

Andrews University

Digital Commons @ Andrews University

Master's Theses

Graduate Research

1992

The Implications of the Arad Temple for the Question of Dating P

Jorge Luiz Da Silva
Andrews University

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.andrews.edu/theses>

Recommended Citation

Da Silva, Jorge Luiz, "The Implications of the Arad Temple for the Question of Dating P" (1992). *Master's Theses*. 34.

<https://dx.doi.org/10.32597/theses/34/>

<https://digitalcommons.andrews.edu/theses/34>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate Research at Digital Commons @ Andrews University. It has been accepted for inclusion in Master's Theses by an authorized administrator of Digital Commons @ Andrews University. For more information, please contact repository@andrews.edu.



Seek Knowledge. Affirm Faith. Change the World.

Thank you for your interest in the

**Andrews University Digital Library
of Dissertations and Theses.**

Please honor the copyright of this document by not duplicating or distributing additional copies in any form without the author's express written permission. Thanks for your cooperation.

INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

U·M·I

University Microfilms International
A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
313 761-4700 800 521-0600

Order Number 1348183

The implications of the Arad temple for the question of dating *P*

da Silva, Jorge Luiz, M.A.

Andrews University, 1992

Copyright ©1992 by da Silva, Jorge Luiz. All rights reserved.

U·M·I
300 N. Zeeb Rd.
Ann Arbor, MI 48106

Andrews University
Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary

THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE ARAD TEMPLE
FOR THE QUESTION OF DATING P

A Thesis
Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Jorge Luiz da Silva

April 1992

THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE ARAD TEMPLE
FOR THE QUESTION OF DATING P

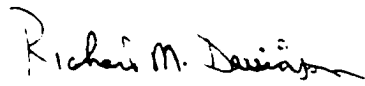
A thesis
presented in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree
Master of Arts

by
Jorge Luiz da Silva


APPROVAL BY THE COMMITTEE:




J. Bjørnar Storfjell, Ph.D., Chair



Richard M. Davidson, Ph.D.



Randall W. Younker, M.A.



Date approved

Copyright by Jorge Luiz da Silva 1992
© All Rights Reserved

ABSTRACT

**THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE ARAD TEMPLE
FOR THE QUESTION OF DATING P**

by

Jorge Luiz da Silva

Adviser: J. Bjørnar Storfjell

ABSTRACT OF GRADUATE STUDENT RESEARCH

Thesis

Andrews University

Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary

Title: THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE ARAD TEMPLE FOR THE QUESTION
OF DATING P

Name of researcher: Jorge Luiz da Silva

Name and degree of faculty adviser: J. Bjørnar Storfjell,
Ph.D.

Date completed: May 1992

Purpose

The P material--writings and traditions--has generally been dated mainly on the basis of literary analysis of the Hebrew Bible. This study seeks to determine the implications of the Arad temple--which constitutes a body of non-literary, archaeological evidence--for the question of dating P.

Methodology

The P Tabernacle, the Solomonic Temple--and those Canaanite temples which are comparable to them--are typologically analyzed in order to identify the most probable determinants of the Arad temple traits. A review

of selected critical literature is made in order to determine the prevailing theories on the date of *P* and how the finds from Tel Arad relate to them.

Conclusions

There are more parallels between the Arad temple and the *P* Tabernacle than between them and any other temple in Syro-Palestine, including the Solomonic Temple. The evidence suggests that the *P* traditions provided the basic criteria for selecting the traits of the Arad temple. Considering that the Arad temple was built in the tenth century B.C., it is concluded that the *P* traditions originated sometime prior to that date.

To Ivani and Julie

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		
1.	INTRODUCTION	1
	The Research Problem.	1
	The Research Methodology.	4
	The Archaeology of the Arad Temple.	5
	Chronology	6
	The "Solomonic" City Gate	7
	The Ostraca	7
	The Pottery	8
	Shishak's Inscription	8
	Biblical Parallels.	8
	Ethnicity.	11
	Hebrew Ostraca.	11
	Time and Location	12
	Plan and Contents of the Temple	13
	History of the Temple	13
	Function	15
	Isolation	15
	Exotic Materials.	15
	Continuity.	16
	Parallels	16
	Finds.	17
2.	DETERMINANTS OF THE ARAD TEMPLE TRAITS	20
	Temple Spatial Arrangement.	23
	The P Temple Type.	23
	A Tripartite Cultic Area.	24
	A Linear Positioning of the Three Sections	24
	A Concealed Holy of Holies.	25
	Alleged Differences Between the Arad Temple and the P Type	25
	The Main Room	26
	The Adytum.	27
	The Vestibule	29
	Alleged Prototypes of the P Temple Type.	31
	The Great Temple D at Ebla	32
	Temple 7300 at Shechem.	34
	Alalakh Level I Temple.	36
	Hazor Area H Temples.	38

Tell Taynat Temple.	40
Temple Orientation.	42
Temple Contents	46
Jachin and Boaz.	47
Masseboth.	49
Bamah.	54
Incense Altars	56
Iconography.	58
Burnt-Offering Altar	60
Temple Measurements and Proportions	62
The Temple's Width	62
The Proportions of the Main Hall	64
The Dimensions of the Burnt-Offering Altar.	65
 3. THE P TRADITIONS AND THE ARAD SANCTUARY.	 69
J. Wellhausen's Views on the P Tabernacle	70
The P Tabernacle in the Post-Wellhausen Era	76
H. Gunkel.	77
The Albright School.	78
M. Noth.	80
G. von Rad	82
The P Tabernacle in the Recent Debate	84
A. S. Kapelrud	86
P. J. Kearney.	87
H. Haran	88
The Arad Sanctuary and the Date of P.	90
The Date of the Tradition.	90
The Content of the Tradition	96
The Transmission of the Tradition.	99
 4. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.	 101
Summary of Chapter 2.	101
Trait Patterns	102
Pattern A	102
Pattern B	103
Pattern C	103
Pattern D	104
Pattern E	104
Pattern F	105
Pattern G	105
Causative Factors.	105
Canaanite Temples	106
Solomonic Temple.	106
P Tabernacle.	106
Summary of Chapter 3.	107
Conclusions	108
 FIGURES	 110
Figure 1: Temple Sites.	111

Figure 2: Isometric Reconstruction of the Open Settlement at Arad.	112
Figure 3: Plan of Arad, Stratum XI.	113
Figure 4: Plan of Arad, Stratum X.	114
Figure 5: Plan of Arad, Stratum IX.	115
Figure 6: Plan of Arad, Stratum VIII.	116
Figure 7: Plan of Arad, Stratum VII.	117
Figure 8: Plan of Arad, Stratum VI.	118
Figure 9: Plan of the Arad Temple, Strata XI and X.	119
Figure 10: Plan of the Solomonic Temple.	120
Figure 11: Plan of the Great Temple D at Ebla.	121
Figure 12: Plan of Temple 7300 at Shechem.	122
Figure 13: Plan of the Fortress Temple at Shechem.	123
Figure 14: Plan of the Shechem Gate Complex, Temple 7300, Palace, and Fortress Temple	124
Figure 15: Plan of the Alalakh Stratum VII Temple.	125
Figure 16: Plan of the Alalakh Level I Temple.	126
Figure 17: Plan of the Hazor Area H Temple	127
Figure 18: Plan of the Taynat Temple	128
TABLES.	129
Table 1: Temple Trait Occurrence	130
Table 2: Chronology of the Iron Age Tel Arad	131
Table 3: Chronology of the Temples	132
Table 4: External Dimensions of the Temples.	133
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY	134

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The Research Problem

In 1963, during the second season of archaeological excavations at Tel Arad, "an Israelite sanctuary" (Aharoni 1967d:247) was discovered showing "most striking" (Aharoni 1973a:4) similarities to the Biblical Tabernacle. Its excavator, Yohanan Aharoni (hereafter referred to as Aharoni, not to be confused with M. Aharoni), assigned the first phase of the temple to Stratum XI and dated it to "the 10th century B.C." (1968a:18-19), in the days of the United Monarchy in Israel.

This early date and the characteristics of the Arad sanctuary, which coincide with some but not all characteristics of both the Solomonic Temple and the Tabernacle, led Aharoni to the conclusion that here one finds evidence for the existence of an "early tradition" (1973a:6) according to which the Solomonic Temple, the Tabernacle, and the Arad sanctuary were conceived.

Considering that the Arad temple provides a chronological and typological point of reference, a comparative study of its traits with those of the P

Tabernacle should yield some conclusions with bearings on the question of dating the so-called P traditions. (P stands for *Priestly* and refers to those sections in the OT which have been generally referred to as *Priestly Code, Document, strand, or traditions*. Depending on the context, it may also refer to the author or authors of those sections. The other OT strands will also be referred to by their usual symbols: *J=Jehovist, E=Elohist, and D=Deuteronomist.*)

Since the publication of Julius Wellhausen's *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* in 1878--a convenient English translation of which was published under his supervision few years later (Wellhausen 1885)--critical scholars have generally held that the description of the Tabernacle in the Hebrew Bible (Exod 25-31; 35-40) is a late literary creation (P) that would have been composed as late as 398 B.C., in the late Persian period (Vink 1969:144), or not earlier than the fall of Samaria, in 722 B.C. (Friedman 1987:91-92). Furthermore, these cultic traditions are assumed to be not only later than, but also much dependent upon the Jerusalem Temple.

Despite the recent tendency of the Tradition History School to move away or beyond Wellhausen's methods and conclusions, a significant number of critical scholars still maintain his thesis regarding the relative position in time of the Pentateuchal sources (*i.e.*, JE, D, P), which was

considerably influenced by his views about the Tabernacle, as shall be discussed in chapter 3. The so-called Graf-Wellhausen Hypothesis is still regarded as the "cornerstone" of modern OT Criticism (Vink 1969:9). It is, therefore, most necessary to keep the propositions of such an influential theory under continuous testing.

Wellhausen based his conclusions almost exclusively on internal, literary analysis of the OT. Ideally, the Graf-Wellhausen Hypothesis and all other propositions which assume some of its tenets--including the Tradition History School--would have to be tested by external, non-literary evidence. This possibility seems to be presented, for the first time, by the finds at Tel Arad which include "the first Israelite temple which has been discovered by archaeology" (Aharoni 1969:30) and constitute an independent, external, archaeological body of evidence.

As far as it could be ascertained, no study that correlates the Arad sanctuary with critical theories about the origin of P has ever been published. This task was, therefore, undertaken here.

In the face of the critical stand on this subject, this study considered what the implications of the Arad sanctuary are, if any, upon the current debate about the origin and date of the P traditions.

The Research Methodology

Given the very nature of this study, it necessarily dwelt on the intersection of two clearly delimited disciplines: Archaeology and OT Criticism. The finds of the former at Tel Arad were treated as a means of verification of the critical theories about the origin of the P traditions.

The thesis that the Arad temple presupposes the existence of written instructions that are fundamentally similar to the P descriptions of the Tabernacle functioned as the working hypothesis. It results from the combination of the following propositions, the validity of which were analyzed and evaluated in the course of the research:

1. The Arad temple was first built in the tenth century B.C.
2. The differences between the Arad sanctuary and the Jerusalem Temple are evidence of their independent origin.
3. The similarities between the Arad sanctuary and the Jerusalem Temple are evidence of an earlier tradition on which they are both based.
4. Its significant similarities with P are indication of a causative influence exerted by the latter upon the former.
5. The traits of the Arad temple reflect the influence of a written, not oral tradition.

It has been assumed that testing the working hypothesis would yield a conclusion which would help to verify the critical theories about the origin and date of P.

In order to achieve its objective, this work was carried out mainly by means of review of relevant literature, both archaeological and critical, and deductive analysis of the data.

Chapter 2 identifies the most probable determinants of the Arad temple traits by means of a typological analysis of those ancient temples which share some formal traits with the Arad temple, belong to the same general time frame and were in the same geographical area.

Chapter 3 summarizes the main ideas which have commanded the debate on the origin and date of the P Tabernacle traditions and, within that context, considers the implications of the conclusions reached in chapter 2 for the question of dating those traditions.

The Archaeology of the Arad Temple

In order to provide a background for the following discussion, it is necessary to make some preliminary considerations regarding the archaeology of the Arad temple.

The final excavation reports on Tel Arad have not yet been published. Since the complete archaeological data is not available, Aharoni's descriptions and interpretations of the finds cannot be adequately verified. Therefore, to

-

pursue the objectives of this proposed study, several assumptions were made regarding the Arad temple.

This problem, however, was minimized by the fact that Aharoni published a number of preliminary reports and articles which amass most of the relevant information (Aharoni and Aharoni 1976; Aharoni 1963; 1964; 1965; 1966a; 1966b; 1967a; 1967b; 1967c; 1967d; 1967e; 1968a; 1969; 1970; 1972a; 1973a; 1973b; 1973c; 1975a; Aharoni and Amiran 1962; 1964a; 1964b; 1964c; 1967).

Particularly important is the most recent preliminary report published after Aharoni's death by four of those who "were closely involved with Aharoni in both the excavations and the analysis of the stratigraphic, ceramic, and epigraphic finds" (Herzog et al. 1984:1). Apart from a few discrepancies, this latest and more systematic summary of finds corroborates Aharoni's descriptions and conclusions.

Despite the inadequacy of the information available, it seems that some assumptions regarding the archaeological evidence can be reasonably made:

Chronology

Aharoni consistently dated the first construction of the Arad temple to the tenth century B.C. and its final destruction to the seventh (1967d:244-249; 1968a:9, 18-19, 26; 1969:26; Table 2). His dating was based on the following evidence:

The "Solomonic" city gate

The sanctuary was built together with the first of a series of six successive fortresses on the site. The city gate of this first stage (Stratum XI) had "the general form of the typical Solomonic four-piered gate" (1968a:6). This suggested to Aharoni that the citadel, and its temple, was erected "probably in the time of Solomon" (1968a:5).

The ostraca

Two examples may be mentioned:

1. According to Aharoni, the "only well-stratified ostrakon of Stratum XI" presents paleographical characteristics that antedates "the Samaria Ostraca by about 150 years". It "belongs to the earliest stages of Hebrew cursive" and "its script stands between the Gezer Calendar and the Moabite Stone." Considering "the primitive nature of the Gezer Calendar," Aharoni argues that "the Arad ostrakon may be approximately contemporary" to it, that is, an example of the "10th century B.C. Hebrew cursive" (1968a:10).

2. Another ostrakon found in "a clearly stratified context" (Stratum VI), was paleographically dated by Aharoni to "the very end of the Judean Monarchy", in about "598 or 587 B.C." (1970:17-18, *cf.* 1966b:1).

The pottery

His typological analysis of "hundreds and hundreds of complete vessels" led Aharoni to the conviction that "we can't be very inaccurate in dating these various strata between the period of Solomon in the middle of the tenth century B.C.E. and about the end of the First Temple period, a little after 600 B.C.E." (1969:26; *cf.* 1968a:9).

Shishak's inscription

Pharaoh Shishak's topographical list mentions two places called Arad which are included "among the places captured by him in the fifth year of Rehoboam son of Solomon (ca. 920 B.C.)" (Aharoni 1968a:9). Assuming that one of these two is Tel Arad, and given the fact that the first Arad citadel was destroyed by fire, Aharoni argues that "it is most plausible that the first fortress (Stratum XI) was destroyed at this time" (1968a:9).

Biblical parallels

In its last phase (Stratum VII), the temple had no altar of burnt-offering. In the last fortress (Stratum VI), the temple was no longer rebuilt (Aharoni 1968a:26; 1969:33). Aharoni advanced that this evidence "may fit the biblical description of the concentration of worship in two main stages during the days of Hezekiah and Josiah" (1969:38; *cf.* 1968a:26-27). The destruction of the altar being related to the days of Hezekiah, who concentrated the

sacrifices in Jerusalem (2 Kgs 18:22; 2 Chr 30), and the final destruction of the temple to the days of Josiah, who completely destroyed all sanctuaries and temples outside Jerusalem (2 Kgs 23; 2 Chr 34).

Aharoni's assistants and successors--Herzog, M. Aharoni, Rainey, and Moshkovitz--adopted his conclusions with only minor modifications (Herzog et al. 1984:1-34). On the basis of historical considerations, for example, they propose that the destruction of Stratum X occurred "not long after the middle of the ninth century B.C. (Herzog et al. 1984:12). M. Aharoni, however, based on her study of the pottery, maintains Aharoni's position (Aharoni 1968a:10). In her opinion, "Arad Stratum X . . . was destroyed during the first quarter of the 8th century B.C." (1985:73).

Yadin (1965:180), Nylander (1967:56-59), Mazar and Netzer (1986:87-89), and Laperrousaz (1979:99-144), on the basis of their study of the stone-cutting and masonry, have proposed later dates for the Arad strata and/or particular features.

Similar conclusions leading to the lowering of dates, now on the basis of pottery typology analysis, were advanced by Zimhori (1985:63-90) and Mazar and Netzer (1986:87-89). With reservations, the same criteria are used by Herzog (1987:77-79) to maintain Aharoni's position.

Paleographical considerations led Cross (1979:75-78) and Yadin (1979:187-235) to propose lower dates too.

On the basis of stratigraphic analysis, Ussishkin (1988:142-157) suggested lower dates for the Arad strata and, consequently, for the temple. Stratigraphic considerations, however, are advanced by Herzog *et al.* (Herzog 1987:77-79; Herzog *et al.* 1984:1-34) to support Aharoni's chronological scheme.

The relationship perceived by Aharoni between Shishak's list and the first phase of the Arad fortress has been questioned by Na'aman (1985:91-92). On the other hand, the adequacy of trying to reconstruct the history of Arad in the light of the historical context and not only the archaeological data was defended by Rney (1985:73-74).

In summary, the alternative conclusions proposed by the above-mentioned scholars, as opposed to Aharoni's, tend to compress the life span of the Arad temple and place it in a later period, beginning in the ninth century B.C., or as late as in the seventh, and ending sometime in the preexilic period.

All the objections to Aharoni's conclusions, however, are weakened by the simple fact that those who raised them had very limited or no direct access to the data. Their considerations had to depend on the blurry image provided by the preliminary reports. As important as they might be, these objections must be put aside until the final publication of the excavation reports makes their assessment possible.

Reversely, in the absence of verifiable evidence to the contrary, Aharoni's stratigraphy and chronology are preferable. As a competent and accomplished archaeologist, he was in charge of the excavations on the Arad mound from beginning to end. His views are those of one who had direct and firsthand access to the whole data.

Significantly, Aharoni's conclusions are, in general, still maintained by those who continued to work with the data, after his death, preparing it for the final publication (Herzog et al. 1984:1-34).

The present study, therefore, assumes the validity of the Arad chronology proposed by Aharoni (cf. Table 2).

Ethnicity

The quest to understand the nature of a hypothetical relationship between the Arad sanctuary and the Tabernacle traditions is also affected by the question whether the former was Israelite or Canaanite.

In Aharoni's opinion, "there is little doubt . . . that this was a royal Israelite sanctuary" (1967d:248). The following evidence is presented by him (1968a; 1969; 1973a) to support his conviction:

Hebrew ostraca

With the exception of a few Hieratic inscriptions (Aharoni 1966a:13-19; 1968a:15-16; Yeivin 1966:153-159), the Arad ostraca from the First Temple period, numbering about

100, were all written in Hebrew (Aharoni 1969:26-30). These epigraphic artifacts were present in all six strata which cover the whole life span of the fortress (Strata XI through VI) (Herzog et al. 1984:254). Some examples are particularly relevant to this study:

1. A number of private names appear in these ostraca "from the 9th century until the end of the monarchy". The theophoric elements of the names reveal the devotion of the Arad occupants to Yahweh (more commonly in the later strata) or El. "Not even one name, however, contains *ba'al*, a frequent element at Samaria" (Aharoni 1968a:11-13).

2. Several ostraca associated with the temple contain "the names of priestly families, well known from the Bible: Meremoth and Pashhur." On a fragment of what may have been a bowl for offerings, among other names, appear the "sons of Korach" (Aharoni 1968a:11).

3. An ostrakon from the latest fortress (Stratum VI) bears the inscription: "To my lord Eliashib, may Yahweh ask for thy peace. And now: give Shermaryahu . . . and to the Kerosite give . . . And regarding the matter which thou commandest me--all is well. He dwells in the house of Yahweh" (Aharoni 1968a:16).

Time and location

The Arad fortress was located within the territory that was under Israelite control during the whole period of

the Monarchy. Even recognizing the "considerable heterodoxy in the highest circles" of Jerusalem (Kenyon 1979:279), the idea that the Jerusalem kings would tolerate, from the days of Solomon until the reign of Hezekiah, the existence of a foreign sanctuary within a royal fortress is hardly conceivable. For Aharoni, this constitute additional evidence that the Arad temple is a genuine representative of the Israelite religion of that period. The same conclusion is maintained by Herzog et al. (1984:8): "The incorporation of the Arad shrine into a royal Israelite fortress leaves no room for doubt regarding its Israelite character."

Plan and contents of the temple

The fact that there are many parallels between the Arad temple and the Biblical Tabernacle suggested to Aharoni that the two sanctuaries belong to the same culture. This point, and also the similarities between these two "Israelite" sanctuaries and the Canaanite temples, are amply discussed in the following chapters.

History of the temple

The history of the Arad temple, as inferred from the archaeological record, shows that this sanctuary had phases which coincide with the history of the cult in Israel, as reported in the Bible. For example:

1. The Stratum VIII temple had a burnt-offering altar.

2. This altar was not rebuilt with the Stratum VII temple.

3. In Stratum VI, the fortress was rebuilt without the temple.

Taking into consideration the whole chronological data, these three phases of Arad correspond respectively to (1) the period prior to Hezekiah's reform, (2) Hezekiah's reform which promoted the centralization of sacrifices in Jerusalem, and (3) Josiah's reform which abolished any worship outside Jerusalem (Aharoni 1968a:26-27).

On the basis of the evidence mentioned above, Aharoni advanced:

One fact seems to be beyond doubt, that the sanctuary at Arad was a genuinely Israelite temple, a "House of Yahweh" in the language of the Bible and our ostraca. This is borne out by its plan and contents, especially the Hebrew ostraca with names of priestly families, and by the mere fact that it was an integral part of the royal fortress, built and rebuilt together with it, beginning with the first fortress in the days of Solomon. Even its later history agrees remarkably with the changes in worship in Israel, as related in the Bible (Aharoni 1968a:25-26; cf. 1967d:248).

Despite the reluctance of some scholars (e.g., Haran 1978:26-27), it seems, therefore, reasonable to assume Aharoni's conclusions about the ethnicity of the Arad temple in this study.

Function

Another set of assumptions that underlie this work has to do with assigning a cultic function to what has been called "Arad temple."

This structure was readily identified by Aharoni as a "sanctuary" (1967d:247). Some scholars have doubted this conclusion (e.g., Haran 1978:38). However, when one applies the four basic criteria proposed by Coogan (1987a:2-3) to determine whether an archaeological installation is cultic or not, the probability that the Arad "temple" was in fact used for religious activities becomes apparent.

Isolation

The concept of separation between the holy and the profane, which characterizes particularly the Israelite religion (Exod 3:5; 29:9-18; 40:33; Josh 5:15; Lev 10:17-18; 16:12; 1 Kgs), finds clear architectural expression in Tel Arad. The "temple" occupies a prominent, large area clearly isolated from its immediate context (Fig. 1; cf. Aharoni 1968a:8, 18, 23, 26; Herzog et al. 1984:6, 10, 16, 19).

Exotic materials

Artifacts usually associated with cultic activities--such as a *massebah*, two incense altars, two offering dishes bearing the inscription *qš*, which is probably an abbreviation of *qdš*=holy (Aharoni 1968a:20; Cross 1979:77), and an altar for burnt offerings--were found

in the Arad "temple" (Aharoni 1967d:247-249; 1968a:19-18-19; 1969:31-34; 1973a:3-4; Herzog et al. 1984:7).

Continuity

The generalized tendency for the continued use of an area regarded as sacred space, through successive occupational levels, is well exemplified at Tel Arad. The "temple" was constructed with the first citadel (Stratum XI) on the site previously occupied by an "open high place" (Stratum XII) which "consisted of a paved area some 100 feet long, enclosed by a temenos wall," where "the remnants of a square, stone-built altar were found" (Aharoni 1968a:19). After each destruction, the "temple" was rebuilt on the same spot throughout all phases. "The same general plan was maintained for the temple throughout its existence from stratum to stratum" (Herzog et al. 1984:7) for more than three centuries (Strata XI-VII).

Parallels

The Arad "temple" shares a number of characteristics with other sanctuaries which are known from written and non-written sources. These parallels, which are discussed in chapter 2, confirm its cultic function.

Given the fact that all these four significant indicative factors are displayed by the Arad "temple", one may justifiably assign a cultic function to it.

Finds

Tel Arad is "the largest and most important tell in the eastern Negev" (Aharoni and Amiran 1964a:131)--that semiarid area of southern Palestine on the border of the Sinai desert--about twenty miles east-northeast of Beersheba (Aharoni 1969:25).

The site remained unoccupied for over 1,500 years (Aharoni 1968a:4), from the end of Early Bronze II (ca. 2650 B.C.) to the beginning of the Iron Age, "about the eleventh century B.C.E.--in the later phase of the period of the Judges, not long before or at the very beginning of the monarchy" (Aharoni 1969:26).

Towards the end of the second millennium B.C., an open settlement (Stratum XII; Fig.2) was established on the tell and "quickly converted into a fortress" (Aharoni 1969:26), "over an area of about 50 X 50 meters" (Aharoni and Amiran 1964b:133). The hill was then successively occupied by Israelite fortresses (Strata XI-VI; Figs. 3-8) and, later, by Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman fortresses (Strata V-III), by a sheik's residence or a caravanserai after the Moslem conquest (Stratum II) and, finally, by medieval tombs (Stratum I) (Aharoni 1968a:4-5).

The particular object of study in this research work was the temple founded together with the first Israelite fortress in the tenth century B.C. (Stratum XI; Figs. 3 and 9) and last destroyed with the Stratum VII fortress in the

eighth century B.C. (Aharoni 1968a:18-19, 26). Special attention is given only to the immediate archaeological context of the temple, namely, Strata XII-VI of the citadel mound, which correspond roughly to the period of the united and divided monarchy in Israel (*cf.* Table 2).

Considering that this study was concerned with the earliest archaeological evidence for the existence of the P Tabernacle traditions, almost all the references to the Arad temple concern the structure found in Stratum XI (tenth century B.C.).

Despite the fact that the Arad stratigraphy is poorly reported, the excavators have maintained (Herzog et al. 1984:7-8) that all traits and features of the Arad temple which are significant for this analysis (Table 1) were already present in its first phase (Stratum XI) and continued to exist to the end of its history (Stratum VII) (*cf.* Table 3). The only significant exception is Stratum VII which lacked the burnt-offering altar.

During its history, the Arad city wall experienced some major changes (Aharoni 1968a:4-8) which included (1) the substitution of a casemate wall (Stratum XI) by a solid wall (Strata X-VII) and back to a casemate wall (Stratum VI) and (2) the repositioning from time to time of the city gate. However, there is a remarkable continuity in the layout of the constructions within the wall. This is particularly true in regard to the temple, as already

mentioned, and also in regard to the residential units in Arad. Aharoni observed that "the general plan of these dwellings remained the same" (1967d:246). This architectural continuity is evidence of ethnical and cultural continuity. The occupants of the fortress returned after each destruction to their previous ways of life.

Therefore, in spite of the various archaeological phases of the Arad temple, this study considered it as a single, continuous, and consistent phenomenon.

The particular traits of the Arad temple are described in chapter 2.

CHAPTER 2

DETERMINANTS OF THE ARAD TEMPLE TRAITS

It has long been recognized that the typological study of ancient sanctuaries--(1) the identification of definite constructional ideas associated with a given area and period and (2) the identification of individual variations in the execution of those ideas--is an important methodological tool to make inferences regarding the history of religion (Nelson 1944; Oppenheim 1944; Wright 1944; Williams 1949; Wright 1971; Yadin 1975:118; Ottosson 1980; Lundquist 1983; Holladay 1987; Geraty 1989; Dever 1987, 1990:110-117).

A cultic building and its contents are the material expression of a particular set of religious ideas. Their physical traits are, to a great extent, dictated by religious concepts. One should, thus, be able to grasp some intangible aspects of religion by studying its tangible manifestations.

On this basis, at least three general principles may be advanced:

1. Fundamentally different typological concepts may

be seen as an index of virtually different theologies or cults.

2. Formal traits shared by a number of sanctuaries may indicate the congenial beliefs or practices of those who built them.

3. Characteristics shared by two or more sanctuaries, but which are deviations from a recognized pattern, may be interpreted as indicators of a distinct set of religious ideas.

In the case of the Israelite sanctuaries, given the literary information available, additional and more specific criteria may be adduced. The P descriptions of the wilderness Tabernacle and its contents are particularly valuable because their respective cultic functions are either explicitly stated or may be reasonably inferred from the context. The search for meaning, therefore, needs not to depend solely on the subjectiveness of typological analysis.

Regardless of whether P is dated to the postexilic period or to the pristine times of Israel, whether it is regarded as an establishment-oriented literary production of later times or as the starting-point for the history of ancient Israel, one has to recognize that the P Tabernacle and its ritual represent, at least, a valid perception of what is essential in the Israelite cult. Unless it is proved that P describes a religion totally divorced from the

actual cult in ancient Israel--what would be contrary to the trend of modern scholarship (Loewenstamm 1962:162-163; Cross 1981:169-180; Freedman 1981:21-30; Haran 1981b:35; Mazar 1981:5-9)--the P Tabernacle and its ritual still are the best indication of what the diagnostic traits of an orthodox Israelite temple are.

The meaning attributed by P to Israelite cultic installations may, therefore, be added, even if only provisionally, to the analytical criteria.

