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EXCAVATIONS AT SAMARIA.

Frontispiece.

THE LATEST LIGHT
ON
BIBLE LANDS

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TO THE MEMORY OF MY DEEPLY LAMENTED FATHER,
ROBERT HANDCOCK,
I RESPECTFULLY DEDICATE THIS VOLUME.

[PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE GENERAL LITERATURE
COMMITTEE]

P R E F A C E

THE writer's object in preparing this book has been to give, in a single volume, a concise account of the excavations and discoveries made in Babylonia, Assyria, Egypt, Syria, and Palestine, in so far as they throw light on the pages of the Old Testament, and to enable the reader to form some estimate of the inferences which may be legitimately drawn from them. Their great value and importance is matter of common knowledge; but there has undoubtedly been a tendency in some quarters to base upon the inscriptions inferences and theories which they do not support, and to draw far-reaching conclusions for which there is no justification.

It has been the writer's endeavour to allow the facts, as far as possible, to speak for themselves; he has thus, as a rule, merely pointed out such inferences as follow from them directly, without either entering upon the discussion of controverted points, or adopting theories which are too conjectural to merit serious consideration. He has only from time to time, where it appeared to be necessary, allowed himself to criticize briefly theories, or conclusions, which have lately been put forward, but which appear to him to rest upon insufficient data.

He desires to record his obligations to the Trustees of the British Museum for kindly allowing him to reproduce many of the monuments and inscriptions in their charge, and to Dr. E. A. Wallis Budge, the keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum, who has encouraged the work throughout.

He is indebted to the Palestine Exploration Fund, the Egypt Exploration Fund, the *Harvard Theological Journal*, the University of Chicago Press, the *Deutscher Orient-Gesellschaft*, Mr. John Murray, and Mr. Mansell, for kindly permitting him to reproduce photographs in their possession.

It would be impossible here to enumerate the scholars to whose works the writer has been indebted in the preparation of this work; but the footnotes (necessarily few) give some indication as to the authorities consulted. He desires, however, to take this opportunity of acknowledging his obligations to the great pioneering work of Dr. C. J. Ball, *Light from the East*, which contains a vast amount of information derived from Egyptian, Babylonian, and Assyrian sources, together with a large number of original translations; and also to the standard works of Professor Maspero (i. *The Dawn of Civilization*, ii. *Struggle of the Nations*, iii. *The Passing of the Empires*), to which the writer is indebted both for much information, and also for a considerable number of illustrations.

In order to render the book more complete, two appendices are added, one giving a brief account of the North Phœnician Inscriptions, the other a summary account of the civilization of the Hittites in the light of recent research and excavations. In regard to the preparation of the latter, the writer desires to thank Mr. D. G. Hogarth, the Director of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and a leading authority on Hittite civilization, as well as an excavator in Hittite lands, for supplying him with information from time to time and offering him useful suggestions. At the end of the book there is an index of Old Testament Place-names, with references to the passages in which they occur, and mention of the modern sites which correspond to them, when the identification is either (*a*) certain, or (*b*) probable, or (*c*) doubtful, or merely possible.

Last, and most of all, the writer desires to acknowledge his great indebtedness and to record his most sincere thanks, to his former teacher, Professor S. R. Driver, who, in the midst of all his work, has found time to read the whole of this book in either MS. or proof, and to give him frequently, especially in the Index of Place-names, assistance and advice, to which the writer will largely attribute any measure of success which this volume may meet.

P. S. P. H.

July, 1913.

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ERRATUM

On p. 43, *read* "the mountains of Ararat" *for* "Mount Ararat."

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THE LATEST LIGHT

ON

BIBLE LANDS

CHAPTER I

BABYLONIA, THE NATIVE LAND OF ABRAHAM

THE excavations in Mesopotamia have a threefold interest to the student of the Old Testament : first, because Mesopotamia was the traditional home of Abraham, the father of the Hebrew race ; secondly, because Canaan was for centuries a dependency of Babylonia ; and thirdly, because the peoples of both Israel and Judah were in later days carried thither into captivity. But before proceeding to discuss the yieldings of Babylonian and Assyrian excavations, and the light which they throw upon the history and religion of the Hebrews, it is well that we should have a clear idea of the country in which the civilization to which the Hebrews were the destined heirs, was born, and where it was developed. Mesopotamia, as its name discloses ("between the rivers"), is the country lying between the rivers Tigris and Euphrates ; thus the physical characteristics of the two countries which were the centres of the earliest known civilizations in the world—the

Egyptian and the Babylonian—were in this respect similar. Both civilizations arose in river valleys—a circumstance which became a determining factor not only in the political history of both peoples, but also in the history of their religious beliefs and their theological conceptions. In both countries the rivers were not merely the chief means of transit and the highway of commerce, but they were the stay and staff of life, for the fertility of Egypt and Babylonia was attributable to their respective rivers, in a two-fold sense: first, as being the sole means of irrigation in these more or less rainless countries; and secondly, as the means of dispersing, at the time of the yearly inundation, the rich mud brought down from the upper reaches of the rivers over the parched and barren land.

But Babylonia not merely owed her productivity to the Tigris and Euphrates, but even her very existence to them, for the Babylonian plain was the outcome of a gradual process of physical development by which the land was yearly augmented at the expense of the sea. This change was effected by the silt brought down by the two rivers and deposited at the mouth of the Persian Gulf, which thus receded before the advance of its conquering assailant. The rate of progress at which the land had thus been annually encroaching upon the sea, may be correctly gauged for the last two thousand years or so, thanks to our knowledge of the fact that the town of Spasinus Chorax, the modern Mohammerah founded by Alexander the Great, lay, at the time of its foundation, upon the shores of the Persian Gulf. To-day it is situated some forty-seven miles inland—in short, during the past 2200 odd years, the

land has reclaimed some forty-seven miles from the sea's domain, and has accordingly gained, on an average, about 115 feet yearly; whether at an earlier period the rate of progress was the same we cannot tell, but at all events we know that the Persian Gulf in olden times penetrated at least as far inland as the city of Babylon, where sea-shells have actually been found, and doubtless a good deal further. However that may be, it is clear that at one time the sites of the earliest centres of Sumerian civilization located in Southern Mesopotamia were covered by the sea.

Northern Mesopotamia, or Assyria, was colonized by Babylonia at a comparatively late period in the history of the country. The precise, or even the relatively approximate date at which this colonization took place, is unknown, but the date of Irishum, one of the earliest recorded Kings of Assyria,* may be roughly fixed at about 2000 B.C. Now, we should naturally expect a country exhibiting such physical characteristics as have been briefly described, to be a marshy country, and such Babylonia essentially is: Babylonia, therefore, like Egypt, required man's co-operation to render it habitable, and it was human effort alone that could convert it from a malarious swamp into a veritable "Garden of Eden." †

A question that has been often asked and variously answered is whether the Sumerians, the first civilized

* The recent German excavations at *Ḳalat Sherḳât*, the ancient Ashur, have brought to light the remains of earlier rulers, of whom Ushpia and Kikia, Adasi and Bêl-bani would appear to be the most prominent, though the names of the former rather suggest that they were foreign conquerors. (Cf. Pinches, *P.S.B.A.*, xxxii. p. 42; Johns, *Ancient Assyria*, p. 35.)

† "Edin" is the ordinary Sumerian name for "plain."

inhabitants of Babylonia, were children of the "plain" itself, or whether they migrated from some other land. Some light is thrown upon this problem by the language and writing of this early people: in Sumerian the same ideograph or hieroglyph bears two distinct meanings*—the one "land" and the other "mountain," from which we may infer that originally the two were practically synonymous to the Sumerian; in other words, that his native land was a mountainous country; and if this be the case, we can hardly be wrong in assigning their home to the mountainous districts of Elam, on the east of the river Tigris; and in corroboration of this theory, it is worthy of note that both the Sumerians and also the dwellers on the other side of the Tigris spoke agglutinative † languages, which is some indication of the existence of a relationship between the Sumerians and the inhabitants of Elam in the remote past.

But before the Sumerians descended from their mountain home into the Babylonian plain, they must have already advanced comparatively high in the scale of primitive civilization, for without a considerable knowledge of the principles of irrigation-engineering it would have been practically impossible to settle in Babylonia's marshy plain at all; it would have certainly been impossible to cultivate its soil. It

* Cf. Sayce, *Archæology of Cuneiform Inscriptions*, p. 74.

† Agglutination, as opposed to inflexion, is "the combination of simple or root words into compound terms without material change or loss of meaning." The words "are formed of several elements, adhering, agglutinated together, of which one only possesses its own peculiar value, the others being coupled with it to define it, and having an entirely relative signification." These affixes when placed before the root are called "prefixes"; when placed after the root, they are called "suffixes."

is, indeed, true that other seemingly contradictory linguistic evidence may be cited in favour of the theory that the original home of the Sumerians is to be sought in the whereabouts of the Persian Gulf; and in support of the same, the veneration accorded to the Fish-god Ea of Eridu, from the earliest times, may be adduced as cumulative evidence; but, on the whole, the mountain theory has, so far as our present knowledge goes, the greater degree of probability.

It was, moreover, these Sumerians who founded the earliest centres of civilization in the Euphrates Valley; and it was they who invented the highly elaborated pictorial script, the cursive forms of which are known as "cuneiform," so called from the Latin *cuneus*, a "wedge," the characters being formed by a series of combinations of wedge-shaped signs. Their wedge-shaped formation was due to the impossibility of drawing the curves and lines necessary for the production of pictures, on so plastic a substance as moist clay, the material which in later days was used for all ordinary writing purposes. Fortunately, however, sufficient has come down to us to establish the pictographic origin of the later cuneiform beyond dispute, apart from the general truism that all alphabets and all modes of writing find their ultimate parents in pictures, which first of all represented simply the objects depicted, and then ideas connected directly or indirectly with these objects.

The accompanying illustrations (taken from Barton's admirable article on Sumerian pictography in Harper's Memorial Volumes, for the permission to reproduce which I am indebted to the kindness of the University of Chicago Press) show the process by which the early picture-characters deteriorated

into cursive cuneiform. The hieroglyph in the left-hand column gives us the earliest form of the sign as yet discovered, the right-hand column presenting us with the various forms the sign has assumed on the different bricks and monuments, arranged in order of evolution, so to speak, while the last sign in this column gives us the ordinary cursive Assyrian ideograph.

In Fig. 1 "A" the first hieroglyph is clearly that of a fish, the series of signs in the centre illustrating the manner in which the original picture-character gradually discarded the marks of its pictorial origin, until it finally becomes stereotyped into the regular cursive ideograph, the principal value of which is a "fish," and also "to peel," from preparing a fish for food. The second hieroglyph ("B") also represents a fish, but a fish provided with a dorsal fin, indicative of its strength; again its course of development is clear, the chief significations of the Assyrian ideograph being "monster," "fat" or "large."

In "C" we have the wavy lines for water, which is similarly represented in both Chinese and Egyptian hieroglyphics. In "D" we apparently have a representation of the little irrigated ditches by which Babylonian gardens were watered; hence the cuneiform ideogram derives the meaning "field," and stands for two distinct Assyrian words—"iḫlu" and "ginu," both of which mean "field." Below ("E") we have a hieroglyph of somewhat doubtful origin; some scholars regard it as a leathern bottle, which would readily account for the signification of the derived ideogram—"desert"; Barton, however, regards it as a rude outline of the Euphrates valley, with its two rivers and its "occasional sections of

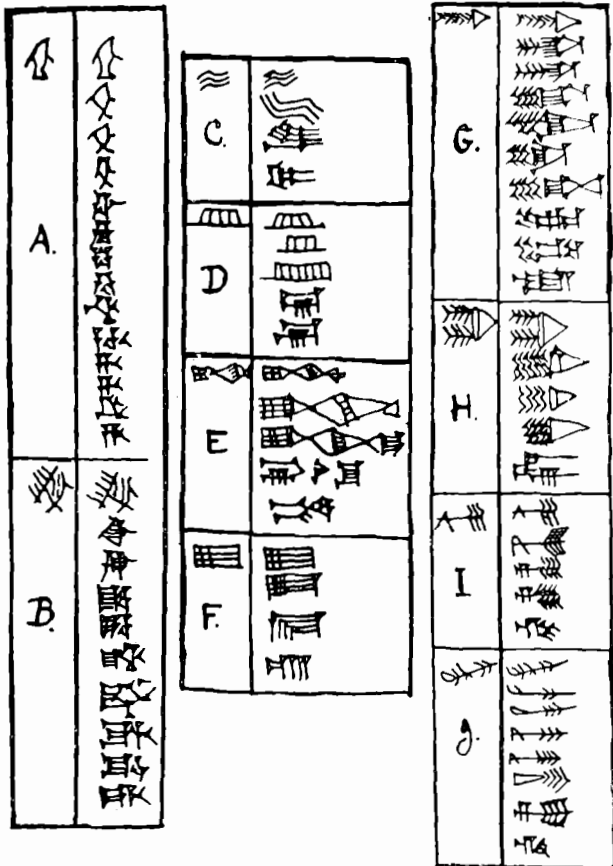


FIG. 1.—Pictographs.

irrigated and so fertile land," indicated by the cross-lines, and he says with some plausibility that this would account for the meanings "plain" and "lands," and by an extension "desert," "elevated country," and, lastly, "back." In "F" we are probably to see the picture of a house, for the later cursive cuneiform sign derived from it is the normal Assyrian ideogram for "bitu" ("house"). "Bitu" is the Assyrian variation of the Hebrew "Beth," which occurs in the proper names Bethlehem, "house of bread," Bethshemesh, "house of the sun," etc. In "G" there is a representation of a potted plant; this sign, instead of becoming simpler as it makes each progressive step towards cuneiform, paradoxically becomes more complex, until it at last subsides and assumes its late cursive form, the principal ideographic value of which is a "cypress-tree." Below ("H") we have two plants in a pot; the course of its development is again obvious, the meanings of the later cuneiform sign being "plant" and "garment"; this latter meaning is probably attached to the sign through the use of flax as a material for clothing. "I" is apparently a picture of a tree growing by water; the derived Assyrian ideograph has numerous values, but none of them suggest any immediate connection with the signification of the pictograph to which it owes its origin. "J" gives us a picture of a reed, the late cuneiform character being the ideogram for "ḫanu," a "reed." In Fig. 2 "K" we have the rough outline of a man in a recumbent posture, and one can follow its course of development from the various forms it has assumed on monuments and tablets arranged in order of evolutionary sequence. Apart from these signs of the transition period, it would be

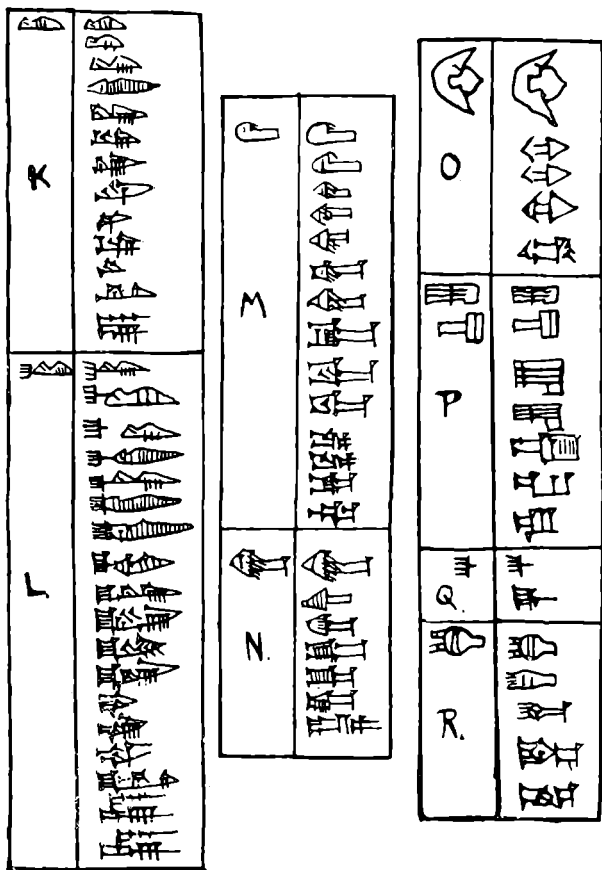


FIG. 2.—Pictographs.

quite impossible to conjecture that the late Assyrian ideogram (= "amclu," a "man") actually originated in the picture of a man. Below ("L") we have the hieroglyph for "king," consisting of a man lying down, surmounted by either a crown, or else an umbrella, as a part of the insignia of royalty.

In "M" we have a sketch of a man's head, the head being recumbent and the lips represented by two short lines; its deterioration into cursive cuneiform is again apparent, the late Assyrian ideograph bearing the meaning "mouth." The hieroglyph below, "N," is also a picture of a man's head, though in this case the man wears a beard represented by six slanting lines; the original signification of the pictograph was probably a "full-grown man," hence the meaning of the Assyrian ideograph derived from it is "strength."

In "O" we have a representation of a covered and probably steaming pot; hence are derived the meanings of the cursive cuneiform sign—to "burst forth," "exult," "rejoice." "P" would appear to be a priestly vestment, inasmuch as the signification of the derived Assyrian ideogram is *šangu*, a "priest." "Q" is a rude picture of either a crown or a ceremonial umbrella, as the emblem of greatness, the picture of an Assyrian king attended by a slave with an umbrella being sufficiently familiar from its frequent occurrence on the later wall bas-reliefs. However that may be, the derived Assyrian sign is the normal ideogram for *rabu* (the root which occurs in Rabsaris, Rabshakeh, etc.), which means great. We have already seen this sign compounded with the picture of a man ("L"), the two together representing a "king." Lastly, in "R" we have a picture

of a bowl in which two tinder-sticks have been inserted, in order to ignite them by friction, from which is derived the meaning attaching to the cuneiform sign developed from it—"fire."

But at the time of Khammurabi, in the twentieth century B.C., the Babylonian script had long since lost its pictorial character if it had not already donned the



FIG. 3.—Brick of Ur-Engur. *Photo, Mansell.*

clothes of full-fledged cuneiform. The writing of what may be called the transition period, the period during which the old Sumerian picture-writing was deteriorating into the later cursive script, is well illustrated on the bricks of Ur-Engur, King of Ur, about 2400 or so B.C., of which a specimen is seen in Fig. 3. It will at once be observed that the original pictorial character of the signs is in most cases non-existent,

or at least if it may be said to exist at all, is far from being transparently obvious: two signs, however, are deserving of note, one of which occupies the first position in the top line, and is the picture of an irregularly formed star. This sign is the Sumerian ideograph or hieroglyph for "god," from which it may be inferred that the earliest Sumerian conception of deity was intimately associated with the starry heights above us, a characteristic feature of many primitive religions and theologies. The second sign of special interest occupies the first place in the top line of the second column, and is, as we have already had occasion to observe, the ideograph for king.

But the decipherers of the cuneiform inscriptions had no pictures even of the most emaciated character to guide them in their herculean task. The inscriptions which yielded their hidden secrets to Rawlinson, Hincks, Norris, and other scholars, were the trilingual inscriptions of the Achæmenian Kings of Persia, the most famous of which was that engraved by order of Darius on the rock at Behistun (cf. Fig. 4).

As in the case of the Egyptian hieroglyphs, it was the proper names that gave the clue which was so brilliantly followed up by European savants and which ultimately led to the decipherment of Persian, Median and Assyrian cuneiform. The inscriptions of these Achæmenian kings were written in these three languages arranged in parallel columns: the column which first received attention as appearing less formidable than the others by reason of the comparatively small number of varieties of signs contained therein, turned out to be the Persian. In this column it was observed that certain groups of signs recurred

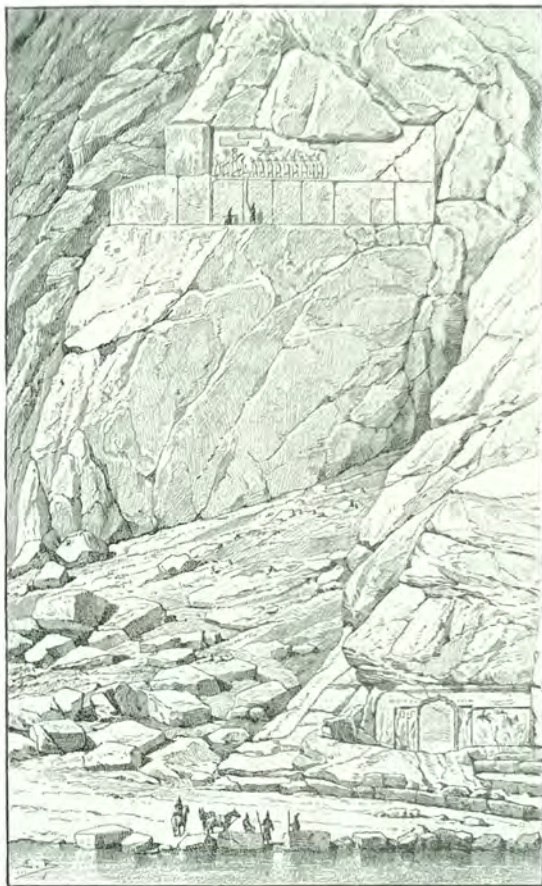


FIG. 4.—Rocks of Behistun.

at intervals throughout the inscription without variation, and this fact led to the correct assumption that these unvarying combinations were probably the names of kings.

Fortunately the Achæmenian dynasty was but a short one, and it only remained to ascertain the early classical forms of these kings' names, and then test the theory by seeing if the number of letters in these kings' names corresponded with the number of signs in the unvarying groups, for it had already been rightly guessed that the script in question, containing apparently but few signs compared with the other two scripts, must be alphabetic. By this means the Persian cuneiform equivalents for some of the letters of the alphabet were discovered, and wherever else these same signs occurred, their alphabetic values were substituted, the reconstruction of the old Persian language itself being greatly facilitated by the discovery early in the last century of the cognate Zend language (the language in which the Avesta, the Bible and prayer-book of the later Zoroastrian faith, was written; this faith was probably held by the early Achæmenian kings of Persia).

In the other two parallel versions of the inscription, it was a comparatively easy task to identify the proper names, recurring as they did at about the same intervals as in the Persian column, and thus the values of some of the Assyrian syllabic characters were ascertained, while the Hebrew language itself proved of the utmost importance in the process of unravelling the mysteries of this dead language of bygone days. The cuneiform script had a strange and varied history extending over thousands of years and being used for quite a host of languages;

it owed its existence to the absence of stone and the abundance of clay in the Babylonian plain, and the consequent employment of the latter for writing purposes, though the clay-born wedges were in later times faithfully reproduced on slabs and monuments of stone, so strong is the influence exerted by habit on the Oriental mind. We have already seen that the script was merely a cursive development of the early picture-characters of the Sumerians, though of course the actual wedge-shaped formation of each sign was simply due to the use of clay.

As to the racial parentage of these Sumerians, the pioneers of Mesopotamian civilization, little can positively be stated, suffice it to say that their language was agglutinative and not inflexional, and therefore neither Aryan like our own, nor Semitic like Hebrew, but at least in this respect akin to some of the Mongolian languages ; while certain scholars (notably Dr. C. J. Ball) have seen a resemblance between the Sumerian pictographs and the Chinese hieroglyphs, and have endeavoured to trace a connection between some Sumerian roots and certain Chinese words. The Sumerian writing was moreover ideographic in character—*i.e.* each sign originally represented an object or an idea. The process by which an ideographic system may pass into one that is syllabic is comparatively easy to follow. Thus, a picture of an arm would at first only represent an arm, but it would soon become the symbol of strength and power. At this stage the ideogram is still only associated with one general idea, but the variations in the verbal expressions of that fundamental idea might be very numerous, and therefore the phonetic values of the sign would be

equally numerous. Finally, when the sign ceased to bear even the faintest resemblance to the original picture, it would retain the phonetic values simply as phonetic values. For example, a character with the *meaning*, and therefore in this connection with the *phonetic value* of the word "win," would subsequently come to represent the syllable "win" quite apart from the root meaning of the word "win," thus the sign might be used to represent the first syllable in the word *win-ter*. Assyrian (Babylonian differs only dialectically from Assyrian) is mainly syllabic, though it contains a large number of ideograms as well. The same character is often used ideographically to represent an object or an idea, and also syllabically, the same sign frequently representing several syllables. The Hebrew language is closely allied to Assyrian, but the writing is, of course, alphabetic. The one great fact to be borne in mind, however, is that neither the Semitic Babylonians nor the Hebrews were the originators of Mesopotamian civilization, but both merely entered into the labours of their Sumerian predecessors. But let us inquire what the excavations themselves have to tell us regarding the physical characteristics of the Sumerians, their general type of face as well as the shape and form of their heads. Very early sculptures might here be reproduced to illustrate the salient features of the first civilized inhabitants of Babylonia, but it will perhaps be more in keeping with the object of this volume to confine ourselves to an examination of those monuments which, if they do not actually belong to the period of Biblical history, at least may be assigned to a date not far removed from the era of Khammurabi (= "Amraphel" of Gen. xiv. (?) cf. p. 53).

In Fig. 5 we have the head of no less a personage than Gudea, patesi or priest-king of Lagash, who reigned about 2450 B.C., and therefore some four or five centuries before Khammurabi's time. The head itself is thickset and heavy in style, while the large nose and dilated nostrils, as also the almond-shaped eyes (an especially Sumerian characteristic) and the thick lips are very noticeable features. His head, strange to say, was



FIG. 5.—Gudea (head).

unearthed before the body to which it belonged ; as the head bears no inscription, it was not known to whom it belonged until the recovery of the body in subsequent excavations, furnished the necessary information. Several statues of Gudea were recovered from the ruined mounds of Tellô (the site of ancient Lagash), in some of which the patesi is standing, while in others he is seated (cf. Figs. 6, 7). Gudea's attitude in Fig. 7 is that of a worshipper

awaiting the orders of his god, just as David is said to have gone in and "sat before the Lord" (2 Sam. vii. 18), the clasped hands being a further token of submissiveness. The head and statues reproduced



FIG. 6.—Gudea (standing statue).

are made of the same material, a hard stone of volcanic origin usually called diorite. The employment of these hard stones, as contrasted with the use of the softer alabaster and limestone in Assyria, is a characteristically Babylonian feature.

Gudea seems to have been a great builder, though the remains of his building operations are not so extensive as was at first supposed; on the discovery of a large edifice at Lagash containing a number of bricks bearing the name of Gudea, it was rashly assumed that the building in question was erected by that famous ruler of antiquity; but

a more careful examination has definitely proved that the building in question must be dated some two thousand years later, and is, in fact, of Parthian origin, the bricks of Gudea being merely re-used

by the later builders : parts, however, of the ancient building of Gudea were actually incorporated into the Parthian structure, the most important, perhaps



FIG. 7.—Gudea (seated statue).

of which, is the doorway of Gudea's palace. But although the tangible evidences of Gudea's building activity are not as extensive as was once thought, they are nevertheless sufficient to bear out the truth

of his own statements as recorded on the monuments, bricks, and statues. From these we learn that he scoured the remote as well as the neighbouring districts in search of material for his buildings, and specifically for the temple E-ninnû, obtaining wood, of which the most important kinds seem to have



FIG. 8.—Gate-socket of Gudea.

been cedar and "urkari-nnu," and various species of stone, including marble, from the mountains of Arabia and Syria, while he procured copper from the land of Elam on the east of the Tigris. The reason for going so far afield for wood and stone was an all-compelling one, namely, the absence of stone or timber suitable for building purposes in the low-lying Babylonian plain. But what could only be obtained at an infinitude of cost and labour, was not unnaturally valued accordingly; and the Baby-

lonian showed the value which he set upon stone by chiselling an inscription on objects made of that material, even upon such prosaic objects as gate-sockets, one of which bearing an inscription of Gudea is seen in Fig. 8. Having made these few preliminary observations we are better able to discuss the results of the excavations themselves and their

bearing on the political and religious history of the Hebrews.

Of vast importance have been the monuments, the stelæ, and the bas-reliefs disinterred by Botta, Layard, and others, to the student of Mesopotamian archæology; but perhaps of even greater importance have been the comparatively insignificant clay tablets to the student of ancient religions. Some of these clay tablets contain the Babylonian accounts of the creation, others their traditions concerning the deluge, while yet others detail the incidents of the life of Gilgamesh, the hero of Babylonian folk-lore, whose history presents parallels to many ideas expressed or implied in the Old Testament.

Before the excavations had restored to us the original account of the Babylonian creation-legends, we already knew something of their cosmological conceptions from the history of Berosus, a Babylonian priest in the third or fourth century B.C. Unfortunately the history of Berosus itself, extending as it did over the whole period of life, beginning with the creation of the world and reaching down to his own time, has been lost; but parts of it, including the creation story, are preserved in the works of later writers, and notably Eusebius. But, thanks to the late George Smith, we are in possession of the Babylonian accounts themselves, or Assyrian copies of the Babylonian accounts, written in cuneiform and inscribed on clay tablets. For the most part, the later account of Berosus agrees with the original, but as the latter is obviously of far greater importance, it would perhaps be somewhat superfluous in this connection to discuss the story recorded by Berosus, or to examine the points of divergence between the two accounts.

Both the Hebrew and Babylonian cosmologies take us back to the time when the earth was not and the heaven was not, when there were no plants, and all was a primæval and chaotic mass of water. According to the Babylonians this wild ocean-deep was ruled over by or personified in two deities, Apsû and his wife Tiâmat, Apsû representing the male and Tiâmat the female principle in the universe. Tiâmat is the Babylonian form of Te'hôm, the word used for the "deep" in Genesis, the final "t" being merely the ordinary feminine termination. These two primæval deities had two children whom they called Lakhmu and Lakhamu, and they had two grandchildren, An-shar and Ki-shar, the first halves of whose two names are the ordinary Sumerian words for heaven and earth, An-shar and Ki-shar thus representing all things celestial and all things terrestrial. An-shar and Ki-shar in turn produced the three famous gods, Anu, Enlil, and Ea.

Now, while the newly created gods stood forth as the champions of order and system in the universe, Apsû and Tiâmat continued in confusion and disorder, hating what they called the "new way" of the gods, and they determined to suppress the progressive era which the gods had thus been the means of ushering in. They accordingly plotted a rebellion, with the help of their servant Mummu; but the god Ea frustrated their designs, and compassed the overthrow of both Apsû and Mummu. Tiâmat, however, succeeded in eluding the enemy, her success possibly being attributable to her sex, and at the instigation of a certain god named Kingu, she resolved to avenge their fate. To carry her purpose into good effect, she created a brood of hideous monsters, whom she

placed under the command of Kingu. The second tablet records how that Ea, apprised of this new rebellion, at once conveyed the evil news to his father An-shar, who prevailed upon the god Anu to go forth and meet Tiâmat; but at the sight of Tiâmat and her monsters, his courage failed him, and he beat a speedy retreat. An-shar next approached the god Marduk (the Merodach found in the Biblical proper names, Merodach, Merodach-baladan, and Evil-Merodach), and the latter agreed to fight Tiâmat and her brood on one condition, and that was, that he should be elected champion of the gods.

The third tablet records the meeting of the gods in their council-chamber, Upshukkinaku, where they had a right regal feast, at the conclusion of which they elected Marduk as their champion. The fourth tablet is mainly concerned with a description of the battle fought between Marduk as the representative of law and order, and Tiâmat as the incarnation of confusion and chaos, and the complete triumph of the former. Marduk went forth in his four-horsed chariot, with the winds in his wake and armed with a mighty spear (cf. Fig. 9). He spread out his net we are told, to catch her, he drove the winds down her throat, he seized the spear and drove it into her vitals, and last of all, as a grand finale, he split her in half like a flat fish, and from one half of this divided monster of disorder he formed the firmament above, while from the other half he fashioned the earth beneath.

Thus did method and system ultimately overcome the passive, or perhaps we should say the active, resistance of inert matter. The fifth tablet

treats of the creation of the stars and the establishing of the year of twelve months, as also of the



FIG. 9.—Marduk and Tiamat.

appointment of the moon to regulate the days. In the sixth tablet the work of creation reaches its

destined goal in the appearance of man, whom Marduk formed from his own body ; at the latter's request another god, Ea, severed Marduk's head, and from the blood which flowed and from bone he made man ; thus was man not merely fashioned after the image and likeness of God, he was literally "bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh ;" Marduk, furthermore, did not merely travail to bring forth this his perfected work, he sacrificed himself to the uttermost, man's creation actually involving the sacrifice of the deity, although, as a god, he was of course immune from death itself.

The seventh tablet contains the hymn of the gods composed in honour of Marduk and in praise of his wonderful work of creation. It will be seen at once that the story is incomplete, giving no account of the creation of the animals, and affording no information concerning the origin of the vegetable world. This is at once explained by the fact that only about one-half of the story has come down to us, the tablets having been the ill-used victims of time, climate, and other detrimental influences, but from what remains of it we see at once that it is of composite origin, for only upon this hypothesis can we adequately explain the introduction of Apsû and Mummu by the side of Tiâmat, and moreover the priestly redactors of the ancient tradition had clearly one end in view, and that was the glorification of Marduk, their god.

But although the Marduk creation story briefly recorded above, is the best-preserved and the most complete that has come down to us, there is positive evidence of the existence of other legends in which other gods play the *rôle* of Marduk, and

notably the god Ea of Eridu, the god of the deep, who was represented in the form of a fish. The attribution of the creation of the world to Ea, the god of the deep, was singularly apt, and in entire accordance with the tradition that the world was itself evolved from the primæval deep, whilst the latter tradition, recorded alike in the Old Testament and in the clay tablets of Mesopotamia, finds its natural origin in the observed facts of physical science, Babylonia herself having literally and truly emerged out of the sea.

But the progressive drama of Babylonia's conquest over the waters of the Persian Gulf was reproduced yearly in a somewhat different manner, and on a smaller scale at the time of the annual inundation: then, too, did the gods of order ultimately vanquish the desolating forces of disorder, and the land emerge once more triumphant out of the chaos of the overflowing waters.

The similarity, if not the actual identity of the material setting, of both the Hebrew and Babylonian cosmologies is sufficiently obvious, and sufficiently natural, but the corresponding dissimilarity in the theological conceptions of which both stories are the expression calls for an explanation. Both peoples inherited the same traditions, for both were children of the same country as well as being racially akin, and also the co-heirs of the same civilization, and accordingly any ideas or beliefs which were solely the outcome of natural considerations would inevitably be more or less the same among both nations, but upon what hypothesis are we to explain the extraordinary points of difference in these two accounts of the creation of the world? On the one

hand we have one God who pre-exists all things, who is over all, and in whom all things live and move and have their being, as well as their ultimate explanation; while on the other hand we are confronted with a host of gods, mostly at variance with each other, and one and all evolved from or, in the case of Apsû and Tiâmat, identified with the same watery chaos from which the earth itself was created and made, and while we may well admit our inability to account for these differences, we cannot fail to appreciate their significance.



Photo, Mansell.

FIG. 10.—Cylinder-seal of "Fall."

Among other Biblical stories which have their counterparts in Babylonia and Assyria, we may possibly include the Old Testament account of Man's Fall. In Fig. 10 we have a reproduction of an impression from an old Babylonian cylinder-seal, which we must probably assign to about the time of Khammurabi. Two beings, apparently divine, are here portrayed, seated on either side of a sacred tree, and a serpent erect behind one of them. It is quite true that the similarity between the pictorial representation here and the word-picture in Genesis may be purely a coincidence, but

the existence of cognate creation-myths, deluge-stories, and other early traditions among both peoples would be fully in accordance with, if it did



FIG. 11.—Winged genius.

not actually lead us to expect, a Babylonian counterpart of the story of the Fall, though the divine character of the figures here is difficult to explain.

The sacred tree, here depicted, was a very popular object of veneration among the Babylonians and Assyrians; they did not confine themselves to engraving it upon their cylinder-seals, but they also sculptured it on the walls of their palaces: it is usually the object of the immediate attention of two winged beings of composite character standing on either side, though it seems probable that the two figures are but a duplicated representation of one and the same individual. Sometimes these weird creatures are merely human beings provided with wings (cf. Fig. 11), reminding us of the cherubim placed "to guard the way to the Tree of Life" after man's expulsion from the Garden of Eden; sometimes, on the other hand, the bird-element attains greater prominence, the human head being exchanged for that of an eagle, as seen in Fig. 12.

These eagle-headed monsters at once recall the visions of the prophet Ezekiel, in which that prophet beheld winged cherubim, every one of which, we are told, had four faces, the first being the face of a cherub, the second the face of a man, the third the face of a lion, and the fourth the face of an eagle. Inasmuch as the material basis and setting of dreams is always to be found in the scenes and objects with which we are familiar in our waking moments, however distorted they may be, it would be no unnatural query to ask the "why" and the "wherefore" of the abnormal forms assumed by the beings of Ezekiel's visions; but a recollection of the fact that Ezekiel was the prophet of the Exile, that he prophesied from Babylonia, and therefore was probably quite familiar with these composite creatures so characteristic of Mesopotamian

art, affords us an immediate explanation of what would otherwise be rather paradoxical, to say the least. The lessons which through the medium of these materialized visions he learnt himself, and



FIG. 12.—Eagle-headed monster.

in turn transmitted to his own and to all future generations, were obviously not dependent on the framework or mirror through which these lessons were

conveyed to his mind, but it is only the framework with which we are here concerned.

The *rôle* which these composite creatures were destined to play, and the vocation in life to which they were called, would appear to be that of guardianship, though it would perhaps be hazardous to say how far they fulfilled their duty in this respect: similarly the functions which the cherubim in Genesis were called upon to perform were those of guardianship—they were placed at the east of the Garden of Eden, together with a flaming sword which turned every way, "to keep the way to the Tree of Life."

Sometimes these mythical beings are rendered yet more composite in character, assuming the form of gigantic winged human-headed bulls or lions, as seen in Fig. 13; thus here, to the wisdom, sagacity, and intelligence of the man, and the power of flight of the bird, emblematic of swiftness of perception, we have added the strength of the bull, ever the type alike of fertility and strength among the peoples of antiquity. These gigantic bulls, some of which weighed as much as fifty tons, and made from a solid block of stone, were placed on either side of the portals of the king's palace with a view to deterring the advance of subterranean demons. It required three hundred of Sir Henry Layard's men to move one of these colossal animals, and it must have required at least as many to drag it originally from the quarry to the palace of Sargon, at Nimrûd (the ancient Calah). But the skill required for effecting the transit of these gigantic bulls is as nothing compared with the mechanical knowledge involved in their exact adjustment on either side of the palace gates.

It will be seen from the figure, that these bulls,



FIG. 13.—Winged bull.

Photo, Mansell.

strange to say, are provided with five legs ; this,

however, is not an intentional idiosyncrasy on the part of the artist, it is merely a clever artifice to avoid an inevitable drawback, from an artistic point of view, necessitated by the material with which he had to deal. It will be observed that the legs are not strictly carved in the round, but are raised in high relief from the massive block out of which the bull itself is formed; it is thus solid throughout, its solidity rendering it imperfect to the artistic eye, for the four legs of a living bull can generally be all seen together when viewed from the side; accordingly the sculptor has devised a very clever contrivance whereby he has, in a great measure, surmounted the difficulty; he has provided the bull with a fifth leg, the result of which is that the bull now appears perfectly natural from both points of view. Looked at in front, the bull's two fore-legs are seen planted firmly on the ground in a stationary attitude, while viewed from the side, the bull is walking along in a perfectly natural manner.

Our subject now takes us away from the sculptor and his extraordinary works of art to the no less wonderful work of the engraver. We have already had occasion to examine one early Babylonian cylinder-seal upon which the apparent counterpart to the Biblical "story of the Fall" was seen portrayed, and there are other Babylonian and Assyrian seals upon which are depicted figures and scenes recalling, in one way or another, passages in the Old Testament. The seals of the Babylonians took the form of small cylinders, through which a wire was passed, the seal being slung round the neck by means of a string attached to the wire.

Herodotus tells us that in his day every Babylonian

wore a seal, and, though doubtless this is an exaggerated statement, without doubt they were exceedingly common, for thousands of them have been found in the ruined mounds. The seals themselves are often made of the hardest stones, such as marble, jasper, onyx, rock-crystal, hæmatite, and steatite. The engraving itself was done with the help of a graving instrument, probably made of metal, while the deeper incisions were made by means of a drill. The seal in its simplest form merely bore the figure of its owner, his name, and sometimes that of his father, but later on, the Babylonians, being an exceedingly religious people, acquired the habit of portraying their favourite gods on their seals, and finally the whole of the field of the cylinder was occupied with gods, mythical beings with horns and tails, and the like.

The interest of these cylinders for our immediate purpose lies in the fact that they present us with scenes from the earliest known Babylonian stories and legends, and as these so often resemble ideas and traditions recorded in the Hebrew Scriptures, they deserve some attention. The most famous of these stories centre round the person of Gilgamesh, the hero of Babylonian folklore, whose gigantic strength and colossal feats won for him a reputation similar to that enjoyed by Samson among the Hebrews, and Hercules among the Greeks and Romans; his career was briefly set forth in a number of clay tablets, of which fragments have come down to us.

From these we learn that Gilgamesh went forth to besiege the city of Erech (cf. Gen. x. 10); the city apparently held out three years, but was ulti-

mately captured, whereupon Gilgamesh established himself as king over the people of Erech. But his rule was severely harsh, and the people appealed to their goddess Aruru to rid them of the tyrant. Aruru responded to their appeal and promised to help them, and with a view to doing so she created a strange being, half man and half beast, furnished with long hair like that of a woman, and resembling the corn-god. The name of this composite monster was Eabani. Gilgamesh was naturally much alarmed when he heard of the creation of this formidable adversary, and cast about for a way of escape: to engage in mortal combat could only prove mortal to himself, but he bethought him of a plan which proved entirely successful. He sought out a beautiful woman named Ukhat, whom he sent in company with Saidu, the huntsman, to Eabani in order to lure him back to Erech and there make friends with him. The ruse succeeded admirably, and Eabani being delighted with the charms of Ukhat followed that lady in a short time back to Erech, where Gilgamesh received him, and the two heroes became bosom friends. Soon after this friendship had been cemented, Gilgamesh and Eabani set out together to besiege Khumbaba, the King of Elam, in his castle: either alone would have been formidable, but the two together were, of course, irresistible, and consequently the castle was taken, and Khumbaba was slain.

Full of their recent triumph, the two friends returned to Erech, but soon after, Gilgamesh committed a grave indiscretion in regard to no less a person than that of Ishtar (cf. Fig. 14), the Ashtoreth of the Bible, and the goddess of love and war. Ishtar had

proposed to Gilgamesh, who had most ungallantly declined her hand. The goddess speedily reported the matter to her father, Anu, who determined to avenge



FIG. 14.—Ishtar as a warrior-goddess.

the insult to which his daughter had been subjected, and accordingly created a mighty bull called Alu, to destroy Gilgamesh. The two friends went out to



FIG. 15.—Gilgamesh and Eabani fighting with monsters.

fight the bull, and after a fierce battle they conquered and slew him. We have a picture of Gilgamesh and Eabani fighting with monsters engraved on a cylinder-

seal and reproduced in Fig. 15. On other cylinder-seals, an enlargement of the finest of which is reproduced in Fig. 16, we see Gilgamesh struggling with a lion. The extraordinary detail with which the artist has here treated his subject, and the vitality and



FIG. 16.—Gilgamesh wrestling with a lion.

vigour of his production, may well command our unstinted admiration.

The conquest of the bull had in the meanwhile left Ishtar's insult still unavenged, and, added to this, at the banquet held in honour of the victory over Alu, Eabani had foolishly threatened to serve Ishtar as he had served the bull, and as a result

Ishtar, by some means unknown, brought about the death of Eabani. Gilgamesh was heart-broken at the loss of his friend, but his great anxiety was lest a like fate should befall himself, and, in the hope of finding some means of escape, he determined to seek out his ancestor, Sit-napishtim, who had attained the gift of immortality in bygone days. That night he had a dream, in which the Moon-god appeared to him, and revealed to him part of the way to the "Mountain of Sunset," and with the help of this partial information, Gilgamesh set out on his quest for immortality.

On his arrival at the Mountain of Sunset, he found the gates guarded by a Scorpion-man and his



FIG. 17.—"Scorpion-men."

wife (cf. Fig. 17), but after a good deal of discussion, he was allowed to pass on his way. For twenty-four hours he marched through thick darkness, until at last he arrived at the sea-coast, and on the sea-coast

there were trees from which hung—not fruit, but precious stones. But so intent was Gilgamesh on his quest for immortality, that he disregarded the precious stones, and went straight to the palace of the Princess Sabitu, who was not at first disposed to grant him an audience, but was at last prevailed upon to do so. When he at length gained her presence, she inquired his mission, in response to which Gilgamesh told her of the sad fate of his friend Eabani, and of his anxiety to find his ancestor, Šit-napishtim, and thus avoid a similar fate himself. But Sabitu was not encouraging; she told him of the perils of a voyage such as he desired to undertake, and informed him that, moreover, there was only one person in the world who could help him, and that was Arad-Ea, the sailor.

Gilgamesh accordingly wended his way to Arad-Ea's abode, and asked him whether he would convey



FIG. 18.—Gilgamesh and Arad-Ea in their vessel.

him in his boat over the waters of death; to this Arad-Ea assented on the condition that Gilgamesh went into the forest, cut down a tree, and fashioned a new steering-pole therefrom. Gilgamesh quickly fulfilled this condition, and the two embarked in Arad-Ea's

boat upon the perilous journey of which Sabitu had already told Gilgamesh much (cf. Fig. 18); whether her description was surpassed by the reality itself or not, we cannot say, but everything has its appointed end, and even this never-to-be-forgotten voyage at last came to an end.

As the boat drew near the shore, *Šit-napishtim* and his wife hastened down to inquire who the new arrivals were, and what was the object of their journey: Gilgamesh told his story, and concluded by asking *Šit-napishtim* to convey to him the secret of immortality's priceless gift. *Šit-napishtim's* reply, alike graphic in its conciseness and tragic in its import, was to the effect that "as long as houses are built, and as long as brethren quarrel, and as long as the waters of the river flow into the sea, so long shall death come to every man," whereupon Gilgamesh inquired how *Šit-napishtim* had thus alone been enabled to overcome the law of universal death, in reply to which question *Šit-napishtim* proceeded to tell him the story of the Flood.

When *Šit-napishtim* was on earth, he dwelt in a certain city on the Euphrates called *Shuruppak* (the modern *Fâra*), the ruined mounds of which city were excavated some time ago by the German excavators, *Koldewey*, *Andrae*, and *Noeldeke*. The excavations conducted on this ancient site have yielded a rich harvest of material for the reconstruction of the early history of the Sumerians. The buildings unearthed would all appear to date from the pre-Sargonic period, but it is the graves that have proved of the greatest value to the archæologist. From the disposition of these, we now know that in the earliest times the corpses were contracted as in

ancient Egypt, and were sometimes placed in clay coffins, sometimes merely enveloped in matting made from reeds. But as in Egypt, the body of the deceased was apparently destined to live again in some form or another, at least that seems to be the *raison*



FIG. 19.—One of the tablets of the Deluge series.

d'être of the drinking-cups placed in the right hand of the corpse, as also indeed of the other articles buried in the graves, such as the weapons, tools and ornaments of the deceased.

To return to Šit-napishtim's story: during his sojourn at Shuruppak, the god Enlil, more commonly

though erroneously known as Bel ("Bel" is simply an epithet, the meaning of which is "lord," the equivalent to the Hebrew "Baal"), determined to destroy mankind from off the face of the earth by means of a flood, the reason for which was to be found in the corruption and wickedness to which man had sunk, as is the case in the Biblical story of the Deluge.*

But the god Ea, whose central sanctuary was at the time-honoured city of Eridu in Southern Babylonia, resolved to save his protégé Šit-napishtim from the approaching catastrophe; he accordingly bade Šit-napishtim construct a boat or an ark, 120 cubits wide, and furnish it with a deck-house 120 cubits high, composed of 6 storeys, each storey containing 9 rooms, the whole to be coated on the outside with bitumen, and on the inside with pitch, and to embark his family, his cattle, and all his belongings, and thereby find a means of escape from the threatening danger. Šit-napishtim hearkened unto the god's directions and built his boat, just as did his counterpart Noah, and he, his wife, his family, his cattle, and

* Last year in vol. v. fasc. 1. of the "Babylonian Expedition, Series D," Prof. H. V. Hilprecht published a fragment from Nippur containing thirteen lines, of which eleven are legible though mutilated, under the heading: "The earliest version of the Babylonian Deluge Story," but however early may be the original from which it was doubtless copied, the tablet itself is not of an early date, for the writing is late Babylonian and belongs to the Cassite period. This new fragment was thought to throw fresh light on the Biblical account, and to contain an allusion to the introduction of pairs of animals into the ark by Noah, but though "beasts of the field (and) birds of the heaven" are mentioned in line 11, and "the habitation of a number" (?) occurs at the end of line 12, there is nothing in the text about pairs of animals entering the ark, and its importance from the Biblical standpoint has certainly been over-rated (cf. Prince, *A. J. S. L.*, July, 1910; Barton, *J. A. O. S.*, 1911, pt. 1; *Exp. Times*, xxi. p. 504).

all his belongings entered into the divinely ordered bark, the steersmanship of which was entrusted to one Puzur-Amurru (cf. Fig. 20).

The same night the floods descended, and the tempest raged without cessation for some six days, until the summits of the mountains were finally hidden from view; but on the seventh day the waters abated, all mankind having been blotted out from off the face of the earth, with the exception of Šit-napishtim and his companions. At length



FIG. 20.—Šit-napishtim in his ark.

the ark rested on a certain mountain called Nišir, just as Noah's ark is stated to have alighted on Mount Ararat. Seven days later Šit-napishtim sent forth a dove, just as Noah did, to see whether the waters had sufficiently subsided for him to disembark on to dry land, but the dove could find no rest for the sole of her foot and so returned to the ark; some days later he sent forth a swallow—it will be remembered that there is no mention of a swallow in the Biblical story—but the swallow in like manner returned; last of all, like Noah, he despatched a raven, but though the latter returned and croaked

round the ark, she did not re-enter it, from which Sit-napishtim inferred that he could leave the boat.



FIG. 21.—Ararat.

On disembarking, his first thought was to offer up sacrifice to his gods upon the mountain, in the

same way as Noah is said to have "built an altar unto the Lord," and to have "offered burnt offerings on the altar." Šit-napishtim's sacrifice was evidently peculiarly savoury and luscious, for we are told that "the gods came down to smell the sacrifice like flies," a description which in its materialism contrasts somewhat strikingly with the dignified words of the Biblical writer: "And the Lord smelled a sweet savour" (Gen. vii. 21). But the god Enlil, contrary to Jehovah—who is in Genesis similarly represented as the author of the deluge—was infuriated at the escape of Šit-napishtim and his companions. However, being ultimately mollified by the god Ea, he permitted the fortunate survivors to live, and not only so, but afterwards himself bestowed upon Šit-napishtim the gift of immortality.

During the recital of Šit-napishtim's brief autobiography, Gilgamesh lay sick in his boat by the water's edge, and on the seventh day a heavy sleep overcame him, during which Šit-napishtim's wife prepared magic food, with which she fed the luckless hero while he slept. On his return to consciousness, Šit-napishtim bade Arad-Ea take Gilgamesh to a certain fountain, in the healing waters of which he was to wash him, but before they set out, Šit-napishtim told Gilgamesh of a certain plant which had the properties requisite for prolonging life. Gilgamesh and his comrade succeeded in finding the plant, and were returning with it in their possession, but by the way, they grew thirsty, and stooped down to drink of a brook, and while they were drinking, a demon, in the form of a serpent, came behind them, and snatched the plant out of their grasp, and

Gilgamesh's chance of everlasting life, relative or actual, as the case may be, was thus gone for ever.

We see here the gift of life associated with a plant or tree, reminding us of the "Tree of Life" in the Garden of Eden, while in both stories, the evil genius that thus deprived man of the immortal boon, is imaged in the form of a serpent. Gilgamesh was cruelly disappointed, and returned to Erech, where he spent the rest of his life mourning for his old friend Eabani. And he conceived a violent longing to have another glimpse of his departed comrade, and accordingly besought the gods to gratify his desire, by bringing up Eabani from the Halls of Hades. But they one and all refused, until at last he came to Nergal, the god of the dead, who finally acceded to his request. We are told that Nergal opened the ground and "caused the spirit of Eabani to come forth like wind," reminding us of the necromancing witch of Endor's reply to Saul's interrogation, "What seest thou?"—"I see gods—or Elohim (the word being used generally for God in the Old Testament, but denoting here spirit-beings)—arising out of the earth." When Gilgamesh was thus confronted with the shade of his lamented friend, he asked him for information regarding the character of the nether world and of the life after death, but Eabani, anxious not to sadden the heart of Gilgamesh, endeavoured to dissuade him from his question; Gilgamesh, however, persisted, and so at length Eabani told him that it was a land where the worm devours and where all is cloaked in dust—"Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return" (Gen. iii. 19). The story of Gilgamesh thus furnishes many close parallels to

ideas, conceptions and metaphors contained in the Old Testament.



FIG. 22.—The temple at Ur (Mükyyer).

Having briefly considered the light thrown by the excavations upon the earlier chapters in the

Book of Genesis, we naturally turn to what may be called the historic period of Old Testament literature, the time of Khammurabi, probably the Amraphel of the Book of Genesis, and in that case the first Biblical character to be actually identified on the monuments. Abraham himself is said to have come from Ur of the Chaldees, which is probably to be identified with Mukeyyer, the ruins of which are to be seen in Fig. 22. The mound was excavated by J. E. Taylor in 1854, and was found to contain the remains of the ancient temple of the Moon-god, in the four corners of which were found four baked clay cylinders, from which we learn that Ur-Engur (King of Ur, *i.e.* c. 2400 B.C. (?)), one of whose bricks we have already had occasion to notice, founded the temple, that his son Dungi subsequently repaired it, and that Nabonidus, the last King of Babylon (555-538 B.C.), rebuilt it about two thousand years later. These cylinders are of supreme interest to the Biblical student, not only from an historical but also from a religious point of view ; but we must postpone the consideration of their contents till we come to treat of that period in a later chapter.

NOTE.—For a full and detailed treatise on the relationship of the ancient Sumerian writing and language to those of the Chinese, reference must be made to the Rev. Dr. C. J. Ball's forthcoming work, *Chinese and Sumerian* (now in the press). This work is the first attempt to deal with the subject exhaustively, and is the result of many years' labour and research.

CHAPTER II

THE HEBREWS BEFORE THE EXODUS

THE antiquity of Ur (Mukeyyer) has been shown by the inscriptions yielded by the excavations of the French at Tello (Lagash) and the Americans at Nippur, two of the earliest centres of civilization in the Euphratean valley. Thus, for example, Lugal-zaggisi and Lugal-kigubnidudu, two early kings who probably lived before the time of Ur-Ninâ (*i.e.* well before 3000 B.C.), the founder of the First Dynasty of Lagash, and therefore over a thousand years before the time of Khammurabi (Amraphel), Abraham's traditional contemporary, style themselves "Kings of Ur." At a somewhat later date Akurgal, the son and immediate successor of Ur-Ninâ on the throne of Lagash, records that he destroyed the city of Ur.

Unfortunately, the ruined mound of Mukeyyer has not received as much attention at the hands of excavators as the Biblical student could wish, and we are almost entirely dependent on the statements of the early explorers, Taylor and Loftus, and on the inscriptions discovered elsewhere, for information regarding the history of this famous city of antiquity.

It is, of course, impossible to assert definitely the identity of the Ur represented by the ruined mounds at Mukeyyer with the Ur where Abraham is supposed

to have lived, and whence he is said to have subsequently migrated. The fact that Haran and Ur were both centres of the worship of Sin, or Nannaru, the Moon-god, suggests that Abraham's settlement at Haran, instead of elsewhere, may have been determined by religious considerations, for though Abraham is never represented as an idolater, it is distinctly stated that his father, Terah, worshipped other gods when on the other side of the river (Josh. xxiv. 2). But, in any case, the journey from "Ur of the Chaldees"—in whatever part of "Chaldæa" the Ur in question was situated—to Haran in the north must have been sufficiently long, for Haran is about 420 miles from Babylon, while it is approximately 560 miles from Ur (Mukeyyer). Haran apparently derives its name from the Babylonian *kharranu*, which signifies a "road," and doubtless owes the origin of its name to the fact that it lay at the junction of several main roads.*

Of the early history of Haran we know comparatively little, but from the probable Babylonian origin of its name we may perhaps infer that it was founded by the Babylonians at an early date, and doubtless it acknowledged Babylonian suzerainty at the time of Abraham's migration thither.

During their sojourn at Haran, Terah died at the mythical age of 205. Abraham himself was seventy-five years old when he left Haran, in obedience to the Divine commands, and in reliance on the Divine promises (Gen. xii. 1). Very little detail is given as to the route followed by Abraham in his journey to and through the land of Canaan. Shechem, the

* Cf. Pinches, *The Old Testament in the Light of the Historical Records of Assyria and Babylonia* (3rd ed.), p. 200.

terebinth of Moreh, and a mountain on the east of Bethel are mentioned in connection with his migration southwards, but otherwise nothing is known as to the course pursued by the Hebrew pilgrims. Soon after Abraham's arrival in the promised land he was compelled to flee to Egypt by reason of the famine. On his return to Canaan he severed himself from his nephew, and settled at Hebron.

Hebron apparently included Mamre, for we read that Abraham "came and dwelt by the terebinths of Mamre, which is in Hebron" (Gen. xiii. 18) (Fig. 23). The city is said to have been built seven years before Zoan (Tanis), in Egypt (Num. xiii. 22).

With regard to the name itself, its signification would appear to be "association," or "confederation" (so the *Oxford Hebrew Lexicon*, p. 289). It has been suggested by some scholars, including Professor Sayce,* that the place called "Khabiri-Ki," in the Tell el-Amarna Letters is none other than the Biblical Hebron, and the occurrence of the name "Khibur" in the geographical lists of Rameses III. from two to three centuries later (*i.e.* about 1200 B.C.) has been cited in support of this theory, but this identification is purely conjectural.

There is, however, little doubt that the "Khabiri" —the accepted meaning of which is "confederates" —and "Hebron" (= "confederation") are both derived from the same Semitic root, and this fact militates strongly against, if it does not conclusively disprove the theory which identifies the "Khabiri" with the "Hebrews" † (cf. further, p. 80).

This city is the scene of many events recorded in

* *Expository Times*, vol. xviii. p. 418.

† Cf. Pinches, *The Old Testament* (3rd ed.), p. 538.

the Old Testament. It was from here that Abraham went to rescue Lot; it was here that his name was

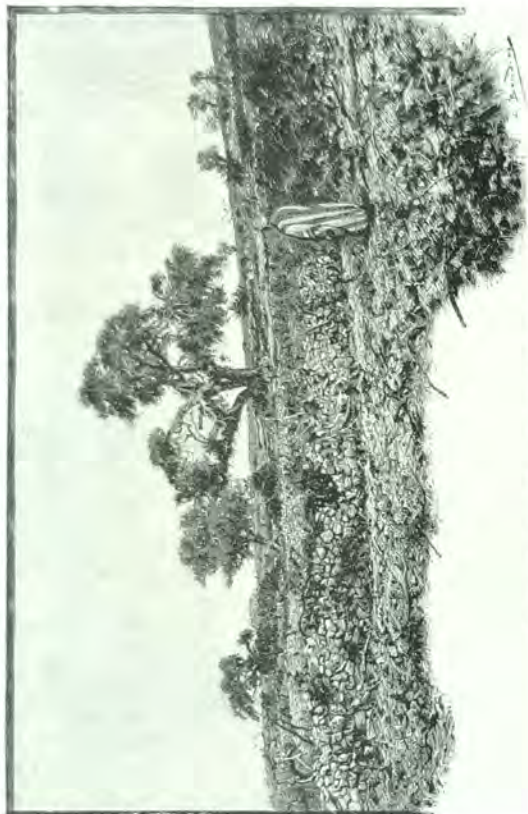


FIG. 23.—The traditional oak of Abraham at Hebron.

changed from Abram to Abraham, which the writer clearly regards as a sign of Divine favour (Gen. xvii.

5). The name *Abram* may either mean "the father is exalted" or "Ram (= Ramman?) is father." Analogies may be cited for either theory; in support of the former one might compare *Fehoram* (= "Jah is exalted") for the latter *Abijah* (= "Jah is father"). Linguistically, *Abraham* and *Abram* are probably only dialectical variations. At Hebron the same patriarch entertained angels unawares (Gen. xviii. 2); and it was here that he buried his wife Sarah, while it was from this same place that Jacob despatched Joseph to look for his brethren. In the time of Joshua, Hebron was occupied by the warlike Anakim, to whom the foundation of the city is also apparently attributed (Josh. xv. 13); and its earlier name is said to have been Kiriath-arba' (*i.e.* City of four).

It was after the separation of the two kinsmen that we read of "Amraphel, King of Shinar, Arioch, King of Ellasar, Chedorlaomer, King of Elam, and Tidal, King of nations," waging war against "Bera, King of Sodom, and Birsha, King of Gomorrah, Shinab, King of Admah, and Shemeber, King of Zeboiim, and the King of Bela, which is Zoar" (Gen. xiv. 1, 2). The most interesting of the kings here mentioned, whose identification has been established with any degree of certainty, is "Amraphel, King of Shinar," who is in all probability Khammurabi, King of Babylon.

The correct form of this king's name would appear to be Am-mu-ra-pi-ih,* of which the first part is the name of a God, and the whole possibly signifies "Ammu is the healer."

Khammurabi was the sixth king of the first

* Cf. Ungnad, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 1909, pp. 7-13; and Prince, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1910, pp. 21-23.



FIG. 24.—The seal of Sargon of Akkad.



FIG. 25.—Bas-relief of Narām-Sin.

dynasty of the city of Babylon, and reigned in the early part of the second millennium B.C. There had, indeed, been Semitic kings in Babylonia long before the time of Khammurabi and his predecessors on the



FIG. 26.—Narâm-Sin's stele of victory.

throne of Babylon, of whom the most noteworthy were Sargon and his son Narâm-Sin, kings of Agade, but there had apparently been no kings enthroned at the city of Babylon before the time of

Sumu-abu, the founder of the dynasty of which Khammurabi was the most illustrious member. In regard to the other names mentioned in Gen. xiv. 1, Chedorlaomer has not been certainly found on the monuments, but it is a genuine Elamite formation (probably = "servant of Lagamar"), and there is no reason why it should not be found in the future. It has been conjectured (cf. Langdon, *Expositor*, August, 1910, p. 132 f.) that Chedorlaomer is identical with Kudur-Mabug, governor of Emutbal in Elam, and of the "Martu" or "West-land" (a term generally applied to Syria and Palestine, but here possibly used to describe the country to the west of Emutbal). "Mabug" might be another name of the deity Lagamar, but at present there is no evidence of the fact.

Arioch is possibly to be identified with Arad-Sin,* the son of Kudur-Mabug, whose name in Sumerian might well be "Eri-Aku." As to "Tidal, King of nations," his identity is as yet purely a matter of conjecture. Some tablets published by Pinches,† of late date, but incorporating probably older traditions, speak of an invasion of Babylonia by "Umman Manda" under a presumably Elamite king called *Ku-dur-lakli(?) - gamal*, who has been supposed (though some Assyriologists doubt this) to be identical with Chedorlaomer, and if this supposition is correct, it is possible that the "nations" here mentioned are the Umman Manda, and that Tidal was their leader. But all this is at present purely conjectural.

* See the authorities cited by Driver (*Genesis* (edd. 7, 8), pp. xxxi.-xxxiii.).

† Pinches, *The Old Testament*, p. 222 f.; cf. Driver, *Genesis*, pp. 156-8, 172 f.

Gen. xxiii. speaks of Abraham as purchasing the cave of Machpelah from Hittites settled in Hebron. There is at present no clear independent evidence of a Hittite settlement in Southern Palestine at this time. Sayce* indeed claims that at the commencement of the twelfth Egyptian dynasty there is evidence of their being established there. He bases his claim on his reading of a stele in the Louvre inscribed for a certain Egyptian noble named Nessumontu, and dated in the twenty-fourth year of Amenemhât I. (*circa*. 2000 B.C. (?)). After stating that he has defeated "the Asiatic Troglodytes, the Sand-dwellers" (according to Breasted's translation †), he proceeds, "I overthrew the stronghold of Ht^c." The determinative attached to the name is not that of "country," but of "going," *i.e.* two legs. ‡

Chiefly on this ground Breasted repudiates Sayce's reading "Kheta" (*i.e.* Hittites (?)) for the Ht^c, and argues that it must be some rare verb of "going," and might thus be provisionally rendered "nomads." In 1908 § Sayce still maintains his former position, and explains the enigmatic determinative as a mistake on the part of the scribe who supposed the Ht^c to be connected with some otherwise unknown word signifying "to go."

But however that may be, the most tangible piece of evidence for the early presence of the Hittites in Southern Palestine is afforded by the painted Hittite pottery discovered in the earlier strata at Gezer and Lachish. Breasted, indeed, while admitting that the

* On the question of the presence of the Hittites in South Canaan, cf. Driver, *Genesis*, pp. 228-230.

† *Biblical World*, 1905, p. 130.

‡ Breasted, *A. J. S. L.*, 1905, p. 157.

§ Cf. Sayce, *Archæology of the Cuneiform Inscriptions*, p. 206.

pottery in question is Hittite, maintains that the only certain inference that can be made from the pottery is that the Hittites traded directly or indirectly with the South Palestinians.

The chief positive argument against the early settlement of Hittites in the south is that the information regarding the Hittites in the Tell el-Amarna Letters of the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty conflicts with such a theory. The Khatti are here located in the distant north, though they are represented as gradually wresting the towns of Northern Syria from the hand of the Pharaoh, while a hundred years earlier,* when Thothmes III. was campaigning in Northern Syria, he apparently had no encounter with the Hittites, though they sent him presents, presumably from a distance. If, therefore, they had not pushed southward into Northern Syria by the time of Thothmes III. of the eighteenth dynasty, how could they have effected a settlement in Southern Palestine by the twelfth dynasty? As Breasted says, if the Hittites had really established themselves in the south as early as the twelfth dynasty, they must have merged with the Canaanite population, and the influx of Hittites of the Tell el-Amarna period be due to a second Hittite expansion. Breasted does not commit himself to this theory, but it seems to offer the best explanation of the known facts. For though it is true that Hittite pottery in Southern Palestine at an early period may simply have arrived there as an article of trade, and preceded by centuries the actual southward advance of the Hittites themselves, at the same time *ceteris paribus*, it seems more natural to regard the pottery as evidence of the

* Cf. Breasted, *A. J. S. L.*, 1905, 153.

presence of Hittites, not necessarily many, but at all events some.

Under the early kings of the first dynasty of Babylon, the Elamites had invaded Southern Babylonia, and possibly this invasion was the immediate cause of Terah's migration northwards. At the time of Khammurabi, Kudur-Mabug was the governor of Emutbal, while his son, Rîm-Sin, ruled over Larsa and Ur. Chedorlaomer, whether identical (?) with Kudur-Mabug, or his overlord, might thus not unnaturally oblige Amraphel (Khammurabi) to accompany him to battle (Gen. xiv. 1, 2). During the latter part of his reign, however, Khammurabi threw off the Elamite yoke, and also defeated Rîm-Sin* (who succeeded his brother Arad-Sin as ruler over Larsa), and established his supremacy over Babylonia as well as over the land of Amurru (*i.e.* Canaan).

But Khammurabi's claim to immortality rests rather on his famous compilation of Babylonian law than on his foreign conquests, great as they were.

The Khammurabi code is the most ancient legal code as yet known. The basalt stele (cf. Fig. 27) on which it is inscribed was discovered by M. De Morgan at Susa, where it had been taken by the Elamites as a trophy. A relief is sculptured on the upper part of the stele, in which Khammurabi is portrayed in the act of receiving the laws from Shamash the Sun-god. The text commences with a recitation of the various benefits conferred by Khammurabi on the temples and cities in Mesopotamia, after which preliminary the two hundred and

* Rîm-Sin does not, however, appear to have been entirely overthrown by him. Cf. Ungnad, *Z. Assyrol.* *NIL.*, 1909, pp. 73 ff. His complete reduction was only accomplished by Samsu-iluna, the successor of Khammurabi.



Photo, Mansell.

FIG. 27.—Upper part of the stele engraved with the text of Hammurabi's code of laws.

eighty-two laws of the code are set forth, while the text concludes with an invocation of blessings upon the heads of those who observe the laws herein contained and of curses upon those who neglect to do so.

The dependence of the Mosaic code upon the earlier code of Khammurabi is an oft-debated question which has had no definite answer.* On the one hand, there are marked points of similarity between the two codes; on the other hand, there are equally noticeable points of difference. Were the latter confined to questions which would only demand solution in Babylonia, on the one hand, or in Canaan on the other, it might be well argued that such dissimilarities had no real bearing on the subject. But such is not the case. Thus, for example, the Hebrew punishment for slander (Deut. xxv. 2) is scourging, while that enacted in the Khammurabi code was branding. Again, according to Hebrew law, the number of stripes to be inflicted on a culprit was never to exceed forty, while sixty stripes are ordered in the Babylonian code for certain cases. Similarly, in regard to incest, a clause in Khammurabi's code enacts (157) that if a man has intercourse with his mother, both shall be burned, while the Mosaic law does not deal with such a case; on the other hand, the latter enacts that if a woman and her mother cohabit with the same man, both shall be burned. Further, if a man assaulted a woman with child and caused her death thereby, the Babylonian law required the death of the man's daughter. As Johns points out, this is simply the law of retaliation, though what penalty was to be exacted in the case of the man having no daughter is not specified. In

* Cf. Driver, *Exodus*, p. 424 f.; *Genesis*, pp. xxxvi., xxxvii.

the Hebrew legislation the law would appear to have covered such offences by a generalization which was free from this objection, "life for life," or "soul for soul" was the penalty, the question as to whose "life" or whose "soul" was to be forfeited being wisely left open. But in both codes the penalty for a crime of this kind was burning.

