THE PRESENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL OUTLOOK IN PALESTINE[1]

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MY work, so far as the School is concerned, consisted in gathering information which might be of use for future workers as to collections of antiquities and the provenance of antiquities, as to sites for exploration and the prospects for and from exploration at those sites.

I spent the greater part of my time in Jerusalem exploring and restudying the city in the light of later researches and investigations, and making short day trips, as far south as Hebron and as far north as Tel 'Asur, the ancient Baal Hazor. Some places, like Bethlehem, Beit Ta'amir, Hebron, Bethel, Gibeon, Nebi Samwil Emmaus, Michmash, Wadi Fara and Anata I visited several times, studying the question of excavation possibilities, and local problems as to which my mind was not satisfied. For the same reason I made three longer trips, two by horse with Dr. Albright, one by car, carriages and train, by myself, taking advantage of local acquaintance and friendship to give me companionship and guidance, the whole covering a period of over two months. Our route on one of our trips was to Bethlehem, Frank Mountain, Hebron, Beit Jibrin, Tel Hesi, Gaza, Ashkelon, Ashdod, Gezer Jaffa, Caesarea, Mutesellim, Taanach, Samaria, Bethel, Ramallah, and so back to Jerusalem.

[1] Professor Peters was Lecturer in the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem in the academic year 1919—20, and the present paper is in the form of a Report.

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On the other it was to Mar Saba, Dead Sea, Jericho and Jordan; up the Jordan valley to the other Wadi Fara and so to Shechem, thence to Shiloh, Taiyibeh, Bethel, Michmash, Geba and Anata to Jerusalem. My last trip included another visit to Samaria, with stays of several days in Nablus, Nazareth and Tiberias for the purpose of studying those localities once more in view of new knowledge and with the assistance and guidance of native friends.

These expeditions and researches impressed me forcibly with the potentialities of excavation in the Holy Land. I came to realize as never before the great number of sites. In many places, absolutely undentified, especially on the tops of hills, the rock surface is covered with débris of old inhabitants often to a considerable depth. Beneath every inhabited town, like Nablus, Gaza, Nazareth, Hebron, but above all Jerusalem, there lies an almost incredible mass of remains, as revealed by excavations for foundations, wells &c., quite concealing in many places the original topography. Even in the open country excavation almost anywhere is apt to reveal remains of antiquity. Rock cuttings of the most surprising character meet one everywhere, conduits, cisterns, tombs, caves. The objects brought from these in latter years as a result of illicit digging have been very numerous. The number of such places quite unexplored must be enormous.

It is true that official excavations have not heretofore been as productive in results as had been hoped for. There have been no such great finds as in Egypt, Babylonia and Assyria, Crete, Greece and Asia Minor, and especially there has been a lack of inscribed objects and of material of all sorts from that Hebrew period in which most of us are chiefly interested. There seems little likelihood that we shall ever find great works of art or architecture in Palestine from any period, least of all the Hebrew, nor such a wealth of inscribed material as Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, and of late Asia Minor have furnished; but in estimating the results of excavations in Palestine, it must be remembered that few sites of prime importance have as yet been touched, and that no site has been thoroughly explored. Samaria and Marissa were abandoned just as the most promising areas

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were reached. The same is true of Ophel, Mutesellim and Tel Ḥesi, and Tel es Ṣafi and The Shephelah sites were scarcely more than begun. The most complete excavations heretofore conducted are those at Jericho, Taanach and Gezer, but even those were very partial, and at Gezer especially some of the most promising looking parts of the mound were perforce left untouched.

The tendency in the past has been to select small and relatively unimportant sites, lying on the outskirts of the Hebrew lands, which could be excavated at small expense, because the funds at disposal were small. This is a bad policy. Great interest in such excavations cannot be aroused, the results are almost sure to be disappointing to the average man, and the whole effect is to discourage the public on whom we must depend for support. What we need in future excavations is a venture of faith.

The site above all others which should be undertaken at the present moment is Ophel. The entire eastern hill of Jerusalem from the wall of the Haram enclosure southward, — ancient Jerusalem, Zion, David's city, and still before his time the city of the Jebusites, — lies practically vacant to-day. Now is the time to explore it; if the occasion is not seized quickly the opportunity will pass forever. Silwan is spreading across the valley. Already the Mukhtar has built a house above ʿAin Sitti Miriam, northward of that there is a small mill, and other buildings are following; but for the present almost the entire hill is vacant, beds of cabbage, cauliflowers and the like. Little of it has been explored. The latest work was that done shortly before the war by Capt. Parker at and about ʿAin Sitti Miriam, and from that northward to the wall of the Haram Enclosure; and by Weil, for Jewish interests, immediately southward. The former worked almost entirely underground, by shafts and tunnels, the greater part of which are still intact, although some were robbed of their wood during the war. The latter removed the earth down to the rock, and his excavations remain as he left them, exposing a complex of rock cuttings and walls which enable one to visualize the general character of ancient Jerusalem from 3000 BC. and onward.