This proposed material-literary kind of analysis, which seeks "to reconstruct ancient Israelite religion on the basis of its extant remains: belief through texts, cult through material culture" (Dever 1987:220), is a partial and tentative answer to the perceived need for an "interdisciplinary inquiry of textual and theological studies coupled with archaeology, ethnology, and comparative religion" (Dever 1987:209).

By applying the proposed analytical criteria, this chapter will seek to identify possible causative forces behind the Arad temple traits.

The analysis will focus on the three major propositions that have been advanced to account for these traits, individually or as a whole: (1) the determinative influence of the Canaanite culture, (2) the relation with the religious-political establishment represented by the Solomonic Temple, and (3) the normative role of the

Tabernacle traditions. Unique traits that could perhaps be better understood as only a local or idiosyncratic expression, with no other cultural meaning, will not be included in the analysis.

Temple Spatial Arrangement

The P Temple Type

According to P, some rites such as the daily sacrifices (Exod 29:38-42), the burnt offerings (Lev 1:2-14), the communion sacrifices (Lev 3:1-16), and the expiatory sacrifices (Lev 4:2-4), were to be performed at "the entrance of the tent of meeting" (Exod 29:42; Lev 1:3; 3:2; 4:4), *i.e.*, in the court--the enclosure where the altar of sacrifices was located, the only area where common people were allowed to enter and participate in the ritual.

Other activities were to be conducted by priests only, out of the people's sight, inside the Holy Place, as for example the rites associated with the table of shewbread (Lev 24:5-9), the lampstand, the altar of incense (Exod 30:7-8), and the sprinkling of sacrificial blood (Lev 4:5-7, 16-18).

In the third and innermost section, called the Holy of Holies, was the seat of the divine presence (Lev 16:2, 13). It was to be entered on only one occasion during the year, on the Day of Atonement, and then only by the High Priest who would sprinkle the mercy-seat with sacrificial blood (Lev 16:14-15).

Spatial arrangement in P, thus, is a direct function of the ritual. In its constitutive, more elementary form, the P ritual requires a cultic installation with, at minimum, the following characteristics.

A tripartite cultic area

The P ritual is pervaded with the concept of priestly mediation (de Vaux 1961:357) between man and God (Heb 5:1). Accordingly, the P Tabernacle had (1) a place for men to meet with priests--the court, (2) a place for God to meet only with the High Priest--the Holy of Holies, and (3) a place in-between, the realm of the mediator--the Holy Place.

A linear positioning of the three sections

The P ritual is characterized by a linear progression from the outermost to the innermost, from bronze to gold, from man to God (Exod 25:3; 27:1-6; 25:10-18; Haran 1978:158-165, 190-191; Durham 1987:354). This is particularly evident in the liturgical calendar which also progresses linearly, through time and space, from daily ceremonies in the court to the culmination on the annual Day of Atonement in the Holy of Holies. Accordingly, the three sections in the P Tabernacle are arranged one after the other--first the court, then the Holy Place, and the Holy of Holies at the end--with central entrances aligned along a

straight, longitudinal axis (Exod 26:1-37; 27:1-8; 36:8-38; 38:9-20).

A concealed Holy of Holies

A "primitive and characteristic feature of Yahwism . . . was that Yahweh was a God who could not be seen, and who therefore could not be represented" (de Vaux 1961:272). Furthermore, He was conceived as being holy and transcendent. Because of that, He could not be directly approached (Exod 19:9-12; 33:20-23). Accordingly, the Israelite sanctuary was not to have any image of God to receive people's homage (Exod 20:4-5), and the Holy of Holies was not to be entered or even seen. In fact, "the liturgy itself did not take place in the Holy of Holies" (de Vaux 1961:276). The perceived distance between God and man, transversable only by the mediation of priests, found expression in the ritual and also in the layout of the P Tabernacle which had the Holy of Holies behind the Holy Place, totally veiled (Exod 26:31-33), at the end of the longitudinal axis.

Alleged Differences Between the Arad Temple and the P Type

Those three formal traits of the *P temple type*, which are an expression of the fundamental "characteristics of the Israelite cult" that distinguish it "from other Oriental cults" (de Vaux 1961:271-273), are prone to be

archaeologically detectable. It is therefore inadequate to analyze any Israelite temple--the Arad sanctuary included--primarily in terms of shape and number of its rooms, as it has been done so often by so many (de Vaux 1961:317; Wright 1961:178-179; 1971:32; Aharoni 1968a:25; Quellette 1973:872-873; Ahlstrom 1975:70, 71 n.1; Holladay 1987:256-257, 272; Kenyon 1979:278-279; Geraty 1989:49-50).

This generally adopted approach fails to recognize the P rationale for prescribing how space should be used in an Israelite temple. As a result, the relationship of the Israelite temples to each other and to the Canaanite temples has been misunderstood and misrepresented. This point is well exemplified by the alleged major differences between the Arad sanctuary on one hand, and the P Tabernacle and the Jerusalem Temple on the other:

The main room

The holy place of the Arad temple is in fact a "distinctly broad room with the entrance in the long side" (Aharoni 1969:35), while in the P Tabernacle, the Solomonic Temple, and Ezekiel's temple, the corresponding rooms conform with the longroom type with the entrance in one of the short sides. However, this discrepancy seems to be of little significance since there is no indication in the literary tradition of Israel that a significant relationship between the shape of the rooms and the ritual ever existed.

The alleged "discrepancy" needs not to be attributed to differences in cult. The broadroom temple at Arad may be a reflection of "the local architectural tradition" of contemporaneous houses and temples (Herzog 1980:88; 1981:122; Herzog *et al.* 1984:7; Dever 1990:139), but there is no basis to say that this constitutes a "fundamental difference" (Aharoni 1968a:25; Herzog *et al.* 1984:7) from the longroom P and Solomonic sanctuaries. It should be noted that both share the same characteristics that, according to P, are essential: (1) the three ritual areas, (2) the axial alignment and progressive approach, and (3) the concealed Holy of Holies.

The adytum

Another alleged "major difference" between the Arad sanctuary and the Jerusalem temple concerns the size and shape of its most holy place. It has been said that "the inner sanctuary at Arad is represented only by a niche formed by a recess in the long wall of the nave, whereas in Jerusalem the inner sanctuary was built as an extension of the long walls of the nave" (Quellette 1973:873).

Again, this kind of argument fails in recognizing the evidence found in P. The size and shape of the Holy of Holies play no role in the P ritual. Its location, at the far end of the ritual and architectural axis, does.

The small size of the niche at Arad, "which was barely large enough to accommodate one person" (Dever

1990:139), confirms the P rule of accessibility for the holy of holies. The sacredness of this compartment--what would give basis for the thesis that the access to it was restricted--is further indicated by the fact that this is the only raised room in the sanctuary--"three steps led up to it" (Aharoni 1969:31).

Herzog et al. are correct when they say that Solomon's longroom Temple "kept the crowds at a distance from the symbols of the divine presence" (1984:8), but their suggestion that "the broadroom at Arad permitted a closer relationship to the *Holy of Holies* by those entering the courtyard" (1984:7), or Dever's opinion that the niche at Arad "differed from the inner chamber or *Holy of Holies* in the Solomonic temple . . . by being much more accessible to the worshippers" (1990:139), are not necessary conclusions. If one assumes that, at Arad, there were curtains, like in the P Tabernacle (Exod 26:31-33, 36-37), or doors, like in the Solomonic Temple (1 Kgs 6:31-35), separating the court, the main room and the inner chamber from each other, and that only the priests were allowed to enter the holy place, then it would be difficult to imagine how the holy of holies at Arad could be made more effectively concealed and unaccessible.

The vestibule

A third alleged "major difference" between the Arad sanctuary and the Jerusalem Temple is the absence of a porch in the former (Quellette 1973:873; Geraty 1989:55).

This entrance hall is featured in several Canaanite temples and may have been built as part of the Solomonic Temple by influence of the Canaanite artisans invited by Solomon to carry out the construction project (1 Kgs 5:1-17; 7:13-45).

The porch establishes a stylistic linkage between Solomon's Temple and Canaanite architecture, but not necessarily a cultic or theological one. Especially because, as is the case, the delimitation of the three ritual areas--court, Holy Place, and Holy of Holies--was not compromised in any way.

The superfluosness of the porch in the Israelite cult is evident in the fact that the P Tabernacle does not present this feature. Its absence at Arad, therefore, does not constitute a departure from that tradition which is also represented by the Jerusalem Temple. It does, however, show that the Arad sanctuary was, in this respect, more similar to the P Tabernacle than to the Solomonic Temple.

It should be noted that, besides the fact that the P Tabernacle had no porch, there is not a single rite associated with the porch in the Israelite literary tradition. Ritualistically speaking, the porch of the

Jerusalem Temple was a superfluous addition. As far as use of space is concerned, the required features seem to be (1) the court, (2) the holy place, and (3) the holy of holies. This tripartite spatial division, and not a tripartite building (porch-*ulam*, Holy Place-*hekal*, Holy of Holies-*debir*), is the diagnostic factor to be considered in the analysis. In other words, the analytical paradigm should be the Tabernacle, not the Jerusalem Temple.

To ignore the attribution of meaning made by P to temple installations and to give precedence in the analysis to the Solomonic temple imply the assumption that P is totally fictitious or a mere late projection of the Solomonic Temple and, therefore, irrelevant to the analysis. This methodological approach, however, forestalls the conclusion because it assumes exactly what is being called into question (*i.e.*, that P is a late development in the history of Israel).

If in the analysis of the Arad temple one does not consider the ritualistic meaning of space arrangement in P, but strictly archaeological criteria is used, one would conclude with K. Kenyon that its "plan certainly bears no relation to that of Solomon's Temple, for it is planned on a broad and not longitudinal axis, and it can only be called tripartite if part of the courtyard is arbitrarily divided off and called a porch" (1979:278). On the other hand, if one assumes that P has at least something to say about the

actual cult in ancient Israel, then one would arrive at a totally different conclusion.

In the light of P, the Arad sanctuary stands in perfect agreement with the Tabernacle, the Solomonic Temple and Ezekiel's temple. The cultic area at Arad is rectangular with a longitudinal axis. Three conspicuous divisions--a walled courtyard with a large altar, a main room, and an adytum--are aligned one after the other, in that order, along the axis. The line of approach is unilinear and accompanies the axis leading from the outside to the court, from there to the main room and, finally, to the adytum. The entrances to all three divisions (Stratum XI) are axially arranged. "The same general plan was maintained for the temple throughout its existence from stratum to stratum" (Herzog et al. 1984:7; Aharoni 1968a:18-19).

The architectural use of space at Arad clearly suggests a progression in three successive stages, in complete harmony with the Israelite literary tradition (Herzog et al. 1984:8).

Alleged Prototypes of the P Temple Type

The analytical criteria adopted in this study allow the recognition of a category of temples--which for convenience has been referred to as the *P temple type*--which (1) include the P Tabernacle, the Arad sanctuary, the

Solomonic Temple, and Ezekiel's temple, and (2) more importantly, also exclude most of the temples in antiquity.

However, a few non-Israelite temples (Fig. 1; Tables 3 and 4), particularly the ones at Tell Taynat (Fig. 18; cf. Haines 1971:53-55; Pl. 81:A-B, 103), Hazor (Fig. 17; cf. Yadin 1959:3-8; 1975:79-119), Alalakh (Fig. 16; cf. Woolley 1955:33-90), Shechem (Figs. 12 and 14; cf. Dever 1974:40-44, 5 n. 49-52), and Ebla (Fig. 11; cf. Matthiae 1979:17-21; 1980:125-132), have been regarded as belonging to the same temple tradition which provided the prototype for the Israelite temples (Geraty 1989:54; Dever 1990:111-112). This would imply that the Israelite religion had Canaanite roots or, in the words of Coogan, was "a subset of Canaanite religion" (1987b:115).

In order to decide, on the basis of what can be inferred from its temple, whether the cult at Arad was Israelite--in the P sense of the word--or belonged to a broader Canaanite tradition, one needs to consider which traits in the Arad sanctuary are comparable to the above mentioned Canaanite temples and which are not.

The Great Temple D at Ebla (Fig. 11)

In the P temple type, the relative size of each of the three ritual areas seems to be determined primarily by the P rule of accessibility; that is, the more affluence of people the area is to receive, the larger and more distant from the Holy of Holies it is. In accordance with that, in

the Israelite sanctuary
larger than the Holy of Holies
is larger than the Holy of Holies
the case at Jerusalem.

The largest
12.40 m by 12.40 m, is
supposedly located at
found in this room situated
mainly in the north wall
and had, probably, the
of an offering table.
1981:130-131

On this basis
is fundamentally

Martha's sum
of vestibule, ante-
plan," the "inner
cella," and the "re-
temple, "qualifies the
He then goes on to
clue, with the definite
origin of the temple
layout and the general
formulation of the
however, it is clear

the Israelite sanctuaries, the court antecedes and is larger than the Holy Place which, in its turn, antecedes and is larger than the Holy of Holies. This is not, however, the case at Tell Mardikh (Ebla).

The largest room of the Great Temple D, measuring 12.40 m by 7.20 m, is also the closest to the niche that supposedly lodged the cult image. Besides, the contents found in this room suggest that the ritual was performed mainly in there. The two preceding rooms were very small and had, probably, only a vestibular function. No evidence of an offering altar was found in the court (Matthiae 1981:130-132).

On this basis, one may say that the Mardikh temple is fundamentally different from the *P* temple type.

Matthiae suggests (1979:17, 21) that the "succession of vestibule, ante-cella and cella," the "typical tripartite plan," the "marked longitudinality in the deep layout of the cella," and the "rigid respect for axially" at the Mardikh temple, "qualifies the Old Syrian architectural conception." He then goes on to say that these "key elements" provide "a clue, within a definite historical background, as to the origin of the tripartite structure of the architectural layout and the longitudinal development of the Solomonic formulation of the temple of Jerusalem." His argument, however, is based on his perception of what is fundamental

in the Old Syrian architecture but ignores what P presents as being fundamental in the Israelite temple architecture.

Syrian and Israelite architecture are similar in some important aspects but there are major differences that cannot be ignored. One could not conceive, for example, the P ritual being performed in the Mardikh temple without major modifications in one or the other. On the contrary, the Solomonic Temple and the Arad sanctuary are optimally adapted for the P ritual.

Despite their similarities, the Mardikh temple cannot be put into the same category with the Solomonic Temple and the Arad sanctuary.

Temple 7300 at Shechem (Fig. 12)

The inadequacy of making typological analysis mainly on the basis of the number of partitions in a temple building is further exemplified by the interpretation that has been given to the Middle Bronze Temple 7300 at Shechem (Tell Balatah).

Dever has proposed that this is "the earliest known Canaanite temple of tripartite plan in Palestine and possibly in the entire Syro-Palestinian area. . . . and it is thus the earliest prototype so far brought to light for the Solomonic temple" (1974:48).

This building, however, should more appropriately be described as a bipartite temple, like the contemporary Fortress Temple nearby (Fig. 13; cf. Dever 1974:43). The

third chamber on the back of Temple 7300 seems to be only an annex with no ritualistic role. The doorways to the antechamber and to the main room are aligned along a straight axis which was flanked by two columns and ended at the "altar" on the center of the main room's back wall. In contrast with this axial arrangement, the rear chamber is "reached through a narrow side doorway" (Dever 1974:43). If axuality has any ritualistic meaning, then the ritual of Temple 7300 must have culminated at the foot of the "altar" in the large central chamber. The holiest place or the focal point of interest was, thus, located in the largest room, where most of the ritual was performed. The rear room, therefore, was not ritualistically significant.

Also, there is no evidence that the antechamber was anything more than a simple vestibule. Evidence of ritualistic activity was found only in the central room.

If one regards the rear room as an annex, then Temple 7300 is very similar to the contemporary and nearby Shechem Fortress Temple (Fig. 13 and 14; cf. Wright 1968:16-26). "The fact that" Temple 7300 "could be entered only through the *Palace* hall to the south, suggests strongly that it was a small private temple, probably a *royal chapel*," while the much larger Fortress Temple nearby (Fig. 13) "must have served the public" (Fig. 14, cf. Dever 1974:43). This would be their only basic difference for their similar layout suggests that they lodged the same kind of cult.

One could mention the Alalakh Stratum VII Temple (Fig. 15) as an example of a plan similar to those of the Shechem temples.

Neither one of them, however, is comparable to the P temple type. The temples at Shechem lack the fundamental three ritual areas and totally disregard the P rule of accessibility.

Alalakh Level I Temple (Fig. 16)

Due to the bad conditions in which it was found, the Level I, 13th century B.C. temple at Alalakh (Tell Atchana) presents some problems to this kind of analysis (Woolley 1955:82-89, 384). The main problem is the impossibility of determining how the so-called "eastern annex" was related constructionally to the other areas of the temple, and whether it was part of both Phase A and Phase B or only of the latter.

Considering that it is not totally clear where the main entrance was located, the possibility that the approach was made through the "eastern annex" cannot be excluded. If this was the case, the Alalakh temple would have had a bent-axis type of layout and would not be comparable to the temples at Arad or Jerusalem.

Even if one assumes that the main entrance was on the center of the southeast wall of the courtyard, as proposed by L. Woolley, it seems that the ritual axis passed through the annex. More cultic objects were found there

than in any other part of the temple as, among other things, a "splendid ritual bronze spear-head," "a basalt altar decorated with swans' heads," a "limestone statue of a seated goddess," and a "basalt throne for a statue, its arms supported by lions" (Woolley 1955:88-89).

If the "eastern annex" is regarded as a true annex, with no ritualistic function, then the plan of the Alalakh temple is indeed very similar to the Israelite temples. It consisted of "a large cella and an antechamber giving on a courtyard" (Woolley 1955:82). As at Arad, the back wall of the Phase A cella had a central niche, 2 m deep. Everything was aligned along a straight, longitudinal axis. Animal sacrifices may have been offered in the courtyard for a dagger, a tank--probably for libation ceremonies--and remains of "a raised base connected with the tank"--possibly an altar--were found in there.

There were also some significant differences. In contrast with the P rule of accessibility, the more one approached the Alalakh holiest place (*i.e.*, the recess on the Phase A rear wall), the wider were the doorways. The entrance door to the ante-chamber was 2.50 m wide while the one giving access to the innermost chamber was 4.30 m wide (Woolley 1955:85). In Phase B, the niche in the back wall disappeared and the doorway to the *cella* was narrowed down. "The antechamber was now divided into three by cross-walls so that one had a small entrance-chamber flanked by other

small chambers" (Woolley 1955:85), a fact which reinforces the thesis that these antechambers in ancient Canaanite temples had only a vestibular function, not a ritualistic one.

Apart from this small vestibule, the large cella became now the only room of the temple. This discharacterization of the original plan suggests that the tripartite arrangement of Phase A was not essential nor relevant to the ritual.

All considered, a typological correlation of the Israelite temples with the Alalakh temple is not without important questions.

Hazor Area H Temples (Fig. 17)

Very similar to the Alalakh temples are the Area H temples at Hazor (Tell el-Qedah), dated to the 17th-13th centuries B.C., which also have been referred to as "prototype of Solomon's temple" (Yadin 1975:79-119). In fact, the similarities with the Israelite temples are greater in this case.

The Stratum II temple, which was virtually a reproduction of the previous and earliest Stratum III temple, had a broad main room with a niche on the center of the back wall, a porch and a courtyard with several cultic installations including an altar. The overall arrangement follows a strict axuality by which the entrance to the

court, the altar, the doorways, and the niche at the end are all aligned one after the other.

If, again, one considers the porch to be only a passageway or vestibule, then it would not be difficult to identify three areas of ritualistic importance: (1) the court, where sacrifices and libations were made (Yadin 1975:112-114), (2) the large main room, measuring 13.5 m by 8.9 m, which Y. Yadin calls "the holy of holies" (1975:111) but which should probably be called *the holy place*, and (3) the niche on the rear wall which most probably lodged the supreme object of worship and could, accordingly, be called *the holy of holies*.

The only difference in plan between the Hazor II-III temples and the Arad sanctuary is the absence of the porch in the latter. The Solomonic Temple, on the other hand, had a porch and, in this respect, was more similar to the Hazor II-III temples.

Yadin, however, compared the Solomonic Temple with the more recent Hazor I temples (IA and IB). In these two phases, the temple received an additional entrance hall becoming a building with three rooms and a niche. The correlation with the Solomonic Temple, however, is possible only if one agrees with Yadin that the niche at Hazor was part of the main room, the two together constituting the *holy of holies*. But the physical differentiation between the niche and the main room suggests otherwise.

Whatever the case might be, it is important to note in the context of this work that the Arad sanctuary did not have a porch. In this regard, it differs from the Hazor Area H temples and the Solomonic Temple, and agrees with the P Tabernacle.

Tell Taynat Temple (Fig 18)

Hitherto, all temples here considered were built and destroyed during the Middle-Late Bronze period, centuries before the construction of either the Solomonic Temple or the Arad sanctuary. Among those which have often been compared to the Israelite temples, the one at Tell Taynat (Haines 1971:53-55; Pl. 103), is the only one contemporaneous to them. It has been referred to as "the nearest contemporary evidence for the plan, sitting, and construction of the Solomonic Temple at Jerusalem" (Holladay 1987:265); "the best archaeological parallel of any temple found so far" (Geraty 1989:55).

Nevertheless, given its late date, little can it contribute to this inquiry into the causative influences on the Arad temple traits. It has been dated by Haines (1971:66, 53, 2) to some time after 875 B.C., therefore, perhaps one or two centuries after the Solomonic Temple and the Arad sanctuary were built.

The Taynat temple has been regarded as a confirmation of "the Phoenician provenance" of the basic design of Solomon's Temple (Dever 1990:112) but, since no

other non-Israelite temple from the same period is comparable to it, the suggestion that the Taynat temple was influenced by Solomon's Temple is also "a logical assumption given Solomon's fame and influence" (Geraty 1989:56).

For the purpose of this study, it is of interest to note some differences between the Taynat temple and what has been called the *P* temple type. It seems that the holy of holies at Taynat (Haines 1971:55) was intended to be easily accessed and openly seen by whomever was allowed to enter the holy place. The 4.52 m-wide opening between these two rooms occupied most of the width of the temple, which was 7.62 m wide. "Centered on the opening was an unbaked brick stand or offering table," possibly attached to the "altar or podium" within the holy of holies. A "small (58 X 148 cm) rectangle" at the north wall of the holy of holies "was intentionally left unpaved," perhaps for the disposal of libations. These characteristics suggest that the holy of holies at Taynat was an area of intense activity, in contrast with the *P* stipulations.

It should also be noted that the Taynat temple had a porch comparable to the one in the Jerusalem Temple. The Arad sanctuary, however, as has already been pointed out, lacks this feature in agreement with the *P* Tabernacle.

In conclusion, a survey of the so-called "prototypes" of the Israelite temple architecture shows that, despite some general similarities between the

Canaanite architecture and the Arad sanctuary, there are some peculiarities in the latter which cannot be satisfactorily explained in terms of Canaanite influence or origin. These peculiar characteristics may, therefore, be considered as typically Israelite. They are exemplified in the Hebrew Bible and are functionally understandable in the light of the P writings.

Temple Orientation

A feature common to the Arad sanctuary (Aharoni 1973a:4), the P Tabernacle (Exod 26:18-27; 27:9-13), the Solomonic Temple (1 Kgs 7:21; 2 Chr 4:15-17), and Ezekiel's temple (Ezek 8:16; 43:1-4), is their east-west orientation with the entrance at the east and the holy of holies towards the west.

Given the preponderance of solar worship in the ancient Near Eastern cultures, "in which such deities as Ninurta, Ningirsu, Babbar, Shamash, Ashur, Shepesh, Marduk, Tammuz, Re, and Osiris, all of whom had definite solar attributes, played a prominent role" (May 1937b:269), one can understand why so many scholars have adopted the thesis that the eastern orientation of the Israelite temples constitutes another evidence that Yahwism originally was only a subset of the Canaanite Sun cult (Hollis 1933:87-110; 1934:125, 132-139; Graham and May 1936:234-243; May 1937a:309-321; 1937b:269-281; Smith 1990:30-31). However,

this conclusion is not supported by a comparative study of the temples discovered by archaeology in Palestine to date.

One may consider, for example, the list of Early Bronze-Iron Age Palestinian temples presented by Ottosson (1980:115-116) which is, as compared to other temple inventories (Dever 1987:222-223; Holladay 1987:252-265; Geraty 1989:52-54), quite representative.

Only 11 out of 32 temples compared by Ottosson face east. And this number could, probably, be even smaller:

1. Among these 11 temples, which are said to face east, the Iron Age temple at Tell Qasile (Stratum X, Building 131) in fact faces northeast and has its entrance at northwest (Mazar 1973:42-48; 1975:79). This suggests that its so-called "western orientation" (Mazar 1977:85) may have had no meaning.

2. Ottosson also includes among those temples facing east the one at Tell Kittan. This temple had three phases, from Middle to Late Bronze: the temples in Strata V and IV faced east, but in Stratum III (LB I) it faced north (Eisenberg 1977:78-80). This change in building orientation "may have been due"--as Eisenberg (1977:80) has suggested--"to a change of ritual during the LB I period," but it may also indicate that temple orientation had no significance in Tell Kittan.

3. Finally, Ottosson's list of east-oriented temples includes two Israelite ones: The Iron Age Arad sanctuary and the Jerusalem Temple.

Another important consideration is that the temples that have been referred to as the best prototypes of the Solomonic temple did not face east. The Great Temple D at Tell Mardikh had a south-north orientation (Fig. 11; cf. Matthiae 1981:131). Temple 7300 at Shechem faced southwest (Fig. 12; cf. Dever 1974:32). The orientation of the Level I temple at Alalakh was southeast-northwest (Fig. 16; cf. Woolley 1955:83). The Area H temples at Hazor also faced southeast (Fig. 17; cf. Yadin 1975:98, 117). The only temple comparable to the Solomonic Temple that faced east is the one at Tell Taynat (Fig. 18; cf. Haines 1971: Pl. 103). But, as has already been mentioned, it was built after the Solomonic Temple and may have been influenced by it (Geraty 1989:56).

These considerations suffice to demonstrate that only a few Canaanite temples faced east. In Ottosson's table, most of them do not: nine face south, one southeast, eight north, and three west. Aharoni's statement that "a westward orientation is very rare in the Near East" (1968a:21) is thus fully justified.

In face of the archaeological evidence, it seems that sun worship in the Canaanite culture had little or no influence upon temple orientation. More probably, as

Ottosson has suggested (1980:117), "the orientation was chosen to accord with the communication system, streets and gates. . . . it was primarily a matter of convenience." At the very least, one may say that orientation was not a major concern of temple building in Canaan.

Considering that Canaanite culture allowed for great, if not total, latitude in choosing temple orientation, it is hardly accidental that the Arad temple faced east.

1. The temple could have been built in any conceivable direction since it "was founded together with the first fortress" (Aharoni 1968a:18) when space was not yet limited or oriented by buildings or streets.

2. The fortress layout may have been determined by the orientation of the temple. Y. Aharoni notes that "the Arad sanctuary was built exactly with the direction of the compass, and it is possible that this was taken into consideration with the construction of the fortress" (Aharoni 1973a:4). In fact, the city gate (Stratum XI; Fig. 3) also opened to the east (Herzog et al. 1984:6) but it is not possible to determine which of the two had precedence. The harmonious and symmetrical relationship between the casemate city wall and the walls of the temple, however, should be noted (Herzog et al. 1984:6).

3. According to Herzog et al. (1984), the temple was destroyed and reconstructed with the citadel four times

(Strata XI, X, IX, and VIII; Figs. 3-6) or, according to Y. Aharoni, five times (1968a:26; 1969:33). On each occasion, several alterations were made in the city wall, in the position of the gate, in several buildings including the temple (Aharoni 1967b:393, 397; 1968a:6, 8, 19; 1969:35; Herzog et al. 1984:8, 11-14), but the east-west orientation of the temple was maintained throughout its existence from stratum to stratum.

On the basis of (1) the apparent indifference of the Canaanite culture regarding temple orientation, and (2) the precise and tenacious way by which the east-west orientation of the Arad temple was laid out and kept, one may conclude that the Israelite temple at Arad is part of the same discrete tradition that determined the orientation of the Solomonic Temple which includes the P Tabernacle and Ezekiel's temple.

Temple Contents

Another category of evidence consists of temple architectural furnishings and movable artifacts. Aharoni advanced that the temple's contents at Arad

stand in complete agreement with the Mosaic law including an altar of burnt offering, incense altars and offering tables. Not a single figurine nor other votive offerings were found. A stone *massebah* was found in the *adytum*, whose connection with Yahwistic worship and use at Israelite high places is frequently mentioned in the Bible. Hebrew ostraca with the names of the priestly families Meremoth, Pashur and the Sons of Korah were found in the side rooms of the temple and its surroundings, and the idiom *House of Yahweh* (*byt yhwh*) is

mentioned in one of the Eliashiv letters. Here we have a temple built in the days of Solomon (or David?) as part of a royal fortress, which continued to function there during the ninth and the eight centuries, with implements exactly fitting the rules of the Mosaic law. Is there any reason to doubt its legitimate, Yahwistic character? (1973a:3).

In this instance, Aharoni not only addresses the question of ethnicity but also suggests a cultural discontinuity between the Israelite cult at Arad and the fertility cults of Canaan. The artifactual basis of his contention and its bearings on the subject of this study will be discussed in this section.

Jachin and Boaz

Flanking the entrance of the main room in the Arad temple "were two stone slabs, probably bases of pillars, calling to mind the biblical Jachin and Boaz" (Aharoni 1968a:19; 1969:34-35).