It must not, however, be supposed that entirely parallel cases are not dealt with in both codes, and also treated in much the same way. Thus in clause 155 in the Khammurabi code, it is enacted that a man who has intercourse with his daughter-in-law shall be bound or strangled,* and cast into the waters, while the penalty of death is similarly inflicted on the perpetrator of the same crime in Lev. xx. 12. Again, if a man commits immorality with his father's wife, that man, according to the Babylonian law (clause 158), is to be cut off from his father's house, while the Mosaic code likewise sentences the man guilty of this offence to death (Lev. xx. 11).

In both codes, moreover, the stranger is on an inferior legal footing to the true Babylonian or the genuine Hebrew (cf. Khammurabi code, clauses 196-201, and Lev. xxiv. 22), while some practices in connection with the administration of the law are also common to both peoples.†

The ultimate sanction of all legal decisions is vested in the deity, who works through his divinely-appointed representatives. The place where justice is administered is the gate of the city, while the necessity of obtaining the evidence of witnesses and

* Cf. C. H. W. Johns, *Hastings*, v. pp. 604, 610.

† Cf. S. A. Cooke, quoted by Johns, *Hastings*, v. p. 608.

the corresponding denunciation of false witnesses are prominent features in both Hebrew and Babylonian law.

Again, the terms of the marriage contract observed by both peoples are also parallel ; the contract is made with the girl's parents, who receive a price for their daughter's hand from her prospective husband, this purchase-price being generally handed over to the daughter in the form of a dowry, while the principles underlying legal divorce, concubinage, and other matrimonial affairs, have been shown to be the same in both cases.

We thus see that both codes are the concrete expression of the same general principles of morality, and that injustice and immorality are condemned in the same unsparing fashion in the Babylonian and Hebrew codes alike ; that in some cases the laws are practically identical and are not infrequently couched in almost the same language, but that on the other hand, each contains laws not found in the other code.

These co-existing points of similarity and divergence find their most natural explanation in the assumption that they are independent recensions of "ancient custom, deeply influenced by Babylonian law," each being modified by the peculiar requirements and habits of the people whose lives they were destined to regulate.

Of the various provisions contained only in the Babylonian code, two may be singled out as being of special interest, one of which was framed to protect a patient from being experimented on by his doctor, and the other a tenant against the consequence of bad workmanship on the part of a house-builder. If a doctor uses a lancet to remove a cataract from

a gentleman's eye, or in treatment of a severe wound, and the patient dies, or loses his eyesight, the doctor's hands were to be amputated. But if a slave died as a result of the doctor's treatment, the latter had to give a slave to the owner in his place (218, 219). Similar compensation was exacted from the doctor who treated a cow or an ass unsuccessfully. But if he cured his patient, animal or human being, as the case might be, he was entitled to an adequate fee. Again, if a man erected a house and did his work so badly that the house fell down and killed the tenant, he was put to death; if the tenant's son were killed, then the builder's son was put to death, while any damage to the tenant's property, caused in the same way, had to be made good by the builder. "An eye for an eye" and a "tooth for a tooth" is the keynote to Hebrew and Babylonian law, and this principle of retaliation is carried out with a never-failing consistency.*

After Khammurabi's time the power of Babylon began to wane, and the inhabitants of Southern Babylonia, whose territory bordered on the shores of the Persian Gulf, asserted their independence under their king, Iluma-ilu. The precise time when this *coup d'état* was made is uncertain, but Iluma-ilu is known to have waged war successfully against Samsu-iluna, the son and successor of Khammurabi. Samsu-iluna was further harrassed by the Kassites, a mountainous people, whose territory lay on the east of the Tigris, and who from time to time made raids on Babylonian territory. Samsu-iluna's followers on the throne of Babylon maintained their position,

* For a translation and discussion of the entire code, see John's very full article in *Hastings*, v. pp. 584-612.

while Ammizaduga, the fourth successor of Khammurabi, inflicted a defeat upon the Elamites; but they were unable to subjugate the people of the sea. The downfall of the dynasty was, however, brought about neither by the people of the sea nor by the Kassites, but by an invasion of Hittites, which is a significant proof of the power attained by these mountain warriors of Asia Minor, even at this early period.

Soon after this, Babylon passed into the hands of the Kassites. It is, of course, possible that the Kassites had joined the Hittites in their attack on Babylon, but this is at present purely a matter of conjecture. It is a significant fact that Egypt's domination by the foreign Hyksos kings coincided in part with the rule of the Kassites in Babylon; what therefore the Semites lost in Mesopotamia they temporarily gained in Egypt, if the theory which attributes a Semitic origin to the Hyksos be correct. The Kassite rule over Babylonia lasted some 576 years, while the duration of the Hyksos dominion was 511 years, according to the tradition perpetuated by Manetho.

The cause of Israel's migration to Egypt was scarcity of food. This is a factor which has been the main cause of migrations in all ages.

The date of Joseph's arrival in Egypt is unknown, but there is no doubt that it took place during the Hyksos period.

The Hyksos, or Shepherd-kings of Egypt, would appear to have come from Asia, and to have been Asiatic in origin, though, owing to the extreme paucity of the monuments bequeathed by them to posterity, their racial connections are still problematic,

and we can make no definite assertions in regard to their origin.

Manetho, the native Egyptian historian, who flourished in the reign of Ptolemy I. (*i.e.* c. B.C. 305-285), and wrote a history of his country in Greek, gives us some information on this point.

Unfortunately, the history itself has perished; but extracts are to be found in Josephus, and an epitome of it is given by Julius Africanus and Eusebius.

The passage referring specifically to the Hyksos is contained in Josephus' diatribe against Apion. It reads as follows: * "There was a king of ours whose name was Timaus. Under him it came to pass—I know not how—that God was averse to us, and there came, after a surprising manner, men of ignoble birth out of the eastern parts, and had boldness enough to make an expedition into our country, and with ease subdued it by force, yet without our hazarding a battle with them. So, when they had gotten those that governed us under their power, they afterwards burned down our cities, and demolished the temples of the gods, and used all the inhabitants after a most barbarous manner—nay, some they slew, and led their children and their wives into slavery. At length they made one of themselves king, whose name was Salatis; he also lived at Memphis, and made both the upper and lower regions (*i.e.* Upper and Lower Egypt) pay tribute, and left garrisons in places that were most proper for them. He chiefly aimed to secure the eastern parts, as foreseeing that the Assyrians, who had then the greatest power, would be desirous of that kingdom and invade them; and

* Budge, *History*, iii. pp. 145 ff.; Petrie, *History*, i. pp. 233 ff.

as he found in the Saite (read 'Sethroite' with Budge and Petrie) Nomos a city very proper for his purpose, and which lay upon the Bubastite channel, but with regard to a certain theologic notion was called 'Avaris' (a city close to Tanis, the ancient Zoan), this he rebuilt and made very strong by the walls he built about it, and by a most numerous garrison of two hundred and forty thousand armed men whom he put into it to keep it. Thither Salatis came in summer-time, partly to gather his corn and pay his soldiers their wages, and partly to exercise his armed men, and thereby to terrify foreigners. . . . The whole nation was styled 'Hyksos,' that is, Shepherd-kings; for the first syllable 'Hyk,' in the sacred dialect, denotes a king, as is 'Sos' a shepherd—but this according to the ordinary dialect; and of these is compounded 'Hyksos.' Some say they were Arabians. This people, who were styled 'kings' and 'shepherds' also, and their descendants, retained possession of Egypt during the period of five hundred and eleven years."

After this he says: "That the kings of Thebais and of the other parts of Egypt made an insurrection against the shepherds, and that a terrible and long war was made between them, till the shepherds were overcome by a king whose name was Misfragmouthosis, and were driven out of the other parts of Egypt, and were shut up in a place containing about ten thousand acres, called 'Avaris.'"

Manetho further says: "The shepherds built a wall round all this place, which was a large and strong wall, and this in order to keep all their possessions and their prey within a place of strength, but that Thummosis, the son of Misfragmouthosis,

endeavoured to force them by a siege, and beleaguered the place with a body of four hundred and eighty thousand men; but at the moment when he despaired of reducing them by siege they agreed to a capitulation that they should leave Egypt, and should be permitted to go out without molestation whithersoever they would; and that after this capitulation they went away with their whole families and effects, not fewer in number than two hundred and forty thousand, and took their journey from Egypt through the wilderness, for Syria. But as they stood in fear of the Assyrians, who had then the dominion over Asia, they built a city in that country which is now called Judæa, large enough to contain this great number of men, and called it Jerusalem."

Thus, according to Josephus, who professes to quote Manetho, but whose profession is called in question by some scholars, the Hyksos were shepherd-kings who came from the East, and were possibly Arabians.

There is no adequate reason for discrediting this part of the story, for it is certain that the Hyksos settlements were in the east of the Delta, which in itself argues that they came from the East, and were therefore in all probability Semites. This would accord well with the traditional exaltation of Joseph to the vizir-ship, and afford a satisfactory explanation thereof, for it is generally believed that Joseph's migration to Egypt took place during the period when the Hyksos were in command of Egypt.

But we are not entirely without contemporary evidence, for a soldier* in the native Egyptian army, which expelled the foreign Hyksos kings,

* Breasted, *History*, p. 215.

informs us that their expulsion was only effected after they had laid siege to Avaris, and that the Egyptians pursued them into Southern Palestine, and "ultimately into Phœnicia or Cœlesyria."

It will be thus seen that so far as it goes, this early contemporary evidence accords well with the account given by Josephus, and ascribed by him to Manetho.

Now, seeing that Joseph and his brethren were in Egypt during the period of the Hyksos, with whom they were probably racially connected, the expulsion of their descendants has not unnaturally been associated with the expulsion of the Hyksos at the commencement of the eighteenth dynasty.

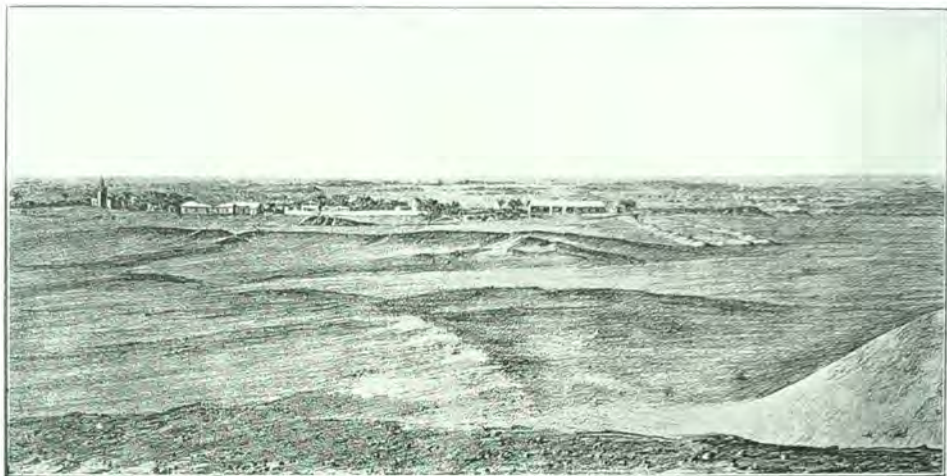
But if the Hebrews were expelled at that period, the record in Exodus regarding the bondage in Egypt, and the building of the store-cities of Rameses and Pithom, would have to be reconsidered.

It is here that Egyptian exploration comes to our aid, and throws some light upon the problems involved.

The site of the ancient store-city of Pithom is represented by the modern mound Tell el-Maskhûta.

This mound is situated in the north-east of the Delta, close to the desert. The excavation of this mound by Naville some years ago confirmed the Hebrew tradition regarding the nature of the city. The name Pithom signifies "house of Tum," just as Pharaoh (in Egyptian *Per-o*) means "the great house" (cf. Fig. 28).

In the course of his excavations on this site, Naville discovered some well-built walls from two to three yards thick, made of crude bricks cemented



By permission of the Egypt Exploration Fund.

FIG. 28.—General view of Tell el-Maskhûta (Pithom) (Naville, *The Store-city of Pithom*, Pl. 1).

together by mortar. These were found to be the walls of a number of rectangular chambers.* The



FIG. 29.—A gang of Syrian prisoners making bricks.

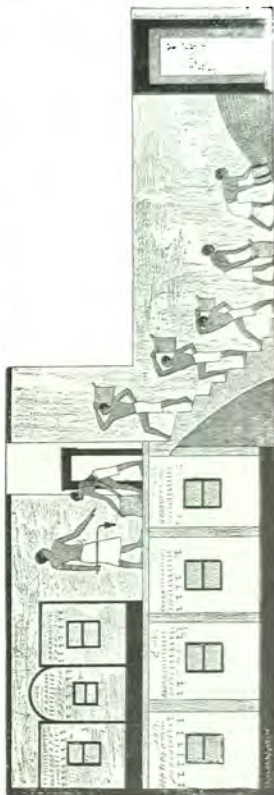


FIG. 30.—Measuring the wheat and depositing it in the granaries.

sand upon which these walls were built was four

* Cf. Naville, *The Store-city of Pithom*, pp. 9, 10.

yards beneath the surface, while at two yards from the bottom "regular holes, at corresponding distances on each side, where timber beams had been driven in,"



FIG. 31.—Coffin of Rameses II.

were discovered. These rooms, which were all disconnected, and to which access was gained only from the top, were probably used as granaries or storehouses for provisioning the armies of Rameses II. when setting out on their Asiatic campaigns.

Pithom lay close to the early settlement of Pihahiroth, and is in proximity to the modern towns of Tell el-Kabir and Kaşāşin, which mark the strategical points of first importance in the eastern Delta. There seems to be no doubt in Naville's mind that these granaries were built by Rameses II. If, therefore, the Hebrews built this store-city, as they are stated to have done in Exodus i. 11, that king was the Pharaoh of the oppression, and his successor, Menephtah, possibly the Pharaoh of the last and final exodus.

It is worthy of note that the Hebrew Pithom existed in actual fact, and furthermore that it was a store-city. These two facts alone form, where historical and archæological evidence has nothing decisive to offer, a presumptive argument in favour of the general accuracy of the Biblical story.

It will be remembered that in the initial stages of the traditional building-operations of the Hebrews at Pithom and Rameses they were provided with straw, while subsequently the Pharaoh ordered them to go



FIG. 32.—Mummy of Rameses II.

and get straw for themselves. In the lower courses of bricks straw was actually found, but in the middle rows reed or sedge had been used,* while in the

* Cf. Duncan, *The Exploration of Egypt and the Old Testament*, p. 79.

uppermost courses the straws or reeds had withered away, but the marks in the clay testified to their former presence. The absence of actual straw in the upper rows of bricks was at first regarded as a detailed confirmation of the account in Exodus, but it is nowhere stated that the Hebrews made bricks without straw; on the contrary, they were told to go off and get straw where they could, and to produce the same amount of bricks at the end of the day. Had they made their bricks simply without straw or some other binding material, how are we to account for the additional labour implied? No doubt they wandered about in search of straw, but were perhaps only able to procure the reeds found in the bricks of the middle courses at Pithom.

The other store-city, Rameses, has not at present been identified with certainty. It was at one time thought that Tanis, the ancient Zoan, represented the other site and scene of Israel's enforced bondage, but that theory has been given up in favour of one which sees the Biblical store-city of Rameses in the ruined mounds of Tell er-Retabeh.

Tell er-Retabeh lies about eight miles from Pithom, and contains the remains of a fortified camp. The origin of this ancient fortress must be assigned to a date very much earlier than any of the Rameses, for stone vases, scarabs, and other relics of the ninth to the twelfth dynasties have been discovered some twelve feet below the strata, which contain the deposits of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, while under the oldest wall there is said to have been evidence of the practice of the Syrian custom of child-sacrifice.

There is certainly no evidence of the existence of

a genuine Egyptian custom of this kind, though there is abundant proof of the prevalence of human sacrifice in Egypt from the earliest times,* the victims generally being taken from the ranks of the enemy.

As civilization advanced, we should naturally expect that a custom of such barbarity would fall into desuetude, but so far was this from being the case that we find the kings of the eighteenth dynasty—the dynasty under whose auspices Egypt attained the height of her power, both abroad in regard to her foreign relationships, and at home in regard to her internal development—expressing their savage sentiments under the same guise of religious piety. Thus Amenhetep II. hung the bodies of six of the enemy whom he had slain, opposite the pylon of the temple of Amen, presumably as a thank-offering to that god, while the records of the kings of the succeeding dynasty attest the practice of the same custom.

But the main grounds given† for the identification of Tell er-Retabeh with “Rameses” are—

(1) The Harris Papyrus refers to a city called “the house of Rameses,” and states that Rameses III. dedicated a temple there to his own honour. A temple has here been excavated which would appear to owe its origin to Rameses II., and its subsequent restoration to Rameses III., the head of whose statue was found in the ruins. The recovery of a stele from the same site bearing an inscription of Rameses II., in which that king boasts that he has built “in cities upon which his name is to eternity,” further suggested that this might be the “Rameses” of Exodus.

(2) A line of an inscription discovered here states

* Cf. Budge, *Osiris*, p. 197 ff.

† Cf. Duncan, pp. 172-175.

that "Atmu, lord of Succoth, gives him all valour and strength"—an apparent indication that "Succoth" was either another name for the town, or the name of a place or district in the vicinity; it was to this place the Israelites are said to have journeyed after their departure from Rameses (Exod. xii. 37).

(3) The inscription on a door-jamb informs us—according to Petrie's rendering—that there were store-cities here, with a favourite court official to look after them, while, according to Griffiths' translation, mention is made of a "keeper of the foreigners of Ta-nuter" (*i.e.* Syria).

All these points are fairly urged in support of the identification of the site with the "Rameses" of Exodus, but in themselves they hardly seem sufficient to prove it conclusively.

Thus, in regard to (1) the fact that Rameses states that he set his name "to eternity" on many cities, at the outset introduces an element of uncertainty as to the specific Rameses referred to. The mention of Succoth in an inscription from this "city of Rameses" is interesting when compared with its juxtaposition with Rameses in Exodus, but it is a point which hardly admits of being pressed or used as a positive argument. The door-jamb inscription certainly seems to afford evidence that this "city of Rameses" was either used as a store-city in the one case, or if we accept the other translation, that part of its population were Syrians. Either of these statements would accord sufficiently well with the tradition recorded in the Old Testament, but they can hardly be said to actually substantiate it.

Tell er-Retabeh thus may be the Rameses of Exodus, but the evidence forthcoming up to the

present is not cogent enough to justify any dogmatic assertion of their identity.

It will be seen that the evidence considered thus far does not bear one way or other on the accuracy of the Biblical account. There is, however, one outstanding factor, the significance of which has been already remarked, and that is that the tradition regarding the character of the city of Pithom, and the correct preservation of its name do not support the view that the Exodus took place about the time of the commencement of the eighteenth dynasty.

Evidence has, however, been adduced in favour of this view, and may be briefly considered.

It will be recalled that the Hebrew writer designates the King of Egypt who oppressed the children of Israel simply as "Pharaoh"; but as this title was borne by every King of Egypt, it does not enable us to identify the king in question.

The earliest mention of Israel in any inscription at present known is that found in the famous stele of Menephtah, the successor of Rameses II., the king who certainly built Pithom, and was therefore, according to the Hebrew tradition, the Pharaoh of the oppression, the next known to us being some five hundred years later, when Shalmaneser II., King of Assyria, mentions Ahab as a vassal in the opposing army of the King of Syria.

The passage in Menephtah's inscription bearing on the exodus-problem reads as follows:—* "The kings are overthrown, saying: 'Salam!' Not one holds up his head among the Nine Bows. Wasted is Tehenu (*i.e.* the Libyans); Kheta (the Hittites?) is pacified; plundered is Pekanan (*i.e.* 'the Canaan')

* Breasted, *Egypt in Ancient Records*, vol. iii. p. 263.

with every evil ; carried off is Askalon ; seized upon is Gezer ; Yenoam is made as a thing not existing ; Israel is desolated, his seed is not ; Palestine has become a widow for Egypt. All lands are united ; they are pacified, are in peace ; every one that is turbulent is bound by King Menephtah, given life



FIG. 33.—Statue of Menephtah.

like Ra, every day."

There seems to be no doubt that "Israel" is here the name of the people and not the name of a district, for it is followed by the determinative for "people," whereas Syria, Canaan, etc., are followed by the determinative for "land."

Israel is thus here represented as being already settled in Southern Palestine, and consequently it is urged that Menephtah clearly could not

have been the Pharaoh of the exodus, but that that event must have taken place at an earlier period, and is probably to be connected with the expulsion of the foreign Hyksos kings by the native kings of the eighteenth dynasty.

The adoption of this theory involves, however,

the rejection of the Biblical statements in regard to the store-cities of Rameses and Pithom, which are, as we have seen, to some extent supported by archæological evidence.

Some scholars would identify the Khabiri of the Tell el-Amarna letters of the eighteenth dynasty with the returned Hebrew exiles; but such an identification involves a violation of the usually observed laws of philological transmutation, and as the similarity of the names is the main argument advanced in support of this theory, it can hardly be accepted in our present state of knowledge.

Much has been written on this question, and as it is one of first-class importance, it may be well to state the case here, even at the risk of introducing technicalities into a book intended for the general reader.

The crucial point is whether the initial guttural in the Hebrew word for "Hebrew" can be equated with the "Kh" in the Assyrian "Khabiri." *Ayin*, the guttural with which the word "Hebrew" commences, has two distinct sounds, differentiated in Arabic writing, but not in Hebrew writing. Fortunately, the Septuagint, or Greek Version of the Old Testament, made by order of Ptolemy II., Philadelphus, King of Egypt from 287 B.C. or 286 to 246 B.C., generally preserves this distinction.

Now, the *ayin* in "Hebrew" is represented in the Septuagint by a smooth breathing, which indicates that in this word it had a soft sound. It is perfectly true that the Hebrew *ayin* sometimes corresponds to the Assyrian *kh*, but in the cases cited

by Schrader* and Professor Clay † the *ayin* (from a comparison with the Septuagint (Swete's version)) probably had a hard, and not a soft sound, as in the word "Hebrew." ‡

Probably the best example that can be cited in support of the theory that the Assyrian *kh* can correspond with a soft Hebrew *ayin* is afforded by the proper name Canaan, which, in Assyrian, is *Kin-nak-khi*. The *ayin* in the Hebrew word for Canaan would appear to be soft, as it is not represented in the Septuagint at all, only the vowel which accompanies it being represented in the Greek. The possibility of such an interchange may therefore be fairly argued, but not its probability, especially at the beginning of a word.

But admitting the possibility of such an interchange, there is another consideration which renders it highly improbable in the present instance. As stated above, Sayce associates the *khabiri-ki* of the Tell el-Amarna Letters with the Biblical Hebron.

Unlike the word "Hebrew," the initial guttural of the Biblical word "Hebron" is a *heth*, or hard "h," and the Assyrian equivalent for the Hebrew *heth* is "kh." It is therefore probable that the Biblical "Hebron" and the Assyrian "Khabiri" are *philologically* related (cf. further, p. 51). But the words "Hebron" and "Hebrew" are entirely distinct, and can under no conceivable circumstances be brought into relationship. It therefore follows that if we identify the

* *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the O. T.*, i. p. 179 (2nd ed.).

† *Light on the Old Testament from Babel*, pp. 265 ff.

‡ The two cases cited are Gaza and Omri: in the former the initial Hebrew *ayin* is represented by "G" in the Greek, while the initial guttural of "Omri" is represented by a "Z," which implies that the *ayin* had a hard sound.

"Khabiri" with the "Hebrews," we must *ipso facto* entirely dissociate "Khabiri" from "Hebron." In short, such an identification involves the rejection of a proposition which strictly conforms to the *ordinary* rules of philological transmutation, in favour of one which is totally at variance with those rules, but at the same time it should be noted that though the words "Khabiri" and "Hebron" are *radically connected*, the identification of the *place* "Khabiri-ki" with "Hebron" is entirely hypothetical.

Professor Clay presents the case for the identification of the Khabiri with the Hebrews with his usual ability and clearness in *Light on the Old Testament from Babel* (p. 265 ff.), but, apart from the linguistic objection, the acceptance of that theory in its developed form seems to the present writer to entail the repudiation of vital and matter-of-fact elements in the Hebrew record—elements, that is to say, of an historical or quasi-historical character, which the internal evidence in regard to Pithom would make one very reluctant to abandon, especially as the salient parts of the story are assigned to JE, and are probably therefore not later, even in their redacted state, than the seventh century B.C.*

It is, of course, perfectly true that the introduction of "Rameses" into the story might very well be a later gloss; but Naville's conclusions regarding the builder of the granaries at Pithom on the one hand, and the obvious connection of "Rameses" with Pithom implied in the Biblical narrative on the other, surely corroborate each other, and render a gloss-theory in this particular instance somewhat gratuitous.

* Dr. Driver holds the same view as to the general trustworthiness of the Hebrew tradition (cf. Driver, *Exodus*, pp. xxx, and 4).

The question is, what theory will accord best with the facts as at present known, with the inferences to be drawn from Menephthah's stele, and with what is known of the Hyksos on the one hand, and with the Hebrew account on the other?

In the first place, it is highly improbable that there was only one exodus; it is far more likely that the Hebrews filtered back to their country by degrees, and that some of them returned, or were driven out, along with the Hyksos. It is quite conceivable that the great and final exodus, regarded by the Hebrew writer as the exodus of Israel from Egypt, and the slavery which that name had come to connote, may have taken place under Menephthah, for that king had to concentrate the whole of his attention on the warlike Libyans, and must perforce have had to relax the pressure elsewhere. What more likely then that the wretched Hebrews, ground down with the inexorable demands of the indefatigable builders of the nineteenth dynasty, should make good the golden opportunity and free themselves from their slavery? We know that Menephthah's predecessor, Rameses II., was a great builder; we know that he employed multitudes of slaves, that he erected Pithom and other store-cities in the Delta, and these facts accord well with, and to a certain extent substantiate, the traditions of the Hebrews.

If this contention be a fair one, then the Israel referred to on Menephthah's stele will designate those Israelites who had returned to their native land possibly with the Hyksos, possibly later. Or, as Professor Driver suggests,* some Israelites very possibly remained all the time in Palestine, and Meneph-

* Cf. Driver, *Schweich Lectures* (1909), p. 39.

thah's inscription may refer to the descendants of these Israelites. However that may be, Israelitish names were known in Palestine long before the time of Rameses II. and Menepthah, for in Thothmes III.'s lists of conquests two names occur which, transliterated into Hebrew, become Jacob-el and Joseph-el.

But is it quite impossible that Menepthah should be the Pharaoh of the exodus, and yet at the same time the Israel mentioned on his stele be the Israel who had fled from Egypt in the early part of his reign ?

There is at the present time no categorical answer to these questions, and we must confess our inability to solve the problem until further light is forthcoming.

The route of the exodus* is a topic that has received its fair share of attention at the hands of scholars ; but it must be admitted that no final conclusion has been reached, and no theory propounded which has gained a general acceptance. This was to be expected from the very nature of the case, for the data at our disposal admit of much theorizing, and theories in regard to a problem of this kind can never be securely established on the platform of absolute certainty, though they may attain to the highest degree of probability.

The Old Testament gives us a fairly circumstantial account of the journey, and of the various halting-places at which they pitched their tents. Some of these places have been identified with a practical certainty, while the sites of others are still a matter of conjecture.

* For the latest and most complete discussion of the subject, cf. Driver, *Exodus*, pp. 123-128, 186-191.

The part of the Delta in which the Hebrews originally settled was Goshen, identified with the western end of the Wâdî Tûmilât. Subsequently, on the accession to the throne of a king "who knew not Joseph," they were employed in building the store-cities of Pithom and Raamses, both of which were situated in the Wâdî Tûmilât. Rameses was the starting-point of their hurried flight from the land of Egypt. Thence they journeyed to a district called Succoth, identified by most scholars with the Thuku of the hieroglyphic texts. Succoth either lay on the east of Pithom or possibly embraced Pithom within its borders.

From Succoth they wended their way to Etham, which, like Succoth, is regarded by Naville, though upon doubtful grounds, as the name of a district.* Etham was "in the edge of the wilderness" (Exod. xiii. 20), and therefore somewhere near the north part of the Isthmus of Suez. Both Naville and Petrie identify Etham with the district of Aduma, the bedouin of which land, in the time of Menephthah, asked leave to cross the Egyptian frontier at the fort of Thuku "to go to the lakes of Pithom for pasture."† The precise site is, however, quite uncertain, as the name has not been satisfactorily identified.

The Israelites were next ordered to "turn and encamp before Pi-hahiroth and the sea, over against Baal-zephon," and they were to encamp before it by the sea (Exod. xiv. 2).

* Cf. Naville, *The Store-city of Pithom*, p. 23.

† Cf. Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, p. 204. On the other hand, cf. Driver, *Exodus*, p. 112. Naville and Petrie identify as in text, but the identification is very uncertain. Egyptologists in general identify Aduma with Edom (cf. W. M. Müller, *Enc. Bibl.*, II. 1411 n.; and cf. Breasted, *Ancient Records*, iv. p. 273).

Pi-hahiroth is identified by Naville with Paqaheret,* of which place Osiris was god. In this case

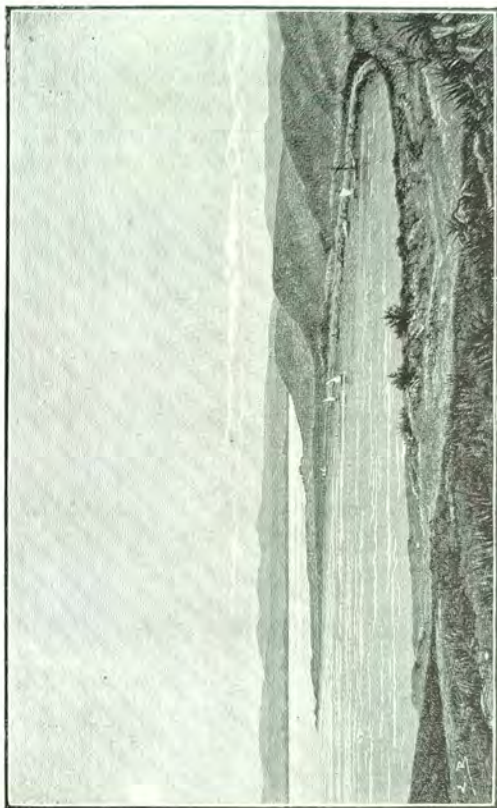


FIG. 34.—The ancient head of the Red Sea, now the northern extremity of the Bitter Lakes.

* This also is very uncertain and not accepted by other Egyptologists; cf. Driver, *Exodus*, p. 122

the "turn" referred to would be a change of direction towards the south-west. The sites of Migdol and Baal-zephon are unknown, though, as Petrie says, there was probably a "Migdol tower on the hills behind them, and Baal-zephon on the opposite side of the gulf." Now there are reasons for thinking that, in those days, the Red Sea extended up through the Bitter Lakes as far as the modern town of Ismailiya. If this were the case, it would make the encampment of the Israelites "by the sea" intelligible. The place at which they crossed is uncertain; possibly they forded the sea at a place to the south of the Bitter Lakes, but more probably at a place more to the north, *i.e.* between the Bitter Lakes and Lake Timsah, for this part of the gulf was no doubt the shallowest, as it is now dry land.* This is therefore the most likely place for the waters to have been blown back by a "strong east wind," and to have thus left a dry crossing (Exod. xiv. 21).†

* For a description of the Peninsula of Sinai, many interesting views and a full description of the Egyptian monuments found there, see Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*.

† There is, of course, no doubt that the Red Sea extended as far north as the modern Ismailiya in *prehistoric* times (see the geological map of Egypt in *Enc. Bibl.*, vol. ii., opposite cols. 1207, 1208), and there are statements both in Egyptian inscriptions and in classical writers which seem to show that it did so in historic times (see the discussion in Driver, *Exodus*, pp. 126-128; and on the other side Kùthmann, *Die Ostgrenze Aegyptens* (1912)).

CHAPTER III

CANAAN BEFORE THE EXODUS

THE expulsion of the foreign Hyksos kings and the establishment of an Asiatic empire by the



FIG. 35.—Thothmes I. (mummy).

native Egyptian kings of the XVIIIth dynasty were

the two factors destined to mould the political situation in Syria and Palestine at the time of Israel's national birth.

Āāḥmes, or Amāsis I., the first king of the dynasty, had already pursued the alien usurpers into Syria, and had captured the city of Sharuhen (probably to be identified with Tel esh-Sheriāh, in the tribe of Simeon, north-west of Beersheba) (cf. Josh. xix. 6).

Some years later Thothmes I. (cf. Fig. 35) penetrated as far north as Carchemish, the route which he followed being by Gaza, Megiddo, and Kadesh on the Orontes. The expedition was crowned with success, and Thothmes returned to Thebes laden with booty. His son, Thothmes II., was similarly engaged in war with Syria, but the Asiatic conquests of his grandson, Thothmes III. (cf. Fig. 36) were of a far more extensive and abiding character. Following the usual caravan route by Gaza, he arrived at Megiddo, where the allied princes had joined forces. The enemy were entirely routed, but the leaders, including the Prince of Kadesh, had sought asylum in the city. The army were, however, intoxicated at the sight of the spoil, and instead of assaulting the city, they gave themselves up to plunder. But Thothmes was bent on capturing Megiddo—"for all the kings of the country being shut up within it, it would have been as the taking of a thousand towns to have seized Megiddo"—and he accordingly ordered a blockade. Famine soon came to his aid, and the city was forced to surrender. The fall of Megiddo brought about the submission of the whole country. The booty taken comprised chariots, horses, and armour, in addition to a large number of sheep and cattle.

On his return, Thothmes ordered the names of the cities and districts which he had reduced to subjection to be inscribed on the walls of the temple



FIG. 36.—Thothmes III. (mummy).

which he was building at Karnak (cf. Fig. 37). Among the places enumerated are Cana, Hazor, Kinnereth, Acre, Merom, Laish, Hamath, and Damascus.

In succeeding campaigns, he consolidated his power, and established his supremacy throughout the whole of Phœnicia and Palestine.

He was followed by Amenhetep II. (cf. Fig. 38).

who made no fresh conquests in Western Asia, but found it necessary to suppress an insurrection in



FIG. 37.—Part of triumphal lists of Thothmes III, on one of the pylons of the Temple at Karnak.

Syria, which had threatened to become general. Thothmes IV., the son of Amenhetep II., conducted

an expedition to Syria, but it was not attended by



FIG. 38.—Amenhotep II.

any important results. He was followed by Amenhotep III. (the Memnon of the Greeks), who proved

himself to be both a shrewd statesman and an able administrator, but during the reign of his son, Amenhetep IV., the empire fell to pieces, and the Egyptian garrisons in Syria and Palestine found considerable difficulty in maintaining their own against the attacks of the desert tribes. A flood of light has been thrown upon the political situation in Western Asia at the time of Amenhetep III. and Amenhetep IV. by the Tell el-Amarna letters.

Till some twenty-four years ago our knowledge regarding the condition of Canaan and Canaanitish civilization before the time of the invasion of the Israelites was scant indeed, but in 1887 a discovery was made which, in importance and far-reaching results, can compare with the greatest achievements in archæological research.

Some three hundred baked clay tablets inscribed in cuneiform characters were unearthed about one hundred and eighty miles south of Cairo, at a place called Tell el-Amarna.

It was here that Amenhetep IV., the "heretic" King of Egypt, established his capital after his virtual expulsion from Thebes by the priests of Amen, and it was to him that the majority of the Tell el-Amarna letters were addressed. His expulsion from Thebes was due to his heretical views and to the fact that the attempted realization of his ideals brought him into immediate collision with the vested interests of the priests. His heresy consisted in a monotheistic tendency which found its expression in the exaltation of the disc of the sun to the actual exclusion of all other gods (cf. Fig. 39).

The sun had been venerated in Egypt from the earliest times, but the peculiar feature in Amenhetep

IV.'s "new theology" lay in its implicit and explicit denial of the existence of all other gods in general,



FIG. 39.—Khu-en-Amen (Amenhotep IV.).

and of Amen, the Great God of Thebes, to whose mighty arm the pious Egyptian attributed the successful expulsion of the foreign Hyksos kings and

the re-establishment of a native Egyptian dynasty, in particular.

The prominent position which Amen occupied in the Egyptian pantheon is well illustrated in the Hebrew designation of Egypt's capital as the "city of Amen." Thus Nahum, in his prophetic utterances against the Assyrian empire, scornfully asks, "Art thou better than No-Amon (*i.e.* Thebes), that was situate among the rivers, and had the waters round about her; whose rampart was the sea, and her wall was of the sea? Ethiopia and Egypt were her strength, and it was infinite; Put and Lubin were thy helpers. Yet was she carried away, she went into captivity; her young children also were dashed to pieces at the top of all the streets: and they cast lots for her honourable men, and all the great men were bound in chains" (Nahum iii. 9).

The significance of Nahum's remarks lay, of course, in the recent destruction of Thebes (in 666 B.C.), and the reduction of Egypt by Ashur-bani-pal, King of Assyria, 668-626 B.C.

But as the direct result of his philosophico-religious ideas, Amenhetep IV., or Khu-en-Aten (= "Spirit of Aten"), as he styled himself, was more fitted for a theological chair at a university than to rule the then greatest empire in the world, and the demoralizing effect of his reign—from an imperial standpoint—is attested by the Tell el-Amarna letters.

These letters, which were found in a chamber to the east of the palace of Amenhetep IV. at Khut-Aten near the modern Tell el-Amarna, represent what remains of the official correspondence addressed by foreign kings, by vassal-princes, and by local Egyptian governors in Palestine to their lord and

master, the Pharaoh of Egypt. The majority of them belong to the time of Amenhetep IV., but some were written to his predecessor Amenhetep III.

Unlike his son, Amenhetep III. had been astute enough to recognize the necessity of securing the support of the powerful priests of Amen, and he accordingly declared himself to be an incarnation of the god Amen-Rā. During his reign of thirty-six years he had consolidated the work of his predecessors, and established his empire from Ni on the Euphrates to Karei in the Sûdân. In the early part of his reign he had occasion to stamp out a rebellion in the Sûdân, and built a temple there to the honour and glory of himself as the god of the Sûdân.

He kept in constant and intimate touch with his vassals and allies in Western Asia, and made many expeditions into Syria and Palestine, while he further strengthened his diplomatic position by contracting matrimonial alliances with the daughters of foreign kings. He married a daughter of Kadashman-Bêl, King of Karduniash (*i.e.* Babylonia); Gilukhipa, a sister of Tushratta, the King of the Mitani (a people whose territory lay in Northern Mesopotamia), and possibly also a daughter of the same king, though the daughter was probably destined to be the spouse of Amenhetep IV., as Tushratta, in a letter to Amenhetep III., refers to her as the (future) mistress of Egypt. He further married a daughter of Shutarna, another king of the Mitani. But his favourite wife and Queen appears to have been a lady called Thi. An examination of the recently discovered mummies of Iuaa and Thuua, the father and mother of Thi, has led to the conclusion that her father was an Asiatic, but that her mother was

a native Egyptian. She was the mother of Amenhetep IV., and his monotheistic views are generally attributed to the Asiatic extraction of his mother. Of course this may be so, but it must be recollected that even assuming that the father of Thi was an Asiatic, Amenhetep IV. would be only one-quarter Asiatic, and three-quarter Egyptian.

The building operations of Amenhetep III. were of an extensive character, and attest the greatness and general importance of his reign.

Probably the best-known of his architectural products is the great temple on the west bank of the Nile, called the Memnonium; in front of this temple he erected two colossal statues of himself (cf. Fig. 40), one of which was said to have emitted a soft note at break of day, but after the statue was repaired by the Roman Emperor, Septimius Severus (193-211 A.D.), its vocal powers ceased.

As already stated, the Tell el-Amarna tablets comprise letters written by or to foreign kings of independent rights, and also official communications from vassals and Egyptian officials.

The contents of the former class generally have reference to matrimonial bargains, and are of a somewhat mercenary character. One of the most interesting of these is a letter written by Amenhetep III. to Kadashman-Bêl I.,* a Kassite ruler in Babylonia; it commences: "To Kadashman-Bêl, King of Karduniash, my brother, thus saith Amenhetep, the great king, the King of Egypt, thy brother: 'I am well, may it be well with thee, with thy government, with thy wives, with thy children, with thy nobles, with

* Cf. *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum*, pp. xxv. ff.

thy horses, and with thy chariots, and may there be great peace in thy land ; with me may it be well, with

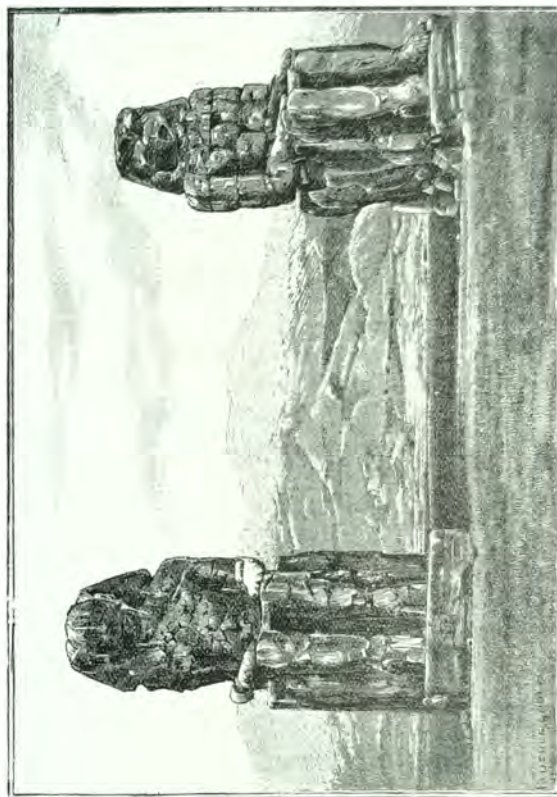


FIG. 40.—The two colossi.

my government, with my wives, with my children, with my nobles, with my horses, with my chariots,

and with my troops, and may there be great peace in my land.' ”

Ámenhetep then proceeds to say that he has quite grasped the purport of the King of Babylonia's remarks regarding his daughter Şukharti. Apparently Ámenhetep had desired her hand in marriage, but Kadashman-Bél was not disposed to accede to his request until he had satisfied himself as to the welfare of his sister, who had been given as a wife to Ámenhetep by Kadashman-Bél's father, and he had accordingly replied, “Thou desirest my daughter for a wife; but from the time when my father gave thee my sister to wife, no man hath seen her, and no one knoweth whether she be alive or dead.”

After further correspondence on the matter, Kadashman-Bél finally agrees to hand over his daughter to the King of Egypt: “With reference to thy request that my daughter Şukharti be given to thee to wife, my daughter Şukharti hath now come to the age of puberty, and may be married; if thou wilt write unto me, she shall be brought unto thee.”

Burnaburiash, King of Babylonia, carries on similar negotiations with Ámenhetep III.'s son and successor, Ámenhetep IV., or Khu-en-Áten. In these letters Khu-en-Áten is addressed as: Napkhuria, Napkhururia, etc.

They begin with the usual salutations; Burnaburiash states that he enjoys good health, and expresses the hope that the King of Egypt, his wives and his children are well, and that his country, the army, and the government are prosperous. After these preliminary remarks, he embarks on the real object of his letter. He reverts to the friendship which subsisted between their respective ancestors,

and recalls that they used to exchange presents, rather as the expression of friendship than as the result of any distinct commercial bargain.

He then throws off the mask, and calls attention to the insignificance of the two manehs of gold recently received from Amenhetep IV., as compared with the amount received by his predecessor from Amenhetep IV.'s father.

He implores him to send, at all events, half of what Amenhetep III. used to send, and inquires the reason of this ungenerous treatment. He then feels impelled to make some excuse for his importunity, and explains that he has promised to contribute largely to the expenses connected with the temple of the god of his native land, and that he cannot escape from his obligations in the matter, and offers, as a bribe, to send Amenhetep anything he desires of the products of his own country.

He then alludes to the offensive and defensive alliance made and strictly observed by their respective ancestors, and enlarges upon the desirability of maintaining this alliance unimpaired to the mutual benefit and safety of both parties. Finally, with a view to pacifying Amenhetep, he sends him a present of three manehs of lapis-lazuli and five pairs of horses for the same number of wooden chariots. It would appear that either Amenhetep was rather "near," or else that Burnaburiash was somewhat grasping, for in another letter Burnaburiash makes a formal complaint that the envoys of Amenhetep have arrived empty-handed three times in succession, and that under these circumstances he does not propose sending anything in the way of a present to the King of Egypt: "If thou hast nothing of value for me, then

have I nothing of value for thee." But in spite of his indignation, he has no intention of breaking off negotiations, for in the same letter he expresses the hope that there will be a perpetual peace between Egypt and Babylonia, while he apparently thinks that his chances of success will be greater if he sends a present after all, and accordingly forwards some lapis-lazuli to Amenhetep, and other presents for his daughter, Amenhetep's wife, at the same time intimating that he expects adequate gifts in return.

The Tell el-Amarna collection further comprises a number of letters addressed to the King of Egypt by the King of Alashia. Alashia has been identified with Cyprus, owing to the fact that Cyprus is in Egyptian called "Alas."

These letters are mostly of a commercial character. They commence with the customary salutations and expressions of good-will, and then deal with various business transactions.

In one of these the King of Alashia states that he is despatching his own messenger to accompany the envoy of the King of Egypt, and that he is sending 500 pieces of bronze as a present "to his brother," the King of Egypt, and begs him not to be offended at his not having sent more, because the "hand of Nergal" (*i.e.* pestilence) had killed all the people of his land, and he was in consequence unable to manufacture any more.

The mention of the Babylonian god Nergal is interesting, as it indicates the influence of the Babylonian religion in Cyprus at this period.

The writer then promises to send the King of Egypt as much bronze as he may require, and at the same time says that he is forwarding an ox,

two measures of oil, and runners "swifter than eagles."

In another letter, the King of Alashia complains that the Egyptian envoy had not appeared before him, and he is in a state of uncertainty as to the King of Egypt's attitude towards him. He is accordingly despatching a special messenger with a present of 100 talents of bronze. He would further remind the king that he had previously sent a wooden couch plated with gold, a chariot decorated with the same precious metal, together with horses, garments, oil, and precious stones, as a gift to the King of Egypt.

Other letters, again, are addressed to Amenhetep III. and his queen by Tushratta, the King of Mitani. The contents of these despatches resemble those of the letters sent by the King of Karduniash (Babylonia); they refer to alliances—matrimonial and imperial—and the exchange of presents. The land of Mitani seems to have been situated in northern Mesopotamia; possibly the *Mâthen* which occurs in the list of conquered places inscribed on the famous stele of Thothmes III., and also the *Mâthena* in the list inscribed by Rameses III. on the wall of the Temple of Medinet Abû are to be identified with the *Mitani* of the Tell el-Amarna letters.

In one of the best-preserved of these letters Tushratta recalls the close friendship which existed between his father Shutarna, and Thothmes IV., Amenhetep's father and predecessor, and asserts that the alliance between Tushratta and Amenhetep is ten times stronger than that of their respective fathers. He then makes reference to the letter sent by Amenhetep, and to the request which it contained—"My brother, let thy daughter be my wife and mistress of

Egypt." He states that he gave Manî, the King of Egypt's envoy, a cordial reception, and that he brought forth his daughter to Manî, who approved of her beauty and rejoiced for the sake of his royal master. Tushratta expresses the hope that she will be happy, and prays that Ishtar, the goddess of Mitani, and Amen, the god of Egypt, may mould her to do the will of Amenhetep.

After further protestations of friendliness and renewed asseverations of the intimacy of their joint relationship, Tushratta descends to the material, and gives free vent to his desire for gold. Needless to say, he does not require it for his own exclusive ends, but in connection with favours granted or services rendered to the King of Egypt. It appears that Tushratta's grandfather had promised to send Amenhetep some articles used in war or the chase. For some reason un-named, the promise had not yet been redeemed, and it remained for Tushratta to discharge his grandfather's obligations. This he is prepared to do, but he requires gold to pay for the carriage of the goods, while he wants more gold for the ostensible purpose of providing his daughter with a dowry. Of course Tushratta does not want to offend the King of Egypt by asking for gold, but, on the other hand, he does not himself wish to be offended by being sent anything less than a large quantity of the precious metal. He prays that the gods may be pleased to make the gold of Egypt ten times more plentiful than it is, presumably in the hope that the amount sent by Amenhetep to himself may be ten times as large as it is on the present occasion. Finally, he enumerates the gifts he is sending to Amenhetep; they include a large golden vessel inlaid with lapis-

lazuli, ten pairs of horses, ten wooden chariots, and thirty eunuchs.

But the most interesting letters in the collection for our immediate purpose are those sent from the vassal princes and governors in Phœnicia and Canaan, for they throw a flood of light not only upon the historical geography of Palestine, but also upon the state of civilization to which the inhabitants of Canaan had attained at this early period, and they prove that the metaphor applied by the Hebrew writers to the Land of Promise was not a mere hyperbole, but was in fact a true poetical description of the Canaanitish culture of that day—a land metaphorically “flowing with milk and honey.”

The excavations have not yielded much in the nature of corroborative evidence in regard to the high civilization of the pre-Israelite inhabitants of Canaan, as revealed in these letters, but the testimony of the Egyptian kings themselves bears out the inferences to be drawn from the Tell el-Amarna correspondence.

Thus, the annals of Thothmes III.,* in their enumeration of the spoils taken from the princes of Canaan, mention chairs, tables, and staves of cedar and ebony inlaid with gold, a golden plough and sceptre, iron tent-poles set with precious stones, chariots chased with silver, rich embroidery, and various other products of an advanced and highly developed culture.

Among the various officials and rulers in Palestine and Phœnicia, of whom despatches have been recovered from Tell el-Amarna, we may specifically mention Yapakhi, the governor of the city of Gezer ;

* Cf. Sayce, *Archæology of the Cuneiform Inscriptions*, p. 156.

Widya, governor of the city of Askelon ; Abdi-Khiba, the King of Jerusalem ; Rib-Adda, governor of Byblos ; and Abi-Milki, governor of Tyre.

The purport of the communications of Yapakhi, governor of Gezer, is to the effect that he has carried out the instructions received by the hand of the King of Egypt's envoy, but he informs the king that he is hard pressed by the enemies of the king, and he implores Amenhetep to take measures for the protection of Gezer and the surrounding country. In one letter he complains of the defection of his youngest brother, who has gone over to the enemy, and asks for instructions as to what he is to do.

The letters of Widya, the governor of Askelon, are couched in the same submissive terms ; he is guarding the city under his charge with the utmost vigilance. He hastens to send the desired gifts of meat, drink, oil, and oxen, together with the usual tribute—apparently in answer to a letter of remonstrance from the king.

But the letters of the greatest interest and value to the student of the Old Testament are those addressed by Abdi-Khiba, King of Jerusalem, to his overlord the King of Egypt.

Allusion has already been made to the aggressive attitude of the Khabiri at this time, and Jerusalem—or Urusalim, as it is called in the letters—under the leadership of Abdi-Khiba, formed the principal point of resistance to their attacks.

Abdi-Khiba seems to have been one of the few Egyptian vassals in Palestine whose loyalty was unimpeachable ; but his very loyalty proved an incentive to other local governors to slander and blacken his character in the eyes of Amenhetep.

Thus, in one letter Abdi-Khiba expostulates* :—
“To the king, my lord, say also thus: ‘It is Abdi-Khiba, thy servant. At the feet of my lord, the king, twice seven times and thrice seven times I fall. What have I done against the king, my lord? They backbite—they slander me before the king, my lord, saying: Abdi-Khiba has fallen away from the king, his lord.’”

In another letter, after protesting against the libellous statements made against him, he appeals to the King of Egypt to come and crush the widespread revolt against Egyptian rule:—“Let the king take counsel with regard to his land—the land of the king, all of it, has revolted; it has set itself against me. Behold, (as for) the lands of Shêri (Seir), as far as Guti-Kirmil (Gath-Carmel), the governors have allied themselves, and there is hostility against me. Even though one be a seer, one wishes not to see the tears of the king, my lord; open enmity exists against me. As long as ships were in the midst of the sea, the power of the mighty took Nakhrina (Naharaim) and the land of Kashsi, but now the Khabiri have taken the cities of the king. There is not one governor for the king, my lord—all have rebelled.”

In another despatch, Abdi-Khiba singles out Milki-îli and Šu-ardatum as being especially blameworthy for the present state of affairs. “The men of the city of Gazri, the men of the city of Ginti, and the men of the city of Kîlti have been captured. The land of the city of Rubute has revolted. The land of the king (belongs to) the Khabiri, and now, moreover, a city of the land of Jerusalem, the city Beth-Ninip—(this is) its name—has revolted to

* Cf. Pinches, *Old Testament*, p. 294.

the people of Kilti. Let the king . . . send hired soldiers. . . . And if there be no hired soldiers, the land of the king will go over to the men, the Khabiri. This deed (is the deed of) Šu-ardatum (and) Milki-ili."

In another letter * he says: "Behold, has not Milki-ili fallen away from the sons of Labaya and from the sons of Arzawa to ask the land of the king for them? A governor, who has done this deed, why has the king not called him to account?"

Elsewhere, he states, "that all the lords had leagued together against him, and that Askelon, Gezer, and Lachish had supplied the enemy with provisions"; he accordingly implores Amenhetep "to send troops at once; there should be no postponement, otherwise next year there will be neither countries nor governors for the king (in Palestine). . . . Behold, the king has placed his name in the land of Jerusalem for ever, and the forsaking of the lands of Jerusalem is not possible."

It is uncertain whether Amenhetep did finally send troops, nor is it certain whether the Egyptians were ultimately expelled, or Jerusalem taken, but, however that may be, other letters afford evidence of the further extension of the Khabiri southward, and in the latter part of Amenhetep IV.'s reign there is no doubt that the Egyptian Government was obliged to withdraw its troops from Palestine and abandon its Asiatic Empire, an empire which had at one time embraced the whole of Syria and Palestine, including the country that lay on the other side of Jordan. (It is interesting in this connection to note that one of the letters addressed to the King of

* Cf. Pinches, *Old Testament*, p. 298.

Egypt is sent by "the governor of the field of Bashan.")

Another correspondent of the King of Egypt was Rib-Adda, governor of Byblos, of whom twelve letters have been preserved. They attest the same disturbed condition of the political atmosphere in the north of Palestine: Rib-Adda reproaches the king for having neglected Byblos, with the damaging result that the city is now utterly lost. How is it that the king has not protected "that which belongs to his father's house"? The enemy is not merely outside, they are within the gates in the form of rebels.

The King of Egypt's response to the various appeals lodged at his court generally seems to have taken the form of advice which can have hardly satisfied the requirements of the applicants, while at other times the king administers a severe rebuke to those whose loyalty is not beyond suspicion.

Thus, in a letter addressed to the prince of the Amorites, the king says* :—"And behold the king hath heard thus; Thou art in agreement with the man of Kidša (Kadesh), food and drink together have ye supplied. And be it true, why doest thou thus? Why art thou in agreement with a man with whom the king is on bad terms? . . . What hath been done to thee among them (the disaffected ones), that thou art not with the king thy lord?"

These letters are, however, not valuable merely on account of their contents, but also because of the evidence of the pertinacity of Babylonian influence in Palestine which they afford. They show that the

* Cf. Pinches, *ibid.*, p. 300 f.

Babylonian language was the *lingua franca* of the Oriental world at this period, and that, at a time when Canaan was practically a dependency of Egypt, we not only find kings of Babylon, or of the Mitani, but also Egyptian officials and governors corresponding with their suzerain-overlord, the King of Egypt, in the Babylonian language and the cuneiform script. They also prove that there was but little difference between the language of Canaan during the century before the exodus (assuming the great and final exodus not to have taken place until the time of the XIXth dynasty), and that of the Phœnicians and of the Old Testament some centuries later.

Thus in some of the letters from governors and petty kings in Canaan, the writer, to avoid any misunderstanding, adds the Canaanite equivalent of the Babylonian word which he is using, and these words are for the most part practically identical with the Hebrew equivalents of Old Testament times, while similar evidence is afforded by Canaanitish loan-words to be found in Egyptian inscriptions of the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties.

During the reigns of Tut-ānkh-Āmen, Ai, and Heru-em-ḥeb, the last kings of the XVIIIth dynasty of Egypt, affairs in Palestine remained more or less unchanged, but with the rise of the XIXth dynasty the Egyptians became once more imbued with the spirit of conquest.

The reign of Rameses I., the founder of the dynasty, was marked by no very stirring events. The Kheta (or Hittites (?)) continued to grow in power, and Rameses I. found it advisable to make a treaty with Saparuru, their chief. The terms of the treaty amounted to the recognition by Rameses of the

suzerain rights of the Kheta over Northern Syria, and the corresponding recognition by Sapparuru of the sovereign rights of Egypt over Phœnicia and Canaan.

On the accession of Seti I., the son of Rameses I., Southern Syria was in open revolt, and Seti immediately set out to quell the rebellion and restore the prestige of the Egyptian government. After having reduced the rebellious southerners, Seti pushed forward to the Hittite frontier, and captured the cities of Januâmu and Kadesh on the Orontes.

But this victory had no permanent effect, and Seti was subsequently obliged to treat with the Kheta on terms of equality.

He was succeeded by Rameses II., the Sesostris of the Greeks and the supposed Pharaoh of the "Oppression." During the first years of his reign he was engaged with the rebellious Sudanese, and his victories in the south were commemorated on the walls of the rock-hewn temple at Bêt-al-Wali.

In the fourth year of his reign he had to direct his attention to affairs in Syria, where the Hittite usurper Kheta-sar had mustered his allies and threatened to put an end to Egyptian influence in Syria and Palestine. Kheta-sar's army included contingents from Carchemish, Arvad, Naharaim, and Khalupu, together with Mysians, Lysians, Trojans, and Dardanians, and natives of Girgasha and Pedasos.

The army of Rameses encamped at a place called Shabtuna, to the south-west of Kadesh, while the followers of Kheta-sar lay concealed in the woods of Lebanon.* Rameses was uncertain as to the exact

* Cf. Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, p. 390.

position of the enemy, but two Bedawin informed him that the army of Kheta-sar was stationed at Khalupu (Aleppo), and Rameses accordingly resolved to push on to Khalupu and there confront the enemy rather than lay siege to Kadesh, and thus compel the Hittite forces to come to the aid of the city. This move was entirely to the satisfaction of Kheta-sar, who had the meanwhile amassed his troops at Kadesh



FIG. 41.—Kheta-sar and his daughter.

with a view to attacking the flank of the Egyptian army on the march.

But just when the Egyptians were about to decamp, two spies who had been ordered to watch the departure of Rameses were arrested, and under torture the truth was extracted from them. He at once recalled his legions, and prepared himself for an immediate attack.

After some fierce engagements, the Hittites were routed, but Kheta-sar, their chief, found asylum in Kadesh. The might and valour of the Egyptian army had clearly been taxed to the utmost, for Kheta-sar's proposal of a truce was at once accepted, and Rameses prepared to return to Egypt

(cf. Fig. 41). But the cessation of hostilities did not permanently ensure the peace and tranquillity of Palestine, and in the eighth year of Rameses' reign the whole of the Galilee district rose in open rebellion.

Merom, Shalama, Dapûr, and other towns had to

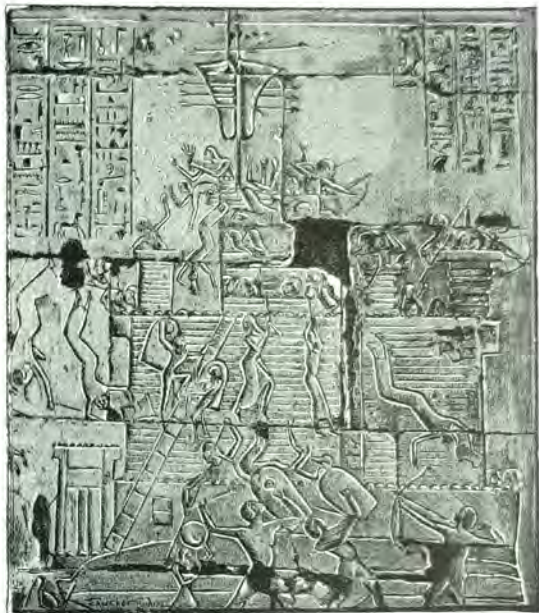


FIG. 42.—The walled city of Dapûr.

be reduced one after the other. Dapûr proved the most troublesome, its natural position on the top of a rocky height, and its double line of fortifications, rendering it almost impregnable. It was, however,

besieged and ultimately captured by scaling (cf. Fig. 42). But the defeat of the Galilæans can hardly have been crushing, or even calculated to inspire awe, for in the following year the district of the Shephelah, bordering on the Egyptian frontier, became disaffected.



FIG. 43.—The fall of Askelon.

Askelon apparently formed the rallying-point of the southerners, and its fall (cf. Fig. 43) brought about the submission of the neighbouring cities. No sooner had Southern Palestine been reduced to subjection, than a revolt broke out in Cœle-Syria, the

centre of the disaffection being at Tunipa. On the second attack the fortress was captured, and Rameses

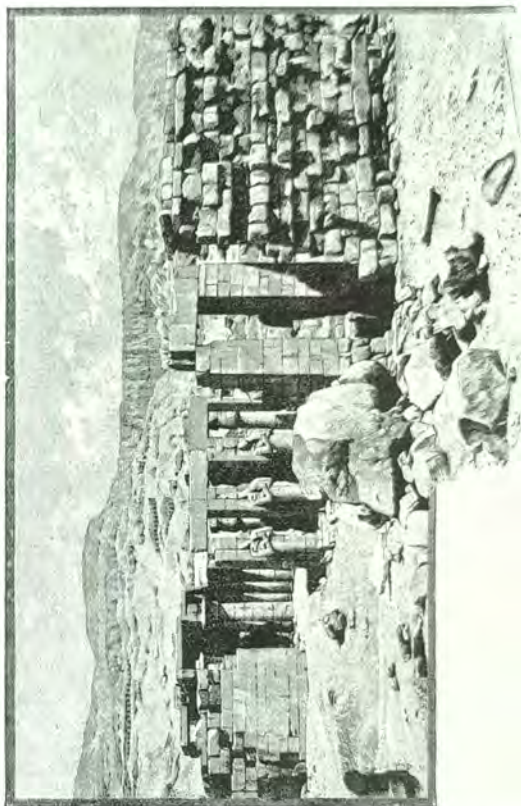


FIG. 44.—Ramesseum.

proceeded to carry his arms into the territory of the Mitani, to Carchemish, and even to Assyria. & But

his triumphs had no permanent or lasting effect, and the Hittites still remained unconquered, while the terms of the treaty concluded by the two peoples definitely enjoined the renunciation of Egyptian rights over Mitani, Naharaim, Amurru, and Alashia—countries in which Thothmes III. had held undisputed sway a century or so before, and enacted on the one hand that the Kheta should not invade Egypt, and on the other that the Egyptians should abstain from making inroads into the territory of the Kheta. The boundary between the territories of the two peoples was fixed at the Nahr el-Kelb, or Dog-River, near Bêrût.

Of the numerous buildings erected by Rameses during his long reign of sixty-seven years, the "Ramesseum" (cf. Fig. 44) is probably the most famous. Few of his monuments, however, can compare with the works of the great kings of the XVIIIth dynasty, and the reflection of Egypt's decadence is to be seen in the temples and statues of the period as well as in the grandiloquent lists of her triumphs.

CHAPTER IV

ISRAEL IN CANAAN

ALLUSION has already been made to the internal weakness of the Egyptian Empire at the time of Menephtah, signalized by the emboldened attack of the Libyans, the Hittites, and bands of Mediterranean seafarers on the one hand, and also perhaps by the successful flight of the Israelite slaves on the other.

This combined pressure inevitably weakened the Egyptian monarch's hold upon his Asiatic possessions ; and the third year of his reign * (c 1223 B.C.) found a widespread revolt against his sovereignty throughout Syria and Palestine. Askelon and Gezer, towns bordering almost on the confines of Egypt, threw off the yoke and proclaimed their autonomy ; Gezer had evidently shown some power of resistance, for Menephtah subsequently styled himself as "Binder of Gezer," as though his reduction of the place were indeed a memorable and noteworthy achievement.

His subjugation of the rebellious vassals would seem to have been complete, though the only account of the campaign is that contained in one of the usual self-congratulatory pæans of triumph.

Meanwhile the Libyan hordes had not failed to

* Cf. Breasted, *A History of Egypt* (1906), p. 465.

make use of the excellent opportunity afforded by Menepthah's absence in Palestine to renew their attacks on the western Delta. These hordes at the outset were little more than an inchoate multitude, but later on they developed into an organised force.

Among the allies mentioned are the Sherden or Sardinians; the Shekelesh, who, Breasted* says, were possibly the Sikeli, natives of early Sicily; the Ekwesh, whom the same learned scholar is disposed to identify with the Achæans; the Lycians and the Teresh, regarded by Breasted as the Tyrsenians or Etruscans. Menepthah, in spite of his advanced age, successfully repelled the attack, and administered a severe check to their immediate aspirations.

After a short and turbulent reign Menepthah was gathered unto his fathers and was buried at Thebes, where his mummy was discovered some years ago; it was found in the tomb of Amenhetep II., and is now preserved in the Cairo Museum.

His death ushered in a period of anarchy, during which various pretenders endeavoured to establish their claims. The two most successful of these aspirants were Amenmeses and Menepthah-Siptah. The former was soon supplanted by Menepthah-Siptah, the principal and at the same time most fateful event of whose reign was the appointment of one Seti as Viceroy over Nubia.

Seti ultimately rewarded his benefactor after the usual fashion, by quietly sweeping him out of the way and usurping his position.

Siptah was, however, more successful than his immediate predecessors, but his day was short, and the brief period of comparative tranquillity which

* Cf. Breasted, *A History of Egypt*, p. 467.

Egypt seems to have enjoyed under his rule, gave place to a cataclysm of anarchical disorder, and the country became the plaything of nobles and local potentates. As Breasted says, "The nation must have been well on toward dissolution into the petty kingdoms and principalities out of which it was consolidated at the dawn of history." The land was further smitten with famine, and misery, poverty and degradation prevailed throughout the length and breadth of the country.

The Libyans, who at all times showed their capacity for seizing and making good use of any opportunity presented by the ineptitude of the Egyptian Government, carried on their predatory raids in the Delta. At about this time (*i.e.*, c. 1200 B.C.) Setnakht, a man endowed with the qualities necessary for leadership, succeeded in gathering up the reins into his own hands, and bade defiance to his rivals. Little is known of him, and that little is due to the filial piety of his son Rameses III., who says *: "But when the gods inclined themselves to peace, to set the land in its right according to its accustomed manner, they established their son, who came forth from their limbs to be ruler of every land, upon their great throne, even King Setnakht. . . . He set in order the entire land, which had been rebellious; he slew the rebels who were in the land of Egypt; he cleansed the great throne of Egypt. . . . Every man knew his brother, who had been walled in (*i.e.* obliged to live behind protecting walls). He established the temples in possession of the Divine offerings to offer to the gods according to their customary stipulations."

Rameses III. continued the work of restoration

* Cf. Breasted, *ibid.*, p. 475.

so ably inaugurated by his father. The most notable event of his reign of thirty-one years was his military and naval victory in Southern Palestine over the Mediterranean allies.

On his death another period of decadence set in, and the supreme power was gradually but surely wrested from the hands of the succeeding kings (Rameses IV.-XII.) by the all-powerful priests of Amen. Finally the work of usurpation became fully accomplished, and on the death of Rameses XII., Her-Heru, the high priest, assumed the name, titles, functions and position of the King of Egypt.

But the high-priest kings were not successful in making their power felt in the north, and as a result another line of kings established themselves at Tanis in the Delta, and Egypt became divided into a northern and a southern kingdom as in pre-historic days.

The period of this double rule does not appear to have been signalized by any very epoch-making events, and on the death of the last Tanite king of the dynasty (c. 950 B.C.), the northern kingdom passed into the hands of Shashanq, the descendant of a Libyan lord, who established himself at Bubastis in the Delta. Bubastis, the ruins of which have been excavated by Naville, is the Biblical Pi-beseth (Ezek. xxx. 17). The principal event of the reign of Shashanq, or Shishak as he is called in Kings and Chronicles, was the invasion of Palestine in the fifth year of Rehoboam, King of Judah.

It was formerly supposed that this campaign was instigated by Jeroboam, and that it was directed exclusively against Judah, Jeroboam having been for some years a refugee at the Egyptian Court, and

therefore presumably on friendly terms with the Pharaoh of the day. The list of places, however, which Shashanq claims to have conquered, includes

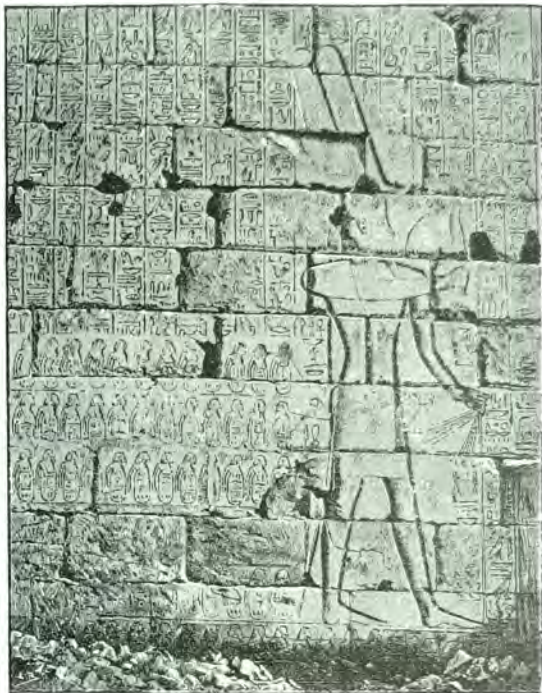


FIG. 45.—“Amon presenting to Shashanq the list of the cities captured in Israel and Judah.”

cities situated in the territory of Israel, which indicates that the object of the expedition was the recovery of Palestine as a whole (cf. Fig. 45).

This list, which Shashanq caused to be inscribed upon the walls of the new court he erected in the temple of Karnak at Thebes (cf. Fig. 45), compares somewhat unfavourably with the far more eloquent list of Thothmes III. of the XVIIIth dynasty, and at once shows how greatly the influence of Egypt had declined in the intervening centuries. The most northern place mentioned is Megiddo, the modern Tell el-Mutesellim, while the majority of the towns enumerated are located in the south.

