

SEVENTH QUARTERLY REPORT ON THE EXCAVATION
OF GEZER.

16 November, 1903—28 February, 1904.

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§ I.—PRELIMINARY.

THE Muslim feast at the end of Ramadân commenced on December 18th, and I took the opportunity of then breaking up the camp for the rainy season. The daily fast of the preceding month necessarily hindered the work to some extent; in addition to a full hour's rest in the middle of the day, I was obliged to let the labourers away from work, in order to prepare their evening meal, an hour before sunset—on days themselves among the shortest in the year. I was unable to resume work before February 15th, so that this report covers but little more than six weeks' digging.

The work has consisted in the opening of an almost complete 40-foot trench parallel to and adjoining those already laid down on the Eastern Hill. I have not thought it worth while, with this report, to repeat the plan of the surface: with the eighth report it will again be given, brought up to date. The present seems a favourable opportunity to summarise the main results of the whole work in the light of the latest discoveries, correcting some theories which were put forward in earlier reports, and which later investigation has shown to require revision. I have arranged the summary in chronological order, dividing it into sections corresponding with the various occupations of the tell.

There are only three months and a half remaining before the firman lapses, and as I have not yet heard whether the application which has been made for its renewal is to be granted, such a summary seems especially desirable, as it will serve to show the gaps still remaining in our knowledge.

§ II.—PALÆOLITHIC PERIOD.

Before the occupation of the mound and its neighbourhood, the hill on which Gezer was subsequently built was a bare rocky knoll,

like those that still stand unoccupied to the south of it. This is shown by the almost complete absence of virgin soil, except in occasional pockets in the rock, under the lowest strata of buildings; these last are erected directly on the rock-surface. Hitherto no reference has been made in this series of reports to the presence of Palæolithic man in the Gezer district: indeed the subject of Palæolithic man in Palestine has as yet hardly been touched upon in print at all.¹ The museum of the Monastery of Nôtre Dame de France at Jerusalem possesses a collection of Palæolithic implements: these, as the printed handbook to the museum states, come principally from the plain of the Beka'a and its neighbourhood, and from the district surrounding El-Bîreh. Chipped flints, unmistakably Palæolithic, are to be found occasionally in the débris of Gezer itself; they were probably solitary specimens picked up and carried into the city at different times. In the fields between the hill and Ramleh, however, they are to be found in sufficient numbers to attest the fact that here was the centre of a population in Palæolithic times. That the hill itself was occupied at this remote epoch there is no evidence.

All other traces of the handiwork of Palæolithic man, as well as his physical remains, have been swept away from the Gezer district.

§ III.—NEOLITHIC PERIOD.

The Neolithic cave-dwellers were the first inhabitants who have left traces of a settled occupation on the hills.

Their *physical character*, as far as it is known, has been described, October, 1902, p. 353²; no supplementary information has been obtained on this subject, if we except the rude prognathous head (January, 1904, p. 19), which may be a portrait of their general type.

Their *dwellings* were normally caves, hollowed in the soft limestone of which the hill is formed. About 15 of these have been opened and cleared. The majority were probably natural hollows, such as abound in the hills of the neighbourhood, though most of them were, no doubt, enlarged to adapt them for use. Almost all

¹ I believe that somewhere a report on a Palæolithic cave at the Nahr el-Kelb, near Beirût, has been published. I have not, however, got a reference.

² This and similar references are to back numbers of the *Quarterly Statement*.

have a staircase cut in the rock at the entrance—usually so narrow as to admit one person at a time only, and composed of rude steps of about 1 foot tread and 6 inches rise.

This particular cave is the only one displaying toolmarks over the whole extent of its surface. These toolmarks are most instructive. They are short and broad, and all display ridges and irregularities corresponding with grooves in the back and edge of the cutting tool employed. No metal tool would display such irregularities; I have succeeded in making similar marks on the soft rock-face of the cave by means of a wooden wedge trimmed with a flint knife and struck with a stone for a hammer. So rude a method of rock cutting would not be employed after the introduction of metal (the wooden wedges used in the so-called Solomon's quarries and similar excavations belong, of course, to quite a different technique of stone-cutting), and we may safely conclude that the cave antedates the bronze age, and that, when (as sometimes happen) bronze and iron objects are found in the silt filling a cave, such objects have been introduced at a period later than its original occupation.

On the strength of similarity of pottery I have hitherto treated the lowest stratum of the buildings on the hill as belonging to the same people, possibly of a later generation. This view I still hold, but with an important modification. The lowermost stratum is not homogeneous, since the buildings and implements of more than one occupation are mingled together on the surface of the rock. Indeed, throughout the tell, the inter-relations of the strata often form a complicated and delicate problem. The complexities introduced into the super-position of successive towns proceed from three main causes :—

- (1) Buildings may have been erected in a later town on space which in an earlier town was empty.
- (2) Buildings may have been erected in a later town not (as usual) over the existing foundations of the earlier buildings, but after their complete destruction (*e.g.*, they may have been torn up for wall materials).
- (3) Buildings may be erected over the ruins of earlier erections belonging to the same town.