The occurrence of such pillars flanking the longitudinal axis of the temple, with or without structural function, is a widespread phenomenon in the Ancient Near East. Examples could be mentioned, from Neolithic times to Iron Age II, including Jericho Level XI Pre-pottery Shrine (Williams 1949:77-78; Wright 1971:26), Hazor Area H temples (Yadin 1975:96-98), the temples at Beth-Shan (Rowe 1931:12-21), the Fosse Temple at Lachish (Tufnell 1940: Pl. LXVIII), the temples of Stratum XV at Megiddo (Loud 1948a:78-83), Temple 7300 at Shechem (Fig. 12; Dever 1974:32, 40-43), Megiddo Stratum VA, Locus 2081 Shrine (Loud 1948a:44-46),

The Level IA temple at Alalakh (Woolley 1955:82-85), the Iron II Tell Taynat temple (Fig. 18; Haines 1971:53, Pl. 103), and several others (Scott 1939:143-144). To the archaeological examples one may add the biblical Jerusalem Temple (1 Kgs 7:15-22, 41-42; 2 Kgs 25:13, 17; 2 Chr 3:15-17, 4:12-13; Jer 52:17).

If initially these pillars had a structural function, it seems that later they became so closely associated with temple architecture that they came to represent the dwelling place of a deity and were used as free-standing columns, with only decorative or symbolic significance (Garber 1951:8; Shunpak 1971:1188).

Their occurrence at Tell Arad and in the Solomonic Temple must, therefore, be interpreted in terms of Canaanite influence or origin.

It is significant, however, that the P Tabernacle did not have this feature and no cultic significance is attributed to it in all the Hebrew Bible.

One should also note that the adoption of the *Jachin-and-Boaz* pillars in no way compromises the realization of the P ritual and, therefore, needs not to be interpreted as indication of syncretism.

The presence of these pillars in Israelite temples may have served an important identification function in a Canaanite social context, namely, the differentiation of the sacred precincts from other buildings.

Masseboth

Aharoni reports that, inside the holy of holies at Arad, three stele-type stones were found which he identified as *masseboth*. The largest stone "is of hard, well-dressed limestone. Its height is 90 cm; it is flat on its face and rounded on the back and sides. Traces of red pigment are evident" (1967b:248). The other two are "cruder flint slabs," which were found "leaning against the wall, plastered over" (1968a:19).

Masseboth, these memorial, legal and/or cultic upright stones, constitute a common phenomenon in the Fertile Crescent, particularly in the Syro-Palestinian region, from Middle Bronze down into the Iron Age (Graesser 1969:34-307).

An example particularly relevant is the group of ten stelae found inside the Canaanite Area C temple at Hazor (Yadin 1975:43-48). Stele number 6 bears a relief that "depicts two hands stretched upwards . . . and, above them, the symbol of a deity . . . the moon god" (Yadin 1975:46). In close association with the stelae, a basalt statue of "a man seated on a low stool holding a cup-like object in one hand while the other hand rests on his knee"--the "statue of the deity itself"--was found (Yadin 1975:44). Yadin interprets the statue and the sixth stele as, respectively, the male deity and his consort (1970:222).

On the basis of Yadin's interpretation and considering, among other things, that (1) in the ancient Near East, temples were seen as the abode of gods, (2) a Ugaritic text (UT 2 Aqht I:27, 45, cf. II 16) mentions the setting up of a stele in a temple that seems to represent an ancestor-god, and (3) the ten Hazor stelae were found inside the holy of holies, Ahlstrom advances (1975:79):

If two of the stelae are deities, then the other stelae would likewise be symbols of other deities of the pantheon, standing in attendance upon the two main gods of this temple, the moon god and his consort. In other words, the cult niche presents us with nothing other than a divine assembly This cult niche at Hazor has thus furnished a rare archaeological illustration of the religious phenomenon of a Canaanite divine assembly, a pantheon.

By extension, Ahlstrom concludes that the Arad stelae "would be a parallel to the Hazor occurrence. . . . The existence of three stelae in the Arad temple supplies evidence which confirms the worship of more than one deity" (1975:82). "From the viewpoint of the history of religion," he says, "this sanctuary is important because it shows an Israelite temple with a *massebah* in the holy of holies, i.e. a Canaanite cult object used as an Israelite deity symbol" (1975:81).

Ahlstrom's conclusion, however, goes against his own methods. In another context he says that

the problem with this argument is that one cannot always use a particular phenomenon in one religion as proof for the case being exactly the same in another, even if these religions are as interrelated as the Canaanite and Israelite religions (1975:74-75).

The use of standing stones at Tel Arad must be understood in the context of the Israelite culture and, given the relative imponderability of the material evidence in this case, this means that one has to resort to the Hebrew Bible in search for their meaning.

In a very schematic way, one may say that the Hebrew Bible makes a sharp distinction between two different uses of these standing stones, one of which is presented as acceptable and the other as unacceptable.

It mentions, as if it were a quite ordinary and normal behavior, that the Israelites used stelae, for example, in recognition of the divine presence, to commemorate the theophany, as a votive stone, to identify a place as God's house (Gen 28:18-22; 35:14-15), as a witness of a contract between two individuals (Gen 31:51-52), to mark the spot of a grave (Gen 35:20), to represent the 12 tribes of Israel (Exod 24:3-8), to commemorate an important event (Josh 5:22), as a witness of the covenant between God and Israel (Josh 24:26-27), for writing the law, the stipulations of the covenant (Deut 27:2-8), etc. There is not a single example in the Bible of a stele having been presented as a genuine representation of God. According to the Hebrew Bible, the Israelite religion should be essentially aniconic.

Another group of biblical texts emphatically admonishes Israel against using the standing stones "like

all the nations," that is, with the meanings, connotations and ritualistic roles they had in the Canaanite cult (Exod 23:23-24; 34:11-14; Lev 26:1; Deut 7:1, 5; 12:1-4, 29-31; 16:21-22; 18:9-14). These admonitions, however, did not prevent Israel from using the *masseboth*, time and again, in the way the Canaanites used to do (2 Kgs 21:1-9; 23:13-14; Hos 10:1-2; Mic 5:10-15; Ezek 43:7-9; Jer 2:26-27).

In face of this double-sided reality, it is not possible to determine with any degree of confidence whether the Arad *masseboth* were intended to have the Canaanite or the Israelite biblically-approved meaning.

For the argument of the present work, it is important to note that the three *masseboth* in the Arad temple do not constitute proof of syncretism. The plastering on two of them "is most reasonably explained as intended to prepare a surface for some sort of writing" (Graesser 1969:212), in accordance with the ancient old Israelite tradition:

On the day you cross over the Jordan into the land that the Lord your God is giving you, you shall set up large stones and cover them with plaster. You shall write on them all the words of this law (Deut 27:2-3, NRSV).

The presence of stone tablets in the Holy of Holies is also a prominent feature of the Israelite tradition. As pointed out by de Vaux (1961:297)

Ex 26:33 and 40:21 state that the Tent was designed to house the Ark of the Testimony. . . . This *Testimony* or *Solemn Law* means the two tablets of the Testimony, i.e. the stone tablets on which the Law was inscribed: God had given them to Moses (Ex 31:18) and he put them

inside the Ark (Ex 25:16; 40:20). That is why the Tent containing the Ark was called the Tent of the Testimony (Nb 9:15; 17:22; 18:2).

The fact that the two plastered stones from Arad had no writing on them does not eliminate the possibility that they were, representatively, law stones.

Furthermore, there is no compelling evidence to decide that the third and larger *massebah* was a symbol of either Yahweh, Baal or any other deity.

All in all, the Arad *masseboth* do not necessarily lend any strength to the thesis that the Arad temple represents a cult fundamentally different from the allegedly later "normative Judaism."

It would be methodologically incorrect to interpret the finds from Arad, as it has been suggested (Ahlstrom 1975:81-83; Dever 1983:579), in the light of the pictorial and inscriptional materials from Khirbet el-Kom or Kuntillet Ajrud, which include references to "Yahweh and his Asherah" (Dever 1984:21-37; Lemaire 1984:42-51). One is dealing here with different and probably antagonistic religious circles. On one side, as noted by Dever (1984:31),

Yahweh could be closely identified with the cult of Asherah, and in some circles the goddess was actually personified as his consort. At Ajrud this obvious syncretism may be explained partially by the Phoenician and north Israelite influence, and partially by the fact that the site was far from the centers of orthodoxy and the watchful eyes of the Jerusalem establishment.

The Arad temple, on the other side, was an integral part of a royal fortress, with close ties with Jerusalem.

Given the number and character of the administrative correspondence found at Arad, the reference to "the house of Yahweh," the occurrence of theophoric names with exclusively Yahwistic elements, and specially the similarities between the sanctuary and the P Tabernacle (Aharoni 1967b:248; 1967e:14-15; 1968a:9-26; 1970:16-42; Herzog et al. 1984:31)), the Arad temple should, more appropriately, be understood as an expression of the Israelite tradition one finds in the Pentateuch, as perceived by its builders.

Bamah

A "small, square, paved," and "raised platform," also found inside the holy of holies at Arad, was identified by Aharoni as a "bamah" (1963:336; 1968a:19)-- usually referred to as a "high place." This identification, which would suggest another point of connection between the Arad temple and the Canaanite religion, however, is highly questionable.

The Arad "bamah" was "one stone high" and measured "70 cm square" (Aharoni 1967d:248). This hardly qualifies it for the designation "bamah."

Typologically speaking, this term probably refers to "a large altar." It was originally "a simple altar standing in an open place" which, after having "reached a certain size and degree of popularity . . . became a *high place*" (Paul and Dever 1973:61).

Etymologically, it seems that the OT word *bamah* conveys the idea of "something which stands in relief from its background" (de Vaux 1961:824; cf. Deut 33:29; 32:13; Job 9:8; Isa 14:14; 58:14; Mic 1:3; Amos 4:13; Hab 3:19; Ps 18:34).

Very often, the word is associated with the heights of Palestine (de Vaux 1961:284; cf. 1 Sam 9:13, 14, 19, 25; 1 Kgs 11:7; 2 Kgs 16:4; 17:9-10; Eze 20:28-29). However, as it has been pointed out by de Vaux (1961:284; cf. Graesser 1969:272-274), "not all the *bamoth* were on uninhabited hills." There were *bamoth* in the towns (1 Kgs 13:22; 2 Kgs 17:29; 23:5), at the gate of Jerusalem (2 Kgs 23:8), and in ravines and valleys (Eze 6:3; Jer 7:31; 32:35).

According to de Vaux, "the one and only meaning which suits all the references is a *mound* or *knoll* for purposes of cultic worship" (1961:284).

The structures which have been excavated and identified as *bamoth* are all relatively large. The Early Bronze Age "*bamah*" at Megiddo (ca. 2500 B.C.) "is a large circular platform of stones, with stairs leading up to it" (Paul and Dever 1973:62; Fig. 35 and 36). It measures about 7.20 m by 9 m across and 1.80 m high (de Vaux 1961:284-285). At Nahariyah, the "*bamah*" built in about the 18th-17th centuries B.C. was originally 5.40 m in diameter and later enlarged to 12.6 m (de Vaux 1961:285). "South-east of Jerusalem, on the crest of a hill near Malhah," two other

"bamoth" were excavated, dated to the seventh-sixth centuries B.C., one of them measuring about 22.50 m in diameter (de Vaux 1961:285).

Haran, however, is of the opinion that "Bible study is still not in a position to determine how the *bamah*, as a cultic institution, fits into the archaeological context and with which of the types of structures unearthed in excavations it can be identified" (1978:21).

Graesser (1969:292) suggested that the *bamoth* were "local clan sanctuaries;" in fact, in the OT, the term would refer to "any shrine other than the Jerusalem temple" (274). In this broad sense, he says, the Arad sanctuary "might be termed a *bamah*."

Whatever meaning the term "*bamah*" may have had, it seems that the small flat bed of stones at Arad could hardly be identified as such. The Arad temple may have been perceived as a "*bamah*", a spurious sanctuary by those promoting the centralization of the cult in Jerusalem. However, there is no typological point of reference to identify and evaluate the small platform within its holy of holies. It provides, in itself, no useful information for the present analysis.

Incense Altars

On the second, middle step leading up to the *debir* at Arad, "at its two ends, were found two stone altars," without horns. "One was 51 cm high, and the other 30 cm. .

. . on each there is a flat depression in which there were traces of a burnt organic substance," probably "animal fat" (Aharoni 1967b:247).

If the original location of these two Arad altars has been correctly identified by Aharoni, then they call to mind the incense altar in the P Tabernacle (Exod 30:1-10; 37:25-28) and in Solomon's Temple (1 Kgs 6:20; 7:48). The Bible says that, in the P Tabernacle, this altar was placed "in front of the curtain that is above the ark of the covenant, in front of the mercy seat that is over the covenant, where I will meet with you" (Exod 30:6, NRSV).

There were two such altars at Arad, against only one in both the Tabernacle and the Solomonic Temple. The fact that the Arad "incense altars" are of different sizes would allow the suggestion that a greater and a lesser deity (Yahweh and his consort?) were worshipped there. This thesis, however, is very much dependent upon the unwarranted assumption that the Arad *masseboth* symbolized gods. Furthermore, it does not account for the existence of only two altars for three *masseboth*.

Nevertheless, the Arad *masseboth* and the associated "incense altars" are--all reservations considered--the strongest link between the Arad cult and the Canaanite religion.

Similar altars have been unearthed in the Syro-Palestine region, in contexts more evidently syncretistic,

as, for example, at Megiddo Locus 2081, Stratum VA (Loud 1948a:44-45; 1948b: Pl. 254). There, two "horned" altars from the Iron II period, also differentiated in size, were found in a room which has been considered as an "actual Israelite" cult place (Dever 1987:232).

The Megiddo altars and the explicit biblical evidence (1 Kgs 11:5-8; 2 Kgs 23:4-20) leaves no doubt about the syncretistic character of the religion practiced by Israelites in some circles (May 1935) that may have included or influenced Arad during certain phases of its history.

Iconography

With the exception of "a small bronze figurine of a lion couchant, found near the altar" (Aharoni 1969:32; Aharoni and Amiran 1964a:282), which has been regarded as simply "a bronze weight" (Holladay 1987:257), no other figurine or any form of iconographic representation was found at Arad (Aharoni 1973a:3).

This fact is very significant considering that representational artifacts are abundantly found in Middle Bronze-Iron Age, Syro-Palestinian cultic sites, especially in domestic contexts but also in public installations (May 1935:26-34; Pritchard 1943; Holladay 1987:249-299; Dever 1987:222-247).

Examples in the same time frame to which the Arad sanctuary belongs may include:

1. Megiddo VA, Building 10, with two female figurines and a zoomorphic vessel (Lamon 1939:4-11).
2. Taanach Cultic Structure, with a female figurine mold (Lapp 1964:39-41; 1967:24-25) and, probably, the cultic stand decorated with several representations of Asherah (Lapp 1969:42-45; Hestrin 1991:50-59).
3. Jerusalem Cave 1, with two anthropomorphic vessels, 21 horse-and-rider figurines, 38 figurines of quadrupeds, and seven birds (Kenyon 1968:106-109; Holland 1977:121-155).
4. The sanctuary at Tel Dan, with three male figurines, a female figurine, a bearded male terracota head (Biran 1974:40-43; 1980a:175-176; 1980b:91-98), Isis and Horus figurine mold, and 120 animals (Crowfoot, Kenyon, and Sukenik 1942:23-24; 1957:76-84, 137-196).
5. The Ashdod sanctuary, with a female figurine and three zoomorphic kerno heads (Dothan and Freedman 1967:571-587).
6. Sarepta Shrine 1, with at least 11 female figurines, a bearded head of a male figurine, a cultic mask, a model sphinx throne, and numerous zoomorphic amulets (Pritchard 1975:13-40, Fig. 41-46, 56-59; 1978:131-148).
7. Kuntilet Ajrud, with anthropomorphic and zoomorphic paintings associated with epigraphic references to Yahweh, Asherah, Baal, and El (Meshel and Meyers 1976:6-10; Dever 1984:21-37; Beck 1982:3-4).

The contrast between the virtually aniconic cultic remains at Tel Arad and the heavily iconographic character of the Canaanite religion suggests not only the cultic and theological discontinuity between the two parts, but also a strong connection of the former with the unique monotheistic and aniconic biblical tradition (Exod 20:1-6).

Burnt-Offering Altar

The strongest isolated evidence linking the Arad temple with the biblical tradition, particularly the P writings, is the large altar found in the court of the Arad temple.

It was "built of small unhewn stones, in contrast with the wall behind which has many dressed stones" (Aharoni 1969:31); a fact which reminds one of the biblical law in Exod 20:25.

Like the burnt-offering altar in the Tabernacle, the one at Arad was placed on the center of the court (Stratum XI) along the longitudinal axis.

This altar, "like the rest of the sanctuary, was destroyed and repaired several times. . . . always built at the same spot" (Aharoni 1969:32), a fact which testifies of its traditional significance.

Its dimensions, discussed in the section below, are what is most significant since they coincide exactly with those of the burnt-offering altar in the P Tabernacle (Aharoni 1968a:25; cf. Exod 27:1). Given the fact that no

other altar with these same measurements is known through either archaeology or history, a direct linkage is here established between the Arad sanctuary and the P traditions.

A number of other artifacts were found in the Arad temple, such as an "incense burner" (Aharoni 1968a:19-20; 1975a: Pl. 43; Herzog et al. 1984:12), a "basin built of stone" found in the courtyard (Aharoni 1973a:4; Herzog et al. 1984:16), which recalls the laver in the Tabernacle (Exod 30:18); several pottery-bowls (Aharoni 1969:32; Herzog et al. 1984:12) including two "shallow, burnished plates" on which the abbreviation for *qodesh*=holy is incised in ancient Hebrew script (Aharoni 1968a:20; Cross 1979:75-78; Herzog et al. 1984:12, 15, 32); "two stone blocks with depressions carved on their surface," identified as "probably offering tables" (Aharoni 1968a:11, 21; Herzog et al. 1984:8); and "ostraca with priestly names" known from the Bible (Aharoni 1968a:11, 21; Herzog et al. 1984:8).

All these finds constitute, cumulatively, evidence of the Israelite ethnicity of the temple at Arad. However, regarding the question of determining in what ways the Israelite religion is different from the Canaanite one, they are of little help. The ritual of both religions included the presentation of food, drink, incense offerings, animal sacrifices, and libations (de Vaux 1961:406-432; Tarragon 1980). Regardless of the influence that in whatever degree

or direction one may have exerted upon the other, one would expect their temple paraphernalia to be very similar.

Temple Measurements and Proportions

After the destruction of Stratum XI, the Arad temple was rebuilt in Stratum X with a number of alterations. Particularly relevant to this study is the enlargement of the temple and the "burnt-offering altar."

The Temple's Width

In Stratum XI, the holy place at Arad was 9 m wide. In the next phase, it was enlarged "a further 1.5 m on the north" (Aharoni 1968a:22-23; Herzog et al. 1984:11). Aharoni (1967c:395; 1968a:22-25; 1969:35-36) took notice of the fact that the ratio between the former width (9 m) and the later one (10.5 m) is the same as between the Egyptian common cubit (= 45 cm) and the royal cubit (= 52.5 cm) (Deut 3:11; 2 Chr 3:3; Ezek 40:5; 43:13; Warren 1903:1-54, 120; Ben-David 1978:27-28; Kaufman 1984:120-132; Barkey and Klaner 1986:22-39; Cook 1988:1048).

This "surprising correlation" leads to the conclusion that the width of the holy place at Arad

was, at first, twenty cubits according to the short cubit and, after its enlargement, was again twenty cubits--according to the larger royal cubit. In other words, the difference in dimensions is in proportion to the difference between the two Egyptian cubits (Aharoni 1968a:24).

The north-south measurements of both the Solomonic Temple (2 Chr 3:3) and Ezekiel's temple (Ezek 41:2, 4) are also 20 cubits.

The measurements of the P Tabernacle are not explicitly given in the Bible but inferred from the description of its wooden frames (Exod 26:15-30; 36:20-34). The 20 frames, with a width of 1.5 cubits each, on each of the two long sides of the Tabernacle (north and south), have been interpreted as making up a 30-cubit-long structure, that is, half the length of the Solomonic Temple. Assuming that there was a proportional relationship between the dimensions of the Solomonic Temple and the Tabernacle, it has been suggested, not without criticism (Friedman 1989:175-186), that the eight frames of the rear wall, also with a width of 1.5 cubits each, make up a 10-cubit-long wall (Haran 1978:151; Kent 1985:89), that is, again half the width of the Solomonic Temple. If the dimensions of the P Tabernacle are assumed to be 10 by 30 cubits, then its proportions are exactly those of the Solomonic Temple and Ezekiel's temple.

Such proportions constitute a typically Israelite, orthodox tradition, since they are preserved in the Bible but have not been observed in any of the Canaanite temples uncovered by archaeology. This realization considerably strengthens the thesis advanced by Aharoni (1973a:3-8) that the Arad sanctuary belongs to that same biblical tradition.

The Proportions of the Main Hall

The correlation between the width and the length of the main hall (holy place) at Arad, as pointed out by Aharoni (1968a:2-25), is even more significant. In Stratum XI this room was ca. 9 m wide (north-south measurement) and 2.7 m long (east-west measurement), or about 20 by 6 Egyptian common cubits (= 45 cm each).

This same proportion appears in the P Tabernacle, the dimensions of which are given not in cubits, as already mentioned, but in terms of a certain number of wooden boards making up the northern and the southern walls, and the rear, western wall, that is 20 by 6 boards, plus two boards to strengthen the rear corners. (Exod 26:16-25).

That this proportion is not accidental at Arad is evident by the fact that, with the enlargement of the temple, modifications were made with no apparent reason except to keep the 20-by-6 proportion. This was achieved "by reducing the width of part of the wall, mainly at the entrance of the *debir*. Later, however, it was necessary to strengthen and broaden the wall and, therefore, the eastern wall too was removed" (Aharoni 1968a:24). The only apparent reason for the modification was to make the width of the room be 3.15 m so that the room would measure again 20 by 6 cubits (10.5 m by 3.15 m), now according to the Egyptian royal cubit (= 52.5 cm).

The concern with keeping at Arad these exact proportions, also shown in the P Tabernacle, is additional evidence that the Arad sanctuary and the P writings belong to the same body of traditions.

One should note, however, that the measurements of the holy place at Arad (2.7 m by 9 m) have close parallels in the Canaanite temples:

1. The antechamber of temple 7300 at Shechem (Fig. 12) measured 2.8 m by 9 m. Its rear chamber, which had a trapezoidal shape, apparently to accommodate the line of the city-gate to which it was attached, was ca. 2.6 m by 9 m (Dever 1974:41-43).

2. The ledge along the rear wall of Temple N at Ebla, which probably was its most holy place, was "between 3.40 metres and 2.80 metres deep" (Matthiae 1981:125).

3. The Area H temples at Hazor were ca. 9 m wide (Fig. 17; Yadin 1975:96, 111).

4. The proportions of the main chamber of the "Solar Shrine" at Lachish were also 20 by 6 (Aharoni 1973a:6). This cultic installation, however, was probably Israelite (Aharoni 1975b:1-18, 41-43; 1968b:157-169).

The Dimensions of the Burnt-Offering Altar

Another important set of information concerns the dimensions of the "burnt-offering altar" at Arad. In Stratum XI, it was a square of 5 common cubits and 3 cubits

high (Aharoni 1967c:396; 1968a:25; 1973a:4). "The altar was enlarged, probably in Stratum X, by some 35 cm, apparently the difference between five common and five royal cubits" (Aharoni 1968a:24). Aharoni already pointed out that "it is hardly accidental that these are precisely the measurements of the altar in the Tabernacle (Exod 27:1)" (1967c:396).

The burnt-offering altar in the Solomonic Temple, on the other hand, had different measurements and proportions, 20 by 20 by 10 cubits (2 Chr 4:1) and, therefore, could not have served as the prototype for Arad's altar.

The exact 5-by-5-by-3 cubit dimensions do appear in the biblical references to the Temple but as part of the description of a platform on which Solomon stood for the Temple's dedication prayer (2 Chr 6:13). There is no evidence to support the hypothesis that "the original altar in the Solomonic temple" was of that size (Aharoni 1973a:4) or that this platform was intended to be used as an altar. The choice of its dimensions, however, indicates Solomon's awareness of the tradition of those measurements.

The burnt-offering altar in Ezekiel's vision measured, according to the LXX, 20 by 20 by 12 cubits, which preserves the exact proportions of the P altar (5 by 5 by 3 cubits) but may be a later revision of the text to make it conform with the dimensions given in P. In the MT, Ezekiel's altar measures 20 by 20 by 11 cubits.

The biblical and archaeological data, therefore, allow the following historical reconstruction: In the tenth century B.C. there existed a normative tradition regarding the dimensions of the burnt-offering altar. Solomon's altar constituted a deviation from that tradition, both in size and proportions. Nevertheless, in order to show respect for that tradition, Solomon ordered a platform to be made with those exact measurements, on which he stood during the dedication of the Temple, "before the altar of the Lord," "in the center of the outer court" (2 Chr 6:12-13), in a gesture full of sacrificial symbolism. The tenth century B.C. altar at Arad was built in compliance with that same earlier tradition.

If this reconstruction is correct, and considering that no other altar with these dimensions or proportions has been found in the Canaanite world, the P altar must be understood in relation to this earlier, typically Israelite tradition and not to the Jerusalem Temple.

Considering the way these measurements and proportions were carefully kept at Arad, they must have been part of a firmly established temple-building tradition which (1) pre-existed and influenced the construction of the Arad sanctuary, and (2) was regarded as normative by the "establishment" circles that built and rebuilt the sanctuary.

A comprehensive study of temple measurements would be necessary for a clearer and more precise understanding of this subject. However, given the limitations of this work and the lack of adequate information on measurements in archaeological publications, it cannot be undertaken here.

If, however, the data provided by Aharoni (though incomplete) are assumed to be correct, then a direct and very close connection is established between the Arad sanctuary and the P traditions. While the width of this sanctuary places it within the same tradition to which the Solomonic Temple, Ezekiel's temple and the P Tabernacle belong, the proportions of its holy place and especially those of its burnt-offering altar make it more akin to the P Tabernacle than to any other Canaanite or Israelite sanctuaries, including the Jerusalem Temple.

Assuming that the Canaanite sanctuaries considered above are representative of the whole, it seems that the measurements of the Arad temple are only loosely related to the Canaanite temple tradition. On the other hand, when the Arad sanctuary is compared to the P Tabernacle, one finds several matches.

CHAPTER 3

THE P TRADITIONS AND THE ARAD SANCTUARY

Chapter 2 has demonstrated that the similarities--in the general layout as well as in some technical details--between the Arad temple and the P Tabernacle are greater and more significant than when these two sanctuaries are individually compared to any other ancient cultic place, including the Solomonic Temple.

It may be suggested, on the basis of the evidence available, that those similarities can only be explained in terms of a direct relationship between the Arad temple and the Tabernacle traditions--as they are presented in P and not as represented in the Solomonic Temple.

The typological differences between the Arad sanctuary and the P Tabernacle, on one hand, and Solomon's Temple, on the other, make it improbable that the two former ones were dependent on the latter.

Even more improbable is the idea that the P Tabernacle was influenced by the Arad sanctuary, for the latter had only a local, very limited influence. The temple at Arad, unlike several other cultic places in ancient Palestine, is not even mentioned in all the OT.

One should, therefore, conclude that the opposite is true; that is, that the Arad temple was influenced by the Tabernacle traditions.

Assuming that the sanctuary at Arad was built sometime in the tenth century, this date provides--on extra-biblical, non-literary, archaeological basis--a *terminus ad quem* for the origin of the Tabernacle traditions. This is, as shall be seen, in opposition to classic Pentateuchal criticism and more in pace with more recent scholarship.

The conclusions that have been advanced so far in the present work suggest, however, some fresh possibilities which have not yet received due attention in OT studies and could contribute significantly to a change in the general understanding among critical scholars about ancient Israelite history and religion.

The advancement of these possibilities constitute the main objective of this chapter. It begins with a review of selected literature on the date of P in order to place the propositions that follow within the context of the current debate.

J. Wellhausen's Views on the P Tabernacle

Until the appearance of J. Wellhausen's *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* in 1878 (1885), it was generally accepted that P--the basis of which is the lengthy legal section in the Pentateuch that "relates substantially to the worship of the tabernacle and cognate matters" (Wellhausen

1885:7)--was, if not Mosaic, the starting point for the history of ancient Israel. Wellhausen's revolutionary aim in the *Prolegomena*, following Graf's hypothesis, was to prove that P was composed and introduced to Israel only after the Babylonian exile (Wellhausen 1885:1-13).

Wellhausen built his thesis upon what he considered to be the "settled" results of Source Criticism in his days, i.e., on the assumption that the Pentateuch was "no literary unit" but a composite work comprised of three main documents: (1) the Book of Deuteronomy, (2) the *Grundschrift* or Priestly Code, and (3) the Jehovistic history-book, which embodied only extracts of even another document, the Elohist (1885:6-8).

He made two additional fundamental assumptions, namely, "that the work of the Jehovist, so far as the nucleus of it is concerned, belongs to the course of the Assyrian period, and that Deuteronomy belongs to its close" and "is to be dated in accordance with 2 Kings xxii," in the days of King Josiah (1885:13). His analysis then proceeded to determine the relative historical position of the Priestly Code, taking for reference chiefly the peculiar outlook--as he perceived them--of each literary stratum regarding the place of worship.

Considering that J has an ordinance that allows multiplicity of cultic places (Exod 20:24-26), its origin is to be found--said Wellhausen--"in the first centuries of the

divided kingdom," in the "pre-prophetic period" when, according to the J narrative and the historical data in Judges and Kings, the high places, the memorial stones, the trees and the wells were not only generally used as genuine places of worship, but also presented as "consecrated and countenanced by Jehovah Himself and His favored ones" (1885:29-32).

