericho and Tuleilat Ghassûl, and are easily explained as a result of the sedentary conditions imposed by the development of centralised agriculture.

Chapter IV gives a detailed description of the ten pseudo-hieroglyphic inscriptions on stone stelae and metal spatulae unearthed at Byblos. This chapter is admirably written and more than adequately illustrated by means of both photographic reproductions (pls. VIII-XIV) and facsimile copies (figs. 26-35), which can be easily checked on comparison with the photographs. Fig. 36 gives a very useful classified list of all the 114 signs found in the above documents. Moreover, in discussing each particular document, D. gives lists of sequences of signs repeated on that and other documents.

One might point out in addition that on stele "a" a whole section seems to be repeated twice with slight changes of preformative and postformative signs. This is the extract starting with the last five signs of l. 5 and ending with the first four signs of l. 7 repeated in ll. 8-9 (beginning with the 6th sign of l. 8). In this section of 24 signs, only signs 1, 5, 15 and 18 are changed in the repeated sequence, while sign 17 is altogether omitted (the repeated section containing but 23 signs). Again, changed signs seem to be prefixes or suffixes leaving an unchanged radical in the middle (at least in the sequence of the first five signs).

In document "d" appears in l. 28 the sequence B 10-H 1 followed in one case by B 4 and in another by the very similar G 6.

When it comes to classification, it is less easy to agree with the author. To begin with, it seems to the reviewer that in the absence of archaeological dating (see above) an attempt ought to be made to ascertain whether the examination of the documents themselves could not yield some sort of intrinsic differentiation as far as both time and at least apparent development are concerned. And, in fact, in the reviewer's humble opinion one sees at once two classes of signs, one used on the metal tablets and spatulae, the other on the stone stelae "a" and "g". The stone fragments "h" and "j" are a sort of connecting link between the two above-mentioned groups, the last—at least—connecting up apparently also with the fragmentary stele published on pl. XIV

(a) and fig. 47. It would have been an attractive theory to assume that the script used on the metal objects is a later, linear development of the "monumental" and more pictographic hieroglyphs used on the stone stelae "a" and "g". Unfortunately, stele "g" contains at least three signs of the linear characters used on metal. These are the second sign from the top in l. 1, (from the r.), repeated at the bottom of l. 2; the first sign on top of line 2, apparently repeated on top of l. 3; the second sign from the top in l. 2 repeated (but reversed) in l. 4. With these might possibly be counted also the penultimate sign of l. 1, repeated in l. 2. At the same time, comparison of signs E 5 and G 3 respectively on both stelae seems to suggest that stela "g" shows more developed and stylized, hence later, forms. On the other hand, if the two signs brought together by D. under one form (B 2) are really identical, then the form shown on stele "g" is earlier and less stylized than that shown on stele "a". Even if this difficulty is dismissed by divorcing the two signs, for the sign shown on stele "a" seems to the reviewer to represent a backbone with stumps of ribs (cf. the Egyptian hieroglyphs F 37 & F 41 in Gardiner's list), there still remains the vertical arrangement of inscription "g"—a fact which points to an earlier phase than horizontal inscriptions.²² Then, again, fragments "h" and "j" (stone) seem both to suggest that the linear form—whatever its origin, whether development due to time or to material—triumphed and finally led to the funerary stele (fig. 47), which already lays itself open to "alphabetic" decipherment and interpretation.²³

As to individual signs the reviewer would rather consider A 21 a vegetable (cf. Egyptian *bnr*, M 30 of Gardiner's list); about B 2 see above; B 10 and B 13 are more likely to belong to class E (cf. especially with E 25, varieties of which they may be; the latter sign appears in documents "b" and "e", while the former appear only in "d"); D 1 would be more likely to belong to class E (an angle rather than a plan of a building); D 7 might be a comb; the classification of signs E 9 and F 1 is at least doubtful; and so is that of F 6; G 2 and 4 seem to the reviewer to belong to class B (vegetation); while G 5, 11 & 12 are probably to be assigned to the same section of class E as signs E 20-21 (ropes, loops and knots); G 6, 13 and 14 look like instruments (cf. E 24 & 25); G 16 is probably to be assigned to class A, as a very rough stylization of a head of an animal; G 17, whatever it may be, obviously should belong to one and the same class as H 6, while H 7 is to be similarly grouped with E 15.

In particular the reviewer would prefer to see in A 1 a quail chick (cf. the sign G 43 of Gardiner's list) rather than a pigeon. A 13 undoubtedly resembles the Egyptian hieroglyph for forearm (D 42 in Gardiner's list) rather than the sign for *dy* as suggested by D. B 3 is probably to be classed with B 2 (see above). Note 2 on p. 100 concerning the hieroglyph D 1 contradicts the facts; for the Proto-Sinaitic signary has such a sign engraved in both the same direction and

²² YEIVIN, *History of Jewish Script*, 1939, pp. 20-21; 95.

²³ See above, p. 169 and note 6.

the reversed direction.²⁴ It is also possible that the Lachish inscription on the bowl contains the same sign,²⁵ and one fails to see why these signs are to be connected with the vertical Egyptian hieroglyph (D 38 of Gardiner's list) rather than with the sign D 1 discussed here.

There is little ground to doubt the probable reading of sign D 3 as \mathfrak{D} on the Lachish bowl, as D.'s objection is unfounded. D 7 looks more like a comb than a palisade.

The identification of D 9 with the Egyptian hieroglyph $\mathfrak{s3}$ (V 17 of Gardiner's list) is somewhat doubtful; it looks more like some sort of looped rope or knot.

