

SHEOL AND PRE-EXILIC PALESTINIAN  
BURIAL PRACTICES

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A Thesis  
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of the  
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of  
Master of Theology

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by  
T. Furman Hewitt

April 1965

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SHEOL AND PRE-EXILIC PALESTINIAN  
BURIAL PRACTICES

T. Furman Hewitt

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Date May 17, 1965

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227

THESES

T.H.M.

H497s

XEROX

TO  
MY PARENTS

From whom  
I have received both life  
and the inspiration  
for my Christian pilgrimage

## PREFACE

## PREFACE

The questioning of death, the wonder at what lies beyond our "fourscore and ten" years, is common to most men. Part of the fascination lies, of course, in seeing how men from different times and circumstances have interpreted their ultimate destiny. When, therefore, the opportunity presented itself to study in the area of Old Testament and Biblical Archaeology, I grew interested in bringing both these disciplines to bear on some aspect of the after-life.

One area stood out as presenting the greatest challenge--the study of pre-Exilic Palestinian burial practices. Little or nothing had been written about Iron Age burials in Palestine; therefore, it seemed to be the place where I might possibly make some small contribution. Study under Dr. Eric Rust in Old Testament Theology had aroused my interest in the subject of Sheol. It was only natural, then, for me to seek some relationship between theological concepts of the after-life, as we have them recorded in scripture, and burial practices during the pre-Exilic period.

Interest in this type of approach was further stimulated by my major professor, Dr. Joseph Callaway.

Three years of association with him has taught me to share his enthusiasm for relating the results of careful archaeological study to the field of biblical interpretation. His particular interest in Palestinian burial practices has proved most helpful at several points in the preparation of this dissertation.

In addition to Dr. Callaway, my thanks go to two other members of my committee: Dr. William Hull and Dr. Page Kelley. Like so many of my professors, they have been the embodiment of all that a Christian teacher and minister should be. Gratitude is also expressed to Mrs. Thomas Sherwood who proved to be an invaluable aide in the typing of this paper.

Of course, my prayerful thanks are offered for the gift of love which makes life so meaningful. My close friends at the seminary have accepted both the good and bad in me, thereby enriching my life. Miss Donna Williams, soon to become my wife, has, by her love and devotion, set me among those who "dream dreams" and "see visions." My parents have, through their love and sacrifice, provided me with more than a formal education--they have taught me, by word and example, how to love! To them I owe a debt I can never repay.

T. Furman Hewitt

Louisville, Kentucky  
April, 1965

## ABBREVIATIONS

<u>ADAJ</u>	Annual of the Department of Antiquities in Jordan
<u>AJIDA</u>	'Atiqot: Journal of the Israel Department of Antiquities
<u>BA</u>	The Biblical Archaeologist
<u>IEJ</u>	Israel Exploration Journal
<u>PEFA</u>	Palestine Exploration Fund Annual
<u>PEQ</u>	Palestine Exploration Quarterly
<u>QDAP</u>	Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine



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## INTRODUCTION

## INTRODUCTION

It has long been recognized that there is some intimate connection between the grave and the Hebrew concept of Sheol. Jacob could say, when he suspected that Joseph had been killed:

I will go down to Sheol to my son  
mourning. (Gen. 37:35)

Hezekiah is supposed to have written:

For Sheol cannot praise thee, death  
cannot celebrate thee:  
They that go down into the pit cannot  
hope for thy truth.  
The living, the living, he shall praise  
thee, as I do this day. (Is. 38:18-19)

But what, exactly, was the connection between the grave and Sheol? Were they identical? Many studies have been done on the subject of Sheol and the after-life in Hebrew thought.<sup>1</sup> Such studies have typically pondered

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. H. H. Rowley, The Faith of Israel (London: SCM Press, 1961), pp. 150-176; H. Wheeler Robinson, The Religious Ideas of the Old Testament (London: Duckworth, 1913), pp. 91-101; R. H. Charles, A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life: In Israel, in Judaism, and in Christianity (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1913); Johannes Pedersen, Israel: Its Life and Culture (4 vols.; London: Oxford University Press, 1946), I-II, 453-496; Norman H. Snaith, "Life After Death," Interpretation, I (1947), 309-324; F. W. Bassett, "Death and Post-Death in Hebrew Thought" (unpublished Th.M. dissertation, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1961); Ralph Doermann, "Sheol in the Old Testament" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Divinity School, Duke University, 1961); various Old Testament Theologies and Dictionaries of the Bible.

whether or not the Hebrews had any concept of either a real life after death or a resurrection. Or they may have dealt with the question of the type of existence lived by the shades in Sheol. Again, the point at issue may have been the question of who went to Sheol--the good or the evil?

The scope of this study lies in none of these directions. The author's sole purpose here is to examine Hebrew concepts of Sheol and the grave in the light of Palestinian burial practices during the Iron Age--that is, prior to the Babylonian Exile. Primarily, this is an archaeological study. Textual considerations will be limited to those which illustrate or clarify the material evidence of the Iron Age burials.

Of course, this study has limitations. There are fewer burials remaining from the Iron Age than any other period in Palestine. Even more important, they have not always been carefully excavated and reported. Because of this, the following investigation is something of a preliminary study. It will raise questions that could and should be dealt with further. Nevertheless, something is to be said for systematically outlining Palestinian burial practices as we know them today and using them to shed light on various aspects of the biblical concept of Sheol.

In order to do this, Chapter One will examine the

concept of Sheol in the Old Testament. An effort will be made to demonstrate how the biblical material ties Sheol to the grave both by description and by the use of parallel expressions. An attempt will also be made to isolate biblical material relating to a cult of the dead. The assumption here is that primitive conceptions of the after-life determine both the manner of burial and the various types of offerings given to the dead.

Chapter Two is a short study of Late Bronze Age and Philistine burial practices. The purpose is to set the context for a study of Hebrew and/or Canaanite practices during the Iron Age. The conclusion is that, except for tomb styling, there was little basic change in burial practices between the Canaanite dominated Late Bronze Age and the Hebrew dominated Iron Age!

Chapter Three, as would be expected, is the most extensive portion of this study. It is simply a systematic study of all the aspects of Palestinian burials during the Iron Age. Consideration will go only as far as necessary to illustrate the relevance of material evidence for understanding Hebrew conceptions of Sheol and the cult of the dead. It is hoped that more detailed work may be done in the future on such subjects as the use of lamps in tombs, the types and significance of figurines and libation vessels found in the tombs, and the meaning of the partially burned skeletons found at several locations.

Chapter Four, the conclusion, will sum up the meaning of the archaeological evidence as it relates to the concept of Sheol and the cult of the dead. Here it is enough to say that there seems to be no good way to distinguish Hebrew from Canaanite burials. The funerary equipment from the graves indicates a belief in some sort of existence after death, but the presence of so many cultic objects shows that popular conceptions of the after-life contained elements that were not purely Yahwistic.

Unless otherwise noted, all scripture passages refer to the American Standard Version of the Bible (1901).



CHAPTER I

SHEOL IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

## CHAPTER I

### SHEOL IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

#### A. Origin of the Sheol Concept

##### 1. Etymology of the word sheol

The etymology of the word שְׁאוֹל has been a constant source of debate, the intricacies of which would be out of place here. The most popular theory has been to derive the word from שָׁאַל ("to ask," "to demand"). This argument has been associated with Morris Jastrow, Karl Marti, T. H. Gaster and others.<sup>1</sup> Various explanations for this derivation are: (1) The root word seems to be the same; (2) The term sheol may refer to the practice of necromancy, the questioning and communication with the dead; (3) The word may have derived from the concept of the underworld as an insatiable monster demanding and getting all men.

A. B. Davidson and A. C. Knudson, among others, have derived the term from the root שָׁוַל ("to be hollow"),<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ralph Doermann, pp. 10-12.

<sup>2</sup>Robert G. Bratcher, "A Historical and Exegetical Study of ΑΙΔΗΣ, ΓΕ'ENNA and ΤΑ ΠΤΑΡΟΣ" (unpublished Th.D. dissertation, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1949), pp. 101-102.

while Ludwig Kohler derives Sheol from שְׁוֹל ("desolation") and Franz Delitzsch goes back to the biliteral root שָׁל ("sinking," or "depth").<sup>3</sup> Albright and others have tried to derive Sheol from various Sumerian and Accadian words, but without agreement or strong argument.<sup>4</sup>

A rather good argument has been made recently in a thesis by Ralph Doermann<sup>5</sup> for deriving Sheol from the word שָׁלוֹם ("to be quiet," "to be at ease"). This would give Sheol the primary meaning of a "place of rest." Doermann suggests that "the name is not connected with the location of the realm of the dead, but rather with the character of its occupants, who are primarily 'at rest.'"<sup>6</sup> In view of the close connection between Sheol and the grave, this seems to be a feasible explanation.

## 2. Development of Sheol out of the Grave

It has been claimed that the idea of Sheol was a later Yahwistic concept which was opposed to an older tradition, similar to primitive ancestor-worship. This older tradition granted the dead considerable self-consciousness, power to act and speak, and interest in

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<sup>3</sup>Doermann, pp. 12-32.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., cf. W. F. Albright, "The Etymology of Se'ol," American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures, XXXIV (1918), 209-210.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 34-37.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 37.

the affairs of this world.<sup>7</sup> R. H. Charles, who held this view, saw the formative influence on the Hebrew concept of Sheol as having come from the Babylonians.<sup>8</sup>

Others also see a Babylonian influence. H. W. Robinson says Sheol was "an outgrowth of the family grave, probably under the influence of Babylonian ideas." It was "a survival of the pre-Yahwistic beliefs of Israel. . . ."<sup>9</sup> Knudson says the Hebrew concept of Sheol was very similar to the Aralu of the Babylonian myths.<sup>10</sup>

The explanation that the concept of Sheol was an "official" doctrine designed about the eighth century to combat ancestor worship and the cult of the dead does not have too much support. It fails to explain why non-Israelite nations had similar concepts about the after-life.<sup>11</sup> Some have taken a rather different position--that

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<sup>7</sup>Cf. R. H. Charles, pp. 46ff. Charles, following Stade, contrasts the older view that the soul and spirit were identical in essence, though different in function, with the "later" view expressed in Genesis 2 and 3 to the effect that soul and spirit "differed alike in essence, origin and function." The latter trichotomy makes the soul the result of the indwelling of the spirit. At death, the withdrawal of the spirit (ruach) annihilates the soul, the personal element in man, leaving only the impersonal force of life found in the ruach.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 34.

<sup>9</sup>H. W. Robinson, pp. 92-93.

<sup>10</sup>A. C. Knudson, The Religious Teaching of the Old Testament (New York: Abingdon Press, 1918), p. 386.

<sup>11</sup>Cf. Doermann, pp. 259-260.

is, the concept of Sheol grew out of a cult of the dead.<sup>12</sup> While it is true that a cult of the dead was often bound up with primitive ideas of the after-life, such an overstatement is not necessary. It is enough to say that the conception of Sheol grew out of the primitive ideas of the tomb as the abode of the dead. "Sheol was originally conceived as a combination of the graves of the clan or nation, and as thus its final abode."<sup>13</sup> Gradually, this conception expanded until it universally took in all men. In a sense, Sheol was a "super grave," the final resting place of all mankind.<sup>14</sup> Pedersen's classic statement of this relationship still rings true.

Sheol is the entirety into which all graves are merged; but no more than the other entireties which fill the Israelitic world of ideas, it is the result of a summing up of all the single parts, so that Sheol should be the sum of the graves. All graves have certain common characteristics constituting the nature of the grave, and that is Sheol. The 'Ur'-grave we might call Sheol; it belongs deep down under the earth, but it manifests itself in every single grave. . . . Where there is grave, there is Sheol, and where there is Sheol, there is grave.<sup>15</sup>

Though this conception was "originally unconnected with the religion of Yahweh," it was soon "declared to be

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<sup>12</sup>Herbert Spenser, Joseph Halevy, and Bernhard Stade tried to account for the origin of Sheol in the same way as the origin of all religions--in an ancestor cult (Doermann, pp. 254ff.).

<sup>13</sup>Charles, p. 33; cf. Knudson, p. 386.

<sup>14</sup>Charles, p. 33.

<sup>15</sup>Johannes Pedersen, p. 462.

within his power."<sup>16</sup> Despite the fact that the concept arose out of a pagan eschatology, Yahwism eventually established a belief in "unbroken fellowship . . . beyond the grave."<sup>17</sup>

Evidence for the assertion that the primitive concept of Sheol grew out of the idea of the grave as the final resting place of mankind must now be examined. This will be done, first, by looking at certain synonyms for Sheol which also have the meaning of "grave." Second, biblical references to the characteristics of Sheol will be examined to see how they compare with the characteristics of the grave.

#### B. Sheol and the Grave

It has been suggested that the concept of Sheol grew out of the idea of the grave as the final resting place of all men. Does the Old Testament verify such an identification of the grave with Sheol? The translators of the King James Version apparently could not decide, for they rendered the word שְׁאוֹל as "hell" (thirty-one times), "grave" (thirty-one times) and "pit" (two times).<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>Doermann, p. 261; cf. Bratcher, p. 105.

<sup>17</sup>Doermann, p. 261; cf. H. H. Rowley, pp. 150-176.

<sup>18</sup>The editors of the RSV took the easy way out. Except for Ps. 88:12-13, they simply transliterated the word as "Sheol."

Though the grave and Sheol were not exactly identical--whether properly buried or not, all ended up in Sheol--it is still true that "the ideas of the grave and Sheol cannot be separated."<sup>19</sup>

To the Hebrews, as well as to the other people of the Near East, the individual grave was not an isolated world. To the contrary, the grave

forms a whole with the graves of the kinsmen who make a common world and are closely united. . . . Viewed from the world of light, all the deceased form a common realm, because they are essentially subjected to the same condition. . . . This common realm the Israelites call sh<sup>e</sup>ol or nether world.<sup>20</sup>

The easiest way to see the connection between Sheol and the grave is to examine the synonyms for Sheol and the way they are used to refer to the grave.<sup>21</sup> There are three prominent parallels to Sheol: 'Abaddon, "destruction"; shahath, "pit"; bor, "pit."

1. 'Abaddon

'Abaddon occurs six times in the Old Testament--only in the Wisdom Literature. Its basic meaning is

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<sup>19</sup>Pedersen, p. 461; cf. Num. 16:29f.; Gen. 47:30 and 37:35; Ezek. 32:19-32; Is. 14:9ff.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 460.

<sup>21</sup>Though the general word for "grave" in the Old Testament is קבר, Sheol could have had much the same meaning. "She'ol is used primarily in poetry, occurring only eight times in prose, out of a total of sixty-five passages" (Alexander Heidel, The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963], p. 175, n. 134).

derived from שָׁחַת, "to perish," "destroy," "die." In Job 26:6, it is used as a parallel to Sheol:<sup>22</sup>

Sheol is naked before God,  
And Abaddon hath no covering.

In Psalm 88:10-11, however, 'Abaddon is made parallel to the grave:

Wilt thou show wonders to the dead?  
Shall they that are deceased arise and  
praise thee?  
Shall thy lovingkindness be declared in  
the grave?  
Or thy faithfulness in Abaddon?

## 2. Shachath

Another synonym for Sheol is shachath, a word which is derived from שָׁחַת, meaning "to destroy," "to spoil," "to corrupt or ruin," although the word is occasionally translated as "pit" in the Revised Standard Version. The former seems more of the original meaning.<sup>23</sup> In Job 17:13-15, Doermann notes that "shachath appears to be descriptive of the grave as well as of Sheol."<sup>24</sup> Here its use parallel to "worm" makes it refer to the decaying process which takes place in the grave, while the context makes it a description of Sheol.

On the other hand, shachath is also used as a direct parallel to Sheol:

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<sup>22</sup>Cf. Proverbs 15:11, 27:20.

<sup>23</sup>Cf. Doermann, pp. 177-179.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 179.



For thou wilt not leave my soul to  
 Sheol;  
 Neither wilt thou suffer thy holy one  
 to see corruption. (Ps. 16:10)<sup>25</sup>

### 3. Bor

A third synonym for Sheol was bor ("pit," "cistern," or "well"). In regular use, bor indicated any hole or pit usually associated with water. Aside from its regular usage, it was used to designate a place of detention. Joseph was cast into a bor by his brothers (Gen. 37:20ff.), as was Jeremiah by his enemies (Jer. 38:6-13).<sup>26</sup> Of course, the idea of imprisonment was an important characterization of Sheol.<sup>27</sup>

Bor is made parallel to Sheol in Psalm 30:3.

O Jehovah, thou hast brought up my soul from  
 Sheol;  
 Thou hast kept me alive, that I should not  
 go down to the pit.

The comparison is also found in Psalm 88:3-4.<sup>28</sup>

For my soul is full of troubles,  
 And my life draweth nigh unto Sheol,  
 I am reckoned with them that go down  
 into the pit;  
 I am as a man that hath no help.

A clear reference is made to the bor as a grave

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<sup>25</sup>Cf. Jonah 2:2, 6.

<sup>26</sup>Cf. also Gen. 40:15, 41:14; Is. 24:22; Ex. 12:29; Lev. 36:11.

<sup>27</sup>Doermann, p. 177.

<sup>28</sup>Cf. also Proverbs 1:12; Is. 14:15, 38:18.

in Isaiah 14:18-20. The king of Babylon is told he will be buried in a battlefield grave, a mere pit covered with stones, rather than in his family sepulchre.

#### 4. Conclusion

It is obvious from the synonyms discussed above that Sheol was, to some extent, identified with the grave. Further examples could be cited. Psalm 141:7 could hardly refer to anything but the entrance of a tomb when it says:

As when one ploweth and cleaveth  
the earth,  
Our bones are scattered at the mouth  
of Sheol.

Isaiah 14:11 seems to refer to the corruption and decay of the body in the grave when it has the shades say to the king of Babylon:

Thy pomp is brought down to Sheol,  
and the noise of thy viols: the worm  
is spread under thee, and the worms  
cover thee.<sup>29</sup>

Doermann sums it up well:

Nearly all of the . . . descriptions of Sheol could be applied with equal accuracy to the grave. The synonyms bor, shachath and abaddon; the attributes of darkness, silence, dust and decay; the epithets "land of no-return," "land of forgetfulness," "house of all living"; and the ever present connection with death are all applicable to the tomb as well as to the netherworld.<sup>30</sup>

The relationship between Sheol and the grave does

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<sup>29</sup>Cf. Job 24:19-20 and 21:26.

<sup>30</sup>Doermann, p. 188.

not seem to warrant any view that the grave was considered as a passageway between earth and Sheol, a sort of "entrance" to the underworld. Jacob planned to see Joseph in Sheol even though he had no idea that Joseph's body had been buried (Gen. 37:33f.), while Samuel's ghost predicted that Saul and his sons would join him in Sheol the next day even though their bodies were not buried directly (I Sam. 28:19). Dathan and Abiram were received directly into Sheol when the earth opened and swallowed them.<sup>31</sup>

It is doubtful, of course, that the Hebrews ever felt the need to explain how the dead could be in Sheol and in the grave at the same time. As Lods observes:

Il faut reconnaître franchement que les idées de l'existence dans la tombe et de la vie au pays de morts sont des conceptions hétérogènes et que les Israélites ne se sont pas plus soignées de les mettre d'accord que les populations chrétiennes de nos pays ne se préoccupent de concilier les idées de résurrection, d'immortalité et même de survie dans le sépulcre.<sup>32</sup>

### C. Nature and Characteristics of Sheol and the Grave

If, to some extent, the idea of Sheol is linked to

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<sup>31</sup>H. W. Robinson says that the severity of this punishment "may consist not only in the sudden and spectacular death, but also in their entrance into Sheol with full living capacity to feel its deprivations, whereas the repha'im proper are no longer capable of feeling with the intensity of living men (Inspiration and Revelation In the Old Testament [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962], p. 97).

<sup>32</sup>A. Lods, La Croyance à la Vie Future, I, 207. Cited in Doermann, p. 191.

that of the grave, one would expect to find them described in very similar ways. This is, in fact, what is found in the Old Testament. The descriptions of Sheol and the grave (or its synonyms) are complementary both to each other and to the actual physical characteristics of Palestinian burials.

In this, Hebrew thought is very close to that of their Mesopotamian neighbors. The Babylonian story of Ishtar has a description of Aralu that parallels many of the characteristics of Sheol or the grave in Hebrew literature.