The pertinent legislation in D, however, forbids the presentation of offerings "at any place you happen to see," after the manner all the nations serve their gods, "on the mountain heights, on the hills, and under every leafy tree," "but only at the place that the Lord will choose in one of your tribes" (Deut 12 NRSV). Wellhausen advanced that this legislation, particularly in the light of the phrase "You shall not act as we are acting here today," has a reformatory character and, therefore, should be dated to a time of transition towards centralization of the cult in Israel. He says:

As the Book of the Covenant, and the whole Jehovistic writing in general, reflects the first pre-prophetic period in the history of the cultus, so Deuteronomy is the legal expression of the second period of struggle and transition. . . . From this the step is easy to the belief that the work whose discovery gave occasion to King Josiah to destroy the local sanctuaries was this very Book of Deuteronomy." (1885:33)

In P, on the other hand, "the assumption that worship is restricted to one single centre runs everywhere throughout the entire document"--noted Wellhausen (1885:34). He argued (1885:35) that in Deuteronomy

the unity of the cultus is commanded; in the Priestly Code it is presupposed. . . . it is nothing new, but quite a thing of course. What follows from this for the question before us? To my thinking this:--that the Priestly Code rests upon the result which is only the aim of Deuteronomy.

In accordance with this, the origin of P was placed in a time when "the unity of the sanctuary was an established fact," that is, "in the third post-exilic period of the cultus" (1885:38).

All the other fundamental elements of Israelite life--the sacrificial system, clerical orders, the political and theological history--followed, according to Wellhausen, a similar pattern of development in three stages.

This is, in summary, Wellhausen's "whole position" (1885:368) on the date of P.

On this basis, the Tabernacle was regarded as only a "historical fiction" intended to give "immemorial legitimacy" to the new, central, postexilic Jerusalemite cultus (1885:36-39).

The Priestly Code . . . is unable to think of religion without the one sanctuary, and cannot for a moment imagine Israel without it, carrying its actual existence back to the very beginning of the theocracy, and, in accordance with this, completely altering the ancient history. The temple, the focus to which the worship was concentrated, and which in reality was not built until Solomon's time, is by this document regarded as so indispensable, even for the troubled days of the wandering before the settlement, that it is made portable, and in the form of a tabernacle set up in the very beginning of things. For the truth is, that the tabernacle is the copy, not the prototype, of the temple at Jerusalem. (1885:36-37)

It is important to note, in the context of the present work, that Wellhausen's rationale is very much dependant upon his assumption that the Tabernacle could not have been more than mere fiction. There may have existed in earlier times "some kind of tent for the ark," he says, but not the Tabernacle of the Priestly Code because "its very possibility is doubtful" (1885:39). His doubts are focused not only on the fact that the P Tabernacle is portrayed as central and exclusive, but also on its physical traits (1885:37).

According to him, the P Tabernacle concept would only be admissible in a historical setting characterized by the unity of the sanctuary. Its inception, therefore, could only have occurred after the exile--the only time in which the cultus of Israel was realized in a single, central location,

contested by no one and impugned by nothing, and in which, on the other hand, the natural connection between the present and the past had been so severed by the exile that there was no obstacle to prevent an artificial and ideal repristination of the latter. (1885:38)

Since the bulk of P concerns the Tabernacle and its cultus, this literary unity, concludes Wellhausen, could only be dated to postexilic times.

Wellhausen does not rule out the possibility that P may contain cultic traditions of earlier times which were transmitted orally. He agrees with Graf in that "the works of the law were done before the law, that there is a

difference between traditional usage and formulated law" (1885:366). "A ritual tradition naturally developed itself even before the exile (2 Kings 17:27-28)." However, on this point, he makes an important exception: "But only those rites were included in the Torah [*i.e.*, the "oral teaching of the priests" (1885:396)] which the priests had to teach others, not those which they discharged themselves" (1885:395).

The Wellhausen model, in conclusion, does not allow for the existence of the Tabernacle in the preexilic period, not even as part of the oral tradition. The Tabernacle concept bears no relation to the actual preexilic history, but is a mere projection of the Solomonic Temple. "The representation of the tabernacle arose out of the temple of Solomon as its root. . . . From the temple it derives at once its inner character and its central importance for the cultus as well as its external form" (1885:45). In the words of Cross (1961:203): "It was Wellhausen's conclusion . . . that the Priestly tabernacle . . . was demonstrably the fancy of the post-Exilic Priestly writers; or more precisely, a description of the Temple in flimsy desert disguise."

The Graf-Wellhausen Hypothesis inaugurated a new era in Pentateuchal criticism and soon became the prevalent theoretical framework of OT studies. Its tenets, more than

a century later, despite continuous revision, are still influential.

Perhaps, the situation is best described by the following statements from different quarters of the scholarly world:

Pentateuchal criticism did not reach its full development until Reuss, Graf, Kuenen and Wellhausen had completely turned upside down the relative order of the Pentateuchal strata. It was now recognized that P was not the first but the last in historical order. From that time onwards the early post-exilic date of the PC is a rarely challenged datum of Pentateuchal analysis, in fact its cornerstone. (Vink 1969:8-9)

So convincing was Wellhausen's thesis that the conclusions he proposed became *final* and decisive, and have remained quite unchallenged....Thus right down to our own day, Wellhausen's view of the date of the Priestly Code is taken as an axiom, a foregone conclusion according to which the dating of institutions, concepts, literary strata and even linguistic uses in the Bible is established. (Weinfeld 1979:1-2)

The model proposed by Wellhausen "has dominated the field ever since. To this day, if you want to disagree, you disagree with Wellhausen. If you want to pose a new model, you compare its merits with those of Wellhausen's model" (Friedman 1989:26-27).

In spite of all this, the more recent scholarship has made important changes in the picture.

The P Tabernacle in the Post-Wellhausen Era

The trend depicted above began to change early, within the very realm of literary criticism where it was prominent.

H. Gunkel

The results yielded by Form Criticism--the method inaugurated by Gunkel, a contemporary of Wellhausen--created, in the first half of the 20th century, a new attitude towards the OT. The emphasis that had, until then, been placed on the sorting out and ordering of the source documents was shifted to the study of the literary types which, according to Gunkel, were the late written expressions of long existing oral traditions and, consequently, could tell better how the Hebrew traditions developed in preliterate times.

Commenting on what OT scholarship had achieved to his days, Gunkel wrote:

Some of the Old Testament writings have come down to us without any statement regarding the date when they were composed. In the case of others, traditional statements on that subject have been proved to be erroneous. We have learned that many of the books in the Old Testament have a very complicated history. They have been compiled from older oral or written traditions and have been subjected to frequent redaction. It was the first duty of scholarship to clear this jungle before undertaking any constructive work. Even if some of the results reached can only be called tentative, this task has now been practically accomplished, and it is now possible to build on this foundation and make an attempt towards constructing the history of Hebrew literature. (1928:57-58)

His innovative proposition was that "Hebrew literary history is . . . the history of the literary types practiced in Israel, and it is perfectly possible to produce such a history from the sources that are available" (1928:59). These literary types "almost without exception . . . were

originally not written, but spoken" (1928:62). "This study of the literary types, however, will only merit the name of Literary History when it attempts to get at the history through which these types have passed" (1928:61).

Gunkel recognized "Wellhausen's immortal merit" in demonstrating the "true character" of P (1964:145) and regarded its exilic date as "one of the surest results of criticism" (1964:157).

In contrast with the older documents, which were only compilations of even older, mostly oral traditions, P was regarded by Gunkel as a truly original literary work. "And yet"--he wrote--"we should be wrong if we should assume that he deliberately invented his [P's] allegations in Genesis; tradition was too strong to permit him to do this" (1964:153). One may probably assume that he would say the same about the P sections in the other Pentateuchal books.

The Albright School

Alongside the new developments in literary criticism, but quite independently, the archaeological discoveries in the first half of the 20th century, which included rich epigraphical material, played an important role in changing the scholarly understanding about the nature of P.

Many of the Israelite social and religious institutions that are portrayed in the Pentateuch, which, given their complexity, had been regarded as late

developments in the history of Israel, had now striking parallels--if not always in substance, at least in complexity--in the Fertile Crescent civilizations of the MB-Iron I period (Albright 1940; 1942b; 1954; Cross 1961).

While Form Criticism was pushing the origin of the Israelite traditions to a preliterate stage, as far back as to the wilderness period, archaeology was suggesting that those traditions had a historical, not fictional fundament.

Scholars, notably Albright, began now to speak of the "tremendous significance of the new finds for the Bible" which caused, among other things, "the revival of the Patriarchal Age through the excavations at Nuzu and Mari; the flood of light on Hebrew poetry and language as a result of the excavation of Ugarit," and "the vivid illumination of the beginnings of Mosaic legislation through the publication of Hittite and Assyrian, Sumerian and Eshnuma codes" (Albright 1951b:28).

Reflecting this new tendency brought about by archaeological and philological research, Cross wrote: "Today the Old Testament lies in a new setting. The horizons of ancient Near Eastern history have been pushed back. Israelite history can no longer be made to climb the three-flight staircases of Wellhausen's Hegelian reconstruction" (1961:203-204). And:

The old traditions of Israel preserved the coloring--political, social, and religious--of this era in remarkable fashion. While the old tradition and old Priestly written records cannot be taken as historical

in any literal fashion . . . they nevertheless, have proved to have an historical aspect. (1961:205)

The influence exerted by the Graf-Wellhausen Hypothesis, however, was so pervasive that the realization that P "contains old, and indeed very old, material"--as noted by von Rad (1962:232)--came "as a surprise considering the wholesale late dating attributed to it." And yet, this new attitude towards P became prevalent. P came now to be regarded not as the document that played a seminal role in developing postexilic, Judaic traditions but as the late written reworking of very old oral and written materials.

Noth and von Rad, two of the most important names in this phase of Biblical criticism, both agreed that P "was really more heavily dependent upon the received tradition with respect to narrative material and arrangement than first appears from comparison with the old sources" (Noth 1972:234).

M. Noth

Having recognized that most of the basic themes, many details, and the overall outline of P are already present in "the older traditions," but still assuming that P is a late composition which must have had a peculiar theological motivation, Noth comes quite naturally to "the question about the extent to which P has followed older tradition" (1972:241), the question of what is unique in P.

Considering that P "has attached a special weight" to the Sinai narrative and that "only here . . . did he expatiate to the full," Noth suggests that the "determination of the basic features of P's theology" is to be made "from the content of his Sinai narrative" (1972:242). Since P's content gravitates around the Tabernacle and its cult, which are presented as "the central and vitally necessary realization of Israel's bond with God" (1972:243), Noth concludes that the characteristic element of its theological motivation, "can only be the conception of the sanctuary itself, and of God's relation to the sanctuary, which theologically was so important for P that he oriented his work toward this object" (1972:243).

The P Tabernacle, according to Noth, takes from the older traditions only the concept of a tent sanctuary "where the divine appearance occurred from time to time" (1972:244), as a corrective for "the views of the Jerusalem priests about the dwelling and the presence of God in the temple" (1972:246). Everything else in the Tabernacle is either "dependent upon the conceptions of his [P's] own time" (1972:246) (*i.e.*, the memory of the Solomonic Temple and its cult, which had been destroyed in the recent past) or, particularly in the case of the differences between the Tabernacle and the Temple, expression of P's idealistic program for the future, his perception of what the sanctuary should be (1972:246-247).

G. von Rad

Similar conclusions regarding the Tabernacle are reached by von Rad.

According to him, the whole concept of the Tent of Meeting "is not a newly created construction of P: on this subject P rather takes its stand on old traditions about a holy tent" (1962:235). These traditions, stemming "perhaps even from the period before Israel settled in Palestine," regarded the tent as "merely a point of meeting" between God and Moses, and was resorted to by P to counteract the theology of God's permanent presence in the Jerusalem Temple (1962:235-241).

According to von Rad, this old tent tradition, of which he finds evidence in a few E passages (Exod 33:7-11; Num 11:16, 24-26; 12:4; Deut 31:14f), is "quite different from the tabernacle of P" (1962:235), in function as well as in physical traits. First, this tent did not lodge the ark because "Tent and Ark were two cult objects existing independently of each other in the earlier period as the cultic foci of two completely distinct groups" (1962:235), the former identified with a "theology of manifestation," and the latter with a theology "of presence" (1962:237; cf. 1966:103-124). Second, von Rad says, "it does not look as though regular sacrificial worship was offered before this Tent." The E passages mentioned above suggest to him that

the tent was only "a place where oracles were sought and the word of Jahweh proclaimed" (1962:236).

The merging of these two distinct and independent traditions--tent and ark--is the accomplishment of P, culminating a long theological process which, according to von Rad, began sometime after David (1966:119; 1962:238-239). David's tent (2 Sam 6:17; 1 Kgs 1:39; 8:4) was only a shelter for the ark and had not yet incorporated "the special characteristics of the tent of meeting." The contrast between David's plan to build the Temple as the dwelling for Yahweh (2 Sam 6:17), *i.e.*, to lodge the ark, and Nathan's protest against the building of a temple (2 Sam 7:5ff), is perceived by von Rad as evidence that the merging of the two traditions--tent and ark--occurred after that time (1966:119; *cf.* 1962:238, n. 114).

According to von Rad, therefore, the P Tabernacle "is a highly composite affair" (1966:103) of exilic/postexilic times (1962:79). P took from the wandering period only the concept of a tent where God's presence was manifested from time to time. From the settlement period, it took the concept of the ark--which initially was seen as the very throne of God but now had already been modified by D into a container for the Law tablets (1962:238). From more recent times, P borrowed a variety of cultic elements. The extent of this borrowing is unknown since "no document before P preserves for us a

glimpse of the ritual aspect of Israel's cult" (1962:79, n. 22). All this material was then combined, reshaped, and reinterpreted by P to accommodate its objective of presenting an ideal "programme for the cult" (1962:78).

In this way, P "used the tabernacle tradition as a corrective to the notion of the temple which had developed in his day" (1966:121).

Particularly instructive of von Rad's position is this comment:

Wellhausen's statement that the tabernacle is the temple projected back into the period of the desert wanderings must now be called in question. P stands in the 'tent of meeting' tradition, but by contrast the ark was the very heart of the temple, and the whole lay-out of the temple was designed on the understanding that it was a dwelling for Yahweh. (1966:121)

One has the impression that he considered the typological traits of the Tabernacle mainly as a peculiar creation of P, with no intended or actual linkage with the past, either with the Temple or older traditions.

The P Tabernacle in the Recent Debate

The interdisciplinary approach of what came to be known as the Tradition History Method in OT criticism--which has been adopted by the majority of the critical scholars from the most recent generations--has caused relatively little change in the position already reached by earlier critics almost exclusively on the basis of literary analysis (Source Criticism and Form Criticism) regarding the Tabernacle traditions.

An array of linguistic, literary, historical, theological, archaeological, and anthropological arguments have been marshalled by OT scholars to demonstrate that some elements and features of P are old (e.g., Haran 1960:59-65; Cross 1961:201-228; Loewnstamm 1962:160-164; Beyerlin 1965:147, 112-126; Krauz 1966:125-134; Clifford 1971:221-227; Grintz 1972:78-105; Hurvitz 1974:24-56; Gadegaard 1978:36; Rendsburg 1980:65-80; Nielsen 1982:87-98; Zevit 1982:481-511; Kaufman 1985:273-276; Gottwald 1985:214; Freedman 1987:29-37; Friedman 1989).

The tendency has still been to make distinction, as does Zevit (1982:485), "between the chronological origin of the components of P and the time of their final articulation." P is generally regarded as a late composition and it is conceded that the Tabernacle--P's central motif--is possibly based on an old tradition about a tent shrine, simple however and hardly comparable to the Tabernacle, which stems from the earliest period of the Israelite history.

However, there has been little agreement regarding the date of the P writings, the origin of the P traditions, and to what extent the P Tabernacle reflects the old traditions. The following remark made by Childs (1974:352) 20 years ago is true still today: "Although there is a growing consensus that ancient material underlies the Priestly tabernacle account, a wide difference of opinion

still exists regarding both the nature of early traditions and the process by which the priestly account took shape."

It is particularly pertinent, in the context of this study, to note how some scholars have used the P descriptions of the Tabernacle to date the P writings.

A. S. Kapelrud

On the basis of his traditio-critical analysis of the OT, Kapelrud (1964:58-64) proposed that the P work originated between 585 B.C. and 550 B.C. According to him, Second Isaiah, which is dated to ca. 537 B.C., shows acquaintance with Genesis and Exodus in the form they have in the MT. On the other hand, in his opinion, "the two great prophets at the beginning of the Exile, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, did not know P" (1964:64). He concludes, thus, that P came into existence after this date.

Kapelrud's conclusions are mainly based on P texts which are not directly related to the Tabernacle. Nevertheless, the typological analysis of the Tabernacle is also part of his argument inasmuch as he assumes Pfeiffer's conclusions in this regard (Haran 1964:63; cf. Pfeiffer 1941:554). According to Pfeiffer, "in spite of an amazing technical knowledge of Solomon's Temple and of its ritual," the author of Ezek 40-48 "presented an ideal plan which was to a great extent Utopic. The details of the plan show that it is later than Deuteronomy and earlier than the Priestly Code (which discloses considerable indebtedness to it)."

The conclusion that "there are no sure traces of P before 585 B.C." (Kapelrud 1964:64) is, however, an argument from silence which cannot stand the evidence from the Arad sanctuary.

P. J. Kearney

On the basis of his redaction-critical analysis of Exod 25-40, Kearney (1977:375-387) concludes that "there is no difficulty in accepting an exilic date for the composition of Ex 25-40" (1977:386).

According to him, the unity of Exod 25-40 was fashioned by P by way of a sequence--creation (chaps. 25-31), fall (chaps. 32-33), and restoration (chaps. 34-40). "The principal argument favoring such a pattern", he says, "is the seven-speech structure of Ex 25-31, wherein each set of divine instructions parallels the corresponding day of creation in Gen 1-2a" (1977:384-385). By means of incorporating the fall-restoration concept already expressed in JE, P provided justification for the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple, offered "hope for a restored Jerusalem cult" (1977:386), and supplied a theological foundation for the postexilic temple cult as solid as creation itself.

It seems that Kearney regarded the tripartite arrangement of space in the Tabernacle as merely another device used by P to establish another parallel with the creation story. He says (1977:385-386):

Just as the original creation followed a sequence of establishing limits (first three days, approximately) and then filling the defined areas with living beings (next three days), so the P author imitates such a development by detailing the arrangements for sacred space (Ex 25-26:19) and then moving into proximate preparation for the actual exercise of the cult (Ex 26:20-31:11).

The evidence from the Arad sanctuary, however, suggests that the tripartite cultic area was already the essential material substructure of the Israelite cult in the tenth century B.C.

M. Haran

Haran advances that P was composed before the destruction of the First Temple and even before the composition of D, probably in "the period of Ahaz-Hezekiah" (1981a:331).

He observes that some characteristics of the Tabernacle--(1) a single surrounding court, (2) the lack of chambers, and (3) a single bronze altar in the center of the court--coincide with the conditions which allegedly existed in the Solomonic Temple only prior to the modifications that took place before Manasseh, about the time of Ahaz or of Hezekiah (1978:192-194). "One can not avoid the conclusion," Haran suggests, "that what is reflected in P's tabernacle is the Temple of Solomon in a stage that antedated those changes" (1981a:331). Therefore, the composition of P is to be dated, according to him, to that period.

His argument, however, depends on the unwarranted assumption that the P Tabernacle "is only a schematic representation of the Jerusalem temple" (Haran 1991:331). For him, the "lavishly adorned tabernacle" is no more than a device used by P to depict an "utopian and idealistic" situation "which the priestly authors believed to have existed within the people of Israel from the moment they stood at the foot of Mount Sinai till their arrival in the promised land" (1981a:328).

Haran, nevertheless, agrees with the classic Pentateuchal criticism when he says that the "publication" of P occurred in the postexilic period. According to him, this "distinction between P's composition and publication" would explain the

diametric contradiction between the signs of antiquity ingrained in P and the special historical connection it has with Ezra's activity--between the fact that it cannot be explained as a product of the postexilic period and the fact that its historical existence is undetectable in the preexilic period. (1981a:327)

On the basis of his analysis of the OT evidence, and neglecting the archaeological evidence from Arad, Haran concludes that "before Ezra P's existence is, in all practicality, not discernible in Israel's life and there is no real indication that its particular notions have any hold on communal affairs" (1981a:324).

The Arad Sanctuary and the Date of P

Assuming that the chronology proposed by Aharoni for the Arad temple is correct, a number of conclusions may be advanced regarding the date of the P Tabernacle traditions.

The Date of the Tradition

Contrary to the thesis advocated by Wellhausen and by classic Pentateuchal criticism in general, which regarded the P Tabernacle as a total invention of exilic times, the Arad temple testifies to the existence, in the tenth century B.C., of a sanctuary tradition independent from the Jerusalem Temple and fundamentally similar to the P Tabernacle.

Basic to Wellhausen's position was the idea that "the tabernacle is the copy, not the prototype of the temple at Jerusalem" (1885:36). The "unmistakable" resemblance between the Tabernacle and the Temple was seen as evidence that the former was a "projection" of the latter (1885:37). However, critical scholars have later recognized that the differences between them constitute a serious obstacle to this theory (e.g., Noth 1972:243-244; Vink 1969:10).

One of the arguments still presented to support the idea that "the P stipulations of Exodus . . . cannot have come directly from the time of Moses" is the assumption that "the Tabernacle in the wilderness is conceived as a movable prefabricated half-sized version of Solomon's temple" (Gottwald 1985:207). However, while there may be a

proportional equation between the Tabernacle and the Solomonic Temple as far as the measurements of their floor plan are concerned--for the Temple's length and width seem to be twice the size of the Tabernacle--they are proportionally different when one takes into consideration also their respective vertical dimensions. The measurements of the Temple are 60 cubits long by 20 cubits wide by 30 cubits high (1 Kgs 6:2). Those of the Tabernacle are 30 cubits long by 10 cubits wide by 10 cubits high (Exod 26:15-30). The proportions of the Temple are 3x1x1.5 while those of the Tabernacle are 3x1x1 (cf. Friedman 1989:175), therefore, not equatable. If the Tabernacle were a mere projection of the Temple it could easily keep, and very probably would, the Temple's proportions. The deviation does not allow the characterization of their relationship as "copy."

Another amply recognized hindrance to the etiological interpretation of the Tabernacle concerns the great emphasis given by P to the Ark of the Covenant. It is common understanding that when Jerusalem fell to the Babylonians in 587-6 B.C., the Ark disappeared and, if it was not destroyed with the Temple, became unavailable for any practical purpose (cf. Jer 3:16; 2 Macc 2:4-7). In P, however, the Ark plays a central role and receives prominent treatment. The very reason for the existence of the Tabernacle--the manifestation/presence and activity of God

in that place (Exod 25:8)--is closely associated with the Ark (Exod 25:22). If P's intention was to provide an etiological justification for the postexilic Jerusalem cult, then it would hardly give such an importance to the Ark, which was absent.

One may add, in this context, the differences already discussed between the proportions of the burnt-offering altars in the Jerusalem Temple and in the Tabernacle. Unlike the Ark, this cult object was accessible to the common people. If P had an etiological agenda, it doesn't seem plausible that he would contradict what was common knowledge, especially in dealing with such a prominent feature.

Given these facts, it seems more reasonable to conclude that the P concept of the Tabernacle was not dependent upon the Jerusalem Temple.

These differences, among other reasons, have prompted some scholars to suggest that the Tabernacle is not an etiology of the Temple, as had previously been proposed by Wellhausen, but since it is still assumed to be a late creation, it must be "a program for the future" or "a corrective of prevalent views with the object of helping to bring about a reform or in the expectation that such a reform would one day take place" (Noth 1972:243; cf. Vink 1969:139).

The finds from Tel Arad, however, suggest a different solution. The Arad sanctuary also disagrees with the Solomonic Temple and it does it, strikingly enough, exactly in points in which it agrees with the P Tabernacle: (1) the bipartite structure without a porch, (2) the 20x6 proportions, and (3) the dimensions and proportions of the open-air altar. The differences between the P Tabernacle and the Jerusalem Temple, therefore, may not be attributed to P's postexilic "program for the future" because these are precisely the points which place the Tabernacle within the same old tradition represented by the tenth-century Arad sanctuary.

Some conclusions, therefore, may be drawn regarding the age of this tradition. The consistent maintenance of what one may call *the P traits of the Arad sanctuary*, throughout its history of destructions and reconstructions, suggests that the tradition was well established when the Arad sanctuary was erected in the tenth century B.C.

The fact that, to be in accordance with this tradition, the Arad sanctuary had to deviate in some significant aspects from the Jerusalem Temple is particularly relevant. Arad was a royal fortress, administratively controlled by Jerusalem. This evident attachment to the tradition at Arad can only mean that this tradition was not only firmly established by the tenth century B.C. but also respected by the Jerusalem leaders.

Otherwise, it would hardly have found expression, for so long, in that Negev outpost under constant Jerusalem dominance.

Only by assuming a well-established early tradition can one account for the sharing of characteristics by the Arad sanctuary, the Jerusalem Temple and the P Tabernacle. As it has already been noted, while the significant differences between the Arad sanctuary and the Jerusalem Temple suggest their independence from each other, their numerous similarities (cf. Table 1) suggest a common substratum of traditions. In Aharoni's words:

The distinct similarities between it [the Arad sanctuary] and the Tabernacle and their differences from the Solomonic Temple are clear evidences that the description of the Tabernacle is based upon an early tradition, independent from the Solomonic Temple, according to which the Arad sanctuary also was constructed. (1973a:6; cf. 1968a:25)

Considering that "the Tabernacle as described in P features many Canaanite, or old West-Semitic elements not found in the Temple of Solomon, elements most unlikely to be introduced in a fantasy of late, orthodox priests," Cross (1981:170) argues that "the parallel proportions of the inner rooms of the Temple and Tabernacle cannot be explained as chance." "Evidently," he says, "one has influenced the other or both derive from an older model." He prefers the latter option and proposes the Tent of Yahweh erected by David (2 Sam 6:17) as "the most likely candidate" for that

old model (1981:169, 175-177; 1961:221-223; *cf.* Bright 1972:169).

The Davidic tent is regarded by Cross as the final developmental stage of Israel's tradition of tent-shrines. This earlier tent tradition, however, is assumed to be much simpler, deprived of the complexity and sophistication that characterize the Tabernacle and, supposedly, also the tent-shrine build by David.

It seems, however, that Cross' proposition results more from the necessity to find an early prototype for the P Tabernacle--for it is his understanding that it could not have been the Solomonic Temple--than from any perceived typological or historical evidence. As he recognizes, very little can be known about David's tent from the rather scanty information provided in the Bible (2 Sam 6:17; 1 Kgs 1:50; 2:28-30).

But even if one concludes with Cross that the Biblical text suggests some similarities between David's tent and the P Tabernacle, it is hardly necessary or even permissible to conclude that the tent was the prototype for the Temple and the Tabernacle.

More likely, the Davidic tent was only another expression of the same older tradition. The evidence from Arad suggests that, in the tenth century B.C., the tradition was normative. One has to allow considerable time for a tradition to become so firmly established to have the kind

of influence discussed in this study. How long it would take is, of course, a matter of conjecture. But, if cult traditions, as proposed by Kapelrud (1990:107), "need centuries to reach their final form," then the origin of the P Tabernacle traditions, of which the Arad sanctuary is an expression, would have to be sought for in a time long prior to the period of the Israelite monarchy.

The Content of the Tradition

The complexity, sophistication, and magnificence of the P Tabernacle have, since Wellhausen, often been referred to as an important evidence that the P account is a fanciful creation of late times (Wellhausen 1885:39; Haran 1978:194-195; 1981a:328). If critical scholars, more recently, have conceded to the existence of a very old Israelite tent-shrine, the tendency is to think of it only in terms of a very simple desert tent with no elaborate ritual. On the basis of Exod 33:7-11, which is regarded as a J passage, "the earliest piece of information in the Pentateuchal sources concerning the 'sacred tent'" (Kraus 1966:128), it has been inferred that this early "tent of meeting" was only a shrine for oracles, for this is the only function alluded to in the text. It probably did not lodge the Ark for, it is said, the text does not make reference to it and, more importantly, the Tabernacle and the Ark are never mentioned together in the JE sections (Kraus 1966:128; Gottwald 1985:214-215). As an oracle shrine, a mere "point of

meeting" between God and Moses, it was not intended for sacrifices and did not have a burnt-offering altar in front of it (von Rad 1962:236). The only similarity generally acknowledged between this early tent and the P Tabernacle is their portability.

The evidence from the Arad temple, however, suggests that the ancient tradition on which it is based is much richer and more similar to the P Tabernacle than the critical theories would allow.

The central location and the significant proportions of the Arad open-air altar were carefully maintained throughout its history. Considering that this altar "was covered by a large flint slab surrounded by two plastered runnels" (Aharoni 1968a:19) and had the same dimensions of the burnt-offering altar in the Tabernacle, there can be little doubt that sacrifices were offered on it.

Particularly significant is the alignment of the altar with all major features in the Arad temple. This and its prominent position suggest that the altar was organically related to the whole ritual and had an essential function.

It may be assumed, therefore, that the cult tradition inherited from earlier times by the Arad sanctuary not only included the offering of sacrifices but was also characterized by it.

Furthermore, if one assumes that the stelae found in the holy of holies, at the very end of the ritual axis at Arad, were representative of law tablets in accordance with the Biblical tradition, then it is not improbable, as it has been supposed (von Rad 1962:238-239), that the law tablets, in the early tradition, were already an integrant part of the appointed place of sacrifices, exactly as in the P Tabernacle.

