

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE HEBREWS IN CANAAN.

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A Thesis

presented for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
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by

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PREFACE.

The period of the Conquest and the settlement was an important one in the life of Israel. In it we see the foundations of the national life being laid, and the people coming into possession of the land which they believed had been promised to their fathers. These years were important too because during them the Israelites took the momentous step of exchanging their nomadic life for a sedentary life. And they were important also from the point of view of the religious life of the people and the development of Yahwism.

It is therefore possible to deal with the period in several different ways, and to consider the development of the nation politically, economically or religiously. In the present work we shall confine ourselves to an examination of the political history of the period.

The era of the Conquest is one for which we have very few contemporary records relating to Palestine. Nor have we any references to the Conquest by the Israelites from extra-Biblical sources on which we may confidently rely. Such references as we have to invasions

of Palestine do not necessarily refer to the Israelites. It is therefore extremely difficult to write with confidence on the history of these years. Nevertheless, every year sees further additions to our stock of extra-Biblical evidence, and these are making it easier to form an opinion on the nature, date and course of the Conquest and settlement.

The Conquest of Canaan, as the term is usually understood, was only one stage of a long process extending both earlier and later. In order to understand it fully, it is therefore necessary to make some examination of the Biblical traditions of the Patriarchal Age, and to relate them to external events. For it was in that age that the claims were laid on the land on behalf of Israel. At the other end of the period, it will be convenient to stop as soon as Israel was firmly settled in the land, that is, just before the period of the Judges. The one exception we shall make is that for the sake of completeness we shall consider the migration of the tribe of Dan to the north of Palestine. We shall not examine the consequences of the Conquest and settlement or its bearing on later history, as this would unduly overload the work.

The first thing that requires to be done is to examine the various sources of the history for the period, the written sources in the Old Testament and the Amarna Letters, together with the Egyptian inscriptions, and the other sources of information which we have in the results of archaeological

research. In particular, the nature and value of the Old Testament traditions require to be examined. Thereafter the history of Egypt and the rest of the Near East from the time of the Hyksos until the XIXth Dynasty requires to be summarised to provide a historical background for the Conquest. For during this period, as always, Canaan was the bridge between the Nile and the Euphrates. From this we will be able to get an idea of the period during which the Conquest was most likely to take place, and it will be necessary to try to decide that question by examining the various theories that have been proposed. This will conclude the preliminary work which is contained in Part I.

Part II is devoted to an examination of the founding of the Israelite federation in Canaan during the Patriarchal Age. A preliminary investigation is necessary into the question of how and when the Semitic invasions of Palestine took place. This will lead us to consider the question of the Habiru, who were associated with the race movements of the 15th and 14th centuries B.C. The Patriarchal narratives of the Old Testament are next examined and their nature determined, and on the results of this examination a tentative reconstruction of the events of the Patriarchal Age from the time of Abraham to the period of the Sojourn in Egypt is made. This includes such incidents as the foundation of the Israelite federation, the settlement at Shechem, the settlement of Judah in the South, and the going down to Egypt, first of the Joseph tribe and later of the rest.

A short account of the Sojourn in Egypt and the Exodus, necessary to connect the fortunes of Israel before the period of the Conquest with that event and the later history, completes Part II of the work.

Part III opens with a necessary examination of the nature of the Conquest, and the probable course of its development. ~~There~~after the various phases of the Conquest are taken up in order and discussed, from the first attempt to win an entrance from the south, to the final agreement that was made about the bounds of the tribes.

As we have already pointed out, the reconstruction of the history of the period is very difficult, and in some places ~~its~~ seems impossible to arrive at any definite conclusions in the present state of our knowledge. Many of the theories about particular points in the subject must therefore be regarded as purely tentative. Nevertheless, they are not advanced without having some foundation in the evidence provided from one or other of our sources of information. These have always been the point from which we have started throughout the work. X

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PART ONE

THE SOURCES: THE HISTORICAL
BACKGROUND & DATE OF THE
CONQUEST
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CHAPTER ONE.

THE SOURCES.

The event in the history of Israel known as the Conquest is one the investigation of which is particularly difficult. For the later history, there are numerous contemporary sources both internal and external, but for the period of the Conquest the written records belong to a much later age. The age in which the Conquest took place is one lying on the borderline between history and legend, so that greater pains are required in the examination of the sources, and less confidence can be put in the results arrived at.

For the period we are considering there are two sources of facts for a reconstruction of events. There are first the written sources of the Old Testament, the Amarna Letters and the Egyptian inscriptions. There are also the facts which have been made known by the excavation of the sites of the cities and towns of the age.

Some scholars have been tempted to set the one group of facts against the other, and to say that the facts of archaeology support or disprove the theories

of Biblical critics. This is a mistake, for the written sources provide facts as important and deserving of attention as those of archaeology, while the theories built up on the facts of archaeology are not necessarily to be preferred to the theories of Biblical critics. The two sets of facts must both be used, and as far as possible a balance must be kept between them. This is more difficult than might be imagined, for generally speaking a scholar is either a Biblical critic or an excavator, and he inclines to pay greater attention and give more weight to the facts with which he is more familiar. The Biblical historian, and more especially the historian of the early period of Israel's history, must bear this in mind and continually strive to overcome the tendency to bias which is inherent in the nature of his subject.

The Biblical Tradition and its value.

Turning first to the Biblical Tradition of the Conquest, we find that the account of the occupation of Palestine West of the Jordan by the Israelites under Joshua is contained in the book which bears his name and in the first chapter of the Book of Judges. The occupation of the land on the East of Jordan is recorded in the second part of the Book of Numbers and in the first three chapters of the Book of Deuteronomy.

These sources deal with the Conquest as the term is generally understood. Yet the Conquest under Joshua was

only the end of a long process; the beginning of the settlement of Canaan by the Hebrews was much earlier.

The Israelites traced back their ancestry to Abraham, whom they claimed as the founder of the race (Gen. xii 7). He was born at Ur of the Chaldees, a city lying north of the Persian Gulf, and with other members of his family he made his way to Aram. After what appears to have been a considerable stay there, Abraham with his nephew Lot continued their wanderings into Syria and Palestine.

Abraham was never regarded by his descendants as a settler in the land which they were later to occupy. He is always described as the leader of a shepherd clan, whose wealth was its flocks (Gen. xiii, 1, 2: xii 16 etc.). The clan moved here and there over the whole land as the supply of pasture and water determined (Gen. xiii 3). Yet there were certain centres where there was some object such as an altar or a sacred tree associated with the worship of the clan to which it continually returned. At Beersheba, for instance, Abraham 'planted a grove' (Gen. xxi 33), and at Hebron which is particularly associated with his name he built an altar (Gen. xiii 18) and purchased the 'Cave of Machpelah' in which his wife Sarah was buried and where later his sons buried him (Gen. xxiii 17-20: xxv 8-10).

Abraham's son Isaac is represented as living the same kind of life as his father, but his name is associated with Beersheba and Gerar (Gen. xxvi 23ff., 12) where he is stated to have engaged in the occasional agriculture of the semi-nomad.

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With the story of the sons and grandsons of Isaac we come to the beginning of the real settlement of the land. Jacob is still the nomad dwelling in tents. But a tradition has been built up round him showing that he had quite definite settlements at certain spots. The first of these is Bethel where he stopped on his way to Haran during his flight from Esau, and to which he returned later (Gen. xxviii 11-22: xxxv 1-15). After his return from Haran he settled at Shechem, where he bought land and erected an altar (Gen. xxxiii 18-20). The incident of the attack on the prince of Shechem by Simeon and Levi appears to show a tradition of a settlement by Jacob more permanent than those of Abraham at Hebron and of Isaac at Gerar. So far as we can see from the Biblical records, Jacob and his 'sons' were in Central Palestine when Joseph was sold into Egypt. It also appears to have been from there that Jacob himself followed Joseph down into Egypt (Gen. xlvi 1 '... came to Beersheba'.).

In Egypt the Hebrews were given a friendly reception by the Pharaoh who had befriended Joseph (Gen. xlvii 5,6). With the rise of a new Dynasty, however, they were looked on with suspicion and oppressed. In order to weaken them, they were reduced to slavery and scattered to various places where Egyptian public works were being carried out (Exod. i 11-15). From the fate which might have overtaken them they were saved by Moses, who in time led them out of Egypt as a united people to Sinai and Kadesh (Exod. xii 37ff).

At Sinai a covenant was made with the God Jehovah, who was thereafter the God of Israel (Exod. xxiv).

From Kadesh spies were sent into the land of Canaan who brought back so discouraging a report that the people, in spite of the advice of two of them, refused to attempt to enter it (Num. xiii).^{1.} The nation was therefore condemned to wander in the wilderness until all the adults had passed away (Num. xiv 20-24). After changing their minds and making an unsuccessful attempt to force a way into the land, the people wandered in the desert until only two of them, Caleb and Joshua, were left alive. From Kadesh, to which apparently by this time they had returned, they went southwards and eastwards round Edom (Num. xxi 4) till they came to the land of Sihon. They conquered him and also Og the king of Bashan and occupied their territory (Deut. ii 24 - iii 14). Two tribes, Reuben and Gad, along with half the tribe of Manasseh (Josh. i 12-14) settled there while the others prepared to cross the Jordan. Moses having died, Joshua succeeded him as the leader of Israel, and it was under him that they conquered the Promised Land (Josh. i 1,2).

Up to this point the Biblical accounts of the settlement, though they may have been derived from more than one

1. In the account of JE, one spy only (Caleb) is mentioned. (Num. xiii 30). Joshua is mentioned along with him in the later account of P (Num. xiv 6).

source, are on the whole consistent with one another. But with the narrative of the Conquest itself it is different. There we have two incompatible accounts. In the one, contained in the Book of Joshua, the Conquest is regarded as having been completed rapidly (Josh. xi 23: xii). The inhabitants of the land having been wiped out, it was divided out among the tribes by lots drawn at Shiloh (Josh. xviii 1). In the other, contained in the remainder of the Book of Joshua and in the Book of Judges, the Conquest is described as a slow process extending over many years. After the crossing of the Jordan and the taking of Jericho, the Israelites advanced on Ai, which was not taken until the second attempt. This success caused the inhabitants of Gibeon and its neighbours to ally themselves with Israel, an act which was followed by an attack on the Gibeonite league by a league of five southern cities, Jerusalem, Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish and Eglon. After making a forced night march from his headquarters at Gilgal in the Jordan valley, Joshua defeated the army of the league and pursued it by way of Bethoron to Azekah and Makkedah. Thereafter, as part of the general operations against the Canaanites, the tribe of Judah left the main body and turned south (Jdg. i 9) taking Hebron and Debir and moving still further south to Zephath (Jdg i 17). To Joshua is also ascribed the defeat of a confederation of the kings of the north under Jabin of Hazor at the Waters of Merom.

Thereafter each section of the conquering Israelites

settled down in the part of the land into which it had come and in time absorbed with greater or less success the Canaanite inhabitants. In many places the Israelites were greatly superior, but in others they were inferior. One tribe, Dan, was actually driven out to seek a new home (Jdg. i 34). This process of conquest and settlement was not completed until late in the time of the Judges, and indeed the Old Testament shows that it was still going on in the days of David and Solomon.

These inconsistencies in the Biblical account of the Conquest, which are apparent at a casual glance, become obvious when the records are more closely examined. There are many contradictions, and some incidents are related twice or even three times with differences of detail. Thus in Joshua iv 2ff. twelve stones are taken out of the Jordan and set up in the camp at Gilgal: in Joshua iv 9 the stones are set up in the bed of the river itself. Again, there are three versions of the taking of Hebron. In the first (Josh xv 14) Caleb is credited with the capture. In the second (Jdg i 9,10) it is taken by the whole tribe of Judah. In a third passage (Josh x 36,37) the city falls to Joshua 'and all Israel with him'.

Various explanations of these differences have been advanced. Those now generally abandoned may be shortly summarised.

1. See L. B. Paton, JBL XXXII pp 2-6.

The first suggestion was that the first chapter of the Book of Judges was a sequel to the Book of Joshua. This was the view of the older commentators and of a few in modern times. Joshua was supposed to have won the battles of Gibeon and Merom and divided the land by lot, leaving each tribe to complete its own conquest. The theory depended on keeping the words 'and it came to pass after the death of Joshua' in Judges i 1. The difficulty which cannot be surmounted by this theory is that again in Judges ii 8 the death of Joshua is recorded. The events of the previous chapter cannot therefore have taken place after his death.

The second suggestion was that the first chapter of the Book of Judges preceded the Book of Joshua. Those who held this theory supposed that at the revolt of Israel after their coming to Kadesh (Num xiv 39-43) the nation was divided and parts of the tribes mentioned in Judges i invaded Canaan immediately while the rest stayed at Kadesh and later invaded the land under Joshua. But this makes Joshua conquer land already in the hands of Israel, besides assuming a permanent division of the tribes into sections at Kadesh. This latter assumption neglects to take account of the fact of tribal loyalty to leaders among the Semites.

We are therefore compelled to regard the two accounts of the Conquest as being parallel. It has been suggested that the first chapter of Judges is either a recapitulation of or a supplement to the Book of Joshua. It can hardly be the former, for Joshua is not mentioned in it as the

leader of the invaders. The latter depends on the supposition that the tribes acted in union up to a certain point and then divided into smaller groups. For various good reasons we shall see that we cannot suppose that the tribes acted in such a way.

The explanation of the discrepancies now generally accepted is that the accounts of the Conquest are not homogeneous, and that they have come to their present state by the working together and revising of various earlier sources, some of which were written. The history of Israel as we have it was handed down from one generation to another by its religious teachers. They had a religious purpose in transmitting the traditions, which they revised according as their outlook on life required. In revising the traditions which had come down to them they simply used what they required to point the moral they desired to enforce on their own generation.¹ This explains why there are two conceptions of the conquest so different from one another in the Old Testament. The Deuteronomists, in writing their history of the entry of Israel into Canaan, were able to adapt the older sources sufficiently for their purpose as far as the concluding of the treaty with Gibeon recorded in Joshua ix. After that they had to abandon them more and more because their account of the Conquest as gradual did not fit in with the Deuteronomic idea of it.²

1. Burney ISC p. 6.
2. Burney ISC p. 13.

Like all the other Hebrew historians, the Deuteronomists wanted the lessons of the past more than its facts,¹ so that in their work we see what they thought of the Conquest rather than its true nature.

Scholars are agreed that the original sources of the Book of Joshua and of the first chapter in the Book of Judges are the same as those of the Pentateuch, namely the two designated J and E.² These were already combined³ before they were revised by the Deuteronomic School. To one or other of these sources may be traced the greater part of the first twelve and the last two chapters of the Book of Joshua. The rest (ch xiii - ch xxii) is mainly the work of the latest School of editors, the Priestly School (P), which was at work in the 5th Century B.C. The work of this School is quite distinct from that of the others in style and subject matter, and in general is not reliable as a source for the history. This is not always the case, however, and there are passages in P which show that the Priestly School may have had access to a history of the Conquest containing details not known to or at least not preserved by the others. (Cf Josh. iv 13, 15-19; v 10-12; ix 17-21).

In the Book of Joshua there is a problem to be faced which does not enter into the criticism of the Pentateuch.

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1. Josh (CB) p. xx.
 2. For the full explanation of these terms, not entered into here, see Driver, LOT, p.13.
 3. Driver, LOT p. 123f.

There is evidence that the history transmitted by JE was taken and worked over by the Deuteronomic School in quite a different way from their simpler editing of the patriarchal narratives. One of the aims of the School was to illustrate the zeal of Joshua in carrying out the commands of Moses, especially in killing the native population, and to emphasise the sweeping success of the Conquest.¹ Its account of the settlement often appears to be merely a generalised statement, quite unlike the definite picture presented by JE. From what we know of the history of Israel during the monarchy, the accounts of which were possibly written by eyewitnesses, it is evident that the story of the Conquest handed down by the older writers in the document JE was nearer the truth than that for which the Deuteronomists are responsible. They evidently did not like to think that Israel had ever been a dis-united band of tribes, so they recast the stories and 'gave the place of honour to that section of the nation which, having come under the influence of Moses, preserved the strongest national type and became the representative of the dominant civilisation.'² The nation thus united was considered to have been brought into the very heart of its new dwellingplace by a leader who fought in every part of it. The story of the taking of Hebron in the threefold recording in which we have it is thus

1. Josh (CB) p. xvii.

2. A. C. Welch, 'The People & the Book' p. 126.

easily explained. Originally it was the story of the capture of the city by one of the clans of the tribe of Judah. Then it was adapted to appear as the exploit of the whole tribe. Lastly the Deuteronomists attributed it to the whole nation under Joshua.

As we can see from this explanation of the capture of Hebron, the pre-Deuteronomic sources do not always present a unified account of the Conquest. In that history as we now have it, there is a unity of conception and execution which was due to the work of a group of men who brought together and wove into one the varying traditions of every section of Israel.¹ These traditions go back to sources older than the time of David, which were revised and harmonised before they came into the hands of the Deuteronomists. Even though they have been harmonised, they are often still inconsistent, and the writers have occasionally read back the conditions of their own time into the age of the Conquest.² These inconsistencies are no doubt due to the fact that under the united kingdom the compilers of the composite work JE found differing traditions of the same event in the two parts of the kingdom, which they³ could not or did not trouble to harmonise perfectly.

All this means that the only internal source we have

1. Josh (CB) p. xiv-xvii.
2. E.g. Jdg i 28, which shows a state of affairs which could hardly exist before Solomon's time.
3. L. B. Paton, JBL XXXII pp 12-13.

for the history of the Conquest of Canaan has many disadvantages for the purpose for which we wish to use it. It has no external contacts except with the Philistines, who came to Palestine at a later period than that in which we are interested.¹ Again, the fact that the history was rewritten by one School after another of men who were absorbed in their own point of view and selected as a rule only the material which suited their purpose takes away much of the usefulness of the Old Testament records. They would very likely have been quite valueless if it had not been for the method of writing history adopted by the Hebrew historians. Unlike a modern historian, the Hebrew writer was content to reproduce the words of his sources and to make of them a connected narrative. He preserved the style and language of his sources in such a way that "a comparatively modern book has often the freshness and full colour of a contemporary narrative and we can still separate out the old sources from their modern setting."² He harmonised the varying traditions as far as he could and then used the resulting narratives as data on which he passed his own judgement. He was therefore a compiler or editor rather than a historian.³ That this is so is fortunate for the modern historian of the period, for he can with some hope of success reconstruct the original

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1. The lack of references to other races in the Song of Deborah forms only negative evidence, though it is nevertheless valuable.
 2. W. Robertson Smith, Old Testament in the Jewish Church, 328.
 3. Burney ISC p. 7.

form of the tradition from that in which it lies before him.

The External Sources: a) The Amarna Letters.

The most important single external source for the history of the Conquest is probably the collection of clay tablets known as the Amarna Letters, and it is fitting that they should be considered first.

In 1887, some Egyptians, searching among the ruins of the Palace of Akhenaten at Tell el-Amarna, discovered a room containing a number of clay tablets inscribed with cuneiform characters. Many of them were broken while they were being taken to Luxor to be sold to the dealers, but about 350 were saved and bought for collections. Most of them are in the British Museum and the Berlin Museum.¹

They were found to be part of the official archives of Amenhotep III and Akhenaten, and consisted of correspondence from the kings of Western Asia and the Egyptian governors in Palestine,² written in the Babylonian script and language.³ The period during which the letters were written was determined by the mention in them not only of the two Pharaohs but also of the contemporary kings in the various states in Asia. The earliest of them may be

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1. Jack, Exodus p. 39. Hancock, Texts for Students No 16.
 2. Jack, Exodus p. 40.
 3. This was the diplomatic language of the Near East at the time. See Josh (CB) p. 114: Driver, Schweich Lectures, pp. 80-86: Jack, Exodus p. 40 (note). See also below p.28f.

dated a few years after the accession of Amenhotep III,¹
 and the latest of them must have arrived at Tell el-
 Amarna by the time of the death of Akhenaten in 1366 B.C.
 The letters which particularly interest us - those from
 Abdi-Hiba of Jerusalem - have been dated from about 1385 B.C.
 onwards.²

The letters of the local Egyptian governors and the
 native princes of Palestine who acknowledged the suzerainty
 of Egypt are the most interesting and helpful for the
 history of the Conquest. They come from various cities
 and towns in the land such as Jerusalem, Shechem, Byblus,
 and Tyre. In them mention is made of the Hittites and
 also of "Habiru" and "SA.GAZ" who are apparently pressing
 southwards and westwards into the land. As these people
 are particularly important, the references made to them
 in some of the letters must be examined. The following
 list includes all the references made to the Habiru by
 Abdi-Hiba of Jerusalem (who alone of all the writers uses
 the term) as well as the references to the SA.GAZ which
 will be found most useful.³

"Behold, this deed is the deed of Milki-ili, and
 the deed of the sons of Labaya, who have given the
 land of the king to the Habiru." (Knudtzon, 287).

"The land of the king is lost to the Habiru."
 (Knudtzon, 290).

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1. I. M. about 1420 B.C.
 2. Jack, Exodus p 42, p.164 Note 2.
 3. The name and number after each tablet reference is to
 J. A. Knudtzon's "Die el-Amarna Tafeln" which is the
 standard edition. The translations are from Jack,
 Exodus, pp. 265ff.

"As sure as there is a ship in the midst of the sea, the strong arm of the king will seize Nahrma and Kapasi, but now the Habiru are seizing the cities of the king." (Knudtzon, 288)

"As for Zimrida of Lachish, his (own) servants, become Habiru, have slaughtered him." (Knudtzon, 288).

"Labaya and the land of Shechem have given everything to the Habiru." (Knudtzon, 289).

to ^ "If there are no troops, the land of the king will be lost the Habiru." (Knudtzon, 290).

"Why do you love the Habiru, and hate the local rulers?" (Knudtzon, 286)

"The Habiru are devastating all the lands of the king." (Knudtzon, 286).

"Of a truth (?) ask Benenima, of a truth (?) ask Yadua, of a truth (?) ask Yashuya whether, since Silim-Marduk has stolen Ashtarti, he hath fled away, when all the cities of Gari, Udumu, Aduri, Araru, Meshtu, Magdalim, Hinyanabi, and Zarki are hostile, and when Hawini and Yabishiba are captured." (From Knudtzon, 256, a letter written by a certain Mut-Baal).

"Let the king, my lord, know that the SA.GAZ are carrying (war) into the territory which the god of the king, my lord, has given me, and that I have defeated them. Moreover, let the king, my lord, know that all my brothers have forsaken me, and that I and Abdi-Hiba are making war on the SA.GAZ." (From Amarna Letter in the Louvre Museum, No. AO 7096 written by Shuwardata of Keilah).

"Let it not be said, In the days of the overseers the GAZ-people have taken all lands. Let it not be said in those days, And art thou not able to take them again..... Send a reply to me. Otherwise I shall make alliance with Abdi-Ashirta, like Yapa-Adda and Zimrida, and I shall be saved." (From a letter by Rib-Addi of Byblus, Knudtzon 83, translated by Handcock, Texts for Students No 16).

The letters also give evidence that in the north of Palestine the land was being invaded by these SA.GAZ, who were plundering nomads coming from the desert of Syria,

and who were of various racial types.¹ There is some evidence that the SA.GAZ were also found in southern Palestine and this points to their being at least closely allied with the Habiru.²

These letters are evidently of great value for the history of Syria and Palestine at this time, and they have changed our outlook on it altogether. They reflect the causes of the disintegration of the Egyptian Empire in Western Asia, whose inhabitants were at this period evidently regarded as subjects of Egypt to be helped when necessary by Egyptian troops and chariots.³ There are no signs of real disaffection until well into the reign of Amenhotep III, but after that till the letters come to an end with the death of Akhenaten we have a picture of a land torn by intrigues which Egypt either could not put down, or more likely the consequences and seriousness of which it did not realize. Egyptian control of Palestine became less thorough, and from 1400 B.C. onwards for a time, though it was perhaps nominal, was nothing more. The native princes gradually gave up their allegiance to Egypt and either fell before or threw in their lot with the latest invaders of the land. Egypt under Amenhotep III "was entering upon a stage of decline in regard to its foreign possessions, being content to rest upon the

1. Jack, Exodus p 125.
 2. Jack, Exodus p 126.
 3. Jack, Exodus pp 41,42.

achievements of the past, and not even troubling to maintain these. It was the inevitable reaction from a period of conquest, and the natural result of a laissez faire policy, which generally follows a surfeit of luxury and magnificence."¹

The External Sources: b) Archaeological.

In addition to the Amarna Letters with their written information about the invasion of Palestine by the Habiru and SA.GAZ, there are some Egyptian inscriptions which refer incidentally to a people called Israel in Palestine, to the Hebrews and to a tribe living in the north of Palestine which bears the name of one of the tribes of Israel, and there is the indirect evidence of the excavated sites of the cities of the land at this period.

In 1896 Dr. Flinders Petrie discovered in the Temple erected by Merenptah at Thebes in Egypt a stele originally set up by Amenhotep III.² The date of the inscription on the stele, which was written on the reverse side of the block used by Amenhotep, is not later than the fifth year of Merenptah's reign, i.e. about 1230 B.C.

It is a hymn of victory in twenty eight lines, telling the story of the conquests of Merenptah. Among other places spoken of as defeated there occurs the sentence, "Israel is destroyed: its seed is not." The

1. Jack, Exodus p. 44.
2ac Jack, Exodus p. 224.

line is among others referring to peoples in Central and Southern Palestine, and if they are mentioned in anything approaching geographical order then the people referred to as Israel was situated somewhere in Mount Ephraim or Judah. The determinative before the name is that for 'people' and not 'land' as in the case of the rest,¹ so the writer of the inscription evidently wished to distinguish the Israelites from the rest as being still a people without organisation or a settled home. We ought to remember too, that there is no reason to suppose that Merenptah conducted the campaign personally: it may quite well have been carried out by an Egyptian general or the army of an allied people.²

Other columns were discovered by Dr. Fisher of Philadelphia at Beth-shean in 1923.³ One of them was set up by Ramesses II and the rest by his father Seti I. Both kings mention people called 'Aperu, and at the time of Seti's expedition about the year 1320 B.C. it is implied that they were in the district of Beth-shean.⁴ In his

1. Jack, Exodus p 225.
2. Jack, Exodus p 226. H. R. Hall (The People & The Book, p 1) points out the interesting fact that this is the only known example of the unmistakable mention of Israel in the Egyptian records.
3. PEFQS, 1923, pp 130ff, 147ff. Jack, Exodus p 22.
4. T. J. Meek, BASOR, No. 61, p 18. "The stela of Seti I discovered at Beisan indicates that the Apiru or Hebrews were certainly in the neighbourhood at that time, c. 1300 B.C. and they seem to have come from the East of Jordan. This is not absolutely certain because the words on the stela are partly obliterated, but it would seem to be confirmed by the second stela of Seti I found at the same site, which distinctly refers to an invasion from the east side of Jordan." There seems to be insufficient ground for supposing, as Dr. Jack does, (Exodus p 59) that the 'Aperu were then in possession of the citadel.

stele, erected during an expedition about the year 1293 B.C., Ramesses refers to the building of the town Raameses in the Delta in which Semitic slaves took part.

Both kings also mention a district '-s-r (or 'Asaru) which it is generally agreed occupied the place later in the hands of the Israelite tribe of Asher.¹

In the long list of South Syrian place names which is inscribed on the pylons of the Temple at Karnak there are two which are read as Y-'-k-b-'a-ra and Y-s-p-'a-ra. The lists date from the year 1479 B.C. in the reign of Thutmose III, and it has been inferred that Israelite tribes lived in Palestine at that time and left these traces of their presence. But the equivalence of the names with 'Jacob-el' and 'Joseph-el' is now not accepted, nor are the names as they occur in the lists intended to be the names of tribes but of towns.²

Some mention must also be made of the Ras Shamra Tablets which are "the most important unearthed since the el-Amarna ones."³ They were discovered in 1929 at a mound at Ras el-Shamra on the coast of Syria about ten miles north of Latakia. This spot was the capital of the kingdom of Ugarit, mentioned in Egyptian and Hittite documents of the 2nd millenium B.C. The tablets belong to the period from Thutmose III to Amenhotep IV (1470-

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1. CAH ii p 319 etc. Jack, Exodus p 230. Dr. Jack regards the identification as uncertain on geographical and philological grounds. But see below p. 217.
 2. Jack, Exodus p 231f. See also below, p 48.
 3. Jack, Ras Shamra Tablets, p 1.

1366 B.C.)¹ They give valuable evidence, particularly about religion, for the history of Syria and Palestine before the time of David, and support the evidence of the Amarna Tablets on the question of the wandering of the peoples taking place then.

The importance of these references to Israel and the Hebrews in Egyptian inscriptions lies in the fact that, when they are considered alongside the Biblical evidence, they enable us to decide the period of the Conquest with a reasonable measure of confidence.

We must next consider the more indirect but very valuable evidence for the settlement of Canaan by the Hebrews which is afforded by the excavation of the sites of ancient cities and towns in Palestine. Where it has been possible, the more important sites have been excavated chiefly by British and American Schools of Archaeology. In the Trans-Jordan in particular, valuable work has been done in recent years. From the point of view of the historian, it is unfortunate that the sites of some ancient cities like Hebron cannot be adequately examined because they lie below the modern villages. Other sites again require to be more fully and carefully excavated than they have been before they yield really useful results. In some others it is hardly to be expected that the work that

1. Jack, Ras Shamra Tablets, p 6.

has been done, as at Jerusalem and Gezer, will be particularly helpful for the period of the Conquest, since towns like these were not in the hands of the Israelites until long afterwards. After all of these have been thus accounted for, there remain only about a score of well excavated sites from which we may hope to get information which will be useful for this particular subject. These are places like Jericho, Debir, Bethel, Shechem, Shiloh, Eglon, Beth-shean, Beth-shemesh, Gibeah and Hazor, which we know definitely from the Biblical records to have been taken by the Israelites at the Conquest or built and occupied by them then or shortly afterwards. The results of the excavations at these and other sites which are required in the writing of the history of the settlement will be stated and examined wherever it is appropriate to do so. (See for example the discussion of Professor Garstang's work at Jericho on pp.161ff.).

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CHAPTER TWO.

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: 1600 - 1200 B.C. *****

a) EGYPT.

It will be necessary next to give a brief review of the period during which the Hebrews settled in the land of Canaan, so that the settlement may be properly related to other contemporary events. We shall turn first to Egypt, then to the rest of the Near East outside Palestine, and finally to Palestine itself.

The earliest suggested date for the Exodus of the Children of Israel from Egypt is that of Dr. H. R. Hall, who relates it to the expulsion of the Hyksos by Ahmose I¹ in 1580 B.C. There is therefore no need to go back earlier than this in the examination of the historical background of the settlement: that this decision is justified we shall see as we make the examination.

Our information about the Hyksos from Egyptian sources is very scanty. All we know is that they were foreigners who entered Egypt from the north-east and ruled over it for a time, and that among the racial

1. The sources from which this account of Egyptian History is taken are: H. R. Hall, 'Ancient History of the Near East'; Jack, Exodus; Burney, ISC.; and CAH ii chapters 3-8 (by J. H. Breasted).

elements of which they were composed were Asiatic Semites.¹ When Ahmose drove them out, they retreated into Southern Palestine where they made a stand at Sharuhen for three years before retreating further into Northern Syria, where they were finally defeated.²

Ahmose's invasion of Palestine was continued and extended by succeeding Pharaohs. We have no evidence that his immediate successor, Amenhotep I, carried on any extensive campaigns, but it is unlikely that he remained inactive in Asia when we see how far Thutmose I was able to go in his first campaign.³

Thutmose I (1545-1514 BC.)⁴ advanced right through Syria to the district of the Orontes and the Upper Euphrates and set up a stele beside the Euphrates to mark the boundary of his Empire.

Thutmose III (1479-1447 B.C.) was the first ruler of Egypt who tried to make the whole of Palestine a province of his Empire. From the year of his accession down to 1459 B.C. he carried out a series of seventeen campaigns in Asia. In the first of these he won a battle at Megiddo

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1. Cf. "There is no proof that the great Hyksos kings were Semitic, though certain of the minor rulers of this age undoubtedly were." (Albright, JPOS, XII p 254).
 2. We know this from the biography of the naval officer Ahmose inscribed on the walls of a tomb at el-Kab, south of Thebes. (Breasted, Ancient Records, ii 1-16 etc).
 3. Albright, JPOS, XII p. 254.
 4. The dates used down to the reign of Amenhotep III are those of Dr. Hall: thereafter the Langdon-Gardiner dates are used as in Jack, Exodus.

over the peoples of Southern Syria and Palestine.¹ The list of "the people of Upper Retenu whom his majesty shut up in wretched Megiddo" which Thutmose caused to be put up thereafter on the walls of the Temple of Amon at Karnak includes 119 place-names many of them known to us from the Old Testament, and some of them towns later taken over from the Canaanites by Israel.² In his eighth campaign Thutmose captured Carchemish and set up a boundary stele beside that of Thutmose I on the banks of the Euphrates. The Hittites of Cappadocia and possibly also the Babylonians sent him tribute. The rest of his campaigns he devoted to consolidating his gains.

His work was carried on by Amenhotep II and Thutmose IV (1447-1419 B.C.) Following the customary revolts at their accession, each of these rulers had to establish himself on the throne by force. The authority of Egypt in Palestine was upheld, as it had been under Thutmose III, by garrisons placed in the larger towns under Egyptian officials who acted as the advisers of the native rulers.³ By his marriage with the daughter of Artatama king of Mitanni, Thutmose IV had an ally on the north-eastern frontier of his Empire. This appears to have made that part of the Empire safe for his successor Amenhotep III, who does not seem to have had any trouble with it on his accession.

1. CAH. ii p 69.

2. See also above, p 20. Burney, ISC p61.

3. See below, pp 34ff.

In the early years of Amenhotep III, the Asiatic Empire of Egypt was at its height. That was due to the continued efforts of warlike Pharaohs over many years, and with the work of his predecessors Amenhotep was evidently content. Towards the end of his reign there were movements in Syria which gradually became more pronounced and which, combined with the slackness of the king, were finally responsible for the ending of Egypt's authority in Palestine.

These movements among the people of the Near East reached their greatest point in the reign of Amenhotep IV (1383-1366 B.C.) He was quite different in character from previous Pharaohs, and cared more for religious speculations than for the fate of his Asiatic Empire. He introduced into Egypt in its official form the religion which is known as Atenism, changed his name to Akhenaten, and removed his capital ~~from~~ Thebes to Akhetaton (Tell el-Amarna) three hundred miles down the Nile. During the reigns of the next few Pharaohs until the year 1324 B.C. Egypt's hold on Palestine was gradually though never completely lost, a few forts alone being left to represent the government of the Nile. The new state of affairs was due to the Hittites and Hurrians who had been consolidating their power and extending their bounds north of Lebanon, although they do not appear to have advanced ~~except~~ in small numbers beyond that limit.¹ Nevertheless their

1. See below, pp. 32f., 62f.

restlessness was primarily responsible for the stirring up of the people who actually occupied Palestine and overturned the power of Egypt there.

After a long period of what was rather inaction than real loss of power,¹ Egypt made a renewed effort to regain command of Palestine. Seti I (1322-1301 B.C.), the second king of the XIXth Dynasty, received a report about Southern Palestine in the following terms. "The vanquished Shasu, they plan rebellion, rising against the Asiatics of Kharu. They have taken to cursing and quarrelling, each of them slaying his neighbour, and they disregard the laws of the palace."² Seti thereupon conducted two campaigns in Palestine and restored the authority of Egypt there. But he did not make any move against the Hittites and was content to make a treaty with them which acknowledged him to be the overlord of Canaan and Phoenicia. The control of Palestine by Egypt at this time does not seem to have been equal to what it was in the days of Thutmose III, being confined almost entirely to the coast and trade routes.

Ramesses II (1301-1234 B.C.) made several expeditions into Canaan with the aim principally of keeping these trade routes open; he had a long-continued struggle with the Hittites, which left the two nations relatively in much the same position as before, with the northern limit

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1. This is shown by the fact that Shubbiluliuma remained north of the agreed borderline after his southward advance against Amenhotep III. (See below, p 33)
 2. Burney, ISC p 81.

of the Egyptian Empire at Kadesh on the Orontes. His son Merenptah had to put down a revolt in Canaan in his third year, 1232 B.C., and it is in his record of that campaign that we find the statement that Israel was among the people conquered.

b). THE REST OF THE NEAR EAST OUTSIDE PALESTINE.

At this time Babylon was imposing in appearance but in reality powerless as a political factor in Palestine. The days of Hammurabi were long past and there were to be no great kings till the time of Nebuchadnezzar. The Kassites who conquered the First Babylonian Dynasty in 1746 B.C. must have been a vigorous people to have done so, but they soon degenerated in the land which they occupied under the effects of a luxurious civilization. The result was that these rulers who reigned from 1746 B.C. till 1169 B.C. left little impression on history. Under them the Babylonian Empire sank into a condition of material well-being with no ambitions; it was therefore never a political rival of Egypt during these four hundred years.

The real importance of Babylon is found elsewhere. Its chief contributions to history at this time, as indeed through all its life, were in the fields of intellectual and spiritual development. It was in literature, law, commerce and religion that Babylon now had something to teach the world of its day. We have evidence of this in the Old Testament

1. See E. A. Wallis Budge, 'Babylonian Life and History', pp. 39-42.

and in the Amarna Letters. There is a well-known parallelism between the Code of Hammurabi and much of the Old Testament Law, which probably owed much to Babylon. In the Amarna Letters we have documents written in the Babylonian script and language, showing some Canaanite influence in the idioms. The interesting fact, however, is that this script and language were used not only in diplomatic correspondence between princes in Syria and their overlord in Egypt, but even among the Syrian princes themselves.¹ This is confirmed by the twelve tablets found by Professor Sellin at Taanach. Moreover, the references in Joshua vii 21 to a "mantle of Shinar" and in the Amarna Letters to a caravan trade between Babylon and Egypt indicate that in Palestine,² through which this trade must have gone, there would be an extensive Babylonian culture.³

These facts imply that Babylon, negligible as a political factor in Palestine during these centuries, must have had an influence on the culture of the land. As has happened elsewhere and at other times, the laws, traditions and religious ideas of the people of Palestine must have been affected by those of the nation whose language they spoke and whose script they wrote.

Assyria and Mitanni do not enter directly into the history of this period in Palestine any more than Babylon.

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1. Josh (CB) p 114. On the Taanach tablets, see Driver, Schweich Lectures, p. 83.
 2. E.G. Knudtzon, No 11 and No. 287.
 3. Josh (CB) p. xxiv.

Both at this time were second-rate political powers. The kingdom of Mitanni was important for only a very short period in the second half of the 15th Century B.C. when it successfully invaded Assyria under Shaush-shatar and kept that state powerless for a little longer.¹ Mitanni was an artificial state of Semitic people ruled by conquering Indo-Iranian nobles. It was a political unit rather than an ethnic or linguistic unit, for it owed its organisation to the Indo-Iranians although its culture and language were Hurrian.² It was situated in the basin of the Upper Euphrates in a place with no natural boundaries or defences, and lay open to any invader. Its power therefore did not last when it came into conflict with Egypt or any strong power nearer at hand.

During these years Assyria was only in the preparatory stage of becoming the power it was five hundred years later. It was a subject state, for all practical purposes, first of Babylon and afterwards of Mitanni, to which it continued to be subject until the age of Amenhotep III when Mitanni fell before the Hittites. Thereafter the power of Assyria increased until during the reigns of Seti I and Remesses II it could be counted a serious rival to Egypt. These days lay in the future, however, and during the period in which we are interested, it had no direct influence on Palestine.

1. Baikie, The Amarna Age, p. 190ff.
 2. Speiser, AASOR, XIII p. 17.

The Hittite Empire, in so far as it was a factor in the political history of the East, was short-lived. But because it appeared when it did, in its life of just over two hundred years it had a great influence on the course of history.¹

We have very little information about the early history of the Hittites. In all probability they started as a confederation of tribes more or less closely allied to one another, which got a footing in that part of Asia Minor where it broadens out into the continent of Asia, roughly from thirty-five to forty degrees North latitude and from thirty-two to thirty-nine degrees East longitude. The capital city of the state, excavated by Winckler, was at Hattushash, the modern Boghaz-keui. The bounds of the kingdom were extensive, and though its nucleus was within the above limits, branches of it were found all over Asia Minor and at Kadesh on the Orontes by 1400 B.C. which had not been in these places in 1500 B.C.² This was the 'land

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1. On the Hittite Empire see Baikie, The Amarna Age, Ch. V.
 2. The Hittites at Kadesh were different from those in Cappadocia. "There are practically no hieroglyphic inscriptions at Boghaz-keui and on the whole the hieroglyphics are mainly to be found in the more southerly parts of the Hittite sphere of influence. This corresponds to the historic fact that Hittite expansion seems to have been largely westwards in the early days of the nation and mainly southwards in its later days." (Baikie, Amarna Age, p 190). Dr. Hall thinks that the language of the hieroglyphics will turn out to be the native pre-Aryan idiom of Anatolia. (Baikie p 191). Mr. Baikie points out that this difference seems to be paralleled by a racial distinction. He explains that Dr. Cowley the excavator believes that the native sculptures show a conquering invading race while the Egyptians depicted the aboriginal race which under them fought Egypt. Mr.

of the Hittites' of the Assyrian inscriptions from the 12th to the 8th. Century B.C. There are a few references in the Old Testament to Hittite settlements in Northern Canaan, such as those in Judges i 26, iii 3. The references elsewhere in the Old Testament are more probably due to the generalised use of the name Hittite for the pre-Israelite population. Such a use of the name would be similar to the use of the terms Amorite and Canaanite for the same purpose and would first begin after the disappearance of the nation and the vanishing of the name into ancient history.¹

Before 1500 B.C. the Hittite Empire appears to have been confined to the district round about Boghaz-keui. It is not until about 1450 B.C. that we begin to hear of it expanding under Dudkhaliya II and Shubbiluliuma. From then until the year 1272 B.C. the Hittite Empire was a force to be reckoned with. The policy of these two kings was anti-Egyptian, but they kept up a pretence of friendship at first. Towards the end of the reign of Amenhotep III, Shubbiluliuma attacked Northern Syria. The safety of this part of Egypt's Empire lay in having the support of the king of Mitanni. Alliances through marriage had been made with this end in view with Mitanni by Thutmose IV and Amen-

Baikie himself thinks that the Carchemish types are the subject stock coming to the top on the decline of their conquerors and re-introducing the native hieroglyphics. It is clear that there are two types, and Mr. Baikie sees no solution. Since his book was written, fresh evidence has been brought forward which may give the true explanation. (See below, p. 62-63).

1. Genesis (West Comm) pp 228-230. The Abdi-Hiba of the Amarna Letters has a Hittite name (Lods, Israel p.56) Sisera & Shamgar appear to be Hittite (Burney, Jdgs p 76).

hotep III. Tushratta of Mitanni, whose sister Gilu-Khipa had married Amenhotep, repelled Shubbiluliuma. Nevertheless he invaded Naharin, aided by Artatama a brother of Tushratta who had possibly been implicated in the murder of Tushratta's predecessor and had fled to take refuge with the king of the Hittites. The defeat he had suffered at the hands of Tushratta taught Shubbiluliuma a lesson and he became wily. He attacked Egypt by the indirect method of stirring up revolt in Northern Syria where his instruments were Artatama and further south Abdashirta and his son Aziru. They too were crafty and managed for a while to pose as the friends of Egypt; but they were not crafty enough, for after destroying Egypt's Empire in Syria they were compelled to become tributaries of the Hittites. Shubbiluliuma carried out similar schemes against Mitanni where internal disputes helped him. That kingdom wore out its powers with engaging in these and when it was exhausted he annexed it. The result was that by the time of his death, the Hittites had an extensive Empire.