Among the places named are Taanach, Mahanaim, Gibeon, Ajalon, Beth-horon, Migdol, a place called "the field of Abraham," and a certain place called "Yehud of the King," which earlier scholars regarded (impossibly) as the equivalent of "the Kingdom of Judah."

Jerusalem was spared on this occasion, and Rehoboam purchased her freedom by surrendering "the treasures of the house of the Lord, and the treasures of the king's house . . . and he took away all the shields of gold which Solomon had made" (1 Kings xiv. 26, 27).

Shashanq did not long survive his Asiatic conquests, but gave place to his son, Osorkon I. Osorkon I. was followed by Thekeleth I., after whom Osorkon II., the contemporary of Ahab, came to the throne.

Meanwhile another nation, destined to shortly become the great world-power in the Oriental world, and to ultimately reduce Egypt herself beneath her sway, had shown unmistakable signs of her coming greatness.

The Assyrians, whose home lay in Northern Mesopotamia, lacked the inventive genius of the

Babylonians, but they showed from the very first that they were possessed of the sinews of war. At what period Assyria became a separate state we do not know, but the foundation of the Assyrian monarchy probably took place about 2000 B.C.

Of the early part of her history we know comparatively little; the principal object which she seems to have always had in view, however, was her entire emancipation from the quasi-suzerainty of Babylonia. By the fifteenth century B.C. we gather that she had so far achieved her aim as to be able to treat on equal terms with the King of Babylon, and in the so-called "Synchronistic History of Babylonia and Assyria"* we read of the conclusion of treaties regarding the boundaries of the two states by Kara-indash, the Kassite King of Babylon, and Ashurbêl-nishêshu, King of Assyria.

Later on, Assyria became the more powerful kingdom, and Tukulti-Ninib, King of Assyria (about 1275 B.C.), effected the conquest of Babylonia, removed her king into captivity, and established his own form of administration over the southern country. He despoiled the city of her treasures, and carried off the statue of Marduk from the temple of Esagila in Babylon. The fact that he describes himself as "King of Karduniash, King of Sumer and Akkad," indicates that he actually ascended the Babylonian throne.

Assyria's triumph was, however, short-lived, and some seven years after, the nobles of Babylonia

* The tablet on which is inscribed the "Synchronistic History" was found in the library of Ashur-bani-pal, and contains a memorandum of the various dealings of the two states with one another from before 1450 B.C. down to 700 B.C.

revolted, and expelled the Assyrians from their country.

The immediate successors of Tukulti-Ninib carried on an intermittent warfare with Babylonia, the fortune of war sometimes favouring one side, sometimes the other.

In 1100 B.C. Tiglath-pileser I. ascended the throne and extended the limits of his sovereignty on every side. He cleared Northern Mesopotamia, subjugated the "Nairi country," and reduced the mountainous Vannic tribes. He drove the Aramæan hordes across the Euphrates, and even penetrated as far as Arvad in Phœnicia. While here, he had occasion to exchange presents with the then King of Egypt, who evidently intended to exercise as much influence as he could in the affairs of Palestine. Sixty or seventy years later the Hebrews consolidated themselves into a little kingdom under the leadership of Saul and David. Even at this early period in their history the Hebrews had begun to put their faith in the broken reed of Egypt, and Solomon, as we know, contracted a definite alliance with Egypt and married Pharaoh's daughter. After Solomon's death, the kingdom was divided, Rehoboam becoming King of Judah, and Jeroboam the King of the Israelite tribes in the north. Meanwhile, the power of Assyria had been temporarily broken, and Egypt for a time became the principal factor in Oriental politics. (Reference has already been made to the invasion of Palestine and the reduction of Judah by Shashanq I. during the reigns of Rehoboam and Jeroboam (*i.e.*, c. 950 B.C.). Cf. p. 119.)

The period of Assyrian decadence, which had set in shortly after the death of Tiglath-pileser I., lasted

nearly two hundred years, and it was not till the reign of Tukulti-Ninib II. (*c.* 890 B.C.) that Assyria began to recover her former prestige. This monarch



FIG. 46.—Stele of Ashur-naṣir-pal at Calah.

invaded the highland country of Nairi, and reduced it beneath his sway. In 885 B.C. he was succeeded by his son Ashur-naṣir-pal (*cf.* Fig. 46). Allusion has elsewhere been made to the Aramæan hordes

who overran Mesopotamia as early as 1300 B.C., and established a number of independent principalities. These Aramæan princes were aided and abetted by Babylonia, and Ashur-naşir-pal made it his first business to reduce them.

In 877 B.C. he conducted an expedition into Phœnicia, during which he received tribute from Sangara, the King of Carchemish; from Arvad, Gebal, Tyre, and Sidon, and from the Amorites.

Following the example of Shalmaneser I. (King of Assyria *c.* 1300 B.C.), he removed the seat of his government from Ashur to Calah, the modern Nimrûd (cf. Fig. 47), where he built an elaborate palace for himself (cf. Fig. 48), from the ruins of which a large collection of sculptured wall bas-reliefs, winged monsters, bronze dishes, carved ivories and other valuable relics of a bygone age have been rescued.

At this time the dynasty of Omri was reigning in Israel, and both Israel and Judah were probably the vassals of the King of Damascus, the capital of Syria, whose power Ashur-naşir-pal's son and successor, Shalmaneser II., found it hard to break, in spite of repeated attempts, but with whom Ashur-naşir-pal seems to have cautiously refrained from entering into collision.

But before the time of Omri and Ahab, the King of Damascus had clearly extended his sphere of influence and domination over the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, for Asa, King of Judah, had appealed to Syria for help against Baasha, the King of Israel. The appeal was at once responded to, and Israel was invaded, with the result that Israel as well as Judah were forced to bow to the King of Damascus.

In 860 B.C. Shalmaneser II. ascended the throne and carried on the work of his father. The Aramæans had rebelled, but Shalmaneser effectually



FIG. 47.—Nimrud (Calah).

crushed them and put an entire end to their influence as an independent power.

Fortune had further favoured him with a golden opportunity of acquiring suzerainty over Babylon.

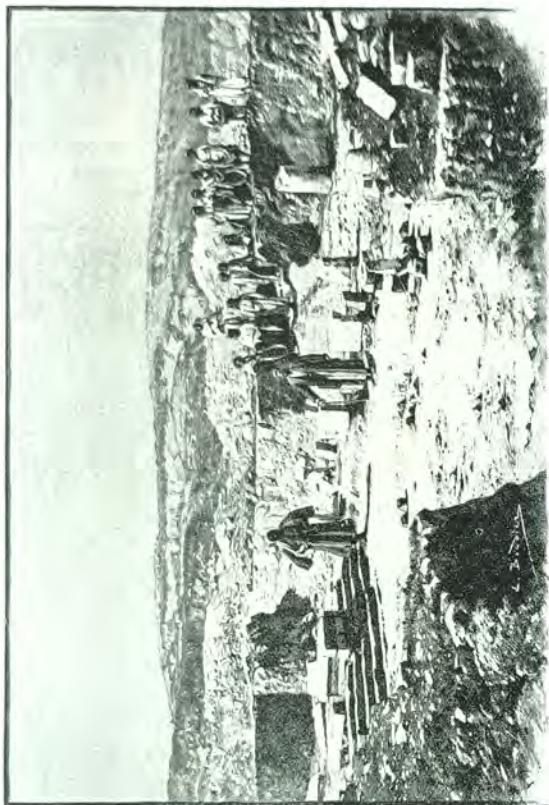


FIG. 48.—A corner of the ruined Palace of Ashur-nasir-pal at Calah.

The Babylonian king, Marduk-shum-iddina, having suffered a defeat at the hands of the Chaldæan prince of the south, appealed for help to Shalmaneser,

who granted the desired help, and in return assumed the suzerainty of Babylonia.

Shalmaneser II.'s campaigns in the west have a particular interest, for it was in the reign of this king that the Israelites first came into immediate contact with the Assyrian colossus.

His father, Ashur-našir-pal, had conquered the district in the north of Palestine, known as Patini, but he had left it to his son to grapple with the far more formidable kingdom of Damascus. Shalmaneser undertook his first campaign against Syria in 854 B.C. Having received the homage of various kings and chieftains on his way, including Sangara of Carchemish and other rulers, who had, on a previous occasion, acknowledged the authority of Ashur-našir-pal, Shalmaneser proceeded to match his forces against Bir-idri,* the King of Damascus. The latter met the

* The much disputed problem as to the possibility of identifying the ¹¹⁴IM-idri of the Assyrian inscriptions with the Hebrew proper name *Benhadad* would appear to be finally solved by a recently discovered inscription of Shalmaneser II. (Berl. Mus. No. 742), which has been transliterated, translated and commented upon by Dr. Langdon. In this inscription the name of the king deposed by Hazael is given as ¹¹⁴IM-id-ri (read by Delitzsch, Winckler, Zimmern and Langdon as ¹¹⁴Pir- (or Bir-) id-ri), which must clearly be the cuneiform equivalent for the Hebrew *Benhadad* of 2 Kings viii. 7 f. Dr. Langdon's translation reads:—

“Salmanassar the great king, the mighty king, king of all the four quarters, the sturdy, the valiant, rival of the princes of the universe, the great kings, son of Asurnazirpal, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Tukulti-Ninib, king of the universe, king of Assyria, conqueror of the lands Enzi[ti], Gilzānu, Hubuš[kia]. Urartu I smote (?). Their overthrow I brought about. Like fire upon them I came. Ahuni son of Adini together with his gods, the soldiers of his land and the goods of his house I seized away for the people of my land. At that time Piriidri of the land of ANSU-SU together with twelve kings his helpers—their overthrow I Brought about. 2900

army of Shalmaneser in the neighbourhood of *Ḳarḳar*,



FIG. 49.—Stele of Shalmaneser II.

and not far from Hamath, whose king was one of Bir-idri's allies. Among his vassals or allies are mentioned the Prince of Cilicia, the Prince of the North Phœnicians, the Prince of the Arabians, and Ahab, King of Israel (cf. Fig. 49). The result of the battle of *Ḳarḳar* is uncertain: Shalmaneser, indeed, claims a great victory for the Assyrians, and boasts that he slew fourteen thousand of their warriors, but his prompt withdrawal to Assyria, and the continuation of the power and influence of Syria in all its former greatness, have a more insistent

eloquence than Shalmaneser's emphatic statements.

strong warriors I crushed like chaff (?). The remainder of his soldiers I heaped into the river Orontes.

"To save their souls they went up. Piridri abandoned his land. *Ḥarad* the son of a nobody seized the throne. His many soldiers he summoned; to conflict and battle against me he went forth. With him I fought. His overthrow I brought about. The wall of his camp I took from him. To save his soul he went up. Unto Damascus the city of his royalty I followed him."

Owing to the troublous condition of affairs in Babylonia, Shalmaneser was obliged to stay his hand till 849 B.C., in which year he renewed hostilities, but no success attended his arms. The *raison d'être* of the repetition of Shalmaneser's bootless efforts lay in the fact that a decisive victory over Bir-idri meant the virtual reduction of Syria and of the whole of Palestine beneath the heel of the Assyrian monarch. Ultimately Shalmaneser's persistency was rewarded, but not before the death of Bir-idri, and the usurpation of the supreme power by Hazael.

Meanwhile the perpetual hostilities with which Shalmaneser kept the King of Damascus engaged, proved an irresistible temptation to Ahab of Israel to throw off the yoke of Bir-idri, King of Syria, but the attempt proved abortive and Ahab met his end in a battle at Ramoth-Gilead. Jehoshaphat, King of Judah, had been obliged to accompany his immediate overlord, the King of Israel, on this occasion, when the latter was fighting against his suzerain lord, the King of Damascus, just as he had probably been compelled to accompany Ahab when the latter had fought in the army of Bir-idri against Shalmaneser II.

But a certain monument of supreme importance, referring to the time of Omri and Ahab, must here be mentioned. In 1868 a large stele of black basalt was found quite accidentally by the Prussian traveller, the Rev. F. A. Klein, at Dibon, a place situated on the east of the Dead Sea in the territory of ancient Moab (cf. Fig. 50). The inscription which it bore proved to be Mesha's own account of the revolt recorded in the Second Book of Kings, where we read that Mesha, King of Moab "was a sheep-master, and rendered unto the King of Israel an hundred thousand

lambs and an hundred thousand rams with their



FIG. 50.—The Moabite Stone, or stele of Mesha.

wool," but that "when Ahab was dead, the King of Moab rebelled against the King of Israel" (2 Kings iii.

4, 5). The text of this stele was first generally made known to European scholars by Clermont-Ganneau.

After having described himself as the son of Chemosh, the national god of Moab, to whom he records his thanks for deliverance from Israel, "who oppressed Moab many days, because Chemosh was angry with his land," Mesha proceeds to narrate his recovery of various Moabite towns taken by Omri, and states that he fortified them and took measures to ensure an adequate supply of water—presumably in anticipation of a possible siege. Most of the places mentioned are already familiar from their occurrence in the descriptions of the territory on the east of the Jordan contained in the Old Testament. Thus Medeba, which is here said to have been annexed by Omri and occupied by Israel during the days of Omri and half the days of his son, but to have been restored to Chemosh during Mesha's reign, occurs in Isaiah's lament over Moab—"He is gone up to Bayith, and to Dibon, the high places, to weep: Moab shall howl over Nebo and over Medeba"



FIG. 51.—The god Nebo.

have been restored to Chemosh during Mesha's reign, occurs in Isaiah's lament over Moab—"He is gone up to Bayith, and to Dibon, the high places, to weep: Moab shall howl over Nebo and over Medeba"

(Is. xv. 2). Nebo, which is here mentioned, is also named on the Moabite Stone, where Mesha says that Chemosh commanded him to go and "take Nebo against Israel," and how that, in obedience to the divine command, the king went forth and fought against it from break of day till noon, but that he ultimately took it and destroyed all the inhabitants. The city was, doubtless, named after the god Nebo, one of the principal gods in the Babylonian pantheon (cf. Fig. 51). The centre of the worship of Nebo was at Borsippa (cf. Fig. 52), the modern Birs-Nimrûd, and the traditional site of the Tower of Babel. In the divine genealogy, Nebo was the son of Marduk, and on every New Year's Day Nebo (*i.e.* his image) progressed in solemn state from Borsippa to Babylon, which lay close by, in order to render homage to his divine father, Marduk, who, in turn, accompanied his son part of the way back. Nebo was essentially the god of wisdom and understanding, and the kings of Babylon, both early and late, were wont to place themselves under the protection and patronage of this deity, and they frequently incorporated his name into their own. The most familiar example of a royal name composed in part of that of the god Nebo is Nebuchadnezzar.

Other Biblical names mentioned on this stele are Kirjathaim (cf. Jer. xlviii. 1, 23; Ezek. xxv. 9) and Horonaim (cf. Is. xv. 5; Jer. xlviii. 3, 5, 34). In regard to the latter, Mesha narrates how that Chemosh bade him "go down, fight against Horonaim," just as Jehovah is so frequently represented in the Old Testament as having commanded his earthly viceroy to arise, go down and capture some hostile city (cf. Josh. xviii. 1), while the reason given by Mesha

for the erection of the high place—"because he (*i.e.* Chemosh) saved me . . . and because he caused

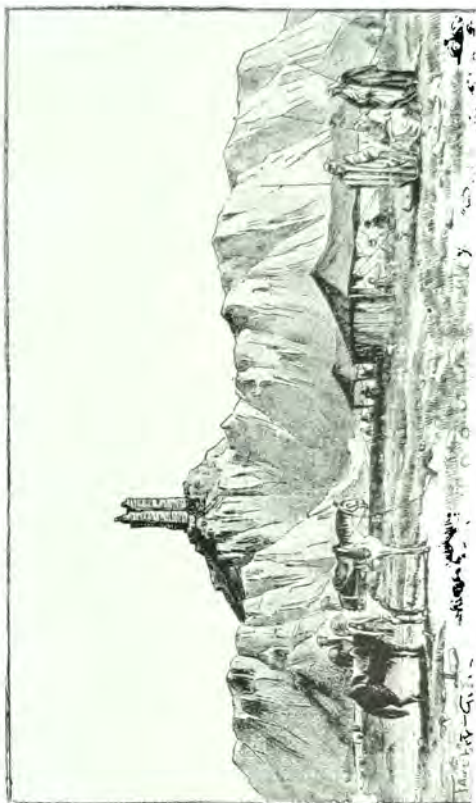


FIG. 52.—Bits-Nimriūt (Borsippa).

me to see (my desire) upon all that hated me," vividly recalls the numerous passages in which the Psalmist exults in the God who has caused him to triumph

over his enemies (*e.g.* Ps. cxviii. 7, "I see (my desire) upon them that hate me." As Prof. Driver has well said, "The inscription of Mesha comes nearer to the Old Testament, and illustrates it more directly than any other inscription hitherto found."

The language in which it is written differs only dialectically from Hebrew and Phœnician, while the script is virtually identical with the old Hebrew script found on the Siloam inscription as well as on the Hebrew ostraka from Samaria.

This script, in which possibly the earlier books of the Old Testament were originally written, differs considerably from the later Hebrew alphabet found in the Hebrew Bibles of to-day. It is therefore obvious at first glance how extremely important the study of Semitic epigraphy is for the solution of the manifold problems of textual criticism, for only the knowledge of the original script in which the Books of the Old Testament were written can enable the student to appreciate the difficulties which the early scribes had to encounter, and the mistakes in copying to which they were liable, and which from time to time they undoubtedly made.

These errors are not a mere matter of conjecture, nor are they simply inferred from the internal evidence of the Hebrew text itself, but are in numerous cases both proved and explained by a comparison with the Septuagint.

The Septuagint or Greek version of the Old Testament was compiled by order of Ptolemy II., Philadelphus, King of Egypt (*c.* 287 B.C.). The world-wide conquests of Alexander the Great had meant the introduction of the Greek language into countries where it had been hitherto unknown.

Hence it was that in Egypt, where there had existed a colony of Jews at least as early as the time of Jeremiah, Greek became the language of the day for Jew and Egyptian alike. Hebrew ceased to be a living language, and only survived as the language of the learned, and this necessitated the translation of the all-important Hebrew scriptures into Greek.

Now the earliest known Hebrew manuscript of the Old Testament dates from the ninth century A.D., whereas the principal Greek manuscripts are several centuries earlier, and the internal evidence of these Greek manuscripts, in passages where they differ from the later Hebrew texts, often enables the student to arrive with practical certainty at the reading of the earlier and no longer existing Hebrew text of which these Greek manuscripts are among the earliest extant representatives. The earliest *dated* MS. of the Bible is in Syriac (Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 14425), it comprises the Pentateuch and was written in 464 A.D.

Ahab was succeeded by his son Ahaziah, who in turn gave place to his brother Joram, both of whom were probably subject to the King of Damascus. Joram attempted to throw off the yoke of his suzerain overlord, and was wounded in battle near Ramoth-Gilead. On returning home, Joram and his ally or vassal, Ahaziah of Judah, fell victims to the revolution of Jehu (c. 842 B.C.).

Meanwhile, Hazael the usurper had established himself upon the throne of Syria, and both Hazael and Jehu were compelled to accept Shalmaneser II., the King of Assyria, as their suzerain overlord.

The record of their submission to Assyria is to be found on Shalmaneser's famous obelisk (cf. Fig. 53). This monolith of black alabaster was

erected by Shalmaneser II. in the central building at



FIG. 53.—The black obelisk.

Nimrûd, and is inscribed with an account of the campaigns conducted by Shalmaneser during the thirty odd years of his reign. In addition to the inscription, the four sides of the obelisk together bear twenty small reliefs, divisible into five series, each series being a pictorial representation of the tribute brought by a particular subject tribe or country.

The long inscription round the top and base of the obelisk contains no reference to Jehu, but in that portion of the text in which the events of the eighteenth year of Shalmaneser II. are narrated, we read that the King of Assyria captured 1121 chariots, 470 war-horses, and the entire camp of Hazael, King of Syria (cf. 1 Kings xix. 15).

The second series of reliefs gives us a representation of Jehu rendering homage and bringing tribute to his suzerain overlord, the King of Assyria (cf. Fig. 54). The

superscription to this series informs us that the scenes refer to the tribute brought by "Ia-u-a (*i.e.* Jehu),



FIG. 54.—Jehu's submission to Shalmaneser II.

the son of Khu-um-ri (*i.e.* Omri)," which consisted of gold, silver, and lead, together with dishes, bowls, cups, and other vessels of gold (cf. Fig. 55). The

designation of Jehu as the "son of Omri" indicates the prosperity to which the Israelites had attained



FIG. 55.—Part of Israel's tribute to Shalmaneser II.

under the dynasty of Omri, for the "house of Omri" seems to have become practically synonymous with the "kingdom of Israel." In reality Jehu was not

only not the son or descendant of Omri, but the actual exterminator of the dynasty founded by that king.

In regard to the other series of reliefs depicted on this monument, the first refers to the tribute brought by Súa of Gilzani, who brought gold, silver, lead, vessels of copper, dromedaries, and horses.

The third is a representation of the tribute of the land of Musri, which consisted in elephants, dromedaries, buffaloes, apes, and various other animals.

The fourth has reference to the payment of tribute by Marduk-aplu-ušur, of the land of Sukhu, which consisted in gold, vessels of gold, silver, ivory, coloured raiment, and various stuffed goods.

The fifth series is occupied with a representation of the payment of tribute by Garparunda, of the land of Patin, who brought gold, silver, copper, vessels of copper, lead, ivory, and *urkarinu* wood.

After the reigns of Shalmaneser II.'s immediate successors the power of Assyria declined, and it was not till the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III. (745 B.C.) that she began to recover her former position.

Tiglath-Pileser III. (or "Pul" as he is called in 2 Kings xv. 19 and 1 Chron. v. 26) (cf. Fig. 56) reigned some eighteen years, during which he retrieved the fortunes of his country and extended the limits of his empire even to the borders of Egypt.

His campaigns in Syria spelt disaster and captivity to the people of Israel. Ahaz, King of Judah, was threatened with an attack from the combined forces of Rezin, King of Damascus, and Pekah, King of Israel. The allies had already invaded the territory of Judah and had captured the town of Elath (2 Kings xvi. 6), and at this juncture Ahaz consulted

Isaiah as to what future steps to take. The prophet reassured him, and bade him have no fear of "these



FIG. 56.—Tiglath-Pileser III. in his state chariot.

two tails of smoking firebrands," of "the fierce anger of Rezin with Syria, and of the son of Remaliah"

(*i.e.* Pekah)—“Thus saith the Lord God, It shall not stand, neither shall it come to pass. For the head of Syria is Damascus, and the head of Damascus is Rezin; and within threescore and five years shall Ephraim be broken that it be not a people. And the head of Ephraim is Samaria, and the head of Samaria is Remaliah's son. If ye will not believe surely ye shall not be established” (Is. vii. 4-9).

But Isaiah's advice was not taken, and Ahaz appealed to Tiglath-Pileser, who, being only too pleased to avail himself of the opportunity of intermeddling with the affairs of Palestine, invaded Syria, subdued the enemies of Ahaz, and carried into captivity the Israelite tribes of Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh, whose territory lay on the east side of the river Jordan. But the help of Assyria was only purchased by a complete acceptance of her suzerainty, and thus it is that on a clay tablet now preserved in the British Museum (K. 2751), on which is inscribed an account of Tiglath-Pileser's conquests and building operations, “Ahaz, King of Judah,” is mentioned as one of the tributary kings (*cf.* Fig. 57).

Numerous sculptures of this king have been discovered in the ruins of his palace at Nimrûd, one of the most interesting of which is reproduced in Fig. 58. Tiglath-Pileser is here seen in the act of besieging a city with the aid of his battering-ram. The movable tower within which the ram was worked has been advanced up an artificial mound or bank. The archers behind are sheltered by large wicker shields, while in the background there is the gruesome spectacle of a number of rebels impaled on stakes. The picture vividly recalls the reassuring words addressed by Isaiah to Hezekiah, King of Judah, when

panic-stricken at the prospect of an imminent attack by Sennacherib—"Therefore thus saith the Lord concerning the King of Assyria, He shall not come into this city, nor shoot an arrow there, nor come before it with shields, nor cast a mound against it" (Is. xxxvii.



Photo, Mansell.

FIG. 57.—Brick of Tiglath-Pileser III.

33). Both the "shield," the "arrow," and the "mound" here alluded to are all strikingly portrayed on this monument of Tiglath-Pileser III.

Hoshea was placed on the throne of Israel as successor to Pekah, whom Tiglath-Pileser III. put to death—"Pekah I slew. . . . I appointed Hoshea over them." Hoshea appears to have remained a

faithful and obedient vassal of Assyria until the death of Tiglath-Pileser, but on the accession of Shalmaneser IV. he joined the anti-Assyrian party and sought an alliance with Egypt. But the extent of Egypt's active support at all times varied inversely with the profusion of her promises, and the doom of Israel was sealed. In 724 B.C. Shalmaneser advanced



Photo, Mansell.

FIG. 58.—Tiglath-Pileser III. besieging a city.

against Samaria, and being unable to take it by storm he laid siege to the city. The city held out for three years but was ultimately captured in 722 B.C. In the meantime, Shalmaneser fell victim to a revolution and was succeeded by Sargon the usurper (cf. Fig. 59).

Sargon is only mentioned once in the Old Testament (Is. xx. 1); and until the excavations, though

Gesenius, Ewald, and other leading scholars rightly saw that it was the name of a king who reigned between Shalmaneser IV. and Sennacherib, nothing more could be said about him. But the excavations



FIG. 59.—Sargon of Assyria and his Vizier.

have not only established the identity of Sargon's personality, but have proved that he was one of the most powerful kings that ever sat upon the throne of Assyria. The fall of Samaria was one

of the inaugural events of his reign, and was signalized by the deportation of more than 27,000 Israelites into captivity. They were settled in the neighbourhood of "Halah," in Mesopotamia, on the "Habor," and also in Media (cf. further p. 198).

Two years after his accession, Iaubdi (cf. Fig. 60),



FIG. 60.—Iaubdi of Hamath being flayed alive.

the King of Hamath, in league with Damascus, Samaria, and Arpad, revolted, but their combined forces were defeated at Karkar.

Sargon was furthermore the first Assyrian king to come into direct conflict with the Egyptians, who together with their Philistine allies from Gaza, sustained a defeat at Raphia, close to the Egyptian frontier.

The name of the Egyptian general was Sib'i, who is generally considered to be the So to whom Hoshea sent messengers with a view to forming an alliance against Assyria (2 Kings xvii. 4), while both are probably to be identified with Shabaka (cf. Fig.



FIG. 61.—Sabaco.



FIG. 62.—Sennacherib.

61), who, at the time of the battle of Raphia, had not yet usurped the throne. Sargon did not, however, follow up his victory by an invasion of Egypt, for, in spite of the superior equipment and fighting capacity of the Assyrian army, the resources of Egypt were practically unlimited, and he rightly judged that the time had not yet come for the conquest of Egypt.

On his death in 705 B.C. he was succeeded by Sennacherib (cf. Fig. 62), who, like his predecessors, was engaged during the greater part of his reign on

the battlefield. Having suppressed the ever-rebellious Babylonians, Sennacherib invaded Syria (701 B.C.), and after attacking the King of Sidon and receiving the submission of the neighbouring towns, he marched south, received the submission of Ashkelon, and proceeded to attack the Philistine city of Ekron. The inhabitants of Ekron had seized Padî, the governor whom the Assyrians had set over them, and sent him to Hezekiah at Jerusalem, while, at the same time, they placed themselves under the protection and quasi-suzerainty of Hezekiah. After Sennacherib had defeated Zedekiah, King of Askelon, and razed his fortresses to the ground, he advanced against Ekron, to which he was about to lay siege when the belated arrival of the Egyptian allies led to an immediate encounter at Altaku (*i.e.* the Eltekeh of Josh. xix. 44) in Dan. As at Raphia, the superiority of the Assyrian arms was at once felt, and both Ekron and Altaku, together with the neighbouring fortress of Timnath, capitulated.

Sennacherib next directed his attention towards Hezekiah, King of Judah, who had utilized the momentary respite afforded by Sennacherib's pre-occupation at Altaku to fortify Jerusalem and reorganize the army.

The active list comprised not only Jewish soldiers, but also a number of mercenaries from North Arabia. The city wall was in urgent need of repair, and Hezekiah hastened to prepare it for the exigencies of war; time evidently did not allow him to procure fresh material for his building operations, and he was obliged to demolish the surrounding houses in order to accomplish the work. The supply of water also demanded instant attention, and he constructed a

large reservoir between the inner and outer walls of the city. The city was thus rendered strong enough



FIG. 63.—The Siloam inscription.

to successfully resist any ordinary attack, and Sennacherib at present refrained from marching

against the city, and determined to subjugate the rest of the country first.

Mention may here be made of the renowned "Siloam inscription" discovered at Jerusalem in 1880. The inscription occupied a niche in the rock, some twenty feet from the lower end of a long subterranean aqueduct over 1700 feet long, which conveyed the water from the Virgin's Pool on the east side of the city, under the Temple Hill, to the Pool of Siloam, at the entrance to the Tyropæon Valley. The text is mutilated, but the six remaining lines run thus:—"The boring; and this has been the method of the boring; while yet . . . the pick-axe, each to his fellow, and while there were still three cubits to . . . the call of one crying out to his fellow, for there has been an excess in the rock to the right . . . on the day of boring they hewed this mine, each to meet his fellow pick to pick; and the waters flowed from the source to the pool for two hundred and a thousand cubits; and an hundred cubits has been the height of the rock above this mine." The workmen, evidently pressed by the urgency of the occasion and the imminence of a siege, had started tunnelling at both ends and had overlapped.

The inscription is written in the old Hebrew characters, which differ but slightly from those found on the Moabite Stone and on the Phœnician inscriptions.

The aqueduct was probably made by Hezekiah, to whose reign the inscription must, therefore, also be assigned.

Having pitched his camp near Lachish (the modern Tell el-Hesy), taken the city by assault, and received the submission of its inhabitants, Sennacherib

proceeded to devastate the surrounding country. The inscription on the bas-relief reproduced in Fig. 64. states that Sennacherib, King of hosts, King of Assyria, "sat upon his throne of state, and the spoil of the city of Lachish passed before him."

While Sennacherib was encamped before Lachish, Hezekiah sent a message to him, saying: "I have offended; return from me; that which thou puttest on me I will bear. And the King of Assyria appointed unto Hezekiah, King of Judah, three hundred talents of silver and thirty talents of gold." He further gave him "all the silver that was found in the house of the Lord, and in the treasures of the king's house." He even cut off "the gold from the doors of the temple of the Lord, and from the pillars which Hezekiah, King of Judah, had overlaid, and gave it to the King of Assyria" (2 Kings xviii. 13-16). But Sennacherib was only momentarily content with this form of submission, while Hezekiah, on the other hand, relying on the support of Egypt, soon made an attempt to regain his independence.

Sennacherib thereupon sent a peremptory message by the hand of his Rab-shakeh, the purport of which was that, if they submitted to his suzerainty, every one would be able to "eat of his own vine and . . . fig-tree," and to drink of "the waters of his own cistern," but, if they refused to surrender, neither God nor man could save them from the heavy hand of his vengeance.

On this occasion Hezekiah seems to have stood his ground, and the Rab-shakeh returned to Sennacherib, who had left Lachish and was battling against Libnah. According to 2 Kings xix. 9, he again

despatched messengers to Hezekiah with the same message and the same result.



FIG. 64.—Sennacherib at Lachish.

Soon after this, Sennacherib marched westward

with a view to engaging the Egyptian army encamped at Pelusium, a town on the Egyptian frontier. This battle was never fought, owing to some great and unexpected disaster—probably an outbreak of plague—which overtook the Assyrian army. Thus, we read in 2 Kings xix. 35: "The angel of the Lord went out, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred fourscore and five thousand; and when they arose early in the morning, behold, they were all dead corpses." With his army thus decimated, Sennacherib returned to Nineveh.

His own account of the expedition to Palestine is to be found on a six-sided baked clay cylinder (cf. Fig. 65), on which is inscribed an account of eight campaigns undertaken by this monarch between the years 705 and 681 B.C.

This important inscription records the defeat of Merodach-Baladan, the King of Babylon, referred to in Isaiah xxxix. Merodach-Baladan apparently made an intrigue with Hezekiah, for we read that he sent "letters and a present to Jerusalem," the ostensible cause of this attention being that news had reached him of Hezekiah's recovery from sickness (Is. xxxix. 1). Hezekiah at once embraced the opportunity of contracting an alliance, and proceeded to show the messengers of the King of Babylon "the house of his precious things, the silver and the gold and the spices, and the precious ointment, and all the house of his armour, and all that was found in his treasures; there was nothing in his house, nor in all his dominion, that Hezekiah showed them not." For this he was sternly rebuked by Isaiah, who significantly told him that not only would an alliance with Babylon not save him, but the day would verily come when all

that was in his house, and all that his fathers had

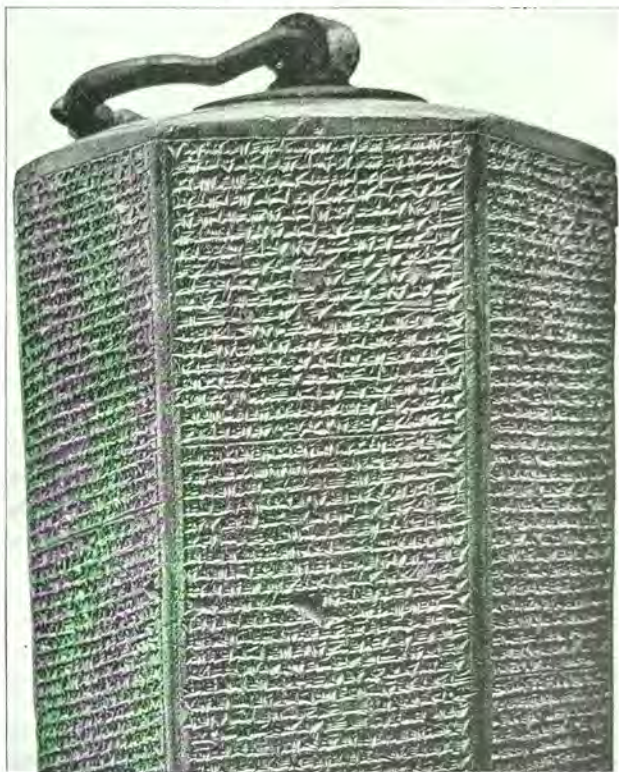


Photo. Mansell.

FIG. 65.—The Taylor cylinder of Sennacherib.

laid up in store, would be carried to Babylon ;
“ nothing shall be left, saith the Lord ” (Is. xxxix. 6).

The alliance did not even serve any temporary

purpose, nor did it prevent Sennacherib from laying siege to Jerusalem.

Sennacherib not only defeated Merodach-Baladan,

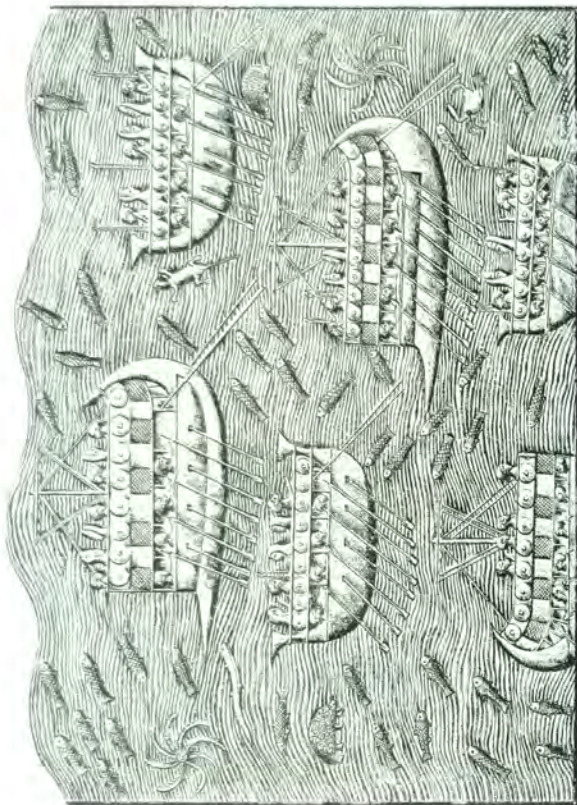


FIG. 66.—Fleet of Sennacherib.

but also sacked the city of Babylon (689 B.C.), and deposed Merodach-Baladan in favour of Ashur-nadin-

shum, Sennacherib's son. He further records his victories over the Medes, the Kassites, and other peoples on his eastern and north-western frontiers; his naval expedition against the Babylonian rebels across the mouth of the Persian Gulf (cf. Fig. 66), and the ultimate defeat of both Babylonians and Elamites. He concludes with a description of the palace he built for himself at Nineveh (cf. Fig. 67). The portion of the inscription dealing with his military achievements in Southern Palestine reads as follows: "I drew nigh to Ekron, and I slew the governors and princes who had transgressed, and I hung upon poles round about the city their dead bodies; the people of the city who had done wickedly and had committed offences I counted as spoil, but those who had not done these things and who were not taken in iniquity I pardoned. I brought their King Padi forth from Jerusalem, and I established him upon the throne of dominion over them, and I



FIG. 67.—The mounds of Nineveh as seen from Mosul.

laid tribute upon him. I then besieged Hezekiah of Judah, who had not submitted to my yoke, and I captured forty-six of his strong cities and fortresses, and innumerable small cities which were round about them, with the battering of rams and the assault of engines, and the attack of foot soldiers, and by mines and breaches (made in the walls). I brought out therefrom two hundred thousand and one hundred and fifty people, both small and great, male and female, and horses, and mules, and asses, and camels, and oxen, and innumerable sheep I counted as spoil. (Hezekiah) himself, like a caged bird, I shut up within Jerusalem, his royal city. I drew up mounds against him, and I took vengeance upon any man who came forth from his city. His cities which I had captured I took from him and gave to Mitinti, King of Ashdod, and Padî, King of Ekron, and Silli-Bêl, King of Gaza, and I reduced his land. I added to their former yearly tribute, and increased the gifts which they paid unto me. The fear of the majesty of my sovereignty overwhelmed Hezekiah, and the Urbi (a tribe in Northern Arabia) and his trusty warriors, whom he had brought into his royal city of Jerusalem to protect it, deserted. And he despatched after me his messenger to my royal city Nineveh to pay tribute and to make submission with thirty talents of gold, eight hundred talents of silver, precious stones . . . ivory couches and thrones, hides and tusks, precious woods and various objects, a heavy treasure, together with his daughters, and the women of his palace, and male and female musicians."

It is a significant fact that though Sennacherib here boasts that he "shut up Hezekiah like a caged bird in Jerusalem," he does not say that he took the

bird out of his cage ; and, needless to say, had he captured his prize, he would not have hesitated to relate the fact.

The information regarding the building operations of Sennacherib contained in this inscription has been considerably augmented by the recovery of another baked clay cylinder of Sennacherib recently acquired by the British Museum. It gives additional details in regard to the extent of the city and the dimensions of the royal palace as rebuilt by Sennacherib, while it also records the completion of the outer and inner walls of the city, and gives the names and positions of the fifteen city gates.

Sennacherib's death, recorded in 2 Kings xix. 37—"And it came to pass, as he was worshipping in the house of Nisroch his god, that Adrammelech and Sharezer smote him with the sword ; and they escaped into the land of Armenia : and Esarhaddon his son reigned in his stead"—occurred in 681 B.C. After an internal struggle, and the flight of Sharezer to Armenia, Esarhaddon ascended the throne. The chief event of his reign was the conquest and occupation of Lower Egypt in 672 B.C. Egypt, at this time under the rule of the Ethiopian King Tirhakah (cf. Fig. 68), successfully resisted the first attack of Esarhaddon (673 B.C.), and their victory led Tyre to revolt against Assyria. Tirhakah is mentioned in Isaiah xxxvii. 9 (= 2 Kings xix. 9), as the contemporary of



FIG. 68.—Tirhakah.

Sennacherib and the King of Egypt who "came forth to make war" with him. Though Tyre was not completely crushed, she received a severe check, which considerably damped the ardour of the Egyptians. Esarhaddon was not, however, able to wreak his vengeance on Egypt at present, as the mountainous tribes on his northern frontier demanded his instant attention. Having settled matters in this quarter, he was free to match his arms against those of Egypt, but his delay in making an advance proved an inducement to Tirhakah to renew his intrigues with Syria, but apparently without success. Esarhaddon advanced through Phœnicia and Palestine, and entered Egypt by way of the Wâdi Tûmilât. The Egyptians made a stubborn resistance and disputed each step, but Tirhakah was finally compelled to beat a retreat southwards. Esarhaddon wisely refrained from pursuing his enemy further, and contented himself with the capture of Memphis. On his return through Syria he set up the well-known stele of Zinjirli in commemoration of his triumph (cf. Fig. 69). Esarhaddon here (Fig. 69) stands erect, while at his feet kneel two of his vanquished and allied rivals, namely Baal of Tyre, and Tirhakah, the Ethiopian King of Egypt. Through the lips of these diminutive and submissive ex-kings, metal rings have been passed, and the cords which have been fastened to these are held in the king's left hand, a grim and effective way of representing their complete subjection.

Manasseh, the successor of Hezekiah, seems to have acknowledged the supremacy of Assyria. All we learn of him from the inscriptions is that he was one of the twenty-two kings of the West whom Esarhaddon

commanded to furnish him with materials for building a palace, and who, when Ashur-bani-pal was march-



FIG. 69.—Stele of Esarhaddon.

ing against Egypt, came to meet him and "kissed his feet."*

* Cf. K. B. 2, 161, 239; Driver in Hogarth, *Auth. and Arch.*, pp. 111, 113.

Towards the close of Esarhaddon's reign, Memphis was recaptured by Tirhakah, and the expulsion of the Assyrians *en bloc* was threatened.

The suppression of this rising was the first work to be undertaken by Ashur-bani-pal,* who succeeded Esarhaddon in 668 B.C. (cf. Fig. 70). It entailed three campaigns, and it was not till the capital city of Thebes (called "No-Amon" in Nahum) had been captured, 666 B.C., that Assyrian rule was once more established.

Under Ashur-bani-pal, Assyria attained the height of her power and the zenith of her fame. In a long series of campaigns, which culminated in the sack of Susa (640 B.C.), Elam was completely subdued, and reduced to the position of an Assyrian province.

The revolt of Babylonia under Shamash-shum-ukîn, the younger brother of Ashur-bani-pal, was crushed in the same vigorous manner, and Shamash-shum-ukîn was burnt alive.

But while Ashur-bani-pal was thus preoccupied, Egypt asserted her independence, and Gyges, the vassal-king of Lydia, similarly bade defiance to Assyria. Lydia was reduced, but Egypt retained her freedom.

Meanwhile the Medes were beginning to make inroads on the eastern frontier, and by the time of Ashur-bani-pal's death (626 B.C.), the power of Assyria had greatly declined, and her doom was sealed.

A few years later, Cyaxares, King of the Medes, defeated the Assyrian army and laid siege to Nineveh, but the advance and expansion of the Scythian

* The "great and noble Asnapper" of Ezra (iv. 10) is generally identified with Ashur-bani-pal.

barbarians compelled Cyaxares to direct his attention elsewhere, and Assyria thus enjoyed a momentary respite. Cyaxares, however, soon reappeared on the scene with his ally Nabopolassar, of Babylon, and again



FIG. 70.—Ashur-bani-pal as a bearer of offerings.

laid siege to Nineveh, "that great city." Sin-shar-iskun, the Assyrian king, shut himself up at Nineveh and held out for two years, but at length, when food supplies, ammunition, and men failed, and there was no further hope, he burnt himself alive in his palace in company with his wives and his children. Such

was the dramatic close of Assyria's history, the finality of which is so graphically described by Nahum (iii.)—"There is no healing of thy bruise; thy wound is grievous; all that hear the bruit of thee shall clap the hands over thee: for upon whom hath not thy wickedness passed continually?"

Meanwhile Egypt had seized the opportunity afforded by Assyria's impotent condition to endeavour to re-establish her former position in Palestine. In 608 B.C. Pharaoh-Necho invaded the country, and was opposed by Josiah, King of Judah, whom he defeated and slew at Megiddo (2 Kings xxiii. 29; 2 Chron. xxxv. 20-24). Josiah was succeeded by his youngest son Shallum, who assumed the name "Jehoahaz" on his succession. After a three months' reign he was deposed and imprisoned by Necho, while his crown was given to his elder brother, Eliakim, who adopted the name "Jehoiakim." After having laid Judah under tribute to the amount of one hundred talents of silver and one talent of gold, Necho returned to Egypt (cf. Fig. 71).



FIG. 71.—Scarab of Necho.

On the fall of Nineveh, Cyaxares and Nabopolassar divided the empire between them, Assyria proper passing under the rule of the Medes, and Babylonia into the hands of Nabopolassar, who thus became the founder of the short-lived Neo-Babylonian dynasty.

His death occurred soon afterwards, and he was succeeded by his son Nebuchadnezzar II. (c. 605 B.C.), who at the time of his father's demise was engaged on a campaign against Egypt, in which he had totally

defeated Pharaoh-Necho and his Greek and Asiatic allies at Carchemish.

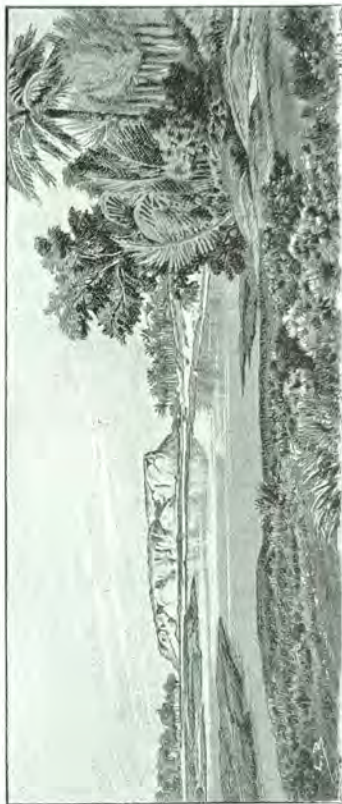


FIG. 72.—The Kasr (Babylon) seen from the south.

The return of Necho's decimated legions through the territory of Judah must have presented a striking

contrast to his triumphal progress a short time previously, and is referred to by Jeremiah, who ironically bids them prepare their bucklers and shields, harness their horses, and prepare their coats of mail (xlvi. 3-6) —“Go up into Gilead, and take balm, O virgin daughter of Egypt; in vain dost thou use many medicines; there is no healing for thee” (xlvi. 11).

On news of his father's death, Nebuchadnezzar immediately returned to Babylon and was crowned king. Palestine, however, did not long remain quiet, and Jehoiakim, in reliance on help from Egypt, threw off the yoke (c. 601 B.C.). He was soon vanquished, and, according to Josephus, was put to death (597 B.C.). Jehoiakim was succeeded by his son Jehoiachin, who at once submitted, “and went out to the King of Babylon, he, and his mother, and his servants, and his princes, and his officers.” All the principal people of Jerusalem, together with a number of “craftsmen and smiths,” were removed to Babylon (2 Kings xxiv. 12 f.), while the rule of the remainder was vested in Jehoiachin's uncle Mattaniah, who took the name of Zedekiah.

But Zedekiah soon exhibited the same lack of statesmanship as his ancestors, and in reliance on support from Egypt raised the standard of revolt.

The siege of Jerusalem was commenced in the ninth year of Zedekiah. Apries (Hophra), King of Egypt, sent an army to the aid of his discomfited ally, but it only served as a temporary diversion, and the city ultimately fell. Zedekiah escaped, but was captured in the plains of Jericho and brought to Nebuchadnezzar at Riblah. A holocaust having been made of the royal princes and other grandees,

Zedekiah's eyes were put out (cf. Fig. 74), and he was despatched in chains to Babylon, whither the flower of the population were also carried (586 B.C.).

Nebuchadnezzar's successors were weak sovereigns, and the meteoric empire which Nebuchadnezzar had reared with such energy soon began to crumble.



FIG. 73.—Sphinx of Pharaoh-Hophra.

In the reign of Nabonidus, the last king of the dynasty, Babylon itself was placed under the command of Belshazzar, the king's son. The most interesting and luminous reference to Belshazzar in Babylonian records, is that contained on four baked clay foundation-cylinders of Nabonidus discovered at Mukeyyer (Ur).

The text which commemorates the rebuilding of the temple of the moon-god at Ur by Nabonidus, concludes with a prayer to the same god on behalf of himself and Belshazzar his eldest son. After having petitioned the god to set the fear of his "exalted godhead" in the hearts of the Babylonians, "that they sin not" against that exalted godhead, and having further prayed that they may "stand fast like

the heavens," he continues—"And as for me, Nabonidus, King of Babylon, preserve thou me from sinning against thine exalted godhead, and graciously grant me a long life ; and in the heart of Belshazzar, my first-born son, the offspring of my loins, set the

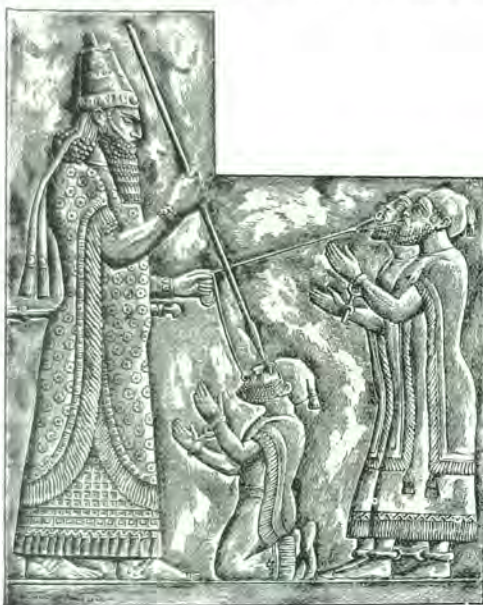


FIG. 74.—A king putting out the eyes of a prisoner.

fear of thine exalted godhead, so that he may commit no sin, and may be satisfied with the fulness of life."

In regard to his private affairs, we learn from one inscription that he purchased some land in the first year of Nabonidus ; from another we gather that in

the eleventh year of Nabonidus a certain Iddina-Marduk owed him 20 mana of silver for goods received. Other inscriptions again refer to various offerings made in the temple at Sippar on his behalf.

On the 16th of Tammuz, 538 B.C., Gobryas, the general of Cyrus, King of Anshân, entered Babylon, and it is stated that, on the 11th of Marchesvan, Gobryas . . . did something, and that the son of the king (*i.e.* Belshazzar) died.

This passage doubtless refers to the attack recorded in Daniel v. 30—"In that night was Belshazzar the King of the Chaldæans slain."

From this date down to the time of Alexander the Great, Babylonia remained under Persian rule.

NOTE.

The theory that the Decalogue was originally written in cuneiform has been put forward by Dr. Jeremias * and has been advocated by other scholars, some of whom consider that the supposed cuneiform original was Hebrew, others that it was Babylonian in language as well as in script. The argument is mainly based on the fact that cuneiform was the script used in all diplomatic correspondence in Palestine in the middle of the second millenium B.C., that the Pentateuch contains expressions similar to those found in Babylonian, and that it readily admits of translation into Babylonian. The "Mosaic" literature is, however, not diplomatic in character, and the existence of similar expressions in two kindred languages is merely what one would expect, as has been pointed out by the scholars cited below. Prof. Naville, in support of the comparison of the burial of records in the foundations of Egyptian temples with the "finding of the Law" (2 Kings xxii. 3), argues that Deuteronomy (which is generally believed to be the book of the law discovered in the House of the Lord in the reign of Josiah (cf. 2 Kings xxiii. 3)) had been deposited in the walls of Solomon's

* Cf. *Das alte Testament in Lichte des alten Orients*, p. 263 (quoted by Naville).

temple, and that its date, therefore, cannot be later than the time of Solomon, while he further expresses the opinion * that "Moses wrote in Babylonian cuneiform those books which are attributed to him, and of which he is the probable author." The legitimacy of the comparison with Egyptian custom, and also in part of the conclusions drawn in regard to the supposed cuneiform originals of the Pentateuch, is upheld by Professor Sayce,† H. Grimme,‡ and other scholars, but denied by W. Erb,§ who would rather explain the episode from a Babylonian custom (cf. p. 165), and also by Paul Haupt,|| E. König,¶ Cheyne,** Chapman,†† G. A. Cooke,‡‡ A. H. McNeile, §§ and the majority of scholars. ||| The case in support of the theory is stated in Naville's book, while the arguments that have been adduced against it are concisely set forth by Chapman,†† and G. A. Cooke.‡‡

* Cf. Naville, *The Discovery of the Book of the Law*, p. 40.

† Cf. Sayce's Introduction to *The Discovery of the Law*, and *Expository Times*, 1909, p. 45.

‡ Cf. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, x. cols. 610-615.

§ *Ibid.*, xi. cols. 57-62.

|| *Ibid.*, xi. cols. 119-125.

¶ *Ibid.*, xi. cols. 125-127, and *Zeitschrift of the Deutsch. Morgenländ. Gesellschaft*, vol. lxiv. pp. 715-732.

** *Ibid.*, xi. col. 195.

†† *Introduction to the Pentateuch* (1911), pp. 320-322.

‡‡ "Was Deuteronomy written in Cuneiform?" in the *Interpreter*, July, 1912, p. 380 f.

§§ *Deuteronomy, its Place in Revelation* (1912), p. 17.

||| For a detailed critical study of the date of Deuteronomy, cf. Driver, *Deuteronomy*, pp. xli.-lxv.

CHAPTER V

THE CAPTIVITIES, AND AFTER

THE political, social, and religious conditions under which the Jews lived during their exile in Babylonia may be inferred from the contemporary writings of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. From these we gather that their lot was not that of a people crushed beneath the heel of a tyrannical and oppressive task-master, but rather that of a tribe enjoying full religious and personal liberty so long as they showed no signs of rebellion against their suzerain overlords. The flower of the Jewish nation had been deported and detained by Nebuchadnezzar for purely political purposes, and provided that those purposes were achieved, Nebuchadnezzar had no intention or inclination to interfere with the individual or collective rights of the vanquished.

Thus it is that Jeremiah, whom the miserable remnant of discontented Jews had forcibly carried away to Egypt, where they sought asylum from the Babylonians, bade his compatriots in Babylon "build houses and dwell in them, plant gardens and eat the fruit of them," and "seek the peace of the city whither I (*i.e.* Jehovah) have caused you to be carried away captives, and pray unto the Lord for it; for in the peace thereof shall ye have peace" (cf. Jer. xxix. 5,

6 ft.), and it is obvious that such directions would not have been issued had the existing conditions rendered their fulfilment a total impossibility.

The same remark holds good in regard to the practice of their religion. It is true that the reported edict of Nebuchadnezzar enjoining every one to fall down before the golden image "that Nebuchadnezzar the king had set up," would appear at first sight to indicate an attempt to suppress the religion of the exiles in favour of the local Babylonian cults, but in reality the required act was but the outward and visible acknowledgment of Babylonian suzerainty, a suzerainty which Jeremiah himself had urged the Jews to accept, as being the will of Jehovah (Jer. xxix. 4).

The temple indeed was no more, and burnt offerings and sacrifices could no longer be offered as the outward and visible sign of Jewish piety and devotion, but the spirit of Judaism was not dead nor even dormant, and the religious aspirations of the faithful found satisfaction in offering the more acceptable sacrifice of prayer, and without doubt the synagogue, which has been the centralizing and unifying influence of Judaism for so many centuries, owes its origin to the penitent exiles of Babylon. But in spite of all this, the demoralizing tendency of surrounding idolatry and unbridled luxury made a marked impression upon the more worldly-minded of the domiciled aliens, some of whom lapsed into idolatry, while the general indifference to the claims of Judaism among the "upper ten" of Jewish society was subsequently made manifest in their reluctance to avail themselves of the permission granted by Cyrus to return to their native land.

The inauguration of Persian sway in the land of Judah's captivity marked the beginning of the last phase in the dramatic history of the pre-Christian Jews. The reign of Cyrus (cf. Fig. 75) was characterized by a clemency seldom exhibited by the



FIG. 75.—Cyrus the Achæmenian.

monarchs of Oriental antiquity, a clemency which accrued to the benefit of the Jews as well as to that of the other subject peoples, but their satisfaction was not as entire as might have been expected, chiefly owing to the fact that the Jews had long cherished

the hope of seeing their Babylonian overlords crushed beneath the heel of a ruthless conqueror. But the policy of Cyrus was dictated by the considerations of State interest rather than by any personal inclinations of his own; history has abundantly proved that a despotic rule can at best be but short-lived, and a large and varied population can only be kept in subjection for any length of time so long as they are permitted to live under conditions which do not perpetually cry aloud for redress, and Cyrus recognized this fact and shaped his policy in pursuance thereto. Before his time, the foreign monarchs with whom the Jews had come into immediate contact were, for the most part, either harsh tyrants or else deceptive allies, but Cyrus could afford to be generous, and his generosity is an incidental testimony to the completeness of his victory. Both the Babylonians, who had been the immediate victims of his attack, and also the Jewish exiles, enjoyed the sunshine of his benevolence, and were allowed a free hand in the exercise of their religious obligations and the gratification of their religious propensities. Hence the prophet describes him as an "anointed" king (Is. xlv. 1), and as the "shepherd" of the Lord (xlv. 28). In the first year of his reign (2 Chron. xxxvi. 22) Cyrus made a proclamation to the effect that he had been charged by Jehovah "to build Him a house at Jerusalem," and at the same time bade the people of Jehovah "go up to Jerusalem, which is in Judah, and build the house of the Lord God of Israel which is in Jerusalem." The actuating cause which is ascribed to Cyrus for this act of piety is that "the Lord God of heaven hath given me (*i.e.* Cyrus) all the kingdoms of the earth," but Cyrus himself claims

Marduk the supreme god of Babylon as his patron, and in the cuneiform account of his conquest of Babylonia, perpetuated on a baked clay cylinder, he informs us that "He (*i.e.* Marduk) sought out a righteous prince, a man after his own heart, whom he might take by the hand; and he called his name Cyrus, King of Anshan, and he proclaimed his name for sovereignty over the whole world. The hordes of the land of Kutu he forced into submission at his feet, and the men whom (the god) had delivered into his hands he justly and righteously cared for. And Marduk, the great lord, the protector of his people, beheld his good deeds and his righteous heart with joy. . . . Without battle and without fighting Marduk made him enter into his city of Babylon; he spared Babylon tribulation, and Nabonidus, the king who feared him not, he delivered into his hand." The conquest of Babylonia by a foreign prince is thus regarded as the direct consequence of the native king's impiety, an impiety specifically displayed in the neglect of Marduk's shrines.*

But the success of Cyrus in reality lay in the diplomacy of a statesman who can "be all things to all men," and who is wise enough to acquiesce in the wishes of his subjects in so far as the gratification of those wishes does not imperil the integrity of the empire.

The leader of the homeward-bound Jews is variously called Zerubbabel or Sheshbazzar. It would appear that Cyrus facilitated the restoration of Judah's prestige and the reconstruction of Jehovah's desolated shrine in every way possible. He entrusted

* In point of fact Nabonidus was very far from being irreligious. (Cf. p. 166.)

their leader with the sacred vessels which Nebuchadnezzar, his Babylonian predecessor, had taken away from the depleted sanctuary of Israel's national God ; Tyre and Sidon were laid under contribution to the rebuilding of the temple, as in the days of Solomon ; but in spite of the royal patronage, the final result compared very unfavourably with the pre-exilic temple of Solomon, and "many of the priests and Levites and chief of the fathers, who were ancient men, that had seen the first house, when the foundation of this house was laid before their eyes, wept with a loud voice" (Ezra iii. 12). But the work, thus inaugurated with such promise, was destined to become the victim of that common heir to prosperity, internal jealousy resulting in external friction.

Soon after the commencement of the building operations at Jerusalem, the inhabitants of the Persian province of Samaria, some of whom were the descendants of the foreign settlers introduced by the Assyrian kings Sargon, Esarhaddon, and Ashurbanipal, while others were genuine Israelites, made overtures to the returned exiles, and asked leave to assist in the building of the new temple. This advance was not cordially received, and the Judæans urged that the Samaritans had forfeited the rights of true Israelites by reason of their intermarriage with heathens, while at the same time they pointed out that the Persian decree only had reference to themselves, and on these two grounds they declined to avail themselves of the help thus proffered. Thereupon the thwarted Samaritans left no stone unturned in their endeavour to bring about a cessation of the work ; on the one hand they showed active opposition

(Ezra iv. 4), and on the other they misrepresented the Judæans to the Persian authorities (Ezra iv. 5).

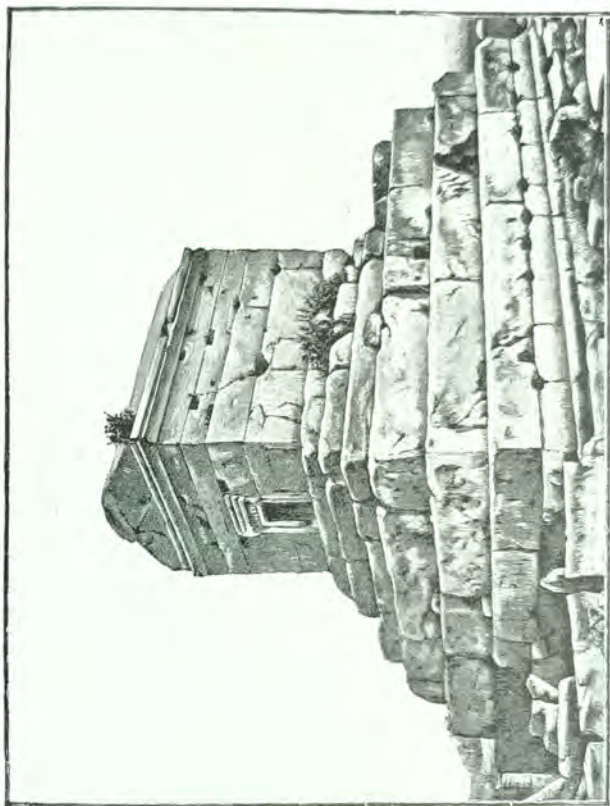


FIG. 76.—The tomb of Cyrus.

Success attended their insidious efforts, and the work which had been inaugurated with such promise, and

under the auspices of the supreme monarch of the Oriental world, was brought to a standstill, and was not resumed till the accession of Darius I.



FIG. 77.—Darius, son of Hystaspes.

In the meanwhile the temporary check had considerably cooled the ardour of the faithful, and their zeal was turned into apathy, an apathy from which the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, after many strenuous endeavours, finally succeeded in arousing them. Thus it was that after a lapse of some fifteen or sixteen years, in the second year of Darius (520 B.C.), the unfinished temple of Je-

hovah was once again taken in hand, and was completed and dedicated at the close of the sixth year of that king's reign (*i.e.* 516 B.C.). Darius died in 485, and was succeeded by Xerxes, or "Ahasuerus," as he is called in Esther and elsewhere. In his reign the ever-present demon of discord once more asserted itself, and complaints against the Judæans were again lodged at the Persian court, though, if the story of Esther might be regarded as an index to the success of these manœuvres, the Persian arm was not this time wielded in the cause of the agitators.

Xerxes was succeeded in 464 by Artaxerxes I., who appears to have been on the whole favourably

disposed towards the Jews, and in the seventh year of his reign (Ezra vii. 8) another detachment of exiles left Babylonia for Jerusalem, under the leader-

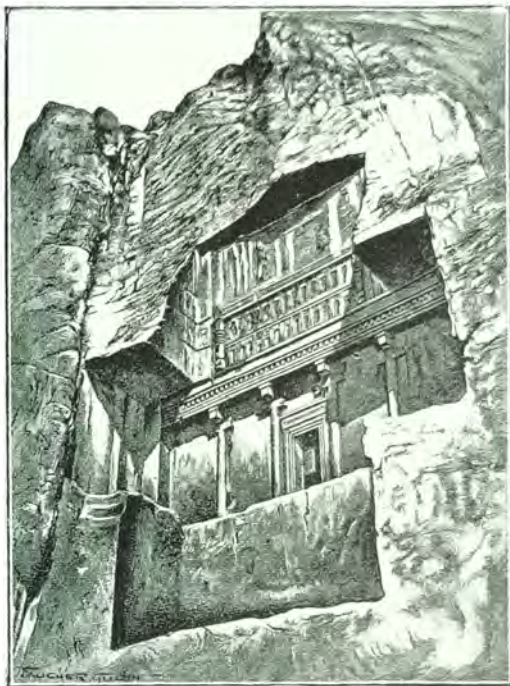


FIG. 78.—The tomb of Darius.

ship of Ezra the scribe ; this body included a number of priests, Levites, and singers, and carried with it a grant from the Persian government (Ezra vii. 15, 16) to be spent on sacrifices to Jehovah. The principal

object of Ezra's mission, however, would appear to



FIG. 79.—The Propylæa of Xerxes I. at Persepolis.

have been the better instruction of the Palestinian Jews in the Mosaic Law. Abuses had already begun

to appear, and they required the denunciations of a fearless prophet of Jehovah. The particular evil which threatened the dissolution of Jewish nationality and the consequent dissipation of all the Messianic hopes, was the practice of intermarrying with foreigners, a practice which had become rife among the restored exiles. His remonstrances gained their object, but unfortunately Ezra exceeded the limits of his jurisdiction, and instead of confining his energies to the revival of ecclesiastical obligations, and the inculcation of the precepts of the Mosaic Law, he proceeded to rebuild the city-wall of Jerusalem, but the project was not realized, and the Samaritans, who had on a previous occasion obtained the ear of the Persian court, and thereby put an end to the building operations in progress at Jerusalem, adopted the same methods now, and thus once more frustrated Jewish aspiration. But their success was only transient, and after the lapse of a few years, Nehemiah, one of the cup-bearers of the Persian monarch, procured the reversal of the decree issued to Rehum and Shimshai, and obtained permission to resume the building of the city. In the teeth of Samaritan opposition the work was duly accomplished, and every effort was once more made to revivify the Law as a potent factor in the life of the nation. In 433, Nehemiah left Jerusalem and returned to the Persian court. The length of his absence is somewhat uncertain; suffice it to say that on his return, he found it necessary to check various abuses which had grown up in his absence. The Temple had been desecrated



FIG. 80.—Artaxerxes I.

and its services neglected, and Nehemiah immediately proceeded to cleanse the Temple, and to carry out other drastic reforms. His success was more complete than that of Ezra, owing to his superior authority and to the more statesmanlike qualities which he possessed, but in spite of this fact the name of Ezra was destined to occupy a more prominent place in the annals of Judaism than that of Nehemiah, and this was due to the importance attached to the Law, with the exposition of which Ezra remained for all time so intimately associated in the minds of the faithful.

There is little material to afford us information regarding the relationship subsisting between the Jews and the Persian court during the reigns of Artaxerxes I.'s immediate successors, but there is at least one noteworthy event to record, occurring in the reign of Artaxerxes II. (405-358 B.C.) or III. (358-337 B.C.). According to the historian Josephus,* Joshua the brother of John the then High Priest, endeavoured, with the help of the Persian general Bagoses, to supplant his brother and usurp his office. In the course of the struggle, John slew his brother, and thereupon Bagoses forced his way into the temple, imposed a tax upon the Jews for every victim offered in sacrifice to Jehovah, and punished them for seven years. But the Persian domination was nearing its appointed end, and in the reign of Darius III. (335-330) Alexander invaded Persia and brought the Persian empire to an end. Alexander died in 323 B.C., and his empire was divided among his generals, Egypt falling to Ptolemy I., and Syria to Seleucus I. With the other

* *Ant.*, xi. 7.

divisions of the empire, the returned exiles were not concerned, but Syria and Egypt were destined to exercise a more or less baneful influence on the fortunes of restored Judaism.

Ptolemy I. is said to have treacherously entered Jerusalem on the sabbath day. Notwithstanding this, however, the Holy City seems to have enjoyed a period of tranquillity under his reign—while it was under his successor, Ptolemy II., that the Greek version of the Old Testament, known as the “Septuagint,” was compiled, but in the reign of Ptolemy IV. this temporary respite was succeeded by a period of disturbance in which the Jews became the shuttlecock of Egypt and Syria alternately. Finally, Ptolemy IV. subdued his opponent Antiochus III. and occupied Judæa, but Scopas, the general of his successor Ptolemy V., sustained a defeat at the hands of the same Antiochus, to the infinite satisfaction of the Jews, who appear to have hailed his advent to Jerusalem as the herald of restored liberties.

But their newly kindled hopes were soon dissipated, and Judæa continued to be but a pawn on the Oriental chess-board. Antiochus met his death in 187 B.C., and was followed by Seleucus IV. ; Seleucus, carrying on the traditions of his forbears, despatched his chancellor Heliodorus to Jerusalem, with orders to appropriate the treasures of the Temple, but the latter is said to have been deterred from his enterprise by an apparition and to have returned with his mission unaccomplished. However that may be, Heliodorus subsequently murdered Seleucus, and Antiochus Epiphanes ascended the throne (175 B.C.).

His reign was signalized by a series of persecutions and massacres such as the Jews had never experienced

before. His attempt to Hellenize them met with a certain amount of success, backed as it was by the irresistible argument of superior strength and the determination to use that strength without fear or scruple. The Books of the Law were destroyed, and the Temple was desecrated, while every effort was made to suppress the Jewish religion and the observance of her time-honoured rites. But the purifying furnace of affliction gave birth to a great national revival, associated with the name of "Maccabees," of which the actuating and unifying principle was devotion to the Law.

The Maccabæan period falls outside the general period covered by this volume ; suffice it to say that, after a series of struggles, in which the brothers Judas, Jonathan, and Simon Maccabæus played the leading parts, the Jewish people finally regained their national independence (143-142 B.C.). The recovery was, however, but the momentary rally of a dying man, and after sundry attempts to protect herself behind the bulwarks of Rome, Jerusalem shared the fate of others, and became an insignificant part of a Roman province (63 B.C.).

