

were prevented from performing the last rites. They 'found not' the body of Jesus. He stresses the point that the thought of a vacant grave was not an inference from the appearances. Its association with the story is as old as Christianity itself. And in a very convincing passage he argues that the place of interment was perfectly well known, and, since the Christians were gaining many converts by their confident assertion of the Resurrection, all the authorities needed to do was to point out the sealed tomb and show that it was intact.

And so we reach two conclusions. One is that the 'appearances' of Jesus, as described in the Gospels, seem to indicate the manifestation of psycho-physical phenomena of a very unusual kind, and must therefore be placed provisionally in the category already referred to, *i.e.* of events concerning which we have as yet insufficient scientific or experimental data. And, second, the suggestion that the Christian campaign in Jerusalem, prior to the first Persecution, was (or could have been) conducted consciously in the physical presence

of the remains of Jesus, lying by the mutual consent of both sides within three minutes' walk of the Gennath Gate, raises logical stresses of a very grave order—a sort of deformation of history. Historically we can carry the investigation no further. We can only wait that fuller light which time, and our growing knowledge of this strange universe, will assuredly shed upon it.

Mr. MORISON has an unusually balanced and scientific cast of mind. His conclusions are stated with cautious reserve. "Those which we have summarized are contained in a postscript to his book, written in his hotel in Jerusalem the night before he left for home. As he sat and reflected on his own investigations and on the scenes they recalled, his conviction of the reliability of the gospel story came upon him with renewed force. There are things in that story that are 'supernormal,' and so far not fully intelligible, but of the supreme fact which is central to the Christian gospel, and of the solid evidence for it, the author, on grounds which we have briefly indicated, is perfectly assured.

Recent Biblical Archaeology.

BY THE REVEREND J. W. JACK, D.D., GLENFARG, PERTSHIRE.

THE view put forward before the 'Académie des Inscriptions' by the Abbé Hennequin, and mentioned in our June article, that there was no evidence of animal sacrifices in the temple at Lachish, but only of cereal and perfume offerings, has now been found to be incorrect. Thanks to Sir Charles Marston, quantities of bones which were found around the altar and in the rubbish pits, and which on account of their small size seem to have been regarded at the time as those of fowls, have been examined by Professor D. M. S. Watson, of the Department of Zoology in University College, London, and turn out to be mostly those of lambs (or goats) with a few of oxen and of two wild beasts (such as gazelle or ibex). He draws attention to two remarkable features. One is that the animals were all young, and the other that practically all the identifiable bones are meta-

carpels of the right fore-leg. There were three successive temples at Lachish, all on the same site (in the Hyksos fosse surrounding the city), the earliest dating from about 1550 B.C., and the latest being still in existence, it is known, about 1250 B.C., and the bones are stated by Mr. Charles Inge (who assisted the late Mr. J. L. Starkey) to have come from all three structures. The discovery leads to some interesting conclusions. For one thing, the offering, it should be noted, is in accordance with the ritual described in Lv 7³²⁻³⁴ and elsewhere, according to which the victims had to be young (a lamb, kid, calf, etc., 'of the first year'), and the right leg, probably the fore-leg, was dedicated to Yahweh as a 'contribution' or 'selected portion' (*terûma*, wrongly translated 'heave-offering' in many places both in A.V. and R.V.), but at the same time was reserved for the priests, who no doubt

consumed it in or near the temple. In connexion with this ritual, the word used for 'leg' in the Hebrew text is *shôq* (שׁוֹךְ), which the A.V. incorrectly translates 'shoulder,' while the R.V. makes it 'thigh' (cf. Ex 29^{22, 27}, Lv 7³²⁻³⁴, Nu 6²⁰ 18¹⁸, 1 S 9²⁴, etc.). The word, when applied to human beings, means specifically the lower leg (or 'calf'), but in the case of sacrificial animals it has generally been taken to signify the hind-leg or thigh, and hence this rendering in the R.V. The discovery, however, of these particular bones in all the three Lachish temples may perhaps show that in sacrifices it signified the fore-leg, particularly the lower part. It is worth noting, too, that if these fore-legs at Lachish were *shôq* offerings, this must have been an ancient Semitic rite existing in Canaan long before the Conquest, for some of the bones were found in two large pots set in the floor of the earliest of the temples (dating from 1550-1400 B.C.). We may thus have another proof, in addition to those from Ras Shamra and elsewhere, that the Pentateuchal Codes embody elements of a pre-Mosaic nature, and that Israel's lawgivers made use of much of the ancient ritual and religious practices of the Canaanites.