Although this empire endured for long after this, it began immediately to decline in power. One of its later kings, Muwattalish, came into conflict with Egypt and fought a battle against Ramesses II at Kadesh. He claimed the victory but there are doubts about the reality of the victory thus claimed by the Hittites for Muwattalish disappears alto-

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1. Chief of the Amurru district, i.e. from Lebanon along the northern edge of the Syrian desert to the Euphrates.
 2. See Burney, ISC pp 65-66.

gether and it is with another king, Hattushilish III, that Ramesses concludes the treaty. In the treaty it appears that the Hittite power is already on the wane and that they are not the force they once were. By 1200 B.C. the great Empire of Shubbiluliuma has fallen to pieces and the Hittites are only one of a number of relatively small nations in the district.

c). THE SITUATION IN PALESTINE.
1

We have already seen that it was in the reign of Thutmose III of Egypt that Palestine became in any sense a province of the Pharaoh. The land was controlled by commissioners who had each a regular district in which they collected tribute, gave advice and help, and punished wrongdoers. These men had the support of garrisons of Egyptian soldiers stationed in the chief cities for the purpose of looking after the more turbulent districts. The really important centres like Gaza, Gezer and Megiddo had over them an Egyptian governor. Others like Sidon, Hazor and Jerusalem were ruled by the native princes with the advice of a resident Egyptian.
2

The policy of Egypt was on the whole to consider Canaan a province and not a colony: the important matter was that the trade routes along the coast and through Esdraelon should be commanded so that caravans to and from Babylon could be protected. The fall of Megiddo in 1479 B.C. opened up the

1. See above pp 24f.
2. Jack, Exodus p 36.

coast to that point and brought it under the supervision of Egypt. From then until the time of Amenhotep III, the claim of Egypt to Syria and Palestine was respected.¹ Even so, Canaan was not altogether subdued. The list of 119 names of cities taken by Thutmose III² includes thirty-five known to Old Testament history and of them twenty seven are mentioned in the Book of Joshua. The preponderance of names on the main coast route shows that even under Thutmose interest centred on it rather than on the rest of the land. At that time at least Thutmose had not conquered any town in the Central or Southern Highlands.³ It is probable however that later he gained control of the interior of the land for in the Amarna Letters we have evidence of the presence of Egyptian advisers in places like Jerusalem. For the next eighty years or so, this fairly extensive supervision was in effective existence. But no later Pharaoh apparently cared as much as Thutmose III about the land of Palestine, so that Egyptian control gradually declined and never again reached the same standard of completeness.

For the effective government of Palestine, Egypt relied to a great extent on the loyalty of the native princes. To ensure their loyalty they were taken to Egypt as young men and given an Egyptian training and as far as possible an Egyptian outlook and then sent back to rule Syria and

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1. Hogarth, The Ancient East, p 32.
 2. See above, p 25.
 3. Garstang, JJ pp. 109-111.

Palestine for Egypt. Whatever traces of Egyptian civilization are found in Palestine are to a great extent due to men trained in this way. That is all the more likely as the Egyptians were not adventurous colonisers and were content to leave their Asiatic Empire as much as possible to itself.¹ This method of ruling the land has been followed out later by its more recent conquerors, the Turks. It is also the method followed by France in the West of Africa,² and by Britain in India.

The results were not always happy, for the native princes came to rely almost entirely on help sent from Egypt for their safety. If Egypt did not take the trouble to send the help asked for, as happened under Akhenaten, then it needed only the appearance of a vigorous invader to end Egypt's authority in the land either by direct conquest or by undermining the loyalty of the princes to Pharaoh.

This was what actually happened during the reign of Akhenaten. At that time we find from the Amarna letters that a state of affairs existed in Palestine which had doubtless existed for long before, but which was particularly dangerous then. The land was divided up into districts each under the kind of prince described above. These men lived in the principal fortified towns of their districts.³ As a rule, jealousy kept them apart and they were often at war with one another, only combining in an emergency.⁴

1. Hogarth, *Ancient East*, pp 32-34.

2. See Geoffrey Gorer, *Africa Dances*, Part 2.

3. Compare the 'king' of Jericho. 4. Josh (CB) pp xxv, 10.

From the Amarna letters also we see that at that time the land was being invaded by Hittites and Habiru-SA.GAZ. Against them the natives had the advantage that they were behind walls and that on the plains they had chariots. But in the favour of the invaders were the two facts, that the Canaanites were disunited and morally degenerate. So it came about that Palestine gradually yielded to them in spite of the loyalty to Egypt of men like Rib-addi of Byblus and Abdi¹Hiba of Jerusalem.

As early as the fifth year of the reign of Merenptah, Egypt was invaded by white-skinned tribes from Asia Minor called by the Greeks Pelasgians.² Egypt itself was saved by a desperate battle in which the invaders were practically wiped out. This fact is almost enough by itself to show that there could not have been an extensive settlement of these people, who are known to the Old Testament as the Philistines, in Southern Palestine³ at that date (c. 1230 B.C)

Some years later in the reign of Ramesses III (1204-1172 B.C.) the Philistines again invaded Egypt by way of Syria and Palestine and also by way of the sea. Ramesses succeeded in defeating them at Pelusium and pursued them into Syria, but he made no effort to re-establish Egyptian power in Palestine. At this period too the Anatolian Hittite Empire was broken down and its centre became Car-chemish: they too like Egypt no longer concerned themselves

1. The People & the Book, p 14.
2. CAH ii p 167ff. On the Philistines see also, People & Book pp 24-30.
3. As required by Prof. Garstang's theory in JJ p 371.

with Palestine.¹ The Philistines showed themselves to be too strong to be interfered with by Egypt at this time. They established themselves on the sea-board and inland as far as Ziklag and Gath. Their five principal cities were governed by "lords" who met in council whenever it was necessary. In their new home they retained the native names of their cities and towns and identified their own gods with the gods of the conquered Semites, like Dagon and Ashtoreth. "We see in the Philistines a conquering aristocracy; they can live on the labour of subject-cultivators and give themselves to trade. Corn and wine were plentiful in their territory: Philistia became a great slave-mart."² Gradually they extended their territory and in time they took some of the cities in the centre of the land. Beth-shemesh had evidently been in their hands for some time before the age of Samson.³ Debir appears to have been taken about the years 1180-1150 B.C.,⁴ after which event they began to dominate the south of Palestine. Thereafter they spread northwards along the coast and into the valleys and the Plain of Esdraelon. Beth-shean had probably been occupied by them a considerable time before the battle which they fought with Israel at Ebenezer at the end of Eli's life, circa 1080 B.C.⁵ Certainly by the time of Saul, they had Israel

1. Baynes, *Israel amongst the Nations*, pp 43-44.

2. Do. do. p 56.

3. *The People & the Book*, pp 30-32.

4. Albright, *ZAW* 1929, p lff.

5. *The People & the Book*, pp 30-32.

in their power to such an extent that they were able to dictate to them concerning their weapons of war. The revolt under Saul and Samuel resulted in the temporary expulsion of the Philistines, but they soon regained their lost control at the Battle of Mount Gilboa, when Saul and Jonathan were killed. When David unified the kingdom and took Jerusalem, the Philistines advanced against him but were defeated at Baal-perazim. Thereafter the greater part of Philistia became subject to David and some of the people entered his service as mercenaries.¹

1. See 'The People and the Book', p. 31.

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CHAPTER THREE.

THE DATE OF THE CONQUEST. *****

The date of the Conquest of Canaan by the Israelites, like the dates of two other great events in Israel's history - the entry into Egypt and the Exodus - is still disputed by scholars. With our knowledge of the facts in the state it is, certainty cannot be reached: all that can be done is to claim that one date is more probable than another. All three of these events are in some measure related, and it is generally accepted that the Exodus was followed at no long interval by the Conquest.

It is possible with the aid of the facts already discussed to fix two outside limits between which the Exodus and the Conquest must fall. The date of the foundation of Solomon's Temple can be fixed with some accuracy by relating the Old Testament data of the monarchy to outside events. We may fix this date as 965 B.C. and the date of the accession of Solomon four years before in 969 B.C.¹ It is practically certain from general considerations and the precision of the statements in 2 Samuel v 5² that David reigned for forty years and that Samuel was born about the

I. Jack, Exodus pp201-202.

2. "In Hebron he reigned over Judah seven years and six months and in Jerusalem he reigned thirty and three years."

year 1070 B.C.¹ For the period of the settlement and the judges down to the time of Eli it is usual to allow at least a hundred years, making the latest possible date for the beginning of the Conquest in the region of 1170 B.C.

The earliest date that has been suggested for the Exodus is that of Dr. H. R. Hall,² who argues that the Israelites were expelled from Egypt along with the Hyksos in 1580 B.C. Between these two dates then, 1580 B.C. and 1170 B.C., lie the Exodus and the Conquest.

It is fairly obvious that the Conquest at least must have taken place during a period of Egyptian weakness. The review of the history of Egypt during the period 1600 - 1200 B.C. which we made³ has shown that after the time of Ahmose I the conquest could have been carried out during the reigns of Thutmose I and Thutmose II. During these years the foundations alone of the Egyptian control of Palestine had been laid and expeditions were probably confined to the neighbourhood of the coast. The great difficulty in the way of accepting this as the period of the conquest is that after it comes the reign of Thutmose III whose control of Palestine we saw to have been most extensive. Nor have we any knowledge of race movements in that era similar to those which we know to have occurred later. We must look for another more suitable period after his day. For a long time after his reign, the Egyptian supervision of

1. See Kennedy, Samuel, (Century Bible) pp 30ff.
 2. See his 'Ancient History of the Near East' Chap. 9.
 3. See above, p. 23 - p. 28.

Canaan was sufficiently good to keep invaders at bay. Then as we saw control began to be slackened and from about 1400 B.C. till about 1300 B.C. it was inadequate for protection. This is the period suggested for the Conquest by many if not the majority of scholars today.¹

The attempts made by Seti I and Ramesses II to reconquer the land were not as ambitious as that of Thutmose III, so that the accepting of this as the date of the Conquest would not be open to the same criticism as the accepting of the earlier date.

Finally, the Conquest can be put into the period after 1220 B.C. when the authority of Egypt was withdrawn for the last time in this age.

We have therefore three periods during which the Conquest was more likely to have taken place than any other and the various theories assigning it to one or other of them must be examined in some detail.

Although Dr. Hall puts the Exodus as early as 1580 B.C. he considers that the wandering in the wilderness lasted for roughly two hundred years. He would therefore place the Conquest in the same period as most scholars put it, between 1400 B.C. and 1300 B.C. All that we need do here, then, is to give enough of his Exodus theory to understand his reasons for assigning so long to the wandering in the wilderness.² He points out that according to the Egyptian traditions

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1. See for example, Jack, Exodus: Garstang, JJ: Welch, The People and the Book, p 124ff.; Robinson, ET XLVII pp54,55.
 2. For this see 'The People and the Book' Chap I. His view is criticised below, p. 48f.

handed down by Manetho and preserved in fragments by Josephus the Hyksos came from Palestine and their kings reigned as Egyptian monarchs. Along with them had come Abraham from Haran through Syria into Southern Palestine leading a tribe of Hebrews and these went down into Egypt in the time of Jacob.¹ The Hebrews were therefore a small Semitic tribe which entered Egypt during the Hyksos domination. Then the day came when a Pharaoh who "knew not Joseph" came to the throne and Israel was commanded to leave Egypt. Dr. Hall maintains that they did this by following in the wake of the Hyksos.² He follows Dr. Gardiner in accepting Pelusium as the Avaris which was the capital of the Hyksos Empire, and considers that it was from Pelusium that Israel went out of Egypt along the shores of Lake Serbonis and then inland to the wilderness and Sinai. He maintains that Josephus was right and that it is wrong to put the Exodus as late as the reign of Merenptah, or even in the reign of Amenhotep II. "If the expulsion of the Hyksos is too early for the Exodus, where in the history of the great and powerful XVIIIth Dynasty can we find a probable place for an event which, like the Exodus of tradition, presupposes internal trouble and weakness in Egypt, until the reign of Akhenaten? Of all theories, to place the Exodus, say, in the reign of Amenhotep II, in order to agree with traditional dates, seems to the historian of Egypt the least probable."³

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1. People and the Book, p 5.
 2. People and the Book, p 6.
 3. People and the Book, p 7.

Dr. Hall considers that two hundred years is not by any means too long a period. The story of the Hebrews in Egypt is what we should expect a memory of the Hyksos rule to have been, with their kings favouring the Semite Joseph. The king who "knew him not" would be Ahmose I, the first king of a new native Dynasty. He claims also that the Hebrews took over something at least of Egyptian culture with Moses which was preserved among them for a long time.¹

If the Exodus took place as early as 1580 B.C., the long period in the wilderness coincided exactly with the years during which Egypt was supreme in Palestine. Any mention we find of Hebrews in Palestine then may be due to clans which stayed behind when the rest went down to Egypt, or to some who went on ahead while the remainder were living at Kadesh. He believes that the period in the wilderness was compressed in the Israelite traditions so that Moses and Joshua, separated from one another by many years, were brought together.²

We turn next to consider what is called the traditional view. This is the view held by C. F. Burney, W. M. Flinders Petrie,³ J. S. Griffiths⁴ and others. Dr. Burney gives a clear exposition of it in his "Israel's Settlement in Canaan," and this we can do no better than summarize.

Accepting Naville's view of the equivalence of Pithom and Tell el-Mashuta in the east of the Wady Tumilat and its

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1. He points out, for example, that the Ark was Egyptian, and says that the Golden Calf was an image of Hathor, the goddess of the Desert and specially of the Desert of Sinai
 2. For other examples of this process see ET XXXVI 103-109.
 3. In "Egypt and Israel".
 4. In "The Exodus in the Light of Archaeology".

founding by Ramesses II and also the historicity of Exodus 11, Dr. Burney concludes that Ramesses was the Pharaoh of the Oppression and Merenptah the Pharaoh of the Exodus.¹ The allusions to the presence of Hebrews in Palestine are all before the date assigned to the Conquest, so that the mention of Asher by Seti I and Ramesses II and of Israel by Merenptah himself are accepted as evidence that only a part of Israel sojourned in Egypt while the rest remained in unbroken possession of the land.

Accepting also the theory that the early traditions in Genesis deal on the whole with the movements of tribes rather than with the activities of individuals, Dr. Burney takes them as they stand and uses them to support those facts derived from sources outside the Old Testament which have a bearing on Israel's history.² Taking Abraham's date as circa 2100 B.C., Dr. Burney considers that the later tribe Jacob gave its name to the site Jacob-el in South or Central Palestine before 1479 B.C. so that it was in existence when Thutmose III came there. Thereafter this Jacob tribe left Canaan and returned at a later period as the Aramaean Habiru, who were part of a widespread movement, and who ended by seizing and settling down in Shechem. At this second entry Jacob was known as Israel. Thereafter, the Joseph tribes broke off from the rest and went down into Egypt in the time of Amenhotep II.³ From Egypt they came

1. Burney ISC p 83.

2. Burney ISC pp 84,85.

3. Burney ISC p 87.

out in the reign of Merenptah and invaded Canaan soon after
1200 B.C.¹

Lastly we must consider the view that the Conquest took place in the century between 1440 and 1340 B.C. It has been defended in this country by Professor J. Garstang and Dr. J. W. Jack. Even before the post-war work of archaeology was carried out, there was a strong body of opinion in favour of this view, and it is now claimed that most scholars accept it.² The full arguments in favour of an Exodus in the reign of Amenhotep II about 1445 B.C. are given by Dr. Jack in "The Date of the Exodus". Here we are chiefly concerned with his statement of the case for the invasion of Canaan by the Israelites about the year 1400 B.C.³

Many generations after Abraham had settled in the land, the Jacob clans pushed in from Aram and settled down beside the Hebrews who were already there. Because of their greater ability they gradually became supreme over all the Hebrews in Palestine. The Edomites were thrust back into the south and south-east of the land, while there remained many Hebrews who were not absorbed by them.

Then about the year 1875 B.C. the Jacob tribes or some of them migrated to Egypt and settled in Goshen. As a branch of the Hebrew race they took the name "Hebrew" with them, and by it they were known to the Egyptians. For this reason, Dr. Jack claims that the references to Habiru in the Amarna

1. Burney ISC p. 95.

2. See ET XLVII pp 53-55 for a statement of this claim.

3. Fully stated in 'Date of the Exodus' Chap VIII.

Letters must refer to these people so well known by that name to the Egyptians. ¹ Abdi-Hiba Perhaps ~~he~~ used the name rather than the ideogram SA.GAZ because he wished Pharaoh to realise that these were the people who came out from Egypt little over a generation before. Dr. Jack builds up his case on the parallelism between the movements of the Habiru in the Amarna Letters and the attack on Canaan from the South attributed by the Old Testament to the tribe of Judah along with the invasion from the East by Joshua. His conclusion is that the date of the Conquest lay between 1400 and 1370 B.C., and that the length of the period occupied by the actual Conquest is uncertain. ² He himself would put the initial attack under Joshua at about 1400 B.C. and thinks of the Israelites as entering on victorious possession about the year 1375 B.C., when Egyptian foreign government was at its lowest ebb.

"The Israelites, while located so many years at or near Kadesh-Barnea, would be watching for a suitable opportunity of invading Canaan. They had not been able to enter Canaan immediately on leaving Egypt, for the Exodus had been followed by the reigns of Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III, two Pharaohs who turned out to be warriors, ambitious and energetic..... In the light of their warlike activity we can understand the policy of the 'forty years' wandering, during which the Israelites had to remain satisfied with the district of Seir, which scarcely ever, so far as we know, felt the weight of Egyptian

1. Jack, Exodus, pp 143-144.

2. Jack, Exodus, pp 163-164. It is unnecessary to give a fuller discussion here, as many of the arguments are used later in the reconstruction of the history. See Part III.

arms...But now there were undoubted evidences of a change.

The time now was specially auspicious. Their SA.GAZ kinsmen and others were pouring into it from the north-east.....

They heard repeatedly, in the later years of Amenhotep III, of the growing foreign weakness of this Pharaoh's power and of the withdrawal of Egyptian troops from Canaan..... The Israelites felt that they might now at last emerge from their desert wanderings and take possession of the land, unhindered by the forces of the Pharaoh¹!

Here then we have two periods suggested as suitable for the Conquest and we must try to decide which is the more probable.

Some of the arguments are inconclusive as applied to either period. For example it is now unprofitable to use the supposed evidence of the existence of towns called Jacob-el and Joseph-el about the year 1479 B.C. Dr. Jack points out² that the names inscribed in the Temple at Karnak are only doubtfully equated to these two, and Dr. Albright states quite categorically that the place name 'Joseph-el' is imaginary.³ Even if the identification were correct, it would only prove that some Semites had left their names at certain places in Palestine very early, but that they need not have been associated at all with Abraham or Jacob.

Dr. Hall's theory of the Exodus, based on that of Josephus,⁴ is as we saw capable of being combined with the theory

1. Jack, Exodus pp 164-165. 2. Jack, Exodus pp 231, 36.
 3. JPOS, XII (1932) p 257.
 4. "The theory of Josephus ... has been well called by Petrie 'a splendidly mistaken one'; for the accounts... do not correspond with the history of the Israelites." (Jack, Exod p 172)

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of the Conquest advanced by the majority of scholars today. We need not therefore enter into a full discussion of the arguments against it.¹ It will be sufficient here to point out that it is questionable whether the main body of the Hyksos left Egypt. Most of them probably became Egyptianised and stayed in the land, only their leaders being driven out. On the other hand, it is agreed that the main body of the Israelites left Goshen at the Exodus.² Again, Dr. Hall is willing to face the difficulty of the dissociation of Joshua from Moses which his theory of the Exodus entails, by taking the view that the Old Testament tradition is due to a legendary association of two distinguished men, one at the beginning and one at the end of the wilderness period.³ It must be pointed out, however, that too much is made in the Biblical traditions of the association of Moses with Joshua for them to have been separated by a period of nearly two hundred years. Unless therefore we find it absolutely impossible to do so, we must regard Joshua as the immediate successor of Moses in the leadership of Israel.

We shall take up next a consideration of the difficulties there are in accepting the traditional date, the greatest of which is that insufficient time is left for the events between the Conquest and the period of the Monarchy.

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We saw that the Philistines were settled in their later

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1. These are given in Jack, Exodus, pp 169-176.
 2. Jack, Exodus, p 174.
 3. See above, p. 44.
 4. See above, p. 37f.

home on the sea-board of Palestine very shortly after the year 1200 B.C. Now the events of the Book of Judges cannot be said to be in strict chronological order, but it is legitimate to suppose that the compilers of the book knew roughly that Samson lived near the end and Deborah near the beginning of the period covered by it. In the days of Samson, the Philistines were evidently well-established inland, so that he cannot have lived and 'judged' Israel earlier than 1150 B.C. His judgeship may be put in the last half and possibly in the last quarter of the 12th century B.C. It is also reasonably justifiable to argue from the silence of the Song of Deborah that the Philistines had not yet dominated the North when the events it relates took place. That is to say, it must be dated earlier than 1150 B.C. It cannot be dated any earlier than 1175 B.C.¹ There would therefore be barely time for the invasion to have taken place, if as the upholders of the traditional date suppose, it took place after 1200 B.C.,² and we are faced with the serious difficulty that there is little more than a century left between the Conquest and the days of Eli, and much less than that for events that took place after the days of the elders who outlived Joshua' and the judgeship of Samson. It is true that this objection is not conclusive, but there seems to be sufficient evidence in the Book of Judges to indicate that

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1. Albright, JPOS, I 54ff. II 74ff.
 2. The somewhat earlier date, shortly after 1250 B.C., suggested by Albright (see BASOR No 58, pp 10-14) would leave a reasonable number of years between Joshua and Deborah.

a somewhat longer period elapsed between the Conquest and the Age of the Monarchy. From what we know of settlements by invaders elsewhere in the world, too, we must allow to the period of the Judges more than a hundred years, for it takes longer than that for any invader however vigorous to settle in a land to such an extent that they can be considered the 'people of the land'.¹

The Merenptah stele mentions "Israel" in Palestine about the year 1228 B.C. The difficulty of this in regard to the late date for the Conquest is obvious.² Dr. Burney overcomes it by understanding Merenptah to refer to a part of Israel which was already in the land. This is not altogether satisfactory, and has been criticised by Dr. Jack.³ Dr. Jack's criticism is that the tribes Asher, Dan, Gad and Naphtali which remained in the land when the rest went down into Egypt were those which were not regarded as being of the true Israelite stock. They would therefore not be known as 'Israelites' even to the Egyptians, for 'Israel' to an Egyptian meant the people of that name who had once lived in Goshen. It is true that they were generally referred to by foreigners as 'Hebrews' but there are places in the Old Testament which show that while they were in Egypt 'Israel' was not only the name by which they called themselves, but also a name by which they^{were} sometimes referred to by the Egyptians. Thus in Exodus v 2 we have, "Who is Jehovah,

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1. Compare the history of England after 450 A.D.
 2. Dr. Albright's earlier date again escapes the difficulty.
 3. Jack, Exodus, pp 233-236



said Pharaoh, that I should obey his voice to let Israel go," and in Exodus xiv 25, "Let us flee from Israel for Jehovah fighteth for them." This it is true may be due to the reading back of the later name into the earlier period, but the point has not been made by any defender of the late date theory. When Merenptah set up his stele in Palestine and referred in it to "Israel", he meant the nation with whom Egypt had been acquainted through their living in the land of Goshen for many years, and who had left Egypt before he found them in Palestine.

Further support is claimed for the traditional date of the Conquest from the statement in Exodus i 11 that the Israelites' built for Pharaoh store cities, Pithom and Raamses.¹ The objection to accepting this evidence is that the names of the cities may have been given to them by Ramesses II after the Exodus. Dr. Hall says, "The name Rameses as that of a store city may have been conferred by a scribe writing long after the Mosaic period."² Because a city in Egypt was called Raamses in 850 B.C. it does not follow that it was so called when the Israelites worked there. Moreover there is no need to suppose that the building of store cities referred to in the Book of Exodus was the building of them for the first time, and to use that as an argument in support of the late date theory. Ramesses II added to some cities such as Zoan so extensively that he practically rebuilt them,

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1. For the criticisms here summarised, see the full discussion by Jack, Exodus, p 25ff.
 2. Ancient History of the Near East, p 403, note 3.

and it is a well-known fact that he gave his name to the work and monuments of his predecessors. It is not in the least unlikely that Raamses was an older city, originally built by a former Pharaoh, which Ramesses II rebuilt and to which he gave his own name. If the Israelites helped to build it at all, it may have been at the original foundation of the city that they laboured. It is therefore unnecessary to suppose that the original founder of Pithom and Raamses must have been Ramesses II and that because Israel is said to have helped to build them the Exodus took place after his reign.

These criticisms of particular points in the defence of the traditional date for the Exodus and Conquest, considered each apart from the other, may not be conclusive. But the cumulative effect of them is so great that we appear to be left with no alternative but to put the conquest in the century before the reign of Seti I, and in particular shortly after 1400 B.C. By the time of Ramesses II and Merenptah Israel as a whole would be in Palestine.¹

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1. Some of Dr. Jack's criticisms of the late date theory are not very convincing. For example, Dr. Burney thinks that not only the concubine tribes but also some of the Leah tribes remained in Canaan. It must always be remembered, too, that the conquest ought to be assigned to the period circa 1400 B.C. because the evidence seems to require that date. The dating cannot be regarded as PROVED, but only as PREFERRED, for the evidence can be read in two ways by different scholars.

PART TWO

THE BIRTH OF ISRAEL

CHAPTER FOUR.

THE COMING OF THE SEMITES. *****

Arabia is one of the earth's great reservoirs of men. Much of it is uninhabitable, but it contains many places moist enough to bear grass. In some parts of the peninsula these are numerous enough to be within easy reach of one another, and as a result a great deal of the land is thickly populated and covered by well-trodden tracks.¹

This land is bordered on every side towards the north by more fertile districts like Palestine and Mesopotamia, a fact which has a bearing on the problem of the Israelite settlement in Canaan. For it means that intercourse takes place between the nomads of the desert and the sedentary population of these bordering lands, first by the exchange of the products of the desert such as cattle, leather and cheese, for those of the settled lands such as objects made of metal. Another important fact to be borne in mind is that the Arabian nomad is the only man who knows the desert with its deceptive landmarks and its wells, and that he is therefore fitted to be the trader who will carry the produce of one land to another across it. At

1. Myres, Dawn of History p 104.

first this trading may have started by accident; it would certainly be spasmodic. But in time it became a habit and indispensable to those who benefitted by it. Now, caravans which cross the desert must carry no unnecessary mouths, so that the natural result would be for the traders to leave their wives and children at towns which were situated or which arose at the ends of the trade routes. Thus, gradually by a kind of peaceful penetration the desert nomads of Arabia came to settle in the neighbouring lands where a settled life was possible.¹

There is still another even more effective force at work, which from time to time drives out the people of Arabia from their desert homes - a force beyond the control of man - the weather. When the climate of Arabia is moist, the land can support many pastoral communities, each with its cattle and its recognised pastures. It has been shown that there are cycles of climate and that times may come when the seasons are on the whole drier than those which have recently preceded them. Professor Ellsworth Huntington of Yale has pointed out in a remarkable book² that the climate of Asia has alternated at intervals of several centuries between wetness and dryness, and he claims that these changes have been responsible for the course of history in that continent and even in the whole world. It was these recurrent periods of dryness that

1. Myres, Dawn of History, pp 107-108.
2. "The Pulse of Asia".

compelled the hordes of Vandals, Huns, Tartars and Mongols to seek other homes in Europe where there was more rain and better pasture land.¹ The same sort of thing happened in Arabia and when such periods of relatively dry seasons came, the surplus population had either to escape from the land or to die. These weather cycles are slow in their action, so that it might be thought that escape from the drying land would be easy, nomads being always on the move. This is not so, for each tribe has its own recognised grounds which it guards jealously from the rest. The tribes living in the south of the Arabian peninsula can only get out by moving northwards where the lands of other tribes lie. Those living further north on the edge of the desert lived in a state of perpetual conflict with the sedentary peoples who would not readily allow them passage through their territory. Escape could only come in the past as it can still only come, by a general movement of the whole population. What happened was that when a dry period came and the climate began to get drier year by year, the conditions of life would get severer and severer until in some inexplicable way the spirit moved the people and the whole population surged out in an irresistible mass.

It is possible to trace four such periods of general mass movement of the population of Arabia.² The first of

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1. On the whole question of weather cycles, see Free and Hoke, "Weather". It is a popular book but reliable, being based on the work of Professor Huntington and other researchers of the first rank.
 2. Myres, Dawn of History, pp 111-112: Peet, Egypt and the Old Testament, pp 56ff.

these gave to Mesopotamia the Dynasty to which Sargon and Naram-Sin of Akkad belonged. Against them was built the wall that stretched from the Euphrates to the Tigris just north of the natural limits of Babylonia. The vigour of these invaders did not survive the enervating qualities of the rich lands of Mesopotamia and the Dynasty hardly outlived the enthusiasm of the original conquerors. The result was that the second wave of Semitic settlers which came to the land just before 2000 B.C. overflowed the first and wiped out its work.

These invaders from Arabia contributed something to the lands they occupied and at the same time took over much that they found in them.¹ They had, for example, no civilization to compare with that of lands like Egypt and Babylon, and when they settled in these lands they rapidly adopted their civilization.² At the same time they kept many of their own beliefs and practices, and these had a profound effect on the future history of the lands in which they settled. For instance they imposed their own language on Babylonia to such an extent that it became the common speech of that part of the world, while the old Sumerian speech of Babylon was relegated to ritual purposes. They also preserved their belief in a paramount

1. Hogarth, *The Ancient East*, p. 23.

2. Though, as would be expected, they might temporarily upset its even flow. Cf the effect of the Hebrew Conquest of Palestine. "There was a sudden collapse of Palestinian culture..... It does not decline: it smashes. The civilization of the country was effaced and had to be painfully built up again with the help of the cultured Philistines." Macalister, *Cent. of Excavn. in Palestine*, p164.

deity who lived in a certain spot on earth and whose dwelling could only be changed by the movement of his people as a whole.¹ It was to this belief, according to Mr. D. G. Hogarth, that the predominant position of Babylon as a religious centre was due.

Another characteristic which the Semites brought with them from the desert, and which they did not lose for long after they had settled in Palestine and elsewhere, was their restlessness the outcome of which was the annual razzia or summer raid, still obligatory on all vigorous men in Arabia.² This restlessness was the cause of the annual frontier wars in the East from Babylon to Palestine, and if the Hebrew tradition is correct which says that Abraham met Amraphel or Hammurabi in the Jordan Valley, the custom had been already established in Babylon during the First Dynasty.

In Palestine, the excavations at Gezer by Professor Macalister have given us evidence of a non-Semitic people not very highly civilized, who gave way about 3000 B.C. before a Semitic people known in the Old Testament as the Amorites.³

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1. Hogarth, *Ancient East*, p. 23. See also on these matters, Myres, *Dawn of History*, p 112.
 2. Hogarth, *Ancient East*, p. 24.
 3. "Amorite" is one of the two principal names applied in the OT to the pre-Israelite inhabitants of Palestine. The term is used in two ways. a) Of the people east of the Jordan, who were ruled by Sihon and Og. b) As a general description of the inhabitants of Western Palestine, chiefly by E and D. When it is used to distinguish two sets of people it generally refers to the dwellers in the Hill-country. (See Driver, *Deut* (ICC) p. 11). The fact that it is principally used by E and D the northern sources may show that they derived their knowledge of the names of the pre-Israelite population from sources that go back to the time of Abraham himself.

The cave dwellings of the previous inhabitants were exchanged for stone-built houses, and their sacred caves continued to be regarded with reverence and occasionally became the sanctuaries of the newcomers.¹ This Semitic invasion took place at the same time as that of Mesopotamia and was due to the same wave of emigrants from Arabia. That section which arrived in Palestine found a civilization less advanced than the Sumerian. This accounts for the great difference in civilization between the earliest Semitic invaders of Palestine and of Babylon in spite of their close kinship.

The superior Babylonian culture gradually made its way westwards, partly because of the natural drift of culture which always takes place and partly because some of the rulers of Babylon claimed dominion over Palestine and made expeditions into it. This process went on for centuries until the time of the second waves of invasion from Arabia: even then it was not altogether interrupted.²

This second migration dates from about the year 2300 B.C. In Babylonia names of gods and men of a type similar to those of the Canaanite civilization of Palestine became common. The new Dynasty in Babylonia had kings with 'Canaanite' names who transferred the capital from Akkad to Babylon, destined to become the capital of one of the world's greatest Empires. The newcomers were unable at first to conquer Ur and the surrounding district, and this was not

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1. Peters, Early Hebrew Story, p 27f.
 2. E.g. the Canaanites (the second wave of immigration into Palestine) used a Semitic script dating to the era before their coming. See 'People & the Book', p 19.

done until 1885 B.C.¹

Another section of the same wave of invaders penetrated still further north to the middle valley of the Tigris and laid the foundations of the Assyrian Empire. The early rulers of this state, at about the year 1800 B.C., like those of Babylon, bear 'Canaanite' names.² Still another branch reached the district of Haran and founded detached settlements in that region.

The same movement spread like the first, onwards into Syria and Palestine and even to Egypt. Of its expansion to these lands we have unfortunately very few records. This is the more to be regretted as these invaders were the people known as the Canaanites.³ The only account we have of that age in Palestine is the chapter in the Book of Genesis (Ch xii) which describes how the chiefs of a tribe which once lived in Babylonia moved westwards from Haran and entered Canaan from the north-east. This cannot be the invasion of the Canaanites themselves, but of another body of men who when they arrived in Palestine found the Canaanites already in occupation.⁴

1. The names of the kings of this Dynasty in Babylon included forms such as Hadad, Rimmon, and Dagon, with which we are familiar in Palestine. See on the subject, Myres, Dawn of History, pp 113ff., and also Woolley, Ur of the Chaldees, pp 161ff.
2. E.g. "Shamshi-Adad"; "Pan-Ninua"; "Ishme-Dagan" (See Baikie, The Amarna Age, p 222.)
3. The term is used as a general description of the people living West of the Jordan by J. This may indicate that his tradition was not as old as that of E and D. (See above p 58)
4. Myres, Dawn of History, p 115, apparently regards the account of the migration of Abraham in Genesis as reflecting the coming of the Canaanites to Palestine. This cannot be

Following some centuries of comparative quietness, which included the age of Hammurabi in Babylon and of the great XIIth Dynasty in Egypt, a third wave of Semites came out of Arabia and once more the balance was disturbed and the Near East entered on a period of unrest. It is in these Semites and in the other races which at the same time left their old homes to seek new ones that we are particularly interested and to them we now turn.

accepted, for the Canaanites were not recognised to be so near akin to Israel. They were the descendants of Ham, while Israel looked to Shem as its ancestor (Gen. x). Abraham's migration took place during this period, but after the Canaanite settlement proper. So much is clear from the Old Testament narratives and genealogies.

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CHAPTER FIVE.

THE HABIRU.

During the first half of the 2nd. Millenium B.C. the third of the great race migrations in Western Asia was taking place. Among the peoples involved were those known as the Hurrians, a non-Semitic race, who eventually settled in places as widely separated as Nineveh and Babylon in the East and Palestine in the West.¹ They were one of the most important races of all those who took part in the wanderings of these centuries.

The name Hurrian is the same as the Biblical Horite,² so that we can no longer regard the Horites as a pre-Edomite race confined to Mount Seir. Under the disguise of Hivites they were scattered in many other districts of Palestine.

The migrations in which they took part belonged entirely to the 2nd. Millenium, so that in the territories involved, "the Hurrians faced for the most part a population which was Semitic or semitized"³, and which had been deposited by the previous race movements. The Hurrians had a great influence on the lands to which they came. Indeed, the Hittites "owed their civilization, including most of their literature and religion"⁴ to them. The apparent southward expansion of the

1. Speiser, AASOR XIII p.32.

2. AASOR XIII p 29.

3. Do. Do. p. 32.

4. Albright JPOS XII p 255.

Hittite Empire in the 15th and 14th centuries B.C. may have been in reality a movement of the Hurrians,¹ since, as the Ras Shamra Tablets show,² they were well represented in most of Syria and Palestine.³

During precisely the same years, we come into contact with people called Habiru, who had one point in common with the Hurrians, namely, that wherever Hurrians were to be found, there Habiru were also known.³ But there the parallelism ends, for the Hurrians were an ethnic unit while the Habiru were not.

The earliest known reference to the Habiru occurs in a tablet of the time of Rim-Sin, a contemporary of Hammurabi, found on the site of his capital, Larsa. The tablet is evidently from some military archives, for it contains the phrase, "Four flounced cloaks for the sergeants of the Habiru". These Habiru were apparently mercenaries in the army of Rim-Sin. (Scheil, *Revue d'Assyriologie*, xii pp 114ff).

The Habiru appear again in some Hittite documents of the same era. An unnamed king speaks of "3000 Habiru" whom he had gathered together as a garrison. Evidently here in the heart of the Hittite Empire the Habiru were also serving as hired soldiers. (Jirku, *Wanderungen*, II 3).

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1. This may be the explanation of the difference in racial type and culture between the 'Hittites' in the south and the true Hittites in Anatolia. (See above, p. 31, note 2).
 2. Jack, *Ras Shamra Tablets*, p. 33.
 3. On the evidence for the geographical distribution of the Hurrians and Habiru, see Speiser, (*AASOR*, XIII pp 16-31). On the whole question of the Habiru see his paper, *AASOR*, XIII, pp 13-54, and also Dhorme, *RB* for 1929, p 12ff.; A. Jirku, *Die Wanderungen der Hebraer*; M. Noth, *Festschrift Otto Procksch*, pp. 99-112.; Jack, *Exodus*, Chap. vii.

The generally accepted view in the past has been that the Habiru were a definite branch of the Semitic race, and that they belonged to those wandering tribes who inhabited the edge of the desert between Palestine and Mesopotamia, that is, to those tribes who were continually making attempts to settle outside the desert and who were in the habit of taking service under the kings of the various states.¹

Dr. Hall² believes that as part of the great Hyksos movement the Habiru migrated from Mesopotamia to Haran and from there in the time of Hammurabi through Syria to Southern Palestine, coming to rest finally in Egypt. After a long time spent in Egypt and in the desert, they entered Palestine as part of the Habiru invasion of 1400 B.C.

Dr. Jirku³ accepts a somewhat similar view, based on the evidence that the Habiru are first encountered in Southern Mesopotamia before 2000 B.C.,⁴ then later in Anatolia among the Hittites between 2000 B.C. and 1500 B.C.,⁵ and lastly as invading Palestine and Syria in the 15th and 14th centuries B.C.⁶

He points out what he considers to be the similarity between the routes taken from Babylon to Palestine by the Habiru and Abraham, and concludes that the invasion of Palestine in 1400 B.C. by the Habiru of the Amarna Letters was the arrival of the people among whom Abraham's tribe was a unit.⁷

1. Burney ISC pp 74,75 and elsewhere. 2. History, Chap 9.
 3. 'Wanderungen...'. 4. Wanderungen, II 2.
 5. Wanderungen, II 3 6. Wanderungen, II 4.
 7. Wanderungen, IV.

The invasion of Palestine by the Habiru in the years following 1400 B.C. is so similar in its general outline to the Ismaelite invasion¹ that the natural suggestion was made that the two were connected and in particular that the words Habiru and Hebrew were equivalent. This equivalence is now accepted by most scholars without question. The philological equivalence is perfect.² The widespread references to Habiru at that time and others give support to the idea, and moreover it would be very strange if there were two entirely different sets of people who had names so similar and who both invaded Palestine within at the most half a dozen generations of one another.

Not only do we meet with Hebrews in the Old Testament and Habiru in the Amarna Letters, but we also hear of people called 'Aperu in Egyptian records, who appear to be in many ways akin to the Habiru-Hebrews. They are first mentioned in a folk-story of the reign of Thutmose III, and later on the

1. The Habiru of the Amarna Letters cannot possibly be connected with Abraham, as Jirku believes (Wanderungen, IV). His view would bring Abraham down far too late in history. Having accepted the truth of the statement in Gen xiv 13 that Abraham was a 'Hebrew', he is more or less compelled to think of him entering Palestine about 1400 B.C. by the way he reads the evidence of the geographical distribution of the Habiru, and by the way in which he thinks of them as advancing gradually from Babylon westwards. As against his reading of the evidence it must be pointed out that the people led by Abraham's family are never considered in the OT to have gone as far to the north-west as Anatolia, and also that it is very doubtful whether the Habiru moved from East to West as coherently as he suggests.
2. For a full discussion of the philological equivalence of Habiru and '𐤇𐤍𐤅', see Burney ISC, 68-69; ET, XXXI, 324; Jack, Exodus, p 130ff. For convenience, the English word 'Hebrew' is used throughout in place of the word '𐤇𐤍𐤅' and the diacritical mark in 'Habiru' is omitted.

Beth-shean stele¹ of Seti I which was set up about fifty years after the Habiru invasions. That there were 'Aperu in Egypt as late as the period 1300-1150 B.C. is proved by references to them in papyri of the reigns of Ramesses II and III and by an inscription of the time of Ramesses IV (1172-1166 B.C.)².

Were these 'Aperu the same as the Habiru-Hebrews?

T. E. Peet³ considers that philologically the words cannot be equated and says that the Semitic word 'Hebrew' should be '-b-r in Egyptian and not '-p-r.⁴ Jirku goes thoroughly into the question⁵ and points out that in all probability the Egyptians first came into contact with the Habiru-Hebrews through their association with the Hittites, in the era when large numbers of Habiru lived in the Hittite Empire. He points out further that the Hittites did not distinguish between the letters 'p' and 'b', so that from the Hittite pronunciation of the word 'Habiru' the Egyptians may well have taken the form 'Aperu which they adopted. Once adopted, they would see no need to change the form of the word although in later days they may have found it pronounced and written differently in Syria and Palestine. We may take it

1. Jack, Exodus, pp 237, 238. The Beth-shean stele referred to contains the phrase, "These 'Aperu from the mountains of Jordan....." (Noth, Festschrift Otto Procksch, p. 100). Noth points out that to a man in Beth-shean "the mountains of Jordan" would be those East of Jordan.
2. Jack, Exodus, p 238. Jirku, Wanderungen, III.
3. "Egypt and the Old Testament" pp 123-125.
4. Generally written as " 'Aperu ".
5. Wanderungen, III. Noth also, (loc. cit) agrees that the three terms are equivalent.

that the words Hebrew, Habiru and 'Aperu are philologically equivalent and that they refer to the same kind of people whoever they may have been.

Bound up with this question is another - the exact relation of these people, and particularly the Palestinian Habiru, to the SA.GAZ.

Jirku accepts the equivalence of the Habiru and the SA.GAZ simply on the strength of the fact that the two are mentioned side by side in the Amarna Letters and in the lists of the gods of various nations mentioned in treaties recorded on tablets at Boghaz-keui. "It can no longer be doubted that SA.GAZ is the ideogram for Habiru, as MAR.TU is for Amurru (Biblical Amorite), Ansu.KUR.RU for Dimaski¹ (Damascus), NIM.MA for Elamtu, etc."