To the land whence there is no return, the  
land of darkness (?)  
Ishtar, the daughter of Sin, turned her mind,  
The daughter of Sin turned her mind;  
To the house of darkness, the dwelling of  
Irkalla,  
To the house whence no one issues who has  
entered it.  
To the road from which there is no return,  
when once it has been trodden.  
To the house whose inhabitants are deprived  
of light.  
The place where dust is their nourishment,  
their food clay.  
They have no light dwelling in darkness  
dense.<sup>33</sup>

In the Old Testament, the realm of the dead is described in terms that can also be used very easily to describe certain features of the grave. Besides being a "dwelling" for the dead, a place where some individual

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<sup>33</sup>Quoted in Robinson, Inspiration and Revelation  
... , p. 96.

identity remained, Sheol was also a place of darkness, silence and dust.

### 1. Darkness

A popular characteristic of the after-life in the Psalms and Job is that of darkness.

Thou hast laid me in the lowest pit (bor),  
In dark places, in the deeps.

· · · · ·  
Shall thy wonders be known in the dark?  
And thy righteousness in the land of  
forgetfulness? (Ps. 88:6, 12)

For the enemy hath persecuted my soul;  
He hath smitten my life down to the  
ground:  
He hath made me to dwell in dark places,  
as those that have been long dead. (Ps.  
143:3)

In the Song of Hannah, we read that the "wicked shall be cut off in darkness," (I Sam. 2:9) while Job 10:21-22 speaks of:

The land of darkness and of the shadow  
of death;  
The land dark as midnight [thick darkness],  
The land of the shadow of death, without  
any order,  
And where the light is as midnight [thick  
darkness].

Other passages also follow this theme of darkness.<sup>34</sup> Pedersen has noted that darkness is common to the "three non-worlds" (that is, the grave, the desert and the ocean) to such an extent that "the darkness

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<sup>34</sup>Cf. Job 17:13ff., 18:18; Ps. 49:20; Lam. 3:1-6.

actually became the characteristic term for the realm of the dead."<sup>35</sup> That the word "darkness" is an accurate description of most tombs hardly needs to be said. It will be seen that the presence of lamps in so many tombs indicates the dead needed some sort of illumination.

## 2. Silence

Silence was also a prevailing mood in the grave. This was true even though the shades could occasionally be presented as mocking a newcomer in their midst.<sup>36</sup> The worst thing about the silence of the after-life was not primarily the lack of communication with each other and the world, but it was the fact that the silence meant they were cut off from God.

Upon thee, O Jehovah, will I call;  
My rock, be not thou deaf unto me;  
Lest, if thou be silent unto me,  
I become like them that go down into  
the pit. (Ps. 28:1)<sup>37</sup>

## 3. Dust

Genesis 2:7 records the fact that mankind was made out of the "dust" of the ground. When a man enters

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<sup>35</sup>Pedersen, p. 464. Pedersen (p. 465) insists that light belongs to the world of the living and is "identical with blessing and peace, with righteousness and truth." Darkness, on the other hand, is identified with evil, "both as sin in the soul, and as unhappiness." The miserable or tragic day is also the dark day. Cf. Amos 5: 18, 20; 8:9 and Zeph. 1:15.

<sup>36</sup>Is. 14:3ff.

<sup>37</sup>Cf. Ps. 35:22.

the realm of Sheol, his body assumes its original form.<sup>38</sup>

Where then is my hope?  
 And as for my hope, who shall see it?  
 It shall go down to the bars of Sheol,  
 When once there is rest in the dust.  
 (Job 17:15-16)<sup>39</sup>

They lie down alike in the dust,  
 And the worm covereth them. (Job 21:26)

What profit is there in my blood when  
 I go down to the pit?  
 Shall the dust praise thee? Shall it  
 declare thy truth? (Ps. 30:9)<sup>40</sup>

#### 4. Dwelling place

The grave was to be, to some extent, the house of the dead. Two classic statements to this effect are found in Job.

For I know that thou wilt bring me  
 to death,  
 And to the house appointed for all  
 living. (Job 30:23)<sup>41</sup>

In these "dwellings the dead spread their couches (Job 17:13) and make their beds."<sup>42</sup> They "lie down" in the grave just as they might lie down in their homes.<sup>43</sup> Asa, king of Judah, is said to have been laid on a bed filled with spices (II Chron. 16:14). Perhaps this explains the practice of stretching the dead out on their backs as if

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<sup>38</sup>Gen. 3:19.      <sup>39</sup>Cf. Job 20:11.      <sup>40</sup>Cf. Ps. 22:15.

<sup>41</sup>Cf. Job 17:13; also see Proverbs 7:27 which parallels Sheol with the "chambers of death."

<sup>42</sup>Ps. 139:8; Is. 14:11.

<sup>43</sup>Cf. Ps. 88:5; Job 20:11, 21:26; Is. 43:17.

they were sleeping. If one was to "rest" in Sheol,<sup>44</sup> construction of the stone benches or "couches" typical of Iron Age graves was a logical step. According to Roland de Vaux, Genesis 46:4 contains an "allusion to the custom of closing the eyes of the dead; this almost universal custom is perhaps simply explained by the resemblance of death to sleep."<sup>45</sup> In the same fashion as a house, the grave or Sheol possessed "gates";<sup>46</sup> because of this, it was the land from which no one returned.<sup>47</sup>

## 5. Individuality

Despite the shadowy existence in Sheol, there are indications that the dead retained some measure of those things or characteristics which identified them in life. Samuel, for example, was recognized by Saul because of his mantle (I Sam. 28:14). Jacob planned to go to his grave in his "mourning apparel" (Gen. 37:35).<sup>48</sup> Jezebel must have seen some connection between existence in the grave and the way she left this world, for she paid

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<sup>44</sup>Job 17:13, 16.

<sup>45</sup>Ancient Israel, trans. John McHugh (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1961), p. 56.

<sup>46</sup>Is. 38:10; Job 38:17; Ps. 9:13, 107:18.

<sup>47</sup>Jonah 2:6.

<sup>48</sup>Robinson sees the use of the word avel here as meaning "garments" just as in II Sam. 14:2 (Inspiration and Revelation . . ., pp. 96-97).



careful attention to her appearance when she knew she was to die (II Kings 9:30ff.). Those who were warriors would, of course, carry the tools of their trade to the grave with them (Ez. 32:22ff.).

The above helps to explain why tombs from the Iron Age contain weapons, earrings, cosmetic tablets, clothing clasps, etc.--this was part of the personal identity of the dead.

#### D. Cult of the Dead

Another basic question remains to be answered: Is there in the Old Testament any evidence for a "cult of the dead"? What was the relation of the living to those who had gone on to Sheol? Could it be that the confusion between the two concepts of Sheol--(1) the grave, (2) the final abode of all mankind--and the tendency to treat them as interchangeable resulted in the persistence of a cult of the dead along side the orthodox belief about the after-life?

H. Wheeler Robinson follows Eichrodt and Jastrow in denying that there was any worship of the dead in Israel: "There is no evidence that the Hebrew ever believed in a disembodied entity capable of attracting worship."<sup>49</sup> Others, however, have insisted that there is too much evidence for a cult of the dead to discount it.

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<sup>49</sup>Ibid., p. 99.

Oesterley and Robinson<sup>50</sup> posit several lines of evidence for the practice of ancestor-worship among the Hebrews. For example, they list five ancestral burying-places which clearly achieved some status as sanctuaries: the graves of Sarah, Deborah, Joseph, Miriam and Rachel.<sup>51</sup> In addition to the sanctity of ancient burial sites, there is other biblical evidence which indicates some sort of cult of the dead. This does not, however, necessarily imply a "worship" of the dead. Acts of veneration and providing for the dead could also be regarded as a kind of "cult." The latter seems to be more typical of the Hebrews.

#### 1. Offerings to the dead

The only passage which seems to point to an offering made to the dead is in Deut. 26:14. With reference to the third year tithe, the worshiper is to pledge before Yahweh:

I have not eaten thereof in my mourning,  
neither have I put away thereof, being  
unclean, nor given thereof for the dead  
[ למֵת ].

A choice is presented. If we read "for the dead," the passage may refer to the funeral feast in which food

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<sup>50</sup>W. O. E. Oesterley and T. H. Robinson, Hebrew Religion (New York: Macmillan Co., 1930), pp. 59-61; cf. Knudson, pp. 386-388, and R. H. Charles, pp. 19ff.

<sup>51</sup>Cf. W. F. Albright, "The High Place in Ancient Palestine," Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, IV (1956), 242-258, for identification of bamah with funeral shrines as well as rustic sanctuaries.

was distributed in the name of the deceased. If, on the other hand, the passage reads "to the dead," it obviously refers to the practice of placing food in the tomb for the dead. The latter seems probable, for the custom of placing food on the graves survived.<sup>52</sup> It should be noted that, as a rule, the word [ן] used with ל means actually to give something to someone else. Nine times in Deuteronomy 26:1-15, for example, this construction refers to a gift given directly to another party.

## 2. Funeral feasts

The existence of funeral feasts is well attested in texts referring to the "bread of mourning."

Both great and small shall die in this land; and they shall not be buried, neither shall men lament for them, nor cut themselves, nor make themselves bald for them; neither shall men break bread for them in mourning, to comfort them for the dead; neither shall men give them the cup of consolation to drink for their father or for their mother. (Jer. 16:6-7)<sup>53</sup>

Apparently, it was customary, at least early in Israel's history, for friends of the mourners to comfort and urge food upon the bereaved. This was seemingly the function of the elders who visited David while he grieved

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<sup>52</sup>Cf. Sirach 30:18 and Tobit 4:17, which refer to the placing of food on the tombs of the righteous; cf. also Charles, p. 25 and S. R. Driver, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1895), pp. 291-292.

<sup>53</sup>Cf. Ezek. 24:17 and Is. 65:3ff.

over the illness of Bathsheba's first child (II Sam. 12:16-17).<sup>54</sup>

### 3. Necromancy

Consultation with the spirits of the dead seems to have been a wide-spread practice if the number of prohibitions against it mean anything.

There shall not be found with thee any one that . . . practiseth augury or an enchanter, or a sorcerer, or a charmer, or a consulter with a familiar spirit, or a wizard, or a necromancer. (Deut. 18:10-11)<sup>55</sup>

That the belief in the power of the ancestor hung on in spite of official Yahwism may be seen in the fact that Saul, the very man who ordered those having "familiar spirits" out of the land, was quick to visit such a person (secretly!) when Yahweh failed to provide answers by the normal cultic means--dreams, the Urim and the prophets.<sup>56</sup>

### 4. Burnings for the dead

There are three references in the Old Testament to burnings for deceased kings,<sup>57</sup> but "there is no evidence at all that these 'burnings' were sacrifices for

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<sup>54</sup>Cf. II Sam. 3:31-36, the account of David's mourning for Abner.

<sup>55</sup>Cf. Is. 8:19; Lev. 19:31, 20:6, 20:27.

<sup>56</sup>I Sam. 28:3-7.

<sup>57</sup>II Chron. 16:14, 21:19; Jer. 34:5.

the dead. . . ."58 Quite likely, they were just unusual ways for giving honor to the dead kings.

## 5. Cremations

There seems to be very little evidence that cremation was ever a regular practice among the Hebrews or that it played a part in their veneration of the dead. Honorable cremations are mentioned only twice, and both cases are unusual. In I Samuel 31:12 mention is made of the burning of the bodies of Saul and Jonathan to prevent their falling into the hands of the Philistines. Amos 6:10 seems to refer to measures taken during a time of plague. Burning is mentioned as a punishment in five texts,<sup>59</sup> but only in Joshua 7:15, 25 and II Kings 23:20 is it clearly stated that death took place prior to the burning. In Joshua 7, Achan and his family were stoned to death. In the other instances, the burning could be the means of execution.

Burning human beings as part of a sacrifice is condemned,<sup>60</sup> but this is not specifically related to the problem of whether the Hebrews did or did not cremate bodies. The prophets certainly did not approve of such

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<sup>58</sup>Heidel, p. 68.

<sup>59</sup>Gen. 38:24; Lev. 20:14, 21:9; Joshua 7:15, 25; II Kings 23:20.

<sup>60</sup>II Kings 17:31, 21:6; Jer. 7:31, 19:5.

practices, for Amos 2:1 says that Yahweh was outraged against the Moabites because they "burned the bones of the king of Edom into lime." If cremations, or partial cremations, were practiced by the people, it was in violation of orthodox Yahwism.

#### 6. Use of household gods

The use of the teraphim is attested to in early Hebrew tradition in the story of the gods stolen by Rachel (Gen. 31:19ff.) and later hidden under the oak at Shechem (Gen. 34:2-4). These teraphim were probably made in a human form at first, though the size could vary.<sup>61</sup> The story of Micah and his house full of teraphim (Judges 17-18) illustrates the ease with which the Hebrews brought the use of images into the worship of Yahweh. In Hosea 3:4, the teraphim are mentioned as being used in divination; in the passage, the teraphim are paralleled with the ephod.<sup>62</sup>

As the following study will indicate, the presence of figurines and amulets in the tombs seems to be a carry-over from the ancient practice of keeping household teraphim. Of course, those on the frontier would be more

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<sup>61</sup>According to I Sam. 19:13ff., Michal was able to fool Saul into thinking David was sick by placing the household teraphim in the bed in David's place.

<sup>62</sup>Hosea 3:4 does not necessarily voice approval of the use of the teraphim.

likely to be influenced by such practices than those closer to the seats of orthodoxy. The point is that the Hebrews never seemed able to rid themselves of devotion to deities other than Yahweh. The Old Testament hints to this fact; the remains of cities and tombs substantiate it.

CHAPTER II

LATE BRONZE AND PHILISTINE  
BURIAL PRACTICES



## CHAPTER II

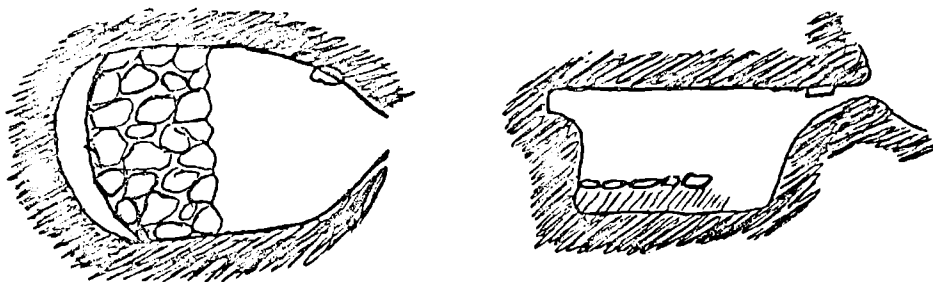
### LATE BRONZE AND PHILISTINE BURIAL PRACTICES

Burial practices of the Iron Age, if they are to be understood, must be studied in the light of what came before, for the Hebrews could not have helped being influenced one way or the other by customs and ideas predominant in their new home. While an exhaustive examination of Late Bronze and Philistine burials would be beyond the scope of this investigation, some mention needs to be made of this period. The burials under consideration here were chosen because, from the materials available, they best represent the typical practices of their respective periods.

#### A. Late Bronze Age Burial Practices

Burial practices of the Late Bronze Age may be illustrated by the tombs found at Gezer, Beth-Shemesh, Tell Abu Hawam and Tell Jerishe. For example, Tomb 252 at Gezer was located one and one third miles to the east of the tell. It consisted of a cave (25 feet long, 16 feet wide and 10 feet high) which had a pavement of large stones covering the inner half of the chamber.

A two foot shelf was cut in the upper rear of the cave.<sup>1</sup>



Pottery from the tomb<sup>2</sup> included bowls, lamps, "bilbil" water-jars, jugs, miniature pyxides, and Mycenaean ware typical of the Late Bronze Age. Personal items included pins, bracelets, beads, scarabs, a bronze knife, and a bronze spearhead. No specifically cultic objects were found!

From the East Grotto at Beth-Shemesh came another Late Bronze burial.<sup>3</sup> Although no description was given, the tomb was apparently a large natural cave. Pottery taken from the site<sup>4</sup> included lamps, juglets, miniature pyxides, large two-handled basins, imitation Cypriote "bilbils," and a "pedestalled bowl" which the excavator

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<sup>1</sup>R. A. S. Macalister, The Excavation of Gezer (3 vols.; London: John Murray, 1912), I, 389, and III, Pl. CXXI.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., III, Plates CXXI-CXXII.

<sup>3</sup>Duncan Mackenzie, "The Tombs of Beth-Shemesh," PEFA, No. 2 (1912-13), 46-51.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., Pl. XX; there was no systematic listing of pottery finds in the report.

considered to be the prototype of later libation chalices.<sup>5</sup> Of particular interest was the remains of a donkey figurine carrying a pair of water-vessels on each side of his back. The vessels on the right side were preserved; each had a hole connecting it with the interior of the donkey figurine. Mackenzie notes that the figure thus "comes under the class of libation vases. The sepuchral meaning of the object may be the magical one of assuring water to the soul in the other world."<sup>6</sup>

Tell Abu Hawam, an ancient port at the mouth of the Qishon River, is located near the present city of Haifa. The eleven graves excavated from the city's cemetery can be dated by comparing the contents with Temples II and II at Lachish and Stratum VIII at Megiddo. Mycenaean pottery and an abundance of "base-ring" ware point to a date around the fourteenth century.<sup>7</sup>

The orientation of the bodies in these single graves did not follow any particular pattern. All of the skeletons, with the exception of double burial 6-7, had been placed on their backs, legs extended, hands either crossed or close together on the chest.<sup>8</sup> The exception, burial 6-7, contained two bodies placed one above the

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 47.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 49.

<sup>7</sup>E. Anati, "Excavations at the Cemetery of Tell Abu Hawam," AJIDA, II (1959), 98-99.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 93.

other and locked in an embrace. The upper skeleton (a woman) lay with its pelvic bones above those of the lower (an older man) and its legs between those of the lower.<sup>9</sup> This burial reminds one of the practice alluded to in I Kings 1:1-4. Here a young virgin was sought to warm the aged and chilled David by lying upon his bosom.

The funerary equipment of these single graves did not vary too much from burial to burial. In each tomb, generally near the legs, were two or three jars containing a dipper juglet and covered with an inverted bowl. With one exception, each grave contained one or two shallow bowls. A few goat bones were said to be found in a bowl in Grave 2.<sup>10</sup> This most likely was a food offering for the dead. No weapons at all were found in any of the graves, but Grave 9 revealed three spindle whorls, thus designating a woman's grave.<sup>11</sup> Grave 2 turned up a bronze cup with eight small pebbles (four white and four dark) which may have been either a game or a divination instrument.<sup>12</sup>

Objects were also found above the graves at Tell Abu Hawam. Lamps were found above three graves, cooking-pots were found over two graves, and a "wall-bracket" was found above the double burial 6-7. This "bracket," similar

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 94.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 95.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 94.

to those found at Ugarit, Mycenae and Megiddo, was too small to hold a normal lamp. Perhaps it contained some sort of figurine associated with a religious ritual.<sup>13</sup> At any rate, it is difficult to attribute the objects' positions to mere chance. "It would appear that after the individual grave had been covered with soil, a lamp was placed upon it, and sometimes a bowl or some other small objects were placed nearby."<sup>14</sup>

Another interesting Late Bronze burial came from Tell Jerishe, about five kilometers northeast of Jaffa. The circular chamber, about three meters in diameter, contained only one or two burials. The presence of weights and scale pans plus the lack of any weapons indicates the tomb of a tradesman.<sup>15</sup> In addition to the typical pottery, scarabs, lamps, etc., the tomb contained one chalice and four "Cypriote bowls" with smoke marks indicating they had been used for cooking.<sup>16</sup> Also in the tomb was a large storage jar which contained, according to chemical analysis, organic matter in the form of carbonized deposits.<sup>17</sup> The implication is, of course, that the jar originally contained food deposits for the deceased.

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<sup>13</sup>Ibid., pp. 95-96.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 96.

<sup>15</sup>J. Ory, "A Late Bronze Age Tomb at Tell Jerishe," QDAP, X (1944), 56.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., pp. 56-57.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 56.

By way of summary, it will be noted that both single and multiple burials were found in the Late Bronze Age. Funeral deposits within the tombs included everyday pottery such as bowls, lamps and jugs, and personal items such as pins, scarabs, scale pans and weights. Cultic items were not so numerous, but were present in the form of libation vases and a "wall-bracket." The objects placed over the graves at Tell Abu Hawam and the food deposits from Tell Jerishe and Tell Abu Hawam indicate some form of cult for the dead.