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Both of these excavations are shrouded in mystery. They seem to have been motivated by the supposed discovery of a cryptogram in the book of Ezekiel designating the place of concealment of the Ark and the Temple Treasure at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar. Word of this supposed cryptogram was floating about Palestine in the early years of this century, as in the hands of certain persons of Scandinavian origin who had it for sale. A little later it was the basis of a novel published in England (*Treasure of Israel*, by W^m^ Le Quarry; Eveleigh Nash, Hawside House, London), which described a struggle for its possession and exploitation between anti-Semites, who desired to destroy Israel's ancient palladium and commercialize its sacred treasure, and lovers of Zion who sought to regain and restore the ancient holy things. According to this novel both contending parties were backed by powerful interests and large resources. The whole reads like a description before the event of the rival excavations in Ophel of Parker on the one hand, and Weil on the other, where, according to all accounts, money flowed like water and extraordinary means were used to influence Turkish officialdom at Constantinople and Jerusalem, and even to suborn the Moslem guardians of the Haram esh-sherif. Whatever lay behind these very unusual excavations of a part of the eastern side of Zion (Ophel) they throw much welcome light on several questions of the site and early history of David's city. But, as stated, these excavations touched only a small part of the eastern side of the hill of Ophel. By far the greater part of the hill remains entirely unexplored, and free for exploration.

The same is true also of the eastern part of the western hill, the modern Zion. A small part of this was excavated shortly before the war by Père Germer Durand and the Assumptionists in a very modest way, giving us a cross cut of Jerusalem history from the time when this region was the city of tombs for ancient Jerusalem (cf. "the valley of Weeping", Ps. 84 6) onward into the Byzantine period, and even beyond. Especially have the excavations thrown light on the localities of Jesus' story. It is the objects excavated here which particularly give value to the museum in the Assumptionist hospice, "Notre Dame de France",

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The most important site to excavate in all Palestine is old Jerusalem south of the present city walls: primarily the eastern hill, the ancient city, which at present lies vacant, and is as yet almost untouched by excavation; secondarily the eastern side of the western hill, which also lies vacant, and only a small part of which has been explored. This is possible at the present time because this region is as yet unbuilt and has been unbuilt for the greater part of the time since the city was destroyed by Titus, a condition full of promise for the explorer.

The second site in importance is Samaria. I revisited this site three times in all, and continually its importance grew on me. Very little of it has been excavated, but the promise of those excavations is great, as has been set forth by Lyon and Reisner in the Harvard Theological Review (1909—11). The necropolis has never been found, and I noticed in the Jerusalem collections no objects from illicit digging at or about Sebastie.

Next to these two sites, I think that Gibeon (Jib) appeals to me as the most promising and practicable. I need hardly call attention to its evident great importance in the early period, both Hebrew and Canaanite, as recorded in the Bible. The Hebrews found it the head of an important confederate kingdom, and Solomon evidently came near making it instead of Jerusalem his capital, and the site of his temple. It occupies a strategical position, commanding the great road up from the coast plain by Beth-Horon pass, on to Bethel, down to Jericho. It is set in the midst of a fertile plain, about five miles from Jerusalem, ringed by hills, most prominent of which is Nebi Samwil on the south east. In the plain about a half a mile to the west, close to the Beth-Horon road, is a fine well of the same ancient type as Jacob's well at Shechem and the wells at Beersheba. A peculiarity of this well is a conduit entering it on the west side, below high water level, from a point some hundreds of feet away. There is a similar ancient well, only larger, at the village of Nebala, just around the hills to the east. Indeed this village is called Bir Nebala, well of Nebala.

The town of Gibeon itself is situated on a fairly high, absolutely isolated hill, rising in a series of rock terraces out of the very middle of the plain. This hill has two summits,

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connected by a narrower and somewhat lower neck of rock. The modern village lies on the smaller, northern summit. On the flat southern summit, which is at least twice as large as the other, there are no buildings of any sort, but only fields and orchards. The débris over the surface of this summit seemed to average twenty to thirty feet in depth. The most productive fields and orchards, however, lie not on the summit of the hill, but on the well watered lower terraces, and the plain beneath. These have a great reputation for fertility, and it is on Gibeon that Jerusalem especially relies for its supply of tomatoes, while the wheat which I saw on the plain about the great western well seemed to me the heaviest eared that I saw in Palestine. There are interesting rock cuttings on the northern hill and the rock neck connecting the two summits, but the most important are about the larger southern hill, in and at the foot of the highest of its rock terraces, some two thirds or three quarters of the way up to the top. The rock of this terrace averages perhaps twelve feet in height and in not a few places it is quite sheer. At a number of points about the foot of this terrace water oozes out, and at various places there are rock cuttings for the collection and control of this water. Two of these take the form of caves cut into the face of the cliff, with spring and pool within. The larger and more important of these, which constitutes the fountain and cistern of present day Jib, is near the northern end of the eastern face of the southern hill. I had visited this pool a number of times, but it had never occured to me to explore it. Shortly before my departure Mr. Lars Lind of the American Colony told me that he had visited it with a German archaeologist, and by tactual examination and flash light found that the cave was an artificial one, some thirty or forty feet in depth, broadening out in the interior, and that at the further end were steps apparently leading into a rock cut passage which was now closed up; and he showed me a flash light photograph exhibiting the steps. I went out with him and verified these facts with a flashlight from within the opening of the cave, but supposing others had examined all that could be examined I did not enter the pool, which was very cold and forbidding. However my conscience reproached me so severely

