T E L L T A ' A N N E K

Report of an Excavation in Palestine Undertaken with the Support of the Imperial Academy of Sciences and the Royal and Imperial Ministry of Worship and Education

by

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With an Appendix by Dr. Friedrich Hrozny: The Cuneiform Texts of Ta'annek

With thirteen Plates, 132 Illustrations in the Text, four Maps of Details in the Text and two Main Maps

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INTRODUCTION

It was on April 11, 1899, that I stood for the first time on Tell Ta'annek. Coming from Jerusalem, I was riding from Jenin to Tell el-Mutesellim. My whole journey was dedicated to an investigation of what might be the most rewarding and practical site to commence a new excavation in what was once the kingdom of the ten tribes, following the successful work of the English in the territory of Judaea. Thus I did not want to omit consideration of this site. I knew that the Deutsche Palästinaverein had it in mind for a project. When I had about half an hour's journey behind me, a green mound caught my eye, even from a distance, by its formation, which was plainly not natural. When I asked whether this was Tell el-Mutesellim, I got the answer, No, it is Tell Ta'annek. In the travel guides and current geographical works, only the most casual mention of this site is made. For that reason I was amazed at its size, and when I had reached it after another hour's journey, I decided to subject it to closer investigation. (Fig. 1).

Even as I rode up I noticed on the north side many entrances to rock-cut tombs; here and there on the slopes remains of walls appeared through the layers of earth. On the upper surface of the mound, which was planted with grain, quantities of sherds were strewn about; in its center, only thinly covered with sod, could be seen the ruins of a whole city. It was obvious that I was standing on an extensive ancient ruin, and the name of the mound left no room for a moment's doubt that this was the ancient biblical Ta'anach.

While I carried on my investigation, the fellahin from the miserable modern village of Ta'annek, which lies at the southeast foot of the mound, had gathered about me, observing me half in curiosity, half in suspicion. And from my measurements and observations they concluded as is usual, that I supposed there were treasures in their mound and wanted to remove them. Gradually they spoke out freely, in their manner, and told how the whole mound was hollow inside and filled with gold; a golden bow played an especially large role in their tales. Finally they offered to sell me the hill for 1000 medjidies (Turkish silver coin worth 20 piastres minted under Abdul Medjid.-DH), assuring me that I would not regret it.

Since I knew very well that other parties had to have their say in this, naturally nothing could come of the purchase. But I assured

them that I hoped we might meet again. And actually already during my two-hour stay on the tell the plan had matured within me that here and nowhere else I must begin my future work. The proximity of Haifa - only about five hours away - admirably suited as a supporting point by virtue of its German colony, weighed heavily as a practical consideration. In fact, on all the rest of my tour through the plain of Megiddo and Galilee I found no spot where scientific and practical reasons suggested a campaign in a similar degree.

Once back in Vienna, I had first of all to gather the necessary financial support and to attempt to secure the firman. I therefore presented, in autumn of the year 1899, a petition for a subvention for my project to the Imperial Academy of Sciences. This was very kindly granted in March, 1900. Not only the material support, but also the moral support which I thereby received, smoothed the path which lay ahead of me. In this connection Councillors Benndorf, Karabacek and D. H. Mueller placed me especially in their debt, for the untiring manner in which they assisted me with friendly counsel. Now I could venture to approach the Royal and Imperial Ministry for Education and Public Worship with a plea for support. This also was granted most cordially in the spring of 1900. His Excellency, Minister of Public Worship von Hartel gratified and encouraged me through his personal interest in the matter.

Supported by this excellent double recommendation, I turned to several gentlemen whose hearty interest in science and art was known to me. And not one of them let my request go unheeded. In the most munificent fashion Messrs. Arthur Krupp of Berndorf, Philip and Paul von Schoeller, Anton Dreher and Karl Wittgenstein of Vienna acceded to my wishes. At the end of the year 1900 I had collected the necessary 50,000 kronen, truly a worthy testimony to the interest in archaeological undertakings which prevails among us.

I was to have a harder time getting the firman. Anyone who has ever had this assignment knows that it is an ordeal, or at least a trial of patience of the first order. In October, 1900, my petition to the Ministry for Public Education was dispatched, and simultaneously the request of the Royal and Imperial Ministry for Foreign Affairs to the Royal and Imperial embassy to support my endeavor by every means at their disposal. This assistance was granted me in all future dealings in the most generous and gratifying manner possible. Since by Christmas I had not yet received any answer to my request, which still had to pass through the red tape of a succession of appeals, and since I wished to begin the excavation early in 1901, I betook myself on January 3 in the bitterest cold to Constantinople. I was most kindly received by His Excellency Ambassador von Calice and obtained from him and from the Secretary of the Legation, Dr. Otto, the necessary directives and recommendations. My petition was most warmly seconded by the administration of the Ottoman Museum, and in general I am deeply obliged to its intelligent, farsighted leaders, His Excellency Hamdy Bey and his brother, Halil Bey. I learned from the Minister for Public Education that he was expecting momentarily the reply of the Waly of Beirut to whose district Tell Ta'annek belongs. The embassy managed to send

still another urgent telegram to him. And so I returned to Vienna, hoping that by March 1 everything would be in order.

This proved to be a false hope. The document had simply not been attended to in Beirut. Nevertheless I requested a leave of absence from March 1 to May 1, so that by following the matter up personally, step by step, I might still bring it to a successful conclusion. I travelled via Constantinople to Beirut and under the aegis of General-Consul Count KhevenhÜller, who also afterward remained a zealous, active supporter of my project, I managed to have this effect on the Seraglio, that the Waly promised to expedite the matter immediately and by telegraph asked the Kaimmakam of Jenin, in whose district Tell Ta'annek lies, whether there was any obstacle to what I had in mind. Then I myself travelled to Haifa, rode from there to Jenin, and the dealings with the Kaimmakam concluded favorably. A telegram indicating his agreement was sent to Beirut.

I used the time that was left of my leave to make advance preparations, to order the necessary tools from the craftsmen and the like. Above all, I secured the services of Engineer Dr. Schumacher as architect and Mr. Bez, a mechanic from the German colony, as overseer of the workers. I found both to be vigorous and reliable partners in my work, familiar from childhood with the language and customs of the land; indeed, Schumacher's further meritorious service in Palestinian research is well-known. When I returned home via Constantinople toward the end of April, I found that the Waly's permission was waiting for me. In fall of that year the Sublime Porte notified the Royal and Imperial embassy of its permission and after the necessary securities had been deposited the firman was issued to me in January, 1902.

On February 16 I was able to undertake the long-awaited journey to the Holy Land. The Austrian Loyd, with customary generosity, had granted me free passage on its ships on the Mediterranean Sea. Several weeks earlier Dr. Münsterburg, assistant curator of the Royal and Imperial Art Museum, who had been recommended to me as an expert in classical archaeology and who was to be my companion in the first month, had travelled with the same privilege to Palestine via Egypt. Thus only my wife accompanied me. She had been promised lodging in the singularly hospitable German parsonage in Haifa, but she also was to share bravely with me for five weeks the joys and sorrows of camp life. After many unpleasant occurrences on the trip (dock-workers' strike in Trieste, cyclone near Crete, quarantine in Beirut) we stepped onto dry land at Haifa on March 3, and were received by the Austrian consular agent Mr. DÜck who also handled all my money matters in the most obliging way. Three days after my arrival the imperial commissioner for the excavations from Beirut appeared. This was a man from one of the oldest noble families of the Lebanon, Emir Iskander Jehab. He exercised his supervision in a most amiable way and disregarded the great lack of comfort that goes with camp life without complaint, comforted only by his narghile. On March 8 we set out from Haifa with several wagons. The four frame barracks, covered with corrugated sheet iron, which I had bought from an

CHAPTER IV

THE NORTH FORTRESS AND THE NORTH TRENCH

UP TO THE CENTRAL PLATEAU

As soon as I struck the wall in the north trench, 1.80 m. below the surface, I followed it along the inner side up to both ends. It did not follow a straight line, but made a little bend in the middle toward the southwest. (Fig. 5) It was 15 m. long. In the west it ended in a strong corner pillar. In the east it had apparently been breached at one time, which had destroyed the corner. It was also possible that a tower had been situated here, but in all events it had disappeared without a trace. But the east wall began after eight meters, met the south wall 10 m. farther on, and thus had once been 18 m. long. The south wall was still well preserved for 9 m. of its length. So I was dealing with a little fort of about 240 square meters in area intended to protect the hill toward the north.

The north wall, as was natural, was the strongest in construction, 1.60 m. high by 0.70 m. thick. The stones lay on top of one another in four courses, but without any symmetry. Those of the top course were, in part, squared, but very inexactly, while those below were polygons. The little holes which this produced all over were filled with little stones. I could not detect any mortar. The east and south walls were completely irregular in construction. They consisted simply of two or three rows of rocks laid helter-skelter on top of one another, not even squared.

Behind the north wall there was first a court about 7 m. deep, in which no kind of building was found. Then began a new wall, with which the real living quarters apparently began. The masonry was peculiarly executed. It consisted of little stones, almost rubble, and only at the corners and in the uppermost level did it have, suddenly, fine squared stones. (Fig. 6) These living rooms were 10 m. deep, 14 m. wide, in part further divided by cross walls. But these were so damaged that it was impossible to recognize the total design and to sketch a plan. I would estimate four rooms, one each in the east and west, and two in the center. In the foremost of these, very strikingly, stood a row of three monoliths, to which I shall return later. In the west room lay an oven made of thick red clay.

English railroad company, and which were to serve as housing for us for months, had already been erected by Bez on the west terrace of the mound. All the camping equipment and the tools had been acquired by Dr. Schumacher, so that I had only to buy a riding horse and a donkey. A German-Italian cashier, Nikola Datodi, a cook, a servant and five foremen, all Christian Arabs from Haifa, were hired without delay. Only the cook had to be dismissed six weeks later for dishonesty; the rest were all reliable, able, and in part intelligent people.

The plain of Megiddo was still partly under water, and as a result the road was very bad. About thirty times we had to get out and help push the wagons. So the trip, which takes five hours over a good road, took us ten hours, but still we arrived without mishap. On March 9 we made our formal visit to the Kaimmakam. He promised us full protection and even ordered a sabtije to stand constant guard in the camp. The necessity for this provision made itself evident the very next day. A notorious horse thief had crept into the camp and was arrested there after a desperate encounter. On March 10 the first spadeful of earth was removed.

But there was one last difficulty to be overcome. The mood of the villagers had changed. The fleeting willingness to permit me to dig had been replaced by the usual fanaticism and mistrust which the inhabitants of the area around Nablus cherish against everything European. Thus they had already threatened Bez with violence while he was putting up the barracks. And when I came they gave me to understand that they did not want me to dig. Since I had the firman in my pocket I was of course not concerned about that, but yet according to the law I had to lease the property from them. There were endless dealings, which only one who has experienced something similar can appreciate. After five weeks were spent in vain debate my patience was at an end. I asked the consul general to intervene with the Waly and this produced results at once. On April 18 the Kaimmakam appeared with a great retinue and a police escort. When he asked the fellahin with unmistakable intent, "Will you sign or not?" they agreed to my offer, which was already double my first proposal. From then on there were no more disturbances on their part. On the contrary, we became friends. When we left the tell, July 12, the sheikh followed our wagon crying and complaining that he did not know how he could stand it with the gentlemen gone. No wonder--the whole village had achieved prosperity (by fellahin standards) through us.

March brought us another inconvenience. It was unusually stormy and rainy. We were really able to dig on only ten days. On the rest we sat in somewhat disconsolate mood studying in the barracks, or escaped to make investigations in the graves and caves, in which we were protected from the rain. For me this had an unpleasant consequence. By sitting for hours on the damp ground I contracted an illness which demanded immediate medical attention. So already on March 26 I had to leave the work and return to Haifa. But the skilled ministrations of the German doctor there put me on my feet again in eight days.

After Easter fortune began to smile upon us. The weather became fine and workers streamed in from all over, so that I soon had the maximum number which I was unwilling to exceed: 150, 50 male, 100 female. The men worked with hoe and shovel (mejrafe), the women carried the earth off in baskets. For the most part they were recruited from the surrounding villages of fellahin. Of the men, the strongest proved to be ten Egyptians who had stayed in the country after the building of the Haifa-Beisan railroad. There were several short, critical weeks when the wheat harvest arrived. On May 17 almost all the women suddenly disappeared though I raised their usual wage from three to five piastres; only about a dozen faithful ones remained. The number of men had to be reduced in proportion to about ten, though they were in greater supply. Yet at least I was not compelled to suspend operations altogether, as had been feared. Three weeks later, June 10, the harvest was over and shortly thereafter the old high point was attained.

The laborers worked with great energy, and this without the use of any severe disciplinary measures. The constant, monotonous "yallah, yallah" of the foremen, which still rings in my ears, and the prospect of a little baksheesh for a lucky individual find were enough. To be sure, any insubordination to the supervisors was punished with immediate dismissal. Work began at, and in the hot weeks even before, sunrise (ca 5:00 A.M.) and was continued until sunset (ca 6:00 P. M.) with just a two-hour pause for food and rest. The workers stood the heat with amazing endurance, but were very sensitive to rain--small wonder, when they often wore no more than a single shirt. We often were much oppressed by the strong north and west winds which drove dust deep into pores and lungs; those whose eyes were diseased, and of them there was a great number, were especially sensitive in this respect. But the eyewash which we distributed freely, the protective veils which we gave those who were in the most exposed positions, and probably above all the example we set by disregarding it and sticking it out prevented any grumbling from arising.

On the average the summer temperature was as favorable as one could wish. Only on the first and sixteenth of May did it reach 31° Reaumur in the shade; otherwise it was always lower. Above all, the cool west wind which began to blow every morning about eight o'clock with fair regularity was a real blessing if it was not too strong. In general there occurred little fever, severe sickness or accident.

Every Saturday evening the workers were paid, and it was a picturesque occasion. The strict fairness, the accurate bookkeeping of the cashier were at first so surprising to the people that they could hardly believe it. In the course of time they came to trust us so much that they often left their weekly wages in our hands until a greater sum had accumulated. Work ceased on Sunday. We used the days for cultivating the society of the sheikhs of the nearby villages and the dignitaries in Jenin. These always counted our visits as the highest of honors; indeed, they considered it a disgrace if we did not accept the

invitations they extended. When we did comply, the sheepskin on the door notified us from afar that a fresh slaughtering had just been made in our honor, and inside, spread on the floor, there awaited us a meal which, at least in quantity, left nothing to be desired. The nicest part was always the beaming face of the host, who in the villages always served us personally. If we invited guests in they were always in somewhat restrained mood at the table, the result, more than anything else, of the unfamiliar, difficult use of knife and fork.

Camp life was otherwise extremely monotonous: by day, supervision of work; evenings, cleaning, sorting and classifying the finds; nights, noise of jackals and mice, visits of hyenas and other creatures. The diet was of course a very simple one: mutton and rice alternated eternally with chicken and rice; later when we had eaten up all the chickens in the region and when the mutton would spoil in the heat, we had to fall back on canned meat. But summer brought a certain compensation in its fine fruits: apples, apricots, melons, figs, cucumbers, etc. Drinkable water had to be brought by donkey from Rummane, twenty minutes away, and then this had to be boiled and filtered. We had brought along Carmel wine, Dreherbier, and above all Teinacher mineral water in boxes from Haifa. In spite of many things lacking, much self-denial and discomfort, the life of the excavator is a singularly attractive one; the constant anticipation and possibility of new finds keeps one on one's toes and gives one a new incentive every morning, no matter how exhausted one is at night.

Once every week a courier came with the mail from Haifa, an eagerly awaited event. Sometimes we had visitors from Europe, especially Protestant and Catholic clergy who were on pilgrimages through the land. Once a whole society from the German colony at Haifa came and spent the night with us. During the night German songs resounded among the age-old ruins; we struck up "O alte Burschenherrlichkeit" in their honor. Less welcome guests were the curious Arabs who came to us from great distances because a whole cycle of legends had woven itself around our excavation. We were said to have found a golden camel, a bottomless cistern, etc. Then when they saw the actual finds they were far from reticent as to their opinions: I was a dunce because I could have got stones and pots much more cheaply somewhere else. Only the most intelligent ones could be persuaded that I did not put all the treasures of gold out of sight during the night.

When we arrived I saw from my mound the waters of the Kishon flash far off in the plain. I saw them retreat and the fields deck themselves in luxuriant green as far as the eye could see. I now saw the ears turn yellow and fall, saw the plain grow bare, brown and burnt. Then our hour had come too; the heat kept increasing and the money kept decreasing. On July 12 chests and trunks were packed and we gave the foremen a well-earned farewell party. On the morning of the 13th one more familiar look across at Tabor and at the white houses of Nazareth gleaming across the plain, once more back at the site of four months'

hard work--the mound could hardly be recognized--and then back to civilization with feelings of thanks for all who had contributed to the organization and success of the expedition.

Once in Vienna the scientific assessment of the finds began very soon. But even in the first few weeks the thought arose within me: how useful another short visit to the mound would be! This thought grew gradually stronger and stronger. The theories which I was proposing at my writing desk demanded a renewed practical testing on the spot, however brief it be. It also seemed desirable to check certain measurements, and finally, I cannot deny it, I was made restless by the thought that perhaps by some lucky chance there might be an inscription preserved for me in the great quantity of earth which was left.

So I ventured to turn once more to my patrons. To my great joy Messrs. A. Dreher, A. Krupp, Ph. and P. von Schoeller once again did not turn me away. Since also the Royal and Imperial Ministry of Education had again granted me two months leave, I departed once more on Feb. 22, 1903, this time via Constantinople. My firman was still in effect; the only thing necessary was to secure a commissioner quickly. On March 2 I arrived in Beirut, and thanks to Count Khevenhüller's energetic intercession with the Seraglio, on the following day I was able to leave for Haifa accompanied by my commissioner of the year before. The whole staff of workers from my previous campaign were already awaiting me on the shore, the arrangements were quickly taken care of, and on March 7 we started again. The trip was even worse than in the first year; the roadway was bottomless, and to top it off there was an incessant pouring rain. But we came through though the two freight wagons were fifteen hours late. On the way back the three horses of the one drowned in the Kishon, an accident that was to me a vivid reminder of Judges 5:21.

This time the dealings with the owners of the tell went off quickly and smoothly, the work began at once and was carried on even more intensively than the first time. My allotted time was short, for on April 1 I had to give place to the Deutsche Palästinaverein, which was anxiously waiting to begin its work on neighboring Tell el-Mutesellim. So this time I engaged 200 workers at once. They came to me from all over, since the cholera had raged in the area during the winter and as a result cash money was in demand even more than usual.

For three weeks the work went on with all forces exerted. Then I had to quit and was able to do it with satisfaction. On March 30 the dismantling of the barracks and their transfer to the new mound began. The ruins of ancient Ta'annek, thousands of years old, could now continue their sleep of death after having been rudely disturbed for the space of a year. They had yielded to mankind something by way of knowledge of the distant past, of the concepts, ways of life, customs and practices of those peoples who are so closely connected with the growth of our religion and culture.

CHAPTER I

THE HISTORY OF THE TELL

Not much of the history of the tell has been preserved for us by literature or oral tradition. Ta'anach, which lies on the ancient trade and military road from Babylon, Damascus and Beth-Shan via Megiddo and Gaza to Egypt, is mentioned for the first time by Thutmosis III, thus ca 1500 B.C. He plundered this city like many another in Palestine on his campaigns for pillage (cf. Rtnu-list 42: Ta-'a-na-k and W. M. Müller: Asien und Europa, p. 158). The city is perhaps named once in the Tell el-Amarna letters, that is in No. 197, 14 in Winckler's edition, as Ta-ah-(na-k)a, cf. Knudtzon in Beiträge zur Assyr. IV, 115. The Old Testament presupposes that the city was the seat of a Canaanite dynast (cf. Josh. 12:21) and therefore also speaks of "its daughters" in connection with Ta'anach. These are the villages which belonged to the metropolis (cf. 17:11). When the Israelite tribes pushed into the land, it was at this very city that a decisive battle against the Canaanites of northern Palestine was fought. The Song of Deborah tells of it, Judges 5:19: "The kings came, they fought; then fought the kings of Canaan, at Ta'anach, by the waters of Megiddo; they got no spoils of silver."

Though the battle ended with a brilliant victory for the Israelite armies, they were not able to conquer Ta'anach, any more than the other cities of the plain. They were allotted to the tribe of Manasseh, but the book of Joshua itself reports (17:12f): "Yet the sons of Manasseh could not take possession of those cities; but the Canaanites persisted in dwelling in that land. But when the people of Israel grew strong, they put the Canaanites to forced labor, and did not utterly drive them out." Cf. Judges 1:27f. It is well known that Israel first grew strong in the days of David and Solomon. Before their reign we must conceive of Ta'anach as a Canaanite city, in which at most a few Israelites had established themselves by intermarriage or commerce.

During Solomon's reign the city actually came under Israelite dominion, just as he also fortified Megiddo (cf. I Kings 9:15). He set a governor over the plain, whose name is actually preserved for us, Baana the son of Ahilud (cf. 4:12). As cities of his district are listed Ta'anach, Megiddo, Beth-Shan, Abelmeholah, and Jokneam. It is striking that Ta'anach is mentioned first here, and it is possible, though not

certain, that for that reason we are to consider it as his residence; its position--it is centrally located amid the five cities--speaks in favor of the assumption. Under Jeroboam I the city, like many others in Palestine, was plundered by Shishak of Egypt. Kings does not tell us anything about this, to be sure (cf. I Kings 14:25ff.), but probably Shishak himself has left us a report (cf. List 14: Ta'-n-ka and W. M. Müller, op. cit., p. 170).

Of Ta'anach's history we have no more direct evidence. The idea that it was a Levitical city (cf. Joshua 21:25) is a late post-exilic theory which is already proved unhistorical by the contradiction with Numbers 18:20ff. Thus we can only fall back on indirect evidence. We do not know whether the vicissitudes of the Syrian war under Omri and Ahab reached as far as the walls of Ta'anach. Aphek, which played a great role in this war (cf. I Kings 20:26), is situated, after all, about three hours to the east (cf. I Sam. 29:1). We are certainly justified in concluding that during the reign of the latter Phoenician manners, trade, and cult experienced a resurgence in Ta'anach as in all the cities of the plain of Jezreel. On the other hand, we do not know for certain when, or indeed whether, Ta'anach was destroyed by the Assyrians when they occupied the land. Perhaps the plain came out of the invasion of Tiglath Pileser under Pekah without much loss; according to the Bible only Galilee and Gilead were annexed to the kingdom (cf. II Kings 15:29). The cities of the plain of Jezreel are not mentioned in connection with the campaigns of Shalmaneser or Sargon (724-722 respectively); on the contrary, the Assyrian army seems always to have set out directly from Beth-shan by way of Tirzah and Shechem toward Samaria. But since it is improbable that a fortified city of the importance of Megiddo in the north (or west) should have been left undamaged, we may assume that at that time an auxiliary detachment was dispatched against this city, which naturally would also have taken Ta'anach. But it is growing progressively more certain that the deportation of 722 was confined to the Ephraimites and the other districts were simply "assyrianized," the fortresses razed, tribute taken, etc. (Cf. Winckler in K. A., T. 1, p. 269).

The position of Ta'anach on one of the extreme spurs of the Samaritan mountains and its minimal distance from Jenin, ancient En Gannim, which Josephus (Archaeol. 20, 6, 1; Bellum Jud. 2, 12, 3; 3, 3, 4) designates as the northern border of Samaria, permits us to suppose that in the following centuries it was drawn into the province of Samaria, just as today it still belongs to the province of the Mutesarrif of Nablus (Shechem). From the point of view of religion it would follow that the influence of the Assyrian colonists and the Samaritan mixed religion which arose as a result also was dominant here, just as by contrast the Judean king Josiah, according to II Kings 23:19 may have extended his religious reform this far. At any rate, in the hellenistic period the whole plain seems to have been considered part of Galilee (cf. Hölscher, Palästina in der persischen und hellenistischen Zeit, pp. 79ff.).

Ta'anach is mentioned again explicitly for the first time in the Onomasticon of Jerome: kai nun esti kome megiste apexousa tes legeonas semeia g. (Cf. DeLagarde: Onomastica sacra I, pp. 157, 261). Thus it lay three Roman miles from Legeon (modern Lejun) and was an important village (villa pergrandis). But then it disappears again from the literature. The pilgrims of the Middle Ages were not interested in it, because it was not a "sacred site." It appears for the first time again in the travel reports of the last century (cf., e.g., Robinson, Neuere biblische Forschungen, p. 152; Guerin, Samaria II, pp. 226ff; Sepp, Jerusalem II, p. 85). And yet the name has been preserved all through the ages.

To what extent these century-long gaps can be filled by the results of excavation the following will demonstrate (cf. esp. ch. XX). The tradition of the fellahin in the present day village of Ta'annek reaches back only a very little way. They told me the following about it. For centuries the mound lay waste and deserted. It belonged to the village of Sili which lies one-half hour southeast and was called Khirbet Ta'annek.[1] Then about 50 years ago came a certain Abu Ktele with his family from Jebel Uds near Bet Nettif. He found there only the present mosque, in ruins, restored it, and settled very close to it, together with several poor families from Sili. Thus the present day village Ta'annek originated. Its present sheikh is the son of that Abu Ktele.

1 The widespread spelling Ta'annuk is simply an English reproduction of the correct pronunciation, but in German books it has as little place as Ekko, Hesy, etc.

CHAPTER II

DESCRIPTION OF THE PRESENT-DAY TELL AND VILLAGE OF TA'ANNEK

Tell Ta'annek lies directly on the highway which leads from Jenin via Lejun to Haifa, two hours from the first, one hour from the second, five hours from the latter. In addition, one road leads from the village in a northerly direction toward Affule, one southeast toward Sili, one west around the tell toward Rummane.

There is actually a certain similarity of formation shared by all artificial mounds, called "tells" by the Arabs. One's eye soon gets used to distinguishing them from the natural mountains. The relatively even plateau of the upper side, the equally striking symmetry of the terraces in which the mounds rise, and in addition, in spring, the fresh green in which they are clothed in contrast to the bare, natural mountains, all are characteristics which most of them have in common. Tell Ta'annek projects from south to north into the plain of Megiddo (modern Merj ibn amir) and rises 40 to 50 meters above it, its highest point being 241.40 meters above sea level. It has the shape of an egg, with its point toward the south. The average length of the plateau is 340 m., the average breadth is 160 m. In the middle of the mound rises still another central plateau, ½ to 2 m. above the other upper surface, 150 m. long, 110 m. broad, covered with ruins of an ancient city, which still project from the earth. Of course this cannot be cultivated on account of the many stones; on the rest of the upper surface grain is planted.

The mound descends to the plain toward the north and northwest in four terraces, the first of which displays a striking bulge toward the northeast, of 30 m. diameter at the broadest point. (Fig. 2) The tell rises more directly from the east and south, and without terraces. Directly north of the mound in the plain lies a spring, Bir Ta'annek. The water is at present mostly impure due to mishandling, and of little appeal to the European taste, but not unhealthful. On the slopes of the third and fourth terraces in the north and west one notices many entrances to caves and rock-cut tombs. Similarly, one finds a whole field of rock-cut tombs south of the tell; also old cisterns and even the remains of an old circle of stones with offering vessels in the rock. (Fig. 3)

The modern peasant village lies in the southeast portion of the tell, consisting of some twenty miserable mud huts, with only two houses which are built somewhat better and more solidly. In front of them here and there lie pillars and capitals which have been collected. The village contains only one building which is old, as far as its lower story is concerned, the mosque, situated at the eastern end of the village. (Fig. 4) This is oriented toward the east very precisely, 15 m. long, 9 m. wide. The walls are plainly very old. In the court are three cisterns. Guerin noted (Samaria II, p. 226f.) that it is considered to be an ancient church and that the doorposts display sculptures. When I came, these were covered with plaster, but the sheikh was ready, for baksheesh, to remove it (cf. ch. XVII). Remnants of old walls and houses show that at one time the ancient city which this mosque served as a church extended into the plain far beyond the borders of the modern village, toward the north, east, and south. Noteworthy among these remains is an old gate stone, which is still called "bab el-bawabe," at the extreme northeast, a monolith 120 m. south of it, and an old structure, perhaps a saint's grave under a holy tree, 110 m. south of the modern village.

CHAPTER III

SHORT OVERVIEW OF THE COURSE OF THE WHOLE EXCAVATION

(For the following, cf. the main Plan)

In view of the formation of the mound I decided to begin with two diagonal trenches from the north and northeast corners of the mound, which I would continue until they met in the middle, so that I would certainly strike the city wall, if ever a wall had surrounded the whole mound. But a discovery that I made in the northeast caused me to carry this plan through completely only as far as the north trench was concerned. In the east I was diverted somewhat in a northwesterly direction and finally contented myself with crossing the singular, almost rectangular plateau which here lies 3-4 m. below the level of the rest of the mound. Both trenches were planned as 5 m. wide, but were naturally broadened as soon as a discovery suggested it.

In the north trench I hit at once, 1.80 m. below the surface, on a wall, which was cleared. Since at first I supposed that I was dealing with a city wall, I dug on behind this in a southwesterly direction, until after 7 m. I struck masonry and after 10 more meters a second wall. This made the idea that I was dealing with a fortress, already suggested by the individual finds, a certainty. An extension of the trench eastward laid its east wall bare. Behind this fortress the trench, which was dug down to bedrock, led to a few remains of houses, a cistern, several bodies buried in jars, and another cistern. When I reached the central plateau, mentioned in chapter II, after going 59m., 2.40 m. below the slope in which it descends, I struck a cyclopean wall, which suggested the hypothesis that here the actual ancient city began.

The northeast trench led 75 cm. below the slope to a level of dressed stones. Under this was a mud-wall, which I caused to be broken through. After 5 m. I came on a cistern of unusual plan. Then it was a matter of working through a level of bricks ca 10 m. thick, at a depth of 2-3 m. And after 10 m. more, thus 20 m. in all, I came to a massive stone wall, 2½ m. below the surface. Since I at first thought that this also was a city wall, I wanted to continue behind it in the original direction. But, as already mentioned, 5 m. behind it I was

diverted somewhat toward the northwest, since I came on a whole row of children's graves, which I did not want to let escape me. After this spot had been trenched through for about 20 m., I struck a rock altar, behind which lay some remains of houses. After cutting a trench of about 63 m. in length I had reached the end of the plateau.

Therefore I now turned back to follow the course of the wall I had found before. The work led to a surprising result. After we had dug 12 m. north along it, it suddenly turned, contrary to all calculation, to the east; the trench to the south had the same result. In short, there could no longer be any doubt that here too was not a city wall, but that a fortress had been found. This was then completely cleared and recorded. The striking bulging terrace, mentioned in chapter II, lay to the north in front of the plateau on which this fortress lay, and seemed to demand an investigation. I cut a trench through its widest point. At first the work was very difficult and unrewarding. It was a matter of working through a truly gigantic glacis about 20 m. wide. Yet the hope which this awakened was not disappointed. At the point where the terrace became the slope, I struck a fort of magnificent ashlar masonry, which was then cleared.

Already eight days after the work began, as soon as the number of workers permitted it, I had begun to lead a trench from the west into the mound. Here too I had an experience similar to that with the two others. At a depth of 3 m. (235.75 above sea-level) I found a very peculiar wall which rose in stories. While I tried to clear it, it appeared that it grew broader and broader and came to an end only after 20 m. Now peculiar right angle projections upon it had struck me at once. I took them at first for breastworks. But the monstrous breadth suggested the hypothesis that here too I was dealing with a fortress and that the projections were city walls. And sure enough, when the west wall was followed to the north and south, it also suddenly turned east at a right angle. Now this whole fortress also was cleared. Behind it the original trench was extended up to the center of the mound. In the process we found ourselves already under the city of the central plateau, but here too we found, as we had guessed, two much older levels of houses and in or under these many graves.

It was obvious that the middle of the central plateau had to be specially investigated. Since a clearing of the whole thing was impossible, I chose especially two places for this purpose. In its midst, at the highest point, rose the ruins of a fortress. These were cleared completely first, and thereby the plan of the whole became clearly recognizable again and could be recorded. Since I considered it possible that directly below it, as the highest point of the mound, there might be concealed a sanctuary or a fortress from an earlier time, I had the largest portion of the fortress carried off, at the cost of great effort, and on its location I dug three shafts, each 10 m. square, down to bedrock. The guess was wrong. No building of larger size was found but nevertheless houses, cisterns, oil-presses of a much older city were found.

As a second point on the central plateau I chose a street, and indeed the only one which crossed it from north to south. Partly this was for practical reasons because here there would be less struggle with stones, and partly because I hoped in this way to find a city gate. The result was a trench 78 m. long which helped me find, not a city gate, but other things which were probably of greater importance. An old place of worship and a great rectangular building were the most important. Besides these the trench, which in spots reached a depth of 10 m. before I struck bed-rock, yielded a multitude of individual finds from the oldest levels.

Since time and money no longer sufficed to continue the excavation from the middle toward east and south as would have been necessary otherwise, I had to be content with trial trenches here. Thus one such was directed toward the east, where the central plateau descended toward the real upper plateau of the tell, for it was possible to meet the afore-mentioned cyclopean wall here again. This did not turn up. Instead, 2-3 m. below the surface were the outlines of whole houses, which made me decide to widen the trench, planned as 10 m. square, to 15 or 20 m. The content of these houses in housewares was actually richest of all.

In the same fashion a great shaft was directed south from the central fortress with similar results. It also finally attained the dimensions of 18 m. square. It yielded me, beside a great oil-press and many jars, the most valuable single find of the campaign from the point of view of the history of religion: a ceramic incense altar.

Otherwise I was only able to undertake short trial trenches in the east and south from outside the tell into it, corresponding to the above two shafts. Really, however, these yielded only a negative result, that is, that here below the slopes there were no city or fortress walls, but at the most so-called revetments. At the extreme south I did find a house, but of very small dimensions.

Finally I must mention that on all the days, on which either the weather was too bad or on which the lack of women workers hindered our normal progress, I investigated the graves and caves of the tell with the foremen and also probed the ruins east and south of the hill. When I finished I had, indeed, a desire to be able to cross the east and south of the tell once again with a connected trench. But yet I had the certainty that I had won a clear picture of the historical development of the mound, and had investigated the north half, undoubtedly the most important, in such a way that ancient buildings of any great size could not have escaped me.

The short additional excavation of 1903 confirmed this. It changed hardly any feature of the picture which I had conceived of the development of the tell, and I found only one large new building. This time the work was primarily directed toward the east and south

of the tell. The east pit which had proved so rich in contents in the campaign of the year before was now joined to the shafts of the central plateau by a trench 38 x 4 m., so that now the mound could be considered completely crossed also toward the east. This long trench, like the shaft before it, was exceptionally rich in articles of everyday life. Here, at a depth of 2-4 m. lay one little private dwelling beside the other, all apparently destroyed in a single great catastrophe.

Since I was compelled to realize at once that within the short time at my disposal I would not be able to cross the hill toward the south this time either, I confined myself here to three points. First, the south shaft, dug the preceding year, where we had found the incense altar, was extended to the north and south by 10 m., yielding a rich spoil of small individual finds. Then I had the test pit at the south tip driven 10 m deep into the mound. This made me certain that there had not been a south fortress here, which I had considered possible. Beneath a rather recent cemetery, in which I discovered 15 graves, lay only ruins of pre-arabic houses, otherwise nothing. Finally, between this hole and the large shaft, I sank a trial trench, 8 m. square, which confirmed the hypothesis that the center of life in ancient times had always been in the larger northern half of the mound. Hardly anything of any importance was found here, except for a few interesting but unfortunately badly damaged fragments of an incense altar such as I had found the year before.

The most rewarding was the laying of a new trench in the north. Since I had plenty of workers at my disposal, I returned to the northeast trench of the previous year. It has been related that at that time I had not been able to realize my original plan of extending it to meet the north trench. Now I made up for what I had missed. By means of a trench, 42 x 4 m., I cut across the whole north plateau, from northeast to southwest. In the process I found a great structure, half above ground, half underground. If this structure was important in itself, it was rendered all the more valuable in that in it I made the single great epigraphic discovery, four clay tablets with cuneiform writing. Only by means of these was everything previously found in the oldest levels placed on a firm scientific basis.

The division of the following chapters, which will be devoted to the individual trenches and shafts, is explained by this general overview of the course of the excavation.

The condition of the walls was in itself enough to demonstrate that the fort must at one time have met a violent end. Some 40 round sling stones, 8-15 cm. in diameter, some with, some without a hole for the sling straps, which lay strewn about the fortress and in part stuck in the wall, confirmed this. A level of ashes which grew greater the farther we pushed ahead provided final proof that the living quarters had finally been destroyed by fire. The traces of it appeared on all the walls and universally on the individual finds that were made.

They were the following: a great number of basalt vessels, (Fig. 7) troughs, bowls, millstones and mortars, mostly broken; several large two-handled jars of crude design, one more delicate, with a handle; clay bowls, one of which was impressive because of its bent-back rim (Fig. 8 d); innumerable sherds of the same form; nine delicate little clay bottles, which apparently had once contained oil or ointments. All of these clay articles had suffered so much from the blackening of the fire that it was scarcely possible to recognize their original color. The large pitchers and bowls seem to have been reddish brown at one time; the little bottles yellow brown. But it was clear that they had no sort of colored decoration, except for the fragment of one of those little bottles, which showed black concentric circles (Fig. 8 b). Also all of the iron articles which were found had been so destroyed by the fire that they were simply oxidized lumps of metal, and permitted no conclusion as to their original form. No bronze was found. In contrast, four copper rings (Fig. 9), which seem to have been ankle bracelets, unless they were weights, had survived the conflagration, along with a needlebox of bone in which a strongly oxidized needle was still lying.

The booty of individual finds was thus not exactly minimal, but all had suffered so much that one could not be permitted on the basis of this data to draw any conclusion at all concerning the age of the fort, if a group of dwellings which obviously belonged to the same cultural level had not been discovered later on in the east and south shafts. These, in connection with the mode of construction of the fortress, permitted definite conclusions concerning its age (Cf. ch. XIV, XV, and XIX, par. 3).

Yet it concealed still another singular discovery. I have already mentioned that when we entered the real central area I was impressed by two square-dressed monoliths, standing exactly behind one another 0.58 m. apart. Of these the one in front was considerably smaller (0.40 m. high) than the one in the rear (1.30 m. high). In girth each was 55 x 40 cm. It was even more striking when I found still another, standing exactly in line with the first two. Unfortunately this fell over in the course of the work and is therefore not visible in the picture (Fig. 10).

The riddle was soon to be solved in a surprising manner. When I set about tearing down the wall 2.50 m. to the west (a room wall, as

we have seen), suddenly five monoliths appeared in it as wall pillars. They were cut exactly as the other three and erected one behind the other. The distance from pillar to pillar varied between 0.55, 0.65 and 0.75 m. The two rows corresponded to one another, even if not with mathematical exactness. There could hardly be any doubt that here had once stood a colonnade consisting of ten columns, older than the fortress, and that the fortress builders had simply used the west row as wallpillars, and left the eastern ones standing free. As a result two stones of the east row had been removed or used elsewhere, while the five in the west row had been excellently preserved. The question of the purpose and age of this most peculiar and primitive colonnade will be reserved for discussion in connection with the other monoliths which were recovered, Ch. XXI, par. 1.

After I was once out of the fortress I continued the trench directly toward the center. I soon became aware that the plateau which lay behind the fortress, which I now dug through to a length of 43 m., had never carried a real urban settlement. Therefore I was able to reduce the trench, which I had originally widened to 10 m. (behind the fortress), to the ordinary width of 5 m. Directly behind the fortress I came upon sherds at a depth of 2-4 m. of a type I had never before found: yellow white, with red geometric decorations (Fig. 11), or greenish white or grayish white with brown decorations which for brevity's sake I will refer to as "ladder decorations," (Fig. 12) following Flinders Petrie. Here also, in a rubbish heap of bones and sherds, was discovered the first bronze knife, plus a little ceramic article which we know as a toy and usually call a "Klöterbüchse"; it is possible that this once served a cultic or magical purpose (Bliss found a similar one at Tell el Hesy, cf. A Mound etc., pp. 117, 120).