C. F. Burney does not accept the equivalence of Habiru and SA.GAZ on philological grounds. He brings forward conclusive evidence that the ideogram SA.GAZ was ordinarily read as 'ḥabbatum'² and that under no circumstances can 'Habiru' be regarded as the syllabic equivalent of SA.GAZ. The term

1. Jirku, Wanderungen, II, 1, a. He does not face the real linguistic difficulty which Burney points out, and is too ready to accept the exact equivalence of Habiru and SA.GAZ.
2. Burney ISC pp 69ff. "That (amêlu)SA.GAZ has its normal value in the Amarna Letters is placed beyond doubt by the occurrence in a letter from Yapahi of Gezer of the form (amêlu)SA.GAZ.MEŠ(-tum). Here -tum is a Phonetic Complement, pointing to a Babylonian equivalent which ends with this syllable - a fact which indicates the equivalent ḥabbatum and excludes Ḥabiru (or -ri). In view of this we may infer that in a letter from Dagan-takala, in which he begs help of the king of Egypt - 'Deliver me from the mighty foes, from the hand of the (amêlûtu)SA.GA.AZ.MEŠ, the robber-people (amêlûtu ḥa-ba-ti), the Šutû (amêlûtu Šu-ti-i)' - we have, not the specification of three dis-

meant in Babylonian, 'robber' or 'plunderer'.¹

In spite of the fact that the word 'Habiru' and the ideogram 'SA.GAZ' do not correspond linguistically, there is evidence that in other ways they were equivalent and that they could be applied indiscriminately to the same people. We have already seen that in the Amarna Letters² Abdi-Hiba of Jerusalem called the southern invaders of Palestine 'Habiru', while princes in the north referred to them as 'SA.GAZ'. Yet both of the peoples referred to were attacking the land in precisely the same way.

Moreover, from the way in which the two names occur in the Boghaz-keui Treaties, they must refer to the same people. Dr. Jack³ gives quotations from seven treaties in which the names of the gods and goddesses of various peoples are referred to. A comparison of these treaties shows that in two of them the gods of the SA.GAZ are mentioned, while in the other five, in precisely the same context (the order of the other names being the same), the gods of the Habiru are mentioned in place of them.

In view of these facts - that the SA.GAZ were 'ḥabbatum', that is 'robbers' or 'brigands', and that the term appears to have been interchangeable with 'Habiru' - there are grave difficulties in the way of thinking of 'Habiru' as an ethnic term. After considering fully the way in

tinct classes of foes, but of two only, amêlûtu ḥa-ba-ti being simply an explanatory gloss upon (amêlûtu SA.GA. - AZ.MES." (Burney ISC p 72.).

1. Burney ISC p 70f.
2. See above, pp 15ff.
3. Exodus, p 272.

which the two sets of people are spoken about in the Amarna Letters, Landsberger considers that 'Habiru' is an appella-
 tive only and a synonym for 'ḥabbatum' and that it refers
 to the mode of life of the people to whom it was applied
 and not to their racial origin.¹ In support of this,
 it must be noted that in the Beth-shean stele of Seti I
 the equivalent term 'Aperu four times out of five has the
 determinative for 'foreign warriors' and only once that for
 'foreign land'.² With this view Noth agrees, and in support
 of it he brings forward the evidence of the recently-found
 material from Kirkuk in Iraq.³ A mound which was excavated
 there proved to be the ancient city of Nuzi, and among other
 objects it yielded a mass of legal tablets of the 15th.
 century B.C., in which the Habiru are mentioned. They do
 not appear in bands as they do in the Amarna letters, but
 are mentioned as individuals, often by name. Apparently,
 too, they were foreigners and not Hurrian natives, for when
 their names are given, they are for the most part Semitic.

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1. Kleinasiatische Forschungen, I (1929) pp 321-334.
 W. F. Albright also accepts this view (Archaeology of
 Palestine and the Bible, p.206). So also does Dhorme,
 who writes "En dehors des dieux Lulahi et Habiri il
 existe aussi des hommes Lulahi et Habiri, lesquels fig-
 urent parmi les fonctionnaires, les familiers, les hôtes
 du palais. Les mots lulahi et habiri sont donc des
 appellatifs désignant des catégories d'individus..."
 (JPOS IV pp 165-166). It is interesting to notice
 that Abdi-Hiba speaks (see Knudtzon 268, above on p. 16)
 of the servants of Zimrida 'become Habiru'. If the word
 were a true ethnic term, how could that be?
 2. Peet, Egypt and the Old Testament, pp 123f.
 3. Festschrift Otto Procksch, pp 101-103. See also,
 A. Chiera, Habiru and Hebrews, AJSL XLIX pp 115ff.

Nevertheless, there are many non-Semitic names among them, sufficient to show that the Habiru had no ethnic unity but came, some from Akkad, some from Assyria, and some from the lands which lay further west. The only bond of union they have is their peculiar legal and social position. Most of the tablets in which the Habiru appear are slave-contracts, but slave-contracts of a particular kind, in which the Habiru give themselves into slavery of their own accord.¹

It has also been shown² that the 'Aperu who worked as builder-slaves in Egypt are never referred to definitely as an ethnic unit, but that there too the term appears to be used only of people who belonged to certain political and economic groups such as mercenaries, slaves, and temple servants. To the Egyptian, the word 'Aperu meant 'a foreign soldier or labourer'. In the light of these facts, it is not impossible that the Children of Israel, who went down into Egypt under the Hyksos and were looked on favourably by them, took to giving themselves into this kind of slave service after their protectors were expelled, and so fell into the hands of the Egyptians. Had it not

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1. Cf. the two tablets translations of which are given by Chiera and Speiser in JAOS XLVII p 44, Tablets No 7, 8. These two tablets are from the palace of a rich man. No. 7 reads "Zilikupi, a Habiru, by his own word and wish, as a slave the house of Tehiptilla, the son of Puhishenni, entered." No. 8 is translated, "Sin-palti, a Habiru woman, entered of her own accord the house of Tehiptilla as a slave." In these and other documents, there is no mention made of a compensation price as with ordinary slaves, so that we must assume the Habiru held a special position.
 2. J. A. Wilson, AJSL XLIX pp 275ff.

been for Moses they would probably never have left Egypt as they did, already bound together as a national unit.

It is evident then that Böhl's thesis¹ that "all Israelites are Hebrews, but not all Hebrews are Israelites" must be given up, founded as it is on the mistaken idea that 'Habiru' was an ethnic term even when it was first applied. It was only in certain situations that the Israelites called themselves Hebrews, and even after the Conquest had taken place there was no necessary connection between the two names. Thus in 1 Samuel xiii there is described the beginning of the Israelite War of Independence against the Philistines. After the defeat of Saul at Michmash, we read, (1 Sam. xiii 6,7) "When the men of Israel saw that they were in a strait (for the people were distressed) then the people did hide themselves in caves and in thickets and in rocks and in holds and in pits. Now some of the Hebrews had gone over Jordan to the land of Gad and Gilead: but as for Saul, he was yet in Gilgal and all the people followed him trembling." Again, in 1 Sam. xiv 21 we have, "Now the Hebrews that were with the Philistines as beforetime, which went up with them into the camp from the country round about: even they also turned to be with the Israelites that were with Saul and Jonathan."

In these two passages it is quite clear that the Hebrews were to be distinguished from the Israelites: at that period in Israel's history they appear to be relatively weaker than

1. See his "Kanaanäer und Hebräer" p 67. See also Jirku, Wanderungen, Conclusion.

either the Israelites proper or the Philistines, and also to have changed their allegiance when and as it suited them.

There are also certain laws in the Pentateuch which appear to recognise that all Israelites were not necessarily Hebrews, and that the Hebrews belonged to a particular class.¹ Compare for instance Exodus xxi 2, "If thou buy an Hebrew servant, six years he shall serve and in the seventh he shall go out free for nothing", with Leviticus xxv 39, "If thy brother be waxen poor with thee and sell himself unto thee; thou shalt not make him to serve as a bondservant; as an hired servant and as a sojourner he shall be with thee." It is clear that there is a difference here. The Israelite could not enslave a brother Israelite, who if he came to such a pass that he required to do that had to be regarded as a hired servant and treated with the consideration shown to the 'sojourner'. With a 'Hebrew' it was different: a Hebrew could become a slave, though even then he must be set free at the seventh year. In the land of Canaan, then, there was a class of people living alongside those known as Israelites who might if the need arose give themselves into slavery to the Israelites. They had certain rights, as the proviso in Exodus xxi 2 shows, just as the Habiru slaves of the Nuzi tablets appear to have had.

We see then that the terms Habiru, Hebrew and 'Aperu were originally the designations used in different areas

1. Jirku, Wanderungen, I 2. See also, A. Alt, Die Ursprünge des israelitischen Rechts, p. 19, note 2.

in the Eastern world to designate a certain type of person, men apparently "without a country, either as expatriates or because no country had ever claimed them as citizens."¹

In times of peace these adventurers lived either by raids on settled communities, or individually by taking whatever work they could find to do, even though it meant selling themselves into virtual slavery. In times of war, they served as mercenaries, and in unsettled times like the late 15th and early 14th centuries B.C., since they had no homeland and owed allegiance to no man in particular, they could be a very real danger to the authorities of any land in which they then were or to which they came.

There is no doubt but that the many roving bands of Semites along the edge of the Syrian Desert would give strength to the Habiru movement, to which in spirit they were so closely allied.

When these Habiru settled for any length of time in a particular place, some sort of ethnic consciousness may have developed among that particular set of Habiru, and indeed certain religious ideas peculiar to them might evolve. This would account for the mention of gods of the Habiru-SA.GAZ in the treaties of the Hittite Empire, where we know the Habiru to have settled firmly as they settled later in Palestine.

It is clear that some such process went on in Palestine. Before the Conquest under Joshua, Habiru (Abraham and Jacob,

1. Speiser, AASOR, XIII p. 36.

as they are called in the Old Testament) wandered up and down the land, and sometimes settled peacefully in particular localities which were recognised thereafter to belong to them. These Habiru, or some of them who had not settled down, left the land and after a sojourn in Egypt came back to it as a nation and seized the whole of it by force. Thereafter, among the Israelites, the term 'Habiru' which had become for the first time a national designation at the Exodus gradually came to have also an ethnic content, so that the words 'Israelite' and 'Habiru' became synonymous. At the same time, alongside the Israelite Hebrews who had been in Egypt there must have lived in Palestine other Hebrews who had come there from elsewhere, and these might remain outside the Israelite federation long after the Conquest and Settlement was over. These would be the Hebrews mentioned in the Book of Samuel, and special laws would be made to govern the treatment of them at the hands of the Israelites.

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CHAPTER SIX.

THE PATRIARCHAL NARRATIVES.

The Old Testament traditions trace the origins of the Israelite race back to Abraham and his family, who are said to have come originally from "Ur of the Chaldees" (Gen. xi 28). This may also be taken as the intention of Isaiah xli 8,9, "Thou Israel art my servant, Jacob whom I have chosen, the seed of Abraham my friend. Thou whom I have taken from the ends of the earth, and called thee from the corners thereof." Of this passage Dr. Skinner says,¹ "It is disputed whether the reference is to the call of Abraham or to the Exodus. It is a little difficult to suppose that Egypt could be described as 'the ends of the earth' by a Jew: for although the writer may have lived in Babylonia, he could hardly divest himself of the historic consciousness of his nation, that Egypt was the neighbour of Israel. It is more probable, therefore, that he is thinking of Mesopotamia, and of the choice of Israel as effected in the call of Abraham."

According to the Scripture account, Terah the father of Abraham left Ur and went to Haran (Gen xi 31). It was

1. Isaiah (CB) ii p 21.

from Haran that Abraham himself came to Palestine (Gen. xii 5). This statement is supported by many other passages which directly or indirectly connect the ancestors of the Israelites with Aram. Abraham himself is never called an Aramaean but his ^{son} Isaac's wife Rebekah is brought from Aram-naharaim and is the granddaughter of Abraham's brother Nahor (Gen. xxiv). Her brother Laban and his father Bethuel are called Aramaeans (Gen xxv 20, xxviii 5, xxxi 20,24.). Abraham's grandson Jacob is called a wandering Aramaean (Deut. xxvi 5). All of these facts point to the belief of the Israelites that they were related to the Aramaean Semites.

After they had left Haran, Abraham with Lot his nephew and all their people and flocks moved by way of Shechem (Gen. xii 6) to Bethel (xii 8) and Hebron (xiii 18). It is worth noting that the visit to Shechem is passed over in a brief statement, but that the stay at Bethel seems to have been longer. Even more permanent appears to have been the settlement at Hebron "in the plain of Mamre". It is from there that Abraham sets out on his expedition against the Mesopotamian confederacy (Gen. xiv 13)¹.

It is now accepted that much that is related in the patriarchal narratives of Genesis cannot be taken literally. In many places it is obvious that the writers refer to the movements of tribes and clans under the disguise of the move-

1. Abraham was also connected with Beersheba. (Gen. xxi 33-34). Throughout he was chiefly associated with sacred places in the south of Palestine.

ments of individuals. A typical instance of this is to be found in Genesis xxv lff. where Abraham's descendants by his second wife Keturah are in reality tribes which Israel recognised to be distant kinsfolk of its own.¹ Again, the Biblical narratives often introduce characteristics of or statements about the patriarchs which need not be considered part of the character or life-story of the individual. The manners and outlook of the time of the writer~~s~~ are often interwoven in the ancient tradition and much of the detail of its setting may be due to his own art. For example, the characters of the patriarchs Esau and Ishmael include the distinguishing features of the tribes which looked back to them as their "founder" or "father". Ishmael is the prototype of the Bedouin of the desert while Esau the hunter is the model of the Edomites who reached an independent existence as a nation before Israel but were eventually outstripped and subdued by the latter.²

This method of tracing the ancestry and history of tribes and nations is not peculiar to Israel. It is the method used by the Arabs today and among them we find the same combination of tribal history in the form of genealogies and personal stories about eponymous ancestors. We find the same to be true of many others than the Semitic races. For example, among the Polynesians this primitive form of transmitting history is still practised, and the story of the

1. Burney ISC. p 84, note 1.
 2. Kittel, GVI. i, 436.

race is told by means of genealogies interspersed with personal tales of the ancestral heroes.¹ The fact is that to this day the same method of "writing history" is found among all people who have the same mode of life and customs as the patriarchs. It is therefore a valuable indication that this method of treating the patriarchal narratives of the Book of Genesis is justified. It is the method used now by all scholars who are authorities on the history of the patriarchal period,² and the early history of the Israelites has been built up by it. We may take one example by way of illustration. On the incident of the attack by Simeon and Levi on the prince of Shechem related in Genesis xxxiv, Dr. Burney says,³ "The story is one in which beyond a doubt we are dealing with the doings of tribes under the guise of individuals. Shechem, the son of Hamor, who contracts an alliance with Jacob's daughter Dinah, is clearly not an individual, but the personification

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1. See Robert Keable, "Tahiti, Isle of Dreams" Chap viii. Mr. Keable points out a further interesting parallel with the OT in the fact that the Polynesian history is transmitted by the priests. He shows too that oral tradition, far from being inaccurate, could be more reliable than written records under priestly care. "Not one word of all this detailed history was ever written down. It was too sacred for that. Our Bible is illustration enough of the easy falsification of records, once, in an unhistoric age, they are committed to paper, and the Polynesian wise men did better than that. Colleges of hereditary priests, teaching in special sacred buildings, saw to it that the tradition of their people was maintained and continued without the change of a syllable or the omission of a name. As the things taught were sacred, so the gods brooded there to catch the neophyte in any error and visit him with wrath."
 2. E.g. Steuernagel, Kittel, Burney, Jirku, etc.
 3. ISC. p 37.

of the city whose name he bears. We can hardly picture two men effecting, without extraneous aid, the massacre of all the males of one of the most famous cities of ancient Canaan, even if these latter were placed by circumstances in a semi-defenceless state. The terms of Jacob's expostulation with his sons lets me at once into the true meaning of the tale: 'Ye have troubled me, to make me stink among the inhabitants of the land, among the Canaanites and Perizzites, I being a few men; and they will gather themselves together against me and smite me; and I shall be destroyed, I and my house' (verse 30). The inference which we may justly draw as to the true meaning of the tale is as follows: The small Israelite tribe of Dinah enters into friendly relations and intermarriage with the Bene-Hamor of Shechem, an event which excites the resentment of the tribes of Simeon and Levi. Under cover of friendly overtures these two latter tribes treacherously attack the Shechemites when off their guard, and effect a general massacre. That the action of the Simeon and Levi tribes was repudiated by the remainder of Israel is apparent from Jacob's words which have just been quoted.¹

Throughout the whole of the patriarchal narratives,² Dr. Burney follows Steuernagel in taking every detail of the stories to be an element of tribal history. Thus he thinks of Rebecca as an Aramaic tribe which united with a

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1. See below, p 96f, where this view of the particular incident is questioned.
 2. "Die Einwanderung der israel. Stämme in Kanaan" Paragraph 6ff.

Hebrew tribe (the Children of Isaac) from which union arose the two nations Edom and Jacob. Thereafter Edom drove out the Jacobites from Canaan into Aram, where they greatly increased (Jacob's marriages) and were driven back again to Canaan by the Aramaean Laban tribe.¹

Such a use of the narratives appears to be unjustified. Lods objects to it on the grounds that it is based on the order of the traditions as they now exist.² He thinks that the traditions of the various patriarchs originally existed as independent sagas which were put into their present order later. That order, therefore, is unreliable, so that the course of Israelite history cannot be traced from it. There is nothing more certain than that a too literal adherence to the order of the Biblical tradition is dangerous, whether or not Lods' particular objection here is valid. One example of the impossibility of keeping literally to the present traditions may be given. It is usual to consider that the tribe of Reuben was called the eldest son of Jacob because at first it was the leading tribe and later gave way to Judah and Joseph. It is also the prevailing view that Benjamin, the youngest 'son', was the last tribe to enter the federation. These suppositions may well be true. But it is impossible to find any scheme which will bring into the federation the intermediate tribes in the order in which they now stand. For instance, Dr. Burney supposes that the Bilhah-tribes, Dan and Naphtali, were brought into the

1. Burney ISC p 85.

2. Lods, Israel, p 159.

federation through geographical association with the Joseph tribes,¹ who themselves were among the latest comers. If this is so, and if too all the Leah tribes were in Palestine together before the Joseph tribes,² why are the younger Leah tribes, Issachar and Zebulun, said to be younger children of Jacob than Dan and Naphtali?

The chief objection to the theory of Steuernagel and Burney is that it tends to think of the patriarchs as mere figureheads, without any historical existence, or even as tribal deities.³

H. Gunkel, following Hugo Gressmann, put another and much more workable interpretation on the patriarchal narratives. He says, "that these figures were originally the heroes of primitive narratives, i.e. so-called folk-tales, heroes who were only subsequently raised in Israel to the dignity of national ancestors. This assumes the accuracy of the opinion, which has recently come to the front..... that the oldest narratives of humanity were not myths about the gods, but folk-tales, narratives which in a later and more developed age were combined with historical reminiscences and have thus become sagas".⁴

The accepting of this theory will keep us from making the mistakes which Steuernagel made when he adhered too rigidly to the view that the stories of the Patriarchs were

1. Burney ISC p 85.
2. Burney ISC p 52.
3. Robertson Smith, Religion of Semites, p 467.; E. Meyer, ZAW, VI 16, VIII 43.
4. "What remains of the Old Testament" p 154.

tribal histories and nothing more. "We must also keep in mind the possibility that these legends contain, along with the history of peoples, some material of an entirely ¹ different kind, which is to us completely unintelligible." We are therefore delivered not only from the necessity of considering the narratives to be altogether tribal history, but also from the necessity of including every detail of them in the historical reconstruction. We may instead give freer expression to our ideas of what was most likely to have happened to the developing nation of Israel from our knowledge of what happened to other peoples who found themselves in a similar situation and ^{of} whose history we have better records.

1. Gunkel; What remains of the OT, p 152.

CHAPTER SEVEN.

THE ERA OF THE PATRIARCHS.

Whether we regard Abraham as the legendary representative of a tribe of Semites or as a historical personage, there is good reason to believe that the traditions about his wanderings recorded in the Old Testament have their roots in history in so far as they describe the connection with Palestine of a tribe originally living in Mesopotamia. But there are grounds for thinking that Abraham was at one time a living figure. In the writings of the prophets (Micah vii 20; Isaiah xxix 22f.; xli 8f. etc.; Jeremiah xxxiii 26; Ezekiel xxxiii 24) it is evident that at the time they wrote the figure of Abraham was a familiar one which could be readily referred to and appealed to as the founder of the race.¹

Again, the historicity of Abraham is required by the position of Moses in the religious history of Israel. It is impossible to understand the position of Moses unless we accept the tradition which thinks of him as coming to Israel in Egypt in the name of the God of their fathers (Exod. iii 13). He would not succeed with them unless

1. There is no need to believe that the tradition was unknown to the earlier prophets on the ground that they do not mention him. Abraham is firmly established in JE.

he came to them with a fresh revelation from the God they already knew. Furthermore, if Abraham had not actually had a place in Israelite history, there was nothing to prevent the tradition of founding the Israelite state being attributed to Moses. "To obtain a land assigned and presented to the people by Yahweh in the time of Moses was not by a single hair's-breadth less legitimate than to inherit one made over and promised to their fathers." If then the tradition upheld by Israel's historians and prophets goes back to Abraham to find the beginning of the possession of the land, we can only assume that the tradition embodies the actual course of events.

Finally, though Abraham's visit to Egypt (Gen. xii 10-20) need not have been historical, there is much to be said for the historicity of the story told in Genesis xiv. In this, which is acknowledged to be one of the oldest parts of the Old Testament, Abraham 'the Hebrew' is brought into contact with Amraphel of Shinar, Arioch of Ellasar, Chedor-laomer of Elam and Tidal of the Goyyim. These are very probably Hammurabi of Babylon, an unknown king of Larsa, a king (with the quite possible name of Kudur-Lagamar) of Elam, not known from any inscriptions, and a king of the Hittites with the name Dudkhalia, a name common among them before 2000 B.C. This collection of names belongs to a

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1. Kittel, History of the Hebrews, i 174.
 2. Though it is not impossible that it should be historical. Even at that time there were 'Hebrews' who had the habit of going down to Egypt. (See below p. 100).
 3. Driver, Gen. (West Comm) pp 171-173.: Sellin, Introduction to the OT, p 49.

period a little earlier than 2000 B.C.¹, and the story represents a battle between a confederation of semi-nomads in Palestine and the powers of that day in Mesopotamia.

We may readily accept the fact, then, that Abraham was a historical personage living about the year 2000 B.C., who settled in the South of Palestine in the district of Hebron. But there are other difficulties in the traditions about him which must be cleared up.

The Biblical account of the history of the Children of Israel states that it was Joseph, the great-grandson of Abraham, who 'went down' to Egypt. Even if it is accepted that an individual called Joseph rose to power under the last Hyksos king of Egypt, he can hardly have been so closely related to Abraham as the tradition states. Another difficulty is that Abraham appears as the leader of a relatively small band of Hebrews, while his descendants, according to the Biblical tradition as it stands, in the third generation number twelve tribes. That could not possibly happen, and it demands another explanation.

That explanation is that 'Israel' was the eponymous hero of the children of Israel and that in the years following the coming of Abraham to Palestine, the clans of which he was the leader attracted others to themselves and a large federation was formed. As Gunkel says,² "There are tribes

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1. For the identifications see, Driver, Gen. (WestComm) Pp. 156-158; Jack, Exodus, pp 220-221; Hall, People and the Book, p. 18.
 2. "What remains of the Old Testament", p. 162.

which have been formed by a large and ever-increasing number of people attaching themselves to the family of an old sheik. Of course, the actual memory of this inherited or adopted ancestry has in most cases faded in course of time, so that nothing but the historical name was left. It is intelligible enough that the nation at a later time occupied itself with the question, 'Who really was this man whose name is continually in everyone's mouth?' and the story-tellers gladly seized the opportunity of filling up this gap in the tradition. We have then to think of such an origin for the ancestral figure when a people calls itself 'the sons of so-and-so.' That is e.g. the case with Israel and Judah, but not by the way, with Abraham, for ancient Israel never called itself 'sons of Abraham'. Nor is it true of Jacob, because the historical narrative never uses the expression 'sons of Jacob', but always 'sons of Israel'." In this confederation of tribes which knew itself as the 'Sons of Israel', men like Abraham and Jacob were living figures who had once played a part in the history of one or other of the constituent tribes.¹ Round their names there gathered stories, which from their religious character appear to have been collected at the religious centres which were associated with each of them. The fact that these

1. It is very likely that Abraham was connected with what was later the tribe of Judah. Hebron, David's first capital, was Abraham's religious centre. This would explain why it was only later, in the time of the Kingdom, when Judah became prominent, that the name of its great hero of the past came to the front, and why (Judah being a strong supporter of Yahwism) Abraham was regarded more as a hero of Israel's religious life than Jacob.

sanctuaries, being at first tribal and not national, collected the stories which referred to their own origin, and that the traditions went back to different sources,¹ supports the view that early Israel was a confederation of clans.² These clans gathered together in Palestine after the days of Abraham so that by about the year 1900 B.C. there was a federation of them which recognised 'Israel', the 'ancestor' of the chief group, as their 'ancestor', and who called themselves 'the Sons of Israel'.

The exact composition of this federation can only remain a matter for speculation. There is good reason to believe³ that the original nucleus of the federation, that is those who really had the right to claim Israel as their founder, was the group of the four tribes, Reuben, Simeon, Levi and Judah, which were classed together in Biblical tradition as the eldest sons of Jacob's first wife Leah. It was later that the youngest 'sons' Joseph and Benjamin joined the federation,⁴ which they probably did just before the time of the going down into Egypt.

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1. E.g. Abraham to Ur, and Jacob to Aram. Already there is present the later distinction between the South and the North.
 2. A. C. Welch, *People and the Book*, p. 121f.
 3. See below, pp. 92ff.
 4. The tribe of Joseph was later made up of two parts, Ephraim and Manasseh. It has always been assumed that these two were continually together from the earliest days. This may be so, but it does not explain the fact that this tribe alone was divided in Israel. We shall find reason to believe that originally Manasseh and Ephraim had nothing in common (see below pp. 142ff.) Before the Exodus, then, we are to understand by 'Joseph' what later became the tribe of Ephraim.

The position of Benjamin in the federation requires to be examined, and perhaps it will be best to do this now, It is usually thought that this tribe was a later offshoot of the tribe of Ephraim, on the strength of passages like 2 Samuel xix, 16, 20, - "And Shimei the son of Gera, the Benjamite, which was of Bahurim, hasted and came down with the men of Judah to meet king David..... and said Behold, I am come this day the first of all the house of Joseph to go down to meet my lord the king." But there is nowhere after the Conquest in which we may put the rise of Benjamin as a separate tribe. It must have had its own tribal lot assigned to it very soon after the settlement, for it appears in the time of the Judges to have been already a vigorous member of the confederation.¹ Again, we shall see reason to suppose that not long after the Conquest the tribal boundaries were settled.² There is no evidence at all that the boundary line between Ephraim and Benjamin was ill-defined, or that the territory of the one tribe projected into that of the other,³ as would have been the case if Benjamin was an offshoot of Ephraim after

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1. Not only so, but it seems to have been quite clearly separate from Ephraim. The story of Judges xix, xx, was an old story even before the composition of the book as we now have it. (See Cooke, CB, p 172) Moore (Jdg. ICC. p 405) considers that it belongs to 'a much earlier period than the days of Saul.'
 2. See below p. 245ff.
 3. Albright (AASOR IV pp 150-155) has shown that the northern boundary of Benjamin is quite definite and that the evidence "does not allow for a projection of Benjamite territory into Ephraim or even for a Benjamite enclave in southern Ephraim."

the Conquest. As early as that the two must have been separate tribes. We are compelled therefore to put the entering of Benjamin into the Israelite federation before the Conquest. If we put it, as suggested, before the 'going down' to Egypt, then we could still accept the view that regards it as having arisen in Canaan, either by joining the original nucleus like the tribe of Joseph, or by its having become differentiated in some way from that tribe after it had been recognised by the rest. The accepting of the latter alternative would explain the very close tie between the tribes of Joseph and Benjamin both before the Conquest (as in the patriarchal narratives) and afterwards, as in the event already referred to in the time of David.¹

According to the Old Testament tradition, the Israelites continued to live after the time of Abraham in the South of Palestine. In the time of his son Isaac, his grandson Jacob was compelled to flee to Aram because of the jealousy of Esau. (Gen. xxvii). There Jacob married Leah and Rachel, the daughters of his uncle Laban (Gen. xxix) and later returned to Canaan, this time fleeing from Laban. When he entered Canaan on this occasion he was known as Israel, and he settled near Shechem in Central Palestine (Gen. xxxiii 18-20).

Steuernagel understands this story to represent

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1. The tie between Ephraim, Benjamin and Manasseh, was expressed by making Joseph and Benjamin the sons of Jacob's second wife Rachel. These three tribes are included in Joseph in Psalm 80.

the movements of the tribal groups Jacob-Israel and Esau-Edom.¹ Nevertheless some of the incidents related are the sort of thing which ought rather to be attributed to individuals, and in particular there is no reason to doubt the historicity of Jacob any more than that of Abraham. Jacob was the chieftain of the 'Sons of Israel', when they returned to Canaan for the second time, after having gone for a time to Aram. This return we may put about the year 1900 B.C., thinking of it as the drifting down, under pressure, of Hebrews from Aram into Palestine who accompanied the body which was later to enter Egypt as the Hyksos.

The 'Sons of Israel' on this occasion settled near Shechem, where they appear to have acquired certain rights by purchase from the people of that city (Gen. xxxiii 19). The traditional site of Jacob's Well,² which was probably on the 'parcel of ground' which he bought, is about two miles east of Shechem. Commentators have always been uncertain what to make of the phrase "Shalem, a city of Shechem" in Genesis xxxiii 18. There is still a village called Salim four miles east of Shechem which preserves the name, and it is quite likely that Shalem may have been a town under the protection of Shechem which the children of Israel occupied.³

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1. See above p.79.
 2. SBD, Article 'Jacob's Well'.
 3. Albright, Sellin Festschrift, p. 2, gives the following exact parallel from more recent history. "During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries A.D., numerous Arab tribes and clans migrated into Eastern and Western Palestine, usually remaining semi-nomadic, or, to employ the native terminology, becoming 'Arab instead of Bedu. Yet they were not content to roam about the edges of the land,

In Genesis xlviii 22 there is an obscure but nevertheless valuable allusion to the connection of Jacob with Shechem. Jacob is represented as saying to Joseph, "Moreover I have given to thee one portion above thy brethren, which I took out of the hand of the Amorite with my sword and with my bow." Dr. Driver and Dr. Skinner take this to be an allusion to the taking of the city of Shechem by Jacob, since the word rendered 'portion' is $\square \text{ד} \text{ש}$ in Hebrew. But there is no need to suppose that the city was actually taken by Jacob. In the light of its later history this is not likely.² It is probably only an attempt to explain why Shechem passed later into the possession of the Joseph tribes. Yet there is that in it which indicates that to some extent the Israelites in the time of Jacob settled in the land about Shechem not only by peaceful methods but also by warlike ones.

There is additional evidence for believing this from later Jewish traditions. In the Book of Jubilees (xxxiv 2-8) there is an account of a battle between the descendants of Isaac and some kings of the Amorites.³ Jacob, Levi, Judah and Joseph were in the house of Isaac when the kings

in the coastal plains, Esdraelon and parts of the Jordan valley and Galilee, but they also occupied numerous villages, generally by a process which reminds one forcibly of the first phase of the occupation of Palestine by the Hebrews in the 'Patriarchal Age'. See also, Gen(ICC) and Gen(WestC) on the verse.

1. Gen.(ICC) p 507: Gen.(WestC) p.378.
2. Burney (ISC p 44) evidently considers that Simeon and Levi had possession of Shechem at one time. There is no need to suppose this.
3. See R. H. Charles, Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the OT. ii p 64.

of Taphu, Aresu, Selagun and Ga'as, who were Amorites, and the king of Beth-horon, plundered the land belonging to them.¹ The Israelites went out against them with 6000 men and "slew them in the pastures of Shechem" (Jub. xxxiv 7). The Testament of Judah also tells us of fighting by Jacob near Shechem (Chapters iii-vii), in which Hazor (a town near Shechem) and Tappuah are mentioned as well as Shiloh.² We are also given an account of the stratagem by which Judah and Dan took Gaash. Dr. Charles maintains that this tradition, though it is obviously a late one, appears to be trustworthy and that it shows that in the days of the patriarchs Israel could lay some claim to the districts about Shechem. The Israelites appear to be relatively weak compared with the native population, and there is no evidence that Shechem itself is in their hands.

We are thus able to conclude that some at least of the tribes of the confederation later known as the 'Sons of Israel' were in the district of Central Palestine in the days of the Patriarchs, and possibly about the year 1900 B.C. Is it possible to determine which of the tribes were there at that time?

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1. Taphu is Tephon, mentioned in 1 Maccabees ix 50.
Aresu is Hazor near Shechem, mentioned in 1 Macc. xi 67.
Selagun or Selo is Shiloh.
Ga'as is Gaash in Mount Ephraim (Josh. xxiv 30).
 2. R. H. Charles, Apocrypha, ii p. 316. It is not quite clear whether or not Shiloh is meant.

There is sufficient evidence for the presence of the two tribes Simeon and Levi in Central Palestine at this period in the story of the attack which they made on Shechem.¹ Along with these two there were some of the other tribes. We have just seen ^{that} the Book of Jubilees states that Jacob, Judah, and Joseph were along with Levi at that time and that the Testament of Judah puts Judah at least in that district. To this evidence may be added that of the sections of Genesis xxxvii attributed to J, in which Judah takes a leading part in the incident of the 'selling' of Joseph into Egypt. J puts this incident in Dothan (Gen. xxxvii 17). All of these pieces of evidence indicate that at this period, i.e. just before the going down to Egypt of the Joseph tribe, Judah and Joseph at least ~~w~~ present with Simeon and Levi at Shechem. X

The E sections of Genesis xxxvii mention Reuben in place of Judah, and picture him as being anxious for the safety of the lad Joseph. The final home of this tribe was East of Jordan in the district north of the Arnon, where it eventually was encroached on from the south by Moab. It is referred to in such a way in the Blessing of Jacob (Genesis xlix 3,4), and in the Blessing of Moses (Deut. xxxiii 6) in a way that indicates that at first it had been the leading tribe of the Israelite confederation, but that later it sank into a position of unimport-

1. See below p. 95ff.

ance, probably because the territory it occupied became a bone of contention between Israel and Moab. Now in the Book of Joshua (xv 6, xviii 17) the boundary between Judah and Benjamin on the east where the land rises from the Jordan into the Hill Country is defined at one point by "the stone of Bohan the son of Reuben". This may be taken to indicate that before the Conquest the tribe of Reuben was with the rest in the Central Highlands and that it left the mark of its presence there in this way.¹ The very fact too that the later traditions regarded Reuben as the eldest son of Jacob points to the fact that it must have been at the beginning with the nucleus of the 'Sons of Israel'. For the rest of the tribes there is no reliable evidence of their having been present with the others at this time. Indeed, as we shall see, there are good reasons for believing that they did not join the Israelite confederation until after the Conquest was over. There were, therefore, six tribes together in the Centre of Palestine at a time shortly before the descent to Egypt,

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1. Burney uses the incident of the outrage by Reuben on Bilhah (Gen. xlix 3,4) as evidence that at one time the tribe of Reuben dwelt west of Jordan in a position from which it could encroach on the territory of a clan called Bilhah, which later became the two clans Dan and Naphtali. But if we are right in thinking that it was later that these clans joined the rest, there is no need to bring this forward as evidence. The right way of looking at the incident is shown by Gunkel (What remains of the OT, p. 159) to be as follows. The fall of Reuben from its early pre-eminence is explained by Israel as due to its having been cursed by the national ancestor, and to this accursed son is transferred the popular motif of the seduction of the father's concubine and the resulting expulsion of the son from the family. The only historical element is the tradition of the fall of the tribe.

Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Joseph and Benjamin.

It must have been about this time that there took place the incidents related in Genesis xxxiv, which resulted in the weakening of two of the tribes of Israel to such an extent that in later days one of them disappeared altogether as a separate tribe in Israel and the other became practically a part of the tribe of Judah. This incident is related before Chapter xxxvii in which we are told of the selling of Joseph into Egypt, and there is no good reason for doubting that it did actually take place before that event.

The story as we have it in Genesis xxxiv shows evidence of a two-fold tradition. In the one strand, Dinah the daughter of Jacob goes out to "see the daughters of the land" (xxxiv 1), and is ravished by Shechem the son of Hamor the Hivite. She returns home (cf. verse 17) and Shechem tries to get his father to arrange a marriage (verse 4). Hamor seeks out Jacob and his sons (verses 6,7) and suggests that the Shechemites should agree to a general connubium with Israel and that Shechem should marry Dinah (verses 8-10). Jacob's sons agree on condition that the whole of the Shechemites be circumcised (verses 13, 15-18). Hamor persuades his people to undergo the rite (verses 20-24) and while they are incapacitated the sons of Israel attack the city, kill all the men, capture the women and children and carry off the spoils (verses 27-29). The sequel is found in Genesis xxxv 5, where the "terror of God" keeps

the natives of the district from attacking the Israelites as they remove themselves southwards to Bethel.

In the other strand of the story, Shechem abducts Dinah and keeps her in his house (verse 26). He asks her in marriage from Jacob and his sons, offering to accept any conditions they desire to impose (verses 11,12). They raise an objection concerning circumcision and finally consent on terms with which Shechem himself complies (verse 19). Simeon and Levi, however, decide that the insult can only be wiped out in blood. They gain access to Shechem's house, slay him and take back Dinah (verses 25,26). Jacob reproves them for their action, which they justify (verses 30, 31). There does not appear to be any sequel to this strand of the story.

We have seen that Dr. Burney considers this as an incident in which tribes are considered under the guise of individuals.¹ The point he makes is that it is difficult to imagine two men massacring the whole population of a city like Shechem. In answer to this it may be said that the detail of the massacre of the whole population is one of the details in the story that is most certainly un-²historical. Dr. Skinner, on the other hand, thinks that a literal outrage of the kind described was the cause of a racial quarrel, and refers to the following parallel from Doughty's 'Arabia Deserta'. "One year when the Annezy Arabs

1. See above pp 78-79.

2. Genesis (ICC) p 421. Dr. Burney acknowledges the possibility of the incident belonging to personal and not tribal history.

passed by with their cattle they pitched by the Kheybar valleys, as in a place of much water. An Annezy maiden entered Kheybar to see the daughters of the town; and there a young man was wounded for her love, who enticed the gazing damsel.....he was the Sheik Okilla's son. The poor young woman went home weeping; - and she was a sheik's daughter. This felony was presently reported in the nomad's encampment and, 'It was not to be borne that a virgin should suffer violence', said all the Bedu. The Annezy Sheiks sent to require satisfaction from the Sheik of Kheybar; who answered them shortly that the Annezy should no more water there. On the morrow the town Sheik, Okilla, rode to the nomads' encampment, with a few horsemen, and defied them. The Bedu set furiously upon them; and Okilla fell, and there were slain many of his people. The Bedu now overran all; they conquered the villages, and bound themselves by oath not to give their daughters to the people of Kheybar for ever.¹"

This incident may therefore be accepted as belonging to the personal history of individual men and women of the day. The attack which must have been made by way of re-

1. Compare the following incident referred to by Albright in 'Sellin Festschrift' p. 2. "Three generations ago, an Arab clan took up its abode on the outskirts of Dura, in southern Palestine. First it carried on trade and had business dealings with the fellahin, followed by inter-marriage with one of the peasant clans. Then came an attack by a peasant youth on an Arab girl, which gave the excuse for a joint plot of the Arabs and their allied peasant group to exterminate the other native clans. A feast was prepared for the local notables, who were treacherously butchered, while at the same time a surprise

prisal resulted in the weakening of the two tribes who had been the leaders in the affair, and the withdrawal of the whole federation in the direction of Bethel (Chapter xxxv, lff.)². Probably the Israelites as a whole were strong enough to keep the Shechemites from following up their attack on Simeon and Levi with a general attack on the whole federation, but not strong enough to carry out the wholesale slaughter of the Shechemites in the manner imagined by one of the Biblical accounts of the incident. We must remember that there were Canaanites in Shechem at the time of the Conquest and for long after.

The Israelites appear to have stayed for some time at Bethel, or more probably at a point between Bethel and Jerusalem, with their headquarters at the spot east of Bethel itself which was associated with Jacob and Abraham (Gen. xxviii lff., xii 8). After a time they began to

attack resulted in the slaughter of most of the men of the village, who were on the threshing floors. Some of the native clans were then forced to attach themselves to the conquerors, while others fled to neighbouring villages. The saga of Dura sounds curiously like the saga of the Hebraising of Shechem."

1. We are not told that these reprisals took place, but judging by what took place in the parallel incidents referred to by Doughty and Albright, it is very likely that it did. If it did not, then we must suppose that the tribes of Simeon and Levi were much weakened in the attack they made on Shechem. Certainly in the narrative of Genesis xxxiv, Jacob appears to fear the possibility of reprisals.
2. That is, supposing that Genesis xxxv follows immediately on Genesis xxxiv, which there is no reason to doubt.

think of returning once more to their original home near Shechem, and in that district we eventually find them. (Gen. xxxvii 12).

From there the Joseph tribe went down to Egypt. It is usual to accept the reason given in the Old Testament for this, namely that the older tribes were jealous of the strength of the latest comer to the federation and forced it to leave the land. Gunkel¹ believes rather that this is a case where the historical statements are an attachment to a folk-tale, the folk-tale being the important element in the narrative. In essence the story deals with the jealousy of older brothers for a younger one who is a better character than they are. The tale, Gunkel points out, follows the usual course of similar folk-tales found, containing the same motif, all over the world. The same details occur in every version of the tale, no matter in what country it is found. In all of this folk-tale as it was told in Israel, "the only historical presupposition is that the tribe of Joseph was considered to be the youngest and best among the tribes."

This interpretation of the narrative of the selling of Joseph into slavery delivers us from the necessity of thinking that it was due to a jealous quarrel that the Joseph tribe had to go down to Egypt. Yet we must think

1. "What remains of the OT" p. 161.

of at least some part of the Israelite federation going down to Egypt at this time. There is no good reason against accepting the view that it was indeed the Joseph tribe and it alone which first did so. Why it acted in this way we cannot tell, but it was only doing what innumerable small bands of Semites did both before and after.

If the tribe did go down to Egypt about the year 1875 B.C. and stay there any length of time, it must have lived there under the Hyksos kings. The prevailing view is that the Joseph tribe must have gone down to Egypt either along with or after the Hyksos,¹ as such an entry of Semites into the land would be most easily accomplished while they were there. But it was not impossible either before or after their time. Dr. Hall instances a picture on the walls of a tomb at Beni Hasan in Egypt which "has been regarded as a possible representation of the coming of precursors of the Israelites, and so in a sense it is, since it is an interesting picture of one of the many groups of Semitic immigrants that were filtering into Egypt, and even reached Upper Egypt, at this time, to culminate in the armed invasion of the Hyksos."² Whenever there was a famine in Palestine, Semitic Bedawin tribes were in the habit of entering Egypt where there was plenty of corn, even after the Expulsion of the Hyksos. In an inscription of the end of the XVIIIth or beginning of the XIXth Dynasty,

1. Burney ISC p 87.

2. People and the Book, p 5.

officials of Egypt are shown receiving instructions about the treatment of Asiatics who in a time of famine had asked for permission to be allowed to settle in the land, and who "base their request upon immemorial custom".¹

The going down of the Joseph tribe to Egypt was certainly not an armed invasion like that of the Hyksos. It is rather to be thought of as just another of these small processions of Semites into Egypt which took place even before the time of the Hyksos. It is only natural to suppose that under these rulers, who numbered Semites among them, a Semitic tribe might receive special favour.