The first two of these causes will produce a "fault," to borrow a geological term; an island, so to speak, of the later town will be

found surrounded by, and at the same level as, buildings of the preceding occupation. The third will not only multiply the number of strata in a perplexing way, but will tend to form an island of an earlier town surrounded by buildings of a later occupation—the second building being raised by the foundations of the first above its true level. In the trench which has been excavated during the last quarter will be found a good example of this complication of strata. At the south end there are six, at the northern end four. The relations of these two sections may thus be exhibited—

<i>North End.</i>	=	<i>South End.</i>
A (topmost)	=	(Wanting).
B	=	{ A (topmost).
(Wanting)	=	{ B.
C	=	C.
D	=	D.
(Wanting)	=	E.
	=	F.

It follows from this that, though there were numerous scattered huts belonging to the cave-dwellers on the surface of the ground, we cannot assign an entire stratum to their descendants, nor can we with certainty divide the Neolithic age into two periods in which caves and huts were used respectively. Possibly this may be so, but probably they were inhabited at one and the same time.

The rude earth rampart, stone-faced (*see* April, 1903, p. 117), surrounding the mound I am now inclined to put back to the date of this pre-Semitic occupation. My sole reason for bringing it down to the Amorite epoch was the fact that it was found to be interrupted at one point of its course by a standing stone (October, 1902, p. 323), in which I was inclined to see a monument of the Neolithic tribe enclosed by the later-built Amorite wall. I now reverse the theory, and regard the standing stone as an Amorite monument, which happened to be set up at a spot in the course of the pre-Amorite rampart. This is quite possible, for at the point where the stone stands the rampart is almost completely ruined, and may have been so when the stone was erected. I cannot but feel that it is difficult to imagine a race posterior to the Neolithic people

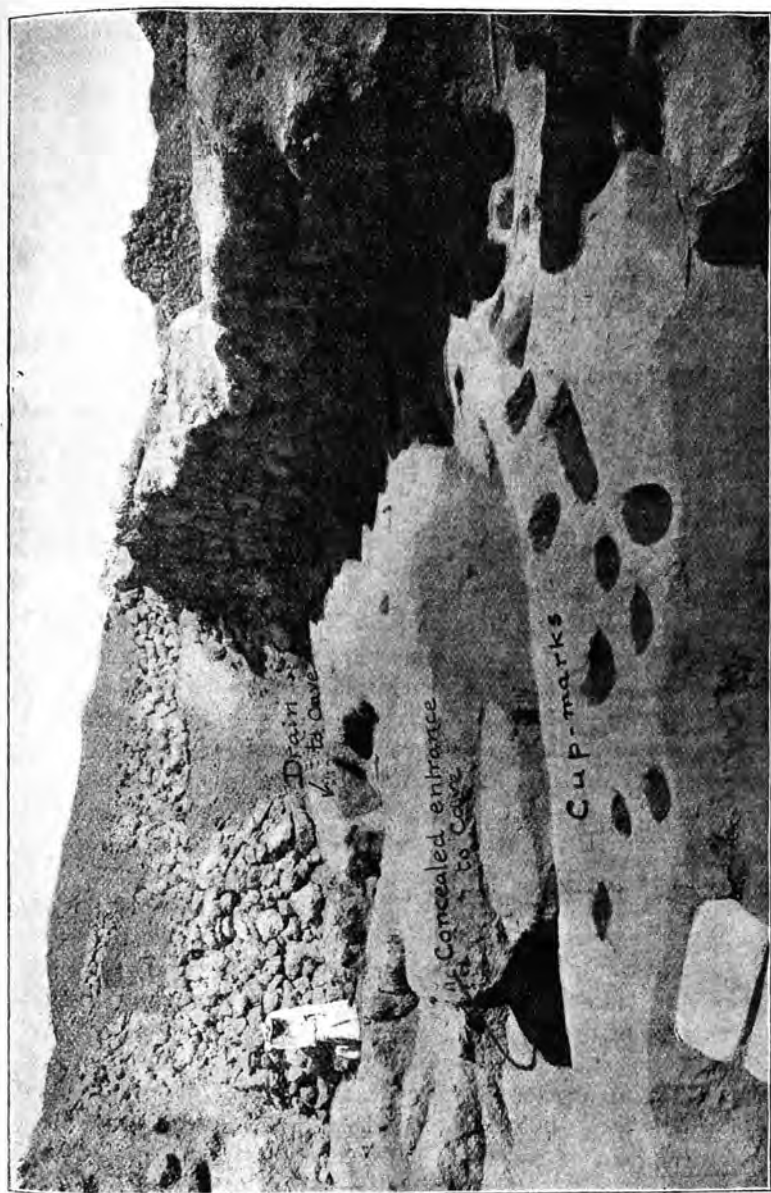


FIG. 1.—SUSPECTED HIGH PLACE: FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.

so uncivilised as to be satisfied with this meagre and inadequate fortification.