After going 6 m. at a depth of 3-4 m. I found first several little clay pots, then a great clay jar in which was the skeleton of a child. Apparently the body would not go through the original opening and so the top of the jar had been knocked off and a large sherd from another jar had been used as a cover over the resulting hole. Several little clay bottles lay beside it. I may mention at once that about 10 m. farther on I found the same type of burial: in the large jar was the skeleton of a child about two years old. A little jar was found beside it to the east. I was to observe the same phenomenon repeatedly later on in the northeast trench.

Twelve meters behind the fortress I found a little round cistern cut into the rock, 1.60 m. in diameter, 0.70 m. deep. In it lay many sherds, but all without special decoration. From there on the natural rock began to rise quickly. Whereas previously I had found it at a depth of 5-6 m., now I struck it after digging only 2-4 m.

Six meters farther on I struck a monolith 1.30 m. high, 0.40 m. wide, with a round hole in the side; apparently it had once had a special significance. Five stone steps led down to it. Behind it had

once stood a little house. Stones of the house wall lay strewn about; the clay floor, trampled firm, had been preserved. On it lay two large (wine?) jars, 90 cm. and 78 cm. tall, respectively. The one was slim and delicately formed, without handles, the other was more clumsy, with two handles, in whch a cross had been incised. In addition there was a little pot, a curved basalt millstone and a little scarab, 1 cm. long, ½ cm. wide, of green stone (Fig. 13). On its flat side it carried a solar symbol with nine rays.

Twenty meters from the monolith lay a cistern, 3 m. below the surface, which apparently had once played an important role. Around it lay or stood large jars, in one of which was a small weight. Among the sherds which were strewn all around I found here for the first time those which were hatched or combed vertically, or vertically and horizontally, which always made their appearance just above bedrock. The cistern was 3.30 m. deep, 1.80 m. across. With the help of a winch it was emptied, but held nothing but sherds.

Only 2 m. away from this the trench led directly beneath the slope of the central plateau to a real cyclopean wall (Fig. 14). This was 1.90 m. high, its stones quite unhewn and laid most irregularly. At the top the largest were 0.80-1 m. thick; toward the bottom they grew smaller. I found no trace of mortar; here also the gaps were filled with little stones. At the center of the trench this wall, which probably had once surrounded the whole central plateau, suddenly broke off at the east end and although I had the men dig 12 m. in that direction, I did not find it again. Here it must have been destroyed completely, or else its stones had later been carried off for other structures. That this represented the old Canaanite city wall became clear only from the later finds on the central plateau, which it had once surrounded (Cf. ch. XI-XII).

In conclusion it may be noted that in the 2 m. thick level of earth which had gradually gathered over all of the finds of this chapter, here and there were found a lustrous glazed black (Greek) sherd, also a crude column base (50 cm. high, 38 x 44 cm. in diameter) and many potsherds of the type used by the Arab fellahin. Yet this plateau had apparently for thousands of years been a place, not of dwellings, but of fields or gardens. There were no house or city walls in this level.

CHAPTER V

THE NORTHEAST FORTRESS AND THE MUD-BRICK LEVEL BENEATH IT

(See Plan 1). The story of how the northeast fortress was found, gradually and contrary to all expectations, has been told in chapter III, and so here I will proceed immediately to a description of it. Its west wall, which we met first 2½ m. below the surface in the northeast trench, was preserved almost completely intact. It ran exactly from south to north and was 23.80 m. long. It was striking that at the south corner there were two courses of hewn stones, then for 2½ m. only one, for 9½ m. two again, for 3½ m. even three, for 1 m. two and finally for 4½ m. only one course of hewn stones again. Beneath these there appeared almost always a course of dried brick of an average thickness of 15 cm. and under this another of white lime mortar 10 cm. thick, and below this again rubbish consisting of pieces of bones, coals, sherds, etc. That disorderly variation of the number of courses suggests strongly that the wall was not, as I had first thought, erected in steps, but that the stones had simply been removed and originally the whole wall had been built with three courses. Where there was a second or third course, it always projected above the others by 5-10 cm.

The north wall was also almost completely preserved. It stood exactly at a right angle to the west wall and was 23 m. long. On an average it proceeded with a single course of hewn stones, but at right angles to it projected two pillars, 1½ m. wide, consisting of three courses. (Fig. 15) Besides, corresponding to these, at two places two huge squared stones were placed in front of the wall, making four projections in all. In the east the wall ran into a rectangular tower 4 m. by 3 m., erected with four courses of hewn stone. Between it and the north wall was an exit 1½ m. wide. The one stone on the east side still contained the hole for the bolt; the corresponding stone on the other side was no longer present. At the west corner this wall had also once had a tower placed before it; the steps which had led up to it were still there, as well as the wall around it in the north. Otherwise it had apparently not survived intact.

It was more difficult to determine the course of the east and south walls, because these had suffered much more extensively. Behind the northeast tower the wall was almost totally lost, but reappeared again 4 m. farther on and then ran for 6 m. in such a way that one could see that it also had once stood at a right angle to the north wall. Then came here also a tower-like projection, of which 2-3 courses were still preserved, but behind it the wall suddenly curved in a southwest direction, so that the wall in its course formed a corner such as I had also observed in the north fortress. It ran in this direction for 11 more meters, but evidently it had suffered so from destruction or deterioration that mostly only scattered stones proclaimed its former course, while their original places could hardly be determined.

The south wall contained the same difficulties. Though at first it also ran for 4 m. exactly at a right angle to the west wall, at 5 m. it ceased completely. In its stead we found three big flat stones which could never have been part of a wall. Behind them the wall commenced again, with a slight declination toward the northeast, so that it must have met the east wall in a blunt corner. The massive stones which were lying around permitted the hypothesis that here in the southeast corner there had also been a tower. No details of its construction could any longer be recognized. The riddle which the three flat stones had posed was solved only after I had the trench extended 4 m. to the south. There I came upon the foundation of a gate-complex. Here lay a great flat stone about 1.40 m. in diameter. This was walled about on the south side with little stones, producing a threshold 50 cm. high (Fig. 16). At the southeast corner of the slab was a round hole, terminating below in a point, 25 cm. in diameter, in which the pivot of the gate stone had once turned. On the slab one could still make out the circle which the gate had produced by its constant turning back and forth. The gate must have been about 1.30 m. wide, so that at the end of the slab were 10-20 cm. of surface somewhat elevated. Apparently the two stone slabs mentioned before must be considered in the same way. On them also a depression similar to that of the first had been formed, while the third seemed to be just such a gate stone. Here in the south surely the chief exit from the fortress, having two doors, had once been situated. Unfortunately the arrangement could no longer be determined in detail, but it may well be recalled that the Old Testament, e. g., II Sam. 18:24, speaks of the "two gates," and that it had previously been concluded that they were rather extensive structures, and as still today were situated at the corner (Cf. Benzinger, Hebräische Archäologie, p. 361).

The construction of the walls was very peculiar (Fig. 17). Ordinarily one found square hewn stones of white limestone, although they were not dressed with anything like the precision which one can observe in buildings from the Roman period or even later. Thus here too in places there were gaps which had to be filled with smaller stones. That was especially true of the second (or third) course,

which was laid much less exactly than the top course, in which the blocks were also on an average somewhat larger (here 55 cm., there 45 cm. high). Except for the cornerstones and pillars, the stones were all laid so that the narrow ends were outward. Here and there much-weathered traces of mortar could be observed. The cornerstones were of course the largest; while the others were of an average length of 90 cm., these were 1.80 m., in one case even 2 m. long (Fig. 18). Unfortunately they bore no mason's marks or the like. The most striking characteristic was the manner of dressing the exterior side of the stones in the upper course, which was employed especially on the west wall and in part also on the north wall. While otherwise this side was dressed smooth, here one had only indicated the squaring by a margin along the edge and left the bulge stand. This embossing, however, was carried out in the most primitive manner possible. For while in other structures in Palestine in which it has been observed the dressing was carried out on all four sides leaving a bulge in the middle which corresponded in its form to the whole stone, here only two stones of this type were found. As a rule only one margin, 5-20 cm. wide, was hewn, and all the rest left in a shapeless bulge. Only in very isolated cases was there a margin also on the right side. On this one could see clearly the traces of the mason's tool, about 2 cm. across. The manner in which the pillars were made is easier understood from the sketches and pictures than from an abstract description.

Unfortunately, little can be said about the interior of the fortress; the destruction in it had been too radical. It is certain that it was partly divided by stone walls into several rooms. Here and there their course could still be demonstrated, especially that of one wall, which seemed to have crossed the whole fortress from east to west. Two large rooms could be posited in the northwest corner. But this makes no claim to certainty. There is just as little of a definite nature to be said about a large rock slab with a peculiarly sunken canal in its center which lay behind the north wall.

Before we proceed to a description of the individual finds which were made in it, we must go into more detail concerning the special difficulty which their classification offered in this case. I have already told in chapter III how while excavating the northeast trench I did not immediately notice that I was inside a fortress, since just at that spot at which I had begun the east wall had been reduced to a row of stones. Instead I had had continually to be working through bricks, which were in places still standing as walls, in places lying toppled over one another. Only at the west wall did I begin to clear the whole structure.

Of this mud-brick stratum can only be said that the bricks to a great extent still lay in eight courses and were throughout exceptionally large and strong. In places they were 34 cm. high, 48 cm. broad, 14 cm. thick. Partly they were rectangular in form, partly square (usually 36 cm.). Partly they were simply dried in the air, but there

were some baked bricks. It is especially worthy of note that most of them bore on one side a stamp of the most primitive kind, a circle or oval, or one or two straight lines pressed into the clay (Fig. 19). I found this same type of brick elsewhere on the hill. It must also be mentioned that of one brick house--toppled, to be sure--I got the impression that it was vaulted. The bricks overlapped so symmetrically that they cannot possibly have got into that position by chance. It is well known that also the Babylonians, in the most ancient periods, built vaulted buildings.

But now a difficult question suggested itself. What was the relation of the great stone building to the brick houses, or walls, just discovered? Wherever I dug down into the fortress, everywhere I came upon this level at a depth of 1½-2 m. (Fig. 20) The level was in part ½ m. thick, in places as much as 2-3 m. But I have already mentioned that the fortress walls were built on it. Now if I also take into consideration that that level also outside the fortress reached about 5 m. west into the mound, and projected beyond it 1 m. to the east, then the answer could not be in doubt. The fortress had first been built on or in place of a larger complex of brick houses which originally filled this northeast plateau of the mound. And the great piles of rubbish which turned up in it here and there, bits of bones, ashes, and sherds, demonstrated that it had gone through a long history. Yet that was only half an answer. In part the brick walls had remained standing completely intact. For example, in the east wall a course of hewn stone had simply been laid over them. Right behind it was a room of brick, still completely preserved. In many places this level of bricks not only equalled the stone walls in height but in several places it even surpassed it by several cm.

For that reason only the following answer seems to me the correct one. For a long time a village lay here, whose houses were made only of bricks. Then in its place came the fortress which we discovered. Before that, to be sure, there seems to have been a partial destruction of the village, for traces of a great conflagration appeared everywhere in the mudbrick stratum. But the destruction was not radical. In so far as houses and walls remained standing, they were simply incorporated into the fortress and either used within it as rooms or made into foundations for the outer walls.

With this juxtaposition and mixture of two levels which were actually completely separate, one can understand how monstrously difficult it was to classify the individual finds correctly. That is true in the first instance of the individual objects which we found in the northeast trench. Exactly 1 m. behind the outer wall we came upon a structure concerning whose purpose there could be no doubt. We had to do with a water-closet, built almost exactly in the modern oriental manner. The canal, 20 cm. wide, 53 cm. long, led to a pit 2 m. in diameter and 2 m. deep. Later I had this excavated, but it produced nothing but a broken lamp of very ancient construction. Five m. west of it lay a cistern, surrounded by an outer wall of limestone, 60 cm. high.

But besides this main opening, three pipes of red grooved clay led to it. These were set in the earth at an angle and at the bottom opened into the cistern. The pipes were 50 cm. long, 20 cm. in diameter, and in the middle had two handles. This structure, which was the only one of its kind on the hill, seems to be best explained in this way: it originated with the inhabitants of the fortress, who wanted in this way to make the old cistern which they had found usable, and to protect it from being filled with sand in the course of the gradual rising of the ground level, which we can observe in so many other cases.

The opening of the cistern was 45 cm. in diameter, it was 10.50 m. deep and at the bottom opened into a natural hollow 4.70 m. in diameter. When I had it cleared we found in it a huge mass of simple reddish-brown sherds, but not one displayed any special decoration.

Four meters behind the cistern I came upon an oven, once again built of thick red clay. I would express the same judgment in the case of all three of these finds: that they originated with the inhabitants of the mud-huts, since they lay at a depth of 2½-3 m., but that they were reused by later inhabitants of the fortress.

The decision is still more difficult in the case of the smaller finds. The following certainly belong to the upper stratum: two little yellow-brown oil flasks, one of which was found directly behind the north pillar of the fortress, the other right at the entrance to our north trench; a host of sling stones; a basalt vessel; a copper tool; half a bronze armband; a marble plate; and two peculiar lamps. All of these finds lay 1-2 m. below the surface.

On the other hand, the following certainly belong to the oldest stratum: a whole series of yellow-white sherds, with brownish-red, mostly geometric decorations; two Astarte figurines of the usual type; a very beautiful bowl of red glazed clay with geometric decorations (Fig. 21); and above all a cylinder seal of black syenite, 3 cm. tall (Fig. 22). This was found in the hard-trodden earth of a room between the water-closet and the cistern, among twelve buttons of yellow bone and apparently had once been carried together with these on a string (Cf. Gen. 38:18, 25). I found this kind of button elsewhere on the mound, and indeed just in the deepest strata. Their form is like that of those published by Furtwängler and Löschke (Cf. Mykenische Vasen, Tafel A).

The cylinder seal shows two gods (or one god and a priest) facing each other; behind them is the sign of the moon and an unidentifiable sign,[1] behind the right figure a star and the Egyptian nefer sign.

1 It is reminiscent of an article which, on an old Assyrian cylinder, a genius or god is extending to a worshipper. Menant considers it a knife (Cf. Les pierres gravées de la haute Asie II, p. 36).

Then a legend in old Babylonian cuneiform:

A ta na ah ili
apil Ha ab ṣi im
ard ^{iTu}Nergal

that is, Atanahili, son of Habsi, servant of Nergal. Then follows another column with three Egyptian hieroglyphs, twice the "life" sign, beneath it a bird. In any case, the whole column contains a blessing. The mode of representation,[2] the orthography and the form of the proper names[3] all belong, according to Zimmern, who supplied me with the decipherment, to the so-called "age of Hammurabi," and thus take us back to about 2,000 B. C. The simultaneous use of Egyptian signs makes it certain that the home of this cylinder seal is really Canaan, and that it was not lost by a Babylonian in Ta'annek.[4] It does not permit a direct conclusion as to the age of the stratum in which it was found since such seals could be handed down in families for centuries.

Finally, I must mention here a fine, decorated bone needle which was found in a rubbish pile which projected from the fortress wall toward the east, along with reddish white sherds.

If the preceding finds could be assigned with certainty either to the stone or mudbrick level, in the case of the following finds we must leave the question open: a great number of knives or spear points of bronze, many stone knives, sherds of gray-white color with baked-on brown decorations. Almost all of these lay in the rubbish piles which extended along the west wall. The immediate supposition raised by the place where they were found is that here we have to do with discards made by the inhabitants of the fortress. But one fact cautioned against this: these rubbish heaps in part continued just outside the west wall, although there I had found the same sherds, bones, and ashes, but no bronzes. There is equally little certainty about a third Astarte which was indeed found in the mudbrick stratum, but in its uppermost part, and about a scarab (Fig. 23) of a bright blue porcelain-

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2 The mode of representation is most like the seals presented in de Clercq-Ménant, Catalogue méthodique et raisonnè de la collection de Clercq, Paris, 1887 ff., I. No. 183 ff.

3 Cf. Ranke, Die Personennamen in den Urkunden der Hammurabi-Dynastie, p. 32.

4 The "life" sign is found also on Hittite and Phoenician seals (cf. Ménant, op. cit., II, p. 117, 233 ff.). In the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, 1901, p. 362, Pilcher published a cylinder which bears an Egyptian and a Babylonian representation next to each other. Over the cuneiform inscription, now scratched away, another, perhaps old Hebrew, was engraved (cf. Lidzbarski, Ephemeris I, 3, p. 275.

like substance, which carries the picture of a human figure on the flat side, holding a long twig or long-stemmed flower (the papyrus sceptre?) in his hand. This, like the cylinder seal, lay on the floor of a room.

Also the following must be mentioned here: a peculiar clay pipe which tapered from both sides toward the center, had a round hole there and at top and bottom a turned-back rim (Fig. 24). It was 32 cm. high, 30 cm. in diameter at top and bottom and 20 cm. in diameter at the middle. I was not able to form any clear idea as to the purpose of this pipe; unless it was an oven, it seemed to have some connection with the cistern, for it was found very close to it. The same is true of a great ceramic funnel (Fig. 25), whose upper diameter was 34 cm. while the lower was 12 cm. In contrast, in the mass of earth which lay over the fortress to a depth of 1 m. there appeared once again isolated Greek and many Arab sherds.

But now we must still answer the question as to what purpose the great structure, which up to this point I have briefly characterized as a fortress, might have served. I cannot deny that we wavered a bit at first while clearing it. One could think of a sanctuary, a camp, a large private dwelling, or of a fortress. The first possibility was disproved especially in a negative way. One could call it a sanctuary with justification only if an altar, images of gods or votive offerings in great number had been found. The three little clay Astartes, however, which were all we found of that nature, did not point to a sanctuary. If it had been a structure from the Roman period one could have thought it a fortified camp. When the whole fortress was cleared one sherd was found ½ m. below the surface which might have been a Roman terra sigillata. But the mode of construction and the individual finds agreed in giving the impression of much greater antiquity, so that that thought had to be given up completely. In addition, as we have seen, the building was also at one time divided on the inside by brick walls. In reference to the possibility of a private dwelling one can simply reply that in ancient, pre-Roman Palestine no private citizen ever possessed such a large house in a provincial city. Besides, it is evident that this building was protected toward north and east by towers and pillars.

It is certain that it was a public, a state building. Now there occurred an objection to the designation "fortress." For such a thing the walls were in places too low, there was no glacis, in short, the building did not seem to be built strongly enough to earn this designation. Yet we have already said that evidently stones were later carried away from the walls to a great extent and besides, the next chapter will show us how we suddenly found that this building possessed a strong outer fort. Only one explanation will clarify for us the plan of the whole, that the normative purpose in its erection was not only that of fortification and defense. Rather, a great public building was to be erected,which was at the same time fortified and could possibly be defended against enemies. The situation is similar to that of the acropolis or basileion of Greek cities (cf. also the expression "house of Millo" I Kings 9:24; II Kings 12:21). In chapters XIX and XX we shall see whether we can draw any more conclusions concerning its purpose.

CHAPTER VI

THE NORTHEAST OUTWORK

(See Plan II). We leave the northeast trench for the time being and turn to a discovery which was, to be sure, only made in the last few weeks of the 1902 excavation, but stands in the closest connection to the northeast fortress. Everyone who passes the tell must be impressed by the first terrace, which bulges toward the north in a most peculiar way. It aroused particular interest, because a similar phenomenon had been observed at other artificial mounds, as at Tell el Mutesellim and Beisan. Therefore at the widest part of the terrace I drove a trench into it, which truly put our patience to the test. Right below the slope, at a depth of 1½ m. we came upon a substance similar to mortar. We had found the same sort of thing at the west fortress as a glacis. There was no end to this stuff. Laid down in waves it extended into the mound for 20 m., without even so much as a sherd. At least it gave us the assurance that finally something had to be coming after it, and when we had come within 7 m. of the slope of the upper plateau, we finally came upon the nicest ashlar masonry.

The work of clearing produced a little fort, the stoutest building on the whole mound. It was a rectangular tower, 9.55 m. long, 7.15 m. deep, built right up against the bed-rock or over it. Since the rock rose very steeply here, the front wall was built of six courses, while the back wall consisted of just one. To make place for it the bed-rock had first been artificially smoothed. The blocks were of considerable size, 90 cm. long on an average, while the corner-stones were even longer, up to 1.70 m. (Fig. 26). On the front side, which faced north, (Fig. 27) the stones were again bossed in places, and once again provided with a margin only at the top or at the top and on the left, except for one which was hewn all around. The three uppermost courses were set back 8 cm. behind the three lower courses. In the west half of the north wall five rocks 80 cm. high stood upright at intervals of 1 m. in place of the top course of stones. These are apparently to be explained as breastworks for the archers, or the gaps as loopholes of the most primitive sort (cf. II Chron. 26:15; Zeph. 1:16). On both sides walls ran up to the walls of the tower, at the center, yet these disappeared completely at a distance of 9½ m. in the west, and in the east already at 4 m., and indeed, because they ran into bed-rock there. From the west side a door must have led into the tower at the spot where the wall met the tower. For at this point

lay a rock of which one corner was so rounded or hollowed out that it could only have served this purpose (Fig. 28). Now since this door lay at just the same height as the wall, it follows that one must have entered the tower from the wall. Thus the defenders first stood on the wall and then when the enemy approached sought shelter in the tower (cf. II Chron. 26:15; Neh. 12:31ff., etc.).

Inside, the tower was completely filled with walls, toward the north with larger rocks, toward the south with smaller stones. Hardly any smaller finds were made. I may mention just two large jars of bright yellow clay with thick, almost vertically rising handles, which rose above the mouth by 15 cm.

From its location alone there can hardly be any doubt that this tower must be considered as an outer fort for the fortress discussed in the previous chapter. In addition, its material, manner of stone-dressing and construction all refer it to the same period as that, all the more because nothing quite like this was found in all the rest of the mound.

In conclusion let it be said already at this point that both the Old Testament and Egyptian representations witness to the use of such towers and fortresses for fortification in Palestine and Syria outside of the city, which in and of itself was protected only by a wall (cf. Judges 9:46f; II Sam. 5:9). According to a relief of Sennacherib, Lachish also was fortified by such an outwork (cf. Billerbeck, Der Festungsbau im alten Orient, p. 26).

CHAPTER VII

THE NORTHEAST TRENCH - CHILDREN'S CEMETERY AND ROCK ALTAR

We now return to the northeast trench. Right behind the west fortress wall I came upon several very fine sherds: in the upper 2 m. a Roman terra sigillata, several Greek sherds and an almost intact Greek red jar with black and white stripes (cf. Plate V). Immediately below it began the mud-brick level with which we had become familiar in the fortress, interspersed with white (Phoenician) sherds, bone, ashes and pieces of basalt vessels. In addition here at a depth of 2½ m. I found a scarab of blue amethyst without further design. The level continued about five more meters into the mound. After 6 m., 2 3/4 m. below the surface appeared a primitive round column base, 50 cm. high, 45 cm. in diameter. Besides that, a stone house seems to have lain here at one time, one corner of which projected into the trench. Two large jars, about 1 m. high, which were buried in the earth on the same level, probably belonged to the house.

Behind that house at this depth all individual finds ceased, except for scattered, unimportant sherds; instead at a depth of 3-5 m. something quite new began. I found at first two large jars, 85 and 90 cm. high, respectively. In one a little clay pot was preserved. In the other (Fig. 29) lay or sat the skeleton of a little child, with a small jar beside it. This phenomenon was then repeated constantly in ever-changing variations: for the most part the child's skeleton was in the large jar, and the small pot lay outside and beside it, now inside the large jar; but often also the skeleton sat between stones and had the large jar on the right side and the small one beside it on the left. Often also a clay plate lay nearby. Since in two cases I found that this plate was placed over the opening of the jar as a cover, I surmise that that was originally so in most cases. Despite that there was also always earth in the jars, which thus seems to have been put in with the body. Once there was a large animal's jawbone in the jar with the child's skeleton but in contrast never a bit of jewelry or the like. For the rest, one could not determine what the little pots had once contained, so that one would most naturally think of water. They were not closed, but the opening was for the most part only 5 mm. in diameter. In 11 m. of trench 16 children's skeletons were found; not one of them could have passed the age of two years. About half seemed to be newborn. In addition, in this area stood two large jars which were simply filled with fine sand without containing a skeleton or anything else.

After these 11 m. came a monstrous pile of sherds; in it I found for the first time one of the horizontal handles with waves pressed in by the potter, which always indicated the oldest level on the mound and were joined to hatched round jars (Fig. 30). Sherds of this sort were also found here, white with the brown "ladder" ornament; in part a special potter's sign, a cross or the like, had been incised. In addition, in this sherd pile lay several little weights of hard black stone and a little green piece of marble of the sort the orientals still use today to test precious metals. Behind that came a light wall, a so-called "Schrockenmauer" which had fenced off an area, into which I now entered.

The bed-rock rose and gradually became rather steep. Behind the fortress wall I had had to dig 6½ m. before finding it. Now I struck it already at 4 m. Suddenly I found it already at 3 m., but when it had been thoroughly cleaned off, we uncovered a surprising find. We stood on an altar cut out of the living rock (Fig. 31). On the upper surface it had a large oval offering-hole 0.50 to 0.40 m. in diameter, plus three little holes 8 and 9 cm. in diameter. It stood exactly 1 m. above the rest of the bed-rock. Toward the east a step had been hewn out, apparently for those making offerings. Around the rock ran a deep gutter which was not exclusively natural but had in part been artificially deepened. The sherds which lay strewn around the altar belonged for the most part to the aforementioned oldest type, brown with stripes combed in.

Four m. behind the altar bodies buried in jars appeared again, and indeed four children's bodies; but especially noteworthy was the discovery this time of an adult's body, which also had a large jar and a broken plate beside it. The burial of the one child was interesting in this respect: since the body was apparently already too large to force it into the mouth of the jar, the lower end of the jar had been knocked off and afterward a completely different large sherd put over it (Fig. 32). Then appeared, at the spot where the northeast plateau ended and opened into the slope of the central plateau, the floor of a house and portions of its stone walls. The sherds which lay inside it were once again of the most ancient type. In addition there were many stone knives of black flint. I had expected to find a wall as a border for the plateau, but found none; the problem of explaining why it descends suddenly toward the rest of the mound and thereby has a very distinct formation I must therefore leave unsolved.

Even from a very superficial point of view the find that I had made in this trench was very rich: so many bodies, so many jars, pots, and plates, and then all of these in a condition so relatively intact. One ordinarily finds the like only in graves and only in very exceptional cases in houses. To be sure, I must immediately add that just as no jewelry was found, so also these ceramic articles were relatively simple and did not approach the beauty of later finds in the graves of adults. The large jars, which were of various heights in the range from 90-60 cm., were without exception pointed at the bottom, mostly handleless, and simply red-brown in color, sometimes lighter, sometimes

darker and without any decoration. Also the little pots were for the most part pointed at the bottom, yet I did find four or five with a flat bottom. For the most part they had one handle, the top end of which joined the mouth of the pot; three or four had no handle. Some of the plates curved gradually and regularly toward the bottom, like our bowls; others first curved outward at an angle and thus assumed a more distinctive form (cf. Plates III and IV).

The question of the nature and purpose of this peculiar burying ground now became exceptionally important. Before this it had simply been assumed that the children also had been laid in the family graves. The previous excavations in Palestine had already brought to light burying grounds of animals in jars (cf. Petrie, Tell el-Hesy, p. 32), but never yet such a children's cemetery. I had uncovered 20 bodies in a trench only 5 m. wide. Even at a cautious estimate one could assume that the plateau contains at least 80.

Then the altar was found (Fig. 33), surrounded on both east and west by children's bodies. Thus the problem immediately arose as to whether these were children who had been sacrificed. At first I rejected this on the basis of the following considerations: Inspection showed that the children had not been burned in honor of a god, which is the only form of child sacrifice which is known to us from history, from the Moloch and Baal cults reported in the Old Testament. There was not the slightest trace of burning on the bones. One would have to have recourse to a hypothetically constructed form of child-sacrifice, of a type in which, by analogy to the most ancient animal sacrifices, one simply allowed the blood of the slaughtered children to run upon the altar and then buried them, or that one had buried them alive. The altar, which was obviously a libation altar and not an altar for burning, would fit well with such a reconstruction. But one thing in particular seemed to speak against this. I found this sort of burial also in other places on the mound (cf. ch. IV), only the corpses were not nearly so numerous as here. But there there were no altars; one received the impression that the children had simply been buried quickly below or near the house. Could the altar not be explained best by saying that upon it offerings for the deceased children had been made, or that only by it was the ground consecrated? Such offering holes, after all, are found in much the same way on many ancient rock-cut tombs. Whether these were boys or girls could, unfortunately, not be established, since usually only the skull, a few ribs and here and there some arm and leg bones were preserved.

Therefore I assumed that we must learn from this find that the ancient inhabitants of the mound did not bury children up to a certain age--about two years--in the family graves, but beneath or beside their houses or also in a place especially dedicated to that purpose. How the one body of an adult came into this company I could naturally not determine. The main thing was that by this find a new problem was posed

and I wished to postpone a final conclusion until further excavations had been made.[1]

In the meantime--a fortunate coincidence--Macalister found something quite similar at Gezer, where I visited him and told him of my finds. Beneath the large Canaanite temple which he discovered he found a whole series of children's bodies, which were buried in exactly the same manner as those of Ta'anach (cf. Palestine Exploration Fund, Jan., 1903, pp. 32ff.). There could be no doubt that these were sacrificed children. Macalister assumes that they were firstborn children who were buried alive. Thus in reference to my find the scale tipped once again in the direction of sacrifice. Even so, two objections must still be maintained. First the one already mentioned, that such children buried in jars were found not just in this cemetery, but scattered here and there over the whole mound. Were they all sacrificed? And second, in the find at Gezer all were new-born, while I could assert that of at most only half of those found by me. The other half, especially those buried beside or under the jars, were surely older, up to two years, as their over-all size, the fully developed teeth, etc., demonstrated.

In spite of that it cannot be denied that now the high probability of sacrifice is incontrovertible. In reference to the second point it is conceivable that the older children provide a touching testimony to the way in which then already father or mother love at first rebelled against the fearful custom, until finally religion demanded its gruesome due. And in reference to the first point, it would be conceivable that a burial in or near the house might have been considered equivalent to one in consecrated ground.

I do not feel that at this time I would be justified in drawing a final conclusion, and consider it better to wait for further finds. Finally, it may be mentioned that the two large jars without bodies may perhaps be best explained (as already Bliss has done, Excav., p. 152) in this fashion: that they were burials for those whose bodies could not be recovered, but whose souls were to be laid to rest in this manner.

Since Macalister had expressed the opinion that I now might find a Canaanite temple near the cemetery, as he had, I considered myself obliged to extend this trench in 1903. With the altar as a starting point, I dug a trench 5 m. wide vertically down to the previously found graves in a southern direction, all the way to the end of the plateau. But the result was negative; in this case the altar alone seems to have taken the place of the sanctuary. The new trench produced only an abundance of sherds and jars, large and small, all of which belonged to the most ancient level, except for stone knives, among them the largest one of the whole mound, 21 cm. long, 2 cm. wide. This level began here at a depth of 2 m., proof that later generations had avoided the place.

1 That a distinction between newborn and adults in this regard was also made by other peoples seems to be suggested by a notice in Pliny, which I owe to Dr. Münsterberg (cf. Hist. nat. VII, 15, 72): hominem priusquam genito dente cremari mos gentium non est. Similarly Plutarch, Consol. ad ux. 11).

CHAPTER VIII

THE STRUCTURE WITH THE UNDERGROUND ROOMS IN THE NORTH

Already in chapter III it was reported that in spring of 1903 I undertook also the work--necessarily postponed--of extending the north-east trench until it intersected with the north trench, so that now the whole north plateau was crossed. This trench was to become, in a sense the most important of all due to a lucky find. After I had dug 19 m. into the north plateau and was only able to confirm a rapid rise of the bed-rock, which at first I struck at 5 m., soon at 4, and finally at 3½m., and as a result came upon the oldest sherds everywhere at a depth of 1½-2 m., I came upon an old compact wall. Following this toward south and north revealed that I was standing in front of an ancient building (Fig. 34). This was then cleared. The east wall was 5½ m. long, the south wall 4 m. The building was divided into two rooms of unequal size by a wall which ran from east to west; in one of them the entrance from the west side was still well-preserved. East and west walls had obviously once extended even farther. They projected 1 and 2 m., respectively, above the north wall, but soon disappeared completely, so that they seemed to have been destroyed. At any rate they seem to have enclosed a court, not a third room, for in the center of the space lay an ancient cistern.

The structure was obviously immensely old; it rested directly on the bed-rock. The stones were for the most part completely unhewn, simply hard limestone laid without mortar. They were on an average 2 m. thick, 1.90 m. high.

The mode of construction of the east wall was very distinctive, for it had two stories. The lower one was 1.25 m. high; the upper 65 cm. The latter was set back from the former leaving a step 90 cm. wide. It was exactly the same construction that I was to find again at the west fortress. Indeed even the stone was the same hard yellow limestone, not the soft gray type used everywhere else on the mound.

When I extended the trench 10 m. to the south, to see whether the structure extended in this direction, I made a remarkable discovery. The structure itself was at an end, but the west wall ran on. Yet it no longer enclosed a room, but eight stone slabs which lay beside one another on the ground. Since dirt was slipping through the cracks between

them, it was plain that the space underneath must be hollow. And after two of the large slabs had been removed, we looked into a rectangular underground room hewn out of the rock (Figs. 35, 36). When this was cleared it revealed that eight steps led down from the entrance, which was covered with a special slab (Fig. 38) covering and which lay in the south. Its greatest height was 4.50 m., the length was 7 m. Two fine hewn doors were visible, which led down to lower rooms, now almost completely filled with dirt. When they also were cleared we found that door A, which lay directly opposite the entrance, led into an almost circular room 4.80 m. high, 4.70 m. in diameter. On the right side a winding staircase of eight steps, 1.15 m. wide, led down to the depths. The room had a gray plaster on the walls.

Door B led by just two steps into a room which was at first rectangular, and then was extended in an irregular fashion. At the same time the floor rose, and thus had not been made perfectly level. Some plaster was noticeable on the walls here, too. The height of the room was on an average 2 m. When I had progressed 6 m. into it, it unfortunately became evident that the rock cover had fallen in from above and as a result the masses of earth above it had fallen in at this point. The imminent collapse of the rocks prevented any further progress from below, and since the last day of the excavation had arrived, it was impossible to expose the remainder by a shaft from above. Though with a heavy heart, I was forced to leave the final meters, which I estimated at four, uninvestigated.

What should I consider this underground structure to have been? My first thought was, understandably, of an ancient Canaanite mausoleum. The steps which led to the bottom, the two doors, the covering of large stone slabs--all seemed to point to that conclusion. But the contents protested against it; not a single bone was found, and yet the tightly closed entrance ruled out any thought of robbery, not to mention that such a radically undertaken robbery was hardly conceivable. But then what was it? The two rooms had to have separate explanations. The round room A gave the impression of a cistern already in its external appearance, and a fact which had been overlooked at first confirmed it. At the right side of the steps leading down from outside ran a little groove, indeed only 15 cm. deep, 30 cm. wide, but obviously intended to conduct the water down from above. Room B, correspondingly, must simply have been living quarters, intended for times of need.

Admittedly almost no individual finds were made which confirmed this, only sherds of the oldest combed type without any further decoration and one Astarte, unfortunately broken (Fig. 37). But the latter was of special interest due to the fact that it was the only one of its kind. Two hands were carrying something, which had once been a child or more probably a bird; especially distinctive were the pendants which fell from the (broken off) head down over the whole upper arms. The preserved torso was 7 cm. high, 6 cm. wide, and hollow inside.

But doesn't the whole setting confirm this explanation? The building above had obviously been built for the purposes of defense; but where was one to stay in the narrow rooms of 3-4 m. diameter with women and children when the enemy approached? They were taken down into the subterranean rooms, where they had water and could endure the siege (cf. also Josh. 10:16; Judges 6:2; I Sam. 13:6). In times of peace the rooms were not needed, but were left covered. This also explains why the rooms were nicely closed, thus not robbed by enemies, and yet contained next to nothing. Later they were simply forgotten and fell into disrepair.

My explanation naturally does not exclude the idea that originally both rooms, in a more primitive condition, were used constantly as dwellings by the prehistoric inhabitants of Ta'annek, the troglodytes. Conversion of such caves into cisterns has been observed for example by Macalister at Gezer. It is also possible that previously they had once actually been used as burial places. But I mean that as I found them they served the above-named purpose and represent in a most interesting way the period of transition from cave-dwelling to building of houses, by virtue of their connection with the primitive structure above ground.

If the structure below ground had thoroughly disappointed me as regards individual finds, I was all the more pleasantly recompensed by the building above ground. This contained, first, a great number of the oldest combed sherds (Fig. 39), a little pot, very primitive, handmade with pointed base, a bronze knife and a bone comb, the only one of its kind that I found. Then suddenly in the corner of the one room appeared a large four-cornered chest of clay, 4 cm. thick (Fig. 40). It was 60 cm. wide, 65 cm. high. Unfortunately, it broke as it was taken out. It stood in turn on a great platter, also of thick clay, which it had already broken. At its bottom lay two tablets of brown baked clay. One was 10 cm. high, 8 cm. wide, 3 cm. thick; the other 8½ cm by 8 cm. by 2½ cm. Both were obviously only fragments: the first was broken at the top, the second both at top and bottom. Both were also badly crumbled at the side and damaged by moisture. They were inscribed on both sides and on one edge. Already the day before a little cuneiform letter, 5½ cm. wide and high, 1¼ cm. thick, weighing 95 gr., had been found lying 1 m. east of the chest on the house wall. This consisted of baked yellow clay, which seemed to have been mixed with limestone dust. It was especially hard and firm. And on the next day there was found, about 1 m. from the chest but toward the north, a second letter, 5½ cm. high, 5¼ cm. wide, 1¼ cm. thick, weighing 75 gr. Both were relatively well preserved (cf. Plates X and XI).

The site of the first tablet fragments seems to lead to the conclusion that the whole library, or otherwise valuable articles, had once been in the chest or basin, but that they had been scattered during some kind of plundering. A charming little two-handled alabaster jar (Fig. 41) which also lay nearby, seemed to confirm this. Then too, this was of such fine workmanship that I hardly considered it a native

product, but rather would consider it a gift or a bit of booty. Naturally the spot was thoroughly searched in all directions and down to bed-rock, but there were no other finds. But still the little that had been found was already of highest importance. By these externally unimposing finds--the Arab workers thought they were old soap decorated with flies and ants--we suddenly received epigraphic certainty as to which historic period we were in, and who the inhabitant of this peculiar building had been: Istarwasur, once Canaanite king of Ta'anach.

The continuation of the trench beyond the building toward the west did not produce much. Indeed here too we received confirmation all over that already at a depth of 1-2 m. we were in the oldest levels. Here there ran a wall 11 m. long, built of two courses of large unhewn stones, which however suddenly disappeared. It is still possible that it was once an old city wall, so that the building represented the fort at the east corner. Yet the wall no longer lay directly on the bed-rock but had about 1 m. of earth below it.

Here was found a nice little bronze vessel and an Astarte of the usual type, at a depth of 1 m.; a little oval green amulet (Fig. 42), bearing a scorpion on one side and on the other an Anubis head, at a depth of 2 m.; a little alabaster jar without handles (Fig. 43), not as delicate as the one mentioned before but also of fine workmanship and of distinctive form, at a depth of 3½ m. The most interesting was probably a little jar of the most ancient quality with flat base (15 cm. high) directly on the bed-rock. The opening was closed tight with a stone and inside it were 66 little smooth white stones, some heart-shaped, some shaped like beans. Did the ancient collector simply like them or may there not rather be some religious belief or purpose behind it (for the sacred character of 6 cf. Winckler, Arab.-Semit.-Orient., p. 127, also 98; of 11, KAT II, p. 374)?