Immediately after this incident in the Book of Genesis,² there follows an account of how Judah "went down from his brethren" and married a Canaanite woman of Adullam. The story goes on to tell of the birth of three sons Er, Onan and Shelah, and of how the two elder were slain by Jehovah for wickedness. This we may think of as intended to express the fact that the tribe of Judah now entered into relations with the Canaanites, and that two of the oldest tribes disappeared. The story of the relations of Judah with Tamar shows a consciousness of the fact that there was an admixture of Canaanite blood in the tribe, with the secondary purpose of impressing the duties of the levirate law on the people of Israel. It is possible too that the Tamar of the story stands for the town of Tamar which lay somewhere

1. Burney ISC p 46. See also, on the immigration of Semites into Egypt before the Hyksos, Speiser, AASOR, XIII 46-47.
2. Genesis xxxviii.

in the Negeb, and which Judah made two unsuccessful attempts to capture, before settling down to occupy it by peaceful penetration.¹ Thereafter the tribe of Judah by intermarriage with the Canaanites prospered and grew strong. Through the two clans which resulted from this intermarriage of the Judahite nucleus and the Canaanites the tribe was later to come into prominence, for from the one of them, Perez, came the clans of Jerahmeel; Ram (the ancestor of David the king)² and Caleb.

Behind the whole story lies the thought that the tribe of Judah was permanently settled in Canaan, that it traced back its occupation of the South directly to Abraham, and that it took no part in the stay in Egypt and the Exodus.³ Thus there would be accounted for various facts that distinguished the tribe from the others - its isolation and the mixed nature of its clans and families. In spite of these things however it knew itself to be justified in claiming a place with the other tribes at the time of the conquest, a claim based on the short or relatively short association it had with them before they went down to Egypt.

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1. See SBD 'Tamar', and Steuernagel, Einwanderung pp 79ff. Steuernagel goes too far in his ethnological explanation of the story. On the whole, the incident of Tamar appears to describe tribal history rather than personal history. It will appear later that the nucleus of the tribe of Judah was already to be found somewhere in the Southern Negeb when the Israelites arrived at Kadesh. (See below, p 126f.)
 2. See the genealogical table on p. 264. The appearance of Caleb shows that these genealogies were composed to account for the presence of Canaanite elements in Judah.
 3. See Meyer, Israel und ihre Nachbarstämme, 104, 204, 433.

Dr. Burney and many other scholars consider that the Joseph tribe was the only one which sojourned in Egypt. But the Old Testament mentions the fact that after Joseph had come into prominence under Pharaoh "Israel took his journey with all that he had and came to Beersheba and came into Egypt, Jacob, and all his seed with him." (Gen. xlvii 1, 6). When they arrived there, Pharaoh assigned them the land of Goshen in which to live (Gen. xlvii 28 - xlviii 12). This is not at all impossible historically, especially if there were a severe famine in Canaan at the time. We shall see that there is reason to believe that the tradition which thinks of a man Joseph as rising to power in Egypt is quite credible, and if this happened as we suppose during the reign of the last Hyksos king, it would be to that period that we would assign the entry of the rest of Israel into Egypt and its settlement in Goshen.

In support of the theory that other tribes of Israel went down to Egypt, though later than the Joseph tribe, may be mentioned the fact that the Biblical tradition in which this is recorded comes from one of the oldest sources. Again, in the story of Joseph, Simeon is spoken of as kept in Egypt at the command of Joseph. (Gen. xlvii 24, 26; xlviii 23). The fact too that Moses is born in Egypt of Levite parents shows that at some time this tribe must also have been in Egypt. We are justified in thinking that during

1. See below p. 107f.

the Oppression in Egypt more than one of the tribes of Israel was in the land. We have already seen that it was unlikely that Judah was numbered with them then, and it is also very probable that some clans in the district of Shechem, having settled down more completely than the rest, did not leave their homes and were found there again when those who went down to Egypt returned four hundred years later.¹

In later history the tribe of Levi as a secular unit in Israel disappeared altogether. Because of this, there is a widely favoured view that there never actually existed a tribe of Levi, but that the name 'Levite' was the official title of any man who had received the training for the priesthood, to whatever tribe he belonged. This idea is based on the account of the adventures of the Levite in Judges xvii 7ff., who belonged to the tribe of Judah, and on the application of the term to Aaron in Exodus iv 14, in a manner which denotes his profession and not his ancestry. The name 'Levi' has been explained as denoting a man who had 'attached himself' to the priestly office, that is a cleric as distinct from a layman. The verb from which the noun is derived is uncertain: some take it to be from לָוַי (to attach) and others from לֵוָי (Leah) the 'mother' of the tribe. The allusions to Levi in the Blessing of Moses (Deut xxxiii) are quite different to the allusions in the older Blessing of Jacob (Gen. xlix). In the older docu-

1. If the other tribes followed Joseph down to Egypt later, then it is unlikely that they quarrelled previously: this supports Gunkel's interpretation. It is to be noted too that any clans settled in villages about Shechem would

ment Levi is regarded as a secular tribe on a level with Simeon. The more recent Blessing of Moses still regards Levi as a tribe, but as a tribe set apart from all the rest for the exercise of priestly duties. The evidence of the Book of Genesis for the existence of a secular tribe of the name is too good to be explained away. Nor can we assume that the secular tribe died out and the priestly tribe took its place, both by chance having the same name. "The only legitimate course, upon the evidence we possess, seems to be the holding to the Biblical tradition that a tribe originally secular came, through special circumstances, to be invested with priestly functions." (Burney ISC p 45).

Evidence to form a theory of the history of this transition is scanty and is also obscured by the addition of matter representing the later point of view, and any theory proposed must be regarded as only tentative.

Through its association with Simeon at Shechem, we may suppose that the tribe of Levi went down with the rest of the 'Sons of Israel' to Egypt. It appears that it was from the end of the period of the Sojourn in Egypt that there was dated the beginning of the transition of the tribe from a secular to a priestly unit in Israel. For the one basic fact is that they inherited the privilege from Moses, who himself had been a member of the tribe. In the oldest tradition (Exod. xviii 14ff.; xxxiii 7-11) Moses occupies the position of sole intermediary between Israel

have a more highly organised form of agriculture than those which remained semi-nomadic and would be better able to meet a famine, and therefore would not have the reason for migrating which they had.

and Jehovah. Nothing is said of the participation by Aaron in these priestly functions, and the only connection he has with the 'Tent of Meeting' is that he goes there with Miriam to be rebuked for speaking against Moses. It is obvious that the expression 'thy brother Aaron the Levite' represents the later point of view, according to which Aaron was the priest par excellence, and so cannot be used to decide the question of the origin of the Levites.

It is also probable that after the Exodus the main part of the tribe of Levi accompanied Simeon, with which it had always been closely associated, northwards from Kadesh and in time like Simeon became more closely associated with Judah than with Israel. This would account for the fact that the Levites were connected with Judah (Jdg xvii 7ff. xix 1) and supplied its priestly needs in the days when it was still isolated from the tribes of central and northern Palestine, "though single Levites might wander northward in search of a livelihood through the exercise of priestly functions which they were fitted to discharge by birth as well as by training."

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1. Burney ISC p 50. The outline of the theory of the history and fortunes of the tribe of Levi is based on that of Dr. Burney (ISC pp 44-50), though in the details of the movements of the secular tribe his view is different from that expressed here.

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CHAPTER EIGHT.

THE SOJOURN IN EGYPT AND THE EXODUS.

Although strictly speaking the Sojourn in Egypt and the Exodus are outside the subject we are considering, a short discussion of them will be of value in linking up the history of Israel before and after the conquest.

We have already seen that there is some ground for believing that the tribe of Joseph went down to Egypt from Canaan about the year 1375 B.C.¹ The Biblical account thinks of the Joseph who was sold into slavery as the man who rose to power in Egypt. But if we are right in suggesting that the tribe went down before the main body of the Hyksos, then if an individual in that tribe did become prominent towards the end of the Hyksos period, he was one who bore the same name as the tribe. There is no difficulty in the way of accepting that as what actually took place.

1. See above, p 100. Dr. Jack (see above p. 46) thinks of the Jacob tribes as those which went down to Egypt at that date, but it is better to think of them following the Joseph tribe at a later date. Gressmann's view should be mentioned here. He considers (Mose und seine Zeit, pp 399-400, 404-405) that the Habiru were a wave of Aramaean settlers and invaders who came to Palestine before Israel, which only reached the borders of Palestine about 1300 B.C. Some of them went down immediately to Egypt for two generations, about 50 years, and came out again in the reign

It is interesting to find in an inscription at El-Kab¹ from the tomb of a certain Baba an account of a long-continued famine in Egypt. The Nile overflows so regularly each year that a famine such as that is very rare. The time at which Baba lived was the end of the XVIIth Dynasty, coinciding with that at which we suggest Joseph to have lived. It is not out of place to identify this long famine with that which the Biblical tradition believes to have occurred in his day. At the very least, the coincidence of the date of this famine in Egypt with the conjectured date for the life of Joseph is of real weight as a support for the suggestion that Joseph flourished under the last of the Hyksos kings.

Although the Biblical tradition of Exodus i does not give a definite period of years to the oppression of Israel which followed the rise of a new Pharaoh, it leaves with us the impression that the oppression was real and that it lasted for a considerable time. It certainly gives no support to Dr. Hall's theory that the Exodus was related to the expulsion of the Hyksos. There are other places where the length of the stay in Egypt altogether is said to have been "four hundred and thirty" years, (Exod. xii 40) and until "the fourth generation" (Gen. xv 16). In Exodus vi 16-20, Moses

of Ramesses II, settling in Canaan about the year 1230. The difficulties in the way of accepting this theory are that the wilderness period is too short and that fifty years is not a long enough period for the stay in Egypt.

1. See Gen. (West C) p. 346. There was a long famine in Egypt during the years 1064-1071 A.D., so that a seven years' famine in the days of Joseph was quite possible. It may not have lasted more than two years in Canaan, but this would be sufficient for taking the tribes to Egypt.

appears as the grandson of Kohath the son of Levi, so that that passage is in agreement with Genesis xv 16. Numbers xvi and Numbers xxvi 5-9 make Dathan and Abiram, who were contemporaries of Moses and Aaron, the great-grandsons of Levi's brother Reuben. All of these data are from the genealogies of the Priestly School and therefore to be treated as useless for historical purposes, because of the fact that in tracing the ancestry of any man only the important figures in his ancestral line would be mentioned. The fact that the various genealogies quoted all agree in putting Moses in the fourth generation from Joseph may just be a coincidence.

There is more to be said for the accuracy of the figure "four hundred and thirty years" given in Exodus xii. It is not a round number like so many of the numbers in the history of the period. The inconsistency of the number with the rest of the data probably led to the variant reading of the Septuagint and Samaritan Pentateuch, which add the words 'and in the land of Canaan', thus making the four hundred and thirty years include the patriarchal period in Palestine. But an examination of the passage shows that this cannot be correct for the reference is quite clearly to the sojourn in Egypt alone. Nevertheless the figure may be correct and may have been preserved in a tradition known to P and not to other sources.

If then we accept the year 1875 B.C. as the approximate date of the entry of the Joseph tribe into Egypt, we would

arrive at the date circa 1445 B.C. as the date of the Exodus, at which time Moses was evidently a man in the prime of life. Dr. Jack says that it is a singular coincidence that Moses must have been born at the time that Hatshepsut was rising to power, and that she may well have been "the Pharaoh's daughter" who is said to have adopted him. He considers that Moses must have been about fifty three years old at the time of the Exodus.¹ He was evidently an old man at the time he died.² We shall see that his death is probably to be fixed at about the year 1400 B.C., at which time he would be about a hundred years old. This is not impossible but perhaps it would be better to think of him as about forty-five at the time of the Exodus and as about ninety when Israel arrived at the borders of the Promised Land.

Further incidental support for this as the date of the Exodus is given by the very name borne by the deliverer of Israel. 'Mose' is an element in many of the royal names of the XVIIIth Dynasty in Egypt and seems to have been more common then that at any other time.³ The names 'Thutmose' means "Thut is born", and the use of 'Mose' by itself would be parallel to the Hebrew use of a name like Nathan (He has given) alongside the fuller form Jehonathan (Jehovah has given). That is to say, 'Mose' would simply mean 'son'. The fact that the word has no good interpretation in Hebrew

1. Jack, Exodus, pp 253-254.

2. See below p. 148.

3. On the question of the name 'Moses' see Burney, ISC p 47, note 2.

and has in Egypt in the XVIIIth Dynasty is an argument for connecting Moses with that age.

Without going further into the question here, we may agree with those scholars who date the Exodus about the year 1445 B.C. under Amenhotep II.

It is not certain what direction the Israelites followed after leaving Egypt. Dr. Hall claims that it was the same¹ as that followed by the retreating Hyksos, but this view is decisively² rejected by Dr. Jack who points out that no section of the Hyksos appears to have retreated in the direction of Kadesh, but that they all went by way of Sharuhem to Syria. He shows that the account of Manetho which Josephus quotes and relies on does not bear the least resemblance to the Israelite Exodus.

According to their traditions the Israelites came to Kadesh (Num. xiii 26 etc.). This is generally identified with the modern 'Ain Kudeis, about fifty miles south of Beersheba.³ Woolley and Lawrence state that Kadesh must have lain somewhere in the Wilderness of Zin to the West of Edom.⁴ Assuming that there were some thousands of the Israelites, they decide that only two courses would be open to them. The first was that they scattered all over the

1. See above, p. 43.

2. Jack, Exodus, p. 174f.

3. Driver, Deut (ICC) p.6.

4. "The Wilderness of Zin", Chapter IV, especially pp 70-79, 86-89.

wilderness in small groups and later re-united to enter Canaan. This is unlikely, as the task of gathering the clans together again after a generation would be wellnigh impossible even for a man like Moses. The other course that could be followed was for the federation to keep together all the time. In this case Kadesh must have included the whole of the Kossaima district, for there is not water and pasture at 'Ain Kudeis for more than a few families. It may well have been that Israel coming there from the direction of Akaba may have happened on the spring at 'Ain Kudeis first, and later called the whole district by the name Kadesh.¹ The conclusive points, however, in the opinion of Woolley and Lawrence, are a) that only in the Kossaima district could enough water and pasture be found to support a large number of people for any considerable length of time; b) that the district is strategically suitable, for to the West stretched the Darb el Shur to Egypt by an inland route, while to the North the same road led to Hebron and would make it easy for the spies to get there, and to the East a choice of routes all led by the Araba to Jebel Harun, the traditional site of Mount Hor. It is ~~almost~~ certain then that the Israelites were stationed at Kadesh (which we understand to be the Kossaima district of the Wilderness of Zin) during their time in the wilderness. Nor are they likely to have left the district for any length of time, for only there could they find enough to support life.

1. Though Kadesh and Kudeis do not mean the same thing, as Woolley and Lawrence point out.

The length of the Israelites' stay at Kadesh is quite uncertain. Deuteronomy i 46 says only "many days", and the same phrase is used for the length of the wandering about Edom (Deut ii 1). Deuteronomy ii 14 refers to the journey from Kadesh to the Wady Zered as lasting for 38 years, until all the generation which came out of Egypt had died, and it does so in terms which imply that the Israelites paid only one visit to Kadesh. Yet the JE narrative in the Book of Numbers as it stands¹ appears to regard these years as spent at Kadesh. The Biblical traditions about the stay at Kadesh are therefore quite at variance, and we can only presume that for other reasons, such as the adequate development of a firm belief in Jehovah, the stay at Kadesh was² reasonably long.

The traditional period of the 'forty years' wandering in the wilderness is open to suspicion on the ground of the fact that the number 'forty' is used in Hebrew and other Semitic languages as a synonym for 'many'. It is very frequently mentioned as the length of the wilderness wanderings (Num. xiv 33f., xx 22f., xxxii 13, xxxiii|38f., Deut. ii 14, Amos ii 10, v 25); but it is also used to fix the length of such uncertain lengths of time as the interval

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1. Driver, Deut. (ICC) p 32.
 2. Dr. Jack thinks that if Mt. Sinai were placed somewhere among the Jebel-el-Makrah hills S.E. of 'Ain Kadeis, many of the difficulties inseparable from the traditional site at Jebel Musa would be removed. It would, for example, be possible for Israel to make frequent visits to the mountains without going far from Kossaima. This would conflict with Deut. i 2, which says that it is eleven days journey from Sinai to Kadesh (though the text there is confused). The site of Sinai must remain uncertain.

during which the land had rest after the victories of the Judges Othniel and Gideon (Jdg. iii 11, viii 28), the judgeship of Eli (1 Sam. iv 18) and other events. The suggestion has been made that the number is really intended to represent a generation, that is about 25-30 years,¹ and that the number 'forty' is in this connection altogether artificial. But that does not dispose of the figure altogether. "Have we really disposed of (these figures), when they are bracketed and declared late insertions in the text? Where did the later writers get hold of them?"²

Is there any reason to believe that the figure of forty years so commonly quoted in the Old Testament as the length of the period spent in the wilderness is anywhere near the truth? There are places (Deut. ii 16, Num. xiv 35, xxvi 64f.) where it is said that the whole generation which came out of Egypt had died by the time that the attack east of Jordan was launched. If this tradition can be relied on, then the period in the wilderness is likely to have been in the neighbourhood of forty years. It would take at least that length of time for all the adults who were living at the time of the Exodus to grow old and die. To consider that the wanderings in the wilderness lasted not just for a generation of 25-30 years, but for between forty and fifty years would allow the Biblical tradition to

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1. Kennedy, Samuel (Cent B.) p. 30, note 2. The usual age of marriage among Bedouin today is from 20-24 years. (See Thomas, With Lawrence in Arabia, p. 174).
 2. Luckenbill, AJT, XXII, p. 39.

stand as true to history. It would also fit in with the rest of the scheme of the Exodus and Conquest which we have arrived at.¹

The number of the Israelites who took part in the Exodus and the wandering in the wilderness and later in the Conquest, as it is given in the Book of Numbers (i 46, xxvi 51) is quite obviously unhistorical. A reasonable estimate of the true number can be made from the indirect references which we find elsewhere, supported by the consideration of the number of people which the district of Kadesh could be expected to support.

The number of fighting men in Israel at the Exodus, as given by the Priestly source, is in the region of 600,000. This would give a total population of about two million souls. Besides this there would be flocks and baggage animals. Even if we supposed that only the 'Sons of Joseph' are to be reckoned, we would have an army of about 73,000 men and a total population of about 300,000 men women and children.

Attempts have been made to remove the difficulty by taking the 'thousands' to mean 'family groups' and the 'hun-

1. Other two pieces of evidence should also be mentioned. In Jdg. xi 26, the length of the stay of Israel on the East of Jordan from the Conquest until the time of Jephthah (which appears to have been near the end of the period of the judges) is given as 300 years. This gives us again approximately at least the year 1400 B.C. for the Conquest. There is in Gen. xxxvi 31-39 a list of the kings of Edom before Saul. Taking 25-30 years as the average length of a reign, we arrive at a date about 1250 B.C. for the time of Moses. This calculation depends on the equating of Bela, son of Beor with Balaam, son of Beor, which is very doubtful. (See Lods, Israel, p. 185).

dreds' to mean the number of individuals.¹ The tribe of Joseph would thus consist of seventy-two family groups with 700 individuals in them - a much more likely number. This is an attractive supposition, but it entirely disregards the statement that this numbering refers only to the fighting men and also the fact that if the one Hebrew word does mean both 'thousand' and 'family group', in the latter sense it means a larger unit than the inmates of a single tent.² Again, it must be remembered that, whereas at the Exodus the six tribes - Ephraim, Benjamin, Manasseh, Naphtali, Zebulun and Issachar - number from 273,000 to 301,000 men, at the time of Deborah they number only 40,000 (Jdg. v 8). Also in Judges xviii it is related that the Danites had not been successful in settling the territory they occupied in Central Palestine and that 600 armed men of them set out to find a new home in the north. These men must have been representatives of a substantial part of the tribe.

We are compelled to think, then, of the large numbers of the Israelites who were said to have entered Canaan at the Conquest as either wholly imaginary, or what is more likely, as being the numbers in the various tribes at a much later date when, along with the Canaanites who had been absorbed into Israel, the total number of the people might quite well have been 2,000,000.³

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1. Num (CB) p. 7. This is accepted by Garstang as part of the explanation (JJ p 120).
 2. Cf. Numbers i 16.
 3. Albright (JPOS V pp 20-25) gives excellent reasons for considering that these numbers given in Num i and xxvi are 'a garbled version of the Davidic census'.

We have therefore nothing definite to go on in trying to get an idea of the number of the Israelites who came to Palestine under Moses and entered it under Joshua. We are reduced to making estimates by using the incidental facts that the Bible gives, as for example in the number of the Danite soldiers mentioned above. These incidental references in the Old Testament can be supplemented from external sources.

The present population of the Sinaitic Peninsula is estimated at from 4000 to 6000 persons.¹ There is therefore not much difficulty in imagining another company of about the same size coming into it out of Goshen in the time of Amenhotep II of Egypt. Goshen would also be able to support about that number quite easily.² Such a number agrees well enough with the tradition which thought of the Israelites in Egypt as few enough in number to allow two midwives to suffice for their needs (Exodus i 15).

³Garstang quotes figures which reflect "the realities of the age". The Egyptian standing army normally numbered 5000 men. The cities of Canaan at that time were of such a size that they contained from 1000 to 3000 souls. The Syrian prince Rib-addi asked Pharaoh for a defence force of 40 men. Abdi-Hiba, confessing that the country was in great danger from the Habiru, asked for a garrison of 50 men.⁴

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1. Numbers (CB) p. 4.
 2. Petrie, Egypt and Israel, 40.
 3. Garstang, JJ p 121.
 4. Knudtzon 289. "Let the king take heed that there is no garrison of the king with me let the king send fifty garrison-men to protect his land."

We may take it with some confidence that when Israel prepared to enter Canaan it numbered not more than about 6000 souls, and that it had a fighting force of from 1200 to 1500 men.¹ Such a relatively small force would be quite mobile, and there is not the slightest difficulty in thinking of them under Joshua making expeditions into the central highlands of Palestine from headquarters situated near Jericho.²

1. Compare with this the size of present-day Arab tribes, in a time on the whole of greater security. The Harb, living between Medina and Mecca, is one of the largest tribes living in Arabia and numbers about 2,000,000 souls. The Rualla Anazeh, between Damascus and Baghdad, the largest tribe in the north, is about the same size. On the other hand, an ordinarily sized tribe like the Beni Atiyeh round about Maan numbers 4000 fighting men. (See Thomas, With Lawrence in Arabia, pp 75, 129 etc).
2. Just as Col. T. E. Lawrence made similar raids into enemy country during the war.

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PART THREE

**THE CONQUEST AND SETTLEMENT
OF THE LAND**

CHAPTER NINE.

THE NATURE OF THE CONQUEST.

We have seen that the Old Testament account of the Conquest of Canaan by Israel is twofold, and that the two traditions cannot be harmonised.¹ We came to the conclusion that the tradition which represented the Conquest as gradual was the earlier and the more trustworthy.

There is another question to be answered as well, and that is the precise nature of the Conquest.² Wellhausen regarded the Conquest as the result of a united effort by all the tribes. He supposed that the invading tribes fell into two groups, the Leah tribes and the Rachel tribes. The latter were the nucleus and were joined by the former in the South of the Negeb. Together these tribes dispossessed the Amorites and settled for a while east of Jordan, until the lack of cohesion among the Canaanites to the West tempted them to attack. The first attempt was made by Judah and Simeon with Levi, and Judah alone gained a footing in the South. Thereafter the Joseph tribes under Joshua overthrew the Canaanites at Gibeon and settled in the centre. A later victory by Joshua opened up the north for settlement. There are still scholars who follow this scheme in so far

1. See above p 6. 2. See Joshua (Cent Bible) p. 263-4.

as they consider that the Israelites acted in union until after the defeat of Sihon and the occupation of Transjordan. N. H. Baynes, for instance, says ¹, "... the conquest of the country, which had perhaps begun as a common undertaking, broke up into a series of sectional and local struggles..... The unity of the Hebrew people might live on as an ideal, but even that ideal was weakened by the solvent of distance."

It appears to be more in accord with the oldest and most trustworthy traditions in the Old Testament to think rather that right from the beginning the Conquest and settlement was a piece-meal affair, and that there was no united plan of action and no common leader. The nucleus of Judah in the south, aided after the Exodus by Simeon and Levi and various other desert clans, attacked Canaan from the South. Joshua and the tribes of Joseph and Benjamin attacked from the East, and there was an altogether separate settlement in the North. ² As we investigate the history of the Conquest and settlement we shall see that they are far more likely to have happened in this way than in that first suggested by Wellhausen.

It is true, nevertheless, that the unity which was Israel's ideal was never realised, unless for a very short time under David and Solomon. There was a good reason for that which was inherent in the nature of the Conquest.

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1. "Israel amongst the Nations", p 46.
 2. This is somewhat similar to the view of the Conquest taken by Burney in ISC. The great difference is that he thinks of Aramaean immigrants coming from the north a long time before the Conquest by Joshua, while we shall think of them as coming only a short time before, and as constituting a quite different element of Israel.

That was the existence of many unconquered cities till a relatively late date. Ephraim and Manasseh were cut off from effective cooperation with the northern tribes by Dor, Harosheth, Megiddo, Taanach, Ibleam and Beth-shean,¹ while in the south Judah was almost as effectively cut off from Mount Ephraim by Har-Heres, Aijalon, Shaalbim and Jerusalem.

The difference in civilization between Israel and the Canaanites also had some effect on the nature of the Conquest. In the externals of civilization, the Canaanites were greatly superior. They lived in walled towns, owned horses and chariots which they could use with great effect in the plains, and had the advantages of a settled mode of life.² The Israelites therefore for long after they entered the land had to remain outside the large towns. The few exceptions were towns that came into their hands in unusual ways. They had to make their way by peaceful penetration, later seizing what towns they could. It was here that they had, especially in some places, a great advantage over the Canaanites; for in all probability the Canaanites were morally degenerate, while the Israelites, besides having the advantage of the Canaanites in virility, had behind them the force of a purer religion than the inhabitants of the land. Where the Israelites were present in large numbers relatively to the Canaanites as in Judah, Ephraim and Benjamin, they very quickly subdued them. On the other hand, there were tribes, especially those north of Esdraelon, which

1. See Jdg (CB) pp xxx-xxxii.

2. See Josh (CB) p xxvi.

were relatively weaker and never appear to have properly subdued the Canaanites. Issachar, for example, is compared (Gen. xlix 14,15) to a strong ass willing to do labour so long as it gets food and rest. This state of affairs as between Israel and Canaan lasted for centuries, and even in the time of Saul there were places where the Israelites were still subject to the previous inhabitants of the land.¹

It is obvious then that the end of the Conquest was not the finishing of Israel's task in winning the land, and that what took place was more in the nature of a settlement with here and there phases of greater and more successful activity like the attack under Joshua in the centre of Palestine.²

The whole problem has been approached from another angle by Professor A. Alt of Leipzig in his epoch-making book, "Die Landnahme der Israeliten in Palästina", in which he develops a method of reconstructing history which he calls "Territorial-geschichte". This stresses the importance of the influence which the land itself had on the social, economic and political history of its inhabitants. Territorial history attempts to relate the geographical and topographical nature of the land to the development of the people who occupied it, and from that angle to determine the date and extent of its occupation. Applying this method to the pro-

1. Jdg (CB) p xxxi.

2. This is similar to Albright's view "that the conquest began in the time of the Patriarchs, as described in Gen. xxxiv 48, xxii, etc. and continued intermittently, with one phase in the late sixteenth or early fifteenth century (Jericho and Ai) and a culminating triumph after the establishment of the Israelite confederation by Moses in the second half of the 13th century." (APB p. 197).

blem under consideration, we find that Israel was favoured by the fact that there were many areas in the land at the time of the Conquest which were sparsely populated. The sedentary population was almost entirely confined to the coastal plain, Esdraelon and the Jordan valley. Plains and valleys were dotted with small towns, whose mounds are still there to show the sites of them. These parts of the land were then much more thickly populated than they were after 1200 B.C. or even than they are today. On the other hand, the hills were heavily wooded especially on the ridges and the Western faces, and there was little area available on them for agriculture. The only settlements were those near to springs, so that there, between the fortified towns, there was room for tribes which were semi-nomadic. On the east of Jordan the situation was precisely the same. Recent archaeological work² has shown that the settlement of Trans-jordania was carried out just as it was on the West of Jordan, and that the first parts of the land to be occupied by the Israelites were the places where there were no towns.

The settlement of Palestine by Israel began, therefore, with the occupation of the land left unoccupied by the Canaanites, that is Gilead, Mount Ephraim and the Negeb. Large numbers of the Israelites settled in these parts, while smaller numbers settled elsewhere. The unsettled state of the land about the year 1400¹ encouraged them to do this and

1. See Albright (APB pp. 131-133)
 2. See below, pp. 132ff.

even to join with the Habiru in some towns like Shechem. Yet for many years still the Israelites on the whole remained semi-nomadic and certainly did not attempt to settle in the Shephelah and the southern hill-country where there were a fair number of large towns. It was only in the 13th century, three or four generations later, that they appear to have considered themselves, even where they were strongest as in Ephraim and Judah, able to begin a successful series of attacks on walled towns. It is to this century that we must assign the fall of towns like Bethel and Debir.¹

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1. See below, pp 212, 241. See also JPOS XII (Albright) p. 259. The fact that Israel remained semi-nomadic until the middle of the 13th century might account for the fact that they are not regarded as a settled people in the stele of Merenptah.

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CHAPTER TEN.

THE FIRST ATTEMPT AT CONQUEST FROM THE SOUTH. *****

It was apparently the tradition in Israel that the southern part of Canaan was one of the first parts to be conquered. This is the view, not only of the unhistorical account of Joshua x, but also of the more reliable account in the first chapter of the Book of Judges.

It may clear the ground if we can dismiss the account of this part of the Conquest in Joshua x 28-43 as unhistorical. There appears to be no reason for defending its accuracy, for it gives an obviously idealised picture of the occupation and of the ease with which it was accomplished. In it the Israelites move from one town to another and take them 'at one time' (x 42). This is the history of the conquest seen through the eyes of the Deuteronomic School,¹ and whatever the truth behind it may be, we know that the older sources tell a different story. In them the tribes of Judah and Simeon alone, with the help of the Kenites and other desert clans, attempt to settle in the south, and the conquest there is not attributed to Joshua and the whole of Israel. The towns mentioned in the account of the Book

1. See Josh (CB) p 93.

of Joshua include Makkedah, Libnah, Lachish and Eglon, which were situated 'in the plain', where the Israelites actually had no successes because of the chariots of the Canaanites (Jdg. i 19). The defeat of the king of Gezer mentioned in Joshua x 33 is contradicted in Joshua xvi 10. This account therefore is not history but the conventional stereotyped view of the Conquest belonging to a later age.

The natural course of events would be that the Israelites, as they did elsewhere,¹ occupied first the parts of the land that were far from large and important towns. These would be the parts farthest south in the Negeb. 'The Negeb' was the name given to the steppe-land between the Highlands of Judah and the desert towards the South. It was on the whole a waterless district with a few valuable springs and with some pasture land in the valleys. It was an inhospitable land unable to support a very large population, and such population as there was was pastoral and not agricultural. The Negeb is roughly triangular in outline, its bounds being, on the north the line through el-Dhahariyeh and Beersheba, on the south-east the Wady el-Fikra, and on the south-west the Wady el-'Arish, its southernmost point being about Kadesh-Barnea.³

²
We have seen reason to believe that the tribe of Judah had since the days of the patriarchs occupied part of this territory without a break and had possibly settled in the extreme south of the Negeb. The events which followed on

1. See below p. 139ff.

2. See above p. 101f.

3. Josh (CB) p. 97: SBD, 'Palestine, Topography, par. 6.

the arrival of the Israelites at Kadesh indicate that this was so. For the coming of such a large number of people to the district would upset the balance of population and force the tribes who already lived there further north. They would be all the more ready to do so if the new-comers were akin to them, for their presence would mean an accession of strength to them and make it more likely that any advance they made would be successful. Furthermore, it would hardly be natural for the tribe of Judah to leave its home in the Negeb, go round with the rest of Israel to the East of Jordan, help them to take Jericho and Ai only, and then break off from them again to conquer the land of Judah from the north. We must bear that in mind when we attempt to reconstruct this part of the Conquest, for here even the oldest sources are **not** self-consistent.

The records of the Old Testament mention that soon after the arrival of Israel at Kadesh, spies were sent into Canaan (Num xiii, xiv). Here as elsewhere, there are varying traditions, one of which is obviously late and unreliable, since it makes the spies search out the whole land (Num. xiii 21). The other account appears to be more in line with what could have happened. Starting from Kadesh, the spies searched the south of the land in the district of Hebron and returned to report that it was fertile and worth invading (Num. xiii 17b-21a, 22-24, 26b-27). They stated however that it was strongly defended, though one of them, Caleb, considered that it could be conquered, and urged Israel to attack it (xiii 28-31, 33). The people were afraid to do so, however, and turned mutinous

(xiv 1,3,4,8,9). They were therefore condemned to remain in the wilderness until that whole generation had died out (xiv 31, 39b). Upon this, they are said to have made an attempt to conquer the land but to have been defeated by the Canaanites in the district of Arad (xiv 39b-45, xxi 1).

This appears to be a reliable account of what happened. Soon after the arrival of the Israelites from Egypt at Kadesh, the tribe of Judah already living in the Negeb must have come to an arrangement with them to try to enter the land by way of Arad and Hebron, and have sent out spies to get information about the country and its defences. Their report is precisely what we would have expected from a consideration of the situation in Palestine during the reign of Amenhotep II so soon after the days of Thutmose III. It had the natural result of making the Israelites doubtful of their power to enter and take the land by conquest. When their intention became known to the Canaanites, they advanced against Israel from Arad and defeated them in battle; no doubt the Israelites' lack of confidence contributed to their defeat, even though the whole united force of Judah and Israel took part.

After this reverse, it is natural to think of the newcomers at least as having given up any hope of entering the land from the south and as having considered it more promising to make an attempt from the east. After they had left Kadesh, and at a time when they had become even stronger by alliances with other desert clans, such as the Kenites, who had been thrust northwards into the district in which

Judah was living, that tribe seems to have made another and more successful attempt to advance northwards. This would account for the fact that E and D appear to know only of a defeat in the Negeb and not of any success.¹

In the Biblical tradition itself, there is some doubt about whether the tribes of Judah and Simeon accompanied the rest of Israel to the East of Jordan. In the first chapter of the Book of Judges, these tribes are mentioned as being the first to set out to conquer their allotted territory (Jdg. i 3). But it is difficult to accept this reading of the Conquest in the south. Even if they did accompany the rest, they would hardly have broken off from them at the time when most of all united action was necessary.² It appears probable that here the view of the Book of Joshua is to be preferred and that Judah remained in the place in which it had always been. Simeon and Levi apparently decided to remain with it in the district for the portion of the land later occupied by Simeon was to the south-west of that occupied by Judah, while the Levites, though they disappeared as a secular tribe,³ remained in intimate contact with Judah.

It would be most probably about the year 1400 B.C., while Joshua was attacking Canaan from the East, that Judah and Simeon with their allies advanced northwards again. It is this advance which is related in Judges i 16, 17.

1. D's narrative is contained in Deut i 41-46, which gives an account of an attempt to conquer the Negeb against the orders of Moses. Israel was routed and pursued 'as far as Hormah'. Num. xxi 2,3, does think of a later success, it is true; but this may be an insertion when the success had become known outside of Judah itself.
2. JBL XXXII p 11.
3. See above p. 104ff.

What has helped to cause confusion has been the identification of the 'city of palm trees' with Jericho.¹ There is reason to believe that this was really the city of Tamar which lay somewhere in the Negeb near to what was later the boundary of the tribe of Judah in the south (Ezek. xlvii 19). It has not been identified, but it lay somewhere on a line with the southern end of the Dead Sea (Josh. xv 1-4). In this district it is likely that Judah had been settled since the days before the going down of the rest of the tribes to Egypt. It was therefore a more natural starting point than Jericho for an advance by the tribes of Judah and Simeon.² As a result of this advance it appears that Arad and a town Zephath to the north of it were attacked and captured. It is not possible for us to say whether or not these two cities were put to the ban as Judges i 17 states. Other traditions in the Book of Numbers (xiv 45 and xxi 2-3) indicate that Hormah was not the name of a town but of a whole district, for it has before it the definite article and in reality is 'the Hormah'. Probably the incident of the ban was an imaginary one put in to account for the name of the district in which the towns lay. Here Judah and Simeon had to be content to remain until the attacks of the Israelites further north had weakened the Canaanite resistance sufficiently to allow them to move still more than they had done.

1. Jack, Exodus p 148, note 2. 3. Jdg (CB) 13 ; Num(CB) 79.
 2. The Kenites are also associated with these tribes. As their home was in the Negeb(1 Sam. xxvii 10) Garstang (JJ p 215) supposes that the Kenites east of the Jordan were the relatives of Moses, who had followed him. But in Num x 30, it is stated that Hobab did not do so but preferred to depart to his own land from Sinai.

CHAPTER ELEVEN.

THE CONQUEST OF TRANSJORDANIA.

In Western Palestine the investigation of the progress of the Israelite Conquest and settlement is made easier by the fact that a great deal of archaeological and documentary evidence has been at our disposal for many years. In Transjordan the same task has been made much more difficult by the fact that it is only during the last few years that any considerable amount of archaeological work has been done. It was necessary to have the evidence provided by this work before the problem of the Conquest and settlement could be fully solved, because the settlement of Transjordan cannot be separated from that of the rest of Palestine. In the 15th and 14th centuries B.C., just as much as in later history, the two were closely connected, and the history of the settlement of Israel East of the Jordan is only a stage in the history of the whole settlement.¹

In order to understand fully the importance of the settlement East of the Jordan in its relation to the rest of the settlement, we must know something of the history of that part of the land before the time of the Conquest. We do

1. See below p. 141ff.

not get much help from the Old Testament. There is a memory that that part of the land had once been inhabited by 'giant' races called Rephaim in Ashteroth Karnaim, Zuzim in Ham and Emim in Shaveh Kiriathaim (Gen. xiv 5). There is also mentioned a race which the Moabites called Emim (Deut. ii 11), and there is a reference to the Horites who lived in Mount Seir before the coming of Edom (Deut. ii 12). In the same part of the land there lived people whom the Ammonites called Zamzummim, and also the Avims of Hazerim (Deut. ii 20, 23). With these there can be put the story of Jacob's wrestling with the angel of God at Peniel (Gen. xxxii 25ff.) and the setting up of a boundary stone between Israel and Aram somewhere in Gilead (Gen. xxxi 47). That is the sum of our information about Transjordanian before the coming of Israel.

We have now in addition archaeological evidence which helps to give us some idea of the state of occupation of that part of the land in the Late Bronze Age (1600-1200 B.C.). This evidence indicates that the Jordan Valley, the Hauran and Bashan, Moab and at least Eastern Edom were all occupied by sedentary populations at this period.

In the Hauran, the cities of Karnaim, Ashtaroth and Edrei, as well as the settlement at Tell el-Shihab, were all occupied in this age and for long before.¹ The cities and districts of this part of Transjordanian are mentioned in the Egyptian inscriptions and possibly in the Amarna Letters.²

1. See Albright, BASOR, xix, pp 14ff.

2. See Albright, AASOR, VI, p 40ff. and also below p. 239, note 3.

This shows that the Hauran and Bashan, that is, the Upper Basin of the River Yarmuk, was occupied during these centuries by a sedentary population.

In the Jordan Valley, most of the sites were already occupied early in the Bronze Age.¹ But there were no towns at this time in the mountains of Gilead between the River Yarmuk and the River Jabbok.² The reason for this was that the land was so broken up and covered by forests that it was not easy for a population to settle down. It was better fitted for a semi-nomadic population and at this period, before Israel came to it, was uninhabited.

Right in the South, again, we find evidence that a sedentary population had occupied the land. Albright describes a relief found at Fuqu'ah near Baluah which belongs to the Middle Bronze Age,³ and a stele at Baluah itself dated in the early 12th century,⁴ but from a site occupied for some considerable time before that. In Ader there are found ruins of the Middle Bronze Age⁵ extending into the Late Bronze Age, so that we see that here in Moab there was a settled population before the year 1400 B.C.

The eastern part of Edom appears also to have been occupied in the same way in the Bronze Age,⁶ but other evidence points to Edom as a whole not having been occupied by a sedentary population at this time.

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1. Albright, AASOR VI p. 13. "The vast majority of ancient sites in this region were already inhabited early in the Bronze Age and most of them have since been abandoned."
 2. Abel, RB VII, 554; VIII, 438; XL, 214.
 3. BASOR XIV, 9; 4. Horsfield & Vincent, RB XLI, 417.
 5. Albright, BASOR, XIV, 10. 6. BASOR, XLIII, p 22.

In the Bronze Age both Moab and Edom were rich copper-producing countries with a flourishing commerce and many towns and villages. There is, for example, evidence at el-Lehun, on the north of the River Arnon opposite Baluah of a Middle Bronze Age town of considerable importance.¹ Yet almost all the Bronze Age sites visited in Moab, according to American authorities, show a gap in occupation between the first half of the Middle Bronze Age and the first half of the Early Iron age. That is to say, in the period between the 18th and 13-12th centuries B.C. there is no evidence at all of the presence of settled communities in this region.²

Of the mining centres in Edom, the largest and richest was at Mene'iyeh in the hills immediately above the western edge of the Arabah. Others were situated at Khirbet el-Nahas and Feinan, while there were smaller centres at Khirbet el-Gheweibeh and Khirbet el-Jarijeh. By means of pottery dating it has been established that the mines at Feinan were being worked from about 2200 - 1800 B.C. and then not until 1200 - 800 B.C. Those at Khirbet el-Gheweibeh and Khirbet el-Jarijeh were worked during the period from the 12th to the 9th centuries B.C.³ Another mine between Shobek and Feinan at Umm el-'Amad was worked during Solomon's reign,⁴ and there were still others which were worked later. "There is no other region in all Western and Eastern Palestine where

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1. BASOR, XLIII, p. 22.
 2. BASOR, LI, p. 18.
 3. BASOR, LV, pp 8-9 $\frac{1}{2}$
 4. BASOR, LV, p. 14.

copper mines have been found."¹

The general conclusion which was arrived at by the American expeditions which visited Edom and Moab in 1934 was that in the Arabah and Edom there was a period from 1800-1200 B.C. or thereabouts during which there was^{no} sedentary population in the land. "Bedouin roamed the land in this interval and left no trace of their sojourn. For centuries they seem to have been strong enough to prevent the development of settled communities living eitherⁱⁿ open or walled cities."² They suppose therefore that the wandering of the Israelites in the wilderness could not have taken place before 1200 B.C. Had it done so, Israel would have found neither Edomites nor Moabites between Kadesh and Jericho to give or withhold permission to pass through their land.

This constitutes a real difficulty for the 1400 B.C. date for the Conquest, if the evidence is reliable. All the other evidence we have supports rather an earlier date than 1200 B.C. It is worth noting however that even though there were no settled communities, there were (it is admitted above) Bedouin there who were very strong, and who may have claimed to possess the land. Moreover, the evidence of archaeology changes so rapidly that it may not be long before, on an even more thorough examination being made, reason may be found to revise the opinions come to about the occupation of Edom.