#### B. Philistine Burial Practices

Part of the transition from the Late Bronze to the Iron Age in Palestine involves the Philistines, the sea people who came from the Aegean islands and settled in Palestine at the beginning of the twelfth century.<sup>18</sup> Philistine burials, characterized by the use of slipper-shaped clay coffins, have been found in Lachish, Beth Shan and Tell Farah.<sup>19</sup> The coffins from these tombs had movable lids with facial features, arms and hands moulded upon them. Though inferior in make and tainted by foreign influences, they seem to be imitations of the Egyptian anthropoid coffins used since the Middle Kingdom. The

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<sup>18</sup>Trude Dothan, "Archaeological Reflections on the Philistine Problem," Antiquity and Survival, II, Nos. 2 and 3 (1957), 151.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 154.

coffins' features can be distinguished as either male or female. That the coffins are to be connected with the Philistines is shown by the fact that the "male" coffins featured a peculiar headdress almost exactly like the feather crown pictured on the Philistines in the drawing of a naval battle between the Egyptians and the "Sea People" in the temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu.<sup>20</sup>

At both Beth Shan and at Tell el Fara' (Beth Pelet) these coffins were found in rectangular tombs which were to become characteristic of the Iron Age. At Beth-Pelet, five of these large, rectangular tombs were cut in a line, almost equidistant from each other.<sup>21</sup> Their similarity of design, the presence of typical Philistine pottery and the preservation of two Philistine coffins within the tombs marks them as definitely Philistine in origin. The tombs contained the usual pottery, large storage jars, chalices, scarabs and lamps. The real significance of the tombs, however, lies in their construction, for these rectangular tombs with their benches and bone repositories were the prototype of many later Iron Age tombs.<sup>22</sup> The

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid., pp. 156-157; cf. also G. E. Wright, "Philistine Coffins and Mercenaries," BA, Vol. 22, No. 3 (Sept., 1959), 54-66.

<sup>21</sup>Flinders Petrie, Beth-Pelet (2 vols.; London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1930), I, 7.

<sup>22</sup>Cf. Appendix O for a diagram of a Philistine tomb from Beth-Pelet.

entrance to each of these Philistine tombs was by way of a series of steps. Benches for the placement of burials were found on either side of the tombs, though Tomb 532 had a bench across the rear also. Repositories for reburials were found at the rear of two of the Beth-Pelet tombs--Tombs 542 and 552. Both repositories were rectangular; the repository in Tomb 542 was equipped with benches on both sides just as was the main chamber.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>Petrie, Pl. XIX.



CHAPTER III

BURIAL PRACTICES IN THE IRON AGE

## CHAPTER III

### BURIAL PRACTICES IN THE IRON AGE

#### A. Construction of the Tombs

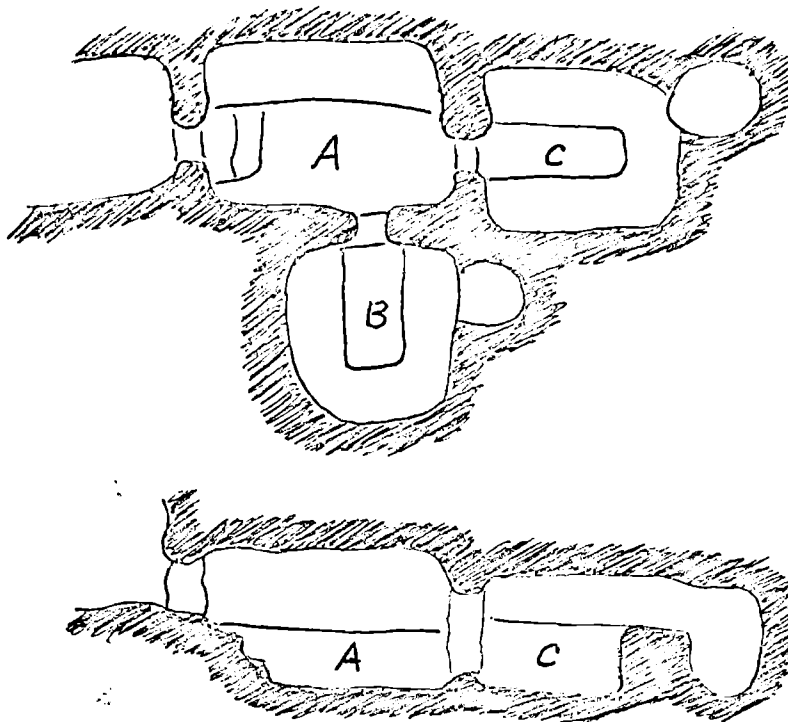
##### 1. Tomb styles

The first thing that comes to mind in dealing with Iron Age burials is the shape of the tomb or grave itself. Reference to the chart in Appendix A will indicate that the tombs fall, with some exceptions, into two main styles: the single grave and the single-chambered, rock-cut tomb.

a) Triple-chambered tombs.--The exceptions to the above rule will be considered first. One of the more popular multiple burial styles outside of the single-chambered tomb was the triple-chambered tomb. Some of these were carefully hewn chambers that included the refinements of stone benches (for the bodies) and repositories for the relocation of old burials. An excellent example of this style is to be found in Tomb 106 at Lachish:<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Olga Tufnell, Lachish III: The Iron Age (Text) (London: Oxford University Press, 1953), p. 180. Hereafter to be referred to as Lachish III (T).



Similar carefully cut tombs can be found at Megiddo, Tomb 1090,<sup>2</sup> and Gezer, Tomb 96,<sup>3</sup> though the latter seems to have been the adaptation of a circular cave.

Other three-chambered tombs were very irregular adaptations of natural caves made by adding one or two chambers. A perfect example is Tomb 1 at Beth-Shemesh,<sup>4</sup> which had no burial benches and was certainly not

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<sup>2</sup>P. L. O. Guy, Megiddo Tombs (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), p. 124.

<sup>3</sup>R. A. S. Macalister, The Excavation of Gezer (3 vols.; London: John Murray, 1912), III, Pl. LIX.

<sup>4</sup>Duncan Mackenzie, "The Tombs of Beth-Shemesh," PEFA, No. 2 (1912-13), Pl. IV.

rectangular.<sup>5</sup> Some tombs appear to be reused Bronze Age tombs which have been adapted.<sup>6</sup> The inhabitants of Megiddo had a particular fondness for reusing Bronze Age tombs.<sup>7</sup> Particular mention might be made of Tombs 39 and 221 which were reused "shaft tombs"--one with two and one with four chambers.<sup>8</sup>

The triple-chambered tomb at Ez-Zahiriyye stands in a class by itself.<sup>9</sup> This tomb is generally rectangular, but the two side chambers are raised considerably above the floor level of the main chamber. In some ways it is a prototype of the tombs which came into fashion during the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

b) "Oval-shaped" tombs.--Another irregular tomb style is the "oval" shaped, rock-cut cave used for Lachish Tombs 224 and 230.<sup>10</sup> Another irregular tomb at Lachish, Tomb 1002, was a pit cut in the limestone and used as an

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<sup>5</sup>Cf. Tombs 32 and 54 at Tell en-Nasbeh (Chester C. McCown, Tell en-Nasbeh [2 vols.; New Haven: The Palestine Institute of Pacific School of Religion and The American Schools of Oriental Research, 1947], I, 77 and 82).

<sup>6</sup>Cf. Lachish, Tombs 218 and 223 (Tufnell, Lachish III (T), pp. 204 and 212).

<sup>7</sup>Guy, p. 142.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., pp. 117-119 and 121-125.

<sup>9</sup>D. C. Baramki, "An Early Iron Age Tomb at Ez Zahiriyye," QDAP, IV (1935), 109.

<sup>10</sup>Tufnell, Lachish III (T), pp. 215 and 218. The excavators' reports, though sketchy, indicate that both of these tombs were originally hewn during the Bronze Age.

"ossuary" burial.<sup>11</sup> Part of the contents of the tomb were burned even though there was no fire layer in the tomb itself. This seems to indicate a secondary burial spot, for the bones were affected by fire before they were reburied. Whether the burning was accidental is another question. Tomb 1002 is very similar in style to Tomb 1 at 'Ain Shems (Beth-Shemesh).<sup>12</sup> At Beth-Pelet, Tomb 201 turned out to be simply a rectangular pit, lined with stones and covered by great limestone slabs, containing over one hundred burials.<sup>13</sup>

c) Jar burials.--Before going on to the two normal tomb styles, mention should be made of the two examples of "jar" burials during the Iron Age. These burials were found at both Beth-Pelet and at Meggido. In Beth-Pelet Cemetery 200 there was a group of individual jar burials containing partly charred human bones.<sup>14</sup> Iron was present in these burials in the form of a bracelet from Jar 223 and arrowheads from 262. The large jars in which the burials were found usually contained two or three small pots also. The burial urn was then often covered with a flat dish.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 229.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

<sup>13</sup>Olga Tufnell, "Burials in Cemeteries 100 and 200," Beth-Pelet, ed. Flinders Petrie (2 vols.; London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1930), I, 11.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 12. The author never gave the exact number of burials in Cemetery 200.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 13.

The other jar burial was found at Megiddo in Tomb 37C-2. Here the bones of an infant were found inside a large jar buried in an irregular hole. In this case, however, nothing was found in the jar with the bones except four bronze bracelets and some beads.<sup>16</sup>

d) Single graves.--As has been mentioned, the two most popular tomb styles were the single grave and the single-chambered tomb. As far as present evidence indicates, however, the use of the single grave was popular in some areas but not in others. Only at Lachish and Megiddo can single graves from the Iron Age definitely be located.

At Lachish there were twenty-six graves oriented north-south and ten oriented east-west. For some reason, the orientation of the grave coincides with the style of the grave:

FIG. A

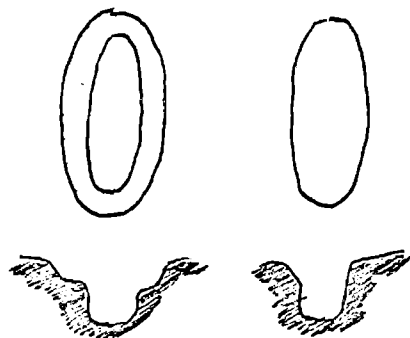


FIG. B




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<sup>16</sup>Guy, p. 79.

The graves oriented north-south were all simple trenches (Fig. A), sometimes with a step on each side.<sup>17</sup> Those graves which were oriented east-west (Fig. B) were in the shape of a trench with an undercut chamber along the bottom of one side. After burial, the chamber was walled up with stones before the trench was filled.<sup>18</sup> Within these graves the body was always stretched out on its back, but the orientation of the head varied so much that any particular significance was lost.<sup>19</sup>

e) Single-chambered tombs.--The single-chambered tomb was quite popular throughout the Palestinian area, both in Transjordan and in Cisjordan. The similarity between these tombs is usually rather easy to spot. The typical rock-cut chamber is rectangular in shape with low stone benches around two or three sides of the chamber. These benches may either be carved out of the natural rock or they may be built up out of large stones.<sup>20</sup> The former is the more typical. Twenty-one examples of this tomb style have been definitely located. Tomb 2 at Beth-Shemesh will serve as a typical example of this type of construction.

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<sup>17</sup>Tufnell, Lachish III (T), p. 172. The excavators date these tombs in the late 10th and early 9th centuries.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 174.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., pp. 171 and 174.

<sup>20</sup>Cf. Tomb 3 at Beth-Shemesh (Mackenzie, Pl. VI).

Tombs very much like Tomb 2 at Beth-Shemesh are: Beth-Shemesh 3, 4 and 8; Gezer 142 and 150; Tell en-Nasbeh 3 and 5.<sup>21</sup>

In addition to the benches on which the bodies and objects were placed, one of the features of these tombs was the repository put at the end of the chamber. Ten of the twenty-one single-chambered tombs had this feature. The fact that these pits contained objects, pottery and bones seems to indicate that these were ossuary pits where the remains of old burials were placed when the tomb was needed again.

There were, of course, variations of the above style. Tomb 7 at Beth-Shemesh, for example, was a rectangular chamber with benches on either side, but not at the rear. In this situation, the side benches were extended to make double the amount of room.<sup>22</sup> Tomb 6 at Beth-Shemesh was actually two tombs with the same entrance. The first chamber had only a short, unfinished bench on the right side, while the chamber opening off to the left had the regulation three benches.<sup>23</sup>

The entrance to these rock-cut tombs was generally by way of a small, window-like opening barely big enough to pass a body through. This opening would be plugged by

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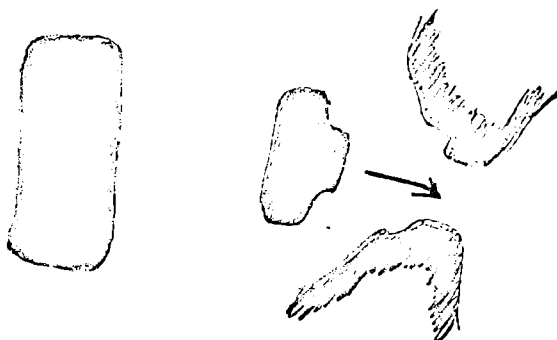
<sup>21</sup>Cf. Appendix D.

<sup>22</sup>Mackenzie, p. 80.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., pp. 77-78.



rocks or, in some cases, by carefully cut stoppers. In the latter case, the door frame was rebated in order to fit closely the stone slab assigned to it. A second block of stone was then propped or rolled against the door in order to keep it in place.<sup>24</sup>



Inside the tombs a series of one to three steps led to the floor level. The height of the interior varied from tomb to tomb, but the average was about five feet.<sup>25</sup> A tomb from Sahab had ten steps instead of the usual two or three entering the tomb. In addition, the Sahab tomb had a chimney-like construction over the single bench within the tomb.<sup>26</sup> The "chimney" construction is paralleled by that found in Tomb 2 at Beth-Shemesh.<sup>27</sup> The use for

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<sup>24</sup>Cf. ibid., p. 64.

<sup>25</sup>Though excavation reports did not always give exact measurements, Beth-Shemesh, Tomb 2, would be rather typical. It measured almost exactly five feet from the lower floor to the ceiling (Mackenzie, p. 64).

<sup>26</sup>Lankester Harding, "An Iron Age Tomb at Sahab," QDAP, XIII (1948), 94.

<sup>27</sup>Cf. Appendix D.

which these shafts were intended is still a mystery. Were they simply air shafts or were they a connection of the outside world with the world of the dead? Were they smoke outlets for a crematorium, or were they constructed at a time when the tombs were used as dwellings? No traces of burning were found in either of these tombs; but, without more evidence, an answer cannot be found.

Mention has already been made of rectangular Philistine tombs containing burial benches and repositories for old burials. Because this type of tomb first appears in Palestine with the Philistines, it seems likely that this was a custom which the Hebrews picked up from their neighbors along the coast.

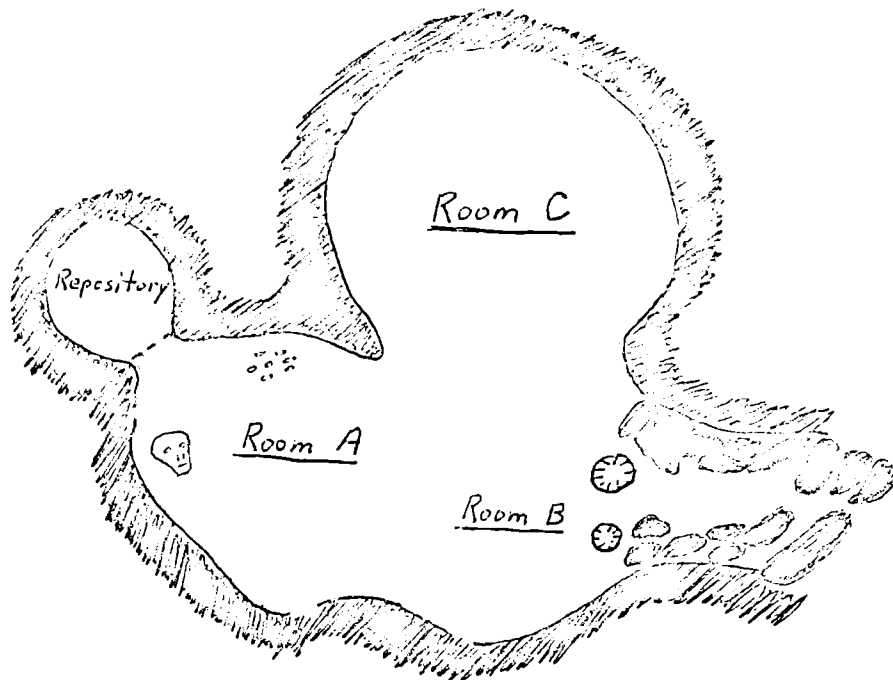
## 2. Reused tombs

Mention has been made of tombs which had been reused from the Bronze Age. Tombs 218, 223 and 230 at Lachish are good examples of this practice. In Tomb 218, for example, the circular repository off "room A" contained Middle and Late Bronze sherds "which had presumably been cleared from the rooms to make way for later interments."<sup>28</sup> The style of the tomb is so crude and unimaginative that it could belong to almost any period. The repository is the only typical Iron Age construction in the whole tomb.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup>Tufnell, Lachish III (T), pp. 203-204.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 204, fig. 25.



Tomb 223 at Lachish was originally an irregular three-chambered tomb from the Bronze Age (an adaptation of the "shaft" tomb) which was altered in the Iron Age by adding a repository to the rear of the far chamber and by adding a rough wall between Room C and Rooms A and B. This was done when a shaft was sunk in the floor of Room C in order to give access to Tomb 230 below.<sup>30</sup> Tomb 230 was, in itself, an oval chamber with its original entrance blocked off.

All of the above were roughly hewn tombs or caves which could be used anytime. At Megiddo, however, Tombs 221 and 39 were clear examples of "shaft" tombs which had been reused--apparently without alteration. Tomb 221

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<sup>30</sup>Ibid., pp. 211-212, fig. 27.

originally had four chambers and was entered by way of a shaft and steps.<sup>31</sup> Tomb 39 was a Bronze Age "shaft" tomb with two irregular chambers.<sup>32</sup> One must be careful not to dismiss these reused tombs as "poor men's tombs"; Tomb 39 contained, among other things: three sheets of thin gold, bone inlay, an ivory comb, rings, amulets, beads, and bronze arrowheads and nails.<sup>33</sup>

### 3. Repositories and ossuary burials

Repositories were an integral part of many of the single-chambered tombs during the Iron Age. In addition to the single-chambered tombs, the people of Lachish dug repositories in Tombs 106, 218 and 223. The last two were reused tombs, but Tomb 106 was a unique combination of triple-chambered construction with the low burial benches common in the single-chambered tombs of the Iron Age. In this case, the two inner chambers had both benches and repositories.

The construction of repositories, which seems to have started during the Iron Age, survived as far down as Hasmonean times. L. Y. Rahamani, reporting on a Hasmonean-Herodian tomb on Shahin Hill near Jerusalem, pointed out that during the Hasmonean period the tomb was provided with a chamber for the bones and furnishings of

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<sup>31</sup>Guy, p. 122.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. 117.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., Plates 164-168.

former burials. Later on, perhaps during the Herodian period, "reburial into ossuaries replaced the use of the 'bone chamber,' which was probably never opened again."<sup>34</sup>

It is difficult to say whether or not whole graves were used as ossuary burials as a matter of regular practice. Only two mass burial sites have been recovered--both at Lachish. Tomb 120 at Lachish contained over 1500 bodies deposited during the seventh century. Collapse of the roof left the rectangular chamber easily accessible. Into this ready-made pit were piled both human and animal (mostly pig) remains. Everything was a jumbled mess; no skulls were in articulation with their bodies.<sup>35</sup> It seems likely that this burial may represent the clean-up campaign of the Assyrians after their capture of the city in 701 B.C.<sup>36</sup>

Tomb 1002 at Lachish does not present quite the same picture. Here the change in pottery styles between the lower and upper layers within the tomb indicates that the contents were "deposited over a considerable period of time." The strange thing about this tomb is that part of the contents were burned. Three skulls were blackened and partially destroyed by fire; burnt patches are said to have

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<sup>34</sup>L. Y. Rahmani, "A Jewish Tomb on Shakin Hill, Jerusalem," IEJ, VIII (1958), 105.

<sup>35</sup>Tufnell, Lachish III (T), p. 193.