CHAPTER IX

THE WEST FORTRESS

(See Plan III) In chapter III I told how at the west fortress I only gradually achieved the insight that here 3-4 m. below the surface lay a large building still perfectly preserved in outline, for at first I had always held the opinion that I was dealing with a strikingly broad city wall. But before I pass on to a description of this fortress as it gradually rose again to view, it will be good to describe the strata which were lying above it.

At this point four levels could be distinguished with remarkable distinctness. A look at the main plan will show how our west trench came, after 15 m., to be in or under that plateau which I have consistently called the central plateau. This had once been surrounded by walls and towers which were especially strong just at this spot and in part still projected from the mound. We shall deal with this plateau in the next chapter; after just a few days' excavation it became clear that the ruins which were responsible for its elevation were of Arab origin. Thus also in this trench to a depth of about 1½ m. we found everywhere the thoroughly distinctive remnants of that Arab culture, which shall be described later.

This was followed by a completely different level, to a depth of 2½ m. Here I should like to mention as the most striking single find a small pot such as I had found in fragments already in the north fortress: yellow-brown, polished, with black concentric circles (cf. Fig. 44). In the same level were found a copper pot, many ceramic bowls and even more fragments of these, red-brown in color with the characteristic bulge which has already been described in connection with the finds at the children's graves. Lamps were represented here by two different forms: the very simple type, bowl-shaped, with edges turned back at the sides by the fingers, and those of more developed type, closed, with just an opening for the wick. Of this latter type, which were simply decorated with stripes in a kind of relief, the most interesting by far was one which was unfortunately much damaged in use and only half preserved (Fig. 45). This had a relief ornament of a lion, an ibex and an eagle. In the middle ears of grain were the decoration. A few little sherds which still lay nearby showed that the left side, which was crumbled away, had once carried the same emblems.

Quite different again was the third stratum, which was found, on an average, at a depth of 2½-3½ m. This was extraordinarily like the last, that is the fourth, which I found inside the fortress itself, but yet must be distinguished from it. For here I struck a level of clay bricks which clearly showed that the whole area had once carried brick houses. These bricks were much like those found in the northeast, but must not be lumped with them indiscriminately. In part they were square shaped (usually 36 cm. wide, 12 cm. thick); in part, rectangular (54 by 40 cm.). The principle of stamping was the same as that in the northeast; a primitive impressed line. But the technique was different in this that here I found only straight lines, but not the circle or oval. The pots and sherds which lay at this level consisted in part of light or dark red combed clay, but also carried an incised palm-leaf ornament. (Fig. 46) In part they were white or olive with a burned-in brown ornament. Finally some were simply red-brown without any decoration. A clay Astarte was found in this level at two places, one of which was our only example of the usual type with the head preserved (Fig. 47). An even more interesting find was an unclothed youthful male figure who rode sideways on a large animal, both of red clay (Fig. 48). The animal was equipped with a sort of harness, while from the back of the man some kind of pouch seems to be suspended. The animal was hollow, the clay grooved inside; two round holes 1 cm. in diameter led from the back to the inside. Unfortunately the figure was not intact; the forefeet of the animal and the left arm of the man had been broken away and despite all our searchings were not to be found. A projection from the middle of the back had also apparently been broken off, and in addition the ears were damaged and the whole thing had been broken. But the hind feet of the animal were completely preserved, however abnormal they look; whether the human figure had once had a head could actually not be determined with certainty. As obvious as that might seem to be, yet it must be admitted that real traces of fracture were not found there, but rather that the clay of the man's neck was almost as red in appearance as that on the intact exterior of the figure. The length of the whole was 17 cm. and the height 10½ cm.

Though I have wavered much I am inclined to remain convinced that the animal was intended to be a camel, which was our common first impression. The head definitely seeks to reproduce the characteristic features of this animal, and the comparative sizes of man and animal show that the potter was thinking of an especially large animal. One must also reckon with the fact that something had been broken off right in the middle of the back, which could have been an even more definite representation of the camel's hump. In view of the primitive state of his art one must excuse the potter for not picturing more successfully the animal which he was trying to represent.. For example, the hind legs remain abnormal no matter what animal one thinks of.[1]

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1 Bliss also found a fragment of an unclothed figure riding on a camel, but admittedly in a considerably later, Greek-influenced stratum. Cf. Excavations in Palestine, p. 139.

I lack any certain data for an interpretation of the whole figure. The two holes leading into the hollow space suggest the guess that this might be a sacred vessel, a sacred lamp or the like, just as, e.g., in Carthage cherubim figures were used for this purpose (cf. Memoire de la societe nationale des antiquaires de France, VI, 3, p. 304, and Renan, Mission de Phenicie, LVI, p. 1). I am able to say even less about the meaning of the human figure. Is it a god? Or is it a votive offering which the giver brings to set before the god, of the type found in Cyprus, riding on a ram or ox or horse? (Cf. Ohnefalsch, Plate Vol. XLIII, pp. 6,7; CLXXXVIII, a-c. In pre-Islamic paganism dedicated camels played a great role; Cf. Wellhausen, Skizzen, III, p. 110.)

The find is so singular that one does well to await other similar ones. It is most like a naked rider on a hippopotamus (?), a votive offering from the temple of Tanit, depicted in Perrot IV, p. 459.

In this same so-called mud-brick level I came upon a hole for refuse, about 1½ m. deep. In it lay eleven lamps of the simplest bowl-like form and eight bowls, little damaged, of the same form as in the level mentioned previously. Here also I came upon a deep cistern which, as further excavation was to show, had indeed served the fortress which lay below. The cistern's outer wall had then been raised as time went on. Finally two ovens of ordinary construction belonged to this level. One of them lay right on top of the fortress wall, the best evidence that in this case we really had to do with a later level, for the builders of the fortress would not have laid an oven on top of its walls. Finally, it must be mentioned that just exactly in this whole stratum of mud-brick the stone walls increased in number. The fortress which lay below was to provide us the richest yield of stone walls on the whole mound.

Now we come to the fourth and last stratum in the west. I regard the discovery of this as especially fortunate, if only because it is the oldest building on the mound and yet is surprisingly well-preserved. At a depth of 3½-4 m. the fortress had been completely cleared. It was built in strictly rectangular form: 18.60 m. wide, 20.08 m. deep; a little rectangular gateroom was built onto it at the southwest corner. In addition to the latter the fortress contained nine more rooms, one long rectangular room which we considered a corridor, and a large main room at whose center lay the cistern and which could therefore have been a courtyard. To the same conclusion this fact pointed: while all the other rooms had a cement-like mass on top of the paving stones as a floor, it was lacking here. The rooms had an average area of 2 meters squared. Thus by our standards they could scarcely be called even small rooms. From the door stones of soft limestone with a bolthole, which lay about here and there, one could see that they had once been joined by doors. One gate seems to have faced north, another east toward the city. Nothing else was preserved of them, except that in the southwest corner the little projecting room could hardly be explained as anything but a gate-chamber.

The construction of the fortress was in every respect peculiar. Even the stone of which it was built was almost unknown elsewhere on the mound. Though all the other buildings which I found, with the exception of the structure with the underground rooms, were built of a white limestone called nari-stone by the Arabs,which forms the bed-rock of the mound and all of the hills in the immediate vicinity, this fortress consisted of a very hard limestone called mizzi-stone which had, instead of a grayish-white, a yellowish color. I found it as bed-rock about 3/4 hour from the mound on the way to Jenin, so in any case it must have been brought from far away. Only the door stones, as already mentioned, were made of the usual material of the hill.

One can hardly speak of a real dressing of the stones. There were only occasional rectangular stones; most were polygonal. In contrast, they were laid in excellent fashion, so that from the outside they gave the appearance of a flat surface. Evidently the individual stones had been cut smooth on one side for this purpose. Here too the many gaps had been filled with little stones. In this case the same phenomenon observed in connection with the exterior walls was repeated with the room walls. They also had been made perfectly straight and also flattened off very evenly on top. They were made of two or three courses of stones and thus were on an average 80 cm. in height. It is unthinkable that at this height the roof of wood (or straw, clay, and the like) had been laid over it--and besides no trace of the roof could be found--and the evenness which was still evident with few exceptions excludes the idea that the walls have been robbed to any considerable extent. So one must assume that wooden beams stood on top of the walls to support the roof, no doubt a primitive one.

But the most peculiar feature of the whole structure was the exterior wall on the west side (Fig. 49). This had been built in four stories, of which each higher story was set back about 10 cm. behind the one just below it. The lowest, resting on the bed-rock, consisted of little rubble-stones and was 65 cm. high; the next, built of the same material, was only 35 cm. high; the third contained larger rubble-stones and had a height of 1.30 m.; the highest had a base of rubble but then consisted of three courses of level stones and was 1.75 m. high. From the top a strong glacis descended to the next platform of the mound. This consisted of an upper level of earth 0.15 m. thick, and a lower course of white mortar and gravel 0.45 m. thick. The remaining space between glacis and wall was filled with earth. To understand the structure one might recall already at this point the Egyptian representations of ancient Canaanite fortresses. Behind the west wall (overall height, 4.05 m.) between it and the bed-rock which rose steeply only farther to the east, it had been necessary to build up a level of rubbish 2-3 m. thick to serve as a base for the interior walls of the fortress, which, as stated, were 1 m. high at most. The exterior walls on the other three sides were no higher here. The rest of the mound was a protection. Their thickness on all three sides was 1.20 m. But the fortress faced west exclusively; the reason became clear to me only later when I discovered an ancient road at the foot of the mound which, coming from Rummane, led directly to this fortress.

As far as the finds inside the fortress are concerned, the cistern found within the so-called courtyard has already been mentioned. It was 8 m. deep and at the bottom widened to form a sizeable hollow 5 m. in diameter. An oven lay on top of the wall of the north gate structure; I assume, as already stated, that it belonged to the more recent level. A second lay in the corner of the central east room. In it was one of what I presumed were clay weights, or was it a heating stone, or was it used in forming the bread? Another time I even found two of such articles in an oven. This oven was of peculiar construction, of a kind I found nowhere else on the mound. For it possessed two walls which met at the top, but left an opening of 20 cm. below, which doubtless was intended for the coals. The outer wall was made of the familiar thick clay, and the inner as well. But on the outside it was covered with a level of potter's clay. It is characteristic that in the Orient this certainly more sanitary type of oven was later almost completely replaced by the other kind in which the coals are placed into the oven itself. When I had the oven removed, half of an extremely ancient basalt bowl lay below it. Exactly in the center of this same room stood vertically upright a clay pipe 45 cm. high, beneath which lay a piece of basalt. I was not able to determine its purpose. But this room must have had some special purpose; it seems to have been the kitchen or a potter's workshop. In it lay also the finest sherds which I found in the fortress. Two in particular are to be mentioned here. One was a large fragment of yellow clay painted in sepia. The decorations consisted in part of geometric figures, in part of a large bird, such as has also been found on Cypriote and Mycenean vessels (Fig. 50).

The other was olive colored with red-brown decorations: wavy lines and dashes. In general the sherds found in this fortress were of special beauty. In part they were the combed red with incised palm-leaf ornament, but for the most part the white with red decorations or yellow and red with black decoration: straight dashes, wavy lines, etc. It has already been indicated that the tools found here were of stone for the most part; the whole fortress was, as it were, sown with stone knives. These lay especially near and on top of the walls so that one could well imagine that they had played a part in smoothing these off. In the so-called corridor lay two bronze spear points. An Astarte head of clay lay on the exterior wall (Fig. 51), an Astarte body with head or feet in the central room; in another room lay an Astarte 11 cm. high of unusual type and very excellent workmanship (Fig. 52). This bore a peculiar headdress which occurs on Babylonian boundary-stones, sometimes by itself, as the symbol of a deity (cf. Bezold, Ninive und Babylon, p. 48; Perrot and Chipiez III, p. 54); on the other hand it is the same as the headdress of the Egyptian Hathor heads (cf. Ohnefalsch-Richter, Plate Vol. LXX, 12; CC, 1-3). She is not holding her hands at her breasts, but at her navel. Perhaps she represents an Ashteroth-Karnaim, a two-horned Astarte, as the one recently found by Macalister must be (cf. P.E.F., 1903, p. 226). Very significant was a little Egyptian scarab of dark gray stone (1½ cm. long, 1 cm. wide) decorated with a lion striding toward the left and a bowl (Fig. 53). This had

parallels in many scarabs of the Middle Kingdom. In the gate chamber a round piece of copper, similar to a coin, was found, yet lacking any legend or the like. Basalt bowls and presses were here in abundance (Fig. 54).

The description of this fortress would be finished at this point but I consider myself obliged to mention even now a find which without doubt is related to it, whether closely or more remotely. I mean the graves which lay in its immediate vicinity. I should like to discuss one of them separately. Immediately beside the so-called gate chamber of the south wall, outside the exterior wall, lay a flat stone of the same type as the stones of the wall. Below it lay the skeleton of a child about 10 years old. To its right lay a fine large one-handled jar filled with fine earth and stopped at its mouth by a little highly polished yellow clay pot. A middle-sized pot of ordinary white clay lay beside it. Beneath the large jar was a peculiar bowl with a high foot made of a wonderful fine yellow clay which when struck produced a tone almost like that of metal (Fig. 55). At first I assumed that this was a burial of the mud-brick level which, at the time when the walls of the fortress began to be robbed, had been covered with one such stone. But when one considered the peculiar position of the grave, isolated on this side, which was incorporated into the fortress by the stone which covered it, the high quality of the ceramic articles buried in it, and finally other similar finds at other sites (to be discussed later), the conviction forces itself upon one more and more that this burial is to be considered according to I Kings 16:34; in other words, that here we have before us a human sacrifice which was made during or after the erection of the fortress.

Another little cemetery lay right next to its east wall. One m. from it, 1½ m. deeper, lay on the bed-rock the skull of an adult, on one side of him a little empty pot, on the other a large jar. Three m. farther east came a whole group; three male skulls and several bones lay close together. Near them was a large jug with a small one inside it, three small pots set around it, two bowls and two pots of medium size. One and one-half meters to the south of this there were more graves, and one which must have belonged to an especially distinguished man; he had a large jar at his head, one at his feet. In the bowl which lay beside him were some tiny bones and a long bronze spear point, 18 cm. long. This was the only funerary offering of its kind that I found. In addition, next to him lay an exceptionally delicate pot of medium size with two handles of highly polished deep red clay. And again 1 m. east of it was a whole wall made of one large bowl, two small ones (shattered) one large and four medium-sized jars.

The various types of jars and bowls are best clarified by the accompanying picture (Fig. 56), in which, however, the very large jar is out of place. The jars were almost all pointed at the base; only one had a flat base. They had no decorations or the like. Of the small pots attention should be called to one in particular. It was polished, yellow brown, with a very fine incised ornament (Fig. 57).

All the bodies found here were of adults. The mode of burial here was distinguished from that of the children in this, that naturally all the bones lay outside the large jars and that almost every one had a middle-sized jar with it too, besides the large and the small one.

Their position makes it certain that all these graves stand in the closest connection to the fortress. Had they belonged to a later level, probably a grave would by chance have come to lie inside the fortress enclosure, not just outside its walls. The question of how one is to explain these graves and why the men were not interred in their family graves is probably best answered by saying that these are nobles who fell inside the fortress during a siege. The rock-cut tombs at the foot and on the slopes of the mound could not be reached at that time.

In conclusion, let it be established that even though this fortress was certainly built for military purposes, as especially its west wall demonstrates, yet from its whole interior arrangement it was intended at the same time as a dwelling for a noble. There was probably a time when this was the only public building, call it a palace or whatever you choose, on the whole mound. Later it will be demonstrated that we have every reason to see in it a former Canaanite royal castle. In the main it belongs to the same age as the building with the underground rooms, but it is probably even somewhat older; at any rate it is disproportionately more impressive and splendid. I may also mention that I myself was compelled to experience directly how easy such a thing, once destroyed, can be filled with sand and covered in the course of one or two years--indeed I might say, in a few months. It is almost the most exposed part of the mound. The west wind which blows across with great regularity from the Mediterranean Sea across Carmel during the summer months assumes just at this point such strength that I actually had to do battle with it for the fortress. More than once, in spite of the most energetic efforts, the work here had to be suspended, and when we returned to it again the fine earth lay in the trenches several centimeters higher than when we had left them. Investigations which I undertook in 1903 on the north and south sides of the fortress confirmed that no city wall was joined to it. The only finds which resulted otherwise were: on the one side a large, dark red jar with pointed base (Fig. 58), from the depth at which it was found also belonging to the fortress level; on the south side on the same level a child's skeleton with two small pots and a broken plate.

CHAPTER X

THE ARAB CITY AND FORTRESS IN THE CENTER OF THE MOUND

It has already been mentioned several times, especially in chapters II and III that in the center of the mound another central plateau rose on an average ½-2 m. above the upper platform. Especially the north and west borders of this plateau could be distinguished everywhere; here a genuine slope had been formed which descended to the platform from the aforementioned height. In the south and east also the border could still be recognized clearly in places, but was lost in other places, since here the central plateau ended, not with a slope, but merged very gradually with the upper platform of the mound.

There could not be a moment's doubt that this central plateau which was 140 m. long, 11 m. wide, gave evidence of the outline of an ancient city, for the city and house walls still projected ½-3/4 m. out of the overgrowth of grass. One could thus see outlines of individual houses directly. When one surveyed the whole as we found it before we began to dig, one could immediately recognize that especially strong towers had been situated at the west side, the north corner, the center, and the south corner of the west wall; that the city was traversed by a straight street running north to south; and finally that in the middle of the city a fortress or palace had lain, for here the ruins rose 1 m. above those of the rest of the city.

Since it was immediately recognizable that the city was relatively young, and my work was concerned primarily with the oldest (pre-Christian) ages of the mound, I could not regard it as my task to clear the whole city by excavation. Instead I confined myself to clearing the fortress, the bath, the north half of the main street, plus all the places where my other trenches led through the region of the city: the west trench, the south shaft, and a trial pit in the northwest.

All of these excavations produced at first a completely consistent result. They exposed the remains of a very characteristic, definitely Arab culture. I began by clearing the main street to a length of 60 m. This was exactly 5 m. wide. On both sides of it lay either the walls of houses directly adjacent, or else a straight wall of three courses of four-cornered embossed stones had been erected alongside it. Though I definitely expected one at the north exit, I found no gate. At

a depth of ca 80 cm. I came upon a poor quality pavement, though for the most part this had been ripped up or demolished. The west sidewall of this main street presented a characteristic peculiarity. It had been plastered smooth over the second and third courses of stones and this plaster was decorated. Lines were drawn in it, evidently free hand, not with a ruler, in such a way as to divide the surfaces into approximately rectangular fields, and in the fields round holes had been impressed with a circular instrument 1 cm. in diameter in frequently changing patterns (Fig. 59). The glass and clay sherds which lay in the street were emphatically Arab. The latter were either the usual black, yellow or red, such as are made even today in Palestine, without any sheen, partly wavy, of a very common material, or green glazed, or finally those which were specifically peculiar to this ancient city. They consisted of black clay in which were incised triangular or long semi-circles, symmetrically arranged, before the clay was baked (Fig. 60). In this way arose a characteristic pattern which was found in all corners and crannies of the city, on large and small jars, on bowls and basins. A yellow jar neck presented a different pattern of circles with squares impressed inside them, as well as a thick sherd, perhaps a fragment of a lamp, with raised bosses in the form of double circles. The handles of the jars were marked (Fig. 61), for the most part, but in the most primitive fashion: either a Latin T was incised or one to three small eyes, or an I or the like, or else a whole row of notches were made on the handles or finally, a deep hole might be impressed. A yellow jar with notched rings was found intact. More delicate jars had carried on the handle a little button or knob. Worth mention especially is a strikingly black article of shiny black clay with incised linear decoration which in its clumsiness was definitely reminiscent of that in the side wall of the main street. The four notches at the point as well as the two (sic; the figure shows three notches) notches in the two side walls permit us to hazard the guess that it was used for winding thread or was an instrument used in weaving (Fig. 62).

In conclusion permit me to mention that the main street was crossed at intervals, quite unpredictably, by cross walls, a phenomenon understandable only under the supposition that in this city two levels, very close to each other in time, must be distinguished. After a destruction perhaps only a few decades later, as it seemed, a second period of building had been added to the first, resulting in considerable confusion of the first. This same phenomenon could be observed at the fortress without its ever being possible to keep the two periods separate. But it was evident that here the main street was the older, if only because every time one tore away the cross walls, behind them the decoration of the enclosing walls described above came into view.

A second interesting excavation inside the city was undertaken at the so-called bath (Fig. 63). At the southernmost tip of the trench along the main street, ½ m. below the surface, I found a little rectangular basin, 50 cm. wide and deep and 90 cm. long. It was built directly onto the fortress and plastered inside with mortar. From this ran a conduit of drainpipes laid in mortar 18 m. through several houses

and walls to a place which the fellahin still called "el-Ḥammam," the bath. Later I found a second such basin at the west trench, from which a conduit had also led in this direction, southwards, but this was for the most part destroyed. The place to which both conduits led seemed at first glance to be nothing but an ordinary cistern. But excavation soon produced a different conclusion. For we soon uncovered a large circular building, which was laid directly on the bedrock at a depth of 4.55 m. The diameter of the whole was 6 m. Over it rose a vaulted roof 3.70 m. high but not a simple one. Instead it was built with three vaults; the central vault had fallen in for the most part, as had also both inner supporting walls. There could not be a moment's doubt that this was an Arab building. Not only the vault, but even more the sherds which were pressed into the plaster to make it durable, testified to that. But it was more difficult to establish its exact purpose, that is, to answer the question of whether it was simply a large water reservoir or specifically a bath. If the subterranean position tended to favor the former, the impressive design and possibly the tradition of the fellahin favored the latter. We have already seen that the reservoir must have been fed by several smaller ones which lay on the surface of the hill. On the north side of the structure were the four lowest steps, the remains of the stairway, probably a winding stairway, which had once led upward and had been broken away at the same time as one of the central supporting walls. Thus also the entrance by which one had once descended could not be found, but only guessed at, and indeed seemed to have been in the center of the upper vault. At any rate this building already demonstrated what the fortress was to confirm completely: the former inhabitants of the city had not confined themselves to what was directly necessary to support life, but had also surrounded themselves with a certain luxury.

The clearing of the fortress (Plan IV) was, of course, even more important than this excavation. The accompanying plan gives the clearest picture of it. The large building as it was excavated proved not to be rectangular. Instead the south wall met the west wall at an acute angle. But one must take into consideration the possibility that this incorrectness, like many an unclear feature of the plan of the interior, is to be explained as due to the fact that a second building was imposed upon the first. The two could no longer be distinguished, the stone and the manner of dressing were the same in both cases: soft limestone cut into precise rectangles, not bossed. The stones were on an average ½ m. long, 40 cm. wide and thick. But the fact that there were two stages is certain and as a result it must also be taken into consideration with reference to the individual finds, which thus may belong to a span of 100-200 years. The length of the west wall came to 26 m., that of the north and south (which, however, were both bent in places) was about the same, that of the east wall, 20 m. No large gates were found, but one could be posited for the north, for there lay the only large wall pillar. In the west there was a simple door for exit, 1 m. wide, which opened upon the main street. The house had about 25 rooms inside, which were connected by staircases of 2-4 steps,

by narrow doors whose door stones were mostly still there, or by window openings. At best only conjectures could be made concerning the purpose of these chambers, in detail; the arrangement offered little basis for such conjectures. One room in the north must have been a corridor; one in the west was built with a Roman arch; one farther east with a cross-shaped vault. Since a drain led through this room into the one north of it, it may well have been a bath. In one, probably the largest, was a large stone trough with a drain hole in it. Since a rubbish heap with mussels, bones, sherds, etc., was found about 3 m. below the little room south of it, it may have been the kitchen. I found no ovens in the whole building. It had two cisterns. One lay inside it, and was ca 10 m. deep, 60 cm. in diameter at the top, walled around with stones and about 5 m. wide at the bottom. In it was a large Arab jar and many sherds of the same sort. The second lay immediately outside the building in the east. It had not been hewn into the bed-rock, but it was walled around most cleverly and neatly plastered inside with yellow mortar. It was only 1.60 m. deep, but its central diameter was 2.45 m.

We have ordinarily simply called the building, for the sake of brevity, a "fortress," but here too the plan shows that the word is to be taken in its broadest sense. It was scarcely fortified in any special way. It simply shared the fortification of the whole city and represented its center and high-point. One might just as well call it a palace. Also the individual finds are in accord with this, for they were by no means of a specifically military character. On the contrary, a circular iron shield, 38 cm. in diameter, was really the only thing of this sort.

Instead the individual finds pointed, for the most part, to the palace of a magnate. Two little marble pillars were found in it, 58 and 62 cm. high respectively (Fig. 64). One was round (15 cm. diameter) the other rectangular with a linear decoration, which one often sees on Arab buildings. On one side it had a deep groove. Metal objects were confined to two copper lamps, the foot of a copper candlestick and a heavy copper handle (Fig. 65). But there were very many sherds of plain or multi-colored rippled glass. The handles of the large reddish yellow jars here had for the most part a very definite stamp, that of Fig. 67b (found also by Bliss, Excavations, p. 123). Another had one of two triangles overlapping; one also had an inscription, which I did not succeed in deciphering (Fig. 66). The decoration of the sherds and jars, of which the aforementioned rubbish heap yielded an almost inexhaustible supply, was principally the same as that of the sherds from the rest of the city, but the material and the form of the vessels was finer. Thus alongside the jars of ordinary black, yellow or red clay, which were, of course, not lacking here, there was a whole mass of basins of black or greenish clay with flat bottom and sides which rose from it vertically. The finest examples bore the decorations described above: triangles, squares, or long circles either incised or done in relief. Here mention must be made of the foot of a rectangular, beautifully decorated receptacle, perhaps intended to carry a round jar (Fig. 64). There was still another type of sherd, a fine yellow clay with ornaments of flowers and

garlands, incised or in relief, which were not found anywhere outside the fortress (Fig. 68). The lamps were all closed. Some of them bore a linear ornament in relief; some a decoration of grapes (Fig. 69). And still more important was the fact that one, which lay on the floor of a room, bore an Arabic legend. This lamp, together with a large sherd, in which a legend had been incised (Fig. 70), offered an approximately certain basis for determining the age of the fortress.

Although hardly anything definite can be read from the lamp, due to its severely damaged condition, Hofrat Karabacek, to whom I submitted copies, is of the opinion that it may be assigned to the 12th century for palaeographic reasons (perhaps a Christian work). In contrast, the triangular ductus of the script on the sherd points to an earlier time, in the 10th century. Individual words (لعنة or يا حسن نفس!) can be read clearly in this case, but with the ambiguity of the characters and the fragmentary character of the sherd, a meaning can hardly be extracted from it. All the same, both fragments, in connection with the other individual finds, make it highly probable that the history of the fortress is to be laid in the 10th-12th centuries.

CHAPTER XI

THE THREE SHAFTS UNDER THE ARAB FORTRESS

As we saw, the Arab fortress lay on the highest point of the mound. This fact, plus the observation I made during the clearing of the main street, that the bed-rock rose in the direction of that point, which was then also by nature the highest, suggested that just at this spot, also in the most ancient period, had lain a fortress or the like. I thus felt it as my duty to remove the Arab fortress in part and here also to go into the depths. Since I was mainly concerned with finding a large building, I was not immediately obliged to extend the removal to include the whole fortress. Rather I was able to confine myself to several shafts which would guarantee whether or not a larger building had ever filled this space. So I laid out three shafts, in one deliberately going outside the radius of the Arab fortress. Originally all were planned at 10 m. square, but were later widened in places as need arose to 12 m. Removal of the fortress took great effort, even as thus restricted. I did not find an older fortress, though I went down to bed-rock all over. Yet the excavation was not in vain, but was rewarded by an abundance of individual finds.

In shaft I, the farthest east, I was able to distinguish in general two strata of older cultures which naturally passed from one to the other very gradually. Below the foundation of the Arab fort lay 1 m. of almost pure humus, then suddenly mud-brick were found. And these, like those in the northeast, were stamped with circles or two parallel crooked lines. Between them I found a rich spoil of ceramic finds. I mention first two little flattened two-handled bottles of yellow-red clay with two black and one deep red concentric circles. The sherds were mostly simply red undecorated. Above all, those found in the Arab fortress were completely lacking. Instead, here and there among the red ones I found already the white with the brown ladder-ornament. A fixed position for this level was provided by an olive press (Fig. 71). It stood on a rectangular flat rock of white limestone which had been dressed smooth on top, but a border had been left around it 5 cm. high. Just at one corner the border had been knocked away and a long second rock rolled on top of it. In this a round hole was bored. The press is 1.75 m. long and 1.25 m. wide; the diameter of the hole came to 42 cm., the depth, 30 cm. Since this press in its day had obviously lain just on the surface of the earth, I had in it a definite index for the height of a culture of a certain period. Several

hard-trodden clay floors, which lay at the same height, 2½ m. below the last level, the Arab fortress wall, confirmed this. Several other individual finds had been preserved on this: a hook-shaped bronze article, perhaps a holder for threads; a serpentlike bronze knife (very like the one found by Macalister at Gezer and considered by him a bronze cobra, an indication of a serpent cult; cf. P.E.F., 1903, p. 222); a bowl of a white substance, apparently gypsum, yellow outside, and another bowl, unfortunately broken, of a lustrous dark grey stone. This bore an incised wavy line on the rounded front side as a decoration; on top of it six holes had been bored into the edge, so that one had the impression that at one time something had been fastened on or in this bowl, which had in general the shape of a bracket. Finally I mention a jar handle, in which ten holes or eyes had been bored, a piece of an alabaster pot as well as a peculiar fragment of white clay with circles, dots, and an animal head, in any case coming from a pot made in Cypriote style. One-half m. below the clay floor of a house was found a grave: a large jar, closed with a stone and empty, and by it a highly polished reddish-yellow pot, with cranium, jaw and bones of an adult (Fig. 72). It was the first case of a burial directly below a house, which from now on I was to find more frequently in the center of the tell. A cistern was uncovered already at this height, but only 2 m. deep. At its bottom lay, among many sherds, a gold finger-ring, evidently intended for a small feminine hand, with a green agate. Unfortunately it lacked any inscription.

Below this first stratum of the olive press a second level gradually began to appear after further digging. The undecorated sherds more and more disappeared. In their stead, and along with the always numerous white ones with brown decorations, gradually there turned up white ones with red decorations, or highly polished black, red inside, or brown ones of fine clay, or finally coarse red combed sherds. At a depth of 4 m. this level was at its most characteristic. I regard a large jar-like article as a fixed point here. At the bottom it had no base but just a round wall which tapered down at something of an angle and stood on a stone. The upper diameter was 51 cm., the height 43 cm. Above there were two handles. On the other two sides, 2 cm. below the upper rim there were two corresponding knobs. This vessel, which seemed to have been a receptacle for dry materials: grain, olives, or the like, disintegrated just when it was exposed into a thousand pieces, so that I was unable to have it photographed. Many basalt vessels, millstones and bowls lay beside it, also several other sherds which had those knobs. In addition, I found in this stratum many horizontal wavy handles; a little red intact jar with such a handle, six clay weights lying next to one another, finally a bronze wedge, a bronze knife, and a bone button. At a depth of 5.10 m. I reached bed-rock; shortly before, however, one could notice from the way the dirt was sinking in that there were cisterns approaching. And in fact, in the narrow space of this shaft three cisterns were found in the bed-rock. One was only 60 cm. deep, 1½ m. in diameter, but the others were, respectively, 2½m. and 3 m. deep, with the same diameter as the first. By the one lay two large troughs, one right behind the other, with a diameter of 45 cm.

The sherds of these cisterns corresponded thoroughly with the finds in the last stratum. Special attention is drawn only to one red-brown and gray painted sherd; besides geometric decorations it bore the figure of a bird (Fig. 73).

Shaft II produced much less by way of individual finds, yet these agreed for the most part with those of Shaft I (Fig. 75). As an orientation point for the first stratum I found two ovens of thick red clay 2½ m. below the foundation of the Arab fortress. They lay at exactly the same height, 5 m. apart. Their diameter was 70 cm., their height 50 cm. Between them was an especially large number of red sherds, partly with deep red and black circles, bows and serpentine lines. At the same depth lay a perfectly preserved, nicely smoothed cement floor, 7 cm. thick, a further confirmation of the fact that this had once been the surface of the tell. For the rest, special caution had to be exercised here in considering the sherds, for the Arab rubbish hole, mentioned in the former chapter, projected into this level. For a radius of 2 m. one had to ascribe everything to it, but just this direct juxtaposition of two completely heterogeneous kinds of sherds was interesting. The individual finds of this last sort have already been discussed above; here I would only mention as a curiosity that in the trench lay the skeleton of a hen which contained an unlaid, but perfectly preserved egg.

As soon as one dug deeper one came to the first stratum discussed in connection with Shaft I. Here, however, the red-combed sherds with the incised palm-leaf ornaments and horizontal handles (which belonged to the same category) were by far the most numerous. A potter's mark had been incised in several (Fig. 74). Here, too, bed-rock was reached after 5.10 m.

The excavation of Shaft III proved richer again. As already mentioned, I had intentionally planned it to project 7 m. beyond the fortress to the north. Here, after the stratum of Arab sherds, about 1 m. thick, which produced glass, pieces of clay ware with the socalled flag motif and an Arab lamp, I came once again upon the level (discussed already in chapters IV and VIII) with Greek sherds (mostly shining black) and the little yellow-brown bottles with black concentric circles. In addition I found here a bowl of similarly lustrous brown clay (Fig. 75). Since almost everywhere else on the mound I found this same level at a depth of 1-2 m. and it was missing only in Shafts I and II, the conclusion was suggested that it was only by chance that all traces of it had disappeared there, for the foundations of the Arab fortress were set into it.

Soon after, that is at a depth of ca 2 m., began the stratum discussed in connection with Shaft I as the "first" stratum. Here, as there, this was filled with clay brick. The sherds were the red ones with dark red and black decorations, and the white, or olive, with brown decorations. Also there were found an acute-angled handle belonging to this category, a sherd decorated very prettily on the inside,

and a little bronze knife. Then too, ½ m. below a hard-trodden clay floor was an adult's grave, beside the skeleton two plates, a large yellow-white jar painted in red-brown (Fig. 76)--only in fragmentary condition to be sure--and a little red one with black and dark-red decoration. Already in this stratum the opening of a cistern was discovered, which was 11 m. deep and had a diameter of 6 m. at the bottom. Its contents were well-nigh inexhaustible: about 60 or more broken pots, one of them with a large perforated filter mouth, 30 plates, 20 open lamps,all consisting simply of red clay, partly also with dark red and black decoration, several sherds with red lines on yellow clay (Fig. 77). A bright yellow crude bull's head deserves special attention. Had it once been a decoration on a vessel, as in Cypriote finds (cf. Ohnefalsch-Richter, Plate Vol. CLXXVII, CLXXXI, etc.), or was it a fragment of an image of a god (Fig. 78)?

Below this level came, also in this case, the "second" of Shaft I, especially detectable from the combed red sherds. But among these the white with red decorations were not missing. Especially noteworthy among them was one with an ibex, above which, as it seemed, there had been another (Fig. 79). Here also two cisterns were discovered, so that also in the space of this shaft 12 m. wide three cisterns had been hewn into the bed-rock.

CHAPTER XII

THE WEST TRENCH

In chapter IX it was related that the west trench led me to the large west fortress. But I kept to my original plan and continued it beyond this in an easterly direction until it reached the shaft in the main street. Thus behind the fortress there came to be a trench 29 m. long. The first four meters of it have already been described in chapter IX; I found there graves which were apparently related to the fortress.

In the remaining 25 m. I found first, of course, at a depth of 1-1½ m. the Arab level, which has already been described sufficiently. Below it was a much older level, within which, indeed, no special stages could be distinguished. 7.50 m. behind the fortress wall I came upon an old house foundation at a depth of 4 m., on which was found an image of the naked Astarte with head and feet knocked off. Under the floor stood a large red jar, pointed at the bottom, in which were a child's body and a little black pot. Behind the house, and also belonging to it at one time, lay, at the same level, an oven of thick, vertically ribbed red clay; in it lay two weights of clay, or perhaps they were articles used in weaving. Around the red clay of the oven lay first a level of clay brick and above this a level of stones; at the bottom it was lined with stones.

About 5 m. farther east came a second house-floor and directly below it a real walled grave, 90 cm. cong and 60 cm. wide. In it lay the skull of a child about 10 years old. Above it were two jars of medium size; two small ones (one without handles); and a large plate. Two m. farther east stood a large jar in which was a whole child's skeleton, about two years old, and a small pot. The opening was closed with another of this sort, and a middle-sized jar lay beside it. In the further course of the trench I found mud-bricks and mortar everywhere, which gave testimony that there had been dwellings here too, but no special plan could be made out any more. The bed-rock gradually rose, so that I reached it first at a depth of 5½ m., and finally at 4½m. Among the individual finds must be mentioned the many flint articles. Here I found a knife 16 cm. long which was the second largest of its type on the whole mound. I would mention in addition a large bronze knife, a wine jar 90 cm. high with a pointed base, an open bowl-shaped lamp, and a small bright red jar with dark brown geometric decoration which broke

as I was getting it out. (Fig. 80) And finally may I make special mention of a golden, peculiarly wound ring of 1½ cm. diameter which came to a point at both ends and thus probably was once a nose or earring. The sherds were either simply red or white with brown and red decorations.

CHAPTER XIII

THE SHAFT IN THE SO-CALLED "MAIN STREET"

It has been reported in chapters III and X that in the so-called "main street" of the Arab city, in the center of the mound, I dug a shaft down to bed-rock (Fig. 83). In chapter X I described the upper Arab level which I met everywhere.

After this level (and a ½ m. thick layer of humus) always came the level which I have already distinguished several times, pointing to the little lustrous yellow-brown bottles with black circles as its characteristic feature. Besides this, I should like to mention here especially an interesting very well made clay instrument of very similar material, which was more of a red-brown, but otherwise was just as highly polished (Fig. 81). It was 25 cm. high, and consisted of a base provided with a serrated border on which stood a cylinder which widened into a basin at the top. In this there were three outlet holes, so that one thought at once of an incense-burner. The principle of its construction corresponded throughout to that which may be observed in present-day oriental ovens and cook-stoves. It is reminiscent of the incense-pillars found by Ohnefalsch-Richter on Cyprus, which he published in Text Volume, p. 283, and placed together (reduced in size) with the dove-cotes of Astarte. This level was crossed in places by remnants of former stone house-walls. In the corner of such a house lay half of an Egyptian figure of black granite, which was represented as kneeling, hands on the upper thighs (Fig. 82). On the front of the whole figure a legend in Egyptian hieroglyphs had been scratched in with a sharp pointed instrument, apparently not by the artist himself, but by someone else. Unfortunately it was exceptionally badly damaged but contains, as Prof. Krall informs me, the title and name of the man represented: "(funerary offering?). . . for the ka of the superintendent of . . . (Thoth?) . . . , son of . . ." At any rate the legend contained the name and titles of the man represented; the orthography suggests a date in the time of Psammetichos (663-610). All other sherds which were found in this level offered nothing distinctive; they were bright or dark red, unpolished and unglazed, without any decoration.

The excavation proved exceptionally rich in finds of the third level, which extended from 2½ to 4 or 5 m. below the surface and whose characteristic feature was the frequent appearance of white sherds

with brown decoration or others decorated more brightly. I begin by recounting the finds at the southernmost point and proceed gradually to the north. First one must mention two delicate bowls of bright red clay which perhaps had once been used for purposes of offering libations, or even incense (Fig. 84). Close by lay a little gleaming jar of brick red clay. Several meters north of it was a peculiar oval bed of stones made of large undressed stones, 2.40 m. long, 1.50 m. wide. Right nearby lay a large number of beautifully colored sherds. Below the stone bed was a real substructure of mortar. Since ashes were found, it could have been a fireplace, or also a lime-pit. The remains of houses which I came upon in this level were in part of undressed stones, but mostly of mud-brick; yet this had been compressed into a complete layer of clay. I found no piece from which I could have deduced the original formation of the bricks. Beneath one house lay a large oval jar containing three children's skeletons, or better, the jar itself consisted of three stuck one inside the other. For this purpose specially prepared jars had been used, with the tops knocked off. Beside this lay two little pots, a broken red bowl and a middle-sized handleless jar (Fig. 85).