The complexity of this early tradition and its fundamental agreement with the P traditions are best seen when the Arad sanctuary's traits, as a whole, are plotted against the Tabernacle. The parallels between these two cultic places occur not only in details but in the overall arrangement as well (*cf.* Table 1). Both are characterized by the following significant traits:

1. Tripartite cultic area
2. Discrete holy of holies
3. Delimited front court
4. Offering altar in the center of the court
5. 5x5x3-cubit altar dimensions and proportions
6. 20x6 proportions
7. Absence of iconographic representations
8. Incense altar in front of the holy of holies
9. Presence of stone tablets in the holy of holies
10. East-West orientation

... of the American
offering ... or, it ... a
straight ... long ... a
... long
... Program
becomes ... we ...
... uce
... harm ... s
presupposes the ex ... is
and an e ... te ...
... t ... n
the Arab ... ctua ... s
great that ... r ...
same--that ...
leads to ... con ... ve
basis to the Arab
content ...

The Transmission

... provide
the que ... wh ... or
oral form ... How
technical ... ail
offering ... lter, ... at
may have ... one ... g
consider ... or.

11. Arrangement of features--including burnt-offering altar, incense altars, rooms and entrances--along a straight, longitudinal axis

12. Longitudinal approach

13. Progression following a funnelform path which becomes narrower as one approaches the holy of holies

14. Successive positioning of the features.

The harmonious interrelationship of all these traits presupposes the existence of complex theological conceptions and an elaborate cult.

Given the striking typological similarities between the Arad sanctuary and the P Tabernacle, the possibility is great that their respective cults were fundamentally the same--that is, the one described in the P writings. This leads to the conclusion that the older tradition, which gave basis to the Arad cult, was fundamentally, in form and content, the P cult.

The Transmission of the Tradition

The evidence from Arad does not shed much light on the question whether this early tradition was in written or oral form. However, the tradition did include some technical details--such as the measurements of the burnt-offering altar, which are carefully preserved at Arad--that may have some significance to the problem under consideration.

Without underestimating the recognized ability that man has to memorize and transmit large bodies of tradition (Albright 1940:33-43), measurements are not the kind of material that one would expect to find in narratives, songs, moral teachings, or even ritual instructions which would have been transmitted orally from generation to generation. Besides being technical in character, it seems that these measurements concern only a very limited segment of the population--perhaps only the priests--and were applicable only on very few and sparse occasions, those of the building of the cult place. One could perhaps speculate that this kind of information would more easily, accurately, and preferably be transmitted in writing.

CHAPTER 4

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This investigation sought to determine the implications of the tenth century B.C. Arad temple for the question of dating P.

Most of the previous reasearch on the date of P has been based mainly on internal, literary analysis of the OT. The present study has considered the same subject by means of an alternative methodology which, for the first time, has been made possible by the finds from Tel Arad--a non-literary, external, independent, archaeological body of evidence.

Summary of Chapter 2

Chapter 2 dealt with the problem of identifying the determinants of the Arad temple traits. This was done by typologically comparing those traits with (1) the Late Bronze-Iron Age temples unearthed by archaeology in Syro-Palestine, and (2) the Israelite temples described in the Hebrew Bible.

It was proposed, as the working hypothesis, that the P descriptions of the Tabernacle and its ritual preserve

Israelite cultic traditions that were considered to be normative in some Israelite circles during the early Iron II period.

In accordance with that, the meaning attributed by P to the Tabernacle installations, as perceived by this author, was adopted as part of the analytical criteria along with--but not without some important exceptions to--the frequently used typological analysis.

The Arad temple was considered in relation to the three main causative factors which have been proposed by some scholars to account for its traits: (1) the Canaanite culture, (2) the Solomonic Temple, and (3) the Tabernacle traditions.

Trait Patterns

This analysis has identified seven trait patterns in the Arad sanctuary (Table 1).

Pattern A

Pattern A consists of traits which are widely represented in Late Bronze-Iron Age Canaanite cultic places but were not adopted by either the Solomonic Temple or the P Tabernacle as, for example, the broad main room (holy place), and the holy of holies in form of a niche. The occurrence of these traits at Arad, therefore, could only be explained in terms of its relation with the Canaanite culture.

Pattern B

Pattern B exhibits traits which occur in the Israelite temples (Arad, Solomon's, Tabernacle) but are also represented in some Canaanite temples as, for example, the east-west orientation, axiality, longitudinality, and the tripartite spatial arrangement. These shared traits may indicate a common cultural background. However, the analysis has indicated that while they are characteristic of the Israelite temples and are fundamental cultic elements in the light of the P writings, it is not evident that their occurrence in Canaanite temples was anything more than accidental. These traits, therefore, may not be used to support the thesis of cultural borrowing, cultic or theological similarity between Canaanite and Israelite religions, or even syncretism. They rather indicate a close relationship of the Arad sanctuary with the Biblical tradition.

Pattern C

Pattern C consists of traits which are shared by the Arad sanctuary, the Solomonic Temple and the P Tabernacle, but are not recognizable, archaeologically or otherwise, in Canaanite temples. This pattern includes the increasing obstructiveness as one progresses along the longitudinal axis of the temple, and the absence of iconographical representations of God. These traits--which are coherent with the peculiar Israelite conception of a transcendent and

holy God, indispensable for the proper realization of the P ritual, and not represented anywhere else in the Ancient Near East--may be considered as typical of the Israelite, biblical orthodoxy.

Pattern D

Pattern D consists of traits which do not occur at Arad or in the P Tabernacle but do in the Solomonic Temple and are represented in Canaanite temples, as for example, the porch. Such evidence suggests a certain degree of independence at Arad from the influence exerted by the Solomonic Temple and the Canaanite culture. This, despite being admittedly silent evidence, brings together the Arad sanctuary and the Tabernacle traditions apart from the porch tradition represented in the Jerusalem Temple and in several Canaanite cultic buildings.

Pattern E

Pattern E exhibits traits which are present in Solomon's Temple and represented in Canaanite temples but are not part of the P descriptions of the Tabernacle as, for example, the flanking, twin columns (Jachin and Boaz), and the width of the building. This evidence speaks of a common cultural background for the temples at Arad, Jerusalem, and some Canaanite sites. However, it should be noted that the adoption of these traits in Israelite temples does not present any hindrance to the realization of the P ritual

and, therefore, may not be understood as indicating communality of theology or practice between Israelite and Canaanite religions.

Pattern F

Pattern F consists of traits which have no archaeological parallel in Canaan, do not follow the Jerusalem Temple and, however, do agree with the P Tabernacle. These traits, which comprise the dimensions and proportions of the "burnt-offering" altar, can have their origin explained only in terms of the relationship with the Tabernacle traditions.

Pattern G

Pattern G consists of traits which are represented in Arad, the Tabernacle, and some Canaanite temples, but not in the Solomonic Temple. This suggests a certain degree of independence from a common cultural background on the part of the Solomonic Temple. Also, it suggests that both the Tabernacle and the Arad temple were not typologically dependent upon the Jerusalem Temple.

Causative Factors

Despite the variety of probable causative factors, and combinations thereof, which may have played some role in determining the Arad temple traits, a pattern of selectivity may be recognized throughout:

Canaanite temples

The Arad sanctuary agrees with Canaanite temples in almost all significant aspects except those which are not compatible with the P theology or cult as, for example, (1) the easy access to the holy of holies, (2) the use of iconographic representations, and (3) the looseness with which the cultic area was partitioned.

Solomonic Temple

The Arad sanctuary agrees with the Solomonic Temple in everything that is cultically significant in P as, for example, the conspicuous tripartite cultic area, the longitudinal and axial line of approach, and the large altar in the center of the court. However, it does not agree with the Solomonic Temple in every aspect, including some that are architectonically important, such as the porch and the type of the room. This is not what one would expect if Solomon's Temple had provided the prototype for the construction of the sanctuary at Arad. These discrepancies, one should note, concerns only aspects that are not significant in P.

P Tabernacle

The Arad sanctuary agrees with the Tabernacle in everything that is, according to P, theologically or ritualistically significant, without exceptions. This includes the tripartite spatial arrangement; the linear and

longitudinal approach; the succession of court, holy place and holy of holies, axially arranged one behind the other; the relative size of the three ritual areas, from the larger to the smaller; and the position of the burnt-offering altar. The disagreements with the P Tabernacle are only on matters that have no relevancy in P, such as the flanking columns and the shape of the rooms.

The evidence suggests that the P traditions provided the basic criteria for selecting the traits of the Arad temple.

Summary of Chapter 3

Chapter 3 sought to ascertain (1) how critics have regarded the Tabernacle, (2) how their understanding of this matter relates to the dating of P, and (3) how the evidence discussed in chapter 2 regarding the Arad temple contributes to the current debate regarding the date of the P traditions and affects the position held by some critical scholars on this subject.

It has been seen that the Graf-Wellhausen school considered the P Tabernacle as a late fictitious piece of literature, a retrojection of the Jerusalem Temple devised to give legitimacy to the centralized postexilic cult. As such, the Tabernacle was mainly and primarily regarded as a creation of P and secondarily a reflection of the Solomonic Temple.

It has also been seen that, while still maintaining a late date for the composition of P, scholars of the more recent generations have conceded that the P Tabernacle may have had a historical fundament. This borrowing from old traditions, however, is generally conceived as having been restricted to the tent concept itself, a movable shrine where God's presence was manifested from time to time. For most of the critical scholars it does not include the physical traits or the ritual of the Tabernacle.

Chapter 3 also contended that, although the evidence from the Arad temple has no direct bearing on the question of dating the composition of the P writings as they now appear in the MT, it does provide a *terminus ad quem* for the origin of the P Tabernacle traditions.

Conclusions

On the basis of this study, following Aharoni's suggestions (1968a:25; 1973a:6; 1972a:col. 244), and contrary to much of what has been assumed among critical scholars, it may be advanced that (1) as early as in the tenth century B.C., there was (2) a sanctuary tradition in Israel which was (3) independent from the Jerusalem Temple, (4) regarded as normative by a wide circle including Arad and Jerusalem officials, (5) therefore old, (6) fundamentally similar to the P Tabernacle, in physical traits and consequently in cult, and (7) probably in written form.

Considering (1) the complexity of the Arad cult as can be deduced from the remains of its temple, (2) its fundamental similarity to the P Tabernacle and its cult, and (3) the pivotal function of the Tabernacle in the theology and literary structure of P (cf. Noth 1972:242-244), the recurring critical suggestion of a late date for the P traditions on the basis of (1) P's allegedly ethyological or programmatic theology or (2) the allegedly anachronic complexity of the Tabernacle must now be reconsidered.

FIGURES

Figure 1
Temple Sites

1. Tell Taynat

2. Tell Atchana
Alalakh

3. Tel Mardikh
Ebla

4. Tell el-Qedah
Hazor

5. Tell Balatah
Shechem

6. Jerusalem

7. Tel Arad

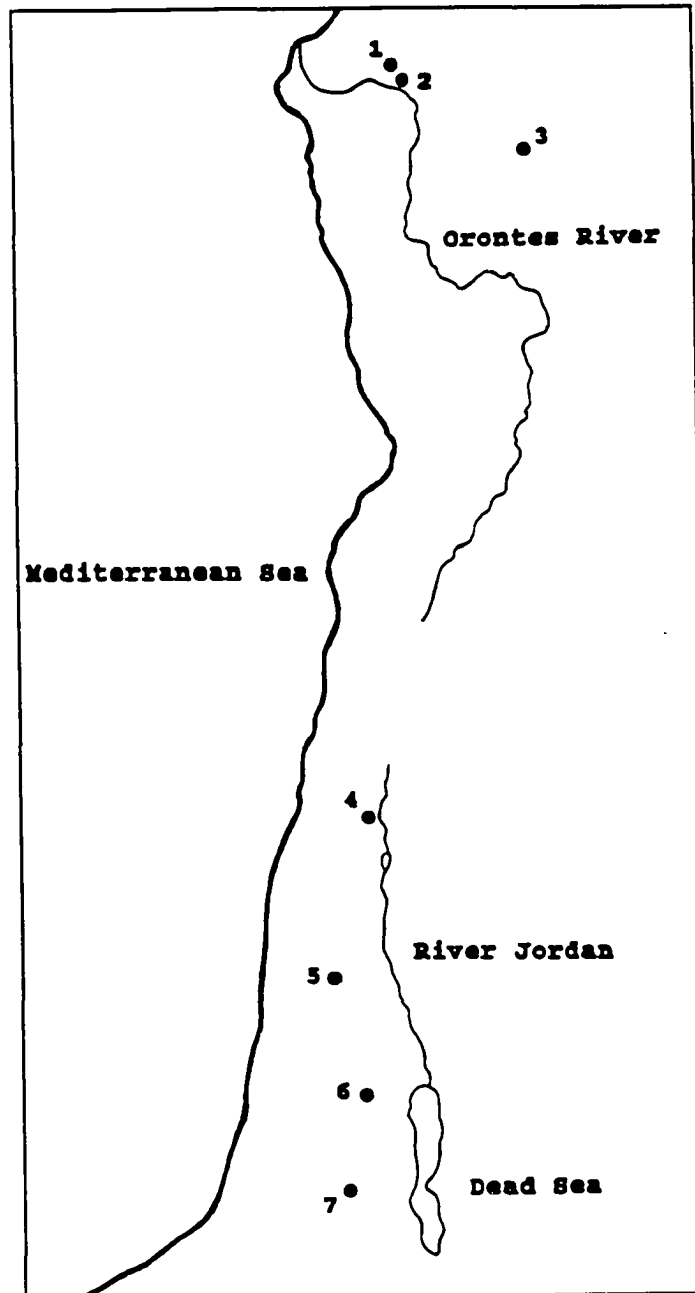


Figure 2

**Isometric Reconstruction of the Open Settlement at Arad
Stratum XII**

(Herzog et al. 1984:4, Fig. 4)

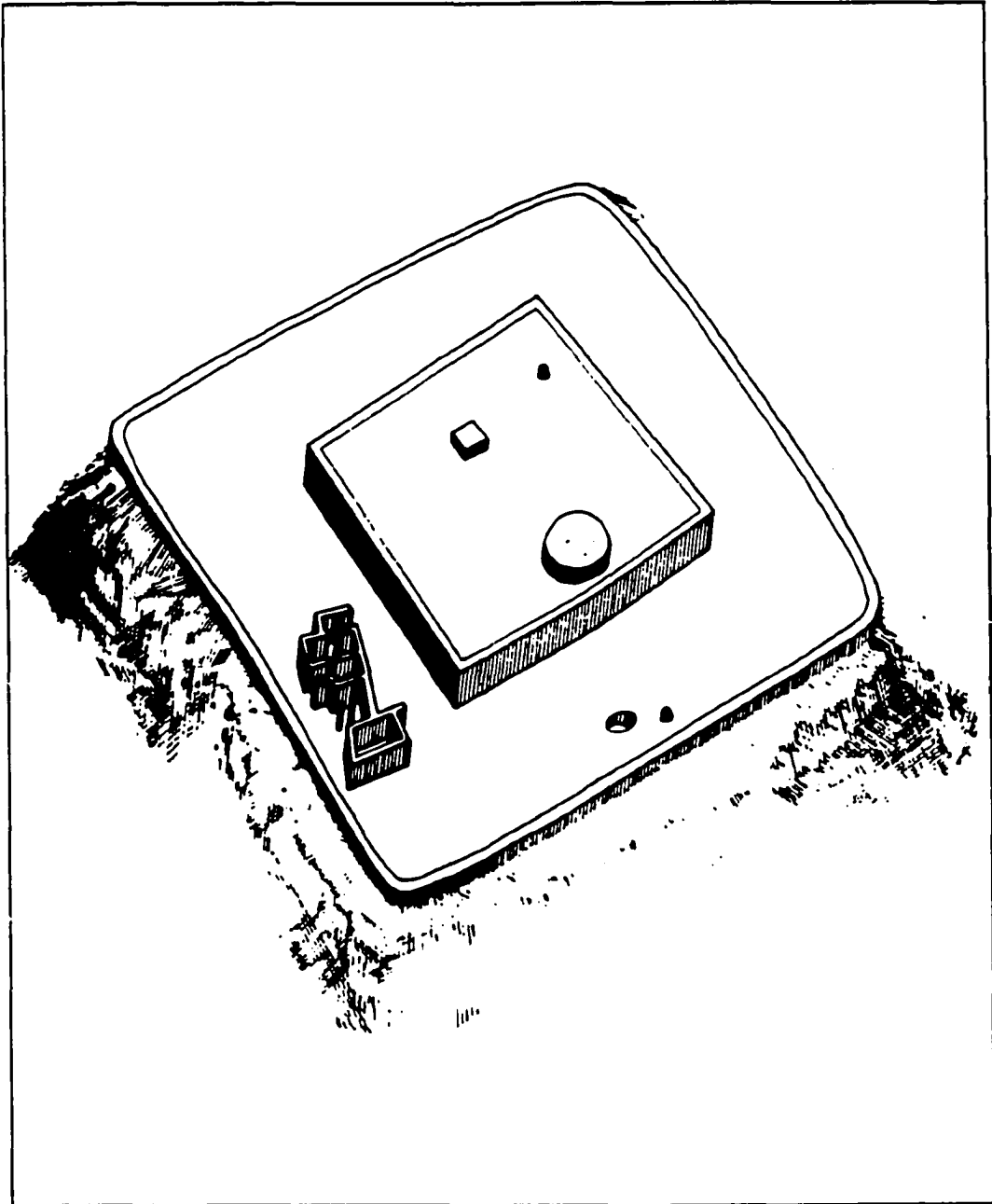


Figure 3
Plan of Arad
Stratum XI
(Herzog et al. 1984:6, Fig. 6)

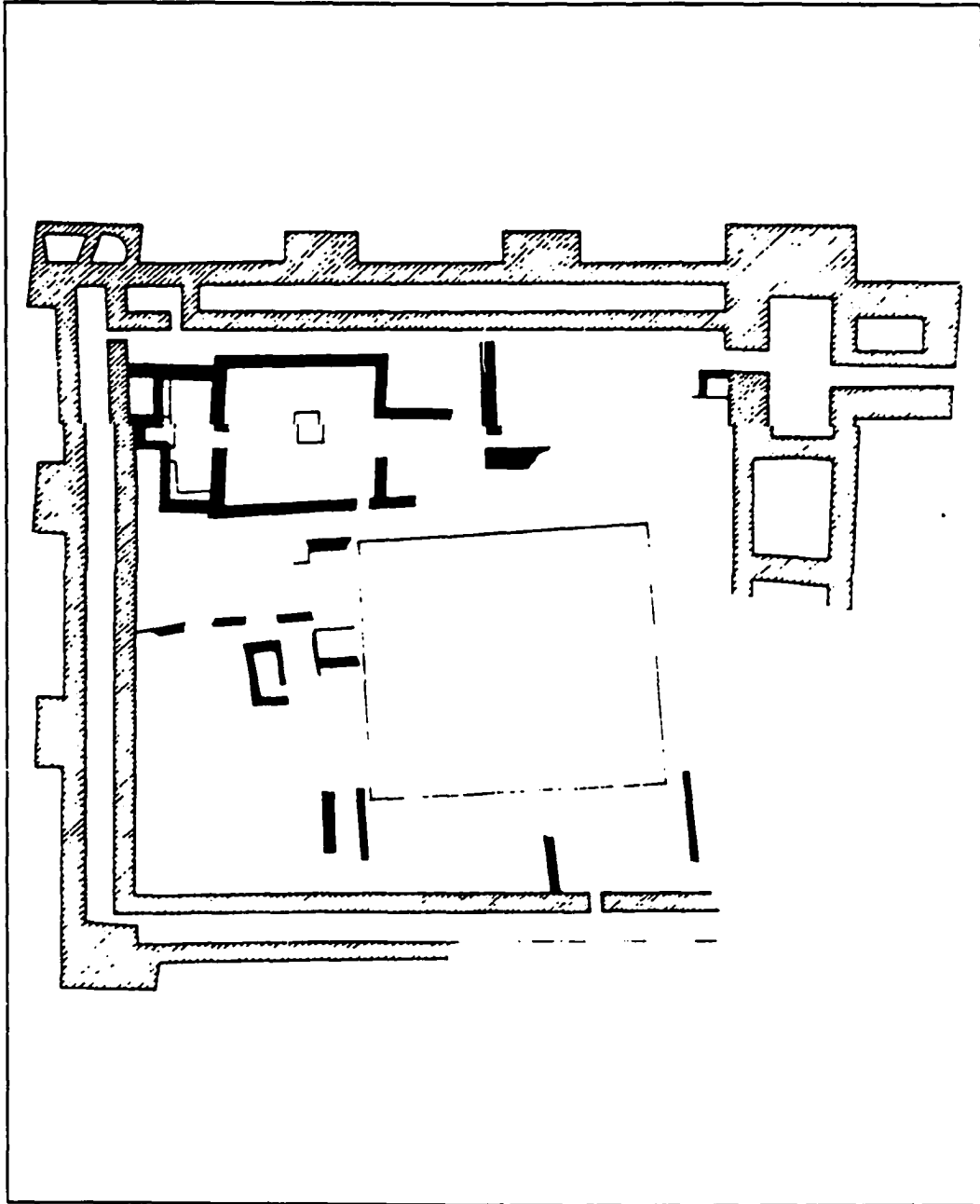


Figure 4
Plan of Arad
Stratum X
(Herzog et al. 1984:10, Fig. 10)

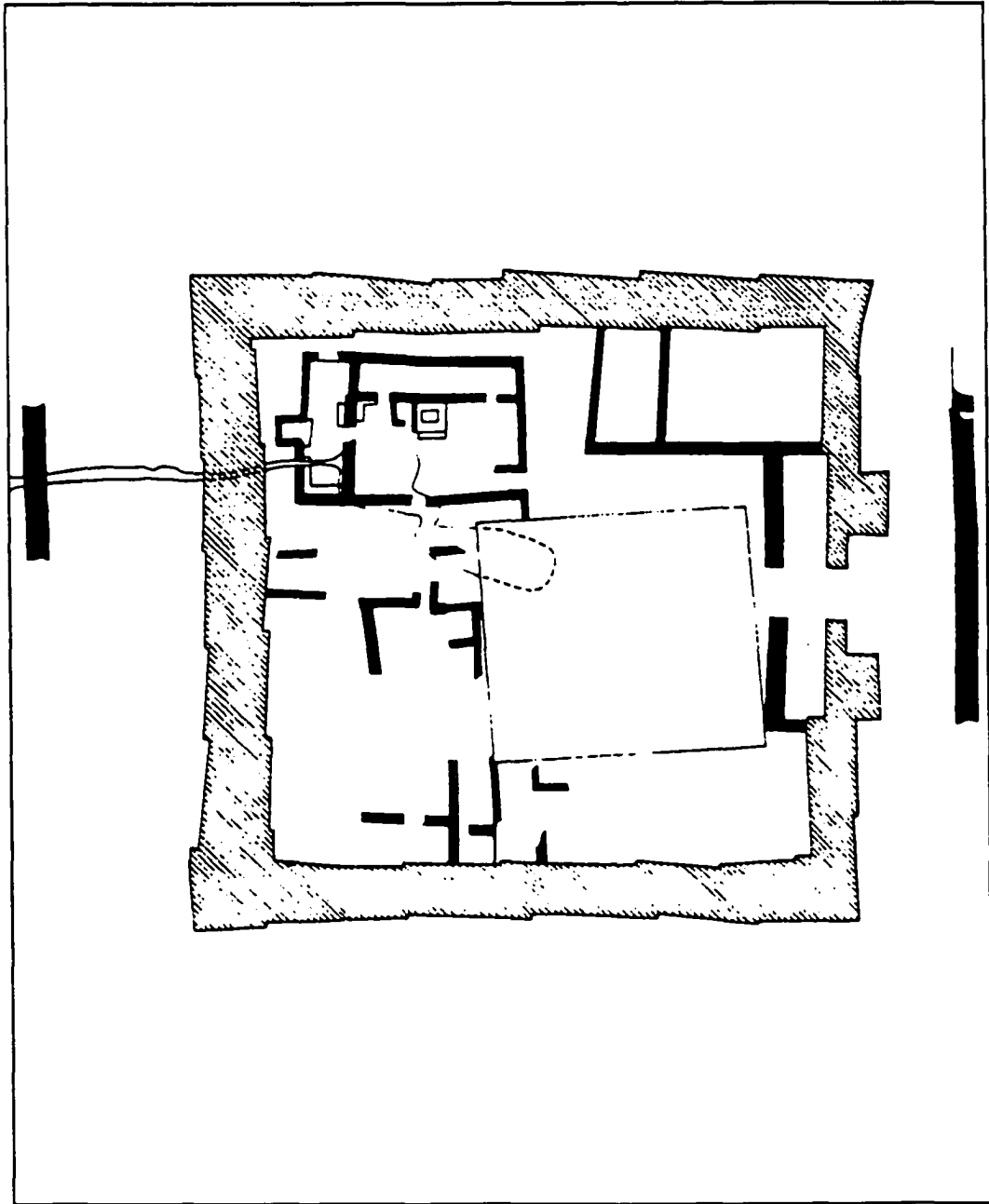


Figure 5
Plan of Arad
Stratum IX
(Herzog et al. 1984:16, Fig. 16)

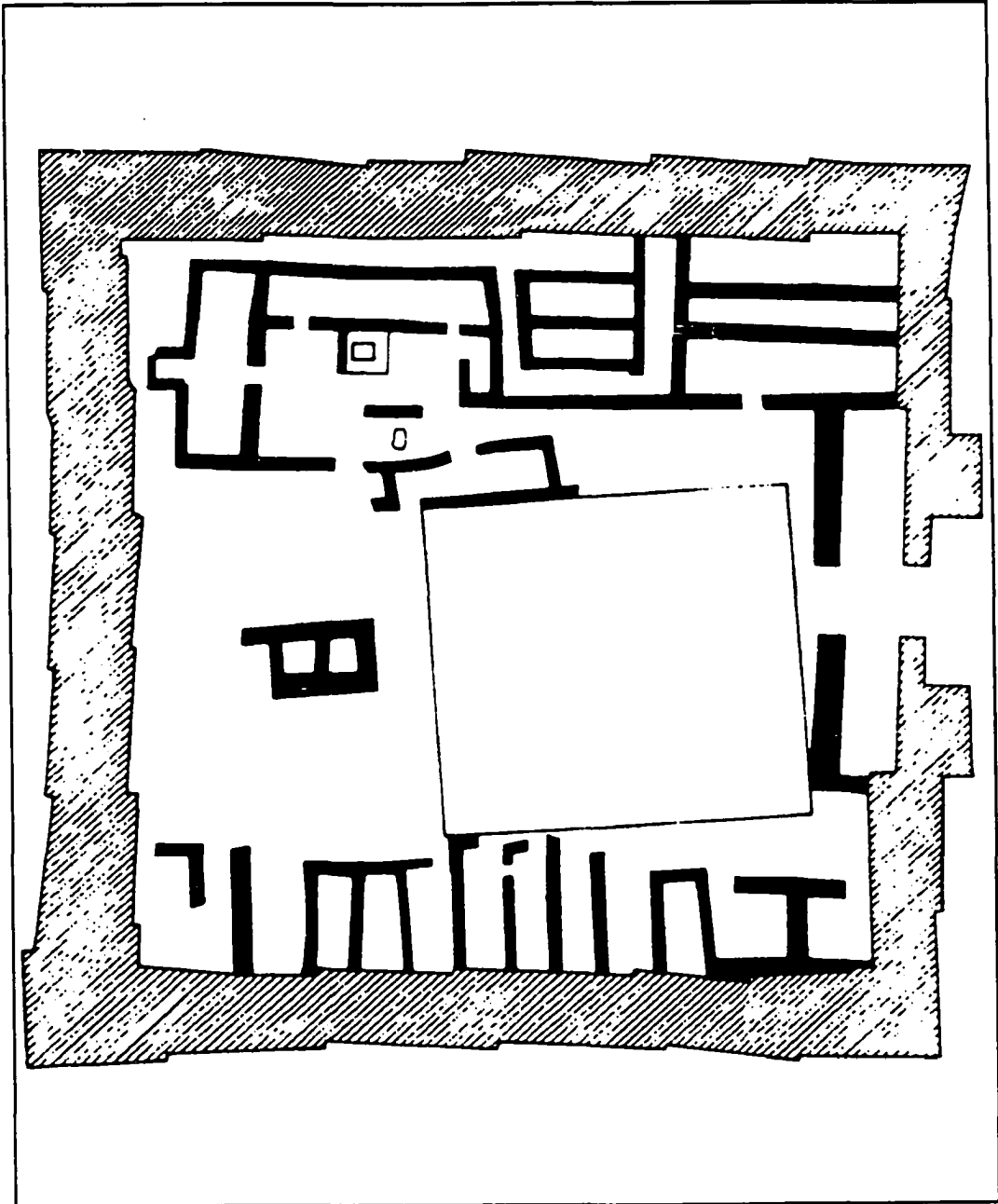


Figure 6

Plan of Arad
Stratum VIII
(Herzog et al. 1984:19, Fig. 21)