The *religion* of the Neolithic troglodytes is, naturally, a subject as obscure as it is interesting. Of their actual religious beliefs we may form some idea by analogy with better-known tribes on the same general level of culture. That they were in the matriarchal stage of social evolution is highly probable, and if so we might expect their religious ideas to be those peculiar to that stage: that is to say, the conception of a *ba'al* divinity (to employ, for convenience, Semitic nomenclature) would be either not yet evolved, or inchoate. The comparative scarcity of objects typical of the *ba'al* principle among the cave deposits seems to be corroborative of this theoretical view. That they practised cremation is attested by the discovery of their crematorium, and that they had a belief in the continued *post-mortem* existence of the individual is shown by the number of food-vessels there deposited for the use of the deceased.

That in some way the *cup-marks* were connected with their religious rites, and the *masséboth* or standing stones with those of the Semites, and that these tangible monuments of religion are mutually exclusive, is the illuminating suggestion of Professor J. L. Paton, the present director of the American School of Archæology at Jerusalem—one only of many valuable helps and hints for which I have gratefully to acknowledge my obligations to him. A number of interesting details seem to corroborate this, the most striking of which is to be seen at the entrance to the crematorium already mentioned. Assuming, as we safely may, that sacrificial or other religious rites took place at interments, at any rate of important persons, at all periods, and assuming the truth of the above-stated theory, we might *à priori* expect to find cup-marks at the mouth of this cave, the relics of the worship of the cremating Neolithic people, and a *massébah* the legacy of the Amorites, who, as we know, subsequently used the cave for their own burials. Not only does this prove to be actually the case, but the *massébah* is seen to be later than the cup-marks; these were cut in the surface of the bare rock, while it was not erected till nearly a foot of soil had accumulated.

By this and similar considerations, which need not for the present be detailed at length, I feel confirmed in the view which I have always held since the discovery of the extraordinary rock-surface, pitted with cup-marks (October, 1903, p. 317)—that we

have here exposed a place of worship of the Neolithic Aborigines (Fig. 1). This rock-surface is, as a whole, enigmatic enough: but evidence of three separate details may be gathered from it and from the objects found about it. These are:—

- (1) Pig-bones found in a cave, most likely indicating pig-sacrifice. If the pre-Semites made a practice of sacrificing pigs, may we not see in this the origin of the intense Semitic feeling against this animal as unclean—a feeling, as Robertson Smith has shown, based on a primitive conception of its being sacrosanct?
- (2) A “shoot” leading through the roof of the same cave, admirably adapted for conveying downwards the blood from sacrifices, or other fluid offerings. This certainly seems to indicate the worship of underground deities of some kind.
- (3) A secret passage, also to the same cave, cut under a projecting boss of rock that completely conceals it. Possibly this is evidence of the existence of an organised priesthood, practising “tricks of the trade” such as priest-hoods have practised among widely different races and religions.

Some remarks may be made on the *daily life* of the troglodytes. The domestic animals that can certainly be associated with them are the sheep, cow, pig, and goat; with less assurance the camel and donkey. The bones of these, and also of such birds as the stork, were fashioned into various implements, especially pins and prickers, probably for perforating skins. Whether wool was spun is a question depending on the explanation of certain stone rings (found in all the strata), usually from 1 inch to $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, and with a perforation in the centre about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch across. These may be spindle-whorls; but they may also be rude beads for personal adornment. Nothing else for the latter purpose has been found, if we except highly-coloured cockle-shells of various species, such as abound on the sandy coast at Jaffa. These are nearly all perforated near the hinge of the shell by the action of the sea and the small stones of the shore; the perforation was no doubt utilised for suspension or threading the shells.

Grindstones show that the people practised agriculture of a sort, and were acquainted with the art of corn-grinding. The

rotary grinder is unknown, the rubbing-stone being the variety found. No stores of grain have yet been found in any of the caves.

Water seems to have been boiled in the crude savage way, by dropping heated stones into it. In every cave opened small round stones, each about the size of a man's fist, have been found in considerable numbers, probably to serve this purpose.

Pottery was crude and rough, the vessels being all hand-made, the ware porous and gritty. The shapes are often not ungraceful. The surface is frequently ornamented by burnished lines, by moulded cord patterns, or by washes and lines of colour. The colour is always either reddish brown or white, the latter apparently a kind of limestone cream applied to the surface; it washes off in water.

Flint was, of course, the principal material for implements, and the troglodytes attained great dexterity, unsurpassed by any of their successors, in flaking off fine long and sharp knives from the core. The edges were either left straight, or were chipped into saws, sometimes with very prominent teeth. For the majority of purposes, however, this race were content with very inferior tools, and even in the caves a really fine flint implement is decidedly the exception.

The *historical correlation* of the Gezer troglodytes remains to be considered. Though we cannot as yet definitely connect them with the known races of the Mediterranean, we can say that they are in all probability pre-Semitic. This brings us back to about 2000 B.C., which modern scholarship assigns as the date when the first wave of Semitic immigration swept over Palestine. It is interesting to notice that the excavation of Nippur has shown a change from cremation to inhumation more or less synchronous with the analogous change at Gezer, if this chronology prove correct.

§ IV.—EARLY SEMITIC PERIOD.