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for duty undone, that on the day but one before leaving Jerusalem I again visited it with Mr. Lind and swam across the pool to the steps. (As I learned on my return I could walk, the water only coming up to my chin; but when we walked we sank a foot or two in an ooze of soft mud, and the water became so riled that the women of Jib made vigorous protest against our operations.) Climbing the steps I found that the wall which had been built above them did not entirely bar the passage, and passing around the wall to the right I found myself in a rock cut tunnel sloping upward. Mr. Lind then joined me and we went up this tunnel to the end, a distance, I should say, of two hundred feet, with a rise of seventy five feet. It averaged about seven or eight feet in breadth with a height varying from fifteen to forty feet. For the most part it was cut through solid rock, but in one section, where it was highest, there was a roof of slabs. Partly the ascent was by a slope, partly by steps, but the whole was so deeply covered by earth seepings and bat droppings that it was not always possible to determine which was which. The opening at the top, which was of course blocked up and covered by many feet of débris, lay well in the interior of the town. Just above the steps, close to the pool, there was another, apparently more ancient, perpendicular shaft, now filled up, reminding one of the different shafts, representing different periods, by which the water of the Virgin Spring was rendered accessible to the ancient inhabitants of Jerusalem. We found no sherds or other objects in the tunnel, any such being presumably buried beneath the deep deposit of dung and dirt. We saw no markings on the walls other than occasional niches to hold lights. The opening to the pool from without, into which one now descends from the road leading up to the town, was in ancient times walled up, and the rock was recessed on both sides within to receive the ends of the great stones which formed this wall. The excess of water was carried out by a rock cut channel beneath and to one side of the wall.[2]

[2] Unfortunately we did not go properly prepared to obtain accurate record and photographs. I was taking steps to remedy this deficiency when on the following day Père Lagrange and Vincent told me that they had discovered and explored the tunnel some years before, taken measure-

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By comparison with the similar rock cuttings which gave access from within to springs of water at Jerusalem and Gezer I should suppose that this water system at Gibeon was pre-Israelite, and presumably very ancient. In those old days, when Gibeon was provided with an abundant supply of water within its walls from this rock cut pool and spring beneath the town, so strongly protected against enemy entrance from without, it must have been an almost impregnable fortress.

On the slopes of the southern mound and the plain below are found abundant palaeolithic implements, suggesting extremely early occupation of the site. There has been, apparently, no illicit digging in this region, no caves and no tombs have been dug out and rifled, facts of great promise for the discovery of objects by excavation, for which one must always rely largely on the discovery of graves. Also there is no evidence on this mound of later buildings or a radical reconstruction in the Roman or Christian periods, another favorable omen.

The importance of Shechem and its neighborhood in the political and more especially the religious development of Israel has been strangely overlooked. The great part it played in the pre-Israelitic and early Israelitic periods is testified to by the narratives of Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges and First Kings, and archaeologically by the traditional memorials of that period which abound thereabouts, such as the well of Jacob, the tombs of Joseph, Joshua, Phinehas and Eleazar, with other worthies of the conquest, and by the persistence of the sanctity of Gerizim and the Samaritan cult maintained there to this day.[3] Its archaeological importance has been similarly overlooked, and no excavations were conducted there until 1914. At that time there was found by accident a brick built tomb, near the tomb of Joseph, from which were taken among other things armor and weapons of bronze beautifully inlaid with precious

ments and made drawings, and published the same in La Revue Biblique. Vincent also mentions it in his *Jerusalem*, and Barton in *Archaeology and the Bible*, but in both cases without descriptive text.

[3] Dr. Montgomery in his *Samaritans*, p. 19, calls attention to the mention of Shechem in the Amarna Tablets and in the Travels of a Mohar, as also in the Abraham Legend.

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metal, and a truncheon or governor's sceptre of the same, all of Egyptian workmanship of the period of the 18th. dynasty. Apparently this was the grave of an Egyptian governor or resident, of about the 15th. Century. These objects, of which I have been able thus far to see only photographic reproductions, were sold in Germany, and led Sellin to undertake an excavation of the small mound lying close to Joseph's tomb at the eastern exit of the valley, at the foot of Ebal, not far from the village of Askar. He only dug about two weeks I am told. The excavations are mere scratches, and he found nothing.

This mound was apparently an ancient hold of Shechem. Incapable of circumvallation, Shechem seems to have depended for protection on holds, of which there were two, one at the broad eastern entrance of the valley, and one, which has never been explored at all, just beyond the present town of Nablus westward, at a narrow spot admirably situated to command the approach from that side. Nablus has always been an important site, and the accumulation of débris beneath the present town and stretching beyond it on either side is enormous. All excavations for construction reveal ancient remains. While I was there an interesting fragment of an old wall, apparently part of an early church, was exposed in digging a shallow drain by the road, in front of the public garden, at the western end of the town. The débris at this point I should suppose was at least thirty feet in depth. On the plain to the east, about a quarter of a mile beyond Jacob's well, the site of a large building, presumably another early church, was just marked on the surface of the ground. Along the bases of Ebal and Gerizim are numerous tombs, caves, wells, and conduits of all ages, and the mosques, chiefly old churches of the crusading period and earlier, are among the most interesting in Palestine.