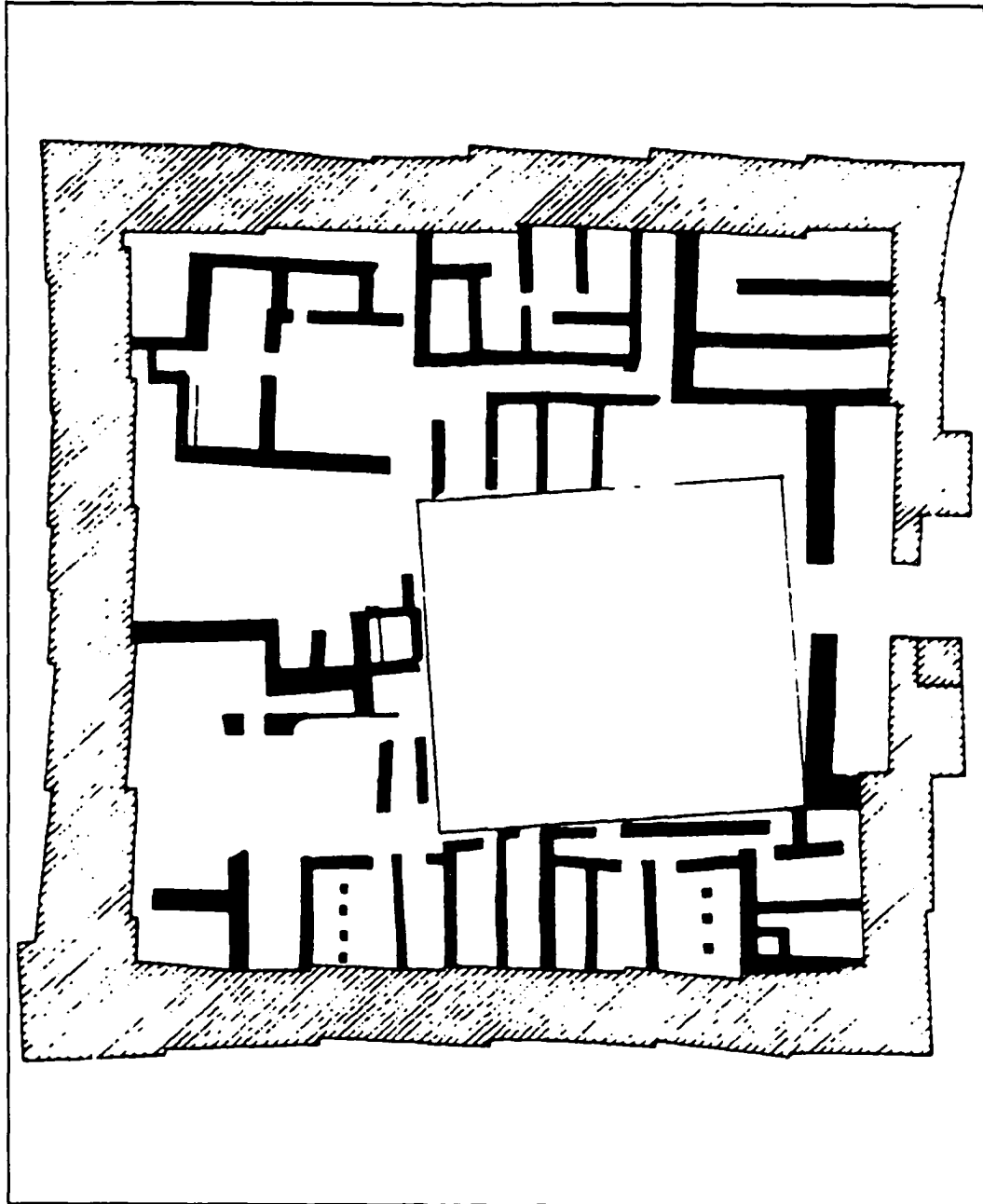


Figure 7

Plan of Arad
Stratum VII
(Herzog et al. 1984:22; Fig. 23)

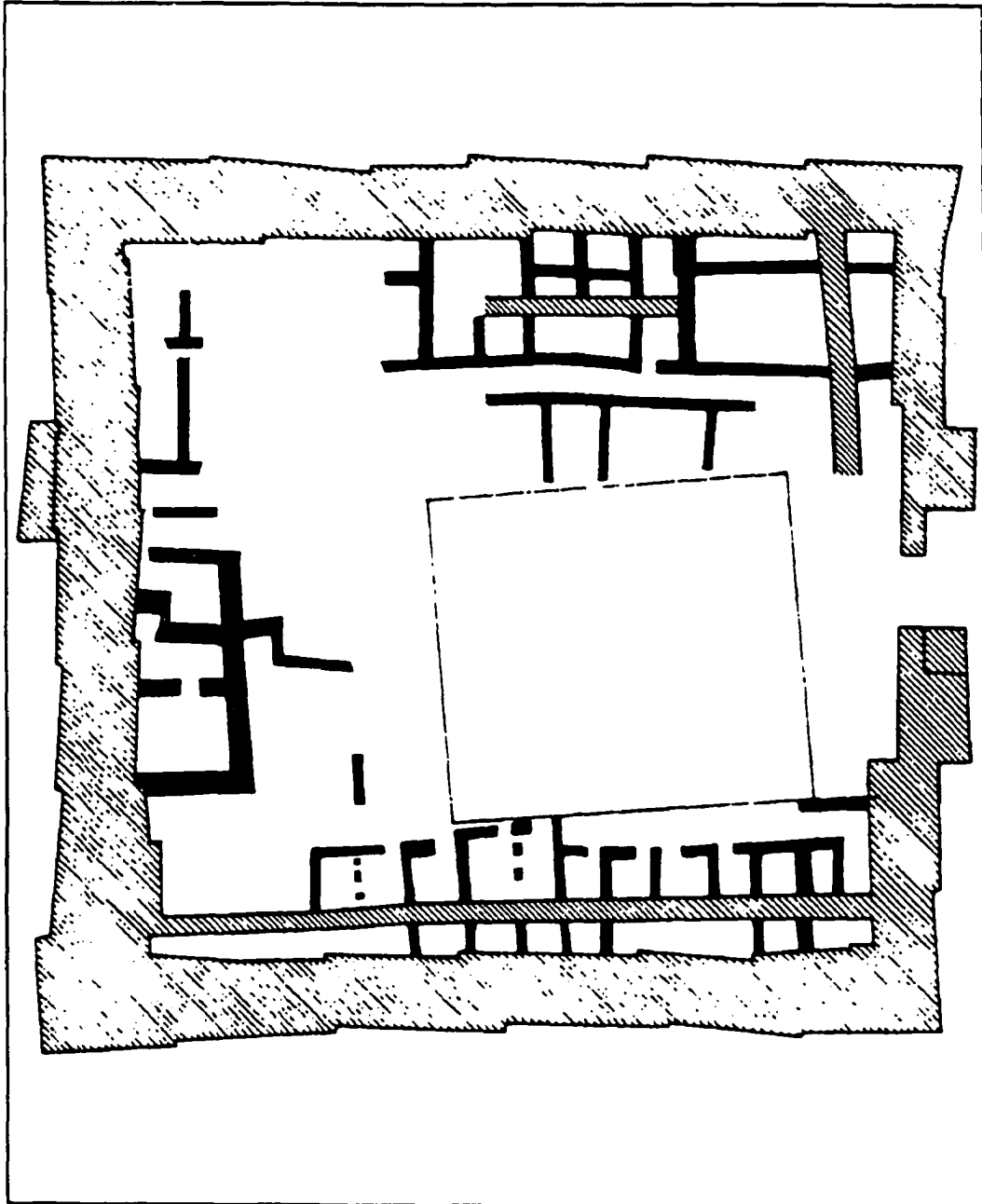


Figure 8
Plan of Arad
Stratum VI
(Herzog et al. 1984:26, Fig. 26)

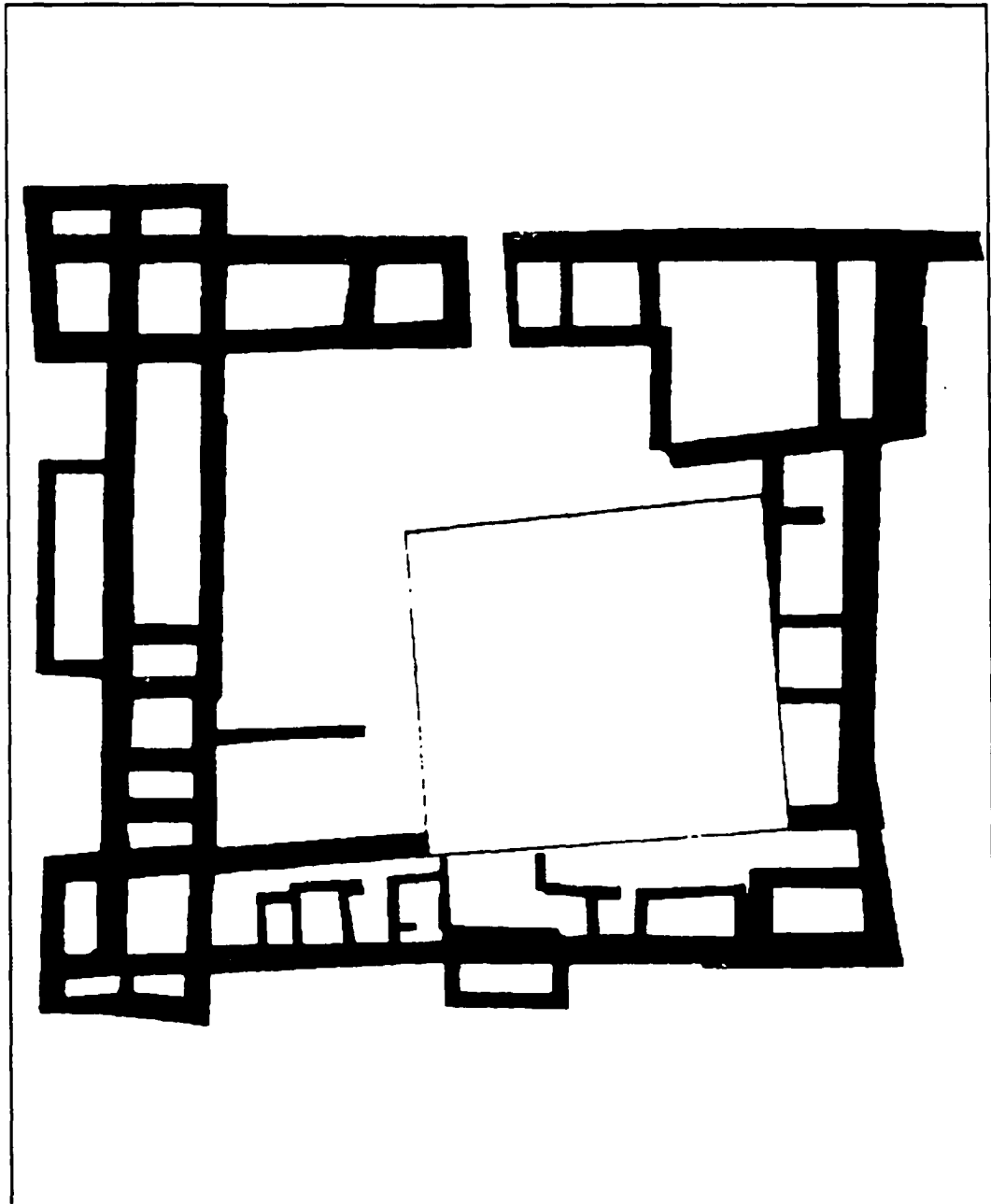


Figure 9

Plan of the Arad Temple
Strata XI and X

(Aharoni 1968a:18, Fig. 12; 23, Fig. 15)

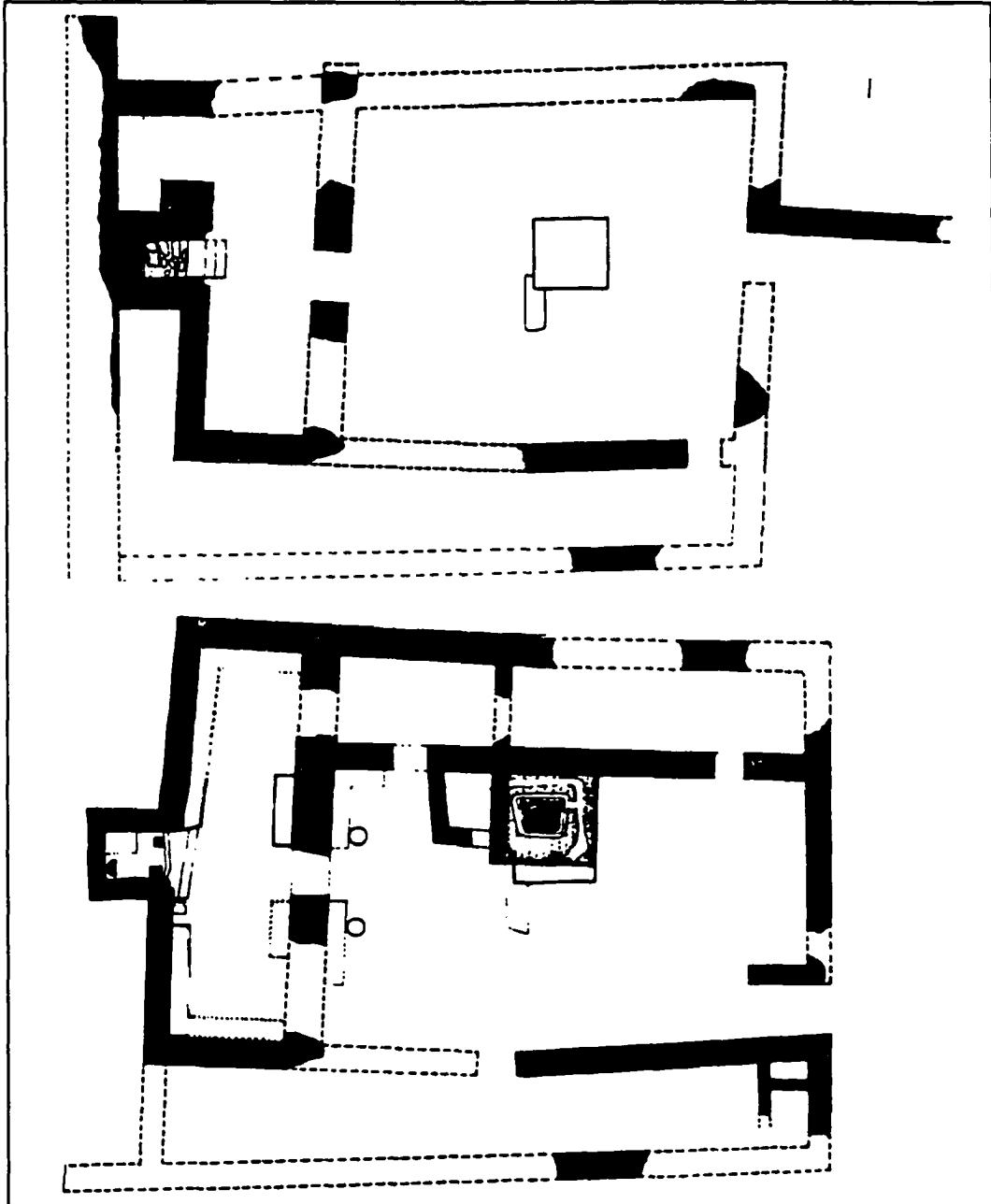


Figure 10

Plan of the Solomonic Temple
(Paul and Dever 1973:72, after C. Watzinger)

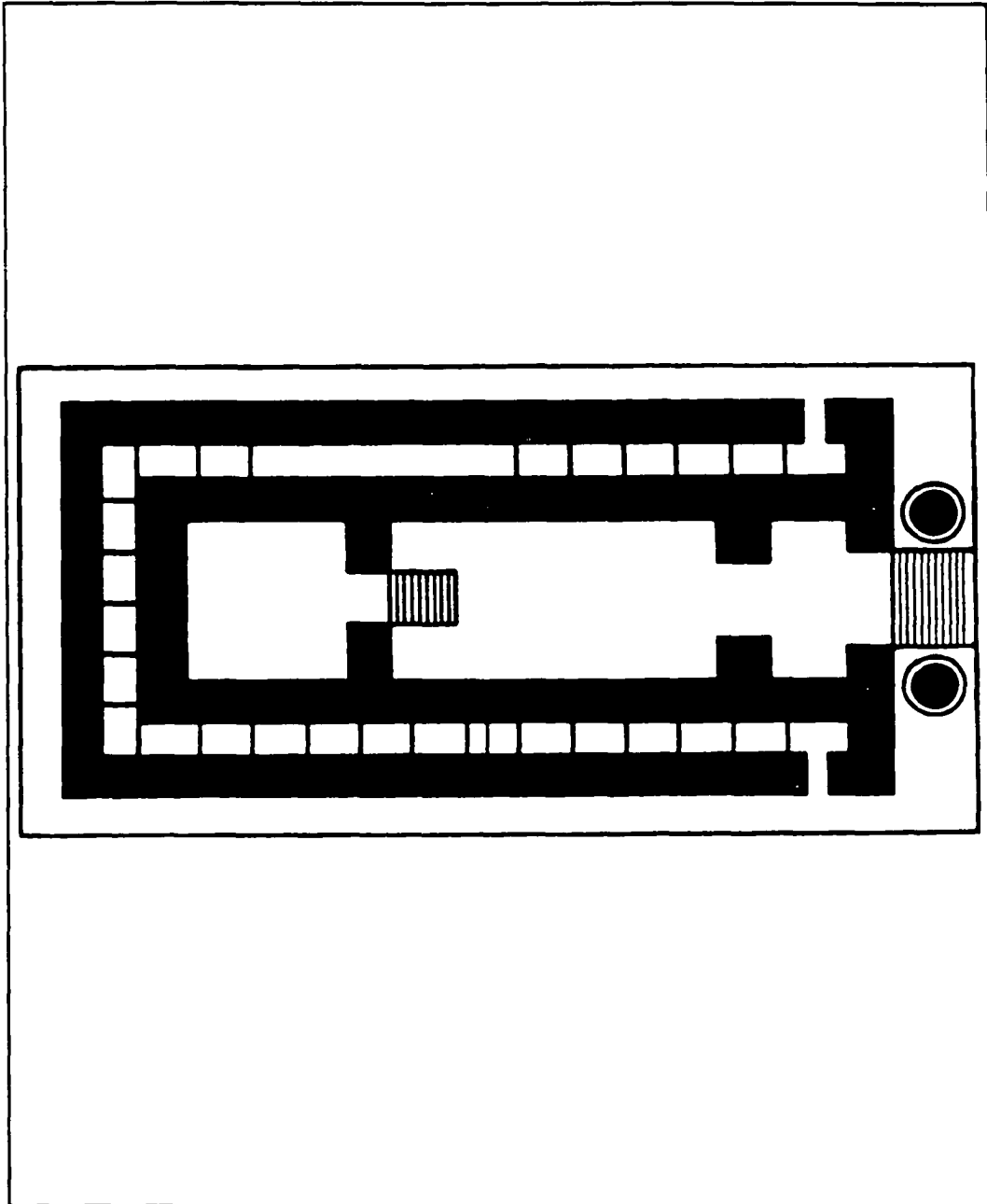


Figure 11

Plan of the Great Temple D at Ebla
(Matthiae 1979:20, Fig. 6)

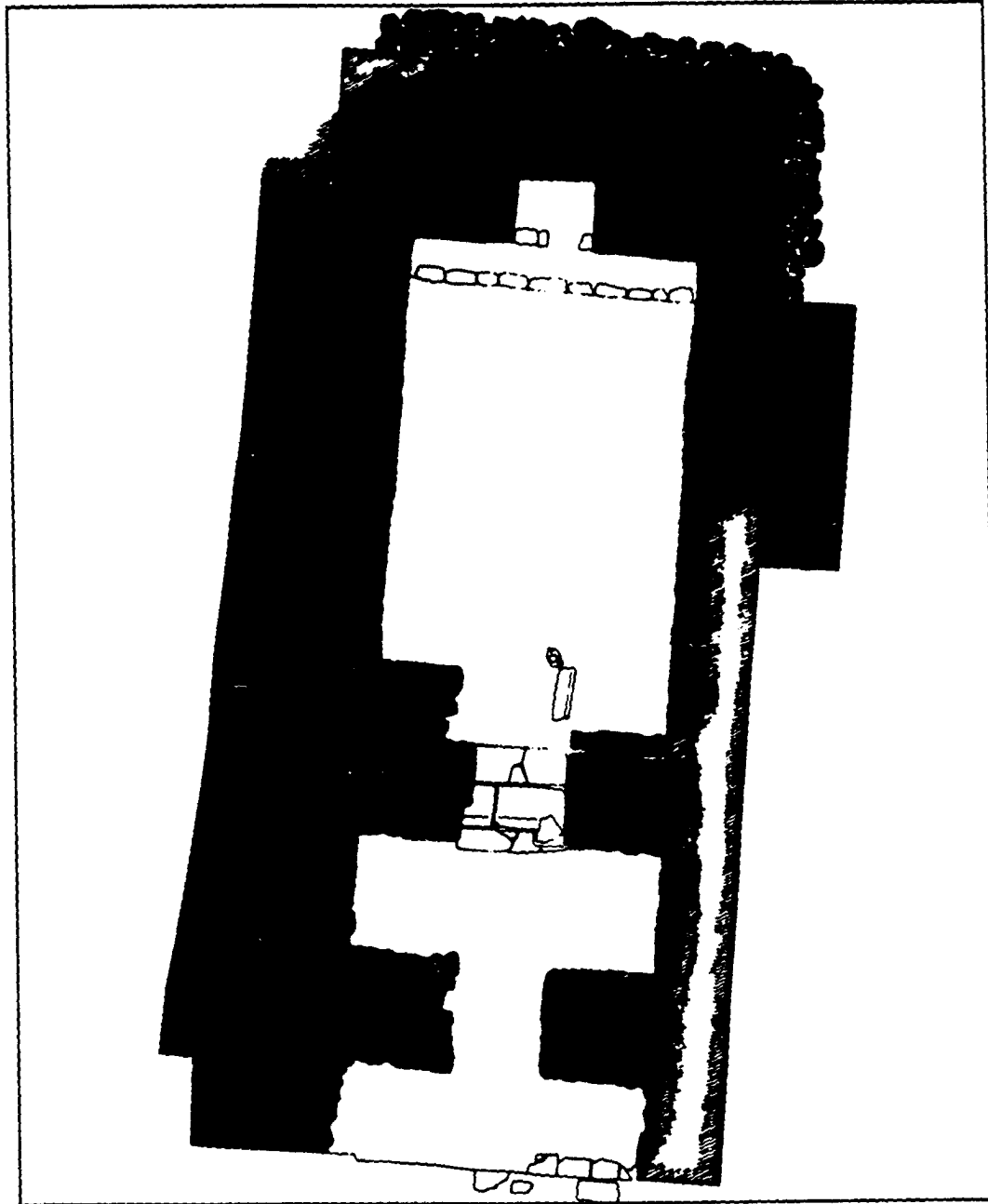


Figure 12

Plan of Temple 7300 at Shechem
(Dever 1974:40, Fig. 10)

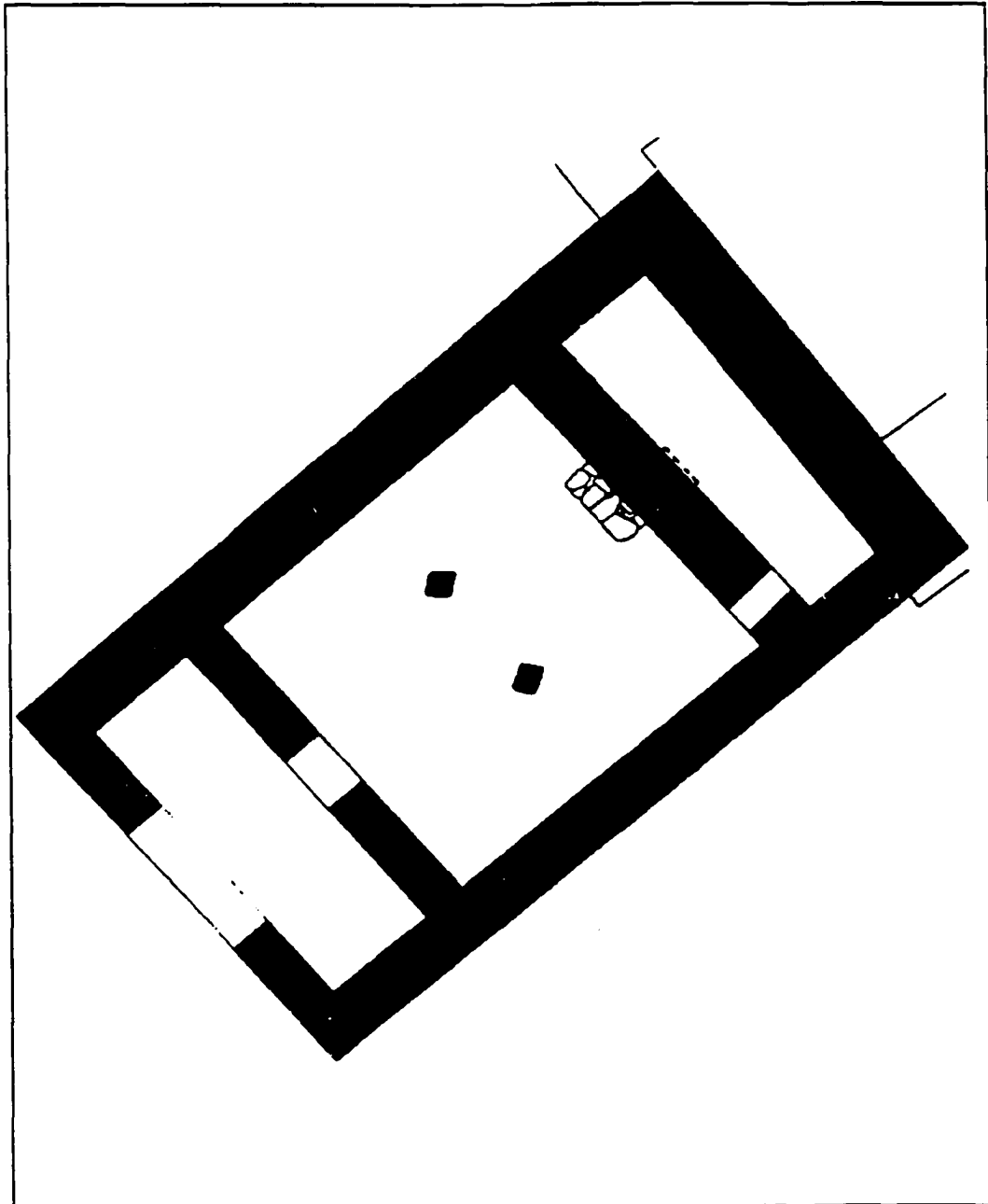


Figure 13

Plan of the Fortress Temple at Shechem
(Wright 1978:1085)

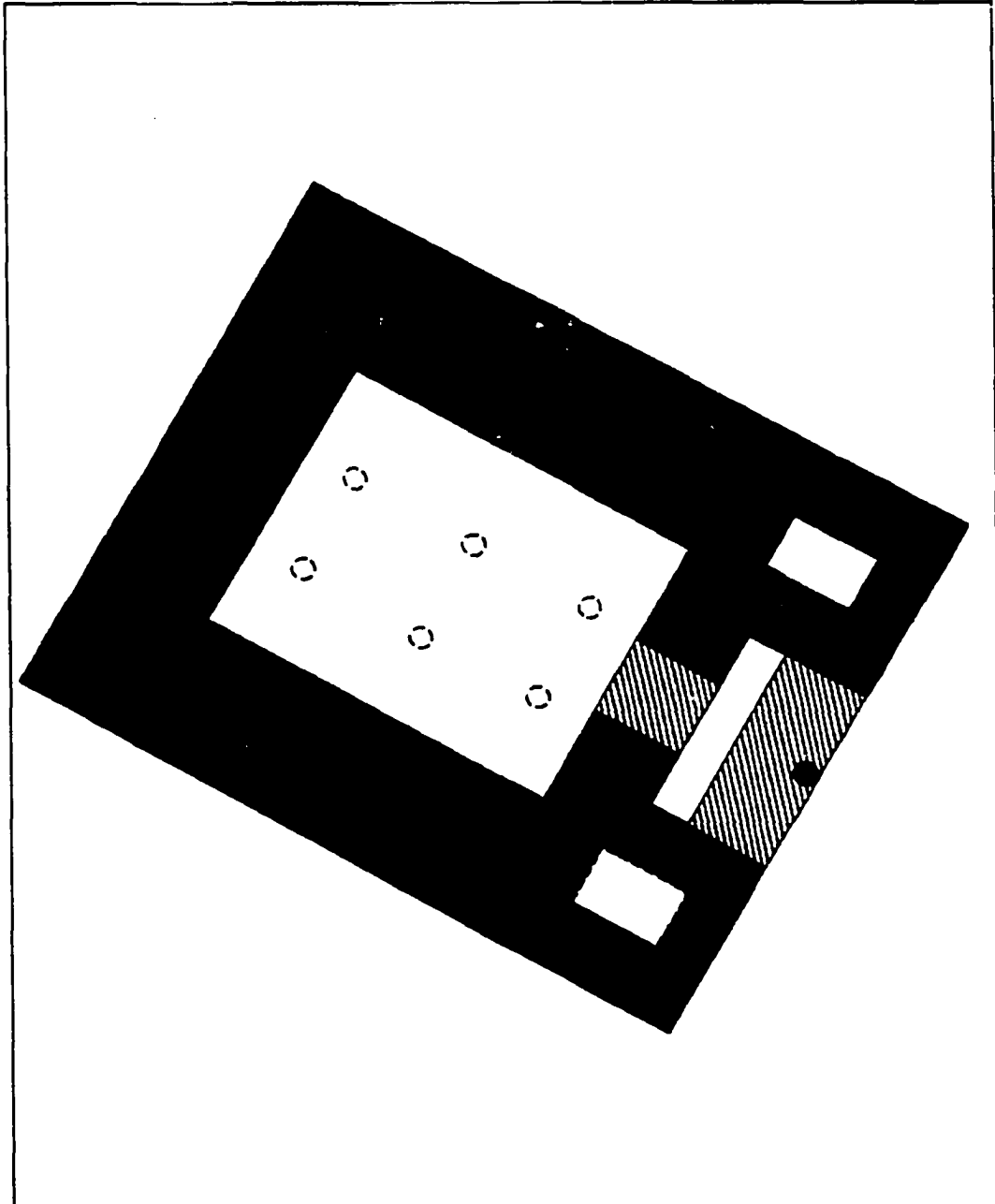


Figure 14

Plan of Shechem (a) Gate Complex, (b) Temple 7300,
(c) Palace, and (d) Fortress Temple
(Dever 1974:32, Fig. 2)