By the first Semitic invasion from Arabia, about 2000 B.C., the country was peopled with inhabitants whose physical characteristics and many of whose customs can be studied on the living subjects now inhabiting the villages of Palestine. The date of this irruption is probably rather earlier than the approximate year just named. There is no proof that the neolithic people had any communication

with Egypt; on the other hand, as we shall presently see, there is evidence that trade with Egypt was established in Gezer in the time of the twelfth dynasty. This would place the date of Semitic beginnings in Gezer well within the third millennium B.C., from 2400 to 2700, according to the date adopted for the commencement of the twelfth dynasty; and, of course, would push the period of the troglodytes yet further back.

The *bones* of the individuals which have been found in the various deposits and interments have been described, October, 1902, p. 35, January, 1903, p. 50, and October, 1903, p. 322. No material differences are to be detected in the bones of later periods and, as has been shown in the third of the above-quoted reports, the osteology of the modern fellah would probably not display any important deviation from the type established by the excavations.

The village of the modern fellah, again, enables us with tolerable accuracy to reconstruct the architecture of the ancient *houses*. Order, regularity, and all attempts at decoration are entirely absent. The streets are crooked, narrow, and many of them end in blank walls. The first sensation of a visitor to Jerusalem—I speak from my own experience—is a feeling of despair of ever being able to master the intricacies of its thoroughfares, but compared with the bewildering maze of Gezer streets at all periods of the city's history those of Jerusalem are as the rectangular blocks of a modern American city.

A curious point with regard to the streets of the city has been brought out by the coloured map of the excavations, an enlargement of part of which has been prepared for the St. Louis Exhibition. This is the non-permanence of lines of thoroughfares. The plans of the different successive cities display the same general character of a labyrinth of crooked lanes, but they differ entirely from one another in detail. I have been unable to find anything in the nature of an *artery*, a main line of street which persists through various stages of the city's history, retaining the same general position and direction.

As an illustration of the type of house, I submit a plan of a portion of one of the early Semitic cities. This shows better than words the entire lack of design in the plans of the buildings (Fig. 2). They are as artless as the edifices erected by children with toy bricks.¹

Frequently a row of stones, generally three in number, is found running through the middle of a room. The stones are placed at

¹ A few observations on the plans of the houses will be found, April, 1903, p. 108.

more or less equal distances from each other and from the sides of the room, so that in a chamber, say, 12 feet across, the centres of

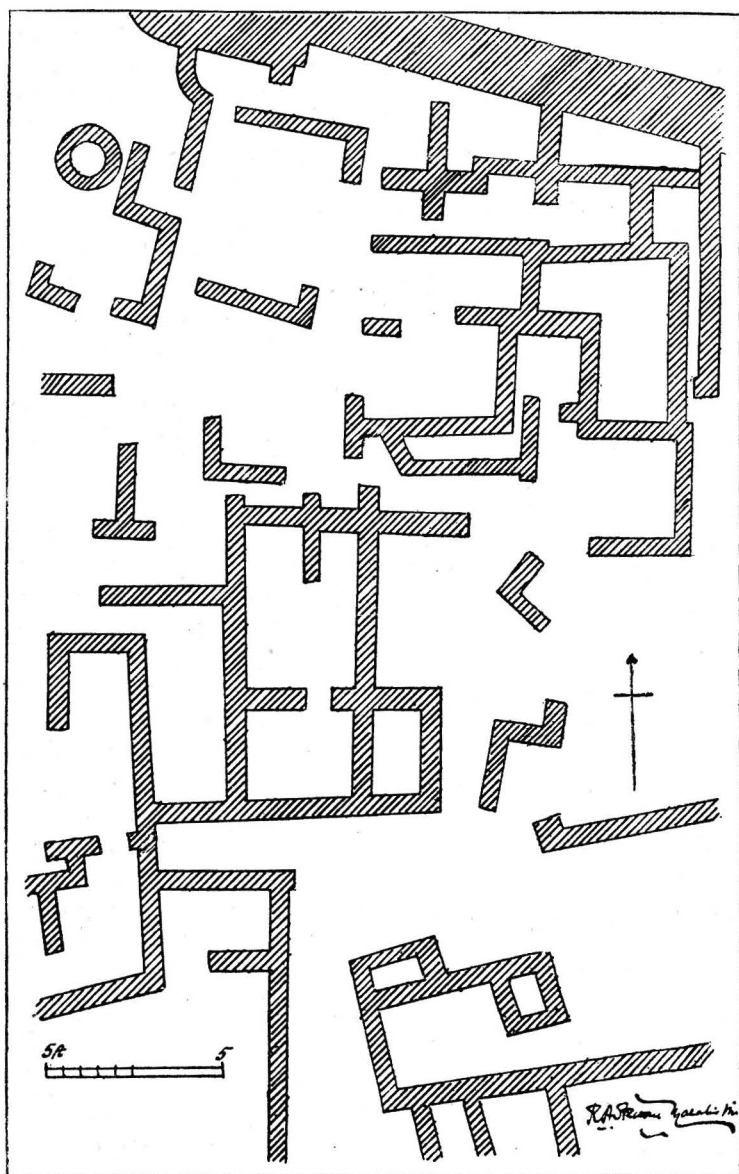


FIG. 2.—SECTION OF THE FIRST SEMITIC CITY, *circa* 2000 B.C.

the stones would be about 3 feet apart (Fig. 3). The stones are generally flat topped, and from 1 foot 6 inches to 2 feet in



FIG. 3.—PORTION OF HOUSE, SHOWING THE ROW OF STONES IN THE FLOOR.

diameter. They are probably the foot-stones of wooden columns which supported a rafter of the roof.