<sup>36</sup>The large number of pig bones suggests the presence of a foreign element in Lachish. Perhaps pork was a staple in the diet of the Assyrian army.

appeared on many vessels. There was, however, no indication of a burnt layer in the tomb itself!<sup>37</sup> The answer seems to be that these deposits were secondary burials, many of which were affected by fire before they were buried or reburied here.<sup>38</sup> Whether these bodies were deliberately burned cannot be determined. It is significant, however, that the pottery and objects discovered with these burials are the same as those found with more normal burials.

The charred bones found in the "jar burials" at Beth-Pelet, Cemetery 200, add an even greater element of mystery to the question of cremations in the Iron Age.<sup>39</sup> As we have seen, the Old Testament did not look favorably upon the practice of cremating bodies. The presence of the charred bones and skulls in the tombs examined above could represent either the burial of a criminal (the burning then being a form of punishment), or the presence of an element within the Hebrew culture which regularly burned the bones of its dead. The charred bones in the jar burials at Beth-Pelet point to the latter possibility.

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<sup>37</sup>Tufnell, Lachish III (T), p. 229.

<sup>38</sup>Cf. also Tombs 107, 108, 116 and 117 at Lachish.

<sup>39</sup>The fact that cremations were a characteristic of one period in the Early Bronze (Proto-Urban) Age has been well established. Tomb 2 (I) at Gezer and Tomb A 94 from Jericho both attest to this practice (Joseph A. Callaway, "The Gezer Crematorium Re-Examined," PEQ, Vol. 94 [1962], 104-117).

The apparently large number of burials indicates a considerable segment of the population which habitually buried its dead in the same way.

B. Position of the Body

1. Single burials

In the single burials considered here, the bodies were, with one exception, completely stretched out on the back, arm at the side or crossed over the body. The one exception is Grave 194 at Lachish where the body was laid to rest with the knees flexed and the arms flung out.<sup>40</sup> Objects found with the body (a bracelet, a "scaraboid," and a bead) indicate that the burial was that of a woman. If it were not for the fact that Graves 110, 147 and 189 at Lachish also appear to be female burials, it would be tempting to attribute the flexed knee position to some specific feminine function--for example, childbirth. The other female burials, however, are in the normal recumbent position. The exception remains a mystery.

The orientation of the body in these graves--whether to the north, south, east or west--seems to be of no importance in those graves where the position of the body can be determined. Of the thirty six graves at Lachish, six had heads to the north, four had heads to the

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<sup>40</sup>Tufnell, Lachish III (T), p. 200.

south, four to the west and two to the east.<sup>41</sup>

## 2. Multiple burials

Of the multiple burials, only two have any value as far as examining body positions is concerned. For the rest, mass burials and the deterioration of bones have rendered them inconclusive. At Lachish, however, Tombs 521 and 6006 have remained sealed, thus preserving their original state.

Tomb 521 was a rectangular rock-cut chamber, entered by a shaft from the east side. The entrance was only about 60 cm. in diameter. Within the chamber there was a bench about one meter wide along the north wall and a narrow ledge along the south wall. On the bench to the north there were two skeletons, one of which had originally been placed above the other, heads to the west. The upper skeleton was that of an adult male; the smaller skeleton beneath it was not preserved adequately enough to analyze. The body of the male had shifted so close to the edge that one of his legs hung down off the bench.<sup>42</sup> There was nothing on the ledge on the south side, but two additional

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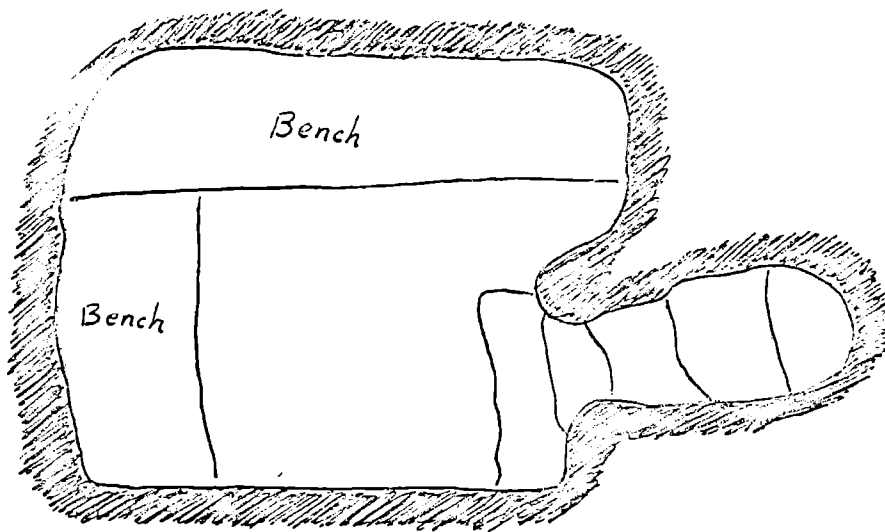
<sup>41</sup>Ibid., p. 171.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., p. 222; cf. Plate 8:1, 2 in Olga Tufnell, Lachish III: The Iron Age (Plates) (London: Oxford University Press, 1953), hereafter cited as Lachish III (P). The positioning of one body above another is reminiscent of burials 6-7 at Tell Abu Hawam in the Late Bronze Age; cf. supra, Chap. II.



skeletons were found on the floor at the end of the chamber. These skeletons were not disturbed; if they were moved to make room for the bodies on the bench, "the removal must have been carefully done while the bones were still in articulation. . . ." <sup>43</sup> The other option to the above suggestion is that the bodies were placed in this position deliberately either before or after the bench burials. Perhaps they were servants or lower ranking members of the family.

The other sealed tomb from Lachish was Tomb 6006, a roughly rectangular, rock-cut tomb with benches on the right and at the rear. <sup>44</sup>



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<sup>43</sup>Tufnell, Lachish III (T), p. 222.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., p. 247.

The two burials within the tomb were undisturbed, the approach to the door being neatly packed with stones.<sup>45</sup> A female was laid out on the bench at the far end of the room--head to the north, face up and body extended. Four flasks were by the head and a scarab lay close to her left hand.<sup>46</sup>

The bench to the right of the entrance contained the skeleton of a man whose head had been washed to the floor because of some water seepage through a crack in the rock above the bench. On the bench with the body were a bowl and a chalice. A lamp was still in a niche above the bench, to the right of the entrance.<sup>47</sup>

### C. Funerary Equipment

In order to evaluate a society's concept of the after-life, it is imperative that textual evidence be considered alongside the material remains of the common people. We must be quite honest in recognizing that official religion, as presented in the texts which have been preserved, and popular religion are not always the same. In some respects, burial customs really reveal the object of one's loyalty. The crisis of death brings to the fore those deep-seated beliefs and fears which the veneer of organized religion can sometimes cover so effectively. Of course, as Millar Burrows says, there is the

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<sup>45</sup>Ibid.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid.

danger that we might draw conclusions too quickly. While it is true that material evidence indicates something, it does not tell all. "What was done with the dead we can discover; why it was done and how the people thought and felt about it cannot so easily be determined."<sup>48</sup> For the sake of convenience, the contents of the tombs will be divided into six groups.

### 1. Household pottery

It goes without saying that the vast majority of objects found in any given tomb are the same as those found in the ruins of houses on the tells. Lamps, storage jars, bowls, dishes, chalices, jugs, pitchers, water-decanter, small dipper juglets, flasks--all these are items that would have been found in any household. From the third millenium, at least, tombs from Mesopotamia to Egypt show signs of burying the stuff of everyday life with the dead. The royal tombs at Ur (third millenium) even contained the bodies of servants whose job it was to serve the king in the after-life.<sup>49</sup> Even after religious belief passed beyond the idea of using material objects after death, the custom of placing personal effects in the tombs

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<sup>48</sup>Millar Burrows, What Mean These Stones? (New York: Meridian Books, 1957), p. 238.

<sup>49</sup>Alexander Heidel, The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), pp. 158ff.

must have continued for a long time.<sup>50</sup>

The following pottery types were distributed among the thirty-two multiple burial tombs whose contents could be catalogued:<sup>51</sup>

Lamps---29 tombs.  
 Large storage jars---17 tombs.  
 Bowls---29 tombs.  
 Cooking pots---5 tombs.  
 Jugs and pitchers---23 tombs.  
 Flasks and water-decanter---21 tombs.  
 Juglets and dippers---26 tombs.  
 Chalices---19 tombs  
 Miniature pithoi, flasks, and pyxides---6 tombs.

Obviously, the tombs may have originally had more of the above objects. Robbery, subsequent reuse of the tombs, and poor excavation technique have all taken their toll of the original contents.

The single graves, not being as large, do not always contain the same range of pottery as the tombs. The following types were distributed among sixteen Iron Age graves:<sup>52</sup>

Lamps---2 graves.  
 Large storage jars---10 graves.  
 Bowls---10 graves.  
 Cooking pots---1 grave.  
 Jugs and pitchers---5 graves.

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<sup>50</sup>"The objects discovered in supposedly Hebrew tombs may have been placed there not in the belief that the departed would use them in the hereafter but partly for sentimental and partly for symbolical reasons (to indicate that life would continue beyond the grave)" (Ibid., p. 169).

<sup>51</sup>Cf. Appendix B.

<sup>52</sup>Cf. Appendix C.

Flasks and water-decanter---4 graves.  
 Juglets and dippers---9 graves.  
 Chalices---none.  
 Miniature pithoi, flasks, and pyxides---none.

Lamps are noticeably scarce in comparison with the number found in tombs. The obvious answer is that lamps could not burn in a filled-in grave as they could in a tomb. Strangely enough, there are no chalices or miniature vessels in the graves. The reason, particularly in the case of the chalices, is not clear. On the other hand, large storage jars were popular funerary equipment in the single graves.

Several of these items deserve special mention. Lamps were particularly prominent in these tombs.<sup>53</sup> The tomb at Sahab contained 47 lamps, Tomb 106 at Lachish had 163 lamps, Tomb 1002 at Lachish contained 101 lamps, etc. More important than sheer numbers, however, is the fact that so many of the tombs had lamps. Not only were they widely spread, they had also been used and were sometimes grouped together or placed in a special spot.<sup>54</sup> Photographs indicate that at least six of the lamps at Ez Zahiriyye had been used.<sup>55</sup>

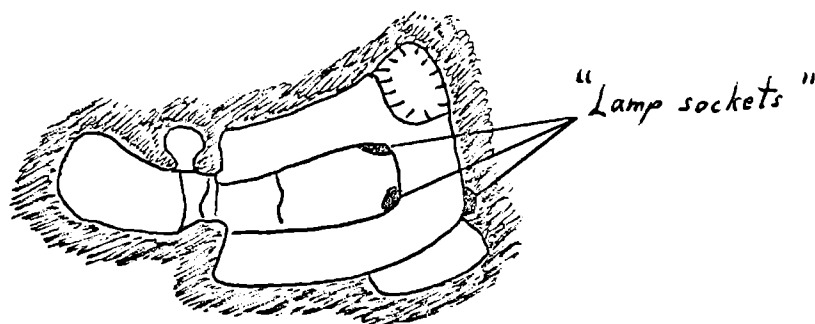
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<sup>53</sup>Cf. Appendix E.

<sup>54</sup>Poor reporting of excavations is a factor here. Few of the writers bother to comment on whether the lamps were used or if they occupied some special position. It has been this writer's observation, however, that the majority of lamps coming out of tombs have been used at least once.

<sup>55</sup>Baramki, pp. 109-110; Plates LXI and LXIII.

At Beth-Shemesh, Tomb 8, groups of lamps were placed in the middle of the left bench, at the left end of the third step, at the right end of the fourth step and on the floor at the far end of the tomb. "There can hardly be any doubt that these groups, consisting entirely of lamps, were in their original positions as they had been laid down from time to time after the ritual observances in which they performed an essential part."<sup>56</sup> In Tomb 6006 at Lachish there was a niche above the bench to the right of the entrance which still contained the lamp which had been placed there.<sup>57</sup> Tomb 3 at Tell en-Nasbeh had two "lamp sockets" cut in the far corners of the pit between the benches and another in the wall of a recess carved at the right rear of the tomb.<sup>58</sup> Actually, the "lamp sockets" at the corners of the benches were projections--just large enough to contain a lamp--carved from the rock.




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<sup>56</sup>Mackenzie, p. 85.

<sup>57</sup>Tufnell, Lachish III (T), p. 247.

<sup>58</sup>McCown, I, 102, fig. 11.

The use of the lamps is understandable in view of the conception that Sheol was a place of darkness. Of course, the lamps were not kept burning after the tomb was sealed; however, the symbolism was still effective. The heaping of flowers on a grave in our world is no more rational than the practice of lighting the path of the dead by means of lamps.

Another typical object was the tall pedestal-base chalice.<sup>59</sup> It has been suggested that these chalices, similar to those found in Bronze Age tombs, had some sort of cultic significance. "Chalices have usually been taken as having connections with worship in some form, or as serving a religious function at times."<sup>60</sup>

Cultic associations must not be made too quickly, however. At Lachish, only two chalices were found outside tombs--one in Room 1003 south of the Palace and one along the west wall of the Palace.<sup>61</sup> Neither of these spots has any particular cultic significance. Four stone chalices were found at Megiddo,<sup>62</sup> but all four were found in rooms of houses rather than in cultic areas. The most elaborate and complete of the four was found in Locus E-1561 along with jug and bowl sherds, an iron arrowhead, a glass bead,

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<sup>59</sup>Cf. examples in Appendix E. <sup>60</sup>McCown, I, 238.

<sup>61</sup>Tufnell, Lachish III (P), Pl. 83.

<sup>62</sup>Robert S. Lamon and G. M. Shipton, Megiddo I (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), Pl. 112.

three spindle whorls, a palette and a basalt grinder.<sup>63</sup>  
 All in all, 34 chalices were found on the tell at Megiddo  
 in Strata II-V; none were connected with cultic areas!<sup>64</sup>  
 At Tell En-Nasbeh, the 35 chalice fragments found were  
 "well scattered over the entire inhabited area. . . . They  
 [were] not sufficiently concentrated in any one spot to  
 suggest the presence of a sanctuary."<sup>65</sup>

Determining the exact usage of the chalice is  
 rather difficult. At Megiddo, the bowl of one chalice had  
 been discolored by fire, as if it has been used as a lamp  
 or brazier of some sort.<sup>66</sup> On the other hand, three  
 chalices from Strata II-V at Megiddo have holes in the  
 sides of the bowls (as if they were braziers), but there  
 is no trace of burning in any of them.<sup>67</sup> McCown seems to  
 be correct when he says that if the chalice did play a part  
 in cultic rites, "it would seem to have served at least  
 chiefly in the home or in private ceremonies. . . ."<sup>68</sup>  
 Perhaps they were used for both drinking and the pouring

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<sup>63</sup>Ibid., p. 137.

<sup>64</sup>This writer's examination of objects found at the  
 same loci as the chalices indicates that they were used in  
 normal living quarters rather than in cultic areas; cf.  
ibid., p. 193.

<sup>65</sup>McCown, I, 238.

<sup>66</sup>Herbert G. May, Material Remains of the Megiddo  
 Cult (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935), p. 23.

<sup>67</sup>Lamon and Shipton, p. 170. <sup>68</sup>McCown, I, 238.



out of libations to the gods as were the fine goblets of the Greek and Roman periods.

A third pottery type commonly included in the tombs is the flask or water-decanter.<sup>69</sup> Two of the more popular styles were the "Pilgrim Flask" and the large body, narrow-neck "water-decanter." Both types could be used for liquids only. Unlike the wide-mouth pitchers, however, the narrowness of the necks and mouths indicates that they were designed to keep liquids for a fairly lengthy period of time. With a stopper of clay or grass, these jars and flasks would resist evaporation for quite a while.<sup>70</sup> If the grave were considered in the same class as the desert, the presence of water as a gift to the dead is understandable. The need for water in the after-life is perhaps reflected in the story of the Rich Man and Lazarus found in Luke 16:19ff.

Some unusual water jars were found at Tell En-Nasbeh. Among the flasks and water jars in Tomb 32 were found a flask with cup attached and a so-called "swan jar." A "swan jar" was also found in Tomb 5, along with a "beehive" water jar.

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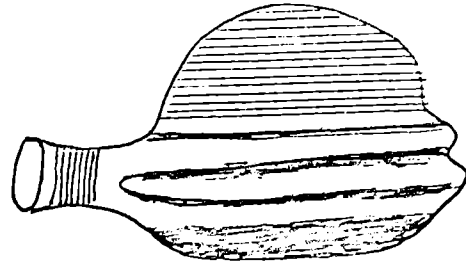
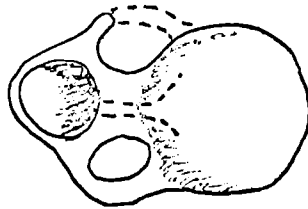
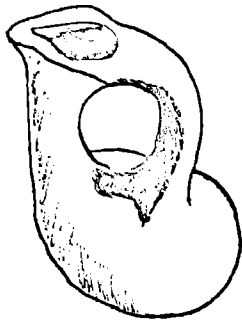
<sup>69</sup>Cf. examples of these in Appendix E.

<sup>70</sup>Cf. Mackenzie, p. 67, for reference to a narrow necked jug with a clay stopper found in Tomb 2 at Beth-Shemesh.

"Swan" jar

"Flask and cup"

"Beehive" water-jar



The "swan" jar is actually a curved neck pitcher.<sup>71</sup> Pitchers similar to it are found in Stratum IV at Megiddo. They were all probably imports (from Phoenicia or Cyprus), as similar vessels are found in Cyprus made of Bichrome ware.<sup>72</sup> It seems unlikely that any significance can be placed on a "bird" motif in the shaping of the neck of the pitcher.

The "flask and cup"<sup>73</sup> and the three like it which appeared on the mound at Tell en-Nasbeh are luxury items which came into vogue during the Late Bronze Age. The "beehive" water jar<sup>74</sup> can be compared to similar jars made flat on one side and domed on the other so they could be suspended against the side of a camel, donkey or person. Unlike the others, this vessel had no handles; the rope

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<sup>71</sup>McCown, II, Plates 30:10; 36:3.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., I, 98.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid., I, 82 and II, Pl. 34:22.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid., I, 83 and II, Pl. 37:22.

probably went around the groove near the base of the jar.<sup>75</sup>

## 2. Decorative and personal items

If the remains are any indication, the dead were buried with their most treasured personal belongings on or near them. Despite the raids of the grave robbers, tombs and graves are filled with beads, rings, bracelets, scarabs, seals, earrings, etc., reflecting both the vanity and gracious aspects of Iron Age living. The following items were found distributed among the forty-eight single and multiple burials considered here:

a) Beads.--Beads were found in twenty-two of the burials. Over 3,000 beads were discovered in the houses and tombs of Lachish alone.<sup>76</sup> The beads came in all shapes and sizes,<sup>77</sup> and were made of everything from paste and carnelian to gold found in beads in Grave 62 at Megiddo.<sup>78</sup>

b) Scarabs and scaraboids.--Fifteen of the burials had scarabs or scaraboids of varying quality. In some cases the scarab served as the stone in a ring.

c) Seals.--Seals were found in nine of the burials.

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<sup>75</sup>Ibid., I, 83. It is unnecessary to posit with McCown that a "sticky substance" inside the "beehive" vessel means it "actually contained a funerary offering of honey." Honey just does not remain sticky for almost 3000 years.

<sup>76</sup>Tufnell, Lachish III (T), p. 399.

<sup>77</sup>Cf. Appendix F.      <sup>78</sup>Guy, Pl. 168:11-12.