The two mountains also, Ebal and Gerizim, are covered with ruins, and I should think that excavations on the latter must yield some results. Here according to Deut. 27 4 (text corrected from Samaritan) were erected at the conquest the twelve stones on which were inscribed the Law, and there was the great altar of sacrifice of unhewn stones, a reflection backward of the temple of the writer's time. This was the simon pure shrine of

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Israel, which claimed to be the only true shrine; here the people gathered in great assembly; here was developed the law book of Deuteronomy, and the Prayers of David son of Jesse (51—72) were the Psalter of this shrine. The Samaritan temple which we find there in later times was the continuator of this great early sanctuary. There is no place in Palestine more distinctly and emphatically Israelite from the conquest onward than Shechem and its temple on Gerizim, and here if anywhere we may expect to find some relics of Israel's religion.

The most conspicuous ruins on the mountain at the present time are the curious artificial hill called the Windmill, on the extreme northeastern nose, overlooking Balata, separated from the mountain behind by a rock cut moat, evidently a castle or hold; and the great church of Justinian's period, in a courtyard surrounded by castle like walls and towers, with a great cistern below. Southward and westward of this lie large fields of ruins, — terraces, cisterns, wells, streets, housewalls, and various rock cuttings. Among these to the southward is the traditional site of the Samaritan Temple (the place of the annual passover is on lower ground, beneath the summit to the west) as shown to visitors; but I noticed that our guide, not one of the tricky priest folk, who are utterly unreliable, but a plain, and apparently honest man of the people, showed particular reverence not to this site, but to another, a large surface of exposed natural rock, used by the fellahin as a threshing floor, sloping westward to a cave, apparently used as a cistern. At this spot he removed the shoes from his feet, although he could not tell us why.

Another important early center of Hebrew religion and Hebrew politics was Hebron. Here too the town lies in a valley, incapable of circumvallation. I fancy that Deir el-ʿArbain may represent the site of an ancient hold. That immediate region deserves careful investigation, as does also the mysterious Haram Ramet el Khalil, the great enclosure of huge, beautifully jointed stones, with a cistern within, northward of the town. This seems to have been the traditional site of Abraham's encampment. Perhaps when Herod built the noble monument over the cave of Machpelah he undertook also to enclose this other sacred spot as a great Khan. It needs investigation, as do also the

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interesting rock cuttings and water conduits about Hebron. Like Nablus the town rests on an immense mass of débris, and in both places it is desirable through some one on the spot to watch carefully and continually all diggings of any sort for foundations or whatever else. For the present the fanaticism of Hebron seems to have disappeared, at least so far as Christians are concerned, and one may go anywhere in the Haram, the mosque and courts above the Cave of Machpelah; the cave itself, however, we might not enter, but only look down into from above.

As to the other great sacred sites of Israel, Dan, Beṭhel and Shiloh, I was not able owing to the unsettled condition of the country to visit the first named. From my former visits, however, I should say that Tel Ḳadi is both a promising and so far as size is concerned a very easy site to excavate. All indications are that it was the site of The Temple of Dan, whose old liturgies have come down to us in The Psalms of the sons of Ḳoraḥ. It was presumably an out of door nature shrine at the great source of the Jordan, and we are scarcely likely to find there remains of large buildings, like Solomon's temple at Jerusalem.

The same is true of Bethel, where the real sanctuary was apparently the great natural memorial stones, known as the Pillars (or Pillar) of Jacob.[4] During the war the British drove a road through this stone field and broke up the pillars to make road beds, thus destroying one of the great ancient monuments. There are no evident very old ruins here and no *tel* of any sort, but there are in the immediate neighborhood some interesting rock cuttings. In view of the great part which Bethel plays in the story of the Hebrew religion this whole region should be most thoroughly explored. A few objects from this section appear in the collections in Jerusalem, but apparently illicit diggers have not found the tombs for which Bethel was famous in the Hebrew period (cf. Jud. 2[illegible]; II Kings 23 15 ff.), some of which at least seem still to await discovery.

[4] See my [illegible] *The Two Great Nature Shrines of Israel*, in the volume entitled *Studies in the History of Religions*, presented to Prof. Clayford H. [illegible].

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Illicit digging, to judge from the collections at Jerusalem, seems to have been more successful and extensive to the east of Bethel, especially at Samieh, and to the north as far as Shiloh. It would seem, however, from all appearances that there must still be not a few undiscovered tombs about the latter place from which we may hope for objects. The ruins above ground at that site are of little promise.