In the case of E 5 it is not quite sure that the forms appearing in stelae "a" and "g", equated by D., are really one and the same sign,²⁶ though the reviewer inclines to agree with D. What is, however, still more doubtful, is the equation of the somewhat similar angular sign quoted by D. under this paragraph. The sequence E 7-E 5-B 8 in l. 10 of stele "a" which D. wishes to compare with the (largely restored) sequence in l. 25 of tablet "d", cannot be other than accidental, since l. 10 of stele "a" is obviously to be divided as follows: G 13-G 1-A 10 (repeated from l. 3 of the same stele — signs 1-3) / E 7-E 5/B 8-D 1-A 16 (repeated from l. 1 of the same stele — signs 4-7) / D 5-E 5. E 9 is to be compared with E 6, though reversed (open to r. instead of to l.). It is very doubtful whether E 10 is an implement of any sort. If any comparisons are valid, it looks much more like the early cuneiform sign for a woman,²⁷ resembling also the Egyptian hieroglyph \mathfrak{hmt} , substituted for the original sign, both the cuneiform sign and the hieroglyph representing the female organ.²⁸ The reviewer would be inclined, therefore, to include this sign in D.'s class A. It also seems to him that the two forms of E 12 (that of stele "a" and that of stele "g") ought to be differentiated; all the more so, as form "g" appears also on stele "a" (second sign in l. 1, as against the 4th sign in l. 3 and the others). The reviewer would be inclined to class E 14 as a vegetative sign (hence to be included in class B) or possibly a column with a vegetative capital (to be included then in class D), in spite of the very attractive looking similarity to the hieratic form of some Egyptian hieroglyphs quoted by D. The reviewer would also prefer to differentiate between the form of E 15 appearing on stele "a", which may possibly represent the potter's wheel as suggested by D., or more probably a table of offerings, and the linear sign of the other documents on metal, which seems like the head of a T-square, a similarity which D. is loath

²⁴ Cf. LEIBOVICH's list in *Les inscriptions protosinaïtiques*, 1934, pl. IV, X (inscriptions 366 and 357 respectively).

²⁵ If the reviewer's restoration is accepted (*PEQ*, 1937, p. 183 and pl. IV, fig. 4).

²⁶ See above, p. 173.

²⁷ Cf., e.g., DIRINGER, *L'alfabeto nella storia della civiltà*, 1937, fig. 54 (on p. 109), No. 5.

²⁸ GARDINER's list N 41; cf. A.H. GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, 1927, p. 480, where the original form of the sign is shown; this resembles the Gible sign even more closely.

to accept because he holds that the two forms are identical. The identification of E 16 seems particularly apt and successful. In connection with E 22 it is interesting to point out that a similar sign appears very frequently as a potter's sign on XIIth dynasty ware from Kahun.²⁹ In the case of sign F 5, too, the reviewer is inclined to see two different signs in the two varieties shown by D., all the more so, since both appear on stele "a", one as the 13th sign in line 6 and the other as the 12th sign in line 7. While the former seems to be some sort of a braiding or knot, the latter resembles a very rude needle with a rather exaggerated eye. The suggested relationship between the sign G 1 and the Egyptian hieroglyph *wḥ* (F. 13 of Gardiner's list) is altogether impossible, if only because the latter is turned up and not down, as the Gible sign. Judging by its form on stele "a", one would be inclined to see in it a picture of a tent with a protruding central pole and flaps trailing on the ground at the lower ends. The reviewer is inclined to consider G 4 also vegetative, e.g. the large floating leaf of the water lily; D., too, seems to be holding that view, though he classed the sign as "undetermined" (p. 111). G 5 seems to the reviewer to be the linear form of F 5 (the second variety). The reviewer doubts very much whether there be sufficient grounds for distinguishing between G 13 and G 14, all the more so, since D. seems to see little difficulty in lumping together as varieties of one and the same hieroglyph much more dissimilar signs (cf. E 5, E 12, E 15, and F 5 discussed above). The two lapidary forms of G 17 are probably also to be differentiated. Sign I 8 is most likely to be compared with G 15 (a pear-shaped pendant with an eye on top).

In his very thorough and interesting analyses of the texts, D. discusses the main sequences of signs repeatedly occurring in the various documents, though it has already been pointed out above that some more sequences can be found even after a short perusal of the documents in question. But D.'s main conclusions seem hardly justified. To begin with, it has already been suggested above that at least three different stages may possibly be discerned in this collection of documents, consequently not all the signs need have been in use at one and the same time. But even allowing for the simultaneous use of all the 114 signs, it need not necessarily lead us to conclude that only the two alternatives suggested by D. are possible (p. 116). There is always the possibility, without resorting to either polyphonism *au cuneiforme* or semi-phonetism - semi-ideographism *à l'égyptienne*, of a syllabic script, which was not limited to open syllables, i.e. one consonant followed by one vowel, but comprised composite and closed syllables, i.e. two consonants, or even more, plus one vowel, as e.g. *bar*, *bir* and the like, or a vowel followed by a consonant apart from a consonant followed by a vowel, as e.g. different signs for *ab* and *ba*.

There is some confusion in discussing some of the groups, as quite obviously the sequence A 15—E 10 cannot appear on the small tablet (p. 118, 2nd paragraph), for the simple reason that the sign A 15 does not occur on document "c" (the small tablet), nor is it listed as appearing there in the detailed discussion of

²⁹ W.M.F. PETRIE, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, 1890, Pl. XXVII, Sign 86.

this sign (p. 93). The same sequence cannot appear 4 times on stele "a", for a similar reason, since E 10 does not appear on stele "a" at all (cf. p. 104); the sequence that does appear on stele "a" is A 15—D 25, twice repeated in an identical group of 5 signs, and twice in a repeated group of 5 signs which seems to have the same radical with varying prefixes and suffixes (see above, p. 172). The sequence D 2—E 11 does appear 4 times but not on stele "a" (as stated on p. 118), on which the sign E 11 is non-extant, but on tablet "d" (ll. 2; 3; 21; 23); however it is difficult to see why just these should be considered conjunctions (even with the cautions "perhaps"!), for similar sequences abound; to cite but two other examples, the sequences D 3—E 11 and G 17—E 11, appearing each 3 times, the former only on tablet "d" (ll. 1; 10; 19), the latter on tablet "d" (ll. 16; 25) and probably also on spatula "i" (l. 6). Then, again, it is true that the sequence G 13—G 1 appears thrice on stele "a", but in two of these three cases it comes in the larger sequence G 13—G 1—A 10, which appears very frequently also on tablets "c" and "d" either alone or with both preformatives and postformatives, which may or may not be separate words, as D. himself is so careful to point out (pp. 119-120), and, therefore, can hardly be considered a conjunction, even *perhaps* (p. 118).