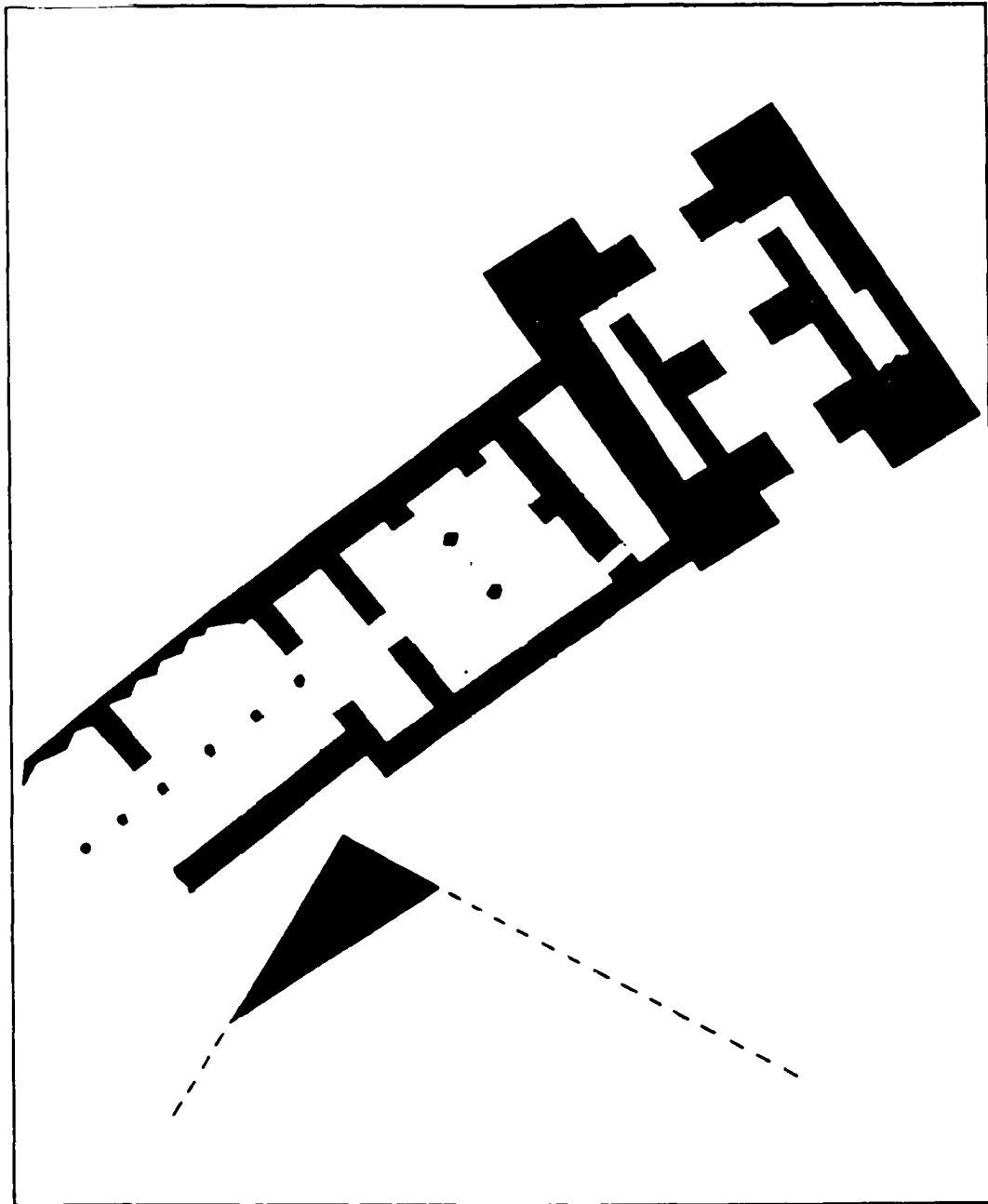


Figure 15

Plan of the Alalakh Stratum VII Temple
(Wooley 1955:Fig. 35)

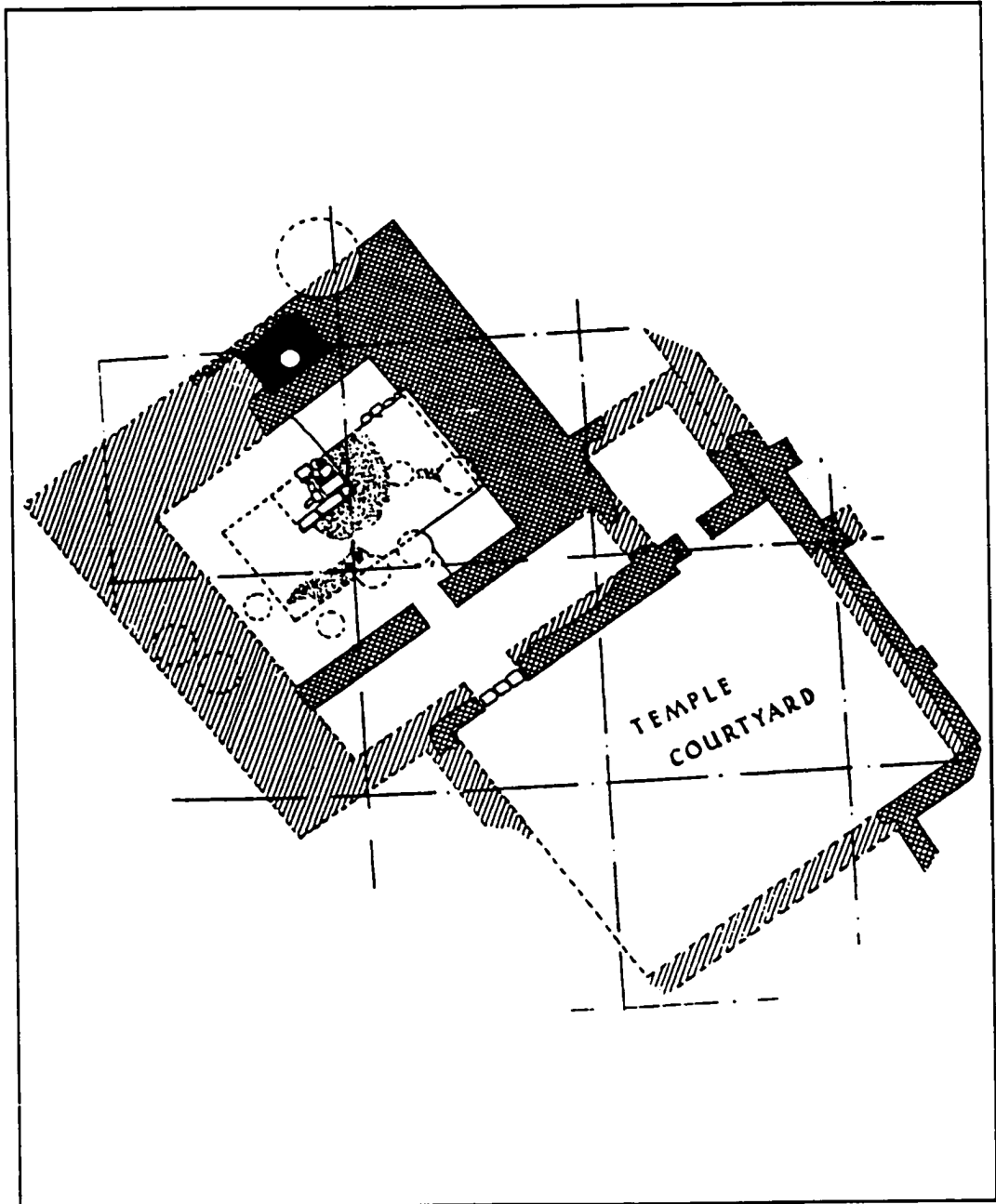


Figure 16

Plan of the Alalakh Level I Temple
(Wooley 1955:83, Fig. 34b, 34c)

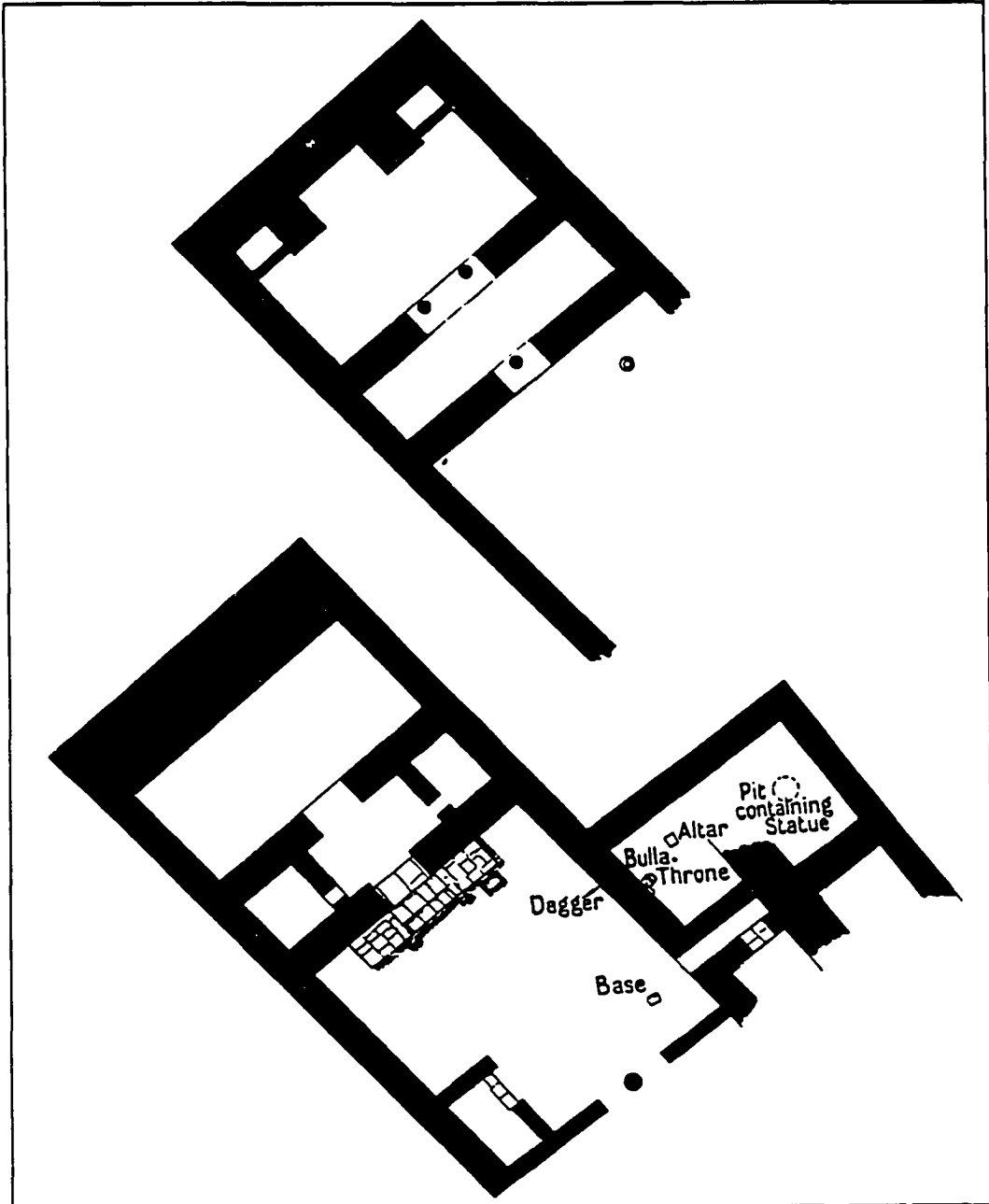


Figure 17

Plan of the Hazor Area H Temple
(Yadin 1976:478)

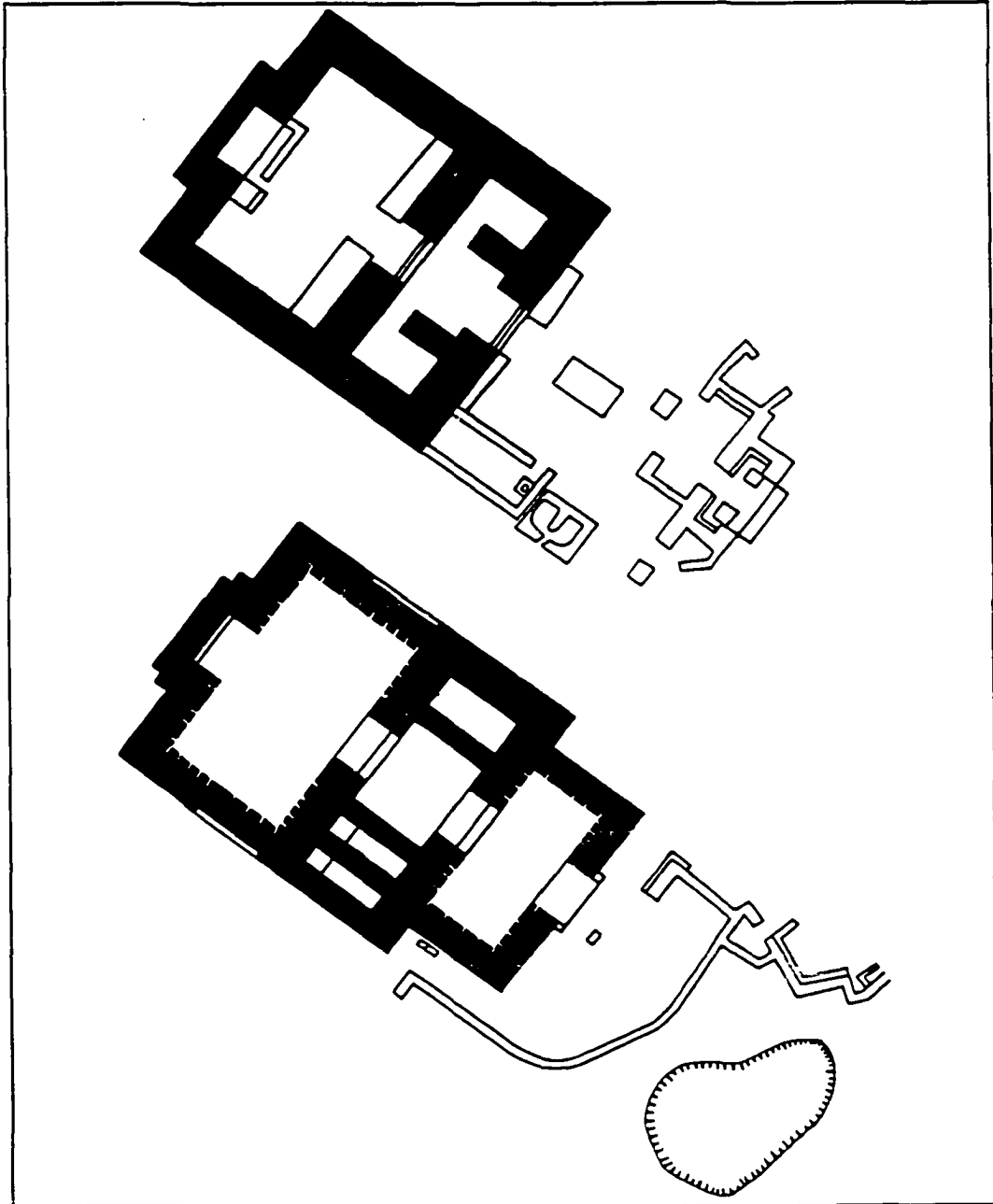
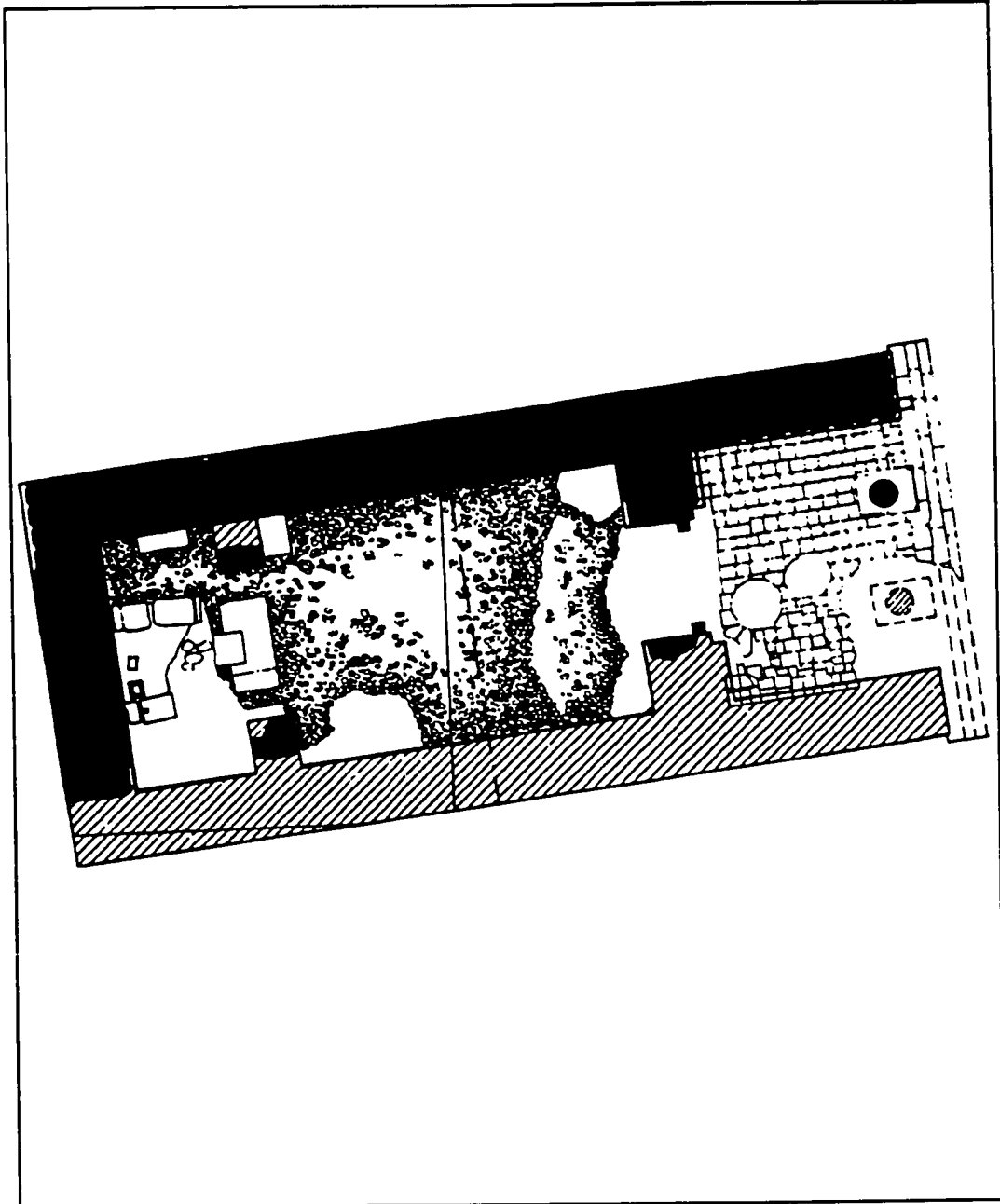


Figure 18

Plan of the Taynat Temple
(Haines 1971:Plate 103)



TABLES

Table 1
Temple Trait Occurrence

P	TRAITS	Arad	Cana	Solo	Tabe
B	Tripartite Cultic Area	YES	YES	YES	YES
D	Tripartite Building	no	YES	YES	no
A	Holy of Holies = Niche	YES	YES	no	no
B	Holy of Holies = Separate	YES	YES	YES	YES
C	Holy of Holies = Concealed	?	no	YES	YES
A	Holy Place = Broad Room	YES	YES	no	no
D	Porch	no	YES	YES	no
E	Twin Columns (Jachin & Boaz)	YES	YES	YES	no
B	Front Court	YES	YES	YES	YES
B	East-West Orientation	YES	YES	YES	YES
B	Straigh Axiality	YES	YES	YES	YES
B	Longitudinal Approach	YES	YES	YES	YES
C	Funnelform Approach	YES	no	YES	YES
B	Successive Arrangement	YES	YES	YES	YES
B	Stone Tablets (Masseboth)	YES	YES	YES	YES
B	Incense Altars	YES	YES	YES	YES
I	Iconographic Representations	no	YES	no	no
B	Large Altar in the Court	YES	YES	YES	YES
A	Indoor Benches	YES	YES	no	no
E	20-Cubit Temple Width	YES	YES	YES	no
G	20x6 Proportions	YES	YES	no	YES
F	5x5x3-Cubit Altar Dimensions	YES	no	no	YES
F	5x5x3 Altar Proportions	YES	no	no	YES

Arad = Arad Sanctuary **P** = Occurrence Pattern
Cana = Some Canaanite Temples **YES** = Trait Occurs
Solo = Solomonic Temple **no** = Trait Does not Occur
Tabe = P Tabernacle **?** = Occurrence is Probable

Table 2

Chronology of the Iron Age Tel Arad
 (Aharoni 1968a:4-9; 18-26; 1975a:83)

STRATUM	PERIOD	DATES	BUILDINGS
XII	Iron Age I	12th-11th Centuries B.C. (Period of the Judges)	Open Settlement; Open Cultic Area
XI	Iron Age II-A	The Second Half of the 10th Century B.C. (Kings Solomon and Rehoboam; Pharaoh Shishak)	Citadel; Casemate Wall; Temple with Open-air Altar
X	Iron Age II-B	9th Century B.C.	Citadel; Solid Wall; Temple with Open-air Altar
IX	Iron Age II-C	8th Century B.C. (King Uzziah)	Citadel; Solid Wall; Temple with Open-air Altar
VIII	Iron Age II-C	Late 8th Century B.C. (King Hezekiah)	Citadel; Solid Wall; Temple with Open-Air Altar
VII	Iron Age II-C	7th Century B.C. (King Manasseh)	Citadel; Solid Wall; Temple without Open-air Altar
VI	Iron Age II-C	Late 7th Century - Beginning of the 6th Century B.C. (Kings Josiah and Zedekiah)	Citadel; Casemate Wall; No Temple.

Table 3
Chronology of the Temples

TEMPLE	LOCATION	DATE
EBLA Great Temple D	Tell Mardikh Stratum III A-B	MBI-II 2000-1600 B.C.
ALALAKH Level VII Temple	Tell Atchana Level VII	MB I ca. 1800 B.C.
SHECHEM Fortress Temple	Tell Balatah Stratum XV	MB IIC 1650-1550 B.C.
SHECHEM Temple 7300	Tell Balatah Stratum XV	MB IIC 1600-1575 B.C.
HAZOR Area H Temple	Tell el-Qedah Stratum 2 Stratum 1-b Stratum 1-a	LB I 15th century B.C. 14th century B.C. 13th century B.C.
ALALAKH Level I Temple	Tell Atchana Level I A-B	LB IIB - Iron Age IA 1220-1190 B.C.
SOLOMONIC TEMPLE	Jerusalem	Iron Age IIA-B 966-586 B.C.
ARAD TEMPLE	Tel Arad Strata XI-VII	Iron Age IIA-B 10th-7th century B.C.
TAYNAT TEMPLE Building II	Tell Taynat Phase O	Iron Age IIA ca. +875 B.C.

Table 4

External Dimensions of the Temples
 (Measurements are Approximate and
 do not Include the Courtyard)

TEMPLE	LENGTH	WIDTH
EBLA: Great Temple D	30.00 m	15.00 m
ALALAKH: Level VII Temple	20.00 m	19.00 m
SHECHEM: Fortress Temple	26.30 m	21.20 m
SHECHEM: Temple 7300	19.50 m	12.00 m
HAZOR: Area H Temple	20.00 m	18.00 m
ALALAKH: Level I Temple	32.50 m	17.50 m
ARAD: Arad Temple	7.00 m	12.00 m
TAYNAT: Taynat Temple	25.35 m	11.75 m

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aharoni, M.
1985 Short Notes: On 'The Israelite Fortress at Arad'. Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 258:73.
- Aharoni, M., and Aharoni, Y.
1976 The Stratification of Judahite Sites in the 8th and 7th Centuries B.C.E. Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 224:73-90.
- Aharoni, Y.
1963 Notes and News: Tel Arad. Israel Exploration Journal 13:334-337.
- 1964 Arad: A Biblical City in Southern Palestine. Archaeology 17:43-53.
- 1965 Notes and News: Tel Arad. Israel Exploration Journal 15:249-251.
- 1966a The Use of Hieratic Numerals in Hebrew Ostraca and Shevel Weights. Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 184:13-19.
- 1966b Hebrew Ostraca from Tel Arad. Israel Exploration Journal 16:1-7.
- 1966c Errata. Israel Exploration Journal 16:152
- 1967a Forerunners of the Limes: Iron Age Fortresses in the Negev. Israel Exploration Journal 17:1-17.
- 1967b The Negeb. Pp. 385-403 in Archaeology and Old Testament Study, ed. D. Wilton Thomas. Oxford, England: Claredon.
- 1967c Notes and News: Arad. Israel Exploration Journal 17:270-272.

- 1967d Excavations at Tel Arad, Preliminary Report on the Second Season, 1963. Israel Exploration Journal 17:233-249.
- 1967e English Summaries: Seals of Royal Functionaries from Arad. Eretz-Israel 8:71.
- 1968a Arad: Its Inscriptions and Temple. Biblical Archaeologist 31:2-32.
- 1968b Trial Excavation in the 'Solar Shrine at Lachish: Preliminary Report. Pp. 157-169 in Israel Exploration Journal 18:157-169.
- 1969 The Israelite Sanctuary at Arad. Pp. 25-39 in New Directions in Biblical Archaeology, ed. D. N. Freedman and J. C. Greenfield. Garden City: Doubleday.
- 1970 Three Hebrew Ostraca from Arad. Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 197:16-42.
- 1972a Arad. Encyclopaedia Judaica, Vol. 3. Jerusalem: MacMillan.
- 1972b Excavations at Tel Beer-sheba. Biblical Archaeologist 35:111-127.
- 1973a The Solomonic Temple, The Tabernacle and the Arad Sanctuary. Pp. 1-8 in Orient and Occident, Essays Presented to Cyrus H. Gordon on the Occasion of his Sixty-fifth Birthday, ed. H. A. Haffner, Jr. Neukirchener: Verlag Butzon & Bercker Kevelaer.
- 1973b Arad. The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, Supplementary Vol. Nashville: Abingdon.
- 1973c Temples, Semitic. The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, Supplementary Volume. Nashville: Abingdon.
- 1975a Arad. Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land, Vol. 1. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
- 1975b Investigations at Lachish: The Sanctuary and the Residency. Tell Aviv: Gateway.
- 1975c Beersheba, Tel. Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land, Vol. 1. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.

- 1979 The Land of the Bible. Philadelphia: Westminster.
- Aharoni, Y., and Amiran, R.
 1962 Notes and News: Tel Arad. Israel Exploration Journal 12:144-145.
- 1964a Notes and News: Tel Arad. Israel Exploration Journal 14:280-283.
- 1964b Excavations at Tel Arad: Preliminary Report on the First Season, 1962. Israel Exploration Journal 14:131-147.
- 1964c Arad: A Biblical City in Southern Palestine. Archaeology 17:43-53.
- 1967 Ancient Arad. Jerusalem, Israel: The Israel Exploration Society; The Department of Antiquities and Museums, Ministry of Education and Culture; The Israel Museum. Catalogue No. 32.
- Ahlstrom, G. W.
 1975 Heaven on Earth: At Hazor and Arad. Pp. 67-83 in Religious Syncretism in Antiquity: Essays in Conversation with Geo Widengren. Missoula: Scholars.
- Albright, W. F.
 1940 From the Stone Age to Christianity. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins.
- 1942a Two Cressets from Marisa and the Pillars of Jachin and Boaz. Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 85:18-27.
- 1942b Archaeology and the Religion of Israel. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins.
- 1951a The Old Testament and the Archaeology of Palestine. Pp. 1-26 in The Old Testament and Modern Study, ed. H. H. Rowley. Oxford: Clarendon.
- 1951b The Old Testament and the Archaeology of the Ancient East. Pp. 27-47 in The Old Testament and Modern Study, ed. H. H. Rowley. Oxford: Clarendon.
- 1954 The Bible After Twenty Years of Archaeology (1932-1952). Pittsburgh: Biblical Colloquium.