Professor Georges Dossin has furnished us with a further account of the tablets (dating from the time of Abraham, c. 2000 B.C.) unearthed by Parrot in the palace at ancient Mari (now *Tell Hariri*) on the Upper Euphrates, a little south of Harran. These valuable records give a most interesting glimpse of the political, commercial, and cultural environment in which the Abrahamic clans must have lived before entering Canaan. *First*, according to the tablets, a well regulated system of communication by means of fire-signals, similar to those referred to in one of the Lachish Letters, was widespread throughout the kingdom, and was probably in existence in all the countries from Eastern Mesopotamia to the shores of the Mediterranean. Whenever sudden grave events occurred, such as a rebellion or hostile attack or immanent peril of some kind, which necessitated the rapid and safe transmission of a message for outside help, such beacons or torches were displayed on the city walls or elevated spots (cf. Jer 6¹, Jg 20²⁸), and could be relayed by other cities to more distant parts. Their number, movement, direction, and combination, as previously agreed upon, constituted a code or language readily understood by those having the key. It is interesting to note that the expression generally used in the Mari tablets (*isatam našûm*, 'raise up a fire-signal') corresponds exactly to מִשְׁמַחַת מִשְׁמַחַת in

Jer 6¹, though the latter was written about 1400 years later. *Second*, in a previous article (December 1938) we referred to the mention of the Benjamin tribes (*Benê-ia-mi-na*) in the Mari tablets. According to further discoveries, large numbers of these people (they are stated to have been 'very numerous') were installed in the Terqa district to the north of Mari, along the banks of the Euphrates—several of their towns are mentioned (*Zurubân*, *Samânûm*, *Ilum-Muluk*, and *Mislân*)—while traces of them also appear in the region of Harran, where the Old Testament places the Abrahamites. There are frequent references to their turbulent activities and hostile actions against Zimrilim, the king, during his thirty years' reign at Mari. 'The Benjaminites are constantly revolting,' says one official report. Some letters refer to their exchanging fire-signals between all their towns, apparently for the summoning of their forces. In a letter on the matter from an official named Bannum, the king is strongly advised to strengthen his guards and not venture outside his city gate, while other letters show that ultimately he was forced to attack them and succeeded in defeating them. If these Benjamin tribes were Hebrews, as they appear to have been, and if there was any connexion between them and the Biblical Benjaminites, the idea conveyed by JEP that this tribe was the last to develop, seems incorrect. *Third*, some of the letters attest the important rôle that divination played in Mesopotamia, and it is not unlikely that the Hebrews drew their practice of it from there, for they are known to have used rods, arrows, different coloured stones, the liver, and other objects for this purpose. King Zimrilim seems to have carried out nothing really important without first consulting certain omens, especially the liver of animals (hepatoscopy). No less than thirty-two clay livers have come to light in the palace. These are covered with inscriptions (now translated and published by Mlle M. Rutten), which were meant as *aides-mémoires* or guides for the priests and teachers. Among the Israelites this method of predicting the future was not uncommon (cf. Ezk 21²¹ R.V.), for they regarded this part of the body as specially sacred—it contested with the heart the credit of being the central organ of life. There seems some ground, indeed, for substituting the word קֶבֶר ('liver') for קֶבֶר ('honour,' 'glory') in several passages in the Old Testament (cf. Ps 7⁵ with La 2¹¹; Ps 16⁹, Gn 49⁶, etc.). *Fourth*, the Hurrian language occurs on six of the tablets (these are all of a religious nature). Seeing that they date from the First Dynasty of Babylon, in