One feels hardly justified in subscribing to D.'s conclusion: "On ne distingue pas dans ces textes le système régulier des afformantes et des preformantes sémitiques"; on the contrary the reviewer is of the opinion that he has succeeded in proving such a possibility in stele "a" (see above, p. 172), and the same can be seen also in the case of such more or less long texts as tablets "c" and "d", even apart from the group G 13—G 1—A 10. Thus, e.g., in tablet "c" the sequence E 8—E 1 (or E 2 — very similar) — E 7 occurs in ll. 5 and 9 preceded and followed by different signs; the sequence G 8—B 1—B 9 occurs in ll. 6 and 10 with a similar prefix(?) and suffix(?); so does the sequence B 8—E 10—E 7 (the latter two noted by D. on p. 76). In tablet "d" the sequence E 6—B 5—E 8 appears 6 times, for apart from the four cases set out by D. (p. 76), where it appears followed by E 7, it is also present in ll. 2 and 40, where it is followed by different signs. In view of such frequent repetitions it seems rather too early to despair of "possibilités d'arriver à une lecture de ces documents sans bilingue".³⁰

Of course, the possibility that the language of these documents (or at least some part of them) is Hurrite, though rather unlikely in the opinion of the reviewer, cannot be entirely excluded (cf. p. 121).

The following section on relations with other non-alphabetic scripts of the Ancient East, though excellently presented, seems rather superfluous. Apart from the fact that any close relationship with the majority of the scripts described is chronologically excluded (see above, pp. 167-169), the similarity of the signs is either somewhat distant or such as can easily appear anywhere in the world because of the similarity and commonness of the object pictured, for as D. very

³⁰ In fact the reviewer has just learned that Dhorme has published a proposed decipherment in *CRAIBL*, which apparently has not yet reached Jerusalem libraries.

aptly puts it "en quel lieu que ce soit, un pigeon et une masse d'arme ne peuvent guère donner naissance à des images très différentes" (p. 124).

On the other hand one feels somewhat surprised to find associated with such signaries, under the same heading of non-alphabetic scripts, the Proto-Sinaitic signs and a by no means complete enumeration of the various fragmentary inscriptions found in recent years in Palestine and elsewhere in the territories of the Ancient East. Though there is no quite conclusive proof that these are alphabetic, the evidence seems to be definitely tending that way; and at any rate there is nothing to prove their non-alphabetic nature.⁸¹

This review has already outgrown its originally intended proportions, and so it must come to an end. But a few rather misleading misprints and omissions, apart from those collected in the list of *addenda* and *corrigenda*, may be pointed out in conclusion. On p. 89, l. 8 (from top) read probably (3) instead of (4), but the footnote itself does not appear on that page. On p. 99, in the paragraph dealing with sign B 13 the words "(2 fois)" are to be omitted, as that sign appears only once in the line in question (d, 8). On p. 110, l. 9 from the bottom, the Egyptian hieroglyph with which D. compares the sign G 3 has not been inserted in the place reserved for it. The confusion of documents on p. 118 (second paragraph) has been noted above. On p. 121, l. 2 from top, the proper punctuation should be מִצֵּיִם (not מִצֵּיִם). On p. 122, l. 9 from the bottom read "stele g" instead of "stele j". On p. 192 note (1) should be numbered (2), and note (2) should be (1).

In a book dealing with such controversial problems as D.'s volume, it would be rather surprising not to find any topic for disagreement. However, the large number of disputed points does not in any way detract from the merit of the book as an extremely important and valuable contribution to the epigraphy and palaeography of the ancient Near-East.

S. YEIVIN

E.L. SUKENIK, *The Synagogue of Dura-Europos and its Paintings*, Jerusalem, The Bialik Institute, 1947, (X), 203 pp., 32 pls., 57 figs. (in Hebrew).

The synagogue of Dura-Europos has been aptly described by the author as "the most remarkable find on record in the sphere of Jewish archaeology". Its discovery in 1932 illustrates the well-known fact that the common man's poison is the archaeologist's meat. In the agony of its last siege (c. A.D. 256) the defenders of Dura tore down part of the houses adjoining the city wall and covered their remains with a broad glacis, accidentally preserving thereby a priceless monument of ancient Jewish art.

Although the definite publication of the find is still outstanding, the various provisional publications gave rise to a spate of books and articles on the subject. Fifty-seven separate items are listed in the bibliography at the end of this book. The author was one of the first to visit the site in 1933, while the excavations were still proceeding, and he has contributed several articles to the ensuing

⁸¹ For further details see above, p.

discussion. The present work is thus the résumé of almost fifteen years of research.

To begin with externals: The Bialik Institute has undoubtedly lavished on this book its resources in paper, typography and illustrations, so that the result need not fear comparison with any publication on the subject so far. The original photographs supplied by the excavators are reproduced on full-sized plates and whenever the paintings had suffered too much damage, they are elucidated with drawings by Mr. Avigad, whose pen has also furnished several maps, plans, views and diagrams. The only criticism one can make under this head is that the plates have been dispersed throughout the volume and have been very often placed quite far away from the pages on which their contents are discussed.