1. BASOR, LV, p. 10.
2. BASOR, LV, pp 15-16.

The various sites which have been reasonably thoroughly examined in Transjordan have provided evidence that the land was occupied in many places by a sedentary population which occupied cities and left the remains of artistic work in them. Invaders who were not strong enough to take the cities would have to settle in the rough wooded country where only a semi-nomadic life was possible. This is what was done by those sections of the later Israelite federation which first arrived in Transjordan.

When the Israelites who had been in Egypt came to the east of Jordan they are traditionally said to have attacked the kingdom of Sihon which lay just north of Moab. It is unlikely that they would have done so had they found any other part of the land unoccupied and there ready to be settled in by them. By that time, then, the whole of the land East of the Jordan must have been occupied, either by a sedentary population or by semi-nomadic tribes. We have already seen that north of Sihon's kingdom the only land not taken up by a sedentary population living in towns was the Hill-¹ country between it and the River Yarmuk. This land must have been occupied by other tribes which could lay claim to it thus.

In the part of this land south of the River Jabbok, there lived later, as we know from the Old Testament itself, the tribe of Gad, one which was in some way not particularly

1. See above, p. 132f.

closely connected with the rest of the children of Israel. We cannot tell when precisely they came there or who exactly they were. It is obvious that they must have been in their later position before the Ammonites came to the land which they occupied, which was between Gad and the desert, for if not, Ammon itself would have occupied it. It is very likely that Gad was a tribe of Canaanite Habiru who had been in the mountains of Southern Gilead since the time when the rest of the children of Israel went down to Egypt. When they returned, Gad was admitted to the federation. The tribe seems to have remained for a long time after the Conquest, as well as before, semi-nomadic; for it was only in the days of Saul that it seems to have tried to settle in the cities round about its original territory.¹

This tribe seems later to have absorbed the tribe of Reuben which settled at the Conquest just north of the River Arnon in the land taken from Sihon. The cities of Reuben in the lists given in the Book of Numbers (xxxii 36, 37) are in territory which was surrounded to north and south by land in which were cities attributed to Gad. In the inscription on the stele of Mesha, known as the Moabite Stone, the following reference to Gad occurs :- "Now the men of Gad had dwelt in the land of Ataroth from of old".² This city, which was among those attributed to Gad in Numbers xxxii 3, 34, is right in the middle of the territory later supposed to have been

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1. E.g. it was only in the days of Saul that Jabesh-gilead was taken. (1 Samuel xi lff.)
 2. See 'Inscription on the Stele of Mesha': Texts for Students, No. 9.

that of Reuben. The reason for this may have been that Reuben rapidly degenerated after settling in its home, and so have been easily absorbed by Gad. At any rate the two tribes were very closely connected with one another in later days, and it may have been that the over-running of Reuben by Gad started almost immediately after the Conquest of Sihon. This would account for the fact that Gad was considered to be, in the genealogy of the tribes, a 'son' of Leah's maid Zilpah, Reuben being a 'son' of Leah.

In the part of Gilead which lay north of the River Jabbok,¹ Biblical tradition placed 'half' of the large tribe of Manasseh,² or more precisely the three clans of Machir, Jair and Nobah. The usual view has been that the occupation of this part of the land followed the settling of Mount Ephraim. Dr. Burney,³ following Budde,⁴ reconstructs the settlement as follows:-

"And the house of Joseph spake unto Joshua, saying, 'Why hast thou given me but one lot and one territory for an inheritance, seeing that I am a great people, forasmuch as hitherto Yahweh hath blessed me? The hill-country doth not suffice for me; and all the Canaanites that dwell in the land of the Vale have chariots of iron, both they that are in Beth-shean and

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1. This country is forest country and its characteristics were the same as they are at the present day. Burney (ISC p 21, note 1) quotes G.A. Smith who speaks of "the ridges of Gilead, where the oak branches rustled and their shadows swung to and fro over the cool paths Gilead, between the Yarmuk and the Jabbok, has its ridges covered by forests, under which you may march for the whole day in breezy and fragrant shade."
 2. Josh. xiii 29ff.; xvii 14ff.; Num. xxvi 29,30; xxxii 39f.;
 3. ISC. p 21f.
 4. Richter und Samuel, pp 32ff.

its dependencies, and they that are in the vale of Jezreel.' And Joshua said unto the house of Joseph, 'Thou art a great people, and hast great power; thou shalt not have one lot only. For the Hill-country of Gilead shall be thine; get thee up into the forest and cut down for thyself there; since the Hill-country of Ephraim is too narrow for thee.' Then Machir the son of Manasseh, went to Gilead, and took it, and dispossessed the Amorites that were therein. And Jair the son of Manasseh went and took the tent-villages thereof, and called them the tent-villages of Jair. And Nobah went and took Kenath and its dependencies, and called it Nobah after his own name. But the children ^{of Israel} did not dispossess the Geshurites and the Maachathites; but Geshur and Maacath dwelt in the midst of Israel, unto this day." (Joshua xvii 14, 16, 17, 15; Numbers xxxii 39, 41, 42; Joshua xiii 13).

On this reconstruction of the narrative, the history of this settlement is as follows:- That "Manasseh first of all effected a settlement in the Hill-country west of Jordan, and it was only subsequently to this that the clan of Machir, together with Jair and Nobah, finding their west-Jordanic territory too exiguous, pushed their way to the east of Jordan and made settlements there, acting, as we have seen (according to this narrative), at the advice of Joshua." In support of his theory, Dr. Burney gives the evidence of the mention of Machir in the Song of Deborah, which he considers to prove that Machir was then on the west of Jordan and that its migration to the east of Jordan took place later

than the victory of Deborah and Barak.

On the other hand, various points must be taken into consideration which do not support this view of the settlement of Manasseh east of Jordan. In Numbers xxvi 29,30, and Joshua xvii 1, 2, it appears that the Machir clan was the predominant clan in Manasseh and associated first with Gilead, east of the Jordan. Only later through 'grandsons' (Numbers) or 'younger brothers' (Joshua) of Machir was Manasseh brought into relation with the west of Jordan. It is true that this belongs to the later traditions, but when we consider it along with the rest of the evidence, we may well believe that it goes back to a trustworthy earlier tradition that before the crossing of the Jordan at Jericho, Machir (as Manasseh then was) came to Gilead.¹ It is difficult to accept Dr. Burney's conclusion that the migration of the three clans, Machir, Jair and Nobah, took place later than the victory of Deborah and Barak. This is now assigned to the year 1175 B.C. at the earliest by which² time we believe that the settlement of the previously unoccupied parts of the land must long have been over and a start made on the seizing and occupying of the walled towns.

It must be noticed, too, that there is a difference in the way the Old Testament thinks of the settlement of Machir and that of the two clans Jair and Nobah. These two settled³ in the Upper Yarmuk Basin in Bashan, a land which was already

1. Gilead is the 'father' of Shechem in Num. xxvi 29f. and Josh. xvii 2, and therefore regarded as being older: i.e. Shechem was settled by Israel after Gilead.
2. See JPOS, I 54ff. II 74ff.
3. See below p. 239ff.

in the hands of a sedentary population, while Machir was said to have occupied the hill-country of Gilead north of the River Jabbok. It is unlikely that Jair and Nobah set about taking territory from people who must have been under the protection of Egypt¹ until the rest of the Israelites were beginning to do the same. We are therefore justified in thinking that Machir came first to Gilead and from there gradually spread over into the district of Shechem.

Geographically the two districts are very closely connected. From the point of view of someone in Gilead, the advance on Shechem is very easily made. It is more natural to go down into the Jordan valley and up the Wady Farah to that town than to go up any of the valleys leading to Bethel or the southern Highlands of Judah. "As one sits on top of Mt. Osha in Gilead today and looks down upon all Palestine, for all Palestine is visible from this point, and from this point only, the Samaritan hills lie directly opposite, across the Jordan, and through the shoulder of the mountains in which Shechem lies, one sees as far as to the Mediterranean Sea beyond. A road is visible descending from Shechem in the Samaritan hills to the Jordan valley, which, crossing the Jordan, leads up to es-Salt in Gilead. This road is clearly a much easier way of entering the hill-country across the Jordan than anything further southward; indeed, it seems to the observer on the opposite hills of Gilead the natural way to enter that country."²

1. See below, p. 238.

2. Peters, Early Hebrew Story, p. 68.

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We shall see that there is reason to believe that the children of Israel under Joshua at Shechem received into the federation those Hebrews whom they found there. Now Israel would not have done that had these people been with them before, so that they cannot have been the descendants of any clans which had remained at the district of Shechem when the rest went down to Egypt. This points to the fact that they were newcomers with whom the Israelites were willing to unite. The same conclusion is indicated by the Amarna Letters, from which it can be deduced that the invaders in the North came to the land somewhat earlier than those in the South.²

If this can be accepted, then some of the later developments of Israel can be readily understood.³ These people would be less loyal to Jehovah than the clans which had been in Egypt, and they would require greater efforts to be made to keep them from relapsing into their former faith; this the Book of Deuteronomy shows. For long afterwards there was a strong Canaanite element in the district which was still the more powerful in the days of the judges. The story of Abimelech (Jdg ix) shows that the Israelites were present in sufficient numbers to raise him to the kingship, but that the time had not come for an Israelite monarchy.⁴

These things point to there having been a two-fold strain in Israel in Central Palestine, and the fact that the

1. See below, p. 205.

2. See below, p. 155.

3. A. C. Welch, *People and Book*, p. 128.

4. Jdg.(CB). p. 98.

house of Joseph whose home was there was divided into two parts, Ephraim and Manasseh, supports our reading of the settlement. That part of the house of Joseph known as the tribe of Manasseh were Habiru who came to Gilead and Mount Ephraim just before Joshua arrived in the South.¹ Along with them, incidentally, came the two groups who were to be known as Issachar and Zebulun.² These Habiru came from the north-east, no doubt as part of the southward expansion of the Hittite Empire, and from Gilead gradually spread over to the West of the Jordan. In the district of Shechem they must have come into contact with the descendants of the Israelite clans which had remained there, and with whom they may have joined forces. It is not impossible, too, that as well as being like them in being Habiru, they were of the same race. In the later history of Israel they were known as Joseph's elder son, because they had been settled in their later home before Ephraim the younger son. Ephraim was stronger both physically and morally and in the end surpassed Manasseh. This indeed may have been why Manasseh was put along with Ephraim as belonging to the House of Joseph, but it is better to suppose that it was because of their very close geographical contact, the two tribes being compelled to act together on many occasions as they were cut off from the rest both to north and to south. Whatever may have been the explanation, and this that we have suggested is only tentative, it is quite certain that there was a division of some kind between the

1. Jack, Exodus, p. 179.

2. See below, p. 223.

two parts of the tribe of Joseph, a division that showed itself in their differing attitude to religion.

We must now go back and consider what happened to the main body of the Israelites at Kadesh, and how they came to the land of Sihon. The route which they followed is uncertain, because the Biblical traditions are quite confused. The Book of Numbers (xxi 4ff.) thinks of them as going from Mount Hor on the west border of Edom. The difficulty with the traditional site of Mount Hor near Petra¹ is that it is well inside the border of Edom; its true site we cannot fix. The Priestly school of writers (Num. xxxiii) seems to represent the Israelites as marching straight through Edom, and there is no mention of the detour to the Red Sea. In spite of the fact that this late school evidently desired to keep trace of the journeyings of Israel in the wilderness as completely as possible, we cannot follow it in thinking that Israel did not march round the territory of Edom.² That Edom was settled in its later home by the time that Israel was at Kadesh is the tradition of Israel itself. There is also some difficulty in the archaeological evidence, though this does not seem to be quite conclusive.³

We may take it then that Israel required to make a circuit of Edom. When this was done they arrived at the

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1. SBD. Article 'Hor'.
 2. It is quite possible that we have not been able to trace accurately the list of stations as given by P, and that in the list as we have it there may be room for a visit to the Red Sea.
 3. See above, p. 134f.

Wady Zered, somewhere on the south-east border of Moab.¹

Moab also was in its home before the coming of Israel. At this time, its borders were - on the west, the Dead Sea; on the north, the valley of the Arnon; and on the east, an ill-defined line towards the desert.² The southern border is not known with precision, but possibly the Wady Zered was one of the upper tributaries of the Wady Kerak which runs into the south-eastern end of the Dead Sea, and this would be just within the border.³ The Moabites, like Edom and Ammon, were recognised to be akin to Israel, though of the three Edom was most closely related. Of all three, however, Moab appears to have been the most firmly settled in its land, no doubt because it had more fertile territory than either of the others. At the time of the Conquest it appears to have been a well-organised state with a king at its head.⁴ This is supported by the archaeological evidence.⁵

For these reasons, Israel continued to march northwards along the ill-defined border of Moab without molesting it,⁶ until it arrived at the upper reaches of the Arnon (Num. xxi 13, Deut ii 24). Here the people found themselves facing the territory of Ammon.⁷ Again, as the Ammonites were re-

1. Num. xxi 12; Deut. ii 13.

2. SBD. 'Moab'.

3. Deut (ICC) p.38.

4. Jdg. iii 12ff. shows that there was a Moabite king Eglon soon after the Conquest.

5. See above, p. 133.

6. Deut. ii 9.

7. This lay between the Arnon and the Jabbok and east of what later belonged to Gad and Reuben.

lated to Israel, according to the Biblical tradition, they were commanded not to go into their territory but rather through that of the Amorites (Deut ii 19, 24). The truth behind this reading of history may in reality have been that Israel realised that certainly a strong country like Moab could not be easily conquered, while Ammon was out of the direct line of attack upon the West of Jordan, at which Israel was ultimately aiming. They turned, therefore, upon Sihon, who may not have been very long established where he was.

The territory occupied by the kingdom of Sihon is said to have stretched from the River Arnon to the River Jabbok (Num. xxi 21ff.). The territory taken over by Israel is said to have extended from Aroer¹ and another city on the Arnon (possibly Ar) as far north as Gilead (Deut. ii 36). In reality it was almost certainly much smaller, for the only towns referred to in it are Heshbon and Jaazer² and other towns all south of Medeba.³ If we regarded the 'Gilead' of Deut. ii 36 as that part of Gilead which already belonged to Gad, then the area of Sihon's kingdom would not extend beyond the end of the Dead Sea. This would be in agreement with Joshua xii. It would also agree with the archaeological evidence, which shows no sign of sedentary occupation north of Heshbon.⁴ Sihon's kingdom was thus the area which was afterwards given to the tribe of Reuben, which evidently had

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1. The site of Aroer is marked by 'a desolate heap of ruins' on the northern edge of the Arnon. Deut. (ICC) p 45.
 2. Jaazer is Jawar, 3 km from el-Yadudeh. (JAOS, LIV, 177).
 3. Modern, Madaba, 6 m. from Heshbon.
 4. Except about Rabbath-Ammon, which the Israelites did not conquer (Num. xxi 24).

In the time of Isaiah (xv 4) and Jeremiah (xlviii 21), it belonged once more to Moab and it is referred to by Jeremiah as being situated in the 'Mishor' or table-land of Moab.

In the battle Israel defeated Sihon, and is said to have occupied his capital, Heshbon, and other cities over which he ruled. This, however, they are not likely to have done immediately, any more than they settled in the cities of Western Palestine as soon as they entered it. For we find them still at least semi-nomadic when they are preparing to cross the Jordan at Jericho.¹ No doubt the truth was that part of the Israelites, known to us as the tribe of Reuben, thinking this a good land in which to settle, claimed it and began to settle down alongside the original inhabitants just as Ephraim and Benjamin were to do later on the other side of the Jordan.²

It was in this land that Moses, who had led the Israelites out of Egypt and through the wilderness, died. (Deut. xxxiv 5, 6). He is said to have been a hundred and twenty years old and "his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated". But it appears more likely that he was not as old as that. If he had been born about 1490 B.C. he would be at this time about eighty-five or ninety years of age, and is quite possible that he would be still in possession of

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1. See below, p. 153, 158.
 2. According to Deut. ii 34, the people were treated as 'herem', but there is no mention of this in the account of Numbers; we may regard it as part of the unhistorical Deuteronomic theory of the Conquest. The OT tradition also mentions a taunt-song which is supposed to have been composed against the Amorites whose capital Israel had

all his faculties.¹

No doubt the Moabites welcomed the coming of Israel and the defeat of Sihon, imagining that there would be afforded them an opportunity of regaining their lost territory when the Israelites crossed over the Jordan to the West. But they were soon to be disappointed when they saw a section of the victorious newcomers claiming the land as their own. The story of Balaam (Num. xxii-xxiv), which belongs to this period, shows that Moab tried unsuccessfully to get rid of Israel once it was realised that Israel was there to stay. Yet the power of the Israelites was undermined in another and altogether unpremeditated way, when the men were tempted to go astray from their religion by the Moabite women at their local sacrificial feasts (Num. xxv 1-5).² With their morale thus weakened by the rites of Beth-peor, the Reubenites gave way to the people of Moab so that by the time of the judges Moab once more held control of the fords of the Jordan beside Jericho. (Jdg. iii 28). The main body of the Israelites, however, did not fall a prey to these temptations, and held itself continually ready to go over Jordan into the Land which had been promised to them for an inheritance.

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- destroyed. (Num. xxi 27-30). It is generally accepted that it was a later composition of the 12th or 11th century B.C., written on the occasion of some war of Reuben or Gad against Moab and referring to events which even then were past history. (Causse, *Les plus vieux chants de la Bible*, p 60).
1. Cf. the mention of a famous desert sheik, Aby Tayi, still as powerful as a young man, though sixty years of age, in Thomas, 'With Lawrence in Arabia', p. 125.
 2. The connection of Reuben with Bilhah in the incidents of Gen. xxxv 22 and xlix 3,4, rather than any other tribe, may have been suggested that it gave way thus to such temptations.

CHAPTER TWELVE.

THE INVASION AT JERICHO. *****

Up to the time when they reached the kingdom of Sihon and defeated him in battle, the Israelites had been commanded by Moses. After his death, the Biblical tradition states that the leadership passed to Joshua, ~~the~~ Ephraimite. (Josh. i 1-2)¹.

It has been argued² that Joshua is simply the created figure of a later age, the Joshua legend being unknown to the earlier writers and having been formed on the lines of the work of Moses. But Joshua plays such a large part in the invasion of Palestine at Jericho that he can scarcely be an unhistorical figure..

Holzinger³ considers that the kernel of his story lies in the memory of the battles fought by the house of Joseph for the hills of Ephraim. He thinks of Joshua as occupying a place among the northern tribes corresponding to that of Caleb in the south and suggests that this is why the later sources mention the two of them together as being faithful to Moses. (Num. xiv 6).

A variation of this theory has been proposed by Luther

1. In Josh. xxiv 30, he is buried in Timnath-serah "in the Hill-country of Ephraim".
2. Stade, GVI., i 64f., 136f.
3. Das Buch Josua, p. xv.

and Meyer.¹ It is that Joshua was the leader of the hordes of Aramaean Habiru who invaded the land about the year 1400 B.C. and seized a few towns like Jericho, Gilgal, Shechem, Gibeon, Shiloh, Mizpah and Bethel. From the others like Megiddo, Gezer and Jerusalem, which they did not manage to take, the letters were sent to Egypt which describe their raids. The main body was moving westwards and a part of it reached Egypt and settled in Goshen. In that land they prospered and from it they came out about 1200 B.C. under Moses into the Negeb. From there Moses led them north into Judah. The difficulty here is that Moses as well as Joshua is associated with the invasion east of Jericho, and that the equivalence of Hoshea² with the name Yashuya on Mutbaal's letter on which this and similar theories depend is not to be accepted.⁴ There is therefore no good reason for thinking that Joshua lived before the time of the Exodus, and that therefore he was not the successor of Moses. We may consider that the Biblical tradition is so far reliable, and that Joshua did indeed succeed Moses directly as the leader of the Israelite tribes which were preparing to cross the Jordan when a favourable time came.

Joshua is first mentioned as a tried warrior in the course of the wanderings in the desert, on the occasion when Israel was attacked by the Amalekites (Exod. xvii 9ff.)

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1. "Israel und ihre Nachbarstämme", See particularly pp. 542ff.
 2. Another form of the name of Joshua given in Num. xiii 16.
 3. See e.g. Meek, AJT, xxiv, 209-216; Luckenbill, AJT, xxii, 24-53.
 4. See below p. 241, note.

Now the Ephraimites are said to have been led at first in the wilderness by the grandfather of Joshua (Num. x 22). If we can accept the genealogy of 1 Chronicles vii as correct in so far as its last two or three names are concerned,¹ then at the Exodus Joshua must have been quite young. It must have been within a year or two of the Exodus that there took place the two incidents of the battle with Amalek and the sending of the spies into Southern Canaan. Now it is not unlikely that Joshua was then old enough to distinguish himself in the battle, but not old enough to be entrusted with a responsible mission like that of the spies.² We have seen that the oldest traditions of the incident of the sending of the spies do not appear to know of Joshua. Caleb alone 'stilled the people before Moses' (Num. xiii 30). Perhaps his conduct in the battle with Amalek, which must have taken place at about the same time,³ led to his being brought to the attention of Moses as a promising youth. We can think of him, then, as a young man of about 20 at the time.⁴

Thereafter he became the minister of Moses, so that when Moses visited the 'Tent of Meeting' Joshua attended him (Exod.

1. There is no reason for not doing so. The genealogies probably preserved at least the important figures, and the name of the man who led a tribe such as Ephraim out of Egypt and was so nearly related to Joshua would be worth including.

2. See above, p. 5, note.

3. Obviously because Israel had trespassed on the rights of the Amalekites in coming to the place they did come to.

4. There is nothing impossible in his having been an experienced fighter at that age. Cf. the mention by Thomas, "With Lawrence in Arabia" p 131, of the shereef of the Harith clan, who was responsible for converting nearly the whole of the Hauran to the Arab revolt during the War at the age of nineteen.

xxiv 13, xxxiii 11). By the time that Moses died, Joshua would be a man of about sixty or sixty-five. Not only had he had experience of leading the Israelite armies in the field, but also, as Moses' minister, he had gained experience in religious affairs. He was therefore both a man of action and a man of faith, and fitted for the task of leading Israel into Canaan.

It is generally supposed that the stay of the Israelites on the East of the Jordan was of very short duration, and that they attacked Jericho very soon after defeating Sihon. There are, however, one or two incidents mentioned which on the whole indicate that their stay in the kingdom of Sihon before going over Jordan lasted at least a year or two.

The incident of the sinning of the people with the women of Moab cannot be considered decisive.¹ On the one hand it might be argued that some time would elapse before the Israelites were able to cultivate friendly relations with the people of the land. But on the other it is much more likely that the incident is just an example of the kind of thing that happens when an army is victorious, especially in an enervating place like the low-lying parts of Moab near the Dead Sea.² But the incident which is related immediately afterwards (Num. xxv 6-15), taken along with the story told in Numbers xxxi, probably contains the memory of a fight against Midian at this time; this is not likely to have taken place before

1. See above, p. 149.

2. See G. A. Smith, EB. 'Moab'.

Israel had been a year or two in the land and showed signs of settling down. The same is true of the Balaam story itself.

This problem may also be approached indirectly. The Book of the Covenant (Exodus xx 22 - xxiii 33) is older than the narrative in which it is incorporated. For example, Exodus xx 24, with its references to an 'altar of earth', reflects an early stage in the history of the people, and Exodus xxi 13, 'I will appoint thee a place whither he shall flee', indicates that the settlement of the whole land is not yet accomplished.¹ The administration of justice is still in the hands of the priests, and there is no trace of secular legal officials. For example, the slave who wished to continue to serve his master rather than to become free had to be brought to the nearest sanctuary to affirm his intention (Exod. xxi 6, xxii 8,9). We cannot put the development of such a primitive code as late as the period of the monarchy. There is no doubt but that the laws originated in a community which lived a simple life and was engaged in pastoral rather than agricultural pursuits, and that where agriculture was engaged in it was of a primitive nature.² The nucleus of the Code at least is Mosaic. "The Book of the Covenant was, according to the Elohist, a Law which was given by Moses shortly before the crossing of the Jordan (it may be conjectured, at the installation of Joshua in the leadership, (Jos. xxxi 14ff.) and was carved upon stones in the neighbour-

1. Sellin, Introduction to the OT. p 44.

2. Driver, Exodus (CB), p. lxi.

hood of Shechem, verse 8 (according to a later tradition written upon stones prepared with plaster, verses 2bii-5)."¹ If this reconstruction is correct, then Israel must have remained for some time in the territory of Reuben, until the laws laid down at Kadesh were codified in preparation for being set up on the other side of the Jordan.

Still another angle of approach is afforded by the Amarna Letters. The difficulty in using them is that there are no reliable dates in them. Roughly, the period covered by them has been determined by the mention in them of Amenhotep III and Akhenaten and the contemporary kings of Assyria and Babylon.² That is not precise enough for our purpose. However, there is one letter (Knudtzon 254) written by Labaya of Shechem, which has on it in ink the suggestion of a date in the signs 'year 10+2'.³ This has been taken to refer to Akhenaten's reign and therefore as indicating a date about 1364 B.C.⁴ But it may equally well refer to the reign of Amenhotep III, and indicate a somewhat longer range of time for the letters. In this case the date of the letter would be about 1407 B.C. This date is to be preferred on the whole, for Labaya's sons were apparently the contemporaries of Abdi-Hiba of Jerusalem, and to think of Labaya as reigning in Shechem as late as 1364 B.C. puts the events to which Abdi-Hiba refers even later than that. This would be so

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1. Sellin, Introduction to the OT. p 42.
 2. See above, p. 14.
 3. Garstang, JJ. p 256, note 6.
 4. So Cook, CAH, ii 313, note.

even if we could think of Labaya being succeeded by his sons very shortly after that year. There is no need to make any such supposition if we accept the earlier dating of the tablet which would make Labaya king of Shechem about the year 1407 B.C. In his letters (Knudtzon 287, 289), Abdi-Hiba refers to the sons of Labaya as his contemporaries, and speaks of the land of Shechem as "having given everything to the Habiru", evidently in the time of Labaya himself. His letters are full of the immanent fall of his own territory before the Habiru, so ^{1/} that the district of Shechem must have been theirs for some time before. This is supported by other letters, the evidence of which can be pieced together. Shuwardata of Keilah, a ¹ walled town in the lowland of Judah, in a letter (Louvre A07096) ² writes to Pharaoh "I and Abdi-Hiba are making war on the SA.GAZ: Zurata, the ruler of the city of Akka, and Endar(?) -uta, the ruler of the city of Akshapa, These are the helpers (come) to me with fifty chariots." Now Abdi-Hiba ³ was also a contemporary of Zurata's son and successor Zatatna, who raided a Babylonian caravan passing through Canaan during the reign of Amenhotep IV. It is likely therefore that Shuwardata's letter was written earlier than those of Abdi-Hiba, which appear to come from the later part of the period ⁴ in which the letters are dated. This is supported by two other pieces of evidence. First, Pharaoh writes (Louvre

1. SBD. 'Keilah'.

2, See above, p. 16.

3. See Jack, Exodus, p. 164, note 2.

4. See Jack, Exodus, p. 164.

A07095) to the Endaruta of Achshaph mentioned in Shuwardata's letter to provide for the coming of a large force of men to the town. Such a request does not seem to fit in anywhere in later days, when we know that Amenhotep III did not trouble to send garrisons and expeditions to Palestine and Syria.¹ Then, Shuwardata himself went over to the side of the Habiru later, before the end of the period during which Abdi-Hiba wrote, if we are to believe the evidence of one of his letters.² After a careful consideration of the whole of the evidence of the Amarna Letters, Knudtson concludes that the invasion of the Northern parts of Palestine took place some time before the Habiru came to the South. "It deserves to be noticed, in whatever way we look at the matter, that the letters referring to the Habiru are certainly later than some of those in which the SA.GAZ people are mentioned."³

We have just seen that Labaya of Shechem appears to have gone over to the side of the Habiru shortly before 1400 B.C. This means that by that time the invaders must have been attacking in the north, so that we are to suppose that it was a few years after that that Israel under Joshua crossed the Jordan and attacked Jericho.

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1. See Jack, Exodus, p. 121.
 2. "Behold the deed which Milki-ili and Shuwardata have done against the land of the king, my lord. They have..... the soldiers(or people) of Gezer, the soldiers of Gath, and the soldiers of Keilah, and have taken the territory of Rubute." (Knudtson 290).
 3. Knudtson, Die el-Amarna Tafeln, p. 52.

The Book of Joshua opens with the children of Israel situated at the north-eastern end of the Dead Sea, ready to start on a new stage of their national history. We have seen how it is very probable that at this time Israel was still semi-nomadic, and that although they had entered into relations with their new neighbours which did them no credit, they still lived in tents and so could more easily return to the purity of their faith.¹ This is borne out by the Book of Joshua, which speaks of the Israelites as encamped at Shittim just before the crossing of the Jordan.²

At the period when we have decided that the Israelites invaded the land west of the Jordan, i.e. shortly after 1400 B.C., the military situation on the whole favoured them. Although the upper and middle reaches of the Jordan were well populated at this time, the lower valley in the last few miles before the river falls into the Dead Sea has very few ancient sites.³ In the days of the Roman Empire some spots were rendered fertile by irrigation, and near to Jericho the two springs 'Ain el-Sultan and 'Ain el-Duk gave sufficient water for the needs of the town. In the 15th. century B.C. Jericho was the only important town in this district.⁴ The result is that, although it is linked by paths with the cities on the plateau like Jerusalem, Hebron,

1. See above, pp. 148, 153.

2. Joshua iii 1. "...they removed from Shittim". The word translated 'remove' has the sense of 'break camp'.

3. Albright, AASOR, VI, pp. 48, 49.

4. Garstang, JJ. p. 123.

the cities of the Gibeonite league and Shechem, they are all invisible from it and it is quite isolated. Normally the fate of Jericho would have been of interest to the government of Egypt, but at this particular time no defence would be made from Egypt because of apathy in foreign affairs. Nor could Jericho rely on help from its neighbours when Egyptian authority was withdrawn for because of jealousy that was not always sent.

Politically too the time was favourable for an attack. The interest of Egypt was confined by now almost entirely to the direct route along the coast and Esdraelon from Gaza to Damascus. The prosperity of Egypt itself and the growing internal problems it had to face resulting from the increasing age of Amenhotep III and the religious outlook of Amenhotep IV discouraged any particular interest in this part of the Empire.¹

So far as we can gather from all the evidence we have examined throughout, it was only the tribes of Ephraim and Benjamin² which prepared to cross the Jordan and take Jericho. According to the Book of Joshua, they were stationed at Abel-Shittim, (ii 1; cf. Num. xxv 1) somewhere just north of the Dead Sea on the east bank of the Jordan. The site is not known, but Professor Garstang suggests that it was the low stony platform, about 30 acres in extent, to be seen near the modern village of Kufrein. This platform is bounded by

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1. See above, p. 26.
 2. Probably accompanied by a contingent from at least the tribes of Reuben and Gad. See Num. xxxii 20-27; Josh iv 12.

shallow water-courses which are green in summer, and covered with the mimosa and acacia from which the place would take its name.¹ It makes an ideal camping-spot for a reasonable number of people. To the east rises Tell el-Kufrein from which a look-out could be kept as far as the hills of Ephraim, so that the place was guarded against surprise.

Between the Israelites and the Promised Land ran the Jordan river, which could be crossed at only five places in easy reach of Jericho. The most northerly of these fords was at el-Mandesi, north of the Wady Nimrin, and the most southerly eight miles lower down at el-Henu.² Even there the river is hardly ever fordable in the spring,³ when the crossing by the Israelites probably took place. For this reason it would have been foolish for Joshua to order the Israelites to prepare to cross the river within three days, particularly without his having made any military preparations, were it not that he had good reason for suspecting that something would soon happen which would make such a crossing possible. His order to the people to be ready so soon (Josh. i 11) shows that he believed that shortly the way would be opened up for a crossing of the Jordan which would put fear into the hearts of the people of Jericho and hearten the Israelites. While that event was pending, he went on with his military preparations.

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1. Garstang JJ pp 125-127. 2. See PEF map.
 3. This shown by mention in Josh. ii 6 of the spies being covered by the 'stalks of flax' laid out to dry on the roof of Rahab's house. Also in Josh iii 15, the reference to the overflowing of Jordan in harvest-time dates the crossing in April or May. (See Josh. CB. p 23).

The first thing Joshua had to do by way of military preparation for the siege of Jericho was to discover the strength of the opposition with which he was likely to meet. He could discount the sending of aid from other towns if it were invested quickly enough, so that all he required to do was to send spies to Jericho itself.

Although it was at this time comparatively small, the city of Jericho was a great enough obstacle for the Israelites to face. For it was a walled town and therefore formidable to semi-nomads without proper means of attacking it. It stood at the foot of the hills on a mound ¹ a little over a mile from the modern village of el-Riha. Close to the city was the spring 'Ain el-Sultan, the source of the most abundant water supply in the district. The identity of the site can hardly be questioned, for no other place of its age is to be found anywhere near. Its age has been attested by the excavations carried out on it by Professors Sellin and Watzinger in 1908-9, and later and more thoroughly by Professor Garstang in a series of annual excavations beginning in 1930.²

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1. Modern Kom el-Sultan. See Garstang JJ p. 386.
 2. See Sellin and Watzinger, Jericho; die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen, 1913. Also Garstang JJ, pp. 386-388 and 145-148. Also Vincent, RB. 1913, pp 450-458; 1935, pp. 583ff. Professor Garstang also contributed articles on his work in the 'Scotsman' April 14, 1931; July 24, 1931; March 1, April 1, April 8, 1932; these have been used below. See also, Albright, BASOR, LVIII (Apr. 1935). The outline of the results of the excavations are as follows:-
 FIRST CITY (A). This was built before 2100 B.C. and it contained neolithic arrowheads and characteristic pottery.
 SECOND CITY (B). Of first period of the Middle Bronze Age, i.e. about 2000-1800 B.C. Surrounded by a brick wall 15 feet thick. There was one gate on the east wall. There

On the basis of the excavations which have been carried out we can build up the history of the various episodes in the life of the city. Like all the Canaanite cities of the Bronze Age, Jericho was surrounded by defensive walls. It required them even more than most of the other cities because of its isolation. Although a walled town had stood there from very early times, it was during the period from 1800-1600 B.C. that in common with the rest of the towns of Canaan it reached its greatest extent. Apparently about 1600 B.C. some catastrophe overtook it, probably at the hands of the

is no evidence that this city suffered a general destruction by fire. During this period an expansion of the population caused building outside the walls. This lower city was reached by a flight of steps at the SW corner of the walls. About 1800 B.C. walls were built for the THIRD CITY (C), which belonged to the second half of the Middle Bronze Age. During this period (1800-1600 B.C.), the wall extended round the whole area of the tell, and had a length of about 850 yards. It was built of stone, was 21 feet high and went well below ground level. The parapet was of brick and it had the additional defence of an outer ditch. The occupation debris is six feet thick on the surface and three feet thick on the slopes. The signs are that this city was destroyed by fire about 1600, or possibly some time later.

FOURTH CITY (D). About 1600 B.C. the smaller area of the second city was refortified. It extends to about six acres and the circumference of the walls was about 656 yards, so that it held a population of about 1000. A new wall 12 feet thick, which in the south and west at least stood on the foundations of that of the second city, was built with another outside it at a distance of five yards. This outer wall was six feet thick. In this city Egyptian scarabs were found down to those of Amenhotep III, indicating that the city fell before 1380 B.C. Albright argues for a later date by claiming that these were used after his death. The last king of Jericho whose tomb has been found was Akha, who also lived about that time. There were no Mycenaean deposits in the city according to Garstang, but later, (April 1934) Albright says that four imitation Mycenaean pieces were found. He concludes that the date of the fall could not be earlier than 1350 B.C. but CAH (ii 459-460) says that the typical Mycenaean pottery of this whole century was 'a late and degenerate version'. In any case,

Egyptians when they pursued the Hyksos into Palestine; for during the Hyksos domination of Egypt Jericho was an important base for them in Palestine.¹

The fourth city whose walls were built up after that act of destruction was confined once more to the top of the mound. The walls, though they were massive, were faultily constructed, for the bricks were sun-dried and contained no binding straw. The foundations consisted of two or three layers of field stones, quite irregular in size and unevenly laid down. As a result, the courses of the brick wall above were not always level, and there were many gaps in them which were filled up with mud mortar. In those places in the west and south where the inner wall followed the line of the second city wall, it rested sometimes only on debris and not on the old wall itself. The inner wall of this fourth city was probably 25-30 feet high² and must have been very heavy. Being built on such weak foundations, it must have subsided in various places, and indeed there are frequently to be found the signs of repair.

The outer wall of this city was built wholly on debris and on the very edge of the mound itself. Originally it was intended as an additional defence, but the pressure of space led to the building of houses upon the walls themselves.

a date earlier in the century is not impossible. T. J. Meek points out (BASOR, LXI, Feb. 1936, p.18) that the date of the fall of the city is still very uncertain, since "no absolutely clear stratification has yet been discovered at Jericho." The city was destroyed by fire without sack (grain was found in the storage bins) and not rebuilt till 900 B.C.

1. Garstang, Scotsman, 1/3/32. 2. Garstang, JJ., p 131.

Traces of the timber by means of which the intervening space was bridged¹ have been found. In the north-west corner the walls met and enclosed the foundations of a watch-tower, which at this period was filled in with brick to the level of the top of the walls themselves. Above them it probably rose to a fair height. On the north wall of the city, a firmer foundation for such houses as were built upon the walls was provided by brick transverses stretching from the inner wall to the outer.

This city had probably only one gate and that on the east side near to the water supply of 'Ain el-Sultan, where a gate-tower has been located.²

To this place the spies sent out by Joshua came (Josh. ii 1, 2) and lodged at the house of a harlot, Rahab. Ordinarily the inhabitants of Jericho would be accustomed to the coming and going of men from beyond Jordan, and in particular the visiting of such a house as that of Rahab by strangers would not attract much attention. But this was no ordinary time. The presence of the host of Israelites beyond the river, combined with the well-known tendency of nomads to invade settled lands and the slackness of Egypt, together with the knowledge of what had already happened to Sihon at the hands of these people, must have filled the inhabitants of Jericho from the king downwards with the deepest anxiety and have led to the reporting to the authorities of the presence of these strangers in the town. Hence the order of the king

1. Garstang JJ p. 132.

2. Garstang JJ p. 133. Cf 'the gate' in Josh. ii 5, 7.

to Rahab to give up the men (Josh. ii 3). Instead of giving them up, she hid them and sent the king's messengers off on a false scent (Josh. ii 4-7).¹

When they had gone, she let the spies down by a rope from her window, for her house was one of those on the walls of the city (ii 15), and advised them to hide "in the mountain" for three days before returning over Jordan (ii 16). It seems probable that Rahab's house was one of those on the north wall close to the watch-tower at the north-western corner. If it were in such a place, it may have remained undestroyed when the rest of the walls fell as Joshua vi 22 implies. It would also have been easy for the spies to get from the house to the Jebel Kuruntul,² a mountain only about a mile away from the western boundary of the city. The face of the cliffs of this rough and desolate mountain is made of soft and friable rock which is easily cracked by the sun and the cold of the night. It therefore is honeycombed with small caves in any one of which the spies could hide for a day until the excitement of seeking them had died down and they were able to return to the camp of the Israelites without hindrance.³

Immediately on the return of the spies with their report (Josh. ii 23-24), Joshua and the Israelites made preparations

1. This can be made out in spite of the fact that the story is clearly composite. Thus, for example, in ii, 3, there is an obvious doublet - 'that are come to thee' and 'which are come into thine house'. These phrases the Septuagint and Syriac combine in various ways. (See Josh CB, p 10).
2. Joshua ii 22.
3. Garstang, JJ. p 134.

to cross the Jordan.

The Biblical account (Josh. iii, iv) states that the people, led by the priests bearing the ark, marched across the bed of the Jordan, the waters of which "were wholly cut off" (iii 16) so that they were able to cross dry-shod. The passage of the Jordan was commemorated by the erection on the western bank of a circle of twelve stones taken from its bed. The whole narrative emphasises the ceremonial which was observed and the miraculous drying up of the water. The first camping place west of the Jordan, which remained the headquarters of Israel for some time, is said to have been Gilgal (iv 19). There the rite of circumcision is described as having taken place as soon as the crossing was accomplished. Thereafter the various tribes must have come to an agreement about the directions of their various enterprises by means of the casting of the sacred lot. So much is implied by Jdg. i 3 and Josh. xvii 14.

Though the general sense of the narrative is clear, the details are confused, probably owing to the working together of parallel accounts of the event. For example, in Joshua iii 16, 17, iv 1, the people have passed over the river, but iv 4-7 indicates that they are still east of the river, which they are only ordered to cross later (Josh. iv 10b). We have therefore a twofold account of the crossing. Again, the account of the memorial stones which were set up on the accomplishment of the crossing is confused. According to one story (Josh. iv 1-3), twelve men are ordered to take

twelve stones from the bed of the river, carry them across and set them up on the western bank, and this is done (Josh. iv 8). The same procedure is recorded in a slightly different way in Joshua iv 4-7, and verse 20 speaks of the erection of the stones at Gilgal. There is also what appears to be a third account, according to which the twelve stones are set up in the bed of the river itself on the spot where the priests stood with the ark (Josh. iv 9). The meaning of the memorial is explained twice over, in Joshua iv 6, 7, and also in Joshua iv 21-24.

The whole account is obviously composite, but it is not easy to analyse it. The hand of the Deuteronomic editor is seen in such places as Joshua iii 7; iv 12, 14, 21-24; v 1; and that of the Priestly editor in iv 13, 15, 17, 19, and possibly elsewhere.¹ But the assigning of the remainder to its proper designations is very difficult. The two sources are supposed to be the same as those elsewhere in the narrative, i.e. J and E, but it is so difficult to say from which source either of the two strands of the narrative is derived that Dr. Driver uses neutral designations.² All that we can say is that the Deuteronomic School reconstructed the narrative from J and E.

Although the narrative contains so many differences in detail and appears to have been coloured by reminiscences of the crossing of the Red Sea (cf. Josh. iii 13, 16, 17), there

1. Joshua (CB), p. 17.
2. Driver, LOT, pp 105-106.

is no reason to suppose that the whole story is a fabrication. The Old Testament tradition implies a memorable crossing accompanied by some striking natural phenomenon such as had already taken place at the Red Sea, a phenomenon which convinced the Israelites that their God was with them at the moment they entered Canaan as he had been with them when they left Egypt.

Two matters require to be cleared up - a) the possibility of a temporary drying up of the river, and b) the place of the crossing and the site of Gilgal.

As we have already seen,¹ the crossing of the Jordan took place at a time when the river was in flood. It would be difficult enough, if not impossible, even for men to cross the fords under these conditions, and certainly impossible for women and children, to say nothing of the flocks and baggage. Something like a miracle ~~was~~ required, and the miracle happened, for the drying up of the river at such a season was certainly miraculous.