About 35 m. north of the starting point of the trench came the spot which produced the greatest yield. Here I came first upon a rectangular bed of remarkably large stones. Clearing revealed that one level of these lay in rather confused fashion over another which was firmly fixed. This second level produced an almost rectangular structure 2.30 m. long and 1.60 m. wide. East of it stood an upright rock wall 0.60 m. high. In the southwest corner was a round hole 0.40 m. in diameter. The structure thus exposed at first made the impression of a low altar. But hundreds of burnt olive pits which were found in that hole and right next to the stones soon led to a different conclusion. And later finds of ancient olive-presses confirmed the supposition that here also we were dealing with such an object. In the top layer of stones lay the stones which had once stood as walls on the other three sides, but which had fallen together during a destruction. Two m. east of this olive press appeared a monolith hewn into a rectangle, 1.40 m. high, 60 cm. wide, 40 cm. thick, growing somewhat thinner toward the top. As it was being cleared, I made the surprising discovery that it had on top a bowl shaped oval hollow 30 by 25 cm. in diameter, 24 cm. deep. There could be no doubt that it was an offering pillar (Fig. 86). This fact, together with the remarkable number of sherds which were lying just at this spot, made me decide to widen the trench, otherwise only 5 m. wide, to 10 m. And lo! only 84 cm. from the first appeared a second, similar offering stone, to be sure only 1 m. high, 50 cm. wide. The most remarkable feature of this, however, was that the bowl-shaped hole was not placed on top, but in the middle of the side which faced the other stone (Fig. 87). If there can be no doubt that both were offering-pillars, then from the position of the holes one must consider the first as intended for liquids, the second for solid offerings. Just 2.35 m. north of this second pillar stood a stone trough, 65 cm. long, 40 cm. wide, and between it and the pillars lay a large number of basalt vessels. Of these special mention must be made of one basalt bowl. This abundance, together with many clay articles--I mention only three large red jars stuck one

inside the other, another one, isolated, an oven, and innumerable red and white sherds--supported the conclusion that this must have been an especially important spot, a cult center. The place was even surrounded by walls, yet these were everywhere built of just two courses of undressed stones, and were partly destroyed and ran in such a criss-cross fashion that they could not be brought into any proper order. Eight m. north of the oil-press lay a little cistern with a surrounding wall ½ m. high.

Continuation of the trench in a northerly direction produced at this same level always the same sherds, and among them also half a broken Astarte. Several white sherds with red-brown painting and one bright red one with black and brick-red painting deserve special mention (Fig. 88).

Finally, I found at this spot a large building built of massive stones. Only its east wall had been destroyed, and even its plan was recognizable. The building was 10.70 m. long, 3.50 m. wide. In the walls two stones were always laid one behind the other, producing a thickness of 1.25 m. The stones were not squared, but were laid and smoothed so as to present a smooth surface both within and without. The gaps were filled with small stones and a clayey substance. In the northwest corner a little chamber 2.70 m. long, 2.60 m. wide had been built on. The most remarkable characteristic of the building was that toward the north it had two doors, 1.30 m. wide, only 2.30 m. apart, and no other doors. Unfortunately the interior contained, except for sherds, nothing to permit a conclusion as to its original purpose. At first, judging also from its position, I took it for a gate-building, yet then of course one would have to assume that on the (destroyed) east side there had been an exit into the city which lay behind it. Only 1½ m. in front of one door of the building lay a large cistern hewn into the bed-rock. I shall have more to say about this in connection with the next stratum, but from the sherd content it seems to have been used also in this stratum. In the rest of the trench, to the point where it met the northwest trench at the cyclopean wall, I found an article of bone, also a chisel (Fig. 89), an open lamp, plates, and a completely preserved little gray jar.

Below the third level a fourth could be discerned in the shaft in the main street. To be sure, the transition from one to the other was more gradual and less noticeable than were the others. In the last meter above bed-rock there appeared, along with the simple red sherds and the white sherds with the brown decoration, combed red and white sherds with red decorations. Yet it was a peculiar state of affairs. During the first 9 m. of digging at the south end I struck bed-rock already after 5 m. Then there suddenly came a steep slope, so that I now reached bed-rock after 10.20 m. Then it rose again gradually and reached its high point again at the south wall of the large building just discussed, where it lay only 4½ m. below the surface of the earth. From this two things followed: first, that building must have lain in ancient times on a high point of the mound; the rock rose toward it

gradually from the north and behind it it sank at once. Thus it becomes clear to us why this building, whether a gate building or government building or sanctuary, had been erected just here and nowhere else. And secondly, we see that in ancient times the mound had been crossed by a natural trench 5 m. deep.

This trench then assumed a special importance for me just in this, that into it the remnants of the ancient culture from both higher sides had fallen or had been washed or pushed. Sherds were found clear down to the bottom of it. To be sure, everything lying in the trench had suffered so from the quantity of earth which lay above it that thereby the quantitative advantage was somewhat lessened in value. The jars were even more fragmentary than elsewhere and most of the sherds were covered with green mould. But some characteristics were so distinctive that in spite of everything they could not be annihilated. And thus Plate I, which gives a very summary overview of the finds made, testifies to the following: a) most of the sherds are combed inside and out in the most varied patterns; b) the decorations (wavy lines or palm-leaf) are mostly incised; c) the handles are mostly of the horizontal wavy type; d) but there are also coarse painted sherds with geometric decorations; e) the fragments of bowls and jar-mouths demonstrate that their forms showed much variety and were in part most distinctive.

Besides these sherds, which constitute the specific nature of this level, there were also found some white with red-brown painting, among which the finest was decorated with one or two ibexes. This, although it lay 7 m. below the upper surface, was preserved just as it had left the potter's hand (Fig. 90). The few preserved bases of jars showed that most of these were flat. Further finds from this trench are the following: a very rude clay vessel with thick walls and boot-like shape, whose rounded lower portion probably represented the handle (Fig. 91), bone buttons, a bronze sheet 6 cm. long, but with no discernible engraving, weights, spindles, stone-knives and finally, basalt vessels and basalt mills. An oven of the 2 cm. thick blood-red baked clay lay here in the depths also.

This same level of culture could be observed also north of the large building, 1 m. above the bed-rock. The large cistern, just mentioned, was also especially rich in sherds. It lay right in front of the door of the building and had a diameter of 2.20 m., a depth of 4.25 m. Yet a major portion of its sherds originated in the third level. In it lay also a very peculiar clay article: a round trough, 25 cm. high, diameter at the top 40 cm. It grew narrower toward the bottom, but the clay narrowed from 4 cm. thick at the bottom to 2 cm. at the top. In the side wall were two round holes. The bottom, whose diameter came to 31 cm., was also not closed, but pierced by a round-ended cross. What purpose this vessel had served, whether it had been used as a press or mill, in baking or cooking, I cannot say (Fig. 92). The two side-holes perhaps served to receive a spit. This cistern was interesting in another respect. On its south side was a deep crack 30 cm. wide, running obliquely from top to bottom, and it had become unusable on this account. Thus it provides proof for a catastrophic earthquake, which the inhabitants of the mound experienced within historic times.

CHAPTER XIV

THE EAST TRENCH

It has already been related in chapter III that in 1902 I lacked time to drive a complete trench from the Arab fortress to the east edge of the mound, but that instead I had had to content myself for the time being with a large trial shaft in the east, and couldn't even clear this all the way down to bed-rock. In spite of that, it was especially rewarding. Although at first I planned it at only 10 m. square, I soon had to extend it to 16 by 14 m. In 1903 I joined it to the center by a trench 4 m. wide, 42 m. long.

Already in the trial pit I came upon a singularly well-preserved group of houses, at a depth of 2-3½ m., after a thin Arab level. There were two or three houses which were joined to one another directly. The walls of rough-hewn but well-laid stone were still partly preserved; the floors, made of a cementlike material, were well preserved almost throughout. In two ways this group attained unusual significance. In the first place, it was obvious that it had been destroyed in a sudden hostile invasion, after which it must have been completely neglected. As a result the articles of everyday life were present here in unparalleled profusion. In the large jars still lay the petrified grain, the dried oil. And secondly, the stratum met here was exactly identical to that of the northwest fortress and that which has otherwise been designated as the second level. From the abundance of objects found here a standard was fixed for the other spots.

Before I proceed to discuss the individual finds, I should like to mention that in the entrance of the one house stood a large monolith and directly in front of this another smaller one. The height of the former was 2 m., its width 0.55 m., its thickness 0.35 m; the height of the latter was 0.65 m. No ordinary practical purpose for this object could be recognized; its similarity to that found in the northwest fortress was obvious, and so here too the thought of a religious purpose suggested itself (Fig. 93).

The content of the house consisted, in the first place, of large jars. These were often still standing right next to one another -- I would almost say upright. In one case there were six, in another eight; elsewhere individual jars were scattered around. I was left in no doubt as to the original contents of these jars since as already mentioned in

some was petrified grain, in others dried oil. Unfortunately it was not possible to unearth a jar without breaking it, and the attempt to photograph them in situ did not succeed, and then the six jars were broken during the night by a shepherd boy from Ta'annek who received the blows he deserved in situ, which did not, however, put the jars back together again. The material of the jars was an ordinary red-brown painted gray clay, the shape clumsy, rounded at the bottom two-handled.

There were, in addition, many bowls, mostly tapering toward the bottom, but partly also those of the angular bulging shape. The lamps were very crude, mostly simply made of clay, open, but not plate-shaped but in a bowl-shape with the sides more bent in toward the middle. There were big clay spindles, little ones of bone and basalt, plus bone buttons.

Besides these rather common finds there were some of a finer sort, first of all the little yellow-brown pots with black stripes (Fig. 94), then remnants of very delicate bowls; a bowl handle of polished clay, sienna colored with incised lines, a large light brown lustrous sherd with dark brown stripes and close-lying handles, another light brick red with flowers painted inside with black and yellow strokes, plus many shining polished brown and black sherds without further decoration. Also a sienna sieve with fine matte finish. To these must be added a pestle of basalt, a delicate cookstove of red clay, a needlebox of bone, bone needles with decoration, a copper wedge, iron nails, other iron articles, unfortunately either melted or rusted beyond recognition, the handle of a clay article in the form of a fox (Fig. 95).

Probably the most important, however, was the head of a clay idol of what seemed to be an Egyptian type (Fig. 96a). The symbol over the forehead could be taken as a bee or a snake (cf. the representation of the uraeus-snake on the picture of Ramses II in Perrot I, p. 735, or Amenophis III, p. 783; it seems to have been schematized already at this point and not understood). For a more precise interpretation the peculiar hairstyle, with the hair drawn up into a roll, is of importance. Almost exactly the same head was found by a worker right on the surface of the mound (Fig. 96b).

The excavation of 1903 complemented the picture gained in the previous year. In the first 10 m. east of the Arab fortress the Arab culture appeared again in the first meter, with its crude architecture, sherds, basalt articles decorated with the characteristic triangle, and a little delicate glass bottle. Below this, at a depth of 1½-3 m. everywhere began the stratum just described in connection with the shaft: the small oil pots (Fig. 97), molten iron, large awkward jars, three sieves, an incense basin, a bowl decorated with a ridge of button-like projections. The following are mentioned as of special interest: a seal of black basalt which carries two deer or gazelles standing at the tree of life (Fig. 98); a figure, broken, of Bes, of a blue stone (Fig. 99), and a camel's head of red-painted gray clay, which probably once served as the mouth of a jar.

Below this level a more ancient one began. It was especially recognizable from the many sherds with the ladder-motif which were at first thicker and gray-blue, and then grew finer and whiter. Two ceramic products were of special beauty: a medium-sized, two-handled jar with a long neck, gleaming red, decorated with dark red and black circles, and a fragment of a large yellow-white jar with black squares (Fig. 101). In this stratum lay a bluish scarab, bearing a dogheaded ape, erect, with a lute (or nefer sign?) (Fig. 100). Once again I found a child's body, at a depth of 4 m. Next to it were two small jars, one of which contained the fine yellow powder which had almost completely eaten it up; all were pointed at the bottom. Aside from sherds, bronze needles (one 19 cm. long, with a four-cornered grip) and a copper armband, the only thing worth mentioning is a little primitive pillar, 60 cm. high, at the bottom 30 by 22 cm., and 28 by 25 cm. at the top (Fig. 101). It seems to have carried an inscription at one time, but it had been completely effaced by fire. The shape was reminiscent of that of ancient votive pillars or house-altars. Finally it must be mentioned that in this stratum were found a very fine oil-press, a lime pit, and a conduit for water, made of clay cylinders stuck together.

CHAPTER XV

THE SOUTH SHAFT

The plan for a south shaft, which I also hazarded in view of the lack of sufficient time proved even more lucky and rewarding. In this case I simply permitted myself to be guided by the main street discussed above, and chose its terminus at the south of the Arab city. Here, too, the shaft was gradually extended to 18 by 14 m., since the finds demanded it. It could not be cleared right away down to bed-rock, but only to a depth of 3½ m. In 1903 it was deepened and extended again to north and south by 10 m.

The stratum that I found here was just the same as that in the east shaft: the little yellow-brown pots with black circles, iron articles, among them a well-preserved little hoe, in form corresponding exactly to the modern mankūsh. The large jars were coarse and awkward. Here there were also two clay incense bowls, a little votive pillar of basalt, a basalt bowl with remarkable oxhead-shaped feet, several pieces of basalt (apparently intended for use in making figures), two sheets of metal, a small pot half closed on top with a sieve, a wolf's head of clay, which probably once had been fixed to a jar (Fig. 103), a closed lamp and a brick with a peculiar signature.

In this shaft, as in the main street, I found a stone structure which made me think at first of an altar, but which was probably an olive-press like the other. The heavy rounded stone with which the pressing was done still lay nearby, but here I did not find a stone hollowed out to receive the liquid. The press was 2.5 m. long, 1.30 m. wide. The enclosure wall was built of stones laid on the side. Five m. south of it lay a cistern.

Eight m. southeast of the press I was to make the find which was probably the most important of the whole first excavation. At first a portion of a winged animal's body of thick clay was found, then at a distance of 2 m. were scattered animal heads, human heads, etc., 36 pieces in all. After the area had been thoroughly searched began the reconstruction which yielded an almost complete product; with the help of cement an ancient incense altar rose before our eyes (Fig. 102) which to date is probably the only one of its kind. It was exactly 90 cm. high, the four sides at the bottom each 45 cm. long, the walls were 5-2½ cm. thick.

There could not be a moment's doubt as to the purpose of the object as a whole: it had no bottom, but on the front side at the bottom were two little rectangular holes, in each side-wall were four medium-sized holes, and in the back, one big hole. The object, which grew narrower at the top, ended in a clay bowl 30 cm. in diameter and thus unquestionably was designed on the same principle as oriental hearths and stoves. The fire was kindled on the ground and the object placed over it. The fire was kept going by the draft which was produced so that it heated the incense which lay in the bowl. (Cf. the two incense basins published by Ohnefalsch-Richter, Plate Volume CXXXV, 1 & 3; one of them comes from Athens, the other from Cyprus). The bowl was decorated on the exterior wall with circles or eyes. Below this on the right side was a handle. One could tell from the break that there had been a corresponding handle on the left side, but it was no longer to be found. Since the whole thing was an altar, there could be no doubt that this handle represented one of its horns, which was confirmed by the way it was made. It was a ram's horn, though already stylized (Plates XII and XIII).

The artist's idea in respect to the relief decoration of the side-walls achieved its best expression on the right side. Three figures with human head, thick animal bodies and wings stand, or stride, toward the person standing before the altar, and between them lie two lions, their forepaws placed on the head of the hybrid creature who stands below them. There can be no doubt that these are supposed to be sphinxes or cherubs. Some of their especially remarkable features are the beardless face, although there is nothing else to suggest that they are supposed to be female--the breasts are not emphasized--the strikingly sharp noses, which were complete on only two heads and on two were broken off, and the head covering, a cap which ended in a triangle on both sides, with incised decoration at the border, and two tassels which hung down on the left side, which were, however, partly broken off.

On the left side the bodies were incomplete, but in contrast the heads and forefeet of the five creatures stood out sharply (Fig. 104). Here a relief had been inserted into the bodies: a little boy is throttling a snake, which is standing erect before him with gaping jaws. It goes without saying that it represents a mythological scene, but the scene itself is to date the only one of its kind. The nearest thing to it is the Heracles myth, but in that case, as far as I have ever seen, two snakes are always represented, as in the related representations of Bes. The representation of the boy is reminiscent of the Cypriote animal-tamer (cf. Ohnefalsch-Richter, Plate Volume CXVIII, 7a, CC, 4).

Likewise the front wall bears a relief at the bottom: a tree in the center, two ibexes at its two sides, represented in the attitude they assume in climbing mountains, with head turned around, snapping at the top of the tree (Fig. 105). Unfortunately this top, as well as the head of one of the animals, is badly damaged. The motif represented is a well-known one. The sacred tree, surrounded by two animals, lions, sphinxes, etc., and in particular by ibexes, is a recurring theme on

Cypriote finds, as on Assyrian seals and Egyptian scarabs. (Cf. the numerous copies in Ohnefalsch-Richter, I, p. 74 ff., and Menant, loc. cit.). The form of the sacred tree, which is admittedly already highly stylized in this case, is reminiscent in particular of that in Ohnefalsch-Richter, Plate Volume LXXVII, 17; CXVII, 7. In chapter XXI we shall deal with possible conclusions with respect to the age of the altar and the results for the history of religions which may follow from them.

I am unable to decide definitely whether the altar was deliberately smashed or whether it simply was shattered when the house in which it stood collapsed. If the former were true, then one would almost have to assume that it would have suffered even more; but there were not enough wall-stones nearby which would have been capable of producing such a radical effect to make one adopt the latter view. Actually the walls of the altar were very hard and durable. So I shall not omit suggesting a third possibility: It was most striking that right on the same spot where the fragments lay there were some twenty hard round sling stones. Thus it is conceivable that no one dared to touch the altar, but probably used them to stone it to pieces.

From the beginning the whole surroundings gave the impression of a private house, not of a public sanctuary. Nevertheless, in order to be perfectly certain, I had the shaft widened by several meters on all sides. But the finds only confirmed the first hypothesis; nothing was found of the plan of a great public building. There were only the usual potsherds, a lamp (Fig. 106), a scarab, the feet of a female idol, which was distinguished from those found previously by dots on the ankle bands (Fig. 107), and finally a crudely done bull's head of clay. Of course, it remains possible, in and of itself, that the altar once stood in a public sanctuary and was carried for some reason to this spot, but later finds of fragments of a similar object, about 30 m. farther south, make this assumption improbable.

The extension of this shaft toward north and south which I undertook in 1903 brought a rich prize of individual finds, but showed definitely that there had never been a temple at this spot. After a jumble of Arab walls with little content--a lamp with a grape decoration was about all--had been cleared away, I could distinguish three strata quite distinctly everywhere. First came the one identical to that surrounding the incense altar, 1-3 m. deep: a great many little pots with very original forms (Fig. 108). Besides the one little yellow one with black concentric circles, the following must be mentioned: a long-necked one without any handle, two which were flattened out and one with a soap-holder which went with it; blue beads and amulets (Fig. 110), a yellow-white bone button, a circular copper plate 14 cm. in diameter, 1 cm. thick, exactly like the two found by the altar. The most original were two hollow vessels, lamps or vessels for other liquids, of which the one was inspired by an animal's body, while the other was obviously modelled after an animal. The latter, 13 cm. long, 7 cm. high, had unfortunately lost its head; with this deformity it was impossible to decide whether it was intended as the body of a cow or something else (cf. Ohnefalsch-

Richter CCXVI, 8: nose and form of an ox, or perhaps a hippopotamus? Perrot IV, p. 459). The very primitive decorations were incised. Both were strongly reminiscent of Cypriote finds. Of the sherds three with the ladder-motif but blue-gray and thick, are worthy of mention, plus a yellow one with red serpentine lines and dashes.

Sherds of this kind, of course, became more numerous in the stratum below this, 3-4 m. deep. Here too blue beads and copper were found, plus a bronze chisel, a broken bronze spear point, and a very tiny gold ring. But of much greater importance was a rectangular black seal (Fig. 112), which had on two sides the figure of an animal, difficult to identify. Above it on one side were three points (stars?) and on the other an emblem (sun?).

But the most interesting may well be a type of Astarte found nowhere else on the mound (Fig. 113). It lay 3.20 m. below the surface. One earring and both legs had been broken off; the decoration was incised. The type corresponds almost exactly to that published by Ohnefalsch-Richter I, p. 37, found on Cyprus and also at Zenjirli (also described and discussed by Perrot IV, p. 552 f.).

Finally, below this stratum at a depth of 4-5 m., came the oldest level of the mound, with the combed sherds. Among them lay a bronze spear point, 20 cm. long, 5 cm. in maximum width; the finest specimen of its kind on the mound (Fig. 111). Especially valuable was the fact that here was buried a large jar with flat base of the oldest type (Fig. 109). On the neck it had the wavy ornament, at its widest point a rib; it was 1.02 m. high, and its circumference at the rib was 1.55 m. The diameter of the mouth was 18 cm., of the foot 28 cm. In this trench, now about 40 m. long, there seems not to have been any houses.

CHAPTER XVI

SOUNDINGS IN THE NORTHWEST, SOUTH, EAST, AND NORTH OF THE MOUND

We stand at the end of the actual systematic excavation. But in order to gain a picture of the history and development of the mound which would be as certain as possible, here and there with the help of a few laborers I made little soundings outside of the trenches and shafts which have been discussed. A brief report on the results of these follows.

At a time when I had not yet recognized that the north wall of the building discovered in the main street was a house wall, and had to reckon with the possibility that it might be a city wall, I dug, in order to determine its course, a shaft northwest of the so-called Arab city, 10 m. long and 5 m. wide. The results in this respect were, of course, negative. The results in finds of pots and sherds agreed exactly with that observed elsewhere. Also in this shaft I came once again upon a slim rectangular monolith, 1.10 m. high, 42 cm. wide, 42 cm. thick, but without any bowl-shaped hollow. Not far from this lay a cistern 7 m. deep, which was covered with two large round stones 1.20 m. in diameter.

Since it was of importance to determine whether already in the most ancient times the whole mound had actually been occupied in the form which its present surface presented, as early as 1902 I undertook soundings in the south specifically, one on the west side, the other just at the southernmost point. The first produced very scanty remains of a wall at 2 m., but these ceased at a breadth of just 1½ m. The second produced at first a mass of stone knives, then a very little house, or better a room, 1.60 m. long, 1.20 m. wide, of mud-brick, which was still standing to a height of 70 cm., with a hard-trodden floor. In this lay a stone with a rounded hole for the doorpin, of the type I had found at the gate of the east fortress. Thus it is conceivable that this was a gate-keeper's room. But for the time I had to despair of any further conclusions, since I could not continue the work here, and content myself with this result, that the mound had actually been occupied already in the most ancient times up to this southernmost point.

In 1903 I carried this work deeper. The hole was driven 10 m. into the hill with a breadth of 5 m. At a depth of ½ m. I found a cemetery which contained the bones of a number of men, who probably all

perished at once in some catastrophe. They were without coffins, etc., simply laid into the hard-trodden earth, all with the head to the west, looking east. Within the hole lay fifteen corpses. Nothing was buried with them but iron arm-rings.

Below this began also in this spot the stratum found with the incense altar: a stone trough 90 cm. long, 70 cm. wide, 40 cm. high, a large jar with pointed base, two pretty little pots, the feet of an Astarte. Somewhat lower, 3 m. deep, lay a ceramic ox's head painted with red lines (Fig. 114), evidently once applied as an ornament on a vessel. Since scarcely even sherds were found any more, I broke off work at this point; surely there had not been any larger building here in the south. In the middle, between this south pit and the large south shaft discussed in chapter XIV I planned, finally, one more little sounding, 8 m. square. Aside from a cistern this produced just one find, but it was not totally unimportant. For beside the cistern, scattered in all directions, lay pieces of a large clay object, which left me no room for doubt that this too had once been an incense altar, just like the one found in the large south shaft. The thick clay, the eyes, the fragment of the draft hole were enough to prove it plainly by themselves. (Fig. 115) Two pieces bore reliefs as did the other; one could make out the hind portion of an animal and, as it seemed, two human or animal bodies wrapped together in combat. Unfortunately, all our searching in the shaft did not produce the remainder; here the pieces must have been hurled very far apart. And so I had to be satisfied with the result, which these fragments provided: there had been several such altars as the one described in the previous chapter on the mound. This made their private character all the more plausible.

The result of the other soundings was totally negative. It was first of all a matter of determining whether the mound in its present form had ever been surrounded by a city wall. Therefore at two random spots on the east side I undertook soundings. Both times at a depth of two meters these revealed very weak walls, which were built of one or at most two courses of rough unhewn stones. It is unthinkable that these were ever real city walls. They must rather be so-called revetments built to prevent the earth from sliding down the slopes.

A sounding in the north produced the same result. I deliberately planned it at the point where the peculiar northeast plateau met the higher main plateau. Here too there was only such a revetment set in the slope. Shiny black polished sherds which lay nearby perhaps permit a conclusion as to the time of its erection, that is, soon after the domination of the so-called second stratum, at any rate, long before the uppermost Arab stratum. When these revetments were laid the mound received its egg-shaped form, which it still possesses today; we have, however, to imagine its level as 1-2 m. lower all over. In 1903 I planned a last trial shaft between the large east and the northeast trench, 10 m. square. Except for a cistern and much molten iron it produced nothing, hardly even sherds. At any rate there had never been houses in its area.

CHAPTER XVII

HASTY INVESTIGATION OF THE RUINS PRESERVED AT THE FOOT OF THE MOUND

It has been related in chapter II that an extensive area of ruins east and southeast of the mound indicated that at one time there had also been a city down there, extending considerably beyond the boundaries of the present day fellahin village. On the mound the earth had in the course of the centuries gathered over the ruins as a protective cover, but not here. Thus these ruins had, in contrast, gradually been carried off, in places down to bed-rock, and offered little opportunity for work with the spade. Nevertheless I had to attempt to examine the little that was left if I wanted to gain a picture of the site which would be without gaps.

I have already mentioned that the area of ruins extended as far as the north side of the hill. There it ended with a gigantic block of stone, in which, 30 cm. below the top edge, there were two holes close together, which at any rate might have once been bolt-holes in a gate. Actually the fellahin to this day call the rock "bab el-bawab," that is, "Gate of Gates." And since the rock lies directly on the road leading from north to south through the area of ruins, an old Roman road, here a correct tradition may actually have been preserved, although nothing can be found of a corresponding gate stone.

West of the road remnants of walls were preserved only at a few places. They showed that two or three large houses had once been situated there. The stones, which lay in part still in two courses, were coarse, square-dressed, unbossed; a few round pillars without further decoration were also lying around. In the road itself stood a stone which could have been a milestone, although no inscription could be discovered on it. Twenty m. east of the road stood a monolith, striking because of its size (Fig. 116). On the south side it had a round hole, which also could have once been intended for the bar of a door. Yet that may not have been its original purpose; it seems rather to have been erected for cultic purposes right from the start. Its form was very reminiscent of that of the so-called "Job stone." The south side was so weathered that an inscription may very well have once stood there. Since I wanted to see whether perhaps such a thing might have preserved under the protecting earth, I had it completely cleared. As

a result its height could be set at 1.85 m., its width 87 cm., its thickness 40 cm. No inscription was found. At the foot lay a piece of gray limestone with a chiseled decoration, probably the remainder of a rosette or a leaf ornament, similar to the kind I found on an Arab sherd (Fig. 116a). East of this monolith, only 20 cm. below the surface and at one point even protruding, lay two sarcophagus covers without special decoration. Forty m. south of this inside a wall 1 m. below the surface stood two groups of two sarcophagi. Two of them bore the same decoration, that is, three rosettes. All sarcophagi were empty; nearby lay glass sherds and half a closed lamp. In chapter III I discussed the fact that the mosque of the modern village has been restored from a much older structure. The stones are mostly squared and not bossed. The only evidence for a more exact determination of the age might be the architectural decoration of the large door stone, which stands as the left pillar in the entrance. It was covered with plaster but I was able to persuade the sheikh to have it taken off. Beneath it appeared a relief (Fig. 117). Evidently it is supposed to represent a burning torch, whose flame could be pushed higher or lower by means of the individual parts. I have not been able to find this ornament anywhere else up to now, but hope that it may perhaps put others on the right track. The pillars which were collected in the village in front of the sheikh's house had nothing distinctive about them; they certainly dated from Roman times.

Further evidence for determining the culture represented by these ruins is offered, perhaps by a find in a cistern of the village. Its inhabitants naturally use the old caves which they found here as stalls for their animals and likewise to some extent the old cisterns. In one of these a fellah found a large mass of sherds, which are pictured in Plate VI. As distinguished from the colored sherds described previously, these impressed one immediately by the thickness of the clay and secondly by the fact that here the painting had evidently been done only after the clay was baked. The motifs were partly well-known decorations: geometric, wavy lines, ladders, spirals, etc., yet they were more numerous and colorful. The basic shade was no longer white, gray or olive, but yellow.

Now it is of the highest importance that I did not find such sherds even once on the mound itself, but several times in the court of the mosque near the old cistern which lies there. It is only coincidence that the marks on the one sherd look almost like arabic numerals, really they are just two kinds of constantly recurring decorative hooks; the actual appearance of the sherds of ancient Arab Ta'anach has been presented in chapter X. But I did find just this same type of sherd on so-called Khirbet Amon, ½ hour southwest of Jamun, an ancient ruin from the Roman period, and on Tell Dotha. Schumacher found quantities of them on the site of ancient Thisbe in Transjordan.

It is clear that in this kind of sherd we have before us a revival of ancient Greek motifs. Also the form of individual vases is very

definitely reminiscent of Rhodian finds. But it is equally certain that the lateness of the period betrays itself in the execution. And so I do not doubt for a moment that we must designate the culture to which these sherds belong, not indeed as Roman, but probably as belonging to the Roman period. It is no more Arab than it is Greek; it falls between these two cultures. And I believe I may assert that we can assign to this period all that the foot of the hill has preserved by way of ruins, however little concrete evidence is available.

CHAPTER XVIII

CAVES AND ROCK-CUT TOMBS

In conclusion I shall report very briefly on my investigations in the caves and rock-cut tombs. The history of the first is indeed almost the same throughout the whole land. Originally the caves, in which the soft rock of Palestine is everywhere very rich, were dwellings for men. Later when they began to build houses, they were used as places of concealment for the dead. But in times of need men fled again and again into these hiding places, in which one was equally safe from attack by storms and by enemies (cf. Judges 6:2; I Sam. 13:6). The caves remained such places of refuge until far into the Christian era. Today, to the extent that they are not filled with rubbish they are places of refuge for shepherds and herds.

Already from the fairytales of the fellahin I could assume that also the region of Ta'annek concealed many caves. I began with an investigation of those on the north slope. There were three; all lay open, were used by shepherds and led on an average 10 m. into the mound. The one was walled on the inside, possessed an entrance gate of squared stone and a walled air shaft, and thus must really have been a dwelling at one time. There were several niches for lamps (Fig. 118). The others contained eight grave chambers, which were, however, all empty.

On the west slope of the mound lay three caves also; one of them even had a diameter of about 13 m. Over the entrance, which was hewn square, there was, as so often in the rock-cut tombs, a groove hewn in. In this there was a hole for a bolt, a sign that this cave also had once been a real dwelling. Here too there were lamp niches everywhere, above which the walls were frequently thoroughly blackened by soot (Fig. 119).

The only cave investigation of any special interest was undertaken on the east side of the mound. For the fellahin had called my attention to the fact that there below the ruins everything was hollow, but that they had not dared to venture in beyond 10 m. We let down a worker into the one open air shaft. He forced his way through the lowest and narrowest passages. By means of pounding from both sides we first made sure of its course and in the process discovered stopped-up air passages. After these had been cleared again, we ourselves were able to climb down and found that here were three caves joined by a

passage 18.70 m. long. The plan indicates their arrangement (Fig. 120). In part they were walled, and also contained several niches, which were evidently intended for sarcophagi, and likewise several niches for lamps. It was interesting that the two caves in the rear had no air shafts, but that repeatedly a narrow passage led from them into a little conical and ordinarily nicely plastered room, whose diameter was 2.50 m. at the bottom, whose top ended in an airshaft 90 cm. wide. In the three caves, which had a diameter of about 6, 9, and 10 m., were found human and animal bones, fine glass and clay sherds of the kind described in the preceding chapter.

The investigation of the individual graves cut into the rock was just as unrewarding. On the north, west, and south slopes of the mound there were whole groups of these, but the result was almost completely negative. Here the decades of the Turkish government's permitting the fellahin to plunder had their vengeance. At the quarters of the chief of police in Jenin I saw the bottles and flasks of glass, occasionally of wonderful beauty, which in part were said to come from Tell Ta'annek. But they had become worthless for science, since one could no longer know their provenance in detail. My opinion in general is this: that this glass all comes from Greco-Roman times. But then since the rock-cut tombs in good part are evidently much older and, especially those on the north and west slopes, lacking in any decoration whatever, such as is found occasionally in later rock-cut tombs (flowers, garlands, rosettes, the so-called meander-motif, etc.), in that era the old Canaanite-Israelite rock-cut tombs, insofar as they had not already been robbed by enemies, were simply emptied and reused. That the former was the case for the most part is demonstrated by the fact that also the four rock-cut tombs which I myself found below the earth, (thus where plundering by Arabs was excluded) contained nothing but earth. In all I opened seventeen side-hill graves and three pit-graves, whose entrance could be seen but was closed by earth and stone, and, as said, four graves which appeared only beneath the ground. I can offer the following as external characteristics found in most: around the rectangular or round entrance was a groove 6-10 cm. deep.[1] To the left of the opening was a rectangular hewn niche (80-40 cm. long, ca 60 cm. wide, 20 cm. deep), perhaps intended to receive food-offerings, usually with steps leading up to it. On the right side, one or more round offering bowls, probably for libations; at the entrance usually a niche for a lamp.

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1 As is well-known, the general view of these is that they served to carry off the rainwater; it is certain that they were later interpreted thus. But their origin might be in cultic purposes: this was the place for offerings and libations, at the gates of the dead. I draw this conclusion from the fact that this groove is also found around the entrance to pit-graves, where it could not possibly have served as a rain gutter; in contrast, my explanation could apply here also.

Nothing more noteworthy was found than a scarab of white bone with various hieroglyphs: union of the two lands of Egypt, the crown of Lower Egypt and the nefer sign (Fig. 121). The robbers had overlooked it. But I was granted another rather interesting find along this line, which I had not at all expected. On the east terrace of the north slope, 12 m. east of the north fort, was an Egyptian grave 3/4 m. below the surface. The rising bed-rock had been used as a rear wall, several stones had been laid around in a curve and within them was an urn of red clay, its exterior fluted in two places with double lines, red-brown inside, covered with a clay plate, which was also red-brown at the edge, yellow at the center with black concentric circles (Fig. 122). In the urn lay two leg bones of an adult (or animal?) and several very much weathered bones, a little gleaming black stone, five red beads, one small scarab 1 cm by ½ cm. of green-glazed clay with a representation difficult to interpret, apparently a lizard, and two hieroglyphs (Fig. 123), and finally the god Bes of light green porcelain (Fig. 124). To the right beside it stood a fine red-brown bowl, left of it an empty, handleless red jar, also fluted with double lines on the outside. Both the form of the jars, their manner of painting, which were completely unique on the mound, and also their contents made it completely certain that here we had Egyptian wares before us.

But now arose the question: how did they get here? The difficulty lay in this, that the urn could not possibly ever have contained the body of an adult, or even a whole skeleton of an adult, for it was only 35 cm. high with a maximum diameter of 22 cm. To begin with it could only have contained individual bones. The Egyptian amulets buried with it make it unlikely that we are dealing here with the remains of an Israelite who died in Egypt, as in Gen. 50:26; Josh. 24:32. So we must assume that it is an Egyptian who died in Ta'anach. They were content simply to inter, say, his entrails and legbones (or possibly only animal bones as a means of staying hunger. Cf. Erman, Ägypten, p. 422.). In any case the find is interesting for culture-history.

CHAPTER XIX

THE RESULTS OF THE EXCAVATION FOR CULTURE-HISTORY

Now that we have described the results of the excavation in detail, it will be our task to sum them up in a systematic way according to the various fields to which they belong, and so far as possible to sketch a picture of the cultural, political, and religious history of Ta'annek. As far as the results for culture-history are concerned, they fall very naturally into these divisions: the pottery in particular, the other articles of everyday life in general, the buildings, and the burials. The significance of the clay tablets for culture-history demands separate discussion.

The Pottery

The potsherds provide the key to the archaeology of Palestine; we owe this insight especially to Flinders Petrie, who in his epoch-making work on Tell el-Hesy was the first to defend this thesis and at the same time drew from it conclusions for history. It was then carried out in detail by his pupil Bliss, who had opportunity in his ten years of excavation to test his master's theory, to extend it and in part to correct it. (Cf. A Mound of Many Cities and especially, Excavations in Palestine, pp. 71-150.) Since we are in complete agreement with them we begin our presentation of the results for culture-history with the pottery. This alone is able to provide a secure basis for scientific evaluation of the other finds, also for our excavation of Ta'annek since not enough inscriptional material was found to accomplish this purpose. No other objects offer the same characteristic variety as do the sherds, and therefore can be drawn in only for confirmation and testing of the historical picture, not to lay its foundation.

Before we begin with the systematic presentation of the pottery, which includes jars, pots, bowls, plates, and lamps, I should like to mention that in depicting the kind and color of clay I leave out of consideration completely those vessels and sherds which are the same in all centuries. Such vessels actually do exist; for example, there are simple red sherds, among which a chemical analysis would indeed establish differences, but which seem the same for all periods to the naked eye. Here we will not deal with those. We shall speak only of those which offer such distinctive differences that one can with complete certainty use them to determine different strata of culture.

Four strata of culture can be distinguished in the heaped-up masses of rubbish and ruins on Tell Ta'annek on the basis of the sherds. Each of these in turn has two divisions. We begin our presentation with the lowest.

1) The lowest stratum is characterized by the red combed potsherds which have been described sufficiently above, and the jars which have flat bottoms for the most part. The combing is of various sorts, now vertical, now horizontal, now alternating between the two, etc. In this level two further sub-levels may be distinguished:

a) The oldest, with red-combed sherds exclusively, and almost exclusively flat-bottomed jars. I found this level directly on top of bed-rock at cistern b of the north trench, near the rock altar of the northeast trench, in the lowest meter dug in the main street and of Shaft I below the Arab fortress. This level then was relatively thin and poorly represented. It must originate with the original inhabitants of the mound, which, however, received foreign influences (cf. b) quite soon, say after 300-400 years. Petrie and Bliss found just the same level as the oldest on Tell el-Hesy and called it Amorite. Thus it is now proved that north and south Palestine were first settled by people sharing exactly the same culture.

In the course of the previous chapters we saw that the combing of the sherds also was connected with the following characteristics of the pots: the decorations are incised, not painted, and are the following: wavy lines, the so-called palm leaf, a row of notches, or the so-called rope motif, incised potter's marks, crosses, dashes, notches are very popular, the handles are horizontal, wavy, with indentations for the fingers. The form of the jars is mostly round-bellied, the bottoms flat.

b) Along with the flat bottomed jars the pointed ones appear frequently, and the pointed ones appear next to the combed sherds. Mostly they are yellow-white,painted with red or brown. There are also the olive painted with red-brown and red with red-brown and black painting. The decorations are above all geometrical (dashes, circles, diagonals, wavy lines, caraeus, etc.), plus birds and ibexes. These I found especially in the west fortress, in the building with the underground rooms in the north, then in the clay-brick level below the east fortress, 5-9 m. deep in the shaft of the main street, 4 m. deep in the three shafts below the Arab fortress, and at the same depth in the south shaft. One can see that the population has spread out, advanced to a higher level of culture and opened up to intrusive foreign cultural influences. The sherds which appear now for the first time have their analogues on Cyprus, and in finds from Mycenae and Egypt. One may call them Aegean or possibly also Phoenician.