As has been already indicated, only a part of the Babylonian exiles availed themselves of the permission accorded to them by Cyrus and his successors to return to their native land, many of the wealthier and more influential of their fellow-countrymen preferring to remain in a country of which the commercial possibilities were so infinitely superior.

Till a few years ago we knew practically nothing about the Hebrews domiciled in Babylonia during the Persian period, beyond what may be gathered from the pages of the Old Testament, but thanks to

the excavations carried on by the University of Pennsylvania on the ancient Babylonian site of Nippur, several hundred contract-tablets belonging to this period have been recovered by Dr. Haynes, and published by Professor Hilprecht and Dr. Clay.*

The importance of these tablets in regard to Biblical science lies in the information which they afford concerning the social habits and customs of the people with whom the Hebrews in Babylonia were in daily contact. The tablets referred to were discovered at a depth of twenty feet below the surface of the mound, in a small room eighteen feet long and nine feet broad, which turned out to be the archive-chamber of the banking firm of Murashû Sons. This firm carried on business during the reigns of Artaxerxes I. (464-424 B.C.) and Darius II. (423-405 B.C.), and during the early half of the reign of Artaxerxes II. More than seven hundred tablets were brought to light, most of which were well preserved and very carefully inscribed in cuneiform. A large number of them further bore an Aramaic † inscription (or "endorsement" written in Aramaic characters), which in some cases purports to give a brief description of the contents of the cuneiform document, while in others it merely gives the name of one or other of the contracting parties. The natural *raison d'être* of these Aramaic endorsements or "dockets," as they have been called, is that

* Cf. Hilprecht and Clay, *Business Documents of Murashû Sons*, B. E., vol. ix.

† Aramaic is a Semitic language, allied to Hebrew, in which portions of the later books contained in the Old Testament (*i.e.* the Books of Ezra, Daniel, and Jer. x. 11) are written. There are different dialects of Aramaic, and the dialect of the Biblical Aramaic is not, for example, identical with that of Nineveh and Babylon, or Egypt.

Aramaic was the language spoken by the Murashû family, while custom required that the documents themselves should be drawn up in the Babylonian language and the cuneiform script, for Babylonian would appear to have been the literary and legal language of the country down to about the third century B.C. We infer, however, that Aramaic was the language of diplomacy and commerce even as early as the time of Sennacherib, for it will be recollected that Eliakim, one of the officials of Hezekiah, requested the emissary of the Assyrian king to conduct his conversation in the Aramaic tongue, and not "in the Jews' language in the ears of the people that are on the wall" (2 Kings xviii. 26), while a number of contract-tablets belonging to the same time and bearing Aramaic endorsements have also been discovered. Again, twelve * of the bronze lion-weights from Nineveh, inscribed with the names of Shalmaneser, Sargon, and Sennacherib, and belonging therefore to the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., have Aramaic as well as Assyrian inscriptions, while cylinder-seals † bearing Aramaic inscriptions and belonging to the same period have also been recovered from the ruined mounds of Assyria. Weights bearing bilingual inscriptions have further been discovered in Palestine. One of these (said to have been found at Kerak, the old Kir Moab) is published by René Dussaud in the *Revue Archéologique* (1908, pp. 353, 354 ff.). The object in question is made of terra-cotta, weighs 81 grammes, and has the form of a lion. One of its sides bears a bilingual inscription (Assyrian and Aramaic) and

* Cf. G. A. Cooke, *North-Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 192.

† Cf. *ibid.*, p. 361.

reads: "Palace of . . . King of Ashur. One mina of the king," while below, in Phœnician characters, are the words "mina of the king." A similar terra-cotta weight(?), discovered in Palestine and bearing an Assyrian and Aramaic inscription, has been published by Vincent in the *Revue Biblique* (1901, p. 579). These inscribed weights show that at this time (*i.e.* c. the eighth century B.C.) weights conforming to the standard of the Assyrian royal mina were in use in Palestine, while they also afford evidence of the use of Aramaic as the medium of commerce at this period. In later times, as we have seen, Aramaic was still the medium of diplomacy, and thus it is that we read that the letter despatched by Bishlam and his co-agitators to Artaxerxes was written in Aramaic (Ezra iv. 7).

Eventually Aramaic writing ousted cuneiform altogether, its triumph being perhaps partly due to the simplicity of the alphabetic script as compared with the complexity of the Babylonian syllabary, but principally to the West Semitic element in the Babylonian population, and the long use of Aramaic as the language of diplomacy and commerce. The various types of nationality to be seen in Babylonia at this period may to some extent be gauged by the fact that one-third of the proper names in the Murashû tablets are foreign. Some of these names are wholly or partially Hebrew in origin, just as some of the names in the lists of Hebrews contained in Ezra and Nehemiah are Babylonian (*e.g.* Zerub-babel)—a fact which may be accounted for by the practice of inter-marriage which had grown up, and which Nehemiah sought to repress. Of the long list * of Hebrew

* Cf. Clay, *Light on the Old Testament from Babel*, p. 404.

names occurring in the Murashû tablets, many are said to have their equivalents in the Old Testament, e.g. Ahab, Samson, Solomon, Naboth, etc. Among other foreigners whose presence in Babylonia has been inferred from the proper names which occur in these tablets, Ammonites, Hittites, Tibarenians, Moabites, Egyptians, and perhaps even Indians* may be specifically mentioned.

As might be expected, the Murashû tablets are only concerned with business transactions, and comprise leases of realty and personalty, mortgage deeds, promissory notes, and various commercial negotiations; but there are other tablets belonging roughly to the same period, which relate to the law of husband and wife, and contain marriage and dowry contracts or provisions for a divorce, while sales, partnerships, and bankruptcies are the subject-matter of others. The same greed for gold would appear to have been the dominating factor in the Oriental breast in those times as it is to-day, and the interest on loans sometimes amounted to as much as fifty per cent. Those tablets which contain the terms of contracts bear the names of witnesses accompanied by their seal-impressions or thumb-nail marks. In one interesting document translated by Clay we learn that one Ribât leased certain fish-ponds from Bêl-nâdin-shum, the son of Murashû, and agreed to pay one-half of a talent of refined silver for the year's rent, and also to provide the lessor with fish for his table every day.† The names of the six witnesses and the scribe who drew up the document follow,

* Cf. Hilprecht and Clay, *Business Documents of Murashû Sons*, pp. viii., ix.

† Hilprecht and Clay, *ibid.*, p. 21.

together with the seal-impressions of five of the witnesses, one of the seal-impressions being that of Rîmût Ninib, son of Murashû.

As already indicated, some of these tablets contain agreements for the letting of houses ; the terms of house-leases generally requiring the lessee to keep the walls and roof in proper repair and to replaster them when and where necessary, while the rent seems to have been payable monthly. There are also contracts for the hire of cattle, or for the gathering of harvest, with a penalty attached in the event of the work not being completed to time ; others again are partnership-contracts, in which, for example, one party agrees to provide the land and seed, while the other undertakes the labour. Some of the tablets are concerned with the practice of bailment and embody the recognizances into which the bailor has entered ; thus in one case a certain Illindar goes bail for Iddin-Bêl, son of Akhu-iddina, and thereby obtains his release from prison. The amount payable by Illindar, in the event of the prisoner's disappearance, is one mina of silver. Another most interesting document also published and translated by Dr. Clay, embodies the terms of settlement of a claim for damages out of court. A son of Murashû and his bondservant had committed a trespass, and the plaintiff duly set out his statement of claim ; the defendant promptly denied the alleged damage, but he nevertheless agrees to compensate the plaintiff, who thereupon withdraws.

From the foregoing remarks it will be at once seen that the instinct for trade and commerce which gained for the Babylonians of antiquity such a widespread reputation, did not die out in Babylonia

with the passing of the last native Babylonian king.

But although the Murashû tablets and other cuneiform inscriptions afforded us some information regarding the conditions of life under which the Hebrews domiciled in Babylonia lived, there was little in the nature of authentic contemporaneous evidence in regard to the fortunes of the Jews who fled with Jeremiah into Egypt.

The lacuna has been to some extent filled in by the discovery of a number of Aramaic papyri, which throw a flood of light upon this comparatively obscure period.

The first of these Aramaic inscriptions was discovered by Professor Sayce* in 1901, in the Island of Elephantinē. (The Island of Ābu, or Elephantinē, is situated almost opposite to Assuan, and in the earliest times formed the southern boundary of Egypt.) Shortly after this epoch-making discovery, Mr. Robert Mond procured several Aramaic papyri unearthed at the same place, while Lady William Cecil obtained possession of a number of others. These, together with one or two papyri belonging to Professor Sayce, were edited by the latter with the co-operation of Dr. A. E. Cowley in 1906.

These documents, which date from 471-411 B.C., and which deal chiefly with the negotiation of loans, marriage contracts, divorce suits, and other legal matters, have been translated by Dr. Cowley, and prove that there was a well-organized Jewish settlement at Elephantinē in the fifth century B.C.

* Cf. McClure, *Nineteenth Century*, 1911, vol. ii. pp. 1135 ff.; Burney in the *Church Quarterly Review*, July, 1912, pp. 399-409; and Owen Whitehouse, *Expository Times*, 1908, p. 200 f.

The importance of these documents at once attracted German and French explorers to the site of their discovery.

The distinguished French scholar, M. Clermont-Ganneau, conducted excavations there on behalf of the French, but the results of his work have not yet been published, while Professor O. Rubensohn was selected as the German excavator, and commenced operations in 1906. A large number of papyri and ostraka or inscribed potsherds were brought to light, together with a quantity of pottery.

The discoveries made by Profesor Rubensohn between the years 1906 and 1908 have recently been published under the editorship of Professor Sachau, of Berlin. The inscriptions are written in Aramaic, like those previously published by Sayce and Cowley, and they cover the period from 494 to 404 B.C.

We have already had occasion to note that the Aramaic dialect can be traced at all events as far back as the eighth century B.C., while the later Aramaic characters represent the stage of transition from the early Hebrew characters—which were practically identical with early Aramaic, Phœnician and Moabite—to the late square Hebrew characters, of which we have evidence soon after the Christian era. They have been used continuously since.* It has thus been held that the presence of Aramaic words in the books of the Old Testament (*e.g.* in Isaiah or Psalms) does not, as has been supposed, indicate a post-exilic date for the passages in which they occur.

* See the tables in G. A. Cooke's *North-Semitic Inscriptions*, or Lidzbarski's *Atlas* to his *North-Sem. Epigraph*; and Driver, *Samuel*, pp. ix.-xxv. (ed. 2, pp. i.-xxiii.).

We require, however, some adequate explanation for the occurrence of such words in each particular case, beyond the mere fact that Aramaic was the language of *diplomacy* at the time, for in the absence of such explanation the sudden and unaccountable introduction of Aramaic words, phrases or modes of speech into a chapter or passage which is written in pure Hebrew argues either that such Aramaisms were, as a matter of fact, inserted later, or, if original, that the whole passage belongs to the period of transition, *i.e.* the period in which Hebrew and Aramaic were vying with each other for the ascendancy in the field of literature, and that period was certainly later than Sennacherib.*

Each case must be tested on its own merits and be considered in relation to the internal evidence of the context, but the general rule still applies, and the spasmodic introduction of Aramaisms (especially *late* Aramaisms) into Biblical passages written in pure Hebrew, *à priori* and in the absence of some positive and satisfactory explanation for their introduction, must be regarded as betokening a late date for the passages in which they occur.

The Jews of Elephantinē were clearly of an enterprising character, many of them being engaged in trade as bankers and money-lenders,† while one of them had at some time been a Persian official—a "*handiz* in the citadel."

They avoided intermarriage with their foreign neighbours, but at the same time displayed no religious intolerance, while in legal oaths both Yahu

* Dr. Burney assigns the longer Sennacherib passages in Kings to the middle of the seventh century B.C.

† Cf. Sayce and Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri*, p. 10.

(*Yahveh* (?), or "Jehovah")* and the Egyptian deity Sati were invoked.

* The ineffable name "Jehovah," or more correctly "Yahveh" (Hebrew was only vocalized at a later date, and as the pious never pronounced the sacred name, but read 'adonai (= "my lord") in its place, the later scribes placed the vowels of 'adonai under the four consonants Y H V H; the form "Jehovah" is thus a combination of the consonants of one word and the vowels of another), is supposed to have been known in an abbreviated form as early as the time of Khammurabi.¹ Thus, in a tablet of that period, the name "Ia-u-um-ilu" (= "Iau" is God), occurs, this being probably the cuneiform equivalent of the Hebrew "Jo-el,"² and on tablets belonging to the Kassite period (c. 1500 B.C.) Dr. Clay has found the names Ia-u-a, Ia-a-u, Ia-ai-u, and Ia-u-tum,³ while on a letter discovered by Sellin at Ta'anek, and written about 1450 B.C., the name Akhi-ya-mi (? = the Biblical "Ahijah," meaning "Yah" (or "Yahú") is my brother) occurs. However that may be, we have ample evidence to show that the name "Iau," or "Yau," was known among the Babylonians during the period from 2000 to 1400 B.C. It is thus clear, that the name "Iau," "Yau," or "Jo," came to Israel from outside. Professor Rogers follows Stade and other scholars in thinking that the tetragrammaton itself was imported from the Kenites, among whom Moses resided for some time and with whom Israel, or at all events Judah, were closely allied.

There is, of course, no doubt that the short "Jo" in Jo-el, Jo-nathan, etc., and the tetragrammaton both designate Israel's national God, but whether they are really connected in origin is a questionable matter.⁴

It seems probable that *Yah*, or "Jah," is an abbreviated and there-

¹ Cf. further Driver, *Genesis*, pp. 40-49, xlix. and (edd. 8 and 9) XLVI., XLVII. (with many references); *Exodus*, xlix.-li., and *E. B.*, iii. 3322.

² The "Jo-" in Hebrew is generally supposed to = "Jeho-" (cf. "Jo-nathan" and "Jeho-nathan") and to be abbreviated from "Yahveh" and therefore of later origin. But the disappearance of the central "h" and the very early evidence for the short form "Iau," etc., are against this view.

³ On this form cf. Daiches, *Zeit. für Ass.*, 1908, pp. 125, 126 ff.

⁴ It is, of course, possible to argue that the short form found in proper names in the cuneiform inscriptions is due to the difficulty of rendering foreign names in cuneiform, and that it really represents the tetragrammaton, but that argument is very hypothetical.

The mode of conveyancing property was the same as that obtaining among the Babylonians, and fore a later form of "Yahveh," but the short form *Jo* in compounds (= Bab. *Iau*, etc.), would appear, so far as our evidence goes, to be of much earlier origin than "Yahveh." Is it possible that the invention of the name "Yahveh" (= "He is," or "He causes to be," a term with a definite and spiritual connotation) as the supposed original of the philologically meaningless(?) "Yau," "Yo," or "Jo," a name which, like Baal, may have had the further drawback of being tinged with heathen associations, was due to the tendency of the faithful to find some suitable derivation for sacrosanct names?

The whole question is clearly one which admits of much theorizing, but little dogmatism (cf. Driver, *Genesis*, xlix.; (edd. 8 and 9) XIX., XX.; and Langdon, in *Expositor*, 1910, vol. ii. 137 f.); but as Professor Driver says, "the question of importance is, What does the name *come to mean* to those who use it? What are the character and attributes of the Being whom it actually denotes in the mouths of those who use it? Whatever may have been the ultimate historical origin of the name Yahveh (which is in any case pre-Mosaic), all that concerns the reader of the Old Testament is to know the nature and the character and the attributes of the Being whom it denotes there, and these he must and can discover from the Old Testament itself" (*Genesis* (edd. 8 and 9), p. XLVII.).

Assuming the conjectural present-day vocalization¹ of the tetragrammaton (*i.e.* "Yahveh") to be correct, the name will mean either "he that is," or "he that causes to be" (the Hiphil and the Qal imperfect tenses having the same form in this verb, though it should be noted that the Hiphil only occurs rarely in late Syriac).²

The intrinsic probability of this conjecture is further strengthened by Theodore's statement that the pronunciation of the Samaritans was JABE, while Epiphanius cites JABE as one of the names of God.

The earliest known Hebrew inscription in which the tetragrammaton is vocalized would appear to be that published by Montgomery³ in the *Museum Journal* of the University of Pennsylvania. The object bearing the inscription alluded to is an incantation bowl belonging to

¹ For the history of the pronunciation of the tetragrammaton, cf. George F. Moore, *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, 1911, p. 57 f.

² Cf. Driver, *Genesis*, pp. 407, 408 ff.; Driver, *Exodus*, pp. xlv.-li., and *Studia Biblica*, i. 1885, p. 14; Spurrell, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Book of Genesis*, 1887, Appendix II.

³ Cf. Montgomery, *Museum Journal*, 1910, pp. 28-30.

the legal phraseology is also much the same as that used in Babylonian law. In fact, the whole legal system under which the Jewish colonists of Elephantinē lived resembled closely the Babylonian law from which it was ultimately derived. Men and women had equal rights, and stood on precisely the same legal footing; a woman could hold property equally with a man, and could dispose of it on her death in any way she pleased. Similarly in the matter of divorce, a wife could divorce her husband as easily as a husband could divorce his wife, the penalty which the petitioner had to pay being virtu-

the 6th or 7th century A.D., and the pronunciation is *Yahbēh*, which might be more exactly represented by *Yahveh*, all labials being easily interchangeable. The same remark, of course, applies to the forms given us by Theodoret and Epiphanius.

An interesting object in regard to the later worship and conception of "Yahveh" is the small silver coin from Gaza.¹ It is assigned by Pilcher,² Hands,³ and other scholars, to the fourth century B.C. On one side is a male head with crested helmet, and on the other side is the figure of a god, holding an eagle in his left hand, and with the three letters Y H V above his head. The letters are Phœnician, and the divine name is here spelt with three letters, as in the Aramaic papyri from Elephantinē. The accompanying figure is meant to be Yahveh, here identified with Zeus. The god is seated on a winged wheel, which, as Pilcher remarks, vividly recalls the description of Yahveh in Ezekiel, but the motif itself is essentially Greek and is more aptly compared with certain Greek coins and with the winged cars on the Greek vases of that period. Another representation of Yahveh was supposed to have been afforded by a seal published by Professor Dalman,⁴ but Père Hugues Vincent, after a careful examination of the intaglio, has come to the conclusion that it is a forgery.⁵

¹ Cf. Driver, *Studia Biblica*, 1885, p. 19, with a facsimile and description by R. S. Poole.

² Cf. Pilcher, *P.S.B.A.*, 1908, pp. 45, 46 ff.

³ Cf. Hands, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1909, p. 123.

⁴ Cf. Dalman, *Palästina-jahrbuch*, ii., 1906, pp. 44 ff.

⁵ Cf. Vincent, *Revue Biblique*, 1909, pp. 121, 122 ff.

ally the same in both cases—the surrender of a portion of the marriage settlement.

An interesting feature in these documents* is the mixture of names, which illustrates the internationalism so prevalent in the Persian period; not only do Jewish and Egyptian names occur, but also Persian, Arabian, and Babylonian.

The existence of an altar and temple of Yahveh proves that the Jewish colonists did not hold the view of their post-Exilic brethren in Palestine in regard to the Temple at Jerusalem, but considered it quite right and proper to erect temples and build altars to Yahveh wherever fate or Providence placed them, and possibly this was due to the fact that at the time of their migration, the doctrine concerning the Temple at Jerusalem and the illegality of creating temples to Yahveh elsewhere was unknown to them (cf., however, Mal. i. 11).

In this connection it is interesting to compare Isaiah (xix. 10): "In that day shall there be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar (*Mazzēbbāh*) at the border (frontier) thereof."

These papyri are further of great importance from the point of view of chronology, owing to the fact that they are dated both in Egyptian and in Syrian months.

Egypt was, of course, under Persian rule during the whole of the period covered by these documents, but about twelve years later she recovered her independence, and the reassertion of her authority probably meant a fall in the political barometer, so far as the prosperity of the Jewish colonists of Elephantinē was concerned.

* Cf. Sayce and Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri*, p. 13.

The most interesting of the papyri published by Sachau has been translated by Dr. Burney.* It is a letter addressed by Jedoniah and the priests in Elephantine to one Bagohi (the "Bagoas" of Josephus), the Governor of Judæa. After the usual greetings, the writer says that, in the month of Tammuz in the fourteenth year of Darius, the priests of the god Hnub conspired with the general in command of the fortress of Yeb (Elephantinē) to destroy the temple of Yahveh at Elephantinē. "They entered the aforesaid temple, destroyed it even to the ground, and broke the stone pillars which were there. . . . And the sacrificial bowls of gold and silver and whatever was in the aforesaid temple—the whole they took and appropriated to themselves. Now it was in the days of the kings of Egypt that our fathers built the aforesaid temple in the fortress of Yeb. And when Kambyzes entered Egypt he found the aforesaid temple built; and while they demolished the temples of the gods of Egypt, no man did any harm to the aforesaid temple. . . . Moreover, prior to this at the time when this evil was done to us, we sent a letter concerning this. We sent to our lord as well as to Yehohanan the high priest, and his companions, the priests at Jerusalem, and to Ostanēs, the brother of Anani, and the nobles of the Jews. Not a single letter have they sent to us." The writer then endeavours to enlist the co-operation of Bagohi in the work of rebuilding the destroyed temple of Yahveh, and begs that "a letter from thee be sent unto them concerning the temple of the god Yahu, that it may be rebuilt in the fortress of Yeb as it was formerly built."

* Burney, *Church Quarterly Review*, July, 1912, pp. 312-314.

The short papyrus containing Bagohi's reply is extant, from which we know that he responded to the appeal, and gave directions for the rebuilding of the temple.*

It will be seen from the above quotation that the Jewish colony in Elephantinē must have been settled long enough before the time of Cambyses' conquest of Egypt (525 B.C.) to allow for the building of an elaborate temple to Yahveh, and, in fact, the existence of this temple is traced as far back as the "days even of the Kings of Egypt," *i.e.* to the time when Egypt was ruled by native kings, and had not fallen under the sway of the Persians.

We apparently have evidence of the presence of Jews in Egypt before the exile in the prophetic utterances of Hosea and Isaiah. Thus, in Hosea ix. 3-6 we read that "Ephraim shall return to Egypt," and that "Egypt shall gather them up" and "Memphis bury them," while reference has already been made to Isaiah xix. 19, a passage regarded, however, by the majority of recent critics as non-Isaianic.†

Another of the Aramaic papyri discovered on this site gives directions for the correct observance of the Feast of Unleavened Bread, and the details, so far as they go, are similar to those prescribed in Exodus and Deuteronomy. The colony was, moreover, a military colony, and these Jewish colonials,‡ who are styled "the Jewish army in Elephantinē," evidently served as a garrison on the southern frontier. The

* It is translated by Dr. Burney in the *Church Quarterly Review*, July, 1912, p. 400 f.

† See, however, Driver, *Hastings*, ii., art. *Ir-ha-heres* (at the end); and cf. his *Isaiah, his Life and Times*, p. 24.

‡ Cf. Meyer, *Der Pap. Fund von Eleph.*, 1912, p. 91 f.

approximate date of its foundation is a matter of speculation.*

If we are to rely on the statements contained in a letter attributed to Aristeeas (*circ.* 200 B.C.), Palestinian troops were employed in Egypt as early as the time of Psammetichus (I. or II.),† while Asiatic troops were certainly employed by Psammetichus I. (659-611 B.C.) and Phœnician troops by Psammetichus II. (594-589 B.C.). It is also certain (see Herod II., 30) that Psammetichus I. found it necessary to fortify Elephantinē against the Ethiopians, and on the occasion of Psammetichus II.'s expedition to the south, some of the mercenaries appear to have amused themselves by scratching their names on the monuments at Abû-Simbel, and it is thought that some of these names are Jewish. However that may be, we know that after the fall of Jerusalem, many Jews found their way even into Upper Egypt (cf. Jer. xliv., *passim*), but Zeph. ii. 12, and iii. 10, cited strangely by Sayce, will be seen, if examined, to be no proof of the presence of Jewish captives in Egypt at the time when the passages were written.

Sachau further calls attention‡ to the fact that some of the individuals alluded to in these papyri may be identical with Biblical personages, as well as with persons mentioned by Josephus or in the Apocrypha.

Unfortunately, we are in a more or less complete state of ignorance regarding the fortunes of the

* For the supposed bearing of these papyri on the date of "P," cf. Burney, *Expositor*, 1912, p. 97 f.

† Cf. McClure, *Nineteenth Century*, 1911, vol. 2, p. 1142.

‡ Cf. Maspero, *Passing of the Empires*, pp. 495, 498, 537-539.

§ McClure, *Nineteenth Century*, 1911, vol. 2, p. 1144.

Israelites whom Sargon carried away and placed in "Halah, and in Habor by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes" (2 Kings xvii. 6), but some indirect light is supposed to have been recently thrown on the question by the fifteen tablets published by Ungnad,* which have been made the subject of a monograph by Schiffer,† and have also been discussed by Johns,‡ who at the same time has added two fresh texts to the somewhat meagre store. These tablets, which are mainly concerned with the letting of lands and the sale of crops, refer to a certain city called *Kannu'*, whose god was *Au*. Both Johns and Schiffer regard the *Au* as the equivalent of *Yahveh*, and consider *Kannu'* to be the local pronunciation of Canaan, the name that the exiled Israelites are supposed to have given to their new home, while the occurrence of a large number of names which they regard as Hebrew confirmed them in their belief that the authors of the documents were Israelites.

The identification of *Au* § with "Yahveh" is, however, extremely doubtful, while the Hebraic character of the proper names cited is not always clear. There is, however, certain evidence of the presence and

* Ungnad, *Hefte I., Vorderasiatische schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin.*

† Cf. Schiffer, *Orientalische Literaturzeitung*, 1907, *Kälinschriftliche Spuren der in der zweiten Hälfte des 8 Jahrhunderts von den Assyriern nach Mesopotamien deportierten Samarier.*

‡ Cf. Johns, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1905, 188 ff; 1908, 107 ff.

§ The absence of the initial "I" (found in the Babylonian "Iau," and corresponding to the Hebrew "Y" = English "J" in Jah, Joel, etc.) militates strongly against the proposed identification, even if it be permissible to connect the Babylonian "Iau" with "Yahveh," which the present writer does not admit.

commercial activity of Israelites in Mesopotamia in the seventh century B.C., for some of the contract tablets published by Johns * contain names which are undoubtedly Israelitish.

* Cf. Daiches, *The Jews in Babylonia in the Time of Ezra and Nehemiah according to Babylonian Inscriptions*, p. 7. Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, vol. iii. (1901), p. 164.

CHAPTER VI

EXCAVATIONS IN SOUTH PALESTINE

JERUSALEM *

THE excavations which have from time to time been carried on at Jerusalem are mainly of topographical interest. This is due to the eventfulness of its history as well as to the continuous occupation of its site. The first historical allusion to the city is contained in the Tell el-Amarna Letters (c. 1400 B.C.), seven of which were sent by Abdi-Khiba, the King of Jerusalem, to his overlord the King of Egypt. Even at this time Jerusalem had attained a certain pre-eminence among the small city-states of Southern Palestine, several of which were tributary to her, but after Abdi-Khiba, she disappears from our view till the time of the Hebrew Conquest (c. 1200 B.C.), when her king Adoni-zedek and his allies were defeated by Joshua, though the city itself appears to have remained in the hands of the Canaanites until its capture by David.

* For details regarding the excavations carried on at Jerusalem, cf. especially Merrill, *Ancient Jerusalem*; Bliss and Dickie, *Excavations at Jerusalem*; Paton, *Jerusalem in Bible Times*; Vincent, *Jerusalem sous terre*; and especially G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem, the Topography, Economics and History, from the earliest times to A.D. 70* (2 vols., 1907), at present the standard work on the history and ancient topography of the city.

During the period which elapsed between Joshua and the destruction of the Temple by Titus (A.D. 70), the city underwent some seventeen sieges, and was twice razed to the ground, while on two other occasions its walls were levelled. After its desolation by Titus, the city disappears from the page of history for fifty years, but in A.D. 136 Hadrian erected a new city, called Aelia Capitolina, into which Jews were prohibited, under pain of death, from entering. In A.D. 362, however, the Emperor Julian gave the Jews permission to rebuild the Temple, but they did not succeed in doing so. In A.D. 614 the city was captured by the Persian King Chosroes II., but fourteen years later it passed once more under the power of Rome. In A.D. 637 the city was taken by the Khalif Omar, and during the Moslem period Jerusalem went through many vicissitudes. About the beginning of the twelfth century the city was occupied by the Crusaders, but in A.D. 1187 they were forced to retire at the bidding of Saladin, the ruler of the Eastern Empire. It subsequently passed under the sway of Selim I., the Sultan of Turkey, and Suleiman, his successor, built the present wall in A.D. 1542. Mohammed Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, took the city in 1834, but it was seized by the native Fellahin in 1840; after the bombardment of Acre in the same year, however, it reverted to Turkey.

In these circumstances, it is hardly surprising that little has survived to tell the story of its earlier history, but that little is on that account all the more valuable. It was reasonable to infer that the city must have been occupied for a considerable period before the time of Abdi-Khiba, but until the excavations, nothing was known of its inhabitants, or their

civilization, before the latter half of the second millennium B.C.

The important part which Jerusalem played in Palestinian history is due to the natural strength of its position. Situated on spurs, and defended on the east, south and south-west by fosses 500 feet deep, it was well-nigh impregnable at these points, and as a matter of history, all attacks have been made on it from the north or the north-west. But the deficiency of its natural water supply somewhat counteracted these advantages and necessitated the cutting of reservoirs and aqueducts. The most famous of these aqueducts is the rock-hewn tunnel of Siloam, by means of which the water from Gihon, or the Virgin's Fountain, was brought under the eastern hill to the upper Pool of Siloam. This tunnel was probably made by Hezekiah in view of the approaching attack of Sennacherib (cf. p. 148 f.), but other tunnels, galleries and caverns some of which are of earlier date than the Siloam tunnel, have also been excavated.* They were found to contain Canaanite and early Israelite pottery in some cases, while in others Israelite and early "Jewish-Hellenic" pottery was discovered. Two of these channels lead from the spring of Gihon, one cut on the surface of the ground outside the city wall, which conveyed the spring water to the lower Pool of Siloam at the mouth of the Tyropœon valley, the other, a rock-hewn canal leading to a well and short tunnel, the opening of which was inside the city wall. It has been suggested that this canal was the "water-course" (R.V.) of 2 Samuel v. 8, while in any case both of these channels are supposed to be at least as old as David.† But evidence of a far earlier culture

* Cf. Vincent, *Jerusalem sous terre*, p. 35 f.

† Cf. Paton, *Jerusalem in Bible Times*, p. 75.

was afforded by the fine collection of pottery recently discovered in a funerary cavern on the top of the Ophel; this pottery has been assigned to the early half of the third millennium B.C., and thus gives us some idea of the comparatively high degree of civilization to which the inhabitants of Jerusalem had attained at this remote date.

The architectural remains of the pre-Israelite period are practically *nil*, while those of the Davidic era are very scanty: on the south and east sides of the south-eastern hill Dr. Bliss discovered traces of what he believed to be the wall of David (2 Sam. v. 9), and also the rock scarps which formed its foundation, while similar rock scarps, upon which the Tower of David is supposed to have rested, exist in the neighbourhood of the Tower of Phasaelus.

Rock-cuttings have also been revealed south of the present city wall, and are regarded as having formed the natural foundation of the old south city wall, and in the same neighbourhood Dr. Bliss has traced two lines of fortification walls, one on the east slope and the other on the south slope of the western hill. Close to the Pool of Siloam the same excavator discovered a number of steps cut in the rock, which have been identified with the so-called "stairs of the city of David" (Neh. iii. 15).

Of the building operations of Solomon still less remains; there is no doubt that the site of the Temple is to be identified with the Haram esh-Sherif, or Mosque of Omar, on the east hill of modern Jerusalem. At the south-east corner of the Haram, Warren discovered a wall over 14 feet thick, and 75 feet high; it lay buried under 4 feet of rubbish, and is apparently pre-Herodian, but most of the early

remains on the H̄aram belong to the time of Herod.

From the time of Solomon down to the reign of Hezekiah, the city underwent few changes, but under the last-named king, and his successor, Manasseh, new walls were erected. Two walls, one on the north and the other on the south, have been brought to light, and the southern wall is supposed to have been erected by Hezekiah.

On their return from the exile the Jews rebuilt the Temple on the same spot as that occupied by Solomon's Temple, and also set about re-erecting the city wall.

The outer wall, erected by Nehemiah on the south, has been identified with the outer line of fortifications discovered by Dr. Bliss some years ago, while the remains of an ancient northern wall may also be due to Nehemiah.

The remains of an ancient wall, discovered by Warren and Guthe, and running from the south-east corner of the Temple, in a south-westerly direction, are probably to be identified with the "wall of Ophel" (Neh. iii. 27).*

Of the various gates referred to in the later books of the Old Testament, the Valley Gate, the Fountain Gate, and the Dung Gate, may probably be identified with existing remains. The Valley Gate (Neh. iii. 13) has been identified with an opening on the south-west slope of the western hill. A similar opening has been identified with the Fountain Gate (Neh. ii. 13 f.), and

* For the meaning of the name "Ophel," cf. Burney, *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, 1911, pp. 51-56. Burney maintains that "Ophel" does not mean "hill" but "fortress," and that the "Ophel" at Jerusalem was originally the fortress of the city of David.

the Dung Gate has been identified with an opening discovered by Dr. Bliss at the south-east end of the western hill.*

Apart, however, from these architectural remains, it must be confessed that Jerusalem has not yielded much material for the reconstruction of early Palestinian history, and other sites of lesser historical importance have proved more fruitful quarries for the archæologist and the antiquarian.

LACHISH.†

The excavations at Tell el-Hesy, the site of ancient Lachish, have a twofold interest, primarily of course on account of the actual discoveries made on this site, and secondarily by reason of the fact that it was here that the foundations of scientific excavation in Palestine were first laid by Professor Flinders Petrie in 1890.

This mound was found to contain the ruined *débris* of some eleven cities, which, according to the evidence of the pottery, must have ranged from about 1700 B.C. to 400 B.C. It has thus been very aptly described by Dr. Bliss as a "Mound of Many Cities."

These "mounds" or "Tells" in the east in nearly all cases contain the remains of a bygone civilization, and owe their existence to the architectural customs which prevailed among the peoples of Western Asia from the earliest times.

A city consisted in a number of houses generally

* On the walls and limits of ancient Jerusalem, so far as at present revealed by excavation, see the Plans in G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, ii. 39, 51, 151, 477; cf. 59 (Solomon's buildings); and for the gates as well, see Guthe's *Bibelatlas* 1911, Map 4.

† For details, cf. Bliss, *A Mound of Many Cities*.

made of crude or sun-dried bricks. Such buildings were bound to succumb ultimately to the combined attack of time and climate, even if they escaped the devastating hand of war. In either case the buildings were demolished in the end, but the ruined *débris* was not cleared away, part of the old material being sometimes used again in the construction of the new building, while the remainder, when levelled, served as a kind of platform foundation.

It will thus be seen that this process carried out a sufficient number of times would result in a mound, such as is seen in the figure (Fig. 81).

Tell el-Hesi is not, however, entirely the product of artificial formation. The first city was built on a low natural mound 50 or 60 feet high, while the artificial *débris* above, measure another 60 feet.

The earliest fortification on this site of which remains have been discovered, has been assigned to the early part of the second millennium B.C. The ruler of the first city owed allegiance to Egypt, and an Egyptian temple of the goddess Hathor found a place within its walls. This city fell a victim to fire as did also the third city, leaving an enormous amount of ashes and *débris*, which were found to contain a quantity of native pottery, and also remains resembling both early Cyprian and Mycenæan ware. It is said that some of the painted pottery found in these lower strata bears a close resemblance to pottery found at Boghaz Keui, and is therefore probably Hittite in origin, while Prof. Sayce is disposed to attribute the origin of the Minoan "Kamâres" ware of Crete to this painted pottery of Asia Minor.*

* Sayce, *Archæology of Cuneiform Inscriptions*, p. 178.

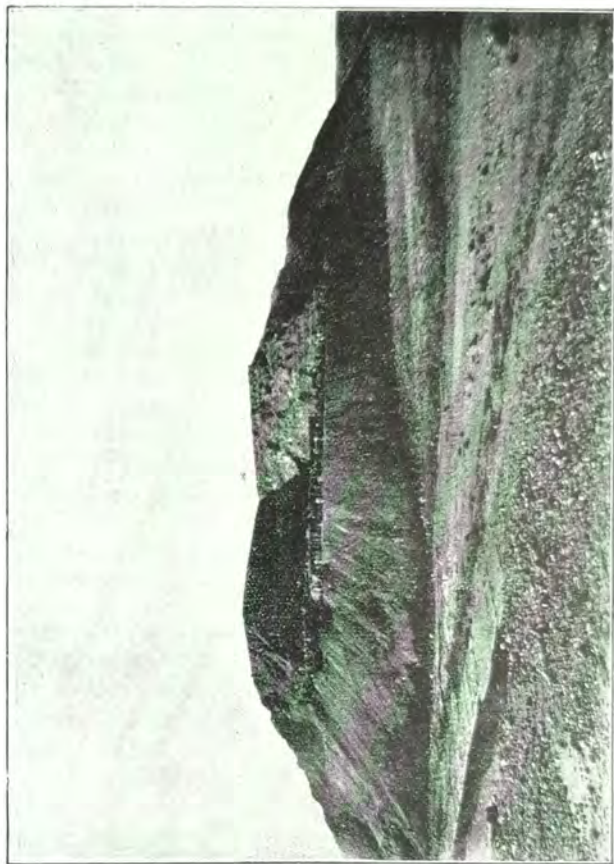


FIG. 81.—The mound of Tell el-Hesi (Lachish).

One of the most interesting relics recovered from the earlier strata at Tell el-Hesi is a small Assyrian cuneiform tablet. It has reference to a certain Zimrida, Governor of Lachish, who is otherwise known from the letter he sent to his overlord the King of Egypt; the latter was discovered along with a number of other cuneiform tablets at Tell el-Amarna in Upper Egypt (cf. p. 96 f.).

The discovery of this tablet thus synchronizes the date of the stratum in which it was found with the XVIIIth dynasty, and fixes the date of the city, the ruins of which are represented by this stratum, at about 1400 B.C., a date the correctness of which was further substantiated by the discovery of a number of scarabs belonging to the same period.

The upper part of the stratum containing the ruins of the fourth city, *i.e.* the city immediately above that just referred to, has yielded scarabs of the XIXth dynasty, and it was probably this city, therefore, that was taken by Joshua about 1200 B.C.

Iron objects were found here, the weapons and implements recovered from the lower strata being always bronze.

The sixth city * is that which was besieged and captured by Sennacherib (cf. Fig. 64) in 701 B.C. On the deportation of the more important inhabitants of Judah by Nebuchadnezzar, Lachish was apparently occupied by a maritime people who introduced Greek pottery. The latter includes the well-known red and black type with Greek figures painted on them. Those of the Jews who returned after the

* Cf. Driver's *Schweich Lectures* (1909) on *Modern Research as Illustrating the Bible*, p. 45.

exile settled here again, but in the fifth century Lachish was apparently abandoned.

GEZER*

The site of Gezer, represented by the modern mound of Tell ej-Jezer (cf. Fig. 82), was discovered by M. Clermont-Ganneau in 1871. It lies about nineteen miles west-north-west of Jerusalem, and occupies a strategic position between that city, Egypt, and the sea.

The earliest mention of Gezer in the Old Testament is contained in the book of Joshua (x. 33), where we read that "Horam, King of Gezer, came up to help Lachish," but that Joshua succeeded in utterly routing their combined forces. Elsewhere we read that the Israelites failed to drive out the "Canaanites that dwelt in Gezer" (Joshua xvi. 10, and cf. Judges i. 29), while subsequently the town and its Canaanite population were destroyed by the Egyptians (1 Kings ix., 16), and given by the Pharaoh as a dowry to his daughter, Solomon's wife, and Solomon undertook its restoration (1 Kings ix. 15, 17).

The earliest historical mention † of Gezer is that contained in the annals of Thothmes (c. 1475 B.C.) where he includes it among the cities which he had taken. Some years later the Governor of Gezer, one Yapakhi, is in correspondence with his overlord the king of Egypt, while Abdi-Khiba, king of Jerusalem,

* For full details, cf. Prof. R. A. F. Macalister's complete memoir of the excavations, 1902-5 and 1907-9, recently published by the Palestine Exploration Fund. It treats of the bearing of the results on the history, ethnology, and archæology of Palestine, and is illustrated by photos and drawings of about 4,000 objects.

† Cf. Driver, *Schweich Lectures* (1909), p. 47.



FIG. 82.—View of Tell ej-Jezer from the south.

(By permission of the Palestine Exploration Fund.)

at about the same period complains to Egypt of the disloyalty of the men of Gezer. In the following dynasty Menephtah, the supposed Pharaoh of the Exodus, states that he took Gezer. The excavations inaugurated here by the Palestine Exploration Fund on June 14th, 1902, have probably yielded more epoch-making results than any other Palestinian site. The



FIG. 83.—The Excavations at Gezer in progress.

(By permission of the Palestine Exploration Fund.)

ruins consist in a long mound resting on two hills, situated east and west respectively. The earliest remains discovered belong apparently to the neolithic age, though the rude drawings of animals on the walls of a rock-hewn cave some thirty feet or more below the surface resemble palæolithic sketches, but Macalister states that although there is "plenty of evidence for the existence of palæolithic man within

five miles of Gezer," * he is not prepared to assign the drawings in the Gezer cave to so remote a date. In the neolithic period, Gezer was occupied by a non-Semitic people of comparatively short stature, who dwelt in caves or primitive huts of wood and stone. They cremated their dead, apparently in a special cave prepared for the purpose, and they deposited vessels containing food and drink for the consumption of the deceased, a sure and certain evidence of their belief in the future life. The burial cave in question measures about 30 feet by 24 feet, and contained a number of enclosures composed of flat stones—possibly the graves of grandees. This prehistoric cemetery was surrounded by an earth rampart about 6 feet high and 6 feet thick. The inside of this rampart was revetted by a stone wall some 2 feet in thickness, while the outside was similarly strengthened with masonry. In the same stratum a rock platform was discovered in which were a large number of cup-shaped hollows of different sizes (cf. Fig. 84), while beneath were three large caves and an orifice. It has been supposed that the latter was used as a shaft for the purpose of despatching meat-offerings and drink-offerings to the subterranean deities, while the cup-marks have been generally regarded as natural basins for the reception of sacrificial blood (see further p. 224). The caves of these Troglodytes contained rough hand-made pottery, some of which was decorated with red or white lines. The only weapons or large implements discovered were made of flint, which was in certain cases wrought very skilfully, while the bones of various animals and birds, including the cow, the pig, the sheep, the goat, and the stork, were

* Cf. *Q. S.*, 1908, p. 273, and *Q. S.*, 1912, p. 82 f.

used for making pins or needles. A number of grindstones were further found, proving that agriculture was not unknown to this primitive people.* In 1907 another large rock-hewn cave of great interest was discovered. It was found at a depth of 130 feet below the surface, and contains a spring of water. Access to the cave was gained by means of a long



FIG. 84.—Cup-marks in rock-surface above three large caves.

(By permission of the Palestine Exploration Fund.)

tunnel cut in the rock and descending by eighty steps. This tunnel is 219 feet long, and the spring of water lies some 94 feet below the surface of the rock. The dimensions of the tunnel in its initial stages are considerable, the height being 23 feet, and the span 12 feet 10 inches, but as it approaches the cave it becomes much smaller. The work of cutting such a long tunnel through hard rock implies a proficiency

* Cf. Driver, *Schweich Lectures* (1909), p. 51.



FIG. 85.—The Entrance to the Tunnel (from the north).

(By permission of the Palestine Exploration Fund.)

in the art of engineering among this neolithic people which may well command our admiration.



FIG. 86.—Subterranean Gallery at Gezer.

(By permission of the Palestine Exploration Fund.)

At the bottom of the steps were found two small

lumps of iron, which Macalister * says must have fallen in with other refuse after the abandonment of the cave. However that may be, this is the "oldest evidence of the use of iron" in Palestine. The strata immediately above those characterized by the Troglodyte caves yielded numerous Egyptian scarabs belonging to the period from the XIIth to the XIXth dynasty, which made it possible to relatively fix the dates of the other deposits in the same strata. Some of the scarabs recovered belong to the Hyksos period, and prove that even then Egyptian influence held its own against that of Babylonia. The lower stratum, which must be assigned to the time of the XIIth dynasty—*i.e.* to a date probably not later than about 2000 B.C. to 1788 B.C.—was found to contain the burials of a Semitic people, a people therefore racially distinct from the Neolithic Troglodytes.

The mode of burial adopted by this Semitic people was, however, entirely Egyptian in character, though the bodies had not been embalmed, and according to Griffith, † the practice of embalming the dead was not in vogue in Egypt itself at that period, but it would appear that the evidence regarding the disposition of the dead in Egypt at this time is too scant to admit of any positive statement regarding this question.

One of the graves belonging to the early part of this period (XIIth dynasty) was found to contain the skeletons of two men, in extended position and surrounded by a number of vessels of varying shape. Above these vessels was half of the skeleton of a boy which had been cut in two, like the girl whose mutilated body had been previously found in the cistern on

* Cf. *Q. S.*, 1908, p. 101.

† Cf. Driver, *Schweich Lectures* (1909), p. 54.

the same site. These remains of the boy were buried about the foundations of a building, and there is no doubt that we have here an instance of a human foundation-sacrifice.* The practice of dismembering the dead admits of many explanations, it has for example been explained by some on the theory of cannibalism, by others it has been associated with the idea that underlies the Osiris legend, while some would connect it with the use of bones as amulets.† The real significance of the dismemberment of the dead in early Egypt is also uncertain; no doubt the practice was originally connected with the Osiris legend, and its object was apparently either to do away with all the impurities inherent in or attaching to the flesh, or else to burst the prison gates and set the non-physical part of man for ever free. In Palestine, on the other hand, the data are so slight that we can but conjecture as to the meaning. The performance of a remarkable rite in the Philippine Islands, which may be parallel to it is cited‡ by Macalister in the *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund* (1909, p. 112). A child was tied to a tree, transfixed with a spear, and then chopped into pieces, each of the natives present at the ceremony carrying off a piece as an amulet for protection against evil spirits.

The mutilated skeleton of the boy at Gezer is probably an example of a foundation-sacrifice § offered to ensure the security and prosperity of the building. Why the infant was dismembered we

* Cf. further pp. 74 and 228.

† Cf. S. A. Cook, *Religion of Ancient Palestine*, p. 51.

‡ From the *Times*, Jan. 20, 1909.

§ See below, p. 228.

cannot say ; presumably it is to be explained on the analogy of animal victims (Lev. i. ; Homer, etc.).

Among the more interesting relics recovered from the early part of the stratum with which we are concerned (*i.e.* c. 2000 B.C.) a clay model of a shrine is deserving of special note.

Unfortunately it was found in a very fragmentary condition, but in spite of this fact, it is of considerable importance, inasmuch as it gives us some idea as to the general appearance of an old Canaanite covered-in sanctuary.

The sanctuary was apparently separated from an open fore-court by a doorway, in immediate proximity to which were two stoups, used either as receptacles for drink-offerings or as lavers for ceremonial ablutions, while an image of a grotesquely conceived human being with a tall cap would appear to have been stationed on either side of the court, and was presumably intended to represent the god.*

Of the smaller objects belonging to the latter half of this period a clay tablet, bearing (apparently) a cylinder-seal impression of various astrological emblems, deserves a mention. The emblems closely resemble those occurring on Babylonian boundary-stones, which this tablet, however, probably antedates. Whether we are to see in this tablet—generally known as the "Zodiac-Tablet"—evidence of the existence of common emblems in Babylonia and Palestine, or whether, on the other hand, the tablet itself emanated from Babylonia and is to be regarded as evidence of the early influence exerted by Babylonia on Palestinian civilization, is a matter of speculation.† The

* *Q. S.* 1908, pp. 21, 22.

† Cf. Ball, Johns, Pinches, and Sayce, in *Q. S.*, 1908, pp. 26-30.

discovery of a seal in an earlier stratum (2500–2000 B.C.) conforming to the same general type as the impression on the "Zodiac Tablet," corroborates Macalister's theory that the impression was made from a seal belonging to an earlier date than the stratum in which the tablet was found.

The remains of the Solomonic period are not as numerous as one could wish. One of the more noteworthy of the smaller objects is a clay model of a boat,* 7 inches long and 2 inches broad. It is pointed at both ends and has a prominent keel, which turns upwards and ends in a short post at both ends, thereby resembling the Phœnician crafts depicted on later Assyrian bas-reliefs.† In this connection it is interesting to recall the fact that Hiram, King of Tyre, sent to Solomon "in the navy his servants, shipmen that had knowledge of the sea" (1 Kings ix. 27).

An interesting relic belonging to the early Israelite period is portion of a mould ‡ designed for casting jewellery; it is made of a hard basaltic stone and was discovered amid *débris* belonging to about 1000 B.C., while to the same period or a little later must be assigned the Egyptian lotus-shaped incense-burner, recovered on the same site. §

The period represented by the fourth stratum is characterized by the prevalence of 'Ashtart-worship (the 'ashtōreth of the O.T.)||, and numerous terracotta plaques of the famous Canaanite and Phœnician goddess were recovered. Some of these

* *Q. S.*, 1908, p. 287.

† Cf. The writer's *Mesopotamian Archaeology*, Fig. 112.

‡ *Q. S.*, 1908, p. 108.

§ *Q. S.*, 1908, p. 211.

|| Cf. Driver, *Schweich Lectures* (1909), p. 56 f.

clay representations bear traces of Egyptian and Phœnician influence, and similar figures have been brought to light at Tell el-Hesy, Taanach, and other Palestinian sites as well as at Cyprus and Zinjirli. Evidence of the relationship subsisting between the later inhabitants of Gezer and the Assyrian empire was afforded by Prof. Macalister's discovery of two cuneiform tablets, belonging to the middle of the seventh century B.C. (*i.e.* Ashur-bani-pal's reign) and containing Hebrew names. On one of these tablets we have the terms of a contract in respect of the sale of a field, while the other is a contract for the sale of a landed estate; the name of one of the owners (Nethaniah) is Hebrew, but nearly all the other names are Assyrian.

Unfortunately, very few early Hebrew inscriptions have as yet been brought to light by Palestinian excavators; one of the most remarkable of these is the limestone tablet discovered at Gezer, while the inscribed jar-handles from the same site are of considerable importance for the study of Semitic Epigraphy (cf. further p. 256 f.).

But we are fortunately not without some information concerning the history of the city itself. The discovery of a wall, some 10 feet thick, composed of stone blocks measuring from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 feet square, shows that Gezer was a fortified town at an early date, this wall being assigned by the excavators to the middle of the third millenium B.C. The interstices between the irregular stones of which this wall consisted were filled in with smaller stones, while the wall itself would appear to have been provided with high but narrow towers which projected beyond the face of the wall and occurred at intervals of 90

feet. On the southern side the wall was pierced by a gate-way, 42 feet deep and 9 feet wide : the gate was flanked by two towers constructed of rude masonry, and faced with sun-dried bricks, while the passage itself was paved with stone flags.

Above the ruins of the towers referred to were a number of small crudely-built houses, containing scarabs, beads, pottery and other relics belonging to the time of the XVIIIth dynasty.

At a somewhat later date, *i.e.* about 1400 B.C., a city-wall of somewhat greater circumference was erected. Like the earlier wall, it was made of stone, and was fortified with brick-faced towers, while it measured about 14 feet in thickness.

This wall is supposed to have served as the defence of three successive cities, ranging from 1400-100 B.C., and Professor Macalister is inclined to see in some of the towers, the work of repair executed by Pharaoh after his capture of the city, preliminary to his bestowing the same upon his daughter as a dowry.

The remains of one other important and extensive structure must be briefly mentioned : it is built round one of the towers of the inner wall, but was not constructed till after the later outer city-wall had been erected. The walls of this building (apparently a Canaanite castle) vary from 3 to 9 feet in thickness, and from the archæological evidence of the objects therein discovered, it has been assigned to the thirteenth century B.C.

Among the many interesting architectural relics belonging to this period may be mentioned a large building stone inscribed with the Egyptian hieroglyph for "gold." This stone probably formed part of an Egyptian temple partially or wholly covered with

hieroglyphs, and is one of the many indications of Egyptian influence at this time.

Perhaps the most striking of all the discoveries



FIG. 87.—Row of standing-stones at Gezer.

(By permission of the Palestine Exploration Fund.)

made at Gezer is that of a row of eight huge standing-stones or *mazzēbāhs* (cf. Fig. 87). The truncated stumps of two others were also visible, making ten in

all. It is believed that the Canaanites regarded these undressed monoliths as the abode of their gods. A Phœnician stele from Sicily (cf. Corpus, *Inscr. Semit.* I., 135), where we see three such stones and a worshipper in front, supports the theory. In Genesis xxviii. 18, we read of Jacob erecting the stone that he had put under his head, as a *mazzēbāh*.* This he anointed and named it "Beth-elohim" (v. 22), and the place "Beth-el" (both = "the house (*i.e.* abode) of God"), while in Isaiah xix. 19, we read: "there shall be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt and a *mazzēbāh* at the border thereof to the Lord," which conclusively proves that the *mazzēbāh* was regarded as a legitimate religious symbol at all events in the time of Isaiah. And it is a noteworthy fact that some of the *mazzēbāhs* discovered at Taanach have been assigned to the Israelite period, and were therefore possibly erected by Israelites. By the time of the Deuteronomist the use of *asherahs* and *mazzēbāhs* in the service of Yahveh is strictly forbidden (cf. Deut. xvi. 21, 22), their prohibition, of course, being due to the heathen rites and ceremonies with which they became specifically associated on the one hand, and to the growth of spiritual conceptions among the Israelites on the other.

The largest of the standing-stones at Gezer is 10½ feet high, over 4½ feet broad, and 2½ feet thick, and they stand upon a pavement under which a brick of pure gold was discovered.

The remains of another Canaanite sanctuary were brought to light in 1905, consisting of a row of four *mazzēbāhs* and the stump of a fifth, while similar

* Cf. *Hasting's Dict.* iii. 879, 880.

stones have been discovered at Taanach, Megiddo, and other Palestinian sites. The rough date assigned to the majority of these *mazzēbāhs* is 1400 B.C., and it is interesting to note that many primitive peoples of our own day still associate their deities with monoliths, wherein they are supposed to dwell.*

In some of these *mazzēbāhs* there are cup-shaped hollows apparently similar to those found in the flat rock surface to which allusion has already been made (cf. Fig. 83), and also to those on rock-altars at Gezer, Taanach, and Megiddo.

If the generally accepted theory that these stones were regarded as the abodes of deities be correct, then the cup-shaped hollows would appear to have served as receptacles for drink-offerings or sacrificial blood; and in connection with the sacrificial purpose which the cavities alluded to are supposed to have served, Professor Driver aptly recalls the passage in Isaiah (lvii. 6), where idolatrous Israelites are upbraided for pouring out libations to "the smooth stones of the valley." As these cavities occur in the sides as well as on the top of the *mazzēbāhs*, possibly the cup-shaped hollows on the tops of the *mazzēbāhs* were destined to receive libations or drink-offerings, while those on the sides mark the places where sacred stones were anointed or smeared with sacrificial blood. Spoer† is of opinion that the hollows found in the neighbourhood of wells or cisterns were used for watering animals, while those found either in front of or on the top of dolmens and menhirs may have served a sacrificial

* Cf. Driver, *Genesis*, p. 267; *Schweich Lectures* (1909), p. 65.

† *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, xxviii. pp. 271, 272, ff.

purpose. Those, however, which are hollowed out on the sides of these stones, he regards as emblems of the Semitic mother-goddess Astarte, or Ashtoreth. Gressmann,* on the other hand, maintains that the standing stones in Palestine are in all cases either memorial stones or boundary stones, the memorials being erected sometimes in honour of the dead, sometimes to commemorate a notable event in the life of the nation or of some distinguished persons. The same scholar is of opinion that the cup-marks were invariably used as receptacles for water offered to the dead, in which case all *mazzēbāhs* with cavities would, according to this theory, be memorial-stones of the dead. Were that the case, upon what hypothesis are we to explain the existence of *mazzēbāhs* without cup-marks immediately by the side of or in obvious relationship to other *mazzēbāhs* with cup-marks? Are we to suppose that in some cases the bereaved thought fit to provide the dead with water, while in other cases they neglected to do so? Of course, it is possible that memorial stones of the dead, and monuments commemorative of current events may have been erected side by side, but it does not seem at all probable; and in view of the well attested practice of erecting *mazzēbāhs* for religious purposes among primitive peoples, it would appear more reasonable to associate these monoliths with that practice.

There is the same difference of opinion among scholars regarding the meaning and significance of the infant jar-burials discovered at Gezer and elsewhere. The usually accepted theory is that the

* *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, xxix, pp. 113, 114, ff.

human bones contained in the jars are the remains of child-sacrifices.* At Gezer a whole cemetery of jar-buried infants was revealed; and as the burials in question were found in the stratum underneath the "high place" of Gezer, the sacrificial theory *à priori* seems probable, while the discovery of some twenty jar-buried infants at Taanach in close proximity to a rock-altar affords additional support to this contention; it must be noted, however, that the child-burials at Taanach were not near to any monoliths as was the case both at Gezer and at Megiddo. At the last-named place four jar-burials were discovered, beneath the corner of a "temple"; inside or about each of these primitive sarcophagi were two or three vessels, which doubtless at one time contained food and drink for the infants' consumption in the nether world. If that be the case, and if these infant jar-burials are in reality instances of early human sacrifices, it would appear that some effort was made to compensate the victims for the untimely curtailment of life in this world, by providing them so far as possible with the necessary means of living in the next world, though even this work of piety was probably dictated by personal considerations, for not improbably the Babylonian belief that the neglected dead wreaked their vengeance on the living prevailed also in Palestine.

But in the case of the Taanach jar-burials, the explanation offered by Père Vincent and Professor Sellin is that the remains are those of children who had died too young to be interred in the family

* Regarding the practice of dismembering the dead, cf. p. 217.

tombs,* while W. H. Wood † extends this theory and gives it a universal application to all the infant-burials in Palestine, including of course those found in the vicinity of the "high places." He regards all these jar-burials merely as instances of the widespread custom of depositing the dead in jars, a custom which prevailed in early Egypt, Babylonia, and Assyria.‡ On the other hand, the practice of offering the first-born in sacrifice, was an old and well-attested Semitic custom. Among the Hebrews, the first-born of men and the firstlings of animals were sacred to Jehovah; but Jehovah did not require the offering of human blood, and redemption took the place of actual sacrifice. The *principle* was, however, recognized from the earliest times, as Abraham's *literal* acceptance of the Divine command to offer up his son Isaac proves; § but the actual sacrifice was not exacted, and the patriarch thus learnt the truth to which Micah gave utterance so many centuries after:—"Shall I give my first-born for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?" The surrounding nations had not, however, attained to the same degree of spirituality. Thus we read that Mesha, King of Moab, when sore pressed by the Israelites, "took his eldest son . . . and offered him for a burnt offering

* Cf. F. W. S. O'Neill, *Expository Times*, 1909, p. 45, for evidence in regard to a similar practice in China, where infants dying in their first year are not buried at all but exposed. The object of this is to so maltreat the child that it will not care to be reborn into the family, for if reborn it would be likely to cheat the family again by a second early death.

† Cf. *Biblical World*, xxxv. 1910, pp. 166, 167 ff. and 227-228 ff.

‡ For theories regarding the origin of jar-burials, other than those in or near some sacred locality, cf. S. A. Cook, *Religion of Ancient Palestine*, p. 36 f.

§ Cf. Driver, *Genesis*, pp. 21, 22; *Exodus*, p. 409 f.

upon the wall," while it seems improbable that Jephthah some centuries earlier would have vowed to offer "whosoever" (Judges xi. 31, R.V.m.) met him from the house, or would have actually offered his daughter, had human sacrifice been unknown around him. It should be observed, however, that he did not vow his *daughter*, in the *first* instance, and she was neither his first-born nor an infant, so it is not a complete parallel to the Gezer infants.

But many of these jar-burials were deposited in the foundations or structure of buildings. Thus in some of the later buildings at Gezer, skeletons of infants in jars were brought to light; elsewhere skeletons of adults were also discovered, while under the foundations of a building belonging to the time of the XIIth dynasty, two extended skeletons of men were unearthed. Megiddo and Taanach have yielded similar evidence of this custom. Professor Driver* says: "It can hardly be doubted that these are examples of foundation-sacrifices, *i.e.* of sacrifices offered at the foundation of a building for the purpose of ensuring the stability of the structure and the welfare of those about to occupy or use it." (For similar practices in many different parts of the world, cf. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, i., 94 f.; Trumbull, *Threshold Covenant* (1890), 45 f., as cited by Driver, *Ibid.* p. 71.)

It has been supposed that we have an allusion to some such practice in Joshua vi. 26, where a curse is pronounced upon the man who should attempt to rebuild Jericho—"he shall lay the foundation thereof in his first-born, and in his youngest son shall he set up the gates of it." But as Driver remarks (*Schweich*

* Cf. further, Driver, *Schweich Lectures* (1909), p. 71.

Lectures, 72): "The curse implies not an ordinary practice, but that something unusual and unexpected would happen to Hiel." The common supposition that Hiel lost his sons through some accident happening to them while the work of rebuilding was in progress is more probably correct. It is interesting to note that a foundation or inauguration sacrifice of a sheep was offered as recently as 1898, at the building of a jetty for the landing of the German Emperor at Haifa.*

From the evidence at present available, it would thus appear that at least three classes of jar-burials have been found in Palestine, *i.e.* those which are burials pure and simple, those which are ordinary human sacrifices, and, lastly, those which are human foundation-sacrifices.

In conclusion the history of Gezer as revealed by the excavations may be divided into five main periods †: I. The *Pre-Semitic* period (3000-2000 B.C.), during which Gezer was occupied by neolithic cave-dwellers who cremated their dead. II. The so-called *Amorite* period (2000-1500 B.C.), first of the three Semitic periods when the city was in the hands of a taller people, who buried and did not cremate their dead, and who appear to have been in the habit of offering human beings in sacrifice to their gods. There is evidence of Egyptian influence (XIIth dynasty) at this time. III. The *Canaanite* period (1500-1000 B.C.), during which Egyptian influence became more dominant, while from 1200-1000 B.C. Philistine and Cretan influence begins to make its appearance. IV. The *Israelite* period

* Cf. S. A. Cook, *Ibid.* p. 39.

† Cf. H. Thiersch, *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1909, 347-406.

(1000-500 B.C.), which saw a decadence in the civilization of the inhabitants of Gezer. Cypriot pottery has been found in the stratum of this period, and there is also evidence of Assyrian influence and occupation. V. The *Hellenizing* period, *i.e.* from 500 B.C. till Roman times.

JERICHO.*

The site of Jericho is represented by the modern mound of Tell es-Sultan, while the name of the ancient city is perpetuated in the neighbouring village of Erihâ.† (Cf. Fig. 88.) Excavations were inaugurated here early in 1908 by Prof. Sellin, who had already done such good work at Tell Ta'annek.

The ruins consist in a long oval mound, measuring about 1100 feet in length and 500 feet in breadth, from which arise seven hills varying in height from 16 feet to 40 feet.

In ancient days these hills were surrounded by a wall, oval like the mound and about half a mile long.

The city found a copious water supply at the spring which now bears the name of 'Ain es-Sultan, while it also received all the benefits to be derived from the rains of the hill country, and was in consequence extremely fertile.

Situated as it was, about fifteen miles from

* For details, reference must be made to the reports of the explorers in the *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, Nos. 39, 41; cf. also Driver, *Schweich Lectures* (1909), 91, 92; S. A. Cook, *Q. S. of the P.E.F.* 1910, 60 f.; Forder, *Records of the Past*, 1910, 203 f.

† Some would connect the name with the Hebrew and Assyrian word for "moon," in which case the city may have owed its name to religious associations, but it is doubtful whether the two words are radically connected.

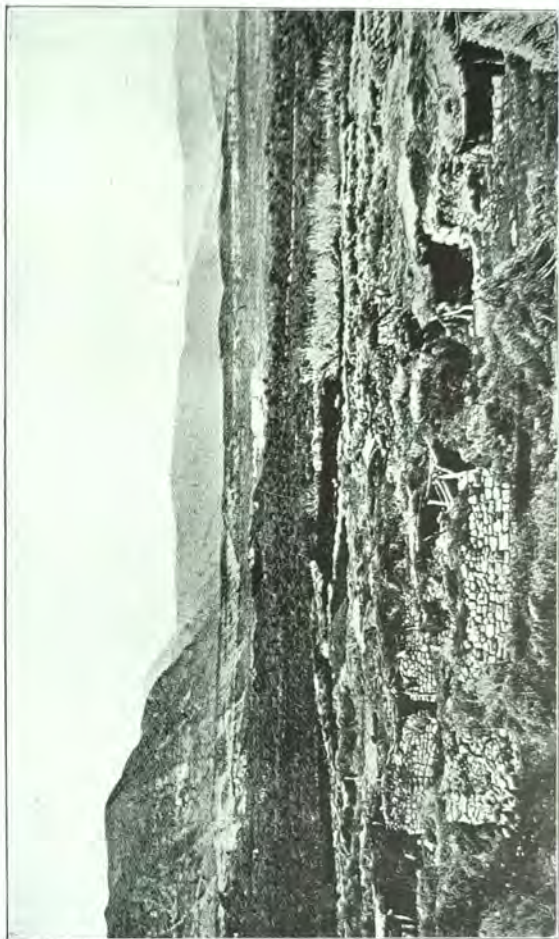


FIG. 88.--The Jericho Plain.
(By permission from Murray's *Illustrated Bible Dictionary*.)

Jerusalem and thirty-three miles from Samaria, it formed an important trading centre and emporium, and it doubtless owes the early occupation of its site to the commercial possibilities of its position.

The city wall, which is very well preserved, rested on a bed some 3 or 4 feet thick, composed of a mixture of loam and gravel. Upon this was superimposed the wall, of which the lower part was formed of stones and rubble, and the upper part of brick.

The brickwork still stands to the height of about 8 feet, and is approximately $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick, while the rubble wall beneath is 16 feet high, and varying from $6\frac{1}{2}$ to 8 feet in thickness.

At the northern end of this oval-shaped city-wall were found the remains of a citadel with a double protecting wall in front.

Both the walls of the city and of the citadel itself are very substantial and massive in character, and are a striking testimony to the architectural skill of the pre-Israelite inhabitants of Canaan. Within the citadel were found the walls and rooms of Canaanite houses along with Canaanite pottery and a number of infant jar-burials. With the latter were found a number of amphoræ of what is called the "Syro-Israelite" form, together with some egg-shaped vessels of the Cypriot and late Mycenaean type.*

Skeletons were found under the foundations of some of the buildings, which afforded further evidence of the practice of offering human foundation-sacrifices.

The walls of the buildings had not infrequently been used more than once, and it was therefore not possible in all cases to distinguish "the old Jewish or Canaanite" from the "late Jewish" walls, but the

* Cf. S. A. Cook, in *Q. S.*, 1910, p. 60.

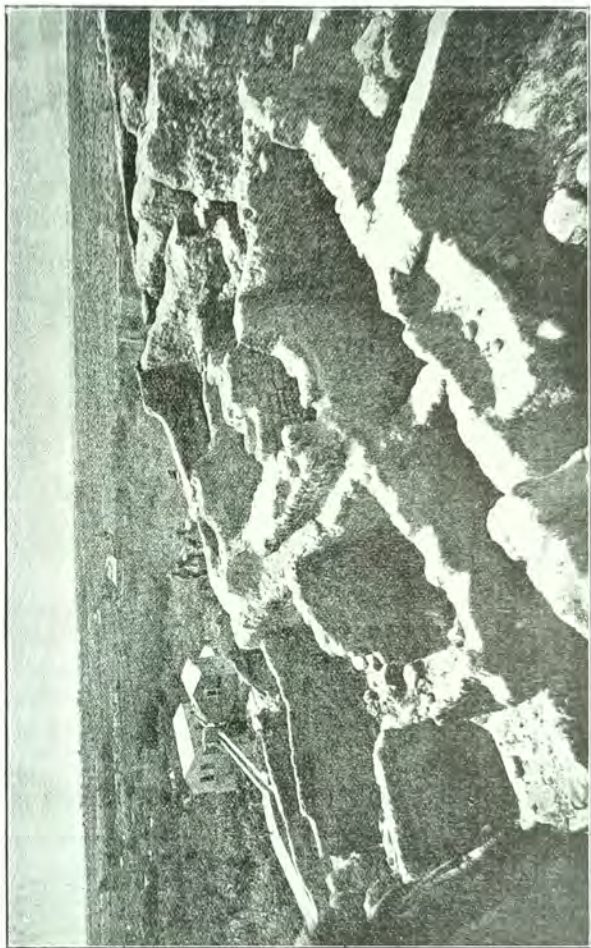


FIG. 89.—Israelite Houses at Jericho.

By permission from the Mitteil. d. Deutsch. Orient-Gesellschaft, No. 11, abb. 2.

excavations on the south-east of the Tell near the spring were productive of more satisfactory results in regard to the Israelite occupation. A number of Israelite houses were found here belonging to the time of Ahab; the date of these houses was fixed by the discovery of two Cypriot jugs of red clay with black colouring, a style of ware found in Greece down to the seventh century, while the inscriptions on jar-handles discovered on this site afforded similar evidence of the occupation of Jericho by the Israelites (cf. further p. 259).

Among the various relics discovered in the Israelite strata were lamps, loom-weights in stone and terra-cotta, corn-mills of red sandstone, a collection of iron implements, together with a vast amount of pottery.

The dramatic episode recorded in Joshua of the immediate and semi-miraculous collapse of the walls of Jericho before the invading Israelites has not unnaturally excited a desire in some people to discover the remains of the fallen city-walls. The walls, however, like the citadel are Canaanite work, and show no sign of having been destroyed to the extent that a reader of Joshua vi. would suppose to have been the case. They are of substantial workmanship, and still, for the greater part of their circumference, standing to a considerable height.