The wide valley of the Jordan, called the Arabah in the Old Testament, and now known as el-Ghor, contains a deeper bed which varies from 150 to 200 feet in depth and from 200 yards to a mile in breadth. This deeper bed is known as el-Zor. This bed forms the real bottom of the valley, and its banks are of white marl covered with semi-tropical vegetation. Deeper still in el-Zor the river itself, about 60 feet broad, flows between banks which vary in height from two to twenty-five feet. When the river is flooded it rises and covers

1. See above, p. 160.

el-Zor.¹ At various points in its course it is liable to be blocked by landslides, which have been known to occur in historic times. There is, for example, an account by an Arab historian of the fourteenth century, named Nowairi, of the same kind of event in the time of Sultan Bibars I of Egypt. In the year 1266 A.D. he had ordered a bridge to be built across the Jordan near el-Damiyeh. The task was hindered because of the rising of the waters. On the night preceding 8th. December, 1267, "the waters of the river ceased to flow so that none remained in its bed." On investigation it was found that "a lofty mound which overlooked the river on the west had fallen into it and dammed it up The water was held up, and had spread itself over the valley above the dam the water was arrested from midnight until the fourth hour of the day. Then the water prevailed upon the dam and broke it up The occurrence is one of the most wonderful of events, and the bridge is in existence to this day."² The place where this landslide occurred was probably about 25 miles north of el-Damiyeh, where east of Beisan the Jordan passes through a gorge between steep banks 150 feet high.³ The river probably undermined the cliffs which fell into it and thus caused the obstruction. Since then there have been similar incidents, the latest being during the earthquake season of 1927. On this occasion,

1. Josh. (CB) p. 23.

2. See Josh. (CB) p. 25.

3. Not, as Garstang seems to infer (JJ p 136f), near el-Damiyeh itself.

"the high west bank immediately below the ford (at el-Damiyeh) collapsed, carrying with it the roadway..... and just below, a section of the cliff, which here rises to a height of 150 feet, fell bodily across the river and completely blocked it, so that no water flowed down the river bed for twenty one and a half hours. Meanwhile the waters gradually filled up the plain round Tell el Damieh, and found their way eventually back to the river bed when the temporary barrage was in turn destroyed, and normal conditions were gradually resumed. During this time, it is asserted by several living witnesses that they crossed and recrossed the bed of the river freely on foot."¹

Something of the same kind appears to have happened in the time of Joshua. The Israelites had no doubt been in the neighbourhood of the fords for some time, and they would have knowledge of what was going on up the river, if only because their flocks were feeding on its banks. El-Damiyeh is only about fifteen miles up the river, so that anything which happened there could be reported to Joshua the same day.

"If a great part of the cliff was found to be overhanging and in imminent danger of falling"², Joshua would have a reason for ordering the people to be ready to cross the river at a moment's notice. If, as there is cause to believe, the crossing took place at a time when earthquake shocks were frequent,³

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1. Garstang, JJ. p. 137.
 2. Garstang, JJ. p. 138.
 3. See below, p. 180.

there would be the more cause for watchfulness and readiness¹ to start the crossing. Professor Garstang points out that earth tremors have a tendency to recur within the space of one or two years and then to quieten down for a while. There may have been one shock which loosened the banks of the river and caused a landslide, and a day or two later another which was responsible for the fall of the walls; it may even have been that the one shock was responsible for both events. In any case, the miracle lay not in the occurrence of an earthquake or a series of earthquakes but in the occurrence of an earthquake at the very time that it would help Israel most. In the fact that, when they wished to cross the Jordan, a passage was made for them, the Israelites saw the providence of God over-ruling their history as it always did.

Doubts have also been expressed whether the crossing of the Jordan by Israel under Joshua took place opposite Jericho, and whether the Gilgal referred to in the Book of Joshua was beside Jericho. It has been suggested that the crossing under Joshua was made farther north and that Gilgal was a place near Shechem.

The reason for these doubts is that there is some confusion in the text of Joshua iii 16, where the reference is made to the spot at which the river ceased to flow during the time of the crossing, and also in Deuteronomy xi 30, where the position of Mount Ebal and Mount Gerizim is defined.

1. Garstang, JJ. p. 138, note.

In Joshua iii 16, the Massoretic Text reads הַרְקִיף מֵאֵד
 $\text{וְצָרְתָן אֲשֶׁר מִצַּד צָרְתָן}$. As the consonantal text stands,
 בְּאֵד should be pointed בְּאָדָּם (at Adam), but the Qere reads
 it as מֵאֵד (from Adam). With this the Targum, Peshitta and
 Syriac all agree. We may therefore read the words either
 as "the waters rose up in one heap a great way off at Adam,
 the city that is beside Zarethan", or as "the waters rose up
 in one heap a great way off from Adam, the city that is beside
 Zarethan." As far as grammar is concerned, there is no
 preference for one reading or the other, and we are left to
 make an open choice.

But this appears to be one of the passages in the Old
 Testament where the Septuagint is helpful for a reconstruction
 of the original text. There, Codex B reads ἕως μέρους
 $\text{καθαίρειν τὸ δὲ καταβαίνον καταέβη εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν Ἀραβία.}^2$
 There is no mention whatever of Zarethan, and the place name
 is in confusion.

Dr. Albright³ has suggested the following reconstruction
 of the original Hebrew Text.

- a) Probable original text. $\text{הַרְקִיף מֵאֵד עַד מִצַּד צָרְתָן}$
- b) Text after scribal dittography. $\text{ה' מֵאֵד מֵאֵד מֵאֵד ע' מ' צ'}$
- c) Correction by prototype of MT. $\text{ה' מֵאֵד בְּאֵד מֵאֵד ע' מ' צ'}$
- d) Do. do. by MS behind Codex B. $\text{ה' מֵאֵד מֵאֵד ע' מ' צ'}$
- e). Present MT. $\text{הַרְקִיף מֵאֵד בְּאֵד הַעִיר אֲשֶׁר מִצַּד צָרְתָן}$.

This would be arrived at after עַד מֵאֵד had been corrupted

1. See Kittel's Biblia Hebraica.

2. For καθαίρειν Codex A has καριαθλαριμ and Codex F has
 καριαθλαριμ.

3. JPOS, 1925, p.33. With this, Professor M. L. Margolis
 agrees.

to אֲדָמָה הָעֹלֶה (א). The word אֲשַׁל would then require to be inserted for syntactical reasons. This would make the original reading, "And the water coming down from above stood still, (and) rose up into a single mass as far from Adamah as beside Zarethan."

This reconstructed reading makes it appear that the Jordan was blocked at the city of Zarethan somewhat north of Adamah. If this is so, then Adamah itself may have been the site of the crossing.

The Massoretic Text has added another difficulty to the problem in that "Adam" is not precisely "Adamah", nor is Adamah "beside" Zarethan. This has misled commentators in the past. T. K. Cheyne read the verse, "It came to pass that the waters stood still: that which came down from above stood as a heap some distance from the ford of Adamah which is opposite Beth-zur." He took Zarethan to be a corruption for Beth-zur, which he identified with Qarn Zartabah. Recently Adamah and Zarethan have been identified with some certainty, by Dr. Albright.² His argument is that according to 1 Kings iv 12 Zarethan³ was near Abel-meholah. Now Judges vii 22 appears to place it just north of Tabbat, which was on the opposite side of the Jordan from Abel-meholah. Tabbat has been identified with Ras Abu Tabat, north east of Fakaris, so that Zarethan ought to be identified with Tell Sleihat. Adamah is the modern el-Damiyeh about a mile east of the

1. EB. Column 2398.

2. AASOR, VI, pp 46-48.

3. Albright points out that Zartan is more correct than Zarethan.

Damiyeh ferry, somewhat south of Tell Sleihat. This identification fits the reconstructed Hebrew Text of the verse.

Professor Sellin also considers that the crossing of the Israelites took place at el-Damiyeh,¹ and supports his contention by putting the Gilgal which was Joshua's camp and headquarters near Shechem and not beside Jericho.²

It is the uncertainty of the site of Gilgal which has led him to this conclusion. There were various places in Palestine which bore the name, and this is not surprising, for it denotes a place distinguished by a circle of sacred stones.³ Of the various sites which may have been that of the Israelite camp during the Conquest, there are three more likely than any others.

There is first the traditional spot somewhere between Jericho and the Jordan. This the Book of Joshua itself considers to have been the place. Josephus, Jerome and Eusebius all identified it with Tell Jeljul, a mound on which there are now the ruins of a church. This identification was later accepted by Conder.⁴ But excavations in the district by Clermont-Ganneau show that the identification is very doubtful.⁵ In the time of Amos and Hosea,⁶ there was a famous sanctuary at a place called Gilgal, and it is usually considered that this too was the Gilgal beside Jericho. As a proof of this, Judges iii 19 is referred to and is

1. See his 'Gilgal' p. 96, for the reading of the text, which he adopts. 2. Sellin, Gilgal, p. 33ff.
 3. SBD 'Gilgal'. 4. Josh. (CB) p. 32.
 5. Josh. (CB) p. 32. 6. Amos iv 4 etc.: Hosea iv 15.

considered to imply that at this place there was a Canaanite sanctuary which Israel took over. G. A. Smith, however, points out ¹ that this identification is quite uncertain, and that the Gilgal they referred to might well be the modern Jiljilia, a village on the hills between Bethel and Shechem, near Shiloh. ² This latter site is also supposed to be that of the Gilgal which enters into the history of Samuel (1 Sam. xiii 7-15), and later that of Elijah (2 Kings ii). ³ Professor Sellin shows ⁴ that the Gilgal of Amos and Hosea may not have been the Gilgal of Joshua's camp at all, and that almost certainly it was not east of Jericho in the tribal lot of Benjamin. ⁵

There is a third possibility - that the Gilgal at which Joshua camped was a place near Shechem, and that it was to it that the Israelites came after crossing the Jordan at Adamah. Deuteronomy xi 30 relates the ratification of the covenant at Ebal and Gerizim near Shechem: the two mountains are defined in the following way, "Are they not beyond Jordan, behind the way of the going down of the sun, in the land of the Canaanites which dwell in the Arabah, over against Gilgal, ⁶ beside the oaks of Moreh?" Meyer argues that the whole

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1. Book of the Twelve Prophets, i 37.
 2. SBD, 'Gilgal (2)'.
 3. Sellin, Gilgal, pp 13-21.
 4. Gilgal, pp 10-13.
 5. There does not seem to be any good reason for considering seriously that Jiljilia beside Shiloh was the Gilgal of the crossing of Jordan. Driver (Deut ICC p. 134) points out that it is not easy to understand why it should have been chosen to indicate the position of Ebal and Gerizim from a view-point on the east of Jordan.
 6. 'Israel und ihre Nachbarstämme', pp. 544ff.

scene of the ceremony was later in Jewish history transferred from Shechem to Gilgal in order to oppose the claims of the Samaritans; and indeed that the mountains themselves were spoken of as in the Arabah "over against Gilgal", although the retention of the phrase "beside the oaks of Moreh" shows that originally the sanctuary at Shechem was being referred to. This is an unsatisfactory theory, and it is criticised by Sellin.¹ He refers in his criticism to the fact that² somewhere east of Shechem and not very far away from it there was a sanctuary beside which Abraham, Jacob and Joseph are said to have lived. He thinks that the difficulty might be got over if we thought of this as the place to which Joshua came with Israel once they had crossed the Jordan.

This theory does violence to the Biblical tradition by making Joshua come from the east of Jordan by way of el-Damiyeh. It does not agree with the view there continually expressed, that he found his way to Ephraim by way of Sihon's kingdom. Nor does it agree with the fact that later Shechem belonged to Manasseh and not to Ephraim (Josh. xvii 2). What seems more likely is that here we have the remains of a tradition of the crossing of the tribe of Manasseh from Gilead to the district of Shechem, which would be most naturally accomplished by means of the ford at el-Damiyeh.³ Joshua himself, the successor of Moses, crossed the Jordan opposite Jericho with the tribes of Ephraim and Benjamin.

1. Gilgal, p. 5ff.
 2. Gilgal, pp 7-10.
 3. See above, p. 141.

Somewhere near to Jericho he made his headquarters.

The Biblical tradition states that the first thing he did was to circumcise all the men.¹ This is another difficult point, for it is not easy to understand why Joshua disabled his army right at the start of a hard campaign, and when he was already in the country of the enemy. It is usually claimed that the clue is found in Joshua v 9, which uses the incident as a means of giving a fanciful interpretation to the name of a Canaanite sanctuary already at the place when Israel came to it.² But if there were indeed such a sanctuary there, why is there not more trace of it today, and how could Israel possibly pitch a camp at it without coming into conflict with the Canaanites? Ought we not rather to think of Gilgal as a place near Shechem, to which, after the completion of his campaigns, Joshua came and at which he brought into the confederation the Hebrews who had arrived there shortly before?³ The performing of the rite of circumcision was accompany their admission. If this were so, all the references to the camp at Gilgal beside Jericho, with their mention of the rite of circumcision under such unlikely conditions, would be due to the confusion of two different events taking place in two different localities. The camping place of the Israelites at Jericho was really an unnamed spot, to which was given the name of the sanctuary near Shechem visited later by Joshua.⁴

1. See above, p. 166.

2. Josh. (CB) p. 37.

3. See below, p. 205.

4. In the incident in Joshua v 13, which apparently took place in or near the camp, Joshua is only said to have been "by Jericho".

The capture of Jericho is described in the sixth chapter of the Book of Joshua with much elaborate detail. So much attention is paid by the Hebrew historians to the event that we are bound to think of it as historical and as important for Israel. But the narrative as it now stands is full of inconsistencies, showing that it is composite and that it has been worked over by various editors. It is evident that it has grown to what it is out of a much shorter and more straightforward story. A comparison with the Septuagint shows that even down to a comparatively late date in Jewish history the text was being altered, and there is no doubt but that here again the Greek Version helps us to reach an earlier stage in the tradition than the present Hebrew Text.¹

There are two accounts of the capture of the city. In one of them the people march round the city once a day for seven days, and Joshua gives the signal which brings down the walls. The priests are not mentioned, and the ark is referred to only once and that in a doubtful passage. The circuit of the walls is made in absolute silence. In the other account² the procession goes round seven times in one day and the signal is given to the people by a horn. Joshua gives his orders to the priests, who with the ark are essential elements in what is an occasion full of ceremony. The priests blow their horns continually, as do the rearguard. Besides

1. Josh. (CB) p. 40.

2. Contained in verses 3, 7a, 10-12a, 14, 15a, 16b, 17, 20a, 25

3. Contained in verses 4-6, 12b, 13, 16a, 20b, 22, 23.

the two main accounts, there are other smaller discrepancies and several additions due to the attempts of the editors to harmonise the whole.¹

A comparison between the two strands in the narrative shows that there is a tendency to extend and elaborate the story. The blowing of the horns, the important place given to the priests and the ark, and the processions round the doomed city, are certainly later additions suggested by the Temple ceremonial on the occasion of the Feast of the Tabernacles.²

In its original form the narrative must have been much simpler, probably more like the present Greek text of Joshua vi 2-5, "And the Lord said unto Joshua, Behold I deliver Jericho into thy hand and its king who is in it, being mighty men in strength. And do thou surround it with the men of war round about; and it shall be when ye shall sound with the trumpet, let all the people shout together; and when they shout the walls of the city shall fall down of themselves, and all the people shall rush in, each man straight into the city."

The process of introducing the marching round of the whole people appears to have been simplified by a misunderstanding of the proper meaning of the Hebrew word rendered "compass" in verse 3. ללל nowhere else except in Psalm xlvi 12 has the meaning of "march round"; though it is often used of an army encircling a town to besiege it.³ The

1. See Josh (CB) pp 40-41 for the details of these.
 2. Josh (CB) p. 41.
 3. Brown-Driver-Briggs, Lexicon.

original story simply recounted how the city was surrounded by the Israelite army and carried by assault. The examination of the site gives reason to believe that this is what actually happened.

The fall of the walls of Jericho is not attributed in the Old Testament to a physical agency such as an earthquake, any more than is the stoppage of the waters of the Jordan. There is no reason to doubt but that the loosening of the banks of the Jordan was due to earthquake shocks, and our accepting this theory is made easier by the knowledge that the walls of Jericho show signs of having been weakened in the same way.¹ If this was so, it would be an easy matter for the Israelites to undermine the walls if they so desired. A later examination of the earth below the foundations showed, however, that undermining was certainly not the cause of the fall of the walls.² As far as can be made out what happened was, that the earthquake shocks which blocked the Jordan loosened the foundations of the outer wall, which had been built on the very edge of the slope of the mound, so much that it collapsed. The inner wall and the buildings between fell into the space behind the outer wall and completely filled it with debris. This would explain why the inner walls did not fall inwards as well as outwards, as would be natural if the fall were due to an earthquake acting on a single wall standing by itself.

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1. Garstang, 'Scotsman', July 24, 1931.
 2. Garstang, 'Scotsman', April 1, 1932.

When Joshua and the Israelites came to besiege Jericho, they found the walls in such a state that it was an easy matter for them to climb over them straight into the city. This explains too why there is no mention made of the undermining of the walls of Jericho, a detail as worthy of mention as the method by which Ai was taken. The walls did not require to be undermined, for they were already broken. It explains also the apparent helplessness of the inhabitants of Jericho, who could do nothing to defend the city now that its walls had collapsed so completely.

The Biblical tradition states that the city was destroyed by fire (Josh. vi 24). In the course of the excavations, traces of an intense fire were found, "including reddened masses of brick, cracked stones, charred timbers and ashes. Houses alongside the wall are found burned to the ground, their roofs fallen upon the domestic pottery within."¹ That the burning was deliberately planned is evident from the fact that burnt pottery and grain lie on the floors of the houses, and that the vessels in the store rooms were left standing in rows.² This supports the Hebrew tradition that this, the first city captured in the Promised Land, was put to the ban and burnt, and that a curse was laid on its ruins (Joshua, vi 21, 24, 26). The charge that the city should not be rebuilt was observed, for the archaeological evidence shows that after its destruction it lay in ruins for five hundred years or more. Some houses may have been built on

1. Garstang, JJ. p. 145f.

2. Garstang, 'Scotsman', April 14, 1931; April 1, 1932.

the northern~~end~~ end of the site outside the walls of the city, but the city itself was not rebuilt until at least 900 B.C.

The destruction of Jericho by the Israelites left them with a base from which they could go up by various routes into the highlands. The Old Testament tradition is that Joshua first advanced from Jericho on Ai, near Bethel (Josh. vii 2ff.). The advance was preceded by the sending of spies who brought back so favourable a report that relatively few men were sent against the city, and these were repulsed. The reason given for the defeat is that some Israelite had been guilty of a theft of the devoted spoil at Jericho, which he had concealed (Joshua vii 11). The culprit Achan was discovered by means of the sacred lot and put to death with all his family (vii 16-25). A second attack, in which the plan of an ambush and feigned retreat was used, resulted in success, the city being captured and burnt, and its inhabitants put to the sword (Josh. viii 1-29).

It is probable that the story of Achan was brought into the narrative of the defeat at Ai, in order to explain the suggestive and ill-omened name of the valley of Achor. This name was derived from אָחָז "to bring disaster upon" a person, and taken rightly or wrongly to mean "calamity".¹ It is quite possible that such a name was given to one of the valleys in which this disaster did fall upon Israel. The story of Achan is the later explanation of the name.

1. Josh. (CB) p.61.

Until recently there has been no reason to doubt the statement that the capture of Ai formed a stage in the settlement of the land soon after the fall of Jericho. The only difficulty - that in the Book of Joshua nothing is said of the capture of the far more important city of Bethel - was explained by thinking of it as being omitted from the account, and supplying it from Judges i 22-26.

The latest excavations of the sites of Bethel and Ai have thrown doubts on the historicity of the incident. Bethel is identified with the modern village of Beitin, which covers most of the ancient site. It lies 2890 feet above sea level at a point 12 miles north of Jerusalem, on one of the main roads from that city to the north.¹ In 1927, Dr. Albright sank a short trench to a depth of twenty feet at a point west of the village. As a result of this examination he said that he considered the city to have been occupied from 1700-1400 B.C., and that there was "a destruction of the city not later than the 15th. century B.C."² Excavations are being carried on on a wider scale at present by the American Schools of Oriental Research,³ and the results so far show that "Bethel was first occupied late in the last ceramic phase represented in the sister town (Ai)."⁴ The fortifying of Bethel seems to have taken place after the destruction of Bronze Age Ai, which event is dated as far back

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1. Garstang, JJ. p 364. Joshua (CB) p. 53.
 2. Albright ZAW 1929, i, p. 11.
 3. See BASOR, LV, pp 23-25.
 4. BASOR, LVI, p.4.

as the 22nd century B.C. Then in the second half of the Middle Bronze Age, Bethel was an important place, the masonry of whose walls was "so good that it excels everything else of this age and type which has yet been excavated in Palestine."¹ This city was followed in the Late Bronze Age by another which was also well built and which had two phases. The lower phase is dated circa 1500-1300 B.C., and the second as 13th century or perhaps earlier. Dr. Albright says that this dating was confirmed by Père Vincent.² Sometime in the 13th century B.C. (i.e. after 1200 B.C.) this city was destroyed by a great fire, more destructive than any other known in Palestine excavations. The fire was accompanied by a break in the culture. "When we consider the masonry, building plans, pottery and culture of the following three phases, which are in these respects homogeneous, the break becomes so much greater that no bridge can be thrown across it, and we are compelled to identify it with the Israelite Conquest."³

Near by Bethel, in the Israelite traditions of every age, was another city Ai.⁴ The site is not known with certainty, and it may be either el-Tell, to the north of the modern village of Der Diwan (3 miles S.E. of Bethel), or Khirbet Hayyan, a little south of that village.⁵ The weight of evidence is on the side of el-Tell, which lies about two

1. BASOR, LVI, p.5.

2. Do. do. p. 6.

3. Do. do. p. 9.

4. In Hebrew always with the article, אֵי. Dr. Albright says it means "the ruin (par excellence)". (BASOR, LVI, 11)

5. Josh. (CB). p. 53.

miles east of Bethel.¹ In 1923, Dr. Albright claimed that after having "combed the surface of the tell on more than one occasion", there was no sign of Late Bronze Pottery,² and concluded that Ai was destroyed "centuries before the invasion of Israel under Joshua." Professor Garstang later pointed out that there have been found "a considerable number of L.B.A.i (wares), including a Cypriote wishbone handle, but nothing of Mykenaeen date or character, nor any local fabrics of a date later than 1400 B.C."³ As a result Dr. Garstang concludes that Ai was taken shortly after Jericho. Quite recently however, Dr. Albright has pointed out that he and Professor Garstang were mistaken in their views. The most recent excavations directed by Mr. Yeivin and Mme Marquet "have proved that there was no occupation there between the end of the third millenium and the 12th century B.C."⁴ He therefore returns to the theory which he had previously held and abandoned in 1923 concerning the Israelite invasion.

He claims⁵ that "the vicissitudes of Ai and Bethel cannot be separated: the two towns are so close together that only one could have any importance or could in fact exist in more than ephemeral fashion in a given period..... Bethel fell into the hands of the Israelites, who burned it to the

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1. For the various arguments concerning the site of Ai, see Garstang, JJ. pp 150-151 and 355. Albright, AASOR, IV, pp. 141-146. Albright thinks that el-Tell was pre-Israelite Ai (p 143) and that Khirbet Hayyan was Israelite Ai (p. 144).
2. AASOR, IV, 146. 3. JJ. p. 356.
4. BASOR, LVI, p. 11. 5. BASOR, LVI, p. 11.

ground somewhere in the 13th. century. In tradition, since Ai was the precursor of Bethel, and was also destroyed by a foe who burned it to the ground, some eight centuries before, the former replaces the latter."

This is a real difficulty, if we wish to think of the activities of Joshua as taking place about the year 1400 B.C. It seems as if we ought either to abandon the whole scheme of the Conquest so far accepted, or question the accuracy of the archaeological evidence, or question the accuracy of the Biblical tradition which makes the capture of Ai follow immediately on that of Jericho. Dr. Albright questions the accuracy of the Biblical tradition. But he would have to do so whether he accepted a date for Joshua's conquest circa 1400 B.C. or circa 1250 B.C. For during all that time, according to his evidence, el-Tell was unoccupied by a fortified city. So far then, the earlier date may still be adhered to. A choice must then be made between the Biblical tradition and the archaeological evidence. The latter appears conclusive enough. But is it in reality? Two points of criticism of it may be offered. First, uncertainty still exists about the precise site of Pre-Israelite Ai. Then even if the site be correct, we must wait until the full results of the work done on it are made known. Dr. Albright himself has pointed out the mistakes he made because he relied on less evidence than we have now. Our experiences, too, of the work done at Jericho ought to keep us from relying too much on the results of work which has not been completed. The second point of criticism is

that Dr. Albright's contention that only one of two towns so near each other could exist "in a more than ephemeral fashion" does not exclude the possibility that the other did exist in such ephemeral fashion. That is to say, granting that Bethel might be an important town at this period, still there may also have been a much less important town of Ai. This agrees with the Biblical tradition, for it quite clearly thinks of Ai as being much more vulnerable than Bethel.

A successful attack on a place called Ai, somewhere in the vicinity of Bethel, must then have been made after the fall of Jericho. Only so could we go on to accept the further traditions that the Gibeonite league sought an alliance which resulted in a battle between the Israelites and the forces of Southern Canaan. If we miss out one link in the chain, the whole tradition must be given up as quite unreliable. But these events obviously made too great an impression on Israel to be counted altogether unhistorical.

Bethel itself, as a very strong city, the Israelites would leave unattacked at this time, realising their inability to take it. It would only be long afterwards, when they had established themselves more strongly in the hill-country, that they turned their attention to it and other places like it. In support of this, we ought to notice that in Judges i 22 the House of Joseph is said to have taken Bethel, and there is no mention made of Joshua. This may be an indication that the capture took place after his death. But a more conclusive argument is that, if we except Jericho (for the

ease of capture of which there was a good reason) and Ai (which was taken by a stratagem), no walled town is referred to as having been captured by the Israelites under Joshua, at least in the more trustworthy older sources.

There is, therefore, no reason for not accepting the accuracy of the Biblical tradition that after the fall of Jericho Israel turned its attention to Ai.

First of all, as in the case of Jericho, spies were sent for information about the situation and defences of the town (Josh vii 2). Apparently they did not appreciate the strength of the place, and the first attack on it failed with a loss of about thirty six men. A stronger force was sent at the second attempt. Part of it lay in ambush to the west of Ai, between it and Bethel. No doubt this force reached its position from Jericho by night (Josh. viii 9). Joshua himself, with the rest of the Israelite force, took up a position to the north of Ai from which they were easily visible to those in the town (viii 10, 11). The men of Ai came out of the town and tried to cut off the Israelite force from its headquarters (viii 14)¹. This force of Israelites gave way as if it were fleeing, and were pursued by the men of Ai (viii 15, 17)². The Israelites who were in ambush entered the city and set it on fire (viii 19), and as soon as they saw this, Joshua and his force counter-attacked. The men of Ai, caught between the two forces, were utterly destroyed (viii 20ff).

1. This is how Garstang interprets Josh. viii 14 (JJ. p 158).
 2. The words 'or Bethel' in verse 17 as an addition by an editor. If Bethel had been involved, the ambush would have

As Ai was near the highest point of the central range of Western Palestine, it would have been a better base in many ways for the Israelites than Jericho. The nearness of the strong and still hostile city of Bethel, however, made it useless for the purpose, so that Joshua kept his base at Jericho, to which place he returned after the taking of Ai.

The Old Testament account of the Conquest goes on next to relate the making of an alliance between the Israelites and the Gibeonites (Josh. ix 3-27). Apart from the usual additions to the text by later editors, the text is again suspected of being composite. It has been suggested that there are two accounts of the incident, in the first of which the treaty is made by the 'men of Israel', and in the second of which the treaty is made by Joshua. It is also pointed out that the statement of the Gibeonites that they come from a far country is given in verse 6b and again in verse 9a, and that the treaty appears to be concluded three times over in verse 15. The Gibeonites are called 'inhabitants of Gibeon' in verse 3, and 'Hivites' in verse 7. Nevertheless, it is not at all easy to divide up the narrative into its constituent parts, and in one or two of the above-mentioned places it is not necessary. The general sequence of events can, however, be made out with little difficulty.

The 'inhabitants of Gibeon' were evidently leaders of

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1. been discovered before it could have surprised Ai. See Josh (CB) p. 75.
 2. E.g. the Gibeonites might well have been, and indeed probably were, Hivites, or rather Horites (Hurrians).

a league of four cities, Gibeon, Chephirah, Beeroth and Kirjath-jearim, in the district north-west of Jerusalem (Josh. ix 17). The identification of the various sites is not easy, but the following are generally accepted.

¹
Gibeon has for a long time been associated with el-Jib, a village on an isolated mound in a small plain about six miles north-west of Jerusalem. It stands a little to the west of the central back-bone of the land, and through it in historical times ran the road from Jerusalem to Jaffa. The ridge leading to Beth-horon slopes gradually away at the opening of the Wady Selman, and so gives easy access to the Shephelah and the coastal plain. A passage in the Amarna Letters (Knudtzon 287) suggests that this was the usual route taken by convoys from Jerusalem to Egypt. The site has great strategic advantages, as it is adapted for easy defence and is situated at the meeting place of several roads. It was the natural centre of the group of four towns.

²
Chephirah is identified with Khirbet el-Kefireh, about five miles west of Gibeon. It stands on a spur of the mountains which juts out towards the west, and commands the approaches to Gibeon from that direction. As with Gibeon, the site is easily defended.

³
Beeroth is usually identified with Tell el-Nasbeh, three miles north-east of Gibeon, from which it is easily accessible.

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- 1.. Garstang JJ pp 162-164 ; Josh (CB) p. 76.
 2. Garstang JJ pp 166f. ; Josh (CB) p. 79.
 3. Garstang JJ pp 164-165 ; Josh (CB) p. 79.

"Just to the north, a trace of the old name seems to have survived in the modern name of Bireh, which indicates a well."¹ Tell el-Nasbeh shows signs of having been occupied by a strong city. It is not necessary to consider that it is the site of Gibeon and not of Beeroth,² on the strength of the statement of Joshua x 2 that it was "one of the royal cities, greater than Ai", for its great days may have been past by this period.³ In any case, fortunately for us, the proper identity of the various sites is not vital to a correct interpretation of this incident in the Conquest, so long as we agree that the four cities lay in the district we are indicating.

The fourth city, Kirjath-jearim, was probably situated on the hill^{now} called Der el-Azar, above the modern village Kiryat el-Enab, about six miles south-west of Gibeon.⁴ This site has also a strategic value, for it commands the route followed by the road from Jerusalem to Jaffa.

The whole group of four cities was linked up by strategic bonds and covered quite a definite area, which was separated from the district commanded by Jerusalem by the upper valley of the Wady Surar. Beeroth guarded the area from the north, and Chephirah and Kirjath-jearim from the West, so that there is no reason to doubt the Biblical tradition which thinks of these four cities as linked together by an

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1. Garstang, JJ. p. 164.
 2. As do Albright, Jirku, and Alt.
 3. Garstang, JJ. p. 165.
 4. Garstang, JJ. p. 166 ; Josh (CB) p. 80.

alliance. This is supported by another consideration - that after their treaty with the Israelites, they were attacked by the Jerusalem league. Very likely, too, they were of a different race from the members of the Jerusalem league. Joshua ix 7 says that they were "Hivites". The Septuagint calls them "Horites", as it does the inhabitants of Shechem in Genesis xxxiv 2. This is not just a slip made in the Septuagint, for in Genesis xxxvi, the Hebrew Text refers to the family from which Esau is said to take a wife as "Hivites" in one place (verse 2) and as "Horites" in another (verse 20). It has been pointed out that "Hivites" as a racial term in Palestine may almost certainly be regarded as a mistake for "Horites" and that the Horites occupied larger areas of the land than are allowed to them in the text of the Old Testament as it now stands. There is a probability that they were in reality Hurrians,² and that the Gibeonite league was a small colony of Hurrians, kept apart from the Jebusite league not only by the physical features of the land but also by racial jealousy.

The total population of this league of four cities has been roughly estimated by Professor Garstang,³ who on the basis of the probable areas occupied on the four sites at this time considers that it was about 7250 souls. This appears to be rather a high figure, and that of 5000 is very likely nearer the truth. This would mean that the

1. Speiser, AASOR, XIII 29f.
 2. See above, p. 62f.
 3. JJ. p 167.

fighting strength of the league was about 1200 men, about the same as that of the Israelites. The Gibeonites would have the additional disadvantage as compared with Israel that they had four places instead of one to defend.¹

This Gibeonite league must have heard of the victories of Joshua and Israel at Jericho and Ai, and must have been struck by the fact that they had done what nomads did not as a rule manage to do. It must indeed have appeared to them that Israel unaided could not have succeeded in taking these cities and that they had a powerful God on their side. For them the best thing to do was to ally themselves as quickly as possible with these invaders, before they suffered the fate of Jericho and Ai.

The Old Testament says that they managed to do this by going to the Israelites and pretending that they had come from a great distance because they were wearing ragged clothes and carrying mouldy bread. (Josh. ix 3-6). After the conclusion of the alliance, Israel found out that they were near neighbours, and the Gibeonites were only saved by the putting forward of the proposal to make them hewers of wood and drawers of water in the House of God (ix 16-27). If this is a reference to the Temple in Jerusalem, the account cannot be earlier than the time of the kingdom. Nor is it likely that Joshua and the Israelites would be deceived by the kind of trick which is related. Probably the story was told in later days to account for the independence of the

1. The areas of the sites occupied at this period and also the coefficient of population used by Garstang both seem to be rather large.

Gibeonites in the heart of Israel and the presence of Gibeonite servants in the Temple. These may have been transferred there from the sanctuary at Gibeon, which was evidently an important place.¹

Nevertheless there is no need to question the historicity of the treaty, though it may not have been made in precisely this way. There must have been an alliance of some kind to account for the appearance of the Gibeonites in the time of Saul as a free people allied with Israel (2 Sam. xxi 1-6). So binding was this alliance that Saul's violation of it led to a feud which was only settled by the blood of his descendants. By degrees they appear to have become absorbed into the Israelite population for they are included with the tribe of Benjamin in one of Solomon's administrative districts,² and are mentioned among the peoples who came back from the captivity, although by that time they were in no way to be distinguished from the rest of the Jews. (Nehem. vii 25).³

This alliance of the Gibeonites with the Israelites is probably only one example of the kind of alliance that they must often have entered into when the people of the land were too strong to be conquered in battle, and of which we find parallels in the Amarna Letters in the alliances with the Habiru made by Labaya, Milki-ili, Tagi and other princes. Although the Biblical tradition considers that it was the Gibeonites who sought the alliance and that they

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1. 1 Kgs iii 4. "And the king went to Gibeon to sacrifice there; for that was the great high place."
 2. Garstang, Heritage of Solomon, p. 341.
 3. Josh (CB) p. 83.

went to great lengths to obtain it, the truth probably was that after the disastrous start to the campaign against Ai, which in the end was only taken by a stratagem, the Israelites would be as glad to make an alliance with the Gibeonites as they were to have the Israelites on their side. For Joshua was faced with a difficult situation when walled cities like Bethel, Gibeah and Jerusalem, all so near to Jericho, were still unconquered. It was the making of this alliance that led directly to the next event in the Conquest.

The concluding of the treaty between Israel and the Gibeonite league is followed in the Biblical account of the Conquest by the story of the gathering of the armies of another league of native towns under the leadership of Jerusalem, the king of which is called Adoni-zedek (Josh. x 1-3). The purpose of this gathering was the punishment of the Gibeonite league for making the alliance. The Jebusite league attacked Gibeon itself, which sent for help to Joshua; with the Israelites he came to the help of his new allies (x 4-8). After attacking the Jebusite army and putting it to flight, the Israelites pursued the enemy in the direction of Beth-horon, when the coming of a hail-storm completed the destruction they had begun (x 9-11). At this point in the narrative a prayer is put into the mouth of Joshua that the sun and moon stand still until a full vengeance has been taken by Israel. The incident closes with the account of the execution of the chiefs of the five cities by Joshua at Makkedah.

The attack on the Gibeonite league by the Jerusalem league would be the natural sequel to its alliance with Israel, so that we may regard it as historical. This alliance would be a threat to the safety of the communications of Jerusalem with Egypt by way of the Shephelah. It is the same kind of situation as we find a generation later, when Abdi-Hiba, loyal to Egypt and zealous for the interests of Pharaoh, struggles against the same forces of disorder.

The most important member of this league was Jerusalem,¹ which at this time was a city of very considerable importance. It must have had a population of about 2500 souls, and it was so strongly defended by nature and by stout walls that for long it was impregnable. It was no doubt its strength, combined with its central situation, that made it the centre of Egyptian authority for the district.

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1. Excavations at Jerusalem were made for the Palestine Exploration Fund by Professor Macalister and the Rev. Garrow Duncan, and later by Dr. J. W. Crowfoot. The occupation of the site began as early as the Early Bronze Age, if not before. This was on Mt. Ophel, on the ridge between the Wady el-Nar and the old Tyropoeon valley. In the early period the defences on the north were relatively poor, but later they were developed and a wall of large stones, 15-20 feet thick, was built. The space between this and the former wall was kept clear as a defensive measure. On the east and west sides of the ridge further strong walls were built, those on the east being 40 feet thick at the base. Here were the water-gate and a shaft hewn from the rock communicating with the water supply at the foot. On the west, the wall, 27 feet thick, followed the ~~shelf~~ which ran a little below the level of the ridge. On this side was another gateway with towers on either side. (See Garstang, JJ. pp 388-390).

The king of Jerusalem at this time, according to Joshua x 1, was called Adoni-zedek. His name appears to mean 'lord of righteousness' in Hebrew. But the second part of the word really is the name of a god, as is quite usual in Hebrew and other allied languages.¹ There appears to have been a Canaanite god with the name 'Zedek', for we find it used extensively in Canaanite and Phoenician proper names like Ben-zedek, Melki-zedek and Zidki-milk. Adoni-zedek would thus mean 'Zedek is lord', and would be similar in form to the Hebrew name Adonijah.²

There is no reason for doubting the possibility of there having been a king with this name in Jerusalem at the time of the Israelite Conquest. Whether or not there actually was is a different question. If Joshua x were the only Old Testament passage in which the king of Jerusalem were referred to, there would be no difficulty at all in the way of thinking that his name was Adoni-zedek. But in Judges i 5-7, a reference is made to a battle between the tribes of Judah and Simeon and a man called Adoni-bezek, whom they found 'in Bezek', defeated in battle, and whose 'thumbs and great toes' they cut off. This Adoni-bezek is said to have died later in Jerusalem. There is good reason for thinking that the two incidents really refer to the same event, and most authorities agree that they do.³

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1. Judges (ICC) p. 15.
 2. Josh. (CB) p. 84.
 3. Judges (ICC) p. 16 note. Dr. Jack (Exodus, 151, note 3) thinks that the passages refer to two different men. But he does not appear to take proper account of the difficulties in the form of Adoni-bezek.

The double occurrence of the word 'Bezek' in the statement in Judges i 5, "They found Adoni-bezek in Bezek", looks suspicious, and even if the place name 'Bezek' is correct, 'Adoni-bezek' cannot be so. For in such a compound word used as the name of a man, 'Bezek' cannot be the name of a place, but must be that of a god. No such god is known.¹ It must also be noted that there is no town 'Bezek' known to the Old Testament, except in 1 Samuel xi 8, where the place referred to is probably the modern Khirbet Ibziq near Beisan, much too far north to suit this incident.² This negative evidence by itself could not be regarded as conclusive, but taken along with the rest it is helpful. At the same time, Adoni-bezek is not said to have been king of Bezek, and he obviously had some connection with Jerusalem when he was taken there to die. All of these pieces of evidence put together make it difficult to resist the conclusion that the one man is referred to in both incidents, and that two different traditions regarding the manner of his death were current. The motive of the writers of the Old Testament in changing the name of the king to Adoni-bezek was not only harmonistic, to different the account in the Book of Judges from that in the Book of Joshua, but also that the name might be given a contemptuous turn - 'the Lord scatters'.³

1. See Jdg. (ICC) p. 15 ; Jdg. (CB) p. 5.

2. Jdg (ICC) p. 14.

3. Jdg (ICC) p. 17. Jack (Exodus, pp 160-162) considers 'Adoni-zedek' to be an appellative, and argues that he is the Abdi-Hiba of the Amarna Letters, who was put to death by Joshua at the time of the Conquest. But he dates the initial attack of the Israelites about 1400 B.C. It

The other members of this league were Hebron,¹ Jarmuth,² Lachish and Eglon (Joshua x 3). Jarmuth is identified with Khirbet el-Yarmuk, about sixteen miles WSW. of Jerusalem. The site commands Tell Zakariya and Tell el-Safi towards the west, and has an outlook right over the plains to Gaza. "It rose like a watch tower and outpost on the edge of the plateau."³ The probable population of what was at that time a strong city was 1500-2000 souls. Lachish was until quite recently identified with Tell el-Hesy,⁴ but is now supposed to have been situated at Tell el-Duweir, four and a half miles south west of Beit Jibrin. Dr. Albright and Professor Garstang⁵ both give good reasons for the new identification. This Tell is one of the greatest of all Palestinian mounds, its sides being at least sixty feet high. Though the extent of the Bronze Age city is not yet exactly known, it is estimated to have held as many as 2500 or more people. The fifth city of this league was Eglon, which may possibly have been at Tell el-Hesy.⁶ Certainly it was a place near to and having close relations with Lachish, and the archaeological examination of the site shows that it was a fortified city from the Middle Bronze Age until early in the 14th. century.

All of these cities were important places in southern

cannot have been long after that that the alliance with Gibeon was made and the battle with the Jerusalem league took place. If Abdi-Hiba were killed then, we cannot reconcile the fact with Knudtzon's dating of his letters as late as 1385 B.C., a dating which Jack himself accepts.

1. For Hebron, see below p. 210. 2. For Eglon the LXX substitutes Adullam. 3. Garstang JJ p 172. 4. Josh (CB), p. 85. 5. ZAW, vi, 3: JJ. 173, 392. 6. Garstang JJ 373.

Palestine during this age. But they were not bound together by any physical bond such as that which united the Gibeonite league. Lachish lies in the Shephelah and Tell el-Hesy in the coastal plain. The reason for the alliance was that Jarmuth, Lachish and Eglon lay on the main road from Jerusalem to Gaza and Egypt, while Hebron lay on another road which led through Debir to the same places.¹ Even if the Septuagint were correct in substituting Adullam for Eglon, the same reason would be behind its association with the rest of the league. It is significant that all the cities associated with Jerusalem lay on the route between that city and Gaza, for Gaza was the headquarters of the Egyptian administration and the centre of Egyptian political authority for the south of Palestine.²

Under the king of Jerusalem, then, the forces of these cities assembled for a punitive expedition against the Gibeonites who appealed for help to their new allies. It is not unlikely that Joshua made a forced march from his camp at Jericho overnight by the Wady Abu Retnah as far as Mukhmas. From there the path goes between Tell el-Ful (Gibeah) and Tell el-Nasbeh in such a way that travellers cannot be seen from either, especially at night. The prayer of Joshua is worded in such a way (x 12) that it appears that this expedition took place at the time of the waning moon. To a man standing at Beth-horon in the early morning, the sun would

1. Garstang JJ. p. 175.
2. Do. do.

be over Gibeon in the east and the moon over Aijalon to the west.¹ This waning moon would give light to Joshua's force in the last few miles from Mukhmas to Gibeon, so that they would be able to make a surprise attack on the Jebusite army at dawn, and put them to flight without difficulty.

So far the Biblical account is straightforward enough; but from this point onwards there seem to be two different traditions about what took place. In the one (Josh. x 10, 16ff.) the enemy is pursued "by the way of the ascent of Beth-horon" to an unidentified place called Makkedah,² where the chiefs of the five cities were trapped in a cave while the pursuit goes on. After the pursuit is over, they were hanged. That there was a long pursuit is indicated by the prayer of Joshua (x 12, 13) which is attributed to this first source. In the other tradition, (Josh. x 11), while the enemy is in "the descent of Beth-horon" fleeing to Azekah,³ a hailstorm comes on which completes their destruction.