In publishing his work in Hebrew the author had to consider a public not very familiar with this subject. He has begun therefore with an introduction in four chapters describing the story of the discovery, the history of Dura-Europos, and the history of the Jews in Babylonia in general and in Dura in particular. This is followed by the main part in nine chapters, of which the four principal ones are devoted to a detailed description and discussion of the frescoes, wall by wall. This plan has, however, the disadvantage that it separates various panels in which the same story is continued from wall to wall, as the synagogue painter has chosen to run his cycles in horizontal strips. Thus the Elijah cycle on the W. wall is dealt with on p. 108 and continued in the description of the S. wall on p. 138; the end of the Ark cycle appears on pp. 88ff. and the beginning on pp. 114ff..

The descriptive chapters are followed by a discussion of the Aramaic, Greek and Pehlevi inscriptions found in the synagogue, a short summary, five appendices, a bibliography and an index.

The descriptions and subjoined interpretations are short, sober and common-sense. The last quality is especially in evidence in the explanation of the difficult Ezechiel panel. The interpretation of the different frescoes is based in part on the evidence of Early Christian Art, but principally on the Aggada, i.e. Jewish homiletic literature on the Talmud and the Midrashim. While the first source has been extensively used by others, no one has so far delved so deep in the latter. The results are sometimes as surprising as they are self-evident. Thus in the Bible the throne of Solomon is described as having steps "and twelve lions stood there on the one side and on the other upon the six steps" (I Kings x, 20). The Aggada has it, however, that there were eagles and lions facing each other on every step — and so has the Dura fresco. Again, Ahasuerus is shown sitting on the throne of Solomon; the temple vessels of Dagon's Temple are strewn broken before the Ark together with the idol, etc. — all deviations from or additions to the Biblical text based on the Aggada. The study of the Aggadic literature leads to the right explanation of the little figure within and the serpent without Ba'al's altar on Mount Carmel and of the figures mounting Jacob's Ladder. Sometimes we must assume a lost Aggadic source: as, e.g., when the waters at Marah flow in twelve streams, each into

one of the tents symbolizing a tribe. As an example of ingenious explanation one may quote that of the black and red columns (with Corinthian capitals!), shown outside the "City of Egypt", as the Pillar of Smoke and the Pillar of Fire. Occasionally the author improves on his own earlier version: the three persons standing near the returning ark are no longer described as the princes of the Philistines, but as the elders of Beth Shemesh.

The Dura frescoes may be likened to the prism which has collected for us the rays of a past artistic tradition and has diffused them over the art of future ages. Thus they involve two problems: the problem of their influence in succeeding ages and the problem of their artistic (as apart from their typological) derivation. It is an old artistic tradition, mainly Hellenistic but largely Oriental, which has found its expression in these frescoes. However, the hermeneutic aims of his book have led the author to exclude these problems from his work.

Before proceeding with the problems raised by the author's views on the individual pictures, a few words may not be amiss regarding the direction and general arrangement of the cycle. As regards the latter it seems that the artist has followed a definite principle, based on the convenience of the visitors to the synagogue. The order of the pictures on the S. wall is away from the door and in the N. wall towards the door, while in the W. wall—which faces the entrance—the pictures converge upon the central shrine. This suggestion confirms the views of the author as regards the development of the Ezekiel panels, although this involves a difficult see-saw movement across the picture from left to right and back. The visitor would thus follow the S. wall, then view the W. wall and return along the N. wall to the exit.

The author considers (p. 167) that no particular order was adopted in the selection of the various scenes. However, even if we bear in mind that two-thirds of the frescoes—especially in the upper reaches,—are lost, there seems to emerge a definite order based on the canon of the Bible. Apart from the scenes round the central niche, which seem to be concerned with the principal personages connected with the rise of the Hebrew nation (Jacob=Israel, Moses and David), the rest of the panels follow the following order: top row—Genesis and Exodus; second row—continuation of Exodus (Marah), Leviticus (Aaron), Samuel (Ark cycle) and I Kings (Solomon's temple); third row—II Kings (Elijah), the prophets (Ezekiel), the Hagiographa (Esther). This theory involves the return to the old interpretation of "David and his heroes" as Job, while the carrying of the Ark next to the Waters of Marah would refer to its transport across the desert and not up to Jerusalem. The so-called "Covenant" picture would also have to be reinterpreted; but in any case it is very fragmentary. The only serious objection is the presence of a picture inscribed "Solomon" in the upper row and of the "Finding of Moses" at the bottom; here we would have to assume that the artist has by mistake interchanged these two pictures. On the other hand the absence of the two first patriarchs (apart from the half-panel showing the Sacrifice of Isaac) would be thus explained; their history vanished together with the top of the N., E. and S. walls.

As regards the interpretation of the individual pictures there are very many in which there can be no reasonable difference of opinion—incidentally a clear proof of the illustrative ability of the originator of the Dura cycle. In the others, of course, there is plenty of room for divergent views.

To begin with the panels above the niche: the question whether the seated figure resembling Orpheus belongs to the first or second painting of the synagogue is a technical one which should be properly decided by the excavators; but there is an evident connection between the Blessing of Jacob and the symbol of Messianic expectation "Shiloh" (Gen. xlix, 10–12) interpreted as David; and David was generally depicted as Orpheus in Early Christian art.

The picture above this panel cannot refer to Joseph presenting his Brethren before Pharaoh, as it represents *two* persons in Greek dress (reserved at Dura for prominent Biblical personages) standing before the king and his suit (in Persian dress) surrounding him. The Biblical text would require five persons in Greek dress (Gen. xlvii, 2) or perhaps twelve, but not two. Nor can they represent Moses and Aaron before Pharaoh, because Aaron is identified by the priestly robes. The picture refers rather to the presentation of Jacob to Pharaoh by Joseph (Gen. xlvii, 7–10).