The houses of the modern fellahin usually consist of two parts—first, an open court with a high wall, entered from the street, round which are ranged dog-kennels, chicken-coops, fuel-stores, or baking oven, and a platform of sun-dried earth with pillars of the same materials at the corners, on which a screen of boughs is erected in the hot months of the year to make a booth or summer house; and, secondly, the private living room or rooms at the back of the court. Some of the larger enclosures which are found in the excavations are probably open courts similar to those in the modern dwellings.

The walls of the ordinary ancient houses are generally from 1 foot 6 inches to 2 feet thick, store-chambers and other small internal rooms having walls not more than 1 foot, and sometimes even 9 inches across. In certain portions of the city, however—notably in the neighbourhood of the Neolithic place of sacrifice above referred to—much more massive walls are found, which probably belonged to some great public buildings. No objects found to give a clue to their purpose.

The *religion* of the people, judging from the character of the votive offerings and the shape of some of the pillars in the great High Place, seems to have had the *ba'al* principle as its primary object. The period of the fourth stratum, however, was one in which the worship of Ashtoreth was the favourite popular cult; this appears from numerous terra-cotta plaques bearing figures of the goddess in relief, which are almost if not quite confined to this particular stratum.

The High Place and its associated rites have been described in detail, January, 1903, p. 23, and July, 1903, p. 219. There is reason for believing that the imposing megalithic structure, as we now have it, is the result of a gradual development, commencing with two small pillars, and gradually enlarging by later additions to the splendid alignment of monoliths that we see to-day. I need not at present go over ground already travelled, so shall say no more about the High Place except that in one detail, and the deductions drawn from it, I find I was mistaken. This is the assigning of the skull found in the temple area (July, 1903, p. 224) to a man of a different race from the inhabitants of the city. In October, 1903, p. 328, this skull is pronounced to be of the same type as the rest.

On the human sacrifices practised by the early Semites enough has for the present been said. It is evident that, besides the

devotion of the first-born at the temple, sacrifices (usually, though not exclusively, of infants) were made sometimes at the foundation of houses. Of the sacrifice of animals at foundation, or of the deposition of symbolical or valuable objects (as in Egypt and Babylonia) I have found no trace. The lamp and bowl deposits belong properly to the next period.

The cistern containing the skeletons of 15 men and a mutilated girl remains as deep a mystery as when first discovered.

Several skeletons have been found through the débris, buried under houses and streets, which seem to have no special connection with foundations. They are probably simple interments, which, as the burial cave has shown, were intra-mural. In the older strata the bones are piled up one on the other, showing that the body was deposited in a squatting attitude; in the later they are stretched at length. The normal attitude of the bodies cast into the burial cave, so far as their injured state permitted of a judgment being formed, was lying on the side, with the knees drawn up to the chin. No doubt they were tied in such an attitude before being deposited in the cave. The bodies deposited in the stone enclosures were, however, stretched out at length.

It is, I think, legitimate to draw a very interesting conclusion from these facts. The two forms of interment coexisting as we find them among the first Semitic inhabitants may reasonably be taken as the result of the working of something analogous to a caste system. The natural tendency being for the lower to assume gradually the manners and customs of the higher, we may consider that the higher caste skeletons are those stretched at length in the burial cave; and their special treatment, with fences of stones built round each group, to separate them from the commoners, thrown indiscriminately into the centre of the cave, indicates the same conclusion. But I can hardly think that a mere caste distinction, in itself, is sufficient to account for so profound a difference of burial customs. Rather am I inclined to see in it evidence of a fusion of races, each with its own practices, at some period long anterior to the occupation of Palestine by the Semites.

The *daily life* of the people was that of an ordinary agricultural community. Bronze was the normal metal (sometimes copper); iron remains absent in the early Semitic strata. They possessed cows (of a zebu breed, if we may judge from the models found), sheep, goats, camels, and donkeys; pigs are not found, nor yet

horses, so far as I can speak definitely. On the whole, the figures of horse-heads seem to belong to the later period.

Undoubted spindle-whorls are found beside the stone rings mentioned in the previous section, suggesting that the stone rings had another purpose. Beads appear, in a great variety of material, shape, and colour, as also metal adornments of various kinds, some of them very tasteful. The safety-pin fibula is introduced and persists to the end. Amulets of various kinds are also commonly worn.

Grain of many varieties was used for food. I have made a small collection of specimens which have been preserved by calcining—the granaries having been burnt. These I hope to have an opportunity of submitting later to a botanist for exact identification—to some, especially among the vetches, I cannot attach the proper name. Corn was ground both with rubbing stones and rotary mills of a rude pattern on which the Gezerites seem never to have improved.