It is possible to combine these two stories to a certain degree. There are various explanations of the double reference to Beth-horon. Professor Garstang⁴ points out that the confusion may be due to there being two routes leading from Gibeon to the coast both of which went near to Beth-horon, or else that the reference is simply to the upper and lower

1. Josh. (CB) p. 89.

2. el-Mughar ('the caverns'), $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the coast and SW of Ekron, has been suggested as the possible site of Makkedah. There are several caves in the district, which would thus be a fitting one for the incident mentioned in Joshua x 16ff.

3. Possibly Tell Zakariyeh near Jarmuth; Josh (CB) p. 88, Garstang JJ p 180.

4. JJ. p 179.

portions of one route. It is easier, however, to think of the two phrases 'the ascent of Beth-horon' and 'the descent of Beth-horon' as referring to the one route looked at from opposite ends.¹ It is not impossible, too, that while it was being pursued down the Wady Selman, the fleeing Jebusite army separated into two parts, one of which turned south at the foot of the valley and tried to regain its home, and the other of which was cut off by the Israelites and driven out to the plain and run to earth at Makkedah.²

The fate of the chiefs we must regard as quite uncertain, for we cannot reconcile the two traditions about the leader of them. It is impossible to say which of the two is more likely to have happened. Certainly, if the details of the pursuit are uncertain, we are justified in considering that Israel won a great victory over the southern Canaanite league.

The invasion and settlement of the Hill-country of Ephraim which was afterwards the home of the tribe of that name is not mentioned at all in the Book of Joshua. This is all the more striking when we remember that Joshua himself was an Ephraimite (Joshua xix 49f., xxiv 30). The reason may be that the compiler of the book was more interested in Judah than in Joseph,³ but there is another and more probable reason.

Professor Garstang points out that in Central Palestine⁴

1. Josh (CB) p. 87.
3. Josh (CB) p. xxx.

2. Garstang, JJ. p 181.
4. JJ. p. 78.

"few Bronze Age sites have been examined, though Seilun, the site of Shiloh, lying just off the track towards the east, at the head of the Wady Kub, dates its origin from that period, while other places of later Biblical interest have been tentatively located." In the Bronze Age Shechem seems to have been an important centre. "As early as the XIIth Dynasty of Egypt the chance record of an Egyptian general shows that it shared with Retenu a special position in the organisation of southern Palestine."¹ Certainly in the Amarna Age, so far as we can gather from the records of Egypt and from the fact that few Bronze Age sites of any importance or size exist in Central Palestine, there was no city to rival Shechem between Bethel and Dothan.² Shiloh and Arumah (Jdg ix 41), the only³ two towns marked in Professor Garstang's map of the district, appear to have been quite unimportant in the Amarna Age. Any other towns besides Shechem, such as Arabeh, Rameh and Sileh, lay north of that city.

The omission of any mention of the occupation of this part of Central Palestine may therefore be due to the fact that there was no need for an extensive campaign there, like those which were necessary in other places. It was apparently quite easy for Joshua and the Israelites who were with him to leave Bethel uncaptured for the time being and to advance unmolested from Jericho by way of the Wady Farah to the neighbourhood of Shechem. The narrative of Joshua xxiv, relating

1. Garstang, JJ. p. 79.
 2. Alt, Die Landnahme der Israeliten in Palästina, p. 5ff.
 3. Opposite p. 78 in JJ.

the events which took place then, says that Joshua gathered "all the tribes of Israel to Shechem", thus implying that Shechem was by then in the hands of Israel. We have seen¹ that there is reason to believe that, although Shechem itself was not at this time Israelite, yet there were in the district Hebrews whose headquarters lay a little east of the city, near to the two mountains Ebal and Gerizim. In further support of this we must remember that Joshua viii 30-35 brings Joshua to the region of Ebal and Gerizim.² There it is actually stated that Joshua built an altar on Mount Ebal.³ We saw how the accuracy of this statement had been questioned, not only on the ground that it was probably inserted by the Deuteronomic Redactor, but also because it raised difficulties about the exact site of Ebal and Gerizim as they were there defined. The first argument is not necessarily conclusive, as we shall see that in one other place at least the Deuteronomic School and even the latest Priestly School could preserve the memory of an incident not related by the older sources, though they might have overlaid it with their own unhistorical observations. The second difficulty automatically disappears if we accept the suggested reconstruction of events at this period. For it has always been recognised that Joshua viii 30-35 is out

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1. See above, p. 142.
 2. Compare, above, p. 175f.
 3. This is strange because, according to Deut. xi 29, xxvii 13, Ebal was the Mount of Cursing and therefore unsuitable as the site of an altar. The text of Deut. seems to have undergone alterations which have influenced Josh. viii. (See Josh. CB. p 72).
 4. See below, p. 237.

of place where it is.¹ It is suggested that it should be put after Joshua ix 23.² But it is just as legitimate, if it is to be shifted at all, to put it after the campaign which Joshua conducted in aid of the Gibeonite league, that is, at the end of Chapter x.

What was the precise nature of the ceremony which took place when Joshua and those with him arrived at the district of Shechem? The Deuteronomists regarded it as a gathering of all the tribes of Israel to fulfil the instructions given in Deuteronomy xi 29f., xxvii 2-8, 11-14. This, however, is quite unhistorical, and may be considered as due to the view of history characteristic of that School of writers. The earlier account that we have in Joshua xxiv (attributed to E) appears on the surface to be more trustworthy. This makes the ceremony a resumé of the past history of the people, followed by a covenant binding the people to the service of Jehovah (xxiv 25), in witness of which a stone is set up "under the oak that was in the sanctuary of the Lord" (xxiv 26). The whole ceremony was evidently regarded as a renewal of the covenant made with Jehovah at Sinai (Exodus xxiv 8).

This may have been so, but it is strange that the Israelites who had come out of Egypt should have done such a thing at Shechem at this particular time. There seems to be reason for it, since the Conquest was by no means over. It is better to regard the ceremony as one in which the Hebrews

1. In the Septuagint it follows Joshua ix 2.

2. Josh. (CB) p. 71.

who had by this time gathered in the district of Shechem entered into the covenant which Ephraim and Benjamin had already made with Jehovah. At this ceremony the later writers considered that Joshua built an altar (Josh. viii 30). The significance of this is in fact that, the tie which bound the confederation together being their religious faith, the reception of any new tribe into it would necessarily be accompanied by an act of common worship,¹ of which the symbol to the Deuteronomists was the altar.

At the same time it is almost certain that the men of the new Israelite tribe would be circumcised. It seems likely, then, that the passage in which the performing of that rite is considered to have taken place immediately after the crossing of the Jordan at Jericho (Josh. v 2ff.) really refers to this ceremony performed at the sanctuary near Shechem. The confusion may have been caused by the uncertainty which exists in the various Biblical sources about the situation of the sanctuary with which Joshua is associated.²

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1. A. C. Welch, in 'People and the Book', p. 128.
 2. See above, p. 171ff.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN.

FURTHER ADVANCES IN THE SOUTH.

The defeat of the Jebusite league by Joshua would have the effect of beginning its disintegration. There is no question that up till that time the rulers of the various cities were loyal to Egypt. The Old Testament gives no indication of disloyalty on the part of any of the five. But their defeat at the hands of the newcomers would cause these cities to begin to wonder whether it would not be better for them to throw in their lot with the Hebrews, rather than to continue to rely on Egypt, which must already (i.e. about 1400 B.C.) have been beginning to show a lack of interest in their fate.

The change of attitude of the leaders of the cities of Southern Palestine would have the result of encouraging the clans of the tribe of Judah to advance further north. We saw that till this time it was probable that they had not advanced further north than the district of Arad and Zephath. During the next ten or fifteen years they must have made considerable progress in their penetration of the land, for by the time that Abdi-Hiba² wrote his appeals to Egypt (circa

1. See above, p. 130.

2. Abdi-Hiba may be regarded as a successor to Adoni-Zedek, (see above, p. 198, note 3).

1385 and onwards)¹ he has to report that all the land south of Ginti Kirmil² has been occupied by the Habiru (Knudtzon 288). Shuwardata, the governor of Keilah, was already in revolt and had evidently aided the Habiru to occupy the territories of Rubute.³ Even the Egyptian commissioner seems to have been neglecting his duties and had encouraged the invaders, for Abdi-Hiba⁴ takes him to task.

There is some doubt about the identification of Rubute. Sayce, Petrie, Dhorme and others consider that it was Rabbah of Judah, a place supposed to have been near to Kirjath-jearim. Jack follows Zimmern and Hommel and prefers to think of it as Hebron.⁵ We prefer this identification, but cannot accept the deductions made from it. For Dr. Jack thinks that Hebron was taken by the Israelites at this time. But in Abdi-Hiba's letter the Habiru are said to have taken "the territory of Rubute". This does not necessarily mean that they took Rubute itself, for in the next sentence but one in the same letter Abdi-Hiba writes, "And now indeed a city of the territory of Jerusalem, called Beth-Ninib, has been lost to the people of Keilah." All that Abdi-Hiba evidently intended to report was that the Habiru had invaded and settled in the territory under the care of Rubute, although they had not attacked the city itself. If Rubute

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1. Knudtzon's date. See Jack, Exodus, p. 164.
 2. I.e. Gath Carmel, 10 m. south of Hebron. (Jack, Exodus, p. 123.)
 3. Knudtzon, 290.
 4. "So long as the king, my lord, lives will I say to the inspector of the king, my lord: 'Why do you love the Habiru, and hate the local rulers?'" (Knudtzon, 286).
 5. Jack, Exodus, p. 154 : Garstang, JJ. p. 209.

was Hebron, then we might expect that it and the near-by city of Debir would fall to the tribe of Judah at much the same period. Now we know that Debir at least was not burnt down until about the middle of the 13th. century B.C.¹ It is therefore quite probable that Hebron was only captured about a hundred years later than the time of Abdi-Hiba, a fact which fits in with the above reconstruction of events.

The capture of these two towns is attributed by the Old Testament, in one place (Josh. xv 14) to Caleb and Othniel, and in another (Jdg. i 10) to the tribe of Judah, which then made it over to these two clans. The former is undoubtedly the original version of the story, the latter being a later form of it, adapted to fit the scheme by which Joshua led in the conquest of the whole land. The original story told how Caleb went against Hebron and drove out of it its former inhabitants without the help of the rest of Israel.

Caleb is called "the son of Jephunneh, the Kenizzite" in Joshua xiv 6, 14, and Numbers xxxii 12. According to Genesis xxxvi, 11, 15, 42, Kenaz is an Edomite clan, so that it has been suggested² that Caleb and Othniel were clans belonging to the Kenizzites. In support of this suggestion it may be pointed out that the name 'Caleb' may denote the 'dog clan' and may date from the years when totemism was common and the totem of this particular clan was the dog.³

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1. See below, p. 212, note 3.
 2. Jdg. (CB) p. 9.
 3. Num. (CB) p. 75.

This tribe of Kenizzites, along with others such as the Kenites, joined the nucleus of the Jadahtes and pushed north with them from the region of Arad and Zephath. It is probable that the first thing they would do would be to occupy the lands round about cities like Hebron, long before they actually attacked the cities themselves. This would be what Abdi-Hiba was referring to when he said that the Habiru had taken the territory of Rubute, and were coming near to Jerusalem itself.

Having established themselves in the district, a process which took a considerable time, the Hebrews at last felt sure enough of their own powers to attack the two large and important towns of Hebron and Debir.

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An unbroken tradition puts Hebron at or near the modern el-Khalil, which lies about nineteen miles south of Jerusalem on the highest point of land in the district and at a place where several roads meet. It therefore commands the route leading southwards from Jerusalem to Egypt just at the place where other routes from east and west cross it. Its traditions even in the 14th century B.C. went far back, and it is said to have been built seven years after Zoan in Egypt (Num. xiii 22). This city is said in the Old Testament to have been taken by the Caleb clan, and to have been taken, not from 'Canaanites' but from 'the three sons of Anak'² (Jdg. i 20).

1. Garstang, JJ. p. 209: Jdg. (CB), pp 7,8.

2. "Anakim" is usually taken to mean "long-necked people" or "giants" (Jdg. CB. p. 14). But "there is not the slightest reason to suppose that the earliest inhabitants of Palestine were giants, and the old etymology of the name 'Anakim' as 'long-necked' has been disproved by the discovery of the personal name Y'nq in the Achtungstexte." (Albright, JPOS XII p 256).

The names of these 'sons of Anak' are given as Sheshai, Ahiman and Talmai (Jdg. i 10 ; Josh. xv 14) and they are said to have been in Hebron at the time of the searching of the land by the spies from Kadesh (Num. xiii 22). For this reason it has been supposed that the fall of Hebron followed soon after that search.¹ If we are entitled to think of 'Caleb' as a clan and not as an individual,² then we are also entitled to think of the three 'sons of Anak' as clans living together in Hebron. If that were so, then there is no difficulty in putting the taking of Hebron by the Calebite clan as long as we wish after the incident of the spying of the land: for the three 'sons of Anak' would surely be able to live as long as the 'Caleb' clan did.

In course of time the clan 'Caleb' was absorbed into the tribe of Judah and came to be known as part of it. The Book of Joshua (xv 13) can speak of Caleb receiving 'a portion among the children of Judah', and though in David's time the clan was still a distinct one in Judah (1 Sam. xxx 14), it must even then have been reckoned an integral part of the tribe for David to have made his first capital at Hebron, the heart of the Calebite possessions, and still to be able to claim the loyalty of all Judah. Later writers reckon Caleb as a 'prince' of Judah (Num. xiii 6) and indeed the Calebite family occupies a very large place in the tribe of Judah by the time of the Chronicler (1. Chron. ii).³

1. Jdg. (CB) p. 8.

2. Though it is permissible, as in the case of Joseph, to think of there being a leading member of the clan bearing the clan name at the Exodus. 3. See below, p.

The capture of Debir is attributed to a clan 'Othniel' closely related to 'Caleb' (Jdg. i 11-15).¹ The Old Testament tradition is that Caleb promised his daughter Achsah to the man who took the city, and that this was 'Othniel the son of Kenaz, Caleb's younger brother' (Jdg. i 13). In reply to a request of Achsah, Caleb is said to have given her two places, Gullath-illith and Gullath-tahtith. Debir used to be identified with el-Daheriyah,² but it must be in a place which is dry except for springs or reservoirs, so that the more suitable site of Tell beit Mirsim has been suggested.³ There were various cities built on this site as there were everywhere, and of them one (city C) had been built about the time of Thutmose III. On the whole it was a comparatively poorly built city and had a smaller population than its predecessors. According to Dr. Albright, who excavated it, this city was destroyed about the second half of the 13th. century B.C. and another built on the site immediately. This destruction we may quite well ascribe to the Othniel clan, for the next occupation, about fifty years afterwards, appears to have been by the Philistines, between 1180 and 1150 B.C. The date of the taking of Debir by the Othniel clan was therefore from 1230 to 1200 B.C., a date which fits the view

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1. Joshua xv 15-19 describes the capture of Debir in almost the same words.
 2. G. A. Smith, HGHL, PP 279ff.
 3. Albright, ZAW, 1929, i, pp 1-16: BASOR Oct. 1926, p 2ff.: Albright, Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible, pp. 101ff.: Garstang, JJ. Pp. 370-372.
 4. The two lowest levels are dated before 1600 B.C. The next city (D) is an important Canaanite town of the Hyksos period, which from the absence of Mycenaean ware

we are taking that it was only about then, long after they had first come to the land and after they had thoroughly settled in the parts of the land away from walled towns, that the Israelites began to attack and take these towns.

The attractive little incident with which the capture of Debir closes, the giving of springs to the town at the request of Achsah, was no doubt added to explain why it was that the springs in question came to be in the possession of the Othnielites in Debir when they ought from their position to belong to the Calebites in Hebron. For it is generally accepted that the springs of Seil el-Dilbeh, south-west of Hebron, are the springs referred to. For some reason, perhaps such as the Old Testament tradition has handed down, these springs were handed over by the Calebites in Hebron to their related neighbours the Othnielites in Debir, so that they could have a reliable supply of water.

seems to have been destroyed before 1450 B.C. Albright thinks that it was actually destroyed some time earlier and that the site lay unoccupied until that date. The next city (C) was destroyed by fire with the demolition of its forts in the second half of the 13th century B.C. The walls of the next city (B) were not so massive as those of C, and they were laid in the ashes of the fire which destroyed city C. The walls were those characteristic of Israelite occupation. Many grain pits were discovered belonging to this city. There were three periods of its life, the first pre-Philistine before 1180-1150 or so and lasting for about fifty years; the second, Philistine with characteristic pottery; the third, post-Philistine from about 1000 B.C. onwards. These are Albright's dates. Garstang considers that city C was destroyed about 1325-1300 B.C. by Othniel, and that the pre-Philistine occupation of the site lasted till about 1225 B.C. by which time he claims the Philistines had arrived.

1. Josh. CB. p. 144. Garstang points out that "two large reservoirs of the type peculiar to the district are to be seen in the immediate vicinity (JJ. p. 214). These

In the later history of Israel, before the tribe of Simeon disappeared altogether, it was associated with Judah in the South of Palestine. We have seen that it is quite possible that the tribe of Simeon along with Levi went down to Egypt with the rest of the 'sons of Israel' in the time of the last Hyksos king, and that it apparently preferred to join the tribe of Judah in a northward advance rather than go with the rest to the east of Jordan. When Judah began to advance northwards from its original position in the south of the Negeb, Simeon went with it.

In the Book of Chronicles, the genealogy of Simeon contains a curious incident which is not mentioned elsewhere in the Old Testament (1 Chron. iv 39-43). This relates how the Simeonites invaded 'Gedor', smote the Me'unim, and settled in Mount Seir. Now by that time the tribe of Simeon had disappeared as a separate tribe, so that this appears to be a reminiscence of the early conquest of its territory by the tribe. Gedor was a town north of Hebron (cf. Josh. xv 58), so that here it may well be a mistake for Gerar. For it is hardly likely that the tribe of Simeon had anything to do with a town so far within the boundaries of the tribe of Judah as Gedor. Further evidence in support of this reading and suggestion is provided by Dr. Albright's discussion of the boundaries of the tribe of Simeon.² He

might well be what are referred to, for the word translated 'springs' should strictly speaking be 'something rounded', i.e. a spring walled round, or a reservoir. (Josh. CB. p. 143).

1. See above, p. 103, 128.
2. JPOS, IV, pp. 149-161.

shows that the tribe settled in a district roughly west of Arad and Debir as far as the territory of Gerar. We may accept the suggestion that this settlement was carried out about the same time as the settlement of the district between Arad and Hebron by the tribe of Judah and its allies, and that we have the memory of this settlement preserved in the Book of Chronicles.¹

The tribe of Simeon appears to have been content to remain in the far south of the land. The result of this was that it gradually disappeared, no doubt partly through some of its more southerly clans wandering off again into the desert, while the remaining ones were absorbed by the vigorous tribe of Judah.

If this whole reconstruction of the settlement of the South of Palestine by Judah and Simeon and other allied clans is correct, it helps to explain why Judah and the rest of the clans in the south remained apart from the northern tribes as they did, and only united for a short time under David and Solomon. Had they been more closely bound up with the north than they were, the removing of the obstacles of Jerusalem and the other Canaanite towns by the time of David would have allowed them to associate freely with the rest of Israel. For there is no real geographical obstacle between the north and the south of Palestine. Nevertheless,

1. Who the Me'unim were we cannot say definitely. They may have been the Maonites referred to in Jdg. x 12 as an ancient enemy of Israel inhabiting Mt. Seir. Or they may have been the people of Maon near Hebron (Chron. CB. p. 32).

the tribe of Judah was always known and recognised to be of the same kin as Israel, and not a tribe later brought into the confederation like the concubine tribes. Though it became isolated from the rest and developed in an entirely different way, it preserved the memory of its common ancestry with Israel, and believed that Israel as well as Judah belonged to the chosen people of God.

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CHAPTER FOURTEEN.

THE SETTLEMENT AND CONQUEST IN THE NORTH.

North of the Plain of Esdraelon, which at this period and for long afterwards remained more or less completely under the control of the race which was in the land before Israel, and east of the upper valley of the River Jordan, was a district, cut off from the rest of Palestine to the south geographically and politically, which was the home of the five tribes, Asher, Zebulun, Issachar, Dan and Naphtali.

On the columns erected by Seti I about the year 1320 B.C. and by Ramesses II about 1293 B.C. at Beth-shean, there is mentioned a district '-s-r or 'Asaru,¹ which is now generally accepted as being on the spot later occupied by the Israelite tribe of Asher. This tribe lived in a strip of country which extended northwards from the latitude of Accho and immediately inland from Phoenicia.² Exception has been taken by some scholars to the identification of the Egyptian 'Asaru with Asher on both philological and geographical grounds.³ They claim that the Egyptian word is a transliteration from some non-Semitic language and that

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1. See above, p. 19f.
 2. Jdg. (CB). p. 19.
 3. See Jack, Exodus, p. 230.

as the lists of towns in Egyptian inscriptions are not necessarily in geographical order, the location of 'Asaru cannot be fixed. Other authorities, however, have generally agreed that 'Asaru was "a somewhat vigorous state located in the hinterland of S. Phoenicia up to the Lebanon, the very district occupied by the tribe of Asher."¹ The two do indeed appear to have had something in common.

Again it is generally accepted that the Asherites were not of the true Israelite stock, but that they were Canaanites settled in the land long before Israel came to it. They were therefore represented as being descended from Zilpah, the handmaid of Leah, and even after the Conquest held an inferior position in Israel. The reason for their connection with Leah's handmaid and not Rachel's may have been that geographically the tribe of Asher was very closely related to Zebulun, one of the younger 'sons' of Leah, which tribe also seems to have been united with it later in one administrative district of Israel.²

On the other hand, Dr. Burney says that the case for considering the tribe of Asher to have been Canaanites is not fully made out and that they may have been Habiru who settled in the land long before the time of the Conquest.³ He says that they must have belonged to the Hebrew stock and were not Canaanites: otherwise they could not possibly have claimed kinship with Israel. This argument is not valid⁴

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1. Jdg. (CB) p. 19.
 2. Paton and Hogg, EB. Article on 'ASHER': Jack, Exodus, 233.
 3. Jack, Samaria in Ahab's Time, p. 95.
 4. JTS, IX, pp. 333-340.

in the light of the most recent theories about the Habiru. The tribe of Asher ought rather to be regarded as a group of Habiru, quite possibly of a different ethnic character from the 'sons of Israel', who had been living in the north of Palestine for a long time. They may indeed have come to the land about the same time as the Israelites themselves came for the first time, that is, about 1900 B.C. Having gone to the north of the Plain of Esdraelon and not having shared in the sojourn in Egypt and the rest of the adventures of the children of Israel, they were not recognised members of the federation at the Conquest. It was only after that time that they were received into fellowship, having a just claim to it because of their status as Habiru.

The tribe of Naphtali seems to have been in much the same situation at the beginning as Asher. Dr. Burney tries to find evidence that this tribe was associated at one time with Dan in Central Palestine.¹ Following Steuernagel,² he takes the statement in Judges i 33 that Naphtali did not succeed in driving out the inhabitants of Beth-shemesh and Beth-anath to refer to towns in the south, particularly Beth-shemesh, the modern 'Ain Shems, lying south of the Valley of Sorek and within sight of the Danite city of Zorah. He regards the locating of the towns in the north by Joshua xix 38 as a later assumption based on the knowledge that Naphtali was situated there afterwards. In support of

1. Burney, ISC. p. 23.
2. Einwanderung, p. 286.

his theory he quotes the difficult passage in Deuteronomy xxxiii 23, in which it is said of Naphtali "Possess thou the sea and the south". The word דרום translated "south" is in late Jewish usage applied to the Philistine maritime plain and the Shephelah, and this sentence is taken to show that at one time Naphtali lived near the Mediterranean Sea and the Shephelah.

Dr. Burney's arguments are not conclusive, however. It is not justifiable to conclude that the town Beth-shemesh which is referred to must be the Beth-shemesh in the centre of Palestine simply because we can identify it and cannot find any trace of a Beth-Shemesh in the north. The use of the word דרום to express the "south" appears to be a difficulty at first sight. Yet even if it were only a late term for the Shephelah, why should it be used in that sense to indicate a portion of the inheritance of Naphtali after that tribe had removed to the north as it certainly had by the time that Deuteronomy xxxiii was composed? At that date it could only refer to the inheritance of a part of the tribe of Naphtali which remained in the south, as part of the tribe of Dan did. And that such a portion of the tribe did stay in the south, we cannot tell from our other evidence. As against Dr. Burney's view of the meaning of דרום , Mr. Burrows has proved¹ that "the use of the term in its simple literal meaning continued as long as Hebrew or Aramaic was spoken in Palestine."

1. Burrows, 'Daroma', JPOS. XII, p. 147.

We cannot accept Dr. Burney's theory that the tribe of Naphtali once lived in Central Palestine beside the tribe of Dan. It appears to be an artificial theory composed to try to associate the two tribes early in their history, in order to explain why Naphtali was counted, like Dan, a 'son' of Rachel's maid Bilhah. Whatever the difficulties may be - and there are difficulties - we have got to think of Naphtali as having been, like Asher to which it was so much alike, in the North of Palestine from the very beginning of its life in the land. No doubt the tribe of Naphtali came to Canaan at the same time and under the same circumstances as Asher did. Why then was it not regarded like Asher as a 'son' of Leah's maid Zilpah? This admittedly is a difficulty. It may be explained by the fact that later, Dan and Naphtali seem to have been closely associated in the north. They constituted one of the administrative districts of the Kingdom,¹ doubtless because the territory of the two tribes forms one geographical unit. They both lay along the east of the upper Jordan, between it and the hills to the west.² Very probably too, in time Naphtali absorbed that portion of the tribe of Dan which was situated at the sources of the Jordan, and which at the best with a population of 2500 souls cannot have been a very large unit. This would be sufficient reason for the two tribes to be put together later as the sons of one woman.

1. Jack, Samaria in Ahab's Time, p. 95.
 2. SBD, 'Palestine', paragraph 10.

Along with Asher and Naphtali two other tribes, Zebulun and Issachar, lived north of the Plain of Esdraelon before the northward migration of Dan. It is very difficult to account for their origin and the manner in which they came to their places, whatever theory of the Conquest and settlement is adopted. We have far less information about them than we have about the rest of even the 'Leah' tribes,^{SO} that any theory at all must be regarded as purely tentative.

Dr. Burney, going on the Biblical evidence that they were younger 'sons' of Leah, tries to associate them with the four older 'Leah' tribes, Reuben, Simeon, Levi and Judah, in Central Palestine, long before the entry of the Joseph-tribes. He says that, although Zebulun is in northern Palestine by the time Judges i 30 was written, "it is possibly significant that Tola, who is a man of Issachar, dwells in Shamir in the Hill-country of Ephraim (Jdg. x 1, 2): while Elon the Zebulonite is buried in Aijalon (Jdg. xii 11, 12)." This Aijalon he considers to have been the only town of that name about which we have any information in the Old Testament, the town² lying in the valley of the same name near Beth-horon.

There is, however, no need to suppose that places such as Shamir and Aijalon were actually possessions of these two tribes, for at the time at which Dr. Burney considers them to have been present in Central Palestine they cannot be regarded as being settled in the land/sufficiently firmly, especially in the district in which Aijalon lies, to lay

1. ISC. pp. 51f.

2. Modern Yalo, NW. of Jerusalem.

claim to it.

Moreover, it is not necessary to think that Aijalon 'in the land of Zebulun' was the Aijalon in the valley of that name. The distinction between the name of the judge, Elon, and that of his burial place is quite artificial, being in Hebrew a matter of vowel-points only. It is better to think of the intention of the Hebrew as being that Elon was buried¹ in the district of Zebulun which bore the name of his clan.

Again, the claim that because Tola of Issachar was buried in Shamir 'in Mount Ephraim', the boundaries of the tribe of Issachar must at some time have come south of the plain of Esdraelon, does not agree with our later knowledge of the boundaries of that tribe.² It is claimed that comparatively early the tribe of Issachar may 'have occupied a part of the range of Gilboa, south of the latter valley.'³ This conjecture cannot be accepted. Dr. Albright has carefully investigated the problem of the sites of the towns mentioned in Joshua xix 17-23 as belonging to Issachar, and he concludes that the boundaries of the tribe were quite definite and that it lay wholly, even at a late date, north of the Nahr Jalud on which Beisan stands. Starting at Jezreel (modern Zer'in), which was at the south-west corner of its lot, the boundary line went straight north to Chesulloth (modern Iksal) at the north-west, then turned eastwards to Beth-shemesh (modern

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1. In the Hebrew Text, the judge is אֵילֹן and the place אֵילֹן. Burney acknowledges that the distinction may be artificial.
 2. Moore, Judges (ICC), p. 151.
 3. ZAW, N/F 3, 1926, pp 225-236.

Khirbet Shemsin) near to the place where the Jordan flows out of the Lake of Galilee. From there the boundary went down along the Jordan valley to the mouth of the Nahr Jalud, and westwards up that stream to Zer'in again. The rest of the towns given in the list as belonging to Issachar he identifies with sites wholly within that area.

Dr. Burney considers that these two tribes moved from Central Palestine to their northern homes some time before the Joseph tribes came. But it would have been almost impossible for them to have gone across the Plain of Esdraelon when it was as strongly held by the Canaanites (with the support of Egypt) until long after the Conquest, at whatever period that took place. It is far more likely that they came sometime or another from the east of Jordan and went directly to what were to be their recognised homes, crossing¹ the Jordan by way of the fords south of the Lake of Galilee. When they did this we cannot tell, but it seems fairly reasonable to think of them as having come along with those Habiru who were later to become the tribe of Manasseh. They would thus come to the land shortly before the Israelites began the invasion of Central Palestine at Jericho. Like the Manasseh tribe and Judah in the South, as well as the Joseph and Benjamin tribes in the centre of the land, Issachar and Zebulun first settled in the hill country westwards of the

1. The advance may also have been made north of the Lake of Galilee (see Oesterley & Robinson, History, p. 130). This appears to be less probable. We must suppose that the Canaanite Habiru tribe Naphtali was in the land earlier. It would not have been possible for Issachar and Zebulun to

upper valley of the Jordan. From there they began, both by force of arms and by peaceful penetration, to extend gradually into the more thickly populated districts. Issachar, for instance, pressed outwards into the Plain of Esdraelon into the districts of Jezreel, Beth-shean and Sunem (modern Solem), as well as further north into Endor (modern 'Endur). Even though they did occupy these districts to a certain extent, they became subject to the Canaanites who lived there, especially when the latter had been strengthened by the influx of¹ Mediterranean mercenaries of Egypt and the Philistines.

The coming of these tribes to the district would have the further effect of restricting the possible southward expansion of the tribes of Asher and Naphtali; indeed, they may have forced them into a somewhat smaller area among the hills. This would lead to their making efforts to settle in the lower-lying and more populous districts. This would lead to conflict with the Canaanite sedentary population, and of these conflicts we have some evidence in the Old Testament in the narrative of the Battle with Jabin of Hazor.

cross north of the Lake of Galilee without pressing Naphtali westwards and southwards. If that had been so we would have found Naphtali where Zebulun and Issachar were later, and these two tribes north-east of it. That the three tribes were later in the positions we know them to have been in is an argument for the crossing of the Jordan south of the Lake of Galilee by Issachar and Zebulun, and not north of it.

1. An example of the way in which this expansion took place is given by Albright (ZAW, 1926, p.234). Sunem was known to have been destroyed by Labaya in the Amarna period and is not mentioned in Egyptian sources after the XVIIIth Dynasty. It must therefore never have recovered its importance as a Canaanite town, and became Israelite quite easily, without the need for conquest. That would explain why it does not occur with the rest of the Canaanite towns in the lists.

In the eleventh chapter of the Book of Joshua, there is an account of a battle which Israel is said to have fought under Joshua against a confederation of kings in northern Palestine, under the command of Jabin king of Hazor. The kings who were with Jabin, according to the Hebrew Text, were Jobab of Madon, and the rulers of Shimron and Achshaph (Josh. xi 1).¹ The Canaanites had the advantage of being equipped with chariots and horses (xi 4). Joshua and the Israelites met the army of the Canaanites at 'the waters of Merom', defeated it and put the enemy to flight, destroying their chariots (xi 7-9). In the verses which immediately follow, the Deuteronomic writers generalise in their customary way the conquests which Israel made in the north and attribute them to Joshua.

The first point which must be cleared up is whether Joshua ever did lead a campaign of the Israelites in the north of Canaan. The possibility of this has been denied because of the existence of the row of Canaanite fortresses along the Plain of Esdraelon.² These, it is claimed, would have been an effective barrier preventing him from crossing from the Hill-country of Ephraim to Galilee. Under these conditions, it is true, such an expedition would have been extremely difficult. But it was not impossible for a gifted leader such as we know Joshua to have been to carry out what may

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1. The next verse, which adds to these kings from all over the land and belonging to most of the 'nations' which inhabited it, is most certainly a late addition.
 2. Thus, Oesterley & Robinson, History, p. 130.

be regarded as a raid into enemy country. This kind of raid is relatively easy to make in a land like Palestine and under the conditions of civilization found there even to this day, especially with a mobile force such as that of Joshua must have been.¹

There is another point to be considered, however, which leads us to think that it was unlikely that Joshua led the Israelites against Jabin. From an examination of the Biblical records it appears extremely likely that what was only a local struggle in the north of Canaan has been magnified by the Deuteronomists into an attack on the Canaanites by the whole of Israel. In the prose account of the battle which was fought later, in the time of the Judges, by Deborah and Barak, mention is made of 'Jabin King of Canaan that reigned in Hazor' (Jdg. iv 2). A comparison of this with the poetic account in the following chapter shows that the name of Jabin has been inserted into the narrative. In the actual fighting he does not take part, and the whole action is carried out under Sisera. If the Jabin of Judges iv is the Jabin of Joshua xi lff., and there is no reason to doubt this, then we have in Judges iv another version of his fight against Israel, interwoven with the story of the battle fought against Sisera by Deborah and

1. Compare the raids made against the Turks by Colonel T. E. Lawrence during the war. "The advance on Akaba is an illustration of how ably Lawrence handled Feisal's army, in spite of his complete lack of military training and experience. In order to outwit the Turkish commander at Medina he led a flying column nearly one thousand miles to the north of El Wejh; but instead of going right up the coast toward Akaba, he led them far into the interior, across the Hedjaz Railway not far from Medina, where they

Barak. It should also be noted that the poetical version of the later battle enumerates six tribes which took part in it, while the prose version mentions only two, Zebulun and Naphtali (Jdg. iv 6, 10). "It may well be that the reference to these two tribes really belongs to the Jabin-narrative; and considering the fact that the old narrative in Joshua xi 1 mentions only Jabin, king of Hazor, and the kings of Madon, Shimron and Achshaph, while the indefinite expansion of the league in verse 2-3 is editorial, it is likely that the truth is to be found in the supposition of a battle between these four Canaanite kings and the tribes of Zebulun and Naphtali only."¹

The circumstances of this battle between the two tribes and the four Canaanite kings are also very uncertain, owing not only to the confusion of Jabin's battle with Israel with that of Sisera against Deborah and Barak, but also to the confusion of the names and sites mentioned in the Hebrew traditions. There is not one of the sites of the various towns referred to, or of the place of the battle, which can now

blew up several miles of track on the way, then through the Wadi Sirhan , , , , , , then across the territory of the Howeitat tribe east of the Dead Sea, and still on, north into the land of Moab. He even led a party of picked men through the Turkish lines by night, dynamited a train near Amman blew up a bridge near Deraa and mined another several hundred miles behind the Turkish front-line trenches near the Syrian industrial city of Homs. It was possible for Lawrence to conduct raids on such a grand scale only because of the extraordinary mobility of his forces." (Thomas, With Lawrence in Arabia, p. 81).

1. Burney, ISC. p. 54.

be accurately identified. Even the site of Hazor itself can only be conjectured. It lay somewhere near to Kedesh in Naphtali and probably to the south of it.¹ Professor Garstang has suggested that it lay at Tell el-Kedah, four miles west of the foot of Lake Huleh and the Jordan, and this appears to satisfy all the necessary conditions. The sites of the other cities mentioned are altogether less surely identified. Professor Garstang suggests that possibly the Septuagint gives the clue to the solution of the difficulty, and he proposes to read Sumoön for Shimron and Marron for Madon. Sumoön and Marron could be identified with two small villages in the Huleh Basin.² They are both reasonably near the proposed site of Hazor, and might well be the sites of small towns which looked to the more important centre Hazor for protection. Achshaph cannot have been Khirbet Iksaf, north-west of Lake Huleh, since Professor Garstang has pointed out that that site was not occupied before Byzantine times. He thinks that it may have been Tell Keisan near Accbat the coast. This

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1. At this site there is a large Tell and also a camp enclosure. In the Middle Bronze Age the camp area was permanently occupied by dwellers in stone houses, but in the Late Bronze Age these gave way to huts and tents. This era of occupation was brought to a close by a general conflagration, which Garstang dates not later than about 1400 B.C. The city proper was at the south end of this enclosure. It was continuously occupied until into the Late Bronze Age, and was inhabited after the houses in the camp area had been destroyed. After that there was a gap in the occupation, for there are no traces of pottery of the first part of the Early Iron Age. (Garstang, JJ. pp. 381-383).
 2. Sumoön = the modern Summaka, 6 m. east of the Huleh marshes. Marron is still a village of that name 5 m. SW of Kedesh (See Josh. CB. p 100). (Garstang, JJ. p. 189). The usual identification puts Madon at Hattin, W. of Lake Galilee, and Shimron as Semiyuneh, 5 m. W of Nazareth. Perhaps the LXX clues are as good as any, especially when the text of both

appears to be rather far away from Hazor, and it is possible that another place with the same name nearer Lake Huleh was meant. Still, in the light of the statements given in Joshua xi 8 about the directions in which the Canaanites fled¹ after the battle, this identification may be the right one.

About the site of the battle itself there is also the same uncertainty. For long it was believed that 'the waters of Merom'² referred to Lake Huleh. But the phrase 'the waters of' refers more naturally to a well than to a lake. Because of this, the springs of Lake Huleh, particularly³ 'Ain el-Mallahah, north of Hazor, have been suggested as the place at which the battle took place; so also, on the authority of Eusebius, have the springs at Marim, 12 Roman miles north of Sebaste near Dothan.⁴ Professor Garstang points⁵ out that in the Septuagint, Madon and Merom both appear as Marron or Maron, and that the site of the battle appears to be in the Hill-country.⁶ He looks therefore for the scene of it somewhere in Upper Galilee, and finds it at the foot of Jebel Marun, where today the village of Bint Um el-Jebeil forms the road and market centre for a wide area. From this spot, Hazor is distant only about five hours journey, and the coast between Tyre and Accho⁷ seven hours. There are

LXX and Hebrew are in such a confused state.

1. For Garstang's reasons for his various identifications, see JJ. p. 189f.
2. See Josh. (CB) p. 102.
3. See Garstang, JJ. p. 192.
4. Josh. (CB). p. 102.
5. JJ. p. 193.
6. In Joshua xi 7 the LXX reads ἐν τῇ ὄρεινῃ.

springs in the vicinity and also a reservoir which is acknowledged to be older than the village itself.¹ The site of Meiron, four miles west of Safad, is strategically almost as good and this would be a good alternative as the place of the battle, although the nearest camping ground is half a mile away from the water supply. We may reasonably suppose that the battle was fought at one or other of these places. At any rate, some such site as these in the Hill-country, and not one north of Hazor, is required if we are to explain satisfactorily the routes taken by the fleeing Canaanites.

The Book of Judges (iv 6) mentions ~~Kedesh~~ in Naphtali as the place from which Deborah summoned Barak. It appears to be the natural place for an army to gather in order to attack Hazor, and because of this has been accepted as the rallying point for the armies of Zebulun and Naphtali in the battle against Jabin.² This pre-supposes that Kedesh was in the hands of Naphtali, and if we are right in considering that this battle took place about the year 1400 B.C. or at least not very long after that, then we must give up the view that the armies gathered there. For it is unlikely that Naphtali would have gained possession of it so soon. Again, if we are right in thinking that the battle took place in the Hill-country, a rallying point somewhere in that district would be more natural. The two tribes taking part have a common boundary point in Mount Tabor,³ and there is

1. Garstang, JJ. pp. 193-194.
 2. Jdg. (CB). p. 45.
 3. Albright, ZAW, 1926, p. 232.

every reason for supposing that they met together there in preparation for the attack of Jabin. For its situation and strength made it a natural rallying point from which they could turn either north or south as the approach of an enemy required.¹ It may be noted too that if the two tribes did actually muster at Mount Tabor, then Jabin coming from Hazor would naturally meet them in the region of Jebel Marun.

The Israelites appear to have come upon the Canaanites suddenly and maimed their horses so that their greatly-feared chariots were rendered useless (Josh. xi 6). No doubt this sudden attack and its result threw the enemy into a panic and they fled "to Great Zidon and Misrephoth-maim and the valley of Mizpeh to the east." (Josh. xi 8). These would be the natural directions for them to take, especially if some of them came from Summaka and some from Achshaph near the coast. For the natural way to Summaka from Jebel Marun is round the marshes of Huleh by way of Banias above which Mizpeh 'the watch-tower' was probably situated.² If too Professor Garstang is right in identifying Misrephoth-maim with the Bronze Age site at Khirbet el-Mesherefah on the coast between Tyre and Accho,³ then that would be the direction taken by the contingent from Achshaph. The rest probably fled straight into Sidonian territory where the Israelites would be unwilling to follow them.⁴

1. Judges (ICC). p. 115.

2. Garstang, JJ. p. 191.

3. JJ. p. 190.

4. Joshua xi 10, 11, attributed to the Deuteronomic editor, says that Joshua took Hazor and burnt it. Garstang points out (JJ. 197) that it is quite possible that the army of the

A victory like this would allow the Israelite tribes in Northern Canaan to settle more securely in the land, and at least to begin the expansion into the lowlands without fear of molestation by the Canaanites. In particular, the victory seems to have been instrumental in binding the tribe of Naphtali to the rest of the federation, for by the time of Deborah and Barak it is mentioned alongside Zebulun as a tribe that distinguished itself in the battle against Sisera. (Jdg. v 18).¹

Israelites may have turned back and set fire to the huts and tents in the camp enclosure, although they were not able to take the city. For the excavations he made show that the camp enclosure suffered from fire about the year 1400 B.C. It is also quite possible that Jabin was cut off in the flight and forced to take refuge with 'Heber the Kenite' near Kedesh (Jdg. iv 11, 17b). Certainly, Heber the Kenite appears to fit in with the Jabin story rather than with the Sisera story. (Jdg. ICC. p. 123).

1. Garstang (JJ. p. 244) thinks that ~~Kedesh~~, excavations at which have showed that it was possibly a centre of the solar cult, was the Beth-shemesh which Naphtali could not take at first, and which was destroyed by Seti I. The indications to which he refers, however, belong to the Roman period, and also, the Old Testament refers to Kedesh in Naphtali as well as Beth-shemesh without appearing to think of them as the one place. Garstang's suggestion, therefore, must be regarded as very doubtful.

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CHAPTER FIFTEEN.

THE LATER EXPANSIONS FROM CENTRAL PALESTINE.