2) The second stratum from the bottom is characterized by gray-white or olive colored sherds with the brown "ladder" ornament and the

jar with pointed base. It is the period of specifically Phoenician influence. Here two levels may be distinguished:

a) Both of the characteristic types of level 1 are still present, but in process of disappearing. I observed this level especially in the mud-brick level over the west fortress, in the north trench directly outside the north fortress, in Shafts I and III below the Arab fortress at a depth of 3-4 m., as well as in the main street shaft. Also most of the burial finds are to be assigned to it, in so far as they do not belong to 1b or 2b. The handle of the gray-white pots, an angle standing out horizontally, is especially characteristic. Along with these are some angles twisted upwards, which sometimes rise even above the edge of the jar so that they could have been suspended by them. These are also sometimes of a fine lustrous black painted clay. While the white jars and in part the Amorite are round-bellied, the red ones are predominantly slender and pointed at the bottom. Sporadically they are nicely red-burnished, the little ones sometimes yellow.

b) Both of the types described under 1 disappear completely. In their place along with the gray-white there appear somewhat coarse red sherds, painted in black and dark red, with wavy-lines and geometric ornaments, which apparently are in imitation of the older types. The clay frequently seems to be mixed with basalt dust, and thereby becomes somewhat crude. I found this level especially in the east fortress, in Shafts I-III below the Arab fortress and 2-3 m. below the main street.

3) The second stratum from the top. The white sherd with the ladder motif disappears completely and only a thicker blue-gray imitation appears occasionally. Instead one finds the gleaming yellow-brown or black varnished sherds. It is the period of Greek influence.

a) The first type characterizes the beginning of this influence. The most prominent characteristic is the little yellow-brown pot with black concentric circles. Bowls and sieves are made on the same principle. The large jars are more clumsy than those in the preceding stratum. The little ones are also partly so but offer instead new, peculiar types. The flat bottom is again fashionable. The lamps, until now plates with turned over edges, begin to be closed. Except for the black concentric circles already mentioned, the only decorations found are rather rudely executed red wavy lines and dashes.

Ohnefalsch-Richter found these small pots on Cyprus (cf. Plate Volume, p. CCXVI), Bliss on Tell Zakariyya. I found this level especially in the north fortress, the east trench, the south shaft, and at a depth of 1-2½ m. scattered over almost the whole mound. At the time of the domination of this culture, then, the population must have extended especially far.

b) The second kind represents the time of complete domination of Greek culture; its chief characteristic is the gleaming varnished black sherds. To be sure, I found no dwellings belonging to it on the whole

mound; one had the impression that in this period the whole mound was already cultivated and that during cultivation a jar was broken here and there. One found these sherds scattered sparsely over the whole mound to a depth of 1½ m. There were none of the characteristic sherds of the Seleucid era and of Roman terra sigillata just two pieces, almost on the surface on the east plateau.

4) The top stratum, undoubtedly completely Arab. It falls into two divisions:

a) The specific sherds of the Arab city and fortress in the center of the mound. Their distinctive decoration has been sufficiently described in chapter IX: incised or in relief are triangles opposed on rectangular panels, sections of circles, etc. Ornaments are executed on almost all basins and jars.

b) The ordinary Arab sherds. They come from fellahin of later centuries who broke a pot here and there while cultivating the mound. They lay in the top meter of earth.

Finally, attention must be drawn to chapter XVII, where we demonstrated another type of sherd found only at the foot of the mound, which historically must be inserted between 3b and 4a.

When I compare my results in this line with those of Petrie and Bliss a surprising agreement in the culture of north and south Palestine is demonstrated. As the most prominent distinguishing characteristic I will only mention that in level 2a or b I never found even a fragment of a so-called bilbil, which they found so often. With the great number of jars I discovered this can hardly be a coincidence; secondly, that in spite of all my searching I never found a jar-handle with an archaic Hebrew stamp. But that ceases to be remarkable when one considers that in the south these stamps appear only after 650 (cf. Bliss, Excavations, p. 116), that is, at a time when there was no longer a north Israelite kingdom. Thirdly, level 3a appears as a sharply distinguished, quite original level more in the north than in the south. Of course the culture of 4a is peculiar to the mound of Ta'annek.

The Other Articles of Everyday Life

As far as the non-ceramic articles of daily life are concerned, we shall begin with the cisterns. The excavation uncovered fifteen of them, with depths from 1-10 m., diameters of 1.20-2.40 m. The mouth of all was circular; most retained this form down to the bottom, but in four the artificially produced round opening led, after 1-4 m. into natural large holes in the rock of 4-6 m. in diameter. Two were still covered with a large round-hewn stone, the rest were open; large troughs for watering cattle, etc., lay near several. Whether the cisterns had all originally and always served for water, or, as still today, also as reservoirs for corn and the like could naturally not be established.

But it was established, at any rate, that the mound, since it had been inhabited by men at all, had been crossed with a whole network of cisterns. If I found 15 in the area excavated, the mound must have had about 100 cisterns in all. One can distinguish three kinds. The first are those cut entirely into bed-rock; these must come from the original inhabitants of the mound, chiselled out at a time when the bed-rock still lay exposed; I found eight of these. One can see with what energy and skill even the original inhabitants entered the struggle with nature for their existence. The second consists of those which still come in part from that time, but were already surrounded by an artificial wall, evidently to protect them from being filled with sand, since the level of the surface of the mound was already in the process of rising. I found six of these. The third kind, finally, consists of those cisterns not hewn into the rock any more at all, but made of artificial walls within the earth. I found one such, and it is no surprise that this belonged to the Arab fortress. One might bring in here also the so-called bath. In this period the bed-rock was covered everywhere with 4-10 m. of earth and rubbish.

In the second place I mention the oil-presses. The original kind in this case also must be the kind in which a naturally flat place in the rock is used, in which an artificial drain was produced in which the liquid gathered. I did not find any of this kind. Instead, I found four of a second kind. Several (or just one) large stone slabs were laid down flat and provided with a rim by other stones set up around it or by cutting a depression into the flat surface, and just one drain was left, into a hole for the liquid. The pressing was done, as the finds near two of them demonstrated, by means of a large flattened stone, rounded at the edges. All four belonged to stratum 2b or 3a. It is well-known that in Greek, Roman and Arab times the latter stones were made into real rollers by boring a hole through them. I did not find that kind.

Thirdly, the ovens must be mentioned. On the inside they were made of clay, on the outside of mud or stones joined by mud. These remained the same through almost all ages. I discovered about nine. Of these only one, the one in the west fortress, belonged to a type in which a special place for the coals was made. All of the others consisted simply of a vault. As far as the clay is concerned which otherwise was everywhere the same blood-red type 2-3 cm. thick, one could establish a difference only in this, that in the deeper strata it was frequently fluted on the inside.

Fourthly, the articles of gray and black basalt. These were found in masses from the lowest level to the highest. To be sure, in the last it was not always clear whether they had not been inherited from older strata, and at any rate they became less frequent. But just in the most ancient strata they were especially common. It is no wonder. Only one-half hour away from Ta'anach toward the west there are whole spurs of basalt. A distinction in their treatment could be established only in

this, that in the so-called third level there was an obvious attempt to form the feet of bowls, etc., in an artistic way, of which no trace could be found in the older levels. These basalt articles were, first of all, troughs and bowls of 60-20 cm. in diameter, round and oval, once even a rectangular one, deep and shallow; then long oval mill stones, flattened on the bottom, mortars, stampers, and mills in which an upper stone, rounded to form a cone, fits exactly into the hole of a nether stone, spindles and sling stones with and without holes for the sling straps.

The finds of alabaster and marble were few: one fragment of an alabaster bowl in the trench in the main street, an alabaster plate in the east fortress. It can come as no surprise that the two little alabaster jars, isolated, but of excellent workmanship, were found just in levels 1a and 1b (cf. chapter VIII), for we know that already the Babylonian king Gudea imported alabaster from Amorite country (cf. Winckler in KAT, I, p. 15). Of marble, not counting individual stones, I found only the two pillars in the Arab fortress.

The finds of flint articles were very extensive, though confined to knives and arrowpoints. I did not find an axe or the like. They were really present in abundance in levels 1a and 1b (especially in the west fortress), in the third they seemed to have been inherited only in isolated cases, iron having made them superfluous. In the Arab level there was just one chance example, none at all in the fortress. I was not able to establish a change in form according to strata; one or two-edged knives were found equally in all. At the most one could say that it was the deepest strata which contained the most refined forms and the longest specimen, which lay by the rock altar and was 21 cm. long (cf. chapter VII).

There were articles of bone in strata 1-3: flat knives, needles, spindles, holders for metal needles and articles for winding string, buttons, a comb and the like. One could hardly make a distinction according to strata; already in 1b lay a needle with incised geometric decoration. The find of a large deer bone in the west fortress was interesting; someone had tried to work at it with a file, and then thrown it away.

Of the metal articles the bronze are to be mentioned first. They belonged almost exclusively to strata 1 and 2 and were found, especially in the west and east fortresses: knives, spear and arrow points, chisels, nails, needles, cosmetic sticks, tongs, string holders, etc. In the second level copper knives also were found. In strata 3 and 4, thus in the north and in the Arab fortress, in the east and south shafts, along with rings, lamps, sheets and a shield of copper, were found many iron articles, which were all, except for a hoe, almost totally ruined and unrecognizable through oxidation. Here bronze had disappeared. Almost no precious metal was found: a golden earring in the west trench (level 1b), a golden finger ring on the floor of an Arab cistern, a miniature ring in the south shaft were all. Other decorative articles which must

be mentioned are the copper foot rings, the white bone buttons, scarabs, beads, black stones and shells.

Finally, at this point the weights and spindles must be discussed. There were found little weights of lustrous black stone, flattened on the bottom and round on top, in the ruin-heap of the children's cemetery, middle-sized weights of yellow or hard gray stone at the same location, and finally, large ones of basalt or clay, pierced at the top to permit a string to be drawn through. In earlier chapters was mentioned the peculiar phenomenon that these, at least the clay ones, were often found in the ovens, especially in the lowest levels, and the question was left open whether they were simply baked there, or whether they stood in a closer relation to the baking of bread. Nowadays similar articles are used on looms in the orient, and I also saw them among the ceramic objects of ancient Pompeii. Similarly, the boundary between mud or clay spindles and pierced sling balls of hard mud cannot be drawn with complete certainty. Since these were frequently found right along with stone sling balls in the east and north fortress, similarly near the shattered incense-altar, it was not possible for me simply to assign all of them to the first category.

The overall picture of the civilization, as it is reconstructed on the basis of these finds is--not counting the Arab fortress--that of a country town, a civilization very lacking in refinement, even extremely simple, and yet very lively. It knows no luxury, and one also notes very little by way of direct imports, but what nature offers is placed at the service of human life with zeal and energy. This is especially true of levels 1-3.

The Buildings on the Mound

Throughout the centuries up to the time of the Arab fortress the ordinary houses on the mound seem to have been extremely simple huts of mud-brick or unhewn stones. There are always one or two public buildings which stand in contrast to these; they alone deserve the designation house or fortress. So we must conceive of ancient Ta'annek in all ages according to the example of large villages of fellahin, in which also only the house of the sheikh or of an Effendi makes a striking contrast to the surroundings.

As far as the simple houses are concerned, one could even so distinguish three types, without being able to demonstrate that their sequence was exactly a historical one. In the deep trench below the main street, where one a priori would expect to find the most ancient ones, there were whole layers of mud mixed with rubble. But one could not separate one single mud-brick. From this would follow the conclusion that the oldest huts of the inhabitants of the mound were simply built of such a mixture of little stones and unbaked mud.

The mud houses below the east fortress, above the west fortress and in Shaft I below the Arab fortress constituted an advance over these.

All of them were built of very nice, exactly made, large and, for the most part baked mud-brick, partly, as is likely (some below the east fortress were certainly of that type) convex. The floor was hard-trodden. Admittedly the size was minimal here, too; the diameter of the houses was 4 m. at the most.

The third type is made up of houses of unhewn but leveled stones. I found several of these in the north trench, in the shaft of the main street, in those below the Arab fortress, and above all in the east and south shafts. The floor was mostly of a hard-trodden, cementlike smooth surface. The interior walls were also plastered in some. The roofs of these also must for the most part have consisted of straw and mud laid over sticks.

I found six real buildings, which I shall present here once again and now in historical order. The principal standard for grouping them is provided by the pottery and sherds found in them, and secondly by other articles. It will become evident that the manner of building itself agrees with this order.

1) The oldest building on the mound is apparently the west fortress, with sherds and pots belonging to level 1b, masses of flint articles, and a few of bronze; the hard limestone is unhewn, only levelled and smoothed, with outer walls in "stories." In the strictly rectangular outline of the whole and of the individual rooms the building is somewhat reminiscent of that discovered by Petrie and Bliss in their so-called IVth century city on Tell el-Hesy (cf. A Mound of Many Cities, p. 75), except that the building in Ta'annek with its strong outer walls seemed much more like a fortress. It was certainly once the residence of the first ruler of the city.

2) In the same period of history may have originated the building with the (already older) underground rooms in the north. The sherds were the same. The primitive smoothing of the still polygonal stones, the "story-like" construction of the exterior walls, and even the stone material was almost identical. The find of clay tablets provided a fixed point for dating the structure and designating it as the residence of a Canaanite prince of the 15th or 14th century.

3) The large building in the shaft of the main street. The sherds belong to level 2a, with much flint and a bronze chisel nearby. The walls consist of large unhewn but well-laid limestone. In the stones by both gates the squaring of the stones is already anticipated. The purpose of this building could not be determined exactly.

4) The east fortress with its outworks. The sherds belong to level 2b; several stone knives, several bronze knives and spearpoints. The walls of squared, primitively embossed stones, with pillars and towers and an extensive gate system.

5) The north fortress. The sherds belong to level 3a; many iron objects, only one or two broken stone knives. The rectangular dressing of stones is known but employed only at the corners of the walls. Otherwise the stones are laid in four courses any which way on top of one another, and the gaps filled with small stones. The rectangular hewn stones are smooth, not embossed; the round stump of a pillar was found in the fortress.

6) The Arab fortress and city: only rectangular hewn smooth stones; in the fortress Roman arches and marble pillars.

Finally it must be mentioned that only one city wall was found and even this was only a fragment: the cyclopean wall, which once, probably in the time of levels 1a and 1b, surrounded the city. It lay below the slope of the central plateau toward the north, so that it also seemed to represent the extent of the ancient city for the most part. At the outer slopes of the whole mound revetments ran around the city, but these seem to have been laid for the first time at the time of level 3b. Previously simply the east, or north, fortress had had to take care of the defenses of the mound.

The Cemeteries on the Mound

The rock-cut tombs on the slopes of the mound were, as we saw, almost all plundered. But the excavation brought to light two singular kinds of burial on the mound itself, first of all the burial places of the children in the northeast trench. In chapter VII this was discussed thoroughly and we came to the conclusion that it was perhaps customary simply to inter children before they had reached a certain age in a field, in or next to jars,[1] and only from this age division on in the rock-cut tombs, but that it is more plausible to suppose we are dealing with sacrificed children, that is, children buried alive or slain, but not burned. Likewise we noticed in this place and also here and there elsewhere on the mound the custom of interring a jar filled only with sand for someone who died far away.

It would, of course, be significant if we were able to assign this place a spot in the sequence of development of cultures, on the basis of jars, plates and sherds. But here this is hindered by the circumstance that apparently as a matter of principle colored or decorated pots were never used for this purpose, but only simple large or small red jars. So we must be guided more by the other sherds which lay round

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1 Such interment in jars, so-called pithoi, has recently been demonstrated also in Egypt, in Knossos and Aphidna in N. Attika; cf. Altmann, Architektur und Ornamentik der antiken Sarkophage, pp. 25f; similarly also in ancient Babylon; cf. Mitteilungen der deutschen Orientgesellschaft 1903, No. 17, pp. 15-17.

about. Those near the rock altar were all combed, and all belonged to level 1a. But in the burial places only an occasional broken handle of this kind was found, while there were many yellow-white sherds with red wavy lines or also with brown ladder decoration. Now since the jars in the graves mostly had the pointed shape, one can most plausibly assign the burial places to stratum 1b or 2a; the scarab of blue amethyst which lay here is probably in agreement with this. Thus the assumption is suggested that cemeteries were used by those who lived in the mud-brick houses below the east fortress and their contemporaries, the inhabitants of the west fortress and the structure with the underground rooms.

The second kind of burial is that of children, and occasionally also adults, directly beside or under the houses, such as I found in the north trench, near the west fortress, in the west trench, in the shaft of the main street, in Shafts I and III below the Arab fortress, in short, actually all over the mound. We have seen that this kind is explained partly from reasons of practical necessity, e. g., during sieges, but partly also from religious motives. It is no longer possible to decide on the basis of the available data, whether those concerned in the latter case were buried when already dead or walled in alive--a superstitious custom which can be demonstrated also in many ancient peoples. That the latter occurred also in Palestine is made likely by I Kings 16:34f; cf. Winckler, Geschichte Israels, I, p. 163.[2]

In placing this custom in the sequence of strata we shall have to make a judgment similar to that in the first case. We have seen in chapter IX that several of these graves belong directly to the west fortress, and thereby we know at once that the beginning of the custom is to be placed in level 1b. The finds of jars agree with this; they testify to a relatively highly developed culture: two middle-sized jars in this one were gleaming red polished, one small one here and in Shaft I below the Arab fortress was gleaming yellow, in Shaft III below the Arab fortress there was even a yellow-white jar with a brown geometric pattern used for this purpose. But here too, especially from the contents of the main street and in the north trench, one would have to ascribe this custom at least also to level 2a. It is even likely that 2b is to be included. At any rate in 3a the custom ceased completely.

It is regrettable that the amulet and the Bes figure in the isolated Egyptian grave (ch. XVIII) do not provide a certain conclusion as to its age; according to Prof. Krall they impress one as relatively late (between, say, 1000 and 600). Otherwise here interesting light would be shed on international trade with Ta'annek.

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2 In addition, cf. for the custom of simple burial in the house, by which one sought to gain a genius loci, among the ancient Germans Leppert, Die Religionen der europäischen Kulturvölker, pp. 134 f.; among the Greeks, Rohde, Psyche, p. 210, note 3; 630, 1; 696; among the Romans, Lubbert, Commentat. pontifical., p. 71.

The great subterranean structure in the bed-rock which lay in the north of the mound can not, according to the discussion in chapter VIII, be classed definitely with the cemeteries, however subjectively certain we are that it was originally intended as such, and perhaps at one time (prehistoric) was used as a mausoleum.

The Results of the Find of Clay Tablets for Culture-History

While for all other periods of the culture-history of Ta'annek we are compelled to confine ourselves to conclusions based on the objects uncovered and their comparison with one another and with objects from other places, for one short period of time inscriptional finds justify us in drawing direct conclusions. This is level 1b. However small the extent of the find of clay table s made therein may be, it opens for us a perspective of high importance.

It is of interest that this library, which was, to be sure, unfortunately decimated, was evidently once in the large clay chest, a custom for which we possess an illustration in Jer. 32:14. In addition, in the period to which the find belongs we see Ta'annek dependent upon Pharaoh. The daughter of the city ruler, when she is old enough, is to enter his harem, cf. I, 25ff.; we learn of the ruler's reduced circumstances; he is in need of money, and is relieved by 50 pieces of silver, I, 8ff., and for a time at least he has lost his cities, certainly the country towns and villages which lay in the plain, the "daughters" of the book of Joshua, II, 13f. We hear of the armor-maker, the foreman, who at this time travels from place to place, II, 6ff., testimony to the shipment of weapons as gifts, which perhaps were symbols of alliance (cf. Lachish tablet, 13f.). Finally we learn that the daughter of the city king, still a child, is in Rubute, I, 26. If this were identical with the site known from the Amarna letters, whose site has still not been identified with certainty but was certainly in south Palestine, not too far from Jerusalem (Hommel identifies it with Hebron, Kirjath Arba'; cf.. Altisraelitische Überlieferung, pp. 253 f.) then we would see how lively the exchange between the north and south of the land was at that time. But much more likely we are to think of Rabbit in the tribe of Issachar, much closer to Ta'annek (cf. Josh. 19:20). Also in Shishak's list a R-ba-at or Rubati is named between Ta'anak (sic) and Sunem (cf. Brugsch, Geographische Inschriften, II, p. 59), which thus also lay in the great plain. Unfortunately we are not told now it happened that the daughter already as a child is far from her father's house (as a hostage or as a result of upheaval due to war, of which Tablet II speaks?).

But incomparably more important than these little individual features is the fact that the letters which the rulers of the cities exchanged during that period are written in Babylonian cuneiform. We now have real proof of what had often been proposed but was always disputed, namely that the influence of Babylonian culture was operative in Palestine even in the centuries of political dependence on Egypt. The cylinder seal (cf. ch. V) demonstrated this already for the early period, and

the Amarna letters suggested it for level 1b, but the private correspondence of the city rulers provides the first direct documentary evidence. Now one need not assume that the Babylonian script was used only for foreign political correspondence, learned out of necessity (as in Egypt) or handled by Babylonian scribes. Instead, if these city rulers discuss their affairs among themselves in Babylonian script, then they did not know any other one; it was really their own.

The two larger tablets make that even more obvious. However regrettable it is that they are very much damaged, yet one may still say with certainty that they are lists which the king of Ta'annek kept or which were delivered to him by his cities; the fact that the orthography of the two varies is evidence for the latter. Their purpose is still not completely certain; it is likely that the one (Tablet III) is a count of how many men in one place each family had to supply for the army, sometimes one, two, or three; in all it dealt with about sixty men. The other (Tablet IV) may have been a list of those who were servants or priests of specific gods (Adad, Ammon, etc.),if indeed it does not also deal with soldiers. In that case every army division seems to be named after a specific god. If these lists were intact, we would have several complete lists of certain classes of the subjects of the king of Ta'annek. Yet we must content ourselves with this, that we do know the proper names of a whole series of them with near certainty, and above all with the insight that here there was a thoroughly systematic state organization and that once again in the composition of these domestic lists in Babylonian the profound Babylonian influence is noticeable.

CHAPTER XX

THE HISTORICAL RESULTS OF THE EXCAVATION

Since the inscriptional materials I found were not extensive, it will be understood if in this chapter I proceed only with great caution. But on the one hand a comparison with the results of the English excavations of other sites and on the other hand a careful use of biblical and extra-biblical materials puts us in a position to sketch a picture of Ta'annek's history which approaches certainty.

We begin with that which the excavation has brought to light of things positively assured, new, and not handed down by literary reports. That is, first of all, that on the mound of Ta'annek shortly before or during the period of the crusades there rose an Arab city with a castle, which, in the 100-200 year period of its existence attained quite a respectable culture. This suggests the hypothesis, especially when one recalls that the crusaders had permanent bases at Akko in the west and at Beisan in the east, that it was destroyed by them and has lain since that time as a deserted ruin.

The second thing that the excavation has provided as certain is this, that in Roman times there was never a settlement on the mound itself. Instead the Ta'annek of which Jerome speaks lay as a country town east and south at the foot of the mound, while the mound itself was simply under cultivation as it is today. This observation corresponds exactly to that made at other tells such as Beisan and Lejun. In the Roman period the cities lay almost always on the plain; the neighboring mounds were at best used only as the site of a small fort. Not even that was the case at Ta'annek, for it was in any case not necessary from a military point of view: the strongly fortified Legio lay one hour to the west, Scythopolis four hours east. These two points (possibly also with the addition of En Gannin) dominated the great plain completely and sufficiently.

In the third place, however, the excavation has revealed this also as certain, that also in the time of real domination of Palestine by Greek influence, thus from about 400 B. C. on, the mound itself was not occupied. The characteristic Seleucid ceramics were not present at all, nor was there any glass in the pre-Arab strata, or houses which testified to a really dominating Greek influence. Instead, the city

experienced a total, violent end at a period when Greek influence was first beginning to be active in the country.

But when did that happen? That is the question on which the whole interpretation of Ta'annek's history depends and which, unfortunately, cannot be answered with any certainty at the present time, and which therefore compels us above all to practice caution. The main thing is that we formulate the problem quite clearly in a preliminary way, and therefore I will put the question in this drastic fashion: When did the gray-white Phoenician sherds with the brown ladder-motif cease to circulate and when did the little gleaming yellow-brown pots with the black concentric circles come into the country? If we knew that terminus for certain and then added on 100-200 years, we would be close to the time of the final destruction of Ta'annek.

The biblical account, according to the former traditional way of interpreting it, would make it most natural to seek to identify this terminus with 722 B. C. But on the one hand a new interpretation has with justification come to be dominant, that is that only Samaria was really destroyed at that time while only the dignitaries and nobles were deported from the other cities, and possibly also replaced by new colonists. But here we are dealing with a complete destruction. Naturally the possibility isn't completely excluded. But on the other hand, can we set the beginning of the influx of Greek culture into a Palestinian country town already in the period before 800 B. C.? To be sure Isaiah 3:20 already speaks of the little scent-bottles of the ladies of Jerusalem. But were these made according to the Greek fashion? And the prophet Joel (4:6) presupposes trade connections with Greece, but nowadays there is doubt as to whether his book is to be placed at such an early period. Exactly the same little bottles were found, as we saw, on Cyprus, but even there their age cannot be determined exactly. Ohnefalsch-Richter places them in the so-called Greco-Phoenician iron age, which he reckons as lasting from 1000-600 B. C. Flinders Petrie sets the beginning of the importation of these oldest Greek wares into Palestine at about 800 and designates as its highpoint the year 700 (cf. Tell el-Hesy, p. 48); the fragment that he found of such a little pot he dates between 100 and 600 (cf. Table VII, no. 164 and p. 46). Also Bliss found these pots, but he simply calls them "Jewish," which for the southern kingdom covers a much wider latitude.

In short, as long as this question is not decided for certain, the question as to the fall of ancient Ta'annek cannot be answered definitely, for there are hardly any other certain facts to go by. The fact that the culture of the last ancient level belongs completely to the iron age, that it contains no glass as yet, still leaves a latitude of several centuries open. The head of the clay idol which was found in the one house (Fig. 96), the Bes in the other (Fig. 99), the incense altar--none of these, unfortunately, permit any certain conclusion as to age. And that is also the situation with respect to the little black Egyptian statue, although this is most likely from the time of Psammetichos, so that the destruction would have to be placed at least at the end of the 7th century (cf. Fig. 82).

And so for the present we shall have to resign ourselves to being unable to offer a final solution to this question, however important that might be with respect to the history of religion (cf. ch. XXI, part 4), and to leave open a date between 722 and about 500. Yet I will not hesitate to offer the hypothesis which seems to me the most likely. While it otherwise confirmed that the year 722 did not bring a real destruction on the north Israelite country towns, history does offer us another occasion on which such a radical destruction would be very conceivable: the time of king Josiah of Juda. We are told of him that in an energetic way he made good the old Davidic claims to Samaria, moved through the land to reform the cult (II Kings 23:19) and when Pharaoh Necho moved against Babylon, confronted him in 608 at Megiddo, where he fell (23:29). In the course of these events how easy it would have been for neighboring Ta'annek to be destroyed by the Egyptians! Possibly one might also think of the Scythian invasion a few years before, in 626 (cf. Hölscher, op. cit., pp. 44f., and Wellhausen, Israelitische Geschichte, p. 94). In both cases we should gain a century, in which the first influences of Greek culture might very well have become noticeable in Palestine.

The beginning of the history of Ta'annek is likewise impossible to fix to the century, but essentially certain as a result of the excavation. I found next to no traces of so-called prehistoric inhabitants except for the empty caves themselves (cf. in contrast, e. g., the cave discoveries at Gezer). It is now certain that Ta'annek was first settled by that people who took possession of all Palestine between 2500 and 2000 B. C. and bore the name Amorites or Canaanites. Thus in this period falls the beginning of level 1a. It is thoroughly uniform and from its magnitude in Ta'annek can hardly have lasted longer than 400 years, so that we might set its founding in the year 2000 B. C. There were as yet no strong foreign influences in this period, but the Babylonian-Egyptian cylinder seal, which must come from it, though it was found in the succeeding level, and also a scarab which seems to belong still to the period of the Middle Kingdom (cf. ch. XXI, part 5) thus around 2000, show that such foreign influence was not completely lacking.

The people soon made a great cultural advance; through the Phoenicians there streamed in cultural influences partly original with the Phoenicians, partly Aegean, and besides these, as usual, Babylonian and Egyptian influence (for this cf. Erman, Ägypten, pp. 680 ff.) intersected here. On Ta'annek the west fortress was built; it is perhaps the same as that plundered by Thutmosis III about 1500. The scarab found in it leads us to just about exactly this time (cf. p. 42). It is the period of level 1b, which we must then reckon as from 1600-1300. To it belong also, as we saw, the Canaanite building in the north in which were the cuneiform tablets, as well as the mud-brick houses below the east fortress.

The find of clay tablets throws a surprisingly bright light on a very short time within this period. One of the city kings is known to us by name, Istar-Wasur; he is the subject of Pharaoh, is in need of

money, has lost for a time his "cities" whether through the Habiru or through the onslaught of Israelite tribes we are not told, any more than we know whether he ever conquered them back. Guli-Addi, who wrote letter I, seems to be his superior in some way, and is perhaps the Rabis over the whole plain. Once more we do not know where the friend Achi-Jawi, the writer of letter II has his residence.[1] He has a governor in Raḫab, by which we may perhaps understand Rechob in the later tribe of Asher (cf. Jud. 1:31 and the Egyptian Rakubu, or Rakbu, W. M. Müller, Asien und Europa, p. 153). He is on a war for plunder at Gurra, possibly the same as Gur not far from Ibleam, II Kings 9:27. It is evidently the time when the dissolution of the Canaanite city kingdoms under Egyptian suzerainty is no longer far off, about the time of the Amarna letters, but perhaps already 50 years later. This is indicated by the circumstance that in letter II there is no more thought of help from the Pharaoh (cf. ch. XXI, part 3).

As far as the further history of Ta'annek is concerned, it must be pointed out above all that the excavation thoroughly confirms the interpretation which is more and more becoming dominant, namely that the occupation by the Israelites was very gradual. One cannot detect a real interruption of the culture, but instead a very gradual development. The city must have remained Canaanite for centuries and the Israelites, who were, perhaps, attracted in gradually from the occupied villages nearby were assimilated. To be sure, the west fortress must have been destroyed by violence at some time, but that could have happened already when the Habiru pushed in, or even already through Thutmosis III. The building with the underground rooms perhaps was first to replace it, and later the large building in the trench in the main street. I myself observed how fast earth gathered over the old ruins just there in the west; above it soon rose new mud-brick houses, level 2a, which must be dated from about 1300-1000, the time of dominant Canaanite influence, but with Israelite influence coming in.

At any rate, the east fortress with the east fort constitutes a line of demarcation. I do not hesitate to assume as most probable that it was erected by King Solomon. The new home and also a really fortified home was fitting for the new Judaean governor. And just then too a stronghold to keep the Canaanite cities in subjection was necessary;

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1 One may propose the following: Since the writer's inquiry concerning the fate of the king of Ta'annek shows that he was not a very close neighbor, and on the other hand since Ta'annek seems to lie between his residence and Raḫab, which lay to the west, and finally, since Gurra = Gur in the region south of modern Jenin, perhaps Dothan was the residence of Achi-Jawi. But it is equally possible that his real residence is Raḫab, where he left the governor while he himself was on a campaign in the east (I consider Peiser's attempted identification, OLZ 1903, No. 8, as mistaken, however attractive an association of Buritpi with Buridja of Megiddo and Achi-Jawi with Japachi of Gezer may be.).

therefore it lies outside the city itself. Also the scarab found inside it favors this dating; besides, at this point begins level 2b, which is to be dated from about 1000-800, the real Israelite period. If Solomon himself did not build the fortress, then it must come from one of the first north Israelite kings. It survived for the time being the plundering expedition of Shishak; one may with good reason assign the destruction of this fortress to 722 B. C. Aside from the Canaanite-Phoenician cultural influences, which continued to operate, in this period other foreign influences, Egyptian and especially Cypriote, make themselves felt. Perhaps the latter are to be ascribed especially to the reign of King Ahab. In contrast, all Babylonian influences seem to have disappeared with level 2a.

Then comes level 3a, which according to the discussion above begins about 800 and lasts until 722, or more probably to 600, perhaps even until 500, the period of the beginning of gradual influx of Greek culture. In the place of the east fortress which had been razed the little fort on the north of the mound was built. The city in this period extended even farther in area than in previous periods; one finds its culture almost everywhere on the mound. At any rate, then a sudden destruction with fire and sword--we do not know whether by Scythians or Egyptians--struck the city, which did not rise again from the mound before the Arab period. Storms and rain gradually drew a covering layer of earth 2-4 m. deep over the ruins of past centuries.

CHAPTER XXI

THE RESULTS OF THE EXCAVATION FOR THE HISTORY OF RELIGION

We owe to this excavation much that is new and illuminating also for the history of religion, and illustrations which make what we already know clear and understandable. Here we deal first of all with stone altars and offering pillars, then with images of gods, third with the clay incense altar, and fourth with amulets and the like. And finally we receive special illumination concerning religious concepts in one short period from the clay tablets.

The Rock Altar and the Offering Pillars

Probably the oldest cult object that I found on the mound was the stone altar in the northeast trench near the children's cemetery. The sherds which lay by it belonged to level 1a, thus to the oldest Canaanite level, which does not exclude, of course, that it may have been used later also. It is an altar to receive libations or blood, but not, as it seems, for burnt offerings. A step was hewn into it; it is well known that the hewing of stone altars was forbidden to the Israelites, Ex. 20:25 and also steps, v. 26. Besides, the height of the step makes it possible for us to understand the most peculiar motivation of the latter commandment. Let it be mentioned yet that I found an altar hewn in just the same way at the west foot of the mound near the rock-cut tombs, but covered with thorn-bushes.

Perhaps even more important was the find of the two offering-pillars in the shaft of the main street. The two bowl shaped holes which the one had on top, the other on the side, leave no room for doubt that these were really offering pillars. It is well-known that similar ones have been found on Cyprus, only there the holes are rectangular (cf. Ohnefalsch-Richter, Plate Volume p. XVIII, Text Volume, p. 169f.), in contrast to which Evans offers (op. cit., p. 113) the picture of a slab with three round libation bowls which lies on top of a pillar. They are to be explained from the original cult of stones; one thought of the god as dwelling in the rock, or that he entered it in order to receive offerings. Also the juxtaposition of several pillars has been observed elsewhere, only as far as I know never one so close or complete with respect to the various ways of setting the bowls. One can explain this from a practical point of view, that the one as intended for liquids,

the other for solids, or also thus, that the latter contained the image of a deity which looked upon the others (cf. Cyprus), or finally thus, that the one embodied the male form of manifestation of the deity, the other the female (cf. Nebo-Marduk, Jachin-Boaz, according to Herodotus II, 44, Melkart was honored in Tyre in the form of two pillars, cf. Winckler, Arabisch-Semitisch-Orientalisch, p. 92; also the Gharijan of the Arabs, the stones intended to be smeared with blood, appear in pairs, cf. Wellhausen, Reste arabischen Heidentums, p. 38ff.). Undoubtedly the sherds which lay around them belonged to levels 2a and 2b, so that we are dealing with offering pillars which were erected by the Canaanites, but continued to be used by the Israelites, a custom against which the prophets and Deuteronomy frequently had to contend.

After I had found these pillars, I was in possession of the key to the explanation of the whole colonnade which I discovered below the north fortress. To be sure, these eight or ten pillars did not have offering bowls, but the Old Testament itself tells us that Moses, Joshua, Jacob, Elijah, etc. simply erected stones in honor of the deity and smeared oil or blood on them, cf. also Is. 17:8. We found in chapter IV that the pillars must be older than the north fortress, that is, than level 3a; thus the sherds which lay at the foot of the pillars would make level 2b seem to be the fitting time for their erection, that is, the real classical Israelite period (1000-800). Perhaps in that fact also we have the basis for explaining the number ten; in the Song of Deborah ten tribes are named, and the northern kingdom after the division was made up of ten tribes (yet Elijah erected twelve stones on Carmel). To be sure, the number may have a sacred significance of a different sort; it is perhaps no coincidence that on a cylinder seal from Mycenae, on a vase at the same place and likewise on a Carthaginian vase one always has five stone pillars standing behind or beside one another, which is just what we have here, in a double row (cf. Evans, op. cit., pp. 139, 141, 144).

Recently Macalister found eight such monoliths next to one another at Tell Jezer, admittedly considerably higher than those of Ta'annek but they stood not in two, but in a single row. The fact that in Gezer one is dealing with a real temple seems to me a fortunate confirmation of my interpretation of the monoliths. Even if they did not make up a real temple, yet they were certainly once a so-called Bamah; all other traces of such a thing, votive offerings or sacrificial vessels, disappeared here because it was turned into a fortress.

The colonnade throws light on the individual monoliths which, formed much similar to these, stood directly at the entrance to individual houses. Try as I would, I cound find no everyday practical purpose for these; instead they must have served a cultic purpose. It is well-known that the blood of a sacrifice was on certain occasions smeared on the doorposts of private houses, cf. Ex. 12:7, etc. But none of the houses I found had any other doorpost; the monolith took its place, it was the house's offering-pillar. Evans observed something quite similar

in Crete, cf. op. cit., p. 143. The two monoliths of that type that I discovered in the east trench and west shaft belong to levels 2b and 3a, and thus show how this custom maintained itself through the Israelite period until the fall of the city.

The Images of Gods

The excavation yielded a multitude of images of gods, admittedly somewhat monotonous, but yet important just for that reason. First permit me to mention once more the one specimen of a Bes from the Egyptian grave, which just because of the place in which it was found permits no conclusion as to religious affairs in Ta'annek. In contrast the other Bes, found in level 2b, shows that here in the Israelite period Egyptian religious influence also made itself noticeable. It would be an interesting event if the youthful male figure riding on a camel, which I found above the west fortress, were the image of a god. This lay in level 2a, and thus belongs to the period from ca 1300-1000, and we would thus gain a hitherto completely unknown representation of a male Canaanite god. But, as explained in chapter IX, it cannot be asserted with certainty that it must be the image of a god. If it were, one would have to think first of an Adonis.

The situation is different again with respect to the representation of Nergal on the Babylonian-Egyptian cylinder-seal. It was found in level 1b, belonging to the so-called Tell Amarna period, but the orthography and form of the name suggested, as we saw, a still older period. If we have been correct in concluding that it was really the property of a Canaanite, this does not yet mean that he really must have worshipped the Babylonian Nergal. Much rather the situation may be exactly the same as in the naming of this god in the letter of the kings from Alasia (Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek V, no. 25, 13) and on Cypriote seals, namely that the wearer thought of a native god, but on the seal adopted the Babylonian representation and the Babylonian writing. All the same, even that leads to a conclusion concerning the religious syncretism of the period between 2000 and 1500, which was produced by the superior Babylonian culture and at the same time led to the adoption of Babylonian mythological and religious elements in Palestine.

The actual deity of the mound was the naked Astarte; the excavation showed this irrefutably. If I count every fragment that I found, since they lay in very different places, as a complete idol, then I have sixteen of similar type, three of a special type. They are divided as follows: in level 1a none, 1b six of the common type, two of a special type; 2a, five; 2b, five of the common and one of a special type; 3a, none. That means that the most ancient Amorites do not seem to have known this representation of Astarte by an image, but since 1600 B. C. it was on the upswing, remained during the whole Canaanite era, but also in the Israelite period had not yet disappeared; instead now there is found a new imported type; only in level 3a does the traditional Astarte seem to have disappeared. The complaints of Elijah confirm this for us;

and already Bliss has correctly pointed out that by "teraphim" (of Rachel and others) possibly such little clay idols are meant, such as every house possessed, as distinguished from the large images of the public sanctuaries.