As regards the four single personages represented to the right and left of the central niche, the author agrees with most scholars that those on the right represent Moses; but he holds to his *votum separatim* in interpreting the two figures on the left as Joshua. He bases his views mainly on two arguments: firstly, the personage in the damaged upper panel is barefoot, and of the two occasions in which a person in the Bible is commanded "to loose thy shoes from off thy foot" one is the story of the Burning Bush and the other Joshua V, 15, where Jeshua meets the "Captain of the Lord's Host". His second argument is that the sun and moon in the lower picture refer to the miracle at Gibeon and in the Valley of Ajalon (Joshua x, 12). There are, however, weighty arguments in favour of the view that all four pictures represent Moses. In general, Joshua has never occupied in Jewish tradition a place comparable with or parallel to Moses. Secondly, the old man in the lower picture on the left bears a strong resemblance to the younger man on the right, who is admittedly Moses. Thirdly, the Christian tradition, which has certainly a common prototype with the Dura frescoes, shows Moses on Mount Sinai barefoot and in the position similar to the one at Dura. Fourthly, the author himself quotes a Midrash according to which the feet must be bared in the presence of the Shechina (Divine Presence); and surely if ever the Shechina manifested itself, it was on Mount Horeb. Finally the decisive argument is the Greek toga of the person in the top left hand panel; in the common pictorial tradition (as collected by the author), Joshua the captain of the Israelites is always in military dress. And if the top picture depicts Moses, the bottom picture must surely do the same, sun and moon notwithstanding.

As regards the picture of the Exodus, two minor points may be noted; the objects at the left end of the picture form a clear conus falling from above (hail, etc.) and are not thrown from below, as the author has it (see Pl. 9).

The passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea is represented in the picture by the twelve stripes behind Moses, each symbolizing the path of a tribe through the waters (p. 84).

As regards the fragmentary picture of Solomon on his throne (p. 87) the author's old interpretation (*Ancient Synagogue*, p. 85), viz. the "Judgment of Solomon", seems preferable to his new one, viz. "The visit of the Queen of Sheba". The two female figures are too inconspicuous in a corner to suit a queen.

In conclusion a few minor omissions and corrections may be noted: P. 4—the "Antoninus" mentioned is the emperor Antoninus (Carracalla?); Prof. LIEBERMAN (*Greek in Jewish Palestine*, pp. 78–81) has definitively shown that the correct version is "Antoninus did *not* become a proselyte". P. 5—There exists an inscription in honour of a Roman emperor put up by the Jews at Qasyun. P. 13, l. 4—for: "Western shores" read "Eastern". P. 19—the reason for the deviation of the caravans and Dura's prosperity in the first century B.C. should be noted, viz. the Roman-Parthian wars which closed the more northerly routes. P. 21—in the time of Severus a Roman colony did not gain tax exemption. P. 54—the similar temple representation found by P. SALLER on a mosaic from Mt. Nebo should be added. P. 56—some citrus fruit, but not "oranges", which appear much later in the middle East. P. 105—Ahasuerus does not wear a Phrygian cap but the high tiara of the Persian kings (cf. the Issus mosaic at Pompei). P. 106—Esther is represented in the image of a city goddess. P. 109—the object before the bed of the prophet is not a footstool but a table (II Kings, iv, 10). P. 173—the tribune does not read the scroll, but holds it in his hand in a well-known oratorical pose.

There can be no doubt that Prof. Sukenik's book will, in spite of all minor blemishes, be accepted as the standard Hebrew description of the Dura-Europos synagogue and its paintings.

M. AVI-YONAH

Syria. Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904-5 and 1909. Division IV: Semitic Inscriptions. By ENNO LITTMANN. Section C: Safaitic Inscriptions. LEYDEN, 1943.

In this volume are published 1302 Safaitic inscriptions collected by the Princeton Archaeological Expedition of 1904-5 and 1909; some have already been published, but they are here presented for the first time as a whole. It is by far the most thorough and comprehensive publication of Safaitic inscriptions yet produced, and adds considerably to our knowledge of the language, habits and names of these rather elusive people. The reviewer is somewhat handicapped in his task by not having access to the author's *Thamūd und Šafā* (1940), to which reference is frequently made, and in which he sums up the knowledge gained by a careful study of the texts. The present work is divided into three

parts: a short introductory chapter; the texts, each with a hand copy; and a glossary-index.

In the introductory chapter the author draws attention to the possibility of mistakes in hand-copying these texts, a very important point to bear in mind in reading them; there is also the possibility of the writers themselves making an occasional slip. The difference in quality between inscriptions copied by the other members of the expedition is very striking. But all this does not really justify the somewhat arbitrary variant readings of the same sign, or the inserting, omitting and changing of letters in difficult passages, particularly when such letters are quite clear in the copy (see e.g., no. 257 and Prof. RYCKMANS' correction of the reading on p. 348). Happily these are the exception rather than the rule.

The claim is again brought forward that many of the texts are "documents of sale and claims to property", which is surely attributing to what are no more than casual scrawls on loose stones an importance which is out of all proportion. In the case of the particular inscription referred to as a "clear instance of a business transaction" (no. 317), it is necessary in the translation to change the order of the words and put the name last, and even then it only reads: "This she-camel... belongs to..." It becomes awkward when the animal depicted is a lion, and it then has to be assumed that it is only the drawing which is referred to and not a real lion. All the inscriptions are, after all, no more than graffiti, and a loose stone is such an improbable medium for a business document!