These seals could be of several types. Some were cylindrical "roller" seals, while some were simple stones which could be attached to a ring. One seal discovered in the Transjordan was an ivory cylinder with the impression carved at one end.<sup>79</sup>

d) Rings, bracelets and earrings.--Twenty-six of the burials were found to have one or more of these pieces of personal jewelry. The most common material was bronze; however, silver rings and earrings were found in the tomb at Meqabelein, Tomb 8 at Beth-Shemesh, and Lachish Tombs 218, 223 and 1002. Gold earrings were found in Tomb 218 at Lachish.

e) Other adornments.--In addition to the items mentioned above, the tombs produced a profusion of toggle pins, ivory pendants, fibulae (metal clasps which, early in the Iron Age, replaced toggle pins as the chief means of securing clothing),<sup>80</sup> and shells.<sup>81</sup>

An interesting form of pendant, which may or may not have had any religious significance,<sup>82</sup> was the "hammer" or "gavel" made of bone or ivory. They were found in

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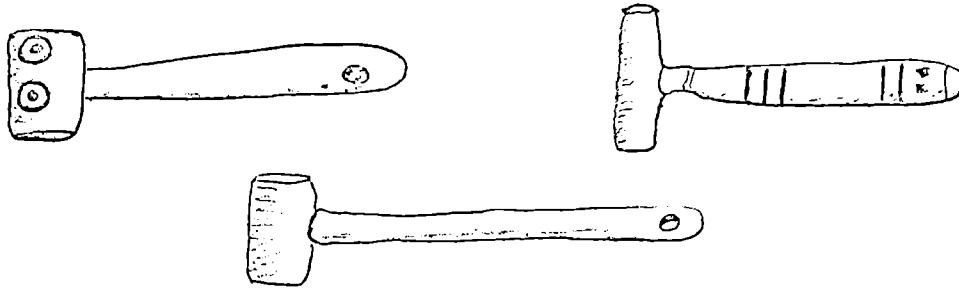
<sup>79</sup>Lancaster Harding, "Two Iron Age Tombs From 'Amman," QDAP, XI (1945), Pl. XVIII:42.

<sup>80</sup>Cf. McCown, I, 79, for evidence of the change-over from toggle pins to fibulae.

<sup>81</sup>Cf. Appendix F.

<sup>82</sup>Cf. the discussion of pendants under the heading of "Religious Objects."

Beth-Shemesh, Tombs 1 and 4,<sup>83</sup> and Lachish, Tombs 120 and 218.<sup>84</sup>



Another interesting form of pendant is the so-called "calendar" found in Tombs 120, 521 and 1002 at Lachish<sup>85</sup> and in Tomb 201 at Beth-Pelet.<sup>86</sup> The style was the same for all examples. Described as "small," these pendants were made out of bone and were looped for stringing. The pendant decoration consisted of three rows of ten pierced holes--a total of 30 holes.<sup>87</sup> Whether they were "calendars" or some sort of game board cannot be determined on the basis of existing evidence.

f) Cosmetic aids.--A woman's vanity carries on beyond the grave. A tomb near Amman preserved a bronze

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<sup>83</sup>Mackenzie, Plates XXX A:13-15 and XL:10.

<sup>84</sup>Tufnell, Lachish III (P), Plates 55:25-26, 48-50 and 37:8, 13, 24-25.

<sup>85</sup>Tufnell, Lachish III (T), p. 222, and (P), Plates 37:3, 15, 17; 56:23; 57:28.

<sup>86</sup>Flinders Petrie, Beth-Pelet (2 vols.; London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1930), I, Plates XXXVI and XL.

<sup>87</sup>Cf. Appendix G.

mirror,<sup>88</sup> while a tomb at Meqabelein preserved a bronze mirror and four "kohl" sticks used in the application of cosmetics.<sup>89</sup> Cosmetic palettes were found at Sahab<sup>90</sup> and in a tomb excavated by Harding near 'Amman.<sup>91</sup> The tomb at Sahab also revealed two shells, one of which was filled with a pigment. Almost certainly, this was a beauty aid.

### 3. Household and farming equipment

In addition to personal items and pottery, certain household and farming items make an appearance in the tombs and graves. Flint scrapers and blades came out of three individual graves (Lachish 4027; Megiddo 17 and 71) and one multiple burial (Tomb 221 at Megiddo). Spindle whorls were in one single grave (Lachish 189) and in four of the tombs (Gibeon; Beth-Shemesh 8; Lachish 106 and 521). Stones used for "honing" knives were found in Tombs 218 and 1002 at Lachish.<sup>92</sup> Pottery "jar stands," circular in form, were found in Tomb 224 at Lachish, Tomb 142 at Gezer and Tomb 32 at Tell En-Nasbeh. Tomb 1002 at Lachish contained a

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<sup>88</sup>Farah S. Ma'ayeh, "Recent Archaeological Discoveries in Jordan," ADAJ, IV-V (1960), 114.

<sup>89</sup>Lankester Harding, "An Iron-Age Tomb at Meqabelein," QDAP, XIV (1950), 45.

<sup>90</sup>Harding, "An Iron Age Tomb at Sahab," p. 94.

<sup>91</sup>Harding, "Two Iron Age Tombs From 'Amman," p. 74.

<sup>92</sup>Tufnell, Lachish III (P), Pl. 55:52.

pottery "strainer,"<sup>93</sup> while Tomb 106 at the same site turned up a pair of "tweezers," a chisel and a nail--all of iron.<sup>94</sup>

#### 4. Weapons

Weapons are found in Iron Age burials, though they are not nearly so numerous as one would expect. Among the single graves examined, only Grave 4007 testified to its occupant's profession by the preservation of four iron arrowheads. Among the jar burials in cemetery 200 at Beth-Pelet, jar 262 was unique in that it contained iron arrowheads.<sup>95</sup>

Ten of the multiple burials examined had one or more arrowheads (or spear heads?) in them, while dagger blades or knife handles were found in eleven of the tombs. Armour plates were found in two of the tombs at Lachish--Tombs 224 and 1002. The armour from Tomb 224 was of the scale type, pierced so that it could be sewn to a jacket or covering of some sort.<sup>96</sup> The armour from Tomb 1002 was

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<sup>93</sup>Ibid., Pl. 89:372. The "strainer" was simply a shallow bowl with holes pierced in the bottom.

<sup>94</sup>Ibid., Pl. 54:27, 33-34. Cf. Tomb 39 at Megiddo, a tomb containing Late Bronze, Philistine and Iron Age remains, revealed, among other things, some basalt "pestles," spindle whorls, two "scale-pans," two bronze nails and stones that had been shaped as if to serve as weights (Guy, Plates 164, 166-168).

<sup>95</sup>Petrie, p. 13.

<sup>96</sup>Tufnell, Lachish III (T), p. 216, and (P), Pl. 56:11-12.

identical; both examples were made of iron.

The most interesting of the weapons found in the tombs was the iron trident from Tomb 521 at Lachish, an undisturbed tomb with only four burials. The trident, which was found on a rock just inside the entrance of the tomb, measured 60 cm. in length, with prongs 40 cm. long. It measured 15 cm. from outer tip to tip.<sup>97</sup> As a weapon, the trident was associated outside Palestine with Poseidon and, later, with Neptune.

Of course, the trident may have had sacrificial significance. Tridents were found in the tombs of both men and women at Sialk, perhaps indicating that they were "used in the preparation of the funerary feast."<sup>98</sup> That tridents of some fashion were used in connection with sacrifice can be seen in I Samuel 2:13-14, which speaks of a "three-pronged fork," used to bring up meat out of the sacrificial vessel where it was cooking.<sup>99</sup>

##### 5. Remains of food

There is some difference of opinion among the experts as to whether putting food and drink in tombs was

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<sup>97</sup>Ibid., p. 387; cf. Appendix G.

<sup>98</sup>Ibid., p. 388.

<sup>99</sup>Ibid.; cf. the use of לִּיָּד as a cultic implication in Ex. 27:3; 38:3; Num. 4:14; I Chron. 28:17; II Chron. 4:16. Also see Francis Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1907), p. 272.



practiced in Palestine. Cook says that the practice continued as far as the second or third century B.C.,<sup>100</sup> but G. Ernest Wright counters that "in the hundreds of Palestinian tombs which have been excavated, not a single clear remnant of food or drink has been found in the vessels. . . ." <sup>101</sup> Wright agrees that the vessels placed in tombs could have been those used by family and friends at a funeral feast, but the

more probably answer is that this custom is an old survival from pre-historic times. Food may have once been placed in the tombs, but from the fourth millennium on in Palestine the vessels are only a symbolic and/or traditional survival of the primitive custom.<sup>102</sup>

Against Wright's claim may be put the evidence for food deposits in ten Middle Bronze tombs at Jericho. "The food usually consisted of joints of mutton, and drink was contained in large storage jars, which often had the skin left by the evaporating fluid still intact, and which were provided with dipper flasks for ladling it out."<sup>103</sup> Mention has already been made of the food deposit in a Late Bronze burial at Tell Jerishe.

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<sup>100</sup> Stanley A. Cook, The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the Light of Archaeology (London: Oxford University Press, 1930), p. 4.

<sup>101</sup> G. E. Wright, "Additional Remarks on Ancient Burial Customs," BA, Vol. 8 (February, 1945), 1.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

<sup>103</sup> Kathleen M. Kenyon, Excavations at Jericho (Jerusalem: The British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, 1960), I, 266.

Before examining the evidence from Palestine, the evidence from Syria and Mesopotamia must first be considered. Funerary cults of most ancient civilizations revolved around the idea that the dead need sustenance. If the libations and offerings were to cease, the dead would be condemned to wander the earth restlessly.<sup>104</sup> An inscription of Assurbanipal recounting the capture of Susa says:

'And I have broken up their king's graves. I have allowed their souls no rest, and I have refused them the funeral offerings and libations of water.'<sup>105</sup>

Tombs from the 14th-13th centuries at Ras Shamra had intricate devices for getting libations of water (perhaps wine also?) to the dead. Libations poured into a clay pipe stuck in the ground were carried through a stone gutter to a pit dug just outside the wall of the tomb. The mouth of the pit was usually covered by a stone slab with a hole to admit the water; votive vessels were sometimes buried in the pits. In the wall of the tomb next to the pit there was usually a window which gave the dead access to the libations. In some tombs, however, the "worshiper" had to enter in order to pour libations into holes which channeled the fluids into pits or jars imbedded in the floor

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<sup>104</sup>Claude F. A. Schaeffer, The Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra--Ugarit (London: Oxford University Press, 1939), p. 49.

<sup>105</sup>Ibid.

of the tomb itself.<sup>106</sup>

In some cases, the food was apparently intended to be shared between the gods and the dead. A royal inscription from North Syria directed the heir to the throne to sacrifice to Hadad and mention his (i.e. the deceased king's) name in the following words:

May the soul of Panammu eat with Hadad, and  
may the soul of Panammu drink with Hadad.<sup>107</sup>

In Palestinian burials, there are four Iron Age tombs which have evidence bearing upon this question.

First, Grave 191 at Lachish revealed a large storage jar standing at the head of the body. A juglet was found in the jar and a bowl was inverted over the mouth of the jar.<sup>108</sup> The care taken to cover the mouth of the jar, plus the presence of the dipper inside, may indicate that the jar originally contained a liquid.

From a tomb near Amman come two examples of animal bones in a tomb.<sup>109</sup> In a "cupboard-like" recess at the end of the tomb was found a "mass of broken animal bones, too fragmentary to be identifiable, which may represent the remains of the offerings."<sup>110</sup> Just inside the entrance

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<sup>106</sup>Ibid., 49-52.

<sup>107</sup>Cook, p. 38, n. 4.

<sup>108</sup>Tufnell, Lachish III (T), p. 200.

<sup>109</sup>Harding, "Two Iron Age Tombs From 'Amman," pp. 67-73. Evidence from these tombs is somewhat sketchy due to the poor excavation and reporting technique.

<sup>110</sup>Ibid., p. 68.

some "knuckle bones" were found mixed with pottery, but these were clearly separate from the bones in the recess.<sup>111</sup> Unfortunately, no further descriptions were given of these bone deposits, but the knuckle bones and pottery sound very much like an offering placed just inside the tomb's entrance. ("Knuckle bones" were also found at Lachish, Tomb 224, but no particulars were given.) At the same site, one cooking pot is said to have "indications of use,"<sup>112</sup> though this does not necessarily mean that the pot was brought in with cooked food still in it.

Tomb 2 at Beth-Shemesh contained three pieces of evidence for food offerings. One juglet had a clay stopper as if it had contained some liquid.<sup>113</sup> A two-handled storage jar had a "ruddy-brown discoloration" on the inside "suggesting that it may have contained wine. . . ."<sup>114</sup> This jar was the same type that sometimes had stamped or inscribed handles.<sup>115</sup>

Also in Tomb 2 were two bowls, the smaller serving as a cover to the larger, containing "mutton bones."<sup>116</sup> This can hardly be anything other than a carefully deposited bowl of food intended, in some way, for the use of the dead.

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<sup>111</sup>Ibid.                      <sup>112</sup>Ibid., p. 71.

<sup>113</sup>Mackenzie, p. 67.            <sup>114</sup>Ibid.            <sup>115</sup>Ibid.

<sup>116</sup>Ibid., p. 67, and Pl. XXXVII:11-12.

Tomb 8 at Beth-Shemesh presented a well-cut, undisturbed burial chamber containing a large, four-handled jar standing at the head of the bench to the left.<sup>117</sup> Covering the mouth of the storage jar was a bowl. "There were bones in the bowl and in the bottom of the jar."<sup>118</sup> Mackenzie interprets the bones as being those of a small child (the skull being in the bowl on top) reburied here in order to make room for new burials. He says this was a common practice in other tombs.<sup>119</sup> Against this interpretation are the following: (1) the bones were not positively identified as a child's; (2) a reburial would more likely be in the repository at the rear of the tomb than in an upright jar on one of the burial benches.

Unless other evidence is brought forward, the possibility must remain open that this large jar contained the remains of a food deposit.

It must be remembered that the archaeologist can never recover evidence of all food items which may have been put in the tombs. Breads, vegetables, liquids, etc. would all yield before the onslaught of rats, mice, mildew

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<sup>117</sup>Cf. Appendix H.

<sup>118</sup>Mackenzie, Pl. 89. It should be noted that the jar was of a type found with their bases imbedded in the plaster of Beth-Shemesh houses. The use of a bowl as a jar lid is still a common practice in the Near East today.

<sup>119</sup>Mackenzie did not, however, cite any of these "common" examples!

and time. All tombs do not enjoy the favorable climate conditions of the tombs at Jericho where numerous food deposits were recovered.<sup>120</sup> On the other hand, excavations, if done properly, might possibly be expected to find the remains of bones, seeds and the tell-tale liquid line in jars.

#### 6. Religious objects

While religious objects of one sort or another are found by the score in the multiple burials around Palestine, only two of the single graves examined contained anything of particular religious significance. Grave 110 contained a small seal or plaque with the drawing of a bull on it;<sup>121</sup> Grave 191 contained a small steatite plaque with an uncertain animal design on one side.<sup>122</sup> The reason for this scarcity is not clear. It was certainly not a matter of wealth, for the quality of the objects found in the graves does not seem to be any different from those found in the tombs. Grave 62 at Megiddo, for example, contained some gold beads, a gold and a silver toggle pin, and an ivory "fish" spoon or dish of exquisite design.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>120</sup>Cf. Kenyon, Excavations at Jericho, I, passim.

<sup>121</sup>Tufnell, Lachish III (P), Pl. 45:135.

<sup>122</sup>Ibid., Pl. 45:130.

<sup>123</sup>Guy, p. 119 and Pl. 168:13. Cf. Appendix I for a drawing of the "fish" spoon.

Actually, the two plaques mentioned above could be classed as decorative items as well as religious items. It may be that the dearth of symbols has some connection with the choice of the single grave as the final resting place for the body. Further research is needed in this area.

The multiple burials, on the other hand, revealed religious objects or figurines in twenty-one of the tombs where the finds could be ascertained.

a) Amulets.--Eight of the tombs contained faience amulets which may have had a religious significance.<sup>124</sup> The amulets occurred at Beth-Shemesh, Lachish and Beth-Pelet (Tell Fara), all of which were on the southern border and, thus, under Egyptian influence. Indeed, these amulets seem to have been introduced into Palestine with the Egyptian expansion under the eighteenth dynasty.<sup>125</sup> The amulets, usually from one to three inches in height, represented deities and animals of Egyptian worship. The majority of figures from Lachish show connections with the Delta region of Egypt rather than Upper Egypt. Figures of Sekhmet (Bast), Horus, the cat (sacred animal of Sekhmet), the ape (sacred to Thoth) and the falcon (symbol of Horus, who is supposed to have hidden in the marshes as a child)

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<sup>124</sup>Beth-Shemesh, Tomb 1; Lachish, Tombs 106, 116, 218, 223, 224, 1002; Beth-Pelet, Tomb 201.

<sup>125</sup>Tufnell, Lachish III (T), p. 379.

are all very common.<sup>126</sup> Similar amulets have been found in the sanctuaries at Beth-Shan also.<sup>127</sup>

The amulets were, with the exception of the "Horus Eyes," pierced or looped so that they could be strung about the body in some fashion. Examples of the "Horus Eye" have been found in the sanctuaries at Beth-Shan.<sup>128</sup> In view of the close connections between Egypt and Palestine, it is not unlikely that some thought of the Horus Eye as "a symbol of the god's care" or as something which would "turn the dead into a living 'soul.'"<sup>129</sup> The conclusion is unavoidable that, despite official religious pronouncements, elements of non-Yahwistic superstition and worship played an important part in the lives of the

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<sup>126</sup>Cf. Appendix I. Tufnell, Lachish III (T), pp. 379-381, has an excellent discussion of the significance of the various amulets found at Lachish. She points out that figures of Bast (or Sekhmet) came into prominence after the conquest of Palestine by Shishak, while figures of the Sacred Eye of Horus and of Bes were most popular during the eighth and ninth centuries.

<sup>127</sup>Alan Rowe, The Four Canaanite Temples of Beth-Shan: Part I, The Temples and Cult Objects, Vol. II of The University of Pennsylvania Excavations at Beth-Shan (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1940), Pl. XXXIII.

<sup>128</sup>Ibid., Pl. XXXIV.

<sup>129</sup>"To the Egyptian, the 'eye' symbolized the Sun-god's providence, and the filial piety of Horus who lost his eye in his struggle with Set, and offered it to his dead father, Osiris, and thus restored him to life, or rather made of him a soul" (Cook, pp. 42-43). Cf. also James B. Pritchard (ed.), Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1955), pp. 14, 32-33.



common people.

b) Figurines and statues.--In addition to the amulets mentioned above, the tombs revealed a large collection of figurines and statues. Only the tombs at Gezer and Tell En-Nasbeh were distinguished by the absence of religious objects.<sup>130</sup> These last named sites must have been centers of religious orthodoxy.

Four general types of statues and figurines may be distinguished:

1) Animal. Tomb 1 at Beth-Shemesh produced the figure of a horse, while Tomb 2 contained the crude representation of a bull with the head missing.<sup>131</sup> Lachish, Tomb 106, contained a crudely made horse or dog with its eyes, ears and legs missing.<sup>132</sup>

2) Horse and rider. Six horse and rider figures were found in the tombs considered here. At Beth-Shemesh, Tomb 8, the beak-faced figure astride a horse is complete except for a portion of the "round object on the left side of the horse's head."<sup>133</sup> If the object was intended to be the representation of a shield, the rider could represent

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<sup>130</sup>The one exception to this statement is Tomb 5 at Tell en-Nasbeh. It contained a "censer" or brazier with holes in the side.

<sup>131</sup>Mackenzie, Places XXII:11 and XXXIII:12.

<sup>132</sup>Tufnell, Lachish III (P), Pl. 27:5.

<sup>133</sup>Mackenzie, p. 88 and Pl. LV; cf. Appendix J.

a "warrior or a god of battles."<sup>134</sup>

At Meqabelein were two models made of red pottery. The heads and faces seem to have been moulded--the details are very fine.<sup>135</sup> Similar figures were found in a tomb near Amman,<sup>136</sup> and in Tombs 106 and 1002 at Lachish.<sup>137</sup>

3) Astarte head. F. Ma'ayeh claims to have found a head of Astarte which was portrayed as wearing a veil.<sup>138</sup>

4) Male and female figurines. Ten examples were found of these figurines--two male and eight female. The figure of Ashtoreth found in Tomb 1 at Beth-Shemesh had the head fashioned from an imported Egyptian mould. The fine Egyptian features of the head contrast sharply with the crude body; finger marks on the back of the head indicate how the artist pressed the clay into the mould.<sup>139</sup> Three of the four figurines from Tomb 1002 at Lachish show

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<sup>134</sup>Ibid., p. 88.

<sup>135</sup>Harding, "An Iron-Age Tomb at Meqabelein," pp. 45-46.

<sup>136</sup>Harding, "Two Iron Age Tombs From 'Amman," Pl. XVIII:41.

<sup>137</sup>Tufnell, Lachish III (P), Plates 27:2 and 29:17-18. The latter two from Tomb 1002 were rather crude, the riders being shown with only "beak" features; cf. Appendix J.

<sup>138</sup>Ma'ayeh, p. 114. This was a preliminary report; no pictures were included.