Now if one considers that Bliss, during two years of digging on Tell el-Hesy, unearthed just one such female idol, the ratio of the numbers gives very vivid expression to the difference between north and south Palestine. But the fact that besides these nineteen Astartes I found not one image of Baal makes one reflect. Was his representation still exclusively the stone set upright? Or must one introduce in explanation the fact that Astarte is called "the name of Baal" and Tanit "the face of Baal"? (Cf. CIS I, p. 16 and also the later reports of the androgynous character of the deity in Smith, Religion der Semiten, p. 348). At any rate, in the periods discovered at Ta'annek a real pictorial representation of Baal seems to have been unknown or not permitted.

The following instance is of special interest. At Ta'annek one type of Astarte image remained, as we can see, completely the same through all the centuries (Fig. 47). Now it is thicker, now slimmer, but this remains exactly the same: the crown on the head, the neck ring, the position of the hands around the breasts, the girdle, the anklets, the tresses. On the other hand none of the many other Astarte images found on Cyprus, elsewhere in Palestine, in Babylon, etc., are like this type, though certainly the concept is the same everywhere (cf. Heuzey, Les figurines antiques du Musée du Louvre IV, pp. 200 ff.; the headdress is most like the one from Gezer, ibid. IV, p. 434). From this I believe I may conclude that each city had its own type, which it considered especially sacred and preserved through the centuries. It is well known that the Old Testament thus speaks of the Astartes.

Beside this specific type of Astarte of Ta'annek, I found, as I said, three others. The oldest of these may well be the one found in the subterranean chamber in the north, unfortunately badly damaged, which carries a bird or animal; perhaps this is a Babylonian type (cf. p. 35). Somewhat younger, but also belonging to the old Canaanite period is the one found in the west fortress, perhaps showing Egyptian influence, with two horns (cf. p. 42). The third, found in the south shaft, perhaps Cypriote, with the four large earrings and the birdlike head, is to be ascribed to the Israelite period (cf. p. 66).

Finally, mention must be made of the idol which carries on its forehead the bee or snake. I do not know how the body which went with it looked and thus could not immediately class it with the naked Astartes. I found the one head in the east shaft in level 3a, the other almost on the surface, where it had gotten by chance perhaps, e. g., in the digging of a cistern in the Arab period. We may probably ascribe it to that level. Perhaps the feet found in the south shaft belong to this idol, the ones which differ from the other Astarte images by having dots on the anklets. Also in this idol Egyptian influence seems to be discernible

(cf. pp. 61 and 65). At any rate we can see from the Bes figure that also the last Israelite level, although it no longer offers the usual Astarte images, did not keep itself free from idolatry, though it had evidently retreated much compared with earlier times; the whole north fortress, e. g., did not contain any fragment of an image of a god.

In any event also the three clay bull's heads may be named in this paragraph. One of these was found in a cistern of Shaft III below the Arab fortress, the other in the south shaft, the third in the outermost south pit. The cistern was filled with sherds of level 2b, the second lay in level 3a, the third in 2b or 3a. If these are images of gods, one would think first of all of the image of Yahweh forbidden by the Jewish law. Yet this fact would suggest caution, namely that also a wolf's head and a fox were found as jar handles, and a camel's head as a jar mouth. One is instead reminded of the bowls and vases frequently excavated on Cyprus, decorated with animal symbols (cf. Ohnefalsch-Richter, Plate Volume XXIV, etc.) and probably these products were imported from there in Israelite times. Of course these decorations might point to a more ancient religious worship of these animals as also the representations on the two Israelite seals (cf. pp. 61 and 65).

The Conclusions for the History of Religion from the Find of Clay Tablets

The clay tablets have brought to light several very important bits of information also for the history of religion for one period at Ta'annek, that from ca 1400-1300. Here we find confirmed by the proper names (which was, of course, already known) that Baal, or Hadad, is the foremost male god, cf. Guli-Addi I, 1, for which, of course, the reading Guli-Baal or Bel is possible; Bel-ram I, 18 (a parallel to Abram); Adad IV, 8, where it is especially regrettable that we do not know exactly to what the figure 21, which stands before Adad and goes with it, refers.

It is more important that on this tablet, line 5, the Egyptian god Amon appears in Amuna. Thus he evidently had his worshippers also at Ta'annek or in the vicinity, which was suggested already by the scarabs.

As a female deity we first encounter Istar, or Astar, in the proper name of the king. As also the excavation revealed, she was for centuries the real goddess of the city. But new and very important is the mention of the goddess Asirat I, 21. Since one found the proper name Abd-Aširti (or Aširati) in the Amarna letters, it was already as good as certain that there existed in Canaan an Asera, to be distinguished from the goddess Astarte, to which also the Old Testament so frequently refers, whereas earlier when she was mentioned here and everywhere one always thought of a sacred pole (cf. KAT, II, pp. 436 f.). But direct documentary proof for her existence has now been provided.

But not only that. The words of I, 19ff. show us also that the Asherah oracle also played a great role at that time. "If the finger of Ashirat shows itself, then let it be inculcated and followed. And the sign and the matter report to me." Since the Old Testament certainly gives evidence that Asherah was represented by a tree or pillar, cf. Deut. 16:21, etc., then we should, no doubt, think of a tree oracle. These, of course, were scattered through all antiquity (cf. especially Böttticher, Baumkultus der Hellenen). In the Old Testament there is perhaps one direct reference to this Asherah oracle, Hosea 4:12; cf. also I Kings 18:19, and Smith, Die Religion der Semiten, p. 150. On the expression "the finger" cf. Exodus 8:15.

The proper name of the writer of the second letter would open up a truly astonishing prospect for the history of religion, if it really were to be read Ahi-Yami = Yawi. I, like the editor of the texts, am convinced that this reading is possible, and thus that the name can be compared with a Hebrew יחיאל. One is all the more inclined toward this when one reads how the writer begins his greeting not with the "gods" but with the "lord of the gods," as he, in view of the distressing times, writes to his friend: "Over my head is someone, who is over the cities. Now see, if he will show you good! If he shows his face, they will be destroyed, and the victory will be mighty." Originally I thought that this referred to Pharaoh, but why is he not simply named? On the other hand, the secretive way in which the writer speaks of the mighty god is well explained by the fear which primitive peoples have of pronouncing or writing a new divine name. And the expressions (eli kakkadi, pani udaggal, amur ni imma ipusu tabta ittika) would much more likely suggest a god. Finally one can hardly assume that the city rulers at that time spoke among themselves of Pharaoh with such reverence, however much they always seem to be lying in the dust before him in letters to him. In short, in this letter we encounter a monolatry of just the sort we must assume for the Israelites of that time.

But, from the content of the letter, must we not think of a Canaanite as the writer? Cf. lines 3-5, 13 f. Certainly this assumption is the one most immediately suggested, and from it would follow that the Canaanites also had already known a god Yahweh. But it is not absolutely necessary; we have only to revise a little the traditional views of the conquest of the land by Israel. Long ago the conjecture was made that individual Israelite tribes had already established themselves in Palestine with the Habiru ca 1400, while others followed them 50-100 years later. Primarily the tribe of Asher (thus Hommel, Altisraelitische Überlieferung, p. 228; cf. W. M. Müller, Asien und Europa, p. 236 f.) or the Leah tribes (thus Steuernagel, Die Einwanderung der israelitischen Stämme, pp. 115 ff.) have been suggested. Now we hear expressly in the Old Testament itself that individual tribes quickly settled themselves comfortably and no longer made common cause with those that followed them against the Canaanites, cf. Judges 5:16ff. That frequently a brotherly relation developed with the natives of the country is shown by Gen. 38; Judges 9, etc., as vice versa, according to the Amarna letters some Kinahhi princes

had made common cause with the Habiru. Now it is just of Asher that Jud. 5:17 f. says: "Asher sat still on the sea-shore and remained quiet by his bays," while other Israelite tribes sought desperately to press forward in the plain of Megiddo; cf. also Gen. 49:20; Deut. 33:24 f. Now if we are correct in identifying Raḥab where Achi-Yawi had a governor with Rechob which lay in the tribe of Asher[1] then there would not longer be any hindrance to assuming that we are to see in him an Israelite ruler belonging to this tribe, who had concluded a covenant with a Canaanite prince and directs him to his god.[2] To be sure, that explanation of the name Achi-Yawi is provisionally nothing but a possibility. The Old Testament contains a name אֲחִימִי , II Sam. 23:33, of which one is involuntarily reminded; possibly also the "mi" is just a variant of the postpositive "ma" which often stands after the name of the writer in the Hammurabi letters (cf. King, Hammurabi III, p. 52, etc.) to which Zimmern called my attention. In any case caution along this line in using the letter is for the time being most advisable.

The Ceramic Incense Altar

A very important find for the history of religion was the movable incense-altar which the south shaft yielded me. This has been described exactly in chapter XV. The only remaining question is whether we can establish its age exactly. In this we must regret most keenly that just with respect to the age of level 3a we could give no definite answer. We were compelled to leave it a latitude from ca 800-722, 600, or 500 B. C. And this lack of clarity becomes doubly painful because just in this period falls the transition from specifically Israelite religion to the Israelite-Samaritan mixed religion. Now to be sure one can at least say that the altar in general belongs more at the beginning

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1 As certain as the reading of this closing passage probably is, so difficult is its interpretation. Either Achi-Yawi had a governor in Raḥab, whose position there is, however, threatened and whom therefore (the messenger?) Ilu-rabbi is either to conduct to Istar-wasur or protect in some other way. That would fit well with the account in Jud. 1:31, that Rechob remained Canaanite, but poorly with Achi-Yawi's proud expression of his power over his cities and the threatened position of Istar-wasur, who could hardly offer the governor protection. I should rather prefer a different interpretation. Ilu-rabbi is either to send the governor from Raḥab to Ta'annek for help or "provide protection" i.e., if the governor himself is indispensable, then fetch other men from there to protect Istar-wasur.

2 Does not also the very peculiar motivation of the greeting: "You are a brother, etc." lead to the supposition that they belonged to different clans?

than at the end of the period; it was destroyed in the final catastrophe, so it could have existed and been used 100-200 years prior to that, for it is made so hard and durable that even the fragments survived all storms in good condition. So on the basis of the level one would have to decide that the making of the altar falls about in the period around 700 B. C.

Its nature is in agreement with that dating. The representation of the tree of life between two ibexes--a most ancient mythological element, coming from the time of tree worship--is already thoroughly stylized. It is probably most reminiscent of that on Sargonid and Cypriote seals from the period 800-600. Also the representation of the ram's horn as a volute is already stylized, probably influenced by familiarity with the Greek spiral. The physiognomy of the cherubs also betrays Greek rather than Babylonian influence, but is probably to be considered as original Palestinian (on this cf. Ilberg, Die Sphinx, pp. 3 f.). The amalgamation of the most various mythological representations on the altar points most likely to the initial period of religious syncretism, as this arose through the transplanting of colonists of the most various kinds to Samaritan soil.[3]

On the basis of these observations I should like, with all caution, to express as my conjecture this, that the altar was produced very soon after the destruction of the northern kingdom, thus about 700 B. C., and was destroyed about 600, whether by Josiah in connection with his cultic reform about 620, or in the invasion of the Scythians in 626, or of the Egyptians in 608.

Although we can give no definite answer to the question of age, the importance of the altar is still great. The finds at Ta'annek by itself assure us that on it sacrifice was made not only to other gods but also to Yahweh. And to this is added the surprising agreement in dimensions with the prescriptions of the so-called Priestly Code, Ex. 30:2 for the Israelite incense altar (the small Hebrew cubit comes to exactly 45 cm.), only with this difference, that here a regular rectangular one is presupposed, while the one found is rounded and tapers toward the top. Admittedly until further discoveries are made one cannot tell whether a widespread primeval sacred custom has been codified in these dimensions of the Jewish law.

Secondly, the altar in any case provides us with a basis for determining the way in which cherubim were conceived, also in Israelite circles. Also according to Ezek. 1 these hybrid creatures are mediators of God's presence; indeed, according to 10:2,7 there are glowing coals in the space between them. Likewise the altar brings tangible

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3 I should like to point out the relationship which a remarkable Cypriote weight displays; on it too we have the tree of life, two ibexes, the sphinx and the naked animal tamer. Cf. Ohnefalsch-Richter, Plate Volume CXVIII, 7.

evidence that mythological representations and with them also the myths themselves migrated from other peoples through Palestine. At a later time I intend to treat in a separate paper the history of the altar horn, which appears on previous finds always as a bull's horn, but here as a ram's horn.

Thirdly, the mode of construction of the altar in itself is of highest significance also for the history of Israelite religion. Even if this incense altar itself comes only from the time around 700 B. C., its mode of construction must have had precursors. The presence of movable incense-altars in Israel, built on the principle of a stove, is in any case now assured. Thus when e. g. King Mesha of Moab reports that he carried off an Ar'el, that is a hearth of a god, from Israel (cf. Inscription lines 12 and 17), we now know about how we should imagine such a thing. The juxtaposition of the root אוּר, contained in this word, with מַכּוּר, the furnace, Is. 31:9, confirms the supposition that we are to imagine an Ar'el to be similar to the altar that was found. And something else becomes clear for us through this find. The narrator of Gen. 15:17 has God manifest himself to Abraham when the covenant is concluded in the form of a burning, moving stove, a most peculiar conception. It can only have its root in this, that there were movable stoves which mediated the presence of a god.

With this we close the discussion of the altar in the hope that it will encourage others to special studies. The circumstance that ruins of a similar altar lay in the south pit, dug in the spring of 1903, belonging to the same level, shows that they were private altars.

Amulets and the Like

The amulets and related objects are the last that we shall discuss of the results of the excavation for the history of religion. Here the scarabs call for discussion first. One that was found on the surface of the mound is by chance, as it seems, the oldest, and shows what a remarkable fate these little stones sometimes have (cf. Fig. 125). It belongs to the period about 2000 B. C. Prof. Krall communicated the following to me concerning it: "In the middle is a hieroglyphic legend, right and left the nefer sign; cf. Ward, The Sacred Beetle, Plate IX, 392; XI, 433 XVI, 421 and p. 118; curious early cylinder, two scrolls running lengthwise, and between them Ra-n-ra repeated. I have in my collection several scarabs with signs resembling this (sic) inscriptions. All mey (sic) belong to one emplaced (sic) king."

The oldest of the excavated scarabs is possibly that from the west fortress with the striding lion. It is doubtless an Egyptian product, perhaps lost by an Egyptian himself in the fortress about 1500; for we know from the Amarna letters that here and there Egyptian troops were quartered in these cities (cf. K. B. V, 159). The amulet with the scorpion and Anubis head which lay almost directly on top of the bed-rock in the north (cf. p. 37) is perhaps approximately contemporary. All the others cannot be dated with any certainty. One of blue amethyst lay near

the children's graves, thus level 1b or 2a, but bore no inscription. That in the east fortress (man with the flower) could be an Israelite imitation of an Egyptian object. The little one with the sun symbol lay in a grave of level 2a or 2b of the north trench, one (with ape with lute) in the same level of the east shaft. The scarab from the one rock-cut tomb, apparently another genuine Egyptian scarab, can also not be dated with certainty.

In spite of the paucity one can see that scarabs were carried as amulets by Canaanites and Israelites as well, and therefore here and there also placed into a person's grave. Admittedly a comparison with the results of the English excavations is interesting at this point. Whereas they, both on Tell el-Hesy and Safiyya, etc., unearthed a really massive number of scarabs, so that one must actually be amazed that they are, as it seems, never mentioned in the Old Testament, on Tell Ta'annek they are much less numerous. There can be no doubt that we must explain this by saying that in south Palestine the Egyptian influence was considerably stronger than in the plain of Megiddo.

Besides the scarabs, the beads should be mentioned. In the one Egyptian grave I found six red ones, on the mound several white ones, but mostly blue ones, small and large, round and oblong. Since these also lay in part in the graves, one would not be mistaken in ascribing to them also a function as amulets. And it is interesting that thus the superstitious reverence for blue beads among present-day Mohammedans (cf. Einsler, Mosaik aus dem heiligen Lande, pp. 29 f.) has a history already thousands of years old. Also the pendants, which I found in stereotyped form were always blue.

Perhaps the little round shiny stones, mostly deep black, sometimes also brown and white, which often lay in the old rubbish heaps, belong in this context. I draw this conclusion especially from the fact that one such stone lay in the Egyptian grave with other amulets. To what extent the many shiny shells, in which the rubbish was also very rich, are to be drawn in here, is difficult to say. At any rate, shells, stones, and other objects with magical powers were hung on the so-called "tamima" of the Arabs (cf. Wellhausen, Skizzen III, p. 144). A little triangular copper plate painted white, bent over at the top and pierced and with a hole at the bottom also (and thus once fastened to another one) may have been the back portion of an amulet. The same is true of a heart of black porcelain grained with white, 2½ by 1½ cm., which evidently had once been worn on a string.

Finally, I should like to mention here that three finds may be conjectured to belong to this context also. First, I found snake-heads about six times in houses of levels 2a and 2b. Since the rest of the skeleton was never present, the conjecture is suggested that these are not snakes that crept into the mound and died, but heads used for conjuring. Secondly, I found at all levels from 1b to 3a, in houses and rubbish heaps, very numerous human and animal heel-bones, with which

the Arabs to this day play a well known game of chance (called "Ka'ab": if the bone falls in an upright position one has won, there is hand-clapping, and vice versa). Since these bones never lay together with others, and frequently there were four to six of them in one place, I should like to believe that that game also has a very ancient root, and that by means of the upright or sideways fall of these bones one obtained oracles and the like. It is the oldest and most primitive form of dice, which therefore simply has that name in Arabic. Finally there belongs here the little Canaanite jar mentioned in chapter VIII, with the 66 white heart or bean-shaped stones. The number (6 x 11) is, as we saw, certainly a sacred one since ancient times.

POSTSCRIPT

I am indebted for about 20 drawings to Mr. Marmorstein, assistant at the Royal and Imperial Technical Hochschule in Vienna; for all others, including all plans and sketches, to my co-worker Engineer Dr. Schumacher; for the photographs of the incense altar to Teacher Lange of Haifa; the rest I myself took with a Kodak.

A GLEANING OF TELL TA'ANNEK IN PALESTINE

by

Dr. Ernst Sellin

with

An Appendix by Dr. Friedrich Hrozný:

"The New Cuneiform Texts from Ta'annek"

with Five Plates and 49 Figures in the Text

Presented in the Session of March 1, 1905

INTRODUCTION

In 1903 I said farewell to Tell Ta'annek definitely convinced that I should not again disturb its ruins in their sleep of death. Indeed I had even had my barracks taken down and delivered to the Deutsche Palästinaverein for their excavations of neighboring Tell el-Mutesellim, thinking that they were of no use to me now, that to guard them and keep them in repair would only cause me unnecessary expense, and that by giving them away in this fashion I could be rendering a service to a truly worthy cause.

In the meantime, the four cuneiform tablets which I had found there in the fortress of Ishtar-washur had hardly been deciphered when questions began to storm in on me from all sides: Was I really certain that I had not overlooked other similar documents, which might be equally important for the history of pre-Israelite Palestine? Now, however thoroughly I believed myself to have searched the building itself, I still could not deny that before the first clay tablet had been identified, others could have been carried off unnoticed with the dirt which was removed. Besides, I myself had had to admit in my report that for lack of time I had not been in a position to clear completely the surroundings of the fortress as well as the caves that belonged to it. So I still could reckon with the possibility of important new finds.

Therefore I decided, in order not to subject myself to self-reproach which could not be atoned for later, to risk still a third expedition to Ta'annek. According to the Turkish law concerning antiquities, an extension of my firman for a third year was possible, and this was accomplished without any special difficulties thanks to the support of the Imperial and Royal Embassy in Constantinople, as well as the friendly accommodation of the directors of the Ottoman Museum.

There were, however, other difficulties to overcome. Even if only a very short expedition were contemplated, I still needed a sum of at least 6,000 Kroner for it. The Deutsche Palästinaverein had, indeed, in friendly fashion placed my camp equipment at my disposal once again, but the barracks themselves could no longer be transported

so I had to rent tents. It was also necessary to lease the hill again. Finally, the shorter the time I wanted to work the higher the number of workers I had to plan to hire.

Now, in 1903 I had given the assurance to the genial backers who supported my undertaking at that time that that would be the last expedition to Ta'annek--I believed it myself. Could I dare to approach them again on the basis of my admittedly uncertain hope? Finally I risked it with three of them, and two of them, Mr. Paul von Schoeller and Mr. Anton Dreher showed themselves prepared to back my excavation also for a third time, the latter being persuaded to a great extent by the gracious intercession of the honorable Hof- und Gerichtsadvokat Dr. Franck, now laid to rest. They therefore deserve the principal credit for this new enriching of our understanding of ancient Palestine.

But this time I had one more special wish, which presented a further difficulty. I undertook this expedition with the explicit hope of finding more cuneiform tablets. But since I myself am not able to decipher such tablets, and since on the other hand the Turkish law concerning antiquities does not permit even a temporary export of them, it seemed absolutely necessary to take along an Assyriologist this time, who could possibly undertake any decipherment right on the spot. Naturally I could think of no more qualified person than Dr. Friedrich Hrozny, who had already performed meritorious service by his excellent edition of the texts I dug up in the year 1903. But having him along naturally made the trip more expensive. But then this difficulty, too, was overcome. The Imperial and Royal Ministry for Worship and Education and the Deutsche Palästinaverein provided him a very handsome subvention. Besides, the Austrian Lloyd, which has served scientific expeditions so often in this manner, provided us both free passage on its ships.

The last difficulty consisted in this, that we had to begin the work in the most unfavorable season of the year imaginable. The Deutsche Palästinaverein has been digging since 1903 on Tell el-Mutesellim, only an hour from Ta'annek, and naturally uses the good seasons, spring and fall. Since the working force, especially the foremen, is nearly the same for the two undertakings, simultaneous work is impossible. So I had to put my expedition in the hot time when water is in short supply and when the inhabitants of Palestine themselves, if they possibly can, flee to the cool regions of Carmel and Lebanon. But here one simply had to take the risk. And this time, too, it turned out that seen close-up the difficulty was not actually so bad after all.

On Saturday the sixth of August I arrived in Haifa. The tents and almost everything needed for the camp had already been taken care of by the head foreman, Nikola Datodi. Also my commissioner of the years before, Emir Iskander Jehab, showed up with almost european punctuality. The first morning already there were about sixty workers present, and after three days I had the necessary 150.

The heat was not as unbearable as we had feared. To be sure, the temperature hovered around 30° R., and standing for hours in the sun soon turned us copper-brown. But the west wind, praised already in my earlier report, did its duty once again. Almost regularly it began its cool blowing about 9:00 A. M. and helped us over the hottest hours of the day. So this time I did not hear of any real case of fever, only plenty of stomach trouble.

The least pleasant feature was the lack of water. When we arrived, we heard to our dismay that Bir Ta'annek had run dry. This was the result of neglect on the part of the fellahin of the villages, who for decades had not cleaned the spring out, so that now it had simply been choked off by the dirt which was knocked into it when the herds were watered. So I had to detail six workers to the task, who had to work with might and main for three days just to get the spring cleared. On the fourth day, fortunately, water appeared again. Of course the well now became the cause of endless, genuine Old Testament quarrels (cf. Gen. 21:25 ff.; 26:19 ff.). It belonged to Ta'annek, but we had dug it again! So now in the morning when our workers came to draw water, for the first few days they found the well-tank empty already, for the fellahin had watered their herds there during the nights. Finally it actually came to scuffling and reciprocal removal of the vessels for drawing water. Someone had to step in, and an age-old remedy worked. A man from the village, from the clan of the sheikh himself, received--naturally for baksheesh--the honored position of night-watchman of the well, and behold, mornings it was always nice and full.

To be sure, this water had such a suspiciously muddy color that I did not dare to use it for our own needs, and for those of the foremen. Since also the cistern in Rummane, from which we had previously got our water, was almost empty, we had to send our donkeys twice a day almost two hours away, to Tayyibe.

Otherwise camplife has already been described in the previous report. Unfortunately this time I had to do without the trusty support of Dr. Schumacher, who was spending the summer in Germany. In his place Teacher Lange, Jr., of Haifa, prepared the necessary drawings. Life as a whole went on even more monotonously than usual. Once we had a visit from three ladies from Carmel--including my wife--once from three Dominicans from Jerusalem and once from the English mission-pastor from Vienna. This time the heat was too great for the Arabs of the vicinity to practice hospitality towards us. In general, through constant battles with the heat, dust, mice and other vermin we became even less fit for human society than usual. Nevertheless I regretted most keenly that my English colleague Macalister, the famous excavator of Gezer, picked the very day when I had just finished the work to visit us. On the way home we met him at the foot of Tell Kassis in the plain of Megiddo, just about to visit Mutesellim, Ta'annek, etc. In a hasty reunion we renewed our old acquaintance and expressed

mutual best wishes for success in that work which lies so close to the heart of each of us, the archaeological investigation of Palestine.

It was noon on the third of September when I finished the work. It ended with a somewhat tragic scene. On Friday the second I had dismissed the greatest part of the workers and kept back only the elite. It was a matter of clearing, as much as possible, a cave which we had discovered only in the last week. Now on Friday already little cracks had begun to appear in the bed-rock, but on the basis of my previous observations I believed that we could work down there one more day by candlelight. We began at 6:00; at about 9:00 there came to light a most interesting ancient bronze-clad clay jar, whose like I had never found before. That incited me to work until 12:00 with all available forces. Then suddenly, about 11:30, I heard a dull thud followed by a wild Arab outcry. When I hurried down I saw that a piece of rock about 2 m. wide had fallen and buried a worker under it. He was taken out with great effort and at first could not move a muscle. But when he, lying in the shade, gradually came to, it fortunately appeared that he was not seriously injured anywhere, and was able to go home supported by a friend.

Thus my work on Tell Ta'annek, which I naturally broke off at once, ended on a bad note. Yet this sad memory was not to be the last, but to recede behind another one. After the last workers had been paid, our wagons set out at once on the way home--the tents had been taken down earlier. But then about twenty of them, some men, some women, asked if they could not accompany us for part of the way and carry some of our things, to show their gratitude and devotion. When permission was given them, one took a lantern, another several hoes, another a couple of baskets, etc., and so they followed our slow-moving wagons to the place where one has the last view of the mound. There the things were loaded on and final farewells were said.

And whenever I think back on Tell Ta'annek, I am at once reminded of this long caravan following us, old bowed fellahin and fresh brown village lasses. And I will always be sure that there, beneath rubbish, ruins, and the bones of the dead, I found not only treasures of a former civilization, but also a circle of Moslems to whom it will be a pleasure when I come to the land again, to work for me.

CHAPTER I

SHORT OVERVIEW OF THE COURSE OF THE EXCAVATION OF 1904

(For the following, cf. the plan of the trenches and shafts, Table V)

My first work had to be devoted to an investigation of whether perhaps in the previous year cuneiform tablets had unintentionally been carried off with the dirt which we cleared away. Fortunately this, insofar as it had come from the fortress of Ishtar-washur, had been piled up in two separate heaps. I cannot deny that when I looked again at them for the first time, 4 m. high, 8-10 m. wide at the bottom, I was concerned lest the whole task of removing them would be fruitless or else that little fragments could escape us again. Yet I at once put about twenty women to work at each pile under the two best foremen. After they had been shown photographs of the tablets found previously, they knelt in the rubbish and sifted all of the dirt with their fingers before it was removed. Thus actually hardly anything could escape us.

Already on the second day this thoroughness was repaid. A little, but excellently preserved cuneiform letter, 4.3 cm. wide, 4.5 cm. high, was found (cf. Plate I, No. 5). Two days later in the same rubbish pile this was followed by a larger tablet, 6.2 cm. wide, 7.7 cm. high, a list of names which was unfortunately badly crumbled (cf. Plate II, No. 7). Otherwise to my great joy I was able to establish that in the previous year we had done our work thoroughly; a couple of pieces of bronze, a few worthless sherds and a scarab (cf. Fig. 1) were all that was left in these piles.

The main interest of the expedition was in the fortress itself. It had to be exposed on all sides and completely cleared. To that end I planned two parallel trenches 5 m. wide, which led up to its territory from the north edge of the mound. The eastern one was completely unrewarding. In contrast the western one yielded at least a few valuable sherds, several children's graves and led to the complete clearing of an offering-stone, one offering-hole of which had been found already the year before. In addition, it led us to the entrance to three caves.

In the immediate vicinity of the fortress the whole plateau was cleared, which exposed a large cistern. Otherwise this region was strikingly without results; no rubbish heap or the like was found, though these otherwise usually had been piled up meters high near the fortresses. It seemed as though this fortress had had only a very brief history. The two rooms inside I thought I had cleared the previous time, but now I saw that there was still something to be caught up on here, and this gleaning yielded me a cuneiform letter that was almost completely preserved and fragments of five other little tablets. Finally we had to clear completely the two caves found the year before, which were most closely connected with the fortress. To be sure they contained little or nothing more, but the exposing of the steps which led down into them produced a new and interesting result with respect to the purpose of the caves. Besides, another little room at the entrance to them (thus on the south side of the fortress) was discovered.

Since I had at my disposal the necessary workmen, I used them to dig trial trenches in several other places on the mound. First I put a detachment to work in the area of the west fortress, found in the first year. On its east side I widened the trial trench which had formerly been 5 m. wide by 8 m., mostly in the expectation of finding more Canaanite graves here in the immediate vicinity of the fortress. Actually I did find two children's graves, but above all in the level above them some important Israelite ceramic products.

Furthermore, on the south plateau of the mound I drove a connecting trench about 35 m. long and 5 m. wide between the two trial pits dug there previously; it produced many an article of everyday life and several amulets, otherwise nothing of importance.

To the east of the Arab fortress I laid three more trial pits. The southernmost of these (on the Plan, I) 10 x 10 m. produced nothing but a big offering stone. The one in the middle, 5 x 10 m., on the south wide of the east trench of the previous year (II), led first through an Arab cemetery, which evidently belonged to the fortress in the center and surely provides a more extensive basis for dating it. Under it lay remains of a few houses, from Israelite times, but without any individual finds worth mentioning. Only the northernmost trial pit was really productive (III, 10 x 12 m.). After several significant sherds were found here at a depth of 2-3 m., we entered a house that had fallen in, at a depth of 3-4 m. In it lay the skeleton of an adult with those of five children. Thanks to kind fate her gold jewelry was still preserved. Besides, the house concealed a series of Canaanite household articles and a little bronze image of a god.

Though here in closing I must yet mention that here and there on the mound, where something seemed to me to need investigation, I took a couple of the workers and made little follow-up diggings--so for example I had the cornerstone and the gate of the east fortress removed, as well as several Maşşebahs, to see if maybe there were sacrifices under them, with negative results--I believe I can sum up the results of the expedi-

tion in two sentences: it has demonstrated how rewarding and urgently necessary a repeated investigation of the fortress of Ishtar-washur was, but in the second place it made certain that otherwise there is not much more that is worth talking about, at any rate no sizeable building, to be found on the mound.

The plan appended to the report (Plate V) shows the course of work over the three years, which gradually became somewhat complicated, and it no doubt also demonstrates at the same time that actually the mound has now been investigated in all directions, although I had to despair of a systematic removal of the whole tell for lack of time and money. Besides, I hardly think that such an undertaking at Tell Ta'annek would have been profitable.

CHAPTER II

THE FORTRESS OF ISHTAR-WASHUR AND ITS IMMEDIATE SURROUNDINGS

The fact which the decipherment of the four cuneiform tablets found the previous year had produced, namely, that here we are dealing for the first time with a building demonstrated by documentary evidence to be that of a Canaanite prince, made it my obvious duty to devote to it an interest in every little detail. In my report "Tell Ta'annek," p. 34, I gave a sketch of the fortress insofar as I had uncovered it in 1903. According to that, it consisted of just two little rooms, though they were surrounded by very strong outer walls. In front of them toward the north lay a cistern, and to them in the south was joined directly a cave-complex. In the previous year I had believed that I had completely cleared the rooms. But now I saw that there where the west and south walls of the southern room, the so-called library, meet, up on the wall some earth or rubbish 60 cm. wide (about 30 cm. deep) had been left, since over this lay the way of the workers to the caves, into which we climbed down, not by the real entrance from the south, but, after raising one of the large rock slabs, by a ladder, from the north.

In the same thorough fashion employed with the large dirt pile I now had this little rubbish heap cleared away and lo! it too contained a cuneiform tablet, broken in the middle, but otherwise almost completely preserved. It was 5.2 cm. wide, 5.8 cm. high (cf. Plate I, No. 6). Decipherment showed that it was a letter. There were also small fragments of three other tablets. When I myself then undertook the work of scraping the inside walls once more thoroughly, even into every cranny, I found in the process two more such fragments, which, held fast by the dirt, were sticking to the south wall. Since all of these pieces were found 1-2 m. south or east, respectively, of the clay chest found previously, the conjecture expressed in "Tell Ta'annek," p. 36, had become a certainty, namely, that this southern room had once been the library or better the archive of Ishtar-washur; that that chest had once held all the tablets, that it was robbed during a plundering of the fortress, in the course of which the tablets were partly shattered, partly thrown aside. All the same, now in all almost seven complete tablets and five

in fragmentary condition had been saved for us. Perhaps there were never many more than these twelve there, for if the enemies had really attached any importance to them they would have not left seven of them lay. And the excellent material of which they are made sees to it that such tablets do not just disintegrate into nothing. Only individual tablets, and indeed especially the larger lists can have been crumbled while we were working hurriedly.

A further thorough following of the walls toward north and west showed that here actually no continuations were to be sought. Instead it became clear that the hypothetical walls which appear on the sketch in "Tell Ta'annek," p. .34, are remnants of construction from a later epoch; the stone blocks which belong to them lay ½-1 m. higher than the level of the fortress. Only a round column base 40 cm. high, 45 cm. in diameter, which stood 2 m. west of the covering over the caves, could have belonged to the fortress as an offering-pillar.

In contrast, south of the fortress there was much work and rewarding results. In the previous year I had continued the excavation only up to the clearing of the last rock slabs over the entrance to the caves and thus was not able actually to clear the real entrance nor to clear one of the two caves because of the imminent collapse of the rock. Now I could accomplish what I had put off.

I avoided the danger of collapse in this way: I entered the cave in the process of clearing the terrain to the west of the fortress by a cleft in the rock 2 m. wide, probably the result of an earthquake. The earth had pushed in through this in great heaps over the course of the centuries, and as a result the work of clearing was most laborious. It produced absolutely no individual finds, but it did prove that this cave B was extraordinarily like cave A, described in"Tell Ta'annek." From the door first four steps led to a platform about 2 m. wide; at the end of this the rock suddenly dropped off very steeply, producing there an almost circular hole 1.85 m. in diameter at the bottom, 3 m. at the top. The diameter of the whole cave (measured from the entrance) came to 4.4 m., the height overall was 4.6 m. Thus the dimensions were much like those of cave A. Traces of plaster showed themselves here, too, toward the bottom, and also in this cave the groove cut into the rock beside the steps ran down to the very bottom.

Now when I wished to clear the real (south) entrance to the caves, the first result was that there lay a little room (thus the third). To be sure this was only 2.8 m. long and 1.15 m. wide, thus even smaller than the archive room. The exterior walls were very strong here too, 1.1 m. thick on an average. In the room there were, besides several combed sherds (among them one with the so-called palm-leaf ornament on the edge, and with various little hollows pressed in, Fig. 4), a scarab (Fig. 5), a little lion's head (Fig. 6), and a phallus, made of soft yellow stone, the only one that I found on Tell Ta'annek (Cf. Fig. 7 and Bliss, Excavations in Palestine, p. 136).

Now when I wished to advance from this room into the caves I noticed that the staircase leading down was a winding staircase. There where it reached the upper surface of the bed-rock it turned toward the east, and after four more steps toward the north. Thus one did not descend into the caves from the south room. Instead the opening to the caves lay near two stone blocks about 1 m. in diameter, which were set about 1½ m. east of the rock slabs and were raised above the level of the whole fortress. In all, the staircase had eight steps erected above bed-rock and eight hewn into it. The height of the individual step varied between 14-25 cm., on an average they were 95 cm. wide. At the entrance of the steps to the bed-rock there had been, as it seemed, a real door; at both sides stood a stone pillar about 1.7 m. high and below on the floor of the entrance lay a peculiarly hewn stone, which apparently had fallen in from above. It was bow-shaped, the straight underside was 95 cm. long (corresponding exactly to the width of the steps), its breadth at the widest point was 37 cm. (Fig. 8). It could be the portal of the door. In the middle of it had been hewn a groove 17 cm. wide, 4 cm. deep, which, unless it was intended to serve decorative purposes, I could explain in no other way than by saying that it was intended to receive the bolt. To be sure, in this case the bolt must then have been inserted vertically instead of horizontally, as was usually the case.

The most interesting observation was this, that the groove (30 cm. wide, 15 cm. deep), identified already the previous year, which ran along side the steps in the bed-rock was continued also above bed-rock by stones set on the side and accompanied the staircase up to its exit at the large rocks (Fig. 9).

By this discovery the riddle as to the purpose of the caves seems to me not indeed solved, but yet an important step closer to solution. In "Tell Ta'annek," pp. 35ff., I reckoned with several possibilities and finally decided on saying that the one cave had been an underground cistern, the other a dwelling for times of siege. Now if the last interpretation had to be abandoned just because the groove led also to the floor of cave B and both interpreted the same way, than also the first interpretation collapsed. Had the groove had its exit at a receptacle above ground or even near a house-roof, one could have held out for this possibility, although there were two other cisterns right next to the fortress. But the exit at the two flat-hewn pillars which stood isolated and on which no water could have collected if it had wanted to, absolutely compelled one to think of a sacrificial installation, in which the offering was slaughtered on the rocks and the blood ran into the two caves through the groove.

This conjecture was confirmed by a further observation. When the two stones were to be cleared, a worker happened to bring his pick under the higher of the two and thereby a large jar appeared in which were the bones of a child. Our previous observations at once suggested that this was a building-offering, by which this spot was to be especially consecrated (Fig. 10).

We will discuss the last question, that concerning the actual purpose of the caves themselves, only in chapter V, section 3. As a tentative conclusion it is enough to say that at any rate a sacrificial installation stood in the closest connection with it.

The following serves as a total picture of the fortress of Ishtar-Washur, now completely cleared and investigated in every small detail: extraordinarily strong exterior walls, erected in two stories in the east; two little rooms in the north, one in the south; between them, covered with rock slabs, the underground entrance room to two caves, to which one descended by a winding staircase, beside which ran a groove which had its exit at two rocks set upright; 1 m. north and 5 m. south of the fortress a cistern, 2 m. west of it an offering pillar which perhaps belonged to it. Strikingly few individual finds: an Astarte figurine ("Tell Ta'annek," p. 36), a bronze knife, a bone comb ("Tell Ta'annek," p. 36), a little alabaster jar ("Tell Ta'annek," p. 37), a little lion's head, a phallus, a scarab; the sherds almost exclusively red-brown, partly combed ("Tell Ta'annek," p. 36), no rubbish heap beside the fortress. But the lack of other individual finds was richly outweighed by the find of clay tablets.

CHAPTER III

THE NEW EAST SHAFT

Of all the other trenches dug in this expedition only the clearing of the northernmost of the three shafts in the east produced a really rich group of artifacts. Since at first we were in the region of the former Arab city, in the first meter of digging several of the old Arab sherds described in "Tell Ta'annek" p. 46 appeared, but at the same time some of new types (Fig. 11).

Then suddenly at a depth of 3 m. began a very rich level of what has been designated "level 1b" (Late-Canaanite, "Tell Ta'annek," p. 76). Besides a whole series of white or ochre-yellow sherds with black-brown or red geometric decorations (Fig. 12), I found here an ochre-yellow sherd on which a fish had been painted in a dark brown color (Fig. 13), a flesh-colored one, one on which the hind quarters of an animal were painted in deep brown (Fig. 14), and finally a bird head of yellow clay which probably came from a vessel (Fig. 15). Had not Macalister found the same kind of head with the corresponding body as a lamp, on Gezer, it would hardly have occured to me that it was a duck (cf. P. E. F. 1903, p. 40).