It is not to be inferred from Joshua vi. 26, and 1 Kings xvi. 34, that Jericho was without inhabitants from the time of Joshua to that of Ahab. 2 Sam. x. 5 implies that it was inhabited in David's time, and all the archæological evidence available tends to show that it was occupied continuously. The actual remains show that whatever destruction of the walls



FIG. 90.—Foundation of the city-wall of Jericho.
(By permission from the *Mitteil. d. Deutsch. Orient-Gesellschaft* (No. 39, *abb.* 7.)

had taken place, it was very partial, and Joshua vi. 26, 1 Kings xvi. 34, refer, not to its occupation, but to the rebuilding of such parts of the walls as were destroyed, so that it might again become a properly fortified town. According to the Hebrew account, iron was known and used by the pre-Israelite occupants of the city, but at present no archæological evidence of the use of iron among the Canaanites has been forthcoming (cf. however, p. 216), and no iron was found in the Canaanite strata at Jericho.

On the other hand, it is interesting to remark that a distinct break was noticeable in the pottery, the old Canaanite ware giving place to the later pottery with an abruptness not to be seen elsewhere. Normally, the development of the earlier pottery into the later Israelite ware can be readily traced, but here the line of demarcation seems to be more or less cut and dried. This is an indication of a sudden break in the cultural history of the inhabitants of Jericho, and may throw some light on the Biblical account of Joshua's conquest.

BETH-SHEMESH *

The site which specifically occupied the attention of the Palestine Exploration Fund last year (1911) is that of Beth-Shemesh, close to the modern *Ain Shems* (cf. Fig. 91). Beth-Shemesh lies about 16 miles west of Jerusalem, and is situated in the *Shephélah*. †

Excavations were commenced here on April 6th,

* Cf. further the *Quarterly Statements of the Palestine Exploration Fund* referred to.

† The *Shephélah* is the technical term used to designate the low hills and flat valley land which stretches down towards the Mediterranean Sea in the western and south-western regions of Judah.



FIG. 91.—Panoramic view of 'Ain Shems (left), and Rumeileh-Beth-Shemesh (right), looking south.

(By permission of the Palestine Exploration Fund.)

under the directorship of Dr. Mackenzie. Ain Shems has only ceased to be a place of local habitation within the last fifty years,* and a large proportion of the remains discovered belonged to the Christian era, and therefore throw no new light on the pages of the Hebrew Scriptures. The earlier strata have, however, yielded a considerable amount of material for the reconstruction of the history of the city and of its successive occupants. In the lower strata imported pottery belonging to the Bronze Age, and similar to that found in Cyprus, was discovered. This pottery would appear to be "pre-Semitic" in date, and was found alongside of native pottery.

Of the architectural remains, a stone wall and a fortified gate belonging probably to the Canaanite † period, are of special interest. The gate is in very good preservation, and has a narrow entrance and a long passage "between side-chambers for the guard and defence of the fort." ‡ The wall resembles the Israelite wall at Gezer, and the gate is similar to those found by Place at Khorsabad in Assyria. The early city to which the gateway belonged would appear to have undergone a siege, and it is conjectured that the besiegers may have been Israelites.§ Above the ruins of this fortified city were found the remains of a later city, which was not fortified. This later city would appear to have been Canaanite like its forerunner, and if the Israelites were responsible for the wreckage of the early fortified city it is suggested that they may have allowed the Canaanite population to rebuild the city, on condition that they did not fortify it. § But, as is so constantly

* *Q. S.*, 1911, pp. 140-142.

† *Q. S.*, 1911, p. 145.

‡ *Q. S.*, 1912, p. 171.

§ *Q. S.*, 1912, p. 171.

the case, it is to the abodes of the dead, rather than to the dwelling-places of the living, that we are indebted for most of the interesting discoveries on this site. The burial caves may be divided into two main classes. The earlier of the two comprises cave-tombs of natural formation. The best example of a Troglodyte cave-tomb of this character * is a large circular cave with two deep recesses. In this grave many calcined bones were discovered, which Dr. Mackenzie associates with ceremonial meals rather than with the practice of cremation; the presence of mutton bones certainly seems to support this theory, but possibly a careful examination of the rest of these calcined bones will lead to some conclusion as to their original owner. If none of the calcined bones are those of a human being, then Dr. Mackenzie's theory will no doubt hold good, and as he very truly remarks: "the idea of providing the dead with a veritable chamber implies conceptions quite distinct from those where cremation is practised"; but he goes on to say "that the occurrence of cremation in chamber tombs is evidently due to the fusion of different rites," and the question therefore arises as to whether the burials at Beth-Shemesh are illustrative of this "fusion of different rites." In "Tomb II," the tomb which Dr. Mackenzie describes as being a good example of the later cave-burials at Beth-Shemesh, actual "skeletons" were found. There can, therefore, be no question of cremation here, while in "Tomb I." (the grave selected as being typical of the earlier burials) and in "Tomb II." mutton bones were discovered. These bones must obviously be associated with a ceremonial meal, or sacrifice to the

* *Q. S.*, 1911, p. 160.

dead. But if all the calcined bones in "Tomb I." belong to animals, and no skeletons or human remains of any kind were discovered, are we to assume that the skeletons were stolen or removed, for there is presumably no doubt that the cave-chamber designated as "Tomb I." is an abode of the dead and not a human dwelling-place—or are they buried beneath the accumulation of *débris*?

The original entrance* to "Tomb I." was at the side, but this gave place subsequently to a cylindrical and vertical shaft which penetrated the roof of the chamber. Access to "Tomb II." was gained by a similar shaft, from which, however, a "narrow inclined tunnel" descended into the grave-room. This burial-chamber differs from "Tomb I." in being rectangular instead of circular, and has a divan arrangement similar to that found at Petra, Jerusalem, and elsewhere. There was further a recess in which pottery and other objects belonging to earlier burials were found. Apparently some of the pottery may be provisionally assigned to the period of the Jewish monarchy.† It is interesting to note that lamps were discovered in the grave-room; these lamps were doubtless used in connection with some ceremony, and recall the terracotta lamps found in the burial-vaults at Ashur, where there was also a nich or recess. ‡

In addition to the entrance-shaft this tomb was further provided with a "separate façade entrance," consisting in a small portal closed by a stone slab held in position by means of a stone cylinder. The burial-chamber as a whole, both in regard to its shape,

* *Q. S.*, 1911, pp. 170, 171.

† *Ibid.*, p. 170.

‡ Cf. the present writer's *Mesopotamian Archaeology*, p. 177.

its façade entrance and its divan, conforms to a type found constantly all over the Mediterranean area,* and probably owes its origin to an attempt to imitate the dwelling-places of the living. The façade entrance recalls the false doors of Egyptian tombs. In Egypt the practice of making false doors was in vogue at all events as early as the IIIrd dynasty, for they are represented on some of the wall-reliefs of the period, a good example of which is that taken from the wall of the tomb of Suten-abu at Denderah, and now preserved in the British Museum (No. 1266). Graves of this description in Palestine have hitherto been assigned to the Roman period, but the discovery of Semitic pottery in this tomb shows that this type was in use long before the period of the Roman Empire.

Some of these burial-caves had clearly been rifled, but in spite of the predatory raids of booty-hunters, many interesting relics have survived their greed, among which may be mentioned an early type of Semitic lamp, an Egyptian alabaster vessel of the XVIIth dynasty or thereabouts, figures of Bes, Isis, and Astarte, scarabs, and a bronze spear-head and arrow-head, the position of which against the face of the outer wall of the city would suggest that they did not belong to the men of Beth-Shemesh, but to an attacking army, while the burnt condition of many of the relics seems to justify the assumption that the city was once burnt down. Vincent indeed suggests that the thick layer of burnt *débris* which is found at a more or less uniform level over part of the town may represent the handiwork of the conquering Israelites. As Dr. Mackenzie points out,† the objects

* *Q. S.*, 1911, p. 171.

† *Ibid.*, p. 172.

discovered in "Tomb I."—a good example of the earliest type of rock tomb—afford abundant evidence of Egyptian influence, and none of Babylonian or Ægean. The absence of Ægean pottery is particularly noticeable, as it is found elsewhere on this site in no small quantities. Cypriot pottery of the bronze age was indeed found in the deposits "next the rock,"* but presumably the deposits in question, though early, are to be assigned to a later date than "Tomb I." In one of the graves at Beth-Shemesh, characterized by the divan arrangement and the façade door, were found two terra-cotta figurines,† one female, the other apparently male, which in contrast with those found in "Tomb I.," apparently betray no Egyptian influence whatever. The male figure is said to be remarkable for its beak-like face. The only inscribed objects ‡ recovered were a number of jar-handles (similar to those found at Tel eṣ-Ṣāfi and elsewhere; cf. further, p. 258 f., and Driver, *Schweich Lectures*, p. 74 f. (with illustrations)) of the Israelite period, on one of which Vincent § read the inscription "To the King. Hebron," while the discovery of flint implements among the earliest types of Semitic pottery, proved that the place was occupied at an earlier date than could be inferred from Biblical history or Assyrian tablets.||

The most interesting result of this year's (1912) expedition was the discovery of the High Place of Bethshemesh. Five pillars were found, "lying on their sides as if they had been knocked down." ¶ They had rounded tops but flat bases, "for better

* *Q. S.*, 1911, p. 145.

† *Ibid.*, p. 141.

‡ *Q. S.*, 1911, p. 145.

† *Ibid.*, p. 172.

§ Cf. Vincent, *Canaan*, p. 259.

¶ *Q. S.*, Oct., 1912, p. 173.

standing." Owing to their resemblance to pillars discovered in association with family tombs on the same site, Dr. Mackenzie suggests that these pillars may have been originally connected with sepulchral rites and beliefs.*

At a very great depth below the surface, and beneath the High Place, a burial-cave, "with all the paraphernalia of the cult of the dead there in position as they had been left thousands of years ago," † was revealed.

On the west side of the High Place, was a circle of stones which were found to encircle the entrance to a shaft which led down to another subterranean chamber. Near to this chamber, the well of 'Ain Shems was discovered. ‡ Whether the chamber was connected with the well, as was the case at Gezer, subsequent excavations will no doubt demonstrate.

The general results § arrived at in regard to the cultural history of the inhabitants of Beth-shemesh are that in the earliest periods, the influence of Egypt and Crete was paramount. This subsequently gave place to that of the Philistines, while last of all the Israelites became dominant.

Various other sites in Southern Palestine have received the attention of the Palestine Exploration Fund, two of the most fruitful of which are Tell eš-Šāfi, probably Gath, and Tell Zakariya, possibly the ancient Azeka.

Both of these sites are situated in the borderland between Philistia and Judæa, but neither of them can be traced back to so early a period as Gezer or Lachish. They go back, however, as far as the

* *Q. S.*, Oct., 1912, p. 174.

† *Ibid.*, p. 176.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 177.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

second millennium B.C., and were occupied by the Canaanites. The Philistine remains, especially those from Tell eṣ-Šāfi, support the theory that the Philistines were Minoan or Mycenæan in origin, and it has indeed been suggested that Zakariya derived its name from the same source as Zakro in Crete, but it would appear rather to be so called from a chapel of Zechariah, the father of John the Baptist.* At Tell eṣ-Šāfi, rocks with cup-marks were found, as also at Marmīta, Zarcá, Tell Sandaḥannah and elsewhere, while both at Tell Zakariya, Tell eṣ-Šāfi, Tell Sandaḥannah, and Tell ej-Judeideh, jug-handles inscribed in Hebrew characters were brought to light.

It is not within the scope of this volume to discuss even cursorily the results of the excavations carried on by Robinson, Hoskins, Libbey, Förder, Dalman, Porter and others on the east side of the Jordan, and in Arabia, suffice it to say that the remains of some twenty-five "high-places" have been discovered in the neighbourhood of Petra.† These "high-places" were generally situated on a hill, access to them being gained by means of stairways hewn in the rock. They consisted of a court or courts cut in the rock, with seats for worshippers, and an altar with steps leading up to it.

* Cf. Driver, *Schweich Lectures*, p. 41.

† Cf. Robinson, *Biblical World*, 1908, p. 8 f.

CHAPTER VII

EXCAVATIONS IN NORTH PALESTINE

SAMARIA.*

JERUSALEM, the capital of the kingdom of Judah, has for many years attracted the attention of the excavator and the archæologist, chiefly, no doubt, owing to the importance attaching to that site, as the scene of so many incidents in the early life of Christianity, as the seat of its origin, and the death-place of its Founder; but Samaria, the capital of the larger and more important kingdom of Israel, to whose monarch many a petty king of Judah owed allegiance, has until two or three years ago received little or no attention. This was due not so much to the non-recognition of its importance as to the extensiveness of its ruins, and the costliness of a scientific exploration of its site. In 1908,† however, an expedition was conducted thither by Dr. Gottlieb Schumacher, the well-known German excavator, whose work at Tell el-Mutesellim (Megiddo) had already won for him a world-wide reputation, and Professor G. A. Reisner, under the

* From the *Times* of February 8, 1911, with permission of the editor and with the author's revisions and additions.

† For full details cf. *The Harvard Theological Journal*, 1908-11.

directorship of Professor D. G. Lyon, of Harvard University.

The ruins of Israel's ancient capital are to be found on a large isolated hill, some 350 feet high, situated about six miles north-west of Nablus (Shechem) and twenty miles from the Mediterranean; the hill is covered with olive-orchards, fig-trees, and pomegranates. This hill is said to have been purchased by Omri, who built a town called Shōmerōn (Samaria) thereon, about 900 B.C. (1 Kings xvi. 24), while Ahab, the son of Omri, built a temple to Baal there, and also an "ivory palace."

The site was occupied as the capital of the northern kingdom down to 722 B.C. (1 Kings xxii. ; 2 Kings xviii.), but in that year the city was captured by Sargon, who carried off 27,000 people into captivity, the remainder of those left in the city being ruled by an Assyrian Governor (2 Kings xvii. 6; xviii. 9). Sargon and Esarhaddon further installed Babylonian colonists in place of the exiled Israelites; the city was subsequently taken by Alexander the Great, but continued to be occupied right down to the time of Herod, who rebuilt it and named it Sebaste (30-1 B.C.). The mound thus contains the remains of four distinct cities, Herod's city, the Seleucid city, the Babylonian city, the history of which lay between the date of Israel's captivity and Alexander's ascendancy, and, lastly, the Israelite city, with which we are more immediately concerned.

The actual digging in 1908, which went on for nine weeks, was productive of ample results, though not of the period especially desired, most of the finds belonging to the Græco-Roman period. Five trial pits were dug near the modern village of Sebastiyeh,

which resulted in the discovery of a large building, the northern end of which was excavated; the masonry was excellent, and the blocks of stone used of considerable size. The original building was evidently a temple of Roman times, the later structure, one of the chief features of which was a broad curve suggestive of the apse of a church, belonging pro-



FIG. 92.—North-east Corner of the Excavations near the Village.

(By permission, from the "Harvard Theological Review.")

bably to the Byzantine period. A large number of Arabic lamps, quantities of Roman roof tiles, together with some Greek and Roman pottery and broken glass, were found here. Excavations on the citadel itself were, however, productive of more important results.

At a depth of 30 feet below the surface a massive wall consisting of large stones, five courses of which



FIG. 93.—Basilica and Western Edge of the Forum, looking south.

(By permission, from the "Harvard Theological Review.")

are still in position, was brought to light; unfortunately, as this discovery was made towards the end of the season's work, it was too late to follow it up that year, but the fact that it lay buried beneath some 30 feet of *débris* appeared to indicate that it belonged to Hebrew times and was made by Hebrew masons, while further evidence of its Hebrew origin was forthcoming in the discovery of similar stones in the immediate neighbourhood, bearing marks such as have been found elsewhere, and which have been regarded as betokening a Hebrew parentage. Another trench brought to light two cisterns, a plastered stone drain, and the remains of ancient buildings, while a further trench revealed a stairway ascending from the north, 16 steps of which were partially uncovered, the top step being 5 feet below the surface (cf. Fig. 95). The blocks of stone composing the stairway are about one yard long, and are alike well cut and well laid; the stairway was originally 80 feet wide, the shortest step now measuring 57 feet and the longest about 73 feet. At the foot of the stairway is a supporting wall of rude masonry about 8 feet high, and perhaps of earlier date. About 12 feet south of the stairway, and a foot or so below the surface, a platform composed of thick slabs of stone was discovered, 57 feet in length and 27 feet in breadth, while beneath the platform remains of earlier walls were found. In a trench running south, at a depth of 3 feet, was found a large piece of mosaic floor, a deep cistern, and crude but massive walls. On the west of the stairway a large chamber, about 40 feet by 20 feet, was excavated, the top of which is on a level with the lowest step, and the northern wall of which is in line with the northern wall supporting



FIG. 94.—Platform at the Head of the Stairway, looking west.
(By permission, from the "Harvard Theological Review.")



FIG. 95.—Vaulted Chamber and Stairway, looking south-east.
(By permission, from the "Harvard Theological Review.")

the stairway; the walls, which had evidently been heavily coated with plaster, and upon which traces of colour were actually found, are very massive, and the roof consisted in an arch of which a part still remains in position.

A cutting through the floor of the chamber revealed the presence of yet earlier floors of beaten



FIG. 96.—Trench showing Statue (looking north).

(By permission, from the "Harvard Theological Review.")

earth beneath. A few graffiti were recovered, and many fragments of Latin inscriptions on pieces of marble slabs, but the only sculptures were a Roman *torso*, finely carved out of a block of white marble and probably representing Augustus, and portions of an unknown head of colossal size. A short distance north of the stairway a Roman altar was found, and

on the west of the altar two large blocks of stone were discovered bearing the characteristically Hebrew marks already alluded to, while in a pit not far from the altar, a column, cut out of the rock, nearly round and about a yard in diameter, still stands in position. Fragments of coloured stucco were found here, with Greek letters scratched on them.

In 1909 excavations were resumed on May 31, and continued till November 14. As in 1908, the chief interest centred round the summit; a wall was discovered which Reisner at the time believed to be part of the Palace of Omri and Ahab, while Père Vincent, a leading authority on Palestinian archæology, shared the same opinion. In a chamber beneath the palace several fragments of pottery inscribed in Hebrew were found, while south of the palace a fragment of cuneiform inscription with a Hebrew seal-stamp was brought to light; traces of an ancient Hebrew tower were also discovered, and the remains of the wall of the ancient Israelite city were found on the edge of the lower terrace, the western gateway of the city being at the same time discovered.

But the excavations of 1910 are those which have produced by far the most important and the most positive results, so far as Hebrew history is concerned, and have effected the identification of the architectural remains of Omri and his notorious son Ahab. On archæological grounds the excavators had already assigned the remains in question to the period of Israel's hey-day, and the discovery of an alabaster vase inscribed with the name of Osorkon II., confirmed their opinion. Osorkon, King of Egypt, was the contemporary of Shalmaneser II., King of

Assyria (860–825 B.C.), and was, therefore, the contemporary of Ahab, whose relationship to Shalmaneser has already been discussed (cf. p. 128). This discovery is of supreme value owing to the disturbance of the site in successive periods and the consequent difficulty of assigning dates to all that the excavations have brought to light.



FIG. 97.—Gate-way Excavation, looking south-east.

(By permission, from the "Harvard Theological Review.")

Reisner further found a large number of ostraka inscribed with old Hebrew characters of a particularly fine type. These ostraka were found in the same stratum as that in which the alabaster vase was discovered. They comprise some seventy-five fragments of pottery inscribed with records in the old Hebrew script. Dr. Lyon has shown that the inscriptions were written on sherds originally, and not on complete jars, for, in the first place, the beginnings



FIG. 98.—Israelite Rooms at summit, looking south-west.

5 = remains of Ahab.

6 = remains of Omri.

(By permission, from the "Harvard Theological Review.")



FIG. 99.—Israelite Walls with super-imposed Seleucid Walls.

4 = remains of Ahab.

5 = remains of Omri.

(By permission, from the "Harvard Theological Review.")

and endings of the lines were clearly adapted to the dimensions of the fragment, in consequence of which the lines were sometimes crowded towards the end, while sometimes the words at the end of a line are divided, the second half being carried on to the succeeding line. Secondly, the writing "crosses the turning lines on the fragment at various angles," whereas labels written on jars are horizontal. Thirdly, several of the fragments, each bearing a separate and complete inscription, fit together, and were therefore originally part of the same jar; but a jar would not require or have more than one label. Dr. Lyon, indeed, mentions two cases where the inscriptions appear to have been labels written on the original jars themselves, but he adds that they exhibit peculiarities not found on the other pottery-fragments, for, in the first place, the two inscriptions alluded to are very short, and secondly, there is in either case a large amount of blank unwritten surface. The inscriptions are written in ink with a reed pen, and the script is, of course, the early Hebrew, which was practically identical with Phœnician as well as with that employed on the Moabite stone and the Siloam inscription. The writing is easy and flowing in style, and is much more graceful than the stone-incised Phœnician inscriptions, as might indeed be expected from the adoption of clay, ink, and a reed as writing materials, instead of a chisel and hard stone. The ink has stood the combined test of time and climate in the most extraordinary manner, and, in the majority of cases, there is no doubt as to the reading. The ostraka, generally speaking, seem to be labels affixed to jars of wine and oil; they give the date—"ninth, tenth, or eleventh

year"—presumably of the reigning king, though unfortunately no king is actually mentioned, the name of the owner, and the contents of the jar, *e.g.* "old wine" or "clarified oil." The proper names found on these ostraka are of the greatest interest, for a considerable number of them occur in the Old Testament. Thus, to take a few of the most familiar, we have Abiezer, Ahimelek, Ahinoam, Elisha, Asa, Meribaal, Nathan, and Sheba. Some of the proper names which occur are compounded with "El," one of the Hebrew words for God; "Baal" also forms a component part of not a few names, while Yô, generally regarded as an abbreviated form of the tetragrammaton (YHVH) (but cf. p. 192), Jehovah or Yahveh, also occurs in several of the names found in these inscriptions. Of the places mentioned, Shechem is probably the most familiar.

The discovery of the ostraka is epoch-making, alike for the epigraphist and the Hebraist, for they are possibly the earliest examples of Hebrew writing which have as yet come to light, and in amount, as Dr. Lyon says, they far outstrip all the ancient Hebrew inscriptions at present known.

As already indicated, the excavations in Palestine have yielded very few inscribed tablets or objects, and the value of the few is thereby enhanced. One of the most interesting of these is the small limestone tablet, discovered at Gezer (cf. Fig. 100). It measures $4\frac{1}{4}$ by $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and bears an inscription of eight lines, written in the old Hebrew characters.*

* Cf. *Q. S.*, 1908, p. 271; 1909, pp. 16, 26-34, 88, 284, 285 ff; 1910, p. 238. *Revue Biblique Internationale*, 1909, pp. 243, 244 ff, 493, 494 ff. *Zeit. für Alttest. Wissens.*, 1909, pp. 222, 223 ff. See also Driver, *Notes on Samuel* (ed. 2), p. vii. The script closely resembles that found on the Moabite stone, and other North Semitic inscriptions.

The inscription itself, which has been independently translated by Prof. Lidzbarski, Dr. Gray, and Dr. Pilcher, and has also been dealt with by Prof. Ronzevalle, Dr. Daiches, Dr. G. A. Cooke, Prof. Dalman, Prof. Vincent, Prof. Marti, and other scholars, presents us with a list of the months, the names of which all relate to the agricultural operations which took place during the months in question. Thus one month is called the "month of fruit-harvest" (or "gathering in"); another the "month of the flax-harvest," while a third is known as the "month of the barley-harvest." What object was served by this so-called "calendar-tablet" it is impossible to say. Lidzbarski and Pilcher regard it as the work of a peasant, who was proud of his ability to write, and was anxious to "show off" his powers in this direction.

As will have been seen, the contents afford us no clue whatever in regard to the date of the tablet, and the only possibility of solving the problem lay in a critical examination of the script, an examination which has led most scholars to assign it to an early period, *i.e.* the eighth or ninth century B.C. Prof. Lidzbarski is of opinion that this tablet is "perhaps the oldest Hebrew inscription, at all events, one of the oldest of the Semitic inscriptions."

Apart, however, from the Siloam inscription, the ostraka discovered at Samaria and elsewhere, and the limestone tablet from Gezer, there are other early objects inscribed with the old Hebrew characters which may be here mentioned. In the course of the excavations carried on by Professor Macalister and Dr. Bliss at Tell eṣ-Şāfi (Gath?), Tell ej-Judeideh, Tell Zakariya, Tell Sandaḥannah, and Tell ej-Jezer



FIG. 100.—Limestone Tablet from Gezer.

(By permission of the Palestine Exploration Fund.)

(Gezer), some stamped jar-handles were brought to light, and a number of similar jar-handles, also inscribed in old Hebrew characters, were discovered by Sir C. Warren at Jerusalem. In like manner, the German excavations at Jericho yielded stamped jar-handles; but most of these belonged to the late Jewish or Hellenistic period, and were inscribed in Aramaic characters. Some of these later jar-handles from Jericho bear the divine name *Yah* or *Yahu*.

The inscriptions on the Gezer jar-handles are very brief, but they are of considerable value from the epigraphical standpoint. They give us the names of the places where the vessels in question were respectively made, and read "Of" (or "For") "the King. Hebron" ("Ziph," etc.); and thus inform us that the vases of which these handles once formed a part were either the products of royal potteries situated at Hebron, Ziph, etc., or else that they were destined for the king, and were made at the places mentioned. Professors Sayce and Driver both favour the "royal pottery" theory,* in support of which the last-named scholar alludes to the suggestion of Père Vincent † that the royal stamp may have served "as a guarantee of the capacity of the jar to which it was attached." Some, however, are stamped with private names.

Apart from a number of Rhodian jar-handles of the Greek period, they would all appear to belong to the time of the Jewish monarchy, and are therefore more or less contemporaneous with the recently discovered ostraka at Samaria, the extreme importance of which has already been noted.

* Cf. Driver, *Schweich Lectures*, p. 76 (see I Chron. iv. 23).

† *Canaan*, p. 259.

TAANACH.*

But Samaria, Israel's long-buried capital, has not been the only site in northern Palestine to command the attention of the excavator and the archæologist. In 1902 Prof. Sellin conducted an expedition to Tell Ta'annek, under the auspices of the Austrian Government and the Vienna Academy. The modern mound of Tell Ta'annek is situated in the plain of Esdraelon, and represents the site of the ancient Taanach. The first historical allusion to Taanach is contained in the annals of Thothmes III., where it finds a place together with Megiddo among the places captured by that king. Megiddo, which lies some five miles south-east of Taanach, is represented by the modern Tell el-Mutesellim, and the ruins of these two cities have yielded more epoch-making results than any other site in northern Palestine, Samaria alone excepted.

In the Old Testament they are generally mentioned in close proximity to each other. Thus, in Joshua (xii. 21) they are both enumerated among the thirty-one cities whose kings were defeated by Joshua, while in the song of Deborah (Judges v. 19) † "Taanach by the waters of Megiddo" is mentioned as the scene of the defeat of the Canaanite kings. Both again were included in the fifth administrative district of Solomon (1 Kings iv. 21).

Some years later Taanach was plundered by Shishak, King of Egypt, during his campaign in

* For a full detailed account of the excavations on this site, cf. Professor Sellin's *Tell Ta'annek*, in the *Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse*, vol. 1. pt. 4, and vol. lii. pt. 3. Wien, 1904, 1905.

† Cf. Driver, *Schweich Lectures*, p. 80.

Syria, and Megiddo in her turn was the scene of Josiah's defeat at the hands of Pharaoh Necho. The importance of both these places was due to the strategical and commercial positions which they occupied on the main caravan routes between Egypt and Babylon.

The early history of Taanach, as revealed by the excavations, has been divided into three periods, this division being based upon the different types of pottery discovered. Each period has been further subdivided into two. During the earlier half of the first period, which covers the period from 2000 to 1300 B.C., Taanach was occupied by the Canaanites; this fact is attested by the pottery, which closely resembles that found on southern Palestinian ruins, in the strata representing the remains of the same period. One of the most interesting discoveries in the ruins belonging to the first period, was that of a number of cuneiform tablets—twelve in all—four of which were addressed to Ishtar-washur, the ruler of Taanach. In one despatch, Ishtar-washur is requested or ordered to send troops, chariots, and a horse, as tribute, as well as presents to Aman-ḥashir at Megiddo,* which indicates that at this time Taanach owed allegiance to Megiddo.

The author of another of these letters is one Aḥiyami, which may be the equivalent of the Biblical Ahijah; if this be the case it would support the view to which other data in the inscriptions have been thought to point—that there were Israelites settled in Canaan before the Exodus.†

* Cf. Driver, p. 83.

† See Driver, *Exodus*, pp. xxxviii f., 416 f. (with the ref.); Kittel, *Gesch. des V. Isr.*, ed. 2 (1912), pp. i, 401 f., 526.

The employment of the Babylonian language as the *lingua franca* of the Oriental world at this period was, of course, already known from the recovery of the cuneiform tablets at Tell el-Amarna, but its use by Palestinian chiefs in correspondence with each other is a further illustration of the lasting influence of Babylonian civilization upon the inhabitants of the land of Amurru.

No certain evidence was found of the existence of the neolithic troglodytes at Taanach, the earliest remains discovered being those of the Canaanitish period. A large building, presumably the residence of the Canaanite governor, Ishtar-washur, was uncovered, and it was in this building that the cuneiform tablets already alluded to were found. Close to this fortified building were two large caves, with a rock-hewn chamber in front and a rock-hewn altar above, which was connected by a conduit and winding stairs with the caves. It has been conjectured that the conduit was the means of conveying the sacrificial blood into the caves, where the dead were supposed to reside.* Close to another rock-hewn altar were found a number of jar-burials, most of which contained the remains of infants. This altar was provided with four cup-shaped hollows destined to receive the sacrificial blood.

In another building, on the west of the mound, eight clay figures of the goddess Astarte, or Ashtoreth, were discovered (cf. Fig. 101). Generally speaking, they conform to the Phœnician types found at Cyprus and elsewhere, and show the goddess in the

* Similar cases were found at Gezer and Megiddo. Cf. pp. 212, 269, and Driver, *Schweich Lectures*, pp. 51, 67, 83.

nude, her two hands on her breasts, and her head surmounted by a lofty tiara.

The second period of Taanach's history extends from 1200-800 B.C.* During the first half of this period Taanach, like Gezer, continued to be occupied by the Canaanites, and apparently did not pass into the possession of the Israelites until the reign of Solomon. The pottery belonging to the second half of this period betrays strong Phœnician influence. Among the more striking remains are the standing-stones or mazzēbāhs, some of which had cup-marked hollows (cf. further, p. 224). Terra-cotta figures of Astarte were found in the stratum representing this period, as in the stratum containing the remains of the first period. On the north-east of the mound the remains of a fort, attributed by Prof. Sellin to Solomon, were unearthed. This fort was apparently destroyed at about the time of Samaria's capture by Sargon (*i.e. circ. 722 B.C.*).

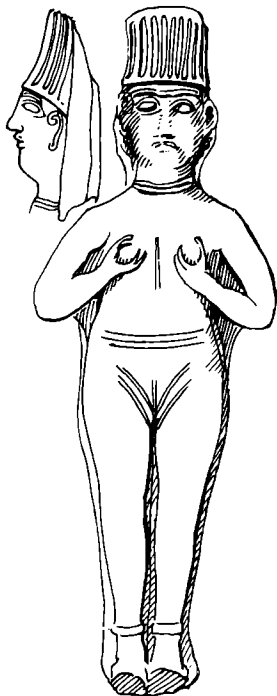


FIG. 101.—Clay Figure of Astarte from Taanach (7 inches high) (cf. Sellin, *Tell Ta'annek* (1904), p. 45).

* Cf. Driver, *Schweich Lectures*, p. 83.

The third period, during which the size of the city was considerably increased, extended from about 800-100 B.C., and is characterized by the presence of Hellenic and the absence of Assyrian influence.

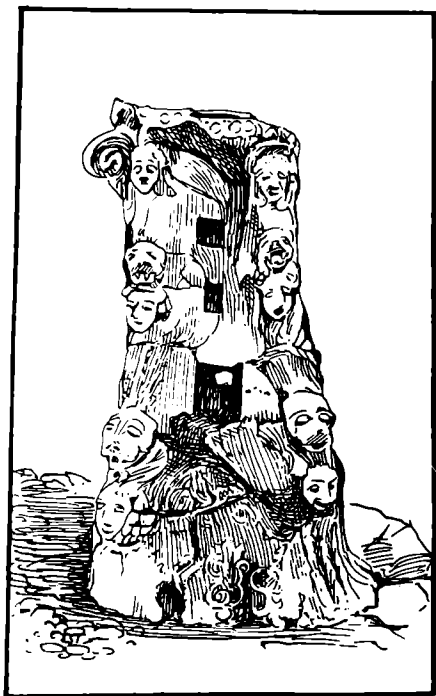


FIG. 102.—Terra-cotta Altar found at Taanach
(cf. Sellin, *Teil Ta'annek*, Pl. xii.).

The most interesting discovery in regard to this period was that of a terra-cotta altar, probably used for burning incense, and resembling that

found at Gezer in the strata belonging to the period 1000-600 B.C., but much larger. The altar in question is about three feet high, the four sides at the bottom each measuring about eighteen inches, and the bowl at the top being about a foot in diameter. The decorations of the altar comprise a sacred tree, two lions, and three winged human-headed animals (the paws of the former resting on the heads of the latter), a boy, and a serpent. The altar is hollow, and the incense in the bowl on the top was apparently heated by a fire on the ground over which the altar was set. Among the smaller relics of interest discovered on this site may be mentioned the complete jewellery outfit of a woman: it comprises a gold pin, eight gold rings, two silver rings, two bronze bracelets, a silver bangle, three small crystal cylinders, five pearls, and two scarabs, one of which was amethyst and the other crystal. Nothing that can be assigned to the long period extending from 600 B.C.-900 A.D. has apparently been discovered, from which it may perhaps be inferred that some disaster befel the city at about the commencement of the sixth century B.C.

The upper strata of the mound contained the ruins of a castle, and belong to the mediæval Arabic period, a fact attested by the objects found therein, one of which is an Arabic inscription.

MEGIDDO.*

Excavations at the neighbouring mounds of Tell el-Mutesellim (Megiddo) were carried on about the

* For details cf. Schumacher and Steuernagel, *Tell el-Mutesellim* (vol. i., Leipzig, 1908).

same time (1903-1905) by Dr. Schumacher, under the auspices of the German Palestine Society.

The principal mound was found to contain the remains of a fortress belonging to the period 2500-2000 B.C. Beneath the foundations was discovered the skeleton of a girl, who had doubtless been offered as a foundation-sacrifice, while other skeletons were found outside the walls, and also a trench which was filled with the remains of sacrifices. Close to the trench was an altar consisting in a menhir, near which stood a large stone bowl and a huge terracotta caldron, which was presumably used to cook the sacrificial meat; cisterns for oil were also found near by, together with a number of standing-stones.

In the stratum assigned to the early half of the second millennium B.C. the remains of a strong city wall, over 26 feet thick and made of sun-dried bricks set on a foundation of masonry, were found. The town enclosed by this wall was burnt down, possibly by Thothmes III. (cf. p. 88). Amongst other architectural remains discovered on this site, may be mentioned a tower composed of hewn stone blocks in which were found various objects of bronze, including arrows, knives, and rings, a corner of a building constructed of large blocks of limestone and a temple, in one of the courts of which were two mazzēbāhs. Beneath one of the corners of this temple were four jars containing bones, deposited there in the late Israelite period.

At a depth of from 26 to 32 feet two sepulchral chambers, built of stone and with vaulted roofs, were discovered, in one of which there were five skeletons, and in the other twelve. These graves are assigned

to the time from 2000-1500 B.C., and contained a varied selection of pottery, a number of scarabs, some of which were inlaid with gold, alabaster vessels, well-wrought flints, bronze knives, and bone implements. Outside the city an old "high place" is said to have been found, and also the stumps* of two upright wooden posts, surrounded with rubble-stone at the base, which may possibly have served the same religious purpose as the heathen "ashérah" of the Old Testament.†

The excavations at Megiddo also revealed a number of cup-shaped hollows cut in a large rock surface, some of which were connected with a subterranean cave (cf. the similar cup-shaped hollows above the caves at Gezer, p. 212).

Among the smaller relics recovered, the lion-seal bearing an inscription in old Hebrew characters, "Belonging to Shama', servant of Jeroboam," is deserving of special note. Kautzsch,‡ in a discussion of the seal, thinks that this is possibly King Jeroboam II., *circ.* 783-743 B.C.

It will have been noted that at Taanach the remains of only three early cities can be clearly distinguished, the first two of which were destroyed by fire, possibly by Thothmes III. and Necho respectively, but that the site continued to be occupied right down to mediæval times. At Megiddo, on the

* *Mitt. und Nachr. des Deutsch. Pal. Ver.*, 1905, ii. 26.

† At Gezer a large block of stone was found near the monoliths, with a cavity some three feet long, 2 feet wide, and 1½ feet deep, but the purport of this is quite uncertain. (See conjectures in Driver, *Schweich Lectures*, p. 64.)

‡ *Mitteilungen und Nachrichten des deutschen des Pal. Ver.*, 1904, pp. 1-4, 81-83. See a representation of the seal in Driver, *Schweich Lectures*, p. 91.

other hand, the remains of seven early cities have been traced, the most ancient of which has been assigned to the third millennium B.C., and was occupied by a neolithic people.

In regard to the earlier period of Palestine civilization, the excavations at Gezer, Lachish, Jericho, and Beth-Shemesh in the south, and those conducted at Megiddo and Tanaach in the north, have yielded much the same results. The same pottery scale holds good in both cases, and the same periods are traceable in the north and the south. The presence of palæolithic man in Palestine—north and south—is attested by a number of rudely-chipped flints discovered in the maritime plain, the Judæan mountains, the caves of Phœnicia, and the valleys of Samaria,* and flints found in the territory on the east of the Jordan afford similar evidence of his existence in Petra and other trans-Jordanic districts, while to this period most of the cave settlements in Phœnicia have also been assigned. The principal means of subsistence at this time was apparently the chase, the animals hunted affording both meat for food and skins for clothing. The skins were sewn together by means of bone needles, many of which have been recovered. The date that has been assigned to the end of the palæolithic and the commencement of the neolithic age is 10,000 B.C. Little is known of the state of civilization in Palestine during the early half of the neolithic period, though some settlements in Phœnicia afford us a certain amount of information. The principal remains of this period are sherds of pottery and the bones of extinct fauna, *e.g.* the woolly rhinoceros. To the late neolithic period

* Cf. Macalister, *A History of Civilization in Palestine*, p. 8.

belong the cave-dwellers at Gezer, who are supposed to have flourished about 3000 B.C. Their caves vary considerably in size and complexity, some of them containing more than twenty chambers. They were used for numerous purposes, including oil-presses and water-stores, as well as ordinary residences of the living and burial-places of the dead.

These troglodytes belonged to a non-Semitic race of low stature, with thick skulls, and endowed with the muscularity generally seen among savage peoples. Their civilization was evidently of a rude character, hand-made pottery, flint implements, mill-stones and spindle-whorls being the principal utensils of daily life, while in contrast to their Semitic successors, they cremated their dead.

Little is known of their religion beyond the inferences to be drawn from the cup-shaped hollows in the rock-surface at Gezer. It is interesting to note that in one of the caves associated with the cup-shaped hollows in the rock-surface above, pig-bones were discovered, which may indicate that the pig was a pre-Semitic sacrificial animal, and Macalister suggestively remarks * that this may explain the peculiar detestation in which the pig has at all times been held by the Semites. The megalithic remains found in the Jaulan, the Hauran, and the territory of Moab, together with a few on the west side of the Jordan, have also been assigned to this period. One of the most remarkable of the architectural products of this age are the five *mastaba*-shaped † monuments discovered at Hizmeh, near Jerusalem, traditionally known as the "graves of the

* Cf. Macalister, *A History of Civilization in Palestine*, p. 16.

† Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 18, and Vincent, *Canaan*, p. 257.

children of Israel." They consist of long broad walls, in one of which a chamber and shaft have been made.

At the time of the invasion of the Israelites south Palestine would appear to have been partially in the hands of tall races of non-Semitic origin.

In the earliest narratives of the conquest, the "Anakim" are represented as inhabiting Hebron, whence they were driven out by Caleb, while another race of reputed giants, called the "Rephaim," were in occupation of territory on both sides of the Jordan (cf. further *Enc. Bibl.*, iv. 4033).

In any case we can hardly identify the descendants of the non-Semitic cave-dwellers of the neolithic period, who were short, as the excavations have proved, with the non-Semitic peoples encountered by Joshua, who were conspicuously tall.

The invasion of the Hebrews was not, however, the first wave of Semitic immigration into Palestine. Many centuries before the time of Joshua (probably during the latter half of the third millennium) a Semitic people had established themselves, and had introduced a civilization in many ways superior to that of their non-Semitic predecessors, while this Semitic element would appear to have been further augmented by another Semitic expansion some few centuries later. The potter's wheel begins to appear at this time, and also bronze, though flint still continued to be used for ordinary purposes. At first the Semites lived in the caves which their forerunners had hollowed out at such infinite cost and labour, but they soon learned to build houses, consisting of small rooms and courtyards.

The most conspicuous, or at all events the most

enduring, element in the worship of the pre-Israelite Semitic populations are the standing-stones or mazzēbāhs which have already been under discussion (cf. p. 223). During the early part of the Semitic period Egypt exercised a considerable influence upon the civilization of Palestine; but by the time of the Israelite invasion the art and culture of Phœnicia, Crete, and Cyprus had even then made themselves felt, and they ultimately supplanted Egypt as an influential factor in Palestinian civilization. The political power to which the Cretan settlers in Palestine had attained by the time of Joshua may be gauged by the fact that the Philistines (the *Purasati* of the Egyptian inscriptions), who in all probability had migrated to the land which bears their name (*i.e.* "Palestine"), shortly after the sack of Crete, their native land, were the principal tribe among the "Peoples of the Sea," whom Rameses III. defeated about 1200 B.C. (cf. p. 118). But although they were not able to match themselves against the land of the Pharaohs, they successfully maintained their position among the small Semitic tribes of Palestine, and it was not until the accession of David that the power of the Philistines was broken. But the termination of their political supremacy did not mean the cessation of their cultural influence, and the numerous relics of the period show how great was the debt which the Hebrews owed to the civilization of Crete. As Professor Macalister has well put it, "the Hebrews had no past to speak of, but were entering on the heritage they regarded as theirs, by right of a recently ratified divine covenant." In truth, the Hebrews made no contribution to the progress of civilization and displayed little originality, but have

throughout their history shown a marked capacity for assimilating the intellectual and artistic atmosphere of their environment. It is all the more remarkable that a people that has played such a passive part in the history of civilization should have evolved a monotheism which, though originally personal and local in its theory, became ultimately universal in its application.

One of the most significant features about the excavations in Palestine is that while they have yielded abundant evidence of both Egyptian and Cretan influence upon the art and culture of the inhabitants of Palestine, Babylonian influence is illustrated rather in the field of law, commerce, religion, and literature.

It will have been remarked that the excavations carried on in Palestine have in the main a different bearing on the pages of the Old Testament from those which have been conducted in Mesopotamia and Egypt, the reason for this difference being that while Babylonia, Assyria, and Egypt have all yielded a large amount of documentary evidence to illustrate in various ways the Biblical narratives, Palestine has so far yielded practically no inscriptions, but she has, on the other hand, yielded a rich harvest of material for the reconstruction of the cultural history of the Israelite and pre-Israelite populations, and of the inheritance into which the former entered, and thus it is that the Biblical student owes a debt to the archæologist as well as to the excavator and decipherer.

The value of the inscriptions from Egypt and Mesopotamia lies in the fact that they are contemporaneous documents, and are therefore first-class

sources of information regarding the events which they record. It is, of course, true that the eastern kings were wont to ascribe to themselves the successes of their predecessors, and to exaggerate their own achievements, but the exaggerations are seldom of a character to affect the matter-of-fact statements which alone, as a rule, have any bearing on the history of Israel.

The inscriptions throw a welcome light on much in the Old Testament. They bring to life for us the great civilizations of Babylonia, Assyria, and Egypt, They tell us much about their history, and so enable us to realize the background in which the history of Israel took place, and the influences under which they came. They show us how many of the customs and institutions of Israel were analogous to those of Babylonia, Phœnicia, and other of their neighbours, though in Israel such of these as related to the practice of religion, in so far as they were adapted from their neighbours, were imbued by their religious teachers with the spirit of their own faith, and made the vehicle of great spiritual truths. They also often throw light on terms occurring in the Old Testament, which but for them would be altogether obscure (*e.g.* "Pharaoh," the "Tartan," the "Rabsaris," the "Rabshakeh," the god "Rimmon," *mazzēbāhs*, the "Rephaim" or "Shades" (Isa. xiv. 9, R.V. m., and elsewhere—as in Phœnician)). They are also interesting as stating facts about Palestine not mentioned in the Old Testament at all, and which without them would be unsuspected (*e.g.* Palestine being an Egyptian province shortly before the Exodus, and the intercourse with other nations which influenced its culture, as attested by the excavations at Gezer

and elsewhere). They are also of great value in fixing the chronology. It is of great importance to know the king who built Pithom, for instance; and they fix the chronology of the kings where the Biblical record is certainly confused.* On parts of the history of the kings they throw great light; they enable us, for instance, to understand far better than we could otherwise have done, the political position of Judah in the days of Isaiah, the motives which led the people now to submit to Assyria, now to rely upon Egypt and the policy of the prophet.†

We must not, however, expect too much from the monuments. So far as they are at present known they do not do more than mention a few isolated facts out of all that are recorded in the Bible. We must remember that, with the exception of the statement of Menephtah that "Israel is desolated," the first event in the history of Israel or its ancestors certainly ‡ attested by the inscriptions is the invasion of Judah by Shishak under Rehoboam, and the first Israelites whom they mention by name are Omri and Ahab.

The conclusions on all the earlier history of the Hebrews which they justify are thus largely indirect and inferential. There is nothing bearing directly on Abraham, for instance, in the cuneiform inscriptions, though a fair case has been made out for the

* Ahab was on the throne in 854 B.C.; and the expedition of Sennacherib took place twenty-one years (not eight years, as in 2 Kings xviii. 13, compared with v. 10) after the fall of Samaria. The Assyrian chronology is certain from 902 B.C., every year having an officer, who, so to say, gave it his name.

† See Driver, *Isaiah, his Life and Times*, for particulars.

‡ It is thought by some that the Hebrews in Egypt are referred to under the term *âperre*; see Driver, *Exodus*, pp. xli., xlii.

identification of some of the four kings from the East, mentioned in Gen. xiv. (cf. p. 53 f.). In the later period they do not uniformly bear out the Biblical statements. Thus while the Biblical account of the capture of Samaria by the King of Assyria has been fully corroborated, Sargon was the king who took the city, and not Shalmaneser, as the Old Testament would lead us to suppose. Again, nothing is known from the inscriptions of "Darius the Mede" (cf. Dan. v. 31), who is said to have taken the kingdom on the demise of Belshazzar, while in the inscription of Cyrus, Nabonidus is King of Babylon to the end, Belshazzar being referred to in the inscriptions of Nabonidus in terms which suggest that he was his father's general or viceroy.*

Where the inscriptions merely corroborate Biblical statements or narratives of which the historical accuracy has never been questioned, they cannot indeed be said to throw any new material light on the Old Testament, but very frequently they afford additional information or further details, which sometimes set before us more accurately the course of events. Much has been done, but the ruined mounds of Babylonia and Assyria, of Egypt and Palestine have many a tale yet to unfold, and the truism in regard to all human affairs holds good in this case also—"we know not what a day may bring forth."

* See p. 165.

APPENDIX A

THE NORTH-SEMITIC INSCRIPTIONS

THE North-Semitic Inscriptions are so called to distinguish them from the South-Semitic, or Sabæan and Himyaritic on the one hand, and from the Babylonian and Assyrian on the other.* They comprise the Phœnician, Hebrew, Moabite, and Aramaic inscriptions, all of which are written in varieties of the same alphabetic script. The origin of this script is still a matter of speculation.† Until recently the favourite view was that the Phœnicians derived it from the Egyptian, either directly from the hieroglyphs or else from the hieratic—the later cursive script of the priests.‡ Others have sought to trace its origin to the cuneiform writing of the Babylonians and Assyrians, and both of these views represent traditions which were in vogue in classical times.§ Another theory is that the Phœnician characters were derived from the early Cypriote writing; but at present none of these theories is without objection, and we must be content to leave the matter in a state of uncertainty until more light is forthcoming.

The North-Semitic inscriptions, with one or two exceptions, belong to the period extending from the ninth century B.C. to the third century A.D. As indicated elsewhere, both the language and the script in which they are written bear a close resemblance to old Hebrew, as illustrated on the Siloam inscription, the ostraka from Samaria, and the jar-handles from Gezer, Jericho, and elsewhere. Their interest to the epigraphist is therefore

* Cf. G. A. Cooke, *North-Semitic Inscriptions*, p. xvii.

† Cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebrew Grammar* (1910), pp. 24 f., 28.

‡ Cf. Thatcher, *Hastings' Dict. Bibl.*, iii. p. 858 b.

§ Cf. Tacitus, *Annals*, xi. 14, and Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vii. § 37, as quoted by Thatcher, *ibid.*

considerable, while without a knowledge of the historical evolution of the Phœnician characters—characters practically identical with those in which the earlier portions of the Old Testament were originally written—many of the textual errors perpetuated in the oldest extant Hebrew manuscripts (which belong to the ninth and tenth centuries A.D.) would remain inexplicable.

It is at once obvious that from the purely epigraphic standpoint, the importance of these inscriptions is not affected either by the place of their discovery or by their contents.

Their interest is not, however, solely epigraphic, for they give us some insight into the daily life of the various peoples to whom they refer, and by whom they were written, while a few of them were dedicated to or by historical personages, and many of them are dated by the reigns of kings.*

The area of the North-Semitic inscriptions extends from N. Syria to N. Arabia, and on the west it reaches to Egypt, Carthage, Cyprus, and Asia Minor.

The earliest Phœnician inscription found in Phœnicia itself belongs to the Persian age (5th–4th century B.C.).† It was discovered at Gebal or Byblus, which lies between Tripoli and Beirut, and was dedicated by Yehaw-milk, the King of Gebal, to the patron-goddess of the city. After having referred to his divine appointment, Yehaw-milk records the objects which he herewith dedicates to the mistress of Gebal, and invokes her blessing: “May the mistress of Gebal bless Yehaw-milk, King of Gebal, and grant him life, and prolong his days . . . give [him] favour . . . in the eyes of the people of this land.” The language and phraseology in this inscription, as in so many of the North-Semitic inscriptions, bear a close resemblance to expressions contained in the Old Testament (cf. Deut. iv. 40, etc.; Gen. xxxix. 21, etc.).

One of the most interesting of all the North-Semitic inscriptions from the historical standpoint is the stele of Zkr, King of Hamath (about 800 B.C.), first published by

* Cf. G. A. Cooke, *North-Semitic Inscriptions*, p. xxxi.

† *Ibid.*, p. 18 f. Driver in Hogarth, *Authority and Archaeology*, p. 136.

Pognon, in the *Inscriptions Sémitiques de la Syrie, de la Mésopotamie et de la région de Mossoul* (1907-8).* Zkr states that he erected this stele to commemorate his triumph over the seventeen kings whom Hazael, King of Aram, had united against him. Zkr was King of Ḥamath and L'sh.

One of the allies was the King of Sam'al, a country in North Syria, which is mentioned several times in the cuneiform as well as in the Phœnician inscriptions. It was at first independent, but became tributary in the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III.† The attack made on Zkr's capital Ḥazrik was vigorous: they laid siege to Ḥazrik and erected a wall higher than the wall of Ḥazrik, and dug a trench deeper than the trench of Ḥazrik. But Ba'al-shamain came to the rescue of Zkr, and bade him "Fear not, for I have made thee king, and I will rescue thee from all these kings who have besieged thee." The mention of Ba'al-shamain (= "lord of heaven") is of interest, as formerly there was no evidence of the cult of this god before the 3rd-2nd centuries B.C.‡ The writing and language of this inscription are similar to those of the Zinjirli inscriptions, and the Aramaic is tinged with noticeable Hebraisms.§

In Syria, as elsewhere, there is evidence of the practice of writing inscriptions on statues. A good example of such an inscription is afforded by the colossal statue of Hadad at Zinjirli in N.W. Syria. The characters, which are archaic and resemble those found on the Moabite Stone,|| are in relief. The statue and its dedicatory inscription are due to Panammu I., son of QRL, King of Ya'di in N. Syria:—"I am Panammu, son of QRL, King of Ya'di, who have set up this statue to Hadad. . . . Moreover, I sat upon the seat of my father, and Hadad gave into my hand the sceptre

* Cf. also Driver, *Expositor*, June, 1908; Halévy, *Revue Sémitique*, 1908, p. 357 f.; Bruston, *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de France*, 1908, pp. 223, 224; Montgomery, *Biblical World*, 1909, p. 79 f., and *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1909, p. 57 f.; Meyer, *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1908, cols. 510, 511; Barth, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1909, cols. 10-12; Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik*, III. 1909, pp. 1-11.

† Cf. G. A. Cooke, *North-Semitic Inscriptions*, pp. 182-3.

‡ Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 45.

§ See Driver, *l.c.*

|| See above, pp. 129-134.

of? . . . And in my days Ya'di (?) did both eat and drink."*

Another inscription also on a statue discovered at Zinjirli, and dedicated by Bar-rekub to his father, Panammu II., the successor of Panammu I., is of special interest, owing to the fact that it contains a mention of Tiglath-Pileser III., King of Assyria, 745-727 B.C. "Moreover my father Panammu died while following his lord Tiglath-Pileser, King of Assyria, in the camp, also . . . and his kinsfolk bewailed him (?), and the whole camp of his lord the King of Assyria bewailed him."†

Stelæ and statues were, however, not the only objects inscribed with Phœnician characters; sometimes the sarcophagi of royalties and grandees were similarly inscribed. One of the best-known of these is that of Eshmun-'azar, King of Sidon, about 300 B.C.‡ The sarcophagus itself betrays Egyptian influence, and it bears an inscription of twenty-two lines. After lamenting his untimely end, Eshmun-'azar adjures § "every prince and every man that they open not this resting-place, nor seek with me jewels for there are no jewels with me there, nor take away the coffin of my resting-place. . . . For every prince and every man who shall open this resting-place, or who shall take away the coffin of my resting-place, or who shall carry me from this resting-place, may they have no resting-place with the Shades, nor be buried in a grave, nor have son or seed in their stead. . . . For I am to be pitied (?); I have been seized before my time, the son of a (short) number of days . . . an orphan, the son of a widow am I." He then refers to the good works which he and his forebears have accomplished. "And we (are they) who built houses for the gods of the Sidonians in Sidon, the land of the sea, a house for the Ba'al of Sidon, and a house for 'Ashtart, the name of Ba'al, And further, the Lord of kings gave to us Dôr and Yâfê. the glorious corn lands which are in the field of Sharon, in accordance with the great things which I did; and we

* G. A. Cooke, *North-Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 161 f.

† *Ibid.*, p. 174.

‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 30-40.

§ *Ibid.*, pp. 31, 32; translated also by Driver, in Hogarth, *Authenticity and Archaeology*, p. 137 †.

added them to the borders of the land, that they might belong to the Sidonians for ever." He then winds up with a final warning to any one who might be tempted to disturb his remains—"lest these holy gods deliver them up, and cut off that prince and those men, and their seed, for ever!"

It is interesting to note that the word here used for "shades"—*Rephaim*—is frequently used in the Old Testament with the same connotation. Thus in Job xxvi. 5 we read, "The Rephaim (see R.V. marg.) tremble beneath the waters and the denizens thereof;" in Psalm lxxxviii. 10, again, we read, "Wilt thou shew wonders to the dead? Shall the Rephaim (see R.V. marg.) arise and praise thee?" In Prov. ii. 18; ix. 18; xxi. 16, the same term is applied to the shades of the nether world; while in Isa. xiv. 9, the prophet says: "Sheol (R.V. "hell"—of course in the old sense of the word = Hades) from beneath is moved for thee to meet thee at thy coming; it stirreth up the Rephaim (R.V. marg.) for thee;" and in Isa. xxvi. 14, "The dead live not; the Rephaim rise not" (see R.V. marg.). Lastly, in Isa. xxvi. 19 we read, "and the earth shall cast forth the Rephaim (R.V. 'the dead')."

Another sarcophagus of similar workmanship to the foregoing, and belonging to Tabnith, the father of Eshmun-'azar has also been recovered. The inscription in this case is considerably shorter, but the purport is exactly the same.* "I, Tabnith, priest of 'Ashtart, King of the Sidonians, son of Eshmun-'azar, priest of 'Ashtart, King of the Sidonians, lie in this coffin; my (curse be) with whatsoever man thou art that bringest forth this coffin." The abject horror with which Eshmun-'azar and Tabnith view the possibility of their remains being disturbed, and their peace molested, recalls the Babylonian belief that the shades of the unburied could never reach Arallu, but were compelled to wander as vagabonds upon the face of the earth, while for food and drink they had to content themselves with the offal on the streets.

Many coins also inscribed with Phœnician characters have been discovered at Tarsus, in Cilicia, Cyprus, Phœnicia, and elsewhere. The most interesting for our immediate

* *North-Semitic Inscriptions*, pp. 26, 27; Driver, *Samuel*, p. xxvi. f.; ed. 2, p. xxiv. f.

purpose are those which are Jewish. They belong to three periods: (1) the period of the Hasmonæan princes (from 135-37 B.C.); (2) the first revolt against the Romans, A.D. 66-70; (3) the second revolt, A.D. 132-135. The use of the old Phœnician characters among the Jews at so late a period, "marks," as Cooke says, "the efforts that were made to maintain or assert the independence of the nation," for the earlier writing had long since given place to the square characters of Aramaic origin.

As to the antiquity of the Phœnician characters, it was supposed till recently that the earliest known did not date back farther than the ninth century B.C.; but Dr. Ball* has drawn attention to a Semitic inscription written in Phœnician characters, and reproduced in Petrie's *Sinai* (p. 130, Fig. 139, and cf. Fig. 141). The inscription in question is on one side of the base of a small sphinx, and contains the name 'Athtar. From this inscription it is clear that the Phœnician alphabet was known in the Sinaitic Peninsula in the time of Thothmes III. (*i.e.*, on any reckoning, as early as 1500-1447 B.C.). This inscription thus affords conclusive evidence of the use of the Phœnician characters in the Sinaitic Peninsula in the fifteenth century B.C. or earlier, and they must certainly have been known in Palestine at least as early as that time. Under these circumstances the statement in the Introduction to Naville's *The Discovery of the Book of the Law* (p. viii, 1911), that "archæological research has now made it clear that the so-called Phœnician alphabet was not introduced into Palestine until the age of David," is incorrect, for such archæological evidence as there is would tend to show that the Phœnician alphabet was known in Palestine some centuries before the time of David.†

From these few remarks it will be at once recognized that though the North-Semitic inscriptions are of the utmost importance in the study of Semitic epigraphy, often illustrate in a very welcome manner the language, usages, and ideas of the Old Testament, they throw comparatively little light on the historical or quasi-historical statements contained in the Bible.

* Cf. Ball, *P.S.B.A.*, xxx., 1908, pp. 243-244.

† Cf. G. A. Cooke, in the *Interpreter*, July, 1912, p. 380 ff.

APPENDIX B

THE HITTITES

THE racial origin of the Hittites is somewhat problematic, although there is no doubt as to the district whence they came. Their home lay in Cappadocia, in Asia Minor. Until recently our knowledge of them was derived almost entirely from fragmentary notices in the Old Testament (see below); but now fortunately one can refer to numerous contemporaneous documents and monuments of their own civilization.

The most epoch-making event in their early history would appear to have been their invasion of Babylon, which resulted in the downfall of the first dynasty of Babylon, (about 1800 B.C.). A few centuries later we find them playing a conspicuous part in the Syrian campaigns of the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasty kings of Egypt (in the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries B.C.).* They were not in occupation of Carchemish when Thothmes I. (c. 1550 B.C.) waged war in Northern Syria; but the extent of their power in the reign of Thothmes III. (c. 1480 B.C.), may be gauged by the fact that the Egyptians refer to them as the "Greater Khāti," while in spite of the fact that Thothmes received presents from them, he does not seriously lay any claim to sovereignty over them. Of their aggressive attitude in the reigns of Amenhetep III. and Amenhetep IV. (c. 1414-1365 B.C.), we have evidence in the Tell el-Amarna letters, from which we gather that all the malcontents in Syria who wished to emancipate themselves from Egyptian suzerainty

* There is very little doubt that the Egyptian *Kheta* and the Assyrian *Khatti* are both to be identified with the Hittites.

invoked the aid of the Hittites as a matter of course. Thus Abdashirti and his son Aziru applied to them for chariots and men, and Aziru is at pains to give the Egyptian monarch an adequate explanation of his reception of the Hittite envoys on the one hand, and his rejection of the Egyptian messengers on the other.

Towards the end of the XVIIIth dynasty, Egyptian power in Syria began to decline, and the southward advance of the Hittites was thereby rendered more easy.

Rameses I., the first king of the XIXth dynasty, found it desirable to make terms with Saparuru, the chief of the Kheta (cf. p. 108), while Seti I., his son and successor, had occasion to make a vigorous attack on them, and is generally supposed* to have captured their stronghold, Kadesh on the Orontes; but however that may be, we know that by the time of Rameses II. (Petrie, 1300-1234 B.C.; Breasted, 1292-1225 B.C.), they had firmly established themselves at Kadesh, and after prolonged struggles Rameses thought it expedient to conclude a treaty with them; the Egyptian copy of this treaty has long been known, but comparatively recently a cuneiform précis has been discovered at Boghaz Keui in Cappadocia. This treaty is of great interest, as the earliest treaty known to history, and is remarkable as showing how far even at this relatively early date the art of diplomacy had reached, and what careful provision was made for the various contingencies that might arise.

Meanwhile the Assyrians had become an influential factor in Western affairs, and their interests soon collided with those of the Hittites. From the Boghaz Keui tablets (see Winckler in *Mitteil. d. Deutsch. Orient Gesellschaft.*, 1907) we gather that the hostile relationship between the two peoples began at all events as early as the reign of Shalmaneser I. (c. fourteenth century B.C.). The Hittites, however, held their own down to late Assyrian times.

Their power was indeed felt all over North Syria and even in Mesopotamia, while the "land of the Hittites" was an expression used by the Assyrian kings from Shalmaneser II. to include, apparently, the whole of Palestine.

* Cf. Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, p. 371.

In the reign of Ashur-našir-pal (885-860 B.C.), Carchemish was very wealthy, and its renown in commerce was long perpetuated in Asia by the use of weight-measures called in the cuneiform inscriptions the "maneh of Carchemish." But finally in 717 B.C. Sargon captured Carchemish, deposed Pisisris, its king, and reduced it to the unenviable position of an Assyrian prefecture.

The Hittites in the Old Testament

(1) The name of a great nation in the north (1 Ki. x. 28; 2 Ki. vii. 6).* Cf. also Josh. i. 4, where we read that the Promised Land was to extend "from the wilderness, and this Lebanon, even unto the great river, the river Euphrates, all the land of the Hittites;" where "all the land of the Hittites" seems to refer to the region between Lebanon and the Euphrates. (Carchemish (the modern *Jerablus* or *Jerabis*; Geo. Smith first identified the site in 1876), the ancient southern Hittite capital, is mentioned three times in the Old Testament (Is. x. 9; 2 Ch. xxxv. 20; Jer. xlv. 2), but is not explicitly associated with the Hittites, and as Dr. Hogarth points out, this is not surprising in view of the fact that Carchemish was no longer under Hittite sway at the time of the Old Testament references.

(2) Settlements or off-shoots in *North Palestine*. See Josh. xi. 3, "And the Hittites † under Hermon in the land of Mizpah"; Ju. iii. 3, "And the Hittites ‡ that dwelt in Mount Lebanon, from Mount Ba'al-Hermon unto the entering in of Hamath." Cf. also Ju. i. 26 (unless this belongs to (1)); perhaps these are the "Hittites" referred to in Gen. x. 15 (as "son" of Canaan, next to Zidon).

(3) In rhetorical lists of nations driven out by Israel, from which nothing can be inferred as to their locality (Ex. iii. 8, 17; xiii. 5; xxiii. 23, and elsewhere).

(4) The Hittites in Hebron (only in "P") (Gen. xxiii. and passages referring to this). If the tradition is correct, there must have been a settlement of them here; but there

* Possibly also 2 Sam. xxiv. 6 (see Index, under *Qadesh*).

† So read with LXX for *Hivite* (with *Hivite* for *Hittite*, also as LXX, in the previous clause); the Hivites were a tribe in *Central Palestine* (Gen. xxxiv. 2, in Shechem; Josh. ix. 7; xi. 19, in Gibe'on).

‡ So read for *Hivites*, for the reason given in the last note (*).

is at present no *certain* independent evidence of their presence in South Palestine (cf. pp. 57-59). Sayce's picture of Hittite princes carving out for themselves principalities in South Palestine (*Archæology of the Cuneiform Inscriptions*, p. 197 f.) is purely conjectural. It is possible, however, that when the inhabitants of Hebron are called "children of Heth," the writer only means to describe them as Canaanites,* and the fact that Esau's wives are called both "daughters of Heth" and "daughters of Canaan" has been held to support this view, but † "Canaan" seems here to be rather the generic term, and "Heth" the specific. If this view be correct, the Hittite origin of Esau's wives will imply that there was a Hittite element in Edom. Tiglath-Pileser III. and Sargon (745-705 B.C.) also both mention a tribe Hatha (= Hittites?) in N. Arabia, while the name of Abdi-Khiba (governor of Jerusalem, c. 1450 B.C.) contains the name of a Hittite goddess. These facts, apart from the evidence of the pottery (cf. pp. 57-59), suggest independently that there may have been Hittites in or near the south of Palestine, though, it is true, at periods considerably later than that of Abraham.

Hittite Monuments.

Various monuments and relics discovered in Asia Minor, North Syria, and even in Assyria have long been recognized as Hittite in origin. The best known of these are the five basaltic blocks bearing hieroglyphic inscriptions in relief, found at Hamath on the Orontes, the inscribed rock-sculpture at Ivriz in S.W. Cappadocia, various rock-monuments at Euyuk and Boghaz Keui in N. Cappadocia, the stone lions from Marash in E. North Syria and Tell Ahmar, on the left bank of the Euphrates, and a number of clay sealings from Kouyunjik (Nineveh), all of which were found to be inscribed in similar characters. Nothing certainly Hittite has

* Cf. Gray, *Numbers*, p. 148. It is true that in Ezekiel (xvi. 3) Jerusalem is said to have had an Amorite father and a Hittite mother, but this proves nothing; if taken *literally* it proves too much, viz., that the people of Jerusalem were entirely of foreign extraction; it is meant obviously in a *moral* sense—they were morally no better than descendants of a Canaanite ancestor.

† Cf. Böhl, *Canaanäer und Hebräer*, 1911, p. 23 ff.

been discovered on any West Asian site (with the exception of the Kara-Bel monuments), while most of the Hittite monuments have been found in the region of Cappadocia, S. Phrygia, and Commagene. (The only Hittite monument (apart from the Hamah stones) from *Mid-Syria* is a fragment of an inscription discovered by Père Ronzavalle at *Restan* (Arethusa) on the middle Orontes.)

But it is only within the last few years that the ruined mounds which conceal the remains of their long-extinguished empire have engaged the serious attention of the excavator and the archæologist. The most recent excavations in the land of the Hittites are those of Winckler, Garstang, Hogarth, and Max Freiherr v. Oppenheim. In 1906 Winckler undertook the excavation on Boghaz Keui. In 1908 the University of Liverpool sent out an expedition under Garstang to Sakjegeuzi (about 60 m. due N. of Aleppo), which resulted in the complete exploration of one mound (Jobba), and the partial exploration of two others, including Songrus, the largest.

In 1911 Hogarth commenced excavations at *Jerablus* (Carchemish) on behalf of the trustees of the British Museum, while in 1912 Max Freiherr v. Oppenheim began work at Tell Halaf.

Among the more interesting discoveries that have been made at Boghaz Keui are two series of rock-reliefs, one of which comprised over sixty separate figures, and a number of inscriptions, some of which are written in the Hittite hieroglyphics, while a large number of cuneiform tablets, some of which are written in Babylonian and others in the native language, were also brought to light.

These tablets refer to the reigns of at least four Hittite kings, from Saparuru, the contemporary of Rameses I., to Kheta-sar, the king who concluded a treaty with Rameses II.

No Hittite inscriptions were found at Sakjegeuzi; but a few small Hittite objects were recovered, and also some pottery ranging from neolithic to late Hittite time. Dr. Hogarth informs me that he thinks Sakjegeuzi is not the site of a Hittite settlement, but that it may have belonged to the Commageni, who were strongly influenced by Hittite civilization. In a large fortified building unearthed by Garstang, various Egyptian objects belonging to the ninth

or eighth centuries B.C. were brought to light, and a number of wall bas-reliefs were also revealed.

At Carchemish (*Jerablus*) a considerable number of sculptured and inscribed monuments were unearthed. Most of the sculptures belong to the tenth or ninth centuries B.C., while the quantity of sculptured and inscribed fragments, which represent more than 100 new texts, bear eloquent testimony to the thoroughness with which the Assyrians did their work of destruction when they captured the city in 717 B.C. A large water-gate was found leading to the Euphrates, the sides of which were lined with bas-reliefs, and the entrance to which was flanked by two inscribed stone lions. As in the case of the block of buildings excavated at the foot of the Acropolis on the S.W., this gateway, as also the sculptures with which it was decorated, show two periods, the earlier work being Cappadocian in character, and the later, Mesopotamian. As at Sakjegeuzi, remains of the neolithic period were brought to light, these being found some fifty feet below the summit of the Acropolis mound, and consisting in flints and painted sherds. After sacking the city in 717 B.C., the Assyrians erected a fortress on the northern end of the Acropolis, composed of crude brickwork, but having a stone façade, while the remains of an interesting building of later date have been laid bare on the southern end of the Acropolis. This building proves to have been a massive temple belonging to the Roman period. During the same expedition, the ruins of the important post-Assyrian city, which was occupied down to the Arab period, were examined. A number of graves were found on the site, most of which belong to later Hittite period; pot-burials were, however, also discovered, and these are no doubt to be assigned to the earlier Cappadocian times.