With regard to the pottery, I shall for the present content myself with saying that the types on the “Early pre-Israelite” plates in *Excavations in Palestine* fairly represent the general character, with the exclusion of some of the ruder forms, which are a legacy from the earlier peoples, and with the inclusion of some illustrated under the head of “Late pre-Israelite” in the same series of plates. In the colour decoration of pottery in the earlier times an attempt seems to be made to cover the entire surface, or an entire section of the surface, with decoration so that we get pottery completely overlaid with a series of conterminous bands, straight or zigzag, of various colours, or else bearing birds, fishes, and other devices drawn in broad lines and *with the outline filled in*. In the art of the Israelite period the outlines are drawn with narrow lines, and except with a few narrow strokes are never filled in. I think I have already pointed out the instructive contrast between the bird figures shown in *A Mound of Many Cities*, p. 62, and *Excavations in Palestine*, plate 44.

That the art of writing, in Babylonian cuneiform, was known and practised in Gezer we have the evidence of the Tel el-Amarna tablets, but the entire absence of any analogous objects in the excavated portions of the mound seems to indicate that if practised to any extent the materials used were perishable and have not survived to our day. It has occasionally presented itself to me as

a *possibility* that the royal answers to the messages from Gezer on cuneiform tablets were written in hieratic on papyrus, and carried by a messenger who could read and interpret them to the prince of Gezer; in such a case there would not be the least hope of finding them. Professor Paton has, however, reminded me that writing exercises found among the hoard at Tell el-Amarna prove that cuneiform was not only read but written by the king's scribes, and that we need not, therefore, despair of finding the wished-for despatches in some part of the mound not yet examined.

Kings of the eighteenth and nineteen Egyptian dynasties have records on their monuments of their capture and tenure of Gezer, a record corroborated by scarabs and many other evidences of Egyptian domination. But Egyptian influence is found to have been exercised on Gezer at a much earlier date. The stele found near the High Place has been ascribed to the twelfth or thirteenth dynasty, and about half of the scarabs found belong to the same period—about 700 years before any mention of Gezer is found on Egyptian monuments.

These Egyptian objects do not necessarily indicate that the town was subject to Egypt; but it does prove a very considerable trade and communication between Gezer and Egypt from a very early period. If the imperfect scarab inscribed *Nfr-k'-[r']* could really be ascribed to the seventh dynasty king of that name the beginnings of trade might be put back to the fourth millennium B.C., but the style of the scarab is so evidently twelfth dynasty that the ascription is, to say the last, very doubtful, and in any case a single scarab would hardly be enough to upset the general consensus of evidence that the Egyptian connections with Gezer commence about the time of Usertsen I.

It is a striking fact that little or nothing has been found to tell of trade or communication with the civilisations of Mesopotamia—except, of course, the use of the cuneiform script in the Tell el-Amarna tablets. A few cylinders, probably manufactured locally after Babylonian patterns, are practically the only objects that can be said to relate to the civilisation of the Plain of Shinar.

§ V.—LATE SEMITIC PERIOD.

The late Semitic period commences with the settlement of the Hebrews in Canaan, and ends with the destruction of the Hebrew monarchy.

In treating of the history of Gezer, however, it would be misleading to speak of a "Hebrew" period, for it is very doubtful whether the Hebrews ever held undisputed possession of the city. The older account of the Hebrew immigration—that preserved in Judges i—admits that Gezer was imperfectly occupied by the Israelites; the same admission is made by the author of the book of Joshua. We may, therefore, assume that the Canaanites surviving in the city formed a large proportion, if not the majority, of the population.

Another disturbing element is introduced by the historical references to the Philistines, who are twice mentioned in connection with this town (*see* July, 1902, p. 228).

I have found myself unable to unravel these three strands of population, as mirrored in the objects they have left behind. There is nothing that I can point to as definitely Canaanite, definitely Hebrew, or definitely Philistine. This is especially disappointing in the case of the latter people, about whom I had hoped to be able to learn something from the excavation of a city that for some time at least stood within their territory.

The one contribution which the Philistines have possibly made to the antiquities of Gezer is the introduction of iron. I have no books by me from which I can find whether anyone has interpreted the curious passage, 1 Sam. xiii, 19–22, as being a distorted recollection of the fact that in the time of Saul the coast-dwelling Philistines, to whom the sea was open for trade, were in full possession of iron, while the less civilised Hebrews and other inland tribes were, on the whole, still in the bronze age. Such an interpretation would fit the results of the work at Gezer. The bronze-iron overlap lasts an extraordinarily long time; indeed, bronze is not finally conquered till the period of the Captivity.

Another immense step forward in civilisation taken during this period is the evolution of alphabetic writing. Hitherto nothing has been found but potters' stamps, and these are disappointingly few: the letter *aleph* scratched on a flint, and the letter *nun* scratched on a bone. It is, however, difficult to believe that so large a town has nowhere within its whole area a single lapidary inscription of any sort.

The gradual refinement of religion, the diminution of the crudities so characteristic of the earlier beliefs and practices, and the substitution of symbolism for direct human sacrifice, are also typical advances made during this period.