When we had dug down ½ m. deeper, we noticed that we were in a house once built crudely of unhewn stones, but which had fallen in; it may have been, say, 4 m. long, 3 m. wide. And on its hard-trodden floor lay six human skeletons, all crowded together. Only the one was that of an adult, the other five were of children, which we estimated as about the ages of 4-16 years. Right next to the skeleton of the grown-up lay a camel's head. Among its bones were the remnants of a not insignificant array of women's jewelry, and this first showed us that this was a woman's body, which was then confirmed by the cone-structure. Thus was suggested the conjecture that it was a mother who perished together with her five children in the house.

The jewelry consisted of the following pieces (Plate IV and Fig. 16): a head band of gold-plate 15.5 cm. long, tapering a little from one side to the other, having a hole at each end through which was drawn the string to tie it together; 8 golden rings, of which 7 were

simple loops twisted together at the end, and the eighth a square wire of gold twisted in spiral (cf. Schliemann, Mykenä, p. 401), 2 rings of silver, 2 rings of bronze, somewhat larger, 3 little cylinders of crystal, 5 blue pierced beads, 2 scarabs, one of amethyst, the other of crystal, both without any design on the flat side; finally one silver pin which had apparently either held the chain of jewelry together or closed it (for this cf. P. E. F. 1902, pp. 328 ff. and Bliss, A Mound of Many Cities, p. 59, in which also the one half of the needle is always straight, the other half twisted in a spiral). Besides, in the case of each object it could no longer be established for certain whether they were worn on the ears, the nose, or around the neck. One could only note that they all lay right next to the head. To these must be added two bone needles and innumerable little shells; the latter, at least in part, could have been a decoration for the camel's head which lay beside the woman. But the most beautiful of the whole collection of jewels was a golden finger ring, bearing, instead of the seal, a little revolving cylinder consisting of three pieces (fayence or stone?), the two on the side light blue, the one in the center yellow, with very fine gold in between. Even though the form of the ring seemed to suggest that it was worn, like the amulets, on a string around the neck (cf. Gen. 38:18), I still prefer to interpret it as a finger ring, since it lay separated from all the rest and from the head by about 1 m., very close to the one hand.[1]

Probably such a complete set of women's jewelry has never been found in excavations in Palestine up to now; after all, my whole take on Tell Ta'annek up to this time had been two gold rings. And the peculiar circumstances under which they had been preserved naturally aroused one's fantasy to all sorts of conjectures. One thing is certain, that the mother with the children was not the victim of a murder by robbers or of an invasion by enemies; to my painful regret the rest of the excavation had taught me how thoroughly they operated; enemies and robbers never let gold escape them. But now whether it was simply an act of vengeance by a neighbor or even of the father, who was not found under the ruins, whether it was a suicide, or the effect of an earthquake --a conflagration is excluded--one's imagination has complete freedom. A bronze knife which was found among the bones (Fig. 17), could perhaps tell us more about it. The camel's head may well have been an object to avert evil, customary in the country, situated on the roof and thus also fallen in with it; no other bones of the animal were found.

The house offered some other things by way of contents also, which confirmed that its end was not brought about by warriors or robbers. In

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[1] Rings made in a similar fashion are said to have been found in Dalmatia. Certainly we know of such so-called Drehringe from Egypt and Cyprus, but there they bear scarabs and the like (Cf. Ohnefalsch-Richter, Kypros CXLIII 1 and CLXXXII 41-43). For the cylinder Neumann refers, perhaps correctly, to the gold objects, e. g., brooches (cf. Über die neuesten Österreichischen Palästinaforschungen, p. 27).

one corner of it stood, pressed into the floor, two large pointed late-Canaanite jars (exactly like the one pictured in "Tell Ta'annek," p. 43); also two extremely original middle-sized jars with flat bases (Fig. 19) and a little handmade clay basin (Fig. 18) had survived the collapse. Very much rolled-up sheet-bronze was lying around, but unfortunately one could no longer see what purpose it had once served.

The most valuable piece from an archaeological point of view, however, was a figure of a god, cast in solid bronze, 15 cm. high, which also lay on the floor. In the first place it was the only bronze figure that I found on Tell Ta'annek and besides it was of a very peculiar type (Fig. 20). First of all, it was distinguished from all the clay figures in this that while they were unclothed or at any rate only with a girdle, this one was represented as clothed with a fine-woven garment, through which the breasts and the navel were visible. Besides, the crown which tapered sharply toward the top, the thick neck-ring, and the stilts under the feet were characteristics which were not observed in any of the other types found. The latter are best explained as peg-like parts to fit into the holes of a base.

All in all, a lucky chance had preserved for me a house which contained more for the knowledge of Canaanite culture than any other private house on the mound. An extension of the shaft, which began as 6 x 6 m., showed that it stood in isolation and that nothing else is to be found near it.

CHAPTER IV

THE OTHER TRIAL TRENCHES

1. In the North of the Mound

In chapter II it was reported that I drove two parallel trenches from the north side of the hill, of which one (the eastern) led directly to the fortress of Ishtar-washur. This was completely unproductive. Although 40 m. long, 5 m. wide, it produced hardly a sherd. The only thing that I owe to it was the view from there toward the fortress, which gave one an idea of how it had actually appeared in ancient times to the eye of the man who stepped onto the hill.

I had a little more success with the west parallel trench. In it I found at a depth of about 2 m. the Greek-influenced, thus late Israelite, level of sherds described in "Tell Ta'annek," p. 77, as 3a. They were mostly yellow-brown varnished fragments with black circular lines, a vessel with black and red painted stripes (on a reddish-yellow ground, cf. Fig. 21), among them a little bronze spoon, a bronze ring, which seems at one time to have been bound with others into a chain, and a little iron axe, a peculiar bone button decorated with scratches, and a so-called Eye of Horus of blue Fayence, of which the English excavations have already produced several, but which I myself up to that time had not yet found (cf. Fig. 22 and Bliss, Excavations in Palestine, Plate 84).

After we dug another meter there came a completely different level. It contained many lamps of the plate with turned back rim type, little jars pointed at the bottom and sherds which were to be assigned to level 1b or 2a ("Tell Ta'annek," pp. 76 f.). This was enriched by a large, very interesting sherd of flesh-colored ground painted with a tree and various kinds of birds, some of red-brown, some of black color (Fig. 23). Since the three fragments lay very close to one another they may have come from one and the same large jar. The motif is well known, especially from Cypriote finds (cf. Ohnefalsch-Richter, Kypros, Plate XXI-XXIII). Exactly corresponding to earlier observations, also in this level were found children's bodies buried in jars, with the constantly observed accompaniment of 1-3 little jars. In all there were five such

deposits in this trench; on the one large handleless jar, which was further distinguished from all others by its round-bellied form (Fig. 24), was incised just below the rim a hook or arrow as a potter's mark (as in Bliss, A Mound of Many Cities, p. 30); otherwise they were always undecorated.

When, about in the center of this trench, I reached the bed-rock, I discovered, at a spot which rose gradually, five circular holes, evidently man-made, at completely irregular distances from one another, ½-1 m. apart, 10-15 cm. deep, with diameters from 10-30 cm. (Fig. 25, on which, unfortunately, only the biggest hole is visible). There can hardly be any doubt that this is again one of the most primitive forms of libation altar. If the natural block of stone which lay 1 m. below should belong to it also, one could even consider it as a combination of a libation altar and an altar for animal sacrifice.

But this trench was to lead me to still another essentially different find. Not far away from this altar, dirt which was sinking in toward the east suddenly showed that a cave or the like must lie at the edge of the trench, and when this was followed farther, we came into a whole complex of caves. This was then, as far as possible, cleared from above, and showed a certain relationship with those which belonged to the fortress of Ishtar-washur. Here too lay a small, very strongly fortified room 1.5 m. wide, 2.9 m. long, directly in front of the entrance by which one descended. A straight staircase of 12 steps led below, yet there was no groove beside it. Below, one first entered a little entryway, 2 m. wide, 2.8 m. long, in which were found the skeleton of a man, a little lamp (Fig. 26) and several pieces of bronze. From there three doors, toward west, south, and east, led into three caves. The frame of the entrances was nicely squared here also, but the entrances themselves hewn as rounded arches.

Now, as I related in the introduction, I was successful only in clearing the west cave, and even that only at the risk of mortal danger, for the bed-rock had become very rotten everywhere. Six stone steps led down into it; it was 3.6 m. high and had a diameter of 8 m. In the cave itself, worse luck, nothing was found, but instead to our surprise it became evident that by nature it formed a whole with the south cave; but that between them had been erected a wall of four courses of large, crudely squared masonry (without use of mortar). When one climbed up on it, one could look through a crack about ½ m. wide into the south cave. On top of this wall lay the only original individual find that the cave brought me, a peculiarly flattened, two-handled jar, 35 cm. high, 30 cm. in diameter at its widest point, which was completely covered with bronze plating (Fig. 27). Such a plating I found nowhere else, but the frequent, otherwise inexplicable sheet-bronze which I found in several places (cf. e.g., ch. III) may have served similar purposes. I cannot permit myself an opinion as to the age of the jar. At any rate the type lived on in the late-Israelite so-called "pilgrim flasks," yet these are always much smaller (cf. Bliss, Excavations in Palestine, p. 104,

125f.). The caves themselves take us back to a much earlier period. Especially the walls, mentioned above, seem to me to indicate most certainly there were underground dwellings, such as the excavations at Gezer have produced more than once. The single dead man found in the entry-way seems to have been thrown there in a hurry during some sort of catastrophe.

2. In the West of the Mound

Here I widened the former west trench, right next to the west fortress, to 6 x 8 m. I was led to do this by the expectation that here I would find more of the graves which belonged to it.

After we had worked through the Arab stratum with its characteristic sherds, at a depth of 2 m. I was granted a really rich deposit of Israelite wares. A house must have lain here which was destroyed by fire in the final destruction of pre-Roman Ta'anach, like the one in the previous east trench ("Tell Ta'annek," p. 62), but thereby many articles of everyday life survived the catastrophe.

I shall enumerate them in the order in which I found them. The most original find was the first: a little clay animal, 8 cm. high, hollow inside, whose head was unfortunately broken off (Fig. 28, bottom left). Since in addition it was of as primitive a workmanship as most of these animals made in Cypriote fashion, it is perhaps excusable that such contradictory judgments were expressed as these, that it was an elephant, an ass, or a pig. More important than the zoological species of the animal would have been a determination of its purpose. But here too one will have to leave it an open question whether it was an image of a god or a votive offering. The two holes that led to the hollow inside and the piercing of the feet may have their explanation in the technique of baking and justify no conclusions as to the purpose of the figure.

Close by lay the feet of an Astarte figurine, important because this was a real statue which could be set upright (Fig. 32), not a so-called placque-idol as was otherwise the case with the clay figures. In the same level was a smoothed bone, which was hollowed out on one side and carried in the hole a badly oxidized needle, somewhat bent at the point (Fig. 30). If we knew that the Israelites wrote on wax tablets I would see in it a writing instrument; the needle seems too weak to me to have been a "pen of iron" (cf. Jer. 17:1; Job 19:24) for writing on stone or metal, and so we must probably conclude that it was an ordinary needle box, although the size does not exactly correspond to the purpose. Perhaps also it may be a hair pin. Macalister at Gezer found such a bone used as an amulet (cf. P. E. F. 1902, p. 356).

Close to one another lay a large hand-smoothed lustrous red jar, a smaller one of very pleasing form, a large plate (Fig. 28), a complete little yellow-brown oil flask with black concentric circles, a lamp with a high foot and seven spouts (Fig. 31; Bliss also found such a one and

correctly designates it as "Jewish," cf. Excavations in Palestine, Plate 66, 7). Then there were also blue beads, pieces of a bronze arm-band, a large bronze knife (Fig. 33A), a stamp of bone with nine eyes (Fig. 29) and finally a large iron knife, 35 cm. long, 3.5 cm. maximum width (Fig. 33B).

When I dug deeper, I actually found as I had expected directly above bed-rock, thus at a depth of about 4 m., two children's graves, with whom had been buried especially fine products of Canaanite ceramics, as in those graves found previously near the fortress. The bowls and the two peculiar little jars merit special attention (Fig. 34).

3. In the South of the Mound

The trench I dug here was 35 m. long, and although it did not yield especially much, it at least made my frequently expressed opinion a certainty, namely that the whole southern half of the mound was indeed settled sparsely in Israelite times, but in Canaanite times it was exclusively gardens or fields, while only the north half served for dwellings.

After we found here also in the first meter of the trench the usual Arab sherds and several rather nice ones of lamps with the grape ornament (cf. "Tell Ta'annek," p. 48), we discovered, already in the second meter down, products of the Israelite era, and these remained to a depth of about 3 m. Then here all finds actually ceased.

I name first of all a lustrous red jar 24 cm. high (Fig. 35, wheel-technique, with a strainer at the spout), exactly corresponding to the type which Bliss (Excavations in Palestine, Plate 53, 6) specifies as "Jewish"; a plate, also lustrous red; and half of a black lamp decorated with leaves (Fig. 36); a so-called pilgrim-flask with thick red concentric circles on a reddish-yellow ground (Fig. 37); the handle of a large brick colored jar, which at the level of the handle bore a wreath of knobs, parallel to which was painted a band of black stripes (Fig. 37A); then, exactly 2 m. deep, an Astarte head of the usual type (cf. "Tell Ta'annek," p. 39), a jar handle with a hook-shaped stamp (Fig. 38), which is hardly to be taken for a semitic letter, but rather is to be interpreted like the stamp published in "Tell Ta'annek," p. 48. In this connection I do not want to omit making a correction: the latter, which I found in the first meter below the Arab fortress is itself not of Arab but of Israelite origin (cf. Bliss, Excavations in Palestine, p. 123). The sign on a sherd found at the same depth impresses one much more as an archaic Hebrew letter (Fig. 39); e.g., it is strongly reminiscent of the waw on Maccabean coins, but here since we are dealing with a fragment, one must also reckon with the possibility of an arbitrary potter's mark.

About another half meter deeper lay in one place a mass of bones and in this pile several little blue beads, one large dark red one cut

into a prism (Fig. 40), an alabaster bowl decorated with holes or eyes, of the type which has been dug up several times already (cf. P. E. F. 1902, p. 325; 1903, p. 198) and a little bronze knife. But the most important were two little cylinder seals of greenish blue porcelain, of which the one, unfortunately broken, bore five human figures marching one behind the other (perhaps an adoration scene), the other two ibexes at the tree of life (Fig. 41), a motif which is also on the seal published in "Tell Ta'annek," p. 61 and to which parallels have already been demonstrated in many places (cf. P. E. F., 1902, 4, Plate 6 and Ohnefalsch-Richter, Kypros, Plate LXXIX, 14, etc.).

The only further sign of civilized life from Israelite times in this trench was a large jar with a clay pipe inserted into the bottom (Fig. 42) and a large 1.75 m. long, 1.45 m. wide oil-press whose stone-bowl had a diameter of 40 cm. and a depth of 30 cm. (Fig. 43).

4. In the East of the Mound

In chapter I it was reported that besides the east shaft described in chapter III I dug two more trial shafts in the east. Of these the southern one, which was laid in the center of the southern east plateau, produced almost completely negative results. In the five days of work there unfortunately nothing was delivered to me. The only thing worth mentioning is that here at a depth of 2½ m. was found an artificial installation, which left one in doubt as to whether it was a sacrificial installation or a press (Fig. 44). A not quite regular rectangle with diagonals of 1.85 m. and 1.7 m. had been paved with flat stones and walled around; toward the west the smooth plastered wall still stood to a height of 92 cm., otherwise mostly 15 cm. In the southwest corner was a bowl cut in the stone with a hole 25 cm. in diameter and 10 cm. deep. In the middle of the pavement stood a pillar-block 65 cm. in diameter and 45 cm. high. My first judgment was that this once again was just a press--whether for olives or grapes--but my foremen told me that just the same kind of installations were found on Tell el-Mutesellim, and with concrete evidence that they were sacrificial installations. So for the present time I shall postpone making a final decision.

The northern trial pit was somewhat more productive. In the large east trench dug in 1903 I had found very many Israelite houses (cf. "Tell Ta'annek," pp. 60 f.) and since on its southern edge some ruins of such houses were visible, I decided to extend this at that spot by several more meters toward the south.

The first result of the excavation was unexpected. After the first meter had yielded only a little animal's head of dark green glass (Fig. 47), at a depth of 1½ m. I struck a cemetery; the eight skeletons, all probably of adults, all lay in such a way that the heads lay in the west and were turned toward the south (Fig. 45). From this and from the lack of any accompanying offerings I concluded that they were Arab bodies,

and indeed, as suggested by the proximity to the fortress, of its former residents. This was confirmed by the one Arab coin which, lying at the same depth must have been lost at someone's burial. This coin, however, was to bring another welcome confirmation of a hypothesis expressed previously. In "Tell Ta'annek," p. 49, I expressed the opinion, guided by the information supplied by Karabacek concerning the two sherd inscriptions found in the fortress, that this belonged in the 10th-12th centuries. Now the coin bears the following legend:[1] "(This coin belongs) to those, which el Mehdi Mohammed, commander of the Faithful at el-Kufa in the year 16x commanded (to be struck)". This man reigned from 158-169 after the Hejira. When one considers that this type of copper coin circulated until the middle of the Abbasid caliphate (about 300-350 after the Hejira), it is then almost certain that the beginning of the history of the Arab fortress is to be placed in the 9th or 10th century; in any case it must have been occupied between 800 and 950 A. D.

In the Israelite stratum which began ½ m. deeper there were nice lustrous yellow-brown sherds with black concentric circles, a little animal's body, unfortunately broken, of clay, which may well have been the handle of a vessel (Fig. 46), and the torso of a clay Astarte of the ordinary type. Besides, here again stood a Maṣṣebah, of the sort I had several times found in the east trench standing in front of private homes, 1.2 m. high, 39 cm. thick, 55 cm. wide (Fig. 48). On its east side, as it seemed, a crude hand had scratched in a picture of two men. Three meters east of this lay a noteworthy round stone 60 cm. high (Fig. 49). In its center was a hole 35 cm. deep with a diameter of 33 cm.; nine little canals or grooves 4 cm. wide at the top ran toward it from the sides; here again I cannot say whether this was an offering-stone or an article of daily life.

[1] I am indebted for the following information to Herr Hauptmann von Zambaur in Wiener-Neustadt.

CHAPTER V

SHORT SUMMARY OF THE RESULTS OF THE NEW EXCAVATION

1. The Results for the History of Palestinian Ceramics

In general I may say that this last excavation has confirmed in a gratifying way the theory proposed by me in "Tell Ta'annek," pp. 75 ff. following Flinders Petrie and Bliss, concerning the development of Palestinian ceramics. This time the situation was such that according to the depth at which we were we knew what we had to expect by way of sherds, jars, or bowls.

Of course the material usable as a basis for conclusions was extended quantitatively. Thereby the level called in "Tell Ta'annek," p. 76, level 1b, that is the late-Canaanite, received an enriching in two directions. Among the painted sherds, where I had previously been able to establish as decorations, besides the geometric, only birds and ibexes, I found also those, already excavated in South Palestine, which bore a fish, birds around the tree of life and a tentatively unidentified animal (cf. Figs. 13-15, 23;[1] and P. E. F., 1902, 4, Plate IV and Excavations in Palestine, Plate 41. And as far as the form of the little jars is concerned, I found that just those little ones which were buried with the dead showed many more variations in the various types than I had thought previously, that here especially the flat bottom was much more widely represented and only very gradually replaced by the pointed or rounded base form (Figs. 19 and 34).

Otherwise it was especially level 3a, the late-Israelite, which was enriched. Above all it seems to me that in this level it had become the custom even more than I had previously observed to give vessels

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1 Sherds with fish were found not only in Mycenae (cf. Furtwängler and Löschke, Mykenische Vasen IX), but also in Knossos of Crete (cf. Mackenzie, The Pottery of Knossos, p. 198) in the later Minos-palace period. According to my observations Canaanite ceramics show no contact with the older examples, but Macalister is of the opinion that recently on Gezer he found several sherds of Cretan origin (cf. P. E. F., 1905, pp. 19 f.)

animal decorations, and also to use animal figures themselves as lamps or as votive offerings (Figs. 28, 46, 47). A glance at the plates of Ohnefalsch-Richter teaches one that here Cypriote influence apparently has had its effect.

Besides, this time I directed my attention more than previously to the production of the jars. And in this respect I was able to establish that in level 1b the wheel-technique was already predominant, but that alongside it hand-technique had maintained itself down to level 3b. When the red painted jars were smoothed from top to bottom with the hand, in which process the fingers left very light grooves, these received a peculiar lustre, which makes them look especially nice, and one found them in just those houses which were otherwise rich in products of a noble ceramic technique.

As far as the clay employed is concerned, I am not able to make any finer distinctions than in "Tell Ta'annek," pp. 76 ff. At the most one can say that in products of levels 1b and 2a, which are the finest anyway, in which the lustrous red jars lay, whose material actually seems related to that of the later Roman terra sigillata (as also in ancient Babylon), the majority of sherds are those in which the clay already before baking had the white, yellow, or red coloring mixed with it, while in the sherds of 1a, 2b and 3a those are more numerous in which the clay has its natural color and is only painted on the exterior. Otherwise it has already been established ("Tell Ta'annek," p. 77) that from level 2b on the clay, as it seems, has mica, basalt dust, and other ingredients mixed with it, by which it becomes rather coarse, granular.

I should like to correct the assertions made in my earlier report at just one point. There I dated strata 1a and 1b in such a way that I took the year 1600 or thereabouts for the dividing line. While this is decidedly too high already because of the analogy of Mycenean wares which appear in level 1b, I now have a very concrete basis for a correct dating in the fortress of Ishtar-washur.

In this was found a multitude of old Canaanite combed sherds, but in contrast not a single one painted in Aegean-Phoenician style. Now that fortress is the only spot that we can fix with something approaching scientific exactness; it must be placed at about the so-called Tell Amarna period. To be sure, we must admit as wide a latitude as possible. Since direct correspondence of personal names, etc., between the archive of Ishtar-washur and the letters directed to Amenophis III and IV has yet to be demonstrated, it is possible that the archive must be dated shortly before those kings, but it is also possible that it is also several decades after their time. At this time the first seems the more probably true. But at any rate one must date the fortress of Ishtar-washur between 1500 and 1350. And since here there is not even the slightest trace of that kind of ware, we will do well not to place the beginning of level 1b before the 14th century.

Besides, the sherds now demonstrate for certain that the west fortress belongs after the fortress of Ishtar-washur, not the reverse, as I considered probable in "Tell Ta'annek," pp. 81 f. In the former, indeed, I found the very finest products of foreign civilization. In addition, the mode of construction confirms it, for without doubt the west fortress with its eight rooms is far more splendid, comfortable, and advanced than the extremely primitive fortress of Ishtar-washur with its three little rooms. So if I did rediscover the fortress which Thuthmose III boasts of destroying, then this is much more likely the fortress of Ishtar-washur than the west fortress. But of course this destruction could have been so radical that the fortress in question is no longer to be found, and the fortress of Ishtar-washur--assuming that this was a fortress (cf. Section 3)--then took its place, to be replaced in turn by the west fortress, 50-100 years later.

2. The Results for Culture-history and the History of Religion

With respect to the other cultural conditions in ancient Palestine the material has now also become somewhat more extensive, but there is no reason for extending or correcting the main principles of "Tell Ta'annek," pp. 78-85.

Only with respect to one point, concerning which I deliberately refrained from expressing my opinion, must something be added. In "Tell Ta'annek," p. 80 it is simply stated that my two campaigns on the mound produced strikingly little precious metal. And the hypothesis was suggested that the ancient reports of a great wealth of the Canaanites and Midianites and thus also the Israelites in precious metals was somewhat exaggerated, and that instead we must conceive of the prosperity in the country towns as similar to the situation of the fellahin of today, among whom no fellahin woman ever possesses any jewelry of real gold. In this connection we now learn something a little different from the find in the east shaft (cf. Ch. III). If here in a very poor house lay the body of a woman who, disregarding the silver and the beads, wore ten jewels of real gold, we no longer have any reason for doubting such reports as Joshua 7:21; Judg. 8:26[2] (cf. Gen. 35:4f., Is. 3:16ff). For naturally the princesses decked themselves out in incomparably richer style. Now we see how thoroughly the enemies in general went about their plundering; only a lucky chance here concealed something from them, who otherwise left no corner, no cave, no grave unsearched.

With respect to the history of religion material was enriched by one (cf. p. 119) or two (Fig. 49) offering-stones, a Maṣṣebah (Fig. 48) and perhaps an artificial altar (Fig. 44). One is not able to say

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2 The individual gold rings of the find of golden jewelry probably correspond exactly to the "crescents" named here.

to what extent the amulets, especially the two cylinder-seals (cfr. fig. 41) prove anything about religious conceptions, since we do not know whether these mythological representations were still understood as such or had simply become conventional motifs for seal carving. The same holds true for the Eye of Horus (cf. fig. 22).

The theory which I expressed in "Tell Ta'annek," p.95, that there was a special Astarte of Ta'annek, was confirmed, since once again three of the ordinary type, until now found only here, were discovered, so that now 19 examples of this one exist over against three or four of a special type. To be sure, this class is also now enriched by one specimen, the bronze figure from the east shaft (cf. fig. 20). While this is of high interest already because it is the only image of a god made of bronze that I found on the mound, it is of special interest for its peculiar nature. I have no doubt that it is a foreign type imported about say 1300, yet it was not possible for me to find parallels from Babylon or Egypt; I can offer analogies only for the stilt-like foot supports, cf. e.g. the bronze figure from Tiryns in Schliemann, Mykenä,p.16.

3. The Caves of Ishtar-washur

The caves which belong to the fortress of Ishtar-washur pose a new problem. In chapter II it was established that they were most closely connected with a sacrificial installation and therefore can no longer be interpreted as cisterns or underground dwellings, but must have served some cultic purpose. Now it is a matter of seeing whether we can determine this purpose more exactly.

Now one can propose just two possible explanations. First, the two caves may have been intended for the dead; sacrifice was made to them above, on the stone, and the blood was carried down to them through the canal. There is much that speaks for this assumption; the related arrangement of Phoenician grave chambers, to which one also descended by a rock staircase, which also had nicely hewn doors, an entry-way covered with large rock slabs, and above all also the canal, which recurs in many a cave-grave as a groove around the entrance (cf. "Tell Ta'annek," p. 73).

There is just one thing against this, that is, the fact that in the caves not even the tiniest bone or remnants of urns with bones or ashes were found. Since such a radical plundering is probably completely unparalleled -- above all one must also consider that we found the whole fortress covered with debris, and thus it did not suffer later plunderings after the first destruction, which also the find of tablets confirms -- one would have to assume that Ishtar-washur built this mausoleum for himself, but never came to use it, since some other fate overtook him and his family before use was possible, and that they had their final resting place elsewhere. There is much other evidence to suggest that this fortress was inhabited only for a short time: the

completely uniform primitive culture of the objects found in it, the fact that the archive contains only documents from the time of one prince, and not least, that no rubbish heap had gathered near the fortress, which is otherwise the unmistakeable evidence of residence over a longer period of time.

But even so a second assumption is more probable, that is, that these caves were never intended to receive the dead, but only to serve as so-called sacred caves to receive the blood of sacrifices. It is indeed certain that there were such things, arising from the originally chthonic character of the deity in question, in the semitic religions. It is sufficient to recall the caves under the sanctuaries of Jerusalem, Mecca, and Hieropolis. There was also such a cave near the Canaanite sanctuary with the eight Maṣṣebahs which Macalister discovered on Gezer (cf. P. E. F. 1903, p. 24 f., and for the rest Smith, Die Religion der Semiten, pp. 150-152: "There can hardly be any doubt that the most ancient Phoenician temples were natural or artificial caves," also Wellhausen, Skizzen III, p. 100). Admittedly I am not aware that in other cases the entrance was such an ingenious and at the same time solemn installation. But if one assumes that we are dealing with a sanctuary in the first place, then the underground portions were probably at the same time those from which the oracle was given out, and to which then the priests had to descent (cf. Is. 65:4; 29:4). So one must continue to await other finds; perhaps the recently discovered shaft without grave-chambers, 28 m. deep, at Saida, may offer a parallel (cf. Landau in Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft 1905, 1., pp. 13-16).

Therefore right now I should like to offer no decision between these two possibilities, but just to indicate that the title "fortress" used up to now for the whole structure can no longer even be considered as certainly justified. It only contained three rooms, actually strikingly small for that time, and I do not believe that it ever had more. The individual finds in it were, aside from the find of clay tablets, very meagre. But we know that Ishtar-washur had a family; his brother, his daughter are mentioned in the letters. Was there even room enough for them in this building? May not the caves indicate the purpose of the whole building, may it not simply have been a mausoleum or sanctuary, and were not perhaps the three little rooms only store rooms for sacred vessels and the archive and living quarters for the guardians of the sanctuary? Is not the strong fortification there by sufficiently explained? Does not the circumstance that the building lay 15-20 m. outside the real city and that in its immediate vicinity there was no other house, speak in favor of this?

Those are all questions which can only be raised, not answered. But the very existence of such a problem is already a step forward, and further excavations, perhaps already those on Tell el-Mutesellim, will contribute new material toward a solution. So for the time being

one may grant me the privilege of retaining the title "fortress," since the mode of construction of the exterior walls is completely identical with that of the west fortress.

4. The Results of the New-Found Clay Tablets

One moment of history is also made clearer than before by the newly found tablets. If we had already concluded in the report on the basis of No. 1 that Ishtar-washur was no independent prince, but was politically dependent, now we see from Nos. 5 and 6 even more clearly and concretely that he was bound to pay tribute; at the same time, to be sure, that he seems not to have carried out these duties of his with any great eagerness. No doubt a principle reason for this is his own poverty and oppressed position (cf. 1, 11; 2, 13; 8, 5). He is reminded of his duties most forcefully.

Whereas in No. 1 the man who wrote to him in the manner of a superior was a certain Guli-Addi, now in two letters it is one Amanḫasir. Naturally it is very difficult to say what the relation be tween these two was. The most immediate suggestion might be that we have to do with two successive superiors, but it is equally possible that they were contemporary. Yet Nos. 5 and 6 do show that Amanḫasir travelled about the land as tribute-gatherer and inspector (Rabiṣ). In the first he demands delivery of the tribute to Megiddo,[3] where he also is going to receive it from the whole region; in the second he is staying in Gaza and is expecting that Ishtar-washur will appear before him there. In contrast, Guli-Addi could be a Rabiṣ who has established himself at some spot or other (as, for example, Abdiḫiba of Jerusalem).

Unfortunately there is nothing more of positive historical material to be gained from the find of clay tablets even now. That besides oil and horses (cf. Keilinschriftl. Bibl. V, 176, 14f.) also prisoners of war had to enter Egypt as tribute is not new (cf. op. cit. Nos. 168, 180, 181). But it would be of interest if one could conclude from No. 6 that the prince of Ta'annek in North Palestine had to send also retainers (for the expression cf. perhaps Gen 14:14) to Gaza. The lists yield us again a series of Canaanite names which in part coincide exactly with those already known from the Tell el-Amarna letters.

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[3] My first assumption, that Ta'annek was simply directly dependent on Megiddo, is corrected by No. 6. Of course, however, No. 5 does show that Megiddo played a larger role than Ta'annek and was a kind of center for the plain, a fact which was established previously. It is not completely clear whether Amanḫasir, as he writes the letter, is already in Megiddo, but at any rate he is in the immediate neighborhood of Ta'annek since he demands delivery already "tomorrow."

As far as I can tell, however, these do not confirm the ingenious combinatory hypothesis proposed meanwhile by Halevy, that there was in and around Ta'annek a settlement of Habiru, who had themselves once been members of a Cassite military colony (cf. Revue Semitique 1904, pp. 251 ff.). After all, by far the majority are good semitic names.

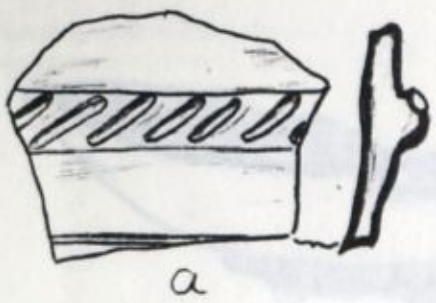
The principal significance of the find of clay tablets for culture history is once again that we see how lively a use was made of writing, and Babylonian cuneiform at that, here in a Palestinian country town. I am well aware that even now skeptics exclude any general conclusions, isolate the period of Ishtar-washur and manage to explain the correspondence as a specific peculiarity of this prince, even though we now have seven letters from elsewhere and five lists apparently drawn up in Ta'annek. But when one puts this find together with the Tell el-Amarna tablets and the Lachish tablet, one is justified in concluding that any unprejudiced person must admit that in the period from 1500-1350 the Babylonian script was the only one customarily used in all the courts of the city rulers of Palestine.

It may well have been understood and practiced only by the rulers, their officials and officers, whereas the people could not read and write at all, but it remains a fact that with all the excavations in Palestine, which by now have gradually become rather extensive, a written document in anything but Babylonian script has never been found. The few Egyptian inscriptions are to be ascribed to Egyptian scribes or Egyptian imports (cf. Excavations in Palestine, p. 43; P. E. F. 1903, p. 37). The Phoenician-Old Hebrew script, however, since the seal stone of Shem'a found on Tell el-Mutesellim must fall in the reign of Jeroboam II (cf. Kautsch in Mitteilungen und Nachrichten des deutschen Palästinavereins 1904, p. 1 ff.), has not been certainly demonstrated as occurring before the Mesha stone, thus before the 9th century. Also the individual letters on jar handles, sherds, and Maṣṣebahs to date never take us back farther than to the year 1000 B. C.

Epilogue

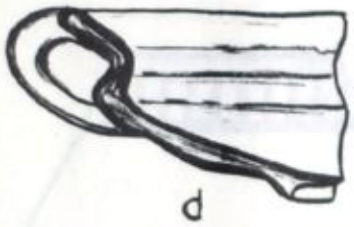
The drawings were almost all prepared by Mr. Lange in Haifa; for four of them and for the redrawing of the plan (Plate V) I am indebted to Mr. Theophil Niemann in Vienna. The Imperial Academy of Sciences earned my special thanks for granting Dr. Hrozný the necessary subvention to collate the cuneiform tablets in Constantinople and to rephotograph them as well as the gold jewelry. I was assisted in the assessment of individual finds by the excellent, trusty counsel of Sektionschef Dr. Benndorf.

PLATE I


a


b

c

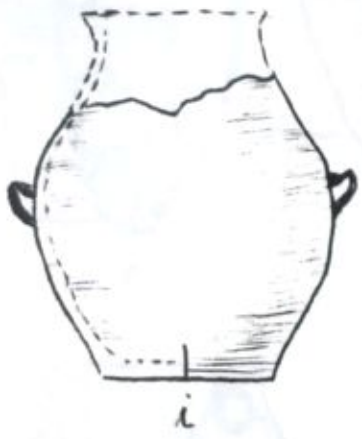

d


e


f


g


h


i


l


k


m


n


o


p


q


r

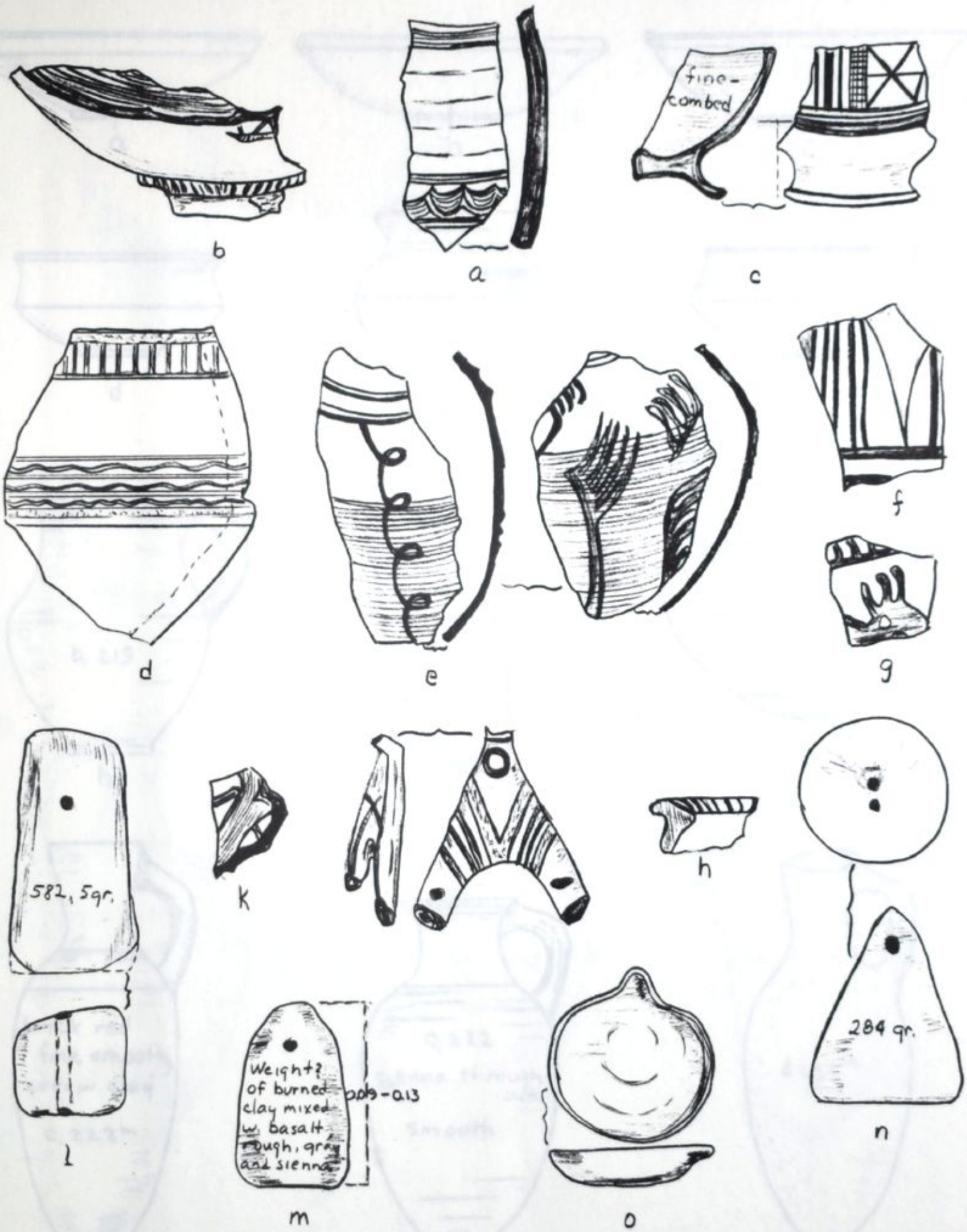

s


t

Early-Canaanite Sherds

a, b, c, i, o, p, q, t Decoration of red-brown painting. Decoration incised; g, h, l, n, r, s Decoration l and n 1/9, i and k 1/6, all others 1/3 natural size.