<sup>139</sup>Mackenzie, p. 54 and Pl. XXIII.

the same characteristics about the head.<sup>140</sup> The fourth figure<sup>141</sup> had a beaked nose which was non-Egyptian in inspiration. All five of the figures show arms crossed under prominent breasts.<sup>142</sup>

Tomb 5 at Beth-Shemesh also contained two figures which did not show any Egyptian influence. The two figures, one male and one female, were beak-nosed, suggesting a Semitic influence.<sup>143</sup> The male seems to have had his arms extended in a typical ritual pose; the female figurine had the arms crossed under a very full bosom.<sup>144</sup>

Tomb 106 at Lachish contained three figures--one male and two female. The male and one female figure had beaked-noses just as in the Beth-Shemesh tomb. The third figure, a female on a pillar base, seems to have been a very poor imitation of the Egyptian style (at least the head) figurines found in Tomb 1002. The hair and the facial features were poorly marked.<sup>145</sup>

c) Libation vases and "zoomorphic" vessels.--The most popular item of seeming religious significance was the libation vase. Twelve examples were found from six

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<sup>140</sup>Tufnell, Lachish III (P), Pl. 28:10-11, 13.

<sup>141</sup>Ibid., Pl. 28:14.      <sup>142</sup>Cf. Appendix J.

<sup>143</sup>Mackenzie, p. 76 and Pl. XLII.

<sup>144</sup>Mackenzie suggests that they "formed a pair," probably representing a divine couple (Ibid.).

<sup>145</sup>Tufnell, Lachish III (P), Pl. 27:1, 3-4.

different sites. Of the twelve, only two had a "human" shape; the others were shaped like birds, bulls, horses, etc.

The "Astarte" juglet from Ez Zahiriyye was a pointed base juglet to which were added two arms which crossed in front of representations of breasts. The mouth of the juglet was pinched into a beak-like face, to which two dabs of clay were added as eyes.<sup>146</sup> It was very similar to the one found in Tomb 7 at Beth-Shemesh.<sup>147</sup> In the latter case, however, the figure was of a male with a pronounced beard. The beaked features again testify to a Semitic background. This vessel was obviously intended for something other than normal household functions; the hands of the figure seemed to have held a spout (now missing) fed by a hole in the side of the juglet.<sup>148</sup>

Other libation vases were in the likeness of animals. From Gibeon came a spouted animal vase, about 12 cm. long and 6 cm. high, in the form of a cow or sheep,<sup>149</sup> while from a tomb near Amman came the squat

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<sup>146</sup>Baramki, Pl. LXIV; cf. Appendix K.

<sup>147</sup>Mackenzie, Pl. XLVII; cf. Appendix K.

<sup>148</sup>A similar featured juglet was found in a sanctuary at Beth-Shan. The hands held a spout in front of the belly (Rowe, Pl. XLVII).

<sup>149</sup>Awni Dajani, "An Iron Age Tomb at Al Jib," ADAJ, II (1953), 73.

likeness of a bull with a hole in the back and a spout in front under the neck.<sup>150</sup> Tomb 1002 at Lachish produced a four-legged cow or horse with a hollow neck and the muzzle pierced to form a spout.<sup>151</sup>

Libation vessels in the form of horses or dogs must have been popular. The heads of such vessels have been found at Beth-Shemesh (Tomb 1),<sup>152</sup> Sahab, and Lachish (Tombs 106 and 1002).<sup>153</sup> All of these animal heads were pierced through the mouth so that liquids could flow through the hollow necks and heads.

The bird motif was also present in the libation vessels. In Tomb 1 at Beth-Shemesh<sup>154</sup> were found the head and tail parts of a libation vessel shaped like a bird. The beak had a spout for pouring, so it is likely that there was a hole on the back for filling the vessel. From Tomb 1002 at Lachish came a hollow "bird vessel" with its head missing. From the same tomb came also a bird on a pedestal vase.<sup>155</sup> The "bird" motif may stem from the fact

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<sup>150</sup>Harding, "Two Iron Age Tombs From 'Amman," p. 73 and Pl. XVIII:67.

<sup>151</sup>Tufnell, Lachish III (P), Pl. 30:24.

<sup>152</sup>Mackenzie, Pl. XXII:7, 12.

<sup>153</sup>Tufnell, Lachish III (P), Pl. 27:7; cf. Appendix L.

<sup>154</sup>Mackenzie, p. 55 and Pl. XXII:8.

<sup>155</sup>Tufnell, Lachish III (P), Pl. 28:12; cf. Appendix L.

that birds were sacred to Astarte and from the idea that "the souls of the dead might take the form of a bird, if not of the bird sacred to the mother-goddess."<sup>156</sup> It is interesting that there is an Arab belief that the dead take the form of a bird or owl, while the Assyrian myth of Ashtar speaks of the dead as having wings (like birds?), but not being able to escape the underworld.<sup>157</sup>

Not classified as libation vessels, but as "vases" are several "zoomorphic" vessels from Lachish. Tomb 1002 produced the figure of a four-legged animal carrying two water jars balanced on its back.<sup>158</sup> Water entered the vessel through the openings in the miniature jars. The front portion of a similar vessel was found in Tomb 218.<sup>159</sup> Two other examples of vessels representing water-carrying animals were found on the mound.<sup>160</sup> These vessels can be

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<sup>156</sup>Cook, pp. 12-13; cf. Rowe, Pl. XX, for four bird figurines and six duck head figurines found in the sanctuaries of Beth-Shan.

<sup>157</sup>Cook, p. 13, n. 1. The "bird" motif may appear in the Old Testament also. Ps. 90:10 speaks of the dead as those who "fly away"; Is. 8:19 refers to the "chirping" of wizards who call up the dead for prophecies and guidance; Is. 29:4, speaking of the destruction of the people of the city of Ariel, says: "Thy speech shall whisper [ chirp ] out of the dust."

<sup>158</sup>Tufnell, Lachish III (P), Pl. 30:23; cf. Appendix L.

<sup>159</sup>Ibid., Pl. 30:27.

<sup>160</sup>Ibid., Pl. 30:29-30. The locus of these vessels on the mound is somewhat uncertain.

compared with the donkey "water-carrier" found at the Late Bronze burial at Beth-Shemesh.<sup>161</sup>

d) Model benches and thrones.--From Beth-Shemesh, Tomb 1,<sup>162</sup> and Lachish, Tomb 1002,<sup>163</sup> came six examples of model thrones or benches.<sup>164</sup> Both examples from Beth-Shemesh and one from Lachish were short chair or throne-like figures. Three from Lachish were elongated as if meant to represent a bench or couch. Both "throne" models from Beth-Shemesh showed a visible break in the seat, indicating that some figure (perhaps divine?) originally sat in the seat.<sup>165</sup> Quite possibly, this represented some sort of "cult of an empty throne." Provision of a throne or couch was a way of providing for the presence of a deity, though the throne or seat could become, on occasion, a "sacred object of worship, apart from the god."<sup>166</sup> To

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<sup>161</sup>Mackenzie, p. 49.

<sup>162</sup>Ibid., p. 55 and Pl. XXIII.

<sup>163</sup>Tufnell, Lachish III (P), Pl. 29.

<sup>164</sup>Cf. Appendix L.

<sup>165</sup>Mackenzie, p. 55. Almost two hundred fragments and specimens of "pottery couches" were found on the mound at Tell en-Nasbeh, but none in the tombs. Some of these also show evidence of a figure having been attached to the seat (McCown, p. 244).

<sup>166</sup>Cook, p. 22. Cook cites examples of the throne as a symbol of a god's presence from Tema, Babylon, Tyre, Thebes, Beth-Shan, Gezer, and Beth-Shemesh among others. At Tema, he says, "a man dedicates a 'seat to the god Salm for the life of his soul'; or a man will make a niche for

some extent, the idea of the empty "throne" as the seat of the god, and the guarantee of his presence, found its way into Yahwism. The Ark and the cherubim hidden in the Holy of Holies of the Temple were regarded as the "throne of Yahweh," the guarantee that Jerusalem would never fall.<sup>167</sup>

e) "Incense burners".--Two rather unusual objects from the tombs were the "incense burner" in Tomb 142 at Gezer<sup>168</sup> and the censer or "brazier" found in Tell En-Nasbeh, Tomb 5.<sup>169</sup> As to the first of these, it is quite likely that it was not an "incense burner" but a cultic pottery stand upon which bowls containing offerings were placed. May has pointed out the use of two pottery stands in Tomb 912 (Bronze Age) as supports for offering bowls which could, in reality, stand by themselves. "Perhaps offerings considered especially important for the dead were given prominence by resting them on pot-stands."<sup>170</sup>

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a statue and a bed, or a couch" (Cook, p. 21). Cf. also Rowe, Pl. XLVIII, for an empty stone chair or throne found in a sanctuary at Beth-Shan.

<sup>167</sup>Roland de Vaux, "How Jerusalem Became the Holy City," Unpublished lecture at Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, March 26, 1965.

<sup>168</sup>Macalister, 353-354 and Pl. CVI:6. This "incense burner," which the author describes as a "dovecote" type, was found in pieces, the bottom half missing; cf. Appendix M.

<sup>169</sup>McCown, I, pp. 84, 238-239, and II, Pl. 79. Cf. Appendix M.

<sup>170</sup>May, p. 22.



Variations of the circular or triangular aperture design on such stands can be found from Syria to Egypt during the Bronze and Early Iron Ages. Rowe<sup>171</sup> illustrates the same type of stand as found in the sanctuaries of Beth-Shan.<sup>172</sup>

f) "Rattles".--The "rattle" is another piece of funeral equipment which seems to have religious significance. One "rattle" is found in Tomb 1 at Beth-Shemesh,<sup>173</sup> and several more are found in Tombs 106 and 1002 at Lachish.<sup>174</sup> Seven are found in the latter tomb. Strangely enough, the "rattle" seems to be primarily for tomb use; few fragments are to be found on the tells themselves.<sup>175</sup> The "rattles" were really wheel-turned pottery cylinders, averaging 9 cm. in length and 5 cm. in diameter--that is, they were the right size for an adult hand, but were too large for a child. The ends of the cylinder were closed with clay disks; the ends and sometimes the body

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<sup>171</sup>Rowe, Plates XV, LVI, LVIII, LIX and LXI.

<sup>172</sup>Roland de Vaux, in a private interview, March 27, 1965, suggested that incense was placed in bowls on top of the stand and heated by coals placed at the bottom of the hollow cylinder.

<sup>173</sup>Mackenzie, Pl. XXII:16.

<sup>174</sup>Tufnell, Lachish III (P), Plates 27:6 and 28:15-16.

<sup>175</sup>Tufnell, Lachish III (T), p. 376. Tufnell notes that no "rattles" were found in the city levels of Lachish, Gezer or Megiddo. At Tell Beit Mirsim, "rattles" were found only in Stratum A.

were pierced with holes. The noise of the "rattle" was produced by a pebble or clay pellet inside.<sup>176</sup>

The "rattle" seems to be a noise maker which was, perhaps, used during the mourning rites<sup>177</sup> and then left in the tomb. On the other hand, this noise maker could have been considered useful in driving out the evil spirits which might disturb the dead.<sup>178</sup> Again, the fact that Sheol was characterized as a realm of silence may mean that the "rattle" was intended to break the monotony of such a dreary existence. There is no indication that it was merely a child's plaything.

g) Bone pendants.--As indicated above, the bone pendants found so plentifully in the tombs may have a religious significance. The ring and dot decoration may indicate that the pendants were to be unstrung and used in a form of divination ceremony. H. W. Garbutt, writing about witchcraft and superstition in South Africa, tells of a tribe which used divination rods made from the teeth of animals. The rods were long and narrow, and were decorated on one side only with a ring and dot design!

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<sup>176</sup>Ibid.; cf. Appendix N.

<sup>177</sup>Cf. Jer. 16:6-8 and Ezek. 24:16-17 for descriptions of the wailing and noise making that must have gone on at a burial.

<sup>178</sup>Cf. the exorcism rites of primitive witch doctors in Africa and South America.

The rods were shaken, thrown down, and then interpreted according to their position on the ground.<sup>179</sup> It would be quite unusual if the practice of divination in Palestine was carried out by so many of the common people (rather than priests), but the parallel is significant. If the pendants do have religious significance, this throws open the question of religious significance for the so-called "calendar" pendants.

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<sup>179</sup>H. W. Garbutt, "Native Witchcraft and Superstition in South Africa," Journal of the Royal Institute of Anthropology, XXXIX (1909), 537ff., cited by Tufnell, Lachish III (T), pp. 382-383.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS

## CHAPTER IV

### CONCLUSIONS

In light of the foregoing study, but with full recognition of its limitations, some conclusions may be tentatively suggested.

#### A. Hebrew versus Canaanite Burials

When the Israelites entered the land of Canaan, they were profoundly influenced by the very advanced culture of the inhabitants. Israel was indebted to Canaanite culture for its architecture, alphabet, poetic forms, the use of musical instruments, and some matters of religion.<sup>1</sup>

The Israelite views of the world order, the sky, the earth, and the underworld were those of Canaan, and for that matter of the Semitic world in general. Burial customs and the view of the after-life were largely the same.<sup>2</sup>

Wright's evaluation is valid still. While it is true that the differences in Hebrew and Canaanite religious practice and thought are far more remarkable than the similarities, burial practices and views of the after-life are very close. Examination of known Iron Age burials has

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<sup>1</sup>G. E. Wright, "How Did Early Israel Differ From Her Neighbors?," BA, Vol. 6, No. 1 (February 1943), 2-4.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

failed to turn up a key for distinguishing Canaanite and Hebrew tombs.<sup>3</sup>

It is possible that future studies, when available, will reveal that graves and tombs with limited burials reflect a very conservative element in the society--perhaps an element harking back to a nomadic way of life where multiple burials were almost impossible. It will be remembered that none of the single graves examined contained cultic objects; the same was true of Graves 521 and 6006 at Lachish. It is tempting to imagine the existence of a group similar to the Rechabites who, wishing to distinguish themselves both by their way of life and their manner of death, buried their dead in single graves or small tombs. Whether or not this is true, there must be some reason for the constant absence of figurines, amulets, etc. in the smaller burials.

The fact that Hebrew burials cannot be distinguished readily from those of the Canaanites is significant. From the Conquest to the Exile, the prevailing tendency seems to be an easy syncretism between Yahwism and the religion of Canaan. Micah's warning that Yahweh would destroy Judah's graven images, pillars and Asherim<sup>4</sup> simply

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<sup>3</sup>Roland de Vaux has admitted that he knows of no way to distinguish such burials at present (Private interview, March 27, 1965).

<sup>4</sup>Micah 5:12ff.

reflects the prophets' constant fight for the purity of the Yahwistic faith. It took the Exile to accomplish the task.

B. Changes in Hebrew Burial Practices from the Beginning to the End of the Iron Age

The question as to whether Hebrew burial practices changed appreciably during the Iron Age raises the question of a gradual purification of Yahwism in Palestine. Roland de Vaux has asserted that cultic objects foreign to Yahwism tend to disappear from Palestinian tombs the closer they are in time to the Exile.<sup>5</sup> Support for this position depends, at least partially, on the ability to distinguish Hebrew from Canaanite burials. As has been pointed out, this is not really possible.

If, however, the amalgamation of Hebrew and Canaanite elements is assumed, one would still expect to find a gradual decrease in foreign cultic objects as a purified concept of the after-life became dominant. This is exactly the opposite of what is actually found in the tombs! Evidence from Lachish will serve as an example.<sup>6</sup>

Tomb 521 at Lachish was dated about 1000 B.C. by its excavators. This sealed tomb, with four burials, contained no religious objects except perhaps a "calendar"

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<sup>5</sup>Private interview, March 27, 1965.

<sup>6</sup>In order to give unity and consistency to the study, burials from only one site will be considered. The Lachish tombs were the best available.

pendant and a trident.<sup>7</sup> The single graves at Lachish, dated in the ninth and tenth centuries, likewise contained no cultic objects other than pottery deposits.<sup>8</sup> Tomb 6006, a sealed tomb with two burials from the ninth century, was also without definite religious furnishings.<sup>9</sup>

On the other hand, Tomb 106 from Lachish, dated in the sixth and seventh centuries,<sup>10</sup> included in its carefully cut chambers two female fertility figures, a libation vessel and a "rattle."<sup>11</sup> The multiple burials of Tomb 1002, an eighth century burial, were divided by the excavators into "layers" for analysis. Significantly, the upper (or later) layers contained more cultic figurines, "rattles," model furniture and birds on a stand than the earlier funeral deposits.<sup>12</sup> The later tombs, thus, show more signs of religious syncretism than the earlier burials.<sup>13</sup>

There is no counter evidence for a decrease in the number of cultic objects in Palestinian tombs. Indeed, when one considers that cultic objects were rather scarce

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<sup>7</sup>Tufnell, Lachish III (T), p. 222.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., pp. 171-174.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 246.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., pp. 179-181.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 186.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., pp. 230 and 235.

<sup>13</sup>The fact that Lachish, being a frontier town, was particularly subject to Egyptian influence is not important. Egyptian influence would have been a rather constant factor at Lachish.



in Late Bronze and Philistine burials,<sup>14</sup> it seems that the religious situation worsened in Palestine as the centuries passed. Seemingly, the faith of the common people was swamped by the paganism into which it was immersed. Hebrew and/or Canaanite burials give no support to the idea that the Hebrews as a whole gradually separated themselves from Canaanite and Egyptian influences.

### C. Relationship of Sheol to the Grave

Phrases such as "gathered to his people," or "gathered to his fathers," or "to lie down with one's fathers," appear constantly in the Old Testament. Originally, the phrases probably implied burial in the family burial ground, but most of the time they meant simply "to die."<sup>15</sup>

There was, nevertheless, still a very close connection between Sheol and the grave. Pedersen, for example, says that graves were usually in close connection with the house of the deceased.<sup>16</sup> This was particularly true at an earlier period. Stone Age burials from near Mt. Carmel were clustered in or about the caves where the family lived. Natufian burials from Jericho were found underneath the

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<sup>14</sup>Cf. supra, Chapter II.

<sup>15</sup>Heidel, pp. 144-146; Bassett, pp. 62-63.

<sup>16</sup>Pedersen, p. 496.

floors of houses--with either the entire body or skulls with plastered features being preserved.<sup>17</sup>

Despite, however, some biblical references to being buried in one's own house,<sup>18</sup> the tombs from the Iron Age seem to form little communities of their own rather than remaining in close proximity to the living. The burials are generally grouped together in a necropolis area rather than scattered out in private family holdings.

The fact that both Sheol and its synonyms (bor, shachath and abaddon) can be used interchangeably with each other and in descriptions of the grave is more positive evidence of a close relationship between Sheol and the grave. To this must be added the fact that Sheol is described in terms which parallel almost exactly the conditions which are found in the tombs--silence, darkness and dust. The care which was taken in providing for the needs of the dead indicates that, to some extent, existence in the grave was to be equated with the existence of the shades in Sheol.

Though one could not always be "gathered to one's fathers" in the strict physical sense, the expression persisted because of the identification of all graves with

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<sup>17</sup>Joseph A. Callaway, "Burials in Ancient Palestine: From the Stone Age to Abraham," BA, Vol. 26, No. 3 (September 1963), 75-78.

<sup>18</sup>Gen. 25:8, 35:29, 49:33; Num. 27:13; Deut. 32:50; Judges 2:10; I Sam. 25:1; I Kings 2:34.

the great "Ur-grave," that is, Sheol. Sometimes there was not even an effort to be buried with one's family. Single graves are an example of this lack of interest in being physically present with one's ancestors. The Tomb of the Royal Steward near Jerusalem is another example.<sup>19</sup> The steward built the tomb solely for himself and his "wife." In the rather fluid Hebrew thought, then, Sheol was both individual, in the sense that man is buried either by himself or with a few others, and corporate, in the sense that he joins the great world of the dead.

#### D. Religious Nature of the Burials

The overwhelming conclusion of this study is that the Hebrews were influenced by both Egyptian and Canaanite religious practices. The evidence from the tombs throws light on (1) their concept of Sheol, and (2) their religious allegiance.