Just as the coming of Zebulun and Issachar to the north of Palestine caused the tribes of Asher and Naphtali which were already there to expand into the lowlands, so also on an even greater scale the coming of the vigorous tribes of Ephraim and Benjamin to Central Palestine disturbed the balance of those which were already in the land. We have seen that it is probable that the tribe of Manasseh had come to Gilead and the northern parts of the Hill-country of Ephraim before the Israelites under Joshua¹ arrived east of the Jordan. And we shall see² that there is reason to believe that the tribe of Dan was already in the district, which it later claimed, to the south-west of Shechem. The coming of Ephraim and Benjamin would have the result of confining the tribe of Dan within very narrow bounds and of making it impossible for the tribe of Manasseh to expand except eastwards into Bashan and the Hauran. When therefore the Manassites felt the need of extending their bounds they had to do so by conquest. Of this we

1. See above, p. 140ff.

2. See below, p. 242.

find traces in Numbers xxxii 39, 41, 42. There the tribe of Machir is said to have occupied Gilead. We saw that this ought to be regarded as the first settlement of the tribe of Manasseh, Machir being its oldest clan. But two other clans, Jair and Nobah, are said to go and occupy certain parts of the land outside of the Hill-country of Gilead.

Numbers xxxii 41 reads "And Jair the son of Manasseh went and took the tent-villages thereof ($\square\eta' \eta\eta$) and called them the tent-villages of Jair ($\eta\eta' \eta\eta$)." These tent-villages have been regarded as lying in Gilead beside the possessions of Machir and south of the River Yarmuk. But Joshua xiii 30 and Deuteronomy iii 14 appear to place them in Bashan far to the north-east. For this reason it has been suggested that Gilead might be taken in the wide sense of including Bashan.¹ This, however, is inadmissible. What, then, are we to make of this statement about Jair?² Bergman points out the strange way in which Jair is said to take 'the tent-villages thereof' without there being any real antecedent to 'thereof'. He proposes to make the very slight emendation of dropping the ' from $\square\eta' \eta\eta$ and re-pointing it as $\square\eta \eta\eta$. This makes the sentence read, "And Jair the son of Manasseh took the tent-villages of Ham, and called them the tent-villages of Jair." There is to this day a place called Ham, five miles southwest of Irbid, on the ill-defined boundary between Gilead and Bashan, which no doubt in

1. Joshua (CB). p. 129.
2. JAOS, LIV, p. 176.

the days of the Conquest gave its name to the district. It must have at one time been under the influence of Egypt, because its name appears in the list of towns of Thutmose III circa 1479 B.C. to which we have referred before.¹ For that reason it is unlikely to have been attacked or occupied by the Israelites until the necessity of expansion drove them to do so. This supports the view that the reference to Machir and that to Jair and Nobah in Numbers xxxii 39ff. are to be treated in different ways.

The other clan which is referred to along with Jair is Nobah, and in Numbers xxxii 42 we read about it "Nobah went and took Kenath, and the villages thereof, and called it Nobah, after his own name." Now Kenath is identified quite confidently with the modern Kanawat, on the western slopes of the Hauran, a district that we saw to have been occupied at this time by a sedentary population.² Again we must suppose that this expansion did not take place until it was made absolutely necessary.

We are justified in putting this eastward expansion of Manasseh not earlier than the year 1380 B.C. for we must think of Ephraim and Manasseh as beginning to find their boundaries too narrow only after the former tribe had got well settled in the land. This date coincides with the time of Abdi-Hiba at Jerusalem, a coincidence which we shall have cause to find very important.³

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1. See above, p. 20.
 2. See above, p. 132f. On the identification of Kenath with Kanawat, see Numbers (CB) p. 175.
 3. See below, p. 239, note 3.

In various passages in the Hexateuch¹ mention is made of a battle with a king in Bashan called Og. All of the passages are either Deuteronomic or else the work of the Priestly School. The longest and fullest account is that in the Book of Deuteronomy (iii 1-13), with part of which a shorter account in Numbers xxi 33-35 agrees almost verbally. Immediately after the passage in the Book of Numbers, there comes one attributed to J and E, in which no mention is made of Og in a place (Num. xxii 2) where such mention would naturally be expected. This fact, taken along with the Deuteronomic and Priestly origin of the references to the battle with Og, have caused many authorities to doubt the historicity of the event.²

This is not a sufficient reason for doing so. Granted that D and P are later in date than J and E, that is no argument for refusing to allow them to have preserved the memory of an incident not mentioned by the earlier sources, and indeed perhaps not known to them.

Both accounts begin by stating that the Israelites turned their eyes towards Bashan. That they did so is not to be wondered at, for it was the kind of rich land that would be coveted by the semi-nomadic Manassites in Gilead. Bashan embraced the region north and north-east of Gilead, being bounded on the south by the River Yarmuk and a line drawn from Edrei to Salchah, on the west by Geshur and Maacah, on the east by the Jebel Hauran, and on the north stretching out towards Hermon.³ "It was noted in antiquity for its

1. Num. xxi 33-35: xxxii 33, Deut. i 4: iii 1-13: iv 47: xxix 7, Josh. ix 10: xii 4: xiii 30.

2. Num. (CB). p. 122.

3. SBD, 'Palestine', par. 13.

rich pastures and its extensive forests of oak, especially abundant on the W. slopes of Jebel Hauran."¹

The native king Og, whose capital may have been at Edrei or Ashtaroth, (Josh. xii 4, Deut. i 4), came out against the Israelites, fought them at Edrei² and was defeated. The Book of Deuteronomy (iii 11) says that Og was the last of his race and that after his defeat no one remained to dispute the possession of the land of Bashan with Israel, so that the way was opened up for their occupation of it.

When did this event happen? We cannot tell precisely. Because Sihon king of the Amorites and Og the king of Bashan³ are so often mentioned together in the Old Testament it is usual to suppose that the two battles fought against these kings must have occurred at about the same time. This is not necessarily true.

There appears to be, moreover, a difference between the two conquests in this at least, that the defeat of Sihon was the defeat of a king not under the suzerainty of Egypt whose kingdom was not long founded, while the defeat of Og was the defeat of a king, living in a district well supervised by Egypt, whose kingdom had been long-established (he was 'the last of his race').

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1. Deut. (ICC), p. 47.
 2. Edrei is the modern DER'AT, a town on the South border of Bashan about 30 miles east of the Lake of Galilee and 30 miles west of Jebel Hauran. Ashtaroth is generally identified with Tell 'Ashtere, 15 m. NW of Edrei. (Deut. ICC, p. 8).
 3. Num. xxxii 33: Deut. i 4, iv 47, xxix 7: Josh. ix 10: Nehem. ix 22: Ps. cxxxv 11, cxxxvi 19, 20.

We have already seen how the request of the tribe of Manasseh for another portion in the land has caused some scholars to think that the resulting expansion was the settling of Gilead.¹ But we have seen reason to believe that Gilead was the first part of the land to be settled by Manasseh and that it was only later, under pressure, that the two clans, Jair and Nobah, settled north of the Hill-country of Gilead.² What is more likely than that it was during this expansion that Israel came into conflict with the king of Bashan?³ The Israelites cannot have con-

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1. See above, p. 139f.
 2. See above, p. 140ff.
 3. In the Amarna Letter, Knudtzon 256, (See above, p.16) Mutbaal refers to the loss of several cities and the hostility of others. Most scholars have been able to identify some of the towns with places south and southwest of the district of Jerusalem. (See Cook, CAH, ii p. 316 and Jack, Exodus, p. 126f.) On the other hand Albright (AASOR, VI, pp 40-41) identifies the same set of towns with other places in Bashan. The following table shows the identifications approved by the two groups of scholars.

Name of district or town as it appears in Amarna Letters.	Identification approved by Jack etc.	Identification approved by Albright, etc.
GARI.	Kharu, i.e. S. Palestine.	Bashan, i.e. modern Hauran.
UDUMU.	Duma, modern el-Dome, 12 m. SW of Hebron	Dumah, 15 m. NE of Kanawat.
ADURI.	Adoraim, modern Dura, 4 m. SW of Hebron.	Edrei
ARARU.	Aroer, modern 'Ar'ara, 11 m SE of Beersheba	Tell 'Ar'ar, north of Deraa.
MESHTU.	Unidentified.	Unidentified.

quered Og before they settled in Western Palestine, otherwise they would have settled in his land then, and there would be no other place to which Manasseh could be told to go by Joshua. If this event happened, as we suggested above, about the year 1380 B.C., it is quite possible that it may have happened after the tribe of Manasseh had consulted and received advice from Joshua, now a very old man. It is suggestive too that at that very time, according to the reading of Mutbaal's Letter to Yanhamu by some scholars, the cities of Bashan and the Hauran were becoming hostile to Egypt or lost to her enemies.

Name of town in Amarna Letters.	Jack's identification.	Albright's identification.
MAGDALIM.	Tel Mejadil, 7 m. W of Udumu, or Migdal-Gad, E of Ashkelon.	el-Mejdel or el-Mujeidil, near to Suweida.
HINYANABI.	'Anab, 14 m. SW of Hebron.	'Ain-'Anab, not located.
ZARKI.	Modern Bir el-Sherky, 13 m SE of Hebron.	Not identified.
HAWINI.	'Anim, modern Ghuwen, 12 m. S. of Hebron.	Kefr 'Awan, 2-3 m. north of Jabesh-Gilead.
YABISHIBA.	Unidentified.	Jabesh, not yet found, but somewhere on Wadi Yabis SE of Pella.

It is an extraordinary coincidence that so many of these towns should be identifiable in two districts of Palestine. We cannot therefore unreservedly accept the one set or the other. But if it is true that Mutbaal is the son of Labaya of Shechem (both Jack and Albright agree to this), he would be more likely to know what was happening in Bashan than in the Negeb. Again, being a contemporary of Abdi-Hiba, he would quite possibly be active in Shechem

In the meantime, the tribes of Ephraim and Benjamin had been consolidating their position in the Hill-country of Ephraim, and the time came when they too felt the need for occupying those parts of the land where there were walled towns. The chief town outside of those in the coastal districts which remained as yet uncaptured was the important place Bethel, and against it, according to the Biblical traditions, the House of Joseph went up. The archaeological evidence makes out that Bethel was not taken by Israel until¹ about the year 1300 B.C. It is not impossible that that was so and that it was^{only} two or three generations after they had occupied the Hill-country that the two tribes felt the need of expansion southwards. The story of the taking of Bethel is told in Judges i 22-26. The Ephraimites, probably² accompanied by the tribe of Benjamin, encamped before the city.³

about the time that we suppose the occupation of Bashan by Israel to have taken place. While we are discussing the subject of Mutbaal's letter, it may be well to mention that some scholars seek to identify the Yashuya and Benenima about whom he speaks as the Joshua and Benjamin of the Old Testament (Thus, Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible*, p. 447: and Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria*, pp. 188 and 197). There are good reasons for rejecting the proposed identification, particularly that Yashuya appears to be a local prince subject to Egypt from the way Mutbaal refers to him. "We are all too ready to accept identification of Biblical persons with those mentioned in the ancient documents ..." (T. H. Robinson in *ET*, XLVII, May, 1936, p. 380).

1. See above p. 133f.
2. Cf. 2 Samuel xix 16, 20.
3. An archaeological gloss in verse 23 gives the name of the city before as Luz. If the suggestion of Winckler is correct, that the word means 'place of Refuge', then it may have been a sanctuary before it became famous as Bethel. (See *Jdg. CB.* p. 15). We have no proof that it was such a sanctuary.

While they were preparing for the siege , the outposts captured a man from the city and persuaded him, under promise of good treatment to show them the point where an attacking force could most easily enter. With this information they were able to make a successful attack on the city and to capture it.

The coming of the tribes of Ephraim and Benjamin to Central Palestine had an effect not only on Manasseh, but also on the tribe of Dan, which was probably like Gad, Asher and Naphtali, a tribe of Hebrews of a different race from the Israelites proper, which had not shared in the experiences of the Sojourn in Egypt and the Exodus.¹ Apparently they dwelt in the Hill-country south of Shechem, and no doubt the coming of the Joseph tribes confined them very severely to a small area of land west of the later territory of Benjamin and north of that of Judah. Apparently^{too} the Danites made an attempt to settle in the towns of Zorah and Eshtaol, overlooking the valley of the Wady el-Zarar, for these towns are stated in Judges xiii, xvi, xviii, to have belonged to them. From these settlements in the Lowland, according to the Old Testament account, they were forced out by the 'Amorites', who "would not suffer them to come down to the valley" (Jdg. i 34). The original narrative of the early source J which ought to follow this is found in Joshua xix 47,

1. The name of the tribal hero, Samson, suggests a connection with Shemesh the sun-god, so that the tribe would be one which previously worshipped another god than Israel, and which on admission to the federation was associated with its nearest neighbours, Ephraim and Benjamin, as a son of

"And the border of the children of Dan was too narrow for them:¹ and the children of Dan went up, and fought with Leshem and took it, and smote it at the edge of the sword, and took possession of it, and dwelt therein; and they called Leshem, Dan, after the name of Dan their father."

Owing to the fortunate chance that the latest editor of the Book of Judges evidently desired to show the origin of the famous sanctuary at Dan in the north of Israel, we have in the eighteenth chapter of the book a fairly full account of this migration. First of all the Danites sent five men from Zorah and Eshtaol to search for a place to which the tribe or part of it might go (Jdg. xviii 2). Eventually they came to² Laish at the sources of the Jordan, where the people had apparently made no alliances with neighbouring powers (Jdg. xviii 7),³ and so would fall an easy prey to any attacking force. When they had returned and reported what they had found, six hundred men of war, who would probably comprise the most enterprising section of the tribe, set out to take the city (Jdg. xviii 11). Their expedition evidently made a lasting impression on the district, where there was preserved the memory of the first camping place of the force, near Kirjath-Jearim (xviii 12). With the men we may suppose that the women and children went, so that the number of people alto-

Rachel's concubine Bilhah.

1. With the necessary correction suggested by Burney (ISC, 23) Read □□□□.....ג'צ'ר for □□□□.....א'צ'ר
2. Laish is the modern Tell el)Kadi, at the source of the Jordan. (Jdg. CB. p. 165).
3. This is the suggestion of Cooke, Jdg. CB. p. 165.

gether came to about 2,500. On their way north they robbed the man Micah the Ephraimite of his images and persuaded his Levite to go with them (Jdg. xviii 14-26). When they arrived at Laish, they took the city and renamed it Dan (xviii 27-30).

The period at which this migration took place is doubtful. The editor of the Book of Judges dates it vaguely in the period before the monarchy (xvii 6, xviii 1). But the very fact that he puts it at the end of the book must show that he had some idea that it occurred between the judgeship of Samson and the reign of Saul.¹ The migration would then be due to the coming of the Philistines about the year 1200 B.C. As we saw, the Old Testament attributed the migration to pressure from the Canaanites and not the Philistines.² The Old Testament may quite well be preserving the correct tradition in that the Philistines first drove back the Canaanites from the coast and then they in turn drove back the Danites. It is true that, earlier than the time of the coming of the Philistines, about the year 1320 B.C., the expeditions of Seti I could have had the same effect. But these were merely temporary invasions of the land and would not affect it in the same way as did the permanent settling of the Philistines. If the Danites had pressed down into the lowlands as early as 1320 B.C.,

1. Jdg. (CB) p. 157.

2. Burney points out (ISC. p. 22, note) that the use of 'Amorites' in Judges i 34, 35, instead of the more usual 'Canaanites' is strange. He thinks that the term may have been substituted later, under the influence of a textual corruption 'Amorites' for 'Edomites' in verse 36.

which is doubtful, they might have been well enough able to resist any encroachments of the Canaanites due to the expeditions of Seti. But when the Philistines came, they were permanently forced back into the Hill-country. This was not large enough for their needs, owing to the presence of Ephraim, Benjamin and Judah, so that some of them had to migrate. They found their new home in the only part of the land where it was possible for them to find one - in the far north, beyond the possessions of the rest of the Israelite tribes there.

During the course of the 14th and 13th centuries B.C., the Israelites settled themselves firmly in the highlands, and also captured many of the important Canaanite cities such as Bethel, Hebron and Debir, which they had not been able to take when they first invaded the land. So far as we can make out, the tribes seem to have had each its own recognised territory by the time of the Judges, and we must look earlier than that time for the agreement that was made between them, whereby the tribal boundaries were settled.

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1. It does not seem profitable to use the evidence of the Song of Deborah for the situation of Dan at the time it was composed. On the one hand, it has been argued that Dan was in the north by that time. The reference to the tribe in the Song - 'Dan, why did he remain in ships' (Jdg. v 17) - has been taken to mean either, 'Why did Dan sojourn near a sea-faring people?' or, 'Why did Dan serve in ships?' The reference in the first case is said to be to the Phoenicians, but it stretches the meaning of 'ships' too far. The second reading misinterprets the word translated 'sojourn'. On the other hand, the question cannot be taken to indicate that Dan was still in Central Palestine, dwelling by the Sea, for as early as this it could not be said of any Israelite tribe that its possessions touched the sea.

The Biblical tradition, so far as we can make it out, appears to think of the division as having been made by lot. In Judges i 3, there is a reference in the account of Judah's preparations to enter the land to the 'lot' which had been granted to the tribe. There are traces of the same idea in Joshua xvi 1ff., xvii 14 etc. These have been taken to imply that the land was divided up among the tribes before they actually conquered it, the question of the parts to be occupied by each tribe being decided by means of the sacred lot.¹ There is one insuperable difficulty in the way of accepting such a theory. An allotment of the land carried out in such a fashion would pre-suppose a united and simultaneous attack by all the tribes who later occupied it. This we have seen throughout was not the case. It must also be noted that the casting of a sacred lot is nowhere mentioned definitely in what are regarded to be the older narratives, but only implied by the language used.² It is only in the latest stratum of all in the tradition that the dividing up of the land by lot is definitely mentioned (Josh. xviii 1, 11ff)

It is suggestive, however, that in that part of the tradition the Israelites are said to have gathered at Shiloh for the casting of the lots. In its present position that

1. Josh. (CB) p. xxviii.

2. The mention of the casting of lots in Josh. xviii 9, 10, is quite evidently the work of a later editor of JE, who was generalising the views of the older sources. At the time of the Conquest three men from each of seven tribes so widely scattered could hardly go through the land and map it out as they are said to do in verse 9.

verse (Josh. xviii 1) appears to be out of place, for it makes the whole of Israel assemble at Shiloh to draw lots for deciding the tribal boundaries right in the middle of a narrative describing the allotment of the territory. The archaeological evidence is that Shiloh was not occupied until the time of the Conquest of the land by Israel. Its recognition as a sanctuary must have been gradual, so that it cannot have been for many years that all Israel would be likely to meet there.

Here again it may be the case that the later strands in the tradition of the Conquest have preserved some germ of historical truth, coloured in the usual way by the belief that the Conquest was a united and wholesale success. If there were felt to be a need in Israel to define more clearly the boundaries of the tribes, and especially the tribes in the north and south, that defining could be made at the sanctuary at Shiloh. The fact that Shiloh only received general recognition as a sanctuary some time later than the Conquest agrees with the fact that it would not be necessary for the tribes to reach an agreement about their boundaries until they had occupied the land fairly thoroughly.

There is good reason for believing that some such arrangement was made and an agreement come to about the tribal boundaries long before the time of the Kingdom. For an examination of the administrative districts of Solomon's time shows that their boundaries followed very closely the old tribal boundaries, though by that time these had lost

? 1. BASOR, Feb. 1923. Garstang, JJ, p. 399.

all political significance.¹ David evidently had in mind the reorganising of the administrative system when he undertook the numbering of the people, but died before he could put it into force. It was therefore left to Solomon to institute the system of royal stewards. A close examination of the boundaries of the administrative districts in 1 Kings iv 7-19 shows that they agree with those of the tribes in the Book of Joshua. It seems fairly certain then that although "we do not know the exact date to which we may ascribe the tribal divisions and boundaries indicated with such care in the Book of Joshua, there can be no doubt whatever that the compiler did his best to reconstruct the pre-Davidic map of Israel."² It is true we do not know the exact date of the agreement about the tribal boundaries, but very likely it was reached by the time of the earlier Judges, a time when the Conquest was long over and the settlement of the land almost as complete as it was by the time of the Monarchy.

1. Jack, Samaria in Ahab's Time, p. 89.

2. Albright, JPOS, V, p.19.

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CHAPTER SIXTEEN.

CONCLUSION. *****

When we set out to investigate the subject of the settlement of the Hebrews in Canaan, we found immediately that the task was going to be complicated by the nature of the written sources with which we had to deal. The earlier Biblical sources on which the historian of the period must rely have been worked over by the Deuteronomic School of editors in a way in which they have not treated the Patriarchal narratives. Their reason for doing this was that they had a particular theory of the Conquest to which they tried to adapt the earlier sources.

To this great disadvantage there was added the other, that in the period of the Conquest and settlement of the land the sources contain no indisputable references to contemporary events in the rest of that part of the world. This makes it impossible to find an absolutely trustworthy frame of reference into which we may fit the story.

To counteract these disadvantages, we have first the fact that the later editors of Hebrew history were often content to give the actual words of their sources and to apply their own moral to them. Then we have other documents and inscriptions, from Egypt principally, which give:

us valuable help by providing a background to the history of the period in which we know the Conquest to have taken place. Some of these, such as the inscriptions on the Egyptian monuments set up in Palestine, contain references which enable us to determine with reasonable certainty the date of the Conquest, while others, such as the Amarna Letters, throw light on the methods and extent of the Egyptian administration in Palestine about the year 1400 B.C.

With the help of the external sources which we found to be valuable we came to the conclusion that the Conquest and settlement of Canaan by the Hebrews took place between the years 1600 and 1200 B.C. Our next task was therefore to consider the history of the Near East between these years with special reference to Palestine. We found that at that time Egypt was the political power which had most to do with the land, and that the effective supervision of the whole land dated from the accession of Thutmose III about 1479 B.C. This supervision was sufficiently thorough for the next eighty years to keep out any invader from the desert. During that time the Egyptian policy was to consider Palestine as a province of the Empire and not as a colony. This had its drawbacks, for when during the reigns of Amenhotep III and Akhenaten the hold of Egypt was relaxed, Canaan fell an easy prey to invaders who at that time were coming from the north. The revival of Egyptian interest in Palestine under Seti I and Ramesses II appears to have been confined more or less to the coastal plain and the trade routes to

Damascus and Babylon. Apart from Egypt, Babylon had an influence on the land, as it always had, from the point of view of culture, though it was not a political factor in the period. The only other peoples beside the Egyptians who had any influence politically on Palestine at this time were the Hittites and Hurrians, who by their southward expansion in the 15th and 14th centuries were directly responsible for causing the invasion of the land in the reigns of Amenhotep III and Akhenaten.

The consideration of the political state of the Near East led us to fix on two periods as more likely to be favourable for the Conquest than any others.¹ These are, the 'traditional' date, which puts the Conquest a little after 1200 B.C., and a date before the time of Seti I. The examination of the evidence led us to believe that the latter period, and particularly a date a little after 1400 B.C., was on the whole to be preferred.

With these data and the results so far deduced from them we next turned to the problem of the coming of the Semites to Palestine and the rise of the federation known as 'the Children of Israel'. We saw how on various occasions the population of Arabia appears to have surged out of the peninsula in an irresistible mass which entered and settled in the lands bordering the Syrian desert. These Semites

1. We did not consider at all the date which has been suggested in the XXth Egyptian Dynasty. It is far too late, and reduces the Hebrew traditions to absurdity. (See, People and the Book, p. 8, note).

adopted the civilization of their new homes, but kept many of their own customs and beliefs.

From this we were led to a more particular study of the Habiru-Hebrews, who were associated with the race movements of the late 15th and early 14th centuries. After an examination of the whole question of the Hebrews, Habiru and 'Aperu, we came to the conclusion that these were different names for the same kind of people and that they were not an ethnic group but adventurers who lived in peace time by raiding settled communities and taking service as voluntary slaves, to whom special privileges were given. In war time they served as mercenaries and could be a danger in an unsettled period like the period of the Amarna Letters. The bands of Semitic wanderers would be the strength of the Habiru movement and the Habiru seem to have been mainly though not entirely Semites. In some places such as the Hittite Empire and later Palestine itself, an ethnic consciousness developed among the Hebrews which does not seem to have been there from the beginning.

An examination of the Patriarchal narratives shows that they contain the germ of early tribal history, and that it is necessary for completeness to consider them at least briefly. Much in them, we found, belonged to folk-lore, but it was possible to use them as a foundation for the history of Israel before the Conquest during the years when the Hebrews first came to the land.

We found reason to think of Abraham as a historic personage of the time of Hammurabi, leading a small band of Hebrews into the land which was later to be their own. These Hebrews

were known as the 'sons of Israel' and after further wanderings in Aram they entered Canaan again and settled near Shechem. The small group attracted other Hebrews to itself so that gradually a larger federation was formed. This consisted at first of the four older 'sons' of Leah and later they were joined by the Joseph and Benjamin tribes. These, we decided, were all that could be considered as belonging to the federation before the descent to Egypt. At Shechem the Israelites came into conflict with the native inhabitants, with disastrous results to two of the tribes, Simeon and Levi, which later disappeared as separate units in Israel. Soon after this, for some reason which we do not know, but which was not necessarily a quarrel arising out of jealousy, the Joseph tribe went down to ~~Egypt~~¹, probably about the year 1875 B.C. Thereafter Judah left the rest and went southwards, entering into relations with the Canaanites and settling in the very south of the Negeb. There it remained while the rest of the 'sons of Israel' followed the Joseph tribe to Egypt during the time of the last Hyksos king, under whom an individual of the Joseph tribe himself called Joseph had risen to favour.

1

A brief examination of the Sojourn and Exodus led us to believe that the Exodus took place under Amenhotep II, and that the Israelites went from Egypt to the Kossaima

1. The examination was brief because it was only necessary to connect the history of the Israelite Hebrews before the Conquest with their history at the Conquest and later. We agree with the presentation of the story of the Sojourn and Exodus which is given in J. W. Jack's 'Date of the Exodus.'

district of the Wilderness of Zin where Kadesh is to be located. They stayed there for at least 40 years and then made their way to the east of Jordan. A discussion of the question of the number of the Israelites at this time led us to believe that there may have been about 6000 of them altogether.

An examination of the Nature of the Conquest showed that right from the start it must have been a piece-meal affair, and that it was carried out under no single leader. Judah entered the land from the south and Ephraim and Benjamin attacked it from the east opposite Jericho, while further north than that Manasseh and the northern tribes carried out an altogether separate settlement. The way in which each group settled in its territory we found by using the method suggested by Professor Alt, that is, the consideration of the relation of the geographical and topographical nature of a land to the development of its inhabitants. In our subject, we found that there were many sparsely populated districts in Palestine in which the Israelites settled first thus making a gradual change from a nomadic to a sedentary mode of life.

The first attempt at a settlement was made from Kadesh itself, and was the result of the disturbance of the population of the wilderness caused by the coming of Israel. This attempt failed, whereupon the Israelites appear to have given up hope of entering from the south. Two of the tribes which had been in Egypt, Simeon and Levi, remained with Judah

while the others left for the district of Southern Transjordan. Thereafter Judah and the other tribes and allied clans of the district once more attempted to press northwards, this time with greater success, so that they took the towns of Arad and Zephath and settled in the Hormah district.

A preliminary examination of the distribution of population in Transjordan at this time showed us that the Hauran, Bashan, the Jordan Valley, Moab and at least Eastern Edom, were all occupied by sedentary populations. If, as some authorities think, no part of Edom was thus occupied, we concluded that at least any semi-nomadic inhabitants were able to lay claim to it as their land, just as Israel itself did later in Palestine.

As the attack on Sihon was the first operation of the Israelites from Egypt in Transjordan, we concluded that the rest of the land, apart from the districts occupied by sedentary peoples, must already have been occupied by semi-nomadic tribes. We saw reason to believe from an examination of the evidence that Gad and Ammon were in Southern Gilead, while north of the Jabbok the rest of Gilead had been settled by the oldest clan of the tribe of Manasseh, which we could only think of as having come there shortly before from the north-east under pressure of the expanding Hittite Empire. This tribe has also extended its settlements into Mount Ephraim where it joined with a remnant left near Shechem when the Israelites went down to Egypt.

On their arrival opposite the northern boundary of the kingdom of Moab, Israel fought a battle against Sihon

whose kingdom lay just north of the Arnon, defeated him and began the occupation of his land. The territory was claimed by Reuben, which tribe later disappeared, being weakened by the Moabites and encroached on by the tribe of Gad from the north.

A thorough examination of the evidence convinces us that Joshua was a historical person and the direct successor of Moses in the leadership of Israel. After the death of Moses he prepared to lead Ephraim and Benjamin across the Jordan, this being done within a few years of their coming to Transjordan. The Jordan was crossed by the people, their crossing being facilitated by the blocking of the river by a landslide due to earthquakes. The same earthquakes appear to have caused the badly-founded walls of Jericho to collapse, so that the capture of this dangerous obstacle to the occupation of the land was easy. Joshua then established his headquarters in the district. With this narrative there appear to be mixed up the memory of the crossing of the Jordan at Adamah by the Manassites and certain religious ceremonies performed later by Joshua at a sanctuary near Shechem.

Thereafter from his base at Jericho, Joshua made an unsuccessful attempt to take the town of Ai. This the Old Testament writers used as an opportunity to explain the name of the Valley of Achor by bringing in the story of the sin of Achan. The second attempt on Ai was successful, the town being taken by a stratagem.

Upon this the Gibeonite league made an alliance with Israel and was attacked by the Jerusalem league, no doubt in

the interests of Egypt. Having been appealed to for help by the Gibeonites, Israel made a forced march by night and surprised the Jebusite army, putting it to flight. The fleeing army appears to have been divided into two, but in the state of our sources we cannot be sure of this or of the fate of its leaders.

Leaving Bethel uncaptured for the time being, Israel proceeded from Jericho to the sanctuary beside Shechem sacred to their ancestors. This was possible because the Hill-country of Ephraim was not occupied at this period. At the sanctuary there appears to have been held a ceremony of admission to the federation, during which the newcomers, who were the tribe of Manasseh, were circumcised. It is this ceremony which has crept into the account of Joshua's crossing of the Jordan and capture of Jericho.

Owing to the disintegration of the Jerusalem league following on its defeat by Joshua, Judah was afforded another opportunity to advance northwards. In this advance the tribe and its allies first occupied the land under the supervision of cities like Hebron and Debir, and some considerable time later took the cities themselves. The capture of these two places in particular is attributed to clans of Kenizzites, Caleb and Othniel, which thereafter became an integral part of the tribe of Judah. At the same time the tribe of Simeon settled in the region to the west of Arad and Debir. The method of this settlement by Judah explains its isolation from the rest of Israel, in spite of their common ancestry.

Turning to the history of the settlement and conquest in the north, we find ourselves facing a difficult problem. For the information is scanty and the sources confused. Any reconstruction of this part of the Conquest must therefore be regarded as only tentative. Of the four original tribes settled north of Esdraelon, Asher and Naphtali were probably, like Dan and Gad, Canaanite Hebrews who had come to the land long before the Conquest period, even as long before as the time of Abraham. We saw reason to believe that they both had been in the north during the whole of their stay in the land and that Naphtali was never associated with Dan in the centre.

Zebulun and Issachar were called 'sons' of Leah, so that we saw that some scholars tried to associate them all the time with the rest of the Leah-tribes. We preferred to think of them as having come to the north of Palestine at the same time as the Manassites came to Gilead and Ephraim. They may have been originally akin to the Leah tribes rather than to the Rachel tribes, and have preserved the memory of this relationship. Their coming restricted the expansion of Asher and Naphtali and so led to conflict with Canaan. This conflict we believed to have been noted in the Old Testament as the battle with Jabin. The examination of the Biblical traditions led us to conclude that this was a local struggle between the tribes of Zebulun and Naphtali and a small Canaanite confederation under Jabin of Hazor, which was later magnified into a struggle between all Israel and a

great number of Canaanite princes. The site of the battle is quite uncertain but for strategic reasons on the evidence afforded in the Biblical records we put it in the Highlands of Galilee. The victory which the two tribes gained allowed them to expand and finally to settle in the lower and more thickly populated land.

The coming of Ephraim and Benjamin to Central Palestine had likewise the effect of restricting the opportunities of Manasseh and Dan to expand. When therefore Manasseh found that expansion was necessary it had to be done by an invasion of Northern Gilead round about Ham, and the land of Bashan. This invasion was carried out by the clans of Jair and Nobah, and in the course of it we find a place for the battle that Israel is said to have fought with Og the king of Bashan. During the next few generations Ephraim and Benjamin, like the rest of the tribes, were taking firmer hold on their inheritance and extending their bounds. It was then that the city of Bethel was captured. Later again, after the coming of the Philistines, the tribe of Dan was constricted and part of it migrated to a home in the extreme north of Palestine which it won for itself by conquest.

Our survey of the Conquest and settlement of Canaan by the Hebrews was brought to a close with a brief examination of the ceremony which the Old Testament attributes to the whole of the tribes acting together under Joshua - the ceremony of the allotting of the land to the various tribes.

This idea we saw to be untenable in view of the nature of the Conquest. But on the evidence that Solomon used the old tribal boundaries as the foundation for the boundaries of his administrative system, we saw reason to believe that these tribal boundaries were settled long before the time of the Kingdom, and indeed at the latest, very early in the time of the Judges. We saw that it was not impossible that by the time that Shiloh became generally recognised as an Israelite sanctuary, Israel had a sufficient hold on the land to have made some agreement about tribal boundaries necessary, and that this agreement was reached at that sanctuary.

By the year 1200 B.C. or a little after, the Israelites had conquered the land of Canaan and occupied it almost as completely as they ever did until the time of David and Solomon. From that time onwards they were engaged in consolidating what they had won.

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TABLES OF DATES, ETC.
BIBLIOGRAPHY,
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS
AND MAPS.

LIST OF KINGS OF EGYPT, c. 1580-1223 B.C.
* * * * *

Langdon-Gardiner H. R. Hall. J. H.
Dates. Breasted

XVIIIth Dynasty.

Ahmoose I.		1580-1558.	1580-1557.
Amenhotep I.		1558-1545.	{ 1557 -
Thutmose I.		1545-1514.	{ 1501.
Thutmose II.		1514-1501.	{ 1501
Hatshepsut.		1501-1479.	{ to
Thutmose III.		1479-1447.	{ 1447.
Amenhotep II.		1447-1420.	1447-1420.
Thutmose IV.		1420-1412.	1420-1411.
Amenhotep III.	1419-1383.	1412-1376.	1411-1375.
Akhenaten.	1383-1366.	1380-1362.	{ 1375
Smenkhkere.	{ 1366	1362-1360.	{ to
Tutankhamun.	{ to	1360-1350	{ 1350.
Ai II.	{ 1358.	1350-1346.	
Harmhab.	1358-1324.	1346-1322.	1350-1315.

XIXth Dynasty.

Rameses I.	1324-1322.	1321.	1315-1314.
Seti I.	1322-1301.	1321-1300.	1314-1292.
Rameses II.	1301-1234.	1300-1233.	1292-1225.
Merenptah.		1233-1223.	1225-1215.

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See J. W. Jack, The Date of
the Exodus, p. xiii.

TABLE OF DATES,

according to

J. W. Jack (Date of the Exodus,
p. 259).
* * * * *

	B.C.
Migration of Abraham to Canaan.	2090
Accession of Hammurabi.	2067
Israel enters Egypt.	1875
Accession of Ahmose I: Expulsion of Hyksos.	1580
Birth of Hatshepsut.	1532
Accession of Thutmose III the Oppressor.	1501
Birth of Moses.	1500
Flight of Moses to Midian.	1460
Death of Thutmose III: Return of Moses.	1447.
Accession of Amenhotep II, Pharaoh of Exodus.	1447
Exodus.	1445
Entry into Canaan, shortly after	1400
Merenptah meets Israel in Palestine.	1228
Accession of Solomon.	969
Foundation of Temple.	965

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TABLE OF DATES

suggested by H. Weinheimer,
(Zeitschr. der deutschen morgenlandisch.
Gesellschaft, LXVI, p 365)

B.C.

Entrance of Habiru.	1400
Entrance of Judah and Israel.	1300
Entrance of the Philistines by the sea.	1200
Subjection of the Hebrews to the Philistines.	1150
Ebenezer and Aphek. Philistines in Gibeah.	1050
Victory of Saul over Philistines at Michmash.	1020

TABLE OF DATES

according to

C. F. Burney (ISC. p 95)
* * * * *

B.C.

Abraham's migration.	c 2100
Some tribes in Egypt with the Hyksos.	before 1580.
Jacob in Canaan.	c 1479
Hebrews ('Apurium) in Canaan.	c 1479
SA.GAZ-Habiru coming to Palestine.	c 1411 - 1358
Seti I defeats Shasu in Canaan & Asher.	c 1320
Hebrews ('Apurium) in Egypt.	c 1292-1161.
Oppression under Ramesses II.	c 1292 - 1225
Exodus (Joseph tribes only)	c 1225 - 1215
Merenptah defeats Israel in Canaan.	c 1222
Invasion under Joshua (Joseph tribes)	c 1190

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TABLE OF DATES

according to

W. F. Albright. (BASOR, No. 58).
* * * * *

Pharaoh.	Date, BC.	Events in Hebrew History.
Amenhotep III	1419-1383.	House of Joseph in its later home.
Amenhotep IV	1383-1366.	Habiru an increasing menace.
Weak rulers.	1366-1358.	Fall of Jericho (c 1360-1320).
Harmhab.	{ 1358	
Ramesses I.	{ to	
Seti I.	{ 1301.	
Ramesses II.	1301-1234.	Fall of Bethel-Ai (c 1300-1250). Exodus, c. 1290. Conquest of Sihon, c. 1250.
Merenptah.	1234-1223.	Defeat of Israel, before 1231.
Weak rulers.	1223-1196.	
Ramesses III.	1196-1164.	Philistines defeated (1188).
Ramesses IV.	1164-1158.	Fall of Megiddo, after 1160. Deborah at Taanach, c 1150.

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LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS.

- AASOR. Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research.
- AJSL. American Journal of Semitic Language and Literature.
- AJT. American Journal of Theology.
- Albright APB. "Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible."
- BASOR. Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.
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- JAOS. Journal of the American Oriental Society.
- JBL. Journal of Biblical Literature.
- Jdg (CB). Judges in 'Cambridge Bible',
- Jdg (ICC), Judges in 'International Critical Commentary'.

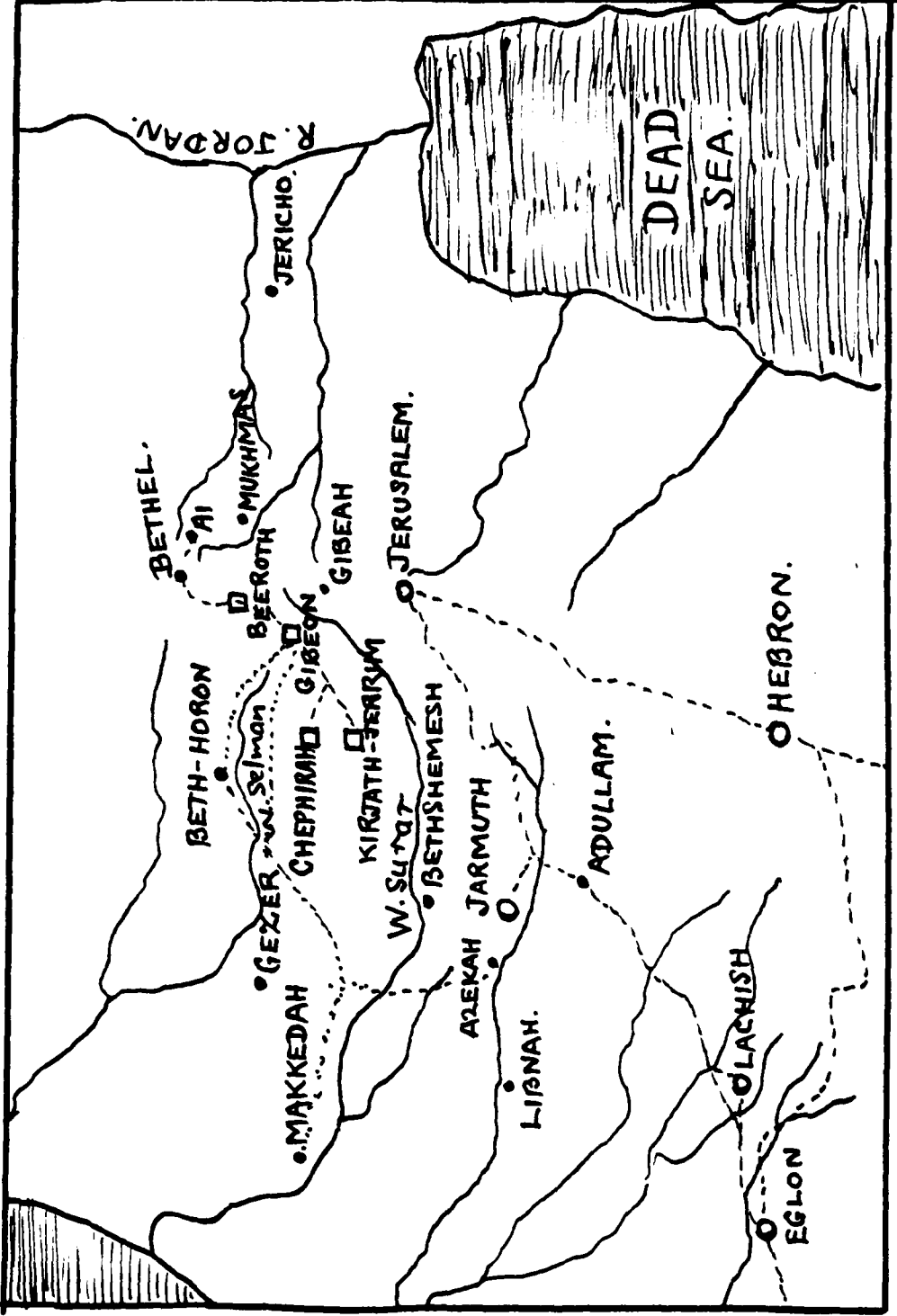
- Jirku, Wanderungen. Jirku, "Die Wanderungen der Hebräer."
- Josh(CB) Joshua, in 'Cambridge Bible'.
- Josh(CentB) Joshua, in 'Century Bible'.
- JPOS. Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society.
- JTS. Journal of Theological Studies.
- Kittel, GVI. Kittel, Geschichte des Volkes Israel.
- LOT. Driver, Introduction to the Literature of The Old Testament.
- Macalister, Cent of Excavn in Palestine. "A Century of Excavation in Palestine."
- Num (CB). Numbers, in 'Cambridge Bible'.
- PEFQS. Palestine Explcation Fund, Quarterly Statement.
- RB. Revue Biblique.
- Robinson, History. Oesterley & Robinson, History of Israel, Vol. 1.
- SBD. New Standard Bible Dictionary.
- Smith HGHL. G. A. Smith, Historical Geography of the Holy Land.
- Samuel (CentB). Samuel, in 'Century Bible'.
- Steuernagel, Einwanderung. "Die Einwanderung der israelitischen Stämme in Kanaan.
- ZAW. Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.

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J, E, D, P, JE. These are the symbols customarily used to denote the various sources of the Pentateuch.

There are also used a few common abbreviations, particularly in the notes, such as:- OT for Old Testament, MT for Massoretic Text, LXX for Septuagint. The references in the notes thus -('See above, p....' or 'See below, p....')- are to the pages of the thesis itself.

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MAP TO ILLUSTRATE
 JOSHUA'S CAMPAIGNS.

GIBEONITE LEAGUE □
 JERUSALEM LEAGUE ○

Scale 0 1 2 3 4 5 miles