The dates in some of the inscriptions, are of considerable interest and importance, but no judgment can be passed in the absence of *Thamūd und Šafā*, in which the interpretation of the numeral signs is discussed. That the Bosra era is the basis employed is most probable. The section on the grammar and orthography is ingeniously worked out and on the whole convincing; the inscriptions themselves are so brief and limited in the scope of their sentiments that it is difficult to draw any hard and fast conclusions from them. But it would seem that the language is more related to Arabic than to Hebrew or Aramaic, though elements of both these are present, as is only to be expected. Also the great majority of the references are to Arabic sources. In view of this, is it not rather misleading to continue to transliterate these and related (Thamudic, Lihyanite, etc.) texts into the Hebrew script rather than the Arabic? It involves among other things the use of **ד** for **س**, and words under such circumstances assume a strange appearance and are difficult to recognise at first glance.

Turning to the texts themselves, which constitute four fifths of the volume, it is a pity it was not possible to reproduce photographic plates of some of the longer and more interesting ones, for, as mentioned above, hand copies can be quite extraordinarily inaccurate and do not, unless made from squeezes, convey a true impression of the form of the letters. Apart from these few criticisms, one can only admire the learning and ingenuity employed in translating the texts, for no form of word-divider is used and once the name and pedigree of the writer is passed the separating of words is largely a matter of trial and

error. The activities of these people as revealed in the translations are strange and varied, but they seem to have spent a great deal of their time finding other people's inscriptions, laying stones on their tombs, and longing for them, "overshadowed with grief". Some texts refer to escapes from the Romans; two, rather doubtfully, to the "king", who is identified with the Roman Emperor Hadrian, also very doubtful. The frequency of curses on those who efface the inscriptions indicates the importance which was attached to having one's name and actions recorded in writing. The word رجم is always translated as "sepulchre", whereas in everyday Arabic it signifies no more than "cairn" or "pile of stones", which exist in thousands all over the desert regions; it can only mean "sepulchre" inasmuch as the grave is concealed beneath such a cairn, to which someone passing added another stone. Ten deities, of whom Allat is by far the most popular, are invoked in the various inscriptions, and seven different tribes are named.

The variant readings of Prof. RYCKMANS as given in the addenda are interesting, and indicate the degree of uncertainty which still prevails both in transliterating the rather roughly drawn signs and in translating the results. But there is no doubt as to the value of this publication for the study of Semitic epigraphy and to anthropology, and as such it is most welcome, though we have had to wait rather a long time for it.

G. LANKESTER HARDING

Yale Oriental Series. Researches xvii. STUDIES IN ISLAM AND JUDAISM. *The Arabic Original of Ibn Shāhin's Book of Comfort* known as the *Hibbūr Japhē* of Rabbi Nissim B. Ya'qobh. Ed. from the unique MS by Julian OBERMANN. New Haven 1933, Yale Univ. Pr.; lix, clvi pls., ed. text vi + 183.

This is the fourth work published by the Yale University Press on behalf of the Alexander Kohut Memorial Publication Fund. The work under review is only part of the announced plan. The following remarks are limited to the Arabic section of this publication.

The Arabic style is quite Hebraic. It abounds in Hebrew expressions: laudatory, benedictory and Talmudic. The translation as such is very interesting, though the style cannot be compared with the classical Arabic of Sa'diah Gaon al-Fayyūmi.

p. 1, n. 17 and p. 117, line 5 (n. 4) is correct Arabic use; see also p. 6, 1.2 (nn. 7/8).

p. 5, line 9: I beg to differ with both TORREY and SCHAADE and to maintain that the attribute should be *min al-āfāt*; cf. al-Mutanabbi's *wa-āfatuhu mina -l-ʿaqli-s-salimi*.

p. 7, line 14: *zdl* preferable to *jāl*.

p. 27, line 1 should read "تجد لاله له فم ولا يتكلم", cf. Psalm 135 vv. 15-18; it is an idol.

p. 34, line 9: pl. of *jafr*, "a lamb when it begins to ruminate". This is a delicious dish complementing those already described.

p. 42, lines 1 and 8; p. 45, line 10; p. 81, line 5; and p. 91, line 8 are all correct.

p. 114, line 8: *waʿṭi* ("give") should read *waʿfi* ("grant exemption from taxes", etc.)

p. 152, line 7: *ʿala qadami-t-tauba* instead of *qāds-i-t-tauba*; "in the state or mental attitude of repentance"; final *mem* and *samekh* are nearly similar in form. (Cf. TORREY's emendation of *RAQIM* into *DKS* = Decius).

p. 177, line 3: the text is correct as it now stands: *asīsu-l-ʿamal* is senseless, but, curiously enough, *raʿsu-l-ʿamal* is the translation of the Turkish *iş başı*, i.e. "place of work". There are other turns of the Arabic in this work which lead one to presume that the author may have known some Turkish—or are these merely coincidences?

With all due deference to the erudition of the editor and the great trouble which he has taken with this work, one cannot help saying that he has made it unnecessarily hard for himself. The copious notes, sometimes bewildering, are the best proof of his thoroughness, but at the same time they are too ingenious, involved and too many for these pages. Anyone who has dealt with similar Oriental texts can appreciate the amount of learning, time and pains put into the work, but even for a unique copy it is almost entirely too laborious.

The printing is very good, and the Arabic text remarkably free from misprints. The collaboration of three acknowledged scholars is ample proof that the best has been produced.

ST. H. STEPHAN.

Chateaubriand. *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem. Édition critique en deux volumes avec un avant-propos, une bibliographie, des notes etc.* par ÉMILE MALAKIS. Vol. I, in-8° de IX—407 p. et 6 grav.—Vol. II, in-8° de 492 p. et 8 grav. The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, Maryland, 1946. Prix \$ 12.50.