First, the common concept of Sheol, or the after-life, is attested to in the presence of pottery, jewelry, household items and weapons in the burials. One must conclude that, to some degree, Sheol was thought of as an extension of this world. The characteristics of this world

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<sup>19</sup>N. Avigad, "The Epitaph of a Royal Steward from Siloam Village," IEJ, III (1953), 143; cf. Charles Clermont-Ganneau, Archaeological Researches in Palestine, trans. Aubrey Stewart (2 vols.; London: Harrison and Sons, 1899), I, 310-312.

were to be carried over into the flat, listless world of the repha'im. The probability that gifts of food were placed in many of the tombs is more evidence of what was, at the least, "a belief in survival after death and a feeling of affection towards the dead."<sup>20</sup>

This concept of the after-life did not, of course, include the idea of a resurrection; that was to come later.<sup>21</sup> During the pre-Exilic period, Israel's conception of Sheol was largely that of her neighbors.

Second, the evidence from the tombs says a great deal about the ultimate religious loyalty of the inhabitants of Palestine. The fact that, at the crisis of death, men chose to be buried with Egyptian style amulets, Astarte figurines, Semite fertility figurines, "Horus Eyes," "rattles" and libation juglets must not be ignored, for it means that a large portion of the people still clung to the old gods and the old ways for security.

Actually, this is what one would expect, for a close reading of the Old Testament indicates a constant

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<sup>20</sup>Roland de Vaux, Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions, trans. John McHugh (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1961), p. 60. Father de Vaux insists, however, that such offerings were not cultic in the sense that they expressed fear of the dead or attributed some sort of divinity to the deceased (Ibid., p. 61).

<sup>21</sup>Rowley traces the beginning of a resurrection hope in such passages as: Dan. 12:2; Is. 24-27; Ps. 49:14f., 73:23f., 16:10 (The Faith of Israel, pp. 160-176).

struggle between the proponents of pure Yahwism and those with syncretistic tendencies. Wright notes that

while the enlightened religious leadership of Israel might believe one way, the mass of the people were more tolerant of the ways of the world, adopting many of the practices of their neighbors. . . .<sup>22</sup>

The pronouncements of the prophets and priests did not necessarily reflect the prevailing attitude of the people any more than sermons and books reflect the popular piety of Christians today.

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<sup>22</sup>Wright, "How Did Early Israel Differ From Her Neighbors?," p. 5.

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## APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

TOMB ARCHITECTURE

SITE	GRAVE	SINGLE- CHAMBER TOMB	TRIPLE- CHAMBER TOMB	OTHER
'Amman (Harding)		X		
'Amman (Ma'ayeh)				No descrip- tion given.
Beth-Shemesh,				
Tomb 1			X	
Tomb 2		X		
Tomb 3		X		
Tomb 4		X		
Tomb 5		X		
Tomb 6		X		
Tomb 7		X		
Tomb 8		X		
Beth-Pelet,				
Cemetery 200				Individual jar burials.
Tomb 201				Rectangular, lined pit.
Ez Zahiriyye			X	
Gezer,				
Tomb 96			X	
Tomb 142		X		
Tomb 150		X		
Gibeon		X		
Jerusalem, Tomb of the "Royal Steward"		X		
Lachish,				
Grave 110	X			
Grave 132	X			
Grave 147	X			
Grave 154	X			
Grave 182	X			
Grave 189	X			

APPENDIX A (cont.)

SITE	GRAVE	SINGLE- CHAMBER TOMB	TRIPLE- CHAMBER TOMB	OTHER
<b>Lachish,</b>				
	Grave 191	X		
	Grave 194	X		
	Grave 4007	X		
	Grave 4027	X		
	Tomb 106		X	
	Tomb 116	X		
	Tomb 120			Large pit; over 1500 bodies.
	Tomb 218		X	
	Tomb 223		X	
	Tomb 224			Oval-shaped.
	Tomb 230			Oval-shaped.
	Tomb 521	X		
	Tomb 1002			Irregular pit.
	Tomb 6006	X		
<b>Megiddo,</b>				
	Grave 17	X		
	Grave 37,C-2			Jar burial.
	Grave 62	X		
	Grave 71	X		
	Grave 237	X		
	Tomb 221			Reused, four- chambered tomb.
	Tomb 1090		X	
<b>Meqabelein</b>				
		X		
<b>Sahab</b>				
		X		
<b>Tell en-Nasbeh,</b>				
	Tomb 3	X		
	Tomb 5	X		
	Tomb 32			Natural cave.
	Tomb 54			Circular cave.

APPENDIX B

TOMB CONTENTS (MULTIPLE BURLIALS)

Key to objects:

- 1.....Lamps
- 2.....Storage jars
- 3.....Bowls
- 4.....Chalices
- 5.....Jugs, juglets and water-decanter
- 6.....Household items and weapons
- 7.....Personal adornments
- 8.....Amulets
- 9.....Figurines and libation vessels
- 10.....Other religious objects
- 11.....Remains of food offerings

SITE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
'Amman (Harding)											
Tomb A	X		X	X	X	X	X		X		X
Tomb B			X	X	X		X		X		
'Amman (Ma'ayeh)	X		X	X	X		X		X		
Beth-Shemesh,											
Tomb 1	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Tomb 2	X	X	X		X		X		X		X
Tomb 3	X				X	X	X				
Tomb 4	X		X		X		X	X			
Tomb 5	X		X		X	X	X	X	X		
Tomb 6	X		X		X						
Tomb 7	X	X	X		X				X		
Tomb 8	X	X	X		X	X	X		X	X	X
Beth-Pelet,											
Tomb 201	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	
Ez Zahiriyye	X	X	X	X	X		X		X		
Gezer,											
Tomb 96	X		X	X	X	X	X				
Tomb 142	X		X	X	X	X	X	X		X	
Tomb 150						X	X				
Gibeon	X		X	X	X	X	X		X		



APPENDIX B (cont.)

SITE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Jerusalem, Tomb of the "Royal Steward"	Nothing was found in the tomb.										
Lachish,											
Tomb 106	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Tomb 116	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			
Tomb 218	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X		
Tomb 223	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X		
Tomb 224	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			X
Tomb 250	X	X	X		X						
Tomb 521	X	X	X		X	X	X				X
Tomb 1002	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Tomb 6006	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				
Megiddo,											
Tomb 221	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				
Tomb 1090	X	X	X	X	X						
Meqabelein						X	X		X		
Sahab	X		X	X	X	X	X		X		
Tell en-Nasbeh,											
Tomb 3	Information not available.										
Tomb 5	X		X	X	X						X
Tomb 32	X		X	X	X	X	X				
Tomb 54	Information not available.										

APPENDIX C

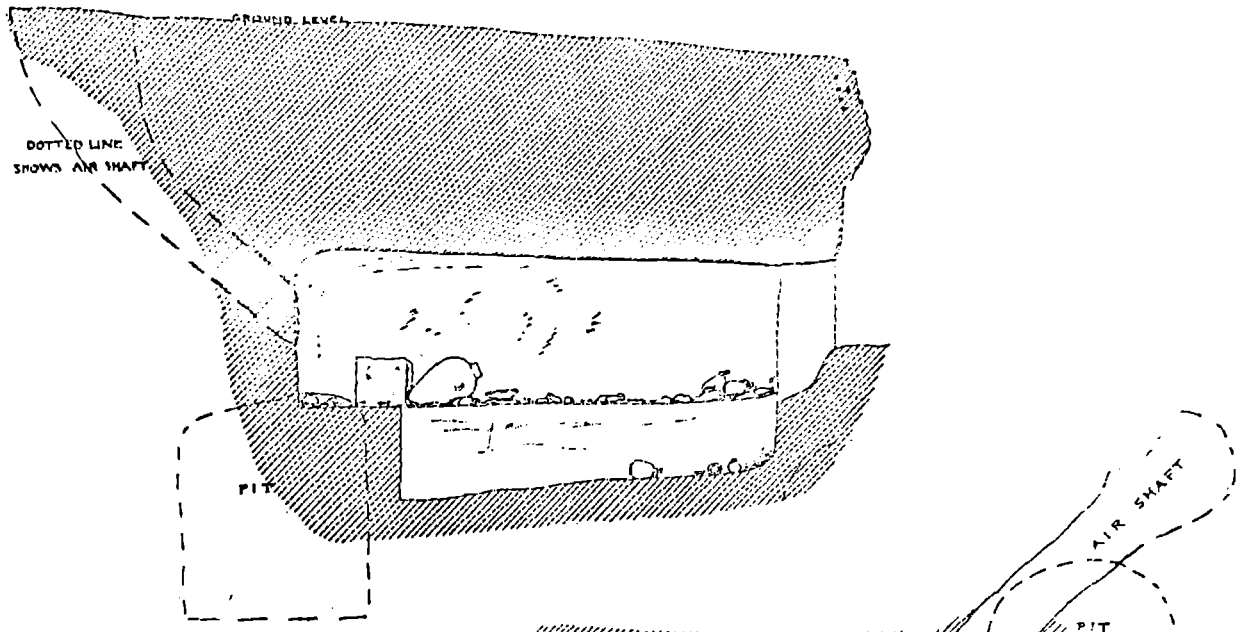
TOMB CONTENTS (SINGLE BURIALS)

Key to objects:

- 1.....Lamps
- 2.....Storage jars
- 3.....Bowls
- 4.....Chalices
- 5.....Jugs, juglets and water-decanter
- 6.....Household items and weapons
- 7.....Personal adornments
- 8.....Amulets
- 9.....Figurines and libation vessels
- 10.....Other religious objects
- 11.....Remains of food offerings

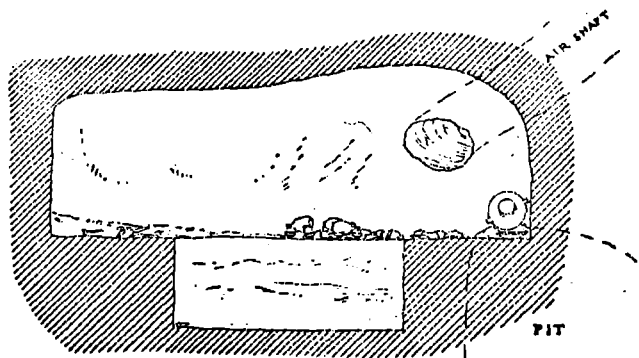
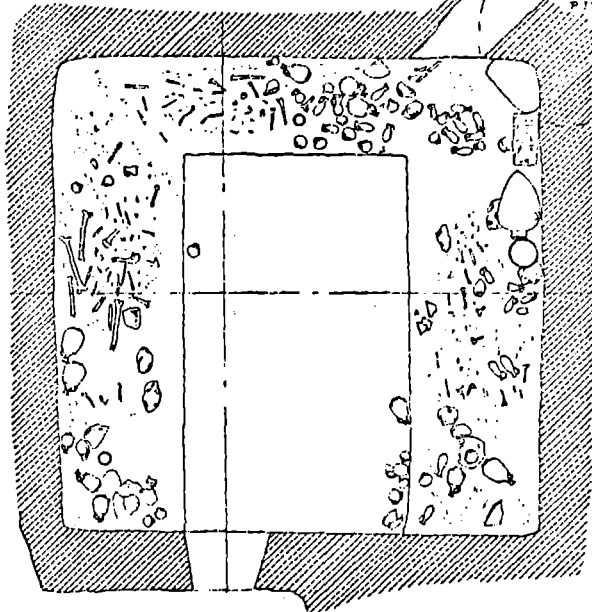
SITE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Beth-Pelet, Jar burials in Cemetery 200		X	X		X	X	X				
Lachish,											
Grave 110		X	X		X		X			X?	
Grave 132	X	X	X		X						
Grave 147		X	X		X		X				
Grave 154			X		X						
Grave 182		X	X		X						
Grave 189	X		X		X	X	X				
Grave 191		X	X		X					X?	X
Grave 194					X		X				
Grave 4007					X	X					
Grave 4027					X	X	X				
Megiddo,											
Grave 17		X	X		X	X	X				
Grave 37,C-2		X					X				
Grave 62		X	X		X		X			X?	
Grave 71		X			X	X	X				
Grave 237		X	X		X						

APPENDIX D



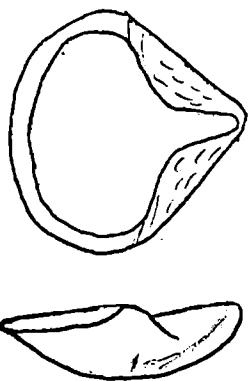
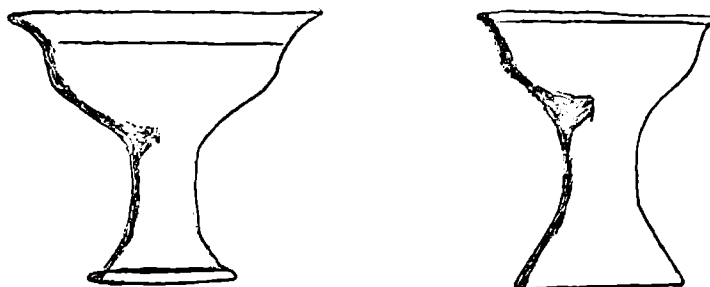
Beth-Shemesh, Tomb 2

(PEFA, No. 2, Pl. V)

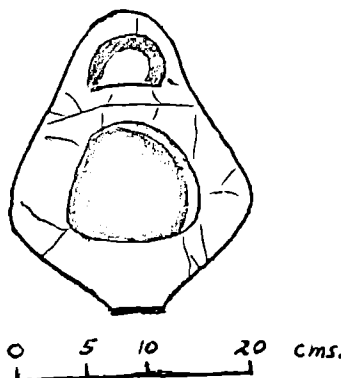


APPENDIX E

CHALICES

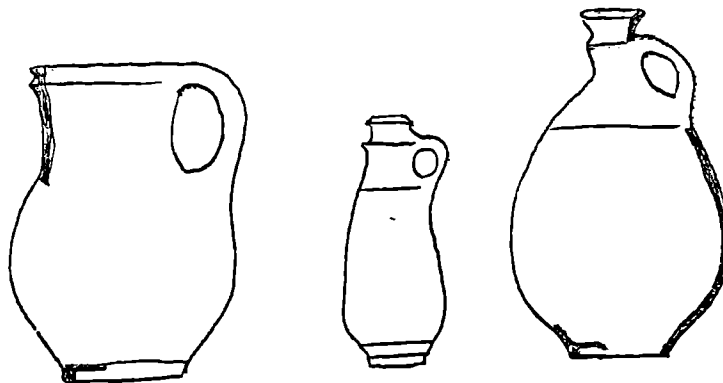


LAMPS



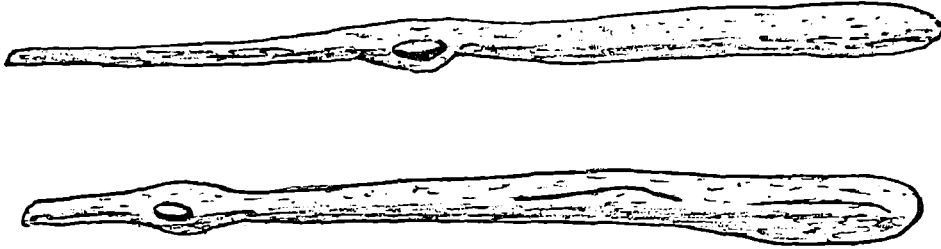
(QDAP, XI, Pl. XVII:40)

JUGS and  
WATER-  
DECANTERS



APPENDIX F

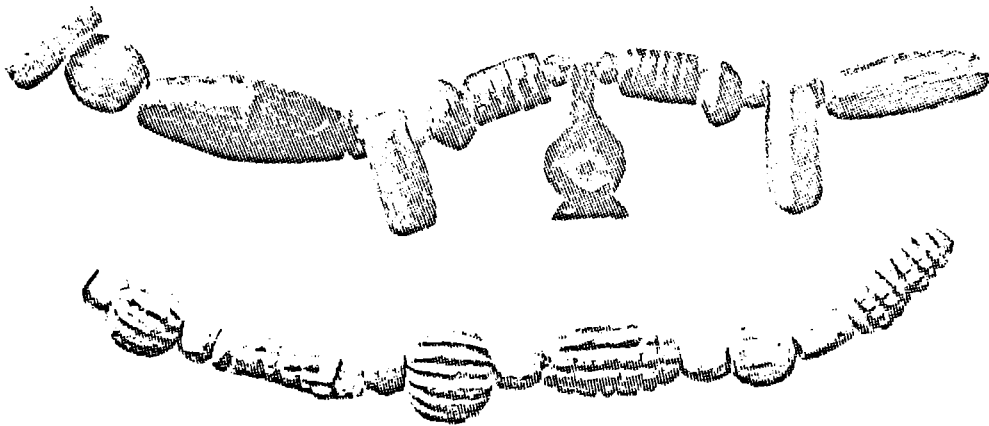
TOGGLE PINS



FIBULAE  
(scale 1:2)



BEADS

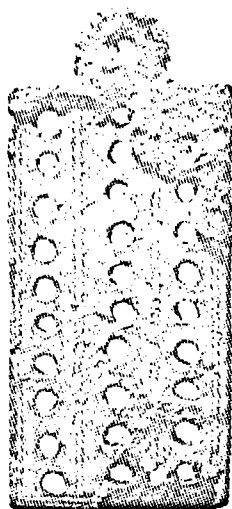


APPENDIX G

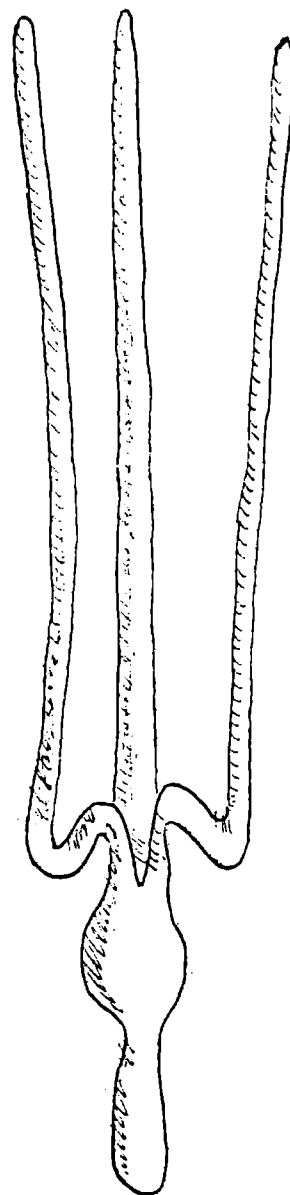
BONE PENDANTS  
Lachish III (P), Pl. 37  
(scale 1:1)



"CALENDARS"  
Lachish III (P), Pl. 37  
(scale 1:1)



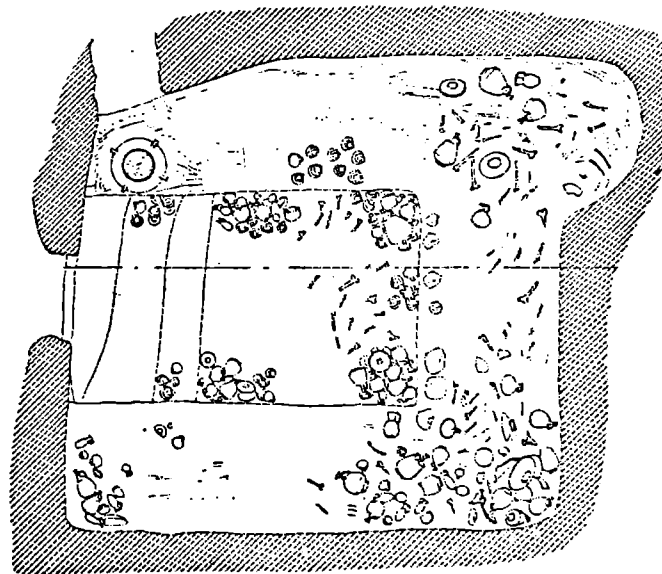
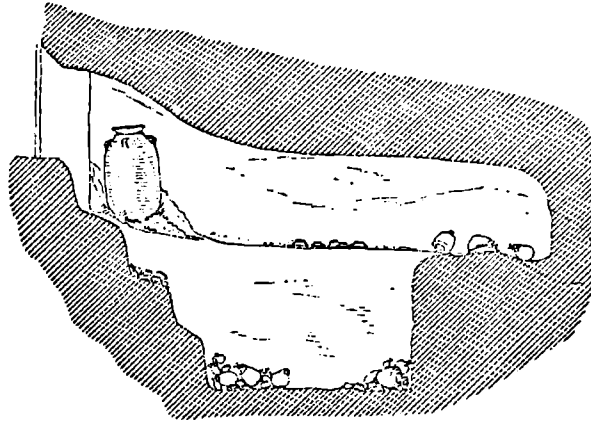
TRIDENT  
Lachish III (P),  
Pl. 56  
(scale 1:2)