Hittite Art.

Hittite art, as illustrated on the rock sculptures, the bas-reliefs, the various intaglios (mostly of steatite) and the pottery,* is distinctive. While often betraying foreign

* There are three main types of pottery: (a) a light body-clay painted with dark ornament; (b) polychrome on a cream white slip; (c) black burnished.

influence—sometimes Egyptian, sometimes Babylonian or Assyrian, and sometimes “archaic Ionian”—it still main-



FIG. 103.—Lion of Marash (cf. Garstaug, p. 109 ff.).

tains its independence throughout. The figures of men and animals are thickset and squat, while the bones and

muscles are exaggerated. Human beings are always of the brachycephalic (short-headed) type, while the nose is long, the lips thick, and the forehead receding (a different type appears on many late Carchemish monuments, but it is probable that Aramæans and not Hittites are represented on these). The hair of males is nearly always done up in the form of a pig-tail. The head-dresses and clothing of the figures vary considerably, thus on the rock-sculpture of Ivriz the humanly-conceived god wears a horned cap, while a conical-shaped hat is seen on sculptures from Boghaz Keui, and both of these are in turn entirely different from the so-called "jockey cap" found on the "Tar-udimme" silver boss. In regard to dress, the broad-bordered mantle and the up-turned shoes would appear to be characteristically Hittite, as they are only found on monuments where Hittites are portrayed.

The subjects of the sculptures are generally processions of human and divine figures; sacrificial scenes are also represented as well as hunting scenes, but the field of battle does not appear to have often engaged the attention of the Hittite sculptors, though warriors occur on the Carchemish monuments. Sculptured stelæ (the tops of which are always rounded or pyramidal) generally only show one or two figures, human or divine, as the case may be.

The best examples of sculpture in the round are the sphinxes which flanked the entrance of the palace at Euyuk, and the lions of Marash and Arslan Tash; but like Ashur-naşir-pal's lion and the Assyrian winged human-headed colossi, they are not completely disengaged from the block out of which they are carved.

Among the smaller relics recovered were some carved ivories and toilet instruments from Zinjirli, and some jewellery from Tell Halaf.

Buildings.

The architectural remains which have been so far discovered are few, but some of these are considerable. The ground-plans of a large building—apparently a palace—three temples and fortification-walls, the entrance, or one

of the entrances to which consisted in a sculptured gate, were revealed at Boghaz Keui. The palace, of which only the rough core of the walls, standing to about three feet, remains, was built round a central court, and the door, by means of which access was gained to the court, consisted of three *battants*, suspended on two columns. As Hogarth says, the whole plan recalls the Cretan palaces of the late Minoan period. The fortifications of the citadel have a double gate with flanking towers; this gate is similar to the gates at Zinjirli and Euyuk, and was apparently designed for the purpose of entrapping an unwary enemy, who, having burst through the first door, found his further progress barred by a second door, and himself enclosed in a trap where the warriors on the gate-towers could dispatch him at their leisure.

The palace at Zinjirli is similar to that at Boghaz Keui, being rectangular in shape, and built around a central hall. The inner walls are lined with sculptured dado bas-reliefs, as appears to have been the case in most of the palaces of the Hittites. The columns, which are believed to have been made of wood, stood on stone bases carved as winged lions.

The remains of large buildings or blocks of buildings have in like manner been discovered at Jerablus and Sakjegeuzi, while the sculptured porticoes lined with bas-reliefs at the last-named place, and also at Tell Halaf, deserve a special mention.

Hittite Inscriptions.

The Hittite hieroglyphs have not as yet been deciphered, though doubtless they are nearer decipherment than they were, thanks to the unremitting efforts of Jensen, and particularly Professor Sayce. The individual signs represent a variety of objects, including the severed heads of human beings and animals, articles of clothing, and implements or weapons.

Note.—For a general account of the Hittites, see D. G. Hogarth's article in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and his supplementary article in *Encyclopædia Britannica Year Book*, and J. Garstang, *Land of the Hittites* (1910); while for special accounts see Garstang, *Sakjegeuzi*,

second report in *Ann. Anth. and Arch.*, V. 63; Hogarth, *Carchemish and its Neighbourhood*, in *Ann. Anth. and Arch.*, II. 4, p. 165, and *Hittite Problems and the Excavation of Carchemish*, in *Proc. of Brit. Acad.*, V.; O. Puchstein and others, *Boghazköi, Die Bauwerke, etc.* (1912); *Report of Cornell Expedition to Asia Minor, etc.*, vol. I., pt. 2 (1911); F. V. Luschan and others, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*; F. v. Reber, *Stellung der Hettites in der Kuntgeschichte* (1910).

PLACE-NAME INDEX

NOTE.

IN the following index of Old Testament place-names, the writer has consulted the leading authorities on Palestinian topography, including in particular G. A. Smith (*The Historical Geography of the Holy Land, Jerusalem*, and articles in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, and elsewhere), F. Buhl (*Geographie des alten Palästina*, Guthe (*Kurzes Bibel-Wörterbuch*, 1903, and *Bibelatlas*, 1911), and the topographical articles in *Hastings' D.B.*, and in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* (not all of equal value; and many in both, for different reasons, to be followed with caution; the reader must learn to discriminate). He has also from time to time referred to the *Biblical Researches in Palestine* (3 vols. ed. 2, 1856) of the great explorer Edw. Robinson, and to various articles by C. R. Conder and other members of the Palestine Exploration Fund staff in the *Q.S.P.E.F.*, and elsewhere. He has also naturally made use of the best and most recent critical commentaries on the Old Testament, especially those in the *International Critical Commentaries* series, in the *Century Bible*, and recent volumes of the *Cambridge Bible*, as well as those in the two German series edited by Nowack and Marti respectively. The second edition of Driver's *Notes on the Hebrew Text of Samuel* (1913), which contains many notes on the topography of these books, appeared just in time for him to be able to make use of it. It is impossible for him to specify his obligations to each of these authorities in detail; but in the more important cases references will be found in the Index.

It must be remembered that, in the case of places of which the ancient name has not been unmistakably perpetuated, or about which reliable statements in Eusebius' *Onomasticon*, or in other ancient authors, fail us, we are confined to conjecture and inference in determining the site. Sometimes the site may be inferred with more or less probability from indications in the Old Testament itself; Gibe'ah is a notable instance of this; but modern explorers who have had no philological training often make the mistake of identifying a place mentioned in the Old Testament with one bearing now an Arabic name resembling superficially the ancient Hebrew name,* although in reality there is no connection between them (cf. Abel-Meholah in Index). A good many of the identifications to be found in the maps or publications of the Palestine Exploration Fund, and reproduced from them in other English maps, are of this character.

* See Driver, *Expository Times*, xxi., Aug. and Sept. 1910, pp. 495 ff., 562 ff. ("On Maps of Palestine containing Ancient Sites"); *Expositor*, Nov. 1911, pp. 388-390, Jan. 1912, p. 32 f.

The names in this Index are given under the (usually) more correct forms found in the Revised Version, but for the convenience of those to whom the Authorized Version is more familiar, the A. V. forms are given with cross-references to the R. V. forms.

Some of the more important tribes and peoples mentioned in the Old Testament are included; but in many cases the territory of these is either uncertain or else only vaguely determinable. A dagger (†) appended to a list of references indicates that all occurrences of the name in the Old Testament are enumerated. EVV. = English Versions (A. V. and R. V.).

In the transliteration of the names, certain letters, commonly confused in English, but distinct in the Hebrew, are differentiated by means of diacritical points, but so far as the actual letters are concerned, the R. V. forms are preserved (e.g. "Hebron," "Mizpah"). Where distinctions have been made, ' = נ; ' = י; ħ = ח; k̄ = ק; s̄ = ס; z̄ = צ; f̄ = פ.

In regard to the modern Arabic names, the usual system of transliteration is here adopted. *Kh.* = *Khurbet*, "ruin."

- ABANA (A. V.) = (R. V.) Abanah (*q.v.*).
 Abanah (River of Damascus) (2 Ki. v. 12 †) = *Nahr Barādā*.
 'Abarim, The Mts. of (*i.e.* the places across) (Nu. xxvii. 12; xxxiii. 47, 48; Dt. xxxii. 49 †); the range containing Mount Nebo.
 'Abdon (Josh. xxi. 30 = 1 Ch. vi. 74 †), perhaps = 'Abdeh, 10 m. N. of Acre.
 Abel,* (1) (1 S. vi. 18 †), text corrupt: read *stone* as in R. V. marg. (2) (2 S. xx. 14, 18 †) = Abel-Beth-Ma'acah (*q.v.*). In 2 S. xx. 14, read *Abel of Beth-Ma'acah* for *Abel and to Beth-Ma'acah*.
 Abel-Beth-Ma'acah, *i.e.* Abel of Beth-Ma'acah (2 S. xx. 15; 1 Ki. xv. 20; 2 Ki. xv. 29) = *Ābil*, 6½ m. W. of *Bāniās*. See also Beth Ma'acah.
 * *I.e.* "Meadow."
 Abel-Cheramim (Ju. xi. 33 †).
 Abel-Mairā (2 Ch. xvi. 4 †) = Abel-Beth-Maacah in the || 1 Ki. xv. 20.
 Abel-Meholāh (Ju. vii. 22; 1 Ki. iv. 12; xix. 16. † See also 1 S. xviii. 19; 2 S. xxi. 8). The identification with 'Ain *Helweh* rests upon a superficial resemblance of *Helweh* ("sweet") with *Meholāh* ("dance").
 Abel-Mizraim (Gen. l. 11 †).
 Abel of the Vineyards (see A. V. and A. V. marg.; = (R. V.) Abel-Cheramim (*q.v.*)).
 Abel-Shittim (Nu. xxxiii. 49 †). From Josephus' description of Abila, prob. = *el-Kefrein*, 7 m. N.E. of Dead Sea. See Shittim.
 Abez (A. V.) = (R. V.) Ebez (*q.v.*).
 'Abronah (Nu. xxxiii. 34 f. †).
 Accad (Gen. x. 10 †), perhaps = *Agade* in N. Babylonia.

- 'Accho (A.V.) = (R.V.) 'Acco (*q.v.*).
 'Acco (Ju. i. 31 †) = 'Akka (Acre). (In Josh. xix. 30, for 'Ummah rd. 'Acco. Cf. EB. 3, 3969.)
 Achmetha (Ezra vi. 2, †), the Aramaic form of the better-known "Ecbatana" (the Greek form) = *Hama-dān*, at the foot of Mt. Elwend.
 'Achor, Vale of (Josh. vii. 24, 26; xv. 7; Is. lxx. 10; Hos. ii. 15 †).
 Achshaph (Josh. xi. 1; xii. 20; xix. 25 †).
 Achzib, (1) in the Shephēlah* of Judah (Josh. xv. 44; Mi. i. 14 †, also called Chezib, Gen. xxxviii. 5 †, and Cozēba (?) in 1 Chr. iv. 22 †) = 'Ain el-Kezbeh, betw. Jarmuth and Socoh, but E. of both. (2) town of Asher (Josh. xix. 29; Ju. i. 31 †), the later Ecdippa = *ez-Zib*, 9 m. N. of 'Accho.
 Ad'adah (Josh. xv. 22 †), rd. 'Ar'arah = 'Aro'er (3) (*q.v.*).
 Adam (Josh. iii. 16 † and 1

- Ki. vii. 46, where rd. "at the crossing of Adamah"), prob. = *Tell ed-Dāmieh*, at confluence of Jabboq and Jordan.
 Adamah (Josh. xix. 36 †), city of Naphtali.
 Adami (A.V.) = (R.V.) Adami Nekeb (*q.v.*).
 Adami-Nekeb (Josh. xix. 33 †), on frontier of Naphtali, prob. = *Dāmieh*, 5 m. W. of Tiberias.
 Adar, A.V. (Josh. xv. 3 †) = R.V. Addar (*q.v.*).
 Addan (Ezra ii. 59 †) = Addon (Neh. vii. 61 †), in Babylonia.
 Addar (Josh. xv. 3 †), on the border of S. Judah. Cf. Hazar-Addar.
 Addon (Neh. vii. 61 †) = Addan (*q.v.*). (Ezra ii. 59 †).
 'Adithaim (Josh. xv. 36 †), in the Shephēlah.
 Admah (Gen. x. 19; xiv. 2, 8; Dt. xxix. 23; Hos. xi. 8 †), city of the plain.
 Adoraim (2 Ch. xi. 9 †) = *Dūra*, 5 m. W. by S. from Hebron.
 'Adullam (Josh. xii. 15, etc.), town in the Shephēlah, perh. = 'Id el-mā, 3 m. S.E. of Socoh.
 "The Cave of 'Adullam" (1 S. xxii. 1; 2 S. xxiii. 13 = 1 Ch. xi. 15 †) is each time spoken of immediately afterwards (1 S. xxii. 4, 5; 2 S. xxiii. 14; 1 Ch. xi. 16) as

* The Hebrew word *Shephēlah* is translated in EVV. by "low country," "lowland," "plain," "valley," and "vale." A part of the territory of Judah—the region of low hills between the Maritime Plain and the High Central Range. (See G. A. Smith in *Historical Geography*, 202 f.) The cities of the Shephēlah are enumerated in Josh. xv. 33-44.

- a "stronghold"; hence most moderns consider "cave," each time, to be an old error for "stronghold" (מְצודה for מערה).
- Adummim, The ascent of (Josh. xv. 7, xviii. 17 †) = *Tal'at ad-Dam*, between Jerusalem and Jericho.
- Ahava, R. (Ez. viii. 15, 21, 31 †), in Euphrates basin.
- Ahlab (Ju. i. 31 †), read prob. *Mahleb* (as Josh. xix. 29, for from *Hebel*, R.V. marg.), prob. = *Mahaleb*, N. of Tyre.
- 'Ai (Josh. vii. 2, etc.) = *Kh. Haiyan*, 3 m. S.E. of Bethel.
- 'Aiath (Is. x. 28 †) = 'Ai (*q.v.*).
- 'Aija (Neh. xi. 31 †) = 'Ai (*q.v.*).
- Aijalon, (1) (Josh. xix. 42, etc.) = *Yalō*, 14 m. N.W. of Jerusalem. (2) town of Zebulun (Jer. xii. 12 †).
- Aijalon, V. of (Josh. x. 12 †) = *Merj Ibn Umar*, 5 m. S.W. of Lower Beth-horon, and a mile N. of Aijalon.
- 'Ain, (1) in the Negeb* of Judah (Josh. xv. 32; xix. 26 †) = 1 Ch. iv. 32 †—each time followed by Rimmon). Rd. prob. "*En-Rimmon*;" see *En-Rimmon*. (In Josh. xxi. 16, rd. '*Ashan* as in the || 1 Ch. vi. 59.) For names in general occurring in Josh. xv. 22-32, cf. || lists Josh. xix. 2-8 (with scribal errors), 1 Ch. iv. 28-33, and also Neh. xi. 25-9. (2) (Num. xxxiv. 11 †), render perh. "to the fountain." On the W. of Riblah (2), *q.v.*
- Ajalon = Aijalon (1) (*q.v.*).
- 'Akrabbim, Ascent of (Nu. xxxiv. 4; Josh. xv. 3; Ju. i. 36 †), on the S. frontier of Judah. Perh. the *Nabb es-Safa*, leading up from Petra to Hebron.
- Alammelech (A.V.) = (R.V.) Allammelech (*q.v.*).
- 'Alemeth (A.V.) = (R.V.) 'Allemeth (*q.v.*).
- Allammelech (Josh. xix. 26 †), town in Asher.
- 'Allemeth, in Benjamin (in 1 Ch. vi. 60 † = 'Almon in Josh. xxi. 18), perh. = 'Almit (3½ m. N.E. of Jerusalem) (but N.B. "t" does not properly = "t").
- Allon (A.V. Josh. xix. 33 †), render "oak," as R.V. (but R.V. marg. is better).
- Allon-Bachuth (A.V.) = (R.V.) Allon-Bacuth (*q.v.*).
- transition from the rich fertility of Canaan to the wasteness of the desert." *E.B.* iii. 3378.
- * A geographical term meaning "the dry land," translated in A.V. "the land of the south," "southland," etc.; in R.V. "the south." "An irregularly shaped tract extending from the hill-country of Judah on the N. to the wilderness of Zin (i.e. the 'Azazimeh Mts.) on the S., and from near the Dead Sea and the southern Ghōr on the E. to the Mediterranean on the W., and in the character of its soil it forms a

- Allon-Bacuth, *i.e.* "Oak of weeping" (Gen. xxxv. 8 †), below Bethel.
- 'Almon (Josh. xxi. 18 †), cf. 'Allemeth.
- 'Almon Diblāthaim (Nu. xxxiii. 46, 47 †) = Beth-Diblāthaim (*q.v.*).
- 'Aloth (1 Ki. iv. 16 †) (A.V.) = (R.V.) Be'aloth (*q.v.*).
- Alush (Nu. xxxiii. 13, 14 †), between Rephidim and Dophkah.
- 'Am'ād (Josh. xix. 26 †), in border of Asher.
- 'Amaleķites, The (Gen. xiv. 7, etc.). Their home lay in the desert N. of the Sinaitic Peninsula (mod. *Et-Tih*), S. and S.W. of Judah.
- Amām (Josh. xv. 26 †), in Negeb of Judah.
- Amana (Cant. iv. 8 †, and rd. "Amana," with R.V. marg. in 1 Ki. v. 12), a mt. near Lebanon.
- Ammah, the Hill of (2 S. ii. 24 †), "before Giah." In v. 25 prob. read *hill of Ammah for one hill* (R.V. *an hill*).
- Amorites, The (always with art. except Nu. xxi. 29; Ezek. xvi. 45) (Gen. x. 16, etc.), practically synonymous with "Cana'anites," but not so comprehensive (*e.g.* "Amorite" is not used when the coastland is referred to). The Amurru of the *Tell el-Amarna Letters* occupied a district on the north of Palestine (and *behind* Phœnicia), but branches of the "Amorites" advanced southward and established themselves both E. and W. of the Jordan. (See Driver, *Schweich Lectures*, p. 36; *Genesis*, p. 125 f.; and, more fully, *E.B.* i. 146 f., 640-643).
- 'Anab (Josh. xi. 21; xv. 50 †) = 'Anāb, 14 m. S.W. of Hebron.
- Anaḥarath (Josh. xix. 19 †), in Issachar.
- 'Ananiah (Neh. xi. 32 †), perh. = *Bēt Hanīna*, 3½ m. N.N.W. of Jerusalem.
- 'Anāthoth (Josh. xxi. 18, etc.) = 'Anāta, 2 m. N.E. of Jerusalem.
- 'Anem (1 Ch. vi. 73 †), corrupt for 'En-Gannim (*q.v.*), in the || passage, Josh. xxi. 29.
- 'Aner (1 Ch. vi. 70 †), city of Manasseh.
- 'Anim (Josh. xv. 50 †), perh. = *el-Ghuwein*, S. of Hebron.
- Aphek, (1) (Josh. xiii. 4 †) = *Afka* on N.W. slope of Lebanon. (2) (Josh. xix. 30 †, written Aphik in Ju. i. 31), in Asher. (3) In the Sharon (Josh. xii. 18; 1 Ki. xx. 26, 30; 2 Ki. xiii. 17; 1 Sam. iv. 1; xxix. 1 †), the site of *Mejdel Yaba* would suit.
- Apheka (Josh. xv. 53 †), in mountain-land of Judah.

- Aphik (Ju. i. 31 †) = Aphek (2) (*q.v.*).
- 'Aphrah (A.V. Mi. i. 10 †) = R.V. Beth-le-'Aphrah (*q.v.*).
- 'Ar, or 'Ar of Moab (Nu. xxi. 15, etc.) (?).
- Arab (Josh. xv. 52 †), perh. = *cr-Rabiyeh*, S. of Hebron.
- 'Arābah, the, (1) (Dt. i. 7, etc.), the depression of the Dead Sea valley. (2) (Josh. xviii. 18 †), cf. Beth-'Arābah (so LXX).
- 'Arābah, Brook (*i.e.* Wādī) of the (Am. vi. 14, R.V. †), a wādī running into the 'Arābah, prob. into or near the "Sea of the 'Arābah" (*q.v.*); cf. 2 Ki. xiv. 25.
- 'Arābah, Sea of the (Dt. iii. 17; iv. 49; Josh. iii. 16; xii. 3; 2 Ki. xiv. 25 † in R.V.), the Dead Sea.
- Arabia (1 Ki. x. 15 (read as A.V.) = 2 Ch. ix. 14; Is. xxi. 13, 14; Jer. xxv. 14; Ezek. xxvii. 21; cf. *Arabian*, Is. xiii. 20; Jer. iii. 2 al.). Heb. 'Arāb, Ass. *Aribi*, a people in the wilderness E. of Jordan, beyond Qedar and Nebaioth (*q.v.*). (Never in O.T., in the later extended sense of the modern "Arabia.")
- Arabians, Brook of the (Is. xv. 7, A.V. marg.). See Willows, Brook of the.
- 'Arad (Nu. xxi. 1; xxxiii. 40; Josh. xii. 14; Ju. i. 16 †) = Tell 'Arād, 17 m. S.E. of Hebron.
- Aram-Ma'acah (1 Ch. xix. 6 †, R.V.).
- Ararat (Gen. viii. 4; 2 Ki. xix. 37 = Is. xxxvii. 38; Jer. li. 27 †), district in E. Armenia = Ass. Urartu.
- Arba', city of (A.V. Gen. xxxv. 27 †) = R.V. Kiriatn-arba' (*q.v.*).
- Archi (A.V. Josh. xvi. 2 †) = R.V. Archites.
- Argob (Dt. iii. 4, 13, 14; 1 Ki. iv. 13 †), in Bashan.
- Ariel (Is. xxix. 1, 2, 7 †), prophetic name for Jerusalem,—appar. = "lion (or "hearth") of God."
- Arnon, Wādī * of (Nu. xxi. 13, etc.) = *Wādī Mōjib*, E. of Dead Sea.
- 'Aro'er, (1) Dt. ii. 36, etc.) = 'Arā'ir, on N. bank of *W. Mōjib* (Arnon). (2) (Josh. xiii. 25; Ju. xi. 33 †), place E. of Rabbath-Ammon. (3) in S. Judah (1 S. xxx. 28 †; but read 'Ar'ārah), now 'Ar'ārah, 11 m. S.E. of Beersheba. See also 'Ad'adah.
- Arpad (A.V.) = Arphad (R.V.) (*q.v.*).
- Arphad (2 Ki. xviii. 34, etc.)
- * The Heb. אַרְוֵר corresponds to the Arabic *Wādī*, and never to the English "brook"; it is used indifferently of a *torrent-valley*, which in winter may be full of water, but in summer dry or nearly so, or of the *stream* running through it.

- = *Tell Erfād*, 13 m. N.W. of Aleppo.
- Aruboth, A.V. = R.V. Arubboth (*q.v.*).
- Arubboth (1 Ki. iv. 10 †), province of Solomon; it appar. included Socoh (1).
- Arumah (Ju. ix. 41 †), perh. = *el'Ormah*, 6 m. S.S.E. from Shechem.
- Arvad (Ezek. xxvii. 8, 11 †) = *er-Ruwād* in Phœnicia.
- 'Ashan (Josh. xv. 42; xix. 7; 1 Ch. iv. 32; vi. 59), in the Shephēlah of Judah.
- Ashdod (Josh. xi. 22, etc.) = *Esdūd*, in plain of Philistia.
- Ashdoth-Pisgah (A.V. Dt. iii. 17; iv. 49; Josh. xii. 3; xiii. 20 †) = R.V. "slopes of Pisgah." See Pisgah.
- Asher (Josh. xvii. 7 †), on S. border of Manasseh.
- Ashkelon (Ju. i. 18, etc.) = *'Ashkalān*, 12 m. N. from Gaza.
- Ashkenaz (Gen. x. 3 = 1 Ch. i. 6; Jer. li. 27 †) (the eldest "son" of Gomer (*q.v.*)), in or near Armenia.
- Ashnah (1) (Josh. xv. 33 †), in N.E. of the Shephēlah of Judah. (2) (Josh. xv. 43 †), also in the Shephēlah, but much further S.
- 'Ashāroth, in Bashan (Dt. i. 4, etc.). prob. either *Tell el-Ash'ari*, near the Upper Yarmūk, or *Muzeirib*, 8 m. S. of *Tell'Ashtarrah*.
- Ashteroth Karnaim (Gen. xiv. 5 †), prob. = *Tell'Ashtarrah*, on Bashan plateau, on W. of Haurān.
- Askelon (Ju. i. 18) A.V. = R.V. Ashkelon (*q.v.*).
- Aṭad (Gen. l. 10, 11 †) = Abel-Mizraim.
- 'Aṭāroth, (1) (1 Ch. ii. 54 †), see 'Aṭroth-Beth-Joab. (2) (Josh. xvi. 2) = 'Aṭaroth-Addar, v. 5; xviii. 13 †), possibly = *'Atārā*, 3½ m. S. of Bethel. (3) (Josh. xvi. 7 †), on N.E. frontier of Ephraim. (4) In Gad (Nu. xxxii. 3, 34) = *'Attārūs*, at top of W. *Zerkā Mā'in*, 10 m. E. of Dead Sea.
- Aṭaroth-Addar (A.V. -Adar). See 'Aṭāroth (2).
- 'Athach, in Judah (1 S. xxx. 30 †) = 'Ether (*q.v.*) Josh. xv. 42; xix. 7).
- 'Aṭroth (Nu. xxxii. 35; A.V. †) = R.V. 'Aṭroth - Shophan (*q.v.*).
- 'Aṭroth-Beth-Joab (1 Ch. ii. 54 †), apparently near Beth-lehem.
- 'Aṭroth-Shophan (Nu. xxxii. 35 †), in Gad. See 'Aṭāroth (4).
- 'Ava (2 Ki. xvii. 24, A.V. †) = R.V. 'Avva, (*q.v.*).
- Aven (1) (Ezek. xxx. 17 †) = Heliopolis in Egypt. See On. (2) (Hos. x. 8 †), "Aven" here prob. = "idolatry," and is not a proper name. (3) (Am. i. 5 †), "The broad valley of Aven" (A.V.

- marg. Bik'ath-Aven), in all probability = the *Bekā'*, the plain between Lebanon and Antilibanus.
- 'Avith (Gen. xxxvi. 35 = 1 Ch. i. 46 †), city of Hadad I., k. of Edom.
- 'Avva (2 Ki. xvii. 24 †). Prob. = 'Ivvah (*q.v.*).
- Azal (A.V.) = (R.V.) Azel (*q.v.*).
- 'Azekah (Josh. x. 10, 11; xv. 35; 1 S. xvii. 1; 2 Ch. xi. 9; Neh. xi. 30; Jer. xxxiv. 7 †) near Socoh (1).
- Azel (Zech. xiv. 5 †), near Jerusalem.
- 'Azem (A.V.) = (R.V.) 'Ezem (*q.v.*).
- 'Azmaveth (Ezra ii. 24; Neh. xiii. 29), prob. = *el-Hizmech*, 4 m. N.E. of Jerusalem.
- Azmon (Nu. xxxiv. 4, 5; Josh. xv. 4 †), in W. part of S. frontier of Judah.
- Aznoth-Tabor (Josh. xix. 34 †), near Mt. Tabor.
- 'Azzah (so A.V. in Dt. ii. 23; 1 Ki. iv. 24; Jer. xxv. 20; (= R.V. Gaza). In 1 Ch. vii. 28, read 'Ayyah with R.V. marg. Elsewhere in A.V. and R.V., written Gaza (*q.v.*).
- BA'AL* (1 Ch. iv. 33 †). See Baalath-Beer.
- * This and most, if not all, of the following places are so called as being places at which local Ba'als were once worshipped.
- Ba'alāh, (1) (Josh. xv. 9, 10; = 1 Ch. xiii. 6 †). See Kiriath-je'arim. (2) in Negeb of Judah (written also Balah and Bilhah) (Josh. xv. 29; xix. 3; 1 Ch. iv. 29 †). (3) Mount (Josh. xv. 11 †), perh. rd. *nahar* river for *har* mt. and then perh. identify with *Nahr Rūbin*. See Jabneel (1).
- Ba'alath. See Kirjath-jearim.
- Ba'alath-Beer (Josh. xix. 8 †) = "Ba'al" in || 1 Ch. iv. 33, in the Negeb of Judah.
- Ba'ale-Judah (2 S. vi. 2 †, where rd. *Ba'al of Judah* for *Ba'ale Judah*), old name of Kiriath-je'arim (*q.v.*), no doubt from its having once been a seat of Ba'al worship.
- Ba'al-Gad (Josh. xi. 17; xii. 7; xiii. 5 †), prob. = *Bā-iās*, under Mt. Hermon.
- Ba'al-Hamon (Cant. viii. 11 †), txt. dub.; perh. rd. "Ba'al-Hermon" (*q.v.*).
- Ba'al-Hazor (2 S. xiii. 23 †). See Hazor (2).
- Ba'al-Hermon (Ju. iii. 3; 1 Ch. v. 23 †) perh. = Ba'al-Gad (*q.v.*).
- Ba'al-Me'ōn (Nu. xxxii. 38; 1 Ch. v. 8; Eze. xxv. 9 †) = *Mā'in* on Moabite plateau, 5 m. S.W. of Madeba. See also Be'ōn.
- Ba'al-Pe'or (Hos. ix. 10 †) (here, as the syntax shows, the name of a *place*; else-

- where the name of a local Ba'al).
- Ba'al-Perazim (2 S. v. 20; 1 Ch. xiv. 11 †), in Valley of Rephaim (*q.v.*).
- Ba'al-Shalishah (2 Ki. iv. 42 †), prob. = *Kefr Thilth*, near Gilgal (2).
- Ba'al-Tamar (Ju. xx. 33 †), near Gibe'ah.
- Ba'al-Zephon (Ex. xiv. 2, 9; Nu. xxxiii. 7 †), near where Israelites crossed Red Sea.
- Babel, Tower of (Gen. x. 10; xi. 4, 5, 9 †), in Babylon.
- Baca, Valley of (Ps. lxxxiv. 6, A.V. †; R.V. "V. of Weeping").
- Bahurim (2 S. iii. 16, etc.), near road from Jerusalem to Jordan Valley.
- Bajith (A.V.)=(R.V.) Bayith (*q.v.*).
- Balah. See Ba'alalah (2).
- Bamoth or Bamoth-Ba'al (*i.e.* "high places of Ba'al") Nu. xxi. 19, 20; xxii. 41 (R.V. m.); Josh. xiii. 17 †, in Moabite territory, perh. at some dolmens just N. of *el-Maslūbiyeh*.
- Bashan (Nu. xxi. 33, etc.), district on E. of Jordan.
- Bashan-Havoth-Jair, A.V. (Dt. iii. 14 †)=(R.V.) Havvoth-Jair (*q.v.*).
- Bath-Rabbim (Cant. vii. 4 †) dub.; perh. a poet-name for Heshbon, "daughter of many" = the populous city.
- Bayith, in Moab (Is. xv. 2 †), text dub., prob. rd. *bath* = "daughter"—"the daughter of Dibon hath gone up to," etc.
- Be'aloth (1 Ki. iv. 16, R.V.; Josh. xv. 24 †) in S. Judah. Be'aloth in Josh. xv. 24, perh. = Ba'alath-Beer in || list, Josh. xix. 8.
- Beer, (1) (Nu. xxi. 16 †), between Heshbon and the Arnon. (2) (Ju. ix. 21 †).
- Beer-Elim (Is. xv. 8 †), prob. = Beer (1).
- Beer-Laḥai-Rōi (Gen. xvi. 14, etc.), perh. = *'Ain Muwweleh* in S. Judah.
- Beeroth (Josh. ix. 17, etc.), perh. = *el-Bīreh*, 9 m. N. from Jerusalem, or (Guthe, cf. Driver, *Samuel* (2nd ed.) p. xx) *Kh. el-Lattātin* 1½ m. N.W. of Gibe'on.
- Beeroth Bene-Ja'aḳān (Dt. x. 6 † = Bene-Ja'aḳān in Nu. xxxiii. 31), prob. on the E. edge of the 'Arābah, near Edom.
- Beersheba' (Gen. xxi. 14, etc.) = *Bir es-Seba'*, 28 m. S.W. of Hebron.
- Be-'eshterah (Josh. xxi. 27 † = 'Ashtāroth (*q.v.*) in || 1 Ch. vi. 71), in the Haurān.
- Bela' (Gen. xiv. 2, 8 †), given as the original name of Zo'ar (*q.v.*).
- Bene-Beraḳ (Josh. xix. 45 †) = *Ibn Ibrāk*, 1 hr. S.E. from Joppa.

- Be'ōn (Nu. xxxii. 3 †) read Ba'al-Me'ōn (*q.v.*), as *v.* 38.
- Beracah, V. of (2 Ch. xx. 26 †), prob. = *Bereikūt* near *Tekū'a*.
- Berachah (A.V.) = (R.V.) Beracah (*q.v.*).
- Bered (Gen. xvi. 14 †), in S. Palestine.
- Berothah (Ezek. xlvii. 16 †), on ideal N. border of Cana'an.
- Berothai (2 S. viii. 8 †).
- Besor, The Wādi (1 S. xxx. 9, 10, 21 †), prob. S. of Gaza.
- Betah (2 S. viii. 8 †) = Tibhath (*q.v.*) in 1 Ch. xviii. 8.
- Beten (Josh. xix. 25 †) in Asher.
- Beth-Anath (Josh. xix. 38; Ju. i. 33 †), perh. = *Ainitha*, 6 m. W.N.W. from Kadesh.
- Beth-Anoth (Josh. xv. 59 †) prob. = *Bēt Ainūn*, 5 m. N. of Hebron.
- Beth-Arābah, (1) (Josh. xv. 6, 61 †), in the "wilderness" of Judah, and called *Arabah* in Josh. xviii. 18 (LXX, *Beth-Arabah*). (2) in Josh. xviii. 22, rd. perh. *Beth-abārah* (= "house or place of the ford"), which possibly = *Makhādet* ("the Ford of") *Ḥajla*, near Jericho.
- Beth-Aram (A.V.) (Josh. xiii. 27 †) = (R.V.) Beth-Haram (*q.v.*).
- Beth-Arbel (Hos. x. 14 †).
- Beth-Aven (Josh. vii. 2; xviii. 12; 1 S. xiii. 5; xiv. 23 †), E.(S.E.) of Bethel, and W.(N.W.) of Michmas; prob. near *Dêr Diwān*. (In Hos. iv. 15; v. 8; x. 5, a sarcastic name (= *House of vanity or idolatry*) for Bethel. Cf. Aven (2).)
- Beth-Azmaveth (Neh. vii. 28 †) = *Azmaveth* (*q.v.*).
- Beth-Ba'al-Me'ōn (Josh. xiii. 17 †) = Ba'al-Me'ōn (*q.v.*).
- Beth-Barah (Ju. vii. 24 †).
- Beth-Birei (1 Ch. iv. 31 †), (A.V.) = (R.V.) Beth-biri (*q.v.*).
- Beth-Biri (1 Ch. iv. 31 †), in Negeb of Judah = Beth-Lebaoth (*q.v.*), in || passage, Josh. xix. 6.
- Beth-Car (1 S. vii. 11 †), appar. near Mizpah. Read perh. Beth-Ḥoron.
- Beth-Dagon, (1) in Judah (Josh. xv. 41 †). (2) on border of Asher (Josh. xix. 27 †).
- Beth-Diblāthaim, in Moab (Jer. xlvi. 22 †) = *Almon-Diblathaim* in Nu. xxxiii. 46, 47. †
- Bethel (1) (Gen. xii. 8, etc.) = *Bētin*, 9½ m. N. of Jerusalem. (2) (1 S. xxx. 27) = Bethul (Josh. xix. 4) = *βαυθηλ* in the || list in Josh. xv. 30 (M.T. corruptly *בז*) = Bethuel (1 Ch. iv. 30). LXX in 1 Sam. xxx. 27, has Beth-Zur, but this is too far N. to be probable.

- Beth-'Emek (Josh. xix. 27 †), on boundary of Asher.
- Bether, city of Judah, mentioned in LXX of Josh. xv. 59 = *Bittir*, 7. m. S.W. of Jerusalem.
- Bether, Mountains of (Cant. ii. 17 †), text dub.; in any case "Bether" here cannot be a proper name.
- Beth-Ezel (Mi. i. 11 †), in the Shephēlah.
- Beth-Gader (1 Ch. ii. 51 †), perh. = Gedor (1) (*q.v.*).
- Beth-Gamul (Jer. xlvi. 23 †), in Moab, perh. = either *Kh. Jemal*, E. of Dibon, or *Umm ej-Jemāl*, S. of Medeba.
- Beth-Gilgal (Neh. xii. 29 †, R.V.). See Gilgal.
- Beth Hacerem (A.V.) = (R.V.) Beth-Haccherem (*q.v.*).
- Beth-Haccherem (*i.e.* "vineyard place") (Neh. iii. 14; Jer. vi. 1 †), according to Jerome between Tekoa' and Jerusalem.
- Beth-Haggān (*i.e.* "the garden-house") (2 Ki. ix. 27 †), S. of Jezre'el.
- Beth-Hanan. See Elon-Beth-Hanan.
- Beth-Haram = the more correct Beth-Haran (*q.v.*).
- Beth-Haran (Nu. xxxii. 36 †), perh. = *Tell er-Rāmeḥ*, between Hesbān and Jordan.
- Beth-Hogla (A.V. Josh. xv. 6 †) = (R.V.) Beth-Hoglah (*q.v.*).
- Beth-Hoglah (Josh. xv. 6; xviii. 19, 21 †) = *'Ain Hajla*, between Jericho and Jordan.
- Beth-Horon, The Upper (Josh. x. 10, etc.) = *Bēt 'Ūr el-fōka*, on the ascent from the Maritime Plain to the plateau of Benjamin, 10 m. N.W. of Jerusalem.
- Beth-Horon, The Nether (Josh. xvi. 3, etc.) = *Bēt 'Ūr et-tahta*, 2 m. W.N.W. of *Bēt 'Ūr el-fōka*, and 700 ft. below it.
- Beth-Jeshimoth (Nu. xxiii. 49; Josh. xii. 3; xiii. 20; Eze. xxv. 9 †), prob. = *Khirbet es-Suweimeh*, 1½ m. N.E. of the Dead Sea.
- Beth-Jesimoth (A.V.) = (R.V.) Beth-Jeshimoth (*q.v.*).
- Beth-le-'Aphrah (R.V.) = (A.V.) "House of Aphrah," (Mi. i. 10 †), poss. = *Wādī el-Ghafr*, S. of Mirāsh.
- Beth-Lebaōth (Josh. xix. 6 †), written simply Lebaōth in Josh. xv. 32, in Negeb of Judah.
- Beth-lehem, (1) (Gen. xxxv. 19, etc., of Judah) = *Bēt Lahm*, 5 m. S. of Jerusalem.
- (2) Of Zebulun (Josh. xix. 15; and prob. Ju. xii. 8, 10 †) = *Bēt Lahm*, 7 m. N.W. of Nazareth.
- Beth-Ma'acah, written also Abel-Beth-Ma'acah (*q.v.*), Abel of Beth-Ma'acah, and Abel (*q.v.*) (2 S. xx. 14

- (as emended. See Abel (2)); 2 S. xx. 15, 18; 2 Ki. xv. 29 †).
- Beth-Marcaboth (Josh. xix. 5 = 1 Ch. iv. 31 †), in Simeon = Madmanna, Josh. xv. 31, and perh. = Meconah, Neh. xi. 28.
- Beth-Me'on = Ba'al - Me'on (*q.v.*).
- Beth-Marhaḳ (2 S. xv. 17 †, R.V.), rd. with R.V. marg., "The Far House."
- Beth-Nimrah (Nu. xxxii. 36; Josh. xiii. 27 †) = *Tell Nimrin*, 10 m. N. of the Dead Sea, and 13½ m. E. of Jordan.
- Beth-Palet (A.V. Josh. xv. 27 †) = (R.V.) Beth-Pelet (*q.v.*).
- Beth-Pazzez (Josh. xix. 21 †), in Issachar.
- Beth-Pelet (Josh. xv. 27; Neh. xi. 26 †), on Edomite border of Judah.
- Beth-Pe'or (Dt. iii. 29; iv. 46; xxxiv. 6; Josh. xiii. 20 †), near the Piṣgah ridge.
- Beth-Phelet (A.V. Neh. xi. 26 †) = (R.V.) Beth-Pelet (*q.v.*).
- Beth-Reḥob (Ju. xviii. 28; 2 S. x. 6 † (called Reḥob in *v.* 8)), an Aramæan town, somewhere near Laish (Dan); but in 2 S. x. thought by Guthe to be the land of Riḥāb, 12 m. N.E. of Gerasa.
- Beth-Shan = Beth-Shean (*q.v.*).
- Beth-Shean (Josh. xv. 10, etc.) = *Bcisān*, on low table-land, 3 m. W. of Jordan, a little S. of Sea of Galilee.
- Beth-Shemesh (= House of the Sun), (1) (Josh. xv. 10, etc.) on borders of Judah = *Ain Shems*. (2) (Josh. xix. 38; Ju. i. 33 †) in Naphtali. (3) (Josh. xix. 22 †) in Issachar. (4) (Jer. xliii. 13 †) = *On* or *Helio-polis*, in Egypt.
- Beth-Shittāh (Ju. vii. 22 †), in the Jordan Valley.
- Beth-Tappuah (Josh. xv. 53 †), prob = *Teffuh*, 3½ m. W. by N. from Hebron.
- Bethuel = Bethul (*q.v.*).
- Bethul (Josh. xix. 4 = Bethuel, 1 Ch. iv. 30 †), prob. = Bethel (2) of 1 S. xxx. 27 (in the Negeb).
- Beth-Zur (*i.e.* "house of rock," or perh. on analogy of "Beth-El," "house of Zur" (a divine name)) (Josh. xv. 58; 1 Ch. ii. 45; 2 Ch. xi. 7; Neh. iii. 16 †) = *Bet Sūr*, 4½ m. N. of Hebron.
- Betonim (Josh. xiii. 26 †), in Gad, perh. = *Batanah*, 3 m. W. of *es-Salt*.
- Beza'ananim (Josh. xix. 33), R.V. marg. is right. Read same in Ju. iv. 11 †, on W. border of Naphtali.
- Bezek, (1) (1 S. xi. 8 †) = *Khirbet-Ibzik*, 14 m. from

- Nābulus. (2) (Ju. i. 4, 5 †)
in Judah.
- Bezer, (1) (Dt. iv. 43 = Josh.
xx. 8; Josh. xxi. 36 = 1 Ch.
vi. 78 †) perh. = *Kezūr el-
Beshir*, 2 m. S.W. of Dibon.
- Bile'am (1 Ch. vi. 70 †) =
Ible'am (*q.v.*).
- Bilhah (1 Ch. iv. 29 †) =
Ba'alāh (2) (*q.v.*).
- Bithron (2 S. ii. 29 †), ap-
parently a "gorge," between
Maḥanaim and Jordan (see
Driver, ad loc.).
- Biziothiah (Josh. xv. 28 †)
error for בִּזְיוֹתֵיהֶן (= "and
her villages") as in LXX
and the || Neh. xi. 27.
- Bizjothjah (A.V.) = (R.V.)
Biziothiah (*q.v.*).
- Bochim (Ju. ii. 1, 5 †), in Ju.
ii. 1, read prob. "Bethel"
after LXX.
- Bohan, Stone of (Josh. xv. 6;
xviii. 17 †), on boundary
between Judah and Ben-
jamin.
- Bor'ashan (1 S. xxx. 30
R.V. marg. †). This is the
best reading, perh. = "'A-
shan" in Josh. xv. 42 =
xix. 7.
- Boscath (A.V.) = (R.V.) Bo-
z̄kath (*q.v.*).
- Bozēz (1 S. xiv. 4 †), on N.
side of *Wādī es-Suweinīf*.
See Michmash.
- Boz̄kath (Josh. xv. 39; 2 Ki.
xxii. 1 †), city of Judah.
- Bozrah, (1) (Gen. xxxvi. 33,
etc.) of Edom = *Būseirah*,
S.E. of Dead Sea. (2)
(Jer. xlvi. 24 †), of
Moab.
- Buz (Gen. xxii. 21; Jer. xxv.
23; cf. Job xxxii. 2, 6 †),
second "son" of Naḥor.
An Arabian tribe.
- CABUL (Josh. xix. 27; 1 Ki.
ix. 13 †) = *Kābūl*, 9 m. S.E.
of 'Accho.
- Cain (Josh. xv. 57 †), in the
hill-country of Judah, perh.
= *Kh. Yaḳin*, 3 m. S.E. of
Hebron.
- Calah (Gen. x. 11, 12 †) =
Nimrūd, 20 m. S. of
Nineveh.
- Caleb (1 S. xxx. 14; cf. xxxv.
3), the Calebites, a Judæan
clan (cf. 1 Ch. ii. 9, where
read "*Caleb*" for Chelubai;
see v. 18, 42), settled in the
Negeb.
- Caleb - Ephratah (A.V.) =
(R.V.) Caleb - Ephrathah
(*q.v.*).
- Caleb-Ephrathah (1 Ch. ii.
24 †). No such place. Rd.
"Caleb went in to Ephrath,
the wife, etc.," with LXX,
Wellhausen and Kittel.
- Calneh (Gen. x. 10; Am. vi.
2 †) = Calno in Is. x. 9 † =
Canneh in Eze. xxvii. 23 †),
prob. not far from Babylon.
- Calno (Is. x. 9 †) = Calneh
(*q.v.*).
- Camon (A.V.) = (R.V.) Ka-
mon (*q.v.*).
- Cana'an, Cana'anites (Gen. ix.

- 18, etc.), generally designates the country W. of Jordan, but sometimes appears to include territory on E. of Jordan (cf. Josh. xi. 3). See *E.B.*, i. 638 f. (In Ezek. xvi. 29 read as R.V. marg., and in xvii. 4 as R.V.; cf. Pr. xxxi. 24.)
- Canneh (Ezek. xxvii. 23 †). See Calneh.
- Caphtor (Dt. ii. 23; Jer. xlvii. 4; Am. ix. 7 †), an island or coastland. Cf. Caphtorim (Gen. x. 14 = 1 Ch. i. 12; Deut. ii. 23 †). The original home of the Philistines (Am. ix. 7). Crete (cf. Cherethites); or perhaps (so W. Max Müller) the coast of Cilicia.
- Carchemish (2 Ch. xxxv. 20; Is. x. 9; Jer. xlvi. 2 †) = *Jerābis* on W. bank of Euphrates.
- Carmel, Mt. (Josh. xii. 22, etc.), "a triangular block of mountains" stretching from Haifā S.E. for about 12 m.
- Carmel (Josh. xv. 55; 1 S. xv. 12; xxv. 2, 5, 7, 40 †) = *Karmal*, 8 m. S.E. of Hebron.
- Casiphia (Ezra. viii. 17 †), near Ahava and Babylon.
- Chaldea (Heb. *Kasdim*) (Jer. l. 10, etc.), in O.T. generally = Babylonia, but the land of the Kaldū proper lay S.E. of Babylonia.
- Charashim, Valley of (1 Ch. iv. 14, A.V. †) = (R.V.) Ge-Harashim (*q.v.*).
- Chebar, R. (Eze. i. 1, 3; iii. 15, 23; x. 15, 20, 22; xliii. 3 †), a Babylonian canal; prob. the *Kabaru*, a large canal near Nippur, mentioned in inscriptions discovered by Hilprecht.
- Chephar-Ammoni (Josh. xviii. 24 †), in Benjamin.
- Chephar-Ha'ammonai (A.V.) = (R.V.) Chephar-Ammoni (*q.v.*).
- Cephirah (Josh. ix. 17 = xviii. 26; Ezra. ii. 25; Neh. vii. 29 †) = *Kefireh*, 5 m. W.S.W. of *El Jib* (Gibeon).
- Cherethites, The (1 S. xxx. 14; Ezek. xxv. 16; Zeph. ii. 5), forming David's foreign body-guard (2 S. viii. 18 = 1 Ch. xviii. 17; 2 S. xv. 18; xx. 7, 23; 1 Ki. i. 38, 44 †), a tribe either allied to or a subdivision of the Philistines. Prob. = *Cretans*; see Caphtor.
- Cherith, Wādi (1 Ki. xvii. 3, 5 †), on the E. of Jordan. (Pronounce *Kerith*. So always *Ch* in Hebrew names.)
- Cherub (Ezra. ii. 59 = Neh. vii. 61 †), district in Babylonia.
- Chesalon (Josh. xv. 10 †) = *Keslā* on N. side of Mt. Je'arim.
- Chesil (Josh. xv. 30 † = Bethul (*q.v.*) in Josh. xix. 4).

- Cheşulloth (Josh. xix. 18 †).
See Chişloth-Tabor.
- Chezib (Gen. xxxviii. 5 †) =
Achzib (1) (*q.v.*).
- Chidon, Threshing-floor of (1
Ch. xiii. 9 † = Nacon (*q.v.*),
2 S. vi. 6 †). Pronounce
Kidon. Probably both *Chid-
don* and *Nachon* are corrupt.
Pronounce *Kilmad*.
- Chimham (Jer. xli. 17, A.V. †).
See "Geruth Chimham."
- Chinnereth or Chinneroth
(pronounce *Kinnereth*)
(Nu. xxxiv. 11; Dt. iii. 17;
Josh. xi. 2; xii. 3; xiii. 27;
xix. 35; 1 Ki. xv. 20 †).
(1) A fortified town of
Naphtali (Josh. xix.
35). Site unknown, but
somewhere near—
(2) the Sea of Chinnereth
(the Lake of Gennesaret), to which it gave
its name (Nu. xxxiv.
11; Josh. xii. 3; xiii.
27; so perh. "Chinne-
reth" alone in Dt. iii.
17; Josh. xi. 2). In
1 Ki. xv. 20, perh. the
Plain of Gennesaret,
now *el-Ghuwār*, on the
N.W. of the lake.
- Chişloth-Tabor (Josh. xix.
12 †) = Cheşulloth (Josh.
xix. 18 †).
- Chithlish (Josh. xv. 40 †), in
the Shephelah of Judah.
- Chittim (A.V.) = (R.V.)
Kittim (*q.v.*).
- Chor-^ʿashan (A.V.) = (R.V.)
Cor-^ʿashan (*q.v.*).
- Chozēba (A.V.) = (R.V.) Co-
zēba (*q.v.*).
- Chub, (A.V. = (R.V.) Cub
(*q.v.*).
- Chun (A.V.) = (R.V.) Cun
(*q.v.*). Corrupt.
- Cinneroth (A.V. 1 Ki. xv.
20 †). See Chinnereth.
- Cor-^ʿashan (1 S. xxx. 30 †),
true M.T. reading is Bor-
^ʿAshan (so R.V. marg.),
which probably = ^ʿAshan
(*q.v.*).
- Cozēba (1 Ch. iv. 22 †), prob.
= Achzib (1) (*q.v.*).
- Cub (Ezek. xxx. 5 †), corrupt
for Lub (so LXX). See
Lubim.
- Cun (1 Ch. xviii. 8 † = *Be-
rothai* in || 2 S. viii. 8).
Corrupt. Site unknown.
- Cush, (1) (Gen. x. 8, and just
possibly Gen. ii. 13 †), the
Kasshu or *Κοσσαῖοι*, E. of
Babylonia. (2) (Gen. x. 6,
etc.), the Hebrew name of
Ethiopia (*e.g.* *Kōsh*). The
people were black-skinned
like the modern Nubians
(cf. Jer. xii. 23); "the
Cushite" (2 S. xviii. 21 ff.)
= the negro.
- Cushan (Hab. iii. 7 †), prob.
a tribe near Midian.
- DABBASHETH (A.V.) = (R.V.)
Dabbesheth (*q.v.*).
- Dabbesheth (Josh. xix. 11 †),
on W. border of Zebulun.

- Dabareh (Josh. xxi. 28 † A.V.)
= R.V. Daberath (*q.v.*).
- Daberath (Josh. xix. 12; xxi. 28 = 1 Ch. vi. 72 †), on border of Zebulun.
- Damascus (Gen. xiv. 15, etc.) (Heb. *Dammēsc̄k*, Ass. *Dimashki*) = *Dimashk csh-Shām*—i.e. "Damascus of Syria."
- Dan (Gen. xiv. 14, etc.), prob. = *Tell el-Kādi* or (G. A. Smith) *Bāniās*, about 4 m. E. of *Tell el-Kādi*. Original name was Laish (*q.v.*).
- Dan-Ja'an (2 S. xxiv. 6 †) = Dan, the "-Ja'an" being corrupt.*
- Dannah (Josh. xv. 49 †) = *Idhna*, 6 m. S.E. of *Bēt-Jibrin*.
- David, City of (2 S. vi. 12, etc.), on the projecting S. end of E. hill of Jerusalem; see G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem* ii. 39 (plan), and cf. Zion.
- Debir, (1) in S. Judah (Josh. x. 38, etc.) = Kiriath-sepher (*q.v.*); (2) (Josh. xv. 7 †) perh. = *Thoghret ed-Debr*, betw. Jerusalem and Jericho, but text dub.; (3) (Josh. xiii. 26 †) read with R.V. marg. *Lidebir* (*q.v.*).
- Dedan (Gen. x. 7; xxv. 3 (= 1 Ch. xix. 32); Jer. xxv. 23; xlix. 8; Ezek. xxv. 13; xxvii. 20 (in v. 15 read *Rhodan* = Rhodes; cf. Dodanim); xxxviii. 13; cf. Is. xxi. 13 †), district in N.W. Arabia, near *Tēmā* (*q.v.*).
- Diblah (Ezek. vi. 14 †). See Riblah (1).
- Diblath (A.V.) = (R.V.) Diblah (*q.v.*).
- Dibon (1) (Nu. xxi. 30, etc.; called Dibon-Gad in Nu. xxxiii. 45, 46 †), in Moab = *Dhibān*, 3 m. N. of 'Aro'er and 4 m. from the Arnon. (2) (Neh. xi. 25 †) in Judah, perh. = Dimonah (*q.v.*).
- Dibon-Gad (Nu. xxxiii. 45, 46 †), i.e. "Dibon of Gad," = Dibon (1) (*q.v.*).
- Dil'an (Josh. xv. 38 †) in the Shephēlah of Judah.
- Dile'an (A.V.) = (R.V.) Dil'an (*q.v.*).
- Dimnah (Josh. xxi. 35 † = Rimmon in 1 Ch. vi. 77), in Zebulun. Prob. read "Rimmonah" See Rimmon (2).
- Dimon (Is. xv. 9 †), in Moab, = Dibon (1) (*q.v.*).
- Dimonah (Josh. xv. 22 †). Site unknown.
- Dinhabah (Gen. xxxvi. 32 = 1 Ch. i. 43 †), city of King Bela' in Edom. Site uncertain.
- Dizahab (Dt. i. 1). Site unknown.
- Dodanim (Gen. x. 4 †). Read

* Read (after LXX) either "to Dan, and from Dan they went about to Great Zidon" or "to Dan and Ijon (cf. 1 Ki. xv. 20), and went about . . ."

- Rodanim* (*i.e.* Rhodians) with the || 1 Ch. i. 7.
- Dophkah (Nu. xxxiii. 12, 13 †), between Rephidim and the Sea. Site unknown.
- Dor (Josh. xi. 2; xii. 23; xvii. 11; Ju. i. 27; 1 Ki. iv. 11; 1 Ch. vii. 29 †) (cf. Naphoth-Dor (Josh. xi. 2, R.V. marg.) or Naphath-Dor (1 Ki. iv. 11) = "heights" or "height of (or "about") Dor" = *Tanfūrah* on the Mediterranean coast between Carmel and Cæsarea.
- Dothan (Gen. xxxvii. 17; 2 Ki. vi. 13 †) = *Tell Dōthān*, 10 m. N. of *Sebastiyeh* (Samaria).
- Dumah, (1) (Josh. xv. 52 †) in the hill-country of Judah, perh. = *ed-Dōmeh*, 10 m. S.W. of Hebron. (2) (Is. xxi. 11 †) a symbolic name of Edom, perhaps alluding to the "silence" of desolation in store for it.
- Dura (Dan. iii. 1 †), a plain in the "province of Babylon."
- EBEN-⁵EZER, (1) (1 S. iv. 1; v. 1 †) in N. part of plain of Sharon. (2) (1 S. vii. 12 †) somewhere near Mizpah.
- Ebez (Josh. xix. 20 †), in Issachar.
- ‘Ebron (Josh. xix. 28), error for ‘Abdon (*q.v.*).
- ‘Ebronah (A.V.) = (R.V.) ‘Abronah (*q.v.*).
- Ecbatana. See Achmetha.
- ‘Ed, Altar of (Josh. xxii. 34 †), on E. side of Jordan.
- ‘Edar (A.V.) = (R.V.) ‘Eder (*q.v.*).
- ‘Eden (Ezek. xxvii. 23; 2 Ki. xix. 12 = Is. xxxvii. 12; Am. i. 5 † (R.V. marg. Betheden), perh. *Bitadini*, on the Upper Euphrates.
- ‘Eder, Tower of (Gen. xxxv. 21 †), S. of Ephrath (*q.v.*).
- ‘Eder (Josh. xv. 21 †), in S. Judah.
- Edom, Edomites (Gen. xxv. 30, etc.). Their territory was, properly speaking, Mt. Se‘ir (*q.v.*).
- Edre‘i (1) (Nu. xxi. 33, etc.) = *Edra‘āt*, 22 m. N.W. from Bosra; (2) (Josh. xix. 37 †), city of Naphtali.
- Eglaim (Is. xv. 8 †), in Moab (probably South).
- ‘Eglath-Shelishiyah (in oracle against Moab) (Is. xv. 5; Jer. xlvi. 34 †) (*i.e.* apparently "the third ‘Eglath"). Site unknown.
- ‘Eglon (Josh. x. 3, etc.), perh. = *Tell ‘Ajlān*, 16 m. N.E. of Gaza.
- Egypt, River of (Gen. xv. 18 †). The eastern (*i.e.* the Pelusiac) arm of the Nile (as ideal S.W. frontier of Israel). Cf. Shiḥor.
- Egypt, Wādī (or "Torrent") of (Nu. xxxiv. 5; Josh. xv.

- 4, 47; 1 Ki. viii. 65 (= 2 Ch. vii. 8); 2 Ki. xxiv. 7; Is. xxvii. 12 †; see also Ezek. xlvii. 19; xlvi. 28 R.V.) [A.V. usually *river* wrongly; R.V. *brook*] = *Wādī el-'Arish*, forming the S.W. border of Judah.
- ‘Eḳron (Josh. xiii. 3, etc.) = ‘*Akir*, 6 m. W. of Gezer.
- Elah, Vale of (1 Sam. xvii. 2, 19; xxi. 9 †) = *Wādī es-Sant*, running from Hebron northwards and then by Gath and Ashdod to the sea.
- ‘Elam (Gen. xiv. 1, etc.), the great plain (with the mountains N. and E. of it) E. of the Lower Tigris and N. of the Persian Gulf.
- Elath, also written Eloth (Dt. ii. 8, etc.), prob. = ‘*Aḳabah*, at the head of Gulf of ‘*Aḳabah*.
- Elē‘āleh (Nu. xxxiv. 3, 37; Is. xv. 4; xvi. 9; Jer. xlvi. 34 †), prob. = *el-'Al*, 1 m. N. N.E. of Heshbon.
- Eleph, in Benjamin (Josh. xviii. 28 †), perh. = *Liftā*, if text correct. (Prob. זֶלַע הָאֵלֶף (“*Zela hā-Elēph*” is one name).
- Elim (Ex. xv. 27; xvi. 1; Num. xxxiii. 9, 10 †), perh. = *Wādī Gharandel*.
- Elkosh (Nah. i. 1 †), the birth-place of Naḥum.
- Ellasar (Gen. xiv. 1 †) = the ancient Larsa, now *Senkereh*, between *Warka* (Erech) and *Muḳeyyer* (Ur) in Babylonia.
- Elon, in Dan (Josh. xix. 43 †; cf. Elon-Beth-Hanan, 1. Ki. iv. 9 †, where rd. with LXX “Elon to Beth-Hanan” [Beth-Hanan perh. = *Bēt Anān*, 8½ m. from Jerusalem]), perh. = *Kh. Wādī ‘Alin*, 1 m. E. of Bethshe-mesh (cf. Buhl, 194).
- Elon-Beth-Hanan. See Elon.
- El Paran. See Paran.
- Eltekeh (Josh. xix. 44; xxi. 23 †), in the Shephēlah of Judah (= Ass. *Altaku*).
- Eltekon (Josh. xv. 59 †), in hill-country of Judah.
- Eltolad (Josh. xv. 30; xix. 4 = Tolad, 1 Ch. iv. 29 †), in the Negeb of Judah.
- ‘Enaim (Gen. xxxviii. 14, 21 R.V. † = A.V. marg. ‘Enajim) = ‘Enam (*q.v.*).
- ‘Enam (Josh. xv. 34 †), between Adullam and Timnah (1), in the Shephēlah.
- ‘Endor (Josh. xvii. 11; 1 S. xxviii. 7; Ps. lxxxiii. 10 †) = ‘*Endūr*, about 7 m. from the slopes of Gilboa.
- ‘En-‘Eglaim (Eze. xlvi. 10 †), perh. = ‘*Ain Hajleh*, about 1 hour from N. end of Dead Sea, S.E. of Jericho.
- ‘En-Gannim (1) (Josh. xv. 34 †) in the Shephēlah of Judah; (2) (Josh. xix. 21; xxi. 29 † = Anem, 1 Ch. vi. 73 †), prob. = *Jenim*, 17 m. N. of Shechem.

- 'En-Gedi (Josh. xv. 62, etc.)
 = 'Ain Jidi on W. of Dead
 Sea, on descent to sea,
 612 ft. above its level.
- 'En-Haddah (Josh. xix. 21 †),
 in Issachar, and apparently
 not far from 'En-Gannim
 (*Jenin*) (*q.v.*).
- 'En-Haḳḳöre (Ju. xv. 19 †),
 fountain in Leḥi (*q.v.*).
- 'En-Hazor (Josh. xix. 37 †),
 a fortified city of Naphtali.
- 'En-Mishpaṭ (*i.e.* "spring of
 judgement") (Gen. xiv. 7 †)
 = Kadesh (1) (*q.v.*).
- 'En-Rimmon, written some-
 times by error as "'Ain,
 Rimmon," "'Ain and Rim-
 mon," and also "Rimmon."
 In the Negeb (Josh. xv. 32 ;
 xix. 7 = 1 Ch. iv. 32 ; Neh.
 xi. 20 ; Zech. xiv. 10 †), perh.
 = *Umm er-rumānīn*, 9 m.
 N. of Beersheba'.
- 'En-Rogel (Josh. xv. 7 ; xviii.
 16 ; 2 S. xvii. 17 ; 1 Ki.
 i. 9 †), near Jerusalem.
- 'En-Shemesh (Josh. xv. 7 ;
 xviii. 17 †), very uncertain ;
 possibly = 'Ain er-Rawābī,
 on road to Jericho.
- 'En-Tappuah (Josh. xvii. 7 †).
 See Tappuah (2).
- 'Ephah (Gen. xxv. 4 = 1 Ch.
 i. 33 ; Is. lx. 6, † a Midian-
 ite clan. See Midian.
- Ephes-Dammim (1 S. xvii.
 1 † = Paṣ-Dammim, 1 Ch.
 xi. 13 †), between Socho (1)
 and 'Azēkah.
- Ephraim, Mt. (Josh. xv. 17,
 etc.). Hill - country of
 Ephraim, extending from
 Bethel and Ramah on S. to
 the Great Plain on N.
- Ephraim, Forest of (2 S.
 xviii. 6 †), perh. read with
 LXX (Lucian's text) Ma-
 ḥanaim.
- Ephraim (2 S. xiii. 23 †
 perh. = 'Ephron, 2 Ch.
 xiii. 19), perh. = *et-Tai-
 yibeh*, 4 m. N.E. of Bethel.
- 'Ephraim (2 Ch. xiii. 19, A.V.,
 R.V. m. † = R.V. 'Ephron
 (1) (*q.v.*)).
- Ephratah (Ru. iv. 11 ; Ps.
 cxxxii. 6 ; Mi. v. 2 A.V. †
 = R.V. Ephrathah (*q.v.*).
- Ephrath (1) (Gen. xxxv. 16,
 19 ; xlviii. 7 †), where Rachel
 was buried ; (2) (1 Ch. ii.
 19, 24, 50 †). On 1 Ch. ii.
 24, cf. under "Caleb-Ephra-
 thah" (rd. "Caleb *went in
 to* Ephrath the wife of
 Hezron"). Caleb and Eph-
 rath are both no doubt clan-
 names.
- Ephrathah (Ru. iv. 11 ; Mi. v.
 2, R.V. ; LXX, Josh. xv.
 59), apparently a district
 round Beth-lehem ; in Ps.
 cxxxii. 6 seemingly the
 district about Kiriath-
 je'arim. See 1 Ch. ii. 50, 51,
 iv. 4, where Kiriath-je'arim
 and Beth-lehem are both
 "sons" of Hur, the "son"
 of Ephrathah. Probably the
 name of some old clan
 which gave its name to the

- district from which Kiriath-je'arim, Beth-lehem, and Beth-gader were regarded as sprung. Cf. also Ru. i. 2, "Ephrathites of Beth-lehem-Judah," and 1 S. xvii. 12.
- 'Ephron, (1) (2 Ch. xiii. 19 †), perh. = Ephraim (2 S. xiii. 23 †) (*q.v.*). (2) (Josh. xv. 9 †, Mt. 'Ephron). See *E.B.* 2, 1322.
- Erech (Gen. x. 10 †) = *Warka* in Babylonia.
- 'Esek, Well of (Gen. xxvi. 20 †), in the Wādi of Jerar.
- Esh'an (Josh. xv. 52 †), S. of Hebron, in the hill-country of Judah.
- Eshcol, The Wādi (Nu. xiii. 23, 24; xxxii. 9; Dt. i. 24 †) near Hebron.
- Eshe'an (A.V.) = (R.V.) Esh'an (*q.v.*).
- Eshtaol, Eshtaolites (Josh. xv. 33, 1 Ch. ii. 53, etc.), in the Shephelah of Judah, perh. = *Eshū'*.
- Eshtemoa' (Josh. xv. 60; xxi. 14 = 1 Ch. vi. 57; 1 S. xxx. 28; 1 Ch. iv. 17, 19 †) = *es-Semū'*, 9 m. S.S.W. of Hebron.
- Eshtemoh (R.V.) Josh. xv. 50 = Eshtemoa' (*q.v.*).
- 'Etam (1) (2 Ch. xi. 6; LXX, Josh. xv. 59a †), perh. = *Arīās*, ½ hour S. from Beth-lehem. (2) (1 Ch. iv. 32 †) in Sime'on = 'Ether in Josh. xix. 7.
- 'Etam, Rock of (Ju. xv. 8, 11 †), in Judah. Not same as 'Etam (1), but not im- probably a lofty cliff, *Arāḳ Isma'in*, near Timnah (2) and Zor'ah. See Moore, *Judges*, p. 342 f.
- Etham (Ex. xiii. 20; Nu. xxxiii. 6, 7, 8 †), on the "edge of the wilder- ness."
- 'Ether (Josh. xv. 42 (LXX, 'Athach); xix. 7 = Tochen in || 1 Ch. iv. 32 † = 'Athach in M.T. 1 S. xxx. 30 †), in the Negeb of Judah.
- Ethiopia (Gen. ii. 13 A.V., etc.). The Hebrew is always *Cush*, and is frequently called so in E.V. (*e.g.* Gen. ii. 13 R.V.). The country S. of Egypt, beginning at Syene (Assuan) and Elephantine at the first cataract.
- 'Eth-Ḳazim (Josh. xix. 13 †), a town on E. frontier of Zebulun.
- Ezel (1 S. xx. 19 †). Read הַצֵּיבָה הַזֶּה (= "this cairn of earth"). See Driver, *Samuel*, *ad loc.*
- 'Ezem (Josh. xv. 29; xix. 3 = 1 Ch. iv. 29 †), in the Negeb of Judah.
- 'Ezion-Gaber (A.V.) = (R.V.) 'Ezion-Geber (*q.v.*).
- 'Ezion-Geber (Nu. xxxiii. 35, 36; Dt. ii. 8; 1 Ki. ix. 26; xxii. 48 = 2 Ch. viii. 17; xx. 36 †), near Elath (*q.v.*).