On the other hand, the standard of comfort, as shown in the design of the dwelling houses, remains pretty much as it had been. Art, such as it was, makes no progress—if anything, there is a distinct decline in taste shown in the shape and decoration of pottery. There is no sudden step taken either forwards or backwards synchronously with the Hebrew conquest of the country. The Hebrews of Gezer settled among the Canaanites, learnt their ways, manners, and customs, and followed them as their own. This is strictly in accordance with the historical record.

I have already hinted that one result of the excavation will be to modify certain details of the views held as to the chronology of pottery. Speaking in general, the pottery hitherto called “late pre-Israelite” will now have to be called “transitional,” as it belongs to the overlap between Amorite and Hebrew, or early and late Semitic, culture; while that called “Jewish” is on the whole not earlier than the divided monarchy, and some of it is probably post-exilic.

The result of these modifications will be to compel the revision of certain statements which, soon after the beginning of the work, I put forward respecting the distribution of the population over various parts of the surface of the tell. The Eastern Hill was *not* entirely deserted after the time of Solomon; there are even meagre traces (which have been almost annihilated, probably by fellahin taking building material away) of a post-exilic occupation at this end of the mound. But the late Semitic population was most thickly concentrated in the centre, and that of the Eastern Hill was at best sparse. I do not think it necessary to withdraw the deduction that the excavation of the Eastern Hill has an important bearing on the narrative of 1 Kings ix, 16 (January, 1903, p. 49).

§ VI.—POST-EXILIC PERIOD.

In the post-exilic period we enter a wholly different atmosphere, due to the appearance, for the first time, of the influence of a dominant Aryan civilisation.

It is probable that the inhabitants of the city corresponding to this period would be found to display distinct evidence of mixture if their bones were examined. I have, however, not as yet found any, for the simple reason that a very important sanitary advance has been made, there are no more intra-mural interments. I think

I know where the graves of the period are to be looked for, but have hitherto had no time to examine them.

The houses are better laid out and built, with, on the whole, an attempt at making right angles in the meeting of walls. The stones are well dressed and squared, often as well shaped as a modern brick (Fig. 4). Mud, however, is still universally used instead of mortar. Structures that have all the appearance of being public baths show a greater appreciation of luxury than is to be found in any of the previous cities.

In religion we know from the altar of Eunnêlos that the Greek divinities were worshipped by the foreign residents, but that Yahweh-worship had a strong place in the town (October, 1903, p. 313 *sq.*). I hope that the cast I have sent to London will induce someone expert in Judæo-Greek antiquities to turn his attention to the altar of Eunnêlos, on which I cannot believe that the last word has been said.

There ought to be a temple somewhere in the mound, erected by the foreign residents. Possibly the volute of an Ionic capital and the coarsely moulded stones, which were found cast in the large reservoir, may come from such a building.

Art never was at a high standard in Gezer, but during this period it reached its maximum level. The pottery is well made and baked, gracefully shaped and decorated with mouldings clearly modelled on Greek patterns.

The regular language of the town was probably Greek, but Hebrew (Aramaic) was both spoken and written. In writing both the Aramaean script (Pottery Stamp, July, 1903, p. 204) and the square character (Stone Graffito, October, 1903, p. 312; Boundary Inscription) were employed.

Ptolemaic coins, a few of which have been found, continue to attest the domination of Egypt. Foreign trade is well illustrated by the numerous handles of Rhodian wine-jars which have been found both in the town and in the surrounding fields.

Lastly, a spirit of public enterprise and co-operation is evidenced, for which we look in vain in the earlier periods. Without it the enormous public reservoir in the middle of the city would have been impossible; and without it the lands of the Gezer community would probably not have been marked out by boundary stones.