Between Bethel and Shiloh I visited Tel ʿAsur, the highest point in Palestine south of Marun er Ras in Northern Galilee. This was the Ba'al Hazor where Absalom gave his sheep-shearing party. The old sanctity implied in the name Baal Hazor lingers on to this day in a sacred grove, in which no native will cut a tree, or even remove a fallen branch for fire-wood. During the war the Turks, who seem to have delighted in the violation of native prejudices, cut some branches, which still lie untouched on the ground, in spite of the very great scarcity of fire wood and the high prices paid for the same.

It is from the ancient centers of Israel's life and religion, Jerusalem, Samaria, Gibeon, Shechem, Hebron, Bethel, Shiloh and Dan that we must especially look for light on the Hebrew period. Possibly to these we should add Beersheba, which I was not able to visit this time; but from my former investigation of the site and from all that has come from there since, I am afraid that we shall find only later remains.

Of secondary value for the Hebrew period, but important, are the partially explored sites of Megiddo (Mutesellim, including Lejjun), Tel Ḥesi (Lachish), and above all Marissa. The discovery of the lion seal of Jeroboam's vizier or similar high official at Mutesellim, in spite of the otherwise disappointing results is suggestive of more important finds, for it must be remembered that the part of the ruins excavated was relatively very small, and Lejjun was not even touched. So it was also with Tel Ḥesi, where much less than one fourth of the area of the main mound was excavated, and no effort made to locate the necropolis or explore the surrounding region. In the case of Marissa a part of the Seleucidan city was excavated, with very interesting results; the older, supposedly Hebrew city beneath, was reached at one point and then the excavations

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stopped. Later the natives discovered a necropolis, including the tombs of the chiefs of the Sidonian colony settled there in the Seleucidan period (the *Painted Tombs*). From that day to this glass, pottery and other objects from Beit Jibrin, the glass especially better than is found anywhere else in Palestine, have been continually on the market. Clearly illicit diggers have found that neighborhood an unusually rich one, an intimation of the importance of the city sites at that point; for indeed Marissa–Sandahamna–Beit Jibrin was at all periods a point of great importance, situated as it was on the cross roads north–south–east–west. I regret to report that the *Painted Tombs* have been ruined, the same is true of the finest of the great bell–vaulted caverns, Arak el. Ma, nor could we move the British authorities to do anything for their protection.

Gezer has been more fully explored than any of the sites above named and what remains, although promising looking in itself, is probably unavailable because of the *weli*, graveyard and farmhouse by which it is occupied. Taanach has proved important for the Canaanite period, but although not scientifically explored it has been so dug over that I am inclined to think further excavation scarcely desirable, at least until many other more promising sites have been disposed of. More important by far for the Canaanite religion, I should say, is Kedesh of Galilee, a site which attracted me greatly on a former visit, but which I was not able to reach this time.[5]

For the New Testament period, besides Jerusalem, naturally Capernaum with its neighborhood, and Nazareth are the most important regions. Capernaum has been partly explored by the Franciscans, and a most interesting synagogue laid bare. This work should be completed, and the whole northern shore of the lake, including Chorazin, where another fine synagogue exists, Bethsaida, and the plain of Gennesaret trenched and examined. Probably such exploration would do little more than determine the sites of the towns of the New Testament record, as to none of which is there actual certainly at present, but this would be in itself a sufficiently valuable result.

[5] I have omitted all mention of trans-Jordanic sites, because of the present impossibility of that region.

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My stay in Nazareth showed me how little I really knew of the situation and characteristic features of the town of Jesus' time in spite of my numerous former visits. Ancient Nazareth is largely buried under heaps of débris which have changed the surface appearance much as in Jerusalem by filling up the valleys. Few realize that Mary's well is not on the spot where Mary the mother of Jesus drew water. The original spring is in a cave, now buried under débris, some two or three hundred feet away, and the water is piped underground to the present place of drawing. All excavations for buildings reveal old remains, but unfortunately all of these have not been properly examined, and many of them are not recorded. The most interesting of those which I saw are under and about the Church of The Annunciation and the Monastery connected with it, and the neighboring convent of the sisters of St. Joseph. At the latter place are some very curious caves, which have evidently a long history behind them. One of them seems at some time to have served as a secret Christian chapel. Here, as at Nablus and Hebron, arrangements should be made with local authorities and individuals to follow carefully all excavations made for construction or other purposes, as the only practicable method of exploring the original site.

For the Herodian period, besides Jerusalem, Samaria, Hebron and Caesarea, which last is certainly worthy of extensive excavation some time, results may be obtained from Jericho and the Jordan valley,[6] especially the striking artificial hill called Ḳarn Ṣarṭabeh. I am more inclined, however, to look toward Frank Mountain, Herod's marvelous artificial construction, southeast of Bethlehem, a sort of pyramid erected on a hill to constitute his fortress tomb, with a great basin at the foot, supplied with water from Solomon's pools, and buildings of some sort by the basin. Near this also, at Beit Ta'amir, are some caves which should be excavated for remains probably of natives of the stone age, as Prof. Moulton pointed out in Vol. I of the Annual of *The American School.*[7] Not far from this again is

[6] Beisan I fancy will yield only Decapolis material from the early post-Christian centuries.