Professeur adjoint à l'Université Johns Hopkins de Baltimore, M. É. Malakis ne pouvait mieux attester sa qualité d'ami de Chateaubriand qu'en livrant au public le fameux *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem* sous une forme qui allie la netteté à l'élégance et fait honneur à l'art américain du livre. Mais l'excellence de la présentation matérielle de l'ouvrage ne doit pas faire oublier le soin avec lequel le savant professeur a commenté le texte du voyageur au moyen de notes abondantes et souvent étendues. Rien n'a été omis pour établir une concordance entre les images et les idées qui émaillent l'*Itinéraire* et celles qui se manifestent dans les autres ouvrages de l'écrivain, pour mettre en parallèle la relation du gentilhomme et les notes de son domestique Julien, pour justifier au besoin la véracité de son témoignage en face de critiques lancées à la légère par un parti pris souvent exempt d'honnêteté. M. Malakis n'a pas reculé devant un voyage qui l'a conduit sur les traces de Chateaubriand ni devant la recherche des archives de Terre Sainte où il a trouvé la confirma-

tion de certaines allégations qu'on se permettait de contester gratuitement. La meilleure réponse est encore la luxueuse publication de cet Itinéraire que l'on croyait démodé et auquel une impression impeccable communique un regain de jeunesse et un attrait qui manque aux vieilles éditions jaunies et banales.

Ce qu'on admire dans l'Itinéraire ce ne sont pas, évidemment, les digressions savantes sorties du propre fond de l'auteur ou empruntées à la *Bibliothèque universelle des voyages* de Boucher de la Richarderie, suivant les indications de l'éditeur. Ces emprunts à des devanciers, dont Chateaubriand avait lu, dit-il, environ deux cents, déparent d'autant plus l'ouvrage qu'à leur longueur fastidieuse ils ajoutent la construction d'une topographie reconnue fautive dans plusieurs de ses lignes essentielles. Il le sentait lui-même lorsqu'il avouait que bien des traditions qu'il avait rapportées ne s'imposaient pas à la croyance, mais qu'il était utile de les relever pour faire connaître l'histoire et les mœurs du pays. Après l'énorme lecture qu'il s'était imposée, il ne connaissait, déclarait-il, rien du tout encore, tellement il sentait l'infériorité de la description purement livresque. Placez le voyageur devant un paysage historique ou non, il est dans son élément. Ne dit-il pas qu'il a entrepris sa pérégrination pour aller chercher des images ? Mais pour être belles, les images demandent de la lumière. « Ce ne sont point, écrit-il, (I, p. 233) les prairies et les feuilles d'un vert cru et froid qui font les admirables paysages, ce sont les effets de la lumière. Voilà pourquoi les roches et les bruyères de la baie de Naples seront toujours plus belles que les vallées les plus fertiles de la France et de l'Angleterre. » Il ira donc encore plus loin que l'Italie dans la direction du pays de la plus grande lumière. M. Malakis a réuni les passages où Chateaubriand approfondit ce point de vue. Aussi les croquis littéraires dans lesquels ce dernier excellait suscitèrent à leur apparition un vif enthousiasme. « Lorsque Chateaubriand eut visité la Grèce, écrivait Sainte-Beuve, elle eut parmi nous un peintre . . . Avec les moyens et les procédés de couleurs qui étaient à lui, il nous rendit vivement la sensation de la Grèce. » Il est non moins admirable dans ses portraits en trois ou quatre lignes où il saisit sur le vif les types de vieux Turcs, de Grecs délurés, d'aventuriers roublards, de fonctionnaires et d'interprètes grotesques ou finauds. Bien qu'il se défende de tracer des caricatures, l'originalité de ses modèles donne lieu à une galerie des plus piquantes et qui mériterait d'être réunie à part. Il serait trop long de grouper les passages consacrés à la description des sites et des monuments de Terre Sainte. Un certain nombre sont devenus classiques. Le trajet de Ramleh à Jérusalem, le voyage à Jéricho offrent quelques scènes bien enlevées. Le paragraphe sur le mystère du Saint-Sépulcre est assez remarquable. Des aperçus à vol d'oiseau doivent beaucoup aux panoramas publiés par des artistes et notamment à ceux de Cassas ainsi que le fait remarquer l'éditeur. La navigation mouvementée entre l'Égypte et Tunis fait penser à la fin des Actes des Apôtres. On saura gré à M. Malakis d'avoir placé en appendice les comptes rendus de l'Itinéraire relevés dans les journaux de 1811 au moment de sa parution. L'impression du public et les jugements de la critique sont un sûr indice du goût de l'époque.

F.-M. ABEL, O.P.

Guide to Acre. By N. MAKHOULY and C. N. JOHNS. Second, revised edition. Brochure de x-109 pages, ornée de 9 planches et de 14 figures, dont 3 plans hors-texte. Government of Palestine: Department of Antiquities. Jerusalem, 1944. Price: 200 mils.

La première édition de ce guide ayant paru en 1941, en un temps où la publication du JPOS était pratiquement suspendue, le compte-rendu s'en trouva différé plusieurs années de telle façon que la seconde édition a vu le jour avant que nous ayons pu parler de la première. Cette succession rapide est en faveur de ce livret, montrant l'intérêt que le public a porté à l'histoire et à la description de cette ville esquissées avec autant de clarté que d'art. Sous le rapport de l'illustration, il n'y a pas eu de changement d'une édition à l'autre: il n'y a pas eu lieu d'ailleurs d'y apporter quelque modification. On retrouve donc la documentation ancienne, avec le beau plan du Marino Sanudo de la Bodléienne d'Oxford, la vue d'Acre tracée en 1686 et en 1799, un plan-clé qui permet au visiteur de fixer autant que possible la situation des édifices médiévaux sur le réseau des rues actuelles. Sans parler des dessins de sceaux et de monnaies anciennes, il est juste de mentionner deux belles vues panoramiques de la ville actuelle, les photographies de la tour médiévale dite Bordj es-Sultân et des substructions ogivales de l'Hôpital. La seconde édition, revue par M. Johns apporte quelques précisions de plus sur la distribution des bâtiments des Hospitaliers et la marche du mur médiéval au nord. Elle met l'onomastique actuelle au courant des améliorations modernes. Ce guide forme en somme une monographie très pratique même pour ceux qui, sans venir en Orient, désirent avoir une idée aussi détaillée que précise de la ville si fameuse en Occident sous le nom de "Saint-Jean d'Acre".