other words about five hundred years earlier than those from Boghaz-keui or Ras Shamra, they are the most ancient Hurrian texts known to us so far. It is evident that Hurrian civilization must have been active as early as 2000 B.C. in Mesopotamia for the priests to have placed these texts in their library. The Hurrians, believed by many scholars to be the same as the Biblical Horites, were a non-Semitic (though not Indo-European) people, speaking a language thought to be allied to Caucasian. Hitherto they are supposed to have migrated westward into Mesopotamia and Palestine about 1900 B.C., but these tablets go to show that they were already an influence in the West at least a century before this. *Fifth*, there are numerous business and economic tablets, showing the enormous amount of commerce, both exports and imports, that was engaged in. There were constant dealings in food, drink, oil, wood, copper, bronze, lead, silver, gold, and precious stones, as well as in cattle, sheep, ploughs, scythes, and agricultural products. In this matter, we have one more proof of the widespread commercial activity that existed at the time when Abraham and his Hebrew followers were settling in Canaan. Presents of cloth, gold and silver vases, rings, bracelets, cylinder seals, and similar valuables, were also exchanged between the kings of Mari and other royal rulers. Dossin has drawn up a list of thirty-two of the most important kings mentioned. These include three of the name of Hammurabi (*Ha-am-mu-ra-pi*), all ruling at the same time, for in addition to the well-known Babylonian monarch we find a Hammurabi, king of Kurda (an unknown country), and another the king of Iamhad (*Halab*, now Aleppo). There is also known to have been a slightly later Hammurabi or Ammurapih, king of Hana or 'Anah (on the Euphrates south of Mari), and perhaps another still who was king of Atchana, in Syria (unless this last be the Babylonian one). *Sixth*, we find mention not only of Ugarit (six times), Byblos (eight times), and other well-known places in Palestine, but there is frequent reference also to Caphtor, by which is undoubtedly meant Crete (cf. Am 9⁷, Jer 47⁴). Thus, we read of a 'Caphtorite vase,' a 'Caphtorite weapon,' 'Caphtorite pincers,' and other objects from Caphtor. It is noteworthy that in all cases the word on the tablets is *Kaptaru* or *Kaptaritum*, and this seems to dispose of the idea that Caphtor was Kafto (or Kefto) on the southern coast of Asia Minor. The *r* at the end of the Biblical name, it has been said, may be due to the Hebrew *o* (*waw*) giving rise to the Hebrew *resh*, and it has also been explained away on other

grounds by Egyptian philologists. But since the *r* occurs in these Mari texts, as far back as the beginning of the second millennium, there is good reason for regarding it as part of the original name. *Seventh*, according to the more recently translated tablets, the name 'David' (*Dawidum* or *Dawidam*), which occurs so often but always as a common noun, and which was thought at first to mean 'chief ruler' or the head of a tribe, seems rather to signify 'the general commanding the royal troops,' and this is probably its original derivation, instead of the Biblical Dodavahu or Dodo.

Professor Nelson Glueck has given another interesting report of the material recovered by him from Ezion-Geber (later Elath), Solomon's seaport on the Gulf of Aqabah. It was here in this distant spot, thirteen days' journey by camel from Jerusalem, that Solomon, who was already a merchant prince, a great builder, a famous horse-dealer, and a rich copper king, manifested his vision and power by building a great manufacturing town, where the copper and iron ores from his mines in the Aqabah were smelted, refined, and worked up into finished products to be exported to Arabia, Africa, India, and other parts, in exchange for gold, ivory, spices, and other valuable imports. His activities, indeed, seem to have been manifold, for he also maintained a fleet of ocean-going ships here in partnership with King Hiram of Tyre, thus adding to his other qualifications that of a shipping magnate (cf. 1 K 9²⁶, etc.). The building of such a seaport and manufacturing centre at the juncture of the main roads from Egypt, Sinai, Arabia, and Palestine, is one of his least known accomplishments, but as Dr. Glueck says, it 'represents one of his greatest.' The most recent excavations on the site show that the builders did their work so well that, after the lapse of some three thousand years, the walls still stand fairly high (with the main gateway on the south facing the sea), while structures in modern Aqabah have cracked and crumbled within a few years of their erection. The system of smelting and refining plants, together with the intricate arrangement of flues and air channels, turns out to be much more extensive than previously suspected. Among the recent finds are some additional jar-handles, stamped like the rest, some pottery fragments inscribed with the swastika, the 'Star of David,' and the 'Byzantine' Cross, as well as some types of glass beads, which may have been brought from Phoenicia by the sailors who worked the ships. The most important discovery, however,