- GA'ASH, The Hill of (Josh. xxiv. 30; Ju. ii. 9; 2 S. xxiii. 30 = 1 Ch. xi. 32 †), in the hill-country of Ephraim.
- Gaba' (A.V.) = (R.V.) Geba' (*q.v.*).
- Gad, Wādī (2 S. xxiv. 5 †), ungrammatical and corrupt. See Driver, *Samuel*, *ad loc.*; read with LXX, "and they began from 'Aro'er, and from the city in the midst of the wādī (Dt. ii. 39); (and went on) unto the Gadites, and unto Ja'zer," etc.
- Gai (1 S. xvii. 52 †). Read "Gath" with LXX (so Wellhausen, Driver, etc.).
- Gale'ed (= "Heap of witness," in explanation of the name "Gile'ad") (Gen. xxxi. 47, 48 †), where Jacob and Laban met.
- Galilee (properly *Gālīl ha-goyim*, "the *gālīl*, or circuit, of nations," then גליל the *Gālīl*, and so in the end (N.T.) Γαλιλαία—Galilee), (Josh. xx. 7; xxi. 32 = 1 Ch. vi. 76; 1 Ki. ix. 11; 2 Ki. xv. 29; Is. ix. 1 †), in Naphtali.
- Gallim, (1) (LXX, Josh. xv. 59a †) seemingly W. of Jerusalem. (2) (1 S. xxv. 44; Is. x. 30 †) about 3 m. N. of Jerusalem.
- Gareb, The hill (Jer. xxxi. 39 †), apparently S.W. of the "corner-gate" (on the N.W. corner of Jerusalem).
- Gath (Josh. xi. 22, etc.), prob. = *Tell es-Sāfi* 18 m. from Ashkelon and 12 m. from Ashdod.
- Gath-Hepher (Josh. xix. 13; 2 Ki. xiv. 25 †), according to data in Jerome = *el-Meshhed*, 3 m. N.E. of Nazareth.
- Gath-Rimmon, (1) Josh. xix. 45; xxi. 24 = 1 Ch. vi. 69 †) in Dan. (2) (Josh. xxi. 25 †) repeated by error from v. 24. Read (after LXX, αβαθα) Ible'am; in the || 1 Ch. vi. 70, Bile'am.
- Gaza (so R.V. in Dt. ii. 23; 1 Ki. iv. 24; Jer. xxv. 20 = A.V. 'Azzah; elsewhere in A.V. and R.V. written Gaza, a Philistine city in extreme S.W. of Palestine. In 1 Ch. vii. 28, A.V. Gaza = R.V. 'Azzah, but here read "Ayyah" with R.V. marg. and many MSS.; apparently N. of Shechem.
- Gazer. See Gezer.
- Geba' (Josh. xviii. 24; xxi. 17; Ju. xx. 10, 33, Heb. [see R.V. marg.: read Gibe'ah (*q.v.*) with E.VV.]; 1 S. xiii. 3 [but read here Gibe'ah; see x. 5 R.V. marg.]; 1 S. xiv. 2 (read *Geba'* for *Gibe'ah*; see v. 5 and xiii. 16); 2 S. v. 25 (but *Geba'* is much too far to the N.E. for the context: in || 1 Ch. xiv. 16, we have "Gibe'on," which is also unsuitable; see Driver,

- Samuel* (ed. 2), p. 265); "Geba'" in Is. x. 29, etc. = "Geba' of Benjamin," in 1 S. xiii. 16 (read also so in 7. 2, and xiv. 16, for *Gibe'ah of Benjamin*) 1 Ki. xv. 22 †) = *Jeba'*, 6 m. N.E. of Jerusalem.
- Gebal, (1) (Ezek. xxvii. 9 †; cf. "Gebalites" (Josh. xiii. 5; 1 Ki. v. 18), prob. corrupt in Josh. xiii. 5; in Ezek. xxvii. 4, rd. prob. גְּבַלִּים ("Gebalites") for גְּבַלִּים ("thy borders")) = *Jebal*, on the coast between Beirūt and Tripolis. (2) (Ps. lxxxiii. 7 †) = *Jibāl*, the N. part of Mt. Se'ir.
- Gebim (Is. x. 31 †), a little N. of Jerusalem.
- Geder (Josh. xii. 13 †), a royal Canaanite city.
- Gedērah, (1) (Josh. xv. 36 †) perh. = *Kh. Jedireh*, near Beth shemesh and Aijalon. (2) (1 Ch. iv. 23 R.V. †) in the Shephēlah.
- Gedēroth (Josh. xv. 41; 2 Ch. xxviii. 18 †), in the Shephēlah. Site unknown.
- Gedērothaim (Josh. xv. 36 †), in the Shephēlah of Judah. Probably a faulty repetition of Gedērah. The subscription (ver. 36) says "fourteen cities," but with Gedērothaim there are fifteen.
- Gedor, (1) (Josh. xv. 58; 1 Ch. xii. 7 †, cf. also 1 Ch. iv. 4, 18; viii. 31), in the hill-country of Judah = *Jedūr*, 6½ m. N. of Hebron. Perh. = Beth-Gader (1 Ch. ii. 51 †). (2) (1 Ch. iv. 39 †) Read "*Gerar*" with LXX.
- Ge-Harashim (= "the Valley of craftsmen," so Neh. xi. 35, and 1 Ch. iv. 14, R.V. marg.) (written "Ge-harashim" in 1 Ch. iv. 14, R.V. †, and "Ge-Haḥarashim," Neh. xi. 35, R.V. marg.).
- Geliloth (Josh. xviii. 17 † = "Gilgal" in Josh. xv. 7 = "Beth-Gilgal" in Neh. xii. 29), on the border between Judah and Benjamin, some 12 m. N.E. of Jerusalem.
- Gerar, (1) (Gen. x. 19; 2 Ch. xiv. 13 †) perh. = *Umm el-Jerār*, 5 m. S. of Gaza; but see Driver, *Genesis*, p. 206. (2) (Gen. xx. 1, 2; xxvi. 21, etc.), prob. = *Wādī Jerūr*, S.W. of 'Ain *Qadis*.
- Gerizim, Mount (Dt. xi. 29; xxvii. 12; Josh. viii. 33; Ju. ix. 7 †) = *Jebel et-Tōr*.
- Geruth-Chimham (*i.e.* Geruth of Chimham) (Jer. xli. 17, M.T. †) (R.V. marg. "the lodging-place of Chimham"). Read "*Gidroth Chimham*" (= *folds* (or *sheep-pens*) of *Chimham*). Pronounce *Kimham*.
- Geshur, (1) (Dt. iii. 14; Josh. xii. 5; xiii. 11, 13; 2 S. xv. 8; 1 Ch. ii. 23) territory in N.E. Palestine. (2)

- (Josh. xiii. 2; 1 S. xxvii. 8) district S. of Palestine.
- Gezer (Josh. x. 33, etc.) = *Tell ej-Jezer*, 19 miles W.N.W. of Jerusalem. Cf. Gizrites (1 S. xxvii. 8, LXX [A]), the Canaanite inhabitants of Gezer.
- Giah (2 S. ii. 24 †), text dub.; site (if name correct) unknown.
- Gibbethon (Josh. xix. 44; xxi. 23; 1 Ki. xv. 27; xvi. 15, 17 †), a Philistine stronghold.
- Gibe'ah* (1) (Josh. xv. 57; 1 Ch. ii. 49 †), in the hill-country of Judah, S.E. of Hebron. (2) Of Benjamin (Josh. xviii. 28 ("Gibe'ath"); Ju. xix. 12-16; xx. 4-43 (except v. 31, where read "Gibe'on," and v. 43, where read "Geba'," and add v. 33 (where read "on the west of Gibe'ah" for "from Ma'areh-Geba'"); 1 S. x. 26 (render also "Gibe'ah" in x. 10, for "the hill," so R.V. marg.); xiii. 3 (read "Gibe'ah" for "Geba'," see x. 5); xiv. 2 (but read here "Geba'"; see v. 5 and xiii. 16); xxii. 6; xxiii. 19; xxvi. 1, etc.) = *Gibe'ah of Benjamin*, Ju. xix. 14; 1 S. xiii. 15 (in v. 2, and xiv. 16, read "Geba' of Benjamin"); 2 S. xxiii. 29 = *Gibe'ah of Saul*, 1 S. xi. 4; xv. 34; Is. x. 29 = *Tell el-Fül*, 3 m. N. of Jerusalem, or, as there are no ancient ruins here, more exactly *Hawānit*, 500 yds. to the N.W. (see *Z.D.P.V.*, 1909, pp. 2-13).*
- (3) "Gibe'ah of Phinehas" (Josh. xxiv. 33 †) (E.V.V. "the hill of Phinehas").
- (4) "Gibe'ah of God" (1 S. x. 5 †, in v. 10, referred to as "the hill"; probably the older name of Gibe'ah of Saul (cf. Driver, *Samuel*, ed. 2, *ad loc.*).
- Gibe'ath (Josh. xviii. 28 †). See Gibe'ah (2).
- Gibe'on (Josh. ix. 3, etc.) = *el-Jib*, N. of Jerusalem.
- Gidom (Ju. xx. 45 †), text dub.
- Gihon, (1) (Gen. ii. 13 †) river of Paradise. (2) (1 Ki. i. 33, 38, 45; 2 Ch. xxxii. 30; xxxiii. 14 †) = the Virgin's Spring, on the E. side of the "City of David" (*q.v.*).
- * In the maps prepared by Bartholomew for G. A. Smith (though G. A. Smith himself places Gibe'ah at *Tell el-Fül: Jerusalem*, ii. p. 92, n.) Gibe'ah is not marked at its proper place, but unfortunately confused with Geba', while the "Gibe'ah" marked 10 m. N.W. of Jerusalem is intended as the site of the Gibe'ah of Josh. xviii. 28 (which there is really no reason for supposing to be other than the Gibe'ah = *Tell el-Fül*).
- * (גִּבְעָה = "the hill"). Gibe'ah and Geba' are several times confused in the Hebrew text.

- See the plan in G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, ii. 39.
- Gilbo'a, Mt. (1 S. xxviii. 4; xxxi. 1, 8 = 1 Ch. x. 1, 8; 2 S. i. 6, 21; xxi. 12 †) = *Jebel Fakū'*, E. of the plain of Esdraelon.
- Gile'ad, (1) (Gen. xxxi. 21, etc.) mountainous district E. of Jordan. (2) a city Hos. vi. 8; xii. 11, perh. = *Jal'ad*, S. cf the Jabboq. (3) (Ju. vii. 3), a spur on N. of Gilbo'a (rd. perh. *Gilbo'a*).
- Gilgal, always with the definite article, except Josh. v. 9, and M.T. of xii. 23. It = *the* (sacred stone-) *circle*, the name of several places in Palestine, so that it is not always certain which is meant. (1) (Josh. iv. 20, etc.) = *Jiljūliyah*, E. of Jericho. (2) (1 S. vii. 16 probably; 2 Ki. ii. 1; iv. 38) probably = *Jiljūliyah*, about 7 m. N. of Bethel. (3) (Dt. xi. 30) perh. = *Juleijil*, 1 m. E. of ft. of Mt. Gerizim. Whether Gilgal, the seat of the famous N. Israelitish sanctuary (Am. iv. 5; v. 5; Hos. iv. 15; ix. 15; xii. 12), was (1), (2), or (3) is uncertain. (4) (Josh. xii. 23 †, in the expression "nations of Gilgal") perh. either (a) the Γαλαγούλις of Euseb., 6 Rom. miles N. of Antipatris, which = either *Jiljūlich*, 4 m., or *Kikiliyah*, 6 m. N.N.E. of *Kal'at Rās el'Ain*, a prob. site of Antipatris; or (b) read with LXX, *Galilee*, and comp. then "Galilee of the nations," Is. ix. 1. (5) (Josh. xv. 7 †) = Geliloth in || Josh. xviii. 17 † = Bethgilgal in Neh. xii. 29, on N. border of Judah.
- Giloh (Josh. xv. 51; 2 S. xv. 12 †; cf. also 2 S. xxiii. 34) perh. = *Jāla*, 3 m. N.W. of Halhul.
- Gimzo (2 Ch. xxviii. 18 †) = *Jimzū*, 3 m. S.E. Lydda.
- Girgashites, The (Gen. x. 16; xv. 21; Dt. vii. 1; Josh. iii. 10; xxiv. 11; 1 Ch. i. 14; Neh. ix. 8 †), a pre-Israelite people of Canaan.
- Girzites, The. See under Gezer.
- Gittah-Hepher (Josh. xix. 13 †). See Gath-Hepher.
- Gittaim (1) (2 S. iv. 3 †). (2) (Neh. xi. 33 †) in Benjamin—perh. (1).
- Gittites, The (Josh. xiii. 3, etc.), *i.e.* people of Gath (*q.v.*); in 2 S. xv. 18 (cf. v. 22), a body of warriors from Gath, in David's service.
- Go'ah (Jer. xxxi. 39 †)—a landmark at S.W. corner of restored Jerusalem.
- Go'ath (A.V.) = (R.V.) Go'ah (*q.v.*).
- Gob (2 S. xxi. 18, 19 † = "Gezer" in || 1 Ch. xx. 4).
- Golan (Dt. iv. 43; Josh. xx.

- 8; xxi. 27 = 1 Ch. vi. 71 †)
perh. = *Sahem el-Jaulān*, 17
m. E. of S. of Galilee.
- Gomer (Gen. x. 2, 3 = 1 Ch.
i. 5, 6; Ezek. xxxviii. 6 †)
("son" of Japheth) = Ass.
Gimirrai (in Cappadocia).
- Gomorraĥ (Gen. x. 19, etc.),
probably at S. end of Dead
Sea (cf. Zo'ar).
- Gomorraĥa (A.V.) = (R.V.)
Gomorraĥ (*q.v.*).
- Goshen, (1) (Gen. xlv. 10,
etc.) district in E. of
Delta, about Pithom. (2)
(Josh. x. 41; xi. 16 †) a
district in S. Canaan. (3)
(Josh. xv. 51 †) town in
S.W. of hill-country of
Judah, which perh. gave
its name to the "land of
Goshen" (2).
- Gozan (2 Ki. xvii. 6; xviii.
11; xix. 12 = Is. xxxvii. 12;
1 Ch. v. 26 †), district in
Mesopotamia.
- Gudgodah (Dt. x. 7 † = Hor-
Hagidgad, Nu. xxxiii. 32
f. †), station in the wilder-
ness. This and most of
the other sites in Nu. xxxiii.
cannot be determined cer-
tainly; for they depend, with
very few exceptions (as
Pithom and Qadesh), not
upon any external evidence,
but solely on the route taken
by the Israelites, which itself
is not certain (see Driver,
Exodus, p. 155).
- Gur, the ascent of (*or to*) (2
Ki. ix. 27 †), near Ible'am
(*q.v.*).
- Gur-Ba'al (2 Ch. xxvi. 7 †), a
place inhabited by Arabians;
if *Tur-* (or *Zur-*) Ba'al be
read (LXX. *πέτρα*) it might
= *Jebel Neby Hārūn*, on E.,
edge of *Wādī el-'Arabah*, a
little to S.W. of Petra.
- ĤABOR, R. (2 Ki. xvii. 6 =
xviii. 11; 1 Ch. v. 26 †) =
Khabour, tributary of Eu-
phrates.
- Ĥachilah, Hill of (1 S. xxiii.
19; xxvi. 1, 3 †), overlook-
ing Jeshimon. Possibly the
long ridge Dahr el-Kōlā, 5½
m. E. of Zif.
- Hadad-Rimmon (Zech. xii.
11 †), in the Plain of Me-
giddo; regarded, however,
by some as the name not of
a place, but of a deity (cf.
Driver, *Cent. Bible*, *ad loc.*).
- Ĥadashah (Josh. xv. 37 †), in
the Shephēlah of Judah.
- Ĥadattah. See Ĥazor-Ĥa-
dattah.
- Ĥadid (Ezra ii 33 = Neh.
vii. 37; xi. 34 †), perh. =
el-Ĥadithe, about 3¼ m. N.E.
of Lydda.
- Ĥadrach, the Land of (Zech.
ix. 1 †). Ass. *Khatarikka*,
in the neighbourhood of
Hamath.
- Hai (A.V.) = (R.V.) Ai
(*q.v.*).
- Ĥalah (2 Ki. xvii. 6; xviii.
11; 1 Ch. v. 26 †), city or

- district mentioned with Habor and the R. of Gozan.
- Halak, Mt. (Josh. xi. 17; xii. 17 †), in neighbourhood of Mt. Seir.
- Halhul (Josh. xv. 58 †) = Halhul, 4 m. N. of Hebron.
- Hali (Josh. xix. 25 †), city of Asher, perh. rd. Helbah (*q.v.*).
- Hamath (Nu. xiii. 21, etc.), a Hittite city on the Orontes = *Hama*. "The entering in of Hamath" is often (*e.g.* Nu. xxxiv. 8) mentioned as the ideal N. border* of Israel, perh. = the S. mouth of the broad vale between Lebanon and Hermon, a little N. of *Tell el-Kadi*.
- Hamath-Zobah (2 Ch. viii. 3 †), apparently an Aramæan city in Zobah (*q.v.*).
- Hammath (Josh. xix. 35 †), in Naphtali, perh. = Hammoth-Dor (Josh. xxi. 32 †
- * See on this boundary, the details of which are very uncertain and of the course of which different views have been taken, Gray, *Numbers*, 458-62, with the map at the beginning. The crucial point is whether this boundary-line ran S. of Lebanon (see Van Kasteren in *Revue Biblique*, 1895, 23 ff.), or whether it included Lebanon or part of it (see Furrer in *Zeit. des Deutsch. Pal. Ver.* viii. 27-9). The actual boundary, of course, did not include Lebanon, for Dan lay to the S. of Lebanon. Van Kasteren's view is adopted in this index; cf. Buhl, *Geographic*, 66 ff.
- = Hammon in || 1 Ch. vi. 76 †), poss. = *el-Hammeh*, S. of Tiberias.
- Hammeah, Tower of (Neh. iii. 1; xii. 39 †), a tower on the walls of Jerusalem, near that of Hanane'el.
- Hammon, (1) (Josh. xix. 28 †) in Asher, perh. = *Umm el-'Awāmid*, near the coast immediately N. of the Ladder of Tyre, where Phœnician inscriptions have shown that "Ba'al-Hammon" was worshipped. (2) (1 Ch. vi. 76 †). See Hammath.
- Hammoth-Dor (Josh. xxi. 32 †). See Hammath.
- Hamonah (Ezek. xxxix. 16 † = Hamon - Gog, Ezek. xxxix. 11, 15 †), *i.e.* "multitude," "multitude of Gog." The ideal name of the spot on which the hosts of Gog are to be defeated.
- Hamon-Gog. See Hamonah.
- Hananēl, Tower of (Neh. iii. 1; xii. 39; Jer. xxxi. 38; Zech. xiv. 10 †), a tower on the walls of Jerusalem, prob. at or near the N.E. corner.
- Hanane'el (A.V.) = (R.V.), Hananēl (*q.v.*).
- Haneš (Is. xxx. 4 †). Eg. *Hnes*, Gk. *'Arvois*; now *Ahnās el-Medineh*, 70 m. S. of Cairo.
- Hannathon (Josh. xix. 14 †), on N. border of Zebulun.

- Ḥapharaim (Josh. xix. 19 †), in Issachar, possibly = *el-Farriyeh*, N.W. of Lejjūn.
- Ḥaphraim (A.V.) = (R.V.), Ḥapharaim (*q.v.*).
- Hara (1 Ch. v. 26 †), text dub.
- Ḥaradah (Nu. xxxiii. 24, 25 †), stage in the wanderings in the wilderness.
- Ḥaran (Gen. xi. 31, etc.) = *Harrān*, in N.W. Mesopotamia on the Belias, a tributary of the Euphrates, S.E. of Edessa.
- Ḥareth (A.V.) = (R.V.) Ḥereth (*q.v.*).
- Ḥarod, Well of (Ju. vii. 1 †), prob. = *'Ain Jalūd*, near Gilbo'a.
- Ḥarosheth (Ju. iv. 2, 13, 16 †) = *el-Ḥārithīyeh*, N.W. of Megiddo.
- Ḥashmonah (Nu. xxxiii. 29, 30 †), stage in the wandering in the wilderness.
- Ḥauran (Ezek. xlvi. 16, 18 †), district 30-60 m. E. of the Sea of Galilee.
- Ḥavilah (Gen. ii. 11; x. 7, 29 (= 1 Ch. i. 9, 23); xxv. 18; 1 S. xv. 7 †). (1) Gen. ii. 11; x. 29 (= 1 Ch. i. 23), xxv. 18, seemingly in N.E. Arabia. (2) Gen. x. 7 (= 1 Ch. i. 9), perh. the *'Αβαλίται* on the E. coast of Africa. (3) 1 Sam. xv. 7, if text correct, an unknown place near the country of 'Amalek, in the desert N. of the Sinaitic peninsula.
- Ḥavvoth-Jair (*i.e.* "Tent-villages of Jair") (Nu. xxxii. 41; Dt. iii. 14; Josh. xiii. 30; Ju. x. 4; 1 Ki. iv. 13; 1 Ch. ii. 23 †), name of certain villages on E. of Gile'ad. According to Nu. xxxii. 41, so called from Jair, the son of Manasseh; according to Ju. x. 4, from the judge Jair.
- Ḥazar-Addar (Nu. xxxiv. 4 †) = "Hezron and Addar" in || Josh. xv. 3), on S. border * of Judah.
- Ḥazar-'Enan (Nu. xxxiv. 9, 10; Ezek. xlvi. 1 = Ḥazar-'Enon, Ezek. xlvi. 17 †), N.E. limit of the ideal "Promised Land." Perh. = *el Ḥadr*, E. of Bāniās.
- Ḥazar-Gaddah (Josh. xv. 27 †), in the Negeb towards the Edomite border of Judah.
- Ḥazarmaveth (Gen. x. 26 = 1 Ch. i. 20 †) = *Ḥadramaut*, district in S.E. Arabia.
- Ḥazar-Shu'al (Josh. xv. 28 = xix. 3 = Neh. xi. 27 = 1 Ch. iv. 28 †), city on extreme S. border of Judah.
- Ḥazar-Šuşah (Josh. xix. 5 = Ḥazar-Šuşim, 1 Ch. iv. 31 † = *Şaşannah*, Josh. xv. 31), city in S. Judah.
- Ḥazazon-Tamar (Gen. xiv. 7;

* See on this border, Gray, *Numbers*, p. 454, with the map at the beginning of the volume.

- 2 Ch. xx. 2 (according to which it = 'En-Gedi) †).
- Ḥazer - Hatticon (*i.e.* "the middle village") (Ezek. xlvi. 16 †), on extreme E. of the ideal N. frontier of Canaan. Many emend to *Ḥazar-'Enon*, as *v.* 17 = Nu. xxxiv. 9, 10 (so Kittel).
- Ḥazērim (Dt. ii. 23, A.V. † = R.V. "villages").
- Ḥazēroth (Nu. xi. 35; xii. 16; xxxiii. 17; Dt. i. 1 †), stage in the wanderings.
- Ḥazazon - Tamar (A.V.) = (R.V.) Ḥazazon - Tamar (*q.v.*).
- Ḥazor, (1) (Josh. xi. 1, etc.) near Kedesh of Naphtali, prob. either = *Tell Khureibch*, 2½ m. S. from Kedesh (so Robinson and Guthe), or *Harra* (Dillmann), 2 m. further to the E.; Buhl does not decide between them. (2) (Neh. xi. 33), perh. = Ba'al-Ḥazor in 2 S. xiii. 23, which prob. = *Tell 'Azūr*, N.E. of Bethel. (3) (Josh. xv. 23), prob. = *Hudēre*, E. from Hebron. (4) (Josh. xv. 25), apparently the name of the group of cities called Kerioth-Hezron, *i.e.* "the cities of Hezron," prob. = *Ḳaryātēn*, S. of Ma'in.
- Ḥazor-Ḥadattah (*i.e.* "New (Aram.) Ḥazor"), (Josh. xv. 25 †).
- Ḥebel (Josh. xix. 29, R.V. marg. †). Read after LXX, "and Maḥaleb and Achzib, etc." Cf. under Aḥlab (read Maḥleb), Ju. i. 31.
- Ḥebbron, (1) (Gen. xiii. 18, etc.) = *el-Ḥalil* ("the Friend (of God)," *i.e.* Abraham: (cf. 2 Ch. xx. 7; Jas. ii. 23), 18 m. S. of Jerusalem. (2) (Josh. xix. 28 †, A.V. = R.V. 'Ebron (*q.v.*)).
- Ḥelam (2 S. x. 16, 17 †), perh. = Aleppo.
- Ḥelbah (Ju. i. 31 †; perh. rd. Ḥelbah for Ḥali in Josh. xix. 25, but Ḥelbah is just as little known as Ḥali), town in Asher.
- Ḥelbon (Ezek. xxvii. 18 †) = *Halbūn*, 13 m. N.N.W. of Damascus.
- Ḥeleph (Josh. xix. 33 †), at N. end of E. border of Naphtali.
- Ḥelkath (Josh. xix. 25; xxi. 31 † = Ḥuḳoḳ in || 1 Ch. vi. 75), in Asher.
- Ḥelkath-Ḥazzurim (*i.e.* "field of flints" (or "sword-edges"), if text is correct) (2 S. ii. 16 †), a field near the reservoir of Gibe'on.
- Ḥemath (Amos vi. 14, A.V. = R.V. Ḥamath (*q.v.*)).
- Hena' (2 Ki. xviii. 34; xix. 13; Is. xxxvii. 13 †). Prob. in Syria.
- Ḥepher, (1) (Josh. xii. 17 †), seemingly in the Sharon. (2) (1 Ki. iv. 10 †), seem-

- ingly near Socoh (2), S.W. of Hebron.
- Heres, City of (Is. xix. 18, R.V. marg. †). Render as R.V. "city of destruction" (Heb. *hēres*), *i.e.* city where sun-pillars and other idolatrous emblems will be destroyed, with allusion to *heres*, "city of sun," *i.e.* On, Heliopolis, in Egypt. Others, however, prefer to read with LXX, "city of righteousness." In either case a symbolic name of a city in Egypt to be devoted to the worship of Yahweh.
- Heres, Ascent of (Ju. viii. 13†), somewhere E. of Nobah and Jogbehah (*g.v.*).
- Heres, Mt. (*i.e.* "Mountain of the Sun") (Ju. i. 35 †), prob. the site of "Ir-Shemesh," "the city of the sun," in Josh. xix. 41 (*i.e.* Beth-Shemesh), even if ירי should not here be read for יה. See 'Ir-Shemesh and Beth-Shemesh.
- Hereth (1 S. xxii. 5 †).
- Hermon, Mt. (Dt. iii. 8, etc.). Modern names are *Jebel esh-Shikh* and *Jebel eth-Thelj*; the highest mt. in the Anti-Lebanon range.
- Heshbon (Nu. xxi. 25, etc.) = *Hesbān*, in Reuben, 18 m. N.E. of the Dead Sea.
- Heshmon (Josh. xv. 27 †), on Edomite border of Judah.
- Heth (Gen. x. 15 (= 1 Ch. i. 13); xxiii. 3, etc.; xxv. 10; xxvii. 46; xlix. 32 †), either the eponymous ancestor, or the collective name of the Hittites.
- Hethlon (Ezek. xlvi. 15; xlviii. 1 †), "by the way to Hethlon," one of the landmarks of ideal northern boundary, perh. = 'Adlūn, 10 m. N. of Tyre.
- Hezron (and Addar) (Josh. xv. 3 † = Hāzar (-Addar) in || Nu. xxxiv. 4), on S. border of Judah.
- Hiddekel, R. (Gen. ii. 14; Dan. x. 4 †) = R. Tigris.
- Hilen (1 Ch. vi. 58 † = Holon (*g.v.*) in || Josh. xxi. 15).
- Hinnom, Valley of (Josh. xv. 8, etc.), perh. = *Wādī er-Rabābi*, the W. and S. valley of Jerusalem.
- Hittites, The. See Appendix B.
- Hivites, The (Gen. x. 17; xxxiv. 2; Josh. ix. 1, 7; 2 S. xxiv. 7, etc.), a tribe in central Palestine.
- Hobah (Gen. xiv. 15 †) = *Hoba*, about 50 miles N. of Damascus.
- Holon, (1) (Josh. xv. 51; xxi. 15 † = Hilen in || 1 Ch. vi. 58), town in hill-country of Judah. (2) (Jer. xlvi. 21 †) town in Moab.
- Hor, Mt., (1) (Nu. xx. 22, etc.), perh. = *Jebel Madara*, N.W. of Kadis. (2) (Nu. xxxiv. 7, 8) on the ideal N.

- border of Israel, perh. (Van Kasteren) the mt. in the sharp turn of *W. Kāsimiyeh*, 8 m. W.N.W. of *Tell el-Kadi*.
- Horeb (Ex. iii. 1, etc.), another name for Sinai.
- Horem, in Naphtali (Josh. xix. 38 †).
- Hor-Haggidgad (Nu. xxxiii. 32, 33 †), station in the wilderness, = Gudgodah (*q.v.*).
- Hormah (Nu. xiv. 45; xxi. 3; Dt. i. 44; Josh. xii. 14; xv. 30; xix. 4; Ju. i. 17; 1 S. xxx. 30; 1 Ch. iv. 30 †). In Nu. xxi. 3 it is said to have received its name (for the meaning see R.V. marg.) from a victory in the Mosaic Age, and in Ju. i. 17 (where its old name is said to have been *Zēphath*) from its capture by Judah and Simeon, in the time of Joshua.
- Horonaim (Is. xv. 5; Jer. xlviii. 3, 5, 34 †), in Moab.
- Hoṣah (Josh. xix. 29 †), on the border of Asher; if *Yasif* be read with LXX, perh. = *Kafr Yāsif*, N.E. of Acre.
- Hukkoḳ (Josh. xix. 34 †), in Naphtali.
- Hukkoḳ (1 Ch. vi. 75 † = Helkath in || Josh. xxi. 31), in Asher.
- Humtah (Josh. xv. 54 †), in hill-country of Judah.
- IBLE'AM (Josh. xvii. 11; Ju. i. 27; 2 Ki. ix. 27 † = Bile'am in 1 Ch. vi. 70 †; in 2 Ki. xv. 20, read with Lucian's text of LXX, "in *Ibléam*" for "before the people," the Hebrew of which is very strange), name has prob. survived in the *Wādī Bel'ameh*, about ½ hour S. of *Jenin*.
- Id'alāh (Josh. xix. 15 †), in Zebulun, perh. = *Kh. el-Huwāra*, S. of *Bēt Lahm*.
- Idumaea (Is. xxxiv. 5, 6; Ezek. xxxv. 15; xxxvi. 5, A.V. †, elsewhere A.V. Edom) = Edom.
- 'Im, (1) (Nu. xxxiii. 45 † A.V. = R.V. 'Iyim (*q.v.*)). (2) (Josh. xv. 29 †).
- 'Ije-'Abarim (A.V.) = (R.V.), Iye-'Abarim (*q.v.*).
- 'Ijon (1 Ki. xv. 20 = || 2 Ch. xvi. 4; 2 Ki. xv. 29 †), perh. = *Tell Dibbin*, near N. end of *Merj 'Ayūn*.
- Immer (Ezra ii. 59; Neh. vii. 61 †), a place in Babylonia.
- Iphtaḥ (Josh. xv. 43 †), in the Shephēlah of Judah.
- Iphtaḥ-El (Josh. xix. 14, 27 †), prob. = *Jefāt*, N. of Sephoris.
- 'Ir-Naḥash (1 Ch. iv. 12 †) = "city of Naḥash," perh. *Dēr Nakhkhas*, 2 m. N.E. of Eleutheropolis.
- Iron (Josh. xix. 38 †) = *Yārūn*, 6½ m. W. from *Ḥaḏor*.

- Irpeel (Josh. xviii. 27 †) (= "God heals"), in Benjamin.
- 'Ir-Shemesh (Josh. xix. 41 †) = Beth-Shemesh (*q.v.*).
- Ish-'Tob (A.V. 2 S. x. 6, 8 † = R.V. "men of 'Tob"). See 'Tob.
- Ithlah (Josh. xix. 42 †), in Danite territory.
- Ithnan (Josh. xv. 23 †), in the Negeb of Judah.
- 'Ittah-Ḳazim (A.V. Josh. xix. 13 † = R.V. 'Eth-Ḳazim (*q.v.*)).
- 'Ivah, A.V. = R.V. 'Ivvah (*q.v.*).
- 'Ivvah (2 Ki. xviii. 34; xix. 13 = Is. xxxvii. 13 †). Prob. in Syria.
- 'Iye-'Abarim (Nu. xxi. 11; xxxiii. 44 † = 'Iyim (Nu. xxxiii. 45) (= "ruins of the 'Abarim")), a stage in the wanderings, on the frontier of Moab.
- 'Iyim, (1) (Josh. xv. 29 †) on Edomite border of Judah. (2) (Nu. xxxiii. 45 †) = 'Iye-'Abarim (*q.v.*).
- JA'AZER (A.V. Nu. xxi. 32; xxxiii. 35). See Ja'zer.
- Jabboḳ, R. (Gen. xxxii. 22, etc.) = *Nahr ez-Zerḳa*, in Gile'ad.
- Jabesh, or more fully Jabesh-Gile'ad (Ju. xxi. 8, etc.), prob. = *Meriamin*, about 7 m. from Pella. The name is preserved in that of the *Wādī Yābis*.
- Ja'bez (1 Ch. ii. 55 †).
- Jabneel, (1) (Josh. xv. 11 †, written Jabneh in 2 Ch. xxvi. 6 †) = *Yebna*, 12 m. S. of Joppa. (2) (Josh. xix. 33 †) city of Naphtali.
- Jabneh (2 Ch. xxvi. 6 †) = Jabneel (*q.v.*).
- Jagur (Josh. xv. 21 †), on Edomite border of Judah.
- Jahaz, Jahazah, Jahzah (Nu. xxi. 23; Josh. xiii. 18; xxi. 36; Ju. xi. 20; Is. xv. 4; Jer. xlvi. 21, 34 †), in Reuben.
- Janim (Josh. xv. 53 †), in hill-country of Judah.
- Janoah, (1) (Josh. xvi. 6, 7 †) = *Kh. Yānūn*, about 12 m. S.E. of Neapolis. (2) (2 Ki. xv. 29 †), perh. = *Yānūh*, 6 m. E. of Tyre.
- Janoḥah, A.V. = Janoah (1) (*q.v.*).
- Janum (A.V.) = (R.V.) Janim (*q.v.*).
- Japhia (Josh. xix. 12 †) = *Yāfā*, 1½ m. S.W. of Nazareth.
- Japhleṭi (Josh. xvi. 3 A.V.) = (R.V.) Japhleṭites, a clan, not a place.
- Japho (Josh. xix. 46, A.V. and R.V. marg., and 2 Ch. ii. 16 EV. m.). See Joppa.
- Jarmuth, (1) (Josh. x. 3, 5, 23; xii. 11; xv. 35; Neh. xi. 29 †) = *Kh. el-Yarmūk*, about 8 m. N. of *Bēt-Jibrin*. (2) (Josh. xxi. 29 †, LXX, Remmath; called also Remeth in Josh. xix. 21, and

- Ramoth in || 1 Ch. vi. 73).
See Ramoth.
- Jashubi-Lehem (1 Ch. iv. 22 †), text corrupt.
- Jattir (Josh. xv. 48; xxi. 14 = 1 Ch. vi. 57; 1 S. xxx. 27 †), town in hill-country of Judah.
- Javan (Gen. x. 2, 4 = 1 Ch. i. 5, 7; Is. lxvi. 19; Ezek. xxxvii. 13; Zech. ix. 13; Dan. viii. 21; x. 20; xi. 2 †), the Ionians ('*Iá Fovés*), the Greeks. In Ezek. xxvii. 19, text. dub.
- Ja'zer, or Ja'azer (Nu. xxi. 32; xxxii. 1, 3, 35; Josh. xiii. 25; xxi. 39; 2 S. xxiv. 5; 1 Ch. vi. 81; xxvi. 31; Is. xvi. 8, 9; Jer. xlvi. 32 †), on E. of Jordan, = perh. *Sār*, 7 m. W. of *Ammān*.
- Je'arim, Mt. (Josh. xv. 10 †), ridge on N. border of Judah on which Chesalon (*q.v.*) is situated.
- Jebuṣ (Ju. xix. 10, 11; 1 Ch. xi. 4, 5 †). "Jebuṣi" in Josh. xviii. 16, 28 (A.V.), = the Jebuṣites (R.V.). It used to be thought that Jebuṣ was the old name of Jerusalem, but in the Tell el-Amarna Tablets the city is regularly called *Urusalim*. The name "Jebuṣ" was doubtless applied to the city later, owing to the fact that the inhabitants were known as Jebusites.
- Jebuṣites, The (Gen. x. 16; xv. 21 and often). See under Jebus.
- Jegar-Sahadutha (Gen. xxxi. 47 †). Aramaic for "Heap of Witness." See Gale'ed.
- Jehoshaphat, V. of (Joel iii. 2, 12 †), a symbolic name of the valley in which Yahweh will "judge" the nations ("Jehoshaphat" = "Yahweh judgeth"). Since the 4th century A.D. the name of the valley between the Temple and Olivet.
- Jehud (Josh. xix. 45 †) = *Yahūdiyeh*, about 8 m. E. from Jaffa.
- Jeḳabzeel (Neh. xi. 25 †) = *Ḳabzeel* (*q.v.*).
- Jerahmeel [pronounce *Yer-akḥimē'ēl*], Jerahmeelites, a Judahite clan (1 Ch. ii. 9, 25-7, 33, 42) settled in the Negeb (1 S. xxvii. 10; xxx. 29 †).
- Jericho (Nu. xxii. 1, etc.) = *Tell es-Sultān*; the ancient name is preserved in the neighbouring village *Eriḥa*.
- Jeruel, Wilderness of (2 Ch. xx. 16 †), in Judah.
- Jerusalem (Josh. x. 1, etc.) = *el-Kuds esh-Sherif* ("The noble holy place").
- Jeshanah (2 Ch. xiii. 19 †, and read so for "Shen" in 1 S. vii. 12 after LXX, τῆς παλαιᾶς). Some scholars identify with *'Ain Sinia*, 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ m. N. of Bethel; but *'Ain Sinia* is 10 m. from

- Mizpah, and is therefore hardly likely to be named with it in locating Eben-'Ezer. (See Driver, *Samuel* (2nd ed.), pp. 65, XIX).
- Jeshimon (Nu. xxi. 20; xxiii. 28; 1 S. xxiii. 19, 24; xxvi. 1, 3 †). In Heb. with the article (= "The Desolation"). R.V. always "the desert." In Nu. Jeshimon = barren tract N. of Dead Sea; in Samuel the wild and barren region W. of the Dead Sea (see G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography*, p. 313).
- Jeshu'a (Neh. xi. 26 †), in extreme S. towards Edom.
- Jethlah (A.V. Josh. xix. 42 †) = R.V. Ithlah (*q.v.*).
- Jeṭur (Gen. xxv. 15; 1 Ch. i. 31; v. 19 †) (a "son" of Ishma'el), *i.e.* the country of Ituræa, S. of the Anti-libanus.
- Jeze'el, (1) (Josh. xix. 18; 1 S. xxix. 1, 11; 2 S. ii. 9; iii. 2; iv. 4; 1 Ki. iv. 12; xviii. 45, 46; xxi. 1, 23, etc.), prob = *Zer'in*. (2) (Josh. xv. 56; 1 S. xxv. 43; xxvii. 3; xxx. 5; 2 S. ii. 2; iii. 2; 1 Ch. iii. 1), near Ma'on and Carmel, in hill-country of Judah. (3) Valley of Jeze'el (Josh. xvii. 16; Ju. vi. 33; Hos. i. 5; ii. 22), the valley leading down from Jeze'el to Bethshean and Jordan.
- Jiphtaḥ (A.V.) = (R.V.) Iph-taḥ (*q.v.*).
- Jiphtaḥ-El (A.V.) = (R.V.) Iphtaḥ-El (*q.v.*).
- Jogbehah (Nu. xxxii. 35; Ju. viii. 11 †) = *Kh. 'Ajbĥāt*, 6 m. N.N.W. from *'Anmān* and about mid-way between that place and *es-Salt*.
- Jokde'am (Josh. xv. 56 †), probably the same as Jorke'am (1 Ch. ii. 44). It is hard to say which is the original. In the Negeb of Judah.
- Jokme'am (1 Ki. iv. 12; 1 Ch. vi. 68 † = *Qibzaim* in || Josh. xxi. 22), in Ephraim.
- Jokne'am (Josh. xii. 22; xix. 11; xxi. 34 †), perh. = *Tell Kaimūn*, on the E. slope of Carmel.
- Joktheel, (1) (Josh. xv. 38 †) in the Shephelah of Judah. (2) (2 Ki. xiv. 7 †) in Edom.
- Joppa (2 Ch. ii. 16; Ezra iii. 7; Jonah i. 3 †) = Japho (Josh. xix. 46, A.V., and R.V. marg., and 2 Ch. ii. 16, A.V. marg. and R.V. marg.) = *Yāfa* (*i.e.* Jaffa).
- Jordan, R. (Gen. xiii. 10, etc.) = *Nahr esh-Sheri'a* (= "the river of the watering-place").
- Jorke'am (1 Ch. ii. 44 †), prob. = Jokde'am (Josh. xv. 56 †) (*q.v.*).

Jorķo'am (A.V.) = (R.V.)

Jorķe'am (*q.v.*).

Joṭbah (2 Ki. xxi. 19 †), in Judah.

Joṭbath, A.V. Dt. x. 7 † = R.V. Joṭbathah (*q.v.*).

Joṭbathah (Nu. xxxiii. 3; Dt. x. 7 †), stage in the wanderings.

Judah, City of (2 Ch. xxv. 28. Read "City of David" with the Versions and the || in 2 Ki. xiv. 20). See "David, City of."

Judah, Hill-country of (Josh. xi. 21, etc.), to N. of the Negeb (*q.v.*), about 25 m. long by 12 to 17 broad, and from 2000 to upwards of 3000 ft. above the sea. See cities in it, Josh. xv. 48-59.

Judah, Wilderness of (Ju. i. 16 (render *in the Negeb of 'Arad*—see Negeb); Ps. lxiii. title †), the mountainous desert tract W. of the Dead Sea. See cities in it, Josh. xv. 61, 62.

Judah at Jordan (Josh. xix. 34 †), text corrupt. For suggested emendations, see *E.B.* ii. 2623 and *D.B.* ii. 794.

Juṭṭah (Josh. xv. 55; xxi. 16 †) = *Yattā*, 5½ m. S. by W. from Hebron, and 3747 ft. above sea-level.

KAẒZEEL (Josh. xv. 21; 2 S. xxxiii. 20; 1 Ch. xi. 22 †;

written Jeķabzeel in Neh. xi. 25 †), in S. Judah, on the border of Edom.

Ḳadesh (1) (also called Ḳadesh Barnē'a and 'En-Mishpat) (Gen. xiv. 7, etc.) = 'Ain Ḳadis, 50 m. S. of Beersheba'. (2) (?) Ḳadesh on the Orontes. Some scholars have thought that this is referred to in 2 S. xxiv. 6 †, where for *Taḥtim Hodshi* they would read: (*to the land of*) *the Hittites towards Ḳadesh*. The first part of the proposed emendation may be regarded as practically certain. But there are difficulties in accepting the latter part (*i.e.* "towards Ḳadesh"). The M.T. is impossible, and Lucian reads Ḳadesh; but Ḳadesh is 100 m. N. of Dan, and very remote to be mentioned as the N. limit of Israelite territory. Ewald suggests reading *Hermon* (חרמון) for *Hodshi* (חדישי), and this is more suitable (see Driver, *Samuel* (2nd ed.), 374-5). Ḳadesh on the Orontes probably = *Tell Neby Mindau*, near the S. end of the Lake of Homs.

Ḳain (Nu. xxiv. 22 R.V.; Ju. iv. 11 R.V. marg. †) or the Ḳenites, a nomad tribe usually associated with the Negeb (Gen. xv. 19; Nu. xxiv. 21; Ju. i. 16 [read

- with MSS. of LXX *the Amalekites for the people*]; 1 S. xv. 6; xxvii. 10; xxx. 29; 1 Ch. ii. 55 †), a family of which migrated to Naphtali (Ju. iv. 11, 17; v. 24 †).
- Ḳamon (Ju. x. 5 †), in Gile'ad. Site unknown.
- Ḳanah (Josh. xix. 28 †), in Asher, probably = *Ḳānā*, 7 m. S.E. of Tyre.
- Ḳanah, The Wādi (Josh. xvi. 8; xvii. 9 †), perh. = *Wādi Ḳānah*, S.W. of Shechem.
- Ḳarka' (Josh. xv. 3 †), on S. border of Judah.
- Ḳarka'a (A.V.) = (R.V.) *Ḳarka' (q.v.)*
- Ḳarkor (Ju. viii. 10 †), apparently in Gile'ad.
- Ḳartah (Josh. xxi. 34 †), a town in Zebulun, generally supposed to be the same as *Ḳat̄ath (q.v.)*.
- Ḳartan (Josh. xxi. 32 †) = *Kiriathaim (q.v.)*, in † 1 Ch. vi. 76, a city in Naphtali.
- Ḳat̄ath (Josh. xix. 15 †), a town in Zebulun. See *Ḳartah*, also *Ḳitron*.
- Ḳedar, Tribe of (Gen. xxv. 13 = 1 Ch. i. 29; Ps. cxx. 5; Cant. i. 5; Is. xxi. 16, 17; xlii. 11; lx. 7; Jer. ii. 10; xlix. 28; Ezek. xxvii. 21 †). Ḳedar is referred to in Gen. xxv. 13 = 1 Ch. i. 29, as the "son" of Ishma'el. A nomad Arab tribe of the Syro-Arabian desert, mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions.
- Ḳedēmoth (Dt. ii. 26; Josh. xiii. 18; xxi. 37 = 1 Ch. vi. 79 †), on the upper Arnon, conjectured to be *Umm er-Raṣās*, N.E. of Dibon.
- Ḳedesh, (1) (Josh. xv. 23 †), on extreme S. border of Judah. Very uncertain, Ḳadesh (1) has been suggested. (2) (1 Ch. vi. 72 † = *Ḳishion* in † Josh. xxi. 28), perh. = *Tell Abu Kudēs*, near Lejjun. (3) Josh. xii. 22; xix. 37; Ju. iv. 9, 10, 11; 2 Ki. xv. 29 †), called sometimes "Ḳedesh-Naphtali" (Ju. iv. 6 †), or "Ḳedesh in Galilee" (Josh. xx. 7; xxi. 32 = 1 Ch. vi. 76 †) = *Ḳades*, lying to the N.W. of the Lake of Ḳūleh.
- Ḳehelathah (Nu. xxxiii. 22, 23 †), a stage in the wanderings.
- Ḳe'ilah (Josh. xv. 44; 1 S. xxiii. 1-13; 1 Ch. iv. 19; Neh. iii. 17, 18 †), in the Shephelah of Judah, now *Ḳīla*, 7 m. E. of Eleutheropoli, and over 1500 ft. above sea-level.
- Ḳenath, also called *Nobah* (Nu. xxxii. 42; 1 Ch. ii. 23 †), = *Kanawat* on W. slope of *Jebel Ḳaurān*, 4068 ft. above the sea-level.
- Ḳenites, The. See *Ḳain*.
- Ḳerioth (Jer. xlvi. 24, 41; Am. ii. 2 †), mentioned on

- the Moabite stone, l. 13, as a sanctuary of Chemosh, perh. to be identified with 'Ar-Moab, or Kir of Moab. See Kir (2).
- Ḳerioth-Hezron (*i.e.* "the cities of Hezron") (Josh. xv. 25 †) (A.V. reads as two names). See Hazor (4).
- Ḳeziz, Valley of (R.V. 'Emek-Ḳeziz) (Josh. xviii. 21 †), in the territory of Benjamin.
- Ḳibroth-Hatta'avah (*i.e.* "the graves of lust") (Nu. xi. 34, 35; xxxiii. 16, 17; Dt. ix. 22 †), a stage in the wanderings.
- Ḳibzaim (Josh. xxi. 22 † = Jokme'am in || 1 Ch. vi. 68), in Ephraim.
- Ḳidron, The Wādi (2 S. xv. 23, etc.) = *Wādī Sitti Maryam* (*i.e.* "Wādi of my Lady Mary"). The *historic* Ḳidron, which is about 2¼ m. long, starts 1¼ m. N.W. of Jerusalem, runs on for about ½ m. towards the city, then tends eastward and turns south, and it terminates at Enrogel.
- Ḳinah (Josh. xv. 22 †), city in Judah on the border of Edom.
- Ḳir, (1) (2 Ki. xvi. 9; Is. xxii. 6; Am. i. 5; ix. 7 †), primitive home of the Aramæans. (2) Ḳir - Moab (*i.e.* Kir of Moab) (Is. xv. 1 †), perh. = Kir-Heres (*q.v.*).
- Ḳir-Haraseth or -Hareseth or -Haresh. See Kir-Heres.
- Ḳir-Heres (written also Kir-Haresh, Kir-Hareseth, Kir-Haraseth) (2 Ki. iii. 25; Is. xvi. 7, 11; Jer. xlvi. 31, 36 †) = *El-Kerak*, 10 m. from the S.E. corner of the Dead Sea.
- Ḳir-Moab (Is. xv. 1 †), perh. = Kir-Heres.
- Ḳiriath (Josh. xviii. 28 R.V. † Read with LXX, Kiriath-Je'arim). See Ḳiriath-Je'arim.
- Ḳiriathaim, (1) (Nu. xxxii. 37; Josh. xiii. 19; Jer. xlvi. 1, 23; Ezek. xxv. 9 †). Site quite uncertain, may possibly = *Kuraiyāt*, about 10 m. S. of Mēdeba in Moab. (2) A city in Naphtali (1 Ch. vi. 76 † = Ḳartan in || Josh. xxi. 32 †).
- Ḳiriath-arba' (Gen. xxxii. 2; Josh. xiv. 15; xv. 13, 54; xx. 7; xxi. 11; Ju. i. 10; Neh. xi. 25 †), usually understood as "fourfold city," but see Burney, *Journ. of Theol. Studies*, 1910, p. 118f. An earlier name of Hebron (*q.v.*).
- Ḳiriath-'Arim (Ez. ii. 25 †), error for Ḳiriath-Je'arim (*q.v.*).
- Ḳiriath-Ba'al (Josh. xv. 60; xviii. 14 †), an older name for Ḳiriath-Je'arim (*q.v.*).
- Ḳiriath-Huzoth (Nu. xxii. 39 †), in Moab. Site unknown.

- Kiriath-Je'arim (Josh. ix. 17, etc.), = *Kiryat el-'Enab*, 7 m. W.N.W. of Jerusalem, or (Guthe, *Z.D.P.V.*, 1913, 81 ff.) *el-Kubêbe*, 3 m. N.E. of *Kiryat el-'Enab*. Older name, Ba'al, Ba'alah, Ba'al of Judah) see Ba'ale-Judah, and Kiriath-Ba'al (*q.v.*).
- Kiriath-Sannah (Josh. xv. 49 †), another name for Debir (*q.v.*), but perh. read with LXX קרית ספר (*i.e.* Kiriath-Sepher (*q.v.*)).
- Kiriath-Sepher (Josh. xv. 15, 16 = Ju. i. 11, 12 †), ancient name of Debir (*q.v.*), prob. (following the Egyptian vocalization of what seems to be the same place) to be read Kiriath-*Sôpher*, *i.e.* "scribe-town."
- Kirjath. For names written thus in A.V., see Kiriath.
- Kishion (Josh. xix. 20; xxi. 28 † = Kedesh in || 1 Ch. vi. 72), in Issachar.
- Kishon, The Wâdi (Ju. iv. 7, 13; v. 21; 1 Ki. xviii. 40; Ps. lxxxiii. 9 †) = *Nahr el-Mukattâ*, running N.W. through the plain of Megiddo (Esdraelon).
- Kithlish (Josh. xv. 40 † A.V. = R.V. Chithlish (*q.v.*)).
- Kiṭron (Ju. i. 30 †), in Zebulun, perh. = *Ḳaṭṭath* (*q.v.*).
- Kittim (Gen. x. 4; Nu. xxiv. 24; 1 Ch. i. 7; Is. xxiii. 1, 12; Jer. ii. 10; Ezek. xxvii. 6; Dan. xi. 30 †. A.V. always Chittim, except in Gen. x. 4 = 1 Ch. i. 7) = Cyprus.
- Ḳuë (read "and from Ḳuë," in 1 Ki. x. 28, for "and linen-yarn") = Cilicia.
- LABAN (Dt. i. 1 †), site unknown. Probably either in the "steppes of Moab," or else a stage in the wanderings, in which case it may = Libnah (2) (*q.v.*). See Driver, *Deuteronomy*, *ad loc.*
- Lachish (Josh. x. 3, etc.) = *Tell el-Hesi*, 16 m. E. of Gaza, and immediately S. of 'Eglon.
- Lahai-Roi. See Beer-Lahai-Roi.
- Lahmam (Josh. xv. 40 †. R.V. marg. Lahmas), perh. = *el-Lahm*, 2½ m. S. of *Bêt-jibrin*.
- Laish, (1) (Ju. xviii. 7, 14, 27, 29 †) original name of the N. frontier-city Dan (*q.v.*). (2) (Is. x. 30, A.V. †) see Laishah.
- Laishah (Is. x. 30, R.V. †), in Benjamin, a little N. of 'Anāthoth. Exact site unknown.
- Lakḳum (Josh. xix. 33 †), in Naphtali. Site unknown.
- Lakum (A.V.) = (R.V.) Lakḳum (*q.v.*).
- Lasha' (Gen. x. 19 †), a city marking a limit of the extension of the Canaanites;

- should be *Lésha'*. Site unknown.
- Lasharon (A.V.) = (R.V.)
Lassharon (*q.v.*).
- Lassharon (Josh. xii. 18 †).
Text is prob. corrupt, לָשָׁרֹן
"king (of)" before לְיָשָׁרֹן is
not represented in LXX, and
has doubtless come in by
error; read the "King of
Aphek, belonging to the
Sharon."
- L.-banon, Mt. (Dt. i. 7, etc.).
The range extends for 95
miles from *Nahr Kasmīyeh*
to the *Nahr el-Kebīr*, run-
ning from the N.N.E. to
the S.S.W.
- Lebaōth (Josh. xv. 32 †) =
Beth-Lebaōth (*q.v.*).
- Leb-kamai (Jer. li. 1 R.V. †),
cypher-form for Casdim (see
R.V. marg.).
- Lebonah (Ju. xxi. 19 †) =
el-Lubban, W. of Shiloh.
- Lehabim (Gen. x. 13 = 1 Ch.
i. 11 †); prob. = Lubim
(*q.v.*).
- Lehi (Ju. xv. 9, 14, 19 † =
Ramath-Lehi, *v.* 17; read
also לְהִי to Lehi for לְהִי to
the troop (?) in 2 S. xxiii. 11.
In Judah. Site unknown.
- Leshem (Josh. xix. 47 †), a
form of the name Laish
(*q.v.*).
- Libnah, (1) Josh. x. 29, etc.),
in Judah, prob. in the neigh-
bourhood of Bēt Jibrin, but
exact site is unknown. (2)
- (Nu. xxxiii. 20, 21 †) a
stage in the wanderings;
perh. = Laban (*q.v.*) in Dt.
i. 1.
- Libyans, (in A.V.) (1) for "Lu-
bim" (*q.v.*) in 2 Ch. xii. 3;
xvi. 8; Nah. iii. 9 (R.V. in
these passages "Lubim");
Dan. xi. 43 (R.V. "Li-
byans" prob. correctly), a
people in N. Africa, on W.
of Egypt. (2) for "Put"
(*q.v.*), in Jer. xlvi. 9; Ezek.
xxx. 5; xxxviii. 5 ("Li-
bya").
- Lidebir (Josh. xiii. 26, R.V.
marg. †), prob. the same as
Lo-debar (*q.v.*).
- Lod = Lydda (Acts. ix. 32,
35, 38) (1 Ch. viii. 12;
Ezra ii. 33 = Neh. vii. 37;
xi. 35 †) = *Ludd*, in the
Shephelah, S.E. of Jaffa.
- Lo-debar (2 S. ix. 4, 5;
xvii. 27 †), prob. = Lide-
bir, Josh. xiii. 26, R.V.
marg. in Gad, on E. of
Jordan, but exact site un-
known. There may be an
allusion to Lo-debar in
Am. vi. 17, "a thing of
nought," Heb. *lo-dābār*.
- Lubim (2 Ch. xii. 3; xvi. 8;
Nah. iii. 9; Dan. xi. 43
("Libyans"), prob. = "Le-
habim," Gen. x. 13 = 1 Ch.
i. 11, and "Chub," Ezek.
xxx. 5, where read "*Lub*,"
after LXX), no doubt the
Libyans, a people in N.
Africa on W. of Egypt.

- Lud, Ludim (Gen. x. 13, 22 = 1 Ch. i. 11, 17; Is. lxvi. 19; Jer. xlvi. 9; Ezek. xxvii. 10; xxx. 5 †). In Gen. x. 13, Lud is a "son" of Shem, and prob. = Lydia in Asia Minor; in the other passages, prob. some Libyan tribe (cf. Gen. x. 13, a "son" of Mizraim, *i.e.* of Egypt). See discussions in *D.B.* iv. 160, and *E.B.* iii, 2829.
- Luhith, Ascent of (Is. xv. 5; Jer. xlvi. 5 †), in Moab. Site unknown. See Driver, *Expository Times*, xxi. 495-7.
- Luz, (1) (Gen. xxviii. 19; xxxv. 6; xlvi. 3; Josh. xvi. 2; xviii. 13; Ju. i. 23 †), older name of Bethel (*q.v.*). (2) (Ju. i. 26 †), in "the land of the Hittites." Site unknown, but doubtless in the N. of Palestine.
- Lydda. See Lod.
- Lydia. See Lud, Ludim.
- MA'ACAH (2 S. x. 6, 8 = 1 Ch. xix. 6, 7 †; cf. Ma'acathite, 1 Ch. iv. 19, etc.; cf. also Gen. xx. 24, and see Abel-Beth-Ma'acah, which is on W. of Jordan), a small Aramæan kingdom on E. of the Upper Jordan, S. of Laish.
- Ma'aleh 'Akrabbim (A.V. Josh. xv. 3 † = R.V. Ascent of 'Akrabbim (*q.v.*)).
- Ma'arath (Josh. xv. 59 †), in the hill-country of Judah. Site quite uncertain.
- Ma'areh Geba' (Ju. xx. 33). Read "west of Gibe'ah."
- Machpelah, Cave of (Gen. xxiii. 9, 17, 19; xxv. 9; xlix. 30; l. 13 †), is supposed to lie beneath the mosque at Hebron.
- Madai (Gen. x. 2). See Medes.
- Madmannah (Josh. xv. 31 = Beth - Marcaboth (*q.v.*) in || Josh. xix. 5; 1 Ch. ii. 49 †), city of Judah towards Edom.
- Madmen (Jer. xlvi. 2 †), in Moab. Text dub.
- Madmēnah (Is. x. 31 †), in Benjamin, apparently near Jerusalem.
- Madon (Josh. xi. 1; xii. 19 †), a royal Canaanite city. Site unknown.
- Magbish (Ezra ii. 30 †), apparently in Benjamin. Site unknown.
- Magog, Land of (Gen. x. 2 = 1 Ch. i. 5; Ezek. xxxviii. 2; xxxix. 6 †), prob. in E. Asia Minor.
- Maḥanaim (Gen. xxxii. 2, etc.), on E. of Jordan. Site uncertain. See Driver, *Samuel* (2nd ed.), p. 241.
- Maḥaneh-Dan, (1) (Ju. xiii. 25 †) lies "behind" (*i.e.* W. of) Kiriath-Je'arim. (2) (Ju. xviii. 12 †) "between Zor'ah and Eshtaol." For (1) read perh. "*Maḥath Dan*" (cf. 1 Ch. ii. 52,

- where read *Manahath*, see ? 54).
- Maḳaz (1 Ki. iv. 9 †), one of the cities in the second of the Solomonic prefectures. Site uncertain.
- Maḳhēloth (Nu. xxxiii. 25, 26 †), a stage in the wanderings—following Hazereth.
- Maḳḳedah (Josh. x. 10, 16, 17, 21, 28, 29; xii. 16; xv. 41 †), a royal Canaanite city, in the Shephēlah of Judah. Site uncertain.
- Maktesh (Zeph. i. 11 †) (= the "mortar"), some basin-like hollow in Jerusalem.
- Mamre (Gen. xiii. 18; xviii. 1; xxiii. 17, 19; xxv. 9; xxxv. 27; xlix. 30; l. 13. Cf. also Gen. xiv. 13, 24 †), "in" Hebron, but actual site is uncertain.
- Manahath (1 Ch. viii. 6, and LXX of Josh. xv. 59 †), presumably the home of Manahathites (1 Ch. ii. 52, 54). Cf. under Maḳaneh-Dan.
- Ma'ōn (Josh. xv. 55; 1 S. xxiii. 24, 25; xxv. 1 (where read "Ma'ōn" for "Paran" with LXX), 2; 1 Ch. ii. 45 †), = *Tell Ma'in*, 8 m. S. of Hebron.
- Marah (Ex. xv. 23; Nu. xxxiii. 8, 9 †), the first station of the Israelites after crossing the Red Sea. Site quite uncertain. (See Driver, *Exodus*, p. 142.)
- Mar'alah (Josh. xix. 11 †), on the S.W. border of Zebulun. Site unknown.
- Marēshah (Josh. xv. 44; 1 Ch. ii. 42; iv. 21; 2 Ch. xi. 8; xiv. 9, 10; xx. 37; Mi. i. 15 †), in the Shephēlah of Judah, 1 m. S. of Eleutheropolis.
- Maroth (Mi. i. 12 †). Site unknown.
- Mashal (1 Ch. vi. 74 †). See Mish'al.
- Mash (Gen. x. 23 †, in 1 Ch. i. 17, by error *Meshech*), a "son" of Aram. Uncertain; perhaps a tribe about Mons Masius, between Armenia and Mesopotamia.
- Masrēḳah (Gen. xxxvi. 36 = 1 Ch. i. 47 †). Site uncertain.
- Massa (Gen. xxv. 14 = 1 Ch. i. 30; Pr. xxx. 1; xxxi. 1 (R.V. marg. rightly)). In Gen. and Ch. a "son" of Ishma'el. Prob. = the *Ma-as-'a-ai* in Tiglath-Pileser II.'s list of tributary states. Exact locality unknown.
- Maṣṣah (Ex. xvii. 7; Dt. vi. 16; ix. 22; xxxiii. 8; Ps. xcv. 8 R.V. †). In Ex. xvii. 7 Meribah is another name for Maṣṣah, but the two names may be due to a combination of two narratives. (See Driver, *Exodus*, p. 158, and cf. Meribah below.) A stage in the wanderings.

- Mattanah** (Nu. xxi. 18, 19), a stage in the wanderings, E. of the Dead Sea and N. of the Arnon. Site unknown.
- Meah, Tower of.** See Hammeah.
- Me'arah** (Josh. xiii. 4 †). A Phœnician city. Read prob. "from Me'arah."
- Meconah** (Neh. xi. 28 †), a town mentioned after Ziklag. Site uncertain. Cf. Beth-Marcaboth.
- Mēdeba** (Nu. xxi. 30; Josh. xiii. 9, 16; 1 Ch. xix. 7; Is. xv. 2 †), a town in the *Mishor*,* = *Mādebā*, about 6 m. S. by W. of Heshbon, and nearly 3000 ft. above sea-level.
- Media, Madai, Medes** (Gen. x. 2; 2 Ki. xvii. 6; xviii. 11; Is. xiii. 17; xxi. 2; Jer. xxv. 25; li. 11, 28; Dan. v. 28; viii. 20; ix. 1, etc.), N.E. of Babylon.
- Megiddo** (Josh. xii. 21, etc.) = *Tell el-Mutesellim*, 4½ m. N.W. of Taanach.
- Me-Jarḥon** (*i.e.* "Waters of Jarḥon") (Josh. xix. 46 †), in Dan, but text is prob. corrupt.
- Mekonah** (A.V.) = (R.V.) Meconah (*q.v.*).
- * *Mishor* (A.V. "plain" or "plain country"; R.V. mostly "plain" (with marg. "tableland"), *e.g.* Jer. xlvi. 8), is the name given to the elevated treeless plateau between Heshbon and the Arnon, assigned to Reuben.
- Memphis** (Heb. "Moph") (Hos. ix. 6 †), called elsewhere "Noph" (*q.v.*). Egyptian *Men-nōfer*, later abbreviated to *Menfe* (so in 8th cent. B.C.).
- Me'onenim**, The "oak" or "terebinth" of "the soothsayers" (an oracular tree) (Ju. ix. 37 †). (The "plain of" in A.V. is wrong.) It could be seen from Shechem, but site unknown.
- Mepha'ath** (Josh. xiii. 18; xxi. 37 = 1 Ch. vi. 79; Jer. xlvi. 21 †), a Moabite city. Site unknown.
- Meribah** (*i.e.* "strife") (Ex. xvii. 7 (here prob. due to the combination of two narratives); Nu. xx. 13, 24; xxvii. 14; Dt. xxxiii. 8; Ps. lxxx. 7; xcv. 8 R.V.; Meriboth-Ḳadesh in R.V. Ezek. xlvi. 19; Meribath-Ḳadesh, in Ezek. xlvi. 28; Meribah of Ḳadesh, in Nu. xxvii. 14; Dt. xxxii. 51 †), identical with or close to *Ain Ḳadish*, 50 m. S. of Beersheba. See Ḳadesh.
- Merom, Waters of** (Josh. xi. 5, 7 †). Often identified with Lake Huleh, on the upper course of the Jordan, but this is not certain.
- Meronth** (in the "Meronthite" in 1 Ch. xxvii. 30; Neh. iii. 7 †), prob. in neighbourhood of Gibe'on and Mizpah.

- Meroz (Ju. v. 23 †), near by the Plain of Megiddo; exact site unknown.
- Mesha (Gen. x. 30 †), in Arabia. Exact site uncertain. Read perhaps "*Massa*" (*q.v.*).
- Mesha' (1 Ch. ii. 42 †), a Calebite "father" of Ziph. Prob. read *Maresha* (*q.v.*).
- Meshech (Gen. x. 2 = 1 Ch. i. 5 [*v.* 17, see "Mash"]; Ps. cxx. 5; Ezek. xxvii. 13; xxxii. 26; xxxviii. 2, 3 †), regularly mentioned with Tubal (*q.v.*), = the Moschi of Herodotus, the *Muski* of the Assyrian inscriptions, in Asia Minor.
- Michmash, or Michmas (1 S. xiii. 2, 5, 11, 16, 23; xiv. 5, 31; Ezra ii. 27 = Neh. vii. 31; xi., 31; Is. x. 28 †) = *Mukhmās*, about 7 m. N. of Jerusalem, N. of *Wādi es-Suweiniṭ*. On the "pass" of Michmash (1 S. xiii. 23), see the map in Driver, *Samuel* (ed. 2), p. 106.
- Michmethah (A.V.) = (R.V.) Michmethath (*q.v.*).
- Michmethath (Josh. xvi. 6; xvii. 7 †), text is dubious.
- Middin (Josh. xv. 61 †), text very uncertain.
- Midian (Gen. xxxvi. 35, etc.). The territory of Midian appar. lay to the N. of Arabia and on the E. of the Gulf of 'Aḳabah.
- Migdal-El (*i.e.* "tower of God") (Josh. xix. 38 †), a fortified city of Naphtali. Possibly = *Mejdel Silim*.
- Migdal-Gad, *i.e.* "tower of Gad" (Josh. xv. 37 †), in the Shephēlah of Judah, poss. = *Kh. el-Mejdel*, 5 m. S. of *Bēt-Jibrin*, or *Kh. Mejādīl*, 13 m. S. of it (Guthe).
- Migdol (*i.e.* "tower"), (1) (Ex. xiv. 2; Nu. xxxiii. 7) on N.E. frontier of Egypt, prob. near Lake Timsah. (2) (Jer. xliv. 1; xlvi. 14; and Ezek. xxix. 10; xxx. 6 [read as R.V. marg.]) prob. the ancient Magdolo, 12 m. S. of Pelusium. See Griffith in *D.B.* iii. 367, and Driver, *Exodus*, pp. xxxix, 123.
- Migron (1 S. xiv. 2; Is. x. 28 †), in 1 S. xiv. 2, S. of Michmash; in Is. x. 28 (unless W. R. Smith's view be adopted (see the citation in Cheyne's *Isaiah* (1884), ii. 146; cf. Skinner on *Isaiah ad loc.* in the *Camb. Bible*)), N. of Michmash; perh. = *Makrūn*, N. of Michmash.
- Millo (*i.e.* prob. "an earthen rampart"), (1) (always with definite article, except in 2 Ki. xii. 20, if this is the same Millo) (2 S. v. 9 = 1 Ch. xi. 8; 1 Ki. ix. 15, 24; xi. 27; 2 Ki. xii. 20; 2 Ch. xxxii. 5 †), an outwork on one of the hills of the old

- Jebusite city of Jerusalem, enlarged by David and Solomon. Exact site uncertain. (See G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, ii. 40 f., 71.) (2)
The house of Millo (*i.e.* Beth - Millo) (Ju. ix. 6, 20 †) the name of a place near Shechem.
- Minni (Jer. li. 27 †), the *Mannāa* of the Assyrians, S.W. of the lake Urumiya.
- Minnith (Ju. xi. 33; Ezek. xxvii. 17 †), on the E. of Jordan. Site uncertain, but somewhere near Rabbath-'Ammon, and perh. the *Maanith* which Eusebius places 4 m. from Heshbon, on the road to Rabbath-'Ammon. Text in Ezek. xxvii. 17 very doubtful.
- Misgab (Jer. xlvi. 1 †) (Heb., מִשְׁגַּב = "the high fort" (so R.V. marg. here), and is so rendered in A.V. and R.V. Is. xxv. 12), prob. not a proper name.
- Mish'al (Josh. xix. 26; xxi. 30, = Mashal, 1 Ch. vi. 74 †), town of Asher.
- Mishe'al (A.V.) = (R.V.) Mish'al (*q.v.*).
- Misrephoth-Maim (Josh. xi. 8; xiii. 6 †), a point in Sidonian territory. Site uncertain.
- Mithcah (A.V.) = (R.V.) Mithkah (*q.v.*).
- Mithkah (Nu. xxxiii. 28, 29 †), a stage in the wanderings.
- Mizar, The hill [rather "mountain"], *i.e.* the "little mountain" (Ps. xlii. 6 †), apparently some small elevation in the Hermon range.
- Mizpah or Mizpeh (*i.e.* "outlook point"), (1) (Josh. xviii. 26; Ju. xx. 1-3; xxi. 1, 5, 8; 1 S. vii. 5-16; x. 17; 1 Ki. xv. 22; 2 Ki. xxv. 23, 25; 2 Ch. xvi. 6; Neh. iii. 7, 15, 19; Jer. xl. 6-15; xli. 1-16 †) = *Neby Samwil*, 4½ m. N.W. of Jerusalem, and nearly 3,000 ft. above sea-level. (2) (Gen. xxxi. 49), apparently some eminence on N.E. of *Jebel 'Ajlun*, about 40 m. S.E. of Sea of Galilee. (3) (Josh. xv. 38 †), in the Shephelah of Judah. Prob. somewhere near Eleutheropolis. *Tell es-Safiyeh*, 7½ m. N.N.W. of *Bet Jibrin*, has been suggested, but *Tell es-Safiyeh* is identified by many with Gath (*q.v.*). (4) (Ju. x. 17; xi. 11, 34, and prob. Hos. v. 1) Jephtha's home. Site unknown. *Jebel Osha'*, 16 m. N.W. of Rabbath-'Ammon, has been conjectured (Moore). (5) "Mizpeh of Gile'ad" (Ju. xi. 29), uncertain. Doubtful if it = (3); the difference of name seems against that view. (6) Ramath-Mizpeh (Josh. xiii. 26), possibly = (4)

- or (5), but not certain. (7) (Josh. xi. 3, 8 †) at the foot of Hermon. Possibly the height on which are now the ruins of the Saracenic castle, *Ka'at es-Subē-lich*, 2 m. above Bāniās (so Buhl). (8) Mizpeh of Moab (1 S. xxii. 3 †, perh. read also "*Mizpēh*" for "*the hold*" in v. 5). Cf. *Mizpah* in Hastings' *onevol. Bible Dictionary*.
- Mizraim, (1) (Gen. x. 6, 13 = 1 Ch. i. 8, 11 †, elsewhere called "Egypt") = Egypt. (2) N. Syrian Muzri. Possibly this Muzri is referred to in 1 Ki. x. 28 f. = 2 Ch. i. 16 f.; 2 Ki. vii. 6. (3) N. Arabian Muzri (?), adopted for some passages by Winckler and other Assyriologists (cf. *E. B.* 3, 3163 f.; and on the other side Gray, *Isaiah*, lxxviii. f.; Skinner, *Genesis*, 285 n.) This theory is too hypothetical to be accepted at present.
- Moab (Gen. xxxvi. 35, etc.); name of a people and land on the E. of the Dead Sea.
- Molādah (Josh. xv. 26; xix. 2; 1 Ch. iv. 28; Neh. xi. 26 †), according to Eusebius, about 4 m. N.W. of 'Arād, perhaps = *Derjās*.
- Moreh, The "Plain" of (Gen. xii. 6; Dt. xi. 30 †). A.V. "plain" is quite wrong. Render with R.V. "oak," or with R.V. marg. "terebinth." On the site of the later Shechem (*q.v.*).
- Moreh, The Hill of (Ju. vii. 1 †), prob. = *Nabi Dalī*, above Shunem (*q.v.*).
- Moresheth-Gath (Mi. i. 14 †), in the Shephēlah of Judah, near the Philistine territory.
- Moriah (Gen. xxii. 2; 2 Ch. iii. 1 †). The "land of Moriah," in Gen. xxii. 2, is quite indefinable. Perh. read "of the Amorites" (see Driver, *D. B.* iii. 436). "Moriah" in 2 Ch. iii. 1 is, of course, the Temple Hill.
- Mošēra (A.V.) = (R.V.) Mošerah (*q.v.*).
- Mošērah (Dt. x. 6 †, or Mošeroth, Nu. xxxiii. 30; 31 †), a stage in the wanderings. Site uncertain.
- Mošeroth. See Mošērah.
- Moẓah (Josh. xviii. 26 †), perh. = *Bēt Mizza*, N.E. of Jerusalem.
- NA'AMAH (Josh. xv. 41 †) in the Shephēlah of Judah. Perh. = either *Dēr Na'amān* or *'Arāk Na'amān*.
- Na'arah (Josh. xvi. 7 †; the same place is referred to in 1 Ch. vii. 28, but written "Na'aran." Acc. to Eusebius = *Nooπαθ*, 5 m. from Jericho; and so perh. = *Kh. el-'Aujeh*, 6 m. N. of Jericho.