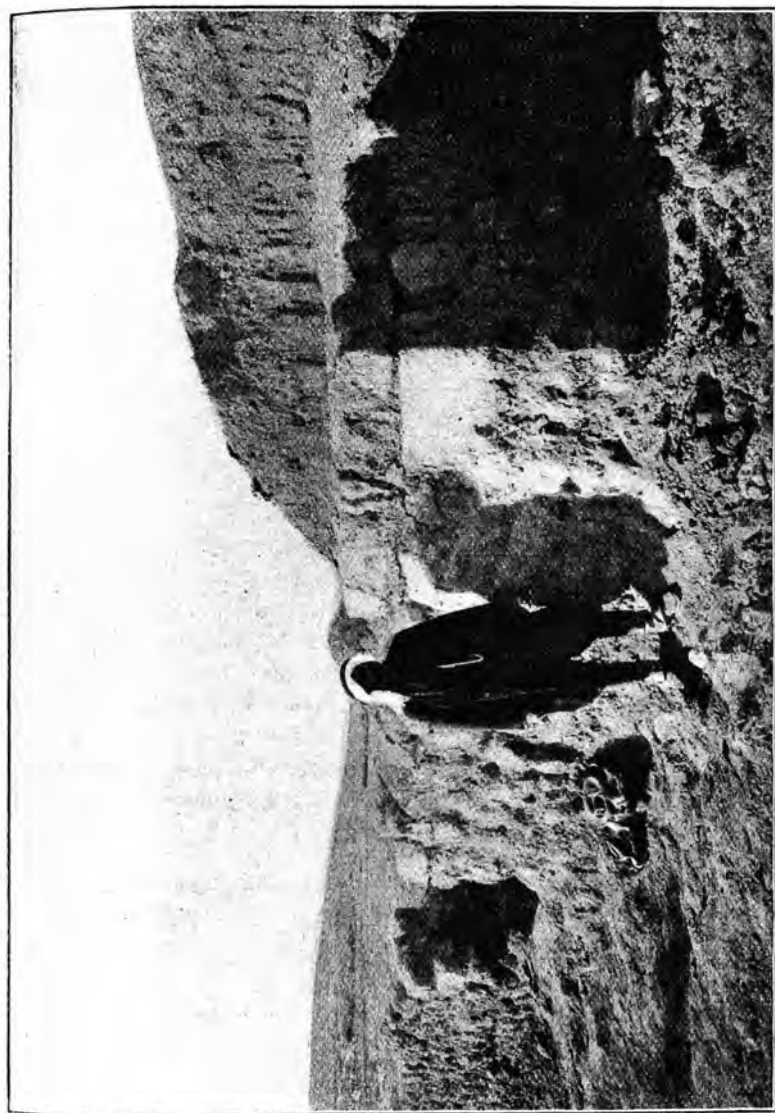


FIG. 4.—WALLS OF THE POST-EXILIC PERIOD.

§ VII.—THE ROMAN AND LATER PERIODS.

After the Ptolemaic, Maccabean, Post-Exilic, or Seleucid period, as it has been variously called, the population moved off the top of the hill which it had occupied for some three thousand years, and settled on the site of the modern village. The causes that led to this transference have been discussed (July, 1903, pp. 216-218).

Of course excavation is impossible, and I must be content with recording the one evidence known to me to exist of the Roman or Byzantine town. This is a fragment of mosaic of white tesserae with a pattern of lozenges in black, each containing at the centre a V-shaped dot in blue filled with red, which is to be seen in the courtyard of one of the native houses.

White Mosaic tesserae are common, lying loose in the fields around, though not often found on the hill surface. There is a mosaic floor under the ground near 'Ain Yerdeh, which I hope to examine later: I expect it will be found to belong to a Roman villa.

The principal hope of finding out something about these later periods lies in the tombs. In the last report I described the re-opening of one of these, and the remains of deposits found within it. During my absence in the winter some of the fellahin of Abu Shushah took it into their heads to re-open two others. By good fortune one of the trustworthy men from Zakariya¹ was in the village at the time and stopped them, saying he would inform Surraya Effendi and myself, and so get them imprisoned. The fear of this made them deliver over their plunder as soon as I arrived after the winter. It was, however, annoying, as the tomb was one I had intended to clear out myself, and I am now unable to say how the objects were deposited within it. They consisted of

¹ It is a curious fact that, almost from the first, Dr. Bliss and I found the men of Zakariya in every way the most satisfactory of the fellahin to deal with—so far as such a testimonial may be worth anything. This does not appear to have been the universal experience. Van de Velde speaks of them with especial opprobrium, and they seem to be very unpopular among the inhabitants of the surrounding villages. When the work at Beit Jibrin was finished, under the last firman, the fellahin of Zakariya made a farewell feast for Dr. Bliss and myself in the guest-house of the village. Some remark was made in the course of the meal about our having employed Zakariya men to dig on the lands of Tell eš-Šâfi, whereupon an important Sheikh of Beit Jibrin, who was present, expressed a wish that we had taken all of them there, and that they had all died of the malaria for which Tell eš-Šâfi is notorious!

bracelets, pins, and nails of bronze and iron, beads in large numbers and great variety, a very late scarab, some fragments of an iron mail coat, a few pieces of glass all much broken, a small bronze bell, a bronze buckle, and a curious little bronze disc cut to the shape of the outlines of a camel. It is hardly necessary to illustrate these objects before the final report on the necropolis is presented. From another tomb which the same men attacked were taken about twenty lamps of the ordinary Byzantine type and two fragments of ossuaries. The lamps are nearly all of the same pattern, ornamented with radiating lines; one has a "Maltese" cross, so-called, at the base of the spout, and another bears a copy of the same inscription as that on the lamp figured in the last report (January, 1904, p. 24).

The foregoing *résumé* is merely an outline of the work which it has been possible to accomplish during the 20 months that have elapsed since digging began. I have intentionally refrained from overloading it with details regarding such subjects as the classification of flints, beads, and other antiquities, the metrology of weights, the very difficult and elusive problem of the chronology of the three great city walls, and other branches of study for which material has been collected.

The three and a half months that remain I hope to devote, first, to cutting a trench across the western hill, which has not yet been tested at all; and, secondly, to as complete an examination as time allows of the burial-grounds whose locations are known. If, as I hope, the Imperial Ottoman Government will grant the year's extension that the law permits, I shall then be able to devote it entirely to continuing the trenching of the mound, without having to think of and to allow time for the tombs in the surrounding hills. I need not point out that the more men I am enabled to employ the faster will the work proceed, and the larger will be the proportion of the mound turned over.