[7] I regret that I can not agree with him in regard to the stone with

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the "Cave of Adullam" (Maghâret Khareitun), which with its surroundings seems to me to merit more careful investigation than it has received. On the narrow and perilous road along the cliff leading to the mouth we found *tesserae*, indications of a late and somewhat elaborate inhabitation, perhaps something like Mar Saba. These might have belonged to the period of St. Chariton's occupancy. The cave itself was almost certainly used as a dwelling in the stone age, and it is desirable to pick up and explore the floors of such caves to ascertain whether they do not consist of a sort of breccia containing or concealing beneath them palaeolithic remains, as proved to be the case in a cave explored just before the war at Dog River, by Beirout.

For the study of the Philistines it has seemed to me that the mounds of Ashdod and Gaza hold out the greatest promise. At Ashdod there is a large *tel* above the present village, absolutely free of buildings, and for the most part without trees. The depth of débris on this mound is very considerable, and yet on the surface we picked up pottery fragments of pre-exilic date. The mound is readily accessible, and lies in a region where labor is relatively skilled and abundant.

In the October (1920) number of The Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Prof. Garstang has described "a series of soundings which had been made in the foot of the northern escarpment of the mound upon which the modern city [of Gaza] is situated". Two walls are there exposed, the later of which Père Vincent dates by the evidence of potsherds between the fifth and seventh centuries B. C. On the evidence of these walls Prof. Garstang concludes that the "historical fenced city of antiquity was located here." We also were shown these soundings by Maj. Mills, governor of Gaza, but part of them, specifically the later of the two walls, had been known to me since 1890. The summer of that year I spent in Palestine on my way back from Nippur, visiting among other places Gaza.

cup markings which he found there. After a careful examination of the stone and its surroundings, including a number of other cups, some of unusual size, one big enough to sit in, we reached the conclusion that the formation was due to nature, and that there were no evidences of use for cult purposes.

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There The Missionary Physician of the C. M. S. took me to call on the Sheikh of Jâmi' es-Saiyid-Hâshim, an hereditary endowment occupying a large space on a hill on the northern edge of Gaza. Wandering around the grounds with the Sheikh we came to a point on the edge of the hill where there had been a landslide. The hill at that point looked like the side of Tel Ḥesi after Petrie's excavations, which were merely a scraping down of the steep side of that mound from top to bottom. (I had visited that site, be it said, the day before.) My eye caught sight of a mud brick wall at the bottom of the slide, and in my excitement I precipitated myself down the bank, with small regard to courtesy, to examine the wall. The result of this examination of the wall and the strata above it was to convince me that the entire hill was a ruin mound, that the wall was ancient, certainly as old as the Israelite period, and that this, and not some site on the coast three miles away, as contended by Schürer and others, was the site of ancient Philistine Gaza. I published this conclusion in *Nippur* (Vol. II, 356). The prospects of important discoveries here seemed to me so promising that I endeavored without success to have soundings made, such as Maj. Mills has conducted, and also commended the same to Dr. Bliss when he was excavating Tel Ḥesi. I then ranked this mound next after Samaria in promise. It is, I should think, very practicable for excavation. It is free from buildings, except for the Jâmi', which itself occupies little space, and is extremely accessible, in a good labor market. Gaza, however, two thirds of which was destroyed during the war, is rapidly rebuilding, and the site should be pre-empted now before a possible occupation for building purposes. I scarcely think that much of Hebrew antiquities would be found in either Gaza or Ashdod, but excavations in one or both of these sites would, it seems to me likely, go far toward a final solution of the Philistine problem.

Ashkelon, which Prof. Garstang has chosen for his excavations, seems to me less likely to accomplish this. The ruins it is true are among the most striking and the most extensive in all Palestine, but from such examination as I was able to give them on my three visits they seemed to me to represent, not the

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earlier Philistine settlement, but the great cities which we know existed on that site in later times. Indeed Père Gatt of Gaza, who knows more about the Philistine country than any one I met, suggested to me that the original Ashkelon of the Philistines was really represented by the modern Mejdel, inland across the dunes from Ashkelon, in the same relative position to the sea as Gaza and Ashdod. His idea was that the original Philistine cities did not lie immediately on the coast, but across the dunes on the fertile plain, a theory borne out incidentally by the position of Dejan, evidently an ancient Dagan, or Beth Dagan, on the plain just back of Jaffa. It is true that Mr. Herbert Clark of Jerusalem has in his collection a beautiful double battle axe or two, of Cretan appearance, said to have come from tombs at Ashkelon, but from all that could be learned of their exact provenance I should say this meant no more than that general locality, and might apply to Mejdel as well as to Ashkelon itself. However, Prof. Garstang's excavations, it is to be hoped, will soon give us real light on the whole question.