- Na'arath (A.V.) = (R.V.) Na'arah (*q.v.*).
- Nachon (A.V.) = (R.V.) Nachon (*q.v.*)
- Nacon (2 S. vi. 6 †). Text dub. See Chidon.
- Nahalal or Nahalol (Josh. xix. 15; xxi. 35; Ju. i. 30 †), in Zebulun, according to the Talmud = Mahlul, perh. the modern *Ma'lil*, W. of Nazareth.
- Nahallal. See Nahalal.
- Nahalol. See Nahalal.
- Naḥaliel (*i.e.* "torrent-valley of God") (Nu. xxi. 19 †), a stage in the wanderings between the Arnon and Piṣṣah. Perh. = *Wādi Wāleh*, a N.E. tributary of the Arnon, or the *Wādi Zerka Ma'in* further N.
- Naioth (1 S. xix. 18, 19, 22, 23; xx. 1 †), the name of a locality "in Ramah." Site and nature of the place quite uncertain.
- Naphish (Gen. xxv. 15 = 1 Ch. i. 31; v. 19 †), an Ishmaelite tribe, locality unknown. Possibly connected with the later "Nephisim," "Nephusim," etc. (Ezra ii. 50 = Neh. vii. 52).
- Ne'ah (Josh. xix. 13 †, possibly = Neiel of *v.* 27), site unknown.
- Nebaioth (Gen. xxv. 13 = 1 Ch. i. 29; xxviii. 9; xxxvi. 3; Is. lx. 7 †), the "first-born" of Ishma'el. A tribe in Arabia (prob. North).
- Nebo, (1) (Nu. xxxii. 3, 38; xxxiii. 47; 1 Ch. v. 8: Is. xv. 2; Jer. xlvi. 1, 22 †) a hill town, prob. on or near Mt. Nebo (*q.v.*). (2) (Ezra ii. 29 = Neh. vii. 33 †) prob. = either *Bēt Nubā*, 12 m. N.W. of Jerusalem, or *Nuba*, 4 m. S. of Adullam.
- Nebo, Mount (Dt. xxxii. 49; xxxiv. 1 †), part of the range of 'Abarim, prob. = *Neba*, 5 m. S.W. of Heshbon.
- Negeb, The (Gen. xii. 9, etc.), R.V. "the South." A technical geographical term meaning "dry land." The mountainous district in S. Judah, extending from about 'En-Rimmon probably as far as Kadesh, some 60 m. to the S. Particular districts had special names; see Ju. i. 16 (the Negeb of 'Arad), and cf. 1 S. xxvii. 10; xxx. 14. The cities of the Negeb of Judah are enumerated in Josh. xv. 21-32.
- Ne'iel (Josh. xix. 27 †), on borders of Zebulun and Asher.
- Neḳeb (Josh. xix. 33, A.V. †) = (R.V.) Adami - Neḳeb (*q.v.*).
- Nephish (1 Ch. v. 19, A.V. †). See Naphish.
- Nephtoah, Waters of (Josh. xv. 9; xviii. 15 †), acc. to the Talmud, the same as 'Etan

- (= 'Ain 'Atān), S. of Beth-lehem; others identify with *Lifta*, about 2 m. N.W. of Jerusalem.
- Netophah (Ezra. ii. 22 = Neh. vii. 26 †. Cf. "Netophathite" in 2 S. xxiii. 28; 1 Ch. ii. 54, etc.), prob. = *Bēt Nettif*, at the entrance to the *Wādī es-Sunt* (= the "Vale of Elah").
- Nezib (Josh. xv. 43 †), prob. = *Bēt-Našib*, 7 m. from Eleutheropolis, on the road to Hebron.
- Nibshan (Josh. xv. 62 †).
- Nimrah (Nu. xxxii. 3 †). See Beth-Nimrah.
- Nimrim, Waters of (Is. xv. 6; Jer. xlvi. 34 †), a stream in Moab. Site is quite uncertain. It may either = *Wādī Nimrin*, 8 m. N. of Dead Sea, or *Wādī en-Numēre*, at S.E. corner of it.
- Nineveh (Gen. x. 11, etc.), the capital of Assyria, represented by the two mounds, *Kuyunjik* and *Neby Yūnus*.
- No or No-Amon (*i.e.* "the city" or "the city of Amon") (Jer. xli. 25; Ezek. xxx. 14, 15, 16; Nah. iii. 8 †, A.V., in Nahum has "*populous No*," in Jer. "the *multitude* of No," from נֹבָה = נֹבָה) = Thebes in Upper Egypt—the capital of Egypt in her zenith. Āmen was the tutelary god of No.
- Nob (1 S. xxi. 1; xxii. 9, 11, 19; Neh. xi. 32; Is. x. 32 †), a locality a little N. of Jerusalem, prob. on or a little S. of the *Rās el-Mes-harif*.
- Nobah, (1) (Nu. xxxii. 42 †) the later name of Kenath (*q.v.*). (2) (Ju. viii. 11 †) quite uncertain. See Cooke, *Judges, ad loc.*
- Noph (Is. xix. 13; Jer. ii. 16; xlv. 1; xlv. 14, 19; Ezek. xxx. 13, 16 † = Moph in Heb. of Hos. ix. 6 †) = Memphis in Lower Egypt, a little S. of Cairo. See Memphis.
- Nophah (Nu. xxi. 30 †), unknown. The text is very uncertain. See Gray, *Numbers, ad loc.*
- OBOTH (Nu. xxi. 10, 11; xxxiii. 43, 44 †), a stage in the wanderings; in the neighbourhood of Moab, perh. = 'Ain el-Wābe, about 50 m. S. of Dead Sea.
- Olivet, Mt. (2 S. xv. 30, A.V.). See "Olives, Mount of."
- Olives, Mt. of (2 S. xv. 30; Zech. xiv. 4 †; also meant by the mount "before" or "on the East of" Jerusalem, 1 Ki. xi. 7; Ezek. xi. 23). The range of hills on E. of Jerusalem, extending from the N.E. to the S.E.
- On (Gen. xli. 45, 50; xlv. 20 †), the sacred city of

- Heliopolis (*i.e.* "sun-city"), in Lower Egypt, 10 m. N.E. of Cairo; Egypt. *Ān*.
- Ono (1 Ch. viii. 12; Ezra ii. 33; Neh. vi. 2; vii. 37; xi. 35 †) = *Kefr 'Ānā*, 2 m. N.N.W. of Lod or Lydda (*q.v.*).
- 'Ophel (2 Ch. xxvii. 3; xxxiii. 14; Neh. iii. 26, 27; xi. 21 †), cf. Is. xxxii. 14; Mi. iv. 8 (R.V. marg.). Some part of the E. hill of Jerusalem, S. of the Temple (see G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, i. 152). "'Ophel" prob. means "fortress" rather than "hill." Cf. p. 204 *n.*
- Ophir (Gen. x. 29; 1 Ki. ix. 28; x. 11; xxii. 48; 1 Ch. i. 23; xxix. 4; 2 Ch. viii. 18; ix. 10; Job xxii. 24; xxviii. 16; Ps. xlv. 9; Is. xiii. 12 †). "Uphaz" in Jer. x. 9; Dan. x. 5, prob. corrupt for Ophir. Very uncertain. Possibly *Abhira* at the mouth of the Indus, possibly an emporium on S. coast of Arabia.
- 'Ophni (Josh. xviii. 24 †), in Benjamin.
- 'Ophrah, (1) in Benjamin (Josh. xviii. 23; 1 S. xiii. 17 †, perh. = Ephraim of 2 S. xiii. 23, and in that case will = *et-Taiyibeh*). See Ephraim. (2) in W. Manasseh (Ju. vi. 11, 24; viii. 27, 32; ix. 5 †). Site uncertain. (3) A Judahite clan (1 Ch. iv. 14 †).
- 'Oreb (*i.e.* "raven"), The Rock, associated with the "winepress of Ze'eb" (*i.e.* wolf) (Ju. vii. 25; Is. x. 26 †). Possibly '*Ushsh el-Ghurab* (*i.e.* "the raven's nest"), 3 m. N. of Jericho.
- PADAN and Padan-Aram. See Paddan, Paddan-Aram.
- Paddan (Gen. xlviii. 7), elsewhere Paddan-Aram (Gen. xxv. 20; xxviii. 2, 5, 6, 7; xxxi. 18; xxxiii. 18; xxxv. 9, 26; xlvi. 15 †), perh. (from Ass.) = "field of Aram." *Padānu* = modern Arabic *feddān* ("acre"). Cf. "field of Aram" (פֶּדְדָּן אֲרָם), Hos. xii. 12). Generally = the region about Haran E. of the R. Euphrates, 400 m. N.E. of Jerusalem.
- Palestina (Ex. xv. 14; Is. xiv. 29, 31; Joel iii. 4 †) = Philistia (so R.V.), *not* = our "Palestine."
- Parah (Josh. xviii. 23 †), in Benjamin, = *Fāra*, 3 m. N.E. of 'Anathoth.
- Paran, The Wilderness of (Gen. xxi. 21; Nu. x. 12; xii. 16; xiii. 3, 26; Dt. i. 1; xxxiii. 2; 1 S. xxv. 1 (here read *Ma'on*, after LXX (B), *Ma'āv*); 1 K. xi. 18; Hab. iii. 3 †). El-Paran in Gen. xiv. 6, perh. = Elath, at the head of the Gulf of 'Aqabah.

- In 1 Ki. xi. 18, it is apparently a town. In Dt. xxxiii. 2; Hab. iii. 3, it is a mountain (הַר פָּאֵר); while in Dt. i. 1, it is very uncertain where or what the Paran in question is. In Nu. xiii. 26 the wilderness of Paran includes Kadesh; and Guthe (Map 4) marks a *Jebel Faran*, 30 miles S.E. of 'Ain Kadis, which may = the ancient Mt. Paran. It lay S. of Palestine and W. of Edom, and extended from the wilderness of Sinai to the borders of Canaan.
- Parvaim (2 Ch. iii. 6 †). acc. to Ed. Glaser, *Sāḳ el-Farwaim*, in Arabia.
- Paš-Dammim (1 Ch. xi. 13 †) = Ephes-Dammim (*q.v.*) in 1 S. xvii. 1 †).
- Pathrōs (Is. xi. 11; Jer. xlv. 1, 15; Ezek. xxix. 14; xxx. 14 †; cf. Pathrušim, Gen. x. 14 = 1 Ch. i. 12), = the Egyptian *P-to-rts*, "the southern country," = Upper Egypt, extending from Acanthus, below Memphis, to the first cataract.
- Pa'i (1 Ch. i. 50 † = Pa'u, Gen. xxxvi. 39). See Pa'u.
- Pa'u (Gen. xxxvi. 39 † = Pa'i, 1 Ch. i. 50 †). Read with Ball, 'Pe'or (*q.v.*) (פֶּעֹר), after LXX.
- Peniel (Gen. xxxii. 30 †). See Penuel.
- Penuel (Gen. xxxii. 30, written as Peniel; xxxii. 31; Ju. viii. 8, 9, 17; 1 Ki. xii. 25 †), exact site unknown. Somewhere on the ascent into Gile'ad, at the confluence of the Jabbok with the Jordan, a little above Succoth. (See Driver, *Expository Times*, xiii. 407 f.; *Genesis*, 300-2).
- Pe'or, (1) The mountain (Nu. xxiii. 28; xxv. 18; xxxi. 16; Josh. xxii. 17; cf. Ba'al-Peor, *i.e.* Ba'al of Pe'or, Nu. xxv. 3, 5; Dt. iv. 3; Ps. cvi. 28; and the place Ba'al-Pe'or, Hos. ix. 10. See also Beth-Pe'or, above, and in *E.B.* Prob. a height very near *Nebā* (see "Nebo"). According to Eusebius, there was a Mt. Pe'or on the road leading up from Jordan to Heshbon. (2) A town in Judah, mentioned only in LXX, Josh. xv. 59, and by Eusebius; perh. = *Kh. Fāghūr*, S.W. of Beth-lehem.
- Perazim, Mount (Is. xxviii. 21 †), prob. = Ba'al Perazim (*q.v.*)
- Perez-'Uzzah (2 S. vi. 8 = 1 Ch. xiii. 11 †), on the road between Kiriath - Je'arim and Jerusalem. Site unknown.
- Perizzites, The (Gen. xv. 20; Ex. iii. 8, etc.), one of the pre-Israelitish "peoples" in Palestine. Locality un-

- certain. See *E.B.*, iii. 3659; *D.B.*, iii. 752.
- Pethōr (Nu. xxii. 5; Dt. xxiii. 4 †), the home of Bala'am, between the upper course of the Euphrates and the Khabour. It = the *Pitru* mentioned by Shalmaneser II., and the *Pedru* mentioned by Thothmes III. See *D.B.*, iii. 818.
- Petra. See Sela'.
- Pharpar, The River (2 Ki. v. 12 †), one of the "streams" of Damascus. Site uncertain. The Abanah, the other river of Damascus (= *Barada*), runs right through Damascus, from W. to E. The Pharpar = either *Nahr Tōrā*, running into the *Barada*, N.W. of Damascus, or the *Wādī Barbar*, 5-6 m. S.W. of Damascus, which may once have flowed into the *Nahr el-A'waj* (running W. to E.), 8 m. S. of Damascus. See map in Baedeker.
- Philistia (Ps. lx. 8 = cviii. 9; lxxxviii. 4 †; so R.V. in Ex. xv. 14; Is. xiv. 29, 31; Joel iii. 4 † for A.V. "Palestina." The Philistine country was situated in the maritime plain, and extended from Joppa in the N. to the desert S. of Gaza, and was about 40 m. in length. Cf. "Philistines" (Gen. xxi. 32, *et passim*).
- Phuṭ (A.V.) See Puṭ.
- Pi-beseth (Ezek. xxx. 17 †) = *Tell Basta*, near Zajazij in Lower Egypt.
- Pi-Haḥiroth (Ex. xiv. 2, 9; Nu. xxxiii. 7, 8 †), in Lower Egypt; a stage in the wanderings. Naville identifies with *Pakaheret*, but this is very doubtful (see Driver, *Exodus*, p. 122).
- Pir'athon (Ju. xii. 15 †). Cf. also "Pir'athonite" (Ju. xii. 13, 15; 2 S. xxiii. 30; 1 Ch. xi. 31; xxvii. 14 †). Perh. = *Fer'atū*, 6 m. W.S.W. of Nāblus, or possibly *Fer'on*, W. of Samaria.
- Pisgah (Nu. xxi. 20; xxiii. 14; Dt. iii. 17, 27; iv. 49; xxxiv. 1; Josh. xii. 3; xiii. 20 †). The Hebrew word always has the definite article, the expressions used being always either ראש הפסגה ("the head (*i.e.* projecting headland) of Pisgah," an alternative expression for Mt. Nebo; perhaps the particular projecting spur is *Rās Siaghah*, at the W. end of the *Nebā* ridge, overlooking the Dead Sea); or אֲשְׁדוֹת הַפְּסָגָה (*Ashdoth-Pisgah*, (*q.v.*), *i.e.* the slopes of Pisgah).
- Pishōn, the River (Gen. ii. 11 †), one of the four heads flowing out of the river of Eden. Quite uncertain.

Pison. See Pishon.

Pithom (Ex. i. 11 †) = *Tell el-Maskhūta*, E. of the *Wādī Tūmilat* in Lower Egypt.

Pul (Is. lxvi. 19 †). Read "Put" (*q.v.*).

Punon (Nu. xxxiii. 42, 43 †), according to Eusebius and Jerome, a little village called *Phainon* between Zo'ar and Petra, and so prob. = *Kal'at* ("castle of") *Phenan*.

Puṭ (so R.V. in all passages) (Gen. x. 6 = 1 Ch. i. 8; Jer. xlvi. 9; Ezek. xxvii. 10; xxx. 5; xxxviii. 5; Nah. iii. 9; and Is. lxvi. 19, where read "Put" for "Pul" †). An African people (cf. Gen. x. 6; Nah. iii. 9), who supplied mercenaries to Egypt and other nations. Perh. = Punt, a people often mentioned in Egyptian inscriptions, living on the coast of the Red Sea, S.E. of Ethiopia. See *D.B.*, s.v.

RA'AMAH (Gen. x. 7 = 1 Ch. i. 9; Ezek. xxvii. 22 †), "son" of Cush, perh. = the "city" *Regma* of Ptolemy, on the Persian Gulf.

Rabbah, (1) Rabbah or *Rabbath-benē-Ammon* (Dt. iii. 11; Josh. xiii. 25; 2 S. xi. 1; xii. 26, 27, 29; xvii. 27; 1 Ch. xx. 1; Jer. xlix. 2, 3; Ezek. xxi. 20; xxv. 5; Am.

i. 14 †), = "Rabbah of the children of 'Ammon." The only city of the 'Ammonites mentioned in O.T.; = *'Ammān*, 25 m. N.E. of N. end of Dead Sea. (2) Rabbah (Josh. xv. 60 †), in in Judah.

Rabbith (Josh. xix. 20 †), in Issachar, = *Rābā*, N. of *Ibsik*.

Racal (1 S. xxx. 29 †). For רַכָּל read רַכְרַקִּל (*i.e.* "in Carmel"). See Carmel (2), *i.e.* the town.

Rachal. See Racal.

Rachel, Tomb of (Gen. xxxv. 20; xlviii. 7; 1 S. x. 2 f.; Jer. xxxi. 15). 1 S. x. 2 f. and Jer. xxxi. 15, place it near Ramah (3), 5 m. N. of Jerusalem, but Gen. xxxv. 16; xlviii. 7, place it "some way from Ephrath," which is identified with Beth-lehem (6 m. S. of Jerusalem). The traditional site is *Kubbet Rāhēl*, 4 m. S. of Jerusalem and 1 m. N. of Beth-lehem. But the site implied by 1 S. x. and Jer. xxxi. is preferable; and prob. the words in Genesis, "that is Beth-lehem," are an incorrect gloss.

Raḳḳath (Josh. xix. 35 †), a fortified city in Naphtali. Tiberias is said in the Talmud to have been on its site.

Raḳḳon (Josh. xix. 46 †),

- probably a *vox nihili*, and coming after Me-Jarkon (*q.v.*) is doubtless due to dittography;
- Ramah (with the article, = "the height"), (1) (Josh. xix. 36 †) a fortified city in Naphtali = *Rāmeḥ*, 8 m. W.S.W. of *Ṣafed*. (2) (Josh. xix. 29 †) on the boundary of Asher, near Tyre = *Rāmīa*, 12 m. E. of Ladder of Tyre. (3) (Josh. xviii. 25; Ju. xix. 13; 1 Ki. xv. 17; Ezra ii. 26; Neh. xi. 33; Is. x. 29; Jer. xxxi. 15; Hos. v. 8) = *er-Rām*, 5 m. N. of Jerusalem, and 2600 ft. above sea-level. (4) (2 Ki. viii. 29 = 2 Ch. xxii. 6) = Ramoth-Gile'ad (*q.v.*). (5) (Josh. xix. 8; 1 S. xxx. 27 †) "Ramah (or "Ramoth") of the South." A city in Sime'on. Site unknown. (6) (1 S. i. 19; ii. 11; vii. 17; viii. 4; xv. 34; xvi. 13; xix. 17 f., 22 f.; xx. 1; xxv. 1; xxviii. 3; 2 Ch. xxxvi. 5 (LXX)); in 1 S. i. 1, written "Ramathaim" (*i.e.* "the two heights"). If Eusebius' description is right, prob. either *Bēt Kīma*, 12 m. N.W. of Bethel, or Rentis, 5 m. W. of *Bēt Rīma*.
- Ramathaim. See Ramah (6).
- Ramathaim-Zophim (1 S. i. 1 †). Impossible Hebrew. Read with LXX, "of Ramathaim, a Zuphite of the hill-country, etc." (cf. *v.* 1 *end*, ix. 5) = Ramah (6) (*q.v.*).
- Ramath-Leḥi (Ju. xv. 17 †). See Leḥi.
- Ramath-Mizpeh (Josh. xiii. 26 †). See Mizpah (6).
- Ramath-Negeb = Ramah of the South. See Ramah (5).
- Ramoth (1 Ch. vi. 73 †, or "Remeth," Josh. xix. 21; = "Jarmuth" in Josh. xxi. 29 (LXX, "Remmath"), in Issachar.
- Ramoth-Gile'ad (Dt. iv. 43, etc.), "Ramoth in Gile'ad," "Ramah" (2 Ki. viii. 29 = 2 Ch. xxii. 6 †). Site unknown.
- Ra'mseš (Gen. xlvii. 11; Ex. i. 11; xii. 37; Nu. xxxiii. 3, 5 †), prob. a city in the W. part of Goshen, W. of Pithom. Perh. = *Tell er-Retabeh*, about 8 m. from Pithom.
- Recah (1 Ch. iv. 12 †). Site unknown.
- Rechab, Rechabites (2 K. x. 15; 1 Ch. ii. 55; Jer. xxxv. 2, etc.), either a Kenite clan, or another name for Kenites (*q.v.*).
- Rechah (A.V.) = (R.V.) Recah (*q.v.*).
- Reḥob, (1) (Nu. xiii. 21) in the N. of Canaan. Reḥob, 2 S. x. 8 = Beth-Rehob (*q.v.*) *v.* 6. (2) Josh. xix. 28; xxi. 31 = 1 Ch. vi. 75 †) in Asher, apparently near

- Sidon. (3) (Josh. xix. 30; Ju. i. 31 †) in Asher.
- Rehoboth, (1) (Gen. xxvi. 22 †) a well dug by Isaac. Perhaps *Ruhaibeh* 20 m. S.W. of Beersheba. (2) "Rehoboth by the river" (Gen. xxxvi. 37 = 1 Ch. i. 48 †), perhaps *Rahaba* on the Euphrates (which "the river" in Hebrew usually means).
- Rehoboth-'Ir ("broad places of a city") (Gen. x. 11 †), near Nineveh. Site unknown.
- Rekem (Josh. xviii. 27 †), in Benjamin.
- Remeth (Josh. xix. 21 †). See Ramoth.
- Remmon (A.V.) = (R.V.) Rimmon (*q.v.*).
- Remmon-methoar (A.V. Josh. xix. 13 †). See Rimmon (2).
- Rephaim, Valley of (Josh. xv. 8; xviii. 16; 2 S. v. 18, 22; xxiii. 13; 1 Ch. xi. 15 = xiv. 9; Is. xvii. 5 †), S.W. of Jerusalem.
- Rephidim (Ex. xvii. 1, 8; xix. 2; Nu. xxxiii. 14, 15 †), usually identified with the upper part of the *Wādī Fāran*, in the Sinaitic Peninsula. But see note on Gudgodah.
- Rešen (Gen. x. 12 †), a city in Assyria, somewhere near Nineveh and Calah (*q.v.*).
- Rezeph (2 Ki. xix. 12; Is. xxxvii. 12 †), prob. the *Rasappa* of the cuneiform inscriptions, possibly = *Ruṣāfa*, between Palmyra and the Euphrates
- Riblah, (1) (2 Ki. xxiii. 33; xxv. 6, 21; Jer. xxxix. 5, 6; lii. 9, 10, 26, 27 †; and Ezek. vi. 14, where read "*Riblah*" for "*Diblah*") = *Ribleh*, on the right bank of the Orontes, 65 m. N. of Damascus. (2) (Nu. xxxiv. 11 †) between Ḥazar-ēnān and the Sea of Galilee. Site unknown.
- Rimmon, (1) (Josh. xv. 32; xix. 7; 1 Ch. iv. 32; Zech. xiv. 10 †) = 'En-Rimmon (*q.v.*). (2) (Josh. xix. 13 †) = Rimmono (1 Ch. vi. 77) = Rimmonah (which read for "*Dimnah*" in Josh. xxi. 35), prob. = *Rummaneh*, N. of Nazareth. (3) The rock Rimmon (Ju. xx. 45, 47; xxi. 13), prob. = *Rammōn*, about 4 miles E. of Bethel.
- Rimmon-Parez (A.V.) = (R.V.) Rimmon-Perez (*q.v.*).
- Rimmon-Perez (Nu. xxxiii. 19, 20), one of the stages in the wanderings.
- Rissah (Nu. xxxiii. 21, 22 †), a stage in the wanderings.
- Rithmah (Nu. xxxiii. 18, 19 †), a stage in the wanderings.
- River of Egypt. See (1) "Egypt, River of"; and (2) "Egypt, Wādī of."
- River of the wilderness (Am.

- vi. 14 A.V.). See 'Arābah, Brook (*Wādi*) of the.
- Rogelim (2 S. xviii. 27; xix. 31), in Gile'ad. Site unknown.
- Rosh (Ezek. xxxviii. 2; xxxix. 1 †), mentioned with Meshech and Tubal as part of the kingdom of Gog. Quite uncertain.
- Rumah (2 Ki. xxiii. 36 †), LXX of || 2 Ch. xxxvi. 5 has Ramah. If this right, prob. = Ramah (3) or (6).
- SALCAH. See Šalecah.
- Šalcaah. See Šalecah.
- Šalecah (Dt. iii. 10; Josh. xii. 5; xiii. 11; 1 Ch. iv. 11 †), on E. border of Bashan = *Zahad* (צַהַד) or *Zarhad*, E. of Bošra.
- Salem (Gen. xiv. 18; Ps. lxxvi. 2 †) = Jerusalem.
- Salmon, Mt. (Ps. lxxviii. 14 A.V.). See Zalmon.
- Salt, City of (Josh. xv. 61, 62 †), in the "wilderness of Judah." Site uncertain.
- Salt Sea (Gen. xiv. 3; Nu. xxxiv. 3, 12; Dt. iii. 17; Josh. iii. 16; xii. 3; xv. 25; xviii. 19 †) = the Dead Sea. Also called the "Sea of the 'Arabah" (Josh. iii. 16), and the "front (*i.e.* East) Sea" (Ezek. xlvi. 18; Joel ii. 20).
- Salt, Valley of (2 S. viii. 13; 1 Ch. xviii. 12 = Ps. lx. (title); 2 Ki. xiv. 7 = 2 Ch. xxv. 11), S. of the Dead Sea, near Edom.
- Samaria (1 Ki. xiii. 32, etc.) = *Sebastiyeh*, 6 m. N.W. of *Nāblus* (Shechem) and 20 m. from the Mediterranean.
- Sansannah (Josh. xv. 31 †) = *Ḥazar-šuşah*, *Ḥazar-šuşim* in || lists (Josh. xix. 5; 1 Ch. iv. 31), in the Negeb of Judah.
- Saphir (A.V.) = (R.V.) Saphir (*q.v.*).
- Sarid (Josh. xix. 10, 12 †), on S. border of Zebulun. But perh. read "Sadid" and identify with *Tell Shadūd*, on N. side of plain of Esdraelon.
- Sea, The Great (Nu. xxxiv. 6, 7; Josh. i. 4; ix. 7, etc.), the Mediterranean Sea.
- Sea, the hinder (*i.e.* western; R.V. sometimes "hinder," sometimes "western") (Dt. xi. 24; xxxiv. 2; Joel ii. 20; Zec. xiv. 8 (all R.V.) †), the Mediterranean Sea.
- Sea, the east or eastern (Ezek. xlvi. 18; Joel ii. 20; Zec. xiv. 8 (all R.V.) †), the Dead Sea.
- Sebam (Nu. xxxii. 3 R.V. †). See Sibmah.
- Secacah (Josh. xv. 61 †), in the "wilderness of Judah."
- Secu (A.V.) = (R.V.) Secu.
- Secu (1 S. xix. 22 †). Read with LXX, *שֶׁעָרַי* "on the bare height." (So Driver, etc.)

- Se'ir, Mount, (1) (Gen. xiv. 6, etc.) the mountain district E. of the 'Arabah, and S. of the Dead Sea. (2) (Josh. xv. 10 †) between Kiriath-je'arim and Chesalon, perh. near the rocky point *Sārīs* (= Sōrēs of LXX, Josh. xv. 60).
- Se'irah (Ju. iii. 26 †), in the hill-country of Ephraim. Site unknown.
- Se'irath (A.V.) = (R.V.), Se'irah (*g.v.*).
- Şela' (Ju. i. 36, R.V. marg.; 2 Ki. xiv. 7, Is. xvi. 1; Ob. 3, R.V. marg. †), translated "the rock" (Ju. i. 36 and Ob. 3 EVV.; 2 Ki. xiv. 7, EVV. margins; Is. xvi. 1, R.V. marg.), and "Petra" (Is. xvi. 1, EVV. margins). "Şela'" is generally regarded as the Hebrew name of the later city of Petra. "Sela'" (שֵׁלָא), however, simply = "rock," and it is doubtful whether a city is referred to in any of these passages (2 Ki. xiv. 7 excepted). The ruins of Petra lie in the *Wādī Mūsa*, in the mountains "forming the eastern wall of the great valley between the Dead Sea and the Gulf of Akaba." The city gave its name to the province Arabia Petraea.
- Şelah (2 Ki. xiv. 7, A.V.). See Sela'.
- Şela' - Hammahlekoth (1 S. xxiii. 28 †) (prob. = "the rock of divisions), perh. = *Wādī Malāki*, which runs eastward between Carmel and Ma'on.
- Senaah (Ez. ii. 35; Neh. vii. 38 †), written "Hassenaah" in Neh. iii. 3, and always preceded by בְּנֵי (*i.e.* "sons of"). No town is known of this name.
- Şeneh, The rock (1 S. xiv. 4 †), on S. side of the *Wādī es-Suweiniṭ*. See Michmash.
- Şenir (Dt. iii. 9; 1 Ch. v. 23; Cant. iv. 8; Ezek. xxvii. 5 †), the Amorite name of Hermon (Dt. iii. 9), prob. a particular part of the Hermon range.
- Şepharad (Ob. 20 †), prob. = "Sparad" of the Behistun Inscription, between Cappadocia and Ionia, = Sardis, in Asia Minor.
- Şepharvaim (2 Ki. xvii. 24, 31; xviii. 34 (= Is. xxxvi. 19); xix. 13 (= Is. xxxvii. 13) †). The Şepharvaim of 2 Ki. xviii. 34; xix. 13 (where allusion is made to its "king") may be the Shabarain destroyed by Shalmaneser IV. In 2 Ki. xvii. 24, 31, it may = Sippar (*Abū Habba*), 16 m. S.W. of Baghdad.
- Şevēneh (Ezek. xxix. 10; xxx. 6 †—render each time as R.V. marg.) = Syene =

- Aṣwān*, the old border fortress between Egypt and Ethiopia, at the first cataract
- Sha'alabbin (Josh. xix. 42). See Sha'albin.
- Sha'albim (Josh. xix. 42 (where written "Sha'alabbin"); Ju. i. 35; 1 Ki. iv. 9 †). Cf. Sha'albonite, 2 S. xxiii. 32 = 1 Ch. xi. 33. Perh. read "*Sha'albim*" for "*Sha'alim*," in 1 S. ix. 4. Poss. (though the names do not agree phonetically) = *Salbit*, 8 m. N. of Bethshemesh.
- Sha'alim, 'The land of (1 S. ix. 4 †), presumably in Benjamin, but perh. read *Sha'albim*. (See Driver, *Samuel*, ed. 2, p. 70.)
- Sha'araim (*i.e.* "two gates"), (1) (Josh. xv. 36 †) in the Shephelah of Judah; if a proper name in 1 S. xvii. 52, perh. = *Tell Zakariya*, N.W. of Socoh, down the *Wādī es-Sunt*. (2) (1 Ch. iv. 31 †) = "Sharuhen" (Josh. xix. 6) = "Shilhim" (Josh. xv. 32). Prob. the Sharuhen of the Egyptian inscriptions (Āāhmes, and Thothmes III.), and somewhere S.W. of Gaza.
- Shaḥazimah, (A.V.) = (R.V.) Shaḥazumah (*q.v.*).
- Shaḥazumah (Josh. xix. 22 †), on border of Issachar towards Jordan.
- Shalem (Gen. xxxiii. 18 †), if a proper name, possibly = *Sālim*, 4 m. E. of *Nāblus* (Shechem). But perh. not a proper name, in which case שָׁלֵם will = "in peace (to the city of Shechem)."
- Sha'lim (A.V.) = (R.V.) Sha'alim (*q.v.*).
- Shalishah, Land of (1 S. ix. 4 †), presumably the district round Ba'al-Shalisha (*q.v.*) (2 Ki. iv. 42 †).
- Shamir, (1) (Josh. xv. 48 †), in the hill-country of Judah; prob. = *Umm Sōmerah*, 13 miles S.W. of Hebron. It is 2000 ft. above sea-level. (2) (Ju. x. 1, 2 †) in the hill-country of Ephraim.
- Shapher (A.V.) = (R.V.) Shepher (*q.v.*).
- Shaphir (Mi. i. 11 †), perh. = *Sawāfir*, S.E. of Ashdod.
- Sharon, (1) (שָׂרֹן (with art.)) (Josh. xii. 18; 1 Ch. xxvii. 29; Cant. ii. 1; Is. xxxiii. 9; xxxv. 2; lxx. 10 †), that part of the maritime plain which stretches from Joppa to Mt. Carmel (55 m.). (2) (1 Ch. v. 16 †) prob. = the *Mishōr* or plateau between the Arnon and the Jabbok, E. of the Jordan.
- Sharuhen (Josh. xix. 6 †) = Shilhim (Josh. xv. 32) = Sha'araim (1 Ch. iv. 31) (*q.v.*).
- Shaveh, Vale of (Gen. xiv. 17 †, where it is said to

- = "the king's vale," (2 S. xviii. 18), a broad vale near Salem (Jerusalem).
- Shaveh Kiriathaim (Gen. xiv. 5 †). שָׁוֵי is supposed to = "plain." This is, however, doubtful; perh. read שָׁוֵי ("field of") with Ball. Presumably the country round Kiriathaim (*q.v.*).
- Shearing-House, The (2 Ki. x. 12, 14 †) (Heb. "Beth-'Eked"), where Jehu met Ahaziah's brethren. Somewhere between Jezre'el and Samaria.
- Sheba', (1) (Josh. xix. 2 †) either due to dittography from the preceding Beer-sheba' or read with LXX שֵׁבָא' ("Shema'" (*q.v.*)). But it is not in the || list, 1 Ch. iv. 28. (Josh. xix. 2, R.V. has "or Sheba," but the Hebrew has "and.")
- Shebā' (2) (Gen. x. 7, 28; 1 Ki. x. 1; Job. vi. 19; Ps. lxxii. 10, 15; Is. lx. 6, etc.), a wealthy trading tribe, the Sabæans of classical writers, living in S. Arabia. In Gen. x. 7, xxv. 3, apparently an offshoot or colony in N.-W. Arabia, near Dedan.
- Sheb'ah. See Shib'ah.
- Shebam (Nu. xxxii. 3, A.V. †). See Sibnah.
- Shebarim (Josh. vii. 5 †), near 'Ai (*q.v.*), if text correct. Perh. R.V. marg., "the quarries," is correct. LXX presupposes a verb "crushed."
- Shechem (Gen. xii. 6, etc.) = *Nāblus* (Neapolis), between the Mts. 'Ebal and Gerizim.
- She'erah (1 Ch. vii. 24(a), and Uzzen-She'erah, 1 Ch. vii. 24(b)). Conder suggests *Bēt Sira*, 2 m. S.W. of Lower Beth-Horon, but site is quite uncertain.
- Shelah, The Pool of (Neh. iii. 15 †), the modern *Birket Silwān*, or Pool of Siloam, towards the S. end of the "City of David," supplied with water from Gihon (*q.v.*) by a tunnel some 1700 ft. in length, cut through the rock.
- Shema' (Josh. xv. 26 †). Perh. read "Shema'" for "Sheba'" in Josh. xix. 2.
- Shen (1 S. vii. 12 †). Read prob. after LXX, *Jeshanah* (Wellh., Driver, al.). See *Jeshanah*.
- Shenir (A.V.) = (R.V.) Senir (*q.v.*).
- Shepham (Nu. xxxiv. 10, 11 †), on ideal E. border of Canaan.
- Shephēlah, The. See under Achzib (footnote).
- Shepher, Mt. (Nu. xxxiii. 23, 24 †), a stage in the wanderings.
- Sherah (A.V.) = (R.V.) She'erah (*q.v.*).
- Sheshach (Jer. xxv. 26; li.

- 41 †), a cypher-form for "Bābel" (Babylon). Cf. R.V. marg. and *D.B.* iv. 492-3.
- Shib'ah (Gen. xxvi. 33), the name of the well of Beer-sheba'.
- Shibmah (Nu. xxxii. 38, A.V. †). See Sibmah.
- Shicron (Josh. xv. 11, A.V. †). See Shikkeron.
- Shihon (A.V.) = (R.V.) Shion (*q.v.*)
- Shihor, in Is. xxiii. 3, Jer. ii. 18 = the Nile; in Josh. xiii. 3, 1 Ch. xiii. 5, the Pelusiac or easternmost arm of it (as ideal S.W. frontier of Israel). Cf. Egypt, River of.
- Shihor-Libnath (Josh. xix. 26 †) (= "the Shihor of Libnath"), apparently near Carmel, on S. border of Asher.
- Shikkeron (Josh. xv. 11 †), at W. end of N. boundary of Judah, between 'Eḳron and Jabneel.
- Shilhim (Josh. xv. 32 †), a city of Judah, "towards the border of Edom."
- Shiloah, Waters of (Is. viii. 6 †), "the waters of Shiloah" = the Virgin's Spring. See Shelah.
- Shiloh (Josh. xviii. 1; Ju. xxi. 19, 21; 1 S. i. 3, etc.; Ps. lxxviii. 60; Jer. vii. 12, 14; xxvi. 6, 9; also Gen. xlix. 10 (according to R. V. marg.)) = *Seilūn*, 9½ m. N.N.E. of *Bētin*.
- Shimron (Josh. xi. 1; xix. 15 †) = Shimron - Meron (Josh. xii. 20 †), in Zebulun. Site unknown.
- Shimron-Meron (Josh. xii. 20 †) = Shimron (*q.v.*).
- Shin'ar (Gen. x. 10; xi. 2; xiv. 19; Josh. vii. 21; Is. xi. 11; Zecl. v. ii.; Dan. i. 2 †) = Babylonia.
- Shion (Josh. xix. 19 †), in Issachar; perh. = *Ain Shā'in*, 4 m. N.W. of Tabor.
- Shiṭṭim (always with art., "the acacias") (Nu. xxv. 1; Josh. ii. 1; iii. 1; Mi. vi. 5 †), some part of the E. side of the Jordan-valley, just N. of the Dead Sea. Cf. Abel-Shiṭṭim (Nu. xxxiii. 49). The "*wādī* of Shiṭṭim" in Joel iii. 18 is uncertain; see Driver's note (in the Cambridge Bible).
- Shocho, Shoco. See Socoh.
- Shophan. See 'Atroth-Shophan.
- Shuah (Gen. xxv. 2 = 1 Ch. i. 32; cf. Job. ii. 11), son of Abraham and Ḳeturah; perh. = the *Sūḫu* of the cuneiform inscriptions (Ashur-nasir-pal), a land situated on right bank of Euphrates, S. of Carchemish.
- Shu'al, The Land of (1 S. xiii. 17 †), near 'Ophrah (*q.v.*).
- Shunem (Josh. xix. 18; 1 S. xxviii. 4; 2 Ki. iv. 8 †; cf. Shunammite in 1 Ki. 1, 3, 15; ii. 21, 22; 2 Ki. iv. 12, 25, 36, and Shulammitte,

- Cant. vi. 13), in Issachar. Probably = *Sudem*, S. of Tabor.
- Shur (Gen. xvi. 7; xx. 1; xxv. 18; Ex. xv. 22 (the wilderness of Shur); 1 S. xv. 7; xxvii. 8 †), a place on N.E. frontier of Egypt, possibly the ancient *Tor*, the classical *Selle*, now *Tell abū-Sifch*, 20 m. S. of Port-said. See *D.B.* (s.v.).
- Shushan (Neh. i. 1; Esth. i. 2, etc.; Dan. viii. 2), = Susa.
- Sibmah (Nu. xxxii. 38; Josh. xiii. 19; Is. xvi. 8, 9; Jer. xlviii. 32 † = Sebam, Nu. xxxii. 3), prob. = *Sūmia*, 2½ m. W. of Heshbon.
- Šibram (Ezek. xlvii. 16 †), on ideal N. border of Cana'an, "between the border of Damascus and the border of Hamath," site uncertain; perh. (Van Kasteren) *Kh. Šcnbārīye*, on the *Hašbani*, a little S. of *Šerādā* (see *Zedad*).
- Sichem (Gen. xii. 6, A.V. †) = R.V. Shechem (q.v.).
- Siddim, Vale of (Gen. xiv. 3, 8, 10 †), perh. the shallow S. part of the Dead Sea, which may have been dry land in Abraham's time. See *D.B.* iv. 512.
- Sidon. Zidon.
- Siḥor. See Shiḥor.
- Siloah, The Pool of. See Shelah and Shiloah.
- Sin (Ezek. xxx. 15, 16 †), generally identified with Pelusium, now *el-Ferma*, in extreme N.E. corner of delta. But see *E.B.* (s.v.).
- Šin, Wilderness of (Ex. xvi. 1; xvii. 1; Nu. xxxiii. 11, 12 †). In N.W. of Sinaitic Peninsula: exact site uncertain (see Driver on Ex. xvi. 1).
- Šinai, Mt. (Ex. xvi. 1, etc.), the term used in J and P for the seat of the Deity, "Horeb," being the term used in E and D. The exact route of the Israelites is uncertain (see Driver, *Exodus*, 186-191); but upon the generally accepted view it = *Jebel Mūsā*, a very high peak (7363 ft.) in the Sinaitic Peninsula (see plan and map, *ibid.*, 183, and at end of vol.).
- Šinai, Wilderness of (Ex. xix. 1, 2; Lev. vii. 38, etc.), the area in front of "Mt. Sinai."
- Sion (יְרוּשָׁלַיִם). See Zion. Sion (יְרוּשָׁלַיִם) in Dt. iv. 48 †, a name for Hermon.
- Siphmoth (1 S. xxx. 28 †), mentioned with 'Aro'er (q.v.), to the E. of Beersheba and Eshtemoa'. Site unknown.
- Širah (2 S. iii. 26 †), The Well (or "Cistern," R.V. marg.) of, perh. = 'Ain *Sāra*, 1 m. N. of Hebron.
- Sirion (Dt. iii. 9; Ps. xxix. 6 †), the Zidonian name for Hermon (q.v.).

- Siṭnah, Well of (Gen. xxvi. 21 †; (Siṭnah = "enmity"), perh. in the valley of Gerar.
- Socoh, (1) (Josh. xv. 35; 1 S. xvii. 1; 1 Ki. iv. 10; 2 Ch. xi. 7; xxviii. 18 †), in the Shephelah, = *Kh. Shuweikch*, on S. side of Valley of Elah, and 1145 ft. above sea-level. (2) (Josh. xv. 48; 1 Ch. iv. 18 †) = *Kh. Shuweikch*, in the hill-country of Judah, 10 m. S.W. of Hebron.
- Sodom (Gen. x. 19, etc.), one of the "cities of the Plain"; prob. S. of the Dead Sea.
- Sorek, Valley of (Ju. xvi. 4†) = *Wādī eš-Sarār*, N. of Jerusalem and W. of Zor'ah.
- South, the (with cap. S), in R.V., the Negeb (*q.v.*); see Gen. xii. 9, R.V. marg.
- Succoth, (1) (Gen. xxxiii. 17; Josh. xiii. 27; Ju. viii. 5-16; 1 Ki. vii. 46; 2 Ch. iv. 17; Ps. lx. 6 = cviii. 7 †), on E. of Jordan, a little below (W. of) Penuel (Ju. viii. 5; cf. v. 8), prob. just S. of the Jabbok (see Penuel, with the references), but exact site unknown. (2) (Ex. xii. 37; xiii. 20; Nu. xxxiii. 5, 6 †), the first stage in the wanderings on leaving Egypt, = *Eg. Thke*, which apparently denoted both Pithom (*q.v.*), the capital of the nome, and also the region surrounding Pithom.
- Syene (A.V. and R.V. marg. Ezek. xxix. 10; xxx. 6) = R.V.) Seveneh (*q.v.*).
- Syria (Gen. x. 22, 23; Ju. x. 6, etc.) (Heb. אַרָם, "Aram"). The Aramæans were an important branch of the Semitic race inhabiting Mesopotamia and N. Syria. Different branches of "Aram" are mentioned in O.T., e.g. Aram of Beth-Rehob (2 S. x. 6), Aram of Zobah (2 S. x. 6, 8), Aram of Damascus (2 S. viii. 5).
- TA'ANACH (Josh. xii. 21; xvii. 11; xxi. 25; Ju. i. 27; v. 19; 1 Ki. iv. 12; 1 Ch. vii. 29†) = *Tell Ta'aneh* on S.W. border of plain of Esdraelon, 4 m. S. of Megiddo.
- Taanath-Shiloh (Josh. xvi. 6 †), prob. = Ta'nā, 7 m. S.E. of Nâblus (Shechem) and 2 m. N. of *Yānūn* (Janoah).
- Ṭabbath (Ju. vii. 22 †), in Jordan Valley, appar. near Beth-Shiṭṭah, and Abel-Meholah. Site unknown.
- Tab'erah (Nu. xi. 3; Dt. ix. 22 †), in the wilderness of Paran. Site unknown.
- Tabor, Mt. (Ju. iv. 6, 12, 14; viii. 18; Ps. lxxxix. 12; Jer. xlvi. 18; Hos. v. 1 †), = *Jebel eš-Tūr*, 5 m. E. of Nazareth, and 1843 ft. high. The Tabor in Ju. viii. 18 is prob. not the mountain;

- but some place near 'Ophrah and Shechem.
- Tabor (Josh. xix. 22; 1 Ch. vi. 77), a town in Zebulun, prob. on or near Tabor.
- Tabor, The Oak (or "Terebinth"; A.V. wrongly has "plain") of (1 S. x. 3 †), between Rachel's sepulchre and "Gibe'ah of God" (*q.v.*)
- Tadmor (2 Ch. viii. 4 † = 1 Ki. ix. 18 (Kre, A.V., R.V. marg.)). In Kings R.V. rightly reads Tāmar (*q.v.*); perhaps the Chronicler is misquoting and had in mind the great Tadmor (*i.e.* Palmyra), which, however, was beyond Damascus, and much too far off to be under Solomon's rule.
- Tahapanes (Jer. ii. 16, A.V. †). See Tahpanhes.
- Tahath (Nu. xxxiii. 26 †), a stage in the wanderings. Site unknown.
- Tahpanhes or Tehaphnehes Ezek. xxx. 18) or Tahapanes (A.V. Jer. ii. 16) (Jer. xliii. 7, 8, 9; xlv. 1; xlv. 14 †), one of the three most important settlements of Jewish fugitives in N. Egypt, = *Tell Defenneh*, 25 m. S.W. of Pelusium.
- Tahtim-Hodshi (2 S. xxiv. 6 †) (cf. Driver, *ad. loc.*). See Kadesh (2).
- Tamar (1 K. ix. 18 Kt., R.V.; Ezek. xlvi. 19; xlviii. 28 †), identified by Eusebius with *Thamara*, between Hebron and Elath, perh. *Kurnab*, 22 m. S.W. of the Dead Sea.
- Ta'nach (Josh. xxi. 25, A.V. †). See Ta'anach.
- Tappuah, (1) (Josh. xv. 34; 1 Ch. ii. 43) in the Shephelah of Judah. Site unknown. (2) (Josh. xvi. 8; xvii. 8; xvii. 7 ('En-Tappuah), on the border between Ephraim and Manasseh. (3) Josh. xii. 17) mentioned between Bethel and Hopher. Perh. = (2).
- Tarah (A.V.) = (R.V.) Terah (*q.v.*)
- Tar'alah (Josh. xviii. 27 †), in Benjamin, mentioned between Irpeel and Zela'. Site unknown.
- Tarshish, Tharshish (Gen. x. 4; 1 Ki. x. 22; xxii. 48 (= 1 Ch. i. 7; 2 Ch. ix. 21; xx. 36, 37); Ps. xlviii. 7; lxxii. 10; Is. ii. 16; xxiii. 1, 6, 10, 14; lx. 9; lvi. 19; Jer. x. 9; Ezek. xxvii. 12, 25; xxxviii. 13; Jon. i. 3; iv. 2 †). Prob. = Tartessus in Spain, known to the Greeks as a place where silver, tin, iron and lead were obtained (cf. Jer. x. 9; Ezek. xxvii. 12).
- Tebah (Gen. xxii. 24 †; prob. read "*Tebah*" for "*Be'alah*" in 2 S. viii. 8, after Pesh. and LXX, = Tibhath (1 Ch. xviii. 8)), a "son" of Nahor by his wife Reumah. Locality unknown.

- Tehaphneḥes (Ezek. xxx. 18 †).
See Tahpanḥes.
- Teḳoa' (2 S. xiv. 2, 4, 9; xxiii. 26; 1 Ch. ii. 24; iv. 5; xi. 28; xxvii. 9; 2 Ch. xi. 6; xx. 20; Neh. iii. 5, 27; Jer. vi. 1; Am. i. 1 †) = *Teḳū'a*, 6 m. S. of Beth-lehem.
- Tel-Abib (Ezek. iii. 15, †), a place on the Chebar (*q.v.*), one of the rivers or canals in Babylonia. Site unknown.
- Ṭelaim (1 S. xv. 4, prob. = Ṭelem, Josh. x. 5, 24, in the Negeb). Site unknown.
- Telassar (2 Ki. xix. 12 = Is. xxxvii. 12 †), appar. in W. Mesopotamia.
- Tel-Ḥaresha. See Tel-Ḥarsha.
- Tel-Ḥarsa. See Tel-Ḥarsha.
- Tel-Ḥarsha (Ezra ii. 59 = Neh. vii. 61 †), a Babylonian town. Site unknown.
- Tel-Melah (Ezra ii. 59 = Neh. vii. 61 †), a Babylonian town. Site unknown.
- Tema (Gen. xxv. 15 = 1 Ch. i. 30; Job vi. 19; Is. xxi. 14; Jer. xxv. 23 †), in N.W. Arabia. The modern *Teimā*, 40 m. S. of *Dumat el-Jendel*.
- Teman (Gen. xxxvi. 11, 15, 42 = 1 Ch. i. 36, 53; Jer. xlix. 7, 20; Ezek. xxv. 13; Am. i. 12; Ob. 9; Hab. iii. 3 †; cf. Temanite Job ii. 11, etc.), a clan and district in N. Edom, sometimes used poetically for Edom.
- Terah (Nu. xxxii. 27, 28 †), a stage in the wanderings.
- Tharshish. See Tarshish.
- Thebez (Ju. ix. 50; 2 S. xi. 21 †), perh. = *Tībās*, 10 m. N.E. of Nāblus.
- Thelasar. See Telassar.
- Thimnathah. See Timnah.
- Ṭibḥath (1 Ch. xviii. 8 = Beṭaḥ 2 S. viii. 8 (the original reading being prob. Ṭebaḥ (so LXX and Syriac)), a city of the King of Zobah. Site unknown.
- Timnah, also written Timnath, once (Josh. xix. 43, A.V.) Thimnatha. (1) (Josh. xv. 10; xix. 43; Ju. xiv. 1, 2, 5; xv. 6; 2 Ch. xxviii. 18), on the N. border of Judah = *Tibneh*, 2 m. W. of *'Ain Shems* (Beth-Shemesh). (2) (Josh. xv. 57, in the hill-country), appar. S. of Hebron. (3) (Gen. xxxviii. 12-14), either = (2), or = *Tibneh*, 9 m. W. of Beth-lehem.
- Timnath-Heres (Ju. ii. 9 = Timnath-Ṣeraḥ, Josh. xix. 50; xxiv. 30), prob. = *Tibneh*, 10 m. N.W. of Bethel.
- Timnath-Ṣeraḥ (Josh. xix. 50; xxiv. 30 †). See Timnath-Heres.
- Tiphṣaḥ, (1) (1 Ki. iv. 24 †) on N.E. boundary of Solomon's empire, = Thapsacus, an important ford on the Euphrates, now *Ḳal'at*

- Dibsc*, 190 m. N.W. of Damascus. (2) (2 Ki. xv. 16 †) possibly = *Kh. Tafsah*, 6 m. S.W. of Shechem, but many read "*Tappuah*" (2) (*q.v.*).
- Tirzah (Josh. xii. 24; 1 Ki. xiv. 17; xv. 21, 33; xvi. 6, 8, 9, 15, 17, 23; 2 Ki. xv. 14, 16; Cant. vi. 4 †). Site unknown. The most prob. suggestions are *Tallūzā*, 9 m. E. of Samaria, and *Tcyāsir*, 11 m. N. of Shechem.
- Tishbeh (in "Elijah the Tishbite") (1 Ki. xvii. 1; xxi. 17, 28; 2 Ki. i. 3, 8; ix. 36; and in 1 Ki. xvii. 1, read with LXX, מִתְּשִׁבֵּה from *Tishbeh*) for M. T. מִתְּשִׁבֵּי (of the sojourners in). In Gile'ad. Buhl (*Geogr.*, 257) compares mod. *Istib*, in Mts. of 'Ajlūn.
- Tob (Ju. xi. 3, 5 †), perh. = *ct-Taiyibeh*, N.E. of Pella, and 10 m. S. of Gadara. (Cf. Ish-Tob ("men of Tob"), 2 S. x. 6, 8.)
- Tochen (1 Ch. iv. 32 † = 'Ether (*q.v.*) in || Josh. xix. 7), a town of Simeon.
- Togarmah (Gen. x. 3 = 1 Ch. i. 6; Ezek. xxvii. 14; xxxviii. 6 †), a district, apparently in Armenia.
- Tolad (1 Ch. iv. 29 † = Eltolad, Josh. xv. 30; xix. 4), in the Negeb of Judah.
- Tophel (Dt. i. 1 †), mentioned with Laban, Hāzēroth, and Di-zahab. Site very uncertain.
- Tophet, Topheth (2 Ki. xxiii. 10; Is. xxx. 33; Jer. vii. 31, 32; xix. 6, 11, 12, 13, 14 †), meaning of word very doubtful; perh. = fire-place. Children were sacrificed there; and Jer. declared that it would be used as a burial-place. It lay "in the Valley of the Son of Hinnom" (2 Ki. xxiii. 10), *i.e.* S. of Jerusalem.
- Tubal (Gen. x. 2 = 1 Ch. i. 5; Is. lxvi. 19; Ezek. xxvii. 13; xxxii. 2; xxxviii. 2, 3; xxxix. 1 †), regularly mentioned with Meshech, the Tibareni of Herodotus, the Tabali of the Assyrian inscriptions, in S.E. of Asia Minor.
- Tyre (צֹר, צֹר, *i.e.* Rock) (Josh. xix. 29, etc.), most famous Phœnician city. Ancient city stood partly on an island, and partly on the mainland. Now, the island has become simply a headland, = *Šūr*.
- ULAI, R. (Dan. viii. 2, 16 †), a river near "Shushan" in Elam, the Assyrian U-la-a. The classical Eulæus, a large artificial canal running from the Kerkha to Abdizful. See Driver on Dan. viii. 2 (*Camb. Bible*).

- 'Ummah (Josh. xix. 30). Text corrupt. Read אֲמוֹה ('Acco, *q.v.*). Cf. Ju. i. 31.
- Uphaz (whence came gold) (Jer. x. 9; Dan. x. 5 †). Text dub., perh. read "Ophir" (cf. Is. xiii. 12).
- Ur (always "Ur of the Kasdim" (*i.e.* Chaldæans)) (Gen. xi. 28, 31; xv. 7; Neh. ix. 7 †) = *Mukeyyer*, about 150 m. S.E. of Babylon.
- 'Uz (Gen. x. 23; xxxvi. 28 (= 1 Ch. i. 17, 42); xxii. 21; Job i. 1; Jer. xxv. 20; Lam. iv. 21 †), branches of an Aram. tribe, perh. = the *Uzzā* of Shalm. II.: see *D.B. s.v.*; Skinner, *Genesis*, p. 206.
- Uzzen-Sheerah, Uzzen-Sherah. See Sheerah.
- Vedan (Ezek. xxvii. 19). If correct, prob. *Weddan*, near Mecca; but text dub.
- WILDERNESS, River of the (Am. vi. 14 A.V. †). See 'Arābah, Brook of the.
- Willows, Brook (*i.e.* Wādī) of the (Is. xv. 7), the southern boundary of Moab.
- ZĀ'ANAIM, The oak (or "terebinth") of (E.V. "plain of" is impossible) (Ju. iv. 11, A.V.; R.V. "in Zā'ananim"; but read (taking the *be*, not as the prefix, but as part of the word) "of Beza-
- 'ananim." Cf. Josh. xix. 33, where read, with R.V. marg., "the oak (or "terebinth") of Beza'ananim."
- Zā'ananim. See Zā'anaim.
- Zā'anān (Mi. i. 11 † = Zenan, Josh. xv. 37 †), in the Shephēlah of Judah. Site unknown.
- Zā'ir (2 Ki. viii. 21 †), on the way to Edom. Site quite uncertain.
- Zalmon, Mt., (1) (Ju. ix. 48 †) a wooded mountain near Shechem. (2) (Ps. lxxviii. 14 †). Perh. the *Asalmanos* of Ptolemy, the Haurān range, about 60 miles E. of the Sea of Galilee; perh. so called from its *dark* volcanic rocks.
- Zalmonah (Nu. xxxiii. 41, 42 †), a stage in the wanderings, in neighbourhood of Punon. Site unknown.
- Zanoah, (1) (Josh. xv. 34; 1 Ch. iv. 18; Neh. iii. 13; xi. 30 †), in the Shephēlah; prob. = *Zānū*, 2½ m. S. of 'Ain Shems (Beth-Shemesh. (2) (Josh. xv. 56 †) in the hill-country of Judah.
- Zaphon (Josh. xiii. 27 †, and Ju. xii. 1, R.V. marg.). According to Talmud = Amathus, *i.e.* *Amateh*, 5 m. N.W. of Jabboq, close by the Jordan.
- Zare'ah (A.V.) = (R.V.), Zor'ah (*q.v.*).
- Zared. See Zered.

- Zarephath (1 Ki. xvii. 9, 10; Ob. 20 †) = *Šarafend*, 8 m. S. of Zidon.
- Zaretan (A.V.) = (R.V.) Zarethān (*q.v.*),
- Zarethan (Josh. iii. 16; 1 Ki. iv. 12; vii. 46 = Zerēdah 2 Ch. iv. 17 (A.V. Zerēdathah); 1 Ki. xi. 26; Ju. vii. 22 (where read "Zerēdah" for Zerērah)†), somewhere near the ford *ed-Dāmich*, at confluence of Jabboḳ and Jordan. Exact site unknown.
- Zareth-Shaḥar (A.V. = (R.V.) Zereth-Shaḥar (*q.v.*).
- Zartānah (1 Ki. iv. 12). See Zarethan.
- Zarthān. See Zarethān.
- Zebo'im (Gen. x. 19; xiv. 2-8; Dt. xxix. 23; Hos. xi. 8 †), one of the five cities of the Plain, next to Admah. Site unknown.
- Zebo'im, The Valley of (1 S. xiii. 18; Neh. xi. 34 †), prob. = *Wādī Abu-Daba'*, or the *Wādī Kelt* (into which it runs).
- Zedad (Nu. xxxiv. 8; Ezek. xlvi. 15 (read: "unto the entering in of Ḥamath; Zedad")†), on ideal N. frontier of Canaan. Perh. read *Zerad*, and in that case it may = *Kh. Šerādā*, between *Merj 'Ayūn* and Ḥermon (so Van Kasteren).
- Ze'eb, Winepress of (Ju. vii. 25; viii. 3; Ps. lxxxiii. 11 †), prob. near where the *W. Fār'ah* flows into Jordan. See also 'Oreb.
- Zela'(h) (Josh. xviii. 28; 2 S. xxi. 14 †), city of Benjamin. Site unknown.
- Zelzah (1 S. x. 2 †); unknown. Text prob. corrupt.
- Zemaraim, (1) (Josh. xviii. 22 †) possibly = *es-Samra*, N. of Jericho. (2) (2 Ch. xiii. 4 †) a mountain in "hill-country of Ephraim."
- Zenan (Josh. xv. 37 †). See Zaanān.
- Zephath (Ju. i. 17 †), older name of Ḥormah (*q.v.*).
- Zephathah, Valley of (2 Ch. xiv. 10 †). Read prob. *zaphonah* (*i.e.* "on the north of"), after LXX.
- Zer (Josh. xix. 35 †), a fortified city of Naphtali. Site unknown.
- Zered, Valley (*i.e.* *Wādī*) of (Nu. xxi. 12; Dt. ii. 13, 14 †), the S. border of Moab, prob. either *Wādī Kerak*, a gorge running N.W. to Dead Sea, or (Guthe) *Wādī el-Ḥasā* (or *el-Aḥsā*), running into the S.E. corner of the Dead Sea, 12 m. S. of *Wādī Kerak*.
- Zerēdah. See Zarethan.
- Zerēdathah. See Zarethan.
- Zerērah (Ju. vii. 22 †), read "Zerēdah;" and see Zarethan.
- Zerērath. See Zerērah.
- Zereth-Shaḥar (Josh. xiii. 19 †),

- a Reubenite city on one of the mountains, E. of Jordan Valley. Site unknown.
- Ziddim, more correctly Haz-ziddim (Josh. xix. 35 †). Acc. to Talmud it = Kephâr Haṭṭiyeh, which perh. = modern *Haṭṭin*, N.W. of Tiberias. The text is, however, somewhat suspicious.
- Zidon (Gen. x. 19, etc.), famous Phœnician coast-town = *Saida*, 20 m. S. of Beirut.
- Ziklag (Josh. xv. 31; xix. 5; 1 S. xxvii. 6; xxx. 1, 14, 26; 2 S. i. 1; iv. 10; 1 Ch. iv. 30; xii. 1, 20; Neh. xi. 28 †), possibly = *Zuheitka*, E.S.E. of Gaza.
- Zin (alone) (Nu. xxxiv. 4; Josh. xv. 3), a place on S. border of Judah, between the ascent of 'Akrabbim and Qadesh-Barnē'a, which gave its name to the "Wilderness of Zin."
- Zin, Wilderness of (Nu. xiii. 21; xx. 1; xxvii. 14; xxxiii. 36; xxxiv. 3; Dt. xxxii 51; Josh. xv. 1 †), the wilderness N. of Paran (*q.v.*), in which Qadesh lay (Dt. xxxii. 51).
- Zion (2 S. v. 7, etc.) = the Jebusite fortress (on S. part of E. hill of Jerusalem), taken by David, hence called also the "city of David" (*q.v.*) (2 S. v. 7). The name was afterwards (not yet in 1 Ki. viii. 1) extended to include the Palace and Temple on the N.; and finally was used in poetry of Jerusalem in general. N.B.—In many maps, following a false tradition, Zion is marked incorrectly on the S.W. hill of Jerusalem.
- Zion, Mt. (2 Ki. xix. 31, etc.). The temple-hill (*i.e.* the most northerly part (see Zion) of E. hill of Jerusalem).
- Zi'or (Josh. xv. 54 †), in hill-country of Judah; perh. = *Sī'air*, 4½ m. N. of Hebron.
- Ziph, (1) (Josh. xv. 24 †), unidentified town of Judah, towards border of Edom. (2) (Josh. xv. 55; 1 S. xxiii. 14, 15, 24; xxvi. 2; 1 Ch. ii. 42; iv. 16; 2 Ch. xi. 8 †) = *Tell Zif*, 4 m. S.E. of Hebron.
- Ziphron (Nu. xxxiv. 9 †), between Zedad and Hazar-Enan (*q.v.*); possibly = Sibraim (*q.v.*) in the || list of Ezekiel (xlvi. 16 †).
- Ziz, Going up of (2 Ch. xx. 16 †), perh. = *Wādī Ḥasāsa*, between 'En-Gedi and Jerusalem.
- Zo'an (Nu. xiii. 22; Ps. lxxviii. 12, 43; Is. xix. 11, 13; xxx. 4; Ezek. xxx. 14 †) = *Šān* (Tanis), near N.E. edge of Delta.
- Zo'ar (original name Bela')

- (Gen. xiii. 10; xiv. 2, 8; xix. 22, 23, 30; Dt. xxxiv. 3; Is. xv. 5; Jer. xlviii. 34†), prob. in the *Ghôr es-Sâ-fîych*, at S.E. corner of Dead Sea. See Zoar in *D.B.*
- Zobah, or more fully Aram-Zobah (1 S. xiv. 47, etc.), a district S. of Damascus, and in the neighbourhood of the Haurân.
- Zohēleth, Stone of (1 Ki. i. 9†), near 'En-Rogel (*q.v.*). The name is preserved in *Zahwēlch*, near the village of *Silwân* (Siloam).
- Zophim (Nu. xxiii. 14†), "The field of Zophim" (*i.e.* "of lookers-out"), where was the "head of the Piṣgah." Prob. not a proper name.
- Zor'ah (Josh. xv. 33; xix. 41; Ju. xiii. 2, 25; xvi. 31; xviii. 2, 8, 11; 1 Ch. ii. 53, 54 (reading *Zor'athites* for *Zor'ites*); 2 Ch. xi. 10; Neh. xi. 29†) = *Ṣar'a*, 14 m. W. of Jerusalem, and 4 m. N.E. of Timnah (1).
- Zuph, Land of (1 S. ix. 5†), prob. derived its name from having been originally settled by the family of Zuph (1 S. i. 1; see also under Ramathaim-Zophim). Site unknown.

ADDENDA

- Koa' (Ezek. xxiii. 23†) (= Ass. *Kuti*), a people in N. of Babylonia.
- Merathaim (Jer. l. 21†), a name of Babylonia, prob. adopted to suggest the idea of "double defiance" or "double bitterness"; see Driver, *Book of Jeremiah*, pp. 307, 370.
- Peḳod (Jer. l. 21; Ezek. xxiii. 23†), a people in E. of Babylonia, bordering on Elam, mentioned by Sargon; in Jer. l. 21, prob. chosen to suggest the idea of "visitation" or "punishment."
- Shoa' (Ezek. xxiii. 20†) (= Ass. *Suti*), a people in E. of Babylonia, in the direction of Elam.

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