APPENDIX H

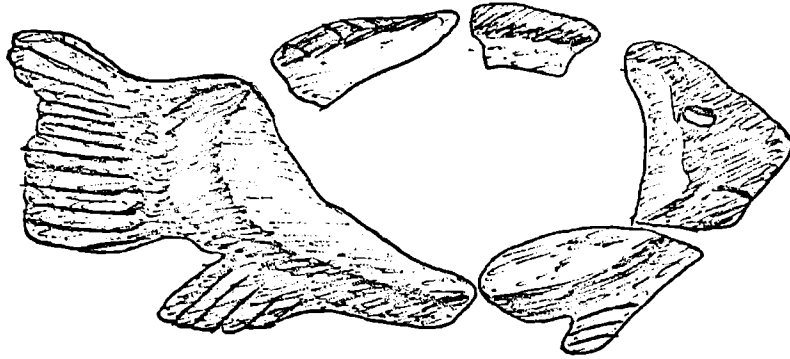
Beth-Shemesh, Tomb 8

(PEFA, No. 2, Pl. X)

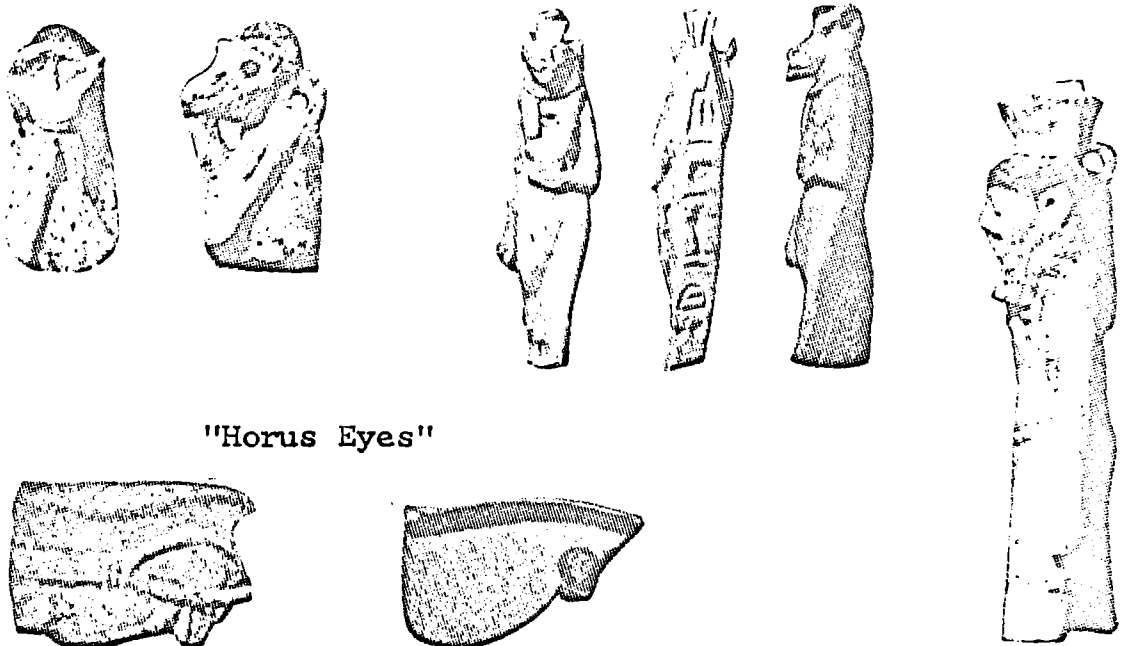


APPENDIX I

"FISH SPOON"  
Guy, Megiddo Tombs,  
Pl. 168:13  
(scale 1:1)



AMULETS  
(scale 1:1)



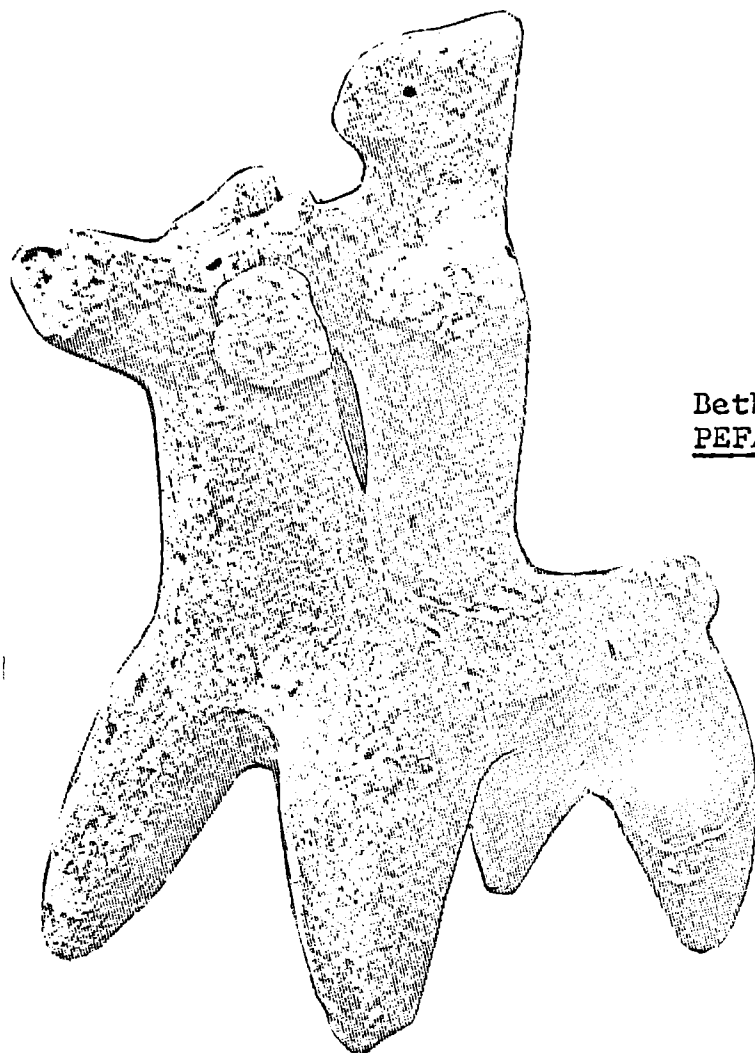
"Horus Eyes"





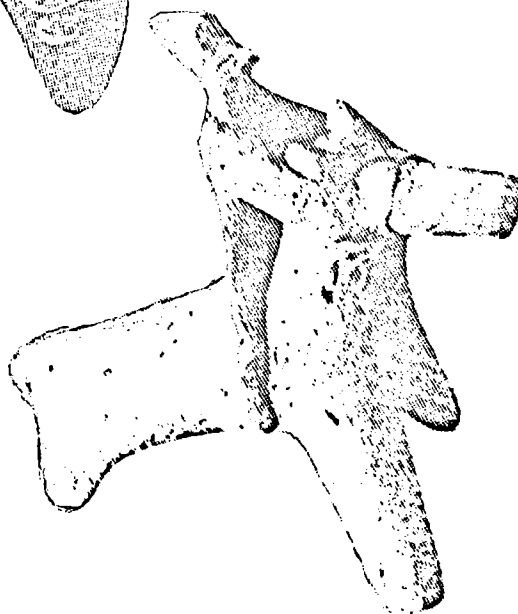
APPENDIX J

HORSE AND RIDER FIGURES



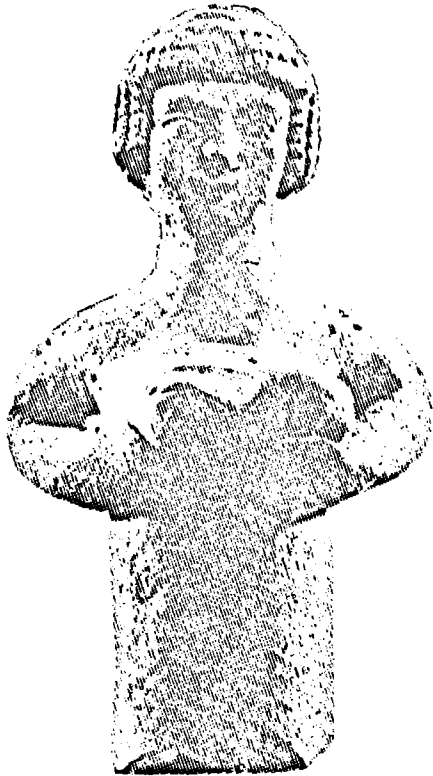
Beth-Shemesh, Tomb 8  
PEFA, No. 2, Pl. LV

Lachish, Tomb 1002  
Lachish III (P),  
Pl. 29:17

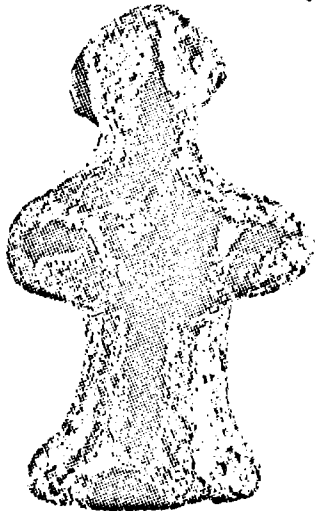


APPENDIX J (cont.)

FEMALE FIGURES



(scale 1:1)

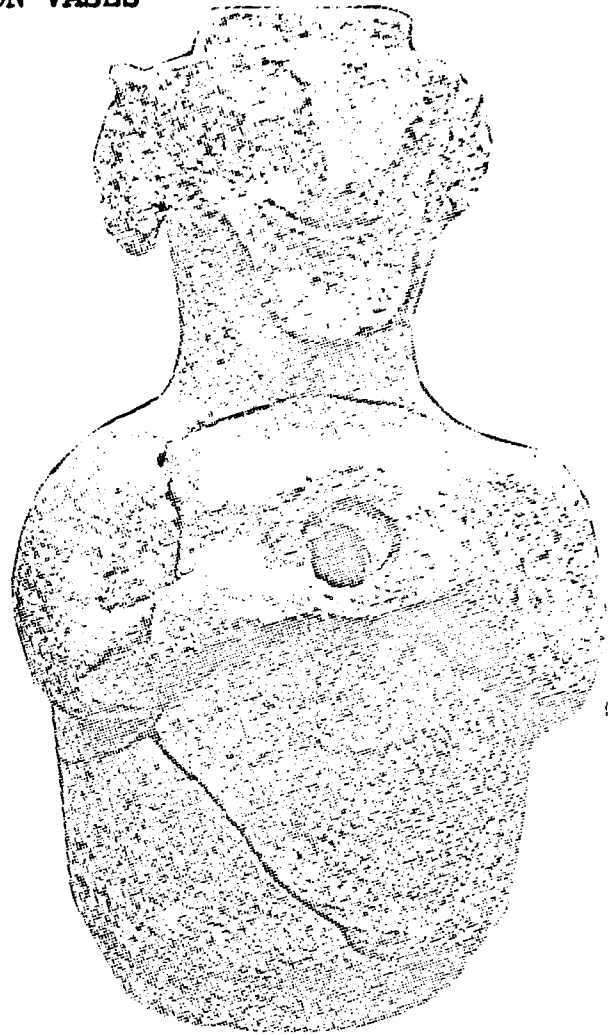
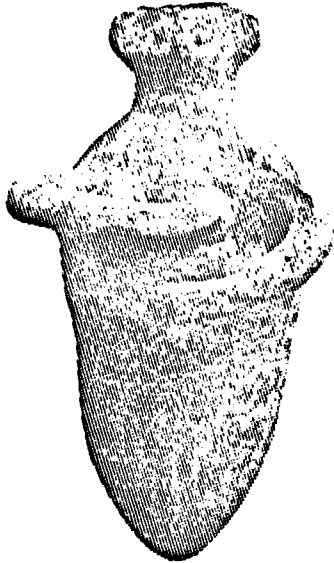


Lachish, Tomb 1002  
Lachish III (P), Pl. 28

APPENDIX K

LIBATION VASES

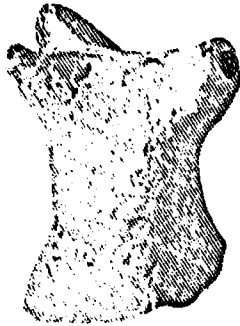
"Astarte" Figurine from  
Ez Zahiriyye  
ODAP, IV, Pl. LXIV



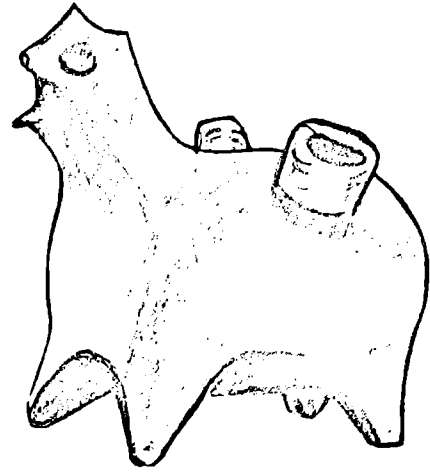
Beth-Shemesh, Tomb 7  
PEFA, No. 2, Pl. XLVIII

APPENDIX I

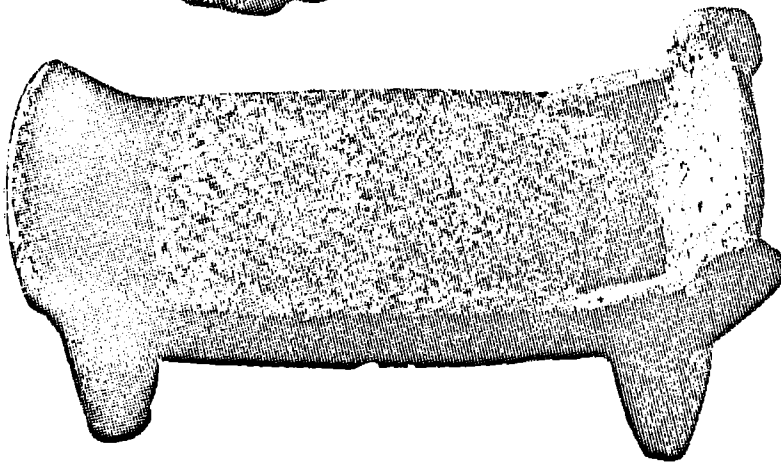
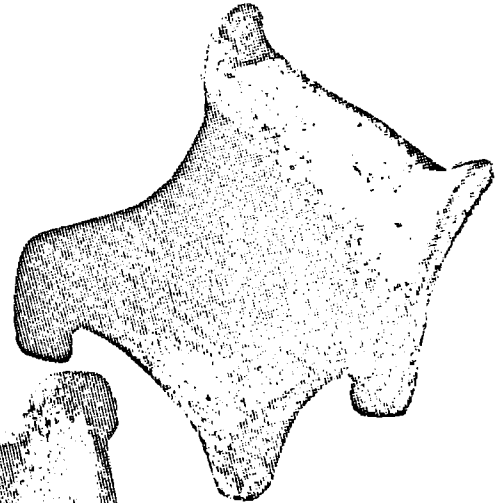
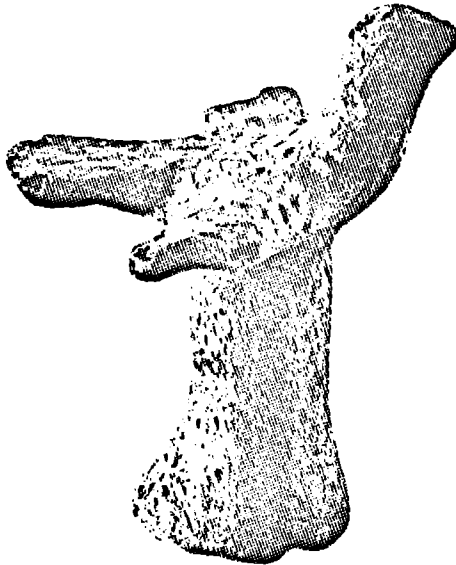
"Pierced Animal Head"  
Lachish, Tomb 106



"Zoomorphic" Vessel  
Lachish, Tomb 1002



Bird on a Pedestal  
Lachish, Tomb 1002

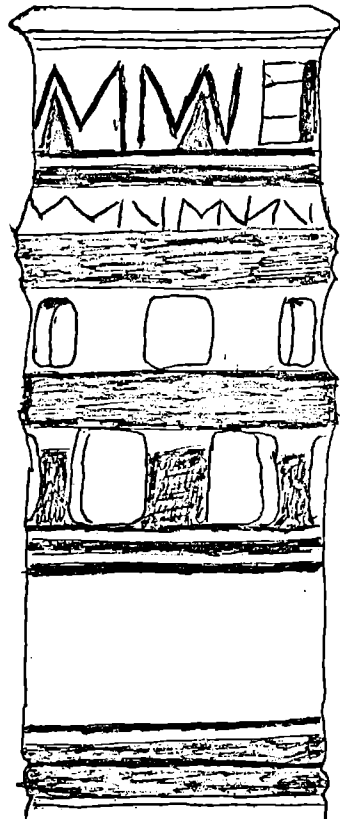
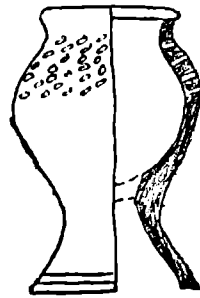


Model "Couches"  
Lachish, Tomb  
1002

APPENDIX M

INCENSE BURNERS

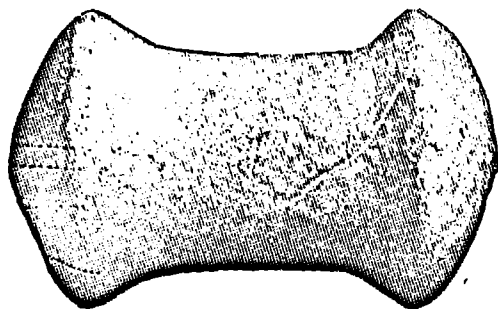
Tell en-Nasbeh, Tomb 5  
McCown, TN, II, Pl. 79



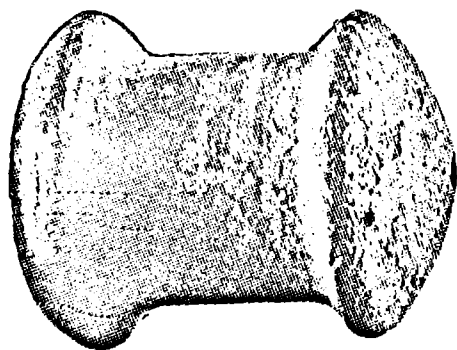
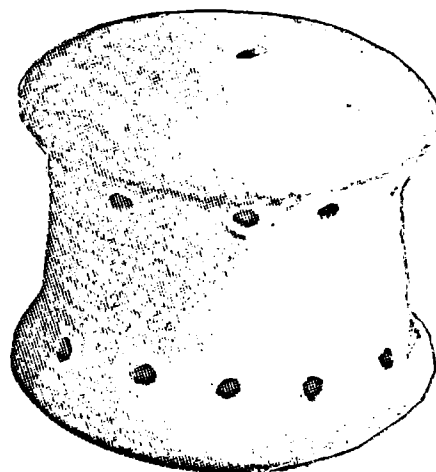
Gezer, Tomb 142  
Macalister, Gezer, III,  
Pl. CVI:6

APPENDIX N

"RATTLES"



Lachish III (P),  
Plates 27 and 28  
(scale 1:2)





## BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Thomas Furman Hewitt

- Personal:** Born: November 24, 1937, Columbia, S. C.  
Parents: Mr. and Mrs. Thomas H. Hewitt,  
Columbia, S. C.
- Education:** Schneider Elementary School, Columbia, S. C.,  
1950  
Hand Junior High School, Columbia, S. C.,  
1953  
Dreher High School, Columbia, S. C., 1956  
Furman University, Greenville, S. C.,  
1960 (B.A.)  
Southern Baptist Theological Seminary,  
Louisville, Kentucky, 1963 (B.D.)
- Experience:** Grader, Religion Department, Furman  
University, 1958-1960  
Associate Pastor, Lake City Baptist Church,  
Lake City, S. C., 1960  
Associate Pastor, Earlewood Baptist Church,  
Columbia, S. C., 1962  
Associate Pastor, Clifton Forge Baptist  
Church, Clifton Forge, Virginia, 1963  
Professor's Assistant, Southern Baptist  
Seminary, Biblical Archaeology Department,  
1962-1964  
Graduate Fellow, Southern Baptist Seminary,  
Old Testament and Biblical Archaeology,  
1964-1965