In connection with Philistia one thinks also of Gath. The generally accepted site of Gath is es-Ṣafi, where Bliss excavated and found nothing. His excavations were conducted at vacant spots within the village on the very crest of the ridge. The hill is a large one, a very insignificant part of which has been trenched. It certainly must have been an important town fortress in antiquity, as it was in the crusading period, and I am still hopeful that more extensive exploration may result in the discovery of matter of much value. If the site is really that of Gath excavation should throw light on the Philistine problem, especially if the excavators find the necropolis. Dr. Albright, basing his suggestion on the modern name, *es-Ṣafi, the Shining*, and the mediaeval *Blanche Garde, white keep*, evidently given because of the white bluffs of the eastern side, which constitute a widely seen landmark, proposed to me that this may have been the *Libnah, white*, of the Old Testament (Stanley's identification), a suggestion which commends itself to me, especially in view of the statement of Eusebius and Jerome that it was near Eleutheropolis. In that case the site would represent a Judean frontier fortress similar presumably in character and history to Lachish (Tel Ḥesi).

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I have mentioned only the historically more important larger sites. There are numerous, I had almost said countless, other less known or even unidentified *tels* scattered over the whole country, some of considerable size, which have never even been scratched, and which entice the excavator. Of such I noted especially Tel el Mansura, on the edge of the Philistine plain, near the road from Beit Jibrin to Tel Ḥesi; Dothan, rising fortress like, with a spring at its foot, by a great caravan route, in a fertile plain of Samaria; and Tel Miriam, a most symmetrical and attractive looking ruin mound, quite unidentified, lying close to Michmash.

On this visit to Palestine I was particularly impressed with the number of remains of relative importance eastward of a line drawn north and south through Hebron, Bethlehem, Jerusalem, Bethel, a region which I had hitherto regarded as unprofitable. I made a number of visits to Anata, searching for the site of Anathoth, which it seemed to me could not have been at Anata, in spite of the identity of names, because of the lack of débris or other evidences of old occupation. In that search, on a nose of the mountain about three fourths of a mile eastward, we found a real *tel* without any real name, rising above an insignificant *weli*.[8] There were interesting and extensive rock cut cisterns and caves here, and a Turkish trench cut through the edge of the *tel* during the war revealed a stratification suggesting a considerable period of occupancy.

Far below this, at a broad spot in the wadi Fara, are some large stone built tumuli[9] over one hundred feet in length, and near by a sacred spot guarded by erect stones with a dolmen within. Clearly these monuments mark the site of some great battles. Apparently the *tumuli* were the common tombs of the soldiers slain, while the dolmen marked the separate tomb of a great chief. This was the conclusion Mr. Lind and I reached. The following day Pères Lagrange and Vincent told me that they had visited the place long ago, reached the same conclusion and published somewhere a brief notice. They further suggested to me as one of the crying and immediate needs of Palestinian

[8] Deir es Sidd of the Survey?

[9] Kabûr el beni Israim of the Survey.

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archaeology a corpus or index of Palestinian discoveries, that the explorer may be able without infinite search through a vast number of generally unindexed periodicals, and fugitive publications, as well as legions of books, to ascertain what has already been discovered and described, and what has been done or is now known about the same, so that energy may be economized and more profitably directed toward achievement. I commend this work to some of our scholars or fellows.

The *tumuli* above described should certainly be fully explored. Such work as this, or the excavation and thoro study of the great monuments of the Kidron valley, the so called tombs of Absalom, St. James and Zechariah, as also some of the more important tombs in the neighborhood of the Tomb of The Judges, could be done at a very small expense relatively, and might well be undertaken in interim moments (such as the present). In the matter of the tombs it is very necessary that they should be explored before further and irreparable damage be done; and that they should be made accessible to the public and put under proper guard. Always also the floors of tombs should be carefully sounded. Even if nothing should be found as the result of such work, the preservation of the tombs would be well worth the cost of the excavations, and would further place our school in a most favorable light in Jerusalem, and with the authorities.

In Jerusalem I examined all the collections of antiquities, much more numerous and more important than at the time of my last visit. These are first the collection of The Augustinians (Assumptionists) at Notre Dame de France, made by the late Père Germer Durand, partly the result of his excavations on the southeastern slope of the western hill. This collection is arranged according to periods, and contains considerable good material; but to be made thoroughly useful there is need of a printed guide. The small collection of the White Brothers at St. Anne is admirably arranged for introducing the intelligent Bible reader to Bible archaeology. The various objects are ticketed with a brief description and a reference to Bible texts. It is in fact a Biblical museum for high school and college students. Much the largest collection is that at the Dormition, made by the German Benedictines. They seem to have had