is that of a large broken jar, which has two letters (HA) of the Sabæan-Minæan alphabet incised on it, dating from the latter part of the eighth century B.C. Dr. Glueck suggests that the jar may have been of Midianite origin, but it is doubtful whether the Midianites used this form of alphabet. The Sabæans occupied south-west Arabia (the modern Yemen), the country of Queen Sheba, while the Minæans dwelt immediately to the north of them, and the jar probably came by one of Solomon's ships from this distant quarter, and may have contained spices or other imports. It is known that the Sabæans were great traders (cf. Ezk 27^{22f.}), dealing in costly wares (cf. Ezk 38¹³). The inscriptions on their rocks and slabs represent them as not only exporting the products of their own country, but acting as intermediaries for goods coming from India and Africa to Palestine.

In ancient Palestine, as throughout most of the East to-day, commercial bodies—drapers, goldsmiths, copper-beaters, butchers, and others—were grouped each in their own street or quarter, and this specialization continued throughout the Middle Ages, and still subsists to some extent in the older parts of Jerusalem. Jeremiah mentions the 'bakers' street' (37²¹), which was probably near the 'tower of the furnaces' (Neh 3¹¹). The north-west part of Beth-Shemesh ('*Ain Shems*), excavated by Grant in 1933, was inhabited from the Middle Bronze Age (c. 2000 B.C.) till the beginning of the Iron Age (c. 1200 B.C.) by smiths or braziers, whose furnaces have been discovered. At *Tell Jemmeh*

(the reputed site of Gerar), in the time of the later monarchy, metallurgists had their workshops close to each other in the north-west of the city. At Lachish (*Tell Duweir*) Starkey discovered that a commercial quarter existed just inside the city gate during the closing period of the kings. Here he found the fiscal bureau with its large jars bearing the royal stamp, a corn chandler's establishment, a weaver's workshop, and similar places of business. The seal of the weaver, who also carried on business as a dyer, was discovered with his name, 'Hilkiah, son of Mâs.' At Beth-zur, six miles north of Hebron, Sellers uncovered a bazaar, with its shops ranged along the south-east of the citadel. Sometimes whole towns were devoted to some particular industry. *Tell Abu Hawam* (adjoining Haifa), for example, was almost solely an emporium for Ægean pottery. Under the monarchy, *Beit Mirsim* (Debir or Kiriath-sepher) was mainly occupied with textile manufacture, for weaving plant has been discovered in almost all the houses. In many cases foreign merchants were granted certain privileged quarters (streets or bazaars) for themselves, involving the right of trading. In accordance with this arrangement, Damascus dealers had a concession in Samaria under Omri and Ahab (1 K 20³⁴), and Sidonians at the beginning of the Hellenistic era were established in the same way at Marissa (*Tell Sandahanna*). Such merchants had special privileges like those of the Frankish dealers in the Middle Ages in the towns of the Levant.

Literature.

MAN IN REVOLT.

THE Epilogue to *Man in Revolt: A Christian Anthropology*, by Professor Emil Brunner (Lutterworth Press; 15s. net), might with advantage be read first of all. Dr. Brunner's aim in it has been to show that the nature of man—if indeed man has a nature in the ordinary sense of the term—can be understood only from the point of view of Christian doctrine. Anthropology is not only a popular science, but supplies the fundamental problem of theology. Humanism tries to understand man from below, either causally in alliance with science, or teleologically in alliance with idealism. Brunner,

on the contrary, holds that man can be understood, not only theoretically but actually, only from above, in relation to the Word of God, as this is given to us in the Incarnation of Jesus Christ. Man is essentially 'man in revolt,' and, as such, he stands between Creation in the Image of God, on the one hand, and sin, on the other. Sin is man's misunderstanding of his own nature, and issues in a false independence of God. The core of sin is man's reliance upon his own reason and his claim to be the 'captain of his soul.' His freedom apart from God is an illusion, but in God he can have a real freedom. In his own strength he cannot overcome the contradiction in which he stands—between his