- Allis, O. T.
1949 The Five Books of Moses. Phillipsburg:
Presbyterian and Reformed.
- Alt, A.
1989 Essays on Old Testament History and Religion.
Sheffield: JSOT.
- Amiran, R.
1981 Some Observations on Chalcolithic and Early Bronze
Age Sanctuaries and Religion. Pp. 47-53 in
Temples and High Places in Biblical Times, ed. A.
Biran. Jerusalem: The Nelson Glueck School of
Biblical Archaeology.
- Anderson, B. W.
1972 Introduction: Martin Noth's Traditio-Historical
Approach in the Context of Twentieth-Century
Biblical Research. Pp. xiii-xxxii in M. Noth, A
History of Pentateuchal Traditions. Englewood
Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
- Anderson, G. W.
1951 Hebrew Religion. Pp. 283-310 in The Old Testament
and Modern Study, ed. H. H. Rowley. Oxford:
Clarendon.
- Avigad, N.
1987 The Contribution of Hebrew Seals to an
Understanding of Israelite Religion and
Society. Pp. 195-208 in Ancient Israelite
Religion, ed. P. D. Miller; P. D. Hanson; and S.
D. McBride. Philadelphia: Fortress.
- Barnett, R. D.
1981 Bringing God into the Temple. Pp. 10-20 in
Temples and High Places in Biblical Times, ed. A.
Biran. Jerusalem: The Nelson School of Biblical
Archaeology.
- Barkey, G., and Klaner, A.
1986 Jerusalem Tombs from the Days of the First Temple.
Biblical Archaeology Review 12:22-39.
- Baumgartener, W.
1951 The Wisdom Literature. Pp. 210-237 in The Old
Testament and Modern Study, ed. H. H. Rowley.
Oxford: Clarendon.
- Beck, P.
1982 The Drawings from Horvat Teiman (Kuntillet Ajrud).
Tel Aviv 9:3-4.

- Ben-David, A.
1978 The Hebrew-Phoenician Cubit. *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 109:27-28.
- Beyerlin, W.
1965 Origins and History of the Oldest Sinaitic Traditions. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Biran, A.
1974 Tel Dan. *Biblical Archaeologist* 37:26-51.
1980a Tel Dan Five Years Later. *Biblical Archaeologist* 43:168-182.
1980b Two Discoveries at Tel Dan. *Israel Exploration Journal* 30:89-98.
- Boyd, J. O.
1908 Ezekiel and the Modern Dating of the Pentateuch. *Princeton Theological Review* 6:29-51.
- Briggs, C. A.
1897 The Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch. New York: Charles Scribner.
- Bright, J.
1981 A History of Israel. Philadelphia: Westminster.
- Brueggemann, W., and Wolff, H. W.
1975 The Vitality of Old Testament Traditions. Atlanta: John Knox.
- Campbell, A. F.
1989 The Study Companion to Old Testament Literature: An Approach to the Writings of Pre-Exilic and Exilic Israel. Wilmington: Michael Glazier.
- Campbell, Jr., E.F., and Wright, G.E.
1969 Tribal League Shrines in Amman and Shechem. *Biblical Archaeologist* 32:104-116.
- Cassuto, U.
1961 The Documentary Hypothesis and the Composition of the Pentateuch. Jerusalem: Magnes, The Hebrew University.
- Cazelles, H.
1954 La Mission d'Esdras. *Vetus Testamentum* 4:113-140.
1964 Pentateuque, IV: Textes Sacerdotaux. *Dictionnaire de la Bible* 39, Col. 822.

- Childs, B.S.
1974 The Book of Exodus. Philadelphia: Westminster.
- Clifford, R. J.
1971 Shorter Communications: The Tent of El and the Israelite Tent of Meeting. The Catholic Biblical Quarterly 33:221-227.
- Coogan, M. D.
1987a Of Cultus and Cultures: Reflections on the Interpretation of Archaeological Evidence. Palestine Exploration Quarterly 119:1-8.

1987b Canaanite Origins and Lineage: Reflections on the Religion of Ancient Israel. Pp. 115-124 in Ancient Israelite Religion, ed. P. D. Miller, Jr.; P. D. Hanson; and S. D. McBride. Philadelphia: Fortress.
- Cook, E. M.
1988 Weights and Measures. The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia, Vol. 4. Ed. G. W. Bromilly. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans.
- Cooper, A.
1987 On Reading the Bible Critically and Otherwise. Pp. 61-80 in The Future of Biblical Studies: The Hebrew Bible, ed. R. E. Friedman and H. G. M. Williamson. Atlanta: Scholars.
- Cross, F. M.
1947 The Tabernacle. Biblical Archaeologist 10:45-68.

1961 The Priestly Tabernacle. Pp. 201-228 in The Biblical Archaeologist Reader, Vol. 1. Ed. G. E. Wright and D. N. Freedman. Garden City: Doubleday.

1973 Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel. Cambridge: Harvard University.

1979 Two Offering Dishes with Phoenician Inscriptions from the Sanctuary of Arad. Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 235:75-78.

1981 The Priestly Tabernacle in the Light of Recent Research. Pp. 169-180 in Temples and High Places in Biblical Times, ed. A. Biran. Jerusalem: The Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology.

- Crowfoot, J. W.; Kenyon, K. M.; and Sukenik, E. L.
1942 The Buildings of Samaria. London: Palestine
Exploration Fund.
- Crowfoot, J. W.; Crowfoot, G. M.; and Kenyon, K. M.
1957 The Objects from Samaria. London:
Palestine Exploration Fund.
- Dever, W. G.
1974 The MB IIC Stratification in the Northwest Gate
Area at Shechem. Bulletin of the American Schools
of Oriental Research 216:31-53.
- 1983 Material Remains and the Cult in Ancient Israel:
An Essay in Archaeological Systematics. Pp. 571-
587 in The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth, ed. C.
L. Meyers and M. O'Connor. Winona Lake:
Eisenbrauns.
- 1984 Asherah, Consort of Yahweh? New Evidence from
Kuntillet Ajrud. Bulletin of the American Schools
of Oriental Research, 255:21-37.
- 1987 The Contribution of Archaeology to the Study of
Canaanite and Early Israelite Religion. Pp. 209-
247 in Ancient Israelite Religion, ed. P. D.
Miller, Jr.; P. D. Hanson; and S. D. McBride.
Philadelphia: Fortress.
- 1990 Recent Archaeological Discoveries and Biblical
Research. Seattle: University of Washington.
- Dothan, M., and Freedman, D. N.
1967 Ashdod I: The First Season of Excavations, 1962.
Atiqot 7. Jerusalem: Department of Antiquities
and Museums.
- Durham, J.
1987 Exodus. Word Biblical Commentary, Vol. 3. Waco:
Word Books.
- Eisenberg, E.
1977 The Temples at Tell Kittan. Biblical
Archaeologist 40:77-81.
- Eissfeldt, O.
1951 The Prophetic Literature. Pp. 115-161 in The Old
Testament and Modern Study, ed. H. H. Rowley.
Oxford: Clarendon.
- 1965 The Old Testament: An Introduction. Oxford: Basil
Blackwell.

- Engnell, I.
1954 Israel and the Law. Uppsala: Gleerup Forlag.
- Finkelstein, I.
1984 The Iron Age "Fortresses" of the Negev Highlands: Sedentarization of the Nomads. Tel Aviv 11:189-209.
- Freedman, D. N.
1981 Temple Without Hands. Pp. 21-30 in Temples and High Places in Biblical Times, ed. A. Biran. Jerusalem: The Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology.
1987 The Earliest Bible. Pp. 29-37 in Backgrounds for the Bible, ed. M. P. O'Connor, and D. N. Freedman. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Friedman, R. E.
1980 The Tabernacle in the Temple. Biblical Archaeologist 43:241-248.
1981 Sacred History and Theology: The Redaction of Torah. Pp. 25-34 in The Creation of Sacred Literature, ed. R. E. Friedman. Berkeley: University of California.
1987 The Recession of Biblical Source Criticism. Pp. 81-102 in The Future of Biblical Studies: The Hebrew Bible, ed. R. E. Friedman and H. G. M. Williamson. Atlanta: Scholars.
1989 Who Wrote the Bible? New York: Harper & Row.
- Gadegaard, N. H.
1978 On the So-Called Burnt Offering Altar in the Old Testament. Palestine Exploration Quarterly 110:35-45.
- Garber, P. L.
1951 Reconstructing Solomon's Temple. Biblical Archaeologist 14:2-24.
- Geraty, L. T.
1989 The Jerusalem Temple in Its Ancient Near Eastern Context. Pp. 37-62 in The Sanctuary and the Atonement: Biblical, Theological and Historical Studies, ed. A. V. Wallenkampt, and W. R. Leshner. Silver Springs: Biblical Research Institute.

- Gottwald, N. K.
 1979 The Tribes of Yahweh: A Sociology of the Religion of Liberated Israel, 1250-1050 B.C.E. Maryknoll: Orbis.
- 1985 The Hebrew Bible: A Socio-Literary Introduction. Philadelphia: Fortress.
- Graesser, C. F., Jr.
 1969 Studies in Massebot. Doctoral Dissertation. Cambridge: Harvard University.
- Graham, W. C., and May, H. G.
 1936 Culture and Conscience: An Archaeological Study of the New Religious Past in Ancient Palestine. Chicago: The University of Chicago.
- Greenfield, J. C.
 1987 Aspects of Aramean Religion. Pp. 67-78 in Ancient Israelite Religion, ed. P. D. Miller, Jr.; P. D. Hanson; and S. D. McBride. Philadelphia: Fortress.
- Grintz, J.
 1972 Do Not Eat on the Blood: Reconsiderations in Setting and Dating of the Priestly Code. Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute 8:78-105.
- Gunkel, H.
 1928 Fundamental Problems of Hebrew Literary History. Pp. 57-68 in What Remains of the Old Testament and Other Essays. New York: MacMillan.
- 1964 The Legends of Genesis. New York: Schocken.
- Hackett, J. A.
 1987 Religious Traditions in Israelite Transjordan. Pp. 125-136 in Ancient Israelite Religion, ed. P. D. Miller, Jr.; P. D. Hanson; and S. D. McBride. Philadelphia: Fortress.
- Haines, R. C.
 1971 Excavations in the Plain of Antioch, Vol. II. Chicago: The University of Chicago.
- Halpern, B.
 1987 Biblical or Israelite History? Pp. 103-140 in The Future of Biblical Studies: The Hebrew Bible, ed. R. E. Friedman and H. G. M. Williamson. Atlanta: Scholars Press.

- Haran, M.
 1960 The "Ohel Moedh" in Pentateuchal Sources. Journal of Semitic Studies 5:59-65.
- 1962 Shiloh and Jerusalem: The Origin of the Priestly Tradition in the Pentateuch. Journal of Biblical Literature 81:14-24.
- 1978 Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel. Oxford: Clarendon.
- 1981a Behind the Scenes of History: Determining the Date of the Priestly Source. Journal of Biblical Literature 100:321-333.
- 1981b Temples and Cultic Open Areas as Reflected in the Bible. Pp. 31-37 in Temples and High Places in Biblical Times, ed. A. Biran. Jerusalem: The Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology.
- Hayes, J. H., and Prussner, F. C.
 1985 Old Testament Theology: Its History and Development. Atlanta: John Knox.
- Herbert, S. C.
 1984 The Orientation of Greek Temples. Palestine Exploration Quarterly 116:31-34.
- Herzog, Z.
 1980 A Functional Interpretation of the Broadroom and Longroom House Types. Tel Aviv 7:82-89.
- 1981 Israelite Sanctuaries at Arad and Beer-sheba. Pp. 120-122 in Temples and High Places in Biblical Times, ed. A. Biran. Jerusalem: The Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology.
- 1983 Enclosed Settlements in the Negeb and the Wilderness of Beer-sheba. Pp. 41-49 in Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 250:41-49.
- 1987 Short Notes: The Stratigraphy of Israelite Arad: A Rejoinder. Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 267:77-79.
- Herzog, Z. et al.
 1984 The Israelite Fortress at Arad. Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 254:1-34.

- Hestrin, R.
1991 Understanding Asherah. Biblical Archaeology Review 17:50-59.
- Hildebrand, D. R.
1986 A Summary of Recent Findings in Support of an Early Date for the So-called Priestly Material of the Pentateuch. Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society 29:129-138.
- Holland, T. A.
1977 A Study of Palestinian Iron Age Baked Clay Figurines, with Special Reference to Jerusalem: Cave 1. Levant 9:121-155.
- Hollis, F. J.
1933 The Sun-cult and the Temple at Jerusalem. Pp. 87-110 in Myth and Ritual, ed. S. H. Hooke. London: Oxford University.
1934 The Archaeology of the Herod's Temple. London: J. M. Dent.
- Holladay, Jr., J. S.
1987 Religion in Israel and Judah Under the Monarchy: An Explicitly Archaeological Approach. Pp. 249-299 in Ancient Israelite Religion, ed. P. D. Miller, Jr., and S. D. McBride. Philadelphia: Fortress.
1934 The Archaeology of Herod's Temple. London: J. M. Dent.
- Hooke, S. H.
1963 Introduction to the Pentateuch. Pp. 168-175 in Peck's Commentary on the Bible, ed. M. Black and H. H. Rowley. London.
- Hurowitz, V.
1984 The Priestly Account of Building the Tabernacle. Journal of the American Oriental Society 105:21-30.
- Hurvitz, A.
1974 The Evidence of Language in Dating the Priestly Code. Revue Biblique 81:24-56.
1982 A Linguistic Study of the Relationship Between the Priestly Source and the Book of Ezekiel. Paris: J. Gabaldo.

- 1988 Dating the Priestly Source in Light of the Historical Study of Biblical Hebrew a Century after Wellhausen. Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 100:88-100.
- Johnson, A. R.
1951 The Psalms. Pp. 162-209 in The Old Testament and Modern Study, ed. H. H. Rowley. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Kaufman, A. S.
1984 Determining the Length of the Medium Cubit. Palestine Exploration Quarterly 11:120-132.
- Kaufman, S. A.
1985 Deuteronomy 15 and Recent Research on the Dating of P. Pp. 273-276 in Das Deuteronomium: Entstehung, Gestalt und Botschaft, ed. N. Lohfink. Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 68. Leuven: Leuven University.
- Kaufmann, Y.
1960 The Religion of Israel from its Beginnings to the Babylonian Exile. Chicago: University of Chicago.
- Kapelrud, A. S.
1964 The Date of the Priestly Code. Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute 3:58-64.
- 1984 Determining the Length of the Medium Cubit. Palestine Exploration Quarterly 116:120-132.
- 1990 Tradition and Worship: The Role of the Cult in Tradition Formation and Transmission. Pp. 101-124 in Tradition and Theology in the Old Testament, ed. Douglas A. Knight. Sheffield: JSOT.
- Kearney, P. J.
1977 Creation and Liturgy: The P Redaction of Ex 25-40. Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 89:375-387.
- Kent, R.
1985 The Tabernacle: The Oldest Building Specification Known Written by Moses Under God's Instruction. Lutheran Theological Journal 19:87-90.
- Kenyon, K. M.
1967 Jerusalem: Excavating 3000 Years of History. New York: McGraw-Hill.

- 1968 Excavations in Jerusalem, 1967. Palestine Exploration Quarterly 100:97-109.
- 1979 Archaeology in the Holy Land. London: Ernest Benn.
- Koch, K.
1968 The Book of Books: The Growth of the Bible. Philadelphia: Westminster.
- 1969 The Growth of the Biblical Tradition: The Form-Critical Method. New York: Charles Scribner.
- Kraus, H. J.
1966 Worship in Israel. Richmond: John Knox.
- Kuenen, A.
1886 An Historico-Critical Inquiry into the Origin and Composition of the Hexateuch. London: MacMillan.
- Lamon, R. S., and Shipton, G. M.
1939 Megiddo I: Seasons of 1925-34, Strata I-V. Chicago: The University of Chicago.
- Laperrousaz, E.
1979 Encore L'"Acra des Seleucides", et Nouvelles Remarques sur les Pierres a Bossage Preherodiennes de Palestine. Syria 56:99-144.
- Lapp, P. W.
1964 The 1963 Excavation at Ta'Annek. Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 173:4-44.
- 1967 Taanach by the Waters of Megiddo. Biblical Archaeologist 30:2-27.
- 1969 The 1968 Excavations at Tell Ta'Annek. Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 195:2-49.
- Lemaire, A.
1984 Who or What was Yahweh's Asherah? Biblical Archaeology Review 10:42-51.
- Levenson, J. D.
1987 The Hebrew Bible, the Old Testament, and Historical Criticism. Pp. 19-60 in Future of Biblical Studies: The Hebrew Bible, ed. R. E. Friedman, and H. G. M. Williamson. Atlanta: Scholars.

- Levine, B. A.
 1965 The Descriptive Tabernacle Texts of the Pentateuch. Journal of the American Oriental Society 85:307-318.
- Loewenstamm, S. E.
 1962 Review: Beyerlin, W.: Herkunft und Geschichte der ältesten Sinaitraditionen. Israel Exploration Journal 12:160-164.
- Loud, G.
 1948a Megiddo II, Seasons of 1935-39: Text. Chicago: The University of Chicago.
 1948b Megiddo II, Seasons of 1935-39: Plates. Chicago: The University of Chicago.
- Lundquist, J. M.
 1983 What is a Temple? A Preliminary Typology. Pp. 205-219 in The Quest for the Kingdom of God: Essays in Honor of George E. Mendenhall, ed. H. B. Huffmon; F. A. Spina; and A. R. W. Green. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- McCarter, Jr., P. K.
 1987 Aspects of the Religion of the Israelite Monarchy: Biblical and Epigraphic Data. Pp. 137-155 in Ancient Israelite Religion, ed. P. D. Miller, Jr.; P. D. Hanson; and S. D. McBride. Philadelphia: Fortress.
- McEvenue, S. E.
 1971 The Narrative Style of the Priestly Writer. Analecta Biblica 50. Rome: Biblical Institute.
- Matthiae, P.
 1979 Ebla in the Period of the Amorite Dynasties and the Dynasty of Akkad: Recent Archaeological Discoveries at Tell Mardikh. Malibu: Undena.
 1981 Ebla: An Empire Rediscovered. Garden City: Doubleday.
- May, H. G.
 1935 Material Remains of the Megiddo Cult. Chicago: The University of Chicago.
 1937a The Departure of the Glory of Yahweh. Journal of Biblical Literature 56:309-321.

- 1937b Some Aspects of Solar Worship at Jerusalem.
Zeitschrift fur die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
55:269-281.
- Mazar, A.
1973 A Philistine Temple at Tell Qasile. Biblical Archaeologist 36:42-48.
- 1975 Excavations at Tell Qasile, 1973-1974. Israel Exploration Journal 25:77-88.
- 1977 Additional Philistine Temples at Tell Qasile.
Biblical Archaeologist 40:82-87.
- 1980 Excavations at Tell Qasile, The Philistine Sanctuary: Architecture and Cult Objects. Qedem 12. Jerusalem: Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University.
- 1981a The Philistine Sanctuary at Tell Qasile. Pp. 105-107 in Temples and High Places in Biblical Times, ed. A. Biran. Jerusalem: The Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology.
- 1981b Giloh: An Early Israelite Settlement Site Near Jerusalem. Israel Exploration Journal 31:6-11.
- 1985 Excavations at Tell Qasile, the Philistine Sanctuary: Various Finds, the Pottery, Conclusions, Appendix. Qedem 20. Jerusalem: Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University.
- Mazar, A., and Netzer, E.
1986 Short Notes: On the Israelite Fortress at Arad.
Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 263:87-91.
- Mazar, B.
1965 The Sanctuary of Arad and the Family of Horab the Kenite. Journal of Near Eastern Studies 24:297-303.
- 1981 YHWH Came out from Sinai. Pp. 5-9 in Temples and High Places in Biblical Times, ed. A. Biran. Jerusalem: The Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology.
- McEvenue, S. E.
1971 The Narrative Style of the Priestly Writer.
Analecta Biblica 50. Rome: Biblical Institute.

- McEwan, C. W.
1937 The Syrian Expedition of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. American Journal of Archaeology 41:8-13.
- Meshel, Z., and Meyers, C.
1976 The Name of God in the Wilderness of Zin. Biblical Archaeologist 39:6-10.
- Milgrom, J.
1976 Israel's Sanctuary: The Priestly "Picture of Dorian Gray." Revue Biblique 83:390-399.
- Millard, A. R.
1972 The Practice of Writing in Ancient Israel. Biblical Archaeologist 35:98-111.
- Miller, Jr., P. D.
1987 Aspects of the Religion of Ugarit. Pp. 53-66 in Ancient Israelite Religion, ed. P. D. Miller, Jr.; P. D. Hanson; and S. D. McBride. Philadelphia: Fortress.
- Mowinckel, S.
1937 The Two Sources of the Predeuteronomic Primeval History (JE) in Gen. 1-11. Oslo: I Kommissjon Hos Jacob Dybwad.
1956 He That Cometh. New York: Abingdon.
1959 The Old Testament as Word of God. New York: Abingdon.
1981 Religion and Cult. Marquette University.
- Myres, J. L.
1948 King Solomon's temple and Other Buildings and Works of Art. Palestine Exploration Quarterly 80:14-41.
- Na'aman, N.
1985 Arad in the Topographical List of Shishak. Tel Aviv 12:91-92.
- Nelson, H. H.
1944 The Egyptian Temple. Biblical Archaeologist 7:44-53.
- Nielsen, E.
1982 Moses and the Law. Vetus Testamentum 32:87-98.

- 1984 The Traditio-Historical Study of the Pentateuch Since 1945, with Special Emphasis on Scandinavia. Pp. 11-28 in The Productions of Time: Tradition History in Old Testament Scholarship. Sheffield: Almond.
- North, C. R.
1951 Pentateuchal Criticism. Pp. 48-83 in The Old Testament and Modern Study, ed. H. H. Rowley. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Noth, M.
1972 A History of Pentateuchal Traditions. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
- 1984 The Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Studies. London: SCM.
- Nylander, C.
1967 A Note on the Stonecutting and Masonry of Tel Arad. Israel Exploration Journal 17:56-59.
- O'Connor, M. P.
1987 Ugarit and the Bible. Pp. 151-164 in Backgrounds for the Bible, ed. M. P. O'Connor, and D. N. Freedman. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Oden, Jr., R. A.,
1987 Intellectual History and the Study of the Bible. Pp. 1-18 in The Future of Biblical Studies, ed. R. E. Friedman, and H. G. M. Williamson. Atlanta: Scholars.
- Oppenheim, A. L.
1944 The Mesopotamian Temple. Biblical Archaeologist 7:54-63.
- Ottosson, M.
1980 Temples and Cult Places in Palestine. Boreas, Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilizations, 12. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Uppsaliensis.
- Parry, W. D., Ricks, S. D., and Welch, J.W.
1991 A Bibliography on Temples of the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean World. Lewiston: Edwin Mellen.
- Parunak, H. D.
1978 Was Solomon's Temple Aligned to the Sun? Palestine Exploration Quarterly 110:29-33.

- Paul, S. M., and Dever, W. G.
 1973 Biblical Archaeology, ed. S. M. Paul and W. G. Dever. Jerusalem: Keter.
- Peckham, B.
 1987 Phoenicia and the Religion of Israel: The Epigraphic Evidence. Pp. 79-100 in Ancient Israelite Religion, ed. P. D. Miller, Jr.; P. D. Hanson; and S. D. McBride. Philadelphia: Fortress.
- Pfeiffer, R. H.
 1941 Introduction to the OT. New York: Harper.
- Pritchard, J. B.
 1943 Palestinian Figurines in Relation to Certain Goddesses Known Through Literature. New Haven: American Oriental Society.
- 1975 Sarepta: A Preliminary Report on The Iron Age. Philadelphia: The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.
- 1978 Recovering Sarepta, A Phoenician City. Princeton: Princeton University.
- Quellette, J.
 1973 Temple of Solomon. Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, Supplementary Volume. Nashville: Abingdon.
- Rabe, V. W.
 1966 The Identity of the Priestly Tabernacle. Journal of Near Eastern Studies 25:132-134.
- von Rad, G.
 1962 Old Testament Theology, Vol. 1. New York: Harper & Row.
- 1966 The Problem of the Hexateuch. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- 1972 Genesis: A Commentary. London: SCM.
- Rainey, A. F.
 1971 A Hebrew 'Receipt' from Arad. Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 202:23-29.
- 1985 Short Notes: on "The Israelite Fortress at Arad." Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 258:73-74.

- Rendsburg, G.
1980 Late Biblical Hebrew and the Date of "P." The Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University 12:65-80.
- Rogerson, J.
1985 Old Testament Criticism in the Nineteenth Century: England and Germany. London: Fortress.
- Rowe, A.
1931 New Light on the Evolution of Canaanite Temples as Exemplified by Restorations of the Sanctuaries Found at Beth-Shan. Palestine Exploration Quarterly:12-21.
- Rowley, H. H.
1951 Introduction: Trends in Old Testament Study. Pp. xv-xxxi in The Old Testament and Modern Study. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Scott, R. B. Y.
1939 The Pillars Jachin and Boaz. Journal of Biblical Literature 58:143-149.
- Shanks, H.
1988 Two Early Israelite Cult Sites Now Questioned. Biblical Archaeology Review 14:48-52.
- Shiloh, Y.
1970 The Four-Room House: Its Situation and Function in the Israelite City. Israel Exploration Journal 20:180-190.
- Shupak, N.
1971 Jachin and Boaz. Encyclopaedia Judaica, Vol. 9. Jerusalem: MacMillan.
- Smith, M. S.
1990 The Near Eastern Background of Solar Language for Yahweh. Journal of Biblical Literature 109:29-39.
- Snaith, N. H.
1951 The Historical Books. Pp. 84-114 in The Old Testament and Modern Study, ed. H. H. Rowley. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Stager, L. E.
1985 The Archaeology of the Family in Early Israel. Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 260:11-17.

- 1991 When Canaanite and Philistines Ruled Ashkelon. Biblical Archaeology Review 17:24-31.
- Stern, E.
 1977 A Late Bronze Temple at Tell Mevorah. Biblical Archaeologist 40:89-91.
- 1978 Excavations at Tell Mevorakh, Part One: From the Iron Age to the Roman Period. Qedem 9. Jerusalem: Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University.
- 1984 Excavations at Tell Mevorakh, Part Two: The Bronze Age. Qedem 18. Jerusalem: Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University.
- Strange, J.
 1985 The Idea of Afterlife in Ancient Israel: Some Remarks on the Iconography in Solomon's Temple. Palestine Exploration Quarterly 117:35-40.
- Surburg, R. F.
 1979 Wellhausenism Evaluated after a Century of Influence. Concordia Theological Quarterly 43:78-95.
- Tarragon, J. M.
 1980 Le Culte a Ugarit. Cahiers de La Revue Biblique 19. Paris: J. Gabalda.
- Tigay, J. H.
 1987 Israelite Religion: The Onomastic and Epigraphic Evidence. Pp. 157-194 in Ancient Israelite Religion, ed. P. D. Miller, Jr.; P. D. Hanson; and S. D. McBride. Philadelphia: Fortress.
- Tufnell, O.
 1940 Lachish II, The Fosse Temple. London: Oxford University.
- 1953a Lachish III, The Iron Age: Text. London: Oxford University.
- 1953b Lachish III, The Iron Age: Plates. London: Oxford University.
- Ussishkin, D.
 1988 The Date of the Judaean Shrine at Arad. Israel Exploration Journal 38:142-157.

- de Vaux, R.
1961 Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions.
London: Darton, Longman & Todd.
- Vink, J. G.
1969 The Date and Origin of the Priestly Code in the
Old Testament. Oudtestamentische Studien 15:1-
144.
- Warren, C.
1903 The Ancient Cubit and our Weights and Measures.
London: The Committee of the Palestine Exploration
Fund.
- Weinfeld, M.
1979 Getting at the Roots of Wellhausen's Understanding
of the Law of Israel on the 100th Anniversary of
the Prolegomena, Report NO. 14/79. Jerusalem:
Institute for Advanced Studies, Hebrew University.
- Wellhausen, J.
1885 Prolegomena to the History of Israel. Edinburgh:
Adam & Charles Black.
- Williams, M. V. S.
1949 Palestinian Temples. Iraq 11:77-89.
- Winnet, F. V.
1965 Re-Examining the Foundations. Journal of Biblical
Literature 84:1-19.
- Woolley, L.
1955 Alalakh: An Account of the Excavations at Tell
Atchana. London: Oxford University.
- Wright, G. E.
1944 The Temple in Palestine-Syria. Biblical
Archaeologist 7:65-77.
- 1961 The Temple in Palestine-Syria. Pp. 169-184 in The
Biblical Archaeologist Reader, ed. G. E. Wright
and D. N. Freedman. Chicago: Quadrangle Books.
- 1978 Shechem. Pp. 1083-1094 in Encyclopedia of
Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land, Vol.
4, ed. M. Avi-Yonah. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-
Hall.
- Wright, G. R. H.
1968 Temples at Shechem. Zeitschrift für die
alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 80:1-35.

- 1971 Pre-Israelite Temples in the Land of Canaan. Palestine Exploration Quarterly 103:17-32.
- Yadin, Y.
 1958 Excavations at Hazor, 1957: Preliminary Communique. Israel Exploration Journal 8:1-14.
- 1959 The Fourth Season of Excavations at Hazor. Biblical Archaeologist 22:2-20.
- 1965 A Note on the Stratigraphy of Arad. Israel Exploration Journal 15:180.
- 1970 Symbols of Deities at Zinjirli, Carthage and Hazor. Pp. 199-231 in Near Eastern Archaeology in the Twentieth Century, Essays in Honor of Nelson Glueck, ed. J. A. Sanders. Garden City: Doubleday.
- 1975 Hazor: The Discovery of a Great Citadel of the Bible. New York: Random.
- 1976 Hazor. Pp. 474-495 in Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land, Vol. 2, ed. M. Avi-Yonah. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
- 1979 The Age of the Monarchies, Culture and Society. Pp. 187-235 in The World History of the Jewish People, vol. 5, ed. A. Malamat. Jerusalem: Massada.
- Yeivin, S.
 1966 A Hieratic Ostrakon from Tel Arad. Israel Exploration Journal 16:153-159.
- 1969 An Ostrakon from Tel Arad Exhibiting a Combination of Two Scripts. Journal of Egyptian Archaeology 55:98-102.
- Zevit, Z.
 1982 Converging Lines of Evidence Bearing on the Date of P. Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 94:481-511.
- Zimhori, O.
 1985 The Iron Age Pottery of Tel Eton and its Relation to the Lachish, Tell Beit Mirsim and Arad Assemblages. Tel Aviv 12:63-90.