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considerable money at their disposal, and bought right and left before the war. Materially also this museum is better equipped, as with proper show cases, than any other. It had only begun to be catalogued when the war broke out, at the close of which the Pope placed temporarily in charge Belgian Benedictines, most kindly and willing men, who profess, however, no knowledge of archaeology in any branch. Almost nothing in this collection has been studied, and less published. Most of the material is virgin. There are a number of forgeries which need to be eliminated, noticeably in the collections of lamps and coins. I had hoped to make some sort of study of this collection with a view to determining more accurately its possibilities, and the Brothers put at my disposal for this purpose such documents as they possessed, showing the provenance of some of the larger lot-purchases of pottery. These, as I remember, came from the region about Bethlehem, especially Beit Sahur, and from villages northwest of that on the western edge of the plateau as far north as Malḥa; also from the region northward and eastward of Bethel, especially Seilun and Samieh. For the most part these seem to have been found in old caves used for burial purposes. My change of plan and departure a couple of months earlier than I had originally proposed prevented me from doing more than make the merest beginning, and Dr. Albright took over the work, so far at least as the pottery was concerned, proposing to do what his other engagements and interests would permit. Mr. Herbert Clark has a very valuable collection of stone tools, the best in Jerusalem, and also a number of admirable specimens of pottery, glass and metal, including a few Philistine double axes from the neighborhood of Ashkelon. Mr. Fr. Vester has a small collection of fine pieces of glass. No fine glass, it may be said, has been found in Palestine, except at Beit Jibrin, where a Phoenician colony was settled.[10] The fine specimens all come from Phoenicia or Syria, especially, apparently, from the Aleppo neighborhood. Mr. John D. Whiting also has an interesting small collection, especially of charms, games and

[10] Cf. the statements of Jose ben Jochanan and Simon ben Shetach that articles made of glass are defiling, *History of New Testament Times*, Mathews.

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other objects which illustrate native life, customs and superstitions. Some of the other members of The American Colony, as also the Colony itself, have small collections of stone implements, pottery and lamps. Our school has a few specimens of pottery, as has the Palestine Exploration Fund, the latter being located at the Anglican Cathedral. There are a few curious objects in various Russian, Armenian and Greek buildings, and in the hands of individuals scattered in and about Jerusalem. The municipal collection of objects found in the excavations commenced by Bliss and MacAlister seems to have been dissipated or distroyed, at least I could not find it.[11] All told there are in Jerusalem enough objects, scattered through various collections and in the hands of public spirited individuals, to make a valuable, small, but reasonably complete museum of Palestinian antiquities, if they could all be brought together in one place, properly arranged and catalogued. The next best thing would be a general catalogue of all collections, none of which is at the present time so catalogued that students may have access to information regarding the objects contained therein. Whoever should prepare and print such a catalogue would render an inestimable service to the would be student of Palestine archaeology in Palestine. A somewhat similar general catalogue of the libraries in Jerusalem is also a desideratum. There are a number of small libraries, the Dominican probably the best, which, if they were so arranged or so catalogued that they might be used together, would fairly well cover the entire Palestinian field.

Researches and excavations, of the latter some for construction and others for archaeological exploration, had added greatly to the knowledge of ancient Jerusalem since my earlier visits, and I soon felt myself on much firmer ground than formerly in my study of local questions in both Old and New Testament fields. Especially I found this the case in my study of the localities of the Psalter, some of the results of which I have embodied in a volume on the Psalms now going through the press, and in various papers read before the Palestine Oriental Society

[11] There were a few objects found in the Parker excavations, but three are under seal in the house of the Mukhtar of Silwan.

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and the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis. In the New Testament I found myself able, to my own satisfaction at least, to locate as I had feared it never would be possible the localities of the great events recorded in the Gospels and in Acts. It seemed to me that the traditional site of Golgotha and the place of Jesus' burial have been satisfactorily shown to be the actual site; and that the locality of the Lord's supper and the Upper Room of the first days is now determined with a reasonable degree of accuracy. The Assumptionist excavations on the Western hill seemed to have helped greatly in determining the latter point, and enable us to follow with a considerable degree of accuracy the motions of Jesus, His followers and His persecutors on the last night. These excavations, and those of Capt. Parker and of Weil on Ophel, have likewise given much additional information on the site and character of earliest Jerusalem, and the growth and development of the city.[12]

[12] Since the above was written a letter from Dr. Albright brings the information that Garstang and Phythian-Adams had commenced excavations at Ashkelon. These excavations were in the nature of a reconnaissance to prepare for the more serious excavations to be undertaken this Spring. They lasted for seven weeks from September 1st, and were remarkably successful, especially in finds of the Roman Period. "Cuttings on the side of the central mound revealed at one point almost perfect stratification, and at about the middle of the series appeared the unmistakeable Philistine painted ware." The French Dominicans have preempted 'Ain Duḳ, in the Jordan valley, where the Mosaic with a Hebrew inscription was found during the war. The Jews under Dr. Nahum Slousch are beginning, or have begun excavations at Tiberias. The University of Pennsylvania has applied for and secured the site of Beisan, ancient Scythopolis, and the University of Chicago has secured Mutesellim, ancient Megiddo and Legio. Various accidental minor discoveries have been made: a fine basilica of the fourth century, rebuilt during crusading times, in the excavations of the Franciscans for the foundations of their new church at Gethsemane; interesting subterranean reservoirs at Solomon's pool; stone culverts of the Graeco-Roman age near Arsuf in such excellent condition "that they will be used for the modern road". All these are evidences of the amount of material buried underground, waiting for excavation. Dr. Albright also reports that the finds from Gezer and Beth Shemesh have been installed in a national museum near the English Cathedral, together with the finds from the recent excavations at Ashkelon, an important addition to the various museums and collections reported in the above paper.

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