F.-M. ABEL, O.P.

Bedouin Love, Law and Legend. By ARIF EL ARIF. Cosmos Publishing Co., Jerusalem, 1944. 625 mils; with map, 750 mils.

In his foreword to this book General Sir Thomas Blamey writes, "ARIF EL ARIF, a gentleman of great cultural attainments, knows these people through and through. This record of his observations and experiences, gathered in long and intimate association with them, will fascinate all who know the brown downlands leading East and South into the desert from Gaza to Beersheba, Amman and Akaba." The book scarcely does justice to Arif Bey's unrivalled knowledge of his subject. The serious student of Arab life is left with a feeling that the author could have written a work of twice the length and interest — something to compare with MURRAY's *Sons of Ishmael* — while the somewhat stilted style of Mr. HAROLD W. TILLEY's translation is insufficiently light to attract the general reader. But the work deserves the attention of all those who may come into contact with the Bedu, and the author's advice on page 127 might well serve as a guiding principle to all British administrators, soldiers

and departmental officials who find themselves working with these fascinating people. "The Arab likes to make himself heard," he writes, "and he likes to be listened to. You hurt him by cutting him short, even though you concede the request he wishes to make. Indeed he would rather be heard to the last syllable of his utterance and lose his case than be told he had won his case before he had stated it."

The Bedu of Beersheba Sub-District present the interesting picture of a people changing from the nomadic to the sedentary way of life, from the way of pastorals to the livelihood of farmers. The Sa'idiyeen and the Aheiwat who roam the Wadi Araba between the frontiers of Palestine, Transjordan and Sinai are still in the completely nomadic stage; the Tarabeen, the Tayaha and the Azazma are beginning to turn their activities with increasing interest to agriculture; the Jubarat and the Hanajreh have already become practically a settled farming community. In the last fifteen years Government has done much to encourage interest in agriculture, an agricultural officer—a Bedawi himself—is posted to the Sub-District, and an experimental dry-farming scheme was established in Beersheba in 1940. Tractor plowing, new seed strains and improved methods have been met with the enthusiastic interest of Sheikhs and tribesmen. In the areas where the rainfall seldom ensures even the most meagre harvest more frequently than one year in seven, Government has given the tribes considerable financial assistance in well-digging and other schemes of water conservation. But, as ARIF Bey points out, the possibilities of improving other than the surface water supplies are remote, deep-bore experiments having revealed either uneconomically small quantities or salt water only. The dream of the "Negeb" as an area of potentially wide and fertile settlement is without substance.

The Chapter on the Ills of the Flesh would have been of greater interest if ARIF Bey had recorded the scientific names of the herbs and grasses employed as cures; and the use of Arabic script throughout the book, together with the transliteration of words, names and phrases, would have been more satisfactory to the reader with a knowledge of Arabic.

There are a number of misprints and Messrs. Cosmos have produced a poor binding, even considering war-time restrictions. It is unfortunate that the map, for which an extra 125 mils is charged, should show neither the whole of the Sub-District of Beersheba nor the tribal nor sub-tribal boundaries.

G. W. BELL

WELLCOME-MARSTON ARCHEAOLOGICAL RESEARCH
EXPEDITION

Publication of the excavations conducted by the Late Mr. J.L. STARKEY at Lachish (Tell ed-Duweir), Palestine, between the years 1932 and 1938 is now being resumed.

In order to compile a full bibliography, the editor would be glad to know of all articles and other published references to the archaeological and linguistic material from the site, particularly those in foreign publications. Copies or extracts would be gratefully received wherever possible, or a full reference and short summary of the contents. They should be sent to the Expedition, Institute of Archaeology, Inner Circle, Regents Park, London, N.W. 1., England.

NOTE TO MEMBERS

The appearance of the present number has been delayed by changes in the Editorship and the need to secure funds sufficient to meet the greatly increased costs of production.

At the meeting of the Board of Directors on January 2, 1947, it was decided to appoint Messrs. Universitas, Booksellers, 7 Princess Mary Avenue, Jerusalem, sole distributors of the Journal. Requests for subscriptions, or individual current or back numbers, should, therefore, be addressed in future to Messrs. Universitas. It is hoped in this way to secure a more efficient and regular distribution of the Journal. At the same time it was decided that the Society which has not increased the price of the member's subscription or of the Journal, could no longer afford to sell back numbers at a reduced price. These will henceforth, therefore, be charged for at the full rate. Prospects of reprinting the out-of-print numbers are not bright at the moment, but the question is being kept under consideration by the Board.

The President, elected in 1941 for the duration of the War, placed his resignation in the hands of the Board at the above meeting. The Board requested him to remain in office until October 1947, when a new Board would be elected, to which he agreed.

With very great regret the Board has accepted the resignation, owing to ill health, of Dr. CANAAN from the post of Treasurer of the Society, which post or that of Secretary, and for some time both together, he has filled with such energy and enthusiasm since the Society's inception. He has also held the office of President. They have asked him, and he has agreed, to remain a member of the Board.

Dr. GLUECK generously offered to lend the facilities of the American School of Oriental Research and the services of its able Secretary, Mrs. I. POMMERANTZ, for carrying on the work of the Society and becoming in fact the Society's headquarters, as it has long been unofficially. This offer was gratefully accepted by the Board, with a vote of thanks to Dr. GLUECK and the Trustees of the American Schools.

Articles and reviews intended for the Journal, as well as other correspondence, should therefore be addressed henceforward to: The Secretary, Palestine Oriental Society, c/o American School of Research, Jerusalem, Palestine, who would also be most grateful if Members would return duplicates or odd numbers of the Journal which they have and do not need.

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