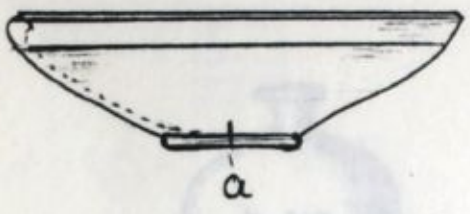
PLATE II

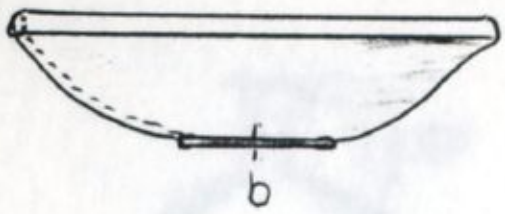


Late-Canaanite Sherds and Weights

a-k, yellow-white sherds with red-brown or brown decoration; l-n, weights; o, lamp. 1/3 natural size

PLATE III


a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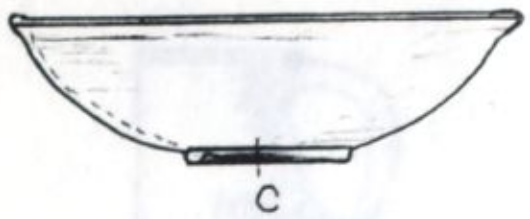
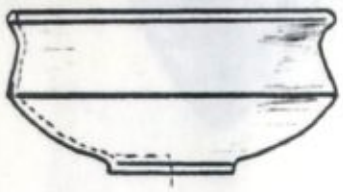
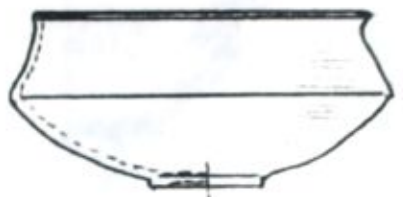

c

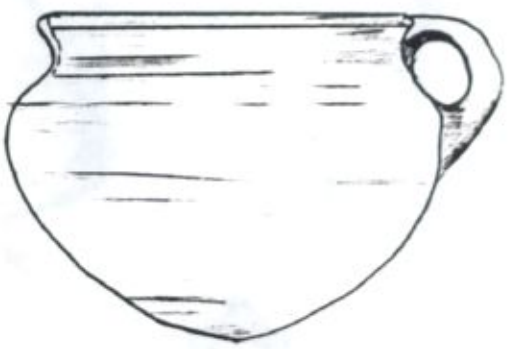

d


f

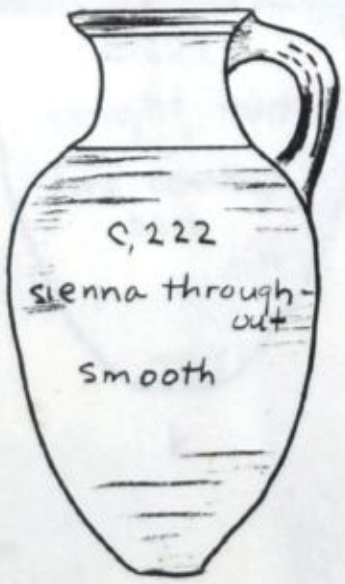

e

h

g


i

K



l

m

Finds from Late Canaanite and Early Israelite Tombs

a-c 2/15, d and e 2/9, f to m 1/6 natural size

PLATE IV

a

b

c

d

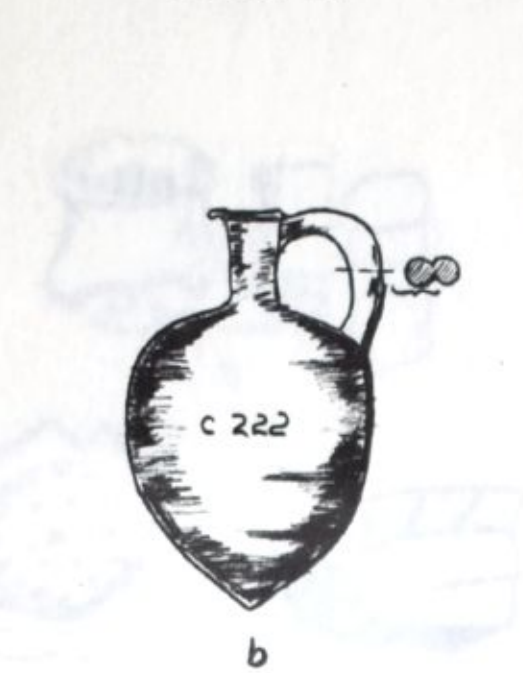
e

g

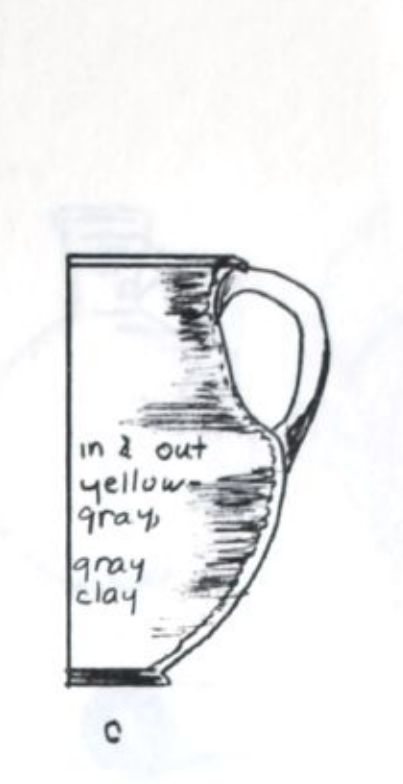
h

f

i



k

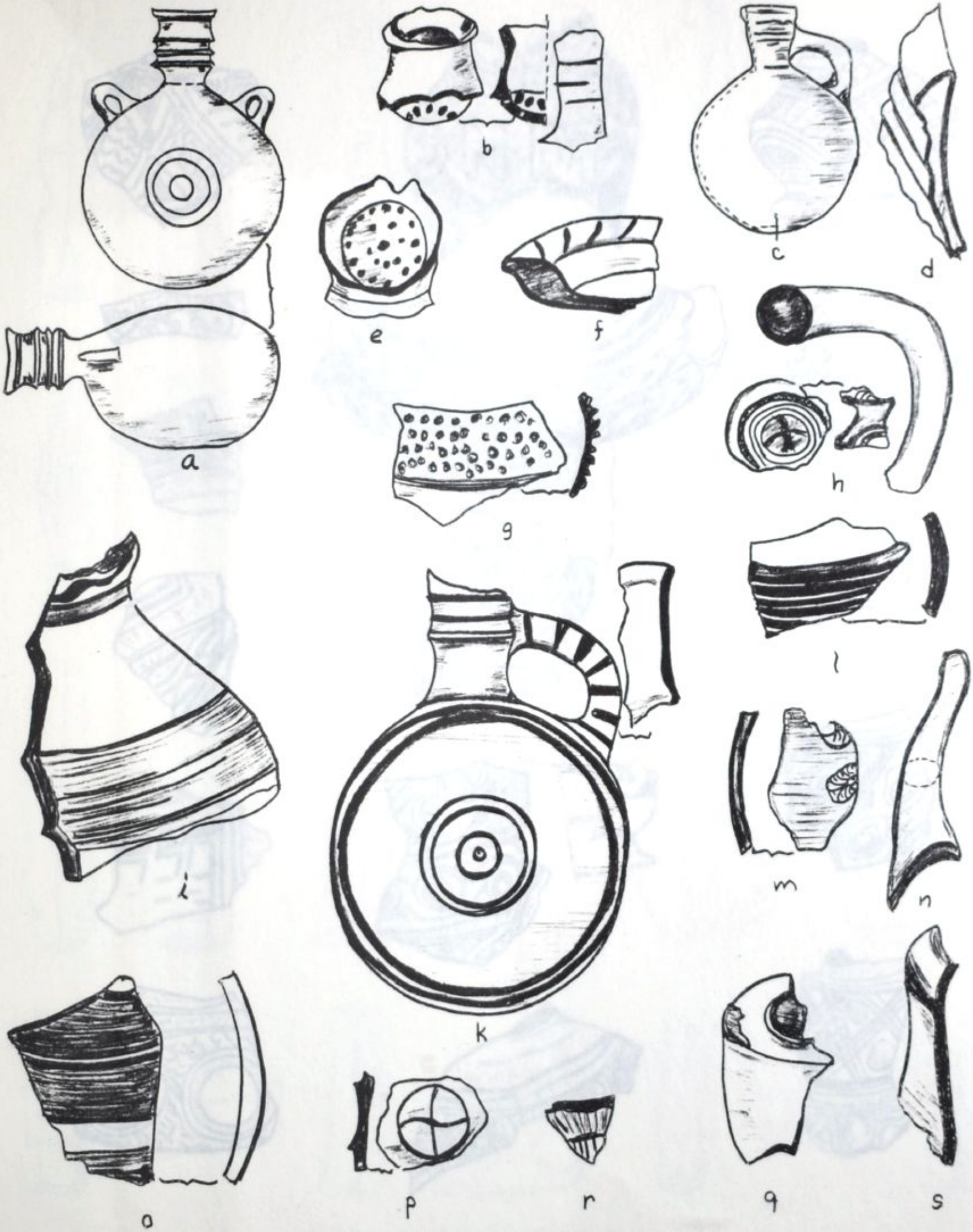


l

Finds from Late Canaanite and Early Israelite Tombs

1/6 natural size

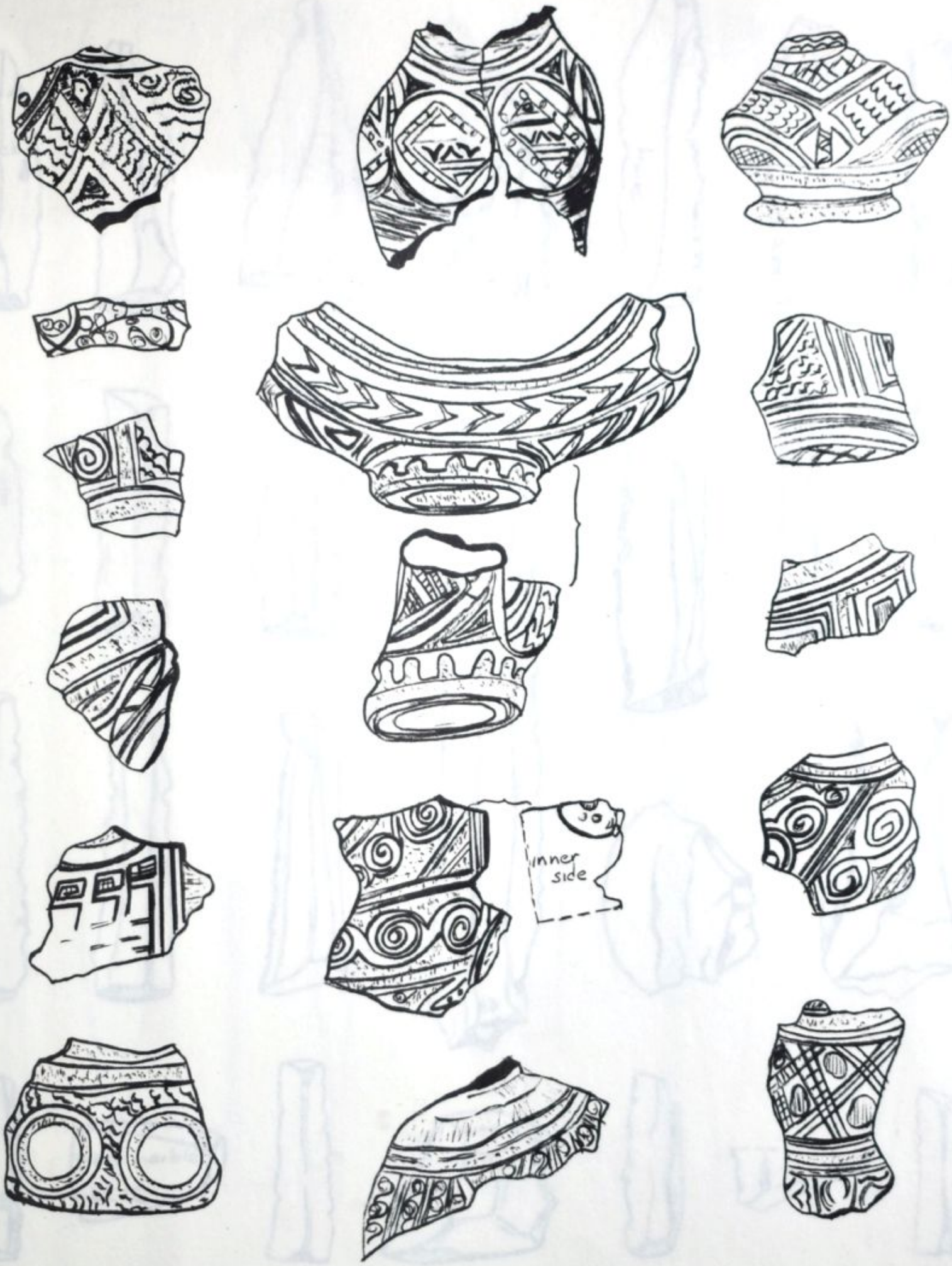
PLATE V



Late Israelite and Greek Ceramics

h, m, n, r, s glazed black inside and outside; i, k, l, o glazed bright red with black-brown stripes 1/3 natural size

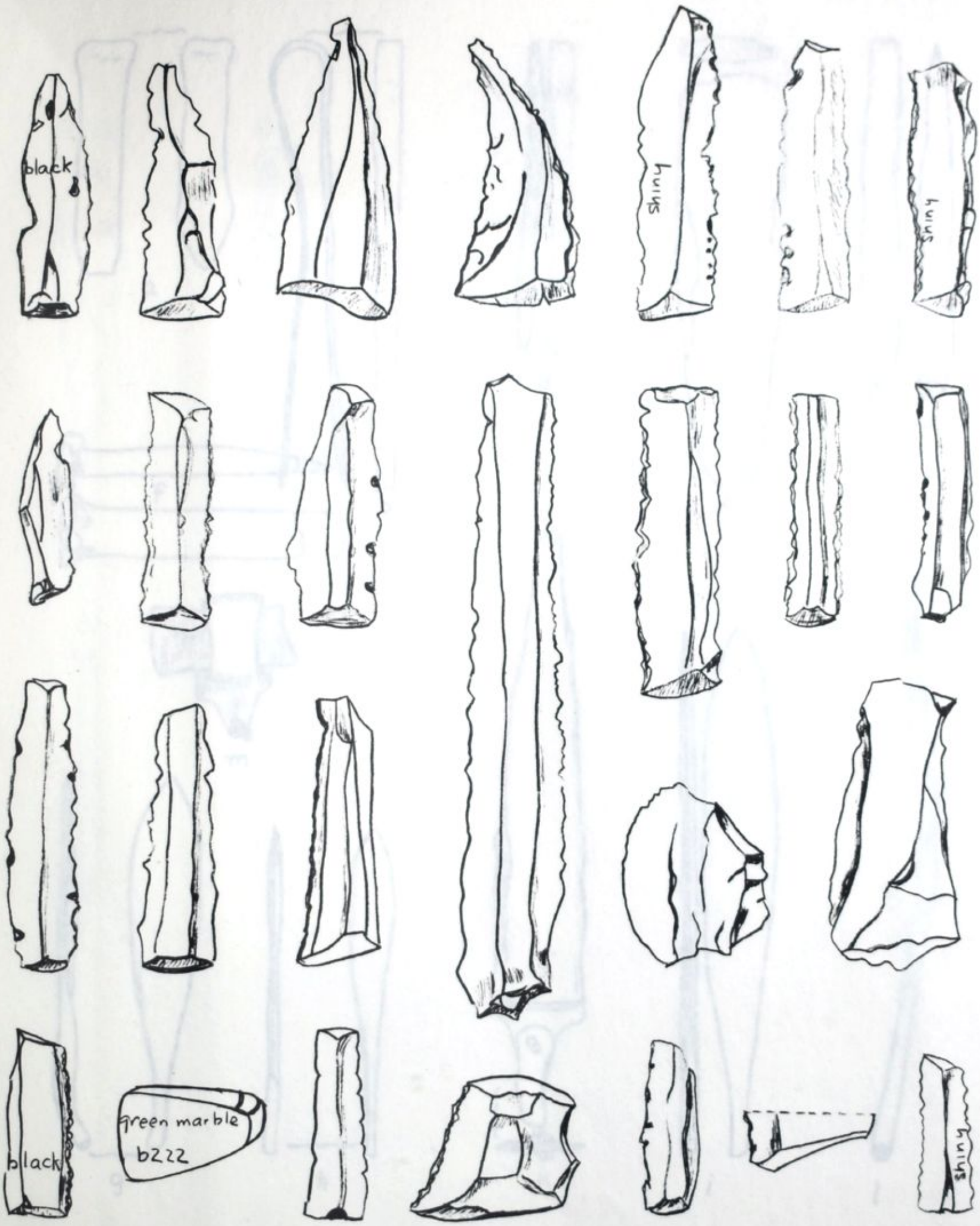
PLATE VI



Finds from the Cisterns

Basic color bright sienna with red-brown and brick-red painting. 1/3 natural size.

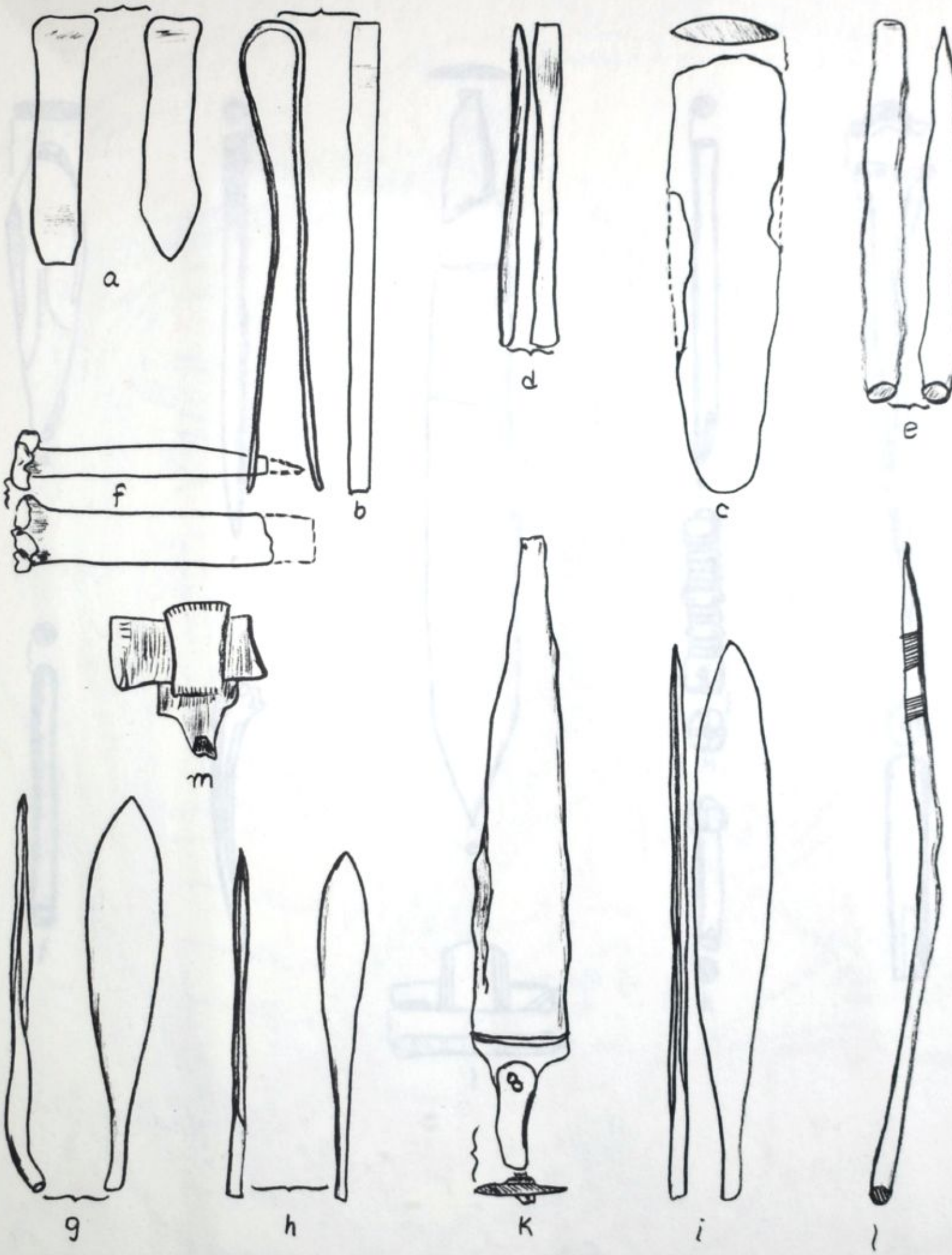
PLATE VII



Stone Tools

2/3 natural size

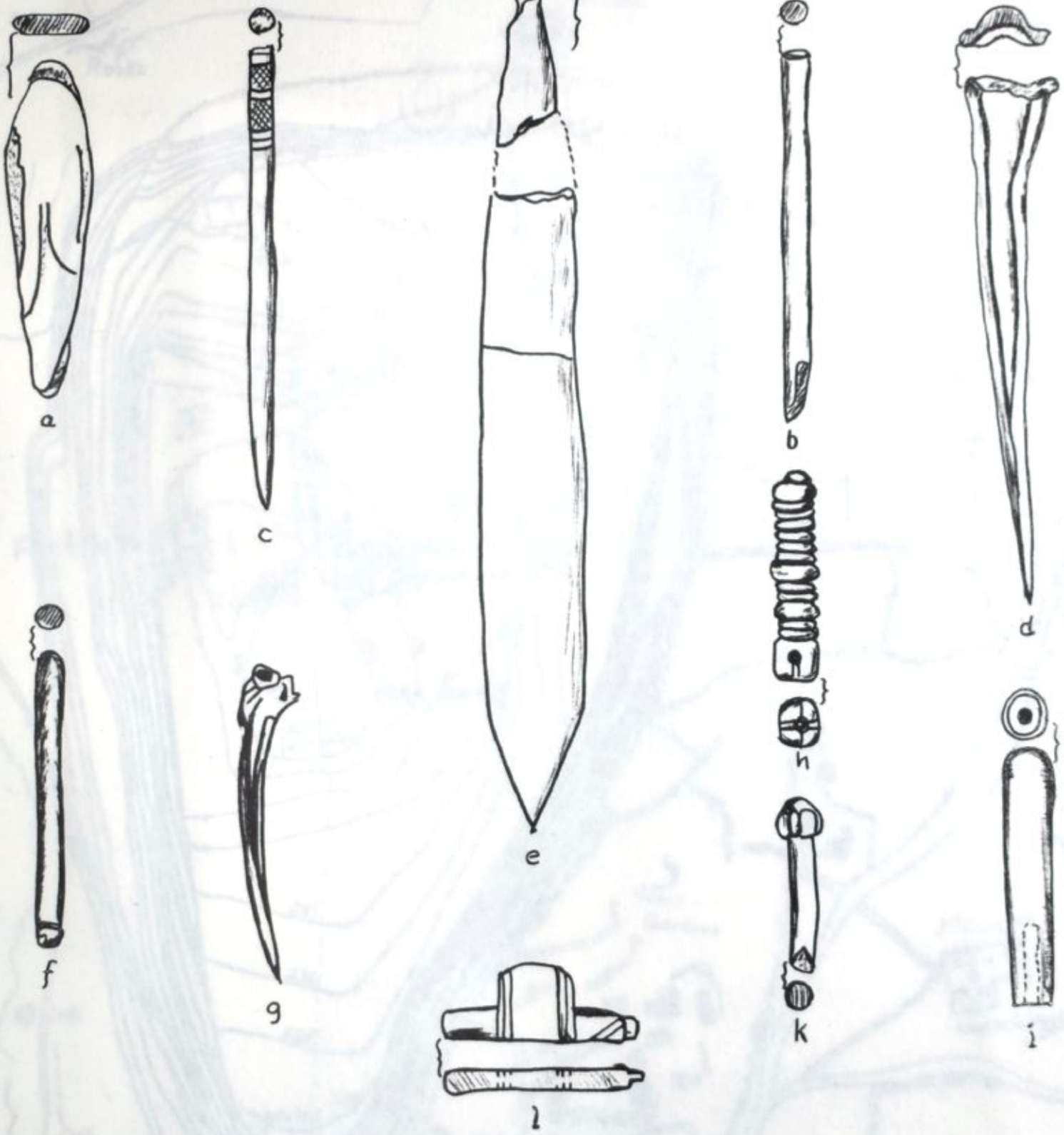
PLATE VIII



Bronze Implements

a, d, e, f Chisels, b Tongs, c, k Spearheads, g-i Knives, l Needle
m Hatchet
a-l 2/3, m ½ natural size

PLATE IX



Bone Implements

a and e, Knives; b, c, d, f, g, i, k, Needles; h and 1 Thread Holders
2/3 natural size

PLAN of TELLTAANNEK

N

To Harta-Jenin Highway

Caves

Grindstone

Fortress

Canal

Rocks

Gate

Fortress

Altar

Rock

Cist

Glacis

Arab Fortress

TELL TAANNEK

Ruins

Rocks

Caves

Ruins

Ruins – Gardens

Cactus

Mosque Ruins

Hedges

TA'ANNEK Village

Cave

Fig Trees

To Sile

Olive trees

Gardens

Rocky

Ruins of Huts

Slope of the Wadi Abu Zebm

To Rummane

menhir

Offering Remains

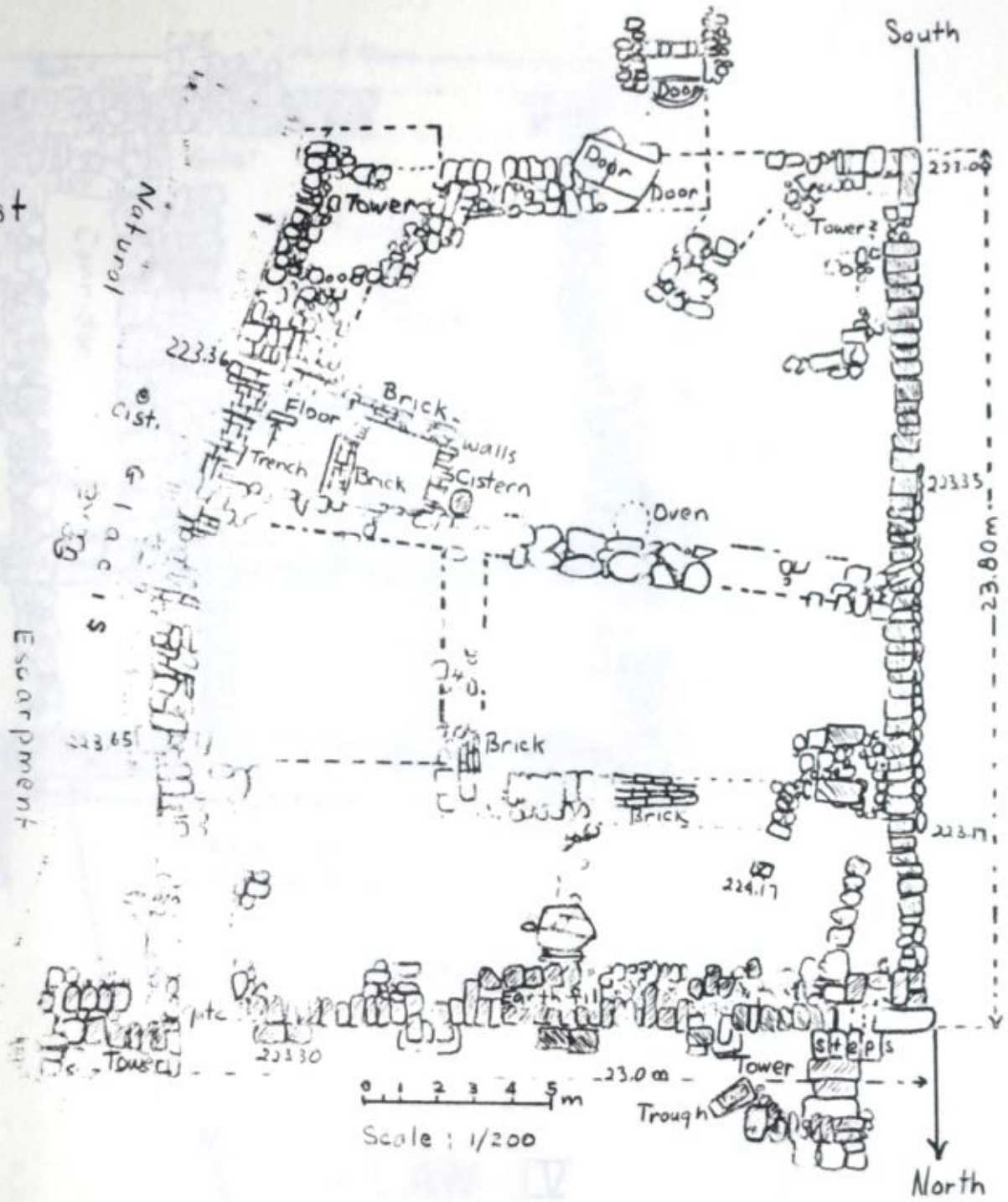
Village Cemetery

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 m

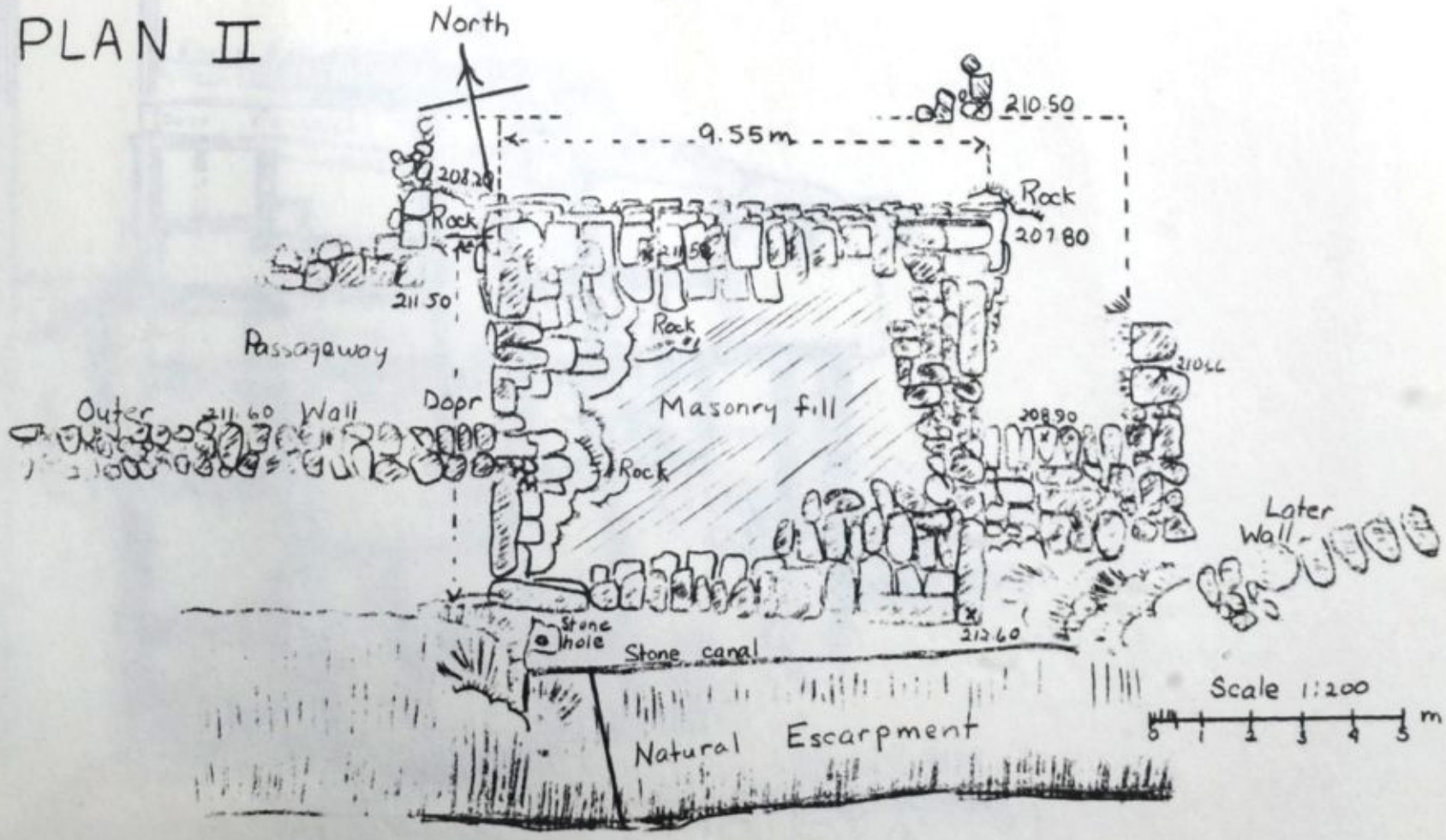
Scale 1/2000

PLAN I

The Northeast Fortress

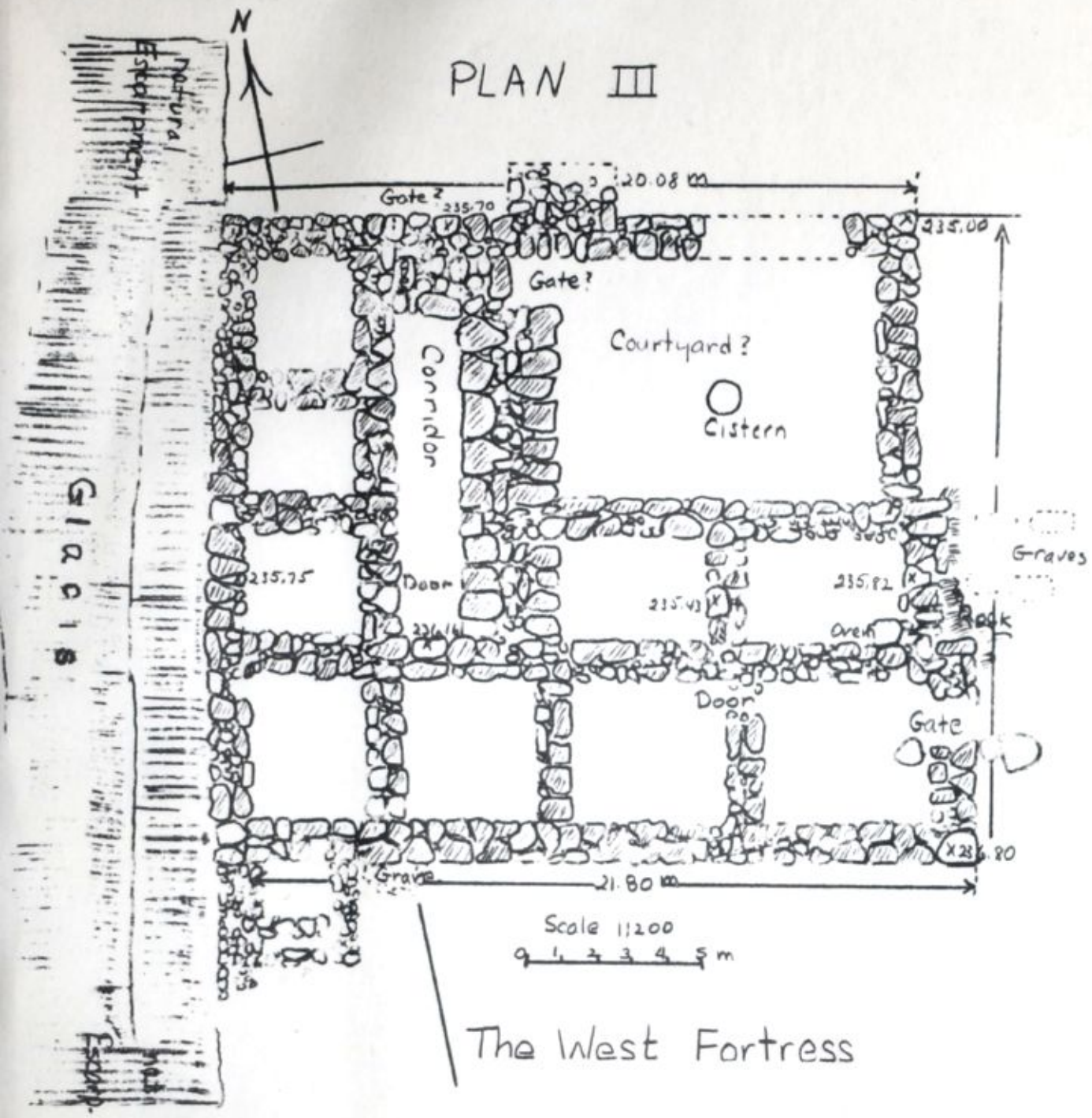


PLAN II



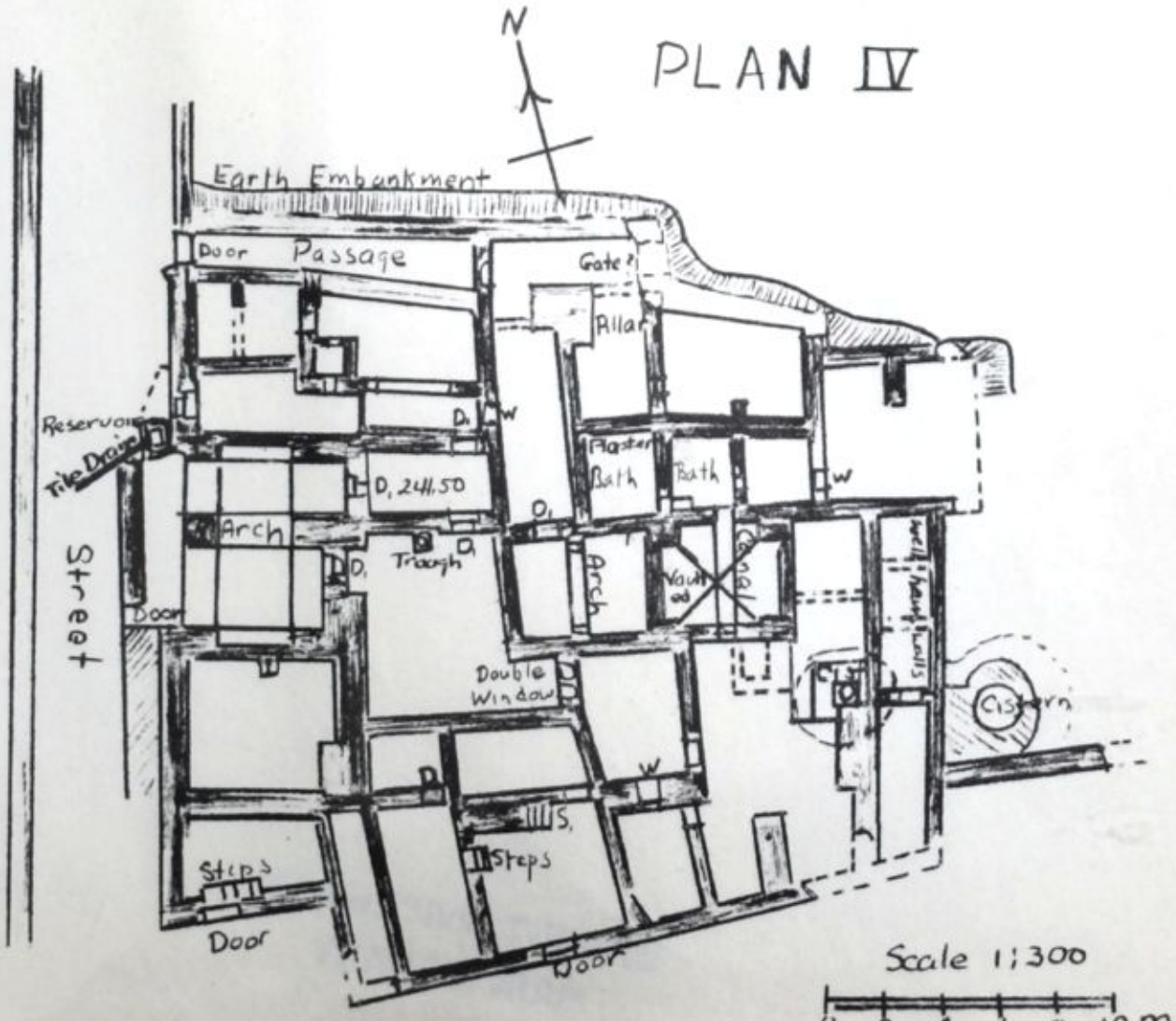
The Northeast Outwork

PLAN III



The West Fortress

PLAN IV



The Arabic Fortress